A WELSH GRAMMAR
HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE

BY

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PHONOLOGY AND ACCIDENCE

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PREFACE

"This book", as V. Henry says of his Breton Lexique, "has the misfortune to have a history." It would be tedious, even if it were possible, to relate it in detail; but the long delay in the appearance of the work calls for a brief account of the facts by way of explanation and apology.

In the early nineties I contributed to the new edition of the Welsh encyclopaedia Y Gwyddoniadur an article on the Welsh language, which contained a sketch of Welsh grammar. This sketch was expanded in a course of lectures delivered to the Junior and Intermediate classes at Bangor after the foundation of the University of Wales. The idea occurred to me of preparing the substance of the lectures for publication as a textbook of Welsh grammar; but I was unable at the time to carry out the investigation which seemed to me necessary before such a book could be properly written.

The work was intended to be a descriptive grammar of Modern Welsh with special reference to the earlier period. Late Modern Welsh is more artificial, and in some respects further removed from the spoken language, than Early Modern Welsh, owing largely to the influence of false etymological theories; and the object which I had in view was the practical one of determining the traditional forms of the literary language. Even scholars have been deceived by the fictitious forms found in dictionaries; thus "dagr" given by Silvan Evans, after Pughe, as the sg. of dagrâu, is quoted as a genuine form even by Strachan, Intr. 23; see below p. 212 Note. I had however chiefly in mind the ordinary writer of the language, to whom a clear idea of the literary tradition is at least equally important. The first draft of the a 2
book was begun in 1899; but I was dissatisfied with it, and made a fresh start a year or two later. The progress of the second draft was much hindered by examination work which took up the greater part of my long vacation for some years. In 1907 I had finished the accidence and written more than half of the syntax. As Early Modern literature consists almost wholly of verse in the strict metres, I found myself in the syntax quoting more and more from Medieval prose. At last I was forced to the conclusion that the Medieval period would have to be dealt with in the earlier portion, which would therefore have to be entirely re-written. Many Medieval forms had already been quoted in it, in order to show that the Early Modern forms followed the old tradition, especially where the late written form is artificial; in some cases the etymology also was given, in order to show further that the traditional form had developed regularly. In re-casting the first portion I thought it would be well to bring together the laws by which Welsh sounds are derived from Keltic and Primitive Aryan, so that by reference to them any formation or word might be compared with its cognates, and traced to its origin. Thus from a descriptive grammar of Modern Welsh the book grew into a Welsh Grammar Historical and Comparative.

In its present form the work was commenced early in 1908; and the Phonology and Accidence now published were completed in the Spring of 1912. The volume has taken a year to print; and I have not found the time too long for the final revision of the copy and the correction of proofs.

A few words may here be said of the most important previous works on the subject. The earliest known Welsh grammar is that preserved in the Red Book of Hergest (r.g.), and printed from a late copy as *Dosparth Edeyrn Dafod Aur* by Ab Ithel; apart from the treatment of sounds and metres this is little more than a definition of the parts of speech. Simwnt Vychan's grammar (P.I.L.) is also of value only for its prosody. The first printed
Welsh grammar was written by Dr. Griffith Roberts, and appeared at Milan in 1567. It gives an interesting account of the language as it was written before the influence of Salesbury made itself felt; but the most remarkable feature of the book is the section on etymology, which records the discovery by the author of the fact that the sound-changes which take place in Latin loan-words were capable of being stated as laws. Dr. J. D. Rhys's grammar appeared in 1592. The author wrote excellent Welsh, though his peculiar alphabet makes it appear uncouth; and his grammar is an attempt to describe the language as he wrote it. It is cast almost wholly in the form of tables, and is less systematic in reality than in appearance. The prosody, which is valuable, was contributed by contemporary bards. In 1593 a small grammar was published by Henry Salesbury, in which literary and dialectal forms are given, but are not distinguished.

Dr. John Davies published his grammar in 1621, the year after the appearance of the revised Bible, which is believed to be chiefly his work. The grammar represents the result of a careful study of the works of the bards. It was the first Welsh grammar to be based on an examination of the actual facts of the language of standard authors. Medieval bards are quoted in modernized spelling; in that respect, therefore, the work is not in the strict sense historical. But the author's analysis of the Modern literary language is final; he has left to his successors only the correction and amplification of detail.

The grammar of William Owen (later W. O. Pughe) prefixed to his Dictionary, 1803, stands at the opposite pole. It is written on the same principle as the dictionary, and represents the language not as it is, or ever was, but as it might be if any suffix could be attached mechanically to any stem. The author's method can best be realized by imagining a Latin grammarian evolving out of the stems of *volo* the presents ind. *volo, volis, volit*; *vio, vis, vit*; *vulo, vuls, vult*; *velo, vels, velt*; *vello, vellis, vellit,
PREFACE

and the infinitives volere, viere, vulere, velere, vellere, with perhaps a note stating that these infinitives are "seldom used" (see his Gr. 2 66, 68), or alternatively a footnote to the effect that velle "is as often used" (do. 67). Examples are quoted of such forms as are genuine; and the impression is conveyed by the suggestio falsi of "seldom", "as often", and the like, that the others also occur. To the author truth meant conformity with his theory; facts, perverse enough to disagree, were glossed over to save their character.

In 1853 appeared the first edition of Rowland's work, which was regarded for more than a generation as the standard grammar of Modern Welsh. It is for the most part a description of the written Welsh of the 19th century; but the paradigms contain many of Pughe's spurious forms. The author had practically no knowledge of any Welsh older than that of the Bible translation; he records recent usages, but is unable to throw any light on them, or to decide between genuine and counterfeit forms. The use which he makes of Dr. Davies often shows that he was incapable of understanding him; e.g. in professing to give Davies's table of diphthongs, after including iw wy among the falling diphthongs he imagines that he has done with those combinations, and omits them from the rising class, without perceiving that the very object of the classification is to distinguish between falling iw wy and rising iw wy. But his book contains a quantity of sound, if ill-digested, information about Late Welsh; and marks the return to common sense after the domination of Pughe.

The foundations of modern Keltic philology were laid by I. C. Zeuss in his great Grammatica Celtica, which was published in 1853. The sections devoted to Welsh grammar contain a wonderfully complete and accurate analysis of the language of the Red Book Mabinogion (ed. Lady Charlotte Guest, 1849), the Black Book of Chirk (in a.l., 1841), and the Welsh passages in Liber Landavensis (ed. Rees, 1840).
In 1908 appeared the first part of Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*; two of the remaining three parts have since been issued. This important work is mainly comparative as its title suggests, and deals with the derivation and development of the grammatical forms of all the Keltic languages. It records the latest results of Keltic philology, but is in some respects rather markedly individual.

Strachan's *Introduction to Early Welsh* appeared posthumously in 1909. It contains a Medieval Welsh grammar, reader and glossary. The grammar was written by Strachan in a few weeks in 1907, and one cannot but wonder with his editor at "the amazing rapidity with which he toiled". The work embodies forms from texts inaccessible to Zeuss, and is naturally the product of a more advanced knowledge. Its value is somewhat lessened by the fact that a large number of forms and phrases are quoted without references.

Of the scope of the present work I have already spoken. It embraces roughly that of the grammars of Davies, Strachan, and Pedersen (so far as this relates to Welsh). The sections dealing with the derivation of Welsh sounds were planned and partly written before the appearance of Pedersen's work; but I had the advantage of consulting the latter in filling in the detail. I have however examined each rule for myself; many new examples are adduced, and the conclusion arrived at differs in some cases from Pedersen's. In §§ 75, 76 I have attempted a solution of the extraordinarily difficult problems presented by the development of original diphthongs in Welsh. I hope the result is in the main sound, though some of the details are tentative. In § 63 I have endeavoured to compress into a few pages an account of the Aryan vowel system, a knowledge of which is essential to an understanding of the vocalism of the derived languages. The section follows the lines of Hirt's suggestive work *Der idg. Ablaut*; the notation (R, F, etc.) is an adaptation
and elaboration of Hirt's. Apart from the Welsh examples the section contains nothing new except the notes on the place of \( a \) in the system (v (2)) and the treatment of long diphthongs (vii (5)). In the discussion of philological questions generally my obligation to Brugmann's great work is so obvious as hardly to need statement; for the writing of prehistoric forms his scheme has been adopted, and is departed from in only one particular: \( e' \), \( en \) etc. are used here, as by Hirt, instead of \( e' \), \( en \) etc. I have also learnt much from Meillet's brilliant Introduction, and have borrowed from him the convenient use of the term "sonant" to denote the sounds which oscillate between vowels and consonants in Pr. Ar. In the search for the origin and cognates of Welsh vocables I have made extensive use of Walde's Wörterbuch, which contains, in a concise form and fully indexed, a vast collection of the results of recent investigation in this field; Boisacq's Dictionnaire I have also found most valuable. For the purposes of Keltic philology I have consulted with much profit Thurneyssen's admirable grammar of Old Irish. The sections treating of the derivation of sounds are fuller than they were originally intended to be; and with the material thus provided I was led further to attempt to trace to their origin all inflexions and important grammatical forms. But in order to save space I have generally given only the explanation which seemed to me in each case the most probable; thus the fact that Pedersen's equation of W. ynteu with Ir. inti or his derivation of eið-aw from *eiðo is not mentioned does not necessarily mean that it has not been considered, but that I regard it as less likely than the explanation offered in the text.

I have to express my gratitude to Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, who was kind enough to lend me for the purposes of this work his manuscript referred to as tr., his transcripts of numerous poems by G.Gr., G.Gl., Gu.O., D.N., D.E., H.D., I.F. and IL., and to furnish me with proofs of w.m. before it was issued, and of R.F.
and b.t. which have not yet appeared; and to Mr. J. H. Davies who generously lent me for several years his transcripts of about 200 of the poems of T.A., and verified readings for me in mss. at the National Library. For the latter service I am also indebted to Mr. T. Gwynn Jones at the National Library, and to Mr. J. Ifano Jones at the Free Library, Cardiff. I have to thank Mr. Shankland for the readiness with which he has assisted me in various ways at the Library of the University College of North Wales. The first proof of every sheet was read by my colleague Professor Hudson-Williams; proofs of the Accidence were read by my assistant Mr. Ifor Williams; proofs of the Phonology and revises of the Accidence were read by Sir John Rhys. To each of them, and to the Reader at the Press, I am indebted for the correction of errors which had escaped me. Every reference to a printed book was verified by myself in the first proofs, and I hope few errors remain uncorrected; references to mss. were compared with my notes and with entries in the Report on Welsh Manuscripts, but it was of course impossible, except in a few cases, to check the reading with the original. My thanks are due to Mr. Ifor Williams for much valuable criticism and many hints; I owe to him the explanation of i'w, Ml. yw, as a metathesis of wy p. 277, see p. xxvii below. I desire to acknowledge my deep obligation to my teacher Sir John Rhys, who has always been ready to help with criticism and advice. Lastly, I owe a debt of gratitude to the Fellows of Jesus College who elected me to a research fellowship for a period in order to enable me to devote my long vacations to the work.

J. MORRIS JONES.

May 31st, 1913.
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ABBREVIATIONS

I. SIGNS

✓ 'root'.
< 'from, comes from'.) The angle points in the direction of the
> 'giving, gives'. } change.
: 'is' cognate with', used to connect forms having a common
element, but usually varying in formation or vowel-grade. The
common use of the sign as roughly equivalent to 'viz.' does not clash
with the above, and has been retained.
= is used for three purposes; (1) between forms which according
to the laws of their respective languages imply the same ground-form;
it replaces the usual colon only where it is desired to point out identity
of formation as well as of root, etc.;—(2) between references to, or
various readings of, the same passage in two different mss.;—(3)
between two designations of the same ms., book or person; or two
characters of the same value, etc.
≡ 'is pronounced'; it generally introduces a phonetic transcrip-
tion, see Note p. 29; but in some cases the phonetic spelling occurs
in contemporary texts, and a reference is given.
\ denotes syllabic division, see p. 31; division of feet on p. 18.
/ (1) between words quoted denotes that they rhyme, or correspond
in cynganedd, i.e. have the same consonantism or accentuation or
both;—(2) between letters denotes that they alternate, see e.g. § 101
iii;—(3) in references, see VI 1.
* prefixed to a form denotes that it is not attested, but only inferred
from a comparison of cognates, or from the known action of sound-
laws. It also marks hypothetical forms (and meanings) generally.
A dot under a vowel denotes that it is sounded close.
A comma under a vowel denotes that it is sounded open.
under a vowel denotes that it is nasalized; thus Fr. bon ≡ bʊ.
Marks and symbols explained in the body of the work: accent
marks § 39; i, u § 100; w § 17 xi ū; ūy § 38 i; l, m, n, r § 57; e,[
etc. § 61 i (2), § 62 i (2), § 63 ; r § 57 ; l, ŭ, g, g, g R § 84 ; n, ñ
§ 17 vi; û § 19 iv; ū § 16 ii (3), § 25 iii ; ŭ § 16 v (2) ; y, y § 16 i ;
û § 22 iv; æ § 17 iv; ă § 19 iii ; ă, ă § 17 iii ; ă § 14 ii (2) ; F, Fº,
L, Lº, V, R, R², R₁ etc. § 63.
Meanings are given in single inverted commas; double inverted
commas are used to quote the words of the original when the words
explained are taken from a translation; also as ordinary quotation
marks.
## ABBREVIATIONS

### II. TERMS

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>accusative</td>
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<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective</td>
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<tr>
<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb</td>
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<td>aff.</td>
<td>affixed</td>
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<tr>
<td>anal.</td>
<td>analog-y, -ical</td>
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<tr>
<td>aor.</td>
<td>aorist</td>
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<tr>
<td>auto.</td>
<td>autograph</td>
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<tr>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>conjunctive or conjunction</td>
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<tr>
<td>cpv.</td>
<td>comparative</td>
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<td>dat.</td>
<td>dative</td>
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<tr>
<td>def.</td>
<td>definite</td>
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<tr>
<td>denom.</td>
<td>denominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>same book (or author)</td>
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<tr>
<td>e.g.</td>
<td>for example</td>
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<tr>
<td>eqtv.</td>
<td>equative</td>
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<tr>
<td>f., fem.</td>
<td>feminine</td>
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<td>gen.</td>
<td>genitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>gl.</td>
<td>gloss on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ib.</td>
<td>same book and page</td>
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<tr>
<td>id.</td>
<td>same meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>i.e.</td>
<td>that is</td>
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<td>impers.</td>
<td>impersonal</td>
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<td>imperfect</td>
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<td>instr.</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
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<td>interr.</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
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<td>intj.</td>
<td>interjection</td>
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<td>l.c.</td>
<td>in place cited</td>
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<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>liter-ary, -ally</td>
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<td>loc.</td>
<td>locative</td>
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<tr>
<td>m., mas.,</td>
<td>masculine</td>
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<tr>
<td>obj.</td>
<td>object(ive)</td>
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<td>obl.</td>
<td>oblique</td>
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<td>orig.</td>
<td>original(ly)</td>
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<td>perf.</td>
<td>perfect</td>
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<tr>
<td>pers.</td>
<td>person(al)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<td>plup.</td>
<td>pluperfect</td>
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<td>pos.</td>
<td>positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pref.</td>
<td>prefix(ed)</td>
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<td>prep.</td>
<td>preposition</td>
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<td>pres.</td>
<td>present</td>
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<tr>
<td>prob.</td>
<td>probably</td>
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<tr>
<td>pron.</td>
<td>pronoun or pronounced</td>
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<td>q.v.</td>
<td>which see</td>
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<td>redupl.</td>
<td>reduplicated</td>
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<td>rh.</td>
<td>rhyming</td>
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<td>sc.</td>
<td>scribal</td>
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<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
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<td>spv.</td>
<td>superlative</td>
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<td>subj.</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
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<tr>
<td>suff.</td>
<td>suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>s.v.</td>
<td>under the word</td>
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<td>unacc.</td>
<td>unaccented</td>
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<td>v.a., v.adj.</td>
<td>verbal adj.</td>
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<td>verb</td>
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<td>v.n.</td>
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</table>

### III. LANGUAGES

Abbreviations denoting languages are obvious contractions of the names of languages given on p. 1.


Note that Ir. means ‘Old Irish’ as in Thurneysen Gr., Vendryes Gr., and Windisch, *Irische Texte*. Ml. and Mn. Ir. are so named.


Hes(ych). designates forms and meanings from the Lexicon of Hesychius.
ABBREVIATIONS

IV. AUTHORITIES

PERIODICALS AND WORKS ON GRAMMAR AND PHILOLOGY

Ab Ithel, see Dosp. Ed.
Arch. Camb.: Archæologia Cambrensis.
Brugmann: Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen... Strassburg, I 1897, II i 1906, II ii 1911.
[The Eng. trans. of the 1st edn., vol. iv, 1895—'11 ii revised, has also been used.]
Camden: Britannia... Londini 1594.
Coel.: Traethawd ar Hynafiaeth ac Awdurdodaeth Coelbren y Beirdd... Gann Taliesin Williams (Ab Iolo). Llanymddyfri 1840.
Cymmrodor: Y Cymmrodor, the Magazine of the Honourable Society of Cymrodroronion.
D.: Antiquæ Linguae Britannicae, nunc communiter dictæ Cambro-Britannicae... Rudimenta... Londini 1621, by Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, author of D.D. below; see above, p. v.
Dosp. Ed.: Dosparth Edeyrn Davod Aur; or the Ancient Welsh Grammar... to which is added Y Pam Llyfr Kerddwriaeth... With Eng. trans. and Notes, by the Rev. John Williams Ab Ithel M.A. Llandovery 1856.
G.R.: Dosparth Byrr ar y rhann gyntaf i ramadeg cymraeg... [Milan] 1567. Reprinted as a suppl. to RC. 1870-83 under the title A Welsh Grammar and other Tracts by Griffith Roberts.
Hirt Abl.: Der indogermanische Ablaut... von Herman Hirt. Strassburg 1900.
ABBREVIATIONS

IA.: Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde. Supplement to IF.


J.D.R.: Cambrobrytaennica Cymraecæve Lingvæe Institutiones et Rvlimenta ... conscripta à Joanne Davide Rhæso Monensi Languæthæo Cambrobrytanno. Londini 1592.

J.J.: Transcripts and original notes on orthography etc. in the hand of John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy, fl. 1590-1630.

KZ.: Kuhn's Zeitschrift = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen.

Legonidec: Grammaire celt-o-bretonne ... Par J. F. M. A. Legonidec. Paris 1807

Lhuyd: Archaeologia Britannica ... By Edward Lhuyd ... Oxford 1707.


Llyfryddiaeth: Llyfryddiaeth y Gymry ... Gan y diweddar Barch. William Rowlands (Gwilym Lleyn). Ed. by D. Silvan Evans. Llanidloes 1869.

Loth Voc.: Vocabulaire vieux-breton ... Par J. Loth. Paris 1884.


Meillet Intr.: Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes. 2 Paris 1908.

Mendus Jones Gr.: Gramadeg Gymreig Ymarferol ... Gan J. Mendus Jones (Llanidloes 1847), 2 Caernarfon n.d.

Mona Ant.: Mona Antiqua Restaurata ... By Henry Rowlands. 1 Dublin 1723.


O'Donovan (or O'Don. Gr.): A Grammar of the Irish Language ... By John O'Donovan. Dublin 1845.


Pedersen Gr.: Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen, von Holger Pedersen. i Göttingen 1909; ii, i. Teil ib. 1911.

Sir J. Price: see y.l.h. under VI 11.


Pughe: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language ... To which is prefixed a Welsh Grammar. By W. Owen Pughe. 2 Denbigh 1832.

RC.: Revue Celtique ... Paris.
ABBREVIATIONS

Rhys CF.: Celtic Folklore Welsh and Manx. By John Rhŷs... Oxford 1901.
Rhys no.: Number of inscription in LWPh2.
Richards: Antique Linguae Britannicae Thesaurus, being a British, or Welsh-English Dictionary... By. Thomas Richards. 3 Dolgelley 1815.
Rowland: A Grammar of the Welsh Language... By Thomas Rowland. 4 Wrexham [1876].
Salesbury: A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe... by Wylyam Salesbury. London 1547. Cymmrodorion Soc. Reprint. See also under V.
Seebohm: see under VI ii.
Sommer: Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre... Von Dr. Ferdinand Sommer. Heidelberg 1902.
S.R.: Siôn Rhydderch=Grammadeg Gymraeg... O Gasgliad, Myfyriad ac Argraphiad John Rhydderch... Mwythig (Shrewsbury) 1728.
T. Stephens: see R. I. Prys.
Stokes, Fick: see Fick.
Strachan Intr.: An Introduction to Early Welsh. By the Late John Strachan... Manchester 1909.
S.V.: Pump Illyfr Kerdiariaeth [Welsh Grammar and Prosody by Simwnt Vychan, see V]; see p. II. under VI ii.
T. Charles: Geiriadur Ysgrythyrol... 3 Bala 1836.
Tegai: Grammadeg Gymraeg... Gan Hugh Hughes (Tegai). 3 Caernarfon [1859].
Tegid: A Defence of the Reformed System of Welsh Orthography... By the Rev. John Jones M.A. [Tegid], Oxford 1829; and another tract; confuted by W. B. Knight, to whom the chief credit is due for saving the Welsh Bible from the vandalism of Pughe’s followers.
ABBREVIATIONS

TPS.: Transactions of the Philological Society. London.
Troude: Nouveau dictionnaire pratique breton-français... Par A.E. Troude. Brest 1876.
Troude, Dict. Fr.-Bret.: Nouveau dictionnaire pratique français & breton... Par A. Troude. Brest 1886.
Vendryes Gr.: Grammaire du vieil-irlandais... Par J. Vendryes... Paris 1908.
Walde: Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, von Dr. Alois Walde... Heidelberg 1906, 1910.
Williams Lex: Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum... By the Rev. Robert Williams M.A... Llandovery 1865.
ZE.: Grammatica Celtica... Construixt I. C. Zeuss... Editio Altera curavit H. Ebel... Berolini 1871.

Other references seem to require no explanation. The most important of the works used, but not referred to, are the following: A New English Dictionary.—Skeat, An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language 1910.—Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache 1910.—Prellwitz, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache 1905.—Macdonell, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary 1893.—Wiedemann, Handbuch der litauischen Sprache 1897.—Wright, A Primer of the Gothic Language 1899.—Windisch, Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch 1880.—Loth, Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques 1892.—Rhys, The Outlines of the Phonology of Manx Gaelic 1894.

V. AUTHORS

(m. before an author’s initials in brackets denotes that the quotation is from a marwnad in his memory.)

A.R.: Absalom Roberts (Conway Vale), d. 1862 (?), see il.m.
B.A.: Bedo Aeddren (Llangwm, il 15/44 r.), c. 1500.
B.Br.: Bedo Brywnlys (Brec.), c. 1460.
B.D.: Bleddyn Du [Bleðyn Tu §111 vii (2)], c. 1350.
B.F.: y Brawd Fadawg ap Gwallter, c. 1250.
B.Ph.B.: Bedo Phylip Bach, c. 1480.
ABBREVIATIONS

B.V.: Bleddyn Vardd, fl. 1250–90.
C.: Cynddelw (Powys), fl. 1150–1200.
Ca.: Casnodyn, c. 1320.
Ceiriog: John Ceiriog Hughes, 1832–87.
D.G.: Dafydd ap Gwilym (N. Card.), fl. 1350–80; ref. to Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym... Llundain, 1789.
D.I.D.: Deio ab Ieuan Du (Card.), c. 1480.
D.II.: Dafydd Llwyd ap Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, c. 1480.
D.N.: Dafydd Nanmor (Beddgelert), c. 1460.
Dr. M.: William Morgan (C’vonshire), 1541–1604; Bp. of St. Asaph, translator of the Bible, 1588.
Dr. P.: Richard Parry (Ruthin), 1560–1623; Bp. of St. Asaph, editor of the revised Bible, 1620. Internal and other evidence points to the version being largely if not mainly by Dr. John Davies.
D.W.: Dewi Wyn o Eifion = Dafydd Owen (Llanystumdwy), 1784–1841; ref. to Blodeu Arfon... Caerlleon (Chester), 1842.
D.y.C.: Dafydd y Coed, c. 1330.
E.F.: Eben Fardd = Ebenezer Thomas (S. C’von), 1802–63; ref. to Gweithiann Baraddonol Eben Fardd. [Pangor, n.d.]
E.M.: Edward Morris (Cerrig y Drudion), d. 1689; ref. to Edward Morris... ei Achau... etc. Liverpool 1902.
E.S.: Eledir Sais, fl. 1160–1220.
E.U.: Edward ab Urien, c. 1610.
G.: Gwalchmai (Anglesey), fl. 1150–90.
G.B.: Gwynfardd Brycheinog (Brec.), c. 1170.
G.C.: Gruffudd ap Cynfrig Goch, p. 119, error in p 64/122 r. for Rhys ap Cynfrig Goch p 97/244 (‘na... i I.G.’?); p 100/408; m 133/129 r. (I = R.G.G.).
G.D.A.: Gwilym Ddu o Arfon, c. 1300.
G.Gr.: Gruffudd Gryg (Anglesey), c. 1370.
G.Gw.: Gruffudd ap Gwrgeneu, c. 1200.
G.I.H.: Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen, c. 1460.
Gr.O.: Goronwy Owen (Anglesey), 1723–69; ref. to Gwaith y Parch. Goronwy Owen... Llanrwst, 1860. (In R. Jones’s edn., 1876, the text is tampered with.)
G.S.: Guto ap Siancyn y Glyn= G.Gl.
ABBREVIATIONS

G.T.: Gwilym Tew (Glam.), c. 1450.
Gu.O., Gut.O.: Gutun Owain (Denb.), fl. 1450–90.
G.V.: Gruffudd Vychan, c. 1320.
G.Y.C.: Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch, c. 1280.
H.A.: Huw Arwystl c. 1550.
H.C.L.: Huw (or Hywel) Cae Llwyd, c. 1480 [i.e. p. 428 footn. for 1525 read 1475].
H.D.: Huw Daft, or Hywel ap Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Rhys (Brec.), c. 1480.
H.K.: Hywel Kilan (l=1-l) (Llyn ?), c. 1480.
H.M.: Hugh Maurice (Denb.), 1622–1709; ref. to Eos Ceiriog ... 2 vols. Wrexham, 1823.
H.R.: Hywel Rheinalt, c. 1480.
H.S.: Hywel Swrdwal (Montgomerysh.), c. 1450; ref. to Gwaith Barddonol Hywel Swrdwal a'i Fab Ieuan, ed. by J. C. Morrice, Bangor Welsh MSS, Soc., 1908.
I.C.: Iorwerth ab y Cyriawg, c. 1360.
I.D.: Ieuan Deulwyn (Carm.), fl. 1460–80; ref. to Gwaith Ieuan Deulwyn, ed. by Ifor Williams, Bangor Welsh MSS, Soc. 1909.
I.F.: Iorwerth Fynglwyd (Glam.), c. 1490.
I.G.: Iolo Goch (Denb.), fl. 1370–1405; ref. to Gweithiau Iolo Goch ... Gan Charles Ashton, Cymmradorion Soc., 1896.
I.H.S.: Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal, c. 1470; ref. as for H.S., q.v.
I.Laf.: Ieuan Llavar, c. 1590.
Io.G. = I.G.
I.R.: Ieuan ap Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd, c. 1420.
I.T.: Ieuan Tew o Gydweli, c. 1460 (often confused with the later, and lesser, Ieuan Tew who graduated at the Caerwys Eisteddfod of 1568).
L.G.C.: Lewis Glyn Cothi, fl. 1440–80; ref. to Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi ... Oxford 1837.
L.Môn: Lewis Môn, c. 1500.
L.Mor.: Lewis Morgannwg, c. 1520.
L.L.: Llawdden (Llandeilo, i.mss. 320), c. 1460.
L.G.: Llywelyn Goch Amheurig Hên, c. 1380.
M.: Meilyr (Anglesey), c. 1137.
M.B.: Madog Benfras, c. 1380.
M.D.: Madog Dwygraig, c. 1370.
M.K.: Maurice Kyffin; ref. to Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr 1595, reprint ed. by Wm. Prichard Williams, Bangor 1908.
M.L.: Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd, 1619–1659; ref. to Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd, i ed. by Thomas E. Ellis, Bangor 1899; ii ed. by John H. Davies, Bangor 1908.
M.R.: Maredudd ap Rhys, c. 1440.
O.G. : Owain Gwynedd, c. 1580.
R.C. : Rhys Cain, c. 1580.
R.D. : Richard Davies (Conway), Bp. of St. Davids, 1501–81; translator of some epistles in Wm.S.'s N.T. 1567.
R.G.D. : Robert ap Gwilym Ddu = Robert Williams, Betws Fawai, Llanystumdwy, 1767–1850; ref. to Gardd Eifion ... Dolgellau 1841.
R.G.G. : Rhys Goch Glyndyfrdwy, c. 1420 (?), see G.C.
R.V. : Rowland Vaughan, Caer Gai, Llanuwchllyn, d. 1667.
Salesbury, see Wm.S.
S.B. : Siôn Brwynog (o Frwynog ym Môn), d. 1562.
S.C. : Siôn Cent (Kentchurch), c. 1420.
S.Ph. : Siôn Phylip (Ardudwy, Mer.), 1543–1620.
S.T. : Siôn Tudur (Wigwer, St. Asaph), d. 1602.
S.V. : Simwnt Vychan (Ruthin), born c. 1530, d. 1606; author of P.H.L.
Wm.S. : Wylliam Salesbury (Llanrwst); translator of the bulk of N.T. 1567; joint tr. and ed. of Pb. 1567, 1586; etc.
Wms. : William Williams, Pant y Celyn (Carm.); hymn-writer, 1717–91; ref. to Gwaith Prydyddau ... William Williams ... sef yr Holl Hymnau ... Caerfyrddin, 1811, definitive edn. by his son.
VI. SOURCES

I. COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

The name of the collection is denoted by a sm. cap. initial without a stop; the number of the ms. follows, and generally the number of the page or folio, separated by an oblique stroke; thus p 99/469 means Peniarth ms. 99, page (or folio) 469. The mss., except those of the Brit. Mus., are numbered as in the Historical Manuscripts Commission’s Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language. R. after a reference indicates that the words quoted appear in the Report. As many of the quotations are taken from transcripts in some of which only the p. or fol. of the opening lines of a poem was given, the reference may be to the piece beginning on the p. or fol. named.

A = British Museum Additional Manuscripts.
C = Cardiff Free Library Manuscripts.
J = Manuscripts in the Jesus College Library, Oxford.
M = Llanstephan Manuscripts, now in the National Library of Wales.
M = Mostyn Manuscripts, at Mostyn Hall.
P = Peniarth Manuscripts, now in the National Library of Wales.
Stowe = British Museum Stowe Manuscripts.

II. MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXTS

O. W. materials are distinguished thus †. References are not usually given to the pages of ox., ox. 2, juv. and m.c., as Loth Voc. forms an index to these mss. The reference is to pages except where otherwise stated below.

†A.C.: Annales Cambriæ in Y Cymmrodor ix 152–169; reference to years. [Early 12th cent. literal transcript of late 10th cent. orig. by scribe ignorant of Welsh, see Phillimore’s preface.]
A.L.: Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales ... 2 vols. 1841.
B.A.: The Book of Aneirin = c 1, circa 1250. Facsimile and Text by J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Pwllheli 1908. [Parts are transcribed literally from older copies not understood by the scribe.]
B.A.: Baraddas... With trans. and notes by J. Williams ab Ithel. i Llandovery 1862; (ii London 1874). [Late Gwentian.]
ABBREVIATIONS


B.CH.: The Black Book of Chirk = P 29 = A.L. Ms. A., circa 1200. Quotations taken from the orig. Ms. (Quotations from A.L. are referred to the latter.)


B.R.: Y Brython. i Weekly; ii–iv Monthly; v Quarterly. Tremadoc 1858–63. [Contains old cywyddau etc.]

+B.S.CH.: The Book of St. Chad. 9th cent. entries in W., see Lindsay EWS. i–6; transcribed (with facsimiles) in L.L. pp. xliii–xlviii; ref. to nos. of entries ib.

B.T.: The Book of Taliessin = P 2, circa 1275; ref. to the edn. about to be published by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans.

c. i and c. ii: Ceinion Llenyddiaeth Gymreig ... Dan olygiad y Parch. Owen Jones. 2 vols. London 1876.

C.B.Y.P.: Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain ... Dan olygiad ... Iolo Morganwg. Abertawy (Swanseia) 1829.

C.C.: The Cefn Coch MSS. ... Ed. by the Rev. J. Fisher. Liverpool 1899. [Late 16th and 17th cent.; mostly poetry.]


C.Y.: Reproductions in Y Cymmrodor.

D.: Quoted in D., see under IV.

D.G.: By G.Gr. etc., printed in D.G.; see under V.

D.P.O.: Drych y Prif Oesoedd ... Gan Theophilus Evans ... ²Mwythig (Shrewsbury) [1740]. Reprint ed. by Samuel J. Evans ... Bangor 1902.

D.T.: Diddanwch Teuluaidd: neu Waith Beirdd Mon ... ²Caernarfon 1817.

E.: Egluryn Phraethineb ... Gan Mr. William Salesbury, a ... Mr. Henri Perri ... Llundain 1595; ³Llanrwst 1829. Ref. to chapters.

E.G.: Eos Gwymedd ... Gan ... John Thomas, Pentre'r Foelas. Dan olygiaeth G. Caledfryn. Llanrwst [1845].

E.P.: Quoted in E.P.; see under V.

F.: Flores Poetarum Britannicorum ... Ogasilad J[ohn] D[avies] SS. Th. D. ... Mwythig (Shrewsbury) 1710.

F.N.: Y Fflewgeredd Newydd. Casgliad o gyweiddau ... Wedi eu golygu gan W. J. Gruffydd. Cardiff 1909. [Early Mn. verse.]

G.: Gorhestation Beirdd Cymru ... O Gasgliad Rhys Jones ... Amwythig (Shrewsbury) 1773. [Early Mn. verse.]
† gen. Old-Welsh Genealogies in Y Cymmerorix 169-83; ref. to nos. of genealogies. [From the same ms. as A.C., q.v.]
G.R. Quoted in G.R., see under IV.
GRE. (or Greal): Y Greal; sev Cyynnuliad o Orchestion ein Hynavaid... Llundain 1805-7.
H.G.: Hen Gwndidau, Carolau, a Chwyddau...[Ed.] by Hopeyn... and Cadrawd... Bangor 1910. [Gwentian 16th-17th cent.]
H.M. ii: Selections from the Hengwrt MSS... in the Peniarth Library. Vol. ii. Ed. by... Robert Williams... transl. contd. by... G. Hartwell Jones... London 1892. [Vol. i is referred to as s.g.]
I.M.S.: Iolo Manuscripts... Coll. by... Edward Williams, Iolo Morganwg... Llandovery 1848. [Contains chwyddau etc. besides late Gwentian memoranda.]
† JUV.: Glosses in the Juvencus ms., Cambridge Univ. Libr. Published by Stokes in Kuhn's Beiträge iv 385-421. [9th to 11th cent., Lindsay EWS. 16.]
† JUV. SK.: The verses in the Juvencus ms., printed in Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales ii 1-2.
L.G.C.: Appearing in L.G.C., see under V.
L.A.: Llyfr yr Aner, dated 1346. The Elucidarium and Other Tracts in Welsh... Ed. by J. Morris Jones...and John Rhys... Oxford 1894.
L.B.M.: Llyfr Bychan Mawddwy, a 16th cent. ms. in the National Libr. of Wales.
L.H.: Y Llyfr Hir in the National Libr. of Wales. [ms. collection by W. Jones (Bleddyn), of Early Mn. chwyddau.]
L.M.: Lloches Mwyneidd-dra... Gan Absalom Roberts. Llanrwst 1845. [Contains coll. of old penillion telyn.]
M.A.: The Mwynyrian Archaeology of Wales... 3 vols. London 1801-7. [Corpus of Ml. poetry and prose. 2 Denbigh 1870.]
M.E.: Mil o Englynion = Pigion Englynion fy Ngwolad... Gan Effionydd. òd and ii, Liverpool 1882.
m.m. : Meddygon Myddfai. The Physicians of Myddfai... Transl. by John Pughe... F.R.C.S... and ed. by... John Williams Ab Ithel. Llandovery 1861. [Pp. 1–34 are from r.b. 928 ff.]


o.h. : Oriau'r Hwyr. Gan John Ceiriog Hughes. Wrexham [1872].

†ox.: Oxford Liber Commonei and Ovid, Bodleian Libr., Auct. F 4. 32. Date 817, Lindsay EWS. 7 (812, Dosp. Ed. 10).

Glosses in W. and notes in mixed Lat. and W., printed in ZE. 1052–60:

‡ox. 2: Cod. Oxoniensis Posterior. Glosses in Bodl. 572 printed in ZE. 1060–3 as W.; given as Corn. in Loth Voc. ix; shown to be W. by Loth, RC. xiv 70; 10th cent.

Pb.: Prayerbook.

p.g.g.: Pattrwm y Gwir-Gristion... Chester 1723. Reprint ed. by H. Elvet Lewis. Bangor 1908.


r.b.: The Red Book of Hergest=J 1, late 14th and early 15th cent.

Quotations taken direct from the ms.; ref. to columns.


R.P.: Red Book Poetry; quotations taken from corrected proofs of the edn. about to be published by Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Ref. to columns.

Ruthin Court Rolls: The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin... of the Reign of King Edward the First. Ed... by R. A. Roberts. Cymmrod. Record Series. London 1893. [Contains Welsh names in Norman-Fr. spelling.]

Seebohm Trib. Sys.: The Tribal System in Wales... by Frederic Seebohm... London 1895. [Contains reproductions of Norman documents with Welsh names.]

S.G.: Selections from the Henwrt MSS... Vol. i. Y Seint Greul... Ed... by... Robert Williams. London 1876 [=P II, end of 14th cent.]

ABBREVIATIONS

TR.: Tremvan ms.; cywyddau etc. in the hand of Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt 1592–1666; used by the editor of G.; now in the possession of Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans.

W.: 13th cent. ms. copied by Dr. Davies in 1617, since lost sight of, recently re-discovered; Davies's copy in Add 14869, the source of the poems of M., G., H.O.G., etc. in m.a. i. A reproduction, ed. by the present writer, will be issued in the Univ. of Wales Guild Series.


W.M.: The White Book Mabinogion ... Ed. by J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Pwllheli 1907. From the White Book of Rhydderch = p 4, late 13th cent. Ref. to columns. The volume also contains other early versions of the Mabinogion, incl. the fragments in p 6/i, ii, circa 1225; ref. in this case to pages distinguished by "p."


CORRECTIONS

P. 54, § 44 i, l. 9, read Kellynnawc (U = l)
P. 71, § 54 ii, l. 1, after b, d, g, insert f, dd,
P. 113, § 78 i (2), l. 7, delete ;—raccw § 210 x (3)
P. 131, iv, l. 8, insert * before ɣhur-
P. 153, l. 1, read diw/fyl
P. 166, iv (3), l. 6, for *ad-rim- read *ad-rim-
P. 194, l. 9, insert * before is-le.
P. 277, l. 7, delete * before wy

The metathesis was suggested by Mr. Ifor Williams; unfortunately I overlooked his note in his Cyfranc Lludd  a Lefflys (1910), p. 20, in which he adduces examples of wy m.a.² 145b and wy do. 227b, so that the form need not have been starred. The same explanation is given by Pedersen Gr. ii (1911), p. 158.
INTRODUCTION
ORIGIN AND GENERAL HISTORY

§ 1. i. The Welsh Language is a member of the Keltic branch of the Aryan (also called the Indo-European or Indo-Germanic) family of languages.

The languages of this great family are classified as follows, names of branches and groups being printed in spaced type:

1. Indian, comprising (a) Sanskrit; (b) Prākrit dialects, from which are descended numerous modern languages in India.

2. Iranian: (a) Avestic (East Iranian, also called Zend or Old Bactrian); (b) Old Persian (West Iranian), later Pehlevi; (c) Modern Persian.

3. Armenian.

4. Greek, which comprises many dialects, the most important being (a) Ionic-Attic; (b) Doric; (c) Aeolic: Lesbian, Thessalian, Boeotian; (d) Arcadian and Cyprian; (e) Pamphylian.

5. Albanian.

6. Italic: (a) Latin, from which are derived the modern Romance languages; (b) Oscan, Umbrian.

7. Keltic: (a) the Q division, consisting of dialects in Gaul and Spain, and the Goidelic group, comprising Irish, Scotch Gaelic and Manx; (b) the P division, consisting of Gaulish, and the British group, comprising Welsh, Cornish and Breton.

8. Germanic: (a) Gothic; (b) the Norse group, including 1. Swedish, Gutnish, Danish; 2. Norwegian, Icelandic; (c) the West-Germanic group, including 1. Old English (or Anglo-Saxon), now English; Frisian; Old Saxon, now Low German; Dutch, Flemish; 2. Old High German, now German.

9. Baltic-Slavonic: (a) the Baltic group: Old Prussian, Lithuanian, Lettish; (b) the Slavonic group: Old Bulgarian; Russian, Bulgarian, Illyrian; Czech, Sorabian, Polish, Polabian.

10. Tocharish, recently discovered in East Turkestan.
INTRODUCTION § 1

ii. All these languages are descended from a common ancestor called the Aryan parent language, Primitive Aryan, or briefly Aryan. Similarly, the languages of each branch may be referred to a common parent called Primitive Keltic, Primitive Italic, Primitive Germanic, etc., as the case may be. Some of the above branches are perhaps to be regarded rather as groups; Indian and Iranian are often classified together as the Indo-Iranian branch; and the common features of Keltic and Italic are such as to render it certain that the two branches were united and shared the same development for a period after their separation from the others; hence we may classify them together as Italo-Keltic; see § 86 ii (2), § 113 i (3), § 147 iv (2), § 203 vii (3).

iii. Our earliest knowledge of the various languages varies widely in point of date, and naturally those of which we possess the most ancient records on the whole bring us nearest the fountain head. But the Baltic group, of which our knowledge is only recent, are of a remarkably archaic character; Lithuanian, whose earliest text is dated 1547, and which has changed comparatively little since, preserves to this day some forms which are practically identical with those which we have to postulate for Primitive Aryan itself.

From the cradle of Aryan speech various tribes migrated at different periods in different directions, establishing themselves in distant lands, in which their speech prevailed, though the aborigines cannot have been exterminated, since the speakers of Aryan languages in historical times belong to many races, and it is still matter of dispute which of these has the best claim to be regarded as representing the original Aryans. The dispersion commenced not earlier than about 2000 B.C. according to Hirt, Die Indogermanen 22. The centre of dispersion is now generally believed to have been somewhere in Europe.

A parent language is not necessarily isolated; analogy rather suggests the contrary. As Latin, which is the parent of the Romance languages, is derived from Aryan and allied to the other Aryan languages, so Aryan itself must be derived from some remote ancestor, and it is improbable that it is the only descendant of it which survived. Sweet, by a comparison of the pronominal and verbal forms of Aryan and Ugrian, has made out a strong case for supposing that the two families are allied; see his History of Language pp. 112 ff. On the other side Möller, in his Semitisch und Indogermanisch i (1907), has compared the consonant sounds of Aryan in detail with those of Semitic, and in KZ. xlii 174 ff. the vowels; and claims to have proved their derivation from a common source. But none of these affinities can yet be regarded as established.
§ 2. In the oldest forms of Goidelic found in the ogam inscriptions, Primitive Keltic q* from Aryan q* remains; but in the oldest British it had already become p, and it is p in Gaulish. Traces of a Keltic q* language in Gaul are seen in names like Sequani; and in some recently discovered inscriptions further evidence of the survival of such a language is believed to have been found. As the change of q* to p is the earliest sound-change known which is not common to the whole branch, it seems reasonable to classify the Keltic languages as above § 1 i (7).

The more usual classification adopted in recent years is that in which the Keltic languages are grouped into "insular" and "continental". But this is a negation of all classification; it is as if we were to group together English and Icelandic as insular Germanic! Thurneysen now calls it a "geographic" classification (Gr. i), which is equivalent to saying that it is no classification at all. It arose out of the view put forward in Rhys's LWPh.² (1879) pp. 16 ff. that the language of the ogam inscriptions in Wales is an old form of Welsh. Thurneysen, KR. (1884) pp. 7 ff., adopts this view; dismisses Rhys's later view, CB. (1884) p. 215, that the ogams are Irish; and concludes that, as the ogams have q*, the change q* > p in British is much later than the same change in Gaulish. Of course, if the ogams are Welsh, there was no difference in the 5th cent. between Welsh and Irish, and both differed from Gaulish, which alone had p. Hence the classification into insular and continental. But the assumption on which it is based is groundless; no one now holds that the ogams are Welsh.

If it is denied that a systematic classification of the groups is possible, it would be better to take them separately than to adopt a classification which implies a close relationship between Goidelic and British. But there seems no sufficient reason for separating British from Gaulish. It is now admitted that Brit. p from q* is ancient; and it is extremely improbable that this p developed independently of Gaulish p. Tacitus, Agricola xi, tells us that the speech of the Britons differed little from that of the Gauls. The Gaulish forms Ὠνω-οὖνδος, Vindomag(os), ambaet(os), Voretovir(os) are identical with the British forms which we have to postulate as the originals of the Welsh penwyn 'white-headed', gwynfa 'paradise', amelth 'serf', gwaredwr 'saviour'. It is for those who would separate British and Gaulish to prove that Tacitus was wrong.

For the continental q* dialect or group of dialects various names have been suggested, as Sequanian (Nicholson), Pictavian, Celtican (Rhys), Ligurian (Jullian). The language of the Coligny calendar contains both qu and p; but whether the latter is secondary, or borrowed from Gaulish, or represents Aryan p, cannot yet be decided, since independent evidence as to meaning is lacking. The presence of Ar. p, if proved, would constitute these dialects a class apart.
§ 3. i. Welsh, Cornish and Breton are descended from British (properly Britsh), the language of the ancient Britons. The speakers called themselves Brittones, and their language *Brittonikā.

The Old English name was Brittisc or Bryttisc, as On Bryttisc sprecende Guthlac, Godw. 42, 17 (cf. Rhys, CF. 676), which in later spelling was Brittish, misspelt British a under the influence of the Lat. Britannia. The name continued to be used for the derived languages: “The Gaulish speech is the very Brittish, the which was very generally used here in all Brittayne before the coming in of the Saxons; and yet is retayned of the Walshmen, the Cornishmen, and the Brittons,” Spenser, State of Ireland (Lloyd’s Enc. Dict.). It was commonly used for Welsh as late as the 18th and beginning of the 19th cent.: “In these Schools . . . Men, Women and Children being ignorant of the English Tongue, are taught to read their native British language,” Welsh Piety 1754 p. 53, 1755 p. 47 etc. Cf. dedication of Grawn Awen (Caledfryn) 1826.

ii. The Welsh call themselves Cymry, from *kom-brogi ‘fellow countrymen’; but the use of this as a national name is subsequent to the separation of the Welsh from the Cornish and the Bretons. The old name, which survived in poetry, was Brython b.t. 13 from Brittones; the corresponding name of the language Brythoneg was superseded by Cymraeg, but some memory of it survived (D.D. gives Brythoneg, but with no quotation). The Bretons call their language Brezonek, and Cornish was called Brethonec; all these forms imply an original *Brittonikā. Sir John Rhys in his LWPh.² i6 adopted the names Brythons and Brythonic for the Brittones and their language, remarking, however, that he would “like to have called them Brittons and their language Brittonic”. I prefer to call the language by its traditional English name British, which in this connexion involves no ambiguity. The term Brythonic suggests a later period, and tends to disguise the fact that the language meant is the speech of the ancient Britons.

iii. The name Britō, sg. of Brittones, probably owes its tt to its being a formation of the type of Gk. Nukottā etc., see § 93 iii (2), for an earlier Britann(os), pl. Britannā. Similarly we have a late Britrrā for Britannia. *Brittā survives in Bret. Breiz ‘Brittany’, and *Britannā in Ml. W. Brydein used as a variant of the more usual Prydein as in b.b. 100, milvir Pridein l. 5, milguir Bridgein l. 7. Britan- seems to be for Pritan- by British alternation p: b § 101 iii (2); cf. PRIT(AN)NII Holder i 564, PRITNNI do. ii 1046. Pritto also occurs as a personal name beside Britto, and Prittius beside Brittius (see Holder s. vv.). The view now generally held that the members of these pairs are unrelated rests on no other basis than the assumption that British p- could under no circumstances pass into b-. The fact,

a It is of course still pronounced Britsh, rhyming with skittish, not with whitish.
however, is that *Pritan- and *Britan- are synonymous. The *P- goes back through Diodorus Siculus probably to Pytheas (4th cent. B.C.). Polybius (2nd cent. B.C.) seems to have used *Bret(ò)anikai \( \nu \rho \sigma o i \); but Strabo and Diodorus have *Pret(ò)anikai \( \nu \rho \sigma o i \) and *Pret(ò)anoi; later Ptolemy and Marcian used \( \Pi \). Stephanus of Byzantium (c. A.D. 500) wrote *Brettanívôs \( \nu \rho \sigma o i \) and *Brettanôi, remarking that Dionysius (Pereigetes; Augustan age) wrote "one t . . . Brettvôi" [read *Brettanôi], and that others used "\( \rho \), *Pretanívôs \( \nu \rho \sigma o i \), as Marcian and Ptolemy"; elsewhere Stephanus himself wrote *Pretanikî and *Pretanoi Holder i 560. The \( \epsilon \) in *Pret- = Brit. \( \iota \), see § 66 i. *Pritan- is an n-stem representing original (*q\( \beta \)t, n- or) *q\( \beta \)brit, n-; for the mn see § 62 i (2).

The surviving forms show that the old *P- forms had one \( t \); thus W. Prydain 'Britain', Mil. W. Prydein, implies *Pritan(\( \eta \))a and Ir. Cruithneck 'Pictish' implies a Pictish *Pritenikos; hence the \( \tau \tau \)- in *Pretanikai is probably a misspelling of copyists, due to the Britt-forms which prevailed later. The forms with -on- had -tt-; thus W. Brython < Britones, Bret. Bresonek < *Brittenika, and Mil. Ir. Britain 'Britons' represents Brittones regularly. As the new form Brittones spread, Britannia became Brittannia which survives in Fr. Bretagne; later we find Britanna *Brettanikî etc. which were substituted for older forms in mss. There is no possible doubt that the oldest B-form is Britann-: Catullus (died 54 B.C.), Propertius, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, all scan Britann- The evidence of the dated coins and inscriptions in Holder is as follows (the numbers in brackets refer to Holder i): coins of Claudius A.D. 41, 46 have Britannis, Britanni., Britann. (564, 36, 37); inscriptions: A.D. 41 Britannia (589, 52); time of Claudius Britannia (590, 27); A.D. 43 Britanni(um) (598, 24); A.D. 49 Britan(nicis) (599, 34). In A.D. 49 or 50, at least a century after the first evidence of Britann-, -tt- appears first in two inscriptions in the name of Claudius's son Britannicus: Britta[nico] (602, 18), Britannici (602, 22); in eight other cases it is Britannicus or Britannikos (602). The early appearance of tt in this name may mean that Britò was in use as an abbreviated personal name earlier than as meaning 'Briton'. In the national name the single t continued in use: A.D. 54 Britan(nicum) (600, 22); A.D. 65 Britannico (599, 5); A.D. 80 Britannica (598, 37). In A.D. 85 Brittones first appears in the gen. pl. Brittonum side by side with Britannica (607, 41–2). In A.D. 90 first occurs Britanniae (588, 7); in A.D. 98 and 103 Britannia again (590, 25; 588, 9); in A.D. 99 Brittonum (607, 43); in A.D. 105 Britannia (588, 10), in A.D. 110 Britanniae (590, 5) and Britannica (598, 40). In the 2nd cent. Britann- and Britann- are both common. Britannia first occurs on a coin in A.D. 185 (590, 50) and Britanniae in A.D. 210 (599, 51).

The W. Pryden 'Picts' § 121 iii from *Pritenes, Prydyn b.t. 13 'Pietland' from *Pritenî, and the Ir. Cruithen Cruithnech seem to have the F-grade -en- of the stem-ending, probably a Pictish form. The Picts were Britons, as shown by the fact that \( p < q^{*} \) abounds in Pictish names. They kept in their own name the P- which also survives in
W. Prydain 'Britain', and so came to be distinguished from the Southern Britons, who called themselves Brittones. Picti, which is not known to occur before A.D. 297, seems to be a Latin translation of *Pritenes explained as meaning 'figured' (W. pryd 'form', Ir. cruth), just as W. Brithwyr 'Picts' is a translation of Picti. This explanation of *Pritenes is probably only a piece of popular etymology; but even if it had some old tradition behind it, the name is equally applicable to the other Britons, for they all painted or tattooed themselves, Caesar b.g. v 14, Herodian iii 14, 7. Indeed the objection to accepting it as the true explanation is that at the time when it was first applied it could not be distinctive.

The etymology of a proper name is always uncertain, except when, like Albion, it hardly admits of more than one meaning, and that meaning fits. Britain like Albion must have been a name given to the island by its Keltic invaders, and Albion suggests the feature most likely to impress them. There is an Italo-Keltic root of some such form as *q*reī—*q*reī, which means 'chalk' or 'white earth', giving Lat. crēta, and W. pridd 'loam', Irish crē; the attempt to derive the Welsh and Irish words from the Latin is a failure—the root must be Keltic as well as Italic; and it may have yielded the name Britannia meaning 'the island of the white cliffs'.

§ 4. i. Gaulish and British are known to us through names on coins, and words and names quoted by Greek and Latin authors. No inscriptions occur in British, but British names are found in Latin inscriptions. A number of inscriptions in Gaulish have been preserved. Goidelic is known from the ogam inscriptions, of which the oldest date from the 5th century.

ii. The scanty materials which we possess for the study of Gaulish and British are sufficient to show that these languages preserved the Aryan case-endings, and were at least as highly inflected as, say, Latin. The great change which transformed British and converted it into Welsh and its sister dialects was the loss of the endings of stems and words, by which, for example, the four syllables of the British Maglo-cūnos were reduced to the two of the Welsh Mael-gwn. By this reduction distinctions of case were lost, and stem-forming suffixes became a new class of inflexional endings; see § 113, § 119 i.

§ 5. The history of Welsh may be divided into periods as follows:

(1) Early Welsh, from the time when British had definitely become Welsh to the end of the 8th century. Of the forms of this
§ 5

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period we have only echoes, such as the names found in Bede, § 113 i (4).

(2) Old Welsh (O. W.), from the beginning of the 9th to the end of the 11th century. The remains of this period are a number of glosses, and some fragments of prose and anonymous verse. But O. W. forms are preserved in later copies in the genealogies, the Book of Llandaf, the Laws, the Book of Aneirin, etc.

(3) Medieval Welsh (Ml. W.), from the beginning of the 12th to the end of the 14th century and somewhat later. The orthography varied much during this period, and was at first in an unsettled state. It will be convenient to refer to the language of the 12th and early 13th century as Early Ml. W., and to that of the 14th and early 15th as Late Ml. W.

(4) Modern Welsh (Mn. W.), from Dafydd ap Gwilym to the present day. Though D. ap Gwilym wrote before the end of the 14th century, he inaugurated a new period in the history of the language, and is in fact the first of the moderns. The bards of the 15th and 16th centuries wrote the bulk of their poetry in the cywydd metre popularized by Dafydd; and the forms used by him, with some alterations of spelling (ai, au for ei, eu § 79), were preserved unchanged, having been stereotyped by the cynghanedd. The language of this body of poetry may be called Early Mn. W.

At the introduction of printing, Wm. Salesbury attempted in his works, including the New Test. (1567), to form a new literary dialect, in which the orthography should indicate the etymology rather than the sound. His practice was to write Latin loan-words as if no change had taken place in them except the loss of the ending, thus eccles for eglwys ‘church’, descend for disgyn ‘to descend’; any native word with a superficial resemblance to a Latin synonym was similarly treated, thus i ‘his, her’ was written ei because the Latin is eius (perhaps eu ‘their’ suggested this). But Dr. Morgan in his Bible (1588) adopted the standard literary language as it continued to be written by the bards, though he retained some of Salesbury’s innovations (e.g. ei for i ‘his’). Some dialectal forms used by Morgan (e.g. gwele for gwelai ‘saw’ § 6 iii) were replaced by the literary forms in the revised Bible (1620), which became the standard of later writers. Thus
Late Mn. W., which begins with the Bible, though influenced to some extent by Salesbury, is based upon Early Mn. W., and forms a continuation of it. In the 19th century several neologisms were introduced, chiefly under the influence of Pughe; the language of this period will be referred to, when necessary, as Recent Welsh.

§ 6. i. The spoken language has four main dialects, as follows:

(1) Venedotian, the dialect of Gwynedd or North West Wales. (Gwyn. dial.)
(2) Powysian, the dialect of Powys, or North East and Mid Wales. (Powys dial.)
(3) Demetian, the dialect of Dyfed or South West Wales.
(4) Gwentian, the dialect of Gwent and Morgannwg, or South East Wales.

N. W. is used as an abbreviation for ‘North Wales’ or ‘North Walian’, S. W. for ‘South Wales’ or ‘South Walian’.

ii. The two N. W. dialects differ from the two S. W. chiefly in the choice of words to express some common ideas, the most noticeable difference being the use of o, fo in N. W., and e, fe in S. W., for the pronoun ‘he’ or ‘him’.

iii. In the final unaccented syllable the diphthongs ai and au are mostly levelled with e in the dialects. In Powys and Dyfed, that is, in an unbroken belt from North East to South West, the three are sounded e; thus cader, pethe, bore for cadair ‘chair’, pethau ‘things’, bore ‘morning’. In Gwynedd and Gwent they are sounded a, as cadar (Gwent câ’teir), petha, bora. When ai is significant (e.g. as denoting the plural) it is ai in Gwynedd, i in Gwent, sometimes i in Powys, as Gwynedd defaid ‘sheep’, llygaid (when not llygada) ‘eyes’; Gwent defid, llycoid; Powys defed, llygid; Dyfed defed, llyged.

Dialectal forms, chiefly Demetian and Powysian -e, begin to appear in the mss. of the 15th century; but the rhymes of the bards of the 15th and 16th centuries, with the exception of some poetasters, always imply the literary form, which is still used in the written language except in a few words. See § 31 ii.
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THE ALPHABET.

§ 7. i. Welsh, in all its periods, has been written in the Latin alphabet.

The ogam inscriptions are Irish. The letters of the ogam alphabet consist of scores and notches on the edge of the stone; one to five scores, cut at right angles to the edge on either side, or obliquely across it, form 15 consonants; one to five notches on the edge form 5 vowels.

The "alphabet of Nemnivus", contained in ox., dated 812, and reproduced by Ab Ithel in Dosp. Ed. 10, 11, is stated in the ms. to have been formed by Nemnivus "ex machinatione mentis suae" in answer to a Saxon's taunt that the Britons had no letters. Most of the signs are forms of Latin characters made to imitate runes; two (≠ n and \(\Lambda\) u) are runes, while others seem to be arbitrary inventions. There is no evidence of the use of this alphabet. The "winged alphabet" given by Ab Ithel ibid. 12 consists of two classifications of Scandinavian tree-runes, the top line representing the two schemes of classification. The reason given for supposing the scribe to be a Welshman is too ridiculous to need refutation.

Among the "traditions" invented by the Glamorgan bards in support of their claim to be the successors of the druids was the "wooden book"; though all the accounts of it are in Iolo Morgannwg's handwriting, contemporary evidence of its existence in the early 17th cent. is afforded by Rhys Cain's satirical englyn (Ab Iolo, Coel. y B. 50); but it cannot be traced further back. The 'bardic alphabet' called coelbren y beirdd was a conventional simplification of ordinary characters adapted for cutting on wood; its letters are derived from the handwriting of the period, as \(\lambda\) d, \(\cup\) s, \(\ddot{d}\) \(\nu\) (≈ e), \(\kappa\) h, \(\kappa\) n, \(\Gamma\) r, except where it was easier to adapt the Latin capitals, as \(\Lambda\) A, \(\Theta\) G. With one or two exceptions, such as \(\Upsilon\) L, the "derived characters" denoting consonant mutations, so far from proving the coelbren's antiquity, are its very latest development, Pughe acknowledging himself to be the author of five of them (L.E.C. 260 footnote). Iolo's memoranda (Coel. y B. 27) refer to an old form given by Gwilym Tew in his grammar; but this work is preserved in G.T.'s own hand in p 51, which does not mention the coelbren. The famous transcriber of mss. John Jones
of Gelli Lyfdy compiled two collections of the alphabets known to him, \( p \ 307, \ \text{ll} \ 144 \), but neither contains anything like the coelbren. No ms. is written in it, for the simple reason that it was easier to write ordinary characters than the coelbren caricature of them. The writing in \( p \ 54 \) pp. 359 ff., stated in the r. to be in \textit{"bardic"} characters, which are widely different from Roman characters, bears no resemblance to the coelbren, and is no more "widely different from Roman characters" than the coelbren itself is; it is the hand of an illiterate person; the letters are written separately, but all are clumsy copies of the script characters of the period, mostly formed with awkward curves, the antithesis of the coelbren angles. There is a somewhat similar scribble written upside down on the bottom margin of \( \text{b.ch.} = p \ 29, \ p. \ 19. \) — The wooden book consisted of squared inscribed sticks in a frame; it was called \textit{peithynen} from its resemblance to a weaver's reed, and not the reverse, as Iolo asserted, for \textit{peithyn(en)} comes regularly from Lat. acc. \textit{pectin-em} 'comb, weaver's reed'. The absurdity of the supposition that such a device ever served any serious purpose of literature is manifest when one considers what a cartload of wooden books would be required to carry the contents of a small manuscript volume.

ii. The earliest Welsh alphabet given as such is that found in the r.g. col. 1117: \( a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, v, x, y, w, \ulcorner \). It contains \( q \), which is not used in Welsh, and omits all the digraphs except \( \ulcorner \); they could not be included in the traditional number, 24.

Sir J. Price's alphabet in \textit{x.l.n.} (1546) is as follows: \( a, b, c, d, d', e, f', f, g, h, i, k, l, \ulcorner, \ m, n, o, p, \ulcorner, r, \ulcorner, \ s, t, v = u, v, y, w, \). The digraphs except \( \ulcorner \), which is not used in Welsh, and the digraphs except \( \ulcorner \); they could not be included in the traditional number, 24.

W. Salesbury gives the following alphabet in his Playne and Familiar Introductiö, 1567 (written in 1550): \( A, b, c, \check c, \check d, d d, e, f, f', g, h, i, k, l, \ulcorner, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, t h, v, u, v, y, \). He distinguishes between \( u \) and \( v \), using the latter for Eng. \( v \), Welsh \( f \).

G.R., (1567), who uses \( \check d, \check l, \check y \) for \( dd, \ulcorner, w \), gives the following alphabet: \( a, b, c, c h, d, d, e, f, g, i, h, l, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, t h, u, v, y, \), omitting \( ng \) and \( ph \) (both of which he uses, the latter to the exclusion of \( ff' \)), to make the number 24.

S.V., (1568), gives the following alphabet of 24 letters: \( a, b, d, d d, e, f, f', g, i, k, l, \ulcorner, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, v, w, y, ch, th, \), adding that \( h \) is the sign of a breathing, J. 9/3.

J.D.R., (1592), used \( h \) to form all his digraphs, thus \( bh = f, dh = dd, gh = ng \). His alphabet is as follows: \( a, b, bh, c, ch, d, d h, e, g, gh, \check g h, h, i, \check l, l, m, \check m h, n, n h, o, p, ph, rh, r, s, t, t h, u, v, y, y. \) It contains a character for each simple sound in the language, including the two sounds of \( y \); but it was too cumbersome to win general adoption.

The alphabet of the present day is first met with in D. (1621), with the single difference that D. has two forms of the letter \( y \); thus, \( a, b, c, ch, d, d d, e, f, f, g, ng, h, i, l, l, l, m, n, o, p, ph, r, s, t, t h, u, w, y, y. \) It omits \( m h, n h, n g h, r h \). The names now given to the letters are, in the above order, in Welsh spelling (all vowels not marked long to be
read short): ä, ë, ec, eeh, di, edd, ë, ef, ef', eg, æets, i, el, ell, em, en, ë, ye, yff or ff'i', er, es, ë, eth, û, û, ý. The names ha, he, hi given to the letter h by some writers on Welsh grammar and orthography are figments. The name is æets, borrowed from Eng. or Fr. (Eng. aitch, Fr. ache, Span. atche):

H. arall it sy—Harri
Wyth yw'r dy na th eura di.—T.A., c. i 340.

'Thou hast another H.—Henry the Eighth is the man who will ennable thee.'—The first line is to be read Æets arall it sy Harri, as shown by the cynghanedd: t s r—t s r.

Lhuyd, (1707), used x for ch, λ for ll, and ð for dd. The last has survived in the form δ in ordinary handwriting, but manuscript δ is printed dd.

§ 8. The orthography of Mn. W. is almost purely phonetic: each letter of the alphabet has one standard sound, except y which has two. It will therefore be convenient to give the values of the letters in the modern alphabet, and then, using the modern characters to represent the sounds of the language, to show in detail how each sound was written in earlier periods, noting any changes which have taken place in the sounds themselves.

THE VOWELS.

§ 9. The letters a, e, i, o, u, w, y represent vowel sounds. The following diagram shows the approximate relative positions of the vowels at the present day. y and y denote the two sounds of y. Vowels pronounced with rounded lips are enclosed in brackets. The more open the sound the less the rounding.

The vowel sounds i, e, a, o, w, except in certain diphthongal combinations, have probably undergone no material change from

* G.R., Rowland, Silvan Evans, Tegai. Rowland's haitch is a S.W. vulgarism.
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the O. W. period to the present day; the sounds a, e, o, have always been represented by the characters a, e, o, and the sound i always by i, with some exceptions in Early Ml. W., § 16 ii (2).

§ 10. The sound of a is that of the English a in father. It occurs long as in tā’d ‘father’, medium as in tā’dol ‘fatherly’, and short as in mam ‘mother’.

The sound does not occur short in English, the a of Eng. man being a more forward sound, which may be denoted by æ. This sound æ is heard in Welsh in a narrow strip stretching from the English border to Harlech, and in Glamorganshire.

§ 11. The sound of e, when long or medium, is the middle e, as in the Eng. men, let; thus gwēnu ‘smile’, gwēnu ‘to smile’; when short it is generally more open, tending towards the Eng. e in there; thus gwēn ‘white’. For its sound in diphthongs, see §§ 29, 79.

§ 12. The sound of i is the close i of the French fini, si, or the North Eng. i in king, machine. The Southern Eng. i is more open. It occurs long as in gwēn ‘wine’, medium as in gwēnuod ‘wines’, short as in prin ‘scarcely’.

§ 13. The sound of o, when long or medium, is the middle o, midway between the close o in Eng. note and the open o in not; thus tōn ‘tune’, tōnu ‘tunes’; when short it is more open, tending towards the o of not, as tonn ‘wave’, tōnu ‘waves’.

§ 14. i. The sound of w is that of the French ou in sou, or the North Eng. oo in food, book. The Southern Eng. sound is more open. It occurs long as in gwōr ‘man’, medium as in gwōrol ‘manly’, short as in trwm ‘heavy’.

ii. (1) The sound w was written u in O.W., and thus could not be distinguished (except by the context) from the sound u, § 15 i, which was also written u (though sometimes i, § 15 ii).

(2) In Early Ml. W., the sound w, both vocalic and consonantal was written u (or v) and w, and as the former also represents the sound u, and both represent the sound f; the spelling is often ambiguous. In Late Ml. W. the uncertainty is partly removed by the restriction of w and the use of ū (a peculiar shape

* Here and in the following sections up to § 26, a letter printed in heavy type represents the written letter; a letter printed in italics represents the sound.
§ 15  

THE VOWELS

of v) to represent the w sounds. The characters w and ŵ represent both w and ṣ almost indifferently. Theoretically perhaps w stood for ṣ, and the r.b. scribe wishing to distinguish between gwyr 'men' and gôyr 'knows' writes them gwyr, gôyr respectively, R.G. I.118; there seems to be a slight predominance of the ṣ value for w, but no systematic distinction is made between the sounds, whole pages frequently occurring, e.g., in w.m., where ŵ is used exclusively for both.

§§ In this work Late Ml. W. ŵ is transcribed w, as nothing is gained by reproducing a distinction which would often be misleading if taken to have a phonetic significance.

(3) In Mn. W. the sound is represented by w.

G.R. uses ū; and J.D.R. a peculiar character based on ă, a late script form of ŵ; § 7 ii.

§ 15. i. (1) In Late Mn. W. the sound of u, long, medium, and short, is the same as the clear sound of y, § 16 i; thus the words hĩn 'sleep' and hŷn 'older' have now absolutely the same sound. But in O. and Ml. W. u had the sound of the French û, that is, an i pronounced with rounded lips. In accented syllables it retained this sound down to the end of the 16th cent., as is shown by the fact that J.D.R. (pp. 33, 34) describes both u and y, and distinguishes between them with a phonetic truth which could only be derived from actual acquaintance with both as living sounds.

(2) In the final unaccented syllable the original u sound became ỹ as early as the 14th cent.; see ZICP. iv 118. Hence we find ù and y confused from the 14th century on. Kymry 'the Welsh, Wales' often appeared as Cymru; see y Cymru 'the Welsh', G.R. p. [v]; M.L. (3 Ader.—Title). Later, the misspelling Cymru came to be used for 'Wales', the true form Cymro being retained as the pl. of Cymru. In the 3rd pl. of prepositions, arnuñt 'on them', etc., in dywedud 'to say', anoddun 'deep', credadum 'believer', arojyn 'intend', mwnud 'minute', y is in Late Mn. W. wrongly written for u; for testun 'text', ysgrydlur 'scripture', see § 82 iii (3). The converse error was frequent in the 16th cent., Dr. M. writing fellu, i fynu, gotorthyrmudu, etc.

The view that the distinction survived in monosyllables down to a late date is corroborated by the fact that out of about 140 monos. in use containing either u or ỹ only one, crud 'cradle' (crut L.A. 72, R.P. 1418), is now commonly misspelt; and even this misspelling is due to Pughe's bringing the word under the same head as cryd
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§ 16  'quaking, fever' obviously on a false etymological theory. D.D. and Richards have crud 'cradle', cryd 'fever'.

ii. The O. and Ml. W. sound above described was written u. It was therefore not distinguished in writing in the O. and Early Ml. period from the sound w which was also written u. We may call O. W. u the front u, or ü, when it corresponds to Mn. W. u, and the back u when it represents Mn. W. w. It is certain that the two sounds were as distinct then as they were later, for in O.W. we find the ü sound written i, as in scipaur juv. 'barn', Mn. W. ysgubor. Still earlier evidence of ü is furnished by Bede's spelling Dinoot of a name which was later Dunawd.

§ 16. i. y has two sounds, the clear and the obscure.

The clear sound of y is a peculiar i-sound very difficult to acquire. It is a dull i produced further back than ordinary i. The sound is very similar to French u in its effect upon the ear, and has the same absolute pitch; but it is produced quite differently. The French u is an i pronounced with rounded lips, but the Welsh y is an i pronounced further back, but with open lips; see the diagram, § 9. Ml. W. had both sounds, written u and y respectively; but gradually the rounded sound, which was written u, was replaced by the unrounded sound, though still continuing to be written u, the result being that Welsh has now the unrounded sound only, written u and y.

The sound y is long as in dýn 'man' or short as in bryn 'hill'. It cannot be medium except when written as u, as in áno 'to unite', and in the word gyda for gyd a, § 82 ii (2).

In S. W. dialects both u and y are sounded as i or nearly so.

The obscure sound of y is the sound of the Eng. o in ivory. It is medium or short in the penult, or short in an unaccented syllable. It is long in the penult before a vowel or h as cy-oedd, cy-hoedd, and in the name of the letter y.

In this grammar the character y is used as in ordinary written Welsh to represent both the clear and the obscure sound; but when it is required to distinguish between them, the character ñ is used to denote the clear, and y to denote the obscure sound.

—Note that y is the clear y in the diphthong ñy, and when circumflexed, ſ.
A special character for the sound \( y \) was used by some 16th century scribes, and is regularly employed by J.D.R. and Dr. Davies in their grammars. A distinctive character is also needed for the clear sound; and \( i \) is convenient because it suggests \( u \) which has now the same sound.

Note.—The idea that \( y \) has borrowed its clear sound from \( u \), which, as we have seen, is the exact reverse of the truth, has led some writers to call \( y \) the primary, and \( u \) the secondary sound of \( y \). The former is of course secondary, being the obscured form of \( y \) and other sounds.

\[ \text{§ 16} \]

\[ \text{THE VOWELS} \]

ii. (1) In O. W. the sounds of \( y \) are denoted by \( i \), and are therefore not distinguished in writing from the sound \( i \). That \( y \) and \( i \) were then distinct requires no further proof than that they are different in origin, and if the difference had been lost it could not have been recovered.

(2) In Early Ml. W. mss., as in the B.B., \( y \) and \( i \) are used indifferently to express the \( i \) sound and the sounds of \( y \). In b.ch. (= a.l. ms. a.) \( y \) is used in some parts almost to the exclusion of \( i \), as breyn, tyr for breyn 'king', tir 'land'; yx p. 9 for ix 'nine' (printed nau in a.l. i 18 !) shows that the scribe treated \( y \) and \( i \) as identical. In some early mss. the sounds of \( y \) were represented by \( e \); see the passage in ancient orthography in a.l. ii 36-8, where \( ylle, ydyn \) appear as elle, eden 'the place', 'the man'.

(3) In Late Ml. mss., as in Mn. W., the sounds \( y, y \) are written \( y \), and are not confused with \( i \) which is written \( i \) (except that \( y \) also represents \( i \), § 25 iii).

In a few monosyllables of frequent occurrence, \( y \) by constant repetition advanced to the easier front position of \( i \) towards the end of the Ml. period. These are \( y 'to', y 'his' or 'her', ny, nyt 'not'. The latter often appears as ni, nit in w.m., see 46, 48, showing the thinning of the vowel to be so early. That the sound was once \( y \) is shown by the fact that \( nyd \), written \( nydd \) (dd = double d, not \( \delta \)) by J.D.R. in 1592, may still be heard in Anglesey.

\[ \text{§ 25} \]

\[ \text{In this grammar the Ml. W. \( y 'to' \) and \( y 'his' or 'her' \) are dotted thus, \( y \), to distinguish them from the article \( y \equiv y \). As the \( y \) was probably sounded \( i \) some time before it came to be so written, it may be read \( i \). [There can be no confusion with \( j \equiv j \), which never stands by itself, § 25 iii.] \]

iii. Though not indicated in writing, the difference between \( y \) and
y goes back to the O. W. period. That O. W. i represented not only
the clear y but also the obscure y is shown by such forms as cimadas
(= cyffaddas) m.c. Here cyf- comes from *kom-; the y results from
the indistinct pronunciation of o, § 65 iv (2), and was never sounded
y; hence the written i must have meant y. See also § 40 iii (2). In Mn.
no distinction is made between y and y. But in some parts of B.CH., e stands for y, and y for y
regularly; thus Ylet yu ety mwyaf ene tref akemeruedaf ac y kyd ac
ef erey awenno or teylu, A.L. i 12 = y lety qw y tq mwyaf yuy dref
a chymherfedaf, ag y gyd ag ef y rei a vynno o'r teylu, 'His
lodging is the largest and most central house in the town, and with him such as
he may please of the household.' The scribe's observance of the rule
is remarkable; and though there are many slips due to mechanical
copying, his spelling in some cases helps to decide the sound in obsolete
forms.

iv. (1) In Early Mn. W. y and y were probably nearer e than at
present. If we assume the line a—y more inclined towards the line
a—i in the diagram p. 11 above, it will be seen at a glance not only
why both were written e at that time, but why the B.CH. scribe uses y
to represent both i and y, and e to represent both e and y.

(2) The sounds y and y in these forward positions were less stable,
being not merely felt to be near enough to e to be represented by e
in writing, but also liable to be confused with e in speech. Some
examples of this confusion survived, and are met with in the later
language: (a) Interchange of y and e: Myrddin, Merddin D.G. 471;
tymestl, temestl G. 153; ystyn F. 24, estyn; cybyddiaeth, a chebyddyaeth
L.A. 144; y bellynic L.A. 126, 146, pellennig; ketymdeith, cydymaith;
ynnill, ennill; cynfigen, cenhfigen; Tâl-y-bolion M.A. i 315a, explained
as tâl ebuljon W.M. 45; Pen-e'-goes for *Pen-y'-goes, see § 46 ii (3).

(b) Interchange of y and e: velle L.A. 148 for felty; Late Mn. W. wele
'behold' for (a) wely 'dost thou see?' § 173 iii (3); Mercer for
Mereywr B.A. 17, B.B. 48, see § 69 v; hwdy C.M. 31, hwele B.M. 173;
mywun, mewn; Llqyn, Lleyn. Dial. edrech for edrych, -ech for -ych
2nd sg. pres. subj. § 176 iv.—(γ) In Mn. W. y hun 'himself, herself'
is written e hun, the e modification being preferred owing to the
difficulty of sounding unrounded y and rounded i in consecutive
syllables, cf. § 77 viii. Dissimilation also occurs in e Iwerdon
W.M. 59 for y Iwerdon. Similarly te'yrn for *ty'yrn § 103 ii (1);
diell for di-hyll § 146 ii (2).

In Breton *y has generally become e; thus nevez = W. newydd;
pemp = W. pumpy; kevran = W. kyvar; ened = W. unyd.

(3) y before a nasal tended to be lowered towards a, and is some-
times written a in the B.CH., as cantaf A.L. i 84 for cyntaf; kannal,
do. 154 for kynnal; kafreith do. 130 for kybreith. Hence y and a
interchange before a nasal: Yngharad, Angharad; ymherawdr, am-
erawdr; ymddifad, amddifad; canhorthwy, cynhorthwy; mynnach,
manach, etc.

Unaccented a is sometimes weakened to y in the dialects, but
§ 16 THE VOWELS

examples are rare in lit. W.: rhyglyddu ‘to merit’, for rhaglyddu, see raclydew w.m. 428.

(4) In Mn. W. since y has become quite neutral, it is apt in some cases to be coloured by neighbouring sounds: after w or followed by w in the ultima, it becomes w, § 66 ii. When immediately followed by another vowel it is assimilated to it, § 82 ii (3).

v. (1) In Ml. W. an inorganic y is written between two consonants at the end of a word in the following groups: 1. cons. + r, l or n; 2. rm, rf, lm, lf; 3. sf; 4. rarely rch, lch; thus pobyf for pobl ‘people’, vy maryf w.m. 59 for fy marf ‘my beard’. In O. W. it appears as i, as in reatir Juv., Mn. W. rhæadr ‘cataract’, but is of rare occurrence, being usually omitted as in Mn. W., thus cruitir, disel juv. dalr, scribl ox. It occurs medially as i in centhliat Juv. ‘singer’ for centhliat, as o in centilaidou ox., Mn. W. cenedlaethau ‘generations’. In Early Ml. W. it appears as i, y, and e, as perygyl b.b. 31 ‘danger’, cathil do. 16 ‘song’, autyl do. 15 ‘ode’, coloven a.l. i 10 ‘column’. It occurs sometimes in initial groups: o gynaud b.b. 84 ‘of flesh’; kelevuet a.l. i 40 = clwyd ‘to hear’.

(2) The sound intended to be represented was the glide between the consonants, which was becoming perceptible as a dull sound resembling y. It was naturally written i in O. W., e in b.ch., these being the signs for y, see iii above. It was not written where no audible glide developed, as in nt, rth, rs, and was rare where the glide was voiceless, as before ch. It did not form a full syllable in Ml. W., at least in the standard pronunciation, for (a) it is occasionally written in groups where it is generally omitted, and which seem never to have been syllabic, as in meirych w.m. 41 = meirch r.m. 28 ‘horses’; (b) it is sometimes found medially where it could not be syllabic, as in kenedlœd ii.l.a. 11 = kenedlœd ii.l.a. 169 ‘nations’, dadeleu a.l. i 20 = dadeleu ‘lawsuit’; (γ) it does not affect the accentuation; thus in cō|lofyn gwe|d|e y gwe|d|e,v,—R.P. 1239
‘Upholder in fearless manner of prayers’, the e of éofyn isaccented to correspond to the i of gvedieu; (δ) it does not count as a syllable in Ml. verse; the above is a line of nine syllables; in the following cywydd couplet the cyghanedd requires chalych to be read as an absolute monosyllable, as it is pronounced at the present day:

Pwy a allei, pei pennsaer,
peintiayw a chalych pywnt vy chwaer?—I.G., R.P. 1408.
‘Who could, though he were a master, paint with chalk my sister’s mien?’

(3) In Mn. lit. W. the epenthetic y is simply dropped; thus pobl, ffenestr, ofn. The non-syllabic pronunciation continued to be the only one admissible in cyghanedd, and so remained the standard literary form; and the mute y came to be dropped in writing to prevent ambiguity. [In one form of cyghanedd, however, exemplified by—
Da osôdiad hyd i sawdl.—D.N., g. 158,
-1 answers a syllable -iad in the cynghanedd, though it does not count as a syllable in the metre, an inconsistency which shows that such a word as this, treated as a monosyllable in verse generally, sounded like a disyllable when it ended a sentence.

In the spoken language, when the word was disyllabic the final liquid was lost, thus perig, ñenest for perigl 'danger', ñenestr 'window', or metathesized as in ewythr for ewythtr 'uncle'. In monosyllables the glide was assimilated to the vowel of the syllable or the second element of its diphthong and became syllabic; thus pobol, cefen, llwybr, sowdwl, bara' for pobl 'people', cefn 'back', llwybr 'path', sawdl 'heal', barf 'beard'. Some examples of this assimilation already appear in Late Ml. W., as budur L.A. 18 'dirty', kwbwl c.m. 87 'all', vy maraf R.M. 42 'my beard'.—The colloquial syllabic pronunciation is the one generally implied in recent verse in the free metres; thus Anne Griffiths's Llwybr cwbwl groes i natur, though so printed in all hymn-books, is intended to be sung Lîbybyr | cûbûl | grôes i | natur. But in N.W. dialects the parasitic vowel did not arise in groups containing f; thus in the greater part of N.W. ofn, 'fear', cefn 'back', llyfr 'book', barf 'beard' are purely monosyllabic to this day. Forms like march, calch are everywhere monosyllabic.

¶ For prosthetic y- see § 21 iii, § 23 ii, § 26 vi (4).

The Consonants.

§ 17. The values of the letters representing consonants in the Mn. alphabet are as follows:

i. Voiceless explosives (tenues): p = English p; t, normally more dental than Eng. t, but varying to Eng. t; c = Eng. k, having two sounds, front c (k) before i, e, like k in Eng. king, back c (q) before a, o, w, u y, like c in Eng. coal.

ii. Voiced explosives (mediae): b = Eng. b; d corresponding to W. t as above; g front and back (j, g), like Eng. give, go.

iii. Voiceless spirants: ff or ph = Eng. f, labiodental; th = Eng. th in thick (which may be denoted by þ); ch = Scotch ch in loch, German ch in nach (χ), but not German ch in ich (γ). Even after e and i, as in llech 'slate', gwîch 'squeak', the ch is the back sound χ.

i + back χ is an awkward combination, and becomes difficult in the short time available when the i is the second element of a diphthong; hence baich, braich are generally pronounced bäîx, brâîx (with the short a of the original diphthong). This pronunciation is condemned by D., p. 10; but the spelling ay is common earlier, e.g. J.D.R. 271. But beichiav, breichiav are so sounded, with back χ (not γ).
iv. Voiced spirants: \( f \equiv \text{Eng. } v \), labiodental; \( dd \equiv \text{Eng. } \mathit{th} \) in \( \text{this} (\hat{o}) \). O.W. had also the guttural voiced spirant, which may be represented by \( \mathring{z} \), corresponding to \( ch \); see § 19 i.

v. Voiceless nasals: \( \mathit{mh} \); \( nh \); \( ngh \). The nasals can only be made voiceless by a strong emission of breath, which causes a distinct aspirate to be heard as a glide after the consonant. Thus \( nh \) is somewhat similar to Eng. \( nh \) in \textit{inhale}.

vi. Voiced nasals: \( m \); \( n \); \( ng \). The last has two positions corresponding to those of \( g \), namely front \( \hat{a} \), back \( \nu \).

vii. Voiceless liquids: \( ll \); \( rh \). The former is a voiceless \( l \) pronounced on one side. It is produced by placing the tongue in the \( l \) position, raising it so as to close the passage on one side, and blowing between it and the teeth on the other. The common imitation \( thl \) conveys the effect of the "hiss" (voiceless spirant) in the \( th \), and gives the side effect in the \( l \). But \( ll \) is of course a simple sound, which may be described shortly as a "unilateral hiss". The sound of \( rh \) is the Welsh trilled \( r \) made voiceless by a strong emission of breath, causing an audible aspirate glide after it. Briefly, it is \( r \) and \( h \) sounded together.

viii. Voiced liquids: \( l \); \( r \). The latter is trilled like the strong Scotch \( r \), or the Italian \( r \). The trilled \( r \) is a difficult sound to acquire; young children usually substitute \( l \) for it. A few never acquire it, but substitute for it a guttural \( r \) \((\equiv z)\). This is almost the only defect of speech to be found among speakers of Welsh; it is called \textit{tafod tew} 'thick tongue'.

ix. Sibilant: \( s \). Welsh has no \( z \); such a pronunciation as \( \mathring{z}l \) 'zeal' is pure affectation; unsophisticated persons say \( \mathring{s}l \), \( selog \). Before \( i \) as in \textit{eisian}, \( s \) now tends to become Eng. \( sh \), and in some S.W. dialects after \( i \). But many old speakers cannot pronounce \textit{shibboleth} at all. Standard Welsh \( s \) is the \( ss \) in \textit{hiss}.

x. Aspirate: \( h \). The aspirate is distinctly sounded, and is never misused except in Gwent and Glamorgan. It is really the voiceless form of the vowel which follows it, or the glide between a voiceless nasal or liquid and a vowel.

xi. Semi-vowels: \( i \); \( w \). As these letters also represent vowel sounds, they will be marked \( i \), \( w \) in this work where it is necessary to point out that they are consonantal. \( i \) is the sound of the Eng. \( y \) in \textit{yard}; \( w \) is the Eng. \( w \) in \textit{will}.
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§ 18. i. The characters p, t, c had the values in O.W. of modern p, t, c. They also represented the mutated sounds b, d, g, see § 103 iii; as in seipaur JUV. = scubawr, Mn. W. ysgubor 'barn', creaticaul ox. = creadigawl, Mn. W. creadigol 'created'. When they have this value they are sometimes doubled; thus in m.c. we find catteiraul, Mn. W. cadeiriol 'cathedral' adj., carrecc, Mn. W. carreg 'stone', hepp, Ml. W. heb 'says'. Possibly this is due to the influence of Irish spelling. [In Old Ir. original *nt > *d-d written t and sometimes tt.]

ii. In Ml. W. p, t, c no longer represent b, d, g medially, but finally after a vowel they continued to do so even down to the Mn. period. The facts are briefly as follows: In the B.B., late 12th cent., the final labial is written p, but often b (mab 27, 28, 29); the dental is always d, because t is used for the soft spirant ð; the guttural is always c. In the 14th cent. the labial very generally appears as b, though often as p; the dental is always t, the guttural always c. In the 15th cent. (e.g. l. 28) we have b, d, c. In the 1620 Bible b, d, g, but c in many forms, unic, lluddedic, etc. The final c is still written in ac and nac, which should be ag, nac, § 222 i (1), ii (3). On the sound of the consonant in these cases see § 111 v (4).

Finally after a consonant p, t, c have always represented the voiceless sounds.

iii. In Ml. W. and Early Mn. W., initial c is generally written k. The chief exceptions are the combinations cl, cr. Medially we find c, k, cc, ck. Finally after a consonant, though we generally have c, we also find k (or even ck); as græfængk, œrdængk r.p. 1321, diágh etc. do. 1314, digelk do. 1364, Irk r.b.b. 397; carnænæk, Il. a. 170. In these words the sound was, and is, voiceless. Note that after a vowel, where the sound is now ɡ, it is never written k in Ml. W. Thus k, which represents the tenuis only, is clearly distinguished from c, which also finally represents the media.

NOTE. In O. W. and the earliest Ml. W., as in l.l. (about 1150), c alone is used; k appears in B.B. and was general in Ml. and Early
Mn. W. G.R. discarded k on the principle of "one sound one letter", p. 20. But the decisive factor in its banishment from the Welsh alphabet was its replacement by c in Salesbury's N. T., published the same year (1567). This being one of the many innovations "quarrelled withal" in his orthography, Salesbury, in the Prayer Book of 1586 gave his reason for the substitution: "C for K, because the printers have not so many as the Welsh requireth," Llyfrfyddiaeth 34. It is curious to note that a letter which was thus superseded because of its greater prevalence in Welsh than in English was classed 160 years later among "intruders and strangers to the Welsh language", Gormesiaid a dieithriaid i'r Iaith Gymraeg, S.R. (1728) p. 1.

§ 19. i. The characters b, d, g, in O.W. represented initially the modern sounds b, d, g; but medially and finally they stood for the mutated sounds f, ð, ʒ, as in gilfin juv., Mn. W. gylfin 'beak', gyurddlas m.c. = gwyrrgglas, Mn. W. gwyrrddlas 'greenish blue'. Medially and finally f was also represented by m, though in this case the spirant was doubtless nasalized then, as it is still normally in Breton; thus nimer ox. = nîver, Mn. W. nîfer 'number', heitham ox., Mn. W. eithaf 'extreme'.

ii. (1) In Ml. W., b represented the sound b, but no longer the sound f.

(2) The sound f was written in Early Ml. W. u or v, w and f; thus in b.b., nîver 7 = nîfer; vaun 21 = favr 'great'; sew 45 = sef 'that is'; dihafal 20 = dihafal 'unequalled'. We also find ff, as aff 21 = a fu 'who has been', bariffvin 53 = barfwn 'white-bearded', tiff 50 = tîf 'grows'.

As u and v also represented the vowel î, and as u, v, and w represented w as well, the orthography of this period is most confusing.

(3) In Late Ml. W. the sound f was written medially u or v and fu; finally it was represented by f regularly (the few exceptions which occur, e.g. in w.m., being due to mechanical copying). Thus, 10. a., vy 2 = fy 'my'; llauwr 3 = llafur 'labour'; kyfnoethwoc 55, Mn. W. cyfnoethog 'rich'; gyntaf 3 'first', dywedaf 3 'I say', ef 3 'he', etc. u and v continued to be used medially for f during the Early Mn. period; but G.R. has f everywhere, and was followed by Dr. M. in the 1588 Bible, which fixed the Late Mn. orthography.

As u and v also represented the vowel î, the word fu may be found written vv, vu, uv, uu. But there is much less confusion than in the
earlier period, for (1) \( w \) is distinguished from \( ù \); (2) finally \( u \) and \( f \) are distinguished; thus \( nev \) means \( nev 'or', not \( nef 'heaven'\).

The distinction between the characters \( u \) and \( v \) is a modern one; double \( v \) (i.e. \( w \)) is still called "double \( u \)" in English.

\( \& \) In the quotations in this grammar the letter \( u \) or \( v \) (for it was one letter with two forms) is transcribed \( u \) when it stands for the vowel, and \( v \) when it represents the consonant \( f \); irrespective of the form in the ms., which depended chiefly on the scribe's fancy at the moment.

(4) The sound which is now the labiodental \( f \) (\( ≈ \) Eng. \( v \)) was in O. W. and probably also in Ml. W. a bilabial \( ð \), like the South German \( w \). It was the soft mutation of \( b \) or \( m \), and resulted from these bilabial sounds being pronounced loosely so that the breath was allowed to escape, instead of being stopped, at the lips. It was sometimes confused with \( w \), § 26 \( v \); and was so soft that it might, like \( w \), be passed over in cyngihanedd, e.g. \( pwynt vy chwaer \) p. 17 above; see Tr. Cym. 1908-9, p. 34.

iii. (1) The letter \( d \) in Ml. W. stands for both \( d \) and \( dd \) (\( ð \)).

(2) In some Early Ml. mss., of which the most important is the b.b., the sound \( ð \) when it is an initial mutation is generally represented by \( d \), but medially and finally is represented rather illogically by \( t \); thus b.b., \( dy dixet 19 ≡ dy ðiwed 'thy end'; intuin 32 ≡ ymðwyn 'to behave'; guirt 33 ≡ gwyrð 'green'; betev 63 ≡ beðen 'graves'. Medially, however, we also have \( d \), as \( adaw 41 ≡ Adaf 'Adam'; and occasionally, by a slip, finally, as \( ðod 1 ≡ oed 'was' (conversely, by a rare slip, final \( t ≡ d \), as \( imbit 70 ≡ ym myd 'in the world'). In b.ch. usage is still looser.

(3) In the Late Ml. period the sound \( ð \) is represented by \( d \), rarely by \( dd \), see l.a. p. xxii. Initially and medially \( d \) and \( ð \) cannot be distinguished at this period, but finally they can, since final \( ð \) is written \( t \), § 18 ii, so that final \( ð \) must mean the sound \( ð \). But it often happens that -\( d \) for -\( ð \) and -\( t \) for -\( ð \) are copied from an earlier ms.

While \( w \) is distinctly Late Ml. W. in the representation of \( w \), \( i, y \), it has -\( d \) for -\( ð \) and medial and final \( t \) for \( ð \); also occasionally \( dd \), as \( ar dderchet 120a ≡ arderched\).

(4) \( dd \) came generally into use in the 15th cent. In the 16th Sir J. Price, 1546, used \( d \); G.R., 1567, used \( d \); Salesbury, 1567,
used dd and a; Dr. M. in the Bible, 1588, used dd, which in spite of J.D.R.’s dh, 1592, has prevailed.

In this grammar Ml. W. d when it stands for dd (δ) is transcribed δ.

iv. (1) In Ml. W. the letter g stands initially and medially for the sound g. The voiced spirant ż had then disappeared.

(2) But g is also used as well as ng for the sound ng (w) (as in Eng. song). When final, g must mean the nasal, for the explosive is written c, § 18 ii; thus llug b.b. 90, w.m. 180, r.m. 87 must be read llong ‘ship’.

In this work Ml. g when it represents the nasal ng (w) is transcribed ż.

(3) Medially ng sometimes stands for n|g (pronounced wg like the ng in the Eng. finger); thus Bangor, pronounced Baxgor. The simple sound represents original wg as in angel (≡ axnōl § 54 i (2)) < Lat. angelus (≡ aexgelus); the composite sound occurs where the nasal and explosive came together later, and the g is the soft mutation of c, as in Ban-gor, radical cor; un-glust ‘one-eared’, clust ‘ear’. In O.W. the composite sound appears as nc, as unceuetticton m.c. ≡ un-geneditigion, gloss on ‘solicanæ’. Cf. Bede’s Bencor, doubtless the Early W. spelling.

§ 20. i. (1) The sound ff is represented in O.W. by f, as finn, fionou m.c. ≡ fyn ‘sticks’, fionou ‘roses’; sometimes medially by ph as in ciphillion m.c. ‘sprouts’, grephiou m.c. ‘pencils’, Griphiud a.c. 814, § 36 ii, and p or pp as Gripiud b.s.ch. 1, Grippi(ud) gen. xxx.

(2) In Ml. W. the sound ff is represented initially by f, both when it is radical and when it is a mutation of p, though in the latter case ph is perhaps more usual; rarely we have ff; thus banfoher b.b. 5 ‘when they are put to flight’, fort do. 33 ≡ fforð ‘way’, nyforthint do. 34 ‘they did not cherish’, ny phercheiste do. 21 ‘thou hast not respected’; A fu le e maynt a.l. i 160, ms. a., a phy ... ms. d., ‘and where they are’; heb ãant yn ã fenn w.m. 453 ... yn ã phenn r.m. 101 ‘without a tooth in her head’; ffoes b.b. 44 ‘fled’. Medially and finally it is generally ff, as diffuis b.b. 35 ≡ diffwys ‘steep’, proffuid do. 85 ‘prophet’, groff r.m. 52 ‘croft’, anffurwaw do. 29 ‘to disfigure’, gorffen do. 5 ‘to finish’, sarff do. 186 ‘serpent’, hoff w.m. 72 ‘desirable’. It also appears as ph, as corph b.b. 20 ‘body’, (g)orphen do. 76 ‘end’; and often as f, as den gorf r.m. 5 ‘two bodies’, anffurfyf do.
29 \( \equiv \text{annsurf} \) ‘disfigurement’, \( yn \text{ braf} \) w.m. 53 \( \equiv yn \text{ braff} \) ‘strong’, \( grof \) do. 73 ‘croft’.

(3) In Mn. W. \( ff \) and \( ph \) are used, the latter generally as a mutation of \( p \) only; but G.R. and J.D.R. use \( ph \) exclusively.

Many modern writers use \( ph \) in all positions where they perceive that it is derived from \( p \), as in \( corph < \text{Lat. corpus} \), writing \( ff \) where it does not appear to them to be so derived, as in \( cyff \) ‘stem, trunk’, \( ffon \) ‘stick’. It is mostly a distinction without a difference: \( cyff \) comes from \( \text{Lat. cippus} \), and \( ffon \) is from Pr. Kelt. \(*spond-*, § 96 iv (1). The attempted differentiation is a useless one; and as the etymology of too many words is still uncertain, it cannot be carried out. It is better, therefore, to write \( ff \) always where the sound is immutable, and \( ph \) only as a conscious mutation of initial \( p \); thus \( corff, cyff, ffon; chwe phunt, chwephunt \ £6 \), \( gwragedd a \text{ phlant} \ ‘women and children’, \( blith draphlith \ ‘higgledy-piggledy’.

ii. (1) The sound \( th (p) \) is represented in O. W. by \( th \), as \( brith \) JUV. ‘variegated’; by \( d \), as \( papdpinnac \) M.C. \( \equiv pa \text{ beth bynnag ‘whatsoever’} \); by \( t \) after \( r \), as \( gurt ox. \equiv gurth, Mn. W. \text{ wrth ‘against’} \); and by \( p \), as \( papeb juv. \equiv pa \text{ beth ‘what’} \).

(2) In Ml. W. the sound is generally written \( th \), though in some early mss., as B.CH., sometimes \( t \) (after \( r \)) as \( kemyrt \) A.L. i 4 \( \equiv \text{kymyrth ‘took’} \). In Mn. W. it is always written \( th \).

Such a form as \( perffeiddiaw \) L.A. i 9 is no exception to the rule. The \( th \) had been voiced to \( dd \), and the word was \( perffeiddiaw \). It is so written in Early Mn. W., and the Late Mn. W. \( perffeithio \) is a re-formation. See § 108 iv (2).

iii. (1) The sound \( ch (x) \) is written \( ch \) in O. W., as \( bichan ox. \equiv bychan ‘little’. Once we have \( gch \) in \( iurchehell \) M.C. ‘fawn’, Mn.W. \( iyrechell \).

(2) The sound is written \( ch \) consistently in Ml. and Mn. W., and there seem to be no variations to note.

§ 21. i. The sounds \( mh, nh \), and \( ngh \) were written \( mp, nt \), and \( ne \) in O. W.; and \( mp, nt \) and \( ne, ngk \), or \( gk \) in Ml. W. These combinations continued to be written throughout the Ml. period, though the modern signs appear as early as w.m. or earlier; see § 107.
The consonants

In Early Ml. W. we also find m for mh, n for nh, and g for ugh; see § 24 i.

ii. The letters m, n, ng have always represented the sounds m, n, n; but m also represented ŵ in O. W., § 19 i; ng may represent wg in Ml. and Mn. W.; and n was also written g in Ml. W.; § 19 iv.

iii. Initial n has sometimes a prosthetic y-; as yrwn g yniver ef ac yniver y llys . . . yr yniveresð w.m. 40 'between his host and the host of the court . . . the hosts'. It is also written a as anadred c.m. 21 'snakes', anniver w.m. 65.

§ 22. i. In O. W. the sound ùl was written l initially, and ll medially and finally; as leill ox. 'others', leun m.c. 'cloak' gwollwng juv. = gwollwng 'release'. In dluithruim juv., if rightly analysed into llwyth 'weight' and rhwyf 'oar', we have ðl- for pl-, the usual imitation of the ùl sound, § 17 vii, proving the sound to be as old as the 9th cent., though then usually written l- initially. The imitation ðhl is common in the earliest Norman records, but has not been used by Welsh writers.

ii. In Ml. W. the ùl sound is represented by ll; in some mss., e.g. the r.b., it is ligatured thus H, enabling it to be distinguished from double l as in callon r.m. 106 'heart', Iollo r.r. 1369, 1407, kollyn r.b. 1073 'pivot', which we now write calon, Iolo, colyn, § 54 ii. The ligatured capital H has been used from the Ml. period to the present day in lettering done by hand.

iii. In Mn. W. ll is used.

Several attempts have been made from time to time to find substitutes: G.R. used l, Sir J. Price and J.D.R. used lh; Ed. Lhuyd used lh and t; but ll has held the field.

iv. The sound rh was written r in O. and Ml. W. The scribes use r for rh even when the h has a different origin, and sometimes even when it belongs to another word, as in y gwanwyn araf r.b.b. 194 for y gwanwyn a'r haf 'the spring and summer'.

vr Ml. W. r for rh is transcribed t in our quotations.

v. In the late 15th and early 16th cent. the sound rh was represented by rr and R; it was not until the middle of the 16th cent. that the present digraph rh, which seems to us so obvious and natural a representation of the sound, came into general use.
vi. The sounds \l{} and \r{} have always been represented by the letters \l{} and \r{}.

§ 23. i. The sound \s{} has always been written \s{}. In O. W. it is sometimes doubled as in *drissu juven.* = *dryssi* ‘thorns’, *iss* m.c., Ml. W. *ys* ‘is’. In Ml. W. it is usually doubled medially between vowels, as in *Iesso b.b. 25*, 350, l.l.A. 1, 19, etc., *Saesson b.b. 48, mesur b.b. 3* ‘measure’, etc., but sometimes written single as in *Saesson b.b. 60*. Initial *ss* also occurs, as *ssillit b.b. 99* = *sylyd*, Mn. W. *sylli* ‘thou gazest’.* z* for *s* is rare: *tryzor il.l.A. 17* ‘treasure’.

ii. Initial *s* followed by a consonant has developed a prosthetic *y*- (written *y*, *e*, *i*, etc. § 16), as in *ysgol* ‘school’.

It is not derived from the late Lat. prosthetic *i*—as in *iscola*, since Corn., Bret., Ir. *scol* do not show it, and it appears in native words in W., as *ystrad*. It arose in W. for the same reason as in late Lat., a syllabic pronunciation of *s*—after a consonant. The earliest recorded examples are *Istrat, Estrat*, beside *Strat* in l.l. see its index s.v. *Istrat*. In the spoken language it is not heard except in words in which it is accented, as *ysgôl*, *ystrad*, *ysbrôd*, etc., and sometimes in derivatives of these, as *ysgôljan*; but *sgûbor*, *strôdwr*, *sgrîfen*, *strîd*. In O. W. it is not written: *scipaur juven.*, *strotur m.c.*, *silibenn m.c.* In Early Ml. W. we have *gwas-stavell* a.l. 1 = *gwastavel* for the later *gwas ystavell* w.m. 183, r.m. 85. In the oldest verse it does not count as a syllable:

*Stavell* Gyndylan *ys tywyll heno* (10 syll.) b.b. 1045.

‘The hall of Cynddylan is dark to-night.’ In later verse it usually counts after a consonant and not after a vowel:

*Mi Iscolan yscelheic (= Mi ’Scolan yscelhe|ic, 7 syll.)* b.b. 81.

‘I am Yscolan the clerk.’ But in b.b. 91 we seem to have *scolheic* after *wyd*, see § 41 iii (2).

*Mae sgrîfen uwchben y bedd.*—L.G.C. 20.

‘There is a legend above the tomb.’

*Damaes a roed am i sgrîn.*—T.A., A 31101/115.

‘Damask was spread over his coffin.’

*Ae ysgîrin i geisio gras.*—D.G. 60.

‘And a coffin to seek grace.’

The *y*—was general in late Ml. mss., but it is possible that when unaccented the actual spoken sound consisted of a gradual beginning of the *s*, which like a vowel preserved the *r* of the article, etc. G.R., 1567, says that *yr* is used before *st, sc, sp*, as *yr stalwyn*, though some
§ 24. 1. The letter h has always been employed to denote the aspirate; but it was not used to represent the aspirate glide after Ъ until the modern period, § 22 iv; and in some Early Ml. mss. mh, nh and ngh were written m, n and g, as emen (≡ymhen) a.l. i 84, évennes (≡y vrenhines) do. 4; vy íarenhyt w. 3a (≡yng nephrenhyd); ųy íadellígh do. 9a (≡yngh Nùhadelling).

ii. In O. and Ml. W. h seems also to have been used to denote a voiced breathing; see § 112.

§ 25. i. Consonantal ì is represented in O. W. by i, as iar juv. ≡ ìár 'hen', hestoriou ox., pl. of hestawr, cloriou ox., Mn. W. clorjau 'boards', mellhionou m.c., Mn. W. meilljon 'clover'. Before -oï it is also found as u (once iu), as enmeituou ox., Mn. W. amneidjau 'beckonings', damcircularnuou juv. 'circuits'; disficiou juv. 'defects'; here it was probably rounded into ų in anticipation of the final ť; cf. § 76 iii (3). Where it is the soft mutation of front ţ it appears as g in O. W., as in Urbgen in Nennius ≡ Urïen, Mn. W. Urien; Morgen gen. xxv ≡ Morien. Here the ì was doubtless heard with more friction of the breath being the spirant .pag corresponding to front ţ; see § 110 ii.

ii. In Early Ml. W. ì is represented by i, except in mss. where y is used for ì, § 16 ii (2); thus tirion b.b. 26, pl. of tir 'land', dinion do. 45 (≡dynion) 'men'.

iii. In late Ml. W. it is represented initially by i, rarely by y; as Issu b.b. 25, 50, il.l.a. 1, 19, etc., Ieuan il.l.a. 78, iarll, iarlys w.m. 136 'earl, countess', iawn r.m. 16 'right', ùawnhaf do. 24 'most proper', Yessu, Yiesu, il.l.a. 100. Medially it is written y, as dynjôn w.m. 32 'men', beddyjauw do. 32 'to baptize', meolyjauw do. 34 'to think', etc., etc., rarely as ì, as ymbilio r.m. 3 'he may entreat.'

When y represents ì it will be dotted as above in the quotations in this book.
iv. In Mn. W. ɨ is written i; but often j in the 18th cent., see e.g. Llyfrddiaeth 1713, 4; 1748, 4, 8; 1749, 2.

v. Voiceless ɨ occurs where the word or syllable preceding ɨ causes aspiration, and is written ɨi (also ɨhy in Ml. W.), as ɨ hiarlnweth R.M. 178 ‘her earldom’, kenhjadrn l.l.a. 79 ‘to consent’.

If pronounced tensely ɨɨ becomes the palatal spirant ˓x as in the German ich, but this does not occur in Welsh: ɨɨ remains a voiceless semi-vowel. Cf. § 17 iii.

§ 26. i. Consonantal w is written gw in O. W. as in pellgwar ox. ≡ pedwar ‘four’. See § 112 ii (1).

ii. In Early Ml. W. w is represented by u, v, and w; in Late Ml. W. by w and 6. Its representation is the same as that of the vowel w; see § 14 ii (2). In Mn. W. it is written w.

The letter w sometimes appears in the form uu, as in kelevuet a.l. i 40 (≡ cylywed) ‘to hear’.

iii. Initial w- had become gw- in the Early Welsh period; see § 112 ii (1); but it is w- under the soft mutation, thus gwalt ‘hair’, dy gwalt ‘thy hair’.

Initial gw may come before l, r or n, as in gwlad ‘country’, gwraig ‘wife’, gwrd ‘I do’, each one syllable. The initial combinations are practically gl, gr or gn pronounced with rounded lips, the rounding taking place simultaneously with the formation of the g, so that the off-glide of the g is heard as w. When the g is mutated away the initial is l, r or n with w as an on-glide; thus dy gwlad ‘thy country’ sounds like dyw lød, except that the syllabic division is dy | wlad.

iv. In Ml. and Early Mn. W. final w after a consonant was consonantal; see § 42. Now the w is made syllabic.

The exceptions to the rule were forms in which -w represents earlier -wy, as hwnnwl; Mn. W. acw, Early Ml. W. racw, Ml. W. racko; assw, gwrdw, banw § 78 i (2). It may have been made consonantal in the last three by analogy, coming after s, r, single n.

v. Medial w is liable to interchange with f; thus cawod, cafod ‘shower’; cyfoeth, cywaeth § 34 iv; diawf ‘devil’ for *diawfl.

The old verbal noun from lliw ‘colour’ is llifo ‘to dye’, a newer formation is llirvio ‘to colour’. The reason for the interchange is that f was once a bilabial, ɻ, § 19 ii (4), and so, very similar to w, being in effect w with friction of the breath at the lips instead of at the back.

vi. (1) Voiceless w, by being pronounced tensely, has become
§ 26 THE CONSONANTS

a rounded *ch*, written *chw*. It is the result of pronouncing voiceless *w* with the mouth-passage narrowed at the back so as to produce audible friction, which is heard as *ch* (χ) accompanied by *w*. In S.W. dialects the loose voiceless *w* (written *wh* or *hw*) prevails initially. In O.W., in Juv. and M.C., *chyri* 'you' appears as *hui*; later this word was everywhere *chwi*, the *ch* being still heard even in S.W. (though now unrounded in this word, thus *chi*). Initial *chw* prevails in Ml. W. and later, as *chwerw* B.B. 83, 84 = *chwerw* 'bitter', *chupec* do. 84 'sweet', *chwant* do. 34 'lust'; *chwythu* W.M. 47 'to blow', *chwawr* do. 41 'sister', *chwvedyl* do. 42, R.M. 29 'tale', *chwythat* L.A. 9 'breath', *chwant* do. 11 'lust', and so generally in Mn. W.; but *wh* frequently occurs in Ml. mss. and sometimes in Early Mn. poets, as *whechet* L.A. 147 'sixth', *whennychu* do. 149 'to desire', *chwawr* R.M. 28, *whedl* G. 147.

(2) Initial rounded *ch* is heard with *w* as an off-glide, as in *chwawr*; final rounded *ch* has *w* as an on-glide, as in *iwch* 'to you', *ewch* 'go ye'. In the latter case the sound is *ch* in all the dialects, not *h*.

(3) Initial *chw* sometimes interchanges with *gw*; as *Gware* dy *chwawr* R.M. 154 'play thy game', *chwth*, *gwith* do. 301 'sinister'; this is due to the variability of original initial *s*, § 101 ii (1); *sv* - > *chw*; *sv* - > *gw*. * Nghw* for *chw* is due to a preceding *n* (*hw* = *hwy*), as *chwawneg*, *anghwaneg* 'more'; *yn* *chwawethach* R.M. 7, *yghwaethach* do. 85, 108 'rather'.

(4) Initial *chw* has often a prosthetic *y*-, as *ychwaneg* 'more', *ychwanegu* W.M. 44 'to add'.

(5) Final rounded *-ch*, of whatever origin, becomes unrounded if the syllable is unaccented; thus *welaywch* W.M. 50 'ye saw' is *welaych*. But *-ych* gave *-wch*, as in *cerwch* 'ye love' for *cervych*, see § 173 viii; so *peswch* for *pesvych*: *pas*, § 201 iii (2). The form *ydych* is due to the analogy of *ydym*; so Late Mn. W. *gennych* after the 1st pl. for Ml. and Early Mn. *gennwch*.

Note.

Transcription.—By means of the devices mentioned in the above sections (the use of δ, γ, χ, etc.) the forms of Late Ml. W. can generally be transcribed so as to indicate the approximate sound while preserving the exact spelling of the ms. But, as we have seen, the orthography of O. and Early Ml. W. is so irregular that no such plan is possible. Accordingly, for these periods, the form in the ms. is given, followed, where necessary, by a transcription introduced by the sign ≡, giving the probable sound in modern characters.

The works of Early Mn. poets are often found in late mss. and
printed books containing not only dialectal forms inconsistent with the forms implied by the rhymes of the bards, but also late inventions, such as ei, eich, etc. In these cases the spelling has been standardized in the quotations in this work. The spelling of the ms. is here of no importance, as the cynghanedd, rhyme or metre is in every case relied on as showing the exact form used by the author.

All quotations are given with modern punctuation, including the insertion of the apostrophe, and the use of capital letters.

Sounds in Combination.

Syllabic Division.

§ 27. i. In Welsh a single consonant between two vowels belongs normally to the second syllable; thus ca\nu ‘to sing’, gw\dle\dig ‘visible’; when there are two or more consonants the first belongs to the first syllable, as can\tor ‘singer’, can\iad ‘song’, tan\wydd ‘fire-wood’, can\tref ‘hundred (district)’. A double consonant belongs to both; thus in ca\nu ‘to whiten’, the first syllable ends after the stoppage of the mouth-passage for the formation of the n, and the second begins before the opening of the passage which completes the formation of the consonant. Thus a double consonant implies not two independent consonants, but a consonant in which the closing of the passage takes place in one syllable and the opening in the next, and both count. This is seen most clearly in a word like dr\cin ‘storm’, where the c closes as a velar q and opens as a palatal k (dr\k\kin), and yet is not two complete consonants. The consonants p, t, c; m, s, ng, ll, are double after accented vowels, though written single; thus ateb, canasant = at\teb, ca\nas\sant. See § 54.

ii. A consonant which is etymologically double is simplified after an unaccented syllable; as cy\né\fin r.m. 183 ‘familiar’ (cy\n-nef-in < *kon-dom-ino-: Lat. domus); whe\nd\chu r.b.b. 89 (from chwant) ‘to desire’; ym\ly\null\aw, do. 49 (from cyn\null) ‘to gather together’. But this phonetic rule is not regularly observed in writing, except in the final unaccented syllable, cál\n ‘heart’ (pl. cal\nnau), Cál\nn (from vulg. Lat. Kaland-), etc., being generally written calon, Calan, etc.

iii. In modern writing the division of syllables where required, as at the end of a line, is made to follow the etymology rather than the
§ 28, 29 SYLLABIC DIVISION 31

sound; thus it is usual to divide can-u ‘to sing’ so, can being the stem and u the ending, instead of ca-nu, which is the true syllabic division. In the case of more than one written consonant the division is usually made to follow the sound; thus, can-nu ‘to whiten’, plen-yn ‘a child’, the etymological division being ca-nu, plent-yn. Ml. scribes divided a word anywhere, even in the middle of a digraph.

In this grammar syllabic division is indicated when required by | as above; and the hyphen is used to mark off the formative elements of words, which do not necessarily form separate syllables.

Diphthongs.

§ 28. A diphthong consists of the combination in the same syllable of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. When the sonantal element comes first the combination is a falling diphthong. When the consonantal element comes first it is a rising diphthong. “Diphthong” without modification will be understood to mean falling diphthong.

Falling Diphthongs.

§ 29. i. In O. W. falling diphthongs had for their second element either i, front u, or back u. The O. W. diphthongs with their Ml. and Mn. developments are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O. W.</th>
<th>Ml. W.</th>
<th>Mn. W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>au, ae</td>
<td>(au), ae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ou, oe</td>
<td>(ou), oe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>ñwy = wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ei, ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front ü</td>
<td>ou (au)</td>
<td>eu, eu, au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>eu, au</td>
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<tr>
<td>au</td>
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<td>aw</td>
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<tr>
<td>eu</td>
<td>ew</td>
<td>ew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back u</td>
<td>iw</td>
<td>iw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iu</td>
<td>ùw, ùw</td>
<td>ùw, ùw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou</td>
<td>ùw, ew</td>
<td>ùw, ew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii. (1) As i in O. W. represented both i and ù the exact value of the second element in O. W. ai, oi, ui cannot be fixed; but it was probably receding in the direction of ù. In ñwy it has remained ù. The former diphthongs are generally written ae and oe; but the spellings ay, oy are commonly met with in Early Ml. W., and sometimes in mss. of the Mn. period; as guayt ‘blood’, coyt ‘timber’, mays ‘field’ L.L. 120; crowyn ‘skin’ A.L. i. 24, ‘mays do. 144; Yspayn ‘Spain’, teyrnassoyd ‘kingdoms’ p 9 R. In r.m. 118
we have haearn, in 119 hayarn 'iron'. Though now always written ae, oe, the sound in N.W. is still distinctly ay, oy; thus maes, coed are read máys, cóyd. In Mid and S. Wales the sound approaches the spelling ae, oe. In parts of S. W. the diphthongs are simplified into a, ò in the dialects: más, cód. In Pembrokeshire oe becomes õ-ë and even ùë.

(2) Ml. W. ae and oe are derived not only from O.W. ai and oi, but also from O.W. disyllabic a(e) and o(e); thus saeth < sa|eth < Lat. sagitta; maes < ma|es (rhyming with gormes, b.t. 25) < *ma|es; troed pl. traed (rhyming with writhret / bryssyt r.p. 1042) from *troget-, *troget-, § 65 ii (1). They may also represent a contraction of a|qu, o|qu as in dàed § 212 iv, tróent, § 185 i (1).

iii. Ml. W. ei had an open and a close e according to position; these developed into Mn. W. ai and ei; see § 79 i. The present sound of the form ei is e, where e is an obscure vowel which is hardly, if at all, distinct from y.

iv. O.W. ou (≡ ou) occurs once as au, in anutonau juv. 'perjuria', which in ox. is anutonou. The o was unrounded in Ml. W., becoming an indistinct vowel, open and close, written e; the two forms became Mn. W. au and eu; see § 79 ii.

v. O.W. au and eu (back u) have remained the same phonetically, the back u being written w in the later language. O.W. iu represented three distinct diphthongs according as i represented i or either sound of y. The diphthongs yw and yw are even now of course both represented by a single group wyw in ordinary writing. The rules for distinguishing between them are those that apply to y and y generally; § 82 ii (4).

vi. O.W. ou (back u) represents the diphthong yw, written wyw and also ow at a later period, § 33 iii (2). Thus diguolonicetic ox.; Ml. W. ulywychediec r.m. 84 'shining', ulywych r.p. 1153, which appear beside llewych r.p. 1154, Mn. W. llewych corr. into llewyrch 'light'; § 76 vi, viii.

§ 30. The diphthongs ae or au and oe or ou followed by w form the falling triphthongs aew, oew or auw, ow, in gwaw 'spear', glow 'bright', h0wm 'sprightly', croyw 'clear', which remain strictly monosyllabic in the cyghanedd of the Early Ml. bards. In late pronunciation the w is made syllabic, except when a syllable is added, as in the pl. glowyn which is still disyllabic. In dàwch, contracted from dà ñwch, the ñw has now been simplified into ãw; see § 212 iv.

§ 31. i. Unaccented ae in the final syllable was often reduced to e in the Ml. period, especially in verbal forms and proper names; as in adwen for adwaen 'I know', chware for chvarae 'to play', Ithel for Ithael, O. W. Iudhail (≡ iud-hail).
‘A retreat for birds to play, a pleasant grove, that is the manner of place] it is.’ See also D.G. 40, 58, 465 (misprinted -au in 169).

Nid go'mr heb newid gware:
Nid llong heb fy'med o'i lle.—G.G.L. c. i 197.

‘He is not a man, who does not change his pastime; it is not a ship, that does not move from its place.’

For examples of adwen, see § 191 ii (2).

ii. (1) The simplification of final unaccented ai and au to e are dialectal and late. Such forms as większ for iezain, gwela for gwelai are avoided by the Early Mn. bards in their rhymes, but they begin to appear in mss. in the late 15th cent., and were common in the 16th and 17th cent. But the literary forms never fell out of use, and ultimately supplanted the dialectal forms in the written language, though some of the latter have crept in, as cyfer for cyfair, Ml. W. kymcow § 215 iii (9), ystyried for ystyriaid § 203 iii (2).

(2) The levelling in the dialects of the sounds mentioned gave rise to uncertainty as to the correct forms of some words. The word bore ‘morning’ began to be wrongly written boreu or borau in the 15th cent.a; see s. 190. The forms camrau, godreu, tylaeu are later blunders for the literary forms camre ‘journey’, godre ‘bottom edge’, pl. godreion, r.m. 147, and tyle ‘hill; couch’. The new ychaine for ychen ‘oxen’ § 121 iii is due to the idea that -en is dialectal. In Gwynedd ychaine is heard, but is a dialectal perversion like merchaid for merched.

Tesog fore gwna'r lle 'n llon,
Ac annnerch y tai gwynion.—D.G. 524.

‘On a warm morning make the place merry, and greet the white houses.’ See bore r.m. 31, 55, 82, 92, 108, w.m. 56, 73, etc.

Ni adefais lednais le
Ynglymry ar fy nghamre.—I.G. 201.

‘I left no noble place in Wales on my journey.’ See kamre, r.p. 1269.

Lluch ar fre a godre gallt,
A brig yn dreyw barig-wallt.—D.G. 508.

‘Snowdrift on hill and foot of slope, and branch bearing hair of hoarfrost.’ See also r.p. 1036.

A phan edrychwytyt y dyle r.m. 146 ‘And when the couch was examined.’

§ 32. The diphthong ai is wrongly written ae by most recent writers (under the influence of Pughe) in the words afjaith

* There is one example in c.m. 5, which stands quite alone in the r.b., and so is prob. a scribal error.
'delight', araith 'speech', cyffaith 'confection', disgraith 'bright', goddaith 'conflagration', gweniaith (or gweiniaith) 'flattery', rhyddaith 'prose', talaiith 'crown; realm'. See § 202 iv (1). The word diffaith, ML. W. diffeth, 'waste, wild, evil' (from Lat. defect-us) is generally written so in the good periods (e.g. diffeth b.B. 106, R.M. 183); but some early examples occur of a new formation fromffaeth 'cultivated' (from Lat. factus), R.P. 1047, l. 2.

Yn y nef maen un afaith
Yn sôn archanglion saith.—Gr. H. G. 101.

'In heaven in pure rapture there speak archangels seven.' See D.G. 358, where afaith is printed afaeth in spite of its rhyming with gobaith. See also g. 122.

Ef a gâr awdl ac araith,
Ef a wyr synnwyr y saith.—H.D. p 99/469.

'He loves song and speech, he knows the meaning of the seven [sciences].' See g. 118; araith b.B. 9, 15.

Disglair ðiwir Veir vorwyn.—Ca., R.P. 1247.

'Bright chaste virgin Mary.'

Coed osglog, caeu disgraith,
Wyth ryw ñd, a thrî o wair.—D.G. 524.

'Branching trees, bright fields, eight kinds of corn and three of hay.' See D.G. 54, 120, 209, 404. See B.C.W. 8, early editions of Bible, etc.

Fal goddaith yn ymdaith nos.—D.G. 13.

'Like a bonfire on a night's march.' See goðeith R.P. 1042, B.B. 73.

Gwenwyn ydiw eu gweiniaith,
Gwynt i gyd gennyt eu gwaith.—I.F. M 148/721.

'Their flattery is poison, to thee their work is all wind.'

Twyso uwyw, enwoq i waith,
Teulwng i wisgo talaiith.—E.U.

'He is a prince whose work is famous, worthy to wear a crown.'

Troys cylyw tros y dalaith,
Torri ar rif tyraw'r iaith.—Gu.O. A 14967/62.

'A deluge has overflowed the realm, thinning the number of the nation's towers.' See g. 80, 87, 199, 218, 257.

Tro'n döl at yr hen dalaith;
Digon uwy digon o daith.—E.P. W 124/283 R.

'Turn back to the old country; enough is enough of travel.'

§ 33. Late Contractions. i. (1) We have seen that a-e and o-e were contracted early into ae and oe; § 29 ii (2). This contraction also took place later, as in Cymraeg 'Welsh', Groeg
Falling Diphthongs

§ 33

'Greek', and in verbal forms such as *aed 'let him go', rhed 'let him give', rhoes 'he gave'; see § 185.

In r.p. 1189 Gro-ec is a disyllable rhyming with *chwect, ostec, Cym|ra|ec, tec; in the r.g. 1119 it is stated to be a monosyllable; D.G. uses it as a monosyllable, 53; as well as rhoes 6 'gave', troes 68 'turned', gwnaed 149 'let her do', doed 145, 228 'let him come', ffoes 191 'fled', but ffôles 61. He uses Cym|ra|eg as a trisyllable rhyming with *teg, 2, 179; so G.Gr., d.g. 243. This form persisted in the 15th cent.; as

Cymro da i Gym|ra|eg,
Cymred air Cymru deeg.—G.Gl., m 146/281.

'A Welshman of good Welsh, let him take the praise of fair Wales.'

In the 15th cent., however, we meet with the contracted form; see T.A. g. 251. Later, this was usual:

Da i Gym|ra|eg, di-gymar òedd,
Dî-állawd ym mhôb dailt ñydoedd.—W.II. 120 (m.S.B.)

'Good [in] his Welsh, incomparable was he, resourceful in all debate.'

(2) The contraction of the accented penult with the ultima results in an accented ultima § 41 iii. But in newly-formed compounds, contracted forms such as maes, troed are treated like other monosyllables, and the accent falls on the penult; thus gol|yn-faes D.G. 135 'vale', mín-droed do. 262 'slender foot', dêu-droed 'two feet'.

 ii. The r.g., 1119, states that ëy is always a disyllable. This is not necessarily the case in the penult, for in such forms as ke|yrä, § 122 ii (3), pl. of koer 'fort', treytkych r.p. 1153 from traethaf 'I treat', etc., it is an old affection of ae. In other cases, however, the diphthong is late, and the disyllabic form is used in poetry down to the 16th cent. Thus:

Lloer yw a dawn llawer dýn,
Lluád rhianedd Llê|un.—G.Gl., m 148/191.

'She is the moon and the grace of many women, the moon of the ladies of Lleyn.' See also I.G. 388, 405.

Salbri ieuanc sél brê|ur
Sydd i gael suyydau a gwyr.—Gu.O. A 14967/94.

'Young Salesbury of the stamp of a chieftain [is he] who is to have offices and men.'

Nid ãi na chawr na dyn chwyrn,
Heb haint Duv, a'n pen tê|ûrn.—T.A. c. ii 81.

'Neither a giant nor a violent man, without the scourge of God, could take our liege lord.' See g. 176, f. 14, 33. See hê|ûrn / tê|ûrn / kedûrn r.p. 1226.
The contracted form sometimes occurs; as

Penfar heur̄n pan fo’r hirnos.—D.G. 267.

‘A head-dress of iron spikes when the night is long.’—To the holly.

The name Llŷn is now pronounced Llŷn, and regarded as an exception to the rule that Welsh is written phonetically. Llŷn, as the name should be spelt, is a contraction of Llyyn, which also occurs, R.B.B. 307, 342; and has been written in the contracted form from the 16th cent. The contraction is as old as the 14th, for we find llyyn in R.P. 1360, where the metre proves the sound to be llyn.

O Lŷn i Dywun, yn dau,
O Dywun i dir Deau.—W.I.L., 6. 297.

‘From Llŷn to Towyn, we two, from Towyn to the land of the south.’

iii. (1) The Mn. W. diphthongs oi, ou and ow are always late contractions; as in rhoi for rhoi from rhoddi ‘to give’; ymarbús c.c. 330 for ymarhôus ‘dilatory’; rhowch for rhochwch ‘give ye’; rhoist for rhoïest ‘thou gavest’; rhoi for rhoï ‘he gave’.

These contractions occur in common words in the 14th cent.; see roi R.P. 1206, 1210, rhoi D.G. 206, 521, 524, rhois do. 206, rhoist do. 2, R.P. 1211; rout (printed roit) D.G. 206, roi, rōin do. 243. But uncontracted forms occur even later; трôais D.G. 307, трôi I.G., cyffrôi L.G.C., ð. 16.

(2) The diphthong ow is pronounced with the o unrounded, thus ow, where the o is closer than the first element in the Eng. ow, and is scarcely distinguishable from the obscure y; in fact the yw in cywydd and the ow in rhowch are identical. Hence in the 15th, 16th and 17th cent. the old diphthong yw was often written ow; as in cowydd or kowydd for cywydd, see Mostyn R. pp. 2, 3, etc., 26, 27, etc. etc.

iv. A late contraction may take the form of one of the old diphthongs, or even of a simple vowel; as gla|nháu for gla|nha|u ‘to clean’; plau R.P. 1222 for plá|eu ‘plagues’; dô|lên for dô|lê|n ‘to delete’; awn for ã|wn ‘we go’; gla|nhád for gla|nha|ad ‘cleansing’; (g)wrai W.M. 54, 250 for gwna|ei ‘did’, cf. B.B. 64; eu|tán for eu|tu|n ‘united’; bám for bá|ùm ‘I have been’; gwyr|bám for gwyr|bá|ùm ‘I knew’; cau for cã|eu ‘to shut’. These forms occur uncontracted in Ml. W.: guna|n B.B. 81 (≡gw|na|w) rhyming with wn ‘I would do’; yn gyttu|n R.B.B. 238; cayu L.A. 167 (≡cây|u), kaen W.M. 24 (≡ká|e|u). Uncontracted forms are met with as late as the 16th cent.

Dy garu a wybú|um;
Darllain dy bylgain y bám.—H.S. 5.
§ 34 FALLING DIPHTHONGS

'I have known [what it is] to love thee; I have been reading thy vigil.' See D.G. 38.

v. A late contraction usually takes place when a word ending in a vowel is followed by i ‘his’ or ‘her’, Ml. y, and often when it is followed by the preposition i ‘to’, Ml. y. Ac, ag lose their final consonant and form a diphthong with the former, as a'i Ml. W. ae, ay ‘and his, with his’, but not with the latter: ac 'and to'.

Anor wyf fi'n cyweirio i fedd.—7 syll. § 44 vi.
Da i Gymraeg, di-gymar oedd.—7 syll., i above.
Nos da i'watch onest y Waun.—7 syll. c. 177.

'Good night to the honest fellow of Chirk.'

Rising Diphthongs. —

§ 34. i. The rising diphthongs in the Mn. language are as follows:

ia as in caniad, iâr;
îe as in iechyd;
îo as in rhodio, iôr;
îw as in iwrch, rhodiwn;
îy as in iyrchell;
wa as in anwâr;
we as in adwên;
wi as in cedwîr;
wo as in gwalwôr;
wu as in galwunt;
wi as in edwûn;
wy as in penwûnui.

In Ml. W. i is generally written y, § 17. The combinations ii, iy, in, yw do not occur in Mn. W. They occur in verbal forms in Ml., W. but are generally simplified; see § 36 i, ii.

ii. When i or w comes before a falling diphthong the combination becomes a mixed triphthong; as iai in iâith ‘language’; iâu in teithian ‘journeys’; waw in gwawd ‘song, mockery’; iâwîn in meddyliwn ‘it was thought’, neithiwr, D.G. 424 (now generally neithiwr § 78 i (2)) ‘last night’.—We have a tetraphthong in the old pronunciation of gwâw (or gwaev) § 30.

iii. When an unaccented i comes before any other vowel the two are frequently contracted into a rising diphthong; thus diôddef ‘to suffer’ becomes a disyllable diô'ddef D.G. 137. Some early examples occur, as erôtded ‘ever’ for *er i ôed ‘since his time’. diôd ‘by heaven’ § 224 iv (2) is a monosyllable, as the metre shows in R.P. 1206, D.G. 46, 51. diâwl ‘devil’ must have been contracted into a monosyllable in O.W.
when the accent fell regularly on the ultima; otherwise it would have become *di|awel.

iv. The rising diphthongs wa and wo are frequently interchanged; as gwatwar w.m. 185, gwatwro D.G. 136 ‘to mock’; marwar l.l.a. 39, marwar ‘embers’ (cf. maroryn § 36 iii); cawad, ca|wod ‘shower’; pedwar, pedwar ‘four’.

Pedwar tryysor tir Iesu.—H.R., c 7/114.

‘The four treasures of the land of Jesus.’

The change takes place both ways; wa becomes wo in cawad r.m. 180, r.f. 1223, D.G. 57 (rhyming with brad) and ca|wodydd or ca|fodydd D.G. 305 (penult rhyming with bod); wo becomes wa in cynawon c.m. 21 for cynawon pl. of ceneu § 125 iii; dywad for dywod from dyfod § 193 ix (3).

v. (1) The rising diphthongs wy and wy are of course not distinguished in ordinary writing, both being represented by wy; see § 82 ii (5). Note then that wy represents three distinct diphthongs, the falling wy as in mwyn ‘gentle’, wRhyno ‘to charm’; the rising wy, short in gwyn ‘white’, long in gwy|r ‘men’; the rising wy as in tywyunu ‘to shine’. See § 38.

(2) In ordinary writing the falling iw and the rising iw are also not distinguished. See § 37.

§ 35. i. Many stems end in i, which appears before all inflexional endings beginning with a vowel (with the exceptions mentioned in § 36), but is dropped when the stem has no ending; thus myfyriaf ‘I meditate’, myfyriant ‘they meditate’, myf|rio ‘to meditate’, myf|riol ‘meditating’, but myf|r ‘meditation’.

In words borrowed from Lat. the i can be traced to its source in short i; thus myf|r < memoria; synn, syni|af < sentio; ystyr, ystyr|af < historia. In native words it represents original ī, as in dyn ‘man’ pl. dynion from Kelt. *donios: Ir. duine § 100 iv; cf. also § 201 iii (6).—In a few new formations the i is ignored as in di-ystyr|u ‘to ignore’, dynol ‘human’ a new formation which has replaced Ml. W. dynjavel l.l.a. 12, 24, 38, etc.

ii. (1) In Mn. lit. W. ī generally appears after syllables having ei, as in ysbeiliaf ‘I rob’ (ysbail ‘spoil’ < Lat. spolium); teithiaf ‘I journey’ (thaith ‘journey’), geir|ian ‘words’ (gair ‘word’), neith|iwy(y)r ‘last night’, Ml. W. neithwy|r § 98 i (3). In these cases the ī is omitted in S. W. dialects and most Ml. mss., as
keinhac. B.B. 54 = keinhac. B.T. 28; but the oldest Ml. prose mss. (the early mss. of the laws) and Mn. lit. W. follow the practice of the N. W. dialects and insert the ɛ, as keynyânc a.l. i 24 m.s. A., cf. 22 mss. B., D., Mn. W. ceinig õ 'penny'.

(2) There are, however, several exceptions to this rule besides those mentioned or implied in § 36. The ɛ is omitted before the substantival terminations -en, -es, -edd; as deilen (M.II. i 155 has the unusual deilien) 'leaf', bugeiles 'shepherdess', cyfeilles (printed cyfeillies in d.g. 75) 'amic', meithedd 'lengthiness'; before endings of comparison, as meithed, meithach, meithaf (maith 'long'), meined, meinach, meinaf (main 'slender'), except rheit-iéd, -iach, -iaf. § 149 i, stems in -eidd- as mannewdâch ii. A. 8 'finer', pereiddiaf 'sweetest', and some stems in -eith- as perfeithiaf 'most perfect'; before the pl. endings -edd, -oedd, as eithoedd 'languages'; in a few isolated words as teilo 'to manure' (but teyljaw in b.ch. 102), adeilad 'building' (but adeilyat in r.p. 1220), cymdeithas 'society', eiddo 'property'.

(3) Medial ei before a consonant originally simple must be due to affection by ɛ after the consonant; and the ɛ in yseilifaf etc. is the affecting ɛ preserved. -eith- generally represents *-ekt- a verbal noun and adj. formation, as in perfeith 'perfect', and the ɛ in perfeithio is probably analogical, § 201 iii (6). From these the ɛ has tended to spread. But there is necessarily no original reason for it when ei comes from -ek- or -eg-; hence the exceptions meithach, cymdeithas, teilo (tail < *tegl- § 104 ii (1)), etc.

iii. ɛ is also added to many stems having ɛ or u; as cil 'back', pl. ciliau, ciliaf 'I retreat'; tir 'land', old poetic pl. tirion b.b. 26, r.p. 1144, tirio 'to land', tirio 'landed' (but pl. tiredd, tiroedd); grudd 'cheek', pl. gruddiau; llun 'form', pl. lluniau, llunio 'to form', lluniaidd 'shapely'; ystydjaw, lluvyjaw i.l.a. i i 'to study', 'to labour'. In some of these cases also the ɛ is lost in S. W. dialects.

iv. Many stems end in w which forms rising diphthongs with the vowels of all endings, except with w § 36 i; thus galw 'to call', galwaf 'I call', gelwaist 'thou calledst', gelwynt 'they called', etc.

§ 36. i. w drops before w, and ɛ drops before i. The semi-vowel is sometimes written (as w or y) in Ml. W., but is often
omitted. Thus while r.m. 51 has mi a gadawn, mi ae kadawn, the older w.m. 71 has in the same passage mi'a gadwn, mi ay gadwn. Similarly we have vedyðyit in i.l.a. 48 but bedydïr earlier, p. 42.

The syllable closed by the ø or i remains closed after its loss; thus cadvwn, be|dydd|ir became cad|vwn, be|dydd|ir (not cd|vwn, be|dydd|dïr). By re-formation the ø is sometimes restored in the spoken lang. in forms like ber|yoch ‘boil ye’ impv., on account of the strength of the analogy of ber|gi, ber|vaf, ber|wood, etc. But the lit. and ordinary form is ber|yoch, and the absence of ø in the traditional pronunciation accounts for the well-known W. pronunciation of E. wood as ‘wood, etc.

ii. i drops before y and u in monosyllables and final syllables; as yrch A.L. i 20, I.l.a. 67 for *yrch pl. of yrch ‘roebuck’; udd ‘lord’ < O. W. ïud- (‘*warrior’); peidynt r.m. 90 (from peidyaw ‘to cease’, cf. peidywys r.m. 98); Maredið r.p. 1194 for *Maredið, O. W. Morgetiud gen. xiii (≡ Morgetið), Griffið < O. W. Griphiud (≡ Griffið). It is often found written in Ml. W., as ystyrých r.p. 1153 ‘thou mayst consider’, hilynt i.l.a. 111 ‘they would breed’, llafwyrýs do. 28 ‘laborious’, meðylýnt w.m. 103 ‘thou wouldst think’; but the spelling is perhaps theoretical; see below.

Initial ðu in polysyllables has given i, as in Iddew ‘Jew’ for *ïnðew; Ithel < *ïnð-hael, O. W. Indhail.

See Ídæw p 14/1 r. (13th cent.); itewon (i ≡ ð) b.b. 102; so in I.l.a. see its index, and in r.b., see r.b.b. index. Salesbury wrote Iddew, which he inferred from the derivation. The Bible (1588 and 1620) has Iddew; but late editors have adopted Salesbury’s unphonetic spelling. D. includes ðu among rising diphthongs; but his only example is the artificial Iudder.

It is seen that ðu became u in the syllables which were accentted in O.W., and i in syllables unaccentted at that period, § 40. The simplification must therefore have taken place before the shifting of the accent; and Ml. W. forms with ðu (≡ ðu) are analogical formations, and perhaps artificial.

iii. ø sometimes drops before a; as in the prefixes go-, gor- for gwo-, gwor-; thus Ml. and Mn. W. goleuni ‘light’, O. W. guoleuni JUV. But analogy has tended to restore it; thus while we find athraon m.a. i 256, ii 319 for athraon i.l.a. 112, r.m. 19, r.p. 1234 ‘teachers’, canaon b.a. 38, m.a. i 261, 315 for kanawon r.b.b. 147 ‘whelps’, Íeol Í.m. ii 234, 235 for Íeolot i.l.a. 10.
§ 37 RISING DIPHTHONGS


*gwolchi ‘to wash’ gave golchi, whence *gylch ‘washes’; but in Mn. W. the latter was gwolch as *gwolchi. So penwog became *penwog whence *penwog ‘herring’, the pl. retaining the *p: *penwog L.G.C. 158, Mn. W. *pentwic L.L. i 66.

‘The sea washes the sweet coast of Môn.’

iv. *i drops after *w owing to the extreme difficulty of pronouncing the combination, but it remains before vocalic *w; thus *gwethiwr ‘worker’, *gwethiwr ‘was worked’, but *gwethiwyd ‘workers’ (not *gwethiwyd)—Of course vocalic *i remains in all cases: *ysbî-wyr ‘spy’, pl. *ysbî-wyr.

v. *i drops after *w following a consonant, or following a diphthong; thus *ceidwad for *ceidwad ‘keeper, saviour’, *geirwion for *geirwion, pl. of garw ‘rough’, *geirwion for *geirwion, pl. of hów ‘sprightly’. But when *w follows a simple vowel the *i remains, as in *gléwion, pl. of glew ‘bold’, glawio ‘to rain’.

It is kept in *gewiâlen when contracted (as in D.G. 60) for *gewiâlen, § 75 vi (2).

vi. *i drops after *u, as in diwion for *duwion, pl. of du ‘black’, goreuon for *goreuion, pl. of goreu ‘best’.

vii. *i drops after *r or *l following a consonant, as meidrió for meidriol ‘finite’ (veidriawl R.P. 1233, veidriawl do. 1234), budrion for *budrion, pl. of budr ‘dirty’, crwydriad for crwydriad ‘wanderer’, meistriaid for meistriaid ‘masters’, teimlo for *teimliô ‘to feel’, treiglô for treiglô ‘to roll’.

This rule is not always observed. In some late Bibles crwydriad has been altered into crwydriad. We also find meistriaid in Mn. W.; dinistrio always retains *i, and mentrio occurs for mentro.

Ambiguous Groups.

§ 37 i. As above noted *iw in ordinary writing represents both the rising diphthong *iw and the falling diphthong *iw.
ii. *iw* in the ultima followed by a consonant is *iw*, as *iwrch* ‘stag’, *rhodîwch* ‘walk ye’, *cofîen* ‘we remember’, *myrddîen* ‘a myriad’. The only exceptions are the Mn. forms *iwrch* for Ml. *ywrch* ‘to you’, and *nygl* for Ml. *nywl* § 77 v, § 90.

The Demetian disyllabic *niwol* (D.D. s.v., D.G. 152 *ná-wol/ná-wyr*) is < *niwol < *nygwol < nywol with irregular epenthetic vowel § 16 v (3) (y > w after w § 66 ii (2)). *Nifol* existed beside *niwol*. But the standard form appears to be a monosyllable (D.G. 70 *niwl/nós*); and all the derivatives are from *niwl*, as *niwlog* or *niwlog* ‘misty’, *niwlen* ‘a veil of mist’.

Initial *iô* became *iô* and then *ûn* in *uwôl* ‘porridge’ < Ml. *iot* (*ûgot*) R.B. 1061, Bret. *iôt*; but *iwrch* remained because it is easier so than if another consonant were added to the group at the end of the syllable.

iii. In all other cases *iw* is *iô*; thus (1) finally, as in *iô*, Ml. *gyw* ‘to his’, *rhîw* ‘hill’, *brîw* ‘wound’, *edliw* ‘to reproach’, *heddiw* ‘to-day’.

There is no exception to the rule in lit. W. In the Powys dialect *heddiw* is sounded *heddiw*, and in Gwynedd *heddiw*; but the Demetian *heddi* implies *heddiw*. The bards always rhymed it as *heddiw*, till it came to be written *heddyw* in the 15th cent. (one example in R.P. 1286), an artificial restoration, see § 77 v.

\[\text{Nid oes fydl na rhyd na rhîw} \]
\[\text{Na lle rhydd na llawr heddiw.} — \text{D.G. (to the snow), 408.}\]

‘There is no world or ford or hill or any free place or ground to-day.’ See also D.G. 16, 26, 82, 86, 126, 153, 194, etc.

\[\text{Ni fu havdd nofio heddiw} \]
\[\text{I wn o ffrod yn i ùrïw.} — \text{T.A., v. 22.}\]

‘It has not been easy to swim to-day for one with the stream in his face.’

(2) In the penult or ante-penult, as *diwedd* ‘end’, *niweddio* ‘to harm’, *cigdod* ‘race, people’. Exceptions are the borrowed words *siërnai* ‘journey’, *siôr* ‘sure’, and *diwrnod* ‘day’ when contracted, as in Gr.O. 88, for *diôrnod* for Ml. W. *diwrnod*, w. 1a (generally in Ml. W. *diwarnawd*, a S. W. form).

iv. *iw* is disyllabic when it is formed by adding a syllable beginning with *w* to a syllable ending in *i*; thus *gweddî* ‘prayer’, *gweddi-wr* ‘let us pray’, *gweddi-wr* ‘suppliant’. In such words the *i* is generally written in Mn. W. with a diaeresis—*gweddîwr*. 

PHONOLOGY § 37
v. The combination iwy has four sounds: (1) the mixed triphthong iw\(y\), as in neithiwer, § 34 ii. It occurs in verbal forms when the terminations -\(wys\), -\(wyd\, -\(wy\) are added to stems in i, § 35; as rhodiwyf 'I may walk', tybwyd 'it was thought'.

(2) \(iwy\) disyllabic. It occurs when the above endings are added to stems in vocalic i, as gwedd\(iwyf\) (3 syll., see example in § 201 ii (2)); and in compounds of di- with stems having \(\dot{\imath}w\), as in di-\(\dot{\imath}yr 'not bent' (\(g\dot{\imath}wr 'bent').\)

(3) \(iwy\), or (4) \(iw\), according to position, as in liwydd c. 164 'painter', pl. liwyddion; diwyd 'diligent' spv. diwytaf. These sounds may occur either when \(i\)w is followed by \(\eta\) or \(y\) or when \(i\) is followed by \(\eta\)w or \(\eta\)w in word-formation.

§ 38. i. The distinction between the falling diphthong \(\ddot{\imath}wy\) and the rising diphthong \(\dddot{\imath}yu\), both written \(\imath\w\), is an important one. The difference between them is seen most clearly in monosyllables such as \(g\dot{\imath}wr 'he knows', gw\(\dot{\imath}\r 'men'. In other positions they are liable to be confused in the dialects, and in a few cases we find confusion even in lit. W.

In ordinary written W. the falling diphthong when long is denoted by \(\dot{\imath}w\) (only used initially and after g, ch), but when short or unaccented there is no method in ordinary use by which it can be distinguished; in that case it is printed \(\ddot{\imath}w\), where necessary, in this book. The rising diphthong is indicated by marking the \(w\) a consonant.

ii. In monosyllables \(\dddot{\imath}wy\) represents the falling diphthong except when preceded by g or ch; thus d\(\dot{\imath}wn 'to bring', br\(\dot{\imath}wn 'rushes', c\(\dot{\imath}wn 'complaint', cl\(\dot{\imath}nl 'hurdle', ll\(\dot{\imath}br 'path', hw\(\dot{\imath}nt 'they, them', c\(\ddot{\imath}mp 'fall'. Words beginning with g or ch have usually the rising diphthong, as gw\(\dot{\imath}n 'white', gw\(\dddot{\imath}dd 'green', gw\(\dddot{\imath}ll 'trees', ch\(\dddot{\imath}rn 'roaring', ch\(\ddot{\imath}th 'blows'; the exceptions are G\(\dot{\imath}n 'the Wye', gw\(\dddot{\imath}ll 'goose', gw\(\dddot{\imath}ll 'presence', gw\(\ddot{\imath}l 'vigil, holiday', gw\(\dddot{\imath}l 'modest', gw\(\ddot{\imath}ll 'goblin', gw\(\ddot{\imath}r 'knows', gw\(\ddot{\imath}r 'a bend', gw\(\ddot{\imath}ll 'pledge', gw\(\ddot{\imath}th 'anger', ch\(\ddot{\imath}ll 'swelling'.

Note the following words which conform to the rule, though spelt like some of the above-mentioned exceptions: gw\(\dddot{\imath}ll 'trees', gw\(\ddot{\imath}l 'sees' § 173 iv (1), gw\(\ddot{\imath}ll 'darkness'.

iii. When a word has the falling diphthong \(\dot{\imath}w\) in its simple form, the diphthong remains so in all derivatives; thus m\(\dot{\imath}wn
'gentle', mwynach 'gentler', mwynhau 'to enjoy'; ciwyn 'complaint', pl. ciwñion, v.n. ciwyno 'to complain'. Similarly the rising diphthong remains rising, the y becoming y according to rule, § 82 ii (5); thus gwyn 'white', gwynnach 'whiter', gwynnu 'to whiten'.

In N.W. dialects wy has come to be sounded wy in the penult after c, g or ch, as cwyno for ciwyno 'to complain'; gwyyddau for gwyyddau 'geese'; chwyddo for chwyddo 'to swell'. But original wy, which in the penult is properly wy, has become w in all dialects, as chwthu for chwythu 'to blow', chwru for chwyru 'to roar', gwynnu for gwynnau 'to whiten'; see § 66 ii.

iv. When a word in its radical form begins with wy the diphthong is the falling one; thus wy 'egg', wyth 'eight', wythinos 'week', wybr 'sky', wylo 'to weep', wyf 'weeps', wyneb 'face'.

wybr, wylo and wyneb are frequently mispronounced; and in N.W. dialects the w of wyneb having been made consonantal a g has been prefixed to it giving gwynueb. This vulgarism hardly occurs before the 19th cent.

Rhaid im ddŵyn pridd ar f'wyneb
I'chag bod i'm adnabod neb.—D.G. 307.

'I must bear earth upon my face, so that no one shall know me.' See wrth f'wyneb D. G. 23, yn f'wyneb do. 442.

Amlwg fydd trŵyn ar wyneb; a
Afreid i ni nodi neb.—E.P. 212.

'Plain is the nose on a face; we need mention no one.'

A'r anadl all a'r wyneb b
Faf aroglaug siopau Siêb.—D.G., 330.

'And all the breath and face like the perfume of the shops of Cheapside.' See also g. 49.

Os wyneb b iarl ar y, bedd,
Iarl a aned erllynedd.—D.N., c. i 161.

'If an earl's face is in the grave, an earl was born last year.'

So always in the Bible; see fy wyneb, c Gen. xliii 3, Ex. xxxiii 20, Lev. xvi 10, etc.; eu hwynebau, c Gen. xlii 6, etc. An early indication of the mispronunciation is found in y wynebeu, B.C.W. (1703), p. 7, which should be yr wynebeu, but has not yet become y gwynueb.

v. Final wy is always the falling diphthong; as pîw 'who?'

Conwy, Myfanwy, arlwy 'a spread', dîlwy 'fine', llywî 'beautiful',

a Pronounce the wyn of wyneb so that it rhymes with the wyn of ddŵyn, trŵyn as the cynghanedd lug demands.

b Not a'r gwyneb, os gwyneb, the g being ruled out by the cynghanedd.

c Not fy ngwyneb, en gwynueb.
§ 38

AMBIGUOUS GROUPS

Tawg; also medial wy followed by a vowel, as mwygar ‘blackberries’, gwyr ‘gore’.

Tlodd a wyr talu dirwy:

Ni their math Lowri mwy.—T.A., A 14879/20.

‘The poor are accustomed to pay forfeit; they will never more forfeit such a one as Lowri.’

But in the Ml. 2nd sg. pres. ind. of verbs with w stems, as in gelwy ‘thou callest’, kedwy ‘thou keepest’ § 173 iii (1), Mn. W. gelwi, cedwi, the diphthong is of course the rising one.

vi. When a word has wy in the last syllable and a in the penult, the wy is the falling diphthong; thus arwydd ‘sign’, arglwydd ‘lord’, annwyd ‘cold’, addwy D.G. 355 ‘gentle’, cawnwyd ‘candle’, gwanwyyn ‘spring’, cadwyon ‘chain’, annwyli ‘dear’; awy ‘air’, awydd ‘desire’, see x below. Except in compounds, such as tanwydd ‘firewood’, etc.; see § 83 iii.

Rhaid i’r gwân ddal y gannwyll

I’r deur i wneuthur i dîwyl.—E.P. 235.

‘The weak must hold the candle for the bold to do his deceit.’

Oer gennych eira gwanwyn:

Oerach yw’myd er ych niôyn.—T.A., c. i 342.

‘Cold you deem the snow of spring: colder is my plight because of you.’ See D.G. 321, 408, 525.

Aur a gad ym ddwy gadwyll,

A’i roddi’n faich i’r ddyn fôn.—D.G. 64.

‘Gold was brought in two chains, and laid as a burden on the gentle maiden.’ See also c. 250.

Dyfynnodd i’w da i f’annwyll—

Da o le maen’na dalu i wyl.—H.D., p 99/430

‘He has summoned to His mansions my dear one—it is a good place where he is keeping his holiday.’ See § 54 i (3).

vii. wy is the falling diphthong when it is derived from Kelt. ei corresponding to Irish ia or i, as in pîwyl ‘thought’, Ir. ciail, gwîdd ‘goose’, Ir. jîd, gwîstll ‘pledge’, Ir. giaill, etc.; or when it is derived from Latin ë, ig or i, as in rhîwyl ‘net’ from rôte, ciwyr ‘wax’ from cîr, ëgîwys ‘church’ from ecclésia, egwîddor ‘alphabet’ from ëbêcêdarium, gwônwyyn ‘poison’ from venênum, dîwys ‘intense’ from dênsus, swîyn ‘charm’ from signum; sfuniqwîr ‘sense’ from sentûre. Rule vi may be verified in many words
by applying the test of derivation; e.g. canuwyll from candëla, cadwyn from catëna,\(^a\) parâdyês from paradisus.

Geiriau da a gwyr i w dîw
A ddinist y ddaw wenwyn.—D.I.D., f. 11.

'Good words and men to bring them will destroy the two poisons.'

\( Y \) doeth ni ddywayd a wyr;
\( Nid o \) \( sôn \) y daw synnwyrs.—G.I.H., g. 144.

'The wise does not say what he knows; it is not from talk that sense comes.' See also g. 111, 175, 234, 296.

viii. **wy** is the falling diphthong in the substantival terminations -\( \text{ru} \text{yd} \) ' -ness', -\( \text{u} \text{ys} \) ' -ians', and in the verbal terminations -\( \text{wyf} \), -\( \text{u} \text{ys} \), -\( \text{wyd} \), but is the rising one in -\( \text{wyr} \) pl. of -\( \text{wr} \) ' -er'.

The ending -\( \text{u} \text{ys} \) ' -ians' added to names of places is probably derived from the Latin -\( \text{enses} \).

**Hyd Iork y bu hydref dîwys,**
\( A'r \) gwau\( \text{w} \)yn ar y \( \text{Gwennw} \)ys.—L.G.C. 421.

'As far as York it has been a very autumn, while it was spring to the men of Gwent.'

ix. The following words may be mentioned as those most commonly mispronounced: **wy** is the falling diphthong in cerw\( \text{yn} \) 'vat', disgu\( \text{y} \)l 'look, expect', Gwynedd 'Venedotia', Gwy\( \text{yn} \)yd, id., morwyn 'maiden', ter\( \text{w} \)yn 'fervent'; it is the rising diphthong in oher\( \text{wy} \)dd 'because of', cycli\( \text{w} \)n 'rise, start', er\( \text{c} \)\( \text{w} \)yn 'protector, [bed]-side', ded\( \text{w} \)ydd 'happy'. See ter\( \text{w} \)yn / g\( \text{w} \)yn / br\( \text{w} \)yn r.p. 1206; cer\( \text{w} \)yn / coll\-\( \text{b} \)\( \text{w} \)yn D.G. 347.

\( Y \) ferch add\( \text{f} \)\( \text{w} \)yn o \( \text{Wynedd} \),
\( S\)\( y y\)m\( y\)s os\( a\) a medd.—D.G. 314.

'The gentle maid of Gwynedd, who lives in the midst of wine and mead.' See also L.G.C. 219.

\( M\)\( i \) a euraf bob morwyn
\( O \) eiriau mau\( \text{w} \)l er i m\( \text{b} \)\( \text{w} \)yn.—D.G. 281.

'I will gild every maiden with words of praise for her sake.' See also D.G. 126, 236, 297, 298, 356, and g. 119, 229, 243.

\( A\)\( r \) i far\( \text{c} \)h yr \( \dd\)\( \text{i} \) f' er\( \text{c} \)\( \text{w} \)yn
\( Y\)\( n \) y \( l\)\( u\) i\( l\)\( l\)\( w\) o d\( \dd\)\( y\)n.—T.A. g. 234.

\(^a\) Pughe, deriving cadwyn from cad\( \text{w} \)yn, made it cad\( \text{w} \)yn, and asserted that it was masculine. He then inferred a fem. cad\( \text{y} \)\( w\)en, which (as cadwyn is fem.) was unfortunately adopted by many 19th cent. writers. But no one has had the courage to write cadwenni for the pl. cad\( \text{w} \)yni. There is an old word cad\( \text{y} \)\( w\)en or cad\( \text{w} \)\( y\)\( w\)\( n\)t which means 'a battle', from cad.
§ 39 AMBIGUOUS GROUPS

On his steed went my protector in the host yesterday, a man like a lion.' See also L.G.C. 143, D.G. 510.

The word *kysfrws* 'shrewd' (rhyming with *henwyr* and *ymys* in B.T. 78, and with *pris*e*prys* and *clys*e*chwys* in B.B. 57) is now sounded *kysfrws* on account of the difficulty of the consonantal group *frw*. The word *celwydd* has undoubtedly the rising diphthong; see *kelywys*/*kunwyds* R.P. 1223, cf. 1251, and D.G. 338; probably *gwydd*/*gelywdd*, D.G. 256, is a misreading, but this form occurs in the 16th cent., see R. 36.

x. *wy* after a vowel has generally been changed to *wq*, except in verbal terminations. Thus *awyr*/*hwyr*/*lwyr* R.P. 1029, and generally so rhymed, see D.G. 395, 416, is now pronounced *awyr*, and the rhyme with *yr* occurs already in the 13th cent.: *awyr*/*yq* B.T. 23, G.Y.C. R.P. 1418. Similarly *awôd*/*rwôd*/*arwôd* R.P. 1180 is later *awyd*. *Pówys* L.G.C. 381 is pronounced *Pówys* §192 ii (2); *twyll* as in *tywll*/*canwll* B.B. 30, *tywll*/*gannwll*/*pwll* R.P. 1045, *twyll*/*amwyll* D.G. 267, *tynll*/*tywll* do. 117, 283 is now *tynll*, and already in D.G. rhymes with *hyl*/*hyl*/*cyl* R.P. 1043, later *ewyn* 'foam'. On the other hand *gânâ-wyd* 'was cleansed' and all similar inflected forms are still so pronounced.

Lat. * avidus* would have given *ewyd* in Welsh; *awyd* cannot be derived from it, see §76 iii, iv.

Accentuation.

§ 39. i. In a polysyllabic word, one syllable is always pronounced with more emphasis than the others; this is called the syllable bearing the principal accent, or, simply, the accented syllable. In Welsh the accent is a stress accent.

A syllable may be emphasized either by raising the tone of voice or by a more forcible utterance. The two things may go together; but speakers of various languages unconsciously adopt one or the other as their principle of accentuation. The first produces musical or pitch accent, the second produces expiratory or stress accent. In Pr. Aryan the accent before the dispersion is believed to have been predominantly pitch, though vowel gradation, § 63, points to the working of a strong stress accent. In Keltic, as in Italic and Germanic, the accent became predominantly stress, and has remained so, though its position has varied greatly.

*The syllable bearing the principal accent is denoted by an acute accent ' placed above its vowel.*

ii. The remaining syllables of the word are also pronounced with varying emphasis, but this may generally be disregarded, and they may all be considered as unaccented syllables. In
some cases, however, one of them may attain a decided prominence in comparison with the others; such a syllable may be said to bear a secondary accent.

The vowel of the syllable bearing the secondary accent is denoted where necessary by the grave accent '.

iii. Most monosyllables are stressed, but many frequently-recurring monosyllables bear no stress, but are pronounced in conjunction with another word. These are proclitics, which precede the accented word, and enclitics, which follow it.

The Welsh proclitics are the article y, yr, the prefixed pronouns fy, dy, etc., which are always unstressed. Usually also the relatives a, yâ, yr, y, the negative, interrogative and affirmative particles, most conjunctions as the a in bara a chaus 'bread and cheese', and often prepositions as the rhag in rhag afu 'for fear'.

The Welsh enclitics are the auxiliary pronouns i, di, etc. They are often written in mss. where they do not count in the metre, as in Arduireave tri B.B. 36 (Arðwyreaf-i dri) for Arddwyreaf dri (5 syll.) 'I will exalt Three'. These may however be accented for emphasis.

§ 40. i. In Mn. W. all polysyllables, with a few exceptions named in § 41, are accented on the penult; as câ|nuaf 'I sing', câ|ni|ad 'a song', can|i|d|an 'songs'.

ii. The position of the accent was certainly the same in the Late Ml. period. This is proved by the fact that in the 14th cent. the cynghanedd was fully developed in its modern form in which the penultimate accent plays an important part, ZfCP. iv 123 ff.

iii. (1) But certain vowel values point to a period when the accent fell generally on the ultima. The evidence seems to show that this was the case in O. W., and that the transition took place in the Early Ml. W. period.

(2) The clear sound y occurs in the ultima only; the obscure sound y, which must have been the sound when unaccented, occurs in all other syllables. Hence the ultima must at one time have borne the accent. In monosyllables which have always been unaccented such as the article yr, y, the sound is y; but in those which have always been accented, such as dyâ 'day', it is ã. There has been no shifting of the accent in y di|ð|o 'the day', which therefore preserves the accentuation that resulted in the vowel sequence y...ã. Hence a word like mûn|ð, which contains this sequence, must once have been accented *mûn|ð.
Similarly Brit. \( \ddot{u} \) remains (written \( u \)) in the ultima; but appears as \( y \) in other syllables, § 66 i; — \( e' \) remained and became \( ai \) in the ult., but became \( e' \) giving \( ei \) (\( \equiv \ddot{u} \)) in the penult, § 79; — Brit. \( \ddot{a} \) is \( aw \) in the ult., \( o \) in the penult, § 71 i; — \( aw \) in the ult. is \( u \) in the penult, § 77 x; from \( iu \) we find \( \ddot{u} \) in the ult. and monosyllables, the easier \( i \) in the penult, § 36 ii.

(3) In one or two words the vowel of the old penult has dropped since the separation of W. and Bret.; thus W. \( cr\ddot{y}3 \) ‘shoemaker’ < \( *cr\ddot{y}3 \) < Brit. \( *kar(p)\ddot{u} \): Bret. \( kere \), § 86 i (5); — W. \( ys\ddot{ry}d \) < \( *spr\ddot{yd} \) < Lat. \( spiritus \): Bret. \( sper\ddot{ed} \).

