A WELSH GRAMMAR
HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE

BY

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"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.o.), and printed from a late copy as Dosparth Edelyrn Dafod Aur by Ab Ithel; apart from the treatment of sounds and metres this is little more than a definition of the parts of speech. Simwnt Vychan's grammar (P.I.) 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: \( \varepsilon r, \varepsilon u \) etc. are used here, as by Hirt, instead of \( \varepsilon r, \varepsilon n \) 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 Thurney- sen’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. *inti* or his derivation of *eid-aw* from *esio* 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 I.I., 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.

May 31st, 1913.

J. MORRIS JONES.
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ABBREVIATIONS

I. SIGNS

✓ 'root'.
< 'from, comes from'. The angle points in the direction of the change.
> 'giving, gives'.
: '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.

/ (i) between words quoted denotes that they rhyme, or correspond in cynghanedd, 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 = bo.

Marks and symbols explained in the body of the work: accent marks § 39; i, y § 100; w § 17 xi ¶; u u § 38 i; u, m, y, r § 57; e, etc. § 61 i (2), § 62 i (2), § 63; e § 57; k, g, q, g, q* § 84; o, ð § 17 vi; j § 19 iv; y § 16 ii (3), § 25 iii; y § 16 v (2); y, y § 16 i; r § 22 iv; s § 17 iv; s § 19 iii; c, x § 17 iii; g § 14 ii (2); P, P*, L, L, V, R, R, R, 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

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<td>acc.</td>
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<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective</td>
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<tr>
<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb</td>
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<tr>
<td>aff.</td>
<td>affixed (in Index 'affirmative')</td>
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<tr>
<td>anal.</td>
<td>analog-y, -ical</td>
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<td>aor.</td>
<td>aorist</td>
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<tr>
<td>auto.</td>
<td>autograph</td>
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<tr>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>conjunctive or 'conjugation'</td>
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<tr>
<td>cpv.</td>
<td>comparative</td>
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<td>dat.</td>
<td>dative</td>
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<tr>
<td>denom.</td>
<td>denominative</td>
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<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>same book (or author)</td>
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<td>e.g.</td>
<td>for example</td>
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<td>eqtv.</td>
<td>'equative'</td>
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<td>f., fem.</td>
<td>feminine</td>
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<td>gen.</td>
<td>genitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>gl.</td>
<td>gloss on</td>
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<tr>
<td>ib.</td>
<td>'same book and page'</td>
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<tr>
<td>id.</td>
<td>'same meaning'</td>
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<td>i.e.</td>
<td>'that is'</td>
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<td>lit.</td>
<td>'literary', -ally</td>
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<td>m., mas.</td>
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<td>obj.</td>
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<td>obl.</td>
<td>oblique</td>
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<td>orig.</td>
<td>original(ly)</td>
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<td>pers.</td>
<td>person(al)</td>
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<td>pref.</td>
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<tr>
<td>prob.</td>
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<tr>
<td>pron.</td>
<td>'pronoun' or 'pronounced' according to context</td>
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<tr>
<td>prov.</td>
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<tr>
<td>q.v.</td>
<td>'which see'</td>
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<td>redupl.</td>
<td>'reduplicated'</td>
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<td>rh.</td>
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<td>'singular'</td>
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<tr>
<td>spv.</td>
<td>'superlative'</td>
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<tr>
<td>subj.</td>
<td>'subjunctive', rarely 'subject'</td>
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<td>suff.</td>
<td>'suffix'</td>
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<tr>
<td>s.v.</td>
<td>'under the word'</td>
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<tr>
<td>unacc.</td>
<td>'unaccented'</td>
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<td>v.a., v.adj.</td>
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<td>vb.</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.

- O.E. ‘Old English’ = Anglo-Saxon.
- O.H.G. ‘Old High German’.
- Gathav. ‘Gathic Avestic’.
- Oldest Avestic.

Hes(ych). designates forms and meanings from the Lexicon of Hesychius.
Ab Ithel, see Dosp. Ed.
Arch, Camb.: Archæologia Cambrensis.
Boisaq: Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque... Par Émile Boisaq. a—6pX. Heidelberg and Paris 1907–13.
Brugmann: Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen²... Strassburg, I 1897, II i 1906, II ii 1911. [The Eng. trans. of the 1st edn., vol. iv, 1895 = I iii revised, has also been used.]
Camden: Britannia... Londini 1594.
Coel. y B.: Traethau ar Hynafiaeth ac Awdurddodaeth Coelbren y Beirdd... Gann Taliesin Williams (Ab Ithel). Llanymddyfri 1840.
Cymmrodor: Y Cymmrodor, the Magazine of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.
D.: Antiquæ Linguae Britannicae, nunc communiter dicitæ Cambro-Britannicae... Rvdimenta... Londini 1621, by Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, author of D.D. below; see above, p. v.
Dosp. Ed.: Dosparth Edeyrn Davod Aur; or the Ancient Welsh Grammar... to which is added Y Pum Llyfr Kerdduriaeth... With Eng. trans. and Notes, by the Rev. John Williams Ab Ithel M.A. Llandovery 1856.
G.R.: Dosparth Byrr ar y rhann gyntaf i ramadeg cymraeg... [Milan] 1567. Reprinted as a suppl. to RC. 1870–83 under the title A Welsh Grammar and other Tracts by Griffith Roberts.
Hirt Abl.: Der indogermanische Ablaut... von Herman Hirt. Strassburg 1900.
IA.: Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde. Supplement to IF.
J.D.R.: Cambrobrytannice Cymraecowe Lingvae Institutiones et Rovimenta ... conscripta à Joanne Dauide Rhaeso Monensi Lanuathlæo Cambrobrytanno. Londini 1592.
J.J.: Transcripts and original notes on orthography etc. in the hand of John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy, fl. 1590-1630.
KZ.: Kuhn's Zeitschrift = Zeitschrift für vrgleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen.
Lluyd: Archæologia Britannica ... By Edward Lhuyd ... Oxford 1707.
Llyfryddiaeth: Llyfryddiaeth 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.
Mendus Jones Gr.: Gramadeg Cymreig Ymarferol ... Gan J. Mendus Jones (Llanidloes 1847), Caernarfon n.d.
Mona Ant.: Mona Antiqua Restaurata ... By Henry Rowlands. 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. Denbigh 1832.
RC.: Revue Celtique ... Paris.
ABBREVIATIONS

Rhys no.: Number of inscription in LWPh.
Richards: *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae Thesaurus,* being a British, or Welsh-English Dictionary... By Thomas Richards. Dolgelley 1815.
Rowland: *A Grammar of the Welsh Language...* By Thomas Rowland. *Wrexham [1876].*
Salesbury: *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe...* By Wyllyam Salesbury. London 1547. Cymroddorion Soc. Reprint. See also under V.
Seebohm: see under VI II.
Sommer: *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre...* Von Dr. Ferdinand Sommer. Heidelberg 1902.
S.R.: Siôn Rhydderch=Grammadeg Gymraeg... O Gasgliad, Myfyriad ac Argrapheid John Rhydderch... Mwythig (Shrewsbury) 1728.
T. Stephens: see R. T. Prys.
Stokes, Fick: see Fick.
Strachan Intr.: *An Introduction to Early Welsh.* By the Late John Strachan... Manchester 1909.
S.V.: *Pump Illyfr Kerðwriaeth [Welsh Grammar and Prosody by Simwnt Vychan, see V];* see R.I. under VI II.
T. Charles: *Geiriadur Ysgrythyrol...* 3Bala 1836.
Tegai: *Grammadeg Gymraeg...* Gan Hugh Hughes (Tegai). 3Caernarfon [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 Pugh's followers.
ABBREVIATIONS


TPS.: Transactions of the Philological Society. London.


