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 dagran, 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
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 Eleyrn 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.IL.) 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*,
and the infinitives volere, viere, vulere, velere, vellere, with perhaps a note stating that these infinitives are "seldom used" (see his Gr. 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: ər, ən etc. are used here, as by Hirt, instead of ər, ən 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. ynten with Ir. intē or his derivation of eib-aw from *esjō 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 II., and to furnish me with proofs of W.M. before it was issued, and of R.P.
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 transcription,
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 cymghanedd, 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 i.
* 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 = bɔ.
Marks and symbols explained in the body of the work: accent
marks § 39; ī, ū § 100; w § 17 xi ґ; ñyn § 38 i; ľ, m, ū, ť § 57; eˈ,
etc. § 61 i (2), § 62 i (2), § 63; o § 57; k, ġ, ʒ, q, qʰ, gʰ § 84; ɔ, ɔ́
§ 17 vi; ĭ § 19 iv; ñ § 16 ii (3), § 25 iii; u, y § 16 v (2); ū, ý § 16 i;
ê § 22 iv; z § 17 iv; ñ § 19 iii; ɔ, ḳ § 17 iii; ĝ § 14 ii (2); F, Fʰ,
L, Lʰ, V, R, Rʰ, R̃, 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.
## II. TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>abl.</td>
<td>ablative</td>
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<td>acc.</td>
<td>accusative</td>
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<td>adjective</td>
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<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb</td>
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<td>aff.</td>
<td>affixed</td>
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<td>anal.</td>
<td>anatory, -ical</td>
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<td>aorist</td>
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<td>autograph</td>
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<td>conj.</td>
<td>conjunctive or conjugation</td>
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<td>comparative</td>
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<td>denominative</td>
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<td>do.</td>
<td>same book or author</td>
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<td>f., fem.</td>
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<td>gl.</td>
<td>gloss on</td>
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<td>ib.</td>
<td>same book and page</td>
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<td>same meaning</td>
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<td>that is</td>
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<td>v.a., v.adj.</td>
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<td>verbal noun</td>
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<td>vocative</td>
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## III. LANGUAGES

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

Mn. 'Modern'. Ml. 'Medieval' or 'Middle'. O. 'Old'. Pr. 'Primitive'.

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.
Ab Ithel, see Dosp. Ed.
Anwyl, Gr.: *A Welsh Grammar for Schools*... By E. Anwyl, M.A.
Arch, Camb.: *Archaeologia Cambrensis*.
Boisaq: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*... Par
Brugmann: *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogerman-
nischen Sprachen* 2... Strassburg, I 1897, II i 1906, II ii 1911.
[The Eng. trans. of the 1st edn., vol. iv, 1895=1 II iii revised,
has also been used.]
Camden*: *Britannia*... Londini 1594.
CIL.: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berolini 1862 ff.
Coel. y B.: *Traethau ar Hynafiaeth ac Awdurddodaeth Coelbren y
Bârd*... Gann Taliesin Williams (Ab Iolo). Llanymddyfri
1840.
Cynnwrodor: *Y Cynnwrodor, the Magazine of the Honourable Society
of Cymrymodorion*.
D.: *Antiqvce Linguae Britannicae, nunc communiter dictae Cambro-
Britannicae*... *Reditamenta*... Londini 1621, by Dr. John Davies
of Mallwyd, author of D.D. below; see above, p. v.
D.D.: *Antiquæ Linguae Britannicae, Nunc vulgö dictæ Cambro-Britanni-
cae*... *et Lingvæ Latinæ Dictionarium Duplex*... Londini,
Dosp. Ed.: *Dosparth Edeyrn Davod Aur; or the Ancient Welsh
Grammar*... to which is added *Y Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth*... With Eng. trans. and Notes, by the Rev. John Williams Ab
Ithel M.A., Llandovery 1856.
Fick*: *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* von Whitley Stokes. Übersetzt
... von Adalbert Bezenberger. Göttingen 1894, being the 2nd
vol. of the 4th ed. of *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermani-
schen Sprachen* von August Fick.
1868.
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.
Henry (or Henry Lex.): *Lexique étymologique des termes les plus
Hirt Abl.: *Der indogermanische Ablaut*... von Herman Hirt.
Strassburg 1900.
IA.: Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde. Supplement to IF.
J.D.R.: Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecæ Linguae Institutiones et Revisiona ... conscripta à Joanne Dauidæ Rhæso Monensi Lambethæo Cambrobrytanno. Londini 1592.
J.J.: Transcripts and original notes on orthography etc. in the hand of John Jones of Gelli Llyfdy, 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.
Lluyd: Archæologia Britannica ... By Edward Lluyd ... Oxford 1707.
Llyfriffiaeth: Llyfriffiaeth y Cymry ... 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 Cymreig Ymarferol ... Gan J. Mendus Jones (¹ 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.
Sir J. Price: see Y.L.H. under VI II.
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 Rhys ... Oxford 1901.
Rhys no.: Number of inscription in LWPh2.
Richards: Antique Lingua Britannicae Thesaurus, being a British, or Welsh-English Dictionary ... By Thomas Richards. 2 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, Myfryiad ac Argrapheid 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 Kerawriaeth [Welsh Grammar and Prosody by Simwnt Vychan, see V]; see P.M. under VI ii.
T. Charles: Geiriadur Ysgrifythrol ... 3 Bala 1836.
Tegai: Gramadeg 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.


TPS.: Transactions of the Philological Society. London.


Troude: Nouveau dictionnaire pratique breton-français... Par A.-E. Troude. Brest 1876.

Troude, Die. 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. 2 1910.


Williams Lex: Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum... By the Rev. Robert Williams M.A. Llandovery 1865.

ZE.: Grammatica Celtica... Construxit 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 2 1910.—Prellwitz, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache 2 1905.—Macdonell, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary 1893.—Wiedemann, Handbuch der litauischen Sprache 2 1897.—Wright, A Primer of the Gothic Language 2 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 Brwynlys (Brec.), c. 1460.
B.D.: Bleddyn Du [Bleyn 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.E. : Dafydd ab Edmund (Flintsh.), fl. 1450-80.
D.G. : Dafydd ap Gwilym (N. Card.), fl. 1350-80; ref. to Bardd- oniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym ... Llundain, 1789.
D.I.D. : Deio ab leuan Du (Card.), c. 1480.
D.IL. : Dafydd Llwyd ap Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, 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 Eiçon = Dafydd Owen (Llanystumdwy), 1784-
1841; ref. to Blodau 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 Gweithiau Barddonol Eben Fardd. [Pangor, n.d.]
E.M. : Edward Morris (Cerrig y Drudion), d. 1689; ref. to Edward Morris ... ei Achau ... etc. Liverpool 1902.
E.P. : Edmund Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth, 1541-1623; ref. to Edmund Prys ... Gan. T. R. Roberts (Asaph). Caernarfon 1899. rs. refers to his metrical version of the Psalms.
E.S. : Elidir Sais, fl. 1160-1220.
E.U. : Edward ab Urien, c. 1610.
G. : Gwalphmai (Anglesey), fl. 1150-90.
G.B. : Gwynfardd Brycheinog (Brec.), c. 1170.
G.D.A. : Gwilym Ddn o Arfon, c. 1300.
G.Gl. : Guto'r Glyn (Denb.), fl. 1450-80.
G.Gr. : Gruffydd Gryg (Anglesey), c. 1370.
G.Gw. : Gruffydd ap Gwrgeneu, c. 1200.
G.H. : Gruffydd Hiraethog (N. Denb.), fl. 1520-60.
G.I.H. : Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen, c. 1460.
G.I.I.F. : Gruffydd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan (Denb.), fl. 1500-
25; selected poems ed. by J. C. Morrice, Bangor Welsh MSS. Sec. 1910.
G.J. : Griffith Jones, Rector of Llanddowror, 1684-1761.
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 Llywyd, c. 1480 [in r. p. 428 footn. for 1525 read 1475].
H.D.: Huw Dafi, or Hywel ap Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Rhys (Brec.), c. 1480.
H.K.: Hywel Kilan (l=1-l) (Lŷn ?), c. 1480.
H.M.: Hugh Maurice (Denb.), 1622-1709; ref. to Os Eiriog ... 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, Cymruadorion Soc., 1896.
I.H.S.: Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal, c. 1470; ref. as for H.S., q.v.
I.Iaf.: Ieuan Llavar, c. 1590.
I.o.G. = I.G.
I.R.: Ieuan ap Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llywyd, 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.M.: Lewis Morris (Llywelyn Ddu o Fôn), 1701-65.
L.Món: Lewis Môn, c. 1500.
L.Mor.: Lewis Morgannwg, c. 1520.
LL.: Llawddden (Llandeilo, i.mss. 320), c. 1460.
LG.: 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 Ffrydd Eglwys Loegr 1595, reprint ed. by Wm. Prichard Williams, Bangor 1908.
M.L.: Morgan Llywyd o Wynedd, 1619-1659; ref. to Gweithiau Morgan Llywyd 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 Gwynedl, 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.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.M.
Wms.: William Williams, Pant y Celyn (Carm.); hymn-writer, 1717–91; ref. to Gwaith Prydyddawl ... William Williams ... sef yr Holl Hymnau ... Caerfyrrddin, 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. 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.
L = 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. i, circa 1250. Facsimile and Text by J. Gwernogvryn Evans. Pwllheli 1908. [Parts are transcribed literally from older copies not understood by the scribe.]

BAR.: Barddas ... With trans. and notes by J. Williams ab Ithel. i Llandovery 1862; (ii London 1874). [Late Gwentian.]
ABBREVIATIONS


Quotations taken from the orig. MS. (Quotations from A.L. are referred to the latter.)


br.: 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. 1–6; transcribed (with facsimiles) in L.L. pp. xliii–xlviii; ref. to nos. of entries ib.

b.t.: The Book of Taliesin = 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.n.y.p.: Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain ... Dan olygiad ... Iolo Morganwg. Abertawy (Swansea) 1829.

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

c.g.: Cant o Ganeuon. Gan John Ceiriog Hughes. Wrexham [1863].

c.l.: Cymfeirdd Lleyn: 1500–1800 ... Cynnulledig ... gan J. Jones (Myrddin Fardd). Pwllheli 1905.


c.y.: Reproductions in Y Cymrmodor.

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.: Diddanech Teuluaiidd: neu Waith Beirdd Mon ... ²Caernarfon 1817.

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

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

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

f.: Flores Poetarum Britannicorum ... O gasgliad J[ohn] D[avies] SS. Th. D. ... Mwythig (Shrewsbury) 1710.


c.: Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru ... O Gasgliad Rhys Jones ... Amwythig (Shrewsbury) 1773. [Early Mn. verse.]
ABBREVIATIONS


†GEN. Old-Welsh Genealogies in Y Cymrroddor ix 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 Cynulliad o Orchestion ein Hymniaid. . . Llundain 1805–7.

h.g.: Hen Gwrdidau, Carolau, a Chwydyddau...[Ed.] by Hopcyn... 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.q.]

i.mss.: Iolo Manuscripts... Coll. . . by... Edward Williams, Iolo Morganwg... Llandovery 1848. [Contains cwydyddau 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.l.: Liber Landavensis, c.1150. The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv... by J.Gwenogyryn Evans...[and] John Rhys... Oxford 1893. [Contains documents with O.W. forms literally transcribed].

l.a.: Llyfr yr Ancr, dated 1346. The Elucidarium and Other Tracts in Welsh... Ed. by J. Morris Jones... and John Rhys... Oxford 1894.

l.w.m.: Llyfr Bychan Mawddwy, a 16th cent. ms. in the National Libr. of Wales.

l.w.h.: Y Llyfr Hir in the National Libr. of Wales. [ms. collection by W. Jones (Bleddyn), of Early Mn. cwydyddan.]

l.m.: Lloches Mwyneidd-dra... Gan Absalom Roberts. Llanrwst 1845. [Contains coll. of old penillion telyn.]

m.a.: The Myvyrian Archatogy of Wales... 3 vols. London 1801–7. [Corpus of Ml. poetry and prose. 2 Denbigh 1870.]

†m.c.: Glosses on Martiaus Capella in the Libr. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ed. by Stokes in Arch. Camb. 1873 pp. 1–21. [Mostly 9th cent., Lindsay EWS. 22.]

m.e.: Mil o Englyinion = Pigion Englyinion fy Ngwlad... Gan Eisionydd. i and ii, Liverpool 1882.

ABBREVIATIONS

M.M.: Meddygon Myddfai. The Physicians of Myddvai... Transl. by John Pughe... F.R.C.S. and ed. by... John Williams Ab Ithel. Llandovery 1861. [Pp. i-34 are from R.B. 928 ff.]


† 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.


R.B.: The Red Book of Hergest = j 1, late 14th and early 15th cent. Quotations taken direct from the M.S.; 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. Cymrrom. 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 Hengwrt MSS... Vol. i. Y Seint Gre al... Ed... by... Robert Williams. London 1876 [= p 11, end of 14th cent.]

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 A 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.”

w.m.l.: Welsh Medieval Law . . . Harl. MS. 4353 . . . 13th cent. . . .

y.l.h.: Yn y llywyrr hwnn y traethir Gwydor kymraeg, etc., 1546.
By Sir John Price. Reprint ed. by John H. Davies . . Bangor
1902.

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 ghuer-
P. 153, l. 1, read d[|e|f]yl
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 Llefolys (1910), p. 20, in
which he adduces examples of wy m.A. 2 1450 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.
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 \(q^k\) from Aryan \(q^k\) remains; but in the oldest British it had already become \(p\), and it is \(p\) in Gaulish. Traces of a Keltic \(q^k\) 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 \(q^k\) 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. \(r\)), 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 \(q^k\), the change \(q^k > p\) 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 \(q^k\) 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 \(\Pi an o-o u w i s-o s, V i n d o m a g (o s), a m b a c t (o s), V o r e t o v i r (o s)\) are identical with the British forms which we have to postulate as the originals of the Welsh \(p e n w y n\) 'white-headed', \(g w y n f a\) 'paradise', \(a m a e t h\) 'serf', \(g w a r e d w r\) 'saviour'. It is for those who would separate British and Gaulish to prove that Tacitus was wrong.

For the continental \(q^k\) 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 \(q u\) 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 Brit­tish), the language of the ancient Britons. The speakers called themselves Brittones, and their language *Brittoni­kîa.

The Old English name was Brittisc or Brytissc, as On Brytissc sprecede Guthlac, Godw. 42, 17 (cf. Rhys, Cf. 676), which in later spelling was Brittish, misspelt British 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 *Brit­toni­kîa. Sir John Rhys in his LWPPh.16 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 Britti­o, sg. of Brittones, probably owes its tt to its being a formation of the type of Gk. Νικοττω etc., see § 93 iii (2), for an earlier Britann(os), pl. Britanni. Similarly we have a late Brit­tia for Britannia. *Brittia survives in Bret. Breiz ‘Brittany’, and *Brit­tian­îa in Ml. W. Brydein used as a variant of the more usual Prydein as in B.B. 100, milveir Pridein 1. 5, milguir Bridein 1. 7: Brit­tan- seems to be for Pritan- by British alternation p: b § 101 iii (2); cf. PRIT(AN)NH Holder i 564, PRITNII do. ii 1046. Pritto also occurs as a personal name beside Britto, and Prit­ius beside Brit­ius (see Holder s. v.v.). 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,

* It is of course still pronounced Brit­ish, rhyming with skilt­ish, 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 Βρετ(τ)ανικαί νήσοι; but Strabo and Diodorus have Πρετ(τ)ανικαί νήσοι and Πρετ(τ)ανοί; later Ptolemy and Marcian used Π-. Stephanus of Byzantium (c. A.D. 500) wrote Βρετανίδες νήσοι and Βρετανοί, remarking that Dionysius (Periegetes; Augustan age) wrote “one t . . . Βρετανοί” [read Βρεταννοί], and that others used “p, Πρετανίδες νήσοι, as Marcian and Ptolemy”; elsewhere Stephanus himself wrote Πρετανική and Πρετανοί Holder i 560. The ε in Πρετ-Ξ Βριτ. i, see § 66 i. *Pritan- is an n-stem representing original (*q⁰kr, n- or) *q⁰brit,n-; for the nn see § 62 i (2).

The surviving forms show that the old P- forms had one t; thus W. Prydain ‘Britain’, Ml. W. Prydein, implies *Pritan(n)xa and Ir. Cruithnech ‘Pictish’ implies a Pictish *Pritenikos; hence the -tt- in Πρετανική is probably a misspelling of copyists, due to the Brit-forms which prevailed later. The forms with -on- had -tt-; thus W. Brython < Brittones, Bret. Brezonek < *Brittoniká, and Ml. Ir. Bretain ‘Britons’ represents Brittones regularly. As the new form Brittones spread, Britannia became Britannia which survives in Fr. Bretagne; later we find Britannia Βρεταννική etc. which were substituted for older forms in mss. There is no possible doubt that the oldest B- form is Βρίττων-: 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 Britannnis, Britannii., Britann. (564, 36, 37); inscriptions: A.D. 41 Britannia (589, 52); time of Claudius Britannia (590, 27); A.D. 43 Britannicum (598, 24); - A.D. 49 Britan(nicus) (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: Brita[nico] (602, 18), Britannici (602, 22); in eight other cases it is Britannicus or Βρεταννικός (602). The early appearance of tt in this name may mean that *Brittō was in Britton 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 Brittan[nia] (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 Britannicae in A.D. 210 (599, 51).

The W. Prydain ‘Picts’ § 121 iii from *Pritenes, Prydyn B.T. 13 ‘Pictland’ from *Priten-, 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 < q⁰ 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. Brithwyf '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 *qreï- 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 Pritannia 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
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 M[. W., which begins with the Bible, though influenced to some extent by Salesbury, is based upon Early M[. 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, jo in N. W., and e, je 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’, pethan ‘things’, bore ‘morning’. In Gwynedd and Gwent they are sounded a, as cadar (Gwent có\abar), 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 l\gad\) ‘eyes’; Gwent defid, lly\cid; Powys defed, llygid; Dyfed defed, llygad.

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.
PHONOLOGY
ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

THE ALPHABET.

§ 7. 1. 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 sua” 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 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 b, d, w (= e), h, n, r, except where it was easier to adapt the Latin capitals, as A, G. With one or two exceptions, such as H, 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.G.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 r 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, l l 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 "‘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 B.C.H. = p 29, p. 19.—

The wooden book consisted of squared inscribed sticks in a frame; it was called peithynen from its resemblance to a weaver's reed, and not the reverse, as Iolo asserted, for peithyn(en) comes regularly from Lat. acc. pectin-en '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, ù. It contains q, which is not used in Welsh, and omits all the digraphs except ù; they could not be included in the traditional number, 24.

Sir J. Price's alphabet in Y.L.H. (1546) is as follows: a, b, c, d, ð, e, ff, f, g, h, i, k, l, lh, m, n, o, p, r, rh, s, t, v = u, v, y, w.

W. Salesbury gives the following alphabet in his Playne and Famiiliar Introductiō, 1567 (written in 1550): A, b, c, ch, d, dd, e, f, ff, g, h, i, k, l, ll, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, th, u, w, y. He distinguishes between u and v, using the latter for Eng. v, Welsh f.

G.R., (1567), who uses ð, l, y for dd, ll, w, gives the following alphabet: a, b, c, ch, d, dd, e, f, ff, g, h, l, ll, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, th, u, w, 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, dd, e, f, ff, g, i, k, l, ll m, n, o, p, r, s, t, v, w, y, ch, th, adding that h is the sign of a breathing, ñ 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, dh, e, g, gh, ykh, h, i, lh, l, m, mh, n, nh, o, p, ph, rh, r, s, t, th, 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, dd, e, f, ff, g, ng, h, i, ll, m, n, o, p, ph, r, s, t, th, u, w, y/y. It omits mh, nh, ngh, rh. The names now given to the letters are, in the above order, in Welsh spelling (all vowels not marked to be
read short): \(\tilde{a}, \tilde{b}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{c}, \tilde{d}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{f}, \tilde{g}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{a}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{l}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{m}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{o}, \tilde{p}, \tilde{y}, \tilde{f}, \tilde{r}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{t}, \tilde{i}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{t}, \tilde{h}, \tilde{u}, \tilde{w}, \tilde{y}\). The names \(\text{ha}, \text{he}, \text{hi}\) given to the letter \(h\) by some writers on Welsh grammar and orthography are figments. The name is \(\tilde{a}e\tilde{t}\), borrowed from Eng. or Fr. (Eng. \(\text{aitch}\), Fr. \(\text{ache}\), Span. \(\text{ache}\)).

H. \(\text{arall it sy—Harri}\)

Wyth \(\text{yw’r dyn a’th eura di.}—\text{T.A., c. i 340}\).

‘Thou hast another H.—Henry the Eighth is the man who will ennoble thee.’—The first line is to be read \(\text{Aets arall it sy Harri,}\) as shown by the cynghanedd: \(t s r—t s r\).

Lhuyd, (1707), used \(\chi\) for \(ch\), \(\lambda\) for \(ll\), and \(\delta\) for \(dd\). The last has survived in the form \(\delta\) in ordinary handwriting, but manuscript \(\delta\) 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 \(\tilde{y}\) denote the two sounds of \(y\). Vowels pronounced with rounded lips are enclosed in brackets. The more open the sound the less the rounding.

![Vowel Diagram](image)

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 \(\text{ha\text{"itc}}\) is a S.W. vulgarism.
the O. W. period to the present day; the sounds \( a, e, o \), have always been represented by the characters \( a, e, o \)^{a} 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 'tad 'father', medium as in 'tâól '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 gwén 'smile', gwënu 'to smile'; when short it is generally more open, tending towards the Eng. \( e \) in there; thus gwenn '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 gwën 'wine', medium as in gwënuedl '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 tôn 'tune', tõnau 'tunes'; when short it is more open, tending towards the \( o \) of not, as tom 'wave', tõnau '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 gwër 'man', medium as in gwëról '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 \( ð \) (a peculiar shape

^{a} 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.
of v) to represent the w sounds. The characters w and ɔ represent both w and v almost indifferently. Theoretically perhaps w stood for v, and the scribe wishing to distinguish between gwyr ‘men’ and gwyr ‘knows’ writes them gwyr, ɔwyr respectively, RG 1118; there seems to be a slight predominance of the v value for w, but no systematic distinction is made between the sounds, whole pages frequently occurring, e.g., in w.m., where ɔ is used exclusively for both.

In this work Late Ml. W. ɔ 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 u; and J.D.R. a peculiar character based on ɔ, a late script form of ɔ; § 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 hyn ‘sleep’ and hyn ‘older’ have now absolutely the same sound. But in O. and Mn. W. u had the sound of the French u, 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 y as early as the 14th cent.; see ZlCP. iv 118. Hence we find u 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.II. (3 Ader.—Title). Later, the misspelling Cymru came to be used for ‘Wales’, the true form Cymry being retained as the pl. of Cymro. In the 3rd pl. of prepositions, arnunt ‘on them’, etc., in dywedud ‘to say’, anoddun ‘deep’, credadun ‘believer’, arosun ‘intend’, munud ‘minute’, y is in Late Mn. W. wrongly written for u; for testun ‘text’, ysgythuw ‘scripture’, see § 82 iii (3). The converse error was frequent in the 16th cent., Dr. M. writing fellu, i fynu, gorthrymmudd, 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 y 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.
'quaking, fever' obviously on a false etymological theory. D.D. and Richards have crud 'cradle', cryd 'fever'.
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 \( u \) 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.

\[ \text{On the use of the two sounds of } y \] see § 82.

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. \((=\text{A.L. MS. A.})\) \( y \) is used in some parts almost to the exclusion of \( i \), as *brenyn, tyr* for *brenin* 'king', *tir* 'land'; *yw* 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 \( y \) *lle*, \( y \) *dyn* 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 \( j \), § 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* (\( dd \equiv \) double \( d \), not \( ð \)) by J.D.R. in 1592, may still be heard in Anglesey.

\[ \text{In this grammar the Ml. W. } y 'to' \text{ and } y 'his' \text{ or 'her' are dotted thus, } y \text{, to distinguish them from the article } y \equiv y. \text{ As the } y \text{ was probably sounded } i \text{ some time before it came to be so written, it may be read } i. \] [There can be no confusion with \( y \equiv j \), 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 (= cyfaddas) m.c. Here cyf- comes from *kom-; the y results from the independent 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 Ml. mss. generally, as in Mn. W., no distinction is made between y and y. But in some parts of b.c.h., e stands for y, and y for y regularly; thus Ylety yu ety mwyhaf ene tref akemeruedaf ac y kyd ac ef erey awenno or teyku, a.l. i 12= y lety yu y tw mwyhaf yny dref a chymherfeSaf, ag y gyd ag ef y tei a yynnno o’r teibu. ‘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 Ml. 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.c.h. 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: Myrrdin, Merddin D.C. 471; tymestl, tenestl a. 153; ystyn f. 24, estyn; cybyddiaeth, a chebyddiaeth m.a. 144; y bellynyc m.a. 126, 146, pellennig; ketymdeith, cydymaith; ynnill, ennil; cyfsgen, cenfigen; Tât-y-bolion m.a. 1 315a, explained as tât ebolion w.m. 45; Pen-e’-goes for *Pen-y’-goes, see § 46 ii (3).—

(b) Interchange of y and e: velle m.a. 1 48 for felty; Late Mn. W. vele ‘behold’ for (a) welv ‘dost thou see’? § 173 iii (3); Mercer for Merchyr b.a. 17, b.m. 48, see § 69 v; hwdy c.m. 31, hwde b.m. 173; mycen, mewn; Llwyn, Llwyn. Dial. edrech for edrych, -ech for -ych 2nd sg. pres. subj. § 176 iv.—(y) In Ml. 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 Iwerôn w.m. 59 for y Iwerôn. Similarly tel’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. pompp; kevran = W. kyvran; ened = W. wynyd.

(3) y before a nasal tended to be lowered towards a, and is sometimes written a in the b.c.h., as cantaf a.l. i 84 for cyntaf; kannal, do. 154 for kynnal; kafreith do. 130 for kyvbreith. Hence y and a interchange before a nasal: Yngharad, Angharad; ymherawdr, am- herawdr; ymddifad, amddifad; canhorthwy, cynhorthwy; mynach, manach, etc.

Unaccented a is sometimes weakened to y in the dialects, but
examples are rare in lit. W.: *rhyglyddu* 'to merit', for *rhyglyddu*, see *racydd* 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 Mn. 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 *rh, lch*; thus *pobyl* for *pobl* 'people', *vy maryl* w.m. 59 for *fy marf* 'my beard'. In O. W. it appears as *i*, as in *reatir Juv., Mn. W. rhaeadr* 'cataract', but is of rare occurrence, being usually omitted as in Mn. W., thus *cruitr, disel Juv. dail, scribl ox.* It occurs medially as *i* in *centhliat Juv.* 'singer' for *centhliat,* as *o* in *centoldoun ox., Mn. W. cenedlaethau* 'generations'. In Early Mn. W. it appears as *i*, *y*, and *e*, as *perygyl* B.B. 31 'danger', *cathill* 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'; *kelemuet* A.L. i 40 *elywed* '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.C.H., these being the signs for *y*, see iii above. It was not written where no audible glide developed, as in *nt, rth, r8*, and was rare where the glide was voiceless, as before *ch*. It did not form a full syllable in Mn. 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* B.M. 28 'horses'; (β) it is sometimes found medially where it could not be syllabic, as in *kenedloes* II.A. 11 = *kenedloet* II.A. 169 'nations', *dadeleu* A.L. i 20 = *dadelev* 'lawsuit'; (γ) it does not affect the accentuation; thus in *colofyn gwed* Æ*ofyn* *y gwedeu*,—R.P. 1239

*Upholder in fearless manner of prayers*, the *e* of *eofyn* is accented to correspond to the *i* of *gwedieu*; (δ) it does not count as a syllable in Mn. verse; the above is a line of nine syllables; in the following cywydd couplet the cynganeddd requires *chalych* to be read as an absolute monosyllable, as it is pronounced at the present day:

*Pwy a allei, pei pennsaer,
peintyaw a *chalych* pwynt vy chwaer?*—I.G., R.P. 1408.

'Who could, though he were a master, paint with chalk my sister's men?'

(3) In Mn. lit. W. the epenthetic *y* is simply dropped; thus *pobl*, *fjenestr, ofn.* The non-syllabic pronunciation continued to be the only one admissible in cynganeddd, and so remained the standard literary form; and the mute *y* came to be dropped in writing to prevent ambiguity. [In one form of cynganeddd, however, exemplified by—
Da osôdiad hyd i sawdl.—D.N., g. 158,
-1 answers a syllable -iad in the cymhangedd, 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, ffenest for perigl ‘danger’, ffenestr ‘window’, or
metathesized as in ewyrth for ewythr ‘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, llwybyr, sawdwl,
‘beard’. Some examples of this assimilation already appear in Late
Ml. W., as budur ll. a. 18 ‘dirty’, kwdbwl 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 Llwybyr cuwl groes i natur, though so printed in all hymn-
books, is intended to be sung Llwbbyr | ovdwbwl | groes 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’, efn ‘back’, llŷfr
‘book’, barf ‘beard’ are purely monosyllabic to this day. Forms like
march, calc'h are everywhere monosyllabic.

§ 21. 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 (\(\acute{g}, g\)), like Eng. give, go.

iii. Voiceless spirants: \(\mathfrak{f}\) or \(\mathfrak{ph}\) = Eng. \(f\), labiodental; \(\mathfrak{th}\)
= Eng. \(th\) in thick (which may be denoted by \(\beta\)); \(\mathfrak{ch}\) = Scotch \(ch\)
in loch, German \(ch\) in nach (\(\chi\)), but not German \(ch\) in ich (\(\chi\)).
Even after \(e\) and \(i\), as in lâech ‘slate’, gwîch ‘squeak’, \(\mathfrak{ch}\) is
the back sound \(\chi\).

\(i + \) back \(\chi\) 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 \(bûx\), \(brâx\)
(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 beichiau, breichiau are so sounded, with back \(\chi\) (not \(\chi\)).
iv. Voiced spirants: $f \equiv$ Eng. $v$, labiodental; $dd \equiv$ Eng. $th$ in *this* ($\delta$). O.W. had also the guttural voiced spirant, which may be represented by $\varepsilon$, corresponding to $ch$; see § 19 i.

v. Voiceless nasals: $mh$; $nh$; 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 ngh is somewhat similar to Eng. $nh$ in *inhale*.

vi. Voiced nasals: $m$; $n$; $ng$. The last has two positions corresponding to those of $g$, namely front $\delta$, back $\kappa$.

vii. Voiceless liquids: $l$; $r$. 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 $lh$, and gives the side effect in the $l$. But $l$ 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 $l$ 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 $r$ ($\equiv \xi$). This is almost the only defect of speech to be found among speakers of Welsh; it is called *tafod tew* 'thick tongue'.

ix. Sibilant: $s$. Welsh has no $z$; such a pronunciation as *zel* 'zeal' is pure affectation; unsophisticated persons say *sel*, *selog*. Before $i$ as in *cisgau*, $s$ now tends to become Eng. $sh$, and in some S.W. dialects after $i$. But many old speakers cannot pronounce *shibboleth* at all. Standard Welsh $s$ is the $ss$ in *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 *yard*; $w$ is the Eng. $w$ in *will*.

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§ 17 THE CONSONANTS 19
§ 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. = seubaur, 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, Mt. 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 Mt. 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 Mt. 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 s; 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. il 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 uac, which should be ag, nag, § 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 Mt. 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 ok); as grafangk, oerdrangk r.p. 1321, diakg etc. do. 1314, digelk do. 1364, Iork r.b.b. 397, carbuick, l.a. 170. In these words the sound was, and is, voiceless. Note that after a vowel, where the sound is now g, it is never written k in Mt. 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 Mt. W., as in l.l. (about 1150), c alone is used; k appears in b.b. and was general in Mt. and Early
§ 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 gilbin juv., Mn. W. gyrfun 'beak', guirdglas M.C. ʒeveyrdglas, Mn. W. geyrddlas '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. = niñer, Mn. W. nifer '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. û or v, w and f; thus in B.B., niver 7 = nifer; vawr 21 = fauvr 'great'; sew 45 = sef 'that is'; dihafal 20 = dihafal 'unequalled'. We also find f, as affv 21 = a fu 'who has been', bariffvin 53 = barfyn 'white-bearded', tiff 50 = tyf 'grows'.

As u and v also represented the vowel u, 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 û 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, l.l.a., vy 2 = fy 'my'; llauur 3 = llafur 'labour'; kyfuoethave 55, Mn. W. cyfuoethog 'rich'; gyntaf ʒ = first', dynedaf ʒ 'I say', ef ʒ = 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 û, the word fu may be found written vv, vu, uw, uu. But there is much less confusion than in the
earlier period, for (1) \( w \) is distinguished from \( u \); (2) finally \( u \) and \( f \) are distinguished; thus new means new ‘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 \( b \), 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 cynghanedd, e.g. pucyn \( v \) y chwaer p. 17 above; see Tr. Cym. 1908-9, p. 34.

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

(2) In some Early Ml. mss., of which the most important is the B.B., the sound \( d \) when it is an initial mutation is generally represented by \( d \), but medially and finally is represented rather illogically by \( t \); thus B.B., \( dy dixet 19 \equiv dy dixet \) ‘thy end’; imtun \( 32 \equiv ym\text{\textperiodcentered}yn \) ‘to behave’; gwirt \( 33 \equiv gwyr\text{\textperiodcentered} \) ‘green’; betev \( 63 \equiv be\text{\textperiodcentered}n \) ‘graves’. Medially, however, we also have \( d \), as adaw \( 41 \equiv Abaf \) ‘Adam’; and occasionally, by a slip, finally, as oed \( 1 \equiv oe\text{\textperiodcentered} \) ‘was’ (conversely, by a rare slip, final \( t \equiv d \), as imbit \( 70 \equiv ym\text{\textperiodcentered}yd \) ‘in the world’). In B.C.H. usage is still looser.

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

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

(4) \( dd \) came generally into use in the 15th cent. In the 16th Sir J. Price, 1546, used \( \text{\textperiodcentered} \); G.R., 1567, used \( d \); Salesbury, 1567,
used dd and &; 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 (b) is transcribed ð.

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

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

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

(3) Medially ng sometimes stands for n̄g (pronounced ng like the ng in the Eng. finger); thus Bangor, pronounced Baengor. The simple sound represents original ng as in angel (≡ awvel § 54 i (2)) < Lat. angelus (≡ angelus); 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 uc, as uncenteticion m.c. = un-genadigion, gloss on 'solicanæ'. Cf. Bede's Bancor, doubtless the Early W. spelling.

§ 20. i. (1) The sound ff is represented in O.W. by f, as finn, fionou m.c. = ffyn 'sticks', fionou 'roses'; sometimes medially by ph as in ciphillion m.c. 'sprouts', grephion m.c. 'pencils', Griphion a.c. 814, § 36 ii, and p or pp as Gripiud b.s.ch. i, 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 ban foher b.b. 5 'when they are put to flight', fort do. 33 = fford 'way', ny forthint do. 34 'they did not cherish', ny pherechiste do. 21 'thou hast not respected'; A fa le e maynt a.l. i 160, ms. a., a phy ... ms. d., 'and where they are'; heb dant yn ñ fenw m.w. 453 ... yn ñ phenn r.m. 101 'without a tooth in her head'; ffoes b.b. 44 'fed'. Medially and finally it is generally ff, as diffus b.b. 35 = diffwys 'steep', proffuid do. 85 'prophet', groff r.m. 52 'croft', anffurwaw do. 29 'to disfigure', gorffen do. 5 'to finish', sorff 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 deu gorf r.m. 5 'two bodies', anfurf do.
29 (≡auflurf) 'disfigurement'; *yn braf* w.m. 53 (≡yn braff) 'strong', *groft* 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* < 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 Lat. *cippus*, and *ffon* is from Pr. *chwe phunt, chwe phunt* '£6', *gwragedd a phlant* 'women and children', *blith* *draplith* 'higgledy-piggledy'.

ii. (1) The sound *th* (β) is represented in O. W. by *th*, as *brith* Juv. 'variegated'; by *d*, as *papedpinnac* M.C. ≡ *pa beth bynnag* 'whatsoever'; by *t* after *r*, as *gurt* ox. ≡ *gwrth*, Mn. W. *wrth* 'against'; and by *p*, as *papep* Juv. ≡ *pa 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 *kemyri* A.L. i 4 ≡ *kymyth* 'took'. In Mn. W. it is always written *th*.

Such a form as *perffeidyaw* L.A. 19 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* (χ) is written *ch* in O. W., as *bichan* ox. ≡ *bychan* 'little'. Once we have *gch*, in *iurgchell* M.C. 'fawn', Mn.W. *iyrchell*.

(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 nc* in O. W.; and *mp, nt* and *nc, 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.
In Early Ml. W. we also find m for mh, n for nh, and g for ngh; see § 24 i.

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

iii. Initial n has sometimes a prosthetic y-; as yrweg e yniver ef ac yniver y llwys . . . yr yniveroed w.m. 40 'between his host and the host of the court . . . the hosts'. It is also written a as anadref c.m. 21 'snakes', anniver w.m. 65.

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

ii. In Ml. W. the ll 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.f. 1369, 1407, kollyn R.B. 1073 'pivot', which we now write calon, Iolo, colyn, § 54 ii. The ligatured capital LL 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 λ; 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 gwanwyn araf R.B.B. 194 for gwanwyn a'r haf 'the spring and summer'.

In Ml. W. r for rh is transcribed r 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 *driessi Juv. ≡ dryssi 'thorns', isse m.c., Mi. W. ys 'is'. In Mi. W. it is usually doubled medially between vowels, as in Icesu b.b. 25, 50, L.A. 1, 19, etc., Sæson b.b. 48, messur b.b. 3 'measure', etc., but sometimes written single as in Sæson b.b. 60. Initial ss also occurs, as ssillit b.b. 99 = syllyð, Mn. W. sylly 'thou gazest'. z for s is rare: tryzor 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 e.v. Istrat. In the spoken language it is not heard except in words in which it is accented, as ysgol, ystrad, ysbryd, etc., and sometimes in derivatives of these, as ysgölion; but agúbor, stródur, sgrifen, stryd. In O. W. it is not written: scipour Juv., strotur M.c., sribenn M.c. In Early Mi. W. we have gwastavel a.l. i 4 = gwas-stavell for the later gwas ystavell w.m. 183, r.m. 85. In the oldest verse it does not count as a syllable:

Stavell Gyndylyn ys tywyll heno (10 syll.) R.P. 1045.
'The hall of Cyndyylan is dark to-night.' In later verse it usually counts after a consonant and not after a vowel:

Mi Iscolan yscolheic (≡ Mi 'Scolan yscolheic, 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 sgrifen uwchben y bedd.—L.G.C. 20.
'There is a legend above the tomb.'

Damasy a roed am i sgrin.—T.A., A 31101/115.
'Damask was spread over his coffin.'

Ac ysgrin i geisio gras.—D.G. 60.
'And a coffin to seek grace.'

The y- was general in late Mi. 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
write yr ystalwyn, p. 68. He himself also writes ag scrifennu, p. 69, etc. In the 1620 Bible we find seefer, sclyfaeth, scrifennuc, and yscadbor, yspeilio, yscrifen, each word generally written in the same way whether it follows a vowel or a consonant. The r of the article is retained before forms without yr-, as yr scrifenyddion Barn. v 14, Matt. vii 29. The y- is introduced more freely in the 1690 edition; but its insertion everywhere is late, and of course artificial, since it never became general in natural speech.

§ 24. i. The letter h has always been employed to denote the aspirate; but it was not used to represent the aspirate glide after i until the modern period, § 22 iv; and in some Early Mil. MSS. mh, nh and ngh were written m, n and g, as emen (≡ymhen) A.L. i 84, eurenyes (≡y vrenhines) do. 4; vy ſerkenkt w. 3a (≡vy nehrenkty); yŷ ſadellĭg do. 9a (≡yng Nghadelling).

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

§ 25. i. Consonantal i is represented in O.W. by i, as iar Juv.≡iðr 'hen', hestorion ox., pl. of hestawr, clorion ox., Mn.W. clorianu 'boards', mellyhionou M.C., Mn.W. meillion 'clover'. Before -oni it is also found as u (once in), as enmeitou ox., Mn.W. amneidiau 'beckonings', dameirchinnou Juv. 'circuits'; ðificialou Juv. 'defects'; here it was probably rounded into ſi in anticipation of the final ɻ; cf. § 76 iii (3). Where it is the soft mutation of front ſ it appears as g in O.W., as in Urfen in Nennius≡Urfen, Mn. W. Urien; Morgen gen. xxv≡Moriën. Here the i was doubtless heard with more friction of the breath being the spirant ſ corresponding to front ſ; see § 110 ii.

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

iii. In late Mil.W. it is represented initially by i, rarely by y; as Jessu B.B. 25, 50, L.A. 1, 19, etc., Ieuan L.A. 78, iarll, iarlles w.m. 136 'earl, countess', iawn R.M. 16 'right', yawhnaf do. 24 'most proper', Yessu, Yieessu, L.A. 100. Medially it is written y, as dynyon w.m. 32 'men', bedywaw do. 32 'to baptize', medlyaw do. 34 'to think', etc., rarely as i, as ymbilio R.M. 3 'he may entertain.'

§§ 24, 25 THE CONSONANTS 27

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

v. Voiceless i occurs where the word or syllable preceding i causes aspiration, and is written hi (also hy in Ml. W.), as j hiarllaeth R.M. 178 'her earldom', kennhyadr L.A. 79 'to consent'.

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

§ 26. i. Consonantal w is written gu in O. W. as in petguar ox. = pedguar 'four'. See § 112 ii (i).

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 (≡ onlyved) '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 gwallt 'hair', dy wallt 'thy hair'.

Initial gw may come before l, r or n, as in gwlad 'country', gwraig 'wife', gwâd 'I do', each one syllable. The initial combinations are practically gl, gr or gw 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 wallt 'thy country' sounds like dyw lâd, except that the syllabic division is dy | wâd.

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 hwnnw; Mn. W. acw, Early Ml. W. racw, Ml. W. racko; asw, gwrw, banw § 78 i (2). It may have been made consonantal in the last three by analogy, after s, r, single n.

v. Medial w is liable to interchange with f; thus cowod, cafod 'shower'; cyfoeth, cywaeth § 34 iv; diawl 'devil' for *diafl. The old verbal noun from lliw 'colour' is llifo 'to dye', a newer formation is llivio 'to colour'. The reason for the interchange is that f was once a bilabial, b, § 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
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 \( ch \) (\( x \)) accompanying the \( w \). In S.W. dialects the loose voiceless \( w \) (written \( wh \) or \( hw \)) prevails initially. In O.W., in \textit{juv.} and m.c., \textit{chwi} 'you' appears as \( hwi \); later this word was everywhere \textit{chwi}, the \( ch \) being still heard even in S.W. (though now unrounded in this word, thus \textit{chi}). Initial \( chw \) prevails in Ml. W. and later, as \textit{chwerv} b.B. 83, 84 == \textit{chwyr} 'bitter', \textit{chuwe} do. 84 'sweet', \textit{chwant} do. 34 'lust'; \textit{chwythu} w.M. 47 'to blow', \textit{chwae}r do. 41 'sister', \textit{chwedi}l do. 42, R.M. 29 'tale', \textit{chwythat} L.A. 9 'breath', \textit{chwant} do. 11 'lust', and so generally in Mn. W.; but \( wh \) frequently occurs in Mn. MSS. and sometimes in Early Mn. poets, as \textit{wchech} L.A. 147 'sixth', \textit{whennychu} do. 149 'to desire', \textit{whaer} R.M. 28, \textit{whel} G. 147.

(2) Initial rounded \( ch \) is heard with \( w \) as an off-glide, as in \textit{chwae}r; final rounded \( ch \) has \( w \) as an on-glide, as in \textit{iwch} 'to you', \textit{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 \textit{Gware dy chwrear} b.M. 154 'play thy game', \textit{chweth}, \textit{gweth} do. 301 'sinister'; this is due to the variability of original initial \( s \)-, § 101 ii (1); *\( sw- > chwp; \) *\( u- > gw- \). \( nghwp \) for \( chwp \) is due to a preceding \( n \) (\( nhwp \) > \( vohwp \)), as \textit{chwyneg}, \textit{anghwyneg} 'more'; \( yn \) \textit{chwaethach} R.M. 7, \textit{yghwaethach} do. 85, 108 'rather'.

(4) Initial \( chwp \) has often a prosthetic \( y- \), as \textit{ychwaneg} 'more', \textit{ychwanegu} w.M. 44 'to add'.

(5) Final rounded \( -ch \), of whatever origin, becomes unrounded if the syllable is unaccented; thus \textit{weleuwh} w.M. 50 'ye saw' is \textit{welech}. But \( -yuch \) gave \textit{-wch}, as in \textit{cerwch} 'ye love' for *\textit{cervuch}, see § 173 viii; so \textit{peswch} for *\textit{peswuch}: \textit{pas}, § 201 iii (2). The form \textit{ydych} is due to the analogy of \textit{ydym}; so Late Mn. W. \textit{gennych} after the 1st pl. for Mn. and Early Mn. \textit{gennuch}.

\textbf{Note.}

\textbf{Transcription.}—By means of the devices mentioned in the above sections (the use of \( \delta \), \( \tilde{y} \), \( \tilde{r} \), etc.) the forms of Late Mn. 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 Mn. 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 \( \equiv \), giving the probable sound in modern characters.

The works of Early Mn. poets are often found in late ms. 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’, *gwe|le|dig* ‘visible’; when there are two or more consonants the first belongs to the first syllable, as *can|tor* ‘singer’, *can|jad* ‘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 *drycin* ‘storm’, where the *c* closes as a velar *q* and opens as a palatal *k* (*dryk|hin*), 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, canas|ant* ≡ *at|teb, ca|nas|ant*. See § 54.

ii. A consonant which is etymologically double is simplified after an unaccented syllable; as *cy|né|sin* R.M. 183 ‘familiar’ (*cyn-nef-in* < *kon-dom-ino*: Lat. *domus*); *whe|n|chu* R.B.B. 89 (from *chwant*) ‘to desire’; *ym|gy|null|au*, do. 49 (from *cynull*) ‘to gather together’. But this phonetic rule is not regularly observed in writing, except in the final unaccented syllable, *cál|onn* ‘heart’ (pl. *cál|onnau*), Cálann (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
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 cann-u, 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>wú</td>
<td>wý</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ei, ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front u</td>
<td>ou (au)</td>
<td>eu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>au</td>
<td>aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>ew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back u</td>
<td>iu</td>
<td>iw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iu</td>
<td>qw, yw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>yw, ew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii. (1) As i in O. W. represented both i and y 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 y. In wý it has remained y. 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’, teyrnassoëd ‘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 ã, ò in the dialects: *más*, *cód*. In Pembrokeshire *oe* becomes ò-ε and even òè.

(2) Ml. W. *ae* and *oe* are derived not only from O.W. *ai* and *oi*, but also from O.W. disyllabic *aë* and *oë*; thus *saeth* < *sa|eth* < Lat. *sagitta*; *maes* < *ma|es* (rhyming with *gormes*, B.T. 25) < *mæ|es*; troed pl. *traed* (rhyming with *writhret* / *bryssyet* B.P. 1042) from *troget-*, *traget-, § 65 ii (1). They may also represent a contraction of *a|u*, *o|u* as in dàed § 212 iv, trōent, § 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 ë, where ë is an obscure vowel which is hardly, if at all, distinct from *y*.

iv. O.W. *ou* (≡ *oi*) 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 *ou*; see § 79 ii.

v. O.W. *au* and *ou* (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 *yw* 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 *yw* and also *ow* at a later period, § 33 iii (2). Thus *diguolouichetic* ox.; Ml. W. *gwynyched* B.M. 84 'shining', *gwynch* B.P. 1153, which appear beside *llwynch* B.P. 1154, Mn. W. *llwynch* corr. into *llwynch* '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*, *ouw*, in *gwawv* 'spear', *gloyw* 'bright', *koyw* 'sprightly', *croyw* 'clear', which remain strictly monosyllabic in the cynghanedd of the Early Mn. bards. In late pronunciation the *w* is made syllabic, except when a syllable is added, as in the pl. *gloywôn* which is still disyllabic. In *dâwywch*, contracted from *dâ wywch*, the *âyw* has now been simplified into *âw*; 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 *chwarae* 'to play', *Ithel* for *Ithael*, O. W. *Ithhail* (≡ *iθh-hail*).
Pan aeth pawb allan y chware. R.M. 116 'When everybody went out to play'; see also R.M. 15, 38, 84, 87, 153, etc.

Lloches adar i chware,
Llwyn mwyn, llyna’r llun y ma e.—D.G. 37.

'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 gwér heb newid gware;
Nid llong heb fyned o’i lle.—G.Gl. c. 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. (r) The simplification of final unaccented ai and au to e are dialectal and late. Such forms as llefen for lefain, gwele 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, Mi. W. kyveir § 215 iii (9), ystyried for ystyriad § 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 G. 190. The forms camrau, godreu, tylau are later blunders for the literary forms camre 'journey', godre 'bottom edge', pl. godreon, R.M. 147, and tyle 'hill; couch'. The new ychain for ychen 'oxen' § 121 iii is due to the idea that -en is dialectal. In Gwynedd ychaid is heard, but is a dialectal perversion like merchaid for merched.

Teso gfore gwnu’r lle’n llon,
Ac annen ch y tai gywion.—D.G. 524.

'On a warm morning make the place merry, and greet the white houses.' See bore B.B. 31, 55, 82, 92, 108, W.M. 56, 73, etc.

Ni aedwais lednais le
Ynghymry ar fy nghamre.—I.G. 201.

'I left no noble place in Wales on my journey.' See kamre, R.P. 1269.

Lluuch ar fre a godre gallt,
A brig yn dwyn barug-wallt.—D.G. 508.

'Snowdrift on hill and foot of slope, and branch bearing hair of hoarfrost.' See also R.P. 1036.

A phan edrychnwyty 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 afiaith

* There is one example in C.M. 5, which stands quite alone in the B.B., and so is prob. a scribal error.
'delight', araith 'speech', cyffaith 'confection', disgrair 'bright', goddaith 'conflagration', gweniaith (or gweiniaith) 'flattery', rhyddiaith 'prose', talaiith 'crown; realm'. See § 202 iv (1). The word diffaiti, Ml. W. diffeith, 'waste, wild, evil' (from Lat. defectus) is generally written so in the good periods (e.g. diffeth B.B. 106, B.M. 183); but some early examples occur of a new formation fromffaeth 'cultivated' (from Lat. fæctus), R.P. 1047, l. 2.

Yn y nef maen un affaith
Yn son archangylion safiith.—Gr.H. s. 101.

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

Ef a gâr awstll ac araiith,
Ef a âwr synnwyr y saith.—H.D. p 99/469.

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

Disgleir ðiweir Veir vorwyn.—Ca., R.P. 1247.

'Bright chaste virgin Mary.'

Coed osglog, caeau disgrair,
Wyth rynw ñd, a thri 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 n.cw. 8, early editions of Bible, etc.

Fal goddaith yn ymdaith nos.—D.G. 13.

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

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

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

Twysog yn, enwoq i waiith,
Teilwng i wisgo talaiith.—E.U.

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

Troes dilyw tros y dalaith,
Torri ar rif tyraru'r iaiith.—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'ñ d'ol at yr hen dalaith;
Digon yw digon o daith.—E.P. M 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
'Greek', and in verbal forms such as *aed* 'let him go', *rhoed* 'let him give', *roes* 'he gave'; see § 185.

In R.P. 1189 *Gro-ec* is a disyllable rhyming with *chwec*, *ostec*, *Cym|ræ|ec*, etc.; in the R.G. 1119 it is stated to be a monosyllable; D.G. uses it as a monosyllable, 53, as well as *roes* 6 'gave', *troes* 68 'turned', *gwnaed* 149 'let her do', *doed* 145, 228 'let him come', *froes* 191 'fled', but *ffôes* 61. He uses *Cym|ræ|eq* 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|ræ|eg_,
_Cymered air Cymru deg._—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|ræ|eg, di-gymar õedd_,
_Di-dlaed ym nhôb daedl õedoedd._—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 *glyn-faes* D.G. 135 'vale', *mëin-droed* 262 'slender foot', *dëw-droed* 'two feet'.

ii. The R.G., 1119, states that *ey* is always a disyllable. This is not necessarily the case in the penult, for in such forms as *kevryð*, § 122 ii (3), pl. of *kaer* 'fort', *treythyc* 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 õyn_,

'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 sêl brë|ur_
_Sydd i gaed swyddau 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 õi na chawr na dyn chwyn_,
_Heb haint Dew, a'n pen te|y+r._—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 _he|yrn_ / _te|y+r_ / _kedyrn_ R.P. 1226.
The contracted form sometimes occurs; as

Penfar heurn pan fo’r hirnos.—D.G. 267.
‘A head-dress of iron spikes when the night is long.’—To the holly.

The name Lleyn 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 Llŷyn, 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 llŷn.

O Lŷn i Dynwyn, yn dau,
O Dynwyn i dir Deau.—W.II., g. 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 rhoddī ‘to give’; ymarhbus c.c. 330 for ymarhbu ‘dilatory’; rhowch for rho|wch ‘give ye’; rhoiost for rho|eiost ‘thou gavest’; rhoi for rho|ei ‘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, roun do. 243. But uncontracted forms occur even later; trōiaiš D.G. 307, trōi I.G., cyfrrōi| L.G.C., d. 16.

(2) The diphthong ow is pronounced with the o unrounded, thus w, where the o is closer than the first element in the Eng. ov, and is scarcely distinguishable from the obscure y; in fact the yw in cynydd 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 cynydd, 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|nhau for gla|nháu ‘to clean’; plau R.P. 1222 for pláeu ‘plagues’; döl|éu for döl|éu ‘to delete’; awn for áwn ‘we go’; gla|nhád for gla|nhad ‘cleansing’; (q)enai w.m. 54, 250 for gwana|ei ‘did’, cf. B.B. 64; cyt́ün for cytung ‘united’; bûm for bû|um ‘I have been’; gwy|bûm for gwy|bû|um ‘I knew’; can for căe|u ‘to shut’. These forms occur uncontracted in Ml. W.: gunaun B.B. 81 (≡ gwana|en rhyming with wen) ‘I would do’; yn gyfluen R.B.B. 238; ca|u L.A. 167 (≡ c|u), kaen w.m. 24 (≡ káe|u). Uncontracted forms are met with as late as the 16th cent.

Dy garu a wybû|um;
Darllain dy bylgain y bûm.—H.S. 5.
'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', but not with the latter: ac i 'and to'.

Anor wyff i'n cyweiriọ ḳ fedd.—7 syll. § 44 vi.
Da ḳ Gymraeg, di-gymar oedd.—7 syll., i above.
Nos da ḳ o watch onest y Waun.—7 syll. G. 177.

'Good night to the honest fellow of Chirk.'

Rising Diphthongs.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ia</th>
<th>wa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as in caniad, iar;</td>
<td>as in angar;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as in iechyd;</td>
<td>as in adyan;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as in rhodia, ior;</td>
<td>as in cedwir;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iw</td>
<td>wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as in ioroch, rhodwyn;</td>
<td>as in gwaltwor;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as in iyrchell;</td>
<td>as in galwyn;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

ii. When j or w comes before a falling diphthong the combination becomes a mixed triphthong; as iai in iaiθ 'language'; iau in teithian 'journeys'; waw in gwawd 'song, mockery'; iw in meddyliwyd 'it was thought', neithiwy'r, D.G. 424 (now generally neithiwr § 78 i (2)) 'last night'.—We have a tetraphthong in the old pronunciation of gwawo (or gwawr) § 30.

iii. When an unaccented i comes before any other vowel the two are frequently contracted into a rising diphthong; thus diöd dead 'to suffer' becomes a disyllable diöd D.G. 137. Some early examples occur, as erjöed 'ever' for *erjöed 'since his time'. diöer 'by heaven' § 224 iv (2) is a monosyllable, as the metre shows in R.P. 1206, D.G. 46, 51. diwol '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|ael.

iv. The rising diphthongs wa and wo are frequently interchanged; as greatwar w.m. 185, greatwor D.G. 136 ‘to mock’; margar L.A. 39, margor ‘embers’ (cf. maroryn § 36 iii); ca
gad, ca
god ‘shower’; ped
gar, pedwor ‘four’.

**Pedwor** try
gor 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 ca
gad R.M. 180, K.P. 1223, D.G. 57 (rhyming with b
d) and ca
godydd or ca
godydd D.G. 305 (penult rhyming with bod); wo becomes wa in cynawau c.m. 21 for cynawon pl. of ceneu § 125 iii; dy
gad for dy
gad from dy
gad § 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 mw
gyn ‘gentle’, mw
gyn ‘to charm’; the rising wy, short in gw
gyn ‘white’, long in gw
gyr ‘men’; the rising wy as in ty
gynn ‘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 ı, 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 myf
griaf ‘I meditate’, myf
griant ‘they meditate’,
myf
grio ‘to meditate’, myf
griol ‘meditating’, but myf
gri ‘meditation’.

In words borrowed from Lat. the ı can be traced to its source
in short e; thus myf
gri < memoria; synn, syn
giaf < sentio; ystyr, yst
griaf < historia. In native words it represents original ı, as in
dyn ‘man’ pl. dynj
dn from Kelt. *don
dos: Ir. duine § 100 iv; cf.
also § 201 iii (6).—In a few new formations the ı is ignored as in
di-yst
gru ‘to ignore’, dynol ‘human’ a new formation which has
replaced Ml. W. dyn
gadl L.A. 12, 24, 38, etc.

ii. (1) In Mn. lit. W. ı generally appears after syllables
having ei, as in ysbe
giaf ‘I rob’ (ysbail ‘spoil’ < Lat. spolium);

teith
gaif ‘I journey’ (taith ‘journey’), geiri
gan ‘words’ (gair ‘word’), neith
gryn(ı)y ‘last night’, Ml. W. neith
gyr § 98 i (3). In these
cases the ı is omitted in S. W. dialects and most Ml. mss., as
§ 36. Rising Diphthongs

kein豪c b.b. 54 = keinωanc 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 ı̆, as keyn̄Юc.

(2) There are, however, several exceptions to this rule besides those mentioned or implied in § 36. The ı̆ is omitted before the substantival terminations -en, -es, -edd; as deilen (M.IL. i 155 has the unusual deilen) ‘leaf’, bugeiltes ‘shepherdess’, cyseilles (printed cyseillies in D.G. 75) ‘amei’, meithoedd ‘lengthiness’; before endings of comparison, as meithed, meithach, meithaf (maith ‘long’), meined, meinach, meinaf (main ‘slender’), except rheit-jed, -iach, -iaf § 149 i, stems in -iedd as maunwein̄ඇach.

(3) Medial ei before a consonant originally simple must be due to affection by ı̆ after the consonant; and the ı̆ in ysbeiliat etc. is the affecting ı̆ preserved. -eith- generally represents *-ekt- a verbal noun and adj. formation, as in perfeith ‘perfect’, and the ı̆ in perfeithio is probably analogical, § 201 iii (6). From these the ı̆ 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 (i)), etc.

iii. ı̆ is also added to many stems having i or u; as cil, ‘back’, pl. ciliau, ciliaf ‘I retreat’; tir ‘land’, old poetic pl. tirio (b.b. 26, r.p. i 144, tirio ‘to land’, tirig ‘landed’ (but pl. tirriendly, tiroedd); grudd ‘cheek’, pl. gruddiau; llun ‘form’, pl. lluniau, llunio ‘to form’, lluniaidd ‘shapely’; ystydýaw, llawrwýaw.

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’, galŵaf ‘I call’, gelwast ‘thou calledst’, gelwynt ‘they called’, etc.

§ 36. i. w drops before w, and ı̆ 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 gadwun, \( mi \) ae kadwun, the older W.M. 71 has in the same passage \( mi \) a gadwun, \( mi \) ay cadwun. Similarly we have \( vedybyit \) in \( III.A. 48 \) but \( bedyd\ir \) earlier, p. 42.

The syllable closed by the \( w \) or \( i \) remains closed after its loss; thus \( cad\ion, bedyd\ir \) became \( cad\ion, bedyd\ir \) (not \( cad\ion, bedyd\ir \)). By re-formation the \( w \) is sometimes restored in the spoken lang. in forms like \( ber|wuc'h \) 'boil ye; impve., on account of the strength of the analogy of \( ber\[w, ber|gaf, ber|wods, etc. \) But the lit. and ordinary form is \( ber|woch, \) and the absence of \( wyw \) in the traditional pronunciation accounts for the well-known W. pronunciation of E. \( wood \) as 'ood, etc.

ii. \( iu \) drops before \( y \) and \( u \) in monosyllables and final syllables; as \( yrch \) A.L. i 20, \( III.A. 67 \) for *\( iy\rch \) pl. of \( yrch \) 'roebuck'; \( udd \) 'lord' < O. W. \( Ind- \) ('*warrior'); \( peidynt \) R.M. 90 (from \( peidyaw \) 'to cease', cf. \( peidy\wys \) R.M. 98); \( Mared\w, R.P. 1194 \) for *\( Mared\w, O. W. Morgetiud \) gen. xiii (\( = \) Morget\w), \( Gruuff\wdd \) < O. W. \( Grippiud \) (\( = \) Griff\w). It is often found written in Ml. W., as \( ystyr\w gc. r.P. 1153 \) 'thou mayst consider', \( hilgynt \) \( III.A. 11 \) 'they would breed', \( llaf\wrygus \) do. 28 'laborious', \( m\wlynt \) W.M. 103 'thou wouldst think'; but the spelling is perhaps theoretical; see below.

Initial \( iu \) in polysyllables has given \( i \), as in \( Iddew \) 'Jew' for *\( iud\w; Ithel < *\( iu\th - hael, O. W. Iu\thail. \)

See I\wew p 14/1 r. (13th cent.); \( iet\wow (t \equiv \delta) \) B.B. 102; so in \( III.A. \) see its index, and in R.B., see R.B. index. Salesbury wrote I\w\w\w, which he inferred from the derivation. The Bible (1588 and 1620) has I\w\w; but late editors have adopted Salesbury's unphonetic spelling. D. includes \( iu \) among rising diphthongs; but his only example is the artificial I\w\w. It is seen that \( iu \) became \( u \) in the syllables which were accented in O.W., and \( i \) in syllables unaccented at that period, § 40. The simplification must therefore have taken place before the shifting of the accent; and Ml. W. forms with \( \delta u \) (\( = \delta \)) are analogical formations, and perhaps artificial.

iii. \( w \) sometimes drops before \( o \); as in the prefixes go-, gor- for \( gyo-, gwo-; \) thus Ml. and Mm. W. goly\wni 'light', O. W. gwo\wln\w juy. But analogy has tended to restore it; thus while we find a\w\w\w M.A. i 256, ii 319 for a\w\w\w III.A. 112, R.M. 19, R.P. 1234 'teachers', c\w\w\w E.A. 38, M.A. i 261, 315 for k\w\w\w R.B.B. 147 'whelps', lle\wot H.M. ii 234, 235 for lle\w\wot III.A. 10
RISING DIPHTHONGS

'ions', marworyn L.A. 25 for marworyn D.G. 363 'ember', it generally remained in these words. Late examples of its loss: Ml. W. etwo (varying with etwa by § 34 iv) gives etlo r.p. 1357, Mn. W. elo (≡ elfo) 'again'. So penwog became *penwog whence pennog 'herring', the pl. retaining the w: penwaig L.G.C. 158, Ml. W. penweic a.l. i 66.

*gwolchi 'to wash' gave golchi, whence gylch 'washes'; but in Ml. W. the latter was gwylch, as y dwfyr a wylch pob peth L.A. 18 'water washes everything.'

Mör a wylch mwyn amgylch Môn.—Ca., R.P. 1244.

'The sea washes the sweet coast of Môn.'

iv. ɨ drops before w owing to the extreme difficulty of pronouncing the combination, but it remains before vocalic w; thus gweithiwyr 'worker', gweithiwyr 'was worked', but gweithwyr 'workers' (not *gweithiwyr).—Of course vocalic ɨ remains in all cases: ysf-yr 'spy', pl. ysf-yr.

v. ɨ drops after w following a consonant, or following a diphthong; thus ceidwad for *ceidwadiad 'keeper, saviour', geirwyn for *geirwjon, pl. of garw 'rough', hoywion for *hoywjon, pl. of hoy 'sprightly'. But when w follows a simple vowel the ɨ remains, as in glewion, pl. of glew 'bold', glaujo 'to rain'.

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

vi. ɨ drops after u, as in duon for *dujon, pl. of du 'black', goren for *gorenjon pl. of goren 'best'.

vii. ɨ drops after r or l following a consonant, as meidrol for meidrol 'finite' (veidryawl r.p. 1233, veidrawl do. 1234), budron for *budrion, pl. of budr 'dirty', crwydriad for crwydriad 'wanderer', meistraid for meistriad 'masters', teimlo for *teimlo 'to feel', treiglo for treiglo 'to roll'.

This rule is not always observed. In some late Bibles crwydriad has been altered into crwydriad. We also find meistraid in Mn. W.; dimirstio always retains ɨ, and mentrioc occurs for mentro.

Ambiguous Groups.

§ 37. i. As above noted iw in ordinary writing represents both the rising diphthong ɨw and the falling diphthong iw.
PHONOLOGY

§ 37

ii. *iw in the ultima followed by a consonant is *iw, as iwerch
'register', rhediwch 'walk ye', cafwen 'we remember', myrddiwen 'a myriad'. The only exceptions are the Mn. forms iwerch for
Ml. ych 'to you', and niwl for Ml. nywel § 77 v, § 90.

The Demetian disyllabic niwel (D.D. s.v., D.G. 150 ni-wel /n̥ə-ˈwɛl/) is "niwel < *niwyl < nywel with irregular epenthetic vowel § 16
v (3) (y > w after w § 66 ii (2)). Niwel existed beside *niwel. But
the standard form appears to be a monosyllable (D.G. 70 niwil /nəs/)
and all the derivatives are from niwel-, as niwllog or niwlog 'misty',
niwlen 'a veil of mist'.

Initial iw became *iwi and then iw in wul 'porridge' < Ml. W.
iwt (≡ iyd) n.b. 1061, Bret. iot; but iwerch 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 iw; thus (1) finally, as in i'w, Ml.
yg 'to his', rhiw 'hill', briw '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 heddiav; but the Demetian
heddi implies heddiw. The bards always rhymed it as heddiav, till it
came to be written heddiow in the 15th cent. (one example in R.F. 1286),
an artificial restoration, see § 77 v.

*Nid oes fyd na rhyd na rhiw
Na lle rhydd na llawr heddiav.—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.

Ni fu havdd nofo heddiav
I un a ffrmod yn i ffrigw.—T.A., f. 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 digedd 'end', niwyedio
'to harm', ciwpod 'race, people'. Exceptions are the borrowed
words siwrmai 'journey', siw'r 'sure', and diwronol 'day' when
contracted, as in Gr.O. 88, for diwronol for Ml. W. digwyrmadiw,
w. 1a (generally in Ml. W. diwarnant, 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 gweddl 'prayer',
gweddi-wen 'let us pray', gweddi-wn 'suppliant'. In such words
the i is generally written in Mn. W. with a diaeresis—
gweddr. 
v. The combination iwy has four sounds: (1) the mixed triphthong ic\(\ddot{y}\), as in neithic\(\ddot{y}\)ryr, § 34 ii. It occurs in verbal forms when the terminations -i\(\ddot{y}\), -i\(\ddot{y}\), -i\(\ddot{y}\)s are added to stems in i, § 35; as rhi\(\ddot{d}\)i\(\ddot{y}\)f 'I may walk', tyb\(\ddot{r}\)\(\ddot{w}\)yd 'it was thought'.

(2) ic\(\ddot{y}\) disyllabic. - It occurs when the above endings are added to stems in vocalic i, as gwedi\(\ddot{y}\)\(\ddot{w}\)f (3 syll., see example in § 201 ii (2)); and in compounds of di- with stems having \(\ddot{y}\), as in di-i\(\ddot{y}\)r 'not bent' (\(\ddot{g}\)\(\ddot{w}\)yr 'bent').

(3) ic\(\ddot{y}\), or (4) ic\(\ddot{y}\), according to position, as in li\(\ddot{w}\)yd d. 164 'painter', pl. li\(\ddot{w}\)yd\(\ddot{d}\)i\(\ddot{d}\)\(\ddot{t}\)ion; di\(\ddot{w}\)yd 'diligent' spv. di\(\ddot{w}\)yd\(\ddot{t}\)af. These sounds may occur either when ic\(\ddot{y}\) is followed by y or y or when i is followed by \(\ddot{w}\)y or ic\(\ddot{y}\) in word-formation.

§ 38. i. The distinction between the falling diphthong ic\(\ddot{y}\) and the rising diphthong ic\(\ddot{y}\), both written ic\(\ddot{y}\), is an important one. The difference between them is seen most clearly in monosyllables such as g\(\ddot{w}\)yr 'he knows', \(\ddot{g}\)\(\ddot{w}\)yr '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 ic\(\ddot{y}\) (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 ic\(\ddot{y}\), where necessary, in this book. The rising diphthong is indicated by marking the \(\ddot{w}\) a consonant.

ii. In monosyllables ic\(\ddot{y}\) represents the falling diphthong except when preceded by y or ch; thus di\(\ddot{w}\)n 'to bring', bri\(\ddot{w}\)n 'rushes', ci\(\ddot{w}\)n 'complaint', ch\(\ddot{w}\)nl 'hurdle', lw\(\ddot{y}\)br 'path', lw\(\ddot{y}\)nt 'they, them', c\(\ddot{w}\)m\(\ddot{p}\) 'fall'. Words beginning with y or ch have usually the rising diphthong, as gy\(\ddot{n}\) 'white', gwy\(\ddot{d}\)d 'green', gwy\(\ddot{d}\)d 'trees', ch\(\ddot{y}\)m 'roaring', ch\(\ddot{y}\)\(\ddot{m}\) 'blows'; the exceptions are G\(\ddot{y}\) 'the Wye', gwy\(\ddot{d}\)d 'goose', gwy\(\ddot{d}\)d 'presence', gi\(\ddot{y}\)l 'vigil, holiday', gi\(\ddot{w}\)l 'modest', gi\(\ddot{w}\)ll 'goblin', g\(\ddot{w}\)yr 'knows', gi\(\ddot{y}\)r 'a bend', g\(\ddot{w}\)yl 'pledge', gi\(\ddot{w}\)\(\ddot{h}\) 'anger', ch\(\ddot{w}\)d 'swelling'.

Note the following words which conform to the rule, though spelt like some of the above-mentioned exceptions: gwy\(\ddot{d}\)d 'trees', gy\(\ddot{w}\)l 'sees' § 173 iv (i), gy\(\ddot{w}\)ll 'darkness'.

iii. When a word has the falling diphthong ic\(\ddot{y}\) in its simple form, the diphthong remains so in all derivatives; thus m\(\ddot{w}\)n
'gentle',  mwynach 'gentler', mwynhau 'to enjoy'; ciwy 'complaint', pl. cwynfion, v.n. cwyno '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 wv in the penult after c, g or ch, as cwylo for cwylo 'to complain'; gwyddau for gwyddaun 'goose'; cwydddo for chwydddo '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 chwyrnu 'to roar', gwunu 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', wylhnuos 'week', wybr 'sky', wyl 'to weep', wyl 'weeps', wyneb 'face'.

wybr, wyllo 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 gwynn. This vulgarism hardly occurs before the 19th cent.

Rhaid im ddwyyn pridd ar f'wyneb
Rhag 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.

Amlwyd fydd trwyyn ar wyneb; a
Afraid i ni nodi neb.—E.P. 212.

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

A'r anadl oll a'r wyneb b
Fal aroglaun siopau Sitsb.—D.G., 330.

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

Os wyneb b iarll sy'n y bedd,
Iarll a uned erlynedd.—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. xvii 10, etc.; eu hwnebeu,v Gen. xliii 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 gwnebeu.

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

Cowly, Myfanwy, arlwy 'a spread', diwry 'fine', llywry 'beautiful',

a Pronounce the wy of wyneb so that it rhymes with the wv of ddwyyn, trwyyn as the cynganedd thus demands.

b Not a'r gwneb, os gwneb, the g being ruled out by the cynganedd.

c Not fy ngwyneb, eu gwnebeu.
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', annwyll 'cold', addwyn D.G. 355 'gentle', canwyll 'candle', gwanwyn 'spring', cadwyn 'chain', annwyl 'dear'; awyr 'air', awydd 'desire', see x below. Except in compounds, such as tanwydd 'firewood', etc.; see §83 iii.

Rhaid i'r ywan ddal y gannwyll
I'r dewr i wneuthur i dŷyll.—E.P. 235.

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

Oer gennych eira gwanwyn:
Oerach yw 'nymd er ych mwbyn.—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 un ddwy gad wyn,
A'i roddi'n faich i'r ddyn fwyyn.—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 gwa daf y annwyl—
Dy o le mae'n dala 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 é, as in pwyll 'thought', Ir. ciall, gowyll 'goose', Ir. géd, gwyddl 'pledge', Ir. giall, etc.; or when it is derived from Latin e, ig or i, as in rhwyll 'net' from rête, cwyrr 'wax' from céra, églwyds 'church' from ecclesia, egwyddor 'alphabet' from ábócédarium, gwéntwyll 'poison' from venénun, dwyys 'intense' from dênsus, siwy 'charm' from signum; sfynwyrr 'sense' from sentire. Rule vi may be verified in many words
by applying the test of derivation; e.g. canuwyll from candela, cadwyn from catena, *paradwyg from paradisis.

Geiriad da a gwyr 'w dwyn
A ddinistr y ddau wenwyn.—D.I.D., F. 11.

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

Y doetJk ni ddywaid a 'wyr;
Nd o sôn y ddau synnwyr.—G.I.H., 6. 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 -rwydd 'ness', -wys 'ians', and in the verbal terminations -waf, -wys, -wyd, but is the rising one in -wyr pl. of -wr 'er'.

The ending -wys 'ians' added to names of places is probably derived from the Latin -enses.

Hyd lork y bu hydrefd d’wys,
A’r gwannwgan ar y Gwennwys.—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 cerwyn 'vat', dissgwyl 'look, expect', Gwynedd 'Venedotia', Gwyndyd, id., morwyn 'maiden', terwyn 'fervent'; it is the rising diphthong in oherwydd 'because of', cychwyn 'rise, start', erchwyn 'protector, [bed]-side', dedwydd 'happy'. See terwyn / gwyn / brwyn R.P. 1206; cerwyn / coll-bwyn D.G. 347.

Y ferch addfiwym o Wyneidd,
Sy ynys gw i osai 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.

Mi a euraf bob morwyn
O eiriad nawel er i mwyn.—D.G. 281.

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

Ar i farch yr âi f’erchwyn
Yn y llu ddoe’n llew o ddyn.—T.A. 6. 234.

* Pughe, deriving cadwyn from cadg, made it cadwyn, and asserted that it was masculine. He then inferred a fem. cadgen, which (as cadwyn is fem.) was unfortunately adopted by many 19th cent. writers. But no one has had the courage to write cadwomen for the pl. cadwyni. There is an old word cadgen or cadgent which means 'a battle', from cad.
AMBIGUOUS GROUPS

§ 39. **Accentuation.**

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 pro-
mminence 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,
yð, yr, y, the negative, interrogative and affirmative particles, most
conjunctions as the a in bara a chaves 'bread and cheese', and often
prepositions as the rhyg in rhyg ofn '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
Arduireaf tri b.b. 36 (Arðwyrñaf-i dre) for Arddwyreaf dre (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 cânaf 'I sing',
cân|iad 'a song'; cân|id|an 'songs'.

ii. The position of the accent was certainly the same in the
Late Mn. period. This is proved by the fact that in the 14th
cent. the cyngihanedd was fully developed in its modern form in
which the penultimate accent plays an important part, ZsCP.
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 Mn. 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 dyð 'day', it is y. There has been no shifting of
the accent in y dyð 'the day', which therefore preserves the accentuation
that resulted in the vowel sequence y...y. Hence a word like
mynnð, which contains this sequence, must once have been accented
*mynnð.
§ 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) ys- or (2) ym-; as (1) ysgrín ‘shrine, coffin’, § 23 ii, ysbrýð ‘street’, ysgrēch ‘serech’, ysbr ‘store’; (2) ymwēl ‘do thou visit’, ymāl ‘do thou leave’. But most words with these initial syllables are accented regularly, as ýgel ‘school’, ýsbrýð ‘spirit’, ýgwýð ‘to shake’, ýmlaith ‘journey’, ýmgudd D.G. 374 ‘hides’. In some cases we have both accentuations, see ýmwel below;

§ 41. In some words in Mn. W. the accent falls after the introduction of the prosthetic vowel. There is no evidence of that vowel in O.W. In the earliest Ml. W. we find Istrat 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 ā was shortened, it is seen that in *brāteres (> broder) the accent was on the antepenult; as ā which remained accented gives av, the accent to give o must have shifted to the er 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 ýsbrýð, which involves a shifting from *(y)spryd, 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 of the old penult has dropped since the separation of W. and Bret.; thus W. crŷð ‘shoemaker’ < *crynð < Brit. *kar(y)dyð: Bret. kere, § 86 i (5); — W. ysbrýð < *spryd < *sprýð < Lat. spiritus: Bret. spered.

On the other hand in some words an intrusive vowel developed before the accented syllable; Ml. W. dly ‘deserves, owes’ comes through *dylý < *dlyz, § 199 ii (2); the y spread from this to other forms of the verb.—MI. W. taraw ‘to strike’, tereu ‘strikes’ < *tarāw, *tereu < *traw, *trew. The vowel did not spread from these to travaf; the late Ml. tarawaf is an artificial lit. form, § 202 i (3).

(3) In one or two words the vowel of the old penult has dropped since the separation of W. and Bret.; thus W. crŷð ‘shoemaker’ < *crynð < Brit. *kar(y)dyð: Bret. kere, § 86 i (5); — W. ysbrýð < *spryd < *sprýð < Lat. spiritus: Bret. spered.

Similarly Brit. ā remains (written w) in the ultima; but appears as y in other syllables, § 66 i; — ā remained and became ai in the ult., but became ei giving ei (≡ ii) in the penult, § 79; — Brit. ā is aw in the ult., o in the penult, § 71 i; — aw in the ult. is u in the penult, § 77 x; from iü we find ü in the ult. and monosyllables, the easier i in the penult, § 36 ii.

(4) The accent in ýgel, ýstrad, 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 Istrat 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.

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occasionally with different meanings, as ymlâdd ‘to fight’; ymládd ‘to tire one’s self’; ymddŵyn ‘to behave’, ymddŷn ‘to bear’.

Y dydd a’r awr, ni’m dawr, dod;
ŷmwel a mi dan âmod.—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 ymlâdd cad Camlân.—L.G.C. 450.

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

Y forch wêddwy ddifrycheuddeddf
Wedîr ymlâdd a’r ârem lêdf.—D.E., p 112/840.

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

ii. The reduplicated pronouns myfî, tydî, 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|tôi for Ml. W. pa|ra|tôi ‘to prepare’, cy|tûn for Ml. W. cy|tûn ‘united’, Gwr|tê|yrn for Gwr|tê|yrn, Cym|ræg for Cym|ræg, pa|rhâd for pa|rhâd ‘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 ysgolhâig, Ml. W. yscolheic ‘scholar’, the contraction in the last syllable seems to have taken place early in the Ml. period, as Nîd vid iscolheic nid vid eleic unben B.B. 91 (10 syll.; read scolheic, § 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-áig ‘chief’. The word ffeiâig seems to have been accented regularly; thus in R.P. 1221 we have ffeiâig / fiři, the latter being the Lat. filii.

Tudur waed Tewdwr ydoedd,
A phenaïg cyff Ieuann oedd.—Gu.O., g. 196.

‘He was Tudor of the blood of Tudor, and chief of the stock of Ieuann.’

iv. A few words recently borrowed from English; as apâl, ‘appeal’. 
§ 42. In Ml. and early Mn. W. final w after d, t, n, l, r, s was consonantal, § 26 iv; thus meddy ‘drunk’, marw ‘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 meddypon ‘drunkards’, márwel ‘mortal’, mărwnad ‘elegy’, delwau ‘images’, árddelw ‘to represent, to claim’. The w is usually elided between two consonants, as médd-dol ‘drunkenness’, for méddydod. In B.B. 84 we have netudawd (=fèwðawd), but in Ml. W. generally such words were written without the w, as meldawt, R.P. 1217, 1245, 1250, 1269, L.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 v, thus médd[w]dod, the accent being thrown on the antepenult, a position which it never occupies in Welsh. The correct form médd-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 apparentexception to the rule of accentuation; thus árddelw ‘to claim’, sýberw ‘proud’ are written árddel, sýber. In gwárchawd ‘to guard’, ymbrawl ‘to attend (to)’, metathesis took place about the end of the Ml. period, giving gwárchawd, ymbr-awl, which became gwárchod, ymbrôl in Mn. W.

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

Da arðelu kynnelw Kynamelw kêindawn.—R.P. 1229 (9 syll.)
‘A good representation of the exemplar of Cynddelw exquisitely gifted.’ The accentuation of Kynamelw corresponds to that of kêindawn. Cf. kysyarch / kêsênw, 1230.

I lôrf a'm pair yn llwyrrfarw
O hud gwir ac o hoed gawr.—D.G. 208.

‘Its [the harp’s] body makes me faint away from real enchantment and sore grief.’
Dyn marw a allai f’árwain
Weithian drwy eithin a drain.—D.I.D., g. 182.

'A dead man might lead me now through furze and thorns.'

P’enaid hoen geiry afonydd,
Fy nghaniad dy fárynad fy’ld.—II.G., F.N. 30.

'My beloved of the hue of the foam of rivers, my song thy dirge shall be.' Cf. i fárynad efo D.I.D., g. 184.

Marwnad yn yw aor yn d’ol.—T.A., A 14894/35.

'It is a lament to me [to live] an hour after thee.'

Pwo a’th eily pe a’th wayw omm.—T.A., A 14975/102.

'Who will challenge thee if with thy ashen spear 1'

The last example shows that eily 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 dêu-dary/dôdi B.Ph.B., Stowe 950/98b. Although final w was non-syllabic, yn or yr following it was generally reduced to ‘n or ‘r, being combined with the y to form yrn or yr, § 26 iii.

A'ch gwaed, rhyno ynoch gadw’r heol.—T.A., A 14965/46.

'With your blood it is natural to you to guard the road.'

Murnio da, marw’n y diwedd.—D.I.L., p. 31.

'Stowing away wealth, [and] dying in the end.'

In a compound like marwnad the w was not difficult, for yrn (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 mawrnad and barnad. The combination is more difficult in such compounds as dûrgoed ‘oak-trees’, márpádr ‘stagnant water’, chwérw-der ‘bitterness’; and though the etymological spelling persisted in these, the pronunciation dû-goed, már-ddwr, chwér-der is doubtless old.

Lle dûrgel gerllaw dûrgood.—D.G. 321.

'A secret place near oak-trees.' Cf. dûrgyst, T.A., g. 232.

Tro fy chwer’der yn feylsâra.—Wms. 657.

'Turn my bitterness into sweetness.'

Gyr chwérwder o garthârdai;
Nwyn 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, delf*; or *enf, garf.* In standard cynganfeddd, *marw* rhymes with *garw, tarw* only, and *delw* with *elw, gwelw* 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) *bo* rhymes with *galo,* a rhyme condemned by S.V. because *galo* is a monosyllable whose vowel is a, P.II. xcii.

Some old rhymes are *syberg/hirerp/derw/chwerg,* B.B. 69; *agery/chwergy/syberg/gochwerg,* B.A. 19; *helw/delw,* B.T. 21; *divawng/flawng,* M.A. i 475; *yndonw/salw,* do. 466; *cadw/achadw/bradw,* I.G. 422; *enw/senw,* do. 407; *geirw/teirw,* D.G. 500; *syberg/feryw,* 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 -wy, 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,* Sáesoneg are misspellings of *Sáesneg,* Sáesnes.

A’r gwyf reth honno a droes Alwyr vrenhin o Gymraec yn Saesneg 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: *catholig, omég*a,* penigamp* ‘masterly’, *periglor* ‘parson’, *lladmerydd* ‘interpreter’, *ygelèrder* ‘atrocities’, *olèwydd* ‘olives’.

* A thalw’r fin gathólig.—S.C.

‘And to pay the catholic fine.’ Cf. c.c. 25; I.G. 491; L.M., D.T. 196.

*Cyngor periglor églwyra.*—M.R., F. 12.

‘The counsel of a church parson’.

Penáig y glod, *penígamp—

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 máwr.*—A.R. (1818), e.g. p. xiii.


ii. A few words recently borrowed from English are accented on the ante-penult, as *mélodi, philosophi*; but derivative forms of even these are accented regularly, e.g. *méloidaidd, philosophiyydd.*

* This word has been naturalized in Welsh as in other languages, and the natural Welsh pronunciation is probably nearer the original than the *ómega* now sometimes heard from the pulpit in imitation of the English fashion. The adjective is not an enclitic in á µéga. 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*|*dau* the stress on *can* is lighter than that on *dau*, both being unaccented as compared with *ja*. 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. *pladur* ‘seythe’, for Ml. W. *paladur*, c.m. 95 (*paladurwyr* w.m. 425, 426); Mn. W. *gwrando* ‘to listen’, for Ml. W. *gwrandaw*, r.m. 16, c.m. 29; Mn. W. *clynnog* for Ml. W. *Kelynnawc*, II.a. 124.

Some shortened forms are found, though rarely, in Ml. prose and verse: *gwrando*, c.m. 27; *kweirywyt* for *kyweirywyt* ‘was equipped’, R.P. 1276 (the *y* was written, and then deleted as the metre requires); *pinywn* R.P. 1225 from E. *opinion*; *grennyS* do. 1055 for *garennyS*.

For *dywedud* ‘to say’ we generally have *dewdul* in Early Mn. poetry (written *doedyd* in the 6th cent.); so *twysog*, E.U. § 32, B.C.W. 71, for *tywysog* ‘prince’; *gwrando* for *gwrandaw*, C.M. 29; Mn. W. *gwrando* for Ml. W. *Kelynnawc*, II.a. 124.

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ii. In words of four or more syllables, when pronounced deliberately, the first syllable has a secondary accent, as *bên|dîge|dîg* ‘blessed’, pl. *bên|dîge|dîg|ion*. This also applies to trisyllables with the accent on the ultima, as *cîf|îaw|nhâl* ‘justification’. The least stressed syllable is the second; and this is often elided, in which case the secondary accent disappears; as in Mn. W. *gorchfygu* for *gorchysfygu* II.a. 15, and in Mn. W. verse *tragwyddol* for *trá|gy|wy|ddol* ‘eternal’, *bâ|ra|töi* for *pá|ra|töi* ‘to prepare’, *llythrennau* for *llythyrénnau* ‘letters’, *perthyndsau* ‘relations’, etc.

*Gwaeddwn, feirdd, yn dragwyddol*;
*Gwaen i nad gwiw yn i bl.—Gu.O., A 14967/120.*

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

*Yn ddyfal beunydd i bartöi.—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 *pladurwyr* ‘mowers’; *twysoges* B.C.W. 11 ‘princess’, from *twysog*, for *tywysog*; *tragwyddoldeb* ‘eternity’, *ymbarbôi* ‘to prepare one’s self’, *wyllys-gar* ‘willing’ (*ewyllys*, *wyllys* ‘will’).
§ 44

ACCENTUATION

Wedi 'mrawd yma'r ydwyf;
Ato, Dduw, ymbartóí '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 pladurwyr the first is lost because the word is formed from the reduced pladur. If paladurwyr had been reduced directly it would have given *paldurwyr; 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 erlitedigaeth 'persecution', crediniol for credaduniol, § 132 (8), 'believing'. (Cf. Eng. singly for single-ly, Bister for Bicester, Lat. stipendium for stipipendium, etc.)

v. An unaccented initial vowel sometimes disappears, as in Late Ml. W. pinywn R.P. 1225 'opinion', borrowed from Eng.; *cyllys for cywyllys in verse; and in Late Mn. W. machlud 'to set' (of the sun) for Ml. and Early Mn. W. ym-achludd, D.G. i21, § 111 vii (3). As a rule, however, this elision only takes place after a vowel:

\[\text{Tebig yw'r gatennig lân} \\
\text{I 'dafedd o wlad Ifan.—I.D., tr. 142.}\]

'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.

\[\text{Ac ef gyda'i ogysfoed} \\
\text{Yw gor y wraig oreu 'rioed.—L.G.C. 318.}\]

'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 mŷnol 'to go', tyrd for tyred 'come!' gweld for gwéled 'to see', llond for llônaił 'full (capacity)', cans for cânys 'because', namn for námyn 'but', all except the last two in common use in the dialects. Similarly ér ys becomes ers, § 214 vii.
Ancr wвш fп‘ n cyweirio i fedd,
Ond wп‘ros мп‘нд i orwedд.—D.G. 295.

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

Cans ar ddiwedд pob gwedдд,
Cof cywir, yr henв‘r hi.—D.G. 235.

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

Maщeу, kп‘п‘ns ti yп‘w’r me&ic.—R.P. 1298 (7 syll.).

‘Forgive, for Thou art the Healer.’ The length of the line shows that kп‘п‘ns is to be read kans. It occurs written cans in w.m. 487.

Ni edryчedd Duп‘r аchwyn;
Ni mynнcдд aur, namп‘n i ddwyn.—G.G1., М 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 tyп‘rd, dyп‘rd 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’, yп‘ch ‘your’ (now written eп‘n, eп‘ch), § 160 ii (1); the oblique relative y or yr, § 82 ii (1), § 162 ii (2); the preposition yn, § 210 iv.

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

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

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

(5) After pa, ryп‘w tends to become рп‘y and r’, § 163 ii (6).

§ 45. i. (1) Compound nouns and adjectives are accented regularly; thus gwп‘н-lп‘lan ‘vineyard’, cadййr-fардд ‘chained bard’, gwп‘д-lп‘w or llп‘w-yп‘g ‘empty-handed’.

Gп‘вп‘д-lп‘ais mwп‘yalп‘ch ar гп‘дд-lп‘wn,
Ac Ььп‘s ar lп‘os lп‘wн.—D.G. 503.

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

Yп‘n i dyп‘dd ni adai wan
Aп‘w ’n llп‘w-yп‘g, Gwп‘нllп‘н.—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
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§ 45

Diagram am urddedig-Rys

Yw'r mór halt, os gwir mary Rhys.—G.Gl., M 146/171.

'The salt sea is tears for noble Rhys, if it is true that Rhys is dead.'

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

Bendo gyfrd Bendigédfran.—T.A., A 14976/166; C. ii 83.

'The glass eaves of Bendigédfran.'

(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' (gwraith 'work'), hén-des 'heat of the sun' (haul 'sun'), dryg-waith 'evil deed' (dryg 'evil'), melyn-waith 'yellow hair' (melyn 'yellow'). In old compounds aw also is mutated, as in llafrudd, § 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 cwb lgréfydd 'false religion', gán brôfwnyl 'false prophet', hén wör 'old man' (sometimes accented regularly, hónwr, 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 cŷd-nabyddiaeth 'acquaintance' there may be a secondary accent on cŷd (short y), but in cŷd gynâl-iod there is an independent accent on cŷd (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 mutation).

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

(3) Sometimes the elements of a loose compound are now hyphened, thus coel-greyfdd; 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 *cynffon lônni* 'to wag the tail'; *pŷsur rîdant* 'they swiftly run'.

*Fel y niwel o afael nant
 Y dison ymadâwsant.*—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 *áthrist* 'very sad' (*trist* 'sad'), *ám-gylch* 'circumference', *cyn-nal* 'to hold', etc., etc.

(2) But compounds with the prefixes *an-*, *di-*, *cyd-*, *go-*, *gor-*, *gwrth-*, *rJiy-*, *tra-* may be either strict or loose; as *dn-awdil* or *an dhwdd* 'difficult', *dn-aml/ynys* G. 103, *án áml*, § 164 i (1); *dí-wair*, *dí váir* 'chaste'; *rJiy-veyr* 'high time' and *rhŷ hâyr* 'too late'; *trá-mawr* Gr.O. 51, *trá mávor* 'very great'; *trá-doolh* do. 52, *trá dôeth* 'very wise'.

*Di-dad*, amddifad ydwyf,
* A di fráwd wedi i farg wyf.*—L.Mor. (m. I.F.).

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

*Y mae’r ddïkyais mor ddiwair.*—D.G. 148.

'The bosom is so chaste.'

*Fwyn a dí wáir—f’enaíd yw.*—D.G. 321.

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

*Trá dá im y trŷ dêu-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-üwch* 'above', *gor-ís* 'below', the first element has lost its accent, though these are also found as strict compounds, thus *gōruwch*, 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 juris-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 *gwyrd-a* 'goodman', *gwrëig-dda* 'goodwife', *hin-dda* 'fair weather', *gëir-da* 'good report'. Names of relatives with *maeth, as tâd-maeth* 'foster father', *mâmaeth* (for *mâmfaeth, § 110 iii (1)) 'foster mother', *máb-maeth, brâwd-maeth, chwyderfaeth*. A few other combinations, such as *hêul-wen* 'bright sun' a (haul fem., § 142 iii), *côel-certh* 'bonfire' (lit. 'certain sign'). See also (3) below.

_A bryno tir à braint da_
_Yn i árdal â'n wŷ-r-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', *dŷdd-brâwd* or *dŷdd-barn* (also *dŷdd brâwd, dŷddân 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, Bryfn-gwyn, Mynlŷdd-mawr, Aber-mawr, Minffordd, Pên-tir, Pên-mon, Pên-mawr*. a

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

_Mi af i ganu i'm oes_
_I benâig o Ben-é-goes._—L.G.C. 429.

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

(4) The word *dau* (or *dyw*) followed by the name of the day in the genitive; as *Dâu-sul* as well as *Dŵr Sûl* or *Dŷdd Sûl* 'Sunday'; so *Dâu-llen* 'Monday', *Dâu-mawrth* 'Tuesday', and *Dêf-iau* for *Dâw-fân* 'Thursday'. Similarly *dû(w)-gwyl* 'the day of the feast (of)'.

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

The common spelling *Penmaenmawr* appears to be due to popular etymology. Camden, 4th ed., 1594, p. 18, has *Pen-mon mawr*, and the word is now pronounced *Pên-mon-mawr*. 
PHONOLOGY § 46

Echrys-haint, och, wir Jesu!
Ddyfod i lâl Ddïf-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 i'r gog swnyddog Dduw Sûl;
Wy' ddi-swydd, a hyn Ddûw-sul.—T.A., a 14976/108.

'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 déu-bwys '2 lbs.', dûb-bunt '£2', cân-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: un-ben 'monarch' is a proper compound, the second element having the soft initial, but un-peth is precisely the combination un 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 E-fenechtyd for y Penéchtyd 'the monastery', 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-rhaith 'autocrat', pen-llâd 'summum bonum', pry-nháwn for prytnawn.

Yr eog, rhwylog ben-rhaiith,
At Wên dos eto un-waith.—D.G. 148.

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

A'm córydd mawr i'm córiad,
Ac na' th gawn yn lláwn ben-lâd.—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-tîrch.

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 gwr da, Aber Maw, Pen y berth were originally accented as they would be if they were formed now, with the main...
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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-dá, Aber-máw, *Pen-y-béth*. This was at that time the
centuation of ordinary words, such as *pechadúr, § 40 iii*. When the 
accent shifted, and *pechadúr became pechádur, *gwr-dá became gwr-
*Pen-y-béth, and *Pen-y-béth became Pen-y-
berth*. In most cases of a combination like the last, each noun retained 
its individuality, and the original accentuation remained; hence 
Pen-y-béth, which is a common place-name, is usually so accented, and 
the accentuation Pen-y-béth is exceptional. In such a phrase as *prýt
náwn* ‘time of noon’, each noun retained its meaning to the Mil. W.
period; then, when the combination came to be regarded as a unit, 
the first element became unstressed, resulting in *prýt-náwn*, whence 
pry-nháwn, § 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 
gwr-dá-ach, ‘nobility’, tref-tád-ach ‘heritage’, di-dref-tád-u s.g. 306 
‘to disinherit’, pry-nháwn-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 Mil. period resulted in loose compounds.

| § 47. i. In compound prepositions the elements may be 
accented separately, as óddi ár. But the second element has 
usually the stronger accent; and in some cases the first element 
becomes unaccented, as in Mil. W. *y gánn*, which became *gan 
‘by’ in Late Mil. and Mn. W. by the loss of the unaccented 
syllable. 
On the analogy of *y gánn, y brth, etc.*, derivative and other old 
prepositional and adverbial formations retained the O.W. accentuation, 
as odón, yríng, yrháwg. 
The separate accent often persists in Mn. W., as in óddi *brth* (Mil. 
W. *y brth*), and in adverbial phrases like óddi ýno (in the dialects 
ódý ýno as in Mil. W.). In the latter the first element may become 
predominant, thus ódd ýno ‘from there’ in the spoken language (often 
contracted to óðnø 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-brón ‘before’, *uwch-láw ‘above’, y mláen ‘forward’, 
ynhýld ‘together’, i gyd ‘together’, eríød ‘ever’.

These expressions thus form improper compounds accented on 
the ultima. The adverb achlán (achlán) ‘wholly’ is similarly accented.
Heairs fñ oróhian
I chlêd yng Ngwneydd aehlan.—D.G. 235.

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

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-fn-ol 'track in track', i.e. 'in succession', a ben-drá-phen 'head over head', law-fn-llaio 'hand in hand', etc. The first noun may have a secondary or separate accent, as blith drá-philith 'helter-skelter'. The first noun being in an adverbial case has a soft initial.

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

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

Oes hwy no thri, Siôn, y’th roer,

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

Ael-fn-aol â’i elynion.—D.N., c. i 160.

Brow to brow with his enemies.'

Dal-fn-nal rhwng dwy lânnerech.—D.N., m I36/I47.

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

Dav o déidiong dad-i-dad,
Gollwyn hen,—nid gwel un had.—W.II.

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

Arglwyddi lín õ-lín ynt.c.—L.G.C. 460.

'They are lords from line to line.'

See vërs dragwers I.A. 164 'reciprocally', gylych oglych do. 166 'round about', ñëbrn trá-dwrn, ëaw drá-llaio, L.G.C. 18. In many cases the first noun also is preceded by a preposition, as

Marchog o lín õ-lín 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. õ-gam õ-gam ‘zig-zag’.

a The last õl of olynol was mistaken about the middle of the last century for the adjectival termination -ol (= -aefl), 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 cynghanedd is either T2 or C2, which implies the accentuation indicated. See ZfCP. iv. 124, 137.

c The cynghanedd is S4, which implies the accentuation marked.
ACCENTUATION

The ordinary accentuation is also met with in the bards:

O lwùn i lùyn, ail Ênid.—D.G. 84.

'From bush to bush, [maiden] second to Enid.'

iv. When pa or py is followed by a preposition governing it, the latter only is accented: pa-hùm (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. pahár 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|nhèd|loedd 'nations', from cenedd; bo|nhèddig (vonhèdic R.P. 1331) from bonedd 'gentry', § 104 iv (1); cy|nhålwyd, from cynnal 'to support' from cyn + dal (d normally becomes n, not nh, § 106 ii); di|hâng|ol from di-anc 'to escape'; a phlannhòden R.P. 1303 'and planets', usually planedau; kenhaduen w.m. 184, oftener in Ml. W. kennadew do. 42 'messengers'.

A'i aur a'i fêdd y gywyr fo,
Fônheôddig, a fy nyhûddo.—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 cy|nhès 'warm', for cyn-nehes from cyn + tes (t gives nh, § 106 iii (1)); breñin 'king', for brêñin from bre|cyn|nin from *brenthin, Cornish brenbyn; tân|nau 'strings', for tân|nhew from O. W. tauton m.c.; éang 'wide', for áh-ang from *éks-ang-; ánawîd L.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', dèhau and dèau 'right (hand), south'; and in nrh, nhr, b nghr, and lrh, as ánrhaih 'spoil', ánhrefn 'disorder', ánghred 'infidelity', ólhrain '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 nyhûddo.

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.
brēninjāethau ‘kingdoms’. So we have cēnedlāethau ‘generations’, bōneddlgaidd ‘gentlemanly’ (vonedigeid r.g. 1129).

iii. Note therefore the shifting of the h in such a word as dihāreb ‘proverb’, ML. W. dihaerib r.p. 1326, pl. diahrēbyon, ML. W. diaerhebion 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, anghenws (< *gken- , Ir. ečen); cymar, cymharu (< Lat. compar-): here h vanishes in the first word of each pair. Later, on the analogy of these, other pairs were formed, such as bonedd, bonheddig; cenedl, cenedloedd; 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'enjphin; 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, brenhined and brenin L.L. 120. But the traditional spelling, with h, persisted, and is general in B.B., as minheu 12; synhuir (=synhweyr) 17; a'genh d'genheu 23; brenhin 62; though we also find a few exceptions, as ka'gel 35. In B.M. it still survives in many words, as brenhin 2; d'genheu 5 (but d'genh in ib.); mvhyhaf 11; minheu 12; but more usually mvyyaf 13; minneu 3; gennyf 8; synwyr 13; amarch 36; illinat (for illin-had) ‘lineseed’ 121. In the P.P. we find ânawd 1227, 1264, 1270, 1299;ânwird, ânewr 1226; d'gogr (for di-hagr) 1289; llâvir (for llaw-hir ‘long-handed’) 1207, 1226; lâwhir 1214, with h inserted above the line—an etymological correction; âwerhonn 1271, 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. 1, we find bôneddy i, 11, 14, but in this MS. n may be for nh; in later MSS. bonhedy in 176–8, MS. E.; bonheðic in ML. W. generally. In other cases it is less usual; thus kennað is the form in B.M., though the older w.m. has sometimes kenhaðe 184, 249; kenædloedd r.B. 259, P.A. 169, so generally.

The orthography of the 1620 Bible generally observes the phonetic rule; thus brenin, brenhinoedd Ps. ii 6, 2; cenedl, cenedloedd do. xxxiiii 12, ii 1; angen, anghefol do. vi 5, vii 13; aros, arhosodd Jos. x 12, 13; bonhadddig, bonhadigion Es. ii 9, 1 Cor. i 26; ammarch, amnherch i Act. v 47, Rhuf. i 24; etc. There are some irregularities and inconsistencies; e.g. diharebion Dian., title, i 1, and anghall Dian. i 4 beside the phonetic angall do. vii 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 glânau, parhau 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, boneddig, 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, ammharch.

**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 cênedlæfhael, though before a vowel it may be long in deliberate pronunciation, as in dëalltubraeth.

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 cán 'song'; (2) medium as the \( a \) in canu; or (3) short, as the \( a \) in canu 'white', cannw '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. cán = gan 'with', and before \( ð \) which

\(^a\) G. Mechain (iii. 224) writing to Tegid, assents to breniu, 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 li (1).
cannot be doubled in writing; ðål b.cw. 91, hêl do. 95, câlon Hyff. Gynnwys (1749) pp. 3, 20, 319 bis.

§ 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 cânt 'hundred', törf 'crowd', pôrth 'portal', bârdd 'bark', àt 'to', llâc 'slack', câm 'crooked', llông 'ship'.

Nearly all monosyllables ending in p, t or c are borrowed; some from Irish, as brât 'apron', most from E. as hâp, tôp, hêt, pôt, cnôc, which simply preserve the original quantity. E. tenuis after a long vowel becomes a media, as W. clôg < E. cloak, W. grôd c. 157 < E. groat, re-borrowed as grôt; so the late borrowings côt, grât (but in S. W. côt).

W. àt is an analogical formation, § 209 vii (2); ac, nac should be ag, nag in Mn. orthography § 222 i (1), ii (3).
§ 51  QUANTITY

Exceptions to the above rule are the following:

(1) In N. W. words ending in s or l followed by another consonant have the vowel long; as trist ‘sad’, cōśb ‘punishment’, hālī ‘salt’ adj., etc., except in borrowed words, as cāst ‘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 ānt ‘they go’, for a-ant; būm ‘I have been’, for bu-un; bōnt ‘they may be’, for bo-ont; rhōnt ‘they give’, for rho-ant. In ēm ‘we are’, ēnt ‘they are’, the vowel is pronounced long; it is marked long by J.D.R. 94; but E.P., ps. lxxv i, rhymes ynt with hynt, and in Ml. W. it is written ynt (not *yynt); hence the lengthening is probably due to false analogy.

Cake ‘they shall have’ is for ca-ant and has long a; but cant ‘sang’ is for can-t, and is therefore short. Even gweld, § 44 vi, from gwēl, 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 ōnt, gwēnānt, etc.

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

(3) The mutated form dēng 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 tū ‘house’, llē ‘place’, māb ‘son’, tūd ‘father’, gwāg ‘empty’, dōf ‘tame’, rhōdd ‘gift’, clōff ‘lame’, crōth ‘womb’, cōch ‘red’, glās ‘blue’.

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

(2) Words borrowed from English, as sōd ‘steady’, tūb, ġlōch (from flash), lōch (from lash). Süd, also written sūt, ‘kind, sort’ from suit (cf. Chaucer, Cant. Tales 3241) is now short; but in D.G. 448 it is long, rhyming with hud.

(3) Some interjectional words, such as chwāff, pīff, ăch. The interjection očh is now short, but is long in the hards; see Och / Gōch D.G. 464. Clīff 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 rhōdd ‘he gave’ for rhōddd. 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 nād ‘cry’ to distinguish it from nād ‘that not’.

iv. If the vowel be followed by l, n or r, it may be long or
short: tāl 'pay', dāl 'hold', cán 'song', cán 'white'; cār 'relative', cār 'car'.

Each of these consonants may be etymologically single or double. Dāl is from *daly- § 110 ii (2), so that the final 1 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 hēn '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, tāl 'pay', cán 'song', dōr 'door', dāl 'may come', hyn '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 pin, bil. The common words dŷn, hēn, oļ are seldom circumflexed.

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

Note. The a is long in tāl 'forehead, front, end', and was circumflexed down to the latter part of the 18th cent.; see D.D. s.v., a. 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 Tal-y-bont 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-tāl near the Rivals. Tegiğił o tāl, Edeirnaw, Iāł b.n. 74 'Tegeingl to its end, Edeirnawn, [and] Yale.' The rhyme with Iāł shows the quantity of tāl.

Y fun araf, fain, eirian,
A'r tāl fel yr aur māl mān.—D.G. 330.

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

v. When the word ends in 11 the quantity varies. In N. W. it is short in all such words except òll, hōll; in S. W. it is long, except in gāll 'can', dūll 'manner', mūll 'sultry', cīll '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 rhág ‘against’, hêb ‘without’, nîd, nîd ‘not’, dân ‘under’ (originally one n), mîl, fîl, fîl ‘like’, âg (written ae) ‘and’, nîg (written nac) ‘nor’; but âg ‘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 nîs G. 237; it is now sounded nès (already nes in B.CW. 83, 115 beside nès ‘nearer’ 13, 109, 110). In D.G. dan ‘under’ has long a:

Serehog y cân dán y daul.—D.G. 225.
‘Lovelying 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.


But except before -sg, āw is short before two or more consonants or m; as twym, twymn, ‘hot’, rhûynt ‘bound’ (also rhûym), ciwun ‘fall’ (now pron. ciwunp in N. W.), llûybr ‘path’, rhûyst ‘hindrance’, brûydr ‘battle’, plûyn ‘point’; — hûynt is influenced by hûy ‘they’. Similarly mænt formed from, and influenced by mæ. The other cases are examples of contraction: caem < cæ-em, trênt < tro-ynt.


Exceptions: (1) In N. W. aw, ew are long when final only; as tawr ‘be silent’, baw ‘dirt’, lêww ‘lion’, têw ‘fat’; otherwise short as above. In S. W. the diphthongs are short in both cases.


(3) The vowel is long in āu when contracted for a-au, as in plân ‘plagues’; but in cåu for o-de-n, § 202 iii, it is short. It is long in ëi for ai, and ëi for o-ai when final, as gwâii, trôii 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, parhâu ‘to continue’, gwyrdrôi ‘to distort’; long, Cymraeg, parhânt (for parhâ-ant), gwyrdrôi (for gwyrdro-ai) ‘he distorted’, penllâd ‘summum bonum’.

In parhau, 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 härdwch ‘beauty’, plêntyn ‘child’, cânnoedd ‘hundreds’, byrrach ‘shorter’, ôstron ‘stranger’, épil ‘progeny’, ãleb ‘answer’, ãmeu ‘to doubt’, ãngen ‘need’, âllan ‘out’, ïêsu ‘Jesus’, glânâeg ‘fair’, glânwaith ‘cleanly’, tânjo ‘to fire’, ëbijafr ‘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 trûmor ‘foreign’, ãmurs ‘ambiguous’.

Silvan Evans marks many obsolete words, such as amwq, 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 galu, doubling l (his lj = 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 a"telb; mesur is necessarily mes"sur. So every medial or final m, ng or ll means mm, wv, or ttt 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 cannw 'to whiten' is short because it is followed by nn, representing original nd (cf. Lat. candeo); 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 Pughe's time.