On the other hand in some words an intrusive vowel developed before the accented syllable; Ml. W. \( dy\ddot{y}l \) ‘deserves, owes’ comes through \( *dy\ddot{y}l \) < \( *dy\ddot{y}3 \), § 199 ii (2); the \( y \) spread from this to other forms of the verb.—Ml. W. \( tar\ddot{w} \) ‘to strike’, \( tere\ddot{u} \) ‘strikes’ < \( *tar\ddot{w} \), \( *t\ddot{r}e\ddot{u} \) < \( *t\ddot{r}aw \), \( *t\ddot{r}e\ddot{u} \). The vowel did not spread from these to \( traw\ddot{a}f \); the late Ml. \( taraw\ddot{a}f \) is an artificial lit. form, § 202 i (3).

(4) The accent in \( \ddot{y}sgol \), \( \ddot{y}strad \), etc., now falls on a syllable that at one time had no existence. It is obvious that the shifting took place after the introduction of the prosthetic vowel. There is no evidence of that vowel in O. W. In the earliest Ml. W. we find \( Istrad \) and \( Strat \), § 23 ii. The latter may be an archaic spelling, but it seems to show that the accent was on the \( a \). We may therefore infer that the transition took place in the Early Ml. period. In some words the prosthetic vowel was never firmly established; and the accent remains in its original position in these, § 41 i.

iv. In Brit. the accent was apparently free as in Pr. Ar. As unaccented \( \ddot{a} \) was shortened, it is seen that in \( *br\ddot{a}teres \) (\( > \) broder) the accent was on the ante-penult; as \( \ddot{a} \) which remained accented gives \( aw \), the accent to give \( o \) must have shifted to the \( ev \) in O. W., according to the general rule at that period. By the second shifting it went back to its original position, the new penult. Two shifting must be assumed to explain such a form as \( ys\ddot{ry}d \), which involves a shifting from \( *(y)spr\ddot{yd} \), which in turn implies a shifting from \( spirit-us \).—It will be seen in the following pages that British cannot have shared the fixed initial accentuation of Goidelic.

§ 41. In some words in Mn. W. the accent falls on the ultima. These are

i. A few disyllables in which the first syllable is (1) \( \ddot{y}s- \) or (2) \( \ddot{y}m- \); as (1) \( \ddot{y}sgr\ddot{e}n \) ‘shrine, coffin’, § 23 ii, \( ystr\ddot{yd} \) ‘street’, \( ysg\ddot{r}e\ddot{e}ch \) ‘screech’, \( yst\ddot{o}r \) ‘store’; (2) \( \ddot{y}m\ddot{w}\ddot{e}l \) ‘do thou visit’, \( \ddot{y}m\ddot{\ddot{u}}d \) ‘do thou leave’. But most words with these initial syllables are accented regularly, as \( \ddot{y}sgol \) ‘school’, \( \ddot{y}sb\ddot{ry}d \) ‘spirit’, \( \ddot{y}sg\ddot{w}\ddot{yd} \) ‘to shake’, \( \ddot{y}md\ddot{a}ith \) ‘journey’, \( \ddot{y}mg\ddot{u}d\ddot{d} \) D.G. 374 ‘hides’. In some cases we have both accentuations, see \( \ddot{y}m\ddot{w}\ddot{e}l \) below;
occasionally with different meanings, as *ymladd* 'to fight', *ymladd* 'to tire one's self'; *ymddwyn* 'to behave', *ymddwyn* 'to bear'.

> Y dydd a’r awr, nï’m dawr, dod;  
> *ýmwel* d à mi dan ámod.—G.I.H., TR. 91.

'Fix the day and hour, I care not [when]; visit me under [that] condition.'

> Arthur o'i ddolur oedd wan,  
> Ac o *ymladd* cad Gâmlan.—L.G.C. 450.

'Arthur was weak from his wound, and from fighting the battle of Camlan.' See also T.A., c. ii 78.

> Y *færch* weddwp ddifrychêuddeddf  
> *Wedi’r ymlâdd* a’r drem léddf.—D.E., P 112/840.

'The widowed woman of spotless life after the prostration and disconsolate aspect.'

ii. The reduplicated pronouns *myfi*, *tydi*, etc. Rarely these are accented regularly; see § 159 ii (2).

iii. (1) Words in which the last syllable has a late contraction, § 33, such as *pa|ra|tòi* for ML. W. *pa|ra|tòi* 'to prepare', *cy|tàn* for ML. W. *cy|tà|un* 'united', *Gwr|thé|yrn* for *Gwr|thè|yrn*, *Cym|rá|eg* for *Cym|ræ|eg*, *pa|rhà|d* for *pa|rhà|d* 'continuance'. It is seen that in these words the accent in ML. W. was regular, and kept its position after the ultima was merged in the penult.

(2) In the word *ysgolháîg*, ML. W. *yseolheic* 'scholar', the contraction in the last syllable seems to have taken place early in the ML. period, as *Nîd* vid *iscolheic* *nîd* vid eleic unben B.B. 91 (10 syll.; read *sco|lheic*, § 23 ii), but it was necessarily subsequent to the fixing of the present accentuation; in B.B. 81 the uncontracted form occurs, rh. with *guledic*. A similar form is *pen-áîg* 'chief'. The word *ffêlaig* seems to have been accented regularly; thus in R.P. 1221 we have *ffêleic* / *filii*, the latter being the Lat. *fili*.

> Tudur waed Tewdwr ydoedd,  
> A *phenáig* cyff Ieuan oedd.—Gu.O., G. 196.

'He was Tudor of the blood of Tudor, and chief of the stock of Ieuan.'

iv. A few words recently borrowed from English; as *apél*, 'appeal'.
v. Disyllables in which $h$ stands between two vowels are accented regularly; thus *cyhyd* as in *Cyhyd a rhai og hâearn* D.G. 386 ‘[spikes] as long as those of an iron harrow’; and *hyd* *gyhyd* c.c. 312 ‘full length’. *Cyhoedd* ‘public’, as in *gyhoedd/gâeat*, r.p. 1283; *gwâheirdd* D.G. 20 ‘forbids’. Contraction has taken place in some of these, thus *cyhoedd* > *côhoedd* > *coedd*, D.G. 524; so *gwâhan* > *gwân*, which gave rise to *gwahân*. This appears to be the reason for *gwâhan*, *gyhyd*, *gwâhârdd*, etc. in recent W.

§ 42. In Ml. and early Mn. W. final $w$ after $d$, $ð$, $n$, $b$, $r$, $s$ was consonantal, § 26 iv; thus *meddŵ* ‘drunk’, *marŵ* ‘dead’, *delw* ‘image’, were monosyllables, sounded almost like *medd*, *marf*, *delf*. Hence when a syllable is added the $w$ is non-syllabic for the purposes of accentuation; thus *medddωn* ‘drunkards’, *mârwol* ‘mortal’, *mârgned* ‘elegy’, *délwyn* ‘images’, *árddelw* ‘to represent, to claim’. The $w$ is usually elided between two consonants, as *méd-dod* ‘drunkenness’, for *médwaðod*. In B.B. 84 we have *uetudaud* (≡*fêowdað*), but in Ml. W. generally such words were written without the $w$, as *meddawt*, r.p. 1217, 1245, 1250, 1269, ll.a. 147; *gweddawt* B.T. 31, r.p. 1261 ‘widowhood’. The $w$ inserted in these words in recent orthography is artificial, and is commonly misread as syllabic $w$, thus *médwaðdod*, the accent being thrown on the ante-penult, a position which it never occupies in Welsh. The correct form *méd-dod* is still the form used in natural speech. When final, in polysyllables, the $w$ is now dropped, and is not written in late W., so there is not even an apparent exception to the rule of accentuation; thus *árddelw* ‘to claim’, *sŷberw* ‘proud’ are written *árddel*, *sŷber*. In *owârchawd* ‘to guard’, *ymôrâlw* ‘to attend (to)’, metathesis took place at the end of the Ml. period, giving *gwârchawd*, *ymôrâlw*, which became *gwârchod*, *ymôrol* in Mn. W.

In all standard cynghanedd the $w$ in these words is purely non-syllabic:

*Da arôdelw kynnâlwy Kynâlwy këindâwn.—R.P. 1229 (9 syll.)* ‘A good representation of the exemplar of Cynddelw exquisitely gifted.’ The accentuation of *Kynâlwy* corresponds to that of *këindâwn*. Cf. *kiârch / kŷfeny*, 1230.

*I llôrff a’m pair yn Ilwyrfarw*  
O hud gwir ac o hoed garw.—D.G. 208.

‘Its [the harp’s] body makes me faint away from real enchantment and sore grief.’

E 2
Dyn marw a allai f’árwain
Weithian dwyr eithin a draín.—D.I.D., g. 182.
‘A dead man might lead me now through furze and thorns.’

F’enaid hoen geirw afonydd,
Fy nghiantiad dy fárwnad fylld.—IL.G., F.N. 30.
‘My beloved of the hue of the foam of rivers, my song thy dirge shall be.’ Cf. i fárwnad ef ô D.I.D., g. 184.

Marwnad yrn yrw awrw yrn d’ol.—T.A., A 14894/35.
‘It is a lament to me [to live] an hour after thee.’
Pwy a’th eilw pe’i’th wayw o’i.—T.A., A 14975/102.
‘Who will challenge thee if with thy ashen spear?’

The last example shows that eilw could still be a pure monosyllable at the end of the 15th cent., for the present disyllabic pronunciation mars the cynghanedd. Even stronger evidence is afforded by the accentuation dëw-darp /dòdi B.Ph.B., Stowe 959/98b. Although final w was non-syllabic, yn or yr following it was generally reduced to ’n or ’r, being combined with the w to form wn or yr, § 26 iii.

A’ch gwaed, rhwy gych gadw’r hêol.—T.A., A 14965/46.
‘With your blood it is natural to you to guard the road.’

Murnio da, marw’n y diwedd.—D.II., f. 31.
‘Stowing away wealth, [and] dying in the end.’

In a compound like marwnad the w was not difficult, for yn (rounded n) is common in Welsh, § 26 iii. But the colloquial pronunciation is now mawrnad, with metathesis of w. In 16th and 17th cent. mss. we also find marwad and harnad. The combination is more difficult in such compounds as dërwgoed ‘oak-trees’, mawrddwr ‘stagnant water’, chwérw-der ‘bitterness’; and though the etymological spelling persisted in these, the pronunciation dëw-goed, már-ddwr, chwér-der is doubtless old.

Lle dërgel gerllaw dërwgoed.—D.G. 321.
‘A secret place near oak-trees.’ Cf. dërgegit, T.A., g. 232.

Tro fy chwer’der yrn feýsdra.—Wms. 657.
‘Turn my bitterness into sweetness.’

Gyr chwerwder o garchárdai;
Newyn y lleidr a wna’n llai.—D.W. 112.
‘[Charity] drives bitterness from prisons; it makes less the hunger of the thief.’

Note 1. The rule that such words as marw, delw are monosyllabic was handed down by the teachers of cynghanedd, but the bards of the 19th cent. hardly knew what to make of it. Thus R.G.D. 97 uses marw and delw, and E.F. 185 uses enw and garw as monosyllables, while at the same time rhyming them. They no more rhyme as
monosyllables than if they were marf, defl, or enf, garf. In standard
cynganedd, marw rhymes with garw, tary only, and delw with elw, 
gwely only; see below. The disyllabic pronunciation may be traced as
far back as the 15th cent. In a couplet attributed to D.G. (see d.g.
322) bw rhymes with galw, a rhyme condemned by S.V. because
galw is a monosyllabic whose vowel is a, p.m. xcii.
Some old rhymes are syberw/hirerw/derw/chwerw, b.b. 69; agery/
chwerw/syberw/syberywy, b.a. 19; helw/delay, b.; dyveing/dyleing,
B.T. 21; dicanyw/lainw, m.a. 1 475; ymoralw/salw, do. 466; cadw/
achadow/bradw, i.g. 422; enw/senw, do. 407; geirw/teirw, D.G. 500;
syberw/ferw, E.P. 203.
Note 2. In hwnnw, acw (earlier raccw) the w was vocalic; also
probably in other forms in which it is a reduction of -w, see § 78 i (2).

§ 43. i. No Welsh word or word fully naturalized in Welsh
is accented on the ante-penult. Such forms as SÁesoneg, SÁesonnes
are misspellings of SÁesney, SÁeines.
A'r gyfreith honno a droes Alvryt wrenhin o Gymraec yn Saeson
r.b.b. 79 'And that law did King Alfred turn from Welsh into
English.' See ib. 64, 95, 96, etc.
The following words for different reasons are now sometimes wrongly
accented: cátálog, oméga, a penigamp 'masterly', periglor 'parson',
lladmérydd 'interpreter', ysgelérdar 'atrocity', oléwydd 'olives'.
A thálu'r ffin gathólig.—S.C.
'And to pay the catholic fine.' Cf. c.c. 25; i.g. 491; l.m., d.t. 196.
Cynor periglor églwys.—M.R., f. 12.
'The counsel of a church parson'.
Penáig y glod, penigamp—
Pennod i chompod a'i champ.—M.B. (m. D.G.), A 14967/183.
'Master of the [song of] praise, supreme—the height of its compass
and achievement.'
Alpha ac Oméga mâuw.—A.R. (1818), e.g. p. xiii.
'Great Alpha and Omega.' Cf. l.m. 2. See Wms. 259, 426, 869.
ii. A few words recently borrowed from English are accented on
the ante-penult, as mélodi, philósophi; but derivative forms of even
these are accented regularly, e.g. melódaitdd, philósophydd.

* This word has been naturalized in Welsh as in other languages, and the natural
Welsh pronunciation is probably nearer the original than the òmega now sometimes
heard from the pulpit in imitation of the English fashion. The adjective is
not an enclitic in ò müga. The natural accentuation, as used by the hymn-writers,
is unconsciously adopted by those like A. Roberts who are not affected by a little
learning.
§ 44. i. In a regularly accented word of three syllables the first syllable is the least stressed; thus in can[\textit{\foreignlanguage{Welsh}{da\text{u}}}] the stress on \textit{can} is lighter than that on \textit{dau}, both being unaccented as compared with \textit{ia}. Hence the vowel of the first syllable is liable to drop when the resulting combination of consonants is easy to pronounce initially; as in Mn. W. \textit{pladur} ‘scythe’, for Ml. W. \textit{paladur}, c.m. 95 (\textit{paladurwyr} w.m. 425, 426); Mn. W. \textit{gwrando} ‘to listen’, for Ml. W. \textit{gwarandaw}, r.m. 16, c.m. 29; Mn. W. \textit{Clynnog} for Ml. W. \textit{Kelynnawc}, l.l. 124.

Some shortened forms are found, though rarely, in Ml. prose and verse: \textit{gwrando}, c.m. 27; \textit{kweirywynt} for \textit{kyweirywynt} ‘was equipped’, b.p. 1276 (the \textit{y} was written, and then deleted as the metre requires); \textit{pinjwn} b.p. 1225 from E. \textit{opinion}; \textit{grennyd}, c.m. 1225, for \textit{garennyd}.

For \textit{dywedud} ‘to say’ we generally have \textit{dwedud} in Early Mn. poetry (written doedyd in the 16th cent.); so \textit{twysog}, E.U. § 32, b.cw. 71, for \textit{tywysog} ‘prince’; \textit{cleidion} c.c. 334, 390, pl. of \textit{caled} ‘hard’; \textit{clonnau} for \textit{calonnau} ‘hearts’, in \textit{Tyrd, Ysbrif Glân}, i ‘n \textit{clonnau ni}, R.V.

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ii. In words of four or more syllables, when pronounced deliberatively, the first syllable has a secondary accent, as \textit{bênd[\textit{di}g]\textit{di}g ‘blessed’}, pl. \textit{bênd[\textit{di}g]\textit{di}g\textit{en}}. This also applies to trisyllables with the accent on the ultima, as \textit{cy[f\textit{aw}]nlâd ‘justification’}. The least stressed syllable is the second; and this is often elided, in which case the secondary accent disappears; as in Mn. W. \textit{gorchfygu} for \textit{gorchfy\textit{g}}u l.l. 15, and in Mn. W. verse \textit{tragwyddol} for \textit{trâ\textit{g}y\textit{d}dol ‘eternal’}, \textit{partâi} for \textit{pâ\textit{r}a\textit{t}âi ‘to prepare’}, \textit{lythr\textit{ên}nau} for \textit{ll\textit{y}\textit{th}r\textit{ên}nau ‘letters’}, \textit{perthnâsau ‘relations’} for \textit{pêrthyn\textit{n}âsau, etc.}

\textit{Gwaeddwn, feirdd, yn \textit{dragwyddol;}}
\textit{Gwa\textit{e} ni nad \textit{gw}i\textit{w} yn i \textit{bl.}}—Gu.O., A 14967/120.

‘Bards, let us cry for ever; woe to us that it is useless [to live] after him.’ See g. 160, 255.

\textit{Yn dd\textit{y}fal beunydd i \textit{bartôi}.—Wms. 259.}

‘Assiduously every day to prepare.’

iii. When a vowel is elided, as in i, ii, or v, the same vowel disappears in the derivatives of the word; thus \textit{pladurwyr ‘mowers’}; \textit{twysoges} b.cw. 11 ‘princess’, from \textit{twysog}, for \textit{tywysog}; \textit{tragwyddoldeb ‘eternity’}, \textit{ymbartôi ‘to prepare one’s self’}, ‘wyllys-gar ‘willing’ (\textit{ewyllys, ‘wyllys ‘will’}).
ACCENTUATION

Wedi 'mrawd yma'r ydwyf;
Ato, Ddwe, ymbartói 'dd wyf.—L.Mor. (m. I.F.).

'After my brother I tarry here; to him, Oh God, I am preparing [to go].' (The metre proves the elision, but not its position.)

In tragwyddoldeb the lost syllable is the second, so that there is no departure from the general principle laid down in ii; but in pladurwywr the first is lost because the word is formed from the reduced pladur. If paladurwr had been reduced directly it would have given *paldurwr; similarly twysoges, etc.

iv. Occasionally in Mn. W. haplology takes place, that is, a consonant, if repeated in the following syllable, is lost with the unaccented vowel; as erledigaeth for erlidedigaeth 'persecution', crediniol for credaduniol, § 132 (8), 'believing'. (Cf. Eng. singly for single-ly, Bister for Bicester, Lat. stipendium for stipendment, etc.)

v. An unaccented initial vowel sometimes disappears, as in Late Ml. W. pinyn r.p. 1225 'opinion', borrowed from Eng. 'wyllys for ewyllys in verse; and in Late Mn. W. machlud 'to set' (of the sun) for Ml. and Early Mn. W. ym-achludd, D.G. 121, § 111 vii (3). As a rule, however, this elision only takes place after a vowel:

Tebig yw'r gatennig lân
I 'dafedd o wlad Ifan.—I.D., TR. 142.

'The fair new year's gift is like threads from the land of [Prester] John.' Another reading is I edafedd gwlad Ifan, I.D. 22.

Ac ef gyda'i ogufoed
Yw gôr y wraig o reu 'riored.—L.G.C. 318.

'And he with his mate is the husband of the best wife [that] ever [was].'

In the dialects it is very common: morol 'attend (to)' for ymorol, molchi for ymolchi 'to wash', deryn for aderyn 'bird', menyn for ymenyn 'butter', mennyd for ymennyd 'brain', etc.

vi. In a few disyllables the vowel of the final unaccented syllable is sometimes elided; thus ónid 'but' appears generally as ond in Mn. W. Other examples met with in Mn. (rarely in Late Ml.) verse are mynd for mîned 'to go', tyrîd for tyred 'come!' gwêld for gwêled 'to see', llond for llônâid 'full (capacity)', cans for cánys 'because', nâm for nányn 'but', all except the last two in common use in the dialects. Similarly ór ys becomes ers, § 214 vii.

§ 44
Aner wnf fi’n cyweirio i fedd,
Ond aros mwynd i orwedd.—D.G. 295.

‘I am an anchorite making ready his grave, only waiting to go to rest.’

Cans ar ddwedd pob gweddii,
Cof cyweir, yr henwir hi.—D.G. 235.

‘For at the end of every prayer, unforgotten she is named.’

MaSeu, kanys ti yw’r medic.—R.P. 1298 (7 syll.).

‘Forgive, for Thou art the Healer.’

Ni edrychodd Duw’r achwyn;
Ni mynnoddd aur, namn i ddwyn.—G.Gl., m 148/256.

‘God did not regard the lamentation; He desired not [to have] gold, but to take him away.’ See also I.G. 380.

See examples of tyrd, dyrd in § 193 viii (2).

vii. The vowel of a proclitic is often elided
(1) After a final vowel, y is elided in the article yr, § 114; the pronouns yn ‘our’, ych ‘your’ (now written ein, eich), § 160 ii (1); the oblique relative yr or yr, § 82 ii (1), § 162 ii (2); the preposition yn, § 210 iv.

(2) Before an initial vowel, y is elided in fy ‘my’, dy ‘thy’, § 160 i (1).

(3) The relative a tends to disappear even between consonants, § 162 i.

(4) The vowel of pa or py ‘what?’ sometimes disappears even before a consonant, as in p’le ‘where?’ § 163 ii (2).

(5) After pa, rwv tends to become ry and r’, § 163 ii (6).

§ 45. i. (1) Compound nouns and adjectives are accented regularly; thus gwîn-llan ‘vineyard’, cadéir-fardd ‘chaired bard’, gwáig-law or llâw-wag ‘empty-handed’.

Gwáwd-lais mwyalch ar góed-lwyn,
Ac éos ar lioes lwyn.—D.G. 503.

‘The musical voice of a thrush in a grove, and a nightingale in many a bush.’

Yn i dydd ni adai wan
Ac w’n lláw-wag, Gwenllian.—L.G.C. 232.

‘In her day she, Gwenllian, left not the weak empty-handed there.’

(2) Even a compound of an adjective and a proper name may be so accented; as
Dáfrau am urddedig-Rys
Yw’r mór hallt, os gwir marw Rhys.—G.Gl., M 146/171.
‘The salt sea is tears for noble Rhys, if it is true that Rhys is dead.’

See Uchel-Grist, D.G. 259. The name Bendigéid-fran ‘Bran the Blessed’, was so accented, and the f was lost, §110 iii (3), giving Bendigéidran (corrupted into Benegridran in Emerson’s English Traits, xi).

Bondo gyfrdr Bendigéidran.—T.A., A 14976/166; c. ii 83.
‘The glass eaves of Bendigeidran.’

(3) When the first element has one of the mutable sounds ai, au, w, y it is mutated in the compound, becoming ei, eu, y, y respectively, because it is no longer ultimate when the compound is treated as a single word; thus gwéith-dy ‘workshop’ (gwaih ‘work’), hél-des ‘heat of the sun’ (hau ‘sun’), drýg-waith ‘evil deed’ (drwg ‘evil’), melýn-waith ‘yellow hair’ (melyn ‘yellow’). In old compounds aw also is mutated, as in llófrudd, §110 iii (1).

☞ A compound accented as above may be called a strict compound.

ii. (1) But the two elements of a compound may be separately accented; thus còel grëfydd ‘false religion’, gáu bróffwyl ‘false prophet’, hén òwr ‘old man’ (sometimes accented regularly, hénwr, b.cw. 64).

(2) The difference between a secondary accent and a separate accent should be noted. A secondary accent is always subordinate to the principal accent; but when the first element of a compound has a separate accent it is independent of the accent of the second element and may even be stronger if the emphasis requires it. Again, the first element when separately accented has the unmutated ai, au, w, or y in its final syllable; thus in còyd-nábýddiaeth ‘acquaintance’ there may be a secondary accent on còyd (short y), but in còyd gynull-iad there is an independent accent on còyd (long y). In fact, when there is a separate accent, the first element is treated as an independent word for all purposes of pronunciation (accentuation, vowel quantity, and vowel mut).

☞ A compound accented as above may be called a loose compound.

(3) Sometimes the elements of a loose compound are now hyphened, thus coel-gréfydd; but as any positive adjective put before a noun forms with it a loose compound, in the vast majority of such compounds the elements are written as separate words. See §155 iii.

iii. An adjective or noun compounded with a verb or verbal
noun forms a loose compound, as cŷnffon lónni 'to wag the tail', prŷsur rédant 'they swiftly run'.

 Fel y niwl o afael nant
 Y dison ymadáwsant.—R.G.D. 149.

'Like the mist from the grasp of the valley have they silently passed away.'

iv. (1) Prefixes form strict compounds with nouns, adjectives, and verbs; as áðrist 'very sad' (trist 'sad'), ám-gylcli 'circumference', cŷn-nal 'to hold', etc., etc.

(2) But compounds with the prefixes an-, di-, cyd-, go-, gor-, gwrth-, rhy-, tra- may be either strict or loose; as án-awdd or án háwdd 'difficult', § 148 i (6); án-aml/ŷnys 6. 103, án áml, § 164 i (1); di-wair, di wáir 'chaste'; rhŷ-wyr 'high time' and rhŷ hâwr 'too late'; trá-mawr Gr.O. 51, trá máwr 'very great'; trá-doeth do. 52, trá dôeth 'very wise'.

Dî-dad, amddifad ŷdwyf.
A dî fráwd wedi i farw ŷw.—L.Mor. (m. I.F.).

'Fatherless, destitute, am I, and without a brother after his death.'

Y mae'r ddwyais mor ddîwair.—D.G. 148.

'The bosom is so chaste.'

Fwyn a dî wáir—f'enaid ŷw.—D.G. 321.

'Gentle and chaste—she is my soul.' Cf. D.G. 306.

Trá dâ im y trŷ dêw-air.—I.F., c 18/11.

'Very good for me will two words turn out.'

In late Mn. W. new compounds are freely formed with these elements separately accented; thus tra, go and rhy are placed before any adjectives, and treated as separate words; § 220 viii (1).

When both elements are accented, the second has generally the stronger accent, unless the prefix is emphatic; in gor-ûwch 'above', gor-ŷs 'below', the first element has lost its accent, though these are also found as strict compounds, thus gôruwch, O.G., G. 257, Gr.O. 34.

§ 46. i. Expressions consisting of two words in syntactical relation, such as a noun and a qualifying adjective or a noun and a dependent genitive, are in some cases accented as single words. These may be called improper compounds. Mut-able vowels are mutated (y > y, etc.) as in single words.

They differ from proper compounds in two respects: (1) the initial of the second element is not softened except where the ordinary rules
of mutation require it; (2) the words are arranged in the usual syntactic order, the subordinate word coming last, except in the case of numerals, ii (5) below.

Cf. in Latin the improper compounds *pater-familias*, *juris-dictio*, in which the first element is an intact word, by the side of the proper compounds *patri-cida juri-dicus* in which the first element contains the stem only.

ii. Improper compounds accented on the penult consist of—

(1) Some nouns qualified by *da*, as *gabr-da* ‘goodman’, *gwreig-dda* ‘goodwife’, *hin-dda* ‘fair weather’, *geir-da* ‘good report’. Names of relatives with *maeth*, as *tôd-maeth* ‘foster father’, *mâm-maeth* (for *mâm-faeth*, § 110 iii (1)) ‘foster mother’, *mâb-maeth*, *bráwd-maeth*, *chwâr-faeth*. A few other combinations, such as *héul-wen* ‘bright sun’*a* (haul fem., § 142 iii), *côel-certh* ‘bonfire’ (lit. ‘certain sign’). See also (3) below.

*A bryno tir â braint da*

*Yn i árdal d’an wr-da*.—L.G.C. 249.

‘He who buys land with good title in his neighbourhood will become a goodman.’

(2) Nouns with dependent genitives: *trêf-tad* ‘heritage’, *dydd-brawd* or *dydd-barn* (also *dydd bráwd*, *dydd bân*) ‘judgement day’, *pên-tref* ‘village’, *pên-cerdd* ‘chief of song’, *pên-tan* ‘hob’. See also (3) and (4) below.

(3) Nouns with adjectives or genitives forming names of places; as *Trê-for* or *Trê-fawr*, *Brân-gwyn*, *Mynôd-dau*, *Abi-baw*, *Mim-ford*, *Pên-tir*, *Pên-mon*, *Pên-mon Mâwr*.b

Even when the article comes before the genitive, the whole name is sometimes thus treated, the accent falling upon the article; as *Pen-y-bâth* near Pwllheli, *Tal-y-bryn* in Llannefydd, *Clust-y-blaid* near Cerrig y Drudion, *Moel-y-ci* (pron. *Meyl-y-ç[i]*) (a hill near Bangor, *Llan-é-cil* near y Bala, *Pen-y-goes* near Machynlleth, *Pen-é-beth* near Aberystwyth (e for y, § 16 iv (2)). Cf. (7) below.

*Mì af i ganu i’m oes*

*I benáig o Ben-é-goes*.—L.G.C. 429.

‘I will go to sing while I live to a chieftain of Penégoes.’

(4) The word *dúw* (or *dyw*) followed by the name of the day in the genitive; as *Dúw-sul* as well as *Dúw Sâl* or *Dydd Sâl* ‘Sunday’; so *Dúw-lun* ‘Monday’, *Dúw-mawrth* ‘Tuesday’, and *Dif-iau* for *Dúw Jâu* ‘Thursday’. Similarly *dá(w)-gwyl* ‘the day of the feast (of)’.

*a* It is often supposed that *heulwen* is a proper compound of *hail* and *gwên*, meaning the ‘smile of the sun’; but erroneously, for *heulwen* is the ‘sun’ itself, not ‘sunshine’.

*b* The common spelling *Penmaenmawr* appears to be due to popular etymology. Camden, 4th ed., 1594, p. 18, has *Pen-mon maur*, and the word is now pronounced *Pên-mon-mâwr*. 
Echrýs-haint, och, wir Iesu!
Ddyfod i Idl Ddíf-jau du.—T.A., g. 235.

'A dreadful plague, Oh true Jesus! that black Thursday should have visited Yale.' See § 214 vii, ex. 2.

Both accentuations are exemplified in—

_Bûm y'r gog swyddog Dduw Súl;

'I was an officer of the cuckoo on Sunday; I am without office, and this on Sunday.' (Gwas y gog 'the cuckoo's servant' is the hedge-sparrow.)

(5) A numeral and its noun, as dêu-twys '2 lbs.', dwby-bunt '£2', cán-punt '£100', etc. Cf. E. twopence, etc. Though the order is the same here as in proper compounds, and the mutation is no criterion, it is certain that most of these are improper compounds. In the case of _un_, proper and improper compounds can be distinguished: _ún-ben_ 'monarch' is a proper compound, the second element having the soft initial, but _ún-peth_ is precisely the combination _ún peth_ 'one thing' under a single accent.

(6) The demonstrative adjective after nouns of time. See § 164 iii.

(7) Very rarely the article with its noun, as in _É-fenéchtyd_ for _y Fenéchtyd_ 'the monastary', in which the article, taken as part of the word, acquired a secondary accent.

iii. Improper compounds accented on the ultima consist of—

(1) A few combinations of two monosyllabic nouns, of which the second is a dependent genitive and the first has lost its accent; as _pen-rháith_ 'autocrat', _pen-llád_ 'summum bonum', _pyr-nháwn_ for _pryt nawn._

_Yr eog, rhôjwioq ben-rháith,_
_At Wên dos eto un-waith._—D.G. 148.

'Thou salmon, gentle master, go to Gwen once more.'

_A'm cérâydd mawr i'm cárjad,_
_Ac na'fh gawn yn lláwn ben-llád._—D.G. 513.

'And my great punishment for my love, and that I might not have thee as my whole delight.'

(2) A number of place-names of similar formation, as _Pen-byrch._

_Note._—(1) From this and the preceding section it is seen that accentuation does not always accord with the formation of words. A loose compound is etymologically a compound, but its elements are accented as separate words. An improper compound is etymologically a combination of separate words accented as one word. The accentuation of improper compounds is to be accounted for thus: in O. W. we may assume that _gor da_, _Aber Maw_, _Pen y berth_ were originally accented as they would be if they were formed now, with the main
stress in each case on the last word. When each combination came to be regarded as a unit, the main stress became the only accent; thus, *gwr-dâ, *Aber-mâw, *Pen-y-bârth. This was at that time the accentuation of ordinary words, such as *pechadur, § 40 iii. When the accent shifted, and *pechadur became pechadur, *gwr-dâ became gwrdâ, *Aber-mâw became Aber-mâw and *Pen-y-bârth became Pen-y-bârth. In most cases of a combination like the last, each noun retained its individuality, and the original accentuation remained; hence Pen-y-bârth, which is a common place-name, is usually so accented, and the accentuation Pen-y-bârth is exceptional. In such a phrase as pryt-nâwn ‘time of noon’, each noun retained its meaning to the Mn. W. period; then, when the combination came to be regarded as a unit, the first element became unstressed, resulting in pryt-nâwn, whence prynâwn, § 111 v (5).

(2) Improper compounds having thus become units could be treated as units for all purposes; thus some of them have derivatives, such as gwrdâ-eth, ‘nobility’, tref-tâd-eth ‘heritage’, di-dref-tâd-u s.g. 306 ‘to disinherit’, prynâwn-ol ‘evening’ adj.

(3) On the other hand, in some proper compounds each element was doubtless felt to preserve its significance; and the persistence of this feeling into the Mn. period resulted in loose compounds.

§ 47. i. In compound prepositions the elements may be accented separately, as óddi âr. But the second element has usually the stronger accent; and in some cases the first element becomes unaccented, as in Mn. W. y gânn, which became gan ‘by’ in Late Mn. and Mn. W. by the loss of the unaccented syllable.

On the analogy of y gânn, y ârth, etc., derivative and other old prepositional and adverbial formations retained the O. W. accentuation, as odân, yrâng, yrhâwg.

The separate accent often persists in Mn. W., as in óddi ârth (Mn. W. y ârth), and in adverbial phrases like óddi ýno (in the dialects ódd ýno as in Mn. W.). In the latter the first element may become predominant, thus ódd ýno ‘from there’ in the spoken language (often contracted to òðno and even óno).

ii. In prepositional and adverbial expressions formed of a preposition and a noun (whether written separately or not), the last element only is accented; thus uwch-bén ‘above’, dra-chéfn ‘again’, ger-brôn ‘before’, uwch-lâw ‘above’, ymhâen ‘forward’, ynghyd ‘together’, i gyd ‘together’, eriðed ‘ever’.

These expressions thus form improper compounds accented on the ultima. The adverb achlân (achlân) ‘wholly’ is similarly accented.
HEAIS ful orohian
I chlôd yng Ngwynedd achlân.—D.G. 235.

'I have sown her praises like a paean through the whole of Gwynnedd.'

iii. Many adverbial expressions of three syllables, consisting of a monosyllabic noun repeated after a preposition, form improper compounds accented on the penult; as ol-ýn-ol 'track in track', i.e. 'in succession';* ben-drá-phen 'head over head', law-ýn-llaw 'hand in hand', etc. The first noun may have a secondary or separate accent, as bhith drá-phlith 'helter-skelter'.

The first noun being in an adverbial case has a soft initial.

A dau fraud ieuaf ar ol
Eli énog ol-ýn-ol.—G.Gl., c. i 201.

'And two younger brothers in succession after the famous Eli.'

Oes hwy no thri, Siôn, y'th roer,
Law-ýn-llaw á'th laypén-lloer.—T.A., A 14866/746.

'For a life longer than three, Siôn, mayst thou be spared, hand in hand with thy bright moon.' See also E.P. 240.

Ael-ýn-ael á'i elýnion.—D.N., c. i 160.

'Brow to brow with his enemies.'

Dal-ýn-nal rhwng dwy lónnerch.—D.N., M 136/147.

'Face to face between two glades'; ýnnal for ýn-nhal, § 48 ii.

Daw o dëidzæu dad-i-dad,b
Gollwyn hen,—nid gwel un had.—W.IL.

'He comes from forebears, father to father, like an ancient hazel-grove —there is no better seed.'

Arglwyddi lín ó-lin ynt.c—L.G.C. 460.

'They are lords from line to line.'

See vers dragvers L.A. 164 'reciprocally', gylich ogylch do. 166 'round about', ddubrn trá-dwrn, láw drá-llaw, L.G.C. 18. In many cases the first noun also is preceded by a preposition, as

Marchog o lín ó-lin oedd.—L.Mor., I.mss. 292.

'He was a knight from line to line.'

See o lwyn i-lwyn D.G. 141, o law i-law do. 145. Cf. Late Mn. W. i-gam ó-gam 'zig-zag'.

* The last ol of olynol was mistaken about the middle of the last century for the adjectival termination -ol (= -awl), and from the supposed stem olyn an abstract noun olyniaeth was formed to render 'succession' in 'apostolical succession'!

b In all the above examples the cynganedd is either T2 or C2, which implies the accentuation indicated. See ZfCP. iv. 124, 137.

c The cynganedd is S4, which implies the accentuation marked.
§ 48

The ordinary accentuation is also met with in the bards:

O iwyn i iwyn, ail Énìd.—D.G. 84.

‘From bush to bush, [maiden] second to Énìd.’

iv. When pa or py is followed by a preposition governing it, the latter only is accented: pa-hám (for pa am, § 112 i (2)) ‘what for? why?’ often contracted into pam by the loss of the unaccented syllable, § 44 vii. So were doubtless accented the Ml W. pa-hár a.l. i 108, 134, pa hár do. 118 (for pa ar) ‘what on? pa rác B.B. 50, pyrác R.M. 126 ‘what for?’

§ 48. i. When the syllable bearing the principal accent begins with a vowel, a nasal, or r, it is aspirated under certain conditions, § 112 i (4); thus ce|né|d|loedd ‘nations’, from cenedd; bo|né|ddig (vonküssic R.P. 1331) from bonedd ‘gentry’, § 104 iv (1); cy|né|d|wyd, from cynnal ‘to support’ from cyn + dal (d normally becomes n, not nh, § 106 ii); di|hán|g|ol from di-anc ‘to escape’; a phlanhédwen R.P. 1303 ‘and planets’, usually planedau; kenhadew W.M. 184, oftener in Ml. W. kennadew do. 42 ‘messengers’.

A’i aur a’i fedd y gŵyr fo,
Fonhéddig,a fy nyhuddo.—L.G.C. 188.

‘With his gold and mead doth he use, as a gentleman, to comfort me.’

ii. On the other hand, an h required by the derivation is regularly dropped after the accent; as cyn|nes ‘warm’, for cyn-nhes from cyn + tes (t gives nh, § 106 iii (1)); bré|nin ‘king’, for bré|n|hin from bre|en|hin from *breentin, Cornish brentyn; tán|nau ‘strings’, for tán|n|heu from O. W. tantou m.c.; éang ‘wide’, for éh-ang from *eks-ang–; ánawdd I.A. 109 for án-hawdd ‘difficult’; áraul ‘bright’, for ár-haul, which appears as arheul in R.P. 1168. The h is, however, retained between vowels in a few words, as éhud ‘foolish’, déhau and déau ‘right (hand), south’; and in nrh, nhr,b nghr, and Irh, as ánhraith ‘spoil’, ánhrefn ‘disorder’, ánghred ‘insidelity’, ólrhain ‘to trace’.

The h is also dropped after a secondary accent, as in

a L. G. C.’s editors print voneddig in spite of the answering h in nyhuddo.

b nrh and nhr have the same sound but differ in origin: nrh = n + rh; nhr is from n + tr. They are often confused in writing.
brêninjâethau 'kingdoms'. So we have cênedláethau 'generations', lôneddîgaidîd 'gentlemanly' (voneðigeid r.g. 1129).

iii. Note therefore the shifting of the h in such a word as dihâreb 'proverb', Ml. W. dihaerêb r.p. 1326, pl. diærhebîon, Ml. W. diaerhebîon r.b. 974, 975, 1083. The word has etymologically two h's: di-haer-heb, but only that is preserved which precedes the principal accent.

iv. The above rules may be briefly stated thus: an intrusive h sometimes appears before the accent, and an organic h regularly disappears after the accent. It is obvious that the rule cannot be older than the present system of accentuation; it is indeed the direct result of that system, and is probably not much later in origin. The first change was the weakening and subsequent loss of h after the accent, giving such pairs as brenin, brenhinoedd; angen, anghenus (< *ŋken-, Ir. ēcen); eymar, eymbaru (< Lat. compar>); here h vanishes in the first word of each pair. Later, on the analogy of these, other pairs were formed, such as bônedd, bonheddig; cênedd, cenhêdloedd; where an intrusive h appears in the second word of each pair.

In O. W., when the accent fell on the ultima, it was easy to say bre[bhînhîn]; but when the accent settled on the penult, it required an effort to sound the aspirate after the breath had been expended on the stressed syllable. Hence we find, at the very beginning of the Ml. period, brenhineidd and brenin l.l. 120. But the traditional spelling, with h, persisted, and is general in b.b., as minheu ii; synhûir (≡ synnhywyr) 17; aðhen aðheu ii; brenhin 62; though we also find a few exceptions, as ka[geh]ell 35. In r.m. it still survives in many words, as brenhin 2; aðheu 5 (but ane[gh]eu ib.); mwyhaf ii; minheu ii; but more usually veyaf 13; minneu 3; gennyf 8; synnwyr 13; amarch 36; llinat (for llin-had) 'linseed' 121. In the r.p. we find ánouvô 1227, 1264, 1270, 1299; ánervdd, ánoveu 1226; diaygr (for di-hagr) 1280; lláwir (for llaw-hir 'long-handed') 1207, 1226; lláwbir 1214, with h inserted above the line—an etymological correction; áwrbôn 1217, with h deleted by the underdot—a phonetic correction.

Intrusive h makes its first appearance later, and is rarer in Ml. W. than lost h. In a.l., ms. a., we find bonheðyc ii 6, 14, but in this ms. n may be for nh; in later ms. bonheðyc i 176–8, ms. e.; bonheðic in Ml. W. generally. In other cases it is less usual; thus kenneðeu is the form in r.m., though the older w.m. has sometimes kenhadeu 184, 240; kenedloed b.b.b. 259, l.l.a. 169, so generally.

The orthography of the 1620 Bible generally observes the phonetic rule; thus brenin, brenhinoedd Ps. ii 6, 2; cenedl, cenhêloedd do. xxxiii 12, ii 1; anegu, anghefot do. vi 5, vii 13; aros, arhosodd Jos. x 12, 13; bonheddig, boneddigion Es. ii 9, i Cor. i 26; ammarch, ammhercî Act. v 41, Rhufl. i 24; etc. There are some irregularities and inconsistencies; e.g. dihârebîon Diar. title, i 1, and anghall Diar. 14 beside the phonetic angall do. viii 5. The Bible spelling was
generally followed, and the use of h medially was fairly settled on phonetic lines, when Pughe introduced confusion by discarding it wherever his mad etymology failed to account for it. His wildest innovations, such as glanâu, parâu for glanhâu, parhâu, were rejected by universal consent; but his principle was adopted by the "new school" including T. Charles, Tegid and G. Mechain, who disregard the accent, and insert or omit h in all forms of the same vocable according to their idea of its etymology. a Silvan Evans (Llythyraeth, 68) writes as if the cogency of this principle were self-evident, and imagines that to point out the old school's spelling of cyngor without, and cynghorion with, an h, is to demonstrate its absurdity. In his dictionary he writes brenines, boneddid, etc., misquoting all modern examples to suit his spelling; under ammeuthun (his misspelling of amheuthun) he suppresses h in every quotation.

In spite of the determined efforts of the "new school" in the thirties, present-day editions of the Bible follow the 1620 edn. with the exception of a few insertions of etymological h, as in brenin, ammarch, which appear as brenhin, ammharh.

Quantity.

§ 49. In Mn. W. all vowels in unaccented syllables are short.

Unaccented syllables here include those bearing a secondary accent, in which the vowel is also short, as in cênedlathau, though before a vowel it may be long in deliberate pronunciation, as in dêallt bribaeth.

In Late Ml. W. the same rule probably held good, but not necessarily earlier. In O. W. it was clearly possible to distinguish in the unaccented penult the quantities preserved later when the syllable became accented, § 56 iv.

§ 50. Vowels in accented syllables in Mn. W. are either (1) long, as the a in cân 'song'; (2) medium as the a in canu; or (3) short, as the a in cann 'white', cannú 'to whiten'.

In monosyllables a long vowel (except i or u) is generally circumflexed before n, r or l, § 51 iv, and in any other case where it is desired to mark the quantity. Short vowels are marked by ` which is sometimes used instead of doubling the consonant, as in D.D. s.v. cân = gan 'with', and before l which

a G. Mechain (iii. 224) writing to Tegid, assents to brenin, breninoedd 'though from habit I always read brenhinoedd with an aspirate; but the root does not warrant such reading.' His pronunciation was correct; and it just happens that the "root" does warrant it; see § 103 ii (1).
cannot be doubled in writing; dàl b.cw. 91, hèl do. 95, càlon Hyff. Gynnwys (1749) pp. 3, 20, 319 bis.

The circumflex has been retained in most cases where it is, or might be, used in ordinary writing. But where the position of the accent has to be indicated, ' is used; where there is no need to point out the accent, and the word is not usually circumflexed, ˘ is used. As every long vowel must be accented in Mn. W., it will be understood that ˘, ˚ and ˆ in Mn. W. words mean the same thing. In Brit. and earlier a vowel marked ˘ is not necessarily accented. As ' is required to denote a secondary accent it would be confusing to use it to mark a short accented vowel; hence ˚ is used here for the latter purpose, where necessary. The accent mark ˆ denotes accent without reference to quantity. A medium vowel can only be indicated by showing the syllabic division; thus cà|nu.

Note. The medium vowel, or short vowel with open stress, which occurs in the penult, is not heard in English where a penultimate accented vowel, if not short as in fathom, is long as in father. Silvan Evans calls the medium vowel "long", and J.D.R. often circumflexes it. But the a of cà|nu is not long, except in comparison with the a of cân̆|nu; beside the a of cân it is short. It is a short vowel slightly prolonged past the point of fullest stress, so as to complete the syllable, and the following consonant is taken over to the ultima.

§ 51. i. If a vowel in a monosyllable is simple its quantity is determined by the final consonant or consonants, the main principle being that it is long before one consonant, short before two, or before a consonant originally double; see § 56 ii.

ii. The vowel is short before two or more consonants, or before p, t, c, m, ng; as cànt 'hundred', tòrf 'crowd', pòrh 'portal', bârd 'bard', ìt 'to', llâc 'slack', càm 'crooked', llông 'ship'.

Nearly all monosyllables ending in p, t or c are borrowed; some from Irish, as bràt 'apron', most from E. as hâp, tòp, hèt, pòt, cnòc, which simply preserve the original quantity. E. tenuis after a long vowel becomes a media, as W. clòg < E. cloak, W. gròd g. 157 < E. groat, re-borrowed as grôt; so the late borrowings cot, grát (but in S. W. còt).

W. ìt is an analogical formation, § 209 vii (2); ac, nac should be ag, nag in Mn. orthography § 222 i (r), ii (3).
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Exceptions to the above rule are the following:

(1) In N. W. words ending in s or ll followed by another consonant have the vowel long; as trist ‘sad’, côsb ‘punishment’, hålt ‘salt’ adj., etc., except in borrowed words, as cást ‘trick’. In S. W., however, all such words as the above conform to the rule.

(2) The vowel is long when it is a late contraction, § 33 iv; as ânt ‘they go’, for a-ant; bûm ‘I have been’, for bu-um; bônt ‘they may be’, for bo-ont; rhîont ‘they give’, for rho-ant. In òm ‘we are’, ònt ‘they are’, the vowel is pronounced long; it is marked long by J.D.R. 94; but E.P., rs. lxxv 1, rhymes ynt with hynt, and in Ml. W. it is written ynt (not *yynt); hence the lengthening is probably due to false analogy.

Cânt ‘they shall have’ is for ca-ant and has long a; but cant ‘sang’ is for can-t, and is therefore short. Even gwîld, § 44 vi, from gwêl, has the e shortened by the two consonants; a fortiori, in cant ‘sang’ where the final double consonant is older, the a must be short. Silvan Evans (s. v. canu) adopts the error of some recent writers, and circumflexes the a in cant, even where it rhymes with chwant, and in quoting Gr.O. 82, where no circumflex is used. The word never rhymes with ânt, gwîlânt, etc.

The vowel is circumflexed when long before two consonants, except where the length is dialectal.

(3) The mutated form dêng of deg ‘ten’ preserves the long vowel of the latter in N. W.

iii. The vowel is long if it is final, or followed by b, d, g, f, dd, ff, th, ch, s; as tŷ ‘house’, llê ‘place’, mâb ‘son’, tâd ‘father’, gwâg ‘empty’, dôf ‘tame’, rhôdd ‘gift’, clôff ‘lame’, crôth ‘womb’, côch ‘red’, glâs ‘blue’.

Exceptions: (1) Words which are sometimes unaccented, vi below.

(2) Words borrowed from English, as sôd ‘steady’, tôb, flâch (from flash), lâch (from lash). Sôd, also written suit, ‘kind, sort’ from suit (cf. Chaucer, Cant, Tales 3241) is now short; but in D.G. 448 it is long, rhyming with hûd.

(3) Some interjectional words, such as chwâff, pîff, âch. The interjection och is now short, but is long in the bards; see Och / Göch D.G. 464. Cîff is now sometimes incorrectly shortened.

A long vowel need not be circumflexed before any of the above consonants. In the case of a contraction, however, the vowel is usually marked; thus rhôdd ‘he gave’ for rhôoodd for rhôoddod. In such forms the circumflex is unconsciously regarded as a sign of contraction, and may be taken to indicate that the vowel is long independently of the character of the consonant.

The circumflex is also used in nûd ‘cry’ to distinguish it from nûd ‘that not’.

iv. If the vowel be followed by l, n or r, it may be long or

Each of these consonants may be etymologically single or double. Dâl is from *dalg- § 110 ii (2), so that the final l represents two root consonants. In O. and Ml. W. final n and r when double in origin were doubled in writing, as in penn, ‘head’, Irish cenn, in other cases of course remaining single as in hên ‘old’, Irish sen; thus the principle that the vowel is short before two consonants, long before one, applied. The final consonant is now written single even in words like pen, and only doubled when a syllable is added, as in pennaf, cf. Eng. sin (O. E. sinn) but sinner (though even medial -nn- is now sounded -n- in Eng.). It is therefore necessary now to distinguish between long and short vowels in these words by marking the vowels themselves.

§ In a monosyllable, a long vowel followed by l, n or r is circumflexed; thus, tâl ‘pay’, cân ‘song’, dôr ‘door’, dêl ‘may come’, hôn ‘older’. But i and u need not be circumflexed, since they are always long before these consonants, except in prin, and in (= Ml. W. ynn ‘to us’), and a few words from English as pên, bîl. The common words dŷn, hên, ôl are seldom circumflexed.

Ml. W. -nn is still written in some words, e.g. in onn ‘ash’ pl. ynn, as in the names Llwyn Onn, Llwyn Ynn. Doubling the consonant is preferable to marking the vowel when it is desired to avoid ambiguity, as in cann ‘white’, a yr ‘drives’. It is not sounded double now when final; but the consonant is distinctly longer e.g. in pên than in hên. In Corn., penn became pedn.

Note. The a is long in tâl ‘forehead, front, end’, and was circumflexed down to the latter part of the 18th cent.; see D.D. s.v., & 68. The l is etymologically single, as is seen in the Gaulish name Cassitalos. In the spoken language the word survives only in place-names, and is sounded short in such a name as Tûl-y-bônt because this has become an improper compound accented on the ultima, § 46 iii, so that its first element has only a secondary accent, § 49. When the principal accent falls on it, it is long, as in Trwyn-y-tâl near the Rivals. Tegiâl o tâl, Edeirnaun, Itâl b.b. 74 ‘Tegeingl to its end, Edeirnawn, [and] Yale.’ The rhyme with Itâl shows the quantity of tâl.

Y fun araf, fain, eirian,
Ar tâl fal yr awr mâl mân.—D.G. 330.

‘The calm, slender, bright girl, with the head like finely milled gold.’

v. When the word ends in ll the quantity varies. In N. W. it is short in all such words except ôll, höll; in S. W. it is long, except in gall ‘can’, dûll ‘manner’, miôll ‘sultry’, cîll ‘loses’, and possibly some others.
vi. Many prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions, which are long by the above rules, by being often used as proclitics have become short even when accented, more especially in N. W.; as rhyg 'against', héb 'without', nið, nið 'not', dán 'under' (originally one u), náil, fáil, féil 'like', äg (written ae) 'and', nág (written nac) 'nor'; but ág 'with'.

The long vowel is preserved in some of these in S. W. The word nes 'until', § 215 i (2), was circumflexed even by N. W. writers as late as the 18th cent., see nês g. 237; it is now sounded nés (already nes in b.cw. 83, 115 beside nés 'nearer' 13, 109, 110). In D.G. dán 'under' has long á:

Serchog y cân dán y dail.—D.G. 225.

'Lovingly it sings under the leaves.'

§ 52. i. If the vowel in a monosyllable is the first element of a diphthong, its quantity depends chiefly upon the form of the diphthong.

ii. The vowel is long in ae, oe, œy; thus tráed 'feet', òen 'lamb', hwygr 'late', cæm 'field', cæm 'we might have', dœ 'yesterday', mwy 'more', cwyn 'complaint', hwynt 'they', bloesg 'blaesus', rhwysg 'pomp', mænt 'they are', trôent 'they might turn'.

But except before -sg, œy is short before two or more consonants or m; as tɔwym, tɔynn, 'hot', rhɔyrm 'bound' (also rhɔym), cɔymmp 'fall' (now pron. cwymmp in N. W.), llɔybr 'path', rhɔystr 'hindrance', brɔydr 'battle', phɔynt 'point'; — hɔynt is influenced by hɔy 'they'. Similarly mænt formed from, and influenced by mæ. The other cases are examples of contraction: cæm < cæ-em, trôent < tro-ynt.

iii. The vowel is short in all other falling diphthongs; as bái 'fault', bỳw 'alive', trôi 'to turn', llâid 'mud', bríw 'wound', dûw 'god', bûwch 'cow', hûul 'sun', ãwr 'gold', dêwr 'brave', bûwd 'thumb', mûwl 'praise', etc.

Exceptions: (1) In N. W. aw, ew are long when final only; as tɔw! 'be silent', bɔw 'dirt', llêw 'lion', têw 'fat'; otherwise short as above. In S. W. the diphthongs are short in both cases.

(2) au is long in trãul 'wear, expense', ðâuon 'peacock', gwâudd 'daughter-in-law', ffau 'den', gðâun 'meadow', cãuł 'rennet', pãu 'country'. The form gwæun is a recent misspelling of gwâun. In West Gwynedd the word is pronounced gwæun (e ð=-), Ml. W. gweun, O. W. gwoun.

(3) The vowel is long in ðû when contracted for a-au, as in plûn 'plagues'; but in cân for cæ-e-u, § 202 iii, it is short. It is long in âi for a-ai, and ëi for o-ai when final, as gwâi, trôi 3rd sg. impf.; but
§ 53. When the accent in a polysyllable falls on the ultima, the above rules apply as if the ultima were a monosyllable; thus, short, *pahâm* 'why?', *penâig*, § 41 iii (2), *parhâu* 'to continue', *gŵyrdrôi* 'to distort'; long, *Cymráeg*, *parhânt* (for *parhâ-ant*), *gŵyrdrôi* (for *gŵyrdro-aï*) 'he distorted', *penlîad* 'sumnum bonum'.

In *parhâu, caniatau*, etc., some recent writers circumflex the *a*, possibly a practice first intended to indicate the long vowel in the uncontracted form *-ha-u*, § 54 iii. When contracted the *a* is short. In D.D. and Bible (1620) it is not circumflexed. J.D.R. 144 writes *cadarnhâu*. But see § 55 ii.

§ 54. In the accented penult—

i. (1) The vowel is short, if followed by two or more consonants, or by *p, t, c, m, ng, ll, s*; as *hârdwch* 'beauty', *plêntyn* 'child', *cânnoedd* 'hundreds', *bîrrach* 'shorter', *ëstron* 'stranger', *ëpil* 'progeny', *âteb* 'answer', *âmen* 'to doubt', *ângen* 'need', *âllan* 'out', *Iêsu* 'Jesus', *glândeg* 'fair', *glânwaith* 'cleanly', *lânio* 'to fire', *tŷbîaf* 'I suppose'. There is no exception to this rule, though before *m* the vowel is sometimes wrongly lengthened in words learnt from books, such as *trâmor* 'foreign', *âmwys* 'ambiguous'.

Silvan Evans marks many obsolete words, such as *amwg, amug* with long *â*, for which there is no evidence whatever; it merely represents his own misreading of Ml. W. *-m-*, which always stands for *-mm-*.  

(2) The consonants above named are each double in origin. In Ml. W. *t, c, s* were usually doubled in this position, as *atteb, racco* or *racko, messur*; but *-m-* is generally written single, owing to the clumsiness of *-mm-* and its frequency; possibly *-p-* , which is not very common, followed the analogy of *-m-*; *ll* and *ng* being digraphs can hardly be doubled in writing. In early Bibles *m* and *p* are doubled; and G.R. wrote *gallu*, doubling *l* (his *l* = *ll*). As however each is etymologically double (except in borrowed words), the double origin
is sufficiently indicated by writing the letter; thus *ateb* is necessarily the same as *atbeb*; *mesur* is necessarily *messur*. So every medial or final *m*, *ng* or *ll* means *mm*, *wO*, or *ll* etymologically, and is so pronounced in the accented penult.

But in the case of *n* and *r* the consonant is not necessarily double; hence a distinction must be made between single and double *n* and *r*. The *a* in *cannu* ‘to whiten’ is short because it is followed by *nn*, representing original *nd* (cf. Lat. *cando*); the *a* in *canu* ‘to sing’ is medium because it is followed by a single *n* (cf. Lat. *cano*). The distinction is made in nearly all Ml. mss., and generally in Mn. mss. and printed books down to Fughe’s time.

(3) The accented syllable is "closed" (stopped, blocked) by the first of the two consonants, thus *glân|deg*, *plân|lyn*, *cân|nu*. Even *i* and *w* cause the preceding consonant to close the penult; thus *glân|waith* from *glân* ‘clean’. Ml. scribes, knowing that the syllable was closed by two consonants, and not knowing that the second in this case was *i* or *w*, sometimes doubled the first consonant, as in *dynijon w.m. 32*, *(g)lanweith r.m. 52*; but as a rule, perhaps, it is written single, as in *dynijon r.m. 21*, *(g)lanweith w.m. 72*. A consonant originally double cannot be distinguished from one originally single in this case; thus *tân-iô* ‘to fire’, from *tân* ‘fire’, and *glân-iô* ‘to land’, from *glann* ‘shore’, form a perfect double rhyme. It is therefore unusual to double the consonant in the modern language in these forms; *glannio* and *torriad* are written glâniô and toriad, which adequately represent the sound (cf. *pentref* for *pentreif*, etc.). Thus in *ysgrifenwîyd* ‘was written’ the double *n* indicates that the *w* is a vowel; in *ysgrifenywr* ‘writers’, the single *n* indicates that the *w* is consonantal. Hence some words like *annwîyl c.m. 70*, *synwîyr r.m. 116* are now written with one *n* owing to a common, but by no means general, mispronunciation of *wy* as *wîy*; see r.m. xcvi, where *Llyr*/*ssynwîyr* is condemned as a false rhyme.

ii. The vowel is medium if followed by *b*, *d*, *g*, *ff*, *th*, *ch*, *l*, single *n*, or single *r*; as *go|baith* ‘hope’, *a|deig* ‘time’, *sê|gur* ‘idle’, *ê|i|flaith* ‘effect’, *ê|thol* ‘to elect’, *pê|chod* ‘sin’, *cå|nu* ‘to sing’, *bô|re* ‘morning’, *cå|lan* ‘new year’s day’.

In this case the accented syllable is "open" (free), that is, it ends with the vowel, and the consonant is carried on to the next syllable. See § 50, Note; § 27 i.

In a few forms we have a short vowel before *l*, as in *Iol|o* (often mis-read *Iól|o*); *cå|lon* ‘heart’; *cå|lyn* ‘sting’, O. W. *colginn* juv.; *bô|vest* ‘colic’ < *bölgy*; *dê|l|r* ‘is held’ for *dê|l|ir* § 36 i < *dê|l|gir*. In Ml. W. such forms are written with double *l*, § 22 ii.

Double *l* cannot be from original *ll*, which gives the voiceless Welsh *ll* (*ll*). It occurs only in a new hypocoristic doubling as in *Iol|o*, or where a consonant now lost closed the syllable before disappearing:
in cálon the lost consonant is w; in cólyn it is ı < i; w drops before o, and i before y § 36 iii, ii;—cálon (Corn. colon, Bret. kalon, kaloun) < *kalvond- : W. colwedd R.A. 6 'heart', coludd 'entrail': Skr. kroda-h 'breast, interior': Gk. κόλος, O. Bulg. želad-ükü 'maw' with gh- (g/gh alternation).—For Early Mn. W. cályn 'to follow' the Ml. conlyn has been restored in writing.

A short vowel also occurs in cáwen, týbir, etc. § 36 i.

iii. The vowel is long if followed by a vowel or h; as é|og 'salmon', dé-hau 'right, south', Gwen|ilé|an.

iv. It is short in all falling diphthongs; as căé|ad 'lid', mivité|af 'most', llé|af 'least', rhvé|dau 'nets', llé|braw 'paths', héli|og 'sunny', têw|dwr 'thickness', býw|yd 'life', cnáw|dol 'carnal'.

But in N. W. the vowel is medium in aw, ew, iw before a vowel, that is the w is heterosyllabic; thus tæwél 'silent', tæwi 'to be silent', lle|pod 'lions', nib|wed 'harm'. In S. W., however, these are sounded tâw|el, têw|i, llé|od, nib|ed.

§ 55. i. The above are the quantities of the vowels in the Mn. language. They were probably the same in Ml. W. where the vowel is simple. Thus map or mab, tat, gwac had a long ā like their modern equivalents mäb, täd, gwâg; for where the vowel was short and the final consonant voiceless (=Mn. p, t, c), the latter was doubled, as in bratt R.G. 1117, Mn. W. bratt D.D., or brat (=brät) 'rag, apron'. In the case of Ml. single -t, both the long vowel and the voiced consonant are attested in the spelling of foreigners; thus the place-name which is now Böd Feirig, which in Ml. W. spelling would be *Bot veuruc, appears in Norman spelling in the Extent of Anglesey, dated 1294, as Bode-ueuryk (Seebohm, Trib. Sys.1 App. 6), where bode doubtless means bód, the Mn. W. sound. Again in the Extent of Denbigh, dated 1335, the Mn. W. Rhös appears as Roos (op. cit. 72), showing the vowel to be long before s then as now. The N. W. long vowel before st is attested in 1296 in the Ruthin Court Rolls p. 15, l. 10 in the spelling Neeste of the name Nest. The distinction between medium and short in the penult is everywhere implied in Ml. spelling; and we are told in R.G. 1120 that the vowel is long when followed by another, as the i in Gwenllyant, Mn. W. Gwen-ith-an. Thus the quantity of a simple vowel was
generally the same in all positions in Ml. and Mn. W., even local usage agreeing; except in shortened words § 51 vi.

ii. But in diphthongs many changes must have taken place. As a “vowel before a vowel” was long then as now, trö-ði must have had a long ð, so that, when first contracted, it was still long; it remains long in Montgomeryshire; thus the short o in tróði is probably late. Similarly short ŋi for e-i, ñu for a-u, ŋu for o-u. Other diphthongs also probably differ, and we can infer nothing as to Ml. W. quantity in diphthongs from the Mn. W. pronunciation.

§ 56. i. The quantity of a vowel in British determines its quality in Welsh; but its quantity in Welsh depends, as we have seen, on the consonantal elements which follow it in the syllable.

ii. A short accented vowel in Brit. or Latin followed by a single consonant was lengthened in Welsh; thus Brit. *túlos gave tál, § 51 iv Note, *rötā (cognate with Lat. rōta) gave rhōd, Lat. sōnus gave sōn, etc. This took place after the change in the quality of long vowels, for while original ð gives av § 71, long ð lengthened from ð remains ð. It also took place after the reduction of pp, tt, cc into ff, th, ch, for the latter are treated as single consonants for this purpose; thus Lat. saccus became *saxos with single x, which gives such (Ξ sôx) in Welsh. Long vowels remained long, as in pur from Lat. purus. On the other hand, a vowel originally long was shortened before two consonants; thus the ð of Lat. forma became ù, which was shortened in the Welsh ûurf. Hence the general rule § 51 i, which probably goes back to Early Welsh and beyond; for the lengthening of short vowels originated at the time of the loss of the ending, and is due to compensation for that loss.

iii. There is no reason to suppose that this lengthening took place only in monosyllables. Thus O. W. litān “wide” (; Gaul. litanos in Koyko-latavos, Smertu-litavus, etc., Ir. lethān) was probably sounded *ull-dān, while guinlann was doubtless *gvinn(l)ānn. In Ml. W. when the ultima became unaccented this distinction was lost, the a of uylōdān being shortened, § 49, and the nn of gvinn-lānn being simplified, § 27 ii. The rule forbidding the rhyming of such a pair was handed down from the older period, and is given in R. G. 1136; such a rhyme is called trum ac ysgawu ‘heavy [with 2 consonants] and light [with one]’. But the bard’s ear no longer detected any difference in the unaccented ultima; he is therefore instructed to add a syllable to find out whether the syllable is “heavy” or “light”: kallon(u) (l = l-1) is given as an example to show that the on(n) of kallon [sic] is “heavy”, and amkannu to show that the on of amkan is “light”. The Early Ml. bards avoid trum ac ysgawu; but in the first poem in w.v., where the rhyme is -ann, several forms in -an occur, as amkan i (; gwanaf ‘I wound’), darogan 7 (; canaf ‘I sing’), which shows that
the distinction was beginning to disappear. The Late Ml. poets frankly give it up; e.g. Ca. *bychan / glan / kynan(n) / djanan(n) / darogan/ . . . kalan(n) / kan / Ieuan(n), R.P. 1233-4. Yet in O. W. the distinction was a real one, for it is reflected in the ordinary spelling of words; as *bichan ox. ‘little’ (cf. *vychanet W.M. 44, R.M. 31), atar ox. ‘birds’ (cf. adaren B.B. 107), scribenn m.c. ‘writing’ (cf. *yscrivennu L.A. 2), corsenn ox., guilenn juv., etc. The dimin. endings -yn, -en appear as -inn, -inn; the pl. ending -ion is always -ion.

iv. In the unaccented penult in O. W. the distinction between an open and a closed syllable was preserved; the vowel must have been shorter in the latter, as it was later when the penult became accented.

v. The diversity in the present quantity of vowels before l and s, and the fixing of the present quantities of diphthongs, are due to complicated actions of analogy, which it would take too much space here to attempt to trace.

**THE ARYAN VOWELS IN KELTIC**

§ 57. Parent Aryan had the following vowel-system:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short vowels</th>
<th>a e i o u ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long vowels</td>
<td>å é í ò ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short diphthongs</td>
<td>ai ei oi au eu ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long diphthongs</td>
<td>åi éi åi au åu ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short vocalic</td>
<td>l ì m ñ r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long vocalic</td>
<td>l ì m ñ r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ø and ø were probably pronounced open; u has of course its Latin value ≡ Welsh w (not Welsh u); ø was an obscure vowel whose exact quality is uncertain, but which was probably not unlike W. y; vocalic l, m, n, r arose from reduced el, em, en, er; when long they represent the contracted reductions of two syllables § 63 vii (2).

§ 58. i. The Aryan short vowels remained unchanged in Primitive Keltic, except ø, which became a as in all the other branches except Indo-Iranian, in which it became i, see vii below.


iii. Ar. e (Lat. e, Gk. ε). Ar. *bher- > Lat. ferō, Gk. φέρω, O. E. beran ‘to bear’: Ir. berimm ‘I bear’, W. ad-feraf ‘I re-
§ 59. Aryan Vowels in Keltic

store’ < Pr. Kelt. *ber-—Ar. *medhu- > Gk. μέθυ ‘wine’,
O. H. G. metu ‘mead’, O. Bulg. medů ‘honey’, Skr. mādhu
‘honey’: W. medd ‘mead’, meddyw ‘drunk’ < Pr. Kelt. *medu-
*med-—Ar. *ekyos > Lat. equus, Skr. āśva-h : Ir. eč ‘horse’,
Gaul. Epo- (in Epo-redia, etc.), W. ebol ‘colt’ < Pr. Kelt. *eky-
iv. Ar. i (Lat. i, Gk. i). Ar. *vid- (√yeid- ‘see, know’) >
Lat. video ‘I see’, Gk. Hom. FIDMEV, Goth. vitum ‘we know’:
Ir. fēs ‘knowledge’, W. gwŷs ‘summons’ < Pr. Kelt. *yiss,
§ 87 ii.—Ar. *uiliq- (<√uleiq- ‘wet’) > Lat. ligueo : Ir. flinch
‘wet’, W. gwylb ‘wet’ < Pr. Kelt. *uiliq-

v. Ar. o (Lat. o, Gk. o). Ar. *oktō(u) > Lat. octō, Gk. ὥκτω :
Ir. ocht, W. wyth ‘eight’ < Pr. Kelt. *oktō, § 69 iv (2). Ar.
*logh- (<√logh- ‘lie’) > Gk. λόχος ‘bed, couch, ambush’, O.
Bulg. sq-logü ‘consors tori’: W. go-lo-i, r. p. 1040, ‘to lay, bury’
< Pr. Kelt. *log-—Ar. *togh- (<√togh- ‘cover’) > Lat. toga : W.
to ‘roof’, § 104 ii (2).

vi. Ar. u (Lat. u, Gk. υ). Ar. weak stem *kun- > Gk. gen.
sg. κῦνος, Goth. hunds, Skr. gen. sg. sūnah : W. pl. cŵn ‘dogs’ <
Pr. Kelt. *kun-es.—Ar. *srut- (<srut ‘flow’) > Gk. πῦτος
‘flowing’, Skr. srutāḥ ‘flowing’, Lith. sruta ‘dung-water’:
Ir. sruth ‘stream’, W. rhud ‘dung-water’ < Pr. Kelt. *srut-.

vii. Ar. θ (see i). Ar. *petér *petér- > Lat. pater, Gk. πατήρ,
Goth. fadar, Arm. hair, Skr. pītār- : Ir. athir ‘father’ < Pr.
Kelt. *(p)atir.—Ar. *sot- (<sē ‘sow’) > Lat. satus : W. had
‘seed’ < Pr. Kelt. *sat-, § 63 vi (1).

§ 59. i. The Aryan long vowels ā, ĩ, ū remained; but ē became ī; and ů in stem syllables became ā, in final syllables ū.

ii. Ar. ţ (Lat. ā, Gk. Dor. ā, Att. Ion. η). Ar. *brāt-ēr,
er-, -or-, -or- > Lat. frater, Gk. Dor. φράτηρ ‘member of a clan’,
broder, brodorion § 124 i < Pr. Kelt. *brāt-īr, -er-, -or-—Ar.
māl-ēr, -er-, -r- > Lat. māter, Gk. Dor. μάτηρ, Skr. mālār-:
Ir. māthir ‘mother’, W. modr-ybl ‘aunt’ < Pr. Kelt. *māl-ēr, -r-.

iii. Ar. ē (Lat. ē, Gk. η.). Lat. vērus, O. Bulg. věra ‘faith’:
Ir. fir, W. gwir ‘true’ < Pr. Kelt. *giros.—Lat. rēx, Skr. rāj-
‘king’: Ir. rī, Gaul. rīw, W. rīh < Pr. Kelt. *rīks, *rīg-.

iv. Ar. ī (Lat. ī, Gk. i). Ar. *q*rīt- (<q*rēā- ‘buy’) > Skr.
krītāḥ ‘bought’: Ir. crēthid ‘inclined to buy’, W. prid
'precious' < *Pr. Kelt. qʰwrit-.—O. H. G. rim, O. E. rīm 'number':
Ir. rīm, W. rhīf 'number' < Pr. Kelt. *rīm-.—Ar. suffix *-īno,-
as in Lat. su-inus: W. -in § 153 (10) < Pr. Kelt. *-īno-.

—Lat. ignōtus, nōtus, Gk. γνωρβός: Ir. gnáth 'known, accustomed',
W. gnawd 'customary' < Pr. Kelt. *gnātos.—Lat. flos, O. H. G.
bluot 'bloom': Ir. bláth, Ml. W. blawt 'blossom' < Pr. Kelt.
*bláth-.

In final syllables Ar. ḍ > Kelt. ū; this became ū, later ū in Brit.,
and affected a preceding vowel, § 69 i; it remains as -i in
W. ci 'dog' § 132 (i). But when followed by a final nasal ḍ became
o in Pr. Kelt.; thus Ir. gen. pl. fer 'of men' implies *uirón
from *uiróm *-öm : Gk. -ov).

vi. Ar. ū (Lat. u, Gk. υ). Lat. tū, Gk. τῦ-νη, O. Icel. þū,
Avest. tū : Ir. tū, W. tū ' thou' < Pr. Kelt. *tū.—O. H. G. rūna,
O. Icel. rūn 'secret, rune': Ir. rūn, W. rūn 'secret' < Pr. Kelt.
*rūn-.—Lat. cūlus : Ir. cūl, W. cil 'back' < Pr. Kelt. *kūl-.

§ 60. The Aryan short diphthongs remained in Pr. Kelt.;
see examples in §§ 75, 76. In the long diphthongs the long
vowels developed as elsewhere; thus āi, āu remained; ēi > ēi;
ēu > ēu; in syllables not final āi, ōu became āi, āu respectively;
in final syllables āi > ū, later doubtless ū, but seemingly still
written -ou in Gaulish, Rhys CIG. 5; ōu > ūū; §§ 75, 76.

§ 61. i. (i) Aryan ī, ē (Lat. ul, or; Gk. αλ, λα, αρ, ρα;
Germ. ul, ur; Skr. ग, ग) probably remained in Pr. Kelt., but
developed in all the groups as ī, ēi. Thus Ar. *mīk-t- ( √ melgb-
'milk') > Lat. mulctus : Ir. mlicht, blicht, W. blith 'milk' <
*mīklt- < Pr. Kelt. *mīkt- (W. ar-mel 'the second milk', mel-foch
'suckling pigs' < F-grade *melgb-).—Ar. *kīl-t- ( √ kelb- 'hide')
> Lat. oc-cult-us : Ir. celthi 'celandium', W. cilyd 'sheltered'
< Pr. Kelt. *kīlt-.—Ar. *prēt- ( √ per- ) > Lat. portus, O.H.G. furt:
Gaul.-ritum, O. W. rīt, Mn. W. rhyd 'ford' < Pr. Kelt. *(p)rēt-.
— Ar. *qʰr-im-is 'worm' < Skr. kʰrmiḥ: Lith. kirmis : Ir. cruim,
ēδρακον 'I saw', Skr. ēd̐rīs 'look': Ir. drec 'aspect', W. drych
'appearance', e-drychaf 'I look' < Pr. Kelt. *dṛk-.
ARYAN VOWELS IN KELTIC 

§ 62. i. (1) Ar. m, n (Lat. em, en; Gk. α; Germ. um, un; Skr. o) remained in Pr. Kelt., and appear as am, an in Brit. and Gaul., and *em, *en in Ir. (becoming ə before k, t, and i before b, d, g). Thus Ar. kmtóm 'hundred' > Lat. centum, Gk. ἐ-κατόν, Goth. hund, Lith. sūnias, Skr. sá-tá-m: Ir. cét, W. cant.—Ar. *dʒt- 'tooth' > Lat. dent-, Goth. tunbush, Skr. dat-: Ir. dēt, W. dent.—Ar. *n- negative prefix > Lat. in-, Gk. ἀ-, Germ. un-: Ir. in-gnath 'unwonted', ə-trócar 'unmerciful', W. an- § 156 i (5).

(2) Before vowels and ĭ and ŭ, the forms were əm, ən, see § 61 i (2); these gave am, an in Kelt., and appear so in Ir. and W.; thus W. adanedd 'wings' < *pē-em-niās; O. W. -ham, W. -(h)af spv. suffix <*-iə̯mos. But when ən followed the accent it seems to have become ann in Kelt. (through ən?); thus Ir. annmann 'names' < *də̯m-mna < *ánəm-nə § 121 iv, § 63 v (2);—Ir. Erenn 'of Ireland' < *érian < *iérioni, beside W. Iwerbon 'Ireland' < *iérion-;—Brit. Britann- < *pṙtn- § 3 iii; with the same suffix W. pell-enn-ig 'stranger';—W. griddfan 'groan' pl. griddfannan § 203 ii (4);—W. Gofannon, Gaul. Gobannicnos, Ir. goba 'smith', gen. gobann; etc.—Final -ann either remains as -an, or is reduced to -a § 110 v (2), or tended to become -ant (through -and?) § 121 iv, § 203 ii (4).

§ 62. (2) Before vowels and i and y, Ar. preserved an older form of these sounds, which we may write e1, e2, where e represents an indistinct or murmured vowel. These give Kelt. ar, al, see § 63 iii.

ii. Ar. ĭ, ĭ (Lat. lā, rā; Skr. ĭr, ĭr for both) appear in Pr. Kelt. as lā, rā. Thus Ar. *pl̪-no- 'full' (√ pelē-) > Skr. pūrnā-h: Ir. lān, W. llawm 'full' < Pr. Kelt. *(p)lānos.—Ar. *m̪t̪- (√ metā- 'grind') > W. blawd 'flour' < Pr. Kelt. *mlāt-.—Ar. *g̪r̪n- (√ ĝerā- 'rub, grind') > Lat. grānum, Skr. jīrnā-h 'worn out': Ir. grān, W. grawn 'grain' < Pr. Kelt. *grān-. See § 63 vii (2).

§ 62. (3) Skr. ir. ê-tröcar O. Thus § 101 ii (i), Zupitza KZ. xxxv 256, while Kelt. rik gives W. róg as in cryg § 101 ii (2).
This development is precisely parallel to that of the R-grade of ei after the accent in Brit., which gave aij > W. -oëð, the second ë becoming ə. Similarly ou after the accent gives W. -ei, prob. from *-ouu- § 76 iii (2).

ii. Ar. ë, ù were doubtless mā, nā in Pr. Kelt. Thus Ar. *së˘- (R² of √ senō-, see § 63 vii (2)), >Ir. snā-that, W. no-dwydd ‘needle’.—Ir. gnāth, W. gnawd ‘known, accustomed’ might be from *gün˘- like Lat. gnā-rus, √ genē-. The Gaul. -gnatus ‘born’ is assumed to have ā, in which case it may be from *gün˘-; but it may have ā from ə, like W. ynad ‘judge’, Early Ml. W. pl. hyγneid b.b. 10, 84 < *hyn-gnat < *séné-gnat- ‘elder’ < *gün-t-, √ genê- ‘give birth’.

ARYAN VOWEL GRADATION

§ 63. i. In Parent Aryan, while the consonants of any morphological element were comparatively stable, its vocalism varied according to circumstances; this variation is called “vowel gradation” or “ablaut”. The system is similar to, but less highly developed than, that of the Semitic languages, in which the only fixed elements of a word are its consonantal skeleton. In Aryan what may be regarded as the standard vowel was e; this is the full grade, and may be denoted by F. It interchanged with o; this grade may be denoted by F°. In either case the vowel might be lengthened, becoming ē or ē; the lengthened grades may be denoted by L and L°. The vowel might become more or less indistinct; in this case we write it below the line thus ė; this is the reduced grade, R. Lastly it might vanish altogether; this is the vanishing grade, V. The same syllable in different combinations may occur in any or all of these grades.

ii. Taking the root *sed- ‘sit’ as an example, the system is as follows (for z in V-grade see § 97):

\[
\begin{align*}
V & R & F & F° & L & L° \\
zd & s_e_d & sed & sod & séd & sód
\end{align*}
\]

Ⅲ. When the vowel is followed by one of the sonants \( l, r, m, n \), the scheme is as follows, \( er \) being taken as the example:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
V & R & F & F^o \\
\hline
r & e & ər & or & ōr
\end{array}
\]

Examples: suffix *-ter-:—V *tr-: W. modryb ‘aunt’ < \( mā-tr-\text{sg}ś\hat{\text{ī}} \), Lat. gen. \( mā-tr-\text{is} \)—R *tr-: Skr. \( mā-tr-kā \) ‘grandmother’—F *ter-: W. \( b\text{̄}r\text{o}-dèr \) ‘brothers’, Gk. acc. \( π\text{̄}a-\text{rēpa} \)—L° *tor-: W. \( b\text{̄}r\text{o}-dor-\text{ion} \) ‘brothers, clansmen’, Gk. acc. \( φ\text{̄}a-\text{rop-}a \)—L° *tōr-: Gk. \( φ\text{̄}a-tōr̄p\).

\( √βhēr- \) ‘bear’—R *bhr-: W. cymryd ‘to take’ < *kom-bhr-t-—F *bher-: W. cymraf ‘I take’ < *kom-bher-—Lat. \( f\text{̄}er \), Gk. \( φ\text{̄}ερp\), etc.

\( √kēl- \) ‘hide’—R *kl-: W. olyd ‘sheltered’ < *kīl-t-—Lat. occultus § 61 i (r).—F *kel-: W. celaf ‘I conceal’.—L° *kēl-: Lat. \( cēl-o \).”

In before these sonants \( e \) appears as a in Kelt., giving \( a \), \( ar \), \( am \), \( an \). In other branches thus: Ar. \( ḫ \), \( ḫr \) give Gk. \( α\text{̄}l \), \( a\dot{\text{̄}}p \), Lat. \( al \), \( ar \), Germ. \( ul \), \( ur \), Skr. \( i r \) \( ur \) (for both), Lith. \( i u l \), \( i r \) \( ur \) ; Ar. \( e\dot{\text{̄}}m \), \( e\dot{\text{̄}}n \) give Gk. \( a\dot{\text{̄}}p \), \( e\dot{\text{̄}}r \), Lat. \( a\text{̄}m \), \( an \) or \( e\dot{\text{̄}}m \), \( e\dot{\text{̄}}n \) (venio § 100 i (4), tenuis below), Germ. \( u\text{̄}n \), \( un \), Skr. \( a\text{̄}m \), \( an \), Lith. \( i m \) \( u\text{̄}n \), \( i n \) \( u\text{̄}n \).

In the V-grade occurs only before vowels. The form \( ə \), \( ən \), etc. of the R-grade occurs only before consonants; the form \( ə \), \( ən \), etc. before vowels, and before \( i \) and \( u \). Where in the derived languages the latter appears before other consonants, a vowel following it has been elided since the Ar. period. I use ' to mark this elision.

Examples: V-grade of \( el \) in W. glās ‘green’ see vii (3); of \( er \) in rhānn vii (2); of \( en \) in glīn vii (4).

R-grade before consonants, \( ə, ən, ēn \), see examples in §§ 61, 62.

R-grade before vowels: W. mālaft ‘I grind’ < *māl-ə, √ melāx-‘grind’;—araith ‘speech’, Ir. airecht < *eraq-t, √ eraq- ‘speak’;—O. Bulg. rekā ‘I speak’ (with V-grade of 1st syll.);—archaf ‘I ask’, Ir. arco < Kelt. *ar’k- < *ar’k-; √ perek-—Lat. precor (with V-grade of 1st syll.);—carr ‘car’, Ir. car, Gaul. (Lat.) carr-(us) < Pr. Kelt. *kær’sos—Lat. currus < *q̄̆s-os—darn ‘fragment’ < *d̄r’n- < *d̄r’n-—Skir. dūnḥ ‘split, divided’ < *d̄n- < *d̄r’n-, v. d̄rā-
PHONOLOGY

'split':—so sarn 'causeway': Skr. stūryāḥ 'strewn', √sterv-;—
carn 'hoof', Galat. kāpyov 'trumpet': √kerāx(γ)-;—tevēu 'thin',
Corn. tanωv, Ir. tana: Gk. ταυν-, Lat. tenuis, Skr. tanū-ḥ, all < Ar.
*tnw-;—hafal 'like, equal', Ir. samait 'likeness' < *səməl-: Lat.
similis;—ganned 'was born' < *gən-, √genē-.

R-grade before γ: W. caryg 'deer' < *kəγy-os: Lat. cervus
< *kery-os;—marw 'dead': Lat. mortuus § 204 ii (5);—before ã:
W. myned § 100 iv.

The forms ã, ō, ë, γ are generally classed as V-grade; but the
vowel of the syllable cannot be said to have vanished when it has
converted the consonant r into the vowel γ. In fact γ is the form that
r takes before a consonant, and must therefore be the same grade.

iv. The treatment of the diphthongs η, eu (properly e₂, e₃) is parallel,
γ and ů corresponding to ã, r, m, n, and vocalic i, u to vocalic ã, ō, ë, γ.
Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>F°</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>L°</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ã</td>
<td>i, (ã &gt;)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>u, (u &gt;)</td>
<td>ŋu</td>
<td>eũ</td>
<td>oũ</td>
<td>ëũ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The R-grade forms i, u occur before consonants only; the forms ã, ŋ,
ë, ŋu, which became ã, ŋu, occur before vowels.

Examples: V-grade: W. berwi 'to boil', Lat. fervēo < *bheru-,
√bherēu--; W. duw 'god' < *dūw, Lat. deus, both < *deu-ōs,
√deieu-, vii (4).

√yeid- 'see, know':—R: gwedd 'aspect' < *̣yd-ā; gwys
'summons', gwys 'it is known', both < *̣yiūt- < *̣yiū-t-; Lat.
vidēo;—F: gώydd 'presence' < *yeid-, arwōydd 'sign' < *pēi-yeid-;
Gk. eίδωμαι;

√kleu- 'hear':—R: clod 'praise' < *klu-tō-m § 66 v; Gk.
kē-κλω-θυτ-,—F: clust 'ear' < *kleu-t-st- § 96 ii (3).

√deuk- 'lead':—R: dyg-af 'I bring', dyg 'brings' < *dūk-;
dwyn 'to bring' < *dūk-n-;—F: Lat. diuco, O. Lat. douc-o, Goth.
tiw-an < *dek-;—L°: dug 'brought' < *(du)-dōuk-, § 182 ii (2).

The V-grade disappears between consonants; see √goneid- vii (4)
√geneu-: ib.; see viii (2) and § 100 ii (2).

v. (1) As seen above, Ar. had the vowel e interchanging with o; the
vowels i and u are secondary, being vocalized forms of ã and ŋ.
(2) a occurred in Ar. only in special cases, which Meillet, Intr. 2
139 gives thus: 1. in child-language, as Skr. tata, Gk. τάτα, Lat. tata;
W. tada; 2. in certain isolated words, possibly borrowed, as Lat.
Faba; 3. in a few endings, as 3rd sg. mid. ∗tai, Gk. -tai, Skr. -te; and
4. initially, interchanging with zero, as Gk. ἀπτῆ: Lat. stella, W.
seren, E. star.

As shown by Meillet (ib. 140) initial a- may coexist with the F- or
L-grade of the following syll., as in Gk. ἀ(ε)ίω with F *meg- beside
αιω, Lat. augeo with V *yγ-; cf. āptē. This seems to imply that
a- might be a movable preformative, but it does not prove that it was
outside the ablaut system; in fact, the common gradation \( \ddot{a} : \ddot{a} \) necessarily implies the ablaut of \( a \), as \( \ddot{a} : \ddot{a} \) does that of \( e \); see vi.

Many indications point to \( a \) being an Ar. survival of a pre-Aryan sole vowel \( a \), which ordinarily split up in Ar. into \( e \) and \( o \). It is preserved in child-language because this is conservative; thus while Ar. *tata* gives W. *tad* ‘father’, in W. child-speech it remains as *tada*. In the ordinary language \( a \) stands side by side with \( e/o \), or occurs where we should expect \( e/o \), in the following cases: 1. initially; 2. before \( *r \) or \( i \); 3. before gutturals. Thus 1. *at-, ati-: et-, eti- pref. and adv. ‘beyond, and, but’ § 222 i (3); O. W. *anu*, Ir. *aim* ‘name’ < *an(ə)m*, Armen. *anun* ‘name’: Gk. ὀνόμα < *ōnɔmy, √/ovō/-anō-. — 2. The ending of the neut. pl. nom.-acc. is *-ə*; now the neut. pl. of \( o/e \)-stems is *-a* from *-a*-ā, where *-a*- represents the stem vowel instead of *o* (or *e*); similarly the fem. of \( o/e \)-stems is formed with *-a* for *-a*-e-; but *i*/īe*-stems have beside *-i̯a* < *-iə*- the fem. form *-i̯a* < *-iə*-; Cf. also *a*: *i̯a* ix below. In the dat. sg. of cons. stems both *-ai* and *-et* occur, as Gk. infin. suff. *-μενα*: Osc. *diuveri, paterei*, Solmsen KZ xlii 161 ff.

In the positions indicated, *a* has R- and L-grades. Thus, 1. *am*- in Gk. *άφι-, Lat. *ambi-*: R *ām*- in Ir. *ambi, imm*, W. *am*, ym-, Skr. abhī-tatāh (\( a<\sim \) *m*- ‘on both sides’; F *ar*- in W. *arth*, Gk. ἀφτος: R *r*- in Lat. *arsus*, Skr. ḍkaśaḥ § 98 i (2); F *ag*- in Lat. agō, Gk. ἀγω: L *āg*- in Lat. *amb-āges*-; 2. Before *o* or *i*: F *ā* (< *āo*): R *a*, see vi; F *ai*- in Gk. *aθω*, Ir. *aet* ‘fire’, W. *aewyld*: R *i*- in Skr. *iḍh-mā-s* ‘firewood’. For the fem. of *i/o*-*e*-stems there is beside *-i̯a*- and *-iː*- a form *-i*-; this may be explained thus: RF *i̯iə*, *i̯eə* give *i̯a*, *iə*: RR *i̯e* > *i*, vii (2). Cf. vii (5).


vi. (1) The long vowels *e*, *o*, *a* had R- and V-grades; *e* had also the F*o*-grade *o*. The R-grade of each is *a*. Before a vowel *a* regularly disappears, giving the V-grade, as in Skr. *dā-d-ati* ‘they give’, where *-d-* is the V-grade of *dō-. It also occurs before consonants, as in Skr. *da-d-māh* ‘we give’ beside Gk. ὑ’το-μεν; but the disappearance of *a* between consonants is believed to be due to analogy or elision after the Ar. period. It is however lost in syllables not initial or final in Germ., Balt.-Slav., Armenian, Iranian; Meillet, Dial. 63.

*a* appears to come from a guttural spirant resembling *γ* (§ 110 ii (2)), which played the same role as the sonants, so that the ablaut series of *e* is parallel to that of *ε* or *er*, the F-grade *e* being for *ε*; thus V (\( ρ \) non-syllabic, lost); R *a* (syllabic); F *e* for *ε*; F*o* *o* for *o*; corresponding to V *i* (non-syllabic); R *i* (syllabic); F *e*; F*o* *o*. This explains why *a* is the R-grade of all the long vowels.
In cases where the F-grade has not survived, or has survived only in Indo-Iranian, where ⁹, ⁸, ⁶ all appear as ⁶, so that the quality of the vowel is unknown, it is usual to write it ⁶x.

Examples: \( \sqrt{dō} \) 'give':—F: dawn 'gift' < *dō-n-; Lat. dō-num; Gk. δό-μα—V: ρό-δ-άντ 'they give' < *πρό-δ-άντι; Skr. dō-d-ati < *dē-d-ātī. — √ dhe- 'put':—F: τή-θέ-μι—V: ρό-δ-άντ 'they put'. See § 179 ii.

\( \sqrt{sē} \) 'stand':—R: guva-sta-d 'level' < *uvo-sthα-t; Lat. stā-tus; W. sa-f 'stand' < *sthα-m; § 203 vii (5)—F: saw-dl 'heal' < *sthα-dl. 

\( \sqrt{sē} \) 'sow':—R: had 'seed' < Ar. *sə-t̪-; Lat. sā-tus.—F: hîl 'progeny', Ir. sīl < *sē-l-; Lat. sē-vi, sē-men.

(2) ⁶ generally appears as ⁶ in the European languages, as in the above examples. (Cf. § 110 ii (2)) But in Gk. if the F-grade is ⁶ or ⁸, the R-grade often appears as ⁶ or ⁶. Elsewhere e beside ⁶ is probably to be explained as due to a variant of the root, with short vowel; thus W. tref, O. W. treb 'homestead' < *treb-; Lat. trăbs < *tраб-; Gk. τέρεμουν, τέραμουν both < *τερμβ-.

vii. (1) As a rule the same morphological element could not contain two F-grade syllables, though, of course, a word, made up of more than one element, might. The diversity in different languages of words of the same origin is largely due to the preservation of various groupings of grades; see for example *γραφεύς in (4) below.

(2) A large number of roots were disyllabic. A characteristic form of Ar. root had a short vowel in the first syllable and a long in the second. A very common form of reduction was RR, i.e. R-grade of both syllables. When the consonant between the vowels was one of the sonants ⁷, ⁸, RR was ⁷, ⁸, which gave ⁷, ⁸; these were generally contracted to ⁹, ⁸ respectively; we may call this contraction R². On the analogy of this it is assumed that RR *l̥, ⁷, ⁸, ⁸, ⁶, gave respectively R² *l̥, ⁷, ⁸, ⁸, ⁸, § 61 ii, § 62 ii. The uncontracted RR forms also survived, as in Gk. παλάμη < *p̥λα-μα, ρέλα- before W. llaw(f), Ir. lām < Kelt. *lā-mā < *p̥lā-mā;—W. taradr 'anger'. Ir. tarathar < RR *t̥e-r̥-r̥-, beside Gk. τέρετρων < FR *τερετρ-, ρέτερ- 'bore';—W. rhaeadr 'cataract' < RR *ri̯e-r̥-, beside Lat. rīvus < R² *ri̯-e, ρέτα- 'flow'. In many cases the ⁶ dropped, see vi (1), as in Lat. palma < *p̥λα-μā; we may denote this by R(R). Beside these we also have RR forms *l̥, ⁷, ⁷, ⁸, ⁸, ⁸, thus beside W. gwuladr 'ruler' < RR *w̥u-la-tr̥-, we have W. gwulad 'country', Ir. flaith 'lordership' < VR *ula-tr̥-; yelw(e) (: Lat. valère, E. wield);—W. gwulan 'wool' < VR *uλάν-ā, beside Lat. làmá, Skr. ूर्णa < R² *uľa-ā;— W. rhann 'share', Ir. rann id. < VR *pra-tma, beside Lat. part- < R(R) *p̥ra-r̥-t̥-, beside Skr. pūr-t̥-ām 'reward' < R² *p̥r̥-t̥-, ρέτα-;—W. ystrad 'dale', Gk. στρατός < VR *stra-t̥-, beside W. sarn 'causeway' < R(R) *str̥-r̥-n̥-, beside Skr. sthr-n̥-h 'strewn', Lat. strā-tūs < R² *sthr-，《sterō- 'spread out'.—When the long vowel after l, r, m, or n was ⁶ or ⁶ we cannot distinguish in Kelt.
Vowel gradation

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R² and VF, since in Kelt. ɫa, ɫu, all give ɫa; we can only infer the probable original from a comparison of cognates; thus O. E. flōr 'floor' < VF *plō-r- suggests that Ir. lār, W. llawr 'floor' contain VF *plā-r-, √pelā-; and Gk. ναλάη < RR as above suggests W. llaw < R². But where the vowel was ē as in √pelē- 'fill', we know e.g. that W. llawan, Ir. lán 'full' come from R² *pl-ñ-, since VF *plō-n- as in Lat. plēnus would give W. *llin, which does not exist, and does give Ir. lin-, which is seen in línaim 'I fill'.

R(R) is postulated instead of RV because the loss of ᵻ is late; this agrees with the fact that we have ar in W., implying *ᵻr the form before a vowel, the loss of which is therefore secondary, and not ry from *ᵻr the form before a consonant. Similarly i may be taken as R(R) of eiē; thus RR ii > R(R) ii(s) > i. Where ry occurs in W. besides forms implying an original long vowel we may assume that the former comes from a variant with short vowel of the root; thus W. gwrysg 'boughs, twigs' < *urd-sq-, RV of √erod-; Lat. rādix < *urd-, R² of √erod-, O. E. wroț < *urd-, VF of √erod-.

(3) A few examples are appended:

√ghele- 'green, yellow': VR *ghele- > Kelt. *gla-st- > Brit. -glasos 'tawny' (Gildas), W. glas 'green'; FV *ghele- > Lat. hel-us.

√gelāk/g- 'milk': RR *gelāk- > Gk. γάλα, γάλακτος; —VR *glokt- > Lat. lact- (whence W. llæath); *glokt-s > Ir. glass 'milk', W. glas-dr 'milk and water'.

√qeqëp- 'blow': VF *qeqëp- > Lith. kvëpti 'blow'; —RR *qeqëp > W. ca vad 'shower', Ir. cïta, gen. cïad; —VR *qeqëp > Lat. vapor, Gk. καννός.

√ghele- 'live': R² *ghele- > Lat. vi-vu-s, W. bun 'quick' < Brit. *bū-ya-no-s § 76 ix (2); —R(R) *ghele > W. by-w 'live', by-d 'world', Gk. βίος; —VF *ghele- > Gk. ζῆν.

√bheya- 'be': R(R) *bhū > Lat. fu-turus, Gk. φύως, Kelt. *bu-tā > W. bod 'to be'; —L(VV) *bhūy- > W. bu § 189 iv (3); —VV *bhū(y) > f- in Lat. fio, b- in W. byē § 189 iv (1).

(4) When the second syllable has a short vowel, the treatment is similar: RR ii > R² ī, etc., as before; RV is ī. Examples:

√dēnu- 'god, day': FV *deyn-os > Lat. deus, W. *dwyν > dwn 'god'; —R² *div- > Lat. div-us; —RV *diu- > W. dyν 'day'; —RL *diēn- > Lat. dies, W. dydd 'day'.

√qoneid- 'not': FR *qonid- > Gk. κόης gen. κονίδος 'not'; VR *qnid- > O. E. hniu, E. nit, O. H. G. hniuz 'nit'; *s(q)nid-ā > W. niéd 'nits', Ir. sned 'nit'; —FV *qond- > Lith. kandis 'moth'; *sqond- > W. chwann-en 'flea'.


√gorow: FR *goru- > Gk. κόπου-φυί; —VF *goruo- > W. crug 'heap, hillock'.

g 2
The page contains a discussion on phonology, focusing on certain combinations and forms in Latin and other languages. The text includes examples and notes on phonological changes, particularly diptongues and syllabic forms. It references Latin forms such as *suepnos) and compares them to other languages like Skr. *sai-tlo-m and Lat. saeculum 'age'.

There are references to Greek (*sai-tlo-m) and Latin (septem 'seven') forms, showing the influence of Indo-European languages. The text also touches on the treatment of final *e in Latin words, a topic related to the development of Modern English.

The section is marked with a page number, 84, and a section marker, 63, indicating it is part of a larger work on phonology.

The text is dense with grammatical and etymological notes, reflecting the complexity of the subject.

The raw text is presented in a structured format, typical of academic texts, with clear sectioning and examples to illustrate points made in the discussion.
KELTIC VOWELS
IN BRITISH AND WELSH

§ 64. From what has been said in §§ 57-62 we arrive at the following vowel system for Pr. Kelt.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short vowels</th>
<th>a e i o u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long vowels</td>
<td>ā ā ā ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short diphthongs</td>
<td>ai ei oi au eu ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long diphthongs</td>
<td>āi āi ūu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short vocalic</td>
<td>l m n r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Short Vowels.

§ 65. i. The short vowels a, e, o remain unchanged in W.; see examples in § 58; so Latin a, e, o; unless affected by other vowels §§ 67-70. The exceptions are the following:

ii. (1) Before a guttural o in many cases became a, apparently when unaccented in Brit.; thus W. Cymro < *kom-brógos, but Cymraes 'Welsh-woman' < *kom-brógissā : *bróg-, W. bro 'border, region' < *mrog-, VF of √marrog-, whose FV gave Lat. margy-o;—W. troed 'foot' < acc. *troget-m, pl. traed < acc. pl. *troget-áss (< *-ás : Skr. -áḥ), or from gen. pl. *troget-ōn (< *-ōm which was generally
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accented in Ar.) as in gwýr traed ‘infantry’; √t/dhregh- : Gk. τρέξω, τρόχος; the √ had also a by Ar. a/e/o altern. § 63 v (2), as in Ir. traig ‘foot’ < ∗træggets, but we can hardly suppose Ar. o/a in the same word in Brit.—Similarly in Lat. loanwords, as W. achos ‘cause’ < occáso.—W. acrub < ∗occúp- for Lat. occup- § 73 ii (4).

(2) On the other hand a > o in Pr. Celt. before Ar. gšh in W. oen, Ir. ùan ‘lamb’ < ∗ognos < ∗ag̑hnos : O. E. čanian ‘yean’ § 101 iii (1).

(3) In Brit. e became i before g followed by a vowel; so partly in Gaul; as W. ty ‘house’ O. W. tig < ∗tigos < ∗tégos, Brit. Cuto-tigirn, also spelt (in Cornwall) Tegerno-malt beside Tigernomalum Rhys LWP. 2 404, Gaul. Tigernum, Ir. teg ‘house’, tigérne ‘lord’, √(s)theg- § 92 i.—W. hy ‘bold’ < ∗segos : Gaul. Σεγο-μαπος, √segh- : Gk. ξιω < ∗seghō, Skr. sāhā ‘might’.—W. gwe-ly ‘bed’ < ∗yo-leg- : Ir. lige < ∗legiō-√legh-.—Where e appears it is due to a-affection; as in bre ‘hill’ < ∗brigā § 103 ii (1); thus lle ‘place’ < acc. ∗ligan < ∗leg-m, √legh-—gree ‘herd’ < ∗greg-m = Lat. gregem;—godre ‘bottom (edge of garment), foot (of hill)’ < ∗go-treg-m, √tregh-, see (1), pl. godryon, godreon, both in R.M. 151.

But before a consonant eg remained: W. gwavir m. ‘hay’ < ∗uegr- : Ir. fér.—W. tail ‘manure’ < ∗tegl- § 104 ii (1);—W. aruvain ‘to lead’ < ∗ari-ueg-n- √uegh- : Lat. veho; olřein, etc. § 203 iv (1);—W. ēw ‘thick’ § 76 viii.

iii. (1) The mid vowels e and o were pronounced close in Brit. before nasal + explosive and became i and u respectively. Examples:

e before nas.+exp. > W. y; thus W. hynt ‘way’ Ir. sét < ∗sent- : O. H. G. sind ‘way’ < ∗sent-.—O. W. pimp, Ml. W. pymp ‘five’, Gaul. πεπ- < Pr. Kelt. *g̑penq̑e < Ar. *penq̑e.—W. cy-chwynnu m.L. 133 ‘to rise’, later ‘to start’, Ir. scendim < Ar. *sqend- § 96 iii (2).—The y becomes e by a-affection, as Gwent < Venta; cf. E. Wintchester ‘Venta Belgarum’. In Lat. loanwords we have y, as tympp < tempus; tymor < tempora; cymynn(af) < commend-ō; esgynn(af) < ascend-ō, etc.; but most nouns have -enn, Mn. W. -en, as elfen < elementum; ffurafen < firmamentum; ysgrifen < scribenda, all fem., having been treated like native nouns in -enn § 143 i; mynwent fem. ‘graveyard’ alone has -ent < pl. monumenta. (Calan is from Vulg. Lat. Kaland-, which occurs.)

o before nas.+exp. > W. w; thus trwec < ∗tronq- § 99 v (3);—twng ‘swears’ : Ir. tongim ‘I swear’;—huent ‘yonder’ : Pret. honit § 220 ii (5).—The change took place in Lat. loanwords, as pwnn ‘burden’ < pondus; ysbwng < spongus; except in fem. forms, as llong ‘ship’ < longa (nāvis). W. pont ‘bridge’ < Brit. acc. *pontian (< -m) put for Lat. pontem, became fem. The 3rd pl. subjunct. -ont instead of -wnt is prob. due to the analogy of the other persons, which have -o.-

(2) The same change took place before a liquid and explosive, though here with less regularity.
e + liq. + exp. > W. y; thus ML. W. kymyrth < *kombert-etu, with a-affection kymrth § 181 vii (1);—gwynyt 'wild' < Brit. *guelitis: Ir. geilt § 92 iv.—But usually it remains as e; thus for nyth b.b. 68, the ordinary form is nyth m., 'strength'; so perthyn < Lat. pertin- owing to preference for the sequence e...y.—merch 'maid', perth 'bush' are fem.; and mellt pl. 'lightning', gwelit pl. 'grass' may be neut. pl. in *

-ā or fem. pl. in *

-o.

(3) The same change took place before rn. Thus e: W. chwyrm 'whirling' < *spern-, § 96 iv (1);—W. Edryn beside Edern < Eternus. —W. gwern 'alder', and cern § 95 ii (3) are fem.; so uffern 'hell' < Vulg. Lat. iferna.—W. asqwrn 'bone' < *ast-korn- § 96 ii (4); —W. dwnn 'fist': Ir. dorn.—But W. corn 'horn' < Lat.

e before rr > W. y; as byrr 'short': Ir. berr;—W. gyrr 'a drove' < *görks- § 95 iv (2). But o remains, as in corr 'dwarf', torri 'to break'.

(4) In many Lat. loanwords e or o before r + cons. became a (on the analogy of the R-grade in sarn etc.); thus sorff < serpens; carrai 'lace' < corrigia; parchell b.b. 55 beside porchell a.l. i 276 < porcellus; tafrn < taberna; Padarn < Paternus; Garmon < Ger-

mānus.

(5) e before ss > y; as in ys (ys, ṣs § 82 ii (1)) < *esti 'is';—ûs 'eats' < *essi < *ed-ti: Lat. est. Also before Lat. st as in tyst 'witness' < testis. But either affecion or the sequence e...y (or e...w) causes it to be e, as in ffrēnestr 'window', testun 'text' < testimōnium.

iv. (1) In the present penult y appears for e and o before a nasal whether followed by another consonant or not; as in cychwynnau, tymor iii (1); ffynnawn, now ffynnun < Lat. fontāna; tyner < Lat. tenerum; myfyr < Lat. memória; myned 'to go': Bret. monet; mynyved beside monyved < Lat. monumenta. But many exceptions occur, as cenedd 'nation', Conwy; and derivatives like gwenu 'to smile' (: gwên 'smile'), tonnau 'waves' (: tonn 'wave') do not show the change (exc. hynaf 'oldest' assim. to the cpv. hyn, § 148 i (11)).

(2) o > y in the prefixes *ko-, *kom-, *kon-, *to-, *do-, *ro-; as W. cynwir 'correct' < Kelt. *ko-æros; rhy-fawr 'very great' < *(p)ro-mários; see § 16 iii; except when the vowel of the root is lost, as in W. cosp 'punishment', Ir. cosc < *kon-so-§- § 96 iii (5); W. rhodd 'gift' < *(p)ro-d- § 63 vi (1).—When separately accented rhy has acquired a new strong form rhŷ, as rhŷ ddâ 'too good'; similarly *dy, *by, written di in O. W. (< *dod 'to'), as a preposition became *by > Ml. W. y > Mn. W. i 'to' § 16 ii (3). So cyn before the equative, now sounded cyn, and dialectally *kin.
v. (1) o and a interchange after y § 34 iv. So we have gwau-
beside go- for gvo- < *yo-: Gaul. vo- < Ar. *upo; thus gwau-red-ur
'savour' < *yo-reto-uir-: Gaul. Vorotovir--; W. gwäs 'servant':
Ir. foss < *upo-st- § 96 ii (2). The 15th cent. pedvor § 34 iv (so
Salesbury's Dict. s. v.) has a new, perhaps local, o for a § 63 vii (4).
We also find the interchange after i (cons. or voc.), as breuan for
*breunon § 76 iv (2); bían for *biüon § 76 ix (2); (Anglesey dial. neuð
for neuad).

(2) After m- there is an older change of a to o, as in W. mōr 'sea',
met < *mamiet- § 100 iv--; W. morwyn < *marein- § 125 v (1).
(3) e after y becomes o/a in the following cases: Ar. *uper > Pr.
Kelt. *per > Gaul. ver-, Bret. war 'on', W. ar, gwvar-, gwvor-, gor-
vesper-. Probably the above show the influence of Brit. yō; cf. Ir.
for- < *yer- on the analogy of fo- < *yo-. Generally ye remains, as
in chwech 'six' < *syeks.

vi. (1) After i post-tonic a became e; thus wyneb 'face' < *êni-eqʰ,
§100 v, < *êni-aqʰ- < *êni-ogʰ-, √ogʰ = Skr. ânîkam 'face' < *êni-ogʰom.
But when pre-tonic the a remained, as in wynab-, in composition,
from *êniaqʰ-; gwŷdâd < *yidûstô § 180 iv (1).
(2) Pre-tonic iô prob. became iâ; thus we have aea < *i-ia-', but
no *aeo < *i-ii', so that the latter perhaps became *i-ia' § 75 vi (2).
So the rel. a < *ia < Ar. ãôs, § 162 vi (1).

§ 66. i. Pr. Kelt. i and u remained in Brit. Brit. i was
open, and is transcribed ɛ by the Greeks, as in Πρετ(τ)αυική
(νήσος): W. (ynys) Prydain, but i by the Romans as in Britannia
(Gk. i was close, Lat. i open). Brit. i gave W. y, which is y in
the ult. and accented monosyllables, y in non-ultimate syllables
and proclitics. Brit. u remains, now written w, in the ultima
and monosyllables, and becomes y (≡ y) in all other syllables.
See § 40 iii. Examples: W. dŷrch 'appearance', edrychaf 'I
look' < Pr. Kelt. *dỳk-, § 61 i--; W. cŵn 'dogs', cynos 'little
dogs' < Pr. Kelt. *kun--; W. cybûd 'miser' < Lat. cupidus--;
W. terfyôn 'end' < Lat. terminus.

y and y may interchange with e, and y with a, § 16 iv.
u before a labial may develop irregularly, § 73 ii.
i. (1) y in the penult, whether from i or u becomes v in Mn. W.
before v in the ult., as in cwmwâl 'cloud' for cymwâl < *cumul-
< Lat. cumulus; sŵmbwâl < *stimbul- < Lat. stimulus; cwymod
'comot' < Mn. W. kymmot; dvîthun < dythun < dydd hwn § 164
iii. When a syllable is added, both w's become y, as cymyâu
'clouds'.
(2) After w the obscure y became w; as (g)wrthiyeu *W. 83
miracles’ for gwythiyeu. In the spoken lang. and frequently in mss.
we have gwnnach for gwyynnach ‘whiter’, *wthys for ewyllys ‘will’, etc.
The y was artificially restored in most of these forms in the lit. lang.
—G.R. 31 states that the rising diphthong always becomes w in the
penult, the falling diphthong never, citing as examples gwyynn,
gwnnach; gwinwydd, gwinwddyn; celwyd, celwddog, but c&wyn, c&wynn;
gwydd, gwyddau, etc. J.D.R. writes wy in gwynnach, gwyrrdach 63, 
but (g)wrthiyeu [xvii].

iii. (1) Unaccented initial wi- before sonants became *wu- > *gw-,
§ 36 i. Thus gwör ‘man’ < *wur-ös < *yir-ös;—gworth-
’contra’, wrth ‘against’ < *yurt- < *yirt- < *yertó: Ir. frith <
*yert- § 211 iv (2);—gwnn ‘I know’ < *uindo, § 191 iii (1). The w
thus produced is not mutated to y in the penult, e.g. gibrol ‘manly’,
gbraiddd id., *brthi ‘by me’; and gwnn seems to show that it was not
liable to affection; in that case gwy ‘men’ is analogical.

(2) Before other consonants initial unaccented wi- or wi- became
*oi- giving W. ui-, as in Ml. W. ugeint ‘twenty’ < Kelt. *uikmi : Ir.
fi:ce;—W. ucher ‘evening’ < (*uispεr- < ) *ypesper § 96 iv (2).

(3) Generally, however, initial wi- became gwy- regularly: as
gwy’s < *udi-t § 63 iv;—gwynt < *uond- < *uont < *uont- : Lat.
ventus;—gwyw ‘withered’, § 75 vii (3);—gwyth ‘miracle’ < Lat.
virtus. But gwy- later became gw-, ii (2) above.

iv. Ar. i in the ultima, or ending the first element of a compound gave
Gaul. and Brit. e. Thus Gaul. are-, W. ar- < *are- < *ari- < *perí;
—W. am < *mbhe < mbhi : Lat. ambí, Gk. ἄμφι;—W. mbr < *more,
Gaul. more < *mori : Lat. mare. The reason that final unaccented
short i does not affect a preceding vowel is probably that it had
become e.

v. Pretonic u became o, as in ión ‘lord’ < *iud-nó-s, i’m ‘lord’
< *iud-nd-s: W. uð § 100 i (1); see § 104 iv (3); bôn m. ‘base,
stem’ < *bud-nó- § 104 iv (1); clod ‘praise, fame’ < klutóm : Ir.
cloth (gen. cuiuth) id. < klutóm, Gk. κλυτόν, Skr. srutánam ‘what has
been heard, tradition’, √ kleu- ‘hear’.

Affection of Short Vowels.

§ 67. A short vowel (but no long vowel) was liable to be
affected by a sound in a succeeding syllable. Affection is of two
kinds in Welsh: 1. ultimate, when it takes place in the syllable
which is now the last, having been brought about by a sound
in a lost termination; 2. non-ultimate, when it takes place
in the present penult or antepenult, the affecting sound being
generally preserved in the ultima. Ultimate affection is caused
by a or i sounds; non-ultimate by the latter only.
§ 68. Ultimate a-affection.—i and ā became respectively e and o in the ultima when the lost ending had a; thus gwedd ‘aspect’ < *gwi-a- < § 63 iv;—bod ‘be’ < Kelt. *bu-tā § 189 iv (6);—cweid ‘rabble’ < Lat. civitas;—gramadeg < Lat. grammatica; colofn < Lat. columna.

Hence adjectives having u (< i) or w (< ā) in the ultima change these to e and o in the fem., the affection being due to the lost fem. ending -ā; thus Brit. *kindos, *kindā gave respectively gwynn, gwenn ‘white’.

The adj. *briktos had regularly fem. *briktā, which by the rule became *brektā; now *ikt > īth and *ekt > eith, later aith § 108 iv (1); hence brith ‘speckled’, f. braith, which is thus seen to be quite regular.

The affection is original only in adjectives of the -os/ā declension; but after the loss of the inflexional endings, it spread by analogy to other stems; e.g. crwnn ‘round’ < Brit. *kruundis (: Ir. crúnd) has f. cronn on the analogy of trwm < Brit. *trumbos (: Ir. tromm) f. trom; and gŵyrð < Lat. virdis has f. gwerð on the analogy of ffyrð, ffrē < Lat. firmus, firma. Doubtless deilien wyrrd in M.Ll. i. 155 represents a local survival of the old fem., as in tonn wyrth (< t = ð) w. 9a ‘greenwave’.

§ 69. Ultimate i-affection. i. This was caused by į, ī (from ī, ē, ọ or ā), or by accented ē or ī. Kelt. post-tonic es before a vowel became į and caused this affection § 75 vii (1), so e(y) see ib.; also Lat. į, and sometimes ī, before a vowel.


(2) ak or ag before a consonant, which becomes ae in Ml. and Mn. W. § 104 ii (1), iii (1), § 108 iv (1), is affected to ek or eg which gives Ml. W. ei, Mn. W. ai, see ib. Thus Saxones > Saesun but Saxō > *Sæx > Seis, Sais;—*kaktos ‘serf’ (< *qaptos) > caetil, but pl. *kakti > ceith, caith ‘sers’;—*dragnos > dren ‘thorn’ § 104 ii (1), pl. *dragna > *dragnja > drein, drain.

(3) In disyllables before consonant groups containing r, and before ch, the affection of a appears as y, which alternates with ei in Ml. and early Mn. W. Thus heyrn B.T. 29, R.M. 121, R.P. 1362, R.B.B. 47, pl. of haearn ‘iron’;—reydir R.P. 1301 beside ryeidyr R.P. 1222, pl. of rhaeadr ‘cataract’;—kedyrn W.M. 51
§ 69 KELTIC VOWELS IN WELSH 91

beside kedyrn do. 40, pl. of cadarn ‘mighty’;—so alarch pl. eleirch, elyrc h § 117 i;—lywarchen pl. tyweirch, tywyrch § 126 i (2);—paladr, pl. peleidyfr w.m. 179, Mn. W. peidyfr;—Mn. W. bastych, menyach, § 117 i. Also in the proclitic geir>gyr ‘near’ § 214 ii.

The y is probably the result of thickening the i before r + cons. and before χ in an unaccented syllable. (In accented syllables as beirð, the i is still pure, but it has become y before χ § 17 iii.) Thus ei > yγ > y. From r + cons. it spread to cons. + r. Probably gvesgyr (single r) for gwaggar § 173 iv (1) is due to false analogy.

(4) In polysyllables before a labial also, a is affected to y; as in modryb < *mâtr-aq%-i § 122 iv (2); cyffelyb, ethryb also from *aq%-< *-aq%- yðu- ‘face’, cf. § 143 iii (8); Caer-dýf ‘Cardiff’. Taf—
-am- becomes -eu or -γf, except in analogical formations; see § 76 vii (1).

iii. (1) e becomes u: engyl ‘angels’ < Lat. angelī;—cyllyll
‘knives’ < Lat. cultellī;—so, cestyll, gwëyll § 117 i;—erbyn
‘against’ < Kelt. *arı quennōi § 215 ii (4)—; gwýl ‘sees’ § 173 iv (1).

There appears to be no certain example of e becoming ei; dyweit
‘says’ may be from *yat- § 194 i (1).

(2) ek or eg before a consonant when affected became ik or ig
which gives i regularly; as nith ‘niece’ < *nekτi-s § 86 ii (1)—
llith ‘lesson’ < Lat. lectio.

iv. (1) o becomes ei (Mn. ai) or u: yspeil, ysbaɪl ‘spoil’ < Lat.
spoliwm;—sél, sail ‘foundation’ < Vulg. Lat. solea for Lat. solum,
and E. soil;—myffyr ‘thought’ < Lat. memoria;—ystyr ‘meaning’
< Lat. historia;—ðyn ‘man’ < *donjos : Ir. duine;—mýr ‘seas’<
*morí § 122 ii (4);—esgyb ‘bishops’ < Lat. episcopī;—Selyf <
Salomō;—tair Mn. W. teir for *ty-eir ‘three’ fem. < *tisorés § 75
vi (3);—pair, Mn. peir ‘caldron’: Ir. coire § 89 iii.

It is seen that ei occurs before l and r; but in disyllables we have
γ before the latter.

(2) ok or og before a consonant, which gives oe in W., becomes
wy when affected; thus oen ‘lamb’ < *ognos, pl. ãyn < *ogni;—
wyth ‘eight’ < *okto.

v. u becomes u: Merchyr § 16 iv (2) < Mercurius;—çynu
‘chisel’ < Lat. cuneus;—asgyrn ‘bone’ pl. esgyrn;—ých ‘ox’<
Ar. *uqso, whence O.H.G. ohso, Skr. ukṣā (Av. uks- implies -q-); the pl. ychen (< Ar. *uqsones, whence Skr. ukṣānaḥ, E. oxen) has y from u unaffected, § 66 i.

*u does not become ei; deifr as pl. of dwfr is doubtful (M.A. i 556) except as a late and artificial form; see Silvan Evans s.v.

vi. When any of the above changes takes place in the ultima, a in the penult becomes e; see kedyrn, elyrc, pelydr, Selyf, esgyrn above. o also became e, as gosod 'to set' gesyd 'sets', liable to become y before st, as Ml. W. ebostyl, ebystyl < apostoli, sg. abostol < apostolus. In Ml. W. the affection extended, as in the last example, to the ante-penult.

vii. The ei due to affection as above, also ei from ek or eg, had open e, and was thus distinct from original ei which had close e. The former (ei) gives ei, ai; the latter (ei) gives wy § 75 iii (1).

On later modifications of y, ei, see §§ 77, 79.

§ 70. Non-ultimate affection. i. a and sometimes o in the syllable which is now the penult became e when the following syllable had i or ë (now i or y), except where the ë was itself affected to e, § 68. Thus cerydd 'reprimand' < *karīds beside caredd 'fault', Ir. caire, < *karīa;—Ml. W. gwedy 'after', O. W. guotig;—Ml. W. pebyll 'tent' < *papīlo < Lat. pāpīlo;—Ebrill < Aprilis;—cegin < coquina; melin < molina; etc. In Ml. W. the affection extends over two syllables, as ederyn 'bird', Mn. W. aderyn, pl. adar.

o seems to undergo the change chiefly after a labial or before a guttural, where it might have become a if unaffected.

The restoration of a in the antepenult in Mn. W. is due to the vowel in that syllable becoming obscure because unaccented, in which case it was natural to re-form etymologically.

ii. (1) Before ë the same change took place, and a and o appeared as e in O. W.; but the e was further affected by the ë, and became ei in Ml. and Mn. W.; thus Mariānus > O. W. Meriaun gen. iii. > Ml. W. Meirjauwu R.B.B. 81, Mn. W. Meirion;—so O. W. Bricheniauc a.c. 895, Mn. W. Brycheiniog;—O. W. mepiou gen. xii, Mn. W. melijon 'sons'. See § 35 ii.

In the dialect of Powys ceïlog 'cock', ceïnjog 'penny' are pronounced celtig, centog. This is perhaps a simplification of ei, § 78 v, rather than old e retained.
(2) Original e also became ei before i; thus Eterniânnus > Edeirnau n B.B. 74 Edeirnon w.m. 50, R.M. 35, Mn. W. Edeirnion (now wrongly spelt Edeyrnion); —so pencerdd 'chief of song' Ml. pl. penkeirðeit r.p. 1230, Mn. W. penceirðaid; —annheg 'gift' pl. anveigyon r.p. 1221 (generally anrhegion R.B.B. 394, R.M. 257, now anrhegion); un-ben 'mon-arch', unbeïnìæth, a.L. i. 34, 382, 'sovereignty' (now unbenæáth, new formation); gorwedd* 'to lie', gorwedd(now *gorweidd) 'bed-ridden'; gweniaith § 32 for gweniaith 'flattery'.

(3) In later formations i does not affect the vowel; forms like personìæit, Albanìæit etc. § 123 iv, and carìæad, meddiìæit, etc., are extremely common in Ml. and Mn. W. Also forms like ariæan 'silver' in which i is not original, but comes from g.

iii. The Ml. and Mn. diphthong ae, whether from ak- or ag-before a consonant, or from a-e, becomes ei before i or j, as in Ml. W. keithiæit < Brit.-Lat. *kaktiæitas; saer 'craftsman' pl. seiri; gwædd 'cry', gweiddi* to cry'; dræen 'thorn', dreniog 'thorny'. Similarly og..i or ug..i > ei..i; as in gweini 'to serve' < *yo-gnîm-; heini 'active' < *su-gnîm-: gnîm- § 203 vii (4). Before y it becomes ey, as in keyrydd pl. of kaer 'fort'. But, except in a few cases such as the above, this affection is usually ignored in writing, especially in the Mn. period.

iv. The affecting sound has disappeared in cenvch 'ye sing' for an earlier *cenvych § 26 vi (5); in the Ml. forms Edeirnon etc. § 35 ii; and in such forms as ceidwâd for ceidwâd, § 86 v.

v. The affection of a and o by a lost stem-ending -ï-, -jo-, -û-, of the first element of a compound is similar to ultimate affection: a > ei in meitiæin B.A. 18 'morning' (Mn. W. er's meitiæin 'some hours ago') < *matû-tîn- (treated as a compound) < Lat. mâtûtinum; —o > y in syl-faen : sail, § 69 iv.

In Ml. W. meinoeth B.T. 68, meînîoeth do. 45 'midnight' < medîa nocte, we seem to have early metathesis of i, thus meînîoeth < *meînîoeth < *meda-nîkote. The forms meînîð B.T. 31, meîndyð do. 55 'mid-day' are formed on its analogy.

The Long Vowels.

§ 71. i. (1) Pr. Kelt. a (from Ar. ā and ĕ) remained in Brit. In Early W. it became an open ĕ like Eng. a in call, which we may write o; in O. W. this became o in unaccented syllables, au
(≡ aw) in accented syllables. Latin ā also shared this development.

The Early W. o is attested in Bede’s Dinoct (≡ Dünot), Ml. W. Dunawt < Lat. Dōnātus. In all syllables except the ultima it became o, as brōder ‘brothers’ < Pr. Kelt. *brāteres; in this position aw from ā occurs only in late formations like mawrion pl. of mawr ‘great’, and after v § 148 i (6). But in the ultima and in monosyllables o > O.W. au ≡ Ml. W. aw, as O. W. brawt ox. ‘judgement’ < Pr. Kelt. *brāton, trinant Juv. sk. < Lat. trinitātem; Ml. W. brawt, trintawt. In Mn. W. aw remains in monosyllables, as brawd, but in the now unaccented ultima it has become o, as in trindod. The following table summarizes the history of Brit. (and Lat.) ā:

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<td>*brāteres</td>
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<td>trinitātem</td>
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<tr>
<td>*brāton</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ã—o—o—o broder penult.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>au—aw—aw trindod ult.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>aw brawd monosyll.</td>
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(2) ā when unacc. was shortened and gives a § 74 i (1); this might happen in monosyllables as a ‘of’ § 209 vii (5), a ‘whether’ § 218 iii. When acc. in Brit. and unacc. later, it gives o, as in pob § 168 i (3), mor § 151 i, o ‘from, of’ § 209 vii (5), o, ‘if’ § 222 v (1).

ii. (1) Ml. W. aw in the unaccented ultima (whether from ā as above, or from ou § 76 iii) survives in the spoken language in canllaw ‘hand-rail’, darlawn ‘to brew’, distaw ‘silent’, eirlaw ‘sleet’, ysgaw (also yego) ‘elder-tree’, llwyfradw ‘brother-in-law’; in compounds with numerals, as dauaw ‘18’, dwyawr ‘2 hours’, tetrâw ‘3 hours’, etc. (except dbýlo for dbýlaw ‘hands’); and in compounds of mawr, as dirfawr ‘very great’, trystfawr ‘noisy’ (except in place-names, Trefor, Coetmor). In a few book-words which have gained currency it is not a genuine survival: as traethawd ‘treatise’, catrawd ‘regiment’, bydysawd ‘universe’, rhaglaw ‘deputy’; and the forms liawes ‘multitude’, cyflaun ‘just’, Ionawr ‘January’, ansawdd ‘quality’, are influenced by the written language, which, however, had also llios, cyfion, Ionor, ansodd Io.G. 187, formerly; see examples below. Chweifor has o always (generally sounded Chweifrol by dissimilation). The recent written language has been influenced by mechanical ideas of etymology in the substitution of aw for the regular o in ffyddlon ‘faithful’, dbýlo ‘hands’, union ‘straight’, cinio ‘dinner’, anodd ‘difficult’, cpv. anos (§ 48 iv, § 148 i (6)); all these appear with o—in early Mn. poetry, and are pronounced with o in the spoken language. On the misspelling athraw for athro see § 76 v (5).
Ni fyn cariad i wadu,
Na'i ddangos i lios lu.—D.G. 69.

'Love will not be disavowed, or manifested to many a host.'

Gwahawdd Sæson bob Ionor
'I'r Deu maent ar hyd môr.—L.G.C. 155.

'They invite Saxons every January to the South across the sea.'

Anodd rhyngh bodd y byd.—T.A. A 14967/29.

'It is difficult to please the world.'

(2) aw in the ultima began to be reduced to o in the Ml. period; thus we find Edeirnon w.m. 50, achos ña.L. 4, Meirion R.B.B. 13. But the bards even in the Mn. period continued to write the aw for the purposes of rhyme. In recent times, owing to ignorance of the older language, they have sometimes written aw for original o, as “esgawb” for esgob ‘bishop’, “dynamewn” for dynion ‘men’. This is not due to a confusion of the sounds of o and aw (for the a in aw is a pure a, quite distinct from o), but to the blundering notion that as some o’s may be written aw, any o may. The Early Mn. poets generally use aw correctly, guided by a living literary tradition. The distinction is seen in Ml. W. ysgol ‘school’, iscol b.b. 81 from Lat. sc(h)ola and ysgawl w.m. 189 ‘ladder’ < Lat. scíla, both ysgol in Mn. W.

(3) In a few cases aw comes from o: praw(f) beside profi < Lat. prob-; mawl beside molaf ‘I praise’, Ir. melim; tymawr R.P. 1244 for the usual tymor < Lat. tempora. In each case the o comes before or after a labial. In Vulg. Lat. there was a tendency to lower a vowel before a labial so that prof- might become *prob- > prawf. But it is more likely that all these are due to false analogy.

In awr ‘hour’, and naawn ‘noon’ we have aw < Lat. ă. These have been explained as late borrowings; but historically this is improbable. Possibly the pronunciation of hōra varied in Lat., since Gk. ω (≡ ὣ) was popularly sounded ὄ (γλωσσα > Ital. chispa); ὄ would give ą > aw. For naawn see § 76 iii (4).

iii. āg > O.W. ò, Ml. W. eu, Mn. W. eu, au; thus breuant ‘wind-pipe’, O.W. -brouannou < *brägni-: Ir. bráge gl. cervix, O. Bret. brehan;—W. pau ‘country’, O. Bret. pou, Corn. pow < Lat. pāg-us;—so āk or āg before a consonant: W. gwann, O.W. gwunn L.L. 156, 196 ‘lowland’, Ir. fàin < *fàknu- < *uo-ak-n-§ 104 iii (1);—W. cenlu ‘to congeal’ < *câgl- < Lat. co-âgl-o. But before t the ā is shortened § 74 iv.

iv. -án- often gives onn in the present penult: cronni : crawn § 202 v (2); —ffynhonnau ‘fountains’ < fontân- ;—Meirionnyô o.c. 122, R.B.B. 263, beside Meirionyô do. 303, 306, < Mariân.-
§ 72. i. Pr. Kelt. ï (§<Ar. ē, ē' ē, i) remained in Brit., and Brit. and Lat. ï remain in W., § 59 iii, iv. Further examples:
W. hir 'long', Ir. sîr < Pr. Kelt. *sîros < *sē-ro-s : Lat. sērūs; —W. gwîn < Lat. vinum. It is, of course, shortened in W. before two consonants; as gwîn-llan 'vineyard'.

ii. Lat. ï is treated as ē or Kelt. ei in W. paradīys < paradīsus < Gk. παράδεισος; and synnōyr < sentīre. In rustic Lat. ï was often sounded ē, but whether only in words with original ei is not clear, Lindsay, p. 29. In Lat. ign the ï was often written long, or was written e; hence it probably differed little from Lat. ē, and so gives W. wy, as swyn 'charm' < signum.

§ 73. i. Pr. Kelt. ū, which remains in Ir., and apparently remained in Gaul, as shown by the spelling ov in the second element of Ávγουτρó-δουνν, advanced in Brit. towards ü, for it appears as ï in W., while Lat. ū borrowed into Brit. gives u in W.; thus Pr. Kelt. *dūnom > Ir. dûn, W. dîn 'fort', dînas 'city': O. E. lûn, E. town;—Pr. Kelt. *glûn- > Ir. glûn, W. glîn 'knee' § 63 vii (4);—Pr. Kelt. *kû > Ir. cû 'dog', W. cî, § 89 iii.—But Lat. pûrus gives pûr, mülus gives müd, etc.

ii. Some irregularities occur in the development of Lat. ū and Brit. and Lat. ü before a labial:
(1) Lat. ū in cûpa gives i in W. cîb, Bret. kib. This seems to be the only example in W., and may be due to fluctuation between ü and i before a labial; cf. conversely W. uffern 'hell', Bret. ifern < Vulg. Lat. inferna, Lat. infernā.
(2) Brit. and Lat. ü before b followed by a vowel gave W. u; as du 'black' for *dûv < *dub-: Ir. dub 'black'; W. cudîygl for *cufîygl < Lat. cûbic'ûm. But before n, r, l, ub gives wf regularly, as in dwfn, dwfr, § 90.
(3) ü before m is regular, as shown by W. twf 'growth', tyfu 'to grow' < *tum- § 201 i (8). But Lat. ü in numerus gives i in nifer. This may be due to a dial. pronunciation of Lat. u as ü; cf. Osc. Numsiēm 'Numeri', and the Oscanized Lat. Numeriēs 'Numerius'. Lat. itself had ü before m in an unacc. syll., as maximus, maximus ≈ maximum. The sound û would be identified with Brit. û, and prob. lengthened, giving the same result. W. ufîll 'humble' < Lat. hûmilis may perhaps be similarly explained, but with u for i as in uffern.
(4) ü before p is regular, as seen in cybyô 'miser' < Lat. cupidus, syberp 'proud' < Lat. superbus. In W. achûb < Lat. ocûpo the u may be due to the lengthening of the ū when it came to be accented, as it did in Brit. § 65 ii (1).

For Lat. ē see § 75 iii (1); for Lat. ő see § 76 ii (1).
§ 74. i. (1) In Brit. ã was shortened when unaccented. Thus W. pechadur ‘sinner’ < *peccatōr- < Lat. acc. peccatōr-em beside pechod ‘sin’ < peccatum;—W. meilin ‘morning’ < *maid-din < *matā-tīn- < Lat. matūtīnum;—W. agwydawr for *afwydawr < Lat. ābecēdarium;—W. Madrun < Lat. mātrōnā beside modryb ‘aunt’ < Kelt. *mātragvi;—W. ceiliagwydil ‘gander’, Ml. W. keyljacuyt L.l. i 280 < *kalīako-gēidos beside celiog ‘cock’ < *kalīkakos;—W. paratói ‘to prepare’, § 201 iii (5), beside parod ‘ready’ < Lat. parātus, etc., etc.

Naw mwyl i frag na cheiliagwydd,
Naw gwell i synnwyr na gwyydd.—S.T., c 16/93.

‘Nine times more boastful than a gander, nine times more sensible than a goose.’ (The recent spellings parotoi, ceiliogwydd are false; the words are pronounced as spelt above.)

For the apparent exception in Ionawr a sufficient explanation is the secondary accent which was required to distinguish Jânuárius from Fêbruárius, and which for emphasis might even become primary.

(2) Words like suyddogol ‘official’ are formed in W., and mostly late, by adding -ol to -og, and are not derived in full from Brit., for Brit. -āk-āl would give -ag-ol. The word lluosog is an old formation, but it is not formed from the original of ùiauws; the latter has ã from ē, the formation being *-ōs-tāts, while the former has ē, the formation being *-ōs-tōs, extended to *-ōs-tākos, § 75 iii (3).

ii. It is seen in the above examples that other long vowels remained long when unaccented; and that ē and ū need not have been accented to cause affection of a preceding vowel.

iii. In Ir. the shortening of long vowels is carried further and is independent of the Brit. shortening of ē. The latter had not set in in Pr. Kelt. as is shown by the development of āu, which when unaccented in Brit. gave au, while Kelt. au gave ou § 76 v (5).

iv. All long vowels were shortened before groups of sonant + explosive, as in gwyn ‘wind’ < *uēntos < *uēntos; so Lat. ventus. W. dyall < *diālal- < *diālal- § 75 vi (4); Also before two explosives; *-o-akt- *-aekt- *-akt- > -aeth § 203 i (4).

The Diphthongs.

§ 75. i. (1) Ar. ai remained in Kelt. It appears in Ir. as āi, āe, in Gaul. as ai or e. Before a consonant it appears in O. W. as oi, and in Ml. and Mn. W. as oe (ou) § 29. Thus W. coeg ‘empty’ (as a nut without a kernel), coeg-ddall ‘purblind’, Ir.

(2) Before a vowel ai fell together with i, see iv below. But as in the penult, followed by e (or i), gave a new ai which gives W. oe > o § 78 i (1); thus Brit. *karaset > *karoe, caro 'may love'. Followed by i it falls together with i and gives -ei, as *yornasim > arnei; when the i was unacc. it gives -i as *ybrnasim > erni § 209 vii (1).

But in the ante-penult a vowel before s drops § 113 i (2); hence *kara-se-re > kar-her 'may be loved'.

(3) Kelt. āi > W. ēwy, as in mwv 'greater' < *má-iös or *máision: Ir. mao for *mau < *májós. When unaccented it was shortened and so gives oe, as prob. in Ml. W. moe ii. a. 142 'more'.

A new āi was produced before a vowel in Brit. when ās was followed by i or e; thus *karás-ùt > *karâit > karwy § 183 ii (1).

A new āi might be produced before a cons. by metath. of i § 100 v; thus Lat. occásio > W. achos, but Brit. pl. *accásiones > *accáisones > Ml. W. achwsson.

(4) W. oe > ae after w or m, etc.; oe > waed after g § 78 ii (2).

ii. (1) Ar. oi remained in Pr. Kelt., and appears in Ir. as òi, òe. In W. it became u before a consonant. Thus Ar. *oinos 'one' > Gk. oivos, olvî 'ace', O. Lat. oinos, Lat. ùnus : Ir. oen, W. un 'one'.—W. ul in anudon 'perjury', Ir. oeth 'oath': Goth. aiþ-s 'oath'.—W. grug 'heather' for *gwrug (Pemb. dial. gwrig), Ir. froeuch < *yroiko-s : Gk. έρείκη < *yereikhā.

Before or after ù in Brit., oi became ai which gives W. oe (oy); as in gloyw 'shiny, glossy' < *gloito-s : Gk. γλωίς < γλῶσις, § 92 i;—ky(h)oeð 'public' < *ky-woes < *koi-oid- : W. gwôð 'presence' < *uoid-, véid- 'see'; here -w- dropped; where it remained, woe again gave waed § 78 ii (2); thus gwathaf for *gwoathaf < *uaidisamos < *uoidisamos < *uo-ed-isamos < *uopo-ped-isamos-s § 148 i (5).

(2) Before a back vowel oi gave W. ēwy; as *-oian > *-wy-un > -wn § 180 iii (1); cf. § 76 v (4). But before i or e the i
dropped § 100 vi, and o before the vowel developed like u before a vowel, that is, as oy; thus *dō esō > *dōiū > *dōi > *dōi > *deu § 76 v (1), whence deveaf § 193 x (5); and *do eset > *dojet > *doet > *dojet > daw, or without diphthongization *do-et > do, see ib.; so *moi estō > *mo esti > *mo ys > moes § 200 ii. Followed by i after the accent it gives -i, as in -di f. sing. ‘to her’ < *-dōi < *-do-si § 210 x (1).

(3) Ar. ēi gave Kelt. āi and developed accordingly.

iii. (1) Ar. ei remained in Pr. Kelt. In Gaul, it is written e or ei, as Devo-gnata, Δειουνοα. In Ir. it appears as ē or ia. In W. before a consonant it became wêy. Thus W. giwyd ‘presence’ for *gwywyd < Ar. *œyd- § 63 iv;—mor-dwy ‘sea voyage’ < *mor-levy- § 103 ii (1), etc.

In Brit. and Gaul, it was probably sounded as gê. Latin ë which was sounded ë, was identified with this sound in Brit., and shared its development in W., thus rēte > rhwyd, rēmus > rhwyf, plēbem > plwyf, cēra > cwyr, etc. Lat. oe which seems to have varied from ë to ë appears in W. as i, oe or wî, as ciniau ‘dinner’, poen ‘pain’, cwyn ‘supper’.

(2) Before a vowel ei fell together with ii, see below.

(3) Ar. ēi before a vowel > Kelt. i > W. i. Thus W. diwd, Ml. diaw ‘drink’ < *dheí-ati-s, √ dheí- ‘suck’.—W. llâaws ‘multitude’, Bret. liez < Brit. *liassâs < *liâstâts < *(p)liōs-tâts, a noun in *-tât- from the cpv. *plē-jōs : Lat. insc. pleores, Gk. πλέοω. Before Kelt. o it becomes u, as in llûosog, Ml. lluossauc < Brit. *luossaãko-s an extension of *luossa-s < *(p)liōs-to-s an adj. formed from *plē-jōs like Lat. honestus from honōs; see § 76 ix (2), § 74 i (2), § 169 iii (3). Before a consonant ēi > ē giving Kelt. i, W. i.

iv. ai and ei fell together with ii before vowels. After the accent the i became s, in other positions it remained as i. Thus:

(i) Accented ī (or ái or ēi), which is generally in the penult, but may be ante-penultimate, gives W. -yd; thus W. rhyd ‘free’ < *prīgōs : Goth. freis, Eng. free;—trefyô ‘towns’ < *trebyôs;—trydyô ‘third’ m. < *trîlîôs; with -a in the ult. it gives -eð, as trydeð ‘third’ f. < *trîlêyô. In the ante-penult -yð-, as W. yslîdau ‘thorn’: Ir. scê, gen. pl. sciad.

(2) Post-tonic -ii gave *aïi, which became oeð, § 62 i (2); h 2
thus *mòriā : Lat. maria ;—Ml. W. gwladod ‘countries’ < *yλαίιος ;—dannoed fem. m.m. 8 ‘toothache’ < *dáuntiā ;—oé̂̄d ‘would be, was’ < *sijēt, § 180 ii (3).

v. Before the accent, in the penult the result varies according to the quality of the accented vowel in the (now lost) ultima; thus:

(1) ī̯o > W. -i, as in tri ‘three’ m. < *trīī̯os (accented like the f.) < Ar. *trēī̯os (f. *tisorēs) see § 103 i (3);—W. tref ‘towns’ < *trebī̯es.

(2) iī̯ > Ml. W. -ei, Mn. W. -ai, as in W. āei, rhai ‘some’ § 165 vi, earai ‘would love’ § 180 ii (2); cf. nei, nai vii (2).

(3) ī̯o > W. -yw as in rhyw ‘some’ § 165 vi; cf. gwyw vii (3).

(4) iī̯a > O. W. -ai, Ml. and Mn. W. -ae, -e, also Ml. W. ðw; as in O. W. guarai, later gwarae, gware, chwarae, chware ‘to play’, Bret. c’hōari, Corn. hwary < Brit. *(-e) guarē < *kgwē-, ȳ̯ẽrēi § 63 vii (3); a variant is guarv b.b. 50 ♀ gwaryw.

vi. Before the accent in the ante-penult the result varies according as the accent fell on the lost ultima, or on the penult.

(1) In the former case the penult had generally a reduced vowel a (<ə or e); the combination -ī̯a- gave W. -aea- (also written aya), O. Bret. -oia-, Bret. -oua-, -oa-. Thus W. claear ‘lukewarm’, Bret. klour : Gk. χαλαρός (Ar. alternation k / g̤h);—W. gaeaf, gayaf, Bret. goañv ‘winter’ < *g̤ī̯jēmō-s : Skr. himāḥ, Lith. žemā, Gk. χειμών, χείμα, Lat. hiems : Gaul. Giamon., Ir. gem-red (e for ia);—W. traean ‘third part’ : Ir. trian;—W. rhaeadr ‘catacract’ < *rī̯ia-trō- : Ir. rialthor : Lat. rivos, *rī̯ia- ‘flow’;—W. daer ‘earth’, Bret. douar < *g̤ī̯ēī̯rā § 98 iii.— -isa- or -esa- gives the same result: Pr. Kelt. *isarno- ( *is R-grade of *ais : Lat. aes) : Gaul. Ysarno- Iserno- : W. haearn, hayarn ‘iron’, O. W. Gur-haiern gen. xxiii, O. Bret. hoiarn.

Before the loss of the accented ending the accent must have shifted to the present penult, which had the next highest stress. In Gwent and part of Dyfed the unaccented a was generally lost; thus daer ‘earth’ now dār § 29 ii (da’r a nen Wms. 785). The O. W. dair, dayr l.l. 120, gaem b.s.ch. 3 represent this dialect. The reduction is general in claer ‘bright’ beside claear ‘lukewarm’, with differentiation of meaning. 6 From daer comes daerawl pl.a. 130, 164.

(2) After a labial the above group takes the form -ð̄wy-

The labial changed the diphthong (Early W. *\textit{oi})- to \textit{wy}. Under the new accent \textit{wy} remained, but became \textit{i} in the present ante-penult; thus \textit{mwyar}: mìären—*gwìyal: gwìálen, a new pl. \textit{gwyal} being then formed from the latter. Where the sound comes in the present ante-penult in old formations, the form is undecided; thus O.W. \textit{guaínuin} ox. ‘Spring’, Early Ml. W. \textit{guaínuin}(<fn), guaínuhin a.l. i 142, also gwahanwyn do. 308, Ml. and Mm. W. \textit{gwânuyn}, gwânuyn < Brit. *\textit{yesant}:- Skr. \textit{vasantá-h} ‘Spring’, Lat. \textit{vâr} < *\textit{uesr}.

(3) When the following \textit{a} or \textit{e} was affected, the diphthong became \textit{y} or \textit{e}, liable to be assimilated and lost; thus \textit{tveidyr}, \textit{tveidyr} ‘catacacts’, \textit{heyrn} ‘irons’ § 69 ii (3), Gwyn. dial. \textit{hýrn} for \textit{hyryrn};—W. tair ‘three’ f., Ml. and O. W. teir for *\textit{tyeir} (cf. breint, Seint § 103 ii (1)), Ir. \textit{teoir} < *\textit{tisóir}: Skr. \textit{tisrāh}; so W. \textit{pedair} ‘four’ f., Ir. \textit{cetheoir} < *\textit{gëtesóres}: Skr. \textit{cátasrah}.

Such forms as \textit{heyrn}, \textit{tveidr} are quite late and artificial. But some old re-formations occur when the diphthong stood in the present ante-penult, as \textit{deyryn (<yn} ≡ -\text{in}) a.l. 12 ‘earthen’, \textit{heyrnin} \textit{ib}. ‘of iron’, \textit{daerfin} r.p. 1281, \textit{miér}, pl. of \textit{miären}.

(4) Secondly, the vowel following the diphthong is accented. In that case the diphthong became \textit{e} or \textit{y} liable to be assimilated and lost, as in (3) above. Thus W. \textit{êog} ‘salmon’ < *\textit{esák}:- Ir. \textit{êo}, gen. \textit{iach};—W. deall, dyall, dallt § 82 ii (3) ‘understanding’, deall-wriaeth id., N.W. dial. \textit{dâllt} < *\textit{diált}- < *\textit{diált}- § 74 iv, met. for *\textit{diá vàl}, \textit{\textgamma} \textgamma-\textit{eii}:- ‘appear, perceive’: Skr. \textit{dhyà-yati} ‘thinks’, \textit{dharàh} ‘intelligent’; Ml. W. \textit{dyal} ‘thought’ < *\textit{diá-l}- with
analog. accentuation for original *dʰiι∅-tō- ;—Ml. W. gorffywys, later, with y lost, gorffywys 'rest' < *uer-q*ιει-ṣt-, √q*ιει- : Lat. quiēisco.

(5) Latin pretonic i or e before a vowel is treated as ɨ, thus diā-b(o)lus gives diəwol § 100 ii (1).

vii. Except as above, -es-, -is- before a vowel developed differently from -iɨ-, chiefly because post-tonic s did not, like ɨ, become ə.

(1) In the penult after the accent -es- > -i- ; thus Ml. W. tei ‘houses’ < *tigia < *tigesa § 104 ii 2 ;—W. cluw 'hearing’ < *kloyi- § 76 v (2) < *klēyes- ; nom. *klēyos : Ir. cluí, Gk. κλέος < *klēyos, neut. s-stem. —So -ep- : W. ceifr 'distant cousin’ < *kóm-niōs < *kóm-nepōt-s, see § 123 v.

(2) In the penult and ante-penult, when ēs came before -e-, contraction took place, and ēs > ei > W. wy ; thus W. wy-t ‘art’ < *ēse tū < Ar. *esi ‘art’ ;—W. newtywyr < *noktī diēser- § 98 i (3).—So ēpe : W. twymn < *tepēsm(e)n- § 86 i (3).

In the penult -ēs- before -i- gave oe ; thus W. chwaer for *chwoer i (4), Corn. hoer < *suēsr < *suēsor ;—W. doe 'yesterday' < *dēsī < *ghōdēsei : Lat. heri, Gk. χθές, Skr. hyāh. —Corn. noi 'nephew’ < *nēpōts.—es- before ɨ prob. gave ei (like -iɨ- before -i-, see v), and Ml. W. nei, Mn. nai 'nephew’ may represent *nēpōts (accented like the f. *nēptīs : Skr napātī),—es- before ɨ- gave y, as in Ml. W. y 'his’ < *esjō, y 'her’ (for e ?) < *esjās, § 160 iv.

Lat. -aiː- > Ml. W. ei, Mn. W. ai as in Mei, Mai 'May’ < Majius (Sommer 225); Ml. W. Kei < Caius.


So is before lost u or o gives iw, and ais gives oew : W. gwiv 'good’ < *uśis < *ušu-s : Gaul. Visu-rix : Skr. vásu-h, Gk. οὖ, yeusη- ;—W. gwæwv 'spear’ for *goew § 78 ii (2) < *gai̯on : Gaul. gaisen whence Lat. gaesum : Ir. gae.

Lat. e in the penult gives ew before lost o or u : W. llew
lion’ < leo; pydew ‘pit’ < putens; olew ‘oil’ < oleum. But Lat. i in the same position gave i which affected the vowel: W. yspeil < spolium; so sometimes e: W. cîn ‘chisel’ < Lat. cuneus.

viii. (1) In final syllables, lost in W., Ar. ai, oi, ei became i in Brit. and Gaul.; thus the nom. pl. ending of noun o-stems, which in Pr. Kelt., as in Lat. and Gk., was *-oi (instead of Ar. *-ðe), became -i (though -oi also survives in a North Italian Kelt. insc.: Tanotaliknoi, Rhys, CIFI. 60); thus Brit. *bardos pl. *bardi > W. bardd, pl. beirdd.

-ai unaccented > ai > i, thus Gaul. Bηλησαμι dat. of a name whose nom. occurs as Belisama; òi > ùi, in Pr. Kelt. later ù, § 60, cf. Ir. dat. fiur ‘to a man’ < dat. *uirôi; -ôi doubtless gave -i.

(2) But in monosyllables Ar. -ai, -oi, -ei remained in Kelt., and developed as follows in W.:

-ai > -oe, thus Ar. *yai > *gwoe > gwae § 78 ii (2).

-ei > wy; W. wy ‘they’ < *ei: Ir. é.

-oi > wy; W. pwy ‘who?’ < *gwo-i = Lat. qui § 163 vi; when unaccented it became eu (O. W. ou, oi) § 78 iii, thus Ar. *moi, *loi > W. meu, teu § 161 iv.

§ 76. i. The Ar. diphthongs au, eu, ou were distinct in Pr. Kelt., but tended later to become one sound, which is written ou. In Gaul. eu was still written as well as ou in forms having original eu, as in leuto- beside tovaious and Neviod... beside Noviodunnum; we also find au, iii (4). In Brit. we may assume ou for all three. In W. it takes a variety of forms according to its position. The same development is shared by uu whether from Ar. uu § 63 iv or from Lat. u before a vowel.


In Brit. it was probably sounded q*; and Lat ð (≡ ð) and û shared its development; thus W. ffurf < Lat. forma; mur < Lat. mûrus, etc.

(2) But original eus gives W. ew, as rheu ‘ice’ < *preus-:
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Lat. *pruina < *prusuina;—W. trew ‘sneeze’ < *(s)treu-s-, <psteren- § 96 ii (4);—W. blew ‘hair’ < *bleus- § 101 iii (2).

The reason seems to be that *eus became *eh* before the degradation of the first element of the diphthong.

(3) The diphthong was liable to be simplified by dissimilation when the following syllable contained y or u; thus Ar. *taurus ‘bull’ became Kelt. *tauryos (in imitation of *yeryū > Ml. Ir. euru ‘cow’, Vendryes MSL. xii. 40), whence Kelt. *tarvos > Ir. tarv ‘bull’. Later, when au had become ou in Brit., *ou-tū- > *o-tū- > W. odié ‘rarity’, beside Ir. őthad, uathad < *au-tāt-, both from *pau-: Lat. pau-eu-s, O. H. G. fōh, E. few.

iii. (1) Before a vowel the diphthong became aw when unaffected. Thus W. naw ‘nine’ < Brit. *nawen < Ar. *neuy;—W. baw ‘dirt’ < *bouy, beside budr ‘dirty’ < *bou-tro- <pauy(ă)_: Lat. pūs, etc. § 101 iii (2);—W. awydd ‘desire’ for *awyŏd (rh. with rhūyŏ § 38 x) < *aieid:_ Lat. avidus < *ahid-, <aieir-.—So Brit. au for unacc. āu as in Ml. W.andel ‘listen’, met. for *adnaw < *ali-gnā-y- ‘attend to’ < *dyū-y- <genē_: Lat. nāvus, Ir. aithgne ‘cognitio’.—So also uy for Lat. u before a vowel, as W. cystrawen ‘syntax’ < Lat. construenda.

(2) But in the penult (the present ult.) post-tonic -ou- gives Ml. W. -eu, Mn. W. -au; thus the pl. endings *'-ojes, *'-oja give W. -eu, -au, as in cadau ‘armies’ < *kātoues, dagrau ‘tears’ < Ar. *dākrunu; similarly angau ‘death’ < *ānkou_; cigleu ‘I have heard’ < *kūklova § 182 i.

In this case -eu does not affect a preceding a as it does when it is itself the result of affection § 69 vi, as in teneu < *tanouēs.

The above change may be due to a doubling of y, see § 62 i (2), thus *auy > *iuy > *iūi > *ūi > O. W. ou, Ml. W. eī.

(3) *jou- gives W. ieu (≡ jeū). Thus W. ienane ‘young’ < Brit. *joun̩okes < Ar. jequēs : Lat. juvencus § 100 i (1);—W. Ienan < *joun̩anes for Ioānn̩es;—Mn. W. Ien, Ml. W. Ieu ‘Jove’ < Brit. gen. *joun̩-os for Lat. Jovis;—Mn. W. iau, Ml. W. ieu ‘yoke’ < *jou-ōn < *jūg-ōm, see vi (1). Here we have the assimilation of y to i by which it becomes ĭ; cf. the assim. of ĭ to ĭ in -iōi in O. W., § 25 i.

An alternative form ircraft-, if- appears in the penult: ieffanc, iﬀanc; Iefan, Ifan. The latter is attested in the 14th cent: ierviewhet c.m. 84. Later it is common: Pauv yn eu rhif yn iﬀanc S.C., c. i 114 ‘all in their [full] number young’. 
Ifanc, ifanc a ofyn:
Henaint, at henaint y tym.—S.Ph. br. iv 391.

'The young seeks the young: old age is drawn to old age.' The form *ef- is probably older, but cannot be verified; Ml. W. ieu- is ambiguous, but doubtless generally meant *ew-. The latter form is seen in

Paham, a minneu 'n ieuanc,
Yr wyf yn rhwym ar fy nhanc?—B.A. ll 133/77.

'Why, when I am young, am I bound at death's door?' The dialects now have if-, as Ifan, ifanc, but ienctid for ieuenc tid 'youth'.

(4) The ante-vocalic form aw may occur before a consonant where the vowel after it has dropped, as in W. cawr 'giant' < Brit. *koivarós : Gaul. Kaváros, Ir. caur (< W.? ) √ kuyā-. We also have aw regularly for Lat. au, as in awdur < Lat. au(c)torem; llawd 'praise' < laudem; Ml. W. Pawl < Paulus (the biblical Paul is merely the Eng. form, and is pronounced Pól).


(5) Except when affected as in iv (4), v (3) (5), Brit. āu gave u in W., as in bu 'has been' < *(be)bāue < Ar. *bebhōye § 189 iv (3); caru 'to love' < *karā-< § 202 ii. When unaccented ā was shortened, iii (1), § 74.

iv. The penultimate affection of the diphthong has the forms ew, yw, and eu; thus

(1) Before į or ĭ remaining as y or i, it appears as ew, as in newyō 'new', Bret. nevez < *noujiōs < *nyujiōs;—W. newyll 'kernels' < *kney- : E. nut < *knu-d- ;—W. ewylhr 'uncle' < *aon-tēr : Lat. aunu-culus < *aun- (nom. *aunō see v (5)); Bret. contra (eo for eu; ĭ lost), Corn. eitor (-tor ≡ t? ?) ;—W. ewylllys 'will' < *owī-, √ ayei-.—Similarly rhewin 'ruin' derived from the Lat. ruina.

(2) Before į when pretonic it is eu (≡ eū), the į being lost; thus W. breuam 'handmill' for *broun < *brōn-jōn- ( : Corn. brun, Bret. breo; Ir. bráun all from nom. *broujó, Ir. gen. broon) : Goth. quairnus, E. quern, √ guerā-.

But when accented it is yw as in ultimate aff.; thus cyw
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young of an animal’ < *kòuĩō pl. cywion < *kòuĩones, see v (6);
—distrywiaf < *dĩ-strówna-mi, v (2); —illywiaf ‘I steer’ : llyw ‘rudder’ ib.

In late formations ɨ has no effect: gwrandaviad ‘hearing’ from gwrandaw ‘to listen’.

(3) Where it remained a diphthong before a consonant iii (4),
its affected form is eu; thus ceuri p 94/179 R. ‘giants’ now ceiri
(in Tre’r Ceiri, etc.) by § 77 ix, pl. of cawr; the usual pl. ceuri
w.m. 44t, p.l. 44 is a re-formation; —W. beudy < Brit.
*bouĩ-tigos, later nāvfragus, later nāvfragus); —Ml. W. Meuruc § 77 viii <
Mauricius; —Ml. W. cyngheussteath < *con-caus-i-act- : cyngaws
‘lawsuit’ < Lat. causa.

(4) ɨuĩ became ɨĩ giving ɨwy § 75 i (3); as andwyo ‘to mar,
spoil’ met. for *ad-nyw-o < *ati-nāy-ɨ, niwed ‘injury’ for
*nyyet § 78 iv < nāy-ɨat- < *nōuɨ-: Lith. novy̆li ‘to afflict’ <
*nōyĭ.

v. In the present ultima the diphthong, when affected, takes
various forms, as follows:

(1) The ordinary affection is Ml. W. eu, Mn. W. au; this
occurs:

1. Before unaccented -ɨ; as dau ‘two’ m., Ml. deu, O. W. dou
< *dōuĩ < Ar. *důuō(y): Gk. δῶ, δῶ, Lat. duo, Skr. dumā(v); —W. tau ‘is silent’ <
*toũɨ < *(s)uũũ-ɨt, beside tauw ‘be silent!’ < *tőye;—W. cenau ‘whelp’ < *kanōuɨ < *kanũyō:
Ir. cana : from *h(ũ)yũ- : Lat. canis.

2. Before accented ɨ; as W. teneu ‘thin’ (Corn. tanow, Bret.
tanao) < *tanouĩs < *tũũuũũs : Lat. tenuis, Skr. tanũh f. tanvi.

3. Before a consonant; as W. haule ‘sun’ < Brit. *sauũliũs <
*sāuhlũũs : Gk. ὥλειος, ὥλειος, Dor. ἀελειος Lith. sāulē, Skr. sūrya-h, 
Lat. sōl < *sāuol < *sāuel. (*-ũũ- would have given W. ll; hence
we assume Brit. -ũũ- ; see also § 113 i (5).)

Ml. W. eur, Mn. W. aur ‘gold’ cannot be from aurum which gave
Ml. aur (≡ awr), and Bret. aour. The Mn. W. aur, Ml. eur represents
the adj. *aurũs for aureus, which spread from expressions like modrwy
aur ‘gold(en) ring’, etc. The noun is seen in ef guisgus aur (ũ≡w)
b.a. 38 ‘he wore gold’.

¶ The above is the ordinary affected form, which is used e.g. in the
formation of the 3rd sg. pres. ind. of verbs; thus *tereu 'strikes': *taraw = saif: saf § 173 iv (1). It is seen that when -eu is the result of affection as above, an a before it is affected to e; see iii (2).

(2) -óuí- gives -yw. Thus W. dilyw 'flood' (now generally misspelt *diluvi) = *diluvi< - Lat. *diluvium — *distryw 'destruction' = *distryw<— Goth. *strainjan, Lat. destroo; the vb. is *distrywaf< — W. *lyw 'rudder', = *lógio<— Ir. *lue = *lu-iù< — Gk. πλούς, *pλeυ<— W. *clyw 'hearing', = *kloï<— kléyes-

§ 75 vii (1).

There is no reason to suppose that *ui became *i in Brit., as stated by Pedersen, Gr. i 61; *yw is from *óuí as above. *clywaf 'I hear' is a denominative from clyw, cf. clywyaf c.m. 32 (the pres. stem of */kleu< meant 'to be named', and clywaf cannot come directly from it; cf. Meillet, MSL. xv 337).

(3) -áuí- became -ái- which gives -wý§ 75 i (3); thus W. wy 'egg' = Brit. *áui<— Ar. *óuiom<— Gk. *óion, *óin, Lat. ovum; — Cornwy < Cornáui-(a);— *Aethwy R.P. 1419 < *Oethwy § 78 ii (3) = Octáivius.

Pedersen Gr. i 66 suggests that Ir. og is borrowed from W., but this is improbable, and does not help to explain the -g. Thurneysen IA. xxvi 26 insists upon a Kelt. *ugas, *uges. The fact, however, seems to be that *i under certain conditions became in Ir. a spirant written g; thus Ir. *ugaire 'shepherd' = *ouï-árius : *i, *i 'sheep', Lat. ovis; Mn. Ir. ughachd 'will' = *ouï-akt-, *auï-, iv (1). — Eng. egg is from Icel. eeg < Pr. Germ. *ajja<— *ouï<.

(4) -ouï or *ouï< was similarly simplified to -o-ì, -oi'<, which gives -wý; thus W. dwy 'two' f. = *douï<— dvyai<— Lat. duae, Skr. duvé<— duyai;— W. aswy 'left (hand)' = *at-soï-á<— Skr. savá-y-ì 'left'.

-wý as in (3) and (4) may be weakened to -eu; as Cornieu, asseu; these are not direct affections, as shown by the unaffected a; also to w, asseu, see § 78 iii, i.