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

Troude, Dir. Fr.-Bret.: Nouveau dictionnaire pratique français & breton... Par A. Troude. *Brest 1886.

Vendryes Gr.: Grammaire du vieil-irlandais... Par J. Vendryes... Paris 1908.

Walde: Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, von Dr. Alois Walde... Heidelberg '1906, *1910.


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


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 (1), see l.m.
B.A.: Bedo Aeddren (Llangwm, l 15/44 r.), c. 1500.
B.Br.: Bedo Brwynllys (Brec.), c. 1460.
B.D.: Bleddyn Du [BleSvn 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 Varðd, fl. 1250–90.
C. : Cynddelw (Powys), fl. 1150–1200.
Ca. : Caenodyn, c. 1320.
Ceiriog : John Ceiriog Hughes, 1832–87.
D.G. : Dafydd ap Gwilym (N. Card.), fl. 1350–80; ref. to Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym... Llundain, 1789.
D.I.D. : Deio ab Ieuan Du (Card.), c. 1480.
D.N. : Dafydd Nanmor (Beddgelert), c. 1460.
Dr. M. : William Morgan (C'vonshire), 1541–1604; Bp. of St. Asaph, translator of the Bible, 1588.
Dr. P. : Richard Parry (Ruthin), 1560–1623; Bp. of St. Asaph, editor of the revised Bible, 1620. Internal and other evidence points to the version being largely if not mainly by Dr. John Davies.
D.W. : Dewi Wyn o Eifion = Dafydd Owen (Llanystumdwy), 1784–1841; ref. to 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.S. : Elidir Sais, fl. 1160–1220.
E.U. : Edward ab Urien, c. 1610.
G. : Gwalchmai (Anglesey), fl. 1150–90.
G.B. : Gwynfardd Brycheinog (Brec.), c. 1170.
G.D.A. : Gwilym Ddu o Arfon, c. 1300.
G.Gr. : Gruffudd Gryg (Anglesey), c. 1370.
G.Gw. : Gruffudd ap Gwrgeneu, c. 1200.
G.I.H. : Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen, c. 1460.
Gr.O. : Goronwy Owen (Anglesey), 1723–69; ref. to Gwaith y Parch. Goronwy Owen... Llanrwst, 1860. (In R. Jones's edn., 1876, the text is tampered with.)
G.S. : Guto ap Siancyn y Glyn=G.Gl.
ABBREVIATIONS

G.T. : Gwilym Tew (Glam.), c. 1450.
Gu.O., Gut.O. : Gutun Owain (Denb.), fl. 1450-90.
G.V. : Gruffudd Vychan, c. 1320.
G.Y.C. : Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch, c. 1280.
H.A. : Huw Arwystl c. 1550.
H.C.1L. : Huw (or Hywel) Cae Llwyd, c. 1480 [n r. p. 428 footn.
H.C.2L. : Huw Dafi, or Hywel ap Dafydd ab Ieuan ab Rhys (Brec.), c. 1480.
H.K. : Hywel Kilan (l=l-l) (Llŷn ?), c. 1480.
H.M. : Hugh Maurice (Denb.), 1622-1709; ref. to Eos Ceiriog ... 2
H.O.G. : Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, Prince of the House of
H.R : Hywel Rheinallt, c. 1480.
H.S. : Hywel Swrdwal (Montgomerysh.), c. 1450; ref. to Gwaith
Barddonol Hywel Swrdwal a'i Fab Ieuau, ed. by J. C. Morrice,
Bangor Welsh MSS. Soc., 1908.
I.C. : lorwerth ab yrCyriawg, c. 1360.
I.D. : Ieuau Deulwyn (Carm.), fl. 1460-80; ref. to Gwaith
Ieuau Deulwyn, ed. by Ifor Williams, Bangor Welsh MSS. Soc. 1909.
I.F. : Iorwerth Fynglwyd (Glam.), c. 1490.
I.G. : lolo Goch (Denb.), fl. 1370-1405; ref. to Gweithiau Iolo
Goch ... Gan Charles Ashton, Cymrnodion Soc., 1896.
I.H.S. : Ieuau ap Hywel Swrdwal, c. 1470; ref. as for H.S., q.v.
I.G. = I.G.
I.R. : Ieuau ap Rhydderch ab Ieuau Llwyd, c. 1420.
I.T. : Ieuau Tew o Gydweli, c. 1460 (often confused with the later,
I.T.G. : Ieuau ap Hywel Swrdwal, c. 1470; ref. as for H.S., q.v.
I.G. = I.G.
I.R. : Ieuau ap Rhydderch ab Ieuau Llwyd, c. 1420.
I.T. : Ieuau Tew o Gydweli, c. 1460 (often confused with the later,
I.T.G. : Ieuau ap Hywel Swrdwal, c. 1470; ref. as for H.S., q.v.
I.G. = I.G.
I.R. : Ieuau ap Rhydderch ab Ieuau Llwyd, c. 1420.
I.T. : Ieuau Tew o Gydweli, c. 1460 (often confused with the later,
O.G.: Owain Gwynedd, c. 1580.
R.C.: Rhys Cain, c. 1580.
R.D.: Richard Davies (Conway), Bp. of St. Davids, 1501–81; translator of some epistles in Wm.S.'s N.T. 1567.
R.G.G.: Rhys Goch Glyndyfrdwy, c. 1420 (?), see G.C.
R.V.: Rowland Vaughan, Caer Gai, Llanuwchllyn, d. 1667.
Salesbury, see Wm.S.
S.B.: Sion Brwynog (o Frwynog ym Môn), d. 1562.
S.C.: Sion Cent (Kentchurch), c. 1420.
S.M.: Sion Mawddwy (native of Glam.), c. 1580.
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. 1666; author of ... Prydydawel ... William Williams ... sef yr Holl Hymnau ... Caerfyrddin, 1811, definitive edn. by his son.
Wm.S.: Wylyam Salesbury (Llanrwst); translator of the bulk of N.T. 1567, joint tr. and ed. of Pb. 1567, 1586; etc.
Wms.: William Williams, Pant y Celyn (Carm.); hymn-writer, 1717–91; ref. to Gwraith Prydyddawel ... William Williams ... sef yr Holl Hymnau ... Caerfyrddin, 1811, definitive edn. by his son.
ABBREVIATIONS

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 after a reference indicates that the words quoted appear in the Report. As many of the quotations are taken from transcripts in some of which only the p. or fol. of the opening lines of a poem was given, the reference may be to the piece beginning on the p. or fol. named.