(3) The accented syllable is "closed" (stopped, blocked) by the first of the two consonants, thus glân|deg, plân|yn, cân|nu. Even i and w cause the preceding consonant to close the penult; thus glân|vaith from glân 'clean'. Mn. 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 dyn|yon w.m. 32, (g)lan|weith r.m. 52; but as a rule, perhaps, it is written single, as in dyn|yon r.m. 21, (g)lan|weith w.m. 72. A consonant originally double cannot be distinguished from one originally single in this case; thus tân-io 'to fire', from tân 'fire', and glân-go '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; glann|io and tor|iad are written gla|nio and tor|iad, which adequately represent the sound (cf. pent|ref for pennt|ref, etc.). Thus in ysg|rif|en|wyd 'was written' the double n indicates that the w is a vowel; in ysg|rif|en|wyr 'writers', the single n indicates that the w is consonantal. Hence some words like ann|wyl c.m. 70, syn|wyr r.m. 116 are now written with one n owing to a common, but by no means general, mispronunciation of wy as wv; see r.m. xcvi, where Llyr/ s"syn|wyr 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', á|deg 'time', sé|gur 'idle', c|f"aith 'effect', c|hol 'to elect', pé|chod 'sin', cā|nu 'to sing', bō|re 'morning', cā|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 lò|lo (often mis-read l"l|o); cål|on 'heart'; cål|yn 'sting', O. W. colgynn juv.; bō|lost 'colic' < *bog-; dēl|ir 'is held' for dēl|iar § 36 i < *dēl|īr. 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 (tl). It occurs only in a new hypocoristic doubling as in lòl-lo, or where a consonant now lost closed the syllable before disappearing:
in cəlyon the lost consonant is w; in cəlyn it is ɔ < ɔ; w drops before o, and ɔ before y § 36 iii, ii;—cəlon (Corn. coloν, Bret. kalon, kaloun) <*kalwend- : W. colw disg. B.A. 6 'heart', coluδδ 'entrail': Skr. kroδδ- k 'breast, interior': Gk. γαλαδες, O. Bulg. želq-d-uk 'mau' with gh- (q/gh alternation).—For Early Mn. W. cəlyn 'to follow' the Mn. canlynl has been restored in writing.

A short vowel also occurs in cədywn, tɨbɨr, etc. § 36 i.

iii. The vowel is long if followed by a vowel or h; as ɛ|og 'salmon', dɛ-hau 'right, south', Gwɛn|ɫɨt|an.

iv. It is short in all falling diphthongs; as cɛad 'lid', mɛy|af 'most', lɛi|af 'least', rɛhɔ|dau 'nets', llɛy|brau 'paths', tɛu|log 'sunny', tɛw|dɨr 'thicknes', bɛw|yl 'life', cnɛw|dol 'carnal'.

But in N. W. the vowel is medium in aw, ew, iw before a vowel, that is the w is heterosyllabic; thus tɛwɨl 'silent', tɛwɨi 'to be silent', llɛwɨd 'lions', nɨwɨd 'harm'. In S. W., however, these are sounded tɛwɨl, tɛwɨi, llɛwɨd, nɨwɨd.

§ 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, tald, gwac had a long ʊ like their modern equivalents məb, təd, gwə; for where the vowel was short and the final consonant voiceless (= Mn. p, t, c), the latter was doubled, as in bɔt r.g. 1117, Mn. W. bɔt D.D., or bɔt (≡ bɔt) '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 Bɔt Feirig, which in Ml. W. spelling would be *Bot veuruc, appears in Norman spelling in the Extent of Anglesey, dated 1294, as Bode-veuryk (Sebohm, Trib. Sys. App. 6), where bode doubtless means bɔd, the Mn. W. sound. Again in the Extent of Denbigh, dated 1335, the Mn. W. Rhos 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 Gwennliant, Mn. W. Gwen-ɨli-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, troï must have had a long ə, so that, when first contracted, it was still long; it remains long in Montgomeryshire; thus the short o in troï is probably late. Similarly short āi for e-i, āu for a-u, āu 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. *tālos gave tāl, § 51 iv Note, *rōtā (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 ȧ gives aw § 71, long ȧ lengthened from ȧ remains ȧ. 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 *sāxos with single č, which gives sāch (≡ sāx) in Welsh. Long vowels remained long, as in pār from Lat. pārus. On the other hand, a vowel originally long was shortened before two consonants; thus the ȯ of Lat. forma became ā, which was shortened in the Welsh ffīr. 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. lītānos in Koro-ko-lītanos, Smeru-lītanus, etc., Ir. lethan) was probably sounded *lī-dān, while quinānn was doubtless *guinā(l)ānn. In Ml. W. when the ultima became unaccented this distinction was lost, the a of Uyδān being shortened, § 49, and the nn of quin-llānn 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 trwm ac ysgawen '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": kallonneu (ū ≡ l-i) is given as an example to show that the on(n) of kallon [sic] is "heavy", and amkanneu to show that the an of amkan is "light". The Early Ml. bards avoid trwm ac ysgawen; but in the first poem in B.B., where the rhyme is -an, several forms in -an occur, as imuan i (: gwunaf 'I wound'), durogan 7 (: canaf 'I sing'), which shows that
the distinction was beginning to disappear. The Late Ml. poets frankly give it up; e.g. Ca. bychăn / glan / kyvan(n) / diflan(n) / darogan/ ... kalan(n) / kun / Ieuvan(n), B.P. 1233-4. Yet in O. W. the distinction was a real one, for it is reflected in the ordinary spelling of words; as bichăn ox. 'little' (cf. vychantet W.M. 44, B.M. 31), atar ox. 'birds' (cf. adarən B.B. 107), scrıbhən M.C. 'writing' (cf. yscrìvənuu IL.A. 2), corsən ox., guəln (cf. corson, guəlnn Juv), etc. The dimin. endings -yn, -en appear as -ınn, -ənn; the pl. ending -ıon is always -ıon.

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 $u$ and $e$, 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 e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long vowels</td>
<td>ā ē ī ĵ ŏ ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short diphthongs</td>
<td>ai ei oi au eu ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long diphthongs</td>
<td>āi ēi oi āu ēu ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short vocalic</td>
<td>ŧ m n r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long vocalic</td>
<td>ĭ ŕ ŧ ř</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e and o were probably pronounced open; u has of course its Latin value $=\text{Welsh } w$ (not Welsh $u$); $e$ was an obscure vowel whose exact quality is uncertain, but which was probably not unlike W. $y$; vocalic $ı, ŭ, ū$ 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 $e$, which became $a$ as in all the other branches except Indo-Iranian, in which it became $i$, see vii below.

ii. Ar. $a$ (Lat. $a$, Gk. $a$). Lat. dacruma (lacruma), Gk. Ḟάκρυν, Goth. lagr : W. pl. dagran ‘tears’ $<\text{Pr. Kelt. } *\text{dakruŋa}.—\text{Ar. } *\text{agō} > \text{Lat. agō, Gk. Ḟάρω} : \text{Ir. again } ‘\text{I drive}, W. af for a-aff for *azaf ‘I go’ $<\text{Pr. Kelt. } *\text{ag}.—\text{Lat. } \text{sul, susis, Gk. Ḟάςς, Goth. salt : Ir. salan, W. halen ‘salt’ } <\text{Pr. Kelt. } *\text{sal}.–$

iii. Ar. $e$ (Lat. $e$, Gk. $e$). Ar. *bher- $>\text{Lat. ferō, Gk. } \text{φέρω, O. E. beran ‘to bear}; \text{Ir. } \text{berimm } ‘\text{I bear}, W. ad-feraf ‘I re-
§ 59 ARYAN VOWELS IN KELTIC 75

PHONOLOGY

§§ 60, 61

'precious' < *Pr. Kelt. qʰrīt-.—O. H. G. rīm, O. E. rīm 'number':
Ir. rīm, W. rhīf 'number' < Pr. Kelt. *rīm-.—Ar. suffix *-īn-,
as in Lat. su-inus : W. -in § 153 (10) < Pr. Kelt. *-īn-.

v. Ar. ē (Lat. ē, Gk. ὥ). Lat. ōcīor, Gk. ὁκύς, Skr. āsūḥ
—Lat. ignōtus, nōtus, Gk. γνωτῆς : Ir. gnátth 'known, accustomed',
W. gnawd 'customary' < Pr. Kelt. *gnūtōs.—Lat. fōs, O. H. G.
bluot 'bloom': Ir. bláth, Ml. W. blawt 'blossom' < Pr. Kelt.
*blāt-.

In final syllables Ar. ē > Kelt. ā; this became ā, later ē in
Brit., and affected a preceding vowel, § 69 i; it remains as -ē in
W. ēi 'dog' § 132 (1). But when followed by a final nasal ū be-
came o in Pr. Kelt.; thus Ir. gen. pl. fer 'of men' implies *yirōn
from *yirōn *-ōm : Gk. -or).

vi. Ar. u (Lat. ū, Gk. ù). Lat. āu, Gk. τῶ-νη, O. Icel. þū,
Avest. ūā : Ir. ūā, W. ūī 'thou' < Pr. Kelt. *tū.-—O. H. G. ūna,
O. Icel. rūn 'secret, ruue' : Ir. rūn, W. rhiu '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 āī, āū remained; ēī > ēī;
ēu > ēu; in syllables not final ēī, ēu became āī, āū respectively;
in final syllables ēī > ēuī, later doubtless ēu, but seemingly still
written -ou in Gaulish, Rhys CIG. 5; ūou > ūu; §§ 75, 76.

§ 61. i. (1) Aryan ū, ū (Lat. ul, or; Gk. αλ, λα, αρ, ρα;
Germ. ul, ur; Skr. ग, ṣ) probably remained in Pr. Kelt.,
but developed in all the groups as āi, ri. Thus Ar. *mīk-t- (\√ melg-
'milk') > Lat. mūctus : Ir. mlīcht, blīcht, W. blīth 'milk' <
*mīkt- < Pr. Kelt. *mīkt- (W. ar-mel 'the second milk', mel-foch
'suckling pigs' < F-grade *melg-).—Ar. *kël-t- (\√ kel- 'hide')
> Lat. oc-cult-ūs : Ir. cletthi 'celandum', W. clyd 'sheltered'
< Pr. Kelt. *kīl-.—Ar. *prē-t- (\√ per-) > Lat. portus, O. H. G. furt :
Gaul. -ritum, O. W. rit, Mn. W. rhyd 'ford' < Pr. Kelt. *(v)īl-—
Ar. *qum-īs 'worm' > Skr. kūm-ī, Lith. kūmis : Ir. cuim,
εδρακόν 'I saw', Skr. dṛś- 'look' : Ir. drech 'aspect', W. drych
'appearance', e-drychaf 'I look' < Pr. Kelt. *drēk-.
§ 62  ARYAN VOWELS IN KELTIC

Ir. cru comes from *gwrí before i, e or u, as shown by cruimidh 'priest' which appears in ogam as *gwrimitir < Early W. primitir, Thurneysen Gr. 135; therefore this proves nothing as to Kelt. ę. But Kelt. *r̥k gave Brit. *grk > W. rych as in drych above, rhyd < *pyk-

§ 101 iii (1), Zupitza KZ. xxxv 256, while Kelt. rik gives W. ryg as in croy § 101 ii (2).

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

ii. Ar. ĭ, ĭ (Lat. lâ, râ; Skr. ĭr, ĭr for both) appear in Pr. Kelt. as lâ, râ. Thus Ar. *pě-no- 'full' (√ petë-) > Skr. purnā-h : Ir. lân, W. llawen 'full' < Pr. Kelt. *(p)lános.—Ar. *mě-t-(√ melā- 'grind') > W. blawd 'flour' < Pr. Kelt. *mlāt.—Ar. *ţ̄n-(√ ț̄n- 'rub, grind') > Lat. grānum, Skr. jirnā-h 'worn out':
Ir. grān, W. granw 'grain' < Pr. Kelt. *grān-. See § 63 vii (2).

§ 62. i. (1) Ar. m, n (Lat. em, en; Gk. α; Germ. un, un; Skr. a) remained in Pr. Kelt., and appear as am, an in Brit. and Gaul, and *em, *en in Ir. (becoming e before c, t, and im, in before b, d, g). Thus Ar. knytóm 'hundred' > Lat. centum, Gk. ἱκατόν, Goth. hund, Lith. šimtis, Skr. šatā-m:
Ir. cēt, W. cent.—Ar. *dyt- 'tooth' > Lat. dent-, Goth. tunþus, Skr. dat- : Ir. dēt, W. dant.—Ar. *n- negative prefix > Lat. in-,
Gk. ὀ-, Germ. un : Ir. in-gnath 'unwonted', ὀ-trōcar 'unmerciful', W. an- § 156 i (5).

(2) Before vowels and i and ü, the forms were e, e, see § 61 i (2); these gave am, an in Kelt., and appear so in Ir. and W.; thus W. adanedil 'wings' <*p̄e保证金ęs; O. W. -ham, W. -(h)af spv. suffix < *-isėmos. But when e followed the accent it seems to have become ann in Kelt. (through ĭn?); thus Ir.
unnann 'names' < *ān'męna < *ānomęn § 121 iv, § 63 v (2)—
Ir. Érenn 'of Ireland' < *ēriann < *īeriįn-os beside W. Iwerddon 'Ireland' < *īerion—; Brit. Britann- < *gʷrręn- § 3 iii; with the same suffix W. pell-enn-ig 'stranger'; —W. griddfan 'groan'
pl. griddfannau § 203 ii (4);—W. Gofannon, Gaul. Gobannicos, 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).
This development is precisely parallel to that of the R-grade of ei after the accent in Brit., which gave aij > W. -oedd, the second i becoming ś. Similarly ou after the accent gives W. -eũ, prob. from 'ou-'—§ 76 iii (2).

ii. Ar. Æ, Ý were doubtless mà, ná in Pr. Kelt. Thus Ar. *sũ- (R² of √ senū-, see § 63 vii (2)), > Ir. snú- that, W. no-dwydd 'needle'.—Ir. gnúth, W. gnawd 'known, accustomed' might be from *sgũ- like Lat. gnā-rus, but is more probably from *gnũ- like Lat. nōtus, √ gēnē-. The Gaul. -gnatus 'born' is assumed to have ā, in which case it may be from *sgũ-; but it may have ã from ã, like W. ynad 'judge', Early Ml. W. pl. hyfnneid b.B. 10, 84 <*kyn-gnat <*seno-gnat- 'elder' <*gna-t-, √ gēnē- '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 ò; 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 s; 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):

<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>zd</td>
<td>s̄d</td>
<td>sed</td>
<td>sēd</td>
<td>sōd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 63 VOWEL GRADATION

\[ \sqrt{\text{ed-}} '\text{eat':} - V *d- : W. dant, Lat. dent-, etc. < *d-nt- (participial stem) 'eater'. - F *ed- : W. īs 'eats' < *et-ti < *ed-ti, Lat. edo, etc. - L *ěd- : Lat. in-édia, Skr. ādyāḥ 'eatable'.


In Kelt. ą becomes a before explosives, as well as before l, r, m, n

iii. When the vowel is followed by one of the sonants l, r, m, n, the scheme is as follows, or being taken as the example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>F 0</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>L 0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>ě</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>ěr</td>
<td>ěr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\[ \sqrt{\text{bher-}} 'bear': - R *bhr- : W. cymryd 'to take' < *kom-bhr-t- - F *bher- : W. cymeraf 'I take' < *kom-bher- - Lat. fero, Gk. φέρω, etc.

\[ \sqrt{\text{kel-}} 'hide' : - R *kāl- : W. clyd 'sheltered' < *kāl-t-, Lat. occultus § 61 i (r). - F *kel- : W. celaf 'I conceal'. - L *kēl- : Lat. cēl-o.

Before these sonants ě appears as ě in Kelt., giving al, ar, am, an. In other branches thus: Ar. ěl, ěl give Gk. αλ, αρ. Lat. al, ar, Germ. ul, ur, Skr. ěr ur (for both), Lith. il ul, ir ur; Ar. ěmb, ěn give Gk. αυ, αν, Lat. an, or en, en (venio § 100 i (4), tenuis below), Germ. um, un, Skr. am, an, Lith. im um, in un.

The V-grade occurs only before vowels. The form ě, ą, etc. of the R-grade occurs only before consonants; the form or, or, etc. before vowels, and before ė and ě. 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. glas 'green' see vii (3); of er in rhann vii (2); of en in glin vii (4).

R-grade before consonants, ěl, ěl, or, ěr, see examples in §§ 61, 62.

R-grade before vowels: W. malaf 'I grind' < *mēl-, ą melāx- 'grind'; - araith 'speech', Ir. airecht < *er-eq-t, ěr-eq- 'speak'; O. Bulg. rekə 'I speak' (with V-grade of 1st syll.); - archaf 'I ask', Ir. arco < Kelt. *ar-k- < *ar-k-, ěr-perek- : Lat. precor (with V-grade of 1st syll.); - carr 'car', Ir. carr, Gaul. (-Lat.) carr(us) < Pr. Kelt. *kar'sos : Lat. currus < *currus-; - darn 'fragment' < *darn, *darn- < *darn- : Skr. dīrnāḥ 'split, divided' < *dīn- < *dār-n-, ěr derā-
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§ 63

'split' — so sarn 'causeway': Skr. strñah 'strewn', √ sterñ-;—
carn 'hoof', Galat. kãprov 'trumpet': √ kerñ(y);—teneu 'thin',
Corn. tanow, Ir. tana : Gk. ταύν-, Lat. tenuis, Skr. tanú-, all < Ar.
*t₂nou—: hafal 'like, equal', Ir. samail 'likeness' < *s₂mł-l— : Lat.
similaris;—gamed 'was born' < *gᵄm-, √ genē-

R-grade before ŭ : W. carñw 'deer' < *kᵄm-os : Lat. cervus
< *keru-os ;—marw 'dead': Lat. mortuus § 204 ii (5);—before i : W.
mynded § 100 iv.

The forms ŭ, r, m, ŭ 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 ŭ. In fact ŭ is the form that
r takes before a consonant, and must therefore be the same grade.

iv. The treatment of the diphthongs ei, eu (properly eᵄ, eu) is parallel,
i and ŭ corresponding to l, r, m, n, and vocalic i, u to vocalic ŭ, r, m, ŭ.
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>ŭ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>(i₁) &gt;</td>
<td>iᵄ</td>
<td>eᵄ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>(u₁) &gt;</td>
<td>uᵅ</td>
<td>eᵅ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The R-grade forms i, u occur before consonants only; the forms eᵄ,
eᵅ, which became ŭᵄ, ŭᵅ, occur before vowels.

Examples: V-grade: W. berw 'to boil', Lat. ferveo < *bheru-,
√ bhereu--;—W. dwuw 'god' < *dwu₃w, Lat. deus, both < *deiu-ṃos,
√ deiu-. (4).

√ bei₃d- 'see, know':—R : gwedd 'aspect' < *uid-ũ; gwys
'sumsmons, gwys 'it is known', both < *ui₃d₃- < *uid₃-t--; Lat.
vid-uo;—F: gwya₃d 'presence' < *ui₃d-, arwydd 'sign' < *pᵄiᵄ-ui₃d-;
Gk. εἰδοµαι;—F°: Gk. οἶδα < *oi₃d₃-a.

√ kleu₃ 'hear':—R: clod 'praise' < *klu₃-t₃-m § 66 v; Gk.
kε-klu-θî;—F: clust 'ear' < *kleu₃-t₃-st—§ 96 ii (3).
√ deuk₃ 'lead':—R: dỹg-af 'I bring', dỹg 'brings' < *duk₃;
dwyan 'to bring' < *duk₃-n--;—F: Lat. dúcu, O. Lat. douc-o, Goth.
ti₃h-an < *teuk₃--;—L°: d̄ug 'brought' < *(d₃u₃)-d̄u₃₃-, § 182 ii (2).

The V-grade disappears between consonants; see √ goneid₃- vii (4)
√ geney₃- 1b ; 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 i and u.

(2) o occurred in Ar. only in special cases, which Meillet, Intr.²
139 gives thus: 1. in child-language, as Skr. τατα, Gk. τατα, Lat. tata,
W. tada; 2. in certain isolated words, possibly borrowed, as Lat.
faba; 3. in a few endings, as 3rd sg. mid. -ται, Gk. -ται, Skr. -te; and
4. initially, interchanging with zero, as Gk. ἄτη: Lat. stella, W.
seren, E. star.

As shown by Meillet (ib. 140) initial a- may coexist in the F- or
L-grade of the following syll. as in Gk. d(ᵄ)ίεω with F *meg- beside
av₂ω, Lat. augeo with V *ug- ; cf. ἄτη: 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 ā : o necessarily implies the ablaut of a, as ē : e 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. tād 'father', in W. child-speech it remains as tāda.

In the ordinary gradation a stands side by side with e/o, or occurs where we should expect e/o, in the following cases: 1. initially; 2. before ē or ē; 3. before gutturals. Thus 1. at-, ati- : et-, eti- pref. and adv. 'beyond, and, but' § 222 i (3); O. W. anu, Ir. ainm 'name' < *āon(ē)mē, Armen. anun 'name': Gk. ὀνόμα < *ōnemē, √ onō-/anō-.—2. The ending of the neut. pl. nom.-acc. is *-a; now the neut. pl. of o/e-stems is -ā from *-āa, where *-a- represents the stem vowel instead of -o- (or -ē-); similarly the fem. of o/e-stems is formed with -ā for *-a-; but iō/je-stems have beside -iā- < *-ja- the fem. form -īē- < *-ie-. Cf. also ā : o iix below. In the dat. sg. of cons. stems both -ai and -ei occur, as Gk. infin. -μεναι: Osc. duivei, paterei, Solmsen KZ. xlv 161 ff.

In the positions indicated, a has R- and L-grades. Thus, 1. Initially: F *am- in Gk. ἀμφί, Lat. amb- : R *m- in Ir. imb, imm, W. am, ym-, Skr. abhi-taḥ (a- < *m-) 'on both sides' ; F *ar- in W. arth, Gk. ἀρχατος : R *a- in Lat. urbanus, Skr. ṭkṣah § 98 i (2); F *aāj- in Lat. aqō, Gk. ἀγώ : L *āg- in Lat. amb-ages.—2. Before ē or ē : F *ā (< *āa) : R *ā, see vi; F *ai- in Gk. αίθω, Ir. aed 'fire', W. aelwyd : R *i- in Skr. idh-mā- 'firewood'. For the fem. of iō/je-stems there is beside -iā- and -iē- a form -i- ; this may be explained thus: RF *iaj, *iēs give ija, iē : RR *iē > i, vii (2). Cf. vii (5).

3. Before gutturals: √ak- : oq-ing 'sharp, rugged', as Gk. ὀκρός, δέος, Lat. ocris, W. ochr : Gk. ἀκρός, Lat. aecus, W. (h)agr 'ugly'; — √dek/ghan-ing 'to seem good, acceptable; to apprehend, teach' ; ē in Lat. decessus, decet, Ir. dech, deg, 'best' : o in Lat. doceo, Gk. δοκεω, δογμα : a in Gk. διδασκω (< *διδακτικω), διδαχή, W. da 'good' < *dag-, Gaul. Dago-, Ir. dag-ing 'good'.

vi. (1) The long vowels ē, ő, ā had R- and V-grades; ē had also the F°-grade ē. The R-grade of each is ē. Before a vowel ē regularly disappears, giving the V-grade, as in Skr. dā-d-ati 'they give', where -d- is the V-grade of √dā-. It also occurs before consonants, as in Skr. da-d-māh 'we give' beside Gk. δῆ-δο-μεν; but the disappearance of ē 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.

ē appears to come from a guttural spirant resembling ẓ (§ 110 ii (2)), which played the same part as the sonants, so that the ablaut series of ē is parallel to that of ē or e, the F-grade ē being for *ë; thus V (ň non-syllabic, lost); R ŋ (syllabic); F ē for *ë; F° ő for *o; corresponding to V ē (non-syllabic); R ē (syllabic); F e; F° ő. This explains why ǝ is the R-grade of all the long vowels.
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In cases where the F-grade has not survived, or has survived only in Indo-Iranian, where ā, ē, ō all appear as ā, so that the quality of the vowel is unknown, it is usual to write it ā̀.

Examples: \( \sqrt{dō-} 'gave' \):—F: daun 'gift' < *dō-n-; Lat. dō-num; Gk. diō-mu.—V: rho-\-ant 'they give' < *pro-d-ant; Skr. dā-\-ant < *dā-d-ant.—\( \sqrt{dū-} 'put' \):—F: Gk. τή\-θν-μ-; —V: rho-\-ant 'they put'. See § 179 ii.

\( \sqrt{sthā-} 'stand' \):—R: gwa-sta-d 'level' < *upo-sthā-t-; Lat. stā-tus; W. sa-f 'stand' < *sthām- § 203 vii (5); —F: saw-dl 'heal' < *sthā-\-tl-.

\( \sqrt{se-} 'sow' \):—R: had 'seed' < Ar. *sē-t-; Lat. sē-tus.—F: hīl 'progeny', Ir. sīl < *sēl-; Lat. sē-vi, sē-men.

(2) It generally appears as a in the European languages, as in the above examples. (Cf. § 110 ii (2)) But in Gk. if the F-grade is ē or ō, the R-grade often appears as e or o. Elsewhere e beside a 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. trāb < *treb-; Gk. τέρμων, τέραμων both < *tereb-; \( \sqrt{terēb-} \).

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 *gʷe'ter- 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 sons ī, u, RR was e, o, which gave īo, uo; these were generally contracted to ī, ū respectively; we may call this contraction R². On the analogy of these it is assumed that RR lā, ṛ, mā, ēa gave respectively R² lā, ṛ, mā, ēa. The uncontracted RR forms also survived, as in Gk. παλάμυ < *pela-mā, ρέλα-, beside W. llaw(f), Ir. lām < Kelt. *lā-mā < *pl-mā; —W. raedr 'anger', Ir. tarathar < RR *təra-tr-, beside Gk. τέρατον < FR *tera-tr-, \( \sqrt{terē-} 'bore' \);—W. rhaeadr 'cataraet' < RR *rae-tr-, beside Lat. rivus < R² *rī-, \( \sqrt{rejā-} 'flow' \). In many cases the ā dropped, see vi (1), as in Lat. palma < *pl(a)-mā; we may denote this by R(R). Beside these we also have VR forms lā, ṛ, mā, ēa; thus beside W. gwladr 'ruler' < RR *gʷlā-tr-, we have W. gwlæd 'country', Ir. flaith 'lordship', < VR *ül-ā-tr-, \( \sqrt{yel-e} \) (Lat. valère, E. wield);—W. gwlæn 'wool' < VR *ülān-a, beside Lat. làna, Skr. ûrā < R² *ūrā-;—W. rhann 'share', Ir. rann id. < VR *pō-rnā, beside Lat. part < R(R) *pō(r)-t-, beside Skr. pür-t-ām 'reward' < R² *pīt-, \( \sqrt{perē} \);—W. ystrad 'dale', Gk. στράτος < VR *str-ā-t-, beside W. sarn 'causeway' < R(R) *str(r)-m-, beside Skr. strī-ṇāḥ 'strewn', Lat. strā-tus < R² *str-, \( \sqrt{sterē} \) 'spread out'.—When the long vowel after l, r, m, or n was ā or ō we cannot distinguish in Kelt. between
R² and VF, since in Kelt. lā, lō, all give lā; we can only infer the probable original from a comparison of cognates; thus O. E. *šnor 'floor' < VF *plār- suggests that Ir. lár, W. llawr 'floor' contain VF *plār-; and Gk. παλάνη < RR as above suggests W. llaw < R². But where the vowel was e as in *pelē- 'fill', we know e.g. that W. llaw, Ir. lán 'full' come from R² *plēn-, since VF *plēn- as in Lat. plēnus would give W. *līn, which does not exist, and does give Ir. tīn-, which is seen in tūnaim 'fill'.

R(R) is postulated instead of RV because the loss of o is late; this agrees with the fact that we have ar in W., implying *r the form before a vowel, the loss of which is therefore secondary, and not ry from *r the form before a consonant. Similarly i may be taken as R(R) of eī; thus RR iō > R(R) iō(s) > i. Where ry occurs in W. beside forms implying an original long vowel we may assume that this beside comes from a variant with short vowel of the root; thus W. 

gwyrs 'boughs, twigs' < *urd-sq-, RV of *yerod-; Lat. rādēx < *urōd-, R² of *yerōd-, O. E. wroth < *yrōd-, VF of *yerōd-.

(3) A few examples are appended:

                                                                             1

    *gelāk/g- 'milk': RR *gel-, > Gk. γάλα, γάλακτος; —VR *gelk- > Lat. lact- (whence W. llaeth); *gloki-s > Ir. glass 'milk', W. glas-dwr 'milk and water'.
    *qenēp- 'blow': VF *qēp- > Lith. kvepti 'blow'; —RR *qēvp- > W. cawad 'shower', Ir. cūa, gen. cūad; —VR *qēvp- > Lat. vapor, Gk. καπνός.
    *bhēuā- 'be': R(R) *bh- > Lat. fu-turus, Gk. φυ-ας, Kelt. *bu-tā > W. bod 'to be'; —L¹V *bhmy- > W. bu § 189 iv (3); —VV *bh(y)- > f- in Lat. fio, b- in W. byô § 189 iv (1).

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

    *deiēn- 'god, day': FV *deiē-os > Lat. deus, W. *deyw > daw 'god'; —R² *diy- > Lat. div-us; —RV *diw- > W. dyw 'day'; —RL *dīy- > Lat. diēs, W. dydd 'day'.
    *qoneid- 'nit': FR *qonid- > Gk. κονίς, gen. κονίδος 'nit'; VR *qonid- > O. E. hniu, E. nit, O. H. G. hniuz 'nit'; *s(q)nid-ā > W. nedd 'nits', Ir. sned 'nit'; —FV *qond- > Lith. kandis 'moth'; *spond- > W. chwann-en 'flea'.
    *geneu- 'knee': FR *genu > Lat. genu; —FR *gonu > Gk. γόνον; —with -en-, -er- forming names of parts of body: base *geney-en-: VR² *gēn-, by dissim. > Kelt. *glān- > Ir. glān, W. glīn 'knee'; —base *goney-er-: RVV *g(e)n(y)r- > *ganr- > W. garr 'knee' (asif garr 'knee cap').
    *qorou-: FR *qoru- > Gk. κορο-φόν; —VF *qorw- > W. crug 'heap, hillock'.

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\( \sqrt{ \text{bherey} } \) 'boil': FV *bheru-, see iv above; — VR *bhru- > W. *brud

\( *q\text{metry} \) 'four': RF *q\text{t}uor- > Lat. quattuor; — FR *q\text{metry}r- > W. *pedwar, Ir. *ceithir, Gk. τετταρες; — RL *q\text{t}wir- > Skr. caṭdvraḥ, Goth. fīdwōr; FR (before cons.) *q\text{metry}r- > Gk. τετταρα-, becoming by viii (1) *q\text{metry}r- it gives Gaul. *petru-, W. *pedry- as in pedry-fan.

(5) Long diphthongs must represent radical disyllables, and their reduced grades can only be explained from the disyllabic forms. Thus \( \ddot{a} \) must be FV of *\( \ddot{a}e\ddot{e}i \) or *\( \ddot{a}e\ddot{a}i \) (\( \ddot{a}/\ddot{a}i \) v (2)); the RR of the first syll. is \( \ddot{a} \) which vanishes before a vowel, leaving \( e \) or \( i \) (properly FV of *\( \ddot{a}e\ddot{e}i \) or *\( \ddot{a}e\ddot{a}i \)); if the second is reduced we get \( \ddot{u} \), before a cons. \( \ddot{i} \) (properly VR of *\( \ddot{a}e\ddot{e}i \) or *\( \ddot{a}e\ddot{a}i \)). We know that \( \ddot{a} \) interchanges in roots with \( \ddot{e} \) or \( \ddot{i} \); this implies a metathesis of the sonants, for the latter forms represent *\( \ddot{e}a \ddot{e}o \) or *\( \ddot{e}a \ddot{a}i \); the RR of these is *\( \ddot{i}o \) which gives \( i \), see vii (2). Thus we have as reduced grades of \( \ddot{a} \) the forms \( e \) or \( a \), \( i(\ddot{a}) \); for convenience these may be distinguished thus: \( R_{1e} \) \( e \), \( R_{1a} \) \( a \), \( R_{2} i \), \( R_{3} \ddot{i} \). The same principle applies to the long \( u \)-diphthongs. [It has been assumed that \( a \) is \( \ddot{a} \) (with \( \ddot{a} \) as R of \( e \)), but Skr. has \( a \ddot{v} \) for it, whereas \( \ddot{a} \) is \( i \) in Skr. Besides, we should expect \( \ddot{u} \) like \( i \) to give \( \ddot{v} \), as perhaps it does, for \( \ddot{a} \) may also be for *\( \ddot{v} \) of FV of *\( \ddot{a}e\ddot{e}i \).]

Examples:

\( \sqrt{ \text{sec} } \) 'late, long': F *\( \text{se} \ddot{e}i \) > Skr. sāyām 'evening', before cons. *\( \ddot{e} > \) Lat. sērōs, W. hër 'long', Ir. sēr; — \( R_{1e} \) *\( \ddot{e}i \) > W. hōyr 'late' (< *\( \ddot{e}i-ros \), hōy 'longer', Ir. sīa (< *\( \ddot{e}i-ison \) < *\( \ddot{e}i-isōn \)); — \( R_{2} \) *\( \ddot{e}i \) > W. lyd 'length' (< *\( \ddot{e}it \) ; — \( R_{3} \) *\( \ddot{a}i \) > W. hoelld 'lifet ime', Lat. saeculum 'age', both < *\( \text{se} \ddot{i} -tlo-m \) § 75 i.

\( \sqrt{ \text{wèri} } \) 'laugh (at), shame': VR *\( \text{wèri} \) > *\( \text{wèri-zd} \) whence Lat. ridicule, Skr. \( \text{vè} \ddot{a} \ddot{d} \- \) 'shame' ; — (FV *\( \text{wèri} \) or else) VR, *\( \text{wèri} \) > Kelt. *\( \text{wèri-t} \) > W. gwrîd 'blush'; — RR, *\( \text{wèri} \) > *\( \text{wèri-t} \) > W. dun-wared 'to mimic'; — RR, *\( \ddot{u} \ddot{r}i \ddot{r} > \) W. guwarae 'play' § 75 v (4). — From \( \sqrt{ \text{wèri} } \) (without \( \ddot{a} \)): RR *\( \ddot{u} \ddot{r}a \ddot{r} > \) *\( \ddot{u} \ddot{r}a \ddot{t} > \) W. guward-\( \ddot{u} \ddot{y} \ddot{d} 'shame' (by dissim. for *\( \ddot{u} \ddot{r}a \ddot{d} \-\( \ddot{u} \ddot{y} \ddot{d} \) ); — RR(\( R \) ) *\( \ddot{u} \ddot{r}a \ddot{r} > \) *\( \ddot{u} \ddot{r}a \ddot{t} > \) W. guward 'shame'; *\( \ddot{u} \ddot{r}a \ddot{d} > \) W. *\( \text{chwâr} ) 'laughs'; *\( s \-\( \ddot{u} \ddot{r}a \-\ddot{a} \ddot{i} \ddot{d} > \) W. *\( \text{chwâr} \) 'laughter' § 203 vii (3).

viii. (1) Certain combinations produced by the above laws are unstable; thus \( \ddot{u} \ddot{e} \) is liable to become \( wu \), as in *\( q\text{etryu} \) vii (4); and \( \ddot{u} \ddot{e} \) may become \( ur \) as in *\( d\ddot{u}v \) for *\( d\ddot{u}v \); — \( \ddot{u} \ddot{e} \) 

While \( \ddot{u} \), \( l_{e} \), \( r_{e} \), etc., may remain and give \( ua \), \( la \), \( ra \), etc., in Kelt., they may be, and oftentimes are, reduced to \( u \), \( l \), \( r \), etc. Hence we are not obliged to postulate *\( e \ddot{u} \), *\( e \ddot{e} \), *\( e \ddot{r} \), etc., where there is no evidence of the first \( e \) in surviving forms. Thus:

\( \sqrt{ \text{sup} } \) 'sleep': F *\( \text{sup} \- \)no- > Lat. somnus (< *\( \text{sup} \- \)nos), Skr. svāmāh 'sleep, dream'; — R *\( \text{sup} \- \)no- > Gk. θνοσ, W. hun 'sleep', Ir. sían.

\( \sqrt{ \text{pleth} } \) : RR *\( \text{pleth} \) > Gk. πλάτα-νοσ, Gaul. -\( \alpha \)t-\( a \- \)s, O. W. līt-a-n, W. lībda-n 'broad'; FV *\( \text{pleth} \) > Skr. prāth-aḥ 'breath', W. lled 'breadth'; — RV *\( \text{pleth} \) > W. līy s 'court' § 96 ii (5), Gk.
\[\pi\lambda r-\nu\zeta; -- RV *\pi\epsilon\thetah- > Armen. layn 'broad'; -- (without \(\lambda\), § 101 ii (2))\]
\[RF *\pi\epsilon\thetah- > Lat. patē-re, etc.\]

(2) Other combinations are unpronounceable or difficult; thus \(\upsilon\) cannot be sounded before a cons.; in that case \(i\) drops. Generally \(i\), \(y\) drop between consonants, see iv above.

ix. Some roots have more than one ungraded form; thus radical \(\ddot{a}\) may stand beside radical \(\ddot{a}\), as in *arō- or *arō- 'scratch, bite; plough, dig': Lat. arā-re has R *arā- of the first, Gk. ἀπορποῦν has R *arō- of the second. The R of both, with -d- extension, occurs in Lat. rād-o, rōd-o. Beside \(\ddot{a}\) we have sometimes to assume \(a\), as in Skr. rddati 'scratches, digs' (not \(\ddot{a}\) here, which gives \(i\) in Skr.). In many cases all the forms cannot be explained without assuming an alternation of long and short vowel in the root; this may have come about by false analogy. Another common form of root alternation is *tēu-: *tēgā- or *

\[g\ddot{e}i\ddot{a}- (Lat. hiā-re); see vii (5).\]

Note.—Ablaut is not to be confused with the changes due to accentuation or other causes in the derived languages, such as the shortening of unacc. \(\ddot{a}\) in Brit. § 74, or the loss of a vowel in such a word as cawr § 76 iii (4), which would be *cur if the loss were primitive § 76 ii (1).

**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.:

| Short vowels | a | e | i | o | u |
| Long vowels | ā | ī | ū |
| Short diphthongs | ai | ei | oi | au | eu | ou |
| Long diphthongs | āi | īu | āu | īu |
| Short vocalic | ɪ | m | n | r |

**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-brōgos, but Cymraes 'Welsh-woman' < *kom-brōgiws : *brog-, W. bro 'border, region' < *mrog-, VF of √ marog-, whose FV gave Lat. mar-g-;—W. troed 'foot' < acc. *troyet-m, pl. traed < acc. pl. *troyet-áss (< *-ás : Skr. -āk), or from gen. pl. *troyet-ón (< *-óm which was generally
accented in Ar.) as in gwyr traed ‘infantry’; √ t/dhregh- : Gk. τρέχω, τρέχοσ; the √ had also a by Ar. a/e/o altern. § 63 v (2), as in Ir. triag ‘foot’ < *tragets, but we can hardly suppose Ar. o/a in the same word in Brit.—Similarly in Lat. loanwords, as W. achos ‘cause’ < occásio.—W. achab < *occup- for Lat. occup- § 73 ii (4).

(2) On the other hand a > o in Pr. Kelt. before Ar. g/dh in W. oen, Ir. ian ‘lamb’ < *ognos < *aghnos : O. E. ãntian ‘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 < *tegos, Brit. Cat-tigirn, also spelt (in Cornwall) Tegerno-mali beside Tegerinomatal Rhys LWPn.® 404, Gaul. Tigernum, Ir. teg ‘house’, tigerna ‘lord’, √ (s)deg- § 92 i.—W. hy ‘bold’ < *segos : Gaul. Σιγό-μαρος, √ segh- : Gk. εχω < *segõhên, Skr. sāhah ‘might’.—W. gwye-ly ‘bed’ < *yo-leg- : Ir. lige < *legiōν- √legh-.—Where e appears it is due to a-affection; as in br ‘hill’ < *brigā § 103 ii (1); thus lle ‘place’ < acc. *tigan < *leg-ýn, √legh- ; gre ‘herd’ < *greg-y = Lat. gregem ; godre ‘bottom (edge of garment), foot (of hill)’ < *yo-treg-y, √tregh-, see (1), pl. godryon, godreon, both in R.M. 151.

But before a consonant eg remained: W. gwair m. ‘hay’ < *uagr- : Ir. ãgr ; —W. tail ‘manure’ < *tegl- § 104 ii (1) ; —W. awrain ‘to lead’ < *avi-æg-n- √segh- : Lat. veho; olfrein, etc. § 203 iv (1) ; —W. òw ‘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:

The y becomes e by a-affection, as Gwint < Venta; cf. E. Winchester ‘Venta Belgarum’. In Lat. loanwords we have y, as tymp < tempus; tymor < tempora; cymynn(a)f < commend-o; esgynn(af) < ascend-o, etc.; but most nouns have -enn, Mn. W.-en, as elfen < elementum; ifurfassen < firmamentum; ysgrifen < scribenda, all fem., having been treated like native nouns in -enn § 143 i ; mynnvent fem. ‘graveyard’ alone has -ent < pl. monumenta. (Calan is from Vulg. Lat. Kaland-, which occurs.)

o before nas.+exp. > W. w ; thus trienc < *trông- § 99 v (3) ;
twng ‘swears’: Ir. tongim ‘I swear’ ; —hwnt ‘yonder’ : Lpref. hōnt § 220 ii (5).—The change took place in Lat. loanwords, as pŭnum ‘burden’ < pondus; ysbusg < spongos; except in fem. forms, as llonyg ‘ship’ < longa (nāvis). W. ponti ‘bridge’ < Brit. acc. *pontan (< -m) put for Lat. pontem, became fem. The 3rd pl. subjunct. -ont instead of *-vnt 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.
\[ e + \text{liq.} + \text{exp.} > \text{W. y}; \text{thus Ml. W. kymyrrth} < *\text{kombert-\textit{ei}}, \text{with a-affection kymyrrth} § 181 \text{vii (r)}; -\text{gwyl\textit{t}i} \text{‘wild’} < \text{Brit.} *\text{gweltis}; \text{Ir. gell} § 92 \text{iv}. \text{But usually it remains as e; thus for nyrrth b.B. 68, the ordinary form is nerth m. ‘strength’; so perthyn} < \text{Lat. pertin-} \text{owing to preference for the sequence e . . y.} -\text{merch \textit{‘maid}, perth \textit{‘bush’ are fem.} and mellt pl. ‘lightning’, gwyllt pl. ‘grass’ may be neut. pl. in} *\ddot{\text{a}} \text{or fem. pl. in} *\ddot{\text{a}}. \text{as.} \]

\[ o + \text{liq.} + \text{exp.} > \text{W. w}; \text{thus W. iwerch \textit{‘roe buck’}, Bret. ioure\textit{ch}; \text{O. Corn. iorek: Gk. } \ddot{\text{"o}}\text{r}\ddot{\text{e}}; -\text{W. iwerch \textit{‘boar’}, Bret. ioure\textit{ch}; O. Corn. torch, Ir. torc; -W. swyli \textit{‘money, shilling’} < \text{Lat. sol\textit{‘dus}–torch \textit{‘torque’ is fem.} \text{Ir. torc}}. \text{But other exceptions occur as corref \textit{‘body’} < \text{Lat. corpus}; porth m. ‘gate’ f. \textit{‘harbour’ has exchanged genders and keeps o in both. Formations like gor-\textit{ffen} etc. are also exceptions.} \]

\[ (3) \text{The same change took place before rr. Thus} e: \text{W. chwyrn \textit{‘whirling’} } < *\text{sperm-}, \text{§ 96 iv (r)}; -\text{W. Edynr beside Edern} < \text{Eternus.} \]

\[ -\text{W. gwern \textit{‘alder’, and cern} } < \text{§ 95 ii (3) are fem.} \text{; so uffern \textit{‘hell’} < Vulg. Lat. ifera.} -\text{W. asgwern \textit{‘bone’} < *ast-korn- } < \text{§ 96 ii (4)}. \]

\[ -\text{W. dwern \textit{‘fist’}; Ir. dorn.} \text{But W. corn \textit{‘horn’} < Lat. e before rr} > \text{W. y; as byrr \textit{‘short’}; Ir. berr;} -\text{W. gyrr \textit{‘a drove’} < *gerks- } < \text{§ 95 iv (2). But o remains, as in corr \textit{‘dwarf}, torri \textit{‘to break’}.} \]

\[ (4) \text{In many Lat. loanwords e or o before r + cons. became a (on the analogy of the R-grade in sarn etc.)); thus sarff < serpens; carrat \textit{‘lace’} < corrigia; parchell b.B. 55 beside porchell A.L. i 276 < porcellus; tafarn < taberna; Padarn < Paternus; Garmon < Ger- \textit{manus.} \]

\[ (5) e \text{before ss > y}; \text{as in ys (ys, } \ddot{\text{y}}\text{s } < \text{§ 82 ii (r)}; -\text{aes \textit{‘eats’}} < *\text{essi < *ed-ti}; \text{Lat. est.} \text{Also before Lat. st as in yest \textit{‘witness’} < testis. But either affection or the sequence e . . y (or e . . u) causes it to be e, as in fenestr \textit{‘window’}, testun \textit{‘text’} < testim\textit{\text{"o\text{"n}}}. \]

iv. (1) \text{In the present penult \textit{y} appears for e and o before a nasal whether followed by another consonant or not; as in cycwchwynnu, tymor iii (1); fynhwawrn, now fynnon < Lat. fontana; tyner < Lat. tenerum; myfyr < Lat. memoria; myned \textit{‘to go’}; Bret. monet; mynewnt beside monwnt < Lat. monumenta. But many exceptions occur, as cenedl \textit{‘nation’}, Conwy; and derivatives like gwenu \textit{‘to smile’} (gw\text{"e\text{"n} \textit{‘smile’}), tonnau \textit{‘waves’} (tonn \textit{‘wave’}) do not show the change (exc. hymn \textit{‘oldest’} assim. to the cpv. hynn, § 148 i (11)).} \]

\[ (2) o > y \text{in the prefixes *ko-, *kom-, *kon-, *to-, *do-, *ro-}; \text{as W. cywir \textit{‘correct’} < Kelt. *ko-\text{"i\text{"o\text{"s}; rhy-favor \textit{‘very great’} < *(p)r-\text{"o\text{"\text{"a\text{"r}}; see § 16 iii; except when the vowel of the root is lost, as in W. corp \textit{‘punishment’}, Ir. cose < *kon-sog-} < \text{§ 96 iii (5)}; \text{W. rhodd \textit{‘gift’} < *(p)ro-d- } < \text{§ 63 vi (1)}. \text{When separately accented rhy has acquired a new strong form rh\text{"i}, as rh\text{"i} dd\text{"a} \textit{‘too good’}; similarly *dy, *by, written di in O.W. ( < *do \textit{‘to’}), as a preposition became *by > Ml. W. y > Mn. W. i \textit{‘to’} < § 16 ii (3). So cyn before the equative, now sounded cyn, and dialectally kin.} \]
v. (1) o and a interchange after y § 34 iv. So we have gwv-
beside go- for gwo- < *uio- : Gaul. vo- < Ar. *upo; thus gwa-red-ur
'saviour' < *uio-reito-uir- : Gaul. Voretovir- ;—W. gwes '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 u (cons. or voc.), as breuan for
*breion § 76 iv (2) ; bían for *búin § 76 ix (2) ; (Anglesey dial. neuò
for neuà).

(2) After m- there is an older change of a to o, as in W. mór 'sea',
monet < *mamjet- § 100 iv ;—W. morwyn < *marein- § 125 v (1).

(3) e after w becomes o/a in the following cases: Ar. *uper > Pr.
Kelt. *yer > Gaul. ver-, Bret. war 'on', W. ar, gwar-, gwo-, gor-
vesper-. Probably the interchange after u/ (cons. or voc.), as Brit.
for- < *yer- on the analogy of fo- < *go-. Generally we remains, as
in chwech 'six' < *suveks.

vi. (1) After § post-tonic a became e; thus wynæb 'face' < *en{i}-eqh-
§100 v, < *en{i}-aqh-< *en{i}-aqh-, √aqh= Skr. ánkam 'face' < *en{i}-aqh-panel. But when pre-tonic the a remained, as in wynab-, in composition,
from *en{i}aqh- ; gwvæd < *yægδω < § 180 iv (1).

(2) Pre-tonic io prob. became ia ; thus we have aeo < *iio- , but
no *aeo < *iio- ; so that the latter perhaps became *iia- § 75 vi (2).
So the rel. a < *ia < Ar. ior, § 162 vi (1).

§ 66. i. Pr. Kelt. i and u remained in Brit. Brit. i was
open, and is transcribed e by the Greeks, as in Πρετττανική
(νυσος) : W. (gynus) Prydain, but i by the Romans as in Britannia
(Gk. i was close, Lat. i open). Brit. i gave W. y, which is γ 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. drych 'appearance', edrychaf 'I
look' < Pr. Kelt. *d{egr}-, § 61 i ;—W. ciwm 'dogs', cynos 'little
dogs' < Pr. Kelt. *kun- ;—W. cybydd 'miser' < Lat. cupidus ;—
W. terfyth 'end' < Lat. terminus.

γ and y may interchange with e, and y with a, § 16 iv.
u before a labial may develop irregularly, § 73 ii.

ii. (1) y in the penult, whether from i or u becomes w in Mn. W.
before w in the ult., as in cwmwéd 'cloud' for cymwol < *cumul-
< Lat. cumulus; swmwbwl < *stimbul- < Lat. stimulus; cwvmed
'comot' < Ml. W. kymwôt; dychwun < dythwun < dydd hwen § 164
iii. When a syllable is added, both w's become y, as cymylau
'clouds'.
(2) After \( y \) the obscure \( y \) became \( v \); as \((g)\text{wrthieu}\) \(\text{IIa. 83} \). 'miracles' for \text{gwythieu}. In the spoken lang. and frequently in mss. we have \text{gwnnach} for \text{gwyynnach} 'whiter', \text{wllys} for \text{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 \text{gwynn}, \text{gwynwydd}, \text{gwinweddin}; \text{celwydd}, \text{celwddog}, but \text{celyn}, \text{celynaw}; \text{gwydd}, \text{gwyddau}, etc. J.D.R. writes \( w y \) in \text{gwyynnach}, \text{gwyrdach} 63, but \((g)\text{wrthieu}\) [xvii].

iii. (1) Unaccented initial \( ui- \) before sonants became \(*uw > *gww- > *gwr-, \S 36 i\). Thus \text{gwr} 'man' \(< *ywr-o< *yir-o< *gwrh- contra-', \text{wrth} 'against' \(< *yurt< *yirt< *yerto: \text{Ir. frith< *urt- \S 211 iv} (2); \text{gwnn} 'I know' \(< *yindo, \S 191 iii (1). The \( w \) thus produced is not mutated to \( y \) in the penult, e.g. \text{gberol} 'manly', \text{girraidd} id., \text{wrth} by m'. and \text{gwnn} seems to show that it was not liable to affection; in that case \text{gwyf} 'men' is analogical.

(2) Before other consonants initial unaccented \( ui- \) or \( ue- \) became \(*oi- \) giving W. \( ui- \), as in Ml. W. \text{uigeint} 'twenty' \(< \text{Kelt. } *\text{uiknti}: \text{Ir. } *\text{fiche}; \text{W. ucher} 'evening' \(< (*\text{uisger}< *) \text{uesper- \S 96 iv} (2).

(3) Generally, however, initial \( ui- \) became \text{gwy-} regularly as \text{gwyf < *uid-t- \S 63 iv; gwynnt < *uict- < *uent- < *uendo: \text{Lat. ventus}; \text{gwyn} 'withered', \S 75 vii (3); \text{gwyth 'miracle'} < \text{Lat. virtus}. But \text{gwy-} later became \text{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. \text{are-}, W. \text{ar-} \(< *\text{are- < *ari- < *peri}; \text{W. am} \(< *\text{mbi} < *\text{mbhi}; \text{Lat. ambi}; \text{Gk. } *\text{a} \text{phi}; \text{W.} \text{mor} \(< *\text{more}, \text{Gaul. more} < *\text{mori: } \text{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 \text{iôn 'lord' \(< *\text{id-o-s, i'r 'lord' \(< *\text{id-o-s}: \text{W. uô \S 100 i} (1); see \S 104 iv (3); \text{bôn m. 'base, stem'} \(< *\text{bod-o- \S 104 iv} (1); \text{clod 'praise, fame'} < \text{klutóm: } \text{Ir. cloth (gen. cluth) id.; < klutóm, Gk. } *\text{katóx, Skr. } *\text{frutám 'what has been heard, tradition'}, \sqrt{\text{klu-} '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.—ί and ù became respectively e and o in the ultima when the lost ending had a; thus γωρδί 'aspect' < *γιδ-ά § 68 iv;—βοδ 'be' < Kelt. *βου-τά § 189 iv (6);—κινεδ 'rabble' < Lat. civitās;—gramadeg < Lat. grammatica; colorν < Lat. columna.

Hence adjectives having υ (< v) or ω (< ō) in the ultima change these to e and o in the fem., the affection being due to the lost fem. ending -ā; thus Brit. *κινιδος, *κινιδά gave respectively gwynn, gwenn 'white'.

The adj. *briktos had regularly fem. *briktā, which by the rule became *brektā; now *iκτ > ὴθ and *eκτ > εθ, later aith § 108 iv (1); hence βριθ 'peculed', f. βραϊθ, which is thus seen to be quite regular.

The affection is original only in adjectives of the -οs/-ά declension; but after the loss of the inflexional endings, it spread by analogy to other stems; e.g. κρωμν 'round' < Brit. *κρουνν (I. croind) has f. κρωμν on the analogy of τρωμ < Brit. *τρουμνος (I. tromm) f. trom; and gwyrd < Lat. vir'dis has f. gwyrô on the analogy of ffryr, ffrf < Lat. firmus, firma. Doubtless deilien wyrd in M.III.1.155 represents a local survival of the old fem., as in tonn wyrt (-t = -d) w. 9a 'green wave'.

§ 69. Ultimate i-affection. i. This was caused by i, ï (from i, ś, ő or ū), or by accented ě or ď. Kelt. post-tonic e before a vowel became ţ and caused this affection § 75 vii (1), so e(p) see ib.; also Lat. i, and sometimes e, before a vowel.

ii. (1) a becomes Ml. W. ei, Mn. W. ai: eil, ail 'second'; < *αλίας : Lat. alius;—γεπείτ, γσβαίδ 'space' < Lat. spatium;—ρχαί & 'spoil' < Lat. rapio;—βειρδδ 'bards' < *βαρδι;—μείβ 'sons' < Brit. *μαπί;—νείγείν, νείγαι 'twenty' < *γκαντέ < Ar. γίκάντι;—τλείδρ 'thief' < Lat. latrō;—δείγρ 'tear' < *δακρύ < Lat. lacrima.

(2) ak or ag before a consonant, which becomes ae in Ml. and Mm. 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 > Sæsōn but Saxō > *Sex > Seis, Sais;—*kaktos 'serf' (< *γαπτός) > cael.i, but pl. *kakti > ceith, caith 'serfs';—*dragynos > draen 'thorn' § 104 ii (1), pl. *dragynta > *dragynta > 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 heydrn B.T. 29, R.M. 121, R.P. 1362, R.B.B. 47, pl. of haearn 'iron';—ieydrn R.P. 1301 beside iecyn yr R.P. 1222, pl. of rhacadr 'cataract';—kedyrn w.M. 51
§ 69 KELTIC VOWELS IN WELSH

beside kedeirn do. 40, pl. of cadarn ‘mighty’;—so alarch pl. eleirch, elyrych § 117 i;—tywarchen pl. tyweirch, tyŵyrch § 126 i (2)—paladr, pl. peledyr w.m. 179, Mn. W. pelydr;—Mn. W. bustyn, menych, § 117 i. Also in the prolictic geir > gyr ‘near’ § 214 ii.

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

(4) In polysyllables before a labial also, a is affected to ã; as in modryb < *mátr-ãq*-i § 122 iv (2); cyffelyb, ethryb also from *-ãq*-<*-aq*-; ã-œũ — ‘face’, cf. § 143 iii (8); Caer-ãf ‘Cardiff’; Taf—-am- becomes -ëu or -ŷf, except in analogical formations; see § 76 vii (1).

iii. (1) e becomes û: engyl ‘angels’ < Lat. angelis;—cyllyll ‘knives’ < Lat. cultellis;—so, cestyll, gwëyll § 117 i;—erlynh ‘against’ < Kelt. *ari queunôi § 215 ii (4);—gwyl ‘sees’ § 173 iv (1).

There appears to be no certain example of e becoming eĩ; 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 with ‘niece’ < *nekîl-§ 86 ii (1);—llith ‘lesson’ < Lat. lectio.

iv. (1) o becomes ei (Mn. ai) or û: yspeil, ysbaïl ‘spoil’ < Lat. spoliwm;—seil, sail ‘foundation’ < Vulg. Lat. soilea for Lat. solum, cf. E. soil;—myfyr ‘thought’ < Lat. memoria;—ystyr ‘meaning’ < Lat. historia;—dúyn ‘man’ < *donios: Ir. duine;—mûyr ‘seas’ < *morï § 122 ii (4);—esgyb ‘bishops’ < Lat. episcopì;—Selyf< Salomô;—tair Ml. W. leîr for *ty-eîr ‘three’ fem. < *tisorés § 75 vi (3);—pair, Ml. peir ‘caldron’: Ir. coire § 89 iii.

It is seen that eĩ occurs before l and r; but in disyllables we have ã y before the latter.

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

v. u becomes û: Merchyr § 16 iv (2) < Mercurius;—cûn ‘chisel’ < Lat. cuneus;—asgwrn ‘bone’ pl. esgyrn;—ƒûch ‘ox’ <
PHONOLOGY

§ 70

Ar. *uqgō, whence O.H.G. olsō, Skr. ukṣa (Av. uṣ- implies -q-); the pl. ychen (< Ar. *uqgēnes, whence Skr. ukṣaṇaḥ, E. oxen) has y from u unaffected, § 66 i.

u does not become ei; deífr as pl. of deífr 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, clyrch, pelydr, Selif, esgyrn above. o also became e, as gosod 'to set' gesyd 'sets', liable to become y before st, as Ml. W. ebstyl, ehystyl < apostoli, sg. abostol < apostolus. In Ml. W. the affeaction 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 æ and was thus distinct from original ei which had close e. The former (ei) gives et, ai; the latter (eι) gives ūy § 75 iii (r).

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 ï or ë (now i or y), except where the ë was itself affected to e, § 68. Thus cerydd 'reprimand' < *karfio(s) beside caredd 'fault', Ir. caire, < *karfiα;—Ml. W. gwedy 'after'; O. W. gnotig;—Ml. W. peyyll 'tent' < *paplify < Lat. pāpilio;—Ebrill < Aprilīs;—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. (r) 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. Meiryaun r.b.b. 81, Mn. W. Meirjon;—so O. W. Bricheniawc a.c. 895, Mn. W. Brycheinig;—O. W. mepion gen. xii, Mn. W. meibion 'sons'. See § 35 ii.

In the dialect of Powys cēlţog 'cock', cēnţog 'penny' are pronounced cēlţog, cēnţog. This is perhaps a simplification of ei, § 78 v, rather than old e retained.
(2) Original e also became ei before i; thus Eterniānus > Edeirnann B.B. 74 Edeirnon W.M. 50, R.M. 35, Mn. W. Edeirnion (now wrongly spelt Edeyrnion); —so pencerlid 'chief of song' Ml. pl. penkeirđeit B.P. 1230, Mn. W. penceirddiaid; —anrheg 'gift' pl. anrēgjon B.P. 1221 (generally anrēgjon R.B.B. 394, R.M. 257, now anrēgjon); un-ben 'mon-arch', unbēgynæeth, A.L. i. 34, 382, 'sovereignty' (now unbennæath, new formation); gorweiddl to lie', gorweiddlog 'bed-ridden'; gweinjaiath § 32 for gwynjaiath 'flattery'.

(3) In later formations i does not affect the vowel; forms like personyjeit, Albanègeit etc. § 123 iv, and carjad, meddiant, etc., are extremely common in Ml. and Mn. W. Also forms like arjan 'silver' in which i is not original, but comes from g.

iii. The Ml. and Mn. diphthong æ, whether from ak- or ag- before a consonant, or from a-e, becomes ei before i or ı, as in Mn. W. keithiwet < Brit.-Lat. *kaktmitas; saer 'craftsman' pl. seiri; gwaeiddl 'cry', gweddli 'to cry'; draen 'thorn', dreiniog 'thorny'. Similarly og...i or ug...i > ei...i; as in gweini 'to serve' < *ego-gvim; heini 'active' < *su-gvim: gwimin-

§ 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 cenwch 'ye sing' for an earlier *cenwych § 26 vi (5); in the Ml. forms Edeirnon etc. § 35 ii; and in such forms as ceidwad for ceidwpad, § 36 v.

v. The affection of a and o by a lost stem-ending -i-, -io-, -u-, of the first element of a compound is similar to ultimate affection: a > ei in meitin B.A. 18 'morning' (Mn. W. er's meitin 'some hours ago') < *mati-tin- (treated as a compound) < Lat. matutinum;—o > y in yl-faen: sail, § 69 iv.

In Ml. W. meinoeth B.T. 68, meinoeth do. 45 'midnight' < mediā nocte, we seem to have early metathesis of i, thus meinoeth < *mensjoeth < *meda-njokte. The forms meinyð B.T. 31, meindyð do. 55 'mid-day' are formed on its analogy.

The Long Vowels.

§ 71. i. (1) Pr. Kelt. ā (from Ar. ā and ë) remained in Brit. In Early W. it became an open ë like Eng. a in call, which we may write ə; in O. W. this became ə in unaccented syllables, au
(≡ aw) in accented syllables. Latin ó also shared this development.

The Early W. o is attested in Bede's *Dinoot* (≡ *Dñoot*), Ml. W. *Dunawt* < Lat. *Dñatūs*. In all syllables except the ultima it became o, as *broder* 'brothers' < Pr. Kelt. *brð̆eres*; in this position aw from ò occurs only in late formations like *mawrion* pl. of *mawr* 'great', and after *w* § 148 i (6). But in the ultima and in monosyllables o > O.W. aw ≡ Ml. W. aw, as O. W. *braut* ox. 'judgement' < Pr. Kelt. *brþon, trintaut* juv. sk. < Lat. *trinitātem*; Ml. W. *brawt, trindawt*. 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.) ó:

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(2) ó 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 ò as above, or from ou § 76 iii) survives in the spoken language in *candlaw* 'hand-rail', *darllaw* 'to brew', *distaw* 'silent', *eirlaw* 'sleet', *ysgaw* (also *ysgo*) 'elder-tree', *llysfrawd* 'brother-in-law'; in compounds with numerals, as *deunaw* '18', *dwyfawr* '2 hours', *teirawr* '3 hours', etc. (except *dibylow* for *dibylaw* 'hands'); and in compounds of *mawr*, as *dfrfawr* '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 *yllaws* 'multitude', *cyflawn* 'just', *tonaw* 'January', *ansawdd* 'quality', are influenced by the written language, which, however, had also *yllios, cyfion, Tonor, ansodd* Io.G. 187, formerly; see examples below. *Chwefror* has ó always (generally sounded *Chwefrol* by dissimilation).

The recent written language has been influenced by mechanical ideas of etymology in the substitution of aw for the regular o in *fyddlton* 'faithful', *dwylo* '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 Saeson bob Ionor
I'r Deau maent ar hyd môr.—L.G.C. 155.

'They invite Saxons every January to the South across the sea.'

Anodd rhyngr 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 m.l. 4, Meirion r.b.b. l.3. 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 'esgawd' for esgob 'bishop', 'dymiauon' for dymion '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. yscol 'school', iscol b.b. 81 from Lat. sc(h)ola and yscowl w.m. 189 'ladder' < Lat. scala, both ysgol in Mn. W.

(3) In a few cases aw comes from o: praw(f) beside profi < Lat. prob-; mau< beside molaf 'I praise', Ir. molim; 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 prob- might become *prob- > prawf. But it is more likely that all these are due to false analogy.

In awr 'hour', and nawon 'noon' we have aw < Lat. ē. These have been explained as late borrowings; but historically this is improbable. Possibly the pronunciation of hōra varied in Lat., since Gk. o (≡ Ὠ) was popularly sounded Ὠ (γωρόσ = Ital. chipsa); Ὠ would give ò > aw. For nawon see § 76 iii (4).

iii. åg > O. W. oũ, Ml. W. eu, Mn. W. en, au; thus brenant 'wind-pipe', O. W. -brouannon < *bræγt-: Ir. bræg gl. cervix, O. Bret. bre̞̊̄nt;—W. pau 'country', O. Bret. pou, Corn. pow < Lat. pāg-ns;—so åk or åg before a consonant: W. gwann, O. W. gwoun l.l. 156, 196 'lowland', Ir. fānu < *yākn- < *yo-ak-n-
§ 104 iii (1);—W. ceul 'to congeal' < *cāgl-< Lat. co-āglo. But before t the å is shortened § 74 iv.

iv. -ān- often gives onn in the present penult: crwnni: crawn § 202 v (2);—ffynhonnau 'fountains' < fontān;—Meirionnyd g.c. 122, r.b.b. 263, beside Meirionnyd do. 303, 306, < Mariān-.
§ 72. i. Pr. Kelt. ē (<Ar. ē, ēi, ē) remained in Brit., and Brit. and Lat. ē remain in W., § 59 iii, iv. Further examples: W. hir ‘long’, Ir. sir < Pr. Kelt. *sīros < *sī-ro-s: Lat. sērūs; —W. gwīn < Lat. vinum. It is, of course, shortened in W. before two consonants; as gwīn-lan ‘vineyard’.

ii. Lat. ē is treated as ē or Kelt. ei in W. paradýous < paradísus < Gk. παράδεισος; and synnūyr < sentire. In rustic Lat. ē was often sounded ē, but whether only in words with original ei is not clear, Lindsay, p. 29. In Lat. ign the ē was often written long, or was written e; hence it probably differed little from Lat. ē, and so gives W. ēng, as swyng ‘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 Abygouvró-dourov, advanced in Brit. towards ū, for it appears as ī in W., while Lat. ū borrowed into Brit. gives u in W.; thus Pr. Kelt. *dànum > Ir. dān, W. din ‘fort, dinas ‘city’; O. E. tūn, E. town;—Pr. Kelt. *glūn- > Ir. glūn, W. glīn ‘knee’ § 63 vii (4); —Pr. Kelt. *kū > Ir. cū ‘dog’, W. cī, § 89 iii.—But Lat. purūs gives pūr, múlus gives múd, etc.

ii. Some irregularities occur in the development of Lat. ā and Brit. and Lat. ā before a labial:

(1) Lat. ā in cúpa gives ā in W. cēb, Bret. kib. This seems to be the only example in W., and may be due to fluctuation between ā and ē before a labial; cf. conversely W. uffern ‘hell’, Bret. ifern < Vulg. Lat. iferna, Lat. inferna.

(2) Brit. and Lat. ā before b followed by a vowel gave W. u; as du ‘black’ for *duw < *dub- : Ir. dub ‘black’; W. cudýgl for *cufýgl < Lat. cūbic’um. But before n, r, l, ūb gives ūf regularly, as in dufn, drufr, § 90.

(3) ā before m is regular, as shown by W. twf ‘growth’, tyfu ‘to grow’ < *tum- § 201 i (8). But Lat. ā in numerus gives i in niser. This may be due to a dial. pronunciation of Lat. u as ā; cf. Osc. Niwmsięis ‘Numerii’, and the Oscanized Lat. Niwmeriis ‘Numerius’. Lat. itself had ā before m in an unacc. syll., as maximus, maxunumus ≡ maximus. The sound ā would be identified with Brit. ā, and prob. lengthened, giving the same result. W. ufyll ‘humble’ < Lat. hūmilis may perhaps be similarly explained, but with u for i as in uffern.

(4) ā before p is regular, as seen in cybyd ‘miser’ < Lat. cupidus, snybery ‘proud’ < Lat. superbus. In W. achub < Lat. occiipo the u may be due to the lengthening of the ā when it came to be accented, as it did in Brit. § 65 ii (1).

For Lat. ē see § 75 iii (1); for Lat. ū see § 76 ii (1).
§ 74. i. (1) In Brit. ā was shortened when unaccented. Thus W. pechadur 'sinner' < *peccātōr-< Lat. acc. peccātōr-ēm beside pechod 'sin' < peccātum;—W. meitān 'morning' < *meid-īn < *matā-tūn < Lat. matūtīnum;—W. agyōdawr for *afgyōdawr < Lat. ābēcēdārium;—W. Madrun < Lat. mātrōna beside modryb 'aunt' < Kelt. *mātraeiawi;—W. ceiliagwyydd 'gander', Ml. W. keiyljacuyt A.I. i 280 < *kaljako-gēidos beside ceiliog 'cock' < *kaljakos;—W. parató 'to prepare', § 201 iii (5), beside parod 'ready' < Lat. parātus, etc., etc.

Naw mwy i frag na cheiliagwydd,  
Naw gwell i synnywr 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 Januārius from Februārius, and which for emphasis might even become primary.

(2) Words like swyddogol '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 ùiaw; the latter has ā from ā, the formation being *-ōs-tāts, while the former has ō, the formation being *-os-tos, extended to *-os-tākos, § 75 iii (3).

ii. It is seen in the above examples that other long vowels remained long when unaccented; and that ē and ā 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 ā. The latter had not set in in Pr. Kelt. as is shown by the development of ōu, 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' < *uentos < *uēntos; so Lat. ventus. W. dyall < *diuall < *diuall- < § 75 vi (4). Also before two explosives; *-o-akt- *-akt- > *-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.
caech 'one-eyed' : Lat. caecus 'blind', Goth. haihs 'one-eyed', Skr. kekara-h 'squinting' < Ar. *qiag-;—W. hoedd 'lifetime, life', Gaul. Setlo-ceni-(ae Deae) : Lat. saeculum < *saeilo-m
§ 111 vii (1);—W. coed 'wood, forest', Gaul. Ceto-briga < *kaito- : Goth. haipi, O. H. G. heida, E. heath, Lat. bu-cetum (§ for oe owing to confusion with the suffix -etum).

(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 (x); thus Brit. *karaset>*karoe, caro 'may love'. Followed by i it falls together with ii and gives -ei, as *yornasim > arnei; when the i was unacc. it gives -i as *yornasim > 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. āwy, as in myv 'greater' < *mā-jōs or *mājōn : Ir. mao for *man < *mājōs. When unaccented it was shortened and so gives oe, as prob. in Ml. W. moe w.a. 142 'more'.

A new āi was produced before a vowel in Brit. when ās was followed by ā or e; thus *karáis-it>*karájil > karwy § 183 ii (1).

A new āi might be produced before a cons. by metath. of i § 100 v; thus Lat. occário > W. achos, but Brit. pl. *accásiones > *accáisones > Ml. W. achwysson.

(4) W. oe > ae after w or m, etc.; oe > wae after g § 78 ii (2).
ii. (1) Ar. oi remained in Pr. Kelt., and appears in Ir. as āi, āe. In W. it became u before a consonant. Thus Ar. *oinos 'one' > Gk. oivos, ounή 'ace', O. Lat. oinos, Lat. unus : Ir. oen, W. un 'one'.—W. ud in aundun 'perjury', Ir. oeth 'oath': Goth. aip-s 'oath'.—W. grug 'heather' for *grvrig (Pemb. dial. grvįg), Ir. fruech < *yroiko-s : Gk. ἐρείκη < *yreikā.

Before or after y in Brit., oi became ai which gives W. oe (oy); as in glywy 'shiny, glossy' < *glowi-ou-s : Gk. γλωσ < *glous < § 92 i;— ky(h)ooëd 'public' < *ky-woed < *ko-woid- : W. gwyb 'presence' < *yeid-, √yeid- 'see'; here -w- dropped; where it remained, wee again gave wae § 78 ii (2); thus gwaethaf for *gwoethaf < *yaidisamos < *yoidisamos < *yo-ed-isamos < *upo-ped-isamos § 148 i (5).

(2) Before a back vowel oi gave W. wy; as *-oian > *-wy-n > -wu § 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 *dô esô>*dôiû>*dôi>*dôiû>*deu
§ 76 v (1), whence deuaf § 193 x (5); and *do est>*dojet>*doet>*dojet>daw, or without diphthongization *do-et>do, see ib.; so *moi estô>*mo estî>*mo ys>moes § 200 ii. Followed by i after the accent it gives -i, as in -ôi f. sing. ‘to her’<
*-dôi <*-dô-ôi § 210 x (1).

(3) Ar. òi gave Kelt. ài and developed accordingly.

iii. (1) Ar. ei remained in Pr. Kelt. In Gaul. it is written e or ei, as Devo-gnata, Δειουονα. In Ir. it appears as e or ia.
In W. before a consonant it became wy. Thus W. gwyô ‘presence’ for *gwyôd < Ar. *weid- § 63 iv;—mor-dwy ‘sea voyage’<*mori-teig- § 103 ii (1), etc.

In Brit. and Gaul. it was probably sounded as ɔi. Latin ẽ which was sounded ɛ, was identified with this sound in Brit., and shared its development in W., thus rûte > rhwyd, rëmus > rhwys, plebem > plwys, cëra > cüyr, etc. Lat. oe which seems to have varied from ɔ to e appears in W. as i, oe or wy, as ciniau ‘dinner’, poen ‘pain’, cwyn ‘supper’.

(2) Before a vowel ei fell together with i, see below.

(3) Ar. òi before a vowel > Kelt. i > W. i. Thus W. dîod, Ml. diawt ‘drink’ < *dhêi-âti-s, /dhêi-‘suck’.—W. llâws ‘multiplicity’, Bret. lies < Brit. *liâssas < *liâstâts < *(p)lîös-tâts, a noun in *-tâts- from the cpv. *plê-jôs : Lat. insc. pleores, Gk. πλεόνων. Before Kelt. o it becomes u, as in lluosog, Ml. llwossauc < Brit. *lôsôsâko-s an extension of *lôso-s < *(p)lîos-to-s an adj. formed from *plê-jôs like Lat. honestus from honôs; see § 76 ix (2), § 74 i (2), § 169 iii (3). Before a consonant òi > e giving Kelt. i, W. i.

iv. ai and ei fell together with i before vowels. After the accent the i became ð, in other positions it remained as i. Thus:

(1) Accented ï (or ãi or ëi), which is generally in the penult, but may be ante-penultimate, gives W. -yð; thus W. rhûô ‘free’< *préiôs : Goth. freis, Eng. free;—trefyô ‘towns’< *trebâiôs;—trydyô ‘third’ m. < *trilîos; with -a in the ult. it gives -ô, as trydeô ‘third’ f. <*trilîa. In the ante-penult -yð-, as W. yslybod ‘thorn’: Ir. scê, gen. pl. sciad.

(2) Post-tonic -i为首 gave *aiô, which became oeð, § 62 i (2);
thus *moriāna Lati. maria;—Ml. W. guladadéh 'countries' < *gulatiēs;—danuodēh fem. m.m. 8 'toothache' < *dantīā;—oéh 'would be, was' < *siet, § 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. iiō > W. -i, as in tri 'three' m. < *triēs (accented like the f.) < Ar. *tréyes (f. *tisorēs) see § 103 i (3);—W. treth 'towns' < *tretiēs.

2. iiō > Ml. W. -ei, Mn. W. -ai, as in W. rēi, rhai 'some' § 165 vi, carai 'would love' § 180 ii (2); cf. nei, nai vii (2).

3. iiō > W. -yw as in rhyw 'some' § 165 vi; cf. gwyrvi vii (3).

4. iiā > O. W. -ai, Ml. and Mn. W. -ae, -e, also Ml. W. wēy; as in O. W. guarai, later gware, gwre, chware, chware 'to play', Bret. ch'owri, Corn. hwey < Brit. *(s)-wariā < *kewriterē, *kherēi § 63 vii (3); a variant is guarey B.B. 50 = gwarey.

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 ə); the combination -iā- gave W. -aea- (also written aya), O. Bret. -oia-, Bret. -oau-, -oa-. Thus W. claear 'lukewarm', Bret. klouar : Gk. χλιαρός (Ar. alternation k/gh) ;—W. gaeaf, gayaf, Bret. goañv 'winter' < *ĝkîmōs-s : Skr. himāh, Lith. žemù, Gk. χειμών, χείμα, Lat. hiems : Gaul. Giamon...; Ir. gem-red (e for ia);—W. traeau 'third part' : Ir. trian;—W. rhaeadr 'cataract' < *riaeq-trē- : Ir. riathor : Lat. rivus, *rieqā-'flow';—W. daear 'earth', Bret. douar < *ĝhōeigā § 98 iii.-iiia- or -esa- gives the same result: Pr. Kelt. *isarw(- *is R-grade of *ais : Lat. aes): Gaul. Ysarw-Iserno- : W. haearn, hayarn 'iron', O. W. Gur-haiernu gen. xxiii, O. Bret. hoiarn.

Before the loss of the accented accent 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 (dār a nwn Wms. 785). The O. W. dair, Dayr L.L. 120, gaem B.S.C H. 3 represent this dialect. The reduction is general in claer 'bright' beside claear 'lukewarm', with differentiation of meaning. From daer comes daerawul L.A. 130, 164.

(2) After a labial the above group takes the form -wya-

The labial changed the diphthong (Early W. *oi) to wy. Under the new accent wy remained, but became i in the present ante-penult; thus mwýar : miåren—*gwýyal : gwýlan, a new pl. gwýial 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. gui-annuin ox. ‘Spring’, Early Ml. W. guaianne(n)i, guanuñhin A.L. i 142, also gwahanwyn do. 308, Ml. and Mn. W. gwuanwýn, gwuanwýn < Brit. *yesant- : Skr. vasantä-h ‘Spring’, Lat. vér < *yésr.

(3) When the following a or o was affected, the diphthong became y or e, liable to be assimilated and lost; thus tyéidyr, tyéidyr ‘cataracts’, heýyn ‘irons’ § 69 ii (3), Gwyn. dial. heýyn for hyýrn;—W. tair ‘three’ f., Ml. and O. W. teir for *tyeir (cf. breint, Seint § 103 ii (1)), Ir. teoir < *tisores: Skr. tisráh; so W. pedair ‘four’ f., Ir. cetheoir < *gêt woesores: Skr. cátasrañ.

Such forms as heýyn, rheideidr are quite late and artificial. But some old re-formations occur when the diphthong stood in the present ante-penult, as deyern (-yn ë-in) n.a. r2 ‘earthen’, heynern ib. ‘of iron’, daerern n.p. 1281, miëri, pl. of miären.

(4) Secondly, the vowel following the diphthong is accented. In that case the diphthong became e or y liable to be assimilated and lost, as in (3) above. Thus W. éog ‘salmon’ < *esák- : Ir. iá, gen. iách;—W. deall, dyall, dâll § 82 ii (3) ‘understanding’, deallt-wriaeth id., N.W. dial. dâllt < *diýált- < *diýált- § 74 iv, met. for *diýól-, √ dheýā- ‘appear, perceive’: Skr. dhýa-yali ‘thinks’, dhârañ ‘intelligent’; Ml. W. dyat ‘thought’ < *diýá- -
analog, accentuation for original *dhiis-t6--;—Ml. W. gorffwys, later, with y lost, gorffwys ‘rest’ < *yor-Qiiis-ST-, √q*ieji- : Lat. quiēsco.

(5) Latin pretonic i or e before a vowel is treated as i̯, thus diá-

*b(o)lus gives diāwol § 100 ii (1).

vii. Except as above, -es-, -is- before a vowel developed
differently from -ii-, chiefly because post-tonic s did not, like i,
become ð.

(1) In the penult after the accent -es->-i--; thus Ml. W. tei
‘houses’ < *tiiis < *tīgesa § 104 ii 2;—W. clyw ‘hearing’ <
*kIoiJ- § 76 v (2) < *klēyog, nom. *klēyos : Ir. clū, Gk. κλέος <
*klēyos, neut. s-stem.—So -ep-: W. ceifu ‘distant cousin’ <
*kóm-niôs < *kóm-nepōt-s, see § 123 v.

(2) In the penult and ante-penult, when es came before -e-,
contraction took place, and ése > ei > W. efy; thus W. wy-l
‘art’ < *ése tū < Ar. *esi ‘art’;—W. neithiwydr < *nokti diēser-
§ 98 i (3).—So épe: W. twynn < *tepem(e)n- § 86 i (3).

In the penult -és- before -i- gave oe; thus W. chwaer for *
chwer i (4), Corn. hoer < *sēsir < *ssēsir;—W. doe ‘yesterday’ <
* dési < *ghēiexei : Lat. heri, Gk. χθές, Skr. hyāḥ.—Corn. noi
’nephew’ < *nēpōts,— -es- before i prob. gave ei (like -ii- before
-é-, see v), and Ml. W. nei, Mn. nai ‘nephew’ may represent
*nēpōts (accented like the f. *neptís : Skr. nāptīḥ).— -es- before
-ë- gave y, as in Ml. W. y ‘his’ < *esiō, y ‘her’ (for e?) < *esiās,
§ 160 iv.

Lat. -aëi- > Ml. W. ei, Mn.W. ai as in Mei, Mai ‘May’ < Maïjus
(Sommer 225); Ml. W. Kei < Caius.

(3) Before lost u or o, -es- or -is- gives yw (ew); as Ml. W.
Ywein, Ewein, later Owein < *Eesz-ganios : Gaul. Esgen(ios), Ir.
Ecgan : Gk. Ἐβρέως. So perhaps in the (pretonic) penult:
W. gwyw ‘withered’ < *wisū- : Ir. fengud gl. mearc, Icel. visen:
Lith. výst ‘I wither’, Lat. viēsco.

So ûs before lost u or o gives iw, and ais gives oew: W. gwiv
‘good’ < *wisu < *wēsu-s : Gaul. Visu-ria : Skr. vāsu-ḥ, Gk. εῦ,
√eye-eiy-;—W. gwaew ‘spear’ for *goew § 78 ii (2) < *gaison :
Gaul. gaison whence Lat. gaesum : Ir. gae.

Lat. e in the penult gives ew before lost o or u: W. llew
lion < leo; pydew ‘pit’ < puteus; olew ‘oil’ < oleum. But Lat. i in the same position gave i which affected the vowel: W. yspelt < spolium; so sometimes e: W. cyn ‘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. *-e), became -i (though -oi also survives in a North Italian Kelt. insc.: Tanotaliknoi, Rhys, CIFI. 60); thus Brit. *baridos pl. *bardii > W. bardd, pl. beirdd.

-ai unaccented > ai > i, thus Gaul. Βηλησαμι dat. of a name whose nom. occurs as Belisama; òi > ūi, in Pr. Kelt. later ū, § 60, cf. Ir. dat. fiur ‘to a man’ < dat. *uirói; -ēi doubtless gave -i.

(2) But in monosyllables Ar. -ai, -oi, -ei remained in Kelt., and developed as follows in W.:

-ai > -oi; thus Ar. *uai > gwoe > gwae § 78 ii (2).

-ei > wy; W. wy ‘they’ < *ei : Ir. e.

-oi > wy; W. pwy ‘who?’ < *qvo-i = Lat. gni § 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 tento- beside tounivous and Neviod... beside Noviodunum; we also find av, 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.

ii. (1) Before a consonant, except s, the diphthong became u (≡ i) in W., ua in Ir. Thus W. tud ‘people, country’, Ir. tuath < *teutā, Gaul. teuto- : Goth. ḫiuda, etc.;—W. rhudd ‘red’, Ir. rūad < *roudh-os, Gaul. Roud-ius : Goth. rauths;—W. cuild ‘hidden’, ceddio ‘to hide’ < *geudh- : Gk. κευθω, O.E. hūde, E. hide;—W. bugaill ‘shepherd’ < *bou-koliōs < *γου-γολιός : Gk. βουκλός.

In Brit. it was probably sounded φu; and Lat ë (≡ ū) and û shared its development; thus W. furf < Lat. forma; mur < Lat. mūrus, etc.

(2) But original eus gives W. ew, as rheu ‘ice’ < *preus-:
Lat. *pruīna* < *prusuīna*;—W. *trew* ‘sneeze’ < *(s)treu-s*; √*postreu-* § 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. *tayros* ‘bull’ became Kelt. *taururos* (in imitation of *yeryū* > Ml. Ir. *fērb* ‘cow’, Vendryes MSL xii. 40), whence Kelt. *tarūs* > Ir. *tarb*, W. *tarw* ‘bull’. Later, when *au* had become *ou* in Brit., *ou-tūt-* > *o-tūt-* > W. *odid* ‘rarity’, beside Ir. *othad*, *uthad* < *au-tāt-*; both from *pau-* ; Lat. *pau-ou-*, O. H. G. *fōh*, E. *few*.

iii. (1) Before a vowel the diphthong became *aw* when unaffected. Thus W. *naw* ‘nine’ < Brit. *nōnan* < Ar. *nēw*;—W. *haw* ‘dirt’ < *bōw-,* beside *budr* ‘dirty’ < *bou-tro-√*pēn(ā)*;—Lat. *pūs*, etc. § 101 iii (2);—W. *awyd* ‘desire’ for *awīdī* (rh. with rhīdī) § 38 x < *auidī*; Lat. *avidus* < *auid-,* √*auei*;—So Brit. *au* for unacc. *āu* as in Ml. W. *andel* ‘listen’, met. for *ādaw* < *āti-grā-y-‘attend to’ < *ōjū-√*jene*;—Lat. *nāvus*, Ir. *aitheig* ‘cognitio’;—So also *uy* for Lat. *u* before a vowel, as W. *cystrawen* ‘syntax’ < Lat. *construendo*.

(2) But in the penult (the present ult.) post-tonic *-ou* gives Ml. W. *-eu*, Mn. W. *-au*; thus the pl. endings *-oı̈es* *-oı̈a* give W. *-eu*, *-au*, as in *cadau* ‘armies’ < *kātoı̈es*; dagran ‘tears’ < Ar. *diakruı̈*; similarly *angau* ‘death’ < *āŋkoı̈*; *cigleu* ‘I have heard’ < *kūkloı̈a* § 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* < *tanônıs*.

The above change may be due to a doubling of *y*, see § 62 i (2), thus *awu* > *awu* > *awu* > *aw* > O. W. *oı̈*, Ml. *wı̈*.

(3) *jou-* gives W. *ieu* (≈ *ieı̈*). Thus W. *ienanc* ‘young’ < Brit. *ioı̈anks* < Ar. *iŋyıkı̈os*; Lat. *juvencus* § 100 i (1);—W. *ienan* < *ioı̈annı̈es* for *Joı̈annı̈es*;—Mn. W. *lan*, Ml. W. *Ieu* ‘Jove’ < Brit. gen. *ioı̈os* for Lat. *Jovis*;—Mn. W. *laı̈*, Ml. W. *ieu* ‘yoke’ < *ioı̈-øn* < *juı̈-om*, see vi (1). Here we have the assimilation of *u* to *ı̈* by which it becomes *ı̈*; cf. the assimil. of *i̍* to *ı̈* in *-joı̈* in O. W., § 25 i.

An alternative form *ief-*, *if*- appears in the penult: *iefanc*, *ifanc*; *Iefan*, *Ifan*. The latter is attested in the 14th cent.: *ivanghet* c.m. 84. Later it is common: *Pawb yn eu rhif yn ifanc* S.C., c. i 114 ‘all in their [full] number young’.
Ifanc, ifanc a ofyn:

Henaint, at henaint y tyn.—S. Ph. br. iv 391.

'The young seeks the young: old age is drawn to old age.' The form ieif- is probably older, but cannot be verified; Ml. W. ieu- is ambiguous, but doubtless generally meant ieu-. The latter form is seen in

Paham, a minnæu 'n ieuanc,

Yr wyf yn rhwym ar fy nhanc?—B. A. p. 133/77.

'Why, when I am young, am I bound at death's door?' The dialects now have if- as Ifan, ifanc, but jenctid for jenuctid '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. *kowarö : Gaul. Kavapos, Ir. caur (< W.? ) √kevā-. We also have aw regularly for Lat. au, as in awdidur < Lat. au(t)ōrem; llawō 'praise' < laudem; Ml. W. Pawl < Paulus (the biblical Paul is merely the Eng. form, and is pronounced Pöl).


(5) Except when affected as in iv (4), v (3) (5), Brit. āu gave u in W., as in bu 'has been' < *(be)bāye < Ar. *bebbāye § 189 iv (3); caru 'to love' < *karā-y- § 202 ii. When unaccented a was shortened, iii (1), § 74.

iv. The penultimate affection of the diphthong has the forms ew, yw, and eu; thus

(1) Before i or ĩ remaining as y or i, it appears as ew, as in newyd 'new', Bret. nevez < *nuviyos < *nuviyos;—W. cnewyll 'kernels' < *kney̯: E. nut < *knu-d- ;—W. ewythr 'uncle' < *ayon-tēr: Lat. avun-cul̃us < *ayon- (nom. *ayō see v (5)); Bret. eontr (co for eu; ĭ lost), Corn. enitor (-tor = t̃?).—W. eywyllys 'will' < *ozi̯-, √ayeī-.—Similarly rhewin 'ruin' derived from the Lat. ruina.

(2) Before ĭ when pretonic it is eu (≡ eĩ), the ĭ being lost; thus W. breuan 'handmill' for *brenon < *broinon- (ː Corn. brun, Bret. breo, Ir. brāu all from nom. *bronjō, Ir. gen. broon): Goth. quairnus, E. quern, √geirā-.

But when accented it is yw as in ultimate aff.; thus eyw
'young of an animal' < *kóujo pl. cywion < *kóuiones, see v (6); —distrwyiaf < *di-stróuia-mi, v (2); —llywiaf 'I steer': llyw 'rudder' ib.

In late formations i has no effect: gwrandawigad 'hearing' from gwrandaw ‘to listen’.

(3) Where it remained a diphthong before a consonant iiii (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. 44I, II.A. 44 is a re-formation;—W. bendy < Brit. *bóyi-tigos, a later formation than *boukolios ii (1) (cf. Lat. náufragus, later nawi-fragus);—Ml. W. Meuruc § 77 viii < Mauritius;—Ml. W. cyngheussaeth < *con-caus-i-act-: cyngaws 'lawsuit' < Lat. causa.

(4) ânu became di giving wy § 75 i (3); as andwylo 'to mar, spoil' met. for *ad-wnyo-o < *ati-náu-i-, niwed 'injury' for *wnyet § 78 iv < náu-iat- < *nóu-i-: Lith. noviti 'to afflict' < *nóyi-.

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 -i; as dau 'two' m., Ml. deu, O. W. dou < *dóu̯i < Ar. *duyō(y): Gk. δῶ, δό, Lat. duo, Skr. durā(u);
—W. tau 'is silent' < *tōgū < *(s)tup-ėit, beside tav 'be silent!' < *tōye;—W. cenau 'whelp' < *kanu̯i < *kanbū̯: Ir. cana: from *k(y)e-; Lat. canis.

2. Before accented t; as W. teneu 'thin' (Corn. tanow, Bret. tanao) < *tanowis < *tōnu̯is: Lat. tenuis, Skr. tanūḥ f. tānvī.

3. Before a consonant; as W. hauł 'sun' < Brit. *sawr'ios < *sāveliōs: Gk. ἰάλος, ἰλιός, Dor. ἱάλιος Lith. sāulē, Skr. śārya-ḥ, Lat. sōl < *sāvōl < *sāuel. ('-l̪̣- would have given W. ll; hence we assume Brit. -l̪̣̱-; 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. *aurjos for aureus, which spread from expressions like modrwy aur 'gold(en) ring', etc. The noun is seen in ef guisgus aur (u ≡ w) B.A. 38 'he wore gold'.

¶ The above is the ordinary affected form, which is used e.g. in the
form of the 3rd sg. pres. ind. of verbs; thus tereu ‘strikes’: taraw = saf: saf § 173 iv (1). It is seen that when -eu is the result of affixation as above, an a before it is affected to e; see iii (2).

(2) -ουϊ- gives -yw. Thus W. dilyw ‘flood’ (now generally misspelt diluw) < *dilōgio- < Lat. diluvium;—diistryw ‘destruction’ < *di-strōyi- : Goth. straujan, Lat. destrue; the vb. is diistrywaf iv (2);—W. llyw ‘rudder’, < *lōgio- : Ir. lue < *lu-i-γ-: Gk. πλῆς < πλευ-, —W. clyw ‘hearing’ < *klōyi- < klēyes-
§ 75 vii (1).

There is no reason to suppose that wy became iu in Brit., as stated by Pedersen, Gr. i 61; yw is from δυι as above. Clywaf ‘I hear’ is a denominative from clyw, cf. clywyaf c.m. 32 (the pres. stem of /kleu-meatn ‘to be named’, and clywaf cannot come directly from it; cf. Meillet, MSL. xv 337).

(3) -άουϊ- became -άι- which gives -wy § 75 i (3); thus W. wy ‘egg’ < Brit. *άουιον < Ar. *άουιόν: Gk. ὄουον, φον, Lat. ònum;—Cornwy < Cornáγι-(a);—Aethwy r.p. 1419 < *Oethwy § 78 ii (3) < Octávius.

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. *ugos, *uges. The fact, however, seems to be that γι under certain conditions became in Ir. a spirant written g; thus Ir. ugaire ‘shepherd’ < *γι-άριον: οί, wi ‘sheep’, Lat. ovis; Mn. Ir. ughachd ‘will’ < *γι-άκτ-, γι-άκτ-, iv (1).—Eng. egg is from Icel. egg < Pr. Germ. *ajja- < *ọγο-.

(4) -ουι or -ουϊ’ was similarly simplified to -ο-τ, -οι’, which gives -wy; thus W. dwy ‘two’ f. < *دوγι < *duyai: Lat. duae, Skr. ḍvē < *dvāudi;—W. aswy ‘left (hand)’ < *al-soγι-ā: Skr. savyā-h ‘left’.

-wy as in (3) and (4) may be weakened to -eu; as Corneu, asseu; thus not direct affections, as shown by the unaffected a-; also to v, assw, see § 78 iiii, i.

(5) -άουϊ, -άου- or -άουϊ’ by the shortening of unace. ā became -ου, -ουϊ- or -αουϊ’ simplified to -a-t, -a-i- or -ai’, which gives -oe. The simplification here was late, so that -αι 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: -o no in proper names; Itud-noe L.L. 176, 187, Balch-noe D. G. 43; Gueithgno L.L. 144, Guiño
(wrongly wr. guipno) gen. v., Mn. W. Gwyddno; Machno b.b. 61, Beuno l.l. 119, Mn. W. Tudno, Machno, etc., all < *gnāyō-s: Lat. Gnaeus < *gnā-ūios < *gū-, */gēnē- ‘be born’. (With the accent on the t it gave -nwy by (3), as Mochnwy b.b. 47, Gronwy § 78 i (2), weakened to -nau, see (4), as Guineu b.b. 98, 106, Ludnou l.l. 73, 77, etc.); — W. clo ‘lock’ < *q láy-ū: Gk. κάθις, Lat. clávis, */gēnē-; — W. nuc ‘large bowl’ < *nāyō : Lat. nādva, nāvis, Gk. ναῦς, Ion. νῆς; Skr. नाव; — W. athro ‘guardian, teacher’, < *altrāyō < *altrāyō < *altro-ūyō, § 155 ii (1): *aum-iv (1); pl. athravon, alltrawon < *altrāyōnes; f. alltrewyn ‘stepmother’ < *altrāyōnē.: Bret. aoutou ‘seigneur’, Corn. alltou ‘fosterfather’.

The mas. sg. is atbro in all Ml. W. texts: b.b. 86; l.l. i 338; w.m. 128, 452–3; r.m. 100–1, 202; l.l. 3, 6, 49, 107, 113; r.f. 1225, 1241, 1255, 1345, 1348; r.b. 975; lo. G. 640, etc.; and in the early eds. of the Bible. The late athro (Salesbury, Dic.) is an artificial form deduced from the pl. Cae Athro (near Carnarvon) is so named locally; Cae-athraw is a misspelling which came through the Sunday school from late eds. of the Bible. The sg. alltaw is also artificial. (So in late W. cenau is written for cenau in defiance of the pronunciation in all the dialects, which is cene or cena implying cenau § 6 iii.) Pughe’s fem. alltrewen is his own invention; -en would not affect the -aw- to -ew-.

Other examples of the same development, though the orig. formation is not so clear in these, are — W. gło ‘coal’ for *gulwō < Brit. *gulwō, */gēnella< : E. coal, Skr. jvalati ‘blazes’; — W. gro ‘gravel’ < *grāwū < *grēw-, */gēred- : Lat. rūdus, E. grit; — W. tyno ‘plain, meadow’ for *tneu, O. W. tneu l.l. 32, 44, 74; Bret. tneu (=: W. teneu, */tēn- ‘stretch’).

(6) Doublets occur for several reasons.—1. Difference of accentuation in Brit.; thus W. gwyrw ‘male’, benwy ‘female’ < Brit. *uirwō-ūos, *banō-fios, beside guru, banu l.l. i 272 = Gwyn. dial. gwyr, banu for *gwyrw *banwy < *uirwō-ūos, *banō-fios. — 2. Difference of ending, as in cennu ‘whelp’ < *kanōū, see (i) above, beside cennw ‘young of an animal’ < *k(ano)wō, whence, by § 101 ii (2), cynw ‘young of an animal’ pl. cynwion < *k(au)wō-ūos. — 3. Difference of strong and weak forms; as asswy beside asseu and assw, Gronwy beside Gronw, Cornwy beside Corneu, see § 78.

Note.—It is to be observed that -ō does not produce i-affection in Bret.; hence W. aff. dau, but Bret. unaff. daou, < *dāuō. On the other hand W. aff. haul, Bret. aff. heol both from *sau’tjos. The assumption usually made that āu gives W. -eu, -au based entirely upon these two words (taken as *d(ā)âu, *sau‘l-) does not explain the difference in Bret.

vi. (1) u̯ before a vowel > ʉ in Brit. and developed like

(2) But *oug* has the regular development of *ou* before a consonant, and gives *u̯g* > *u*, as W. *luu* ‘host’, Ir. *sliag* < *sloug-*, § 95 i; —W. *tru*, *tru-an* ‘wretched’, Ir. *trūag* < *troug-os* ;—W. *bu-arth* ‘farmyard’ < *bou-gart*: Lat. *hortus* § 99 vi.

vii. In Brit. *m* between vowels or sonants was already loosened to nasalized *v* or *u*; after a vowel it is therefore treated partly as a consonant and partly as the second element of a diphthong.

(1) *am* generally gives *af* as in the spv. ending -haf § 147 iv

(2) *haf* ‘like, equal’: Ir. *samail* § 94 i; affected it gives medially *ef* before a vowel, *eif* before *i*, *eif* or *eu* before *n*, as in *defwydd* or *deunydd* v. 37 ‘material’ < *dam-niño*: Ir. *damnae* id., √*demā* ‘build’; *cyntaf* ‘primitive’ : *cyntaf* ‘first’ ;—finally, *eu*, as W. *edau*, *edenu* ‘thread’ < *etami*, O. W. *etam* (≡ *edyn?*), pl. *edafed* < *etamiʒąs* < *petas-, √pete*; so Ml. W. *gwelleu* ‘shears’, Mn. W. *gwella* pl. *gwelleifian*; Mn. *lit. gwellaif* is deduced from the pl.; *hynaif* is doubtless analogical; so *drycheif, dyrchaif*, § 188 iii. The variant of -eu is *-w*; *crog-edwyf* ‘dropwort’.

(2) *em* gives *ef* finally, as in *nef* § 100 v; medially *ef* as in *gefell* ‘twin’ : Lat. *gemellus*; or *yf* as in *Dyfed* < *Demeta*; or (before *wy*) *y(w)* as in *tywyll* § 111 i (2), *tywyd* § 86 i (5); affected, finally, *-yf* or *-eu*; as *cleddyf* or *cledu* ‘sword’ < *klad-emō* (cf. Gk. *ἄκρεμων*), *quolād*-; pl. *cleddyfau* a new formation; so *nedgy* or *nedeu* ‘adze’, § 180 i.

(3) *om* gives *of* as in *dof* ‘tame’ : Lat. *domāre*; affected, *yf* as in *Selyf* § 69 iv (1); before *-u*—it gives *af* as in *safu* ‘mouth’ < *stom-u* : Gk. *στόμα*; affected, *eif* as in *ceifn* § 75 vii (1), simplified to *ef*, § 78 v, in the improper compound *cefn-dewr*, O. W. pl. *ceintiru* § 137 ii.

(4) *um* before a vowel gives -w(f), -yf-, as in *tw(f)* ‘growth’, *tyfu* ‘to grow’: Lat. *tumeo*; before *u* it gives *aw, af* or *w*, as in
PHONOLOGY § 77

Ml. W. ṣagaww > S. W. ṣawon, also ṣagafn, Mn. W. and N. W. ṣagafn, Ml. W. ṣaeon § 101 iv (3).

viii. (1) After the prefixes *ko-, *lo-, *do-, *ro- an initial ū- was heterosyllabic, and the o of the prefix becomes ū regularly § 65 iv (2), as in cy-wir ib., ty-wysog ‘prince’, dy-wedaf § 194; I say,’ rhy-wyn ‘hurricane’.

(2) The vowel also develops regularly before ū, as in tew ‘thick’, Ir. tuing < *tegu- : E. thick; cf. ii (2).

ix. (1) ū and ū occurred as V- and R-grades of eīy, eīy, etc.; Kelt. āū also < Ar. āū. The i or ā appears regularly in W. as y or i. Thus byw ‘live’ < g*iū- § 63 vii (3);—W. lliu < *liu- : Lat. livor.

(2) āu gives W. úo or ūa (§ 65 v (1)); thus W. buan ‘quick’ < Brit. *biu-no-s § 63 vii (3);—W. hual ‘shackle’ for *ffual < *fynol < Lat. fabula;—original ūo > ūo > úo as in luossawc § 75 iii (3).

Later Modifications of Vowels.

§ 77. i. In Late Ml. W. ū, when short, became ā before g (then written c) or ng. Thus in the unaccented ultima in Late Ml. W. we generally find ie, 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 kyvyng W.M. 46, 465, R.M. 32). Such words are rhymed by the bards with monosyllables having i (not ū):

Ond dychmygion 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 Ieuan foddig
Ar dy rudd fai aur a drig.—L.G.C. 348.

‘The virtue of Ab Ieuan 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 tebig / diwig / cerrig / llewig / rhyfig, etc. E.P. 283.

In a monosyllable before g the vowel is long, § 51 iii, and therefore remains ū, as in plŷg ‘fold’, cryg ‘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 yŷder R.M. 119.

The only words in which the vowel is sounded ū in the unaccented ult. are compounds of plyg, cryg etc., as dyblyg D.G. 258, (g)ywrblwyg 255, ogryg 244, deuwblyc W.A. 68; also the 3rd sing. pres. ind. of
verbs with stems ending in -og, as ysog D.G. 370 'shakes' (though we have ennic c.m. 13 from annoc 'incite'). In other cases the sound is iy. The late Mn. spellings meddyg, tebyg etc., are purely artificial, deduced from meddygon, tebygn etc. A few words of this class are still written phonetically, as cerrig.

The sound was iy in Early Ml. W. as shown by the rhyme cerryg / plyg C. M. A. i 241, and the assonance metic / bid b.B. 76 (≡ meddyg / byd); and the y remains in the penult. Hence we have two forms: (i) -ig for -yg < -ic-, which becomes -yg- in the penult; (2) -ig for -ig < -ic-, which is -ig- in the penult. Thus (1) meddig < Lat. medicus, pl. meddygon, (2) lleithig < Lat. lectica, pl. lleithigew. In Mn. W. one or two words of the second class have passed over to the first: perigl 'danger' < Lat. peric' lum; cynig 'to offer' < Lat. condico, though still sounded perigl, cynig are written perygl, cynig because, by false analogy, derived forms have come to be sounded with y as peryglus, cynygiaf. In Ml. W. the penult had i in these, as periglwyys b.B. 44-5, periglws lla. 146, beriglwy b.B. 121, gynigewt w.m. 168, gynnigweyt r.m. 234, kynnigweys do. 144.

ii. iy becomes i in the unaccented ult. in some cases after g or ng; thus ergyt w.m. 110, 111 'shot'; ergit r.m. 80, 81, r.b.b. 42, now ergid (written ergyd); efengil r.l.l, f. 5, E.P. 278 'gospel'; so sounded now though written efengyl; megis / dis, D.G. 315; oregin for *cregyn. But as a rule iy remains; egir '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 iy 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', amdisyn F 21/1 R. 'to defend', gwlithin w.m. 455, r.m. 102 'dewdrop', giliw w.m. 9, 134 'other', origin lla. 122 'a moment', (double dim. of awr 'hour'), dilin D.G. 343 'to follow'.

Derfel with ryfel a thrin
Dewr oedd, 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:

Ysby ryn dengys y dýn
O ba radd y bo i wreiddun.—T.A., f. 33.

'Plainly does a man show of what degree his origin is.'

O chyrch dyrsa, deca' dýn,
Daw i'w harail dihirun.—D.G., 173.

'If she hies to a gathering, fairest maid, a knave comes to watch her.'
The sound is now i, as llinin, dibin, amddiffin, gili, gwreidin, etc.; the y written is an etymological spelling. Sometimes it is wrongly written, as in ers meilin for ers meilin § 70 v. This may also occur in Ml. W. as in yr meilin w.m. 17, r.m. 11 beside the correct er meilin w.m. i 28, i 38, yr meilin r.m. 280, cf. meilin/fn b.a. 18; dilyt beside dilit w.m. 41.

iv. In Mn. W. y followed by i in some common groupings became i; thus ceri di 'thou loveth' became ceri di, and ceri supplanted cer as the regular form. So wrthaf i, wrthaf 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 e (≡ ë) in cyw ≡ kiw (but pl. cywion ≡ gwion), after r in rhwy and its compounds amryw, cyfrwy, etc., in dryw, ystryw, gwryw, after n in benwy, and initially in yw 'is', yw 'to his' now written i'w. (Gwryw, benwy, yw 'is' are not dialectal forms in N. W., but are sounded with -iw in reading or quoting.) Ml. W. ywol r.m. 46, w.m. 64 'fog' is now written niol, § 37 ii. In distrlyw, dilyw the -iw sound is earlier, on account of the preceding i; both are often spelt with -io in Ml. W. After d and t the sound iw is still earlier; thus ydiw, hediw are so spelt in Ml. W. in MSS. where i and y are distinguished.

The only words remaining now with yw are byw, chyw, llyw 'prince' and llyw 'rudder' (also sounded llwyw), gwlyw 'withered' in addition to Dwv which is sounded Dwv in late Mnl. W.; and compounds of these lleddyw, hyglyw, etc.

vi. In the Mn. language y in the unaccented ult. is sounded i before ll in some words; as cilyll 'knives', gwynn'yll 'fan'; in some, as candryll 'shattered' (lit. '100 bits'), both y and i are heard; others have y always, as seffyll. This modification sometimes appears in late MSS.; but is not recognized in the rhymes of the bardis.

vii. (1) In Ml. W. u (≡ û) was unrounded to i after the labial in govit 'pain'; the usual Ml. form is govit w.m. i 38 l. 15; 231; but gofit w.m. i 38 l. 4; i 31, i 141, etc.; Mn. W. gofûd.

(2) In a few cases y came to be rounded after a labial; thus pumpy 'five' for an earlier pumpy, O.W. pimp; beystl 'gall' for *bysyll: Bret. bestl (Bret. e = W. y § 16 iv (2)).

viii. As it was difficult to pronounce unrounded i or y and rounded û in consecutive syllables, assimilation took place: *idûnt 'to them' (cf. ûdaw 'to him') became ûdunt and always appears so in Ml. W. see A.L. i 2; P 17/1 R.; E.A. 7, 8, i 1, 21, etc.; W.m. 6, 26; R.m. 4, 7, etc. The natural sound in Gwyn. is ûdun, though the artificial Mn. lit. iddynt and the analogy of iddy may have influenced the pronunciation of some speakers. Similarly ei became eu, as in reudus w.m. 21, r.m. 13, r.f. i 238 for rheidus 'needly'; teulu 'household troops' for teilu, the form implied in the spelling telhu of A.L. i 2, 12, etc.; eilun often later for eilun, and now sounded eilun. In the reverse order we have Ml. W. Meuric for Meuric.
§ 78. i. (1) The diphthong oe or oy, O. W. oi, remains finally in only two words: noe ‘basin’, doe ‘yesterday’; Ml. W. had noe ‘more’ also. Elsewhere it is regularly reduced to o, as in creto ‘may believe’ for *cred-hoe appearing as cred-doe B.B. 52, a stray survival, § 183 ii; and in -no in personal names for -noe, clo for *cloe, etc. § 76 v (5); in am-dlo ‘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 u by assim. in hunnoid ox. > hunnuid m.c. > Ml. and Mn. W. hennow; and hinnoid gave hymn by analogical assimilation (-d ϵ -δ in O. W.). A late example is y ddannodd ‘toothache’ < Ml. W. y dannned § 75 iv (2), in which however the final -δ remains.

Final -aeth > -a in the same way in yna, etoa for ynaeth, etaeth.

(2) Similarly wγ, O. W. wii, may be reduced to w; cf. hunnws above. Thus lw ‘oath’ § 104 ii (2); Gronwy W.M. 110, 111 > Gronw do. 101, 104, 105; Gronwy, Goronwy for gwronwy < *γwronwy < *γwro-gnauios § 76 v (5); both forms survive: Pont Ronw (Llanedwen) is called Pont Ronw by some, but whether the latter is of lit. origin is difficult to decide. So assu A.L. i 144 (Ξ assu) < assuw ‘left’;—guru, banu < *gwrnu, *bawnu § 76 v (6);—raecto § 210 x (3).—Before a consonant: aor. 3rd sg. -wys > -ys § 175 i (5); tynwyt b.a. 4 for tyngwyt; adeithet, rannwt g.c. 106, 108; and doubtless impf. 1st sg. -wn is for an earlier *-wyn § 180 iii (1);—wn for *-wun § 215 iii (1). So mwrthwl W.M. 46, R.B. 968, D.G. 430, myrthwl r.m. 32 beside mortuyl b.ch. 77, morthwy, mwrthwy D.D., morthwyl Bible, spoken lang. mwrthwl pl. myrthwyllion. Late Mn. W. neithiwer ‘last night’ < neithiwyr § 34 ii, Ml. W. neithiwywr s.g. 43.