(5) -aui<, -aui< or -aui< by the shortening of unacc. a became -auï<, -aui< or -auï< simplified to -a-ì, -a-ì< or -ai'<, which gives -oe. The simplification here was late, so that -aui< did not, like -ast<, give -ei. It did not take place in Bret. and Corn., in which the groups appear as -ou (-ow). In W. -oe generally becomes -o, § 78 i (1). Examples: -(g)no in proper names; Iud-noe L.L. 176, 187, Balch-noe D. G. 43; Gueilhyno L.L. 144, Guiñno
(wrongly wr. guipno) gen. v, Mn. W. Gwyddno; Mochno b.b. 61, Beuno i.l.a. 119, Mn. W. Tudno, Machno, etc., all < *gnωithios: Lat. Gnaeus < *gnā-χios < *.fillRect- ϑenē- ‘be born’. (With the accent on the ‘ a’ it gave -nuwy by (3), as Mochneu b.b. 47, Gronwy § 78 i (2), weakened to -neu, see (4), as Guineu b.b. 98, 106, Iudnou l.l. 73, 77, etc.) — W. clo ‘lock’ < *glāun-ith: Gk. θάνας, Lat. clavis, ϑurē-; — W. noe ‘large bowl’ < *nāiiā: Lat. nāvia, nāvis, Gk. ναός, Ion. νηός, Skr. ναή: — W. athro ‘guardian, teacher’,< *alfrāi̯nt < *altrāihn < *atθro-αυο, § 155 ii (1): *auon-iv (1); pl. athrawon, alltrawon < *altrāihnones; f. elltrewyn ‘stepmother’ < *altrāihn; Bret. aontrou ‘seigneur’, Corn. ałtrou ‘fosterfather’.

The mas. sg. is athro in all Ml. W. texts; b.b. 86; A.l. i 338; W.m. 128, 452-3; R.m. 100-1, 202; I.l.a. 3, 6, 49, 107, 113; R.p. 1225, 1241, 1255, 1345, 1348; R.b. 975; Io. G. 640, etc.; and in the early edns. of the Bible. The late athraw (Salesbury, Dic.) is an artificial form deduced from the pl. Cae Athro (near Carna) is so named locally; Cae-athraw is a misspelling which came through the Sunday school from late edns. of the Bible. The sg. alltraw is also artificial. (So in late W. cenuaw is written for cenuaw in defiance of the pronunciation in all the dialects, which is cene or cena implying cenuaw § 6 iii.) Pughe’s fem. elltrewen is his own invention; -en would not affect the -aw- to -eaw-.

Other examples of the same development, though the orig. formation is not so clear in these, are — W. glo ‘coal’ for *gwplo < Brit. *gylāuis, ϑurē-lāx-: E. coal, Skr. jvālati ‘blazes’; — W. gro ‘gravel’< *graunis < *gurn-ω, ϑurē:- Lat. rudus, E. grit; — W. tyno ‘plain, meadow’ for *tno, O. W. tnou l.l. 32, 44, 74, Bret. tnou (: W. teneu, ϑrne- ‘stretch’).


Note.—It is to be observed that ϑ does not produce i-affection in Bret.; hence W. aff. dau, but Bret. unaff. daou, < *dunō. On the other hand W. aff. hant, Bret. aff. heol both from *sau’jios. The assumption usually made that āu gives W. -eu, -au based entirely upon these two words (taken as *d(θ)au, *sau’l-) does not explain the difference in Bret.

vi. (1) ug before a vowel > ϑu in Brit. and developed like
ordinary \( \text{yw} \) or \( \text{ou} \). Thus W. traw-af 'I strike' \( < \text{trug-ami} < \text{prug-} \) for \( \text{pyg-} \), \( \checkmark (s) \text{pygrec-} \) § 97 v (3);—after \( i \), iii (3), W. iau 'yoke': Lat. jugum, Gk. \( \xi yg\varsigma v \), Skr. \( yug\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\dot{\doi...
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§ 77

Ml. W. *ysgawn > S. W. ysgon, also ysgafn, Mn. W. and N. W. ysgafn, Ml. W. ysgwn § 101 iv (3).

viii. (1) After the prefixes *ko-, *lo-, *do-, *ro- an initial y- was heterosyllabic, and the o of the prefix becomes y regularly § 65 iv (2), as in cy-wir ib., ty-wysog ‘prince’, dy-wedaf § 194: I say’, rhy-wynt ‘hurricane’.

(2) The vowel also develops regularly before gu, as in teu ‘thick’, Ir. tuing < *tegu-: E. thick; cf. ii (2).

ix. (1) iu and iu occurred as V- and R-grades of eiu, eiéu, etc.; Kelt. iu also < Ar. éu. The i or i appears regularly in W. as y or i. Thus byw ‘live’ < g*iu- § 63 vii (3);—W. liuw < * liu-: Lat. livor.

(2) iu gives W. úo or úa (§ 65 v (1)); thus W. buan ‘quick’ < Brit. *biano-no-s § 63 viii (3);—W. hual ‘shackle’ for *fiuol < *fiuol < Lat. fibula;—original io > iuo > úo as in lluosawc § 75 iii (3).

Later Modifications of Vowels.

§ 77. i. In Late Ml. W. y, when short, became i before g (then written c) or ng. Thus in the unaccented ultima in Late Ml. W. we generally find ic, sometimes ing, as tebic W.m. 122, 129, 142, R.M. 164, 213, etc.; meddic W.m. 141, R.M. 113, 212, 306, R.P. 1298; kyving R.M. 110 (but kwyng W.m. 46, 465, R.m. 32). Such words are rhymed by the bards with monosyllables having i (not y):

Ond dychnyigion dynion dig,
A cham oedd pob dychymig.—D.G. 22; see 246.

[They were] but jealous men’s fancies, and every fancy was false.’

Rhinwedd mab Ieuw feddig
Ar dy rudd fal aur a drig.—L.G.C. 348.

‘The virtue of Ab Ieuw the physician will dwell as gold on thy cheek.’

A’i frig yn debig i dán.—D.E., g. 125.

‘And its tips like fire.’—To a woman’s hair. See 133, and D.G., 27, 285. See tebic / diwig / cerrig / llewig / rhyfig, etc. E.P. 283.

In a monosyllable before g the vowel is long, § 51 iii, and therefore remains y, as in plýg ‘fold’, crýg ‘hoarse’ see plyc W.m. 89, R.M. 65; but before ng it is short, § 51 ii, hence ing ‘anguish’, which is for yng R.P. 1286, 1407; cf. the derivative ydër R.M. 119.

The only words in which the vowel is sounded y in the unaccented ult. are compounds of plýg, crýg etc., as dyblyg D.G. 258, (g)wyrblyg 255, ogryg 244, deudyblyg N.A. 68; also the 3rd sing. pres. ind. of
verbs with stems ending in -og, as ysgyg D.G. 370 'shakes' (though we have ennic c.m. 13 from annoc 'incite'). In other cases the sound is ig. The late Mn. spellings meddyg, tebyg etc., are purely artificial, deduced from meddygon, tebygyn etc. A few words of this class are still written phonetically, as cerrig.

The sound was y in Early Ml. W. as shown by the rhyme cerryg / płyg C. M.A. i 241, and the assonance metic / bid B.B. 76 (≡ medyg / byd); and y the mutation of y remains in the penult. Hence we have two forms: (1) -ig for -yg < -ic-, which becomes -yg- in the penult; (2) -ig for -ig < -ic-, which is -ig- in the penult. Thus (1) meddyg < Lat. medicus, pl. meddygon, (2) lleithig < Lat. lectica, pl. lleithigeu. In Mn. W. one or two words of the second class have passed over to the first: periɡl 'danger' < Lat. periculum; cynnig 'to offer' < Lat. concido, though still sounded periɡl, cynnig are written perygl, cynyg because, by false analogy, derived forms have come to be sounded with y as peryglus, cynygiaf. In Mn. W. the penult had i in these, as periglwyys R.B.B. 44-5, periɡlus L.A. 146, berigleu R.B.B. 121, gynigwyt W.M. 168, gynigwyt R.M. 234, kynigwyys do. 144.

ii. y becomes i in the unaccented ult. in some cases after g or ng; thus erygt W.M. 110, 111 'shot'; erygt R.M. 80, 81, R.B.B. 42, now ergid (written erygd); cfengil R.I.I., f. 5, E.P. 278 'gospel'; so sounded now though written enfengil; megis / dis, D.G. 315; cregin for *cregyn. But as a rule y remains; egyr 'opens', diogyn 'idler', negydd 'denier', dengys 'shows', are so pronounced, owing to the influence of analogical forms without g or ng.

iii. In the same position y frequently becomes i after penultimate i or ei; thus llinyn W.M. 75 'string', but llinin four lines earlier, also 78, llinin R.M. 54, 56 (each time), dibin c.m. 91 'hang', amdihin p 21/1 R. 'to defend', gwulthin W.M. 455, R.M. 102 'dewdrop', gilið W.M. 9, 134 'other', origin L.A. 122 'a moment', (double dim. of awr 'hour'), dilin D.G. 343 'to follow'.

Derfel wrth ryfel a thrin
Dewr odd, a da i wreiddin.—D.I.D., g. 178.

'He was a brave Derfel in war and encounter, and of good stock.'

Herwydd nas gwnai ddyhirin
Fentrio i oes o fewn trin.—S.T., g.r. 369.

'Because a dastard would not risk his life in battle.'

But analogy has always tended to preserve the termination -yn:

ysys y dengys y dyn
O ba radd y bo i wreiddyn.—T.A., f. 33.

'Plainly does a man show of what degree his origin is.'

O chyrch dyrfa, deca' dyn,
Daw i'w harail dihiryn.—D.G., 173.

'If she hies to a gathering, fairest maid, a knave comes to watch her.'
The sound is now i, as illin, dibin, amddišin, gilið, gureidin, etc.; the y written is an etymological spelling. Sometimes it is wrongly written, as in ers meitin for ers meitin § 70 v. This may also occur in Ml. W. as in yr meitin w.M. I 7, R.M. I I beside the correct er meitin w.M. I 28, I 38, yr meitin R.M. 280, cf. meitin/fin R.A. 18; dilyt beside dilít w.M. 41.

iv. In Ml. W. y followed by i in some common groupings became i; thus cery di ‘thou lovest’ became ceri di, and ceri supplanted cery as the regular form. So worthyf i, worthyt ti became wrthif i, wrthit ti, and the 1620 Bible has wrthif, wrthit; so gennif, gennit; but later the ML forms with y were restored in writing. [The dialects developed new formations.]

v. The diphthong yw is now sounded iw after front consonants: after c (≡ k) in cyw ≡ kiw (but pl. cywion ≡ gwion), after r in rhyw and its compounds amryw, cyfrwyw, etc., in dryw, ystryw, gwrwyw, after n in benyw, and initially in yw ‘is’, yw ‘to his’ now written i‘w. (Gwrwyw, benyw, yw ‘is’ are not dialectal forms in N. W., but are sounded with -iw in reading or quoting.) Ml. W. nywol R.M. 46, w.M. 64 ‘fog’ is now written niwol, § 37 ii. In distryw, dilyw the -iw sound is earlier, on account of the preceding i; both are often spelt with -iw in Ml. W. After d and ð the sound iéw is still earlier; thus ydiw, hédiw are so spelt in Ml. W. in mss. where i and y are distinguished.

The only words remaining now with yw are byw, clyw, llyw ‘prince’ and llwy ‘rudder’ (also sounded lliw), gwyw ‘rudder’ in addition to Dwy which is sounded Dyw in Late Ml. W.; and compounds of these lledfyw, hygfyw, etc.

vi. In the Mn. language y in the unaccented ult. is sounded i before ll in some words; as cyllyll ‘knives’, gywntyll ‘fan’; in some, as candryll ‘shattered’ (lit. ‘100 bits’), both y and i are heard; others have y always, as sefyll. This modification sometimes appears in late mss.; but is not recognized in the rhymes of the bards.

vii. (1) In Ml. W. u (≡ ũ) was unrounded to i after the labial in govit ‘pain’; the usual ML form is govit w.M. 138 l. 15; 231; but goffit w.M. 138 l. 4; 131, 141, etc.; Ml. W. goffid.

(2) In a few cases y came to be rounded after a labial; thus pump ‘five’ for an earlier pbmp, O.W. pimp; busul ‘gall’ for *busul: Bret. bestl (Bret. e = W. y § 16 iv (2)).

viii. As it was difficult to pronounce unrounded i or y and rounded ũ in consecutive syllables, assimilation took place: *t’dunt ‘to them’ (cf. i’daw ‘to him’) became udunt and always appears so in Ml. W. see A.L. i 2; P 17/1 R.; II.A. 7, 8, 11, 21, etc.; w.M. 6, 26; R.M. 4, 7, etc. The natural sound in Gwyn, is udun, though the artificial Mn. lit. iddynt and the analogy of iddo may have influenced the pronunciation of some speakers. Similarly ei became eu, as in feudus w.M. 21, R.M. 13, R.P. 1238 for rheidus ‘needy’; teulu ‘household troops’ for teila, the form implied in the spelling teygus of A.L. i 2, 12, etc.; eilun often later for eilun, and now sounded eilun. In the reverse order we have Ml. W. Meuruc for Meuric.
ix. In Mn. W. u having come to be sounded q, it becomes i in those positions where q would be so treated; thus barrug, egsus, cynnuill are sounded barrig, egsig, cynnuill.—D.G. rhymes menig / barrug 8.—Before * or * it is sounded i. Dr. M. writes iniawn Job i 1; we now say inion ‘straight’ for unig, inig for unig, tostirio for tostirio, etc. Hence carut ti became carit ti, and -it in Late Mn. W. replaced -ut as the 2nd sg. impf. ending.

x. u being rounded in O. and ML. W., final ch after it retained its rounding; thus uch 'higher' ≡ ïtch, sometimes written uoch in Late ML. W.; when the u was unrounded the glide remained, and the sound became yoch as implied in yoch r.p. 1295; this is the present sound; it is written uoch in Mn. W. But in the penult we have uch, as in uchel ‘high’. Hence the mutation, uw: u, § 81.

xi. The modern pronunciation cited in this section is that of Gwynedd, where the sound q or u is quite distinct from the sound i.

§ 78. i. (1) The diphthong oe or oy, O.W. oi, remains finally in only two words: noe ‘basin’, doe ‘yesterday’; ML. W. had moe ‘more’ also. Elsewhere it is regularly reduced to -o, as in creto ‘may believe’ for *cred-hoe appearing as cred-doe B.B. 53, a stray survival, § 183 ii; and in -no in personal names for -noe, clo for *cloe, etc. § 76 v (5); in am-do ‘shroud’ for *am-doe § 104 ii (2); th or δ may be lost after it as in heno ‘to-night’ < O. W. henoid Juv. SK. ≡ henoeth R.P. 1040; it became wi by assim. in hunnoed ox. > hunniud M.C. > ML. and Mn. W. hunu; and hinnoid gave hymn by analogical assimilation (-d ≡ δ in O.W.). A late example is y ddannoed ‘toothache’ < ML. W. y dannoeð § 75 iv (2), in which however the final -δ remains.

Final -aeth > -a in the same way in yna, etwa for ynaeth, etwaeth.

(2) Similarly wy, O.W. ui, may be reduced to w; cf. hwuwall above. Thus lw ‘oath’ § 104 ii (2); Gronwy W.M. 110, 111 > Gronw do. 101, 104, 105; Gronwy, Gronwy for *gpromwy < *y(i)ro-gnêigios § 76 v (5); both forms survived: Pont Konw (Llanedwen) is called Pont Rony by some, but whether the latter is of lit. origin is difficult to decide. So assu A.L. i 144 (≡ assu) < asswy ‘left’; —guru, bani < *gurivy, *banivy § 76 v (6); —racew § 210 x (3).—Before a consonant: aor. 3rd sg. -wys > -ws § 175 i (5); tyngwt B.A. 4 for tyngyt; adelwyt, ramnot G.C. 106, 108; and doubtless impf. 1st sg. -wn is for an earlier *-wym § 180 iii (1); -wn for *-wywm § 215 iii (1). So morthwil W.M. 46, R.B. 968, D.G. 430, morthwil R.M. 32 beside mortuyl B.C.H. 77, morthwyl, morthwyl D.D., morthwyl Bible, spoken lang. morthwil pl. morthwyölion. Late Mn. W. neithiwyr ‘last night’ < neithiwýr § 34 ii, ML. W. neithiywyř s.g. 43.

Some cases occur of the late substitution of wy for w: madws ‘high time’ W.M. 22, R.M. 14 ( : Sequ. matu... Lat. mātirus) is given by Wm.S. and D.D. s.v. as madwys, which is not attested; —cyfurwys, W.M. 454, 459–60, later cyfurwys, see Silvan Evans s.v.

ii. (1) In some words oe in the ultima was reduced to e, and wy to y; thus *nnmoen ‘not more [than]’ became nament B.A. 15, 16 ‘only’,
and namwyn r.p. 1056 gave ML. and Mn.W. namyn 'but, except', § 222 iii (3); — *mahr-oin (variant mahruin, b.s.ch. 3), Early ML.W. maharaen a.l. i 278, ML. and Mn. W. maharen 'ram', pl. *meheruin > meheryn; mahar-< *mas-ro 'male': Lat. mäis, suff. § 153 (5), + oen § 65 ii (2); — *adwaen (written adwaen but rh. with hoen, poen b.b. 70) > adwaen, adwen 'I know'; — brenhinoet b.b. 53 > brenhined, but -oëd remains in N. W. and Mn. Lit. W.; — so cfnderweS, ewvthreS.— The change seems to be due to unrounding by dissimilation with a labial in the word (teynteS followed the synonymous brenhined). Later examples are Cawhwyd, Mawddiy now sounded Counlyd, Mowdddy; cf. also a(\(w)\)wy > awyr, etc. § 38 x.

(2) After a labial O. W. oi > ML. W. ae; as O. W. gwaelaut b.s.ch. 6 > ML. gwaelau, Mn. gwaelod; — W. gwae 'woe' for *gwe < *uai: Lat. vae, Goth. vai; — W. gwæð 'cry' for *gwæð, Ir. fiæd < *vaid-: Lith. waidi 'lamentation'; — baed 'boar' < *boeð (written bað) but rh. with oëd b.t. 26, l. 17.

After g-, oi (oe, oy) became way, vae as in gwæwy 'spear' for *gwey § 75 vii (3) written gwæv but rhyming with gleow (gloey) b.b. 72; — gwæd 'blood' for *goed = Bret. goad, Leon he choad 'his blood' (c'h < g); see gwæt rh. with coet, airoyet r.p. 1046.

(3) In the penult oi (oe) became ae before oy in aelwyd 'hearth': Corn. oilet, Bret. oaled § 104 iv (3); — Aethwy < *Oethwy § 76 v (3).

iii. -\(w)\), or rather Early W. -ui, was liable when unaccented to be weakened to oii > ML. W. eu; thus eu 'their' for *wy from *eisöm § 160 iv; — meuw, teu § 75 viii (2). § 161 iv; — pi-eu 'whose is?' with eu for *wy < *eset § 179 ix (3), § 192; — asseu, Corneu, Guieneu, Iudnow § 76 v (4), (5); neuw § 219 i (2).

iv. (1) wi (\(w)\)) finally or before a vowel was liable to be metathesized to wyw; as in wyw 'is' for *wy § 179 ix (3); — yw 'to his, to her' for *wy § 160 iv (2); — nyw 'who . . . not . . . him' for earlier nuy § 160 ii (2). — After a dental it became iv, § 77 v, as in ML. W. ydiw 'is' for *yd-wy; — W. niwed 'harm' for *nwyet § 76 iv (4). — In Bret. and Corn. this metathesis was carried further: Bret. piou, Corn. gynw, pew: W. pwy 'who', etc.

(2) This might happen before a consonant also; but in that case *yv became i; thus *dowyr 'god' > *dyw-w > dwv; the form *dowyv is attested in b.t. 10, where, though spelt dwv, it rhymes with plowyv (= plowyv?); and it remained in all derivatives, as O. W. duiviit 'divinity', ML. W. dywyves 'goddess', dywvawd, Mn. W. dywfol 'divine'; the forms dwyves 'goddess', duiwel 'pious' etc. are late deductions from dwv; — similarly Early ML. W. verbal noun dywedwyj a.l. i 146, 152, etc. gywed dywedwyd w. 15a 'after saying' > ML. W. dywedut 'to say'; the \(w\)y remains in dywedwydad w.m. 63, r.m. 45 'saying', dywedwydyjet s.g. 171 'babbler'.

v. In the penult oe, ae, ei tend to become o, a, e respectively before two consonants, more especially in Mn.W.; thus o\(v\)a r.p. 1208, s.g. 303,
§ 79. i. (1) Old and Ml. W. *ei* appears as *ai* and *ei* in Ml. W. With some exceptions, § 81 iii (1), *ai* appears in the ultima and in mono-
syllables, and *ei* (pronounced *ei* § 29 iii) in other syllables. Thus
Mln. W. *ai* stands in the syllable generally accented in O. W., and *ei*
in the syllable then unaccented. The natural inference is that the
Mln. mutation *ei*/*ai* is an exaggeration of a difference in the pronunciation
of *ei* going back to O. W.

(2) O. W. *ei* was originally *ei* with open *e*, § 69 vii. But in un-
accented syllables it came to be sounded *êi* to avoid lowering the
tongue to *e* and raising it again to *i* in the short time available. The
same thing took place in accented syllables ending in a group of
consonants, as beirð, since the time required to pronounce the conso-
nants left less time to sound the diphthong. But in accented syllables
with a simple or no consonantal ending the *êi* remained. Ml. W. *ei*
therefore represented *ei* and *êi*; the former gave Mln. W. *ei*, sounded *oi*;
the latter gave *ai*. The old distinction is reflected in the Gwynedd
pronunciation of a preceding guttural: cei ning, cei rch are sounded
ki ning koirch; but caib, cais are gaib, gais; the velar and palatal
alternate in the same word: gaib, ki bjo; it may be added that before
ordinary *y* (*êe*) the consonant is the velar, thus cybyð, cynnar are
gebyð, geynnar. It is seen therefore that the first element of *ei* must
be from close *e*, for it differed from that of *ai* which comes from open *ê*,
and also from the old *y* (*êe*). The present sound *ei* seems to be as
old as the 16th cent., for *rheir* contracted for *rhy-hir* (*rho-hir*) is
written *rheir* in G.R. 101. The present sound *ai* is at least as old as the
14th cent.: gwnai (< gwnæi) is rhymed with *delei* in r.p. 1271
by M.D., and with *dei* r.p. 1293 by G.V. The oldest appearance of
the spelling *ai* seems to occur in the Red Book: *benh ræith* r.p. 1194,
diwair do. 1200, kain 1205, arynaic 1227, kain, main 1318; but
Norman scribes heard the *êi* as *ai* much earlier, to judge by such a
form as *Treflawkenmai* in the Extent of Anglesey dated 1294 (Seebohm,
Trib. Sys. 1 App. 10), Ml. W. Gwalchmai, Ml. W. Gwalchmai.

ii. O. W. ou (*êe* ou) has a somewhat similar history. The *o*
was probably close in unaccented and open in accented syllables. In Ml. W.
it was unrounded in both cases, giving a close *ø* and an open *o*, both
written *e*, so that the two sounds of the diphthong were written *eu*.
The close *ø* remains in Mln. W. *eu*, sounded *ou*; the open *ø* gave *a* in
Mln. W. *au*. That the former was a close *ø* and not a close *e* is shown
by the fact that in Gwynedd *ceu-nant*, *ceulo* are sounded *quonant* *qulo*.
The two sounds *eu* and *au* occur in the same positions in the word as
*ei* and *ai* respectively; see § 81.
VOWEL VARIATION IN MODERN WELSH

§ 80. The above are the changes that have taken place in vowel sounds. Many of them depend upon accentuation or the influence of neighbouring sounds; hence in the Mn. language a vowel may have its original sound in one form of a word, and a changed sound in another, or two different changes of an original vowel may appear in two different forms of a word. It will be convenient now to bring together the more important variations of the same originals that occur in Mn. W.

Vowel Mutation.

§ 81. i. Vowel mutation is the regular alternation of vowels and diphthongs according to their position in a word. Certain sounds occurring in the ultima and in monosyllables are regularly modified in other positions.

The following is a table of the vowel mutations (numbered for reference). The numbers in the last column indicate the sections where the changes resulting in the mutation are dealt with.

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As a general rule the respective forms appear only in the positions indicated. The exceptions are noted below.

ii. There is no exception to the rule that ai and au appear as ei and eu in the penult. Such forms as daiar, graian, haiarn, rhaiadr, traian, cauad, cauodd, gauaf, cynhaunaf are not exceptions but misspellings of daear, graean, haearn, rhaeadr, traean, caeard, caeodd, gaeaf, cynhaeaf; the diphthong ae (also written ay § 29 ii) being one which does not undergo mutation in Lit. W., but re-
mains the same in all positions (unless affected § 70 iii). See dayar R.M. 4, 5, 73, 78, etc., W.M. 100, 456, 459, daear B.B. 70, W.M. 107, R.M. 97, gauaf R.B.B. 277, R.P. 1269, kynhaef W.M. 73, R.M. 53, R.B.B. 271, P 14/II R., kynhayaf B.T. 8, haearn R.M. 118, hayarn 119, raeadyr R.P. 1255. The sound is attested in cynganhad lugs:

Cyfled i chae à daear.—D.G. 205.

'Her desmesne is as wide as the earth.'

Bau le mae 'r gorsied gaeaf?—L.G.C. 372; cf. 28, l. i.

'Where is the closed goter?'

The spelling ai, as in daiar, used by Salesbury and in the early Bibles, is a mistranscription of Ml. W. ay, due to the fact that Ml. W. y sometimes represents æ. § 25 iii. (Salesbury has dayar also, and gayaf always.) gauaf is phonetically correct now that u has come to be sounded y, so that the error is only an orthographic one exactly similar to writing dun for dyn 'man'. In cauodd etc. the error was suggested by the fact that the verbal noun is cau 'to shut', a contraction of cay'y or cae|u § 33 iv. Such spellings as the latter-day traithawd for the usual and correct traethawd are due to bungling etymological theories. Pedersen, Gr. i 67, imagines from these false spellings that the difference between ay and ai is small in diphthongs and vanishes where the second element is heterosyllabic. It is not heterosyllabic in these diphthongs, see § 54 iv; and y and i are perfectly distinct wherever the dialect distinguishes between y and i as vowels. The possible forms in the penult are ae, eu, ei, now sounded in Powys ay, ey, i, and in Gwynedd ay, ey, i. No one in Powys or Gwynedd sounds an i in daear.

iii. The exceptions to the general rule are the following ('ultima' being understood to include 'monosyllable'):

(1) ei occurs in the ultima when followed by two consonants, or by l for l& or r for rr; thus beirdd 'bards', teifi 'throws', eithr 'except', gweheird D.G. 20 'forbids', meiry pl. of marw 'dead', deil 'holds' for *deil5, ceir 'cars', pl. of curr. Before ll usage varies: lleill 'others'; y naill 'the one', eraill or eraill 'others'. In polysyllables it sometimes occurs before m or ch; dychleim Gr.O. 90 'leaps up', myneich 'monks'. But ai appears before nc, nt, sg, as cainc 'branch', maint 'size', henaint 'old age', braisy 'thick'; also in Aiff, enghraifft, ailtt.

As a contraction of e-i the diphthong is now written and spoken ei (that is y), as ceir, gwneir; but ai was common formerly, as cair, gwnoir.

eu is now commonly written, when absolutely final, in polysyllables, except when it is a plural or pronominal ending; as goreu, goleu, dechreu for gorau, golauc, dechrac. It survived from Ml. W. under the
influence of dialectal -e, and its use was extended in the 19th cent. because of an idea that -au suggested the pl. ending.

In Ml. W. e'i and eu appear in all positions, so that the mutation is not represented in writing, § 79. But -e-u, -á-u were distinct, as are contracted -éu, -áu now: díleu, parhau, § 33 iv.

(2) The mutation aw: o is not of general application. The penultimate o does not come from the ultimate aw, but both come from o; see § 71 i. Hence when aw is an original diphthong < Brit. or Lat. ou or au, it remains aw in the penult, as in awdur < Lat. au(c)örem; so cawgiau pl. of cawg < late Lat. caucus; awydd, etc. § 76 iii; canawon, athrawon, § 36 iii. This shows nawn which gives prynhawnol, prynhawngweith, etc., to be from *noua § 76 iii as opposed to awr which gives oriau, orioig, etc., and is from *(h)öra § 71 ii (3). In late formations aw < á is unmutated as in mawrton § 144 iii (1), ardderchogruwydd beside ardderchogruwydd. Before a consonant, penultimate aw is sounded ow, and sometimes written ov, as cowgiau D. 40, ardderchogruwydd.

Where Ml. W. aw in the unaccented ult. has become o, § 71, the mutation of course disappears; thus it appears in Ml. W. pechawrt, pechodur, but is lost in Mn. W. pechod, pechodau. Where at the same time the aw represents a Brit. diphthong, as in gwrandawaf, the rule of mutation is reversed. So in final -o for affected aw, in athro, athrawon § 76 v (5).

(3) w appears in the penult in some words; see § 66 ii, iii. For other exceptions to mutations 4 and 5 see § 82.

(4) The mutation aw: u occurs only before ch, § 77 x. In late formations it is neglected; thus beside lluch ‘(snow)drift’, we have the old lluchio ‘to hurl’, and the new lluchcio ‘to drive (dust or snow)’. For the derivatives of duw see § 78 iv (2).

(5) On unmutated forms in loose compounds see § 45 ii (2).

§ 82. i. From the table in the above section it is seen that the use of the two sounds of y is regulated by the law of vowel mutation. The general rule in its special application to these sounds may be stated as follows:

y has the y sound in monosyllables and final syllables, and the y sound in all syllables not final; as edrych, edrychwech, bryn, bryniau, mynydd, mynyddoedd, byrddau, prydf, pryddfert, dyfod, cyfyngder.

ii. The exceptions to the rule are—

(1) A few proclitics, which, though monosyllabic, have the y sound. These are yr, y ‘the’, ym ‘in’, fy ‘my’, dy ‘thy’, yn ‘our’, ych ‘your’, myn, ym ‘by’ (in oaths).

Pre-verbal yð, yr, y (whether the relative, § 162, the affirmative particle, § 219 ii, or the conjunction, § 222 x) is now always sounded
with y. In B.C.H. it is regularly written ed, e (implying yð, y); § 16 iii; see A.L. i 2, 4, 6, 12, etc. But in the 15th cent. and later it was often written ir, i, as I'r tri essawul ir a' r teirswyð, L.G.C. R.P. 1412, o Vran i damau do. 1411. J.D.R. and D. regularly write it with y (≡ y); but Dr. Davies later in his D.D. (opp. p. i) says that the sound is y. The explanation doubtless is that it was originally y and y according to the accent; and both survived, the y becoming i (like the preposition, § 16 ii (3)). It is often non-syllabic after a vowel in poetry; if its vowel is written it must be read as i or y forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel, § 33 v.

Hen(c)iddio ir w'ys', hyn oedd reid.—I.G., p 53/91 R.
Ac yno y tric enaid krysa.—H.D. (auto.), p 67/149 R.

But it is most commonly elided, in which case we have to assume that the lost vowel was y, § 44 vii (i).

Astudio 'dd wyf, was didwyll.—An., p 54/27 R. (15th cent.).
Meddylio 'r wyf, mau ddolur.—G.C., p 64/122 R. (Auto. S.V.).
Thomas ddulas, lle 'dd elwyf.—H.D. (auto.), p 67/212 R.
Ac yno 'tric enaid R(h)ys.—R.C. (auto.), p 68/19 R.

ys as a proclitic is ys, as ys gwir 'it is true', often 's gwir § 221 iii; when accented it is ys 'there is, people are'.

Llenaw, dros yr holl ymys,
Dagraw ar ruddiau yr y's.—Gut.O., A 14967/120.

'Over the whole island, there is a shedding of tears on cheeks.'

(2) The old forms qmy, qty, qmi, qtti, etc. of imi, iti, etc. had y in the penult, § 212 ii. gyda also has y; but this is for gyd a, Ml.W. y gly a, § 216 ii (2). G.R. writes it gida and J.D.R. gyda (his y ≡ y); both these pronunciations survive.

(3) Non-ultimate y before a vowel is now mostly y; but originally it was y regularly, for it may come from o as in dy-, rhy-, or was followed by ð so that at first there was no hiatus. In many cases the y was assimilated to the following vowel § 16 iv (4), and contraction took place; thus Early Ml.W. doodreven (= dyodreven) A.L. i 8o > doodreven do. 94 > Mn. W. dodrefn 'furniture'; iyodres B.A. 5 > iroldres R.B.B. 195 > rhodres 'pomp'; kyoed R.P. 1206 > *cooeð > coed § 41 v; gwelyeu > gwelyau > gwellau Ps. cxlix 5, Can. vi 2 (1588 and 1620), B.W. 23 'beds'; *cyn-dy-un > Mn. W. cyt-tu-un > Mn. W. cytun § 33 iv; dylyed > *dyleed > dyled § 199 ii (2). But it also remained unassimilated, as in hundyeu R.M. 4, dylyet do. 5, camlyeu R.P. 1297. In that case it tended to become e § 16 iv (2), thus devn R.P. 1217, deall beside dallt I.D. 12, N.W. dial. dallt; godreon beside godryon § 65 ii (3); darleaf § 203 iv (3); or was raised to y, which broke up later into wy (written eu); thus godrewn J.D.R. [xxi] for godryon, lettevodd Gen. xxxii 21, dylyeuf so printed in D.G. 35, beside gwelyeu J.D.R. (whose y ≡ y) [xiv, xix], dhylei [xix, xxii], dhylyedic [xvi, xix]. Cf. rhy < rhy § 65 iv (2). (But hyawdl is a misspelling of huawdl, Ml.W.)
It is probable that the misspelling boreu for bore § 31 ii 2 sprang from boreuach the debased form of boryach.

(4) yw follows the rule, as byw, bywyd, bywyd; cyw, cywyd; llyw, llywydd, llywyd, etc., except in late formations, especially from forms in which yw became iw § 77 v, as in amrywio (sounded amriwio), distriwiaf (distriwiaf), etc. J.D.R. writes amrywio (y ≡ y) [xvi], distriwiaw [xix]. So niwliog, niwloedd § 37 ii.

(5) The rising diphthong wy follows the rule: gwyrdd, gwyrrddion, etc.; but wy generally becomes w § 66 ii. Such a pronunciation as gwynloedd is recent; but gwynwo ‘to wither’ may be old, as the y may have resisted mutation between two y’s.

(6) The rule does not apply to the falling diphthong ow, in which the y is consonantal. In this y must necessarily be y always, as mwyn, mwynach, mwynion; and the y remains when the ow is mispronounced as wy § 38 iii, as Gwynedd for Gwynedd.

iii. (1) In the words sylw, gwyry, the final w and y were non-syllabic § 42, § 110 ii; hence the y is y; thus sylw (but sylwi), gwyry.

(2) With the exceptions mentioned in ii, the sound which is now common to y and u, if it occurs in the penult, is to be written u. Thus we write munud, munudau, papur, papurau. Following this rule the translators of the Bible were misled by the late disyllabic pronunciation of sylw to write it sulw; in late editions this error is corrected.

(3) In a few cases u in the ultima has come to be mistaken for y and mutated to y in the penult; as in ysgrythyrav in the Bible (but ysgrythurav correctly in the 1727 edn.) pl. of ysgrythuvar (< Lat. scriptura) regarded as ysgrythyr on the analogy of llythyr ‘letter’. So testynau for testunau, Early Mn. W. testunion, pl. of testun (< Lat. testimónium) treated as testyn; corynau ‘crows’, corynfoel b.cw. 33 ‘bald-headed’, from corun b.b.b. 171 (< Lat. corōna) treated as coryn.

Vowel Affection.

§ 83. The following tables show the affected and unaffected forms of vowels as they alternate in Mn. W.

i. Ultimate a-affection, § 68.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>gwyn, f. gwên; crŷf, f. crêf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>trôm, f. trôn; tlôs, f. tlôs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The affected sound occurs in the ultima. It is occasionally found in the penult in compounds, as in cromlech (crown ‘arched’); and in superlatives, as gwennaf, tromaf § 147 iii. In bychan, f. bechan, the e
VOWEL AFFECTION

seems to be a variant of \( y \), chosen for the f. on the analogy of the usual f. e caused by affection.

ii. Ultimate \( i \)-affection, § 69, § 76 v.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Un-affected</th>
<th>Affected</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ai or ei</td>
<td>( u )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>tafarn, tefiarn or tefyrn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>( u )</td>
<td>draen, drain; cyrraedd, cyrraidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>( u )</td>
<td>angel, engyl; atteb, etyb; seren, s( yr )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>( \text{\sigma}y )</td>
<td>agor, egryr; ffon, ffyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>au or eu</td>
<td>asgrwn, esgryn; swrth, syrth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>( u )</td>
<td>taw, tau; taraw, Ml. W. teren</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The change occurs only in the ultima. \( a \) or \( o \) in the penult becomes \( e \) § 69 vi. Final \( w \), being originally consonantal, does not count as a syllable for the purposes of affection: marw ‘dead’, pl. meirw.

As to the forms \( ai \) and \( ei \) of No. 1, see § 81 iii (1); the form \( u \) occurs only in the unaccented ultima, § 69 ii (3).

The form \( u \) of No. 7 is not a phonetic development of \( eu \), but is due to false analogy; when taraw had become taro the 3rd sing. pres. ind. tery was formed from the latter on the model of agor : egryr. See § 173 iv (3).

iii. Penultimate affection, § 70. The affecting sound is usually preserved in the ultima, but has in some cases disappeared, § 70 iv.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Un-affected</th>
<th>before</th>
<th>is affected to</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>( i )</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>mab, meibion; cym-ar, -heirjaid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>( i )</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>gorwedd, gorweiddjog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i or ( u )</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>truan, trueni; plant, plentyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>i or ( i )</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>gwaedd, gweiddi; draen, dreiniog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>( u )</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>caer, ceyridd; saeth, senythdd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>( u )</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>aeth, euthum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>i or ( u )</td>
<td>ew</td>
<td>taw, tewi, tewych; cawr, cewri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note 1.—No. 1 occurs only in old formations; -i'ad denoting the agent affects, -i'ad abstract does not, § 143 iii (18), iv (5).—No. 2, though common as a fixed affection, is comparatively rare in inflexion. No. 3 is usual in inflexion, but rare in composition, e.g. rhán-dir ‘allotment’, háf-ddydd ‘summer’s day’, cán-dryll ‘shattered’, á-dyn ‘wretch’, ád-fyd ‘adversity’, tán-lyd ‘fiery’, hád-yd ‘seed’ (had + yd, but hád-yd ‘a seed’).—No. 4 is only written in old combinations, as gweidí R.M. 174, seiri; it is rare before i, see § 144 iii (2).—Nos. 5 and 6 also occur only in set forms, and ey is now wrongly written eu, as meusydd.

Note 2.—In Ml. W. a in preceding syllables had become e before y, or before one of the above affections; in Mn. W. the a is generally restored, § 70 i, as enrydeð now anrhydedd ‘honour’, gwernandewych, now gwrandewych. It occasionally remains as in lleferyd ‘speech’ (lafar id.), and even spreads, as in llefaru for llafaru.

Note 3.—y in the falling diphthong oy does not affect: arhydd etc. § 8 vi.

Note 4.—u does not affect a: canu, parchu, etc. But crededun occurs R.P. 1368, 1424, beside credadun do. i298, i235.

THE ARYAN CONSONANTS IN KELTIC AND BRITISH

§ 84. The Aryan parent language had the following consonant system:

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explosives:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenues</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenues aspiratae</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>qh</td>
<td>q'h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediae</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ã</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediae aspiratae</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>ãh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>g'h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirants:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>s, ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>z, ɔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonants:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>l, r</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 84 THE ARYAN CONSONANTS 123

Note 1.—In the aspirated tenues the breath was allowed to escape after the explosion; thus th was probably sounded somewhat like the t in W. *tudd,* or like t before an accented vowel in Eng. or N. German, in all of which breath is heard as an off-glide. Aryan t on the other hand was sounded like French or South German t with no escape of breath between the explosion and the vowel.

The exact pronunciation of the aspirated mediae bh, etc., is not known. The conventional European pronunciation is $b + h$, etc., as in Eng. abhor, adhere. In India the element represented by h is a voiced throat spirant. But the sounds were undoubtedly simple like the aspirated tenues, and were probably voiced forms of the latter.

Note 2.—It is generally held that there were as above three series of gutturals. The palatals were sounded on the hard palate like W. c in ci or E. k in king. The labiovelars were sounded between the root of the tongue and the soft palate, so far back that the lips were naturally rounded, as in the formation of the vowel u, W. u, E. u in full. These two series are established by such equations as Skr. ś = Lat. c < Ar. ḫ, and Skr. k, c = Lat. qu < Ar. q. But another equation often occurs: Skr. k, c = Lat. ġ, which points to Ar. q intermediate between the two others, too far back to give Skr. ś and too far forward to give the labialized Lat. qu. In the Western languages Kelt., Ital., Germanic, Greek, there is no difference between Ar. ḫ and q; both give k which is generally accommodated to the following vowel; thus Ar. ḫōtóm gives W. cant pronounced *qant, not *kant. Where a guttural occurs in a form only found in Western languages, we can only write it ḫ, q, etc., with no diacritic mark. In the Eastern languages (except Tocharish) the palatales became sibilants, thus ḫ > Skr. ś (an sh sound); but the velars remain, or became tch sounds (as in *fetch) before front vowels, thus q > Skr. k, or c (a tch sound), the latter before an Ar. front vowel.—Meillet, Intr. 2 63 ff., admits only two series, ḫ and q, and regards Skr. k = Lat. c as a special treatment of Ar. k in Skr. and the Eastern group. He points out that the supposed q occurs chiefly before r, before a, and after s.

The frequent alternation of ḫ and q § 101 iv (1) makes it probable that originally, at any rate, the two are the same. A recent advance from q to ḫ has taken place in Eng. before a, now sounded ā; thus old borrowings in W. have q, as in the Anglesey dial. qap 'cap,' qaban 'cabin,' qarīo 'to carry,' but later borrowings have ḫ as kab 'cab,' kābnet 'cabinet,' kārej 'carriage,' the a being the same, but the ā with a perceptible ā glide. The example shows how q may become ḫ before a forward vowel, and how the ḫ, once introduced, may remain before a back vowel. The same processes might have taken place in Ar., and it is quite possible that ḫ and q represent an original neutral ā.

Note 3.—The "sonants" play a special part in Ar. phonology; they occupy an intermediate position between consonants and vowels, and in R-grades become vocalic; see § 63.
It is usual to include in the Ar. nasals ø, occurring only before k, g, kk, gh, and w occurring only before q, g, etc. These are secondary sounds due to the assimilation of m, n to gutturals; and it is not certain that such assimilation had taken place in Ar. We find e.g. nt in *kmtom still remaining in Lith. smithas, § 62 i.

THE EXPLOSIVES.

§ 85. In Pr. Kelt. the aspirated explosives fell together with the unaspirated, thus th and dh are treated as t and d respectively; there is one exception § 92 iii. The velars fell together with the palatals, thus q, like k, gave k. Hence, g, gh, g, gh all appear as g in Kelt.

§ 86. i. Ar. p (Lat. p; Gk. π; Germ. f; Skr. ṁ) and Ar. ph (Skr. ṁh; Gk. φ) disappeared in Kelt. (1) initially before a vowel, (2) initially before a sonant, (3) between vowels, (4) between a vowel and a sonant, (5) between a sonant and a vowel, (6) between sonants.


\[\textit{do-pro-d}, \sqrt{\textit{d-o}}, \S 63 \textit{vi} (1). - \textit{mp}-\textit{mr} - \textit{aml}, \textit{amr} - \textit{W}. \textit{af-l}, \textit{af-r}, \textit{as qf-les} 'harm'; \textit{Ir. am-less}; thus \textit{af} spread for \textit{an}< \textit{g} (neg. prefix) before \textit{l} and \textit{r}, see \S 156 i (5).

(5) \textit{Ir. col, Bret. col, W. cōl} 'fault': \textit{Lat. culpa, O. Lat. colpa}. —\textit{Ir. cilornn} gl. urceus, O. W. \textit{cilurnn} (≡ \textit{cilurnn}) gl. urnam, W. 
\textit{celurn}, Bret. kelorn : \textit{Lat. calpar, Calpurnius}, Gk. καλπη, Skr. \textit{karpara-h} 'shell' (Kelt. \textit{h} or \textit{v} in first syll. unexplained). —W. crydd 'shoemaker' (for *cerydd \S 40 iii (3)), Bret. kere < 
\textit{karpīδ̣, Ir. cairem < *karpmo-}: \textit{Lat. carpisculum, Gk. κρπηίς}:
\sqrt{\textit{gerāp}-} 'shoe'. \textit{*mp} > \textit{m} > \textit{W. f} or \textit{v}: W. tywydd 'weather' for \textit{tywydd} < \textit{< tempes-edō} : \textit{Lat. tempestas}.

The view that \textit{rp}, contrary to every analogy, gives \textit{rr} is based upon one or two examples in which the group may have been \textit{rps} or even \textit{rs}, as \textit{Ir. serr, W. sērr} 'bill-hook' (Lat. \textit{sarpo}), which may be <
\textit{sarp-s-s} or \textit{sērs-s} (cf., without \textit{p}, Skr. \textit{sṛn} 'sickle'), and upon such an 
equation as W. gwar 'the back between the shoulders' and Lith. 
\textit{vārpa} 'ear of corn'.

(6) \textit{*mpl, *mpr} gave \textit{*ml, *mr, W. fl, fr}, as \textit{cyflawn} 'full' <
\textit{kom-pēn}, \textit{cyfran} 'share' < \textit{kom-prēt-snē} \S 63 \textit{vii} (2).

ii. (1) Before \textit{t}, Ar. \textit{p} became \textit{q} \S \textit{k} (\S 89 ii) in Pr. Kelt.
Thus Ar. \textit{*septn} > Pr. Kelt. \textit{*setn} > Ir. \textit{secht n}, W. \textit{saith}: Lat. 
\textit{septem}, Gk. επτα, etc.—Ar. \textit{*gap-tos} > Pr. Kelt. \textit{*kaktos} > Ir. 
cacht, W. caeth 'serf': \textit{Lat. captus}.—Ar. \textit{*neglis} > Pr. Kelt. 
\textit{*nektilis} > Ir. \textit{necht}, W. \textit{with} 'niece': \textit{Lat. nepiris}.—W. lithro 'to 
slip' < \textit{<stliktr- < *slip-tr-}, \sqrt{\textit{slei-b-}} extension of \textit{<slei-}: E. \textit{slip},
etc., \S 95 i.

Before or after \textit{s} also, \textit{p} was liable to become \textit{q} \S in Kelt., 
\S 96 iv; also before \textit{n}, see iv below.

(2) Initially in anticipation of medial \textit{q}, Ar. \textit{p} became \textit{q} \S in 
Italo-Keltic; as Ar. \textit{*penqkē} 'five' > Skr. \textit{paṅca}, Gk. πέντε: Lat. 
cōic, Gaul. πεμτε. —Ar. \textit{*peqk̚-, *poqk̚-} > Gk. πέτων, πότανον: 
Lat. \textit{coquo} (< *queequō), coactus, Bret. \textit{pibi}, W. \textit{pobi} 'to bake'
(< *\textit{qopedq̚-}), poēth 'hot' (< *\textit{qopedq̚-t-}).

(3) In anticipation of \textit{k} or \textit{q}, Ar. \textit{p} seems in some cases to have 
become \textit{t}; thus Ir. \textit{torc} (beside \textit{orc}), W. \textit{twrch} 'boar': Lat. \textit{porcus}; see 
turio \S 101 iii (1); —W. \textit{tanc} 'peace': Lat. \textit{pax, pango, \sqrt{pāk}/g̚-};
—W. \textit{teg} 'fair', Gaul. Tecos: O. E. \textit{fiegr, E. fair, \sqrt{pēk}-}; —W. gwar-
PHONOLOGY

§ 87.

theg 'cattle': Lat. pecus, Lith. pėkus, Skr. pāṣu 'cattle';—W. talch 'flake': Lat. planus, E. flag-stone, flake, √pelāq;—W. twoll 'hole' < *tuk-slo-s, tyllur 'to pierce': Lat. pungu, punctum, √peuk/µ;—It seems also as if p at the end of a root or stem beginning with a guttural sometimes became t, as W. pryd 'personal appearance', Ir. cruth: Lat. corpus, Skr. kṛṣ- 'aspect' < *qęp-;—W. cauad 'shower': Ar. *qeüp—§ 63 vii (3);—W. caled 'hard', as a noun 'difficulty' b.v. 65:

Gk. χαλέπτος (χ < qh-).

iii. Ar. p, before disappearing in Kelt., doubtless first became a bilabial f, then h. When the stop of the p was beginning to be loosened, any reaction in the favour of the explosive articulation would naturally take the form of transferring the stop, that is, of substituting for the loosening labial p, the labiovelar qk; or, where the word had a guttural already, the dental t. Before s, both the substitution and the regular development took place; the former, -qk's-, attested later as -x- in Gaul. Cresos, gives W. -ch-; the latter, -f-, gives W. -ff-.

Before t, I have assumed the former, as the substitution of qk for p, known to occur, seems more likely than that of χ for f, so that pt > qkt > χt is more probable than pt > ft > χt.

iv. Before s, p > qk > xk after a rounded vowel; thus *upseλ- > *w'ksel- > *ouksel- > W. uchel, Ir. āasal; *lupsq- > *lomsk- > W. llusgo § 96 iii (5);—similarly before n; *supn- > *stu'n- > W. hun 'sleep', Ir. sūan, § 63 viii (1); *y-yo-dw-n- > W. au-o-dun 'bottomless', cf. annwfn § 102 iv (2), √dhẹp/b/-; so possibly before t; W. tuth 'trot' < *tupṭ- : O. Bulg. tūpati 'palpitare', tūpatati 'palpitare, calcare', Gk. τύπτω. Original qk before t had become k earlier (in It.-Kelt.), and develops as k, as in poeth above. m before p prevents the diphthongization: W. lluost < *lompst—§ 96 ii (3).

§ 87. i. Ar. t (Lat. t; Gk. τ; Germ. ð, d; Lith. t; Skr. t) and Ar. th (Gk. τ; Skr. th) appear in Pr. Kelt. as t. Thus Ar. *tauros > Lat. taurus, Gk. ταῦτας: Ir. tarb, W. tarw;—Ar. *tep-: W. tes, twymn, tān § 86;—Ar. *trejes > Skr. trāyas, Gk. τρεῖς, Lat. trēs: W. tri, Ir. tri, 'three.'—Ar. *arström > W. aradr 'plough': Gk. ἀρδοτρόν.—Ar. *plθθθ- > Gk. πλάτανος, Gaul. -litànovos, O. W. lītan, W. llydan 'broad', § 63 viii (1).

ii. In Ar. the first t in the group tt had become an affricative; this stage is represented thus tšt; in Skr. it went back to tt (just as tšt, with original s, gave tt in Skr.), in Gk. it became ñτ, in Germ. ss, in Lat. ss, in Pr. Kelt. ss, appearing in W. generally as s. Example: base meleit- 'honey': FR *melit-tos 'honeyed'
§ 88. Ar. k (Lat. c; Gk. κ; Germ. h, -g; Lith. sz; Skr. ṣ), Ar. kh (Gk. χ), Ar. q (Lat. c; Gk. κ; Germ. h, -g; Lith. k; Skr. k, c), Ar. qh (Gk. χ, Skr. kh) appear in Kelt. as k. Examples: Ar. kṃtóm '100' > Lat. centum, Gk. κατόν, O. E. hund, Lith. szimtas, Skr. ṣatā:-m: Ir. cēt, W. cant < Pr. Kelt. *kntom.—Ar. qā-, F-grade Lat. cārus, Skr. kāyamāna-ḥ 'fond', R-grade W. caraf 'I love'.—Ar. qap- > Lat. capio: W. cael § 188 iv.—Ar. qrekt > Ir. crecht, W. craith 'scar' < Pr. Kelt. *krekt:- Skr. karjati 'injures' < *qerğ-, *qereğ-.—Ar. *qeqrt- > Pr. Kelt. *areкт- > W. araith 'speech' § 63 iii.

§ 89. i. Ar. qu (Lat. qu; Gk. π, but τ before ε or η, and κ before or after υ; Germ. hw, ž,-w, -g; Lith. ę; Skr. k, c) and probably Ar. qh (Skr. kh; Gk. ϑ, θ?) were q in Pr. Kelt. This remains as q in the ogam inscriptions, but became c in Ir.; in Gaul and Brit. it appears as p.—Examples: Ar. qUBEoer- (in various grades § 63 vii (4)) > Lat. quaṭtnor, Skr. caṭuvaraḥ: W. peulwar, Ir. cethir.—Ar. qel- > W. pell 'far' (<*qel-s-o-): Gk. τῆλε.—Ar. seq-: Lat. inquam < *insquamː Ml. W. hep, heb 'says'.—W. prynaf 'I buy' § 201 i (4);—Ar. leiq- > Gk. λείπω: W. llwyb-r 'track': Lat. lingue (u-inflix).

ii. (i) Before t, s and prob. n, Ar. q became k in Kelt. Thus Ar. poq- > *qoq't- > *qoqmt- > *qokt- > W. poeth, § 86 ii (2).—Ar. noq- (ⅲ) > Kelt. *nokt- > Ir. nocht, W. noeth 'naked': Lat. nūdus < *nōd-ehos. —W. gwelyb, O. W. gulip 'wet' < *ulikelyː Lat. līquē; W. gwylth 'lew' < *ulikelyt- < *ulikelyt-; gwlých 'liquid' (such as gravy, etc.) < *ulikelyn- or ulikelyn:- < *ulikelyn:-

For Ar. sq, q's, see § 96 iii.

(2) After l or r also (but not ʃ, ʒ), we have k for Ar. q; thus W. goch 'slopes', golchi 'to wash' (Ir. folcaim) < *qolk- < *qolql- § 100 ii (2) : *ulikelyn-, as above.—W. cynunyrc'h 'crop, produce' <

— b: Ar. √bregh- ‘short’: Lat. brevis, Ga. βραχύς: Ir.


— b: Ar. √bregh- ‘short’: Lat. brevis, Ga. βραχύς: Ir.
berr, W. byrr 'short', see § 101 ii (2).—Ar. √dhueb- > Goth. 
"deep": R *dhub- > Gaul. Dubno-, W. dwfn 'deep', Gaul.
dubron, W. dwfr 'water'.

§ 91. i. Ar. dh (Lat. f', -d--, -d; Gk. θ; Germ. ð; Lith. d; 
Skr. dh) and Ar. d (Lat. d; Gk. δ; Germ. t; Lith. ð; Skr. d) 
appear as d in Kelt. Examples: dh: Ar. *dhuror--: *dhur- > 
Lat. foris, Gk. θύπα, E. door: W. dór <*dhur-á, drws 'door' < 
*dhru-st- < *dhug- § 63 viii (1), Ir. dorus (intrusive o?).—Ar. 
*dhub- > W. dwfn § 90.—Ar. √ereudh- > Lat. ruber, Gk. ἐρυθρός: 
W. rhudd 'red' < Kelt. *round-— — d: Ar. √demā- : F’R 
domē- > Lat. domi-tus: W. dof 'tame'; RR *dme- > Gk. 
ά-δάμα-τος: W. dafad 'sheep'.—Ar. *dēkν > Lat. decem, Gk. 
δέκα, Goth. tāhun, Lith. dēzimt, Skr. dāśa: Ir. dhich n-, W. 
ten'.—Ar. √deieu- > W. dwu, dydd, § 63 vii (4).—Ar. √görδ-: 
R² γόρδ- > Lat. rādus; VR *gōrd- > Gk. ῥάδαμνος, Lat. rādus: 
W. gwraidd 'roots'; RV *gōrd- > Ir. frēm 'root' < *γόρδ-μā, 
W. greddif 'instinct' for *gwreðf § 102 iii (2) < *γόρδ-μā, 
§ 63 vii (3).

ii. Ar. d or t + d(h) became dⁿd(h), which gave zd in Kelt., 
and fell together with Ar. zd, giving Ir. t (tt), and W. th § 97 ii. 
Thus W. peth 'some, a certain quantity of, something, thing', 
beth 'what?', Ir. cuir 'part, share' < *quid-dm: cf. Lat. quid-dam. 
—W. rhathu 'to scrape, smooth' < *red-ðh- (or *red-zdh-): Lat. 
rādo, § 63 ix.—W. meth 'miss, failure' < *mit-dh-: Ir. mis-, mith-
'miss', E. miss, √meit-: Lat. mūto.

§ 92. i. Ar. ā (Lat. g; Gk. γ; Germ. k; Lith. ė; Skr. j), Ar. āh 
(Lat. h; Gk. χ; Germ. g; Lith. ė; Skr. h), Ar. g (Lat. g; Gk. γ; 
Germ. k; Lith. g; Skr. g, j), Ar. gh (Lat. h; Gk. χ; Germ. g; 
Lith. g; Skr. gh, h) all appear in Kelt. as g. Examples: ā: Ar. 
ān- > Lat. grānum, Goth. kaun, Lith. kūnis, Skr. jūnā-ḥ: Ir. grān, 
W. grawn § 61 ii.—Ar. √genē- > Lat. genitor, Gk. γένεως, 
Skr. jānati 'begets': W. geni 'give birth'.—Ar. √areg- > Lat. 
argentum, Gk. ἀργυρός, Skr. rajatā-ṁ 'silver': W. arian, Ir. 
aireg 'silver' < Pr. Kelt. *argнт-.— — āh: Ar. *gei-em- > 
Lat. hiems, Gk. χεῖμα: W. gaeaf, § 75 vi (1).—Ar. √segk- > Gk. 
ἔχω (< *seghō), Skr. sāhate 'vanquishes': W. hy 'bold' < *seg-os, 
Gaul. Segô; hael 'generous' < *seg-lo- < *sĕhlo-; haer 'impor-
tunate’ < *sag-ro-. — g: Ar.  \( \check{\text{g}} \text{lei} \) ‘sticky, liquid’ : Lat. \( \check{\text{gl}}\text{ius} < *\text{gloi-s} \), Gk. \( \gamma \lambda \theta \\beta s < *\gamma \Lambda \omega \text{Fos} \) : O.W. \( \text{gloui} \) gl. liquidum, W. \( \text{gloyw} \) ‘shiny’, \( \text{gloyw-ðu} \) ‘glossy black’ < *gli-o-s § 75 ii (1), Ir. \( \text{glé}, \text{glæ} \) ‘bright’ < *gli-euos, *gli-euos, O. Corn. digluinuit ox. 2 gl. eliqua, W. \( \text{gloywi} \) ‘to drain (after boiling), to clarify, to polish’ ; R *gli-> Lat. gli-s, Gk. \( \gamma \lambda \text{-} \nu \gamma \), Lith. gli-tius ‘smooth, sticky’, Ir. \( \text{glenim}, \text{W. glynaf} \) ‘I adhere’. — Ar. \( \check{\text{g}} \text{s} \text{theg} \) Lat. \( \text{tego} \), Gk. \( \sigma \tau \epsilon \gamma \sigma \nu s, \tau \epsilon \gamma \sigma s \), Skr. sthágati ‘covers’ : Ir. \( \text{tech}, \text{teg} \), O.W. \( \text{tig} \), W. \( \text{ty} \) ‘house’ < *tegos ; F° *\( \text{s} \)\text{thog}-> Lat. toga, W. to ‘roof’, § 104 ii (2). — g: Ar. \( \check{\text{g}} \text{habh} \) Lat. habeo, Lith. gabanà ‘armful’: W. \( \text{gafael} \) ‘to take hold’, Ir. \( \text{gabim} \) ‘I take’. — Ar. \( \check{\text{g}} \text{legh-} \) ‘lie’ Lat. lectus, Gk. \( \lekchi\text{os} \) : W. \( \text{lle} \) ‘place’, Ir. lige ‘bed’, W. \( \text{gue-ly} \) ‘bed’ ; L *lég-h-> Lith. \( \text{pälégis} \) ‘confinement to bed’ ; F° *\( \text{logh-} \) § 58 v. ii. Ar. \( \text{g} \text{h} \) (Lat. \( v, \text{gu} \) after \( n, g \) before cons. and \( n \); Gk. \( \beta, \delta \) before \( \epsilon \) or \( \eta, \gamma \) before or after \( v \); Germ. kw ; Lith. g ; Skr. \( g, j \)) gave Pr. Kelt. b. Thus Ar. \( \check{\text{g}} \text{eie->} \) Lat. vivó, Gk. \( \beta\text{los} \) : W. \( \text{byw} \), etc., § 63 vii (3). — Ar. \( *\text{g} \text{uos} \) Lat. bòs (Umbr.-Samm. form for true Lat. *\( \text{vòs} \)), Gk. \( \beta\text{vos} \) : Ir. \( \text{bo}, \text{W. biw}, \text{pl. bu} \). iii. But Ar. \( \text{g} \text{h} \) (Lat. \( f,-v-, -b-, \text{gu} \) after \( n \); Gk. \( \phi, \theta \); Germ. \( w, g \); Lith. g ; Skr. \( gh, h \)) forms an exception to the general rule, § 85, and does not fall together with the unaspirated consonant. It remained a rounded guttural in Pr. Kelt., and gave \( g \) in Ir. with loss of rounding; but the rounding was retained in Brit., and we have in W. initially \( \text{gw} \), medially \( f \) (\( \equiv v \)) between vowels. Thus Ar. \( \check{\text{g}} \text{hen-} \) > Gk. \( \theta\epsilon\text{iwo}, \text{φivos} \), Lat. \( \text{dë-} \text{f} \text{en-do} \) : Ir. \( \text{gonim} \) ‘I wound’, W. \( \text{gw} \text{anu} \) ‘to stab’ < *\( \text{gw} \text{on} \)– § 65 v, \( \text{gw} \text{anaf} \) ‘swathe’ (hay cut at one sweep). — Ar. \( \check{\text{g}} \text{her-} \) Lat. formus, Gk. \( \theta \text{er} \text{µos} \), E. \( \text{var} \text{m} \) : Ir. \( \text{gorim} \) ‘I warm’, W. \( \text{gori} \) (< *\( \text{gw} \text{ori} \) § 36 iii), Bret. \( \text{gori}, \text{gwir} \) ‘to incubate’, W. \( \text{gori} \) ‘to suppurate’, \( \text{gor} \) ‘pus’, W. \( \text{gwre} \) ‘heat’, § 95 iii (1). — Ar. \( \check{\text{g}} \text{hel} \) ‘green, yellow’ > Lat. \( \text{fl} \text{āvus} \) : W. \( \text{gwelw} \) ‘pale’, \( \text{gwel} \text{li} \) ‘straw, grass’, Ir. \( \text{gelim} \) ‘I graze’, \( \text{gelt-} \) ‘fodder’; the doublet \( *\text{ghel} \) > Skr. \( \text{h} \text{āri-} \) ‘yellow, greenish’, Gk. \( \chi\lambda\text{o} \text{η} \) ‘verdure, grass’, \( \chi\lambda\text{o} \text{os} \) ‘green’ : W. \( \text{gledd} \) ‘turf’, \( \text{glas} \) ‘green’, \( \text{glas-wel} \text{li} \) ‘grass’, § 101 iv (1). — Ar. \( \check{\text{g}} \text{hedh-} \) Gk. \( \pi\theta\text{ēw}, \text{θēsso} \text{α} \text{θ} \text{ai} \) : Ir. \( \text{guidim} \) ‘I pray’, W. \( \text{gwedd} \) ‘prayer’. — Medially: Ar. \( \check{\text{g}} \text{neig-k->} \) Lat. ningut, niw, \( \text{nivis} \), Gk. \( \nu\text{f} \alpha \) : Ir. \( \text{snigid} \) ‘rains’, \( \text{snechta} \) ‘snow’, W. \( \text{nyf} \).
§ 93. i. In Ar., when two explosives came together, a tenues before a media became a media, and a media before a tenues became a tenues; thus \( p + d > bd \), and \( b + t > pt \). Only the second could be aspirated, and the aspiration, if any, of the first was transferred to it; thus \( bh + d > bdh \). In this case if the second was a tenues it became an aspirated media, thus \( bh + t > bdh \); this however only survives in Indo-Iran.; elsewhere we have two tenues; thus Gk. has \( \kappa \tau \) from \( gh + t \), as in \( \epsilonυκτός : \epsilonδχόμαι \), Meillet, Intr. 2 106. So in Italic and

\[ k2 \]

'snow'.—Ar. \( \sqrt{\text{dhe}g^h} \rightarrow \text{Lat. foveo}, \text{Gk. τέφρα : Ml. Ir. daig 'fire', W. deisfo 'to singe'}.

iv. Unlike \( kh \), which is treated as \( g^h \) in Kelt., Ar. \( g\u (\delta\u, gu) \) does not fall together with \( g^h \). The change \( g^h > p \) is Gaul.-Brit. but not Goidelic, while the change \( g^h > b \) is Pankeltic, and therefore much earlier. The double consonant \( gu \) remained, and gives medially W. \( w \), Ir. \( g \), as in W. tew 'thick' \( < *\text{teg}\nu\os \), Ir. tiug : E. thick § 76 viii.—Ar. \( gh\u \) develops like \( g^h \), giving initially W. \( gw \)-, Ir. \( g \)-; thus Ar. *\( \text{g}\u\u-t-> \text{w. gwylt}, \text{Ir. geilt 'wild'} : \text{Goth. wilbeis, E. wild, parallel to Ar. } \text{ghuer}-> \text{Lat. ferus, Gk. θήρ}.

v. When the guttural follows a nasal we have the following results:

\[ \text{ng}^h > \text{W. m (for mm), Ir. mb ; as Ar. } *\text{ng}^h\text{en}-> \text{Ir. imb, W. ymen-yn 'butter' : Lat. unguen.} \]

\[ \text{ng}^h > \text{W. ng (\equiv } \nu \text{), Ir. ng ; as W. lllyngyr 'lumbrici' : Lat. lumbricus.-W. angerdd 'heat' } < *\text{ng}^h\text{her-d} ; \text{angar 'heat' } < *\text{ng}^h\text{d-r} , \sqrt{\text{g}^h\text{her-}}, \text{see iii ; ager 'steam' § 99 vi (r).} \]

\[ \text{ng\u} > \text{W. w, Ir. ng ; as W. ewin 'nail', Ir. ingen } < *\text{ng\u} , \sqrt{\text{onoqh} / \text{gh}} ; \text{Skr. nakh\u-h 'nail', Gk. } \text{δνυχ̣, Lat. unguis.} \]

\[ \text{ng\u} > \text{W. f, Ir. ng ; as W. tafod 'tongue', Ir. tenge : O. Lat. dingu\u (Lat. lingua), E. tongue } < \text{Ar. } *\text{ng\u} ; \text{Ir. dingu} ; \text{Ir. } *\text{ling\u-y} ; \text{Ir. } \text{lēgim, Gk. λειχ̣ω, λιξνείνω, Lat. lingo, } \sqrt{\text{leig̣}-} . \]

The first two groups contain two consonants each; \( g^h > b \), and consequently the nasal became \( m \); but \( g^h \) remained a guttural so that the nasal became \( \nu \), and the group became \( \nu\nu^h \), which was unrounded in W. as in Ir. The other groups contain three consonants; in Ir. the \( y \) dropped as usual, leaving \( \nu\nu \); but in W. the \( y \) remained, \( \nu\nu > \nu \) before a consonant, and \( \nu \) dropped, § 106 ii (1).
Keltic; thus Lat. lectus, Ir. lecht 'grave', √ legh-; W. gwath 'fois', Ir. fecht < Pr. Kelt. *yekt-, √ yegh- § 100 i (2).

ii. (1) Ar. -pt-, -kt-, -qt-, -qkt-, all gave -kt- in Pr. Kelt., §§ 86 ii, 88, 89 ii; this appears in Ir. as -cht, in W. as -íth, etc. § 108 iv (1).

(2) In other groups of dissimilar explosives the first was assimilated to the second in Pr. Kelt.; thus tk > kk > Ir. cc, W. ch; as W. achas 'hated', Ir. accais 'curse' < *akkass- < *ad-kad-t- § 87 ii. — W. achar 'loves' < *akkar- < *ad-gar-: Lat. cárus § 88. Lat. -pt- was introduced too late to become -kt- as above, and so became tt, as the habit of assimilation persisted in Brit.; this gives W. th; as pregeth 'sermon' < preceptum, ysgrýthur < scriptúra.

(3) When the group consisted of mediae, the double media became a single tenuis in Brit., giving a media in W.; thus dg > gg > Brit. c > W. g; it gives Ir. c or cc sounded gg, Mn. Ir. g. Examples: Ir. acarb, W. agary 'rough, rocky, unfertile' w.m. 180 < *agary- < *ad-gh dú-: Ir. garb, W. garw 'rough' < *gh dú-: Gk. χέρος, Skr. hśitdh 'bristling', Av. zaršvā- 'stone', Lat. horreo, hírsūtus, vérhésa-, § 95 iv (3). — W. aber, O. W. aper 'confluence', aberth 'sacrifice' < *abher- < *ad-bher-, √ bher-.

There seems no good reason to suppose that gd, db could give ḡd, ḡf in W. W. g่วยdd 'goose' cannot come from Stokes's *gąda (if g were not assimilated, eg would give ei, not ơg, in W.), and Pedersen's breuddwyd < *brogd- (Gr. ῥός) is not convincing. W. ḡf can only come from zb, or zg § 97 iii, iv, or from dm; words like addwyyn, addfain come from ad-m- (mwyyn 'gentle', maín 'slender'), not from *ad-b-. [] Two soft spirants coming together, where no vowel has fallen out between them, can only occur when the first was already the spirant[d] < z in Brit., or when the second was the sonant m.

iii. (1) Ar. tt became t*t, and Ar. dd(h) became d*d(h), § 87 ii, § 91 ii, giving W. s (ss) and th respectively. But when d + t or t + t came together in Kelt., they became tt, which, like Lat. tt, appears in W. as th; thus W. ateech 'skulking' < *ad-teg-s-: W. techu 'to skulk, lie hidden', √ (s)tegh- § 92 i. — W. saeth 'arrow' < Lat. sagitta.—For tt + liquid see § 99 v (4).

Similarly d-d when they came together in Kelt. > Brit. t > W. d; as in edifār 'repentant' < *ad-di-bar-: W. bår 'indigna-
tion', Ir. *bara : Lat. *ferio.—W. *credaf 'I believe’, Ir. *cretim
(t ≡ d-d) < *kred d- : Skr. śrād dhā- 'confide, believe’.

Ar. *kred dhē- lit. 'set (one's) heart (on)' was not a fast compound
(cf. Skr. śrād asmāi dhatta 'believe in him'); thus the W. *credaf is
explained by the d-d coming permanently together in Kelt. (for Ar.
d-dh > W. th § 91 ii), Brugmann I 670, 691. Lat. crēdo is also irregu-
lar, as if *dō 'give' had been substituted for *dhē 'put', Sommer 251.

When d-d came together later in Brit., they seem to have been
simplified to d giving W. essages as, in aδysg 'education' < Lat. *addisc-;
so W. aδef 'home' < *ad-dem-, √ demā- § 91 i.

(2) The change of the first t in tt to the affricative *t was
perhaps due to the tendency in Ar. to avoid double consonants,
which in other cases seem to have been simplified. Gemination
however was a special characteristic of diminutives and hypoi-
 cocistic or pet names, and of child-language, which was in a sense
a language apart; and in these even tt remained unchanged.
Thus Gk. Νικόττω (for Νικοτέλεια), Δικκό, Θεοκκό, Φιλλιος,
Κρίττις, Σθέννις, O. H. G. Sicco (for Sigerich or Sigbertus), Lat.
Varrō (beside Vārus), Brit. Commios (beside Comux, Gaul-Comus),
W. Iol-lo (with double l in Ml. W. § 22 ii, for Iorwerth), Gutto
(for Gruffu);—Gk. ἄττα, Lat. atta 'papa'; Skr. akkā 'mama',
Gk. ἀκκό, Lat. Acca Larentia (W. y navfed ach 'the ninth degree
of consanguinity', lit. 'the ninth *mother', cf. "the 4th mother"
§ 123 v; ach ac ẹdryd 'descent', lit. '*mat- and pat-ernity';
achoedd, achau 'lineage'). As the above examples show, the
habit of doubling in such forms persisted in new creations, and
may account for the q‘q" in the ogam maq"q", and for the tt in
Brit. *genetā > W. geneth r.p. 1359 'girl'. So in tribal names:
Brittöes beside Britannū; Gallī beside *Ga-latātī. Also in names of
animals: Lat. vacca; W. hwch 'buck' (ch < kk), Skr. bukkas id.;
Gaul. cattos, W. cath; Ml. W. buch 'cow' < *boukkā; W. mochyn
'pig'; Ir. mucc, Germ. dial. mocke 'sow'; Ir. socc, W. hwch 'pig,
sow'; O. E. dogga 'dog'; Persson, IF. xxvi 68.

The Spirants.

§ 94. i. Ar. s was of very frequent occurrence. It remained
generally in Pr. Kelt. Initially Ar. s before a vowel (Lat. s,
Gk. 's, Germ. s, Lith. s, Skr. s) appears in Ir. as s-, in W. gene-

ii. Medially between vowels Ar. s remained after the separation of the P and Q divisions; and is found in Gaulish, as in *Isarno-. In Ir. and W. it became h, and generally disappeared, except where it became initial by metathesis, as in W. haearn, though it is in some cases still written in Mi. W.; thus W. eog, Mi. W..ehawe, Ir. eo, gen. iach < Kelt. *esăk- < *esŏk-, Lat. esox < Kelt. The reduction of vowel-flanked s gave rise to new diphthongs in Brit., which developed largely like original diphthongs; see § 75 i, ii, vii, vii, § 76 ii (3).

iii. The change of s to h differs from the soft mutation; in the latter a voiceless consonant becomes voiced, thus t > d; the corresponding change of s would be to z. But s did not become voiced; it remained voiceless, but was pronounced loosely, and ultimately became h. It must have been loosened already in the Roman period, for Lat. intervocalic s introduced at that period remains, as in caus < cāseus. Now Lat. explosives undergo the soft mutation; the loosening of Brit. s is therefore earlier, and so the interchange s/h does not enter into that system. Before such a system of interchanges was organized it was natural to choose one or the other sound for the same word; and the postvocalic reduced s was chosen for most in Brit., the postconsonantal full s for others. It is quite possible that the two forms persisted in many words for a considerable period, so that we have e.g. W. Hafren beside Brit. (-Lat.) Sabrīna. There is only one certain example of Lat. initial s- giving h-; that is hestawr < sextarius; this either was a trade term borrowed early, or has followed the analogy of words like Hafren. Possibly a transition stage is represented by *Isarninus, Isxarninus beside Isarninus Rhys LWPh.² 418. (The Ir. reduction of s is independent, and is included in the Ir. system of initial mutation.)

Medial -us- > h³ > W. w § 76 ii (3).


As s- before a vowel sometimes remains in W., so a few examples occur of s- before a sonant, as (y)smeden ‘band, lace’, Ir. snâthe gl. sîm < *sûî-, √sênc(ê) ;—(y)sîth beside lîth ‘lath’, Ir. slât : E. slath, O. H. G. latta without s-. The N. W. dial. slûpyen ‘eel’ is prob. for *sylypyen : Corn. selyas, sylyges ‘eels’, Bret. sîliennn (slaoîennn) ‘eel’ ; the Mn. lit. W. lûsywyen, S. W. dial. llûsîûen, seems to be a metathesized form; prob. √sêleî : Lat. limax. The second element is perhaps -onghy- : Ir. esc-ung ‘eel’ : Gk. ἵγχελυς ‘eel’ (the root has many forms, see Walde’s v. aniguës).

ii. (1) Medial -sm-, -sn-, -sl-, -sr- probably remained in Pr. Kelt., but became -mm-, -nn-, -ll-, -rr- in both Ir. and W. (In W. -mm- is written -m-, and ll is now the voiceless tt,
properly double ñt § 54 i (2)). Examples: *sn: W. tvymyn ‘fever’ < *tepes-men- § 86 i (3).—W. ym ‘we are’, Ir. ammi < Kelt. *esmesi § 179 ix (3).—sn: W. onnn-en ‘ash’, Ir. huinn-ius < *os-n-: Lat. orinus < *osinus, O. H. G. as-k, E. ash.—W. bron ‘breast’, Ir. bruinnne id. < *brus-n-: O. H. G. brus-t ‘breast’.—s1: W. coll ‘hazel’, Ir. coll < *qos-l-: Lat. corulus < *cosulus, O. H. G. hasal, E. hazel, Lith. kasulas ‘spear’.—sr: W. feryru ‘to conceal’ < *spis-r-: Lat. spissus ‘thick’.—After a long vowel or diphthong n or r is simplified, as in *fûn ‘breath’ < *spis-n- § 96 iv (1);—gwaer ‘dawn’ < *yôs-r-: Lat. vêr ‘spring’ < *yês-r, *eyes-. But the simplification took place too late to give *f, *l for m, ll in tvymyn, pwyll, etc.; and -m, -ll remained double after simple vowels and shortened them, as in drûm § 100 v, dûll (2) below.

(2) An explosive before one of the above groups simply disappears; thus *prô-t-snâ > W. rhann § 63 vii (2);—*tuk-slo-s > W. twll § 86 ii (3);—*dôk-snâ > W. drem ‘sight’, √ derk- § 61 i;—W. rhwym ‘band’ < *reig-smen, √ reig-: Lat. corrigia;—W. pwyll, Ir. ciâll ‘thought’ < *qêit-st-: Skr. cit-tâ-m ‘thought’, caityâh ‘soul’;—W. dull ‘manner, appearance’ < *doik-sl-, √ deîk-: Gk. δέικνυμι. (3) But a sonant in the above position remains. Examples: W. garm ‘shout’, Ir. gairm < *gôr-smy, √ gôr-: Lat. garris;—W. telm ‘snare’, Ir. tailm, gen. telma < *tel-sm-: Gk. τέλαιμων ‘thong’;—Ml. W. ammyneô (now amynedd), Ir. ainmne ‘patience’ < *y-smeniâ, √ menê ‘thought’, pref. y- ‘in’;—W. mmyrmyn ‘a little bit’, Ir. mîr ‘a bit of flesh’ < *mëmsro-m (i shortened in Brit., m lost in Ir.): Lat. membrum < *mêmsrom, Gk. μῆρος < *mêmsros or *mêsros, Skr. mās ‘flesh’;—W. cern ‘back of cheek’ < *kêrn-: Lat. ceruris < *kerur-, Gk. κάρυνον < *κέρυς-asnom, Lat. cerebrum < *kerasrom; W. carr yr en ‘jawbone’ either < *kêr’s-r-: (cf. Lat. cerebrum) or simply *kêr’s-r-;—W. ammaid ‘nod’ (for *anmeid), O. W. pl. emmeitou, O. Bret. enmetiam gl. innu < *en-smet-: Ir. smetim ‘I nod’ < *sment-. It is to be observed that m in these groups = mm, and is not mutated to f:

iii. (1) Ar. -ms-, -ns- became -ss- in Pr. Kelt., and appear so in Gaul., Ir., and W. Thus Gaul. esseda ‘war-chariot’ < *en-sed-â § 63 ii; and acc. pl. -ass in artuass (like Lat. -âs) < *-âus. In
W., where -ss- became final by loss of the ending, it became -s early; but medially it is still double, though now written -s-
§ 54 i (2). Examples: W. crasu, Ml. W. crassu 'to bake', crās 'baked' < *kram-s-< *qm-s-, √ qerem-: Lat. cremo, Gk. κέραμος, W. cramwyth 'pancake' < *kram-pok-li ;—W. mís 'month', Ir. mí gen. mis < *mënisis: Lat. mensis, Gk. μήν, Lith. ménū, mënësis 'moon, month' ;—W. gwirês 'heat' < *g'hrens-os, √ gh'her-, § 92 iii: Skr. ghvāsāḥ 'heat of the sun' < *g'hrens-ós ;—Ml. W. cyssēd 'sitting together' < *kon-sed-.

(2) The same change takes place before an explosive; thus nst > st; nsq > sp; as W. cystadl, cystal 'as good' § 96 ii (3); cosp < *konsq- § 96 iii (5).

(3) The nasal also disappears when an explosive came between it and the s, as in W. cysefin 'primitive', Ml. W. cysefin < *ktn'samīnos, beside cyntaf 'first' § 106 iii (3), cyntesfin 'Spring' < *ktn'samīnō-.

iv. (1) Ar. -ls-, -rs- probably became -l-,-rr- in Pr. Kelt. Examples of the former are uncertain in W., because -ln-,-lī- also give W. ûl; perhaps W. pell 'far' < *qel-s-: Gk. τῆλος.—W. carr, Ir. carr, Gaul. carr-(ns) < *qer'sos § 63 iii;—W. twrr 'crowd' (v. b. 44, 45), 'heap' < *tưr'-s-, ur < ur < § 63 viii, √ tyer-: Lat. turba, turma (W. torf < Lat.).

(2) An explosive between the two sounds disappears, giving the same result; probably the majority of W. rr's come from such groups as -rks-, -rts-. Examples: W. gyrr 'a drove' (of cattle) < *gerks- < *gerg-s-: Gk. γέργερα · πολλά́ Ηes., Lat. grev, W. gre;—W. torri 'to break, cut' < *torq-s-, √ tereq-: Lat. truncus < *tronqos, W. trwech 'broken, cut' < *tronqos;—W. carreg 'stone' < *kroq-s-ikā, √ kereq-: Skr. sārkaraḥ 'pebble, pebble', Gk. κροκάλη 'pebble', W. crogen 'shell', craig 'rock' < *kroqi-;—W. torr 'belly' (generally of an animal), torrog 'pregnant', Ir. torrach 'pregnant' < *turk-s-: Lat. tergus 'body of an animal, hide';—W. gwarr 'upper part of back', gwarr hēol a. 300 'ridge of the roadway' < *gort-s-: Lat. vortex, W. gwarthaf 'summit' < *gort'mo-;—W. corr 'dwarf' < *qort-s-: Lat. curtus, Ir. cert 'little', √ (s)ger-.—Possibly we have 11 from -iks- in W. callestr 'flint' < *qel'qs-: Lat. calx, Gk. χάλιξ, √ q(h)eleiq- parallel to √ kereq- above.
(3) An explosive following the group remains, and the s disappears; thus W. _torth_ 'loaf', Ir. _tort_ < *_torst-_ 'baked': Lat. _tostus_ < *_tors(i)tos_ : _torreo_ < *_torsiō_; W. _tarth_ 'vapour, mist' (_tarth_ mwg Act. ii 19 'vapour of smoke', _tan twym tarth_ B.T. 38 'hot scorching fire') < *_tšt´s-t-_: Gk. _τερπαίνω_, _τερετε- 'dry up';—W. _garth_ 'promontory, hill', Ir. _gart_ < *_għe´s-st-_ : Gk. _χέρπος_, _γήρετε- § 93 ii (3) (not to be confused with _garth_ 'enclosure': Lat. _hortus_ § 99 vi (1), § 76 vi (2)).

§ 96. i. Ar. _st_ + tenuis remained in Pr. Kelt. In Brit. the group either remained or became a double spirant; thus _sk_ gave either (1) _sk_ or (2) _χχ_; and _st_ gave either (1) _st_ or (2) a sound between _pł_ and _sz_, which became _ss_. It is probable that form (1) occurred after a consonant, and form (2) after a vowel, being caused by a loose pronunciation of the _s_. Both forms occur initially and medially, and in the latter case form (1) can be shown in a large number of cases to have followed a consonant now vanished. In Ir. _st_ gave _ss_, initially _s-_ , and the other groups remained unchanged.

Tenuis+s also became a double spirant in Brit. A media before _s_ had become a tenuis in Ar., and gives the same result. An aspirated media before _s_ changed it to _z_ in Ar., thus _dhs_ > _dzh_ (_dz_); the group became tenuis+s in Kelt., with the same result.

When _s_ is combined with two explosives in any order it is the first explosive that drops: thus _llost_ < *_lompest-_ ii (3); _asgwren_ < *_ast-korn-_ ii (4); _nos_ < *_notes_ < *_noq´tś_ ii (5). The same simplification took place later in words borrowed from Lat.: W. _estron_ 'stranger' < _stranēneus_, _astrus_ < _abstrusus_, etc., § 103 i (5).

ii. (1) Ar. _st_- became _s_- in Ir., _st-_ or _s_- in Bret., Corn., and W. Examples: Ir. _sál_, W. _sáwdd_, Bret. _seul_ 'heel' < *_stá-il-_ § 63 vi (1);—Bret. _steren_, Corn. _steren_, W. _seren_ 'star': Lat. _stella_ < *_ster-lá_, Gk. _ἀστήρ_, O.H.G. _sterno_, E. _star_ : Ar. *_stēr_- ;—Bret. _staon_ 'palate', W. _safn_ 'mouth': Gk. _σῶμα_;—Ir. _serc_, W. _serch_ 'love', Bret. _serch'= 'concubine': Gk. _στέργυ_: Ar. *_sterk/g_- ;—W. _y(st)arn_, Bret. _starn_, _stern_ 'harness' beside W. _sarn_ 'causeway' § 63 vii (2), _sterv-_ 'spread out'. It is not to be supposed that _st_- became _s_- in W. in _seren_ etc. after the separation of W. and Corn., since Lat. _st_- generally remains (not always; _swmbwl_
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§ 66 ii (1)); but rather that st- and s- existed side by side, and one form or the other prevailed; cf. § 94 iii. The lisped form / is attested in Gaul. in the name Birona, also spelt Sirona (? star-goddess, /<ster/.-)

(2) Medial -st- gave Ir. ss, Bret., Corn., W. ss. When ss became final in W. it was simplified early; but it remained double mediially, and is still double after the accent, though now written s § 54 i (2). Examples: Ir. ross 'promontory, forest', W. rhos 'mountain meadow' (Richards), 'moor' /<pro-sth-/: Skr. prasthaḥ 'table-land on a mountain, plain', \(\sqrt{\text{sath-}}\) 'stand';—Ir. cas-achtach 'cough', W. pas 'whooping-cough', Bret. pas 'cough' /<q\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)est- : O. E. hwōsta, Germ. Husten 'cough': Lith. kōstēt 'to cough', Skr. kāṣate 'coughs';—Ir. foss 'servant', W. gwas 'servant', gwasanaeth 'service' /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)upo-sthā-n-ākt- § 203 i (4): Skr. upa-sthā-na-m 'attendance, service',—W. gwas B. T. 4 'abode', Ir. foss 'rest', stay /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)ost- : Gk. ὀστῶ < ὀστῦ, Skr. vástu 'dwell ing-place, homestead'.—The alternative lisped form /p/ is attested in Brt. Athedomaros beside gen. Assedomari CIL. iii 5291 (Rhys CB.\(^2\) 277), W. Guynn-assed B. B. 67, with a\(\theta\)-, ass-perhaps /<ast-/: Gk. ὀστεό, Skr. āśṭhi 'bone', W. aSEN 'rib', ais 'breast'.

(3) When -st- is preceded by a nasal or explosive or both, the whole group gives W. st. Examples: W. cystal, older cystadl 'as good' /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)om-sthō-dhlo- 'standing together': Lat. stabulum /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)sthō-dhlo-m :—W. trwst 'tumult' /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)rum-st- (ru < \(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)§ 63 viii (1)), \(\sqrt{\text{līer-}}\) : Lat. turma, turba, Gk. σύρβη, Att. τύρβη :—Ir. loss, los (i. erball 'tail', Bret. lost 'tail', losteñn 'petticoat', lostek 'tailed, trailing', W. llost 'tail' in llost-lydan 'beaver', arlost 'the butt end of a spear' /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)lomp-st-, √ leb- 'hang down': Skr. lāmbate 'hangs down', Lat. limbus 'hem of a garment' /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)lembos, E. lop in lop-eared, lop-sided: W. llusgo 'to trail, drag behind' /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)lop-sq- :—W. cynlwst 'kennel' /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)kuno-log-st-, \(\sqrt{\text{legh-}}\) 'lie';—W. gast 'bitch' /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)ganst-: § 101 iii (2) /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)k(y)n- 'dog' § 76 v (1) :—W. clust 'ear', Ir. cluass /<\(\text{\texttt{\textasteriskcentered}}\)kleut-st-, a Kelt. formation< Ar. *kλευτόμ 'hearing': Av. sraota-m, Goth. hliup.—

(For the group after a liquid, see § 95 iv (3).)

After a prefix both forms occur: W. gwa-sarn 'litter', √ sterō-; gwa-stad 'level', √ sthā- 'stand'; di-serch 'unlovely', √ sterk/g- (1)
above; di-stadl ‘insignificant’, lit. ‘without standing’, cf. cystadl above.

We have perhaps to assume *uos- (cf. Lat. sus-) beside uo- and *des- beside *de-, giving *sot- beside *st-, resulting in -st- beside -s-. It is however to be borne in mind that forms with prefixes were not originally fast compounds; and thus the form after a prefix may represent the old initial.

(4) Before r or l, Ar. st remains in all positions in W. Thus W. ystrad < *str-<t-, √ stero- § 63 vii (2); — W. ystrew, trew ‘sneeze’ < *streus- § 76 ii (2), √ pestreuv- : Lat. sternuo, Gk. πτέρυψμ; — W. ystlys ‘side’, Ir. sliss ‘side’ < *stlf-<s- : Lat. latus < *stlats-os, √ stel(a)-: — W. arvestr ‘band, (apron-)string’ < *are-vest-rā: Gk. Dor. ἕστηρα (γέστηρα· στόλην Hes.), Lat. vestis; — W. rhwystr ‘obstacle’ < *reig-s-tr- ‘*snare’ : W. rhwym § 95 ii (2); — W. bustl ‘gall’ (u for y § 77 vii (2)), Corn. bistel, Bret. bestl < *bis-tl- : Lat. bilis < *bislis (different suffixes -tl- : -l-); — W. destl ‘neat, trim’, di-destl ‘clumsy, unskilful’ D.G. 196, 240 < *deks-tl- : Lat. dexter, Gk. δεξίος, W. dehau ‘right’, etc.— It is seen that a consonant before the group drops.

On the other hand when st came before an explosive the t dropped; thus stk > sk, as in W. asgwrn, Ml. ascworn ‘bone’ < *ast-korn : Gk. ὄστεον, see (2) above (initial a/o altern. § 63 v (2)); and llosgwrn formed ‘tail’ similarly from *lomps-, see (3); — W. gwysg ‘dress’ < *gēst-q-, di-osg ‘to undress’ < *dē-yost-q-, √ ues- : Lat. vestis, etc.

(5) Ar. ts gives ss in Ir. and W. Original ds and dhz became ts, giving the same result.— W. blys ‘strong desire’ < *mlit-s-, noun in -s- beside melys ‘sweet’ participle in -t- § 87 ii, base *meleit-; — W. llys ‘court’, Ml. brest, Ir. liss, less < *lits-t-, with an -s- suffix which lost its vowel, added to *plth- § 63 viii (1); — W. aswy, Ml. W. aswy, asseu ‘left (hand)’ < *at-souj-s- < *adsoujōs : Skr. savyāh ‘left’.— An explosive before the group drops; thus W. nos ‘night’ < nom. *not-s < *nokt-s beside noeth in trannoeth ‘the following day’, heno, O. W. henoid (Ξ henoyth) ‘to-night’ from oblique cases *nokt- : so glas- ‘milk’ < *glokt-s, § 63 vii (3); tes ‘heat’ < *tekts < *tep-t-s : Lat. tepeo, etc. A nasal before the group, § 95 iii (3); but a liquid remains, and the group becomes ll or rr, § 95 iv (2).

iii. (1) Ar. sk- appears as sc- in Ir., as se- or h- (< χ) in W.

After a prefix : W. crysgod, gwasgod ‘shade’ < *skāl- , as above.

(2) Ar. sq- gives Ir. se-, W. se- (ysg-) or chw- (or before a round vowel h-). Thus W. ysgwyd ‘shield’, Ir. scáth < *sqeit-om : Lat. scūlem < *sqoit-om, O. Bulg. šitū ‘shield’ < *sqeit-om ;—W. ysgar ‘to separate’, Ir. scaraim, √squer- : Lith. skirti ‘to separate’; —W. chwth ‘left (hand)’ < *sqi-tn-, chwdir ‘pervasive, fickle’ < *sqi-tr-, Mn. Ir. ciotach ‘left-handed’ < *sqi-tn-, W. ysgoewan f. ‘fickle one’ < *sqai-u-, all R-grades of *sqēl- ‘left, oblique’ : Lat. scaevus, Gk. σκαί(ς)ός, E. sky;—W. chwalu ‘to scatter’, Bret. skula, Ir. scálim ‘I scatter’, √squel- § 101 iv (2) ; hollt ‘split’ iv (1) (β).


skl-, skr-, where they remained in Brit., survived in W., now ysgl- ysgr-, as ysglyfaeth § 101 iv (2), ysgrafell ‘rasp’ : E. scrape, iv (3). But these were mostly reduced early to sl-, sr-, § 101 ii (3). Medially we may have -chl-, -chr-, § 156 i (11), (13).


(4) Medially between vowels Ar. -sk- > W. ch, but is hardly to be found except in old compounds like gochel ‘to guard (against)’, ym-ochel ‘to take shelter’ < *upo-s-kel-, √kel- § 63 iii.—Ar. -sq-, -sqh- gave χh, generally unrounded to ch ; in Ir. all appear as ss.
Thus Ar. verbal suffix *-sqe- (: Skr. -cχa-, Gk. -σκω, Lat. -scο), appears as ch in W. chwennychaf; finally -wch < *-yχ < *-i-sq- (: Gk. -ι-σκω) § 201 iii (2); —Ml. W. amkavd w.m. 453 'replied' < *am-χawd § 156 i (4) < *mbi-sqχ-, √ seqχ- 'say'; suffix § 182 iii.

(5) After an explosive or nasal, however, Ar. -sk-, -sq- > W. -sc- (-sg-), and Ar. -sqχ- > W. -sp-; in Ir. -sc-. Thus W. mysgu, cysysgu 'to mix', Ir. meascaim 'I mix' < *misk-sq- : Lat. misceo, Gk. μιξωμι 'mixed', √ μείκ/γ-; —W. usgo 'to drag' < *lop-sq- ii (3) above; —W. hsg 'sedges', Ir. sescenn 'swamp' < *seq-sq-: E. sedge, O. E. secg √ seq/y- 'cut': Lat. seco etc.; —W. lsg 'languid, infirm, sluggish', Ir. lse 'slothful' < *leq-sq-, √ (s)eγ- : Skr. laxqa-h 'lame' < *leng-, Lat. langeo < *leng-, Gk. λαγάρος; —W. gwyysg 'twigs' < *yrd-sq-: Lat. rānus < *yγδ-mo-s, √ yerod- § 91; —W. diaspad f. 'a cry' < *dē-ad-sqχ-adā, √ seqχ-, suff. § 143 iii (18); W. corp 'punishment', Ir. csoc 'correction, reprimand' < *kon-sqχ- 'talk with'.

As the group -sku- or -sq- contains three distinct consonants, it gives -sp- in W. (not -ch-); thus W. hysp 'dry' (without milk), di-hysb-yddu 'to bail' (a boat, a well, etc.), di-hysb-ydd 'inexhaustible' < *sisγ-sq- redupl. of √ seiq- 'dry': Avest. hišku- f. hiškvī-, Lat. siccus < *sicos (W. sych, Ir. secc < Lat. ?).


As before ts, an explosive or nasal before the group dropped; but in that case -ks- probably, like -sk-, did not become χ, but remained and developed like Lat. -x-; so perhaps taịs 'oppression' < *trexs- < *trenk-s- : W. trenn, Ger. streng § 148 i (13). A liquid before the group remains, § 95 iv (2); -kal-, -kam- etc., § 95 ii (2).

iv. After s, Ar. p in Kelt. either (α) became *f as usual; or (β) was altered to qχ and developed accordingly.
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(β) sp(h)- > Kelt. sqi > W. chw- (h-) or sp-, Ir. sc-. Thus W. chwyynn ‘weeds’ (prob. originally ‘furze’, as E. whin which comes from it) < *sqh(i)n- < *spid-sn-: Lat. pīna < *pīd-snā; Ir. sce gen. pl. sciad, W. ysphyddad ‘hawthorn’ < *sqh(i)dd-at-: Lat. spīna, spīca, *spēi-; — W. chwydu ‘to vomit’, chwýd ‘vomit’ § 100 ii (3), *spei-: Lat. spuo, E. spew, etc.: — W. hollti ‘split’, hollti ‘to split’, beside (a) Bret. faouta ‘to split’ < *spol-t-, *spel- § 101 iv (2): — W. yspar ‘spear’, Bret. sparr: Lat. sparus, O. H. G. spēr, E. spear; *spheuerē- § 97 v (3): — W. chwywn ‘swift’ < *spher-n-, hwro ‘a violent push’ < *spwri- § 100 iii (2).

(2) Medially, Ar. *sp- gives (a) W. *ff-, or (β) W. *ch-, Ir. *sc-. Thus W. dual (a) uffarnau (β) ucharnau ‘ankles’ < *qu-sp(y)r-n-: sg. *ffér, Lat. perna above; — (β) W. ucher ‘evening’, Ir. fescor: Lat. vesper, Gk. ἐσπερός § 66 iii.

After a consonant (a) -sp- > W. ff; unlike -st-, -sk-, which preserve the explosive, sp had become -sf-, and there was no explosive to preserve. Thus W. effro ‘awake’ < *eksprog- dissim. from *eks-pro-gr-: Lat. expurgiscor for *ex-pro-griscor (Walde, s.v.): Av. fra-yrismnō ‘waking’, Skr. jâvâle ‘wakes’, Gk. ἐγκριπό, ρ-gerēi-.

(3) Ar. *ps- also gives (a) W. *ff-, or (β) W. *ch-, but Ir. *ss-. Thus (a) W. *craff ‘sharp, keen’ < *qtrap-s- < *qrab-s-: Icel. skarpr, O. E. scarp, E. sharp, E. scrape, W. *crafu ‘to scratch’; — W. praaff ‘burly’ < q*(r)e-p-s-: Lat. corpus, etc.; — (β) W. uwcch ‘higher’, uchel ‘high’, Ir. *uasal, uassal, Gaul.
UXELLO-DUNON < *UPS- - *UPSOL- : Lat. sua-, Gk. υψι, υψηλός 'high', υψιον 'higher'; — W. crych 'curly', Gaul. Crispus, Crixus : Lat. crispus (prob. < *criposos) : Lith. kręipti 'to turn', √ ger-turn', extd. *greip- ; — W. llachar 'bright', Ir. lassair < *lapse- ; Gk. λάμπω ; — W. crach 'scabs' < *grap-s- : craff above, see § 101 ii (2). As in the case of -ks-, see iii (6), the *-ch- may become -h-, as in cal-er beside caff-er < *gap-s- § 188 iv.

§ 97. i. Before a media or aspirated media, s had become z medially in Pr. Ar. Thus the V-grade of √ sed- was -zd-. Ar. z became s in Pr. Kelt. This remained in Brit., and the media following it was reduced later to the corresponding voiced spirant.

ii. Ar. -zd- > Kelt. ẓẓ. In W. this became th, through ẓẓ; in Ir. it appears as t, tt (≡ d-d), Mn. Ir. d. Thus Ar. *nizdos- 'nest' > Ir. net, nete, Mn. Ir. nead, W. nyth : Lat. nidus, O. H. G. nest, E. nest, Skr. niidá-ḥ, √ sed- § 63 ii ; — W. syth 'upright', sythu 'set erect', Ir. seta 'tall' < *sizd- : Lat. súdo < *sizdó, Skr. sūdāti 'sits' for *sūdāti < *sizd-, Gk. ζω < *sizdó, √ sed-, redupl. *sizd- ; — W. gywyth 'anger', ad-wyth 'hurt, mischief, misfortune' < *gheizdā, Ml. Ir. goet 'wound' < *ghoidz- : Skr. ḍēḍa-ḥ 'anger' < *geizd-ḥo, ḍēḍāti 'angers, vexes, hurts', Lith. žāizda 'wound', žeidžū 'I wound', Av. zōižda- 'fateful' ; — W. brathu 'to stab, bite', brath ' a stab, a bite' < *bhrazd(h)- : Russ. brozdá 'bit, bridle' < *bhrazd(h)-, O. Bulg. brásda id. < *bhçeřd(h)- : with -st-, Skr. bhṛṣṭi-ḥ 'tooth, point', Lat. fastigium for *farsti- (< *frasti-?), √ bher-s-? Walde 275, extension of √ bher- 'prick': W. bér 'spear, spit' ; — -d- presents: W. chwythaf 'I blow' < *swiz-d-, Ir. sétim id. < *swizd- : Skr. kṣvēdāti 'utters an inarticulate sound, hisses, hums' < *ksweizd- : with -t-, O. Bulg. svistati 'sibilare'.

After a consonant the result is the same, for the consonant had dropped in Brit., and though st of that period remains (e.g. Lat. -st-), the mutation d > ẓ is later, so that Brit. -ẓẓ > ẓẓ > th. Thus the prefix *eks- + d- gave *e(y)zd- > *ezd- > eth- as in ethol 'to elect' < *egz-dol- : E. tale, Ger. Zahl 'number', W. didoli 'to segregate', Skr. dālam 'piece', Lith. dalis 'part', √ dēl- 'divide'.

iii. Ar. -zg(h)-, -zg(h)- > Kelt. -ȝ- ; in Ir. it appears as dg (≡ ḍ); in W. *ḏ became ḍ by met.; after v, *ḏ > ḍ. Thus
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W. maidd ‘whey’ < *mēδδ-, met. for *mēδγ-, Ir. medg ‘whey’, Gallo-Lat. merga (s for ḍ? cf. § 96 ii (I)) : Lat. merge, Lith. mazgōti ‘to wash’, Skr. majjati ‘sinks’ < *mezγ-; — W. haidd ‘barley’ < *se-zg-, redupl. of *seg- : Lat. seges ;—perhaps W. twiddf ‘a swelling’ for *tuδθ-< *tu zg-, s-stem of √ tεγα- (: Goth. þūs-) + -g- suff. : Lat. turgeo (Walde rejects his first suggestion that this is from *tu zg- in favour of Solmsen’s *tūrigo, IF. xxvi i 112 ff., with -igo (: ago), though this is usually 1st conj., as navigate).

W. gwδf ‘throat’, N. W. dial. gwδw, pl. gyδfe, gyδfa, S. W. dial. gwδweg, pl. gyδgę, gylhce, Bret. gouzoug, with -g for -ğı, § 111 vii (4), seems to require *gusγ- ; i ū-hu-s-, √ ghev-, (: Lat. fauces) + -g-, as in mwun- ‘mane’.

iv. Ar. -zb(h)- > Kelt. ḍb > Ir. ḍb, W. ṣf. Thus W. oddf ‘knag, knot, nodule’, Ir. odb : Gk. ὄσφος (< *ost-bhu-?).

v. (r) The above groups are found only medially. Initially Ar. s- did not become ḍ-, but changed a following media to a tenuis; thus sąd- > sp- , spath- > spk, etc., Siebs, KZ. xxxvii 277 ff. Hence the initial alternations b- : sp- and dh- : sth-, etc., as in Germ. dumm, E. dumb < *dh- : Germ. stumm, W. di-staw < sth-, § 156 i (r).

(2) As s- could be prefixed or dropped in Ar. and for a long time after the dispersion, § 101 ii (r), Siebs l. c. holds that the above explains the initial alternation of a media and tenuis. In a large number of cases it undoubtedly does so. Where the media is general and the tenuis exceptional, it affords a satisfactory explanation, as in the case of the Kelt. t- in tafod ‘tongue’ corresponding to d- elsewhere (O. Lat. dingua), which is parallel to the t in taw! ‘be silent’ (s still kept in di-staw) corresponding to the *dh- which gives the d- of E. dumb. But it hardly explains the alternation when the tenuis is general and the media exceptional, as in W. eraidd, Lat. cord-, Lith. szirdis, E. heart, Gk. καρδία < *k̯- : Skr. ḍhīd-, Av. vṛddā < *ṛg-, since k < ṣkh, without a trace of the s- in the whole of Europe, is improbable. But whatever the explanation may be, the fact of the alternation can hardly be called in question.

(3) As an example of the variety of forms produced by variable s-, we may take √ bhγer-, extd. *bhγer-g/-gh/-q-, orig. meaning r. ‘hurl’, 2. ‘smite’ ; hence from r. ‘sprinkle, cast (seed); roar, snore; rattle; talk’; from 2. ‘break; crash, break out, burst; smell’. bh- : W. bōwro ‘hurl, smite’, bōwro gław ‘to rain’, bōwro hađ ‘cast seed’ < *bhrγ’- (ur < ṣr’); Lat. frango < *bhrmγ-, frāgor < *bhγγ-,
grære, E. break, burst, W. brych, brith ‘speckled’;—sph-: W. *hwr§ 100 iii (2), chwyrrn ‘swift’ § 96 iv (1), chwyruu ‘to roar, snore’; Skr. sphurāti ‘spurns, darts, bounds’, sphurjati ‘rumbles, roars, rattles, crashes’ < *spuryā-; Late. sperno, spargo; E. spurn, sprinkle; Gk. σφαραγος; W. *ffraeth *§ 96 iv (1), ffroen < *sphrug-nā (ru < yr);—p(h)-: W. arch ‘speckled’, Gk. περναω: W. arch-fu ‘stench’ < *phρq-; arogleu ‘a smell’, compound pЄropo-prāg?—(p ... g > t ... g § 86 ii (3)) trywyð ‘scent’, trwyn ‘nose’ < *prug-no-, travaf ‘I strike’ < *prug- (ru < yr);—spr > sr § 101 ii (3): W. rhwo ‘roar, talk loudly’ < *srogo-, Gk. ῥέγκω, ῥέγκω, ῥόγκωs, ῥόγκωs, W. roch ‘snore’.

§ 98. i. (1) In Gk. and Kelt. a dental explosive sometimes appears after a guttural where the other languages have s; this is explained by the supposition that Ar. possessed after gutturals another spirant, similar to E. th in think, W. th, which is written p. After an aspirated media, as s became z, § 96 i, so p became ð; thus gðb > gðð (gðh). Brugmann2 I 790 ff.


Ar. kp- (Lat. s-, Gk. κτ-, Skr. kṣ-) gave Kelt. -kt-. Thus W. arth ‘bear’, Ir. art < *artos < *arctos: Gk. ἄρκτος, Lat. ursus < *ursos, Skr. kṣaḥ: Ar. *arkhos, *r̥kṣaś § 63 v (2).

(3) Ar. gḥṣ- (Lat. h-, Gk. χθ-, Skr. ḷ-, Germ. g-, Lith. ž-) gave Kelt. d-. Thus Ir. indhe, W. doe ‘yesterday’ < *deisi = Lat. heri: Gk. χθές, Skr. ḷḥ, § 75 vii (2); this occurs medially in W. neithiwyr ‘last night’ § 78 i (2) for *neith-ðiwyr < *nokti dišerai (assuming the case to be loc.) : O. H. G. gestaron, E. yester-, Lat. hesternus: Ar. *gḥhēs-, suff. *-ero-/tero-, —W. ty-dyn ‘a measure of land, a small farm’ lit. ‘*house-land’, tref-dyn b.t. 14, gwel-dyn (gwelitin b.B. 64), Ml. pl. tydynneu for *-dʒniu < *domi-: Lat. humns, Gk. χθον: Ar. *gḥəm- ‘earth’; allied to this as meaning ‘terrestrial’ are the names for ‘man’ : W. dyn, Ir. dune < *domijo- < *gḥəmio-: Lat. homo, Lith. žmūs, žmo-gūs pl. žmūnės, Goth. guma pl. gumnos: Ar. *gḥəm-. This may be for *gḥəm- as Pedersen suggests, Gr. i 89-90; in that case the root must be *gḥəi- which therefore must be the same as

* In Late W. wrongly spelt tudwed from a fancied relation to tud ‘people’, whence ‘country’. The examples in b.B. both rhyme with -ed.
\[ \sqrt{kphi} \text{ above, with Ar. alternation } \varepsilon-/\thetah-; \text{ hence W. } daear \text{ ‘earth’ } < \*\thetah\varepsiloni-x\rhoa, \sqrt{\thetah\varepsiloni}-. \]

(4) \[ g\nu\delta\varepsilon\] (Gk. \( \phi\theta \)) gave Kelt. \( \thetai \). Thus W. \( \text{dar-fod} \) ‘to waste away, perish’, \( \text{dar-fodedigaeth} \) ‘phthisis’ < \*\text{dar} < \*\text{g\nu\delta\varepsilon}er-:

Gk. \( \phi\theta\varepsiloni\rho\omega < \*\text{g\nu\delta\varepsilon}ter-; \) W. \( \text{dyddfu} \) ‘to pine, waste away’ < \*\text{di-d}m- redupl., -m suff.: Gk. \( \phi\theta\iota\omega, \alpha\pi\rho-\phi\theta\iota\omega; \) in Skr. with \*\text{g\nu}p-\text{r}, as \( \text{k\varphi\varepsilon\arati} \) ‘flows, passes away, perishes’, \( \text{k\varphi\varepsilon\yate} \) ‘decreases, wanes’.

ii. In Gk. we sometimes find \( \varsigma \) where the other languages have \( \iota \). This equation is held to imply an Ar. palatal spirant \( \j \) (the sound which is written \( \xi \), i.e. palatal \( \zeta \), in other connexions in this book; it differs from \( \iota \) in being pronounced with more friction of the breath). Examples are W. \( \text{iav} \text{, ‘yoke’}, \text{Lat. jugum, Skr. yug\( \acute{a} \)-m, Gk. } \gamma\nu\gamma\omicron\omicron\omicron, \text{ all } < \text{Ar. *jugm} \);—W. \( \text{i\as} \text{ ‘a seething’}, \text{Skr. y\djas\at} \text{ ‘seethes, bubbles’}, \text{Gk. } \zeta\epsilon\omicron: \text{Ar. } \sqrt{\text{jess}};—W. \text{uw}\text{d ‘porridge’}, \text{Ml. W. } \text{i}w\text{t } \S 37 \text{ ii, Bret. } \text{iot, Lat. jus, Skr. y\u\text{\v\u}\text{a}-m ‘broth’}, \text{Gk. } \zeta\omicron\varphi\nu\gamma: \text{Ar. } \sqrt{\text{j\djas}};—W. \text{\iow}r\text{ch, O. Corn. yorch}: \text{Gk. } \zeta\omicron\rho\omicron\xi \S 65 \text{ iii (2)};—W. \text{\ioli}: \text{Gk. } \zeta\gamma\lambda\omicron\omicron \S 201 \text{ iii (2)}.

The Sonants.

§ 99. i. Initially before vowels, and medially between vowels, Ar. \( l, r, m, n \) (so in most of the languages, but \( r > \epsilon\rho \) in Gk.) remained unchanged in Pr. Kelt. In W. initial \( l \)- and \( r \)-became \( ll \)- and \( rh \)-, \S 103 i (4). Many examples occur in the above sections; as W. \( \text{llost} < *\text{lompst} \) \S 96 \text{ ii (3)}; W. \( \text{halen ‘salt’ } \S 58 \text{ ii}; \) W. \( \text{rhwym, } \sqrt{\text{reig} } \S 95 \text{ ii (2)}; \) W. \( \text{adferaf, } \sqrt{\text{bher}} \) \S 58 \text{ iii}; W. \( \text{mis ‘month’ } \S 95 \text{ iii (1)}; \) W. \( \text{haf, Ir. } \text{sam ‘summer’ } \S 94 \text{ i}; \) W. \( \text{naw ‘nine’ } \S 76 \text{ iii (1)}; \) W. \( \text{ychen ‘oxen’ } \S 69 \text{ v}. \) The treatment of these sonants in combination with \( s \) has been discussed in \S 95, and in combination with \( s \) and an explosive in \S 96. There remains the combination of sonants with one another and with explosives.

ii. (1) Ar. \( ml-, mr- \) remained in Pr. Kelt., but in Brit. they became \( bl-, br- \) and appear so in W.; in Ir. both \( m- \) and \( b- \) appear. Thus W. \( \text{blys} < *\text{mlit-s} \) \S 96 \text{ ii (5)};—W. \( \text{bro ‘region’}, \text{Ir. } \text{mruiq ‘boundary’ } < *\text{mrug} -: \text{Lat. margo, O. H. G. marke}, \text{O. E. mearc, E. march } \S 65 \text{ ii (1)};—W. \( \text{brag ‘malt’}, \text{Ir. } \text{mrai} \text{ck} \)

L 2
<[*mrug-], W. braenu 'to rot' <[*mrug-n-], √ merē<q>- 'decay': Lat. fracēs 'oil-dregs', Gk. ἀμόργη (<*άμορκā, whence Lat. amurca Walde2 464).—Similarly Ar. m- before 1 or 3, short or long: W. bliθt 'milk, milch', Ir. mlicht, bliθt <*mlik-t-; § 61 i; W. blawd 'flour' <*mli-t- § 61 ii.—The same change probably took place medially also; in that position both m and b would now appear as f, but in O. W. ū from m is written m, while v from b appears as b; and such a form as amcibret ox. <*ybi-kom-(p)ro-ret- § 156 i (9) implies v<b; so Brit. Sabrina probably contains *sam-.

In the Coligny calendar tio-cobretio very probably contains *kom-rekt- = W. cyfraith, Rhys CG. 16. But. W. cyē- <*kom- persisted by analogy: cymreith (m ≡ ū) L.L. 120; cf. § 16 iv (3). (Lat. m...l became mb...l in cumulus, stimulus § 66 ii (1).)

(2) Ar. medial -lm-, -rm- remained in Pr. Kelt., and -imp-, -rmp- became -lm-, -rm-; they appear so in Ir.; in W. the m appears as f or w. Thus W. celfydd 'skilful', celfyddyd 'craft', O. Bret. celmed gl. efficax, Ir. calma 'doughty' <*qel-lmp- : Lat. scalpo, Lith. sklempiu 'I polish', Skr. kalpanā 'fashioning, invention', klptāh 'arranged, trimmed, cut': E. skill, Goth. skilja 'butcher'; √(s)gel-, extd. *(s)gelep- ;—W. cwrw, cwrw, Ml. W. kwrsf, coll. cwrw for cwruf or cwrw 'beer', Ir. cuirm, Gaul. κούρμι, <*korm- : Lat. cremor 'thick juice obtained from vegetables'; lit. 'decoction', √ gerem- § 95 iii (1);—W. serfyll 'prostrate' <*stēr-m- : Lat. strāmen, Gk. στρώμα, Skr. stārman- 'strewing', √sterō- § 63 vii (2).—So in old compounds: W. gorfynt 'envy', Bret. gourvent, Ir. format <*yer-ment- : Lat. gen. mentis, E. mind : Gk. ἑρφ-μεν-ŋs with same pref. and root: √men- ; but later compounds may have rm, as gor-moŋ 'too much'.

Probably the m was already somewhat loose in Brit., as Gaul. cerasia 'beer' beside κούρμι shows it to have been in Gaul. Hence new formations with a new m might be treated differently. Thus, in Lat. loanwords, while we have usually lf, rf, as in palf < palma, terfyn < terminus, we may have lm, rm, as in Garmon < Germānus, salm < psalmus, prob. borrowed later.

iii. (1) Ar. -nl-, -nr- became -ll-, -rr- respectively in Pr. Kelt.
Thus W. gwall 'want, defect', gwallas l.L.A. 154 'negligent', now 'faulty', Bret. gwall 'defect' <*yan-lo-, √ yān- ; Lat. vānus,
E. want; — W. garr ‘knee’, Bret. garr ‘jambe’ < * gag-r- § 63 vii (4). — But in compounds in which the sounds came together after the Brit. period, the n remains, and the group becomes -nll-, -nrh- in W., as in an-llad, an-rheg, § 111 i (1).

(2) Ar. -ln- also became -ll- in Pr. Kelt. Thus W. dall ‘blind’, Ir. dalt ‘blind’, chuas-dall ‘deaf’ < *dh(y)al’-no- : Goth. dwals ‘foolish’, O. E. ge-dwelcan ‘to err’, √ dhwel̂ i-x-. — But -rn- remained, as in W. chyyrn ‘swift’ < *sphern- § 96 iv (1); — W. carn ‘hoof’, Bret. karn, Galat. κάρπον • την νόσαλπιγγα, Hes. < * kे’sⁿ- √ ker̂ ᵐ İşte-; W. darn, sarn, etc. § 63 iii; — Kelt. suffix *-arn- < *-sⁿ- as in W. haearn, cadarn.

iv. (1) Ar. -mn-, -nm- remained in Pr. Kelt., and appear so in Ir. (or with an epenthetic vowel); in W. the mutated form f (or w § 102 iii (1)) takes the place of m. Thus W. sof’n ‘mouth’, Bret. stoan ‘palate’ < * stom-n-: Gk. στόμα § 76 vii (4); — W. cyfnesaf ‘kinsman’ < * kom-nessam-, § 148 i (1); — Ir. ainn ‘name’, O. W. anu < * an’n-§ 63 v (2); — W. menwyn ‘mind, pleasure’, Ir. menme ‘mind’ < * men-m- : Skr. mánman- ‘mind, thought’; — W. an-fád ‘atrocious’ (: mad ‘good’), Gaul. (Seq.) anmat... ‘unlucky’ < * g-mat- : Lat. mátürus orig. ‘in good time’ Walde² 470.

An explosive probably dropped before the group: W. pythnos, pylhewnus ‘fortnight’ lit. ‘15 nights’ for *pythhewnoth (dissim. of nasals) < * pempede(k)m-noktes < Kelt. * qewqe pade km noktes.

(2) Ar. -rl- and -rr- can hardly be traced; we should expect them to give -ll- and -rr-. Late -rl- gave -rll- § 111 i (1).

v. (1) A group consisting of l, r, m or n and a single explosive remained in Pr. Kelt. (except that p dropped, § 86, and a nasal assumed the position of a following explosive). The further development of such groups in W. is dealt with in §§ 104–6.

(2) When a liquid came before two explosives the first explosive dropped; thus W. perth ‘bush’ < *pertâ < * q̂ r̂ q-t-: Lat. quercus < * perqus § 86 ii (2) : O. H. G. forha, O. E. furh, E. fir, Skr. parkati ‘ficus religiosa’; — W. cellt ‘flint’ < * q̂ elq-t-: Lat. calx § 95 iv (2); — W. arth, Ir. art < * arktos § 98 i (2).

(3) But when a nasal came before two explosives, the nasal dropped; thus W. trwyth ‘wash, lye, urine’ < * troukt-: W. trunc ‘urine’ < * tronq-: Lith. tvenké ‘I wash’ (W. trochi ‘to bathe’ <
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*tronq-*, see vi (3)) : Lat. stercus, Bret. strobk 'excrement'. It is seen that the loss is later than the change onk > unk § 65 iii (1); it also takes place in Lat. loanwords, as W. pwyth 'stitch' < punctum; but in the later of these the first explosive drops, as in sant < sanctus.

(4) When two explosives came before a liquid or nasal, the group remained in Pr. Kelt.; thus W. eithr 'except', Ir. echtar < *ektro-s : Lat. exterus, extrā, Osc. ehtrad (-x- for *-c- is a Lat. innovation, Walde² 263); —W. aethn-en 'aspen' < *aktn- < *aptn- : Lith. apuszé 'aspen', O. H. G. apsa, O. E. aps, E. asp : Lat. pōpulus < *ptōptol-, Gk. πτελέα 'elm'.

But a double explosive before a sonant was not distinguished in Ar. from a single; thus etre was not distinct from etre, Meillet, Intr.² 102. In Homer and the Veda the first syllable is metrically long; in Plautus and Aristophanes, short; ordinarily in Gk. and Lat., doubtful. In old Kelt. formations we have one t for two, as in Gaul. Atrebates, W. adref 'homewards' < *atreb- < *attr- < *ad-tr-. In later formations the double consonant remained, as in W. athrist 'sad' < *attristis < *ad- + Lat. trīstis. kr, tr may develop as kkr, itr in W. as in ochr, rhuthr § 104 iii (2). A double media in Brit. is treated regularly as a single tenuis in W., as in edrych 'to look' < *etr- < *ed-dr- < *ad-dr- or *eg-dr-; once as a double tenuis; see l.c.

vi. (1) A group of the form nt or nd, followed immediately or medially by a liquid or nasal, has tended from an early period in Kelt. to become a double explosive tt or dd with nasalization of the preceding vowel. In Ir. the double consonant was simplified before the sonant; see céol, abra, cobrith (b≡b) below. The change, being a case of dissimilation of the continuants, does not take place regularly, § 102 i; it often exists side by side with the regular development of the group. Thus O.W. ithr 'between', Bret. etre, Van. itre, Ir. eter (not *ét- the regular Ir. for *ent-) beside Bret. eître, Corn. yntre : Lat. inter, Skr. antār; —W. athrugar 'pitiless' < *attr- beside Ir. ētrōcar < *entr-, both < *ŋ-trouŋkaros; —W. cathl 'song' < *kattlo-, Ir. céol id. < *kēl(t)lo-, O. W. centhliat, centhliat (en≡e) gl. canorun, beside Ir. cētal < *kentlo-, Bret. kētel 'lesson'; —W. allwedd f. 'key' for *alchwedd, Bret. alc'houez metath. for *achlwēd < *y-gl(ɔ)y-ţâ (‘unlocker’,


Similarly 1tr > *ttr > thr in athro § 76 v (5).

(2) It has been conjectured that an explosive + n sometimes became a double explosive in Kelt.; Pedersen, Gr. i 158, suggests that this took place immediately before the accent. Thus Ir. brecc, W. brych ‘speckled’ < *brikkos < *bhôk: Gk. περκνός § 101 iii (2) ; as -cc occurs in Ir., the doubling here is not Brit. ōkk < ōk § 61 i (1) ;—W. croth a kind of fiddle, croth ‘womb’, Ir. cruit ‘harp, hump’ < *grutn- : Lith. krūtis ‘woman’s breast’, krūtinė ‘breast’.—But many doublings attributed to this cause are due to other causes ; see Thurneysen Gr. 88.

(3) It seems as if n + explosive coming after a sonant might become a double explosive, as in W. rhoch ‘snore’ : Gk. ρόγχας, ρέγκω § 97 v (3). We have nk > kk > c’h after a nasal in the Bret. mutation after ma ‘my’, nāo ‘nine’, as va c’haloun ‘my heart’, nāo c’hant ‘900’ ; but the development is regular in W.

§ 100. i. (1) Ar. ï- (Lat. j-), Gk. ḫ, Germ. j, Lith. j, Skr. y-) remained in Pr. Kelt.; it disappears in Ir., but remains in W. Thus W. ţenanc, Bret. iaouank, Corn. iouenc, Ir. òac, òc : Lat.
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(2) Ar. u- (Lat. v, Gk. F- (lost), Germ. w-, Lith. v-, Skr. v-) remained in Pr. Kelt.; it appears in Ir. as f-, in W. as gw-. Thus W. gwaih f. ‘fois’ (tair gwaih ‘ 3 times’), Ir. fecht id. < *ückt-, W. ar-wain ‘to lead’ < *ari-yeg-n- § 203 iv : Lat. veho, Gk. ἐχος Hes., δχος Skr. váháti ‘conveys, draws, leads’, O. H. G. wagan, E. wain, way; √ yeğh-; — W. gwir ‘true’, Ir. fir : Lat. vērus, O. H. G. wār; Ar. *yēros ; — W. gwedd, gwŷs § 63 iv ; gwall § 99 iii (1).— So before l or r : W. gwlyb § 58 iv, gwlad § 63 vii (2), gwraidd § 91.

Though gwre- generally remains, it became gwern- in gwernad ‘make, do’: Bret. gra, Corn. gwra < *y#wg : cf. Corn. gwreans ‘work’, gwrear ‘worker’ < *ywr-. In the Oldest W. r remains : gwargyn tage (≡ gwra(y)n taoe) b.s.ch. 2 ‘let us make peace’, wraith b.a. 22 ‘was made’ < *yrek-t-; later gwonech l.l. 120, b. t. 64 ‘may do’ < *yrek-s-; Ml. W. goreu ‘did’ < *yōrāg- < perf. *yorg-e ; √ yreg- : É. work, Gk. ēργων (Fēργων). Also in gwanto ‘to sew’ : Bret. gria id., Corn. gwery ‘seam’ < *yreg-, same root; cf. Ir. frace ‘needle’, fraig ‘osier’; Gk. ρῆγος, etc. (orig. meaning ‘bend’, hence ‘weave’, hence ‘work’; see Walde s. v. vergo).

When gwre- or gwul- is followed by a rounded vowel or w-diphthong, it may become gr- or gl- by dissimulation: W. grug for gwrug § 75 ii; glyw for gwlyw § 102 iii (2).

(3) Ar. i- and u- between vowels remained in Pr. Kelt.; they disappear in Ir., but generally remain in W., though sometimes altered; see §§ 75, 76, and iii (1) below.

ii. (1) After an initial consonant i or u was liable to drop from the earliest period § 101 ii (2); thus W. doe, Lat. heri, Gk. χθές : Skr. hyāḥ § 98 i (3); — W. dall : Goth. dwals § 99 iii (2).— But u remained in Brit. after guttural mediae, § 92 iv, and after s- § 94 iv; and i remained in some forms. In W. in this position i generally became i; thus W. dieu ‘days’ for diu as in Mn. W. triñthan ‘ 3 days’ (the accentuation implies O. W. di-) < Brit. *djuœs, < *diuœs (jou > W. ieu § 76 iii (3)). The hesitation between i and i must go back to O. W. when the accent was on the ult. and the i would be unaccented. Lat. i became i early, and
we have diawel monosyll. § 34 ii < diab(o)lus, but pl. di|ef|yl 3 syll. m.a. i 192a for *diefyl < diaboli.

After medial consonants u and i remained, as in W. pedwar 'four' § 63 vii (4);—W. celwydd 'lie' < *kaluíjo-: Lat. calumnia < *kalyomniā;—W. dedwydd 'happy' < *do-tyišos: Lat. tuēri, tūtus, O. Icel. þýða 'friendship', Goth. þinþ 'good' noun, √teuë(j)- (not √teuā- 'swell, increase' according to Walde s.v. tueor);—W. pl. ending -iôn § 121 i; verbal suffix -i- § 201 iii (6); see also iii (2) below.

(2) Between two consonants u and i had dropped in Brit.; thus W. garr 'knee' < *gàn- < *gæn(y)tr- § 63 vii (4);—chwann-en < *sqond- < *s-qon(ŷ)d- ib.;—golchi < *ýulk- < *ýol(ŷ)d- § 89 ii (2).—On -w- which came later between consonants in W., see § 42.

(3) Between i or i and a consonant, u dropped; as in chwyd 'vomit' < *spi(y)t- , √speiye- § 96 iv (1);—W. hoed 'grief', Ir. saeth < *sai(y)t-: Lat. saevus (orig. 'sore, sad', see Walde s.v.);—W. oed 'age' < *ai(y)t-: Lat. aetas, older aevitas. Hence while W. has final -yw, -oyw it has no -ywd, -oywd, -yw, etc.

iii. (1) In Brit., in the diphthong i j (ei, ai), when accented or following the accent, i became a spirant probably like French j, which became s, and appears so in W. Thus -iōs > -yð, -iā > -ēð; '-i- > -oēð § 75 iv. But the change did not take place in oí or ïj.

(2) The same change took place after 1 or r following the accent; thus 'lī > *lō > W. 11; and 'rī > *rē < W. rā. Examples: lī: W. gallaf 'I can': Lith. galiū 'I can';—W. all- in all-fro 'foreigner', Gaul. Allo-broges < *alijo-: Lat. alias, Gk. ἀλιος < *alios;—W. gwell 'better': Skr. várya-h 'eligible', váriyän 'better': O. E. wel, E. well, orig. 'choice', √wel- 'wish'.—rī: W. arddaf 'I plough': Lith. ariū 'I plough', Goth. arjan 'to plough';—Pr. Kelt. Iwer-ión-, -iann- > W. Iwerddon 'Ireland', Ir. gen. Erenn;—W. morddydd 'thigh': O. H. G. muriot 'thigh';—W. hwrdl 'a violent push' < *spuri- (ur < *gēr § 63 viii (1)) √spu+rē- 'hurl, smite' § 96 iv (1): Lith. spiriū 'I kick' (ir < * driv < § 63 iii); also possibly W. g-ordd fem. 'mallet' (g- excrecent § 112 ii (2)), O. W. orð ox. 2, Bret. orz < *pūrī-ā 'smiter': Gk. σφύρα 'mallet' < *sfuvīā; in that case Ir. ordl is from British (a not improbable borrowing, cf. Pedersen Gr. i 22-4).
(3) The change of ï to *δ in the above cases took place before the Roman period, for there is no example of it in any word borrowed from Lat. The alteration was therefore earlier than the period of vowel affection, and the *δ could not affect; hence arðaf, not *eirðaf, etc.

The fact that the change does not take place initially corroborates the view that it did not happen before an accented vowel. All forms that occur can be explained under this supposition; thus all- < *diŋ-, but aïl ‘second’ < *alįšos, etc.; see § 165 vi.

iv. Ar. -mi- became -ni- in Pr. Kelt.; as W. dyn ‘man’, Ir. duine < *ǵlēomio-, § 98 i (3), § 121 i;—W. myned, ‘to go’, Ml. Bret. monet, Corn. mones < *momi- for *mamĩ- § 65 v (2), by assim. for *bam-i- < *gʷem-i-, √ gʰem-: Lat. venio, Gk. βαινω both < *gʷemjő, Goth. qiman, E. come. The -i- disappeared before the -e- of the suffix; the suffix may have been -at-, § 203 ii, which following the accent would become -el- after i, see § 65 vi (1). The i was lost in the compounds an-fon, dan-fon ‘to accompany, send’, prefix § 156 ii (1).

v. In some cases metathesis of i took place in Brit. Thus Ir. suide ‘soot’ comes from *sodi-, but W. hudd- in huddygl ‘soot’ implies *soid-; O. E. sôt, Lith. sūdžiai ‘soot’ have Ḷ-grade; so W. sudaf ‘I sink’ < *soid-< *sodi- beside W. sodaf ‘I sink’, sawdd ‘subidence’ < *sòl-, √ sed- § 63 ii.—W. drum ‘ridge’ < *droimmi- < *drommi- < *dros-mi-: Ir. druimm < *drommi- (i-stem) : Lat. dorsum < *ḍṛs-so-m, Gk. δεπάς < *ders-ad-, Skr. dṛś-ād ‘rock, millstone’, √ dēres-;—W. turis ‘to delve’ < *tōrg-< *torgi-: Lat. porca § 101 iii (1) ;—W. ar-o-fun ‘intend’, dam-(f)un-aw, dym-un-o ‘desire’, with -fun-< *moin-< *moni-: Lat. moneo, √ menei-, extension of √ men ‘mind’ ;—W. uwo ‘ashes, powder’ < *ōity-< *poluiz-: Lat. pulvis < *poluis;—W. Urien, O. W. Urb-gen § 25 i < *oirbo-gen- < *orbjo-: Gaul. Orbius ‘heir’, Lat. orbus, Gk. ὀβρᾶς;—W. wynæb ‘face’, in comp. wynab- r. m. 30 < *einep-, *einap-< *enį-awg- (§ 65 vi (1)) : Skr. ānikam ‘face’ < *enį-awg-, √ oįg-; the un-metathesized form is seen in O. W. einepp, where ein- is from *en(i)- § 70 v, since old ei had then become ui ≡ Mn. wy; O. W. ēnep, Corn. eneb Bret. enep, Ir. eneçh show i lost, which occurs before e in Brit., see vi below, and cf. § 35 ii (2), and is usual in Ir., cf. i above ;—W. wybr, wybren ‘cloud’ πλ. 104, 91, ‘sky’, O. Corn. huibren gl. nubes < *eibhr-< *embhri- § 99 vi (1) : Lat. imber gen. imbris (i-stem) < *embhri-


INTERCHANGE OF CONSONANTS

Consonant Alternation.

§ 101. i. Comparison of the derived languages points to certain alternations of consonants in Pr. Aryan; they are mostly the result of dialectal variation, and of the accidents of consonant combination. The same causes produced the same results after the dispersion; and while some of the alterations mentioned below may be primitive, others are certainly later, and some comparatively recent. Three kinds of alternations may be distinguished: (1) the consonant alternates with zero; (2) the manner of articulation varies; (3) the place of articulation varies.

ii. The cases where the consonant alternates with zero are the following:

(1) Initial s- before a consonant is variable; thus Gk. στέγωs, Lith. stūgās ‘roof’, Skr. sthāgati ‘conceals’: Gk. τέγωs, Lat. tegō, W. to ‘roof’; √(s)theg-;—Ir. scaraim, W. ysgraraf ‘I separate’ Lith. skiriū i.d.: Lat. caro ‘flesh’, orig. ‘piece (of flesh)’, Gk. κείρω, Skr. क्येऱति ‘cuts’: √(s)ger-;—W. chwech ‘six’ < *sueks: Armen. veq < *yeks;—Lat. spargo, E. sprinkle: Gk. περγόν, W. erch ‘speckled, grey’ < *perγ-, § 97 v (3).—This treatment of s- persisted long after the dispersion; and many of the examples found are undoubtedly cases of the dropping or the adding of s- in the derived languages. In Kelt. s- seems to have been added and dropped with a freedom hardly equalled elsewhere.—As -s was an extremely common ending in Ar., it is natural to suppose that -s st- would be confused with -s t-, so that it would not always be easy to decide whether the initial had s- or not. But some scholars regard the s- as a “preformative” or more or less meaningless prefix; see Schrijnen KZ. xliii 97 ff.

(2) A consonantal sonant after an initial consonant was sometimes dropped. Thus W. chwech, Gk. θeξ- < *sueks: Lat. sex, Goth. saiths < *seks;—Gk. πλατίς, W. llydan, √pleθē- ‘spread out, stretch’: without -l-, Lat. patēre, Gk. πέτάννυμι, W. edau ‘thread’:—W. brau ‘brittle’
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§ 101

< *hbrág-, Lat. frango, E. break : Skr. bhanátki 'breaks', Ir. comboing 'confringit', Armen. bek 'broken' ;—W. cryg 'hoarse' < *qri-q-, y-grech 'scream' < *s-qriq-nā, Gk. κοπ沃尔玛, κραγιογ, E. shriek, Lat. crimem, √ qrei- : without -r-, W. ewyn 'complaint' < *gei-no-, Ir. cótinim 'I mourn', Germ. heiser 'hoarse', O.E. hās > E. hoarse (intrinsic r) ;—W. craff 'sharp', crafu 'to scratch', crach 'cabs', E. scrape : without -r-, W. cawn 'trough' (scooped out), E. scab, shave, shape, Gk. σκάπτω, σεῦφος, Lat. scabo, Lith. skabūs 'sharp':

*sqra-b-/-bh/-/p- ;—Lat. brevis < *briqhaus, Gk. βραχύς < *bq̣hůs: without -r-, Ir. berr, W. byrr, Corn. ber, Bret. berr 'short' < *bek-s-ro-s (with -ro- suff. like W. hir 'long' < *sro-s); Ir. be(c) 'small', < *beggos with dimin. gemination; W. bach 'small' < *bq̣h(u)so- ; bychan 'small', O.W. bichan, Bret., Corn., bichan < *biksogno- < *briks- < *bq̣h(u)so- ; bechan < *bgh(u)so-, assumed to be f. in W. —Later examples of lost -r- are E. spealc : O.E. spreacn, Germ. sprechen ;—W. gwraith 'work' : (g)wreith § 100 i (2) ;—Guto (t e t) hypocoristic form of Graffudd.

(3) Between initial s- and a sonant, a labial or guttural was liable to drop; thus spr : sr, and sl : sl, etc., Siebs, K.Z. xxxvii 285 ff.—W. cleddyf 'word', ar-choll 'wound' § 156 i (6), clais 'bruisse' < *glod-it- : claddu 'to bury', √ golâd- 'strike, cut, dig'; W. ladd 'kill, cut off, mow', Ir. sladim 'I strike, cut' < *slad- < *släd- :—W. ffraed 'stream', ffrydio 'to gush' < *spru-t, Germ. Sprudel 'fount, gush, flow of water' : W. rhud, rheyn, etc., § 95 i, < *srw- ;—W. ffroen f. 'nostril', Ir. srón f. 'nose' < *sprugnâ; without s- (p...g > t ... g § 86 ii (3)), W. trwym m. 'nose' < *sprugno-s, trynwyd 'scent' < *spruqio- : Gk. πυγχος 'pig's snout' < *srunghos § 97 v (3).—So prob. Lat. scaevus, W. chwth § 96 iii (2) < *sq-, by (2) above for *sql- : Lat. laevus, Gk. λαύς < *sl- ; by (2) *sl- > *s-, whence W. aswyc < *ad-soy-, Skr. sauvýā; as sk- alternates with sq-, see iv (1), the sin ple root is perhaps *kße- : Lat. clino, clīvus, W. cldl 'left (handy)', go-gledd 'north'. So perhaps Lat. lact- for *slact- for *sqlact- : Gk. γάλα, W. glas-dwr § 63 vii (3) ;—W. ffreu B.B. 37 'fruit' < *sprág- : Lat. frāgum < *srág-.

(4) A semivowel after a long vowel was often dropped: Skr. aṣṭau 'eight', Goth. ahtau : Skr. aṣṭā, Gk. ὀκτά, Lat. octō. The reduced grade may come from either form; see √ ure̞(i) § 63 vii (5).

Other sonants might disappear finally after long vowels, as Gk. κῦων : Skr. śvā 'dog', Lith. svū, Ir. ca, W. ei ;—Gk. μῦτηρ : Skr. mātā.

iii. While the place of articulation remained the same, the mode of articulation might vary.

(1) At the end of a root a tenuis frequently alternated with a media. Thus O. E. dīfan, E. dive < *dheyp- : W. dwfr 'deep', Gaul. dubno-, Lith. dubūs 'deep' < *dhub- ;—Lat. gen. pācis : Lat. pango √ pāk/ɡ- ;—Lat. sparg-o : Gk. πεπκ-νός, W. erch, ii (1) above;

—Lat. plancus, W. talch : E. flake, √ pelāq/ɡ- § 86 ii (3) ;—Lat.
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W. ἐλαὐκός, W. ἴλυγ 'light'; W. go-leu 'light', Gaul. Lugu-, /leuq/g. —So Lat. porca, W. rhych 'furrow' < *prēk: W. turiō 'to delve' < *torjī- (-for p- § 86 ii (3)); W. tyrchio 'to delve' is a late form from turoh = Lat. porcus, prob. allied to the above words despite Arm. herk 'newly ploughed land' which implies -q-. (Lith. pažsas 'pig' implies -k-); see iv (r).

In the same position an aspirated media alternated with a media:

An aspirated tenuis alternated with an aspirated media: —Skr. nakhā-ḥ 'nail': Ir. ingen, W. ewin, Lat. unguis, Lith. nūgos 'nail'.

(2) Initially a tenuis alternated with an aspirated media, more rarely with a media. Thus W. craidd, Lat. cord-, Gk. καρπία, Lith. szirdis, E. heart, Skr. śrād-, all from k- : Skr. hī-, Av. zvirdā, from *gīr—he-. —Ir. cinigim 'I go, stride', W. rhy-gyngu 'to amble', Ir. cēimn 'stride', W. cam id. < *kygeh-men- : Germ. Gang, E. gang-way, Gk. κοιγών for *kaγων < *γῆν- : Lith. žengiu 'I step, stride' < *γῆν-, cf. √skeg—§ 96 iii (r);—Lat. porcus, Ir. orc, torc, W. turoch, O. H. G. far(a)b-< : O. H. G. barah, O. E. bearh < *bh-: —O. Lat. dingua, O. H. G. zunga, E. tongue < *d-: Ir. tenge, W. tafod, Corn. tawot, Bret. tawod < *t-, see § 92 v, § 97 v (z);—W. eth 'grey, speckled', Gk. περκόνος : W. brych, britth 'speckled', luvor 'cast, sprinkle', see § 97 v (3).

As in the last equation, several examples occur in W. and Ir. of b- for p- pointing to the alternation of p- : b(h)- before the disappearance of p- in Kelt. Thus Lat. pūs, puter, Gk. πῦν, πῦθμα, Goth. fūls, E. foul, Skr. पुग 'putrefies, stinks', √peul(ā)-, pēu- : W. baw 'dirt' < *b(h)e-, budr 'dirty' < *b(h)e-tr-; also with i for y, iv (r), Lat. paedor < *paï-d-, √peī- : W. bæddu 'to dirty' < *b(h)i-ai-d- (-d- present);—Lith. plūskos 'hair', O. E. flēos, E. fleece, Ger. Fliess, √pleus- : W. blew 'hair' (mostly of animals, not of man's head in W., as in Corn. and Bret.) < *b(h)leus-;—Lat. pasco, Gk. πατέομαι, Goth. ðūdjan, E. food, W. yd 'corn', Ir. ith id., Skr. pitā-ḥ 'food', √pā(ī)- : O. W. bit 'food' < *b(h)et-, Ir. biad id. < *b(h)i-i-, W. bywd do. < *b(h)e-i-t-;—Lat. piget, Lith. peikti 'to blame', O. E. ficol, E. fickle, √peīq/g- : W. bai 'blame, fault' < acc. *b(h)igī-gr- : Gk. πεπορον, ἐπορον, Lat. pars, W. rhan, √peī- § 63 vii (2);—W. barn 'judgement' < *b(h)e-r-: brwaed id., Ir. brath id. < *b(h)a:r-(for meaning cf. Germ. Teil 'part' : Urteil 'judgement'). —The above alternation may be accompanied by a similar alternation medially; thus Lat. caper, Gk. κάπος, W. caer-ivorn 'roebeak', all < *gap(e)r- : W. gafra 'goat', Ir. gabor, gabur, Gaul. Gapro < *g(h)abh(r)-;—Lat. capto, Goth. hafjan, W. cafel 'to get' < *gap- : Lat. habeo, W. gaf-ēl 'to take hold (of)' < *glibh-.

There seems to have been a later tendency to substitute a media for a tenuis initially before a sonant in Brit. and Goindal; as in Brit. Britan- for *Pritan- § 3 iii;—so W. brig 'top (of a tree), crest
(of a wave), hair of the head, border (of a country) *

briger 'hair of the head' < *brik- for *prilk-; metath. for *krip- > W. crib 'comb, crest, ridge (of a bank)'; Ir. crich 'boundary of a country' < *gri-g-yo-

broken redupl., √ gerē- 'separate, divide, cut off' : Lat. crēna 'notch', crista 'crest', crīnis 'hair of the head' —Ir. droch 'wheel': W. tro 'turn' —Ir. gē : W. caine 'branch' < *kνq- : Skr. sākhā 'branch'; —W. gast 'bitch': civ dog' § 96 ii (3).—Cf. W. Grawys, Garawe 'Lent' § 138; < Lat. quadragēsima.—Still later is the softening of the initial of an adverb, and of a proclitic, as dy 'thy'; these are regarded as mutated forms, and are not mutated further (except occasionally by false analog). (3) Alternations like the above occur also in suffixes; as *-tro-:

* -dhiro- and *-tlo- : *-dihlo-.

(4) Though l and r are not mixed indiscriminately, several doublets occur in which they alternate, as √ghuēr- / √ghuel- § 92 iv. These alternations may have originated, as suggested by Meillet, Intr. 2 143, in reduplicated forms in which, by dissimilation, r may become l, or even n. Thus √gherē- 'devour' gives *g̣er- g̣el-, *g̣e-g̣er-, etc., also with g for g by dissim.; thus Gk. βηβρωκό, Lat. vorāre, W. barus 'greedy' < *g̣er-g̣er- : (broken redupl.) Gk. ζβροκε, Ml. H. G. krase, Ir. brāge, W. breuant 'windpipe' < *g̣er-g̣er- : (full redupl.) Lat. gurgulo, O. H. G. querechela, Gk. γάγγας : Lat. gula.

iv. The place of articulation might vary.

(1) The different gutturals sometimes alternate. Thus, q̣ḳ -:

√leug/ḳ- : Skr. rōcāte 'lights, shines', rōkā- 'bright', Lith. lūkūt 'to expect', with *-q- : Skr. rūsant- 'bright, white', Lith. lūsisk 'lynx' with *-ḳ- :—the suffix *-qo- : *-ko-, as Skr. maryakā-h (mārya-h 'young man') with *-q- : Skr. yuvasā-h (yūvān- 'young') with *-ḳ- : Lat. juvencus, W. iuuan ambiguous ;—√aḳ-oq- § 63 v (2) ;—

√kei- : √gōi- : √g̣ẹḳ̣- : see Walde s. v. civis. For a large number of examples see Brugmann 2 I 545 ff. After s-, -q- predominates, § 84 Note 2 ; and ḳ/q alternate, as Skr. chinātī 'cuts, severs' < *sḳ- : Lith. skédžiu 'is separate' < *sq- - sq(ḳ)eidos- / sq(ḳ)eidos- ;

g̣ḥ/g̣ḥ- : Lat. filium 'thread' < *g̣ḥḥ- : W. gī-au 'nerves, sinews' < *g̣ḥḥ- ;—W. gwres, Gk. θερμός, etc. < *g̣ḥḥ- , § 92 iii : Lith. žarkyjos 'glowing coals', Alb. žjarž 'fire' < *g̣ḥ- ;—W. gvelw 'pale', Lith. geltas 'tawny' < *g̣ḥ- : Lith. želiū green, W. glas 'green' < *g̣ḥ, § 92 iii.

Exactly the same change of position as the last is involved in the alternation of u and ū, which occurs in some roots, as √g̣hēu-:

√g̣hēi- 'yawn'.

(2) The Ar. consonant series p, t, k, q, q is not a line with p and q as loose ends, but as it were a circle, in which p and q approach one another. q combines the back with the lip position, and the shifting of the stop to the latter position makes it p. It is not surprising therefore that q became p in some languages as W., Osc.-Umb., Gk., or that under certain conditions p > q, § 96 iv. Already in Ar. there seem to be some cases of p alternating with q, and even
with q; this takes place before l, and before r when it is a variant of l. Thus we have the parallel roots *pel-, *gēl-, *qēl- 'to turn'. Examples:—*pel-: Lat. popelles 'bend of knee', Ir. imb-el, W. ym-yl 'rim, edge' < *mēbi-pel-, W. cyf-yl 'border, vicinity' < *kom-pel-, ol-wyn 'wheel', Gk. τέλωμα < *pel- (since qēl > τέλωμα § 89 i);—*qēl-: Lat. colo, incula, Gk. τέλθα, τολεω, W. dy-chweel-af 'I return' < *do-sqēl-, redupl. Gk. κύκλος, O.E. hweold, E. wheel;—*qēl-: Gk. κελλών 'στρεβλών Hes., Lat. coluber;—qer-: Lat. curvus, Gk. κορώνη, Ir. cor 'circle', W. cŵr 'circle, close', corel 'round weir', Ml. W. at-coru 'I return', Ir. cruinid, W. crwn 'round'. —So the roots *pel-, *sqēl-, *sqel-, *sger- 'to split, separate, scatter'; thus *spel-: O. H. G. spalten, E. split, Skr. sphańatati 'splits', Bret. faouta 'to split', W. flochen 'splinter', hollit 'to split' § 96 iv (r);—*sqēl-, *sqel-: Lith. skelėtis 'I split', Bret. skela, W. chwechu 'to scatter', Ir. scéalim 'I scatter';—*sger-: Lith. skeriū, W. ysgar, etc. ii. (r)—also in the sense of 'snatching'; with p, Lat. splorum: with q, W. ysglyfio 'to snatch', ysgly- faeth 'prey' < *sqm-<. —So Gk. πλέων, πνεύμων 'lung', Lat. pulmo (for *plumō), O. Bulg. plušta, O. Fruss. plauti 'lung', the 'light' member (cf. E. lights 'lungs'), W. lluman 'banner' < *pleus-m-<: Skr. klōman- 'right lung' < *gleumon-, W. ysgyfaint dual 'lungs' < *s-gum-n- (l lost ii (2), see also § 121 iv), Bret. skewnt, Ml. Ir. scamann (l Brit.), Ml. W. yscon b. v. 4 = yscon 'light, soaring', O. W. scamn-, W. ysgven, ysgafn, Bret. ska'ũn 'light' < *s-gum-< § 76 vii (4); W. awchufan for *cy-chwechfan 'to wave in the breeze, flutter' < *ko-squmon- < chwechfan 'waving' < *squmō : ψpleu- (< pneu-) 'float, waft'.

(3) The change of p to t, which sometimes occurs is doubtless always secondary, as in Skr. sthīvati 'spews' (Lat. spuo, E. spew) where the j is due to the following palatal, cf. Gk. πτω ' < pithō). In Kelt. p became q before q, but sometimes t before a palatal or velar § 86 ii (3), perhaps a compromise between the labial and guttural positions.

Assimilation, Dissimilation and Metathesis.

§ 102. i. Assimilation, dissimilation and metathesis of consonants have taken place at all periods; most of the examples occurring have arisen since the Ar. dispersion. In many cases the change has become a phonetic law; but most of the changes, especially of dissimilation and metathesis, occur only accidentally.

ii. (1) Assimilation of joined consonants: (a) Ar. pd > bd etc. § 93 i; sd > zd § 97; ghlgb > ghrd § 98.—(b) In most of the derived languages mt > nt, etc. § 84, Note 3.—(c) In Kelt. th > kk, etc. § 93, ii (2), (3); ml > l, nr > rr, ln > ll § 99 iii; lā > ll § 100 iii (2).—(d) In W. nt > nh etc. § 106, llt > ll § 105; dō > d-d > t § 111 vii (2); lɛ > l l § 110 ii (2). In Late Mn. W. nff > nh in benthyy < Ml. W. benfie < Lat. beneficium.
(2) Dissimilation of separated consonants: Italo-Kelt. p...q...q... § 86 ii (2).—Kelt. b...m > m...m in *momiat- > W. myned § 100 iv.

iii. (1) Dissimilation of joined consonants: (a) Ar. *t>t § 87 ii. —(b) When two continuants come together there is often a tendency to alter one of them either to an explosive or to a semi-vowel: thus in Brit. ml- > bl-, mvr- > br- § 99 ii (1); in W. nð > nd as in bendieth ‘blessing’, sð > sd, lð > ld > lld, llð > lld § 111 vii (2); ðl > ðl as in bodlon, ðr > dr as in cadr § 111 vii (1); mX > mc as in amcan § 156 i (4); nð > nw as in O. W. anu § 99 iv (1), rv > rw as in syberg § 105 ii, fl > wl § 104 v. In many cases the spirant disappeared: fn > n § 110 iii (4), ðn > n § 104 iv (1).—
(c) In W. mnŋ > ml in teimlo ‘to feel’ < *teimnio < *tamm- < *tang-men-: Lat. tango.

(2) Dissimilation for nasalized stems may be the result of the metathesis in Ar. of the suffix -n- with the last consonant of the root; thus *jug-n- > *jung- > Lat. jungo, *jeug-; if so, forms like Skr. yunákti ‘joins’ are analogical formations which arose in imitation of forms with n as part of the root; but the effect is the same as that which would be produced by an Ar. infix -ne.—
(b) In Brit. ði > id, etc. § 100 v.—(c) In W. lg > gl in annynyl
‘dear’ < *induglens < Lat. indulgens; ehl > lch in allweð ‘key’
for *alchweð, Bret. alchouez, for *achl- § 99 vi (1); nm > nn in
amnaid ‘nod’ < O. W. enmeit § 95 ii (3); dn > nd in andaw ‘listen’
for *adnaw § 76 iii (1), anduygo § 76 iv (4).

(2) Metathesis of separated consonants: (a) Ar. *bhudh/d- ‘bottom’
and *dhub- ‘deep’, if not originally the same, are confused in the
derived languages: W. annyni ‘hell’ < *n-dub-n- for *n-bud-n-
‘bottomless’; Gk. ὀ-βυσσος; cf. O. Bulg. duën ‘bottom’ and Armen.
andwðk ‘abysmos’ with d...d for b...b by assimil.—(b) In Kelt.
ñ...r > r...ñ in Gaul. Taranis ‘Juppiter tonans’, Taraniaw-, W.
tarán ‘thunder’, Ir. torán ‘din’, < *taran-, *toran- for *tær-
*tonar-: Brit. -(Lat.) Tanaw-o Chester insc. (re-math.?), O. E.
þanur, E. thunder, Lat. tono, Gk. στρων < *s tônæ; b...g > g...b
in Ir. goba, W. gof ‘smith’ < Kelt. *gobann- for *bog- < *bhog-;
Gk. φῶν, E. bake < *bhog-, Germ. backen < *bhog-n-, Lat. focus
BRITISH AND LATIN CONSONANTS IN WELSH

The Soft Mutation.

§ 103. i. (1) Brit. and Lat. p, t, k, b, d, g, m between vowels became b, d, g, f, s, z, ð, f respectively in W. Thus W. Cyndaf < Brit. Cunotam(os); — W. saeth ‘arrow’ < *sōzelh < Lat. sagittta; — W. deg ‘ten’ < Brit. *dekan < Ar. *dekw; — W. cybydd ‘miser’ < Lat. cupidus; — W. llafur ‘labour’ < Lat. labōrem. Numerous examples occur in the above sections. The change is called the “soft mutation”.

(2) As the same changes took place generally between a vowel and a sonant (see the details § 104), and as every initial consonant must be followed by a vowel or a sonant, it follows that where the preceding word ended in a vowel the initial is changed as above; thus while Brit. *oineos markos gave un march ‘one horse’, Brit. *oine māmmā gave un fam ‘one mother’, not *un mam.

(3) The conditions are, however, not quite the same initially as medially. Medially -sk- became -χχ- by the reaction of the two sounds on one another before the period of the present changes. But in the case of final -s and initial k- no reaction took place in the earlier period, and the sounds came down to later Brit. unchanged. It was then too late for sk to give χχ, as shown by the retention of Lat. sc, see (5), and of Brit. medial sk from ksk etc. § 96 iii (5); thus the k- remained, and the final syllable with its -s ultimately disappeared. For similar reasons final -s preserved an initial media or m- intact. Hence we have the radical consonant after words or classes of words which ended originally in -s, such as mas. sg. nouns or adjectives; thus *diēvens dagos > dydd da ‘good day’.
But when the final syllable of the first word was accented, its
-s combined with an initial tenuis, which thus became a spirant.
For this reason we have the spirant mutation of a tenuis after
Mi. W. y 'her' (now written ei) < *esiás = Skr. asyáh 'her'; tri
'three' < Brit. *trejás (for *tréjes would have given *trydd); a 'with' and a 'and' < Brit. *aggós § 213 iii (1), § 222 i (3). On
the mutation after ni, see § 217 iv (1); after cheve § 108 iii.

tair and pedair had the same accentuation, and in Bret. ter, peder;
and also pevar (= pedwar), cause the spirant mutation. The radical
has been substituted in W., as in the majority of cases where the
spirant occurred from the above cause.

(4) After final -s initial l and r were unvoiced; cf. sl- > ll-;
sr- > rh-, § 95 i; but between vowels l and r underwent no change.
Thus we have ll and rh now in those positions where the radical
occurs of the consonants mentioned in (1) above, and l and r in
those positions where the said consonants are softened. Welsh
grammarians therefore speak of ll, rh as "radical", and l, r as
"mutated" consonants. Though the reverse is historically the
case, it is convenient to retain the old terminology in dealing
with the interchange of the sounds in the present language.

Note. The term "soft mutation", first applied to the change
where it occurred initially, is due to Dr. Davies, who called it
"forma mollis" D. 26. It has also been called "vocal" and
"middle". The latter name, used by Rowland, owes its origin to
the term "forma media" used by Davies as a name for the change
of the tenues to the mediae; as applied to the six others it is mean-
ingless. Continental scholars use "Lenition" as a term embracing
the Welsh "soft mutation" and the corresponding Irish "aspira-
tion".

(5) Lat. sp, st, se remained, as Mi. W. yspeil < spolium § 69
iv (1), ystyr < historia ib., escyn < ascend-. An explosive before
the group dropped in W., as in estron < extraneus; so after the
loss of an intervening vowel, as W. esgob < episcopus, W. esgud
'active' < execūtus. See further § 111 vi (2). Except where c
dropped as above Lat. x > ð, § 108 v.

ii. (1) Medially between vowels ð, the soft mutation of g, dis-
appeared completely after the O. W. period; as in saeth i (1);—
maes < *mæges § 29 ii (2) : Gaul. -magus; —teyrn 'ruler' < *tyyrn

ig gives y, affected to e, as above; it is often assimilated to the following vowel, as in dylûd < Ml. W. dylyet < *dílliet- § 82 ii (3); Ml. W. breenhin 'king' < *brigant-ēn- : Skr. acc. bryhant-am, gen. bryhat-āh 'high, great' < *bhrygh-ēnt-, -mh-. Before ei it was lost, as in braint 'privilege', Ml. W. breint < O. W. bryeint l.l. 120 < *brigantī-; Ml. W. Seint < *Sigontion 'Segontium'.—wy comes not from ig, but from eig, as in mod-rwy 'ring' < F-grade *reig-, as in rhwym § 95 ii (2); mor-dwy 'sea-voyage' < *teig-, Ir. tiagu 'I go': Gk. στείβω; so canhorthwy 'assistance' < *kanta-γε-τειγ-, lit. '*go over with'.—āg gave eu, au, § 71 iii.

Initially ẓ disappeared completely; but as the initial of the second element of a compound it often became ʒ > i after a dental (d, ð, n, l, r), as Ilwyd-ʒarth < *leito-garto- § 95 iv (3); Pen-ʒarth < *penno-garto-; mil-ʒast D.G. 278 beside mil-ast 'greyhound bitch'; arw-floedd-ʒast § 157 ii (1); Mor-ʒen, O. W. Mor-ʒen 'sea-born'; Ur-ʒen, O. W. Urβ-ʒen § 100 v.

For ʒ before and after sonants see § 104 ii, § 105 ii, § 110 ii.

(2) The soft mutation of m was originally the nasalized spirant ŋ. The nasalization generally remains medially in Bret., but disappeared in W. towards the end of the O. W. period. As f was thereafter the soft mutation of both b and m, there has always been the possibility of its being referred to the wrong radical. This probably accounts for the substitution in some cases of one for the other, as in bawd 'thumb', O. W. maul f. (y fawd 'the thumb'), still with m- in mod-rwy orig. 'thumb-ring'. In a few cases m- and b- interchange, as bath and math (y fath 'the kind of'), baeddau and mæddau 'to dirty'.

Nid adwaen, iawn yw dwedyd,  
Weithian i bath yn y byd.—G.I.H.

'I know not, it is right to say it, her like now in the world.'
PHONOLOGY

§ 104

Och imi! pe marw chwemwy,
O bydd i math mewn bedd mwy.—D. N., F.N. 90, c.c. 267.

'Woe is me! though six times more died, [I doubt] if her like will ever more be in a grave.'

In bore for more we may have dissim., as in mr- > br-.

iii. In O. W. softened consonants were represented by the corresponding radicals; see § 18 i, § 19 i. It would be wrong to conclude from this that the softening had not then taken place, for its occurrence initially is due in almost every case to a vocalic ending which was then already lost. The difference between the radical m in un march and the soft f in un fam cannot be accounted for if assumed to have taken place since the O. W. period when 'one' was un; it must be referred to the Brit. m. *oinos, f. *oimā. The O. W. spelling was doubtless a survival from the time when the mutated consonant could still be regarded as a debased pronunciation of the radical. On the Ml. final tenues see § 111 v.

§ 104. i. The mutable consonants, p, t, k, b, d, g, m normally underwent the soft mutation between a vowel and a sonant; thus pr > br in W. Ebrill < Lat. Aprilis; W. go-bryn-af 'I merit' < Brit. *yo-prinami, √ qbrejā- § 201 i (4); — pl > bl in W. pobl < Lat. pop'lus; — tn > dn in W. edn 'bird' < *pet-no- § 86 i; — tu > dw in W. pedwar < Brit. *petyares § 63 vii (4); — kr > gr in W. gogr, gwagr 'sieve' < *yo-kr-; √ qerei-: Lat. crivrum; — br > fr in W. dwfr 'water' § 90; — bn > fn in W. dwfn 'deep' ib.; W. cefn 'back' < *kebn-: Gaul. Cebenna 'les Cévennes' (*qeb- allied to *gamb/p- § 106 ii (1)) ; — dm > sf, see iv (2).

ii. (1) g before l, r, n gave ð, which became j forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. The Mn. developments are as follows: ag > ae; eg > ei or ai; ig > i; og > oe; ug > ġy; āg > eu or au; ĭg > i. Thus W. aer 'battle', Ir. ār 'slaughter' < *agr-: Gk. ἄγγα; — W. draen 'thorn' < *dragn- < *dhragn-: Gk. τρέχων; — W. tail 'manure' < *tegl- § 35 ii (3), √ (s)tegl- 'cover' § 92 i, cf. gwrait < manure' < *gwer-tegl-; — W. oen 'lamb', Ir. ān < *ognos § 65 ii (2); — W. oer 'cold', Ir. āar < *ogr-: Gaul. (Seq.) Ogron... name of a month; — W. annwyl § 102 iv (1); —
W. *cēul < *cāgl- § 71 iii. Examples of *gm are uncertain. On *swyn < Lat. signum see § 72 ii.

Following the accent, g after a became ġ and disappeared; as in the suffix -agn-, < *'-o-gno- (*-o- is the stem vowel, which becomes a in Ir., and when unacc. before g in Brit.), as seen in Brit.-Lat. Maqlagni, Corbagni, Broccagni giving W. Maelan, Carfan, Brychan; Ir.-ān as Broccān; so O.W. bichan, W. bychan, Ir. becān.

For the affected forms of the above groups see §§ 69, 70.

(2) ġi > ġ > ī; thus W. cæ ‘enclosure, field’ < *kagjo-, Gaul. 5th cent. caium, whence Fr. quai, √ kōgh-/kogh-: Lat. cohus, E. hedge, Germ. Hecke;—Ml. W. daeoni ‘goodness’ < *dag-ioni-gnîm- (re-formed as da-ioni in Mn. W.). It is seen that the vowel is not affected by the ġ, but it may be by a following į < ē; thus W. llai, Ml. W. llei ‘less’, Ir. laigiu, both < *lagjos < *lēgh(y)jos: Lat. levis, Gk. ἔλαξος;—W. -(h)ai, Ml. -(h)ei < *-sagjō § 121 i, § 201 iii (4).—So īgij affected by a gave āgij becoming -ei, -ai, as W. tai, Ml. tei ‘houses’ < *tigja < *tigesa, pl. of *tigos ‘house’;—W. carrai ‘lace’ < Lat. corrigia. When unaffected, īgij gave āj > ī; as in brī ‘honour’ < *brigjo-: breun, braint § 103 ii (1); and llion in Ml. W. Kaer-llion < *ligjōnos, Brit. gen. for Lat. legiōnis.