A = British Museum Additional Manuscripts.
C = Cardiff Free Library Manuscripts.
J = Manuscripts in the Jesus College Library, Oxford.
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 Cambriae 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. Gwenoegwyn Evans. Pwllheli 1908. [Parts are transcribed literally from older copies not understood by the scribe.]
B.A.R.: Barddas... With trans. and notes by J. Williams ab Ithel. i Llandovery 1862; (ii London 1874). [Late Gwentian.]
ABBREVIATIONS


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


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

†B.S.C.H.: The Book of St. Chad. 9th cent. entries in W., see Lindsay EWS. i-6; transcribed (with facsimiles) in A.L. pp. xliii-xlvi; 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.B.Y.P.: Cyfrinach Beirdd Ymys Prydain ... Dan olygiad ... Iolo Morganwg. Abertawy (Swanseia) 1829.

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


C.M.: Cymfeiriddd 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 ... *Mwythig (Shrewsbury) [1740]. Reprint ed. by Samuel J. Evans ... Bangor 1902.

D.T.: Diddamoch Teuluaidd: neu Waith Beirdd Mon ... *Caernarfon 1817.

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

E.G.: Eos Gwynedd ... 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.

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

G.: Gorcshestion Beirdd Cymru ... O Gasgliad Rhlys Jones ... Amwythig (Shrewsbury) 1773. [Early Mn. verse.]
ABBREVIATIONS


† Gen. Old-Welsh Genealogies in Y Cymnrodrod i x 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.

G.R. (or Great): Y Great; see Cynnulliad o Orchestion ein Hynaviaid... Llundain 1805-7.

H.G.: Hen Gwundidau, Carolau, a Chywyddau ...[Ed.] by Hopeyn... and Cadrawd ... Bangor 1910. [Gwentian 16th-17th cent.]


H.M. ii: Selections from the Hengwrt MSS. in the Peniarth Library. Vol. ii. Ed. ... by ... Robert Williams ... transl. contd. by ... G. Hartwell Jones ... London 1892. [Vol. i is referred to as s.g.]

I.M.S.: Iolo Manuscripts ... Coll. ... by ... Edward Williams, Iolo Morganwg ... Llandovery 1848. [Contains cywyddau etc. besides late Gwentian memoranda.]

† Juv.: Glosses in the Juvenecus ms., Cambridge Univ. Libr. Published by Stokes in Kuhn's Beiträge iv 385-421. [9th to 11th cent., Lindsay EWS. 16.]


L.G.C.: Appearing in L.G.C., see under V.

† L.L.: Liber Landavensis, c. 1150. The Text of the Book of Llan Dáv ... by J. Gwenogvryn 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.B.M.: Llyfr Bychan Mawddwy, a 16th cent. ms. in the National Libr. of Wales.

L.H.: Y Llyfr Hir in the National Libr. of Wales. [ms. collection by W. Jones (Bleddyn), of Early Mn. cywyddau.]

L.M.: Lloches Mwymeidd-dra ... Gan Absalom Roberts. Llanrwst 1845. [Contains coll. of old penillion telyn.]

M.A.: The Myevrian Archaiology of Wales ... 3 vols. London 1801-7. [Corpus of Ml. poetry and prose. 2 Denbigh 1870.]


M.E.: Mil o Englynion = Pigion Englynion fy Ngwlad ... Gan Eifionyyd. 2 and ii, Liverpool 1882.

ABBREVIATIONS


†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.

Ph.: Prayerbook.


R.B.: The Red Book of Hergest = j1, late 14th and early 15th cent. Quotations taken direct from the ms.; ref. to columns.


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

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

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

S.G.: *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS...* Vol. i. *Y Seint Greal...* 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 Rhudderch = p 4, late 13th cent. Ref. to columns. The volume also contains other early versions of the Mabinogion, incl. the fragments in p 6/i, ii, circa 1225; ref. in this case to pages distinguished by “p.”


CORRECTIONS

P. 54, § 44 i, l. 9, read Kellynnawc (ll = l)
P. 71, § 54 ii, l. 1, after b, d, g, insert f, dd,
P. 113, § 78 i (2), l. 7, delete ;— racow § 210 x (3)
P. 131, iv, l. 8, insert * before ghuer-
P. 153, l. 1, read ḍịẹf̣yl
P. 166, iv (3), l. 6, for *ad-rịm- read *ad-rịm-
P. 194, l. 9, insert * before is-le.
P. 277, l. 7, delete * before ćwy.

The metathesis was suggested by Mr. Ifor Williams; unfortunately I overlooked his note in his Cyfranc Lludd a Llefaes (1910), p. 20, in which he adduces examples of ćwy M.A. 2 1450 and uy 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) Prakrit 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 Semitsch 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 $q^\kappa$ from Aryan $q^\kappa$ remains; but in the oldest British it had already become $p$, and it is $p$ in Gaulish. Traces of a Keltic $q^\kappa$ 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 $q^\kappa$ 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. 1), 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, K.R. (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 $q^\kappa$, the change $q^\kappa > p$ 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 $q^\kappa$ 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\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\n
§ 3. i. Welsh, Cornish and Breton are descended from British (properly British), the language of the ancient Britons. The speakers called themselves Brittones, and their language *Brittonikā.

The Old English name was Brittise or Bryttise, as On Bryttise 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 heere 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. Dic.). 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 Britishe 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-broyi ‘fellow countrymen’; but the use of this as a national name is subsequent to the separation of the Welsh from the Cornish and the Bretons. The old name, which survived in poetry, was Brython B.t. 13 from Brittones; the corresponding name of the language Brythoneg was superseded by Cymraeg, but some memory of it survived (D.D. gives Brythoneg, but with no quotation). The Bretons call their language Brezonek, and Cornish was called Brethonec; all these forms imply an original *Brittonikā. Sir John Rhys in his LWPh. 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 Brittō, sg. of Brittones, probably owes its tt to its being a formation of the type of Gk. ἔνκορτό etc., see § 93 iii (2), for an earlier Britann(os), pl. Britannī. Similarly we have a late Britía for Britannia. *Brittia survives in Bret. Breiz ‘Brittany’, and *Britannia in Ml. W. Brydein used as a variant of the more usual Prydein as in B.B. 100, milwir Pridein l. 5, milgwr Bvidein l. 7. Britan- seems to be for Pritan- by British alternation p: b § 101 iii (2); cf. PRIT(AN)NI Holder i 564, PRITNIH do. ii 1046. Pritto also occurs as a personal name beside Britto, and Britannus beside Britius (see Holder s. vv.). The view now generally held that the members of these pairs are unrelated rests on no other basis than the assumption that British p- could under no circumstances pass into b-. The fact, *It is of course still pronounced Brittish, rhyming with skittish, not with whitish.
however, is that Pritan- and Britan- are synonymous. The P- goes back through Diodorus Siculus probably to Pytheas (4th cent. B.C.). Polybius (2nd cent. B.C.) seems to have used Βρετ(τ)ανικας νήσου; but Strabo and Diodorus have Πρετ(τ)ανικας νήσου and Πρετ(τ)ανοι; later Ptolemy and Marcian used Π/. Stephanus of Byzantium (c. A.D. 500) wrote Βρεττανίδες νήσου and Βρεττανοί, remarking that Dionysius (Periegetes; Augustan age) wrote “one τ... Βρετάνοι” [read Βρετανοί], and that others used “p, Πρετανίδες νήσου, as Marcian and Ptolemy”; elsewhere Stephanus himself wrote Πρετανική and Πρετανόι Holder i 560. The e in Πρετ-ΣBrit. i, see § 66 i. Pritan- is an n-stem representing original (*qprtn,α or *qbrtn,α; 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(α)α and Ir. Cruithnech ‘Pictish’ implies a Pictish *Pritenikos; hence the -τ- in Πρετανικας 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. Breczonek < Brittonika, 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 Brittaniky etc. which were substituted for older forms in mss. There is no possible doubt that the oldest B-form is Britann-: Catullus (died 54 B.C.), Propertius, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, all scan Britann-. The evidence of the dated coins and inscriptions in Holder is as follows (the numbers in brackets refer to Holder i): coins of Claudius A.D. 41, 46 have Britannias, Britannia, Britann. (564, 36, 37); inscriptions: A.D. 41 Britannia (589, 52); time of Claudius Britannia (590, 27); A.D. 43 Britannia(um) (598, 24); A.D. 49 Britannicas) (599, 34). In A.D. 49 or 50, at least a century after the first evidence of Britann-, -tt- appears first in two inscriptions in the name of Claudius’s son Britannicus: Britta[nico] (602, 18), Britannici (602, 22); in eight other cases it is Britannicus or Britan[nikuς] (602). The early appearance of tt in this name may mean that Britō was used in an abbreviated personal name earlier than as meaning ‘Briton’. In the national name the single t continued in use: A.D. 54 Britani[cum] (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 Britann[nia] (588, 10), in A.D. 110 Britanniae (590, 5) and Britannica (598, 49). In the 2nd cent. Britann- and Britann- are both common. Britannia first occurs on a coin in A.D. 185 (590, 50) and Britannice in A.D. 210 (599, 51).