Some cases occur of the late substitution of wy for w: madwes ‘high time’ W.M. 22, R.M. 14 ( : Sequ. matu... Lat. mātērus) is given by Wm.S. and D.D. s.v. as madwys, which is not attested;—cyfarws, w.m. 454, 459-60, later cyfarwyd, see Silvan Evans s.v.

ii. (1) In some words oe in the ultima was reduced to ε, and wy to y; thus *nammoen ‘not more [than]’ became namen b.a. 15, 16 ‘only’,
and namwyn r.p. 1056 gave Ml. and Mn. W. namyn 'but, except', § 222 iii (3); — mahar-oim (variant maharuin, 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. mās, suff. § 153 (5), oen § 65 iī (2); — *adwoen (written adwoen but rh. with hoen, poen b.b. 70) > adwaen, adwen 'I know'; — brenhinoet b.b. 53 > brenhined, but -oed remains in N. W. and Mn. Lit. W.; — so cefnnderwed, eveyth南.—The change seems to be due to rounding by dissimilation with a labial in the word (wynned followed the synonymous brenhined). Later examples are Caolwyd, Mowdddy now sounded Cowled, Mowdd; cf. also a(w)ywyr > awyr, etc. § 38 x.

(2) After a labial O. W. oi > Ml. W. ae; as O. W. gwialaet b.s.ch. 6 > Ml. gwaelod, Mn. gwaelod; — W. gwael 'woe' for *gweol< *yai: Lat. vae, Goth. wai; — W. gwaeld 'cry' for *gwoed, Ir. faid < *yaid-: Lith. waidi 'lamentation'; — bæ̂d 'boar' < *boed (written bæd but rh. with oed b.t. 26, l. 17).

After g-, oi (oe, oy) became gwa, vae as in gwawg 'spear' for *goyg § 75 vii (3) written gwæv but rhyming with gloe( gloyv) b.b. 72; — gwaeld 'blood' for *goed = Bret. good, Leon he choad 'his blood' (c'h <g); see gwæt rh. with coet, eirioet r.p. 1046.

(3) In the penult oi (oe) became ae before wy in aelwyd 'hearth': Corn. oilet, Bret. oaled § 104 iv (3); — Aethwy < *Oethwy § 76 v (3).

iii. -wy, or rather Early W. -ui, was liable when unaccented to be weakened to oui > Ml. W. eu; thus eu 'their' for *wy from *eisom § 160 iv; — meu, teu § 75 vii (2), § 161 iv; — pi-eu 'whose is?' with eu for *wy< *eset § 179 ix (3), § 192; — asceu, Corneu, Guitneu, Iudnou § 76 v (4), (5); neu § 219 i (2).

iv. (1) eu (oe) finally or before a vowel was liable to be metathesized to yo; as in yoy 'is' for *wy § 179 ix (3); — yoy 'to his, to her' for *wy § 160 iv (2); — nyw 'who... not... him' for earlier nuy § 160 ii (2). — After a dental it became iw, § 77 v, as in Ml. W. ydiw 'is' for *yd-wy; — W. niwed 'harm' for *niwed< *eset § 76 iv (4). — In Bret. and Corn. this metathesis was carried further: Bret. piou, Corn. pyo, pew: W. pyw 'who', etc.

(2) This might happen before a consonant also; but in that case *yo became u; thus *diwyo 'god' > *diw-w > diw; the form *diwyo is attested in b.t. 10, where, though spelt diwe, it rhymes with phynw (= phynyf ?) and it remained in all derivatives, as O. W. duiutit 'divinity', Ml. W. dwyes 'goddess', dwyroed, Mn. W. dwyoel 'divine'; the forms dwiws 'goddess', dwiel 'pious' etc. are late deductions from diw; — similarly Early Ml. W. verbal noun dyvedwyf a.l. i 146, 152, etc. gwedy dyvedwyd w. 15a 'after saying' > Ml. W. dyvedut 'to say' ; the oy remains in dyvedwydat w.m. 63, r.m. 45 'saying', dyvedwydial 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 owa 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 monosyllables, and *ei* (pronounced *i* § 29 iii) in other syllables. Thus Ml. W. *ai* stands in the syllable generally accented in O. W., and *ei* in the syllable then unaccented. The natural inference is that the Ml. W. 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 unaccented syllables it came to be sounded *ei* 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 *beir*, since the time required to pronounce the consonants left less time to sound the diphthong. But in accented syllables with a simple or no consonantal ending the *ei* remained. Ml. W. *ei* therefore represented *ei* and *ei*; the former gave Ml. W. *ei*, sounded *i*; the latter gave *ai*. The old distinction is reflected in the Gwynedd pronunciation of a preceding guttural: *ceinioq*, *ceirch* are sounded *k* *i* *n* *oq* *k* *i* *r* *c* *h*; but *caib*, *cais* are *qaib*, *gais*; the velar and palatal alternate in the same word: *qaib*, *koibjo*; it may be added that before ordinary *y* (≡ *ə*) the consonant is the velar, thus *cybyd*, *cynnar* are *q* *b* *y* *d*, *q* *m* *n* *n* *r*.

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 *e*, and also from the old *y* (≡ *ə*). The present sound *i* seems to be as old as the 16th cent., for *rheir* contracted for *rhy-hir* (*r-h-i-r*) is written *rheir* in G.R. 101. The present sound *ai* is at least as old as the 14th cent.: *gwnai* (< *gymnaer*) is rhymed with *delei* in R.P. 1271 by M.D., and with *divel* R.P. 1293 by G.V. The oldest appearance of the spelling *ai* seems to occur in the Red Book: *benn faith* R.P. 1194, *diwair* do. 1200, *kain* 1205, *arynaic* 1227, *kain*, main 1318; but Norman scribes heard the *i* as *ai* much earlier, to judge by such a form as Trefiswalamy in the Extent of Anglesey dated 1294 (Seebohm, Trib. Sys. App. 10), Ml. W. *Gwarchmai*, Ml. W. *Gwarchmai*.

ii. O. W. *ou* (≡ *u* *o*) 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 *ə* and an open *ə*, both written *e*, so that the two sounds of the diphthong were written *eu*. The close *ə* remains in Ml. W. *eu*, sounded *eu*; the open *ə* gave *a* in Ml. W. *au*. That the former was a close *ə* and not a close *e* is shown by the fact that in Gwynedd *cwmant*, *ceulo* are sounded *q* *m* *n* *ant* *q* *u* *l* *o*. 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, traiian, cauad, cauodd, ganaf, cynhausaf are not exceptions but misspellings of daear, graean, haearn, rhaeadr, traean, caead, caeodd, gaeaf, cynhaeaf, the diphthong ao (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, gayaf R.B.B. 277, R.P. 1269, kynhayaf W.M. 73,
R.M. 53, R.B.B. 271, p 14/11 R., kynhayaf B.T. 8, haearn R.M. 118,
hayarn 119, taeadyr R.P. 1255. The sound is attested in
cynganedd lusg:

Cyled i chae à daear.—D.G. 205.

'Her demesne is as wide as the earth.'

Ba le mae 'r gorsied gaead?—L.G.C. 372; cf. 28, 1. 1.

'Where is the closed gorget?'

The spelling ai, as in daiar, used by Salesbury and in the early
Bibles, is a mistranscription of MI. W. ay, due to the fact that MI. W. y
sometimes represents §, § 25 iii. (Salesbury has dayar also, and gayaf
always.) gayaf 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'u
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. 1 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, ay, ei, and in Gwynedd
ay, ay, ei. 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 lg, r for rr; thus beirdd 'bards', teifi 'throws', eiithr 'except',
gweirdd D.G. 20 'forbids', meiryg pl. of meryg 'dead', deiil 'holds'
for *deilz, ceir 'cars', pl. of curr. Before ll usage varies: lleill 'others',
y naill 'the one', ereill 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 Aift, enghraift, ailt.

As a contraction of e-i the diphthong is now written and spoken ei
(that is ej), as ceir, gweair; but ai was common formerly, as cair,
gwair.

eu is now commonly written, when absolutely final, in polysyllables,
except when it is a plural or pronominal ending; as goreu, golu,
dechreu for gorau, golau, dechrau. It survived from MI. 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. ei and eu appear in all positions, so that the mutation is
not represented in writing, § 79. But -e-u, -ę-u were distinct, as
are contracted -ėu, -ęu now: dīlėu, parhāu, § 33 iv.

(2) The mutation av: o is not of general application. The penulti-
mate 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.
on or au, it remains aw in the penult, as in awdryw < Lat. aw(o)torėm;
so cowgiau pl. of cowg < late Lat. caucus; awydd, etc. § 76 iii; cana-
won, athrawon, § 36 iii. This shows awn which gives prynhawnol,
prynhawnweith, etc., to be from *nouna § 76 iii as opposed to awr
which gives oriau, oirig, etc., and is from *(h)ora § 71 ii (3). In late
formations aw < ą is unmutated as in mawrion § 144 iii (1), ardder-
chawgrwydd beside ardderchogrywydd. Before a consonant, penulti-
mate aw is sounded ow, and sometimes written ow, as cowgiau D. 40,
ardderchogrywydd.

Where ML. W. aw in the unaccented ult. has become o, § 71, the
mutation of course disappears; thus it appears in ML. W. pechawt,
pechodeu, but is lost in Mn. W. pechod, pechodau. Where at the same
time the aw represents a Brit. diphthong, as in gwrando, gwrandawaf,
the rule of mutation is reversed. So in final -o for affected au, 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 uw: u occurs only before ch, § 77 x. In late
formations it is neglected; thus beside lluwch '(snow)drift', we have
the old lluchio 'to hurl', and the new llu(h)io 'to drive (dust or
snow)'. For the derivatives of diuw 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, wynydd, wynyddoedd, byrddau, pryd, prydferth, dyfod,
esyngder.

ii. The exceptions to the rule are—

(1) A few proclitics, which, though monosyllabic, have the y sound.
These are yr, y 'the', yn 'in', fy 'my', dy 'thy', yn 'our', ych 'your',
mym, 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 yë, 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 essawvl in 'ar teiswyl, L.G.C. R.P. 1412, o Vran i deu fan do. 1411. J.D.R. and D. regularly write it with y (≡ y); but Dr. Davies later in his D.D. (opp. p. 1) 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 following vowel, § 33 v.

Hen(e)iddio ir wy', hym oedd reid.—I.G., p 53/91 r.
Ac yno y tric enaid Krvs.—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 (1).

Astudio 'dd wyf, was didweyll.—An., p 54/27 r. (15th cent.).
Meddylio 'r wyf, mau ddolur.—G.C., p 04/122 r. (Auto. S.V.).
Thomas ddulas, llo 'dd dwyf.—H.D. (auto.?), p 67/212 r.
Ac yno tric enaid Rhys.—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'.

Llenwi, dros yr holl ynyys,
Dagrau aruddiau yr ys.—Gut.O., A 14967/120.

'Over the whole island, there is a shedding of tears on cheeks.'

(2) The old forms ymy, yty, ymi, ytti, 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 gyt a, § 216 ii (2). G.R. writes it g'ida and J.D.R. g'ida (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-, rh-, or was followed by x 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. deodreven (≡ dyodreven) a.l. i 80 > dyodreven do. 94 > Mn. W. dodrefn 'furniture'; ryodres B.A. 5 > rootdres R.B.B. 195 > rhodres 'pomp'; kyodh R.P. 1206 > *coodh > coed § 41 v; gwelyeu gwelyau < gwelyau Ps. cxlix 5, Can. vi 2 (1588 and 1620), b.cw. 23 'beds'; *cyd-dy-un > Mn. W. cyt-tu-un > Mn. W. cvtyun § 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 deun R.P. 1217, deall beside dall i.d. 12, N.W. dial. dalll; godreun beside godryn § 65 ii (3); darlleaf § 203 iv (3); or was raised to y, which broke up later into oy (written eu); thus godrewon J.D.R. [xxi] for godryon, llettweodd Gen. xxxii 21, dylyeaf so printed in d.c. 35, beside gwelyeu J.D.R. (whose y ≡ y) [xiv, xix], dylyeï [xix, xxi], dylyedic [xvi, xix]. Cf. rh<rh § 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 boreu. (4) yw follows the rule, as byw, bywyd, bywylog; clwy, clwyed; llwy, llwydd, llwicío, etc., except in late formations, especially from forms in which yw became iuw § 77 v, as in anwrycio (sounded amwricio), distriwinaf (distriwiaf), etc. J.D.R. writes amwrycio (y = y) [xvi], distriwiau [xix]. So niwlog, niwloedd § 37 ii.

(5) The rising diphthong wy follows the rule: gwyrdd, gwyrddimi, etc.; but wy generally becomes w § 66 ii. Such a pronunciation as gwynoedd is recent; but gwynco 'to wither' may be old, as the y may have resisted mutation between two w's.

(6) The rule does not apply to the falling diphthong wy, in which the y is consonantal. In this y must necessarily be y always, as mwyr, mwynach, mwynion; and the y remains when the wy is mispronounced as wy § 38 iii, as Gwynedd for Gwqnedd.

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, munuda, 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 ysgrhythrau in the Bible (but ysgrhythrau correctly in the 1727 edn.) pl. of ysgryllewr (< Lat. scriptura) regarded as ysgrylthyr on the analogy of llythyr 'letter'. So testunau for testunau, Early Mn.W. testunion, pl. of testun (< Lat. testīmōniun) treated as testyn; corynau 'crowns', corynfoel b.cw. 33 'bald-headed', from corun R.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 e-affection, § 68.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>gwŷn, f. gwên; crŷf, f. crêf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>trûm, f. trûm; llôs, f. llôs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The affected sound occurs in the ultima. It is occasionally found in the penult in compounds, as in crwnlech (crwm 'arched'); and in superlatives, as gwennaf,tronaf § 147 iii. In bychan, f. bechan, the e
VOWEL AFFECTION

§ 83 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>brán, brain; bardd, heirdd; dal, deil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td>tafarn, tefihrn or tefyrn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>draen, drain; cyrraedd, cyrraidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>angel, engyl; ateb, etbh; seren, sýr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td>agor, egyr; ffon, fýn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>ðy</td>
<td>asgýrn, esgýrn; swrth, syrth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>au or eu</td>
<td>oen, óyn; croen, crwýn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>tarw, tau; taraw, Mi. W. tereu</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 ð occurs only in the unaccented ultima, § 69 ii (3).

The form ð of No. 7 is not a phonetic development of eu, but is due to false analogy; when taraw had become tardo the 3rd sing. pres. ind. tery was formed from the latter on the model of agor : egyr. 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>½</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>mab, meibion; cym-ar, -heirjaidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>gorweddd, gorweiddjog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i or ð</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>truan, trueni; plant, plentyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>i or ½</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>gwaedd, gweiddi; draen, dreiniog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>caer, cewyrdd; saeth, seythydd</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 ð</td>
<td>ew</td>
<td>taw, tewi, tewych; cawr, cewri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note 1.—No. 1 occurs only in old formations; -tad denoting the agent affects, -tad 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. rhan-dir 'allotment', haf-ddydd 'summer's day', can-dryll 'shattered', á-dyn 'wretch', ád-fyd 'adversity', tân-ddyd 'fiery', had-ypd 'seed' (had + yd, but héd-yp 'a seed').—No. 4 is only written in old combinations, as gweidi R.M. 174, seiri; it is rare before ị, 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 enrydèd now anrhedydd 'honour', gwerendrau, now gwrendewych. It occasionally remains as in Uferydd 'speech' (: llafar id.), and even spreads, as in Ufaru for llafaru.

Note 3.—γ in the falling diphthong ow does not affect: arwyydd etc. § 38 vi.

Note 4.—u does not affect a: canu, parhnu, etc. But crededu occurs R.P. 1368, 1424, beside credadun do. 1298, 1235.

THE ARYAN CONSONANTS IN KELTIC AND BRITISH

§ 84. The Aryan parent language had the following consonant system:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labio-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explosives:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenues</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q₃h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenues aspiratae</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>qh</td>
<td>q₃h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediae</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g₃h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediae aspiratae</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>ɨh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>g₃h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirants:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>s, Ʉ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>z, ʃ</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></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>[ɨ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u</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. tad, 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. s = Lat. c < Ar. k, and Skr. k, c = Lat. qu < Ar. q. But another equation often occurs: Skr. k, c = Lat. c, which points to Ar. q intermediate between the two others, too far back to give Skr. s and too far forward to give the labialized Lat. qu. In the Western languages Kelt., Ital., Germanic, Greek, there is no difference between Ar. k and q; both give k which is generally accommodated to the following vowel; thus Ar. kantom gives W. cant pronounced qant, not *kant. Where a guttural occurs in a form only found in Western languages, we can only write it k, g, etc., with no diacritic mark. In the Eastern languages (except Tocharish) the palatals became sibilants, thus ƙ > Skr. s (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. 3 63 ff., admits only two series, k 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 a.

The frequent alternation of k and q § 101 iv (1) makes it probable that originally, at any rate, the two are the same. A recent advance from q to k has taken place in Eng. before a, now sounded ƙ; thus old borrowings in W. have q, as in the Anglesey dial. qap 'cap', qaban 'cabin', qario 'to carry', but later borrowings have k as kab 'cab', kabinet 'cabinet', karej 'carriage', the a being the same, but the k with a perceptible ƙ glide. The example shows how q may become k before a forward vowel, and how the ƙ, once introduced, may remain before a back vowel. The same processes might have taken place in Ar., and it is quite possible that ƙ and q represent an original neutral k.

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 ŋ, occurring only before ŋ, ġ, k₂h, ġh, and ŋ occurring only before q, ġ, 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. m₁ in *k₂ntam still remaining in Lith. *s₂m₁tas, § 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, ġ, ġh, ġ, gh all appear as g in Kelt.

§ 86. i. Ar. p (Lat. p; Gk. π; Germ. f; Skr. p) and Ar. ph (Skr. ṁḥ; 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.

Examples: (1) Ar. *pib- > Skr. *vibamī 'I drink', Lat. bibo (<*pīdō) : Ir. ibim 'I drink', O. W. iben juv. sk. 'we drink', W. *yfəf 'I drink'.—Ar. *pet- 'fly' > Lat. *penna (<*petnā) : O. W. enu, Mn. W. edu 'bird' (<*petno).—Ir. athir 'father' < *pater, W. edryd 'parentage, descent' < *petr-, edrydd 'patrimony' (e.g. m.a. i 247) < *patriyo-, edryf id. < *petr-m- : Lat. pater, Gk. πατήρ, etc., Skr. pītṛvā-m 'paternity', pītṛiṣak 'parental, ancestral', Gk. πάτριος, etc.—Ir. air-, W. ar- 'fore', Gaul. āre- < *pērī- : Gk. παρά.—Ar. *pīr- > Lat. portus : O. W. rit, W. rhyd 'ford', § 61 i.—Ar. *pɪm- > W. llawn, § 63 vii (2).


(4) Ir. leven 'fire' < *tepem-, W. lān id. < *tūn- : Lat. tepeo, Skr. tāpas 'heat'.—Ir. solam, W. hylaw 'handy' < Pr. Kelt. *su-lam-os < Ar. *plum-, § 63 vii (2).—W. dyro 'give' <
*do-pro-l-, √dō-, § 63 vi (1). — *wpl- *mpr-*aml-, *amr-*W. af-l-, af-r., as af-les 'harm', Ir. am-less; thus af- spread for an-< *y- (neg. prefix) before l and r, see § 156 i (5).

(5) Ir. col, Bret. col, W. cól 'fault': Lat. culpa, O. Lat. colpa. —Ir. cilornn gl. uerceus, O. W. cilurnn (= cylwron) gl. urnam, W. celurn, Bret. kelorn: Lat. calpar, Calpurnius, Gk. κάλπη, Skr. karpāra-ḥ 'shell' (Kelt. ḫ or ḍ in first syll. unexplained).—W. crydd 'shoemaker' (for *cervydd § 40 iii (3)), Bret. kere< *karpiw, Ir. cairem< *karpimo- : Lat. carpisculum, Gk. κρηπίς: √qerāw- 'shoe'. *mp>*m>W. f or w: W. tywydd 'weather' for *tywəwəd< ∗tempes-edō: Lat. tempestas.

The view that rp, contrary to every analogy, gives rr is based upon one or two examples in which the group may have been rps or even rs, as Ir. serr, W. sarr 'bill-hook' (L. sarpo), which may be < *serp-s- or *ser-s- (cf. without p, Skr. sṝṅi 'sickle'), and upon such an equation as W. gwarr 'the back between the shoulders' and Lith. værpa 'ear of corn'.

(6) *wpl-, *mpr gave *ml, *mr, W. fl, fr, as cyflawn 'full' < *kom-pln-, cyfran 'share' < *kom-prot-sndą § 63 vii (2).


Before or after s also, p was liable to become q² in Kelt., § 96 iv; also before n, see iv below.

(2) Initially in anticipation of medial q², Ar. p became q² in Italo-Keltic; as Ar. *penq*ē 'five' > Skr. pañca, Gk. πένε: Lat. quinque, Pr. Kelt. *q⁴penqʷe > O. W. pimp, Ml. W. pympp, pump, Ir. cōic, Gaul. πεμπε-.—Ar. *peqʷ-, *poqʷ- > Gk. πέπων, πόπανον: Lat. coquo (< *quequo), coctus, Bret. pibi, W. pobi 'to bake' (< *qʷoqʷ-), poeth 'hot' (< *qʷoqʷ-t-).

(3) In anticipation of k or g, Ar. p- seems in some cases to have become t-; thus Ir. torc (beside orc), W. turch 'boar': Lat. porcus; see turio § 101 iii (1);—W. tanc 'peace': Lat. pace, pango, √pāk/g-;—W. teg 'fair', Gaul. Tecos: O. E. fiegr, E. fair, √pēk-;—W. gвар-
PHONOLOGY

§ 87

theq 'cattle': Lat. pecus, Lith. pėkus, Skr. pāsu 'cattle';—W. taich 'flake': Lat. plancus, E. flag-stone, flake, √pēlaq;—W. twll 'hole' < *tuk-slo-s, tyliu 'to pierce': Lat. pungo, punctum, √peuk/ŋ. —It seems also as if p at the end of a root or stem beginning with a guttural sometimes became t, as W. prydd 'personal appearance', Ir. cruth: Lat. corpus, Skr. kṛṣ- 'aspect' < *kṛṣpa;—W. cowad 'shower': Ar. *qewep- § 63 vii (3);—W. called 'hard', as a noun 'difficulty' B.B. 65: ? Gk. χαλκέτος (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 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 qh; or, where the word had a guttural already, the dental t. Before s, both the substitution and the regular development took place; the former, -qh-, attested later as -x- in Gaul. Crixos, gives W. -ch-; the latter, -fs-, gives W. ff-. Before t, I have assumed the former, as the substitution of qh for p, known to occur, seems more likely than that of χ for f, so that pt > qh > χ is more probable than pt > ft > χ.

iv. Before s, p > qh > h after a rounded vowel; thus *upsel-> *uksel- > *ouksel- > W. uchel, Ir. úasal; *lopsq- > *lpsksk- > W. llusgo § 96 iii (5);—similarly before n; *snp- > *swkn- > W. hun 'sleep', Ir. sīan, § 63 viii (1); *n-yo-dup-n- > W. an-o-dun 'bottomless', cf. anwēfn § 102 iv (2), √dhēnp/b-; so possibly before t; W. tuth 'trot' < *tupt-: O. Bulg. tępati 'palpitare', tępātati 'palpitare, calcare', Gk. τύπτω. Original qh before t had become k earlier (in It.-Kelt.), and develops as k, as in poeth above. m before p prevents the diphthongization: W. ilost < *loompt- § 96 ii (3).

§ 87. i. Ar. t (Lat. t; Gk. τ; Germ. ð, ð; Lith. t; Skr. ṭ) and Ar. th (Gk. θ; Skr. ḍ) appear in Pr. Kelt. as t. Thus Ar. *täuros > Lat. taurus, Gk. ταῦρος: Ir. tarb, W. tarw;—Ar. *tep-: W. tes, twynn, tán § 86;—Ar. *treῖs > Skr. trāyas, Gk. τρεῖς, Lat. trēs : W. tri, Ir. trí, 'three'.—Ar. *arōtrom > W. aradr 'plough': Gk. ἀρότρον.—Ar. *phθo- > Gk. πλάτανος, Gaul. -λάτανος, O. W. litan, W. lydan 'broad', § 63 viii (1).

ii. In Ar. the first t in the group tt had become an affricative; this stage is represented thus tʰt; in Skr. it went back to tt (just as ṭt, with original s, gave tt in Skr.), in Gk. it became στ, 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, 89. *THE ARYAN CONSONANTS* 127

\[ W. \text{molys } ' \text{sweet} ' , \text{Ir. milis. As } \text{dt became tt, § 93 i, the same result followed; thus Ar. } \sqrt{\text{yeid-} } ' \text{see, know}', \text{gave } *yid-t- > *yitt- > *yit*- > W. gwys 'it is known', § 63 iv: Skr. vitta- } ' \text{known}' ;—Ar. \sqrt{\text{keid-}}(s) \text{keid-} : \text{R-grade nasalized } > \text{Lat. scindo, F-grade } *keid-t- > *keit*- > W. cwyys 'furrow', Ir. cēis.—So W. cas 'hate' < *kēd-t-, \sqrt{\text{kād}-} : \text{E. hate}; \text{F-grade, W. cawdd 'insult': Gk. } \kappa \dot{\eta} \delta \sigma \sigma \text{. Similarly Ar. dd } > \text{d}^2 \text{d } > \text{zd, § 91 ii.}

§ 88. Ar. \kappa (\text{Lat. c; Gk. } \kappa ) ; \text{Germ. } \text{h, } -g-; \text{Lith. } s z ; \text{Skr. } \dot{s} ), \text{Ar. } \kappa h (\text{Gk. } \chi ) , \text{Ar. } q (\text{Lat. c; Gk. } \kappa ) ; \text{Germ. } \text{h, } -g-; \text{Lith. } k ; \text{Skr. } k, c), \text{Ar. } qh (\text{Gk. } \chi , \text{Skr. } kh) \text{appear in Kelt. as } \kappa . \text{Examples: Ar. } *\text{kytôm } '100' > \text{Lat. centum, Gk. } \kappa \text{-kattrón, O. E. hund, Lith. siriūtas, Skr. sād- } : \text{Ir. cēt, } \text{W. cant } < \text{Pr. Kelt. } *\text{kytom-}.—Ar. \sqrt{\text{qā-}}, \text{F-grade Lat. cārus, Skr. kāyamāna- } ' \text{fond}', \text{R-grade W. caraf 'I love'}.—Ar. \sqrt{\text{gap-}} > \text{Lat. capio: W. cael } § 188 iv.—Ar. \sqrt{\text{krekt-}} > \text{Ir. crecht, W. craith 'scar' } < \text{Pr. Kelt. } *\text{krekt-} : \text{Skr. karjati 'injures' } < *\text{qerq-}, \sqrt{\text{qerq-}}.—\text{Ar. } *\text{regt- } > \text{Pr. Kelt. } *\text{arekt- } > \text{W. araith 'speech'} \ § 63 iii.

§ 89. i. Ar. \text{q} (\text{Lat. qu; Gk. } \pi , \text{but } t \text{ before } \epsilon \text{ or } \eta , \text{and } \kappa \text{ before or after } \nu ; \text{Germ. } \text{hw, f-}, -w-, -g-; \text{Lith. } k ; \text{Skr. } k, c) \text{and probably Ar. } \text{qh} (\text{Skr. } \text{kh; Gk. } \phi , \theta ?) \text{were } \text{q} \text{ in Pr. Kelt. This remains as } \text{q} \text{ in the ogam inscriptions, but became } c \text{ in Ir.; in Gaul and Brit. it appears as } p.—\text{Examples: Ar. } *\text{qetuer-} (\text{in various grades } \ § 63 \text{ vii } (4)) > \text{Lat. guattuor, Skr. catvāraḥ: W. pedwar, Ir. cethir.—Ar. } \sqrt{\text{qelā-}} / \text{qēl- } > \text{W. pell 'far' } (< *\text{qel-} s-o-): \text{Gk. } \tau \nu \lambda \varepsilon .—\text{Ar. } \sqrt{\text{seq-}} : \text{Lat. inquam } < *\text{insquām}: \text{Ml. } \text{W. hep, heb 'says'}.—\text{W. prynaf 'I buy'} \ § 201 i (4);—\text{Ar. } \sqrt{\text{leiq-}} > \text{Gk. } \lambda \varepsilon \iota \tau \omega : \text{W. llwyb-r 'track': L. linguo } (n\text{-infixed}).

ii. (1) Before } t, s \text{ and prob. } n, \text{Ar. } \text{q} \text{ became } k \text{ in Kelt. Thus Ar. } *\text{pqq}- > *\text{pqq-} > *\text{qek}- > \text{W. poeth, § 86 ii } (2).—\text{Ar. } *\text{noq}- (\sqrt{\text{noq-}}) > \text{Kelt. } *\text{nokt- } > \text{Ir. nocht, W. noeth 'naked': Lat. } \nu \text{dus } < *\text{nedhos}.—\text{W. gwylb, O. W. gulip 'wet' } < *\text{qiloq-}: \text{Lat. liquo; W. gwylth 'dew' } < *\text{qlikt- } < *\text{qlikt-}; \text{gwylch 'liquid' (such as gravy, etc.) } < *\text{qlik- } n- \text{ or } *\text{qlik-}.—\sqrt{\text{uleiq-}}.

\text{For Ar. } \text{sq, q}s, \text{see } \ § 96 iii.

(2) After } l \text{ or } r \text{ also (but not } \text{h, g), we have } k \text{ for Ar. } \text{q} ; \text{thus W. golch 'slops', golchi 'to wash' } (\text{Ir. folcaim} ) < *\text{oolk- } < *\text{oolq-}.

\( \S 100 \text{ ii } (2): *\text{qiloq-}, \text{as above}.—\text{W. cynnyrch 'crop, produce'}
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*kon-derq* = Gk. δρέπω ‘I mow, reap’, δρεπάνη ‘sickle’. Except in compounds, where the initial of the second element is treated as an initial, as gorffwys, § 75 vi (4).

(3) Before u it appears as k, as in Ml. W. cv ‘where?’ < the Ar. interrog. stem *qwu-, § 163 i (7). vi.

§ 63 vi (r), cf. W. gwe-hil-ron I Bren. xiii 33 <<yo-sil-.

But before u it gives k, as in W. ci ‘dog’ <<kū <<kũu < kũō = Skr. śvá; cf. ii (3) above.

In the Roman period, therefore, there was no Brit. q or qu, and Lat. qu gives k; as in garwys, garwys ‘lent’ < quadragésima; W. cegín ‘kitchen’ < coquina.

iv. It was clearly possible to distinguish in Ar. between q and qu; probably the rounding in the latter was much more pronounced. But qu was also felt as a double consonant, and gives -π- in Gk., whereas q gives -π- only.

§ 90. Ar. bh (Lat. f, b-; Gk. φ; Germ. b; Lith. b; Skr. bh) and the rarer Ar. b (Lat. b; Gk. β; Germ. p; Lith. b; Skr. l) both appear as b in Pr. Kelt. Examples: bh: Ar. √bher-> Lat. fero, Gk. φέρω, E. bear, Skr. bhārati ‘bears’: Ir. berimm ‘I bear’, W. cymeraf ‘I take’ <<kom-ber-.—Ar. √bratr-, *bräter-> Lat. fräter, Gk. φράτωρ ‘member of a clan’, E. brother, Skr. bhrātar: Ir. brāthr, W. braed ‘brother’.—Ar. √bereu- > Lat. ferveo: W. berwi, § 63 vii (4).—Ar. *bhu-> W. bod, § 63 vii (3).—Ar. √enēth-: VF *nehb-> Gk. νέφος, νεφέλη, Lat. nebula: Ir. nel ‘cloud’ <<neblo-, Ml. W. nyel ‘fog’ < *nélía-; see § 37 ii.

— b: Ar. √bregh- ‘short’: Lat. brevis, Gk. βραχύς: Ir.

ii. Ar. d or t + d(h) became d*d(h), which gave zd in Kelt., and fell together with Ar. zd, giving Ir. t (tθ), and W. th § 97 ii. Thus W. peth ‘some, a certain quantity of, something, thing’, beth ‘what?’, Ir. cuit ‘part, share’ < *qʰid-dyn: cf. Lat. quid-dam.—W. rhathu ‘to scrape, smooth’ < *r̥d-dh- (or *r̥d-zdh-): Lat. rādo, § 63 ix.—W. mēth ‘miss, failure’ < *mit-dh-: Ir. mis-, math- ‘miss’, E. miss, √meit-: Lat. mūto.

§ 92. i. Ar. ġ (Lat. g; Gk. γ; Germ. k; Lith. k; Skr. j), Ar. ġh (Lat. h; Gk. χ; Germ. g; Lith. ž; Skr. h), Ar. ĭ (Lat. g; Gk. γ; Germ. k; Lith. g; Skr. ĭ, ğj), Ar. gh (Lat. h; Gk. χ; Germ. g; Lith. g; Skr. gh, h) all appear in Kelt. as g. Examples: ġ: Ar. ġŋ-, > Lat. grānum, Goth. kaurn, Lith. kūrnis, Skr. jirḥa-h: Ir. grān, W. grawu § 61 ii.—Ar. √gen- > Lat. genitor, Gk. γενετής, Skr. jānati ‘begets’; W. geni ‘give birth’.—Ar. √areg- > Lat. argum, Gk. ἀργυπος, Skr. rajā-tam ‘silver’; W. arian, Ir. airget ‘silver’ < Pr. Kelt. *arγt-. — — ġh: Ar. *ghein- > Lat. hiems, Gk. χειμα: W. gaeaf, § 75 vi (1).—Ar. √seg- > Gk. ἕχω (< *ségʰo), Skr. sāhat ‘vanquishes’; W. hy ‘bold’ < *seg-os, Gaul. Sego-; hael ‘generous’ < *seg-lō- < *sēg-lō-; h aer ‘impor-

ii. Ar. g³ (Lat. v, gu after n, g before cons. and u ; Gk. β, δ before ε or η, γ before or after v; Germ. kw; Lith. g ; Skr. g, j) gave Pr. Kelt. b. Thus Ar. */gjei- > Lat. vivu, Gk. βίοσ : W. byw, etc., § 63 vii (3).—Ar. */gouis > Lat. bōs (Umbr.-Samn. form for true Lat. *vōs), Gk. βοῦς : Ir. bō, W. biw, pl. bu.

iii. But Ar. g³h (Lat. β-, -v-, -b-, gu after n ; Gk. φ, θ ; Germ. v, 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 gw, medially f (≡ v) between vowels. Thus Ar. */ghen- > Gk. θείω, φόνος, Lat. dé-se-ndo : Ir. gonim ‘I wound’, W. gwanu ‘to stab’ < *gwan- § 65 v, gwanaf ‘swathe’ (hay cut at one sweep).—Ar. */gher- > Lat. formus, Gk. θερμός, E. warm : Ir. gorim ‘I warm’, W. gori (< *gwori § 36 iii), Bret. gori, gwiri ‘to incubate’, W. gori ‘to suppurate’, gér ‘pus’, W. gwres ‘heat’, § 95 iii (1).—Ar. */ghele- ‘green, yellow’ > Lat. flāvus : W. gwelw ‘pale’, gwelit ‘straw, grass’, Ir. gelim ‘I graze’, gel- ‘fodder’; the doublet *gele- > Skr. हरी ‘yellow, greenish’, Gk. χλόη ‘verdure, grass’, χλόos ‘green’: W. gledd ‘turf’, glas ‘green’, glas-welit ‘grass’, § 101 iv (1).—Ar. */ghelh- > Gk. ποθέω, θέσσασθαι : Ir. guidim ‘I pray’, W. gweddil ‘prayer’.—Medially : Ar. */sneigh- > Lat. nunguit, nix, nivus, Gk. νίφα : Ir. snigid ‘mains’, snechta ‘snow’, W. nyf
'snow'.—Ar. √āhegʰh->Lat. foveo, Gk. τέφρα: Ml. Ir. daig 'fire', W. deifho 'to singe'.

iv. Unlike kʰ, which is treated as gʰ in Kelt., Ar. gu (gy, gu) does not fall together with gʰ. The change gʰ>p is Gaul.-Brit. but not Goidelic, while the change gʰ>b is Pankeltic, and therefore much earlier. The double consonant gu remained, and gives medially W. w, Ir. g, as in W. tew 'thick' < *teguos, Ir. tuing: E. thick §76 viii.—Ar. ghhu develops like gʰh, giving initially W. ghw-, Ir. g-.; thus Ar. *ghwel-t->W. gwyllt, Ir. geilt 'wild': Goth. wilpeis, E. wild, parallel to Ar. ghuer- > Lat. ferus, Gk. ἥρ.

v. When the guttural follows a nasal we have the following results:

ngʰ > W. m (for mm), Ir. mb; as Ar. *ngʰen- > Ir. imb, W. ymen-yň 'butter': Lat. unguen.

ngʰh > W. ng (≡ ng), Ir. ng; as W. llyngyr 'lumbrici': Lat. lumbricus.—W. angerđt 'heat' < *gʰ-ger-d; anger 'heat' < *gʰ-ghr-<, √gʰer-, see iii; ager 'steam' §99 vi (1).

nghy > W. w, Ir. ng; as W. ewin 'nail', Ir. ingen < *nghy-, ky onogh/gh-: Skr. nakhá-h 'nail', Gk. ὕνιξ, Lat. unguis.

nghy > W. f, Ir. ng; as W. tafod 'tongue', Ir. tenge: O. Lat. lingua (Lat. lingua), E. tongue < Ar. *dngʰwā.—W. llyfu 'to lick' < *lingʰ-y-: Ir. ligim, Gk. λείχω, λιχνεῖν, Lat. lingo, √leīh-.

The first two groups contain two consonants each; gʰ > b, and consequently the nasal became m; but gʰh remained a guttural so that the nasal became w, and the group became wnh, which was unrounded in W. as in Ir. The other groups contain three consonants; in Ir. the y dropped as usual, leaving wno; but in W. the i remained, wni > w before a consonant, and w dropped, §106 ii (1).

§93. i. In Ar., when two explosives came together, a tenuis before a media became a media, and a media before a tenuis became a tenuis; 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 tenuis it became an aspirated media, thus bh + t > bdh; this however only survives in Indo-Iran.; elsewhere we have two tenues; thus Gk. has κτ from gh + t, as in ἐκτός : ἐθχομαι, Meillet, Intr. 2 106. So in Italic and

κ 2
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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-, -qšt-, all gave -kt- in Pr. Kelt., §§ 86 ii, 88, 89 ii; this appears in Ir. as -cht, in W. as -iţh, 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-s- § 87 ii.—W. achar 'loves' < *akkar- < *ad-qar-: Lat. càrus § 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, ysgrythur < scriptūra.

(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 < *agaru- < *ad-gh'r' su-: Ir. garb, W. gary 'rough' < *gh'r'su-: Gk. χέρος, Skr. हृसिक 'bristling', Av. zarēta- 'stone', Lat. horreo, hirsūtus, √heres-, § 95 iv (3).—W. aber, O. W. aper 'confluence', aberth 'sacrifice' < *abher- < *ad-her-, √her-.

There seems no good reason to suppose that gd, db could give ɛd, ɔf in W. W. gwydd 'goose' cannot come from Stokes's *gegda (if ɡ were not assimilated, eg would give ei, not ɔy, in W.), and Pedersen's breuddwyd < *brogd- (Gr. i r09) is not convincing. W. ɔf can only come from zb, or zg § 97 iii, iv, or from dm; words like addgyn, addfain come from ad-m- (mawyn 'gentle', main '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 ɛ < z in Brit., or when the second was the sonant m.

iii. (1) Ar. tt became tʰt, and Ar. dd(h) became dʰd(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. athech 'skulking' < *ad-teg-s-: W. technu 'to skulk, lie hidden', √(s)theg- § 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 edifar 'repentant' < *ad-ði-bar-: W. bár '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\(^2\) I 670, 691. Lat. crēdo is also irregular, 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. s, as in adystg 'education' < Lat. addisc-; so W. aðef 'home' < *ad-dem-, ñ'demā- § 91 i.

(2) The change of the first t in tt to the affractive 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 hypocoristic or pet names, and of child-language, which was in a sense a language apart; and in these even tt remained unchanged. Thus Gk. Νικοττώ (for Νικοτέλεια), Δικκό, Θεοκκό, Φίλλιος, Κρίττις, Σθέννης, O. H. G. Sicco (for Sigerich or Sigbertus), Lat. Varrō (beside Várus), Brit. Commios (beside Comus, Gaul. Comus), W. Iol-lo (with double l in Ml. W. § 22 ii, for Iorwerth), Guttō (for Gruffud); —Gk. ἄττα, Lat. atta 'papa'; Skr. akkā 'mama', Gk. Ἀκκό, Lat. Acca Lārentia (: W. y nawfed ach 'the ninth degree of consanguinity', lit. 'the ninth *mother', cf. 'the 4th mother' § 123 v; ach ac edryd '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 \(sq^vq\) in the ogam maq\(^vq\)ni, and for the tt in Brit. *genettā > W. geneth k.p. 1359 'girl'. So in tribal names: Brittones beside Britanni; Gallī beside Pālātrai. Also in names of animals: Lat. vacca; W. buch 'buck' (ch < kk), Skr. bukkas id.; Gaul. cattos, W. cath; Ml. W. buch 'cow' < *boukkā; W. mochyn 'pig', Ir. nuucc, 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-
rally as $h\text{-}$, sometimes as $s\text{-}$. Examples: Ir. *samal\text{'} like*, W. *hafal\text{'} like* $<*s\text{em}\text{-}l\text{-}$: Lat. *similis*, Gk. ὑμαλός, $\sqrt{\text{sem}}\text{-}\text{'} one*.


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 Ml. W. ; thus W. *eog*, Ml. W. *ehauce*, Ir. *eo*, gen. *iach* $<$ Kelt. *esāk* $<*esōk*$, 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, vi, 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 *caesus* $<$ cāesus. 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.) *Sabrina*. There is only one certain example of Lat. initial *s* giving *h*; that is *hestaur* $<$ sextārius*; this either was a trade term borrowed early, or has followed the analogy of words like *Hafren*. Possibly a transition stage is represented by Ixarninus, 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- > b > 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)snoden ‘band, lace’, Ir. snathē gl. filum < *sūl-, √sen(ē)’; (y)slath beside llath ‘lath’, Ir. slat: E. lath, O. H. G. latta without s-. The N. W. dial. slywen ‘eel’ is prob. for *slywen: Corn. selyas, slyyes ‘eels’, Bret. silienn (stlaonenn) ‘eel’; the Mn. lit. W. llywrcn, S. W. dial. llysīb, seems to be a metathesized form; prob. √seli-: Lat. limax. The second element is perhaps -onglu-: Ir. es-cung ‘eel’: Gk. εγχλως ‘eel’ (the root has many forms, see Walde s.v. anguis).

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 lt,
properly double ? § 54 i (2). Examples: sm : W. twymyn ‘fever’ < *tepes-men- § 86 i (3).—W. ym ‘we are’, Ir. ammi . < Kelt. *emesi § 179 ix (3).—sn : W. onn-en ‘ash’, Ir. huinn-ins < *os-n- ; Lat. orns < *osinus, O. H. G. as-k, E. ash. —W. bronn ‘breast’, Ir. brunne id. < *brus-n- : O. H. G. brus-t ‘breast’.—sl : W. coll ‘hazel’, Ir. coll < *gos-l- : Lat. corculus < *cosculus, O. H. G. hasal, E. hazel, Lith. kasulas ‘spear’.—sr : W. sferu ‘to congeal’ < *spis-r- : Lat. spissus ‘thick’.—After a long vowel or diphthong n or r is simplified, as in ffin ‘breath’ < *spois-n- § 96 iv (1) ; —gwaer ‘dawn’ < *yods-r- : Lat. vēr ‘spring’ < *yēs-r, /yes-. But the simplification took place too late to give *f, *l for m, ll in twymyn, pwyll, etc.; and -m, -ll remained double after simple vowels and shortened them, as in drūm § 100 v, dull (2) below.

(2) An explosive before one of the above groups simply disappears; thus *pra-t-smā > W. rhan < § 63 vii (2) ; —*tuk-slo-s . > W. twill § 86 ii (3) ; —*dfr-smā > W. drem ‘sight’, /derk- § 61 i ; —W. rhym ‘band’ < *reig-smen, /reig- : Lat. corrigia ;—W. pwyll, Ir. ciall ‘thought’ < *qeil-sl- : Skr. cit-lā-m ‘thought’, caityh ‘soul’ ;—W. dull ‘manner, appearance’ < *doik-sl-, /dei/- : Gk. δείκνυμι.

(3) But a sonant in the above position remains. Examples: W. garm ‘shout’, Ir. gairm < *gar-smg, /yär- : Lat. garrio ;—W. telm ‘snare’, Ir. tailim, gen. telma < *tel-sm- : Gk. τελαμὼν ‘thong’ ;—ML. W. annyned (now annydd), Ir. ainne ‘patience’ < *g-smeniuja, /menēj ‘thought’, pref. y- ‘in’;—W. mymryn ‘a little bit’, Ir. mwr- ‘a bit of flesh’ < *mēmsro-m (i shortened in Brit., m lost in Ir.) : Lat. membrum < *mēmsrom, Gk. μῆψ < *mēmsros or *mēsros, Skr. mās ‘flesh’ ;—W. cern ‘back of cheek’ < *kernu- : Lat. cerunus < *kernu-, Gk. καρπόν < *kranon, Lat. cerebrum < *kerastrum ; W. carr yr en ‘jawbone’ either < *kerr’s-r- (cf. Lat. cerebrum) or simply *kerr-s- ;—W. annmaid ‘nod’ (for *ammeid), O. W. pl. ennuitou, O. Bret. enmetiam gl. innuo < *en-smel- : Ir. smētim ‘I nod’ < *smen-. It is to be observed that m in these groups = mn, 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-ū § 63 ii ; and acc. pl. -uss in artuauss (like Lat. -ās) < *-āns. 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-

(2) The same change takes place before an explosive; thus nst > st; nṣq > sp; as W. cystadl, cystal ‘as good’ § 96 ii (3); coesp < *konṣq- § 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 < *kint’aminos, beside cyntaf ‘first’ § 106 iii (3), cyntefin ‘Spring’ < *kintu-saminos-.

iv. (1) Ar. -ls-, -rs- probably became -ll-, -rr- in Pr. Kelt. Examples of the former are uncertain in W., because -ln-, ’lì- also give W. ll; perhaps W. pell ‘far’ < *qel-s- : Gk. τέλος.— W. carr, Ir. carr, Gaul, carr-(ns) < *qel’sos § 63 iii; — W. torr ‘crowd’ (b. n. 44, 45), ‘heap’ < *tur’-s-, ur < yερ’ § 63 viii, √ tuer-: Lat. turba, turma (W. lorf < 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. γέργαρα • πολλά Ηes., Lat. grex, W. gre ; — W. torr ‘to break, cut’ < *torg-s-, √torq- : Lat. truncus < *tronqos, W. trweh ‘broken, cut’ < *tronqos; — W. carreg ‘stone’ < *kroq-s-ikā, √kereq-: Skr. ērkaraḥ ‘pebble’, Gk. κρόκαλη ‘pebble’, W. crogen ‘shell’, craig ‘rock’ < *kroqi-; — W. torr ‘belly’ (generally of an animal), torrog ‘pregnant’, Ir. torrach ‘pregnant’ < *torks- : Lat. turgus ‘body of an animal, hide’; — W. gwarr ‘upper part of back’, gwarr hēol g. 300 ‘ridge of the roadway’ < *yort-s- : Lat. vortex, W. gwarthaf ‘summit’ < *yort’mo-; — W. corr ‘dwarf’ < *qort-s- : Lat. curtus, Ir. cert ‘little’, √(a)ger-.— Possibly we have ll from -lbs- in W. callestr ‘flint’ < *qel’qas- : Lat. calx, Gk. χάλις, √q(ā)eleiq- parallel to √kereq- above.
(3) An explosive following the group remains, and the s disappears; thus W. *torth* 'loaf', Ir. *tort* < *tost*- 'baked': Lat. *tostus* < *tors(ī)los* : *torreo* < *torseiō*; W. *tarth* 'vapour, mist' (tarth mwg Act. ii 19 'vapour of smoke', tan twm tarth b. t. 38 'hot scorching fire') < *tēs-t*- : Gk. *τερσαίω*, √*leres*- 'dry up';—W. *garth* 'promontory, hill', Ir. *gart* < *γέρ*<st-* : Gk. Χέρσος, √*ğeres*—§ 93 ii (3) (not to be confused with garth 'enclosure': Lat. *hortus* § 99 vi (1), § 76 vi (2)).

§ 96. i. Ar. s + tenuis remained in Pr. Kelt. In Brit. the group either remained or became a double spirant; thus sk gave either (1) sk or (2) xx; and st gave either (1) st or (2) a sound between β̄ and ss, 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 *dhz* > dhz (dzh); 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* < *lompst-* ii (3); *aogwrn* < *ast-korn-* ii (4); *nos* < *norts* < *noq*ts ii (5). The same simplification took place later in words borrowed from Lat.: W. *estrō* 'stranger' < extrānus, *astrus* < abstrūsus, etc., § 103 i (5).

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above; di-stadl 'insignificant', lit. 'without standing', cf. cystadl above.

We have perhaps to assume *unos- (cf. Lat. sus-) beside yo- and *dês- beside *dê-, giving *set- 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 < *stred-t-, √ sterê- § 63 vii (2); — W. ystrew, trew 'sneeze' < *streus- § 76 ii (2), √ petereu-: Lat. sternuo, Gk. πτάρνυμι; — W. ystlys 'side', Ir. slab 'side' < *slab-s-: Lat. latus < *ststed-os, √ stel(d)-; — W. arwestr 'band, (apron-)string' < *arc-yst-râ: Gk. Dor. Φέστρα (φήστρα · στόλη Hcs.), Lat. vestis; — W. rhwytm 'obstacle' < *reig-s-tro-' *snare': W. rhwym § 95 ii (2); — W. busil 'gall' (u for y § 77 vii (2)), Corn. bistel, Bret. bestl < *bis-tl-: Lat. bilis < *bis-lis (different suffixes -tl- : -l-); — W. destl 'neat, trim', di-ddestl 'clumsy, unskilful' D.G. 196, 240 < *deks-tl-: Lat. dexter, Gk. δεξιος, 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. ascwrn 'bone' < *ast-korn: Gk. ὀστέον, see (2) above (initial a/o altern, § 63 v (2)); and llasgwrn 'tail' similarly formed from *lomps-, see (3); — W. gwisg 'dress' < *gtest-q-, di-osg 'to undress' < *dë-yost-q-, √ yest-: 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' < *mëlt-s-, noun in -s- beside melys 'sweet' participle in -t- § 87 ii, base *meleit-; — W. llys 'court', Ml. Bret. lez, Ir. liess, less < *(p)lest-s-, with an -s- suffix which lost its vowel, added to *pleit- § 63 viii (1); — W. assy, Ml. W. asswy, asswy 'left (hand)' < *alt-soud-s < *ad-seniós: Skr. savyāk 'left'.—An explosive before the group drops; thus W. nos 'night' < nom. *not-s < *not-s-t-s beside noth in trannooeth 'the following day', heno, O.W. henoid (= henoith) 'to-night' from oblique cases *noktl-; so glas- 'milk' < *glok-t-s, § 63 vii (3); tes 'heat' < *teks-t < *tep-t-s: Lat. tepeo, etc. A nasal before the group drops, § 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 sc- or h- (< c) in W.
In W. sc has become sg, and initially ysg-, § 23 ii. Thus W. ysgi[en; Ir. sc[an 'knife', √skhâ(i)]: Skr. chvâti 'cuts off'; —Ml. W. isgau[dt b.B. 35 'darkness', Ir. scâth 'shadow' < ∗skâl-: Goth. skâdas, E. shade, Gk. σκότος, Skr. châdâyati 'covers'; —W. hegl 'shank' < ∗skêt-l-: E. shank √skeg-g-: W. ysgogi 'stir, shake', E. shake, Lith. szkâti 'to leap, dance'.

After a prefix: W. ysgod, yvasgod 'shad[e < ∗skâl-, as above.

(2) Ar. squ- gives Ir. sc-, W. sc- (ysg-) or -chw- (or before a round vowel h-). Thus W. ysgwyt 'shield', Ir. scâth < ∗sqid-om: Lat. scûtum < *sqit-om, O. Bulg. štitâ 'shield' < *sqid-om; —W. ysgar 'to separate', Ir. scaraim, √sgr-: Lith. skirti 'to separate'; —W. chwîth 'left (hand)' < *sqi-ln-, chwiidr 'perverse, fickle' < *sqi-tr-, Mn. Ir. ciotach 'left-handed' < *sqi-tu-, W. ysgovan f. 'fickle one' < ∗sqai-̂, all R-grades of ∗sqèl 'left, oblique': Lat. scaevus, Gk. σκελ(ή)ς, E. shy; —W. chwalu 'to scatter', Bret. skula, Ir. scâlim 'I scatter', √sqel- § 101 iv (2): holli 'split' iv (1) (3).

With a prefix: W. gwa-sgar-af 'I scatter', √sgr- § 101 iv (2); —cy-chwynn-af 'I rise, start', Ir. sceâlim: Lat. scendo, Skr. skándati 'leaps, bounds', √sq[n]-: —W. osgo 'slant', nyt oscâ-es B.T. 25 'he swerved not' < ∗op-sqain-; —Ml. W. amry-scoyw, Mn. W. amrâsgo 'diagonal, awkward' < *sqâi-: Lat. scaevus, see above; —W. cy-huddo 'to accuse' : Icel. skûta 'a taunt', § 156 i (9).

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).

(3) Ar. sq²- gives Ir. sc-, W. chw-. Thus Ir. acél, W. chwelîl, Corn. whethl 'news, a tale' < *sq²-e-llo-, √sq²- 'say'. With a prefix: Ml. W. ky-chwelâl B.T. 38 'news' = Ml. Bret. quehlezl, Bret. kel; —W. dym-chwel-af 'I overthrow': Gk. σφâdλω, Skr. skhâlîti 'stumbles', √sq helium-; —W. dy-chwel-af 'I return' < *il-sq²hel-, √qhel- 'turn', § 101 iv (2). —sp in the old compound cosp, see (5).

(4) Medially between vowels Ar. -skk -> 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-, -sq²- gave x², generally unrounded to ch; in Ir. all appear as ss.
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Thus Ar. verbal suffix *-sq- (Skr. -eka, Gk. -ko, Lat. -ce), appears as ch in W. chwencycaf; finally -wch < *-yX < *-i-sq- (Gk. -o-ko) § 201 iii (2); —Ml. W. amkawd w.m. 453 'replied' < *am-^X-aWd § 156 i (4) < *mi-bi sq-, √ sq- 'say'; suffix § 182 iii.

(5) After an explosive or nasal, however, Ar. -sk-, sq- > W. -sc- (-sg-), and Ar. -sq- > W. -sp-; in Ir. -sc-. Thus W. mysq, cymysq 'to mix', Ir. mescaim 'I mix' < *mik-sq- : Lat. miscio, Gk. μιξύμιξε, Skr. misrá-h 'mixed', √ meik/q-; — W. llusgo 'to drag' < *lop-sq- ii (3) above; — W. hesy 'sedges', Ir. sesscnu 'swamp' < *seq-sq- : E. edge, O. E. secg √ seq/q- 'cut': Lat. secq etc.; — W. llesq 'languid, in firm, sluggish', Ir. lesq 'slothful' < *leg-sq-, √ (s)leq-: Skr. laxga-h 'lame' < *leng-, Lat. langueo < *leng-, Gk. λαγαπό; — W. gwyrq ag 'twigs' < *yrd-sq- : Lat. rámus < *yrd-mo-s, √ yeríd- § 91; — W. diaspad f. 'a cry' < *de-ad-sq-x-tá, √ sq-, suff. § 143 iii (18); W. cospad 'punishment', Ir. cose 'correction, reprimand' < *kon-sq- 'talk with'.

As the group sku- or squ- 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' < *sinq-wo- redupl. of √ seiq- 'dry': Avest. hišku- f. hiškví-, 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 trais 'oppression' < *treks- < *trenk-s- : W. trenn, Ger. streng § 148 i (13). A liquid before the group remains, § 95 iv (2); -kš-, -ksm- etc., § 95 ii (2).

iv. After s, Ar. p in Kelt. either (a) became *f as usual; or (β) was altered to q and developed accordingly.
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(β) sp(h)-> Kelt. sqh > W. chw- (h-) or sp-, Ir. sc-. Thus W. chwynn ‘weeds’ (prob. originally ‘furze’, as E. whin which comes from it) < *sqhinn- < *spid-sn- : Lat. pinna < *spid-snā: Ir. scé gen. pl. sciad, W. ysphyddad ‘hawthorn’ < *sqhí-at-: Lat. spīna, spēca, √ spei-; — W. chwydu ‘to vomit’, chwyld ‘vomit’ § 100 ii (3), √ spei-yn-: Lat. spōn, E. spew, etc.; — W. hollt ‘split’, hollti ‘to split’, beside (a) Bret. fuouta ‘to split’ < *spol-t-, √ spel- § 101 iv (2); — W. yspar ‘spear’, Bret. sparr : Lat. sparsus, O. H. G. spēr, E. spear, √ sphyrēγ- § 97 v (3); — W. chwynn ‘swift’ < *sphrēγ-, hwrô ‘a violent push’ < *sphrēγ- § 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’ < *ūi-sp(h)u-: sg. ffér, Lat. perna above; — (β) W. uchér ‘evening’, Ir. ʃescor : Lat. vesper, Gk. ἕψπερος § 66 iii.

After a consonant (α) -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’ < *eksproγ- dissim. from *eks-pro-γr- : Lat. expergiscor for *ex-pro-griscor (Walde, s.v.) : Av. fra-sriṣamnō ‘waking’, Skr. jārate ‘wakes’, Gk. ἔγειψα, √ ger-, gerēi-.

(3) Ar. -ps- also gives (a) W. -ff-, or (β) W. -ch-, but Ir. -ss-. Thus (α) W. craf ‘sharp, keen’ < *grap-s- < *grab-s- : Icel. skarpr, O. E. scearp, E. sharp, E. scrape, W. crafu ‘to scratch’; — W. praff ‘burly’ < *qrēp-s- : Lat. corpus, etc.; — (β) W. uwch ‘higher’, uchel ‘high’, Ir. úasal, uassal, Gaul.
UXELLO-DNUM < *ups-, *upsel- : Lat. sus-, Gk. ὑψι, ὑψηλός 'high', ὑψίων 'higher';—W. crych 'curly', Gaul. Crizus, Crisus : Lat. crispus (prob. < *criposo): Lith. kreip̣ṭi 'to turn', √ ger- 'turn', extd. *greip-;—W. llachar 'bright', Ir. lassar < *laps-e-r- : Gk. λάμπω;—W. crach 'scabs' < *qrap-s- : craff above, see § 101 ii (2). As in the case of -ks-, see iii (6), the *-ch- may become -h-, as in ca(h)-el beside caff-el < *qap-s- § 188 iv.

§ 97. i. Before a media or aspirated media, s had become z mediially 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. ḍd. In W. this became th, through ḍḍ; in Ir. it appears as t, it (≡ d-d), Mn. Ir. d. Thus Ar. *nizdos 'nest' > Ir. net, nett, Mn. Ir. neal, W. nyth : Lat. nidus, O. H. G. nest, E. nest, Skr. nīdā-ḥ, √ sed- § 63 ii;—W. nyth 'upright', *sythu 'set erect', Ir. seta 'tall' < *sizd- : Lat. sīdo < *sizdō, Skr. sīdāti 'sits' for *sīdāti < *sizd-, Gk. iξw < *sizdō, √ sed-, redupl. *sizd-;—W. gwyth 'anger', ad-wyth 'hurt, mischief, misfortune' < *għezd-, Ml. Ir. goet 'wound' < *għozd- : Skr. hēla-ḥ 'anger' < *gheizd-os, hēḍati 'anglers, vexes, hurts', Lith. žāizda 'wound', čeūḍzū 'I wound', Av. zōižda- 'hateful';—W. brathu 'to stab, bite', brath 'a stab, a bite' < *bhrazd(ḥ)- : Russ. brozdā 'bit, bridle' < *bhrazd(ḥ)-, O. Bulg. brūzda id. < *bhyszd(ḥ)- : with -st-, Skr. bhṛṣṭi-ḥ 'tooth, point', Lat. fastigium for *frasti- (< *frasti-?), √ bhera-s-? Walde² 275, extension of √ bher- 'prick': W. bér 'spear, spit';—d- presents: W. chwythaf 'I blow' < *syiz-d-, Ir. sēlim id. < *syez-d- : Skr. kṣeṛati 'utters an inarticulate sound, hisses, hums' < *ksyeiz-d- : 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 > ḍ is later, so that Brit. -ḍd > ḍḍ > th. Thus the prefix *eks- + d- gave *e(g)zd- > *ecd- > elh- as in ethol 'to elect' < *egz-dol- : E. tale, Ger. Zahl 'number', W. didoli 'to segregate', Skr. dālam 'piece', Lith. dālis 'part', √ del- 'divide'.

iii. Ar. *zg(h)-, -gz(h)- > Kelt. -g- ; in Ir. it appears as dg (≡ ḍg); in W. *zg became ḍ by met.; after w, *dg > ḍf. Thus
W. *maidd* 'whey' < *mezd̪-, met. for *mezd̪-; Ir. *medg* 'whey', Gallo-Lat. *mesga* (s for ḍ? cf. § 96 ii (1)): Lat. *mergo*, Lith. *mazgōti* 'to wash', Skr. *mājji* 'sinks' < *mezig-;—W. *haidd* 'barley' < *se-eg-, redupl. of *seg-: Lat. *segeš*;—perhaps W. *twddf* 'a swelling' for *tuāg- < *tuzg-, s-stem of √tēuā-: (Goth. *pūs-)+-g- suff.: Lat. *turgeo* (Walde² rejects his first suggestion that this is from *tuzg- in favour of Solmsen's *tāurigo, IF. xxvi 112 ff., with -igo (:-ago), though this is usually 1st conj., as navigāre).

W. *gwōf* 'throat', N. W. dial. *gwōw*, pl. *gyōfe*, *gyōfa*, S. W. dial. *gwōwag*, pl. *gyōge*, *gythce*, Bret. *gouzoug*, with -g for -g, § 111 vii (4), seems to require *guzy-; *ghu-s-, √ghuū-: (Lat. *fiuces*) + -g, as in *muun-g* 'mane'.


v. (1) The above groups are found only medially. Initially Ar. s- did not become z-, but changed a following media to a tenuis; thus *sb* > *sp-, sbh-* sph-, 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 (11).

(2) As s- could be prefixed or dropped in Ar. and for a long time after the dispersion, § 101 ii (1), 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 *taffod* '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. *craiddd*, Lat. *cord-, Lith. *szirdis*, E. heart, Gk. *kapōda* < *k*: Skr. *hēd-, Av. *zrōda* < *gh-, since k < skh, 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 √bhuyerō, extd. *bhuyerō-g/-gh/-q-, orig. meaning 1. *hurl*, 2. 'smite'; hence from 1. *sprinkle, cast (seed); roar, snore; rattle; talk'; from 2. *break; crush, break out, burst; smell'. bh-: W. *bwró* 'hurl, smite', *bwró glaw* 'to rain', *bwró hal* 'to cast seed' < *bhr'-g (ur < Ṝr); Lat. *frango* < *brmng-, frāgor* < *bhōy-, frā-
§ 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 þ. After an aspirated media, as s became ę, § 96 i, so þ became ð; thus ghp > ghð (gdh). Brugmann² I 790 ff.

(2) Ar. ąp- (Lat. s-, Gk. κτ-, Skr. ks-) gave Kelt. t-. Thus W. tyddwel, tyddwed * B.B. 20, 36 'soil, land' < *telit-: Lat. situs 'site', Gk. κτίσις 'settlement', κτίσω 'I found', Skr. kṣit-ḥ 'abode, earth, land': √ kpeik- 'earth', see (3) below.

Ar. -ąp- (Lat. -x-, Gk. -κτ-, Skr. -ks-) gave Kelt. -kt-. Thus W. arth 'bear', Ir. art < *artos < *arktos: Gk. ἀρκτος, Lat. ursus < *ursos, Skr. ḍkṣaḥ: Ar. *arkhos, *ąkpos § 63 v (2).

(3) Ar. ġhð- (Lat. h-, Gk. χθ-, Skr. h-, Germ. ŋ-, Lith. ž-) gave Kelt. d-. Thus Ir. indhhe, W. doe 'yesterday' < *desi = Lat. heri: Gk. χθές, Skr. hyāḥ, § 75 vii (2); this occurs medially in W. neithiwr 'last night' § 78 i (2) for neith-ðiwr < *nokti diesorāi (assuming the case to be loc.): O. H. G. gestaron, E. yester-, Lat. hesternus: Ar. *ghðjes-, suff. *-ero-/-tero-—W. ty-dyn 'a measure of land, a small farm' lit. 'house-land', tref-dyn b.t. 14, gwely-dyn (gwetlin B.B. 64), Ml. pl. tydynneu for *-dynunion < *domj-: Lat. hunus, Gk. χθόν: Ar. *għdēm- 'earth'; allied to this as meaning 'terrestrial' are the names for 'man': W. dyn, Ir. drine < *donj- < *għdōnī-: Lat. homo, Lith. žmū, žmo-gūs pl. žmūnes, Goth. guma pl. gunemas: Ar. *għdēm-. This may be for *għdēm-as Pedersen suggests, Gr. i 89–90; in that case the root must be *għdei-, which therefore must be the same as

* In Late W. wrongly spelt tuweled from a fancied relation to tud 'people', whence 'country'. The examples in B.B. both rhyme with -ed.
99. \( \sqrt{kpe} \) above, with Ar. alternation \( k-/gh- \); hence W. daear 'earth' < *\( \sqrt{gh} \text{di}-v \); \( \sqrt{gh} \text{dei} \).

(4) \( gh\delta- \) (Gk. \( \phi\theta- \)) gave Kelt. d-. Thus W. dar-fod 'to waste away, perish', \( \text{dar-fodedigaeth} ' \text{phthisis'} < *\( \text{dar-} < *\( gh\delta \text{er} \); Gk. \( \phi\theta\varepsilon\pi\omega < *gh\delta\varepsilon \); W. dyddfu 'to pine, waste away' < *\( \text{di-d-}m- \) - redupl., -m- suff.: Gk. \( \phi\theta\omega, \text{\( \alpha\pi\varepsilon-\phi\theta\varepsilon\omega \); in Skr. with *\( gh\beta- \), as \( kr\alpha\text{rati} ' \text{flows, passes away, perishes'} \), \( k\hat{\text{h}}\text{yate} ' \text{decreases, wanes'} \).

ii. In Gk. we sometimes find \( \xi- \) where the other languages have \( i- \). This equation is held to imply an Ar. palatal spirant \( j \) (the sound which is written \( \xi \), i.e. palatal \( z \), in other connexions in this book; it differs from \( i \) in being pronounced with more friction of the breath). Examples are W. \( \text{iau} ' \text{yoke'} \), Lat. \( \text{juggum} \), Skr. \( \text{u\( \gamma\)d-} \), Gk. \( \text{\( \gamma\gamma\)b}, \) all < Ar. *\( \text{\( \gamma\gamma\)ib} \);—W. \( \text{j\( ë\)s} ' \text{a seething'} \), Skr. \( \text{g\( ë\)sati} ' \text{seethes, bubbles'} \), Gk. \( \xi\text{\( ó\)o} : \) Ar. \( \sqrt{\text{jes-}} \);—W. \( \text{ud} \) 'porridge', Ml. W. \( \text{\( ë\)wt} \) § 37 ii, Bret. iot, Lat. \( \text{j\( ë\)s}, \) Skr. \( \text{y\( û\)ka-m} ' \text{broth'} \), Gk. \( \xi\text{\( ë\)\( ë\)n} : \) Ar. \( \sqrt{\text{jes-}} ; \)—W. \( \text{i\( ë\)rch}, \) O. Corn. \( \text{yorch} \): Gk. \( \xi\text{\( ë\)p} \) § 65 iii (2);—W. \( \text{i\( ë\)li} : \) Gk. \( \xi\text{\( ë\)l} \)os § 201 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- > \text{\( ë\)p-} \) in Gk.) remained unchanged in Pr. Kelt. In W. initial \( l- \) and \( r- \) became \( ll- \) and \( rh- \), § 103 i (4). Many examples occur in the above sections; as W. \( \text{\( ë\)lost} < *\text{\( ë\)lomps-} \) § 96 ii (3); W. \( \text{\( ë\)l} \)alen 'salt' § 58 ii; W. \( \text{\( ë\)n\( ë\)ym}, \sqrt{\text{\( ë\)reg-} \) § 95 ii (2); W. \( \text{\( ë\)dfer\og}, \sqrt{\text{\( ë\)\( ë\)her-} \) § 58 iii; W. \( \text{\( ë\)is} ' \text{month'} \) § 95 iii (1); W. \( \text{\( ë\)af}, \) Ir. \( \text{\( ë\)m} \) 'summer' § 94 i; W. \( \text{\( ë\)aw} ' \text{nine'} \) § 76 iii (1); W. \( \text{\( ë\)chen} ' \text{oxen'} \) § 69 v. The treatment of these sonants in combination with \( s \) has been discussed in § 95, and in combination with \( s \) and an explosive in § 96. There remains the combination of sonants with one another and with explosives.

ii. (1) Ar. \( \text{\( m\)l-}, \text{\( m\)r-} \) remained in Pr. Kelt., but in Brit. they became \( bl-, \text{\( b\)r-} \) and appear so in W.; in Ir. both \( m- \) and \( b- \) appear. Thus W. \( \text{\( b\)lys} < *\text{\( m\)l\( ë\)t-} \) § 96 ii (5);—W. \( \text{\( b\)ro} ' \text{region'}, \) Ir. \( \text{\( m\)ruig} ' \text{boundary'} < *\text{\( m\)rog-} \): Lat. \( \text{\( m\)argo}, \) O. H. G. \( \text{\( m\)arka}, \) O. E. \( \text{\( m\)earc}, \) E. \( \text{\( m\)arch} \) § 65 ii (1);—W. \( \text{\( b\)rag} ' \text{malt'}, \) Ir. \( \text{\( m\)r\( ë\)ich} \).
\(<*\text{mrag}\), W. \text{braeu}\) ‘to rot’ \(<*\text{mrag}-n\), \(\sqrt{\text{meri}^{\text{v.g}}}\) ‘decay’ : Lat. \text{fracēs} ‘oil-dregs’, Gk. \text{dμoρυη} \(<*\text{dμoρkā}\), whence Lat. \text{amurca Walde}\textsuperscript{2} 464).—Similarly Ar. \(\text{m}\) before \(\text{i}\) or \(\text{r}\), short or long: W. \text{blith} ‘milk, milch’, Ir. \text{mlicht}, blicht \(<*\text{mflkt}\), § 61 i; W. \text{blawd} ‘flour’ \(<*\text{mfl}\) § 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. \(\text{v}\) from \(m\) is written \(m\), while \(v\) from \(b\) appears as \(b\); and such a form as \text{amcibret ox}. \(<*\text{mbi-kom-(p)ro-ret}\) § 156 i (g) implies \(v<b\); so Brit. \text{Sabrina} probably contains \(\text{*sam-}\). In the Coligny calendar \text{tio-cobrextio} very probably contains \(\text{*kom-reakt-} = \text{W. cyfraith}, \text{Rhys} \text{CG}. 16\). But. W. \text{cy} <\(*\text{kom-} \) persisted by analogy: \text{cymreith} \(m\equiv \text{v}\), L.L. 120; cf. § 16 iv (3). (Lat. \(m\ldots l\) became \(mb\ldots l\) in \text{cumulus}, \text{stimulus} § 66 ii (1).)

(2) Ar. medial -\(\text{l-m}\), -\(\text{rm}\) remained in Pr. Kelt., and -\(\text{mp}\), -\(\text{rmp}\) became -\(\text{lm}\), -\(\text{rm}\); they appear so in Ir.; in W. the \(m\) appears as \(f\) or \(w\). Thus W. \text{celsydd} ‘skillful’, \text{celsyddydl} ‘craft’, O. Bret. \text{celmed} gl. efficax, Ir. \text{calma} ‘doughty’ \(<*\text{gel}^{\text{mp}}\) : Lat. \text{scalpo}, Lith. \text{sklempiū} ‘I polish’, Skr. \text{kalpanā} ‘fashioning, invention’, \(\text{kłptāh} \) ‘arranged, trimmed, cut’ : E. skill, Goth. \text{skilja} ‘butcher’; \(\sqrt{\text{gel-}}, \text{extd.} \(\sqrt{\text{gel ep-}}\) ;—W. \text{cwrf}, \text{cwrw}, Ml. W. \text{kwrj}, coll. \text{cwrw} for \text{cwruf} or \text{cwrw} ‘beer’, Ir. \text{cuirm}, Gaul. \text{koùmu} <\(*\text{korm-}\) : Lat. \text{cremor} ‘thick juice obtained from vegetables’; lit. \(\text{\text{"decocion}\}, \sqrt{\text{gerem-}}\) § 95 iii (1) ;—W. \text{serfyll} ‘prostrate’ <\(*\text{st₃}^{\text{r}}\text{rm-}\) : Lat. \text{strāmen}, Gk. \text{στρόμα}, Skr. \text{stārman-} ‘strewing’, \(\sqrt{\text{sterō-}}\) § 63 vii (2).—So in old compounds: W. \text{gorfynt} ‘envy’, Bret. \text{gyrvent}, Ir. \text{format} <\(*\text{mer-ment-}\) : Lat. gen. mentis, E. \text{mind} : Gk. \(\text{ντερ-μευ-ής}\) with same pref. and root: \(\sqrt{\text{men-}}\); but later compounds may have \(\text{rm}\), as \text{gor-moš ‘too much’}.

Probably the \(m\) was already somewhat loose in Brit., as Gaul. \text{cervesia} ‘beer’ beside \text{koùmu} 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 \(\text{lf, rf}\), as in \text{palf} < \text{palma}, \text{terfyn} < \text{terminus}, we may have \(\text{lm}, \text{rm}\), as in \text{Garmon} < \text{Germanus}, \text{salm} < \text{psalmus}, prob. borrowed later.

iii. (i) Ar. -\(\text{nl}\), -\(\text{nr}\) became -\(\text{ll}\), -\(\text{rr}\) respectively in Pr. Kelt. Thus W. \text{gwall} ‘want, defect’, \text{gwallus} L.LA. 154 ‘negligent’, now ‘faulty’, Bret. \text{gwall} ‘defect’ <\(*\text{man-lo}, \sqrt{\text{yân-}\) : Lat. \text{vânu}},
E. want;—W. garr ‘knee’, Bret. garr ‘jambe’<°gan-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-Ilad, an-rheg, § 111 i (i).

(2) Ar. -In- also became -Il- in Pr. Kelt. Thus W. dall ‘blind’, Ir. dall ‘blind’, cnus-dall ‘deaf’<°ih(y)aI-°no- : Goth. dwals ‘foolish’, O. E. ge-dwelan ‘to err’, ðhcelo-.—But -rn- remained, as in W. chwyru ‘swift’<°sphern- § 96 iv (1);—W. caru ‘hoof’, Bret. karu, Galat. κάρπον *τὴν σάλπιγγα, Hes. °k<q>r°n-, κεράευ-; W. darn, sarn, etc. § 63 iii;—Kelt. suffix *-arn-<°*r°n-, 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 t (or w § 102 iii (1)) takes the place of m. Thus W. safn ‘mouth’, Bret. staon ‘palate’<°stom-n- : Gk. στόμα § 76 vii (4);—W. cyfnesaf ‘kinsman’<°kom-nessam-, § 148 i (1);—Ir. aium ‘name’, O. W. anu<°an*m° § 63 v (2);—W. menw-yd ‘mind, pleasure’, Ir. meunoe ‘mind’<°men-m- : Skr. मननम- ‘mind, thought’;—W. an-ful ‘atrocious’ (: mad ‘good’), Gaul. (Sequ.) anmat… ‘unlucky’<°*ymat- : Lat. māturos orig. ‘in good time’ Walde² 470.

An explosive probably dropped before the group: W. pythefnos, pythevnnos ‘fortnight’ lit. ‘15 nights’ for *pymθévennoth (dissim. of nasal) <°*pempede(k)m-noktes<°Kelt. *q*ëp*ëp*ëd*ëk*mn noktes.

(2) Ar. -rl- and -Ir- can hardly be traced; we should expect them to give -ll- and -rr-. Late -rl- gave -rr- § 111 i (1).

v. (1) A group consisting of 1, 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 after two explosives the first explosive dropped; thus W. perth ‘bush’<°*perlā<°*perq*-t- : Lat. quercus<°perq*us § 86 ii (2): O. H. G. forha, O. E. furh, E. fir, Skr. parkatī ‘ficus religiosa’;—W. ceill ‘flint’<°*gelq*-t- : Lat. calx § 95 iv (2);—W. arth, Ir. art<°arktos § 98 i (2).

(3) But when a nasal came between two explosives, the nasal dropped; thus W. trwyth ‘wash, lye, urine’<°*tronkt- : W. trvno ‘urine’<°*tronq- : Lith. trenku ‘I wash’ (W. trochi ‘to bathe’<
§ 99

*tronq-, see vi (3)) : Lat. stercus, Bret. stroûk '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. *pythh '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. eochtar < *ektro-s : Lat. exertrus, extră, Osc. ehtrad (-x- for *-c- is a Lat. innovation, Walde² 263);—W. aethn-en 'aspen' < *aktu- < *aptn- : Lith. apusē 'aspen', O. H. G. apa, O. E. asp, E. esp : Lat. pōpulus < *plōptol-, Gk. πτελέω 'elm'.

But a double explosive before a sonant was not distinguished in Ar. from a single; thus ettre 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- < *atr- < *ad-tr-. In later formations the double consonant remained, as in W. athrist 'sad' < *attristis < *ad- + Lat. tristis. kr, tr may develop as kkr, ttr in W. as in ochr, rhurh § 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. e.

vi. (1) A group of the form nt or nd, followed immediately or mediately 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 cēol, 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 *ēl- the regular Ir. for *ent-) beside Bret. eître, Corn. yntre : Lat. inter, Skr. antār ;—W. athrugar 'pitiless' < *atr- beside Ir. étrőcar < *entr-, both < *g-trouga ár os;—W. cathl 'song' < *kätłlo-, Ir. cēol id. < *kēl(ɔ)lo-, O. W. centhliat, centhliat (eν≡ɛ) gl. canorum, beside Ir. cēal < *kentlo-, Bret. kéntel 'lesson' ;—W. allwedd f. 'key' for *alchwedd, Bret. alc'howeiz metath. for *achlweð < *g-gl(ɔ)-y-ūa ('unlocker'),
cf. agorίad 'opener' used instead in N. W.), also allwydd m.<nios : Lat. clando, clavis, Gk. κλας, etc.;—W. aches 'shelter' <*n-kla-stā (q- 'in'), ✓kel- 'hide' : O. H. G. hulst 'cover', W. clyd § 63 iii ;—W. achenog 'needy', achen 'need', beside W. angenog, angen, Ir. ēcen 'need' <*yκ-en- : Gk. ἀνάγκη.

Mediæ: W. adyn 'wretch' <*gddonios <*y-donios 'not-man', beside the later annyn 'wretch', annynol 'inhuman', Mn. Ir. anduine ;—W. agor 'to open' <*eggor- <*y-ghor- (q- negative), beside egor id. <*eggor- (pref. *ek-), ✓gher- 'enclose' : Lat. hortus, Gk. χόρος, W. garth ;—W. wibrwn 'cloud, sky', O. Corn. huibre, Mn. Corn. ebron, Bret. Van. ebr, beside Ir. imrim 'storm' : Lat. imber, § 100 v;—W. hebrwng 'to accompany, convey', O. Corn. hebrechiat, Mn. Corn. hembrunk, Mn. Bret. hambrouk <*sem-brouk- : Skr. sam- 'with', Goth. briggan, E. bring ;—Bret. abran 'eyebrow', Corn. abrans <*abr-ir, Ir. abra <*abr-, beside W. amran <*am-brant- (q-'in') : Lat. gen. front-is ;—Ir. cobrith 'help', beside W. cymryd 'to take' <*kom-bhr-t-. —The nasalized vowel sometimes develops a new nasal, resulting in a new nd, etc., which does not become un; thus W. enderig 'steer', O. W. enderic gl. vitulus, beside W. anner 'heifer' which contains old nd ;—Gwyn. dial, òw-gar 'hot breath, steam' for lit. W. ager 'steam' <*egger-, beside angerdd (ŋg = ng) <*ngger-, all <*g-gher- § 92 v.

Similarly Itr > *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 <*bhriknos : Gk. περικός § 101 iii (2); as -ce occurs in Ir., the doubling here is not Brit. gkk <gk § 61 i (1);—W. oruth a kind of fiddle, oroth 'womb', Ir. cruit 'harp, hump' <*grunit- : Lith. krūtis 'woman's breast', krūtine '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. ῥόγχος, ῥέγκω § 97 v (3). We have nk >kk >c'h after a nasal in the Bret. mutation after ma 'my', nao 'nine', as va c'haloun 'my heart', nao c'hant 'goe'; but the development is regular in W.

§ 100. i. (1) Ar. i- (Lat. j-, Gk. 'j, Germ. j, Lith. j, Skr. y-) remained in Pr. Kelt.; it disappears in Ir., but remains in W. Thus W. jeuname, Bret. iavouank, Corn. iouenc, Ir. óac, óc : Lat.
Though *gwr-* generally remains, it became *gwv-* in *gwvâl* 'make, do': Bret. *grâ*, Corn. *gurâ* < *wrâg-*; cf. Corn. *gyrewans* 'work', *gyrewr* 'worker' < *yreg-*. In the Oldest W. *r* remains: *gyrawyn tâwe* (≡ *gwyrawyn tawc* B.S.C.H. 2 'let us make peace', *wreith* B.A. 22 'was made' < *yrek-*; later *gwnech* L.L. 120, B.T. 64 'may do' < *yrek-s-; ML. W. *goreu* 'did' < *yregô- < perf. *yregô-; *yreg-*: E. *work*, Gk. *γρων* (Feypov). Also in *gynto* 'to sew': Bret. *gria* id., Corn. *gwry* 'seam' < *wreg-, same root; cf. Ir. *fracc* 'needle', *fraig* 'osier': Gk. *πρός*, etc. (orig. meaning 'bend', hence 'weave', hence 'work'; see Walde s. v. *vergo*).

When *gwyr-* or *gwl-* is followed by a rounded vowel or *w-*diphthong, it may become *gr-* or *gl-* by dissimilation: W. *grug* for *gwrug* § 75 ii; *gływ* for *gğlyw* § 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. *doo*, Lat. *heri*, Gk. *χθές*: Skr. *hydtâ* § 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. *dien* 'days' for *dieu* as in Mn. W. *triduan* '3 days' (the accentuation implies O.W. *dî-*) < Brit. *dîyes, < *diénes (iou > W. *jeu* § 76 iii (3)). The hesitation between *i* and *i* must go back to O.W. when the accent was on the ult. and the *u* would be unaccented. Lat. *i* became *i* early, and
we have *djawl* monosyll. § 84 ii < *diab(o)lus*, but pl. *di[e]yl* 3 syll. M.A. i 192a for *d耶fyl* < *diaboli*.

After medial consonants *u* and *i* remained, as in W. *pedwar* 'four.' § 63 vii (4); —W. *celwydd* 'lie' < *kalynio* - Lat. *calumnia* < *calumniiâ*; —W. *dedwydd* 'happy' < *do-tulio* : Lat. *tuéri, tütus*, O. Icel. *þyða* 'friendship', Goth. *þip* 'good' noun, √ *teyâ*- (not √ *teyâ*- 'swell, increase' according to Walde s.v. *tucor*); —W. pl. ending -*ion* § 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' < *ganr* < *gan* *(y)r* - § 63 vii (4); —*chwann-en* < *sqond* < *s-gyon*(y)d- ib. ; —*golchi* < *golk*- < *gol(i)q*- § 89 ii (2). —On -*y*- which came later between consonants in W., see § 42.

(3) Between *i* or *j* and a consonant, *u* dropped; as in *chwîd* 'vomit' < *spi*(y)t- , √ *speiuen* - § 96 iv (1); —W. *hoed* 'grief', Ir. *saeth* < *sai*(y)t- : Lat. *saeucus* (orig. 'sore, sad', see Walde s.v.); —W. *oed* 'age' < *aï*(y)t- : Lat. *aetas*, older *aevitas*. Hence while W. has final -*yw*, -*oyw* it has no -*yw-, -*oyw*, -*yog*, etc.

iii. (1) In Brit., in the diphthong *ii* (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 -*ios* > -*y*, -*iâ* > -*e*; -*i* > -*oed* § 75 iv. But the change did not take place in *oj* or *ii*.

(2) The same took place after *l* or *r* following the accent; thus *lî* > *lô* > W. *lï*; and *rî* > *rô* = W. *r8*. Examples: *lî* : W. *gallaf* 'I can' : Lith. *galiû* 'I can'; —W. *all- in all-fro 'foreigner', Gaul. *Allo-broges* < *alio*- : Lat. *alia*, Gk. *άλλος* < *άλιος* ; —W. *gwell* 'better' : Skr. *vârya-ḥ* 'eligible', *vâriyân* 'better' : O. E. *wel*, E. *well*, orig. 'choice', √ *wel* - 'wish'. —*rî* : W. *arddoaf* 'I plough' : Lith. *ariâ* 'I plough', Goth. *arjan* 'to plough'; —Pr. Kelt. *Igér-iron-, -iann* > W. *Iwerddon* 'Ireland', Ir. gen. *Érenn* ; —W. *morddwyd* 'thigh' : O. H. G. *muriot* 'thigh'; —W. *hurdd* 'a violent push' < *spuri- (ur < *y* 63 viii (1)) ; —sphürerâ- 'hurl, smite' § 96 iv (1) : Lith. *spiriiû* 'I kick' (ir < *e* § 63 iii); also possibly W. *g-orld* fem. 'mallet' (g-exerescent § 112 ii (2)), O. W. *ord* ox. 2, Bret. *orz* < *pûrî-â* 'smiter' : Gk. *σφυρα* 'mallet' < *σφυριά'; in that case Ir. *orðd* is from British (a not improbable borrowing, cf. Pedersen Gr. i 22-4).
(3) The change of ï to *§ 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 affe ction, and the *§ could not affect; hence ar$af, not *a$ir$af, 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- < *âlîo-, but aïl ‘second’ < *alîós, etc.; see § 165 vi.

iv. Ar. -mi- became -nj- in Pr. Kelt.; as W. dyn ‘man’, Ir. duine < *ghdómio-, § 98 i (3), § 121 i;—W. myned, ‘to go’, Ml. Bret. monet, Corn. mones < *momí- for *mamí- § 65 v (2), by assim. for *bam-í- < *gʷem-í-, ≠ gʷem-: Lat. venio, Gk. Bâiwo both < *gʷemjó, Goth. qiman, E. come. The -í- disappeared before the -e- of the suffix; the suffix may have been -at-, § 203 ii, which following the accent would become -et- after i, see § 65 vi (1). The ï was lost in the compounds an-fon, dan-fon ‘to accompany, send’, prefix § 156 ii (1).

v. In some cases metathesis of ï took place in Brit. Thus Ir. swide ‘soot’ comes from *södjo-, but W. hudd- in huddyl ‘soot’ implies *söd-; O. E. sôt, Lith. südzia ‘soot’ have L-grade; so W. soddaf ‘I sink’ < *söd- < *södí- beside W. soddaf ‘I sink’, sawdd ‘subsidence’ < *söd-, ≠ sed- § 63 ii.—W. drum ‘ridge’ < *drommm-< *drommís- < *drommi-: Ir. druimm < *drommi- (i-stem): Lat. dorum < *dgs-so-m, Gk. δείπας < *ders-ad-, Skr. dgs-ád ‘rock, millstone’, ≠ deres:—W. turijo ‘to delve’ < *toirq-< *torgi-: Lat. porca § 101 iii (1);—W. ar-o-fun ‘intend’, dam-(f)un-aw, dyrm-un-6 desire’, with -fun- < *moin- < *moní-: Lat. moneo, ≠ menít, extension of men ‘mind’;—W. ulw ‘ashes, powder’ < *oily-< *polví-: Lat. pulvis < *polúis;—W. Urien, O. W. Urb-gen § 25 i < *oírbo-gen- < *orbjo-: Gaul. Orbius ‘heir’, Lat. orbis, Gk. ὀρφανός;—W. wyneb ‘face’, in comp. wynab- b.m. 30 < *eínp-< *eínap-< *eni-sq mistr. (§ 65 vi (1)) : Skr. ánîkam ‘face’ < *eni-sq-; ≠ óq#: the un-metathesized form is seen in O. W. einupp, where ein- is from *en[i]- § 70 v, since old ei had then become ui = Mn. wy; O. W. enep, Corn. eneb Bret. enepe, Ir. enech show ï 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’ E.L. 104, 91, ‘sky’, O. Corn. huibren gl. nubes < *eibr-< *embhir-§ 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 alternations 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. στέγος, Lith. stógas ‘roof’, Skr. sthágati ‘conceals’; Gk. τέγος, Lat. tego, W. to ‘roof’; \(\sqrt{\text{s\-}}\)theg-;—Ir. searain, W. ysgraraf ‘I separate’; Lith. skiriu id.; Lat. cavo ‘flesh’, orig. ‘piece (of flesh)’; Gk. κέπω, Skr. krnátati ‘cuts’; \(\sqrt{\text{s\-}}\)ger-;—W. chwech ‘six’; *syeks;—Armen. vec < *yeks;—Lat. spargo, E. sprinkle: Gk. περκνός, W. erch ‘speckled, grey’ < *perq-, § 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 at 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. xlii 97 ff.

(2) A consonantal sonant after an initial consonant was sometimes dropped. Thus W. chwech, Gk. ἑκέ < *syeks; Lat. sex, Goth. saks < *seks;—Gk. πλατύς, W. ilydan, \(\sqrt{\text{plēθē}}\) ‘spread out, stretch’; without -l-, Lat. patēre, Gk. πετάνυμι, W. edau ‘thread’;—W. brau ‘brittle’
< *bhrāg-, Lat. frango, E. break; Skr. bhanākti 'breaks', Ir. con- 
boing 'confringit', Armen. bek 'broken'; — W. cryg 'hoarse', *qri-q-,
ysgrech 'scream' < *sqriq-nā, Gk. κριγω, κριγή, E. shrīk, Lat. 
crimen, *qrei-: without *r-, W. cwyn 'complaint' < *get-no-, Ir. 
cōnīm 'I mourn', Germ. heiser 'hoarse', O. E. hās > E. hoarse (in-
trusive ṛ); — W. craff 'sharp', crafu 'to scratch', crach 'cabs', 
E. scrape: without *r-, W. cafn 'trough' (scooped out), E. scab,
shave, shape, Gk. ἀκατό, σκάφος, Lat. scabo, Lith. skabūs 'sharp':
*sgru-b-/-bh-/-p-; — Lat. brevis < *breỳhuis, Gk. βάχος < *bhāg-
hus: without *r-, Ir. berr, W. byrr, Corn. ber, Bret. berr 'short' < *bek-
s-ro-s (with *ro- suffix like W. hūr 'long' < *sē-ro-s); Ir. be(c) 'small',
< *beggos with dimin. gemination; W. bach 'small' < *bēgh(u)so-;
bychan 'small', O. W. bichan, Bret., Corn., bichan < *biksogno-
< *briks < *bhṛgh(u)so-; bechan < *bhṛgh(u)so-, assumed to be f. in W.
— Later examples of lost *r- are E. speak: O. E. sprecan, Germ.
sprechen; — W. gwaith 'work': (g)prehith § 100 i (2); — Guto (t=t) 
hypocoristic form of Gruffudd.

(3) Between initial s- and a sonant, a labial or guttural was liable 
to drop; thus spr: er, and sql: sl, etc., Siebs, KŻ. xxxvii 285 ff.— W. 
cleddif 'sword', ar-choll 'wound' § 156 i (6), clais 'bruise'
< *qład-it, claddu 'to bury', *qλάδ- 'strike, cut, dig': W. lladd
'kill, cut off, mow', Ir. slaidim 'I strike, cut' < *slad- < *sqlad-:
— W. frwdu 'stream', fyrddio 'to gush' < *spru-t, Germ. Sprudel 'fount,
gush, flow of water' W. rhwdd, rhewyn, etc., § 95 i, < *sru-:
— W. jfroen f. 'nostril', Ir. srōn f. 'nose' < *sprunh: without s- (p . . . g
> t . . . g § 86 ii (3)), W. trwyn m. 'nose' < *prunho-s, trywyô
'scent' < *sprunhô: Gk. πρυγὸς 'pig's snout' < *srunghos § 97 v (3).
— So prob. Lat. scævus, W. chwth § 96 iii (2) < *sq-, by (2) above for
*sql-: Lat. laevus, Gk. λαύος < *sl-; by (2) *sl- > *s-, whence W. 
asswy < *as-sox-, Skr. savyâk; as sk- alternates with sq-, see iv (1),
the simple root is perhaps *kēli-: Lat. clino, clîmus, W. cledd 'left
(hand)', go-gledd 'north'. So perhaps Lat. lact- for *slact- for
*sqlact-: Gk. γάλα, W. glas-dur § 63 vii (3); — W. jfreu B.B. 37
'fruit' < *sprāg-: Lat. frâgum < *sqrg-.

(4) A semivowel after a long vowel was often dropped: Skr. 
asṭāu 'eight', Goth. ahtau: Skr. aṣṭā, Gk. ἀκτῶ, Lat. octō. The
reduced grade may come from either form; see ✅ ure(i) ✅ § 63
vii (5). Other sonants might disappear finally after long vowels, as Gk. 
kówon: Skr. śvā 'dog', Lith. szū, Ir. cū, W. ct; — Gk. μύρη: Skr. 
mudā.

iii. While the place of articulation remained the same, the mode of 
articulation might vary.

(1) At the end of a root a tennis frequently alternated with a media.
Thus O. E. dīfan, E. dive < *dheup-: W. dēfn 'deep', Gaul. dubno-
Lith. dubūs 'deep' < *dhub-, .defaultValue(); — Lat. gen. pācis: Lat. 
pango ✅ pāk/g-: — Lat. sparg-u: Gk. περκ-ιος, W. erch, ii (1) above;
— Lat. planeus, W. talch: E. flake, ✅ pelág/g- § 86 ii (3); — Lat.
lūceo, Gk. λευκός, W. lug ‘light’: W. go-leu ‘light’, Gaul. Lugu-, √leuq/γ. —So Lat. porca, W. rhcy ‘furrow’ < *prk: W. turio ‘to delve’ < *torq, (t- for p- § 86 ii (3)); W. tychio ‘to delve’ is a late form from tveich = Lat. porcus, prob. allied to the above words despite Armen. herk ‘newly ploughed land’ which implies -q-; (Lith. pāršzas ‘pig’ implies -k-); see iv (r).

In the same position an aspired media alternated with a media:

An aspired tenuis alternated with an aspired media;—Skr. nakh-ḥ ‘nail’: Ir. ingen, W. ewin, Lat. ungutis, Lith. nūgas ‘nail’.

(2) Initially a tenuis alternated with an aspired media, more rarely with a media. Thus W. craidd, Lat. corid-, Gk. καρπία, Lith. svzdīs, E. heart, Sk. ṣrad-, all from ḥ-: Skr. ṣṛda, Av. zarodā, from *ṛh-;—Ir. cinim ‘1 go, stride’, W. ṛhy-γyng ‘to amble’, Ir. cēim ‘stride’, W. cam id. < *kŋh-smen: Germ. Gang, E. gang-way, Gk. κόκυνν for *kayvn for < *ghyng, Lith. zengiū ‘1 step, stride’ < *ghengh; cf. √skg- § 96 iii (r);—Lat. porcus, Ir. orc, torc, W. tveich, O. H. G. fur(a)h < *p-: O. H. G. barah, O. E. eveh < *bh-;—O. Lat. dīguna, O. H. G. zunga, E. tongue < *d-: Ir. tenge, W. tafod, Corn. tawot, Bret. teod < *t-, see § 92 v, § 97 v (2);—W. erch ‘grey, speckled’, Gk. περκνός: W. brych, brith ‘speckled’, bwrnw ‘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, poter, Gk. πύων, πύθμαι, Goth. füls, E. foul, Skr. pūyati ‘putrefies, stinks’, √pēu(āx), pēu-: W. baw ‘dirt’ < *b(h)eu-, budr ‘dirty’ < *b(h)eu-tr-; also with ḥ for v, iv (r), Lat. paedor < *pai-d-, √peh-: W. baeddu ‘to dirty’ < *b(h)ai-d- (<d-present);—Lith. plūskos ‘hair’, O. E. flōns, F. féece, Ger. Fliess, √pleus-: W. belie ‘hair’ (mostly of animals, not of man’s head in W., as in Corn. and Bret.) < *b(h)leus-;—Lat. pasco, Gk. παρέομαι, Goth. fōðjan, E. food, W. yd ‘corn’, Ir. ith id., Skr. pītāḥ ‘food’, √pū(ā)-: O. W. bit ‘food’ < *b(h)it-, Ir. bid id. < *b(h)iā-< *b(h)iΔ-, W. bwyd do. < *b(h)i-t-;—Lith. pieget, Lith. peiktī ‘to blame’, O. E. fical, E. fickle, √peig/g-: W. bai ‘blame, fault’ < acc. *b(h)igim-: Gk. πέρποια, ἔτροπον, Lat. pars, W. rhan, √poro- § 63 vii (2): W. bawrn ‘judgement’ < *b(h)r-ν-, brawd id., Ir. bráth id. < *b(h)r̥(t- < *ghabh-. For meaning cf. Germ. Teil ‘part’; Urteil ‘judgement’.—

The above alternation may be accompanied by a similar alternation medially; thus Lat. caper, Gk. κάπως, W. caer-tyrch ‘roebuck’, all < *gap(e)r-: W. cafr ‘goat’, Ir. gabor, gabur, Gaul. Gabro- < *g(h)ab(h)r̥-;—Lat. capio, Goth. hafjan, W. caffel ‘to get’ < *gap-: Lat. habeo, W. gaff-ēl ‘to take hold (of)’ < *ghabh-.

There seems to have been a later tendency to substitute a media for a tenuis initially before a sonant in Brit. and Goidelic; as in Brit. Britan- for *Pritan- § 3 iii;—so W. brig ‘top (of a tree), crest
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(of a wave), hair of the head, border (of a country), briger 'hair of the head' (<*brük- for *prük-), metath. for *krip- > W. crib 'comb, crest, ridge (of a roof)'; Ir. criuch 'boundary of a country' (<*qruq-ys-broken redupl., √ gērēi- 'separate, divide, cut off' : Lat. crēna 'notch', crūsto 'crest', crīnis 'hair of the head' ;—Ir. droch 'wheel'; W. tro 'turn';—Ir. gēc: W. cāinc 'branch' (<*kŋ- : Skr. sākha 'branch' ;—W. gast 'bitch' : ci 'dog' § 96 ii (3) ;—Cf. W. Grawys, Garawys 'Lent' § 138 ; < Lat. quadrāgēsima.—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 not mutated further (except occasionally by false analogy).

(3) Alternations like the above occur in suffixes; as -*tvo-: -*dho- and -*tlo- : -*dlho-.

(4) Though l and r are not mixed indiscriminately, several doublets occur in which they alternate, as √ghuēr / √hveil- § 92 iv. These alternations may have originated, as suggested by Meillet, Intr. 143, in reduplicated forms in which, by dissimilation, r may become l, or even n. Thus √gērēi- 'devoir' gives *gʷer-gʷel-,*gʷn-gʷr-, etc., also with g for gʰ by dissim.; thus Gk. βββωρκω, Lat. vorāre, W. borus 'greedy' <*gʰr- : (broken redupl.) Gk. ἰβρογγ, MI. H. G. krag, Ir. bráige, W. breuant 'windpipe' <*gʰr-gʰu- : (full redupl.) Lat. gurgulio, O. H. G. querechela, Gk. γάγγανα : Lat. gula.

iv. The place of articulation might vary.

(1) The different gutturals sometimes alternate. Thus, q/k :—√leuq/k- : Skr. rōcate 'lights, shines', rokā-h 'bright', Lith. lāukti 'to expect', with -*q- : Skr. rāsant- 'bright, white', Lith. lūsītis 'lynx' with *-k- ;—the suffix -*go- : -*ko-, as Skr. maryakā-h (mārya-h 'young man') with -*q- : Skr. yuwasā-h (yuwan- 'young') with *-k- : Lat. juveneus, W. ieuanc ambiguous ;—√ak/oq- § 63 v (2) ;—√kei- : √qōi- : √qei-ei-, see Walde s.v. civis. For a large number of examples see Brugmann 1 545 ff. After s-, q- predominates, § 84 Note 2 ; and k/q alternate, as Skr. chihātī 'cats, severs' <*sk- : Lith. skēdžiu 'I separate' <*sŋ- , √sk(h)ei-s/ŋ(h)eid-.


Exactly the same change of position as the last is involved in the alternation of y and i, which occurs in some roots, as √ghēu- : √ghēi- 'yawn'.

(2) The Ar. consonant series p, t, k, q, qʰ is not a line with p and qʰ as loose ends, but as it were a circle, in which p and qʰ approach one another. qʰ 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 qʰ became p in some languages as W., Osc.-Umb., Gk., or that under certain conditions p > qʰ, § 96 iv. Already in Ar. there seem to be some cases of p alternating with qʰ, and even

(3) The change of p to t, which sometimes occurs is doubtless always secondary, as in Skr. śṭhivati ‘spews’ (: Lat. spuō, E. spew) where the t is due to the following palatal, cf. Gk. πνω < *pʰyũd. 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. 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.

i. (1) Assimilation of joined consonants: (a) Ar. pd > bd etc. § 93 i; sd > zd § 97; ghb > ghd § 98.—(b) In most of the derived languages mt > nt, etc. § 84, Note 3.—(c) In Kelt. tk > kk, etc. § 93, ii (2), (3); nl > ll, nr > rr, ln > ll § 99 iii; lδ > ll § 100 iii (2).—(d) In W. nt > nnh etc. § 106, 11t > ll § 105; dδ > d-d > t § 111 vii (2); 1x > l 110 ii (2). In Late Mn. W. nff > nth in benthyg < Ml. W. bęñfic < Lat. beneficium.
(2) Assimilation of separated consonants: Italo-Kelt. $p \ldots g^r \ldots q^m \ldots q^r$ § 86 ii (2).—Kelt. $b \ldots m > m \ldots m$ in *momiait- > W. myned § 100 iv.

iii. (1) Dissimilation of joined consonants: (a) Ar, $tt > t^t$ § 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-, mr- > br- § 99 ii (1); in W. nh > nd as in bendith 'blessing', sô > sd, lô > ld > ldd, lô > lld § 111 vii (2); dl > dl as in bodlon, sl > dr as in cadro § 111 vii (1); mX > mc as in amcan § 156 i (4); nô > ny as in O. W. anu § 99 iv (1), rv > rv as in sybery § 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. mni > ml in teimlo 'to feel' < *teimnjo < *tamm- < *tang-smen- : Lat. tango.

(2) Dissimilation of separated consonants: (a) Already in Ar, r...r > r...l etc. § 101 iii (4); and dr...r > t...r in *tisosres 'three', fem. > W. tair, Skr. tiśrāḥ § 69 iv.—(b) In Kelt. gn...n > gl...n in *glān- > W. glan 'knee' § 63 vii (4); l...l > r...l in *aralios > W. arall 'other', Ir. arailé.—(c) In W. gw...w > g...y in gwylw 'lord' < *gwlywn < *gli-w-o-s, VR of √velē(j) § 63 vii (2); gw...v > g...v in grebf 'instinct' (grebfu 'to be inbred') < *yrd-mā : Ir. frēm § 91; r...r > r...l in Chwesroch § 138 i (2); l...l > r...l in Ulfriθh 'new milk' for √le-flith < *lo-wilt 'call-milk', th...th > t...th in gwartaith 'manure' < *yter-tekt, √theq § 92 ii; l...ð > l...d in late Mn W. macnàthad for Ml. W. mnachthad etc. § 111 vii (3); ð...l > d...l in pedol 'horsesole' for √pedowl < Lat. pedālis.

iv. (1) Metathesis of joined consonants: (a) Nasalized stems may be the result of the metathesis in Ar. of the suffix -n- with the last consonant of the root; thus *jung-n- > *jung- > Lat. jungo, √jeg-; if so, forms like Skr. yunḏkti '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. di > id, etc. § 100 v.—(c) In W. lg > gl in annwyl 'dear' < *indulgens < Lat. indulgens; chl > ch in allwē 'key' for *alchwēs, Bret. alchouez, for *achl- § 99 vi (1); nm > mn in annmaid 'nod' < O. W. enmeit § 95 ii (3); dn > nd in andaw 'listen' for *adnaw § 76 iii (1), andwylo § 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. annwfn 'hell' < *y-dub-n- for *y-bud-n- 'bottomless': Gk. ἄ-βανσος; cf. O. Bulg. dińo 'bottom' and Armen. andunlık 'άζνοςος' with d...d for b...d by assimil. —(b) In Kelt. n...r > r...n in Gaul. Taranis 'Jupiter tonans', Taranu-, W. taran 'thunder', Ir. toran 'din', < *taran-, *toran- for *tor-*toner- : Brit. (-Lat.) Tanar-o Chester insc. (re-metath.). O. E. āmnor, E. thunder, Lat. tono, Gk. στένω √(ο)τενα-; b...g > g...b in Ir. goba, W. gof 'smith' < Kelt. *gōban- for *bog- < *bhog-: Gk. φῶγος, E. bake < *bhog-, Germ. backen < *bhog-n-, Lat. fons
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\[ bhōk/g- \]; in early Kelt, before the loss of \( p, k \ldots p > p \ldots k \) in W. archen ‘shoe’, Bret. archen < *park- for *karp- < *q, r, p- \[ qerāx- \] ‘shoe’ § 86 i (5).—(c) In Brit. \( n \ldots l > l \ldots n \) in W. telyn f. ‘harp’, Bret. telen, Corn. telin < *telenī for *ten-el-tī, \[ tān- \] ‘stretch’: W. tant ‘harpstring’, Lat. tendo, Gk. teiō, etc.—(d) In W. l...\( l > l ... l \) in medēl ‘soft’ for *mēlād < *mēlād-: Lat. mollis < *molduis, Skr. mṛdu-h ‘soft’, etc. \[ melā- \]; and in eildil ‘feeble’ for *eildī, § 156 i (2): ymlād § 204 i, \[ lēd- \] ‘weary, weak’.

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 \( b, d, g, f, z, ã, f \) respectively in W. Thus W. Cyndaf < Brit. Cunotam(os);—W. saeth ‘arrow’ < *saqeth < Lat. sagitta;—W. deq ‘ten’ < Brit. *dekan < Ar. *dekq;—W. cybydd ‘miser’ < Lat. cupidus;—W. llafnr ‘labour’ < Lat. laborem. 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. *oinos markos gave un march ‘one horse’, Brit. *oinā mammā gave un fam ‘one mother’, not *un-mam.

(3) The conditions are, however, not quite the same initially as medially. Medially -sk- became -\( \chi \chi - \) 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 \( \chi \chi - \), 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 *dīq̂us dagos > dydd da ‘good day’.
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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 Ml. W. ɣ 'her' (now written ei) < *esiás = Skr. asyáh 'her'; tri 'three' < Brit. *trejés (for *trejés 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 chwé § 108 iii.

*tair and pedair had the same accentuation, and in Bre. 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 1 and r were unvoiced; cf. sl- > ll-; sr- > rh-, § 95 i; but between vowels 1 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 1 and r in those positions where the said consonants are softened. Welsh grammarians therefore speak of ll, rh as "radical", and 1, 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 meaningless. Continental scholars use "Lenition" as a term embracing the Welsh "soft mutation" and the corresponding Irish "aspiration".

(5) Lat. sp, st, se remained, as Ml. W. yspeil < spolium § 69 iv (1), ystyr < historia ib., es cyn < ascend-. An explosive before the group dropped in W., as in estron < extrâneus; so after the loss of an intervening vowel, as W. esgob < episcopus, W. esgúd 'active' < exsecútus. See further § 111 vi (2). Except where c dropped as above Lat. x > įs, § 108 v.

ii. (1) Medially between vowels ɣ, the soft mutation of g, disappeared completely after the O. W. period; as in saeth i (1);—maes < *mazes § 29 ii (2): Gaul. -magus;—têyrn 'ruler' < *têyrn
ig gives y, affected to e, as above; it is often assimilated to the following vowel, as in dylo[y] < ML. W. dylyet < *dliget- § 82 ii (3); ML. W. breenhin ‘king’ < *brigant-īn-: Skr. acc. bhr̥ánt-an, gen. bhr̥at-āḥ ‘high, great’ < *bhr̥ȳ̄gh- ānt-, -yt-. Before ei it was lost, as in braint ‘privilege’, ML. W. breint < O. W. bryeint L.L. 120 < *brigantī-; ML. W. Seint < *Siguntion ‘Segontium’.—wy comes not from ig, but from eig, as in mod-ruy ‘ring’ < F-grade *reig-, as in rhwym § 95 ii (2); mor-duyw ‘sea-voyage’ < *teig-, Ir. ṭaing ‘I go’: Gk. ἱέτας; so canthorthwy ‘assistance’ < *kanta-ye-teig-, lit. ‘*go over with’.—āg gave eu, au, § 71 iii.