Similarly ogi > oe > o, § 78 i (1), in to ‘roof’ < *togjo-: Ir. tuige gl. stramen, and amdo ‘shroud’ < *ybī-togjo-: Ir. im-thuige ‘clothing’: Lat. toga, √ (s)theyg-—ugij > īw > -w, § 78 i (2), in llw ‘oath’ < *lugiojan: Ir. tuige, lugae < *lugiōjan. (Ml. W. pl. llyeu, llyein, Mnl. lwon, dial. llyfon are all analogical formations.)

(3) gu > gu > w: W. leo ‘thick’ < *tegj- § 76 viii (2).—oggi > ougj > eu in euol ‘worms in sheep’ < *ogīj- < Ar. *oghīj-: Gk. ὁφις, Skr. āhiḥ ‘snake’.

iii. (1) Before n Brit. k > ķ > ī, so that kn gives the same result as gn; thus W. dwyn ‘to bring’ < *dük-n- § 203 iv (3);—braënu ‘to rot’ < *brakn- < *mroq-n- § 99 ii (1);—croen ‘hide, rind’ < *krokn-, Bret. croč’hen, Ir. crocenn < *krokn- (kn > kk) < *qroq-; VF of *qereq- broken redupl. of √ ger- ‘divide, rip’: Lat. corium, cortex, O. Bulg. (s)kora ‘rind’, korič a kind of vessel, W. corwyl ‘coracle’;—W. gwau < *yakn- < *yo-aku-: W. ochr see below;—W. tin ‘buttock’ < *tîkn < *tûnā, Ir. tôn < *tûnā: E. thigh O. H. G. dih. This may be due to gemination of k,
see (2) below; in many cases kn > gn regularly; thus W. sugnu 'to suck' < *seuk-n-, / seng/g-: Lat. sücus, súgo, E. suck, etc.;—W. dygn 'grievous' < *dikn- < *degn-: Ir. dingim 'I press down', O. E. tengan 'to press';—W. rhygnu 'to rub' < *ruku-: Gk. ἱφκάνη;—W. dogn 'portion, dose' < *dok-n-; / dek-: Gk. δέκομαι, δοκάνη · θήκη.

(2) Before r, k, t give g, d regularly, as in gogr i above;—chwegr < *suekr- § 94 iv;—W. deigr 'tear' < *dakrū § 120 iii (1);—W. aradr < Ar. *arêtrum § 87 i;—W. modrhyb § 69 ii (4); etc.

But W. ochr 'edge, side' beside Ir. ochar < *okr-, / ak- / oq-, W. rhuthr 'rush' beside Ir. rūathar < *re̞n-tro-, / ré̞n-: Lat. ruo, imply kkr, tttr for kr, tr § 99 v (4). Compounds like go-chrwm: crwm 'bent' may owe their ch to this, or to s before k.

An example of k < gg giving the same result is Ml. W. achreawdryr, b.t. g 'gathering' < Lat. aggregātio, with excrescent -r; cf. cyngreawdr < congregātio in Cyngreawdryr Fynyyd ('Mount of Assembly') 'The Great Orme'. Similarly g before r may be treated as gg and give g, as in lygryu 'to injure, violate, corrupt': Gk. ἀγρός, Lat. inœgo, Skr. rujāti 'breaks', Lith. lūžti 'to break', / lėvųg/g/.

iv. (1) Brit. dn > W. n (not *nu); as in W. bôn 'stem' < *bud-nô-, boneđd 'nobility' < *budnîiâ : Ar. *bhudh- 'bottom' § 102 iv (2);—W. blynedd < *bûdnîâs § 125 v (1).

(2) Brit. dm > W. df; as W. greddf 'instinct' § 102 iii (2);—W. deddf 'law' < *dedmâ < *dheôdh-mâ, / dhe-: Gk. ῥεôθμος, θέθμος < *dheôdh-mos;—W. add-fîwñ etc. § 93 ii (3), q.v.

(3) Brit. dl, dr after a back vowel became ðl, ðr; the ð remained after the accent, and was proved to ð, as haidl, cadr § 111 vii (1), and disappeared before the accent, as in iôr < *iud-rôs § 66 v. After a front vowel ðl, dr > gl, gr, and developed accordingly, ii (1); thus W. cadair, Ml. kadeir < Lat. cat(h)edra;—W. eirif 'number' < *ad-rim- < *ad-rim-: Ir. áram;—W. i waered 'downwards' < *di voirêt < *do upo-ped-ret-; gwael 'base' < *upo-ped-los, / ped- 'foot';—W. aelwyd 'hearth', Bret. oaled, O. Corn. oilet < *aîdh-l-eî-: Gk. αἰθάλος 'soot', Lat. aedes, / aîdh- 'burn', cf. § 78 ii (3).

v. bl > fl or wîl, as in gafl 'fork': Ir. gabul, Lat. gabalus

* The identification of the name (treated as two common nouns by Silvan Evans) is the discovery of Professor J. E. Lloyd, Tr. Cym. 1899–1900, p. 158.
< Kelt.; Ml. W. nywel § 90, diawl § 100 ii (1).—ml, mr § 99 ii.
—mn § 76 vii, § 99 iv.

Other groups of explosive + sonant are regular.

§ 105. i. After r Brit. and Lat. p, t, k become respectively ff, th, ch; thus W. corff < Lat. corpus;—W. gorffwys § 89 ii (2);
—W. porth < Lat. portus;—W. archaf § 63 iii, etc.

1 k > 1ch, as W. golchi § 89 ii (2);—W. caclh < Lat. calc-em.—
1 p > 1ff, as W. Elfin < Gallo-Lat. Alpínus.—1t > 1lt, as in Ml. W.
kyfeillt ‘friend’ = Ir. comalle ‘foster-brother’ < *kom-all(i)os; W. alli ‘decelivity; grove’ < *alt-, *al- ‘grow, nourish’: Lat.
alo, altus;—medially it becomes ll as in W. cyllell ‘knife’ < Lat.
cultellus; W. di-wyllio ‘to cultivate’: gwyllt ‘wild’ § 92 iv;
except in re-formations, as in hollli ‘to split’ from holll § 96 iv (1); the t is sometimes lost finally in an unstressed syllable,
as in Mn. W. cyfaill, Ml. and Mn. deall § 75 vi (4).

ii. rb > rf, as in W. barf ‘beard’ < Lat. barba; also rw, as in
sýberw ‘proud’ < Lat. superbus.—rd > rs, as in bardd < Brit.
*bardos (βαρδοι · αοίδοι παρὰ Γαλάτας, Hesych.).—Medially
rg > rí as in arian ‘silver’ = Ir. airget < Kelt. *argyt-om: Lat.
argentum, Skr. råjatā-m: Gk. ἀργυρός, ἀργέ-.
Finally rg > -r,
—ry, -ra, -rw § 110 ii.

1b > 1f, as in gylfin ‘beak’, O. W. gilbin : Ir. gulban id. < Kelt.
gulb.—Medially 1g > 1i, as in daliof § 110 ii (2); for final 1g
see ib.—Medially 1d > 1l as in callawr ‘caldron’ < Lat. caldarium;
—finally 1lt as in swyllt ‘money, shilling’ < Lat. sol’dus.

iii. rm > rf or rw § 99 ii (2);—lm > lf, ib.;—nm > nf or rw
§ 99 iv (1).

The Nasal Mutation.

§ 106. i. (1) A nasal before an explosive was assimilated to
it in position where it differed; thus Ar. κυττόμ ‘i00’ > Brit.
*kanton; Ar. *penq*e ‘5’ > Kelt. *q*ewq*e > Brit. *pempe. This
may be assumed to have taken place in Late Brit. when the
nasal ended one word and the explosive began the next if the
syntactical connexion was a close one. Subsequently a media,
or (later) a tenuis, was assimilated to the nasal, becoming itself
a nasal. This is called the “nasal mutation” of the explosive.
The order of the changes was the following: *yn* ‘in’ + *Bangor* first became *ym* *Bangor*, and then *ym* *Mangor*. The recent spelling *yn* *Mangor* is therefore not only a misrepresentation of the present sound, but a falsification of its history.

(2) There is a sporadic assimilation of *n* to *i* in the groups *in* or *ein*, the *n* becoming *i*; thus *prin hab* R.P. 1278, spv. of *prin* ‘scarce’ ib. 1280 (*<g* *k* *i* *w* *i* *n* *s* *o* *n* *s* : *prid* ‘precious’, *<g* *k* *i* *w* *e* *i* *a* ‘buy’); *meithring* (*<i* *w* *o* *n* *d*) D.G. 69 for *meithrin* ‘to nourish’; *Einion* is often written *Eingion* or *Eingnion* ≡ *eïdôn*, which has become *ewian* in Gwynedd, e.g. *Llan-engan* near Pwllheli.

ii. (1) Brit. *mb*, *nd*, *ng* became respectively *mm*, *nn*, *nn*; they remain so in W., *mm* being generally written *m*; *nn* finally written *-n* (but -*nn* in monosyllables in Ml. W.); *w* written *ng* (and Ml. W. *gg* or *g*); see § 51 iv, § 54 i (2). Thus W. *cwn* ‘valley’ < Brit. *kumbo-*; *<g* *q* *e* *m* *b* *p*- ‘curve’; — W. *twnn* ‘bruised, broken’ f. *toun* < Brit. *tund-os*, — *u* : Lat. *tundo*, Skr. *tundale* ‘strikes’, *<s* *t* *e* *n* *u* *d* ; — W. *toun* ‘wave’ < Brit. *tundā* < *tum-dā* : Lat. *tumeo*, W. *tyfu*, *<t* *e* *n* *a* *e* *r* ‘swell’; — W. *cann* ‘white’, *cannu* ‘to whiten’, *līber-gan* ‘moon-lit’ < *gand* : Lat. *candeo*, Gk. *κάνδαρος* < *gand-, beside* W. *cyanru* ‘to kindle’, *cyanne* ‘a burning’, *cyannu* ‘firewood’, Ir. *condud* < *gand- : Skr. *cand-, scand-* ‘shine’ < *<s* *q* *e* *m* *b* *d*- : *<s* *q* *e* *m* *b* *d*- ; — W. *llong* ‘ship’ < Lat. *longa* ; — W. *angel* < Lat. *angelus*. — So before a sonant, as Cymro pl. *Cymry* < Brit. *kom-brog-os*, — *v* ; — W. *amrwd* ‘raw’ : brwd § 68 vii (4) ; — *Cyngreawdr* § 104 iii (2) ; — except where the nasal has become a media § 99 vi (1).—The double nasal was simplified after an unaccented syllable § 27 ii, and before a sonant § 54 i (3).

Kelt. *ng*<sup>h</sup> (≡ Ar. *ng*h) was unrounded and gave *w*<sup>o</sup>, as in *llYNgYr*, *angerdd* § 92 v. When *w*<sup>o</sup> came before a sonant, including *y*, it was first simplified to *o* and then lost, as in *evin, tafod*, see ib. So we have *nowræd* R.P. 1331, G.R. [372] ‘nine degrees’ < Brit. *nuæw-græd- (navræd* B.B. 42 may have old *w*, but is prob. analogical); — W. *cynt* (one *n*) ‘trouble’ < *konvni* < *kon-gni-mu-* § 203 vii (4) ; — W. *aren* ‘kidney’, Ir. *ær* < *awr* < Kelt. *awgr* < *anghr-*, *awegh*- : Gk. *vaphos*, Lat. *Praenest. nefronés*, Lanuv. *nebrundines*
THE NASAL MUTATION

§ 106 (Lat. inguen with g§, Walde s.v.). But after e or i and before r or l, the œ became ò and gave i, as in eirin Deut. xxiii ı for *eiryn, § 77 iii, < *éoryn pl. of aren above;—W. cynhesu ‘to warm’ < *kynghesu (§ 100 i (1)). For exceptions see (2). Medially they became mmh, nnh, nñh respectively, as in Ml. W. ymherawdr < Lat. imperátor; W. cynhesu ‘to warm’ < Brit. *kon-less-, √ tep-, § 96 ii (5); W. angheuol ‘deadly’ < Brit. *angheulk-, √ anhek-: Lat. neco, Gk. νέκυς, νεκρός, etc. After an unaccented vowel the nasal is simplified as in the above examples, § 27 ii; after an accented vowel the aspiration was lost, as in cynnes ‘warm’, angeu (≡ awxeu) ‘death’ § 48 ii, iv.

(2) Final nt, mp are mutated in gan ‘with’ ≡ gann § 211 iv (1); in cant ‘100’, pump ‘5’ which appear as Cann, Pum before nouns; in ugeint ‘20’ which appears as ugeijn as early as A.L. Ms. a. see i 4, 8, 12; and is ugin in Mn. W.; in arjant A.L. i 6, now arían ‘silver’, in diffrunt (i≡y) B.B. 91 ‘vale’ (<*dyfr-hynt ‘water-way’), already diffrrin in B.B. 74, Mn. W. dyfryn; in cymaint sometimes, especially in the phrase cymain un Eph. v 33; and often in poetry, as always in the spoken language, in the 3rd pl. of verbs and prepositions § 173 x, § 208 iii (2). It is seen in these examples that the h of the nasal mutations of t and p is lost finally; this is because it follows the accent of the word, see (1) above. But the aspirate was often retained before a word beginning with an accented vowel, as kymein hun L.A. 116 ‘every one’; can hwr W.m. 136 ‘100 men’; Pum heryr ‘5 eagles’ G.Gl. m 1/606.
'A feast yesterday and the day before in his house, the feast of a hundred dwellings before that.'

Llyfr Ofydd a fydd i forch,
Ag yn hwn ugain hannerch.—B. Br., ii. 99.

'The maid shall have a book of Ovid, and in it a hundred greetings.'

Final -nc was often mutated in Ml. W. where the tenuis was generally retained, and survives in Mn. W.; e.g. ceing Mn. W. 108, Mn. W. caint 'branch'. nc is often written nge (cf. § 18 iii), but nc is adequate and unambiguous, as nk in Eng. bank.

(3) Medial nt, etc. remain when originally followed by h as in cyntedd 'porch' for *cynt-hed < *kintu-sed- § 63 ii; cyntaf 'first' < *cynt-haf < *kint-isamos; and in newer formations, as plentiful 'child' from plant, llanciau 'lads', sg. llanc. Some vocables, with mutation in Ml. W., are re-formed without mutation in Mn. W., as amrannew Mn. W. 41, amrantau Job xvi 16; seinniyeu § 128 ii, Mn. W. seintiau 'saints'; gwynnoed ll. A. 5, gwynnoedd Matt. vii 25; heintiyeu ll. A. 123, heintiau Luc xxi 11; cei̇gheu, ceingeu ll. A. 144, ceingciau Can. vii 8.

(4) The nasal mutation of the tenues does not date from the Brit. period, for the nasal endings of *novau 'nine', *dekan 'ten', etc., while they mutated initial mediae, did not mutate initial p, t, k; thus naw cant '900', deg pwys '10 lbs.' The mutation of the tenues was caused by nasals which survived the loss of the Brit. endings; it takes place after the prefixes an-, cyn-, and in other cases where mp, nt, nk occurred medially.

There is no trace in O. W. of an unmutated media; we find e.g. am- for Mn. W. am- < *mhi-, scribenn m. c. < Lat. scribend-, crunn- m. c. 'round' (: Ir. crunin), etc., but no mb, nd.

But the tenues are found unmutated, as in tantou, Mn. W. tannau, sometimes mutated as in bronannon M. C., pl. of breuan 'windpipe'. In pimpheu ox. 'fifth', hanther ox. 'half' is perhaps reflected the transition stage in which, as the p and t were disappearing, the h was becoming more noticeable; see § 107 v (1). In any case it is safe to conclude that this mutation came about in the O. W. period.

In Mn. W. the tenuis is mutated, as in breenhin B.B. 75, § 103 ii (1), ağıheu, ağheu B.B. 23, emen etc. § 24 i. Though
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often written unmutated after a prefix and after yn, there is evidence that it was in fact mutated, § 107 iii, v.

iv. The nasal mutation of an explosive does not mean its disappearance, but its conversion into a nasal by the loosening of its stop. In annoeth 'unwise' < Brit.-Lat. *an-doct- the d became a continuation of the n, so that nn represents an n which is continued during the time it took to pronounce the original nd. As the W. tenues are really aspirated, that is t = t-h, see § 84 Note 1, when the stop was loosened the aspirate remained; thus ut, properly nt-h, became nnh. That Early Ml. W. nh as in synhuir § 48 iv is short for nnh is proved (1) by such spellings as morcannhuc, brenhin L.I. 120, and (2) by the fact that when it lost its aspirate after the accent it appeared as nn, as synnywyr R.M. 13, W.M. 20, while brenhin in which nn had become n after the long vowel, is brenin (not *brennin), and an original single n + h always gives n, as in glánaf for glánhaf', superlative of glán 'clean'. It is clear therefore that the mutation of nt is strictly n-nh, not n-h.

§ 107. i. While initial mediae are nasalized after several numerals, initial tenues are nasalized only after yn 'in' and fy 'my', and this mutation is not original after fy.

ii. Taken in conjunction with the following noun, yn 'in' (< Brit. *en) has a secondary accent, but fy 'my' (< Brit. *men < Ar. *mene gen. sg. of the 1st pers. pron.) is wholly unaccented—the emphasis when required is thrown on an auxiliary pronoun: 'my head' is not *fy when, but fy when i. This difference between yn and fy is old, for Brit. *en has kept its -n, but *men (already a proclitic in Brit. § 113 ii) had lost its -n before the O.W. period. This is clearly seen in phrases where the following word began with a vowel or an immutable initial; thus yn: ynn lann L.I. 120, in alld b.b. 64, in llau do. 63, 64, yn amgant do. 66, in llurw do. 65, etc.; but fy: mi-hyn m.c., vy argluid b.b. 51, wi-llav-e (= fy llaw i) do. 50, vy llen do. 59, 62, etc. Thus yn before a consonant is necessarily a closed syllable, closed by its -n, while fy is an open syllable, ending with its vowel. The O.W. ny L.I. 120 'in its' is probably n y, with syllabic y or ñn, a pronunciation still often heard.

iii. After yn in Early Ml. mss., b and d are generally mutated,
and probably g is to be read υ. Thus in b.b. we find innehreu 29, inwvfn (≡ yn mwfn) 87, inyffrin 65, inyganhyv 47, yg godir, ygodir 63; in a.l. ms. a. eniokel (≡ yn niogel) i 46, 50, emon e kolouen (≡ ym môn y goloft) i 10. Non-mutation is rarer: ym brin b.b. 33, in dffrin 47, 48. On the other hand p, t, e are rarely mutated, the usual forms being in tyño, im pop b.b. 33, ym pob 87, im pen 42, 57, impell 82, yg coed 49; en ty e-clochyd a.l. i 52, en-tal e-ueif 72. But examples of mutation also occur, mh, nh, ugh appearing at first as m, n, g § 24 i, as ymlith b.b. 20, in hal art do. 49, eghyd (≡ ynhyd) a.l. i 40, emop lle do. 60. These examples show that the mutation had already taken place, and that the written radical was a survival of O.W. spelling. It is to be noted that the n of yn is in every case assimilated in position to the explosive, even where that is unmuted. So before m, as im mon b.b. 61, im minit eidin do. 95.

iv. Since yn kept its nasal, it is natural that it should mutate tenues as well as mediae; but as fy lost its nasal ending early, we should expect it to mutate the mediae but not the tenues, like naw, which gives naw mlynedd ‘9 years’, but naw pwys ‘9 lbs.’ In O.W. and Early Ml. W. this is, in fact, the case. Thus in O.W. we have mi-telu ‘my household’, mi coneidid ‘my company’, juv. sk. (9th cent.); and in b.b. we find vy tud 13, vy perchen, vy parch 42, vy clun 49, vy pen, vy crown 62, vy penhid 81, vy ki 99; the form wynpechaud 83 is a rare exception, and in no case is the tenus nasalized. But b and d are generally nasalized in b.b., g being also probably for υ; thus vy nruce 24, vy-nragon 51, vi-mridd (≡ fy mryd) 82, wi-nwywron (≡ fy mwyrfron) 100, wy-nihenit 50, vy martrin 67. The occurrence of a number of examples like vy bartrin 67, wy dûv 82, wy dewis, vy Devs 42, is probably due to the influence of the regular non-mutation of p, t. We do not seem to meet with such forms as vyn drwce, vym bryd which appear in later mss.; vy is written as an open syllable, and p, t, k are not mutated after it. The later mutation of these is analogical; the mutation caused by fy in the mediae was extended to the tenues in imitation of the complete and consistent system of mutation after yn.

But in spite of the levelling of the mutation after the two
words, the difference between the words themselves—the closed
yn and the open fy—remained, and persists in the ordinary
spelling of to-day, as in ymotine fy nhad 'in my father's house'.

v. (1) The representation of the nasal initial mutation after yn and
fy has presented considerable difficulty to writers of the language. In
Late Ml. W. mss. p, t, k appear unmutated, and fy is treated as fy
thus ym ton yrmalat i ml. 35. That this is a conventional spelling is
shown by the fact that scribes so rendered forms already mutated in
their copies. Thus where a.l. ms. a. has emen i 84, the later ms. b.
has em pen. Similarly the r.b. scribe writes down the radical of a
consonant mutated in the same passage in the w.b., as ymghof w.m.
104 = ymgh cof r.m. 76, ymhechawt w.m. 390 = ym pachawt r.m. 255,
etc. Further, the cynganedd always implies the mutated form; as

\[ \text{yn-trugared yn \vfy gwirion,} - \text{r.p. 1216;} \]
\[ o \ \text{sy rh ym-p eryygl sw rh amharawt,} - \text{do. 1250;} \]

where ntr is to be read nhr to correspond to n\text{\'f}, and mp must be
mh to answer mh. In w.m. and w. we sometimes find a survival of the
curious transitional form met with in O. W. § 106 iii (4); thus
ymphen w.m. 256, ymghret do. 390; ymgh khof w. 7b. The last
example shows that what is meant is not the voiceless spirant, for x
is never written kh.

(2) The mediae b, d also are frequently written unmutated,
especially after yn; thus yn diben w.m. 129 made yn niben in r.m.
202; conversely ymlaen w.m. 54 made ym blen in r.m. 38; both have
y mon colofyn w.m. 181, r.m. 84. Here again the cynganedd belies
the non-mutation, as in

\[ \text{yg-karchar yn-dae ravyn yt,} - \text{r.p. 1168;} \]

where we must read yn nacar (to give n\text{\'a/n\text{\'y}} as required by the
cynganedd sain). With yn, g is generally doubled, as in ygygwt,
ygygwyd w.m. 123, but is sometimes single, esp. before w, as in ygywales
w.m. 57; in all cases it is doubtless to be read w. After fy the single
nasal is used; thus in w.m. we have vy mot 32, vy maryf 59, vy
mrawt 62, vy-guretc 62, vy ni varawdydaw 43; more rarely the nasal
and mute, as ym-brawt 51, ym da 459. It is seen that in spite of
inconsistencies, the difference between closed yn and open fy is
unconsciously reflected in these spellings.

(3) In mss. of the 15th and 16th cent. the consonant is regularly
mutated, and the two words are generally joined; thus in the Report
on the Peniarth mss., we find ynghaer lliwn 50/90, ymyellt, ynghaer
53/126, ymorgannewg 54/37, ymmad 54/21, ymwegallt 54/280, ymhhob
54/209, ymhenadawr 57/27. Sometimes the words are separated;
thus ym nef 75/172; ym hob 54/250, 61/18, 67/330; y mendith
(y for fy) 54/78; vy nolur 56/72.

(4) Salesbury wrote vi-dew, vi-popul for fy Nw, fy mhol, "to sane
the word the lea maimed," as he explains (1586 Pb. Preface). G.R.
mutated the consonants and joined the words, *fyngy 41, ymnyhy 79; he states that $m$ is double—"ymhob a leisvivr ymmhob" 80 (see § 54 i (2)). His reason for joining *fy* appears to be that *ng* cannot be initial, "cangy rhv anod yw sillaful fy ngwthth, fy nghaws" 42. Dr. Morgan separated the words in the case of *n* and *m*; as *fy nhý* Job xix 15, *yhn nhý* do. i 13, *fy men xxix 3, ym mha beth vi 24; but he appears to think like G.R. that *ng* cannot be initial, and writes *fyng-halon* xxxvii i, *yng-hilfach* xxxviii i6, thus missing the distinction which he elsewhere observes between *yn* and *fy*, and wrongly representing *fy* as a closed syllable. The prejudice against initial *ng* was overcome in the 1620 Bible, and *fy nghalon* was written as freely as *fy nhý*. That settled the matter as far as *fy* was concerned.

But the representation of *yn* in the same combination still presented a difficulty. The *ng* (≡ $v$) was part of the preposition *yv*; at the same time *ngl* or *ng* was the initial of the noun, and Dr. M.’s hyphen in the middle of the trigraph *ngl* was absurd; the 1620 Bible therefore used *ynghilfachau*, returning to the ms. forms. Here *ng* does double duty, the inconvenience of which appears when the noun requires a capital initial. Dr. M. wrote *yngh-Hrist*; M.K. has *ynghHymry* p. [iv]; the 1620 Bible *ynGhrist* i Cor. xv 18, 19, 22; so in the Bibles of 1677 and 1690. Later, we find *yngh Haerlydd* T.J. title (1688); *yn Ghymru* RH.B.S. dedic. (1701); *Yngroeg* S.R. 16 (1728). In all these the capital is misplaced by being either put in the middle of the trigraph or transferred to the preposition. The form *yn Ngh-*, which appears about this time, see B.CW. lxxv, grew out of *yn Gh-*, because it was felt that the initial was *Ngh-*; it is objectionable because *n* is not accepted as a symbol for *w* except before *k* or *g*. The later form *y Nghwedd* D.G. 41 (1789) misrepresents the preposition as an open syllable. Pughe adopted *yn Ng*, *yn M*, because, in the teeth of all the facts, he denied that the *n* of *yn* was mutable. This unphonetic spelling, which stultifies the history of the nasal mutation, § 106 i, has predominated since his day.

J.J. wrote *yngh wolau* p 312/iv1 r., and Dr. Davies pointed out in 1621 that *ynghanol* was short for *yngh-ghanol* D. 202; but it was not until about a hundred years later that the form *yngh Ng(h)* came into regular use. We find *yngh Ghrist* in the 1717 Bible, and subsequently in those of 1727, 1746, 1752, and nearly all later editions. This form has been used and advocated by most of the Welsh scholars of the 19th cent., including Iolo Morganwg (who denounces "*dull ffaidd Mr Owen Pughe" c.B.Y.P. 237), R. I. Prys, T. Stephens, T. Rowland, and Silvan Evans.

(5) *Fy* being unaccented, the following nasal, though of double origin, is simplified, and belongs to the second syllable § 27 ii, i; thus the syllabic division is *fyngw* . As words are separated in modern orthography, the usual spelling *fy Nw* is in every way correct. Similarly *fy merch*, *fy ngardd*. But *yn* is accented, and the double consonant remains, extending to both syllables § 27 i; hence *ynnghw*, ordinarily and correctly written *yn Nw*. In the same way we have
§ 108. THE NASAL MUTATION

ym Mangor, yw Dwynedd. With our present alphabet we have to write the last yng Ngweyndd; so yng Nghadellting. It is objected to this that it is clumsy; but that is the fault of the alphabet. It is the only way of expressing the sound fully and correctly, and is the exact equivalent in modern characters of the Ml. W. yggweynd w.m. 108, yg gadelltg w. 9a, § 24 i.

(6) There are, however, a number of adverbial and prepositional expressions, in which yn, followed by the nasal mutation, is wholly unaccented. In this case the nasal is single, as after fy; and the preposition is naturally joined to its noun, exactly like the in in the Eng. indeed. These expressions are ynghyd, ynghylich, yngly'n, yngholl, ynghudd, ymhell, ymllith, ymysg, ymron, ymlaen, ymhen, yngham, ymhellach, ynghynt, etc. No principle of accentuation is violated in this spelling, as asserted by Silvan Evans, Llythyrabeth 50, who recommends yng nghyd etc. See above § 47 ii.

The Spirant Mutation.

§ 108. i. Brit. or Lat. pp, tt, kk gave W. ff, th, ch respectively. Thus W. cyff; stem ' < Lat. cippus; Brython < Brit. Brittones; pechod < Lat. peccatum; hwch : Ir. socc, etc., § 93 iii (2). It occurs when an initial tenuis follows an explosive in word-composition, as in achas § 93 ii (2), athech § 93 iii (1), athrist § 99 v (4). This is called the "spirant mutation" of the tenuis.

ii. In Brit. s + tenuis had already become a double spirant § 96 i; and original oxytones ending in -s caused the spirant mutation of a following initial tenuis § 103 i (3), as tri chant '300'. In this case th- and ph- were chosen as the mutations of t- and p-, as their relation to the radicals is clearer than that of the alternative forms s, χ.

iii. The spirant mutation after chwe 'six' is irregular. From Kelt. *sueks kantom we should expect *chwe cant, since ksk gives sk, and final -s would drop. But the independent form of *sueks was already *χexeχ in Brit.; and we may assume that this was generalized, so that the ch- in chwe chant comes from -χ k-.

iv. (1) Brit. or Lat. kt > *χt > *χp > i p; the i forms i-diphthongs § 29 i, cf. § 104 ii (1); thus akt > aeth; okt > oeth; ukt > uyth; ekt > eith, Mn. aith; ikt > ith. Thus W. cuith < Brit. *kaktos § 86 ii (1); doeth < Lat. doctus; ffryth < Lat. fructus; saith < Brit. *sektan < Ar. *septm; perffait < Lat. perfectus; brith < Brit. *brikto8 < *bhktos § 101 iii (2); eithin
'furze' < *eklün- < *ak-lün-, √ ak-/og-; seithug 'fruitless'; < *sek-touk- < *seq%- 'without' + *teu-q-, √ teuāk- 'increase'; eithaf 'extreme' < *ek-tum-ös: Lat. extimus.

(2) In Ml. W. there was a tendency to voice this th to ð, as in perffeithiyaw LL. 19 from perffeith, now re-formed as perffeithio 'to perfect'; arhwaeddont do. 32 'they may taste' (: chweith 'taste'). The ð survives in cynysgaedu from cynysgaeth 'endowment'. In aeth + vb. 'to be' forming old perfects and pluperfects, the diphthong was simplified, giving ath- affected to eth-, as ethyw LL. 82, more commonly edyw 'went'; so aðoed 'had gone', etc., § 193 vi (3), (5).—Final ð so produced disappeared in heno, yna, etc. § 78 i (1).

v. Lat. x > *xs > is; thus ax > aes, etc.; as W. laes 'trailing' < laxus; pais, Ml. W. peis < pexa (tunica); coes 'leg' < coxa. So Saeson < Saxones, Sais < Saxo § 69 ii (2). Similarly Brit. -ks- from -nh- etc., § 96 iii (6).

Initial Mutation.

§ 109. We have seen that Welsh has nine mutable consonants. Initially the radical and mutated forms exist side by side in the living language. The use of the various mutations is determined by syntactical rules which have sprung from generalizations of prevalent forms. Thus an adjective after a fem. sg. noun has its soft initial because most fem. sg. nouns ended in a vowel.

The following table shows all the mutations of the nine mutable consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>ll</th>
<th>rh</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soft</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>dd</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>mh</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ngh</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirant</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The words "No change" in the table mean that the consonants under which they are placed retain their radical forms in those positions where the others undergo the respective mutations. Thus after yn, which nasalizes the explosives, m, ll, and
rh remain unchanged; and words which cause the tenues to become spirants do not alter the other six. This is always understood when the nasal or spirant mutation is named, and there is no need to particularize except in case of irregularity.

Strictly speaking, of course, words which caused the nasal and spirant mutations changed l, r to l and rh. But for practical purposes it is simpler to treat the changes as above; see § 103 i (4).

Later Consonant Changes.

Loss of Voiced Spirants and Sonants.

§ 110. i. The soft mutations of b, d, g, m have all tended to be softened to the vanishing point. Being very soft „buzzes” s and f were liable to be confused; and so we find one substituted for another as in cudylg (kudylg W. M. 140, R. M. 211) „cell” for ×urfygl < Lat. cubiculum (prob. influenced by cudd „hidden”); Eidonyd R. P. 1287 for Eifonydd (eivonit B.B. 69); Late Mn. W. Caer Dydd for Caer Dyf „Cardiff”; or two metathesized, as in clefydeu R.M. 182 for clefyvel do. i26, and in clefytaud (t = δ) B.B. 48 for clefytaud: W. cleddyf, § 76 viii (2) (Ir. claidheb „sword” < W.).—S.V. (p.W. xei) says of the line Kawn vedd rbad kyneddau Rhys (by H.K., see c.c. 344) that it pleases the ear though it violates the rule. The ear does not notice the inversion v δ / δ v.

ii. (1) The soft mutation of g has uniformly disappeared as an initial sound. Thus *dy vardd has become dy ard „thy garden”. Medially it disappears or becomes ɹ before a vowel, or before l, r or n § 103 ii (1), § 104 ii. Medial vgn > n, as in ynad § 62 ii; cf. § 106 ii (1).

(2) Medially after l or r it appears as ɹ, § 105 ii, which is lost before y, as in cblyn < O.W. colgýn § 54 ii. This palatalization of ɣ to ɹ after a liquid is comparatively late, for it does not take place finally; in that position ɣ remained dark, and became non-syllabic y, as in Ml. W. daly (1 syll.) „to hold”; this was either assimilated to the l as in N.W. dal (½ dal-l, double l, not l), or lowered to a and became syllabic, as in S.W. dala; from Brit. *dal-g-½ dal-gh-; Skr. ḍṛghaḥ „long”, Lat. indulgeo, longus. Medially it is ɹ from the same stem, as in daliaf „I hold, maintain, continue”. So we have Ml. W. hely „to hunt”, N.W. hel „collect”, S.W. hela; Ml. W. boly „bag, belly”, N.W. bol, S.W. bula; Ml. W. gwały, Mn. W. gwala „sufficiency”; Ml. W. eiry „snow”, Mn. W. (N. and S.) eira, and eir in eir-law „sleet”, ces-air „hail”; Ml. W. llary „generous” < Lat. largus, Mn. W. llarîaidd. The form -a appears in writing as early as the B.B., e.g. llara Ʌ, where, however, the word counts as only one syllable in the metre.
In the 16th cent. the sound of -\( y \) in the above Ml. W. forms was not known. J.D.R. writes it \( y \) (\( \equiv y \)), p. 136; but Dr. Davies compares it with Eng. final mute -e, as in take, and writes it \( y \), as holy, hely D. 19. The correctness of this transcription is confirmed by the B.ch., where it appears as \( e \) (\( \equiv y \), § 16 iii), asdale a.l. i 20 \( \equiv daly \). [\( g > y > a \) forms an interesting parallel to the supposed Pre-Ar. \( g \) giving \( e \) and then mostly \( a \).]

(3) Lat. *virgo* > W. gwyr (i. syst.) D.G. 156, Il. A. 84, 87, 90, etc., whence gwyrndawt r.b.b. 119, although we have also gweryndawt il. A. 17, 50, 84, B.B. 40, direct from *virginilatem*. In B.B. 70 occurs the pl. gwirion < Brit. *virgones*. Later we find morwyn wyra A.L. i 518; Gwynedd dial. menyn gwyr\( ^{3} \) (for *gwyr-r* cf. dal-\( l \)) 'unsalted butter', Dyfed menyn gwyr, Rhys CC. 46. We also have gwyr\( ^{4} \) (i. syst.) D.G. 118, gwyr\( ^{5} \) vireindawl (4 syst.) R.P. 1199, and gweryd (2 syst.) R.P. 1200, D.G. 137, pl. gweryd\( ^{6} \) (3 syst.) R.P. 1199, B.B. 71. The latter cannot be derived from *virgo*; no medial syllabic irrational \( y \) is known in Early Ml. W.; gweryd must be Kelt. and may represent *g\( ^{7} \)heri\( ^{8} \), pl. *g\( ^{9} \)heri\( ^{9} \)ones: Ir. gerait 'virgin', gerait (i. mac bee) 'little boy', O'Dav.: redupl., Gk. Ta\( ^{10} \)b\( ^{11} \)b\( ^{12} \)v\( ^{13} \)os < *g\( ^{14} \)hr\( ^{15} \)g\( ^{16} \)hen- (not: Skr. g\( ^{17} \)thuk\( ^{18} \)ah 'boy, calf', since \( th > Gk. \( \tau \)), Lat. *virgin* < *g\( ^{19} \)er\( ^{20} \)-\( g\( ^{21} \)hen-*, dissim. for *g\( ^{22} \)her\( ^{23} \)-\( g\( ^{24} \)hen-*, and perhaps W. *gwyr* < *g\( ^{25} \)her\( ^{26} \)g\( ^{27} \)h\( ^{28} \), which fits exactly, § 92 iii. — Dr. Davies wrongly takes Ml. W. gwyr\( ^{6} \) as a disyllable gwyr\( ^{7} \)af, which it may have become dialectally, § 16 v (3). The biblical pl. gwyr\( ^{8} \)on is formed from the new disyllable.

(4) In bwrw < *burg-* § 97 v (3), llwrw < *burg-* < *lorg-* § 215 ii (7), the -\( z \) was rounded by the preceding \( w \), and became -\( v \). In derived forms, however, it became \( i \) regularly; as Ml. W. byr\( ^{9} \)af 'I cast down', now bu\( ^{10} \)r\( ^{11} \)af.

(5) In hy 'bold' (< *ly\( ^{12} \)g < *sig- < *sego- : § 92 i) a final \( f \) is now wrongly written. The \( f \) is not pronounced, and there is no evidence of it in Ml. W. or the poets; see hy r.b.b. 265, D.G. 42, 269, 313, etc. It does not occur in old derivatives: kyn-kyet s.g. 277, hy-der, hy-dab. In the dialects, however, \( f \) is inserted in new derivatives, as hyf-d\( ^{13} \)ra, hyfach, which, like llefydd, brof\( ^{14} \)ydd, dial. pl. of lle, bro, are due to false analogy. Other spurious forms like hyf occur in late mss., such as daf, llef, brof for da, lle, bro. In none of these is the \( f \) an old substitution for \( z \); they are sham-literary forms made on the analogy of tref for the spoken tre'.

iii. (1) Final \( f \) was lost before the Ml. period after aw, as in llaww 'hand' < *llaw\( ^{15} \)f < Kelt. *l\( ^{16} \)m\( ^{17} \)a < Ar. *pl\( ^{18} \)m\( ^{19} \)a § 63 vii (2);—rhaw 'spade' < *rhaw\( ^{20} \)f < *r\( ^{21} \)á-m\( ^{22} \), √ar-—§ 63 ix. When a syllable is added and aw is replaced by o § 81 i, the \( f \) reappears, as in llow-fudd 'muderer', lit. 'red-handed', llow-yn D.G. 107 'wisp', llofa 'to glean' < *llow-ha, rhow\( ^{23} \)faw 'spades'. So praw il. A. 24, R.P. 1215 'proof' for praw\( ^{24} \)f a back-formation from provi il. A. 38, 72 < Lat. prob. The re-introduction of \( f \) in praw is artificial, and inconsistent with the N.W. pron. pr\( ^{25} \)aw, § 52 iii, Exc. (1).
'Refuse not, lady, to be honoured; do not try to leave me.'


*F* being originally bilateral, § 19 ii (4), when it followed *w*, *w* or *

*u* (≡ *i*), it was in effect little more than the narrowing of the lip-rounding at the end of the syllable, and so came to be disregarded. For a similar reason, when *F* followed *m*, it was also lost or assimilated, as in *mámaeth* for *mám-faeth* ‘foster-mother’; *im ‘y hun for im fy hun* for *myself*.

**Ni byddai bwn, heb ddau bár,**

**Im ‘y hunan o’m heiniar.—I.D. tr. 158 ; cf. E.P. 277.**

‘Without two pairs [of oxen] there would not be [even] a burden for myself of my crop.’ It remained in *cam-fa* ‘stile’ (Gwyn. dial. *cam-ða*, Dyfed *canfa* by dissim.).

(2) Initial *f* often disappears in *fy* ‘my’, especially in poetry, the following nasal mutation showing that *fy* means ‘my’ not ‘the’; as *yñkorn* (≡ *ynghorn*) *ym neðer* B.T. 35 ‘my horn in my hand’; *Y* *mam* R.M. 194, l. 5 ‘my mother’ (‘the mother’ is *y fum*); so *Y* *myd wen* § 136 iii, *y mwn* D.G. 17 ‘my girl’, *y ngh-fn, y mraint*, do. 274, etc.—It is lost in *vab* ‘son’ in patronymics, as *Hywel ab Einion*; —in *ychydig* for *fychydig*, rad. *bychydig*.

**Déuaf—myñf yw d’ eos—**

**Diuw, ‘y nyñ, o daw nos.—D.G. 114.**

‘I will come—[for] I am thy nightingale—assuredly, my lady, if night comes.’

(3) Medial *F* drops after an explosive, when followed by a rounded vowel or a liquid, as in *testun* ‘text’ for *testfun* < Lat. *testimonium*. Hence in compounds, where it is the initial of the second element, it is often lost, as in *Bod-ðorgan* for *Bod Forgan* (‘Morgan’s dwelling’), *Bod-vorog* for *Bod Fwrog*, etc.; *Bendigéidran* § 45 i (2) for *Bendigéid-Vran* (Bendigeiteran, first written without the *v* in R.M. 26, and *v* inserted above the line). Between a consonant and liquid it dropped early in some cases as in *yr *lynnedd, Gwenniant § 111 i (1) and *Hydref* do. vii (1). Rarely before an explosive, as in *agwyðawr* for *afwyðawr* § 74 i (1).

(4) Final *fn* in unaccented syllables is generally reduced to *n*, especially after rounded vowels, as in *eem* for *eofn* ‘fearless’ § 156 i
(15); ὤνον Gr. Ο. 118 for Ἰ-ν-ὀφν ‘one fear’; ἀννων for ἀννωφν ‘hell’; δοδρεν in the dialects, and sometimes in the bards, for δοδρφν § 82 ii (3); colon for κολοφν, see example; ysgrfn ‘light’ retains its ʃ in N.W. dial.; in S.W. ysgrawn or ysgon is used.

* Val Samson with golon gynt
A fu’n rhwym yw fy nhremynt.—G.Gl. p 83/59.

'Like Samson, who was bound to a column of old, is my condition.'

Final f gave l in S.W. col L.G.C. 280, for cofl ‘bosom, embrace’.

(5) Final f began to disappear very early in the spoken language; we already find gwarta for gwartaf in L.L. 196. Its earliest regular loss (apart from the cases cited in (1) above) occurred after i, as in the v.n. termination -i, e.g. moli ‘to praise’ for *molif, O.W. molim juv. sk.; lli for llif ‘flood’; divri R.P. 1149 for disrif ‘serious’; eifri D.G. 4 for eif-rif ‘to count’. But in the 14th cent. it had come to be freely dropped after any vowel, as the following rhymes show: ne'/bore G.Gr. d.G. 238, ydwy'/mwy D.G. 72, cry'/Iesu do. 474, ḥa'/Efa do. 157; so wna' D.G. 72, kynta' R.P. 1277. The word is treated in every case as a word ending in a vowel; thus it is followed by 'n for yn, 'r for yr or yr, etc., as ofnwy'r D.G. 321 for ofnwyf y; ydwy'n for ydwyf yn § 125 iii ex. 1; Tre'r-kastell R.P. 1210 for Tref y Castell.

Final f is not known to drop in the old words glaif ‘sword’, of 'raw', blif ‘catapult’ or in lit. W. lef ‘cry’, sef ‘that is’. It is still retained in the spoken language in of ‘tame’, rhwif ‘oar’, brif ‘bleat’, prin ‘chief’, Taf ‘Taff’, and in borrowed words, as braf ‘fine’: Fr. brave, E. brave.


(2) Medial ʃ disappears in mewn: Ir. medôn § 215 iii (1); in the verb rhoddaf, v.n. rhoddi ‘to give’, which became rho-af > rhôf, v.n. rhoi; see rhoist, etc. § 33 iii (1); but the ʃ also persisted in the written language; see § 186. Similarly arhodaf for *arhodaf § 187 iii. Medial ʃ also disappeared in tydlyn > tyn in place-names of the form Ty'n-y-maes (*tyyn > *tyyn, *ti'n, tyn).

Medial ʃ is sometimes lost as the initial of the second element of a compound; thus rheg-ofydd (rec owyt M.A. i 324, 344) ‘lord of gifts’ for rheg-sofydd (recowyd w.m. 452, r.m. 100); Duw Ofydd for Duw Ddufeydd, Cred-ofydd for Cred-Sofoydd, etc. It was also lost before an explosive, as in Blewyryd A.L. i 338 (m.L.) for Bleo- gywyrd (Bledcuwrit l.l. 222); diwéydd (diwédit b.b. 90) ‘evening’ for *diwed-dyð; gwyped ‘flies’ for gwyfbed (gwyfbed r.m. 54).

(3) Final ʃ was lost in the relative ydd before a consonant, § 162 i. It disappeared early in the 2nd sg. pres. ind. of verbs, § 173 iii (2). It dropped in yssyb ‘who is’ (often issi = yssy in b.b.), though yydd may still be heard as well as sy. Sometimes in naw Duw! F.N. 63 for nawð Duw! ‘God’s protection!’ (i.e. God help us!). In i fyndad
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/up/ the final -δ was lost early, though it is sometimes found written in Ml. W., as ky\textit{r}d\textit{h} \textit{y} \textit{vynyð} \textit{ill.a. i\textit{i}, and survives to this day in parts of Dyfed. With its 5, \textit{fyny} lost all trace of its original signification, as seen in the unconscious repetition in \textit{y vyny y vynyð} Olivier r.p. ii 280 `up to Mount Olivet'. The final -δ of \textit{eistēd} also disappeared very early; it is \textit{eiste} in the B.B. and B.C.H. So in w.m., e.g. 4 times in col. 449, in each case changed to \textit{eistēd} in r.m. 293–4. The -δ is deduced from \textit{eistēdaf}, etc., and its re-insertion finally is artificial; it is not sounded in \textit{eiste} in the spoken language. Final -δ also disappeared in \textit{hwynn} etc. § 78 i (i).

v. (i) The final -\textit{r} of the article \textit{yr} was lost before a consonant after the O. W. period; see § 114 iii. So -\textit{r} after a consonant in \textit{brawd} § 113 i (i).

(2) Final -\textit{nn} was sometimes lost in unaccented syllables; as \textit{cyfa} `whole', Ml. W. \textit{kyfa} r.p. 1285 for \textit{cyfan(n)}, cf. \textit{kynann} w.m. 129; \textit{ynm} `here' for \textit{yman(n)} § 220 ii (11); (e)\textit{felly} `so' < *\textit{hel} hymn `like this', cf. fell \textit{hynn} § 215 iv (2); Ml. W. \textit{ky-for kynn} `as' before the eqtv. § 147 iv (4); \textit{fa} for -\textit{fann} § 143 iii (16). The tendency was arrested, and -\textit{nn} generally remains; it had not gone far in \textit{kynn} before it was checked, and -\textit{n} was restored. The loss also occurs in Corn. and Bret., so that it must be referred to an early peculiarity in the pronunciation of -\textit{nn}.

\textit{Provection.}

§ 111. i. (r) When \textit{n} or \textit{r} came before a liquid after the loss of an intervening vowel, the liquid became voiceless; thus \textit{nl} > \textit{nll}; \textit{rl} > \textit{rlI}; \textit{nr} > \textit{nrh}; \textit{rr} > \textit{rrh}. Examples: \textit{gwinilan} `vineyard' < *\textit{gwin-lann} < *\textit{gwin-landā}; \textit{hirlæs} `long trailing' for *\textit{hir-laes}; \textit{penrhy\textit{n}} `pro-monitory' for *\textit{penr-ryn}; \textit{an-rheg} § 156 ii (1); \textit{Henllan}, \textit{Henlys}, etc. Also in combinations in which no vowel had intervened, as \textit{gör-lłanw} `high tide', \textit{an-lygredig} `incorruptible'. So initially: \textit{yn llawn} for \textit{yn lawn} `full'; \textit{yn rhad} for \textit{mor llawn} `full'; \textit{yn rhad}, \textit{mor llawn} `full'; \textit{mor generally cause lenition of adjectives}; so \textit{ynr llawn} `very full'; \textit{hên llew Job iv} l (1620), hên \textit{llys} p 121/35 R.

This change had taken place before the loss of \textit{z} and \textit{δ} as described in § 110, and did not take place later. So where \textit{z} or \textit{δ} originally stood between the sounds it did not occur. Thus we have Cyn-las < *Cyn-glæs < *Cyno-glæsos; tōr-lan `brink' < *torr-glann `broken bank'; Hár-lech < Harlós-lech w.m. 38; cōr-lan `fold' < *corte-lann. Thus \textit{yn lán}, \textit{mor lán} from glán `clean, fair'; and while we have \textit{y lăn} `the hamlet' from *\textit{yr lann} from lllan `enclosure', we have \textit{y lăn} `the bank' from *\textit{yr glann} from glánn `bank', both nouns being fem. But \textit{f} appears in some cases to have dropped out early enough to allow of the change; as in \textit{yllynedd} more fully \textit{yr llynedd} for *\textit{yr fyndð}; Gwvntlllan < *gwevnt-f̩lant.

(2) \textit{l} was palatalized and became \textit{II} in two positions: (a) after Brit.
vi, Lat. ē; thus canndwyl < Lat. candēla; twyll 'deceit' < Lat. tēla; tywyll 'dark' § 38 x for *tyyp-tywyll § 76 vii (2) < *tenes-elo-s: Bret. tevel, teñwal for *teñvol. Corn. tiñul, Ir. temel: Lat. tenebrae < *temesrai, Skr. tamasāḥ 'dark-coloured'; but not after Brit. ai, e.g. coal 'omen' < *caul- < *qaf(y)l-: O. H. Geilisón 'augurari': Ir. gēl < *keil.—(B) Between two i's, as in Ebrill < Lat. Aprilis; pebyll 'tent' < Lat. pāpilio.

ii. (1) When b-b, d-d, g-g came together after the loss of a vowel they became double p, t, c respectively, simplified before the accent, and before a sonant; as in Catêyrrn for Cattêyrrn < *Cad-dizirn-< Brit. Cato-tigirn- (Rhys no. 47); meitin < *meid-din < Lat. mätutiuum § 70 v; wynepryd 'countenance' < *wyneb-bryd; and in the example bywiócled < bywiog gledd:

A'm b'cledd a'm bywiócledd
Im orfau maen ar fy medd.—G.Gl., M 146/198.

'And my buckler and live sword as weapons of stone [carved] on my grave.'

When the explosives came together in different words they resulted in a double consonant, voiced at the implosion, but voiceless with the new impulse at the explosion. This change is not now represented in writing; but in mss. and early printed books -d- etc. frequently appear as -d t- etc.; thus Nið Toethine heb len p 54/356 R. 'There is no wisdom without learning'; Gnawed twau ag enaid howel p 63/7 R. 'Let God do with the soul of Howel'; Y gnaed ta a vac têyrn p 52/22 'Good blood begets a king'; Glowed tim ond y glod tau c.c. 342 'To hear anything but thy praise'; i'r wlâd tragwydddol B.Cw. 86 'to the eternal land'; Y L'drâig cóch ddyry cyclywyn g. 177 'The Red Dragon gives a leap.' "Two /b/ standeth in force of /p/ .... mab byxan most be pronounced as if ytt were wyrtynd mab pyxan" J.J. M 144/51.

In all cynganedd prior to the 19th century, such a combination corresponds to a tenuis. The writers of the recent period sometimes treat it as a media.

(2) ðð became th in nyth, syth, etc. § 97 ii; cf. dial. rhôth for *rheidð < rhoðð 'gave'. Similarly ðð became ch in dichon § 196 ii (2). But generally two voiced spirants remained, written single, as in prifard < prif-fard 'chief bard'.

iii. (1) When a media was followed by h the two became a double tenuis; thus ateð (t=tt) 'reply' < *ad-heb < *ati-seq™, / seq™ 'say'; drycin 'storm' § 27 i < *dryg-hin; gwlypaf 'wettest' for *gwlyb-haf § 147 ii.

When the sounds came together in different words they gave the double sound dt etc., see ii (1) above; and in all standard cynganedd -d h- corresponds to ṭ, -b h- to p, -g h- to c; as Oer yw heb hwn, wôr hy pert Gr.H. 0. 99.

(2) Similarly in some cases fh > ff; ðh > th; as in lloffa 'to glean' § 110 iii (1), § 201 iii (4); dîwethaf 'last' § 149 i; rhoto § 186 ii;
bytho § 189 ii (4). So fr-h > ffr in dyffryn § 106 iii (2); f-rr > f-rh > ffr in cysfredin § 156 i (9). But as a rule the groups remain, as dyddhau, dyfrhau; and -f h-, -δ h- do not correspond to ff, th in cynganedd.

iv. When two similar consonants, whether explosives or spirants, one voiced and the other voiceless, came together, they became a double voiceless sound medially, simplified where double consonants are usually simplified, as before a consonant; thus pôpeth *(p≡pp) < *pô-th 'everything'; gwrthrych 'object' < *gwrth-ôrch. In ordinary pronunciation the result is the same when the sounds occur in different words; and in Mi. W. mss. -th δ- frequently appear as th only; thus athwydê w.m. 157 for athiwyd 'and thy end'; Athiol athwyclaw ar ilet r.p. 1220 'And Thy image with Thy hands extended'; cf. 1205 l. 34, 1321 l. 32; similarly weilllian tec 1424 for (G)weilliant deg; cereint t'âu 1220 (d deleted by dot, t substituted).

v. (1) When two unlike mediae came together, the group was unvoiced at the implosion, but not necessarily at the explosion. In Mi. W. both are usually written as tenues; thus dicter r.p. 1209, atkessynt 1309, hepcor 1230, dywettwyt w.m. 96, duwpwyt do. 183, attpawr r.e. 35. The second is, however, often written as a media, as o waeder r.p. 1280, atborion do. 1208, lytbar do. 1300, lygatgall do. 1308. In the 1620 Bible we have atoas, datcuddiad, etc.; but the more usual spelling later was atgas, datcuddiad, etc., which perhaps represents the sound more accurately. When however the second consonant was a dental it tends more to be voiceless. In the Bible we find such forms as digter for dicter, the g being due to dig. In cynganedd either consonant may correspond to a tenuis or a media. Pughe's etymological spellings adgas, udgorn, hebgor, etc., misrepresent the sound, which is as nearly as possible atgas, utyorn, hebgor.

(2) A media was frequently, though not necessarily, unvoiced before l, r, m, n, δ, f and even w, i. Thus in Mi. W. we find lutlaw r.p. 1222 'Ludlow', atrawd 1251, tatmaethu r.m. 24, atnewydwyws 93, wreidda 23, dynghetwen 73, atwen 245, lytjeith r.p. 1222. But while r.m. has grwytraw 86, the older w.m. has in the same passage grwyd ráw 183. In r.p. 1269, 1300 we have sygnew 'signs', but in 1214, 1216 it is written sygnewu. Indeed the r.e. scribe, who had no ear for cynganedd, writes tenuis and media where they should correspond; as heidyaw/etyjat r.p. 1283, chenedloed/chynatelw 1204, dilitiga/gyaelodeu 1216. In the last example the sound is certainly d, asaelodeu cannot have t. It might therefore be supposed that the sound was always a media, and that to write it a tenuis was a mere orthographical convention. But though the sound is now generally a media, there is evidence that it might be, and often was, a tenuis: (a) D.G. has such correspondences as Daulitiâ'r/divyd latai p. 19, neitiwr/natur 133; and (β) the tenuis has survived in a number of examples, as Coetmor (for coed-mor < coed marw); tycio 'to prevail' < tvy 'prosperity' < *tuq-, √ teuâx-, cf. § 108 iv; eto for etgo < educath
§ 220 ii (7); *ygatfydd* 'perhaps'; *Llan Deuwyn*; *caneitio* 'to brighten' (of the moon) < *cannaid*; *cartref*, *pentreff*.

(3) The mediae were unvoiced before voiceless consonants; thus *atsein* b.t. 20, *datsein* r.m. 289, *Botffordd* c. 102. In Late Mn. orthography etymological spellings prevail, as *adsain* Ezec. vii 7, *Botffordd*. The latter, the name of a place in Anglesey, is always sounded *Botffordd*, in spite of the spelling with *d*.

(4) It is seen from (1), (2) and (3) above that a media is liable to be unvoiced before any consonant in the middle of a word. But we have seen in the preceding subsections that a change which took place medially also occurred when the group belonged to different words. Hence final mediae must frequently have been sounded as tenues before an initial consonant; and this is very probably the reason why they were so commonly written as tenues, the pre-consonantal form being generalized in writing. The facts are briefly summarized in § 18 ii.

But before an initial vowel it is certain that a final explosive, though written as a tenuis, was in fact a media in the 14th cent. In the following examples from r.p. (which might easily be multiplied) it is seen that the final *t* or *c* in heavy type must be pronounced *d* or *g* to correspond to a media in the other part of the line:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Digystu} & \mid \text{anrec am (dec ystwyll) 1202,} \\
\text{Glot oleu} & \mid \text{yn (glew dalu 1203,} \\
\text{Gwledig eurswllt} & \mid \text{vu (gwlat a gorsed 1208;}
\end{align*}
\]

so before a liquid:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Temyl} & \mid \text{y grist | teu amlwc rat 1200.}
\end{align*}
\]

Such a slip as *Set libera nos a malo* ll.a. 150 shows that the scribe was in the habit of writing final *t* where the sound was *d*. Cf. also § 18 iii. That the written tenuis does not mean that the vowel was short in a monosyllable like *gwac* now *gwdg* is proved by such a spelling as *yn waac...y gadeir waac* w.m. 449, r.m. 293. Cf. § 55 i.

The final media before an initial consonant, however, corresponds to a tenuis in much later cynghanedd, especially when the initial is voiceless:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Heb swydd | mor (hapus a hwn g. 239} \\
\text{Brig fydd} & \mid \text{a bair koffa hwn, etc., p.l. lxxix.}
\end{align*}
\]

Though the explosive is now a media before an initial consonant as well, we have a trace of the tenuis in *ap* for *ab* (for *fab* § 110 iii (2)), as in *ap Gwilym* beside *ab Edmwnd*.

(5) Since the explosive was a tenuis before a consonant we have -*p* *m*- and -*t* *n*; these combinations were mutated to *mh* and *nh* in the following examples, the voicelessness of the tenuis being retained after its assimilation: *Amhadawc* p 61/18 r. for *Ap Madawc*, *Amhredydd* c.c. 334 for *Ap Maredus*, *am mydron* b.b. 94 (*m = mh § 24 i*), etc.; *prynhawn* w.m. 70, r.m. 50, ll.a. 121 for *pryt nawn* w.m. 162, r.m.
The late spelling prydnawn is an artificial reconstruction; the spoken language preserves the traditional pronunciation prynhawn.

Ag un lliw, gannwyl awyr,
Y barnwn haul brynhawn hwy'r.—I.D. 7.

'And of the same colour I judged the late evening sun,—the candle of the sky.' Cf. brynhawn/bery'n hir D.G. 73, Barn hen/brynhawn do. 428.

vi. (1) A media was unvoiced after nasal + tenuis. The following cases occur: nk-d > nkšt or nt, as in ieuenctid 'youth' also written ieuenctid ;—nt-g > nk, as in difancoll D.G. 387 'perdition' < *difant-goll; deincryd D.G. 385, r.p. 1157 'gnashing of teeth' < *deint-gryd.

(2) A media is generally unvoiced after a voiceless spirant; as glastwysfr r.m. 146 for glasdwr § 96 ii (5); neillparth do. 148 for neillbarth; dywespwyt do. 90; gwnaethpwyd do. 89; gwallback b.c.w. 37 for gwallgof; altitud for all-dud. On the other hand p and c are voiced, sometimes even in Ml. W., after s; thus while we have ysaky

vii. (1) dl > dl, as in bodlon 'satisfied' < *boš-lawn. The recent spelling boddlon is a reconstruction due to Pughe; the natural pronunciation is bodlon (S.W. bólón); cf. Fodlon im dan fedwlwyn ir D.G. 172 'contented with me under fresh birch-trees'; Bódlon bydol annyn Gr.O. 34 'to satisfy a worldly wretch'; hadd 'lying in ruins' for *haél < *séd-lo-, */sed- 'settle' § 63 ii. Similarly sr > dr, as in cadr 'puissant' for *cadr: Gaul. Belatu-cadrus ep. of Mars, O. Bret. cadr gl. decoreo, Bret. caez, kær 'handsome': Gk. kekkônévos, Skr. śāsada- 'distinguish oneself'. It took place after the loss of f; thus Hydref 'October' < hy드ref (hedref al. i 24, calan hyddfref m.a. i 346b 'Oct. 1st'), dedryd 'verdict' < *dedf-fryd.

On the other hand d (< orig. t) is sometimes treated as ɟ before a sonant, and in S.W. dial. has remained ɟ or disappeared. Thus cenedd is kenetyl in b.b. 10, 16, where t = ɟ, but in O. W. is cennét b.s.ch. 2, where t = d (S.W. dial. cenedd); hoedl (with d < t, cf. Late Brit. Venniseteli, and see § 63 vii (5)) is treated as hoédl by Casnodyn, hoédyl / heðwch r.p. 1248, cf. 1234, 1241, but G.M.D. has hydér / hoédyl do. 1320, cf. 1212; so I.G., Hèodol / hoédl 310. S. W. hepdol for chwedl cannot mean that the suffix was *-dhlo-, for -edl- would give
-eil § 104 iv (3). So S. W. gwadan for gwadn 'sole' has orig. t, since
dn gives n; gwadan < *wu-t-n- < *wu-dd-no- < *upo-bd-no- 'under
foot', √ ped-

The late change of drum, drem to trum, trem is probably due to the
soft mutation dr- becoming dr-, and the d- being then mistaken for
the soft mutation of t-. It certainly is not a phonetic law that dr-
should become tr-, for drug, drych, drain, drud, etc., all retain dr-

(2) δ > d after s, t, d, and in old formations after l, ll, n; thus
treisdwyyn for treis-ëwyn 'a taking by force', dreis-dwyyn/drystyt
R.P. 1288; atal ‘to withhold’ < *ad-dalʒ < *ad-dalʒ < *at-dalʒ-
lygeitu for llygeid-ðu, etc.; bendith for *ben-dith < Lat. benedictio;
mellith or melldith for *melldith < Lat. maledictio.

This change also takes place initially; thus nos du 'good night'
§ 146 iii (2), nos du Diar. vii 9 'black night', for *nos δ- (nos being
f.—the orig. mutation was rad, after *no(ð)/s, but this cannot be
assumed to have survived); so yr wythnos driwethaf 'last week'; tros
Dafydd g. 237, tros daear e. xiv for tros δ-; Bledyn tu R.P. 1284
for Bledyn du for Bledyn ðu; lleian du D.G. 20 'black nun'; Siwan
du L.G.C. 319, 321 'black Joan'; holl daear do. 446.

Pan aeth Tomos ap Rhosser
At Duw a'r saint trwy y sêr.—L.G.C. 38.

'Then, by Jesus, man's life darkens like black night.'

(3) δ > d before or after the above sounds, and continuants such
as m, f, even when separated from them, see § 102 iii (2); as Late
Mn. W. machlud < ym-achludd § 44 v < Lat. occlûdo; Late Mn. W.
gormod for gormð the usual form in the bards; Maesgyfed 'Radnor'
for Maes Hyfeid; didol < *di-ðawol § 156 i (11); pedol § 102 iii (2).
The change, being a form of dissimilation, is only accidental.

(4) The change of ð to g and of f to b under similar conditions
is rare: arglyðð 'lord' beside arlyðð (both in w.m. 160) < *ar-
glyðð < *pr.ï-ylei- VRc of √ yelëi-; cf. glyw § 102 iii (2); cwbll for
*cwfl § 168 iii (3); parabl 'saying' for *parafll < Lat. parabola; cabl
'calumny' for *cafl < *kaml- met. for *kal'men: Lat. calumnia § 100
ii (1); so Bret. cablius, Corn. cabul.

§ 112. i. (1) In O. W. and Early Ml. W. an initial vowel or a
medial vowel in hiatus seems to have been pronounced with a distinct
breathing which is often represented by h. This breathing was voiced,
§ 112  LATER CONSONANT CHANGES  187

and so differed from \( h < s \), which was voiceless. Examples are, initial: O. W. *ha, hac ox. *and; heitham* do., Ml. and Mn. W. eithaf § 108 iv (1)—Ml. W., from A.L. i, hwydvet *(wythfèd) 58; huchof* ib. 'above me'; hun din *(un dyn) 124* 'one man'; yr hun *(yr un) 256; huiui *(wyf i) 114; er hyd *(yr yd) 326* 'the corn'; ohyd *(o yd) 82* 'of corn'; hercki *(erchi) 152; hodyn *(odyn) 78, etc. Medially it occurs not only where a soft spirant had disappeared, as in diheu R.M. 181 < *di-geu*, Mn. W. diau 'truly'; rohi A.L. i 118 < rodi; but also where no consonant ever existed, as in diheu I.L.A. 21 'days'; dihaégi R.B.B. 48 'escaped'.

(2) Although this breathing has generally been smoothed away, it was liable to become voiceless before an accented vowel, and in that case it survived as \( h \); thus medially in dihangol 'escaped, safe'; initially, after a vowel in pa hám for *pa am* 'what for', pa hachos I.L.A. 123, pa haever do. 13; after r in un ar hagoin '21', yr holl § 168 ii (3); in all positions in hógi 'to whet', for *ogí < *âk-, \( \sqrt{ak} /-oj-\) : W. agolen 'whetstone'. This occurs in several cases in which an initial accented vowel was followed by two consonants, so that it was pronounced rather forcibly; thus W. hagr 'ugly' for *agr, Bret. akr, hakr, \( \sqrt{ak} /-oj-\) :—W. hárdd 'handsome' for *árð 'high': Ir. ard, Lat. arduus, cf. Hard-lech orig. quite evidently 'high rock';—so sometimes hênw 'name' (hênw 'nun' I.G. 1121), generally with \( h \)- in Gwyn. dial., but anwedig without it: Bret. hâw, hanu, hano, Corn. hanow; O. W. anu, Ir. ainm, see p. 81.

(3) On the other hand initial \( h (<s) \) might come to be confused with the soft breathing, and so disappear before an unacc. vowel, as in eleni 'this year' < *he-fleni* : Bret. hevlene, with the same prefix as heóiw 'to-day'; yvell y.W.M. 41 for *hafelly, see § 110 v (2); O. W. anter-metetic gl. semiputata (hanner mededig).

(4) In O. W. the breathing is found (rarely) before a suffix where it was clearly marked off from the stem, as in casulheticc (casul-ediq) M.C., but no trace of a breathing in such a position remains. We have, however, a medial \( h \) before an accented vowel under the following conditions:—(a) Where the vowel is followed by two consonants, as cenhédloedd Ps. ii 1; kynhel-bis R.B.B. 234, cynhalgaeth (l-t and \( \hat{r} < \hat{t} \) ); cymhedravol M.A. ii 343 (cymedravol ib. 355); cynhyrchol Marc iv 8; but this never became a strict rule; it is carried somewhat farther in the recent than in earlier periods: cymheddfau Diar. xxxi cyn. (1520), cymheddfau in late edsns.—(b) Where \( n \) stands for \( ðn \), as in bonheddig from bonedd < *budnîgä, as if the \( ð \) had left a soft breathing; blynyddoedd is a late formation § 122 iv (2) and has no \( h \).—(γ) Where \( r \) comes after \( n \), as in anrheithi; this occurs even after the accent, as anrhaith § 111 i (1).

An \( h \) which has always been voiceless occurs before the accent (a) in the nasal mutation of \( p, t, c \) § 106 iii (1), as danheddog for *dant-édawc; kynhellatwô R.B.B. 327 < Lat. compell-; anghenus < *avôk-; anghuowed < *avuk-, etc.; probably plannhedeu § 48 i followed the analogy of planhigion < *plant-; canhwyllceu R.B.B. 380 seems to be due to the treat-
ment of Lat. nd as nt, cf. Corn. cantuid, Bret. cantol.—(b) For original s, as in anhešeu W.M. 81, cyfanheddu do. 73, Anheš do menw erwyn hydod IL, from ann(h)eδ < *γdo-sed- § 63 ii; glanháu, parháu etc. § 201 ii (4); probably -he- in iscolheic B.B. 91, pl. yscolhetgon R.B.B. 235, Mn. W. sg. ysguštæg is the suffix -ha- < *šag- see ib. -s- between sonants disappeared, e.g. amynedd § 95 ii (3); but kenhadew § 48 i may contain a reflection of it: kennad 'message, messenger' < *kens-n-štā, ĕkens- 'speak with authority, etc.' see Walde® 151: Lat. censo, W. dangel § 156 ii (1).—The h which provects mediae always comes from s; in no case is provection caused by an "accentual h", or h developed from a soft breathing.

ii. (1) The semivowels i, w, ū seem to have been pronounced in Early Ml. W. with friction of the breath, which is often represented by h before i or u, especially in the B.C.H. Thus yhu (yw) A.L. i 6; Mahurth (Maworth) 64; entehu (yntheu) 130; nehua (neuad) 78; arnehu (arnrei) 100. More rarely it occurs between two u's (uu = w), or two i's, as in arnaulu (arnau) 132; doissihiou (dotheyion) 124. With w such a breathing would be equivalent to back ū, and at an earlier period it was represented by g, which survives in engu y.A.L. i 100 for engwi 'to name' (which never had the media g, as the ū is from m); this also may stand between two u's in this ms., as dim or auguanel (a ynel) dyn medu B.C.H. 120 'anything that a drunken man does'; auguanelont (a ynelont) do. 118. In O. W. w is written gw as in petguar ox. for pedwar ' 4 '. The sound of ūw, then, was virtually ū; this after h < s became ū, written ehe- § 26 vi, § 94 iv. Initially on the analogy of g : ū it became ū in the position of a radical consonant, remaining ū as a soft mutation; later gw-: w-. This had taken place before the separation of Bret. and Corn.

(2) The breathing before a vowel might also take the form ū, so as to give a new initial g-; thus *gorδ § 100 iii (2) > gorð f. B.T. 7 through *gorð, this being taken for the soft mutation after the art., as in ir guit (≡ yr ūguyδ) f. B.B. 97 'the goose'. Later gallt for allt f. 'slope'; gerfydd beside herwydd for erwug § 215 ii (5). The Mn. godidog g. 252 for odiog 'rare', and N.W. dial. gonest for onest probably involve a confusion of initial o- with the prefix g-, § 156 i (16).

(3) Conversely initial g is sometimes lost, as in euog 'guilty' for gauog (guawg a.L.A. 155 "mendaces", gau 'false'); elor f. 'bier' for gelor M.A. i 205a, met. for *gerol < Lat. gerula (claw g. 234 is factitious).

Loss of Syllables.

§ 113. i. (1) The last syllable of every Brit. word, or Lat. word borrowed in the Brit. period, which contained more than one syllable, is lost in W. Thus W. gwynn f. gwenn 'white' < Brit. *fuindo f. *fuindâ, W. ciwed < Lat. civilas, W. ciwdod < Lat. civitatem, § 115 i. The syllable doubtless became unaccented
§ 113  LOSS OF SYLLABLES  189

in all cases; its vowel then became indistinct, and was ultimately lost, with the final consonant, except when the latter was a sonant. Brit. final -l is unknown, and -m had become -n; the only final sonants therefore were -r and -n. When the syllable ended in one of these it seems to have become *-r or *-y, which became non-syllabic. Final -r remained, as in W. chwaer < Brit. *syesir < *syesör, § 75 vii (2); W. ymherawdr < Lat. imperātor; but in common words it disappeared after a consonant in W., as in brawd ‘brother’ for *brawdr (= Bret. breur) < Brit. *brāter. Final -n nasalized a following initial media § 106 ii (2), and was lost before other initial consonants. In the comparative it attached itself to the following o, as in glanach no ‘cleaner than’ for *glanachn o § 147 iv (3). It survived after a vowel in nāmen § 78 ii (1), cymerwn § 180 iii (1).

A sonant coming before the final vowel also remained, as in ffenestr < Lat. fenestra, perigl < Lat. perīculum; later this was liable to drop where the new ultima was unaccented § 16 v (3), and probably the vacillation between liquid and zero accounts for the development of excrescent liquids in some words: tymestil < Lat. tempestas, achreawdryr § 104 iii (2).

(2) The vocalic ending of the first element of a compound, § 155 ii (1), became an obscure vowel, and disappeared; thus Brit. Maglo-cunos > W. Maelgwn; Brit. *Katu-mannos > W. Cadfan; Brit. Mori-dūnon > W. Myrddin; Lat. bene-dictio > W. bendith. Similarly the vowel before the suffixes -tāt-, -tūt-, -tero-, etc., as cīnaked < Lat. acc. cīvitātem, gwendid ‘weakness’ < Brit. acc. *yanno-tūtan; and the -i- in the spv. suffix *-isamos, as tecaf ‘fairest’ for *teghaf < *tek-isamos. In many words of four or more syllables the vowel of the second syllable was elided, as Ml. W. agwyďawr < Lat. ābécédārium, meitin < mātūrinum, Saesneg < *Saxonikā, etc. Stems in -ā- had -o- in composition; thus Kelt. *teulu ‘people’ was Teulo- in compounds; and ā in the second syllable generally remains in nouns, as in Caradog < Brit. Caratācos, ffurfasen < Lat. firmāmentum. But in many formations -a- in the ante-penult was lost, as in Ml. W. karhont < *karasonti § 183 ii (1), and the suff. -gar < *-ākaros § 153 (8).

The loss of the root vowel in such forms as allweð < *n-ql’u-iā § 99 vi (1), dedwyð < *do-t’u-iōs § 100 ii (1) had probably already taken
place in Brit. So in some cases the -i- of the spv., as in Mil. W. nesaff < *ned'samos § 148 i (1).

Disyllabic and compound prefixes are treated like the first element of a compound; thus Kelt. *ari- > Brit. *are- > W. ar-; Brit. *kanta- > W. cannh- § 156 i (6), (7); *kom-(y)ro- loses its -o- and gives cyfr- as in cyfr-goll; so *yor-en-sed- loses its -e- and gives gorsedd 'high seat', as if from *yore-ssed-.

(3) The inscribed stones (5th to 7th cent.) do not throw much light on the above changes. The ogam inscriptions are Goidelic, and those written in Roman letters are in bad Latin, while many of the names even in the latter are Goidelic in form. In some cases a name has the Lat. nom. ending -us, as Catamanus Rhys no. 6 (LWPh.² 364), Aliortus no. 14, Veracius 9, but most have the Lat. gen. ending -i, as Cuno-gusi hic jacit 5 'the body' of C. lies here'. The names and the following maq*nki of the ograms show that -i is gen., and not a debased form of the Brit. nom. -os. (The ogam -i is the Kelt. gen. suffix *-i, being the Italo-Kelt. gen. of -o- stems.) As a rule the Lat. fili agrees, but often does not, thus Dervoci filius Justi hic jacit 37. Fem. nouns end in -e, which is doubtless the ordinary late Lat. -e for -ae, though the noun in apposition stands in the nom., as Tunncticace wesor Daari hic jacet 77, et wesor eius Caune 20. A nom. in -a appears in Avitoria filia Cunigni Eglwys insc. Possibly a Brit. nom. ending in -o for -os occurs in Aliortus Elmetiaco hic jacet Rhys 14 (the only stone with jacet) and Vitaliani Emereto 76. In a few cases no ending occurs: Etterni fili Victor 71, in which the legend is complete, and Victor is gen. ; Velvor filia Broho 32. These and the false concords seem to indicate that the case endings were lost in the spoken language.

The stem-vowel u appears as -u- and -o-, as Catu-rugi Rhys 60, Cato-tigirni 47; and -o- appears as -o-, -w-, -e-, -i-, as Cuno-gusi 5, Vendu-magli 45, Vinne-magli 21, Vende-setti 12, Venni-setti 67, pointing to -e- for which the Roman alphabet has no symbol. The form -a- for -u- or -o-, as in Cata-manus 6, is Goidelic; cf. in bilingual stones Cuno-tami in Roman characters, Cuna-tami in ogam 75; Trense-gussi in Roman, Trena-gusus in ogam 73. In some cases the stem-vowel was preserved, and forms containing it survive beside forms in which it is lost; thus Dumnagual beside Dumngual both in gen. v. That the former is not merely an archaic spelling of the latter is shown by the survival of both in the Mn. language:

Mal mab i Ddyfnwal Moel-mûd
Ym Phylij braff i olud . . .
Mae yn llaw hil Dyfnawal
Yr erwi mawr a'r aur mål.—E.G.C. 209.

'Like a son of Dyfnwal Moelmud is Philip of vast wealth. In the hand of the descendant of Dyfnawal are the broad acres and the milled
§ 113  LOSS OF SYLLABLES  191

gold.' Other similar doublets are Tudwal and Tudarwal R.P. 1394, Dingad and Dinogat b.a. 22. The aw in Dyfnawal is the regular development of oy before a vowel, see § 76 iii (1); before another consonant the -o- remains, as seen in Dinogat.

(4) The forms used in writing are always traditional, and in the above inscriptions the names have probably archaic forms preserved with the Latin in which they are embedded, since other evidence points to the loss of the terminations at this period. The re- formations consequent on the loss of the endings are largely the same in Bret. and W.; thus W. -au, Bret. -ou represents the pl. -ous of w-stems, § 120 i; these stems could not have been very numerous, and the addition of W. -au and Bret. -ou to nouns of all classes denoting common objects, and to tad, mam and others, can hardly be an accidental coincidence, and is clearly subsequent to the breakdown of the Brit. declension. It seems therefore probable that the new language was in an advanced stage of development before the separation of the two dialects.

In the oldest ms. of Bede, A.D. 737, the stem-vowels and terminations are completely lost, as in Car-legion, Ban-cor, Dinoot. The reduction was therefore an established fact in the early 8th cent.

(5) The vowel of the penult is sometimes lost after a diphthong, apparently when the accent originally fell on the ultima, as in cluer *klijarós § 75 vi (1); haul *säueliós § 76 v (1); so probably cawr *kvarós § 76 iii (4). With haul 'sun' *sauliós *säueliós contrast the disyllable huan 'sun' *säyanos *säyanos (with n-suff. like E. sun, cf. Walde 721); affected au, short because unaccented, gives W. au § 76 v (1); and accented àu gives W. u § 76 iii (5); see § 76 v Note, p. 108.

ii. In a disyllabic proclitic a final short vowel might disappear in the Brit. period; thus Ar. *mene 'my' > *men, and caused the nasal mutation, § 107 ii, iv.

iii. (1) The final consonant of a monosyllabic proclitic was lost in W.; thus Brit. *men 'my' gave W. fy 'my'; but not till after it had mutated the following initial (in this case causing the nasal mutation of mediae § 107 iv).

(2) But the consonantal ending of an accented monosyllable was in general retained; thus W. chwech 'six' < Kelt. *sueks (but chwe before a noun); W. nos 'night' < Brit. *noss < *nots < *noq*ts § 96 ii (5); W. moch 'early': Lat. mox; W. gn 'in' < Brit. *en < Ar. *en.
ACCIDENCE

THE ARTICLE

§ 114. i. The definite article is yr, 'r or y. There is no indefinite article in Welsh.

ii. The full form yr is used before a vowel or h, as yr afon 'the river', yr haul 'the sun', dwfr yr afon, gwres yr haul; the y is elided after a vowel, as i'r afon 'into the river', o'r ty 'from the house'; before a consonant the r is dropped, unless the y has been elided as above, as yn yr ty 'in the house'.

yr- counts as a consonant: y waedd 'the cry'; i- as a vowel in Mn. W. yr iaith 'the language'; in Ml. W. as a vowel or a consonant, as yr iarll r.m. 188 l. 25; 189 ll. 13, 30; 190 l. 7; y iarll 189 ll. 2, 20. As initial wy is wy § 38 iv, we have in the standard language yr wy 'the egg', yr wyr 'the grandson', yr wyth 'the eight', yr wythnos 'the week', yr wylo 'the weeping', yr wyneb 'the face', yr wybren 'the sky'. Similarly yr wyddfa 'Snowdon', yr wyddgrug 'Mold', with radical gw- fem., see v.

iii. O. W. has only the first two forms, written ir and r; thus ir tri ox. 'the three', ir pimphet do. 'the fifth', ir bis bichan do. 'the little finger', ir maut do. 'the thumb', ir guolleuni juv. 'the light', or deccolon m.c. gl. decadibus, or bardaun leteinepp m.c. gl. epica pagina, dir escip l.l. 120 'to the bishops'. After a diphthong we have ir, as nou ir emid m.c. 'that of the brass'. The form y is in regular use in early Ml. W., as b betev ae gulich y glaw b.b. 63 'the graves which the rain wets'.

In Ml. W. r is used after a 'and'; with', o 'from', y 'to', na 'nor', no 'than'; but usually y or yr after other words ending in vowels, as kyrchu y llys, ... a kyrchu y bordeu w.m. 5, llyna y llys do. 6, etc. The reason is probably that the article, as a proclitic, was generally joined to the following word, thus y llys 'the court', so that these groups became isolated in the scribe's mind, and were written in their isolated forms. On the other hand, the article could not be separated from the above monosyllables (cf. yny which is the regular form of yn y 'in the'), hence after these it assumes its post-
vocalic form. It was undoubtedly spoken r after all vowels then as
now, except when a pause came between the words; for we find early
examples of r even after diphthongs; thus kir llaw r eircheid b.B. 10
‘beside the suppliants’, mi yw r iarll w.m. 137 ‘I am the earl’,
gwirw pr wyn r vorwyrn do. 138 ‘the maid is innocent’, erglyw r pub-
loes r.p. 1201 ‘the peoples will hearken’. In some cases y is
written where the metre requires r as Pa gwr yw y porthafw? b.B.
94 ‘What man is the porter?’, where we should have yw r, as the line
is 5 syll. Sometimes yr is written before a consonant: Pieu ir bet
b.B. 66 for pienr bed? ‘whose is the grave?; llyma yr wed r.m. 2
for llyma’r wed ‘this is the manner’. In the early Mn. bards ‘r is
regular, esp. after pure vowels; and it is general in later prose, e.g.
the 1620 Bible, though not without exception here. Pughe attempted
to substitute y for it everywhere, and under his influence y was adopted
in many late edns. of the Bible, except after a, o, i, na. This
preference for y is chiefly due to the mistaken notion that r forms no
part of the word, but was put in before vowels ‘for the sake of
euphony’. We have seen above that the article is yr, and of the
clipped forms r’ is older than y.

iv. The Ir. article is ind, after prepositions sind, from Kelt.
*sendos, which gives W. hyn ‘this’, see § 164 vi. This occurs in
W. in yn awr ‘now’, lit. ‘this hour’ (O. Bret. annaor, Ir. ind or sa),
and y naiill for *yn aill § 165 (Bret. ann eil § 166 iii, Ir. ind-al-a).
The art. in Corn. is en or an; in Ml. Bret. an; in Mn. Bret. ann
before vowels, t-, d-, n- and h-, al before l-, ar before other
consonants (so the Bret. indef. art. eunn, eul, eur, from un ‘one’).

Pedersen Gr. i 153 ff. quotes late examples of n > r after a cons,
in Ir. dialects and Bret., and one or two cases of the change before a
cons. as Ml. Ir. marbad for O. Ir. mainbad, Bret. mor-go ‘horse collar’
for *mon-go (obviously cases of dissim. of nasals). No such change
as n > r is known in Welsh, which prefers to change r to the easier
n § 100 i (2). W. yr can only be identified with Ir. ind by a rule
made ad hoc; this is the only form of the art. in W. (yn awr is not
‘the hour’ but ‘this hour’); the -r abounds in the earliest period,
and cannot be compared with Bret. -r, which is late, and may have
spread from ar before r-. The fact that there is a demonst. pron.
ar in W. used before the rel., see § 164 v, makes the derivation of yr
from hyn still less probable. There is no reason why the W. and
Ir. articles should be the same word; the use of a demonst. as art. is
much later than the separation of the P and Q groups. Gaulish has
no art.; Pedersen Gr. ii 177 quotes soov nevtrrov ‘this temple’ as
an example of the art. in Gaul., which is as if one were to quote
in hoc tumulo from a Lat. inscr. as an example of the Latin
‘article’ hic.

Though common in the O. W. glosses and prose fragments, the art.
seldom occurs in the early poetry; it is not found in Juv. sk., and is
rare in the B.A.: Gwyr a aeth Catraeth ‘[the] men who went to
Catraeth’. It does not occur in O.Corn. or O. Bret., see Loth Voc.
38 (ann is the demonst. in annaor above). Brit. no doubt had several demonstratives used before nouns; but the adoption of one to be used as an art. seems to be later than the separation of W., Corn. and Bret., and independent in each. The origin of the W. yr is not clear. Brit. had an l-demonstrative seen in Ml. W. y lleill beside y neill § 165 vi, cf. yll § 160 i (2); and -l is more likely than -n to have become -r. But yr may come from a demonst. with locative -r-suffix, as in E. here, there, which might be declined with stem -ro-, cf. Lat. suprâ; yr < *is-rô; cf. Lat. ille < is-le.

v. The initial consonant of a fem. sg. noun (except ll- and rh-) undergoes the soft mutation after the art.

Note initial gwyr-: yr wyl ‘the holiday’, yr wydd ‘the goose’; initial gwyr-: y gyrrh ‘the miracle’, y wŷs ‘the summons’.

The mutation shows that the art. had the o/a-declension in Brit.

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§ 115. i. The old Keltic declension is lost in W., §§ 4, 113; a noun has one form for all cases. This is usually derived from the old nominative, as ciwed ‘rabble’ < Lat. civitas; sometimes from the accusative, as ciwddod ‘people’ < civitâtem. (In W., ciwed and ciwddod are different words, not different cases of the same word.) Traces of the oblique cases survive in adverbial and prepositional expressions, §§ 215, 220.

ii. The noun in W. has two numbers, the singular and the plural. Traces of the use of the dual are seen in deurudd ‘cheeks’, dwyfron ‘breasts’, dwylaw ‘hands’; the last has become the ordinary pl. of llaw ‘hand’.

The dual of o-stems may have given the same form as the sg., as in Ir., where we have fer ‘man’ < *uîros, and fer ‘(two) men’, apparently from *yirô, as *yirô would have given *fiur (cf. Gk. ὁδός, Vedic voc. -a; but W. dau implies -ō in *dáyô itself). Thus W. dau darw ‘two bulls’ (deudaryg p. 52), ðeð-wor L.G.C. 185 ‘two men’ (-wr keeps its sg. form while the pl. became gwîr § 66 iii (1)). But in nouns with consonant stems the dual must have taken the same form as the pl.; thus Ar. *uqsô > W. ych ‘ox’, but the dual *uqsenô and the pl. *uqsenôs both gave ychen; so we have Ml. W. ðeu ychen R.M. 121 ‘two oxen’, ðeu vroder do. 26 ‘two brothers’; and, by analogy, dwy wragon â.L. ii 98 ‘two women’. In Late Mn. W. the sg. form only is used.
The dual, whether it agreed in form with the sg. or the pl., formerly preserved the effect of its old vocalic ending in the soft mutation of a following adj., as deu wydæl voullvum w.m. 56 'two bare-backed Irishmen', y ddwy wragedd rywiogach L.G.C. 127 'the two women [who are] kinder'.

iii. In W. the noun has two genders only, the masculine and the feminine.

The following traces of the old neuter survive: (1) nouns of vacillating gender § 142 i.—(2) The neut. dual in Kelt. had been reformed with -n on the analogy of the sing., e.g. Ir. da n-droch '2 wheels'; hence in W. after dau, some nouns, originally neuter, keep p-, t-, c-unmutated § 106 iii (4); thus dau cant or deucant '200', dau tu or deutu 'both sides'; and by analogy dau pen or deupen 'two ends'.

Number.

§ 116. The plural of a noun is formed from the singular either by vowel change or by the addition of a termination, which may also be accompanied by vowel change. But where the singular has been formed by the addition to the stem of a singular termination, this is usually dropped in the plural, and sometimes a plural termination is substituted for it, in either case with or without change of vowel. There are thus seven different ways of deducing the pl. from the sing.: i. change of vowel; ii. addition of pl. ending; iii. addition of pl. ending with vowel change; iv. loss of sg. ending; v. loss of sg. ending with vowel change; vi. substitution of pl. for sg. ending; vii. substitution of pl. for sg. ending with vowel change.

Parisyllabic Nouns.

§ 117. i. The vowel change that takes place when the pl. is formed from the sg. without the addition or subtraction of an ending is the ultimate i-affection; see § 83 ii. This was originally caused by the pl. termination -i of o-stems; thus *bardos gave barð 'bard', but *bardì gave beìrd 'bards'; and also by -i of neut. i-stems, as in mýr 'seas' < *mori § 122 ii (4); possibly -ū of neut. u-stems, but original examples are doubtful. Later, when the cause of the affection had been forgotten, it came to be regarded merely as a sign of the pl., and was extended to all classes of stems.
Examples: Mn. and Mn. W. march 'horse', pl. meirch; taryp 'bull', pl. teirp; carwp 'deer', pl. ceirwp; gwalch 'hawk', pl. gweilch; alarch 'swan', pl. eleirch, elyrch; salm 'psalm', pl. Mn. seligm I.A. 107, beside salmeu r.P. 1303, Mn. salmon; ilygad 'eye', pl. Mn. ilygeit, Mn. ilygaid; dafad 'sheep', pl. Mn. devait, Mn. defaid; brân 'crow', pl. Mn. brein, Mn. brain; Mn. manach, Mn. and Mn. mynach 'monk', pl. Mn. meneich, myneich, Mn. menych, myneich (late mynachod); paladr 'beam, ray', pl. peleidr, pelydr; Mn. bustach 'bullock', pl. bustych; Mn. and Mn. maen 'stone', pl. Mn. mein, Mn. main Dat. xvii 4 (later meini); cyllell 'knife', pl. cyllyl; castell 'castle', pl. cestyll; gwâill 'knitting needle', pl. gwâyll D.G. 458; kerô 'song', pl. kyrô r.P. 1245 (poet.); mór 'sea', pl. mŷr D.G. 145 (poet.; in prose generally moroedd); porth 'gate', pl. pyrth; Cymro, pl. Cymry; esgob 'bishop', pl. esgyb, see § 129 i (1); amwys w.m. 472 'horse', pl. emys do. 85; asgwrn 'bone', pl. esgryn; croen 'skin', pl. crôyn; oen 'lamb', pl. òyn; croes 'cross', pl. crows, later crosau, but crows as late as Wms. 102.

Ni roddwn yn Hiraddug
Fy eleirch er dengmeirch dуг.—D.I.D., M 148/676 Р., d. 36.
'I would not exchange my swans in Hiraddug for ten of a duke's horses.'

M'reddudd Fychan lân i lys,
Oedd aml i dda a'i emys.—G.Gl., M 146/188.
'Maredudd Fychan of the bright court, many were his goods and his horses.'

Myneich a rhent, main a chrwys,
Mintai rugl meun tair eglwys.—G.Gl., M 146/271.
'Monks with a rental, [and] stones and crosses, a prosperous community in three churches.'

There does not seem to be an example of aw > eu in a pl. noun; but another affection aw > yw (§ 76 v (2)) occurs in alaw 'water-lily', pl. elwyw b.T. 32.

ii. haearn 'iron' has pl. heyrn, and rhacadr 'cataract' has rhëydr, rhyeïdr § 69 ii (3), § 75 vi (3); pennog 'herring' has penwaig § 36 iii; iwrch 'roe-buck' has yrch § 36 ii, later írchod a. 167; gôr 'man' is for *gwîr and has pl. gwîr § 66 iii (1), and so its compounds, as pregethvwr 'preacher', pl. pregethwywr; gwôrd 'goodman', pl. gwyrdar.
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D. 38 gives *ieirch* rh. with *llenneirch*; but the pl. of *llannerch* ‘glade’ is *llennyrch*; the correct reading seems to be *yrch/llennyrch* see I.G. 287.

iii. Anomalous vowel changes occur in—(1) *troed* ‘foot’, pl. *troed* § 65 ii (1); and *tŷ* ‘house’, pl. ML. *tei*, Mn. *tai* § 104 ii (2). The compounds of the latter have -tei Mn. -tai, or -tyeu Mn -tyau; as Mordei B.A. 1, gwindei R.P. 1202 ‘banqueting houses’; *llethyeu* R.P. 1274 ‘lodgings’, *claifdyeu* do. 1269 ‘hospitals’, *hundyeu* W.M. 5 ‘sleeping rooms’.

In Gwynedd -dai is generally accented, as *beu-dâi* ‘cow-houses’, *pop-tâi* ‘ovens’, *gweith-dâi* ‘workshops’; but *eleuséndai* ‘alms-houses’.

(2) ML. W. *biw* ‘ox’ (e.g. *karcharaur goruit*, cul *biw* B.B. 90 ‘the horse is a prisoner, the ox is lean), pl. *bu* (e.g. *can-mu* W.M. 455 ‘100 oxen’); *biw* is also frequently pl., e.g. B.T. 59.

*biw* < Brit. *bûus* < *göus*; *bu* < *bûes* < *göues*; pl. *biw* from a re-formed *bûyes*.

(3) Other cases are *carreg*, pl. *cerrig* (for *cerryg*) § 77 i; *crogen*, *cragen*, pl. *cregin* (for *cregyn*) § 77 ii; *asyn* ‘ass’, ML. pl. *essynn* W.M. 81, H.M. ii 226 (the irregularity is in the sg., where the orig. *a* was restored), Mn. pl. *asynnod*; *llo* ‘calf’ pl. *lloi* for *llo-i* B.T. 59.

iv. ML. W. *pebyll* m. ‘tent’ § 70 i (pl. *pebylleu*), Mn. *pebyll* sg. W.II. 216, is treated as pl. in the Bible, with a new sg. *pabell* f., from Wm.S.’s hypothetic *pabell hwyn* glossing *y pebyll hwnn* sg. 2 Cor. v 4. It is generally supposed that *amws* is a similar, but natural and early, analogical sg. from *emys* assumed to be pl.< *admissus* (rather *ammissus since -*dm- > ęf*) for *admissarius*, but such an error is unlikely at an early period when the word was in common use; e...y in the sg. is not unusual, e.g. *ceffyl*.

§ 118. i. In many parisyllabic nouns, after the loss of the Brit. endings, the pl. was not distinguished from the sg. by affection as above. These were (1) neut. nouns, whose pl. ending -ā did not affect; thus Brit. *argantōn*, pl. *argantā* > W. *arian*, which is sg. and pl. § 133 ii.—(2) Nouns in which the vowel is not capable of i-affection (Brit.  Backup,  etc.); thus Lat. *piscis*, pl. *pisces* > W. *pysc* ‘fish’ sg. R.M. 131, usually pl.—(3)
Nouns in which the vowel is affected in the sg. and pl.; thus Brit. *uradios, pl. *uradii > W. gwraidd 'root' or 'roots'.

ii. As it is inconvenient to have the same form for sg. and pl., new distinctions grew up. These took three forms: (1) Nouns belonging to the first of the above classes had their vowel affected to form a pl.; probably some of those mentioned in § 117 i are examples of this.—(2) A pl. termination was added; thus as Lat. medicus, mediç had both become medyg, a new pl. meòygon was formed; and for pl. pysg a collective pyscawt Mn. W. pysgod was used, § 123 iii.—(3) A sg. termination, m. -yn(n), f. -en(n) was added; thus gwraidd in the sg. became gwreiddyn; and as pysg continued to be used as a pl., a new sg. pysgodyn was formed from the pl. pyscawt.

Imparisyllabic Nouns.

§ 119. The W. pl. terminations are the Brit. stem-endings of imparisyllabic nouns, which were lost in the sg. representing the old nom. sg., but survived in the pl. after the loss of the pl. endings *-es, neut. *-a, § 113 i. Thus Lat. latrô and its Brit. pl. *latrônes gave W. Ueidr, pl. lladron, by regular sound-change; then the -on of the latter and similar nouns naturally came to be regarded as a pl. ending, and was added to nouns of other declensions where a pl. sign was needed, as to meddyg, see above. Such additions were made on some analogy, mostly of meaning, sometimes of form.

u-stems.

§ 120. i. Mn. W. -au, Ml. W. -eu, O. W. -ou comes from Brit. *-öges, *-öga the pl. endings of u-stems; thus Brit. *katus, pl. *katóges, gave W. cad 'battle', pl. cadau. This termination spread and became the commonest in W. (and Bret.). It was added to—

(1) most names of common objects; as penn-eu w.m. 41, Mn. W. pennau 'heads'; clust-eu ib., Mn. clustiau 'ears'; guefl-eu ib., Mn. gweflau 'lips'; amrann-eu ib., r.p. 1270, Mn. amrannau, late amrantau, sg. amrant 'eyelid'; arv-eu w.m. 7, Mn. arfau 'arms'; tlyss-eu do. 37, Mn. tlysan, sg. tlys 'jewel'; loggou L.L. 120 (gg = w), llongeu w.m. 39, Mn. llongau 'ships'; badeu w.m. 39, Mn.
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badau ‘boats’; tonnou juv., Ml. tonneu, Mn. tonnau ‘waves’; pebyleu w.m. 44 ‘tents’; betev (t = ə) b.b. 63, Mn. beddau ‘graves’; fruytheu, llannev do. 56, Mn. ffrythau ‘fruits’, llannau ‘churches’, etc. So drysau ‘doors’, cadeiriau ‘chairs’, canhwyllau ‘candles’, llyfrau ‘books’, etc. etc.

The chief exceptions are nouns taking -i, see § 122 ii (2), and names of implements taking -ion, § 121 ii (2).

(2) Some nouns denoting persons, as ladau ‘fathers’; mamau ‘mothers’; kenhadeu w.m. 184 ‘messengers’, Late Mn. W. coenhadon; meicheu w.m. 25 ‘sureties’, now meichiau; dwyweu r.b.b. 67 ‘gods’, Mn. W. duwiau; fem. nouns in -es, as breninesau ‘queens’, etc.

(3) A few names of animals, as hebogeu w.m. 12 ‘hawks’; keffyleu w.m. 119; keilogeu l.l.a. 165; bleuddiau § 123 iv (4).


(5) The neologists of the 16th cent. took aroglau ‘smell’ for a pl., in spite of popular usage which treats it as sg. to this day. They manufactured a sg. arogl and a v.n. aroglaf, which with various derivatives are used in the Bible. But the word is aroglau, see arogleu l.l.a. 81 translating “odor” 232, vb. arogleuaf b.t. 79, v.n. arogleu, present-day coll. ‘ogleu.

ii. When -au is added to a stem ending in i, § 35, the combination is -iau; e.g. O.W. hestoriou, cloriou, enmeituou, dificiouw § 25 i, Ml. W. gruâdew w.m. 140, Mn. W. gruddiau ‘cheeks’; glyniau w.m. 434, gliniau ‘knees’. In Mn. W. iaun is used after -ei-, as geiriau ‘words’ § 35 ii. It came to be generally used to form new plurals, especially of borrowed words, e.g. words in -p, -l, -c, § 51 ii, as heliau ‘hats’, capiau ‘caps’, brutiau ‘aprons’ (but Ml. W. bratteu w.m. 23 ‘rags’), carpiau ‘rags’, llanciau ‘youths’, etc.
iii. (1) In Brit. the nom.-acc. sg. neut. ending must in some cases have been *-ū (instead of *-u), cf. Lat. cornū, etc. (so sometimes in Skr., see Brugmann§ II i. 144), as in *dakrū > W. deigr ‘tear’ (e.g. llawer deigyr a wyleis i m. ii 129 ‘many a tear have I wept’, bob deigr Dat. vii 17 "πᾶν δάκρυνον"). The pl. ending might be *-onym (< *-unum) or -ū (< *-unn contracted, § 63 vii (2)); deigr ‘tears’ from the latter is doubtful, though used by Gr.O. 59; the former gives the usual pl. dagrau § 76 iii (2). See also § 125 iii Note.

(2) cainc ‘branch’ may be a fem. ydd-stem, with nom. sg. in -ū, Thurneysen Gr. 182; thus cainc < *kānkū, pl. cangau, Ml. W. cai新篇章 b.b. 48 < *kāokouas.

iv. The pl. ending -au does not affect a preceding vowel, see § 76 iii (2); cegeu b.b. 47 is a scribal error as shown by cegeu 48.

n-stems.

§ 121. i. -jon and -on come from Brit. -iones and -ones, pl. endings of n-stems.

The Brit. forms were *-ū < *-o, pl. -ones, as in Brittones; but *-ūū < *-ūū, pl. -ones, as in Verturiones, Gaul. Suessiones, seems to have predominated, as in Goidelic (Thurneysen Gr. 202). Hence the greater prevalence of -ion in W. Borrowed words were of course declined like native, and Lat. latrónes > Brit. *latrōnes > W. lladron.

In Ar., nouns in -ō(n), -ū(n), -ūō(n) (loss of -n § 101 ii (4)) were (a) nomina agentis, frequently from adjectives with o-, ūo-, iō-stems; thus Gk. ὀπρᾶβων ‘squinter’: ὀπρᾶβος ‘squinting’; ὀπαρων ‘heavenly one’: ὀπάριον ‘heavenly’; (b) abstract nouns, as Lat. ratio. Thus the use of -ion in W., which is added to names of persons and instruments, and to abstract nouns, corresponds roughly to the original value of the suffix.

-on goes back to Brit. in nouns in which the vowel is affected in the sg., § 125 iii; after -hai < *saqī, pl. -heion re-formed for *haeon < *sagiones, and after -ydd, pl. -yddion, re-formed for -ydon < -iones, as in gweryddon § 110 ii (3). But in most cases it is a new addition in W., as in ymerodron, pl. of ymherawdr < Lat. imperator. W. dynion is also prob. an analogical formation, for Ir. duine implies *doniōs, and Bret. and Corn. use tud, tus ‘people’ for the pl. The adj. *doniōs and its pl. *donifū would both give dyn, to which -ion was added to form the new pl.

ii. -jon is added to (1) many nouns denoting persons, as dyn ‘man’, pl. dynion; mad ‘boy, son’, pl. mebion, Ml. mebion § 35 ii (1), O. W. mepyon § 70 ii (1); gwas ‘servant’, pl. gweision, Ml. gweisson w.m. 33; ñwr ‘grandson’, pl. ñyrion, Ml. wyron b.b. 49; gwastradv ‘groom’, pl. gwastrodvjon w.m. 33; including derivatives in -(h)ai, -ydd, -og Ml. -awc, -awr, -ig, -awdr, as gwastai ‘guest’, pl. gwasteion b.b. 168; crydd, pl. cryddion,
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Bret. kere, pl. kereon § 86 i (5); gwehydd ‘weaver’, pl. gwehyddion; marchog ‘knight’, pl. marchogion; cantor ‘singer’, pl. cantorion; pendefig ‘chieftain’, pl. pendefigion; dysgwadr ‘doctor’, pl. dysgodron (in Recent W. re-formed as dysgawd-wr, -wyr); and adjectives used as nouns § 145 iii. In a few cases the ending is -on, as meddygon § 118 ii; Iddew ‘Jew’, pl. Iddewon, Ml. W. Idevon L.A. 19, Idevon do. 17; athrawon, etc. § 125 iii.

(2) Some names of implements: cyn ‘chisel’, pl. cynion; ebill ‘auger’, pl. ebillion; trosol ‘bar, lever’, pl. trosolion; ys gol, Ml. yscawwl ‘ladder’, pl. ysgolian, Ml. yscylon w.m. 189; ysgolian ‘schools’ follows this probably.

(3) Some abstract nouns: rhybuddion ‘warnings’ (Ml. rybudgyeu w.m. 72); esgusion ‘excuses’; trafferthion ‘troubles’; with -on: gofalon ‘cares’; cysuron ‘comforts’; but most take -au § 120 i (4). H.M. has meddylion ii 194, M 147/639 r., for the usual meddyliau, Ml. W. medlygyeu r.p. 1201, 1303.

(4) ebol, Ml. ebowl ‘colt’, pl. ebolion, Ml. ebolgon w.m. 45; keneu, see § 125 iii; planhigion ‘plants’, sg. planhig-yu.

iii. -en < Brit. *-enes < Ar. *-enes survives only in ychen ‘oxen’, sg. ych § 69 v; and in Ml. W. Pryden ‘Picts’ (Gynt a Gwydyl a Phryden b.A. 24 ‘Danies and Irish and Picts’), O. W. Priten gen. xix.

Ar. -en- was the F-grade of the suffix, of which -on- was the F°-grade, and -on the L°-grade § 63 iii.

The first occurrence of the misspelling ychain, § 31 ii (2), known to me is in Rhydychain in the title of the 1690 Bible; it did not come into common use before the 19th cent. The form is always ychen in Ml. W. and in the rhymes of the bards before the recent period. See ychen w.m. 480, R.M. 121, B.T. 59, L.A. 109, R.P. 1241, M.A. i 230, 426; ryt ychen ‘Oxford’ see indexes of R.M. and R.B.B.

Da’r ardd ychen mewn pen pant.—W.II. f. 8.

‘Well do oxen plough at the end of a valley.’

Dig wof am dewi gofeg
Yn pen yn Rhydychen deg.—H.D. (m. I.H.S.), p 100/125.

‘I am wroth because the muse of our chief is silenced in fair Oxford.’
—See bén/ychen D.G. 400, gen/ychen do. 318, men/ychen L.G.C. 189; wén/Rhydychen S.Ph. c.c. 189; rryd ychen/dalen v 54/242 r.

iv. The R-grade n of the stem-ending became -ann- in Kelt. § 62 i (2). In Ir. it appears as -ann; in W. as a pl. ending it was affected
in every case to -ein(n), tending to become -eint or to be replaced by -eu. The affection prob. comes from neut. dual forms, of which the ending in Pr. Ar. was *-i. Thus Ml. W. ysgyveint m.m. 2, Mn. W. ysgyfaint 'lungs' < *squm,n-*i, old neut. dual; the noun has no sg.;—O.W. anu 'name', pl. ennuein, Mn. W. pl. ennweu, with a new sg. enn, Mn. W. env, pl. ennau (the a-survived in awodeig G.R. [122, 220], Gwyn. dial. § 112 i (2)) : Ir. ainm, pl. anmann, neut.;—cam 'step', O.W. pl. commein, now camau : Ir. cín, pl. címmenn, neut.;—rhwym 'band', O. W. pl. rwmmein, now rhwymau;—gof 'smith', also gofan(n) b.t. 7, pl. Ml. W. goveyn a.L. i 72, Mn. W. gofaent : Ir. goba, gen. gobann;—edn 'bird', once ednain m.a. i 195, pl. ednein (printed ednain m.a. i 207), etneint R.P. 1245, Mn. ednaint Gr.O. fo;—llw 'oath', Mn. W. pl. cam lyein m.a. 158, samlyeu R.P. 1201 'false oaths', Mn. W. l'ibon, Gwyn. dial. llyfon. 

§ 122. i. -i, -ydd, -oedd, -edd represent the Brit. endings of i-, i0-, iā and ie- stems.

ii. i-stems. (1) The vowel is not affected in the sg. All the above endings occur in the pl.

The Ar. nom. endings were m.f. sg. *-is, pl. *-eies; neut. sg. *-i, pl. *-iā, *-i. In Brit. the sg. *-is, *-i became *-es, *-e and did not cause affection; the pl. *-eies became *-iēs which gave -i, -ydd or -oedd according to the accentuation § 75 v, iv; the neut. pl. *-iēv > *-iāv > -edd or -oedd according to accentuation; and *-i affected the preceding vowel and dropped.

(2) -i and -ydd both form the pl. of tref 'town'; thus trevi (≡ trefi) b.b. 54, treviti (≡ trefydd) do. 91, Ml. W. trefi § 160 iii (2), and trefydd D.G. 3; cantref 'canted' makes cantrevoed R.B. 407 ff., but Mn. W. cantref-i, -ydd like tref; see § 75 iv, v.


-i was added to some names of persons: saer 'craftsman', pl. seiri W.m. 189; maer 'steward', pl. meiri b.b. 54; cawr 'giant', pl. cewri (rarely cewri) § 76 iv (3); merthyr 'martyr', pl. merthryri m.a. 126; prophwydi ib.; arglwydd, pl. arglwydi M.A. i 198a; so all in Mn. W. (in Late W. merthron also).
The use of -i has been extended in Mn. W.; thus Mn. W. kerêu w.m. 6 'songs', Mn. W. cerddi T.A. and later; Mn. W. garêu r.b.b. 145 'gardens', Mn. W. gerddi D.G. 258; Mn. W. llwyneu r.b.b. 40 'bushes', so llwynau D.G. 60, later llwyni; Mn. W. mein 'stones' (sg. maen), Late Mn. W. meini (Ml. meini in ZE. 284 is an error for mein, see r.m. 196, l. 5); beddi b.c.w. 59 beside the usual beddau, Mn. beteu (t = ð) b.b. 63.

(3) -ydd and -oedd are found in avon-it (≡-yð) b.b. 91 'rivers', avon-oedd r.b.b. 40, Mn. W. afonydd; gwledyô m.a. i 199a, c.m. 2, r.b.b. 44, w.m. 190, later gwledyô in the last-quoted passage in r.m. 91, Mn. W. gwledyd; keyryô w.m. 192 'castles', kaeroed r.p. 1230, also caereu b.a. 26, Mn. W. keyrydd W.I. 64, caerau G.Gl. 146/163; dinasoed w.m. 190, r.m. 91, 93, Mn. W. dinasoedd, rarely dinessyd p i 147/5 r., G.Gl. p 152/201. They are added to nouns in -fa, as Mn. W. porfeydd, porfaoedd 'pastures' (most of them with only one in use), Mn. W. tyrvahoed r.p. 1241 'crowds'; as well as -au, Mn. W. -eu: presswylvaeu il.a. 57 'habitations', eistedfaeu do. 62 'seats' (-aeu later contr. to -âu).

-ydld alone occurs in meyssyô r.p. 1188 'fields', Mn. W. meysydd (wrongly spelt meusydd), sg. maes; heolô r.m. 175 'streets'; bro-yð r.p. 1189 'regions'; dolyô do. 1188 'meadows' (also doleu b.t. 33); gwenyyô r.p. 1286 'meadows', sg. gweun, gwavun; lluosit-ô (≡-yð) b.b. 66, r.p. 1188 'hosts', sg. liaws; nentyd 'brooks', poet. naint D.G. 25, sg. nant; coedydd 'trees', ystornydd 'storms', etc.

(4) Old neut. nouns take -oedd or -edd, sometimes alternating with vowel-affection; as môr m. 'sea', pl. moroedd < *môria beside mîr < *mori, § 117 i; dant m. 'tooth', pl. dannedd < *dantiô beside deint r.p. 1036, daint D.D. s.v.; deint is also sg., see iii (2). -oedd may be orig. m. or f. also, see (1).
-edd and -oedd are added to nouns orig. of other declensions as follows:

-ëd in Ml. W., -oedd in Mn. W. are added to tir m. ‘land’ (an old neut. s-stem), pl. tîret (-t = ë) B.B. 33, tîred R.B.B. 40 (beside tirion § 35 iii), Mn. W. tîroedd D.G. 436, 524; mynydd m. ‘mountain’ (< *moniō-), pl. mynydëd w.m. 250, b.t. 11, r.B.B. 40, Mn. mynyddoedd; daufr m. ‘water’ (neut. o-stem), pl. dyfroedd w.m. 54, 65, Mn. dyfroedd.

mynydëd having become mynyðe in S.W. dialects (cf. eiste § 110 iv (3)), this was wrongly standardized as mynyddau by some recent writers, but the traditional lit. form mynyddoedd prevails. The same remark applies to blynyddoedd, now sometimes written bllynnyddau for dial. blynyðe < *blynnydë. In the above words -ëd may be old as a N. W. form, the prevailing forms in Ml. W. being S. W.

-oedd was added to cant m. ‘hundred’ (neut. o-stem), pl. cannoedd; nerth m. ‘strength’ (neut. o-stem); mîl f. ‘thousand’; nur m. ‘wall’, pl. muroedd w.m. 191, muroedd g. 237, later muraeu; illu m. ‘host’ (m. o-stem), pl. lluoedd r.m. 175, Mn. lluoedd; byd m. ‘world’ (m. u-stem), pl. bydoedd m.a. i 199, Mn. bydoedd; nifer m. ‘host’, pl. niveroedd w.m. 54, Mn. niveroedd; mis m. ‘month’, pl. misoedd; teyrnas f. ‘kingdom’, pl. tyrnassoedd w.m. 50, Mn. tyrnassoedd; tîr m. ‘tower’ (< E. < Fr.), pl. tyroedd w.m. 191, tyreu do. 133, Mn. tyrâu; iaith f. ‘language’, pl. ieithoedd w.m. 469, b.t. 4, Mn. ieithoedd; gwledd f. ‘feast’, pl. gwleddoedd D.G. 524, gwleddu dan do. 8; gwisg f. ‘dress’, pl. gwisgoedd; oes f. ‘age’, pl. O. W. oisou (with ë added at some distance, see fac. b.s.ch. 2, for ‘deest’ according to Lindsay, E.W.S. 46), Mn. W. oessoedd p.l. 103, oesseu b.t. 15, 19, Mn. W. oesoedd, oesau; achoet (t = ë) b.B. 53, Mn. achoedd, acha ‘lineage’ both in L.G.C. 213, sg. ach f.; dyfnderoedd ‘depths’, blinder-oedd, -au ‘troubles’.

iii. ïo-stems. (i) The vowel is affected in the sg.; the pl. ends in -ydd, -oedd, -edd.

The Ar. nom. endings were m. sg. *-(i)iyâ, pl. *-(i)iyâs; neut. sg. *(i)iyom, pl. *(i)iyâ. In Kelt. *(i)iyâs gave place to *(i)iyoi > *(i)iî; this gave -yð or -oð according to the accent; neut. *(i)iî gave -ë; -ë in m. nouns is prob. for -oð. Where neither sg. nor pl. had ï before ë, we had e.g. dyn ‘man’ and ‘*men’, then a new dynion for the latter § 121 i.
§ 122

NOUNS

(2) Ml. W. bugeil 'shepherd', pl. bugelyð II. A. 109, R. B. B. 245 < *boukolios pl. *boukolíi. This was a rare type, and in Mn. W. a new pl. was formed: bugail, pl. bugelíaid. But the f. adain 'wing' (iá-stem), pl. adanedd, had a new pl. made by affecting this, as if the word belonged to the -iá- declension: adain, pl. adenydd § 125 iii.

The word for 'tooth' seems partly to have passed over to this declension; thus *dantíon pl. *dantíí giving sg. deint II. A. 67 translating "dens", Mn. W. daint, as heb un-daint D. G. 323 'without one tooth', pl. dannedd as for sg. dant ii (4) above. In Gwyn. dial. the sg. is daint.

The ending was -oed in brenhinoet B.B. 53 'kings', Mn. W. brenhinoedd; but the more usual Ml. form is brenhined L.L. 120, brenhined w.m. 178–9, prob. with -oed for -oed § 78 ii. So teyrned R.P. 1313, D. G. 181 'kings', ewythred R. M. 140 'uncles'; cystlyn 'family', pl. cystlyned R.P. 1267.

Cystynedd Gwynedd i gyd, Cynafon Hwlcyn hefyd.—G. G. I/1 no. 49.

'All the families of Gwynedd, and the scions of Hwlcyn too.'


iē- and iā-stems have R-grade forms in -i, p. 81. In Lat. and Bált. they remain distinct or have become so (Lat. dūritia: dūritīes). In Kelt. they seem to be mixed, see Thurneysen, Gr. 180 f.; but as e > i in Kelt., the meaning of the facts is often obscure. In other branches -iē- and -iā- are indistinguishable. The W. sg. may come from *-iē, *-iā, or *-i; pl. -eō < *-iās.

(2) blwyddyn 'year' (Ir. bliadain) < *bleidón, pl. blynedd < *blidntiās § 125 v (1); this pl. form is used only after numerals; for other purposes a new pl. was formed by adding -edd to the sg., as blwyddyn w.m. 37, then by metath. blwnyðeð II. A. 105, Mn. W. blynyddoedd, S. W. dial. blynyðeð(ð) (whence latterly a false blynyddau see ii (4)).—modryb 'aunt' < *mātr-aqði (< *-aqði-§ 69 ii (4)), pl. modravedd c.c. 282 (so in Gwyn. dial.; -o- < sg.) < *mātrαqðiās; the form modrybed R.P. 1362 seems to be remade from the sg., as modrapeð ox. 2. — edau 'thread', pl. edafedd § 76 vii (1); adain 'wing' pl. adanedd, etc., see § 125 iii.
ACCIDENCE § 123

blwydd means 'a year of one's age' or adj. 'year old' pl. blwydd-
iad, § 145 iii Note, teirblwydd 'three years old', pynmtheðmblwyð
r.b.b. 185 'fifteen years old', etc. The use by recent writers of
blwydd for 'year' is as foreign to the spoken language as it is to the
literary tradition, and the forms blwyddau, blwyddi for 'years' are
pure fabrications.

(3) -edd, later replaced by -ydd, was added to *chwiior <
syesores, the pl. of chwaer 'sister', as chwiored i.a. 38, r.b.b.
39, w.m. 158; in the last passage chwioryð in r.m. 226; Mn. W.
chwiórydd T.A., Wm.S., later only chwiórydd; § 75 vi (2).

t-stems.

§ 123. i. -ed < Brit. *-etes occurs in merched 'daughters',
Md. W. merchet w.m. 469, merched (d ≡ d) 468; pryfed 'worms',
Md. W. pryved (d ≡ d) b.b. 81. D.G. has hued 30, 93 'hounds'
(sg. huað W.IL. 166, O.G. c 82 s.v.). In Md. W. we also have
guystvedl b.b. 53 'beasts'; and in O. W. ætinet browbreithet
ox. gl. cicadae.

The stem-form is seen in Gaul. Cing-es, gen. -etos, and Nemetes
'nobles?' beside the -eto- stem in nemeto- 'temple'. As it seems
to have been used to form names of persons it may be original in
merch, which would so be from *merkeð(s) < *merkets (pl. *merketes)
< *mer(i)k-et- : Skr. maryakāh § 101 iv (1). √merēj- § 125 v (1),—
pryf is an old i-stem § 61 i (1), ending therefore in *-es (< *-is),
which seems to have been mistaken for *-el(s) < *-ets.

ii. -od, Md. W. -ot < Brit. *-otes occurs in llygod 'mice', sg.
llyg (< *lukod(s)) and llygoden (Ir. luch 'mouse', gen. lochad,
Bret. logodenn, pl. logod) : Gaul.Lucot-ios, Δουκότ-ικνός.

The above is an example of the survival in W. of Brit. -ot- as seen
by its cognates; but the ending -od became fertile in the formation
of new plurals. It was added to diminutives, and forms with
gemination, which is a peculiarity of child language, and of names
of animals § 93 iii (2).

(1) It was added to most names of animals: llewot w.m. 229,
i.a. 165 'lions', now llewod; eryrot i.a. 167 'eagles', now
eryrod; ulydnot r.m. 52, w.m. 73, now ulydnod, sg. lllwán 'pullus';
hydró w.m. 158, now hyddod 'stags'; gwiberot do. 229, now
gwiberod 'vipers'; ednot i.a. 130, now ednod 'birds' (also
ednaint § 121 iv, and in O. W. ætinet i above). In Mn. W.
cathod, llwynogod, ewigod (Ml. W. ewigod r.m. 118), ysgyfarnogod, cranod (Bardsey craninc, so G.Gr. p 77/193), colomennod, etc.

(2) It was added to some names of persons: gwisionot w.m. 178 ‘witches’; meudwyot w.l. 117 ‘hermits’ (also meudwyaid D.G. 409); gwrach ‘hag’, pl. gwrachiot p 12/124 r., Mn. W. gwrachiod D.G. 332, in which -od seems to be added to an old pl. *gwrachi (cf. the adj. gwracliidd).

Er wyn a gwdr an arwain glod
A chîwydd i wrachiod.—I.B.H., br. iv 104.

‘For lambs and wool he brings praise and song to old women.’

It is found in genethod ‘girls’ sg. geneth (old geminated form, § 93 iii (2)); and is added to diminutives in -an, as in bahanod ‘babies’, llebanod ‘clowns’ (whence by analogy the biblical publicanod); in -ach, as in bwbachod ‘bugbears’, corachod ‘dwarfs’ (by analogy in Late W. mynachod for myneich ‘monks’); in -yn(u) or -eu(n), as in lliprynmod ‘weaklings’, mursennod ‘prudes’, dyhirod ‘knaves’ sg. dyhiryn; and to other nouns originally in a contemptuous sense, as eurychod ‘tinkers’, turneiod a charlocod B.cw. 62, Gwyddelod in Late W. for Gwyddyl ‘Irishmen’, Efranod for Efrawinc. The substitution in Late W. of -od for another termination in the names of relatives etc. comes from child-language, as in tadmaethod Esa. xlix 23 for tadmaethau, Mn. W. tatmaethen w.m. 37; ewythrod for ewythredd § 122 iii (2), cyfnitherod for cyfnithroedd W.ii. c.l. 132.

(3) It occurs after a few names of things: (a) geminated forms, or what appeared to be such, as cychod sg. cwch ‘boat’; nythod ‘nests’, Mn. W. method (e = y) a.l. i 24; bythod, sg. bwth ‘hut’; (b) diminutive forms, as tenynnod ‘halters’ sg. tennyn; bythynnod ‘cottages’, sg. bwthyn; and by false analogy Mn. W. tyddynnod ‘small farms’, for Mn. W. tyhynneu a.l. i 168, 182; bwlanod sg. bwlan ‘a vessel of straw’; (γ) some names of coins: dimeiôt r.b.b. 384 now dimeiau ‘halfpennies’; ffyrlligot ib. now ffyrlliogod ‘farthings’; floringod D.G. 287 ‘florins’, hatlingod ‘half-farthings’; (δ) personifications etc. : anghuenod B.cw. 65 ‘death-sprites’; eilunod ‘idols’, erthylod ‘abortions’.

iii. Mn. W. -awt occurs in pyscawt r.m. 52, W.m. 73, R.B.B. 149, b.t. 8, b.b. 89 ‘fish’ < Lat. piscâitus, § 118 ii (2); and in
gorwydawt b.t. 36 'horses', sg. gorwyd; edystraft b.t. 70 'horses', sg. eddystr or eddestr. The first survives as pysgod, in which the ending is now indistinguishable from old -od.

iv. -iadr, Ml. W. -yeit, -eit, is the pl. formed by affection of the ending -iad, Ml. W. -yat § 143 iv (5); thus offeiriaid 'priest' pl. offeiriaid, Ml. W. offeireit l.l. 117. All names of living things in -iad (except cariad) form their pl. so; thus ceinhyd m.a. i 285 'singers', lleitýeit (t ≡ δ) ib. now lleiddiaid 'murderers', gleissiaid ib., now gleisiaid, sg. gleisiad 'salmon'; but abstract nouns in -iadr have -iadau § 120 i (4); cariad 'lover' is the same as cariad 'love' and has pl. cariadau Hos. ii 5, 7, 10.

But -iadr is also added to form the pl. of names of living things whose sg. does not end in -iad:

(1) Names of classes and descriptions of persons: personnýeit l.l. 117, now personiaid, sg. person 'parson'; confessorieit do. 70; raôlwyeit w.m. 456, Mn. W. rhaglofaid, sg. rhaglaw 'deputy'; barwnyeit r.m. 179, now barwniaid, sg. baron 'baron'; mak- wynyeit w.m. 15, mackwyet r.m. 9, sg. maccwy(f) 'youth'; bylêynyeit a.l. i 24, sg. bilaen r.b.b. 123 'villain'; cythreulýeit m.a. i 251b 'devils'; ysgwierýeit s.g. 11 'squires'; in Mn. W. pen- naethiaid Ps. ii 2, sg. penaeth; estroniaid 'strangers', meistraid 'masters', geffeillaid 'twins', Protestaniaid, Methodistiaid, etc. Also adjectives used as nouns, § 145 iii.

(2) Tribal and national names: Albanýeit r.b.b. 271, also Albanwyr do. 270, sg. Albanwr 'Scotchman'; Corannyeit r.m. 96, no sg.; Brytanýeit do. 91, no sg.; y Groecieit a'r Lhadinieit J.D.R. [xiv] 'the Greeks and Latins'; Rhufeiniaid, Cornithiaid, etc. Also family and personal names: y Llwydiaid 'the Lloyds', y Lleisioniaid L.G.C. 110 'the Leyshons', Koytmoriaid p 61/33 r.

(3) All names in -wr of living things: pechadurýeit ll.l. 152 now pechaduriaid, sg. pechadur 'sinner'; kreadurýeit do. 4, now creaduriaid, sg. crëadur 'creature'; awdurieit J.D.R. [xiv], awdurýeit r.p. 1375, sg. awdur ib. 'author' (the pl. awduron seems to come from the gorseddic writings, the source of numerous fabrications); Mn. W. ffoáduriaid, eysgaduriaid, henuriaid, etc.

Other nouns in -ur take either -iau, as goniaduriau 'thimbles', pladuriau 'scythes', or -au as papurau 'papers', mesurau 'measures', or -on as murnuoron, cysuron.
(4) Some generic names of animals; as anifeileit l.l. 165, w.m. 228, now anifeiliaid, sg. anisfail ‘animal’; mileit r.m. 129, Mn. W. milod, sg. mil ‘animal’; so bwystileit r.b.b. 40 now bwystfilod, sg. bwystfil; ysgrubliaid Gen. xliv 17 ‘beasts’. Also a few specific names, as cameleit l.l. 165, Mn. W. camelod; Mn. W. bleiddiaid Matt. vii 15 ‘wolves’, also bleiddiau T.A. g. 233, Ml. bleydœg m.l. ii 230; gwenoliaid D.G. 20, sg. gwennol ‘swallow’.

Strictly, of course, -iaid is not a t-stem but a to-stem; thus -iad from *-iatos, pl. -iâid < *-iati.

v. -ant < Brit. *-antes, m. f. pl. participial ending occurs in carant b.a. 14, b.b. 46, l.l. 153, r.m. 130, sg. càr ‘kinsman’ < *karants (Ir. care < *karants) < *kã-: Armen. ser ‘progeny, family’, E. her-d, Lat. crescô, √ker- ‘grow’. In Early Ml. W. carant was already affected into kereint c. m.a. i 244, Mn. W. ceraint, later also cerynt M.K. [71] ‘kinsmen’ (not ‘lovers’). On the analogy of this was formed the pl. of Ml. W. nei (now nai) ‘nephew’: neqeint a.l. i 8, nqeint w.m. 89, l.l. 121, Mn.W. neiaint; and of ceifu ‘3rd cousin’: keywneint (≡ keivneint) b. ch. 76 defined ib. as ‘children of the 4th mother’ (those of the 2nd being ‘cousins’, etc.). Mn. W. meddweint l.l. 55 ‘drunkards’ may be an old participial form. A few other nouns have -eint, Mn. W. -aint affected for an earlier *-ann, § 121 iv.

r-stems.

§ 124. i. -er < Brit. *-eres occurs in broder w.m. 38, r.m. 26, later affected to brodyr r.m. 140; broder survived, as in T.A. g. 229, Wm.S. e.g. Act. xv 23, but was at length ousted by brodyr, cf. § 122 iv (3). In Ml. W. brodorion also is used, r.m. 203, 207. Sg. bravd ‘brother’, § 59 ii, § 63 iii.

brodorion also meant ‘fellow-countrymen, clansmen’ b.b. 51, 55 (cf. Gk. φράτωρ); in Late Mn. W. it came to mean ‘natives’; brodor ‘a native’ is a new sg. deduced from this pl.

-yr was added (instead of the old -äwr) to gwayw ‘spear’ (also in Mn. W. ‘pain’), giving gwewyr c.m. 48, but more usually gwewyr r.b. 1074 (for *gweywyr).

Ofera’ gwaith fu i’r gwyf
Eliais ôl i wewyr.—D.N., p 99/598.

‘It was the vainest task for men to anoint the marks of his spears.’

-awr < Brit. *-äres < Ar. *-öres.

Vowel Changes.

§ 125. The vowel changes which occur when an ending is added to form the pi. are the following:


-awr < Brit. *-äres < Ar. *-öres.

Vowel Changes.

§ 125. The vowel changes which occur when an ending is added to form the pl. are the following:


-awr < Brit. *-äres < Ar. *-öres.

Vowel Changes.

§ 125. The vowel changes which occur when an ending is added to form the pl. are the following:


-awr < Brit. *-äres < Ar. *-öres.
-on (Brit. nom. sg. -ů, pl. -ones) § 121 i: athro, pl. athrawon § 76 v (5), athraon § 36 iii; keneu w.m. 483 'whelp', pl. kanawon w.m. 28, canaon § 36 iii, cynawon r.m. 18, cynavon r.p. 1209, late cenawon; draig 'dragon', pl. dragon, later dreigeu ll. a. 153, now dreigiau; lleidr 'thief', pi. lladron; Sais 'Englishman', pl. Saeson § 69 ii (2), Ml. W. sg. Seis ll. a. 120, pl. Saeson b.b. 60, 66, r.b.b. 41, 71, etc., Saesson b.b. 48, 51, b. a. 4. On ych (affection of *wch), pl. ychen, see § 69 v.

Edn a'i draed ydyw'n y drain,
A'r glud ar gil i adain.—T.A., A 14866/201.

'I am a bird with his feet in the thorns, and the lime on the edge of his wing.'

Hwde un o'i hadanedd;
E heda byth hyd y bedd.—I.F., M 160/456.

'Take one of its [the swallow's] wings; it will fly always till death' [lit. 'till the grave'].

Llathen heb yr adenydd
Yn y saeth a dymnai sydd.—Gut.O., A 14967/50.

'There is a yard without the feathers in the arrow which he drew.'

Mal nodwydd ym mlaen edau
Y mae lliw hon i'm lleihau.—D.G. 296 (? T.A.).

'As a needle threaded, does her aspect make me spare.'

Aur a dyf ar edafedd
Ar y llwyn er mwyn a'i medd.—D.G. 87.

'Gold grows on threads on the bush [of broom] for the sake of [her] who owns it.'

Ni'm cymer i fy rhiaín:
Ni'm gwrthyd f'anwylyd fain.—D.G. 429.

'My damsel will not have me: my slender love will not reject me.'

Er bod arian rhiañedd
Fwy na'i buws ar faen y bedd.—H.D. P 99/402.

'Though there be [of] maidens' money more than his weight on the gravestone.'

Fy mrawd, mi a rois fy mryd
Ar ddau genu oedd gennyd.—G.I.H., P 77/384.

'My brother, I have set my heart on two whelps that thou hadst.'

Kedyrn ac ievainc ydynt,
Kynafon aur Kynfyn ynt.—Gut.O., P 100/343.

'Strong and young are they; they are the golden scions of Cynfyn.'
Note.—Reversion has puzzled writers of the late modern period, and lexicographers. adain was used regularly by the Early Mn. bards; but the Bible has aden, deduced from the pl. adenydd; from aden a spurious pl. edyn was formed, which seems to occur first in E.P., rs. lvii 1, but did not make its way into the spoken language. In the 1620 Bible ceneu is, by a slip, correctly written in Esa. xi 6, elsewhere it is carefully misspelt ceneu; in later editions this became ceneaw, an impossible form, since -aw could not affect the original a to e; see § 76 v (5). On athro, misspelt athraw, see ibid. Pughe gives eleinod as the pl. of elain, and actually asserts that the pl. of gwraig is gwreigedd! He also invented the singulars rhian, celan. Silvan Evans s.v. celan notes this; but himself inserts the equally spurious dagr ‘tear’ and deigron ‘tears’. In his Llythryaeth p. 17 he attempted to change the spelling of Saeson to Seison.

iv. Exchange of ultimate for penultimate affection: Ml. W. bugel, bugelyð, Mn. W. adain, adenydd § 122 iii (2); Ml. W. gwelleu r.m. 123, w.m. 483, ‘shears’, Mn. W. gwella, pl. gwelleiau, new lit. sg. gwellaif § 76 vii (1).

v. Anomalous changes: (1) morwyn ‘virgin’, pl. morynnion b.b. 61, morynnion w.m. 99, r.b.b. 70. This was altered to morwynnion in the Bible, but persists in the spoken language as m’rynjon. Note the double rhymes in

Lledyf englynjon lliw ros gwynnonyon, Iloer morynnion llawr Meriñonyd.—I.C. b.p. 1287.

‘Sad verses [to her of] the colour of white roses, the moon of the maidens of the land of Merioneth.’

The same change occurs in blwyddyn, pl. blynedd § 122 iv (2).

This change seems to be due to the survival in Brit. under different accentuations of two R-grades of æi, namely R₁ æi, and R₂ i, § 63 vii (5). Thus morwyn < Brit. *moréiniō < *marei- < *mrei-; morynnion < Brit. *morinniones < *mri-, √merēi-: Lat. mari-tus < *mrei- with R₁ æi—blwyd ‘year’, Ir. bliadain < *bleidonī, a fem. và-stem from an adj. *blei-d-onos from a vb. stem *blei-d- ‘to blow’, √bhleĩ-, extension of *bhel-, *helō- whence O.H.G. bluu-tan (< *bhō-) ‘to blossom’, Ml. W. blawt ‘blossom’, Lat. flōs, etc. § 59 v, thus blwyd ‘*budding season’; pl. blyned < *bliudniōs; tair blyned ‘three *seasons’.

(2) chwaer pl. chwiorydd § 75 vi (2), vii (2).
(3) achos pl. achision, Ml. W. achaws pl. achwysson r.b.b. 129, see § 75 i (3).
§ 126. Plural of Nouns with Singular Endings.

§ 126. Nouns with the singular endings -yn and -en fall into three classes for the purposes of pl. formation.

i. Class 1. The sg. ending is dropped, with or without vowel change; thus, without vowel change: pluen ‘feather’, pl. plu; mochyn ‘pig’, pl. moch; cwningen ‘rabbit’, pl. cwning c. 226; blewyn ‘a hair’, pl. blew. The vowel changes that take place when the ending is dropped are the following:

1. **Mutation**: conyn ‘stalk’, pl. cawn; deilen b.t. 28, Gen. vii 11, ‘leaf’, pl. dail; cneuen ‘nut’, pl. cnau; gwenynen ‘bee’, pl. gwenyn, etc.

2. **Ultimate Affection**: collen ‘hazel’, pl. cyll; onnen ‘ash’, pl. ynn; dalen w.m. 231, r.m. 167, Ps. i 3 ‘leaf’, pl. dail; chwannen ‘flea’, pl. chwain; draenen ‘hawthorn’, pl. drain; tywarchen ‘sod’, pl. tyweirch, tywyrch:

   Drylliwv cwys i droi lle’r ceirch,
   Daint haearn dan y tyweirch.—T.A. c. i 341.

   ‘The cutter of a furrow to turn up the bed of the corn, an iron tooth under the sods.’

3. **Reversion.** As -yn causes penultimate affection, when it drops the vowel reverts to its original sound: plenting ‘child’, pl. plant; aderyn ‘bird’, pl. adar.

4. **Exchange of penultimate for ultimate affection**: giewyn ‘sinew’, pl. gîau; Ml. W. llysewyn L.A. 97, 166 ‘plant’, pl. llyseu m.m. 3, Mn. llyssau W.II. 99, llysiau.

ii. Class 2. A plural ending is substituted for the sg. ending, as diferyn ‘drop’, pl. differion; crwydryn ‘vagrant’, pl. crwydraid; meddwyn ‘drunkard’, pl. meddwen; planhigyn ‘plant’, pl. planhigion; cwningen ‘rabbit’, pl. cwningod. The following vowel changes occur:


2. **Reversion**: gelyn ‘enemy’, old pl. galon b.a. 26, and

(4) celfydyd ‘art’, Ml. W. pl. kelvydoden.

celfydyd < *kalmi-o-tüts; kelvydod- < *kalmi-o-tät-es, owing to the interchange of -tüt-, -tät-; § 99 ii (2), § 143 iii (10), (24).
some nouns with two singulars, as deigryn ‘tear’, pl. dagrau § 130 ii.

iii. Class 3. A pl. ending is added to the sg. ending, as gelyn ‘enemy’, pl. gelinion b.b. 71, gelynion r.b.b. 71, Mn. W. gelynion; defryn Gr.O. 48, defynnau Luc xxii 44; dalen ‘leaf’, pl. dalennau Ex. xxxix 3; muraennod, bythyynnod § 123 ii.

iv. In some nouns final -yn or -en is not the singular ending but part of the stem; in these the n of -yn is not necessarily double when an ending is added; and -en is affected to -yn; thus telyn f. ‘harp’, pl. telynau; tyddyn m. ‘small farm’, § 98 i (3), pl. tyddynnod, Ml. W. tyðynnau a.l. i 168, 180, 182; maharen m. c.m. 26, myharen D.G. 202 ‘ram’, pl. meheryn; crogen, cragen, ‘shell’, pl. cregin § 117 iii (3); elltrewyn § 76 v (5), pl. *-yueð not found; blwydyn § 122 iv (2).

**Plural Formed From Derivatives.**

§ 127. The pl. of a few nouns is formed by adding a pl. ending to a derivative: glaw ‘rain’, pl. glawogyð r.b.b. 324, g. 98; Ml. W. crístawn ‘christian’ pl. crístonogion b.b. 71, Mn. W. crístion, pl. crístonogion, crístonogion; llif ‘flood’, pl. llifogydd; addurn ‘adornment’, pl. addurniadau; crwydr ‘wandering’, pl. crwydyr(ù)adau; serch ‘affection’, pl. serchíadau; dychryn ‘terror’, pl. dychríiadau, dychrí Feydd; rheg ‘curse’, pl. rhegfeydd; dyn ‘man’, pl. dyníadaon r.p. 1196, dynecon l.a. 11 beside dynion; cas Deut. vii 10 ‘hater, foe’, pl. caseion W.l. 8, also pl. cas do. 5.

Beside glawogydd the dialects have glawiau, evidently a new formation, though Bret. has glaiviou. The misspelling gwalv occurs first about the end of the 17th cent., and was substituted in the Bible for the correct form glaw by R.M., 1746. The word always appears with gl- in Ml. W., as glaw b.b. 63, glaw l.a. 13, 42, r.m. 146, m.a. i 396, r.p. 585, 1032 (4 times), 1055; gwalv s.g. 147 is of course glaw in the ms., see P 11/95b; and of course there is no trace of gw- in the spoken language. The word cannot be from *uo-law- as is usually assumed, for there is no example of the reduction of the prefix *uo- before a consonant to g- or even to gw-; and that the same reduction took place also in Bret. glao, Corn. glaw is incredible. The etymology of the word is doubtful, but it probably represents Brit. *glou- (*gluo- : Skr. jala- ‘water, rain’).

camrau is used in the Bible for ‘steps’; but the true pl. of cam is camau n 28/96 r., Ml.W. kammeu r.b.b. 149, O. W. commtein § 121 iv; and camrau is a mere misspelling of kam-re, see § 31 ii (2).
§ 128. Double plurals are of common occurrence, and are formed in the following ways:

i. A second pl. ending is added to the first: 
*celain* 'corpse', pl. *celanedd*, double pl. *celaneddau* Ps. cx 6; 
diegr 'tear', pl. dagrau, double pl. dagreuoed *l.l.a.* 71, r.b.b. 146, 149; so bloduen 
'flowers', double pl. blodenuoed r.b.b. 40, sg. bloduenyn; dieu 'days', 
double pl. dieuæd do. 9, 25, sg. dyð; ilyssen 'plants', double pl. 
ilyssenæd *l.l.a.* 70; dynion, double pl. dynjonæd r.p. 1303;

*neges* 'errand', pl. negesau, double pl. negesæau m.l. ii 97; peth 
'thing', pl. pethau, double pl. petheuæau do. 112, 119 'various 
things'; esgid 'shoe', esgidianu 'shoes', esgidenæu 'pairs of shoes'; 

mach 'surety', pl. meichiau, double pl. meichiafon.

ii. A pl. ending is added to a pl. formed by affectation: thus 
cloch 'bell', pl. clych s.g. 380, double pl. clychau; sant 'saint', 
pl. seint b.b. 85, *l.l.a.* 69, double pl. seinnægæu h.m. ii 227, Mn. W. 
seintiau; angel 'angel', pl. engyl m.a. i 282, double pl. engylion 
*l.l.a.* 155, w.m. 118, b.b. 70 etc., Mn. W. angylion (*e-* > *a-* § 83 iii 
Note 2).

In old formations -*ion* affected the preceding vowel, thus the *ei* of 
meibion is the affection of *a* by *i*, as shown by the intermediate form 
meipion § 70 ii (1). But meibion seemed to be the pl. meib with 
-ion added; and on this analogy -io[n was added to engyl. The *y* in 
angylion is not an old affection of the *e* by *i*, for that would be *ei*, 
cf. anreiggon, etc., § 70 ii (2). angelion is a new formation probably 
due to Wm.S., and, though used in the Bible by Dr. M. and Dr. P., 
has failed to supplant angylion as the spoken form. Silvan Evans's 
statement that angelion very frequently occurs in M.l. mss. is a gross 
error, supported only by a quotation from a 17th cent. copy, h.m. ii 337, 
of a tract appearing in *l.l.a.*, where the reading is esglyynyn 129.

In most cases however -ion is added to the sg., and does not affect 
ae, *e*, o: kaethyon r.p. 1272, ys golion 'schools'.

iii. The diminutive pl. endings -*ach* (-iach) and -os are added 
to pl. nouns, as cryddionach Gr.O. 208, dynionach do. 93, J.D.R. 
[xx]; dreiniach 'thorns'; plantos, gwragedhos, dilhados (*dl = ð, 
*lh = ll*) J.D.R. [xv] 'children, women, clothes'; cynos 'little 
dogs'; more rarely to sg. nouns: branos r.m. 154, L.G.C. 148, 
'little crows', caregus 'pebbles', dernynnach 'bits'.

Sometimes a final media is now hardened before the ending: 
pry-fetach, merchetos. This is prob. due to late diminutive doubling (*d-* > 
tt, etc.).
iv. A noun with a pl. ending sometimes has its vowels affected as an additional sign of the pl., as ceraint for carant § 123 v, adenyô for adaneô § 125 iii, brodýr for broder § 124 i, which are therefore, in a sense, double plurals.

Plural Doublets.

§ 129. i. A noun not ending in -yn or -en may have more than one pl. form in the following ways:

(1) One pl. may be formed by affection and one by the addition of an ending: mór 'sea', pl. mhr, moroê § 122 ii (4); arf 'weapon', pl. arveu w.m. 97, 99, etc., poet. eirf D.G. 2; esgob 'bishop', pl. esgyb, later esgobion (15th cent., Gut.O. A 14967/87), esgobiaid (T.A. A 14975/61), the first and last now obsolete; Ml.W. kévynnderwyn 'cousin', pl. kévyndyrn, Æ.L. i 222, Mn. W. cefnder, pl. cefndyr, cefnderoedd L.G.C. 167.

In Recent Welsh new and inelegant weak forms are sometimes found, as castelli, alarchod for cestyll, elyrch. On the other hand in the late period we meet with spurious strong forms, such as edyn § 125 iii Note; and latterly emrynt for amrannau (amranta) § 120 i (1); brieill for briallu § 134 ii; creig for creigiau.

(2) Two or more plurals may be formed by adding different endings: tref 'town', pl. trefi, trefydd § 122 ii (2); kaer 'castle', pl. kegrydd, kaeroedd, caereu, do. (3); achau, achoedd L.G.C. 213 'ancestry'; dyn § 127, etc. See § 131 i.

(3) Two plurals with the same ending may have different vowel changes; thus Ml. W. ceing old pl. cangent § 125 iii, newer pl. ceingheu Æ.L. 144; these survive in Mn. W. as cainc pl. cangau, cainciau. So cawr 'giant', pl. cewri, cewri § 76 iv (3); achaws, achos 'cause' pl. achwysson § 125 v (3), achwysson Æ.L. i 30, and achosion.

ii. A noun ending in -yn or -en may have more than one pl. form as follows:

(1) Some nouns of class I, § 126 i, have two plurals, one without and one with the vowel affected; as gwîalen 'twig', pl. gwîal or gwîail; seren 'star', pl. sêr B.T. 26, or sîr Æ.L. 5, the latter now obsolete; collen 'hazel', pl. coll Æ.M. 32, generally cyll; onnen 'ash', pl. onn, more usually qnu; mellten 'flash of lightning', pl. mellt Æ.L. 107, rarely myllt F.B.B. 259.
§ 130. 1. A noun not ending in -yn or -en may have two forms of the sg. owing to various phonetic accidents: (1) -yf : -cu
§ 76 vii: clefyf R.P. 1236 'sword', clefeu do. 1369, pl. olefyfyn; nefyf do. 1237 'adze', and nedeu.

(2) dant, daint 'tooth', pl. dannedd § 122 iii (2).

(3) gwyry, gwyrf, gwerydd 'virgin', pl. gweryddon § 110 ii (3).

b Wrongly attributed in the ms. to D.G.; see A 14967/no. 222, and the cover of Greal no. 6—Mae rhyw amwynt.
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(4) paret w.m. 92, parwyt B.T. 27 (the latter obsolete), pl. parwydydd ‘walls’ (of a house).


(6) dydd ‘day’, dyw in dyw Sul etc., pl. dyddiau, diau.

ii. A noun may have a sg. form with, and one without, a sg. ending; as deigr, deigryn ‘tear’, pl. dagrau; erfyn, arf ‘weapon’, pl. arfau § 129 i (1); edau, edefyn ‘thread’, pl. edafedd, § 125 iii. The diminutive form has sometimes a pl. of its own; as dafn ‘drop’, pl. dafnau § 122 ii (2), and defnyn ‘drop’, pl. defnynnau § 126 iii; cainc ‘branch’, pl. cangau, cainciau § 129 i (3); cangen 1 branch’, pi. canghennau T.A. G. 251.

iii. Nouns ending in -yn or -en, Class i § 126 i, may have two singulars, (1) one formed with each ending; thus adar ‘birds’, sg. m. aderyn and f. adareun B.B. 107, the latter obsolete; ysgall ‘thistles’, sg. ysgellyn and ysgallen, both in use; cawn, sg. conyn ‘stalk’, cawnen ‘rush’; gwial or gwail, sg. gwialen, or gwilwen c.c. 265.

(2) With different vowel changes; as dail ‘leaves’, old sg. dalen § 126 i (2), newer sg. deilen, re-formed from the pl. § 126 i (1).

Desynonymized Doublets.

§ 131. i. Many pl. doublets, especially those with different endings, § 129 i (2), have been desynonymized, some early, as bronnyd w.m. 94, D.G. 233 ‘breasts’, bronnyd m.a. i 415, D.G. 70, ‘hills’, sg. bron ‘breast, hill’; personiaid § 123 iv (1) ‘parsons’, personau ‘persons’ (personyau c.m. 19), sg. person in both senses. The following occur in Mn. W.: canoniaid ‘canons’ (men), canonaun ‘regulations’, sg. canon; cynghorion ‘counsels’, cynghorau ‘councils’, sg. cyngor; llwythau ‘tribes’, llwythi ‘loads’ (but llwythau ‘loads’ Ex. v 5, vi 6, llwythi ‘tribes’ J.D.R. 291), sg. llwyth; prydiau ‘times’, prydan ‘meals’, sg. pryd; pwysau ‘weights’, pwysi ‘lbs.’, sg. pwys; ysbrydion ‘spirits’ (beings), ysbrydoedd ‘spirits’ in other senses (but Ml. W. ysprydoedd, s.g. 308–9, yspryddau do. 310, both in the former sense); anrheithiau ‘spoils’, anrheithi ‘dear ones’, sg. anrhaith ‘booty; darling’, § 156 ii (1).
ii. In some cases the desynonymization is only partial: *tadau*
means both ‘fathers’ and ‘ancestors’, but *teit* P.A. 121, Mn. W.
*taid* means the latter only, as

\[
\text{Penaethiaid yw dy daid oll.} - \text{G.I.H., III 133/211.}
\]

‘All thy ancestors are chieftains.’ *teidiau* ‘ancestors’ is perhaps
to be treated as the pl. of *taid* ‘grandfather’, a derivative
(<*tatios?*) of *tad*, cf. *nain* ‘grandmother’ (<*nanjä?*). The
pl. *ais*, while continuing to mean ‘ribs’, was used for ‘breast’
D.G. 316, and became a sg. noun, fem. (like *bron*), as

\[
\text{Am Robert y maer ebuch}
\]

\[
\text{Yn f’ais dróm anafus drwch.} - \text{T.A., g. 230.}
\]

‘For Robert is the cry in my heavy wounded broken breast.’

But *asau* and *asennau* retained their literal meaning. In
the spoken language now, *ais* is ‘laths’ (sg. *eisen*), *asennau* ‘ribs’
(sg. *asen*).

iii. Partial desynonymization extends to the sg. in *deilen*
‘leaf’ (of a tree only), *dalen* ‘leaf’ (natural or artificial), *dail*
‘leaves’ (of trees or books), *dalennau* ‘leaves’ (artificial only,
desynonymization has taken place in the sg. and pl. in *cors*
cors, *corsydd* meant ‘reed, reeds’ also, see Silvan Evans s. v.);

iv. Desynonymization occurs in the sg. only in *conyn* ‘stalk’,
cawnen ‘reed’; *gwialen* ‘twig, wand’, *gwielyn* ‘osier’ (used in
wicker-work—the original meaning, § 75 vi (2)).

In the dialects also *coeden* ‘tree’ ‘vox nuperrimè ficta’ D.D. and
cedyn ‘piece of wood’. The word for ‘tree’ in lit. W. is *pren*; cf.
*ny elwir coet o un pren* R.P. 1044 ‘wood is not said of one tree.’

In some cases, of course, the diminutive was from its earliest forma-
tion distinct in meaning from its base; as *yden* f. ‘a grain of corn’
from *yd* ‘corn’ mas. sg. (*yr yd hwn* ‘this corn’), pl. *ydau* ‘varieties
of corn’.

\[
\text{Anomalous Plurals.}
\]

§ 132. A few anomalous plurals remain to be noticed: (1) *ci*
‘dog’, pl. *ciôn*; *ci* < Kelt. *kū* < *kūū* < Ar. *k(u)yō* : Skr. *svā*
§ 89 iii; *côn* < Brit. *kunes* < Ar. *kunes*. 
(2) *dydd 'day' < Lat. *diēus : Lat. *diēus, and *dyw 'day' in *dyw
Gwener 'on Friday' etc. from an oblique case (Ar. gen. *diyēs, *
*diyōs), pl. *dīeu < Brit. *diēues § 100 ii (1), beside *diwneoc
§ 128 i, and dywēn E L A. 51, R.B.B. 9, re-formed from the sg.,
Mn. W. dydīau, now the usual form, though tridiāu is still in
common use.

Bluitinet a hir dieu (t=δ) R.B.B. 56 'years and long days'; deugein
niheu E L A. 21 'forty days'; seitk niheu b.b.b. 54; deugain niheu
D.G. 198, etc.

(3) *dīw 'god', O. W. duiu—§ 78 iv (2) < Lat. deus is the same word as the above with different vowel grades
§ 63 vii (4). The Ml. pl. dīwweu E L A. 73 is formed from the
old sg.; gen-dīwweu also occurs do. 44 with loss of γ; the Mn. pl.
duwiāu is a second re-formation.

(4) *diawl 'devil', pl. dieifyl § 100 ii (1), also a late pl. diawl(3)aid
(loss of ï by dissim. is usual); the pl. dieifl used by Gr.O. is
artificial, as possibly the sg. diafl. Wm.S. invented a new sg.
diafol, which was adopted in the Bible, and so is considered
more respectable than the genuine form.

(5) blwyddyn 'year', pl. blynedd, blwydynoed, blynuddoedd
§ 122 iv (2), § 125 v (1).

(6) aren pl. eirin § 106 ii (1), new pl. arennau; eirin 'plums',
new sg. eirinen.

(7) pared, pl. parwyddydd § 130 i (4); ffér 'ankle', pl. (old
dual) uffarnau, ucharnau § 96 iv (2), late pl. fferra, fferi. Other
cases of anomalous vowel changes in § 125 v, § 117 iii.

(8) One or two examples generally quoted of irregular plurals
are due to haplology, § 44 iv, and are irregular in the late
period only. Mn. W. cydymaith 'companion', pl. cymdeithion;
Ml. W. sg. cedymdeith w.m. 10, pl. cydymdeithon do. 1;—Mn. W.
credadun 'believer', pl. credinwyr, a corrupt re-formation from
credinjol for credunjol, § 77 ix, for credadunjol; Ml. W. creadadun,
pl. creadadunion M.A. i 566.

Nouns with no Plural.

§ 133. The following nouns are used in the sg. only:

i. Many abstract nouns, simple, as gwanc 'voracity', llunc
‘swallowing’,  llafur ‘labour’,  cred ‘belief’,  tywydd ‘weather’;  
or derivative as syched ‘thirst’,  tristwch ‘sadness’,  ffyddlondeb ‘fidelity’,  glendid ‘cleanliness’.

But a large number of abstract nouns have pl. forms:  chwant ‘desire’,  chwantau;  coel ‘belief’,  coelion, etc.;  see § 120 i (4),  § 121 ii (3),  § 122 ii (4).


There are many exceptions:  dyfroedd ‘waters’,  sg.  dwfr;  cigau ‘meats’,  ygau § 131 iv, etc.

arian in the sg. means ‘silver’,  thus  yr arian hwn ‘this silver’,  arian byw ‘quicksilver’;  but  arian is also pl.,  and as pl. means ‘money’,  as  yr arian hyn ‘this money’,  arian gwynion or arian gleision ‘white’ or ‘grey money’,  i.e. silver coins.  More rarely  aur is pl. in a similar sense:  aur melynion or  aur rhuddion W.II. 2.  Similarly  heyrn the pl. of  haeyrn means ‘irons’ as  fire-irons, etc.

The names of woods have the same form as the pl. of the names of trees;  thus  derv ‘oak’ or ‘oak-trees’,  sg.  derwen ‘oak-tree’.  The same form is used (like  arian,  aur,  haeyrn, etc.) as an adj.:  cadair  dderw ‘oak chair’;  oon ‘ashen’, etc.  (but not  ynn etc.):  

_Llithio’r wyd y llath hir onn_  
_Ar galonnau’r gelynion._—_T.A., A 14975/95._

‘Thou feedest the long ashen spear on the hearts of the enemies.’


If the word does not exist without the suff.,  or if without the suff. it is an adj.,  it has a pl. in -od, rarely -au;  mudanod ‘deaf-mutes’,  llebanod, etc.  § 123 ii (2),  ewigod do. (1);  orymanau ‘sickles’.

iv. Archaic and poetical words such as  bun ‘maid’,  iôr ‘lord’,  cun ‘lord’,  huan ‘sun’ § 113 i (5).

v. Proper names of places, months, days, feasts;  as  Cymru,  Ebrill,  Calan,  Nadolig.  Except  Suliau ‘Sundays’,  Sadyrnau ‘Saturdays’.  Other days thus:  dyddiau Llun ‘Mondays’, etc.

_Nouns with no Singular._

§ 134.  A few nouns are used in the pl. only:

i.  bonedd ‘gentlefolk’;  rh’ieni ‘parents’;  nouns in -wys denoting inhabitants, as  Monwyns ‘men of Môn’ § 38 viii.
Bonedd Gwynedd a genais,
Blodau'r sir heb ledryw Sais.—T.A., A 14966/277.
'I have sung the nobility of Gwynedd, flowers of the shire with no Saxon alloy.'

The sg. rhiant (pl. rhiant) given by Pughe seems to be his own invention.

ii. aeron 'fruits'; gwartheg 'cattle'; creision 'parings'; gwreich-ion 'sparks'; names of certain vegetables: bresych 'cabbages', chwyn(n) 'weeds', briallen b.t. 25, H.M. ii 162 'primroses'; in Mn. W. ymysgaroedd 'bowels', but Ml. sg. ymysgar s.g. 214.

For pl. names of vegetables a sg. is sometimes formed by adding -en, as hesg 'rushes', sg. hesgen, or -yn as blodeu-yn, rhos-yn. The new and spurious sg. briallen is based on the assumption that -u is a pl. ending; so also the spurious pl. brieill.

iii. Adjectives used as nouns: (1) persons: fforlddolion 'wayfarers', tlodion 'paupers'; (2) qualities: prydferthion 'beauties', § 145 iii.

¶ For the pl. of compound nouns, see § 157 iii.

Gender.

§ 135. The gender of a noun denoting an animate object agrees in general with the sex of the object; thus the nouns gwir 'man, husband', cffyl 'horse', brawd 'brother', gwas 'servant, youth' are m., and gwrraig 'woman, wife', caseg 'mare', chwaer 'sister', morwyn 'maid' are f.

§ 136. i. When the same noun is used for both sexes it is generally epicene, that is, it has its own gender whichever sex it denotes.

The following are mas. epicenes: plentyn 'child', baban 'babe', barcut 'kite', eryr 'eagle'.

The following are fem. epicenes: cennad 'messenger', cath 'cat', colomen 'dove', brân 'crow', ysqyfarnog 'hare'. Thus we say y gennad (not *y cennad) even when we mean a man.

Kymer y gennat honn, a dwe ef y dy Ernalli c.m. 33 'Take this messenger and bring him to the house of Ernault.' See also R.B.B. 68, W.A. 111 and 2 Sam. xi 19–25.

These nouns do not change their gender by the addition of gwryw 'male' or benyw 'female', as old-fashioned grammarians taught. In
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eryr benyw 'female eagle' the non-mutation of the b- of benyw shows
that eryr remains mas. In fact the gender of a noun must be ascer-
tained before gwryw or benyw can be added to it.

ii. There are however several nouns of common gender in
Welsh, that is, nouns whose gender varies according to the sex
of the individual meant. Such are dyn 'man' or 'woman',
dynan 'little person', cyfynder 'second cousin', òyr 'grandchild',
tyst 'witness' (< Lat. testis com.), mudan 'deaf-mute', perthynas
'relation', gefell 'twin', cymar 'mate', llatai 'love-messenger',
etc. § 139 v, cyw 'twin', llo 'calf'. Thus y mudan or y fudan;
y perthynas or y berthynas; llo gwryw or llo fenyw.

See cyw f. D.G. 94, usually m.; un gynar f. D.G. 274; teir wyrion
R.M. 112, W.M. 468 'three granddaughters'.

\[ Y \text{ddyn fwyw oedd ddos'n fannerch:} \]
\[ Aeth yu fud weithian y ferch.—D.E., g. 117. \]

'The gentle lady yesterday greeted me: now the maid has become
silent.'

\[ \text{Wyr Cadwgon yw honno:} \]
\[ \text{Wyr i fab Meilir yw fo.—L.G.C. 367.} \]

'She is the granddaughter of Cadwgon; he is the grandson of Meilir's
son.'

\[ \text{Danfonaf, o byddaf byw,} \]
\[ \text{At ffinwen latai fenyw.—II., II. 133/102.} \]

'I will send, if I live, to the maiden a female messenger.'

The initial consonant of dyn is sometimes left unmutated after the
art. when f., as peny yw'r dyn deg? D.G. 53 'who is the fair lady?'
But usually y ddyn as above, cf. § 38 vi, ex. 3.

dynes is a N.Walian vulgarism which has found its way into recent
literature; it does not occur in the Bible or any standard work. The
examples quoted by Silvan Evans are evident misreadings (dynes for
y ddyn and dynes sad for dyn sad); but it is found in the work of
a poetaster in R. 112/365 (early 17th cent.). No pl. has been invented
for it. Other late formations are cymhares and vyres, the former used
in the 17th cent.

iii. Some mas. nouns used as terms of endearment, etc. become
fem. when applied to females; as peth 'thing', byd 'life', cariad
'love', enaid 'soul'; thus y beth dlawd 'poor thing' f.

\[ Y \text{myd wen, mi yw dy wyr,} \]
\[ A'th was i'th burlas barlur.—D.G. 156. \]

'My fair life, I am thy husband and thy servant in thy leafy parlour.'
F’ enaid dlos, ni ddaw nosi
I adail haf y del hi.—D.G. 321.

‘My beautiful soul! there comes no nightfall to the summer-house to which she comes.’

iv. Similarly a mas. abstract noun, when personified is occasionally treated as fem., as doethineb in Diar. i 20, ix 1–4.


arglwyð ‘lord’, arglwyðes w.m. i i ‘lady’; marchawc w.m. 2, Mn.W. marchog ‘horseman, rider, knight’, marchoges, w.m. 13, b.cw. 58; iarl, iarlles w.m. 254 ‘earl’, ‘countess’; amhérauwdyr w.m. 178 ‘emperor’, amherodres do. 162; cares i.G. 557 ‘relative’ f.; tyeysoges ib. ‘princess’; santes do. 559 ‘saint’ f.; arglwyddes a meistres mór Gr.O. 15 ‘lady and mistress of the sea’.

In old formations the -es is seen added to the original stem, as in lleidr ‘thief’, f. lladroms b.cw. 21, see § 121 i; Sais ‘Englishman’, f. Saesnes < Brit. *Sacô, *Saxonissa, § 113 i (2). On the vowel change in Cymro, f. Cymraes see § 65 ii (1).

ii. In the following cases the distinction of gender is irregular: nai ‘nephew’, nith ‘niece’; cefnr(w) ‘cousin’, f. cyfnrith(w); chwegrwn ‘father-in-law’, f. chwegr; hesbwn, f. hesbin ‘ewe’; ffól ‘fool’, f. ffolog; gwr, gytraig; ci § 132 (i), gast § 96 ii (3).

nai < Ar. *nepôta; nith < Ar. *neptis § 75 vii (2); cefnr(w) § 76 vii (3) (O.W. pl. ceintiru) and cyfnrithw are improper compounds representing ceifn deryw and cyfnith deryw; for ceifn lit. ‘co-nephew’ see § 75 vii (1); cyfnrith< *kom-neptis ‘co-niece’; deryw is an obsolete adj. meaning ‘true’, Ir. derrb ‘sure’ < *Deruos, Ar. base *deru-: E. true, and doubtless W. pl. *derwyð-on ‘soothsayers’ < *d₂ryĭes (:Gaul. druïdes < Brit., Caesar B.g. vi i 13, Ir. druï < Brit.?): W. dir ‘true, certain’, Ir. dir ‘due’ < LR *Deru-s.—chwegr § 94 iv; chwegrwn < *suēkru-no—hesbin from W. hesb f. of hysb ‘dry’ § 96 iii (5); the formation of hesbwn is not clear; perhaps for hesbwn formed on the analogy of chwegrwn;—gwr < Ar. *γwros: Lat. vir; gytraig < *kraki prob. < *y(i)r-ak-iz, a noun in -i (: -iā, cf. pl. gupraghe) from a derivative in -ak- of *yir-os: cf. Lat. virāgo.