The W. Pryden ‘Picts’ § 121 iii from *Pritenes, Prydyn B.T. 13 ‘Pictland’ from *Priteni, and the Ir. Cruithen Cruithnech seem to have the P-grade -en- of the stem-ending, probably a Pictish form. The Picts were Britons, as shown by the fact that p < q* abounds in Pictish names. They kept in their own name the P- which also survives in
W. *Prydain* 'Britain', and so came to be distinguished from the Southern Britons, who called themselves *Britones*. *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. *creith*), just as W. *Brithwyr* 'Picts' is a translation of *Picti*. This explanation of *Pritenes* is probably only a piece of popular etymology; but even if it had some old tradition behind it, the name is equally applicable to the other Britons, for they all painted or tattooed themselves, Caesar B.G. v 14, Herodian iii 14, 7. Indeed the objection to accepting it as the true explanation is that at the time when it was first applied it could not be distinctive.

The etymology of a proper name is always uncertain, except when, like *Albion*, it hardly admits of more than one meaning, and that meaning fits. *Britain* like *Albion* must have been a name given to the island by its Keltic invaders, and *Albion* suggests the feature most likely to impress them. There is an Italo-Keltic root of some such form as *priel*—which means 'chalk' or 'white earth', giving Lat. *cretta*, and W. *pridd* 'loam', Irish *cro*; 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-cunos* 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 eins (perhaps ev 'their' suggested this). But Dr. Morgan in his Bible (1588) adopted the standard literary language as it continued to be written by the bards, though he retained some of Salesbury's innovations (e.g. ei for i 'his'). Some dialectal forms used by Morgan (e.g. gwele for gwelai 'saw' § 6 iii) were replaced by the literary forms in the revised Bible (1620), which became the standard of later writers. Thus
Late Mn. W., which begins with the Bible, though influenced to some extent by Salesbury, is based upon Early Mn. W., and forms a continuation of it. In the 19th century several neologisms were introduced, chiefly under the influence of Pughe; the language of this period will be referred to, when necessary, as Recent Welsh.

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

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

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

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

iii. In the final unaccented syllable the diphthongs ai and au are mostly levelled with e in the dialects. In Powys and Dyfed, that is, in an unbroken belt from North East to South West, the three are sounded e; thus cader, pethe, bore for cadair ‘chair’, pethau ‘things’, bore ‘morning’. In Gwynedd and Gwent they are sounded a, as cadar (Gwent cdar), 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 ll’gada) ‘eyes’; Gwent defid, lhyd; Powys defed, llygid; Dyfed defed, llyged.

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

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

THE ALPHABET.

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

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

The “alphabet of Nemnivus”, contained in ox., dated 812, and reproduced by Ab Ithel in Dosp. Ed. 10, 11, is stated in the ms. to have been formed by Nemnivus “ex machinatione mentis suae” in answer to a Saxon’s taunt that the Britons had no letters. Most of the signs are forms of Latin characters made to imitate runes; two (=" and Ĥ 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 V b, > d, Y v (= e), H A, N a, G r, except where it was easier to adapt the Latin capitals, as A A, G G. With one or two exceptions, such as H H, 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 f 51, which does not mention the coelbren. The famous transcriber of mss. John Jones
of Gelli Lyfyd compiled two collections of the alphabets known to him \(P \, 307, \, II \, 144\), 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(\(n\)) comes regularly from Lat. acc. pectin-em 'comb, weaver's reed'. The absurdity of the supposition that such a device ever served any serious purpose of literature is manifest when one considers what a cartload of wooden books would be required to carry the contents of a small manuscript volume.

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

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

W. Salesbury gives the following alphabet in his Playne and Familiar Introductio, 1567 (written in 1550): \(A, b, c, ch, d, dd, e, f, f, f, g, h, i, k, l, \ell, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, th, u, u, v, y\), omitting \(ng\) and \(ph\) (both of which he uses, the latter to the exclusion of \(ff\)), to make the number 24.

G.R., (1567), who uses \(d, l, y\) for \(dd, \ell, w\), gives the following alphabet: \(a, b, c, ch, d, dd, e, f, f, g, i, k, l, \ell, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, th, u, u, v, y\), omitting \(ng\) and \(ph\) (both of which he uses), the latter to the exclusion of \(ff\), to make the number 24.

S.V., (1568), gives the following alphabet of 24 letters: \(a, b, d, dd, e, f, f, g, i, k, l, \ell, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, v, w, y, ch, th\), adding that \(h\) is the sign of a breathing, \(j 9/3\).

J.D.R., (1592), used \(h\) to form all his digraphs, thus \(bh = f, dh = dd, gh = ng\). His alphabet is as follows: \(a, b, bh, c, ch, d, dd, e, g, gh, yhh, h, i, lh, l, m, mh, n, nh, o, p, ph, rh, r, s, t, th, u, u, y, y\). 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, \(a, b, c, ch, d, dd, e, f, f, f, g, ng, h, i, l, \ell, m, n, o, p, ph, r, s, t, th, u, w, y/y\). 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 long to be
The vowels

read short): \( \tilde{a}, \tilde{b}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{c}, \tilde{d}, \tilde{t}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{f}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{g}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{a}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{t}, \tilde{u}, \tilde{w}, \tilde{y} \). The names ha, he, hi given to the letter h by some writers on Welsh grammar and orthography are figments. The name is æets, borrowed from Eng. or Fr. (Eng. aitch, Fr. ache, Span. atche):

\[ H. \text{ arall it sy—Harri} \]
\[ Wyth yw'r dyn a' th eura di.—T.A., c. i 340. \]

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

Lhuyd, (1707), used \( \chi \) for ch, \( \lambda \) for ù, and \( s \) for dd. The last has survived in the form ð in ordinary handwriting, but manuscript ð is printed dd.