Initially 3 disappeared completely; but as the initial of the second element of a compound it often became 3 > ȝ after a dental (d, ð, n, l, r), as Llwyd-iarth < *leito-garto- § 95 iv (3); Pen-iarth < *penno-garto-; mil-jast D.G. 278 beside mil-ast ‘greyhound bitch’; arw-floedd-īast § 157 ii (1); Mor-ien, O. W. Mor-gen ‘*sea-born’; Ur-ien, O. W. Urb-gen § 100 v.

For ȝ before and after sonants see § 104 ii, § 105 ii, § 110 ii.

(2) The soft mutation of m was originally the nasalized spirant ð. 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. maud f. (y fawd ‘the thumb’), still with m- in mod-ruy orig. ‘thumb-ring’. In a few cases m- and b- interchange, as bath and math (y fath ‘the kind of’), baeddu and maeddu ‘to dirty’.  

Nid adwoen, iawn yno dwedyo,  
Weithian i bath yn y byd.—G.I.H.

‘I know not, it is right to say it, her like now in the world.’
Och imi! pe marw chwemwy,
O bydd i math mewn bedd mwy.—D. N., P. 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. *oinā. 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, √ q*rejā- § 201 i (4);—pl > bl in W. pobl < Lat. poplās;—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-, √ qerejī- Lat. crēbrum;—br > fr in W. dwfr 'water' § 90;—bn > fn in W. dwfn 'deep' ib.; W. cefn 'back' < *kebn-: Gaul. Cebenna 'les Cévennes' (*geb- allied to *gamb/p- § 106 ii (1));—dm > sf, see iv (2).

ii. (1) g before l, r, n gave ġ, which became ğ forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. The Mn. developments are as follows: ag > ae; eg > ei or ai; ig > i; og > oe; ug > wy; ġg > eu or au; ğg > i. Thus W. aer 'battle', Ir. är 'slaughter' < *agr-: Gk. ἀγράφα;—W. draen 'thorn' < *dragn- < *drēghn-: Gk. τρέχων;—W. tail 'manure' < *tegl- § 35 ii (3), √ (o)theg- 'cover' § 92 i, cf. gwartaith 'manure' < *yerta-tekt-;—W. oen 'lamb', Ir. ùan < *ognos § 65 ii (2);—W. oer 'cold', Ir. ùar < *ogr-: Gaul. (Seq.) Ogron... name of a month;—W. annwyl § 102 iv (1);—
W. ceulo < *c ogl-  § 71 iii. Examples of gm are uncertain. On
swyn < Lat. signum see § 72 ii.

Following the accent, g after a became 3 and disappeared; as
in the suffix -aguo-, < *-o-guo- ( *-o- is the stem vowel, which
becomes a in Ir., and when unacc. before g in Brit.), as seen in
Brit.-Lat. Maglagni, Corbagni, Broccagni giving W. Maealan, Carfan,
Brychan; Ir. -ân as Broccân; so O.W. bichan, W. bychan, Ir. becân.

For the affected forms of the above groups see §§ 69, 70.

(2) gi > ã > í; thus W. cae 'enclosure, field' < *kagio-, Gaul.
5th cent. caium, whence Fr. quai, √ kogh-/kogh- : Lat. cohus, E.
 hedge, Germ. Hecke;—Ml. W. daeoni 'goodness' < *dago-jono-
guin- (re-formed as da-ioni in Mn. W.). It is seen that the
vowel is not affected by the i, but it may be by a following 3 < õ;
thus W. llai, Ml. W. lei 'less', Ir. laigin, both < *lagjos <
*leg(4)yios : Lat. levis, Gk. ἕλαξσ ;—W. -(h)ai, Ml. -(h)ei <
*sagio § 121 i, § 201 iii (4).—So ighi affected by a gave igh becoming
-ei, -ai, as W. lai, Ml. lei 'houses' < *ligia < *tigesa, pl.
of *ligos 'house';—W. carrai 'lace' < Lat. corrigia. When
unaffected, ighi gave i> í ; as in bř 'honour' < *brigio- : breinn,
braint § 103 ii (1); and llio in Ml. W. Kaer-llion < *ligiõesos,
Brit. gen. for Lat. legiônis.

Similarly ogi > oe > o, § 78 i (1), in to 'roof' < *togio- : Ir.
tuige gl. stramen, and amdo 'shroud' < *nbi-togio- : Ir. im-thuige
'clothing' : Lat. toga, √ (s)theg-—ugí > wy > w, § 78 i (2), in
lw 'oath' < *lugion : Ir. tuige, lugae < *lignion. (Ml. W. pl. llyeu,
lyein, Mn. llwo, dial. llyfon are all analogical formations.)

(3) gu > x > w : W. tev 'thick' < *tegu- § 76 viii (2).—ogí
> ojí > eu in euol 'worms in sheep' < *ogí- < Ar. *ogʰí- : Gk.
óphi, Skr. áhī 'snake'.

iii. (1) Before u Brit. k > ñ > í, so that kn gives the same
result as gn; thus W. dwyn 'to bring' < *dnk-n- § 203 iv (3);—
bracnu 'to rot' < *brakn- < *mreq-n- § 99 ii (1);—croen 'hide,
rind' < *krokn-, Bret. croch'en, Ir. crocenn < *krokn- (kn > kk) <
*grog-, Vf of *gereq- broken redup. of √ ger- 'divide, rip' : Lat.
corium, cortex, O. Bulg. (s)kora 'rind', korieć a kind of vessel, W.
cerrelj 'coracle';—W. gwau < *yaku- < *yak-aku- : W. ochr see
below;—W. tin 'buttock' < *tikná < *tān, Ir. tūn < *tākná:
E. thigh O. H. G. dioh. This may be due to gemination of k,
see (2) below; in many cases *kn > gn regularly; thus W. sugno 'to suck' < *seuk-n-, √ seug/g-: Lat. sīcuē, sūgo, E. suck, etc.;—W. dygu 'grievous' < *diku- < *dewyn-: Ir. dingim 'I press down', O. E. tenan 'to press';—W. rhygyn 'to rub' < *ruk̂-n-: Gk. ῥυκάνν;—W. dogu 'portion, dose' < *dok-n-, √ dok-: Gk. δέκωμαι, δοκάνη· δήκη.

(2) Before r, k, t give g, d regularly, as in gogr i above;—
chwegr < *mekev- § 94 iv;—W. deigr 'tear' < *edarū § 120 iii (1);
—W. aradr < Ar. *arāstom § 87 i;—W. modryb § 69 ii (4); etc.

But W. ochr 'edge, side' beside Ir. ochar < *okr̂-, √ ak̂-oq-, W. rhuthr 'rush' beside Ir. rūathar < *reu-tro-, √ reu-: Lat. ruo, imply kkr, ttr for kr, tr § 99 v (4). Compounds like go-chrwm: crwm 'bent' may owe their čh to this, or to s before k.

An example of k < gg giving the same result is Ml. W. achreawdryr
B.T. qr 'gathering' < Lat. aggregātiō, with excrescent -r; cf. cyng-
reuawdr < congrégatio in Cyngreuawdryr Fynydd ('Mount of Assembly') 'The Great Orme'.a Similarly g before r may be treated as
gg and give g, as in Ugyru 'to injure, violate, corrupt': Gk. αὐργός,
Lat. lugo, Skr. rujāti 'breaks', Lith. liūžti 'to break', √ leug/j-.

iv. (1) Brit. dn > W. n (not *un); as in W. bôn 'stem'
< *bud-nb-, bunedd 'nobility' < *budnijā : Ar. *bhudh- 'bottom'
§ 102 iv (2);—W. blynedd < *bidnijās § 125 v (1).

(2) Brit. dm > W. nf; as W. greddf 'instinct' § 102 iii (2);—
W. deidi 'law' < *dedmā < *dedhā-mā, √ dhē-: Gk. τεθύμος,
θεθύμος < *dethh-mos;—W. add-fwyn etc. § 93 ii (3), q.v.

(3) Brit. dl, dr after a back vowel became Ȝl, Ȝr; the Ȝ
remained after the accent, and was provoked to d, as hauld, cadr
§ 111 vii (1), and disappeared before the accent, as in iôr < *ind-rós
§ 66 v. After a front vowel dl, dr > gl, gr, and developed
accordingly, ii (1); thus W. cadair, Ml. kadair < Lat. cat(l)edra;
—W. cirif 'number' < *ed-rim- < *ad-rim-: Ir. áram;—W.
iv waered 'downwards' < *di woiret < *do upo-ped-ret-; gwael 'base'
< *upo-ped-los, √ ped- 'foot';—W. aelwyd 'hearth', Bret. oaled,
O. Corn. oilet < *ailh-Letì- : Gk. αἰθάλος 'soot', Lat. aedes,
√ ailh- 'burn', cf. § 78 ii (3).

v. bl > fl or wl, as in gafl 'fork': Ir. gabul, Lat. gabalus

a 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, diawol § 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.

1k > 1ch, as W. golchi § 89 ii (2);—W. calc < Lat. calc-em.—
1p > 1ff, as W. Eifffin < Gallo-Lat. Alpinus.—It > lst, as in Ml. W. kyfeillt ‘friend’ = Ir. comaithe ‘foster-brother’ < *kom-all(i)os; W. allt ‘declivity; grove’ < *all-, ñ al- ‘grow, nourish’; Lat. alo, altus;—medially it becomes ll as in W. cyillell ‘knife’ < Lat. cultellus; W. di-wyllo ‘to cultivate’; grylll ‘wild’ § 92 iv;—except in re-formations, as in hollti ‘to split’ from hollt § 96 iv (1); the t is sometimes lost finally in an unstressed syllable, as in Mn. W. cyfaill, Ml. and Mn. deal § 75 vi (4).

ii. rb > rf, as in W. barf ‘beard’ < Lat. barba; also rw, as in syberw ‘proud’ < Lat. superbus.—rd > r8, as in bardd < Brit. *hardos (Bapboi: ñoiodai ñarad Galáraí, Hesych.).—Medially rg > ri as in arian ‘silver’ = Ir. airget < Kelt. *argyt-o&m : Lat. argentum, Skr. rajatá-m : Gk. ἀργύρος, ॲ(rate). Finally rg > r, -ry, -ra, -rw § 110 ii.

1b > lf, as in gylfin ‘beak’, O. W. gilbin : Ir. gulban id. < Kelt. *gulb.–—Medially lg > li, as in dalíaf § 110 ii (2); for final lg see ib.—Medially ld > ll as in callavw ‘caldron’ < Lat. caldárum;—finally llt as in svelt ‘money, shilling’ < Lat. sol’dus.

iii. rm > rf or rw § 99 ii (2);—lm > lf, ib.;—nm > nf or nw § 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. kytóm ‘100’ > Brit. *kanton; Ar. *pemq*e ‘5’ > Kelt. *qewq*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*ghaf n.r. 1278, spv. of *prin* ‘scarce’ ib. 1280 (< *q*uru-sno-s: prid ‘precious’, \( \sqrt{q*rei-a} \) ‘buy’); *meithring* (-*i*) D.G. 69 for *meithrin* ‘to nourish’; *Einion* is often written *Eingion* or *Eingion* \( \equiv \text{ei}^2\text{on} \), which has become *ewan* in Gwynedd, e.g. *Llan-engan* near Pwllheli.

(ii. (1) Brit. *mb, nd, ng* became respectively *mm, nn, nd*; they remain so in *W.*, *mm* being generally written *m*; *nn* finally written -\( n \) (but -\( nn \) in monosyllables in Ml. *W.*); *\( \sigma \sigma \) written *ng* (and Ml. *W. gg* or *g*); see § 51 iv, § 54 i (2). Thus ‘*W.* cvn ‘valley’ < Brit. *kumbo*, \( \sqrt{\text{geub/p-}} \) ‘curve’; Lat. *ciupa*, -*umbo*, Gk. *k\( \upsilon \)\( \mu \)\( \beta \)s, etc.;—W. *cam* ‘bent, crooked’ < Brit. *kambo*: Gaul. *Cambo-\( \delta \)\( \upsilon \)\( \upsilon \)*, Gallo-Lat. *cambiare* : Lat. *campus* (orig. ‘vale’), Gk. *\( \kappa \)\( \alpha \)\( \mu \)\( \pi \)\( \tau \), *\( \kappa \)\( \alpha \)\( \mu \)\( \mu \)\( \pi \)\( \tau \)*, \( \sqrt{\text{qamb/p-}} \) ‘curve’;—W. *twun* ‘bruised, broken’ f. *toun* < Brit. *tund-os, \( \alpha \)* : Lat. *tundo*, Skr. *tundale* ‘strikes’, \( \sqrt{(s)\text{teu-d-}} \);—W. *toun* ‘wave’ < Brit. *tund\( \delta \) < *tun-d\( \alpha \) : Lat. *tuneo*, W. *tyfu*, \( \sqrt{\text{teu-d-}} \) ‘swell’;—W. *cann* ‘white’, *cannu* ‘to whiten’, *llber-gan* ‘moon-lit’ < *\( \text{gand} \)* : Lat. *cands*, Gk. *k\( \alpha \)\( \nu \)\( \Delta \)\( \rho \)\( \alpha \)\( \rho \)\( \sigma \)* < *\( \text{gand}*-, beside W. *cynuen* ‘to kindle’, *cynne* ‘a burning’, *cynnu* ‘firewood’, Ir. *condud* < *\( \text{gond} \)* : Skr. *\( \text{cand}-*, *\( \text{scand}-* \) ‘shine’ < *\( \text{s} \)\( \text{gend} \)-* : \( \sqrt{\text{sqand/-sgend}-} \);—W. *llong* ‘ship’ < Lat. *longa*;—W. *angel* < Lat. *angelus*. So before a sonant, as *Cymro* pl. *Cynry* < Brit. *kom-brog-os, \( \alpha \)* ;—W. *amrw\( \delta \)l* ‘raw’ : *\( \text{brwd} \)* § 63 vii (4);—*Cyngrawdr* § 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\( \upsilon \)* (< *Ar. ng\( \upsilon \)h*) was unrounded and gave *\( \nu \)*, as in *Ulyngyr*, angerdd § 92 v. When *\( \nu \)* came before a sonant, including *\( \upsilon \)*, it was first simplified to *\( \nu \)* and then lost, as in *\( \epsilon \)\( \upsilon \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \dot{\iota} \)\( \upsilon \)*, *tasad*, see ib. So we have *nwara\( \delta \)* n.r. 1331, o.r. [372] ‘nine degrees’ < Brit. *nouar-grad* (nou\( \varphi \)\( \delta \)\( \iota \) B.B. 42 may have old *\( \nu \)*, but is prob. analogical);—W. *cyni* (one *\( n \)*) ‘trouble’ < *k\( \kappa \)\( \omega \)\( \kappa \)\( \iota \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)\( \nu \) * < *\( \kappa \)\( \kappa \)\( \nu \)\( \nu \)\( \nu \)\( \mu \)\( \nu \)\( \mu \)\( \nu \)\( \mu \)nu- * § 203 vii (4);—W. *aren* ‘kidney’, Ir. *\( \alpha \)\( \dot{\iota} \)* < *\( \text{axr} \)* < Kelt. *\( \text{anog} \)\( \nu \)\( \text{r} \)- < *\( \text{ang} \)\( \nu \)\( \iota \)-, \( \sqrt{\text{aneg}^{\text{m}h} \)} : Gk. *\( \nu \)\( \epsilon \)\( \phi \)\( \rho \)\( \omicron \)*, Lat. *Prænest.* *nefrônës*, Lanuv. *nebrundînës*
The Nasal Mutation

§ 106

The nasal mutation took place before the loss of Brit. syllables, for nd coming together after the loss of a syllable remains, as in trindod < Lat. trinitāl-em. Initial mediae were assimilated to final nasals before the latter were lost; e.g. naw myuedd 'nine years' < *nymam mlidniās < nepu bl.

Every Brit. nd became mn, so we have no words ending in nd except where a vowel has been lost in the Mn. period between the sounds, as in ond etc. § 44 vi; see iii (4).

iii. (1) Brit. mp, nt, nk remained finally as in W. pump, pumpy < Brit. *pempe; W. cant < Brit. *kanton; W. ieuanc < Brit. *iouakos § 100 i (1). For exceptions see (2). Medially they became mmh, mnh, mnh respectively, as in Ml. W. ymherawdwr < Lat. imperātor; W. cynevbu 'to warm' < Brit. *kon-tess-, / tep-, § 96 ii (5); W. anghenol 'deadly' < Brit. *awkov-, / anek-: Lat. neco, Gk. νέκιος, 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 ugeyn as early as A.L. ms. A. see i 4, 8, 12, etc., and is ugain in Mn. W.; in arjant A.L. i 6, now arjant 'silver'; in diffrint (≡ y) B.B. 91 'vale' (< *dyfr-hyn 'water-way'), already diffrin 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 again hannarch.—B. Br., π. H. 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 w.m. 108, Mn. W. cainc 'branch'. *nc is often written *nc (cf. § 18 iii), but *nc is adequate and unambiguous, as *nc in Eng. bank.

(3) Medial nt, etc. remain when originally followed by h as in cyntedd 'porch' for *cynt-heð < *kintu-sed- § 63 ii; cyntaf 'first' < *cynt-haf < *kint-isamos; and in newer formations, as plentyn 'child' from plant, llanciau 'lads', sg. llanc. Some vocables, with mutation in Ml. W., are re-formed without mutation in Mn. W., as amrannau w.m. 41, amrantaau Job xvi 16; seinnyeu § 128 ii, Mn. W. seintiau 'saints'; gwynnoed w.m. 41, gwynntoeedd Matt. vii 25; heintyew w.m. 123, heintiau Luc xxii 11; oégheu, ceingheu w.m. 144, ceingciau Can. viii 7.

(4) The nasal mutation of the tenues does not date from the Brit. period, for the nasal endings of *nuonau 'nine', *dekan 'ten', etc., while they mutated initial mediae, did not mutate initial p, t, k; thus nau cant '900', deg peys '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- < *mbi-, scribenn m.c. < Lat. scribend-, crunn- m.c. 'round' (: Ir. cruind), etc., but no mb, nd. But the tenues are found unmutated, as in tantou, Mn. W. tannau, sometimes mutated as in brovannou m.c., pl. of breuant 'windpipe'. In pimphet 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 Ml. W. the tenuis is mutated, as in breuhiin b.b. 75, § 103 ii (1), aighew, aighen b.b. 23, emen etc. § 24 i. Though
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 i, when the stop was loosened the aspirate remained; thus ut, properly ut-h, became unh. That Early Ml. W. nh as in synhuir § 48 iv is short for unh is proved (1) by such spellings as morcannhuc, brennhin L.l. 120, and (2) by the fact that when it lost its aspirate after the accent it appeared as nn, as synnwyrr m.R. 13, w.M. 20, while brenhin in which nn had become n after the long vowel, is breniu (not *brenniu), and an original single n + h always gives n, as in glânaf for glânaf, superlative of glân 'clean'. It is clear therefore that the mutation of ut is strictly n-h, 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 mhen, but fy mhen 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 is phrases where the following word began with a vowel or an immutable initial; thus yn: ynn lann l.l. 120, in alld b.B. 64, in llan do. 63, 64, yn amgant do. 66, in llav do. 65, etc.; but fy: mi-hun m.c., vy argluit 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.l. 120 'in its' is probably n y, with syllabic y or yn, a pronunciation still often heard.

iii. After yn in Early Ml. mss., b and d are generally mutated,
and probably ġ is to be read ð. Thus in B.B. we find
innehcreu 29, inwefin (≡ yn unwfin) 87, inwyfrin 65, inwyanked 47,
yg godir, ygodir 63; in A.L. MS. A. eniokel (≡ ym niogel) i 46, 50,
emonekolywen (≡ ym môn y golofn) i 10. Non-mutation is rarer:
ymlith B.B. 33, in differin 47, 48. On the other hand
p, t, c are rarely mutated, the usual forms being in tyno, 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-ueig 72. But examples of mutation
also occur, mh, nh, ngh appearing at first as m, n, g § 24 i, as
ymliith B.B. 20, in hal art do. 49, eyghyd (≡ yughyd) A.L. i 40, emop
lie 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 unmutated. 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 mynedd '9 years', but naw pwyys
'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 perchyn, vy parch 42, wy clun 49, vy pen, vy crown 62,
vy penhid 81, vy ky 99; the form wynpechaud 83 is a rare excep-
tion, and in no case is the tenuis nasalized. But b and d are
generally nasalized in B.B., ġ being also probably for ð; thus vy
uruc 24, vy-nragon 51, vi-mrid (≡ fy mryd) 82, vi-nwyforn (≡ fy
nwyrfron) 100, vy-nihenit 50, vy martrin 67. The occurrence of a
number of examples like vy bartrin 67, vy dwn 82, vy dewis, vy
Dews 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 druc, 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 yn nh fy nhad 'in my father's house'.

v. (r) 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 unmuted, and fy is treated as fryn;
thus yn fy vynmat i e. a. 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 vyghof w. m.
104 = vyf cof r. m. 76, vymhechawt w. m. 399 = vym pechawt r. m. 255,
e tc. Further, the cyghanedd always implies the mutated form; as

yn-trugare8 yn fi gwirion,—r. p. 1216;
0 sychth ym-perigyl swirth amharavt,—do. 1250;

where ntr is to be read nhr to correspond to n'H, and mp must be
nh 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, vyghret do. 390; vyf 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 unmuted,
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
ymon colofyn w. m. 181, r. m. 84. Here again the cyghanedd belies
the non-mutation, as in

yg-karchar yn-daear yn yr,—r. p. 1168,

where we must read yn naear (to give na/ny as required by the
cyghanedd sain). With yn, g is generally doubled, as in yggyovot,
ygyovyd w. m. 123, but is sometimes single, esp. before w, as in ygyuales
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 maryl 59, vy
nravet 62, vy-juweic 62, vy ni varadwydaw 43 ; more rarely the nasal
and mute, as vym-bravet 51, vyn 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 Penarth mss., we find ynghaer llion 50/90, ymyell, ynghaer
53/126, ymorgannwug 54/37, vymod 54/21, vyngwallt 54/280, ymhow
54/209, vymhenmadur 57/27. Sometimes the words are separated;
thus yn 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 Nuw, fy mhol, "to saue
the word the les mained," as he explains (1586 Pb. Preface). G. R.
mutated the consonants and joined the words, *fyng-halon* 41, *ymnhy* 79; he states that *m* is double—"*ymhob a leissir ymmhob*" 80 (see § 54 i (2)). His reason for joining *fy* appears to be that *ng* cannot be initial, "*canys rhö anod yw sillâu fy ngwaith, fy nghwæs*" 42. Dr. Morgan separated the words in the case of *n* and *m*; as *fy nhŷ Job xix 15, *yn nhŷ* do. i 13, *fy nhen xxix 3, ym mha beih vi 24*; but he appears to think like G.R. that *ng* cannot be initial, and writes *fyng-halan* xxxvii i, *ynyhilfach* xxxviii 16, 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 nhŷ*. 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* (≡ɔ) was part of the preposition *yn*; at the same time *ngh* or *ng* was the initial of the noun, and Dr. M.'s hyphen in the middle of the trigraph *ngh* 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 *ynghlymry* 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); *Ynynyrog* 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 ɔ except before *k* or *g*. The later form *y Nghwynedd* d.g. 41 (1789) misrepresents the preposition as an open syllable. Pughe adopted *yn Ngh*, *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/iv/1 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 Ngchrist* 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 Morgannwg (who denounces "*dull ffaidd Mr Owen Pughe*" C.B.Y.P. 237), R. I. Prys, T. Stephens, T. Rowland, and Silvan Evans.

(5) *Fŷ* 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 *fy/nau*. As words are separated in modern orthography, the usual spelling *fy Nuw* 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 *yn/nau*, ordinarily and correctly written *yn Nuw*. In the same way we have
§ 108. THE NASAL MUTATION

ym Mangor, yo Dwyneidd. With our present alphabet we have to write the last yng Ngwynedd; so yng Nghadelling. 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. ygywyned w.m. 108, ygy yadellig w. 9a, § 24 i.

(6) There are, however, a number of adverbial and prepositional expressions, in which yr, 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, ynghych, ynglyn, ynghol, ynhudd, ymhell, ymysg, ymrwn, ymlaen, ymhen, ymgham, ymhellach, ymghynt, etc. No principle of accentuation is violated in this spelling, as asserted by Silvan Evans, Llythryaeth 50, who recommends yng nyhyd 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; hvch : 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, χk.

iii. The spirant mutation after chwe 'six' is irregular. From Kelt. *sueks kantom we should expect *chwe can, since ks k gives sk, and final -s would drop. But the independent form of *sueks was already *χk 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 > *χb > ib; the i forms i-diphthongs § 29 i, cf. § 104 ii (1); thus akt > aeth; okt > oeth; ukt > wyth; ekt > eith, Mn. aith; ikt > ith. Thus W. caeth < Brit. *kaktos § 86 ii (1); doeth < Lat. doctus; ffrwyth < Lat. fructus; saith < Brit. *sektan < Ar. *septy; perffaith < Lat. perfectus; brith < Brit. *briktos < *bhgyklos § 101 iii (2); eithin
'furze' < *ektɛn- < *ak-tɛn-, √ ak-/*og-; seithug 'fruitless'; <
*sek-tonk- < *segn- 'without' + *teu-q-, √ teuăr- 'increase'; eithaf
'extreme' < *ek-tɛn-ɔs : Lat. extimus.

(2) In Ml. W. there was a tendency to voice this th to δ, as in
perffiðyfaw p.la. 19 from perffið, now re-formed as perffiðhio 'to
perfect'; arthwæeddont do. 32 'they may taste' (: chweith 'taste').
The δ survives in cynysgæðu from cynysgæth 'endowment'. In æth
+ vb. 'to be' forming old perfects and pluperfects, the diphthong was
simplified, giving ath-, affected to eth-, as ethyw p.la. 82, more
commonly ethyw 'went'; so aðeð 'had gone', etc., § 193 vi (3), (5).—
Final δ so produced disappeared in heno, yna, etc. § 78 i (1).

v. Lat. *x > *χ > is; thus ax > aes, etc.; as W. llaes 'trailing'
< laxus; pais, Ml. W. peis < pexa (tunica); coes 'leg' < coxa.
So Saeson < Saxones, Sais < Saxo § 69 ii (2). Similarly Brit.-ks-
from -nks- 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 fern. sg. noun
has its soft initial because most fern. 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>l</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>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The words "No change" in the table mean that the con-
sonants under which they are placed retain their radical forms
in those positions where the others undergo the respective muta-
tions. Thus after yn, which nasalizes the explosives, m, l, 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 ll 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" δ and f were liable to be confused; and so we find one substituted for another as in cuddygł (ku'dygł W.M. 140, R.M. 211) 'cell' for *cufygł < Lat. cubic' lum (prob. influenced by cudl 'hidden'); Eidgonyð R.P. 1287 for Eifonydd (eivonit B.R. 69); Late Mn. W. Caer Dydd for Caer Dyff 'Cardiff'; or two metathesized, as in clefyđeu R.M. 182 for clefy'v eu do. 126, and in clefytaud (t≡δ) B.B. 48 for clefy'weud: W. cleddyf, § 76 viii (2) (Ir. claideb 'sword' < W.).—S.V. (p.M. xcii) says of the line Kawn vedd rhad kyneddva 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 gradd has become dy ardd 'thy garden'. Medially it disappears or becomes i before a vowel, or before l, r or n § 103 ii (r), § 104 ii. Medial ngn>n, as in ymad § 62 ii; cf. § 106 ii (l).

(2) Medially after l or r it appears as i, § 105 ii, which is lost before y, as in colým < O.W. colýmna § 54 ii. This palatalization of i to i < after a liquid is comparatively late, for it does not take place finally; in that position i remained dark, and became non-syllabic y, as in Mn. W. daly (1 syll.) 'to hold'; this was either assimilated to the l as in N. W. dal (< *dal-l, double l, not ll), or was lowered to a and became syllabic, as in S. W. dala; from Brit. *dalý-<*dʒl'gh-,

\[\sqrt{dələ^2g}\]-: Skr. d̯ṛghāḥ 'long', Lat. indulgeo, longus. Medially it is i from the same stem, as in daliáf 'I hold, maintain, continue'. So we have Mn. W. hely 'to hunt', N. W. hél 'collect', S. W. hela; Mn. W. boly 'bag, belly', N. W. bol, S. W. bola; Mn. W. gwaly, Mn. W. gwala 'sufficiency'; Mn. W. eiry 'snow', Mn. W. (N. and S.) eira, and eir in eir-law 'sleet', ces-air 'hail'; Mn. W. llary 'generous'

< Lat, largus, Mn. W. llarïaidd. The form -a appears in writing as early as the n.b., e.g. llara 7, 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 (≡ y), p. 136; but Dr. Davies compares it with Eng. final mute -e, as in take, and writes it y, as boly, hely D. 19. The correctness of this transcription is confirmed by the B.C.H., where it appears as e (≡ y, § 16 iii), as dale a. L. i 20 = daly. [ɔ > y > a forms an interesting parallel to the supposed Pre-Ar. ɔ giving œ and then mostly ʌ.]

(3) Lat. virgo > W. gwyr (1 syll.) D.G. 156, illa. 84, 87, 90, etc., whence gwyrddawt B.B. 119, though we have also gwerynffawt illa. i 17, 50, 84, B.B. 40, direct from virginilatem. In B.B. 70 occurs the pl. gwirion < Brit. *wiriones. Later we find morwyn wyra a. L. i 518; Gwynedd dial. menyn gwyrð (for *gwyr-t cf. dal-l) 'unsalted butter', Dyfed menyn gwyrda, Rhys CC. 46. We also have gwyrf (1 syll.) D.G. 118, gwyrffyn vireindawf (4 syll.) R.P. 1199, and gweryð (2 syll.) R.P. 1200, D.G. 137, pl. gweryddon (3 syll.) R.P. 1199, B.B. 71. The latter cannot be derived from virgo; no medial syllabic irrational y is known in Early Ml. W.; gweryð must be Kelt. and may represent *gherig, pl. *gheriones: Ir. gerait 'virgin', gerait (i. mac bee) 'little boy'. O'Dav.: redupl., Gk. παρθένος < *gher-g'hén- (not: Skr. prthukāḥ 'boy, calf', since *th > Gk. τ), Lat. virgin- < *gher-ghen-, dissim. for *gher-g'hen-, and perhaps W. gwyrf < *ghergho, which fits exactly, § 92 iii. —Dr. Davies wrongly takes Ml. W. gwyrffyn as a disyllable gwyr'rf, which it may have become dialectally, § 16 v (3). The biblical pl. gwyr'ffon is formed from the new disyllable.

(4) In burw < *burg- § 97 v (3), llurw < *burg- < *lorg- § 215 ii (7), the -ɔ was rounded by the preceding w, and became -w. In derived forms, however, it became ɔ regularly; as Ml. W. byriaf 'I cast down', now buriaf.

(5) In hy 'bold' (< *hyg < *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-hyet s. g. 277, hy-der, hy-dab. In the dialects, however, f is inserted in new derivatives, as hyf-dra, hyfach, which, like llefydd, brofydd, dial. pl. of lle, bro, are due to false analogy. Other spurious forms like hyf occur in late ms., such as daf, lle, brof for da, lle, bro. In none of these is the f an old substitution for ɔ; 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 llaw 'hand' < *llawf < Kelt. *lámā < Ar. *plmā § 63 vii (2); —rhaw 'spade' < *rhoawf < *rā-mā, √ ara- § 63 ix. When a syllable is added and aw is replaced by o § 81 i, the f reappears, as in llof-rudd 'murderer', lit. 'red-handed', llof-y𝑛 D.G. 107 'wisp', lloffa 'to clean' < *llof-ha, rhoftau 'spades'. So praw illa. 24, R.P. 1215 'proof' for prawf a back-formation from provi illa. 38, 72 < Lat. probo. The re-introduction of f in praw is artificial, and inconsistent with the N.W. pron. prauce, § 52 iii, Exc. (i).
Na wrthod, ferch, dy berchi;
Na phraw ymadaw & nì.—D.G. 108; see 238, 240.

'Refuse not, lady, to be honoured; do not try to leave me.'

It was lost after iy in Rhiwabon 'Ruabon' for òw vabon R.B. 1066, and after w in tw 'growth', dðr 'water', reappearing in tyfu 'to grow', dyfroedd 'waters', in which w is mutated to y. It disappeared regularly after u, as in plu 'feathers' sg. pluenn < Lat. plūma:—cu 'dear', O.W. cum (m = ò), Corn. cuf, Bret. kuñ, kuñv, Ir. cóim < *koi-m-, √kei: Skr. śeva-h 'dear' < *kei-y-os, Lat. civis;—du 'black', Corn. duv, Ir. dub < *dhubh-, √dheubh- : Gk. τυφλός;—so in derivatives cu-dab, cu-ed, du-ach, etc.

f being originally bilabial, § 19 ii (4), when it followed y, w or u (≡ ù), 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 mánmaeth for *mám-faeth 'foster-mother'; im 'y hun for im fy hun 'for myself'.

Ni byddai bwn, heb ddau bôr,
Im 'y hunan o'm heiniar.—L.D. tr. 138 ; 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 cæfæ by dissim.).

(2) Initial f often disappears in fy 'my', especially in poetry, the following nasal mutation showing that 'y means 'my' not 'the'; as yðkorn (≡ 'y nghorn) ym nedei ñ.1. 35 'my horn in my hand'; 'Y man r.m. 194, l. 5 'my mother' ('the mother' is y fam); so Y myd wen § 136 iii, 'y mun D.G. 17 'my girl', 'y nghefn, 'y mraint, do. 274, etc.—It is lost in vab 'son' in patronymics, as Hywel ab Einion;—in ychydig for fychedig, rad. bychedig.

Dëuaf—myfi yw d' òs—
Diuw, 'y nŷn, 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. testimöntium. Hence in compounds, where it is the initial of the second element, it is often lost, as in Bod-brygan for *Bod Forgan ('Morgan's dwelling'), Bod-vðrog for *Bod Furrog, etc.; Bendigedranc § 45 i (2) for Bendigéd-Vran (Bendigédor, 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 Uynedd, Gwenlliant § 111 i (1) and Hydref do. vii (1). Rarely before an explosive, as in agwyðawr for *agwyðawr § 74 i (1).

(4) Final f in unaccented syllables is generally reduced to n, especially after rounded vowels, as in eon for eofn 'fearless' § 156 i.
(15);  

Val Samson with golon gynt
A fu’n rhwym yw fy nhwreynyt.—G.Gl. p 83/59.

'Like Samson, who was bound to a column of old, is my condition.'

Final fl 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 gwartha for gwarthaf 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 lif 'flood'; divri r.p. 1149 for disjoint 'serious'; cyfri 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.m. 238, ydwy/myny D.G. 72, cry'/lesu do. 474, ha'/Efa do. 157; so uma D.G. 72, kynta r.p. 1277. The word is treated in every way as a word ending in a vowel; thus it is followed by 'n for yn, 'r for y or yr, etc., as ofyny'r D.G. 321 for ofnywy y; ydwy'n for ydwyf yn § 125 iii ex. 1; Tre'rkaestell 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. llef 'cry', sef 'that is'. It is still retained in the spoken language in dof 'tame', rhwiff 'oar', bref 'bleat', prif 'chief', Taf 'Taff', and in borrowed words, as braf 'fine': Fr. brave, E. brave.

iv. (x) Initial $ in O.W. di 'to' disappeared, giving Ml. W. $, Mn. W. i, 'to' § 65 iv (2).

(2) Medial $ disappears in mewn : Ir. medon § 215 iii (i); in the verb rhoddaf, v.n. rhoddi 'to give', which became rho-st > rhôf, v.n. rhoi; see rhoist, etc. § 33 iii (i); but the $ also persisted in the written language; see § 186. Similarly arhoaf for *arhoddaf § 187 iii. Medial $ also disappears in tyddyn > tyn in place-names of the form Ty'n-y-maes (*tyµn > *tyµn, *ty'n, ty'n).

Medial $ is sometimes lost as the initial of the second element of a compound; thus rhegfofydd (rec ouyt M.A. i 324, 344) 'lord of gifts' for rheg-sofhydd (recowyd W.M. 452, R.M. 100); Duw Ofydd for Duw Dofydd, Cred-ofydd for Cred-sofhydd, etc. It was also lost before an explosive, as in Blegywyrty A.L. i 338 (Ms. L.) for Ble工资wyrty (Bledaurwir L.L. 222); diwédyd (diwedit B.R. 90) 'evening' for *diwéd-dyd; gywybed 'flies' for gywyBed (gywïBed r.m. 54).

(3) Final $ 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 yssyð 'who is' (often issi = yssy in B.B.), though ydd may still be heard as such. Sometimes in naw Duw! F.N. 63 for nawð Duw! 'God's protection!' (i.e. God help us!). In ifynyd
§ 111  LATER CONSONANT CHANGES  181

'up' the final -δ was lost early, though it is sometimes found written in Ml. W., as kypedi  yı vynyδ π.α. 111, and survives to this day in parts of Dyfed. With its δ, i fyny lost all trace of its original signification, as seen in the unconscious repetition in yı vyny yı vynyδ Oliver r.p. 1280 'up to Mount Olivet'. The final -δ of eisteδ also disappeared very early; it is eiste in the B.B. and B.CH. So in W.M., e.g. 4 times in col. 449, in each case changed to eisteδ in B.M. 293-4. The -δ is deduced from eisteδaf, etc., and its re-insertion finally is artificial; it is not sounded in eiste in the spoken language. Final -δ also disappeared in hwonwv etc. § 78 i (1).

v. (1) The final -r of the article yr was lost before a consonant after the O.W. period; see § 114 iii. So -r after a consonant in braod § 113 i (1).

(2) Final -nn was sometimes lost in unaccented syllables; as cyfu 'whole', Ml. W. kyfa r.p. 1285 for cyfan(n), cf. kyfannu W.M. 129; yma 'here' for yman(n) § 220 ii (11); (e)fully 'so' < *hfeñ hynnu 'like this', cf. full hynn § 215 iv (2); Ml. W. ky-for kynn 'as' before the eqtv. § 147 iv (4); *fa for -fann § 143 iii (16). The tendency was arrested, and -nn generally remains; it had not gone far in kynn before it was checked, and -nn(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 -nn.

Proseotion.

§ 111. i. (1) When n or r came before a liquid after the loss of an intervening vowel, the liquid became voiceless; thus nl > nll; rl > rll; nr > nrh; rr > rrh. Examples: gwinnlan 'vineyard' < *gwin-lann < *wino-lánda; hirtlaes 'long trailing' for 'hir-laes'; penrhyn 'pro- montory' for *penn-ryn; an-rheg § 156 ii (1); Henllan, Henlys, etc. Also in combinations in which no vowel had intervened, as gór-llawy 'high tide', an-llugredig 'incorruptible'. So initially: yn llawen for *yn llaen 'full'; yn rhad, mor llawen, mor rhad (yn and mor generally cause lenition of adjectives); so pur llawen 'very full'; hên llew Job iv 11 (1620), hên lýs p 121/35 B.

This change had taken place before the loss of x and δ as described in § 110, and did not take place later. So where x or δ originally stood between the sounds it did not occur. Thus we have Cyn-las < *Cyn-glas < Cyno-glasos; tór-lan 'brink' < *torr-gllann 'broken bank'; Hár-lech < Harð-lech w.m. 38; cór-lan 'fold' < *corð-lamm. Thus yn lân, mor lân from glân 'clean, fair'; and while we have y llân 'the hamlet' from *yr lunn from llann 'enclosure', we have y lân 'the bank' from *yr ʃlλann from glann 'bank', both nouns being fem. But f appears in some cases to have dropped out early enough to allow of the change; as in y llynedd more fully yr llynedd for *yr ʃlλedd; Gwennlián < *gwenn-fiáni.

(2) 1 was palatalized and became l1 in two positions: (a) after Brit,
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 Catëyrn for Cattëyrn < *Cad-digirn- < Brit. Cato-tigirn- (Rhys no. 47); meitín < *meid-din < Lat. matutín-num § 70 v; wynepyrd 'countenance' < *wynet-bryd: and in the example bywïôcled < bywïog gledd:

*A'm bïcled a'm bywïôcledd
Yn arfau 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 -t- etc.; thus Nid Toethineb heb ten r 54/356 n. 'Thoie is no wisdom without learning'; Gwnaèd taug ag enaid howel r 63/7 r 'Let God do with the soul of Howel'; Ygwaèd ta a vac tèyrn r 52/22 'Good blood begets a king'; Glywed tim ond y glod taw c.c. 342 'To hear anything but thy praise'; yr wlad tragwyddol b.c.w. 86 'to the eternal land'; Y Ddraig goch ddyry cychwyn g. 177 'The Red Dragon gives a leap', "Two /b/ standeth in force of /p/. . . . mab byxan most be pronounced as if ytt were wrytten mab pyxan" J.J. w 144/51. In all cynghanedd prior to the 19th cent. such a combination corresponds to a tenuis. The writers of the recent period sometimes treat it as a media.

(2) ūū became th in nyth, synth, etc. § 97 ii; cf. dial. rhôd for *rhōd < rhōdō 'gave'. Similarly ṣṣ became ch in dicolon § 196 ii (2). But generally two voiced spirants remained, written single, as in prif-farð for prif-fard 'chief bard'.

iii. (1) When a media was followed by h the two became a double tenuis; thus ateb (t ≡ tt) 'reply' < *ad-heb < *ati-segn-; v segn- '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 cynghanedd -d h- corresponds to t, -b h- to p, -g h- to c; as Oer yw heb hwvn, yor hy pert Gr.H. g. 99.

(2) Similarly in some cases th > ff; ūū > th; as in lloffa 'to glean' § 110 iii (1), § 201 iii (4); diwethaf 'last' § 149 i; rhotho § 186 ii;
bytho § 189 ii (4). So fr-h > ffr in dyffryn § 106 iii (2); f-rr > f-rr > ffr in cysfrefin § 156 i (9). But as a rule the groups remain, as dyddau, dyfrâu; and -f h-, -d 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 pôþeth (p ≡ pp) < *pôþ-phet ‘everything’; gwthrych ‘object’ < *gwrt-ðrych. In ordinary pronunciation the result is the same when the sounds occur in different words; and in Ml. W. MSS. -th ð- frequently appear as th only; thus arthwod n.a. 157 for aþh ðiweð ‘and thy end’; Athn-lw athweylaw ar llet r.p. 1220 ‘And Thy image with Thy hands extended’; cf. 1205 l. 34, 1321 l. 32; similarly weinniian tec 1424 for (G)wenniian deg; cereint ðiun 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 Ml. W. both are usually written as tenues; thus diæter r.p. 1209, atkessynt 1309, hepoðor 1230, dyweþþwpwyt w.m. 96, dweþþwpwyt do. 183, attpawr r.b. 35. The second is, however, often written as a media, as wæaccer r.p. 1280, atborysion do. 1208, kyfþbar do. 1300, llygatgall do. 1308. In the 1620 Bible we have atcas, datouddiad, etc.; but the more usual spelling later was atgas, datguddiad, 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 diæter, the g being due to dig. In cynganedd either consonant may correspond to a tenuis or a media. Pughe’s etymological spellings adgas, uðgor, heggor, etc., misrepresent the sound, which is as nearly as possible atgas, utgor, hepgor.

(2) A media was frequently, though not necessarily, unvoiced before 1, r, m, n, d, ð and even w, ð. Thus in Ml. W. we find lluctlaw r.p. 1222 ‘Ludlow’, atrawc 1251, tatmaethew r.m. 24, atnewydweys 93, wrecidha 23, dynglytetyn 73, atwen 245, llytseyth r.p. 1222. But while r.m. has gwytryw 86, the older w.m. has in the same passage gwydryw 183. In r.p. 1269, 1303 we have sygneyu ‘signs’ but in 1214, 1215 it is written syoneu. Indeed the r.b. scribe, who had no ear for cynganedd, writes tenuis and media where they should correspond; as heðiðjow/ehetyat r.p. 1283, cheneâldesh/chynatlew 1204, dilitiða/dy æelodel 1216. In the last example the sound is certainly d, as æelodeu 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 Dadinia'r/diwyd latai p. 19, neitjow/natur 133; and (β) the tenuis has survived in a number of examples, as Coetmor (for coed-mor < coed mawr); tyfio ‘to prevail’ < tug ‘prosperity’ < *tuq-, *tekä-, cf. § 108 iv; eto for etuo < edwaeth
§ 220 ii (7);  
ysgatfydd 'perhaps';  
Llan Decwyn; caneitio 'to  
brighten' (of the moon) <  
cannaid; cartref, pentref.

(3) The mediae were unvoiced before voiceless consonants; thus  
atsein b.t. 20, datsein r.m. 239, Botffordd g. 102. In Late Mn.  
orthography etymological spellings prevail, as adsain Ezec. vii 7,  
Botffordd. The latter, the name of a place in Anglicsey, 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-conso-

nal 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:

Digystud | anwec am (dec ystcyll 1202,  
Glot oleu | yn (glew datlu 1203,  
Gwledic eurswll | vu (gwlat a gorse 1208;  
so before a liquid:  
Temyl y grist | teu amlwc rat 1200.

Such a slip as Set libera nos a male L.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 gŵag 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 cynghandedd, especially when the initial is  
voiceless:

Heb swydd | nor (hapus a hwn g. 239  
Brig ffydd | a bair koffia hwn, etc., P.L. lxxix.

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.Edmund.

(5) Since the explosive was a tenuis before a consonant we have -p  
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, Amwredydd  
c.c. 334 for Ap Mareduith, am mydron B.B. 94 (m = mh § 24 i), etc.;  
prynhawn W.M. 70, R.M. 50, L.A. 121 for pryt nawn W.M. 162, R.M.
229. The late spelling prydnawn is an artificial reconstruction; the spoken language preserves the traditional pronunciation pryhnáwn.

\[ \text{Ag un lliw, gannwyl awyr,} \]
\[ \text{Y barnwn haul brynhawn hwyry.} \text{—I.D. 7.} \]

'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: \( \text{nk-d} > \text{ntk} \) or \( \text{nt} \), as in teunengti 'youth' also written teuenegti; \( \text{nt-g} > \text{nk} \), as in difancoll D.G. 387 'perdition' < *difantgoll; deiniryd D.G. 385, R.P. 1157 'gnashing of teeth' < *deint-gryd.

(2) A media was generally unvoiced after a voiceless spirant; as glastwfy n R.M. 146 for glawdrfr § 96 ii (5); neiltbarth do. 148 for neiltbarth; dywespwyd do. 90; gwnaethpwyd do. 89; gwyallo b.c.w. 37 for gwyallof; altuol for all-dud. On the other hand p and c are voiced, sometimes even in Ml. W., after s; thus while we have yskyn r.m. 11, kyscu do. 21, yspryt l.l.a. 99, we also find disgymnent r.m. 14, goresgyn do. 91, ysbrty l.l.a. 3, esgussawd w. 1a, pasgadur lb. Though the tenuis was commonly written up to the 18th cent., Dr. Davies's orthography has generally prevailed since the appearance of his dictionary; in this the media is written except in the groups st, lit, cht, fit, thp.

(3) An initial media is sometimes found written as a tenuis after a voiceless spirant: Canys collyghy w.m. 78 changed to Kan nys golly nghly in r.m. 56; Bet ys cwyryan b.b. 81 'If I knew'; os koryn l.l.a. ii 18 'if he asks it'; seith pechwart l.l.a. 143 for seith bechwart s.g. 36 'seven sins'; a' th caledrwydd r.h.b.s. 74 'and thy hardness,'

vii. (1) \( \text{sl} > \text{dl} \), as in bodlon 'satisfied' < *bod-lawn. The recent spelling boddlon is a reconstruction due to Pughe; the natural pronunciation is bodlon (S.W. bodlon); cf. Fodlon im dan fedwlwyrn ir. D.G. 172 'contented with me under fresh birch-trees'; Bodloni bydol amyny Gr.O. 34 'to satisfy a worldly wretch'; hadl 'lying in ruins' for *hadl < *\( \text{s}_d\)-lo-, \( \sqrt{\text{s}} \)-de l-tele' § 63 ii. Similarly \( \text{dr} > \text{dr} \), as in caudr 'puissant' for *caudr: Gaul. Belatu-cadrus ep. of Mars, O. Bret. caudr gl. decoreo, Bret. cazr, karer 'handsome': Gk. kēkādrivos, Skr. šāsad- 'distinguish oneself'. It took place after the loss of \( f \); thus Hyyrdef 'October' < hyddfref (hddfref A.L. i 24, calan hyddfref m.A. i 346b 'Oct. 1st'), de ryd 'verdict' < *deš-fryd.

On the other hand \( d < \text{orig.} \) t is sometimes treated as \( d \) before a sonant, and in S.W. dial. has remained \( d \) or disappeared. Thus cenedd is kentyl in b.b. 10, 16, where \( t \equiv d \), but in O.W. is cennel b.s.c.h. 2, where \( t \equiv d \) (S.W. dial. cennel); hoedl (with \( d < t \), cf. Late Brit. Vennisettli, and see § 63 vii (5)) is treated as hoedl by Casnodyn, hoedyl / hoedwch r.p. 1248, cf. 1234, 1241, but G.M.D. has hyder / hoedyl do. 1320, cf. 1212; so I.G., Hudol / hoedl 310. S.W. hoedl for chwedd cannot mean that the suff. was *-dhlo-, for -edl- would give
-eil § 104 iv (3). So S. W. gwadn for gwadn ‘sole’ has orig. t, since 
dn gives n; gwadn < *yo-t-n- < *yo-dd-n- < *upo-bd-no- ‘under 
foot’, /ped/.

The late change of drum, drem to trum, trem is probably due to the 
soft mutation of 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 dryg, drych, drain, drud, etc., all retain dr-.

(2) $ > d$ after s, t, d, and in old formations after l, ll, n; thus 
*treis-dwyn* for *treis-dwyn* ‘a taking by force’, *drei-s-dwyn/dristyt* 
r.p. 1288; atal ‘to withhold’ < *ad-dalg < *ad-dal < *ati-dal_; 
*lleigeitu* for *lygyeid-dv*; etc.; bendith for *ben-dith* < Lat. benedictio; 
mellith or melldith for *meloth* < Lat. maledictio.

This change also takes place initially; thus nos da ‘good night’ 
§ 146 iii (2), nos du Diar. vii 9 ‘black night’, for *nos* $-*$ (nos being 
$-f$—the orig. mutation was rad. after *no(k)*ts, but this cannot be 
assumed to have survived); so yr wythnos *divethaf* ‘last week’; 
tros Dafydd c. 237, tros daear e. xiv for tros $d$; Bleddyn tu r.p. 1284 for 
Bledyznt du for Bledyznt $d$; 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 sér.*—L.G.C. 38.

‘When Thomas ap Rhosser went up to God and the saints through the 
stars.’

*Llyma’r blaid lle mae’r blodau*

*’r holl dawn o’u rhw ill daeu.*—T.A., c. ii 83.

‘This is the band [of children] in whom are the flowers and all the gift 
of their [the parents’] two natures.’

*Yna nosa, m yn Iesu,*

*Einioes dyn megis nos du.*—G.Gl., c 7/44.

‘Then, by Jesus, man’s life darkens like black night.’

(3) $ > 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. machlu $< ym-aechlu$ § 44 v < Lat. occludo; Late Mn. W. 
gormod for gormool the usual form in the bards; Maesfed ‘Radnor’ 
for Maes Hyfeiri; didol < *di-dowl § 156. i (11), pedol § 102 iii (2). 
The change, being a form of dissimilation, is only accidental.

(4) The change of $x$ to g and of $f$ to b under similar conditions 
is rare: arglywyd ‘lord’ beside arlwys (both in w.m. 160) < *ar-
lywyd $<$ *ar-xulwyd $<$ *p.r.i-ydei- VR e of *uelyei_; cf. glyw § 102 iii (2); cwb for 
*cwfl § 168 iii (3); parabl ‘saying’ for *paraf $<$ Lat. parabola; cwb 
‘calumn’ for *cawl $<$ *kaml- met. for *kal’men: Lat. calumnia § 100 
ii (1); so Bret. cablus, Côrn. cabal.

§ 112. i. (1) In O. W. and Early Mn. 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,
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 (wythfeyd) 58; huchof ib. 'above me'; hun din (un dyn) i24 'one man'; yr hun (yr un) 256; hwyd (wyf i) 114; er hyd (yr yd) 326 'the corn'; ohyd (o yd) 82 'of corn'; herect (erchi) i52; hodyn (odyn) 78, etc. Medially it occurs not only where a soft spirant had disappeared, as in diheu r.m. 181 < *di-geu, Ml. W. diau 'truly'; rohi a. l. i 118 < rodi; but also where no consonant ever existed, as in diheu W. a. 21 'days'; dihaegei 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 medi ally in dihangol 'escaped, safe'; initially, after a vowel in pa ham for *pa am ' what for', pa hachos W. a. 123, pa hawr do. 13; after r in un ar hujain '21', yr holl § 168 ii (3); in all positions in hogi ' to whet' for *ogi < *ak-, √ak-/oq-: W. agalen '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, √ak-/oq-; — W. hardd 'handsome' for *arδ ' high'; Ir. ard, Lat. arvur, cf. Hurn-lech orig. quite evidently ' high rock'; — so sometimes henv 'name' (henv 'nouns' N. G. 1121), generally with -h in Gwyn. dial., but awnedig without it: Bret. hain, hanu, hano, Corn. hanow; O. W. amnu, 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 hefiu 'to-day'; ywelly W. M. 41 for *hefelly, 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-edig) 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 conhédloedd Ps. ii 1; kynhel-lis R. B. B. 234, cynhaliaeth (l-l and $l < *l$); cymhedralion M. A. ii 343 (cymedrenal i b. 355); cynhrychol Marc iv 8; but this never became a strict rule; it is carried somewhat further in the recent than in earlier periods: cymneddfu Diar. xxxi cyn. (1620), cymhédffu in late edns.—(β) Where $n$ stands for $\delta n$, as in bonheddig from bonedd < *budniţa, as if the $\delta$ had left a soft breathing; blwmyddoedd 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 (x).

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-eðavoc; kynhelialvô R. B. B. 327 < Lat. compell-; anghenus < *awk-; anghueol < *awuk-, etc.; probably plantmênedu § 48 i followed the analogy of plant-; higion < *plant-; canhwylleru R. B. B. 380 seems to be due to the treat-
ment of Lat. nd as ut, cf. Corn. cantuil, Bret. cantol.—(b) For original s, as in anheheu w.m. 81, cy肺hneddu do. 73, Anheedu meun erwyn hybod Il., from ann(h)eδ < *ydo-sed- § 63 ii; glanhau, parhau etc. § 201 iii (4); probably -he- in iscothic b.B. 91, pl. yscolheigion b.B. 235, Mn. W. sg. ysqolhâig is the suffix -ha- < *sag- see ib. -s- between sonants dis- appeared, e.g. amynedd § 95 ii (3); but kenheadu § 48 i may contain a reflection of it: kennad ‘message, messenger’ < *kens-n-stâ, *kens- ‘speak with authority, etc.’ see Walde2 r51: Lat. censeo, W. dangos § 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 ï, 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 r.ch. Thus yhu (yno) a.L. i 6; Maharsth (Maworth) 64; eatehu (yneteu) 130; nehuat (neuad) 78; arnhey (arnnei) 100. More rarely it occurs between two u’s (uu = w), or two i’s, as in arnauhu (arnaw) 132; doissiilion (doykion) 124. With w such a breathing would be equivalent to back ȝ, and at an earlier period it was represented by g, which survives in engwy a.L. i 100 for enwy ‘to name’ (which never had the media g, as the w is from m); this also may stand between two u’s in this ms., as dim or auguenel (a ynel) dyn medu b.ch. 130 ‘anything that a drunken man does’; auguenelhont (a yneltont) do. 118. In O. W. w is written guw as in petguar ox. for pedwar ‘4’. The sound of w, then, was virtually ȝ; this after h < s became ȝ, written chw- § 26 vi, § 94 iv. Initially on the analogy of g: ȝ it became g in the position of a radical con- sonant, remaining ȝ as a soft mutation; later gw-: ȝ-. This had taken place before the separation of Bret. and Corn.

(2) The breathing before a vowel might also take the form ȝ, so as to give a new initial g-; thus *orδ § 100 iii (2) > gorδ f. b.t. 7 through *gorδ, this being taken for the soft mutation after the art., as in ir guit (≡ yr gwδ) f. b.B. 97 ‘the goose’. Later gallt for allt f. ‘slope’; gerfydd beside herwydd for erwyδ § 215 ii (5). The Mn. godidog c. 252 for odidog ‘rare’, and N.W. dial. gonest foronest probably involve a confusion of initial o- with the prefix go- § 156 i (16).

(3) Conversely initial g is sometimes lost, as in euog ‘guilty’ for geuog (geuawo II.A. 155 “mendaces”, gau ‘false’); elor f. ‘bier’ for gelor m.A. i 205a, met. for *gerol < Lat. gerula (elawr 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. *yindos f. *yindõ, W. ciwed < Lat. civitas, W. ciwod < Lat. civilâtem, § 115 i. The syllable doubtless became unaccented
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. *suos < *suosër, § 75 vii (2); W. ymherawd < Lat. imperātor; but in common words it disappeared after a consonant in W., as in brawd ‘brother’ for *bravd ( = 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 namen § 78 ii (1), cymerwv § 180 iii (1).

A sonant coming before the final vowel also remained, as in ffenesr < Lat. fenestra, periql < 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: tymestl < Lat. tempestas, achreawdvr §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-ewnos > W. Maegevn; Brit. *Katu-mannos > W. Cadfan; Brit. Mori-dūnon > W. Myrddin; Lat. bene-dictio > W. bendith. Similarly the vowel before the suffixes -lāt-, -lūt-, -tero-, etc., as ciwdo < Lat. acc. civitātem, gwendid ‘weakness’ < Brit. acc. *ganno-tūtán; 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. agwydawr < Lat. abēcēdārium, meitin < mātūltum, Saœneg < *Saxonikā, etc. Stems in -ā- had -o- in composition; thus Kelt. *teutā ‘people’ was Teuto- in compounds; and ā in the second syllable generally remains in nouns, as in Caradog < Brit. Caratalcos, fnifafen < Lat. firmāmentum. But in many formations -a- in the ante-penult was lost, as in Ml. W. karhom < *karasonti § 183 ii (1), and the suff. -gar < *-ākaros § 153 (8).

The loss of the root vowel in such forms as allweð < *nī-ql’u-iūā § 99 vi (1), dedwyð < *do-t’u-iūos § 100 ii (1) had probably already taken
place in Brit. So in some cases the -i- of the spv., as in Ml. W. nessaf < *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-(p)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-sed-.

(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. 364), Aliortus no. 14, Veracius 9, but most have the Lat. gen. ending -i, as Cunogusi hic jacit 5 'the body] of C. lies here'. The names and the following magqkri of the ogams 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 Dervaci filius Justi hic jacit 37. Fem. nouns end in -e, which is doubtful the ordinary late Lat. -e for -ae, though the noun in apposition stands in the nom., as Tunccetace uxor Daari hic jacit 77, et uxor eius Caune 20. A nom. in -a appears in Avitoria filia Cunigni Eglwys Cymun 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 conords 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-tigirn 47; and -o- appears as -o-, -u-, -e-, -i-, as Cuno-gusi 5, Vendu-magli 45, Vinne-magli 21, Vende-setli 12, Venni-setli 67, pointing to -o- for -a- which in 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; Trena-gussi in Roman, Trena-gusu 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 Dumnuagul 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 Ddyfnwval Moel-mád
Yw Phylip braff i olud . . .
Mae yn llaw hil Dfyfnawal
Yr erwi mawr a'r aur mál.—L.G.C. 209.

'Like a son of Dyrnwal Moelmud is Philip of vast wealth. In the hand of the descendant of Dyfnwal are the broad acres and the milled
§ 113 LOSS OF SYLLABLES

gold.' Other similar doublets are Tudwal and Tudawal R.P. 1394, Dingad and Dinogat B.A. 22. The au in Dysnawal is the regular development of ou 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. -oues of u-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-legend, 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 claer < *klia'roš § 75 vi (1); hail < *sau'alšios § 76 v (1); so probably cawr < *ko'aršos § 76 iii (4). With hail 'sun' < *sau'alšios < *sau'alšiš contrast the disyllable huan 'sun' < *sau'yanšos < *sau'yanšos (with n-suff. like E. sun, cf. Walde² 721); affected au, short because unaccented, gives W. au § 76 v (1); and accented áu 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. *syeks (but chwe before a noun); W. nos 'night' < Brit. *noss < *nols < *nolšts § 96 ii (5); W. moch 'early' : Lat. mox; W. yn 'in' < Brit. *en < Ar. *en.
§ 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 y ty 'in the house'.

w- 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 gwy- 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 mant do. 'the thumb', ir qolleuni juv. 'the light', or decolion m.c. gl. decadibus, or bardaul 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 E 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', ý 'to', na 'nor', no 'than'; but usually y or yr after other words ending in vowels, as kyrchu y lllys, ... a chyrchu y bordeu w.m. 5, llyna y lllys do. 6, etc. The reason is probably that the article, as a proclitic, was generally joined to the following word, thus ylllys '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 eirccheid B.B. 10 'beside the suppliants', mi yw r iarli w.m. 137 'I am the ear', gwir jon yw r voroyn do. 138 'the maid is innocent', erglw y r pobrae R.P. 1201 'the peoples will hearken'. In some cases y is written where the metre requires r as Pa gwr yw y porthowr? 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 pieu' r bed? 'whose is the grave?'; llwma yr wed B.M. 2 for llwma'r weð '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. Pugh 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. hynn 'this', see § 164 vi. This occurs in W. in yn awr 'now', lit. 'this hour' (O. Bret. annaor, Ir. ind or sa), and y naill for *yn aill § 165 (Bret. ann eil § 166 iii, Ir. ind-ala). 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 hynn 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 ocouv reygrov '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 JVv. sk., and is rare in the B.A.: Gwy r a aeth Catraeth 'the' men who went to Catraeth'. It does not occur in O. Corn., or O. Bret., see Loth Voc.
ACCIDENCE

§ 115

38 (ann is the demonstr. 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 demonstr. with locative -r- suffix, as in E. here, there, which might be declined with stem -ro-, cf. Lat. super; yr < *is-ros? cf. Lat. ille < is-ile.

v. The initial consonant of a fem. sg. noun (except ll- and rh-) undergoes the soft mutation after the art.

Note initial gwfr- : yr byl ‘the holiday’, yr wyl ‘the goose’; initial gwfr- : y wrth ‘the miracle’, y wyl ‘the summons’.

The mutation shows that the art. had the ɔ/ɑ-declension in Brit.

NOUNS

§ 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. civilis; sometimes from the accusative, as ciwdod ‘people’ < civitatem. (In W., ciwed and ciwdod 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’ < *yeiros, and fer ‘(two) men’, apparently from *yiro, as *yiro would have given *fuor (cf. Gk. δύο, Vedic voc. -a; but W. dau implies -o in *dúyoo itself). Thus W. dau darw ‘two bulls’ (deudarw p. 52), déu-wor L.G.C. 185 ‘two men’ (-wr keeps its sg. form while the pl. became gwfr § 66 iii (1)). But in nouns with consonant stems the dual must have taken the same form as the pl.; thus Ar. *uqse > W. ych ‘ox’, but the dual *uqsenes and the pl. *uqsenes both gave ychen; so we have Ml. W. deu ychen n.m. 121 ‘two oxen’, déu vroder do. 26 ‘two brothers’; and, by analogy, dwyr wraged W.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 wybêl vonlhom 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 : (i) 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.

*Parasyllabic 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 *bardi* gave beirð 'bards'; and also by -i of neut. i-stems, as in myr 'sens' < *morî § 122 ii (4); possibly -u 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: Ml. and Mn. W. march 'horse', pl. meirch; tary 'bull', pl. teirg; carq 'deer', pl. ceirg; gwalech 'hawk', pl. gweilch; alarch 'swan', pl. eleirch, elyrch; salm 'psalm', pl. Ml. seilym L.A. 107, beside salmeu R.P. 1303, Mn. salmu; llygad 'eye', pl. Ml. llygeit, Mn. llygaidd; dafad 'sheep', pl. Mn. deveit, Mn. defaid; brán 'crow', pl. Ml. brein, Mn. brain; Ml. manach, Mn. and Mn. mynach 'monk', pl. Mn. meneich, myneich, Mn. menych, myneich (late mynachod); paladr 'beam, ray', pl. peleîdr, pelydr; Mn. bustach 'bullock', pl. bustych; Ml. and Mn. maen 'stone', pl. Ml. mein, Mn. main Dat. xiii 4 (later meini); cyllell 'knife', pl. cyllyll; castell 'castle', pl. cestyll; gwaêll 'knitting needle', pl. gwêyl D.G. 458; kers 'song', pl. kyrô R.P. 1245 (poet.); môr 'sea', pl. mîr D.G. 146 (poet.; in prose generally moroedd); porth 'gate', pl. pyrth; Cymro, pl. Cymry; esgôb 'bishop', pl. esgyb, see § 129 i (1); ames w.m. 472 'horse', pl. emys do. 85; asgurn 'bone', pl. esgryn; croeu 'skin', pl. crôwn; oen 'lamb', pl. ówn; croes 'cross', pl. crwys, later croesau, but crwys as late as Wms. 102.

Ni roddwn yn Hiraddug
Fy eleirch er dengmeirch dwg.—D.I.D., M.148/676 R., d. 36.
'I would not exchange my swans in Hiraddug for ten of a duke's horses.'

M'redoedd Fychan lân i lys,
Oedd aml 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. elyw B.T. 32.

ii. haearn 'iron' has pl. heyrn, and rhæadr 'cataanct' has rhèydwr, rhyeïdr § 69 ii (3), § 75 vi (3); pennoq 'herring' has penwaig § 36 iii; gwarch 'roe-buck' has yrch § 36 ii, later yrchod a. 167; giôr 'man' is for *gwôr and has pl. gwôr § 66 iii (1), and so its compounds, as pregethwr 'preacher', pl. pregethgyr; gwôrda 'goodman', pl. gwôyrda.
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. *traed § 65 ii (1); and *ty '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, gwinei r.p. 1202 'banqueting houses'; Ulettyeu r.p. 1274 'lodgings', clasdyeu do. 1269 'hospitals', hundyeu W.M. 5 'sleeping rooms'.

In Gwynedd -dai is generally accented, as *beu-dai 'cow-houses', *pop-tai 'ovens', *gweith-dai 'workshops'; but eleusendai '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. *būys < *gūous; bu < *bāyes < *gūyes; pl. *biw from a re-formed *būyes.

(3) Other cases are carreg, pl. cerrig (for cerrgy) § 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.ll. 216, is treated as pl. in the Bible, with a new sg. *pabell f., from Wm.S.'s hypothetic *pabell hwn glossing y *pebyll hynn 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- > ðf') 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. cefyl.

§ 118. i. In many parasyllabic 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. *argantou, pl. *argantā > W. ariau, which is sg. and pl. § 133 ii.—(2) Nouns in which the vowel is not capable of i-affection (Brit. ð, ã, 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. *yradĩos, pl. *yradüp > 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, mediçi had both become medŷg, a new pl. medŷgon 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 gweiddyn; 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. latrō and its Brit. pl. *latrōnes gave W. lleidr, 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. *'-oys, *'-oya the pl. endings of u-stems; thus Brit. *kalus, pl. *kátoues, 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. clustjau 'ears'; guefl-eu ib., Mn. guefjau 'lips'; amrann-eu ib., b.p. 127o, Mn. amranau, late amrantau, sg. amrant 'eyelid'; arv-eu w.m. 7, Mn. arfau 'arms'; tlyss-eu do. 37, Mn. tlysu, sg. tlysw 'jewel'; logou L.L. 120 (gg e 'xx'), llongeu w.m. 39, Mn. llongau 'ships'; badeu w.m. 39, Mn.
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badau 'boats'; tonnau Juv., Ml. tonneu, Mn. tonnau 'waves'; peblyleu W.M. 44 'tents'; betev (t = d) B.B. 63, Mn. beddau 'graves'; frwytheu, llanneu do. 56, Mn. frwythau 'fruits', llannau 'churches', etc. So drysau 'doors', cadeiriau 'chairs', canhwyllau 'candles', llffrau '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 tadau 'fathers'; mamau 'mothers'; kenhadleu W.M. 184 'messengers', Late Mn. W. occaslon; meicheu W.M. 25 'sureties', now meichiau; dwyneu r.B.B. 67 'gods', Mn. W. duwiau; fem. nouns in -es, as breninesau 'queens', etc.

(3) A few names of animals, as hebegeu W.M. 12 'hawks'; keffylen W.M. 119; keioggeu L.A. 165; bleiddiau § 123 iv (4).

(4) Many abstract nouns, as drygau 'evils'; brodyju r.P. 1238 'judgements'; poenau W.M. 49, poenau 'pains'; gofidiau 'sorrows'; meddylyeu § 121 ii (3) 'thoughts', etc.; and abstract derivatives in -ad or -iad, -aeth, -as, -ler, -did, -dod, -edd, -yd; as bovdau 'intentions', gwelledigaethau 'visions', priodasau 'weddings', mwynderau 'delights', gwendidau 'weaknesses', pererindodau 'pilgrimages', troseiddau 'transgressions', clefydan 'fevers'. Also some names of times, seasons, etc., after dien § 132 (2) : orian 'hours'; bore-eu r.P. 1290 'mornings'; nosseu C.M. 1, sg. nos 'night', wythnosau 'weeks'; but misoedd, blynyddoedd § 122.

(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. aroglu, vb. aroglaf, which with various derivatives are used in the Bible. But the word is arogau, see arogleu 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, disiciou ou § 25 i, Ml. W. gruðyneu W.M. 140, Mn. W. gruddiau 'checks'; glinygen W.M. 434, gliniau 'knees'. In Mn. W. iau 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, -t, -c, § 51 ii, as hetiau 'hats', capiau 'caps', brutiau 'aprons' (but Ml. W. bratteu W.M. 23 'rags'), carpiau 'rags', llanciau 'youths', etc.
ACCIDENCE

§ 121

i. -ion and -on come from Brit. -iūnes and -ones, pl. endings of u-stems.

The Brit. forms were *-ū < *-ū, pl. -ones, as in Brittones; but *-ixū < -iū, pl. -iūnes, 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. latrones > Brit. *latrones > W. Iudron.

In Ar., nouns in -ō(n), -iō(n), -iō(n) (loss of -n § 101 ii (4)) were (a) nomina agentis, frequently from adjectives with o-, iō-, iō-stems; thus Gk. στραβῶν 'squint': στραβός 'squinting'; νιφάδων 'heavenly one': νιφάδων 'heavily'; (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.

-ion goes back to Brit. in nouns in which the vowel is affected in the sg., § 125 iii; after -hai < *-saij, pl. -heion re-formed for *-saien < *-saijones, and after -ydd, pl. -ydjon, re-formed for *-yon < *iōnes, as in gwerydjon § 110 ii (3). But in most cases it is a new addition in W., as in ymerodron, pl. of ymherawdr < Lat. imperatōr. 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. *doniū would both give dyn, to which -ion was added to form the new pl.

ii. -ion is added to (1) many nouns denoting persons, as dyn 'man', pl. dynion; mad 'boy, son', pl. meibion, Ml. meibon § 35 ii (1), O. W. mepion § 70 ii (1); gwas 'servant', pl. gweision, Ml. gweisson w.m. 33; w yr 'grandson', pl. wyrian, Ml. weyrón r.b.b. 49; gwastrawd 'groom', pl. gwastralidjon w.m. 33; including derivatives in -(h)ai, -ydd, -ag Ml. -awc, -or Ml. -awr, -ig, -awdr, as gwestai 'guest', pl. gwesteion l.l. 168; crydd, pl. cryddion,
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Bret. kere, pl. kereon § 86 i (5); gwehydd 'weaver', pl. gwehydillion; marchog 'knight', pl. marchogion; cantor 'singer', pl. cantorion; pendefig 'chieftain', pl. pendefigion; dysgawdr 'doctor', pl. dysgodron (in Recent W. re-formed as dysgawdr-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, MI. Iddewon II.A. 19, Iddew do. 17; athrawon, etc. § 125 iii.

(2) Some names of implements: cyn 'chisel', pl. cynion; ebill 'auger', pl. ebillion; trosol 'bar, lever', pl. trosolion; ysgol, MI. yscawl 'ladder', pl. ysgolion, MI. yscolyon w.m. 189; ysgolion 'schools' follows this probably.

(3) Some abstract nouns: rhybuddion 'warnings' (MI. rybudoj w.m. 72); esgusion 'excuses'; trasserthion 'troubles'; with -on: gofolon 'cares'; csurion 'comforts'; but most take -au § 120 i (4). H.M. has meddylion ii 194, M 147/639 R., for the usual meddyliau, MI. W. medylyeu r.p. 1201, 1303.

(4) ebol, MI. ebawl 'colt', pl. ebolion, MI. ebolion w.m. 45; keneu, see § 125 iii; planhigion 'plants', sg. planhig-yn.

iii. -on < Brit. *-enes < Ar. *-enes survives only in ychen 'oxen', sg. ych § 69 v; and in MI. W. Pryden 'Picts' (Gyn a Gwyddil a Phryden B.A. 24 'Danes 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 MI. W. and in the rhymes of the bards before the recent period. See ychen w.m. 480, R.m. 121, B.T. 59, I.I.A. 109, R.P. 1241, M.A. i 230, 426; § 47 ychen 'Oxford' see indexes of R.M. and R.B.B.

Dafur ardd ychen mewn pen pant.—W.II. F. 8.

'Well do oxen plough at the end of a valley.'

Dig wyf 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 ben/ychen D.G. 400, gên/ychen do. 318, men/ychen L.G.C. 189; wên/Rhydychen S.Ph. c.c. 189; rryd ychen/dalen P 542/242 R.

iv. The R-grade y 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-†, old neut. dual; the noun has no sg.; —O.W. anu 'name' pl. enwein, Ml. W. pl. enweu, with a new sg. enw, Mn. W. enw, pl. enwau (the a- survived in anwedig G.R. [122, 220], Gwyn. dial. § 112 i (2)): Ir. ainm, pl. anmann, neut.; —cam 'step', O.W. pl. cemmein, now camau: Ir. cēim, pl. cēimmenn, neut.; —rhwm 'band', O. W. pl. ruimmein, now rhwmnau; —gof 'smith', also gosfan(n) b.t. 7, pl. W. govein A.L. i 72, Mn. W. gofasaint: 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. 10; —llw 'oath', Mn. W. pl. cam lyEin m.a. 158, camlyeu r.p. 1201 'false oaths', Mn. W. llwôn, Gwyn. dial. tyfon.


   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. *-iæs; neut. sg. *-i, pl. *-iæ, *-i. In Brit. the sg. *-is, *-i became *-es, *-e and did not cause affection; the pl.*-iæs became *-iæs which gave -i, -ydd or -oedd according to the accentuation § 75 v, iv; the neut. pl. *-iæ > *-iæ > -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 trewi (≡ trewi) B.B. 54, trewit (≡ trefyd) do. 91, Mn. W. trefi § 160 iii (2), and trefydd D.G. 3; cantrew 'canted' makes cantrewedd r.b.b. 407 ff., but Mn. W. cantref-i, -ydd like tref; see § 75 iv, v.

   eglwys 'church' follows tref in Mn. W. (eglwysydd p 147/5 r.), but Mn. W. has eglwysseu r.p. 1046, m.a. i 273a. In. Mn. W. fforest follows tref: foresti r.b.b. 199, fforestydd r.m. 195, Mn. W. fforestydd only. plwyf 'parish' (a late meaning) also takes -i or -ydd in Recent W., but earlier plwyvau m.a. ii 613.

   -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. merthry i.m.a. 126; prophwydi ib.; arglwydd, pl. arglwydi m.a. i 198a; so all in Mn. W. (in Late W. merthyon also).
-i was also added to many names of things with e or a in the sg., the -i of course affecting the latter; as illestr-i w.m. 6 'vessels'; gwennenu-i a hwylbren-n-i do. 51 'masts and yards'; canhwylbrn-i, also -au, both in i Chron. xxviii 15 'candlesticks'; fenestr-i m.a. i 216a 'windows'; cethr-i i.G. 584 'nails'; perth-i r.p. 1272 'bushes';—baner-i m.a. i 197b 'banners', sg. banjar; per-i ib. 'spears', sg. pär; defn-i 'drops' § 202 v (3), for dafneu r.p. 1184; der-i r.p. 1318 'oaks', sg. dår f.

The use of -i has been extended in Mn. W.; thus Ml. W. kerðeu w.m. 6 'songs', Mn. W. cerddi T.A. and later; Ml. W. gardeu r.b.b. 145 'gardens', Mn. W. gerddi D.G. 258; Ml. W. llwyneu r.b.b. 40 'bushes', so llwybau D.G. 60, later llwni; Ml. 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); beddii b.c.w. 59 beside the usual beddau, Ml. beteu (t = ð) b.b. 63.

(3) -ydd and -oedd are found in avon-it (≡ -yb) b.b. 91 'rivers', avon-oed r.b.b. 40, Mn. W. afonydd; gwaladod m.a. i 199a, c.m. 2, r.b.b. 44, W.m. 190, later gwledyd in the last-quoted passage in r.m. 91, Mn. W. gwledyd; keyrød w.m. 192 'castles', kaerod r.p. 1230, also caereu b.a. 26, Mn. W. keyridd W.m. 64, caerau G.Gl.m 146/163; dinasoedd w.m. 190, r.m. 91, 93, Mn.W.dinasoedd, rarely dinessyō p 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), Ml. W. tyrcæodo r.p. 1241 'crowds'; as well as -au, Mn. W. -eu: presswylvaeu l.a. 57 'habitations', eisteddaeu do. 62 'seats' (-aeu later contr. to -án).

-ydd alone occurs in meysydd r.p. 1188 'fields', Mn. W. meysydd (wrongly spelt mensydd), sg. maes; heolōd r.m. 175 'streets'; bro-yd r.p. 1189 'regions'; dolgyō do. 1188 'meadows' (also dolyau b.t. 33); gwennydd r.p. 1286 'meadows', sg. gwenn, gwauu; lluos-īt (≡ -yd) b.b. 66, r.p. 1188 'hosts', sg. liaws; newtydd 'brooks', poet. naint D.G. 25, sg. nant; coedydd 'trees', ystomydd 'storms', etc.

(4) Old neut. nouns take -oedd or -edd, sometimes alternating with vowel-affection; as môr m. 'sea', pl. moroedd < *môrija beside mŷr < *morî, § 117 i; dant m. 'tooth', pl. dannedd < *dantîja 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).
-odd and -oedd are added to nouns orig. of other declensions as follows:

-eð in Ml. W., -oedd in Mn. W. are added to tir m. ‘land’ (an old neut. s-stem), pl. tiret (-t ð-eð) B.B. 33, tireð R.B.B. 40 (beside tirion § 35 iii), Mn. W. tireoed D.G. 436, 524; mynydd m. ‘mountain’ (< *montio-), pl. mynydæð w.m. 250, B.T. I I, R.B.B. 40, Mn. mynyddoed; dwsf r. m. ‘water’ (neut. o-stem), pl. dyfrod Í.A. 54, 65, Mn. dyfroed.

mynydéð having become mynyðæ in S.W. dialects (cf. eiste § 110 iv (3)), this was wrongly standardized as mynyddau by some recent writers, but the traditional lit. form mynyddoed prevails. The same remark applies to blynwyddoed, now sometimes written blynwyddau for dial. blynwyð < *blynwyðæ. In the above words -oed 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); mil f. ‘thousand’; mur m. ‘wall’, pl. muroedd w.m. 191, muroed g. 237, later muriau; llu m. ‘host’ (m. o-stem), pl. lluoedd r.m. 175, Mn. lluoedd; byd m. ‘world’ (m. n-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. tyrnasoedd w.m. 50, Mn. tyrnasoedd; tir m. ‘tower’ (< E. < Fr.), pl. tyroedd w.m. 191, tyrew do. 133, Mn. tyrew; iath f. ‘language’, pl. ieithoedd w.m. 469, b.t. 4, Mn. ieithoedd; gwledd f. ‘feast’, pl. gwleddoedd D.G. 524, gwleddu do. 8; gwisg f. ‘dress’, pl. gwysgoedd; oes f. ‘age’, pl. O. W. oisou (with ð added at some distance, see fac. B.S.C. 2, for ‘deest’ according to Lindsay, EWS. 46), Ml. W. oesoedd Í.A. 103, oesreu b.t. 15, 19, Mn. W. oesoedd, oesau; achoet (t ð-eð) B.B. 53, Mn. achoedd, achau ‘lineage’ both in L.G.C. 213, sg. achar f.; dyfinderodd ‘depths’, blindroedd, -au ‘troubles’.

iii. ïo-stems. (1) The vowel is affected in the sg.; the pl. ends in -ydd, -oedd, -edd.

The Ar. nom. endings were m. sg. *(x)jós, pl. *(x)jós; neut. sg. *(x)jom, pl. *(x)jů. In Kelt. *(x)jós gave place to *(x)joi > *(x)jů; this gave -yð or -oed according to the accent; neut. *(x)jů gave -ėð; -ėð in m. nouns is prob. for -oed. Where neither sg. nor pl. had ð before ñ, we had e.g. dyn ‘man’ and ‘*men’; then a new dynion for the latter § 121 i.
(2) Ml. W. bugail 'shepherd', pl. bugelyð L.L. 109, R.B.B. 245 < *boukolios pl. *boukolíi. This was a rare type, and in Mn. W. a new pl. was formed: bugail, pl. bugelitaid. But the f. 

adain 'wing' (jā-stem), pl. adanedd, had a new pl. made by affecting this, as if the word belonged to the -io- declension: 
adain, pl. adenydd § 125 iii.

The word for 'tooth' seems partly to have passed over to this declension; thus *dantion pl. *dantíu giving sg. deint L.L. 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 -oeð in brenhinoet B.B. 53 'kings', Mn. W. brenhinoedd; but the more usual Mn. form is brenhineð L.I. 120, brenhineð w.m. 178-9, prob. with -eð for -oeð § 78 ii. So teyrned r.p. 1313, D.G. 181 'kings', ewythreð r.m. 140 'uncles'; cystlwn 'family', pl. cystlýned r.p. 1267.

Cystlýned Gwynedd i gyd, 
Cynafon Huwlyn hefyd.—G.Gl. m 1/no. 49.

'All the families of Gwynedd, and the scions of Huwlyn too.'


jō- and jā-stems have R-grade forms in -i, p. 81. In Lat. and Bált. they remain distinct or have become so (Lat. dūritia : dūritēs). In Kelt. they seem to be mixed, see Thurneysen, Gr. 180 f.; but as ē > ĭ in Kelt., the meaning of the facts is often obscure. In other branches -jō- and -jā- are indistinguishable. The W. sg. may come from *-jā, *-ē, or *-i; pl. -eð < *-iēs.

(2) blwyddyn 'year' (Ir. bliadain) < *bleidonō, pl. blynedd < *blianduiōs § 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 blwydneð w.m. 37, then by metath. blwyndōeð L.L. 105, Mn. W. blwyndōedd, S.W. dial. blwydēð(8) (whence latterly a false blynydlau see ii (4)).—modryb 'aunt' < *mātr-aqmi (√ōq- § 69 ii (4)), pl. modrebedd c.c. 282 (so in Gwyn. dial.; -o- < sg.) < *mātragkīās; the form modrebēd r.p. 1362 seems to be re-made from the sg., as modreped ox. 2. — edau 'thread', pl. edafedd § 76 vii (1); adain 'wing' pl. adanedd, etc., see § 125 iii.
blwydd means ‘a year of one’s age’ or adj. ‘year old’, pl. blwyddiaid, § 145 iii Note, tetrblwydd ‘three years old’, pymthegmlwyd 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 *chwior < *syesores, the pl. of chwaer ‘sister’, as chwiored L.A. 38, R.B.B. 39, W.M. 158; in the last passage chwioryd in R.M. 226; Mn. W. chwëòredd T.A., Wm.S., later only chwëbrydd; § 75 vi (2).

t-stems.

§ 123. i. -ed < Brit. *-etes occurs in merched ‘daughters’, Ml. W. merchet w.m. 469, merched (d = d) 468; pryfed ‘worms’, Ml. W. pryved (d = d) R.B. 81. D.G. has hued 30, 93 ‘hounds’ (sg. huad W.IL. 166, O.G. c 82 s.v.). In Ml. W. we also have guystyled R.B. 53 ‘beasts’; and in O. W. æتينet brounbreilhet ox. gl. cicadae.

The stem-form is seen in Gaul. Cing-es, gen. -etos, and Nemetes ‘nobiles?’ 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 *merke(s)s < *merkets (pl. *merketes) < *mer(i)k-et- : Skr. maryakáh § 101 iv (1). √merëi- § 125 v (1).— pryf is an old i-stem § 61 i (1), ending therefore in *-es (< *-is), which seems to have been mistaken for *-es(s) < *-etes.

ii. -od, Ml. W. -ot < Brit. *-etes occurs in llygod ‘mice’, sg. llyg (< *lukô(s)s) and Llygoden (Ir. luch ‘mouse’, gen. lochad, Bret. logodenn, pl. logod) : Gaul. Lucot-ıos, Λουκότ-ικος.

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, Il.A. 165 ‘lions’, now llewod; eryrot Il.A. 167 ‘eagles’, now eryrod; llydnot R.m. 52, W.M. 73, now Llydnod, sg. llydn ‘pullus’; hydnot w.m. 158, now hyddod ‘stags’; gwiberot do. 229, now gwiberod ‘vipers’; ednot Il.A. 130, now ednod ‘birds’ (also ednaint § 121 iv, and in O. W. æتينet i above). In Mn. W.
cathod, llwynogod, ewigod (Ml. W. ewigod r.m. 118), gwyfarnogod, crancod (Bardsey crainc, so G.Gr. p 77/193), colomennod, etc.

(2) It was added to some names of persons: gwidanot w.m. 178 'witches'; meudwyot II.A. II7 'hermits' (also meudwyaid D.G. 409); gwarch 'hag', pl. gwarchiot p 12/124 r., Mn. W. gwarchiod D.G. 332, in which -od seems to be added to an old pl. *gwrach (cf. the adj. gwychaid).

Er yw'n a gwflân arwain glod
A chwwyżdd i wraichiod.—I.B.H., ER. IV 104.

'For lambs and wool he brings praise and song to old women.'

It is found in genethol 'girls' sg. geneth (old geminated form, § 93 iii (2)); and is added to diminutives in -an, as in babanod '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(n) or -en(n), as in lliprynnod 'weaklings', mursennod 'prudes', dyhirod 'knaves' sg. dyhiryn; and to other nouns originally in a contemptuous sense, as eurychog 'tinkers,' torniethod a charlod B.CW. 62, Gwyddelod in Late W. for Gwyddyl 'Irishmen', Ffrancod for Ffrainc. The substitution in Late W. of -od for another termination in the names of relatives etc. comes from child-language, as in tadmaethau Esa. xlix 23 for tadmaethau, Mn. W. tatmaetheu W.M. 37; ewythrod for ewythredd § 122 iii (2), cyfnitherod for cyfnithroedd W.II. c.iI. 132.

(3) It occurs after a few names of things: (a) geminated forms, or what appeared to be such, as cychoth sg. cych 'boat'; nythod 'nests', Mn. W. method (e ≡ y) A.L. 1 24; bythod, sg. beth 'hut'; (β) diminutive forms, as tenynnod 'halters', sg. tenynn; bythynnod 'cottages', sg. bythyn; and by false analogy Mn. W. tyddynnod 'small farms', for Mn. W. tybynneu A.L. i 168, 182; bwlanod sg. bwl 'a vessel of straw'; (γ) some names of coins: dimeioth R.B.B. 384 now dimeiau 'halfpennies'; ffyrylligot ib. now ffrilingod 'farthings'; floringod D.G. 287 'florins', hatlingod 'half-farthings'; (δ) personifications etc.: anghheuod B.CW. 65 'death-sprites'; eilunod 'idols', erthylof 'abortions'.

iii. Mn. W. -awt occurs in pycawt R.M. 52, W.M. 73, R.B.B. 149, B.T. 8, B.B. 89 'fish' < Lat. piscālus, § 118 ii (2); and in


gorwydant b.t. 36 ‘horses’, sg. gorwyd; eddystrant b.t. 70 ‘horses’ sg. eddystr or eddestr. The first survives as pysgod, in which the ending is now indistinguishable from old -od.

iv. -iaid, Ml. W. -yeit, -eit, is the pl. formed by affixation of the ending -iad, Ml. W. -yat § 143 iv (5); thus offeiriad ‘priest’ pl. offeiriaid, Ml. W. offeireit i.la. 117. All names of living things in -iad (except cariad) form their pl. so; thus ceiniwed M.A. i 285 ‘singers’, lleitgyeid (t = ð) ib. now lleiddiaid ‘murderers’, gleissyeid ib., now gleisianad ‘salmon’; but abstract nouns in -iad have -iadau § 120 i (4); cariad ‘lover’ is the same as cariad ‘love’ and has pl. cariadau Hos. ii 5, 7, 10.

But -iaid 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 : personyiaid i.la. 117, now personiaid, sg. person ‘parson’; conffesorieit do. 70; taclecyieit w.m. 456, Mn. W. rhagloiaid, sg. rhaglaw ‘deputy’; barwnyieit r.m. 179, now barwniaid, sg. barwn ‘baron’; mackwyieit w.m. 15, muckweiteit r.m. 9, sg. mackwy(f) ‘youth’; blysngyeit a.l. i 24, sg. bilaen r.b.b. 123 ‘villain’; cythreulgyieit r.b. i 251b ‘devils’; yswgierdyieit s.g. i 11 ‘squires’; in Mn. W. pennaethiaid Ps. ii 2, sg. pennaeth; estroniaid ‘strangers’, meistraid ‘masters’, gfeilliaid ‘twins’, Protestaniaid, Methodistaid, etc. Also adjectives used as nouns, § 145 iii.

(2) Tribal and national names : Albanyeit r.b.b. 271, also Albanwyr do. 270, sg. Albanwr ‘Scotchean’; Corannyieit r.m. 96, no sg.; Brytanyeit do. 91, no sg.; y Groecieit ar’ Lhadinieit J.D.R. [xiv] ‘the Greeks and Latins’; Rhufeinian, Corinlhiaid, etc. Also family and personal names: y Llywydiaid ‘the Lloyds’, y Lleisioniaid L.G.C. i 10 ‘the Leyshons’, Koytmoriaid p 61/33 r.

(3) All names in -ur of living things : pechaduryeit i.la. 152 now pechaduriaid, sg. pechadur ‘sinner’; kreaduryeit do. 4, now creaduriaid, sg. crêadur ‘creature’; awdurieit J.D.R. [xiv], awduryeit r.f. 1375, sg. awdur ib. ‘author’ (the pl. awduron seems to come from the gorseddic writings, the source of numerous fabrications); Mn. W. foûduriaid, cysgaduriaid, henuriaid, etc.

Other nouns in -ur take either -iau, as gyniadurjau ‘thimbles’, pladurjau ‘scythes’, or -au as papurau ‘papers’, mesurau ‘measures’, or -on as murmuron, cysuron.
(4) Some generic names of animals; as anifeileit l.l.A. 165, w.m. 228, now anifeiliaid, sg. anifail ‘animal’; mileit r.m. 129, Mn. W. milod, sg. mil ‘animal’; so bwystvileit r.b.b. 40 now bwystfilod, sg. bwystfil; ysgrubliaid Gen. xlv 17 ‘beasts’. Also a few specific names, as cameleit l.l.A. 165, Mn. W. camelod; Mn. W. bleiddiaid Matt. vii 15 ‘wolves’, also bleiddiau T.A. g. 233, Ml. bleðyðeu m.A. ii 230; gwenorliaid D.G. 20, sg. gwennol ‘swallow’.

Strictly, of course, -iaid is not a t-stem but a to-stem; thus -iad from *-iatos, pl. -iaid < *-iati.

v. -ant < Brit. *-antes, m. f. pl. participial ending occurs in carant r.A. 14, b.b. 46, l.l.A. 153, r.M. 130, sg. cár ‘kinsman’ < *karants (Ir. care < *karants) < *karants- : Armen. ser ‘progeny, family’, E. her-a, Lat. cresco, √ ker- ‘grow’. In Early Mn. 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 Mn. W. nei (now nái) ‘nephew’: neyeínt l.A. i 8, nýeint w.m. 89, l.l.A. 121, Mn. W. neiáint; and of ceifn ‘3rd cousin’: keivneínt (≡ keivneínt) b. ch. 76 defined ib. as ‘children of the 4th mother’ (those of the 2nd being ‘cousins’, etc.). Mn. W. meddweínt l.l.A. 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 brodýr r.m. 140; broder survived, as in T.A. g. 229, Wm.S. e.g. Act. xv 23, but was at length ousted by brodýr, cf. § 122 iv (3). In Mn. W. brodorion also is used, r.m. 203, 207. Sg. brawd ‘brother’, § 59 ii, § 63 iii.

brodorion also meant ‘fellow-countrymen, clansmen’ b.b. 51, 55 (cf. Gk. φίλας); 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 -awr) to gwaewyr ‘spear’ (also in Mn. W. ‘pain’), giving gwaewyr c.m. 48, but more usually gwewyr r.b.b. 1074 (for *gwewyr).

Ofera’ gwaith fu i’r gwýr
Eliaw ìl i wewýr.—D.N., p. 99/598.

‘It was the vainest task for men to anoint the marks of his spears.’
ii. -awr is common in Early Ml. W. poetry: gwæwaur b.b. 58, b.a. 9 (see fac.) 'spears', yrwydawr b.a. 9 'shields', cledywawr, bydïnawr, llawawr ïb. 'swords, armies, blades'; later (in prose) gwæwær w.m. 182, r.m. 85.

-awr < Brit. *-ãres < Ar. *-õres.

Vowel Changes.

§ 125. The vowel changes which occur when an ending is added to form the pl. are the following:

i. Mutation § 81: brawd 'brother', pl. brodyr; brawd 'judgement', pl. brodiał; daw 'son-in-law', pl. dofyôn r.b.b. 68; rhaw 'spade', pl. rhoffiau § 110 ii (1); cewr 'edge', pl. cyrrau; dyn 'man', pl. dyyion; sail 'foundation', pl. seiliau; ffau 'den', pl. ffenau; gwaun 'meadow', pl. gwennydd; bwoch 'cow', pl. buchod, etc. etc.

ii. Penultimate Affection § 83 iii: The endings which cause affection are -i, -ydd, -iaid, -ion: pâr, peri; dâr, deri; maer, meiri; caŵr, cewri; § 122 ii (2) — caer, ce warydd; maes, meisyydd; do. (3) — cymar 'mate', pl. cymheiriaid; gefell r.p. 1302 'twin' (< Lat. gemellus), pl. gefelliaid; penkeirôget, anigfeyn § 70 ii (2); mab 'son', pl. meibion, etc.; see § 128 ii.

iii. Reversion. In some cases the vowel is affected in the sg., but reverts to (or, historically speaking, retains) its original sound in the plural:

Fem. iê- or iâ-stems, with pl. ending -edd, § 122 iv: adein b.b. 82, adain D.G. 132, 421 'wing', pl. adaned r.m. 155, r.b.b. 64, later affected to adenydd; celain 'corpse', pl. celanedd or calanêd r.b.b. 49; edeu, edau 'thread', pl. edafedd or adaveô r.m. 154; elain 'fawn', pl. elanedd or Alancô a.L. i 20; gwraig, Ml. W. gwreci, pl. gwragoê; neidr 'snake', pl. nadredô, anadreô § 21 iii, later nadroedd; tiein r.p. 1239, m.a. i 329b, 421b, Ml. W. rhian D.G. 39, 95, 117, 130, 308, etc. 'maidens', pl. ðiânô w.m. 166, r.p. 1282, rhianedd D.G. 125, 234, 371. — Neut. iô-stem: daint, pl. ðanneôl § 122 iii (2). — Fem. uï-stem, pl. ending -au: caiine 'branch', Ml. W. cêing w.m. 108, pl. caïfeô b.b. 48, now cangau, see § 120 iii (2). — Neut. u-stem, pl. ending -au: deigr 'tear', pl. ðagrau, see § 120 iii (1). — Mas. and fem. v-stems, pl. ending
'I am a bird with his feet in the thorns, and the lime on the edge of his wing.'

'As a needle threaded, does her aspect make me spare.'

'My damsel will not have me: my slender love will not reject me.'

'Though there be [of] maidens' money more than his weight on the gravestone.'
ACCIDENCE § 125

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. cdyn was formed, which seems to occur first in E.P., Ps. lvi 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 cenan, 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 elined as the pl. of elain, and actually asserts that the pl. of guraig is gereigedd! He also invented the singulars rhian, celan. Silvan Evans s.v. celan notes this; but himselfinserts the equally spurious dagr 'tear' and deigrón 'tears'. In his Llythryaeth p. 17 he attempted to change the spelling of Saeson to Seison.

iv. Exchange of ultimate for penultimate affection: Mn. W. bngell, bugelyð, Mn. W. adain, adenydd § 122 iii (2); Mn. W. gwelletu k.m. 123, w.m. 483, 'shears', Mn. W. gwellan, pl. gwel-eifau, new lit. sg. gwellaif § 76 vii (1).

v. Anomalous changes: (i) morwyn 'virgin', pl. morýnion b.b. 61, morýnyon w.m. 99, l.a. 109, r.b.b. 70. This was altered to morwynion in the Bible, but persists in the spoken language as m'rynion. Note the double rhymes in

Lledysf englynyon lliw ðos gwynnynyion,
Lloer morýnyon llawr Meirjonyð.—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 blwyddyyn, pl. blynedd § 122 iv (2).

This change seems to be due to the survival in Brit. under different accentuations of two R-grades of ëi, namely R₁e ëi, and R₂ ɐ, § 63 vii (5). Thus morýn < Brit. *morëinjō < *marei- < *m'rei-; morýnion < Brit. *morinjones < *m'rei-; Lat. marī-tus < *m'rē- with R₂ ɐ.—blwydyyn 'year', Ir. bliadain < *bleidoni, a fem. ĭ- stem from an adj. *blei-d-on-o-s from a vb. stem *blei-d- 'to blow', Vbhlei-, extension of *bhel-, *bhel- whence O.H.G. blu-on (< *bhlo-) 'to blossom', Mn. W. blawt 'blossom', Lat. fiōs, etc. § 59 v, thus blwydyyn. 'budding season'; pl. blyned < *bleidniēs; tair blyned 'three seasons'.

(2) chwaer pl. chwiorydd § 75 vi (2), vii (2).
(3) achos pl. achosion, Mn. W. achaus pl. achwysson l.a. 129, see § 75 i (3).
§ 126. Nouns with the singular endings -yn and -en fall into three classes for the purposes of pl. formation.

i. Class i. The sg. ending is dropped, with or without vowel change; thus, without vowel change: pluen ‘feather’, pl. plu; mocJiyn ‘pig’, pl. moc; cneuen ‘nut’, pl. cnau; gwenynen ‘bee’, pl. gwenyn, etc.


(2) Ultimate Affection: colleu ‘hazel’, pl. cyll; onnen ‘ash’, pl. ynn; dalen w.m. 231, r.m. 167, Ps. i 3 ‘leaf’, pl. dail; chwannen ‘lea’, pl. chwain; draenen ‘hawthorn’, pl. drain; tywarchen ‘sod’, pl. tyweirch, tywyrch:

Drylliwr ewys 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: plentyn ‘child’, pl. plant; aderyn ‘bird’, pl. adar.


ii. Class 2. A plural ending is substituted for the sg. ending, as diferyn ‘drop’, pl. differion; crwydryn ‘vagrant’, pl. crwydraid; meddwyn ‘drunkard’, pl. meddwon; planhigyn ‘plant’, pl. planhigion; cwningen ‘rabbit’, pl. cwningod. The following vowel changes occur:

(1) Affection: miaren ‘bramble’, pl. mieri (mweri r.b.b. 48).

(2) Reversion: gelyn ‘enemy’, old pl. galon b.a. 26, and
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; defnyrn Gr.O. 48, defynnau Luc xxii 44; dalen ‘leaf’, pl. dalennau Ex. xxxix 3; mwrsewnod, bythynnod § 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. tybynneu A.L. i 168, 180, 182; maharen m. c.M. 26, myharen D.G. 202 ‘ram’, pl. meheryn; crogan, cragen, ‘shell’, pl. cregyn § 117 iii (3); elltrewyn § 76 v (5), pl. *-yned not found; blwydyn § 122 iv (2).

**Plural Formed from Derivatives.**


Beside glawogydd the dialects have glawiau, evidently a new formation, though Bret. has glawionu. The misspelling gwlaw 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 W.A. 13, 42, R.M. 146, M.A. i 396, R.P. 585, 1032 (4 times), 1055; gwlaw s.G. 147 is of course glaw in the ms., see P II/95b; and of course there is no trace of gw- in the spoken language. The word cannot be from *uo-lau- 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 W. 28/96 n., Ml. W. kammeu R.B.B. 149, O. W. cemmein § 121 iv; and camrau is a mere misspelling of kam-ree, see § 31 ii (2).
§ 128. Double Plurals.

§ 128. Double plurals are of common occurrence, and are formed in the following ways:


In old formations -*ion* affected the preceding vowel, thus the *ei* of *meibion* is the affection of *a* by *, as shown by the intermediate form *mepion* § 70 ii (1). But *meibion* seemed to be the pl. *meib* with -*ion* added; and on this analogy -*ion* was added to *engyl*. The *y* in *angylion* is not an old affection of the *e* by *, for that would be *ei*, cf. *anreigyon*, 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 Ml. MSS. is a gross error, supported only by a quotation from a 17th cent. copy, H.M. ii 337, of a tract appearing in II.A., where the reading is *egylion* 129.

In most cases however -*ion* is added to the sg., and does not affect *ae*, *e*, *o*: *kaethyon* R.P. 1272, *ysgolion* ‘schools’.

iii. The diminutive pl. endings -*ach* (-*ach*) and -*os* are added to pl. nouns, as *eryddionach* Gr.O. 208, *dynionach* do. 93, J.D.R. [xx]; *dreiniach* ‘thorns’; *plantos*, *gweragedhos*, *dilhados* (dl = o, ll = l) 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’, *cargos* ‘pebbles’, *dernynnach* ‘bits’.

Sometimes a final media is now hardened before the ending: *pryfetach*, *merchetos*. This is prob. due to late diminutive doubling (d-d > t, 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, adenyd for adaneð § 125 iii, brodyr 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. mýr, moroed § 122 ii (4); arf 'bishop', pl. arveu W.M. 97, 99, etc., poet. eirf D.G. 2; exob 'broad', pl. exyb, later exobion (15th cent., Gut.O. A 14967/87), exobiaid (T.A. A 14975/61), the first and last now obsolete; Ml.W. kévynderwy 'cousin', pl. kévyndyr, a.l. i 222, Mn. W. cefneder, pl. cefndyr, cefnderoedd L.G.C. 167.

In Recent Welsh new and inelastic weak forms are sometimes found, as castelli, alarchod for cestyt, eirch. 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 (amranto) § 120 i (1); brieill for briallu § 134 ii; creig for creiyiau.

(2) Two or more plurals may be formed by adding different endings: tref 'town', pl. trefi, trefydd § 122 ii (2); kaer 'castle', pl. keyrydd, 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. cangeu § 125 iii, newer pl. ceingheu ll.a. 144; these survive in Mn. W. as caine pl. cangau, ceinciau. So cawr 'giant', pl. ceuri, cevari § 76 iv (3); achave, acho 'cause' pl. achwysson § 125 v (3), achwysgon a.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 1, § 126 i, have two plurals, one without and one with the vowel affected; as gwíalen 'twig', pl. gwíl or gwíl; seren 'star', pl. sér B.T. 26, or sýr ll.a. 5, the latter now obsolete; collen 'hazel', pl. coll M.M. 32, generally cyll; onnen 'ash', pl. onn, more usually ynn; mellten 'flash of lightning', pl. mellt ll.a. 107, rarely myllt R.B.B. 259.
Ni thawaf, od af heb dál,
Mwy nog eos mewn gwial.—D.G. 418, cf. 151.
'I will not be silent, though I go without pay, more than a nightingale in the branches.

E gaedd Mai à gwial
do yw ybren y morwyr,
Mwy yw no场所 o'r mân sôr.—L.G.C. 459.
'May has blocked up with twigs the paths into masses of leaves.'

E gaeodd Mai gwyll
Y lwybrau yn dyrrau dail.—D.G. 442, cf. 87, 162, 225.
'Great is the star of the mariners, greater than a cluster of small stars.'

'Mawr yiv seren y morwyr,
Mwy yw swrn o'r mdn syr.—L.G.C. 445.
'Great is the star of the mariners, greater than a cluster of small stars.'

Dy rhyw ais, a'i rhifo,
Faf cronglwyd lle tynnwyd to.—I.B.H., p. 17.
'Strange are my ribs, and to be counted, like rafters where the roof has been taken away.'

Ef a wîs ar fy asau
'It is evident from my ribs that I have become lean through concealing this [secret].'

'Siôn sâr wân asennau Ffranc
Sy lov brau—Salbri ieuanc.—T.A., A 14965/44.
'Siôn, of the face and frame of a Frank, is a spirited lion—young Salesbury.'

Singular Doublets.

§ 180. i. A noun not ending in -yn or -en may have two forms of the sg. owing to various phonetic accidents: (1) -yf : -en
§ 76 vii: cledyf b.p. 1236 'sword', cledew do. 1369, pl. cledyfau; necyf do. 1237 'adze', and nebey.
(2) dant, daint 'tooth', pl. dannedd § 122 iii (2).
(3) gwyry, gwyrf, gwerydd 'virgin', pl. gweryddon § 110 ii (3).

Wrongly attributed in the ms. to D.G.; see A 14967/no. 222, and the cover of Greal no. 6—Mae rhyw amwynt.
(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, ddi.

ii. A noun may have a sg. form, and one without, a sg. ending; as deigr, deigryn ‘tear’, pl. dagranw; erfyn, arf ‘weapon’, pl. arfan § 129 i (1); edau, edeifin ‘thread’, pl. edafedd, § 125 iii.

The diminutive form has sometimes a pi. of its own; as dafn ‘drop’, pl. dafnau § 122 ii (2), and defnyn ‘drop’, pl. defnynnau § 126 iii; cainc ‘branch’, pl. cangau, ceinciau § 129 i (3); cangen ‘branch’, pl. 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. adaren B.B. 107, the latter obsolete; ysgall ‘thistles’, sg. ysgellyn and ysgallen, both in use; cawn, sg. conyn ‘stalk’, cawnen ‘rush’; gwial or gwiail, sg. gw’ialen, or gw’ielyn 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 bronu W.m. 94, D.G. 233 ‘breasts’, bronwyd m.a. i 415, D.G. 70, ‘hills’, sg. bron ‘breast, hill’; personiaid § 123 iv (1) ‘persons’, personau ‘persons’ (personyeu c.m. 19), sg. person in both senses. The following occur in Mn. W.: canoniaid ‘canons’ (men), canonau ‘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’, prydu ‘meals’, sg. pryd; pwysau ‘weights’, pwysi ‘lbs.’, sg. pwys; ysbrydion ‘spirits’ (beings), ysbrydoedd ‘spirits’ in other senses (but Ml. W. ysfrydod, s.g. 308-9, yspydyn 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 m.A. 121, Mn. W.
taid means the latter only, as

Penaeithiad yw dy daid oll.—G.I.H., m 133/211.

'All thy ancestors are chieftains.' teidiau 'ancestors' is perhaps
to be treated as the pl. of taid 'grandfather', a derivative
(*)tados?) of tad, cf. nain 'grandmother' (<*nani?). The
pl. ais, while continuing to mean 'ribs', was used for 'breast'
D.G. 316, and became a sg. noun, fem. (like bron), as

Am Robert y maer ebwch
Yn f' ais drom anafus drwch.—T.A., c. 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,
but Ml. W. dalenoise b.b. 101 '(leaves of trees). Complete
desynonymization has taken place in the sg. and pl. in cors
f. 'marsh', pl. corsydd, and corseen f. 'reed', pl. cyrs (in Ml. W.
cors, corsvdd meant 'reed, reeds' also, see Silvan Evans s. v.);
tant 'harp-string', pl. tannau, and tennyn 'halter', pl. tenynnod.

iv. Desynonymization occurs in the sg. only in conyn 'stalk',
cawen 'reed'; gw′alen 'twig, wand', gw′ielen 'osier' (used in
wicker-work—the original meaning, § 75 vi (2)).

In the dialects also coeden 'tree': 'vox nuperrimē ficta' D.D. and
coedlyn 'piece of wood'. The word for 'tree' in lit. W. is pres; 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'.

Anomalous Plurals.

§ 132. A few anomalous plurals remain to be noticed: (1) ci
'dog', pl. cŵn; ci < Kelt. *kū < *kū < Ar. *k(u)u: Skr. śvā
§ 89 iii; cwn < Brit. *kunes < Ar. *kunes.
(2) dydd ‘day’ < *diēus : Lat. diēs, and dyw ‘day’ in dyw Gwener ‘on Friday’ etc. from an oblique case (Ar. gen. *diyēs, *diyōs), pl. diēu < Brit. *diēues § 100 ii (1), beside diēuweδ § 128 i, and dyōgeu Il.A. 51, R.B.B. 9, re-formed from the sg., Mn. W. dyddiau, now the usual form, though tridīau is still in common use.

Bluitinet a hir dieu (t = 8) B.B. 56 ‘years and long days’; deugein niheu Il.A. 21 ‘forty days’; seith niheu R.B.B. 54; deugain niheu D.G. 198, etc.

(3) duw ‘god’, O. W. duiu- § 78 iv (2) < *deiuos (: Lat. deus) is the same word as the above above with different vowel grades § 63 vii (4). The Ml. pl. dwyweu Il.A. 73 is formed from the old sg.; gen-dwyewe also occurs do. 44 with loss of y; the Mn. pl. dwyGWau is a second re-formation.