* This is more probable as a derivation of druid than that it comes from the word for oak. There is however a distant connexion, since deryw ‘oak’, Gk. δέντα, etc., are probably derived from the same Aryan base *deru- ‘fast, hard’.
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iii. (1) As in other languages, near relations and familiar animals have names of different origin for males and females: tad ‘father’, mam ‘mother’; brawd, chwaer; ewythr, modryb; ceffyl, caseg; etc.

(2) Names of birds are epicsenes, mostly f. as y fwyalch or y fwyalach ‘the blackbird’, y fronfraith ‘the thrush’, yr wydd ‘the goose’, y goch ‘the cuckoo’, y frân ‘the crow’, etc.; but almost an equal number are m., as eryr ‘eagle’, dryw ‘wren’, barcut ‘kite’, hedydd ‘lark’, alarch ‘swan’. The male bird is in some cases distinguished by using ceiliog followed by the specific name in the attributive genitive, as y ceiliog bronfraith or y ceiliog mwyalch; but this cannot be done generally. Note ceiliágwydd ‘gander’ § 74 i. The names of one or two male animals are formed in a similar manner; as buch gaf ‘he-goat’; gwrcath ‘tom-cat’.

§ 138. The gender of nouns denoting inanimate objects or abstractions can only to a very limited extent be determined by the meaning.

i. The following nouns are mas.: 

(1) tymor ‘season’, and the names of the seasons: gwanwyn, haf, hydref, gaeaf; see hydref dywys a’r gwanwyn § 38 viii; so y Garawys, y Grâwys ‘Lent’ with g- as a new radical § 101 iii (2), cf. yr holl Arawys a.L. i 338 ‘all Lent’.

(2) mis ‘month’, and the months, as Chwefrol sydd iddo 28 o ddyddiau 1620 Bible Almanac ‘February has 28 days’.

(3) dydd ‘day’, and names of days, see Difiau du § 46 ii (4); so y Pasp ‘Easter’, y Nadolig ‘Christmas’, y Sulgwyn ‘Whitsunday’, y Calun ‘New Year’s Day’; but gîwyl ‘feast’ is f., so that Gîwl Fair ‘Lady Day’, etc., are f.

(4) gwynt ‘wind’, and the names of points of the compass: y goledd ‘the north’, y dywyrrain ‘the east’, y deheu ‘the south’, y gorllewin ‘the west’.

(5) Nouns denoting material or substance: aur, arian, haearn, pres, pren, derw, ffrawyd, glo, maen, pridd, calch, clair, tail, gwair, gwel, flood, baru, cig, gwael, gwin, cwrw, dwfr, gwydr, lledr, lliain, sidan, glaw, eira, etc.

(6) Verbal nouns; see § 205.

ii. The following nouns are fem.:


(2) tref ‘town’, llan ‘church’, and names of towns and parishes: Bangor Fawr yn Arfon; Llanbadarn Fawr.

(3) afon ‘river’, and names of rivers: Dyfi wendal D.II. ‘fair-browed Dovey’.

(4) Names of mountains and hills: yr Wyddfa ‘Snowdon’, Carnedd

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Ddafydd, Moelyci; but mynydd 'mountain' and bryn 'hill' are m., and so therefore are names formed from them, as Mynyddmawr.

(5) iaiith 'language', and names of languages: y Gymraeg wen E.P. 217; but when the name denotes matter written in a language it is m.: y Cymraeg hwn 'this (piece of) Welsh'.  Ulythyr 'letter' is fem., and names of letters and sounds: a fain 'thin a' (i.e. 'æ').

(6) Names of trees: derwen 'oak', dår 'oak', collen 'hazel', etc.

(7) Collective nouns denoting communities, etc.: y genedd 'the nation', y werin 'the people, the crew (of a ship)', y bôbl 'the people', y bendefigæth 'the nobility', y gymanfa 'the assembly', y gynulleidfa 'the congregation', y glër 'the bards' (y fân glër L.G.C. 71), y dorf, y dyrf 'the crowd', y gynhadledd 'the assembly'; with some late exceptions, as y cyngor 'the council', y bwrrdd 'the board'.

§ 139. The gender of a derivative noun is determined by its ending.

i. The following endings form m. nouns: -ach dim. sz., -aint, -awd, -cyn, -dab -deb, -der, -did, -dod, -dra, -dwr, -edd, -hâd, i -ni -ţoni, -jad -ad, -fant, -inab -ineb, -rwydd, -wch (-wg), -yd, -yn.

Examples: bwbach, henaint, traethawd, lle cyn, un-dab, -deb, blinder, gwendid, crynnod, ffeidd-dra, crynder, amynedd, glanhâd, tlodi, noethni, drygioni, cariad, teirlad, mwynjânt, doethin-ab, -eb, enbydrwydd, tywyll-wch, (-wg), iechyd, efferyn.

Exceptions: awdur-dod, trindod; buchedd, cyngihanedd, trugared, see § 143 iii (13); cenadori (f. after cennad); adeilad § 205; caniad 'song' (f. after cân) but caniad 'singing' m.; galwad (f. after galwedigæth); blwyddyn, elltrewn, odyn, telyn, twymyn. In the last group -yn is not the sg. ending -ynn, see § 126 iv.


Examples: cyeillach, cosbedigæth, athrawiaeth, teyrnas, colled, asgell, seren, llynes, porfa, natur, pladur.

There are many exceptions in aeth and -jaeth; as claddedigæth, darfodedigæth, gwrasanaeth, hiraeth, amrywiaeth, gwahaniaeth, llyw-jaeth.—Other exceptions are lluded, caethived, syched, pared; castell, canwell, hiriell 'angel' D. 43; maharen; hanes m. in N.W.—gyniâdwr 'thimble' is m. in N.W.; names of persons in -ur are mas. (f. -ures).

iii. The following endings form derivatives having the same gender as the noun to which they are affixed: -aid -ful, -an dimin., -awd, -od 'stroke, blow'; as crochanaid m. 'potful'; llwyaid f. 'spoonful'; mabân m. 'babe', gwerigian f. 'little woman', dyman com. 'little person'; cleddyfod m. 'stroke of sword', ffoniod f. 'blow of a stick', dyrnod m., arfoed f. (cleddyfawd f. D.G. 473 is exceptional).

iv. -og (-awc) forms m. titles and designations, as tywysoeg 'prince', marc'hog 'knight', swyddog 'officer', cymydoeg 'neighbour', taeg 'villain'; and f. terms of reproach, as ffolog 'fool' f., budrog 'slatter', slesog id. Names of animate objects in -og are generally f., as arffedog 'apron', clustog 'cushion', mawnog 'bag'.

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-ig forms m. titles, as gwledig 'prince', pendefig 'chief', and f. diminutives as oenig, etc.

-in is m. in brein 'king', dewin 'sage', bwsdin 'drinking horn', eavin 'finger-(nail)', gorllewin 'west'; otherwise f., as byddin, cegin, cribin, gwernin, hesbin, megin, melin.

v. -ai, Ml. W.-ei (for -hei) forms nouns of com. gender, as llatai § 136 ii; see cicai f. D.G. 166.

§ 140. i. No useful rule can be laid down for determining by the form the gender of nouns without derivative endings. It is true that nouns having o or y in the ultima are mostly m., and those having o or e are mostly f.; thus asgwern, arddwrn, dwn, dwfr, ellyll, byd, bryn are m.; colofn, tonn, ffordd, ffenestr, gwên, deddf are f. But exceptions are so numerous that the rule is of no great practical value.

The reason for the rule is that Brit. u and i, which normally give W. u and y, were affected to o and e by the lost f. ending -ā, § 68, thus bringing about a preponderance of f. nouns with o and e. The reasons for the numerous exceptions are the following: (1) o and e may be original Brit., and not the result of affection at all, as in môr m. 'sea', penm m. 'head'; (2) y is often due to affection by the lost f. ending -i; as in blwyddyn f., telyn f. etc.; (3) endings other than -ā, -i caused no affection; hence ffrod f., hwech f. etc.

u seems to some extent to have followed the analogy of u, thus W. cur m. < Lat. cūra f.; most monosyllables with u are thus m.; but clud 'vehicle', tud 'people, country', hug 'covering', clun 'thigh', hun 'sleep', punt '£1', ffust 'flail' are f.

There is no reason why a, i and the diphthongs should be distinctive of gender; and rules which make them the basis of such a distinction are arbitrary, and worse than useless. Thus Mendus Jones, Gr.² 75, states that monosyllables having a are f.; Anwyl, Gr. 28, says they are m., and names 13 exceptions (omitting gardd, sarff, barf, naut, cad, llath, barn, etc., etc.); actually, the proportion of m. to f. (excluding Eng. words, and names of males and females, as tad, mam) is about 55:45. Similarly monos. with i are said to be m.; in reality the numbers of m. and f. are practically equal:—m., lid, gwrid, pridd, llif 'flood', rhif, brig, cig, cil, mil 'animal', ffin, llin, mân, gwir, glín, tir, mis, plisig, llith 'mash';—f., pi, cibr, gwib, gwic, tid, sfrridd, llif 'saw', gwig, pig, hil, mil '1000', hin, tin, trin, rhin, gwisig, cist, llith 'lesson'.

ii. A few doublets occur with m. -w-, f. -o-; as cwyd m. 'bag', cod f. 'purse'. The others are borrowed words containing -or + cons.; as torf 'crowd' < Lat. turba: tworf 'tumult';—fforch 'a fork' < Lat. furca: ffwrch 'the fork, haunches';—ffordd 'way' < Q 2
O.E. fôr : i fôrldd 'away' ;—bôrd 'board, table' < M.E. bôrd : bôrld id. < O.E. bord.

Also with -yn : -en, as ysgellyn : ysgallen § 130 iii, coegyn : coegen etc., § 137 i, fôrld cyn : folcen, and S.W. dial. crwytyn 'boy' : croten 'girl'.

§ 141. i. The gender of a compound noun is generally that of its subordinating element; thus eluséndy 'almshouse' m. like ty 'house', this being the subordinating, and elusen the subordinate element. So gwînllân 'vineyard' f. like llan; canhêylbren 'candlestick' m. like pren.

There are a few exceptions, possibly due to a change in the gender of the simple noun: cartref m. 'home', pentref m. 'village' (though tref is now f.) § 111 v (2); pendro f. 'vertigo' (bro m.), as Mae'r bendro ar y llo lleaf R.P. 1278.

Epithetized compounds have the same gender as the sex of the person; thus all-tud 'exile' generally m. (tud f.).

ii. The above rule also holds for improper compounds, § 46, in which the subordinating element comes first; thus tref-tad 'heritage' f.; ðydd-brawd 'day of judgement' m.; pont-bren 'wooden bridge' f.; pen-cerrd 'chief of song' m.

§ 142. i. There are many nouns of vacillating or uncertain gender. Some of them are old neuters, like braich from Lat. bracchium. In other cases the uncertainty is due to the action of analogy.

ii. The gender sometimes varies according to meaning or use:—
golwg 'sight' m., as in golwg byr 'short sight' (but f. in L.A. 107);
golwg 'appearance' f., as in teg yr olwg 'fair to see';—bath or math 'kind' m., as dâu fath 'two kinds': with the art. f., as y fath 'the kind', y fath beth 'the kind of thing';—man 'spot' m., as yr ðeu van gochjôn W.M. 140 'to the two red spots', man gwân 'weak spot':
man 'place' f. generally as in Matt. xxviii 6, often m. as in Jer. vii 3; note yn y fan 'immediately', yn y man 'by and by';—to 'roof' m., as in aderyn y to 'sparrow': to 'generation' sometimes f., as in L.G.C. 204;—coes 'leg' f.; coes 'stalk' or 'handle' of a spade, etc. (where there is only one) m., dim. coesyn m.—Unrelated pairs: gwaith 'work' m., gwâith 'fois' f., as in dîw y waith 'twice'; llif m., llif f.; mil m., mil f.; lîth m., lîth f.; § 140 i.

iii. Some nouns have different genders in Ml. and Mn. W. This is sometimes due to a break in the tradition owing to the word becoming obsolete in the spoken language; in other cases it is due to, or has been helped by, analogy. Early Mn. W. generally agrees with Ml. W.; the break comes in the Late Mn. period.
§ 143. Derivative nouns are formed from simple nouns, from adjectives, and verb-stems by the addition of the following endings:

i. Diminutive endings, largely used to form singular nouns § 126: m. -yn, f. -en. The O. W. forms are -inn, -en, and the n is doubled in Ml. and Mm. W. when a syllable is added, as defnyn-aw Can. v 2, canghennauw Luc. xiii 19. They probably represent the Ar. suffixes -ino-, -inā- with dimin. gemination § 93 iii (2), giving Brit. *-inno-s, *-innā.

They may also be added to adjectives and vb.-stems, as coeg-yn ‘fop’, (coeg ‘empty, vain’), ysgogyn ‘swaggerer’ (ysgog-i ‘to shake’).

ii. Diminutive endings added to nouns: -ach, as corrach ‘dwarf’ < a Brit. *-akkos, with dimin. gemination; —an, as dyunan ‘little

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The following are m. in Ml. W., f. in Late W.: damwein w.m. 29, r.m. 19 ‘accident’; breint l.l. 121, r.b.b. 71 ‘privilege’; dinas c.m. 3, 8, l.l. 44, D.G. 325 ‘stronghold, city’, still m. in place-names; nef l.l. 4 ‘heaven’, S.Ph. (m. W.II.) late 16th cent. has ne’ gwyn, but H.S. mid. 15th already has nef f., see § 160 iii (2) (c); chwedyl r.m. 192 ‘tale’, chweddl drwg Ps. cxii 7; gruS l.l. 93 ‘cheek’, y grudd, deu-rudd in the bards, but f. in Bible; gweithret l.l. 1 526, b.b. 7, l.l. 132; ergit r.b.b. 42; breyiS l.l. 143.

The following are f. in Ml. W., m. in late W.: tangneved w.m. 43, r.m. 30, 38 (but y tangneved w.m. 55) ‘peace’, m. in Bible; gwyrioned w.m. 29, r.m. 19 ‘truth’, m. in Bible and later bards, c.c. 357; cygýreir c.m. 18, r.m. 160 ‘truce’, m. in Bible, Deut. xxix 14; tydír r.b.b. 83 ‘freedom’; person c.m. 19, l.l. 3 ‘person’; lynn w.m. 51, r.m. 36 ‘lake’; llys w.m. 5, r.m. 3 ‘court’.

In some cases the gender fluctuates in Ml. W.: breich, as in c.m. 18 ar y breich ‘on the arm’, and in the next line y’r vrech ‘to the arm’; it is m. in the Bible, but now f. except in place-names; —heul ‘sun’, m. l.l. 3, f. do. 161, generally f. in the bards, m. in Bible, f. in Wms. 257, now m.; heulwén is an improper compound of haull wên § 46 ii (1); —clot ‘praise’ m. as clot bychan w.m. 142, r.m. 212, generally f. in the bards g. 184, f. in the Bible, i Bren. x 7, now m., orig. neut. § 66 v.

iv. The difference is in some cases dialectal: ciniau ‘dinner’ f. in w.m. 61, r.m. 43, now f. in S.W. but m. in N.W.; troed m. in Ml. W. e.g. deudroet always (not dwy-), m. in N.W., f. in S.W. The following are f. in S.W., m. in N.W.: cyflog, hanes, garr, gwniadaur, llyn, pwys, munud, clorian (though ar y funud, yn y glorian in N.W. also); in Ml. Lit. W. these are mostly m. as in N.W.; crib ‘comb’ now m. in N.W., but crib ‘ridge’ f. On the other hand in N.W. cusun (m. c.m. 58, 61) and cywpan (m. in Bible) are sometimes treated as f., doubtless a late misuse, as also the use in some parts of canhwyllbren as f. But clust m. r.b.b. 54, m. in S.W., is f. in N.W. and in the Bible. N.W. is not uniform: such m. in Gwyneud (< Lat. succus) is f. in Powys.
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person’, *gweigan ‘little woman’; this appears in late Brit. as -*agn-; in Ir. it is -án; see § 104 ii (1); — *ell-, as in *yrrchell ‘a roe’, < Brit. *-*ellā or *-*illā; — *ig, as in oemig ‘lamb’, < Brit. *-*iðkā; — *ęyn, f. -*eën, sometimes added to contracted personal names, as Hwelyn for Hywel, appears to be comparatively late, and may be from E. -*kin.

iii. Abstract and collective noun endings, etc.: (1) -*aĉ as cyfeilllach ‘friendship’; cyfrinach ‘secret’ (< *-aĉa, v.n. suffix § 203 i (3) (4)).

(2) -*aeth ‘act’ < *-äktā, § 203 i (1), as in gwasaanaeth ‘service’ < *yo-ssān-äktā < *ypo-stā-no-äktā § 96 ii (2); as *gwsan does not occur, the suffix is here felt to be -*änaeth. It takes the form -jaeth from stems in -i*, thus added to -aid in dysg-ëid-jaeth ‘learning’; hence hyññɔjaeth ‘antiquity’, goffinjaeth ‘smithing’; hence -anjaeth in goyledinjaeth ‘wet weather’. So -jaeth as marsiandiäeth ‘commerce’; -niaeth as saerniäeth ‘workmanship’, mechniäeth ‘surety’. In arglwyddiaeth, arglwyddjaeth both accentuations occur, see Arglwyddiaeth (4 syll.) D.G. 8; Gyweidd Dduw a’i arglwyddiaeth Gut.O. M 146/397 R. ‘The feast of God and his Lordship: Pe talair r wydd arglwyddiaeth D.G. 210 ‘If the goose paid tribute’. The form in Late W. is the last. The ending is also added to verbal adjectives in -adwy,-edig, as ofnadwyæath ‘terror’, poenedigaeth ‘torture’, erledigaeth for erliledigaeth § 44 iv.

It is also seen in -adaeth, -dabaeth, -debaeth, -wraeth, etc.

(3) *aid, Ml. W. -eit < *-aṭio-s, *-äτā: llwyaid § 139 iii.

(4) -aint, Ml. W. -eint: henaint ‘old age; dioddefaint ‘suffering’ § 203 ii (3), q.v.


(6) *as < *assā: teyrnas f. ‘kingdom’; also -jas, as triglas ‘residence’: Ir. -as m. < *-assu- (Goth. -assu-): */*st-tā, */*st-tu-.

(7) -awd, -od, Ml. W. -awt < *-auté: traethawd ‘treatise’ < Lat. trætætus; molawd ‘praise’: Ir. molad; used to denote the stroke of a weapon cledyfawt, etc. § 139 iii < *-aṭio.

(8) -deb, -dab, -dabaeth, -debaeth, -neb, -nab all contain *ap- < *oq-, *oq- like Lat. antīquus, Skr. prātiuk-m ‘face’ and W. wyneb § 100 v. In -deb *ap- is added to a -ti- stem, in -neb to Brit. -iñi- (as in brenin iv (10)); -'ja- > *ē > e § 65 vi; in -dab -nab to allied adj. stems in -to-, -ño- (cf. Brugmann 2 II i 285); -'oa- > -'ā- > a. Silvan Evans states s.v. duncab that -dab etc. are “local forms”, meaning that the -a- is Gwyn. a for e, § 6 iii, which is absurd, for dial. a does not extend to the penult as in -dabaeth (dial. ataeb, ataebodd, not *atabodd). The forms with a occur before any trace of dial. a, and are used by writers of all parts: diceirdap P 14/2 R. (circa 1250), dewindabaeth R.B.B. 16, 38, 41, 42, C.M. 93; doethinab M 117 R. (c. 1285), R.B.B. fac. opp. p. 1 c. 1310–1330; cowreindab S.T., Il 169/39 R.; hydab L.G.C. 195; geudab Ps. lxxii 9.

Y Drindod a ro *a undab
* Printed dro.
Er deigr Mair deg ar i Mab.—T.A. c. ii 78.

‘The Trinity bring about union for the sake of fair Mary’s tear for her Son.’
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(9) -der, -ter < *-tero- cpv. suff.: dyfn-der 'depth'.
(10) -did, -tid, Ml. W. -dit, -tit < Ar. *-tūt-: gwen-did 'weakness';
    -dod, -tod, Ml. W. -dawt, -tawt < Ar. *-tūt-: cryn-dod 'trembling';
    : Lat. vir-tūt- (<> *vir-o-tūt-); civi-tūt-.

(dra, -tra, see (22) below.

(11) -dwr < *-turo-, prob. -ro- added to -tu- stem., cf. Gk. μάρ-τυρος:
    cryfdwr 'strength'.

(12) -ed, Ml. W. -et, partly < -itās, as in cived < Lat. civitās;
    partly < -e-to, Ml. W. dyly-et < *dligeto-n: Ir. dliget.—syched 'thirst';
    nedd-ed 'protection', called 'loss', etc.

(13) -edd < *-iē: trugaredd 'mercy' < *trūgakariē: Ir. trōcaire;
    : Gk. i-ē, άναπχια, etc. Most nouns with this ending have become
    mas. in W.; but many retain the orig. gender § 139 i.

(14) -eg < -ikā: as gramadeg < grammatica; so hanereg 'half-
    measure' < Brit. *san-ter-iē. It forms the names of languages as
    Saesneg, Gwyddeleg, Ffrangay, Gwymondeg 'the dialect of Gwynedd',
    Gro-eg, Cymrā-eg. In the last two contraction took place. Wm.S.
    took -aeg for the ending in Cymrāeg, and so, beside the correct
    Saesneg, wrote Saesnaeg and Saesonaeg, see the headings in his Dict.
    Gwyddelega, Ffrancaeg etc. were also formed, either by him or by his
    imitators. D.D. s.v. aeg vehemently protests against these solecisms,
    and against the use of aeg as a word meaning 'language', a—Kynys
    Yspaenan a ĺyvedet y hawr c.m. 19 'For it was Spanish that the giant
    spoke'. Kymradec/Chwec R.F. 1189. Ffrangec da lōewdec διλετήθη
    do. 1225 'Good clear pure French'.

Dysgais yr eang Ffrangeg;
Doeth yw i dysg, da iath deg.—I.R., p 82/309 R.

'I have learnt the rich French language; wise is its learning, far
good tongue.'

(15) -es < *issā: buches 'herd of cows, place for milking';
    llynges 'fleet', lloches 'hiding-place'; cf. iv (4).

(16) -fa: i. < *-mag- 'place': por-fa 'pasture'; cam-fa 'stile';
    trig-fa 'dwelling place'; cyrch-fa 'resort'.—2. Abstr. for -fan(n)
    v.n. ending § 203 ii (2), by loss of -nn § 110 v (2) < Ar. *-m-e-
    § 62 i (2): llwyn-fa 'a burning'; llaed-fa 'slaughter'; cryn-fa
    'tremor'; bodd-fa 'deluge'. The two are confused, and the second
    class have plurals like the first, as llosyfydd.

(17) -i is the same as the v.n. ending -i, see § 202 ii; thus
    tloidi 'poverty' (also as v.n. 'to impoverish'), noethi 'nakedness' (v.n.
    'to denude'), diogi 'idleness' (v.n. 'to idle'), caledi 'hardship';
    ywedi 'vanity', ymddifedi 'destitution'.

(18) -jad, -ad added to verb-stems is properly -ad, as shown by

* Yr aeg is of course parallel to the 'ologies' in Eng., except that in Eng. no
  one imagines ology to be a real word. It is strange that the false division
  was not extended to -es; though a Welshwoman is Cymraes, no one has written
  Gwyddelega for Gwydneys, or called his wife yr aes.
such forms as carad, e.g. *llu du di-garad B.B. 86, and especially the form *-hâd (for *-ha-ad), which would be *-haead if the ending were *-iad; but with stems in -i- we have e.g. rhôdi- ad (*rhodiâf); from these *-iad was generalized, but too late to cause penultimate affec-
tion; hence cariad ‘love’ (*-iad agent affects, see iv (5)). -ad, pl. -adau is from *-a-tu- (Ar. *-tu- verbal-abstr. suffix): Lat. supine genitum < *jen-tu-m; -ad f. < *-a-tâ § 203 iii (8).

(19) -jant is similarly -ant < *-nt-, participial suffix, as in Ml. W. derevánt m.la. 152 ‘stink’, Mn. W. dreviânt; it generally appears as -jant in Ml. and Mn. W.: medîvant w.m. 8, Mn. W. meddiânt ‘possession’.

(20) -id in addewid f. ‘promise’, perhaps < *-i-tâ (: Lat. finitus); in cadernid m. ‘might’ < *-i-tu- (: Lat. sup. vestitum); — rhîddid is a late re-formation of rhy(ð)-did.

(21) -ni < Brit. *gnînu-, O. W. gînem ‘work’ § 203 vii (4): mechni-i ‘bail’ (macht ‘a surety’), noeth-ni ‘nakedness’; -oni < *-onognîm- § 155 ii (1): haelîont ‘liberality’; also -oni in barddoni (bardhony a.l. i 78) ‘bardism’. As -ni is for *-gni, and nzn > n § 110 ii (1), the ending cannot be distinguished from -i after n; thus trueni ‘wretchedness’, gwîrînti ‘unseemliness’ may have -i or *-gîni.

(22) -red, lit. ‘course’, <*-reto-, √ ret- § 63 ii: gweirhred ‘action’, Ml. W. brithred ‘confusion’ (= Ir. brechtrîad ‘commingling’); in a more literal sense, hydred ‘length’, lledred ‘breadth’.


-dra, -tra, lit. ‘course’ < *-trog-, √ tregh- § 65 ii (1): e-ofn-dra ‘fearlessness’.

(23) -wch < *-is-qo-, v.n. ending; see § 201 iii (2): tywyllich ‘darkness’, hudwîch ‘peace’. The -wg in the by-form tywylweg is prob. due to dissim. of continuants; see § 201 iii (3).

(24) -yd < *-o-tûts, nom. sg. of *-o-tût- (10): bywyd ‘life’, Ir. bethu < Kelt. *biwOtûts; melydd ‘youth’, partly perhaps <*-iî : (Lat. -itia, and substituted for it, as triastyd < *trîstitia < trîstitia).

(25) -ynt in helynt ‘course’; tremynt (dremynt) ‘sight’; prob. *-en- + -î.

iv. Endings denoting agent or person: (1) -adur < Lat. -ätôrem, as in pechardur < peccatórem, extended to new formations: henadur ‘elder’, penadur ‘chieftain’; in creadur ‘creature’ it comes of course from -ätôra.

(2) -ai, Ml. W. -ei, properly -hei for it hardens the preceding consonant, < *sagî ‘seeker’ § 104 ii (2), as blotai ‘beggar of meal’ (blawd ‘meal’), cynmutai ‘gatherer of firewood’ (cynnud ‘firewood’) etc. The late artificial formation mynegai ‘index’ is wrong in form (it should be *mynecati) and in meaning (it should denote a ‘seeker’).

(3) -awdr < Lat. -àtor, as in ymjhdwadr < imperâtor, créawdr < creador, extended in W., as in dysgawdr ‘teacher’, llywîawdr ‘ruler’.
For W. awdr ‘author’ < Lat. au(c)tor (beside awdur < acc. au(c)tor) the dial. form awdur (with parasitic w § 16 v (3)) came to be used in Late W. The above words were then mistaken for compounds of this, and wrongly spelt and accented ymherawdur, credawdur. Lastly the -wr was mistaken for -wr ‘man’, (8) below, and a new pl. ymherawdwr formed instead of the true pl. ym(h)erodr; but ym(h)erodraeth remains.

(4) -es < Brit. *-isso : Lat. -issa : brenhines etc. § 137 i.

(5) -iad : hebrynogiat w.m. 4 ‘guide’; it affects a to ei : lleiddiad ‘killer’ (lladd ‘kill’), datgeiniod ‘singer’; after w the i is lost § 36 v, as geilwad ‘caller’ (gawl ‘call’), ceidwad ‘keeper, saviour’ (cadw ‘keep’). It implies Brit. -iatis (or *i latina) : Gaul. Na(m)awratis, Galáta : Ir. -ith, i-stem; the suffix is -i- (or -tâ) : Gk. μάτις, κρυτής; -ix- or -ia- < -ia- or -e- : the affection of the vowel shows that the -ia- form was already generalized in Brit.

(6) -og, Ml. W. -awc < Brit. -ākos adj. suffix § 153 (5) forms m. nouns as tynysog ‘prince’, marchog ‘knight’, swyddog ‘officer’, and f. nouns as fflolog, see § 139 iv; the former have feminines in -oggles : tynysoges ‘princess’, cymygoges ‘neighbour’.


(10) Endings of more restricted use: -ig in pendefig ‘chieftain’, gwledig ‘prince’, < *-i-kō-, § 153 (9).

-in in brenin < *-i(n)-i ; cf. pl. brenhinoedd; -in from Lat. -ino- in dewin for *diwin < divinus, per(i)erin ‘pilgrim’ < *pergerinos < peregrinus.

v. Endings denoting instrument or thing: (1) -adur, iv (1) : Ml. W. paladur, Mn. W. pladur ‘scythe’, gwniadur ‘thimble’ etc.

(2) -in < -ina : melin ‘mill’ < Lat. molina ; cegin § 89 iii ; so cribyn, megin, etc. 139 iv. The m. buelin may have -in < *-i(k)m-, cf. Gaul. celcionon ‘tower’, √ gel- ‘high’ : Lat. celsus, columnen.

(3) -ell < -ella or -illa : padell ‘pan’ < Lat. patella ; pibell ‘pipe’.

(4) -og iv (6), besides names of persons, forms f. names of things, as arfedog ‘apron’, clustog ‘cushion’, of plants, as tewbanog ‘mullein’, of places, as mawnog ‘peat-bog’, brwynog ‘marsh’, etc., and m. names of birds as cyffyllog ‘woodcock’, and animals, as draenog ‘hedgehog’, llwynog ‘fox’.

(5) -wr iv (8) : crafer ‘scraper’.
§ 144. The pl. of adjectives is formed from the sg. as follows:


iii. The addition of -ion causes the following vowel changes:


The comparatively late pl. mawrion is an exception; an older form is perhaps moryn b.t. 45; but the original form mawr < *mārī (like the sg. mawr < *māros) generally remained: Uoppanew mawr w.m. 23, r.m. 14 ‘big boots’. A similar exception is traswion m.a. i 544.


e is not affected: uchel ‘high’ pl. uchelion m.a. i 565a; see gwelwon etc. iv. a is unaffected in the late pl. meddalion; the old pl. is meddal like the sg.: petheu clayr medal l.l.a. 70 “blanda et mollia”. ae remains unaffected, and the ending in some old forms is written -on, as haelon b.b. 3, r.p. 1169, m.a. i 283a, later haelon.

iv. After the groups mentioned in § 36 v-vii, the i drops, so that the ending appears as -on: gwelw ‘pale’, pl. gwelwion r.p. 1196, gweddw ‘widowed’, pl. gweddwn do. 1236; chweryw ‘bitter’, pl. chweryon; hoyw ‘sprightly’, pl. hoywon; du ‘black’, pl. duon; teneu ‘thin’, pl. teneuon; budr ‘dirty’, pl. budron; garw ‘rough’, pl. geirwon; maryl ‘dead’, pl. meirwion; llathcir ‘bright’,
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pl. lleithron (lleithryon in w. 7b). The affection of the vowel in geirwón etc. bears witness to the lost i.

In most Ml. W. mss. the i, following ei, is lost after all consonants, as in S.W. dialects, § 35 ii, as deillon r.p. 1236 (beside deillwyn 1196).

v. Some adjectives have two plurals, one formed by affection, and one by adding -ion: hardd 'handsome', pl. heirdd, heirddion; garw 'rough', pl geiry, geirwón; mawr 'dead', pl. meiry, meirwón.

caled usually remains unchanged: rhai caled T.A. c. ii 79, pethau caled Ex. xviii 26, cf. 1 Bren. x 1, xiv 6; but caledion Judas 15 (though calet here also in Wm.S.), cledion c.c. 334. The spoken forms are caled and cledion. The form celyd R.G.D. 96 seems to be a recent invention; Wms. 372 has Yr hoelion geirwón caled, changed in recent hymnbooks to celyd. Similarly Cymraeg is sg. and pl.: henweu Kymraeg s.c. 172 'Welsh names'.

§ 145. i. The only pl. forms which are originally adjectival are those produced by vowel affection; where these exist they generally accompany pl. nouns, thus gwyr cedryn, not gwyr cadarn. But we have seen that from the Ar. period *-jð, pl. *-jones formed nouns corresponding to adjectives in *-jós § 121 i; and there can be no doubt that W. forms in -ion (from *-jones) were originally nouns, as they may still be, e.g. y tlodion 'the poor'. The distinction between these nouns and adjectives proper was obscured by the fact that adjectives might be used as nouns, e.g. y kedyrn w.m. 51 'the mighty'; then, in imitation of gwyr cedryn 'mighty men', expressions like plant tlodion 'poor children' were formed for the sake of formal agreement, as the agreement was not apparent in an adj. like tlawd which had the same form for sg. and pl. But the old tradition persisted, and the use of forms in -ion was, and is, optional: eriron du, . . . coch, eriron gwinn, . . . glas, . . . lluid b.b. 72-3 'black . . ., red . . ., white . . ., blue . . ., grey eagles'; dynyon mwyn r.m. 21 'gentle folk', meirch dof do. 31 'tame horses'; and is more frequent in later than in earlier periods, thus bratleu trwm of w.m. 23 appears as bratleu trymión in the later r.m. 14. Hence we find (1) as forms in -ion were not really needed, many adjectives remained without them, and have no distinctive pl. forms; (2) in many cases plurals in -ion remain substantival.

ii. The following adjectives have no distinctive plural forms in use:
(1) The simple adjectives (or old derivatives no longer recognized as such): *bach*, *ban*, *call*, *cas*, *certh*, *draft*, *cu*, *cun*, *chweg*, *da*, *dig*, *dryg*, *flwch*, *gau*, *gwâr*, *gwir*, *gwym*, *hafal*, *hagr*, *hawdd*, *hên*, *hoff*, *llawen*, *llesg*, *lôn*, *llwyr*, *mad*, *mân*, *pur*, *rhad*, *serffyl*, *serth*, *sobr*, *swrth*, *tag*.

*bychain* is pl. of *bychan*, not of *bach*, which is sg. and pl. like the others in the above list; thus *plentyn bach* 'little child', pl. *plant bach*.

_ yr adar bach a rwyndud_
_ A’th iaith dwyllodrus a’th hud._ — D.G. 313.

'Thou wouldst snare the little birds with thy deceiving words and thy wile.'

d*ryg* is also an abstract noun, pl. *drygau* 'evils'. hag*r* is included in D.'s list; Rowland's hag*ron* is obviously spurious—it would be *heigron* if genuine. hê*n* is included because hê*n*lon *M.A. 95* is only known to occur once, and that in verse. D. y C. has *hyff* as pl. of *hoff*, as well as *âiglyff*, *praff* and *craff* as pl. of *anghloff*, *praff*, *craff* apparently extemporized R.F. 1361 (*praff* has pl. *preiffion*). *mân* is usually pl. as in *cerrig mân* 'small stones', often sg. as in *gro mân* 'fine gravel'.

glôn 'clean' has pl. *gleinjôn* *M.A. 102*, R.F. 1236, which is comparatively rare, and became extinct. D. 56 includes *tywyll*, but quotes an example of *tywyllion*; this and one or two others like *melysion* (for *melys* pl., Diar. xxiii 8) are not uncommon in Late Mn. W.

(2) Adjectives of the equative or comparative degree. But superlative adjectives have substantival plurals.

(3) Derivative adjectives in -*adwy*, -*aid*, -*aidd*, -*ar*, -*gar*, -*in*, -*lyd*, § 153. But adjectives in -*ig*, -*og*, -*ol*, -*us* have plurals in -*ion*, which commonly precede their nouns, but may follow them, as *gwyr bonhedi*gion s.g. 62 'gentlemen'.

_nefolyôn* vybodeu ac *ysprydolôyn* gelvydodeu *M.A. 103* 'heavenly sciences and spiritual arts', cf. 102. *Deddfolion* *ddymin* a *ddyfalon* *M.A. i 26* 'law-abiding men they deride'. o'r *nefolion a'r daearolion* a *thanddaearolion* *bethau* Phil. ii 10. — *Nerthosôd nefolyôn . . . neu wrthygu* *fyveolôyn* *M.A. 102* 'heavenly powers or wonderful miracles'.

_Y mae'r sir wedi marw Siôn_

'The county, after the death of Siôn, is void of famous men.'

*Rhoed yn un bedd mawrredd Môn—*
*_Eu dwgorff urddedigion._ — H.K._

'In one grave has been laid the greatness of Môn, their two noble bodies.'
(4) Most compound adjectives, as hy-glyw, hy-glod, e-ang, sirwyth-lon, melys-lais, etc. But when the second element is an adj. which may take -jon, the ending is sometimes affixed to the compound; thus claer-wynnjon p.l.a. 92 ‘bright’, gloyw-suon do. 93 ‘glossy-back’; glas-feinion D.G. 87 ‘green and slender’, tal-gryfion Ezek. iii 7 “of an hard forehead”.

D. 56 quotes cyndynjon, erchyllion (erch-hylion) as exceptional forms in

Dyon cyndyon dinerth
Hyllion erchyllion a cherth.—Anon.

‘Stubborn (but) weak men, ugly, hideous and strange.’

iii. Many adjectives have substantival plurals used partly as abstract nouns as uchelion Gr.O. 120 ‘heights’, but chiefly to denote classes of persons; the sg. is also in some cases substantival. The pl. is formed either by affection or by adding -jon or -jaid, Ml. W. -yon, -yeit; the latter is used for persons only, and causes the same penult. affection as -jon, except in late formations. Thus caeth ‘slave’ pl. keith, Mn. W. caith L.G.C. 63, or Ml. W. keithyeit or Mn. W. caethion; byddar ‘deaf’ pl. byddair, later formation byddariaid; balch ‘proud’ pl. belch r.p. 1334 l. 46, belchion, belchiaid; truan ‘wretch’ pl. truinain, trueinion, trueiniaid; gwan ‘weak’, pl. gweinjon m.a. i 220b, gweinjeit r.p. 1196, Mn. W. gweiniaid; dall ‘blind’ pl. deillion, deilliad.

Ar ol y ferch ar wyl Fair
O gloi’r bedd e glyw’r byddair.—T.A., c. ii 83.

‘The deaf hear [the lamentations] for the maid on Lady Day at the closing of the grave.’

A’i lun gwrol yn gorwedd
Ef a unia’i r beilch ofni’r bedd.—T.A., A 14975/107.

‘Since his manly form lies [in it], he makes the proud fear the grave.’

Be chwiliad pob ach aliwn,
Bylchau’n ach beilchion a wn.—T.A., A 14966/277.

‘If every alien pedigree were examined I know gaps in the pedigree of proud ones.’

A phlaid o feilchiaid a fydd.—D.E., p 100/249.

‘And there will be a company of the proud.’

Note. gweiniaid is often used adjectivally in Mn. W., as rhai gweiniaid 1 Cor. ix 22; on the other hand gweinion is often a noun
even as late as C.C. 338 (dated 1588). blwyddiaid is the only form of the pl. of the adj. blwydd 'year old', and is used adjectivally, as saith oen blwyddiaid Lev. xxiii 18; see § 122 iv (2), p. 206.

iv. Many superlatives have pl. forms which are substantival only; one, hynaif 'elders', is formed by affection; the others take -ion or -iaid, as goreuon, hynaiaid (the a of -af is not affected); eithafoed R.M. 186, L.G.C. 140, 152 (beside eithafion) and pellafoedd are peculiar in having -oedd.

Hopeyn ar lasfryn a'i laif.
Hwmmw oedd fal yr hynaif.—L.G.C. 167, cf. 10.

'Hopkin on a green hill with his sword,—he was as the men of old.'
Llan Nefydd, lle i hynaiaid.—T.A., A 31102/158.

'Llan Nefydd, the place of his ancestors.'
I wyth ymys y'lh aned,
O'th ofn cryyn eithafion Cred.—T.A., A 14971/390.

'For eight islands hast thou been born, the uttermost parts of Christendom tremble for fear of thee.'

v. Derivatives in -ig, -og, -ol, -us have substantival plurals in -ion only; as y dysgedigion 'the learned', y cyfoethogion 'the wealthy', meidrolion 'finite beings', rheidusion m.a. i 315a 'needy ones'.

Ac yr wyf inneu yn mynet yn erbyn bonheôsigyon y wlat hon s.g. 293 'and I am going against the gentlemen of this country'.
Efe a dwyallt ddirmyg ar foneddigion Ps. cvii 40.

vi. Many compounds have plurals used as nouns only: kyvoedýon C. m.a. i 233b 'contemporaries', anwariaid 'savages', y fffyddloniaid 'the faithful'; pengryniaid and pengryniaid 'round-heads'; prydferthion 'beauties', abstract.

**Gender.**

§ 146. i. Many adjectives containing w or q have f. forms in which these vowels are affected to o or e respectively, §§ 68, 83. The change takes place chiefly in monosyllables.

ii. Monosyllables containing w or y may be classified thus:

(1) In the following the affection takes place in the f., in the literary language:— w : blwng I.G. 198 'angry', f. blong see ex.; brwnt 'dirty'; bwlch (kic bwlch a.l. i 524 'meat in cut'), f. bolch
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Rhoes hwrd i’m llong, rhoes fling floedd.—G.Gr. v 51/49.

‘[The billow] gave my ship a push, and gave an angry shout.’

Oer yw rhew ar warr heol:
Oerach yw ‘mwrn donn yn d’ol.—W.I.L., g 300.

‘Cold is the frost on the ridge of the roadway; colder is my stricken breast after thee.’

(2) In the following both the unaffected and the affected form are used for the f.; in some cases perhaps the affected is a conscious formation, more or less artificial:—w: flwch, f. in D.G. 80, but -ffloch in comp. I.G. 226 ‘flush’; pôldr ‘rotten’, f. Num. v 21, but podr I.G. 399; rhwth ‘distended’, gegrwth f. D.G. 344, but roth I.G. 406; swrth, f. sorth ‘prostrate’ Gr.O. 59.—y: clyd ‘sheltered’, cid f. b.b. 62, but cled D.G. 221 and later poetry, see ex., now clyd f.; crych ‘curly’, f. D.G. 75,—crech in comp. see iv (1); chwyrn ‘whirling’, f. D.G. 418, late chwern D.P.O. 344; gwydn ‘tough’, gwedn D.G. 50; gwynp ‘fine’, I.R. has gwemps says D. 54; hyll, f. D.G. 71, nos hyll ‘horrid night’ do. 500, later f. hell, but generally hyl, and so in spoken W. (the compound diell is not necessarily f. as D. assumed, but is for di-hyll by dissim. § 16 iv (2), and may be mas. as diell dëyrn m.a. i 4936).

Od aeth Rhys o’i glaerllys gled,
Yr wyf finnau ar fywed.—D.N., m 136/109.

‘If Rhys has gone [to the grave] from his warm bright home, I too am about to go.’

(3) In the following the vowel is never affected, but the unaffected form is m. and f.:—w: brwch ‘warm’, drwch ‘bad’, glwth ‘gluttonous’, gwrrdd ‘strong’, gwrm ‘brown’, llwfr ‘corrupt’.—y: dygn ‘grievous’; grym ‘strong’; gwychn, f. D.G. 89, 143, 156, 315, 359 ‘fine’ (gwech is a late fabrication); gwychner ‘victorious’; gwyllt see ex.; hy ‘bold’; hydr ‘valiant’; myg ‘admirable’; rhydd ‘free’; rhyn(n) f. D.G. 267 ‘shivering, cold’; syn(n) ‘astonishing’.
Hed drosod hyd a dir Essyllt
O berfedd gwlad Wynedd wyllt.—D.G. 523.

'Fly for my sake as far as the land of Essyllt from the heart of the wild region of Gwynedd.'

iii. The change takes place rarely in un compounded polysyllables:

(1) *Melyn* 'yellow' has f. *melen* always.
(2) D.D. gives 'manol et manol' s.v. but cites (from L.G.C. 318) *manol* f.; the form *manol* seems a variant (late) of *manol* rather than a f. For the f. of *tywyll* L.G.C. and D.E. wrote *tywell*, which is quite certainly a spurious form, for *tywyll* originally had in its ult. not y but *wy* § 38 x, § 111 i (2), and could no more take a. f. form than *llyd* 'grey'. The true f. is *tywyll*: *Stavell Gyneddyan ys tywyll* r.p. 1045 'The hall of C. is dark'; *Tywyll yw'r nos... tywyll yw'r fro* D.G. 267 'dark is the night, dark is the land'; *rhan dywyll* Luc xi 36. D. 54 states correctly that *tywyll* is com., quoting as violating usage ('sed dixit poetæ') the well-known couplet—

*Nos da i'r Ynys Dywell;
Ni wn oes un ynys well. —L.G.C., m 146/140.*

'Good night to the dark island; I know not if a better island be.' The name, which denotes Anglesey, is properly *yr Ynys Dywyll* (*Ynys Dowyll* Camden 681, *Ynys Dowyll* Mona Ant. 24). Rowland 41 gives *tywell* as regular, and cites the couplet as an example, borrowing it from D. or his translator, but lacking D.'s scholarship. Some recent writers have used the form, having learnt it from these sources; and naturally Wm's *tywyll nos* is everywhere "corrected" to *tywell nos* in the new C.-M. hymnbook. The spoken language of course preserves the traditional form *nos dywyll*.

In Ml. and Early Mn. W. derivatives in -lyd had f. forms in -led: croc creuled b.b. 41 'bloody cross'; *y dreic danellet* s.g. 294, 329 'the fiery dragon'; *arf wyarllt* G.Gl. d. 59 'gory weapon';

*Ae wybren drymled b ledor —D.G. 229.*

'And a gloomy chilly sky, and its drift hiding the moon.'

(3) But the bulk of polysyllabic adjectives with *w* or *u* in the ult., which are not conscious compounds, have no distinctive f. form: *w*: agwedd 'strong', amlog 'evident', chwirwth 'quick', teilig 'worthy', etc.—*y*: *melys* 'sweet', *dyrys* 'intricate', *hysbys* 'known', *echrys* 'terrible', *newydd* 'new', *celfydd* 'skillful', *pybyr* f. I.G. 11 1 'keen', *ufyll* 'humble', *serfyll* 'prostrate', etc. etc.

iv. The affection often takes place in compounds:

(1) In the second element when it is an adj. as *pen-grych* R.M. 163 'curly-haired', f. *benn-grech* do. 232 (but *ben-grych* in the earlier
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w.m. 165); clae rwyn m.a. i 92 'bright', f. clae rwen D.G. 48; mny gyl-wen do. 137 'white-throated', drwyn-lem do. 395 'sharp-nosed'; gwalt-felyn c. 157 'yellow-haired', f. gwalt-fe l en D.G. 107; di-syml 'artless', f. di-seml D.G. 53.

Dywed, donn lwlys-gron, lás-greg,
Chwedl da am ferch wiwdal deg.—G.Gr. P 77/194.

'Tell me, finely-curved blue hoarse wave, good news of the fair sweet-faced maiden.'

Sometimes the first element is affected in co-ordinate compounds, as tlos-deg D.G. 518 'beautiful and fair', sech-goeg I.G. 406 'dry and void'; and in rare cases both elements, as cron-fferf D.G. 38 'round and firm'.

(2) But old compounds, consisting of prefix + adj. and others which are not consciously felt to be compounds, retain their vowel unaffected: hy-dyn 'tractable', an-hydyn 'intractable', cyn-dyn 'stubborn', ed-lym 'keen', cymysg 'mixed', hy-fryd 'pleasant', dy-bryd 'ugly', cuffylyb 'like', am lwg, agwrdd, etc. iii (3).

v. The following are irregular:

(1) brith 'speckled' has f. braith, Ml. W. breith, a special case of a affection, not originally irregular, see § 68.
(2) The change takes place in the penult in bychan 'little', f. bechan, see § 101 ii (2), and cwtu 'short', f. sometimes cota; and sometimes in comparatives and superlatives; see § 147 iii.

vi. There is no distinctive form for the f. pl.

COMPARISON.

§ 147. i. The adjective in W. has four degrees of comparison, the positive, the equative, the comparative, and the superlative.

As the cpv. is followed by no, later na 'than', the equative is preceded by cyn and followed by á (unacc., a) : cyn wynned á'r eira 'as white as snow'; 'of' after the spv. is expressed by o : y byrraf o'r ddau lit. 'the shortest of the two'.

ii. (1) The derived degrees are formed from the positive by the addition of -(h)ed, -ach, -(h)af respectively. The -(h)- of the equative and spv. disappeared after the accent § 48 ii, but hardened final -b, -d, or -g to tenues, even when these were followed by a sonant; in Late Mnl. W. the hardening is extended to the cpv. Of course all mutable vowels are mutated, § 81. Thus the present-day comparison is as follows:—
(2) But in Ml. W. the final consonant of the positive was not hardened in the comparative; thus we have tebygach w.m. 44, r.m. 30 'more likely', tegach 'fairer' beside teckaf 'fairest' w.m. 226, r.m. 164, hyfrydach r.b.b. 50 'more pleasant', reidach r.p. 1249 'more necessary'. The tenuis is rare: kaletach b.t. 64, 69 'harder'. The media remained in Early Mn. W., e.g. rywiogach L.G.C. see § 115 ii; caledach G.Gl. c. i 195; tegach T.A. a 14967/89; tlodach see ex.

\[
\text{Aeth cerdd dafod yn d\l odach;} \\
\text{Aed ef i wlad nef yn iach.}——\text{H.D., p 99/416.}
\]

'Poetry became poorer [by his loss]; may he go safe to heaven.'

The equative and superlative, however, always have the tenuis: kyn-debycket w.m. 34, r.m. 22, teccet w.m. 181, r.m. 84, teccaf a gwastataf w.m. 179, r.m. 83, etc. The -h- which caused this hardening is sometimes preserved in Ml. W.; dahet r.m. 50 'as good'; mwyhaf w.m. 179, r.m. 83; ky vawhet, gurhaw § 149 i (2); pennhaw (-w = -f) b.b. 102; see § 48 iv.

* On 𐐟 before the ending, see § 35 ii (2).

***. In Ml. W. f. forms of the derived degrees arose, the endings being added to the f. positive; these are new formations, and are less frequent in earlier than in later texts; thus dissymlaf of w.m. 6 becomes disemylaf in r.m. 4. Other examples are tromhaf w.m. 82, r.m. 60; gweu(n)ach r.b.b. 60; gwennet r.p. 1239; dofnet do. 1276. A few survive in the Mn. period, eos dlosqf D.G. 402 'most beautiful nightingale'; berraf f. 17; Wennaf Wen.

iv. (1) The comparison of adjectives in the Ar. languages is largely formed by means of the Ar. suffix *-jes-. The L°-grade *-iös gives Lat. -ior nom. sg. m. f. of the cpv.; the F°-grade *-jos gives Lat. -ius the corresponding neuter; the R-grade -is is seen in the Lat. cpv. adverb mag-is. The R-grade -is- with other suffixes gave many forms of the cpv. and spv.
(2) The W. spv. *haf (= Ir. -em, -am) is from Kelt. *-isamos, *-isamā < Italo-Kelt. *-is.m-os, -ā, cf. Lat. plurimus < *plois.mos. This is formed by adding the ordinal ending *-emos (: Lat. septimus) to the suffix of comparison -is-, just as the other ordinal ending -tos (: Lat. sex-tus) added to -is- forms the other spv. ending -istos familiar in Gk. and Germanic. [The -ss- of Lat. -istimus is due to some reformation, probably -is- + -simus newly compounded, the latter element containing -(i)s- already.]

(3) The W. cpv. *ach (Bret. -oc'h) seems to come from Brit. *-aks- for unaccented *-āks- § 74; probably in full *-āk'son < *-āk-isōn (final *-on for *-ōn § 59 v) the cpv. in *-is-ōn (: Gk. -uv, Goth. -iza) of a derivative in *-āk-ōs of the adj. § 153 (5). The general substitution of the cpv. of a derivative for the ordinary cpv. in *-ōs is doubtless due to the fact that, after the loss of endings, the cpv. in -ōs did not differ from the pos. pl. (*katurn-ōs would give *cedeim), or in some cases from the pos. sg. (*meliss-ōs would give *melys). The suffix -āk- itself prob. had a heightening force, as it has in Lith. when added to an adj.; in Lettish -āks is the ordinary cpv. ending. The suffix *-isōn is formed by adding *-ōn to the suffix of comparison *-is-. It occurs with loss of -i- in W. nes, haws, etc. § 148 i, q.v.; the final *-ōn is the L°-grade of a suffix -en-, which is perhaps to be seen in omgen § 148 ii and haeachen g. 234, apparently an obl. case of haeach § 220 iii (6). The final -n of the nom. sg. -son is prob. the initial of no 'than' § 113 i (1).

(4) The W. eqtv. *het (= Bret. exclamative -het) seems to be from Brit. *-is-eto-s, formed by adding the Kelt. ordinal suffix *-eto-s § 154 ii (2) to the suffix of comparison *-is-. It contains the same elements as the spv. suffix *-istos, but is a new and independent formation, in which each element preserves some measure of its significance: *-is- 'superior', *-eto- 'in order'. It is equative in meaning only when cyn is prefixed; thus cyn deced & 'as beautiful as', lit. 'equally excelling-in-beauty with'. Without cyn it is an exclamative, as uthet y kwynaf r.P. 1417 'how loudly I lament!'; so Ml. Bret. kazret den 'what a fine man!' (in the dial. of Leon the spv. is substituted for it, as brasa den 'what a big man!'). In W. it is largely used substantivally as the obj. of a vb. or prep., meaning not the quality denoted by the adj. but the degree of it: er i theced 'in spite of her superior beauty'.

Zimmer, KZ. xxxiv 161–223, held that the eqtv. was a noun like collæd, etc., which became an adj. by being compounded with cyn, which he regarded as *kom-; cf. lliw 'colour', cynliw 'of a like colour'. His explanation did not account for the -h- in the suffix; hence Stern, ZfCP. iii 164, suggests that the eqtv. is a compound, the second element being allied to Ir. sāth, Lat. salis, but this the vowel does not admit of.—The fact that teced is a noun in er i theced no more proves it to be a noun originally than the use of gweythaft

* Both survived for hên 'old', but the pl. only as a noun; thus hŷn 'older' < *seniōs, hŷn 'ancestors' < *seni.
as a noun in *er dy waethaf* 'in spite of thy worst' proves the spv. to be a primitive noun; the ordinal itself is so used, as *ar wyn deweddew* w.m. 83 'on my twelfth', meaning '[I] with eleven others'. Zimmer ignores the difference of meaning between the eqtv. and an abstract noun; *er fy nhlodi* is 'in spite of my poverty', but *er fy nhloted* is 'in spite of the degree of my poverty'; the former means 'though I am poor', the latter 'however poor I may be'; the idea of 'degree' is common to the W. eqtv. and Bret. exclamative, and it is absurd to assert, as Zimmer does, that it is a meaning read into the form by us moderns.

Some of the irregular equatives given in the next section begin with *cym-, cyn-, cyf-, cyr-,* which are the regular forms of Kelt. *kom- in composition. These do not require *cyn* before them; hence Zimmer believed that *cyn* before an equative in -(h)ed was identical with the above prefixes, and came from *kom-. But *cyn* is followed by a soft initial, and its -n (Ml. -nn) is never assimilated to the following consonant; Strachan, who accepts Zimmer's view, explains this briefly as follows: "the form *cyn* with analogical lenition became the general form before all sounds," Intr. 29. Analogy usually causes the one to conform to the many; but the above explanation involves the assumption of the many conforming to the one in the generalization of the pre-dental form *cyn-*(which did not take place in any other compounds of *kom-); it involves the same assumption in the generalization of the apparent lenition in *cy-w-*(as in *cy-wir*); as the two things (-n and lenition) could not co-exist in any formation from *kom-, the two generalizations would have to be independent, so that the improbability is raised to the second degree. Further, the -n- of *cyn* is not only old enough to provect l- and r- (§ 111 i), as in *cyn flonned, cyn rhated* (as opposed to *cyn-lawy, cyf-ran* from *kom-), but is actually older than the separation of W. and Bret., for in Ml. Bret. it is *quen.* Some other explanation of *cyn* must therefore be sought.

*cyn* (= *cyn*, in the dialects mostly *kin*) is now a proclitic, though it may be accented for emphasis; it was also a proclitic in Ml. W. for it was generally joined to the eqtv. in writing, though often separated, see below. But its -y- shows that originally it was a separate word separately accented, and distinguishes it from all the forms of *kom-, which have y. In *cyn-ddrwg, cyn* forms an improper compound with the adj., and its y becomes y § 46 1; this is the only case of y in *cyn* with lenition.—While *cyl- < *kom- can be prefixed to a noun or adj. as *cyl-liw, cyf-uwch*, the form *cyn* cannot be put before a noun; we cannot say *cyn harddowch, cyn dlodi, cyn rhaid, cym gyndeithnas, but must say cyn harddded, cyn dloted, cyn rheidied, cynn gydymdeithaset h.m. ii 419. Zimmer notes this, loc. cit. 197, but does not draw the obvious conclusion. The only word in W. not ending in -(h)ed used after *cyn* with lenition is *droyg, and that is an adj. In Bret. *quen, keun* (ker, kel) comes before positive adjectives: *quen drouc, quen bras.* The inference is that forms in -(h)ed are
adjectives. Bret. preserves traces of a wider use of *ken which shows that it is an adverb or conjunction: *ken ar re b'uwidik, *ken ar re bauur 'les riches aussi bien que les pauvres' Troude, Dic. Fr.-Bret. s.v. aussi 3. The W. lenition is probably more original than the Bret. non-mutation, as -n tends to cause proversion. The base of *cy*n is very probably *kom-as has been supposed, but it contains an additional element, doubtless an adverbial suffix, probably the loc. suffix *-dhi or *-dhe § 162 vi (2), thus *cy*n < *kon-dhi; cf. Umbr. ponne 'cum' < *gkom-de, O.Lat. quamde 'quam'.

In Ml. W. beside kyn- as kyndebycket w.m. 34, and kynn written separately as kynn decket w.m. 19, 67, kynn gadarnnet do. 67, etc. we sometimes find ky- as kygyfyghet r.m. 150, ky druttet ib. This is due to the loss of final unaccented -nn, see § 110 v (2).

The misspelling can for cyn arose in the 18th cent., and was adopted by Pughe; but there is absolutely no justification for it either in the earlier written language or in the spoken dialects.

The Ir. eqtv. in -ithir, -idir is not phonetically related to the W. eqtv.

§ 148. i. The following adjectives are compared irregularly:—

(1) agos 'near' § 222 i (3); eqtv. mor agos s.g. 34, Job xli 16, kynneset c.m. 58; cpv. nes; spv. Ml. nessaf, now spelt nesaf.

W. nessaf, Ir. nesam < *ned-s,mo-s : Osc. nesimas 'proximae', Umb. nesinot 'proxime': Skr. náhyati 'binds' (h < *dh), /nedh-'bind'. The cpv. nes (≡ nēs) < *ned-son < *ned-son; as final -on became -on § 59 v, it would not affect the vowel; see § 147 iv (3).

In the dialects agos is often compared regularly (a)gosach, (a)gosa', thus *for* gosa' 'nearest way' for lit. fort (≡ for) nesaf m.a. i 367b. These forms sometimes crept into the written language in the later period; see Silvan Evans s.v. agos.

(2) bychan 'small, little'; eqtv. bychaned, lleied; cpv. Ml. llei, Mn. llai; spv. lleiaf.

bychan § 101 ii (2); vychanet, yr bychanet w.m. 44; am beth kyn-vychanet a kynnny s.g. 107 'for so small a thing as that'. For llai see § 104 ii (2). Rhys Brydydd used a spv. bychanaf, see Pughe s.v. mymryn.

(3) cynnar 'early', buan 'quick'; eqtv. cynted; cpv. cynt; spv. cynlaf.—buan is also compared regularly: buaned D.G. 132, buanach do. 225, Galarnad iv 19; so cynnar, spv. cynharaf 'earliest' etc.

Ni wydwn i varch gynt... no hunn r.m. 9 'I knew of no fleeter steed than this'.

buan § 63 vii (3);—cynt (: Ir. cēt, Gaul. Cintu-) is perhaps cpv. in meaning only; it is believed to be cognate with Goth. hindumists;
Eng. hind-er, be-hind, perhaps from $\check{v}$ kent- ‘point’; cf. blaenaf ‘foremost, first’: blaen ‘point’;—cyntaf §106 iii (3); cynnar §153 (4); cynffon ‘tail’ $<*$cynffo$n$ shows cynt meaning ‘hind’.

(4) da ‘good’; eqtv. Ml. kynna b.t. 10, r.p. 1403; Ml. kystadyl m.a. i 290, kystal b.t. 10, w.m. 4, 7, etc., Mn. cystadl, usually cystal; as a noun Ml. dahet w.m. 70, daet r.m. 207, Mn. daid, daed; cpv. gwell; spv. Mn. goreuhaf b.t. 65, b.b. 42, goreuaf ll.a. 49, but usually goreu, Mn. W. goreu, gorau.

da §65 ii (1); kynna $<*$kom-dag--; daid and daed, disyll. and monosyll., see exx.;—cystadl §96 ii (3), cf. distadl ibid.; the frequent use of the word caused the reduction -adl $->$ al; J.D.R.’s cystadled, and later cystled seem to be wrongly standardized forms of Gwyn. dial. cystadl, which may well be for cystadl by metathesis;—gwell orig. ‘choice’ §100 iii (2) prob. not cpv. in form;—goreu appears to be formed from gor- ‘super’ §156 i (17) and some form of the base *eyeser- ‘good’ §75 vii (3); it is not likely that goreu is shortened from goreuhaf, for the dropping of the ending would be against all analogy; rather goreuhaf is a rhetorical form made from goreu, and apparently not largely used at any time; the Mn. form is goreu, gorau, §81 iii (1); in the Early Mn. bards it rhymes with -au, see ex.—Pughe’s goraf is a fiction.

Br da-ød fo’r gair di-werth,
Ni bydd gwir heb addaw gwerth.—I.F., M 148/59.

‘However good a word without a bribe may be, it will not be [accepted as] true without the promise of a bribe.’

Gwae ni dy ddaed gan dy ddwyn.—T.A., g. 230 (7 syll.).

‘Woe to us that thou wert so good since thou art taken away.’ Cf. L.G.C. 190.

O gwyl gŵr gael y gorau,
Oed i’r gwr hun drugarhau.—T.A., A 24980/85.

‘If a man sees that he has the best [of it], it is time for that man to relent.’ So iau/orau H.C.IL., ll 133/212b; H.D. p 99/498.

(5) drwg ‘bad’; eqtv. kynërwe r.p. 1357, s.g. ii, 34, 37, etc., cynddrwg Gen. xli 19; as a noun drycket w.m. 227, Mn. dryced D.G. 40; cpv. gwaeth; spv. gwaethaf.

Drwg, Bret. drouk, droug, Ir. droch-, drog- $<*$Kelt. *druko-$\check{v}$ drheuregh/q-: Skr. druh-, dhruk ‘injuring, betraying’, drůhyati ‘hunts’, Germ. Trug : Lat. fraus;—cynddrwg §147 iii (4);—gwaeth, gwaethaf, Bret. gwaz, gwasa, Vann. gwac’h, Corn. gweth, gwetha; the Bret. forms show that W. wae is for woe, so that Stokes’s *vakto-s Fick 4 ii 260 is inadmissible; hence probably gwaethaf $<*$gwoc’h-haf $<*$upo-ped-isemos §75 ii (1): Lat. pessimus $<*$ped-samos; in that
case *gwaeth* is formed from the superlative; see *llydan* (11) below. These are, then, the compared forms of *gwaeth* ‘base, vile’, the positive often having a suffix lost in comparison, cf. *mawr, hir, uchel*; and *gwaeth* represents *upo-ped-lo-s*; its derivative *gwaethaf* ‘bottom’, O.W. *gwoilaut*, preserves the literal meaning (‘under foot’). Of course in Ml. and Mn. W. *gwaeth* is compared regularly, its relation to *gwaethaf* having been forgotten.

(6) **hawdd** ‘easy’; eqtv. *hawset* ll.a. 81, Mn. *hawsed*; cpv. *haws*; spv. *hawsaf* ll.a. 81, s.g. 13, Mn. *hawsaf*.

*hawdd*, originally ‘pleasant’, as in *hawddfyd* ‘pleasure’, *hawdit* (≡ *hawd-eyd*) b.b. 90 ‘fine day’, *hawdd-gar* ‘handsome’ § 153 (8) for *hayerdd* § 94 iv < Ar. *syādū-s*: Gk. ἱπός, Skr. *svādū-ḥ*, O.E. *swēte*, Lat. *svāvis* (≡*syādvā-s*), etc.; — cpv. *haws* < *syād’son* < *syādison=Gk. ἴπων < *syādisôn*;— spv. *hawsaf* < *syād’sonos*; the -aw- instead of -o- in the penult is due to the lost ṣ before it; cf. *gwaed* ‘song’ < *yg-, Ml. pl. *gwawdeu* r.p. 1216. In Gaul. we find *Suadu-rix, -genus* (prob. -ā-). For the development of the meaning cf. E. *ease* ‘comfort; facility’.

In Recent W. we sometimes see *hawddach* and *hawddaf* which come from the most debased dialect; good speakers still use the standard forms *haws, hawsaf*.


Owing to its obvious formation the word is generally written *anhawdd* in the late period; but the regular Mn. form is *ánodd*, because *h* is lost after the accent § 48 iv, and unaccented _aw_ > _o_ § 71 ii (1). The spoken form is *ánod*, in some parts *hánoð* by early metathesis of _h_, as perhaps in the O.W. form above.

* Maddau ūn ym oedd ánodd
  Na bat ym fyw neb un fodd.—I.D., c. 135; cf. c.c. 193.

‘It was difficult for me to part with one whose like did not live.’

*Eithr ános yw d’aros di.—T.A., c. i 340.*

‘But it is more difficult to confront thee.’

But the prefix may be separately accented § 45 iv (2), in which case the word is necessarily *án-hawdd*; this form is attested in—

*O deuaf ñyl i’w dai fo,
An-hawdd fydd fy nhúddo.—Gut.O., A 14967/60.*

‘If I come on a holiday to his houses, it will be difficult to confront me.’


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_Terminology and technical terms:_

- **Gk. spv.** Greek suffix.
- **cpv.** Comparative present.
- **n.** Noun.
- **adj.** Adjective.
- **cpv.** Comparative present.
- **W.** Welsh.
- **Mn.** Ml. North.
- **O.W.** Old Welsh.
- **t.** Tense.
- **s.g.** Subject-genitive.
- **ll.a.** Long after accent.
- **a.s.** Accusative singular.
- **hys.** Hebrew suffix.
- **s.** Subject.
- **i.s.** Instrumental singular.
- **s.p.** Subject plural.
- **i.p.** Instrumental plural.
- **pp.** Past participle.
- **pp.t.** Past participle tense.
- **pp.s.** Past participle subject.
- **pp.o.** Past participle object.
- **pp.p.** Past participle present.
- **pp.m.** Past participle main.
- **pp.ase.** Past participle ase.
- **n.** Number.
- **adj.** Adjective.
- **art.** Article.
- **prep.** Preposition.
- **conj.** Conjunction.
- **v.** Verb.
- **adv.** Adverb.
- **n.** Noun.
- **adj.** Adjective.
- **s.** Subject.
- **i.s.** Instrumental singular.
- **i.p.** Instrumental plural.
- **s.p.** Subject plural.
- **pp.** Past participle.
- **pp.t.** Past participle tense.
- **pp.s.** Past participle subject.
- **pp.o.** Past participle object.
- **s.** Subject.
- **i.s.** Instrumental singular.
- **i.p.** Instrumental plural.
- **s.p.** Subject plural.
- **pp.** Past participle.
- **pp.t.** Past participle tense.
- **pp.s.** Past participle subject.
- **pp.o.** Past participle object.
- **n.** Number.
- **num.** Number.
- **adj.** Adjective.
- **art.** Article.
- **prep.** Preposition.
- **conj.** Conjunction.
ACCIDENCE

hén, Ir. *seno-s= Gk. εἶχος, Skr. सुनाः, Lith. sēnas 'old', Lat. *senās;—cpv. hýn, Ir. síníu < *senjōs=Lat. senior; —spv. hýn(h)af < *sen-is mos, see llydan below.—The cpv. hýn is still in colloquial use, though the later and weaker hynach is more common; in S.W. also a still later henhach, henaf, re-formed from the pos.

(8) hir 'long'; eqtv. khyht w.m. 43, cyhyd § 41 v, contr. to cŷd; as a noun hŷd, e.g. in er hyd 'however long'; cpv. hwy; spv. hwyaf.

hir § 72: the root is *sê-; cyhyd 'as long' < *ko-sê-; hyd 'length', Ir. sîth < *sê-t-, Rē *sê- § 63 vii (5); —cpv. hwy, Ir. sîa < *seison for *sei-isôn ib.; —so spv. hwyaf, Ir. sîam < *sei-is mos.

The contracted form cŷd is common in Mn.W.: cŷd a rhaff D.G. 48 'as long as a rope', cyd a gywdd D.E. c. i24 'as long as trees', cyd E.P. rs. xliv 23 'so long'; cyd a phregh 'as long as a sermon'.—cŷd < cyhyd (which gives Card. dial. cichyd).

(9) ieuanc, ňefanc, ifanc § 76 iii (3) 'young'; eqtv. ieuanghet r.m. 160, ieuanghet c.m. 84; cpv. Ml. ieu b.t. 26, 28, Mn. iau; also ieuanghach s.g. 66; ieuangach Job xxx 1; spv. ieuaf a.l. i 542, ieuaf, ifaf, ieuangaf.

ieuanc, Bret. iauank, Ir. òac, contr. òc (whence W. hog-lanc 'lad'); —cpv. ieu < *iuigōs (Ir. òa with -a from the spv., see 11 below): Skr. घियस; —spv. ñeuaf, Ir. òam < *iuigīs mos.

(10) issel, now written isel 'low'; eqtv. issaf r.m. 94, Mn. isel; cpv. is (≡ ís); spv. issaf, isaf.

W. issel = Ir. is(s)el. The origin of the word is not certain, but it is most probably cognate with Lat. imus. Brugmann IF. xxix 210ff. derives imbūs, Osc. imad-en 'ab imo' from *ī or *id an adv. from the pron. stem *ī-, as Lat. deūmus, dēnum is formed from dē; and quotes other examples of 'here' becoming 'here below'. The Kelt. adj. is obviously formed after *upse-lo-s (> W. uchel 'high' § 86 iv); if the orig. adv. was *id, the adj. would be *id-selo-s > *isselo-s, which gives W. issel, Ir. issel regularly. Pedersen suggests *pēd-selo-, pēd- 'foot', but the connexion with Ital. spv. immo is more probable.

(11) llydan 'wide'; eqtv. cyfsled, as a noun iled; cpv. iled, late llætach; spv. llætæf.

W. llydan, Ir. lethán § 63 viii (1); W. iled noun, see ibid. ; spv. llætæf < *pleit-is mo-s.—The cpv. iled, Ir. letha (-a added in Ir.) is irregular; Osthoff derived W. iled from *pleit-is (Thurneysen Gr. 227), but it is not clear why the adverbial form -is should be generalized (the regular *pleitōs would give W. *lyd, Ir. *lithiu). As many comparatives were the same as the superlative without its ending, e.g. hwy, hwyaf, Ir. sîa, sîam, the probability is that some,
which differed, were assimilated, so that *Uyd is a re-formation of *Uyd on the analogy of *Uytaf. This seems also the simplest explanation of Ir. letha and similar forms. In the same way W. hynaf seems to owe its y to the comparative hyn, § 65 iv (1).

The cpv. *Uyd in Job x i 9 is changed in late editions to *Uytaf; the literary form is *Uyd: thus Eidion *Uyd nor' dunnell win Il. A 14967/20 'an ox broader than a tun of wine'; cf. L.G.C. 429.

O drugaredd pen Calfaria, sydd yn llawer *Uyd na'r byd.—Wms. 490.

'Oh the mercy of mount Calvary, which is much wider than the world.'

(12) mawr 'large, great'; eqtv. Ml. kymeint, Ml. cymaint, and Ml. kymein, Mn. cymain § 106 iii (2); as a noun meint, Mn. main; cpv. Ml. moe § 75 i (3), Ml. and Mn. mwy, as an adv. mwyach also; spv. mwyaf § 147 ii (2), mwyaf.

W. mawr, Ir. mór, mór, Gaul. Ξεγο-μαρος < Kelt. *mā-ros;—
cpv. mwy, Ir. māa, māo, mōu < *mā-jos § 75 i (3); spv. mwyaf <
*māismos < *mā-ismos; — the eqtv. noun maint < *ma-ni-s <
*mā-nī-s § 74 iv, with the suffix of numeral substantives such as
dekant-i-s < *dekant-i-s: Skr. daśatih 'a decade'; cf. the formation of
eqtv. adjectives with ordinal suffixes; cf. also pā veint cm. 78
'how many', y maint gwyrr a oed iodaw r.b.b. 46 'the number of men
that he had' = 'as many as he had', etc.—The dialectal form cymin(t)
of the eqtv. is met with, though rarely, in the bards:

Nid cymin ar y min maw
Blys gwin a blas i genau.—D.G. 317.

'Not so much on my mouth is the desire of wine as of the taste of her lips.'

(13) tren(n) 'strong'; cpv. trech (≡ trēch); spv. trechaf.

Trechaf treisied, gwannaf gwaeaddad prov. 'let the strongest
oppress, the weakest cry'. S.T. has a new cpv. trechach f. 6.

W. trenn, Ir. trēn < *trek-senō-s, √stereg-: Germ. stark, strenge,
Eng. strong;—cpv. trech, Ir. tressa (with added -o) < *trek'-son <
*treg-šōn;—spv. trechaf, Ir. tressam < *trek'-šmo-s.

chweg 'sweet' has Ml. cpv. chwechach w.m. 481, r.m. 121, formed
like trechach from an old cpv. *chwech < *syek'-son.

(14) uchel 'high'; eqtv. Ml. kyvuch, Mn. cyfwuuch, contr. cuwch;
exclam, uchet r.p. 1417; as a noun uchet w.m. 189; cpv. Ml. uch,
Mn. uwch; spv. uchaf.

uchel § 86 iv, § 96 iv (3); uch, uwch < *up'-son; uchaf < *up-
'smo-s: Lat. s-ummus < *s-up-mo-s, Gr. ἵππαρος < *up-m-to-s. On the
mutation uch- : uwch see § 77 x. The form uwchaf sometimes met
with in Late W. ignores the mutation; it is a re-formation from uwch,
as children say buwchod for buchod 'cows', sg. buwch.
ii. The following have defective comparison:—

(1) Spv. eithaf 'uttermost' < *ekt,mos : Lat. extimus, § 109 iv
(1) (to cpv. eithr 'except, but', Ir. echtar < *ektro-s : Lat. extrā § 99
v (4); to positive eh- ech- < *eks- : Lat. ex).

(2) Cpv. amgen 'other; better'; also a later amgenach s.g. 200, D.N. f.n. 91.

Ac amgen ledyr no hwnnw ny phrynei ef w.m. 67 'And other

leather than that he did not buy'.

amgen is a cpv. of similar form to hagen § 222 iii (4), and may be

e.g. in a(n)- of the cpv. corresponding to the spv. megys § 215 iv (3)

'like'; thus *g-sm-āk-is-en- > *amgien > amgen § 100 vi. (As the

2nd syll. drops -is- remained and gave i not k.)

(3) prif 'chief' < Lat. primus is not felt as a spv. in W.; it always

forms the first element of a compound: § 155 iii (1).

iii. Equatives with the prefix cy- may have before this the

prefix go-, as gogymaint, gogyuwch etc. Thus—

A'r llall a oed yn kynsuet ac yn ogymeint a bran s.g. 99 'and the

other was as black and as large as a crow'. yn ogyuwch à Duvv,

Phil. ii 6.—This form is sometimes predicated of both the things

compared: Nid gogyuhyd esgeiriau y cloff Diar. xxvi 7.

§ 149. i. Many nouns take the endings of comparison, and

thereby become adjectives of the respective degrees.

(1) The following are in common use in Mn. W.:

rhaid 'need'; eqtv. cyn rheited D.G. 299 'as necessary, as

fitting'; cpv. Ml. feidyach r.p. 1249, Mn. rheitiach 'more

necessary, more fitting'; spv. Ml. reittaf r.p. 1148, Mn. rheitiach.

rhaid < Kelt. *(2)rat-ţo- 'due, due share' < *prt-, √perō- 'dis-

pose': W. rhad see below, rhann 'share', Lat. part- § 63 vii (2), W.

barn § 101 iii (2).

elw 'profit'; cpv. elwach 'profiting more, better off', as (pa)

faint elwach fyddi di ? 'how much better off wilt thou be?'

elw is properly helw, still so pronounced in Gwynedd in phrases like

ar dy helw 'in thy possession'; helw = Ir. selb 'possession' both

< *sel-yo-, √ sel- 'take': Ir. selaim 'I take', Gk. ἐλεῖν, Goth. saljan,

O.E. sellan, E. sell.

blaen 'point, front'; also adj. as troed blaen 'fore-foot'; spv.

blaenaf, 'foremost, first'; § 215 iii (10).

ōl 'rear, track', as yn ōl 'after, according to' § 215 iii (6), ōl troed

'foot-print'; also adj. as troed ōl 'hind foot'; spv. olaf 'last' <

*ol-īs,mos : Lat. ultimus < *ol-ī,mos.
pen(n) ‘head’; spv. pennaf ‘chief’; also in Ml. and Early Mn. W. cpv. pennach ii.a. 89, G.Gl. p 83/58 ‘higher, superior’; § 89 iii.

rhad ‘gift, grace’, having become an adj. ‘cheap’ from the phrase yn rhad ‘gratis’, is compared regularly.

rhad < *prêt- : rhann, Skr. पुर्तम् ‘reward’; see rhaid above.

diwedd ‘end’; spv. diwaethaf ‘last’ ii.a. 7, r.f. 1195, 1249, 1298, p 16/19 r., I Petr i 5 by R.D. (in Wm.S.); diwethaf ii.a. 43, 59, p 14/11 r., a.l. i 4, 48, 50, Matt. xx 8 Wm.S.; so in Es. ii 2, xlviii 12, Jer. xxiii 20 in 1620; but generally in 1620, and everywhere in late bibles, diweddaf.

A.L. i 48 dýuedaf does not imply δ, as we have pemdec for pymetheg on the same page. The form diweddaf seems to come from Wm.S.’s dyweddaf Matt. xxvii 64; and as it seemed to be “regular” it ousted the traditional forms in the written lang. of the 19th cent.; but the spoken forms are dyvaetha’ (Powys), dywetha’ (Gwyn.), and dywetha’ (S.W.).

Caned dy feirdd—cyntaf fûn,
A diwaethaf y deuthum.—T.A., 14901/26.

‘Let thy bards sing—I was the first [of them], and I have come last’.

The O.W. diwed b.s.ch. 2 and Bret. divez, Corn. dewedh, Ir. diad, dead show that the noun diwedd cannot be for *diwaedd; on the other hand diwaethaf cannot well be for divethaf. The explanation of the former seems to be that it comes from an intensified form with *-y-, which survived only in the spv.; thus diwaethaf < *diwoed-haf < *di-wo-(y)ed-isamo-s, cf. gwwaethaf (5) above.

diwedd is ‘end’ in the sense of ‘close, conclusion’, not a geometrical term; hence from *di- ‘out’ + yed-, √yedh- ‘conclude, lead’: Lith. vedū ‘I conduct, lead’, E. wed, etc., cf. W. gor-dyweddaf ‘I overtake’.

(2) Many other cases occur in Ml. W.: gurhaw (≡gwrhaw) b.b. 41 ‘most manly’; amserach w.m. 9, r.m. 6 ‘more timely’; lęessach w.m. 17, r.m. ii ‘more beneficial’ (lles ‘benefit’); dewissach c.m. ii ‘preferable’ (dewis ‘choice’ noun); pennadurifaf do. 8 ‘most princely’; ky vanhket r.m. 149 ‘as cowardly’, bawaf r.p. 1278 ‘most vile’ (baw ‘dirt’).

ii (1) Equative adjectives are formed from many nouns by prefixing cyf-, cym-, (as cyfeld, cymaint); thus kyfliw r.b.b. 179, ‘of the same colour’; kyvurò w.m. 75 ‘of the same rank’;
kymoneh ib. 'as noble' (boneh 'nobility'); kyvoët do. 27 'of the same age'; cyffryw 'of the same kind, such'.

(2) In one or two cases the second element no longer exists in its simple form either as a noun or adj.: cyfred 'as swift' (rhedeg 'to run'); cyfref 'as thick' (rhefedd 'thickness').

(3) Compounds of un- 'one' also form the equivalents of equative adjectives: unlliw a D.G. 17 'of the same colour as'; neb un fodd § 148 i (6), 'any one like' (modd 'manner'), unwedd a 'like', etc.

§ 150. Most adjectives may be compared regularly, including—

i. Many derivatives in -aidd, -ig, -in (not denoting substance), -og, -us; as peraidd 'sweet', eqtv. cyn bereiddied; cpv. pereiddiach, spv. pereiddiaf; so pwsicaf 'most important', gerwinaf 'roughest', cyfoethocaf 'richest', grymusaf 'mightiest'. But those containing more than two syllables are mostly compared periphrastically.

Verbal adjectives in -adwy, -edig are not compared (except periphrastically), though caredig 'kind', no longer felt as a verbal adj., is, e.g. caredicaf 'kindest'. Adjectives in -ol are rarely compared; those in -aid, -in denoting material, and in -lyd are not compared.

ii. Compounds in which the second element is an adjective; as gloyw-dwaf ll.a. 93 'of most glossy black', llathyr-wynnaf ib. 'most lustrously white', klaer-wynnaf ib. 'most brilliantly white', cyn vlaen-llymet ... blaeu-llymaf w.m. 176 'as sharply pointed ... most sharply pointed'.

Dwy fron mor wynion ar òd,
Gloyw-wynnach na gwylanod.—D.G. 148.
'Two breasts as white as snow, more luminously white than seagulls.'

But when the second element is an adj. compared irregularly, the compound cannot be compared, as maleis-ddrwg, troed-lydan, pen-úchel, etc. A few of these may, however, be compared by adding the endings to derived forms, as gwérth-fawr 'valuable', spv. gwerthvawrusafs ll.a. 80, or gwerthfawrcof; cód-fawr 'celebrated', spv. códforusaf. (G.M.D. has gwerthvoraf r.p. 1195, an unusual form.)

Adj. compounds with noun final as ysgafn-droed 'light-footed' can only be compared periphrastically.

§ 151. i. Adjectives which cannot take the endings of comparison as above may be compared periphrastically, by placing before the positive mor, mwy, mwyaf, to form the eqtv., cpv., spv.
respectively. *mor softens the initial of the adj. except when it
is *u or *rh; but *mwy and *mwyaf take the radical; thus *mwy
dymunol Ps. xix 10, Diar. xvi 16 ‘more desirable’.

*mwy and *mwyaf are of course the cpv. and spv. of *maur. As
they do not cause lenition, they represent Brit. forms ending in con-
sonants. *mwy may come directly from the neut. nom-acc. form
*mâis < *mâ- + -is as in Lat. mag-is; the corresponding form of the
spv. would be *mâisamon (cf. Lat. plurimum, Gk. τλείστων), which
would give *mwyaf with the rad., since the nasal mutation of mediae
survived only after fy, yn and numerals §107 i.

*maur is probably the pos. *maur unaccented, forming a loose com-
pound with the adj., thus representing Brit. *mâro-; and so causing
lenition. For o instead of aw see §71 i (2). It is now generally
accented, and pronounced *mâr; D.D. gives it as *môr (≡ mâr), but
*môr (cf. pôb §168 i (3)) may sometimes be heard, when it is em-
phatic. It was first used as an exclamative, thus OW. mòrtru ox.
gl. eheu, morliaus do. gl. quam multos. The transition from the
literal meaning ‘greatly sad’ of the compound *mor-dru, through
‘very sad!’ to ‘how sad!’ is easy; and as the last meaning is
equivalent to that of the exclamative eqtv., the form *mor dru naturally
came to be regarded as a periphrastic eqtv., and was used later with
a ‘as’ and the compared noun. See examples below.

ii. (1) *mwy and *mwyaf are only used to compare compounds
and derivatives where inflexional comparison is not feasible.

*mwy da, *mwy drug, etc., are not used by adult speakers; Wms.’s
enw *mwyaf *maur 750 is a childish expression called forth by the
exigencies of rhyme.

(2) On the other hand forms with *maur are, as shown above,
different in origin from the equative, and have had a separate
existence from the outset. Hence *maur is used freely before all
adjectives at all periods. Thus:

Exclamative: mortru gl. eheu! — MOR truan genhys mor truan
a ðeryn B.B. 1 ‘How sad to me, how sad [is] what has happened.’—
Poet emendigait y gof ay digones ... *mor dost yw w.m. 477 ‘Ac-
cursed be the smith that made it, so painful is it.’—mor syrys yw
R.M. 120 ‘so tangled is it.’—mor hagyr y gwelai y daw rhy oed
arnaw w.m. 251 ‘so ugly did he perceive the appearance that he
bore.’—mor dirjeit ... mor dec R.P. 1385 ‘how bad ... how fair.’

Wylo’r wyf lawer afon
Drosti h i, mor dist yw hon.—Gut.O., A14967/119.
‘I weep many a river for her, so sad is she.’

Truan, mor wann yw’r einioes,
Tymned yw tor amod oes!—T.A., 3 17/201.
‘Alas, how weak is life, how sad is the breaking of life’s promise.’
Equative: *am gyflavan mor anweðus* ac a *rywnaethoed* w.m. 30 'for so horrible a murder as [that] which she had committed.'—*pryf mor siedw* a huonw do. 78 'so vile a reptile as that.'—*peth mor aghywir* a *hynny* r.m. 177 'so wrong a thing as that'.

*_Ni bu fyd i neb o Fon*

*Mor oer ag y maer awron._—*H.K.

'There has not been to any man of Môn so cold a world as it is now.'

(3) *mor* with a noun forms the equivalent of an eqtv. adj., as O. W. *morliaws* gl. quam multos; Ml. W. *mor eisseu* r.p. 1428 'how necessary'. The construction is not common, and is now obsolete, but several examples occur in the Early Mn. bards.

The construction arises naturally from the original meaning of *mor* as explained above, for *mor-liaws* 'great host' could as easily as *mor-luosog* 'greatly numerous' come to mean as an exclamative 'how numerous!'

*_Nid mor ddihareb nebun*

*I'n gwlad ni a hi i hun._—*D.G. 440.

'No one is so proverbial in our land as she herself.'

*I dad, mor wrda ydoedd._—*L.G.C. 93.

'His father, how noble he was!'

*_Nid marw ef, nid mor ofud._—*T.A., A 14879/20.

'He is not dead, it is not so sad [as that].'

*Curiais yr ais mor resyn._—*S.T., ll 133/170a.

'I suffered [in] my heart so sorely.'

(4) *mor* with the cpv. occurs in O *mor well* Diar. xvi 16 'Oh how much better!' The usual construction is *cymaint gwell!* but the above may be a stray example of an idiom once in use. It is quite consistent with the explanation of *mor* adopted above.

(5) In S.W. dialects *mor* is sometimes used instead of *cyn* before the eqtv., as *mor laned* for *cyn laned* or *mor lân*.

(6) The *m-* of *mor* is never mutated, but remains in all positions; thus after f. sg. nouns: *gyflavan mor anweðus* (2) above; arch *mor drahaus* r.m. 227 'so insolent a request'. This may be due to its exclamative origin.

§ 152. i. A positive adjective is sometimes repeated to enhance its meaning. As a rule the iteration forms a loose compound, the second element having its initial softened, as *A da dda hyd i addiedd* W. ll. 62 'and very good till his death'. Very rarely it forms a strict compound, as
Péll-bell, ar draws pob hyll-berth,
Po bellaf; gwaeathaf yw'r gweth.—G.Gl. m 146/154.
‘Very far, across every horrid bush [I have driven my flock]; the further, the less is their worth.’

In some cases the initial of the second adj. is not softened, so that the two do not constitute a formal compound; as Da da fu o grud hyd fedd W.IL. 40 ‘very good was she from the cradle to the grave’; Drwg drwg Diar xx 14. Where the adj. begins with a vowel or an immutable consonant, there is, of course, no indication of the construction; e.g. isel isel Deut. xxviii 43.

ii. A cpv. is compounded with itself to express progressive increase in the quality denoted by the adj. When the cpv. is a monosyllable the compound is generally strict, as gwaeath-waeth ‘worse and worse’, lléi-lái ‘less and less’, lléd-led ‘wider and wider’, néo-néo ‘nearer and nearer’, mwy-fwy Phil. i 9 ‘more and more’. In present-day speech the compound is oftener loose, as llái lái. When the cpv. is a polysyllable, the compound is necessarily loose; see the ex. below.

Ef â ofon yn fwyfwy
Hyd y mór, ac nid â mwy.—L.G.C. 357.
‘A river goes increasing to the sea, and goes no more.’

Gŵr a wello’r gŵyr wellwell,
A gŵyr a wna’r gŵr yn well.—D.N., F. 4, g. 161.
‘A master who betters the men more and more, and men who make the master better.’

A Dafydd oedd yn myned gryfach gryfach, ond tŷ Saul oedd yn myned wannach wannach.—2 Sam. iii 1.

The combination always forms a compound, for the second cpv. has always its soft initial.

mwy na mwy ‘excessive’, understood as ‘more than more’, is doubtless originally ‘more and more’, the n- of na being the final -n of the cpv. § 147 iv (3).

Derivative Adjectives.

§ 153. Derivative adjectives are formed from the stems of nouns, adjectives and verbs by the addition of the following suffixes:
(1) -adwy, -ediw, -edig, -awd verbal adjective suffixes, see § 206.
ML.W. -awdyr seems to be -awd with excrescent -r § 113 i (1):
annýòdewinyawdyr a.m. 53 ‘intolerable’, teimlyawdyr do. 42 ‘sensitive’, teolawdyr c.m. 14 ‘regular.’

(2) -aid, Ml.W. -eit: Ir. -the participial; as in cannaid D.G. 64, marc ix 3 ‘bright’; luthraid D.G. 386 ‘shining’; euraid do. 13, 64, 88, 220, 372-3, Ml.W. eureit w.m. 180 ‘golden’; ariannaid, Ml.W. arjanneit r.m. 83 ‘silver’; it may represent Brit. *-at-jo-s, a -jo- derivative of the participial -st-. It is distinct from -aidd; euraidd is a late bungle (not in D.D.).

(3) -aidd, Ml.W. -eið: Ir. -de; added to nouns, as teyrneid w.m. 20 ‘kingly’, Mn.W. gwuladaidd ‘rustic’, gwsaidd ‘servile’; to the v.m. caru in karueid w.m. 145, Mn.W. carúaid ‘lovable, loving’; to adjectives as peraidd ‘sweet’, puraidd ‘pure’, often modifying the sense, oeraidd ‘coldish’, ilodaidd ‘poorish’; it represents Kelt. *-adios, a -jo- derivative of the adj. suffix *-ado-s: cf. Lat. -idius in proper names beside adj. -idus which may be from *-ado-s, and cf. Gk. -ad in μισός ‘mixed’, etc.

Also -taidd in argywyddiaidd D.G. 450 ‘lordly’, -onaiidd in bardd-onaiidd do. 449 ‘poetic’.

(4) -ar < Kelt. *-aro- < *-ro- in byddar ‘deaf’, Ir. bodar: Skr. badhirāḥ; cynnar ‘early’, diweddar ‘late’; cf. -ro- in mawr < *mā-ro-s, etc.

(5) Ml.W. -awc, Mn.W. -awg, -og: Ir. -ach < Kelt. *-āko-s: Lat. -ācus, Gk. -ηκος, -ακος, Skr. -āka-h, Lith. -okas; added to nouns, as aravuc r.m. 270, Mn.W. arfog ‘armed’, llidhyawc w.m. 51, Mn.W. llidioq ‘angry’, gyylanog ‘woolly’, gyreysog ‘hot’, prwylog ‘deliberate’, etc.; many of these adjectives have become nouns: marchog, swyddog, etc. § 143 iv (6), v (4).

The suffix is sometimes added to adjectives, as trugarcog: trugarcog ‘merciful’; duog, Ml.W. duawc r.m. 172: du ‘black’; gwawuc: gau ‘false’. The cpv. of the derivatives ended in *-āk’son > -ach, which was taken for the cpv. of the simple adj., and spread to all adjs., § 147 iv (3); hence added to -og itself, Mn.W. gweryfawrocach.

(6) Ml.W. -awl, Mn.W. -awl, -ol < Kelt. *-ālos: Lat. -ālis in liberālis, etc.; an exceedingly common suffix; added to nouns, as nefol ‘heavenly’; to adjectives, as estronol ‘foreign’; and to verb stems, as symudol ‘movable, moving’, dymunol ‘desirable’.

(7) -de; occurring in Ml.W. verse: tanōe, eurōe P.M. m.a. i 292b ‘fiery’, ‘golden’. It seems to be the Ir. -de (Ξ -dē: W. -aið, see (3) above) borrowed during the 12th cent. bardic revival which drew its inspiration from Ireland. It does not seem to occur in prose.

(8) -gar < *-āk-aro-s < *-ōg-ro-s; thus hawð-gar ‘comely’ < Brit. *suðakaros < Kelt. *suð(ý)-āk-aro-s § 148 i (6); a combination of (5) and (4) above: added to nouns, as epilgar ‘prolific’ (epil ‘offspring’), dialgar ‘revengeful’, enillgar ‘gainful, lucrative’ (enill ‘gain’); added to adjectives, as meistrolgar ‘masterful’, trugar ‘merciful’ (tru ‘miserable’, for meaning cf. Lat. misericordia); added to verb stems, as den-gar ‘alluring’ (denu ‘to allure’), beiddgar ‘daring’.
The idea that -gar means ‘loving’ (earu ‘to love’), which clearly cannot be the case in epilgar, entillgar, dengar, etc., has resulted in the formation in the late period of new adjectives in which it bears that meaning; as gwoladgar ‘patriotic’, ariangar ‘money-loving’. But many new formations in the dialects preserve the original force of the suffix, as sgilgar ‘skillful’ from E. skill. It need hardly be added that Stokes’s implied explanation of trugar as ‘loving the wretched’ Fick ii 138 is fanciful, as also the popular explanation of howddgar as ‘easy to love’.


(10) -in < Kelt. *-inos: Skr. -ina-, Gk. -inos, Lat. -inus, Lith. -ynas (y ≈ i); it is added to names of materials, as in derwin M.A. i 191 ‘oaken’, lletrin B.T. 9 ‘leathern’, meinin E.P. xviii 29 ‘of stone’, deaein, heyermin § 75 vi (3); and to adjectives as gervin ‘rough’ (garw ‘rough’), gwerthefin ‘highest’, cysefin ‘primitive’ § 95 iii (3), cf. O.W. cisemic above.

(11) -lawn, Mn.W. -lawn, -lon ‘-ful = llawn ‘full’, § 63 vii (2); as ffrwythlon ‘fruitful’, pryddlon ‘punctual’, heddychlon ‘peaceful’, bodlon § 111 vii (1), etc.

(12) -lyd, after n or r -llyd, Ml.W. -lyt, -lyt ‘covered with’ < *(p)lty-, *pleth- § 63 viii (1); as llychlyt R.M. i 45 ‘dusty’, dysllyt chweinlyllyt do. i 46 ‘dusty flea-infested’, seimlyd ‘greasy’, rhydlyd ‘rusty’, creulyd, gwadlyd ‘bloody’, tomlyd ‘dungy’, tanlyd ‘fiery’. When added to adjectives it is the equivalent of llen- ‘rather’: Ir. leth ‘half’, which is ultimately from the same root (*stretch out > surface > side > half’); as gwantyld ‘rather weak’, oerlyld ‘coldish’.

(13) -us < Lat. -ösus; originally in Lat. derivatives as dolurus ‘sore’ < Lat. dolorösus, llafurus, Ml.W. llafuryus < Lat. laböröösus; as the nouns dolur, llafur had also been borrowed the adjectives seemed to be formed from these by the addition of an adj. suff. -us, which was subsequently added to W. forms, gweddus ‘seemly’ (gwedd § 63 iv), clodus, clodforus ‘renowned’, grymus ‘strong’, etc.

Note.—melus is a late misspelling; melys ‘sweet’ has y, as melis (i ≈ y § 16 ii (2)) R.B. 83, 101, melys B.A. 3, L.A. 42, 70, R.B.B. 208, mylster L.A. 129, 149, R.B.B. 44. The error is due to the late levelling of u and y, § 15 i, and the false notion that the word is formed from mél ‘honey’ by the addition of -us. In derived forms the sound is y as melysach, as opposed to grymusach, and the v.n. is melysu D.W. 112, as opposed to grymuso, see § 202 iii, iv (Pughe’s melus is a fiction). melys is cognate with Ir. milis, and is clearly a direct derivative of Ar. base *melet- § 87 ii, and so is many centuries older than any form in -us, a suffix borrowed from Lat.
NUMERALS

§ 154. i. (1) The cardinal numbers are as follows: i, un.—2, m. dau, Ml. dev, O. dou; f. dwy.—3, m. tri; f. tair, Ml. teir.—4, m. pedwar; f. pedair, Ml. pedeir.—5, pump, pum, Ml. pump, pumpy, O. pimp.—6, chwech, chwe.—7, saith, Ml. seith.—8, wyth.—9, naw.—10, deg, denny, Ml. dec, deng.—11, un ar ddeg.—12, deuddeg, deuddeng, Ml. devoce, O. doudec.—13, tri (f. tair) ar ddeg.—14, pedwar (f. pedair) ar ddeg.—15, pymtheg, Ml. pymthec.—16, un ar bymtheg.—17, dau (f. dwy) ar bymtheg.—18, deunaw or tri (f. tair) ar bymtheg.—19, pedwar (f. pedair) ar bymtheg.—20, ugain, Ml. ugeyn, ugeint.—21, un ar hugain.—30, deg ar hugain.—31, un ar ddeg ar hugain.—40, deguain.—41, un a deguain or deguain ac un.—50, deg a deguain, Early Ml. W. pym(h)wn.—60, trigain, Ml. trugein(t).—80, pedwar ugain.—100, cant; cann.—101, cant ac un.—120, chwech ugain, chweuagain.—140, saith ugain, etc.—200, deucant or dau cant.—300, trychant, Late W. trichant.—1000, mil.—2000, dwyfil.—3000, teirmil or tair mil.—10,000, deng mil, myrdd. —1,000,000, myrddiwn, miliwn.

tri (or tair) ar bymtheg is used in counting (i.e. repeating the numerals in order); otherwise rarely, B.B.B. 404. The usual form is deunaw c.m. 59, m.a. iii 45, Gen. xiv 14, 2 Cron. xi 21, Ezra viii 9, etc. So in all combinations: deunaw ar hugain ‘38’—pymwn, b.a. 2, 9 from something like *pempontes for Kelt. *gewech-onta (IIr. cōca) for Ar. *gewechkomos: Gk. χιλιάρης. For the history of the other forms consult the Index.

Forms like deuddeg, pymtheg, deunaw, deguain may be called “compound numbers”, forms like un ar ddeg, un ar hugain, “composite numbers”.


In the spoken lang. un-ar-ddegau, un-ar-bymthegau, etc., are in use for ‘£11 each’, ‘£16 each’, etc.

ii. (1) The ordinal numbers are as follows: i, cyntaf.—2, ail, Ml. eil.—3, trydydd, f. trydedd.—4, pedwerydd, Ml. pedweryb, pedwyrød; f. pedwaredd, Ml. pedwareδ, pedwyred, O. petguared.—5, pumed, Ml. pymhet, O. pimphet.—6, chweched, Ml. chwechét,
huechet.—7, seithfed, Ml. seithvet.—8, wythfed.—9, nawfed.—10, degfed, Ml. decvet.—11, unfed ar ddeg, Ml. unvet ar ðec.—12, deuddegfed, Ml. deuðcævet.—13, trydydd (f. trydded) ar ddeg.—15, pymthegfed.—16, unfed ar bymtheg.—17, ail (or cilled) ar bymtheg.—18, deunawfed.—20, ugeinfed.—30, degfed ar hugain.—40, deugainfed.—41, unfed a deguain.—100, canfed.—1000, milfed.

(2) cyntaf § 148 i (3);—ail § 100 iii (3);—trydydd, trydded § 75 iv (1);—pedweryd < *qðetærťos; pedwrydyd (later pedwrydd H.C. 54, § 66 ii (2)) has -wy- < *-w- re-formed for u < u, § 63 viii (1).

W. pymhet, Ir. coiced come from a Kelt. *qðexetetos, which, like Skr. pañcatha-h, implies the addition of the ordinal suffix -th(h)o-s to the full form *pennh, thus *pennheto-s, as opposed to Lat. quintus, Gk. πέντεs, O.H.G. finfto, which imply Ar. *pennh-to-s. In Pr. Kelt. by the side of *qðexetetos there arose *syeqsetos which gave Ir. sessed, W. chweched, and thus -eto-s came to be regarded as the ordinal suffix. Added to *sektam (< *septm) it gave *sektameto-s, which gave Ir. sechtmad, W. sethfed; added to *dekm it gave *dekameto-s, which is seen in Gaul-Lat. petrum-decamaeto (ablative) 'fourteenth', and gave Ir. dechmad, W. degfed; similarly *kotameto-s > Ir. cētmad, W. canfed. Then -ameto-s or -eto-s was used to form ordinals for 8, 9, and 20, though the cardinals did not end in -m; thus W. nawfed, Ir. nómad, may come directly from *noyameto-s; but *oktameeto-s would give W. *oeth-fed, so that wyth-fed was again re-formed from wyth; so ugein-fed.

iii. (1) Multiplicatives are formed by means of gwaith, Ml. gweith f. ‘fois’, preceded by cardinal numbers, the two generally compounded, but sometimes accented separately; as unwaith or un waiath ‘once’, Ir. õenfecht; dwywaith ‘twice’, teirgwaith ‘thrice’, pedair gwaith ‘four times’, pym waith ‘five times’, chwe gwaith, seithwaith Lev. iv 6, 17, saith waith do. viii 11, wythwaith, nawwaith c.c. 227, dengwaith, ugeinwaith, canwaith, milwaith.

(2) But before a comparative the m. cardinal only is generally used, the two sometimes compounded; pym mwy D.W. 146 ‘five [times] more’ i.e. five times as many, saith mwy Lev. xxvi 18, 21 ‘seven times more’; dénwell r.p. 1271, D.G. 157 ‘twice as good’, dau lanach c.c. 60 ‘twice as fair’; yn gant eglurach s.g. 10 ‘a hundred times as bright’.

Moes ugeinmîl, moes gánmwy.
A moes, O moes im un mwy.—Anon., m.e. i 140.

‘Give me twenty thousand [kisses], give a hundred times as many, and give, Oh give me one more.’

s 2
Tristach weithian bob cantref;
Bellach naw nigrifach nef.—G.Gr. (m. D.G.), f.n. 4.
'Sadder now is every cantred; henceforth nine times happier is heaven.'

(3) A m. cardinal is also used before another cardinal, as tri
tr(i)rychant b.b. 18 '3 x 300', tri phumcant gre. 166 '3 x 500',
dau wythgant ib. '2 x 800', naw deg a saith ib. '9 x 10 + 7'.

This method is now commonly used to read out numbers in the
arabic notation; thus 376, tri chant, saith deg a chwech.

iv. Distributives are formed by putting bob before a cardinal,
the initial of which is softened; thus bob un, bob deu r.m. 132 'one
by one, two by two', Ir. each öin, each dâ; bob ddau l.G. 180,
l.G.C. 381, 436; bob dri l.G.C. 148 'three by three'; also
bob un ac un c.m. 49 'one by one', bob un a dau f. 26; and bob
ganner l.G.C. 383 'in hundreds', lit. 'every hundred-man',
cf. Ir. each cöic-er 'every five-man'. Similarly bob ail 'every
other', pob eilvers w.m. 181 'alternately'.

In Late Mn. W. yn is inserted after bob; as bob yn ddau ... bob
yn dri 1 Cor. xiv 27; bob yn un ac un Es. xxvii 12, Marc xiv 19;
bob yn ddau a dau Marc vi 7; bob yn ail 'every other'. As pob in
other constructions is followed by the radical, the yn may have been
introduced because it was felt that something was required to explain
the lenition. But the reason for the lenition is that the original form
of bob here was an oblique case ending in a vowel.

v. Fractions: \( \frac{1}{2} \), hanner; \( \frac{1}{3} \), traean; \( \frac{1}{4} \), pedwaran, chwartar;
\( \frac{1}{8} \), wythfed; \( \frac{1}{100} \), canfed; \( \frac{1}{2} \), deuparth; \( \frac{3}{4} \), Mn. tri chwartar; \( \frac{2}{3} \), tri
wythfed.

\( \text{Rann truan : } \text{traean} \) r.b. 973 'the share of the weakling: one-
third'. deuparth ... trayan w.m. 130.

COMPOUND NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

§ 155. 1. Either of the elements of a compound may be a noun
(n) or an adjective (a); thus we have four possible types: 1. n-n;
2. a-n; 3. a-a; 4. n-a. The formation of compounds of these
types is an ordinary grammatical construction, and any elements
may be combined if they make sense, whether the combination is
in general use or not. The relation to one another of the elements
§ 155 COMPOUNDS

and the meaning of the resulting compound must be left to be dealt with in the Syntax; here, only the forms of compounds can be considered.

ii. (1) The second element of a compound has its initial softened; thus: n-n háf-ddydd ‘summer’s day’; a-n hâwdd-fyld ‘pleasure’; a-a gwýrdd-las ‘greenish blue’; n-a pôn-gam ‘wry-headed’.

The reason is that the first element in Brit. ended in a vowel, as in Brit. Maglo-cunos > W. Mael-gwn; so *samo-diły(n)u > W. haf-ddydd; *katu-markos > W. cad-farch, etc. In these, as generally in the Ar. languages, the first element is the stem. In Kelt. when the stem ended in a consonant an -o- was added to it; thus the stem *kwn- ‘dog’ is in compounds *kuno-, as Brit. Cuno-belinos > W. Cyn-felyn; W. cyn-ddareidd ‘rabies’ < *kuno-daxgri > *-dyg*hri-: Lat. febris < *dheg*hri-s, √dheg’h- § 92 iii, cf. aren § 106 ii (1). This explains the suffix -ioni § 143 iii (21); it is a compound of a derivative in -ion- with *gño-; now *drykion-gnño- should give *drygni by the usual loss of stem endings; but *drykiono-gnño- > *drygion-wnif > drygioni (since nyn > n § 110 ii (1)). When the second element began with a vowel, contraction took place; thus *altro + ayd > *altrauo § 76 v (5), cf. Gk. Dor. ὁπεράγος ‘leader of an army’ < *apta + aγ-, Brugmann II i 79.

(2) When the first element ends in n or r, and the second begins radically with ll or rh, the latter is not softened: gwin-lIan, per-lIan, pen-rhyn see § 111 i (1); so gwen-llys L.G.C. 8, eurllin D.G. 13, etc.; similarly, though less regularly, in loose compounds: hên llew, hên lllys, pur llawn § 111 i (1).

When a compound is consciously formed both ll and l are found thus ysgafn-llef D.G. 37 ‘light-voiced’, but eur-len D.G. 109 ‘cloth of gold’, geir-lon do. 110 ‘of merry word’; ir-lwyn do. 504, per-lwyn do. 518.

iii. The following adjectives generally precede their nouns, and so form compounds, mostly loose, with them:

(1) prif ‘chief’, as prif lys w.m.i, prif-lys R.M. i ‘chief court’, prif òïnas w.m. 179 ‘chief city’, prif gaer ib. ‘chief castle’; y prif ddyn ‘the chief man’. It cannot be used as an ordinary adj.; such a phrase as *dyn prif does not exist.

(2) hên, as hên dyr or hên-wr ‘old man’; hên ddyn id., also hên-ddyn whence E. quoth Hending; Hên-lIan L.A. 105, Hên-llys etc., hên ýd Jos. v 11, yr hên sfordd Job xxii 15, yr hên deryn Diar.
xxii 28, yr hén bobl Es. xlv 7, etc. In the comparatively rare cases where hén follows its noun, some antithetic emphasis is generally implied, as Ieuan Tew Hén 'Ieuan Tew the Elder'.

Er daëd draw, rai llawen,
Mae gwae rhai am y gwir hén.—W.I.

'However good [they may be] yonder, genial [young] people, the lament of some is for the old master.'

(3) gwir 'true, genuine', as gwir grefydd 'true religion'. As an ordinary adjective it means 'true to fact', as hanes gwir 'a true story'; so as the second element of a compound: géir-wir 'truthful'. gwir is also a noun 'truth'; compounded, cás-wir 'unpalatable truth'.

(4) gau 'false', the antithesis of gwir, as geu ðwyeu II.A. 43 'false gods', gau broffwyd 'false prophet'. As an ordinary adjective 'lying'; as a noun 'falsehood' w.m. 29.

(5) cam 'wrong, unjust'; as cam farn 'false judgement', cam ran 'wrongful portion', i.e. injustice. As an adj. 'crooked', as ffon gam 'a crooked stick'; as a noun 'injustice'.

Tasgu bu twysog y byd
Gam ran i Gymru enwyd.—S.T., c. ii 209.

'The prince of this world has inflicted wrong on Wales awhile.'

(6) unig 'only'; yr unig beth 'the only thing'. As an ordinary adj. it means 'lonely', as dyn unig 'a lonely man'. Cf. Fr. seul.

(7) y naill, rhyw, y rhyw, amryw, cyfryw, wwrhyw, holl, cwbl, y sawl, ychydig, ambell, aml, lliaws, etc., §§ 165, 168, 169.

iv. The following words precede adjectives, and are compounded with them:

(1) lled 'half' § 153 (12), as lléd-wac B.B. 49 'half-empty', lléd-ffer M.A. ii 586 'half-wild', lléd-ffol 'half-silly', lléd-ffrom 'half-frowning'.

Nid mawr well nad meiry i wyr,
Lléd féiryw pan golled f'éryr;
Nid byw am enaid y byd,
Lléd-fyw yngweddill ádfyd.—T.A., A 14874/127.

'It is not much better that his men are not dead, [they were] half-dead when my eagle was lost; they were not alive for [want of him who was] the soul of the world, [but] half-alive in the dregs of adversity.'
In the example *llêd fêirw* is a loose, *llêd-fyw* a strict, compound. In Late Mn. W., *llêd* usually forms loose compounds and means ‘rather’.

*llêd* is also compounded with nouns, as *llêd-ran* ‘half-share’, *llêd-wyl* ‘half-holiday’, *llêd-fryd* ‘listlessness’, *llêd-iwth* ‘brogue, foreign accent’, *llêd ymyl* ‘border near edge’.

(2) *pur* ‘very’, as *pur-ðu*, *pur-wynn* R.M. 151, *pur-goch* 154; *pur-iawn* ‘very well’, now *pŵrion*. It now forms loose compounds mostly, as *pur dda* ‘very good’. Used after its noun as an ordinary adj. it means ‘pure’.

§ 156. i. The first element of a compound may be a prefix, which was originally an adverb or preposition. Some other vocables of adj. or noun origin have become mere prefixes; for convenience of reference these are included in the following list. Where the mutation of the initial after the prefix is fairly regular, it is noted in square brackets. Most of the prefixes form verbal compounds also, and some are oftener so used; hence it is convenient to include verbal nouns and verbs in the examples.


(2) *ad-*, before a vowel or *f* (from *m*) < Brit. *ad-*: Lat. *ad*; intensive; *ádd-oer* ‘very cold’, *ádd-fwyn, ádd-fain* § 93 ii (3). Before a tenuis it is *a*- followed by the spirant mutation, as *áchas* § 93 ii (2), *áthrist* ‘very sad’: *trist* ‘sad’. Before a media it is *a*- followed by the radical, *ágarw* ‘very rough’: *garw* § 93 ii (3); but before *d*- it is *a*- followed by *ð*, as *a-ðef* § 93 iii (1), *a-ðail*, etc. With initial *s*- it gives as-, as in *as-gloff* ‘lame’ < *ad-skloppos* < vulg. Lat. *clōppus* *sclopus*: W. *cloff* ‘lame’. Before *l*- or *r*- followed by *i* it gives ei- as in *eiriñ* § 104 iv (3); *eidið* ‘feebler’, met. for *eitð* § 102 iv (2) < *ad-lúd*- < *ad-lêd-, ylêd-*: Lat. *lassus*, Gk. *λυδίου* ‘to be fatigued’ Hes., § 204 i. In aberth, aber § 93 ii (3) it means ‘to’ (or is aber < *y-hêr-1*; cf. Gael. *Inver-*).

(3) *all-* < Brit. *allo-*: Gaul. *allo-* ‘other’ § 100 iii (2); *all-fro* ‘foreigner’; *all-tud* ‘exile’.

to wash oneself'; (d) 'round' > 'different, changeable' as ám-ryw 'of various kinds', ám-yd 'corn of different kinds mixed', am-liwio 'parti-coloured', amheu w.m. 186 'to doubt', Mn. ámeu, vb. am-héu-aff < *mél-bi-ság-, *ság-: Gk. ἀγαθή, Dor. ἄγαθον 'I think, believe', Lat. sagax.—am-c < *am-χ- by dissim. of continuants, as ám-can 'design, purpose, guess' < *am-xan < *ambi-sko-n-, *skhēd(t)-: Lat. sceo, Skr. chyati 'cuts off'; and amkawd w.m. 453 'replied, said' < *am-χ-awd § 96 iii (4).

(5) an-, en-, etc., neg. prefix < Ar. *n- (R-grade of neg. *ne); án-hárod 'unprepared': parod 'ready'; ámvrant 'breach of privilege': braint; áthrúgar, ánhrugárog § 99 vi (1); án-nédwyd 'unhappy': dedwyd 'happy', ángharédig 'unkind': caredig 'kind'; én-wir 'untrue, evil' < *an-yíro-s, re-formed án-wir in Mn. W.; án-fyyn 'unkind': mynyyn; án-fad: mad § 99 iv (1); òf-les § 86 i (4): òles 'benefit'; áf-raid 'needless' < *am-(p)rat-jo < *ŋ-pratio : rhaid 'need' § 149 ii; so áfrad, áfryw; — before orig. l-, án-llygrédig; — an + glân should give *alan § 106 ii (1); this is re-formed in two ways, án-lan, álf-lan 'unclean'; — b often follows the analogy of m, as án-fonhéddig: bonhéddig 'gentlemanly'. The prefix when not bearing the principal accent has often a strong secondary accent; this might become a separate accent, as in an altu (≡ án allu) ll. A. 33 'want of power'; hence án háwdd § 148 i (6), án áml § 164 i (2).

(6) ar-, er- [soft] 'fore-' < Brit. *are- (< *ari-): Gaul. are- (in *Apyr the η marks the quality rather than the quantity of the e) < *pri: Lat. praec, Gk. πρεπέω; ar-for (in arfor-dir 'maritime land') < *are-mar-: Gaul. Are-morica; ár-gae 'dam': cae (: E. hedge); ár-dreth 'chief rent', etc.—Exceptional mutation: ér-myg 'admired' < *are-smi-ko-, like éd-myg 'admired' < *ate-smi-ko-, *sméi- 'smile': Lat. admiró, mi-rus (-ro- suffix), Skr. smáyati 'smiles', Gk. ἀθάνατον, E. smile, O. Bulg. sméčhá 'smile'; cf. dírmýg (12) below; ar-merth, see dar-merth (13) below. — Possibly Brit. *ar-: Lat. per, in ārtaithe 'pang', by dissim. for *ar-thaith < *ar-stikt-ā, *steig: Lat. instigo, Gk. στίγμα, Skr. tiktā-ḥ 'sharp, bitter'; and ár-choll 'wound' < *ar-gol-ā, *qolad- 'strike': Lat. cládes, W. cleddyf 'sword', coll 'destruction, loss'.

(7) can(nh) - [soft] 'with, after' < Brit. *kanta- < *kýta: Gk. κατά; cán-lyn v.m. 'following'; canh-orthowy: canh-hebrung 'funeral'; hebrung § 99 vi (1); cán-llaw 'balustrade; assistant in law-court'.

(8) cyd- [soft] 'together, common', is not, as is often assumed, identical with cyf-, but is the noun cyd as in i gyd 'to-gether', also used as an adj. in tir cyd 'common land'. A few of the compounds which it forms are strict, as cyfán < *cyd-báwn 'united', cyd-fod 'concord', cyd-orybod 'conscience'; but the bulk of those in use are loose compounds in which the form of the prefix is cyd § 45 ii (2); in this form it is still fertile; cyd ddannesydd 'fellow-citizen', cyd genedl 'kindred', etc. The word seems to be a verbal noun *ki-tu-from *kei- 'lie', cf. Ml. W. kyt gwr ll. A. 136, c.m. 21 'cohabitation
with a man': Gk. κείται 'lies', O. E. læman 'lie with, espouse', O.H.G. hiwo 'husband', E. home, W. cu, Lat. civis § 110 iii (1).

(9) cyf- before vowels and i, i, r, n; cy- before w-, chw-, h-; with following s, cys-; elsewhere cy(m), cy-, cy(n) [nasal]; < Kelt. *kom-: Lat. com; (a) 'com', often followed by à 'with', cyf-ar 'co-tillage'; cyf-liw, cyf-urð, etc. § 149 ii; cyf-ran 'share': rhan 'part'; cyfmod 'concord': bod 'be'; cyn(yl)urf 'commotion': twrf; cyfrhâneð 'harmony': cân 'song'; crystal § 148 i (4).—(b) Intensive ('together' > 'fully'); cyflawn 'complete': llawn 'full'; cyf-lvm 'fleet': llym 'keen'.—A few irregular forms are found, which are not false analogy, as cyf-ðyð 'dawn', formed after cyf-nos 'evening'.

The form *ko- (beside *kom-) goes back to Italo-Kelt. It occurs before w- as W. cyfur, Ir. coif < *ko-yiros; before m-, as W. cof 'memory', Ir. cuman < *ko-men-, √men- 'mind' (but later *kom- as in W. cymysg (m≡m)); sometimes before sq-, sqh-, s-, as W. cy-háddo 'to accuse': Icel. skita, skitu 'a taunt', O.Bulg. kuditi 'to revile', Gk. κυταί 'to reproach', √(s)qerud; see § 96 iii; cyf-hafal 'co-equal': hafal § 94 i.

cyfr- [soft] < *kom-(y)ro- § 113 i (2); intensive, as cyfr-goll 'utter loss, perdition'; cyfr-wys (generally mis-pronounced cyfr-ðys) 'trained, cunning': qyls 'known'; cyfr-gain (kwyrgein b.B. 10) 'very fine'.—cyfr-r > cyfrh- > cyfr as in cyfrédin 'common' < cyfr-red-in; am(ys)frFre 'comprehend' < *am-gyfr-red: rdëge 'run'; the O.W. amciért may represent the stage amysfréd.

(10) cyn(n)h- [soft] 'former, preceding' < Brit. *kintu- § 148 i (3); cynh-deaf 'autumn': gæaf 'winter'; cyn-ddaill 'first leaves', cyn-ddely 'prototype'; the t is kept before h § 106 iii (3), as cynyttaid for *cynt-haid 'first swarm' (of bees); in the form cyn it is used to construct new loose compounds as cyn färer 'ex-mayor', etc.

(ii) di- [soft] < Kelt. *dī < *dé-: Lat. dē. Two meanings: (a) 'outer, extreme, off', as dī-ben 'end, aim': pen 'head, end'; dī-dol, MI, dī-dawt 'cut off, separated', see below; dī-nōthi v.n. 'de-nude'; (b) 'without', as dī-ben or dī bōen 'painless', dī-dud or dī ddūw 'godless', etc. In this sense it is freely used to form new compounds, mostly loose, by being put before any noun or v.n., or even a v.n. phrase, as dī alw am dano 'un-called-for'; but, though loose, the expression is still a compound, thus dī gëfn wyf c.c. 184 'helpless am I', exactly like gwan wyf 'weak am I', as opposed to heb gëfn yr wyf 'without help am I', the un-compounded phrase heb gëfn requiring yr after it. The compound is an adj. made from a phrase in which the prep. dī governs the noun; the formation is old, and gave rise at an early period to the idea that dī was a negative prefix, which therefore might be compounded with adjectives; thus dī-og 'lazy', O.W. dī-auc: *auc 'quick, active': Gk. ὥκυς, Lat. ōcior; so dī-brin 'not scarce', dī-dríst 'not sad', dī-veal 'not mean', etc.—Lat. dē- seems to have been identified in Brit. with the

dis- before t- < *dë-s-, where s is the initial of the second element, often lost in the simple form: *dí-stadl § 96 ii (3); distrilych ‘foam’ < *dè-strik-, *stereq—W. trwyth ‘wash, lye’ § 99 v (3); *dí-staw ‘silent’: taw ‘be silent’ < *stuw- < *stup, *stewp/bh- : Ger. stump ‘dumb’, Lat. stupuo : E. dumb, *dheubh- (dh/st- alternation). Before other consonants < *dë-eks-, as in disgair § 201 iii (6). Also from Lat. *dë-s- as in disgyn(n) < *dë-scend-. (12) dir- [soft] ‘vehemently’ Richards, ‘truly’ < *dëru- : dir ‘true’, Ar. base *derey- ‘hard’ § 137 ii; *dí-boen or *dí-bion ‘great pain’, *dí-faur ‘very great’, dir-gel ‘secret’—Exceptional mutation: dir-myg ‘contempt’ < *dëru-smi-k-, *smci- ‘smile’; here dir- is not necessarily neg. for beside ‘admiration’ as in ermyg, edmyg (6) above, we have ‘mockery’ from the same root, as in W. tre-myg ‘insult’, O.H.G. bi-smer ‘mockery’; nor in dir-west ‘abstinence’, which is literally ‘hard diet’, cf. E. fast. (13) dy- [soft] ‘to, together’, often merely intensive < Brit. *do-; dy-fun ‘summons’ : mynmu ‘to will’; dy-gjmunll v.n. ‘gather together’, dy-gyfor w.m. I ‘mustert’; dy-wéddi ‘fiancée’. In a few cases it interchanges with ty-, as Ml. W. dy-wallaw v.n. ‘to pour (into)’: Mn. W. tynwalt ‘pour’; *dí-ret ‘come!’: ty-red ‘come!’; very rarely ty- alone is found, as ty-wysog ‘prince’. Except. mut.: dy-ch- < *do-sk- or *do-kk- before r, l; as *dí-chryn ‘fright’: crymy ‘tremble’, yscrid b.b. 31 ‘trembles’, Bret. skrija ‘to tremble from fear’; dy-chlud : cludo ‘to carry’. Hence dych- in dych-lámu ‘to leap up’.—In old compounds the o of do- was retained when the vowel of the root was lost § 65 iv (2), and might in that case be affected to e, as dé-dw-yô § 100 ii (1).

dad- [soft] < *d(o)-áte- see (1) above: (a) intensive; dáit-gan v.n. ‘proclaim’: canu ‘sing’; (b) ‘un-’ (as in ‘un-do’);淡淡lwytho v.n. ‘to unload’, etc. The unacc. o of *do- was elided before a vowel.

dam- [soft] < *d(o)-ambe-, see (4); dám-sang ‘to trample’: sengi ‘to tread’; dám-wain ‘accident’: ar-wain ‘to lead’: *vëgh-. Also dym-: Ml. damunet, Mn. dymündad ‘desire’ for *dym-fun ‘ar-o-fun ‘intend’ § 100 v. The m usually remains unchanged, but seems to have become n by dissimil. in dan-waret § 63 vii (5), unless the prefix here is dan- below.

dan- [soft] < *d(o)-ando-; dán-fon, see ii (r) below.

dar- [soft] < *d(o)-ar< *d(o)-ri-; dár-fod ‘to have happened’ § 190 i; dár-óstwng ‘to subdue’: go-stwng ‘to suppress’ < *w(o)s-
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'under' + *stong- : Goth. *stinggan 'to thrust'. The irregular mutation in dármérth 'provision' (of food, etc.) is due to -sm- -> -mn-;
*do-are-smer-t-: Lat. meroeo, Gk. μέπος, μεπίς. In dárbod, dárpur, the prefix had the form *d(o)-aras-, see § 196 i (3). This form may also account for the preservation of -st- in dár-stain 'to resound', thus *d(o)-aras-stangi-: W. saim 'sound', √ sten-.

dos- < *(d)(o)-uo(s)- + initial s-; dósbarth 'division, arrangement, system' : gosparth B.B. i i 'rule, government', √ sper- § 101 iv (2).

dyr- (also written dry-) in dyrchafel 'to raise' < *(d)o-(p)ro-; see § 188 iv; cf. cyfr- (9).

It is now generally held that the original form of the prep. is *to, and that *do- is a pretonic or proclitic form, like W. ti 'thou', proclitic dy 'thy'. But pretonic softening, though it occurs in W. and Ir. cannot be proved to be primitive, and is obviously in most cases comparatively late. The facts in this case are as follows: (a) In Ir. the prep. is do, du, always with d- (as opposed to tar, mostly with t-); the prep. is to-, tu-, at first both accented and pretonic, later pretonic do-, du-. (β) In W. pretonic d- for t- as in dy 'thy' is not mutated further (i.e. does not become *s-); but the prep. was *uo-y (written di in O.W.) giving Ml. W. y, Mn. W. i; it starts therefore from Brit. *do, and agrees in form with the Ir.; the prep. is dy-, rarely ty-.—There is no trace of t- in the prep. proper in W. or Ir.; and the supposed original *to equates with no prep. in the Ar. languages. But in Pr. Kelt. the possibility of t- for d- is proved by W. tafod, Ir. tenge, which so *to, which sometimes in composition, may be for *do-. Pr. Kelt.

*do : E. to, Ger. zu, Lat. en-do-, in-du-, O. Bulg. do, Av. -da 'to'. Cf. W. anw- ii (1) from *g-do-, which places *do beyond doubt.

(14) dy- 'bad' < *dus- : Gk. δυρ- ; dychan 'lampoon' < *dus-kar- : cān 'song'; reduced to *du- on the analogy of *su-, (19) below, in dy-bryd 'shapeless, ugly', Ir. do-chruth < *du,qh- : W. pryd, Ir. chruth 'form'.

(15) eb- < *ek-u ; in épl for *eb-hil § 89 iii, ébrwydd 'quick' : rhwydd 'easy' § 143 iii (22).

e-, eh-, ech- < *eks- § 96 iii (6); é-ofn, Ml. W. eh-ofyn 'fearless', Ir. esomun, Gaul. Exomnis ; é-ang 'wide, extensive' : *ang 'narrow'. ech- developed before vowels, but spread by analogy: éch-nos 'night before last', éch-doe 'day before yesterday'. But the regular form before an explosive is es- (ys-) as in és-tron 'stranger' < Lat. extrān-eus; éstyn 'extend' < ex-tend-, etc. ; égur 'to be delivered' (of young), √(s)ger- 'separate, cut'.

(16) go-, gwo-, gwa- [soft] 'sub-' < Kelt. *yo- < *upo- : Skr. úpa, Gk. ὑπό, Lat. s-ub, § 65 v (1) ; gwo-br 'prize' < *yo-pr- : prynu 'to buy' § 201 i (4); gwá-stad 'level' § 63 vi (1); go-fíned, 'desire', ar-b-fun (13) above. In Mn. W. go- freely forms loose compounds with adjectives § 220 viii (1).

gos- < *no-s- + initial s-; gósgor 'retinue', Ml. W. gwoscor B.B.
10 < *yo-skor-d-; *sger- : dósbarth (13) above.

(17) gor-, gwor-, gwar- 'super-' < *yor- for *yoor < *uper : Skr.
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upári, Gk. ἰπέρ, Lat. super § 65 v (3); gör-reffen(n) ‘finish’ : penn ‘end’; gör-fod ‘conquer’ : bod ‘be’; gwár-chady ‘guard’ : cadw ‘keep’, etc. etc.

(18) gwirth- [soft] ‘contra-’ § 66 iii (1); gwírhun, Ml. W. gwírth-vân ‘hateful’ : dymuniad (13) above; gwírth-glawd ‘rampart’ : clawd ‘dyke’, etc.


(20) rhag- [soft] ‘fore-’ «prako-, by § 65 ii (1) < *pro-go- (i.e. *pro- with suffix -go-) : Lat. reci-procu-s < *reco-proco-s; rhág-farn ‘prejudice’ : barn ‘judgement’; rhág-fur ‘contramure’ : mur ‘wall’; rhág-dor ‘outer door’; rhag-lániaeth ‘providence’, etc.


(22) tra- [spirant] ‘over, very, excessive’ «tar- < *tárós-, § 214 iii : Ir. tar-, Skr. tirás-; trà-chwant ‘lust’; trà-chás ‘very hateful’; trà-serch ‘great love, adoration’; trà-chul ‘very lean’; tràmor ‘oversea’ i.e. trammor for *tarmmor < *tárós mari.; trachypros B.T. 30 : gwynes § 92 iii. It forms loose compounds by being placed before any adj., § 220 viii (1). The metathesis could have taken place when the accent was on the ult.; cf. § 214 iii.

traf-, as in traf-lynchu ‘to gulp’ : llynchu ‘to swallow’ < *tram- : Ir. trem-, tairm-, an m-formation from the same base : cf. Lat. trames, trámes; see § 220 ii (10). There seems to have been some confusion of the two prefixes : tramor above and tràmwy ‘to wander’ < *mwy- (Lat. moveo) may have either. This would help to spread trat- for *tar-: tránnweth ‘over night’ cannot be from *tram- which would become traf- before n; trànnwyd ‘over the day’ i.e. ‘next day but one’ is probably re-formed after tránnweth.

traws-, tros- § 210 x (6); Ml. W. traws-gwyd w.m. 83, 85, ‘trans-action’ ; in Ml. W. leniting, traws-feiddiant ‘usurpation’, prob. owing to se > sy etc. § 111 vi (2), as in traws-gwyd R.M. 60, 61.

(23) try- [soft] ‘through, thorough’ ; try-duil ‘perforated’; try-loyn ‘pellucid’; trý-fer ‘javelin’ : bér ‘spear’. It seems to imply Brit. *tri-, weak form of *trei > trywy ‘through’ § 210 x (5).

ii. Some prefixes occur only in rare or isolated forms, and are not recognized as such in the historical periods. The following may be mentioned:

(1) a(n) < *yn- ‘in’ ; áchles § 99 vi (1), anmyneð § 95 ii (3); ánglað ‘funeral’ < *yn-glad- (claddu ‘to bury’) < qolad- § 101 ii (3).

dann- [soft] < *d(o)-ando-: dánfon: anfon above; dán-gos ‘to show’ (S.W. dán-gos; in N.W. with late assim. of -g-, dáxnos) < *d(o)-ando-kons-, *kens-: Lat. censeo, Skr. śāsati ‘recites, praises, reports, shows’.

yw-, e-[nasal] < *en- ‘in’; emhennyd M.M. 23 (from R.B.) ‘brain’, cf. M.A. ii 107, 337, emennyd R.B.B. 54, s.g. 270 < *en-quenniio-: Bret. em-penn, Corn. empinion, ympanyyon; -mh- persisted in Mā. Ww, see M.M. 140, o’mhoen (read o’m hun)ymhennydd D.G. 501; the usual form ymennydd with abnormal loss of -h- before the accent may be due to early contamination with a form containing *eni-; the form in Ir. is in-chinn < *eni-quenn-.

(2) he- < *sem-: hebrwng § 99 vi.
(3) han- < *sani-: Ir. sain ‘separate’, W. gwa-han-u, Lat. sine, E. sun-der, Skr. sanitār ‘besides, without’; in hán-fod ‘being from, coming from, origin, essence’.

§ 157. i. No compound has more than two elements; but any element may itself be a compound. Thus anhyfryd ‘unpleasant’ is compounded not of an + hy + bryd but of an + hyfryd, though hyfryd itself is a compound of hy + bryd; similarly harda-deg ymdrech i Tim. vi 12 is a loose compound, each of whose elements harda-deg and ymdrech is itself a compound. All compounds must be so analysed by successive bisections.

Deurudllowyw fis dewisaf,
Dyred a’r hau’r daradr haf.—G.Gr., R 51/49.

‘Most exquisite bright-cheeked month, bring the sun of summer ray.’ Deurudllowyw fis is a loose compound; its first element is a compound of deurud and gloyw, deurud itself being compounded of dau ‘two’ and grud ‘cheek’.

ii. (1) In compounds of three syllables in which the first element is a compound, as pengrých-lon D.G. 74 ‘curly-headed [and] merry’, a strong secondary accent on the first syllable often becomes a separate accent, and the syllable breaks loose, resulting in an illogical division; thus hir fein-wyn D.G. 16, for hirfein-wyn, a compound of hir-fain ‘long slender’ and gwyn ‘white’; tew goéld-altt do. 328 for teugbed-altt < tew-goéld (do. 157) ‘thick trees’ and (g)altt ‘copse’; gárw floédd-
\( \text{\textit{accidence}} \)  

\[ \text{§ 158. The Welsh personal pronouns are either independent or dependent.} \]

Of these main classes there are several sub-divisions, containing a form for each person sg. and pl., including two, m. and f., for the 3rd sg.

The use of the 2nd pl. for the 2nd sg., so common in modern European languages, appears in W. in the 15th cent. There are numerous examples in T.A. (e.g. § 38 vi), who mixes up sg. and pl. in addressing the same individual:
§ 159. The independent personal pronouns are the forms used when the pronoun is not immediately dependent on a noun, a verb or an inflected preposition. They occur (a) at the beginning of a sentence, see § 162 vii (2); — (b) after a conjunction or uninflected preposition, including fel, megis; — (c) after ye ‘it is’, mae (mai) ‘that it is’, panyw id., pei ‘if it were’, etc., and after the uninflected heb y ‘said’ (heb y mi § 198 i). Independent personal pronouns are either simple, reduplicated or conjunctive; thus:

i. Simple: sg. 1. mi, 2. ti, 3. m. ef, f. hi; pl. 1. ni, 2. chwi, 3. Ml. wy, wynt, Mn. hwy, hwynt (also occasionally in Late Ml. W.).

The h- of the Mn. 3rd pl. forms comes from the affixed forms; thus gwelant wy ≡ gwelant-h wy mutated to gwelann-h wy, see § 106 iv; the -h was transferred to the pronoun, cf. § 106 iii (2); and the independent forms borrowed the h- from the affixed.

ii. Reduplicated: (1) Ml. W., sg. 1. mivi, myvi, myvy, 2. tidi, tydi, 3. [m. ef], f. hiihi; pl. 1. nini, 2. chwichwi, chwchwi, 3. wyntwy, hwynhtwy. — Mn. W. sg. 1 myfi, 2. tdi, 3. [m. ef, fo (later fe, efe see below)], f. hiihi; pl. 1. nyni, 2. chwichwi (often pronounced but rarely written chwchwi), 3. hwynht-hwy.

mivi, tidi w.m. 4, myfi (see vyvi § 160 iii (1)), chwichwi r.b.b. 67, chwchwi s.g. 164, hwynhtwy r.m. 132, wyntwy s.g. 165.

(2) These pronouns are usually accented on the ultima: myf, tydi, hwynht-hwy, etc.; but they were formerly accented on the penult also, and this accentuation survives in certain phrases used in Powys. Examples of penultimate accentuation:

Du serchog yw’th glog mewn glyn,
A myf sy’n d’ ymôfyn.—D.G. 521.

‘Of a lovely black is thy coat in the glen, and it is I who call thee.’ — To the blackbird.

Nid didolc onid tydi;
Nato Duwe bod hebot ti.—S.M., ll 133/261.

‘There is none faultless but thee; God forbid [that we should] be without thee.’

Meined dy wasg mewn y tant,
Chwi a ’ndroech i’n dau rychwint.—T.A. A 14866/105.

‘So slender is thy waist in the girdle, you would turn round in my two spans.’
Thus accented they also appear as *myfŷ*, *tŷdy*, etc.:

Mawr oedd gennyd dy frys fyr
Mobyfury dy sôn na myfû.—G.Gr., D.G. 246.

'Greatly didst thou boast thy intention yonder; more and more noisy
[art thou] than I.'

(3) The forms *myfŷ*, *tydŷ* sometimes lose their unaccented *y* after
*âr*, *na* or *no*, giving a *mâr*, a *thâr*, etc.; as megys yô *ymydawssam
ath ti L.A. 148 'as we forsook thee', cf. 121, l. 6.

*Dwy o’th roes, y doeth ryswr;
A th’di a wnaeth Duw yn ród.—W.L. 8.*

'God gave thee, wise hero; and thee did God make a man.'

(4) In the spoken language *efô*, *hydê* became *yfô*, *yhê*; and the
others followed, thus *yfê*, *ythdî* (in Gwynedd *ychdê* by dissim.) *ynê*,
*yhê*, *ynhôdô(y)*. These may sometimes be seen written *y fo* etc. in the
late period, e.g. c.c. 273, 340.

(5) Beside *efô* the reduced form *fô* appears in the 14th cent. The
inconvenience of having different vowels in *fo* and *ef* was overcome in
two ways: in N.W. *fô* replaced *ef* (except in a few stereotyped phrases,
as *yntê ? for oûid hêf ? 'is it not so ?', *âî êt ? 'is it so ? '); in S.W. *ô(f)*
remained, and *fô* was changed to *fê*. From the S.W. *fe* Wm.S. made
his new *efe* 2 Thess. ii 16, which, however, he uses very rarely. Dr. M.
adopted this form, and used it throughout his Bible for the nom. case,
independent and affixed—a remarkable observance of a self-imposed
rule; that the rule was arbitrary is shown by the fact that *efe* is
used where W. idiom expresses 'he' by an oblique case, as *am fôd yn
hôf* *ganddo efe y hi Gen. xxix 20, o herwydd ei farw efe* 2 Sam. xiii
39. In Ml. W. the only form is *efo*, see iv (2), which is rare
compared with the simple *ef*. The bards also use *efo*, accented *éfo*
and *éfô*, see examples; but where it does not rhyme, late copyists
often change it to *efe*; thus in *A fo doeth efe a dau g* L. 144, the ms.
actually used by the editor of G. has *efo* TR. 87,—*efe* s.G. 53 is *ef*
in the ms., p 11/350; and *ewe c.M. 87 is euv* (i.e. *evo*) in the ms.,
R.B. 474. The form *éfo* survives in dial. *efo* 'with' for *éfo* a
§ 216 ii (3).

*Nid oes offrwm, trworm yno’r tro,
Oen Duw úfydd, ond éfo.—R.R., F. 7.*

'There is no sacrifice—sad is the case—except Him, the obedient
Lamb of God.'

*Iarll Penfro, efô rydd fârch.—L.G.C. 355.*

'The Earl of Pembroke, he will give a horse.'

iii. Conjunctive: (1) Ml. W., sg. 1. *mynheu*, *minheu*, *minneu,*
2. *tith eu*, 3. *m. ynte*, *f. hitheu*; pl. 1. *mynheu*, *minheu*, *minneu,*
(2) A pronoun of this series is always set against a noun or pronoun that goes before (or is implied): Dioer, heb ef... A unben, heb ynteu w.m. 2 'By heaven, said he... Ah! prince, said the other.' The series is in common use in Mn. W.; sometimes the added meaning is so subtle as to be untranslatable: chwi a minnau 'you and I', but as a rule minnau signifies 'I too', 'even I', 'I for my part', 'but I', 'while I', etc. The first term of the antithesis may be implied: Wel, dyma finnau 'n marw Ceirig o.B. 110 'Well, now even I am dying' [not somebody else this time; this is not said, but finnau implies it]. A conj. pron. often stands in apposition to a noun: Ynteu Pwyll w.m. 11, cf. 12, 14 'he also, [namely] Pwyll' i.e. Pwyll also; a gwyr Troea wynteu R.B.B. 20 'and the men of Troy on their part'. The 3rd sg. ynteu answers naill in the expression naill a'i... ai ynteu 'on the one hand either... or on the other hand'. From its unaccented use as 'on the other hand' it became a conjunction 'then': Paham, ynteu w.m. 13 'why, then?' Pwy, ynteu do. 27 'who, then?' Nyt oes un wreic, ynteu a.l. i 176 'there is no woman, then'. In Mn. W. pronouns of other persons are used instead of ynteu after ae, as kymr vedyd... ae titheu ymlàð c.m. 13 'receive baptism... or else fight' as the subject of the impv. cannot come before it, titheu here replaces ynteu in ae ynteu ymlàð 'or else fight' under the influence of ymlàð ditheu 'fight then!'

iv. Origin of the independent pronouns: (i) mi, Ir. mē < acc. *mē : Skr. mā, Gk. με (the Ir. mē seems to be *me lengthened as original ē > Kelt. ē) ;—ti, Ir. tū < *tū : Lat. tū, Av. tū, Gk. τῦ-νη, O.H.G. dü; ti partly also from Ar. acc. *t(y)ē;—ef, O.W. em, Corn. ef, nom. e, Mn. Bret. ef, Ir. ē, hē; f. hi, Corn. hy, Bret. hī, Ir. sī. The 3rd sg. pron. in Kelt. as in Germ. seems to have been *es or *is, f. *sī; thus O.H.G. er < *es : Ir. ē or hē < *es (: Umbr. es-to- 'iste'); the Corn. nom. postfix -e may represent this; but in W. it has been replaced by ef; W. ef < *emēn < *em-em = O.Lat. em-em, redupl. acc. of *es, cf. Skr. im-ām < *im-em. As hī kept its h-, it is unlikely that ef is for *hēf, since the parallel could hardly fail to have been preserved; but in phrases where ef means 'so' there are traces of h-, as in N.W. yntē, S.W. ontēf e 'is it not so?' for onid hēf (ef); here ef may be from *semo-s 'same' = Skr. samāḥ 'like, same'. W. hī < Ar. *sā : Goth. sī, O.H.G. sā, Sī, Gk. τ (Sophocles); *sī is an ablaut variant of *s(ē)ūa § 122 iv (1), f. of the pron. *s(ē)ūa, *s(ē)ūa, *s(ē)ūa (Skr. syāh, syā, tyād) a derivative of *so, *sā, *tod (Skr. sā, sā, tā, Gk. ὁ, ή, τό).—Pl. nī, chwī, Ir. sni, sī < *s-nēs, *s-ūs : Lat. nōs, vōs, Skr. nāh, vāh (or, as the e-grade is not certain elsewhere, < *snī, *svū with nom. pl. -ē after o-stems);—wy, Ir. ē < *ei nom. pl. of *es; wynte with -nt from the 3rd pl. of verbs (so Mn. Ir. tat).

(2) The redupl. forms are the simple forms repeated, originally as separate words: mi-vi < Brit. *mī mī, etc. As ef seems itself to be a redupl. form it is natural that it is not found reduplicated (efe being a figment i (5)); the emphatic form is cfo. In Mn. W. this is chiefly
an affixed accusative § 160 iii (i) : llyma efo w.m. 160 'see him here'; mostly following other pronouns : gwassenatha di evo r.m. 185 'serve thou him', cf. 164, 168, 170, 198, 280; the transition to the indep. use is seen in a thra gwôcych ti evo, evo a' th gwô ditheu r.m. 173 'and while thou hidest it, it will hide thee'. The form efo is prob. for *efoð § 78 i (1); this implies *émǐx-, and may be acc. *em-ejom : cf. Lat. gloss im-eum "tön aýtòv" < *im-ejom.

(3) The conj. pronouns are re-formations based upon yntau which is for *hynn-teu (loss of h- on the anal. of ef) < Brit. *séndos tyños 'this other, the other'; *tyños <> tyños : Skr. tvǟḥ, tvǟḥ 'other', mostly repeated tvǟḥ ... tvǟḥ 'the one ... the other'; the word is always unaccented in Skr.; this is also the condition to give -eu in W. § 76 iii (2). The origin is seen clearly in naíll ... yntau from *sendod alljod ... sendod toyod; cf. Skr. tvad ... tvad 'at one time ... at another' or with tvad after the second member only. When *hynn teu came to mean 'he too' a fem. *híh teu was formed giving hitheu; then followed *mim teu > myñhheu, minneu; *ti téu > tíheu; and on these are modelled the pl. forms.

§ 160. Dependent personal pronouns are either prefixed, infixed or affixed.

i. Prefixed pronouns. (1) The following stand in the genitive case immediately before a noun or verbal noun; the mutation following each is given after it in square brackets. For the aspiration of initial vowels see ii (5).

Sg. 1. fy, f', 'y, ', [nasal], 2. dy', d' [soft], 3. Ml. y, Mn. i, late misspelling ei [m. soft, f. spirant]; pl. 1. Ml. an, yn, Mn. yn, late misspelling ein [rad.], 2. Ml. awch, ych, late misspelling eich [rad.], 3. eu (sometimes Ml. y, Mn. i) [rad.].

These pronouns are always proclitics, and are never accented; when emphasis is required an affixed auxiliary pronoun is added to receive it; thus dy ben di 'á̆ th y head'.

Before a vowel fy 'my', dy 'thy' tend to lose their y, and f', d' occur frequently in poetry: f'annwyl § 38 vi, f'erchwyn § 38 ix, f'annerch § 136 ii, f'wyneb § 38 iv; d'eos § 110 iii (2), d'adwyth D.G. 35, d'adnabod do. 147.

fy often becomes 'y, see § 110 iii (2). This occurs only when the initial of the noun is nasalized, i.e. when its radical is an explosive (or m- in f. nouns : 'y mam § 110 iii (2), 'y modryb b.cw. 13 'my aunt'), for otherwise 'y could not be distinguished from the article y; as it is, it cannot be distinguished from unaccented yn 'in' ('y mhénn 'my head', ynhénn 'at the end [of]'), except by the context.—When the f- vanishes as above, the y is liable to be lost after a vowel, leaving only the following nasal initial to represent the pronoun :
Darfu' r ieuencilid dirfawr;
O dewr fu'n ydd darfu' n awr.—D.G. 529.
'Mighty youth is spent; if brave was my day, it is spent now.'

Llongwyr wyf i yn ddioed;
Ar ben yr hwyblren mae'n nhroed.—H.D., p 101/259.
'At once I am a sailor; my foot is on the top of the mast.' See also
yw'mydd § 38 vi, yw'mron § 146 ii (1).

Ml. y 'his, her' > Mn. i § 16 ii (3). Occasionally i is already
found in Ml. W., as o achaws i dirgiant ef w.m. 12 'on account of his
residing'. The spelling ei is due to Wm.S., § 5 (4), who also changed
yn b.b. 108, ych, to ein, eich; there is no evidence of the earlier
use of these forms; and in the spoken language the words are i, yn,
ych, as in Early Mn. W. It is doubtful whether the correct spelling
can now be restored, as the misspelling is distinctive, enabling ei
'his' to be distinguished from i 'to', and i 'I', as in gwelais i dy;
and ein 'our' from yn 'in'; but the written ei, ein, eich should be
read i, yn, ych.

ei 'their' is a Ml. form preserved artificially in lit. W. Already
in the 14th cent. y appears for it as y tai ll. 117, l. 13 'their father',
ymennu, ytaowc, do. 152 'their heads, their tongues'. In Early
Mn. mss. it is generally i, distinguished from the sg. only by the rad.
initial which follows it.

(2) Before hun, hunan 'self', § 167 i (3), the following forms
occur in Ml. W.: sg. 1. vy, vu, my, mu, 2. dy, du, 3. e; pl. 1. ny,
2. ?, 3. e.

a minneu vy hun w.m. 88 'and I myself'; am laď o honaf vu hun
vy mab do. 35 'because I myself slew my son'; namyn my hun
do. 88 'except myself'; buw mu hunan r.p. 1045 'I myself [am]
alive'; dy annybot dy hun w.m. 2 'thine own ignorance'; du hun
do. 29 'thyself'; ac ñwylo w vem ll. 10 'with His own hands';
ehun ll. 77 'herself'; arnam ñy hunein w.m. 29 'on ourselves';
ar yn llun ñy hunan r.p. 1368 'on Our own image'; a gewysynt ñe hun
w.m. 59 'what they had had themselves'; yrygthunt ñe hun w.m. 421,
y ymyrthunt ñe hunein r.m. 272 'between themselves'.

In Ml. W. the forms do not differ from those of the gen. given
in (1); but ny persisted in the sixteenth cent.; i'n pechod ny hun
l.l. 17 'to our own sin'; i ni ñy hun do. 35 'for ourselves'.

Before numerals the forms are Ml.W. pl.1. au, yn, 2. (awch, ych),
3. yll, ell, Mn. W. 1. yn (misspelt ein), 'n, 2. ych (misspelt eich),
'ch, 3. ill.

ni an chwech w.m. 29 'us six', yn dwy ll. 109 'we two' f., yll
pedwar w.m. 65 'they four'; arnaðunt wy yll seith s.g. 33 'on the
seven of them’; *as òwylaw yîl dwyoeðdo.* 39 ‘with both his hands’; *udant ell deu w.m.* 182 ‘to them both’. In Mn. W. *ni ‘n dau* ‘we two’, *chwî ‘ch tri* ‘you three’, *hwy ill tri* ‘they three’, etc.

ii. Infixed pronouns. (1) The following stand in the genitive case before a noun or verbal noun; mutation is noted as before:

Sg. 1. -*m*, now written *’m* [rad.]; 2. -*th*, ’*th* [soft]; 3. Mn. W. -e, -*y*, Mn. W. -i, now written *’i* [m. soft; f. spir.]; pl. 1. -*u*, *n* [rad.]; 2. -*ch*, ’*ch* [rad.]; 3. Mn. -e, -*y*, Mn. -i, *’i*, late misspelling *’u* [rad.]. Also 3rd sg. and pl. -*w*, -*w* after Mn. *y*, Mn. *i* ‘to’; see below.

The Mn. 3rd sg. and pl. -*e* or -*y* represents the second element of a diphthong; thus *oe* or *oy* ‘from his’ is simply *o y* contracted. The Mn. sound is *ôi* (unacc. *ô*), and the late spelling *oî* rests on the false assumption that the full form of the pronoun is *êi*. This contraction may take place after any word ending in a vowel, see § 33 v, and often occurs after final -*ai* and even -*au*. Similarly *’n*, ’*ch* may occur after any final vowel or diphthong, as *Dwô *n* Tad, *Dwô *n* Ceidwad D.G. 486 ‘God our Father, God our Saviour’, since this is only the ordinary loss of unaccented *y*, see § 44 vii.

But *’m*, ’*th* stand on a totally different basis; these are not for *yw*, *yth*, which do not exist in the genitive. But *a’m*, *a’th* are properly *a m*, ’*a th* for *a my*, *a thy* with the old spirant mutation after *a* as *in* a mam, *a thad*; hence we find that in Mn. W. they occur only after *a* ‘and’, *a* ‘with’ (including *gyt a*, tu *a*, etc.), *na* ‘nor’, *no* ‘than’, all of which cause the spirant mutation, and after *’y* ‘to’, *ô* ‘from’, which caused gemination of the initial of a following unacc. word in Kelt., thus W. *i’m*, *yw* ‘to my’ = Ir. *domm* ‘to my’; see iv (2). In biblical Welsh this tradition is strictly followed. But in D.G. we already find *yw ‘is* added to the above monosyllables (if the readings are to be trusted), as *yw’m serch* 498, *yw’m Sêlyf* 522, *yw’th gân* 137, *yw’th wên* 497. After other words *ym* and *’th* are rare in D.G., and are possibly misreadings, as *iddi’m traserch* 408, *ynô’th ddwyn* 478. After *new* ‘or’ and *trwy* ‘through’, *fy* and *dy* are always used: *new dy ladd* 264, *trwy dy hoyiwiw* 180, *Pyro dy ben* *drwy dy bais* 107. So after all ordinary words ending in vowels; the only non-syllabic forms of the pronouns being *f’, d’* or the nasal mutation, see i (1) above; as *hude f’anfodd* 114 (not *hude’m anfodd*), *mae d’ eisiau* 19 (not *maeth eisiau*), *mae d’ wyneb* 107 (not *maeth wyneb*), *colt i* *na 303* (not *coltî’n da*), *gwanno’n mron* 502 (not *gwunnau’m bron*). The insertion of *’m*, ’*th* after all vocalic endings is a late misuse of these forms. The converse practice of using *fy* and *dy* after *a*, *o*, *i*, *na* (as *o fy* for *om*, *i dy* for *îth* etc.) appears first in hymns to fill up the line, and is usual in the dialects; but it is a violation of the literary tradition.

* One or two apparent examples (as *yth efeirgat* c.m. 57) seem to be scribal errors.
After the prep. *i* 'to, for' the form *w* is used for the 3rd sg. and pl. with the mutations proper to the usual forms, as *i w dhy* 'to his house', *i w thgy* 'to her house', *i w thg* 'to their house'. The combination appears in B.C.H. as *yw*, as *yan el e breniyn yu estavell A.L. i 48 'when the king goes to his chamber'; later *yw voli* C.M. 49 lit. 'for his praising', *yw super do* 43 'for their supper'; it is prob. a metathesis of *wy* § 78 iv (1) from *diw*i, an early contraction of *do *i* 'to his', *do* being the orig. form of the prep. § 65 iv (2). A later but still old contraction gives *oe*, as *A* dœi hi *y* gyt ac ef *oe* wlat? L.A. 125 'would she come with him to his country?' In the 16th cent. *oi* 'to his' was still used in Carnarvonshire, G.R. [129]. But *oe*, Mn. *oi* also means 'from his'; as this is an obvious meaning (o being 'from'), *oe* 'to his' became obsolete. A third form of the combination is *y*, a contraction of *y* *y* 'to his'; this is a re-formation, with the prep. taken from other connexions after it had become *y*; it is the usual form in Ml. mss., as *y brenhin a aeth *y* ystavell C.M. 43 'the king went to his chamber', *Ynteu Pwyll ... a dœth *y* gyvoeth ac *y* wlat w.M. II 'Pwyll too came to his dominions and to his country'. In B.B. we find *y eu* 66 l. 5 'to their', a rare form. The form *i* 'to his, to her, to their' survives in Gwyn. dial.; but the usual Mn. form is *i w*, which is the least ambiguous, and represents the oldest contraction.

*ui* is quite a late spelling; it is sounded *i* in natural speech, and thus has the same form as the 3rd sg., but takes the same mutation as *eu*. In Ml. W. there is no trace of *aw*, *ou*; rarely we have *o eu* as in r 6/ii r., and often *ac eu*, *oc eu*, e.g. w.M. 89; where these are not employed, the forms met with are *ae*, *or* or *ay*, *oy* like the sg.; in Early Ml. W. *ai*, *oi*. "Pro *u* pl. post istas particulas [a, na, o], & scribitur & pronunciatur *i*, vt, a'i carodd, pro a'u carodd, &c." D. 177. The 1620 Bible always has *i* both gen. and acc.: iachdoedd hwynt, ac a'i gwaredodd o'i dinistwr Ps. cvii 20.

The forms *m* and *i* occur after *er* in Ml. W. eirmoet 'during my time', eiryoet 'in his time', Ml. W. *er-m-ôed*, er-ì-ôed; the latter became the stereotyped form for all persons, and is the usual expression for 'ever'. But ermoed survived in Early Ml. W., see L.G.C. 194.

(2) The following stand in the accusative case before verbs; all take the radical initial of the verb except 'th, which takes the soft.


*m, th, n, ch are used after the relatives a and y, and where y is lost after a vowel, as lle for lle y 'where', yno for yno y 'it is there that', etc.; after the affirmative particles neu, a, ef a, e, fo, fe; the negative particles ni, na; the conjunctions o 'if', oni 'unless', y 'that', and pe 'if', Ml. pei, which is for pei y 'were it that'; and in Ml. W. the tense particle ry. Thus:
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Ni’th wyl dreim i’th wal dramowr;
E’th glyw mil, nyth y glaw mawr.—D.G. 133.

‘No eye sees thee in thy vast lair; a thousand hear thee, [in] the nest of the great rain.’—To the Wind.

a’th eura di § 7 ii; lle’th fugwyd D.G. 323 ‘where thou wast reared’; am ssuinaesse-e douit b.r. 24 ‘the Lord created me’; ef a’m llas G.Gl. § 175 iv (6) ‘I was killed’; o’m lleddi D.G. 59 ‘if thou killlest me’; o’th gaf do. 524 ‘if I may have thee’; oni’th gaf do. 29 ‘if I have thee not’; beith ledit b.r. 1255 ‘if thou wert killed’; rym gelwir b.t. 36 ‘I am called’; see § 171 iii (2).

The 3rd sg. and pl. -e or -y, Mn. -i, *’i (’i) is used after the relative a and the affirmative particles a, ef a, e, fo, fe; as pawb ay dyly w.m. 8 ‘everybody owes it’; e’i gweir D.G. 524 ‘it will be seen’. It also follows the relative y, and is contracted with it to y (= y y ‘that... it’); as llyma yr we’d y keffy r.m. 2 ‘this is the way that (= in which) thou shalt have it’; sef val y gwmaf w.m. 3 ‘this is how I will do it’; val y herchis c.m. 80 ‘as he commanded them’ (val is followed by y ‘that’). In Early Mn. W. this is written i, later ei or eu; recently it has been written y’i and y’n in order to show the construction; but there is no authority for this, and the traditional sound appears to be i (not y’i).

The 3rd sg. and pl. -s is used after ni, na, oni ‘unless’ and o ‘if’; as Ae eiðaw nys arvallassant I.A. 161 ‘and his own received him not’; onis cuplaa oe weithretoes c.m. 15 ‘unless he fulfills it in his works’; os myn L.G.C. 187 ‘if he desires it’. It often serves to save the repetition of the object in the second of two negative sentences: ny mynneis inheu un gwre... ac nys mynnaf r.m. 11 ‘I did not want a husband, and do not want one’; nyd enwafo nes ac nys gwradwyddef J.D.R. [xvii] ‘I name no one, and disgrace him not’; and often refers to a noun or pronoun placed absolutely at the head of a sentence, as ond ef nis gwesant Luc xxiv 24 ‘but [as for] him, they saw him not’; Sefnaur’ mór nis offair nwy D.W. 271 ‘the mouths of the sea—one no longer fears them’. The form -s is also used after pe, thus Mn. W. pes for pei y-s ‘were it that... it’, as pei y-s gwypwyd w.m. 42; in Ml. W. generally written pei as, as pei as mynhyd w.m. 142 ‘if thou wishedst it’. Similarly owedy as gwelech c.m. 83 ‘after thou hast seen it’. After affirmative reu, as reu òdës w.m. 20 ‘he has given it’; rarely after affirmative a, as Às attebwys dosfyd b.t. 24 ‘the Lord answered him’.—In Late Mn. W. nis is sometimes treated as if the s meant nothing; such a misuse is rare in Mn. W. and, where it occurs, is probably a scribal error, as Nys gwelas llugat eiroet y sawl dyn jon I.A. 117 with nys repeated from the previous line. On os for o ‘if’ see § 222 v (1).

In Early Ml. verse we sometimes find nwy (≡ nwy) in relative sentences corresponding to nis in direct statements (nwy from an old contraction of *no ò, cf. *wy’i (1) above, *no being the orig. form of the neg. rel., see § 162 vi (3)); as nis quibit ar nuy gwelho b.b. 7 ‘he
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279 will not know it who has not seen it'; cf. do. 8 ll. 1, 13. Later by
metathesis this appears as nyw, as nyt kersawr nyw molwy r.p. 1400
'there is no minstrel who does not praise him'; nyw deirydt do. 1273
'which do not belong to him'. Later nyw is used in direct state-
ments, as ac nyw kelaf r.p. 1244 'and I will not conceal it'. In b.ch.
occurrs enyu (≡ ynu) teno tranoeith 14 (misprinted eny in a.l. i 32)
'until he removes it the following day', formed analogically. We also
find rwy rel., as rwy digonsei b.t. 24 'who had made him'.

(3) After pan 'when' and Ml. kyt 'since' syllabic accus. forms
are used: ym, yth, y, yn, ych, y. In late Ml. W. these are written
y'm, yth, ei, y'n, y'ch, eu; the apostrophe is incorrect, see iv (2).
But even in Ml. W. after pan and other conjunctions ending in
consonants, an affixed acc. pron. after the verb is preferred to the
infixed; see iii (1).

yr pan yth veleis gyntaf w.m. 156-7 'since I saw thee first'; pan
i'm clyncai clust Job xxix i i; kid im guneit b.b. 23 (≡ yd ym
gwneið)' since thou makest me'. In the early period also after nid
'there... not', as nid ann-ydy b.b. 90 'there will not be to us' (ann
dat. see below).

(4) In Ml. and Early Ml. verse the forms in (2) and (3) are
also used in the dative.

Dolur gormod am dodyw r.g. i 127 'too much grief has come to
me'; car o'm oed, ny'm oes G. m.A. i 201 'a friend there was to me,
there is not to me' (i.e. I had but have not); Am bo forth b.b. 34
'may there be a way for me'; pan im roted par do. 23 (t=8) 'when
existence was given to me'; E'm rhoddes liw tes lw teg D.G. 136
'[she of] the hue of summer gave me a fair pledge'; Cerdd eos a'm
dangosai 'Y mun bert do. 499 'the nightingale's song would show me
my comely maid'.

(5) Initial vowels are aspirated after the following prefixed
and infixed pronouns: all the forms of the gen. 3rd sg. fem., and
gen. 3rd pl.; all the infixed forms of the acc. 3rd sg. m. and f.
and 3rd pl., except -s.

oes liw y hwynanw p.l.A. 81 'was the colour of her face'; oe eu
hamser do. i 19 'of their time'; mi o'i hadwaen ef Gen. xviii i 9.