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

The Vowels.

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

[Diagram of vowel sounds]

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

\[ ^\text{a} \]

G.R., Rowland, Silvan Evans, Tegai. Rowland's aitch 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 \(a, e, o\) 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 \(tal\ \{father\},\) medium as in \(taw\)\(dol\ \{fatherly\},\) and
short as in \(man\ \{mother\自己的原声\}.

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 \(gwen\ \{smile\},\) \(gwe\|nu\ \{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 \(fi\), \(si,\) or
the North Eng. \(i\) in \(king,\) \(machine\). The Southern Eng. \(i\) is
more open. It occurs long as in \(gwi\ \{wine\},\) medium as in
\(g\|ne\|d\\|d\ \{wines\},\) 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 \(ton\ \{tune\},\) \(t\|na\|u\ \{tunes\};\) when short it is more open,
tending towards the \(o\) of \(not,\) as \(ton\ \{wave\},\) \(t\|na\|u\ \{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 \(gor\ \{man\},\) medium as in \(gio\|rol\ \
\{manly\},\) short as in \(trwm\ \{heavy\}.

ii. (1) The sound \(v\) 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 conso-
nantal was written \(u\) (or \(v\)) and \(w,\) and as the former also repres-
sents the sound \(u,\) and both represent the sound \(\j,\) the spelling is
often ambiguous. In Late Ml. W. the uncertainty is partly re-
moved by the restriction of \(w\) and the use of \(o\) (a peculiar shape

* Here and in the following sections up to § 26, a letter printed in heavy type
represents the written letter; a letter printed in italics represents the sound.
of \( \text{v} \) to represent the \( \text{w} \) sounds. The characters \( \text{w} \) and \( \text{y} \) represent both \( \text{v} \) and \( \text{w} \) almost indifferently. Theoretically perhaps \( \text{w} \) stood for \( \text{v} \), and the r.b. scribe wishing to distinguish between \( \text{gyr} \) 'men' and \( \text{gwy}r \) 'knows' writes them \( \text{gyr} \), \( \text{gwy}r \) respectively, R.G. 1118; there seems to be a slight predominance of the \( \text{v} \) value for \( \text{w} \), but no systematic distinction is made between the sounds, whole pages frequently occurring, e.g., in w.m., where \( \text{y} \) is used exclusively for both.

\( \text{w} \) In this work Late Ml. W. \( \text{y} \) is transcribed \( \text{v} \), 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 \( \text{w} \).

G.R. uses \( \text{y} \); and J.D.R. a peculiar character based on \( \text{y} \), a late script form of \( \text{y} \); § 7 ii.

\( \text{w} \) 15. i. (1) In Late Mn. W. the sound of \( \text{u} \), long, medium, and short, is the same as the clear sound of \( \text{y} \), § 16 i; thus the words \( \text{hun} \) 'sleep' and \( \text{hyn} \) 'older' have now absolutely the same sound. But in O. and Mn. W. \( \text{u} \) had the sound of the French \( \text{u} \), that is, an \( \text{i} \) 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 \( \text{u} \) and \( \text{y} \), 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 \( \text{u} \) sound became \( \text{y} \) as early as the 14th cent.; see ZlCP. iv 118. Hence we find \( \text{u} \) and \( \text{y} \) confused from the 14th century on. Kymry 'the Welsh, Wales' often appeared as Cymru; see y Cymru 'the Welsh', G.R. p. [\( \text{v} \)]; M.R. (3 Ader.—Title). Later, the misspelling Cymr 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', asfyn 'intend', munud 'minute', \( \text{y} \) is in Late Mn. W. wrongly written for \( \text{u} \); for testun 'text', ysgythtun 'scripture', see § 82 iii (3). The converse error was frequent in the 16th cent., Dr. M. writing fellu, i fynu, gorthymuudd, 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 \( \text{u} \) or \( \text{v} \) 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'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Note that y is the clear y in the diphthong wy, and when circumflexed, ý.
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 \( y \) the secondary sound of \( y \). The former is of course secondary, being the obscured form of \( y \) and other sounds.

III. 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. (= A.L. ms. A.) \( y \) is used in some parts almost to the exclusion of \( i \), as *brenyn, tyr* for *brenin* `king', *tir* `land'; *yx* p. 9 for *ix* `nine' (printed *nau* in A.L. i 18!) shows that the scribe treated \( y \) and \( i \) as identical. In some early mss. the sounds of \( y \) were represented by \( e \); see the passage in ancient orthography in A.L. ii 36-8, where \( y lle, y dyn \) 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 \( i \), § 25 iii).

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

In this grammar the Ml. W. \( y \) `to' and \( y \) `his' or `her' are dotted thus, \( y \), to distinguish them from the article \( y \equiv y \). As the \( y \) was probably sounded \( i \) some time before it came to be so written, it may be read \( i \). [There can be no confusion with \( y \equiv i \), 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 cinadas (= cyffadas) M.C. Here cyf- comes from *kom-; the y results from the indistinct pronunciation of o, § 65 iv (2), and was never sounded y; hence the written i must have meant y. See also § 40 iii (2). In Ml. mss. generally, as in Mn. W., no distinction is made between y and v. But in some parts of B.C.H., e stands for y, and y for v regularly; thus Yletv yw ety muyhaf ene tref akemeruedaf ac ye yyl ac ef erey auemo or teylu, a.L. i 12; vlet v wo vy muyhaf ywv dref a chymherfodaf, ag y yu ag ef y eii a wynno or teiltu, '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 v 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 v, and e to represent both e and y.

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

(β) Interchange of y and e: velle M.L.A. 148 for felly; Late Mn. W. vele 'behold' for (a) velly 'dost thou see?' § 173 iii (3); Mercer for Merchev B.A. 17, B.B. 48, see § 69 v; hwdly C.M. 31, hwele B.M. 173; mypen, mewn; Llwyn, Lleyn. Dial. edvreh for edrych,-ech for -ych 2nd sg. pres. subj. § 176 iv.—(γ) 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 Iwerthon w.M. 59 for y Iwerthon. Similarly te|yn for *ty|yn § 103 ii (1); diell for di-hyll § 146 ii (2).

In Breton *y has generally become e; thus nevez = W. newydd; pemp = W. pemp; kevran = W. kyvran; ened = W. wyned.

(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 kyfereith. Hence y and a interchange before a nasal: Yngharad, Angharad; ymherawdr, amherawdr; ymddifad, amddifad; canhorthwy, cyfhorthwy; mynach, manach, etc.