(4) diawl ‘devil’, pl. diufol § 100 ii (1), also a late pl. diawl(i)aid (loss of i by dissim. is usual); the pl. diufol used by Gr.O. is artificial, as possibly the sg. diáf. Wm.S. invented a new sg. dīafol, which was adopted in the Bible, and so is considered more respectable than the genuine form.

(5) blwyddyn ‘year’, pl. blynedd, blwybyned, blynpydodedd § 122 iv (2), § 125 v (1).

(6) aren pl. eirin § 106 ii (1), new pl. arennau; eirin ‘plums’, new sg. eirinen.

(7) pared, pl. parwydgydd § 130 i (4); ffer ‘ankle’, pl. (old dual) ucharnau, ucharnau § 96 iv (2), late pl. fferaun, 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. cedymaith ‘companion’, pl. cymdeithion; Ml. W. sg. cedymdeith w.m. 10, pl. cedymdeithon do. 1;—Mn. W. credadun ‘believer’, pl. credinwyr, a corrupt re-formation from crediniol for creduniol, § 77 ix, for credaduniol; Ml. W. credadun, pl. credadunion m.a. i 566.

**Nouns with no Plural.**

§ 133. The following nouns are used in the sg. only:

i. Many abstract nouns, simple, as gwane ‘voracity’, llwnc
Nouns

'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',  pl. chwantau;  coel 'belief',  pl. coelian, etc.; see § 120 i (4), § 121 ii (3), § 122 ii (4).

ii. Nouns denoting material or substance, as mell 'honey',
glo 'coal',  ymenyn 'butter',  gwaed 'blood',  baw 'dirt',  llæth 'milk', etc.

There are many exceptions: dyfroedd 'waters',  sg. dwfr;  cigau 'meats',  ydau § 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 haearn means 'irons' as fire-irons, etc.

The names of woods have the same form as the pl. of the names of trees;  thus derw 'oak' or 'oak-trees',  sg. derwen 'oak-tree'. The same form is used (like arian, aur, haearn, etc.) as an adj.: cadair dderw 'oak chair';  oon 'ashen', etc. (but not ynn etc.):

Llithio'r wyd y llath hir oon
Ar galonau'r gelynion.—T.A., A.14975/95.

'Thou feedest the long ashen spear on the hearts of the enemies.'

iii. Diminutive nouns in -an,  -ig,  -cyn,  -cen;  as dynan 'a little, person',  oenig 'a little lamb',  bryncyn 'hillock',  llecyn 'place',  ffolcen 'foolish girl'.

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);  crymanau 'sickles'.

iv. Archaic and poetical words such as bun 'maid',  iór 'lord',
cun 'lord',  huan 'sun' § 113 i (5).

v. Proper names of places, months, days, feasts;  as Cymru,  Ebrill,  Calan,  Nadolig. Except Sulian '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';  rhieni 'parents';  nouns in -wys denoting inhabitants, as Monwys '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. rhiiaint) given by Pughe seems to be his own
invention.

ii. aeron ‘fruits’; gwartheg ‘cattle’; creifion ‘parings’; gwreich- 
ion ‘sparks’; names of certain vegetables: bresych ‘cabbages’,
chwyn(u) ‘weeds’, brialltu 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: ffoddolion
‘wayfarers’, tloftion ‘paupers’; (2) qualities: prydderthion
‘beauties’, § 145 iii.

§ 135. The gender of a noun denoting an animate object agrees
in general with the sex of the object; thus the nouns gër ‘man,
husband’, ceffyl ‘horse’, brawd ‘brother’, gwas ‘servant, youth’
are m., and gwarig ‘woman, wife’, caseg ‘mare’, chwaer ‘sister’,
mormyn ‘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’, ysgrifarnog ‘hare’. Thus we
say y gennad (not *y cennad) even when we mean a man.

Kymer y gennat honn, a dwc ef y dy Ernallt c.m. 33 ‘Take this
messenger and bring him to the house of Ernault’. See also R.B.R. 68,
IIA. III 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 ascertained 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', cysfyrder 'second cousin', wyr 'grandchild', tyst 'witness' (< Lat. testis com.), mudan 'deaf-mute', perthynas 'relation', gefell 'twin', cymar 'mate', llatai 'love-messenger', etc. § 139 v, cyw 'pullus', 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 wyrygon R.M. 112, W.M. 468 'three granddaughters'.

Y ddyn fuyn cedd ddoes'n f'annerch:
Aeth yn fud weithian y ferch.—D.E., g. 117.

'The gentle lady yesterday greeted me: now the maid has become silent.'

Wyr Cadwgon yw honno:
Wyr i fab Meilir yw fo.—L.G.C. 367.

'She is the granddaughter of Cadwgon; he is the grandson of Meilir's son.'

Danfonaf, o byddaf byw,
At feinwen iat ai fenyw.—IL., ll 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 pwy 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 P 112/365 (early 17th cent.). No pl. has been invented for it. Other late formations are cymhares and wyres, 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 myd wen, mi yw dy wr,
Aeth was e'th burlas burlor.—D.G. 156.

'My fair life, I am thy husband and thy servant in thy leafy parlour,'
iv. Similarly a mas. abstract noun, when personified is occasionally treated as fem., as *doethineb* in Diar. i 20, ix 1–4.

§ 137. i. Some mas. names of living objects are made fem. by the addition of *-es*, or by changing *-yn* to *-en*; thus *brenin* 'king', *brenhines* 'queen'; *bachgen* 'boy', *bachgennes* Joel iii 3 'girl'; *llew* 'lion', *llewes* 'lioness'; *asyn* 'ass', *f. asen*; *coegyn* 'fop', *f. coegen* b.c.w. 14.

arglwyd 'lord', arglwydès w.m. ii 'lady'; marchawe w.m. 2, Mn.W. marchog 'horseman, rider, knight', marchoges, w.m. 13, b.c.w. 58; iarl, iarlles w.m. 254 'earl', 'countess'; *amhêrawdwr* w.m. 178 'emperor', amherodres do. 162; cares l.G. 557 'relative' *f.*; *tynysygos* 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 *lheidr* 'thief', f. *lladrones* b.c.w. 21, see § 121 i; *Sais* 'Englishman', f. *Saesnes* < Brit. *Saxō, *Saxonissā, § 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* < Ar. *nepōtis*; *nith* < Ar. *nepētis* § 75 vii (2); *cefniderw* § 76 vii (3) (O.W. pl. *ceintiru* and *cyfnitherg* are improper compounds representing *cefn* *derwyd* and *cyfnith* *derwyd*; for *cefn* lit. 'co-nephew' see § 75 vii (1); *cyfnith* *=kom-neptis* 'co-niece'; *derwyd* is an obsolete adj. meaning 'true', Ir. *dérb* 'sure' *=derwos*, Ar. base *deryu-*: E. *true, and doubtless W. pl. *derwyd-on* < *soothsayers* < *druíes* (: Gaul. *drûides* < Brit., Caesar b.c. vi 13, Ir. *druí* < Brit. *tir*): W. *dár* 'true, certain', Ir. *dár* 'due' < LR *dérũ-s.—chwegr* § 94 iv; *chwegrwun* *suekru-no-; *hesbin* from W. *hesb* f. of *hesb* 'dry' § 96 iii (5); the formation of *hesburn* is not clear; perhaps for *hesbrun* formed on the analogy of *chwegrwun*; — *gôr* < Ar. *virios* : Lat. *vir*; *gwraig* < *uraki* prob. < *y(i)r-ak-ı* a noun in -ı (:-ıə, cf. pl. *gwragedę* from a derivative in -ak- of *vir-os* : cf. Lat. *virago*.

* 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 *derw* 'oak', Gk. *δύς*, etc., are probably derived from the same Aryan base *deryu-* 'fast, hard'.
Nouns

iii. (1) As in other languages, near relations and familiar animals have names of different origin for males and females: *dad* ‘father’, *mam* ‘mother’; *brawd, chwaer; eowthir, modryb; ceffyl, caseg*; etc.

(2) Names of birds are epicenes, mostly f. as *y ffeyrach* or *y ffeyrach* ‘the blackbird’, *y ffrofrith* ‘the thrush’, *yr *ŷ* *dydd* ‘the goose’, *y goch* ‘the cuckoo’, *y frán* ‘the crow’, etc.; but almost an equal number are m., as *eryr* ‘eagle’, *dryno* ‘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 bronfrith* or *y ceiliog mwyach*; but this cannot be done generally. Note *ceiliogwydd ‘gander* § 74 i. The names of one or two male animals are formed in a similar manner; as *bwich gafr* ‘he-goat’, *gwreth* ‘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: *gwawyn, haf, hydref, gaeaf*, see *hydref dwys a’r gwawyn* § 38 viii; so *y Garawys, y Grawys* ‘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 names of the months, as *Chwefrol sydd iddo 28 o ddiydiau 1620* Bible Almanac ‘February has 28 days’.

(3) *dydd* ‘day’, and names of days, see *Difiau du* § 46 ii (4); so *y Pasg* ‘Easter’, *y Nadolig* ‘Christmas’, *y Sulgywyn* ‘Whitsunday’, *y Calun* ‘New Year’s Day’; but *gwy* ‘feast’ is f., so that *Gwyl Fair ‘Lady Day*, etc., are f.

(4) *gwynt* ‘wind’, and the names of points of the compass: *y gogledd* ‘the north’, *y dwyrain* ‘the east’, *y deheu* ‘the south’, *y gorllewin* ‘the west’.

(5) Nouns denoting material or substance: *aur, arian, haearn, pres, pren, derr, fawrydd, glo, maen, pridd, calch, clai, tal, gwair, gwelli, yd, bwyd, baru, cig, gwael, gwin, cwrw, dwfr, gwydr, llcdr, lliaen, sidan, glaw, eira*, etc.

(6) Verbal nouns; see § 205.

ii. The following nouns are fem.:

(1) *gwlad* ‘country’, *teyrnas* ‘kingdom’, *ynys* ‘island’, and names of countries, etc.: *Cymru lân* ‘beautiful Wales’, *Prydain Fawr* ‘Great Britain’, *y Fôn Fawr* Gr.O. 16 ‘my Mona’. But *tîr* ‘land’ is m., hence *Tîr Groeg m.* ‘Greece’.

(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 1402* Q
Ddafydd, Moelyci; but mynydd ‘mountain’ and bryn ‘hill’ are m., and so therefore are names formed from them, as Myndedmawr.

(5) iaith ‘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 Gymraeg hwn ‘this (piece of) Welsh’. llythyren ‘letter’ is fem., and names of letters and sounds: a fain ‘thin a’ (i.e. ‘e’).


(7) Collective nouns denoting communities, etc.: y genedl ‘the nation’, y werin ‘the people, the crew (of a ship)’, y bobl ‘the people’, y bendegiaeth ‘the nobility’, y gymânfa ‘the assembly’, y gymnuleidfa ‘the congregation’, y glór ‘the bards’ (y fân glór L.G.C. 71), y dorf, y dyrfu ‘the crowd’, y gymhadledd ‘the assembly’; with some late exceptions, as y cyn gyf ‘the council’, y buredd ‘the board’.

§ 139. The gender of a derivative noun is determined by its ending.

i. The following endings form m. nouns: -ach dim. sg., -aint, -awd, -cyn, -dab -deb, -der, -did, -dod, -dwr, -edd, -hdd, -i -ni -ioni, -iad -ad, -iaut, -inab -ineb, -rwydd, -wch (-wyg), -yd, -yn.

Examples: lewbach, henaint, traethauw, lleyn, un-dab, -deb, blinder, gwendid, cryndod, fheiddra, crysdwr, amynedd, glanhâd, tlodi, noethni, drygioni, cariad, teimlad, mwyniant, doethin-ab, -eb, enbydruwydd, twyyl-wch, -wch, iechyd, offryn.

Exceptions: awdurudd, trindod; buchedd, cynghanedd, trugaredd; see § 143 iii (13); cenadwri (f. after cennad); adoilad § 205; caniad ‘song’ (f. after edn) but caniad ‘singing’ m.; galread (f. after gawledig-aeth); blwyddyn, eltrewyn, odyn, telyn, twymyn. In the last group -yn is not the sg. ending -ynn, see § 126 iv.


Examples: cyfeillach, cosbedigaeth, athrawiaeth, teyrnas, colled, asegl, seren, llynges, porfa, natur, pladur.

There are many exceptions in -aeth and -iaeth; as claddedigaeth, darfodedigaeth, gwasanaeth, hiraeth, amrywiâeth, gwahanâeth, llun-iaeth.—Other exceptions are lludded, caethiwd, syched, pared; castell, caowell, hiriell ‘angel’ D. 43; maharen; hanes m. in N.W.—gynnâdwr ‘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’; lluyaid f. ‘spoonful; maban m. ‘babe’, gwreigan f. ‘little woman’, dynan com. ‘little person’; cleddyfod m. ‘stroke of sword’, ffonnod f. ‘blow of a stick’, dyrnod m., arfod f. (cleddyfawd f. D.G. 473 is exceptional).

\textbf{§ 140. NOUNS}

-ig forms m. titles, as \textit{gwledig} 'prince', \textit{pendedig} 'chief', and f. diminutives as \textit{oenig}, etc.

-\textit{in} is m. in \textit{brenin} 'king', \textit{dewin} 'sage', \textit{buslin} 'drinking horn', \textit{ewin} 'finger-mail', \textit{gortlewin} 'west'; otherwise f., as \textit{byddin}, \textit{cegin}, \textit{cribin}, \textit{gwerin}, \textit{hesbin}, \textit{megin}, \textit{melin}.

\textit{v. -ai}, \textit{Ml. -ei} (for \textit{-het}) forms nouns of com. gender, as \textit{llatai} § 136 ii; see \textit{cicai} f. D.G. 166.

\textbf{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 \textit{w} or \textit{y} in the ultima are mostly m., and those having \textit{o} or \textit{e} are mostly f.; thus \textit{asegwn}, \textit{arddwn}, \textit{dwn}, \textit{dufr}, \textit{ellyll}, \textit{byd}, \textit{bryn} are m.; \textit{colofn}, \textit{tonn}, \textit{ffordd}, \textit{ffenestr}, \textit{gwen}, \textit{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. \textit{u} and \textit{i}, which normally give W. \textit{w} and \textit{y}, were affected to \textit{o} and \textit{e} by the lost f. ending -\textit{a}, § 68, thus bringing about a preponderance of f. nouns with \textit{o} and \textit{e}. The reasons for the numerous exceptions are the following: (1) \textit{o} and \textit{e} may be original Brit., and not the result of affection at all, as in \textit{mör} m. 'sea', \textit{peun} m. 'head'; (2) \textit{y} is often due to affection by the lost f. ending -\textit{a}; as in \textit{blwyddyn} f., \textit{telyn} f. etc.; (3) endings other than -\textit{a}, -\textit{e} caused no affection; hence \textit{ffried} f., \textit{huch} f. etc.

\textit{u} seems to some extent to have followed the analogy of \textit{w}, thus W. \textit{cur} m. < Lat. \textit{cúra} f.; most monosyllables with \textit{u} are thus m.; but \textit{chud} 'vehicle', \textit{tud} 'people, country', \textit{hug} 'covering', \textit{clun} 'thigh', \textit{hun} 'sleep', \textit{punt} '£1', \textit{ffust} 'flail' are f.

There is no reason why \textit{a}, \textit{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.\textsuperscript{2} 75, states that monosyllables having \textit{a} are f.; Anwyll, Gr. 28, says they are m., and names 13 exceptions (omitting \textit{gardd}, \textit{surf}, \textit{barf}, \textit{vant}, \textit{cad}, \textit{lath}, \textit{barn}, etc., etc.); actually, the proportion of m. to f. (excluding Eng. words, and names of males and females, as \textit{tad}, \textit{man}) is about 55:45. Similarly monos. with \textit{i} are said to be m.; in reality the numbers of m. and f. are practically equal:—m., \textit{uid}, \textit{gurid}, \textit{pridd}, \textit{lif} 'flood', \textit{rhif}, \textit{brig}, \textit{cig}, \textit{cil}, \textit{mil} 'animal', \textit{fín}, \textit{lín}, \textit{min}, \textit{guín}, \textit{glin}, \textit{tir}, \textit{mis}, \textit{plís}, \textit{lith} 'mash';—f., \textit{pi}, \textit{crib}, \textit{grib}, \textit{gwich}, \textit{tid}, \textit{fridd}, \textit{lif} 'saw', \textit{gwig}, \textit{pig}, \textit{hil}, \textit{mil} '1000', \textit{hin}, \textit{tin}, \textit{trin}, \textit{rhin}, \textit{gwisg}, \textit{cist}, \textit{lith} 'lesson'.

\textbf{ii. A few doublets occur with m. -\textit{w}-, f. -\textit{o}-; as \textit{cwb} m. 'bag', \textit{col} f. 'purse'. The others are borrowed words containing -\textit{or} + cons. ; as \textit{torf} 'crowd' < Lat. \textit{turba}, \textit{turf} 'tumult';—\textit{fforch} 'a fork' < Lat. \textit{furca}: \textit{ffwch} 'the fork, haunches';—\textit{ffordd} 'way' <
O.E. bord : iffwrdd 'away'; — bord 'board, table' < M.E. bord; bwrdd id. < O.E. bord.

Also with — yn : -en, as ysgellyn : ysgallen § 130 iii, coegen : coegen etc., § 137 i, ffwlcyn : ffolcen, and S. W. dial. crwty 'boy': croten 'girl'.

§ 141. i. The gender of a compound noun is generally that of its subordinating element; thus elusэндлу 'almshouse' m. like ty 'house', this being the subordinating, and elusэн the sub-ordinate element. So gwïlullan 'vineyard' f. like llan; can-höyllbren '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 (z); pendro f. 'vertigo' (tro m.), as Mae'r bendo ar y llo lleiaf 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 tréf-tad 'heritage' f.; adïdd-brad 'day of judgement' m.; pönt-bren 'wooden bridge' f.; pën-cerdd 'chief of song' m.

§ 142. i. There are many nouns of vacillating or uncertain gender. Some of them are old neuters, like braïck 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 dau fath 'two kinds': with the art. f., as y fath 'the kind', y fath bath 'the kind of thing';— man 'spot' m., as yr òen.
van gochyon W.M. 140 'to the two red spots', man gwai '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: gwaiith 'work' m., gwaiith 'fois' f., as in dowy waiith 'twice'; llif m., llif f.; mil m., mil f.; llith m., llith 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.
The following are m. in Ml. W., f. in Late W.: damwein w.m. 29, b.m. 19 'accident'; breint l.l. 121, r.b.b. 71 'privilege'; dinas c.m. 3, 8, l.l.a. 44, D.G. 325 'stronghold, city', still m. in place-names; nef l.l.a. 4 'heaven', S.ph. (m. W.l.) late 16th cent. has ne' gwyn, but H.S. mid. 15th already has nef f., see § 160 iii (2) (c); chwedd b.m. 192 'tale', chwedd drug Ps. cxxi 7; grudâ l.l.a. 93 'cheek', y grudd, dwr-rudd in the bars, but f. in Bible; gweithret a.l. i 526, b.b. 7, l.l.a. 132; ergit r.b.b. 42; brevyd l.l.a. 143.

The following are f. in Ml. W., m. in late W.: tangleved w.m. 43, b.m. 30, 38 (but y tangleved w.m. 55) 'peace', m. in Bible; gwirioned w.m. 29, b.m. 19 'truth', m. in Bible and later bars, c.c. 357; cygfreir c.m. 18, r.m. 160 'truce', m. in Bible, Deut. xxix 14; rydit r.b.b. 83 'freedom'; person c.m. 19, l.l.a. 3 'person'; llwyn w.m. 51, r.m. 36 'lake'; ulys w.m. 5, b.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 vreic 'to the arm'; it is m. in the Bible, but now f. except in place-names,—heul 'sun', m. l.l.a. 3, f. do. 161, generally f. in the bars, m. in Bible, f. in Wms. 257, now m.; heulwen is an improper compound of haul veinn § 46 ii (1);—clot 'praise' m. as clot bychan w.m. 142, b.m. 212, generally f. in the bars 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. deudroed always (not dyw-) m. in N.W., f. in S.W. The following are f. in S.W., m. in N.W.: cylog, hunes, garr, gwniadur, llwyn, yncys, mwnud, clorian (though ar y funud, yn y glorian in N.W. also); in Mn. 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. cuusan (m. c.m. 58, 61) and cywan (m. in Bible) are sometimes treated as f., doubtless a late misuse, as also the use in some parts of canhwcylbren 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 Gwyneidd (< Lat. saccus) is f. in Powys.

Derivative Nouns.

§ 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, -enn, and the n is doubled in Ml. and Mn. W. when a syllable is added, as defnyn-au Can. v 2, canghenn-au Luc. xiii 19. They probably represent the Ar. suffixes -ino-, -inâ- with dimin. gemination § 93 iii (2), giving Brit. *-inno-s, *-inâ-s.

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 corbach 'dwarf' < a Brit. *-akkos, with dimin. gemination; — -an, as dynan 'little
person', gureigan 'little woman'; this appears in late Brit. as -agn-; in Ir. it is -ān; see § 104 ii (1); -ell, as in  coeffsell 'a ree', < Brit. *-illā or *-illa; -ig, as in oenig 'lamb', < Brit. *-ikā; -cyn, f. -cen, sometimes added to contracted personal names, as Huwelyn for Huwol, appears to be comparatively late, and may be from E. -kin.

iii. Abstract and collective noun endings, etc.: (1) -ach as cyffellach 'friendship' cyfrinach 'secret' (< *-akea, v.n. suffix § 203 i (3) (4)).
(2) -aeth 'act' < *-aktu, § 203 i (1), as in gwasanaeth 'service' < *w-ssān-aktā < *upo-stā-nto-aktā § 96 ii (2); as *gwasan does not occur, the suffix is here felt to be -aanaeth. It takes the form -iaeth from stems in -a, thus added to -aid in dysg-aid-iaeth 'learning'; hence hynafiaeth 'antiquity', gosafiaeth 'smithing'; hence -ānjaeth in gwlybānjaeth 'wet weather'. So -faeth as marsingaeth 'commerce'; -niaeth as saerniaeth 'workmanship', mechniaeth 'surety'. In arglwyddiaeth, arglwyddiaeth both accentuations occur, see Arglwyddiaeth (4 syll.) D.G. 8; Gweled Dduw a'i arglwyddiaeth Gut.O. M 146/397 R. 'The feast of God and his Lordship': Pe talair 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 -adyw, -ediw, as ofnadwaeth 'terror', poenedigaeth 'torture', erledigaeth for erlidedigaeth § 44 iv.
It is also seen in -adaeth, -dabaeth, -debabaeth, -wrjaeth, etc.
(3) -aid, Ml. W. -eit <* -aţio-s, *-atā; llwyaid § 139 iii.
(4) -aint, Ml. W. -eint: henaint 'old age'; dioddefaint 'suffering' § 203 ii (3), q.v.
(5) -an: cusan 'kiss', chwiban 'whistle', v.n. suff. § 203 vi (1).
(6) -as <* -askell: teyrnas f. 'kingdom'; also -ias, as trigia 'residence': Ir. -as m. <* -assu-; (Goth. -assu-): ?* -st-tā, *-st-tu-.
(7) -awd, -od, Ml. W. -awt <* -ăt-: traethawd 'treatise' < Lat. tractatus; molawd 'praise': Ir. molad; used to denote the stroke of a weapon cledfawd, etc. § 139 iii < *-aţio.
(8) -deb, -dab, -dabaeth, -debabaeth, -ineb, -inab all contain *ap- <* ap-, *ap- like Lat. antiquus, Skr. pratiṣa-m 'face' and W. wynab § 100 v. In -deb *ap- is added to a -i- stem, in -ineb to Brit. -ini- (as in brenin iv (10)); *-i- > *e > e § 65 vi; in -dab -inab to allied adj. stems in -to-, -ino- (cf. Brugmann II i 285); *-o- > *-ă-> a. Silvan Evans states s.v. dwuwdab 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. atab, atebdā, not *atabd). The forms with a occur before any trace of dial. a, and are used by writers of all parts: diveirdap 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); coureindab S.T., ll 169/39 R.; hydab L.G.C. 195; geudab Ps. lixi 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. *-tút-: cwen-did ‘weakness’;
    -dod, -tod, Ml. W. -dawt, -tawt < Ar. *-tút-: cryn-dod ‘trembling’;
    —: Lat. vir-tút- (< *yiro-tút-); cāvi-tút-.
    -dra, -tra, see (22) below.
(11) -dwr < *-turo-, prob. -ro- added to -tu- stem., cf. Gk. μάρ-ρυπος:
    cryf'dwr ‘strength’.
(12) -ed, Ml. W. -et, partly < -itás, as in ciwed < Lat. cāvid; partly < *-e-to, Ml. W. dyly-et < *diligeto-n: Ir. diliget.—syched ‘thirst’;
    nodd-ed ‘protection’, colled ‘loss’, etc.
(13) -edd < *-iša: trugared ‘mercy’ < *trougaškariša: Ir. trōcaire;
    —: Gk. -iā, ávρχia, 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-ikā. It forms the names of languages as
    Saesneg, Gwyddeleg, Ffrangeg, Gwyrndog ‘the dialect of Gwynedd’,
    Gro-eg, Cyrmá-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 Saesnaeg, see the headings in his Dic.
    Gwyddeleg, Ffrancæg 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’.
    —Kanys Yspaenes a ðywedi y kawr c.m. 19 ‘For it was Spanish that the giant
    spoke’. Kynmæç/þwæc r.p. 1189. Ffrangec ða lêwedes ðiætyeth
do. 1225 ‘Good clear pure French’.

Dysgais yr eang Ffrangeg;
Doeth yw i dysg, da iaith deg.—I.R., p 82/309 R.

‘I have learnt the rich French language; wise is its learning, fair
good tongue.’

(15) -es < *issā: buches ‘herd of cows, place for milking’; llyuges
(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 (4), by loss of -nn § 110 v (2) < Ar. *-mēn-
    § 62 i (2): llosg-fa ‘a burning’; lladd-fa ‘slaughter’; cryn-fa
    ‘tremor’; bodd-fa ‘deluge’. The two are confused, and the second
    class have plurals like the first, as llosgfeydd.
(17) -i is the same as the v.n. ending -i, see § 202 ii; thus tloði
    ‘poverty’ (also as v.n. ‘to impoverish’), noethi ‘nakedness’ (v.n.
    ‘to denude’), diogi ‘idleness’ (v.n. ‘to idle’), caledi ‘hardship’, gwegi
    ‘vanity’, ymddifedi ‘destitution’.
(18) -jād, -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
    Gwyddeles for Gwyddelae, or called his wife yr aes.
such forms as carad, e.g. llu du di-gradar n.b. 86, and especially the form -hād (for -ha-ad), which would be *-haead if the ending were -i-ad; but with stems in -i- we have e.g. rhodi-ād (rhodiāf); from these -i-ad wasgeneralized, but too late to cause penultimate affec tion; hence cariād ‘love’ (-i-ad agent affects, see iv (5). -ad, pl. -adum is from *-o-tu- (Ar. *-tu- verbal-abstr. suffix) : Lat. supine genitum < *geno-tu-m; -ad f. < *-o-tā § 203 iij (8).

(19) -iant is similarly -ant < *-iat-, participial suffix, as in Mi. W. derewant n.l.a. 152 ‘stink’, Mn. W. drawiant; it generally appears as -iant in Mn. and Mn. W. : mediant w.m. 8, Mn. W. mediant ‘possession’.

(20) -id in addewid f. ‘promise’, perhaps < *-i-tā (Lat. finitus); in cadernid m. ‘might’ < *-i-tu- (Lat. sup. vestitum); —rhyddid is a late re-formation of rhy(d)-did.

(21) -ni < Brit. *gnimu-, O. W. gnim ‘work’ § 203 vii (4): mech-ni ‘bail’ (mach ‘a surety’), noeth-ni ‘nakedness’; -ioni <-iono-gnim- § 155 ii (1): haelion ‘liberality’; also -oni in bardonni (bardhony a.l. i 78) ‘hardism’. As -ni is for *-gni, and ngn > n § 110 ii (1), the ending cannot be distinguished from -i after n; thus trueni ‘wretchedness’, gurthuni ‘unseemliness’ may have -i or *-gni.


-dra, -tra, lit. ‘course’ < *-trog-, √ tregh- § 65 ii (r): e-ofn-dra ‘fearlessness’.

(23) -wch < *-is-qo-, v.n. ending; see § 201 iii (2): tywylwch ‘darkness’, heddwch ‘peace’. The -wg by form tywyllwg is prob. due to dissim. of continuants; see § 201 iii (3).

(24) -yd < *-o-tūs, nom. sg. of *-o-tūt- (10): bywyd ‘life’, Ir. bethu < Kelt. *biyotūs; mebyd ‘youth’; partly perhaps <*-iti (Lat. -itia, and substituted for it, as tristyd < *tristi < tristiitia).

(25) -ynt in helynt ‘course’; tremynt (dremynt) ‘sight’; prob. *-en- + -ti.

iv. Endings denoting agent or person: (r) -adur < Lat. -ātorem, as in pechadur < peccātorem, extended to new formations: henadur ‘elder’, penadur ‘chieftain’; in creadur ‘creature’ it comes of course from -ātura.

(2) -ai, Mn. W. -ei, properly -hei for it hardens the preceding consonant, < *-sagī ‘seeker’ § 104 ii (2), as biotai ‘beggar of meal’ (blawd ‘meal’), cymatai ‘gatherer of firewood’ (cymmad ‘firewood’) etc. The late artificial formation mynegai ‘index’ is wrong in form (it should be *mynacai) and in meaning (it should denote a ‘seeker’).

(3) -awdr < Lat. -ātor, as in ymhēawdr < imperātor, créawdr < créātor, extended in W., as in dysgawdr ‘teacher’, llwyawdr ‘ruler’.
For W. awdr ‘author’ < Lat. au(c)tor (beside awdr < acc. au(c)tōrem) the dial. form awdwr (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 ymheráudwr, credwodwr. Lastly the -wr was mistaken for -wr ‘man’, (8) below, and a new pl. ymherawdwyrr formed instead of the true pl. ym(w)erodron; but ym(w)erodraeth remains.

(4) -es < Brit. -*issa : Lat. -issa : brenhines etc. § 137 i.

(5) -jad : hebrwyngyat w.m. 4 ‘guide’; it affects a to ei : lleiddiadiad ‘killer’ (lledd ‘kill’), datgeiniad ‘singer’; after ye the j is lost (§ 36 v, as geilwad ‘caller’ (gallu ‘call’), ceidwad ‘keeper, saviour’ (cadv ‘keep’). It implies Brit. -iatis (or iatâ) : Gaul. Naïamvata, Galâra : Ir. -ith, -i-stem; the suffix is -ti- (or -tâ): Gk. µártis, κρητίς; -ía- or -a- < -i̯- or -v-; the affection of the vowel shows that the -ia- form was already generalized in Brit.

(6) -og, Ml. W. -awo < Brit. -akos adj. suffix § 153 (5) forms m. nouns as tywynog ‘prince’, marchog ‘knight’, swyddog ‘officer’, and f. nouns as ffolog, see § 139 iv; the former have feminines in -oges : tywynoges ‘princess’, cymydyoges ‘neighbour’.


(10) Endings of more restricted use: -ig in pendegig ‘chieftain’, gwledig ‘prince’, < *-i-kο-, § 153 (9).

-in in brenin < -*ini- ; cf. pl. brenhinoedd ; -in from Lat. -ino- in deuin for *divin < divinus, per(¿)erin ‘pilgrim’ < *pergerinos < peregrinus.


(2) -in < -*ina : melin ‘mill’ < Lat. molīna ; cegin § 89 iii ; so crībin, megin, etc. 139 iv. The m. buelin may have -in < -*ikno-, cf. Gaul. celicon ‘tower’, √ gel- ‘high’ : Lat. celsus, columna.

(3) -ell < -ella or -ella : padell ‘pan’ < Lat. patella ; pibell ‘pipe’, fyfnkonnell ‘fountain, source’.

(4) -og iv (6), besides names of persons, forms f. names of things, as arffedog ‘apron’, clustog ‘cushion’, of plants, as tewbanog ‘mullein’, of places, as maenog ‘peat-bog’, bwynog ‘marsh’, etc., and m. names of birds as cysyllog ‘woodcock’, and animals, as draenog ‘hedgehog’, llwynog ‘fox’.

(5) -wr iv (8) : crafrw ‘scraper’.
§ 144. The pl. of adjectives is formed from the sg. as follows:

i. By change of vowel. The change is the ultimate i-affec-
§ 83 ii; cf. § 117 i. Examples: bychaf 'little', pl. bychein
ll.a. 2, Mn. W. bychain, so llydan 'broad', trwann 'wretched',
bnan 'quick'; cadarn 'strong', pl. kadeinm.w.m. 40, kedyrn do. 51,
Mn. W. cedyrn; ieuan 'young', pl. ieueinc w.m. 181, Mn. W.
ieuicn; harð 'handsome', pl. heirð; bydar 'deaf' pl. byðeir
r.p. 1196, Mn. W. byddair.

ii. By adding the ending -jon. Examples: mud 'mute', pl.
mudjon r.p. 1196, Mn. W. mudjon; coch 'red', pl. cochjon r.p.
1236, Mn. W. cochjon; glew 'bold', pl. glewijon; cul 'narrow',
pl. culjon.

iii. The addition of -jon causes the following vowel changes:
(i) Mutation § 81: llawd 'poor', pl. llodjon r.p. 1196,
Mn. W. llodjon; trwunn 'heavy', pl. trymjon r.m. 14, Mn. W.
trymjon; llwm 'bare', pl. llymjon; llum 'keen', pl. llymjon;
melyn 'yellow', pl.melynjon; Mn. W. main 'slender', pl.meinjon, etc.

The comparatively late pl. mawrion is an exception; an older form
is perhaps moryjon b.t. 45; but the original form mawr < *mārī (like
the sg. mawr < *māros) generally remained: Hoppaneu mawr w.m. 23,
r.m. 14 'big boots'. A similar exception is trawsiom m.a. i 544.

(2) Penultimate affection § 83 iii: glas 'blue', pl.
gleision r.p. 1196, now written gleision; dall 'blind', pl. deilljon
ib., Mn. W. deillon; claf 'sick', pl. clefjon ib., Mn. W. cleifjon;
gwag, pl. gweigion; cadr, pl. ceidryon r.p. 1169 (ceidron iv).

E is not affected: uchel 'high' pl. uchelion m.a. i 565a; see gwel-
wyn etc. iv. a is unaffected in the late pl. meddation; the old pl. is
meddal like the sg.: petheu clair medal l.a. 70 "blanda et mollia".
æ 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 haelion.

iv. After the groups mentioned in § 36 v–vii, the i drops, so
that the ending appears as -on: gwely 'pale', pl. gwelwyn r.p.
1196, gweddwp 'widowed', pl. gweðjawn do. 1236; chgyerw 'bitter',
pl. chgyeryon; hoywp 'sprightly', pl. hoywyn; du 'black', pl.
dwun; teneu 'thin', pl. teneun; budr 'dirty', pl. budron; garyw
'rough', pl. geiryon; marwp 'dead', pl. meirwyn; lalath 'bright',
pl. lleithron (lleithyrion in w. 7b). The affection of the vowel in geirgon etc. bears witness to the lost ī.

In most Ml. W. mss. the ī, following ei, is lost after all consonants, as in S.W. dialects, § 35 ii, as deilllon R.P. 1236 (beside deillowon 1196).

v. Some adjectives have two plurals, one formed by affection, and one by adding -ion: hardd ‘handsome’, pl. heirdd, heirddion; garw ‘rough’, pl geirw, geirwun; marw ‘dead’, pl. meirw, meirwun.

caled usually remains unchanged: rhai caled T.A. c. ii 79, pethau caled Ex. xviii 26, cf. i Bren. x i, 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 geirwon caled, changed in recent hymnbooks to celyd. Similarly Cymraeg is sg. and pl.: henweu Kymraec s.g. 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 gwŷr cedyrn, not gwŷr cadarn. But we have seen that from the Ar. period *-jō, pl. *-jones formed nouns corresponding to adjectives in *-jos § 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 kedyn w.m. 51 ‘the mighty’; then, in imitation of gwŷr cedyrn ‘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, ... cock, eririon gwinu, ... glas, ... lluid b.B. 72-3 ‘black ... , red ... , white ... , blue ... , grey eagles’; dŵyron mwyn R.M. 21 ‘gentle folk’, meirch lôf do. 31 ‘tame horses’; and is more frequent in later than in earlier periods, thus bratteu trwm of W.m. 23 appears as bratten trymŷon 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, craff, cu, cun, chweg, da, dig, drwy, fluch, gan, gwâr, gwir, gwymp, hafal, hagr, hawdd, hên, hoff, llawen, llesg, llon, llwyr, mad, mân, pur, rhad, serffyll, serth, sobr, swrth, teg.

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 rwydud
A’th iaith dwyllodrus a’th hud.—D.G. 313.

‘Thou wouldst snare the little birds with thy deceiving words and thy wile.’

drug is also an abstract noun, pl. drygau ‘evils’. hagr is included in D’s list; Rowland’s hagron is obviously spurious—it would be *heigron if genuine. hên is included because hênion 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 agðlyff, praff and cryff as pl. of anghloff, praff, craff apparently extemporized R.P. 1361 (praff has pl. preiffion). mân is usually pl. as in cerrig mân ‘small stones’, often sg. as in gro mân ‘fine gravel’.

gdân ‘clean’ has pl. gleinjon M.A. 102, R.P. 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, § 158. But adjectives in -ig, -og, -ol, -us have plurals in -ion, which commonly precede their nouns, but may follow them, as gwyr bonheiggyon s.g. 62 ‘gentlemen’.

nefolyon wybodeu ac ysprydolyon gelwydodeu M.A. 103 ‘heavenly sciences and spiritual arts’, cf. 102. Deddfolion ddynion a ddyfylant M.A. i 26 ‘law-abiding men they deride’. o’r nefolion a’r daearolion a thanddaearolion bethau Phil. ii 10.—Nerthoë nefolýon... neu wrthwy eu ţyveðolýon M.A. 102 ‘heavenly powers or wonderful miracles’.

Y mae’r sir wedi marw Siôn
Yn wag o wýr enwogion.—Gut.O., g. 219.

‘The county, after the death of Siôn, is void of famous men.’

Rhod yn un bedd maurredd Môn—
Eu deugorff urededigion.—H.K.

‘In one grave has been laid the greatness of Môn, their two noble bodies.’
ADJECTIVES

(4) Most compound adjectives, as *hy-glyw*, *hy-glod*, *e-ang*, *ffrwytli-lon*, *melys-lais*, etc. But when the second element is an adj. which may take -lon, the ending is sometimes affixed to the compound; thus *claer-wynnyon* P.A. 92 'bright', *gloyn-dnon* do. 93 'glossy-back'; *glas-feinion* D.G. 87 'green and slender', *tal-gryfion* Ezek. iii 7 "of an hard forehead ".

D. 56 quotes *cyn-dynion*, *erchyllion* (erch-hyllion) as exceptional forms in

*Dynion* cyndynion 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 *uckelion* 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 -lon or -iaid, Ml. W. -yon, -yeit; the latter is used for persons only, and causes the same penult. affection as -lon, except in late formations. Thus *caeth* 'slave' pl. *keith*, Mn. W. caith L.G.C. 63, or Ml. W. keithyeit or Mn. W. caethion; byldar 'deaf' pl. byldair, later formation byddariaid; balch 'proud' pl. *beilch* R.P. 1334 l. 46, beilchion, beilchiaid; truan 'wretch' pl. truain, trueinion, trueiniaid; *gwan* 'weak', pl. *gweinyon* M.A. i 220b, gweinyeit R.P. 1196, Mn. W. gweiniaid; *dall* 'blind' pl. *deillion*, deilliaid.

*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 wna 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 chwilid pob ach ailwn,
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* i 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 **goreun**, **hynafiaid** (the a of -**af** is not affected); **eithafon** R.M. 186, L.G.C. 140, 152 (beside **eithafion**) and **pellafoedd** are peculiar in having -**oedd**.

_Hopcyn ar lasfryn a'i laif,_
_Hwnnw 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 hynafiaid._—T.A., A 31102/158.

'Llan Nefydd, the place of his ancestors.'

_I wyth ymys y'th oned,_
_O'th ofn crynn 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 'needly ones'.

_Ac yr wyf inneu yn mynet yn erbyn bonhesigyon y wlat hon s.g. 293 'and I am going against the gentlemen of this country'. _Efe a dywallt ddirmyg ar foneddigion Ps. cvii 40._

vi. Many compounds have plurals used as nouns only: **kyvoedyon** C. M.A. i 233b 'contemporaries', **anwuriaid** 'savages', **y ffyddloniaid** 'the faithful'; **pengryniaid** and **pengrynion** 'round-heads'; **prydferthion** 'beauties', abstract.

**Gender.**

§ 146. i. Many adjectives containing **w** or **u** 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'; **bwelch** (kic **bwelch** A.L. i 524 'meat in cut'), f. **bolch**
R.P. 1327; crwn 'bent'; crwn 'round'; dwfn 'deep'; llwfr 'cowardly'; llym 'bare'; mwll 'sultry'; mwss R.P. 1348 'stale', f. nos I.G. 406; pôl 'blunt', f. pôl II. I. 133/211a; llys 'beautiful'; trwch I.G. 491 'maimed', f. troch do. 285; trwch 'heavy', trwchl 'clumsy'; twll w.m. I. 133, G.Gr. d.g. 247 'perforated', f. toll R.P. 1045; twnn I.G. 497 'battered', f. tonn, see ex.—y: brych 'spotted'; byrr 'short'; cryf 'strong'; cryf 'hoarse' f. grec R.P. 1274, I.G. 628, D.G. 223; ffyrf 'thick'; gwlyb 'wet'; gwyn(n) 'white'; gwyrdd 'green' (but see § 68); hysb 'dry'; llyfn 'smooth'; llym 'keen'; sych 'dry'; syth 'upright'; tyn(n) 'tight'. All the f. forms of the y-group are in colloquial use, except creg.

Rhoses hwrdd i'm llong, rhoses flong floedd.—G.Gr. p 51/49.

[The billow] gave my ship a push, and gave an angry shout.

Oer yw rhesw ar warr heol;
Oerach yw 'mronn donn yn d'ol.—W.IL., o 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: fflwch, f. in D.G. 80, but fflch in comp. I.G. 226 'flush'; puder 'rotten', f. Num. v 21, but podr I.G. 399; rhwth 'distended', geg- roth f. D.G. 344, but roth I.G. 406; swrth, f. sorth 'prostrate' Gr.O. 59.—y: clyd 'sheltered', elid f. B.B. 62, but cled D.G. 221 and later poetry, see ex., now clyd f.; crych 'curly', f. D.G. 75, -grech in comp. see iv (1); chwyrn 'whirling', f. D.G. 418, late chwern D.P.O. 344; gwydn 'tough', gweud D.G. 50; gwymp 'fine', I.R. has gwemp says D. 54; hyll, f. D.G. 71, nos hyll 'horrid night' do. 500, later f. hell, but generally hyll, 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 déyrn M.A. 4936).

Od aeth Rhys o'i glaeirlys gled,
Yr wyf ffinau ar fyned.—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: brawd 'warm', dwrog 'bad', glawth 'gluttonous', gwrdd 'strong', gwern 'brown', llwgr 'corrupt'.—y: dygn 'grievous'; grym 'strong'; gwech, f. D.G. 89, 143, 156, 315, 359 'fine' (gwech is a late fabrication); gwechr 'victorious'; gwyllyt see ex.; hy 'bold'; hyd 'valiant'; myg 'admirable'; rhyydd 'free'; rhyn(n) f. D.G. 267 'shivering, cold'; ym(n) 'astonishing'.
ACCIDENCE § 146

Hed drosōf hyd a dir Esyllt
O berfedd gwlad Wynedd wylt.—D.G. 523.

‘Fly for my sake as far as the land of Esyllt from the heart of the wild region of Gwynedd.’

iii. The change takes place rarely in uncompounded 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 (lit late) of manol rather than a f. For the f. of tywyll L.G.C. and D.E. wrote tywel, which is quite certainly a spurious form, for tywyll originally had in its ult. not y but ã (§ 38 x, § 111 i (2)), and could no more take a. f. form than llwyd ‘grey’. The true f. is tywyll: Stavell Gyn诜lan 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 poeta”) 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 Dywyl (Ynis Dowyll Camden 481, Ynys Dowyl Mona Ant. 1 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 tywyl nos is everywhere “corrected” to tywel nos in the new C.-M. hymnbook. The spoken language of course preserves the traditional form nos dywyll.

In MJ, and Early Mn. W. derivatives in -lyd had f. forms in -led: croc creuled b.b. 41 ‘bloody cross’; y dreic danlet s.g. 294, 329 ‘the fiery dragon’; arf wyarled G.Gl. d. 59 ‘gory weapon’;

Ac wybren drymled b ledor
A'i llwch yn gorchuddio'r lloer.—D.G. 229.

‘And a gloomy chilly sky, and its drift hiding the moon.’


iv. The affection often takes place in compounds:

(1) In the second element when it is an adj. as pen-grych b.m. 163 ‘curly-haired’, f. benn-grech d.o. 232 (but ben-grych in the earlier
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w.m. 165); clauerwyn m.a. i 92 'bright', f. clauerwen D.G. 48; mynygl-wen do. i 137 'white-throated', drwyn-ilem do. 395 'sharp-nosed'; gwalt-felyn g. 157 'yellow-haired', f. gwalt-felen D.G. 107; di-syml 'artless', f. di-semi D.G. 53.

Dywed, donn lwys-gron, las-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', cufelyb 'like', amlwg, agwrd, 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 cota '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 a (unacc., a): cyn wynned d'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 Mn. W. the hardening is extended to the cpv. Of course all mutable vowels are mutated, § 81. Thus the present-day comparison is as follows:
---|---|---|---
glân 'clean'  | glaned  | glanach  | glanaf
teg 'fair'  | teced  | teceach  | tecaf
gwylb 'wet'  | gwylped  | gwylpach  | gwylpaf
tlawd 'poor'  | tloted  | tlotach  | tlotaf
buadr 'dirty'  | butred  | butrach  | butraf
gwylun 'tough'  | gwytined  | gwytach  | gwytanf

(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 *teckaif* 'fairest' W.M. 226, R.M. 164, *hyfrydach* R.B.B. 50 'more pleasant', *teidyach* R.P. 1249 'more necessary'. The tenuis is rare: *kaletach* B.T. 64, K.M. 30 'more likely', *tebygach* W.M. 44, K.M. 30 'more likely', *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 i before the ending, see § 35 ii (2)***

iii. 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; *gwennach* R.B.B. 60; *gwennet* R.P. 1239; *dosnet* do. 1276. A few survive in the Mn. period, *eos dlosqf* D.G. 402 'most beautiful nightingale'; *berraf* f. 17; *Wenuaf* *Wen*.

*On i before the ending, see § 35 ii (2)***

iv. (1) The comparison of adjectives in the Ar. languages is largely formed by means of the Ar. suffix *-ižs*. The L₀-grade *-ižs* gives Lat. -ior nom. sg. m. f. of the cpv.; the F₀-grade *-ižs* 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.
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(2) The W. spv. *-haf (=Ir. *-em, -am) is from Kelt. *-isamos, *-isamā < Italo-Kelt. *-is,m-os, -ā, cf. Lat. plurimus < plūris,mos. This is formed by adding the ordinal ending *-mos (: 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 *-s- of Lat. *-issimus is due to some reformation, probably *-is- + *-imus 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. -ωv, Goth. -iza) of a derivative in *-āk-os 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. (*kutarn-*ōs would give *cedētron), 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 cpv. *-isōn in *-is-ōn is formed by adding *-ōn to the suffix of comparison *-is-. It occurs with loss of *-i- in W. wes, haus, etc. § 148 i, q.v.; the final *-ōn is the L2-grade of a suffix -en-, which is perhaps to be seen in amgen § 148 ii and haechen a. 234, apparently an abl. case of haech § 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 a 'as beautiful as', lit. 'equally excelling-in-beauty with'. Without cyn it is an exclamative, as uchet y kwynaf R.P. 1417 'how loudly I lament!'; so Ml. Bret. kasret 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 substantively 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 colled, etc., which became an adj. by being compounded with cyn, which he regarded as *koms-; cf. lliw 'colour', cyfliw '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. sāith, Lat. satis, but this the suffix does not admit of.—The fact that teleed is a noun in er i theced no more proves it to be a noun originally than the use of gwaethaf

* Both survived for hēn 'old', but the pl. only as a noun; thus hēn 'older'<.

*senjōs, hēn 'ancestors'< *cenē.

r 2
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 y wn dduodcnet 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 nhldoci is 'in spite of my poverty', but *er fy nhlotes 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-, *cy-, 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 form 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 prove t- and r- (§ 111 i), as in cyn llonned, cyn rhatod (as opposed to cyf-lawd, 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 *cin) 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-ddrwy, *cyn forms an improper compound with the adj., and its y becomes y § 46 i; this is the only case of y in *cyn with lenition.—While *cyf- < *kom- can be prefixed to a noun or adj. as *cyf-liw, *cyf-uwch, the form *cyn cannot be put before a noun; we cannot say *cyn hardduch, *cyn dlodi, *cyn rhaid, *cyn gymdeithas, but must say cyn hardded, cyn dloled, cyn rhedddid, cyn gynymdeithasat 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 drwq, and that is an adj. In Bret. quen, ken (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 binvidik, ken ar re buour '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.provocation. The base of cynn 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 cynn < *kon-dhi; cf. Umbr. ponne 'cum' < *qom-de, O.Lat. quedes 'quam'.

In Ml. W. beside kyn- as kyndebycket w.m. 34, and kynn written separately as kynn decket l.m. 19, 67, kynn gadarmet do. 67, etc. we sometimes find ky- as kyygyfhyhet 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, kynnesset c.m. 58; cpv. nes; spv. Ml. nessaf, now spelt nesaf.

W. nessaf, Ir. nessam < *ned-smo-s: Osc. nessimas 'proximae', Umb. nestimei 'proxime': Skr. náhyati 'binds' (h < *dh), vnedh-'bind'. The cpv. nes (≡ nes) < *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') nessaf M.A. i 367b. These forms sometimes crept into the written language in the late 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); bychanet, yr bychanet w.m. 44; am beth kynbychanet a hynny 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. mynryn.

(3) cynnar 'early', buan 'quick'; eqtv. cynted; cpv. cynt; spv. cyntaf.—buan is also compared regularly: buaned D.G. 132, buanach do. 225, Galarnad iv 19; so cynnar, spv. cyntharaf 'earliest' etc.

Ni wydwun i varch gynt ... no hunn r.m. 9 'I knew of no fleeter steed than this'.

buan § 63 vii (3);—cynt (I. cêt, Gaul. Cintr-) is perhaps cpv. in meaning only; it is believed to be cognate with Goth. hindumists;
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Eng. hind-er, be-hind, perhaps from √ kent- 'point'; cf. blaenaf 'foremost, first'; blaen 'point';—cystad $106 iii (3); cynnar $153 (4); cynfón 'tail' < *cynfh-omm 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. daéd, daed; cpv. gwel; spv. Ml. goreuhaf B.T. 65, B.B. 42, goreuaf IL.A. 49, but usually goreu, Mn. W. goreu, gorau.

da $65 ii (1); kynna < *kom-dag--; daéd and daed, disyll. and monoyll., see ex.—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. cystlad, which may well be for cystadl by metathesis;—gwel 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 *eyesen- '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.

Er dá-ēd fo'r gair di-werth,
Ni bydd gwir heb addaw gweth.—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 ddæed gan dy ddwyn.—T.A., c. 230 (7 syll.).

'Woe to us that thou worth so good since thou art taken away.' Cf. L.G.C. 190.

O gwŷl gŵr gael y gorau,
Oed i r gŵr hun drugarau.—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.II., w 133/2126; H.D. p 99/498.

(5) drwg 'bad'; eqtv. kynðruce R.P. 1357, s.g. 11, 34, 37, etc., cyndrwc 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- /druigh/g : Skr. druh-, drukr 'injuring, betraying', druhyati 'hurts', Germ. Trug : Lat. fraud;—cyndrwc § 147 iii (4);—gwaeth, gwaethaf, Bret. gwaz, gwasa, Vann. gweth, Corn. gweth, gwaetha; the Bret. forms show that W. wae is for woe, so that Stokes's *yakto-s Fick ii 260 is inadmissible; hence probably gwaethaf < *gwoë-haf < *upo-ped-îs-mos § 75 ii (1) : Lat. pessimus < *ped-s_mos; in that
case *gwaeth* is formed from the superlative; see *llydan* (11) below. These are, then, the compared forms of *gwael* 'base, vile', the positive often having a suffix lost in comparison, cf. *mawr*, *hir*, *uchel*; and *gwael* represents *upo-ped-lo-s*; its derivative *gwaelaert* 'bottom', O. W. *guoiaut*, preserves the literal meaning ('under foot'). Of course in Ml and Mn. *gwael* is compared regularly, its relation to *gwaethaf* having been forgotten.

(6) **hawdd** 'easy'; eqtv. *hawsset* M.l. 81, Mn. *hawseid*; cpv. *haws*; spv. *hawssaft* M.l. 81, s.g. 13, Mn. *hawsof*.

*hawdd*, originally 'pleasant', as in *hawddfyd* 'pleasure', *hawdiit* (= *hawd-eyd*) B.B. 90 'fine day', *hawdd-gar* 'handsome' §153 (8) for *hawdd* §94 iv < Ar. *suádd-i*: Gk. *ίδις*, Skr. *svádá-h*, O. E. *sweete*, Lat. *suávis* (< *suádi-s*), etc.; — cpv. *hAWS* < *suád'son* < *suádisón*: Gk. *ίδιον* < *suádisón*; — spv. *hawsof* < *suád'semos*; the -aw- instead of -o- in the penult is due to the lost y before it; cf. *gwalld* 'song' < *yáit-*, Ml. pl. *gwawdeu* R.P. 1216. In Gaul, we find *Suadu-rix*, -genus (prob. -a-). 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 *hawos*, *hawsof*.

Similarly **an-háwdd**, *ánawd* R.P. 1227, etc. §48 iv, Mn. **ánodd** 'difficult', O.W. *hanaud* cp.; eqtv. *anháwseid*; cpv. *ánaws*, *ános*; spv. *anháwsaf*.

Owing to its obvious formation the word is generally written *anháwdd* 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 *hónod* by early metathesis of *h*, as perhaps in the O.W. form above.

Maddau un yn oedd *ánodd*
Na bai yn 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-háwdd*; this form is attested in—

O *dwnaf* *wyl* i'w dai fo,
**An-háwdd** fydd fy nyhúddo.—Gut.O., A 14967/60.

'If I come on a holiday to his houses, it will be difficult to comfort me.'

hēn, Ir. sen < Ar. *sen-s=Gk. ἐκς, Skr. śānaḥ, Lith. šenas ‘old’; Lat. sen-;—cpv. hēn, Ir. siniu < *seniōs=Lat. senior;—spv. hēn(h)af < *sen-imos, see Llydan below.—The cpv. hēn is still in colloquial use, though the later and weaker kynach is more common; in S.W. also a still later henach, henaf, re-formed from the pos.

(8) hir ‘long’; eqtyv. khyhyt w.m. 43, cyhyd § 41 v, contr. to cyd; as a noun hŷd, e.g. in er hŷd ‘however long’; cpv. hwy; spv. hwyaf.

hir § 72; the root is *sēf-; cyhyd ‘as long’ < *ko-sit-; hŷd ‘length’, Ir. sîth < *si-i-, R2 *si- § 63 vii (5);—cpv. hwy, Ir. sîa < *seisôn for *sei-isôn ib.;—so spv. hwyaf, Ir. sîam < *seisnos.

The contracted form cyd is common in Mn.W.: cyd a rhaff D.G. 48 ‘as long as a rope’, cyd a gwydd D.E. c.124 ‘as long as trees’, cyd E.P. ps. xlv 23 ‘so long’; cyd a phregeth ‘as long as a sermon’—cyd < cyhyd (which gives Card. dial. cichyd).

(9) ieuanc, iefanc, ifanc § 76 iii (3) ‘young’; eqtyv. ieuanghet r.m. 160, ivanghet 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, iéaf, ieuangaf.

ieuanc, Bret. iauonak, Ir. óac, contr. óc (whence W. hog-lanc ‘lad’);—cpv. ieu < *iuuios (Ir. óa with -a from the spv.; see 11 below): Skr. yâviyas;—spv. ieuaf, Ir. òam < *iuuisnos.

(10) issel, now written isel ‘low’; eqtyv. isset r.m. 94, Mn. ised; cpv. is (≡ is); spv. isaf, 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 210 ff. derives imus, Osc. imad-en ‘ab imo’ from *iz or *id an adv. from the pron. stem *i-, as Lat. demus, dēnum is formed from de; and quotes other examples of ‘here’ becoming ‘here below’. The Kelt. adj. is obviously formed after *upselo-s (> W. uchel ‘high’ § 86 iv); if the orig. adv. was *id, the adj. would be *id-selo-s > *isseslos, which gives W. issel, Ir. isel regularly. Pedersen suggests *ped-selo-, */ped- ‘foot’; but the connexion with It. spv. imo is more probable.

(11) Llydan ‘wide’; eqtyv. cysled, as a noun lled; cpv. lled, late llebach; spv. lleaf.

W. llydan, Ir. lethan § 63 viii (1); W. lled noun, see ibid.; spv. lleaf < *plet-is,mo-s.—The cpv. lled, Ir. letha (-a added in Ir.) is irregular; Osthoff derived W. lleed from *plet-is (Thurneysen Gr. 227), but it is not clear why the adverbial form -is should be generalized (the regular *pletios would give W. *llyd, Ir. *lithiu). As many comparatives were the same as the superlative without its ending, e.g. hwy, hwyaf, Ir. sia, síam, the probability is that some,
which differed, were assimilated, so that *ylləd is a re-formation of *ylləd on the analogy of *ylləf. This seems also the simplest explanation of Ir. lethə and similar forms. In the same way W. hynəf seems to owe its y to the comparative ḭyn, § 65 iv (1).

The cpv. *yllə in Job ix 9 is changed in late editions to *yllətach; the literary form is *ylləed: thus Eidion *ylləed no'r dawnell win Il. A14967/20 'an ox broader than a tun of wine'; cf. L.G.C. 429.

O drugaredd pen Califaria, sydd yn llawer *ylləed 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, Mn. cymaint, and Ml. kymein, Mn. cymain § 106 iii (2); as a noun meint, Mn. maint; cpv. Ml. moe § 75 i (3), Ml. and Mn. mwy, as an adv. mwyach also; spv. mwyhaf § 147 ii (2), mwyaf.

W. mawr, Ir. mār, mór, Gaul. ἕκαστος < Kelt. *mā-ro-s;—

*cpv. mwy, Ir. māo, māo, mōu < *mā-jo < § 75 i (3); spv. mwyhaf <

*maismos < *mā-is-mos; — the eqtv. noun maint < *man-ntis <

*mā-ntis § 74 iv, with the suffix of numeral substantives such as
dekantu < *dekn-ti-s: Skr. daśatith 'a decade'; cf. the formation of
eqtv. adjectives with ordinal suffixes; cf. also pa veint c.m. 78

'how many', y meint gwyrr a oedd idaw 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 (≡ trech); spv. trechaf.

Treichaf tresiéd, gwannaf gwædded prov. 'let the strongest oppress, the weakest cry'. S.T. has a new cpv. trechach f. 6.

W. trenn, Ir. trénn < *trek-sno-s, v stereg: Germ. stark, strenge, Eng. strong;—cpv. trech, Ir. tressa (with added -a) < *trek'son <

trek-isón;—spv. trechaf, Ir. tressam < *trek's sno-s.

Chwvg 'sweet' has Ml. cpv. chwvachhach w.m. 481, r.m. 121, formed like trechach from an old cpv. *chwach < *swek'son.

(14) uchol 'high'; eqtv. Ml. kywach, Mn. cyfwach, contr. cuwch; exclam, uchet r.p. 1417; as a noun uchet w.m. 189; cpv. Ml. uch, Mn. uwch; spv. uchaf.

Uchol § 86 iv, § 96 iv (3); uch, uwch < *uwp'son; uchaf < *uwp's nos: Lat. s-ummos < *s-uwp-mo-s, Gr. ὑπάρος < *uwp-m-to-s. On the mutation uch-: uwch see § 77 x. The form uchwaf sometimes met with in Late W. ignores the mutation; it is a re-formation from uwch, as children say buwchad for buchad 'cows', sg. buwch.
ii. The following have defective comparison:—

(1) Spv. eithaf ‘uttermost’ <$ *ekt, mos : Lat. extimus, § 109 iv (1) (to cpv. eitr ‘except, but’, Ir. echtar <$ *ektro-s : Lat. extrā § 99 v (4); to positive el- 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 phrymei 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 neg. in a(n)- of the cpv. corresponding to the spv. megys § 215 iv (3) ‘like’; thus *g-sm-ák-is-en- > *amgen > amgen § 100 vi. (As the 2nd syll. drops -is- remained and gave i not h.)

(3) prif ‘chief’ <$ Lat. prīmus 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, gogyfauch etc. Thus—

A'r lall a oedd yn hynod et ac yn ogymeint a bran s.g. 99 ‘and the other was as black and as large as a crow’. yn ogfywauch a Dewe, Phil. ii 6.—This form is sometimes predicated of both the things compared: Nid gogyhyd esgatrâu y cloff Diwr. 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.:

rheid ‘need’; eqtv. cyn rheitiad D.G. 299 ‘as necessary, as fitting’; cpv. Ml. feidjach r.p. 1249, Mn. rheitiach ‘more necessary, more fitting’; spv. Ml. feitlaf r.p. 1148, Mn. rheitlaf.

rheid <$ Kelt. *(p)rat-jo- ‘due, due share’ <$ *prot-, *pero- ‘dis- pose’; W. rhad see below, rhann ‘share’, Lat. part- § 63 vii (2), W. barn § 101 iii (2).

elw ‘profit’; cpv. elvach ‘profiting more, better off’, as (pa) faint elvach fyiddi di? ‘how much better off wilt thou be?’

eiw is properly helw, still so pronounced in Gwynedd in phrases like ar ḷy helw ‘in thy possession’; helw = Ir. selb ‘possession’ both <$ *sel-yw, * sel- ‘take’; Ir. selaim ‘I take’, Gk. ἔλευ, Goth. saljan, O.E. sellan, E. sell.

blaen ‘point, front’; also adj. as troed blaen ‘fore-foot’; spv. blaenaf, ‘foremost, first’; § 215 iii (10).

dl ‘rear, track’, as yn dl ‘after, according to’ § 215 iii (6), dl troed ‘foot-print’; also adj. as troed dl ‘hind foot’; spv. olaf ‘last’ <$ *ol-is, mos : Lat. ultimus <$ *ol-t, mos.
ADJECTIVES

pen(n) 'head'; spv. pennaf 'chief'; also in Ml. and Early Mn. W. cpv. pennach l.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 < *pret- : rhann, Skr. pūrtām 'reward'; see rhaid above.

diwded 'end'; spv. divwaethaf 'last' l.A. 7, R.F. 1195, 1249, 1298, p 16/19 R., i Petr i 5 by R.D. (in Wm.S.); divwethaf l.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 dywedaf does not imply δ, as we have pemdec for pym-theg on the same page. The form diwedaf 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 16th cent.; but the spoken forms are dywaetha' (Powys), dywytha' (Gwyn.), and dywtha' (S.W.).

Caned dy feirlä—cyntaf fâm,

'Let thy bards sing—I was the first [of them], and I have come last'.

The O.W. diued b.s.ch. 2 and Bret. divez, Corn. dewedh, Ir. diad, dead show that the noun diweddd cannot be for *divwaedd; on the other hand divwaethaf cannot well be for divwethaf. The explanation of the former seems to be that it comes from an intensified form with *-uo-, which survived only in the spv.; thus divwaethaf < *diwol-haf < *di-wol-(y)ed-isamo-s, cf. gwaethaf (5) above.

diwded is 'end' in the sense of 'close, conclusion', not a geometrical term; hence from *di- 'out' + yed-, yedd- 'conduct, lead': Lith. vedë 'I conduct, lead', E. wed, etc., cf. W. gor-dyvedaf 'I overtake'.

(2) Many other cases occur in Ml. W.: gurhaw (≡ gwrhaf) b.B. 41 'most manly'; amserach w.m. 9, r.m. 6 'more timely'; ilesach w.m. 17, r.m. 11 'more beneficial' (les 'benefit'); dewissach c.m. 11 'preferable' (dewis 'choice' noun); pennadurigaf do. 8 'most princeely'; ky romhet r.m. 149 'as cowardly', bawaf r.p. 1278 'most vile' (bae 'dirt').

ii (1) Equative adjectives are formed from many nouns by prefixing cyf-, cym-, (as cyfled, cymaint); thus kyflw r.B.B. 179 'of the same colour'; kyfurð w.m. 75 'of the same rank';
kymoneb ib. 'as noble' (boneb 'nobility'); kyvoet do. 27 'of the same age'; cyfryw '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'); cyref '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 -af, -ig, -in (not denoting substance), -og, -us; as peraidd 'sweet', eqtv. cyn bereiddied, cpv. pereiddiach, spv. pereiddiaf; so physicaf '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-buqf L.A. 93 'of a most glossy black', llathyr-wynnaf ib. 'most lustrously white', klaer-u-ynnafib. 'most brilliantly white', cyn vlaen-llymet ... blaen-llymaf W.M. 176 'as sharply pointed ... most sharply pointed'.

Dwy fron mor wynion a'r őd, Gloyw-wynnach na gwynanod.—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 maléis-ádrwy, troed-lýdan, pen-úchel, etc. A few of these may, however, be compared by adding the endings to derived forms, as gwérth-fawr 'valuable', spv. gwerthwavernusaf L.A. 80, or gwerthfawrocaf; clód-fawr 'celebrated', spv. clódforusaf. (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 *ll* or *rh*; but *mwy* and *mwyaf* take the radical; thus *mwy dyvmnon* Ps. xix 10, Dian. xvi 16 ‘more desirable’.

*mwy* and *mwyaf* are of course the cpv. and spv. of *mawr*. As they do not cause lenition, they represent Brit. forms ending in consonants. *mwy* may come directly from the neut. nom-acc. form *maís < *má-+-is* as in Lat. *mag-is*; the corresponding form of the spv. would be *mäisamon* (cf. Lat. *plurimum*, Gk. *πλεῖότερον*), which would give *mwyaf* with the rad., since the nasal mutation of mediae survived only after *fy*, *yn* and numerals § 107 i.

*mor* is probably the pos. *mawr* unaccented, forming a loose compound with the adj., thus representing Brit. *máro*—and so causing lenition. For *o* instead of *aw* see § 71 i (2). It is now generally accented, and pronounced *môr*; D.D. gives it as *mor* (≡ *môr*), but *môr* (cf. *pôb* § 168 i (3)) may sometimes be heard, when it is emphatic. It was first used as an exclamatiye, thus OW. *mortru* ox. gl. *cheu*, *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 droyg*, etc., are not used by adult speakers; Wms.’s *enw mwyaf mawr* 750 is a childish expression called forth by the exigencies of rhyme.

(2) On the other hand forms with *mor* are, as shown above, different in origin from the equative, and have had a separate existence from the outset. Hence *mor* is used freely before all adjectives at all periods. Thus:

Exclamative: *mortru* gl. *cheu*!— *Mor truan genhys mor truan* a *seryv* v.b. 1 ‘How sad to me, how sad [is] what has happened.’—

*Poet emendigeit y gof ay digones . . . mor dost yw w.m. 477* ‘Accursed be the smith that made it, so painful is it.’—

*mor syrys* *yw* r.m. 120 ‘so tangled is it.’—

*mor hagyr y gwelii y selw ry oed* arnaw w.m. 251 ‘so ugly did he perceive the appearance that he bore.’—

*mor seryit . . . mor dec* r.f. 1385 ‘how bad . . . how fair.’

Wylo’r *wym laver afon*

*Drosti hi, mor drist yw hon.*—Gut.O., A14967/119.

‘I weep many a river for her, so sad is she.’

*Truan, mor wann yw’r einoes,*

*Tryned yw tor amod oes!*—T.A., J 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 sielw a hwnnw 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 Fôn
Mor oer ag y maer auron.—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 eisewn 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., L 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 well! 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.

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
ddiwedd W.IL. 62 ‘and very good till his death’. Very rarely it
forms a strict compound, as
Pëll-bell, or draws pob hyll-berth,
Pob bellaf, gwaethaf yw'r gwerth.—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 gwâeth-waeth 'worse and worse', llêi-lai 'less and less', llêd-led 'wider and wider', nês-nês 'nearer and nearer', mwŷ-fwŷ 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 afon yn fŵywŷ
Hyd y môr, ac ni d â mwy.—L.G.C. 357.

'A river goes increasing to the sea, and goes no more.'

Gŵr a wella'r gŵyr wellwell,
A gŵyr a wna'r gŵr yn well.—D.N., v. 4, g. 161.

'A master who better the men more and more, and men who make the master better.'

A Dafydd oedd yn myned grŷfach grŷfach, 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:

(i) -adwy, -ediw, -edig, -awd verbal adjective suffixes, see § 206.

Ml.W. -awdyr seems to be -awd with excrescent -r § 113 i (i):
annyoðeivjavawdwr fl.A. 53 'intolerable', teimljawdwr do. 42 'sensitive', ðeolawdwr c.m. 14 'regular.'

(2) -aid, Ml.W. -eit: Ir. -the participial; as in cannaid D.G. 64, Marc ix 3 'bright'; llathraid D.G. 386 'shining'; euraid do. 13, 64, 88, 220, 372–3; Ml.W. eureit w.m. 180 'golden'; ariannaid, Ml.W. arjannneit r.m. 83 'silvery'; it may represent Brit. *-at-jo-s, a -jo- derivative of the participial -ut-. It is distinct from -aidd; euraidd is a late bungle in (D.D.).

(3) -aidd, Ml.W. -eia: Ir. -de; added to nouns, as teyrneið w.m. 20 'kingly', Mn.W. gwladaidd 'rustic', gwasaidd 'servile'; to the v.n. caru in karueið w.m. 145, Mn.W. cauraidd 'lovable, loving'; to adjectives as peraidd 'sweet', puraidd 'pure', often modifying the sense, oeraidd 'coldish', tloaidd 'poorish'; it represents Kelt. *-adjos, 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. -os in μυας 'mixed', etc.

Also -aidd in arlwyddâaid D.G. 450 'lordly', -oneaidd in bardd-onâaidd do. 449 'poetic'.

(4) -ar < Kelt. *-aro- < *-ro- in byddar 'deaf', Ir. bodar : Skr. badhira-h; cynnar 'early', diweddar 'late'; cf. -ro- in mavor < *mâ-ros, etc.

(5) Ml.W. -awc, Mn.W. -awg, -og: Ir. -ach < Kelt. *-ako-s; Lat. -acus, Gk. -kos, -kos, Skr. -aka-h, Lith. -kas; added to nouns, as arvawc r.m. 270, Mn.W. arfog 'armed', llidyawc w.m. 51, Mn.W. llidiog 'angry', gylanog 'woolly', gyresog 'hot', gwyllog '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 trugarog: trugar 'merciful'; ðuðog, Ml.W. duawc r.m. 172: du 'black'; geuawc: gau 'false'. The cpv. of the derivatives ended in *-ak'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. gwirthfawrocach.

(6) Ml.W. -awl, Mn.W. -awl, -ol < Kelt. *-alos: Lat. -alis in liberatis, etc.; an exceedingly common suffix; added to nouns, as nefol 'heavenly'; to adjectives, as estronol 'foreign'; and to verb stems, as symudol 'moveable, moving', dymunol 'desirable'.

(7) -se; occurring in Ml. W. verse: tanðe, eurðe P.M. m.a. i 292b 'fiery', 'golden'. It seems to be the Ir. -de (≡ -ðe: W. -að, 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 < *-ak-aro-s < *-og-aro-s; thus hawð-gar 'comely' < Brit. *suðdakaros < Kelt. *suð(ð)-ak-aro-s § 148 i (6); a combination of (5) and (4) above: added to nouns, as epilgar 'proflig' (epil 'offspring'), dialgar 'revengeful', emillgar 'gainful, lucrative' (emmill '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'.

§ 153 ACCIDENCE
ADJECTIVES

The idea that -gar means 'loving' (caru 'to love'), which clearly cannot be the case in epilgar, enillgar, 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 13â is fanciful, as also the popular explanation of hawddgar as 'easy to love'.

(9) -ig, Ml.W. -io < Kelt. -*-ikos; Skr. -ikâ-, Lat. -ic-, Gk. -ic-; as umig 'only, lonely', dheueug 'dexterous', illoig 'lunatic', bonheddig 'gentle-', etc.; O.W. cisemic juv. gl. primus.

(10) -in < Kelt. -*-inos; Skr. -ina-, Gk. -inos, Lat. -inus, Lith. -ynas (y = ë); it is added to names of materials, as in derwin m.a. i 191 'oaken', etrmin b.t. 9 'leathern', meinin E.P. ps. xviii 29 'of stone', daeerin, heyermin § 75 vi (3); and to adjectives as gerwin 'rough' (garw 'rough'), guertheifin 'highest', cysefin 'primitive' § 95 iii (3), cf. O.W. cisemic above.

(11) -lawn, M.W. -lawn, -lon 'ful' = lawn 'full', § 63 vii (1) as ffrywthlon 'fruitful', prydion 'punctual', heddythlon 'peaceful', bodlon § 111 vii (1), etc.

(12) -lyd, after n or r -llyd, M.W. -lyt, -llyt 'covered with' < *(p)lb; vplëdeh. § 63 viii (1); as lyychlyt r.m. 145 'dusty', dyslyd olcowedlyl do. 146 'dusty flea-infested', seimlyd 'greasy', rhyllyd 'rusty', creulldy, gwaedlyd 'bloody', tomlyd 'duny', tanlldy 'fiery'. When added to adjectives it is the equivalent of illed- 'rather': Ir. leth 'half', which is ultimately from the same root ('stretch out > *surface > *side > half'); as gwylldy 'rather weak', oerlyd 'coldish'.

(13) -us < Lat. -osus; originally in Lat. derivatives as dolurus 'sore' < Lat. dolorosus, llafurus, M.W. llafurjus < Lat. laboriósus; 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)) B.B. 83, 101, melys B.A. 3, I.A. 42, 70, R.B.B. 208, melyster I.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 nél '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 (Pugh's melyso is a fiction). melys is cognate with Ir. milis, and is clearly a direct derivative of Ar. base *meleit- § 87 ii, and so is many centuries older than any form in -us, a suffix borrowed from Lat.

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§ 154. i. (1) The cardinal numbers are as follows: 1, un.—
2, m. dau, Ml. deu, O. dou; f. dwy.—3, m. tri; f. tair, Ml. teir.—
4, m. pedwar; f. pedair, Ml. pedeir.—5, pump, pum, Ml. pump,
pump, O. pimp.—6, chwech, chwe.—7, saith, Ml. seith.—8, wyth.—
9, naw.—10, deg, dêng, Ml. ’dec, dêng.—11, un ar ddeg.—12,
deuddeg, deuddeng, Ml. deu ’dec, O. dou ’dec.—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) 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)wnt.—60,
trigain, Ml. trug(u)en.—80, pedwar uguain.—100, cant, cann.—
101, cant ac un.—120, chwech uguain, chweu guain.—140, saith ugain,
etc.—200, decuant or dau cant.—300, trychant, Late W. trichant.
—1000, mil.—2000, dwyfil.—3000, teirm mil or tair mil.—10,000, déng
mil, myrdd.—1,000,000, myrddiwn, miliw.

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’—
pymont B.A. 2, 9 from something like *pempontes for Kelt. *pempont-
ona (:Ir. cóca) for Ar. *pengekonta : Gk. πεντάκοντα. 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, “com-
posite numbers”.

(2) Some of the cardinal numbers have pl. forms: deuoedd,
denweddd, dwyoeedd ‘twos’, trioeedd ‘threes’, chwechau ‘sixes’,
degau ‘tens’, ugeiniau ‘scores’, cannoedd ‘hundreds’, miloedd
‘thousands’, myrddiogau ‘myriads’.

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: 1, cyntaf.—2, ail,
Ml. eil.—3, trydydd, f. trydeder.—4, pedwerydd, Ml. pedweryd,
pedweryd; f. pedwaredd, Ml. pedwaredd, pedwaredd, O. petguared.—
5, pumed, Ml. pymhet, O. pimpeth.—6, chwecheg, Ml. chwechet,
§ 154

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huechett.—7, seithfed, Ml. seithvett.—8, wythfed.—9, nawfed.—10, deugfed, Ml. deucvet.—11, unfed ar ddeg, Ml. unvet arbec.—12, deunawfed, Ml. deucvett.—13, trydydd (f. trydadd) ar ddeg.—15, pymthegfed.—16, unfed ar bymtheg.—17, ail (or eilfed) ar bymtheg.—18, deunawfed.—20, ugeinfed.—30, deugfed ar hugain.—40, deuginefed.—41, unfed a deugain.—100, canfed.—1000, milfed.

(2) cyntaf § 148 i (3);—ail § 100 iiii (3);—trydydd, trydadd § 75 iv (1);—pedwryd < *p*enu*rijos; pedwryd (later pedwrydd M.E. 54, § 66 ii (2)) has -wy- < *-nu- re-formed for u < u, § 63 viii (1).

W. pymhet, Ir. cöiced come from a Kelt. *q*enu*ertos, which, like Skr. paicatha-h, implies the addition of the ordinal suffix -t(h)os to the full form *penuq*, thus *penuq*-to-s, as opposed to Lat. quintus, Gk. πέντε, O.H.G. finfo, which imply Ar. *penaq*-to-s. In Pr. Kelt. by the side of *q*enu*ertos there arose *genusetos which gave Ir. sesed, W. chuweched; and thus -eto-s came to be regarded as the ordinal suffix. Added to *sektam (< *septm*) it gave *sektam-eto-s, which gave Ir. sechtmad, W. seithfed; added to *dekd* it gave *dekaeto-s, which is seen in Gaul.-Lat. petru-decameto (ablative) 'fourteenth', and gave Ir. dechmad, W. deugfed; similarly *klyom-eto-s > Ir. celt- mad, W. canfed. Then -ameto-s or -meto-s was used to form ordinals for 8, 9, and 20, though the cardinals did not end in -m; thus W. nawfed, Ir. nömad, may come directly from *nouameto-s; but *okaeto-s would give W. *oeth-fed, so that wyth-fed was again re-formed from wyth; so ugein-fed.

iii. (i) Multiplicatives are formed by means of gwaihth, Ml. gweith f. 'fois', preceded by cardinal numbers, the two generally compounded, but sometimes accented separately; as unwaihth or un waihth 'once', Ir. ðenfecht; d wyaihth 'twice', teirgwaith 'thrice', pedair gwaihth 'four times', pum waith 'five times', chwe gwaihth, seithwaith Lev. iv 6, 17, saith waith do. viii 11, wythwaith, nawwaith D.W. 146 c.c. 227, dengwaith, ugeinwaith, canwaith, milwaith.

(2) But before a comparative the m. cardinal only is generally used, the two sometimes compounded; pum mwy D.W. 146 'five [times] more' i.e. five times as many, saith mwy Lev. xxvi 18, 21 'seven times more'; dëwvell R.P. 1271, D.G. 157 'twice as good', dau lanach c.c. 60 'twice as fair'; yn gant eglurach s.c. 10 'a hundred times as bright'.

Moes ugeinmil, moes gânmwy.
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.'
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
trith(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. cach óin, cach dā; bob ddau I.G. 180,
L.G.C. 381, 436; bob dri L.G.C. 148 ‘three by three’; also
bop un ac un C.M. 49 ‘one by one’, bob un a dau R. 26; and bob
cf. Ir, cach cóic-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 i 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: ½, hanner; ⅓, traean; ⅓, pedwaran, chwarter;
⅓, wythfed; ⅓, canfed; ⅓, deuparth; ⅓, Mn. tri chwarter; ⅓, tri
wythfed.

Rann truan : traean B.B. 973 ‘the share of the weakling: one
third’. deuparth . . . trayan W.M. 130.

COMPOUND NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

§ 155. i. 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
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 háwdd-fyd 'pleasure'; a-a gwýrdl-las 'greenish blue'; n-a pen-gam 'wry-headed'.

The reason is that the first element in Brit. ended in a vowel, as in Brit. *maglo-cunos > W. Mael-gwun; so *samo-dyf(u)s > W. háf-ddydd; *katu-markos > W. Cad-furch 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 -or was added to it; thus the stem *kun-'dog' is in compounds *kuno-, as Brit. *cuno-belinos > W. Cyn-felyn; W. cyn-ddaredd 'rabies' < *kuno-dawegn'ri); <*-dhég'krio-: Lat. febris < *dheg'kri-s, *dheg'kri- § 92 iii, cf. aren § 106 ii (1). This explains the suffix -ioni § 143 iii (21); it is a compound of a derivative in -jon- with *gnímu-; now *drukjón-gnímu- should give *drygni by the usual loss of stem endings; but *drukjóno-gnímu- > *drygion-zwif > drygioni (since nzn > n § 110 ii (1)). When the second element began with a vowel, contraction took place; thus *altro + ayn > *altráyn § 76 v (5), cf. Gk. Dor. *strapaýos 'leader of an army' < *stylo + ay-, Brugmann² Π 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-lloan, 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 llws, pur llawn § 111 i (1).

When a compound is consciously formed both ll and l are found thus ysqafn-ufef D.G. 37 'light-voiced', but eu-r-lên 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 dínas w.M. 179 'chief city', *prif gaer ib. 'chief castle'; *prif ddyn 'the chief man'. It cannot be used as an ordinary adj.; such a phrase as *dyfrn prif does not exist.

(2) hên, as hên wr or hên-wr 'old man'; hên ddyn id., also hên-ddyn whence E. quoth Hending; Hên-lloan L.A. 105, Hen-llys etc., hên ýd Jos. v 11, yr hên ffordd Job xxii 15, yr hên derfyn Diar.
xxii 28, yr hên bobl Es. xlv 7, etc. In the comparatively rare cases where hên follows its noun, some antithetic emphasis is generally implied, as Lleuan Tew Hên 'Lleuan Tew the Elder'.

Er daed draw, rai llawen,
Mae gwae rhai am y gŵr hên.—W.I.L.

'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: gêir-wir 'truthful'. gwir is also a noun 'truth'; compounded, cás-wir 'unpalatable truth'.

(4) gau 'false', the antithesis of gwir, as geu ôwyeu LL. 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 twyso g y byd
Gam ran i Gymru ennyd.—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, uirhyw, holl, cwbll, y sawl, ychydig, ambell, aml, llians, etc., §§ 165, 168, 169.

iv. The following words precede adjectives, and are compounded with them:

(1) lled 'half' § 153 (12), as llêd-wac B.B. 49 'half-empty', lled-ffer M.A. ii 586 'half-wild', llêd-ffol 'half-silly', llêd-ffro'm 'half-frowning'.

Nid mawr well nad meirw i wîr,
Llêd féirw pan golld f'êryr;
Nid byw am enaid y byd,
Llêd-fyw yngweddill âdýyd.—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 *lléd féirw* is a loose, *lléd-fyw* a strict, compound. In Late Mn. W., *lléd* usually forms loose compounds and means 'rather'.

*lléd* is also compounded with nouns, as *lléd-ran* 'half-share', *lléd-vyl* 'half-holiday', *lléd-fryd* 'listlessness', *lléd-faith* 'brogue, foreign accent', *lléd ymwl* 'border near edge'.

(2) *pur* 'very', as *pur-dun*, *pur-wynn* R.M. 151, *pur-goch* 154; *pur-iawn* 'very well', now *púrion*. It now forms loose compounds mostly, as *pur åda* '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 verb-compounds also, and some are oftenerso used; hence it is convenient to include verbal nouns and verbs in the examples.

(1) **ad-** [soft] < Brit. *ate-:* Gaul. *ate* < Kelt. *ati-:* Skr. *ati* 'over, beyond'; *ati-* 'very'; § 222 i (3). Three distinct meanings occur in W.: (a) 'very', *át-gas* § 111 v (1) 'hateful'; (b) 'second', *át-gno* 'chewing the cud', *ád-ladd* 'aftermath', hence 'bad' as *ád-flas* 'after-taste, ill taste'; (c) 'over again, re-', *ád-lam* 'a leap back', *átel* (< *ad- heb*) 'reply', *ád-lais* 'echo'.

(2) **as-** before a vowel or *f* (from *m*) < Brit. *ad-:* Lat. *ad*; intensive; *ád-oer* 'very cold', *ád-fwym*, *ád-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 ə, as *á-def* § 93 iii (1), *a-bail*, etc. With initial s- it gives **as-**, as in *as-gloff* 'lame' < *ad-skloppos* < vulg. Lat. *cloppus* *sclopus*: W. *cloff* 'lame'. Before l- or r- followed by ə it gives **ei-** as in *eirif* § 104 iv (3); *eild* 'feeble', met. for *eild* § 102 iv (2) < *ed-lid* < *ad-léd-*, *léd-:* Lat. *lassus*, Gk. *λθέν* to be fatigued' Hes., § 204 i. In aberth, aber § 93 ii (3) it means 'to' (or is aber < *g-bher-?; cf. Gael. *Inver-*.)

(3) **all-** < Brit. *allo-:* Gaul. *allo* 'other' § 100 iii (2); *all-fro* 'foreigner'; *all-tud* 'exile'.

(4) **am-**, **ym-** [soft] < Brit. *ambe-*, *ambi-:* Gaul. *Ampbi-:* Gk. *άτμι*, Lat. *amb-, ambii*- § 63 v (2);-(a) 'around', *ám-gorn* 'ferrule', *ám-gyth* 'circuit', *ám-do* 'shroud', *am-ddiffym* 'defence'; hence (b) 'on each side, mutual', *ým-ladd* 'battle', *ým-drech* 'struggle', *ým-gynnull* 'a gathering together'; hence (c) reflexive, as *ým-olchi*
to wash oneself’; (á) ‘round’ > ‘different, changeable’ as án-ryw ‘of various kinds’, án-yd ‘corn of different kinds mixed’, am-liwio < ‘parti-coloured’, amheu w.m. 186 ‘to doubt’, Mů. ámeu, vb. am-heu-af < *mi-ni-ság-, *ság- : Gk. ἵππομα, Dor. ἵγ- ‘I think, believe’, Lat. sagax.—am-c- < *am-χ- by dissim. of continuants, as ám-can ‘design, purpose, guess’ < *am-χan < *ambi-ske-n-, *skhe(2) : Lat. scio, Skr. chyàti ‘cuts off’; and amkwð w.m. 453 ‘replied, said’ < *am-χ-awð § 96 iii (4).

(5) an-, en-, etc., neg. prefix < Ar. *ነ- (R-grade of neg. *ne); ámhrâd ‘unprepared’ : parod ‘ready’; ámrâint ‘breach of privilege’ : braint; athrâgar, ánhrugârog § 99 vi (1); án-náýchdy ‘unhappy’; dedwyð ‘happy’; ángharâdigh ‘unkind’ : caredig ‘kind’; én-wir ‘untrue, evil’ < *an-yi-o-s, re-formed án-wir in Mů. W.; án-fyyn ‘unkind’ : mwyn; án-fad : mad § 99 iv (1); óf-les § 86 i (4); les ‘benefit’; óf-raid ‘needless’ < *am-(p)rat-ío- < *ŋ-pratjó- : rhaid ‘need’ § 149 ii; so ófraid, ófryw :—before orig. l-, ánn byglrédig :—an + glôn should give *alan § 106 ii (1); this is re-formed in two ways, án-lan, óf-lan ‘unclean’ ;—b often follows the analogy of m, as án-fonhédig : bonhédig ‘gentlemanly’. The prefix when not bearing the principal accent has often a strong secondary accent; this might become a separate accent, as in an állu (≡ án állu) M.A. 33 ‘want of power’; hence án háwdd § 148 i (6), án áml § 164 i (2).


(7) can(ñh)-[soft] ‘with, after’ < Brit. *kanta- < *knta : Gk. κήτα ; cán-lýn v.n. ‘following’ ; canh-ôrthwey § 103 ii (1) now spelt cynnorthwy; can-ôbrwng ‘funeral’; hebrwng § 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 ‘together’, also used as an adj. in i rift cyd ‘common land’. A few of the compounds which it forms are strict, as cytlôn < *cyd-ðiwun ‘united’, cyd-fod ‘concord’, cyd-wybod ‘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 dînesyd’d ‘fellow-citizen’, cyd genedl ‘kindred’, etc. The word seems to be a verbal noun *kî-tu- from √ kei- ‘lie’, cf. Ml. W. kyt gwtr M.A. 136, C.M. 21 ‘cohabitation

(9) cyfr- before vowels and i, l, r, n; cy- before w-, cha-, h-; with following s-, cys-; elsewhere cy(m)-, cyn-, cy(n)g[-] [nasal]; < Kelt. *kom-: Lat. com-; (a) 'com-', often followed by ã 'with', cyfr-ar 'co-tillage'; cyf-liw, cyf-wrë, etc. § 149 ii; cyf-ran 'share': rhan 'part'; cymod 'concord': bod 'be'; cyn-n(h)wrf 'commotion': werf; cynghaned 'harmony': cân 'song'; crystal § 148 i (4).—(b) Intensive ('together' > 'fully'); cyflaun 'complete': ëlaun 'full'; cyf-lym 'flee': ëlym 'keen'.—A few irregular forms are found, which are due to false analogy, as cyf-ðy8 'dawn', formed after ciff-nos 'evening'.

The form *ko- (beside *kom-) goes back to Italo-Kelt. It occurs before y- as W. cwyvir, Ir. coir < *ko-yiros; before m-, as W. cof 'memory', Ir. cuman < *ko-men-, √men- 'mind' (but later *kom- as in W. cymysg (m≡mm)); sometimes before sq-, sqh-, s-, as W. cy-haddo 'to accuse': Ícel. skúta, skúti 'a taunt', O.Bulg. kuditi 'to revile', Gk. κυδάεω 'to reproach', √(s)geud-; see § 96 iii; cyfr-haful '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-wys) 'trained, cunning': gwils 'known'; cyfr-gain (kwyrgiein B.B. io) 'very fine'.—cyfr-r- > cyfrh- > cyfr as in cyffredin 'common' < cyfr-red-in; amglyfred 'comprehend' < *am-gyfr-red : rhedeg 'run'; the O.W. amciðret may represent the stage amglyfred.

(10) cyn(nh)-[soft] 'former, preceding' < Brit. *kintu- § 148 i (3); cynh-deaf 'autumn': gaæaf 'winter'; cyn-ddail 'first leaves', cyn-ddelag 'prototype'; the t is kept before h § 106 iii (3), as cyntaid for *cynht-haid 'first swarm' (of bees); in the form cyn it is used to construct new loose compounds as cyn fáer 'ex-major', etc.

(11) di-[soft] < Kelt. *di- < *dē- : Lat. dē. Two meanings: (a) 'outer, extreme, off', as di-ben 'end, aim': pen 'head, end'; di-dol, Ml. di-dawl 'cut off, separated', see below; di-nëthi v.n. 'de-nude'; (b) 'without', as di-boen or di bøen 'painless', di-ddu or di ddâu '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 di alw am dano 'un-called-for'; but, though loose, the expression is still a compound, thus di gefn wyf c.c. 184 'helpless am Î', exactly like goæn wyf 'weak am Î', as opposed to heb gefn yr wyf 'without help am Î', the un-compounded phrase heb gefn requiring yr after it. The compound is an adj. made from a phrase in which the prep. di governs the noun; the formation is old, and gave rise at an early period to the idea that dî was a negative prefix, which therefore might be compounded with adjectives; thus dî-og 'lazy', O.W. dî-awc: *aue 'quick, active': Gk. óxis, Lat. òvor; so di-brin 'not scarce', di-drist 'not sad', di-wael 'not mean', etc.—Lat. dê- seems to have been identified in Brit. with the
accidence

native prefix, and gives W. *di-, as *diffyg 'defect' < *dē-fic.-—Exceptional mutation: *di-chell 'wile' < *de-gegl(t)ā, *sgelep-: W. cel-
fyddyd 'craft' etc. § 99 ii (2); *di-chlyn 'exact, cautious, circum-
spect', as v.n. 'to choose, discriminate' < *de-sq(1-n), *sgele- 'split, separate'; *di-chlais 'break (of day)' < *de-s-glad-tī- or *de-kkl- for
*de-kkl- § 99 v (4), *golad- 'strike, break': W. clais 'bruise', archoll
(6) above; *dichon, *dygon § 196 ii (2); W. *didawl, *didol for *di-
*awl (δ.. i > d.. i § 102 iii (2)) : *gwā-dawl 'endowment', Ir. fo-
dōlī 'deals out' < *dol-: W. ethol < *dol-, see § 97 ii.

dis- before t- < *dē-s-, where s is the initial of the second element,
often lost in the simple form: *di-staull § 96 ii (3); *distrych 'foam' <
*de-styk-, *stereq-: W. trwyth 'wash, lye' § 99 v (3); *di-staw
'silent': taw 'be silent' < *stuwp- < *stup-, *stewp/bh-: Ger. stum-

Before other consonants < *de-eks-, as in displair § 201 iii (6). Also
from Lat. *dē-s- as in dynyn(n) < *dē-secdn-.

(12) *dyr- [soft] 'vehemently' Richards, 'truly' < *dēru-: dir-
'true', Ar. base *dery- 'hard' § 137 ii; *dir-boen or dir bōn 'great
pain', dir-fau'r 'very great', dir-gel 'secret'.—Exceptional muta-
tion: *dir-myg 'contempt' < *dēru-smi-k, *smei- '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-fyn 'summons': mynnu 'to will'; *dy-gynnawll v.n. 'gather
together', *dy-gyfor w.m. i 'muster'; *dy-weddli 'fiance'. In a few
cases it interchanges with ty-, as Mil. W. dy-wallaw v.n. 'to pour
(into)': Mn. W. tywallt 'pour'; *dy-rrt '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 *dy-chryn 'fright': crymu
'tremble', yscred b.b. 31 'trembles', Bret. skrija 'to tremble from
fear'; *dy-chlud: *cludo 'to carry'. Hence *dych- in dych-lánu '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 *de-dy-

§ 100 ii (1).

dad- [soft] < *d(o)-dīe- see (1) above: (a) intensive; dāt-gan v.n.
'proclaim': canu 'sing'; (b) 'un-' (as in 'un-do'): *dād-bwytho v.n.
'to unload', etc. The unacc. o of *do- was elided before a vowel.

dam- [soft] < *d(o)-ambe- see (4); dām-sang 'to trample': *sengi
'to tread'; dām-wain 'accident': ar-wain 'to lead': *weñh-.
Also *dym-: Mil. damunet, Mn. dymuniad '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-; dān-fon, see ii (1) below.

dar- [soft] < *d(o)-are< *do-pri-; dār-fod 'to have happened'
§ 190 i; dar-ōstrong 'to subdue': *go-stwng 'to suppress' < *wo(s)-
COMPOUNDS

§ 156

The irregular mutation in dármerth 'provision' (of food, etc.) is due to -sm- > -mm-;
*do-are-smer-t-, √smer-: Lat. mereo, Gk. μέπος, μεπές. In dárpar, the prefix had the form *d(o)-aro-, see § 196 i (3). This form may also account for the preservation of -st- in dár-stain 'to resound', thus *d(o)-aro-stān-: W. saín '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' < *do-(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.
not can 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 pref. 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 *ð-); but the prep. was *dy (written di in
O.W.) giving Ml. W. g, Mn. W. i; it starts therefore from Brit. *do,
and agrees in form with the Ir.: the pref. is dyr-, 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, so
that *to-, which occurs only 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. ann- ii (r) from *g-doa-, which places *do beyond doubt.

(14) dyr- 'bad' < *dus- : Gk. δόσ-, dýchath 'lampoon' < *dus-kan-
cân 'song'; reduced to *du- on the analogy of *su-, (19) below, in
dý-bryd 'shapeless, ugly', Ir. do-chruth < *dus-qwr-tu- : W. pryd, Ir.
cruth 'form'.

(15) eb- < *ek-yū; in épil for *eb-hil § 89 iii, ébrwydd 'quick'
: rhwydd 'easy' § 143 iii (22).

e-, eh-, ech- < *eks- § 96 iii (6); ὕφν, Ml. W. eh-ophn 'fearless'
: Ir. esomun, Gaul. Exobnus; ἐανγ 'wide, extensive': *αγ 'narrow'.
ech- developed before vowels, but spread by analogy: ech-nos 'night
before last', ech-doe 'day before yesterday'. But the regular form
before an explosive is es- (ys-) as in es-tron 'stranger' < Lat. extrān-
eus; estyn 'extend' < ex-tend-, etc.; és-gor 'to be delivered' (of
young), √(s)ger- 'separate, cut'.

úpa, Gk. ὑπά, Lat. sūb, § 65 v (1); gwo-br 'prize' < *yo-pr- : prynu
'to buy' § 201 i (4); ῥω-śtād 'level' § 63 vi (1); go-fűned,
desire', ar-ó-fun (13) above. In Mn. W. go- freely forms loose
compounds with adjectives § 220 viii (1).

go- < *yo-s- + initial s-; gösgord 'retinue', Ml. W. gwooscorð b.b.
10 < *yo-skor-d-, √sper-: dósbarth (13) above.

(17) gor-, gwor-, gwar- 'super-' < *yor- for *ueur < *uper : Skr.
**ACCIDENCE**

(18) **gwrth-** [soft] 'contra-' § 66 iii (1); *gibrthun*, Ml. W. *gwrth-vun* 'hateful': *dymuniad (13)* above; *gibrth-glawn* 'rampart': *clawd* 'claw', etc.

(19) **by-** [soft] 'well, -able' < *su-*: Gaul. *su*, Ir. *su*, so-: Gk. *υ*-(in τ-υρες), Skr. *su* (I from the base *eye sei* '-good' with V-grade of the first two syllables); *hý-gar* 'well-beloved, lovable': *caraef* 'I love'; *hý-dyn* 'tractable': *tynnaf* 'I draw'; *Hý-wel* 'conspicuous': *gwelaf* 'I see'; *hý-fryd* 'pleasant': *bryd* 'mind', 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-odor* 'outer door': *rhag-lúniaeth* 'providence', etc.


(22) **tra-** [spirant] 'over, very, excessive' < *tar- < *θrós-*, § 214 iii: Ir. *tar-,* Skr. *tirás-; trá-chuinant* 'lust'; *trá-chas* 'very hateful'; *trá-serch* 'great love, adoration'; *trá-chul* 'very lean'; *trámor* 'over-sea' i.e. *trammor* for *tarmmor* < *θrós marí*; *trachwres* B.T. 30: *gwares* § 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-lýneu* 'to gulp' (: *llýneu* 'to swallow') < *tram-*: Ir. *trem-,* *tairm-*, an m-formation from the same base: cf. Lat. *tarmes*, *trámes*; see § 220 ii (10). There seems to have been some confusion of the two prefixes: *tarmor* above and *tránwyy* 'to wander' < *-mouj- (: Lat. *moveo*) may have either. This would help to spread *tra-* for *tar-*. *tránooth* 'over night' cannot be from *tram-* which would become *traf-* before *n*; *trénnyd* 'over the day' i.e. 'next day but one' is probably re-formed after *tránooth*.

**traws-, tros-** § 210 x (6); Ml. W. *traws-cwyd* w.m. 83, 85, 'trans-action'; in Mn. W. leniting, *traws-feddiant* 'usurpation', prob. owing to sc > sg etc. § 111 vi (2), as in *traws-gwyd* R.M. 60, 61.

(23) **try-** [soft] 'through, thorough': *try-dwll* 'perforated'; *try-loyw* 'pellucid'; *try-fyr* 'javelin': *bër* 'spear'. It seems to imply Brit. *tri-,* weak form of *trei* > *trwy* '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)-** < *γ-* 'in': *áchles* § 99 vi (1); *anmyneS* § 95 ii (3); *ánglād* 'funeral' < *γ-glād- (claddu 'to bury') *vqolād- § 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-, dán-gos) < *d(o)-ando-kons-; kens- : Lat. censo, Skr. śasati ‘recites, praises, reports, shows’.

y-, e- [nasal] < *en- ‘in’; emhennyð M.M. 23 (from R.B.) ‘brain’, cf. M.A. ii 107, 337, emennyð R.B.B. 54, s.g. 270 < *en-quennio- : Bret. em-penn, Corn. empinion, ympynnion; -mk- persisted in Mn. W., 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 *en-; the form in Ir. is in-chinn < *eni-quenn-.

(2) he- < *sem-; hebrwng § 99 vi.

§ 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 hardd-deg ymdrech i Tim. vi 12 is a loose compound, each of whose elements hardd-deg and ym-drech is itself a compound. All compounds must be so analysed by successive bisections.

Deurúddloyw fis dewisaf,
Dyred a’r haul daradr haf.—G.Gr., p 51/49.

‘Most exquisite bright-cheeked month, bring the sun of summer ray.’ Deurúddloyw fis is a loose compound; its first element is a compound of deurú and gloyw, deurú itself being compounded of dau ‘two’ and grú ‘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’; têw goêd-allt do. 328 for tewgoêd-allt < têw-goêd (do. 157) ‘thick trees’ and (g)allt ‘copses’; gâry flocedd-
ACCIDENCE § 158

just do. 82 < gâry-floëd 'rough-voiced' + gâst 'bitch' § 103 ii (1); myðr ddôeth-lef do. 293 < myðr-soeth + llef 'of rhythmical voice'; mân sêrlïw o. 129 < mân-ser + líw 'of the colour of small stars'; pén saer-wawd do. 297 < pén-saer 'architect' + gwâud 'song' meaning 'of masterly song'.

Y wawr dlôs-ferch ry dlysfaín
Wrm âel a wîng aur a main.—D.G. 110.

'Dawn-bright maid, too beautifully slender, of the dark brow, that wearest gold and [precious] stones'; gwâwr dlôsferch < gwâwr-dlôs 'dawn-beautiful' + merch 'maid';—ry dlysfaín is a loose compound of rhy and ilês-faín, so that its accentuation is normal;—gwârm âel is a loose bahuirihi (or possessive) compound 'possessing a dark brow'.

(2) The same accentuation occurs when a compound number is compounded with a noun, as dau cân-ein G.Gl. m 146/313 '200 lambs'; saith ugêin-waith L.G.C. 421 'seven score times'. The separated syllable has the un-mutated (un-combined) form of its diphthong dau, saith (not deu, seith) § 45 ii (2).

iii. Strict compounds are inflected by inflecting the second element, as gwîndy pl. gwîndei § 117 iii, hwyl-brenni, canhwîl-brenni § 122 ii (2), claer-wynnîon etc. § 145 ii (4), an-wariaid etc. § 145 vi, an-hawsaf § 148 i (6), gloyw-duaf etc. § 150 ii.

But in loose a-n compounds the adj. is often made pl., as nefolïon wybodeu etc. § 145 ii (3). Indeed these formations are so loose that the second element may be suspended, as in nefolïon- a'r daeârolion- a thanddârolion- bethau ibid.

An eqtv. or cpv. adj. before a noun is not compounded with it, but the noun has always its rad. initial. A spv. adj. may or may not be compounded; see Syntax.

PRONOUNS

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

§ 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 ys ‘it is’, mae (mai) ‘that it is’, panwy 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 = gwelann-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. efo], f. hihi; pl. 1. nini, 2. chwichwi, chwchwi, 3. wyntwy. — Mn. W. sg. 1 myfi, 2. tydi, 3. [m. efo, fo (later fe, efe see below)], f. hyhi; pl. 1. nyni, 2. chwichwi (often pronounced but rarely written chwchwi), 3. hwynt-hwy.

mivi, tidi M.l. W. 4, myfi (see vyvi § 160 iii (1)), chwichwi R.B.B. 67, chwchwi s.g. 164, hwyntwy R.M. 132, wyntwy s.g. 165.

(2) These pronouns are usually accentuated on the ultima: myfi, tydi, hwynt-hwy, etc.; but they were formerly accentuated on the penult also, and this accentuation survives in certain phrases used in Powys. Examples of penultimate accentuation:

Du serchog ywth glog meun glyn,
A mýfi sy’n d’ ymósyn.—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 týdi;
Nato Duv bod hebót ti.—S.M., l. 133/261.

‘There is none faultless but thee; God forbid [that we should] be without thee.’
Thus accented they also appear as myfy, tydy, etc.;
Mauor oedd gennyd dy fryd fry,
Myfywy dy sôn na myfyu.—G.Gr., D.G. 246.

'Greatly didst thou boast thy intention yonder; more and more noisy [art thou] than I.'

(3) The forms myfți, tydți sometimes lose their unaccented y after a, na or no, giving a mți, a thdți, etc.; as megys yô ymydawssam
ath ti L.l.A. 148 'as we forsook thee', cf. 121, l. 6.

Dw a' th roes, y doeth rywyr;
A th'di a uwaeth Dw a' yn ywr.—W.II. 8.

'God gave thee, wise hero; and thee did God make a man.'

(4) In the spoken language efô, hynhî became yfô, yhî; and the others followed, thus yfô, ythdî (in Gwynedd ychdî by dissim.) yntî, yntô, ynhô(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 fo appears in the 14th cent. The inconvenience of having different vowels in fo and ef was overcome in
two ways: in N.W. fo replaced ef (except in a few stereotyped phrases, as yntô for onid hêf? 'is it not so? ', ai ë? 'is it so? '); in S.W. ef(f) remained, and fo 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 fod yn hoff 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 êfo and efô, see examples; but where it does not rhyme, late copyists
often change it to efe; thus in A fo doeth efe a dau g. 144, the ms.
actually used by the editor of g. has efo tr. 87,—efe s.g. 53 is ef
in the ms., p 11/35b; and eue c.m. 87 is evo (i.e. evo) in the ms.,
r.b. 474. The form êfo survives in dial. efo 'with' for efo a § 216 ii (3).

Nid oes offrwm, trium yw'r tro,
Oen Dw a' ufydô, ond êfo.—R.R., f. 7.

'There is no sacrifice—sad is the case—except Him, the obedient
Lamb of God.'

Iarll Penfro, efô rydd farch.—L.G.C. 355.

'The Earl of Pembroke, he will give a horse.'

iii. Conjunctive: (1) Ml. W., sg. 1. mynheu, minheu, minnun,
2. tithen, 3. m. ynteu, f. hitheu; pl. 1. mynheu, minheu, minnun,
2. chwitheu, 3. wynteu. — Mn. W. sg. 1. minnau, 2. tithau, 3. m.
yntau, f. hithau; pl. 1. minnau, 2. chwitheu, 3. hwynau, hwythau.
(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, dyna 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 gwyf Troes wynteu r.b. 20 'and the men of Troy on their part'. The 3rd sg. ynteu answers naill in the expression naill ai... 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?' Pwyll, ynteu do. 27 'who, then?' *Nyt oes un wreic, ynteu a.l. i 176 'there is no woman, then'. In Ml. W. pronouns of other persons are used instead of ynteu after ae, as kymer vedyg... ae titheu ymlad c.m. 13 'receive baptism... or else fight'; as the subject of an impv. cannot come before it, titheu here replaces ynteu in ae ynteu ymlad 'or else fight' under the influence of ymlad ditheu 'fight then!'

iv. Origin of the independent pronouns: (1) mi, Ir. mē < acc. *mē : Skr. mā, Gk. με (the Ir. mē seems to be *me lengthened, as original ē > Kelt. ē): -tē, Ir. tū < *tū : Lat. tū, Av. tu, Gk. τῦρη, O.H.G. dū; tū partly also from Ar. acc. *t(ū)ī; -ef, O.W. em, Corn. ef, nom. -e, Ml. Bret. ef, Ir. ē, hē; fi. hi, Corn. hī, Bret. hi, Ir. sī. The 3rd sg. pron. in Kelt. as in Germ. seems to have been *es or *īs, f. *īs; thus O.H.G. er < *es : Ir. ē or hē < *es (: Umbr. es-to- 'iste'); the Corn. nom. postfixed -e may represent this; but in W. it has been replaced by ef; W. ef < *em-nē < *em-em = O.Lat. em-em, redupl. acc. of *es, cf. Skr. im-ām < *im-em. As hē kept its h-, it is unlikely that ef is for *hef, 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. ynte, S.W. onēf e 'is it not so?' for onīd hēf (ef); here ef may be from *sēmo-s 'same' = Skr. samāh 'like, same'. W. hī < Ar. *sī : Goth. si, O.H.G. si, sī, Gk. ἵ (Sophocles); *sī is an ablaut variant of *s(ē)ā § 122 iv (1), f. of the pron. *s(ē)ōs, *s(ē)ū, *s(ē)odi (Skr. syāh, syā, tyād) a derivative of *so, *sā, *sod (Skr. sā, sā, tā, Gk. ὅ, ἥ, ῥο).—Pl. ni, chiwi, Ir. snī, sī < *s-nēs, *s-yeis : Lat. nōs, vōs, Skr. nāh, vāh (or, as the ē-grade is not certain elsewhere, < *sni, *sui with nom. pl. -i after o-stems);—wy, Ir. ē < *ei nom. pl. of *es; wynt with -nt from the 3rd pl. of verbs (so Ml. Ir. iat).

(2) The redupl. forms are the simple forms repeated, originally as separate words: *mī-vē < Brit. *mī mē, etc. As ef seems itself to be a redupl. form it is natural that it is not found reduplicated (efē being a figment ii (5)); the emphatic form is efō. In Ml. W. this is chiefly
§ 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. aych, 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 'thy 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'anyneb § 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 R.C.W. 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 mhen 'my head', ymhen '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 ieuencid dirfawr;  
O dewr fu ’nydd darfu ’n awr.—D.G. 529.

‘Mighty youth is spent; if brave was my day, it is spent now.’