After 'm, 'n and yn gen. and acc. both aspirated and unaspirated
initials are found.

om hanwéd r.m. ii, w.m. 18, om anwéd r.m. 30, w.m. 43 'against
my will'; yn harglwyd ni p.l.A. 165, yn arserchoglw yd ni do. 168 'our
majesty'. So in Early Ml. W.: A'm annwyl D.G. 219, a'm edwyn
ibid. 'knows me', o'm hanfodd D.E. g. 113, i'm oes S.T. f. 29,
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3rd and where they Ni in They clyw hualwyd the for they

i'm hoed D.G. 498. In Late Mn. W. the h- is always used, and often written superfluously after eich, 'ch.

iii. Affixed pronouns are substantive and auxiliary.

(1) Substantive affixed pronouns are used in the accusative after verbs as sole objects; they are identical with the independent pronouns simple, reduplicated and conjunctive, with the initials of the 1st and 2nd sg. softened.

They occur where there is no preverb to support an infixed pronoun, as when the vb. is impv.; where the preverb ends in a consonant, as pan, etc.; and in some other cases where there is no infixed pronoun; for the details see Syntax.

dygywch vi òdyma w.m. 8 'bear me hence'; hualwyd fi D.G. 47 'I have been shackled'; clyw fyfy do. 100 'hear me'; pann veilsant ef M.A. 114 'when they saw him'; ny rodassis hi do. 122 'she had not been given'. They often follow auxiliary affixed pronouns, as Pan geissych di vývi r.m. 224 'when thou seekest me'.

They are also used in the dative after interjections, as gwae fi! 'vae mihi!'

(2) Auxiliary affixed pronouns serve as extensions of other pronominal elements; they are appended to words which already have either personal endings, or prefixed or infixed pronouns. The form of the 1st sg. is i, in Early Ml. W. -e (≡ y); in Late Mn. W. it is written fi after -f, but this is an error, though sometimes found in Ml. W.; the 2nd sg. is di, after -t ti, Early Ml. -de; 3rd sg. m. ef, efo, f. hi; pl. i. ni, Early Ml. -ne, 2. chwi, 3. vy, wynt, later hwy, hwunt. There are also conjunctive forms, innau, dithau, etc.

Supplementing (a) the personal form of a verb: gueleis-e b.b. 71 'I saw', arðuireav-e do. 36 'I extol'; pan roddais i serch D.G. 134 'when I set [my] affection', andau-de b.b. 61 'listen thou', Beth a glynwaist ti? D.G. 335 'what didst thou hear?' y dél hi § 136 iii, etc.

(b) the personal ending of a preposition: irof-e b.b. 23 'for me', arnat ti D.G. 136 'on thee', iðaw ef w.m. 5 'to him', etc.

(c) a prefixed or infixed pronoun, gen., acc. or dat.: wi-llaw-e b.b. 50 (≡ wy-llaw-y) 'my hand', f'enaid i D.G. 148 'my soul'; am crewys-e b.b. 82 'who created me'; nym daw-e do. 62 'there comes not to me'; dyn ni 'm cred i D.G. 173 'a woman who does not believe me'.

Ni cheisisyn nef na'i threvi
Be gwypun nas kai hwun hi.—H.S., P 54/i/257 R.

'I would not seek heaven and its abodes if I knew that he would not attain it.'
iv. Origin of dependent pronouns: (1) Prefixed. — *fy < Ar. **mene
§ 113 ii; — *dy ‘thy’ < Brit. *to(u) (u) proclitic form of *toye < Ar.
*tene; — *y ‘his’ < Ar. *esiō: Skr. asyá; y ‘her’ < Ar. *esiąs: Skr.
asyāh, § 75 vii (2); — an ‘our’, Bret. hon, hor, all for *anr, which (like
Ir. ar n- for *anr n-) represents regularly (§ 95 ii (3)) Kelt. *yseron <
*ns-röm: Goth. unsara, with suff. -(e)ro-: cf. Lat. nostrum with suff.
-t(e)ro; — at before hun < *nes or *nos: Skr. nāḥ acc., gen., dat.; a
awch ‘your’, formed from chwes on the analogy of an: ni; — eu ‘their’,
O.W. ou, Bret. ho, is probably for *wy unaccented, and so from *eison <
Ar. *eisōm: Skr. esām ‘their’ < *eisōm, Osc. eisun-k; for the
weakening of unaccented wy to eu see § 78 iii; — yun, ych before
numerals < *esnes, *esyes: Goth. izwis ‘you’ acc. < *esues; — yll is a
form of an n-demonstrative § 165 vi, perhaps < acc. pl. *ollōs <
*olīo- or *olno-: Lat. ollus.

(2) Infixed. — Gen. — *m, -*th see ii (1); Brit. *men caused the rad.
tenues, the nas. of mediae § 107 iv, and as the latter was generalized
for fy, the former was for *m; — *e or -y is merely the prefixed y
contracted with the preceding vowel; — *n, *ch are the prefixed forms
with the vowel elided; — *e or -y ‘their’, originally only after o ‘from’
and *do ‘to’; thus oe or oy ‘from their’ < o *wy contracted;
similarly the rarer oe ‘to their’; ay ‘and their, with their’ is formed
on the analogy of oy, instead of the orig. ac eu which also survived, as
oc eu ‘from their’ was formed on the analogy of the latter, instead of
orig. ay (o ‘from had no -e); — iw ‘ to his’, etc., Ml. W. yw met. for
*wy < *do i ‘to his’ contracted after *esiō ‘his’ had become *i, but
early enough for *oi to become *wy, see ii (1); the metathesis is
actually attested in *ny (≡ nw) > nyw, see below.

Acc. (dat.) — *m, -*th < *mm-, *tt- from acc. *me, *te, dat. *moi, *toi,
originally used after the neg. ny, the tense part. ry, etc., which
caused gemination of the initial; in Ir. also the forms after ni, ro,
no, do, etc., are -mm-, -t (≡ tl); see § 217 iv (1); after the rel. a
which causes lenition, -m, -*ch must be analogical; the rad. initial
after -m is due to the analogy of -m gen.; — *n (Ir. -nn-) < *nes,
see (1); -*ch by analogy; — the syllabic forms prob. developed thus:
*pann m cl- > *pann m cl- > pan ym ćlywai; so n > *y > ym; yth,
ych by anal.; cf. heb yr § 198 iii; on the whole this is more
probable than that y- represents the voca! ending of pann lost else-
where, which is the explanation of the corresponding Ir. forms
generally assumed (Thurnesein Gr. 246, Pedersen Gr. ii 145); in any
case the y- is not the rel. y, which is not used after pan § 222
xi (2), so that the form pann y’m is misleading and wrong; — *e, -y,
in ae, ay ‘who ... him’, for ai *i contracted; syllabic y < *i; *i <
*en < *em ‘him’; the nasal ending caused the rad. of tenues, which
was generalized; -s from the fem. acc. *sīm ‘her’, *siās ‘them’,
with the initial doubled as in *mm-, *tt-, so that it gives -s (not
*h-); in Ir. -s- is f. sg. only; in Corn. it is f. sg. and pl.; in W.
extended to the m. because the m. *i was lost after ni; thus *nī caf
ef became nis caf ef on the anal. of nis caf hi; so ae ‘who... her’
instead of as on the anal. of ae 'who...him';—rel. nyw < nwy (≡ nwy) < *no ɨ, see ii (2).

(3) Affixed.—The substantive forms are the same as the independent forms. Auxiliary: i, b.b. -e (≡ y) < *iɡ < *ego: Lat. ego, Gk. ἐγὼ, etc.; originally used as subject after a verb, it came to supplement a 1st sg. pron. in other cases;—di, b.b. -de < *tu;—ni, b.b. -ne < *nes or *nos (which may have become nom. like nos in Lat.).

§ 161. i. A possessive adjective was placed after its noun, which was usually preceded by the article, as y tŷ tau D.G. 18 'thy house', sometimes by a pref. or inf. pron., as jʿth wyndut teu R.P. 1202 'to thy paradise'; rarely it was added to an indefinite noun, as

Ac i wnethur mesurau
O benillion mwynion mau.—D.G. 289.

'And to make measures out of sweet verses of mine.'

The above adnominal use is common as a poetical construction; in prose it survived only in one or two phrases like y rei eiSaw ll.a. 20 "suos". Ordinarily the possessive adjective stands as the complement of the verbs 'to be', 'to become', etc., as malpei teu rei R.M. 127 'as if it were thine'; or is used substantively preceded by the article, as arnaf i ac ar y meu s.g. 268 'on me and on mine'.

ii. (1) The forms of the possessive adjectives in use in Ml. W. are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>meu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>teu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>m. eiðaw, f. eiði</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Mn. W. the first three forms became mau, tau, eiðdo, by the regular change of final syllables; and new forms of the 1st and 2nd persons arose; see iii.

See Ml.W. einym r.m. 132, eiðunt do. 26, eiði w.m. 476; einwch etc. see below. The form eiðiSaw ll.a. 129 shows ɨ after ei § 35 ii; but the present N.W. sound is eiðdo with no trace of -ɨ- before -o, and the intrusion is only sporadic in Ml. W.

(2) The above forms are sometimes extended by the addition of auxiliary affixed pronouns; thus meu i or meu inneu, teu di or
teu dietheu, eiddaw ef or eiddaw efo, etc. In Mn. W. the 1st sg. takes the form mau fi or mau finnau.

Pa 8arpar yw yr einwch chwi? R.M. 292 'what preparation is yours?' By ryw neges yw yr eiddaw ef? W.M. 40 'what business is his?' y'r meu i s.g. 34 'to mine', y teu di w.m. 84 'thine', y meu inneu s.g. 251; A'r cwyn tau di...yw'r cwyn mau finnau I.G. 392 'and thy plaint is my plaint'; the f- is attested by the cyghanedd in I.G. 318 q.v.

iii. In the 15th century new forms of the 1st and 2nd sg. and pl. sprang up. Siôn Cent has L'i natur ... yw eiddom y'n soddi c 7/86 'and its [the earth's] nature is ours to sink us'. T.A. has eiddoch A31102/121. We also find eiddod:

Gwyr glân a gai air o glod;
Gorau oedd y gair eiddod.—G.I.I.L.F., c 7/110.

'Fine men got a word of praise; the best was the word [spoken] of thee.'

H.R. uses the curious 2nd sg. einwyd b. 185. — G.R. (1567) gives eiwof or eiddof, eiddot, einom p. [123]; einom in A.G. 52. — J.D.R. gives eiddof, eiddot, eiddom, eiddoch 69. These are the forms used in Late W., though mau and tau persisted in poetry.

Wm.S. used mau and tau in his N.T., which were mostly changed into eiddof and eiddot by the translators of the Bible, see e.g. Ioan xvii 6, 9, 10.

The forms of the 3rd sg. and pl. remain unchanged, except that eiddunt is misspelt eiddynt in Late W.

iv. (1) It is generally assumed that meu is a new formation after teu, and that the latter comes from the Ar. gen. *teue: Skr. tóva. But Ir. mui shows that the formation is not very new; it goes back at least to Pr. Kelt. The Ir. mui occurs as a gloss, but *tui is not found, and neither form occurs in construction. It is probable therefore that the predicative and substantival constructions so common in W. are secondary; for if original they might be expected to survive in Ir. on account of their convenience. Hence we may conclude that meu and teu were originally postfixes, a construction which disappeared in Ir. and only survived in poetry in W. They may therefore be derived directly from the Ar. enclitic genitives *moi, *toi: Gk. μοι, τοι (soi), Skr. me, te (e < *ai < *oi), Lat. mi (< *moi), see § 75 viii (2).

(2) The Ar. 3rd sg. corresponding to *moi, *toi was *soi: Gk. οί, Av. hē, šē; this gives W. *(h)eu. Beside y meu and y teu, there must have been yr *(h)eu, which gives rheued ‘property, wealth’ (rheued m.a. i 244a); and yr *(h)eu ‘his property’ became ‘the
property' whence *(h)eu ‘property’. When *(h)eu became obsolete as an enclitic it was replaced in the sense of ‘property’ by meu, which gives meude ‘property’ (meuet M.A. i 3616). It was followed by *i ‘to’ and a pronoun: Ae meu y minneu dy verch di weithon? Meu heb ynteu R.M. i42, lit. ‘is thy daughter property to me now? Property [i.e. Yes] said the other’; ey merch inneu a geffy yn veu itt do. 125 ‘and my daughter thou shalt have as property to thee’, i.e. for thine own; yn veu iðaw e hun do. 207 ‘as property for himself’. In its orig. form the last expression would be *eu iðaw; of this iðaw is an obvious contraction; similarly eiði for *eu iði; eiðunt for *eu iðunt. On the analogy of eiðaw ef (for *eu iðaw ef) arose meu i, teu di. In eiðaw ef the ef is of course the ordinary affixed pron. supplementing the personal ending of iðaw, see § 160 iii (2) (b).

(3) The use of yn *eu for the later yn veu is attested in the O. W. nou glossing genitives in m.c.; as nouirfionou gl. rosarum = (yn) *eu yr flioneu ‘as the property of the roses’, i.e. that of the roses (n-representing yn before a vowel is common, e.g. ny L.L. 120 ‘in its’ § 107 ii). It is found before the 1st pl. pron.: nouri gl. nostrum = (yn) *eu (y)nny; later *eu ynnny became einnym on the analogy of the prepositional form of eiðaw, and of gennym (‘belonging) to us’ (mae gennym ‘we possess’); einnoch was evidently formed from einnym on the analogy of gennucch.

The processes which produced these forms have repeated themselves at later periods: eiðo ‘his’ (like the old *eu ‘his’) became a noun meaning ‘property’; it began to be used with a dependent genitive in the 14th century: a vu eiðaw dy vam di s.g. 270 ‘was thy mother's property’; eiðaw nep L.L. 35; eiðdo’r Arglwydd 1 Cor. x 26; thus O. W. n-ou-ir-fionou would now be yn eiðdo’r ffion. From eiðdo were formed the new 1st and 2nd sg. and pl. forms eiðdf (fi), eiðdot (ti), eiðdom (ni), eiðdoch (chwi), carrying further the analogy of eiðdo (ef). Lastly, there is a recent tendency, instead of yn eiðdo (ef), to say yn eiðdo iddo (ef), which exactly reproduces yn *eu iðaw (ef), which is the origin of yn eiðo (ef).

§ 162. i. The forms of the relative pronoun are—nom. acc. a [soft]; adverbial cases, before vowels Ml. yd, yð, Mn. yr, before consonants Ml. yd [soft], Mn. and Mn. y [rad.]; in the genitive and in cases governed by prepositions both a and yð (yr), y are used.

Nom. : gyrru yr erchawys a ladygse i garyr cynndeith w.m. 2 ‘to send the pack that had killed the stag away’ ; Gwyn ei fyd y dyn a wnelo hyn Es. lvi 2 ‘Blessed is the man that doeth this’.—Acc. : o ymgael a’r gwyr a eñvedy di w.m. 4 ‘to find the man whom thou
mentionest'; *Ai dyna'r ympryd a ddewisais?* Es. lviii 5 'Is this the fast that I have chosen?'—Adv.: *'o'r lle yð oes w.m. 39 'from the place where he was'; e korn oes ewo e brenhyn a.l. i 70 'the horn from which the king drinks.'—Nom. and adv.: 

\[ Af a mawl a fo melys \]

\[ O'r tud yr wyf i'n tad Rys.—G.S. p 55/31. \]

'I will go with praise that is sweet from the land where I am to Father Rhys.'

The gen. rel. is supplemented by a prefixed personal pronoun to point out the case: *Mab ... a dyllwas Iðas ð leith b.b. 87 'the Son whose death Judas plotted'; Ol ... a ðucywýd moch ðdat w.m. 469 'Ol, whose father's pigs were stolen'; brawt ðr gwr ðuost neithwyrr yn ðlys do. 130 'brother of the man in whose court thou wast last night'; *y neb ð y maddeuwyth oð drosedd Ps. xxxii 1 'he whose transgression is forgiven'.—Similarly a preposition takes a personal ending to show the gender and number of the relative: *ý' r neb a welei newyn a sychet arnaw í.l.a. 126 lit. 'to the one whom he saw hunger and thirst on him'; *nyt amgen no'r pren ð y dibynnawð yr arglywyd arnaw do. 61 'no other than the tree on which the Lord was crucified'.—Dat. *y* followed by *i* with suff.: *y rhai ð rhoddwyd iddýnt* Matt. xix ii 'they to whom it is given'; also without the prep.: 

\[ Ieuan deg a'i onwayw dur \]

\[ Y perthyn campau Arthur.—G.Gl., p 83/58. \]

'Fair Ieuan with his spear of ash and steel to whom belong the qualities of Arthur.' *Rhywia’ dyn ð rhod enaid T.A. A 14967/29 'the most generous man to whom a soul was [ever] given'.

The form *ae* in *E betev ae galich y glaw b.b. 63 'The graves which the rain wets' may be an echo of O.W. *ai* with the rad. after the acc., see vi (1).

By the elision of unaccented syllables *a* is often lost in Mn. W. verse, as *Y ddraig coch* *ddyry cyclywyn D.I.D. g. 177 '[it is] the red dragon that gives a leap'. *Y gwr llen*' gár holl *Wynedd* Gut.O. g. 204 'the learned man whom all *Gwynedd* loves'. The soft initial remains to represent it. In Mn. W. it may be lost before initial *a*. The frequent dropping of the rel. *a* is a characteristic of much of the slipshod writing of the present day.

ii. (1) The usual adverbial form before a vowel in Mn. W. is *yð*; but *yr*, though rare, appears in the 14th cent., as *yno yr adeilawð Benno eglwys í.l.a. 123 '[it was] there that Benno built a church'; *hyt y seneð yr oesit yn ðy aros do. 114 'as far as the synod where he was awaited'. In Mn. W. *yr* became the usual form, but *yð* remained as a poetical form, the bards using both indifferently according to the demands of the cynghanedd, as
ACCIDENCE

§ 162

O erw i gan yr â gwâr:
O ddwy i un ydd â anwr.—I.D., tr. 150.

'[It is] from an acre to a hundred that a man goes, [and] a churl from two to one.'

(2) Between vowels yð or yr may become 'ð or 'r, e.g. wedi 'dd ðL L.G.C. 394 'after [the time] when it goes'; but before a consonant it is always y; unlike the article, it cannot appear as 'r after a vowel if a consonant follows. On the sound of the y in the word see § 82 ii (1).

iii. In Early Ml. W. the adverbial rel. often appears as yd (≡yd, not yð), later written yt; this occurs not only before vowels but before consonants also, the latter usually undergoing the soft mutation.

Tec yd gan ir adaren B.b. 107 '[it is] sweetly that the bird sings';
myyn yd vo truín yd vii trev do. 83 '[it is] there where a nose is that a sneeze will be'; yn Aber Cuawc yt ganant gogeu R.P. 1034 '[it is] at Aber Cuawg that cuckoos sing'.

In the b.b. the soft occurs after yd twelve times; the rad. occurs four times (id p- 41, 53, id k- 85, 95), and in each case may be due to protection. Before k-, d-, g-, ff-, s-, m- w-, only y [rad.] occurs; before k-, gw-, b-, ll-, both y [rad.] and yd [soft] appear; before p-, r- only yd-; before a vowel, yð, rarely yd.

iv. (1) The pres. ind. of the verb 'to be' has a relativaal form sydd, sy, Ml. W. yssyð, yssy, in the b.b. often issi (i≡y). The full form ysydd is also used in Mn. W., and is generally wrongly divided y sydd, because the accent is on the second syllable. The suffixed rel. is the subject of the verb, which always means 'who is', 'who am', etc.

Although originally 3rd sg., the rel. may have a noun or pron. of any number or person as antecedent; thus Diau mai chwychwi sy bobl Job xii 2 'Doubtless it is you who are people'.

(2) In the verb pieu the interrogative element pi came to be used as a relative; see § 192 ii (2), (3).

(3) pan, originally interrogative, is mostly relative in Ml. and Mn. W. It is used for 'when', chiefly where no antecedent is expressed; see § 222 vi (1).—In questions and answers it expresses 'whence', as o py ydat . . . pan henwyt c.m. 33 'from what country is it' that (= whence) thou art sprung? ' Ae o bysgotta pan deuy di do. 53 'is it from fishing that thou comest?' In these cases yð may be used, and yr supplants pan in Mn. W. On pan in answers see § 163 i (6).
v. (1) The negative relative is nom. acc. ni, nid, Ml. W. ny, nyt; this form is also used in the gen., in the loc. after lle, and in cases governed by prepositions; but the adverbial form generally (e.g. after pryd, modd, fel, megis, paham, pa fodd, etc., and adverbs like braidd, odi, etc.) is na, nad, Ml. W. na, nat. In Late W. there is a tendency to use the a form everywhere.

Nom.: Nyt oes yndi neb ny\textsuperscript{th} adnapo r.m. 3 'there is in it no one who will not know thee'. Gwyn ei fyd y gôr ni rodia Ps. i 1.—Acc.: yr hynn ny welsynt W.l.a. 12 'that which they had not seen'; cenedd nid adweini Es. lv 5; also with a redundant -s: llyna beth ny-s geirhodaf-i c.m. 42 'that is a thing which I will not refuse (it)'.—Gen.: y drws ny \\textsuperscript{dy}lywyn ny ñ agori r.m. 41 'the door which we ought not to open', lit. 'whose its opening we ought not'.—Loc.: lle ny wyper W.l.a. 26 'in the place where it is not known'.—After a prep.: ny ro\textsuperscript{dB}\textsuperscript{ei} hi ... ñaw r.m. 33 'to whom she did not give'.—Adv.: pry\textsuperscript{m} na W.l.a. 26, W.m. 183, R.m. 85, pry\textsuperscript{d} na Jer. xxiii 7, D.G. 29, g. 297; mal na c.m. 20; braidd na D.G. 50.

(2) The perfective particle ry may introduce a rel. clause; see § 219 v.

vi. (1) The relative pron. a probably comes from the Ar. relative *\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{o}s, *\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{o}d: Skr. yā-h, yā, yād, Gk. ḥ, ḥ, ḥ. It was a proclitic in Brit., and pretonic *\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{o} might become *\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{o} § 65 vi (2); this was metathesized to ai the oldest attested form, as in hai-oit b.s.ch. 2 'which was', ai torro hae ay dimanuo y bryeint hunn W.l.l. 121 'who breaks and who dishonours this privilege', hai bid cp. 'which will be'; and ai was reduced to a, a trace of ae occurring in Ml. W., see 1.—To explain the soft mutation after it we have to assume that in Kelt. the nom. sg. m. was *\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{o} like that of *s\textsuperscript{o}, *s\textsuperscript{a}d: Gk. ḥ, ḥ, ḥ (forms without -s are older, and *\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{o} might be a survival).—The verb syd, yssyd represents regularly *est\textsuperscript{t}f\textsuperscript{o} = *est\textsuperscript{t} j\textsuperscript{o}; it differs from yssit 'there is', which sometimes precedes it, as yssit rin yssyd ovu b.t. 28 'there is a secret which is greater', § 189 iii (3).—The acc. a (< *j\textsuperscript{om}) prob. had a radical initial after it at first, cf. ae gulich i above, and a gulich ... 'which ... moistens' four times in B.B. 46.

(2) In Ar. adverbs were formed from pronominal and other stems by adding various suffixes, many of which began with a dental: thus, denoting place, *-dhi (Gk. π\textsuperscript{t}-θ, 'where?') ḥ-θ, 'where'); *-dhe, *-dha (Skr. ī-hā 'here', Gk. ḫa-yēmjs), *-ta (Gk. κατā, W. gan < *km-ta); whither, *-te (Gk. π\textsuperscript{t}-θe? < -t, Goth. hwaþ 'whither?'); whence, *-dhem (Gk. -θeβ), *-tos (Skr. yā-tah 'whence', Lat. in-tus, W. hwn-t 'hence'); manner, *-ti (Skr. ī-ti 'thus', Lat. iti-dem), *-thā (Skr. ka-thā 'how', yā-thā 'as', Lat. i-ta < *i-ta); time, *-dā (Skr. ya-dā 'when'), *-te (Gk. ḥ-θe 'when'); Brugmann\textsuperscript{2} II ii 728–734. To these may be added the adj. of number formed with *-ti (Skr. kā-ti 'how many?') W. pe-t id., Lat. quo-t, Skr. yā-ti 'as many').
The W. adverbial forms of the rel. prob. represent several of these derivatives of the rel. *íô-; accentuated o would remain, and, becoming unacc. later, would give y § 65 iv (2). Distinctions of meaning were lost, and the forms were adapted to the initials which followed them.—
yð before a vowel may represent *íô-dhi ‘where’ or *íô-dhem ‘whence’; possibly in id thrice before aeth in B.B. 3, 97 (marg. bis) an old distinction is reflected: id < *íô-te ‘whither’—yd [soft] denoting manner as kelvit id gan B.B. 15 ‘[it is] skilfully that he sings’ < *íô-ti or *íô-thañ; denoting number, as pop cant id cuitin do. 95 ‘[it was] by the hundred that they fell’ < *íô-ti, cf. Ml. W. pet ‘how many ?’—y [rad.] prob. has two sources: 1. yd [soft] before t-gives *yd ð- which becomes y t-, i.e. y [rad.], afterwards extended to other initials; 2. yð must have been orig. used before consonants as well as vowels, and might take the rad. (yd ‘whence’ < *íô-dhem); the ð would be lost before the consonant § 110 iv (3).—As yr is not known to occur before the 14th cent. it is improbable that it represents an old r-derivative. It is most probably for Late Ml. yr as in val yr lygryssit . . . y grofdew w.m. 75 ‘the way that his crofts had been ruined’, from yr ry, as pob gwolat o’r yr ry fuwm do. 144 ‘every country of those where I have been’. (Earlier, ry is used without y as Íluchof re trwydhasam a.l. i 58.) The analogy of the art. y : yr might help to spread yr rel. before a vowel.

(3) The neg. rel. ny may be < *no < *nô < *ne íô. It caused lenition because orig. unaccented, see § 217 iv; later the mutation after it was assimilated to that following ordinary ny ‘not’; probably nyt rel. is also analytical. na is probably the same as indirect na, see ib.

vii. (1) The relative in all cases comes immediately before the verb of the rel. clause (only an infixed pron. can intervene); and is often preceded by the demonstratives yr hwn, yr hon, yr hyn, ar as well as y sawd, y neb, yr un, yr rhai. In translations these, which are properly antecedents or stand in apposition to the antecedent, are often attracted into the relative sentence, producing a confused construction; see Syntax. Before the adverbial forms there occur similarly y lle ‘[in] the place’ (the rel. meaning ‘where’), modù, mal, megis ‘[in] the manner’ (the rel. meaning ‘in which’), pryd ‘the time’ (the rel. meaning ‘when’), etc.

(2) In sentences beginning with a noun or adverb followed by a rel., the noun or adv. is the predicate and the rel. clause the subject. Thus Dafydd a welais i means ‘[it is] David whom I saw’ or ‘[the man] whom I saw [is] David’; ýma y ganed Dafydd means ‘[it is] here that D. was born’. In the spoken language the noun or adv. is always emphatic and predicative, and the literal meaning is not
PRONOUNS

§ 163. 1. The interrogative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs are the following (the form of the interrogative is the same whether the question be direct or indirect):

(1) Ml. and M., W. pwy 'who?'

Pwy guant cath paluc b.B. 96 'who wounded P.'s cat?’ Ac ny wnn i pwy wyt ti W.M. 3 'and I know not who thou art’; gy bwy y fôdit W.M. 402 'to whom it should be given'; Pwy a osoedd ei mesurau hi, os gwyyddost? neu pwy a estynodd lînyn arni hi? Job xxxviii 5. Bwy W.LL. 44, 59.

In Ml. W. pwy is also used for 'what is?' as dayar, pwy y lleu neu pwy y thewhet b.T. 20 'the earth, what is its breadth or what is its thickness?' pwy enw y teir kaer do. 35 'what is the name of the three forts?' Cf. R.P. 1954. It is also found later with enw, as Pwy dy hênw D.G. 365 'what is thy name?' This may be for py *wy where *wy is an older form of yw 'is' § 78 iv (1); if so, in pwy yw dy enw L.A. 128 the yw is redundant.

The use of pwy before a noun is rare: Pwy ystyr yw gennyt ti kelu ... W.M. 454 'what reason hast thou to conceal ... ?' Probably the yw here is redundant as above, and the construction was originally that in Pwy ystyr nas agory ti do. 456 'what is the reason that thou wilt not open it?' This type of phrase might give rise to the adjectival use of pwy, which occurs more frequently later, and is common in the dialects: pwy wr ll 30/103, pwy ryw fyd do. 480, cf. pwy un ii (1) below.

(2) Ml. W. pa, py, ba, by, M., W. pa, ba (rarely py) 'what ... ?' adjectival. It causes the soft mutation (b.B. pa gur ≡ pa gw).

Pa gur yw y portlaur b.B. 94 'what man is the porter?' Pa gwyarwydd a wyd ymi W.M. 4 'what indication will there be to me?' y edrych pa vedol yw yr eiânt do. 39 'to see what thought is theirs'; ym mha ddinasoedd y maent yw preswylio Num. xiii 19.—Py ñrocy yw hynny R.M. 178 'what evil is that?' i.e. what does that matter? py le pan ñweii W.M. 132, R.M. 204 'whence he came'.—Ba beth

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS, ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS.
see (3), by ᵃᵧᵣᵳ bynnae r.p. 1256. Forms with b- are common in Early Mn. verse.

In Early Ml. W. pa, py is also used for ‘what?’ substantival, as pa roteiste OTH outh b.b. 20 ‘what didst thou give of thy wealth?’ Pa darvu w.m. 58, r.m. 41 ‘what happened?’ Pa wneaf r.p. 1045 ‘what shall I do?’ Py gynheil magwyr dayar yn bresswyl b.t. 28 ‘what supports the wall of the earth permanently?’—It is also used for ‘why?’ as Py liwy (≡ liwy or liwy) di w.m. 454 ‘why dost thou colour?’ Daug reen py bereist lyvwr b.p. 1032 ‘Lord God, why hast thou made a coward?’


A wðost ti peth wyt b.t. 27 ‘dost thou know what thou art?’ Na un, heb ymteu, peth yw marchawc w.m. 118 ‘I do not know, said he, what a knight is’; Beth bynnae see iv.

beth yw dy arch di w.m. 20 ‘what is thy request?’ beth yw hynny do. 28, 42 ‘what is that?’ beth yssyd yn y boly hwnn do. 54 ‘what is in this bag?’ beth yssyd yma lb. ‘what is here?’ Beth a darvu yn y diwed ðaw ef i.l.a. 16 ‘what happened in the end to him?’ beth am y ðei bychein do. 41 ‘what about the little ones?’ Beth... pet ‘what if’ 12 times in i.l.a. 67–8. Beth a gawn g. 228 ‘what shall we have?’ Beth a unwnyn i’n chwaer? Can. viii 8.

Papep bi juv. gl. quid; paped bynnae m.c. gl. quoduis; ba beth oreu rac eneid b.b. 84 ‘what [is] best for the soul’; Pa beth a unwnant wy i.l.a. 66 ‘what do they do?’ Pa beth yw ðyn i ti i’w gofio? Ps. viii 4.

(4) Early Ml. W. pet [soft] ‘how many...?’ (In Late Ml. W. and Mn. W. this gave place to pa sawl ii (4).)

pet wytnt, pet ffreu, pet avon b.t. 20 ‘How many winds, how many streams, how many rivers’; Gogwn... pet ðỳð ym blwyðyn, pet paladyr yð kat, pet ðos yð ðawat do. 21–2 ‘I know how many days [there are] in a year, how many spears in an army, how many drops in a shower’.

(5) Early Ml. W. pyr ‘why?’

pir deuthostie b.b. 23 ‘why hast thou come?’ pyr na’m dywedig b.t. 27 ‘why dost thou not tell me?’ pyr na thr(a)ethwch traethawt do. 19 ‘why do you not make a statement?’ pyr y kyerchy di w.m. 486 (in b.b. 126 Py rac ...) ‘why dost thou accost [me]?’ A form pyt occurs once, and may be an error for pyr:—pyt echenis drwe b.t. 27 ‘why did evil arise?’

(6) Ml. W. pan ‘whence?’ also ban b.b. 102. It is generally repeated before the verb in the answer.
(7) Early Ml. W. cw, cwd (cwt), cwð ‘where?’ ‘whence?’ ‘whither?’

mor, cv threia cud echwit ... Redecauc dwywr ... cvd a ... cv treigil, cv threuna(!), pa hid a, nev cud vit B.B. 38 ‘The sea, whither it ebbs, whither it subsides ... Running water, whither it goes, whither it rolls, where it settles (?), how far it goes, or where it will be’. kwτ ynt plant y gwr W.M. 453 ‘where are the children of the man?’ (in the R.M. 101 ble mae for kwτ ynt). Neu nos cwt dywyð, kwð dirgel rač dyð B.T. 41 ‘or night, whence it comes, whither it recedes before day’; ctwv ydð nos yn arhos dyð do. 28 ‘where the night is, awaiting the day’. Ny wwant cwt (t ¼ δ) ant P.M. M.A. i 284 ‘they know not where they go’.

(8) pi-eu ‘to whom belongs?’ See § 192.

ii. Many interrogative expressions are formed by combining pa, py with nouns and adjectives; thus—

(1) pa un, pl. pa rai ‘which?’ (followed by o ‘of’). pwy un is also found.

Am ba un o’r gweithredoedd hynny yr ydych yn fy llybyddio i? Ioan x 32. gwrariaig i bwy un o honynyt yw hi? Luc xx 33. Pa rei vu y rei hynny ll.A. 17 ‘which were those?’

pa un is also used sometimes for ‘who?’ as dywet titheu ... pa un wyt ti s.g. 57 ‘and do thou say who thou art’.

pa un and pwy un are sometimes contracted to p’un and pwy’n; thus pun wyt R.M. 222 ‘who thou art’ (for W.M. 154 pwy wyt); Brig kwywr, pwy nì wyr pwy’n yw S.Ph. c 19/274 ‘(Maid of) the waxen hair, who knows not who she is’.

(2) pa le, ple, ble ‘where?’ ‘whither?’ o ba le, o ble ‘whence?’ i ba le, i ble ‘whither?’ pa du ‘where?’ ‘whither?’ (These forms supplanted cw, cwd, cwð in Late Ml. and Mn. W.)

Pa le y bu Babel ll.A. 44 ‘where was Babel?’ ble mae plant y gwr R.M. 101, see i (7) above; Pa le yð oeth Ɂaof ynu ll.A. 13 ‘quo ivit tunc Adam?’ Ble’ddí án’ rhag blaidd o Wyredd T.A. A 14966/57 u 2
'whether will they go from the wolf of Gwynedd?' O ba le y daw breu'dwydan ll a. 57 'whence come dreams?' I ble y tyn heb weled tir T.A. 14979/143 (D.G. 296) 'whether will it (the ship) make for without seeing land?' Pa du ll a. 19 'whether?' py tu w.m. 484 'where'.

(3) pa delw, pa weð, pa ffuryf, pa voð, late pa sut 'how?'

Pa delw y daw yr arglwyd y'r vrawt ll a. 61 "qualiter veniet Dominus ad judicium?" Pa weð do. 15 "quali modo?" Pa ffuryf do. 4; pa voð do. 21.

pa bryd 'when?' pa awr (pa hawr § 112 i (2)), pa syð, etc., 'what hour?' 'what day?'

(4) pa faint 'how much? how many?' followed by o 'of', pa hyd 'how long?' pa sawl [rad.] 'how many?'

ny ddiory pa veint o wyrda Ffreine a dwaer c.m. 78 'thou carest not how many of the nobles of France are destroyed'. Pa faint o gamweddau . . . ? Job xiii 23. Pa hyd arglwydd y'm anghofî? Ps. xiii 1. Bysawl nef ysyð ll a. 128 'how many heavens are there?' Pysawl pechawt a oruc Æðaf do. 131 'how many sins did Adam commit?' Pa sawl llwyf, pa sawl bedd . . . a velsoch b.c.w. 70 'How many books, how many graves have you seen?'
maint and hyd are equative nouns § 148 i (12), (8). pa may also be put before any equative adj. with cyn; as py gybellet oðyma yw y oruc w.m. 154 'how far from here is the mound?' It is also used in Mn. W. with mor and a pos. adj. pa mor ða, etc.

(5) pa gyfryw [soft] 'what manner of . . . ?' Mn. W. pa ryw fath [soft], pa fath [soft] id.

Py gyfryw yr yno awch tat choi pan allo lleassu pawb velly w.m. 152 'what manner of man is your father when he can kill everybody so?'

Pa ryw fath rai A.g. 36.—cyfryw is the equivalent of an equative § 149 ii (1).

(6) pa ryw [soft] 'what . . . ?' adjectival.

Sometimes pa ryw means 'what kind of?' as Pa ryw lun ysyð ar yr engilyhon ll a. 9 "qualem formam habent angelii?" But generally it means 'what particular (thing, etc.)?' or 'what class of (things etc.)?' preserving the older meaning of ryw § 165 vi; as pa ryw lu sy'n poeri i lawr D.G. 409 'what host is spitting down [the snow]?' ynteu a ofynnwys pa ryw ðynion oð y fei hynny c.m. 14 'and he asked what class of men those were.'

pa ryw became pa ry (cf. amry- § 165 iv (g)) wrongly written pa'r y, as pa'r y ddwyfnder M.lL. i 212 'what depth?' This is again reduced to pa r' (wrongly written pa'r), as pa r' ofid waeth T.A. A 14866/201 'what sorrow [could be] worse?' Perygl i wyr, pa'r
glwy waeth L.M. d.t. 145 ‘dangerous to men, what disease [is] worse?’ a pha'r gledi sydd arno 'riban B.C.W. 73 ‘and what hard-ship does he suffer now?’—pa ryw un ‘which (particular) one?’ becomes pa'r'un M.L. i 182, which is very common in Gwynedd, and is sometimes further reduced to p'r'un.

iii. pa or py might have a postfixed preposition, § 47 iv. Of the expressions so formed only pahám ‘why?’ survives; often contracted to pam which is at least as early as W.B. Others in use in M.L. are pa-har and pa rac or py rac; for references see § 47 iv.

Pam y bymeron inheu hynny gan y taygad y lladron W.M. 68, cf. 73 ‘why? should we take that from the thievish villains?’

M.L. W. padiw, pydiw ‘to whom?’ seems to belong to this class, but its formation is obscure; see vi.

O.W. padiu ox. ‘for what?’ glossing quid in “Quid tibi Pasiphae pretiosas sumere vestes?” isset padiu itau gualat Juv. lit. ‘there-is to-whom-it-is that-comes lordship’ (?) glossing est cui regia in “Cunctis genitoriis gloria vestri laudetur celsi thronus est cui regia caeli.”—M.L. W. gejr eu y ejr [ef] padyu y rodes [padyw nys rodos] a.l. m.s. a. [ms. d.] i 108 ‘his (the donor’s) word is word (i.e. decides) to whom it is that he gave it, to whom it is that he did not give it’. gwynn y vyt pydiw y rodir kereynody Duv. r.p. 1056 ‘Blessed is he to whom is given the grace of God’. Later with a redundant ý ‘to’: ý bydiw ý bo gorërth des ësaw c.m. 32 ‘[we shall know] to whom it is that there will be a fair leman’.

iv. The forms pwy bynnag, peth bynnag, beth bynnag, pa beth bynnag, pa .. bynnag, etc., have lost their interrogative meaning, and are used as “universal” relatives, meaning ‘whosoever’, ‘whatsoever’, ‘what ... soever’.

Pwybynnag a vynnho m.l. a 138 “Quicunque vult”. Peth bynnac o garveiwrë w a vei yrmugthunt w.m. 6 ‘whatoever of blandishment there was between them.’ A Duv a vyr ë gyf a thi bethbynnac a wnelych m.l. 105-6 ‘And God will be with thee whatever thou dost’. By dyn bynnac yych, by gerð a vettych r.p. 1256 ‘what man soever thou art, what craft [soever] thou art skilled in’. pa ddaioni bynnag a wenlo pob un Eph. vi 8.

In S.W. dialects bynnag loses its final -g, and in late S.W. m.s. it sometimes appears as bynna or benna. We also find in Late M.n. W. bynnag put before pa, peth, as Bynnag beth sydd mewn creadur Wms. 294 ‘whatsoever is in a creature’; bynnag pa'r fodd m.l. i 82, 97 ‘however’; though used here by W.M., it does not seem to be a N.W. construction. A dialectal form in S.W. of bynnag is ynnag,
and *gynnag pwv, *gynnag beth are found in some lesser writings of the late period; more recently they appear in the corrupt and curiously meaningless forms *gan nad pwv, *gan nad beth.

v. As the interrogative is always predicative it is followed regularly in Ml. and Mn. W. by the relative on the analogy of affirmative sentences; thus pwv a wýr ‘who [is it] that knows?’ on the analogy of Dwv a wýr ‘[it is] God that knows’, § 162 vii (2). But this appears to be an innovation in the case of the interrogative, as the oldest examples omit the relative, as pwv quant i (1), pa roteiste i (2), pwr dethoste i (5).

vi. The stems of the interrogative in Ar. were *q%o-i, *q%o-r, f. q%ô-, also *q%ô-, *q%u- the last in adverbs only (Brugmann II ii 348).—W. pwv < nom. sg. mas. *q%ô-i : Lat. qui < *q%oi.—W. pa, py adj. < stem *q%o- compounded with its noun and so causing lenition; o after the labial becomes a, or remains and becomes y, cf. § 65 iv (2).—W. pa, py subst. < nom., acc. sg. neut. *q%o-d, *q%u-d : Lat. quod, quid; lenition is perhaps due to the analogy of the adj. pa, py.—W. peth < *q%id-dm § 91 ii; already in Brit. the word had become indef., meaning ‘something, thing’, hence pa beth ‘what thing?’ beth is not necessarily a shortening of this, as pa is not omitted in such phrases in Ml. W.; but beth is for peth (= Ml. Bret. pep ‘quid?’) which occurs in Ml. W., see i (3), with b- as in ba, by i (2), ban b.b. 55, 56.—Ml. W. pet ‘how many?’ Bret. pet < *q%ë-ti § 162 vi (2).—Ml. W. pyr ‘why?’ < *q%o-r : Goth., O. E. hwær ‘where?’ < *q%o-r, Lat. cü-r < *q%ô-r.—W. pan < *q%un-de < *q%âm-de : cf. O. Lat. quamde, Umbr. ponne § 147 iv (4) p. 245.—Ml. W. cw, ewd, evox represent different formations of *q%u- (q% > k before u § 89 ii (3)) by the addition of more than one of the suffixes named in § 162 vi (2); the different forms have been confused, and can no longer be disentangled; similar formations are Skr. ku-ha (h < dh), Gathav. ku-dä ‘where?’ Lat. ubi < *q%u-dh-, O. Bulg. ku-đe ‘where?’

W. pam, pahám < *pa(ð) o(l) am < *q%od mbhi ‘what about?’ padiw or pydiw is obscure; no dative form seems possible; an analogical *pod-do might give *pyð (as d-d > d § 93 iii (1)) and iuv may be yu ‘is’, § 77 v; so ‘to whom it is’ or ‘for what it is’.

W. bynnag, Bret. bennak, bennag, seems to be from some such form as *q%om-de ‘when’ + ac ‘and’, so that in meaning it is the literal equivalent of Lat. cum-que, and is, like it, separable (Lat. quë cumque lit. ‘who and when’).

Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives.

§ 164. i. (1) The demonstratives hwn ‘this’, hwnnw ‘that’ are peculiar in having a neuter form in the singular. Both are substantival and adjectival. The adjectival demonstrative is placed after its noun, which is preceded by the article; thus y gwër
hwn 'this man'. The different forms are—sg. mas. hwn, hwnnw, fem. hon, honno, neut. hyn, hynny, pl. m. and f. hyn, hynny.

The following forms occur in O.W.: hinn m.c., JUV., cp. 'hyn'; hinnoid ox., hinnuid m.c. 'hwnnw'; hinnoid ox. 'hynny'; hirunn JUV. 'yr hwn', ir hinn m.c. 'the one'; m., see IV (1); hwnnith cp. f., hinnuth ib. m., hinnith ib. neut. and pl.

(2) hwnnw means 'that' person or thing out of sight, 'that' in our minds. To indicate objects in sight, adverbs are added to hwn; thus hwn yna 'that (which you see) there', that near you', hwn acw, MI. W. hwnn racko 'that yonder'. So hwn yma 'this here'. But yma and yna are also used figuratively; hwn yma 'this' which I am speaking of, hwn yna 'that' which I have just mentioned. Hence we can have the abstract hyn before these; but not before acw which is always used literally of place.

Vy arglwydes i yw honn racko R.M. 175 'that (lady) yonder is my mistress'. Guttun Owain a ysgrivennodd hwnnyma Gut.O. auto. 112/33 r. 'Guttun Owain wrote this'.

An-âml yw i hwn yma
Nag ystôr nag eisian da.—I.D., TR. 149.

'It is rare for this one to store or to want wealth.'

These expressions are sometimes used adjectivally as y wreic wedw honn yman ll.m.a. 114 'this widow'; 'or byt hwnn yma do. 117 'from this world'; y vorwyn honn yma s.c. 143 'this maiden'. But for this purpose the adverb alone is generally used: yn y byt yma ll.m.a. 102, 155 'in this world'; 'or esgobact yma r.p. 1272 'from this diocese'; y vygin burwenn racko R.M. 151 'the white army yonder'. Any other adverb of place may be similarly employed: y fan draw, y tu hwnt, etc.

In the spoken language honn yna, hon yna, hyn yna are commonly contracted to hó|na, hó|na, hí|na (not hwnna, etc.); and these forms occur in recent writings.

(3) The neut. sg. hyn, hynny always denotes an abstraction; it means 'this' or 'that' circumstance, matter, thought, statement, precept, question, reason, etc.; or 'this' or 'that' number or quantity of anything; or 'this' or 'that' period or point of time.

Hynny, hef ef, ansbyerwyt oeô w.m. 2 'that, said he, was ungentlemanliness' (meaning 'that' conduct); Pater noster . . . sef yw pwyll hynny yn tat ni ll.m.a. 147 'Pater noster . . . the meaning of that is our Father'. A wnelo hyn nid ysogir yn dragwydd Ps. xv 5; wedi hyn 'after this'.
ACCIDENCE

§ 164

*Nid wylais gyda'r delyn
Am 'y nhad gymain a hyyn.*—I.D. tr. 151.

'I have not wept with the harp for my [own] father as much as this.'

ii. (1) The neut. hyn or hywyn is substantival, not adjectival. In Mn. W. it is sometimes used adjectivally after certain nouns; but as the construction is unusual in Mi. W., it must be a neologism: *yn y kyfrawg hywyn R.B.B. II for yfy kyfrawg hywyn do. 319, 320, 321.* The examples show that it is added to nouns expressing ideas for which substantival *hyn* stands.

=o' r chwedd hir hyyn H.A. ii 133/164 'of this long story'; *A'r peth hyyn* S.Ph. e.p. 275 'and this thing' [which thou knowest]; *y peth hyyn* Dan. iii 16 'this matter'; *ein néges hyyn* Jos. ii 14, 20 'this our business'; *y pryd hywyn* i Sam. xiv 18; *a'ir pryd hyyn* Act. i 6.—This use of *hyn, hywyn* never became common, but seems to have been more or less local. In Gwent *hyn* adj. has spread, and is now used with all nouns.—O.W. *hinnith* after *ir loc guac* in cp. 6 seems to be an error for *hinnith* as in 9, 11, 14, 15, a form of *hwnnw*, with *y* for *w* in the penult, cf. § 66 ii (1).

(2) The pl. *hyn* or *hywyn* is both adjectival and substantival. The former use is extremely common. The latter is comparatively rare; examples are—

*ny thebygaff i y un o hyyn vynet* w.m. 35 'I do not imagine any of these will go'. *a hene* (=*hywyn*) *a elguyr goskorth e brenyn* a.l. i 8 'and those are called the king's guard'. *Ni phalla un o hyyn* Es. xxxiv 16 'No one of these shall be missing'.

The reason that this use is rare is that *hyn* or *hywyn* pl. was liable to be confused with *hyn* or *hywyn* neut. sg.; thus *hyn* 'these' might be taken for *hyn* 'this (number)'. To avoid the ambiguity 'these' and 'those' substantival were expressed by *y rhein hyn* and *y rhein hywyn*, literally 'these ones' and 'those ones'. Though still commonly written in full, these expressions were contracted, early in the Mn. period, to *y rhein* G.Gl. c. i 198 and *y rheiny* do. do. 194, or *y rheini* T.A. a 24980/85.

Angeu Duw fu 'Nghe rewain
O'i trysor hwy'n treis iaw 'r rhain.—L.G.C. 175.

'The death [angel] of God has been at Cedewain, robbing these [i.e. the people there a] of their treasure.'

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Maer henwy? Ai meirw r rheini?
Hynaf oll heno wyf i.—G.Gl., p. 100/411.

‘Where are the elders? Are those dead? Eldest of all to-night am I.’

iii. Adjectival hwn and hon form improper compounds with nouns of time; thus yr aur hon > yr áwron (§ 48 iv), yr áwran; y waith hon > Ml. W. e weithjon A.L. i 242 (ms. b) usually wéithon, Mn. wéithjon, véithian (§ 35 ii (1)); y prydd hwn > y pryddwn w.m. 102; y wers hon > y wérs hon w.m. 128; all the above mean ‘now’. So y nos hon > y noson ‘that night’, and y dydd hwn > y dythwn, y dôthwn § 66 ii (1) ‘that day’. The form dythwn was still in use in the 17th cent.; see Silvan Evans, s.v. dôthwn.

Arwydd ydyw yr áwron
Wreiddiaw Rhys o’r ddadear hon.—L.G.C. 206.

‘It is a sign now that Rhys is sprung from this land.’

Ar bob allawr yr áwran
Y gwneir cost o’r gwain o’r cann.—D.N., g. 149.

‘On every altar now provision is made of wine and white [bread].’

Bardd weithian i Ieuan wyf.—L.G.C. 275.

‘I am now a bard to Ieuan.’

By dissimilation yr áwran (pron. yr owran § 81 iii (2)) became yr owan, and is now sounded in N.W. yrówan. The loss of the r goes back to the 15th cent.:

O bu draw ’r bywyd ar ran,
Maer Eos yna ’r owan.—G.I.H. p 77/384.

‘If his life has been spent partly away, the Nightingale is here now.’

As ‘this day’ and ‘this night’ were expressed by hêsíw and heno, the forms y dythwn and y noson were used for ‘this day’ or ‘this night’ of which we are speaking, i.e. ‘that day’ or ‘that night’. When the composition of the words was forgotten hwnnw and honno were added for clearness’ sake; thus in A.L. i 142, where MS. A. has ni dele y dithun kafail ateb ‘he is not to have an answer that [same] day’, the later MS. E. has y dythwn hwnnw. This is the Biblical construction; see y dwthwn hwnnw Jos. iv 14, vi 15, viii 25, ix 27, etc.; y noson honno Dan. v 30, vi 18. Later, noson and dwthwn were wrested from this context, and taken to mean simply ‘night’ and ‘day’; e.g. a dreuliodd y dwthwn yn sanctaidd RH.B.S. 215 translating “who has spent his day holily”.

iv. (1) The forms yr hwn, yr hon and yr hun (but not *yr hwnnw etc.) are used before the relative, meaning, with the latter, ‘the one who’ or ‘he who’, ‘she who’, and ‘that which’; in the pl.
y rhai 'the ones' is used, which is more strictly the pl. of yr un 'the one'; the latter is similarly employed, as are also y neb, y savol and definite nouns like y gôr Ps. i 1, etc.

O. W. ir hinn issid m.c. 'he who is' gl. ille; ir hinn issid Christ juven. 'he who is Christ'; hirunn juven. gl. quem. The first two glosses show that ir hinn might be mas. in O. W.

(2) The above forms may be qualified by superlatives: o'r hynn odidockaf a wypych r.m. 163 'of the rarest that thou knowest'; o'r hyn goreu a gaffer w.m. 428 'of the best that is to be had'. When so qualified a rel. clause need not follow: o'r hyn lleiaf Act. v 15 'at least'; taled o'r hyn goreu yn ei faes ei hun etc. Ex. xxii 5. So with adverbial expressions: yr hwnn y tu a Chernyw w.m. 59 'the one towards Cornwall'.

(3) In the 16th cent. yr was often omitted before hwn in this construction: hwn a fedd faevredd W.L. g. 292 'he who possesses greatness'; Hwn a wnaeth nef E.P. rs. cxxi 2 'He who made heaven'; i hwn a'fh wahoddodd Luc xiv 9; i hyn a weddiller Act. xv 17. In Gwyn. dial. yr hwn has been replaced by hwnnw.

v. Before relatives we also have in Ml. W. the form ar, which is sg. and pl.

Iolune ar a beir b.b. 88 'let us praise Him who creates'; yno kyrcheist ar a gereist o rei goreu G.M.D. r.p. 1202 'there thou broughtest those whom thou lovedst of the best'; ar ny del yn wyyd kymmeller o neph cledyveu w.m. 8 'let him who will not come obediently be compelled by force of arms'; ac a wynnwys bedyd o'r Sarascinjeit a adwys Charlys yn wyw, ac ar nys mynywys o ladydd c.m. 3 'and [those] who would be baptized of the Saracens Charles left alive, and those who would not he slew.'

It is chiefly found in the form 'r after o 'of'.

Ac o'r a welsi ef o helgwn y byt, ny welsi cyn un lliw ac wynt w.m. 1 'and of those that he had seen of the hounds of the world he had not seen dogs of the same colour as these'; o'r a deleti yr llys w.m. 34 'of those who came to the court'; pob creadur o'r a wnaeth-pwyll l.l.a. 4 'every creature of those that have been created'; bob ower o'r g hoetter c.m. 86 'every hour of those during which it is delayed'.

In Mn. W. this construction survives with o replaced by a

§ 213 iii (1).

na dim a'r sydd eiddo dy gymydog Ex. xx 17. Pob peth byw a'r sydd gyda thi Gen. viii 17, see ix 16. yn mho b dim a'r y galwom arno Deut. iv 7. dim a'r a wnaeth-pwyll Ioan i 3.

vi. hwn and hon come in the first instance from Brit. *sundos, *sundæ; the neut. hyn from *sindod, and the pl. hyn from either
*sondī or *sindī. The -u- and -i- are undoubtedly for -o- and -e-
before -ad- § 65 iii (1); we arrive, therefore, at *sendos, *sendā for
hwn, hon, *sendod for hyn neut., and *sondī or *sendi for hyn pl. (In
the Coligny Calendar sonno and sonna occur, Rhys CG. 6, but the
context is obscure or lost.)
The most probable explanation of the above forms seems to be that
they are adjectives formed from adverbs of place, which were made by
adding a -d(h)- suffix, § 162 vi (2), to *sem-, *som-: Skr. samā-h
'same', Gk. ὅψος, Ir. som 'ipse'. The form of the adverb would be
similar to that of Skr. sa-hā 'in the same place together' < *sm-dhe;
but the Kelt. formations have the full grades *sem-, *som- (instead of
the R-grade *sm-) and the demonstrative meaning ('in this place,
here'). For the formation of an adj. *sendos from an adv. *sende
cf. Lat. supernum: superne, and cf. the transference of the flexion to
the particle-te in Lat. is-te, etc.
It is probable that coming after its noun the form of the adj. was
m. *sendos, f. *sendā, neut. *sendod, pl. m. *sondī giving W. m. and
neut. hwn, f. hon, pl. hyn. This agrees with the fact that neut. adj.
hyn after a noun is an innovation ii (1).—Before a noun the form
would be *sendos etc., whence the Ir. article (s)ind. This survives in
only a few phrases in W.—The substantival form would also be m.
*sendos, f. *sendā, neut. *sendod, pl. m. *sendi which would give W. m.
hyn, f. *hen, neut. hyn, pl. hyn. We have seen above, iv (1), that ir
hinn was m. in O.W., but was already beginning to be ousted by hirun
(for *ir hunn), as *henn had perhaps been already replaced by honn,
for in Corn. the forms are m. hen (= W. hynn), f. hon (= W. honn).
The result is that hyn remains as the neut. subst.; but the m. and f.
substantives hynn, *henn were changed to hwnn, honn on the analogy
of the adjectives.
The form hwnn comes from a derivative in -iio- of the adj.
*sondos; thus *sōndīos > hwnnōd § 75 iv (2) > hwnnūd > hwnnw
§ 78 i (1), (2). The fem. *sōndigā would also give the same form,
which actually occurs as f. : ir bloidin hwnnw ith cp. 'that year'; honno
is therefore a re-formate on the analogy of hon; so the last syll. of
hynny § 78 i (1).
ar is prob. formed in a similar manner from an adv. with the suffix
-r which was mostly locative, Brugmanns II ii 735. The stem might
be *an- § 220 ii (11); thus *an-ro-s > *arr > ar.

Pronominalia.

§ 165. i. Pronominalia expressing alternatives are substantival
and adjectival, definite and indefinite.
Subst. def.: y naill . . . y llall 'the one . . . the other'; pl.
y naill . . . y lleill 'these . . . the others'. In Ml. W. the
first term is y neill or y lleill, thus y lleill . . . y llall 'the one . . .

the other’. With an adj. or rel. clause, and in negative sentences, the first term is yr un ‘the one’, pl. y rhai, Ml. y ũei ‘the ones’.

Subst. indef.: un ... arall ‘one ... another’; pl. rhai ... eraill, Ml. ũei ... ereill ‘some ... others’.

In the following list of adjectival forms gwyr, gwyr, gwraig show the position and initial mutation of the noun:

Adj. def.: y naill iôr ... y gwâr arall ‘the one man ... the other man’; y naill wraig ... y wraig arall; y naill iôr ... y gwâr eraill. For y naill Ml. W. has y neill or y lleill, and for eraill, ereill, also used in Mn. W.

Adj. indef.: rhyw iôr ... gwâr arall ‘a certain man ... another man’; un gwâr ... gwâr arall ‘one man ... another man’; rhyw wraig ... gwraig arall; un wraig ... gwraig arall; rhyw iôr ... gwâr eraill; Mn. W. rhai gwyr ... gwyr eraill. Ml. W. ereill, also used in Mn. W. § 81 iii (1).

y naill (and Ml. y lleill) adj. ‘the one’ and rhyw form compounds with their nouns, which are lenited § 155 ii (1), iii (7). The compound is often a strict one as y néillforðd, rhîwforð. As -il causes profection of mediae, an initial neill, lleill generally appears unmutated in Ml. W., as y neillparth for y neillbarth, etc., § 111 vi (2); but analogy generally restores the mutation in Ml. W., especially when the compound is loose, as y naill beth o’r llall ‘the one thing and the other’; but neilltu, see ib.

Subst.: yn gyflym y llàdawò y neill iôr gweisson, ac yn y lle y llàdawò y llall r.m. 191 ‘he quickly slew one of the youths, and forthwith slew the other’; yny orffei y lleill ar y llall r.m. 262, w.m. 408 ‘until the one overcame the other’; a’r un y bydei borth of iði a gollie y gwâre, a’r llall a bodei awr w.m. 174–5 ‘and the one that he supported lost the game, and the other gave a shout’.—ũei ohonunt yn wylaw, ereill yn udaw, ereill yn cwynaw l.a. 152 ‘some of them weeping, others moaning, others crying’; i un, ... ac i arall ... ac i arall ... etc. i Cor. xii 8–10; the second term may of course be repeated when indef.

Adj.: o’r lleill byparth ... ac o’r parth arall w.m. 421–2 ‘on the one hand ... and on the other hand’ (b beginning barth deleted by underdot); am nat oed ñyn ñioenlet y neillforð o’r llall s.c. 29 ‘because the one way was not as safe as the other’.—Or bwytey mywn un amser yn y dyð, a symuñ hymny y amser arall m.m. 33 (from R.B.) ‘if thou eatest at one time in the day, and changest that to another time’; rhyw ñyn cynnhigennus ... undyn arall J.D.R. [xxii] ‘a jealous man ... any other man’; Mn. W. rhai dynion ... eraill rh. b.s. 87 “some men ... others”; the use of rhai before a noun seems to be late, but neb ũei occurs so in Ml. W., iv (3).
ii. (1) The first alternative may be a noun or personal or demonstrative pronoun, as *ti ac arall 'thou and another' (i.e. such as thou), *hyn or yr llall 'this and that'.

*Cár yn cyhuddo arall!
Hwedd yr law gyhuddo'r llall.—T.A., c. ii 78.

'A kinsman accusing another! [It is] easy for the hand to accuse the other.'—*kanys yr hynn a rymnnei hwnn nys mynnei y llall
s.g. 49 'for that which this [one] desired the other desired not'. In these cases the second term subst. pl. may be (*y) rhai eraill 'the others': *mwy ... oe8 honno nor'r rei ereill oll
w.m. 180 'that [ship] was larger than all the others'; *llo8 a oed vwy noc un or'r rei ereill
do. 185; cf. N.A. 102.

(2) The first alternative may be implied, as in other languages; as *y dydd arall M. ii 178 'the other day'; *y nos arall R.P. 1362,
D.G. 25 'the other night'; *Gad i eraill gadw arian T.A. f. 6 'let
others hoard money'.

iii. All the forms of the first term except *naill subst. may be
used without a sequel as ordinary pronominalia meaning 'one,
some'; thus—

(1) Adj. *y naill 'one' in *y naill hanner 'one half' (now
generally 'about a half'), *y naill du or *y neilltu 'one side' (hence
neilltuo 'to retire' etc.); neill-law see example.

*Eisted a oruc Peredur ar neill law yr amherodres W.M. 164
(neill-
law R.M. 231) 'Peredur sat beside the empress', lit. 'on one side of
the e.' ond pan ël or'r neilltu Diar. xx 14; see Gen. xxx 40; Barn.
vii 5; 2 Sam. iii 27; etc.

(2) Subst. un 'one', pl. rhai, Ml. rei 'some'; often with
qualifying adjectives un du 'a good one', rhai drwy 'bad ones'.
Also yr un 'the one', pl. *y rhai, Ml. *y rei 'the ones'; these are
chiefly used with adjectives as *yr un drwy 'the evil one', or with
a relative clause § 164 iv (1); and *yr un instead of the indef. un
in negative sentences, as—

*Pa obeith yssyð yr gler? *Nyt oes yr un N.A. 40 'What hope is
there for the bards? There is none.' Cf. s.g. 17, l. 10.

Adj. *yr un [m. rad., f. soft] 'the same', followed, if necessary,
by ac (ag), a 'as'. Also un [soft], forming compounds strict or
loose with nouns; the compound is an adj. meaning 'of the
same . . .', § 149 ii (3).
(3) Adj. *rhyw* 'a (certain), some'. The noun with which *rhyw* is compounded, see i., may be singular or plural.

*iw* _admirable covering_. *iw* _Some warts_. *Yr oedd gan iw w'r ddau fab Luc xv i i "av6pu)7ró<sTi<s". *rhyw_ dethau 2 Petr. iii i6 'some things'; _mywn rhyw_ _bhanneu (bh = v) J.D.R. [xvii] 'in some places'.

iv. Subst. _un_, pl. _rhai_ and adj. *rhyw*, preceded by pronouns, numerals or prefixes, form composite or compound pronominalia, thus:

(1) _Pa un_, pl. _parai_ 'which?' § 163 ii (1); _pa rhyw un_ § 163 ii (6).

(2) _pob un_ ' every one ', pl. _pob rhai_.

_Afob un_ _honuunt_ w.m. 7 'and each one of them'. _pop ţey o('r) ţey henne_ A.L. i 8 'all of those'. _Gofyn a oruc ţey Chyarlys ansawd pob ţei o naduente_ c.m. 14 'he inquired of Charles the condition of all (i.e. each group) of them'.

(3) _neb un_ or _nebun_ subst. 'some one, any one', adj. 'a certain', pl. _neb rhai_, generally in positive sentences.

§ Subst. _Nid mor ddihereb nebun_ § 151 ii (3); _neb ţei o ovynnei_ [read -eu] _bychein_ _l.a_ 2 'quasdam quaestiumculas'; _nep ţei drwe_ do. 30 'certain bad ones'—Adj. _neb un vrenhindref yni_ _l.a_. 166 'a certain province of ours'; _nebun genedyl r.b.b_. 280 'a certain tribe'; _neb ţei ţinwdeu_ _l.a_. 102 'certain miracles'.

(4) _rhyw un_, _rhywun_ 'some one', pl. _rhyw rai_, _rhywrail_, _Ml. rhyw rei_.

_rhyw un_ 1 Cor. xv 35 "*ts*"; _O achaws mileindra rhyw rei_ ... _kanys y mae rhyw rei a'm lladei_ i s.g. 320 'On account of the brutality of some people; for there are some who would kill me'.

(5) _dau rhyw_, _tri rhyw_, etc. 'two (three, etc.) different, two (three, etc.) kinds of'.

_Seithryw pechawt_ (read bechawt) _marwavol yssyð l.a_. 147 'there are seven different deadly sins'. _Tri rhyw gywyd yssyð_ ... _Dou rhyw gywyd deu eir yssyð_ _r.g_. 1134 'there are three kinds of cywyddau, ... there are two kinds of cywyddau deuair'.

(6) _pa rhyw_ § 163 ii (6).

(7) _pob rhyw_ ' every, all manner of'.

_Pob rhyw_ _da o'r a archymynnei yr yscrythur lan_ _l.a_. 126 'Every good that holy scripture commanded'. _a phob rhyw_ _vlas yssyð ar y
Pronouns

In section (8), *neb rhyw* 'any, any kind of', in negative sentences.

In section (9), *amryw* 'various, several'. In ML. W. it was generally used with a sg. noun; in Late M. N. W. a pl. noun is generally used. In the Bible the noun is sometimes sg., but often pl.

*Ysfit yn y boly hwnn amryw clawt* w.m. 54 'There are in this bag various kinds of flour'; *amryw duted* (t ≡ δ) m.A. 1 220, 'various coverings'; *amryw wledu* m.A. 70 'various feasts'; *amryw bwyso,... amryw fesur* Deut. xxv 13, 14; *amryw had ... amryw ddefnwydd* Deut. xxii 9, 11; *amryw Galan* Gr.O. 40 'many a New Year's Day'; *amryw bwyso au* *amryw fesurau* Diar. xx 10; *amryw glefydau ... amryw weinidogaethau ... amryw weithrediadau ... amryw dafodau* 1 Cor. xii 4, 5, 6, 10.

*amryw*, like *rhyw*, forms the first element of a compound; in some cases the compound is strict, and *amryw* then appears as *amry-*; thus *amry-liw* 'parti-coloured'; *amryn* 'wrangle' (sbn 'talk'); *amryffus* 'erring' (*fus < *mois- < *moit-t-*: Lat. *mīto, E. miss, W. meth*).

The recent *amrai* is a fiction; see Silvan Evans, s.v.

(10) *cyfryw* 'such', usually with the article, *y cyfryw* followed, if necessary, by *ac* (ag), a 'as', which may be omitted before a demonstrative pron. or a relative clause (the rel. itself is 'as' in this case, cf. Eng. *the same who*; and the demonstr. prob. represents an old obl. case of comparison).

*Y kyfryw wyt ac a oed ganhaw* s.g. 200 'such food as he had' (lit. 'as what was with-him'); *yn y kyfryw le a hwnn* w.m. 10 'in such a place as this'; *y kyfryw dyn a hwn* w.m. 123 'such a man as this'. Without *ac* 'as': *y kyfryw varchawc yn oed ef yn y ol* w.m. 138 'such a knight as he was after'; *y kyfryw dyn hwnn* b.m. 198 'such a man [as] this'; *yr kyfryw wr hwnnw* b.b.b. 65 'to such a man [as] that'.—Without the art.: *a galw kyfryw dyn a hwn* w.m. 123 l. 30 (beside *y kyfryw* l. 16 quoted above) 'and to call such a man as this'; cf. s.g. 316, Jer. v 9, Matt. ix 8.

On the analogy of *y meint* etc., *y rhyw* is used instead of *y cyfryw* in the above constructions.
Ny bu eiriyoet y rhy lewenyd ac a wreithwynt s.g. 144 ‘there never was such a welcome as was prepared’; y rhy bryf a hunnw w.m. 77 ‘such a reptile as that’. Without ac ‘as’: y rhy genedyl a elwir y pagannyeit l.la. 166 ‘such a tribe as is called the pagans’; y rhy bryf hunnw R.M. 54 ‘such a reptile [as] that’; y rhy gatwent honno R.B.B. 58 ‘such a fight [as] that’.

y cyfryw is also substantival.

lower o’t kyfvyw l.la. 49 ‘many such’. Yn erbyn y cyfryw nid oes ddeddf Gal. v 23.

pa gyfryw § 163 ii (5); pob cyfryw ‘all’ emphatic § 168 i (2); neb cyfryw ‘any such’ § 170 iv (3).

(11) unrhyw, generally yr unrhyw ‘the same’, followed, if necessary, by ac (ag), a ‘as’.

a’r unrhyw ymadrawd gantunt ac a dothoed gan y marchawc cyntaf R.M. 200 ‘and [bringing] the same tale with them as came with the first knight’. Nid yw pob cnawd un rhyw gnawd l Cor. xv 39.

Note.—unrhyw came in the 19th cent. to be commonly used as a translation of the English ‘any’; thus ni velais unrhyw ddyn for ni velais un dyn. Pughe in his Dic. does not give the word this meaning. (In D.G. 519 l. 46 unrhyw seems to be a mistake for yn rhyw.) The phrase o un rhyw ‘of any kind’ is older.

un rhyw or unrhyw ‘same’ is also substantival.

Ponyt un rhyw a gymerth Judas a Phedyr l.la. 25 “Nonne Judas idem accept quod Petrus?”

v. rhyw is also used as a noun m. ‘kind’; and as an ordinary adj. in the phrase rhyw i ‘[it is] natural to . . .’. From rhyw ‘kind’ come rhywio ‘kindly, of a good kind’, rhywogaeth ‘species’, afryw, afrywio ‘unnatural, harsh’.

Y rhyw hun Marc ix 29.—mor oed rhyw ym llew llewyfaw G.D.A. R.P. 1226 ‘how natural it was to my lion to rule!’ Rhyw iddi roi rhodd yr wyll T.A. A 9817/179 ‘It is natural to her to give a gift at the feast’. Nid rhyw iddaw ond rhoddi G.Gl. p.152/102 ‘It is only natural to him to give’.

vi. y naill (Ml. y neill) ‘the one’ is for *ynn eill in which *ynn = hynn ‘this’, Ir. ind ‘the’ < *sendos § 164 vi; *eill < *álíios < *álíós, redupl. of *álíos: Lat. alius, Gk. állos; owing to the wrong division the y is treated as the art. and becomes ñr after a vowel.—Ml. W. y lleill ‘the one’ may be similarly for *yll eill, in which *yll is an l-demonstrative, like Lat. ille etc., ultimately allied to *álíós itself, Brugmann 2. II ii 340.—y llall similarly for *yll all; all < *álíós; pl. y lleill with *eill < *álí.—araill < *arálíós (: Ir. araile)
by dissim. for *alátios § 102 iii (2); pl. ereiil < *arálša; see § 100 iii (2), (3).—Note the contrasted accentuation *ál(a)šios > *eill ‘one’: *alátios > arall ‘other’.—un ‘one’ § 75 ii (1).—rihyw < *rišó; rhai < *riš § 75 v; *rišó- < *pri-o- = *pri-o- in Lat. proprius: Lat. prívus, Umbr. préver ‘singulis’, préve ‘singillariter’, Osc. preivatud ‘privato, rec’ (the -e- in these is a suff.); the orig. meaning is ‘proper, particular’; rhyw ً̄y ‘a particular man’; rhyw i ‘proper to . . ., natural to . . .’; rhyw ‘a particular kind’; etc.; *pri-o- may be an adj. derived from the prep. *pri (§ pri, *prai) ‘before’ (‘prominent’ > ‘characteristic’), spv. Lat. primus.

§ 166. i. ‘Each other’ is expressed by pawb i gilydd or pob un i gilydd, literally ‘each his fellow’ or ‘each one his fellow’.

ac y taφnoveðwyd pawb o naðunt ae giliš w.m. 451 ‘and each of them was reconciled to the other’. Llawn vu pob un wrth ý giliš o honunt do. 9 ‘Each of them welcomed the other’. (For the form giliš see § 77 iii; it is of course the spoken sound at the present day.)

Yn iach weithian dan y ddwyd
Y gwealom bawb i gilydd.—S.T., c.c. 186.

‘Farewell now until the day when we shall see each other,’ lit. ‘each his fellow’.

In the 15th century pawb or pob un came to be omitted, and i gilydd alone thus came to mean ‘each other’.

Ni a gawn drwy flænau’r gofïdd
Ryt golwg or i gilydd.—Gut.O., A 14997/15.

‘We shall see each other through the branches of the trees.’ Ni a ddyllem garu i gilydd a.g. 25 ‘we ought to love one another’.

In the familiar Salesburian orthography i gilydd is of course ei gilydd ‘his fellow’. As the antecedent is generally pl., the i was mistaken in the spoken lang. for i ‘their’ (written eu); and after the 1st and 2nd pl. yn and ych are substituted for it on the analogy of the construction of hun ‘self’; thus in the recent period ein, eich, eu are written before gilydd, which owes its g- to the fact that the pron. before it was the 3rd sg. m. i ‘his’.

Wm.S. and Dr. M. sometimes misspell the pron. as eu (Salesbury often confuses his own invention ei with eu; the spoken form of both was i then as now). In the 1620 Bible the 3rd sg. m. pron. is correctly written in the orthography adopted in it: ar garu o honoch ei gilydd Ioan xiii 34; os bydd gennych gariad i’w gilydd do. 35; Byddwch yn vn-fryd òi gilydd Rhuf. xii 16; Anherchwch ei gilydd i Petr v 14; Amwylyd carun ei gilydd i Ioan iv 7, see 11, 12. In
all these cases the 3rd sg. pron. was changed by R.M. (1746) to eich, 'ch, ein.

ii. (1) After yr un in negative sentences i gilydd often takes the place of y llall.

Ac nyt attebei yr un mwy noe gilyð R.M. 211–2 'and neither answered more than the other'.—ny gigawn yr un okonunt vot y wrth y gilyð h.a. 128 'Neither of them can be away from the other'.

(2) It takes the place of arall after neu 'or'; as ryw ddydd ne'i gilydd D.G. 337 [ne'i (for neu'i) misprinted no'i] 'some day or other'.

(3) It is used instead of arall or y llall after a noun, § 165 ii (1), in such phrases as the following:

O òrwc y [= òr y] gilyð R.M. 141 'From one evil to another'; o'r pryty y [= òr y] gilyð do. 62 'from one time to the other' (1 the same on the following day); o'r ysgraff pwy gilyð s.g. 125 'from one barge to the other'; o'r mor pwy y [gilyð] w.m. 180, o'r mor py=[pwy y] gilyð R.M. 83, o'r mor bwy gilyð R.P. 1263 'from sea to sea'.

Da iawn y gîwyr dan y gwîydd
Droi gwrielyn drwy [i] gilydd.—D.N. c.c. 265.

'Right well she knows under the trees [how] to plait an osier with another.'

The noun would originally be mas., as it is in the above examples. Breton has a form é-ben to be used instead of é-gile after a fem. noun; this is more likely to be original than the Corn. use of y-ben after both genders. (The idea that this is pen 'head' is refuted by Henry, Lex. 109.)

iii. Irish cäch a chèile, the exact equivalent of pawb i gilydd, is used in the same way. The Breton expression is ann eil égile (Legonidec 227) which in W. would be *y naill i gilydd.

The word cilydd is used as an ordinary noun in the older Welsh poetry; as tac Davyt awch kilyt kilywch P.M., m.a. i 280 'before David your comrade stand aside'. Duw y Chûl i nu y chilyð B.D. r.p. 1251 'God her Lord was her companion'. Also in the proverb Ch(w)euchach bwyt kilyð R.B. 966 'A neighbour's food is sweeter'.

For the etymology of the word see § 106 i (1).

§ 167. i. (1) 'Self' is expressed by sg. and pl. hun or sg. hunan, pl. Mn. hunain, Ml. hunein with prefixed pronouns; for the forms see § 160 i (2).

(2) fy hun means both 'myself' and 'alone'; thus mi af yno fy hun 'I will go there myself' or 'I will go there alone'. After gen.
prefixed or infixed pronouns it means 'own', as fy llyfr fy hun 'my own book'.

(3) fy hun, dy hun, etc. always stand in an adverbial case, meaning literally 'by myself', etc.; they do not replace a pronoun or pronominal element, but supplement it. Thus euthum fy hun 'I went by myself' (not *aeth fy hun 'myself went'); fy nhwy fy hun 'my own house' (not *ty fy hun 'the house of myself'); amcanodd ei ladd ei hun Act. xvi 27; cf. i Ioan i 8; Iago i 22; 2 Tim. ii 13; efe a'i dibrisiodd ei hun Phil. ii 7; similarly arnaf dy hun i Tim. iv 16 (not *ar dy hun); ynddo ei hun Es. xix 17 (not *yn ei hun); drostum e-hunein ill. a. 37 (not *dros e hunein), etc. The reflexive ym- counts as a pronoun: ymrodi e-hun ill. a. 120, cf. 89 and a.l. i 176. (In colloquial Welsh i hun is used alone as the object of a verb or v.n., as wedi ladd i hun instead of wedi i ladd i hun, and this neologism occurs in recent writings; but in other connections the old construction survives, thus mi af fy hun, arnaf dy hun etc.) But after a conjunction joining it to another clause the pronoun which it supplements is not necessarily expressed; thus wyt archaf inheu y neb govey vy iawn namyn my hun Ill. a. 64 'I will bid no one demand my indemnity but myself'; nad oes o'r tu yma'r un ond fy hunan B.cw. 68 'that there is on this side none but myself'; ym uch no my-hun Ill. a. 67 'higher than myself'.—When put at the head of the sentence fy hun etc. are followed by the adverbial rel. y (ydy, yr), as vy hun yr af l.D. 35 lit. 'it is' myself that I will go'; canys ei hunan y gelwais ef, ac y bendithiais, ac yr amheis af Es. li 2.

ii. un 'one' has a derivative *un-an lost in w. but surviving in Corn. onon, onan, Bret. wnan; this and the fact that hun, hunan 'alone' make it probable that the -un in these is the numeral. But Corn. ow honan, Ml. Bret. ma hunan show that the h- in W. fy h-unan is not merely accented. Before u it may represent either *s- or *su-; thus hun may be from *su'oinom < *sye oinom (limiting accusative); the reflexive *sye might stand for any person at first (Brugmann ii 2 ii 397), but personal pronouns were afterwards prefixed, thus *me su'oinom > my hun. The u in Ml. mu etc. is due to assim. to the u of hun.

§ 168. i. (1) Subst. pawb 'everybody'. Though sometimes treated as pl., e.g. pawb a debygynt w.m. 463 'everybody thought', pawb a'm gadawasant 2 Tim. iv 16, pawb is, like Eng. everybody, properly sg., and is mas. in construction:

Pawb ry-gavas y gyvarus w.m. 470 'everybody has received his boon'. So in a large number of proverbial sayings: Pawb a'i chwedl gantho 'everybody with his story'; Rhydd i bawb i farn 'free to everybody [is] his opinion'; Pawb drosto i hun 'each for himself'.

(2) Adj. pob [rad.] 'every. It sometimes forms improper compounds with its noun; as popeth (≡ popeth for pobeth)
beside *pob peth* ‘everything’; *polman* beside *pob man* ‘every place’; *poparth* g. 234 beside *pob parth* ‘every part’; *o boptu* besides *o bob tu* ‘on each side’.

The mutated form *bob*, by dissimilation of the consonants appears, though very rarely, as *bod*, in late Ml. orthography *bot*; as *ŷ bot* un onhunet ll. A, 3 ‘to each one of them’. N.W. dial. *bod* *yy* ųn ‘each and all’, lit. ‘and one’; earlier *bod* *ag* *un* ll. m. 9, T. i 346.

*pob un*, *pob rhyw* § 165 iv, *pob cyfryw* ‘every such’, as *pob cyfryw* orfoledd Iago iv 16 ‘all such rejoicing’. But ordinarily *pob cyfryw* means ‘every’ emphatic, ‘all manner of’, the *cyf*—having the intensive meaning § 156 i (g) (b). It is followed by *o* ‘of’ after *pob* (not by *ag* ‘as’ after *cyf*—so that the *cyf*—is not comparative).

*pob kyfryw* *dyn eithyr* Awt r. p. 1245 ‘every single person but Awd’. *Yr *r* *ei* *hyn* oed *gyfryws* . . . *ym* *pob kyfryw* arweu c.m. 10 ‘these were skilful in all manner of arms’. *Pa le i ma *Christ? *Ymhob* *cyfriw* le c.c. 319 ‘Where is Christ? In every single place’.

*pob cyfriw* beth coll. ‘every single thing’—*o* *bop kyfryw* mwydeu o’r a *lybuceth* ehun s.g. 10 ‘of all viands which (lit. of those which) he himself desired’. Cf. R.m. 8, R.B.B. 50.

(3) *pawb*, Ir. *cách*, gen. *cái* < Kelt. *q*<sup>∅</sup>*q*<sup>∅</sup> *os*; the second element is probably the interr. and indef. *q*<sup>∅</sup>*os* and the first, *q*<sup>∅</sup>*a*—an adverbial form of the same (Thurneysen Gr. 293).

*pob*, Ir. *cách* is the same, with the vowel shortened before the accent, which fell on the noun. The shortening is independent in W. and Ir.; the W. *o* (like *aw*) implies Brit. -<sup>∅</sup>‘<sup>∅</sup>-<sup>∅</sup>-<sup>∅</sup>-<sup>∅</sup>, § 71 i (2). Similarly Bret. *pep* <i>*peyp</i> with *eu* <i>-<sup>∅</sup>-<sup>∅</sup>-</i>. The Ir. *cách* is an analogical formation; see Thurneysen ibid.

ii. (1) Adj. *yr* *holl* [soft] ‘all the’, *fy* *holl* [soft], etc., ‘all my’. Before a definite noun the article or its equivalent is omitted: *holl Gymry* r. b. b. 340 ‘all Wales’; *holl lyssoed* y *bayar* w.m. 6 ‘all the courts of the earth’ (lyssod being made definite by the dependent gen.).

A *wybyd* *yr* *holl* *saint* a *wnneuthum* i *yma* ll. a. 71 ‘Will all the saints know what I have done here?’ *a*<sup>∅</sup>*r* *holl* *bethau* *hyn* Matt. vi 33 ‘and all these things’; *dy* *holl* *ffyrdd* Ps. xxi 11.

A compound of *holl* of the form *holtre* ll. a. 166, *holre* do. 165, *y ror* (= *yr olre*) r. b. b. 71 is used much in the same way, but is rare.

The derivative *hollol* ‘entire’ is an ordinary adj. following its noun, but is used chiefly with *yn* as an adverb: *a* *hynny* *yn* *hollawl* ll. a. 162 ‘and that wholly’; cf. Ps. cxix 8; Gen. xviii 21, etc.
§ 168

PRONOUNS

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(2) oll. This is always used in an adverbial case (of measure), and generally follows the word or phrase which it limits, though in poetry it may precede it.

*Kennery oll* a.l. i 2 ‘all Wales’, lit. ‘Wales wholly’; *y byd oll* g. 294 ‘the whole world’, lit. ‘the world wholly’; *gwadu oll y dadyl* a.l. i 396 ‘to deny wholly the plea’; *Nyni oll* Es. iiii 6.

It cannot be used in the nom. or acc. case, but is always adverbial, limiting the pronominal element which is subj. or obj., and which must be expressed; thus aethant oll ‘they went wholly’ (not *aeth oll ‘all went’); arnaðunt oll r.m. i13 ‘on them altogether’, Mn. W. arnunt oll (not *ar oll), etc.; cf. *fy hun* § 167 i (3).

Note.—In Recent written Welsh a neologism *yr oll* has arisen to express ‘the whole’, instead of *y cwbl* which is the form used in the natural spoken language. *yr oll* is even substituted for *oll* in late editions of earlier works; thus *Ti sy ’n trefnu oll dy hun* Wms. 555 appears in recent hymn-books as *Ti sy ’n trefnu ’r oll dy hun*. (Of course *yr + oll* gives *yr holl* the adjectival phrase, see below.)


The *h- of holl* is caused by the -r of the article before the accented vowel § 112 i (2), and was transferred to cases where the article was not used. But the adverbial *oll* remained, since the article never occurred before this.

*hollre* seems to be compounded of *holl* and *gre* < *greg-*: Lat. *greg-*; as in *camre* § 127.

iii. (1) Subst. *cwbl* ‘the whole’, followed by *o* ‘of’.

*Ef a soy am dy benn cwbyl o’r govut* W.m. 86 ‘all the retribution would have come upon thy head’; *cwbyl a geveis i o’m hamherodraeth* do. 190 ‘I have recovered the whole of my empire’; *kaewôd kwbyl o dyryswu ... y neunôs* s.g. 5 ‘closed all the doors of the hall’; *kwbyl o’r wirioned* do. 161 ‘the whole of the truth’; *yn ôl cwbl o gyfraith* Moses 2 Bren. xxxii 25; cf. Nah. i 5.

In Late Mn. W. the article came to be put before *cwbl*; this appears already in the Bible: Gen. xiv 20 (1620); in late edns. in Ex. xxxii 22, 2 Chron. xxxii 31.

(2) Adj. *cwbl* [soft] ‘complete’.

*cwbyl* waradwyô a geveis W.m. 42 ‘it is’ a thorough insult that I have had’; *cwbyl weithret, cwbyl sarhaet* a.l. i 526 ‘the complete act, the full fine’; *cwbl ddiwydwydd* 2 Pedr i 5.

It is also used after its noun: *kanny bu weithret cwbyl* a.l. i 526 ‘since there was not a complete act’; *cymodlonedd cwbl* M.a. i 348 ‘complete reconciliation’.

Adv. *yn gwbl, o gwbl* ‘wholly’: *ac ereyll en kubyld* a dyliassunt
ACCIDENCE § 169

A.L. 2 ‘and others they entirely abrogated’; y bydei eur o gwbl
R.M. 62 [where iron should be] ‘there was gold throughout’, cf. R.B.B.
229. In neg. sentences o gwbl ‘at all’ is in common use in spoken
W. (pron. of gwb). (3) W. ewbl, Corn. cowl, cowal probably represent *cowl § 111 vii (4)
< *kom-(p)ba-(s) : Gk. πολός, W. llawer § 169 ii (3), the prefix having
its intensive meaning, as in complete, etc., § 156 i (9) (b).

§ 169. i. (1) Subst. y sawl sg. ‘such’, pl. ‘as many’, used only
before relative clauses, the rel. expressing ‘as’, § 165 iv (10).

Y sawl ac gwele i kyflawn bydei oe serch R.M. 117 ‘such as saw her
was filled with her love’; gwelet y sawl a wele i o velineu w.m. 161
‘to see as many as he saw of mills’. Y sawl a’m carant i a garaf
inneu Diar. viii 17.

Rarely sawl with a dependent genitive: a rwy o sawl y fei yssyð
R.P. 1252 ‘and more of the like of those that are’.

(2) Adj. y sawl [soft] ‘as many’, usually with a pl. noun and
without ac; but the noun may be sg. and ac expressed; cf. § 165
iv (10).

Ac ny ellit dwyn bwyt y’r sawl vilyoed yssyð yma, ac o achaws
hynny y mae y sawl velineu (hynnu) w.m. 162 (R.M. 229) ‘and food
could not be brought to as many thousands as are here, and [it is] for
that reason that there are so many mills ([as] these); y sawl
vorynyon racks s.g. 33 ‘as many maidens [as those] yonder’. Y sawl
rysedawt ac yssyð ym y wlat honn s.g. 18 ‘as many a wonder as there is
[lit. as which is] in this land’.

(3) The original meaning seems to be ‘such’; hence probably sawl
< *s-tal- : Lat. tālis, with Kelt. prefixing of s- § 101 ii (1).

ii. (1) Subst. llawer sg. ‘much’, pl. ‘many’, followed, if need
be, by o of’. Also pl. llaweroedd ‘multitudes’.

A guedy byrjor llawer yndi w.m. 21 ‘and when much has been
thrown into it’, i.e. much food; llawer ngys gwr a gowin b.b. 68
‘many who do not know ask it’; a llawer o vein gwerthdwer erell
L.A. 166 ‘and many other precious stones’; llawer a ddiðon taer-
weddi y cyflawn Iago v 16; fy ngwas cyflawn a gysflaenha llawer
Es. liii 11.

In an adverbial case (of measure) llawer [rad.] before a cpv. and
lawer after a cpv. signify ‘much’ adv.: llawer gwell ‘much better’;
llawer iawn gwel Phil. i 23 ‘very much better’; mwy llawer L.A. 68
‘much greater’; a mwy Wydyon noc ynteu llawer w.m. 106 ‘and
Gwydion [regretted] more than he, much’; mwy oed ef lawer no
hynny do. 229 ‘he was bigger much than that’. But o lawer is
perhaps more common after the cpv., as in the last two passages in
R.M. 77, 166.
(2) Adj. llawer [rad.] ‘many a’ followed by a sg. noun.

a llawer damucaín a digawen bot w.m. 28 ‘and many an accident may happen’.

Llawer merch weddw o’i pherchen,
Llawer gŵr meun llurig wen.—D.II., tr. 249.

‘Many a woman widowed of her lord, many a man in a white corselet.’

(3) W. llawer < *(p)luweros formed by adding the cpv. suffix -ero-
to *plu-, *p(a)lu- < *pêlu- : Gk. τολύς < *pêlu-.

iii. (1) Subst. liaws ‘many, a multitude’; lluosydd id.

Liaws B.B. 5 (γ = i); yn llwyr y guyr lluosit B.B. 66 (-it = yô) ‘thoroughly does a multitude know it’.

Na ddylun liaws i wneuthur dwrg Ex. xxiii 2; liaws o flynyddoedd Job xxxii 7. With a
dependent genitive: liaws dy dosturiaethau Ps. li i.

(2) Adj. liaws [soft] ‘many a, much’, with a sg. or a pl. noun; this is the noun llïaws compounded with another noun. The
adj. used as a complement, is Ml. W. lluossawc, Mn. W. lluosog.

Lliaws gurjaw R.P. 1216 ‘much suffering’; Ceveis i liaws awr eur a phalti M. m.a. i 192 ‘I had many a time gold and silk’;
o liaws eirchheid m.a. i 259 ‘of many suppliants’; i lios lu § 71 ii (1); Mor lluosog yw dy weithredoedd Ps. civ 24.

(3) liaws < *pleiös-tâ(t)s. The longer forms have u as lluosawc R.P. 1043, lluosogrewyd W.M. 34, R.M. 22, lluosog in 1620 Bible. These are not formed from liaws but from an old adj. *pleiōsto-s, see § 74 i (2), § 75 iii (3) and § 76 ix (2).

iv. (1) Subst. peth ‘some, a certain quantity’.

Dywedadwy yw rac llaw o beth o vuch ò Veuno l.I. A. 118 ‘[the
story] is to be told in what follows of some of the life of Beuno’; ac wrth hau, peth a syrthiodd ar ymyl y fford... a pheth arall, etc. Luc viii 5–8.

In an adverbial case, beth ‘to some extent, for some time’:

Dir yw in dario ennwyd,
Ae aros beth gwers y byd.—D.II., il 120/258 r.

‘We must tarry a little, and await a while the course of events.’

(2) peth is the interrogative pronoun § 163 i (3) used indefinitely (cf. Gk. ʔe); from ‘some, something’ it came to mean ‘thing’, and
thus became an ordinary noun, pl. pethau; see § 163 vi.

v. (1) Subst. bychydic, ychydig ‘a little, a few’.

bychydic a daf yw nghyngor i ý ti s.g. 43 lit. ‘[it is] little that
my advice avails to thee' i.e. my a. is worth little. Pa obeith ysysy\^\textacuten y'r porthym? Ychydic l.l.a. 40 'what hope is there for the merchants? A little'. ychydig o nifer Ezec. v 3; ychydig o honaw Job iv 12.

(2) Adj. ychydig [soft] sg.' a little', pl. 'a few'.

ychydig gysgu, ychydig hepiant, etc. Diar. vi 10; ychydig win i Tim. v 23.—ychydig bechodau T.A. c 16/13 'a few sins'; ychydig ddyddiau Gen. xxix 20; ychydig bethau Dat. ii 14.

(3) ychydig is for fychydig mut. of bychydic : W. bychod 'small quantity', bychodded 'scarcity, poverty'; Corn. boches 'a little', bochesog, bochodoc 'poor', Ir. bocht 'poor': *buk-so-t-, *buk-to-: with Kelt. b- for *p- to Lat. paucus? § 101 iii (2).

(4) Subst. odid 'a rarity'.

odit a vo molediv r.p. 1041 'a rarity [is he] who is worthy of praise'; ac odit o'r fel hynny ysys]\^\textacuten ym gristonogyon l.l.a. 165 "quarum paucae [lit. paucitas] sunt Christianae"; odid elw heb antur prov. 'a rarity [is] (i.e. there is rarely) profit without enterprise'.

ond odid 'probably', literally 'excepting a rarity'.

(5) odid : Lat. paucus, E. few § 76 ii (3).

vi. (1) Adj. aml [soft] sg. 'many a', pl. 'many'; ambell [soft] 'an occasional'.

Aml iawn waedd am Elin wen,
Aml visiaw am elusen.—T.A., c. ii 83.

'Full many a cry for fair Elin, many a need for charity.'

Ond o hirbell ymgiellwair
(O bai well ym) ymbell air.—I.D. 23.

'But from afar bantering (if it were better for me) an occasional word.'

y mae rhoi a graffant ar ymbell air M.K. [vii] 'there are some who will look at an occasional word'. Aml ddrygau Ps. xxxiv 19, dy aml drugareddu di Dan. ix 18; ambell dro 'occasionally'.

The dialectal i sometimes heard before the noun is a recent intrusion (! corruption of iawn as in the first example).

Both these words are used as ordinary adjectives, and are compared; see Silvan Evans s.vv.

(2) aml < Brit. *ambilu-s for *ambilus < *mbhi-(y)lu-), with *plu-for *plu- : W. llawer 'many', Gk. πολύς, see ii (3) above.

ambell < *ambi-pell- 'mutually far'; for the prefix see § 156 i (4) (b); for the stem § 89 i.

§ 170. i. Subst. neb 'any one', dim 'anything', are used chiefly with negatives; as ni welsais neb 'I did not see anybody';
heb *Ddwb*, heb *ddim* 'without God, without anything'. Also in conditional sentences, as *o pech*a neb 1 Ioan ii 1 'if any man sin'; in questions; in comparisons; etc.

A derivative *nebawd* occurs: *nebawd* B.B. 21, 43 'any one', *ny gwybyd* nebawt b.T. 19 'no one will know'.

ii. Owing to constant association with negatives *neb* and *dim* came to be used in certain phrases for 'nobody' and 'nothing'.

As a rule it is the verb that requires the negation; thus 'he gave me nothing' is logically 'he did not give me anything' *ni roes ef imi ddim*, since there was no giving. But the verbal idea may be positive, as in 'it is given for nothing'; this has to be expressed by *fe'i rhoddir am ddim*, where *dim* has to stand for 'nothing'. *dim* is thus used as early as the 14th cent.; see L.A. 60, 89. But there seem to be no ML. examples of *neb* 'nobody'.

iii. *dim* and *neb* are positive in positive sentences in the phrases—

(1) *pob dim* 'everything':

*Pob dim* kywrein . . . goruc Kelvyd B.D., r.P. 1251 'every cunning thing the Artist made'. *Ddwb*, maddau *bob dim iddaw* l.f. m i48/329 'God forgive him everything'. Cf. 1 Cor. xiii 7; Deut. iv. 7, xxviii 47, 48 ; Col. i 16.

(2) *y neb* 'the one, he' before a relative § 162 vii (1):

*y neb* a atalio ei *yd*, *y bobl a'i melldithia* Diar. xi 26.

(3) *neb un* § 165 iv (3).

iv. (1) *neb* is used adjectivally, thus *neb* [rad.] 'any': *ni bu yma neb amarch* f. 14 'there has been no disrespect here'. It is rarely adjectival except in the following phrases:

(2) *neb un* above; *neb rhyw* § 165 iv (8); *neb rhyw* § 165 iv (8); *neb dyn* 'any man' l.A. 126.

(3) *neb cyfryw* [soft] 'any at all', cf. § 168 i (2).

*Kanyt oes neb kyfryw rym . . . y gallem ni wynet* r.B.B. 178 'for there is no power by which we might go'.

(4) *némaWR*, *némor* (for *néb maWR*), with a negative 'not much, not many, but little'.
ny weleiste eto nemawr o boeneu uffernn Ll.A. 154 'so far thou hast seen but little of the pains of hell'.

Adjectival, with neg., nemor ddim 'hardly anything', nemor un 'hardly any one'.

yn emawr s.g. 27, yn ymor c.m. 55, with prosthetic y § 21 iii.

(5) népell (for *nel pell), with a neg. 'not far'.

er nad yw efe yn ddion neppell oddiwrth bob un o honom Act. xvii 27; yn epell s.g. 219.

v. (1) dim is probably never an adj.; a noun following it is a dependent genitive, as—

heb Sim ugyvenyd Ll.A. 147 'without anything of joy' i.e. without any joy; heb allt gwneuthur dim iles s.g. 37 'without being able to do any good'; na wna ynddo ddim gwneuth Ex. xx 10; cf. Ps. xxxiv 10.

(2) But before a definite noun or pron. o 'of' is used after dim:

ny wydant sim ohonunt Ll.A. 8 'they know nothing of them'; ac nyt oes dim ohonaw yno B.M. 18 'and there was nothing of him there' i.e. he was not there; nywarandawei sim o'r attep W.M. 53 'he would not listen to anything of the reply' i.e. to the reply.

Sim o was of very frequent occurrence, and was reduced to mo in the spoken lang. (chiefly N.W.) as early as the 14th cent. if D.G. 496 is authentic. Cf. E.P. 271, Diar. xxii 22, 28, Job xxxvii 23, b.CW. 18 l. i.

Odid i Ddud, doed a ddél, Pyth ddeuwaist mo vath Howel.—W.LL. 45.

'Scarcely will God, come what may, ever choose such a one as Howel.'

(3) Used in an adverbial case dim signifies 'at all', etc. Nac ef Sim Ll.A. 48 'not at all'; cf. 1 Cor. xv 29, 1 Thes. v 3.

This adverbial ddim is nearly as frequent in the spoken lang. as pas after a neg. in French.

vi. (1) W. neb, Ir. nech 'any one' (gen. neich) < Kelt. *neqnos : Lith. nekàs 'something', nekûrs 'quidam'. It is believed that the *ne- is the neg. particle, so that the meaning was originally neg., and became positive by the use of another neg. in the sentence (cf. Fr. nud). But it is possible that this *ne- is positive, and is a form of the n-demonstrative: Lat. ego-ne, see Walde² 255 (where Lith. ne-kûrs is so explained, though differently in 510).

(2) W. dim : Ir. dim 'something', as in ni di nacca dim, acht is du dim 'it is not from no thing, but is from something'.—The W. dim is written with i in Ml. mss. which distinguish i and y; and dim in "proest" with grym m.A. i 374 shows that its vowel was not y in the
§ 171. PRONOUNS

early 13th cent. The v.n. diddymu is a late 16th cent. word formed from diddim on the false assumption that it stands for diddym as dibin does for dibyn § 77 iii, whence dibynnau; a more correct, and prob. older, form is diddimmio M.K. [40]. In the laws dyn diddim means 'a man without assets', see A.L. ii 36. Hence we may suppose W. dim < *dī-smen 'share, part, fraction', √ dāi- 'divide', R₁₄ *dai-, R₁₂ *dī-, R₂ dī- § 63 viii (5): Gk. dāqmē, dais, Skr. dāyate 'divides, allots, possesses', dūth 'distribution' (E. time < Pr. Germ. *timan- 'period' < *dī-); hēb ddim lit. 'without a fraction'. A dimin. (or obl. case) dimyn occurs in kymeint timmyn R.P. 582 'every jot' (cf. kymein hun § 106 iii (2)); whence perhaps Mn. bob tîpyn (by dissim. mm > bb, which gives pp).

VERBS

§ 171. i. (1) The Welsh verb has three moods, the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative.

(2) The indicative mood has four tenses, the present, the imperfect, the past (aorist or perfect), and the pluperfect.

(3) The subjunctive mood has two tenses, the present and imperfect.

(4) The imperative mood has one tense, the present.

ii. (1) The pres. ind. is often future in meaning. In the spoken language the future is the usual meaning; the present sense is retained only in a few common verbs such as gwelaf 'I see', clywaf 'I hear', medraf 'I can', tybiaf 'I think'. (Ordinarily the present meaning is expressed periphrastically.)

(2) The impf. indic. is seldom a mere impf. in meaning; usually it expresses Eng. 'would' or 'could'.

The impf. is derived from the Ar. optative, and preserves its original meaning. It is used now in spoken W. as it is used in Homer and the Rig-Veda. Taking Meillet’s examples (Inftr. 193): Vedic kāmāyeta rāja samrād bhāvitum ‘a king would like to be a supreme ruler’ = W. carai brenin fod yn benadur, cf. Mi wn ple mynnwn fy mod D.G. 501 ‘I know where I should like to be’, Mynnwn, pe nef a’i mynnai do. 288 ‘I would, if heaven would, [that ...]’; χερπάδον ... δ’ ο’ δό γ’ ἀνδρε φέρον, E 303 = W. maen ... ni chodai deu-ddyn, cf. Ni thynnai saith einioes hun T.A.

a The metre called proest has instead of rhyme a correspondence of final consonants with varying vowels. The stanza referred to is by G.Gw. c. 1200 A.D.
A 1497/107 ‘seven (men) could not take his life’; θεός γὰρ ἐθέλον ... ἀμείνονας ... ἐπαυτος διωρύσσατο, K 556 = W. rhoisai (plup.) δωρ εὐφυλισγαρ υελι μειρκ; Vedic यात पाचेञ्छ करवायादाम कुर्या = W. pes pobvant gwmaent [y tän] ym gnawd-ysol (carnivorous), etc. It denotes a possible or hypothetical as opposed to an actual thing; cf. O na veleu Wms. 508 ‘Oh that I am unable to see’ i.e. would that I saw! The impf. use comes through forms like gwele ‘he could see’ > ‘he saw’, as in of a weleu lannerch ... of a weleu caru etc. w.m. 1. The form oed ‘would be’ w.m. 17, 1. 29, has passed over entirely to the impf. sense, and forms periphrastic impfs. in the spoken lang., which does not use the impf. of other verbs in that sense. In speaking, we do not say fe safai’r dref ar y bryn ‘the town stood on the hill’ as the expression of a fact, but we do say fe safai Dafydd ym segur am oriau ‘D. would stand idle for hours’ expressing a possibility; we say fe welai rywbeth ‘he saw something’ (could see), but not fe safai yno ‘he stood there’ (was standing).

(3) The past is in the vast majority of cases aorist in meaning, as it is predominantly in derivation. It may however have a perfect meaning; as some verbs have perfect instead of aorist forms, as treuliais fy ughlod D.G. 138 ‘I have spent my reputation’.

(4) The plup. ind. is very rarely plup. ind. in meaning; it usually means ‘would have’, ‘could have’, etc.; see (2).

(5) The pres. subj. in a principal sentence expresses a wish. In a dependent sentence it expresses a general, as opposed to a particular, contingency; thus doed a ddėł ‘come what may come’, as opposed to y byd a ddaw ‘the world which will come’.

(6) The impf. subj. is used in dependent clauses only; it either stands in the protasis before the impf. ind., or represents the past of the pres. subj.

The uses of the tenses can only be dealt with fully in the Syntax.

iii. (1) Each tense is inflected for the three persons of the sg. and pl.

(2) Each tense has in addition an impersonal form, whose implied indefinite subject means ‘some one, some, they’, Fr. ‘on’, Germ. ‘man’; as dywedir ‘they say, there is a saying, on dit’.

The impersonal form is generally spoken of as a “passive”; but as it takes after it pronouns in the accusative case, it cannot be parsed as a passive. Thus fe ’m cerir or cerir fe ‘on maime’ (not *cerir i ‘I am loved’). The older grammarians pretended to inflect it for the different persons by adding an accusative affixed pronouns § 160 iii (1);
as cerir fi, cerir di, cerir ef, etc., though Dr. Davies confesses that “omnia verba passiua ad naturam impersonalium quam proxime accedunt” D. 101. It has been argued that a substantival object has a soft initial, as gwël dyn ‘he sees a man’; but this is a late use; the soft is rarely found after the 3rd sg. in Early Mn. poets. It arose to distinguish the subject from the obj., but in the case of the impersonal there is no ambiguity. Intransitive verbs including the verb ‘to be’ are frequently used in the impersonal, and the forms are not felt to be in any way different from transitive impersonals except that a trans. verb requires an object: cychwynnir am ddau ‘a start will be made at two’.

The impersonal with its object is generally most conveniently translated into English by a passive with its subject, thus cerir fi ‘I am loved’; but this should not blind us to the construction in Welsh.

iv. (1) Each verb has also a verbal noun and most have verbal adjectives.

(2) The verbal noun is not strictly an infinitive; it governs the genitive, not the accusative, case. It may be used, like an abstract noun, with the article or an adj., as the subject or obj. of a verb or the obj. of a preposition; but it is sufficiently distinct from an ordinary abstract noun by reason of certain constructions in which it cannot be replaced by the latter. See e.g. § 204 ii.

(3) Verbal adjectives are used like ordinary adjectives, and have not developed the peculiar uses of participles.

**The Regular Verb.**

§ 172. i. The regular verb caraf ‘I love’ is conjugated as follows; Ml. forms are given in spaced type:

**Indicative Mood.**

**Present Tense.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ml. W.</th>
<th>Mn. W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. karaf 1. karwn</td>
<td>1. caraf 1. carwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. kery 2. kerwch</td>
<td>2. ceri 2. cerwch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kar 3. karant</td>
<td>3. car- 3. carant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. kerir Impers. cerir
## ACCIDENCE

### Imperfect Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn. W.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Mn. W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. karwn</td>
<td>1. karem</td>
<td>1. carwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. karut</td>
<td>2. karewch</td>
<td>2. carit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. karei</td>
<td>3. kerynt</td>
<td>3. carai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Impers. kerit</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Impers. cerit</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Aorist Tense.

| 1. kereis | 1. karassam | 1. cerais | 1. carasom |
| 2. kereist | 2. karassawch | 2. cerast | 2. carascoch |
| 3. karawd | 3. karassant | 3. carodd | 3. carasant |
| **Impers. karwyt** | | **Impers. carwyd** |

### Pluperfect Tense.

| 1. karasswn | 1. karassem | 1. caraswn | 1. karassem |
| 2. karassut | 2. karassewch | 2. carasit | 2. carasech |
| 3. karassei | 3. karassyn | 3. carasai | 3. carasynt, -ent |
| **Impers. karassit** | | **Impers. carasisid, -asid** |

### Subjunctive Mood.

#### Present Tense.

| 1. kar(h)wyf | 1. kar(h)om | 1. carwyf | 1. carom |
| 2. ker(h)ych | 2. kar(h)och | 2. cerych | 2. caroch |
| 3. kar(h)o | 3. kar(h)ut | 3. caro | 3. caront |
| **Impers. kar(h)er** | | **Impers. carer** |

#### Imperfect Tense.

| 1. kar(h)wn | 1. kar(h)em | 1. carwn | 1. carem |
| 2. kar(h)ut | 2. kar(h)ewch | 2. carit | 2. carech |
| 3. kar(h)e | 3. ker(h)ynt | 3. carai | 3. cerynt, carent |
| **Impers. ker(h)it** | | **Impers. cerit** |

### Imperative Mood.

#### Present Tense.

| 1. karwn | 1. carwn |
| 2. kar | 2. carych |
| 3. karet | 3. caret, -ant |
| **Impers. karer** | | **Impers. carer** |
§ 173. Pres. Ind.—i. In the 2nd sg. and pl. and the imps., a and aw in the stem are affected; thus Mn. Teli ‘thou payest’, ceni ‘thou singest’, gwrandewi ‘thou listenest’, gwrandewoch for gwrandewoch ‘ye listen’, gofelir ‘care is taken’, amcenir ‘an attempt is made’.

ii. The 1st sg. ends in -af; in B.B. written -aw, as dywedaw, kynodaw, credaw 82 (≡ dywedaf, cyfodaf, credaf); in O.W., -am (≡ aw), as ni choilam ox. 22b ‘I do not believe’.


iii. (1) The Ml. ending -y of the 2nd sg. remains in D.G., see cyny 186, rhedy 132, and is sometimes met with later; but in Ml. W. generally it became -i, see § 77 iv.

(2) The Ml. -y itself seems to be for -yð = Bret. -ez by loss of -ð, § 110 iv (3); the form -yð occurs in Early Ml. verse: ymwaredit b.b. 19 (where -it ≡ -yð) ‘savest thyself’, digonit ib. ‘committest’, gwneit do. 23 ‘makest’; rodyð b.t. 57 ‘givest’, mal y kynnullyð yt wesceryð ib. ‘as thou gatherest thou scatterest’. Before di the -ð was lost early: nertithi ox. gl. hortabare, Ml. W. nerthy di ‘thou strengthenest’ (cf. diweddyð for *diwed-dyð § 110 iv 2).

(3) In some expressions in common use forms without an ending occur; thus beside wely dy yna w.m. 36 we have wel dy yna R.M. 23 ‘seest thou there?’, wel dy racco w.m. 59, etc. § 221 iv (2). So os myn di E.M. 93 ‘if thou wilt’; and dial. fiw di ‘will thou?’ gdyw di ‘dost thou hear?’ Without di we have os myn D.G. 113 ‘if thou wilt’.

iv. (1) The standard form of the 3rd sg. has no ending. The vowel of the stem undergoes the ultimate i-affection § 83 ii; thus daliaf ‘I hold’, deil ‘holds’; archaf ‘I bid’, eirch ‘bids’; galwaf ‘I call’, geilw; — safal ‘I stand’, saif; — paraf ‘I cause’, pair, peir; — genna ‘I am contained’, v.n. genna ‘to be contained’ (< *ghan: Lat. pre-hendo, Gk. ἀχέω), 3rd sg. gain, see example; in Ml. W. (g)ein R.P. 1055, see vi (3) below, also eing by § 106 i (2), whence ng spread to other forms; — agoraf ‘I open’, egyr; — collaf ‘I lose’,
ACCIDENCE

§ 173

cyll;—torraf 'I break', tyrn, written tyrn;—atebaf 'I answer', etyb;—
gwelaf 'I see', gwyl, in Late Mn. W. gwel;—cynhaliad 'I hold',
cynnail, cynneil;—gwahardd 'I prohibit', gwheiriad D.G. 20;
atalaf 'I withhold', tel;—gwasgar 'I scatter', gwsydr and
qwasgar;—taraf 'I am or become silent', teu, tau;—(g)adawaf
'I leave', edeu, gedy;—tarawaf 'I strike', tereu B.B. 63, tery;
gw(a)randawaf 'I listen', gwerenddeu, gwendy;—gosad 'I set',
gesyd;—cyrrhaedd 'I reach', cyrraidd;—soraf 'I skulk', syrr,
written syr;—somaf (sionaf) 'I disappoint, cheat', sym;—diolchaf
'I thank', diylch;—parchaf 'I respect', peirch, B.B. 50, B.T. 17, G.Gr.
d.G. 254;—arbedaf 'I spare', erbyd Diar. vi 34, E.P. 269 (but arbed
Es. Iv 7);—rhungaf fodd 'I please', reingk bod s.g. 277.

Ni aín o fein main y mur,
Ni la'n f'oes neb un fesur.—T.A., A 14967/916.

'There is not contained within the stones of the wall, there has not
been in my time, any one of the same stature.'

Am na aín d'aur mewn un dwnn.—T.A. A 14975/16.

'Because thy gold will not go into one hand' (is more than a handful).

A fo doeth efo a daun;
Annweth ni reol enau.—G.I.H., Tr. 87.

'[He] who is wise is silent; the unwise does not control [his] mouth.'
Pan wynter iôi tei hi a teu B.B. 122 'when one wishes it (a certain
harp) to be silent, it is silent'. fel y tau dafad Es. llii 7 'as
a sheep is dumb'.

O syr, lle gwsydr gwasgwyn,
O'm dawr, Gwyn ap Nudd i'm dwnn.—D.G. 246.

'If he sulks, where he scatters [his] gasconade, G. ap N. take me if
I care.'

Nid yw anair ond ennyd;
Ni sym tawyll mo boyll y byd.—E.P. 271.

'Calumny is but [for] a while; deceit will not cheat the good sense of
the world'; ny'm sym B.B. 1198 'will not disappoint me'.

I Dduw Madog a diylch
Gan i chwawer hael cael y cylych.—D.G. 292.

'Madoc thanks God that he has had the ring from his generous
sister.' Cf. 167, L.G.C. 70.

(2) In many verbs which have a, the vowel is unaffected; thus cór
'loves', cán 'sings', tál 'pays', gad 'leaves'; also in some with e, as
cymer 'takes', adfer 'restores', arfer 'uses'.

Some verbs with a have both the affected and unaffected form;
thus gallaf 'I can', geill B.B. 169, D.G. 29, or gall E.P. 259; dialaf
'I avenge', dial D.G. 162, G.Gl., p 108/41 r., dial L.Môn § 186 ii;
chwardd 'I laugh', chweir D.G. 402, L.G.C. 379, Job xli 29, Ps. ii 4; barnn B.B. 64 'judges', beirn B.B. 1321.
(3) The vowel of the stem, if mutable, is of course mutated when the ending is dropped in the 3rd sg.; thus *cyrchaf* 'I make for', *cyrch*; *dygaf* 'I bring', *dwyg* 'brings'; *ceisaf* 'I seek', Mn. *W. cais* 'seeks', Ml. *keis*, § 81 iii (1). In many cases -o- is a mutation of -aw-, the latter appearing in the 3rd sg., thus *toddaf* 'I melt', *tawdd* 'melts'; *boddaf* 'I drown, or am drowned', *bawd* 'drowns'; *holaf* 'I ask', *hawl* 'asks'. But in disyllabic stems, when the unaccented -aw- in the ult. became -o-, it was in some cases treated on the analogy of original -o- and affected to y; thus *adrowaf* 'I narrate', *adr* B.A. I 'narrates', later *edryd* R.P. 1253; *halogaf* 'I defile' (denominative from *halawc*, Mn. *W. halog*), *hellc* II.A. 34 'defiles'. In the 16th cent. *dichyn* was used, § 196 ii, but was supplanted later by the original form *dichon* 'can', Ml. *W. dichawv*. The substitution of y as in *tery* C.M. 32 for the affected -eu of *tereu*, etc., see (1), is due to the same analogy; see § 83 ii.

A similar analogy gave rise to *gwerchyd* D.G. 175 'guards' from the v.n. *gwechchod* for *gwerchad* metath. for *gwar-chad*; the old 3rd sg. was *gwer-chediw*.

v. (1) Verbs with stems in -ha- had the vowel unaffected in the 3rd sg.; the affected forms *bwyta* 'eats', *peru* D.G. 441 'lasts' are late; the original 3rd sg. of *bwyta-af* 'I eat' is *bwyta* W.M. 456 'eats', of a *bwyta* II.A. 170, and of *parha-af* is *par* (h)a, as *parha* B.T. 40 'lasts', ny *phara* R.P. 1046, W.M. 86 'does not last', *ni phara* T.A. G. 236. The accent falls regularly on the penult; and the -h- after it was lost, § 48 ii, as in *par*, but not before changing a media to a tenuis as in *bwyta* 'eats' (bwyd 'food').

(2) The -(h)a of the 3rd sg. is thus the unaffected stem-forming suffix, but it came to be mistaken for a personal ending; and as -ha- forms the stems of denominatives, -(h)a seemed to be a 3rd sg. ending of denominatives, and was used to form the 3rd sg. of denominatives generally. This may have originated in doublets like *neshad-af*, v.n. *neshad-u* and *nës*-af, v.n. *nës* 'to approach' (nës 'nearer'); the 3rd sg. of the first is regularly *nës*-h)a, which, being very naturally taken to be the 3rd sg. of the second, suggested a 3rd sg. ending -(h)a. For exactly the same reasons it became a 2nd sg. imperative ending, and is used as such in all verbs in which it appears in the 3rd sg. pres. ind. In older examples the form is -ha, the -h- hardening a media or remaining as an -h-; such examples survive in Ml. W. side by side with others in which the ending has come to be regarded as -a simply. Thus we find *gwanta* R.P. 1382 'denies', *oeta* im prer. R.P. 1254 'delay', *gwata* M.A. I 319a 'denies', *chetta* do. 319b 'flies', *tremycca* II.A. 150 'despises', *pœnha* do. 28 'punishes', *dïelwva* do. 147 'ruins' (makes worthless), *gyglywva* do. 148 'withers', *ceroha* do. 168 'goes', *gveda* do. 165 'beseeams', side by side with *quad* R.P. 1256 'denies', *oeda* im prer. do. 1285 'stay', *lettya* do. 1254 'lodges', *ogana* ib. 'satirizes', a *gylchynna* M.A. I 319b 'surrounds', a *boena* II.A. 147, *kerdda* do. 165, *kerda* do. 167, *gveda* R.P. 1272. In the last examples simple -a has become a 3rd sg. ending.
(3) It is added to nearly all denominative stems which represent a noun or adj. without a suffix; thus hwydâ Ill. A. 148 (: hwyôd, hwôd 'a swelling'), a ge(i)thiwa ib. (: keithu 'captive'), argyweða do. 156 (: argywed 'harm'), saetha R.P. 1272 'shoots' (: saeth 'arrow'), amcana 1285 (: amcan 'design'), guarchaeb ia. (: guarchae 'fortification'), dilysa ib. dilysa 1254 (: dilys 'certain'), laessa 1254 (: laes 'slack'), sura R.M. 123 (: sur 'sout'), a gospa Ill. A. 30 (: gosp 'punishment'), gwassannaetha do. 28 (: gwassaneth 'service'), kyfr-ygoll do. 35 (: cyfr-goll § 156 i (9)), breinia M.A. i 318a (: brâint 'privilege'), ysggua ib. (: ysig 'crushed'), diwedda do. 316b (: diwed 'end'), cynnyddo 319a (: cynnydd 'increase'), myndyca 319b (: mynych 'frequent'), hwydda ia. (: lwydd 'Prosperity'), a gocha R.B.B. 146 (: coch 'red'), kyslea R.P. 1286 (: cyflie 'satisfaction'), metha 1253 (: meth 'failure').

(4) It is also added to some stems not obviously denominative; thus cerddaf 'I walk, go' has 3rd sg. cerda in Ml. W., see examples above, and in Mw. W., see Diar. iii 28, vi 3, but a gerô B.T. 15; so sathra Ill. A. 147 'tramples', but såthyr R.B.B. 144; damuna Ill. A. 148 'wishes' (the noun is damunet 'wish'), traetha B.B. 8 'relates' (noun traethawd 'treatise' < Lat. tractat-us).

(5) It is added to stems in -i- mostly denominatives; as tykiga w.m. I.4, Mw. W. tyça 'avails' (: tuc 'success' < *tu-k-, *tua-'increase') used only in the 3rd pers., § 196 v, llywiga R.P. 1285 'govern', Mw. W. llywiga 'steers' (: llyw 'rudder'), hwyîla M.A. i 318a, Mw. W. hwyîla 'sails, governs' (: hwyôl 'sail', cf. Lat. gubernare 'steer, govern'), elia do. 319b 'recedes' (: eli 'back'), rhodia Ps. i 1 (: rhawd 'course' < *röt-, L.o-grade of √ ret- 'run'), Mw. W. preswyla 'resides' Mw. W. preswyla M.L. 169 (: preswyl 'residence'), distrywia (: distryn 'destruction'). But some -i-stems do not take it: daliôf, deiôl (not dalio), cesiaf 'I seek', eia (not cisia), peidaf 'I cease', pât (not peidia), meiddiaf, beidiaf 'I dare', maidd, baidd, 'dares'.

(6) It is added to denom. stems in -ych-; as gwledycha Ill. A. 169, M.A. i 318a 'govern', flammyca do. 318b 'flames', except whennych R.M. 123, chwen(y)cha Ill. A. 73 'desires' (: chwont 'desire').

(7) Lastly, it is added redundantly to -ha- itself, as mwynhâf M.A. i 3176, Mw. W. mwynhâ 'enjoys', kyt-lawenhafl Ill. A. 72, Mw. W. lawenhafl 'rejoices', dynessefl R.B.B. 148, Mw. W. neshâ 'approaches' arwydockafl do. 144, Mw. W. arwydochâ 'signifies', Mw. W. glanhâ 'cleans', efifarhâ 'repents', etc., etc.

(8) A few verbs have two forms, one with and one without -(h)a; as plyaca impv. R.M. 97 'fold', plyc b.t. 18 'bends' (plygaf 'I bend', plyg 'fold'); tybía D.I.D. tr. 98, tyb T.A. f. 10 'imagines' (tybyaf 'I imagine', tyb 'thought, fancy'); a dwylla Jer. ix 5, a dwyll Ill. A. 147 'deceives' (twyllaf 'I deceive', twyll 'deceit'); gweinyla R.P. 1254 'serves', gweinylô do. 1238; barn iv 2, barna Ps. cxxxv i 14.

vi. (1) Sg. 3. -id, used where there was no preverb, is found in Ml. W. and survived in proverbs, and rarely in verse; like the fut. -(h)awd it became -(h)id; thus O.W. primit (without -h-) ox. 22b
'buys'; Ml. W. ottid b.b. 89 'falls' (of snow), meccid do. 90 'nourishes'; Trenghit golut, ny threingk molut b.b. 1082 'wealth perishes, fame perishes not'; Tyfid maban, ny thiff i gadachan 'an infant grows, its swaddling cloth does not grow'; Dirmycid merch... ebr ni welo G.Gr. p 77/194 'a woman despises a man whom she does not see'.

-ỹd occurs in ë-ỹt (rh. with byt 'world') r.p. 1055 'goes'. It seems to be confused with -id in megyt, meckyt r.p. 1029 'nourishes', gwlychyt do. 1032 'wets'.

(2) An ending -(b)awd of the 3rd sg. occurs in Early Ml. W. with a future meaning: bithawd (≡ byðhawd) b.b. 7 'will be', ðeddawd (dd = tt for dh) do. 58 'will run', dirchawd do. 61 'will arise', parahawd do. 100, parahawnt b.t. 23 'will continue', gyrhawt b.t. 13 'will drive'. These forms were survivals, and appear sometimes to be misused as passives under the influence of the -t impersonals: clutawd b.b. 10 'will be brought', briuwał do. 58 'will be broken'.

(3) There are traces of a 3rd sg. in -ỹs, as ny wneyỹ gwir ny eiyn ymro r.p. 1055 'he who does not do justice will not be suffered [lit. contained] in a country'; kyn noc y dau rung ŷ Swylaw y gwesgeryỹ do. 1049 'it is [before it comes between his hands that he scatters it'. This is quite distinct from -ỹd above, and comes, as seen, after relatives.

There is no sufficient ground for the assumption, Arch. Camb. 1873 150, of a 3rd sg. -hw; for chaffaw b.b. 8 ≡ chaffaf 1st sg., see ii above, gwnaw sk. 126 is an error for gwnahpo b.t. 16 l. 2; a wnaỹ b.t. 30 l. 18 is prob. a sc. error for wnaỹb; the other examples are from untrustworthy texts.

(4) In the dialects an ending -iff, in Gwynedd -ith, is in common use. D. 85 regards it as falsely deduced from caiff, "It Ceriff pro Car, Periff pro Pair... Quæ nunquam sine indignatione audio." (As -iff is not a syllable in caiff the suggested deduction is improbable.)

vii. Beside the usual -wn of the 1st pl., we seem to have a 1st pl. pres. -en once in the O.W. cet iben Juv. sk. 'we drink together'.

viii. The affectation of the stem vowel in the 2nd pl. cerwch shows that -wch must be for -ỹwch § 26 vi (5). A trace of this form occurs in chedywych il. 157 'ye keep' dissim. for *chedwywych; the usual form is cedywch for cedwywch: cadwaf 'I keep'.

ix. (1) Corresponding to the 3rd sg. in -hawt, a 3rd pl. in -hawnt occurs rarely in the earlier periods: cuinhaunt Juv. gl. defleb(unt), gwnahawnɔ b.t. 13 'they will make'.

(2) In O.W. a 3rd pl. pres. -int occurs, as limniint Juv. gl. tongent, scannhegint Juv. gl. levant, nertheint Juv. gl. armant. Some examples occur in the early poetry: diuvrisin Kedwy... mi nyd aw b.b. 108 'warriors hasten... I go not'; vỹs... pan dyorf(vỹ) ṣyn b.t. 13 'will be when they conquer', discywmys ib. 'they will descend'.

x. ër The final -t of the 3rd pl. of this and of every other tense is often dropped in poetry, even in Early Ml. W., § 106 iii (2): tirram (≡ tyrant) b.b. 2 'they must', dygan ib. 'they bring', darparan Y 2
do. 5 'they prepare', *vidan* (≡ *wydan*) ib. 'they will be'; other tenses: 
*deuathan* do. 2 'they came', *umaethan* do. 4 'they did', *darvuan* do. 6 'they perished', *cuitin* (≡ *cioydyn*) do. 95 'they fell'. The -i is lost in the spoken language.

xi. (1) Besides the impers. in -ir, a form in -(h)awr, corresponding to the 3rd sg. in -hawr, occurs in Early Ml. W.; as *taithawr* b.b. 31 'there will be payment', *ffoithawr* b.t. 16 'there will be flight', *dialawr* ib. 'there will be vengeance', *dyrehawr* do. 33 'will be mustered', *agorawr* w.m. 456 'will be opened'; *Dyrryn yw asaw a garawr* r.b. 1062 'it is hard to promise what is loved'; *Heul y'n Ionawr ny mat welawr, M(a)wrth a Whefrawr æ dialawr* r.b. 970 'Sun in January is not good to be seen, [in] March and February there will be retribution for it'.

(2) The ending -(h)er has a fut. ind. meaning in Early Ml. W., as *moch gueilher y niwer* b.b. 2 'soon will the host be seen'; *nyth ater ti y myyn w.m. 457 'thou shalt not be admitted'.

(3) In the early poetry an impersonal in -itor, -etor, -ator, -otor occurs: *kenhittor kirrn* b.b. 52 'horns will be sounded', *canhator* b.t. 75 'will be sung', *megittor* b.b. 62 'will be brought about', *rewintor* b.t. 68 'will be ruined', *traethator, molhator* do. 23, *brithottor* b.b. 33 'are variegated'. Forms in -etawr also occur: *dygetawr* b.t. 10 'will be brought', *galvewtawr* do. 41 'will be called'; in these the ending has come under the influence of -hawr.

§ 174. Imperf. Ind.—i. The 2nd sg. ending in Ml. W. is -ud, as *dianghut* r.p. 1037 'thou wouldst escape'. In Early Mn. W. this remains, as *wyddud, aetbud* rhyming with *mud* in D.G. 460; but -ud di became -it ti § 111 ii, § 77 ix; hence Late Mn. W. *carit*. The -i- not being original does not affect the -a-; *cerit* is an artificial form: "secunda sing. fit etiam sine mutatione vocalis, & fortasse rectiùs, *Carit*" D. 89. In the dialects the vowel of the 2nd pl. is introduced, as *caret*; and this debased form occurs in recent writings.

ii. In the early poetry a 3rd sg. -i is found, affecting -a- in the stem (as well as the usual -ei, not affecting); thus *ef gelvi* b.a. 22 'he called', *ef lleidi* ib. 'he slew' (beside *pan elei* ib. 'when he went'), *ny cherê* do. 26 'he loved not' (beside *ef caret* ib. 'he loved'), *eiduni* do. 16 'he desired', *clywi* ib. 'he heard', *a weli b.b. 45 'whom he saw'.

For the 3rd sg. in -jad see § 191 ii (3).

iii. (1) The vowel of the pl. endings is -e-, which regularly becomes -y- before -nt, § 65 iii (1). The introduction of the -y- into the 1st and 2nd as in *hoffym* Gr.H. g. 98 (for *hoffem*) is rare, and doubtless artificial. On the other hand the -y- of the 3rd has tended to be replaced by the -e- of the 1st and 2nd since the 15th cent., e.g. *nis terfyymen* L.G.C. 244 'they would not end him' (usually L.C.C. has -yn(ë) : a *berynt 186, a'm ceryn* 206). In Late Mn. W. the re-formed -ent became the usual ending, though -ynt remained in use in poetry, e.g. E.F. 36, 287, 316.

(2) In Ml. W. a re-formed 3rd pl. -eint, with the vowel of the 3rd
§ 175. Aor. and Plup. Ind.—i. The 3rd sg. aor. has a number of endings:

(1) Ml. W. -awð, Mn. W. -odd, is common in Ml. W., and almost supplanted all other endings in the Late Mn. period. Ml. W. examples: kerðauð w.m. 9 'walked' (beside a gerðwys do. 8), cymhellaðð do. 17 'incited', wharyawð do. 163 'played', parawð ib. 'caused' see (4), gofynnaðð do. 164 'asked', diskynaðð do. 422 'descended', frawynaðð ib. 'bound', frwynglynawð ib. 'fastened by the reins', dechreuwawð R.B.B. 117 'began', dewissawð do. 319 'chose'.—od already appears in Late Ml. W.: parhaðð, arverðð, lladðð c.m. 92 'lasted, used, killed', brathðð do. 93 'stabbed'.

(2) -as, in cavas b.b. 66, w.m. 10 'got', gvelas b.b. 101, w.m. 13 'saw'. It survived as the regular ending in these two verbs in Ml. W.; in Early Ml. W. other verbs take it, bradas, tocyllas b.b. 81 'betrayed, deceived', cread G. M. A. i 196 'created', gallas b.v. do. 372 'could'. In cafas it survived in Early Mn. W.:

_Pwy mewn gaaef a gafas
Fis Mai yn dwyn tifrai las?—D.G. 265; cf. 116._

'Who in winter [ever] found a May-month wearing green livery?'

(3) -es is added to stems having -a- or -oe-; as dicones juv. sk. 'wrought', rotes (t 8) b.b. 42, roðes w.m. 9 'gave', torres w.m. 94 'broke', arhoeð do. 47 'waited', ffoës b.m. 152 'led', ymhoëræs R.B.B. 199 'returned'. It is common in Mn. W., more especially in the earlier period: ffoës D.G. 61, stomes G. Gl. c. i 196 'deceived', colles I.T. f. 43 'lost', codes do. 45 'rose', rhoddis Phil. ii 9 'gave', torress G. R.o. 41 'broke'. It survives in the spoken lang. in contracted forms rhoës, troes.—Contrary to analogy it replaced -as in gvelas in Late Ml. and Early Mn. W., as gveles R.B.B. 130, D.G. 279, T.A. G. 235.

(4) -is is added to stems having -a- (which it affects to -e), or -aw-

> (eew) : treghis b.b. 21 'perished', cedwis do. 43 'kept', erchis l.a. 2 'bade', dienghis w.m. 56 'escaped', peris do. 57 'caused', etellis (l-l, vb. alaíst) R.B.B. 174 'withheld', cymhellis (l-l, vb. cymhaliéaf) do. 257 'held', edewis R.m. 169 'left', edewis R.B.B. 171 'promised'. Also dechreuuis w.m. 27, R.M. 17 'began' (beside dechreuwyd w.m. 413, R.M. 267). It is occasionally met with in Early Mn. W., as gadewis D.G. 61.

_Ni un a fâm yn iaum fis
Heb hiraeth,—hi a’r peris.—I.D. 20._

'I do not know that I have been well for a month without longing,—
[it is] she that caused it.'

(5) -wys is perhaps the commonest ending in Ml.W.: pechuis b.b. 41
'sinned', gwisedd do. 43 'wore', treulwys w.m. 9 'spent', cyrchwys ib. 'made for', meythrynys do. 10 'thought', diffygwys do. 12 'failed', trigwys r.m. 92 'resided', gallwys do. 108 'could', mynnwys r.b.b. 200 'desired'. It was simplified early to -ws § 78 i (2), as bendigys r.b. 36 'blessed', fruinclwys (read -clymus) do. 93; cerfws p.14/6 r. (mid-13th cent.) 'walked', ols dos p 14/14 r. 'buried', kemerrws p 29/31 r. 'took'. The form -wys disappeared, but -ws is sometimes met with in Mn. lit. W., and became the usual ending in parts of S.W.

Hadlyd livd hudol o dlw, Hudloni a'i hadeilws.—D.G. 447.

'Perished colour enchantingly beautiful, it is enchanters that built it.'

(6) -t in t-aorists, see iii (1).

ii. (1) The above are strictly stem-forming suffixes, with no personal ending, added to the pres. stem. The 1st sg. has -as affected to -es; the 2nd sg. has the same with added -t; the pl. has a similar suffix, which takes three forms, to which the personal endings -am, -awch, -ant are added. The forms of the suffix are Ml. W. -ass-, -ys- and -ss-, Mn. W. -as-, -s-.

(2) -ass- and -ys- are not sharply distinguished: thus dywedassam r.m. 44 = dywedyssam w.m. 61 'we mentioned', collassam r.m. 52 = collyssam w.m. 72 'we have lost', cilyssant, torryssant r.m. 36 = clylyssant, torryssant w.m. 52 'they retreated, they broke'. Both forms occur throughout the Ml. period, -ass- encroaching in later mss. as the examples show. Later -ys- disappeared, and in Late Ml. W. -as- alone is used.

(3) -s(s)- is used after -l- and -r- and after the diphthongs -aw-, -yw-, -eu-: gwelsom w.m. 50, r.m. 35 'we saw', cymerasant w.m. 169 (= cymerassant r.m. 235) 'they took', adcorssant b.b. 46 'they returned', ymadawssam h.m. ii 292, e.a. 148 'we left', clywssom w.m. 33 'they heard', dechreussant do. 41, 72 'they began', beside dechrewyssant 44. In Ml. W. it is regularly found in gwelsom, and always after -aw- as gwrandawsom; sometimes in other cases, as talsom, cymerson. In the dialects the -s- form became general.

(4) Beside the usual -am, -awch, -ant in Ml. W., -om and -ont are often found, and are specially frequent in the w.m.; -och is very rare: doethoch w.m. 161 (= doethawch r.m. 228) 'ye came'. In Ml. lit. W. -om, -och, -ant are the usual endings. In the spoken lang. mostly -on, -och, on'.

(5) In the old poetry there are traces of the 3rd sg. ending -id, as in the pres. § 173 vi (1), as dehessit Ieuan ... vah Ddu ... yn dwfyr echwyd r.p. 1184 'John held the Son of God in the water of baptism' (the context shows that it is not impers. plup.), prinesisit (read prynnessit) ib.; also -yd, as keressyt r.p. 1168, pregethysyt (/kyyt) b.t. 54.

iii. (1) A 3rd sg. ending -t added to the pres. stem is found in some verbs, as cant b.a. i, w.m. 120, r.m. 196 'sang' (not cant as wrongly assumed by some recent copyists), gwant r.m. 81, w.m. 111 'pierced'; *-er-t- regularly becomes -yrth § 65 iii (2), hence diffirth, kymirth b.b. 40
'saved, took', with a-affection differth R.B.B. 213, kymerth w.m. 9, see § 181 vii (1).

(2) These 3rd sg. aor. forms had come to be regarded in Kelt. as aor. stems, and other persons were formed from them, § 181 vii (1); thus keint b.t. 33 'I sang', keintum w. 18a 'I sang', ceuuntost b.b. 21 'thou hast sung'; gwéinf m.a. i 194a 'I charged' (in battle).

iv. (1) The impersonal, like the 3rd sg., has various endings. Verbs which take -as, -es, -is, -wys in the 3rd sg. have -ad, -ed, -id, -wyd respectively in the impersonal.

(2) -ad in cafft b.m. 141 'was had', cahat w.m. 40, R.m. 27 'was had', contracted cat r.b.b. 396, Mn. W. cad D.G. 189, etc. 'was had', see § 188 i (6), and in gwelas w.m. 51, R.m. 36 'were (was) seen'. In the old poetry it is seen in other verbs, as artuad (t=ð) b.b. 23 'was blackened' se-suinad ib. 'was conjured (?)' (redupl. perf.)

(3) -ed, after -o-, -oe- : avonnet w.m. 84 'were sent', collet do. 472 'was lost', dodet do. 32 'was put', rödet do. 33 'was given', Mn. W. rhodded f.n. 28, poened c.c. ii, hoelied p 49/54b, etc.

It is also found in ganet w.m. 28, Mn. W. ganned 'was born'; and in Early Mn. W. gwelset D.E. ii 163/119 'was seen' for Ml. gwelset, like gwales for gvelas i (3); Ml. W. fived m.a. i 373, llased do. 220.

(4) -id, after -a-, -aw-: y delit ... ac y cardharwyd r.b.b. 338 'was caught and imprisoned', edewit w.m. 58 'were left', edewit r.m. 162 'was promised'. Only the context, as seen in the first example, shows that this is not the imperf., which ends in -id in all verbs. In Mn. W. -id aor. gave place to -wyd to avoid the ambiguity : dalíaudyd 'was caught', gada(w)wyd 'was left'.

(5) -wyd, as in magwyrtyt w.m. 33 'was reared', golllyngwyt, ryddhawtyt do. 25 'was released, was set free', cyweirwytyt do. 26 'was prepared', trudwytyt ib. 'was spent', gommedwytyt ib. 'was refused', etc., etc. This is the usual ending in Mn. W., and has superseded the others except in a few forms like ganned 'was born', rhood 'was put', etc.—Reduced to -wt § 78 i (2), whence dial. cawd § 188 i (6).

(6) The *-t- of this suffix came without an intervening vowel after some roots ending in -d-, early enough to give W. -s for the group -dt- § 87 ii. Thus llas w.m. 89 'was killed', also in Early Mn. W. and later, beside llädwytyt H.D. p 67/277 r.; klas D.E. i 17/478 r. 'was buried', usually llawdytyt w.m. 89; gwâs D.G. 236 'is known'.

Ef a'm llas i a'm nasiwn
Yr awr y llas yr iarll hwn.—G.Gl., c. i 193.

'I was slain and my nation the hour that this earl was slain.'

(7) Some verbs take -pwyd, which is generally added to the perf. or aor. stem; thus aethpwytyt w.m. 59 'there was a going', deuthpwytyt do. 141 or doethpwytyt do. 66 'there was a coming', gwanaethpwytyt do. 32 'was done'. In these three verbs the form persisted and is the standard Mn. form, as used e.g. in the Bible; but in Recent W., dial. and quasi-dial. forms aed, dewydyd (dial. dowed), gwâned are also found.

Other examples are ducpwytyt w.m. 28 'were brought' (perf. st. dug-
§ 194 iii), gorucpwyt w.m. 452 'was done', clywspwyt R.B.B. 178 'was heard', dechreuospwyt s.g. 291, canwpwyty § 182 iv (4).

It is added to the present stem in dalpwyt R.B.B. 388 'was caught', kynnicwpwyty do. 398 'was offered', gatpwyt do. 399 'was left', dynetpwyt w.m. 52 beside dywespwyt do. 180 'was said'.

v. (1) The pluperfect is formed by adding the personal endings of the imperfect to the aorist stem.

The imperfs. -it and 3rd pl. -ynyt affect -aw- in the penult, thus adenwysyt R.B.B. 180 'they had left', edewisit R.M. 288 'had been left'. But -ass- usually remains unaffected: buassyt w.m. 80 (beside buwessyt. m.a. 19) 'they had been', anwonnassit R.B.B. 306 'had been sent', mwnannassit R.M. 13 = mynysstit w.m. 20 'had been desired', collassyt R.M. 42 = collyssyt w.m. 60. D.G. 279 has dygesytnt (if wales before it is the correct reading; if wales, it would be dygyasyt) for tebygesyt; the plup. of this verb is often syncopated, tygaseyn etc. D. 134.

(2) Some verbs have a plup. formed by adding oedwm, oedut etc. to the aor. stem: causzsebwm etc. § 188 ii (7), foessed § 186 iii, as well as athoed etc. § 193 vi (5).

(3) An imper. of the plup. formed by adding -adoed, -ydoed to the pres. stem occurs in some verbs: ganadoed § 197 'had been born', adawadoed g.c. 122 'had been promised', managadoed m.a. ii 103 'had been mentioned', magadoet, defnytadoet (t = d) do. i 254.

§ 176. Pres. and Impf. Subj.—i. (1) The subj. stem is formed by a suffix -h- which is added to the pres. ind. stem and hardens a media to a tenuis; thus nottwyf w.m. 479: nodaf ib. 'I specify'. After vowels and sonants the -h- disappears because it follows the accent § 48 ii, but it is often written in Early Ml. W. as gwaho b.t. 16, gwenhont b.b. 60.

In Early Mn. W. the tennis generally remained, and survived later in a few expressions as gato in na ato Duw 'God forbid': gadaf 'I permit'. But from the 16th cent. the ind. stem has mostly been used, and the media restored, as in Dyn a godo Duw'n geidwad S.T. g.r. [375] 'A man whom God raises as a saviour'.

(2) Some verbs have special subj. stems, as el- : atf 'I go', etc. § 193 vii; b- : wyf 'I am' § 189; Early Ml. W. duch, gwares § 183 iii (1).

ii. The ending of the 3rd sg. pres. is -o : talo w.m. 9 (; talaf 'I pay'), adnappo do. 36 (adwaen § 191), dycco do. 465 (; dygaf 'I bear'). This is a simplification of -oe, which survives in creddeo (dd = tt < dh) b.b. 53 (; credaf 'I believe'), see § 78 i (1). The form -wyf is a variant of -oe § 183 ii (1), and the former not uncommonly occurs in Early Ml. W., as gwethwy b.b. 74 'may see', achwpwy do. 75 (; achubaf 'I seize'), nottwyf do. 76 (; nodaf 'I specify'), guledichwy do. 59 'may rule', canhwi do. 48 'may sing'.

iii. (1) The 1st sg. ends in -wyrf : cattwyf w.m. 125 for *catwyrf (; cadwaf 'I keep'), ymgaffwyf a ib. 'I may meet', etc. This is the usual form in Ml. and Mn. W. The occurrence of -of is compara-
tively rare: gwiscof w.m. 97 (= gwisgwyf R.M. 71), cysgof H.M. ii 137, gosynnod do. 260. This is probably a re-formation from the 3rd sg.

(2) The 3rd pl. ending is -ont; rarely in Ml. W. -wynt, as in elwint B.A. 2, 3 (: of 'I go'), and -oent, as pan venoent A.L. i 22 'when they desire'. All are prob. formed from the 3rd sg.


(4) The impers. ends in -er; but there are examples of a form in -wyrf: rothwyrf B.T. 1 for the usual roder 'may be given'.

iv. The 2nd sg. ending is -ych: rodych w.m. 4 'thou givest' (mayest give), gwypech do. 14 'thou knowest', gellych do. 151 (: gallaf 'I can'). In Late W. a dialectal form -ech sometimes occurs, § 16 iv (2) (β), as lleetteuech Ruth i 16, gweddiech Matt. vi 6, poenech Marc v 7. In the present dialects the subj. is seldom used except in the 3rd sg. and pl.; and some recent writers have used -ot for the 2nd sg. Even -ot has been written; in Wms.'s verse Marchog, Iesu the last line Tyrd am hymny maes o law 849 appears in recent hymnbooks as Pan y byddodd ti gerllaw.—gellyt Z.E. 512 is a misreading of gellych R.M. 220.

v. The impf. subj. is formed by adding the personal endings of the impf. to the subj. stem; thus (subj.) be dyswettut ti ... (ind.) minheu a synwedd w.m. 118-9 'if thou wouldst say ... I would say'. In Late W., owing to the levelling of the subj. with the ind. stem, the distinction between the moods is not preserved in the impf., except in af, gwaf, dof, wyf, which have special subj. stems; see i (2) above.

§ 177. Pres. Impv.—i. (1) The 2nd sg. is the bare stem of the pres. ind. It differs from the 3rd sg. pres. ind. in never having its vowel affected; thus deit 'he holds', darl 'hold!', taw 'is silent', taw 'be silent! pair Zech. x i 'causes', par Ps. xxv 4 'cause!'

(2) Verbs which have -a in the 3rd sg. pres. ind. take it also in the

§ 177 v. 2nd sg. impv.: kerda w.m. 83, r.m. 60, lymnycg w.m. 25, r.m. 16, etc., see § 173 v.

ii. (1) The 3rd sg. ends in -ed: kymeret w.m. 30, r.m. 19 'let her take', aet un w.m. i 3, r.m. 9 'let one go', gadaud, dychweled Es. lv 7.

(2) A 3rd sg. in -id added to the subj. stem is also met with: elhid B.B. 101 (: af 'I go'), rothid do. 93 'may he give', gwrthledit Duw l.A. 26 'may Godward off', Trowyr (≡ try-wyr), getid Duw'r ieuw G.Gl. m 146/185 'three men, God spare the youngest', gettid Mair D.N. g. 154, Telid Duw iddynt M.K. [viii] 'let God repay them'.

iii. The 3rd pl. ending is -ent: diskynnet w.m. 22 'let them descend', katwont A.L. i 138 'let them keep', traethent l.A. 159 'let them speak', deucent (rh. with stent) L.G.C. 66 'let them come'. This is obviously formed from the 3rd sg. in -ed (since orig. -ent would have become -ynt). There is also a 3rd pl. biunt l.A. 81 'let them be' formed from bid. In the Bible a 3rd pl. in -ant is used: gwbyddant Ps. lix 13 'let them know', dychwelant do. 14 'let them return'. This is a late re-formation following the analogy of the 1st and 2nd pl. which are taken over from the pres. ind. In spite of the use of
this form in the Bible, the older form persisted in the late period: *Angylion doent ... Rhoeunt eu coronau* Wms. 320 'Let angels come, let them put their crowns.'

iv. The 1st and 2nd pl. have taken the forms of the pres. ind.; but an earlier 1st pl. in -em occurs rarely, § 184 ii (1).

**Origins of the Welsh Verb.**

**The Aryan Verb.**

§ 178. i. In order to trace the development of the Welsh verb, some account, though it be in the briefest outline, must be given of the Ar. verbal system. For a fuller, but still concise and most instructive description, see Meillet, Intr.*² pp. 165–219.

ii. Stem form.—Two kinds of stem may be distinguished. Thematic forms were those ending in the thematic vowel -e: -o; it was -o in the 1st sg. and 1st and 3rd pl., and -e in the 2nd and 3rd sg. and 2nd pl. Athematic forms were those ending in a consonant or long vowel.

iii. Personal endings.—(1) The Ar. verb had personal endings for each of the three persons of the sg., dual and pl. These were either primary or secondary; and the primary endings differed to some extent for thematic and athematic stems. There were special endings for the perfect.

In the following list I omit the dual; and as the thematic vowel cannot be separated from the ending in some primary forms, I insert the vowel before the ending throughout, separating it by a hyphen, where possible, from the personal ending proper: all the persons of thematic stems are thus put on the same level.

(2) Active voice.


Athematic: sg. 1. after a vowel -m, after a cons. -m, 2. -s, 3. -t; pl. 1. -më, -mös, 2. -te, 3. after cons. -ent, -ët, after vow. -nt.

(3) Middle voice (medio-passive); 1st and 2nd pl. omitted.

Primary.—Thematic: sg. 1. -o-mai, -oi, 2. -e-sai, 3. -ë-tai, pl. 3. -o-ntai.

Athematic: sg. 1. -mai, 2. -sai, 3. -tai, pl. 3. -ntai.


(4) Perfect. The following endings only need be mentioned. Active: sg. 1. -a, 3. -ë.
(5) The characteristic of the primary endings is final -i. The difference in the sg. between primary thematic and athematic forms may have arisen by phonetic change in the parent language; thus we should expect themat. sg. 2. -esi, but (though Skr. has bhār-asi) the Ar. form seems to have been -ēis; possibly by metath. and compensatory lengthening, but this is quite uncertain.

iv. Mood and Tense Stems.—(1) The present stem was rarely the simple root. In most cases it was either the reduplicated root, the root with thematic vowel, the root with stem-forming suffix, or the root with the infix -n- or -ne.

The present stem with primary endings formed the pres. ind.; as *di-dō-mi (Gk. διδωμι) ‘I give’, √dō-; *bhēr-o-ni (Gk. Dor. φεροντι) ‘they bear’, √bher-.

The present stem with secondary endings, and with the augment before it, formed a past, as *ē bher-o-m (Gk. ξφερον) ‘I bore’. This augmented past is called imperfect, because it is imperfect in meaning in Gk. In Skr. it is merely a past.

(2) The stem of the s-aorist was formed with -s- (athematic); of the future with -e- or -se- (thematic); of the optative with -sē- etc.; these formations are noticed below.

(3) The simple root with or without the thematic vowel formed aorist stems as follows, all the endings being secondary: firstly, R-grade of √ + them. vowel, as *ē liqš-o-m (≫ Gk. ἔλεησαι), √leigš-; this may be called the thematic aorist;—secondly, F-grade of √ (at least in sg.), athematic, as *ē bheid-m (≫ Skr. abhedam), √bheid- ‘split’; this is called the root-aorist.

v. The Augment was a separable accented preverb denoting past time. It was lost entirely except in Gk., Armenian and Indo-Iranian.

The augment is always followed by forms with secondary endings. These forms were also used without the augment; they are then called injunctive; thus Skr. Ved. bhārat ‘bore’, Gk. Hom. φέρε ‘bore’ < Ar. *bhere-t beside impf. ḍbharat, φέρε < *ē bhere-t. Injunctive forms are either past or pres. in meaning; the augment makes them definitely past.

The Welsh Verb.

§ 179. Pres. Ind.—i. In Ar. the verb was unaccented when it followed a preverb such as a negative particle, or a preposition later compounded with it. This was undoubtedly the rule in Kelt. (despite deviations in Ir.), as it was in Italic. In the pres. ind. in Kelt. in the 3rd sg. the accented verb had the primary ending, that is, the regular present ending, but the unaccented verb had the secondary suffix, that is, the injunctive form. Thus the W. proverb Trenghit golut, ny theringk molut § 173 vi (r) represents Kelt. *trenhli-ti yō..., nē trenaoki-t mō... It has been suggested that this reflects the original use of the Ar. primary and secondary endings; and it
certainly accords with the fact that the augment, an accented preverb, is always followed by forms with secondary endings.

ii. The Ar. athematic stems, excepting those of a few common verbs, ended mostly in the long vowels -ā-, -ē-, -ō-. As medial -ō- became -ā-, and -ē- became -ē- in Kelt., these characteristics were reduced to two, -ā- and -ē-. The vowel had F-grade in the sg., R-grade in the pl., as in Gk. ἵστημι < *ṣi-sthā-mi, pl. 2, ἵστατε < *ṣi-sthο-thε. The Kelt. forms of the 1st sg. pres. were therefore *-ā-mi, *-ē-mi. As the form was mostly unaccented, and unaccented -ā- > Brit. -a- § 74, the prevailing Brit. forms were *-a-me, *-ē-me. These give the W. -af, -ēf, the latter comparatively rare, § 173 ii, and now obsolete. Examples: (1) Ar. *di-dō-mi 'I give' > Kelt. *(p)rō (di-)dā-mi > Brit. *rō-da-me > W. rhoḍaw 'I give'; (2) Ar. *dhi-dē-mi 'I put' > Kelt. *(p)rō (di-)dā-mi > Brit. *rō-di-me, which would give W. rhoḍif 'I put'. But the latter ending was rare, and was supplanted by -af, the result being, in this case, that two verbs became one: rhoḍaw 'I give, I put'. The reduplicating syllable was probably lost by haplogly. Only the vowel of the syllable dropped in dodaf 'I give, I put' < *dō-tāme or *dō-time < *dō d(i)-dōmi or *dō dh(i)-dēmi : Gk. ἀποκύμι or τίθημι. Usually dodaf is 'I put'; for dod give 'see Ps. lxxii 1, Gr.O. 87.

iii. (1) The accented forms of the 3rd sg. *-ā-ti, *-ē-ti give the W. strong forms -awed, -id. These are used at the head of the sentence, like accented verbs in Skr. The introduction of -h- before the ending in Ml. W., where not etymological as in trenglit (ngh < ωk), is analogical, and partly artificial. The second form tended to oust the first in this case, as seen in O.W. prinit 'buys' for *prinit = Brit. *prina-ti : Ir. cre(a)id; see § 201 i (4). The -id form with the initial of the affixed pron. fo, thus *-id-f, gave *-it-f and then -if, the dial. ending, by loss of the t as in the 2nd pl., see vii. The West Gwyn. -ifth has recent th for ff:

Ml. W. *yd in òyt, § 173 vi (1), is from *-eti < *-e-tai the middle 3rd sg. ending : Gk. φέρεται; see § 193 x (1).

(2) But the usual form of the 3rd sg. in W. is the stem without or with vowel affection; this comes from the unaccented injunctive form; thus cōr loves < Brit. *kara-t; rhydd 'puts' < Brit. *rō-di-t. The latter, being more distinctive, spread; thus rhydd 'gives' instead of *rhōdd < *rō-da-t.

iv. (1) The Ar. thematic endings *-ō, *-eis, *-eit would become *-ū, *-īs, *-īt in Kelt.; and these in W. would all drop after affecting the vowel. The 1st and 2nd sg. so formed were lost because they were not distinctive; but prob. the 3rd sg. added to the number of affected stems forming the W. 3rd sg.

(2) The thematic injunctive ending -et of unaccented verbs dropped without affecting the vowel; thus Ar. inj. *bher-e-t 'bears' gives Kelt. *kōm beret > W. cymer 'takes', and Kelt. *āti beret > W. adfer 'restores', etc. It is found not only in compound, but in simple verbs, as cēl 'conceals' < *kelet, rhēd 'runs' < *retet, etc.
the unaccented was, as in the case of athematic stems, the commoner form; e.g. ńí chèl gruðd gyftudd calon prov. ‘the cheek does not hide the sorrow of the heart’.

(3) There is no *-ed, since the them. prim. ending was -êit, not *-eti § 179 iii (5). The strong form of the above verbs is taken over from the -êi- conjugation; as rhëedith car gan anwaered prov. ‘a car will run down hill’. (So Ir. berid for *beri, with anal. -el.)

v. The W. 3rd pl. -ant is from Kelt. -anti < Ar. *-o-anti which was common to the -ôi- and -êi- conjugations; see ii above. There is no trace of the thematic *-o-anti, because -ont came to be associated with other tenses. The O.W. -int, Ml. W. -ynt, may represent the athem. *-enti or the middle *-ontai, more probably the latter; -(h)awnt is certainly formed after -(h)awnt.

vi. The 2nd sg. -yð (which is the oldest form of the ending -y, later -i) seems to come from accented forms of iteratives in -êi, or denomina-tives and deverbatives in *-êi- the commonest stem-suffix in the Ar. languages. In Kelt. from *karô-s ‘dear’ the -êi-denom. would be *karê-iêu, *karê-iêis, *karê-iêit; all these would give W. keryð. But the 1st and 3rd sg. had more distinctive endings, and -yð survived in the 2nd only, though there are traces of it in the 3rd, see § 173 vi (3). The latter occurs in relative sentences, where the verb was prob. accented, as in Skr. The accented 2nd sg. is frequently used, and answered by accented na and the unacc. 1st sg.

vii. The 1st and 2nd pl. in W. are re-formations, and it is useless to attempt to derive them from Kelt. forms. The Kelt. 2nd pl. was, them. *-ê-te, athem. *-a-te. The former would give W. *-êd (Ml. Bret. -êt); to this was added the initial of the affixed pron. chœi, thus *caret-chê > *carewcoh by loss of t, cf. iii (1); at this stage a 1st pl. *caren was formed on the analogy of the 2nd pl., with the initial of the aff. pron. ni ‘we’; this form is attested in O.W. *ben, and survives to this day in West Gwyn. in caran beside carun ‘we love’ (Gwyn. -an = -en). As the 2nd pl. clashed with the impf. it was re-formed with the vowels of the 2nd sg. thus *cerywcoh > cerywch ‘ye love’; subsequently the vowel of this ending intruded into the 1st pl., giving carun ‘we love’. A statement in the 2nd pers. is always answered in the 1st, hence the influence of one another in the less used pl.

viii. (i) In Pr. Ar. an ending *-r- formed impersonals. It survived only in Indo-Iranian and Italo-Keltic. In Skr. it takes the form -uð (before a vowel -ur) in the active, and -re, -îre in the middle; -uð represents *-êr or *-êr, Meillet Infr. 2 203. These endings in Skr. form the 3rd pl.; this is natural enough when one considers that there is only a shade of distinction in meaning between the impers. dywesdir ‘on dit’ and the 3rd pl. dywedant ‘they say’.

(2) In Italo-Kelt. it was used in two ways; first, it might be added to the tense-stem, as Umbrian subj. ferar ‘on portera’, pres. ind. ier ‘on va’, Oscan subj. sakrâf ‘(with âlliumnam for object) ‘cysegre’. Secondly it was added to the 3rd sg. or pl. middle, and then extended
to other persons in deponent verbs in Ir., and deponent or passive in Lat., as Lat. itur, Osc. vinciter 'vincitur', Umbr. emantur 'emantur'. On the impersonal use of the Lat. passive see Ernout MSL. xv 273–333.

(3) In Kelt. the ending may be taken to have been *-re (also *-ro?). The Brit. shorter forms of the -ār-, -i-, and thematic conjugations in the pres. were *-ā-re, *-i-re and *-e-re respectively. These give the W. pres. impers. -awr, -ir and -er. The second survives to this day, see ix (2), and is in common colloquial use. The first was used in Early Ml. W., and the third occurs also, but was obsolescent owing to its clashing with the subj. form. The -h- sometimes seen before -awr and -er is an intrusion from the subj.

(4) Longer forms, with *-re added to the 3rd sg. middle secondary endings would be *-ā-to-re, *-i-to-re and *-e-to-re. These give the W. -ator or -otor, -itor and -etor. The dental should be -d-, which occurs in dygedawr b.t. 75; the -t- is partly due to the intrusion of subj. -h-, partly a mistranscription of O.W. -t-, as these forms were obsolete at the dates of our mss.—Since the above was written an O.W. example has come to light in cephitor cp., with one -t- as in retec ib., Ml. W. rédec.

ix. (1) The reason why the Welsh pres. has always had a fut. meaning is that it contains beside the pres. the Ar. -e- future, generally called subjunctive. This tense is formed by adding the thematic vowel e/o to the pres. stem. In the case of thematic stems the effect was to lengthen the thematic vowel throughout. In the sg. this would make no difference (Gk. subj. φέρω, ind. φέρω; the subj. φέροις is a re-formation; orig. *bhréis would give *φερεσις as in the ind.). In long-vowel stems the added thematic vowel simply converted them to thematic stems, as Gk. subj. διδώ beside ind. διδομεν; this introduces no new element. The 3rd pl. fut. *-önti (Gk. Dor. φέροντι) would have its vowel shortened § 74 iv, and so would not differ from the pres.

(2) In the impers. the fut. form for thematic stems would be *-ó-re >Kelt. *-i-re, beside the pres. *-e-re. All thematic stems therefore would have a fut. in -ir beside the pres. in -er. This shows why -ir became the prevailing subj.-fut. form.

(3) In consonantal athematic verbs the distinction between pres. and fut. is much clearer; thus the pres. stem *es- 'be' has fut. stem *ese-; the former gives the Ar. pres. *es-mi, *es-(s)i, *es-ti (> Skr. ásmi, ási, ásti); the latter gives the Ar. fut. 1. *es-ó (> Lat. ero), 2. *es-eis, 3. *es-eít, injunctive *es-et (> Skr. ásat, Lat. erit).

The W. pres. is a mixture of pres. and fut. forms. The Kelt. fut. *ési, *ésis, *ésit would give *oe for the three persons; of this a trace survives in oef b.b. 50 'I am'. The pres. sg. 2. *ese (< Ar. *ésti) and 3. inj. *eset would give *wy, whence sg. 1. wy-f, 2. wy-t, 3. *wy metath. to wy § 78 iv; in pi-eyo 'whose is it?' it is weakened to -ew, § 78 iii, § 192. The Ar. 3rd sg. pres. *ésti survives in W. yw, which has become impersonal. The W. 3rd pl. ynt (for *hwnt) comes from Ar. 3rd pl. pres. *s-enti (*s- is V-grade of *es-). The W. 1st pl. ym (Ir. ammi)
implies a Kelt. **esmesi, a confusion of pres. *smesi and fut. *ésmesi. The W. 2nd pl. ych is, as usual, a new form made to match.

As bydaf is used for the fut., wyf has lost its fut. meaning except in certain idioms, as yr wyf yno yfory 'I shall be there to-morrow'.

§ 180. The Imperfect.—i. As above intimated, § 171 ii (2), the W. impf. comes from the Ar. optative. This was formed by means of a suffix *-iæ-, *-iê- with secondary endings.

ii. (1) In athematic verbs the suffix *-iê- was F-grade and accented in the sg.; the preceding vowel had R- or V-grade; thus 3rd sg. Gk. nibeiq < *dhê-iê-tê (ei Rê of êt), Skr. dadhyât < *dhe-dhê-tê, the Skr. preserving the original accentuation.

(2) In Kelt. the ê became i, so that the forms would be *-a-iê, *-e-iê; these were levelled as *-i-iê in Brit. and this gives -ai, § 75 iv, v (2); thus Kelt. *kara-tê > W. carat 'would love'. This form would also result from the 1st and 2nd sg. forms *-a-îêm, *-a-îês; hence the endings for those persons were selected from thematic verbs.

(3) The consonant stem *es- 'be' gave Ar. *s-(ê)êt, which gives Skr. siyât or syât, O. Lat. siet; in Kelt. it would be *stîiêt. Coming generally after a preverb, or after its complement, it was unaccented; and *stîi was formed regularly W. (h)œd 'would be, was' § 75 iv (2); the h- is seen in ytyoœd < *yd-hœd < *ta siît, 'there would be' § 219 ii.