Unaccented a is sometimes weakened to y in the dialects, but
examples are rare in lit. W.: *rhyglyddu* 'to merit', for *rhaglyddu*, see *fadych* 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 *v*, § 66 ii. When immediately followed by another vowel it is assimilated to it, § 82 ii (3).

v. (1) In M.L. 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*, *Ich*; thus *pobyl* for *polb* 'people', *vy maryf* W.M. 59 for *fy marf* 'my beard'. In O. W. it appears as *i*, as in *reartir* JUV., Mn. W. *rhaedr* 'catacact', but is of rare occurrence, being usually omitted as in M. W., thus *cruiwr*, *disel* JUV. *dail*, *scribl* ox. It occurs medially as *i* in *centhliat* JUV. 'singer' for *centhlat*, as *o* in *centolaidou* ox., Mn. W. *cenediathau* 'generations'. In Early M. W. it appears as *i*, *y*, and *e*, as *perygil* B.B. 31 'danger', *cathid* do. 16 'song', *autyl* do. 15 'ode', *coloven* A.L. i 16 'column'. It occurs sometimes in initial groups: *o gynaud* B.B. 84 'of flesh'; *keleuuet* A.L. i 40 = *olywed* '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 M.L. W., at least in the standard pronunciation, for (α) 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 *kenedyloed* M.A. 11 = *keneldrod* M.A. 169 'nations', *dadeleu* A.L. i 20 = *dadleu* 'lawsuit'; (γ) it does not affect the accentuation; thus in

\[ \text{côlofn gwe} \text{d} \text{lofn y gwe} \text{f} \text{e} \text{u}, \text{R.P.} \text{I}239 \]

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

\[ \text{Pwy a allei, pei pennsaer,} \\
\text{peintgaw a chalych pwoyt vy chwaer?—I.G., R.P. I408.} \]

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

(3) In Mn. lit. W. the epenthetic *y* is simply dropped; thus *pobl*, *fensetir*, *ofn*. The non-syllabic pronunciation continued to be the only one admissible in cynghanedd, and so remained the standard literary form; and the mute *y* came to be dropped in writing to prevent ambiguity. [In one form of cynghanedd, however, exemplified by—

\[ \text{1402} \]
Da osôdiad hyd i sawdl.—D.N., g. 158,

-1 answers a syllable -iæd in the cynganedd, 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 ewyth 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, cefn, llywybr, sawdwl, barâ’ for pobl ‘people’, cefn ‘back’, llywybr ‘path’, sawdwl ‘heel’, barf ‘beard’. Some examples of this assimilation already appear in Late Ml. W., as budur M.A. 18 ‘dirty’, kwbol c.M. 87 ‘all’, vy maraf R.M. 42 ‘my beard’.—The colloquial syllabic pronunciation is the one generally implied in recent verse in the free metres; thus Anne Griffiths’s Llwybr cwbol groes i natur, though so printed in all hymn-books, is intended to be sung Llwybr | cwbol | groes i | natur. But in N. W. dialects the parasitic vowel did not arise in groups containing ß; thus in the greater part of N. W. ofn, ‘fear’, cefn ‘back’, llyfr ‘book’, barf ‘beard’ are purely monosyllabic to this day. Forms like march, calch are everywhere monosyllabic.

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

§ 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. ð; c ≡ Eng. k, having two sounds, front c (k) before i, e, like k in Eng. king, back c (g) 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; ð front and back (g, y), like Eng. give, go.

iii. Voiceless spirants: ff or ph ≡ Eng. f, labiodental; th ≡ Eng. ð in thick (which may be denoted by ð); ch ≡ Scotch ch in loch, German ch in nach (x), but not German ch in ich (x). Even after ð and i, as in lléch ‘slate’, gwích ‘squeak’, the ch is the back sound x.

i + back x 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, brûx (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 x (not x).
iv. Voiced spirants: \( f \equiv \text{Eng. } v \); labiodental; \( dd \equiv \text{Eng. } th \) in this (\&). O.W. had also the guttural voiced spirant, which may be represented by \( z \), 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 \( nh \) is somewhat similar to \( \text{Eng. } nh \) in *inhale.*

vi. Voiced nasals: \( m \); \( n \); \( ng \). The last has two positions corresponding to those of \( j \), namely front \( \overset{\circ}{\text{\ae}} \), back \( \overset{\circ}{\text{\u{o}}} \).

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

viii. Voiced liquids: \( 1 \); \( r \). 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 \( s\ell \) 'zeal' is pure affectation; unsophisticated persons say \( s\ell \), \( selog \). Before \( i \) as in *cisgau*, \( s \) now tends to become \( \text{Eng. } sh \), 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.*

\[ ^c 2 \]
§ 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 juven, = scubaver, Mn. W. ysgubor 'barn', creaticaul ox, = creadigael, Mn. W. creadigol 'created'. When they have this value they are sometimes doubled; thus in M.c. we find catteiraul, Mn. W. cadeiriol 'cathedral' adj., carrecc, Mn. W. carreg 'stone', hepp, Ml. W. heb 'says'. Possibly this is due to the influence of Irish spelling. [In Old Ir. original *nt > *d-d written t and sometimes tt.]

ii. In Ml. W. p, t, c no longer represent b, d, g medially, but finally after a vowel they continued to do so even down to the Mn. period. The facts are briefly as follows: In the B.B., late 12th cent., the final labial is written p, but often b (mab 27, 28, 29); the dental is always d, because t is used for the soft spirant ð; the guttural is always c. In the 14th cent. the labial very generally appears as b, though often as p; the dental is always t, the guttural always c. In the 15th cent. (e.g. L 28) we have b, d, c. In the 1620 Bible b, d, g, but c in many forms, uníc, 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 Ml. W. and Early Mn. W., initial c is generally written k. The chief exceptions are the combinations ci, cr. Medially we find c, k, cc, ck. Finally after a consonant, though we generally have c, we also find k (or even ck); as grafangk, oer-drangk R.P. 1321, diaŋk etc. do. 1314, digelk do. 1354, lork R.B.B. 397, carbuṇck, 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 Ml. W. Thus k, which represents the tenuis only, is clearly distinguished from c, which also finally represents the media.

Note. In O. W. and the earliest Ml. W., as in L.L. (about 1150), c alone is used; k appears in B.B. and was general in Ml. and Early
§ 19. 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, g, as in gilbin juv., Mn. wylfin 'beak', gwyrddlas m.c. = gwyrddlas, Mn. w. gwyrddlas '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. = nifer, 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. u or v, w and ff; thus in B.B., nimer 7 = nifer; vauur 21 = favr 'great'; sew 45 = sef 'that is'; dihafal 20 = dihafal 'unequalled'. We also find ff, as affv 21 = a fu 'who has been', bariffvin 53 = barfwn 'white-bearded', tiff 50 = tff 'grows'.

As u and v also represented the vowel ù, 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 ū 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, ll.a., ry 2 = fy 'my'; llauur 3 = llafur 'labour'; kyfwethave 55, Mn. W. cyfwethog 'rich'; gyntaf 3 = first', dynnedaf 3 'I say', ef 3 = 'he', etc. ū 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 ù, the word fu may be found written vv, vu, uv, uu. But there is much less confusion than in the
earlier period, for (1) \( w \) is distinguished from \( ü \); (2) finally \( u \) and \( f \) are distinguished; thus neu means neu '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 \( f \) (\( \equiv \) Eng. \( v \)) was in O. W. and probably also in Ml. W. a bilabial \( \delta \), 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 \( y \), be passed over in cynghanedd, e.g. pwynt \( wydwaer \) p. 17 above; see Tr. Cym. 1908-9, p. 34.