Llongwr wyf i yn ddioed;  
Ar ben yr hwyloren mae ’nhroed.—H.D., p 101/259.

‘At once I am a sailor; my foot is on the top of the mast.’ See also wy ’myd § 38 vi, wy ’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 dirigiant 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 do. 79 to ein, eich; there is no evidence of the earlier use of these forms; and in the spoken language the words are i, ynn, 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 gaelais i dy; and ein ‘our’ from yn ‘in’; but the written ei, ein, eich should be read i, ynn, ych.

eu ‘their’ is a Ml. form preserved artificially in lit. W. Already in the 14th cent. y appears for it as ytat w.m. 117, l. 13 ‘their father’, yppenueu, ytwodeu 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. I. vy, vu, my, mu, 2. dy, du, 3. e; pl. I. ny, 2. ?, 3. e.

a minneu vy hun w.m. 88 ‘and I myself’; am lad 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 amwybot dy hun w.m. 2 ‘thine own ignorance’; du hun do. 29 ‘thyself’; ae dywlaw ohun w.m. 10 ‘with His own hands’; ohun w.m. 77 ‘herself’; arnam ny hunan w.m. 29 ‘on ourselves’; ar yn llun ny hun w.m. 1368 ‘on Our own image’; a gewssynt e hun w.m. 59 ‘what they had had themselves’; yrygthunt e hun w.m. 42 I, y rymyntut ohunein r.m. 272 ‘between themselves’.

In Mn. 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 a.g. 17 ‘to our own sin’; i ni ny hun do. 35 ‘for ourselves’.

Before numerals the forms are Ml.W. pl. I. an, 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’, ym hwy w.m. 109 ‘we two’ f., yll pedwar w.m. 65 ‘they four’; arnaðunt wy yll seith s.g. 33 ‘on the
seven of them'; ae dywelw yll dywoes do. 39 'with both his hands'; ublic ell dau w.m. 182 'to them both'. In Mn. W. ni 'n dau 'we two', chwi '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 ei (unacc. o'i), and the late spelling o'i rests on the false assumption that the full form of the pronoun is ei. 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 Dduo 'n Tud, Dduo '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 *ym, *yth, which do not exist in the genitive. But a'm, a'lh are properly a ni, 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', o 'from', which caused gemination of the initial of a following unaccented word in Kelt., thus W. i'm, ym '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 Selyf 522, yw'ith gan 137, yw'ith wein 497. After other words 'm and 'th are rare in D.G., and are possibly misreadings, as iddi'm traserch 498, yno'th ddwyn 478. After neu 'or' and trwy 'through', fy and dy are always used: neu dy ladd 264, trwy dy hoycliw 180, Dyro 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 hwe de f'anfodd 114 (not hwe'de'm anfodd), maed d' eisiu 19 (not maed'th eisiu), maed d' wyneb 107 (not maed'th wyneb), colt 'na 303 (not colli'ni da), gwanu 'mron 502 (not gwanu '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 o'm, i dy for i'fh 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 yfh efeirgad 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* *dī* 'to his house', *i* *w* *thī* 'to her house', *i* *w* *tī* 'to their house'. The combination appears in B.C.H. as *yu*, as *pan el e brengh *yu* estawell A.L. i 48 'when the king goes to his chamber'; later *yw* voli c.m. 49 lit. 'for his praising', *yw* *swper* do. 43 'for their supper'; it is prob. a metathesis of *a* *w* *y* § 78 iv (1) from *(d)ə* *w*, 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 *o*, as *A* *doei hi *y* *gtyt* *ac* *ef* *o* *w* *l* *at* ? II. 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 *o*, Mn. *o* also means 'from his'; as this is an obvious meaning (o being 'from'), *o* '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* brenh *a* aeth *y* estawell c.m. 43 'the king went to his chamber', Ynteu *Pwyll* . . . a *doeth* *y* gyvoeth *ac* *y* *w* *l* *at* 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 *iw*, which is the least ambiguous, and represents the oldest contraction.

'*w* 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 *p* 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*, *oe* or *ay*, *oy* like the sg.; in Early Mn. 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.: *iachodd hynnyt, ac a’i gwaredodd o’i dinistr* Ps. cviii 20.

The forms *m* and *i* occur after *er* in Mn. W. *eirnoot ‘during my time’, eirjoc ‘in his time’, Mn. W. *er-m-öed, er-i-öed*; the latter became the stereotyped form for all persons, and is the usual expression for ‘ever’. But *eirnoot* survived in Early Mn. 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.

Sg. 1. *-m*, now written *’m*; 2. *-th*, *’th*; 3. Mn. W. *-e* *-y*, *-s*, *-w*, Mn. W. *-i*, *’i*- *s*; pl. 1. *-n*, *’n*; 2. *-ch*, *ch*; 3. Mn. W. *-e* *-y*, *-s*, *-w*, Mn. W. *-i*, *’i* (recent *’w*), *-s*.

*’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*, *jo*, *fe*; the negative particles *ni*, *na*; the conjunctions *o* ‘if’, *oni* ‘unless’, *y* ‘that’, and *pe* ‘if’, Mn. *pei*, which is for *pei* *y* ‘were it that’; and in Mn. W. the tense particle *ry*. Thus:
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Ni' th wyd drein i' th call dramawr;
E' th glyw mil, nyth y gwaw 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 fagwud D.G. 323 'where thou wast reared'; am sswnas-si-e douit b.h. 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 killest me'; o' th gaf do. 524 'if I may have thee'; oni' th gaf do. 29 'if I have thee not'; beith ledi b.h. 155 '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 (u) is used after the relative a and the affirmative particles a, ef a, e, fo, fe; as pawb a' y dyly w.m. 8 'everybody owes it'; e'i gwelir 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 wedo y keffy r.m. 2 'this is the way that (= in which) thou shalt have it'; sef val y gwynaf 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'u in order to show the construction; but there is no authority for this, and the traditional sound appears to be i (not yi).

The 3rd sg. and pl. -s is used after ni, na, oni 'unless' and o 'if'; as Ae eiddaw nys arovollasant w.l. 161 'and his own received him not'; onis cuplau oe weithretoed c.m. 15 'unless he fulfils it in his works'; os m pym 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 gwyr ... ac nys mynnaf b.m. 11 'I did not want a husband, and do not want one'; nwy enwaf neb ac nys's gwyracyddaf J.D.R. [xvii] 'I name no one, and displease him not'; and often refers to a noun or pronoun placed absolutely at the head of a sentence, as ond ef nis gwelsum Luc xxiv 24 'but [as for] him, they saw him not'; Safnau'r mór nis ofnir mwy 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 ys gwynaf w.m. 42; in Ml. W. generally written pei as, as pei as mynhyt w.m. 142 'if thou wisthed it'. Similarly guveyd as gwelych c.m. 83 'after thou hast seen it'. After affirmative neu, as neu rodos w.m. 20 'he has given it'; rarely after affirmative a, as As attebwys dofyo 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 Ml. W. and, where it occurs, is probably a scribal error, as Nys gwelas llugat eirot y sawd dynjon w.l. 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 i, cf. *wy (1) above, *no being the orig. form of the neg. rel., see § 162 vi (3)); as nis guibit ar nwy g(u)elho b.h. 7 'he
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will not know it who has not seen it"; cf. do. 8 li. 1, 13. Later by metathesis this appears as nyw, as nyf kerdaer nyw molwy R.P. 1400 'there is no minstrel who does not praise him'; nyw deirg do. 1273 'which do not belong to him'. Later nyw is used in direct statements, as ac nyw kelaf R.P. 1244 'and I will not conceal it'. In b.ch. occurs enyu (≡ yqwv) teno trancoth 14 (misprinted eny in A.L. i 32) 'until he removes it the following day', formed analogically. We also find rwy rel., as rywy 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 Mn. W. these are written y'm, y'fh, 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 velvis gyntaf w.m. 156–7 'since I saw thee first'; pan i'm clwynai clust Job xxix i1; kid im gunesit b.b. 23 (≡ cyd ym gynwyd) 'since thou makest me'. In the early period also after nid 'there... not', as nid ann-eyð b.b. 90 'there will not be to us' (ann dat. see below).

(4) In Ml. and Early Mn. verse the forms in (2) and (3) are also used in the dative.

Dolur gormod am dodyw R.G. 1127 'too much grief has come to me'; car a'm oedd, 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≡ d) 'when existence was given to me'; E'm rhoddes liw tes lw teg D.G. 136 'the hue of summer gave me a fair pledge'; Cerdd eos a'm dangosai 'Y man 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.

oed liw y hwynndeb L.A. 81 'was the colour of her face'; oc eu hamser do. 119 'of their time'; mi a'i hadwaen ef Gen. xviii 19.

After 'm, 'n and yu gen. and acc. both aspirated and unaspirated initials are found.

om hanwoð R.M. 11, W.M. 18, om anwoð R.M. 30, W.M. 43 'against my will'; yn harwylwyð ni L.A. 165, yn arderchogryð ni do. 168 'our majesty'. So in Early Mn. W.: A'm annwyl D.G. 219, o'm edwyn ibid. 'knows me', o'm hanfodd D.E. g. 113, i'm oes S.T. f. 29,
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.

dygwch vi óbyma w.m. 8 ‘hear me hence’; hualwyd fi D.G. 47 ‘I have been shackled’; clyw farfy do. 100 ‘hear me’; pann veisant ef ii.a. 114 ‘when they saw him’; ny roddasit hi do. 122 ‘she had not been given’. They often follow auxiliary affixed pronouns, as Pan geisygh di vyvi b.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 Ml. 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. 1. *ni*, Early Ml. *ne*, 2. *chwi*, 3. *vy, wynt*, later *hwy, hwynt*. There are also conjunctive forms, *innau, dithau*, etc.

Supplementing (a) the personal form of a verb: gweleis-e b.b. 71 ‘I saw’, arduirew-e do. 36 ‘I extol’; pan rodais i serch D.G. 134 ‘when I set [my] affection’, andau-de b.b. 61 ‘listen thou’, Beth a glywaist ti? D.G. 335 ‘what didst thou hear?’ y del 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’, i’saw ef w.m. 5 ‘to him’, etc.

(c) a prefixed or infixed pronoun, gen., acc. or dat.: wi-llaw-e b.b. 50 (≡ *vy-llaw-y*) ‘my hand’, *f’enaid* i D.G. 148 ‘my soul’; am creuys-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 cheisiwn nef na’i threvi
Be gwyp wn nas kai hwnn 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) proclitic form of *toue < Ar. *teue;—y ‘his’ < Ar. *esiō : Skr. asyā; y ‘her’ < Ar. *esías : Skr. asyāḥ, § 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. *person < *ns-rōm : Goth. unsara, with suff. -(e)ro- : cf. Lat. nostrum with suff. -(e)ro- ;—ny before hun < *nes or *nos : Skr. naḥ acc., gen., dat.;—auch ‘your’, formed from chui on the analogy of an : ni;—eu ‘their’, O.W. ou, Bret. ho, is probably for *ovy unaccented, and so from *eison < Ar. *esōm : Skr. esām ‘their’ < *eisām, Osc. eisun-k; for the weakening of unaccented ṣv to eu see § 78 iii;—yn, ych before numerals < *esnes, *esyes : Goth. izwis ‘you’ acc. < *esuses;—yil is a form of an demonstrative § 165 vi, perhaps < acc. pl. *ollōs < *ōlō- or *ollno- : Lat. ollus.

(2) Infixed.—Gen.—m, -th see ii (1); Brit. *men caused the rad. of tenues, the nas. of medie § 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;—m, -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 *ovy 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 oe eu ‘from their’ was formed on the analogy of the latter, instead of orig. oy (o ‘from’ had no -c);—i ‘to his’, etc., Ml. W. yw met. for *ovy < *do i ‘to his’ contracted after *esiō ‘his’ had become *i, but early enough for *oi to become *v, see ii (1); the metathesis is actually attested in nuy (≡nyv) > nyv, 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- (≡tt) ; see § 217 iv (1); after the rel. a which causes lenition, -m, -th must be analogical; the rad. initial after -m is due to the analogy of -m gen.;—n (Ir. -mn-) < *nies, see (1); -ch by analogy;—the syllabic forms prob. developed thus: *pann m cl- > *pamm m, cl- > pan ym clywai; so n > y > yn; yth, yeh by anal.; cf. heb yr § 198 iii; on the whole this is more probable than that y- represents the vocalic ending of pann lost elsewhere, which is the explanation of the corresponding Ir. forms generally assumed (Thurneysen 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 pan ym 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. *sim ‘her’, *siūs ‘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 *ni 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 < mwy (≡ mwy) < *no i, see ii (2).

(3) Affixed.—The substantive forms are the same as the independent forms. Auxiliary: i, b.b. =e (≡ y) < *iβ < *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.).

For pronouns suffixed to prepositions see §§ 208–212.

**Possessive Adjectives.**

§ 161. i. A possessive adjective was placed after its noun, which was usually preceded by the article, as y τῇ ταυ D.G. 18 'thy house', sometimes by a pref. or inf. pron., as y'th wyndwteu R.P. 1202 'to thy paradise'; rarely it was added to an indefinite noun, as

\[ Ac i wneuthur mesw rau \]
\[ O benillion mwynion mau.—D.G. 289. \]

'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 eiđaw il.α. 20 "suos". Ordinarily the possessive adjective stands as the complement of the verbs 'to be', 'to become', etc., as malpei teu vei 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:

Sg. 1. meu
2. teu
3. m. eiđaw, f. eidi

Pl. 1. einym
2. einwch
3. eiđunt

In Mn. W. the first three forms became mau, tau, eiddo, 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, eiđunt do. 26, eidi w.m. 476; einwch etc. see below. The form eiđyw il.α. 129 shows i after ei § 35 ii; but the present N.W. sound is euddo with no trace of -i- 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
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teu dietheu, eïðaw ef or eïðaw efo, etc. In Mn. W. the 1st sg. takes the form mau fi or mau finnau.

Pa darpar yw yr einwch chwi? R.M. 292 'what preparation is yours?' By ryw neges yw yr eïðaw 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 cyhnganedd in I.G. 318 q.v.

iii. In the 15th century new forms of the 1st and 2nd sg. and pl. sprang up. Sîon Cent has A'i natur ... y y 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:

Gwâr glân a gai air o glod;
Gorau oedd y gaer eiddol.—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 d. 185. — G.R. (1567) gives einof o eiddof, eiddot, einom p. [123]; einom in L.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 eiddundt is misspelt eiddynt in Late W.

iv. (1) It generally assumed that meu is a new formation after teu, and that the latter comes from the Ar. gen. *teve : Skr. tāva. 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 *tei 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 (έ < *ai < *oi), Lat. mē (< *moi), see § 75 viii (2).

(2) The Ar. 3rd sg. corresponding to *moi, *toi was *soi : Gk. οί, Av. hā, sā; 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 meu'd 'property' (meuet m.A. i 361b). It was followed by i 'to' and a pronoun: Ae meu y minneu dy merch di weithon i Meu heb ynteu r.m. 142, lit. 'is thy daughter property to me now? Property [i.e. Yes] said the other'; vy merch innen a geffy yn veu itt do. 125 'and my daughter thou shalt have as property to thee', i.e. for thine own; yn veu i'daw e hun do. 207 'as property for himself'. In its orig. form the last expression would be *eu i'daw; of this e'idaw is an obvious contraction; similarly eidi for *eu i'di; e'i'dunt for *eu i'dunt. On the analogy of e'idaw ef (for *eu i'daw ef) arose meu i, teu di. In e'idaw ef the ef is of course the ordinary affixed pron., supplementing the personal ending of i'daw, see § 160 ii (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 fioneu 'as the property of the roses', i.e. that of the roses (n-representing yn before a vowel is common, e.g. ny LL. 120 'in its' § 107 ii). It is found before the 1st pl. pron.: noui gl. nostrum = (yn) *eu (y)nny; later *eu ynnu became einyn on the analogy of the prepositional form of e'idaw, and of gennym 'belonging to us' (mae gennym 'we possess'); einwch was evidently formed from einyn on the analogy of gennwch.

The processes which produced these forms have repeated themselves at later periods: e'ido '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 e'idaw dy ymam di s.g. 270 'was thy mother's property'; e'idaw nep m.A. 35; e'ddo' r Arglwydd i Cor. x 26; thus O.W. n-ou-ir-fionou would now be yn eiddo'r ffion. From eiddo were formed the new 1st and 2nd sg. and pl. forms eiddof (ef), eiddot (ti), eiddom (ni), eiddoch (chwi), carrying further the analogy of eiddo (ef). Lastly, there is a recent tendency, instead of yn eiddo (ef), to say yn eiddo i'ddo (ef), which exactly reproduces yn *eu i'daw (ef), which is the origin of yn eido (ef).

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN.

§ 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], Ml. and Mn. y [rad.]; in the genitive and in cases governed by prepositions both a and yð (yr), y are used.

Nom. : gyrru yr erchwys a ladyssei y carw eymdeith w.m. 2 'to send the pack that had killed the stag away'; Gwyn ei fyd y dyn a wenelo hyn Es. lvi 2 'Blessed is the man that doeth this'.—Acc. : o ymgael a' r gwr a dyweddy di w.m. 4 'to find the man whom thou
mentionest’; *A’r dyna’r ympryd a ddevisais?* Es. Ivi 5 ‘Is this the fast that I have chosen?’—Adv.: *o’r lle yð oð w.m. 39* ‘from the place where he was’; *e korn oð euo e brenhyn a.l. i 76* ‘the horn from which the king drinks’.—Nom. and adv.: 

*Af a mawr a fo melys  
O’r tud yr wyf i’r tad Rys.—G.S. f 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 dylyvas Ítas y leith b.b. 87* ‘the Son whose death Judas plotted’; *Ol ... a ðwconyd moch y dat w.m. 469* ‘Ol, whose father’s pigs were stolen’; *brawt yð grw y buost nei khwyr yn y lys dò. 130* ‘brother of the man in whose court thou wast last night’; *yn neþ y maddunyw ei drosed Ðs. xxxi i* ‘he whose transgression is forgiven’.—Similarly a preposition takes a personal ending to show the gender and number of the relative: *yðr neþ a weleti newyn a sychet aynnaw l.a. 126* lit. ‘to the one whom he saw hunger and thirst on him’; *nt ym gen: noþr prynn y ðibynnað ðr arglwyd aynnaw do. 61* ‘no other than the tree on which the Lord was crucified’.—Dat. *y followed by i with suff.: *y rhai y rhoddwyd iddymt Matt. xix r l* ‘they to whom it is given’; also without the prep.: 

*Ieuwen deg a’i onwayw tur  
Y perthyn campaw Arthur.—G.Gl., f 83/58.*

‘Fair Ieuwen with his spear of ash and steel to whom belong the qualities of Arthur.’ *Rhywia’ dyn y rhod enaid T.A. a 14967/29* ‘the most generous man to whom a soul was [ever] given’.

The form *af* in *E betev af gulis 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 (i).

By the elision of unaccented syllables *a* is often lost in Mn. W. verse, as *Y ddraïg coch’ ddwyry cychwyn D.I.D. 6. 177* [‘it is] the red dragon that gives a leap’. *Y gôr lën’, gôr 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. (i) The usual adverbial form before a vowel in Mn. W. is *yð*; but *yr*, though rare, appears in the 14th cent., as *yuo yr adeilawd Beuno eglys l.a. 123* [‘it was] there that Beuno built a church’; *hýt y seunó yr oebit yn ðaros 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 cyngghanedd, as
O eno i gan i yr a gwôr:
O ddwy i un ydd a 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 yô or yr may become 'ô or 'r, e.g. wedî 'dd el 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 adverbal rel. often appears as yd (≡yd, not yô), 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'; myn yd vo truin yd vit 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 provection. Before i-, d-, g-, jf-, s-, m- n-, only y [rad.] occurs; before k-, gw-, b-, U-, both y [rad.] and yd [soft] appear; before p-, r- only yd-; before a vowel, yô, rarely yd.

iv. (1) The pres. ind. of the verb 'to be' has a relativa1 form sydd, sy, Ml. W. yssyô, yssy, in the b.b. often issi (i ≡ y). The full form yssydd 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 chwychioci 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 wolat ... pan henwyt c.m. 33 'from what country [is it] that (= whence) thou art sprung? ' Ae o bysgottu pan dwy di do. 53 'is it from fishing that thou comest?' In these cases yô 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, odid, 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’th adnapo R.M. 3 ‘there is in it no one who will not know thee’. Gwyn ei fyd y gwr ni rodia Ps. i 1.—Acc.: yr hymn ny weleyn L.L. 12 ‘that which they had not seen’; cenedl nid adweini Es. lv 5; also with a redundant -s: ilyna beth ny-s gwrothodaf-i c.m. 42 ‘that is a thing which I will not refuse (it)’—Gen.: y drus ny δ’γυνυς ny y agori R.M. 41 ‘the door which we ought not to open’, lit. ‘whose its opening we ought not’.—Loc.: lle ny wyper L.L. 26 ‘in’ the place where it is not known’.—After a prep.: ny rostę hı ... ûdaw R.M. 33 ‘to whom she did not give’.—Adv.: prynt na L.L. 26, W.M. 183, R.M. 85, prynt na Jer. xxiii 7, D.G. 29, a 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 *ios, *a, *iod: Skr. ya-h, yā, yād, Gk. ὅ, ḥ, ὅ. It was a proclitic in Brit., and pretonic *io might become *a § 65 vi (2); this was metaphrased to ai the oldest attested form, as in hai-oid b.s.c.h. 2 ‘which was’, ai torro hae ay dimanao y bryeint hunn 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 i.—To explain the soft mutation after it we have to assume that in Kelt. the nom. sg. m. was *io like that of *so, *sā, *tod: Gk. ὅ, ḥ, ὅ (forms without -s are older, and *io might be a survival).—The verb syð, yssyð represents regularly *estio = *esti io; it differs from ysis *there is’, which sometimes precedes it, as ysis rin yssyð yny wynt R.T. 28 ‘there is a secret which is greater’, § 189 iii (3).—The acc. a (< *iowm) 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. πό-θι ‘where?’ ὅ-θι ‘where’), *-dhe, *-dha (Skr. i-há ‘here’, Gk. ἑθα-γερφις), *-ta (Gk. καρά, W. gan < *km-ta); whither, *-te (Gk. πό-ς ‘where?’; Goth. hwab ‘whither?’); whence, *-dhem (Gk. θε-ν), *-tos (Skr. yá-taḥ ‘whence’, Lat. in-tus, W. hun-t ‘hence’); manner, *-ti (Skr. i-ti ‘thus’, Lat. iti-dem), *-thá (Skr. ka-thá ‘how’, yá-thá ‘as’, Lat. ita < *i-tá); time, *-dā (Skr. ya-dā ‘when’), *-te (Gk. ὅ-τι ‘when’); Brugmann II ii 728–734. To these may be added the adj. of number formed with *ti (Skr. kä-ti ‘how many?’ W. pe-t id., Lat. quo-t, Skr. yá-ti ‘as many’).
The W. adverbial forms of the rel. prob. represent several of these
derivatives of the rel. *tō- ; accented 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.—
y before a vowel may represent *tō-dhi 'where' or *tō-dhem 'whence'; possibly in id thrice before aeth in B.B. 3, 97 (marg. bis)
an old distinction is reflected: id < *tō-te 'whither'.—yd [soft]
denoting manner as kelvit id gan B.B. 15 'it is' skilfully that he
sings' < *tō-ti or *tō-thā; denoting number, as pop caint id cuitin do.
95 'it was] by the hundred that they fell' < *tō-ti, cf. Ml. W. pet
'how many?'—y [rad.] prob. has two sources: 1. yd [soft] before t-
gives *yd d- which becomes y t-, i.e. y [rad.], afterwards extended to
other initials; 2. y must have been orig. used before consonants as well
as vowels, and might take the rad. (y) 'whence' < *tō-dhem); the -s
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 grofdeu w.m. 75 'the way that his crofts had been
ruined', from y ry, as pob guilat or y ry fwm do. 144 'every country
of those where I have been'. (Earlier, ry is used without y as Huchof
re trwydhasam A.D. 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 < *nio < *ne tō. 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 analogical. 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 sawel, y neb, yr un, y rhai. In translations these,
which are properly antecedents or stand in apposition to the
antecedent, are often attracted into the relative sentence, pro-
ducing a confused construction; see Syntax. Before the
adverbial forms there occur similarly y lle [in] the place' (the
rel. meaning 'where'), modd, 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 weliais i means 'it is] David whom I saw' or ' [the
man] whom I saw [is] David '; yma 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
§ 163. PRONOUNS

§ 163. i. 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 Mn. W. pwy 'who?'

Pwy quant cath palae B.B. 96 'who wounded P.'s cat?' Ac ny unn i pwy wy't ti W.M. 3 'and I know not who thou art'; yr bw y defit W.M. 402 'to whom it should be given'; Pwy a oododd ei mesurau hi, os gwyddost? neu pwy a cefynnod dylinn arni hi? Job xxxvii. 5. Bwy W.II. 44, 59.

In Ml. W. pwy is also used for 'what is?' as dayar, pwy y llet neu pwy y thewuet 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. 1054. It is also found later with enw, as Pwy dy henw D.G. 365 'what is thy name?' This may be for pwy *wy where *wy is an older form of yw 'is' § 78 iv (1); if so, in pwy yw dy enw II. 128 the yw is redundant.

The use of pwy before a noun is rare: Pwy ystyr yw gennyt ti keul ... 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 II. 30/103, pwy rwy fyd do. 480, cf. pwy wn ii (1) below.

(2) Ml. W. pa, py, ba, by, Mn. W. pa, ba (rarely py) 'what ...?' adjectival. It causes the soft mutation (B.B. pa gur = pa yw).

Pa gur yw y porthaur B.B. 94 'what man is the porter?' Pa gwyarwydd a ryd ymi W.M. 4 'what indication will there be to me?' y edrych pa vedol yw yr ei'dunt do. 39 'to see what thought is theirs'; ym miha dhinasodd y maent yn preswyluo Num. xiii 19.—Py 65wc yw hynny R.M. 178 'what evil is that?' i.e. what does that matter? Py le pan deuei W.M. 132, R.M. 204 'whence he came'.—Ba beth
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see (3), by ᵇyn bynnac r.p. 1256. Forms with b- are common in Early Mn. verse.

In Early Mn. W. pa, py is also used for 'what?' substantival, as pa ᵇaᵗ>Returns e th oth olaud b.b. 20 'what didst thou give of thy wealth?' Pa ᵇa tévé w.m. 58, r.m. 41 'what happened?' Pa ᵇa tévé r.p. 1045 'what shall I do?' Py gynei ll 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?' Duw reen py bereist lývor r.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 ᵇen, ᵇeb ynteu, peth yw marchawc w.m. 118 'I do not know, said he, what a knight is?'; Peth bynnac see iv.

beth yw dy dy arch dî w.m. 20 'what is thy request?' beth yw hynny do. 28, 42 'what is that?' beth ysgyd yn y boly hwwe dig. 54 'what is in this bag?' beth ysgyd yma la. 'what is here?' Beth a darte yn y dîwéd iðaw ef la. 16 'what happened in the end to him?' beth am y ţe y bryceg dig. 41 'what about the little ones?' Beth . . . pei 'what if? 12 times in la. 67-8. Beth a gawn g. 228 'what shall we have?' Beth a wynn wîn chwaer? Can. viii 8.

Papep bi juv. gl. quid; papedpînnac m.c. gl. quoduis; ba beth oreu rac eneîd b.b. 84 'what [is] best for the soul'; Pa beth a wynnant wy la. 66 'what do they do?' Pa beth yw dîn i â i w goslo? Ps. viii 4.

(4) Early Mn. W. pet [soft] 'how many . . . ?' (In Late Mn. W. and Mn. W. this gave place to pa sawl ii (4).)

pet wytu, pet ëvreu, pet avon b.t. 20 'How many winds, how many streams, how many rivers'; Goqon . . . pet ëyd ym blwydyyn, pet paladyr yô kat, pet ñes yô kawat 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 Mn. W. pyr 'why?'

pir deutherse b.b. 23 'why hast thou come?' pyr na'm dîwydyô b.t. 27 'why dost thou not tell me?' pyr na thr(a)ethwch traethwâr do. 19 'why do you not make a statement?' pyr y kyverchy di w.m. 486 (in r.b. 126 Py rac . . .) 'why dost thou accost [me]?' A form pyt occurs once, and may be an error for pyr:—pyt echenis drwc b.t. 27 'why did evil arise?'

(6) Mn. W. pan 'whence?' also ban b.b. 102. It is generally repeated before the verb in the answer.
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pan do y di, yr ysgolheir? Pan doaf, arglwyd, o Loggyr W.M. 76
'Whence comest thou, clerk? I come, lord, from England.' In the
answer pan has become a relative, so that the original meaning would
be 'whence I come, lord, [is] from England'. pan is similarly used
in the answer when it occurs as a relative (for y8) in the question;
o ba le pan ðewy di? Pan ðeowaf, heb ynten, o'r dinas R.M. 275 'from
what place [is it] that thou comest? I come, said he, from the city'.
On pan rel., see § 162 iv (3).

(7) Early Ml. W. cw, cwd (cwt), cwð 'where?' 'whence?'
'whither?'

mor, cv threia cud echwit . . . Redecauc duwyr . . . cvd a . . . cv
treigil, cv threuad(?)i, pa hid a, nev cud vit R.B. 88 'The sea,'whither
it ebbs, whither it subsides . . . Running water, whither it goes,
whither it rolls, where it settles (i), how far it goes, or where it
will be'. kwt ynt plant y gwr W.M. 453 'where are the children of
the man?' (in the R.M. 101 ble mae for kwt ynt). Neu nos cwt ðegwyd,
kwð dirgel tuc dyð B.T. 41 'or night, whence it comes, whither it
recedes before day'; cwd ydy nos yn arhos dyð do. 28 'where the
night is, awaiting the day'. Ny wyant cwt (i = ð) 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 hymny yr ydych yn fy llabbyddio i?
Ioan x 32. gworai i bwy un o honynyt yw hi? Luc xx 33.
Pa rei vu y rei hymny m.a. 17 'which were those?'

pa un is also used sometimes for 'who?' as dywet titheu . . pa
un wytyli 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 wyty R.M. 222 'who thou art' (for W.M. 154 pwy wyty);
Briq kwyr, pno ni wyð 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 supplied cwt, cwd, cwð in Late Ml. and Mn. W.)

Pa le y bu Babel m.a. 44 'where was Babel?' ble mae plant y gwr
R.M. 101, see i (7) above; Pa le yð æth ðeowafa m.a. 13 "quo ivit
tunc Adam?" Ble'dd ñi rhyg blaidd o Wynedd T.A. A 14966/57

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‘whither will they go from the wolf of Gwynedd?’ O ba le y daw breuddwydon w. a. 57 ‘whence come dreams?’ I ble y tyn heb wneud tir T.A. a 14979/143 (D.G. 296) ‘whither will it (the ship) make for without seeing land?’ Pa du w. a. 19 ‘whither?’ py tu w. m. 484 ‘where’.

(3) pa delw, pa weď, pa ffuryf, pa voê, late pa sut ‘how?’

Pa delw y daw yr arglywyd yr vrawt w. a. 61 “qualiter veniet Dominus ad judicium?” Pa weď do. 15 “quali modo?” Pa ffuryf do. 4; pa voê do. 21.

pa bryd ‘when?’ pa awr (pa hawr § 112 i (2)), pa dyê, 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 diôdory pa veint o wyrd a Pfreinc a ðiwaer c.m. 78 ‘thou carest not how many of the nobles of France are destroyed’. Pa faint o gamveddu ... ? Job xiii ii. Pa hyd arglywydd y’r anghofi ? Ps. xiii i. Bysawl nef ysyd w. a. 128 ‘how many heavens are there?’ Pysawl pechawt a cruc Adsaf do. 131 ‘how many sins did Adam commit?’ Pa sawl llyfr, pa sawl bedd ... a welsoch 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 cruc 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 óa, etc.

(5) pa gyfryw [soft] ‘what manner of ... ?’ Mn. W. pa ryw fath [soft], pa fath [soft] id.

Py gyfryw wr yw aoch tat chwi 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.—ceyfryw 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 ysyd ó yr englygon w. a. 9 “qualem formam habent angeli?” 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 ofynnuwys pa ryw dynjon oð y fei hynny c.m. 14 ‘and he asked what class of men those were.’

pa ryw became pa r (cf. amry- § 165 iv (9)) wrongly written pa’r y, as pa’r y ddynnder M. L. i 212 ‘what depth?’ This is again reduced to pa r (wrongly written pa’r), as pa r’ oful waeth T.A. a 14866/201 ‘what sorrow [could be] worse?’ Perygl i wîr, pa’r
glwy waeth L.M. d.t. 145 'dangerous to men, what disease [is] worse?' a pha'r gledi sydd arno 'rwsan B.C.W. 73 'and what hardship does he suffer now?'—pa rwn 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 prefixed 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. W. are pa-har and pa rac or py rac; for references see § 47 iv.

Pam y kymeron inheu hynny gan y taygoeu 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?" is it padiu itau gulat juv. lit. 'there-is to-whom-it-is that-comes lordship' (!) glossing est cui regia in "Cunctis genitoris gloria vestri laudetur celsi thronus est cui regia caeli"—M.L. W. geýr eu ý eýr [cf. ] paðyu ý roðes [pyðiwi wns roðes] a.L. ms. 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 ý yty pyðiwi y roðir kerennyoù Duw r.p. 1056 'Blessed is he to whom is given the grace of God'. Later with a redundant ý 'to':
y byðiwi y bo gorðerch dec iðaw 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'.

Pwybynnac o wynhno m.a. 138 "Quicunque vult". Peth bynnac o garuetawyð a vei yrunghunet W.m. 6 'whatsoever of blandishment there was between them'. A Duw a yty y gyt a thi bethbynnac a wnelych m.a. 105-6 'And God will be with thee whatever thou dost'. By ðyn bynnac vyx, by gerd a vetærych r.p. 1256 'what man soever thou art, what craft [soever] thou art skilled in'. pa ddaiowi bynnag a wnelo pob un Eph. vi 8.

In S.W. dialects bynnag loses its final -g, and in late S.W. mss. it sometimes appears as bynna or benna. We also find in Late M.N. W. bynnag put before pa, peth, as Bynnag beth sydd meun 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 gynnag,
and gymnag pwy, gymnag beth are found in some lesser writings of the late period; more recently they appear in the corrupt and curiously meaningless forms gan nad pwy, 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 pwy a wyr ‘who [is it] that knows?’ on the analogy of Dew a wyr ‘[it is] God that knows’, § 162 vi (2). But this appears to be an innovation in the case of the interrogative, as the oldest examples omit the relative, as pwy quant i (1), pa roteiste i (2), pir deuthoste i (5).

vi. The stems of the interrogative in Ar. were *qʰo-, *qʰe-, f. qʰa-, also *qʰi-, *qʰu- the last in adverbs only (Brugmann² II ii 348).—W. pwy < nom. sg. mas. *qʰo-i : Lat. quē < *qʰi-o.—W. pa, py adj. < stem *qʰo- 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. *qʰo-d, *qʰi-d : Lat. quōd, quid; lenition is perhaps due to the analogy of the adj. pa, py.—W. peth < *qʰid-dmr § 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. pez ‘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 < *qʰe-ti § 162 vi (2).—Ml. W. pyr ‘why?’ < *qʰo-r : Goth., O.E. hwor ‘where?’ < *qʰo-r, Lat. cūr < *qʰo-r.—W. pan < *qʰan-de < *qʰām-de : cf. O. Lat. quamde, Umbr. ponne § 147 iv (4) p. 245.—Ml. W. cu, cud, cuōd represent different formations of *qʰu- (qʰ > 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. kī-ha (k < dh), Gathav. ku-dā ‘where?’ Lat. ubi < *qʰu-dh-, O. Bulg. kī-d de ‘where?’

W. pwn, pahām < *pa(δ) am < *qʰod mbhi ‘what about?’ paśiw or pyśiw is obscure; no dative form seems possible; an analogical *pod-do might give *pyś (as d-d > d § 93 iii (1)) and iw may be yw ‘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 *qʰom-de ‘when’ + ac ‘and’, so that in meaning it is the literal equivalent of Lat. cum-que, and is, like it, separable (Lat. quē 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 gwr
hwn ‘this man’. The different forms are—sg. mas. hwn, hwnnw, fem. hon, honno, neut. hyn, hynn, pl. m. and f. hyn, hynn.

The following forms occur in O.W.: hinn m.c., juv., cp. ‘hyn’; hinnoid ox., hinnuid m.c. ‘hwnnw’; hinnoid ox. ‘hynny’; hirunw juv. ‘yr hwn’, yr hinn m.c. ‘the one’; m., see iv (1); hunnuid cp. f., hinnuid ib. m., hinnuid 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, Mr. 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 yno honn racko r.m. 175 ‘that (lady) yonder is my mistress’. Guttun Yswain a ysgrivennodd hwnnyma Gut.O. auto. ll. 28/33 r. ‘Guttun Owain wrote this’.

An-aml yno i hwn yma
Nag ystór 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.A. 114 ‘this widow’; o’r 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.A. 102, 155 ‘in this world’; o’r esgobawt yma r.p. 1272 ‘from this diocese’; y wydin burwein racco 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 hwn yna, hon yna, hyn yna are commonly contracted to hâ’ná, hô’ná, hî’ná (not honna, 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, hep ef, ansybwyt oed w.m. 2 ‘that, said he, was ungentle-

manliness’ (meaning ‘that’ conduct); Pater noster ... sef yno powyll
hynny yn tat ni ll.A. 147 ‘Pater noster ... the meaning of that is
our Father’. A wenlo hyn nid ysgogir yn dragwynyd Ps. xv 5; wedi hyn ‘after this’.
Nid wylais gyda'r delyn
Am 'y nhad gynain a hynn.—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 hynny is substantival, not adjectival. In Mn. W. it is sometimes used adjectivally after certain nouns; but as the construction is unusual in Ml. W., it must be a neologism: yn y kyfrwg hynny R.B.B. i 11 for ŷ y kyfrwg hynny do. 319, 320, 321. The examples show that it is added to nouns expressing ideas for which substantival hyn stands.

ō'r chweill hir hyn H.A. π 133/164 'of this long story'; A'r peth hyn S.Ph. e.p. 275 'and this thing' [which thou knowest]; ŷ peth hyn Dan. iii 16 'this matter'; ein neges hyn Jos. ii 14, 20 'this our business'; ŷ prydd hynny i Sam. xiv 18; a'i prydd hyn Act. i 6.—This use of hyn, hynny 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 hinnw, with y for w in the penult, cf. § 66 ii (1).

(2) The pl. hyn or hynny is both adjectival and substantival. The former use is extremely common. The latter is comparatively rare; examples are—

ny thebygaf i y un o hyn wynet W.M. 35 'I do not imagine any of these will go'. a hene (≡ hynny) a elgwr goskorth e brenyn a.l. i 8 'and those are called the king's guard'. Ni phalla un o hyn Es. xxxiv 16 'No one of these shall be missing'.

The reason that this use is rare is that hyn or hynny pl. was liable to be confused with hyn or hynny neut. sg.; thus hyn 'these' might be taken for hyn 'this (number)'. To avoid the ambiguity 'these' and 'those' substantival were expressed by y rhai hyn and y rhai hynny, literally 'these ones' and 'those ones'. Though still commonly written in full, these expressions were contracted, early in the Mn. period, to y rhain G.Gl. c. i 198 and y rheiny do. do. 194, or y rheini T.A. 1 24980/85.

Angew. Duw fu 'Nghedewain
O'i tryenor hwy 'n treisiaw '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.'

PRONOUNS

Mae'r heuwy? Ai meirw 'r rheini?
Hynaf oll heu wyf i.—G.Gl., p. 100/411.

'Where are the elders? Are those dead? Eldest of all to-night am I.'

iii. Adjectival heun and hon form improper compounds with nouns of time; thus yr awr hon > yr awron (§ 48 iv), yr áwran; y waith hon > Ml. W. e wetiwion A.L. i 242 (ms. b) usually wethon, Mn. wethion, wethian (§ 35 ii (1)); y prydd heun > y prydd w.m. 102; y vers hon > y weithon w.m. 128; all the above mean 'now'. So y nos hon > y noson 'that night', and y dydd heun > y dythwn, y ddwthon § 66 ii (1) 'that day'. The form dythwn was still in use in the 17th cent.; see Silvan Evans, s.v. dwthwn.

Arwydd ydwyw yr awron
Wreiddiau Rhys o'r ddaear hon.—L.G.C. 206.

'It is a sign now that Rhys is sprung from this land.'

Ar bob allawr yr awran
Y gwneir cost o'r gwv a'r cann.—D.N., g. 149.

'On every altar now provision is made of wine and white [bread].'

Bardd weithian i Ieuw wyf.—L.G.C. 275.

'I am now a bard to Ieuw.'

By dissimilation yr awran (pron. yr owran § 81 iii (2)) became yr owan, and is now sounded in N.W. yr'wlan. The loss of the r goes back to the 15th cent.:

O bu draw 'r bywyd ar ran,
Mae'r Eos yma '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 hebìw 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 hwunw and honno were added for clearness' sake; thus in A.L. i 142, where MS. A. has ni bele y dithun kafail a'teb 'he is not to have an answer that [same] day', the later MS. E. has y dythun hwunw. This is the Biblical construction; see y dwthwn hwunw 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 R.H.B.S. 215 translating 'who has spent his day holily'.

iv. (1) The forms yr heun, yr hon and yr hyn (but not *yr hwunw 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 nef, y sawl and definite nouns like y gŵr Ps. i 1, etc.

O. W. ir hwnn issid m.c. 'he who is' gl. ille; ir hinn issid Christ juv. 'he who is Christ'; hirun juv. 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 oddocka前往 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 fues ei hun etc. Ex. xxii 5. So with adverbial expressions: yr hwnn y tu a Chernwy w.m. 59 'the one towards Cornwall'.

(3) In the 16th cent. yr was often omitted before hwn in this construction: hwn a ffdl fawredd W.II. g. 292 'he who possesses greatness'; Hwn a wnaeth nef E.P. rs. cxxi 2 'He who made heaven'; i hwn a' th wahododd Luc xiv 9; i hyn a weddillod 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 n.m. 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 wyd kymmler o nerth cleδyceu w.m. 8 'let him who will not come obediently be compelled by force of arms'; ac a wynwys bedyð o'r Sarascinjeit a advys Charlys yn vyw, ac ar nys mynnwys a ladawð c.m. 3 'and [those] who would be baptized of the Saracens Charles left alive, and those who would not be slew.'

It is chiefly found in the form 'r after o 'of'.

Ac o'r a welsei ef o helgwun y byt, ny welsei cwn un lliw ac wynt w.m. i '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 delei y'r llys w.m. 34 'of those who came to the court'; pob creadur o'r a wnaeth-pwyty l.a. 4 'every creature of those that have been created'; bob awr o'r y 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 (i).

na dim ar' r sydd eiddo dy gymydog Ex. xx 17. Pob peth hyn ar sydd gyda thi Gen. viii 17, see ix 16. ym mhob dim ar' r y galwom arno Deut. iv 7. dim ar' o a wnaeth-pwyty Ioan i 3.

vi. hwn and hon come in the first instance from Brit. *sundos, *sundâ; the neut. hyn from *sindod, and the pl. hyn from either
*sundi or *sindi. The -u- and -i- are undoubtedly for -o- and -e- before -nd- § 65 iii (1); we arrive, therefore, at *sondos, *sondā for hwn, hon, *sendod for hyn neut., and *sendi 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 -dh- suffix, § 162 vi (2), to *sem-, *sem-: Skr. samāḥ 'same', Gk. ὁμός, 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. supernus: 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. *sondos, f. *sondā, neut. *sondod, pl. m. *sondi 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. henn (= 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 hwnnw comes from a derivative in -i/io- of the adj. *sondos; thus *sōndiios > hwnwiâ̄§ 75 iv (2) > hwnwiâ̄ > hwnnw § 78 i (1), (2). The fem. *sōndiā would also give the same form, which actually occurs as f. : ir blōidin hwnnwith CP. 'that year'; honno is therefore a re-formate on the analogy of hon; so the last syll. of hynyn § 78 i (1).

ar is prob. formed in a similar manner from an adv. with the suffix -r which was mostly locative, Brugmann's 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. yr ei ‘the ones’.

Subst. indef.: un ... arall ‘one ... another’; pl. rhai ... eraill, Ml. yr ei ... eraill ‘some ... others’.

In the following list of adjectival forms giör, gwyr, gwraig show the position and initial mutation of the noun:

Adj. def.: y naill iör ... y giör arall ‘the one man ... the other man’; y naill wraig ... y wraig arall; y naill wyr ... y gwyr eraill. For y naill Ml. W. has y neill or y lleill, and for eraill, erenill, also used in Mn. W.

Adj. indef.: rhyw iör ... giör arall ‘a certain man ... another man’; un giör ... giör arall ‘one man ... another man’; rhyw wraig ... gwraig arall; un wraig ... gwraig arall; rhyw wyr ... gwyr eraill; Mn. W. rhai gwyr ... gwyr eraill. Ml. W. erenill, 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 limited § 155 ii (1), iii (7). The compound is often a strict one as y neillfodd, rhynobeth. As -ll causes provection of mediae, an initial tenuis after neill, lleill generally appears unmutated in Ml. W., as y neillparth for y neillborth, etc., § 111 vi (2); but analogy generally restores the mutation in Ml. W., especially when the compound is loose, as y naill beth a’r llall ‘the one thing and the other’; but neilltu, see ib.

Subst.: yn gyfflyn y lladawd y neill o’r gweisson, ac yn y lle y lladawd y llall r.m. 191 ‘he quickly slew one of the youths, and forswore to swear the other’; yny orffeii y lleill ar y llall r.m. 262, w.m. 408 ‘until the one overcame the other’; a’r un y bydei borth ei bi a golleu y gware, a’r llall a délei awr w.m. 174-5 ‘and the one that he supported lost the game, and the other gave a shout’—reii on honunt yn weyau, ereill yn udau, ereill yn cywyna m.l. 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 b parth ... ac o’r parth arall r.m. 421-2 ‘on the one hand ... and on the other hand’ (b beginning parth deleted by underdot); am nat oed kym bioget y neillfodd a’r llall s.c. 29 ‘because the one way was not as safe as the other’.—Or bwytey mywn un amser yn y dyb, a symu hynny y amser arall m.m. 33 (from R.B.) ‘if thou earliest at one time in the day, and changest that to another time’; ryw dyn cynhigennus ... undyn arall J.D.R. [xxii] ‘a jealous man ... another 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 rei 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 a'r llall 'this and that'.

Câr yn cyhuddo arall!
Harodd i'r llaw gyhuddo'r llall.—T.A., c. ii 78.

'A kinsman accusing another!' [It is] easy for the hand to accuse the other.—kämys yr hynn a vynnei 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': mvyy... oes honno no'r rei ereill oll w.m. 180 'that [ship] was larger than all the others'; Iloğ a oes vwy noc un o'r rei ereill do. 185; cf. II.A. 102.

(2) The first alternative may be implied, as in other languages; as y dydd arall M.II. i 178 'the other day'; y nos arall R.P. i 362, D.G. 25 'the other night'; Gad i eraill gadw arian T.A. p. 6 'let others hoard money'.

iii. All the forms of the first term except y 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 neilltu 'to retire' etc.); neill-law see example.

Eistedd 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 cl o'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 da 'a good one', rhai drwyg 'bad ones'. Also yr un 'the one', pl. y rhai, Ml. y rei 'the ones'; these are chiefly used with adjectives as yr un drwyg 'the evil one', or with a relative clause § 164 iv (1); and yr un instead of the indef. un in negative sentences, as—

Pa obeiuth ysysg yr gler? Nyt oes yr un II.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.

*iwy* *duled edmic* B.B. 43 ‘an admirable covering’. *iwy* *dwatenenno* m.m. 6 (from R.B.) ‘some warts’. *yr oedd gan iwy* *iwr ddau fæb* Luc xvi i ‘*άνθρωπος τις*’. *iwy* *ddynion* i Tim. v 24 ‘some men’; *iwy* *bethau* 2 Petr. iii 16 ‘some things’;

*myron iwy* *bhanneu* (bh = v) J.D.R. [xvii] ‘in some places’.

iv. Subst. *un*, pl. *rai* 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 iwy un* § 163 ii (6).

(2) *pob un* ‘every one’, pl. *pob rhai*.

A *fob un o homunt* w.m. 7 ‘and each one of them’. *pop iwy o(’r)* *ræj henne* a.l. i 8 ‘all of those’. *Gofyn a oruc y Chyarllys ansawd pob* *ræi o nabunt* c.m. 14 ‘he inquired of Charles the condition of all (i.e. each group) of them’.

(3) *næb un* or *næbun* subst. ‘some one, any one’, adj. ‘a certain’, pl. *næb rhai*, generally in positive sentences.


*iwy un* i Cor. xv 35 ‘*τις*’; O *achaws mileindra iwy ræi* . . .

*kænys y maı* *iwy ræi a’m llædi* i s.g. 320 ‘On account of the brutality of some people; for there are some who would kill me’.

(5) *dau iwy*, *tri iwy*, etc. ‘two (three, etc.) different, two (three, etc.) kinds of’.

*Seithryn* *pechawt* (read *bechawt*) marwawol *yssyd* I.A. 147 ‘there are seven different deadly sins’. *Tri iwy gwydd yssyd* . . . *Deu iwy gwydd* *deu eir yssyd* r.g. 1134 ‘there are three kinds of *cwyddau*, . . . there are two kinds of *cwyddau deuair*’.

(6) *pa iwy* § 163 ii (6).

(7) *pob iwy* ‘every, all manner of’.

*Pob iwy* B o’r a orchymynnei yr *yscrythur* lan I.A. 126 ‘Every good that holy scripture commanded’. A *phob iwy vlas yssyd ar y
dywyr hwunn do. 167 'and that water has every kind of taste'.
a phob rhyw unBeth r.B. 1214 'and every single thing'.  
i bob rhyw aderyn Ezec. xxxix 4; o bob rhyw beth Matt. xiii 47.

(8) neb rhyw 'any, any kind of', in negative sentences.

canyt oes nep rhyw greadur a allo y drossi ef L.A. 33 'for there is not any creature that can turn Him'.  
ynl argywed neb rhyw wenwyn do. 166 'no poison hurts'.

neb rhyw ddim, see § 170 iv (2).

(9) amryw 'various, several'. In Ml. W. it was generally used with a sg. noun; in Late Mn. W. a pl. noun is generally used. In the Bible the noun is sometimes sg., but often pl.

Ysiti yn y boly hwunn amryw vlaed w.M. 54 'There are in this bag various kinds of flour'; amryw duted (t = d) M.A. i 220, 'various coverings'; amryw wleden L.A. 70 'various feasts'; amryw bws, ... amryw fesur Deut. xxi 13, 14; amryw had ... amryw ddffrydd Deut. xxi 9, 11; amryw Galan G.O. 40 'many a New Year's Day'; amryw bwsau ac amryw fesuru Dar. xx 10; amryw gleyfau Matt. iv 24; amryw ddoniau ... amryw weithrediadau ... amryw dafodau i 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-fiw 'parti-coloured'; amry'fson 'wrangle' (són 'talk'); amry'fus 'erring' (-fus <*mois- <*moi-t-: Lat. mūto, 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 vryt ac a oed ganthaw s.g. 200 'such food as he had'  
(lit. 'as what was with-him'); yn y kyfryw le a hwun w.M. 10 'in such a place as this'; y kyfryw dyn a hwun w.M. 123 'such a man as this'. Without ac 'as': y kyfryw varchaw yd oed ef yn y ol w.M. 138 'such a knight as he was after'; y kyfryw dyn hwun R.B. 198 'such a man [as] this'; yr kyfryw wr hwunn R.B.B. 65 'to such a man [as] that'.—Without the art.: a gatho kyfryw dyn a hwun w.M. 123 l. 39 (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 eirioet y ŷw lewenyô ac a wnaethnoyt s.g. 144 'there never was such a welcome as was prepared'; y ŷw bryf a hwnnw w.m. 77 'such a reptile as that'. Without ac 'as': y ţyw genedyl a elwir y pagann'yet L.A. 166 'such a tribe as is called the pagans'; y ţyw bryf hwnnw R.M. 54 'such a reptile [as] that'; y ţyw ganwent honno R.B.B. 58 'such a fight [as] that'.

Y cyfryw is also substantival.

Lwyer o'r kyfiryw L.A. 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'.

At unrhyw ymadrawd gantant ac a dothoed gan y marchuwng cyntaf R.M. 200 'and [bringing] the same tale with them as came with the first knight'. Nid yw pob cnawd un rhwy gnaud 1 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 ddyn. Pughe in his Disc. does not give the word this meaning. (In D.G. 519 l. 46 unrhyw seems to be a mistake for yn rhwy.) The phrase o un rhwy 'of any kind' is older.

Un rhwy or unrhyw 'same' is also substantival.

Ponyt un ţyw a gynmerth Iudus a Phedyr L.A. 25 "Nonne Judas idem accepit quod Petrus?"

V. rhwy is also used as a noun m. 'kind'; and as an ordinary adj. in the phrase rhwy i ' [it is] natural to ... '. From rhwy 'kind' come rhwywicg 'kindly, of a good kind', rhwyogaeth 'species', afryw, afrywicg 'unnatural, harsh'.

Y rhwy hwn Marc ix 29.—mor oes ţyw ym llew Iuwyaw G.D.A. r.p. 1226 'how natural it was to my lion to rule!' Rhwy iddi roi rhodd yr rôyl T.A. A 9817/179 'It is natural to her to give a gift at the feast'. Nid ţyw iddaw ond rhodd 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 = hymn 'this', Ir. ind 'the' < *sendos § 164 vi; *eill < *ál İşos < *áialios, redupl. of *alios : Lat. alius, Gk. áddalos; owing to the wrong division the y is treated as the adverb. and becomes 'r 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 *alios itself, Brugmann? II ii 340.—y ulary similarly for *yll all; all < *al İşos; pl. y lleill with *eill < *al İşi.—arall < *aral Isos (: Ir. araile)
by dissim. for *alalios §§ 102 iii (2); pl. ereill < *aralios; see § 100 iii (2), (3).—Note the contrasted accentuation *alalios > *eill ‘one’: *alalios > arall ‘other’.—un ‘one’ § 75 ii (1).—rhyw < *rijo; rhai < *riji § 75 v; *rijo- < *pri-o- = -prio- in Lat. proprius: Lat. primus, Umbr. prever ‘singulis’, preve ‘singillarer’, Osc. prēvātud ‘privato, reo’ (the -v- in these is a suff.; the orig. meaning is ‘proper, particular’; rhyw eyn ‘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 (ob. *prei, *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 tağnəvedwyd pawb o na'bunt ae giliş w.m. 451 ‘and each of them was reconciled to the other’. Llawen 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 dydd
Y gwelom pawb 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 flaenawr gwydd
Roi golwg ar i gilydd.—Gut.O., A 14997/15.

‘We shall see each other through the branches of the trees.’ Ni a ddylem 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 Loan xiii 34; os byd gennych gariaid i’w gilydd do. 35; Byddwch yn eu-frydl a’i gilydd Rhuf. xii 16; Antharchwch ei gilydd 1 Petr v 14; Amwylyd carwn ei gilydd 1 Loan iv 7, see 11, 12.
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 ynt attebei yr un mwy noe gilyð r.m. 211–2 'and neither answered more than the other'. —nyhîawn yr un ohoanunt vot y'orth y gilyð i.e. 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 noi] '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 drwc ý [= ý ý] gilyð r.m. 141 'From one evil to another'; o'r pryt ý [= y ý] gilyð do. 62 'from one time to the other' (‡ the same on the following day); o'r ysgraf yr ny gilyð s.g. 125 'from one barge to the other'; o'r mor py ý [gilyð] w.m. 180, o'r mor py[=py ý] gilyð r.m. 83, o'r mor bwy gilyð r.p. 1263 'from sea to sea'.

Da iawn y gôyr dan y gwydd
Droï gwielyn 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 cách a chêle, the exact equivalent of paeb i gilydd, is used in the same way. The Breton expression is ann eil égilé (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 Dai Davyt awch kilyth kilýwch P.M., m.a. i 280 'before David your comrade stand aside'. Duv y Cheli vu ý chilyð B.D. r.p. 1251 'God her Lord was her companion'. Also in the proverb Ch(w)echach bwyth kilyð r.b. 966 'A neighbour's food is sweeter'.

For the etymology of the word see § 106 ii (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 mî of 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 Ṽyf yr 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 eithum fy hun ‘I went by myself’ (not *aeth fy hun ‘myself went’); fy nhŷ fy hun ‘my own house’ (not *ty fy hun ‘the house of myself’); amcanodd ei ladd ei hun Act. xvi 27; cf. i loan i 8; Iago i 22; 2 Tim. ii 13; efe a’i dibrisiodd ei hun Phil. ii 7; similarly arnat dy hun i Tim. iv 16 (not *ar dy hun); ynddo ei hun Es. xix 17 (not *yn ei hun); drostun e-hunein ll. a. 37 (not *dros e hunein), etc. The reflexive ym- counts as a pronoun: ymrodi e-hun ll. 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 lladd i hun instead of wedi i ladd i hun, and this neologism occurs in recent writings; but in other connexions the old construction survives, thus mi af fy hun, arnat dy hun etc.) But after a conjunction joining it to another clause the pronoun which it supplements is not necessarily expressed; thus my’ arachaf i’n hu wy govey vy iawn namyn my hun r.m. 64 ‘I will bid no one demand my indemnity but myself’; nad oes o’r tu yma’r un ond fy hunan ll.w. 68 ‘that there is on this side none but myself’; yn uch no my- hunan ll. a. 67 ‘higher than myself’—When put at the head of the sentence fy hun etc. are followed by the adverbial rel. y (ydi, yr), as vy hun yr af I.D. 35 lit. ‘[it is] myself that I will go’; canys ei hunan y gelwais ef, ac y bendithiai, ac yr amheurs ef Es. i 2.

ii. un ‘one’ has a derivative *un-an lost in W. but surviving in Corn. onon, onan, Bret. unan; this and the fact that hunan, hunan express ‘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 accentual. Before u it may represent either *s- or *su-; thus hun may be from *sy’oinom < *sy’oinom (limiting accusative); the reflexive *suë might stand for any person at first (Brugmann2 II ii 397), but personal pronouns were afterwards prefixed, thus *me sy’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 debbygunt ll. m. 463 ‘everybody thought’, pawb a’r gadawasant 2 Tim. iv 16, pawb is, like Eng. everybody, properly sg., and is mas. in construction:

Pawb ry-gawas y gyvarus ll. 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 (≡ poppeth for pobeth) x 2
beside *pob peth* ‘everything’; *pobman* beside *pob man* ‘every place’; *popenarth* g. 234 beside *pob parth* ‘every part’; *o bop tu* 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 *ý bot* un *ohanunt* m.l.a. 3 ‘to each one of them’. N.W. dial. *bod* *yy* *un* ‘each and all’, lit. ‘and one’; earlier *bod ag un* m.l.m. 9, T. i 346.

*pob un, pob rhyw* § 165 iv, *pob cyfryw* ‘every such’, as *pob cyfryw orfoledd* Ingo iv 16 ‘all such rejoicing’. But ordinarily *pob cyfryw* means ‘every’ emphatic, ‘all manner of’, the *cyf-* having the intensive meaning § 156 i (9) (b). It is followed by *o* ‘of’ after *pob* (not by *ag* ‘as’ after *cyf-* , so that the *cyf-* is not comparative).

*pob kyfryw* ðyn eithyr Awt r.f. 1245 ‘every single person but Awd’. *yr* rëi *hynn oed gyyfryws* ... *ym pob kyfryw arweu* c.m. 10 ‘these were skilful in all manner of arms’. *Pa le i mae Christ? Ymhob* *cyfriw* le c.c. 319 ‘Where is Christ? In every single place’. *Pob cyfriw* beth coll. ‘every single thing’.—*o bop kyfryw* *wydeu o' r* a *rybuchet ehen* s.g. 10 ‘of all viands which (lit. of those which) he himself desired’. C.f. R.M. S, R.B.B. 50.

(3) *pawb*, Ir. *cách*, gen. *cách* < Kelt. *q♭açãoś*; the second element is probably the interr. and indef. *q♭os* and the first, *q♭̣-, an adverbal form of the same (Thurneysen Gr. 293).

*pob*, Ir. *cach* 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. -ǎ-, § 71 i (2). Similarly Bret. *pep* < *peup* with *eu* < -ǎ-. The Ir. *cech* 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 lyssod* y *bôyar* w.m. 6 ‘all the courts of the earth’ (lyssod being made definite by the dependent gen.).

*A wybyd* *yr* *holl* *seint* a *wanneuthum* i *yma* m.l.a. 71 ‘Will all the saints know what I have done here?’ a*r* *holl* *bethau* *hyn* Matt. vi 33 ‘and all these things’; *dy holl* *fyrrdd* Ps. xci i i.

A compound of *holl* of the form *holtre* m.l.a. 166, *hotre* do. 165, *y rolre* (= *yr otre*) r.b.b. 71 is used much in the same way, but is rare.

The derivative *holol* ‘entire’ is an ordinary adj. following its noun, but is used chiefly with *yn* as an adverb: *a hynn* *yn* *hollawl* m.l.a. 162 ‘and that wholly’; cf. Ps. cxxix 8; Gen. xviii 21, etc.
(2) oll. This is always used in an adverbal case (of measure), and generally follows the word or phrase which it limits, though in poetry it may precede it.

Kemry oll A.L. i 2 ‘all Wales’, lit. ‘Wales wholly’; y byd oll c. 294 ‘the whole world’, lit. ‘the world wholly’; gwadu oll y dadyl A.L. i 396 ‘to deny wholly the plea’; Nywi oll Es. liii 6.

It cannot be used in the nom. or acc. case, but is always adverbal, 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. i i 3 ‘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.)

(3) W. oll < Kelt. *olgod (limiting accus.); Tr. uile < Kelt. *oligos; probably cognate with Eng. all, Germ. all, Goth. alls < *ol-no-s.

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 doy am dy benn cwbyl o’r govut W.M. 80 ‘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’; kaeawô kwbyl o drwyseu . . . y neuad s.g. 5 ‘closed all the doors of the hall’; kwbyl o’r wirionôd do. 161 ‘the whole of the truth’; yn ol 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. xxiii 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 surhaet A.L. i 526 ‘the complete act, the full fine’; cwbl ddwydyfedd 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’; cymollonedd cwbl M.A. i 348 ‘complete reconciliation’.

Adv. yn gwbl, o gwbl ‘wholly’: ac ereyll en kubyl a ðyleassant
ACCIDENCE § 169

A.L. i 2 'and others they entirely abrogated'; *byðei eur o gwbl
R.M. 62 [where iron should be] 'there was gold throughout', cf. R.B.B. 280. In neg. sentences *gwbl 'at all' is in common use in spoken W. (pron. ò gwbl).

(3) W. gwbl, Corn. coval, coval probably represent *cowel § 111 vii (4) < *kom-(p)lu-(s) : Gk. ῥωλός, W. llawer § 169 ii (3), the prefix having its intensive meaning, as in com-plete, 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 gweleir kyflawn vyðei oe serch R.M. ii 7 'such as saw her was filled with her love'; gwelet y sawl a weleir 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 iwy o sawl y tei 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 yr sawl viljoed yssyð yma, ac o achaws hymyn y mac y sawl velineu (hymn) 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 vor wynjon racko s.g. 33 'as many maidens [as those] yonder'. Y sawl ryvedawt ac yssyð yn y wlad 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 gwyd byrjyr llawer yndi w.m. 21 'and when much has been thrown into it', i.e. much food; llawer mws guir ac gowin B.B. 68 'many who do not know ask it'; a llawer o vein gwerthawr ereill ll.a. 166 'and many other precious stones'; llawer a ddichon taer-weddil y cyflawn Iago v 16; fy ngwes cyflawn a gysfawnh llawer Es. lii 11.

In an adverbial case (of measure) llawer [rad.] before a cpv. and llawer after a cpv. signify 'much' adv.: llawer gwell 'much better'; llawer iawn gwell Phil. i 23 'very much better'; mwy llawer ll.a. 68 'much greater'; a mwy Wydijon noc ynteu llawer w.m. 106 'and Gwydion [regretted] more than he, much'; mwy oed ef llawer no hymyn do. 229 'he was bigger much than that'. But o llawer 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.

\[\text{a llawer damwein a digaun bot w.m. 28 'and many an accident may happen'}\]

Llawer merch weddw o'i pherchen,  
Llawer gwr meun llurig wen.—D.IL., tr. 249.

'Many a woman widowed of her lord, many a man in a white corselet.'

(3) W. llawer \(<\*(p)luueros formed by adding the cpv. suffix -ero-\) to \(*plu-\), \(*p(a)lu-\) \(<\*p\emph{e}lu-\) 'Gk. πλοῦς \(<\*\text{plu}-\)'?

\[\text{lliaws guryaw r.p. 1216 'much suffering'; Ceveis i lliaws awr eur a phali M. m.a. i 192 'I had many a time gold and silk'; o lliaws eirchyeid m.a. i 259 'of many suppliants'; i lios lu § 71 ii (1); Mor lluosog yw dy weithredoedd Ps. civ 24.}\

(3) lliaws \(<\*pleiosto-s\). The longer forms have u as lluosawc r.p. 1043, lluosogryd w.m. 34, r.m. 22, lluosog in 1620 Bible. These are not formed from lliaws but from an old adj. \(*\text{pleiosto}-s\), 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 vuches Vewno l.m.a. 118 '[the story] is to be told in what follows of some of the life of Beuno'; ac wrth hau, peth a srythiudd ar ymyl y fford \ldots\ peth arall, etc. Luc viii 5–8.

In an adverbial case, beth 'to some extent, for some time':

\[\text{Div yw in dario enydd,}\]
\[\text{Ac aros beth gurs y byd.—D.IL., l. 120/258 r.}\]

'We must tarry a little, and await awhile the course of events.'

(2) peth is the interrogative pronoun § 163 i (3) used indefinitely (cf. Gk. ὅσος); 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 dal vy nghyngor i \(\text{by ti s.g. 43 lit. 'it is] little that}\)
my advice avails to thee' i.e., my advice is worth little. *Pa obeith ysbyd y r porthwyn* Ychydig n.l. 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 hepiam, etc. Diar. vi 10; ychydig win i Tim. v 23.—Ychydig bechoda T. A. c 16/13 'a few sins'; ychydig ddydillau Gen. xxix 20; ychydig bethaiu Dat. ii 14.

(3) Ychydig is for fychydig mut. of bychydic: W. bychod 'small quantity', bychedd 'scarcity, poverty'; Corn. boches 'a little', bochesog, bochodia '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 wo molediwr r.p. 1041 'a rarity [is he] who is worthy of praise'; ac odit ø'r hein hynny ysbyd yn gristonogyon n.l. 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 cisiau am elwun.—T.A., c. ii 83.

'Full many a cry for fair Elin, many a need for charity.'

Ond o hirbell ymgellwair
(O bai well ym) ymbell air.—I.D. 23.

'But from afar bantering (if it were better for me) an occasional word.'

*Y mae rhai 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 drugareddau di Dan. i x 18; ambell dro 'occasionally'.

The dialectal i sometimes heard before the noun is a recent intrusion (i 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. *amb'l-u-s for *amblus < *mbhí-(y)lu-s, with *plu-for *plu-du: W. llawer 'many', Gk. πολίς, 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 welais neb 'I did not see anybody'.
heb Ddwa, heb ddim ‘without God, without anything’. Also in conditional sentences, as o phech a neb i Ioan ii r ‘if any man sin’; in questions; in comparisons; etc.

A derivative nebawd occurs: nebawd b.B. 21, 43 ‘any one’, ny gwybyd nebawd 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 mL. 60, 89. But there seem to be no Md. examples of neb ‘nobody’.

iii. dim and neb are positive in positive sentences in the phrases—

(1) pob dim ‘everything’:

Pob dim kywrein ... goruc Kelwyd B.D., r.P. 1251 ‘every cunning thing the Artist made’. Ddwa, maddau bob dim iddaw I.F. m 148/329 ‘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):

twyllwr yw y neb a adefvo kyfrawnach arglwyd yr’r nep a wypo y vot yn elyn iddaw mL. 26 ‘he who betrays a lord’s secret to him whom he knows to be his enemy is a traitor’. Cf. mL. 28, 32, 33, 34, etc. 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 r. 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 ryw dim ‘anything at all’, w.m. 64, 65, r.m. 46, 47; neb dyn ‘any man’ mL. 126.

(3) neb cyfryw [soft] ‘any at all’, cf. § 168 i (2).

Kanyt oes neb kyfryw rym ... y gallem ni vynet B.B. 178 ‘for there is no power by which we might go’.

(4) nêmawr, nêmor (for *neb mawr), with a negative ‘not much, not many, but little’.
ACCIDENCE § 170

ny weleiste eto nomawr o boeneu uffernn ill. 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 *neb pell), with a neg. 'not far'.

er nad yw efe yn ddiau neppell oddiwrth bob un o honom Act. xvii 27; yn epell s.g. 219.

v. (i) dim is probably never an adj.; a noun following it is a dependent genitive, as—

heb δim llywenydd ill. a 147 'without anything of joy' i.e. without any joy; heb altel gwnethur dim llés s.g. 37 'without being able to do anything'; na wna ynddo ddim gwraith Ex. xx 10; cf. Ps. xxxiv 10.

(2) But before a definite noun or pron. o 'of' is used after dim:

ny wydant δim oohonunt ill. a. 8 'they know nothing of them'; ac nyt oed dim ohonaw yno r.m. 18 'and there was nothing of him there' i.e. he was not there; ny warandawei δim o'r attep w.m. 53 'he would not listen to anything of the reply' i.e. to the reply.

δim 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. 1.

Odid i Dduw, doed a ddel,

Fyth ddewis mo vath Howel.—W.II. 45.

'Scarcely will God, come what may, ever choose such a one as Howel.'

(3) Used in an adverbial case δim signifies 'at all', etc. Nac efo δim ill. 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. *neg*os; Lith. nekás 'something', nekūrs '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. nul). But it is possible that this *ne* is positive, and is a form of the n-demonstrative: Lat. ego-ne, see Walde⁸ 255 (where Lith. ne-kūrs 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

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*Footnotes:

⁸ Walde: A Dictionary of Old and Middle English, 1939.
early 13th cent. The v.n. diddymnu is a late 16th cent. word formed from diddim on the false assumption that it stands for diddyn as dibin does for dibyn § 77 iii, whence diddymnu; a more correct, and prob. older, form is diddimeo M.K. [40]. In the laws dyn diddim means ‘a man without assets’, see A.L. ii 36. Hence we may suppose W. dim < *di-smen ‘share, part, fraction’, ḫāḏī- ‘divide’, R₁ *dai-, R₂ *di-, R₃ di- § 63 vii (5) : Gk. δαιμαί, δαισ, Ṛk. δαύατε ‘divides, allots, possesses’, ḫiti ἡ ‘distribution’ (E. time < Pr. Germ. *timan- ‘period’ < *di-); heb dibim lit. ‘without a fraction’. A dimin. (or obl. case) dimyn occurs in kymeint timynn R.P. 582 ‘every jot’ (cf. kymin hum § 106 iii (2)); whence perhaps Mn. bob tipyn (by dissim. mm > bb, which givės 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 (Intr.² 193): Vedic kāṁḍyeta rājā samrād bhāvī’tum ‘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 ... ’ ]; χερμάδων ... ἐν δόο γ’ ἀνδρε φέρον, E 303 = W. maen ... ni chodai dew-ddyn, cf. Ni thynnai saith einies hum T.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.
\( \text{ACCIDENCE} \quad \text{§ 171} \)

\[ \text{A 14975/107 'seven (men) could not take his life'; } \theta\epsilon\sigma \gamma' \eta \delta\epsilon\lambda\omega \ldots \delta\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega\mu\ldots \, \text{to } \delta\omega\rho\nu\gamma\sigma\alpha\iota\, \text{K 556 = W. rhoisai (plup.) } \text{d}w\omega \text{ evyllys\i gwr \well meirch; Vedic } \text{y\i } \text{p\i c\i e\i y\i t\i k\i r\i v\i y\i d\i d\i m\i k\i r\i y\i y\i k\i = W. pes pob\i y\i nt g\i w\i n\i a\i n\i e\i t [y \i \i t\i n\i ] yn g\i \i n\i a\i d\i g\i \i s\i l\i (carnivorous), etc. It denotes a possible or hypothetical as opposed to an actual thing; cf. } \text{t} \text{ na vel\i um Wms. 508 'Oh that I am unable to see' i.e. would that I saw! The impf. use comes through forms like gwel\i ai 'he could see' > 'he saw'; as in } \text{ef a } \text{vel\i ei l\i an\i n\i r\i e\i r\i . . . } \text{ef a } \text{vel\i ei car\i w\i etc. w.m. 1. The form oe\i \i d 'would be' w.m. 17, l. 29, has passed over entirely to the impf. sense, and forms periphrastic imps. in the spoken lang., which does not use the impf. of other verbs in that sense. In speaking, we do not say } \text{fe safai} 'r d\i r\i ef or y b\i r\i y\i n 'the town stood on the hill' as the expression of a fact, but we do say } \text{fe safai} \text{ Dafydd yn segur am oriau 'D. would stand idle for hours' expressing a possibility; we say } \text{fe wel\i ai} \text{ ryn\i c\i b\i eth 'he saw something' (could see), but not } \text{fe safai} \text{ yno 'he stood there' (was standing).} \]

(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 nghlo\i d 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 dd\i \i el '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 dywed\i \i r '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 cer\i ir or cer\i ir fi 'on m'aime' (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 gwel 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; Mn. forms are given in spaced type:

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ml. W.</th>
<th>Mn. W.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. karaf</td>
<td>1. karwn</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. kery</td>
<td>2. kerwch</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. kar</td>
<td>3. karant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Impers. kerir</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ACCIDENCE</td>
<td>§ 172</td>
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<td>Imperfect Tense.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ml. W.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mn. W.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. karwn</td>
<td>1. karem</td>
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<td>2. karut</td>
<td>2. karewch</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. karei</td>
<td>3. kerynt</td>
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<td>Impers. kerit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aorist Tense.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. kereis</td>
<td>1. karassam</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. kereist</td>
<td>2. karassawch</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. karavō</td>
<td>3. karassant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Impers. karwyt</td>
<td>Impers. carwyd</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pluperfect Tense.</td>
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<td>1. karasswn</td>
<td>1. karassem</td>
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<td>2. karassut</td>
<td>2. karassewch</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. karassei</td>
<td>3. karassyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. karassit</td>
<td>Impers. carassid, -asid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive Mood.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Present Tense.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. kar(h)wyf</td>
<td>1. kar(h)om</td>
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<td>2. ker(h)ych</td>
<td>2. kar(h)och</td>
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<td>3. kar(h)o</td>
<td>3. kar(h)out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. kar(h)er</td>
<td>Impers. carer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect Tense.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. kar(h)wn</td>
<td>1. kar(h)em</td>
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<td>2. kar(h)ut</td>
<td>2. kar(h)ewch</td>
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<td>3. kar(h)eit</td>
<td>3. kar(h)ynt</td>
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<td>Impers. ker(h)it</td>
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<td>Imperative Mood.</td>
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<td>Present Tense.</td>
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<td>1. karwn</td>
<td>1. carwn</td>
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<td>2. kar</td>
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<td>3. karet</td>
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<td>Impers. karer</td>
<td>Impers. carer</td>
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</table>
§ 173. Pres. Ind.—i. In the 2nd sg. and pl. and the imps., a and aw in the stem are affected; thus Mn. W. teli ‘thou payest’, ceni ‘thou singest’, gwrandewi ‘thou listenest’, gwrandëpoch for gwgrandëpoch ‘ye listen’, gofetir ‘care is taken’, amcenir ‘an attempt is made’.

ii. The 1st sg. ends in -af; in B.B. written -aw, as dywedaw, kyuadaw, credaw 82 (≡ dywedaf, cyfodaf, credaf); in O.W., -am (≡ aw), as ni choilam ox. 226 ‘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 Mn. W. generally it became -i, see § 77 iv.

(2) The Ml. -y itself seems to be for -yd = Bret. -ez by loss of -d, § 110 iv (3); the form -yd occurs in Early Ml. verse: ymwaredit B.B. 19 (where -it ≡ -yd) ‘savest thyself’, digonit ib. ‘committest’, gunet do. 23 ‘makest’; rodyd B.T. 57 ‘givest’, mal y kynnulld y t vesceryd ib. ‘as thou gatherest thou scatterest’. Before di the -d was lost early: nerthiti ox. gl. hortabere, Mn. W. nerthy di ‘thou strengthenest’ (cf. diweddyd for *diwed-dyd ≡ § 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 wely dy yna B.M. 23 ‘seest thou there?’ wely dy raeco w.m. 59, etc. § 221 iv (2). So os myn di E.M. 93 ‘if thou wilt’; and dial. fyn di ‘wilt thou?’ glwu 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’;—gawaf ‘I call’, geilw;—saaf ‘I stand’, saif;—paraf ‘I cause’, pair, peir;—gannaf ‘I am contained’, v.n. genni ‘to be contained’ (< *ghyd-: Lat. pre-hendo, Gk. xádáw), 3rd sg. gain, see example; in Mn. W. (g)ein B.P. 1055, see vi (3) below, also geing by § 106 i (2), whence ng spread to other forms;—agoraf ‘I open’, egyr;—collaf ‘I lose’.

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VERBAL NOUN.

karu; caru

VERBAL ADJECTIVES.

karedic, karadwy; caredig, caradwy.

ii. Stems ending in -i (Ml. W. y) drop the i before i, y, and u; as rhôdïaf, rhôdir, rhôdïyt, rhôdïut; sônïaf, sônïr, etc.; and stems in -w- drop the w before w as câdïaf, câdïw; see § 36 i, ii.

NOTES AND ADDITIONAL FORMS.

In the 2nd sg. and pl. and the imps., a and aw in the stem are affected; thus Mn. W. teli ‘thou payest’, ceni ‘thou singest’, gwrandewi ‘thou listenest’, gwrandëpoch for gwgrandëpoch ‘ye listen’, gofetir ‘care is taken’, amcenir ‘an attempt is made’.


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 Mn. W. generally it became -i, see § 77 iv.

The Ml. -y itself seems to be for -yd = Bret. -ez by loss of -d, § 110 iv (3); the form -yd occurs in Early Ml. verse: ymwaredit B.B. 19 (where -it ≡ -yd) ‘savest thyself’, digonit ib. ‘committest’, gunet do. 23 ‘makest’; rodyd B.T. 57 ‘givest’, mal y kynnulld y t vesceryd ib. ‘as thou gatherest thou scatterest’. Before di the -d was lost early: nerthiti ox. gl. hortabere, Mn. W. nerthy di ‘thou strengthenest’ (cf. diweddyd for *diwed-dyd ≡ § 110 iv (2)).

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ACCIDENCE § 173

cyll; torraf 'I break', tyrr, written tyr; atebaf 'I answer', etyb; gwelaif 'I see', gwyl, in Late Mn. W. gwel; cynhaliaf 'I hold', cynnail, cynneil; gwaharddav 'I prohibit', gwêheirdd D.G. 20; ataliaf 'I withhold', etiel; gweesgaraf 'I scatter', gwoesglyr and gwysgar; tawraf 'I am or become silent', teu, tau; (g)adawaf 'I leave', edeu, gedy; tarawaf 'I strike', ter eu b.B. 63, tery; gw(a)randawaf 'I listen', gwreend eu, gwrendy; gosodaf 'I set', gesyd; cyrhauddaf 'I reach', cyrraidd; sorraf 'I sulk', syrr, written syr; somaf (siomaf) 'I disappoint, cheat', sym; diolechaf '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); rhangaf fodd 'I please', reingk bod s.G. 277.

Ni ain o fewn main y mur,
Ni bu'n f'oes neb un fesur.—T.A., A 14976/91b.
'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 ain d'aur meun un dwn.—T.A. A 14975/16.
'Because thy gold will not go into one hand' (is'more than a handful).

A fo doeth efo a dau;
Annoeth ni reol enau.—G.I.H., TR. 87.
'[He] who is wise is silent; the unwise does not control [his] mouth. Pan vynner Æi teui hi a teu r.M. 122 'when one wishes it (a certain harp) to be silent, it is silent'. fel y tau dafad Es. lili 7 'as a sheep is dumb'.

O syr, lle gwoesglyr gwagwym,
O'm dawr, Gwyn ap Nudd i'm dwyn.—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 twyll mo buyll y byd.—E.P. 271.
'Calumny is but [for] a while; deceit will not cheat the good sense of the world'; ny'm sym r.P. 1198 'will not disappoint me'.

I Dduw Madog a ddîylch
Gan i chwaoer hael cael y cyllch.—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 càr 'loves', cân 'sings', èadh '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 m.A. 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; chwarddof 'I laugh', chweirð R.P. 1240, chwardd D.G. 402, L.G.C. 379, Job xli 29, Ps. ii 4; barnn m.A. 64 'judges', beirn R.P. 1321.
(3) The vowel of the stem, if mutable, is of course modified when the ending is dropped in the 3rd sg.; thus *cyrchaf* 'I make for', *cyrch*; *dygaf* 'I bring', *dwy* 'brings'; *ceisiag* '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', *bawdd* '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 *adroðaf* 'I narrate', *adroð* B.A. I 'narrates', later *cðryð* R.P. 1253; *holafogaf* 'I defile' (denominative from *halafog*, Mn. W. *holog*), *helyc* W.A. 34 'defiles'. In the 16th cent. *dichyn* was used, § 196 ii, but was supplanted later by the original form *dichon* 'can', Ml. W. *dichawn*. 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. *gwrachod* for *gwarchawd* metath. for *gwar-chadw*; the old 3rd sg. was *gwer-cheidyw*.

v. (1) Verbs with stems in -ha- had the vowel unaffected in the 3rd sg.; the affected forms *bwyty* 'eats', *pery* D.G. 441 'lasts' are late; the original 3rd sg. of *bwyd-aF* 'I eat' is *bwyta* W.M. 456 'eats', *ef a vieylla* W.A. 170, and of *parhá-af* is *pár(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 *pára*, but not before changing a media to a tennis 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 *neshá-af*, v.n. *neshá-u* and *nés-af*, v.n. *nésu* 'to approach' (: *nes* 'nearer'); the 3rd sg. of the first is regularly *nés-(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 Mn. W. side by side with others in which the ending has come to be regarded as -a simply. Thus we find *gwata* R.P. 1382 'denies', *otta* impv. R.P. 1254 'delay', *gwatta* M.A. i 319a 'denies', *shatta* do. 319b 'flies', *tremycca* W.A. 150 'despises', *poenha* do. 28 'punishes', *dielwha* do. 147 'ruins' (makes worthless), *gwynwca* do. 148 'withers', *cerhha* do. 168 'goes', *gweðha* do. 165 'beseems', side by side with *gwada* R.P. 1256 'denies', *oeda* impv. do. 1285 'stay', *Ilettya* do. 1254 'lodges', *ogana* ib. 'satirizes', a *gyldyyna* M.A. i 319b 'surrounds', a *boena* W.A. 147, *kerdda* do. 165, *kerða* do. 167, *gweða* 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 *hwydda* [L.A. 148] (hwyd, chwyd ‘a swelling’), a *ge(i)thiws* ib. (keithiw ‘captive’), *argyveda* do. 166 (argyvwd ‘harm’), *saetha* R.P. 1272 ‘shoots’ (saeth ‘arrow’), *amcana* 1285 (amcan ‘design’), *gwarchaeb* ib. (gwarchae ‘fortification’), *diylsya* ib. *diylsya* 1254 (dyls ‘certain’), *llaess* 1254 (lles ‘slack’), *surra* R.M. 123 (sur ‘sour’), a *gospa* [L.A. 30] (cosp ‘punishment’), *gwassanaetha* do. 28 (gwasaneth ‘service’), *kyfyr-golla* do. 35 (kyfyr-goll § 156 i (9)), *breinia* M.A. i 318a (brait ‘privilege’), *yswi8* ib. (ysiq ‘crushed’), *diweddo* do. 318b (diwed ‘end’), *cynnwydd* 319a (cynnwydd ‘increase’), *mynycba* 319b (mynych ‘frequent’), *lwyydd* ib. (llwydd ‘prosperity’), a *gocha* R.B.B. 146 (coch ‘red’), *kyfsle* R.P. 1286 (cyf-le ‘situation’), *metha* 1253 (meth ‘failure’).

(4) It is also added to some stems not obviously denominative; thus *cerddaf* ‘I walk, go’, has 3rd sg. *cera* in Ml. W., see examples above, and in Mn. W., see Diar. iii 28, vi 3, but a *gerd* B.T. 15; so *sathra* [L.A. 147] ‘tramples’, but *sathyr* R.B.B. 144; *damuna* L.A. 148 ‘wishes’ (the noun is damuuet ‘wish’), *traetha* B.B. 8 ‘relates’ (noun *traethuawd* treatise) < Lat. tractāt-us.


(6) It is added to denom. stems in -ych-, as *goleudyca* [L.A. 169], M.A. i 318a ‘governs’, *flammyca* do. 3186 ‘flames’, except whennych R.M. 123, *chwen(n)yech* L.A. 73 ‘desires’ (chwant ‘desire’).


vi. (1) Sg. 3. -id, used where there was no preverb, is found in Mn. W., and survived in proverbs, and rarely in verse; like the fut. -(h)awd it became -(h)id; thus O.W. *prinat* (without -h-) ox. 22b
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"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"; Tyflid maban, ny thyf i gadachan "an infant grows, its swaddling cloth does not grow"; Dirmycid merch ... wör ni vело G.Gr. p 77/194 "a woman despises a man whom she does not see".

-yd occurs in ð-yt (rh. with byt "world") r.P. 1055 "goes". It seems to be confused with -id in megys, meckyt r.P. 1029 "nourishes", gwlchynt do. 1032 "wets".

(2) An ending -(h)aʊd of the 3rd sg. occurs in Early Ml. W. with a future meaning; bithaud (≡ byðhawd) b.B. 7 "will be", ðeddaud (dd ≡ tt for dh) do. 58 "will run", dirchaudo do. 61 "will arise", parahawd do. 100, parahauw b.T. 23 "will continue", gyrhauw b.T. 13 "will drive". These forms were survivals, and appear sometimes to be misused as passives under the influence of the -t impersonals: chuttaud b.B. 10 "will be brought", brinhuawd do. 58 "will be broken".

(3) There are traces of a 3rd sg. in -yð, as ny wneyð gwir ny ein ymro r.P. 1055 "he who does not do justice will not be suffered [lit. contained] in a country"; kyn noc y daw rweg y ðwylaw y gwesgeryð do. 1049 "[it is] before it comes between his hands that he scatters it". This is quite distinct from -yd above, and comes, as seen, after relatives.

There is no sufficient ground for the assumption, Arch. Camb. 1873 150, of a 3rd sg. -hau; for chauffaw b.B. 3 ≡ chauffaf 1st sg., see ii above, gwnaw sk. 126 is an error for gwenaho b.T. 16 l. 2; a wnað b.T. 30 l. 18 is prob. a sc. error for wnaði; the other examples are from untrustworthy texts.

(4) In the dialects an ending -iðf, in Gwynedd -ith, is in common use. D. 35 regards it as falsely deduced from caiff, "Vt Ceriff pro Cur, Periff pro Pair ... Quæ nunquam sine indignatione audio." (As -if 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. eit iben juv. sk. "we drink together".

viii. The affection of the stem vowel in the 2nd pl. ceroch shows that -wch must be for -wch § 26 vi (5). A trace of this form occurs in chedynych l.l.a. 157 "ye keep" dissim. for *chedynych; the usual form is cedwych for cedwych: cadwaf "I keep".

ix. (1) Corresponding to the 3rd sg. in -hauet, a 3rd pl. in -hawnt occurs rarely in the earlier periods: cuinhaunt juv. gl. desleh(unt), gwnahawnt b.T. 13 "they will make".

(2) In O.W. a 3rd pl. pres. -iðt occurs, as limnunt juv. gl. tendont, scamhègint juv. gl. levant, nerthieun juv. gl. armant. Some examples occur in the early poetry: diwrissint kedwyr ... mi nyd aw b.B. 1083 "warriors hasten ... I go not"; dyð ... pan hyrfl(ð)ylyn b.T. 13 "will be when they conquer", disceynyn ib. "they will descend".

x. 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): tirran (≡ tyrran) b.B. 2 "they must", dygian ib. "they bring", darparan y 2
do. 5 'they prepare', *vidan* (≡ *vydan*) ib. 'they will be'; other tenses: *denuhan* do. 2 'they came', *swaethan* do. 4 'they did', *darwun* do. 6 'they perished', *cuitin* (≡ *cwydyn*) do. 95 'they fell'. The -t is lost in the spoken language.

xi. (i) Beside the impers. in -ir, a form in -(h)awr, corresponding to the 3rd sg. in -hawt, occurs in Early Ml. W.; as *talhawr* b.b. 31 'there will be payment', *flokawr* 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'; *Dyfyn yw adaw a garawr* b.b. 1062 'it is hard to promise what is loved'; *Heul yn Ionawr ny mat welawr, M(a)wrth a Whefrawr ac dialawr* b.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 *mock guelher y niver* b.b. 2 'soon will the host be seen'; *nyth etter ti y mycen* w.m. 457 'thou shalt not be admitted'.

(3) In the early poetry an impersonal in -itor, -eter, -ator, -otor occurs: *kenhittor kirrn* b.b. 52 'horns will be sounded', *canhator* b.t. 75 'will be sung', *megiitor* b.b. 62 'will be brought about', *siwiniotor* b.t. 68 'will be ruined', *traiethator, molhator* do. 23, *brithtator* b.b. 33 'are variegated'. Forms in -etawr also occur: *dygetawr* b.t. 10 'will be brought', *galwettauwr* 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* b.p. 1037 'thou wouldst escape'. In Early Mn. W. this remains, as *wydudu, atebud* 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 *careit*; 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 celwi* b.a. 22 'he called', *ef ǘleði* ib. 'he slew' (beside *pan eles* ib. 'when he went'), *ny cheri* do. 26 'he loved not' (beside *ef carei* ib. 'he loved'), *eðumi* do. 16 'he desired', *klywi* ib. 'he heard', *a veli* b.b. 45 'whom he saw'.

For the 3rd sg. in -iad 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 *hoffyn* 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 terfynem* L.G.C. 244 'they would not end him' (usually L.C.C. has -yn(t)): *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
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eg., occurs; as y wawt a ganeint W.A. 95 'the song which they sang';
and a deweint...a syrthjeint do. 97 'which came, [tears] which fell';
achubebint W.M. 466 'they seized'. It is sometimes found in Early
Mn. verse: anrhegaint D.G. 24 'they presented', oedaint, fyddaint,
rhedaint do. 25; occasionally later: rhedaint b.c.w. 23.

(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:
kerdawð W.M. 9 'walked' (beside a gerðwys do. 8), cymhellaðð do. 17
'incited', wharyawð do. 163 'played', parawð ib. 'caused' see (4),
gofynnawð do. 164 'asked', diskynnawð do. 422 'descended',
irwymawð ib. 'bound', frwynglymawð ib. 'fastened by the reins',
dechreuawð R.B.B. 117 'began', dewissawð do. 319 'chose'. -ðð
already appears in Late Ml. W.; parhaðð, arverodð, ldðð C.M. 92
'lasted, used, killed', brathodð do. 93 'stabbed'.

(2) -as, in cawas B.B. 66, w.m. 10 'got', gwelas 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, brasdas, twyllas B.B. 81 'betrayed,
deceived', creas G. M.A. i 196 'created', gallas B.V. do. 372 'could'.
In cawas it survived in Early Mn. W.:

  Pwy meun gaecf a gafas
  Fis Mai yn dwyn lifrai las?—D.G. 265; cf. 116.
  'Who in winter [ever] found a May-month wearing green
  livery?'

(3) -es is added to stems having -o- or -oe-; as dicoes Juv. sk.
'wrought', rötes (t ≈ 8) B.B. 42, rõtes W.M. 9 'gave', torres W.M. 94
'broke', arholæs do. 47 'waited', ffoés R.M. 152 'fled', ymhoeles R.B.B.
199 'returned'. It is common in Ml. W., more especially in the earlier
period: fföös D.G. 61, sjömes G.Gl. c. i 196 'deceived', colles
I.T. F. 43 'lost', codes do. 45 'rose', rhoddes Phil. ii 9 'gave', torres
Gr.O. 41 'broke'. It survives in the spoken lang. in contracted forms
rhoe, trees.—Contrary to analogy it replaced -as in gwelas in Late Ml.

(4) -is is added to stems having -a- (which it affects to -e-), or -aw-
(> -ew-): treghís B.B. 21 'perished', edewis do. 43 'kept', erchís W.A. 2
'bade', dienghís W.M. 56 'escaped', peris do. 57 'caused', ettellis
(l-l, vb. ataljað) R.B.B. 174 'withheld', cymhellað (l-l, vb. cynhafjað)
do. 257 'held', edewis R.M. 169 'left', edewis R.B.B. 171 'promised'.
Also dechreuwís W.M. 27, R.M. 17 'began' (beside dechreuwys W.M. 413,
r.m. 267). It is occasionally met with in Early Mn. W., as gadewith
D.G. 61.

Ni wn a fîm yn iawn fis
Heb hiraeth,—hi a'i 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) -ðys is perhaps the commonest ending in Ml.W.: pechwis B.B. 41
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'sinned', quisevis do. 43 'wore', treulwyys w.m. 9 'spent', cyrchwys ib. 'made for', medlywys do. 10 'thought', diffyywys do. 12 'failed', trigwys r.m. 92 'resided', gallwys do. 108 'could', mynywys r.b. 200 'desired'. It was simplified early to -ws § 78 i (2), as bendigys r.b. 36 'blessed', frwinclywys (read -clymus) do. 93; cerdws p 14/6 r. (mid-13th cent.) 'walked', claswys 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 liv hudol o dlws,
Hudotion a'i hadeilws.—D.G. 447.

'Perished colour enchantingly beautiful, it is enchanters that built it.'

(6) -t in -t-orists, 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-, -yss- and -ss-, Mn. W. -as-, -s-.

(2) -ass- and -yss- 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', cilyassant, toryssant r.m. 36 = cilyssant, 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 -yss- disappeared, and in Late Mn.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 (= cymersassant r.m. 235) 'they took', adcorsant b.b. 46 'they returned', ymadawssam h.m. ii 292, w.m. 148 'we left', clywsson w.m. 33 'they heard', dechreuassant do. 41, 72 'they began', beside dechreuyssant 44. In Mn. 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 Mn. 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 Mn. 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 deliessit Ieuan ... vad Duw ... yn dwsyfy rhewyd r.p. 1184 'John held the Son of God in the water of baptism' (the context shows that it is not impers. plup.), prinessit (read prynessit) i b.; also -yd, as keressyt r.p. 1168, pregythysit (r.kyt) 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 canto as wrongly assumed by some recent copyists), gwnant r.m. 81, w.m. i i i 'pierced'; *-er-t- regularly becomes -yrth § 65 iii (2), hence diffirth, kymirth b.b. 40
saved, took', with a-affection differth B.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', ceuvost b.b. 21 'thou hast sung'; gweint m.a. i 194a. 'I charged' (in battle).

iv. (x) 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 caffat r.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 gweiat l.m. 51, r.m. 36 'were (was) seen'. In the old poetry it is seen in other verbs, as aruad (t = s) B.B. 23 'was blackened' se-suínad ib. 'was conjured (?)' (redupl. perf.)

(3) -ed, after -o-, -oe- : anvonet w.m. 84 'were sent', cotlet do. 472 'was lost', dodet do. 32 'was put', rodet do. 33 'was given' Mn. W. rhodled f.n. 28, poened c.c. ii, hoelied f. 49/54d, etc.

It is also found in ganet w.m. 28, Mn. W. ganed 'was born'; and in Early Mn. W. gweelod D.E. L 163/119 'was seen' for Mn. gweelat, like gweles for gweelas i (3); Mn. W. fived m.a. i 373, llaSed do. 220.

(4) -id, after -a-, -aw- : y delit .. ac y carchawyt b.b.b. 338 'was caught and imprisoned', edewit w.m. 58 'were left', e8ewit 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: dalwyd 'was caught', gada(w)wyd 'was left'.

(5) -wyd, as in magwyt w.m. 33 'was reared', goflyngwytyt, rydhawyt do. 25 'was released, was set free', cynweirwyt do. 26 'was prepared', treulwytyt ib. 'was spent', gomme8hwyt ib. 'was refused', etc., etc. This is the usual ending in Mn. W., and has superseded the others except in a few forms like ganed 'was born', rhod 'was put', etc.—Reduced to -wt § 78 i (2), whence dial. cawed § 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 llawyt H.D. f. 67/277 r.; klas D.E. J 17/478 r. 'was buried', usually clawyt w.m. 89; gwyys D.G. 236 'is known'.

Ef a'm llas i a'm nasium
Yr awor 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. 96 'there was a coming', gwraethpwytyt 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, dewyd (dial. dowd), gwraed are also found.

Other examples are duwpwytyt w.m. 28 'were brought' (perf. st. dug-
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§ 194 iii), goruwspwyt w.M. 452 'was done', clywspwyt r.B.B. 178 'was heard', dechruwspwyty s.g. 291, camwpyt § 182 iv (4).

It is added to the present stem in dalwspwyt r.B.B. 388 'was caught', kymnicpwyty do. 398 'was offered', gatywyty do. 399 'was left', dywetwyty w.M. 52 beside dyweswyty do. 189 'was said'.

v. (1) The pluperfect is formed by adding the personal endings of the imperfect to the aorist stem.

The impers. -it and 3rd pl. -ynt affect -aw- in the penult, thus adewysynt r.B.B. 180 'they had left', edewysit r.M. 288 'had been left'. But -ass- usually remains unaffected: buassynt w.M. 89 (beside buessynt L.A. 19) 'they had been', anvonasst r.B.B. 306 'had been sent', mynnassit r.M. 13 = mynysst w.M. 20 'had been desired', collassynt r.M. 42 = collyssynt w.M. 60. D.G. 279 has dygessynt (if weles before it is the correct reading; if welas, it would be dygasysynt; the plup. of this verb is often syncopated, tygaswn etc. D. 134.

(2) Some verbs have a plup. formed by adding oebwn, oebut etc. to the aor. stem: cauwsaebwun etc. § 188 i (7), foessobñ § 186 iii, as well as athoed etc. § 193 vi (5).

(3) An impers. of the plup. formed by adding -adoe8, -ydoe8 to the pres. stem occurs in some verbs: ganadoe8 § 197 'had been born', udawodo8 c.c. 122 'had been promised', managado8 m.A. ii 103 'had been mentioned', mayado8, defnytado8 (t = đ) 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 nottywyf 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 gunaho n.t. 16, gunelhont b.B. 60.

In Early Mn. W. the tenuis generally remained, and survived later in a few expressions as gato in na ato Duv '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 Duv'n geidwad S.T. g.B. [375] 'A man whom God raises as a saviour'.

(2) Some verbs have special subj. stems, as el- : af 'I go', etc. § 193 viii; 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'), adnappro do. 36 (adwauñ § 191), dycco do. 465 (: dygaf 'I bear'). This is a simplification of -0e, which survives in creddoe (dd = tt < dlh) b.B. 53 (: credalaf 'I believe'), see § 78 i (1). The form -wy is a variant of -0e § 183 ii (1), and the former not uncommonly occurs in Early Ml. W., as gwelhe8 b.B. 74 'may see', achupey do. 75 (: acludef 'I seize'), nottey do. 76 (: nodaf 'I specify'), guledichuy do. 59 'may rule', canluci do. 48 'may sing'.

iii. (1) The 1st sg. ends in -wyf : cattwyf w.M. 125 for *catawyf (: 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 ( = gwisgywyf b.m. 71), cysgof h.m. ii 137, gostymnof 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 elewnt b.a. 2, 3 ('af 'I go'), and -ont, as pan venvent a.l. i 22 'when they desire'. All are prob. formed from the 3rd sg.

(3) The 1st and 2nd pl. end in -om, -och: diwyccom, digonhon n.i. 30, crettoch b.m. 131.

(4) The impers. ends in -er; but there are examples of a form in -ywr: rothwyr b.t. i 'for the usual foder 'may be given'.

iv. The 2nd sg. ending is -ych: rodych w.m. 4 'thou givest' (mayest give), gwypycho do. 14 'thou knowest', gellych do. 151 ( = gellych 'I can').

In Late W. a dialectal form -ech sometimes occurs, § 16 iv (2) (β), as lletueuch 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 hymnyn maes o law 849 appears in recent hymnbooks as Pan y byddost ti gerllaw. — gellych ZE. 512 is a misreading of gellych b.m. 220.

v. The impf. subj. is formed by adding the personal endings of the impf. to the subj. stem; thus (subj.) be dywedd tut ti ... (ind.) minheu a δyweddun 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, gwnaf, 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', dal 'hold!' taw 'is silent', taw 'be silent!' pair Zech. x i 'causes', pår Ps. xxv 4 'cause!'

(2) Verbs which have -a in the 3rd sg. pres. ind. take it also in the 2nd sg. impv.: kerca w.m. 83, r.m. 69, llunyia 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', act un w.m. 13, r.m. 9 'let one go', godauved, dywcoled Es. iv 7.

(2) A 3rd sg. in -id added to the subj. stem is also met with: ellhid b.b. 101 ( = af 'I go'), rothid do. 93 'may he give', grothlidit Duw h.a. 26 'may God ward off', Trowyr ( = try-wyr), getid Duw'r i enaf G.Gl. m 146/185 'three men, God spare the youngest', getid Mair D.N. g. 154, Telid Duw iddynt M.K. [viii] 'let God repay them'.

iii. The 3rd pl. ending is -ent: diskymnet w.m. 22 'let them descend', katweunt a.l. i 138 'let them keep', traethent h.a. 159 'let them speak', deuent (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. bint h.a. 81 'let them be' formed from bid. In the Bible a 3rd pl. in -ant is used: guwyddiant Ps. lix 13 'let them know', dywchelant 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: Angyliun doent... Rhoent 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.


Secondary.—Thematic: sg. 1. -o-m, 2. -ë-s, 3. -ë-l; pl. 1. -o-meš, -o-mës, -o-môs, 2. -ë-te, 3. -o-nti.

Athematic: sg. 1. after a vowel -m, after a cons. ñ, 2. -s, 3. -l; pl. 1. -më, -môs, 2. -te, 3. after cons. -enti, -nti, after vow. -nti.

(3) Middle voice (medio-passive); 1st and 2nd pl. omitted.

Primary.—Thematic: sg. 1. -o-mai, -öi, 2. -ë-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. -e.
(5) The characteristic of the primary endings is final -ī. 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-asti) the
Ar. form seems to have been -śī; 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 -m or -ne-

The present stem with primary endings formed the pres. ind.; as
*bher-o-nti (Gk. δῆδωμι) 'I give', √dō-; *bhē-r-o-nti (Gk. Dor. ἔφευρε)
'they bear', √bher-

The present stem with secondary endings, and with the augment
before it, formed a past, as *ē bhēr-o-m (Gk. ἔφευρε) '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 -ōe- (thematic); of the optative with -ę-e- 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 lieg̣h-o-m (> Gk. ἔλεγξ_VERBOSE), √leig̣x-; this may be called the thematic aorist;—secondly, F-grade of √+(at
least in sg.), athematic, as *ē bheid-i (> 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. bhārata 'bore', Gk. Hom. φηρε 'bore'<
Ar. *bhēre-t beside impf. abharat, ἔφευρε < *ē bhēre-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
gobut, ny threingk molui § 173 vi (r) represents Kelt. *trawko-ti ū.,
nē *trawko-t mū. 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 -ī- in Kelt., these characteristics were reduced to two, -ā- and -ī-. The vowel had E-grade in the sg., R-grade in the pl., as in Gk. ἵστημι < *stthā-mi. pl. 2. ἵστορε < *sttho-the. The Kelt. forms of the 1st sg. pres. were therefore *-ā-mi, *-ī-mi. As the form was mostly unaccented, and unaccented -ā- > Brit. -a- § 74, the prevailing Brit. forms were *-a-me, *-i-me. These give the W. -af, -if, the latter comparatively rare, § 173 ii, and now obsolete. Examples: (1) Ar. *dī-dō-mi 'I give' > Kelt. *(p)rō (di-)dā-mi > Brit. *rō-da-me > W. rhodaf 'I give';—(2) Ar. *dhi-dhe-mi 'I put' > Kelt. *(p)rō (di-)dī-mi > Brit. *rō-dī-me, which would give W. *rhomif 'I put'. But the latter ending was rare, and was supplanted by -af, the result being, in this case, that two verbs became one: rhodaf 'I give, I put'. The reduplicating syllable was probably lost by haplology. Only the vowel of the syllable dropped in dodaf 'I give, I put' < *dō-tāme or *dō-time < *dō d(i)-dōm or *dō dhl(i)-dēmi : Gk. δίωμι or τίθημι. Usually dodaf is 'I put'; for dod 'give' see Ps. lxixi 1, Gr.O. 87.

iii. (1) The accented forms of the 3rd sg. *-ā-ti, *-ī-ti give the W. strong forms -awd, -id. These are used at the head of the sentence, like accented verbs in Skr. The introduction of -th before the ending in Ml. W., where not etymological as in trenghit (ngh < rok), is analogical, and partly artificial. The second form tended to oust the first in this case, as seen in O.W. prinit 'buys' for *prinaut < Brit. *prinā-ti : Ir. cren(a)id; see § 201 i (4). The -id form with the initial of the affixed pron. fo, thus *-id-f, gave *-it-fit and then -iff, the dial. ending, by loss of the t as in the 2nd pl., see vii. The West Gwyn. -ith has recent th for ff.

Ml. W. -yd in ēyt, § 173 vi (1), is from *-eti < *-etai the middle 3rd sg. ending : Gk. φέρεια; see § 193 x (1).

(2) But the usual form of the 3rd sg. in W. is the stem without or with vowel affixation; this comes from the unaccented injunctive form; thus cār loves < Brit. *kara-t; rhyd 'puts' < Brit. *rō-dī-t. The latter, being more distinctive, spread; thus rhyyd 'gives' instead of *rhoddd < *rō-da-t.

iv. (1) The Ar. thematic endings, *-ō, *-ēs, *-ēt would become *-ū, *-ūs, *-ūt 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. *kóm 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, rhed 'runs' < *retet, etc., because
the unaccented was, as in the case of athematic stems, the commoner form; e.g. ni chêl grudd gyystudd 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 -ê conjugation; as rhedid car gan anwaerdi prov. ‘a car will run down hill’. (So Ir. berid for *beri, with anal. -d.)

v. The W. 3rd pl. -anti is from Kelt. -anti < Ar. *-o-nti which was common to the -â and -ê conjugations; see ii above. There is no trace of the thematic *-o-nti, because -ont came to be associated with other tenses. The O.W. -int, MI. W. -ynt, may represent the athem. *-enti or the middle *-ontai, more probably the latter; -(h)aunt is certainly formed after -(h)awt.

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 -ête, or denominatives and deverbatives in -ie the commonest stem-suffix in the Ar. languages. In Kelt. from *karo-s ‘dear’ the je-denom. would be *karê-ië, *karê-ës, *karê-iet; all these would give W. karëð. 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 occur 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. *-e-te, athem. *-a-te. The former would give W. *-ed (MI. Bret. -et); to this was added the initial of the affixed pron. chwi, thus *caret-chê > *carewch by loss of t, cf. iii (i); 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. iben, and survives to this day in West Gwyn. in caran beside carwn ‘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 *cerewch > cerwch ‘ye love’; subsequently the vowel of this ending intruded into the 1st pl., giving carwn ‘we love’. A statement in the 2nd pers. is always answered in the 1st, hence the influence of the forms on one another in the less used pl.

viii. (1) In Pr. Ar. an ending *-r- formed impersonals. It survived only in Indo-Iranian and Italo-Keltic. In Skr. it takes the form -uh (before a vowel -ur) in the active, and -re, -ire in the middle; -uh represents *r or *rês, Meillet Intr. 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. dywedir ‘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. sakrâfer (with ultiumam for object) ‘cysegrer’. 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. iter, Osc. vincer '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 -ā-, -ā-, and thematic conjugations in the pres. were *-ā-re, *-ē-re and *-e-re respectively. These give the W. pres. imper. -aor, -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 -aor, 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, *-ē-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 cr., with one -t- as in retoc ib., Ml. W. rededec.

ix. (1) The reason why the Welsh pres. has always had a fut. meaning is that it contains beside the pres. the Ar. -s- 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. φέρης is a re-formation; orig. *θήρεις would give *φέρεις as in the ind.). In long-vowel stems the added thematic vowel simply converted them to thematic stems, as Gk. subj. δίδω beside ind. διδὼμι; this introduces no new element. The 3rd pl. fut. *-ōnti (Gk. Dor. φιπωρρι) would have its vowel shortened § 74 iv, and so would not differ from the pres.

(2) In the imper. the fut. form for thematic stems would be *-ē-re > Kelt. *-ē-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 pres.-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-li (>< Skr. ássmi, ási, ástí); the latter gives the Ar. fut. 1. *és-o (>< Lat. eró), 2. *es-eis, 3. *es-eit, injunctive *es-et (>< Skr. asat, Lat. erit).

The W. pres. is a mixture of pres. and fut. forms. The Kelt. fut. *ēsē, *ēis, *ēit would give *oe for the three persons; of this a trace survives in oeff b.b. 50 'I am'. The pres. sg. 2. *ēse (< Ar. *ēsē) and 3. inj. *eset would give *wy, whence sg. 1. wy-é, 2. wy-i, 3. *wy metath. to yw § 78 iv; in pi-eu 'whose is?' it is weakened to -eu, § 78 iii, § 192. The Ar. 3rd sg. pres. *ēsē survives in W. ys, which has become impersonal. The W. 3rd pl. ynt (for *hynnt) comes from Ar. 3rd pl. pres. *s-enēt *s- is V-grade of *es-). The W. 1st pl. ym (Ir. ammi)
implies a Kelt. *émesi, a confusion of pres. *mesi and fut. *émesi. The W. 2nd pl. ych is, as usual, a new form made to match.