The whole tense oedwm etc. was built from the 3rd sg.

iii. (1) In thematic verbs the suffix -iê had its V-grade -i, which formed a diphthong with the thematic vowel, which was always -ô-; thus the optative of *bhêrô 'I bear' was sg. i. *bhêrô-m > Skr. bhâreyam (for *bharayam). In Kelt. it would be *bêrô-m > Brit. *bêrô-an(n) > W. *cy-merwû-n > cymerw. The only possible explanation of -wn is that it is for *-wûn, see § 78 i (2); on *oi > wy § 75 ii (2); on the retention of -n § 113 i (1).

(2) The W. 2nd sg. -ud comes regularly from the 2nd sg. middle *-oi-thês. The ending *-thês (Skr. -thãh) is represented in the -the-r of Ir. deponents; and -ud spread from deponent to all verbs in W. because it was distinctive.

iv. (1) In athematic verbs, in the middle voice where the ending was syllabic, the suff. became R-grade *-iê-; this coming before the accent remains as -iâ-; thus in the deponent verb gwnn 'I know' the 3rd sg. impf. is gwônâd for *gwônad regularly representing the 3rd sg. opt. mid. *wyd-iê-tô.

(2) In long-vowel stems the reduced stem-ending and suffix would thus be *-iê; by § 63 vii (5) this should give *iô > -ô-, which is the usual form (though other reductions are possible), as in Skr. da-dê-ta < *de-di-tô, û/ô-. Thus the 3rd sg. opt. mid. of Kelt. *karã-mi would be *kara-ô-tô, which gives regularly W. cerid, the imper. of the imperfect ind. This middle was undoubtedly a passive in Kelt., and was assimilated in its use to the imper. pres. in -r after the -r form for this tense, namely *-ir, had gone out of use owing to its clashing with the pres.
(3) The 3rd sg. mid. of thematic stems ended in *-oito. We should therefore expect -ud beside -id for the impers. in W. A trace of this actually occurs in ac y haruetud etc. b.b. 20, which should be *ac yth arwebud etc. ‘and thou wert borne’, etc., where the scribe mistook the impers. for the 2nd sg., which makes no sense if it is active, and we can hardly assume the 2nd sg. to have retained a passive sense.

v. (1) In the 1st and 2nd pl. of athematic stems the Ar. form was *-ip-: *-i-. We can probably assume for Kelt. *kár(a)-ip-me; the m was doubled on the analogy of the aor. ; and post-tonic *ₐa > je > e in W., § 65 vi (1); hence W. carem. Similarly 2nd pl. *caret + chw- > karevch, carech.

(2) The 3rd pl. ending was *-jént (for *-jént). The form *-a-jént gives W. -i § 75 v (1); as tri ujeint canhuw a sevi b.t. 55 ‘6000 men stood ’; hence the rare “3rd sg.” -i. The 3rd pl. -jent seems to be a middle form < *-ento < *-ip-nento (or *-into < *-i-nto), which spread because it had the 3rd pl. sign -nt.

vi. (1) The impf. subj. is the optative of the s-aorist, cf. Lat. viderimus < *yeid-is-i-m-. Thus Kelt. *kara-siįt > Ml. W. karhei.

(2) The plup. is an optative formed from the new Kelt. ss-aorist. Thus Brit. *karassıįti > caricai.

The plup. is held to be a Brit. innovation. Strachan’s examples of the impf. subj. being replaced by the plup. in later texts, quoted in B.B. 157, prove nothing as to the antiquity of the plup.; its existence in Bret. shows that it goes back at least to Brit., so that the evidence of Ml. texts is irrelevant. We also find the plup. in early texts where we should expect to find the impf. subj. as ri-ielssud b.b. 20. The fact is that the two aorists were not very sharply distinguished.

§ 181. The Aorist.—i. The Welsh aorist comes from a Keltic reformation of the -s-aorist. The orig. Ar. formation seems to have been (1) L-grade of √ + -s- (in Kelt. R-grade in the pl.), or (2) F-grade of √ + -is-. The endings are secondary.


(2) This tense was wholly reconstituted in Kelt., with stem sg. *kárass-, pl. *kárass-. The 1st and 2nd sg. were made anew with thematic endings; thus 1. *káráss-u, 2. *kárássís (inj. -es). The 1st pl. became *kárasammo instead of *káramno; then followed 2. *kárassate instead of *kárasse. Unaccented á was shortened in Brit. and Ir. and these formations gave regularly Ir. sg. 1. ro-charus (2. ro-charais), pl. 1. ro-charasam, 2. ro-charsaid, and W. sg. 1. kereis, 2. kereis + i, pl. 1. karassam, 2. *karassat + chw- > karassawc. The ending of the 3rd pl. was made primary; thus *kárassanti > Ir. carsait, W. karassant. As a variant the thematic vowel was brought into the
pl. also; thus Brit. *kərəs-o-mməs, *kərəs-o-nti giving W. karassom, karassant; from these followed carasoch.

iii. To the 3rd sg. two things happened. (1) It remained unchanged; thus *kərrəs > W. *kar, which was extended to karawə to distinguish it from the pres.; for -awə see § 182 iii. The Ir. ro-char implies *karass with short a from the pl.

(2) It was re-formed with the thematic vowel, following the 1st and 2nd sg.; thus *kərrəsət; or with -a- from the pl. as *kərrəssət. Either of these would give W. *karas (caft-as § 175 i (2)). The first gives Ir. carais.

iv. The treatment of the -i- stems was precisely similar. The stem-ending in the sg. was *-iss-; it survives in the W. 3rd sg. *gərəth, *gərəss. In the 1st and 2nd sg. it was replaced by -eis of -ä- stems; but in Gwyn. dial. -is survives in these persons also. In the pl. the stem-ending was -ass-, as for -ä- stems, the -a- representing a, the R-grade of the -i- from which the -i- is derived.

v. (1) Consonant stems formed the aorist with *-is-, cf. Lat. vid-is-tis, which developed similarly, and gives W. -ys- in ęistedęysant, etc. In the 3rd sg. it appears in W. as -es from *-iss-at. In the 1st and 2nd sg. it was replaced by -eis.

(2) The *-iss- suffix seems to have intruded into the thematic conjugation; thus Brit. *kəm bere-iss-at > W. kymerwys, kymerus.

vi. The impersonal forms -ad, -id, -ed, -wyd seem to have been formed on the analogy of the impf. impersonal, with the vowels of the 3rd sg. aor.

vii. (1) The root-aorist, § 178 iv (3), was treated similarly in Kelt. Thus for the root *gən- ‘sing’ the orig. Kelt. root-aor. would be sg. 1. *kən-m, 2. *kən-s, 3. *kənt-ı. The 3rd sg. became the stem, and the new tense formed from it was sg. 1. *kəntī, 2. *kəntis, 3. *kəntet or *kəntat. These forms gave W. sg. 1. keint, 2. *keint, 3. kant. To the 1st and 2nd sg. the perfect endings -um, -ost, § 182 iv (1), were added, § 175 iii (2).—gənant ‘wounded’ from gwənaf < *gewonaf: Ir. gonim, £ əghen, is probably formed on the analogy of cant. The root *bher has this aor., which survives only in the 3rd sg. in W.; thus W. kəmyrθ < *kəm bertet or kymerθ < *kəm bertat, § 175 iii (1).

(2) Other examples that survived are from roots ending in gutturals: dyreith b.t. 54 ‘returned’ < *do-(p)ro-tek-tet, √reg- : W. dyre ‘come!’ § 193 x (8); —maeth b.t. 74 l. 1 ‘nursed’ < *maht-< *mək-t-< √mək- : magaf ‘I nourish’. The root *yereg- ‘work’ had sg. 1. *yerek-t-ə, 3. *yerek-t-tet giving W. gwərəth, gwəreith; the former occurs in ef gwərəth b.t. 26 (3rd sg.); the latter seems to occur in gwənəθ [read gw(r)eith] gwənəyeith gwəreith e law b.a. 2 lit. ‘work of vengeance wrought his hand’; but this verb (gwnaf) being in the pres. conjugated like af, this tense was assimilated to the perf. of af, and became sg. 1. gwnəethum, 3. gwnəeth. The quotation shows that scribes changed old gwəreith to gwənəth, the wrong gwəreith, viz. the noun, being changed here. In Bret. the old form survived: Ml. Bret. sg. 3. grez.
ACCIDENCE

§ 182. The Perfect.—i. In Pr. Ar. the vowel-grade of the root was F⁰ in the 1st sg., and L⁰ in the 3rd sg., as Skr. cakāra I made' <*qeqora, cakāra 'he made' <*qegōre.—Ml. W. kigleu 'I have heard, he has heard', Ir. ro-chiála, ro-chiálae. The W. form implies the 1st sg. kivi-kloû-a : Skr. 3u-sraûa; for the long ū of the reduplicator cf. Skr. tu-tava, 3t ev 'be strong'. See § 194 v (4).

ii. (1) The following old perfects are 3rd sg. only, and show L°-grade of the root : 3v ne-re- 'work' gave *ye-urôge > Brit. *yo-urâge > Ml. W. guoreu, goreu 'did' (y' lost by dissim., ăg > eu § 71 iii); — 3v re- 'run' gives gwa-red-af 'I succour'; perf. sg. 3. *re-ró-t-e > Brit. *yo-(re)râte > Ml. W. gwarrât 'succeeded' ;— 3\u2018yet/d- 'say' gives dy-wed-af 'I say'; perf. sg. 3. Brit. *do-yát-e or *dó-yát-e > Ml. W. dyôwât or dywât, dywot 'said' (unacc. ā shortened § 74; wa : wo § 34 iv).

(2) 3vek- had R-grade *duk- in the Brit. pres., giving W. dyg-af (: Lat. duco < O. Lat. douco, F⁰-grade); perf. sg. 1. *du-douk-a > W. *dy-duke, 3. *du-duke > W. dy-duke b.t. 4, 52. The tense was re-formed with the perf. endings -um, -ost iv (1), § 194 iii (2).—The verb amygaf I 'defend' has similarly a 3rd sg. perf. amug § 194 iv (2).

iii. In verbs like eistôdäf 'I sit', gorwôdäf 'I lie', arwôdäf 'I carry', go(r)dôwôdôf 'I overtake', etc., the form of the above perf. is seen in godwâvôdô w.m. 42 'overtook'; this being re-formed as gorwôdôvô b. m. 29 (so eistôdôvô w.m. 188, etc.), the -avô seemed to be a 3rd sg. past ending; and was added to suffixless aorists like *kar § 181 iii (1) giving karwôvô, Mn. W. carodd 'loved'.

iv. (1) Deponent verbs in Brit. had periphrastical perfects formed like those of Lat. deponents. Thus 3aţ- : perf. sg. 1. *aktos esmi > *aktoimi > aethum, euthum ; 2. *aktos (e)si > *aktosst > *aethos + t = aethost ; 3. *aktos 'st > *aktosst > aeth 'went'. From these forms 1st and 2nd sg. endings -um, -ost were deduced, and added to other formations, such as the root-aor. keint and the perf. duc. This perf. itself was completed in the pl. by the addition of the aor. endings -am, -avch, -ant.

(2) The Ml. plup. is sg. 3. athoêdô for *aethoêdô, which represents *akto(s) sii't. The diphthong ae was simplified prob. by dissim. with the diphthong oe. The second perf. athwyt etc. seems to be a new creation formed on the analogy of the plup.

(3) The impers. llas 'was slain' is an example of this formation. It is not a root-aor. as it has R-grade of 3v golôd-. It is probably a perf. passive; thus *slad-tos (e)st > *slass-osst > llas 'was slain'. This passive has a pl. llesseint b.b. 63 'were slain' which seems to be re-formed like impfs. in -ynt § 174 iii (2), for *llëessynt < *slissi senti; llèsessynt b. a. 9 'were slain' seems to be another re-formate.

(4) The impers. of the above perf. is formed by adding the impers. *bwyt of the verb 'to be' to the stem; thus aeth-pwyôt, etc. This was extended to root-aorists, as *kant-pwyôt > kampwyôt, perfects, as duc-pwyôt, and presents; § 175 iii (7). The form *bwyt does not occur elsewhere; prob. the whole formation is new.
§ 183. Pres. Subjunct.—i. The pres. subj. represents the Ar. fut. with suffix -se- (fut. in -e- of -s- aor.), which gives Italic subj. also: Lat. faxit. The W. forms are chiefly those of the -ā- conjugation. The accent in the sg. seems to have been on the ā.—In the B.B. it seems sometimes to be a mere fut., e.g. vmahont § 1 ll. 14-15.

ii. (1) Stem *karā-se- gives sg. i. *karāsō > *karāsū > W. *karwy; -f was added to distinguish it from the 3rd sg.; the 3rd sg. *karā-sū > karwy, and the unacc. injunct. *karaset, the usual form > *karoe > karo, § 75 i (2), (3), § 78 i (1); pl. i. *kara-so-mos, with m doubled after the aorist pattern, gave kar-hom; pl. 3. *kara-senti gave kar-hom.

(2) Impers. *kara-se-re > kar-her § 75 i (2). The form rothwyr § 176 iii (4) is most probably made from the 3rd sg. rothwy.

(3) According to the above the -h- belongs to the pl. and impers. only; in the sg., therefore, it is an intrusion. In Ml. Bret. it is not usual in the sg. but occurs regularly in the pl.

iii. (1) In consonant stems the -s- came immediately after the cons.; few examples survive because the conjugation had become vocalic in the indic.—√yereq: work; pres. ind. *yrag-at > W. gyyna 'does', subj. *yrek-se-t > gunech L.L. 120 'may do', ny ofyn y neb a wnech B.T. 64 'he asks no one what he may do'; —√deuk: pres. ind. *duk-at > W. dwg 'brings', subj. *deuk-se-t > duch B.B. 40, later duwch B.T. 28; —√ret: subj. *yo-ret-se-t > gwares § 194 ii. The vowel of the root is seen to be F-grade in this tense.

(2) Corresponding to the 3rd sg. gwnech the 2nd sg. *yrek-sis would give *gwnych; this being re-formed as *gweny-ych and gwnel-ych, the latter form would naturally spread to el-ych and del-ych; and as these are three of the commonest verbs in the language, the ending -ych might spread from them to all verbs, as being the only distinctive form of the 2nd sg. pres. subj.

§ 184. The Imperative.—i. The 2nd sg. has always represented the bare pres. stem. Thus W. cār 'love thou' < Kelt. *karā; W. kymer 'take' < *kóm bere < Ar. *bhere: Gk. φέπε.

ii. (1) For the other persons the optative seems to have been once in use: ystyrjyem B.T. 33 'let us consider'. The 3rd sg. forms are difficult. In Ir. the endings are -at, -et; the lost vowel cannot be the -ō of Lat. -tō, or the -u of Skr. -tu (Thurneysen Gr. 351); it must be -o or -a. The forms are the same in Ir. for active and deponent verbs; this suggests that the ending was the middle secondary *-to. In Ir. also the forms are the same as those of the impf.; the mid. forms of the 3rd sg. opt. *-tō-to, *-tō-to (W. gwyuiaid, cerid) would give -ed, -id if in the former the accent were shifted to the stem. The 3rd pl. may have been *-ynt (Corn. -yns beside -ens), the form in the impf.; but it was re-formed with the vowel of -ed, rarely of -id as in bint § 189 ii (5).

(2) The 1st and 2nd pl. took the forms of the pres. ind. early; and in the late period the 3rd followed.
§ 185. i. (1) Verbs whose stems end in -o- or -a- (mostly from Brit. -og- or -od- and -ag-) have many contracted forms, more especially in the Mn. language. The following tables show all the possible contractions; the accent is marked in each case, and the accented vowels which are long in the present pronunciation are so marked, all others being short. Forms that are never contracted are distinguished by a hyphen, as parhâ-ais. Any other form may occur uncontracted; thus trô-af as well as trôf occurs in Mn. W.


### Indicative Mood.

#### Present Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. trôf</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. trôi</td>
<td>trôuch</td>
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<td>3. trôy</td>
<td>trônt</td>
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<tr>
<td>(3. paratô-a)</td>
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<td>Impers. trôir</td>
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<th>sg.</th>
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<td>1. parhâf</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. parhêi</td>
<td>parhêwch</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. pârâ, pêry</td>
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<tr>
<td>(3. glanhâ)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Impers. parhêir</td>
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#### Imperfect Tense.

| Impers. trôid | |

<table>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>2. parhâut</td>
<td>parhâech</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. parhâi</td>
<td>parhâent</td>
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#### Aorist Tense.

| Impers. trô-woyd, trôed | |

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<td>1. parhâ-ais</td>
<td>parhâsom</td>
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<td>2. parhâ-aiest</td>
<td>parhâsoch</td>
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<td>3. parhâ-odd</td>
<td>parhâsant,-ont</td>
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<tr>
<td>Impers. parhâ-woyd</td>
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#### Pluperfect Tense.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. trôeswn, etc.</td>
<td>1. parhâswn, etc.</td>
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§ 185

VERBS

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### SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

**Present Tense.**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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### IMPERATIVE MOOD.

**Present Tense.**

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<td>1.</td>
<td>1. <em>tro</em>-w</td>
<td>1. <em>parhá</em>-w</td>
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Impers. *tro*-er

Impers. *parhá*-er

### VERBAL NOUNS.

*trói (paratói), pára, parháu (glanháu)*

### VERBAL ADJECTIVES.

*tro-édig, tro-ádwy, *tró*

(2) It is doubtful whether -er occurs contracted; the 3rd sg. impv. in -ed is mostly uncontracted.

(3) The contracted forms -ôi, -ái of the 3rd sg. impf. are often pronounced and written -oe, -ae, see § 52 iii (3).

(4) The aor. stem -oes- is generally misspelt -ois- in Recent W.; thus *troesom* Es. liii 6, *paratoesant* i Bren. xviii 26 (so in 1620) appear as *troisom* and *parottoisant*! in recent bibles.

(5) On the 3rd sg. pres. *para, pery* see § 173 v (1). /-a-/.

ii. Stems ending in *w*-diphthongs have contracted forms when the endings -w- or -wch follow; thus *táwn* for *táw-wn* 'let us be silent', *téwch* for *téw-wch* 'be ye silent'; *gwrandéwch* for *gwrándéw-wch* 'listen ye'; *clw-wch* for *clýw-wn* 'we hear', *clywch* (re-formed *clywch*) for *clyw-wch* 'ye hear' or 'hear ye'.

iii. Other vowels and diphthongs are not contracted; e.g. *gweddî-ir* 'there will be prayer', *cde-ent* (*cáy-ent*) 'let them shut', *béi-ïd* 'fault was found', *dilé-er* 'may be deleted', *cynorthwy-ynt* 'they assisted'. But for *-á-odd* in the 3rd sg. aor.
we sometimes find -ádd in the Late Mn. period, e.g. cashádd E.P. 222 for casháodd, gwellhádd c.c. 338; cf. cádd § 188 i (6).

§ 186. i. The full form rhoddaf 'I give, put', v.n. rhoddi, survives throughout as a literary form in Mn. W.; but in the living language the -ð- had already disappeared in the Ml. period, and the verb is also conjugated like tró-af, tróf, in Ml. and Mn. W.; as roet (1 syll.) R.P. 1217 'was given', roy a.l. i 6 'to give'; see § 110 iv (2) and § 33 iii (1). In the 3rd sg. pres. ind. rhydd the -ð survives in the spoken lang. (and is sometimes wrongly transferred to try); but rhy is used commonly in lit. W. as Duw (a ry) gwymp i'r dreg a r. H.A. p. 10 'God will give the evil man a fall'. For rhy however, the compound dʒy-ry is often found; and dʒy-ro for the 2nd sg. pres. impv. rho; by assim. of y, dyro became doro w.m. 53, 478, which is the form used in Gwynedd. The bards use forms with and without -ð- indifferently:

Rhoddi gwin yn rhwydd a gaid,
Rhanun a rhoi i weiniaid.—D.I.D., 6. 179.
'There was a generous giving away of wine, a distributing and giving to the weak.'

ii. In the subj. mood, we have ro-ho a.l. i 6, contracted to ro w.m. 23; and *röð-ho giving rhoddo (roto, -t-=ð-, b.b. 29), or rhotho by the comparatively rare change of ðh to th (≡ pitch) § 111 iii (2).

A ro gam i wraig o Ídl,
Fo ry Duw rai a'í dial.—L. Môn, A 31059/78.
'Whoever deals injustice to a woman of Yale, God will provide those who will avenge her.'

Mae'r Rhuthun im a'i rhotho.—T.A., A 14976/169.
'May the Mayor of Ruthin give it [the bow] to me.'

iii. Beside the aor. 1st and 2nd sg. rödeis, rödeist (röteist, -t-=ð-, b.b. 20), a perfect was formed for these persons by adding -um, -ost to the aor. stem røes-; see § 182 iv (1); thus røessum w.m. 63, ï. l. 124 'I have given'. There is also a plup. 3rd sg. røessow, 3rd pl. røessowbynt; this survived in Early Mn. W. but seems to be used as a perf.:
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**VERBS**

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**Llaw Rys nid llai a roesæd.**—H.D., p 99/482.

'The hand of Rhys has given no less.' Other Late Ml. forms are *rodasæd*, *roesæd*, Cymmrodor ix 77. Gwent rysoeddyd h.g. 30.

iv. On the origin of *rhoddaf*, see § 179 ii.


*A gwaew hir gwae a'i héry.*—I.H.S. 26.

'Woe to him who awaits him with a long spear.'

*Neidia goruwch hen adwy*

*I'r maes, ac nae aro mwvy.*—D.G. 30.

'Jump over an old gap into the field, and stay no longer.'

*Nid arhôn* 'hwy draean hyn.*—I.F., m. 148/721.

'They will not remain one third of this [time].'

ii. The above conjugation persisted well into the Late Mn. period, e.g. *arhoent* b.cw. 23, *arhowch* do. 102; but in the late 15th cent. a new formation sprang up in which the v.n. *aros* is substituted for the stem *aro-*, giving *arhosaf*, etc. The earliest examples I have noted are in I.F.

*Od ymddengys Rhys arhosaf.*—I.F., m 148/301.

'If Rhys appears, I will stay.' So *Arhoswch farn, rhoesoch fedd* I.F. p 83/33; *pan arhoser* do. p 100/79.

iii. The only possible original of the *-s* of *aros* is either *-d-t-* or *-s-t-*, (the v.n. suffix being *-*tu-). The latter would imply *-os-* for the orig. stem; but where *-s-* came between vowels in Brit., the vowel before it was either lost, or contracted with the following vowel in Brit. itself, so that we could not have *arho-af*. We must therefore assume that *-s-* has disappeared in this word as in *rho-af* (the *-s* of *rhoddaf* being more or less artificial); hence *arho-af* for *ar-hos-*af < *ari-sod-*, *-sed-* 'sit'; and *aros* < *ari-soss-* < *pcomings-tu-* 'sit before'; § 63 ii, § 110 iv (2).

§ 188. i. (1) *caffaf* 'I shall get' has stem *kauf-*, *kah-* or *ka-* in Mn. W., and *ca-* in Mn. W. with *ff-* in 3rd sg. pres. ind. and in subj.; and is conjugated regularly, except in the aor. The forms that occur are as follows.

---
(2) Indic. pres. : Ml. W. kaffa£ w.m. 459, cahaft H.M. ii 126, caff w.m. 3; keffy w.m. 3, 23, 80, etc. (spelt kuffy 3, 460), kehy r.m. 120, key do. 293, 57, 118; cef£ w.m. 25, 43 = cef£ r.m. 16, 30; caffwân w.m. 34, caewn do. 84, r.m. 61; ceffwch r.m. 19, cevch w.m. 29; caffant w.m. 183; keffir w.m. 83, r.m. 60, keir w.m. 85, keffitor A 14869/56, O.W. cephitor cp.

Mn. W. caf; cêî, câî; cêîf, cãîf; òawn; cêwch; cânt; cêîr, câîr, § 81 iii (1).

(3) The impf. in Ml. W. has kaff- or ka- in the indic. : caewn w.m. 394, r.m. 251, caffât w.m. 396, r.m. 253; subj. : pei caffwân w.m. 18, r.m. 12. In Mn. W. cawn, cait, cûî, etc., and sometimes caffwôn etc. in the subj.

(4) The pres. subj. seems to have kaff- chiefly : caffwaf w.m. 454 (twice); keffych do. 480 (4 times); kafoit, kafoent (f = ff) b.ch. 4, etc.; but caho l.a. 150, caont do. 48. Mn. W. has caff- only.

(5) Impv.—The vb. implies an absolutely passive ‘getting’ or ‘catching’ (as ‘catching’ a cold), and so has never been used in the impv. except in the 3rd pers. (or impers.), in which case the command is not addressed to the subject, and its carrying out is independent of his will. The forms are Mn. W. 3rd sg. caffed, caed, 3rd pl. caffent, caent; impers. caffer.

(6) Aorist.—The Mn. W. forms (all of very frequent occurrence except the 2nd pl.) are, sg. 1. keveis, 2. keveist, 3. kavas; pl. 1. kawosom, -am, (2. kawosawch), 3. kawosont, -ont; impers. kaflit, kahat. (The apparent contraction a geis r.m. 253 is almost certainly a scriptional error for a ge(ve)is, cf. w.m. 395.) The Mn. W. forms are sg. 1. cefâis, 2. cefâist, 3. cefas § 175 i (2), later cafofd; pl. 1. cawsom, 2. cawsoch, 3. cawsoant. (In the 14th cent. the following contracted forms are found, sg. 1. cês D.G. 124, G.Gr. d.g. 254; sg. 3. cas D.G. 294; impers. a qit r.p. 1299, caed D.G. 189, 409, 429, 430. Later are found cês; cêst; câs and cañd D. 130, cañd M.K. [6]; impers. cañd B.Br. f. 6, câd; câed (prob. orig. a false spelling of cað); cawyd (cûwð c.c. 271, a dial. form used in late verse § 175 iv (5)).

(7) Pluperf.—The forms are Mn. kawssun, etc., Mn. cauwssun, etc., conjugated regularly. In Mn. W. is also found a plup. formed with -oed : sg. 1. kawosodwun s.g. 278; sg. 2. cauwosodút do. 247; sg. 3. kawosood do. 303, cauwosodei h.m. ii 170, cauwosood yat s.g. 30. -at h.m. ii 224; pl. 3. kawosoodgyn s.g. 11. It is seen that the forms are found in Late Mn. mss. They are also used occasionally by Early Mn. bards, e.g. cauwsoedd L.G.C. 18.

(8) Verbal Noun.—Ml. W. caffael w.m. 12, kaffel r.m. 8, 141, cael w.m. 13, r.m. 8 (once, caffu b.B. 53). Mn. W. caffael, caffel, caed.

There is no *caffael; the form caffael w.m. 60 = kaffael r.m. 43. Nettlau’s cauvel does not exist; the word is gauel (≡ gauel) r.m. 7, see below.

ii. (1) gafaelaf ‘I take hold’ is conjugated regularly in Mn. and Mn. W. with the v.n. gauel as stem.
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(2) The Ml. W. inflected forms are mostly those of the compound
ym-afaelaf; e.g. 3rd sg. pres. ind. ymeveil w.m. 70, 71; 3rd sg. aor.
ymaweIwô r.m. 50.

(3) The verbal noun is gavel w.m. II, r.m. 7, ymavel r.m. 142,
ymavel ib.; Mn. W gafel, gafel, ymfael, ymfael.

(4) Other forms of the verb occur in Late Mn. W.: ymafaI, 3rd sg.
pres. ind. ymeIIf, v.n. ymafaIyd; and ymelaef, v.n. ymaelyd; and
reformations from the form gafel of the v.n. occur dialectally, as gafeIaf etc.

iii. dyrchafaf 'I raise, lift up' is conjugated regularly. It is
also written drychafaf. The form derchafaf occurs in mss. which
use e for y; as m.a. ii 316. The v.n. is dyrchavel w.m. 39
or dyrchafel r.m. 271; in Late Mn. W. this is superseded by
dyrchaIu; v. adj. dyrchafedig 'exalted'.

The 3rd sg. pres. ind. is Mn. W. drycheIf h.m. ii 274 or drycheIf
r.b.b. 144, Mn. W. drychaI g. 138, there printed dyrchaf the usual
form. There is also in Mn. W. drychevid b.b. 82 'raises'. The 2nd
sg. impv. is drychaI f.g. 23, L.G.C. 144, becoming drycha Ps. iv 6
by the loss of f § 110 iii (5). From this a 3rd sg. pres. ind. dyrcha
came into use in Late Mn. W., e.g. Ps. xxvii 6, Gr.O. 88; which
some recent writers have improved to dyrch, with v.n. dyrchaI!

A list of the forms of the above three verbs occurring in r.m. and
part of h.m. ii is given by Max Nettlau in Cymmeror ih i i i ff., but
is inaccurate in some details, e.g. i (8) above.

iv. The facts in i show that the stem of caffaf is caff- or cah-. The
form caIf- occurs in the aor. sg. only, and must have been deduced
from the pl. at the stage between caussant and *caffsant from the orig.
caff- . In Bret. kaf- (≡ kaff-) remains in forms ordinarily unvoiced,
and kav- is extended to others; but forms like kef (= W. ceiff), beside
kav, survive to bear witness to the original stem kaf- in Bret. also.

caffael and gavel seem to contain the doublet *gap- : *gabôh-
§ 101 iii (2). The v.n. gaIaf has its exact equivalent in Ir. (ath-)
gabôl from *gaô-lî- formed with suff. -li- from a compound of
*gabôh- and *ag- § 203 i (4). The vb. in Ir. is gabin, and the W.
gafuelaf prob. replaces an old *gaf-ul equivalent to the Ir. (Dialectal
gafôf is no doubt new.)

The W. stem caff- or cah- represents *gap-s-, § 96 iv (3); hence
caffaf from the fut. *gaIpsô, with the usual reconstruction which gives
e.g. ad-feraf from *bherô. The pres. caIaf, caI is always fut. in
meaning; and recent writers have used a fictitious 3rd sg. ca 'gets'
because caIaf means 'will get'. (The pres. sense can only be expressed
periphrastically: yr waf ym cael 'I am getting'.) The v.n. caIafel,
cael is perhaps formed on the analogy of gafuel.

It may be objected that drychafaf 'I raise, lift up' shows stem
*caIf-. But there is no reason whatever for the supposition that this
verb has anything to do with the others. The prefix dyr- must represent *do-(p)r̂- § 156 i (13), which cannot give -ch- from k- or g-. The root seems to be *sqabh- ‘fix, hang’; Skr. skabhnati ‘fixes, supports’, O.Bulg. skoba ‘fibula, clasp’, Lith. kabū ‘I hang’. *sqabh- gives -chaf- regularly, § 96 iii (4). The v.n. dyrchafael may be a similar formation to gavael, or, as is more likely, formed like gaduel and galluel on its analogy, § 203 i (2).

Irregular Verbs.

The Verb ‘To Be’.

§ 189. i. The following table shows the Mi. W. forms of the verb ‘to be’. Nearly all are used in Mn. W., so that it is unnecessary to repeat them for that period. Forms that became obsolete in Mn. W. are marked †; where the Mn. form or spelling differs it is given in ( ).

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. wyf, ydwf, yttwyf</td>
<td>1. ym, ydm, ytym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wyt, ydwyt, yttwyt</td>
<td>2. yvc, ydyvc (yck, ydyck)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yw, ydiw, yttiw (late ydiw), y mae, mae, os</td>
<td>3. ynt, ydnt, ytnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† yssit ‘there is’, † ossit ‘if there is’, -s in os ‘if it is’</td>
<td>y maent, maent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† yssydnt</td>
<td>† yssydnt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relatival form: yssyd (y sydd), syd, yssy (y sy), sy.

Impersonal: ys, ydys, yttys.

Conjunctive: y mae or mae (late mai), †panyw, (dial. taw).

Consuetudinal Present and Future.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. bydof, † byōs</td>
<td>1. bydwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bydwy (byddi)</td>
<td>2. bydwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. byd</td>
<td>3. bydant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cons. bit (bid)</td>
<td>† bydawnt, † bint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. † bi, † bydawt, † biaut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. (bydys, byddir)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 189

**VERBS**

### Imperfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. oeðwn, † yttoedvn</td>
<td>1. oeðem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. oeðut (-ut, -it)</td>
<td>2. oeðewch (oeddech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. oeð, yttoed (ydoedd)</td>
<td>3. oeðyt, † yttoedyn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers. oeðit (oeddid)**

### Consuetudinal Imperfect.

**Sg.** 1. byðwn, etc. regular.

### Perfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. buum, bum (bûm)</td>
<td>1. buam, -om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. buost</td>
<td>2. buawch (bûoch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bu</td>
<td>3. buant, buont</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers. buwyt (-wyd)**

### Pluperfect.

**Sg.** 1. buasswn (buaaswn, baswn), etc. regular; pl. 3. buyssynth, beside buassyn, -essyn § 175 iv (1). Also sg. 3. † buei, etc.

### Subjunctive Mood.

#### Present Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. bwyf, byðwyf</td>
<td>1. bôm (bûm), byðom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bých, byðých</td>
<td>2. boch, byðoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bo, byðo, bytho</td>
<td>3. bont (bûnt), byðont, bythont,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**boent, † bwynt**

#### Imperfect Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. bevn (bawn), byðwn</td>
<td>1. beym (baem), byðem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bent (bant, -it), byðut (-ud, -it)</td>
<td>2. (baech, bydeech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bei (bai), byðei (-ai), pei (pe)</td>
<td>3. beynt (baent), byðent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers. byðit (-id), byðhit (-id)**
ACCIDENCE

§ 189

Imperative Mood.

Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. byd</td>
<td>1. bydwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bid</td>
<td>2. bydench</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. boet (-d), poet (-d)</td>
<td>3. bydant, bint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ventral Noun.

bot (bod)

For a list of Ml. forms, with references, by Dr. J. G. Evans, see B.B. 109 ff.

Notes.—(1) Pres. ind.—Forms with ytt- (yt-) appear in poetry in Mn. W. but are comparatively rare.

Trist fu'r glèr tres dy faur glwyf,  
Trist éto trosot ýtwyf.—G. Gl., M 146/161.

'Sad have been the minstrels for thy sore sickness, sad still am I.'

The 3rd sg. ydiw was so written up to the 16th cent.; and rhymes with words in -iw, as friw/ydiw D.G. 35, cf. 119, 144, 193, etc., and e. 186, 193, 203, 206, 235, 247, also with yw (≡ iw); see § 77 v. The Late Mn. ydyw is an etymological spelling, and is read ydiw, except by a few affected persons. The N.W. dial. form is ýdi (and, in answering questions only, ýdi, a curious attempt to sound y with the tongue in the d position). S.W. dial., in questions and answers, ódi.

ydis is sounded ýdis; on ys see § 82 ii (1). In Mn. W. yd- and the rare yt- come only before monosyllabic forms, and always take the accent. ýsysýdynt w.M. 457 is formed from yssit § 162 vi (1).

The Late Mn. spelling mai of the conj. form seems to come from mai € § 219 vi (1); elsewhere the pronunciation is mae = may or ma'. The form mai owes its adoption to the popular notion that a conjunction 'that' must differ from a verb 'is'. The word means, not 'that', but 'that it is'; as gun mae Dafydd a'i gwnaeth 'I know that it is D. who made it'.

(2) The consuetudinal pres. is in use in that sense in the spoken lang. (in N.W.), but the fut. is a commoner use. The form bid (bid) is mostly impv., see (5); but it is sometimes indic. even in Mn. W., owing doubtless to the survival of proverbs such as bid anwadad ehud 'the fool is changeable'; thus

Bid gwaeth guybodau a gair  
Beirdd guwedi, bardd y gadair.—Gu.O., M 146/150 (m. D.E.)

'The sciences and renown of bards are worse after the [death of] the bard of the chair.' Cf. bid sicr 'it is certain, to be sure, of course'.

The forms byd b.t. 12, bydhaewt w.M. 456, etc. are fut. only.
(3) In the impf. the consuet. ind. byðwn is distinguished from the subj. bewn (bawm); the latter is never ind., but the former is used in the subj., as pei byðot, etc. ïl. a. 67; also bythit w.m. 104, cf. (4).

The form pei for *pei y, before a vowel pei yt, 'were it that' is used in the sense of 'if' with the impf. subj. or plup. With the 3rd pers. prefixed pron. 's, it is bei ys w.m. 424, later pei ass w.m. 17. In Mn. W., the forms are pe, ped, pe's; also with b-: be g. 128, 238, etc.

As the subj. stem seems to have been b- or p- the orig. form of sg. i. 2. should be bwn, *but like 3. bei; so in the pl. The phrase pei yt vwn, occurring as bei et-vwn w.m. 71, was contracted early to pettun 'if I were', 2. pettut, 3. pettei; pl. 1. pettem, etc. Thus bettut kynn decket ac Absonlon ïl. a. 67 'if thou wert as fair as A'; pettei do. 68; Mn. W. pettun b.cw. 10 'if I were', petynt 'if they were'. But pei byðei ïl. a. 67–8, be bai H.D. p 99/494, etc., are also used.

Traces occur of an old plup. with stem bu-: sg. 3. buei r.p. 1045, buyat (read bu-yat) do. 1038, pl. 3. b6yn (read bu-yn) ib., buyint b.b. 96.

(4) Beside the pres. subj. proper buyf, the form byðywf with ind. stem is used; also bytho T.A. c. i 342, bythont w.m. 47, with byð + h-, a new subj. stem.—The impers. boer m.a.i 20 is doubtful; the context suggests sg. 3. bo. But E.P. ps. xciv 13 uses boer.—3rd pl. buynt b.t. 5; boent a.l. i 106, L.G.C. 240.

(5) As stated above (2), bit (bid) is usually impv. : Bit y waet of arnam ni s.g. 25, ïl. a. 83 'His blood be upon us'; na vit ofyn arnauch r.m. 147 'let there be no fear on you' i.e. fear not; bit w.m. 22, r.m. i 4 'let there be'. The form bint ïl. a. 81 'let them be' is formed from bid; it is rare in Mn. W., L.G.C. 240.

iii. (1) For the origin of ðyf, ðyt, yw, ym, ych, ynt, see § 179 ix (3). yd- is the affirmative particle § 219 ii; yttynyt < *yd hynt; from this ytt- spread to other persons.

(2) y mae, mae occurs at the beginning of a positive statement, or positive rel. clause; it seems to have meant originally 'there is' or rel. 'where is', since mae at the beginning of a question means 'where is?' Thus mae ymma Matholwch w.m. 39 'there is here M.', y lle ymae Abel ïl. a. 118 '[in] the place where Abel is', mae y mab? w.m. 29 'where is the boy?' The m- of mae is never mutated; this points to *mm (Corn. -mm-) < *sm. The y m- is prob. ym- (often so written in Mn. W.) representing the locative in -smi of the *e-demonstrative (nom. sg. *es § 159 iv (1)), as in Umbr. loc. esme 'in hoc' < *esmi, Av. almi. Thus *esmi est, 'here is, there is,' pronounced *esmiest > *ymoed § 75 iv (2), whence by loss of -ð and the change of oe to ae after a labial § 78 i (1) and ii (2) we have ymae. The rel. form similarly from *iomsmi est. The interrogative form mae 'where is?' appears to be a new development in W., with the y- dropped because it seemed to be affirmative; it prob. comes from indirect questions in which mae is rel., as munac imi mae Arthur w.m. 123 'tell me where Arthur is'. Corn. has pyma? as if from *qiosmi est ? The pl. y maen (≡ ymáynt) must be a new formation from y mae.—
The Bret. form is *ema, ma, Corn. yma, ymma, ma, pl. ymons; the last form confirms the assumption of oe by preserving the o.

(3) oes occurs after nyt (nid), nat (nad), the interr. part. a, and od 'if', in each case when the subject is indefinite. nyt oes represents *nitaissi < *n'i iata esti 'there is not'. The positive *esti iata 'there is' > *estita > yssit. Similarly ossit 'if there is' < *a 'sitata § 222 v (1). In Ml. W. yssit is only a survival, having been generally replaced by y mae. As neid oes means literally 'there is not', it is natural that its subject should be indefinite. But early examples of a definite subject occur: cinnit hoys ir loc guac hinnuith in pag. reg. cp. 'though there is not that empty place in the regular page'; nat oes hi w.m. 470 'that there is not [such a one as] she'; in R.M. 113 this becomes nat ydiw y vorwysn 'that the maid is not'.

(4) yssyd, syð, etc. < *estigo < *esti igo § 162 vi (1). ys < *esti § 179 ix (3)—panwy 'that it is' § 222 x (2).

(5) oed see § 75 iv (2), § 180 ii (3), yttwes § 180 ii (3), q.v.

iv. (1) From 'bheuâ- 'be' there was an iterative derivative *bh(y)iô which gives Ir. bînna 'I am wont to be', Lat. fito. The three persons of the sg. *bhuiô, *bhuiüs, *bhuiëit would all give W. byôd, which was afterwards inflected byðaf, byðy, byð by analogy. In Kelt., Ital., Germ., there are also athematic forms of this verb; thus there were sg. 2. *bhûë-si > Lat. fis, sg. *bhûë-ti > Lat. fit, W. bid. [Lat. fito takes its long ï from these.] The Early Ml. W. fut. bi is a future of this form, representing *bhûë-séit (or *bhûë-ëit?). The forms byðhawt, biawt are of course formed by adding -(h)awt to byð, bi.

(2) The opt. of *bh(y)iô, sg. i. *bh(y)iôi-m might give byðwn, but prob. the whole tense is a later formation from byð.

(3) The perf. bu-um, etc. is obviously formed from the 3rd sg. by the addition of the perf. endings -um, etc. § 182 iv (1). The 3rd sg. bu, Ir. bôi, bai represent Kelt. *(be-)bâxe < Ar. *bhe-bhâye : Av. bavanā ; § 76 iii (5).

(4) The pres. subj. buwy(f) represents the -se- fut. of 'bheuâ-; thus *bh(y)iôa-sô buwy etc. § 183 ii.

The impf. subj. sg. 3. beî < *biût < *baütt < *bh(y)e-sêt. From beî was deduced buen as in beî et-von ii (3); but later beuen, as if beî were *be-eî; in Mn. W. when beî had become bai, the 1st sg. became bauen; and in the late period bai itself came on the analogy of this to be treated as bai and sometimes written bae, see § 185 i (3).

The initial p- is for *b-h- with -h from pl. forms; see § 183 ii (3).

(5) The impv. sg. 2. byð is from *bh(y)e the crude stem of *bh(y)iô. The 3rd sg. bid is from *bh(y)iô the 3rd sg. opt. mid. of stem *bhûë-; see § 184 ii (1) and § 180 iv (2). The 3rd sg. boed or poed is a re-formation from the subj. stem. The pl. forms are obvious re-formations.

(6) The v.n. bod implies Brit. *butâ, which (as there is both in Ir. also) may be a Kelt. formation beside *bhu-t-is which gives Ir. buith : Gk. phiôis. Like other v.n.'s bod has been made mas.; but in compounds it remains f., as ha-fod, eistedd-fod, preswyf-fod.
Compounds of the Verb ‘To Be’.

§ 190. i. (1) The verbs of the v.n.’s cánfod ‘to perceive’, dárfod ‘to waste away; to happen’; górfod ‘to overcome’; hánfod ‘to be from; to come’, are conjugated with the b-forms of the verb ‘to be’; as canfyddaf, etc. In Ml. W. cánfod appears generally with the pref. ar-.

Pres. (fut.) ind. : sg. 1. gorvydáf c.M. 61, 70 ;—2. henbydý w.m. 97 ;
—3. derwyð c.M. 43, gorvit (≡ gorvyð) B.B. 52 ; dy-derbi r.p. 578, dy-worpi do. 585 ;—impers. gorvydyr w.m. 82, r.b.b. 152, c.m. 13.

Impf. ind. sg. 1. gorvyduw w.m. 131 ;—3. hanbydf ei w.m. 141.

Perf. : sg. 1. M.n. canfwm § 191 ii (5) ;—3. hanwru r.p. 1143, arganwv c.m. 50, s.g. 7, darvu c.M. 59, gorw w.m. 89 ;—pl. 1. darfuam b.b. 105 ;—3. darwuan b.b. 6 ;—impers. arganwywyt w.m. 49, darwnytyt r.p. 1196. —Plup. : pl. 3. gorwynasswnt c.m. 68.

Pres. subj. : sg. 1. hanbwuyf m.a. i 301b ;—2. hanwydh gwell r.m. 87, w.m. 185, s.g. 1, hanbych well p 16/44, Mn. W. henbywch well ‘may you come well!’ i.e. welcome! (gwell not orig. cpv. § 148 i (4)) ;—
3. derfo s.g. 17, c.m. 42, 59, gorpo b.b. 17, hanffo l.l.a. 131, c.m. 33 ;
—pl. 3. gorffont r.b.b. 222 ;—impers. gorfýder c.m. 13, gorffor do. 22.

Impf. subj. : sg. 3. darffei c.m. 68, 29, gorffei r.m. 163, hanphéi c.m. 55, hampeí do. 58.

Impv. : sg. 3. derffit r.p. 1044, r.m. 155 ; derchid b.b. 91.

V.n. arganwot w.m. 54, darvot c.m. 32, gorot w.m. 56, hanwot do. 460 ;
—v. adj. darvodedic l.l.a. 86, Mn. W. darfodedig ‘perishable’.

(2) In dárfod two verbs have prob. merged: (a) dárfod ‘to waste away, to perish’ < dar- : Gk. φθέλω § 98 i (4) ;—(b) dárfod ‘to happen’ < *do-ári- § 156 i (13). The latter is used in the 3rd sg. only, see § 196, as Beth a darvu uðunt wy? l.l.a. 7 ‘What happened to them?’; often as a so-called ‘auxiliary’; as pei na darffei ýr dvest gyvodi c.m. 68 ‘if the dust had not risen’; deryw in Mn. W. is generally thus used. In Mn. W. it is replaced by darfu; but the pres. had a past force from the sense of ‘afore-time’ in the prefix. The v.n. dárfod introduces noun-clauses corresponding to direct statements with deryw, as Mn. W. wrth ry-darvot íbaw ýr rodi s.g. 32 ‘since he had given it’.

Examples: (a) derfyydd r. 27 ‘will perish’, darfu D.G. (§ 160 i (1)) ‘is spent’, darfyddant Job iv 9 ‘they perish’, ni ðdarfu i Bren. xvii 16 ‘wasted not’, darwuan b.b. 6 ‘they perished’;—(b) darffo i Cor. xv 54, darfuo’n (for darfu ym) Gr.O. 98 ‘it happened to me’, i.e. I did ; y darffai d. 112 ; a vynno Duw derffit r.m. 155 lit. ‘what God will let it come to pass’.
(3) canfod, gorfod and hanfod contain respectively the prefixes canh- § 156 i (7), gor- do. i (17), and han- do. ii (3).

gorfod is chiefly used in the 3rd sg. in Mn. W., as gorfu i or gorfu ar ‘was obliged’ § 196 vii. For the verb the v.n. is often used, as gorfod iddo for gorfu iddo, cf. a heâw yn gorvot arnam . . . ynwahanu c.m. 50 ‘and to-day we must part’.

ii. (1) In addition to the above forms Mn. W. has a pres. and impf. formed with -wyf and -oedwn. These survived in Early Mn. W. Before -yw, -ym, -ywch, -ynt, -a- is affected to -e-; the -e- often intrudes into forms with -wyf, -wyt, and vice versa -a- often occurs before -yw, etc. Thus:

Indic. pres. : sg. 1. hanwyf w.m. 3, henwyf r.m. 2, canhwyf D.G. 200;—2. hanwyf w.m. 3, 191, henwyf r.m. 2 ;—3. cennyw r.p. 1433, D.G. 205, derwyf, derw w.m. 99, henwyf s.g. 13, hanyw L.G.C. 9 ;—pl. 1. henym l.l.a. 164 ;—3. hanynt l.l.a. 169.

Mil ar benn bryn a’i cennyw.—G.Gl., p 75/159.
‘A thousand behold it [the mansion] on the top of the hill.’

Na sonier am a dderyw.—I.G. 289.
‘Let there be no mention of what has happened.’

Mawrsorc hifor a’r moryw;
Mywy na serch ar ordderch yw.—D.G. 3.

‘The great love of Ivor overcomes me; it passeth the love of woman.’

Impf. : sg. 3. canhoeS w.m. 64, r.m. 46 ‘could see’, darooS s.g. 25 ‘happened’, hanoëS do. 41 ;—pl. 3. hanhoidymt s.g. 15, r.p. 1047.

Ymddiried im a dddaroedd.—G.Gl., m 146/168.

‘He trusted in me.’ (Elliptical, for a darooS ido ‘happened to him’, i.e. he did.)

O’r hen arglwyddi’r hanoedd.—L.G.C. 2.

‘She was descended from the lords of old.’

O’r hen wýdd yr hanoeddych.—I.H.S., ël 133/212.

‘You are descended from the old stock.’

(2) Beside hanwyf etc., Mn. W. has handwyf, handwyd, handid, handym, handoëtud, handoët (t≡ð) all in m.a. i 358, handid b.b. 33, 107, handoëd r.p. 1432, handoët w. 1a.

These seem to be formed from an extension of the prefix, such as *sani-ti, cf. hefyd § 220 ii (8), giving before a vowel hand- § 113 i (2); by analogy *hand-fid > hand-id, cf. § 110 iii (3); handywynt m.a. i 358 makes the line too long.—ny handei w.m. 183, r.m. 85
makes no sense; a better reading seems to be ny handenei p 16/43 (w.m. p. 92) 'he could not rest' (handen, by dissim. > Mn. W. hamden 'leisure', hamdenol 'leisurely, slowly'; han-'without' + den, √ dhen-: Skr. dadhan-ti 'causes to run').

iii. The verb cyfarfyddaf & 'I meet' is conjugated like the above verbs (v.n. kyvarvot w.m. 58, 125, perf. sg. 3. kyvarvu do. 170, plup. sg. 3. cyfarvuassei ib.), except that the old forms were obsolete in Late Ml. W. But D.B. has kyveryw a mi r.p. 1385 'has met me, happened to me'; and ry-gyveryw a occurs in w.m. 42, changed to ry-gynneryw a in r.m. 29, as if it were a compound of deryw, the form cyveryw being apparently unknown, and the u (≡ v) mistaken for n.

iv. In the dialects darfyddaf and cyfarfyddaf, the most commonly used of these verbs, are mostly conjugated as if they were regular verbs; and such barbarisms as darfyddodd, cyfarfyddais, cansyddais occur in recent writings. The impf. hanoedd seems to have survived the other obsolete forms; this was mistaken for an aor. hanodd, from which was inferred an imaginary v.n. hanu, common in recent biographies.

§ 191. i. (1) The verbs gwnn (gwn) 'I know', v.n. gwyybot (gwyybod), and adwaen 'I am acquainted with', v.n. adnabot (adnabod), are conjugated as follows in Ml. (and Mn.) W.

### Indicative Mood.

#### Present Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>Impers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwnn</td>
<td>gwn (gwn)</td>
<td>gwn (gwn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gwddost</td>
<td>gwddost (gwyyddost)</td>
<td>gwddost (gwyyddost)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwyr</td>
<td>gwyr (gwyr)</td>
<td>gwyr (gwyr)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impers. gwyns (gwyns, gwyyds)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. adwaen, adwen, atwen (adwaen, adwen)</td>
<td>1. adwaenam, adwaenwn (adwaenam, adwaenwn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. atwaenost (adwaenost, adweini)</td>
<td>2. adwaenawch, atweynwch (adwaenawch, adweynwch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. adwaen, adwen, atwen (adwaen, adwen, adwen)</td>
<td>3. atwaenant (adwaenant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Future Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwybydaf (gwybyddaef)</td>
<td>1. gwybydwn (gwybyddwn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gwybydy (gwybyddi)</td>
<td>2. gwybydwc (gwybyddwc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwybyd (gwybydd)</td>
<td>3. gwybydant (gwybyddant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers. gwybydir (gwybyddir)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. adnabydaf (adnabyddaf)</td>
<td>1. adnabydwn (adnabyddwn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. adnabydy (adnabyddi)</td>
<td>2. (adnabyddwc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. adnabyd, ednabyd (adnabydd)</td>
<td>3. adnabydant (adnabyddant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers. adnabydir (adnabyddir)**

### Imperfect Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwydwn, gwyðjwn (gwyddwn)</td>
<td>1. gwydém, gwyðjém (gwyddem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gwyðut, gwyðjut (gwyddud, gwyddit)</td>
<td>2. gwyðewch (gwyddech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwyðjat, gwydat, gwyðjéi (gwyddjad, gwyddai)</td>
<td>3. gwyðynt (gwyddynt, -ent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers. gwydít (gwyddid)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. atwaenwn (adwaenwn)</td>
<td>1. adwaenem (adwaenem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. atwaenut (adwaenud, -ît)</td>
<td>2. (adwaenech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. atwaenat (adwaenjad, ad-vaenai)</td>
<td>3. atwaenyt (adwaenynt, -ent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers. etweinit (adwaenid, adweinid)**

### Perfect Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwybuwm (gwybâm) \ {adnabùwm (adnabâm)}</td>
<td>etc. like canfùm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers. gwybuwyt, adnabuwyd (gwybùwyd, adnabùwyd)**

### Pluperfect Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwybuasswn (gwybauasswn) \ {adnabuasswn (adnabauasswn)}</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Subjunctive Mood.

**Present Tense.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwywynf (gwywynf, gwybyddwaf) \ {adnapwynf (adnápwyf, adnabhiddwyf)}</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. gwywfy, guyo, adnâpo (gowyo, gowydddo, adnàpo, adnabhiddo)</td>
<td>}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Imperfect Tense.

sg. 1. gwypwn, gwybydwn (gwypwn, gwybyddwn)
adnapwn, adnabydwn (adnapwn, adnabyddwn)  etc.

Imperative Mood.

Present Tense.

sg. | pl.
---|---
2. gwybyd (gwybyd) | 1. gwybydwn (gwybyddwn)
3. gwybydct (gwyped, gwybydded) | 2. gwybydwcch (gwybyddwch)

Impers. gwyper, gwybyder (gwyper, gwybydder)

2. ednebyd, adnebyd (adnebydd) | 1. adnabydwn (adnabyddwn)
3. (adnabydded) | 2. adnabydwcch (adnabyddwch)
3. (adnabyddent, -ant) | 3. (adnabyddent, -ant)

(2) The verb **cydnabyddaf** 'I recognize', v.n. cydnabod, has pres. ind. **cydnabyddaf**, impf. ind. **cydnabyddwn**, and the rest of the verb like **adwaen**.

ii. (1) In the pres. indic. the endings of the 2nd sg. and the pl. are seen to be those of the perf. and aor. In the dialects the 3rd pl. has -on beside -an.

But **adwaen** has also the pres. endings; thus beside **adwaenam** M.A. 164 'we know' we find **adwaenwn** w.M. 25 'we know'; so **atweynych** c.m. 12; Mn. W. **adweini** Es. lv 5 'thou knowest'.

(2) Both the 1st and 3rd sg. pres. ind. were **adwaen** or **adwen**; the Mn. W. 3rd sg. **edwyn** is a new formation from **adwen** (on the analogy of etyb 'answers' § 173 iv (1)). Examples: 1st sg. **adwaen** B.B. 102, atwaen s.g. 72, atwen w.m. 390; 3rd sg. **attwen** H.m. ii 235, Atwen mab ac iochla, ac nyt atwen ae kar B.B. 964 'a child knows who foudles him, but does not know who loves him'; pawb adwaen pwy I.G. g. 79 'everybody knows who'.

Yr ydwyf, hyd yr adwen,
Yn dywyn haint n'i m gad yn hên.—D.G. 443.

'I am, as far as I know, suffering from a disease that will not spare me to old age.'

A'r un sud, er ias edwyn,
Y mesur Duw amser dyfn.—B.Br., f. 15.

'And in the same manner, though he knows it not, does God measure man's life.'
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(3) The 3rd sg. impf. ind. has the ending -yât, -at, Mn. W. -yad. The ending -ê is rare in Mn. W.: gwydêr e.b. 6, r.p. 1264. The -y- (≡ ĕ) in gwydywn etc. doubtless spread from -yât; it did not come into general use. In Mn. W. -yad survived in poetry, but gwydâdai, adwaenai became the usual forms. See gwydyât w.m. 183, r.m. 85, s.g. 11, adwaenai s.g. 72, w.m. 150.

Yr oedd i rai a wyddiad
Obaiith dyn o fab i’th dad.—T.A., A 14694/117.

'There was, to those who knew, hope of a man in a son of thy father.'
See adwaeniad D.G. 430, T.A. g. 234.

(4) On the -t- for -d- before wy, see § 111 v (2).

(5) Note the accentuation of gwybûm, adnabûm, in which the last syllable has a late contraction, § 41 iii. Uncontracted gwybâ-um occurs as late as the 15th cent.; see § 33 iv. The 3rd sg. gwybu, adnâbu has no contraction, and is accented regularly.

O'r tad Hywel ap Cadell,
Nid adnabûm dad neb well.—T.A., c 84/849.

'[Sprung] from his father, H. ap C.,—I have not known a better father to any one.' Cf. adnabûm, so accented, n.cw. 105; so canfûm do. 16, 91. Mn. W. gwybûm w.m. 389, adnabûm ib.

iii. (1) gwnn probably comes from *uindo § 66 iii (1), or middle *uindoï: Skr. vindâ-ti 'fjinds', Ir. ro-finnadar 'is wont to know', /yeid- with -n- infix. The 3rd sg. gwyyr seems to be a deponent form made by adding the impers. *-re directly to the root § 179 viii (2); thus *yeid-re > *yeig-re (§ 104 iv (3)) > gwyr.—The 2nd sg. gwidost represents a periphrastic form *uindo'si, verbal adj. + verb 'to be', the remnant of a tense like euthum, re-formed in the pl. with aor. endings § 182 iv (r). In Mn. W., and occasionally in Late Mn. W. gwô becomes gwyô—on the analogy of the other tenses. The impers. gwyôs prob. represents a passive *uindo-tos ('st).

The tense replaces the old perf. with pres. meaning, *yôida : Gk. oïdua.

(2) The impf. 3rd sg. gwydiad may be for gwydiad § 180 iv (1). The 2nd sg. gyôdut may represent a thematic *uindoithês, in which case its wy is original; and the 3rd sg. may have taken wy from this. The wy is the falling diphthong: Pod meistrobr wydd a wudd D.G. 460.

(3) The rest of the verb comes from periphrastic tenses formed of a present participle of some such form as *yeidans and the verb 'to be'.

iv. (1) adwaen corresponds to Ir. ad-gên, which comes from *ati-gegna, re-formed in Kelt. for *gegâ-d, Lat. nôv-i, /geinê-; but W. adwaen, which is for *adwoen § 78 ii (1) (2), contains -yo- as pointed out by Rhys, Rc. vi 22; it seems also to have the vowel of the reduplicator elided; thus adwaen < *ati-yn-ôn-a < *ati-yn-ô-ôn-ô. It may however represent *ad-wo-ein < *ati-yn-gegnôn-a. The 3rd sg. had *-e for *-a and gives the same result in W. The rest
§ 192. i. (1) pieu (Mn. W. πί-αυ) ‘whose is?’ contains the dative of the interrogative stem *q-βι- and -ευ ‘is’, a weak form of *wy, which elsewhere became γω ‘is’ § 179 ix (3). The forms of the verb that occur in Mn. W. are as follows; most of them are re-formations from pieu, the -ευ- generally unrounded to -ει- before v or ff:

Pres. ind. : sg. 2. πιευτεν see ii (1) below;—3. pieu;—pl. 3. pieuwunt (for *pieu-γυν) W.M. 83.
Impf. ind. : sg. 2. pieuoetud (t = δ) see ii (3) below;—3rd sg. pieoεδ W.M. 117, pieuoεδ R.M. 196, pieuoεδ W.M. 121, pieuoeδ do. 129, pieuoeδ do. 178, πιευεδ do. 135;—3rd pl. pieuεδγι W.M. 426.
Fut. : sg. 3. πιευεκουδ (γ = i) A.L. i 179 ms.b., pievυεδ ib. ms.d., H.M. ii 81;—pl. 1 piefydedon c.m. 42.
Perf. : 3rd sg. pieivu W.M. 394, R.M. 252, pievu W.M. 394.
Pres. subj. : 3rd sg. pieuyfo (γ = i, f = ff) A.L. i 196.
Impf. subj. : 3rd sg. pieifuδ s.g. 299, pieuvyδei do. 324.

(2) In Mn. W., only the 3rd sg. is used. The forms are—

Indic. pres. πιαυ;—imperf. πιεδδ L.G.C. 168, I.IIaf. c.c. 352, accented πιεδδ by T.A., c 84/849;—fut. πιευεδδ L.G.C. 291;—the other tenses rarely occur.

In the dialects the pres. πιαυ only is used, and other tenses are formed periphrastically by using tenses of the verb ‘to be’ with relatival πιαυ; thus οδδ pieu(u) ‘was who owns’ for πιοεδδ ‘who owned’.

ii. (1) The verb ‘to be’ in pieu generally means ‘is’ in the sense of ‘belongs’; but sometimes it has a complement, in which case the literal meaning of the compound is seen clearly; thus—
Hi a ovynnawð iðaw pioes mab s.g. 12 ‘she asked him to whom he was son’ (whose son he was). Piwyg gwrdi do. 222 ‘to whom art man thou?’ (whose man art thou?).

(2) The interrogative meaning of the compound survived in Ml. W. and Early Mn. verse; but the usual meaning is relative. Interrog. pieu in a question is often followed by rel. pieu in the answer; and this may represent the transition stage, as in the case of pan ‘whence?’ § 163 i (6).

Pieu ynvier y îlongeu hymn? . . . Arglwybh, heb wynt, mae ymma Matholwch . . . ac ef bieu y îlongeu w.m. 39 ‘To whom belongs this fleet of ships? Lord, said they, M. is here, and [it is] he to whom the ships belong’.

Piau rhent Gruffudd ap Rhys?
Hywel piau ‘n nhâl Powys.—T.A., i 17/217.
‘To whom belongs the rent of G. ap R.? [It is] Howel to whom it belongs on the border of Powys.’

When the relative became the prevalent construction, pwy ‘who?’ was used before the verb to ask a question, thus pwy biau ‘who [is it] to whom belongs?’ This occurs in Ml. W.; as Pwy bieuynt wy w.m. 83 ‘who [is it] to whom they belong?’ Cf. § 163 v.

Pwy biau gwaed pibau gwin?—T.A., a 14998/29.
‘Who has the blood of pipes of wine?’

(3) Relatival pieu sometimes introduces a dependent relative clause, as Dodi olew ar y gwrdiau bieu y gaer R.M. 174 ‘administering extreme unction to the Goodman who owns the castle’. But it is chiefly used to form the subject-clause after an emphatic predicative noun, § 162 vii (2), as in ef bieu y îlongeu (2) above ‘[it is] he who owns the ships’; Meuryc bervr bievoetud m.a. i 225b ‘[it was] bright Meuryc to whom thou [sword] didst belong’; a minnuw bieu y òwy iarlaeth R.M. 239 ‘and [it is] I to whom the two earldoms belong’.

(4) As pi- is itself relative it is not preceded by the relative a, ZtCP. iv 118; see examples above. Cf. also mi bieivu R.m. 252, mi biau . . . a thithau biau I.G. 318, Dasydd bieuwydd L.G.C. 291, etc. The initial of pi- is generally softened, as in most of the above examples, but it frequently remains unchanged, as E koc a’r dýstcyn pýeu a.l. i 20 ‘[it is] the cook and
the steward to whom belong…'; *gur (≡ y gŵr) pyeu do. 82; Hywel piau (2) above; Mi piau cyngor…mi piau nerth Diar. viii 14 (1620). In the spoken lang. both p- and b- are heard; the former prevails in N.W.

(5) As *pieu seemed to be a verb meaning 'owns' though without a subjective rel., it is sometimes found so used with an accusative rel., as castell Kaer Vyrðin yr hwn a bie(u) y brenhin R.B.B. 297 'the castle of Carmarthen which the king owns'; y castell fry a *pieu Bélial b.cw. 10; more rarely with subjective rel., ni ae piefyðwn c.m. 42. Still rarer are re-formations like *ti biy c.m. 14.

iii. *pi- cannot come from *qʷi<u> the dat. of *qⁿo-, since qʷ became k in Kelt. before u; it is probable therefore that *pi- comes from *qʷi< < *qʷi< < *qʷi<: Oscan *piei dative of the stem-form *qʷi-§ 163 vi.

Af, Gwnaf, Deuaf.

§ 193. i. af 'I go' and gwnaf 'I make, do' are conjugated alike in Mn. W. except in the impv.; deuaf 'I come' is analogous, but has different and varying vowels in its stems. In the earlier periods each of the verbs has forms peculiar to itself. In the following tables Mn. W. forms are given in brackets, marked as in § 185.

ii. af 'I go'.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. af  (āf)</td>
<td>1. awn (āwn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ey (āi, āi)</td>
<td>2. ewch (ēwch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. a, e-yt (ā)</td>
<td>3. ant (ānt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. eir (éir, āir)

Imperfect.

| 1. awn (āwn) | 1. aem (āem) |
| 2. ant (ānt) | 2. (āech) |
| 3. aei, aeg, ai (āi, ae) | 3. eynt (āent) |

Impers. eít (ēid, āid)
### Perfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. euthum (éuthum)</td>
<td>1. aetham (áethom, -am)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. aethost (áethost)</td>
<td>2. aethawch (áethoch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. aeth (áeth)</td>
<td>3. aethant, -ont (áethant, -ont)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. aethpwyt (áethpwyd)

### Second Perfect.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. athwyf, adwyf, ethwyf, edwyf (éthwyf)</td>
<td>1. ethym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. athwyt, adwyt (éddwyd)</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ethyw, edyw (éthyw, éddyw)</td>
<td>3. ethynt, edynt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Pluperfect.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. athoedwn (áethwn)</td>
<td>1. (áethem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (áethud, -it)</td>
<td>2. (áethech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. athoed, aboed (áethai)</td>
<td>3. athoedyn (áethynt, -ent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Subjunctive Mood.

#### Present.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. el(h)wyf (élwyf)</td>
<td>1. el(h)om (élom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. el(h)ych (élých)</td>
<td>2. el(h)och (élotch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. el (él, élo) aho</td>
<td>3. el(h)ont, el(h)wynt (élont) ahont</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. el(h)er (éler)

#### Imperfect.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. el(h)wn (élwn)</td>
<td>1. (élom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. el(h)ut (élud, -it)</td>
<td>2. (élotch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. el(h)ei (élai)</td>
<td>3. el(h)yn (élont, -ent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. (élid)

### Imperative Mood.

#### Present.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. awn (áwn)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ewch (éwch)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. aent (áent, áunt)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VERBS

§ 193

VERBAL NOUN.

\textit{mynet (myned, mynd)} 'to go'

iii. \textit{gwnaf} 'I make, do'.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.

sg. i. \textit{gwnaf} (\textit{gwnaf}), etc. like \textit{af} (\textit{af}); exc. strong 3rd sg. \textit{gwneyd}.

Imperfect.

sg. i. \textit{gwnawn} (\textit{gwnáwn}), etc. like \textit{awn} (\textit{áwn}); pl. 2. \textit{gwnaecch} (\textit{gwnech}).

Perfect.

A. sg. 1. \textit{gwneuthum} (\textit{gwneuthum}), etc. like \textit{euthum} (\textit{éuthum}).

B. sg. 1. gorugum 2. gorugost 3. goreu, goreu

pl. 1. gorugam 2. gorugawch 3. gorugant

Impers. gorugpwyth

Second Perfect.

sg. 1. (\textit{gwnéddwyf}), 2. (\textit{gwnéddwyf}), 3. gwnebyw (\textit{gwnéddwyf})

Pluperfect.

sg. 1. gwналоeðwn (\textit{gwnálóethwn}) 2. gwналоeðut (\textit{gwnálóethud}, -it) 3. gwналоeðоeð, gwналоeðоeð, gwналооеоо (\textit{gwnálóethai})

pl. 1. (\textit{gwnálóethem}) 2. (\textit{gwnálóethech}) 3. gwналоeðыт (\textit{gwnálóethynt}, -ent)

Impers. gwналоeðит (\textit{gwnálóethid})

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present.

sg. 1. gwnel(h)wyf (\textit{gwnel\textdblhyf}) etc. like el(h)wyf (\textit{élwyf}) throughout; also sg. 3. gunech, gwnech.

Imperfect.

sg. 1. gwnel(h)wn (\textit{gwnel\textdblethwn}), etc. like el(h)wn (\textit{él\textdblethwn}).


### Imperative Mood.

**Present.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwna (gwna)</td>
<td>1. gwnaewn (gwnáewn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gwnaet (gwenet)</td>
<td>2. gwnewoch (gwnéwoc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwnaent (gwnént)</td>
<td>3. gwnaent (gwnáent, -ánt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. *gwnel(h)er (gynéler)*

### Verbal Noun.

*gwneithur, gwneuthur (gynéuthur)*

### Verbal Adjectives.

*gwneithurjedic (gwnéuthurédig, gwneuthurádwy)*

iv. *deuaf ‘I come’.*

### Indicative Mood.

**Present or First Future.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. deuaf, doaf (déuaf, dóf)</td>
<td>1. deuwn, down (déuwn, dön)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. deuy, dewy, doy (déui, dói)</td>
<td>2. deuwch, dowch (déuwch, dówch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. daw (daw § 52 iii (1)), dyðaw, do, dydô</td>
<td>3. deuant, doant (dévant, dóní), dyðent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. *dyðeuhawr (déuir, dóir)*

**Second Future.**

sg. 1. dybyðaf; 3. dyvyd, dybyð, dybyðhawt, dyvi, dybi, dypi, deubyð, deubi, deupi; pl. 3. dybyðant.

### Imperfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. deuwn, down (déuwn, dön)</td>
<td>1. (déuem, dóem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. deuut, dout (déuut, dóut, -ít)</td>
<td>2. (déuech, dóech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. deuci, doei, doey, doi (déuai, dóí)</td>
<td>3. devynt, doynt (dévyn, dóní, dévent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. *deuit (déuid, dóid)*
### Perfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. deuthum, doethum (déuthum)</td>
<td>1. doetham (déuthom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. deuthost, doethost (déuthost)</td>
<td>2. doethawch, -och (déuthoch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. deuth, doeth (déeth, dôeth)</td>
<td>3. deuthant, doethant, doethont (déuthant, -ont)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers.** deuthpwyt, doethpwyt (déuthpwyd)

### Second Perfect.

| 1. dothwyf, dodwyf | 1. dodym |
| 2. dothwy, dodwyt | 2. dothwych, doethwych |
| 3. doethwy, dodhyw, doodyw, doëwy | 3. doënt |

### Pluperfect.

| 1. dathoëdown (déuthwn) | 1. (déuthem) |
| 2. (déuthud, -it) | 2. (déythech) |
| 3. doethoëd, dothoëd, dathoëd (déuthai) | 3. doethoëdnynt, dothoëdnynt (déuthyn, -ent) |

### Subjunctive Mood.

#### Present.

sg. 1. del(h)wyf (délwyf), etc. like the el- forms of el(h)wyf (élwyf) throughout; also sg. 1. dybwyf; 3. dyvo, dyffo, dyppo, deupo, dyheuho; pl. 3. dyffont, denhont.

#### Imperfect.

sg. 1. del(h)wn (déwn), etc. like el(h)wn (élwn); also sg. 3. dybei, dyfei dyffei.

### Imperative Mood.

#### Present.

sg. 2. dyreth, dabre (dyffyd, dyred, dyr, thyred, thyrd, dábre, dýre, dial. dére); 3. devet, doet (déved, dôed, dêled); pl. 1. down (déwn, dôn); 2. dôvch, dewch (déuvch, dôvch, dêvch); 3. deuent, doent (déuent, dôent).
v. Pres. and Impf. Ind.—(1) The contracted forms eĩ, eĩr, eĩd, gũneĩ, gũneĩr, gũneĩid are now written and pron. with eĩ (≡ eĩ); but formerly aĩ was used as in uncontracted forms; § 81 iii (1); as Burdeisiciaid a wnaid yn waeth G.Gl. p 100/174. The 3rd sg. impf. aei, gũnneai are already contracted in Ml. W., as aĩ w.m. 117, 252, 451, gũnai 54, 250, 389, gũnai b.b. 56; similarly doei had become doi w.m. 7. See § 52 iii (3).

(2) For a Dr. M. used dial. aiff (now eiff) § 179 iii (1); this is condemned by D. 86. Some late writers have used gũnnaiff also; but the lit. gũna prevails. The old strong form of af is e-yi § 173 vi (1); of gũnaf is gũnẽ-yũ do. (3).

(3) The stems deu-, do- are both used throughout the pres. and impf. except in the 3rd sg. pres.; thus doaf, doy r.m. 76, w.m. 55, deuaf, deuy s.g. 15. In Mn. W. doaf is contracted to dof D.G. 355, L.G.C. 206, 468; this is the usual spoken form, though doa(f) persists in Dyf. dial. The 3rd sg. is daw; also do b.t. 38, dyðau b.b. 32 (≡ w), dyðaw r.p. 1055, l. 16, dyðo ib. l. 23.—O.W. gurthdo gl. obstitit.

(4) The second future of deuaf is a survival, chiefly used in poetry: sg. 1. dybyðaf b.t. 19; sg. 3. diwit (≡ dybyð) b.b. 51, dybit (≡ dybyð) do. 55, dyfyð b.t. 10, dybyð r.p. 1190, dyðbyð b.t. 42, dyðbyðant r.p. 1437, dyri b.t. 72, dybi b.b. 60, dyπi w.m. 478, deubyð b.t. 17, deubi b.t. 3, deuπi b.b. 61; pl. 3. dybyðant b.t. 26.

vi. Perf. and Plup.—(1) In late Mn. W. euthum, gwn euthum, deuthum, are often misspelt aethum, gwnaethum, deethum. In the dialects the 1st and 2nd sg. perf. are mostly replaced by new aorists eĩs, gũneĩs, dōtis on the analogy of eĩs and rheois, also eĩs and gũneĩs ("balbutientium puorum mera sunt barbaries" D. 117).

(2) In Ml. W. the perf. stem of deuaf is deuth- or doeth-; and the 3rd sg. is deuth or doeth. Ml. W. daeth is doubtful; y | daeth b.b. 3 is prob. yd aeth, cf. 97 marg. In the Early Mn. bards the form attested by the rhyme is doeth D.G. 259 (misprinted daeth), 287, as there is no rhyme to dauth the regular Mn. equivalent of Ml. deuth. Late Mn. W. daeth may be dauth h.g. 21 misspelt, as daethant is a misspelling of deuthant. The N.W. dial. form is dōth, 3rd pl. deuθon' or doethon'. In S.W. dāθ is also heard.—Impers. § 175 iv (7).

Dan i ddant eriod ni ddoeth
Ar i enau air annoeth.—D.N., m 136/123.

'Under his tooth there never came on his lips an unwise word.'

(3) The second perf. of af and deuaf is of frequent occurrence in Ml. W. poetry, as athwyf, ethwyg H.O.G. m.a. 1 275, athwyd, ethynt P.M. do. 289, aðwyf C. do. 216, etiw (t≡δ) do. do. 220; dothywff b.b. 79, dotyw (t≡δ) M. w. 1a, dotynt (≡ dothynt) do. do. 3a, ethynt b.b. 33. It is also met with fairly often in Ml. prose: edwyg w.m. 456,
ethyw R.M. 104, dothwyf W.M. 459, dodwyf do. 20, doðyw do. 457, dodynych, dodym do. 475, ethynt R.B.B. 205, but tends in later mss. to be replaced by the first perf.; thus dothwyf W.M. 459 appears as deuthum in R.M. 105; dodwyf W.M. 473 as doeth in R.M. 105. D.G. and his contemporaries continued its use in poetry; afterwards it became obsolete: deddyw D.G. 4, ethyw (misspelt eithiw, euthyw) I.G. 312;

Lliw dydd a ddaw a lle doddyw;  
Llewyth haul ar y llwch yw.—D.G. 321.

'Daylight comes where she has come; she is sunshine on the snow-drift.' It was at this period, when the form was already an artificial survival, that it first appears for gwnaf: gwneddwyf D.G. 115, gwneddwyd do. 102, gwneddyw do. 429, gwneddyw I.C. R.P. 1286. These imitations were shortlived.

(4) Both the first perf. in -th-um and the second perf. in -wyf are probably original for of only. The older perfects of the other verbs are:

\[ gwnaf: \text{sg. 1. gorugum W.M. 226–9;} \text{ sg. 2. gorugost R.M. 192;} \text{ pl. i. gorugam, 3. gorugant W.M. 227, 226;} \text{ sg. 3. goruc of extremely frequent occurrence, goreu surviving in poetry, B.B. 43, M. W. 2a, E.S. m.a. i 349a, guoreu B.A. 35, 38; impers. gorucpwyt W.M. 452 (= gnaethpwyt R.M. 100), W.M. 454, R.M. 101.} \]

\[ dewaf: \text{sg. 2. dywynost W.M. 458 (= doethost R.M. 104);} \text{ sg. 3. dywv W.M. 457 (= doeth R.M. 104), dybu M. W. 1b, 2a;} \text{ pl. 3. dybuant b.t. 6, R.P. 1405, G.B. do. 1192.} \]

(5) In Ml. W. the plup. of all three verbs was formed by means of -oedwm; as doethoed W.M. 17 ‘had come’, athoed W.M. 13, adoed do. 15 ‘had gone’, gwnaethoed do. 30, gwnathoed do. 440, gwnathoedwm s.g. 198, gwnathoedut do. 274; dothoed R.M. 200, daithoed do. 197. These forms are rare in Mn. W.: rhwy-naethoed D.G. 509. The Mn. plup. is a new formation made, as in regular verbs, by adding impf. endings to the perf. stem: gwnaethwn Elzec. xxxi 9, daethwn Matt. xxv 27, aethai Luc viii 2, etc. D. also gives elswon etc.; this formation is used for gwnaf in the Bible: gwnelsei 1 Chron. xxiii 5, gwnelsei 2 Chron. xxxi 6.

vii. Subjunct.—(1) The subjunct. stems are el-, gynel- and del-; as elwyf W.M. 457, delwyf R.M. 131, elych, delych do. 237, gwnelych w.m. 456, delichh B.B. 84, gwneloch W.M. 475, elont R.m. 34, elwynt B.A. 2; elhuw R.B.B. 56, delhei do. 96; elter do. 33.

The peculiarity of the pres. subj. with these stems is that the 3rd sg. lacks the usual ending -o (or -wy); thus a phan el ef... yny el ef W.M. 22 ‘and when he goes... until he goes’, val nat el neb do. 49 ‘so that no one may go’, Y kyn a el, hwnnw a oesir R.B.B. 1063 ‘the chisel that will go, that is the one’ that is hammered, Guledic... a'n gynel in rit (ṭ = y, ṭ̄ = ð) B.B. 40 ‘may the Lord make us free’, y dit y del pwp do. 41 ‘the day when each will come’. So in Mn. W.; thus, expressing a wish: Dêl i'th fryd dalu i'th frawd D.G. 34 ‘may it come to thy mind to repay thy brother’, cf. 341;
I henaint yr ël honno L.G.C. 10 ‘may she go [live] to old age’, cf. 476; Dël amorth ym dàl imit Gr.O. 59 ‘may misfortune come as retribution to me’; in a dependent clause:

Pan ddël y Pasq a'r glasgoed,
Bun a ddaw beunyydd i oed.—D.G. 199.

‘When Easter comes, and the green trees, [my] lady will come daily to the tryst.’ Sometimes in Late W. the ending is added; as gwnelo § 162 i, doed a ddëlo beside doed a ddël ‘come what may come’.

(2) Other forms of the subjunctive occur as follows in Ml. W.:

af : pres. sg. 3. aho r.m. 140; pl. 3. ahont b.t. 17.

gwnaf : pres. sg. 3. gunaho B.B. 70, gunaho b.t. 10, ll. 13, 27; gunech, gunech § 183 iii (1); pl. 3. gwynaont B.B. 61, gwynaon b.t. 34.

deuaf : pres. sg. 1. dybwysf B.P. 1183; sg. 3. dybo ib., dywo do. 584, dyfyo b.t. 10, dyppo B.B. 90, dewo B.A. 6, dydenho, dedeiko b.t. 29; pl. 3. dyfownt M.A. i 136, diffont B.B. 59, 60, deuhont b.t. 3; imperfect sg. 3. dyfie b.t. 3, dyfie do. 13, B.A. 2, dybei b.t. 6.

viii. Impv.—(1) dos ‘go!’ e.g. dos y'r llys w.m. 14 ‘go to the court’. This is the usual meaning; but the original meaning was doubtless, like that of the Corn. and Bret. forms, ‘come’. This is preserved in some parts of Powys to this day; and is sometimes met with in Ml. W.; e.g. dos yma r.m. 176, s.g. 221 ‘come here’.

(2) Ml. W. dyret w.m. 21, r.m. 173, l.l.a. 99, etc.; dabre B.B. 102, w.m. 17, r.B.B. 125, etc.—Mn. W. dyfydd D.G. 41, dyred do. 107, dabre (misprinted debre) D.G. 31, 134, 515, tyred, dyre I.G. 215, Gunna dydd a dyrd, Gwenddydd dec W.II. 83 ‘make an appointment and come, fair Gwenddydd’, Tyrd i'r bwch, tawo di'r bêl I.T. i 133/213 ‘come to the breach, strike thou the ball’, § 44 vi, Dere a'r cafodwydd hyfryd Wms. 273 ‘come with [i.e. bring] the gladsome showers’.

(3) Sg. 3 : aet w.m. 13, 35, elhid B.B. 101, gwynaet r.m. 261, gwynaed w.m. 406, deuet w.m. 186, deuhet r.m. 88, doet w.m. 122.

(4) Pl. 2. : dowch w.b. vi r., W.m. 407, 447, R.m. 261, 292, dowch l.l.a. 126.

ix. Verbal noun.—(1) On myned, mynd, see § 44 vi.

(2) The Ml. and Mn. v.n. of gwaf is gwneuthur. D. 121 also gives gwneuthuod, but this is rarely met with. It is printed in D.G. 107, but is not attested by the cynghanedd. In the dialects a new form gwneud arose; this is in common use in the late period; the earliest example I have noted is in R.N.B.S. 1. (In D.G. 409 gwneud makes a short line, and should be gwneuthur; for it wryn y Meyn arall c.i 200 read wwrw'n y dŵr farwnod arall v 77/158; so wherever gwneud is attributed to an old author.) V.a. gwneuthyrjedic c.c. 114.

(3) The only v.n. of deuaf is dyfod; but the f became v § 26 v, and wo interchanges with wa § 34 iv, hence dywot l.l.a. 80, dywod T.A. A 14976/101, dywod D.G. 306, spelt dowad c.c. 369 (see § 33
iii), beside the original dyfod. The form dywad became dêwad in the dialects, and this is the spoken form both in N. and S.W. But in part of Dyfed a form dôd developed (apparently from *dowod < dywod); this was used by Wms., and has since been in common use, chiefly in verse in free metres.

The noun dovoit w.m. 33 ‘a find’ is a different word, being for do-ovot a.l. i. 94 (also dohotvet [read -ot] ib.) < *dy-gw-vot.

(4) All the forms given in dictionaries, containing the tense stems of these verbs, such as âu, atho, elu, eddu ‘to go’, dawed, dawad, delyd, doddi ‘to come’, gwneyled ‘to do’, are spurious. Silvan Evans misquotes D.G. 306 dywad as an example of dawad, s.v.; but admits that the others do “not occur in the infinitive”! see s.v. delyd.

x. Origin of the forms. (1) af < *azaf: Ir. agaim ‘I drive’, aq<. Lat. ago, Gk. âyw, Skr. ájati ‘drives’. The verb had middle flexion in Brit., cf. e-yt ‘goes’ < *ag-e-tai (‘drives himself, goes’) § 179 iii (1). Hence the perf. euthum < *aktos esmi § 182 iv (1), and the plup. athoeib. (2). For the voicing of th to ð in ëyw, æhoeð see § 108 iv (2). Stokes’s reference of edwyd ‘ivisti’ to ðped- Fick* i 28 (still quoted, e.g. by Walde* s.v. pês) is made in ignorance of the facts.—On dos see (7); on mynet § 100 iv.

(2) The subj. stem el- comes from the synonymous root *elâ-: Gk. elâo ‘I drive’; in the pres. ind. the stem was *ell-, prob. for *el-n-, Thurneysen Gr. 314, as in Ir. ad-ella ‘transit’, di-ella ‘deviat’; in W. *ell-af was driven out by af, but the subj. elwyf remained. W. delwyf is probably, like gwnelwyf an analogical formation. The reason why the 3rd sg. has no -o may be that these forms superseded an old 3rd sg. middle *elhyt and 3rd sg. gwnech which had no -o. The view that gwâl is a re-formation is borne out by the actual survival of gwâch.

(3) The stem of gwnaf is *wrâg-, ùreeg- ‘work’ § 100 i (2). In the pres. and impf. ind., therefore, the flexion was exactly the same as for af, stem *ag-; this led to its being assimilated to af in other tenses. The old root-aor. sg. 1. gwêith, 3. gwêith became gwneuthum, gwenaeth like the perf. of af, § 181 vii (2).—The old perf. of ùreeg-is preserved in the 3rd sg. in Mi. W. guoreu, gorem § 182 ii (1), Mi. Bret. guereu, guerue, guereu.—It does not seem possible to derive goruc from the same root; this occurs as sg. 1. 3. in Corn. gwâk (grâg etc.); it probably represents a synonymous form associated with goruc on account of accidental similarity; possibly < *yer-oik-, ùpeik-: Skr. pêshati ‘carves, adorns, forms, prepares’, pêshak ‘form’ (: Lat. pingo, with -k/ç- altern.); cf. Duw an goruc b.b. 39 ‘God made us’.

(4) The v.n. gwneuthur is for gwneithur g.c. i 2 2, i 2 8, w.m. pp. 93, 94 (p 16), b.c.h. 62 (cf. anghysfreith voneuthur r.p. 1 2 9 6, i.e. vneithur) § 77 viii. The original v.n. was *gwreith < *grek-tu; by the loss of -r- after the initial this became gweth, gweth ‘work’. The form *gwreith occurs, written gueret, in enviwr ith elwir od gwur guereit b.a. 37, which appears elsewhere as enviwr yt elwir oth gynir veithret.
do. 34. l. 4, though the rhyming word is kyvjeith; but weithret is also a genuine variant rh. with kivet ib. l. 9. Possibly the -r- was first lost in the compound *gwreithret by dissim. The -wr added to *gwreith ' work ' may have come from the synonymous llafr < Lat. laborem. The form *gwreithur might easily have become gweithur by dissim. § 102 iii (2), as it was dissimilated to gw ruthy l in Corn. The -n- might spread from this to the verb; but as gyn- is slightly easier than gyr- the change may have taken place in the vb. itself owing to its frequent occurrence. The old v.n. gweith with lost -r- came to be dissociated from the vb., and gweithur remained the only v.n. Ultimately from gwaith ' work ' a new denom. gweithiaf ' I work ' was formed, with gweithio ' to work ' as v.n.—gweith battle < *wikta (: Ir. fíchim ' I fight ', Lat. vinco) is a different word.

(5) deuaf is a compound of the verb 'to be', as seen in the v.n. dy-fod. The prefix is *do- which appears regularly as dy- before a cons.—The pres. is future in meaning, and comes from the fut. *esō; thus *dó esō > *deu, which was made into deu-af § 75 ii (2), so the 2nd sg. ; the 3rd sg. *do eset gave daw or do see ib. The pres. deuaf would be in O.W. *doiwm ; under the influence of 3rd sg. do this became *do-am > Ml. W. doaf; thus deu- and do- became the stems of the pres. and impf.; and deu- was even substituted for dy- in some other tenses as deu-bi for dy-bi, v (4). [Later the 3rd sg. daw was made a stem in S.W. dialects, and dawaf, dawai, etc. occur in late Mss.]

(6) Other tenses contain the b- forms of the vb. 'to be': the fut. dyvò, dyvi, pres. subj. dyvo, dyffò are regular; the perf. might be either dyvu < *do-(bè)-båue or dybu < *do-bbåue; from the latter the -b- spread to other tenses. The perf. dyvu or dybu was supplanted, see vi (4), by a new perf. formed in imitation of aeth but with the vowels of the pres. stems deu-, do-; thus deuth, doeth; and by a new second perf. similarly modelled on édyv, which like édyv itself became obsolete in Ml. W.

(7) The impv. of deuaf was dos, which was transferred to af, see viii (1). The Corn. forms are dus, duses, des, the Bret. is deuz. It is clearly impossible to equate these forms either with one another or with dos. What has taken place is that the vowel of other forms, especially the 2nd pl., has been substituted for the original vowel; thus W. dos after do-uch, Corn. duses after duech, des after do-uch, Bret. deuz after deu-it 'come ye'; a late example is W. dial. (to a child) dows yma 'come here' after douch. This leaves Corn. dus as the unaltered form; dus < *dóstùd < *do estòd : Lat. estòd, estò, Gk. ἔτωθ.

(8) The loss of dos to deuaf was supplied by the impv. of verbs meaning ' come ' from √ reg- : Ir. do-rega ' he will come '; thus dabre < *dabbrigá < *doambi-reg-á; dy-re < *do-riçá < *doreg-á. The forms with -d are generally referred to √ ret- 'run '; but it would be more satisfactory if they could be connected with the above. Ir. tair ' come ' < *to-reg shows *reg- athematic; to athematic stems a 2nd
§ 194. i. (1) dywedaf ‘I say’ has 3rd sg. pres. ind. Ml. W. dyweit I.n.A. 21, Early Mn. W. dywaid. In Late Mn. W. this form is replaced by dywed, which is not so much a re-formate from the other persons as a dial. pron. of dywaid, § 6 iii. (In Gwyn. the dial. form is dyfyd re-formed with the regular affectation as in gweryd : gwaredaf.)

The 3rd sg. dyweit seems to contain the affected form of the R-grade *yat- (*yot-) of the root § 201 i (3); cf. beirv B.B. 101 : berwaft.

(2) The aor. is dywedeis w.m. 10, dywedeist do. 63, dywedassam, etc., which is regular, except that for the 3rd sg. the perf. is used : Ml. W. dywawt R.M. 5, 6, dywot w.m. 6, 7; Early Mn. W. dywawd R.G.E. d. 141, dywad, dywod, dyfod. For these in Late Mn. W. a new formation dywedodd is used; but in Gwyn. dial. dywad, ðwad may still be heard (Rhys, RC. vi 17).

Ni ðdyfod ond yn ddiffalch;
Ni bu na gorwag na balch.—D.N., M 136/123.

‘He spoke only modestly : he was neither vain nor proud.’

The impers. is the perf. dyweswpwt R.M. 90, R.B.B. 10, dywetpwt s.g. 17, Mn. W. dywetpwyd Matt. i 22 (1620). But the aor. dywedwyd is more usual in Mn. W., and also occurs in Ml. W. : dywedwyt I.n.A. 115.

(3) The 2nd sg. impv. is, of course, dywet w.m. 121; Mn. W. dywed. But in Early Mn. verse we sometimes find dywaid, D.G. 355, G.Gr. do. 247, owing to the influence of the irregular 3rd sg. pres. ind.

(4) The v.n. is Early Ml. W. dywedwyd > Ml. W. dywedut § 78 iv (2), written in Mn. W. dywedyd.

In the dialects S.W. gwéud (the vb. also gwedaf), N.W. (dwéud), ðwud, ðwyd, (æ or a).

(6) The verb, with the root-form *uat-, see (1), was used without the prefix *u- before na 'that not', thus gwadaf na 'I say that not, I deny that'. Hence gwadaf came to mean 'I deny', v.n. gwadu, though an objective clause after it is still introduced by na. With neg. di- in Ml. W. diwat w.m.l. 92 'denies'.

Oes a wad o sywedydd,
Lle dël, nad hyfryd liw dydd?—Gr.O. 38.

'Is there an astronomer who will deny that the light of day, where it comes, is pleasant?'


There is also a 3rd sg. pres. subj. gwares seen in gwares Dwu dy anghen r.p. 577 'may God relieve thy want', § 183 iii (1).

(2) gwared < *uo-ret- < *upo- 'under' + *ret- 'run': cf. Lat. succurrro < sub 'under' + curro 'I run';—gwarawt § 182 ii (1).


(2) Perf. sg. 1. dugum w.m. 42; 2. dugost s.g. 246; 3. dwe w.m. 42; pl. 3. dugant c.m. 107, s.g. 246, re-formed as ducant c.m. 59, dugassant s.g. 16. In Mn. W. the 3rd sg. dug (−ū-) remained the standard form, though a new dygodd has tended to replace it in the recent period. But the other persons were re-formed as aorists in the 16th cent., though the older forms continued in use:

Dy wg yn hir y dugum;
O dygais, di-fantais tīm.—W. IL

'Thy resentment have I long borne; if I have borne it, I have been no gainer.'

(3) The compound ymddygaf is similarly inflected: v.n., Mn. W. ymddwyn 'to behave', ymddwyyn 'to bear' § 41 i; perf. sg. 3. ymddug Can. iii 4, in late bibles ymddling (and so pronounced).

(4) dygaf, dug § 182 ii (2); dwyn § 203 iv (3).

am-wyn seems to mean literally ‘fight for’, since it is followed by a ‘with’; as amwyn y gorfwch hun a mi w.m. 122 ‘to fight for this goblet with me’; amwin ae elin terwin guinet b.b. 57 ‘to fight with his enemy for the border of Gwynedd’.

(2) Perf. sg. 3. amuc b.b. 39, b.a. 12, neu-s amuc ae wayw b.a. 11 ‘defended him with his spear’. There is also a form amwyth used intransitively, and therefore prob. a middle form like aeth; as pan amwyth ae alon yn Llech Wen b.t. 57 ‘when he contended with his foes at Ll. W.’—Plp. sg. 3. amucsei r.p. 1044.

(3) am-wog < *mbi-(y)uk-, / peuk- : Lat. pugna, pugil, Gk. πύκνος, πυγμαχος, O.E. feohtan, E. fight.—The perf. amuc with -uc < *pōuke, like déuc § 181 ii (2). The form amwyth prob. represents *amb(i)uktos 'st; as it has the R-grade of the root, it cannot be a root-aorist. The v.n. has -no- suffix § 203 iv (3).—See also § 54 i (1).

The perf. has not been preserved in gorchfygaf ‘I conquer’, Ml. W. gorchfygfyd § 44 ii < *uper-kom-puk-.

v. (1) clywaf ‘I hear’: 3rd sg. pres. ind. clyw w.m. 54; v.n. Ml. W. clybot w.m. 474, clywet G.Y.C. (anno 1282) r.p. 1417, Mn. W. clywed.

(2) Perf. sg. 1. cigleu w.m. 36, 83 = r.m. 23, 60, r.m. 129, b.t. 33; ciglef r.m. 130, 168, w.m. 408, 423 = r.m. 262, 274, c.m. 46, 48; sg. 3. cigleu w.m. 144 = r.m. 214, c.m. 50, s.g. 10, 11, etc. The rest of the tense is made up of aor. forms: sg. 2. clyweist w.m. 230, r.m. 168; pl. 3. clywssont w.m. 33, r.m. 22; impers. clywystwyt l.a. 117, clywspwyty s.g. 246.

In Early Mn. W. the 1st sg. cigleu survived in poetry, see ex., and I.G. 338. But the ordinary Mn. form is clywais D.G. 81. Similarly the 3rd sg. cigleu is replaced by clywodd Luc xiv 15; thus the tense became a regular aor. There is also a Late Ml. and Mn. 3rd sg. clybu s.g. 362, Ex. ii 15, and impers. clybicwyd Matt. ii 18 beside clybicyd Ps. lxxvii 18.

Doe ym nhw rígl y cigleu
Ynglyn aur angel o nef.—D.G. 124.

'Yesterday in danger I heard the golden englyn of an angel from heaven.'

(3) In Early Mn. W. a 2nd sg. impv. degle is found, e.g. G.Gl.
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i. mss. 315; both form and meaning seem to have been influenced by *dyre* (dial. *dere*) 'come!'

Dege'n nes, dwe i liv nyf
Ddeg annerch oddi gennyf.—D.G. 218,

'Lend nearer ear! bring to [her of] the colour of snow ten greetings from me.'

(4) *clywaf*, see § 76 v (2).—*cigleu* § 182 i; the form *ciglef* is the result of adding 1st sg. *-f* to *cigleu* (*euf > ef*); it tends in late mss. to replace the latter; thus *cigleu* w.m. 144 = *ciglef* r.m. 214. The cynghanedd in the example shows that the vowel of the reduplicator is *i* (as it is generally written), and not *y*; hence we must assume original *kū*. The 1st sg. was most used, and prob. gives the form *cigleu.*—*clybot* is probably for *clyw-bot*, cf. *adrnabot* § 191 iv (3).

vi. *goðiweðaf* 'I overtake': v.n. *goðiwes* § 203 iii (7) so in Mn. W., sometimes re-formed in Late W. as *goddiweddyd*.—Perf. sg. 3. *goðiwawð*, see § 182 iii.

Verbs with t-Aorists.

§ 195. i. (1) *canaf* 'I sing': 3rd sg. pres. ind. can b.b. 13 = Mn. W. cán; v.n. canu.—Aor. sg. 1. keint, keintum, 2. ceuintost, 3. cant § 175 iii, § 181 vii (1), imper. canpwyt § 182 iv (4); there are no corresponding forms in the pl. The t-aor. was already superseded in Late Ml. W.; thus sg. 3. *canawð* p.m. 117, Mn. W. canodd; but cant survived in the phrase *X. a'i cant* 'it was] X. who sang it', ascribing a poem to its author, and is often mis-written *cánt* by late copyists § 175 iii (1).

(2) *gwanaf* 'I wound' is similar. Aor. sg. 1. gweint, 3. gwant § 175 iii; Mn. W. gwenaís, gwanodd.

ii. (1) *cymeraf* 'I take', *differaf* 'I protect': 3rd sg. pres. ind. cymer, differ; v.n. kymryt w.m. 8, 9, diffryt r.m. 132, 141.—Aor. sg. 3. kymirth, differth, kemirth (≡ kymyrth) a.l. i 126, diffryth r.m. 139, § 175 iii (1). Beside these, forms in -wy, -ws occur in Ml. W., as kemerrws § 175 i (5), differwys G.B. r.p. 119 i. But *cymerth* survives in biblical W., e.g. Act. xvi 33, beside the usual Late Mn. W. *cymerodd* c.c. 318, Matt. xiii 31.

(2) The v.n. kymryt, Mn. W. *clymryd* c.c. 335, cam-cymryd M.K. [137], has been re-formed as *clymryd*; but the prevailing form in the spoken lang. is *clymryd* Ceiriog o.h. 110 (or *clym'yd*). The translators of the bible adopted *clymeryd*, evidently thinking that it was more
correct than the traditional form.—On the other hand, the verb is sometimes found re-formed after the v.n.; thus kynreist r.g. 1128, cymrodd D.G. 356, cymraes E.P. ps. cxix iii.

§ 196. The following verbs are used in the 3rd sg. only.

(1) Ml. W. dawr, tawr 'matters', impf. dorei, torei, fut. dorbi; also with di-: didawr, didorei, v.n. didarbot. (The -d- is inferred from Early Mn. cynganedd, as deuddyn/diddawr D.G. 37.) The verb is chiefly used with a negative particle and dative infixed pron.; thus ny'm dawr r.p. 1240 'I do not care', literally 'it matters not to me'. It is generally stated to be impersonal; but this is an error, for the subject—that which 'matters'—is often expressed, and when not expressed is understood, like the implied subject of any other verb. Thus, Ny'm tawr i vynet w.m. 437 'I do not mind going'; i is the affixed pron. supplementing 'm, and the subject of tawr is vynet, thus 'going matters not to me'; so, Ny'm dorei syrthaw... nef r.p. 1208, lit. 'the falling of the sky would not matter to me'; odi a'm didawr r.p. 1029 '[there is] scarcely anything that interests me'.

Pathawr (for pa 'th dawr) w.m. 430 'what does [that] matter to thee?' Ny'm torei kyny byðwm w.m. 172 'I should not mind if I were not'. Nyt mawr y'm dawr b.t. 65 'it is not much that it matters to me'; w'i'm dorbi b.b. 60, 62 'it will not matter to me'. Without the dat. infixed pron.: ny didawr, ny dawr eft vo r.p. 1055 'it matters not, it matters not where he may be'.

(2) In Late Ml. W. the subject and remoter object came to be confused in the 3rd sg.; thus nys dawr 'it matters not to him' came to be regarded as, literally, 'he does not mind it', -s 'to him' being taken for 'it'. Thus the verb seemed to mean 'to mind, to care'; as am y korff nys didorei of s.g. 64 'about the body he did not care'; heb didarbot py beth a ðamweinei idaw r.b.b. 225 'without caring what happened to him'.

In Late Ml. and Early Mn. W. this new verb 'to care' came
to be inflected for all the persons; as ny ddoraf D.G. 529 ‘I do not care’, ni ddorwn i do. 296, ni ddawr hi, ni ddorwn do. 174. In spite of this version the phrase ni’m dawr persisted, e.g. D.G. 138, G.Gr. d.G. 248, Gr.O. 57; also o’m dawr ‘if I care’, D.G. 246, G.Gr. ib.

(3) The interchange of t- and d- suggests the prefix *to- : *do- ; the fut. dorði and the v.n. show that the verb is a compound of the verb ‘to be’, the first element originally ending in a consonant, as in adnabod, gywod. Hence we may infer dawr < *dāros’st < *dō-(p)aros est ; *paros : Gk. πάρος, Skr. purāk, all from Ar. *pāros ‘before’; for the development of the meaning cf. Skr. purās kar- ‘place in front, make the chief thing, regard, prefer’; with the verb ‘to be’ instead of ‘to make’ we should have ‘to be in front, to be important, to matter’. The impf. dorei must therefore have been made from the pres. dawr.

The reason for dar- in the v.n. is a different accentuation : *do-áros- > dar- § 156 i (13). The form darbod survives as a v.n. without a verb, meaning ‘to provide’, whence darbodus ‘provident’. This may have been a separate word from the outset, with *pāros meaning ‘before’ in point of time; ‘to be before-hand’ > ‘to provide for the future’. The verb darparaf ‘I prepare’ seems to have the same prefix compounded with *par- : peri ‘to cause’ < *qār-, qārer- ‘make’ influenced by Lat. paro (parātus > W. parod ‘ready’).

From dişawr were formed the abstract noun dîdoraf m.a. ii 346 and the adj. diddorol only occurring in Late Mn. W. and generally misspelt dyddorol ‘interesting’.

ii. (1) Ml. W. dichawn, digawn ‘can’, Mn. W. dichon, is rarely used except in this form, which is 3rd sg. pres. ind.

ny dichawn ef eu gwneuthur l.l.a. 33 ‘which He cannot do’, cf. 34, 35; llawer damwein a digawn bot w.m. 28, b.m. 18 ‘many an accident may happen’.—Chwi ym falch a ddichon fod T.A. A 9817/184 ‘you who may be proud’. Ni ddichon neb wasanaethu dau arglwydd Matt. vi 24.

Llawer a ddichon taer-weddi y cyfawn Iago v 16.

A subjunct. 3rd sg. occurs in kyn ny ṣigonho y gerê hon w.m. 488 ‘though he does not know this craft’. In g.c. 138 we find nas dichonaf vi ac nas dichonwn pei ‘that I cannot [do] it, and could not if . . . .’

The form dichyn M.K. [ix.] is an artificial re-formation which was in fashion for a time, and then disappeared.

(2) dichon, dichawn < *dígawm < Brit. *dí-gēgāne ; digawn < Brit. *dí-ɡ’gāne ; < Ar. perf. sg. 3. *gēgâne : Gk. γέγονα ‘I make known’; for meaning cf. Eng. can : √ genē ‘know’.—W. gogoniant ‘glory’ orig. ‘*fame’ < *yō-g’gān-.
(3) A stem of the same form (usually with -g-) is inflected throughout in O. and Mn. W. in the sense of ‘cause to be, do, make’, v.n. digoni M.A. i 359.

Ind. pres. sg. 2. digonit B.B. i 19 (≡ digonyd); aor. sg. i. digoneis M.A. i 271a, sg. 2., 3. dicones JUV. SK., 3. digones B.T. 40, dichones M.A. i 273a, impers. digonet w.m. 477; plup. sg. 3. digonesi B.T. 24; subj. pres. sg. i. dichonyf M.A. i 271a.

(4) This seems to come from √geno- ‘cause to be, give birth to’, of which the pf. was sg. i. *gegonα, 3. *gegonē : Skr. r. jajāna, 3. jajāna, Gk. i. γέγονα. Whether the two roots are originally the same has not been decided. If the original meaning was something like ‘to be efficient’, it might have become i. ‘to produce, give birth to’, 2. ‘be master of, understand’.

(5) Mn. W. digawn, Mn. W. digon ‘enough’ may have originated in phrases such as digawn hynny ‘that will do’ understood as ‘that [is] enough’; cf. digawn a bodet yman R.M. 14. From digon ‘enough’ a new verb was made in Mn. W., digonaf, v.n. digoni ‘to suffice’.

iii. Mn. W. deryw, Mn. W. darfu § 190 i (2).


Other persons are found: gwedde,-wyf L.A. 122, gweddynt Gr.O. 63. gwedda is a denom. from gwedd ‘appearance’ < *uid-ā § 63 iv.


Ny thykya ū neb ymlit yr unbennes w.m. i 4 ‘it avails no one to pursue the lady’; the subj. is ymlii; thus ‘pursuing avails not’.

tycia is a denom. from tieg : √teus-, see § 111 v (2); but the -e in the pres. is caused by the -h- of -ha.


A’r lludw gorff, lle daw ū gyt,
Ŷ’r lludw arall lle deiryt.—G.V., R.P. 1299.

‘And [I commend] the body of dust, where it will all come, to the other dust where it belongs.’

The last syll. -yt may be the 3rd sg. mid. ending § 179 iii (1); this would explain the limitation of the vb. to the 3rd sg. In that case deirydei is a re-formation, and the prefix and stem are deir-<*do-gr-; the root may be *gher- ‘hold’ (: Lat. co-hors); thus deiryt from *do-ghretai ‘holds himself to’.
vii. metha gan 'fails', synna ar 'is astonished':

Pan fethodd genni' ddyfeisio b.c. 15 'when I failed to guess', lit. 'when guessing failed with me'; metha gan y buan ddiwnc Amos ii 14; synnawd arnaf D.G. 386 'I was astonished at', synnodd arnynt Matt. xiii 54.

These verbs began to take the person for the subject in the Late Mn. period; as synnodd pawb Mare ii 12. The transition stage is seen in synnodd arno wrth weled Act. viii 13, where weled is no longer, as it should be, the subject; the next step is synnodd ef; then synnais, etc., in all persons.

Other verbs are used in a similar way in the 3rd sg., but not exclusively; hiraethodd arno 'he longed'; llawenhaodd arno 'he was rejoiced'; lleshaodd iddo 'profited him'; gorfu arno or iddo 'he was obliged'; perthyn iddo or arno 'belongs to him'; digwyddodd iddo 'it happened to him', etc. The subject is usually a v.n.: digwyddodd iddo syrthio 'he happened to fall'; gorfu arno fynd 'he was obliged to go'.

§197. i. The verb genir 'is born' is used in the impersonal only; ind. pres. (and fut.) genir, impf. genid, aor. ganed, also Late Mn. W. ganwyd, plup. Ml. ganadoed, ganydoed, ganyssit, Mn. ganasid; subj. pres. ganer; v.n. geni.

Although the forms, except in the pres., are, as in other verbs, passive in origin, they take the impers. construction, being accompanied by objective pronouns. The v.n. takes the obj. gen.: cyn fy geni 'before my birth', lit. 'before the bearing of me'.

genir, ganer, ganet W.A. 37, genii, geni do. 11, ganadoed H.M. ii 263, ganydoed R.B.B. III, ganyssit do. 286.

A 3rd. sg. aor. genis 'begat' occurs in c.m. 19, in a translation, and is prob. artificial.

ii. genir < Brit. *gan-i-re < *gānē-, √genē- : Lat. gigno, Gk. γίγνομαι, etc. The ganad- in the plup. is the perf. pass. part. *ganatos < *gānō-to-s; prob. -yd- is due to the anal. of ydoedd.

§198. i. Ml. W. heb yr, heb y, or heb 'says, said' is used for all persons and numbers; the yr or y is not the definite article, as it occurs not only before proper names, but before pronouns. The Mn. W. forms corresponding to the above are ebr, ebe, eb. In Recent W. the form ebe (with -e for Ml. y §16 iv (2)) is sometimes wrongly written ebai, the -e being mistaken for a dialectal reduction of the impf. ending -ai §6 iii.

Oes, arglwyd, heb yr ynteu w.m. 386 'Yes, lord, said he'; heb yr ef ib. 'said he'; heb yr wyn do. 185 'said they'; heb yr Arthur do. 386 'said A.'; heb y mi do. 46 'said I'; heb y pawb do. 36 'said every-
body’; heb y Pwyll do. 4 ‘said P.’; heb ef do. 2 ‘said he’; heb ynteu do. 3 ‘said he’; heb hi do. 10 ‘said she’; heb wynt do. 27 ‘said they’; etc. Its use without an expressed subject is rare, and occurs chiefly where it repeats a statement containing the subject: Ac yna y dynnaf Beuno, mi a welaf, heb. M.L. 126 ‘And then Beuno said, “I see,” said [he]’; A gafyn a owc iâw, arghwyd, heb. R.M. 179 ‘and he asked him, “lord,” said [he]’; heb ef .. heb. R.M. 96.

Mn. W. (N.W.) eb ni Ps. cxxxvii 4 (1588), eb ef B.C.W. 8 ‘said he’, eb yr angel ib. ‘said the angel’, ebr ef do. 10, ebr ynteu do. 15, eb ef M.K. [1], heb ef do. [20]; (S.W.) ebe Myrddin D.P.O. 4, eb un do. 97, ebe I.M.S. 154 ff. The N.W. dial. form ebr, e.g. ebr fi B.C.W. 10, etc. is now re-formed as ebra.

Yn ol Siôn ni welais haul,
‘Since [I have lost] Siôn I have not seen the sun, said the bright Star of Powys.’

ii. C. used hebaf and hebou, see ex.; P.M. imitating him (the two poems are addressed to father and son) wrote ny hebwn hebod m.a. i 294 ‘I would not speak without thee’.

Ti hebaf nyt hebu oed teu;
Mi hebot ny hebaf inn eu.—C., R.P. 1440.
‘Thou without me—it was not thy [wont] to speak; I without thee—I will not speak either.’


iii. In O.W. only hepp m.c. (≡ heb § 18 i) occurs, before a consonant in each case. In M.L. heb yr and heb occur before vowels, and heb y before consonants. Assuming that the original form in W. was *hebr, this would become either *hebr or heb before a consonant; the former would naturally become hebyr, later heby; this seems to be the sound meant by heb y, the y being written separately because sounded y as in the article. Before a vowel *hebr would remain, and is prob. represented by heb yr (the normal Ml. spelling would be hebyr ≡ hebyr). In S.W. heb and heby survived, becoming eb, ebe; in N.W. heb and hebr, becoming eb and ebr.

If the above is correct, the original *hebr must be from a deponent form with suffix *-re added directly to the root; thus *seq*-re, √ seq*- ‘say’; cf. giyrr § 191 iii (1). In the face of the compound ateb = Ir. aithesc, both from Kelt. *ati-seq*-, Strachan’s statement, Intr. 97, that heb ‘says’ is of adverbial origin seems perverse. A sufficient
ACCIDENCE

§ 199. i (1) meddaf ‘I say’ is inflected fully in the pres. and
impf. ind. only: 3rd sg. pres. medd, impers. meddir ‘it is said’.
There is no v.n.

Exx. i. Med scint Austin ii.a. 42 ‘St. Augustine says’; 2. með
yr ystorya do. 129 ‘says the account’; 3. Dicor, heb y kennadeu, Teg,
með Pryderi oed yr gwr... w.m. 88 ‘By Heaven,” said the
messengers, “Pryderi says it would be fair for the man...’’;
4. Edyrn wab Nuð yw, með ef; nyt atwen inheu ef r.m. 259 ‘He says
he is Edyrn son of Nudd; but I don’t know him’; 5. Blawt, meðei
y Gwydel w.m. 54 ‘Flour,” said the Irishman’; 6. Broch, meðent
wynteu do. 24 ‘A badger,” said they’.

Mn. W.: medaf I.F. l.mss. 319, Col. i 20; meddi Ioan viii 52;
medd M.K. [20]; meddant 2 Cor. x 10.

(2) In the recent period medd has tended to take the place of eb,
and has almost ousted it in the dialects. But in Ml. W. the two are
distinct: heb is used in reporting a conversation, and is therefore of
extreme frequency in tales; með is used in citing authors, as in exx.
1., 2., or in quoting an expression of opinion as in ex. 3., or an
answer not necessarily true, as in exx. 4., 5., 6. Hence we may infer
that með originally meant ‘judges, thinks’, and is the original verb
corresponding to medol ‘thought’: Ir. midiu’r ‘I judge, think’, Lat.
meditor, √med-, allied to √mē- ‘measure’.—To express ‘think’
a new verb medylýaf, a denom. from medol, was formed, § 201 iii (6).

(3) The verb meddaf ‘I possess’ is however conjugated regu-
larly throughout: 3rd sg. pres. ind. medd, 3rd sg. aor. meddodd
W.m. c.m. 105, v.n. meddu.

This verb is unconnected with the above, and probably comes from
√med- ‘enjoy’; Skr. māḍati ‘rejoices’ (from the sense of ‘refreshing’
comes ‘healing’ in Lat. medecor, medicus). W. meddaf is often
intrans., followed by ar; meddu ar ‘to rejoice in, be possessed of’.
A common saying is Mae hun yn well i feddu arno ‘this is better to
give satisfaction’, lit. ‘to have satisfaction on it’.
ii. (1) The verb *dlyaf* (2 syll.) *dlyaf* (3 syll.) 'I am entitled to, obliged to' is conjugated fully in Ml. W. : 3rd sg. pres. ind. *dlyw*, 3rd sg. aor. *dlyawd* l.A. 15, v.n. *dlyw, dleu, dlyw*. But in Mn. W. the inflexion is restricted to the impf. and plup. ind. with the meaning 'I ought', more rarely 'I deserve', and the v.n. is not used.

D.G. has *dlyy* 28; elsewhere the impf. *dlywn, dlyai* (misprinted *dyleuaf, dlyai*) 35 'I deserve, she deserves'; *Nd ddylyfut ddil-e-u* (misprinted *Ond ni ddyllit*) 427 'thou oughtest not to destroy'. The 3rd sg. *dylai* became *dylâi* § 82 ii (3), also without the intrusive *y, dlâi*. Hence sg. 1. *dylâwn, 2. dylâut*. These forms may still be heard from old speakers; but in the Late Mn. period a re-formed tense *dylwn*, etc. has come into use; and the written form is *dylun* 2 Cor. ii 3, *dylit* Es. xlviii 17, *dylei* Ioan xix 7, *dylem, i Ioan iv 11, etc. The plup. in any case would be *dylasun* 2 Cor. xii 11, etc.—In the early 17th cent. an artificial sg. 3. *dyl* was sometimes used.

_Gwirion a ddlae a drugaredd_;  a _ms. *ddylae_.
_Gwae'r ferch a'i gyro'i'w fæd._—D.E., c 49/33.

'The virtuous deserves mercy; woe to the woman who sends him to his grave.' On -ae for -âi see § 52 iii (3).

(2) The first *y* in *dlyaf* is intrusive, and comes from *dlyw* § 40 iii (3). Related forms are Ml. W. *dlyyet, dlyet* 'merit; debt', Mn. W. *dyléd D.W. 8c, dîéd T.A. a 14967/29 'debt', § 82 ii (3); the latter is the Gwyn. dial. form; late Mn. *dyled*; Bret. _dle_ 'debt', _dleout_ 'devoir'; Ir. _dleigim_ 'I deserve, _dleiged_ law, right'; all these may represent either _*dleig- or *dlig- in Kelt._ : Goth. _dylgs_ 'debt' < _*dhlegh-, O.Bulg. _dlûgû_ 'debt'; the underlying meaning is 'to be due, or lawful' either 'to' ('merit') or from ' (debt)'; hence _*dhlegh- 'law_' . There is nothing to prevent our inferring to such a root O.E. _læg-, E. law, and Latin _lîx (ỉlex, Sommer 293), if for the latter we assume _-gh/g- § 101 iii (1)._
ii. *hwde is not used for 'take' generally, but is an exclamation accompanying an offer, cf. Gwell un *hwde no deu aðaw B.B. 968 'better one "take this" than two promises'; hence possibly *hw for *hwy § 78 ii < *s(u)oi 'for (thy) self', the reflexive *sye- being used orig. for all persons. In that case -dy or -de is the ordinary affixed pron. (= B.B. -de, § 160 iv (3), used because *hw was taken for a verb), or is perhaps voc.; *hwdy *di then is *hw dydi. The S.W. *hwre is late, M.L. ii 108 (not by him, see do. 319).

moes < *moi estō(d) § 75 ii (2) 'be it to me', i.e. 'let me have it'; cf. est mihi 'I have'. If so, i mi 'to me' after it is redundant; but its frequent omission makes this probable.

**Verbal Stems.**

§ 201. i. The pres. stem of the W. verb, from which in regular verbs the aor. and subj. stems can be regularly deduced, may be called the stem of the verb. It is found by dropping the -af of the 1st sg. pres. ind. The ending -af, as we have seen, comes from Brit. *-ame for unaccented *-âmi, which is sometimes original, and represents Ar. *-â-mi or *-ô-mi; but -af was often substituted for -if < Brit. *-î-me < Ar. *-ê-mi, and for the affection caused by Brit. *-û < Ar. *-ô, the ending in thematic verbs. The W. verbal stem represents—

1. F-grade of √, as in cymer-af 'I take', ad-fêr-af 'I restore', <v bêr- : Lat. fero, Gk. φέρω. So rhêd-af 'I run', gwared-af 'I succour', eh-af 'I fly', etc.

2. F°-grade of √, as in gwan-af 'I wound' < *gwon-, Ir. gôn, <g >hen- : Gk. φονάω. So pôb-af 'I bake', a-gor-af 'I open' § 99 vi, etc.

3. R-grade of √, as in dyg-af 'I bring' < *dük- § 182 ii (2); also V-grade, as in co-sp-af 'I punish', Ir. co-sc-aim < *con-sq% ('talk with'), √ seq%. 'say'. (Though in rho-dd-af 'I give' the dd appears to be V-grade of √dô, in reality -ddaf represents Ar. *-ô-mi with F-grade, as in Gk. δόμωμι.)

4. R-grade of √ with n-inf., as in gann-af 'I am contained' < *gnōn- § 173 iv (1), √ ghed- : E. get; and in gwnn 'I know' < *wînd-, < gcd- § 191 iii (1).—W. prynaf 'I buy' < *qîrânâ-mi, √ qîreîā- § 179 iii (1). The infix comes before the last cons. of the root, and is syllabic (¬ne) before a sonant; the last cons. in *qîreîâ- is q (a = a), and before the syllable is na- § 63 ν (2), hence *qîrânâ-; cf. Gk. Dor. δάμαι, √ ἀμαῖ.

5. R-grade of √ + i, as in seinû-af 'I sound' < *st.n-i, √ sten-; sain 'a sound' is an old v.n., cf. darstain 'to resound' § 156 i (13).

6. V-grade of √ + *û > W. -yô-, as in b-yô-af § 189 iv (1); and gweinyô-af R.P. 1244 'I serve', 3rd sg. gweinyô do. 1238, gweinyôd...
1254 < *yo-<gn-<i>, √ <genê-, § 196 ii (4); the v.n. is gweini < *yo-
<gnim- § 203 vii (4). These represent Ar. iteratives and causatives in
éitesse ( : ː-ː-ː).

(7) R-grade of √ + *-isq- > W. -ych-, as llewych-af (late corruption
llewyrchaf) < *luq-isk-, √ lleug/g- : Gk. -w-σκω; — F-grade of √ + *-sq-
kvęczū 'I invite', O. Pruss. quoĩ 'he will', Lat. vis, O. Lat. vois 'thou
wishedest', Lat. invitus, (qu > Lat. v), Gk. κοιτάι γνώσκων ἑπιθυμεῖν Hes.
— Ar. suff. *-sq-.

(8) Other Ar. stem-forms, mostly deverbatives and denominatives,
asuch as -d- or -dh- stems, as rhatheaf, rhatheu § 91 ii; -t- stems, as
gadaf 'I leave' < *gyo-t- ii (2); -y- stems, as (gyr)andawaf 'I listen'
§ 76 iii (1); stems with -m-, as tyfaf 'I grow' < *tu-m- : Lat. tumeo,
√ τευκάω 'increase'; etc.

ii. (1) Many verbs are denominatives formed from the v.n. as
stem. Old examples are gafaelaf 'I take hold' from v.n. gafael
§ 188 iv; gwasaenaethaf 'I serve' from v.n. gwasaanaeth 'to serve';
as the latter was also an abs. noun meaning 'service', a new v.n.
gwasaanaethu was made from the verb, § 203 i (1); ymddir(i)edaf
'I trust' from v.n. ymddir(i)ed ; andawaf from anlaw i (8); cadwaf
etc. § 202 v. For later examples see (3).

(2) (a) The verb gadaf 'I leave, let, permit', v.n. gadu, gadael,
gadel has a doublet adawaf 'I leave, leave behind', v.n. adaw (in
Late Mn. and Mn. W. gadawaf, v.n. gadaw, gado). The two verbs
are conjugated regularly throughout; thus—

1. gadaf : 3rd sg. pres. ind. gad, 2nd sg. impv. gad, 2nd pl. do.
gedwch, 3rd sg. pres. subj. gato подобr R.P. 1271; na at R.P. 1299
> nat do. 1216, Mn. W. nàd 'let not', na ato > nato 'forbid'; from
these we have nadaf 'I forbid', v.n. nadu c.c. 187, Card. nadel.

Och arglwyd, heb y Gwalchmei, gat y mi wynet ... As adu a wnaeth
Arthur r.m. 181 'Alas lord,' said G., 'let me go.' And A. let
him.' Ny adei ef hun vyth ar legat dyn w.m. 465 'he never left
sleep on eye of man.' Ym-àd a P.G. 22 'forego', impv.

Gvedd owyn, cyd gweddwyf,
Gadu or Dduw rannu 'r wyf.—D.G. 17.

'[Maid of] the colour of foam, though I pray, I leave it to
God to dispose.'

Ac ato'dd awn bêt'm getid.—G.Gl. p 83/59.

'And to him would I go, if I were allowed.'

Nad i ferch newidio f'oes.—D.G. 295.

'Let not a woman change my life' (I read niweidio 'mar').

2. adawaf: 3rd sg. pres. ind. edeu, Mn. W. eddy, 2nd sg. impv. adaw, 2nd pl. edewch, Mn. W. gadëwch, 3rd sg. pres. subj. adowo, etc.

Adaw ti y lle hunn illa. 105 ‘leave thou this place’. Ac yn y llestriyr yd ymholcho yd edeu y modrwyreu w.m. 475 ‘and in the vessel in which she washes she leaves her rings’. hyt nat edewis ef wr byw do. 54 ‘till he left no man alive’. A el y chwara adawet y groen r.b. 965 ‘who goes to play let him leave his skin behind’.

gadaf is itself prob. an old denom., i (8), from *gëd-t., *gëh-: Skr. jahati ‘leaves’, Lat. he-rês, Gk. χέδος. adawaf is a denom. from adaw, which may be an ad-compound of the same root with y- verbal noun suffix § 202 v (1); thus *ati-gëd-y- > Brit. *ate-gau- > ad-aw. Initial g- begins to appear in adaw in the 14th cent.: gëdewis illa. 106.

The verb gadaf is in common use in the spoken lang., but recent writers seem to think that it is a corruption of gadawaf, and in late edns. of the Bible gëdëwch l.c. has been changed by vandals to gadëwch.

(6) cyfodaf ‘I rise, raise’, v.n. cyfodi, is generally reduced in Mn. W. to codaf, codi (cyfod- > cywod- > co-wod- > cod-). But in lit. W. the 3rd sg. pres. ind. cyfyd Matt. xvii 23, and 2nd sg. impv. cyfod Gen. xxxi 13, remained. In the recent period however, a dial. form cywêd (< *çw|êd < cywêd) is sometimes used for the former, and even as impv., e.g. Ceiriog c.G. 94.

In Gwyn. the dial. forms are cyfyd ‘rises’, çw|ad ‘rise! ’ the latter now being replaced by a new cod from the vb. stem.

cyf-od-af < *kom-(p)ot-, √pet- ‘fly’: Gk. πτηνή, πτημα, O. Pers. ud-a-pataá ‘rises’; cyf-od- orig. ‘rise’ (of birds, bees, etc.). The √ also means ‘to fall’ Walde 573, hence W. od-i ‘to fall’ (of snow), as Ottid eiry b.b. 89 ‘snow falls’; hence od ‘snow’.

(3) In Mn. W., especially in the late period, some verbs have been re-formed with the v.n. as stem; thus arhosaf became arhosaf § 187 ii; adeilaf became adeiladaf § 203 iii (1); ollheaf ‘I trace’, v.n. olrhaen § 203 iv (1), became ollrheiniaf; and darllôaf ‘I read’ became darlENNaf, or darllenaf, formed from the dial. v.n. darllen, for the standard form darlllein, darllain.

As there is no early evidence of darllen it cannot be assumed to be from llen < llen < Lat. legend-. darlENNaf instead of *darlLEiniaf may be due to the influence of ysgrifennaif. But in S.W. it is sounded darllenaf with single -n-, as if influenced by llen. In the 1620 Bible the vb. is darlENNaf Dan. v 17, but impv. darlllain Es. xxix ii, darlllein Jer. xxxvi 6, v.n. darllen Act. viii 30.
iii. The stems of denominatives are formed in W. either without a suffix, or with the suffixes -ych-, -yg-, -ha-, -ho- or -i; thus—

(1) Without a suffix: bwyd-af 'I feed', v.n. bwyd-o, from bwyd 'food'; meddiant-af 'I take possession', v.n. -u, from meddiann 'possession'; pur-af 'I purify', v.n. -o, from pur 'pure'; arfog-af 'I arm', v.n. -i, from arfog 'armed'.

(2) Suff. -ych- as in brad-ych-af 'I betray', v.n. bradychu, from brad 'treason'; chwenychaf 'I desire', v.n. chwenychu Il.a. 13, whenychu R.B.B. 89, chwenych D.G. 91, from chwant 'desire'; tweych-af 'I fatten', v.n. -u, from tew 'fat'; on the suff. see i (7).

The relation between this and the abstr. noun ending -wch § 143 iii (23) is seen in pas 'cough' < *qʰwst- (: O.E. hwōst), pesychaf 'I cough', pesychu 'to cough', peswch 'coughing'; the last is a suffixless v.n., and is still used as a v.n. in S.W. dialects. Ar. *-isq->*-qʰX > -wch § 96 iii (4), § 26 vi (5).

diolwch 'to thank' w.m. 11, 'thanks' do. 34, became diolch 'to thank' R.B.B. 134, 'thanks' do. 10, and *diolychaf 'I thank' became diolchaf w.m. 94 even earlier; diolwch < *dj̥-jël-isq-: W. dölaf 'I praise', v.n., ioli, eirjolaf 'I entreat', v.n. eirjaul < *ar-jël-; Kelt. *jël- 'speak fervently' < Ar. *jarel- 'fervent': Gk. ἡθος, Dor. ἓθος 'zeal'.

(3) Suff. -yg-, as in gwaethyg-af 'I become worse', v.n. -u, from gwaeth 'worse'; mawryg-af 'I extol', v.n. -u, from mawr 'great'.

The suff. is prob. a variant of -ych- after th, ll, cf. -wq § 143 iii (23). The stem-form of Ml. W. gweltyglyaw from gwalt 'defect' has been influenced by the synonymous diffyglyaw < Lat. dé-fici-.

(4) Suff. -ha-; the -h- unvoiced -b, -d, -g, and often -f, -ð § 111 iii. It has various uses:

(a) 'to seek', added to nouns, forming v.n.'s without a v.n. ending: cardöta 'to beg' (cardod 'charity'); blöta 'to beg meal' (blawd 'meal'); cica 'to beg meat' (cig 'meat'); yta 'to beg corn' (ydd 'corn'); pysgöta 'to fish' (pysgod 'fish'); cnaua 'to gather nuts' (cnau 'nuts'); adára 'to go bird-catching' (adar 'birds'); cynúta 'to gather fuel' (cynnuad 'fuel'); llygöta 'to catch mice' (llygod 'mice'); gwareíca 'to seek a wife' (gwareig 'wife'); llófa 'to glean' (llaw(f) 'hand'), etc. None of these has a corresponding verb, § 204 i; but many have a nomen agentis in -hái, as blóttai, cynútalai § 143 iv (2).

These forms are proper compounds of noun stems with *sag-<*sag-,
ACCIDENCE § 201

\[\sqrt{sag} : \text{Ir. saigim 'I seek', Goth. sēkjan, E. seek;} \text{ thus } *\text{mlāto-sag-} \Rightarrow *\text{blod-ha-} \Rightarrow \text{biota.} \text{ The noun suff. }-\text{hai} < *\text{sgiō 'seeker'} \text{ '§ 104 ii (2).} \]

(6) 'to go as, act as', in Ml. W. marchokaaf 'I ride', marchockingard s.g. 34, marchocawn do. 35; v.n. marchogaiti do. i, 35. A variant of the verb is formed without a suff.: marchogaf, 3rd sg. pres. subj. marchoco a.l. i 24, imps. marchoccer do. 264, also with v.n. marchogayth ib.

Brit. *markákos agáme 'I go as rider', treated as one word, gave *marchoghažaf > marchogáaf. But the v.n. was a proper compound *markák-aktä > *markákāktä > marchogaeth 'to ride'. In Dyfed a new v.n. was formed from the vb. stem: marchocáu, now corrupted to brochgáu. (*aaf implies active flexion, but the vb. was orig. middle.)

(c) 'to become, be' with adjectives; as gwanhaf 'I become weak', v.n. gwanháu; cryfhaf 'I become strong', v.n. cryfháu, dial. cryffáu; trugarhaf 'I am merciful, have mercy', v.n. trugarháu, from trugar; etc.

Brit. *yaannos agáme 'I go weak' > *yaannos-agame > W. gwanháaf. Where a vowel drops before s, the latter remains as h, cf. § 183 ii (2). It is a common usage to stereotype the nom. sg. mas. in such phrases; cf. Lat. potis sumus, not *potēs sumus, and Skr. pl. i. dātāsmas instead of dātārah smas following the sg. dātāsmi 'I shall give' < dātā asmi 'I am a giver.'—W. parhaf 'I continue' (v.n. parháu, pāra) < Brit. *paros-agame 'I go on the same' < Lat. par.

(d) 'to make' with adjectives; glanhaf 'I clean', v.n. glanháu; gwvastatáf 'I flatten, straighten', v.n. gwvastatáu; cadarnhaf 'I strengthen', v.n. cadarnháu.

Brit. *glanosagáme > W. glanháaf. The nom. sg. mas. was used because it had been stereotyped in this form of phrase in group (c).

To this group should probably be referred difėthaf 'to mar, spoil' < *di-fið-ha 'to make unusable, unenjoyable', "med- 'enjoy', § 199 i (3). The verb was difetháaf, see difetha-awd R.B.B. 394, diffēthe-eist W.M. 29, diffētha-era W.M.L. 137 (old ff for f § 19 ii (2)); it is now re-formed as difethaf, though the v.n. remains unchanged.

(e) 'to use', etc., with nouns; as dysfrhaf 'I water', v.n. dysfrháu; coffaf 'I remember', v.n. coffáu or coffa; bwytáf 'I eat', v.n. bwytáu.

Gwyn. dial. býta < O.W. bit juv., Ml. W. byd b.B. 84, variant of byyd § 101 iii (2).—This group follows the analogy of (b) as (d) does that of (c).

- Similar formations abound in Ir., Thurneysen Gr. 314; but Ir.
does not help us to decide the orig. forms, as intervocalic -s- simply drops in Ir. The combination goes back beyond Prim. Kelt.; in Lat. it is a proper compound : mitigāre, rēmigāre, nāvigāre, etc.


W. paratōaf < *parad-hō-as < *parāto-sod- ‘set ready’ < Lat. parātus + *sod-, √ sed- § 63 ii; cf. arhōaf § 187 iii; see also § 74 i (r).

(6) Suff. -i-, this is added to nouns, and is largely used: taniaf ‘I fire’ (tán ‘fire’); glaniaf ‘I land’ (glan ‘shore’); soniaf ‘I mention’ (són ‘rumour’); meddyliaf ‘I think’ (meddwl ‘thought’); rhodiaf ‘I go about’ (rhawd ‘course’); etc.

This is the Ar. denominative suff. *-ia-, as seen in Skr. apas-yā-ti ‘is active’ from apas- ‘act’; Gk. τελεω (<*ṭeλεωs) from τέλεο-; δηνώ (<*dηνο-ω) from δηνο-; etc., Meillet, Intr. § 183.

In old formations the -j- of course affects the preceding vowel in W.; thus niweidiaf ‘I injure’: niwed, Ml. W. er-nwyed w. 48a, § 76 iv (4); peidjaf, v.n. peidjo ‘to cease, be quiet’ < Brit. pat-<*p̣at(j)œ-t-, √ poiē-: Lat. quies.

In W. the suff. is not added to adjectives. But -ai-, Ml. -ei- in the ult. may be caused by the i of the lost adjectival ending *-ios; and the j is kept in the vb.; thus disglair ‘bright’ < *dē-eks-kil(j)arjós (; celaer < *klijaros § 75 vi (1)); hence W. disgleirjaf ‘I shine’, v.n. disgleirjo. From these forms it was extended to other adjectives with -ei- as perfeithi, perfeitiyav from perfeith < Lat. perfectus; and with -i-, as gwirjo ‘to verify’ from gwir § 35 iii (but cywiro from cywir).

The suffix is generally used in verbs borrowed from Eng.; thus pasi 꾽 ‘I pass’, passiød Can. ii 11; peintyaw ‘to paint’ (§ 16 v (2)); ystopiaw s.g. 72 ‘stopped’. In some cases two forms are used; thus ffaelywaw s.g. 285 ‘to fail’, beside ffaelu do. 348, the latter being the treatment of native words with -ae-; both forms are still in use. So helpio and helpu.

**VERBAL NOUNS.**

§ 202. i. (1) The v.n. often consists of the stem of the verb with no ending: ateb ‘to answer’, vb. atebaf; edrych ‘to look’, vb. edrychaf; dangos ‘to show’, vb. dangosaf; adrodd ‘to recite’, Ml. W. adrawd, vb. adroddaf; anfon ‘to send’, vb. anfonaf; bwyta ‘to eat’, vb. bwyta-af etc.; Ml. and Early Mn. W. ffo § 223 i (2), Late ffoi ‘to flee’.

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(2) This form implies a lost monosyllabic ending, most probably neut. *-*os as in Gk. γέω-os, Lat. gen-us; thus ateb <*ati-seq-*os. The loc. *-*s-i of this gives the Lat. inf. -ere; thus O. Lat. genere 'gignere' = genere abl. of genus, Brugmann's II i 525. The W. v.n. may be acc., in which case it often stands, as gallaf ateb 'I can answer'. But it may also be nom. as ateb a wnaf 'I take the oath' answer that I will do'. The word is the same as the abstr. noun ateb 'an answer'; and perhaps need not be assumed to come from an oblique case.

(3) The verb travaf H.M. ii 252 has 3rd sg. pres. ind. tereu B.B. 63, and v.n. taraw H.M. ii 253. The vowel in the first syll. of these two forms is probably intrusive § 40 iii (3); it does not occur in the other forms of the verb in Ml. W.: trawei w.m. 24, R.M. 15; trewis w.m. 80, 90, R.M. 58, 66, C.M. 18; travawô s.g. 18, travysant do. 31, trawysf do. 61; trawher w.m.l. 3, trawhet do. 29. The Late Ml. tarawaf, tarawid are artificial; the natural forms are still travaf, traviad. If the etymology travaf =>*trug-ämi (ru<ur) § 97 v (3) is correct, it does not admit of a vowel between the t and r.

(4) Many verbs which seem to have suffixless v.n.'s are denomina-
tive forms from the v.n. § 201 ii (1), (3), and v (1) below.

ii. The ordinary endings used to form verbal nouns are -u;
-o, Ml. -aw; -i.

-u and -aw represent forms of v.n.'s of verbs of the a conjugation.—
-u <*-*ã-, prob. < loc. *-*ã-yen (or nom.-acc. *-*ã-yn): Skr. dat. dā-vañ-e, Gk. Cypr. δο-φελ-αι, Att. δονων; (/*-*ã-yos is also possible, with the suff. of byw § 204 ii (5); but this is a rarer form).—-aw for *-*aw(f) < loc. *-*ã-men (or nom.-acc. *-*ã-ma); see § 203 ii (4); but Ir. has also -mu-
§ 203 vii (4), and -mã-, beside -mçe- flexion.

-i belongs to the i conjugation; the O.W. form was -im (≡ -ið)
§ 110 iii (5); hence from *-*i-men (or *-*i-ma), as assumed above for
-aw; thus rhoddi 'to put' < Brit. *ro-*i-men < *pro-dhë-men.

In Ml. and Mn. W. the use of the above endings is determined by
the form of the stem, as follows:

iii. -u is added to stems in which the vowel of the last syllable
is a, ae, e or y; as canu, pallu, diddanu, tarfu; taeru, arfaethu,
saethu, gwaedu; credu, trefnu, sennu, iledu; ngddu, orynu, prydyddu,
melysu. Exceptions: a few stems having a, v (3); gwaeddadaf
'I cry' has v.n. gweidi R.M. 174, II.A. 154; medaf has medi B.B. 45.

Ml. W. caeu w.m. 24 'to shut' is contracted in Mn. W. to can
§ 33 iv, § 52 iii (3).

iv. -aw, Mn. -o is added to (1) i-stems; thus medylyaw w.m. 10,
tygyaw do. 16, rhodio, diffygio, teithio, gweithio, seilio, hoelio, etc.
In Ml. W. the i is often omitted, as trelaw w.m. 6, Mn. W. treluio;
keissaw do. 487, Mn. W. ceisio, § 35 ii (1). Some -i-stems have other endings, see § 203 iii (2), vi (1), (2), vii (1).

A few -i-stems have suffixless v.n.'s; thus kynnigiôf has kynnici w.m. 30 'to offer'; disstrywigiôf has disstryw r.b. 159, distrio w. 89, now distriw. In Late Mn. W. meddol, sôn have superseded meddylio, sonio as v.n.'s. In daliaf the -i represents original -g-, and dalî, daîa, late dal represent an original suffixless *dalg, see § 110 ii (2). Similarly hely, helû, hel, vb. heliôf, heliôd gen. xxvii 33 'hunted'; but N.W. has beside helô 'to gather', hel-'a 'to hunt' where -a may be the stem suff. -ha of a lost vb. *helhaaf, seen in O.W. in helcha gl. in venando, helghati 'hunt thou'. The -ô of burôf is from -g- which appears as w in the v.n. burwô, see ib.

As ai is ei in the penult § 81 i, and stems with -ei- take -i- § 201 iii (6) it is seen that denominatives from nouns and adjs. with -ai- must have v.n.'s in -io; thus areithio, disglërio, disfeithio, gwenfeithio from arAith, disglair, disfaith, Gwenfaith. (If these had been araeth, disglæor, etc., as now often misspelt, the v.n.'s would be, by iii above, *araethu, *disglæru, etc., which are never spoken or written.) There is only one exception; cyfeithio (a late word) has -u because the vb. cyfeithiôf became cyfeithaf by dissim. of i's; the regular cyfeithiôf also occurs, p 218/179 R.

(2) stems having i, u, eu, ow; as blino, gwrido, llifo, rhifo; euro, dynamo, grymuso; euro, heulo, ceulo; bwydo, rhwyfo, arswydo, twylo.

Ml. W. dinustyr m.m. 32 'destroys' has v.n. dinustraw r.p. 1246; in Mn. W. dinust became dinistr by § 77 ix, and the verb is re-formed with -i- suff., v.n. dinistro Deut. xii 2. (The late dinystrio is a mis-spelling; the sound in the penult is not y but i.) dinustr < *dê-nôui(i)-stro-: niwed § 76 iv (4), suff. as in Lat. monstrum.

Some stems ending in -eu have suffixless v.n.'s, as dechreu 'to begin', maddew 'to part with, to forgive', ameu 'to doubt', vb. amheuaf. Also in Mn. W. tramwey Job i 7, arlwy d.g. 104.

On account of the early change of ow to wy after a vowel, we have -u for example in tywyllu; in these cases, therefore, the suffix is no guide to the orig. form. (tywyll < tywyl § 111 i (2).)

v. -i is added to (1) stems ending in w; thus berwi, chweymi, enwi, sywfi, gwelwi. Some of these have suffixless v.n.'s, as cadwy, galwe, marwy.

Two distinct formations are represented here.—1. In verbs which take -i the -w- either forms part of the root, as in berwi, chweymi- § 63 iv, or belongs to the stem of the noun or adj. of which the verb is a denom., as gwelwi, from gwelw 'pale'.—2. In verbs which do not take -i the w is itself the v.n. suffix, from *-wen (or *-yos), see ii above, and the vb. is a denom. formed from the v.n.; thus cadwy 'to keep' < *kat-wen, aqat- 'hide, cover, keep': O.H.G. huolen 'care for,
keep', E. heed, Lat. cassis; galw ‘to call’ < *gal-yeu, √ gal- : Lat. galtis, E. call. For two of these v.n.’s, by-w and mar-w, no verbs were formed § 204 ii.

Though the classes remained distinct, a v.n. of one class was liable to pass over to the other; thus merwi p 12/124 R. ‘to die’.—From Brit. *lānos (< *pleno-s § 63 vii (2)) ‘full’, a v.n. *lān-yen would give *lwunyl, from which may come llunw R.M. 94, llunwi W.M. 23, R.M. 15, lleuni R.M. 175.—arddelw (now arddel) for arreddwy.

Stems ending in -aw are similarly divided: suffixless adaw § 201 ii (2), gwrandau do. i (8), taraw i (2) above;—with -i, tewi, distiwi only (taraw having gone over to the other class). D.G. uses distawu 165, and Mn.W. crosawaf has crosawu.

(2) stems having oe or o, whether the latter be original o or a mutation of aw; thus oedi, troelli, oeri, poethi; llonni from llonn ‘merry’, cronni from crawn ‘hoard’; torri, cyflogi, arfogi.

Some stems having o take no suffix, as dangos, anfon, adrodd i (1). Ml. W. agori W.M. 59, 60, R.M. 42, A.L. i 498, D.G. 134, Can. v 5 is later agoryd M.K. [30], Dat. iii 29, or agor M.K. [32], B.CW. 56 (agori R.M. 174 with punctum delens, i lat).

(3) some stems having a, which is affected to e; as erchi, vb. archaf; peri, vb. paraf; sengi, vb. sangaf; perchi, vb. parchaf; defni, vb. defnaf.

mynegi, Ml. W. menegi, and trengi are stems with a; in Ml. and Early Mn. W. the verbs are managaf and trangaf; but in Late Mn. W. the e of the v.n. has intruded into the vb., and mynegaf, trengaf are the usual forms.—In B.B. 8 delli (U = l-l) occurs for the usual daly, daly iv (1).—defni is also an abstr. noun ‘dropping’ Diar. xix 13, xxvii 15; and is often taken for a pl. of dafn e.g. I.MSS. 232; v.n. defni L.A. 23.

§ 203. Verbal nouns are also formed by means of other suffixes, as follows:

i. (1) -aeth in marchogaeth § 201 iii (4) (b), and Early Ml. W. gwasaenaeth ‘to attend, serve’, later gwasaenaeth.

*Ef a dely guasanath ar e vre[nhes] ... Ny dely ef eyste, ... namyn guasanath oy seyll B.C.H. 22 ‘He is to attend on the queen. He is not to sit but to serve standing’. In both these examples Aneurin Owen prints guas(s)anaythu A.L. i 54, 56. In 60 he gives guasanath correctly, with -u as the reading of mss. C.D.E. In Late Ml. W. gwasaenaethu R.M. 174 is the form used. See § 201 ii (1).

-aeth became an abstr. noun suffix § 143 iii (2). Thus a lost verb *hir-ha-afl ‘I long’ had a v.n. hiraeth ‘to long’ which came to mean ‘longing’; from this was formed the denom. hiraethaf ‘I long’ with v.n. hiraethu ‘to long’.
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(2) -ael or -el, in gafael, gafel § 188 ii (3), § 201 ii (1); caffael, cafell, cael § 188 i (8); dyrchafael § 188 iii; gadael beside gadu § 201 ii (2); gallael beside gallu 'to be able'. Probably -ael is original only in gafael § 188 iv.

(3) -ach, in cyfeddach 'to carouse', prystellach, ymdesach, cindarddach, caentach p 5/x r. These have no verbs. The ending is sometimes substituted for another: chwilâch 'to pry' for chwilô 'to seek'.

(4) The above are v.n.'s from */aɡ/- seen in -ha- stems; thus -aeth < *-ak-tâ (< -âk- < -o-ak-; the â would be shortened before ft even though accented) § 201 iii (4) (b), with *-tâ suffix as in bod 'to be' < *bhu-tâ. -ael : Ir. -âil < *-aɡ-li-s, with fem. *-li- suff.; the suff. *-li- forms fem. abstract nouns in Slavonic also, and Armenian has an infinitive suff. -â-l. -ach < *-aks- < *-aɡ-s-, perhaps *-aɡ-sen; cf. Gk. φέρεω < *φερε-σεω.

ii. (1) -ofain, Ml. W. -ovein, -ovant occurs beside -aw in wylofain, Ml. W. wylovein I.A. 117, 154, cwynovein s.g. 343, cvinowant B.B. 46. A similar formation is digofain G. 132 'wrath', later usually digofaint, abstr. noun.

(2) -fan(n), -fa, in cwynfan, Ml. W. kwynvan I.A. 154, beside cwynaw, cwyno; grìövan I.A. 154, Mn. W. griddfan whence vb. griddfannaf, grìöva R.M. 132; ehedfan Ml. W. ehetvân, beside echedeg, vb. ehedaf 'I fly'.

(3) -ain, Ml. -ein, in llefain, llevein R.M. 132, vb. llefâf 'I cry'; llemain, late llamu, Ml. llemein, vb. llamaf 'I leap'; germain 'to cry', Ml. germain, no verb; ochain, vb. ochaf; uhain, diasbedain with no verbs. With -t in dioêfeint I.A. 129 'suffering', Mn. W. dioddefaint, only occurring as an abstract noun.

(4) cwynaw < Brit. loc. *kein-â-men, denom. from *geino-, § 101 ii (2); cwynofain from the dat. of the same stem, *kein-â-m.nai < *-m.nai : Gk. ὑπερμανειν, Skr. dâ-mane 'to give'. -ovant represents another case, prob. loc. *-â-m.ni; -ant < -ann < *-a-.n-, § 62 i (2). -fan(n), -fa represents the same case as the last, but with a different accent; thus griddfan 'to groan' < *grido-m.ni, √ ghrêjâ-x- : O.E. grâmian, E. groan; cwynfan is similar, or formed by analogy.—llef 'cry' < Brit. *lemen < *lep-men, < *lep- : Skr. làpâti 'chatters, murmurs, laments'; llefain is the dative *lemani < *lep-m.nai; llefâf is a denom. from llef. Similarly garm § 95 ii (3), germain < *gar-sm.nai; no verb was formed for this; —llam : llemain, vb. llamaf denom. From these -ain was deduced and added to the intjs. ub and och and to the noun diaspad (diasbad) 'cry'; vb. ochy I.A. 154 'groanest', ochu G. 196.
iii. (1) -ad, Ml. -at, in adeilad 'to build', Ml. adeilat r.m. 93, r.b.b. 56, 58, 59, i.l.a. 123, verb adeilaf; Ml. W. gwylaf w.m. 74, r.m. 53 'to watch', gwyliaf s.g. 2, vb. gwylaf w.m. 74, r.m. 53, also with ỹ; chwibanat c.m. 48 'to whistle', vb. chwibanaf; dyhëad b.cw. i.24 'to gasp' beside dyhéu, vb. dyhëaf.

In Late Mnl. W. adeilaf has been replaced by a denom. of the v.n.: adeiladaf, from which comes a new v.n. adeiladu. The orig. meaning was 'to form a wattle'; the absence of ỹ after l points to oil coming from *egl- § 35 ii (3); hence adeilaf < *ati-eglâmi < *-peglo-by dissim. for *pleg-lo-, ✓ plek/ק-: Lat. plecto, Gk. πλέκω, πλέγμα.

(2) -aid, Ml. -eit, added to ỹ-stems: ystyrïeit c.m. 61 'to consider', synïeit w.m. 33, r.m. 22 'to take thought', tybïeit s.g. 75 'to imagine', mëgïyeit m.a. 251 'to think', ervynnyeit i.l.a. 125 'to implore', ysglyffyeit c.m. 5 'to snatch'; Mnl. W. meddyliâid D.G. 22, ystyrïaid, synïaid, tybïaid; -o is also used with these stems; and erfyn is now suffixless. -eit is added to one w-stem: ysgytweit r.b.b. 58 beside ysgytwaw i.l.a. 166, Mnl. W. ysgwyd, vb. ysgydïwaf 'I shake'.

On account of the dial. reduction of ai to e, § 6 iii, this suffix is confused in Late Mnl. W. with -ed; thus, ystyrïed, synïed, tybïed; these three are in common use. G.J. wrote ystyrïad correctly, Hyff. Gymnys 28.

The form ysgwyd is v.n. and 3rd sg. pres. ind.; it is for ysgydïw by metath. of y, cf. echwyd 'evening, west' < Lat. occidus; — ysgydïw 'brandishes' occurs m.a. i 285; —stem ysgydïw—<*squiti- <*squ.yi-: Lat. quatio for *(s)quatio, O.Sax. skuddjan; W. sqytio 'to shake violently', ysgydïw 'a push'.

(3) -ed, Ml. -et, in kerët w.m. 486 'to walk', Mnl. W. ceredded, vb. cerddãf; clwyd § 194 v (1); gwelet w.m. 17, Mnl. W. gweled, gweld 'to see', vb. gwelaf; yfet w.m. 182 'to drink', Mnl. W. yfed, vb. yfaf; myned 'to go', vb. of § 193 ii. The -ed became part of the stem in dan-wared 'to mimic', ✓ yerêi- § 63 vii (3); ymdïdiried, ymôiret 'to trust': dir 'true'.

cered < *kerd-, Corn. cerdhes 'to go, walk', Bret. kerzet id., Ir. ceird 'walk', ✓ sgerad- 'turn about'; Gk. κόρδας, Lat. cardo.—gwelaf 'I see', Bret. gwelout, Corn. gwelles 'to see' < ✓ ghuel- § 93 iv: Lith. žvelgii 'I look towards', žvilgêti 'to see', Gk. θέλω 'I fascinate' ('fascination is ever by the eye' Bacon), ✓ ghuel-, extd. ✓ ghuel-g-. There is also a gwelaf from ✓ yel- 'wish': tra welho Duw w.m. 72 'while God will', Mnl. W. os gwelwch yn da 'if you please'.

(4) -ud, Ml. -ut, earlier ✓wyt, in dywedut § 194 i (4); kyscwyt
VERBS

§ 203

B.T. 27, usually cynu 'to sleep'; cadvid (≡ cadwyl) B.B. 62, cadwyl w. 10a, usually cadyw 'to keep'; ymchwelut w.m. 10, 14, s.g. 23 'to turn', ymchoelut c.m. 5. There is some confusion, even in Ml. W., of this suff. and -yt; thus the last word is written ymchoelyt in r.m. 7. In Mn. W. dywedut is spelt dywedyd; but G.J. wrote dywedud Hyff. Gynnwys, p. iv.

(5) -yd, Ml. -yt, in kymryt, diffryt § 195 ii; etvryt c.m. 24 'to restore', edryt r.b.b. 6 (by § 110 iii (3)), Mn. W. edfryd d.p.o. 132, mostly replaced by adfer in the late period, vb. adferaf; ymoglyt w.m. 104 'to beware', re-formed as ymogelyd in Mn. W.; gochlyt l.l.a. 26, beside gochel ib., r.b.b. 106 'to avoid', Mn. W. gochel, vb. gochelaf; diengyt l.l.a. 72 (Gwyn. dial. déwol) beside diang ib., Mn. W. diwoc 'to escape'.

(6) -d, Ml. -t, in Ml. W. dilit w.m. 41, r.m. 28 'to stick to, follow' (also written dilyt w.m. 41, § 77 iii, and later assumed to have -y-, but this is an error, the older rhymes having -i-, as lloid m.a. i 408), verb dilynaf 'I follow', whence in Ml. W. the v.n. dilyn, also dilin D.G. 343; Ml. W. erlit w.m. 16, Mn. W. erlid 'to chase, persecute', vb. erlynaf; in Mn. W. a new vb. erlidiat is formed from the v.n., and a new v.n. erlyn from the vb.; ymlit w.m. 14 'to chase' from which a denom. was already formed in Ml. W., e.g. r.m. 64; bod to be' § 189 iv (6).

(7) -s, for δ in the stem, in go(r)diwes, vb. go(r)diwedaf § 194 vi; Mn. W. v.n. goddiwes, late goddiweddyd; aros, verb arhoa for *arhoðaf § 187.

A megys nat ymôdiwes un creadur a Duv, ac ef yn ymôdiwes a phob peth ... l.l.a. 10 'And as no creature apprehends God, and He apprehending everything ...'

(8) Verbal nouns were formed in Ar. by means of suffixes *-tu- (Lat. supine -tu-), and *-ti-; Kelt. had also f. *-tä, § 189 iv (6). The preceding vowel is generally, but not always, R-grade.—adeilad 'to build' = adeilad f. 'a building' < *ati-eglata < *-tä.-eit may be from a dat.*-ati < *-täi. — ets < *-tä; as yfed 'to drink' < *pibita, v. pöi-; also from *e-to, -e-tä, cf. § 143 iii (12).—The y of -yt comes from the i of *ri, *li representing Ar. *i, *, thus corresponding to cymeraf 'I take' < *kom-bher- with F-grade *bher-, the v.n. had R-grade *bhr-, as *kom-bhr-tu- > W. cymryd; so goglyt < *uo-kl-tu-, v. kel 'hide'. The -y- tended to spread from these.—The v.n. dilit is a similar formation, < *dé-lit-tu-, where *lit- is R²-grade of v. leiox- 'to stick'; the vb. dilynaf < *dé-lina-mi, with n-infix § 201 i (4). The verb *lynaf (Ir. lenim) disappeared in W., and its compounds, as erlyn
(for *erlyn), show the influence of the synonymous glynaf. — s (for -ð)
represents -d-t-, § 187 iii. — ud < -wyd is a different formation from
the others; the most probable explanation of the wy seems to be that
it comes from new āi § 75 i (3); thus dywedn < dywedwyd < *do- penet-
ātō < *do-yet-ātō : Lat. abstr. suff. -ātio, see vii (3).

iv. (1) -ain, Ml. -ein, for -e- in the stem, in olwreu, darllein
§ 201 ii (3), dwyrin 'to rise', the latter surviving only as a noun
meaning 'east'. Examples of the verbs: olwreys w.m. 469,
darllewt do. 49, dwyreawd m.a. i 300. The v.n. arwein has vb.
arweduaf in Ml. W., later arweiniaf; so kywein: cywedei w.m. 119.

Gwell kad w noc olwrein r.b. 968 'better keep than seek.'

(2) -wy, for -yg-, -wgh in the stem: dwyn, verb dygaf § 194 iii;
ymdldwyn, vb. ymdydgaf ib.; amwyn verb amygaf § 194 iv; adolywg,
beside adolwg, also adolwg in Ml. W., verb adolygaf 'I pray'.

The suffix is *no- ; cf. O.E. -an < *-ono-. *-egno - ein § 104
ii (1). Medial -eg- before a vowel >-ig- > y or e.— *-uk-no > -wyn
§ 104 iii (1).— ar-, cywain seem to come from √ yegh- § 65 ii (3), but
the verbs imply √ yedh- § 149 i; as dn did not become gn (e.g.
blyn-ed, not *blin- § 104 iv (1)), we cannot assume √ yedh- for the v.n.'s.

v. -eg, Ml. -ec, in rhedeg 'to run', vb. rhedaf; echedeg 'to fly',
vb. echedaf.

-eg < *-ikā abst. noun (orig. adj.) suffix, § 143 iii (14).

vi. (1) -an, added to ī-stems, borrowed from O. or Ml. E.;
as hongian 'to hang' (O.E. hangian), ystwyrían 'to stir' (O.E.
styrían); hence added to others as tröttian r.p. 1272, mwmlían
'to mumble'. Added to W. stems -ian forms a sort of pejorative
v.n., as gorveddian 'to lie about lazily', ymlywbrian 'to plod one's
way', sefylhian 'to loaf'. It is not much used in the lit. lang.—
Without ī it appears as an abstr. suff.: cusian, Ml. W. cussan
'kiss' < O.E. cyssan 'to kiss'.

Eng. strong verbs generally become ī-stems in W. with v.n. -o as
gildso 'to yield' < O.E. gildan; cf. § 201 iii (6).

(2) -al seems to be a variant of -an arising from dissimilation
in nasal stems; thus tincyal beside tincjan 'to tinkle', mewial
beside mewjan 'to mew'; cyfnwedial D.G. 145 for cyfnwedidio;
addial for addu, techial for techu; sisial whence vb. sisjalaf
'I whisper'; myngial 'to mumble', no vb.
vii. Each of the following v.n.’s has a form peculiar to itself:

(1) lluddias G.Gl. f. 14, Ml. W. lluddjas i.A. 19 ‘to hinder’, vb. lluddiaf, 3rd sg. pres. ind. lludd D.G. 105, aor. sg. 3. lluddyws w.m. 103, lluddiodd D.G. 105.

The suffix is prob. the same as the abstr. noun suff. -as § 143 iii (6).

(2) aredig, Ml. W. eredig B.B. 44 ‘to plough’, vb. arddaf § 100 iii (2). There is a v.n. erti (= erði) in B.B. 55, and a recent artificial arddu; but the v.n. in common use is aredig.

Pwy bynnac a dorro termyn og eredyc, y brenhyn a 8ly yr ychen ay bardh a.L. i 196 ‘Whoever shall destroy a boundary by ploughing it, the king shall be entitled to the oxen that plough it.’

The ending is similar in formation to that of the v.adj. -edig § 206 vii.

(3) chwerthin ‘to laugh’, vb. chwarddaf, 3rd sg. pres. ind. chweirð or chwardd § 173 iv (2).

chwerthin R.M. 185, 237, wherthin w.m. 171. chwerthin is also an abstr. noun meaning ‘laughter.’

Gweniaith brydferth a chwerthin
Erioed a fu ar dy fin.—D.G. 108.

‘Pretty flattery and laughter have always been on thy lip.’

chwardaf<*s-yar-d-ami, d-stem, √ yerel(?)- : Lat. rūdeo § 63 vii (5); —chwerthin, Bret. c’hoarzin, < *s-yar-tin-∅ < *s-yore-tin-ai, dat. of *s-es-t-iið, abs. noun in *-tiið : Lat. -tio ; the oblique cases have *-tin- (< *-tii-n-) in Kelt. as in Osc.-Umbr., not -tio- as in Lat., Brugmann’s II i 319. The dat. of this stem occurs as infinitive in Ir. also: do saigthin ‘to seek’. chwerthin seems the only survival in W. The use of -tio as an abs. noun suffix is a feature of Italo-Kelt.

(4) gweini ‘to serve’, vb. gweinyddaf.

The -i of gweini may represent the ī which stands in ablaut with -eie; *uo-ſni-mu-> gweini : O.W. gnim, Ml. W. gnif, Ir. gním, u-flexion. On the verb see § 201 i (6).

(5) sefyll ‘to stand’, vb. safaf.

safaf is a denom. from a noun *stho-mo-s, √ sthā- ‘stand’, like tyfafs I grow’ from *tumo-s, § 201 i (8); —sefyll < *sthem-i-li-s, with the iterative and causative -i- (-eie), and the suffix *-li-, as in gafael i (4); l between i’s gives W. ll § 111 i (2).

(6) gwneuthur ‘to make, do’, vb. gwneaf § 193 x (4).

(7) There are one or two other anomalous forms such as
chwilith D.G. 319 (beside chwilota); annos 'to incite' (beside annoq); gwastrod-edd Gr.O. 178, 300 from gwastrawd 'groom', suff. § 143 iii (13).

§ 204. i. Many verbal nouns have no verbs, but are used exactly like other v.n.'s in construction. Most of them have been named: cardota, blota, etc. § 201 iii (4) (a), cyfeddach, etc. § 203 i (3), germain, etc. § 203 ii (3); godro 'to milk'; ym-ladd 'to tire one's self' < *yẹi-lad-, ḥ-lad-: Gk. ἀθλέω 'to be tired', Lat. lassus § 156 i (2); but ym-lad 'to fight', ḥ-qolad- § 101 ii (3), is conjugated throughout; § 41 i.

ii. The most important v.n.'s without verbs are byw 'to live' and marw 'to die'. They are also abstract nouns, and adjectives.

(1) They are v.n.'s after wedi, or yn with the radical, in periphrastic conjugation or forming participle equivalents:

Os marw bun, oes mwy o'r byd?
Maer haf wedy marw hefyd.—T.A., c. ii 79.
'If the maiden is dead does the world any longer exist? Summer is dead too.'

I fardd ydwf, ar ddidol,
Yn brudd yn byw ar i òl.—T.A., A 24980/166.
'His bard am I, in seclusion, living sadly after him.'

Also when qualified by an adverbial expression consisting of yn and an adj., as byw'n gymwys W.IL. r. 32 'to live justly'.

Gwell bedd a gorwedd gwinion
Na byw'n hir yn y boen hon.—D.G. 108.
'Better the grave and innocent rest than to live long in this pain.'