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

(2) In some Early Ml. mss., of which the most important is the B.B., the sound \( \delta \) when it is an initial mutation is generally represented by \( d \), but medially and finally is represented rather illogically by \( t \); thus B.B., \( dy divet \) 19 \( \equiv dy diwed 'thy end'; imlun \)

\( 32 \equiv ymdwy \) 'to behave'; \( gwirt \) 33 \( \equiv gwyrd 'green'; betev \) 63 \( \equiv be\delta en 'graves'. Medially, however, we also have \( d \), as \( adaw \)

\( 41 \equiv l\delta af 'Adam'; \) and occasionally, by a slip, finally, as \( oed \) 1 \( \equiv oe\delta 'was' (conversely, by a rare slip, final \( t \equiv d \), as \( imbit \)

\( 70 \equiv ym myd 'in the world'). \) In b.ch. usage is still looser.

(3) In the Late Ml. period the sound \( \delta \) is represented by \( d \), rarely by \( dd \), see n.a. 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 \( ar ddberch \) t 120a \( \equiv ar\delta berch\).

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

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

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

(2) But g is also used as ng for the sound ng (ŋ) (as in Eng. song). When final, g must mean the nasal, for the explosive is written c, § 18 i; thus llɔg B.B. 90, W.M. 180, r.M. 87 must be read llɔng 'ship'.

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

(3) Medially ng sometimes stands for n'g (pronounced νg like the ng in the Eng. finger); thus Bangor, pronounced Baŋgor. The simple sound represents original νg as in angel (≡ awnel § 54 i (2)) < Lat. angelus (≡ angulus); the composite sound occurs where the nasal and explosive came together later, and the g is the soft mutation of c, as in Ban-gor, radical cor; un-glust 'one-eared', clust 'ear'. In O.W. the composite sound appears as nc, as un-cenetticion m.c. = un-geneditig, gloss on 'solicaene'. 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. = ffynn 'sticks', fioňou 'roses'; sometimes medially by ph as in ciphillion M.C. 'sprouts', grephion M.C. 'pencils', Gripiud A.C. 814, § 36 ii, and p or pp as Gripiud B.S.C.H. 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 = ffòrd 'way', ny forthit do. 34 'they did not cherish', ny phercheiste 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 y fenn w.m. 453 ... yn yr phenn r.m. 101 'without a tooth in her head'; ffoes B.B. 44 'fed'. Medially and finally it is generally ff, as diffwis B.B. 35 = diffwys 'steep', proffuid do. 85 'prophet', groff r.m. 52 'croft', anffuraw do. 29 'to disfigure', gorffen do. 5 'to finish', sorrff do. 186 'serpent', hoff w.m. 72 'desirable'. It also appears as ph, as corph b.b. 20 'body', (g)orphun do. 76 'end'; and often as f, as deu gorf r.m. 5 'two bodies', anffurf do.
29 (≡ anffurf) ‘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. Kelt. *spond-, § 96 iv (1). The attempted differentiation is a useless one; and as the etymology of too many words is still uncertain, it cannot be carried out. It is better, therefore, to write ff always where the sound is immutable, and ph only as a conscious mutation of initial /; thus coiff, cyff, ffon; chwe phunt, chwephunt ‘L6’, gwragedd a phlant ‘women and children’, blith draplahth ‘higgledy-piggledy’.

ii. (1) The sound th (θ) 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.≡gurth, Mn. W. wrth ‘against’, and by p, as papeb 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 ≡ kymyrth ‘took’. In Mn. W. it is always written th.

Such a form as perffeidyw 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. perffeithiaw 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 iurychell 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. 1. 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.
§ 22. THE CONSONANTS

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 ɛ in O. W., § 19 i; ng may represent wɛ 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 yrëng e yniver ef ac yniver y llys ... yr yniveroed W.M. 40 'between his host and the host of the court ... the hosts'. It is also written n as anadres 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 lliuthruim Juv., if rightly analysed into llwyth '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 has 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', lolo R.F. 1369, 1407, kollyn R.B. 1073 'pivot', which we now write calon, lolo, colyn, § 54 ii. The ligatured capital H has been used from the Ml. period to the present day in lettering done by hand.

iii. In Mn. W. ll is used.

Several attempts have been made from time to time to find substitutes: G.R. used l, Sir J. Price and J.D.R. used lh; Ed. Lhuyd used lh and 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 y gwauwn yraff R.B.B. 194 for y gwanwyn a'r haf 'the spring and summer'.

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 ś has always been written s. In O. W. it is sometimes doubled as in driers juv. = dryssi 'thorns', ies m.c., Ml. W. yz 'is'. In Ml. W. it is usually doubled medially between vowels, as in Iceson b.b. 25, 50, L.A. 1, 19, etc., Sæceson b.b. 48, meusur b.b. 3 'measure', etc., but sometimes written single as in Sæceson b.b. 60. Initial ss also occurs, as ssillit b.b. 99 = sylli, Mn. W. sylli 'thou gazest'. z for s is rare: tryzor.

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

It is not derived from the late Lat. prosthetic i- as in iscola, since Corn., Bret., Ir. scol do not show it, and it appears in native words in W., as ystrad. It arose in W. for the same reason as in late Lat., a syllabic pronunciation of s- after a consonant. The earliest recorded examples are Istrat, Estrat, beside Strat in L.L. see its index s.v. Istrat. In the spoken language it is not heard except in words in which it is accented, as ysgol, ystrad, ystryd, etc., and sometimes in derivatives of these, as ysgòlion; but sgúbor, stródur, sgrífen, strýd. In O. W. it is not written: scipaur juv., strófor m.c., sribenn m.c. In Early M. W. we have gwastavell a.l. i 4 = gwas-stavell for the later gws ystavell w.m. 183, r.m. 85. In the oldest verse it does not count as a syllable:

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

Mi Iscolan yscôleic (Ξ Mi 'Scolan yscôleic, 7 syll.) B.B. 81.
'I am Yscolan the clerk.' But in B.B. 91 we seem to have scôleic after wyd, see § 41 iii (2).

Mae sgrífen uwchben y bedd.—L.G.C. 20.
'There is a legend above the tomb.'

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

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

The y- was general in late Ml. mss., but it is possible that when unaccented the actual spoken sound consisted of a gradual beginning of the s, which like a vowel preserved the r of the article, etc. G.R., 1567, says that yr is used before st, sc, sp, as yr stalwyn, though some
write yr ystafwyn, p. 68. He himself also writes ag scrifennu, p. 69, etc. In the 1620 Bible we find seler, sclythaed, scrifennedig, but ysclonir, yspetilio, yscrifenn, 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 scrifennedig 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 ð until the modern period, § 22 iv; and in some Early Ml. mss. nh, nh and ngh were written m, n and g, as emen (≡ymhen) a.l. i 84, eurenynes (≡y vrenhines) do. 4; vy ýerenhyt w. 3a (≡vy ngherenynyð); ýg ýadellið do. 9a (≡yng Nghadelling).