As byd(s) 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 *-ié-, *-i- with secondary endings.

ii. (1) In athematic verbs the suffix *-i- was F-grade and accented in the sg.; the preceding vowel had R- or V-grade; thus 3rd sg. Gk. tìhein < *di-he-iet (ei R_e of ëe), Skr. dadhyàt < *dhe-dh-iet, the Skr. preserving the original accentuation.

(2) In Kelt. the e became i, so that the forms would be *-a-idi, *-x-äti; these were levelled as *-i-idi in Brit. and this gives -ai, § 75 iv, v (2); thus Kelt. *kara-iti > W. carai 'would love'. This form would also result from the 1st and 2nd sg. forms *-a-iëm, *-a-iës; hence the endings for those persons were selected from thematic verbs.

(3) The consonant stem *as- 'be' gave Ar. *-(i)hë-t, which gives Skr. siyàti or syàti, O. Lat. siet; in Kelt. it would be *sëti. Coming generally after a preverb, or after its complement, it was unaccented; and *sëti gives regularly W. (h)oëd 'would be', was' § 75 iv (2); the h- is seen in ytoëd < *yld-hode < *sia sëti 'there would be' § 219 ii. The whole tense oédum etc. was built from the 3rd sg.

iii. (1) In thematic verbs the suffix -ié- had its V-grade i-, which formed a diphthong with the thematic vowel, which was always o-; thus the optative of bhéro 'I bear' was sg. i. bhéroï-m > Skr. bhóreyam (for bhurayam). In Kelt. it would be *béroï-m > Brit. *béro-an(n) > W. *cy-merowy-n > cymerwn. The only possible explanation of -wn is that it is for *-wyn, 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-thës. The ending -thës (: Skr. -thiih) 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 *-i-; this coming before the accent remains as *i-; thus in the deponent verb gwynn 'I know' the 3rd sg. impf. is gwyniad for *gwéyd regularly representing the 3rd sg. opt. mid. *ynd-i-tdo.

(2) In long-vowel stems the reduced stem-ending and suffix would thus be *s-i-; by § 63 vii (5) this should give *si- > -i-, which is the usual form (though other reductions are possible), as in Skr. da-dë-tá < *de-dë-tó, ñ-ði-. Thus the 3rd sg. opt. mid. of Kelt. *kara-mi would be *kar-i-tó, which gives regularly W. eerid, the impers. of the imperf. ind. This middle was undoubtedly a passive in Kelt., and was assimilated in its use to the impers. 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 karuetud etc. B.B. 20, which should be *ac yth urvesud 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. (r) In the 1st and 2nd pl. of athematic stems the Ar. form was *-i-: *-i-. We can probably assume for Kelt. *kár(a)-i-ô-me; the m was doubled on the analogy of the aor.; and post-tonic *-ia > *ie > e in W., § 65 vi (1); hence W. carem. Similarly 2nd pl. *cærêt + chiw- > karewech, carech.

(2) The 3rd pl. ending was *-jênt (for *-jënt). The form *-a-jênt gives W. -i § 75 v (1); as tri ugeint canhur a sevi B.T. 55 '6000 men stood'; hence the rare '3rd sg.' -i. The 3rd pl. -ynt seems to be a middle form < *-ento < *-iento (or *-into < *-i-into), 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 < *ueid-is-i-m-. Thus Kelt. *kara-si fête > Ml. W. karhei.

(2) The plup. is an optative formed from the new Kelt. sa-aorist. Thus Brit. *karassięt > carasai.

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-uelssud 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.

ii. (1) With long-vowel stems the suffix is -s-; thus Skr. á-prā-sam < √̄ prá-s-m, √̄ prá- 'fill', Gk. ἑπιμαζ-α (intervocalic -o- restored from cons. stems -ουα, etc.). Thus Kelt. *kārā-s-m 'I loved'. Bearing in mind that st > ss and that sm > mm the whole Kelt. tense may be restored thus: sg. 1. *kārās, 2. *kārass, 3. *kārăss, pl. 1. *kārammo, 2. *kārasse, 3. *kāraset.

(2) This tense was wholly reconstituted in Kelt., with stem sg. *kărass-, pl. *kărass-. The 1st and 2nd sg. were made anew with thematic endings; thus 1. *kărassū, 2. *kărassēs (inj. -es). The 1st pl. became *kărassammo instead of *kārammo; then followed 2. *kărassate instead of *kārasse. Unaccented ä was shortened in Brit. and Ir. and these formations gave regularly Ir. sg. 1. ro-charus (2. ro-charais), pl. 1. ro-charsam, 2. ro-charaid, and W. sg. 1. kereis, 2. kereis + t, pl. 1. karassam, 2. *karassat + chiw- > karassavch. The ending of the 3rd pl. was made primary; thus *kărassanti > Ir. carsait, W. karassant. As a variant the thematic vowel was brought into the
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pl. also; thus Brit. *kārass-o-mmos, *kārass-o-nī giving W. karassom, karassont; from these followed carasoch.

iii. To the 3rd sg. two things happened. (1) It remained unchanged; thus *kārass > W. *kar, which was extended to karawð to distinguish it from the pres.; for -awð 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 *kārāsett; or with -a- from the pl. as *kārāssat. Either of these would give W. *karas (caf-as § 175 i (2)). The first gives Ir. carais.

iv. The treatment of -i- stems was precisely similar. The stem-ending in the sg. was *-iiss; this survives in the W. 3rd sg. peris. In the 1st and 2nd sg. it was replaced by -eis of -ā- stems; but in Gwyn. dial. -is survives in these persons also. In the pl. the stem-ending was -ass-, as for -ā- stems, the -a- representing a, the R-grade of the -ā- 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. -yss- in eisteddyssant, 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. *kóm bere-iss-at > W. kymerwys, kymerws.

vi. The impersonal forms -ad, -id, -ed, -yd 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 *qan- 'sing' the orig. Kelt. root-aor. would be sg. 1. *kan-m, 2. *kan-s, 3. *kan-t. The 3rd sg. became the stem, and the new tense formed from it was sg. 1. *kantū, 2. *kantis, 3. *kantet or *kantat. 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).—gwant 'wounded' from gwanaf < *gwonaf: Ir. gomit, *g'hen, is probably formed on the analogy of cant. The root *ber- has this aor., which survives only in the 3rd sg. in W.; thus W. kymyrth < *kóm bertet or kymerth < *kóm bertet, § 175 iii (1).

(2) Other examples that survived are from roots ending in gutturals: dyrreith b.t. 54 'return' < *do-(p)ro-tek-t-et, √rey-: W. dyre 'come!' § 193 x (8);—maeth b.t. 74 l. 'nursed' < *mak<-*māk-t-, √māk-: magaf 'I nourish'. The root *yereg- 'work' had sg. 1. *yrekt-ū, 3. *yrek-t- et giving W. gwrith, gweirith; the former occurs in of gwrith b.t. 26 (1 3rd sg.); the latter seems to occur in gwanaeth [read gw(e)r(e)ith] gwernnyeith gweirith e lawo b.a. 2 lit. 'work of vengeance wrought his hand'; but this verb (gwanaf) being in the pres. conjugated like of, this tense was assimilated to the perf. of of, and became sg. 1. gwneuthum. 3. gwanaeth. The quotation shows that scribes changed old gweirith to gwanaeth, the wrong gweirith, viz. the noun, being changed here. In Bret. the old form survived: Ml. Bret. sg. 3. grez.
§ 182. The Perfect.—i. In Pr. Ar. the vowel-grade of the root was F\(^5\) in the 1st sg., and L\(^5\) in the 3rd sg., as Skr. cakāra ‘I made’ <\(^{\text{a}}\)gegora, cakāra ‘he made’ <\(^{\text{a}}\)gegore.—Ml. W. kigleu ‘I have heard, he has heard’, Tr. ro-chūala, ro-chūalaē. The W. form implies the 1st sg. kū-kluō-u : Skr. ṣu-ṣrāva; for the long ū of the reduplicator cf. Skr. tā-tava, √teu- ‘be strong’. See § 194 v (4).

ii. (1) The following old perfects are 3rd sg. only, and show L\(^5\)-grade of the root: \(\sqrt{\text{uereg}}\) ‘work’ gave \(^{\text{a}}\)gegora > Brit. \(^{\text{a}}\)gegore > Ml. W. guoreu, goreu ‘did’ (<y lost by dissim., \(\dot{g}\) > eu § 71 iii); \(\sqrt{\text{ret}}\) ‘run’ gives gua-red-af ‘I succour’; perf. sg. 3. \(^{\text{a}}\)re-rū-e > Brit. \(^{\text{a}}\)re (re)rūlē > Ml. W. gwaraue ‘succoured’; \(\sqrt{\text{yet/d-}}\) ‘say’ gives dy-wed-af ‘I say’; perf. sg. 3. Brit. \(^{\text{a}}\)do-yat-e or \(^{\text{a}}\)do-yat-e > Ml. W. dywawut or dywat ‘said’ (unacc. ā shortened § 74; wo : wo § 34 iv).

(2) \(\sqrt{\text{deuk-}}\) had R-grade *duk- in the Brit. pres., giving W. dyg-af (: Lat. dūco < O. Lat. douco, F\(^2\)-grade); perf. sg. 1. *du-douk-a > W. *dy-dwuc, 3. *du-dōuke > W. dy-dwuc 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. amuc § 194 iv (2).

iii. In verbs like eisteōaf ‘I sit’, gorwēdāf ‘I lie’, arwēdāf ‘I carry’, go(r)duwēdāf ‘I overlook’, etc., the form of the above perf. is seen in goðiowōd w.m. 42 ‘overtook’; this being re-formed as gor misogwēdōvō r.m. 29 (so eistēdāvō w.m. 188, etc.), the -awō seemed to be a 3rd sg. past ending; and was added to suffixless aorists like *kar § 181 iii (1) giving karawō, Mn. W. carood ‘loved’.

iv. (1) Deponent verbs in Brt. had periphrastic perfects formed like those of Lat. deponents. Thus \(\sqrt{\text{a}}\)f- : perf. sg. 1. *aktos esmi > *aktomimmi > aethum, euthum; 2. *aktos (e)sī > *aktost > *aethos + t = aethost; 3. *aktos *st > *aktosst > aeth ‘went’. From these forms 1st and 2nd sg. endings -um, -ost were deducts, 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, -awel, -ant.

(2) The Ml. plup. is sg. 3. athoēd for *aethoēd, which represents *aktos(s) sīth. The diphthong æe was simplified prob. by dissim. with the diphthong oe. The second perf. athwōf etc. seems to be a new creation formed on the analogy of the plup.

(3) The impers. *las ‘was slain’ is an example of this formation. It is not a root-aor. as it has R-grade of \(\sqrt{\text{gołād}}\). It is probably a perf. passive; thus *slad-tos (e)sī > *slass-osst > las ‘was slain’. This passive has a pl. illesseint b.a. b. 63 ‘were slain’ which seems to be re-formed like impfs. in -ynt § 174 iii (2), for *illesynt < *slassi senti; illesessynt b.a. 9 ‘were slain’ seems to be another re-formate.

(4) The impers. of the above perf. is formed by adding the impers. *bwyf of the verb ‘to be’ to the stem; thus aeth-pwyf, etc. This was extended to root-aorists, as *kant-pwyf > kanpwyf, perfects, as duc-pwyf, and presents; § 175 iii (7). The form *bwyf 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. vwnahont 61 l. 14–15.

ii. (1) Stem *karā-se- gives sg. i. *karāsō > *karāsū > *karāṟ > 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-nos, with n doubled after the aorist pattern, gave kar-hom; pl. 3. *kara-sonti gave kar-hont.

(2) Impers. *kara-se-re > kar-her § 75 i (2). The form rothwyrf § 176 iii (1) is 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.—√*yereg- 'work'; pres. ind. *yrag-at > W. gwyna 'does', subj. *yrek-se-t > gwnæch B.B. 120 'may do', ny ofyn y nêb a wynæch B.T. 64 'he asks no one what he may do'; —√*deuk-: pres. ind. *duuk-at > W. duq 'brings', subj. *deuk-se-t > duuch B.B. 40, later duwech B.T. 28:—√*ret-: subj. *uo-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. gwnæch the 2nd sg. *yrek-sís would give *gwynych; this being re-formed as *gwyn-ych and gwel-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. càr 'love thou' <Kelt. *karā; W. kymer 'take' <*kóm bere <Ar. *vhere : Gk. φέει.

ii. (1) For the other persons the optative seems to have been once in use: ystyrjem 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. -ō, 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.*-is-to, *-ti-to (W. gwydiad, cerid) would give -ed, -id if in the former the accent were shifted to the stem. The 3rd pl. may have been *ynnt (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 -og-) 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 parhē-ais. Any other form may occur uncontracted; thus trú-af as well as trúf occurs in Mn. W.


**Indicative Mood.**

**Present Tense.**

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Impers. trúir

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Impers. parhéir

**Imperfect Tense.**

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**Aorist Tense.**

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<td>2. trúesoch</td>
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<td>3. trúes, trúdd</td>
<td>3. trúesant, -out</td>
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<tr>
<td>Impers. trú-wyd, trúed</td>
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**Pluperfect Tense.**

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<td>1. trúeswn, etc.</td>
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| 1. parhāeswn, etc. |
Subjunctive Mood. Present Tense.

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<td>Impers. tró-er</td>
<td></td>
<td>Impers. parhá-er</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative Mood. Present Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.</th>
<th>1. trówun</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>1. parháwun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. tró</td>
<td>2. trówch</td>
<td>2. pára</td>
<td>2. parhéwch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2. parató-a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(2. glanhá)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tróed</td>
<td>3. tróent</td>
<td>3. parháed</td>
<td>3. parháent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. tró-er</td>
<td></td>
<td>Impers. parhá-er</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -ói, -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 tresom Es. lii 6, paratoesant 1 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).

ii. Stems ending in -w-diphthongs have contracted forms when the endings -wn or -wch follow; thus táwn for tâw-wn ‘let us be silent’, tâwch for tâw-wch ‘be ye silent’; gwpándéwch for gwpándéw-wch ‘listen ye’; clýwn for clíw-wn ‘we hear’, clíwch (re-formed clíwch) for clíw-wch ‘ye hear’ or ‘hear ye’.

iii. Other vowels and diphthongs are not contracted; e.g. gwédít-ir ‘there will be prayer’, cǽ-ent (cǽ-ent) ‘let them shut’, bǽ-iel ‘fault was found’, dilé-er ‘may be deleted’, cynorthúwy-ynt ‘they assisted’. But for -á-odd in the 3rd sg. aor.
we sometimes find -âdd in the Late Mn. period, e.g. cashâdd E.P. 222 for cashâdd, gwellhâdd c.c. 338; cf. câdd § 188 i (6).

§ 186. i. The full form rhoddaf 'I give, put', v.n. rhodzi, 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 trô-af, trôf, 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 gwmp i'r drwg ôr H.A. r. 10 'God will give the evil man a fall'. For rhy however, the compound dy-ry is often found; and dy-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:

Rhodi gwin yn rhyydd a gaid,
Rhannu a rhoi i weiniaid.—D.I.D., c. 179.
'There was a generous giving away of wine, a distributing and giving to the weak.'

ii. In the subj. mood, we have ò-ro A.L. i 6, contracted to ò w.m. 23; and *òð-ro giving rhodo (òoto, -t- = -ð-, B.B. 29), or rhotho by the comparatively rare change of ðh to th (≡ð) § 111 iii (2).

A òo gam i wraig o ãl,
Èo ry Duw rai a'i dial.—L. Môn, Â 31059/78.
'Whoever deals injustice to a woman of Yale, God will provide those who will avenge her.'

Maer Rhuithun im a'i rhoto.—T.A., Â 14976/169.
'May the Mayor of Ruthin give it [the bow] to me.'

iii. Beside the aor. 1st and 2nd sg. òðëís, òðëíst (òoteíst, -t- = -ð-, B.B. 20), a perfect was formed for these persons by adding -um, -ost to the aor. stem òoes-; see § 182 iv (1); thus òoesum w.m. 63, L.A. 124 'I have given'. There is also a plup. 3rd sg. òoesoed, 3rd pl. òoesoedyn; this survived in Early Mn. W. but seems to be used as a perf.:
'The hand of Rhys has given no less.' Other Late Ml. forms are roesasoed, roesoed, Cymmrodor ix 77. Gwent rysoeddyd H.G. 30.

iv. On the origin of rhoddaf, see § 179 ii.

§ 187. i. arhoaf w.m. 17 'I wait', contr. arhôf, is conjugated like tro-af; trôf, except that the v.n. is arhos w.m. 17, Mn. W. aros; thus Mn. W. ind. pres. sg. 1. arhôf, 2. arhôi, 3. éry; pl. 1. arhôwn, 2. arhôwch, 3. arhôn; impv. sg. 2. áro 'stay!' Mn. W. arho w.m. 17, aro do. 125; etc.

A gwae wth gwae a'i hry. I.H.S. 26.

'I wait', contr. arhof, is conjugated like tro-af, trqf, except that the v.n. is arhos W.M. 17, M.n. W. aros; thus M.n. W. ind. pres. sg. 1. arhof, 2. arko, 3. éry.

Ml. W. arho W.M. 17, aro do. 125; etc.

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 *-tw-). 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 -8- has disappeared in this word as in rho-af (the 8 of rhodaf being more or less artificial); hence arho-af for *ar-hod-af < *ari-sod-, *sod- 'sit'; and aros < *ari-soss- < *p r-sod-tu- 'sit before'; § 63 ii, § 110 iv (2).

§ 188. i. (r) caffaf 'I shall get' has stem kaff-, kah- or ka- in Ml. 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. kaffaf w.m. 459, cahaf h.m. ii 126, caʃ w.m. 3; keʃy w.m. 3, 23, 80, etc. (spelt keʃy 3, 460), kehəy r.m. 120, key do. 293, 57, 118; ceʃf w.m. 25, 43 ≡ ceʃf r.m. 16, 30; caʃwn w.m. 34, caʃwn do. 84, r.m. 61; ceʃwəc h.m. 19, ceʃwəc w.m. 29; caʃʃant w.m. 183; keʃʃir w.m. 83, r.m. 60, keʃʃir w.m. 85, keʃʃitor a 14869/56, O.W. cepʃhitor cp.

Mn. W. cáf; céi, cái; cáiff, cáiff; cáwn; cáwch; cánt; cáir, cáir, § 81 iii (1).

(3) The impf. in Ml. W. has kaff- or ka- in the indic. : caʃwn w.m. 394, r.m. 251, caʃʃut w.m. 396, r.m. 253; subj. : pei caʃʃwn w.m. 18, r.m. 12. In Mn. W. caʃwn, caʃət, cái, etc., and sometimes caʃʃwn etc. in the subj.

(4) The pres. subj. seems to have kaff-chiefly: caʃʃwəf w.m. 454 (twice); keʃʃyəch do. 480 (4 times); kaʃʃont, kaʃʃent (f ≡ f̩) b.ch. 4, etc.; but caho ii. a. 150, caɔnt do. 48. Mn. W. has caʃf-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. caʃfəd, caəd, 3rd pl. caʃʃent, cuənt; impers. caʃfər.

(6) Aorist.—The Ml. W. forms (all of very frequent occurrence except the 2nd pl.) are, sg. 1. kevəis, 2. keveist, 3. kəvəus; pl. 1. kausəsom, -am, (2. kauəswəch), 3. kauəsənt, -ont; impers. kafət, kəhət. (The apparent contraction a geis r.m. 253 is almost certainly a scribal error for a ge(ve)is, cf. w.m. 395.) The Mnl. W. forms are sg. 1. ceʃfəis, 2. ceʃfəist, 3. ceʃfəs § 175 i (2), later caʃfədd; pl. 1. caʃwsom, 2. caʃwsəc, 3. caʃwsənt. In the 14th cent. the following contracted forms are found, sg. 1. ceʃ D.G. 124, G.Gr. d.g. 254; sg. 3. caʃ D.G. 294; impers. a gət r.p. 1299, caʃd D.G. 189, 499, 429, 430. Later are found céʃ; céʃt; cás and cədd D. 130, caʃd M.K. [67]; impers. caʃfəd B.Br. f. 6, cáed; cáed (prob. orig. a false spelling of cəd); caʃfrəd (caʃfəd c.c. 271, a dial. form used in late verse § 175 iv (5)).

(7) Pluperf.—The forms are Mn. kausəswən, etc., Mn. caʃwsəswən, etc., conjugated regularly. In Mn. W. is also found a plup. formed with -əwəd : sg. 1. kauəswəswən s.g. 278; sg. 2. caʃwsəswəd do. 247; sg. 3. kauəswəd do. 303, caʃwsəswəd h.m. ii 170, caʃwsəswəd-yət s.g. 30, -at h.m. ii 224; pl. 3. kauəswəswənt 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. caʃwsəswəd L.G.C. 18.

(8) Verbal Noun.—Ml. W. caʃfəwəl w.m. 12, kəʃfəl r.m. 8, 141, caəl w.m. 13, r.m. 8 (once, caʃfəl b.b. 53). Mn. W. caʃfəwəl, caʃfəl, caəl.

There is no *caʃwəl; the form caʃfəl w.m. 60 ≡ kəʃfəl r.m. 43. Nettlau's caʃwəl does not exist; the word is gəwəl (≡ gəwəl) r.m. 7, see below.

ii. (1) gaʃəfəlaf 'I take hold' is conjugated regularly in Ml. and Mn. W. with the v.n. gəwəl as stem.
VERBS

(2) The Ml. W. inflected forms are mostly those of the compound ym-afaelaf; e.g. 3rd sg. pres. ind. ymvel w.m. 70, 71; 3rd sg. aor. ymavelaw B.M. 50.

(3) The verbal noun is gavel w.m. 11, R.M. 7, ymavel R.M. 142, ymavel ib.; Mn. W gafel, gafel, ymafel, ymafel.

(4) Other forms of the verb occur in Late Mn. W.: ymaflas, 3rd sg. pres. ind. ymeifl, v.n. ymaflyd; and ymafelaf, v.n. ymwaelyd; and re-formations from the form gafel of the v.n. occur dialectally, as gafelaf 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 dyrchavel R.M. 271; in Late Mn. W. this is superseded by dyrchafu; v. adj. dyrchafedig 'exalted'.

The 3rd sg. pres. ind. is Ml. W. dyrechef h.m. ii 274 or drycheif r.b.b. 144, Mn. W. drychaf g. 138, there printed dyrchaf the usual form. There is also in Ml. W. dyrhevid r.b. 82 'raises'. The 2nd sg. impv. is dyrchaf s.g. 23, L.G.C. 144, becoming dyracha 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. dyrchu!

¶ 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 ix 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 cav- occurs in the aor. sg. only, and must have been deduced from the pl. at the stage between cauwsant and *cafsant from the orig. caff-. In Bret. kaf- (≡ kaff-) remains in forms ordinarily unvoiced, and kav- is extended to others; but forms like kaf (= W. ceff), beside kav, survive to bear witness to the original stem kaf- in Bret. also.

caffael and gavel seem to contain the doublet *gap- : *gabha- § 101 iii (2). The v.n. gavel has its exact equivalent in Ir. (ath-) gabail from *gab-ag-li- formed with suff. -li- from a compound of *gabh- and *ag- § 203 i (4). The vb. in Ir. is gabim, and the W. gafaelaf prob. replaces an old *gaf-af equivalent to the Ir. (Dialectal gafaf is no doubt new.)

The W. stem caff- or cah- represents *gap-s, § 96 iv (3); hence caffaf from the fut. *gapeo, with the usual reconstruction which gives e.g. ad-feraf from *bhero. The pres. caffaf, caff is always fut. in meaning; and recent writers have used a fictitious 3rd sg. ca 'gets' because caff means 'will get'. (The pres. sense can only be expressed periphrastically: yr waf yn oael 'I am getting'.) The v.n. caffael, cael is perhaps formed on the analogy of gafael.

It may be objected that dyrchafaf 'I raise, lift up' shows stem *cav-. 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)r-o- § 156 i (13), which cannot give -ch- from k- or g-.
The root seems to be *sqabh- 'fix, hang' : Skr. skabhnāti '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 gadael
and gallael on its analogy, § 203 i (2).

IRREGULAR VERBS.

The Verb 'To Be'.

§ 189. i. The following table shows the Ml. 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.

sg. | pl.
---|---
1. wŷf, ydŷwŷf, ytŷwyf | 1. ym, ydŷm, ytŷm
2. wyt, ydŷwt, ytŷwyt | 2. ywch, ydŷwch (yčh, ydych)
3. yw, ydiw, ytŷw (late ydyw), y maę, maę, oes | 3. ynt, ydŷnt, ytŷnt
   † yssit 'there is', † ossit 'if
    there is', -s in os 'if it is'
Relatival form: yssyb (y sydd), syb, yssy (y sy), sy.
Impersonal: y, ydŷs, yttyς.
Conjunctive: y maę or maę (late mai), † panyw, (dial. law).

Consuetudinal Present and Future.

1. bybaf, † bybŷf | 1. bybŷn
2. bybŷ (byddi) | 2. bybŷch
3. byb | 3. bybánt
   Cons. bit (bid) | † bybḥawnt, † bint
   Fut. † bi, † bybḥawt, † biawt
   Impers. (byddys, byddir)
§ 189

VERBS

Imperfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. oedwn, † yttoedwn</td>
<td>1. oedem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. oedut (-ud, -it)</td>
<td>2. oedewch (oedddech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. oed, yttoed (ydoedd)</td>
<td>3. oedynt, † yttoedyn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. oedit (oeddid)

Consuetudinal Imperfect.

Sg. 1. bydwn, etc. regular.

Perfect.

| 1. buum, bum (bûm) | 1. buam, -om |
| 2. buost | 2. buawch (buoch) |
| 3. bu | 3. bnant, bnont |

Impers. buwynt (-wyd)

Pluperfect.

Sg. 1. buasswn (buaswn, baswn), etc. regular; pl. 3. buyssynt, beside buassynt, -essynt § 175 iv (i). 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. bom (bûm), byðom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bych, byðych</td>
<td>2. boch, byðoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bo, byðo, bytho</td>
<td>3. bont (bûnt), byðont, bythont, boent, † bwynth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperfect Tense.

| 1. bewn (bawn), byðwn | 1. beym (baem), byðem |
| 2. bent (baud, -it), byðut (-ud, -it) | 2. (baech, byddech) |
| 3. bei (bai), byðei (-ai), pei (pe) | 3. beynt (baent), byðent |

Impers. byðit (-id), byðhit (-id)
## ACCIDENCE

### Imperative Mood.

#### Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. byðun</td>
<td>1. byðwch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. byð</td>
<td>2. byðwch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (bid), boet (-d), poet (-d) (bydded)</td>
<td>3. byðent, bint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Verbal Noun.

bot (bod)

†For a list of Ml. forms, with references, by Dr. J. G. Evans, see B.B. 109 ff.

### ii. Notes.

1. Pres. ind.—Forms with ytt- (yt-) appear in poetry in Mn. W. but are comparatively rare.

   *Trist fu'r glêr tros dy faur glwyf,*
   *Trist éto trosoyt ýtwyf.*—G.Gl., m 146/161.

   ‘Sad have been the minstrels for thy sore sickness, sad still am I.’

   The 3rd sg. ydïw was so written up to the 16th cent.; and rhymes with words in -iw, as friw/ydïw D.G. 35, cf. 119, 144, 193, etc., and o. 186, 193, 203, 206, 235, 247, also with ynw (≡ inw); see § 77 v. The Late Mn. ydynw is an etymological spelling, and is read ýdw, except by a few affected persons. The N.W. dial. form is ýdï (and, in answering questions only, ýdï, a curious attempt to sound y with the tongue in the d position). S.W. dial., in questions and answers, ōdï.

   ydïs is sounded ýdïs; on ys see § 82 ii (i). In Mn. W. yd- and the rare yt- come only before monosyllabic forms, and always take the accent. ýysydynt W.M. 457 is formed from yysit § 162 vi (i).

   The Late Mn. spelling mat of the conj. form seems to come from mai é § 219 vi (i); 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 gwn mae Dafydd a'i gwaeth 'I know that it is D. who made it'.

   (2) The conuuetudinal pres. is in use in that sense in the spoken lang. (in N.W.), but the fut. is a commoner use. The form bit (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 ancadal chud 'the fool is changeable'; thus

   **Bid** gwâeth gwrbodau a gair
   **Beirdd** gweûl bardd y gadair.—Gu.O., M 146/450 (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 ñbi b.t. 12, ñbyðhawt W.M. 456, etc. are fut. only.
(3) In the impf. the consuet. ind. byðun is distinguished from the subj. bewon (baun); the latter is never ind., but the former is used in the subj., as pei byðut, etc. p.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. infixed 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 bawn, *but like 3. bei; so in the pl. The phrase pei yt wun, occurring as bei et-vun w.m. 71, was contracted early to pettum 'if I were', 2. pettut, 3. pettei; pl. i. pettem, etc. Thus bettut kynn decket ac Absalon p.a. 67 'if thou wert as fair as A.'; pettei do. 68; Mn. W. pettun b.c.w. ro 'if I were', petynt 'if they were'. But pei byðeti p.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. belyn (read bu-yn) ib., bwynn b.b. 96.

(4) Beside the pres. subj. proper bwynf, the form byðwef with ind. stem is used; also bytho T.A. c. i 342, bythont w.m. 47, with byþþ + h-, a new subj. stem.—The impers. boer p.a. i 20 is doubtful; the context suggests sg. 3. bo. But E.P. ps. xciv x3 uses boer.—3rd pl. bwynnt b.t. 5; boent a.l. i 106, L.G.C. 240.

(5) As stated above (2), bit (bid) is usually impv. ; Bit ý waet ef arnam ni s.g. 25, p.a. 83 'His blood be upon us'; na vit ofyn arnawch r.m. 147 'let there be no fear on you' i.e. fear not; bit w.m. 22, r.m. x4 'let there be'. The form bint p.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 biwef, biyt, yw, ym, ych, ynt, see § 179 ix (3). yd- is the affirmative particle § 219 ii; yttynnt < *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 ymma Abel p.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 *mn (Corn. -mnn-) < *sm. The y m- is prob. ym- (often so written in Ml. W.) representing the locative in -smi of the e-demonstrative (nom. sg. *es § 159 iv (1)), as in Umbr. loc. esme 'in hoc' < *esi, Av. aliin. Thus *esi est, 'here is, there is' pronounced *esmijest > *ymode § 75 iv (2), whence by loss of *- and the change of oe to ae after a labial § 78 i (1) and ii (2) we have ymae. The rel. form similarly from *jomsi 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 monac imi mae Arthur w.m. 123 'tell me where Arthur is'. Corn. has pyna? as if from *qosmi est? The pl. y maent (≡ ymáyn) 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 (niud), nat (nadd), the interv. part. a, and od 'if', in each case when the subject is indefinite. nyt oes represents *nitasiti < *n' ita esti 'there is not'. The positive *esti ita 'there is' > *estita > yssit. Similarly oes ita esti 'there is not'.

In Ml. W. yssit is only a survival, having been generally replaced by y maé. As niud oes means literally 'there is not', it is natural that its subject should be indefinite. But early examples of a definite subject occur: cinnit hongs ir loc guac hinnwith 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 vorwyn 'that the maid is not'.

(4) yssyt, syd, etc. < *estijo < *esti jo § 162 vi (1). ys < *esti § 179 ix (3) — panwe 'that it is' § 222 x (2).

(5) oes see § 75 iv (2), § 180 ii (3), ytoed § 180 ii (3), q.v.

iv. (1) From √bheudā- 'be' there was an iterative derivative √bh(y)i't, which gives Ir. biuw 'I am wont to be', Lat. fio. The three persons of the sg. *bhuixō, *bhuiścis, *bhuixit would all give W. byd, which was afterwards inflected bydab, bydy, byð by analogy. In Kelt., Ital., Germ., there are also athematic forms of this verb; thus there were sg. 2. *bhuix-si > Lat. fis, 3. *bhui-ti > Lat. fit, W. bid. [Lat. fio takes its long i from these]. The Early Ml. W. fut. bi is a future of this form, representing *bhuix-siét (or *bhui-xiit)'. The forms byðhauw, biawt are of course formed by adding -(h)auw to byð, bi.

(2) The opt. of *bh(y)i'io, sg. 1. *bh(y)i'ioi-w might give byðwon, 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. bör, bāi represent Kelt. *(be-)baie < Ar. *bhe-bhūe : Av. baivava ; § 76 iii (5).

(4) The pres. subj. bowy(f) represents the -se- fut. of √bheudā-; thus *bh(y)a-śo > buy etc. § 183 ii.

The impf. subj. sg. 3. bei < *bii't < *bait < *bh(y)a-siét. From bei was deduced būn as in bei et-vuun ii (3); but later been, as if bei were *be-et; in Mw. W. when bei had become bai, the 1st sg. became bōn; and in the late period bai itself came on the analogy of this to be treated as bāi 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. bō is from *bh(y)a the crude stem of *bh(y)i'io. The 3rd sg. bid is from *bh(y)i'tō the 3rd sg. opt. mid. of stem *bhūa-; see § 184 ii (1) and § 180 iv (2). The 3rd sg. boed or boed is a re-formation from the subj. stem. The pl. forms are obvious re- formations.

(6) The v.n. bod implies Brit. *butā, which (as there is both in Ir. also) may be a Kelt. formation beside *bhū-t-is which gives Ir. bith : Gk. φώρος. Like other v.n.'s bod has been made mas.; but in compounds it remains f., as ha-fod, eistedd-fod, preswnyl-fod.
Compounds of the Verb 'To Be'.

§ 190. i. (1) The verbs of the v.n.'s canfod 'to perceive',

darfod 'to waste away; to happen';
gorffod 'to overcome';
hanfod 'to be from; to come', are conjugated with the b-
forms of the verb 'to be'; as canfyddaf, etc. In Ml. W. canfod
appears generally with the pref. ar-.

Pres. (fut.) ind. : sg. 1. gorvysaf c.m. 61, 70;—2. henbydy w.m. 97;
3. derwyd c.m. 43, gorvit (≡ gorvyd) b.b. 52; dy-derbi r.p. 578,
dy-worpi do. 585;—impers. gorvydir w.m. 82, r.b.b. i 152, c.m. i 13.

Impf. ind. sg. 1. gorvydwn w.m. 131;—3. hanbydei w.m. 141.

Perf. : sg. 1. Mn. canfwm § 191 ii (5);—3. kanwv r.p. 1143, arganvu
2. sg. 7, darvu c.m. 59, gorvu w.m. 89;—pl. 1. darfuan b.b.
3. darvuau b.b. 6;—impers. arganvwynt w.m. 49, darvwynt
r.p. 1296.— Plup. : pl. 3. gorvusynt c.m. 68.

Pres. subj. : sg. 1. hanbwyf m.a. i 301b;—2. hanpych gwll r.m. 87,
w.m. 185, s.g. 1, hanbwych well p 16/44, Mn. W. henfysch well 'may
you come well!' i.e. welcome! (gwll not orig. cpv. § 148 i (4));—
3. darffo s.g. 17, c.m. 42, 59, gorpo b.b. 17, hanfpo h.l.a. 131, c.m. 33;
—pl. 3. gorffont r.b.b. 222;—impers. gorvyder c.m. 13, gorffer do. 22.

Impf. subj. : sg. 3. darffei c.m. 68, 29, gorfei r.m. 163, hanphei
c.m. 55, hampe do. 58.

Impv. : sg. 3. derffit r.p. 1044, r.m. i 155; derwhid b.b. 91.

V.n. arganvot w.m. 54, darvot c.m. 32, gorrot w.m. 56, hanvot do. 460;
—v. adj. darvodedig m.a. 86, Mn. W. darfodedig 'perishable'.

(2) In darfod two verbs have prob. merged: (a) darfod 'to
waste away, to perish' < dar- : Gk. φθείρω § 98 i (4);—(b) darfod
'to happen' < *do-ári- § 156 i (13). The latter is used in the
3rd sg. only, see § 196, as Beth a darvu uoñnt wy? h.l.a. 7 'What
happened to them?'; often as a so-called "auxiliary"; as pei na
darffei y'r dwst gyvodi c.m. 68 'if the dust had not risen'; derwy
in Ml. 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. darfod introduces noun-clauses
corresponding to direct statements with derwy, as Ml. W. wrth
ry-darvot iðaw y stock s.g. 32 'since he had given it'.

Examples: (a) derfydd f. 27 'will perish', darfu D.G. (§ 160 i (1))
'is spent', darfyddant Job iv 9 'they perish', ni ddarfu i Bren.
xvii 16 'wasted not', darfuau b.b. 6 'they perished';—(b) darfot
i Cor. xv 54, darfu'm (for darfu ym) Gr.O. 98 'it happened to me',
i.e. I did; y darffai n. i 12; 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 *cannh-*, § 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 r* *gorfu ar* ‘was obliged’ § 196 vii. For the verb the v.n. is often used, as *gorfod iddo* for *gorfu iddo*, cf. a heidw yn gorvod arnam ... ymwahanu 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 -*oebwn*. These survived in Early Mn. W. Before -*yw*, -*ym*, -*wyth*, -*ynt*, -*a-* is affected to -*e-*. the -*e-* often intrudes into forms with -*wyf*, -*wyf*, and vice versa -*a-* often occurs before -*yw*, etc. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indic. pres.: sg.</th>
<th>hanwyf w.m. 3, henwyf r.m. 2, cannwyf D.G. 200;—2. hanwyf w.m. 3, 191, henwyf r.m. 2;—3. cennyw r.f. 1433, D.G. 205, deryw, derw w.m. 99, henwyf s.g. 13, hanyw L.G.C. 9;—pl. i. hanywm l.a. 164;—3. hanymony l.a. 169.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mil ar benn bryn a'i cennyw.—G.Gl., p 75/159.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'A thousand behold it [the mansion] on the top of the hill.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na sonier am a dderyw.—I.G. 289.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Let there be no mention of what has happened.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawrserch Ifor am goryw; Mwy na serch ar ordderch yw.—D.G. 3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The great love of Ivor overcomes me; it passeth the love of woman.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impf.: sg. 3. canhoeS w.m. 64, r.m. 46 'could see', daroeS s.g. 25 'happened', hanoeS do. 41;—pl. 3. hanhoeSytnt s.g. 15, r.p. 1047.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ymddiried im a ddaroedd.—G.Gl., m 146/168.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'He trusted in me.' (Elliptical, for a daroeS iÓ 'happened to him', i.e. he did.) O'r hen arglwyddi'r hanoeo.—L.G.C. 2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'She was descended from the lords of old.' O'r hen wydd yr hanoeoedych.—I.H.S., l 133/212.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You are descended from the old stock.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Beside *hanwyf* etc., Mn. W. has *handwyf*, *handwyd*, *handid*, *handym*, *handoetud*, *handoet* (*t≡ð*) all in M.A. i 358, *handid* B.B. 33, 107, *handoat* r.p. 1432, *handoet* 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): *handwyt* 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 handønæi p 16/43 (w.m. p. 92) 'he could not rest' (handøn, by dissim. > Mn. W. handøn 'leisure', handønol 'leisurely, slowly'; han- 'without' + den, √ dhen- : Skr. dadhan-ti 'causes to run').

iii. The verb cyfarfyddaf â 'I meet' is conjugated like the above verbs (v.n. kyvarvot w.m. 58, 125, perf. sg. 3. kyvarvu do. 170, plup. sg. 3. cyfarvuasæi 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,canfyddais 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. gwybot (gwybod), 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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwnn (gwn)</td>
<td>1. gwydam, -om (gwyddom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gwdoest (gwyddoest)</td>
<td>2. gwydawch, -och (gwyddoch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwyr (gwyrr)</td>
<td>3. gwyddant (gwyddant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gwyds (gwyds, gwydds)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. adwaen, adwen, atwen (ad- waen, adwen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. atwaenost (adwaenost, adweini)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. adwaen, adwen, atwen (ad- waen, edwyn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. (adwaenir, adweinir)
### ACCIDENCE

**Future Tense.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwybydaf (gwybyddaf)</td>
<td>1. gwybydwn (gwybyddwn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gwybyd (gwybyddi)</td>
<td>2. gwybydwoch (gwybyddwoch)</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. adnabyddwoch</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. gwydyn, gwydyn (gwyddwn)</td>
<td>1. gwydem, gwydym (gwyddem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gwydyut, gwydyut (gwyddud, gwyddid)</td>
<td>2. gwydeuch (gwyddech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwydyat, gwydat, gwydyei (gwyddiad, gwyddaf)</td>
<td>3. gwydynt (gwyddyn, -ent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers.** gwydit (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, -it)</td>
<td>2. adwaenech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. atwaenat (adwaenid, adwaenai)</td>
<td>3. atwaenit (adwaenid, -ent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers.** etweinit (adwaenid, adweinit)

**Perfect Tense.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwybwnum (gwybwn)</td>
<td>etc. like canfwm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adnabwnum (adnabwn)</td>
<td>Impers. gwybwnyt, adnabwnyt (gwybwnyd, adnabwnyd)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pluperfect Tense.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwybuasswn (gwybuaswn)</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adnabuasswn (adnabuaswn)</td>
<td>Impers. gwybuasswn, adnabuasswn (gwybuasswn, adnabuasswn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subjunctive Mood.**

### Present Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwpwyf (gwpwyf, gwpwyddwyf)</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adnapwyf (adnapwyf, adnapwyddwyf)</td>
<td>Impers. gwpwyf, adnapwyf, adnapwyddwyf (gwpwyf, adnapwyf, adnapwyddwyf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwpwyf, gwypo, adnapo (gwpwyf, gwpwyddwyf, adnapwyf, adnapwyddwyf)</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 191  VERBS  355

Imperfect Tense.

sg. 1. gwypon, gwybodwn (gwypon, gwybyddwn) etc.
    adnapwn, adnabyodwn (adnapwn, adnabyddwn)

Imperative Mood.

Present Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. gwybyd (gwybyd)</td>
<td>1. gwybydwn (gwybyddwn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwypet, gwybydett (gwyped, gwybydded)</td>
<td>2. gwybydwh (gwybyddwch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. gwyper, gwybyder (gwyper, gwybydder)</td>
<td>3. gwyppent, gwybyddent (gwyppent, gwybyddent, -ant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 l.a. 164 'we know' we find adwaenwn w.m. 25 'we know'; so atweynwch c.m. 12; Mn. W. adweini Es. Iv 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. altwen h.m. ii 235, Atwen mab ae uocoa, ac nyt atwen ae kar r.b. 964 'a child knows who foudles him, but does not know who loves him'; pawb adwaen pwy T.G. g. 79 'everybody knows who'.

Yr ydwyf, hyd yr adwen,
Yn dwyn haint ni’n 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 nas edwyn,
Y mesur Dww amser ðyn.—B.Br., r. 15.

'And in the same manner, though he knows it not, does God measure man's life.'

A a 2
(3) The 3rd sg. impf. ind. has the ending -yat, -at, Mn. W. -iad. The ending -ei is rare in Ml. W.: gwybêjëi B.A. 6, R.P. 1264. The -y- (≡i) in gwybêjën etc. doubtless spread from -yat; it did not come into general use. In Mn. W. -iad survived in poetry, but gwyddai, adwaenai became the usual forms. See gwybêjët w.m. 183, R.M. 85, s.g. 11, adwaenat s.g. 72, w.m. 150.

Yr oedd i rai a wyddiad
Obaith 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. 6. 234.

(4) On the -t- for -d- before y, see § 111 v (2).

(5) Note the accentuation of gwybhùm, adnabhùm, in which the last syllable has a late contraction, § 41 iii. Uncontracted gwybhùm occurs as late as the 15th cent.; see § 33 iv. The 3rd sg. gwybhù, adnâbu has no contraction, and is accented regularly.

Or iad Hywel ap Cadell,
Nid adnabhùm 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. adnabhùm, so accented, B.C.W. 105; so cantùm do. 16, 91. Ml. W. gwybhùm w.m. 389, adnabhùm ib.

iii. (1) Gwonn probably comes from *ỳinbò § 66 iii (1), or middle *ỳinbòi: Skr. vindá-ti 'finds', Ir. ro-finnadar 'is wont to know', *ỳeid- with -n- infix. The 3rd sg. gôyr seems to be a deponent form made by adding the impers. *-re directly to the root § 179 viii (2); thus *ỳeid-re > *ùeng-re (§ 104 iv (3)) > gôyr.—The 2nd sg. gowost represents a periphrastic form *ỳidòs'í, verbal adj. + verb 'to be', the remnant of a tense like euthum, re-formed in the pl. with aor. endings § 182 iv (1). In Mn. W., and occasionally in Late Ml. W. gowò becomes gwyò- on the analogy of the other tenses. The impers. gwyòs prob. represents a passive *ùid-tos ('st). The tense replaces the old perf. with pres. meaning, *ùoida : Gk. òiða.

(2) The impf. 3rd sg. gwydiad may be for *gùdidd § 180 iv (1). The 2nd sg. gwyduùt may represent a thematic *ùeiðoithës, in which case its wv is original; and the 3rd sg. may have taken wv from this. The wv is the falling diphthong: Pob meistro'rwydd a wyddud D.G. 460.

(3) The rest of the verb comes from periphrastic tenses formed of a present participle of some such form as *ùeidans and the verb 'to be'.

iv. (1) Adwaen corresponds to Ir. ad-gèn, which comes from *ati-gëna, re-formed in Kelt. for *gejòbòu: Skr. jajònàu, Lat. nòv-i, √jenè; but W. adwaen, which is for adwaen § 78 ii (1) (2), contains -yô- as pointed out by Rhys, R.C. vi 22; it seems also to have the vowel of the reduplicator elided; thus adwaen < *ati-yò-kn-a < *ati-yò-gn-a. It may however represent *ad-yò-ein < *ati-yò-gëyn-a. The 3rd sg. had *-e for *-a and gives the same result in W. The rest
of the tense is formed from *adwaen- as a stem on the analogy of *gws*ost etc., or with pres. endings.

(2) The impf. ind. is a new formation from the same stem, except the 3rd sg., which may be old. The form *atwaenat* may however be for *atweinat* s.g. 36 which would represent regularly *ati-*yo-gn-ɪə-to < *ɪgn-ɪə-ɪo* 3rd sg. opt. mid.

(3) The rest of the verb comes from periphrastic tenses formed with the prefix *ati- only, and a verbal adj. *gnawos < *gni-ya-ya* (cf. Lat. *gnāvos < *qīn-ya-s*), with the verb 'to be.' This implies that *-naw- is for *-nawb- (cf. clybot § 194 v (4)); the *-aw- is attested in O.W. *amgnaubot ox., which must be the same formation with a different prefix. (This *-aw- cannot be from *-â-, which would give *-o- in the penult.)

§ 192. i. (1) *pieu* (Mn. W. *pi-aw*), 'whose is?' contains the dative of the interrogative stem *qɛi- and -eu 'is', a weak form of *qwa-, which elsewhere became *gw* '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 -eu- generally unrounded to -eï- before v or ʃf:

- Fut.: sg. 3. *piweu†d (y ɛ i) A.L. i 179 MS.B., *piweu†d ib. MS.D., H.M. ii 81;—pl. 1 *piweu†d* c.m. 42.
- Pres. subj.: 3rd sg. *pieu†fo (y ɛ i, f ɛ f) A.L. i 196.
- Impf. subj.: 3rd sg. *pieu†fet s.g. 299, *pieu†fet* do. 324.

(2) In Mn. W., only the 3rd sg. is used. The forms are—


In the dialects the pres. *piau* only is used, and other tenses are formed periphrastically by using tenses of the verb 'to be' with relativaal *piau; thus *oedd* *pia(u) 'was who owns' for *pied* '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 OVYNyaw iSaw PIOED MAB S.G. 12 'she asked him to whom he was son' (whose son he was). PIWYT GWIR DI 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 YNIver y llongeu hynn? ... Arglwyd, heb wynt, mae ymna Matholwch . . . ac ef bieu y llongeu 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 nhal Pwyys.—T.A., J 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 biewynt wy w.m. 83 'who [is it] to whom they belong?' Cf. § 163 v.

Pwy biau gwcaed pibau gwyn?—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 gwrdia bieu y guaer 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 llongeu (2) above 'it is] he who owns the ships'; Meuryc beyr biewoctud M.A. i 225b 'it was] bright Meuryc to whom thou [sword] didst belong'; a minneu bieu y byw 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, ZfCP. iv 118; see examples above. Cf. also mi bieve R.M. 252, mi biau ... a thithau biau I.G. 318, Dafydd biewydd 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 dyteyn pyeu A.L. i 20 'it is] the cook and
the steward to whom belong...’;  

\[ e \text{ gur (} = y \text{ gwr) pyeu do. 82; } \]

\[ Hwyl \text{ piau (2) above; Mi piau cyngor...mi piau nerth Diar. viii 14 (1620). In the spoken lang. both } p- \text{ and } b- \text{ are heard; the former prevails in N.W.} \]

(5) As \( p i e u \) seemed to be a verb meaning ‘owns’ though without a subjective rel., it is sometimes found so used with an accusative rel., as \( \text{castell Kael Vyr\text{rin y}r\ hwn a\ bie(u) y\ brenhin R.B.B. 297 ‘the} \)

\( \text{castle of Carmarthen which the king owns’; y\ castell\ fr}y\ a\ pieu\ Belial\ B.C.W. 10; \) more rarely with subjective rel., \( \text{ni \ ae\ piei}f\mathring{\text{y}}d\text{wn c.m. 42. Still rarer are re-formations like } ti\ \text{b}i\ \text{y} \text{c.m. 14.} \]

iii. \( pi- \) cannot come from \( *q^{\#\#}(i) < *q^{\#}\text{oi} \) the dat. of \( *q^{\#}o-, \) since \( q^{\#} \) became \( k \) in Kelt. before \( u \); it is probable therefore that \( pi- \) comes from \( *q^{\#}\text{ii} < *q^{\#}\text{ii} < *q^{\#}\text{ie}i : \text{Oscan } piei\text{ dative of the stem-form } *q^{\#}\text{ii-} \]

\( 163 \text{ vi.} \]

\[ A^f, \text{ Gwnaf, Deuaf.} \]

\( \S 193. \text{i. } af \ ‘I go’ \) and \( \text{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 } \S 185. \]

ii. \( af ‘I go’. \)

**Indicative Mood.**

**Present.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ( af (\acute{a}f) )</td>
<td>1. ( aw\text{n (} \text{awn} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ( ey (\acute{e}i, \acute{a}i) )</td>
<td>2. ( ewch (\acute{e}wch) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ( a, \text{ e-}y\text{t (} \acute{a} )</td>
<td>3. ( \text{ant (} \acute{a}nt )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers. \( eir (\acute{e}ir, \acute{a}ir) \)**

**Imperfect.**

| 1. \( aw\text{n (} \text{awn} \) | 1. \( aem (\acute{a}em) \ |
| 2. \( \text{ant (} \acute{a}nt \) | 2. \( \text{(} \acute{a}ech \ |
| 3. \( \text{aei, aeg, ai (} \acute{a}i, \acute{ae} \) | 3. \( \text{egut (} \acute{a}r\text{ent) \ |

**Impers. \( \acute{e}it (\acute{e}id, \acute{a}id) \)**
Perfect.

sg. | pl.
---|---
1. euthum (éuthum) | 1. aetham (áethom, -am)
2. aethost (áethost) | 2. aetharoch (áethoch)
3. aeth (áeth) | 3. aethant, -ont (áethant, -ont)

Impers. aethpwyt (áethpwyd)

Second Perfect.

1. athwyf, adwyf, ethwyf, edwyf (éthwyf) | 1. ethym
2. athwytyt, adwytyt (édwytyt) | 2.
3. ethyw, edyw (éthyw, éddyw) | 3. ethynt, òdynt

Pluperfect.

1. athoëdwn (áethwon) | 1. (áethem)
2. (áethud, -it) | 2. (áethech)
3. athoëd, adoëd (áethai) | 3. athoëdynt (áethynt, -ent)

Subjunctive Mood.

Present.

1. el(h)wyf (élwyf) | 1. el(h)om (élon)
2. el(h)ych (élych) | 2. el(h)och (éloch)
3. el (él, elo) aho | 3. el(h)ont, el(h)wynt (élon)

Impers. el(h)er (élér)

Imperfect.

1. el(h)wn (élon) | 1. (élém)
2. el(h)ut (élud, -it) | 2. (élech)
3. el(h)ei (élai) | 3. el(h)ynt (élyn, -ent)

Impers. (élid)

Imperative Mood.

Present.

1. awn (áwn) | 1.
2. dos (dós) | 2. ewch (éwch)
3. aet, elhid (áed, éled) | 3. aent (áent, áunt)
VERBS

VERBAL NOUN.
mynet (myned, mynd) 'to go'

iii. gwnaf 'I make, do'.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.

sg. i. gwnaf (gwnaf), etc. like af (áf); exc. strong 3rd sg. gwneyd.

Imperfect.

sg. i. gwnawn (gwnáwn), etc. like awn (áwn); pl. 2. gwnaewch (gwnáech).

Perfect.

A. sg. i. gwnenthum (gwnéuthum), etc. like euthum (éuthum).

B. sg. | pl.
--- | ---
1. gorugum | 1. gorugam
2. gorugost | 2. gorugawch
3. gorn, goreu | 3. gornant

Impers. gornucpwyt

Second Perfect.

sg. 1. (gwnédðwyf), 2. (gwnéddwyf), 3. gwnedyw (gwnéddwyw)

Pluperfect.

sg. | pl.
--- | ---
1. gwnathoedwn (gwnáethwn) | 1. (gwnáethem)
2. gwnathoedut (gwnáethud, -it) | 2. (gwnáetheck)
3. gwnathoed, gwnathoed, gwnáothoed, gwnáothoed | 3. gwnathoedyn (-ent)

gwnathoedit (gwnáethid)

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present.

sg. i. gwnel(h)wyf (gwnélyw) etc. like el(h)wyf (elwyf) throughout; also sg. 3. gunech, gwnech.

Imperfect.

sg. i. gwnel(h)wn (gwnélwn), etc. like el(h)wn (élwn).
ACCIDENCE

§ 193

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwnawn (gwnáwn)</td>
<td>1. gwnawn (gwnáwn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gwnewch (gwnéwch)</td>
<td>2. gwnewch (gwnéwch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwnaent (gwnáent, -ánt)</td>
<td>3. gwnaent (gwnáent, -ánt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. gwnel(h)er (gwnélér)

VERBAL NOUN.

gwneithur, gwneuthur (gwnéuthur)

VERBAL ADJECTIVES.

gwneithuryedic (gwnéuthurédig, gwnéuthurádwy)

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, dówn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. deuy, dewy, doy (déui, dói)</td>
<td>2. deuoch, dowch (déuoch, dowch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. daw (daw § 52 iii (1)), dydaw, do, dydo</td>
<td>3. deuant, doant (déuant, dónt), dydeuant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. dydeuhaul (déuir, dór)

Second Future.

sg. 1. dybydaf; 3. dyvyd, dybyd, dybydhai, dyvi, dybi, dypí, deubyd, deubi, deupi; pl. 3. dybydant.

Imperfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. deuwn, down (déuwn, dówn)</td>
<td>1. (déuem, dóbem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. deuut, dout (déuut, dóbìt, -it)</td>
<td>2. (déuech, dóbéch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. deuei, doei, doey, doi (déuái, dói)</td>
<td>3. deuynt, doynt (déuynt, dóbent, dóbent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. denit (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. doethwch, -och (déuthoch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. deuth, doeth (dáeth, dôeth)</td>
<td>3. doethant, doethant, doethant (dáethant, -ont)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. deuthpwyt, doethpwyt (déuthpwyd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. dyvuost</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dyvu, dybu, deubu</td>
<td>3. dyvuant, dybuant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second Perfect.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. dothwyf, doðwyf</td>
<td>1. doðym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dothwyt, doðwyt</td>
<td>2. doðywch, doðhywch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. doethyw, dothwy, doðyw, deðyw</td>
<td>3. doðynt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(deðdyw, deddyw)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pluperfect.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. dathoeðwn (déuthwn)</td>
<td>1. (déuthem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (déuthud, -it)</td>
<td>2. (déuthech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. doethoeð, dothoeð, dathoeð</td>
<td>3. doethoeðynt, dothoeðynt (déuthynt, -ent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(déuthai)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, dybenu, pl. 3. dyffont, denhont.

Imperfect.

sg. 1. del(h)wn (délwn), etc. like el(h)wn (élwn); also sg. 3. dybei, dyfei dyffei.

Imperative Mood.

Present.

sg. 2. dyret, dabre (dyffydd, dyred, dyrd, tyred, trdr, dabre, dyre, dial. dére); 3. denet, doet (déned, dôed, déled); pl. 1. down (déwn, dónw); 2. dowch, dewch (dénwch, dówch, dêwch); 3. deuent, doent (dáevent, dôent).
ACCIDENCE

§ 193

VERBAL NOUN.

dyvod (dyfod, dywod, dywad).

v. Pres. and Impf. Ind.—(1) The contracted forms ei, eir, eid, gwnai, gwnir, gwnaid are now written and pron. with ei (≡ ei); but formerly aei was used as in uncontracted forms; § 81 iii (1); as Burdeisaid a wnaid yn waeth G.Gl. p 100/174. The 3rd sg. impf. aei, gwnaci are already contracted in Ml. W., as ai w.m. 117, 252, 451, gwnai 54, 250, 389, gwnai 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 gwnaiff also; but the lit. gwna prevails. The old strong form of af is ò-yt § 173 vi (1); of gwnaf is gwen-e-yd do. (3).

(3) The stems dew-, 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, dewy s.g. 15. In Mn. W. doaf is contracted to dòf D.G. 355, L.G.C. 206, 468; this is the usual spoken form, though doaf(f) persists in Dyf. dial. The 3rd sg. is daw; also do b.t. 38, dyðau b.b. 32 (-u = w), dyðaw r.p. 1055, l. 16, dyðo b. l. 23.—O.W. gurthdo gl. obstitit.

(4) The second future of deuaf is a survival, chiefly used in poetry: sg. i. dybydof b.t. 19; sg. 3. ðiwit (≡ dybyð) b.b. 51, ðibit (≡ dybyð) do. 55, dyfyð b.t. 10, dybyð b.p. 1190, dybyðhwyt r.p. 1437, dyvi b.t. 72, dybi b.b. 60, dysy b.w. 478, dysbyð b.t. 17, deubi b.t. 3, deupi b.b. 61; pl. 3. dybyðant b.t. 26.

vi. Perf. and Plup.—(1) In late Mn. W. euthum, gwnewithum, deuthum, are often misspelt aethum, gwaethum, daethum. In the dialects the 1st and 2nd sg. perf. are mostly replaced by new aorists eis, gwnëis, dòís on the analogy of ês and rhois, also eis and gwnëis ("balbutientium puercorum 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 daeth 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 dòth, 3rd pl. deuthon' or doethon'. In S.W. ðâth is also heard.—Impers. § 175 iv (7).

Dan i ddant erioed ni ddoeth
Ar i enau air amnoeth.—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, ethwyw H.O.G. m.a. i 275, athwyd, ethynt P.M. do. 289, adwyf C. do. 216, etiw (≡ ði) do. do. 220; dothuif b.b. 79, dotyw (≡ ðotuif) do. do. 30, ethint b.b. 33. It is also met with fairly often in Ml. prose: ðyw w.m. 456,
ethyw R.M. 104, dòthwyt w.m. 459, dòdwyf do. 20, dòdwy do. 457. dòdwyf, dòdym do. 475, ethynh B.B.B. 205, but tends in later mss. to be replaced by the first perf.; thus dòthwyt w.m. 459 appears as deuthum in R.M. 105; dòdwyf 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, ethynh (misspelt ethiw, euthyw) I.G. 312;

Lliw dydd a ddaw * lle dodywy;
Mlwyw haul ar y lliwch 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: gwneddwynf D.G. 115, gwneddwyd do. 102, gwneddwy do. 429, gwneðwyw l.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 af only. The older perfects of the other verbs are:

gwnaf: sg. 1. gorugum w.m. 226-9; sg. 2. gorugum R.M. 192; pl.
1. gorugum, 3. gorugant w.m. 227, 226; sg. 3. goruc of extremely frequent occurrence, goreu surviving in poetry, B.B. 43, M. w. 2a, E.S. M.A. 349a, guoren B.A. 35, 38; impers. gorucwyt w.m. 452 (= gwnaethwyt R.M. 100), W.m. 454, R.M. 101.
deuaf: sg. 2, dywost w.m. 458 (= doethost R.M. 104); sg. 3. dyvu w.m. 457 (= doeth R.M. 104), dybu M. w. 1b, 2a; pl. 3. dybant 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 -oeswn; as doethos w.A. 17 ‘had come’, atheta w.m. 13, aðso do. 15 ‘had gone’, gwnaethos do. 30, gwnaeth道 do. 440, gwnaethosw w.m. 198, gwnathosbut do. 274; doethos R.M. 200, daðheos do. 197. These forms are rare in Ml. W.: rhy-wnaethos D.G. 509. The Mn. plup. is a new formation made, as in regular verbs, by adding impf. endings to the perf. stem: gwnathosw Ezech.xxxi 9, daethosw Matt. xxv 27, aethair Luc viiii 2, etc. D. also gives elson etc.; this formation is used for gwnaf in the Bible: gwnelsonw i Chron. xxxii 5, gwnelsei 2 Chron. xxi 6.

vii. Subjunct.—(I) The subjunct. stems are el-, gwnel- and del-; as elwyt w.m. 457, delwyf R.M. 131, elych, delych do. 237, gwelych w.m. 456, delchich B.B. 84, gwela w.m. 475, elont R.M. 34, elwynt B.A. 2; elhyt B.B. 56, delhei do. 96; elher 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, hwnw a oðir R.B. 1063 ‘the chisel that will go, that [is the one] that is hammered’, Guledic ... a’n gwnel in fit (t ð y, t ð 3) B.B. 40 ‘may the Lord make us free’, y dit y del pawp do. 41 ‘the day when each will come’. So in Ml. W.; thus, expressing a wish: Dел 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 ðl honno L.G.G. 10 'may she go [live] to old age', cf. 476; ððl amorth yn ðl imi Gr.O. 59 'may misfortune come as retribution to me'; in a dependent clause:

Pan ddðl y Pasg a'r glasgoed,
Bun a ddaw bentynidd 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 gwnefo § 162 i, doed a ddelo beside doed a ddðl '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.

gwaf: pres. sg. 3. gunaho B.T. 70, gwuno B.T. 10, ll. 13, 27, gunech, gunech § 183 iii (i); pl. 3. gwunahont B.T. 61, gwunahon B.T. 34.


viii. Impv.—(1) dos 'go!' e.g. dos y'r lluminate 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. dyre W.M. 21, R.M. 173, L.A. 99, etc.; dabre B.B. 102, W.M. 17, R.B.B. 125, etc.—Mn. W. dyfodd D.G. 41, dyred do. 107, dabre (misprinted debre) D.G. 31, 314, 515, tyred, dyre L.G. 215, Gwma dydd a dyrrd, Gwennydd y dec W.LL. 83 'make an appointment and come, fair Gwenfryn', Tyrd i'r blush, taro d'ir bôl I.T. in 133/213 'come to the breach, strike thou the ball', § 44 vi, Dere o'r cafdydd hyfryd Wms. 273 'come with [i.e. bring] the gladsome showers'.


ix. Verbal noun.—(1) On mynded, mynd, see § 44 vi.

(2) The Ml. and Mn. v.n. of gwaf is gweneuth. D. 121 also gives gweneuthud, but this is rarely met with. It is printed in D.G. 107, but is not attested by the cynganedd. In the dialects a new form gweneud arose; this is in common use in the late period; the earliest example I have noted is in rh.b.s. 1. (In D.G. 409 gweneud makes a short line, and should be gweneuth; for it wr wenyd marnad arall c.i 200 read wrw'n y dîr farwnad arall v 77/158; so wherever gweneud is attributed to an old author.) V.a. gweneuthuriedic g.c. 114.

(3) The only v.n. of deuaf is dyfod; but the f became w § 26 v, and wo interchanges with wa § 34 iv, hence dywoet 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 dibad in the dialects, and this is the spoken form both in N. and S.W. But in part of Dyfed a form dód developed (apparently from *dowod < dywood); this was used by Wms., and has since been in common use, chiefly in verse in free metres.

The noun do沃ot w.m. 33 'a find' is a different word, being for do沃ot a.l. i. 94 (also do沃ovet [read -ot] ib.) < *dy沃o沃ot.

(4) All the forms given in dictionaries, containing the tense stems of these verbs, such as åiv, athu, ålu, eddu 'to go', dawed, dawad, delyd, doddi 'to come', gwneithd 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 < *agaf: Ir. again 'I drive' √ag-: Lat. ago, Gk. åγω, Skr. ãjati 'drives'. The verb had middle flexion in Brit., cf. ē-γ 'goes' < *ag-e-tai (drives himself, goes) § 179 iii (1). Hence the perf. eθum < *aktos esmi § 182 iv (1), and the plup. athoeòs ib. (2). For the voicing of th to ð in eðyw, aðeòs see § 108 iv (2). Stokes's reference of eðyw 'ivisti' to √ped- Fick iv 28 (still quoted, e.g. by Walde s.v. ðës) 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 *elå: Gk. ὕλω 'I drive'; in the pres. ind. the stem was *el-, 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. elôwaf remained. W. elôwaf is probably, like gwnôlwaf an analogical formation. The reason why the 3rd sg. has no -o may be that these forms superseded an old 3rd sg. middle *elbyt and 3rd sg. gwnech which had no -o. The view that gwôl is a re-formation is borne out by the actual survival of gwôch.

(3) The stem of gwnôf is *uôraf, √uereg- '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. i. gôreith, 3. gôreith became gwôneuthum, gwônaeth like the perf. of af, § 181 vii (2).—The old perf. of √uereg- is preserved in the 3rd sg. in Ml. W. gôreô, gôre < § 182 ii (1), Ml. Bret. guereu, guereur, guerue.—It does not seem possible to derive gôruc from the same root; this occurs as sg. i. 3. in Corn. gôrûk (grûg etc.); it probably represents a synonymous form associated with gôreô on account of accidental similarity; possibly < *yere-ōk-, √pek-: Skr. piśātī 'carves, adorns, forms, prepares', pēṣāk 'form' (Lat. pingo, with -k/- altern.); cf. Duu an gôruc B.B. 39 'God made us'.

(4) The v.n. gwôneithur is for gwôneithur g.c. i12, 128, W.m. pp. 93, 94 (p 16), b.ch. 62 (cf. anghŷfreith uweithur r.p. 1296, i.e. uweithur) § 77 viii. The original v.n. was *gôreith < *yrek-tu-; by the loss of -r- after the initial this became gôreith, gwaith 'work'. The form *gôreith occurs, written gôreith, in enwir ith elwir od gôrur gôreith B.a. 37, which appears elsewhere as enwir yf elwir oth gôwir weithret
do, 34, l. 4, though the rhyming word is kywjeith; but weithret is also a genuine variant rh. with kivet ib. l. 9. Possibly the -r- was first lost in the compound *gweithret by dissim. The -ur added to *gwreith ‘work’ may have come from the synonymous llafur < Lat. laborem. The form *gweithur might easily have become gwneithur by dissim. § 102 iii (2), as it was dissimilated to gwruthyl in Corn. The -n- might spread from this to the verb; but as gwn- is slightly easier than gwp- the change may have taken place in the vb. itself owing to its frequent occurrence. The old v.n. gweth with lost -r- came to be dissociated from the vb., and gwneithur remained the only v.n. Ultimately from gwraith ‘work’ a new denom. gweithiaf ‘I work’ was formed, with gweithio ‘to work’ as v.n.—gwraith ‘battle’ < *yiktâ (: Ir. fichim ‘I fight’, Lat. vino) is a different word.

(5) dewaf 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. *esô; thus *do eô > *deu, which was made into dewaf § 75 ii (2), so the 2nd sg.; the 3rd sg. *do eset gave daw or do see ib. The pres. dewaf would be in O.W. *dôtam; under the influence of 3rd sg. do this became *do-am > M1. 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. dyvyô, dyvi, pres. subj. dyvo, dyffo are regular; the perf. might be either dyvu < *do-(be-)bâye or dybu < *do-b‘âye; 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 dew-, do-; thus deuth, doeth; and by a new second perf. similarly modelled on edyw, which like edyw itself became obsolete in M1. W.

(7) The impv. of dewaf was dos, which was transferred to af, see viii (1). The Corn. forms are dus, dues, 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-wch, Corn. dues after duech, des after de-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 < *doístûd < *do estôd: Lat. estôd, estô, Gk. ἐστο.

(8) The loss of dos to dewaf was supplied by the impv. of verbs meaning ‘come’ from /reɡː: Ir. do-rega ‘he will come’; thus dabre < *dabbirigâ < *do-ambi-reg-â; dy-re < *do-rigâ < *do-reg-â. 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 *reɡ- athematic; to athematic stems a 2nd
sg. impv. *-dhi might be added (: Gk -θί); thus *do-reg-di > *do-red-di > dyred. It is true that -dhi was added to R-grade of root; but there are exceptions, as in the case of -tōd (Lat. estō for *s-tōd).
dyre also occurs as 3rd sg. pres. ind., R.P. 1036, l. 28.

Verbs with old Perfects.

§194. i. (1) dywedaf ‘I say’ has 3rd sg. pres. ind. Ml. W. dyweit L.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 *uat- (*u-ε-) of the root § 201 i (3); cf. beirv R.B. 101: berwaf.

(2) The aor. is dywedeis w.m. 10, dywedeist do. 63, dywed-assam, etc., which is regular, except that for the 3rd sg. the perf. is used : Ml. W. dywawt R.M. 5, 6, dywat 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, dêbad may still be heard (Rhys, R.C. vi i 17).

Ni ddifod ond yn ddifalch;
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. dywespwyt R.M. 90, R.B.B. 10, dywet-pwyty 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. : dywedwyty L.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. dywedid.

In the dialects S.W. gwêd (the vb. also gwedaf), N.W. (duêd), dêud, dêyd, (dâ = ä).

The verb, with the root-form *uat-, see (1), was used without the prefix dy- 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 dêl, nad hyfryd lliw dydd?—Gr.O. 38.

‘Is there an astronomer who will deny that the light of day, when it comes, is pleasant?’


There is also a 3rd sg. pres. subj. gwares seen in gware Dwyo dy anghen r.p. 577 ‘may God relieve thy want’, § 183 iii (1).

(2) gware < *yo-ret- < *upo- ‘under’ + *ret- ‘run’: cf. Lat. suc-curro < sub ‘under’ + curro ‘I run’;—gwaraut § 182 ii (1).


(2) Perf. sg. 1. dugum w.m. 42; 2. dugost s.g. 246; 3. duc 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 (-u-) 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:

\[\text{Dy wng yn hir y dugum;}\]
\[O \text{dygais, di-fantais fwm.}—\text{W.II.}\]

‘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’, ymddwyth ‘to bear’ § 41 i; perf. sg. 3. ymddug Can. iii 4, in late bibles ymddug (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 *d* 'with'; as *amwyn y gorflwch hwn* a mi w.m. 122 'to fight for this goblet with me'; *amwin ae elin terw in 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-š 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.'—Plup. sg. 3. *amucsei* R.P. 1044.

(3) *am-wg* < *mbi-(p)uk-, √ peuk-*: Lat. *pugna, pugil*, Gk. πυγίς, πυγμάχος, O.E. *feohtan*, E. *fight*.—The perf. *amuc* with -uc < *-pouke*, like dual § 181 ii (2). The form *amwyth* prob. represents *amb(i)uktos* 'st; as it has the R-grade, 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. *gorchfygaf* § 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, *clyvet* G.Y.C. (anno 1282) R.P. 1417, Mm. 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. *clywysbwyd* B.A. 117, *clywspwyd* S.G. 246.

In Early Mn. W. the 1st sg. *ciglef* 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 Mn. and Mn. 3rd sg. *clybu* s.g. 362, Ex. ii 15, and impers. *clybwâyd* Matt. ii 18 beside *clywâyd* Ps. xxvii 18.

Doe ym wheriglyciglef
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. b b 2
I. MSS. 315; both form and meaning seem to have been influenced by dyre (dial. dere) 'come!'

\[\text{Dege'\text{n} nes, dwg i liw nyf} \]
\[Ddeg annerch oddi genufyf.—D.G. 218.\]

'Lend nearer ear! bring to [her of] the colour of snow ten greetings from me.'

(4) clywaf, see § 76 v (z).—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. i.44 = ciglef R.M. 214. The cynghanedd in the example shows that the vowel of the reduplicator is 'as it is generally written), and not y; hence we must assume original *ků-. The 1st sg. was most used, and prob. gives the form cigleu.—clybot is probably for *clyv-bot, cf. adnabot § 191 iv (3).

vi. godiwesaf 'I overtake': v.n. godiweis § 203 iii (7) so in Mn. W., sometimes re-formed in Late W. as goddiweddyd.—Perf. sg. 3. godiwað, see § 182 iii.

\[\text{Verbs with t-Aorists.}\]

§ 195. i. (1) canaf 'I sing': 3rd sg. pres. ind. can B.B. 13 = Mn. W. cân; v.n. canu.—Aor. sg. 1. keint, keintum, 2. counost, 3. can § 175 iii, § 181 vii (i), imperas. canpwynt § 182 iv (4); there are no corresponding forms in the pl. The t-aor. was already superseded in Late ML W.; thus sg. 3. canawb ñ.A. ii7, 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 cânt by late copyists § 175 iii (1).

(2) gwanaf 'I wound' is similar. Aor. sg. 1. gweint, 3. gwont § 175 iii; Mn. W. gwenaie, gwandd.

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. kýmerth, differth, kemirth (≡ kymrýth) ñ.A. i 126, diffyrth R.M. 139, § 175 iii (i). Beside these, forms in -wys, -ws occur in ML W., as kemerrvæ § 175 i (5), differwys G.B. r.p. 1191. 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. cymryt, Mn. W. cymryd c.c. 335, cam-gymryd M.K. [137], has been re-formed as cymeryd; but the prevailing form in the spoken lang. is cymryd Ceiriog o.H. 110 (or cym'yd). The translators of the bible adopted cymmeryd, 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 kymreist r.g. 1128, cymrodd D.G. 356, cymraes E.P. 12. cxix 111.

(3) cymeraf < *kom-bhers- § 90;—di'feraf < *de-eks-per, √ per- ‘bring’: Skr. pī-par-ti ‘brings across, delivers, protects’;—cymryt < *kom-bhers-ti- § 203 iii (8).—cymrith, cymryth § 181 vii (1).

iii. Early Ml. W. dyrreith ‘came, returned’; maeth ‘nursed’; gwreith ‘did’; § 181 vii (2).

Defective Verbs.

§ 196. The following verbs are used in the 3rd sg. only.

i. (1) Ml. W. dawr, tawr ‘matters’, impf. dorei, torey, fut. dorbi; also with di- : didawr, didorei, v.n. didarbot. (The √- is inferred from Early Mn. cynghanedd, 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 vyner w.m. 437 ‘I do not mind going’; i is the affixed pron. supplementing ’m, and the subject of tawr is vyner, 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’; odit 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 torey kyny bydaw 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’; ny’t mawr y’m dawr b.b. 60, 62 ‘it will not matter to me’. Without the dat. infixed pron.: ny didawr, ny dawr evit 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 e.f. s.g. 64 ‘about the body he did not care’; heb didarbot by beth a damweinei 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 dídorynt R.B.B. 216 'they cared not', *ni ddooraf D.G. 529 'I do not care', *ni ddoorwn i do. 296, *ni ddawr hi, *ni ddoorwn do. 174. In spite of this per- 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, gwvbod. Hence we may infer dawr < *dāros'st < *dō-(p)aros est ; *paros : Gk. τάπος, Skr. purāḥ, all from Ar. * corrobor 'before'; for the development of the meaning cf. Skr. purāḥ kār- '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-dros- > 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 *paros 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' < *qā'ī, qer-m 'make' influenced by Lat. paro (parātus > W. parod 'ready').

From diddawr were formed the abstract noun dîordēp M.A. ii 346 and the adj. didddorol only occurring in Late Mn. W. and generally misspelt dyddorol 'interesting'.

ii. (1) Ml. W. dïchawrn, digawn 'can', Mn. W. dïchon, is rarely used except in this form, which is 3rd sg. pres. ind.

ny dïchawrn ef eu gwymeithwr M.A. 33 'which He cannot do', cf. 34, 35; llafer damwein a Gïgawn bot W.M. 28, R.M. 18 'many an accident may happen'.—Chwi yn falch a ddïchon fod T.A. A 9817/184 'you who may be proud'. Ni ddïchon neb wasanaethu daw arglwyddi Matt. vi 24. Llaver a ddïchon taer-weddi y cyfïawn Iago v 16.

A subjunct. 3rd sg. occurs in kyn ny dïgonho y gerð 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, dichawrn < *dig'gawn < Brit. *di-gēgâne; digawn < Brit. *di-g'gâne; < Ar. perf. sg. 3. *gēgâne : Gk. γεγόγα 'I make known'; for meaning cf. Eng. can : γένε 'know'.—W. gogonîant 'glory' orig. 'fame' < *yo-g'gân.-
(3) A stem of the same form (usually with -s-) is inflected throughout in O. and Ml. W. in the sense of ‘cause to be, do, make’, v.n. digoni m.A. i 359.

Ind. pres. sg. 2. digonit b.B. 19 (≡ digonyd); aor. sg. 1. digonesis 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. digonset b.T. 24; subj. pres. sg. 1. dichomywfr m.A. i 271a.

(4) This seems to come from *(g)ene- ‘cause to be, give birth to’, of which the pf. was sg. 1. *(g)ejōna, 2. *(g)ejōne : Skr. 1. jajāna, 3. jajāna, Gk. 1. gēyora. 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 1. ‘to produce, give birth to’, 2. ‘be master of, understand’.

(5) Ml. W. digawn, Mn. W. digon ‘enough’ may have originated in phrases such as digawen hyndyn ‘that will do’ understood as ‘that [is] enough’; cf. digawn a bōdet yman R.M. 14. From digon ‘enough’ a new verb was made in Mn. W., digonaf, v.n. digoni ‘to suffice’.

iii. Ml. W. deryw, Mn. W. darfu § 190 i (2).


Other persons are found: gweē-af, -wyff m.A. 122, gweddýnt Gr.O. 63.

gwedd is a denom. from gwedd ‘appearance’ < *uyd-ū § 63 iv.


Ny tycia y neb ymlit yr unbennes w.M. 14 ‘it avails no one to pursue the lady’; the subj. is ymlit; thus ‘pursuing avails not’.

tycia is a denom. from tvg : √teu̯wɔ-, see § 111 v (2); but the -c- in the pres. is caused by the -h- of -ha.

vi. Ml. W. deiryt r.P. 1197 ‘pertains, is related’ foll. by y ‘to’; impf. deirydei s.g. 105. Mn. W. deiryd L.G.C. 272, Gr.O. 47.

A’r lluddo gorf, llle daw y gyf,
Y’r lluddo arail llle 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* ddyfeisiog. b.c. 15 'when I failed to guess', lit. 'when guessing failed with me'; **metha gan y buan ddiwanc Amos ii 14; synnadd arnaf D.G. 386 'I was astonished at', synnadd arwnyt Matt. xiii 54.

These verbs began to take the person for the subject in the Late Mn. period; as synnodd pawb Marc ii 12. The transition stage is seen in synnodd arno wirth 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; *hiramethodd arno* 'he longed'; *lawnenhaodd arno* 'he was rejoiced'; *lleshaodd ifoo* 'profited him'; *gorfu arno or iddo* 'he was obliged'; *perthyn iddo or arno* 'belongs to him'; *digweyddodd iddo* 'it happened to him', etc. The subject is usually a v.n.: *digwyddodd iddo syrthio* 'he happened to fall'; *gorfu arno fyneid* '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 ngeni* 'before my birth', lit. 'before the bearing of me'.

*genir, ganer, ganet* m.L. 37, *genit, geni* do. i, *ganadoed* h.m. ii 263, *ganydoed* r.b.b. i i, *ganyssit* do. 286.

A 3rd. sg. aor. genis 'begat' occurs in c.m. 19, in a translation, and is prob. artificial.

ii. genir < Brit. *ganir-re < *gāna-, *gēnē- : Lat. gigno, Gk. γεννάω, etc. The *ganad-* in the plup. is the perf. pass. part. *ganatos < *gānato-s; prob. -yd- is due to the anal. of ydoded.

§ 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 wynt* 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 wynit 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
dywnt Beuno, mi a welaft, heb M.A. 126 'And then Beuno said, "I see,"
said [he]'; A gosyn a oruc ësw, arglywyd, 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 R.CW. 8 'said he',
eb yr angel ib. 'said the angel', ebr ef do. 1, ebr ynteu do. 15, eb ef
M.K. [55], hebr ef do. [20]; (S.W.) ebe Myrddin D.P.O. 4, eb un do. 97,
ebe I.mss. 154 ff. The N.W. dial. form ebr, e.g. ebr fi R.CW. 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 hebu, 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'.

Tì hebof nyt hebu oed teu;
Mi hebot ny hebaf inneu.—C., R.P. 1440.

'Thou without me—it was not thy [wont] to speak; I without thee—
I will not speak either.'

The compound atebaf (<*ad-heb-af) 'I answer' is inflected
regularly throughout: 3rd sg. pres. ind. etyb, v.n. ateb. The rarer
compounds gwthhebaf 'I reply', gohebaf 'I say' (now 'I correspond')
seem also to be regular: gohebych B.F. R.P. 1154. (Mn. W. 3rd
sg. pres. ind. goheba, v.n. gohebu).

iii. In O.W. only hepp m.c. (= heb § 18 i) occurs, before a consonant
in each case. In Ml. W. 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 probably 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, (hebr*
'say'; cf. gwyr § 191 iii (1)). In the face of the compound ateb = Ir.
ainhec, both from Kelt. *ain-seq*, Strachan's statement, Intr. 97,
that heb 'says' is of adverbial origin seems perverse. A sufficient
explanation of its being uninflected is its deponent form. In compounds it was regularized, and C.'s hebaf is deduced from these.

iv. The verb amkawê ‘answered’ is a survival which occurs frequently in the w.m. Kulhwch, and nowhere else; the 3rd pl. is amkeuðant w.m. 486, -8, which the scribe at first wrote amkeuðabt do. 473, -7, -8, -9, mistaking n for u and writing it 6.

amk-audio, § 96 iii (4); if the explanation there given is correct, amkeuðant is a re-formation, possibly at first *amkeuðynt with affection of aw as in beunydd § 220 iv (2).

§ 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. Með seiht Avstiu M.L.A. 42 ‘St. Augustine says’; 2. með yr ystoria do. 129 ‘says the account’; 3. Dioer, heb y kennaedw, Teg, með Pryderi oèd y’r gwur . . . w.m. 88 ‘By Heaven,” said the messengers, “Pryderi says it would be fair for the man . . .’; 4. Edyrn vab Núd yw, með ef; ynt atwen ineu ef r.m. 259 ‘He says he is Edyrn son of Nudd; but I don’t know him’; 5. Blawt, meðei y Gwyñel w.m. 54 ‘Flour,” said the Irishman’; 6. Broch, meddynt wrentu do. 24 ‘A badger,” said they’.

Mn. W.: meddaf I.F. I.mss. 319, Col. i 20; meddi Ioan viii 52; meðd M.K. [20]; meddant 2 Cor. x 10.

(2) In the recent period medd has tended to take the place of ed, and has almost ousted it in the dialects. But in M.L. 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 medwl ‘thought’: Ir. midiur ‘I judge, think’, Lat. meditor, ✓med-, allied to ✓mē- ‘measure’.—To express ‘think’ a new verb medylýaf, a denom. from medwl, was formed, § 201 iii (6).

(3) The verb meddaf ‘I possess’ is however conjugated regularly throughout: 3rd sg. pres. medd, 3rd sg. aor. meddodd W.II. c.L. 105, v.n. meddu.

This verb is unconnected with the above, and probably comes from ✓med- ‘enjoy’: Skr. mádati ‘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 hwn yw well i feddu arno ‘this is better to give satisfaction’, lit. ‘to have satisfaction on it’.
The verb dlyaf (2 sylls.), dylyaf (3 sylls.) 'I am entitled to, obliged to' is conjugated fully in Mn. W.: 3rd sg. pres. ind. dly, 3rd sg. aor. dylywâd L.A. 15, v.n. dlyu, dleu, dylyu. 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 dyly 28; elsewhere the impf. dylywn, dylyai (misprinted dyleuaf, dyla'i) 35 'I deserve, she deserves'; Ni dylyûnt ddit-e-u (misprinted Ond ni dylylit) 427 'thou oughtest not to destroy'. The 3rd sg. dylyai became dylaî § 82 ii (3), also without the intrusive y, dllaît. Hence sg. i. dylaûn, 2. dyláut. These forms may still be heard from old speakers; but in the Late Mn. period a re-formed tense dylywn, etc. has come into use; and the written form is dylyn 2 Cor. ii 3, dylit Es. xlviii 17, dylët Ioan xix 7, dylem, î Ioan iv 11, etc. The plup. in any case would be dylaswn 2 Cor. xii 11, etc.—In the early 17th cent. an artificial sg. 3. dyl was sometimes used.

*Gwirion a ddllae a drugaredd *
Gwaer ferch a'i gyro i'w fedd.—D.E., c 49/33.

'The virtuous deserves mercy; woe to the woman who sends him to his grave.' On -ae for -ai see § 52 iii (3).

(2) The first y in dylyaf is intrusive, and comes from dyly < *dly% § 40 iii (3). Related forms are Mn. W. dylyet, dlyet 'merit; debt', Mn. W. dylëd D.W. 8c, dycled T.A. A 14967/29 'debt', § 82 ii (3); the latter is the Gwyn. dial. form; late Mn. dyled; Bret. âle 'debt', dleout 'devoir', Ir. dligim 'I deserve', dliged 'law, right'; all these may represent either *dlig- or *dlyg- in Kelt.: Goth. dulge 'debt' < *dhligh-, O.Bulg. dlégî '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 referring to such a root O.E. lagu, E. law, and Latin lex (lex, Sommer 293), if for the latter we assume -gh/g- § 101 iii (1).

§ 200. i. hwde, hwdy 'here! take this' and moes 'give me' are used in the imperative only; in Mn. W. hwde has pl. hwdiweh; moes has Mn. pl. moesswech R.M. 182, Mn. moesswech Gr.O. 58.

Hwde vodrwy W.M. 168, R.M. 234 'take a ring'; hwde di y votrwy honn R.M. 173 'take thou this ring'; hwdy di theano ef C.M. 31 'do thou take it'; hwdiweh M.K. [78], B.CW. 38.

Moes § 154 iii (2) ex.; moes wy march W.M. 17 'give me my horse'; moes imi y gorolweh W.M. 164 'give me the goblet'; Melys; moes mwy prov. ['It is] sweet; give me more'; moes i mi dy galon Diar. xxiii 26; moes, moes do. xxx 15; moesswech rhynogoch air Barn. xx 7.
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 *hwy for *hwy § 78 ii < *s(y)oi 'for (thry) self' the reflexive *sue- 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 *hwy was taken for a verb), or is perhaps voc.; *hw dydi then is *hwy dydi. The S.W. *hwre is late, M.LL. ii 108 (not by him, see do. 319).

moes < *moi estô(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 *-ûmi, which is sometimes original, and represents Ar. *-û- or *-o-; but -af was often substituted for -if < Brit. *-i-me < Ar. *-e-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-fer-af 'I restore', √bher-; Lat. ferô, Gk. φέπω. So rhed-af 'I run', gward-af 'I succour', eh-ed-af 'I fly', etc.

(2) F-grade of √, as in gwan-af 'I wound' < *gwon-, Ir. gonin, √ghen-: Gk. φωνῶ. So pod-af 'I bake', a-gor-af 'I open' § 99 vi, etc.

(3) R-grade of √, as in dyg-af 'I bring' < *duk- § 182 ii (2); also V-grade, as in co-sp-af 'I punish', Ir. co-sc-aim < *con-sqh. ('talk with'), √seg-: '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. δῶμαι.)

(4) R-grade of √ with n-infixed, as in genn-af 'I am contained' < *gnyd- § 173 iv (r), √ghed-: E. get; and in gwnn 'I know' < *<wInd, √yed- § 191 iii (r).—W. pryraf 'I buy' < *q<rinû-mi, √q<reû- § 179 iii (1). The infix comes before the last cons. of the root, and is syllabic (-me) before a sonant; the last cons. in *q<reû- is ñ (ñ = ñz), and before ñ the syllable is -na- § 63 ν (2), hence *q<rinû-; cf. Gk. Dor. διτμαυ, √demû-.

(5) R-grade of √ + ñ, as in seini-af 'I sound' < *st<ñû-mi, √sten-; saìn 'a sound' is an old v.n., cf. darstain 'to resound' § 156 i (13).

(6) V-grade of √ + ñ > W. -yô-, as in b-yô-af § 189 iv (1); and gweinyô-af n.p. 1244 'I serve', 3rd sg. gweinyô do. 1238, gweinyôa
1254 < *uo-gn-ī-, vetica, § 196 ii (4); the v.n. is gweini < *uo-
gnim; § 203 vii (4). These represent Ar. iteratives and causatives in
-ēje- (i) -n-.
(7) R-grade of  + *-sq- > W. -ych-, as llwych-af (late corruption
llewyrchaf) < *lug-isk-,  leuq/γ -i; Gk. -v-κω; — F-grade of  + *-sq-
kviekė ‘ I invite,’ O. Pruss. quoi ‘ he will,’ Lat. vias, O. Lat. vois ‘ thou
wishest’, Lat. invitus, (qui > Lat. v), Gk. κείμαι γνωρίζω επιθυμειαι. Hes.
—Ar. suff. *-sq-.
(8) Other Ar. stem-forms, mostly deverbatives and denominatives,
such as -d- or -dh- stems, as rhathe, rhatlu § 91 ii; -i- stems, as
gadaf ‘ I leave’ < *gē-t- i (2); -y- stems, as (gwr)andawaf ‘I listen’
§ 76 iii (1); stems with -m-, as tyaf ‘ I grow’ < *tu-m- : Lat. tumeo,
✓ tepāx- ‘ 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; gwasanaethaf ‘ I serve’ from v.n. gwasanaeth ‘ to serve’;
as the latter was also an abs. noun meaning ‘ service,’ a new v.n.
gwasanaethlu was made from the verb, § 203 i (1); ymddir(i)edaf
‘ I trust’ from v.n. ymddir(i)ed; andawaf from andaw 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 Ml. 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.
gedwych, 3rd sg. pres. subj. gato = gatto R.P. 1271; na at R.P. 1299
> nat do. 1216, Mn. W. nād ‘ let not,’ na ato > nato ‘ forbid’; from
these we have nadaf ‘ I forbid,’ v.n. nadu c.c. 187, Card. nadel.
Och arfgywy, heb y Gwarchmei, gat y mi vyen ... Ac 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-ād a P.G.G. 22 ‘ forego’ impv.

Gwedd ewyn, cyd gweddwyf,
Gadu ar Dwuw 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 awm bei’m getid.—G.Gl. r 83/59.

‘ And to him would I go, if I were allowed.’

Nad i forch newidio f’oes.—D.G. 295.

‘ Let not a woman change my life’ (I read niweidio ‘mar’).
Nato Dwo § 159 ii (2), E.P. 274 'God forbid'; nadodd D.G. 105 'prevented'. Gedwch i blant bychain ddafod attafi Marc x 14.

2. dadawaf: 3rd sg. pres. ind. edeu, Mn. W. gedy, 2nd sg. impv. adaw, 2nd pl. edewch, Mn. W. gadewch, 3rd sg. pres. subj. adawo, etc.

Adaw ti y lle hunn ll. a. 105 'leave thou this place'. Ac yn y llestyr yd ymolcho yd edeu y modrhynw 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 chware adawet y groen r.b. 965 'whoso goes to play let him leave his skin behind'.

gadaf is itself prob. an old denom., i (8), from *gθ dét-, √gθē-: Skr. jāhātī 'leaves', Lat. hā-rēs, Gk. χῆρος. adawaf is a denom. from adaw, which may be an ad-compound of the same root with y- verbal noun suffix § 202 v (r); thus *ati-gθ-w> Brit. *ate-gay> ad-aw. Initial g- begins to appear in adaw in the 14th cent.: gedewis l.l. a. 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 eds. of the Bible gedwch l.c. has been changed by vandals to gadewch.

(b) cyfodaf 'I rise, raise', v.n. cyfodi, is generally reduced in Mn. W. to codaf, codi (cyfod- > cygod- > co-wole- > cod-). But in lit. W. the 3rd sg. pres. ind. cyfyl Matt. xvii 23, and 2nd sg. impv. cyfod Gen. xxxi 13, remained. In the recent period, however, a dial. form cywyd (< *cô|yd < cywyd) is sometimes used for the former, and even as impv., e.g. Ceiriod c.g. 94.

In Gwyn. the dial. forms are cyfyd 'rises', cô|ad 'rise!' the latter now being replaced by a new cod from the vb. stem.

cyf-od-af < *kom-(y)ot-, √pet- 'fly': Gk. ποτη, πτηματ, O. Pers. ud-a-paiata 'rises'; cyf-od- orig. 'rise' (of birds, bees, etc.). The √ also means 'to fall' Walde² 573, hence W. ad-i 'to fall' (of snow), as Ottid etry b.b. 89 'snow falls'; hence ôd 'snow'.

(3) In Mn. W., especially in the late period, some verbs have been re-formed with the v.n. as stem; thus arhoaf became arhosaf § 187 ii; adeilaf became adeiladaf § 203 iii (i); olrhēaf 'I trace', v.n. olrhain § 203 iv (1), became olrheiniaf; and darlieaf 'I read' became darllennaf, or darllenaf, formed from the dial. v.n. darllen, for the formal form darlein, darllain.

As there is no early evidence of darllen it cannot be assumed to be from llēn < lleen < Lat. legend-. darllennaf instead of *darlleiniaf may be due to the influence of ysgrifenaf. But in S.W. it is sounded darllenaf with single -n-, as if influenced by llēn. In the 1620 Bible the vb. is darlennad Dan. v 17, but impv. darllain Es. xxix 11, darlein Jer. xxxvi 6, v.n. darllein 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'; meddiann-af 'I take possession', v.n. -u, from meddiant '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'; chwennychaf 'I desire', v.n. chwennychu L.A. i3, whenychu R.B.B. 89, chwennych D.G. 91, from chwant 'desire'; tewych-af 'I fatten', v.n. -u, from tev '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' < *qawst- (: O.E. hwost), pesychaf 'I cough', pesychu 'to cough', pesach 'coughing'; the last is a suffixless v.n., and is still used as a v.n. in S.W. dialects. Ar. *-isq-* > *-ypχ > -wch § 96 iii (4), § 26 vi (5).

diolwch 'to thank' W.M. ii, 'thanks' do. 34, became diolcho 'to thank' R.B.B. 134, 'thanks' do. 10, and *diolychaf 'I thank' became diolchaf W.M. 104 even earlier; diolwch < *dé-jål-isq- : W. iolaf 'I praise', v.n., joli, eiriolaf 'I entreat', v.n. eirjwol < *ar-jål-; Kelt. *jål- speak fervently < Ar. *jål- 'fervent': Gk. ζήλος, Dor. ζαλός 'zeal'.

(3) Suff. -yg-, as in gwethyg-af 'I become worse', v.n. -u, from gwath 'worse'; mawryg-af 'I extol', v.n. -u, from mawr 'great'.

The suff. is prob. a variant of -ych- after th, ll, cf. -wch § 143 iii (23). The stem-form of Ml. W. gwellygjaw from gwall 'defect' has been influenced by the synonymous diffygyjaw < Lat. de-fic-.

(4) Suff. -ha-; the -h- unvoiced -b, -d, -g, and often -f, -δ § 111 iii. It has various uses:

(a) 'to seek', added to nouns, forming v.n.'s without a v.n. ending: cardôta 'to beg' (cardod 'charity'); blôta 'to beg meal' (blawd 'meal'); cîca 'to beg meat' (cîg 'meat'); yta 'to beg corn' (yd 'corn'); pysgôta 'to fish' (pysgod 'fish'); cnena 'to gather nuts' (cynau 'nuts'); adâra 'to go bird-catching' (adar 'birds'); cynûta 'to gather fuel' (cynnud 'fuel'); llygôta 'to catch mice' (llygod 'mice'); gwerîca 'to seek a wife' (gwrain 'wife'); llofia 'to glean' (llaw(f) 'hand'), etc. None of these has a corresponding verb, § 204 i; but many have a nomen agentis in -hai, as blôtai, cynûtai § 143 iv (2).

These forms are proper compounds of noun stems with *sag-< *seg-,
(b) "to go as, act as", in Ml. W. marchockaaf 'I ride', marchockaawd s.g. 34, marchocawn do. 35; v.n. marchogaeth do. r, 35. A variant of the verb is formed without a suff.: marchogaf, 3rd sg. pres. subj. marchoco A.L. i 24; imps. marchocer do. 264, also with v.n. marchogayth ib.

Brit. *markákos agâme 'I go as rider', treated as one word, gave *marchoghazaf > marchochâf. But the v.n. was a proper compound *markâko-aktâ > *markâkâktâ > marchogaeth 'to ride'. In Dyfed a new v.n. was formed from the vb. stem: marchochâf, now corrupted to brochgâu. (-aaf implies active flexion, but the vb. was orig. middle.)

(c) 'to become, be' with adjectives; as gwanhaf 'I become weak', v.n. gwanhâu; cryfhaf 'I become strong', v.n. cryfhâu, dial. cryffân; trugarhaf 'I am merciful, have mercy', v.n. trugarhâu, from trugar; etc.

Brit. *yannos agâme 'I go weak' > *yannos-agame > W. gwannhaaf. 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. 1. dâtâsmas instead of dâârâh smas following the sg. dâtâsmi: 'I shall give' < dâtâ asmi 'I am a giver.'—W. parhâf 'I continue' (v.n. parhâu, pâra) < Brit. *paros-agame 'I go on the same' < Lat. par.

(d) 'to make' with adjectives; glanhaf 'I clean', v.n. glanhâu; gwasthatâf 'I flatten, straighten', v.n. gwastatâu; cadarnhaf 'I strengthen', v.n. cadarnhâu.

Brit. *glanosagâme > W. glanhâaf. 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 difethâ 'to make, spoil' < *di-fe8-ha 'to make unusable, unenjoyable', √ med- 'enjoy', § 199 i (3). The verb was difethâaf, see difetha-awô r.r.b. 394, difetha-eist W.M. 29, difetha-er 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 dyfrhâf 'I water', v.n. dyfrhâu; coffâf 'I remember', v.n. coffâu or coffa; bwytfâf 'I eat', v.n. bwyta.

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: mitigäre, rémigäre, navigäre, etc.

(5) Suff. -ho; in paratoaf 'I prepare' § 185 i; crynhoaf 'I compress, summarize', v.n. crynhōi.

W. paratoaf < *parad-ho-=af < *parāto-sod- 'set ready' < Lat. parāitus + *sod-, √ sed- § 63 ii; cf. arhōaf § 187 iii; see also § 74 i (1).

(6) Suff. -i; this is added to nouns, and is largely used: taniaf 'I fire' (tān 'fire'); glaniaf 'I land' (glan 'shore'); soniaf 'I mention' (sōn 'rumour'); meddyliaf 'I think' (meddwel 'thought'); rhodiaf 'I go about' (rhawd 'course'); etc.

This is the Ar. denominative suff. *-ie-, as seen in Skr. apas-yāti 'is active' from āpas- 'act'; Gk. τέλεω (<*telo-ς) from τέλεο-; δηλω (<*dēlo-ς) from δῆλος; etc., Meillet, Intr. i 183.

In old formations the -i- of course affects the preceding vowel in W.; thus nweidiaf 'I injure': nived, Ml. W. er-nywed w. 48a, § 76 iv (4); peidiaf, v.n. peidio 'to cease, be quiet' < Brit. *pat- < *qʰ(ŋ)-ios-, √ qheig-; Lat. quiēs.

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 i is kept in the vb.; thus disglair 'bright' < *de-eks-kl(t)ari6s (clai < *kλίαρις § 75 vi (1)); hence W. disgleiriaf 'I shine', v.n. disgleirio. From these forms it was extended to other adjectives with -ei- as perfeithio, perfečtio from perfeith < Lat. perfectus; and with -i-, as gwirio 'to verify' from gwir § 35 iii (but cywirio from cywir).

The suffix is generally used in verbs borrowed from Eng.; thus pasiaf 'I pass', passiodd Can. ii 11; peintiaw 'to paint' (§ 16 v (2)); ystopiawad s.g. 72 'stopped'. In some cases two forms are used; thus ffaélyaw 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. adrawb, vb. adroddaf; anfon 'to send', vb. anfonaf; bwyla 'to eat', vb. bwylā=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. γένος, Lat. gen-us; thus ate-be <*-ate-seq*-os. The loc. *-es-i of this gives the Lat. inf. -ere; thus O. Lat. genere 'gignere' = genere abl. of genus, Brugmann^2 II i 525. The W. v.n. may be acc., in which case it often stands, as gyllaf atbe 'I can answer'. But it may also be nom. as ate-be a wnaf'[it is] answer that I will do'. The word is the same as the ablstr. noun ate-be 'an answer'; and perhaps need not be assumed to come from an oblique case.

(3) The verb trawaf h.m. ii 252 has 3rd sg. pres. ind. tereu B.B. 63, and v.n. tarauf 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.: trawef w.m. 24, r.m. 15; trewis w.m. 80, 90, r.m. 58, 66, c.m. 18; trawaf-s g.s. 18, trawssai do. 31, trawwsei do. 61; trowher w.m.l. 3, trowhet do. 29. The Late Mn. tarawaf, taraufid are artificial; the natural forms are still trawaf, trowiad. If the etymology trawaf <*trug-ami (ru<ur[se]** § 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 denominatives formed 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 ō conjugation.—-u <*-ōu-, prob. < loc.*-ō-men (or nom.-acc.*-ō-men): Skr. dat. dā-vān-e, Gk. Cypr. δο-φα-ν-α, Att. δὸ-ναί; (*-ō-men is also possible, with the suff. of byw § 204 ii (5); but this is a rarer form).—-aw for *-aw(f)< loc. *-ā-men (or nom.-acc.*-ā-men); see § 203 ii (4); but Ir. has also -mu-§ 203 vii (4), and -mā-, beside -mā-n- flexion.

-i belongs to the i conjugation; the O.W. form was -im (≡ -iv) § 110 iii (5); hence from *i-men (or *i-men), as assumed above for -aw; thus rhoddī 'to put' < Brit. *ro-di-men <*>pro-dhē-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, pullu, diddanu, tarfu; taeru, arfaethu, saethu, gwaeedu; credu, trefnu, sennu, lledu; nyddu,crynu, prydddu, melysu. Exceptions: a few stems having a, ν (3); gweddaff 'I cry' has v.n. gweidi r.m. 174, l.a. 154; medaf has medi B.B. 45.

Ml. W. caeu w.m. 24 'to shut' is contracted in Mn. W. to cau § 33 iv, § 52 iii (3).

iv. -aw, Mn. -o is added to (1) i-stems; thus medyljaw w.m. 10, tyyjaw do. 16, rhodio, diffygio, teithio, gweithio, seilio, hrielio, etc. In Ml. W. the i is often omitted, as treulaw w.m. 6, Mn. W. treulio;
keisaw 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 kynnigaf has kynn nic w.m. 30 'to offer'; distrywiaf has distryw r.b.b. 159, distriw do. 89, now distrywio. In Late Mn. W. meddwl, sôn have superseded meddyio, sonjo as v.n.'s. In daliaf the -i- represents original -g-, and daly, dala, late dal represent an original suffixless *dalz, see § 110 ii (2). Similarly hely, hela, hel, vb. heliaf, heliodd gen. xxvi 33 'hunted'; but N.W. has beside hel '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 -i- of buriaf is from -y- which appears as w in the v.n. buruyg, see ib.

As ai is ei in the penult § 81 i, and stems with -e-, take -i- § 201 iii (6) it is seen that denominatives from nouns and adj.s. with -ai- must have v.n.'s in -io; thus areithio, disgleirio, diffethio, gwenhiethtio from arwaith, diglaier, diffaith, gwieniaid. (If these had been areath, disglair, etc., as now often misspelt, the v.n.'s would be, by iii above, *araethu, *disglaeru, etc., which are never spoken or written.) There is only one exception; cyfeithiu (a late word) has -u- because the vb. cyfeithiaf became cyfeithio by dissim. of ʔ's; the regular cyfeithio also occurs, p 218/179 b.

(2) stems having i, u, eu, eý; as blino, gwrido, llifo, rhifo; curo, dymuno, gyrmuso; euro, heulo, cenuo; buydo, rhwyfo, arswydo, twylo.

Ml. W. dinystyr n.m. 32 'destroys' has v.n. dinistrarw r.p. 1246; in Mn. W. dinistr became dinistir by § 77 ix, and the verb is re-formed with -i- suff., v.n. dinistrio deut. xii 2. (The late dinistrio is a misspelling; the sound in the penult is not y but i.) dinistr < *dónog(i)-stro-: mixed § 76 iv. (4), suff. as in Lat. monstum.

Some stems ending in -eu have suffixless v.n.'s, as deckreu 'to begin', maddew 'to part with, to forgive', amew 'to doubt', vb. amhwef. Also in Mn. W. tramwoy Job i 7, arbwy D.G. 104.

On account of the early change of eý to wy after a vowel, we have -u for example in tywyll; in these cases, therefore, the suffix is no guide to the orig. form. (tywyll < *tywyll § 111 i (2).)

v. -i is added to (1) stems ending in w; thus berwi, chwerwi, enwi, sylwi, gwelwi. Some of these have suffixless v.n.'s, as cadw, galw, marw.

Two distinct formations are represented here.—i. In verbs which take -i the -w- either forms part of the root, as in berwi, ñhberwi- § 63 iv, or belongs to the stem of the noun or adj. of which the verb is a denom., as gwelwi, from gwelv 'pale'.—2. In verbs which do not take -i the w is itself the v.n. suffix, from *-wen (or *-wos), see ii above, and the vb. is a denom. formed from the v.n.; thus cadw 'to keep' < *kat-wen, ñhkat- 'hide, cover, keep' : O.H.G. huolen 'care for.
keep', E. heed, Lat. cassis; galwy 'to call' < *gal-uyen, *gal- : Lat. gallus, E. call. For two of these v.n.'s, by-*y and mar-*y, 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 *merfy P 12/124 R. 'to die'.—From Brit. *tānos (< *tāno-s § 63 vii (2)) 'full', a v.n. *tān-uyen would give *llawng, from which may come llanw R. M. 94, llenw W. M. 23, R. M. 15, llewni R. M. 175.—arddelw (now arddeli) for arddeli.

Stems ending in -aw are similarly divided: suffixless adaw § 201 ii (2), gwrandaw do. i (8), taraw i (2) above;—with -i, tewi, distewi only (taraw having gone over to the other class). D.G. uses dišiavu 165, and Mn.W. croesawaf has croesawu.

(2) stems having oe or o, whether the latter be original o or a mutation of aw; thus oedi, troelli, oeri, poethi; llenoni from llonni 'merry', cronni from craven 'hoard'; torri, cyflogi, arfogi.

Some stems having o take no suffix, as dangos, anfon, adrød 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 20, or agor M. K. [32], B. C. 56 (agori R. M. 174 with punctum delens, i late).

(3) some stems having a, which is affected to e; as erchi, vb. archaf; peri, vb. paraf; sengi, vb. sango; perchi, vb. parchaf; dafni, vb. dafnaf.

mynegi, Ml. W. menegi, and trengi are stems with a; in Ml. and Early Mn. W. the verbs are managaf and tranagaf; but in Late Mn. W. the e of the v.n. has intruded into the vb., and mynegaf, tranagaf are the usual forms.—In B.B. 8 deli (il = l-l) occurs for the usual daly, dala iv (1).—dafni 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. dafn i. M. 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. gwasanaeth 'to attend, serve', later gwasanaeth.

Ef a dely guassanayth ar e vrens[ühines]... Ny dely ef eyste,... namyn guasanaeth oy sevyl 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 gwasanaeth correctly, with -u as the reading of mss. C.D.E. In Late Ml. W. gwasanaethu 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-hā-atf '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'.
(2) -ael or -el, in gafael, gafel § 188 ii (3), § 201 ii (1); caffael, cafel, 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, ymdæach, cliunarddach, caentach p 5/x r. These have no verbs. The ending is sometimes substituted for another: chwiliach 'to pry' for chwilio 'to seek'.

(4) The above are v.n.'s from √aȝ- seen in -ha- stems; thus -aeth <-*-ak-tā (<-*āk-<-*-ak-; the ā would be shortened before kt even though accented) § 201 iii (4) (b), with *-tā suffix as in bod 'to be' <*bhu-tā.—-aēl: Ir. -āil <-*-aȝ-li-s, with fem. *-li- suff.; the suffix *-li- forms fem. abstract nouns in Slavonic also, and Armenian has an infinitive suffix -l.—-ach <-*-aks-<-*-aȝ-s-, perhaps <-*aȝ-sen; cf. Gk. φιάν<φιέν<φρυέν


(2) -fan(n), -fa, in cywfan, ML. W. kwynfan ILA. 154, beside cwynaw, cwyno; gridvan ILA. 154; Mn. W. griddfan whence vb. griddfannaf, gridva R.M. 132; echedfan ML. W. chetvan, beside echedeg, vb. echedaf 'I fly'.