(2) They are abstract nouns when qualified directly by adjectives, as marw mawr 'great mortality', byw da 'good living', or when they follow yn with the nasal mutation:

Am ych dwyn ym myw'ch dynion
Yr oerai'r sir, bryr Siôn.—T.A., c. 229.
'Because you were taken in the lifetime of your men the shire became cold, eagle[-son] of Siôn.'

Also generally with prefixed pronouns: o dihenghy a' th vyw gennyt w.m. 476 'if thou escapest with thy life': Mn. W. yn fy myw 'in my life', meaning 'for the life of me'.
(3) They are adjectives when they qualify nouns expressed or implied:

- Y gŵr marw, e gŵr morwyn
  Ddaear dy fedd er dy fwyn.—T.A., R. 229.
  ‘Dead man, a maiden loves the dust of thy grave for thy sake.’

- Ar ôl y marw yr wylî,
  Ar ôl y fyw’r wylaf f.—D.E., P 112/840.
  ‘Thou weepest for him who is dead; I weep for her who is alive’;
  lit. ‘the dead’ mas. sg., ‘the living’ fem. sg.

When following yn with the soft mutation:

- Ni bu’n fyw, cyd bo’n i fedd,
  Ni bu’n farw neb un fawredd.—H.K.
  ‘There has not been alive, though he is [now] in his grave, there has
  not been dead any one so great.’

Also when they are complements, without yn, of the verb
  ‘to be,’ as bydd fyw lit. ‘be alive’ i.e. live! hwnnw afydd marw
  Ezec. xviii 4.

- Fy Nuw, pei cawn fy nevis,
  Ni byddai fyw o’m bodd fis.—D.G-.
  ‘My God, if I had my choice, he would not be alive a month with my
  consent.’

Silvan Evans s.v. byw treats the word as a v.n. here; but no v.n
can stand in this position. We cannot say bydd rhodio for ‘walk’;
but we say bydd da or bydd dda ‘be good’!

(4) As adjs. they have pl. forms bywion E.P. ps. xxvii 13, lvi 13,
late and rarely used, and meirw, meirgon. In periphrastic conj.
the pl. meirw is used for the v.n. when the subj. is pl., as y maent
wedi meirw, by a confusion of the v.n. and adj.; cf. gwedy wydw
m.a. i 228 for gwedy medgi pl.—Compared: marwed L.G.C. 218 ‘as
dead’, yn gynwywyjet s.g. 77 ‘as alive’; marwach, S.Ph. cy. ix 34.

(5) byw < *gθi-γos § 63 vii (3), which may be an adj. like Lat.
vivos, or a noun like Gk. βίος.—marw < *mθijos (e’, not y, before u,
§ 63 iii) similarly formed from √mer—; in Lat. mortuus < *mrtuos the
i is intrusive according to Brugmann 2 II i 448.

§ 205. The v.n. is always mas. in construction. But many of
the forms were originally fem., and some remain fem. when used
as abstract nouns. Thus bod < *bhun-tā is f. in hafod § 189 iv (6);
abstract nouns in -aeth are f. § 139 ii; gafael noun is f., gafael
§206. i. Verbal adjectives are formed from the stem of the verb either without a suffix or with the suffixes -edig, -adwy and in Ml. W. -awt, -ediw. The last two suffixes are rare, even in Ml. W.; only a few verbs have suffixless v.a.'s; but all regular transitive verbs may have v.a.'s in -edig and -adwy. The former has usually the sense of a past pass. participle, the latter of a fut. pass. part. or gerundive.

ii. Suffixless: plan E.P. ps. cxxxvii 2 'planted', verb plunnaf 'I plant'; prŷn 'bought' vb. prynaf; cwsg 'sleeping' in bardd cwsg, vb. cysgaf; llosg in marwor llosg 'burning embers', vb. llosgaf; tawd 'melting' r.m. 169, Ps. lviii 8, 'molten' Lev. xix 4.

iii. Suff. -edig, Ml. W. -edic: darparedic w.m. 23 'prepared', bendicetic Ll. 121 'blessed', emelldicetic ib. 'accursed', lladdedig 'killed', gweledig 'seen', caredic w.m. 37 'loved', Mn. W. caredig 'kind', crwydredig 'wandering'.

iv. Suff. -awt: guit gwybwl (≡gwyd gwyrhwal) b.b. 89 'trees [are] bent'; At(wyn) lloer llewychawt b.t. 9 'sweet [is the] moon shining'.

v. Suff. -adwy: dywedadwy §169 iv (1) 'to be said'; credadwy c.m. 21 'to be believed, credible'; moladwy b.t. 71 'to be praised, praiseworthy'; ofnadwy 'terrible', vb. ofnaf 'I fear'; cyraeddadwy 'attainable', vb. cyrhædof 'I reach'; safadwy 'stable', vb. safaf 'I stand'. -ediw is a variant of -adwy: molediw §169 v (4).

vi. Suff. -ad in crwydred 'wandering'. -aid in honnaid, as bit honneit §222 x (2), vb. honnaf 'I publish.'

vii. The suffixless v.a. is prob. originally the pres. part. act. in *-a-nts, *e-nts: Lat. -ans, -ens; thus llosg 'burning' < Brit.*llos-ans.
The suff. -awt is the past part. pass. in -to- of ā-stems; thus *-ā-to-s >-awt. Cf. barvawt b.t. 21 'bearded' < Lat. barbātus; — -edig is an extension in *-ī-ko- of this; thus, *-ā-tiko-s > -edig.—aid § 153 (2).

-advoy is the fut. pass. part. in *-teuiō; the -a- before it may be from unacc. ā or from a; thus oφnaδεv < *oνα τοιός § 76 v (4): Skr. kar-tavyâ-h 'faciendo'; — -ediv is a variant of this due to metath. § 78 iv (1). The rhyme (glyv) n.p. 1041 shows that the -iv is for -yw after the dental § 77 v.—The element *-tey- seems to have been used also with suff. -no- to form verbal adj.s., which mostly became nouns in W.: creδadun 'believing' D.G. 54, 'credible' M.A. i 563b, usually 'believer' < Brit. *kreta-tou-no-; — amheuthun 'unaccustomed fare, treat', adj. 'unwonted', for *am-(w)heithun § 77 viii <*mbi-suek-tou-no- : chweith 'taste' § 108 iv (2), pref. 'different' § 156 i (4) (d), hence 'change of diet'; — yspardun s.g. 2 'spur': yspar § 96 iv (1).—Participles in -to- formed from cons. stems survive as nouns: talaiθ 'frontlet, crown', Ml. W. talheith B.B. 106 <*talo-sekâ 'forehead-attachment', √ segk-: Skr. sâjâti 'attaches', Lith. segû 'I fasten, attach', saktîs 'buckle'.

**COMPOUND VERBS.**

§ 207. i. The prefixes compounded with verbs are mostly the same as those compounded with nouns and adjectives; see § 156.

ii. A verb may also be compounded with a noun or adj.; as efe a lwyrlanhâ ei lawr dyrnu Matt. iii 12; see § 45 iii. The verb forms the second element, and has its initial softened, like the second element of a noun-compound. The initial of the first element becomes that of the compound verb, and is softened after the rel. a, remains rad. after the rel. y, etc., like the initial of a verb.

**PREPOSITIONS**

§ 208. i. Personal pronouns forming objects of prepositions in Brit. and Goidelic came to be agglutinated to the prepositions, and ultimately developed into mere inflections. The "conjugation" so formed was very similar in W. to that of the verb, and was influenced in its later development by verbal forms.

ii. (1) Inflected prepositions have two forms, m. and f. of the 3rd sg., and one for each of the other persons sg. and pl. Many have in addition an adverbial form; and all preserve their unin-
The simple form of every conjugable prep. causes the soft mutation of the initial of a following noun; except er, rhag and rhwng which cause the radical; yn which causes the nasal, rad. or soft, according to its function; and uwch, is which cause the rad. except in uwchldw, islów, uwchbén.

iii. (1) The 2nd sg. ending is Ml. W. -t = -d, and often appears as -d in Early Mn. W., e.g. arnaf D.G. 2, gennyd/byd do. 3, atad do. 42, hebd do. 513; but like the -d of the 2nd sg. impf. ind. it became -t in Late Mn. W., see § 174 i.

(2) The 3rd pl. ending is in Early Mn. W. rarely -u, -io, later and usually -unt formed after the 3rd pl. of verbs. In Late Mn. mss. and books this is misspelt -ynt, with rare exceptions, e.g. G.J. Hyff. Gwynwys (1749). The final -t is frequently dropped in poetry, as in verbs; and in the spoken lang. is always dropped; see § 106 iii (2).

iv. There are three conjugations of prepositions, distinguished by the vowel of the 1st and 2nd pers. endings; thus for the 1st sg., i. -af, ii. -of; iii. -yf.

§ 209. First Conjugation.—i. To this belong ar ‘upon’; at ‘to’; o dan ‘under’; o ‘from’, with the stem ohan- (ohon-), which does not occur uninflected; and am ‘about’ with the stem amdan-.

ii. (1) ar ‘upon’ may be taken as an example of the conjugation:

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<th>Ml. W.</th>
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<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. arnaf</td>
<td>arn-am,-ann</td>
<td>1. árnaf</td>
<td>árnom</td>
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<td>2. arnat</td>
<td>arnawch</td>
<td>2. árnad, -t</td>
<td>árnoch</td>
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<td>3. m. arnaw</td>
<td>(arnabu)</td>
<td>3. m. árno</td>
<td>3. {árn-unt}</td>
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<td>f.</td>
<td>arnei</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>árni</td>
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<td>3. erni</td>
<td>arnabunt</td>
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<td>-unt</td>
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<td></td>
<td>arnu</td>
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<td>adv. árnodd</td>
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<td>arnunt</td>
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The 3rd sg. f. -ai occurs in Early Mn. verse, though rarely: arnai D.G. 85, atai do. 195, danai do. 210, ohonai I.G. 390. The 3rd pl. in -addunt survived in poetry in onaddunt, see vi;
in other cases it is rare in Mn. W.: arnaddyn Neh. ix 1. The
adv. form occurs in oddi danawdd D.G. 306, oddi arnodd and oddi
tanodd Job xviii 16; danodd ‘underneath’ is common in Late
Mn. W. and the dialects. No other prep. of the 1st conj. has an
adv. form.—Ml. 1st pl. in -ann: amdanann(n), attann R.P. 1176,
arnann(n) do. 1177, attann w. 121b, o honan ni c.m. 13.

(2) Forms of ar: arnaf w.m. 2, arnat ib., arnaw ib., arnei do. 9,
erni b.b. 43, arnam w.m. 29, arnawch ib., arnaðut (-t = -ð) M.A. i 258,
arneðunt w.m. 470, s.g. 89, arnu M.A. i 403, arnun do. 223, arnunt
w.m. II, 39.

iii. at ‘to’ (i.e. motion ‘to’) is similar (but without 3rd sg. f.
-i in Ml. W.):

attaf w.m. 10, attat R.P. 1357, attaw w.m. 2, attei do. 6, attam do.
441, attanunt do. 39, attanunt P 21/29; 2nd pl. -och in attoch s.g. 52.

iv. Mn. W. o dan, dan, tan ‘under’, Early Mn. dán § 51 vi,
cf. D.G. 373; Ml. W. a dan, y dan, dan, O. W. quotan, gutan ox.
adan, ydan, dan w.m. 91, r.m. 66, dan w.m. 1, 463; adanaw
do. 94, ydanaw r.m. 68, ydanam do. 165, adanunt w.m. 67.

v. am ‘around, about, concerning’; stem aamdán-, ymdán-
Mn. aamdán-. After gwiscaw the stem is generally used in Ml. W.
instead of the simple form; thus, instead of gwiscaw ymdanaw ac
am ý varch w.m. 165, the usual phrase is gwiscaw ymdanaw ac
ymdan ý varch do. 162 ‘to accoutre himself and his horse’; so
w.m. 147, r.m. 217, 229, 231; amdan w.m. 99. This form is
still in use in the spoken lang., pronounced aamdân.

amdanaf w.m. 21, aamdani ib., amdanaw do. 2, amdanei do. 5, 13,
15, ymdeni r.m. 120, im-deni b.b. 43–4, ymdanadw M.A. i 197,
amdanadunt b.a. 40, aamdant S.G. 43, ymdanunt do. 84; O.W.
amtanndi b.s.ch. 2.

The compound yam has two meanings, i. ‘besides, in addition to’
w.m. 469.—2. = Mn. W. oddiam ‘from about, off’ : yamdanaw w.m.
5, 24.

vi. o ‘from, of,’ Ml. W. o (oc in oe eu, see vii (5)); stem
ohon-, ohan-, Mn. W. ohôn-. The forms of the 1st and 2nd pers.
fluctuate between this and the 2nd conj. formation, and the 2nd sg.
has the ending -awt not added to any other prep. In Mn. lit. W.
of, -ot are used exclusively (but dial. -a(f), -at). The 3rd sg.
and pl. have 1st conj. forms only; 3rd pl. onaðunt.
In the 16th cent. *hon- was often contracted to on- or hon-, as cyn *adnabod *dim noni G.R. [xiv] ‘before knowing anything of it’; cf. E.P., ps. cv 16; onynt M.K. [59], ono-fo do. [60]; later Os ymdad *doni ti Wms. 438 (printed *hononot, but the metre allows only 2 syll.) ‘if destitute of thee’. Analogy has restored the full form, and the contraction survives only in monof, monet, mono etc. for *ddim *hononof, etc.; thus ni welais mono for ni welais *ddim *honone ‘I have not seen anything of him’, i.e. I have not seen him; § 170 v (2).

vii. (1) W. ar is for *var, O.W. guar cp., Bret. war, Corn. war < *yor for Kelt. *yur < Ar. *uper § 65 v (3). The personal forms are made from an adverb *yor-nâ; for the suffix, cf. Lat. superne § 220 i (3), and for the ending, suprâ. The pronoun stood in a case not affecting a in the sg. or pl., hence prob. ace.; thus sg. 1. arnaf < *yörname < *yörnâ me; pl. 1. arnarn or arnann < *arnann < *yörnansme < *yörnâ ysme (Av. ahma, Gk. Lesb. âmu ‘us’); sg. 2. arnaf < *yörnâ te; pl. 2. arnauch formed on the analogy of the verb; sg. 3. m. arnav is prob. a reformation after the 3rd sg. -saw § 210 x (1); sg. 3. fem. erni < *yörnasîm < *yörnâ sîm; arnei < *yörnasîm § 75 i (2); *sîm is the acc. of *sî ‘she’. The most probable explanation of the -s in the 3rd pl., which also occurs in the 3rd sg. of other conjugations, is that it is the prep. *do; this took the dative, orig. instr.; the instr. pl. of the pron. *es was *eibhis (; Skr. instr. pl. ebhâ) as in Ir. doib ‘to them’ < *do eibhis; this would give *dqw in W.; v after u disappeared early, but if altered to ð (ð ... v > ð ... ð) would remain longer; hence W. arnadhð < *yörnaðoibis < *yörnâ do eibhis or some such form; arnadh has the -nt of the verb added; arnna, arnann are probably later formations.—The modern equivalent i of the prep. *do performs the same function as that assumed above for *do; it is added to an adverb to make it a prep.; thus tu yma i ‘this side of’ § 216 ii (4), heibio i ‘past’ § 210 iii.

(2) at is the stem of the personal forms substituted for *ad, which may be from *ato < *ad-do, a compound of *ad and *do both denoting ‘to’. The personal forms seem to be derived from an adverb *ato-tâ; thus ataf < *ad-daf < *ato-ta-me; etc. as in (1).

(3) o dán (adan, O.W. guotan) is formed from *yo- ‘under’ § 156 i (16) (o-/a- < *yô-/u-; § 65 v (1)) and *tanâ < *tônâ as in Lat. pro-tinus < *pro-tûnos: Lat. tenus, ten- ‘stretch’; *yo-tanâ-me > o danaf, etc., as arnaf above; adv. o danô < *yo-tanâ-de (suff. -dhi or -dhe § 162 vi (2)). On the accent of dán see § 47 i; odán > dán; see also § 51 vi.
§ 210. Second Conjugation.—i. To this belong rhag ‘before’; heb ‘(past) by, without’; yu ‘in’; trwy ‘through’; tros ‘over’; er, Ml. W. yr ‘for’; rwng ‘between’; uwc h ‘above’; is ‘below’.

ii. rhag ‘before’, Ml. W. ũac, is conjugated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ml. W.</th>
<th>Mn. W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ũagof</td>
<td>1. ũagom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ũagot</td>
<td>2. ũagoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m. ũacdaw</td>
<td>3. ũacdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. ũacði</td>
<td>ũacðunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv. ũacco, õacw</td>
<td>adv. rháco, ácw ‘yonder’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ũagof W.M. 4, ũagot ib., ũacdaw do. 9, ũacði s.G. 63, ũacði w.m. 423, ũogdaw do. 444, ũodi a.l. i 452, 516, 522, ũogom b.b. 29, ũogoch r.m. 129, ũodú w.m. 53, r.m. 37, c.m. 37; l.a. 111, ũodunt w.m. 86; ũcko w.m. 251, ũacco r.m. 8, ũacow a.l. i 112 (ms.c. 13th cent.), Mn. W. rakw p 54/269 r., rhaco l.g.c. 32, usually acw do. 83; forms with -o-: Gwentian rhog (accented) h.g. 3, ũogdo i.f. p 83/66; s.w. dial. õco.—O.W. sg. 3. m. racdam juv. gl. sibi.

iii. heb ‘(past) by’; without’: sg. 1 hebof, 3. m. hebðaw, Mn. hebddo, f. hebði; pl. 1. hebom, 3. hebðunt; adv. heibjaw, heibaw, Mn. heibio ‘past’.
A cherdet heb gorr s.g. 257 'and walked past a dwarf'. hebof, 
hebof r.P. 1440, see § 198 ii, hebodaw ef w.m. 17 'past him', hebodaw ef 
do. 417 'without him', hebodi r.g. 1117; hebydaw r.m. 10, heibaw 
w.m. 15; Mn. W. hebod D.G. 513, hebom 1 Cor iv 8 (1620), heboch 
Rhuf. xv 28 (1620, changed in late editions to heibioch !). 'Past' as 
a prep. is in the late period generally expressed by heibio i Job 
ix 11.

iv. yn 'in' ym, yng § 107, 'n, 'm, 'ng § 44 vii (1): sg. 1 ynof; 
3. m. yndaw, i. yndi, Mn. W. yndo, yndi, re-formed later as ynddo, 
ynddi.

ynof ll.a. 8o, ynot w.m. 29, r.m. 19, ynoch s.g. 94; Mn. W. ynof 
G.R. [127], D. 70, ynot (3 times) Dat. xviii 22. The form indi 
r.b. 45, as opposed to hebti (=hebdo) do. 44, suggests d (ynidi) rather 
than δ. So in Early Mn. W., as undyn/yndaw H.D. p 99/474; 
randir/yndi L.G.C. r. 34; but L.G.C. 231 has ynddo/Wenddydd 
(? read Wendydd; the dial. forms are S.W. yndo, N.W. ynofo).

Llundain, ni chair lle yndi; 
Llu Owain hén a'i lleinw hi.—G.T., ll 134/167 r.

'London—there is no room in it; the host of old Owain fills it.'

v. trwv 'through': sg. 3 trwydaw, trwydi, pl. 3 trwyddunt. 
The stem of the 1st and 2nd pers. is trw-, or trwy- taken from 
the 3rd. Adv. trwod (trwad). In Mn. lit. W. the forms are 
trwef, trwot, trwyddo, trwydddi, trwom, etc.; adv. trwodd (dial. 
trwad).

drwyddu s.g. 9, 12, drwydot ll.a. 49, drwot do. 99, drwydaw, drwydi 
w.m. 111, trwydaw r.P. 1418, drwyddunt ll.a. 171, drwod w.m. 51-2, 
r.m. 36, s.g. 68, drwað r.m. 36. Mn. W. trwof-i 2 Tim. iv 17, trwot 
Philem. 7, trwodd Mic. v 8.

vi. tros 'over': sg. 1. trossof, Mn. W. trosf, 3. trostaw, trosti, 

drosos w.m. 88, drosot do. 25, drosaw ib., drosi ll.a. i 536, 
drossom ll.a. 155, trosut (-t = 8) ll.a. i 258, drostunt ll.a. 49. Mn. W. 
drosowf-i Matt. xvii 27, trosom Eph. v 2, trosod Matt. ix 1; etc.

1. yrof, erof; 3. yrðaw, yrði; etc. No adv.

ýrof r.P. 1264, yrof, yrot w.m. 9 'for me', 'for thee', yrðaw do. 37 
'for him', ýrom r.P. 1294 (/áreith), yrðunt r.m. 49. Mn. W. erof-i 
Ps. cix 21, erom Rhuf. xvi 6, erddo Col. i 16, etc.

ýrof, erof, 2. yrðot, yrðhôk, 3. yrðaw, (ý)þngtaw, (ý)þngtaw,
PREPOSITIONS

§ 210

(2) *yrof* i a *dunw* w.m. 2, 9, 10, etc. 'between me and God', *erof* a *dunw* do. 88, *fof* i a *dunw* do. 18, *yrynghot* w.m. 109, *y rom ni* do. 10 'between us', *y roc* c.m. 41 'between you', *yrydunt* w.m. 64, c.m. 30, 41, *ryngiawt w.m. 22, ryngtaw do. 19, *yrygthi* do. 176, *y rinygthunt*, do. 6, 35, *ryngiawt* do. 6. The forms *yrof* m.A. 119, *ryng* do. 75, 120, *ryngiawt* 75 with the form *r* as in *yrodes* (≡ *y rheodes*) do. 120, *yrei* (≡ *y rhei*) do. 75; show that the *r* is *rh*, as if initial (medial *r* after *y* is written 2).

(3) Strachan, Intr. 39, refers *yrof* to a simple *ro*, which is imaginary. Mn. W. *rho* in *rho Duw* D.G. 227 is a contraction of *rho a < rhof a*. Zeuss confused *yrof* 'for me' with *yrof* 'between me', ZE. 670; but the accentuation is different: Mn. W. *erof* 'for me', Mn. W. *yrof*, *erom* vii (accentuation attested by cyngghanedd), but Mn. W. *rho* 'between me' Mn. W. *rof* see above, Mn. W. *y rho* D.G. 201, *rho* 'between us', as—

Amodau, rhwyhmau oedd *rho*,
Eithr ángau a aeth *rhúngom.*—T.A., c. ii 79.

'Between us were covenants [and] bonds, but death went between us.'

(4) The compound *cyfrung* is similarly used: *kywru_u̱g* brodorion b.B. 55 'between brothers'; *kysfrungoch* m.A. i 222, *kyfrungthut* (-*t* ≡ -*θ*) do. 233.—*Cyfrung* is also a noun meaning 'interval' R.B.B. 11.—In Recent written W. a neologism *cyddrung* (*cyd-rhúng*) is sometimes used.

(5) Without initial *yr-* we find 1st and 2nd sg. forms used as adverbs: *yngo* D.G. 52, *yngod* do. 88, 280, c. 142 'hard by', Mn. W. *yghoth* w.m. 118, *yngot* s.g. 304; cf. *iso, isod.*

ix. *uwich* 'above', is 'below', Mn. W. *uch*, is: Mn. W. sg. 3. m. *uclaw, istaw* w.m. 455 'above him', 'beneath him', pl. 1. *uchoth* b.B. 29 'above us'. The 1st and 2nd sg. are used as adverbs: *uchof* a.l. i 50, p. 14/38 r. 'above', *uchot* m.A. 115 'above', Mn. W. *uchoth* g. 234, *uchot* 'above', *iso, isod* 'below'.

In Late Mn. W. *uchoth* 'above', *isod* 'below' are used, but no other inflected forms. For *uchof,* *isof* periphrastic forms are used, such as *uwich fy mhen, is fy nhraed, or is fy llaw.*

D d 2
x. (1) The -o- of the 1st and 2nd pers. endings of this conjugation prob. represents the ending -o of the prep. in Brit. Although the thematic vowel -o was not a case ending in Ar. it was a common ending of adverbs and preps., e.g. *apo, *upo, *pro, and may have spread in Kelt. Hence perhaps *proko me > Brit. *rokome > W. (*rhogof), rhagof. For the 3rd pl. -wunt see § 209 vii (1); 3rd sg. -si < *-do-si § 75 ii (2), where *si is the instr. sg. of *she. The 3rd sg. m. -daw is difficult; Mi. W. -daw, and Bret. -zañ, O.W. -dam (≡ -daw) seem to be two different reductions of *-daw, in which au (av) must be from *-au- not from -ā- (since ām > Bret. em). Both -daw and Corn. -tho may be from *-do-emi § 75 ii (2); *emi, instr. in *-mi of *es 'he'.

(2) *ag < *prokos : Lat. reci-procus, procul < *procolos, dim. of *prokos; unacc. ok > ak in Brit. § 65 ii (1); dialectal rhog, rhogdo, etc. < *prók-. The form before a noun seems to have ended in -s causing the rad. initial: Brit. *rokos unacc.; personal forms as above (1). The adv. *racw, *racco 'yonder' has a suffix *-hw or *ho, prob. with loss of -nn (as yma 'here' etc. § 110 v (2)), for *hwnn or *honn < *som-de or *som-da 'there' suff. *dhe or *dha § 162 vii (2), cf. hewn § 220 ii (5); thus Brit. *rokome sonde 'in front there' > *racw. Initial r- was prob. first lost after consonants: y gwfr racw > y gwfr acw, y brín racw > y brín acw, *dracw > dacw, etc.

(3) heb ' (past) by, without', Ir. sech id., Bret., Corn. heb 'without': Av. hača 'away from', O.Pers. hača id.: Lat. secus, Skr. sācā 'at, in the presence of'. These are believed to be all from √ seq- 'follow'; e.g. Brugmanna Pi ii 894 ff. The development of the meaning in Kelt. and Iran. is not quite clear. In W. heb with the vb. wyf means 'not having attained': yr wyf heb fy nghinio 'I have not had my dinner', perhaps < *I am in pursuit of'. This may explain the sense of 'lacking'. 'Past' and 'away from' may be from 'proceeding'. The adv. heibhaw (Bret. ebion) seems to be a cpv. of the adj. *seqnos; it might represent a loc. *seqhiosi § 75 ii (2).

(4) yn 'in' < *en, *eni and *en-do : Lat. in, O.Lat. en, Gk. ἐν, ἐν, etc. Although the last ends in -o, ὑνο, ὑνοτ, etc., cannot come directly from it, as they have only one -ν- in lit. W. Mi. and Mn. They are prob. re-formations from yn on the analogy of rhagof, etc. The -d- in yndaw, etc. is due to provection of δ after ν, § 111 vii (2).

(5) trwy 'through', Ir. tri, tre, Bret. tre, dre. It causes lenition in W., Bret. and Ir., except in Ir. before the article. For the form in the last case Brugmanna Pi ii 900 gives *tres, comparing *pres in Gk. τρέω-βς; but as *pri, *prei existed beside *pres, so there were prob. *tri, *trei; these would account for the leniting forms. W. trwy < *trei; trwydu(m)t < *trei do eibhis. The 1st and 2nd pers. forms and the adv. are analogical formations.

(6) tros 'over, across' is a weak form of traws § 71 i (2), as in ar draws 'across'. It comes from a participial form *tráns = Lat. tráns < *tráns. The 3rd pers. tróstaw, tróstt, tróstunt < *tráns do-; the other persons and the adv. are analogical formations.
§ 211 PREPOSITIONS

(7) **er**, Ml. W. yr, er. The meanings are 'for the sake of'; in spite of; in exchange for; since (a particular date)'; er ys, er's § 214 vii. The prep. represents more than one derivative of *per*, prob. *per*, *peri, *pero-s : Lat. per, Gk. τεπί, Skr. परि, Skr. परवाह. The prep. takes the rad.; this would be the initial after *peros. The personal forms have the meaning of 'for the sake of', and may come from *pero-.*

(8) **rhwng** 'between' has replaced O.W. *ithr 'between'; Ml. W. yrhwng < *per-ongo-, § 65 iii (1): cyf-wng 'interval', cyf-yng 'confined', e-ang 'wide' < *eks-ang- : Gk. ἄγχος, ἄγχου 'near', Lat. angustus, Germ. eng, /āgħ-/ōgħ- 'narrow, strait'; the o- is seen in Gaul. Octo-durus "arx in angustia sita". *(p)er-ongo-me by the usual loss of the second syll. would give *yrrof; the o seems to have been dropped, as before r, giving yrof, which kept its O.W. accentuation § 47 i, like yrhwng; if so, the o in yróm was originally short, and yron(n) occurs for it in b.B. 101 l. 2; the o seems to have been metathesized in O.W. *igridu b.s.ch. 2 'between them' for *yrroyðu < *(p)er-ongo-doibis.—The forms *ýrghof, *ýrghthaw etc. are probably new formations from yrhwng, perhaps originally *ýnghof for *yrrof. The curious 2nd sg. *gryghwod w. 3b seems to be a scribal error for *ýnghof (M.A. i 192).

(9) **uwch, is**, see § 148 i (14), (10). The 3rd pers. forms may be old, the adj. being used adverbially before do; the other forms are prob. analogical.

§ 211. Third Conjugation.—i. To this belong gan 'with, by' and wrth 'over against':

ii. (1) **gan** is conjugated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ml. W.</th>
<th>Mn. W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gennyf</td>
<td>1. gennym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gennyt</td>
<td>2. gennych</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m. ganthaw, -law</td>
<td>3. m. gantho, -to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. f. genthi, -ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also in Ml. W. genkyf, etc. In Late Mn. W. sg. 3. m. ganddo, f. ganddi, pl. 3. ganddynt; the dd is artificial.

(2) O.W. cant ox. 'with', Early Ml. W. kan, as kan canyat e pentelu a.l. i 14 'with the permission of the chief of the household'. The rad. is sometimes retained in Early Mn. verse: cennyd D.G. 329, cennym T.A. g. 252 (misspelt cenyd, cenym). Ml. W. ñ gan 'from with', as ugynt ykan pop gur a.l. i 14 '20
from every man’, became gan already in Ml. W., as attep ny chavas ef genthi hi w.m. 10 ‘he got no reply from her’; Mn. W. gan ‘from’.

(3) genthin (≡ genhyn) b.b. 101 ‘with me’, genhynf w.m. 55, gennyyf do. 18, genhid b.b. 10, gennyt w.m. 11, ganthaw do. 9, genthi do. 10, 15, genit do. 28, y gennym do. 12 ‘from us’, genhchoch do. 57 ‘with you’, gennwch ib., r.m. 40, ganthut (-t≡-t) m.a. i 258, gantu w.m. 57, ganthunt b.t. 65, w.m. 16, s.g. 1, gantunt l.l. 69. There is also in Early Ml. verse what appears to be a 3rd pl. genhyn b.t. 13 (twice), 15, 16 (twice), 17, 77, nyd ant y kenhin b.b. 49 ‘they will not go back’; also a form y genhyd b.t. 75, in an obscure passage.

(4) gan with the verb ‘to be’ expresses ‘have’: y mae gennyyf ‘there is with me’, i.e. I have, y mae gennyyt ‘thou hast’, etc.; nid oes gennyyf ‘I have not’, etc.

(5) On gennif, gennit, wrthif, wrthit, see § 77 iv.

iii. (1) wrth: sg. i. wrthyf w.m. 10; 2. wrthyf ib.; 3. m. wrthaw do. 2; f. wrthi do. 10; pl. i. wrthym l.l. 155; 2. wrthwywch w.m. 39; 3. wrthu l.l. 113, wrthunt do. 119.

(2) O.W. gurt paup ox. ‘against everybody’, gl. consistes. gurtndo juv., gl. obstitit, seems to be a verb, § 193 v (3).

Ml. W. y wrth ‘from beside’, as ywrthwywch ac ywrth ych tei l.l. 157 ‘from you and from your houses’, Mn. W. oddi wrth; oddi wrthyf, etc.; Ml. W. y wrth also means ‘compared with’, w.m. 11, Mn. W. wrth b.c.w. 5 ‘compared with’.

iv. (1) gan, O.W. cant (corn. gans, Bret. gant, Ir. prefix cē-, etc.)- has the meanings of *kom, of which it is a derivative. Thus cunn < cant < Brit. *kanta < Ar. *km-ta = Gk. καρά < *km-ta. The pronoun suffixed affected the a; it may have been abl. *mō(d) = Lat. mō(d), or possibly a loc. *mōi which as a mere suffix would become *-mi. So for the 2nd sg. The first and 2nd pl. are probably analogical. The affection of a before a labial became y, § 69 ii (4); hence gennyyf, gennym, gennyywch, which caused the sg. 2. to follow; thus the distinction kept in Corn. between genef and worthyf (similarly in Bret.) is lost in W. Between vowels -nt- > -nnt- > -nn- regularly. In the 3rd pers. *do is used, as after other prepositions, taking of course the same case; hence *cant-saw > gantaw or gantaw; so for f. and pl. The 3rd pl. genhyn, with verbal -n (added to the apparent stem genhy-')

(2) wrth, O.W. gurth(i), Corn. worth, orth, Bret. oun, oz, implies some such form as *yertí § 66 iii (1); Ir. frith ‘against’ < *urt-...
§ 212

§ 212. i. The prep. i ‘to’, Ml. W. y, O.W. di is inflected anomalously; the 1st sg. is ym, or with the affixed pron. ymi or ymy; for y-, i- is common in Ml. W., and became the usual form in Mn. W. The inflexion is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ym, ymi, ymy, im, imi</td>
<td>1. ynn, ynni, yunny, in, inni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ytt, ytti ytty, itt, itti</td>
<td>2. yvch, ychwi, ychwy, iwch, ichwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m. idaw, Mn. iddo</td>
<td>3. udý, uðuð, uðunt, Late Mn. iddynt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. idí, Mn. iddi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mwya ofn yw i myn
Ofn y paid ar 'fanaf i.—I.D., A 14997/28.

'The greatest fear to me is the fear that my trouble will end.'

iv. When dydd da 'good day' and nos da 'good night' are followed by yd 'to thee' and ywch 'to you', da yd is contracted to dáyd written daed (§ 29 ii (2)) and da ywch to dâywch, dâewch, now reduced to dâwch § 30.

"Nos daewch" i'r ferech nis dichon;
"Nos daed ti" nis dywaid hon.—D.E., A 14967/18 (g. 118).

'[To say] "good night to you" to the maid avails not; she will not say "good night to thee".'

Breiniawd wyt o'r barwnwaed;
Barwn Ysteplten, nos daed.—L.G.C. 141; see 127, 480.

'Noble art thou of the blood of barons; Baron of Stepleton, good night to thee.'

O'r cyff hun d'r Cyffinwaed
Y caun was deur. Can' nos daed!—T.A., A 14975/102.

'Of this stock and the blood of Kyffin we have a brave youth. A hundred good nights to thee.'

Dydd daed D.E. p 83/103, dyddiau daed G.Gl., m 146/203, D.G. 381.

Nos dâwch is still in common use; but daed is not now generally known. Silvan Evans quotes L.G.C. 141 (see above) and D.G. 381 under daed eqtv. of da.

v. oe 'to his, to her, to their' § 160 ii (1); yw, i'w 'to his, to her, to their' ib., § 160 iv (2).

vi. y, i 'to', O.W. di < Brit. *do is equivalent to the prefix dy-
§ 65 iv (2), § 156 i (13). It is strange that this prep. whose 1st sg.
is the only one in Ir. which has certainly a single -m (= W. *-f) is
the only one in W. with -m (≡ -mm). The -m is due, like the usual
-mm in Ir., to the Kelt. doubling of the initial of an unacc. word
following an accented monosyll., § 217 iv (1); thus ym < *dó-mmí
< *dó moi. The corresponding form of the 2nd sg. would be *yth,
cf. yth 'to thy'; but the form that survived was yd (id w.m. p. 279),
as in daed; by late analogical doubling this gave ytt (d-d > tt § 111
ii (1)). It may be conjectured that the 3rd pers. forms were orig.
*daw, *di, *du; as these were mere suffixes in the conjugation of
other prep. it is probable that *dy was prefixed here to represent
the prep.; y would be assimilated to a following i or u, and perhaps
ièaw takes its i from èi, O.W. didi l.l. 120. But the prep. *di
§ 156 i (11) may have been prefixed, with an intensive force, as
before *do in di-sawr § 195 i.
§ 213. i. The prepositions a [spirant], ag, Ml. W. a, ac 'with' and wedi [rad.], Early Mn. and Ml. W. (g)wedy may be followed by independent pronouns; thus á mi 'with me', á thi 'with thee'; á myfi, á m'i, á thydi, á th'í § 159 ii (3); ag ef, ag efo 'with him'; etc.; gueti ef L.L. 120 'after him', gwydi ny b.B. 44 'after us'.

Ac ni bydd oherwydd hyn
Gwedy ef gwir dy ofyn.—I.G. 312 (m. D.G.).

'And therefore it will be of no avail after him to ask for thee' (i.e. for a cywydd).

Y Deheu feirdd wedy fo
Sydd wannach eu swydd yno.—Gut.O., m 146/398.

'The bards of the South after him are weaker in their performance there' (m. G.Gl.).

Da oedd cyffion Hwv Conwy,
A da yw Hwv wedy hwy.—L.G.C. 463.

'Good were the ancestors of H.C., and good is H. after them.'

In Late Mn. W. the use of a pron. as above after wedi is rare.

ii. (1) a is now generally circumflexed to distinguish it from a 'and'. When it is accented it is of course long, but when unaccented it is short. The same is true of a 'and'.

(2) wedi has late -i owing to the frequency of its use, cf. § 16 ii (3). In Early Mn. W. where it rhymes it has -y; see e.g. L.G.C. 15, 66. In Mn. W. it has -y in mss. in which i and y are distinguished.

iii. (1) a, ag < *aggōs; it has two distinct meanings, and may therefore have a double origin: (a) 'together with' < *ad-g- : Ir. ac, oc, occ < *ad-go-s : Lat. ad, Goth. at, E. at, Brugmann II ii 793; this is the prep. used after cyf- and ym-, as cyf-arfod á 'to meet with'; and is the same as á, ag 'as' after the equative;—(b) 'by means of', as O.W. ha crip ox. 'with a comb', Mn. W. ò phyg Gen. vi 14 'with pitch' < *ab-g- : o § 209 vii (5). For ag, a [spir.] in this sense o [soft] is used in Gwent: taro ci o asgwn 'to strike a dog with a bone' Seren Gomer, Mai 7 1814; cf. kymynynt o òur r.r. 1042 for k. a òur b.B. 72 'they hewed down with steel'; conversely, after a spv. ag is used for o before a relative, as yn o'reu ac y gellynt c.m. 54, gyntaf ac y gallawd s.g. 408,

Y glanaf ag a luniwyd,
A'r goreu oll o'r gwyr wyd.—T.A., A 14971/53.

'The handsomest of [all] that have been created, and the very best of men art thou.' In Mn. W. this is o before the demonstr. 'r, as goreu ... o 'r a vu r.m. 82 'best of those that were'; rarely a, as o bop ... a'r a vei i.a. 141; Mn. W. a'r a. The common origin and
overlapping use of a 'by means of' and o 'of, from' prob. conducted to the formation of the analogical oc § 209 vii (5).—The last element in Brit. *ag-gōs is the same as that of the orig. form of a 'and' § 222 i (3).

(2) gwedy (: Bret. goude) 'after' is also an adv. 'afterwards' § 220 ii (9). As a prep. it is largely used before verbal nouns, and in periphrastic conjugation it forms the equivalent of a perfect. For its origin see l.c.; it has the same final element as a, ag.

iv. The above are the only prepositions which may govern personal pronouns, except mal, megys § 215 iv.

§ 214. The following prepositions are of more or less restricted use:

i. ach is used only in ach law 'near at hand'; ach fy llaw 'near me', etc. § 209 vii (5).

A trace of a wider use is seen in ym ach nur Kaer Loyw R.M. 131 'beside the wall of Gloucester'; ym = am < *mɛbhí § 156 i (4).

ii. ger [rad.] 'near', Ml. kir, ker, gyr, ger, geir, geyr, gar, is used chiefly in gerllaw, ger llaw 'at hand', gerbron, ger bron 'before' (ger fy llaw 'near me', ger dy law di ll.A. 125 'near thee', ger fy mron 'before me'), but may occur before any noun denoting a place.

The radical initial is k-, as kir llaw B.B. 10, ker llaw R.P. 1246, M.A. i 230, cer bron do. 206, ker tir Tyssiliaw do. 341, Mn. W. a cher bron Dat. iii 5. The origin of the word is uncertain; it seems to form the prefix in cyr-haeddaf 'I reach', Mn. v.n. cyrr-ædd : haeddaf 'I reach'; possibly allied to cwrr 'edge', ʃ(ş)er- 'cut'; both -ei- and -y- may be affections of -a- or -o- before -rr-, and -e- may be a variant of y § 16 iv (2); gar w.m. p. 281 may have unaffected a.

iii. tra is used only in drachésfn 'backwards, again' (cefn 'back'); with infixed pronouns kīya drathgesfn c.m. 41 'withdraw!' 2nd sg. impv., dracæøgfn R.M. 177 'behind her'. In Late Ml. and Mn. W. by a wrong division of dracæfn we have drach dy gwyñ s.g. 275 'behind thee', drach 'y nghefn D.G. 274 'behind me', drach ei chefn Gen. xix 26.

Tra mor tra Brython B.T. 76 'beyond the sea, beyond [the borders of] the Britons' and tra ūn B.B. 49 'beyond Rhun' preserve the remains of a wider use.

trachæfn for *tarchæfn < *tarős kebn- < Ar. *ṭrōs : Ir. tar : Skr. tirōḥ < *trāh; allied to trwy § 210 x (5); see § 156 i (22).

iv. pw (py) is used only in the phrase puwy gilydd 'to its fellow', as o ben bwy gilydd 'from end to its fellow' i.e. from end
to end. For examples see § 166 ii (3). A trace of a wider use survives in awr py awr r.B.B. 107 ‘[from] hour to hour’.

*yw* : Ir. *co* ‘to’. Initial gemination after the latter is secondary, according to Thurneysen, Gr. 456, who compares O.Bulg. *kusu* ‘to’ (< *gum*; Skr. *kâm* after the dative). The Kelt. form would be *gxo; this may be the pron.-stem *q^o*, seen in e-­grade in *q^o* ‘and’ (Lat. -que, Gk. *re*, etc.): Lat. *ás-que* < *ud-s* ‘out’ + *q^e* ‘to’.

v. *eithyr* [rad.] ‘without, except’, § 99 v (4), is used before verbal nouns, as eithyr bot *yn* well hyweirded *y* buyt w.m. 227 ‘except that the preparation of the food was better’; hence it came chiefly to be used as a conjunction. But it occurs also before nouns and pronominalia: eithyr *mod* c.m. 2 ‘beyond measure’; eithyr *y* *féi* a *oedynl* w.m. 227 ‘except the ones who were’.

**Eithyr** Morfudd *ni*m dihudd dyn.—D.G. 51.
‘Except Morfudd no one will appease me.’

vi. O.W. *ithr* m.c. ‘between’ seems to occur only once; it was obsolete in Ml. W.


vii. *ys*, *es* [rad.], Ml. W. *ys* ‘for ... past’ is used before a noun denoting a period of time. *er ys* with a past verb: *yr ys* *pell* o *amser* r.m. 130 ‘[I came] a long time ago’, cf. L.A. 106, 107; *er ys mis* W.II. c. 293 ‘for a month past’; contracted *er’s*.

**Ys guers yô wyf* yn keissaw a olchei vyyg cledyf** w.m. 487 ‘for some time I have been seeking one who would burnish my sword.’

*Ofnus fyth fu’r fynwes fau*

*Es dewis hyd nos Diflau.—G.Gl. p 103/193.*

‘My heart was constantly afraid for two months till Thursday night.’

*yô* ‘for the space of’, perhaps < *en-s*: Gk. *eis*, § 215 iii (1). If oed w.m. 123 l. 2 (omitted in r.m. 197) is oed ‘was’ for *yr ys* p 14/185 it shows *ys* taken for ‘is’, cf. Bret, zo, Fr. *il y a*; but *yr ys* is old, and implies *ys* prep.

viii. Ml. W. *annat* [rad.] ‘before, in preference to’ is used before *neb*, *dim*, and other expressions in which ‘any’ is expressed or implied. In Ml. W. *yn* began to be used before it; and in Mn. W. it became *yn anad*, the *nu* being simplified owing to the word being unaccented, cf. *canys* § 222 iv (1): *yn anad* *nêb*. 
Or dlywy diaspat dos wrthi, a diaspat gweric anat diaspat o'r byt r.m. 195 'if thou hearest a cry go towards it, and a woman's cry before [any] cry in the world'; w.m. 120 has anat, but other yn's are simplified in the same col.; heb ymgyfarvot ac ef yn anat neb s.g. 34 'without meeting him of all men', lit. 'rather than anybody'; cf. s.g. 142; yn anad neb D.G. 35, 107; Mor llygredig oedd ei wedd yn anad neb, a'i bryd yn anad meibion dynion Es. lii 14. It is also used adverbially: ac yn anat llawen oed Arthur s.g. 10 'and A. was especially glad'.

annat < *anta-tos an adv. formed from *anta 'before': Goth. anda-, Gk. ἀντα-, but w.m.l. 41.

ix. m yn [rad.] 'by' (in oaths); in N. W. sounded myn; Ml. W. mynn, m yn.

myn llaw wy'gyvveillt w.m. 458 'by the hand of my friend'; so r.m. 105, m cyn ll. etc. do. 170; m yn vy fyd c.m. 57 'by my faith'; myn Dw w.m. 115, m yn dyw w.m. 473 'by God'; myn fenaid D.E. c 49/15 r. 'by my soul'; myn einioes Pharaoh Gen. xlii 15.

Nid oes ym, m yn Dw.w. a o swydd * Printed dyn.
Ond o'r hain anwadl rhwyd.—D.G. 33.

'I have, by God, no task but studying fickleness.' Cf. w.m.l. 41.

mynn : Gael. mionn 'oath', Ir. mind 'oath': √ mendh- extension of √men- 'thought'; cf. W. adduned 'vow' < *ad-monî- § 100 v. Macbain connects Ir. mind 'oath' with Ir. mind 'holy relic' and this, with less probability, with Ir. mind 'diadem', O.W. minn gl. sertum (Lat. monile, see Walde s.v.).

x. ym [rad.] 'by' (in oaths).

Gwell ym ym Padric! R.P. 1277 'It is better for me, by Patrick!' Ym Sant Grigor! L.G.C. 183 'by Saint Gregory!'; ym Bwuno! G.Gl. m 146/188; ym Iesu! T.A., g. 229.

The origin of the word is obscure (?ym 'to my').

§ 215. Nominal Prepositions.—i. Some of the above prepositions are of substantival or adjectival origin. Others are —from adjectives:

(i) cyn (cyn) [rad.] 'before', in time: kin lleith b.b. 22 'before death', kin myned do. 30 'before going', kin braud do. 41 'before the judgement'. In Ml. W. it is followed by no 'than' before pronouns pers. and demonstr., and thus remains an adv.: kyn noc ef w.m. 178 'before him', kynn no hynny do. 11 'before that'. In Mn. W. it is no longer used before pers. pronouns, and has become a prep. before demonstratives: cyn hynny 'before that'. It is in common use before nouns.
cyn is the adv. cynt ‘sooner’, an obl. case of the cpv. adj. cynt § 148 i (3).

(2) nes [rad.] ‘until’, used before verbal nouns; as, ny chysgaf hun lonyd nes gwybot w.m. 167 ‘I shall not sleep comfortably until I know’; nês eifersedd T.A. g. 237 ‘until his lying (low)’, i.e. ‘until he lay (low)’; rarely before abstract nouns: nes henaint L.G.C. 445 ‘till old age’.

Gaw am ddysod diodydd,
Gwyliaw tân nes gwelodd dydd.—L.G.C. 430.
‘Calling for drinks to be brought, watching the fire till day is seen.’

The construction survives in Late Mn. W.: nes i mi ddysod Es. xxxvi 17 ‘until my coming’, cf. b.cw. 83, 115; but a new construction, nes before a noun-clause beginning with y, arose, e.g. nes y dêl y dydd c.c. 211 (end of 17th cent.) ‘until the day comes’. In the dialects the y is omitted and nes becomes a conjunction; but nes with v.n. is still in common use.

nes (≡ nês, though now sounded nês § 51 vi) = nês ‘nearer’, § 148 i (1); ‘nearer than’ > ‘this side of’ > ‘until’; cf. nys caffaf-i efo yn nes diôsêf llawer s.g. 291 ‘I shall not get him before suffering much’.

ii. Nominal preps. from nouns are used not only simply, as cylch ‘about’, but with a preceding prep., as o gylch ‘about’; the latter forms may be called composite nominal prepositions. When a pers. pron. is required to be the object, it takes the form of an infixed pron. in the composite prep., as o’th gylch ‘about thee’; o’th achos D.G. 101 ‘on thy account, because of thee’. The simple nom. preps. are the following, all taking the [rad.] except hyd:

(1) achos ‘because of’; compos. o achos id.: noun achos ‘cause’.

o achaws w.m. 12 ‘on account of’; o’th achaws di r.m. 233; pa achaws r.B.B. 112 ‘why?’ achos gwenfim l.mss. 239.

(2) clych, amgylch ‘about’; compos. ynhylch, o gylch, o amgylch, o amgylch ddylch ‘round about’: clych ‘circle’.

Yn buhwuman gan annwyd
Clych dros dy dŷ, Lleucu Llwyd.—L.G., br. ii 171.
‘Shivering with cold about the door of thy house, Ll. Ll.’, i.e. around thy grave; (v.l. Ynghylch dy dŷ F.N. 29); clych ddolidd Dwylais
L.G.C. 202, gylich y Ddol G. 91; y Nghych y ty w.m. 47 'about the house'.

cylich is believed to be derived from Lat. *circulus*; but the latter gives O.W. *cyrch* cp. 'cycle' regularly; and *cylich*, Bret. *kelch*, may well be Kelt. < *κύκλος* (by met.): Gk. κύκλος, κύκλως: E. *wheel*, etc.

(3) *eisiau* 'wanting; without'; compos. *eisia* 'for want of', *o'rh eisiau*, etc.: *eisiau* 'want', prob. orig. an adj. < Lat. *exiguum* (noun *eiswyet* < *exiguitas*).

Mis haf oedd i ferch Ddasydd, 
*Ac eisiau hwn gaeu* sydd.—T.A., G. 245.

'It was a summer month to the daughter of Dafydd, and without him [her dead husband] it is winter.'

(4) *erbyn* 'by' (a certain time or event), 'in readiness for'; compos. *yn erbyn* 'against' (a person or thing); *yn fy erbyn* Matt. xii 30 'against me'; also *i'm herbyn* Matt. xviii 21 'against me'.

*Hid im pen un brin erbin eu barnu* b.b. 42 'to the summit of one hill to be judged', lit. 'for the judging of them'.

*Erbyn* is itself originally a composite prep. < Kelt. *ar quennnai*, made up of the prep. *ari* § 156 (6), and the dat. of *quennnos* 'head': Corn. *erbyn*, Ir. *ar chiund* (in Ir. there is *ar chend* also, with *chend* acc.). The orig. construction with a pron. was Corn. *er dhen byn* 'against thee', Ir. *ar do chiund* 'in front of thee'. The improper compound *erbyn* was mistaken for a proper in W., whence *yn erbyn* etc.; but it did not become an ordinary noun though treated as such in this construction.

(5) *herwydd* 'according to, in the manner of', and 'by' (as in lead 'by' the hand); *gerwydd* in Late Ml. W. in the last sense, Mn. W. *gerfydd*; compos. *o herwydd* 'on account of', *i'm herwydd 'on my account', *o'r herwydd* 'on that account', *yn herwydd* 'according to', *yn ol yr herwydd* 'on the average', *pa herwydd* 'why?'

*Herwydd* *d dyyll* [read *dyall*]... a rodes Duw *y'r neb ae troes* b.b. 160 'according to the understanding that God has given to him who translated it'; *herwith gui in gueini* b.b. 44 'in the manner of men in service'; *herwydd* *y afwyneu* w.m. 142 [lead the horse] 'by his reins'; *gerwydd* *y afwyneu* c.m. 47 'by his reins'; *erwydd* *y traet* w.m. 55 [grasped the boy] 'by his feet'; *cherwydd* *hyn* § 213 i; *o'i herwydd* D.G. 498 'on her account'; *yn herwydd* *gueledigaeth* w.m. 34 'as regards appearance'; *(y)r iath Gymraeg *yn ei herwydd
M.K. [viii] ‘the Welsh language in general’; Ba herwydd na bai hiraeth T.A. ‘why should there not be longing?’ — O.W. heruid duiutit JUV. ‘according to divinity’; hithi erguid ox. ‘in general’(7).

herwyð : Corn. herwyd; Bret. herevez; the h- though appearing in all (as opposed to W. and Corn. erbyn) can only be explained as accentual, cf. hery, Bret. hano, Corn. hanow; the rest seems to be < *ari-yid- ’ *appearance, manner’, √ yeid- ‘see’; erwyð also occurs without h- in O. and Ml. W.; and gervyð is a variant due to another treatment of e-, see § 112 ii (z).

(6) hyd [soft] ‘the length of’, § 148 i (8), in two senses, (a) ‘as far as’, (b) ‘along’; compos. ar hyd [rad.] ‘along’, ar dy hyd ‘along thee’, also ‘at thy full length’ (on the ground).

o lost irinis hit bron ir alt L.L. 73 ‘from Llost yr Ynys as far as the breast of the Allt’; o hynny hyt trannoeth w.m. 6 ‘from that [time] till the morrow’; hyt yr amser do. 19 ‘till the time’; often followed by yn § 216 ii (1)—ar hit taf L.L. 258 ‘along the Taff’; ar-i-hit do. 159, ar-y-hit do. 143 ‘along it’, n-i-hit do. 43, 78, etc., yn-y-hit do. 146 ‘along it’.

In the dialects hyd developed an inflected 3rd sg. hjdðo, hjdði (the y, instead of y, shows it to be late); this is sometimes met with in Late Mn. W.: ar hyd-ðdi Gen. xxviii 12.

O.W. bi hit cp., bichet ib., beheit ox., bekit L.L. 73, beket do. 73, 122, bet JUV., L.L. freq., e.g. 146 (7 times), 155 (11 times) ‘as far as’; cehit L.L. 73 ‘along’, cihitan do. 122 bis ‘along’, cihitun ox. ‘along’; Ml. W. set (misprinted ver) R.M. 144 (see W.m. 201) ‘as far as’; Gwentian ved h.g. 23, 52 ‘till’.

bi- < Ar. *bhi (: *obhi) ‘on (to)’ : Goth. bi, Skr. abhi (Lat. ob may be from *obhi or *opi); -het may represent acc. *-stym; the unique form -heit may be due to heitham which follows it; bet is generally regarded as a contraction of behet, but such a contraction is doubtful so early; cf. also Bret. bete, beteg; can it be an adv. direct from bi-? cehit = eqtv. cyhyd § 148 i (8); cihitan an adv. like quotan etc., from *ko-si-tan-; -un error for -an?

(7) llwrrw ‘in the track or direction of, after, with, as regards’; compos. yn llwrrw id., ar llwrrw id., adv. ‘forward’; S.W. dial. llwrrw i ben ‘head foremost’; also Ml. W. llwry.

llwrrw essiwet ket R.F. 1351 ‘after death of largess’, llwrrw alaeth . . . digrawn . . . deigyr do. 1206 ‘with grief the tear flows’; yn llwrrw llwyth elevt doyt a'n dyd yn llawr P.M. M.A. i 306 ‘following earth’s tribe the Lord will place us in the ground’; dos heb
argysswrw ar llwrw y'r lle do. do. 292 'go without fear forward to the place'.

llwrw : Corn. lerch 'track', war lerch 'after', Bret. lerc'h 'track', Gael. lorg 'track', Ir. lorg; all < Kelt. *lorg < *plorg- dissim. for *pro-rg-, √ regv- § 193 (8) : Lat. pergo, perrexī < *per-reg-; etc.

(8) parth, parthed 'towards, as regards'; compos. o barth, o barthret g.c. 108 'as regards'; imparthred b.B. 26 'in the region of'; parth is oftenest followed by a § 216 ii (2).

parth espyt r.p. 1226 'as regards strangers'.

parth 'part' < Lat. part-; parthed is by dissim. for parthred with -red as in gweithred § 143 iii (22).

(9) plith 'in the midst of'; compos. ymhlith 'among', yn eu plith 'among them', o blith 'out of the midst of', o'ch plith 'from your midst', i blith 'into the midst of', i'w plith 'into their midst', plith dráphlith § 47 iii.

plith from Lat.; perhaps < Brit. *plikt- for Lat. plicit-; W. plygu 'to fold' < Lat. plic-o.

iii. Many composite nominal prepositions have no corresponding simple form (i.e. the noun alone is not used as a prep.). All are followed by the [rad.]. The most important are—

(1) mewn, Ml. W. y mywn, mywn 'in' (though apparently a simple form, mywn is a mere phonetic reduction of ýmýwn); o fewn 'within'; with inf. pron. i'w mewn hi Num. v 24; o'ch mewn Luc xvii 21; also in Mn. W. i fewn y llys Marc xv 16; adv. i mewn, oddimewn.

(y)mywn 'in the middle of' has come to be used for 'in' before indefinite, yn being restricted to definite, objects; thus ýmywn ty w.m. 53 'in a house', yna y ty do. 54 'in the house'; in Ml. and Early Mn. W. mywn, mewn is sometimes used before the latter.

i < *ens : Gk. ἐσ < ἐσ < *en 'in' + -s as in *eks. i mewn, ýmywn = Ir. inmedón, immedón; Ir. medón 'middle'. The W. form has lost § 110 iv (2), and was therefore orig. dissyllabic *my|wn < *mýwn, which most probably represents *myd-wyn § 78 i (2). Both this and Ir. medón would be regular from Kelt. *medijknū̂ : Lat. mediocris, spv. mediocimus. If this equation is right, mediocris can hardly be '*middle-hill' (oecris, Sommer 488, Walde s.v.) but may be an adj. in -ri- (cf. ãcri-, sacri-) from *medioque formed from medio-like prope (for *proque) from pro, as the spv. mediocimus beside proximus suggests. The Kelt. would be a noun in -no- from the same (It.-Kelt.) extd. stem.—Orig. stem *medh(i)ko- : Skr. mádhya-h, Gk. μέσο-.
(2) er mwyn ‘for the sake of, on account of, in order to’; er fy mwyn ‘for my sake’, etc.

Er dy fwyn yr ydywfy fî
Meun eira yma ’n oeri.—D.G. 107.

‘It is on thy account that I am shivering here in snow.’

As a noun mwyn meant ‘value, enjoyment’, but except in the above phrase was generally replaced by mwynyant in Ml. W.; thus in R.B. 963, Ni wybydiwr mwyn (v.l. mwynyant 1076) fynnawn yny el yn fspið (dispyð 1076) ‘the value of a well will not be known until it goes dry’. As an adj. mwyn means ‘gentle, kind, dear’, and is still in use; cf. E. dear ‘costly’ and ‘loved’.

mwyn ‘value’ < *mei-nco-, √*mei- ‘exchange, barter’: Lat. munus, münia.

(3) ymysg (ymysg) ‘in the midst of’; yn eu mysg ‘in their midst’; o'n mysg ‘out of our midst’; i'ch mysg ‘into your midst’; emysc hynny w.m. 33 ‘in the midst of that’ i.e. those happenings; o fysg, i fysg.

ymysg: W. mysgu § 96 iii (5). The idea is ‘mixed up with’; and there seems no need for Henry’s attempt, s.v. emesk, to connect the word with *medhio-.

(4) yn wysg ‘in the track of, after’, Ml. W. yn eu hwysc see below, yn wyse y benn w.m. 55 ‘after his head’, i.e. head foremost, Mm. W. yn wysg fy mhen, yn wysg dy drwyn, yn wysg i gefn, etc.

Mae yr aniveileit yd aethawch yn eu hwysc? w.m. 86 ‘Where are the animals which you went after?’

wysg ‘track’ implies *ei-sk-, and seems like a case of metath. of § 100 v ( *ped-skio-: Gk. πεδά ‘μέτα’, Lat. pēs ‘foot’, etc.).

(5) yn ethryb ‘because of’, o ethryb id. J.D.R. [xiv].

Pellynnic vyg khof yg kyntevin
Yn ethrip caru Kaerwys vebin.—G., w. 7b.

‘My mind is far away this Spring, on account of loving the maid of Caerwys.’

ethryb ‘causa, occasio’ D.D. s.v. seems to contain *-og- affected § 69 ii (4); perhaps as a noun-suff. added to *gter- (*enter § 214 vi); ‘circumstance’ (1).

(6) yn ól ‘after’, yn dy ól ‘after thee’; ar ól ‘after’, ar eu hól or ar eu holan ‘after them’; o’m hól ‘behind me’, i’th ól ‘after thee’.

All in common use ól § 149 i.
(7) **ynَwَّيَسْ** ‘in the presence of’, *ynَ fyَ wَيَدََّ ‘in my presence’, *iَھَ wَيَدََّ ‘into thy presence’, *ؤُيِّ wَيَدََّ ‘from her presence’, etc.

*gَوَيَدََّ* § 63 iv.

(8) o blegid ‘on account of’, *ؤُيِّ blegid ‘on thy account’; *yمَلَدََّ m. a. i 306 ‘on account of’.

*pleyغَد* (i for *g* after *g*, § 77 ii) < Lat. *placeitum*.

(9) ar gyfaير (now misspelt ar gyefer) ‘opposite’, ar fy nghyfaير ‘opposite me’; *ynَgyfaير ‘opposite, against, instead of’; Ml. W. ar gyfaير, yngyfaير, etc.; y gyfaير w. m. 449 ‘the direction’.

O.W. ar cyneiِر l.l. 141, ar ciueir do. 196; Ml. W. ar gysfer w. m. 250; y�َيَفَيَٰر do. 449, y�َيَفَيَر r. m. 293 ‘opposite’, *yمَلَدََّ y* gysfer r. m. 141 ‘in front of him, straight ahead’, Ml. W. ar gysfer D. G. 189 (rh. with *ledf-air*).

The reason for the misspelling is partly the dialectal pronunc., § 6 iii; and partly perhaps the form cyfer- in cyfer-erbyn etc. All the derivatives, cyfernïاَد ‘direction’, cyferïاَد ‘to direct’, etc., are from cyfaير.

cyfaير < *kom-arjُو-, a compound of *kom- and *arjُو- < *رَيَٰل-*, a noun formed from the prep. *رَيَٰل- : Lat. *praе*, etc. § 156 i (6).

(10) o flaِن ‘in front of’, ymlاِن id., *ؤُمَلاِن ‘in front of me’, dos *yَnَ ‘[Norse source] a go in front of thee’, i.e. go on, ymlاِن llآِن ‘beforehand’.

*dyَوَلََّ ymlاِن llآِن Yمَسَّ Y* kedïِرَن w. m. 54 ‘to come in front of the host of the Isle of the Mighty’; *yمَلَدََّ y* vlaِن ac *yَنَ ol* r. m. 149 ‘before him and after him’; *وَرَدََّ oَe* blaِن do. 49, w. m. 68 ‘to walk before them’.

blaِن, O.W. blain : Corn. blyïِن ‘tip’, Bret. bleïِن, blïِن ‘bute, extrême’.

The meanings of the noun in W. are 1. ‘source’ (of a river) frequent in l.l., and common later, 2. ‘point’ (of a needle, blade, spear, twig, etc.), 3. pl. blaِنïاَن in place-names ‘outlying parts where valleys are hemmed in by mountains’. The orig. meaning seems to be therefore ‘discharge, project’; hence prob. *gَئَلَِّه- : Gk. βάλλω ‘I throw’, βλημα, βολη, βάλς ‘a throw’, βολες ‘arrow’, O. H. G. quellan ‘to well, to gush’, O. Norse kelda ‘source’, Gk. βελόνη ‘needle’, Lith. gë-li ‘to prick’, geloniïِس ‘needle’, etc. The formation is not quite clear; the Corn. and Bret. forms seem to imply Brit. *blٰنٰ- (< *gٰلٰنٰ- : cf. Lith. gelonïِس) and the W. may represent the same with met. of *يِ, § 100 v; *ؤٰيٰ > *وِيِ > ae after the labial. blaِنïاَن § 149 i.
§ 215
PREPOSITIONS

(11) *heb amlaw* R.M. 179 'besides, in addition to', *hebláw* or *heb law* Matt. xv 38, rarely *amlaw* GRE. 327 id.

*llaw* 'hand' in the sense of 'side'; *heb law* 'out-side', *am law* 'be-side'; *heb i llaw* D.G. 148 'beside her'.

(12) *o ran* 'on account of', e.g. W.IL. 173; *o'm rhan i* 'for my part', etc.; *o waith* 'because of'.

*rhan* 'share, part', § 63 vii (2). *gwaith* 'deed' § 193 x (4).

(13) *ynghyfyl* s.g. 35 'near', *ar gyfyl* id.; *yn i chyfyl* BR. iv 427 'near her'. *is cil* 'behind' ; *is y gil* R.M. 151 'behind him'.

*cyf-yl* : *ym-yl* 'edge' § 101 iv (2).

(14) *ach law* § 214 i; *gerlláw*, *ger bron* Haw. do. ii; *gerbrón*, *ger* Iron ib.; *drachefn* do. iii, *trachefyn* y hor w.m.l. 32 'behind the door'; *ar draws* § 210 x (6); *ymrón* c.c. 34 'on the point of, nearly', in Late Mn. W. bron.

iv. (1) Mn. W. *mal*, val, Mn. W. *mal*, *fal*, *fél* 'like', and Mn. W. *megys*, Mn. *W. megys*, *megis* 'like', are followed by a noun, a verbal noun, or a noun-clause introduced by *y*. They generally stand in an oblique case, and are therefore prepositional. But sometimes they qualify nouns, as

*Pan ël y gwalt hir-felyn*
*Ai frig fal y caprig gwyn.*—D.G. 441.

Lit. 'When the long yellow hair goes with its tips like white cambric'.

*Y ddyn fegis Gwen o'r Ddol,*
*Rhywiog araf raggerol.*—D.G. 379.

'The woman like Gwen of the Dale, gentle, patient, peerless.'

(2) *fél* and *megis* may be followed by independent pers. pronouns, as *mal ef R.P. 1403* 'like him', *fel myfi*, etc., or by demonstratives as *fel hyn*. (e)*fel hyn* (Corn. *evel henn*) though still surviving by re-formation, became (e)*fell hyn*, whence *efelly yfelly*, *felly* 'so', § 110 v (2). In Gwent *fell hyn* became *llyn*, and subsequently *yn lllyn* with adverbial *yn*, *BAR. i 376, 378.

*Ni fwiaduon favor rodiau*
*A gôr fell hîn gar fy llaw.*—T.A., c. i 338.

'I did not intend much to roam with a man like this near me.' *ac evelly A.L. i 6* 'and similarly'; *Ay yvell y gwanaethant wy ?* W.M. 41 'is it so that they did?'

(3) *val*, O.W. *amal* (: Ir. *amal*) is a weak form of *hafal* < *s_m_e*-
§ 94 i; Mn. W. *mal* may represent an early elision of the first
syllable, thus *s'meJ-; the e in Mn. W. may come from forms like welly where the a is affected by the y; but Bret. has welv also. Ir. amal governs the acc. case.

megys seems to be a spv. (eqtv.?) of the same word corresponding to comparatives in -ash (< *-än-son); thus *s'mäk-istó- > megys; *sam-äk-istó- > Mn. ymegys g.c. fac. i. The use of megys as a noun, as yn y megys hwnn c.m. 39 'in this manner', does not prove it an orig. noun; cf. Mn. W. yr un fel 'in the same way'.

§ 216. Compound Prepositions.—This term may be used to denote expressions in which the last element is a preposition, to distinguish them from composite prepositions, in which the last element is a noun. They fall into two classes: i. prep. + prep.; ii. noun, adv. or pron. + prep.

i. (1) Mn. W. ý am 'from about'; besides', § 209 v; ý ar 'from on'; ý gan 'from with'; ý wrth 'from by'; Mn. W. oddi am 'from about'; oddi ar 'from on'; gan 'from' § 211 ii (2), more rarely oddi gan, see oddi genyf § 194 v (3); oddi wrth, now mostly oddiwrth; Mn. W. oð is R.M. 151, 172. Inflected: oddi amdano Gu.O. c. 193, oðu nhclaw R.M. 141, etc. Mn. W. ði-eithyr s.g. 8 'except', o-ði-eithyr l.la. 143 'outside'; Mn. oddieithr 'except', dial. corruption oddigerth.

oddi is itself a compound of o + ði; in Mn. W. it is comparatively rare before vowels: oðyarnati l.a. 159, but occurs before adverbial expressions as oðynma s.g. 7, 40, in which, however, it is generally oð- before a vowel, as oðymma s.g. 4, oðyna w.m. 19; this is also the usual spoken form. The-i (mostly i before a vowel) is taken in Late Mn. and Early Mn. W. from forms in which a consonant follows, as oðdi draw, Mn. W. oðydraw c.m. 46. (oddieithr is for o oddieithr.)

In the Gwentian dial. oð was taken from these connexions, and used for o before a vowel, and ið for i was made on its analogy. These forms occur in late Gwentian writings; and Pugh made a determined but unsuccessful attempt to substitute in the written language the new Gwentian oð y 'from the', etc., for the ancient o'r, etc., in order to avoid the apostrophe!

(2) Mn. W. er ys, er's § 214 vii; er cyn, as in er cyn cof 'from before memory' i.e. from immemorial.

(3) gor-uwch, gor-is § 45 iv (2); cyf-rwng § 210 viii (4).

(4) The forms odan, amdan, ohonof, § 209, are compound prepositions, and are often written o dan, etc.; § 209 vii.

(5) The combinations a chan 'having', heb gan 'without having' are not compound prepositions, because each prep. has its own
object; thus in heb ganddynt fugail Matt. ix 36 the obj. of heb is buyail, and the obj. of gan is the suffix, so that the phrase may also take the form heb fugail ganddynt, lit. 'without a shepherd with them'. Similarly cyn i, wedi i, er i, etc., before verbal nouns; the first prep. governs the v.n., as in cyn i mi ddyfod, which may also be expressed by cyn dyfod ohonaf lit. 'before the coming of me', i.e. before I come.

ii. (1) hyd yn, hyd ar, hyd at 'as far as, up to, till, to'.

hyt ym penn y elwydyn w.m. 4 'till the end of the year'; hid attad b.b. 3 'to thee'; diaspad ... hid ar ddu y dodir do. 106 'the cry—to God is it raised.'

hyd yn oed 'as far as, even'.

In Ml. W. it has two meanings: (a) 'up to but not including' i.e. all except: a cafau cubel hyt enjoet un keijnjauc a.l. i 100 'and all is had except one penny'; (b) 'up to and including': hyt ynn oet eu pechawt l.a. 34 'even their sin'. The latter is the meaning in Mn. W.: hyd yn oed Marc ii 2 'even'. The phrase is in common coll. use.

The origin of oed or ynoed here is quite uncertain; as no pref. or inf. pron. is used with it, it would seem to be an adv. 'even' (?) noet < *nai-t-, variant of neut 'indeed' § 219 i (1)).

(2) tu a(g), tua(g) 'towards', tuag at id., parth a(g) id., parth ag at id.; Ml. W. ý gyt a(c), gyt a(c), Mn. W. gyd a(g), gyda(g), ynghyd a(g) 'together with', gyferbyn a(g) 'opposite', gyfarwyneb a(g) id., ynglyn a(g) 'in connexion with', etc.

tu ha l.l. 272 'towards'; tu ath wdat l.a. 125 'towards thy country'; y tu ac attaw c.m. 47 'towards him'; tu ac at l.a. 158; parth a'r berth w.m. 69 'towards the bush'; parth ac attunt do. 38 'towards them'; aros ... hyt parth a diwed y dyd do. 70 'to wait till towards the end of the day'; ýgut ac ef w.m. 7 'together with him'; ý gytc ac wynt do. 5 'with them'; gyverbyn a hi r.m. 293 'opposite her', gyvarwyneb ac wynt w.m. 185 'opposite them'; tu-ag-at am M.K. [xi] 'with regard to'.

tu 'on the side', like parth, is definite without the article—an old construction which survived in a few idioms; the tendency to use y before tu, as y tu ac above, is shown by the early tu ha to be a Ml. W. neologism, which did not become general.

(3) Ml. and Early Mn. W. vi a, ti a, ef a, efo a, hi a, before vowels vi ag, etc. 'with, together with', literally 'I with', 'thou with', etc. The pronoun had lost its pronominal force, and its antecedent was frequently a pronoun of the same person coming immediately before it. Thus:
ACCIDENCE

§ 217. Negative Particles.—i. The forms of negative particles are as follows:

(1) Before verbs: in a direct sentence, Ml. W. ny, nyt, Mn. W. ni, nid; in an indirect sentence, Ml. W. na, nat, Mn. W. na, nad; in a relative sentence usually the first form, sometimes the second, see § 162 v (1); in commands, na, nac

A minheu vi a'r morynjon a wiscaf ymdanaf inheu w.m. 99 'and I with the maids will dress myself'. kysgeist di ti a Lawnslot s.g. 302 'thou didst sleep with Lancelot.' bwyt a llynn... y'th neithawr di ti a 'm merch i r.m. 120 'food and drink for thy nuptials with my daughter'. Sef a wnaeth ynteu of ae tu y nos honno R.B.B. 76 'this is what he did with his host that night'.

A rhif gwylith o fendithion
A fo i Huw ef a hon.—L.G.C. 463; cf. 4, 308.

'And blessings numerous as the dew be to Huw with her.'

Yr oedd Esyllt urddaswawr
Draw hi a'i mab Rhodri Mawr.—L.G.C., m 146/140.

'Esyllt the noble was there with her son Rhodri Mawr.'

Y nef i hwn efo a hi.—T.A., a 14975/107.

'Heaven [be] to him with her.'

efo a(g) was contracted to efu(g), as the metre requires in the last example; see efo honn, efo hi S.V. c.c. 361. In Gwynedd efo(g) came to be used for 'with' irrespective of the person of the antecedent; this is noted by Simwnt Vychan as a grammatical fault, p.l. xcvi. His example is Mi efo Siôn 'I with Siôn', literally 'I, he-with Siôn', which should obviously be Mi vi a Siôn 'I, I-with Siôn', and may have been so written by the author of the line, as it yields equally good cynghanedd. [Ab Ithel, knowing efo only as a dial. word meaning 'with', entirely misses the point in his translation, and italicizes Mi and Siôn, as if 'I with John' could be ungrammatical in any language!]

(4) tu... i forms a numerous class of prepositional expressions, as tu yma i 'this side of', tu draw i 'beyond', tu hwnt i id., tu cefn i 'behind', tu uchaf i 'above', etc.

tu 'side', Corn., Bret. tu, Ir. töib, Gael. taobh < Kelt. *toibo-; origin uncertain; Macbain² 359 gives √ steibh/p- 'stiff, erect', which seems far-fetched from the point of view of meaning.

ADVERBS
(≡ nag); in answering a question, na, nac (≡ nag). The forms
nid, nad, nac are used before vowels only; the forms ni, na
before consonants, and a mutated g, as ny wmn... ny allaf
w.m. 21 'I do not know... I cannot', na at > nái § 201 ii (2)
'let not' (nid allaf is not in accordance with traditional usage).
—With infixed pronouns: ni'm, na'm, ni's, nyw etc.

The initial mutation after ny na in Ml. W. is as follows: p-, t-, c-
spir.; b- rad.; m-, ll- rad. or soft; d-, g- soft; r- not shown (r- may
be r̃ or r̂). But na (nac) takes the soft of b-, m-, il-. In Mn. W.
ll- is always softened; b-, m- are generally softened, though the rad.
remained also in the Early Mn. period, and persists in ni bu etc.
beside ni fu; p-, t-, c- spir. In Early-Ml. W. ny relative softens the
tenues.

Examples:—Ml. W.: p-, ny forthint b.b. 34 'they cherished not';
t-, ny thykyja w.m. 14 'avails not'; c-, ny chan b.b. 31 'he sings
not'; b-, ny byð w.m. 4 'he will not be', ac na bo b.b. 54 'and that
there may not be'; m-, ny mynneis w.m. 18 'I would not', nywyn
w.m. 148, na mës do. 147, but ny vynhei w.m. 58 'would not'; ll-, ny
luiti ðewuet (-t ≡ ð) b.b. 8 'wealth avails not', ny llesseint do. 63 'were
not slain', but ni laðaf i di w.m. 8 'I will not kill thee'; g-, ny wmn,
ny allaf above; d-, ny tiuuc (≡ ny ðiw(y)g) b.b. 8 'makes no
amends'. Relative: corph ni glwit (-t ≡ ð) b.b. 20 'body that hear-
est not'; ny bara r.p. 1175.—Mn. W.: ni mynnaf I.F. p 97/179
'I will not', ni ðeddodd W.I. c.II. 105 'he possessed not'; ni bu
T.A. c. 251, ni fu T.A. § 37 iii (1).

(2) Before a noun, adj., pron., adv. or prep.: Ml. W. nȳt,
Mn. W. nid [rad.] 'it is not', used before vowels and conso-
nants; indirect nat, nad [rad.].

Nȳt guwarotyð guvellau b.b. 962 'it is no disgrace to reform'; Nid
cur llawer urth din [read dim] da b.b. 7 'it is not pain to labour at
anything good'.

ii. (1) The negative adverb na 'no' may answer any question
introduced by a or ai; it may be used alone, but is generally
followed by a neg. part., as na, nid hynny 'no, not that'.

(2) A question introduced by a is answered in the negative by
na, nac (≡ nag) with the verb; as A ddaw ef? Na ddaw 'Will he
come? No'; but if the verb is in the aor. (or perf.) the answer
is ná ddo, sometimes written naddo, but wrongly, for the a is
long, not medium as in a penult; thus A aeth ef? Ná ddo 'Did
he go? No'. Na ddo w.m. 425.

(3) A question introduced by ai is answered in the negative
by Mr. W. nac ef, Mr. W. nāg e (often written nage) 'not so',
as Ai tydi a'i gunaeth? Nāg e 'Is it thou that didst it? No.'
More rarely thus: Ae guell . . . ? Na well w.m. 85.

iii. A negative part. is frequently supplemented by dim 'at all'; see § 170 v (3).

iv. (1) Mr. W. ny < Kelt. *ne < Ar. *ne.—Ar. *ne was ordinarily
accented, and the verb unacc. § 179 i. In Kelt. the initial of the
unacc. word seems to have been doubled after the accented vowel; in
Ir. gemination occurs after nī 'not' and the preverbs ro, no. Thus
Brit. *nē kkarāme gives Mr. W. ny charaf. Hence the spir. of tenues
after nī. So *bb- > b-, *mm- > m-, *ll- > l-. The soft δ- may be due
to late simplification of double d § 93 iii (1); lenition of g- may
have spread from gw- <*gw-, which even if doubled would prob. give
*gw- after a vowel. From these and the relatival form, lenition spread
to b-, m-, ll-, rh.—The neg. rel. lenited because it was orig. unacc.,
and the verb accented, so that the regular softening took place after
the vowel, § 162 vi (3).

(2) Mr. W. nyt was orig. 'there . . . not' < *n(e) ita § 189 iii (3);
and was used before consonants as well as before vowels, as O. W. cen
nīt boi (prob. b- ≡ v-) cr. 'though there be not'. The difference in
meaning between ny 'not' and nyt 'there . . . not' was lost, and both
are used in the two senses, ny before consonants and nyt before
vowels.

(3) Mr. W. nyt 'it is not' before a noun, etc., may come from *ne
tod 'it [is] not', where *tod 'it' is the neut. sg. nom. of *so, *sā,
*tod > Gk. δ, η, τό, § 159 iv (1). It is improbable that nyt contains
the verb 'to be' as Strachan assumes, Intr. 98.

(4) Though the vb. was unacc. after *nē in direct sentences in
Ar., it was accented in dependent clauses; this may have led to a
reduced unacc. *nē giving Kelt. *na, Mr. W. na. If so, the mutation after
na and the form nat followed the analogy of ny, nyt; but this is
probable in any case.

(5) W. na, nac before the impv. may be referred to Kelt. unacc.
na + a particle beginning with k-, possibly cognate with Lith. -ki,
a particle suffixed to imperatives.

(6) W. na, nac in answering questions. In na ddo (: Ir. na-thū) we
have simple na; in nac ef 'it [is] not so' the -c may represent some
form of the *ke- pronoun.

§ 218. Interrogative Particles.—i. The interrogative par-
ticles are: (1) before verbs, a [soft]; before nouns, etc., Mr. W.
ae, Mr. W. ai [rad.] 'is it?' (2) before verbs, O.W. anit, Mr. W.
ponyt(t), pany(t), Mr. W. poni(d), pani(d), pond, pand, oni(d), ond
'nonne?'; before nouns etc., Mr. W. ponyt [rad.], Mr. W. pond,
pand, onid, ond 'is it not?' The initial mutation after pony etc.
is the same as after ny; so the use of -t before verbs. (3) Mn. W. ai ę 'is it so?'; onid ę, onitę 'is it not so?' dial. N.W. ai ę?
yń't ę? S.W. ai ęf e? i cf e? onit ęf e?

Examples: (1) Ml. W. A węost ti b.T. 27 'Dost thou know?’ ae
ti a eirch vy merch w.m. 479 'is it thou that sekest my daughter?'—
(2) O. W. anit arber bit juv. gl. num vescitur? Ml. W. Pony welwich
chwi r.p. 1418 'do you not see?' Ponyt chredwich chwi ib. 'do you
not believe?’ Ponyt ydym ni yn kredo l.l.a. 83 'do we not believe?’
Ponyt llygoden a welaf i y’th law di w.m. 78 'is it not a mouse that
I see in thy hand?’

Pand hir na welir ond nos?
Pe byr, hir yw pob aros.—I.F., m 148/59.
'Is it not long that only night is seen? Though short, all waiting is
long.’

Ond hir yr wyd yn tario?—W.LL., g. 293.
'Is it not long that thou art tarrying?’ Onid oes dinistr i’r anwir?
Job xxxi 3. Ond rhaid i trád fyw? b.c. 119 ‘must not trade live?’

Preverbal a may be followed by an infixed pron. in Ml. W.: a’m
dywedyd l.l.a. 134 'wilt thou tell me?’ ae gwęost di s.g. 4 'dost thou
know it?’

In Late Mn. W. the p- forms are obsolete; the forms used are oni,
onid, more rarely ond. Wm.S. has ani, anid, which may have been
dial. forms in the 16th cent.

ii. These particles originated in indirect questions: Aæ amovyn a
Pheredur a welset y kyfryvo varchawc w.m. 138 'and inquiring of Pere-
dur whether he had seen such a knight’; ny wmn a glyweist ywrbhaw
do. 166 'I know not whether thou hast heard about it’; a gafyn a
oruc Owein ae dyn bydawl r.m. 187 'and Owein asked whether it
was a living man’. The point of transition is represented by Dywet...
a weleisti w.m. 118, which may be rendered ‘say whether thou hast
seen’ or ‘say, hast thou seen?’
ae ... ae 'whether ... or’: A węosti peth wyt ... ae corff ae
enedit b.t. 27 'dost thou know what thou art, whether body or soul?’
y rodi dewis uwunt ae gwërhow idaw ae ymwan ae ef, see § 222 ii (2).

f. of the pron. *o-; cf. Gk. ἢ 'if’ which however is from ἐ, variant
of *ó instr. sg. m.; for the instr. f. as adv. cf. Lat. cā, quā. See
§ 222 v (1).
ae [rad.] is a contraction of a and a vocable *y, which orig. ended
in a cons., and may be from *iy 'it’, so that ae may be lit. ‘whether
it [is]’; cf. nyt § 217 iv (3).
po-ny, pa-ny < Brit. *q"á ne ‘whether not’; *qëá instr. sg. f. as *ā
above; if unacc. in Brit. it would give pa-; if unacc. later, po-; see
§ 71 i (2).
§ 219. Affirmative Particles.—i. (1) Ml. W. neu, neut before verbs, the former before consonants and with the same mutations as ny, the latter before vowels; with infixed pron. neu'm, neu's etc.; with the perfective particle neur. Before nouns, adjs, etc. neut. [rad.] 'it is'; with neg. part. neut na(t).

neu cheint b.t. 19 'I have sung'; neut atwen nat yr vy lles R.P. 1039 'I know that it is not for my good'; neu'm duc i Elfin b.b. 67 'E. brought me'; neu's rodos w.m. 20 'he has given it'; neur vvm b.b. 7 'I have been' (also in full neu ry do. 74, w.m. 80); neut kyn-tevin, neut rad rhych, neut crych egin R.P. 1036 'it is spring, the furrow is red, the sprouts are curly'; neut na'm dawr do. 1227 'I care not'; neut nat ryð ib. In Early Mn. W. neu is a rare survival:

E fu amser—neu aderyw—
Och fl! ban oeddwn iach fyw.—D.G. 425.

'There was a time—it is past—ah me! when I was alive and well.'

(2) neu for *nwy, § 78 iii, < Brit. *nei loc. sg. m. of the pron. *no- : Gk. vaL Lat. nac 'indeed' (ei/ai § 63 v (2)), Gk. vyp, Lat. nē 'indeed', instr. sg. m. of the same. The mutations after neu and the two uses of neut are to be explained like those of the parallel ny, nyt § 217 iv.

ii. (1) Ml. W. y, e, yδ, eδ; yd, ed, yt; yd-, yt(t)-; Mn. W. y, yδ, yr, yd-, yt-.

In Mn. W. these are used almost exclusively before the pres. and impf. of the verb 'to be'. yd- was agglutinated to these tenses early, and ytt spread from yttyn and yttob δ § 189 iii (1), § 180 ii (3). The compounds yd-wyf etc. were used like the simple forms, and might take other preverbs before them, as neut yttiw dros amser w.m. 182 'it is past the time', nit yttogyn i do. 8 'I was not', a yttiw Lawnslot yma s.g. 1 'is Lancelot here?' Even yr yd- is common; yr ţdywŷf § 191 ii (2). In answers and denials the yd- forms only are used in the pres., except in the 2nd sg., as ydwyf 'I am!' ydych you are!' but wyf 'thou art!'

Ml. W. Yd wele(i)'s-e Guendoleu b.b. 53 'I have seen Gwendoleu'. Y rodet y march yr mab, ac y deuwh hi ... w.m. 33 'The horse was given to the boy, and she came ...' Ac y dywŷu Gwelwyt yr neuad do. 457 'And G. came to the hall'. Pan doeth yti y pair? E doeth im ... do 45 (cf. 46) 'Whence came the caldron to thee? It came to
me... Na wir, yð ym wyrda b.m. 105, w.m. 458 'No, indeed, we are goodmen'. Yt oet (≡ yð oed) in ý diffrid... Ysprid Glan b.b. 45 'The Holy Ghost was protecting her.'—Mn. W.: Ac y dywet Iw Kesar y.l.h. [8] 'And Julius Caesar says'; yr wyt, yr wyr, yr oedd, yr ydym, yr ydoedd, etc.

(2) These particles are adverbial forms similar to the forms of the oblique relative § 162 vi (2); but the base of these was probably the pron. stem *-i- or *-e-. If the suffixes survived in Kelt, there is no reason to suppose that they were added to only one base.

iii. (1) Early Ml. W. cf. This is found not only (a) before the 3rd sg., but also (b) before the impersonal, and (c) before the 1st sg. The initial following is usually rad., sometimes soft (ef labheî b.a. 37, ef enir below); d- is ambiguous.

(a) Ac ew dybit (≡ ag ef dybyð) b.b. 61 'and it will come'. Ef diodes gormes, ef dodes fin b.a. io 'He repelled invasion, he set a boundary'. Ef dyfu dreic llu P.M. r.p. 1419 'The dragon of the host came'.—(b) Ef molir pawb wrth y weth r.p. 1056 'Everybody is praised according to his work'. Ef gwenit b.a. 22 'There was an attack'.—(c) Ew kwynhiw iny wuïw (≡ Ef cwynif ynæ fuyf) b.b. 100 'I shall complain while I am'. Ef gwneif beirô byt yn llawen b.t. 63 'I will make the bards of the world merry'.

It might be preceded by the negative nyt or another preverb:

(a) Nyt ef eisteðei en tal leithic b.a. io 'He would not sit at the end of a bench'.—(b) Nid ew rotr new v'ro neb myv keis b.b. 86 'Heaven will not be given to him who does not seek it'. Nyt ef enir pawb yn ðoth r.p. 1056 'Everybody is not born wise'.—(c) Nyt ef caraf amryssonyt b.t. 8 'I love not strife'; kyt ef mynassun do. 65.

It is probably an accident that it is not found before other persons.

(2) The pronouns mi, ti, hi etc. might come before the verb, agreeing in person with the subject. They might be preceded by nyt or another particle.

O. W. Ti dicones(ô)sa a di(ar) a mor juv. sk. 'Thou madest both land and sea'. Early Ml. W. A mi dîsgoganaf-e b.b. 48, 49 'And I predict'. Pan esgynnæ baub, ti dîsgynnæ b.a. 31 'When everybody ascended, thou descended'.—Nyt mi wîf kerô vut b.t. 31-2 'I am not mute of song'. Neu vi erthycleis do. 62 'I groaned'. Pei mi ganwen b.a. 26 'If I sang'.

(3) In Ml. W. the rel. a was inserted after ef and mi etc. in the above constructions; examples occur as early as the last

*dicones* for what would be later dîgoneist; -e- for -ei- occurs several times in the fragment.
pages of the b.b., but are not found in the b.a. It may have
arisen partly as a support to an infixed pron., as Mi ae dywedaf
yt ll. 4 'I will tell it thee'; hi ay gwelei ef w.m. 251 'she saw
him'; Ni ay provwn do. 66 'We will try it', ef. iv below; and
partly mi a wn may be a confusion of mi wn 'I know' with mi a
wyr. R.P. 1227 = Bret. mé a oar 'It is] I that know'. The a is
often written where the metre shows that the author did not use
it, as in hi a vu several times in R.P. 1365 for hi vu.

(4) In Mn. W. ef a, mi a etc. remain in use, as Mi a euraf:
§ 38 ix, Ef a borthes yr Iesu D.N. F.N. 94 'Jesus fed [the multi-
tude].'. In the Bible ef a becomes efe a, except where it is
clearly a particle, when it is written fe or fe a, as fe allei Gen.
xvi 2, fe a allei i Bren. xviii 27, or fo as fo'm lleddir Diar.
xxii 13.

But the natural Mn. forms seem to be ef, e, fo, f', fe; mi, ti
etc.; as Ef aeth D.G. 374. 527, Ef fu amser i (1), Ef gaeodd Mai
§ 129 ii (1), Fo ddaw D.G. 175, fo'm cafodd do. 177; Mi wn
do. 501, Mi welwn T.A. g. 238.

Tra fo gwlyw mewn tref a gwlad
Fo sôn dygon au danad.—W.11. 18.

'While there is dew in town and country men will talk of thee.'

F' aeth anwir ar faeth ennwyd;
F' aeth y gwir ar feth i gyd.—I.F. f. 42.

'Untruth has prospered for a season; truth has wholly failed.'

Fe una hon a fynno hi.—D.G. 516.

'She will do as she pleases.' Note fe with fem. subject. The form
was prob. fo, as fe is late; it occurs in the 16th cent. : ve golhid yr
hen lýfreu Y.L.H. [8] 'the old books would be lost'.

In the spoken lang., in S. W. i (for fì, mi?) and fe are heard; but
in some parts the pron. of the same person as the subj. is used, as chi
welwch 'you see', nw ón' 'they will go'. In N. W. mi alone is used
for all persons, having ousted fo, which survives only in parts of
Powys. In Sweet's specimens of N. W. dialect TPS. 1882-4, 477
many assertions begin with the verb, with rad. initial, which is
utterly impossible in pure dialect. Every such verb is introduced
by an affirmative particle, except in answers and denials consisting
of single words, as Clywaf 'Yes, I hear'.

(5) Mi. W. ef as in (1) above is the same as the ef in nac ef 'not
so; no', ai è 'is it so?' and i-ef 'it is so'. The construction mi
ganaf may be originally 'as for me, I will sing', which explains the
oblique *mi* instead of the nom. *i*. Undoubtedly later the pronoun was identified with the subject, though *ef* largely retained its character of a particle.

iv. (1) The rel. *a* is used in Early Ml. W. to support an infixed pron. before a verb; thus

*A’th kivarchaw* B.B. 98 "\[\text{A’th gyfarchaf}\] R.P. 578 ‘I greet thee’.

*A’th vendiguis-te Awraham* B.B. 35 ‘Abraham blessed thee.’

*Ac a’wch bi wynnyjeith* B.T. 12 ‘And there will be vengeance upon you’.

*Ä’s attebwys Dofydd* do. 24 ‘The Lord answered him.’

*A’s kynnull gwelyn* do. 40 ‘Bees gather it’.

It is used not only in affirmative sentences, but also before the subjunctive to express a wish; as

*A’m bo forth* B.B. 34 ‘May there be a way for me.’

*A’n eirolve ne* (≡ *eirolwy ny*) *Mhangel* do. 32 ‘May Michael intercede for us’.

(2) This form prob. arose where the subject was expressed, as in *Ä’s attebwys Dofydd*, the *a* anticipating *Dofydd*; and is perhaps a survival for a particular purpose of the habit of putting the rel. clause first, which prevails in Skr. (Whitney 512 a), and may have been primitive.

v. (1) Ml. W. *ry*, the perfective particle, with the past makes it perf. in sense, as *pawb ry gavas *g gyvarws* w.m. 470 ‘everybody has had his gift’; with the pres. subj., makes it perf. subj., as *kanys ry gaffo o arall* do. 453 ‘though he may not have had him from another’; with the impf. subj., makes it plup., as *kyn nys ry welhei eirote* do. 454 ‘though he had never seen her’; with the plup., causes no modification of meaning, *y *hyn* (≡ *yr hyn*) *ry abansei* do. 453 ‘that which he had promised.’ See Strachan, Intr. 57–60. It is sometimes reduced to *r* after *neu i* (1); *ny*, as *nyr darffo* w.m. 230; *a*, as *ar doethoed* do. 123. In Early Mn. verse *ry* is a rare survival: *Annoethwas a’i rhywonaethoedd* D.G. 509 ‘A booby had made it’.

It is prefixed to a verbal noun giving it a perfect sense; and is mostly found redundantly after *gwedy*, as *yô oês hawat o eira gwedy ry-odi... a gwarch wyllt gwedy ry-laô hwyat* w.m. 140 ‘a shower of snow had fallen, and a wild hawk had killed a duck’; this is reduced to *(g)wedyr* s.g. 53, which survives in Early Mn. W. verse, as *gwedy r’ odi* D.G. 27 quoted from the above; *wedy r’ euraw* L.G.C. 363 ‘having been ennobled’.

It is seen from the first example above that the rel. *a* was not used with *ry*, which may contain the rel. without alteration of form. But
in the Late Ml. period a began to be inserted before it, as ac a ry-
wnaethoës w.m. 30 (§ 151 ii (2)). The mutation after it was orig.
the same as after ny; thus in direct statements ﬂy chedwis datyf B.B.
14 ‘he kept the law’; relativoal, pawb ﬂy gavas above. The lenition
of the relativoal form was generalized.

(2) Ml. W. ry = Ir. ro < *pro- : Lat. pro, etc., § 156 i (21). The
relativoal use may be due to the analogy of ny, though it is not im-
possible that rel. ry may have been formed like ny itself, by contraction,
thus ﬂy < *r(i)o < *pr(o) i.o.

vi. (1) Positive answers: to questions introduced by a, the
answer is the verb repeated, or its equivalent, as gwnaf ‘I will
do [so]’, except when it is aor. or perf., in which case the answer
is do ‘yes’. To questions introduced by ai the answer is Ml. W.
ief, ieu, Mn. W. i-e; indirect, Ml. W. mae ef r.m. 29 ‘that it is’,
Mn. W. mai e.

In Ml. W. the verb may be repeated in the aor. also: A ovynneist
ti a oed gerð ganthunt? Govynneis w.m. 487 ‘Didst thou ask whether
they had a craft? I did.’

Whether ef w.m. 42 corresponding to mae ef r.m. 29 is a scribal
error, or a shorter form of reply, is not clear.

(2) do: Ir. tō ‘yes’. Thurneysen, Gr. 492, derives the latter from
Ar. *tod ‘that’; but W. d- is inconsistent with this. Rhys, LWPh. 2
242, assumes that it is the preverb *do, the verb being omitted so that
do became a generalized past verb meaning ‘he (I, we, etc.) did’; *do-
survives in Welsh only as the prefix dy-: Ir. to-, do- Vendryes Gr. 239;
there are survivals in Ir. of do used as a perfective particle: mligid
‘milks’, perf. sg. i. do-ommaly, tongid ‘swears’, perf. du-ciui-tig,
Thurneysen Gr. 322. The alternation t- : d- occurs in this, cf. § 196 i
(3); and the answer expected is a verb.

*î-ef < *î semo-s ‘that [is] so’. *î: Gk. oúro-t, Ombr. -î : Goth.
ja, O.H.G. ia, E. yea. mai e ‘that it is so’; mai § 222 x (2), e as in
ai e, see § 218 iii.

§ 220. Adverbs of Time, Place, Manner and Measure.
—i. (1) In Ar., adverbs or words which were later used as
adverbs had the following forms: (a) Bare stems, as *ne § 217
iv (1), *pro > Gk. πρό § 210 x (1).—(b) Cases of noun, adj. and
pron. stems, including the nom. sg., as Lat. versus § 211 iv (2).
—(c) Stems with special adverbial suffixes; see (3) below.

(2) (a) A demonstrative or similar adj. forming with a noun
in an oblique case the equivalent of an adverb was often
compounded with it as Lat. ho-die.—(b) A preposition with its
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object generally forms an adverb equivalent, and many such expressions became improper compounds, as Gk. ἐκ-ποδῶν.

§ 220 (3) The special adverbial suffixes were (a) forms with a dental, see § 162 vi (2);—(b) forms with ğh- as Gk. ἄτ-χα; see § 222 i (3);—
(c) forms with r, as Lat. cūr, W. pyr ‘why?’—(d) forms with a nasal, as Lat. superne, see § 209 vii;—(e) the suffix -s, as in Gk. ὀς, Lat. bis.—See Brugmann II ii 728–738.

ii. The following W. adverbs represent old adverbial forms:

(i) Early Ml. W. nu ‘now’, as Nu ny’m car-i Guendit b.b. 50 ‘Now Gwennydd loves me not’. The sound was doubtless nw (: Ir. nu), and the Late Ml. nu e.g. w.m. 413, instead of *nw, is a mechanical transcript of the earlier spelling, the word having become obsolete.


(ii) Early Ml. W. moch ‘soon, early, quickly’ e.g. b.b. 2.

moch, Ir. mos ‘soon’ < *moks = Lat. mox, prob. nom. of a cons. stem like vix (: vinco) Brugmann II ii 679 : Skr. makṣu ‘quickly, soon’.

(iii) doe ‘yesterday’.

doi = Lat. heri both from *ghdieseï : Gk. χθεσ § 75 vii (2), § 98 i (3).

(iv) yrháwg, rhawg ‘in future, for a long time to come’, Ml. W. yrhawc r.p. 1034.

yrháwg < *perā-ko-(s) formed from *perā like *prokos (> Lat. -proclus, W. rhag) from *pro : Gk. πέρα, *πράκο- in Ion. πρόσω (Brugmann II i 481).

(v) hwnt ‘hence, yonder’, as Ef hwnt, ef yma b.t. 37 ‘It (the wind) [is] there, it [is] here’. Saf hwnt Gen. xix 9 ‘stand back’. Dos hwnt m.e. i 125 ‘go away’.

hwnt, Bret. hoit < *som-tos consisting of the demonst. stem *som-‘this’, § 164 vi, and the suffix *-tos ‘from’ as in Lat. in-tus § 162 vi (2).

(vi) yno ‘there, thither, then’, yna ‘then, there (near you)’, Early Ml. W. ynoeth b.b. 66 ‘thither’, inaeth do. 58 ‘then’, od-ynoce b.t. 19 ‘then, thereafter’, od-ynaeth r.p. 581 id.

yn ‘there, thither’ before the rel. y, yd, yd ‘where’, as yn-y tereu tonneu tir b.b. 63 ‘there where waves beat the shore’; en
The old forms of yno, *yna are ynoeth, ynaeth; the B.T. ynoeth represents the intermediate stage between ynoeth and yno § 78 i (1). Ynaeth > yna has followed the analogy of ynoeth; Powys dial. *æne shows the change of ae to e § 31. ynoeth and ynaeth imply Brit. *enakt-, *enakt-, the latter doubtless for *enakt- § 74 iv. These are prob. derivatives of the pron. stem. *en-; but the formation is not quite clear. We may assume forms *eno-ko-s, *enad-ko-s formed like *perad-ko-s, *perad-ko-s, and adverbs with a t-suffix formed from these, on the analogy of *ek-tos (I. acht, Gk. ἐκτός); thus *eno-kt-te 'thither' > ynoeth. For the base cf. Skr. anā 'then; ever', Gk. ἀνά 'the third [day]' ('that [day]'), Umbr. inum-k, inum-ek, enom 'tum'.—ML. W. yn 'there; thither' may represent the loc. and acc. *eniti and *enom of the pron.—ML. W. myn, men seems to be the same with initial *ynm- < *esmi, see (11). The rhyme rēn/mēn shows that the -n is single, and that the vowel was long; hence the word cannot be an oblique case of man 'place', though so treated later, and written man.


The t is for d by provection before w § 111 v (2), so that the older form was edwaeth, *edwoeth (wa : wo interchange), which implies Brit. *et..yōkt-. This seems to be a formation like yno, see (6), from a base *eti-wo; *eti : Gk. έτι, Skr. áti (which may represent *ati or *eti) 'over, beyond'; yo < *upo : Skr. úpa, as adv. 'moreover, further', see (9). The form eton, etwan < *eduon < Brit. *eti-uo-nā, an adverb formed with an n-suffix, see i (3). For loss of w before o see § 36 iii.—The existence of *eti as well as *ati in Kelt. is shown by Gaul. eti-c 'and'. It does not seem possible to explain the e- of eto except as original *e-.

(8) *hefyd 'also, besides', ML. W. *hevyt. In Late Mn. W. it is used in positive statements only; but in ML. and Early Mn. W. its use is not so restricted; see e.g. W.M. 8.

* Cf. ryddnant 68 for ṯd|nant; the d doubled because the syll. is closed; see § 54 i (3).
Ni thréithir y gwir i gyd
Yn llŷfr nac unile hefyd.—G. Gl., P ii 4/458.

'The whole truth is not stated in a book or anywhere else.'

hefyd < Brit. *sami-ti; suff. of manner *-ti § 162 vi (2) added to *s₉-m-i, with i-flexion following *s₉-m-li- (: Lat. simili-s) : Ir. samliith, same meaning, *<slamali-ti < the fuller *s₉-m-li- : cf. Lat. simītū apparently formed with suff. -tūd from loc. *sēmei, Walde² s.v.

(9) wedi 'afterwards' e.g. Matt. xxvi 73, Act. iii 24, B.C.W. 21 l. 10, gwedi l. 22 ; Early Mn. W. and Ml. W. (g)wedy, O. W. gwotig ox., guetig b.s.ch. 2 'afterwards' ; na chynt na gwedy r.m. 168 'neither before nor after', cymnt na chwedy L.G.C. 66.

The final -i is late § 213 ii (2). In the recent period wedi adv. has given place to wedyn, a dial. contraction of wedy hyn 'after this'.

gwedy, O. W. gwotig, Bret. goud < Brit. *gōtig(os) which may be for *yō-te-gos (eg > ieg § 65 ii (3)); *yō < *wpo which as an adverb of time meant 'after', cf. Skr. upa adv. 'moreover, further', and Lat. s-ub- in sub-sequent, succedèo ; *-te suffix of time § 162 vi (2) ; to *yō-te seems to have been added the suff. *-ghos as in ac 'and' § 222 i (3). Its consonantal ending is proved by the rad. initial which follows it as a prep.

(10) draw 'yonder'; yma a thraw 'here and there'.

draw is probably for *trawf § 110 iii (1) < *trām-, perhaps loc. *trâmei of stem *trāmo- : cf. *prāmo- in Lat. prandium. 'From √ter- there are old nominal m-formations, which have become adverbial and prepositional' Brugmann² II ii 901. See § 156 i (22).

(11) ýma 'here', poet. ýman ; Ml. W. ýma w.m. 22, ymma do. 32, 39, ýman l.a. 30 ; hyt ýman w.m. 186 'hither'; draw ac ýman R.P. 1369.

A chais un o'i chusanau

Yman¹ i'w ddwym ýn, neu ddau.—D.G. 186, cf. 264.

'And ask for one of her kisses to bring here to me—or two.'

Chwilio yman (misprinted ym man) . . . Chwilio hent Gr.O. 32 'Searching here, searching there'.

W. ýma, ýman, Corn. ým, omna (o ≈ y Williams Lex. s.v.), -ma -man, Bret. ama, amañ, -mañ, -man, Van. ama, amann, amenn. On the loss of final -nn see § 110 v (2). The word is perhaps to be divided *ym-ann < *esmi loc.sg. of the pron. *e- § 189 iii (2) + *anda prob. < *an-dha ; *an- variant of *en- of the *eno- pron. (cf. Goth. anpar 'alius' Brugmann² II ii 336) with suff. -dha § 162 vi (2) as in Skr. i-há 'here', Gk. ev-tha; *anda survives in Bret. ann 'here', Ir. and 'there, in it'.

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The adj. *allanol* 'external', so written and pronounced, is not older than the 17th cent., and so was formed long after the distinction between *'-an* and *'-ann* had been lost, § 56 iii. There was no derivative of *allan*, and therefore nothing to show whether it had *-n* or *-nn*.

*allann* < Brit. *alland(a)*, which represents *p₄l₄j₄m-dha* or a similar formation from √pel₄- 'stretch out' ; Lat. *palam* 'openly' ; O. Bulg. *polje 'field', O.E. *fēld*, E. *field*; cf. i *maes 'in field*' vi (2), which has ousted *allan* in S. W. dialects. Cf. also Mn. Ir. *o soin ale* 'from that time forward' O'Don. Gr. 263 : *o hymny allan w.m. 12* (so in Mn. W.) 'thenceforth'.

(i3) Ml. W. *fiwy* 'too much', as *fiwy* yt *werthey* Arthur w.m. 470 'overmuch dost thou asperse Arthur'; see viii (1).

(i4) *y, yð, yd* adverbial rel. § 162 ; *pyr 'why?' pan 'whence?' cv, cvð, cwd 'where?' § 163 ; *arnodd etc. § 209 ; *heibio, acw, trwod, drosodd, yngo, yngod, ucho, uchod, iso, isod § 210.*

iii. The following adverbs are oblique cases of nouns and adjectives:

(1) *fry 'up', obl. case, prob. loc., of *bre 'hill' § 103 ii (1).*

(2) *orig 'for a little while' dim. of avr; ennyd 'for a little while' (also am *orig, am *ennyd); ennyd *awr* D.G. 102 id.;* oll 'wholly' § 168 ii (2); *lawer 'much' § 169 ii (1); beth 'to some extent' § 169 iv (1); *ddim 'at all' § 170 v (3); syrn 'a great deal' obl. case of *swn 'cluster, crowd' § 129 ii (1) ex. 3 (< *s₄-tur-no- : Lat. tur-ma, √tuor-); *gyllch ðglych, etc. § 47 iii; agos 'nearly'; *nemawr, fawr in neg. clauses 'much';* achlân 'wholly'.

*achlân* is used like *oll*, generally following the word or phrase which it limits, as a'r byt *achlân 'and the whole world' M.A. i 376, Prydein *achlân R.P. 1402, y lluoed* achlan R.M. 136 'all the hosts'. It is prob. an adj. which as an adv. retains its old accentuation like *yrháwg*, *er tôd* § 47 ii. The most likely Brit. form is *awkládnos which may be for *y-glod-no- 'un-broken', √ golād- 'strike, break'; Lat. *incoluntis 'un-harmed, whole'; cf. E. *whole in two senses; cf. also W. *di-dwrm 'unbroken, whole', di-goll 'whole', coll < *qol'd-, √ golād-.*

(3) After an adj.: *iawn 'very', as da *iawn 'very good';* odiaeth 'very', Gen. xii 14 ( : *odid); aruthr 'amazingly, very', as merch *landeg aruthr b.cw. 9;* ofnadwy 'terribly', etc.
(4) Before an adj. with rad. initial: llawer before cpv., § 169 ii (i); mwy, mwyaf § 151 i; similarly llai, lleiaf; and in Mn. W. digon, as digon da ‘good enough’; numeral with cpv. (with mutation peculiar to the numeral) § 154 iii (2).

(5) gynt ‘formerly’; cynt ‘previously’; gynneu ‘a short time (few hours) ago’; mwy, mwyach ‘henceforth’; byth ‘ever’; weithiau ‘sometimes’; unwaith, etc. § 154 iii (1); chwaith, ychwaith ‘either’, which replaces hefyd in neg. clauses in the late period, as na Herod chwaith Luc xxiii 15 ‘nor H. either’.

byth is the Ir. bith ‘ever’ borrowed, the etymological equivalent of W. byd ‘world’. W. byth is generally sounded with short y, more rarely bith which follows the W. analogy of monosyllables in -th. As the word is always accented the short y can only be accounted for by the assumption of borrowing. The form a phyth r.p. 1028, L.G.C. 264 is due to the false analogy of a chynt in which the orig. rad. is c-.

chwitheith in Late Ml. W. occurs chiefly before a noun, and means ‘any’, as na chlyweiriarnaw chwitheith dolur s.g. 55 ‘that he did not feel any pain’, chwitheith antur do. 34, chwitheith pechawt do. 46; more rarely y chwitheith ‘at all’ do. 62. In Mn. W. it is found with an adj., as rhag na chaphom aros chwitheith hir G.R. [95] ‘lest we may not stay very long’, Canys nid yw chwitheith teg do. [124] ‘for it is not very seemly’, chwitheith hir B.C.W. 40. These expressions seem to show that chwitheith is orig. a noun; perhaps gwath ‘occasion’ § 100 i (2), as in unwaith above (with pref. *eks-?): Bret. c’hoaz, Corn. whath, wheth, ‘yet, again’ (*-uokt-: *-uekt-).

(6) mwy (no) ‘more (than)’; wellwell, waethwaeth § 152 ii; haech in neg. clauses, meaning with the neg. ‘not much, hardly at all’; oreu ‘best’, gyntaf ‘first’, etc.

Nyt arhoes ef haech s.g. 38 ‘he did not stay long’. The word is often used as a noun, as heb unethur hayach o dyrwe s.g. 39 ‘without doing much wrong’; cf. E.A. 122. hayachen R.M. 142, G. 234 has the sense of ‘almost’—haech seems to be a cpv. of an adj. *hæc < *sag-io- or *sog-io-; /segh/: Gk. ἥχα ‘much’ adv., /segh-, Boisacq s.v. êxæ. haechen is perhaps the full stem, and so the true obI. form, § 147 IV (3).

(7) Noun or adj. in an obl. case followed by the obl. rel. y, yô, yr, neg. na, nad, (loc.) ni, nid:—(a) in a dependent clause: modd y ‘in the manner in which, so that’, modd na ‘so that . . . not’; pryd y ‘at the time when, when’, pryd na ‘when . . . not’; lle y, lle yô, lle yr, generally lle, lle’r ‘in the place where, where’, Ml. W. lle ny, Mn. lle ni ‘where . . . not’.
(6) Predicatively at the head of a sentence, § 162 vii (2): odid y ‘[it is] a rarity that, [it is] improbable that’, odid na ‘[it is] improbable that . . . not’, i.e. it is probable that; hawdd y ‘[it is] with ease that’; da y ‘[it is] well that’; prin y ‘[it is] scarcely [the case] that’, braidd y ‘[it is] hardly [the case] that’, as breið y diengis r.b.b. 319 ‘he hardly escaped’, braidd na ‘[it is] hardly that . . . not’ i.e. ‘[it is (was)] almost [the case] that’, as braidd na bûm bridd yn y bedd D.G. 296 ‘I was almost dust in the grave’.

braidd may represent the instr. *bradû of an adj. cognate with Gk. βράδυς ‘tardy’, Lat. gurduus. Except in the above construction it generally has a governing prep. in Ml. W., vii (1), but later it is used as an adv. in any position. It is not used as an adj.

An adj. preceding a vb. directly (without y), as mad beuthoste b.b. 87 ‘well hast thou come’, forms a loose compound with it, § 207 ii, and takes pre-verbal ny (not nyt), as ny mad aeth b.b. 70, ny phell gwyð b.a. 26 ‘falls not far’.

iv. The following adverbs are formed of nouns in obl. cases with a demonstrative or similar adj., see i (2) (a).

(1) hé-ddiwiw, Late Mn. W. héddwyw § 37 iii; heno § 78 i (1); e-léni ‘this year’ for *he-fleini, Bret. hevelnè.
heâdiw for *heâdiw § 77 v < *se-diyes = Skr. sa-diâka ‘at once’ beside sa-ðiyâ ‘on the same day’ prob. loc. sg. of an s-stem, and so not formed directly from *dîyes ‘day’, but an old formation going back to Pr. Ar. The others are prob. formed in Brit. on its analogy: he-no < *se-nokti loc. of *nokts; e-leni for *he-lynï (owing to preference for e.i sequence, cf. § 65 iii (2)) < *blidînî loc. of *bleidînî which gives blwyddyn ‘year’.

(2) beunydd ‘every day’, beunoeth ‘every night’.

The noun in these was acc. But Brit. *pápon dîen (< *q̣āq̣om dîem) should give W. *pawb nyð; it seems to have been made into an improper compound early, and the aw treated like ordinary penultimate aw (which normally comes from *ou) and affected to eu § 76 iv (3), giving *pæbnyð > peunyð; then by analogy peunoeth (and S. W. dial. o beutu for lit. o boptu); Bret. bemdeiz, Treg. baonde.

(3) yn awr ‘now’ § 114 iv; yr âwron, we Thomion, etc., § 164 iii; ymánnos ‘the other night’ R.P. 1264, D.G. 82, 158, 200.

ymánnos is probably to be placed here although the exact form of its Brit. original is doubtful. It stands for *ymannoeth which may represent loc. *esmi anda nokti lit. ‘this here night’, see ii (11).
(4) pa le, ple 'where?' pa ddewi, pa fodd 'how?' pa bryd 'when?' etc. § 163 ii.

(5) rhywbryd 'some time', rhywfodd 'somehow'.

v. Adverbs formed of a noun or adj. preceded by a conjunction or neg. part.:

(1) ond + noun or pron.: ond oddid b.cw. 31 'perhaps' (lit. 'except a rarity') § 169 v (4); ond antur D.G. 266, G.Gr. d.g. 238 'almost', with neg. 'hardly' (lit. 'but by chance'); ond hynny 'any more' l.m. 94, 96, T. i 176.

(2) nid + epv. adj.: nid hwyrach i Cor. xvi 6 'perhaps'; nid gwaeth 'even' e.g. D.N. c. i 161, D.G. 410; nid amgen 'namely' (lit. 'not otherwise') Ml. W. nyt amgen.

It is curious that nid hwyrach is generally reduced to hwyrach in the recent period, though it survives as tw(y)rach in Gwyn. dial.

vi. Adverbs formed of nouns governed by prepositions:

(1) The prep. and noun compounded: éch-nos 'the night before last'; éch-doe 'the day before yesterday'; trán-noeth 'the following day'; trén-nydd 'the day after to-morrow'; trá-dwy 'the third day from to-day'; Ml. W. a-vory, w.m. 4, ii.l. 110, Mn. W. y-fory 'to-morrow'; yr-llýnedd, er-llýnedd 'last year'; ó-bry 'down'; éisoes, éisijoes 'already', Ml. W. eiooes 'nevertheless'; gór-moð, Late Mn. W. gór-mod 'excessively'; adref ii.a. 109 'homewards', so in Mn. W.

éch-doe is an improper compound formed when *éch < *eks was a living prep.; éch-nos is formed on its analogy, or is changed for an older *éch-noeth. On trá-noeth, trennyð see § 156 i (22);--tara-dwy for *tar-dwy < *tarós duwô 'beyond two [days]'; in such a phrase it is possible that the accent of *duwô might be on the -ô, the original position ( : Skr. duxá); and *duwô > *duwî would give-dwy not *-deu § 76 v (4);--a-vory for *ad-vory < *ad màrig-i (prob. loc.; *ad takes loc. in Germ. also) 'to-morrow';--yr-llýnedd < *per blàidniàn acc. of *bledonî 'year';--éisoes < ?*es-i-oes 'ever' (oes 'age') formed like eioct (4); cf. Fr. toujours 'nevertheless';--adref, an old compound, § 99 v (4).

(2) The prep. and noun uncompounded, or forming improper compounds accented on the ultima: i fyny 'up', Ml.W. ý vyynð(ô) § 110 iv (3); i lawr 'down'; i waered 'down'; i mewn 'inside' § 215 iii (1); i maes 'out', Ml. W. ý maes c.m. 58, r.m. 172, ii.a. 122, 166; o vyyn ii.a. 166 'inside'; o vaes lb. 'outside';
yn òl ‘back’, ar òl ‘behind’ § 215 iii (6); ar hynt ‘immediately’ s.g. 274; oddi fyny ‘from above’, oddi lawr ‘from below’, oddi mewn ‘inside’; ymláen ‘in front’ § 215 iii (10); ynghyd ‘together’, Ml. W. y ôgkyt w.m. 103, r.m. 75 (for which ò gyt is oftenest found, see ib.), i gyd ‘wholly’, Ml. W. ò gyt § 156 i (8); ar fed ‘abroad’, late ar led; ar fries ‘hastily’, rhag llaw ‘henceforth’, Ml. W. ôc llaw r.p. 1418, dra-chéfn ‘backwards, over again’ § 214 iii; ymaith ‘away’, Ml. W. ymdeith for earlier e ymdeith w.m. 2; i ffwrdd id.

i waered; gwaered < *upo-ped-ret− ‘under-foot-run’;—i maes = Bret. emea, Corn. emes < *ens magess− ‘into field’;—ar hynt: hynt ‘way’ § 63 iii (1); i ffwrdd: fforthand § 140 ii.

(3) With the article: o’r blaen ‘formerly’; o’r neilltu ‘on one side’, o’r herwydd ‘on that account’.

(4) With an infixed pron.: o’i fron, f. o’i bron L.G.C. 122 ‘throughout’, lit. ‘from its breast’; in Late Mn. W. with the art., o’r bron ‘wholly’ (used in S.W., and mistaken by some recent N.W. writers for ymrôn, bron ‘nearly’ § 215 iii (14) which is now used as an adv.); er-môed ‘during my time’, Ml. W. eirmoet r.p. 1259; er-îôed ‘ever’ § 34 iii, Ml. W. eirôet, eiroet; the form erîôed with the 3rd sg. pron, ‘during his time’, was generalized, and of the forms with other persons only ermoed survived; it is used in poetry down to the Early Mn. period, e.g. D.G. 22, L.G.C. 194. Ml. eir- is regular for erî- § 70 ii; in eirmoet it is due to the analogy of eiroet.

vii. Adverbs formed of adjectives governed by prepositions:

(r) ar fyr ñ.c.w. 18 ‘in short’; ar hir D.G. 352 ‘for a long while’; ar iawn D.G. 5 ‘straight’; ar waeth R.G.D. 149 ‘in a worse state’; trwy deg ‘fairly’, trwg deg neu hagr ‘by fair [means] or foul’; trwy iawn ‘by right’; wrth wir ‘truly’; o fraidd ‘scarcely’, Ml. W. o vreidd f.l.a. 108, a-breidd w.m. 131.

(2) òr Any adj. following yn, as yn dda ‘well’, yn well ‘better’, yn ddrwg ‘badly’, yn fawr ‘greatly’, yn gam ‘wrongly’. The adj. has the soft initial except when it is ll or rh § 111 i (r); but in many expressions forming improper compounds it has the nasal; as ynghynt ‘sooner’, ymhêll ‘far’, ynghâm ‘wrongly’, ynghûdd ‘secretly’ etc. § 107 v (6).
W. *yn*, Corn. *yn*, Ml. Bret. *en*, *ent*, Ir. *in*, *ind* < *en-do*; W. *yn fawr* = Ir. *in mór*. In Ir. the adj. was generally in the dat.; and Zeuss ZE. 608–9 explained *ind* as the dat. of the definite article. This explanation has been widely received, and is repeated e.g. by Thurneysen Gr. 228. Against it may be urged:—1. Other prepositions are similarly used in W., see above.—2. The prep. *en-do* like *do* governed the dat.—3. In Ir. *co* (Mn. Ir. *go*, W. *pwo* § 214 iv), which is synonymous with *endo*, was often substituted for it, and has superseded it in Mn. Ir.—4. W. *ymhéll*, etc., show that simple *en* could be used as well as *en-do*; *yn bêll* 'far' and *ymhéll* 'far' are a doublet, both forms being in use; *ymhéll* is the same construction as *ymlden* where the *yn* is a prep.—5. In W. leniting *yn* is also used to introduce the indefinite complement of verbs of being, becoming, making, etc., which makes it difficult for a speaker of the language to believe that leniting *yn* is the definite article.—6. The analogy not only of W. and Ir. but of other languages is all in favour of the prep., e.g. E. *a-long*, *a-broad*, etc.

(3) Special cases of comparatives after *yn*: *yn hytrach* 'rather', *yn chwaethach* w.m. 10 'not to speak of', *yõhwaethach* r.m. 85, *yõkwaethach* do. 150, *aõhwaethach* do. 156, *yõ kyvoethach* w.m. p. 91b, *anoethach* do. 182; also later *chwaethach* B.CW. 14.

*Hytrach* is cpv. of *hìdr* 'strong, prevailing': O.Bret. *hîtr*, Ir. *sethar*, of unknown origin.—*Chwaethach* (misspelt *chweithach* by Silvan Evans) is generally supposed to be from *chwaith* iii (5), e.g. D.D. s.v.; if so it has Fº-grade *-yok-t-*; *-nchw- > -whw-* § 26 vi (3); *yõk = wîh* § 21 i; *an- < *y-do* : *en-do* ; *yõ kyv-* seems to have pref. *kyv-*; *anoethach*, with no pref., but with *wî* lost before o § 36 iii.

(4) Superlatives with the art.: o'r *goreu* 'very well!' o'r *rhwyddaf* Gr.O. 31 'most readily'; i'r *oithaf* 'extremely'; ar y *cyntaf* 'at first'; dial. ar y *lleiaf* 'rather too little', ar y *mwyaf* 'rather too much'.

viii. (1) The prefixes *rhy-*, *go-* and *tra-* by being accented separately before adjectives have come to be regarded as adverbs *rhu*, *go*, and *tra*; thus *rhy ddau* 'too good', *go ddau* 'rather good', *tra da* 'very good' § 45 iv (2). See also § 156 i (16), (21), (22).

In the late period *rhy* is used as a noun 'excess' for Ml. W. *twy*, as in Nyt *gwell twy* no *dïgawn* r.B. 963 'too much is not better than enough'; this is prob. the adv., ii (13), used as a noun; *rhwy* adv. < *prei* (: *praï*, Lat. *prae*) § 210 x (5).

(2) *Iled* and *pur* forming loose compounds with adjectives, § 155 iv, are to the present linguistic consciousness adverbs; so *prin* in *prin ddau* Gr.O. 58 'scarcely two', etc.
§ 221. Many adverbs are improper compounds formed of sentences fused into words. The following may be noted in W. :

i. (1) ysýwaeth ‘the more the pity’, Ml. W. ysywaeth ll.a. 157, s.g. 252, for ysy waeth ‘which is worse’.

(2) gwaethiroes duw c.m. 30 for gwaeth yr oed duw (?) ‘woe worth the day’; Gwentian gwaithiro dduw h.g. 106.

(3) yswaethróes L.G.C. 38, seemingly a confusion of (1) and (2).

ii. (1) agátfydd Gr.O. 262, J.D.R. 134 ‘perhaps’, Ml. W. agatvyð s.g. 224, ac atvyð w.m. 2, r.m. 2, for ag a atvyð ‘with what will be’ i.e. per-adventure; cf. a advo B.B. 8 ‘what may happen’.

(2) agattoes h.m. ii 85 ‘it might be’, ac attoes r.m. 212, for ag a *ad-hoed; for *hoed see § 180 ii (3).

(3) ysgátfydd ‘perhaps’ i Cor. xv 37 for ys ag a atfydd.

iii. ysgwir, ‘gwir L.G.C. 444 ‘truly’, for ys gwir ‘it is true’; malpei J.D.R. [xiv] ‘as it were; so to speak’ for mal pei ‘as it were’; sef ‘this is, that is, namely’, for ys ef.

iv. (1) llyma ‘voici’, llyna ‘voilà’, for syll yma ‘see here’, syll yna ‘see there’, cf. Bret. setu ‘voici, voilà’ prob. for sellet hu ‘see ye’; cf. syll dy racw r.m. 133.

(2) Mn. W. dyna ‘voici’, more fully weldymana b.cw. 24, Late Ml. W. weldymana s.g. 221, for wel dy yma r.m. 58, wely dy yma w.m. 80 ‘seest thou here?’ So Mn. W. dyna ‘voilà’ for wel dy yna? and Mn. W. dacw ‘see yonder’ for wel dy raccw? see § 173 iii (3). Similarly ducho ‘see up above’, weldeducho for wel(?) dy ucho; diso ‘see below’, weldiso D.G. 113, dial corr. dusw; dyfry ‘see up’, dobry ‘see down’, dyngo ‘see close by’ (yngo § 210 viii (5)).

CONJUNCTIONS

§ 222. The Welsh conjunctions are the following:

i. Annexive: a, ac ‘and’. (1) The -c of ac is a survival of Ml. spelling § 18 ii; the word is sounded ag, and is treated as ag in cynghanedd, as seen by the correspondences marked below; cf § 111 v (4). In many Mn. mss. it is written ag.
AC yno ym medw Gwynedd
Imi ar bær y mae'r bedd.—D.G. 60.
'And there among the birch-trees of Gwynedd the grave is being
prepared for me.' Ag in the text here, but AC in the previous couplet.

Ni thorris un llythryen
O bin ac inc heb enw Gwen.—D.N. m 136/147.
'I have not written one letter with pen and ink but Gwen's name.'

Am Fôn yr ymosfynaf;
Mwnei ac aur Môn a gaf.—L.G.C. m 146/140.
'Môn will I seek; I shall have the money and gold of Môn.'

(2) AC (≡ AG) is used before vowels; a [spir.] before consonants,
including h, and in Ml. and Early Mn. W. i; as bara a chwaes;
dwâr a halen.

Ni chwynaf od wyf aushiach.
Os yfô sy fyny a ³ach.—R.G.G. L.B.M. 23.
'I shall not complain if I am ill, if he is alive and well.' The ms. has
ag, which is usual in the late period before i; but such combinations
as ac haul sometimes seen in recent cynghanedd have no lit. or dial.
justification, except perhaps in Gwentian where h is dropped.—The
same rules apply to a, ag 'with'; na, nae 'nor'; no, nec 'than'.

(3) AG : Ir. acus, accus, accus; the Ir. -c- or -cc- represents -gg- as
proved by Mn. Ir. -g-; W. ag then represents *aggôs; the final -s and
oxytone proved by the spirant initial which follows it; the Ir. accus
older occis for *agguis < *aggos-ti. Brit. *aggôs < *at-ðhôs formed
of *at ( ; *et) § 63 v (2) and a ðh-suffix as in Gk. ði-θa, ði-θôv,
ði-θô-θeν, etc.

The base *at ( ; *et) is connected with *ati ( ; *eti) 'beyond', whence
'and, but'; thus Lat. et, Umbr. et 'and', Goth. i̯p 'and, but' < *et :
Lat. at 'but', Goth. af-pan 'but', Gk. ár-áp 'but' < *at. The
suffix -ðhôs is also seen in ag 'with' § 213 iii (1); and in agoς 'near',
the base of which is probably *ad- 'to, near': Lat. ad, E. at; thus
*agoς < Brit. *aggostos < *ad-ðhôs-to-s.

ii. Disjunctive: (1) neu [soft] 'or'.

neu < *nôvî < *nê-ôvî : Ir. nô, no, nu < *ne-ûe. The second element
is Ar. yë 'or'; Lat. -ve, Skr. vâ 'or'. Thurneysen takes the
first to be the neg. *ne- so that the orig. meaning was 'or not' : Skr.
nô-vâ 'or not'. But the development of the meaning is in that case
not obvious. The *ne- may be the stem of the *eno-, *nô- pronoun,
as Gk. -ve in Thess. τô-ve 'tôâe', Skr. na 'as', Lat. ego-ne etc., of
which the loc. is the affirmative part. neu § 219 i (2); thus the
original meaning would be 'or indeed, or rather'.

(2) Mn. W. ae ... ae 'whether ... or; either ... or'; Mn. W. 
ai ... ai; strengthened, naill ai ... ai yntau.
ae [rad.] comes before a verbal noun, noun, adj., adv., or their equivalents, but not before a verb, cf. § 218 i. A personal pron. after the second has the conjunctive form, minneu etc.

\[ y \, r\, d\, i \, d\, e\, w\, i\, s\, u\, d\, w\, t \, a e \, g\, w\, r\, h\, a\, u \, i\, d\, a\, w \, a e \, y\, m\, w\, a\, n \, a c \, e\, f \, W\, M. \, 160 \, 't o\, g\, i\, v\, e\, m \, [t\, h\, e\, i\, r\, ] \, c\, h\, o\, i\, s\, e \, w\, h\, e\, t\, h\, e\, r\, o\, n\, t\, o\, h\, i\, m' \]; \, d\, e\, w\, i\, s\, i\, t \, a e \, o\, t\, h \, v\, o\, d\, a e \, o\, t\, h \, a\, n\, v\, o\, d\, o\, d. \, 124 \, 'c\, h\, o\, o\, s\, t\, h\, u\, h\, e\, r\, w\, h\, e\, t\, h\, e\, r\, w\, h\, e\, l\, l\, y\, o\, r\, u\, n\, w\, h\, e\, u\, n\, n\, w\, h\, e\, l\, l\, y' \]; \, a e \, t\, y\, d\, i\, \ldots \, a e \, t\, i\, t\, h\, e\, u \, d. \, 162, \, 171, \, c\, f. \, \S\, 159 \, i\, i\, i.

ae § 218 iii, yntau § 159 iii (2), iv (3).

(3) na, nac ‘nor’; na(c) ... na(c) ‘neither ... nor’; na [spir.] before a consonant, including h and i; nac before a vowel; nac = nac; exactly as for ac, see i above.

\[ E\, r \, i \, g \, n\, i \, r\, o\, i'\, r \, g\, e\, n. \, N\, a\, c \, e\, r \, i \, g\, r\, o\, n \, g\, a\, r\, r\, a\, i \, g\, r\, i\, n. - - - G. G. l. M I / N O. 43. \]

'The kitchen would not give for his flesh or for his skin a sear thong.' The ms. has actually nac, as is often the case; see i (1).

\[ n\, a\, g < * n\, a\, g\, g\, o\, s < * n(e) a\, t\, -\, g\, h\, o\, s \, 'a\, n\, d\, n' \].

iii. Adversative: (1) Mn. W. onid, ond [rad.] § 44 vi ‘but’, Ml. W. onyt; this is the form before a noun, etc., of ony ‘if not’, v (1) below.

(2) eithr [rad.] ‘but’, e.g. Act. iv 4, 15, 17, 19, 21 = prep. eithr § 214 v.

(3) namyn [rad.] ‘but’, namn § 44 vi, Ml. W. namyn, namen, namwyn, § 78 ii (1); O. W. honit nammui ‘but only’.

\[ n\, a\, m\, y\, n \, o\, s \, m\, i\, v\, i\, a \, g\, o\, r \, y\, r \, a m\, h\, e\, r\, a\, w\, d\, y, r \, d\, e\, u\, u\, t \, y\, m\, a\, n \, y'\, m\, h\, o\, l \, W\, M. \, 186, \, c\, f. \, 185 \, 'b\, u\, t\, i\, f\, i\, t\, i\, s\, I\, t\, h\, e\, e\, m\, p\, e\, r\, a\, m\, e\, r, l\, o\, v\, e, s, \, l\, e\, t\, h\, i\, m\, c\, o\, m\, e\, h\, i\, t\, h\, e\, r\, f\, o\, r\, m\, e.' \]

\[ H\, a\, e\, l\, o\, e\, d\, d, \, a\, c \, n\, i \, h\, a\, v\, i, i\, d\, d. \, N\, a'\, i \, m\, a\, i\, n \, n\, a'\, i\, h\, a\, v, n\, a\, m\, y\, n \, h\, i. - - - D. G. 293. \]

'He is chivalrous, and asks of her neither her jewels nor her gold, but only herself.'

\[ n\, a\, m\, w\, y\, n, \, O. \, W. \, n\, a\, m\, m\, m\, u, \, I\, r. \, n\, a\, m\, a, a \, 'n\, o\, t\, m\, o\, r'. \, I\, t\, i\, s\, o\, f\, t\, m\, e\, n\, f\, o\, u\, n\, d\, w\, i\, t\, h\, o\, u\, n\, n\, n\, - , \, b\, y\, f\, a\, l\, s\, d\, i\, v\, i\, s\, i\, o\, n, \, a\, s\, a\, m\, y\, n \, B. C. H. \, 16, \, a\, m\, e\, n \, A. L. \, i\, 288 \, l. 3. \, T\, h\, e\, e\, x\, a\, m\, p\, l\, e\, f\, r\, m\, D. G. \, s\, h\, o\, w\, h\, t\, h\, e\, n\, m\, e\, a\, n\, g\, d\, e\, v\, e\, l\, v\, d\, e\, d: \, 'n\, o\, t\, m\, o\, r \,[t\, h\, a\, n\, u]' \, > \, 'o\, n\, l\, y' \, > \, 'b\, u\, t'. \]

(4) Ml. W. hagen ‘however’, coming after the opening word or words of the sentence, and prob. an enclitic.

\[ c\, a\, n\, i\, s \, r\, y\, w\, e\, l\, s\, e\, i \, c, \, w\, y\, n\, t\, e\, u, \, h\, a\, g\, e\, n \, n\, i \, w\, y\, b\, u\, y\, s\, s\, y\, n\, t \, i\, e\, i\, s\, e\, u, e\, f \, W. M. \, 9 \, 'f\, o\, r\, h\, e\, h\, a\, d\, n\, o\, t\, s\, e\, e\, n\, t\, h\, e\, m'; \, n\, y\, t \, n\, y\, t \].
§ 222 CONJUNCTIONS

œd nes hagen iði no chynt do. 17 'he was no nearer, however, to her than before'.

hagen, O. W. hacen m.c. gl. at 'but', Bret. hogen 'but' (not enclitic). It has been suggested that the first part is identical with ac 'and' (Loth. Voc. 150, Henry 165); as *at the base of ac also means 'but' (3) this is not improbable, but it is not easy to account for the form. O. W. has ha, hae as well as a, ac, but the h- is not the aspirate, and is lost in Ml. W., § 112 i. If, however, we suppose a cpv. in *-isôn of *aggós, its loc. *aggiseni would give *ag-hen, which by early metath. of h (§ 94 ii) might give hagen. For a similar cpv. cf. haeachen § 220 iii (6); amgen § 148 ii (2).

iv. Causal: (1) canys [rad.] 'since', cans § 44 vi; Ml. W. can, kannys, cans w.m. 487 'since'; kann(y)ys, kann(yn)yt, 'since ... not'; kann(yn)ys, canis iii (4) 'since ... not ... him (her, them)'.

erglyw wi (≡ erglyw y) can dothuif b.b. 75 'hear me since I have come'; kann colloes i. a. 147 'since he has lost'; a chan derw yt bywedut y geir w.m. 21 'and since thou hast said the word'.—canys priflys oed do. 64 'for it was the chief court'; eisted di yn y lle hwnn kannys tydi bwieu s.g. 6 'sit thou in this place for it is thou to whom it belongs'.—Cany welas ef w.m. 16 'since he did not see'; canyt oes vrehin ar holl Annwvyn namyn ti do. 8 'for there is no king over all A. but thee'.—canis, see iii (4); kannys gwychut r.m. 282 'since thou didst not know it'. Later kannys ny s.g. 17.

can is the same word as the prep. gan § 211 ii, iv (1) though possibly with a cons. ending, as it seems to take the rad.—canys 'since' = cann ysw 'since it is' and is often written kannys e.g. i. a. 9, 10, 13, etc.; the -mn- is simplified because the word is generally unaccented; cf. anad for annad § 214 viii. It rarely comes directly before a verb: cans oed w.m. 487 = kann oes r.m. 126. —The neg. kanny is for can ny; it was prob. accented on the last syll., hence the simplification of the -mn-. The accent would suffice to distinguish kannys 'since ... not ... him' from the positive kannys 'since'.

(2) achos 'because', Ml. W. achaws.

Gaw Gwrhyr Gwaltaut Ieithoedd, achaws yr holl ieithoedd a wedynt r.m. 114 'Gwrhyr Gwalstawt Ieithoedd was called, because he knew all languages'.—The conj. is omitted in w.m. 471.

achos § 65 ii (I), § 215 ii (1). o achos is used before v.n.'s and noun-clauses, and so remains prepositional : Deut. i 36, iv 37, vii 12, Num. xxx 5.

(3) o ran 'for', § 215 iii (12).

Pob byw wrth i ryw yr aeth,
O ran tae yr'r naturiaeth.—W.II., c.I. 73.

'Every living thing goes after its kind, for nature is insistent.'
(4) Other composite nominal prepositions are used as conjunctions in the Late Mn. period: o blegid Act. i 5, ii 34; o herwydd 1 Cor. xv 53; o waith, in S.W. dial. waith.

v. Conditional: (r) o, od *if'; Ml. W. o, ot, or; os *if it is'; ossit *if there is'; o'm *if... me'; o’th *if... thee'; os *if... him (her, them); oni, onid *if... not, unless', Ml. W. ony, onyt; oui ‘m *if... not... me', onis *if... not... him (her, them)', Ml. W. onym, onys, etc. As above indicated the -s of os is either ys *is', or else the 3rd sg. or pl. infixed pron.; but in Late Mn. W. os came to be used instead of o, od for *if' simply; examples are common in the 16th cent.: os rhed llaw W.1L. 60.—o is followed by the spirant, also in Early Mn. W. by the rad., of p-, b-, c-, and by the rad. of other mutables; od is used before vowels.

Before verbs: o chlywy diaspat ... o gwely llws w.m. 119–120 'if thou hearest a cry ... if thou seest a jewel'; o chai D.G. 30 'if thou shalt get'; o caf do. 20 'if I get'; od ey w.m. 446 'if thou goest'; ot agory do. 457 'if thou openest' — with infixed pronouns: o'm lleđ D.G. 59 'if thou killest me'; o'th gaf do. 524 'if I may have thee'; os camŷhatta w.m. 412 'if she allows him [to go]' — with r(y): or bu do. 172 'if there has been', or kaaff vyghyvarws do. 459 'if I get my boon'; or mynny n.l. 165 'if thou wilt'.

Before nouns, etc., followed by the relative pron., os *if (it) is': Ac os wynteu ae mes li w.m. 190 'and if it is they who hold it'; os od (read o'th) yod y gwney adheu do. 429 'if it is of thy free will that thou dost' — or followed by a simple subject: os pechawt hymnny n.l. 38 'if that is sin'. Ml. W. ossit before an indef. subject: ossit a digrishao ... c.m. 27 'if there is [any one] who enjoys ...'—The neg. forms ony etc. follow the rules for ny; before verbs: ony byd w.m. 95 'if there be not' — with infixed pron.: onys kaaff do. 459 'if I do not get it'.

Before nouns etc. onyt *if it [is] not': onyt edivar n.l. 47 'if not repellant'. This form became onyt, later onid, onid 'but'; ny șeuthum i yma onyt yr gwellau yr muched s.g. 184 'I have not come here but to amend my life'; ny mynnaf-i neb onyt Duv do. 178 'I desire no one but God'.—Instead of os *if it is' we find before a past tense or bu 'if it was' in w.m. 458 (modernized to os in r.m. 104): or bu ar dy gamp y dyvnoes 'if it was at a walk that thou camest'. For oni a new os na is used in Recent W.

o *if' < Brit. *â *if'; § 218 iii; on the form see § 71 i (2). ot may represent *â-ti or *â-tâ, see § 162 vi (2), which survives only before vowels. But an old ot before a cons., in which the -i is an infixed pron., survives in the stereotyped phrase ot gwnn w.m. 12 'if I know it'; this may well be *â tod 'if it'. os *if it is' < *â *sti; ossit 'if there is' < *a *stäta < *â *sti ita. The mutation after accented *â was the
same as after accented *né, but made more regular owing to the word
being of less frequent occurrence; the rad. c- etc. seems to be due
further levelling.

(2) pei [rad.] ‘if’ Late Mn. W. pe.—The form pei is short for
pei y ‘ were it that’; see § 189 ii (3); the real conj. y, yt which
follows pei is the citative conj.; see x (1). Before a noun there
is, of course, no conj. after pei, which is then simply ‘were it’;
as pei mi rywascut velly w.m. 474 ‘were it I that thou hadst
squeezed so’.

pei ron s.g. 212 ‘supposing that’, cf. 256, 368, pei rhon D.G. 118,
271, 304, followed by a v.m. clause. The formation is not clear
(pei rhont ‘if they granted’).

vi. Temporal: (1) pan(n) [soft] ‘when’, § 162 iv (3), § 163
vi; sometimes ban, especially in poetry.

A phan doeth yno w.m. 8 ‘and when he came there’; a phan
welas do. 13 ‘and when he saw’; pan glywhont do. 22 ‘when they
hear’. Pa le’r oedd ti pan sylfaenais i y ddacar? Job xxxviii 4.—
Ban elom ni ll. A. 168 ‘when we go’.

Syrthiais, llewygais i’r llawr,
Bann welas benn i elawr.—T.A., 6. 234.

‘I fell, I fainted to the floor, when I saw the head of his hier.’

pan being relative a prep. may govern the antecedent, expressed as
the r in o’r pan agoroch y drws w.m. 57 ‘from the time when you open
the door’, but generally implied, as in erbyn pan do. 33 ‘by [the
time] when’, hyt pan do. 470 ‘until’, yr pan do. 161, Mn. W. er pan
‘since’.

(2) tra ‘whilst’; also hyd tra. It is usually followed by
a soft initial; tra parhao w.m. 26 is a rare exception in Ml. W.
In Late Mn. W. the rad. is common (sometimes by confusion
with the prep. tra, the spir. e.g. Gr.O. 12).

ny ommeswyt neb tra barhaud (read barhaa6) w.m. 26 ‘no one was
refused while it [the feast] lasted’; tra geffit do. 65–6, 68, 72 ‘while
one could have’; tra vynho Duv do. 71 ‘while God will’, tra welho
Duw do. 72 id.; tra gerbwych W.II. 6 ‘while thou walkest’; tra fyddai
Matt. xiv 22, tra fyddwyf Marc xiv 32; tra fyddo haul Ps. lxxii 17.—
hyt tra ym gatter yn wyw w.m. 479 ‘whilst I am left alive’; hyt tra
vei R.B.B. 79.

tra allied to the prep. tra, but coming from a Brit. form ending in
a vowel, possibly *tare < *tء٥ι cf. *are-< *pء٥ι; if so it is for *tar, see
§ 214 iii.
(3) cyn [rad.] ‘before’ § 215 i (1). It is used as a conj. proper, coming immediately before a verb, see examples. In the recent period it is treated as the prep. by having y put after it.

kin bu tav y dan mein b.B. 68 ‘before he was silent under stones’; kyn bum b.T. 25 ‘before I was’; gwr a rotei gad kyn dybu ñ dyt w. 2a ‘a man who gave battle before his day came’; cyn elych s.G. 269.

O Ddwu! cyn el i ddaear,
A ddaw cof iddi a’i car?—B.Br., p. 112/264.

‘O God! before he goes to earth will she remember [him] who loves her?’

(4) Ml. W. hyny, yny ‘until’; Early Mn. W. yni; Late Mn. W. oni, onid by confusion with oni v (1); and tautologically hyd oni.

A hwnnw a dysceawd Dewi hyny vu athro L.A. 107 ‘And [it was] he who taught Dewi till he became a doctor’; A’r ynyys a gwrddasant hyny doethant y Eryri w.m. 185 ‘And they traversed the island till they came to Eryri’; Ac yny agoroch y drws do. 57 ‘and until you open the door’; yny vei yn llawen do. 56 ‘until it was full’.

Ni ddof oddiwrth nai Ddafydd
Yni ddél y nos yn ddydd.—L.G.C. 210.

‘I will not come away from David’s nephew till night becomes day.’
—onid oedd yr hau ar gyrraedd ei gaereu B.C.W. 5 ‘until the sun was reaching his battlements’ i.e. setting; hyd oni Matt. i. 9.

hyny is for hyd ny, and appears in full in cp.: hit ni-ri-tarnher ir did hinnwuth ‘until that day is completed’—hyd ny lit. ‘while not’; the ‘length’ (hyd) of time during which an event is ‘not’ (ny) reached is the time ‘until’ (hyny) it is reached.

(5) gwedy y, hyd y, etc., see xi.


kyt keffych hynny w.m. 480 ‘though thou get that’; ket bei cann wr en vn ty b.A. 12 ‘though there might be 100 men in one house’; Kyd carhavic-e morva cassaaw-e mor b.B. 100 ‘though I love the strand I hate the sea’. Cyd byddai nifer meibion Israel fel tywod y môr Rhuf. ix 27; Cyd bai hirfaith taith o’r wlad hon ym. Gr.O. 116 ‘though a journey from this country thither would be long’—A chyn bei drui hynny r.m. 169 ‘And though that was a brave [fight]’; A chyn bo w.m. 62.—a chyn-nyt ymddalwys a thi w.m. 2 ‘and though I may not avenge myself on thee’; kyn-ny bwyf arglwydès, mi a wnn beth yw hynny do. 51 ‘though I am not a lady, I know what
that is’; A chyny bei do. 62.—O. W. cen nit boi . . . Cinnit hois
cp. ‘though there be not . . . though there is not’.

cyd: Ir. ce, cia ‘though’; cyny: Ir. cen!, cini, cenä. The -d is to
be compared with that of od ‘if’, see v (1) above; as it is followed
by the rad., cy-d may be for *ke tođ ‘if it’ a form which spread from
kyp bo ‘if it be’ etc. Before ny there was prob. no -d, and cyn ny is
prob. a wrong deduction from cyny on the analogy of kan ny iv (1);
cyn before a verb spread from this.—Traces of cy- without
-d are found: ke-vei diţfeith B.A. 7 ‘though it were waste’; nyt
ardeous ke-vei yr egluysseu g.c. 130 ‘he spared not even the churches’;
kuyféi b.B. 87.—Kelt. *ke may be the stem of the *ke- pronoun, as in
Lat. că-do; loc. in Gk. è-kei, kei-θε.

(2) er na, see xi.

viii. Comparative: (1) cyn [soft] ‘as’ before the equative;
see § 147 iv (4).

(2) â [spir.], ag ‘as’ after the equative, Ml. W. a, ac; see
i (2). This is the same word as â, ag ‘with’; see § 213 iii (1).
It is often found before cyn ‘though’, pei ‘if’, pan ‘when’.

A chyn drîstet oed hop dyn yno a chyn bei aghëu ym pop dyn
onadûnt r.m. 188 ‘Every man there was as sad as if death was in
every man of them’.

(3) Ml. and Early Mn. W. no [spir.], noc ‘than’ after the
cpv.; Late Mn. W. na, nag; see i (2). Also Ml. W. nogyt,
noget, noc et ‘than’. no chyn ‘than if’ etc.

no chynt iii (4) ‘than before’; ny wydôn i varch gynt . . . no
hwnnw w.m. 14 ‘I knew no fleeter steed than that’; no hi do. 63 ‘[he
had not seen a more beautiful woman] than her’; no hwnnw do. 67
‘than that’; hyt na welsêi dyn weinith tegach noc ef do. 73 ‘so that
no man had seen fairer wheat than it’.—Tegach yw honno no neb
D.G. 440 ‘Fairer is she than any’.—perach ac ara-fach nogyt y rei
erêill B.A. 101 ‘sweeter and calmer than the others’; iawnach yw ïðaw
dy gynnhal nogyt iðî m.w. 37 ‘it is juster for him to support thee
than for me’, cf. r.p. 1039, l. 10, 30; Ny byð hyn, ny byð iðu, noget
y ðechreu B.T. 36 ‘it will not be older, it will not be younger, than at
the beginning’, cf. 28.

The initial n- is the old ending of the cpv., see § 147 iv (3); cf.
Bret. eget, Corn. ages corresponding to W. nogyt. The remaining -o,
-oc (= -og) has the same formation as a, ac ‘and’, i (3), and the
spirant after o, as after a, implies the accent on the lost ult. Since
unacc. â, and unacc. o before a guttural, both give a, we must refer
our o to u- § 66 v; hence -oc < *uggós, which may be for *ud-ûgós ;
Lith. už- ‘up’ < *ud-ûgh, Ir. u- with gemination, Skr. ud- ‘out, up’,
Goth. ût, E. out; for meaning cf. E. out-shine. Ir. occ acc seems to
be a mixture of *ud-g- and *ad-g- mostly with the meaning of the latter.—The affixed particle -yt, -et is prob. *eti ‘beyond’ i (3).

ix. Illative: yntau ‘then, therefore’ in Late Mn. W. usually written ynte; Ml. W. ynteu; § 159 iii (2), iv (3). In this sense the word always comes after the opening word or words of the sentence.

Gwnawn glot ynteu o’th draws gampeu R.P. 1219 ‘Let us fashion praise, then, of thy feats of arms’.

x. Citative: (1) before verbs, y [rad.], yr ‘that’, Ml. W. y, (yd, yð). It is used to make a sentence into a noun equivalent not only after verbs of saying, believing, etc., as gwn y daw ef ‘I know that he will come’, but generally where a noun-clause is needed, thus diau y daw ef ‘that he will come [is] certain’. The neg. form is na, nad, Ml. W. na, nat.

ac a dynwedasant y gwneynt yr yr un kyllwyd s.g. 11 ‘and they said that they would do likewise’; ac yn dynwedut y’th ledir di do. 369 ‘and saying that thou shalt be killed’; ac a wnn y car Duw ynteu W. 112 ‘and I know that God loves him’; ef a wyddyat y collei ef do. 58 ‘he knew that he would lose’.

Son i’th glych, os hwn a’th gài,
Ni thygasant i’th gowsai.—T.A.A 14866/229.

‘Saying about thee, if this man got thee, I should not have thought that he would have had thee.’ On the spelling i see § 82 ii (1).

The probable orig. meaning is ‘how’, so that yd may come from *iô-ti, *iô- relative stem, *ti suff. of manner § 162 vi (2): Gk. ὅτι. The Skr. citative particle -ti, coming generally after the quotation, is similarly formed from the demonstr. stem *i-.

The mutation after it follows that of the oblique rel. in its other uses.

(2) Before nouns, etc.: Ml. W. panyw ‘that it is’, rarely before the impf. pan oed; and ymae, mae Mn. W. mae ‘that it is’, in the late period written mai § 189 ii (1); also dial. (S.W.) tav. Neg. Ml. nat, Mn. nad.

A bit honneit panyw bychydig a dal dedd Duv y mywn Cristawn onis cwpla a. M. 15 ‘And be it known that it is little that the law of God avails in a Christian unless he performs it’; pann yw W. 152, 160.—Gwir yw ymae Duv a winnaeth pob path W. 27 ‘It is true that it is God that made everything’; cf. do. 21 l. 13; llwna vy attep i iti . . . ymae ti a Sewisswn W. 18 ‘that is my answer to thee, that it is thou whom I would choose’; mae ti a Sewisswn R. M. 12.—ny
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wydym pan oes ti a gromem B.T. 12 ‘we knew not that it was Thou whom we crucified’.

pan yrw lit. ‘when it is’; to know ‘when’ it is may as easily as to know ‘how’ it is become to know ‘that’ it is; — ymae is doubtless relative = y mae ‘where (it) is’, hence from *iòsmi est § 189 iii (2). The loc. *iòsmi may mean ‘how’ as well as ‘where’.

xi. (1) A preposition governing the implied antecedent of an oblique rel. y (or neg. na) forms with the latter the equivalent of a conjunction:

gwedy yð lit. ‘after [the time] when’, gwedy yr, gwedy y, gwedy na; gwedy y is usually contracted to gwedy; Mn. W. wedy ’dd, wedy ’r, wedy.

gwedy yr elont or byt hwnn c.m. 110 ‘after they go from this world’; gwedy y gorffei ar y alon r.b.b. 7 ‘after he had conquered his enemies’; A gwedy byrjef llawer yndi w.m. 21 ‘and after much has been thrown into it’; gwedy na cheffit ganhactn wy do. 66 ‘after it was not obtained from them’.—Wedyd-dd ël y drydedd oes L.G.C. 394 ‘After the third generation is gone’.—With inf. pron. gwedy as collont il.a. 167 ‘after they have lost it’.

hyt yð, hyt y ‘as far as, as long as’; hyt na ‘as far as not’ > ‘so that not’; Mn. W. hyd y(r), hyd na.

hyt y such gwynt, hyt y gwylch glaw w.m. 459 ‘as far as wind dries, and rain wets’; cf. D.G. 2; hyt na w.m. 4, hyt nat do. 71.

gyt ac y ‘as soon as’; Mn. W. gyd ag y.

Ar hymny gyt ac y kyvodes ef w.m. 52 ‘Thereupon as soon as he rose’. Ac val y gyt ac y do. 88, r.m. 64 ‘And as soon as’.

am na ‘because ... not’; er na ‘though ... not’; eithywr na ‘except that ... not’; trwy y ‘so that’, lit. ‘through [means] whereby’; Mn.W. am na, er na, and am y ‘because’, er y ‘though’.

am na wybuwm pan aeth w.m. 389 ‘because I knew not when he went’; eithywr na clynt ñyvoedut do. 56 ‘except that they could not speak’; trwy y colletto il.a. 143 ‘so as to cause loss’, trw yt w.m. 453.

mal yð ‘how, so that’, mal na(t) ‘as if, so that ... not’; megys yð ‘as, so that’, megys na(t) ‘as if, so that ... not’; Mn. W. fal y(r), fel y(r), ... na(d); megys y(r), megis y(r), ... na(d).

val y gallei w.m. 13 ‘as he could’, val na wyppon do. 429 ‘as if I knew not’, mal na wybuwm do. 389 ‘so that I knew not’; megys y
dyweit yr ystorija do. 165 'as the story says'; megys na R.B.B. 186 'as if...not'.

(2) Similarly an adverb, or noun in an adverbial case, with the obl. rel. and forming its antecedent, as prydy 'at the time when', § 220 iii (7) (a).

In the recent period, in imitation of these, y is sometimes written after conjunctions, as pan y delo or os y daw instead of pan ddelo or o(s) daw.

**INTERJECTIONS**

§ 223. i. (1) The following interjections proper occur in Ml. W.: a passim; ha r.m. 235; oy a w.m. 57, oi a do. 147, wy a w. 120a; oian a B.B. 52 ff., hoian a do. 61–2; och B.B. 50, 91, w.m. 20; och a do. 170; ub do. 473; gwae r.p. 1150 l. 31, generally followed by the dat.; haha w.m. 123; tprue (≡ tprwy?) r.p. 1277–8, Mn. W. trw (used in calling cattle).

(2) Many others occur in Mn. W.: o; ust 'hush'; ffi 'fie' (whence ffsiadd 'loathsome'), later ffei, foll. by o, see ex.; wfft 'fie'; hu, huw D.G. n. 148, used to lull a baby to sleep, later hwî (short proper diphth.), hwîlan; dyt 'pooh', dydyt D.N. j 9/230 (the y's in the ms., and the accent implied in the cynghanedd). D. 148 gives, in addition, hys, ho, he, hai, ochan, w, wb, wban wbob, waw, wew, ffw, whw, wi, haihow, haiwhw, hoho, bw, oio, wicwhw. Other forms are ow, pw, wchw, hai wchw, hwt, heng; also twt 'shaw!' ach, ych 'ugh!' and others.

ffei o ieuencitd am ffo;
Ni ffy henaint, ffei 'hono.—S.T. p 313/212.

'Fie upon youth for fleeing; old age will not flee, fie upon it.' [The ms. has a ffei in line 1 and ohono in line 2.]

(3) gwae § 78 ii (2).—och § 51 iii exc. (3); -*h, rounded after o-may have given the -ch, § 26 vi.—The diphthong oi does not appear elsewhere in Ml. W., and may be a survival of O. W. oi < *ai; the doublet wy < *ái: Gk. ai.—Interjections, like the forms of child-speech, are liable to continuous re-formation; and á may be from original ā (Lat. ā, etc.), which ought regularly to give *aw.

ii. Some interjections are followed by nouns or pronouns, expressed or implied, in the dat., as gwae vi r.m. 40 'vae mihi'; Gwae aðaur a graun maur verthet B.B. 31 'woe to the miser who
hoards great riches’; Gwae a godwy Ḱwv r.p. 1150 ‘woe [to him] who offends God’. So, och fi D.G. 425; Och finnau f.n. 90; also Och imi ib., Och ym D.G. 21; Ochan fi do. 38; dial. och a fi. Also, of course, by the vocative: Och DĐuw g. 255, etc.

iii. An interjection proper is sometimes preceded by a numeral, as naw-och Il.G. r.p. 1306; wyth wae finnau g. 229; can’ ooch; naw wfft.

§ 224. As in other languages, utterances of an interjectional character are made from other parts of speech, and from phrases and sentences, often mutilated.

i. Nouns, with or without adjuncts: (1) Duw e.g. W.İL. 232 last line, Duw an(n) wyb Gr.O. 39; later by euphemism dyn and dyn annwyl.

(2) dydd da ‘good day’, nos da ‘good night’, etc. § 212 iv.

(3) hawð amor r.p. 1310 ‘good luck!’; gwynfyd i.. Gr.O. 88 ‘joy to . . !’; gwyn fyd na . . D.W. 71 ‘would to heaven that . . !’ (na on the anal. of O na § 171 ii (2)); diolch ‘thanks!'

hawð amor / ˈiːdr C. m.a. i 205b shows that hawdd-amawr I.G. 624 is a false archaism. amor < *ad-smor-, /smer- ‘part’ (§ 156 i (13)), hence ‘destiny, luck’: Gk. μόρος, μοίρα ‘lot, destiny’, Hom. κατα μοίραν (μμ- < *sm-), κάσμορος· δύστηνος Hes. < *kat-σμορος.

(4) rhad arno ‘a blessing upon him!’ (usually sarcastic); yr achlod iddwynt Gr.O. 200 ‘fie upon them!’ yr achlod iddo T. ii 194; druai ohono ‘poor thing!’; etc.

ii. Adjectives used adverbially, and other adverbial expressions: (1) da ‘good!’; purion ‘very well!’; truan ‘alast!’; da di, da di thau, da chwi, da chwithau ‘if you will be so good’.

(2) yn iach ‘farewell!’ e.g. § 166 i; yn llawen w.m. 19 ‘gladly! with pleasure!’; yn rhodd b.c.w. 80, p.g.g. 17 ‘pray!’

(3) ymaith ‘away!’, adref D.G. 165 ‘home!’ hwnt ‘avaunt!’ Ml. W. nachaf w.m. 73, 225 ‘behold!’, enachaf (e-≡y-) m.a. ii 302, ynachaf do. 170; later written ychha D.G. 135.

ynachaf, perhaps ‘*yonder!’ a spv. of the stem from which yna is made, thus from *enā-k-smo-; see § 220 ii (6).

(4) er Mair D.G. 18; er Duw ib.; ar f’enaid L.G.C. 223 ‘by my soul’; etc. myn . . . ! ym . . . ! § 214 ix, x.
iii. Verbs: aro 'stop!', late aros;adolwg 'pray!', atolwg Ps. cxviii 25, for which the v.n. adolwyn § 203 iv (2) is sometimes found.

Paid, Ior nefol, adolwyn,
O fyd yn danllyd a'm dwyn.—S.C. i.mss. 291.
'Do not, heavenly Lord, I beseech thee, take me away in flames from the world'.

iv. Sentences: (1) henffych well 'hail' § 190 i (1).
(2) Contracted into single words, and sometimes corrupt:
dioer § 34 iii 'by heaven!' for Duw a ðyr 'God knows'; Late Mn. wele 'behold!' for a wely di 'dost thou see?' § 16 iv (1), also wel § 173 iii (3); llyma 'voici' etc. § 221 iv; dyma 'voici' for wely dy yma, etc., see ib.; ysgwir 'truly!' do. iii; ysywaeth etc. do. i.

Ysowaeth, nos o ayaf
Ym sy hwy no mis o haf.—D.E. p 76/29, c 7/649.
'Alack! a night of winter is longer to me than a month of summer.'
INDEX

I. MODERN AND MEDIEVAL WELSH

Mn. W. forms are printed in roman type; Ml. W. forms in italics. Forms which survived and developed regularly in the Mn. period are given in Mn. spelling; thus for Ml. W. deveit see under default. Italicized forms include those which became obsolete, or are replaced by re-formations in the Mn. period. But some forms, such as *labbod, are italicized because quoted from Ml. texts, so that italics do not necessarily imply that a form is not Mn.

For pl. nouns not included, see the sg.; for the spv. of adjectives see the pos. or cpv.; for verbal forms see the 1st sg. pres. ind. or the v.n. In cases of irregular flexion all stems are represented in the index.

The words are arranged in the order of the present Welsh alphabet, thus: a b c ch d dd e e ff g ng h i ll m n o p ph r s t th w y.

Ml. W. k under c; ō under dd; v and ū under f; ţ under ng; ţ under rh.

Early Ml. W. t (≡ ō) under dd; i (≡ y) under y; u (≡ w) under w; w (≡ v), here printed w, under f.

The reference is to pages.

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See

This appears to be a list of words in a dictionary format, possibly for a language other than English. The text seems to be a page from a book or a document discussing words and their meanings. Without further context, it's difficult to provide a more detailed description or translation.
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