(3) -ain, ML. -ein, in llefain, llevein R.M. 132, vb. llefaf 'I cry'; llemain, late lamu, ML. llemein, vb. llamaf 'I leap'; germain 'to cry'; ML. germein, no verb; ochain, vb. ochaf; ubain, diasbedain with no verbs. With -t in dioéifeint ILA. 129 'suffering', Mn. W. dioddefaint, only occurring as an abstract noun.

(4) cwynaw < Brit. loc. *kein-ā-men, denom. from *qeyino-, § 101 ii (2); cwynofain from the dat. of the same stem, *kein-ā-mnĩ <-*m-nai : Gk. ὕμνεων, Skr. dā-mane 'to give'.—-ovant represents another case, prob. loc. *-ā-mnĩ; -ant <-*nna <-*n-, § 62 i (2).—-fan(n), -fa represents the same case as the last, but with a different accent; thus griddfan 'to groan' <-*grido-mnĩ, √ghreja<x : O.E. grinian, E. groan; cywfnyn is similar, or formed by analogy.—Ulf 'cry' < Brit. *lemen <-*lep-men, <-*lep-: Skr. lápati 'chatters, murmurs, laments'; llefain is the dative *lemani <-*lep-nai; llefaf is a denom. from Ulf. Similarly garm § 95 ii (3), germain <-*gar-sm-nai; no verb was formed for this—lam : 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 ILA. 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, L.A. 123, verb adeilaif; Ml. W. gwylat W.M. 74, R.M. 53 ‘to watch’, gwylgat s.g. 2, vb. gwylaif W.M. 74, R.M. 53, also with ī; chwibanat C.M. 48 ‘to whistle’, vb. chwihanaf; dyhëad B.C.W. 124 ‘to gasp’ beside dyhêu, vb. dyhëaf.

In Late Mnl. W. adeilaif 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 ī after l points to eil coming from *e-gl- § 35 ii (3); hence adeilaif < *at-i-eglâmi < *-peglo- by dissim. for *ugl- e-stems: *yeglâmi < *-peglo-

(2) -aid, Ml. -eit, added to ī-stems: ystyrîejit C.M. 61 ‘to consider’, synyjeit W.M. 33, R.M. 22 ‘to take thought’, tybyjeit s.g. 75 ‘to imagine’, megyjeit M.A. i 251 ‘to think’, errynnîejit L.A. 125 ‘to implore’, ysghiifyjeit C.M. 5 ‘to snatch’; Ml. W. meddyliaid D.G. 22, ystyrîaid, syniâid, tyhîaid; -o is also used with these stems; and erfyân is now suffixless. -eit is added to one v-stem: ysgytwiteit R.B.B. 58 beside ysgytwaif L.A. 166, Ml. W. ysgywd, vb. ysgydwaf ‘I shake’.

On account of the dial. reduction of ai to e, § 6 iii, this suffix is confused in Late Mnl. W. with -ad; thus, ystyrìed, synièd, tybìed; these three are in common use. G.J. wrote ystyrìad correctly, Hyff Gynnwys 28.

The form ysgywd is v.n. and 3rd sg. pres. ind.; it is for ysgydw by metath. of y, cf. echwyô ‘evening, west’ < Lat. occiduus; — ysgydw ‘brandishes’ occurs M.A. i 285; — stem ysgydw-<*sgti>- for *sqti-<*sqtyA-: Lat: quatio for *(s)quatio, O.Sax. skuddjan; W. sgtyô ‘to shake violently’, ysgwôd ‘a push’.

(3) -ed, Ml. -et, in kerêt W.M. 486 ‘to walk’, Ml. W. cerdded, vb. cerddaf; clywed § 194 v (1); guelet W.M. 17, Ml. W. gweled, gweld ‘to see’, vb. gwelaf; ystet W.M. 182 ‘to drink’, Ml. W. yfed, vb. yfæf; myned ‘to go’, vb. af § 193 ii. The -ed became part of the stem in dan-wared ‘to mimic’, √ yerêi- § 63 vii (3); ymddiried, ymôret ‘to trust’; dir ‘true’.

cerred < *kerd-, Corn. cerdhes ‘to go, walk’, Bret. kerzet id., Ir. ceird ‘walk’, √ querêd- ‘turn about’; Gk. κόρεας, Lat. cardo.— swelaif ‘I see’, Bret. swelout, Corn. swelos ‘to see’ < √ ghuel- § 93 iv: Lith. žvelgû ‘I look towards’, žvligêti ‘to see’, Gk. βλέπω ‘I fascinate’ (‘fascination is ever by the eye’ Bacon), √ ghuel-, extd. *ghuel-g-. There is also a gwelaif from √ yel- ‘wish’: tra velho Duw W.M. 72 ‘while God will’, Ml. W. os gweloch yn dda ‘if you please’.

(4) -ud, Ml. -ut, earlier -wyt, in dyweddut § 194 i (4); kysewt
b.t. 27, usually *cysgu* 'to sleep'; *cadwid* (≡ *cadwyd*) B.B. 62, *cadwyd* w. *10a*, usually *cadw* 'to keep'; *ymchwelut* w.m. 10, 14, s.g. 23 'to turn', *ymchoelut* c.m. 5. There is some confusion, even in Mn. W., of this suff. and *-yt*; thus the last word is written *ymchoelty* in r.m. 7. In Mn. W. *dywedut* is spelt *dywedyl*; but G.J. wrote *dywedul* Hyf. 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. *edryd* 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* Il.a. 26, beside *gochel* ib., R.B.B. 106 'to avoid', Mn. W. *gochet*, vb. *gochelf*; *diengyt* Il.a. 72 (Gwyn. dial. *dewid*) beside *diang* ib., Mn. W. *dianc* 'to escape'.

(6) -d, Ml. -t, in Mn. 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 *llid* M.a. i 408), verb *dilynaf* 'I follow', whence in Mn. W. the v.n. *dilyn*, also *dilin* D.G. 343; Mn. W. *erlit* w.m. 16, Mn. W. *erlid* 'to chase, persecute', vb. *erlynaf*; in Mn. W. a new vb. *erlidiaf* 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 Mn. W., e.g. r.m. 64; *bod* 'to be' § 189 iv (6).

(7) -s, for *d* in the stem, in *go(r)ðiwes*, vb. *go(r)ðiwesaf* § 194 vi, Mn. W. v.n. *goddiwes*, late *goddiweddyd*; *aros*, verb *arhoad* for *arhobaf* § 187.

*A megys* nat *ymodiwes* un creadur *a Dreu, ac ef yn* *ymodiwes* a phob peth ... Il.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. *-tā, § 189 iv (6). The preceding vowel is generally, but not always, R-grade.—*adeilad* 'to build' = *adeilad* f. 'a building' < *ati-eglātā < *-tā—*eit may be from a dat. *-atī < *-tiai.—*et < *-i-tā; as *yfed* 'to drink' < *pibitā, √ pōi—*; also from *-e-to-, *-e-tā, cf. § 143 iii (12).—The y of *-yt* comes from the i of *-ri, *-li* representing Ar. *g, *h*; thus corresponding to *cymeraf* 'I take' < *kom-bher-* with F-grade *bher-*; the v.n. had R-grade *bhryg*, as *kom-bhryg* → W. *cymryd*; so *goglyt* < *go-kł-tu-, √ kel- 'hide'. The *-y*- tended to spread from these.—The v.n. *dilit* is a similar formation, < *de-*tu-*, where *-li* is R2-grade of √ lejā- 'to stick'; the vb. *dilynaf* < *de-*linā-mi, with n-infix § 201 i (4). The verb *lynaf* (: Ir. *lenim*) disappeared in W., and its compounds, as *erlyn
(for *erlym), show the influence of the synonymous glynaf.— *s (for -s) represents -d-t-, § 187 iii.— ud < -wyd is a different formation from the others; the most probable explanation of the wyd seems to be that it comes from new ai § 75 i (3); thus dywedut < dywedwyd < *do-yet-aito < *do-yet-atio : Lat. abstr. suff. —aitio, see vii (3).

iv. (1) -ain, Ml. -ein, for -e- in the stem, in ořein, darllefain § 201 ii (3), dywein ‘to rise’, the last surviving only as a noun meaning ‘east’. Examples of the verbs: ořeuros w.m. 469, darllefwyd do. 49, dywearevō M.A. i 300. The v.n. arwein has vb. arwedaf in Ml. W., later arweiniaf; so kywein : cywebei w.m. 119.

Gwell kadu nos ořein R.B. 968 ‘better keep than seek.’

(2) -wyn, for -yg-, -ego in the stem: dywn, verb dygaf § 194 iii; ymddfyn, vb. ymddfyaf ib. ; amwyn verb amygaf § 194 iv; adolywn, beside adolyg, also atolyg in Ml. W., verb adolygaf ‘I pray’.

^tie adolywn y un vynet R.M. 197 ‘lest any should be asked to go’.

Adolwg a wnaf G.Y.C. M.A. i 517 ‘I pray’.

(3) The suffix is *no- ; cf. O.E. -en < *-ono-.—*-egno -> -ein § 104 ii (1). Medial -eg- before a vowel > -ig- > y or e.—*-uk-no ->-wyn § 104 iii (1).—ar-, cy-wain seem to come from √ wydh- § 65 ii (3), but the verbs imply √ yedh- § 149 i; as dn did not become gn (e.g. blym-e, not *bitin- § 104 iv (1)), we cannot assume √ yedh- for the v.n.’s.

v. -eg, Ml. -ee, in rhedeg ‘to run’, vb. rhedaf; ehedeg ‘to fly’, vb. ehedaf.

-eg < *-ikā abst. noun (orig. adj.) suffix, § 143 iii (14).

vi. (1) -an, added to -stems, borrowed from O. or Ml. E.; as hongian ‘to hang’ (O.E. hangian), ystwyrian ‘to stir’ (O.E. styrian); hence added to others as trotijan R.P. 1272, meulijan ‘to mumble’. Added to W. stems -ian forms a sort of pejorative v.n., as gorweadjan ‘to lie about lazily’, ymlybwan ‘to plod one’s way’, esgylīan ‘to loaf’. It is not much used in the lit. lang.— Without i it appears as an abstr. suff.: cusan, Ml. W. cussan ‘kiss’ < O.E. cyssan ‘to kiss’.

Eng. strong verbs generally become -stems in W. with v.n. -o as gildō ‘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 tincijal beside tincjan ‘to tinkle’, mewial beside mewian ‘to mew’; cyfnewial D.G. 145 for cyfnewidio; naddial for naddu, techial for techu; sisial whence vb. sisialaf ‘I whisper’; myngial ‘to mumble’, no vb.
vii. Each of the following v.n.'s has a form peculiar to itself:


The suffix is prob. the same as the abstr. noun suff. as § 143 iii (6).

(2) aredic, Ml. W. eredic B. B. 44 'to plough', vb. arddaf § 100 iii (2). There is a v.n. ereti (≡ eredi) in B. B. 55, and a recent artificial arddu; but the v.n. in common use is aredic.

Pwy bynnac a dorro teryn og eredyc, y brenhyn a 8yty yr ychen ay haardo A. L. i 196 ‘Whoever shall destroy a boundary by ploughing it, the king shall be entitled to the oxen that ploughed 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. chweir 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, ë yerë(í) : Lat. ëdeo § 63 vii (5); —chwerthin, Bret. c’hoarzin, < *s-yar-tin-i < *s-ur-tin-ai, dat. of *s-ur-tin-ti, abs. noun in -ti:t : Lat. -tio; the oblique cases have *-tin- (< -ti:n-ti:) in Kelt. as in Osc.-Umbr., not -tio-n-as in Lat., Brugmann’s II i 370. 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) gwei ni ‘to serve’, vb. gwni ddaf.

The -i of gwei ni may represent the ò which stands in ablaut with -é; *uo-ánu-mu > gweini : O. W. gnim, Ml. W. gnif, Ir. gnim, u-flexion. On the verb see § 201 i (6).

(5) seffull ‘to stand’, vb. safaf.

safaf is a denom. from a noun *sthe-mo-s, ë sthë- ‘stand’, like tyfáf ‘I grow’ from *tumo-s, § 201 i (8); —seffull < *sthom-i-li-s, with the iterative and causative -i- (: -éi), and the suffix -li-, as in gafael i (4); l between ò’s gives W. ll § 111 i (2).

(6) gwneuthur ‘to make, do’, vb. gwnaf § 193 x (4).

(7) There are one or two other anomalous forms such as
chwillath D.G. 319 (beside chwilota); annos 'to incite' (beside annog); gwastrod-edd Gr.O. 178, 300 from gwastrod '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); yodro 'to milk'; ym-lâdd 'to tire one's self' *ybi-lâd-, ylêd- : Gk. ηδείν 'to be tired', Lat. lassus § 156 i (2); but ym-lâd 'to fight', yqûd- § 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?
Mae'r haf wedi ymwy 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 ddiol,
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.II. r. 32 'to live justly'.

Gwell bedd a gorwedd gwirion
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 cerwir sir, erwr 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. ym fy myw 'in my life', meaning 'for the life of me'.

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Also generally with prefixed pronouns: o dihenghy a'th vyw gennyt w.m. 476 'if thou escapest with thy life' : Mn. W. ym fy myw 'in my life', meaning 'for the life of me'.
(3) They are adjectives when they qualify nouns expressed or implied:

\[ Y \text{ gwr marw, e gwr morwym} \]
\[ Ddwaer dy fedd er dy fwyrm.—T.A., g. 229. \]

'Dead man, a maiden loves the dust of thy grave for thy sake.'

\[ Ar \text{ bol y marw yr dylan,} \]
\[ Ar \text{ bol y fwy'r wylaf fi.—D.E., p} \text{112/840.} \]

'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 \( yu \) with the soft mutation:

\[ Ni \text{ bu'n fwy, cyd bo'n i fedd,} \]
\[ Ni \text{ bu'n farw neb un fawredd.—H.K.} \]

'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 \( yu \), of the verb 'to be', as \( bydd fyw \) lit. 'be alive' i.e. live! hwnnw a \( fydd \) marw

Ezec. xviii 4.

\[ Fy \text{ Nuw, pei cawn fy newis,} \]
\[ Ni \text{ byddai fyw o'm bodd fis.—D.G. 174.} \]

'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 i 3, lvi i 3, late and rarely used, and meiryg, meirgwn. In periphrastic conj. the pl. meiryg is used for the v.n. when the subj. is pl., as \( y \) maent wedi meiryg, by a confusion of the v.n. and adj.; cf. gwedyd mydow

m.a. i 228 for gwedyd meðwi pl.—Compared: marwed L.G.C. 218 'as dead', \( yu \) gwywywyget s.g. 77 'as alive'; marwach, S.Ph. cy. ix 34.

(5) \( byw \) &lt; *\( g^\text{3i\text{-}}uos \) § 63 vii (3), which may be an adj. like Lat. \( vivus \), or a noun like Gk. \( bios.—marwyn \) &lt; *\( m^\text{4r-\text{uos (e, not e, before } y,} \)

§ 63 iii) similarly formed from \( \sqrt{mer-} \); in Lat. \( mortuus \) &lt; *\( m^\text{rtyu\text{-uos the} i \) is intrusive according to Brugmann² 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 \( bod \) &lt; *\( bhu-ta \) is f. in hafod § 189 iv (6); abstract nouns in -\( aeth \) are f. § 139 ii; gafael noun is f., gafael
**VERBAL ADJECTIVES.**

**§ 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.


iv. Suffix -awt: *guit* *gwyrohad* (=*gwyd gwyrohawd*) B.B. 89 ‘trees [are] bent’; *At(wyn) lloer llewychawt* B.T. 9 ‘sweet [is the] moon shining’.


vi. Suffix -ad in *crwydrad* ‘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.*llosk-ans.*
The suff. -awt is the past part. pass. in -to- of *-a-stems; thus *-ā-to-s > -awt. Cf. barvawt B.t. 21 'bearded' < Lat. barbatus; — -edig is an extension in *-ā-ko- of this; thus, *-ā-liko-s > -edig. — aid § 153 (2).

-adwy is the fut. pass. part. in *-teyjó-; the -a- before it may be from unacc. ā or from ą; thus ofnadwy < *obna-tojós § 76 v (4): Skr. kar-tavyā-h 'faciendus'; — edig is a variant of this due to metath. § 78 iv (1). The rhyme (glyw) r.p. 1041 shows that the -iw 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.: credadun 'believing' D.G. 54, 'credible' M.A. i 5636, usually 'believer' < Brit. *kreta-tou-no-; —amheuthun 'unaccustomed fare, treat', adj. 'unwonted', for *am-(w)heithun § 77 viii < *obni-suęk-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: talctith 'frontlet, crown', Ml. W. talheith B.B. 106 < *taloko-sektā 'forehead-attachment', √ segn-: Skr. sājati 'attaches', Lith. segū 'I fasten, attach', saktis '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 lwyr-lanhā ei lauv 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 inflexions. 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-
flected forms, which are used when the object is other than a personal pronoun.

(2) 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 uoch, is which cause the rad. except in uochláiw, isláiw, uochbén.

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, hebod 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 Ml. W. rarely -u, -uð, 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. Gynnwys (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ml. W.</th>
<th>Mn. W.</th>
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<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. arnaf</td>
<td>1. árnaf</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. arnat</td>
<td>2. árnad, -t</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. m. arnaw</td>
<td>3. m. árno</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. arnei</td>
<td>f. árnai</td>
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<td>f. erni</td>
<td>f. árni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. arnunt</td>
<td>adv. árnodd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3rd sg. f. -ai occurs in Early Mn. verse, though rarely: arnai D.G. 85, attai 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$^t$ Neh. ix 1. The
adv. form occurs in oddi danawul 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: amdanav(n), attanu R.P. 1176,
arnav(n) do. 1177, attanu W. 1216, o honan ni C.M. 13.

(2) Forms of ar: arnaf w.m. 2, arnat ib., arnaww ib., arnei do. 9,
erñi B.B. 43, arnam w.m. 29, arnawch ib., arnadrut (-t = -8) M.A. i 258,
arnañunt w.m. 470, S.G. 89, arnu M.A. i 403, arnum do. 223, arnunt
w.m. 11, 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, attanu do. 39, attañunt w.m. 21/29; 2nd pl. -och in attoch s.g. 52.

iv. Mn. W. o dan, dan, tan ‘under’, Early Mn. dän § 51 vi,
cf. D.G. 373; Ml. W. a dan, y dan, dan, O. W. guotan, gutan ox.

adan, ydan, dan w.m. 91, R.M. 66, dan w.m. 1, 463; 3danaw
do. 94, ydanaw R.M. 68, ydanam do. 165, 3danunt w.m. 67.

v. am ‘around, about, concerning’; stem amdan-, ymdan-,
Mn. amdän-. After gwiscaw the stem is generally used in Ml. W.
instead of the simple form; thus, instead of gwiscaw ymdanaw ac
am y varch w.m. 165, the usual phrase is gwiscaw ymdanaw ac
ymdan y 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 amdän.

amdanaf w.m. 21, amdanat ib., amdanav do. 2, amdanei do. 5, 13,
15, ymdeni R.M. 120, im-deni B.B. 43-4, ymdanaðô M.A. i 197,
amdanavn L.A. 40, amdanunt s.g. 43, ymdanunt do. 84; O.W.

The compound yam has two meanings, 1. ‘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 oc eu, see vii (5)); stem
ohan-, ohau-, Mn. W. ohôn-. The forms of the 1st and 2nd pers.
fluctuate between this and the 2nd conjugation, and the 2nd sg.
has the ending -awt not added to any other prep. In Mn. lit. W.
-o$^t$, -ot are used exclusively (but dial. -at, -af). The 3rd sg.
and pl. have 1st conj. forms only; 3rd pl. onañunt.
ACCIDENCE § 209

o honaf W.M. 35, R.M. 23, S.G. 22, ohonof W.M. 104; ohonat R.M. 7, 8, s.g. 85, o honot W.M. 12, 169, ohonot do. 10, o honaud B.B. 86, ohonawet b.t. 53, W.M. 159, C.M. 53; o honaw W.M. 1, 12; o honet R.M. 2, S.G. 1, 89, o hanet S.G. 12, o heni W.M. 3; o honawch W.M. 7, ohonawch do. 13; onaundt R.M. 145, 151, ohonunt W.M. 22, R.M. 151, R.B.B. 48, ohonun R.P. 1280, Mn. W. ohonun L.G.C. 318, onaundt do. 462, onaaddun Gr.O. 94.

In the 16th cent. ohon- was often contracted to on- or hon-, as cyn unnabod dim honi G.R. [xiv] 'before knowing anything of it'; cf. E.P., ps. 16; onynyt M.K. [59], ono-fo do. [60]; later Os ymdddid onot ti Wms. 438 (printed ohonot, but the metre allows only 2 syll.) 'if destitute of thee'. Analogy has restored the full form, and the contraction survives only in monof, monot, mono etc. for ddin ohonof, etc.; thus ni velais mono for ni velais ddin ohono 'I have not seen anything of him', i.e. I have not seen him; § 170 v (2).

vii. (1) W. ar is for *war, O.W. guair cp., Bret. war, Corn. war.<*yor for Kelt. *yer<A. *uiper § 65 v (3). The personal forms are made from an adverb *yor-ná; for the suffix, cf. Lat. superne § 220 i (3), and for the ending, supră. The pronoun stood in a case not affecting a in the sg. or pl., hence prob. acc.; thus sg. 1. arnaf<*yorname<*yorná me; 1. arnam or arann<*yornannm.<*yor-nansme<*yorná ymse (: Av. ahma, Gk. Lesb. áμμε 'us'); sg. 2. arnat<*yorná te; pl. 2. arnach formed on the analogy of the verb; sg. 3. m. arnaw is prob. a re-formation after the 3rd sg. -saw § 210 x (1); sg. 3. fem. erni<*yornasim<*yorná sim; arnai<*yornasim § 75 i (2); *sim is the acc. of *sî 'she'. The most probable explanation of the -s of 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. eibhis) as in Ir. doib 'to them' <*do eibhis; this would give *dvw in W.; *v after *v disappeared early, but if altered to δ (δ ... v>δ ... δ) would remain longer; hence W. arnadv(δ)<*yornadoibis<*yorná do eibhis or some such form; arnadv has the -nt of the verb added; arnu, arnunt 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-tá; thus ataf<*ad-daf<*ato-ta-me; etc. as in (1).

(3) o dán (adán, O.W. quotan) is formed from *yo- 'under' § 156 i (16) (o/-a<-*yo-/wa- § 65 v (1)) and *-taná<-*təná as in Lat. pro-tinus<*pro-ti:os : Lat. tenuis, v'ten- 'stretch'; *yo-taná-me >o danaf, etc., as arnaf above; adv. o dano<*yo-taná-de (suff. -*dhi or -*dhe § 162 vi (2)). On the accent of odán 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'; rhwng 'between'; uoch 'above'; is 'below'.

ii. rhag 'before', Ml. W. iar, 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. ṭagog</td>
<td>1. ṭagom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ṭagot</td>
<td>2. ṭagoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m. ṭacðaw</td>
<td>3. { ṭacðu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. ṭacdi</td>
<td>f. ṭacðunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv. ṭacko, ṭaccw</td>
<td>adv. rháco, ácw 'yonder'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ṛagof w.m. 4, ṭagot ib., ṭacðaw do. 9, ṭacði s.g. 63, ṭacði w.m. 423, ṭogðaw do. 444, ṭacdi a.l. i 452, 516, 522, ṭagom b.h. 29, ṭagoch r.m. 129, ṭacðu w.m. 53, r.m. 37, c.m. 37, e.l. 1 i, ṭacðunt w.m. 86; ṭacock w.m. 251, ṭacco r.m. 8, ṭaccw a.l. i 112 (ms.c. 13th cent.), Mn. W. rak'o p 54/269 r., ṭacho L.G.C. 32, usually a-cw do. 83; forms with -o—: Gwentian rhyg (accented) n. o. 3, 70, ṭog'do i.f. p 83/66; S.W. dial. òco.—O.W. sg. 3. m. račdam juv. gl. sibi.

iii. heb '(past) by; without': sg. 1 hebof, 3. m. hebðaw, Mn. hebðdo, f. hebði; pl. 1. hebom, 3. hebðunt; adv. heibýaw, heibaw, Mn. heibio 'past'.

(4) am <*mðhi § 156 i (4); amðm- formed like odín- above.

(5) o 'from, of', Corn. a, Bret. a < Brit. *ō < Ar. *upo : Gk. ἀντό, Lat. ab, abs, Skr. āpa. The Bret. and Corn. a imply Brit. unacc. *ā; the form a survived in Ml. W. in phrases of the form truan a beth lit. 'a wretched of a thing', in which the ordinary o is substituted for it in Mnl. W.; see § 71 i (2). Ml. W. oc, occurring only before eu, is due to the analogy of ac § 160 iv (2), § 213 iii (1); in Bret. Vanc the analogy is carried a little further, Loth Voc. 28.—Bret. ac'h 'from' (ac'h Alre ownn giniûik 'je suis natif d'Aray', Troude), W. ach 'off, by' as in ach y law w.m. 472 'beside him'< *ak<n *aps : Lat. abs, Gk. ἄφ.—W. ohan- for aha-, Corn. aha-, Bret. athan-, a'chan-, from *ap-sanā 'away from'; *sanā <*sånā : Lat. sine, Skr. sānītūr § 156 ii (3). The 2nd sg. okonawt implies an accent on the -ā : *ap-sanā-te. The 3rd pl. onadū (Bret. anezu, Corn. anedhe) seems to imply a simpler form, not a contraction of *ohona8- (of which there is no trace in W., Corn. or Bret.), possibly *po-nañ : cf. O.H.G. fona <*pu-na. The a- was generalized in Bret., Corn., and the o- in W., where it intruded into the second syll., and even the third, causing a confusion of conjugations.
A cherdet heb gorr s.g. 257 'and walked past a dwarf'. hebof, hebot r.p. 1440, see § 198 ii, hebdaew ef w.m. 17 'past him', hepbaw ef do. 417 'without him', hebbi r.g. 1117; hebbjaw r.m. 10, heibjaw w.m. 15; Mn. W. heboD D.G. 513, hebom i 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): s.g. 1 ynof, 3. m. yndaw, f. yndi, Mn. W. yndo, yndi, re-formed later as ynddo, ynddi.

ynof L.A. 8c, ynot w.m. 29, r.m. 19, ynoch s.g. 94; Mn. W. ynot G.R. [127], D. 70, ynot (3 times) Dat. xviii 22. The form indi r.b. 45, as opposed to hebi (≡ hebbi) do. 44, suggests d (yndi) rather than 8. So in Early Mn. W., as undyn/yndaw H.D. p 99/474, randir/yndi L.G.C. f. 34; but L.C.C. 231 has ynddo/Wenddyddi (I read Wenddyddi; the dial. forms are S.W. yndo, N.W. yno fō).

Llundain, ni chair lle yndi; Llu Owain hên a’i lleuw i hî.—G.T., L.I. 134/167 r.

'London—there is room in it; the host of old Owain fills it.'

v. trwy 'through': sg. 3 trwybaw, trwydi, pl. 3 trwybunt. The stem of the 1st and 2nd pers. is trw-, or trwyð- taken from the 3rd. Adv. trwod (trwað). In Mn. lit. W. the forms are trwof, trwot, trwyddo, trwyddi, trwom, etc.; adv. trwodd (dial. trwað).

drywyðof s.g. 9, 12, drywyðot L.A. 49, drywot do. 99, drywyðaw, drywydi w.m. 111, drywyðaw r.p. 1418, drywyðunt L.A. 171, drywoð w.m. 51-2, r.m. 36, s.g. 68, drywað r.m. 36. Mn. W. trwof-i 2 Tim. iv 17, trwot Philem. 7, trwodd Mic. v 8.


drossof w.m. 88, drosst do. 25, drostaw ib., drosti a.l. i 536, drossom L.A. 155, trostut (-t ≡ 8) M.A. i 258, drostunt L.A. 49. Mn. W. drossof- i Matt. xvii 27, trosom Eph. v 2, trosodd Matt. ix 1; etc.

vii. or 'for', Mn. W. yr : Mn. W. ėrof, ėrof, ėrdo, etc.; Ml. sg. 1. yrøf, erot, yrdo, yrđi; etc. No adv.

yrøf r.p. 1264, yrrof, yrof w.m. 9 'for me', 'for thee', yrðaw do. 37 'for him', yrom r.p. 1294 (/áreith), yrðunt r.m. 49. Mn. W. erof-i Ps. cix 21, erom Rhuf. xvi 6, erdod Col. i 16, etc.

viii. (1) rhwng 'between', Mn. W. hwn, yrhwng : Mn. W. sg. 1. yròf, ròf, 2. yròl, rol, yrënhol, 3. m. yrðaw, (y)yrngthaw, (y)yrngtaw,
PREPOSITIONS

§ 210

f. yrddi, (y)ryngthi, (y)ryngti; pl. 1. yróm, 2. yróch, 3. yróchnt,
(y)ryngthunt, (y)ryngtunt; Mn. W. sg. 1. rhôf, rhynghof, 2. rhôl,
rhyngot, 3. rhynghlo, -i; pl. 1. rhôm, rhyngom, 2. rhôch, rhynghoch,
3. rhynghhunt. In Late Mn. W. rhôf, rhôl, etc. are no longer
used; and -dd- is substituted for -th- in the 3rd pers., an artificial
change, for in the spoken lang. the dental is still -th- or -t- as in
Ml. W.

(2) yrôf i a dwu w.m. 2, 9, 10, etc. 'between me and God', erôf a
duw do. 88, òrôf i a dwu do. 18, yrîngenhot w.m. 109, yr ôm ni do. 10
'betwèn us', yr òch c.m. 41 'betwèn you', yrôchnt w.m. 64. c.m.
30, 41, òrîngthaw w.m. 22, yrîngtaw do. 19, yrîngthi do. 176, yrîng-
thunt, do. 6, 35, yrînghhunt do. 6. The forms yrôti w.m. 179, yrwny
do. 75, 120, yrîngtunt 75 with the form r as in yrôdes (≡ y rhôdes)
do. 120, yrô't (≡ yr twet) do. 75, show that the r is rh, as if initial
(medial r after y is written r).

(3) Strachan, Intr. 39, refers yrôf to a simple ro, which is
imaginary. Mn. W. rho in rho Dwu D.G. 227 is a contraction of
rho a < rhôf a. Zeus confused yrôf 'for me' with yrôf 'between
me', ZE. 670; but the accentuation is different: Mn. W. erôf 'for
me', Mn. W. yrôf, yrôm vii (accentuation attested by cynghanedd),
but Mn. W. rhôf 'between me' Mn. W. rho see above, Mn. W. y rhôm
D.G. 201, rhôm 'between us', as—

Amodau, rhwymau oedd rhôm,
Eithir òngau a aeth ryngom.—T.A., c. ii 79.

'Between us were covenants [and] bonds, but death went between
us.'

(4) The compound cyfrwng is similarly used: kyfruig brotorion
b.b. 55 'between brothers'; kyfryngoch m.a. i 222, kyfrynghut
(-t≡-t) do. 233.—cyfrwng is also a noun meaning 'interval' b.b.b.
11.—In Recent written W. a neologism cydrhwng (cyd-ryng) is
sometimes used.

(5) Without initial yr- we find 1st and 2nd sg. forms used as
adverbs: yngô D.G. 52, yngod do. 88, 280, c. 142 'hard by', Mn. W.
ygôth w.m. 118, yngot s.g. 304; cf. iso, isod.

3. m. uchtaw, ištaw w.m. 455 'above him', 'beneath him', pl. 1.
uchom b.b. 29 'above us'. The 1st and 2nd sg. are used as
adverbs: uchof a.l. i 50, p.14/38 r. 'above', uchof a.l. 115
'above', Mn. W. ucho g. 234, ucho 'above', iso, isod 'below'.

In Late Mn. W. uchot 'above', isod 'below' are used, but no
other inflected forms. For uchof, isod periphrastic forms are used,
such as uwch 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. *apro, *ypo, *yro, and may have spread in Kelt. Hence perhaps *proko me > Brit. *rokome > W. (*rhogof), rhagof. For the 3rd pl. -dant see § 209 vii (1); 3rd sg. -dī < *-do-sī § 75 ii (2), where *sī is the instr. sg. of *sī 'she'. The 3rd sg. m. -daw is difficult; Ml. W. -daw, and Bret. -saw, O.W. -dam (≡ -dāv) seem to be two different reductions of *-dawī, in which au (av) must be from *-ou- not from -ā- (since ām > Bret. emī); both *-dawf and Corn. -tho may be from *-do-emī § 75 ii (2); *e-mi, instr. in *-mi of *es 'he'.

(2) rhag < *prokos : Lat. reci-procus, procuc < *procolos, dim. of *prokos; unacc. ok > ak in Brit. § 65 ii (1); dialectal rhog, rhogō, etc. < *prok-. 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. taccw, tacco 'yonder' has a suffix *-hw or *-ho, prob. with loss of -mn (as yna 'here' etc. § 110 v (2)), for *-hum or *honn < *som-do or *som-da 'there' suff. *-dhe or *-dha § 162 vi (2), cf. hwnt § 220 ii (5); thus Brit. *roko sonde 'in front there' > taccw. Initial š was prob. first lost after consonants: y gwir racw > y gwir acw, y brŷn racw > y brŷn acw, *dracw > dacw, etc.

(3) heb ' (past) by, without', Ir. sech id., Bret., Corn. heb 'without': Av. haça 'away from', O.Pers. hača id. : Lat. secus, Skr. śācā 'at, in the presence of'. These are believed to be all from √ seq- 'follow'; e.g. Brugmann² II 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. ebiou) seems to be a cpv. of the adj. *seqkos; it might represent a loc. *seqtiosi § 75 ii (2).

(4) yn 'in' < *en, *eni and *en-do : Lat. in, O.Lat. en, Gk. εν, ει, etc. Although the last ends in -o, ynof, ynot, etc., cannot come directly from it, as they have only one -n- in ltt. W. Ml. and Mn. They are prob. re-formations from yn on the analogy of rhagof, etc. The -d- in yndaw, etc. is due to profection of š after n, § 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 Brugmann² II ii 900 gives *tres, comparing *pres in Gk. πρεσ-3σς; but as *pri, *prei existed beside *pres, so there were prob. *tri, *trei; these would account for the leniting forms. W. trwy < *trei; trwydu(nt) < *trei do cibhis. 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 *trāns = Lat. trāns < *trān̄ts. The 3rd pers. trostau, trosti, trostunt < *trāns do-; the other persons and the adv. are analogical formations.
(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. περί, Skr. वर्ति, Skr. वर्ध. 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. ither 'between'; Ml. W. yrwng < *per-ongo-, § 65 iii (1): cyf-wng 'interval', cyf-yng 'confined', e-ang 'wide' < *eks-ang- : Gk. ἀγγέλ, ἀγγὲς 'near', Lat. angustus, Germ. eng, Vagh- /ogh- '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 *yrwof; the o seems to have been dropped, as before r, giving yrwng<*per-ongo-. The personal forms have the meaning of 'for the sake of, and may come from *pero-.

(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>1. gennyf</td>
<td>1. gennyf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gennyt</td>
<td>2. gennyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m. ganthaw,</td>
<td>(ganthu(ð), -taw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. unt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. genthi, -ti</td>
<td>(ganthu(ð), -unt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also in Ml. W. genhyf, 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 penteulu 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, cenyrm). Ml. W. ý gan 'from with', as ugeynt 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) genthiv (≡ genhyf) b.b. 10 i 'with me', genhyf w.m. 55, genyf do. 18, genhid b.b. 10, gennyf w.m. 11, ganthaw do. 9, genthi do. 10, 15, gent do. 28, y gennyym do. 12 'from us', genhychch do. 57 'with you', gennych ib., b.m. 40, s.g. 92, ganthut (-t≡-t) m.a. i 258, gantu w.m. 57, ganthunt b.t. 65, w.m. 16, s.g. 1, gantunt l.a. 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, ynd ant y kenhin b.b. 49 'they will not go back'; also a form y genhýd b.t. 75, in an obscure passage.

(4) *gan with the verb 'to be' expresses 'have': y mae genyf 'there is with me', i.e. I have, y mae gennyf 'thou hast', etc.; nid oes genyf 'I have not', etc.

(5) On gennif, gennit, wrthif, wrthit, see § 77 iv.

iii. (1) wrth: sg i. w Ethiopia w.m. 10; 2. wrthyt ib.; 3. m. wrthaw do. 2; f. wrthi do. 10; pl. i. wrthym l.a. 155; 2. wrthywch w.m. 39; 3. wrthu l.a. 113, wrthut do. 119.

(2) O.W. gurt paup ox. 'against everybody', gl. consistes. gurthdo juv., gl. obstitit, seems to be a verb, § 193 v (3).

Ml. W. y wrth 'from beside', as ywrthywch ac ywrth ych tei l.a. 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 *cet-, ceta-) has the meanings of *hom, of which it is a derivative. Thus *cann < cant < Brit. *kanta < Ar. *km-ta = Gk. karά < *km-ta. The pronoun suffixed affected the a ; it may have been abl. *mō(d) = Lat. mē(d), or possibly a loc. *moi which as a mere suffix would become *-mī. So for the 2nd sg. The first and 2nd pl. are prob. analogical. The affection of a before a labial became y, § 69 if (4); hence genyyf, gennym, gennyf, which caused the sg. 2 to follow; thus the distinction kept in Corn. between genyf and worthyf (similarly in Bret.) is lost in W. Between vowels -nt- > -nny- > -nn- regularly. In the 3rd pers. *do is used, as after other prepositions, taking of course the same case; hence *cant-ðar > ganthaw or gantaw; so for f. and pl. The 3rd pl. genhyn, with verbal -n (added to the apparent stem genhyh- ?).

(2) wrth, O.W. gurt(h), Corn. worth, orth, Bret. ouz, oz, implies such some form as *yerto § 66 iii (1); Ir. frith 'against' < *urt-:
§ 212. i. The prep. *to*, Ml. W. y, O.W. di is inflected anomalously; the 1st sg. is *qm*, or with the affixed pron. *qmi* or *qmy*; 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. <em>qm, qmi, qmy, im, ini</em></td>
<td>1. <em>yn, yuni, ywn, in, inni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>yti, ytti, ytti, itti</em></td>
<td>2. <em>yvch, ychwi, ychw, ivch, ichwi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>idaw, Mn. iddo</em></td>
<td>3. <em>idu, udu, udunt, Late Mn. iddynt</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. <em>idi, Mn. iddi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples: *ym* £.A. 98, l. 4, *ymi* W.m. 20, 22, im do. 46; *ytt* £.A. 95, *ytti* R.m. 5, *ytt* W.m. 4, *itt* do. 3, 8, 9, *it* do. 20, *itti* lb.; *ymi* do. 29, *inni* do. 139, *ychwi* R.m. 7, *ivch* chwi W.m. 11, *yvch* do. 50, *udut* (≡ *udud*) B.B. 49–50, *udu* B.t. 74; *udunt* § 77 viii; *idaw, idi* passim. The Late Mn. W. spelling *iddyn* is artificial; see § 77 viii.

ii. Forms with *y* survive in Early Mn. verse, in which the rhymes show that the sound of the *y* is *y*.

_Dafydd ap Gwilym, qmy_

_Y bu fraw am na bai fr._—G.Gr. (m. D.G.) F.N. I.

‘Dafydd ap Gwilym—to me there was dismay because he was no longer [alive] there.’

_Arglwyydd gwynn, nid oes qnni_

_Un tad olí omíd tydi._—M.R., p 93/56.

‘Holy Lord, there is to us no father at all but Thee.’

_Ni all angel penfelyn_

_Na llu o saint ddim lles qnn._—G.I.I.L., f. 8, M i 30/470 B.

‘No golden-haired angel or host of saints can [do] us any good.’

iii. The affixed pron. is often accented; in that case it is usually written separately, *i mi, i ti*, etc., Ml. W. *y mi* W.m. 8. As *inni* has undoubtedly a double *n* the form *ymi* W.m. 20 must mean *yni* (the double consonant being simplified before the accent § 27 ii).

_Gwell i mí golli ’myñyd_

_Na chan boen nychu ’n y byd._—T.A., λ 14866/201.

‘It is better for me to lose my life than in pain to pine in the world.’ Rarely in poetry *i myñ* D.G. 53, *i nyn* H.S. 22, etc.; thus:
Mwy a ofn yw i mŷn
Ofn y pai d ar fân ap i.—I.D., A i497/28.

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 dáywch, dáewch, now reduced to dàwch § 30.

"Nos daewch" i'r ferch nis dichon;
"Nos daed ti" nis dywaid hon.—D.E., A i4967/18 (g. i18).

'[To say] "good night to you' to the maid avails not; she will not say "good night to thee'.'

Breiniwed ywt o'r barwn waeth;
Barwn Ystepltwn, 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 hon o'r Cyffinwaed
Y caun was dewr. Can' nos daed !—T.A., A i4975/102.

'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 dáwch 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 (i); 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-mm < *dó mo1. 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. *dau, *di, *du; as these were mere suffixes in the conjugation of other preps. it is probable that *dy was prefixed here to represent the prep.; y would be assimilated to a following i or u, and perhaps *iæau takes its i from iði, 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-dæwr § 195 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 ni 'with me', á thi 'with thee'; á myfr, á m'fi, á thydi, á th'di § 159 ii (3); ag ef, ag efo 'with him'; etc.; gueti ef L.L. 120 'after him', gwýdi ny b.b. 44 'after us'.

Ac ni bydd oherwydd hyn
Gwedy ef gwiv 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 weddy fo
Sydd wannach eu swydd yno.—Gut.O., m 146/398.

'The bards of the South after them are weaker in their performance there' (m. G.Gl.).

Da oedd cyffion Huw Conway,
A da yw Huw weddy 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 Ml. W. it has -y in mss. in which i and y are distinguished.

iii. (1) a, ag < *aggôs; it has two distinct meanings, and may therefore have a double origin: (a) 'together with' < *ad-go-: Ir. ac, oc, oce < *ad-go-s : Lat. ad, Goth. at, E. at, Brugmann2 II ii 793; this is the prep. used after cyff- and ym-, as cyff-arfod á 'to meet with'; and is the same as á, ag 'as' after the equative;—(b) 'by means of', as O.W. ha criph ox. 'with a comb', Mn. W. á phyg Gen. vi 14 'with pitch' < *ab-go-: o § 209 vii (5). For ag, a [spir.] in this sense o [soft] is used in Gwent: tavo cr ó asgorwn 'to strike a dog with a bone' Seren Gomer, Mai 7 1814; cf. kymynyni o sur r.p. 1042 for k. a dur b.b. 72 'they hewed down with steel'; conversely, after a spv. ag is used for o before a relative, as yn oreu ac y gellynt c.m. 54, gyntaf ac y gallaw8 s.g. 408.

Y glanaf ag a lunwyd,
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 Ml. W. this is o before the demonstr. 'r, as goreu . . . o 'r avu r.m. 82 'best of those that were'; rarely a, as o bop . . . a'r a vei b.b. 141; Mn. W. a'r a. The common origin and
overlapping use of a 'by means of' and o 'of, from' prob. con-
duced to the formation of the analogical oc § 209 vii (5).—The last
element in Brit. *ag-gós 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 re-
stricted 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 mur Kaer Loyw r.m. 131
'beside the wall of Gloucester'; ym = am < *nymhi § 156 i (4).

ii. ger [rad.] 'near', Ml. kir, ker, gyr, ger, geir, geyr, gar, is used
chiefly in gerlláw, ger llaw 'at hand', gerbrôn, ger bron 'before' (ger
fy llaw 'near me', ger dy llaw 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 B.P. 1246,
M. A. i 230, cer bron do. 206, ker tir Tywssilwin do. 341, M. 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-aedd: haeadaf
'I reach'; possibly allied to curr 'edge', $\sqrt{\text{geir}}$- 'cut'; both -e-
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 drachéfn 'backwards, again' (cefn
'back'); with infixed pronouns kilwy drachtéfn c.m. 41 'with-
draw!' 2nd sg. impv., drachéfn r.m. 177 'behind her'. In
Late Ml. and Mn. W. by a wrong division of drachéfn we have
drach dy gevn 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 hyn B.B. 49 'beyond Rhun' preserve the
remains of a wider use.

trachéfn for *tarchéfn < *tarðs kebn- < Ar. *torths : Ir. tar : Skr.
tiradh < *torðs; allied to traw § 210 x (5); see § 155 i (22).

iv. pw (py) is used only in the phrase prwy gilydd 'to its
fellow', as o ben byw 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 aver py aver 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. *kū* ‘to’ (< *qom*: Skr. kām after the dative). The Kelt. form would be *qʰo; this may be the pron. stem *qʰo-, seen in e-grade in *qʰe ‘and’ (Lat. -que, Gk. re, etc.): Lat. üs-que < *ud*-s ‘out’ + *qʰe ‘to’.

v. eithr [rad.] ‘without, except’, § 99 v (4), is used before verbal nouns, as eithyr bot yn well kyweirdeb y bwyth 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 dei a oedyn w.m. 227 ‘except the ones who were’.

Eithr 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.

ithr, Corn. inter, yntre, Bret. entre, Ir. etar, etar : Lat. inter, Skr. antár.

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. Il.A. 106, 107; er ys mis W.II. g. 293 ‘for a month past’; contracted er’s.

Ys guers yð wyf yn keissaw a olchei wyg clèdyf 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 Difiau.—G.Gl. p 103/193.
‘My heart was constantly afraid for two months till Thursday night.’

ys ‘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 un being simplified owing to the word being unaccented, cf. canys § 222 iv (1): yn anad neb.
Or clwyv diaspat dos wrthi, a diaspat gwreic annat 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 annat, but other mn's
are simplified in the same col.; heb ymgyfarvot ac ef yn annat 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. llii 14. It is
also used adverbially: ac yn annat llawen oedd Arthur s.g. 10 'and
A. was especially glad'.

annat < *anta-tos an adv. formed from *anta 'before'; Goth.
anda-, Gk. ávra, a doublet of *anti : Gk. ávř, Lat. ante.

ix. myn [rad.] 'by' (in oaths); in N. W. sounded mynn;
Mi. W. mynn, myn.

mynn llaw vyghyveillt w.m. 458 'by the hand of my friend'; so R.m.
105, mynn ll. etc. do. 170; myn vy fyð c.m. 57 'by my faith'; myn
Duw R.m. 115, myn Dynw w.m. 473 'by God'; myn fénaid D.E.
c 49/15 r. 'by my soul'; myn cinioes Pharaoh Gen. xlii 15.

Nid oes ym, myn Dynw, o swydd * Printed dyn.
Ond olrhaiain anwadalrhwydd.—D.G. 33.

'I have, by God, no task but studying fickleness.' Cf. W.m.l. 41.

mynn: Gael. miann 'oath', Ir. mind 'oath': √mendh- extension
of √men- 'thought'; cf. W. adduned 'vow' < *ad-monι- § 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 Benwo!
G.Gl. n 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 pre-
positions are of substantival or adjectival origin. Others are
—from adjectives:

(1) cyn (cyn) [rad.] 'before', in time: kin lleith b.b. 22
'before death', kin wyned do. 30 'before going', kin brand do. 41
'before the judgement'. In Mi. W. it is followed by no 'than'
before pronouns pers. and demonstr., and thus remains an
adv.: kyn voc 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 long'd nes gwybod w.m. 167 'I shall not sleep comfortably until I know'; nes ei orfedd T.A. c. 237 'until his lying (low)', i.e. 'until he lay (low)'; rarely before abstract nouns: nes henaint L.G.C. 445 'till old age'.

Galw am ddyfod diodydd,
Gwyliaw tân nes gweled 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 ddyfod 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 dioðef 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 gylych '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 gylych '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 gwenfun i.mss. 239.

(2) cylych, amgylych 'about'; compos. ynghylych, o gylych, o amgylych, o amgylych bgylych 'round about': cylych 'circle'.

Yn bhwuman gan annwyl
Cylych drws dy dil, Llucu Llwyd.—II.G., br. ii 171.

'Shivering with cold about the door of thy house, Li, Li.', i.e. around thy grave; (v.l. Ynghylych dy dil F.N. 29); cylych dolydd Dwylais
L.G.C. 202, *gyrch* y *Ddol* g. 91; *yfgylch* y *ty* w.m. 47 'about the house'.

cyrch is believed to be derived from Lat. *circulus*; but the latter gives O.W. *circh* cr. 'cycle' regularly; and *cyrch*, Bret. *kelch*, may well be Kelt. < *q'hui-*qʰljo- (by met.): Gk. *κύκλος*, *κύκλιος* : E. *wheel*, etc.

(3) eisiau 'wanting, without'; compos. *o eisiau* 'for want of', *o’th eisiau*, etc.: *eisiau* 'want', prob. orig. an adj. < Lat. *exiguus* (noun *eiswyet* < *exiguitas*).  

*Mis haf oedd i ferch, Ddafydd,  
Ac eisiau hwn gaei sydd.—*T.A., o. 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. *ari quernwî*, made up of the prep. *ari* § 156 i (6), and the dat. of *quennnos* 'head': Corn. *erbyn*, Ir. *ar chwând* (in Ir. there is *ar chend* also, with *chend* acc.). The orig. construction with a pron. was Corn. *er dhe* *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) herwyð 'according to, in the manner of', and 'by' (as in lead 'by' the hand); *gerwyð* in Late Ml. W. in the last sense, Mn. W. *gerfydd*; compos. *o herwydd* 'on account of', *o’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?'

*herwyð* y *dyyll* [read *dyuall*] ... *a rodes Duuo y’r neb ac troes* L.A. 160 'according to the understanding that God has given to him who translated it'; *herwit gwir in queini* B.B. 44 'in the manner of men in service'; *herwyð* *y afwynaeth* W.M. 142 [lead the horse] 'by his reins'; *gerwyð* *y afwynaeth* C.M. 47 'by his reins'; *erwyð* *y tract* W.M. 55 [grasped the boy] 'by his feet'; *oherwydd* *hyd* § 213 i; *o’i herwyð* D.G. 498 'on her account'; *yn herwyð* *gueledigeth* W.M. 34 'as regards appearance'; (y)*r iai th Gymraec *yn ei herwydd
M.K. [vii] 'the Welsh language in general'; Ba herwydd na bai hiraeth T.A. 'why should there not be longing?'—O.W. heruid duiuit juv. 'according to divinity'; hihi erguid ox. 'in general' (?).

herwyd: Corn. herwydh; Bret. herwyd; the h- though appearing in all (as opposed to W. and Corn. erbyn) can only be explained as accentual, cf. henu, Bret. hane, Corn. hanow; the rest seems to be *ari-uid- 'appearance, manner', √ weid- 'see'; erwyd also occurs without h- in O. and Ml. W.; and geryd is a variant due to another treatment of e-, see § 112 ii (2).

(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 bronr ir alt l.l. 73 'from Llost yr Ynys as far as the breast of the Allt'; o hymny 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. hŷd$^\varnothing$, hŷd$^\varnothing$ (the y, instead of y, shows it to be late); this is sometimes met with in Late Mn. W.: ar hyd-ddi Gen. xxvii 12.

O.W. bihit cp., bichet ib., beheit ox., behit l.l. 73, behet 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. vet (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. *-sitm; 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. bet, beth, beteg; can it be an adv. direct from bi-? cehit = eqtv. cyhyd § 148 i (8); cihitan an adv. like guotan etc., from *ko-si-tan-; -un error for -an? 

(7) llwrw 'in the track or direction of, after, with, as regards'; compos. yn llwrw id., ar llwrw id., adv. 'forward'; S.W. dial. lwrv i ben 'head foremost'; also Ml. W. llwry.

llwrw essiwt ket R.P. 1351 'after dearth of largess', llwrw alaeth ... digraun ... deigyr do. 1206 'with grief the tear flows'; yn llwrw lwyth doyt 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
argysswurw ar llwrw y’r lle do. do. 292 ‘go without fear forward to the place’.

llwrw: Corn. le rch ‘track’, war le rch ‘after’, Bret. le’reh ‘track’, Gael. lorg ‘track’, Ir. lorg; all < Kelt. *lorg < *plorg- dissim. for *pro-rg-, √reğ- § 193 x (8): Lat. pergo, perrexī < *per-reğ-; etc.

(8) parth, parthed ‘towards, as regards’; compos. o barth, o barthret g.c. 108 ‘as regards’; impartred b.b. 26 ‘in the region of’; parth is oftenest followed by á § 216 ii (2).

parth espyt b.f. 1226 ‘as regards strangers’.

parth ‘part’ < Lat. part-; parthed is by dissim. for parthred with -red as in gweithred § 143 iii (22).


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. ñ myewn, mywn ‘in’ (though apparently a simple form, mywn is a mere phonetic reduction of ñmywn); 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 llws Marc xv 16; adv. i mewn, oddimewn.

(ñ)myewn ‘in the middle of’ has come to be used for ‘in’ before indefinite, yn being restricted to definite, objects; thus ñmyewn ty w.m. 53 ‘in a house’, yn y ty do. 54 ‘in the house’; in Ml. and Early Mn. W. mywn, mewn is sometimes used before the latter.

i < *ens: Gk. eis < īvs < *en ‘in’ + -s as in *eks. i mewn, ymywn = Ir. inmedón, inmedón; Ir. medón ‘middle’. The W. form has lost δ § 110 iv (2), and was therefore orig. disyllabic *my[w]n < *myōwn, which most probably represents *myō-wyn § 78 i (2). Both this and Ir. medðn would be regular from Kelt. *mediokno: Lat. mediocris, spv. medioximus. If this equation is right, mediocris can hardly be ‘middle-hill’ (œcris, Sommer 488, Walde s.v.) but may be an adj. in -ri– (cf. aceri-, saceri-) from *medioque formed from mediolike prope (for *proque) from pro, as the spv. medioximus beside proximus suggests. The Kelt. would be a noun in -no– from the same (Itt.-Kelt.) extd. stem.—Orig. stem *medh(i)go–: Skr. médhya-ḥ, Gk. μέδο-σ.
(2) er mwyn ‘for the sake of, on account of, in order to’; er fy mwyn ‘for my sake’, etc.

   Er dy fwyn yr ydwyst
   Mewn ei ra 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 wybydir mwyn (v.l. mwynyant 1076) fynnaun fyn
el yn yspid (diwyd 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-no-, *mei- ‘exchange, barter’: Lat. münus, 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. emesek, to connect the word with *medhio-.

(4) yn òysg ‘in the track of, after’, Ml. W. yn eu hwsyc see below, yn wyc y benn w.m. 55 ‘after his head’, i.e. head foremost, Mn. W. yn wsg fy mhen, yn wysg dy dwyn, yn wsg i gefnu, etc.

   Mae yr aniveileit yd aethawch yn eu hwysc P 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 ‘μέτρα’, Lat. pēs ‘foot’, etc.).

(5) yn ethryb ‘because of’, o ethryb id. J.D.R. [xiv].

   Pellynnic vys khof yd 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 *-ag*- affected § 69 ii (4); perhaps as a noun-suff. added to *nter- (‘enter § 214 vi); circumstance’ (?).

(6) yn ôl ‘after’, yn dy ôl ‘after thee’; ar ôl ‘after’, ar eu hól or ar eu holau ‘after them’; o’r hól ‘behind me’, i’th ôl ‘after thee’.

   All in common use. ôl § 149 i.
(7) yngwyd 'in the presence of', *yn fè ngwydd 'in my presence', *iðh wydd 'into thy presence', *i gwydd 'from her presence', etc.

gwyd § 63 iv.

(8) o blegid 'on account of', o'íth blegid 'on thy account';
ym plegyd M.A. i 306 'on account of'.

plegid (i for y after g, § 77 ii) < Lat. placitum.

(9) ar gyfaer (now misspelt ar gyfer) 'opposite', ar gy ngwyfaer 'opposite me'; ngwyfaer 'opposite, against, instead of'; Ml. W. ar gyveir, ngwyveir, etc.; y gyveir w.m. 449 'the direction'.

O.W. ar gyveir L.L. 141, ar ciweir do. 196; Ml. W. ar gyveir w.m. 250; ngwyveir do. 449, ngwyveir r.m. 293 'opposite', yn y gyveir r.m. 141 'in front of him, straight ahead', Mn. W. ar gyveir D.G. 189 (rh. with ledif-af).

The reason for the misspelling is partly the dialectal pronunc., § 6 iii; and partly perhaps the form cyfer- in cyf-erbyn etc. All the derivatives, cyfeiriaid 'direction', cyféririo 'to direct', etc., are from cyfăer.

cyfaer < *kom-arjó-, a compound of *kom- and *arjó- < *pérjó-, a noun formed from the prep. *pérj : Lat. praet, etc. § 156 i (6).

(10) o flaen 'in front of', ymlaen id., o'm blaen 'in front of me', dos *yn dy flaen 'go in front of thee', i.e. go on, ymlaen llaw 'beforehand'.

dyvot ymlaen llu Ymys y Kedyn r.m. 54 'to come in front of the host of the Isle of the Mighty'; yn y vlaen ac yn y ol r.m. 149 'before him and after him'; herset oc blaen do. 49, w.m. 68 'to walk before them'.

blaen, O.W. blain : Corn. blyn 'tip', Bret. blein, blin 'bent, extrémité'. 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. blaenau in place-names 'outlying parts where valleys are hemmed in by mountains'. The orig. meaning seems to be therefore 'discharge, project'; hence prob. *ghelé- : Gk. βάλλω 'I throw', βάλμα, βάλη, βάλε 'a throw', βάλς 'arrow', O.H.G. quellan 'to well, to gush', O. Norse kelda 'source', Gk. βελόνα 'needle', Lith. želtą 'to prick', gelonė 'needle', etc. The formation is not quite clear; the Corn. and Bret. forms seem to imply Brit. *blaną- (< *gval-ndo- : cf. Lith. gelonė); and the W. may represent the same with met. of i, § 100 v; *ai > *oi > ae after the labial. blaenaf § 149 i.
(11) heb amlaw R.M. 179 'besides, in addition to', heblaw 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.II. 173; o'm ran i 'for my part', etc.; o waith 'because of'.

ran '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 ý gil R.M. 151 'behind him'.

cyf-yl : ym-yl 'edge' § 101 iv (2). cil § 59 vi.

(14) ach law § 214 i; gerllaw, ger llaw do. ii; gerbron, ger bron ib.; drachefn do. iii, trachefyn y dor 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) Ml. W. mal, val, Mn. W. mal, fal, fél 'like', and Ml. 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 él y gwallt hir-felyn
A'i frig fál 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 ragorol.—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', fél myfi, etc., or by demonstratives as fél hyn. (e) fél hyn (Corn. evel henn) though still surviving by reformation, became (e)fell hyn, whence efelly ufelly, felly 'so', § 110 v (2). In Gwent fell hyn became llŷn, and subsequently yn llŷn with adverbial yn, BAB. i 376, 378.

Ni furiadwn fawr rodiaw
A grŵr fell hŷn 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 yvelly y gwaethant voy? w.m. 41 'is it so that they did?'

(3) val, O.W. amal ( : Ir. amal) is a weak form of hafal < *s०म्य -
§ 94 i; Ml. W. mal may represent an early elision of the first

E e 2
syllable, thus *s'm_}_l-; the e in Mn. W. may come from forms like felly where the a is affected by the y; but Bret. has evel also. Ir. amal governs the acc. case.

megys seems to be a spv. (eqtv.?) of the same word corresponding to comparatives in -ach (< *-aék-sôn); thus *s'm-ák-istô- > megys; *sam-ák-istô- > Mn. W. 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 gennyf § 194 v (3); oddi wrth, now mostly oddiwrth; Mn. W. oð is R.M. 151, 172. Inflected: oddi amdano Gu.O. g. 193, oðy uchtaw R.M. 141, etc. Mn. W. ði-eithyr s.g. 8 'except', o-ði-eithyr L.A. 143 'outside'; Mn. oddieithr 'except', dial. corruption oddigherth.

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 oðyma 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 ð before a vowel) is taken in Late Mn. and Early Mn. W. from forms in which a consonant follows, as oddi draw, Mn. W. oðydraw c.m. 46. (oddieithr is for o dðieithr.)

In the Gwentian dial. oð was taken from these connexions, and used for o before a vowel, and ðð for i was made on its analogy. These forms occur in late Gwentiau 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 time 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 bugail, 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 cyna dyfod ohonof 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 wylydyn w.m. 4 'till the end of the year'; hid attad B.B. 3 'to thee'; diaspad... hid ar dwn 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 cafael cubel hyt enoet un keignjauc A.L. i roc '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 certainly 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. ty 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 wlat L.A. 125 'towards thy country'; ty 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'; ygyt ac ef W.M. 7 'together with him'; y gyt ac wynnt do. 5 'with them'; gyverbyn a hi R.M. 293 'opposite her', gyvarwyneb ac wynnt 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, ni 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:
A minheu vi a' r morynion a wiscaf ymdanaf inheu w.m. 99 'and I with the maids will dress myself'. kysgeist di ti a Lawnelsot s.g. 302 'thou didst sleep with Lancelot.' bywt a lynn... y' th neithawr di ti a 'm merch i r.m. 120 'food and drink for thy nuptials with my daughter'. Sef a unaeth ymteu ef ae tu y nos honno R.B.B. 76 'this is what he did with his host that night'.

A rhif gwolith 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 Eyllt urddawr
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 hun ef o a hi.—T.A., A 14975/107.

'Heaven [be] to him with her.'

efo o(g) was contracted to efo(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 Siwmnt 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 hwn i id., tu cefn i 'behind', tu uchaf i 'above', etc.

tu 'side', Corn., Bret. tu, Ir. tōib, Gael. taobh < Kelt. *toibo-; origin uncertain; Macbain' 359 gives √ steibh/p- 'stiff, erect', which seems far-fetched from the point of view of meaning.

ADVERBS

§ 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
(≡ 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 wnn... ny allaf w.m. 21 'I do not know... I cannot', na at > nād § 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 r- or r-). But na (nac) takes the soft of b-, m-, ll-. 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 thykya 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 mynweis w.m. 18 'I would not', ny mym w.m. 148, na mod do. 147, but ny wynhei w.m. 58 'would not'; ll-, ny lluit remin (=-t) b.b. 8 'wealth avails not', ny llseint do. 63 'were not slain', but ni ladaf i di w.m. 8 'I will not kill thee'; g-, ny wnn, ny allaf above; d-, ny tira (≡ ny diu(y)g) b.b. 8 'makes no amends'. Relative: corpor ni glicvit (-t=-t) b.b. 20 'body that hearest not'; ny bara r.p. 1275.—Mn. W.: ni mynnaf I.F. 97/179 'I will not', ni feddodd W.m. c.m. 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. nyt, Mn. W. nid [rad.] 'it is not', used before vowels and consonants; indirect nat, nad [rad.].

Nyt gwara t sog gwella d b.b. 962 'it is no disgrace to reform'; Nid cur llaxur 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 nā ddo, sometimes written naddo, but wrongly, for the a is long, not medium as in a penult; thus A aeth ef? Nā ddo 'Did he go? No'. Na do w.m. 425.

(3) A question introduced by ai is answered in the negative
by Ml. W. nac ef, Mn. W. nág e (often written nage) 'not so', as Ai tydi a'i gwaeth? Nág 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) Ml. 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 Jl. gemination occurs after ni 'not' and the preverbs ro, no. Thus Brit. *né kkarâme gives Ml. W. ny charaf. Hence the spir. of tenues after ni. So *bb->b-, *mm->m-, *ll->l-. The soft ð may be due to late simplification of double d § 93 iii (1); lenition of g- may have spread from gw-*y-, which even if doubled would prob. give y- after a vowel. From these and the relativa form, lenition spread to b-, m-, l-, 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) Ml. 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 nit boï (prob. b= v) cp. '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) Ml. 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, *sâ, *tod> Gk. ὅ, ὧ, ὡ, § 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 *né in direct sentences in Ar., it was accented in dependent clauses; this may have led to a reduced unacc. *nö giving Kelt. *na, 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 (I. na-thó) 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 particles are: (1) before verbs, a [soft]; before nouns, etc., Ml. W. ae, Mn. ai [rad.] 'is it?' (2) before verbs, O.W. anit, Ml. W. pony(t), pany(t), Mn. poni(d), pani(d), pond, pand, oni(d), onid 'nonne?'; before nouns etc., Ml. pony[t] [rad.], Mn. ponid, pond, pand, onid, onid '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 e* ‘is it so?’, onid e*, oníté ‘is it not so?’ dial. N.W. ai e? yn’t e? S.W. ai éf e? t ef e? on’t éf e?

Examples: (1) Mn. W. A uðdost ti b.t. 27 ‘Dost thou know?’ ae ti a eirch vy merch w.m. 479 ‘is it thou that seekest my daughter?’—(2) O. W. anit arber bit Juv. gl. num vescitur? Mn. W. Pony veluch chwí r.p. 1418 ‘do you not see?’ Pany chreduch chwí ib. ‘do you not believe?’ Ponyt ydym ni yn kredú w.L.A. 83 ‘do we not believe?’ Ponyt Ugyoden a velach i y’th lauw 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 pod 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 rhaiad i trád fyw? b.c. 119 ‘must not trade live?’

Preverbal *a* may be followed by an infixed pron. in Mn. W.: a*m dywedeyš w.L.A. 134 ‘wilt thou tell me?’ ae gwðost 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: Ae amovyn a Pheredur a welsei y kyfryw varchawl w.m. 138 ‘and inquiring of Pere- dur whether he had seen such a knight’; *ny wyn* a glyweist ywthaw do. 166 ‘I know not whether thou hast heard about it’; *a gofyn* a oruc Owein *ae dyn* bydawol r.m. 187 ‘and Owein asked whether it was a living man’. The point of transition is represented by Dyweot... a veleisti w.m. 118, which may be rendered ‘say whether thou hast seen’ or ‘say, hast thou seen?*

ae... ae ‘whether... or’: A uðdostí peth wyt... ae corff *ae eneit* b.t. 27 ‘dost thou know what thou art, whether body or soul?’ *y rodi* devís wðant *ae gw’rhaw idaw* *ae ymwan* ac ef, see § 222 ii (2).

iii. *a* [soft] ‘whether... may represent unacc. Brit. *ä* ‘if’ instr. sg. f. of the pron. *o-*: cf. Gk. *o* ‘if’ which however is from *o*, variant of *i* instr. sg. m.; for the instr. f. as adv. cf. Lat. eä, quä. 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 *id* ‘it’, so that *ae* may be lit. ‘whether it [is]’; cf. nyt § 217 iv (3).

po-ny, pa-ny < Brit. *q*³ña ne ‘whether not’; *q*³ña instr. sg. f. as *ä* above; if unacc. in Brit. it would give pa-; if unacc. later, po-; see § 71 i (2).
ai è < ai êf 'is it so?' yn't è for *aen'd hêf 'is it not so?': (h)ef < *semo-s, -d 'that, it, so' § 159 iv (r). The S. W. second è repeats the pron. of ae. Mn. W. ai comes from ai è, which is easier than ae (ay) è.

§ 219. Affirmative Particles.—i. (1) Mn. 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 neu. Before nouns, adjs. etc. neut. [rad.] 'it is'; with neg. part. neut na(ð).

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 rôdes w.m. 20 'he has given it'; neur vum b.m. 7 'I have been' (also in full neu ry do. 74, w.m. 80); neut kym-tevin, neut ūd ūych, neut crych egin r.p. 1036 'it is spring, the furrow is red, the sprouts are curvy'; neut na' m dau'r do. 1227 'I care not'; neut nat ūy ðib. In Early Mn. W. neu is a rare survival:

E fu amser—neu dderyw—
Och fôl bon oeddwn iach jynw.—D.G. 425.

'There was a time—it is past—ah me! when I was alive and well.'

(2) neu for *nyu, § 78 iii, < Brit. *nei loc. sg. m. of the pron. *no:—Gk. vai, Lat. nāe 'indeed' (ei/ai § 63 v (2)), Gk. vî, 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) Mn. W. y, e, yô, ed; yd, ed, yt; yd-, yt(t)-; Mn. W. yô, yr, yd-, yt-. In Mn. W. these are used almost exclusively before the pres. and impf. of the verb 'to be'. yld- was agglutinated to these tenses early, and ylt- spread from yttlynt and yttloed § 189 iii (r), § 180 ii (3). The compounds yd-wyf etc. were used like the simple forms, and might take other preverbs before them, as neut yttivo dros amser w.m. 182 'it is past the time', nit yttogdwn i do. 8 'I was not', a yttivo Llaweslot yma s.g. i 'is Lancelot here?' Even yr yld- is common; yr ydwyf § 191 ii (2). In answers and denials the yld- forms only are used in the pres., except in the 2nd sg., as ydwyf 'I am!' ydych 'you are!' but wyt 'thou art!'

Ml. W. Yd wele(ð)æ-e Gwendoloe b.m. 53 'I have seen Gwendoleu'. Y νîdest y march yr marh, ac y deth hî ... w.m. 33 'The horse was given to the boy, and she came ...' Ac y dyvru Gleuwyf yr neuvô do. 457 'And G. came to the hall'. Pan dêth yti y peir? E dêth 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 y difrid... Ysprint Glan b.b. 45 'The Holy Ghost was protecting her'.—Mn. W.: Ac y dyweit Iwl Kesar y.l.h. [8] 'And Julius Caesar says'; yr wyt, yr wyt, yr oedd, yr ydyum, 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. ef. 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 (cf laðhei b.a. 37, cf enir below); ð- is ambiguous.

(a) Ac ew dybit (≡ ag ef dybyð) b.b. 61 'and it will come'. Ef diodes gormes, ef dodes fin b.a. 10 'He repelled invasion, he set a boundary'. Ef dyfu dreic lu P.M. r.p. 1419 'The dragon of the host came'.—(b) Ef molir pawb wrth ñ weith r.p. 1056 'Everybody is praised according to his work'. Ef gwennit b.a. 22 'There was an attack'.—(c) Ew kuynhiw iny wuiv (≡ Ef cuynif ynu hweif) b.b. 100 'I shall complain while I am'. Ef gweinf beird 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 eistedeí en tal lleithic b.a. 10 'He would not sit at the end of a bench'.—(b) Nid ew rotir new i'r neb nuy keis b.b. 86 'Heaven will not be given to him who does not seek it'. Nyt ef enir pawb yn ñoeth r.p. 1056 'Everybody is not born wise'.—(c) Nyt ef caraf amryssoniat 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 dicone(i)s a di(ar) a mor juv. sk. 'Thou madest loth land and sea'. Early Ml. W. A mi ðysgoganaf-e b.b. 48, 49 'And I predict'. Pan esgynnei baub, ti ðisgynnut b.a. 31 'When everybody ascended, thou descendedst'.—Nyt mi wyf kerð vut b.t. 31-2 'I am not mute of song'. Neu vi erthychbei do. 62 'I groaned'. Pei mi ganwun 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

* diconeis for what would be later digoneist; -e- for -ei- occurs several times in the fragment.
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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 yr ll. A. 4 'I will tell it thee' ; hi ay gwreli ef w.m. 251 'she saw him' ; Ni ay proven do. 66 'We will try it', cf. iv below; and partly mi a wn may be a confusion of mi a wn 'I know' with mi a byr 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 wn several times in r.p. 135 for hi wn.

(4) In Mn. W. ef a, mi a etc. remain in use, as Mi a euraf § 38 ix, Ef a bothes yr Iesu D.N. F.n. 94 'Jesus fed [the multitude]'. In the Bible ef a becomes ef e 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 (i), E 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 gwolith meun tref a gwlad
Fo sôn dynion am danad.—W.L. 18.

'While there is dew in town and country men will talk of thee.'

F' aeth anwir ar faeth ennyd;
F' aeth y gwir ar feth i gyd.—I.F. f. 42.

'Untruth has prospered for a season; truth has wholly failed.'

Fe wna 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 golhidy yr hen llwyren Y.L.H. [8] 'the old books would be lost'.

In the spoken lang., in S. W. i (for Ji, mi i?) 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 ân' '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) Ml. W. ef as in (1) above is the same as the ef in nac ef 'not so'; no', ai ë '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 Mn. W. to support an infixed pron. before a verb; thus

**A**'th kivarchau b.b. 98 = **A**'th gysvarchaf b.f. 578 ‘I greet thee’. **A**'th vendiguis-te Awraham b.b. 35 ‘Abraham blessed thee.’ **A**'wch bi wynnjeith b.t. 12 ‘And there will be vengeance upon you’. **A**'s attelbuys Dofyð do, 24 ‘The Lord answered him’. **A**'s kynnul gwynyn 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 (≡ eirolvog ny) Mihangel do. 32 ‘May Michael intercede for us’.

(2) This form prob. arose where the subject was expressed, as in **A**’s attelbuys 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) Mn. W. *ry*, the perfective particle, with the past makes it perf. in sense, as *pawb ry gavas y 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 eioreg* do. 454 ‘though he had never seen her’; with the plup., causes no modification of meaning, *y ryn (≡ yr hyn) ry adawsei* do. 453 ‘that which he had promised’. See Strachan, Intr. 57–60. It is sometimes reduced to *r* after *n* (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 rhynwaelthoedd* 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 oed kawat o eira gwedy ry-odi... a gwalch wyll gwedy ry-lað 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; *wed_ry 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-
unaethoeð w.m. 30 (§ 151 ii (2)). The mutation after it was orig.
the same as after *ny; thus in direct statements *ry chedwis detuf b.b.
14 'he kept the law'; relatival, pawb *ry gavas above. The lenition
of the relatival form was generalized.

(2) Ml. W. *ry = Ir. ro < *pro - Lat. *pro, etc., § 156 i (21). The
relatival 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 *ry < *r(i)o < *pr(o) io.

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 ē.

In Ml. W. the verb may be repeated in the aor. also: A owynneist
ti a Æð gerð ganthunt? Gowynneis 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.4
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: mligôd
'milks', perf. sg. 1. do-ommalg, tongid 'swears', perf. du-cui-iwig,
Thurneysen Gr. 322. The alternation t-: d- occurs in this, cf. § 196 i
(3); and the answer expected is a verb.

*ef < *i semo-s 'that [is] so'. *i: Gk. oïr-rōt, Umbr. -i: Goth.
ja, O.H.G. ia, E. yea. mai *i 'that it is so'; mai § 222 x (2), ē as in
ai ē, 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-dëi.—(b) A preposition with its
object generally forms an adverb equivalent, and many such expressions became improper compounds, as Gk. ἐκ-ποδόν.

(3) The special adverbial suffixes were (a) forms with a dental, see § 162 vi (2);—(b) forms with ὅ- as Gk. δί-γα; 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. δί, Lat. bis.—See BrugmannⅡⅡ ii 728–738.

ii. The following W. adverbs represent old adverbial forms:

(1) Early Ml. W. nu ‘now’, as Nu ny'm car-i Guendil b.b. 50 ‘Now Gwenndydd loves me not’. The sound was doubtless nw (: Ir. mi), 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.


(2) 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) BrugmannⅡ Ⅱ ii 679: Skr. mākṣa ‘quickly, soon’.

(3) doe ‘yesterday’.

doe = Lat. hēra both from *glōjesi: Gk. χθέσι § 75 vii (2), § 98 i (3).

(4) yrhawg, rhawg ‘in future, for a long time to come’, Ml. W. yrhawc R.P. 1034.

yrhawg < *perā-ko-(s) formed from *perā like *prokos (> Lat. -procus, W. rhaq) from *pro: Gk. πέρα, *πράκο- in Ion. πρήσω (BrugmannⅡⅡ i 481).

(5) 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. hōнт < *som-tos consisting of the demonst. stem *som-‘this’, § 164 vi, and the suffix *-tos ‘from’ as in Lat. in-tus § 162 vi (2).

(6) yno ‘there, thither, then’, yna ‘then, there (near you)’, Early Ml. W. ynoeth b.b. 66 ‘thither’, inaeth do. 58 ‘then’, ob-ynoed b.t. 19 ‘then, thereafter’, ob-ynaeth R.P. 581 id.

yn ‘there, thither’ before the rel. y, yð, yld ‘where’, as yn-y tereu tonneu tir b.b. 63 ‘there where waves beat the shore’; en
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e-bo da deleu A.L. i 62 'where there is a suit'; A'r vorwyn a doeth
yn yô oed Peredur w.m. 148 'and the maid came to where P.
was'. Also, similarly used, myn, men, as myn-yl vo truin yl
nit trev (≡ ryô trew) b.n. 83 'where there is a nose there will be
a sneeze'; cf. 26; a boles vy rèn mên y maent ryô R.P. 1367
'which my Lord has put where they are free'; cf. 1244.

The older forms of yno, ýna are ynoeth, ynaeth; the b.t. ynoed
represents the intermediate stage between ynoeth and yno § 78 i (1).
ynaeth > ýna has followed the analogy of ynoeth; Powys dial. ene 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. *eno-; but the formation is not quite
clear. We may assume forms *eno-ko-s, *enà-ko-s formed like
*pro-ko-s, *perà-ko-s, and adverbs with a t-suffix formed from these,
on the analogy of *ek-tos (≡ Ir. acht, Gk. σκέτος); thus *eno-k-te
'thither' > ynoeth. For the base cf. Skr. aná 'then; ever', Gk. én
'the third [day]' ('that [day]'), Umbr. inum-k, inum-ek, enom
'tum'.—ML. W. ýn 'there; thither' may represent the loc. and acc.
*ení and *enom of the pron.—ML. W. myn, men seems to be the same
with initial (y)m- < *esmi, see (11). The rhyme rèn/mên shows that
the -n is single, and that the vowel was long; hence the word cannot
be an oblique case of mann 'place', though so treated later, and
written man.

(7) éto 'again, yet', ML. W. etwo, etwa, earlier edwaeth C.
R.P. 1173, etwaeth B.T. 29, M. w. 3a, edwaeth (dd ≡ d-d, not d*)
B.B. 88. Also etton R.P. 1264, 13c9, etonn do. 1321, etwan
ML. 37, W.M. 61.

The t is for d by provocation before w § 111 v (2), so that the older
form was edwaeth, *edwoeth (ýa : yô interchange), which implies
Brit. *et-wokt-. This seems to be a formation like yno, see (6), from
a base *eti-ýo; *eti: Gk. ἔτι, Skr. áti (which may represent *ati or
*eti) 'over, beyond'; ýo < *upo: Skr. úpa, as adv. 'moreover,
further', see (9). The form eton, etwan < *edwûn < Brit. *eti-ýo-nà,
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-e 'and'. It does not seem possible to explain the e- of éto
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 òd|nant; the d doubled because the syll. is closed; see
§ 54 i (3).
Ni threithir y gwir i gyd
Yn llyfr nac unlle hefyd.—G. Gl., P114/458.

'The whole truth is not stated in a book or anywhere else.'

hefyd < Brit. *samti; suff. of manner *ti §162 vi (2) added to
*sam-i, with i-flexion following *sami- (Lat. simili-): Ir. samuith,
same meaning, < *samali-ti < the fuller *samili-: cf. Lat. similī
apparently formed with suff. -tūd from loc. *semei, Walde2 s.v.

(9) wedi 'afterwards' e.g. Matt. xxvi 73, Act. iii 24, B.CW.
21 l. 10, gvedi l. 22; Early Mn. W. and ML. W. (g)wedy, O.W.
guotig ox., guetig B.S.CH. 2 'afterwards'; na chynt na gwedy
R.M. 168 'neither before nor after', cynt 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. guotig, Bret. goude < Brit. *guotig(os) which may be
for *yote-gos (eq > ig §65 ii (3)); *yo < *upo which as an adverb
of time meant 'after', cf. Skr. īpa adv. 'moreover, further', and
Lat. sub- in sub-sequor, succedo; *te suffix of time §162 vi (2); to
*yote-seems to have been added the suff. -gos 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 thray 'here and there'.

draw is probably for *travo §110 iii (1) < *trām-, perhaps loc.
*trāmei of stem *trāmo-: cf. *prāmo- in Lat. prandum. "From
ter- there are old nominal m-formations, which have become
adverbial and prepositional" Brugmann2 II ii 901. See §156 i (22).

(11) yma 'here', poet. ýman; ML. W. yma w.m. 22, ymma
do. 32, 39, ýman l.A. 30; hyt yman w.m. 186 'hither'; draw ac
ýman R.P. 1369.

A chais un o'i chusanau
Ýman a i'w dduyn ym, 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 hwt Gr.O. 32
'Searching here, searching there'.

W. yma, ýman, Corn. yma, omma (e.g Williams Lex. s.v.), -ma
-man, Bret. ama, amañ, -mañ, -mañ, Van. ama, amann, amenn. On
the loss of final -m 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 'alios' Brugmann2 II ii 336) with suff. -dha §162 vi (2) as in
Skr. i-hā 'here', Gk. ἐν-θα; *anda survives in Bret. ann 'here',
Ir. and 'there, in it'.

1402  ff
(12) allan 'out, in the open', ML. W. allann R.P. 1044, I.M. 106, 167, usually written allan but rhyming with -ann in Early ML. verse, thus cann/llworgan(n)/allan(n)/lan(n) R.T. 27.

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 *pél-zām-dha or a similar formation from √pela- 'stretch out' : Lat. palam 'openly' : O. Bulg. polje 'field', O.E. feld, 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 hynny allan w.m. 12 (so in Mn. W.) 'thenceforth'.

(13) ML. W. ðwy 'too much', as ðwy yt werthey Arthur w.m. 470 'overmuch dost thou asperse Arthur' ; see viii (1).

(14) y, yð, yd adverbial rel. § 162 ; ðyr 'why?' pan 'whence?' cw, cwð, cwd 'where?' § 163 ; arnodd etc. § 209 ; heibio, acw, trwð, droodd, yngo, yugod, ucho, uchod, iso, isoð § 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 awr; 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 swnn 'cluster, crowd' § 129 ii (1) ex. 3 ( < *s-tur-no- : Lat. tur-ma, √tuer-); gylch, ðygelch, etc. § 47 iii; agos 'nearly'; nemawr, faŵr in neg. clauses 'much'; achlán 'wholly'.

achlán is used like oll, generally following the word or phrase which it limits, as a' r byt achlán 'and the whole world' M.A. i 376, Prydein achlán R.P. 1402, y llwodr achlan R.M. 136 'all the hosts'. It is prob. an adj. which as an adv. retains its old accentuation like yrhâw, eriðed § 47 i, ii. The most likely Brit. form is *aokladsos which may be for *y-qled-no- 'un-broken', √golad- 'strike, break' : Lat. incolumnis 'un-harmed, whole'; cf. E. whole in two senses; cf. also W. di-awn 'unbroken, whole', di-goll 'whole', coll < √gol'd- ', √golad-.

(3) After an adj.: iawn 'very', as da iawn 'very good'; odiath 'very', Gen. xii 14 ( : oddid); aruthr 'amazingly, very', as merch landeg aruthr B.C.W. 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'; weithian '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 byth 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 chynnt in which the orig. rad. is c-

chweith in Late Ml. W. occurs chiefly before a noun, and means 'any', as na chlywe arnau chweith dolur s.g. 55 'that he did not feel any pain', chweith antur do. 34, chweith pechawt do. 46; more rarely y chweith at all' do. 62. In Ml. W. it is found with an adj., as rhoag na chaphom aros chwaith hir G.R. [95] 'lest we may not stay very long', Canys nid yno chwaith teg do. [124] 'for it is not very seemly', chwaith hir B.C.W. 40. These expressions seem to show that chwaith is orig. a noun; perhaps gwraith 'occasion' § 100 i (2), as in unwaith above (with pref. *eks-?): Bret. choaz, Corn. whath, whith, 'yet, again' (*-yokt-; *-yokt-).

(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 of haech s.g. 38 'he did not stay long'. The word is often used as a noun, as heb wneuthur hayach o drufe s.g. 39 'without doing much wrong'; cf. L.A. 122. Hayachen R.M. 142, G. 234 has the sense of 'almost'—haech seems to be a cpv. of an adj. *hae < *sag-jo- or *sog-jo-, */sēgh-: Gk. ἡχα 'much' adv., */sēgh-, Boisacq s.v. ἡχο—haechen is perhaps the full stem, and so the true obl. form, § 147 iv (3).

(7) Noun or adj. in an obl. case followed by the obl. rel. y, yd, 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 yd, lle yr, generally lle, lle'r 'in the place where, where', Ml. W. lle ny, Mn. lle ni 'where ... not'.—
(b) 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 breidd 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. βραδές 'tardy', Lat. gurdus. 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 ðethoste 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) hê-ddiw, Late Mn. W. hêddyw § 37 iii; heno § 78 i (1); e-lêni 'this year' for *he-fêni, Bret. hevlene.

hêdiw for *heddyw § 77 v < *se-diyes = Skr. sa-diwaḥ 'at once' beside sa-diwaḥ 'on the same day' prob. loc. sg. of an s-stem, and so not formed directly from *dijês '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-lêni for *he-lyni (owing to preference for e.i sequence, cf. § 65 iii (2)) < *blidnîi loc. of *bleidonî which gives blwyddlyn 'year'.

(2) beunyydd 'every day', beunoeth 'every night'.

The noun in these was acc. But Brit. *pâpon diê (≤ *qâponom diêm) 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 *pewbnî ð > pewnyð; then by analogy peunnoeth (and S. W. dial. o beutu for lit. o boptu); Bret. bemdeiz, Treg. baonôe.

(3) yn awr 'now' § 114 iv; yr áwron, weithion, 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 ddelw, pa fodd 'how?' pa bryd 'when?' etc. § 163 ii.

(5) rýwbryd 'some time', rýwfoedd 'somehow'.

v. Adverbs formed of a noun or adj. preceded by a conjunction or neg. part.:

(1) ond + noun or pron. : ond odiid b.cw. 31 'perhaps' (lit. 'except a rarity') § 169 v (4); ond antur D.G. 266, G.Gr. d.o. 238 'almost', with neg. 'hardly' (lit. 'but by chance'); ond hynny 'any more' L.M. 94, 96, T. ii 176.

(2) nid + cpv. 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)rac'h in Gwn. 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, l.l.a. 110, Mn. W. y-fory 'to-morrow'; yr-llýnedd, er-llýnedd 'last year'; ó-bry 'down'; éisoes, éisoes 'already', Ml. W. eisoes 'nevertheless'; gór-moð, Late Mn. W. gôr-mod 'excessively'; adref l.l.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 tránnoeth, trennyð see § 156 i (22);—trá-dwy for *tar-dwy < *tarós dîwî 'beyond two [days]'; in such a phrase it is possible that the accent of *dîwî might be on the -î, the original position (Skr. dúvā); and *dîwî > *dúmi would give -dwy not *-den § 76 v (4);—a-vory for *ad-vory < *ad márîg-i (prob. loc.); *ad takes loc. in Germ. also) 'to-morrow';—yr-llýnedd < *per blidni'ân acc. of *bleidôn 'year';—eisoes < *es-i-oes 'ever' (oes 'age') formed like eirote (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. ñ wyn(ë) § 110 iv (3); i lawr 'down'; i waered 'down'; i mewn 'inside' § 215 iii (1); i maes 'out', Ml. W. ñ maes c.m. 58, R.M. 172, l.l.a. 122, 166; o vywn l.l.a. 166 'inside'; o vaes ib. 'outside';
yn ol 'back', ar ol 'behind' § 215 iii (6); ar hynt 'immediately' s.c. 274; oddi fyny 'from above', oddi lawr 'from below', oddi mewn 'inside'; ymlaen 'in front' § 215 iii (10); ynghyd 'together', Ml. W. ygykt w.m. 103, R.M. 75 (for which y gyt is oftenest found, see ib.), i gyd 'wholly', Ml. W. y gyt § 156 i (8); ar lled 'abroad', late ar led; ar frys 'hastily', rhag llaw 'henceforth', Ml. W. rac llaw r.p. 1418, dra-chatfn 'backwards, over again' § 214 iii; ymaith 'away', Ml. W. yndeith for earlier e yndeith w.m. 2; i ffwrdd id.

i waered; gwaered < *upo-ped-ret- 'under-foot-run'; —i maes = Bret. emeaz, Corn. emes < *ens magess- 'into field'; —ar hynt: hynt 'way' § 63 iii (1); i ffwrdd: ffordd § 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 ymron, bron 'nearly' § 215 iii (14) which is now used as an adv.); er-m-öed 'during my time', Ml. W. eirnoet r.p. 1259; er-i-öed 'ever' § 34 iii, Ml. W. eiryoet, eiroet; the form eir-böed 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 eri- § 70 ii; in eirnoet it is due to the analogy of eiroet.

vii. Adverbs formed of adjectives governed by prepositions:

(1) ar fyrr b.cw. 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', trwgy deg neu hagr 'by fair [means] or foul'; trwy iawn 'by right'; wrth wir 'truly'; o fraidd 'sarcely', Ml. W. o vreid W.M. 108, a-breidd w.m. 131.

(2) as Any adj. following yn, as yn dda 'well', yn well 'better', yn ddwrug 'badly', yn fawr 'greatly', yn gam 'wrongly'. The adj. has the soft initial except when it is ll or rh § 111 i (1); but in many expressions forming improper compounds it has the nasal; as ynghynt 'sooner', ymholl 'far', ynhám 'wrongly', ynglhedd 'secretly' etc. § 107 v (6).
W. yn, Corn. yn, Ml. Bret. en, ent, Ir. in, ind < *en-do; W. yn favr = Ir. in már. 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. pw § 214 iv), which is synonymous with *endo, was often substituted for it, and has superseded it in Mn. Ir.—4. W. ymhell, etc., show that simple *en could be used as well as *en-do; yn bél ‘far’ and ymhell ‘far’ are a doublet, both forms being in use; ymhell is the same construction as ymláen 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’, ygyhwaelhach r.m. 85, aghwaelhach do. 150, aghwaelhach do. 156, yŷ kyvoethach w.m. p. 91b, anoethach do. 182; also later chwaethach R.C.W. 14.

Hytrach is cpv. of hyd ‘strong, prevailing’; O.Bret. hitr, Ir. sethar, of unknown origin.—chwaethach (misspelt chweithach by Silvan Evans) is generally supposed to be from chwaith iiii (5), e.g. D.D. s.v.; if so it has R-o-grade *yok-t—; -mchw— > -whw— § 26 vi (3); ţk = wh § 21 i; an— < *y-do—: *end-o—; yŷ kyv— seems to have pref. kyv—; anoethach, with no pref., but with ţy 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 mvyyaf ‘rather too much’.

viiti. (1) The prefixes rhy-, go- and tra- by being accentuated separately before adjectives have come to be regarded as adverbs rhy, go, and tra; thus rhy dda ‘too good’, go dda ‘rather good’, tra dda ‘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. ţwv, as in Nyt gwell ţwv no digawen r.m. 963 ‘too much is not better than enough’; this is prob. the adv., ii (13), used as a noun; rhwy adv. < *prefi (< *pраи, Lat. praе) § 210 x (5).

(2) lled 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) **ysywaeth** 'the more the pity', Ml. W. *yseywaeth* n.l. 157, s.g. 252, for *ysey waeth* 'which is worse'.

(2) **gwaethiroð duw** c.m. 30 for *gwaeth yr oed duw* (?) 'worse worth the day'; Gwentian *gwaithiro duw* h.g. 106.

(3) **yswaethéroð** L.G.C. 38, seemingly a confusion of (1) and (2).

ii. (1) **agatfydd** 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 advoo* B.B. 8 'what may happen'.

(2) **agattoeð** h.m. ii 85 'it might be', *ac attooð* r.m. 212, for *ag a *ud-hoeð*; for *hoeð* see § 180 ii (3).

(3) **ysgatfydd** 'perhaps' I Cor. xv 37 for *ys ag a atfydd*.

iii. **ysgwir**, 'ysgwir' L.G.C. 444 'truly', for *ys gwir* 'it is true'; *malpeï* J.D.R. [xiv] 'as it were; so to speak' for *mal pei* 'as it were'; *sef* 'this is, that is, namely', for *ys cf*.

iv. (1) **yllima** 'voici', **yllyna** 'voilà', for *yll yma* 'see here', *yll yna* 'see there', cf. Bret. *setu* 'voici, voilà' prob. for *sellet hu* 'see ye'; cf. *yll dy racco* r.m. 133.

(2) Mn. W. *dyma* 'voici', more fully *weldyma* b.cw. 24, Late Ml. W. *weldyma* 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', *weludycho* for *wel(y) dy ucho*; *diso* 'see below', *weldiso* D.G. 113, dial corr. *duw*; *dyfry* 'see up', *doby* 'see down', *dyngo* 'see close by' (gugo § 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 cyghanedd, 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 bâr y mae'r bedd.—D.G. 66.

'And there among the birch-trees of Gwynedd the grave is being prepared for me.' Ac in the text here, but Ac in the previous couplet.

Ni thorrais un llethyren
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 ymosymnaf;
Mwnai ac our 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 chaws; ðwr a halen.

Ni chwynaf od wyf afiach,
Os yfô sy fyw a sâch.—R.G.G. ll.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 cythenganedd 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, noc 'than'.

(3) ag: Ir. acus, accus, ocus; the Ir. -c- or -cc- represents -gg- as proved by Mn. Ir. -g-; W. ag then represents *aggós; the final -s and oxytone proved by the spirant initial which follows it; the Ir. acus older accus for *agguis < *aggos-ti. Brit. *aggós < *at-ðhos formed of *at (: *et) § 63 v (2) and a ðh-suffix as in Gk. δι-χα, δι-χοῦ, δι-χό-θεν, etc.

The base *at (: *et) is connected with *ati (: *eti) 'beyond', whence 'and, but'; thus Lat. et, Umbr. et 'and', Goth. iþ 'and, but' < *et : Lat. at 'but', Goth. aþ-ban 'but', Gk. ἀτ-ἀπ 'but' < *at. The suffix -ðhos is also seen in ag 'with' § 213 iii (1); and in agos 'near', the base of which is probably *ad- 'to, near': Lat. ad, E. at; thus *agos < Brit. *aggostos < *ad-ðhos-to-s.

ii. Disjunctive: (1) neu [soft] 'or'.

neu < *nôyû < *nê-û: Ir. nô, no, nu < *ne-ye. The second element is Ar. ūë 'or': Lat. -ve, Skr. vā 'or'. Thurneysen takes the first to be the neg. *ne- so that the orig. meaning was 'or not': Skr. ná-vā 'or not'. But the development of the meaning is in that case not obvious. The *ne- may be the stem of the *eno-, *no- pronoun, as Gk. -ve in Thess. τó-ve 'tóðe', 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) Ml. 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.

"ý roði deis uðunt ae gwerhau ñaw ae ymwan ac ef w.m. 160 'to give them [their] choice whether to do homage to him or to fight with him'; deis ti æ o' th wod æ o' th anwod do. 124 'choose thou whether willingly or unwillingly'; ae tydi ... ae titheu do. 162, 171, cf. § 159 iii.

ae § 218 iii, yntau § 159 iii (2), iv (3).

(3) na, nac 'nor'; na(e) ... na(c) 'neither ... nor'; na [spir.] before a consonant, including h and i; nac before a vowel; nac = nage; exactly as for ac, see i above.

Eir i gig ni roír gegin
Nac er ei groen gorrai grin.—G.Gl. m i/no. 43.
'The kitchen would not give for his flesh or for his skin a sear thong.'
The ms. has actually nage, as is often the case; see i (1).

nage < *naggos < *n(e) at-ghos 'and not'.

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, namyn, § 78 ii (1); O.W. honit nammui 'but only'.

namyn os mivi a gár yr amherawd yr, dewet lyt yman y'm hol w.m. 186, cf. 185 'but if it is I that the emperor loves, let him come hither for me.'

Hael oedd, ac ni havoc iddi
N'ai main na'i haur, namyn hi.—D.G. 293.
'He is chivalrous, and asks of her neither her jewels nor her gold, but only herself.'

namyn, O. W. nammui, Ir. namāa 'not more'. It is sometimes found without n-, by false division, as amyn B.C.H. 16, amen A.L. i 288 l. 3. The example from D.G. shows how the meaning developed: 'not more [than] > 'only' > 'but'.

(4) Ml. W. hagen 'however', coming after the opening word or words of the sentence, and prob. an enclitic.

canis rywelsei ef; wynceu hagen ni wybywyssyn i eisseu ef w.m. 9 'for he had not seen them; they, however, had not missed him'; nyt
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oed nes hagen ido 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' (Lothl. Voc. 150, Henry 165); as *at the base of *ac also means 'but', i (3) this is not improbable, but it is not easy to account for the form. O. W. has ha, hac 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 *-iθn of *aggős, its loc. *aggisent would give *ag-hen, which by early metath. of h (§ 94 ii) might give hagen. For a similar cpv. cf. hueachen § 220 iii (6); amgen § 148 ii (2).

iv. Causal: (1) canys [rad.] 'since', cans § 44 vi; Ml. W. can, kanys, cans w.m. 487 'since'; kan(n)y, han(n)yθ, 'since... not'; kan(n)yθ, canis iii (4) 'since... not... him (her, them)'.

ergliw wi (≡ erglyw fi) can dothuif B.B. 75 'hear me since I have come'; kann colles m.a. 147 'since he has lost'; A chan derw yt ñywedut y geir w.m. 21 'and since thou hast said the word'.—canys priflys oed do. 64 'for it was the chief court'; eisteddi yn y lle hunn kanys rydi bieu s.g. 6 'sit thou in this place for it is thou to whom it belongs'.—Cany velas ef w.m. 16 'since he did not see'; canyt oes venchin or holl Annwryn namyn ti do. 8 'for there is no king over all A. but thee'.—canis, see iii (4); Kanys gwydut k.m. 282 'since thou didst not know it'. Later Kanys 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 ys 'since it is' and is often written kannys e.g. m.a. 9, 10, 13, etc.; the -mn- is simplified because the word is generally unaccented; cf. anad for annat § 214 viii. It rarely comes directly before a verb; cans oed w.m. 487 = kan oes r.m. 126.—The neg. kany is for can ny; it was prob. accented on the last syll., hence the simplification of the -mn-. The accent would suffice to distinguish kanys 'since... not... him' from the positive kanys 'since'.

(2) achos 'because', Ml. W. achaws.

Galw Gwrhyr Gwalstavt Ieithoed, achaws yr holl ieithoed a wydýat r.m. 114 'Gwrhry Gwalstavt Ieithoedd was called, because he knew all languages'.—The conj. is omitted in w.m. 471.

achos § 65 ii (1), § 215 ii (1). o achos is used before v.n.'s and noun-clauses, and so remains prepositional: Deut. i 36, iv 37, viii 12, Num. xxx 5.

(3) o ran 'for', § 215 iii (12).

Pob byw wrth i ryw yr aeth,
O ran teir yw'r naturiaeth.—W.II., c.II. 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 i Cor. xv 53; o waith, in S.W. dial. waith.

v. Conditional: (1) 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; oni '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.IL. 60.— o is followed by the spirant, also in Early Mn. W. by the rad., of p-, t-, c-, and by the rad. of other mutables; od is used before vowels.

Before verbs: o chlywys diaspat... o groly thws 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 lleöi D.G. 59 'if thou killest me'; o'th gaf do. 524 'if I may have thee'; os canyhatta W.M. 412 'if she allows him [to go]';—with r(y): or bu do. 172 'if there has been'; or kaffaf vyglyyarw do. 459 'if I get my boon'; or mynnyn W.A. 165 'if thou wilt'. Before nouns, etc., followed by the relative pron., os 'if (it) is': Ac os wynteu ac med hi W.M. 190 'and if it is they who hold it'; os oδ (read o'θ) vοδ y gwyny ditheu do. 429 'if it is of thy free will that thou dost'; or followed by a simple subject: os pechawt hymny W.A. 38 'if that is sin'. Ml. W. ossit before an indef. subject: ossit a bygrifao... c.m. 27 'if there is [any one] who enjoys...'.—The neg. forms ony etc. follow the rules for ny; before verbs: ony byδ W.M. 95 'if there be not'; with infixed pron.: onys kaffaf do. 459 'if I do not get it'. Before nouns etc. onyty 'if it [is] not': onyty edivaw W.A. 47 'if not repentant'. This form became onyty, later onid, ond 'but'; ny ðenthum i yma onyty yr gwellau vy muced s.g. 184 'I have not come here but to amend my life'; ny mynnaf-i neb onyty Dwu 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 gam y dyvuost 'if it was a walk that thou camest'. For oni a new os na is used in Recent W.

o 'if' < Brit. *á 'if' § 218 iii; on the form see § 71 i (2). ot may represent *ã-ti or *ã-tā, see § 162 vi (2), which survives only before vowels. But an old ot before a cons., in which the -t is an infixed pron., survives in the stereotyped phrase ot gwnn W.M. 12 'if I know it'; this may well be *ã tod 'if it'. os 'if it is' < *ã 'sti; ossit 'if there is' < *a'stīa < *ã 'stī ita. The mutation after accented *ã 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 to 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.n. clause. The formation is not clear (I pei rhoent '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 syfyllais i y ddæar? Job xxxviii 4.—

Ban elom ni W.L. 168 'when we go'.

Syrthiais, llewygais i'r llawr,
Bann welais benn i elawr.—T.A., g. 234.

'I fell, I fainted to the floor, when I saw the head of his bier.'

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 Mn. 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 barhaus (read barhau65) w.m. 26 'no one was refused while it [the feast] lasted'; tra gefft do. 65–6, 68, 72 'while one could have'; tra vynho Duw do. 71 'while God will'; tra velho Duw do. 72 id.; tra gerdych W.L. 6 'while thou walkest'; tra fyddai Matt. xiv 22, tra fyddswyt Marc xiv 32; tra fyydd hau! Ps. lxxii 17.—

hyt tra ym gatter yn vyw w.m. 479 'whilst I am left alive'; hyt tra vei R.H. 79.

tra allied to the prep. tra, but coming from a Brit. form ending in a vowel, possibly *tār < *tārī cf. *arcr < *pārī; if so it is for *tār, 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.r. 25 ‘before I was’; gwr a rotei gad kyn dybu y dyt w. 2a ‘a man who gave battle before his day came’; cyn elych s.g. 269.

O Dduw! cyn el i ddacear,
A ddaw cof iddi a’i cár?—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 ðyscawð Devi hyny vu athro b.l.a. 107 ‘And [it was] who taught Dewi till he became a doctor’; A’r ynyse a gerddasant hyny ðoethant 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 llawm do. 56 ‘until it was full’.

Ni ddof oddiwth nai Ddasydd

‘I will not come away from David’s nephew till night becomes day.’
—onid oedd yr haul ar gyrraedd ei gaeredi b.cw. 5 ‘until the sun was reaching his battlements’ i.e. setting; hyd oni Matt. ii 9.

hyny is for hyd ny, and appears in full in cp.: hit ni-ri-tarnher ir did hinnuth ‘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 kann wren en vn ty b.a. 12 ‘though there might be 100 men in one house’; Kyd carhew-e morec cassaaw-e mor b.b. 100 ‘though I love the strand I hate the sea’. Cyd byddai nifer meibion Israel fel tywod y mör Rhuf. ix 27; Cyd bai hirfaith taith o’r wlad hon yno Gr.O. 116 ‘though a journey from this country thither would be long.—A chyn bei drut hynny r.m. 169 ‘And though that was a brave [fight]’; A chyn bo w.m. 62.—a chyn-nyt ymddialwaf a thi w.m. 2 ‘and though I may not avenge myself on thee’; kyn-ny bwrn ysgwyddes, 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. geen nit boi ... Cinnit hois

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 tod 'if it' a form which spread from kyt bo 'if it' etc. Before ny there was prob. no -d, and cyn ny is prob. a wrong deduction from cyny on the analogy of kon ny iv (1); cyn before a positive verb spread from this.—Traces of cy- without -d are found: ke-vei diffith n.a. 7 'though it were waste'; nyt arbedus ke-vei yr eglwysen a.c. 130 'he spared not even the churches'; kyllfey b.b. 87.—Kelt. *ke- may be the stem of the *ke- pronoun, as in Lat. ce-do; loc. in Gk. keiâ, kei-ëe.

(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 dristet oed bop dyn yno a chyn bei aghheu ym pop dyn onaâunt n.m. 188 'And 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 wydân i varch gynt ... no hwnno 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 hwnno do. 67 'than that'; hyn na welsei dyn wenith 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 arafach nogyt y tei eileil n.a. 101 'sweeter and calmer than the others'; iawnach yw iðaw dy gynnhal noget ygimi w.m. 37 'it is juster for him to support thee than for me', cf. r.p. 1039, ll. 10, 30; *Ny byd hyn, ny byd ieu, noget y ðëchreu n.t. 36 'it will not be older, it will not be younger, than at the beginning', cf. 28.

The initial u- 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 < *uggôs, which may be for *ud-ğhos : Lith. už- 'up' < *ud-ğh-, Ir. w- with gemination, Skr. ud- 'out, up', Goth. út, 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.

Gwronw 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 gwyn 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 dynneddant y gwnynt yn yr un kyllfyb s.g. 11 ‘and they said that they would do likewise’; ac yn dynwedut y’th leibr di do. 369 ‘and saying that thou shalt be killed’; ac a unn y car Duw ynteu L.A. 112 ‘and I know that God loves him’; ef a wyddigat y collei ef do. 58 ‘he knew that he would lose’.

Sif i’th gylich, os hun a’th gdi,
Ni thygasion 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 *ið-ti, *io- relative stem, *ti suff. of manner § 162 vi (2); Gk. ōn. The Skr. citative particle i-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 oè; and ymae, mae Mn. W. mae ‘that it is’, in the late period written mai § 189 ii (1); also dial. (S.W.) taw. Neg. Ml. nat, Mn. nad.

A bit honneit panyw bychdyg a dal deòf Duw y mywn Cristawn
onis cyplaa c.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 L.A. 152,
160.—Gwir yno ymae Duw a wnaeth pob peth L.A. 27 ‘It is true
that it is God that made everything’; cf. do. 21 l. 13; llwy yv attep
i tti . . . ymae ti a dewiswn w.M. 18 ‘that is my answer to thee, that
it is thou whom I would choose’; mae ti a dewiswn R.M. 12.—ny
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wydoj am pan oes ti a gromen B.T. 12 'we knew not that it was Thou whom we crucified'.

pan yno 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 *yossemi est § 189 iii (2).
The loc. *yossemi 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 equi-
valent of a conjunction:

gwedy y ô 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 o'r 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 byrfer llawer yndi w.m. 21 'and after much
has been thrown into it'; gwedy na chefih ganthunt wv do. 66
'after it was not obtained from them'.—Wedy'dd el y drydedd oes
L.G.C. 394 'After the third generation is gone'.—With inf. pron.
gwedy as collont L.A. 167 'after they have lost it'.

hyt yô, 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 sych gwynnt, hyt y gwylych 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 hymn byt 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'; eithyr 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 wcymum pan aeth w.m. 389 'because I knew not when he
went'; eithyr na ellnynt ðyweddut do. 56 'except that they could not
speak'; trwy y colletto L.A. 143 'so as to cause loss', trw yt
w.m. 453.

mal y(ô) 'how, so that', mal na(t) 'as if, so that... not';
megys y(ô) '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 wcymun do. 429 'as if I
knew not', mal na wcymum do. 389 'so that I knew not'; megys y

\[\text{g g}\]
dyweit yr ystorydy 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. i150 l. 31, generally followed by the dat.; ha ha 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'; fi 'fie' (whence ffaidd 'loathsome'), later ffei, foll. by o, see ex.; wfft 'fie'; hu, huw D.G. d. 148, used to lull a baby to sleep, later hwf (short proper diphth.), hwfian; dyt 'pooh', dydït 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 wbwb, vaw, vew, fff, whw, wi, haihow, haiwhw, hoho, bw, oio, wychwch. Other forms are ow, pw, vechw, hai vechw, hwt, heng; also twi 'pshaw!' ach, ych 'ugh!' and others.

FFeI o ieuencit 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 o hono in line 2.]

(3) gwae § 78 ii (2).—ōch § 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 < *ai: Gk. aī.—Interjections, like the forms of child-speech, are liable to continuous re-formation; and a 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'; Guae aįaur a grawn maur verthet b.b. 31 'woe to the miser who
hoards great riches'; *Gwaeth a goddow duw* 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 Dduw* g. 255, etc.

iii. An interjection proper is sometimes preceded by a numeral, as *naw-och* IL.G. R.P. 1306; *wyth w&ejinnau* G. 229; *can’ och*; *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.I.L. 232

(2) dydd da 'good day', *nos da* 'good night', etc. § 212 iv.

(3) hawb 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!'

hawb amor / iör C. m.a. i 2056 shows that hawdd-amawr I.G. 624 is a false archaism. amor < *ad-smor-, √smor- 'part' (§ 156 i (13)), hence 'destiny, luck': Gk. μορος; μορα 'lot, destiny'; Hom. κατα μορον (μο- < *sm-), κασμορος · δύστηνος Hes. < *κατ-σμορος.

(4) *rhad arno* 'a blessing upon him!' (usually sarcastic); *yr achlod iddynt* Gr.O. 200 'die upon them!' *yr achlod iddo* T. ii 194; *druan ohono* 'poor thing!'; etc.

ii. Adjectives used adverbially, and other adverbial expressions: (1) da 'good!'; *purion* 'very well!'; *truan* 'alas!'; *da di, da dithau, 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 *nycha* 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.

\[\text{Paid; } I\text{dr }n\text{esol, adolwyn, }\]
\[O \text{ fyd } yn \text{ danllyd } a\text{m }dwyn.-\text{S.C. I.mss. 29i.}\]

'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: djöer § 34 iii 'by heaven!' for Duw a wyr '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; ysywawaeth etc. do. i.

\[\text{Ysowaeth, nos o ayaf}\]
\[Ym \text{ sy hyw } n\text{o mis o }haf.-\text{D.E. f 76/29, c 7/649.}\]

'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. devait see under defaid.Italicized forms include those which became obsolete, or are replaced by re-formations in the Mn. period. But some forms, such as lladdg, are italicized because quoted from Mn. 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  ff  g  ng  h  i  ll  m  n  o  p  ph  r  s  t  th  u  w  y

Ml. W. k under c; 6 under dd; v and fr under f; g under ng; t under rh.

Early Ml. W. ã (ã) under dd; i (i) under y; u (u) under w; w (w) are italicized, here printed ev, under f.

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