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

§ 25. i. Consonantal ñ is represented in O. W. by i, as iar juv. ≡ iar ‘hen’, hestorion ox., pl. of hestawr, clorion ox., Mn. W. clorian ‘boards’, meithionou m.c., Mn. W. meillion ‘clover’. Before -ði it is also found as u (once iu), as enmeituou ox., Mn. W. amneidan ‘beckonings’, dameirchinnuon juv. ‘circuits’; disicinou juv. ‘defects’; here it was probably rounded into ù in anticipation of the final ù; cf. § 76 iii (3). Where it is the soft mutation of front ã it appears as g in O. W., as in Urbgen in Nennius ≡ Ursgen, Mn. W. Urïen; Morgen gen. xxv =findViewById Morgen. Here the ñ was doubtless heard with more friction of the breath being the spirant ñ corresponding to front ã; see § 110 ii.

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

iii. In late Ml. W. it is represented initially by i, rarely by y; as Yesu b.b. 25, 50, l.a. i, 19, etc., Iewun l.a. 78, iarll, iarlles w.m. 136 ‘earl, countess’, iawn r.m. 16 ‘right’, yawnhyf do. 24 ‘most proper’, Yesu, Yiesu, l.a. 100. Medially it is written y, as dynyon w.m. 32 ‘men’, bedydyaw do. 32 ‘to baptize’, medlyjaw do. 34 ‘to think’, etc., rarely as i, as ymbilio r.m. 3 ‘he may entreat.’

When y represents ñ 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. Llyfrgyddiaeth 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 ý hiarllhaeth R.M. 178 ‘her earldom’, kennhiadu L.A. 79 ‘to consent’.

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

§ 26. i. Consonantal w is written gu in O. W. as in petguar ox. = pedwar ‘four’. See § 112 ii (1).

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

The letter w sometimes appears in the form uu, as in kelvnet A.I. i 40 (≡ eulywed) ‘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 gywlad ‘country’, gwraig ‘wife’, gwntaf ‘I do’, each one syllable. The initial combinations are practically gl, gr or gn pronounced with rounded lips, the rounding taking place simultaneously with the formation of the g, so that the off-glide of the g is heard as w. When the g is mutated away the initial is l, r or n with w as an on-glide; thus dy wlad ‘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 -wŷ, as hwnnw; Mn. W. acw, Early Ml. W. racw, Ml. W. racuko; asuw, gwruw, banw § 78 i (2). It may have been made consonantal in the last three by analogy, coming after s, r, single n.

v. Medial w is liable to interchange with f; thus cawod, cajod ‘shower’; cyfoeth, cywaeth § 34 iv; diacl ‘devil’ for *diafl. The old verbal noun from lliv ‘colour’ is llife ‘to dye’, a newer formation is llivio ‘to colour’. The reason for the interchange is that f was once a bilabial, ð, § 19 ii (4), and so, very similar to w, being in effect w with friction of the breath at the lips instead of at the back.

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

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

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

(3) Initial chw sometimes interchanges with gw; as Gware dy chware R.M. 154 'play thy game', chwyrth, gwirth do. 301 'sinister'; this is due to the variability of original initial s-, § 101 ii (1); *sw > chw-, *uy > gw-, nghw for chw is due to a preceding n (nwh > nhu), as chyaneg, anghyaneg 'more'; yn chwaethach R.M. 7, ydrywch do. 85, 108 'rather'.

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

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

NOTE.

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

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

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

**Sounds in Combination.**

**Syllabic Division.**

§ 27. i. In Welsh a single consonant between two vowels belongs normally to the second syllable; thus ca\'nu ‘to sing’, gyw\'le\'dig ‘visible’; when there are two or more consonants the first belongs to the first syllable, as can\'tor ‘singer’, can\'ad ‘song’, tan\'wydd ‘fire-wood’, can\'tref ‘hundred (district)’. A double consonant belongs to both; thus in can\'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 (dry\'rik\'in), 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, can\'as\'ant \(\equiv\) at\'eb, ca\'nas\'sant. See § 54.

ii. A consonant which is etymologically double is simplified after an unaccented syllable; as cy\'né\'fin R.M. 183 ‘familiar’ (cyn-nef-in < *kun-domino: Lat. domus); whe\'n\'chun R.B.B. 89 (from chwant) ‘to desire’; ym\'gy\'n\'ull\'aw, do. 49 (from cyn\'ull) ‘to gather together’. But this phonetic rule is not regularly observed in writing, except in the final unaccented syllable, câl\'on ‘heart’ (pl. cal\'onau), Câl\'ann (from vulg. Lat. Kaland-), etc., being generally written cal\'on, Cal\'an, 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-tyn ‘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>wu</td>
<td>wy</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>
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<td></td>
<td>eu</td>
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<td>Back u</td>
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<td>yw, ew</td>
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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 wy 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; Yspanyn ‘Spain’, teyrnassoyd ‘kingdoms’ P 9 R. In R.M. 118
We have haearn, in 119 hayarn ‘iron’. Though now always written ae, oe, the sound in N. W. is still distinctly ay, oy; thus maes, coed are read maës, côd. In Mid and S. Wales the sound approaches the spelling ae, oe. In parts of S. W. the diphthongs are simplified into ã, õ in the dialects: mäs, côd. In Pembrokeshire oe becomes õ-ë and even ëë.

(2) Ml. W. ae and oe are derived not only from O.W. ai and oi, but also from O.W. disyllabic æe and oo; thus saeth < saieth < Lat. sagitta; maes < maes (rhyming with gormes, b.t. 25) < *maës; troed pl. traced (rhyming with vrithret / bryssyet r.p. 1042) from *troget-, *truget-, § 65 ii (1). They may also represent a contraction of a|u., o|u as in dâed § 212 iv, trôent, § 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 æ, where æ 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. ‘perjury’, which in ox. is anutonou. The o was unrounded in Ml. W., becoming an indistinct vowel, open and close, written e; the two forms became Mn. W. au and eu; see § 79 ii.

v. O.W. au and eu (back u) have remained the same phonetically, the back u being written w in the later language. O.W. iu represented three distinct diphthongs according as i represented ï 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 dîgololìchetic ox.; Ml. W. uywychedic b.m. 84 ‘shining’, uywych r.p. 1153, which appear beside llewych r.p. 1154, Mn. W. llewych corr. into llewych ‘light’; § 76 vi, viii.

§ 30. The diphthongs ae or au and oe or ou followed by w form the falling triphthongs aw, oaw or aw, ouw, in gwaïw ‘spear’, gloyw ‘bright’, houw ‘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. gloywun which is still disyllabic. In dâyuch, contracted from dâ yuch, the ãyw has now been simplified into ãw; see § 212 iv.

§ 31. i. Unaccented ae in the final syllable was often reduced to e in the Ml. period, especially in verbal forms and proper names; as in adwen for adwaen ‘I know’, chware for chwaræ ‘to play’, Ithel for Ithael, O. W. Ithail (≡ ëð-hail).
Pan aeth paeth allan y chware R.M. 116 'When everybody went out to play'; see also R.M. 15, 38, 84, 87, 153, etc.

Lloches adair i chwarea,
Llwyn mwyn, Uyna'r llun y mae.—D.G. 37.

'A retreat for birds to play, a pleasant grove, is the manner of place it is.' See also D.G. 40, 58, 465 (misprinted -au in 169).

Nid gwyr heb newid gware:
Nid llung heb fynded o'i lle.—G.Gl. c. i 197.

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

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

ii. (1) The simplification of final unaccented ai and au to e are dialectal and late. Such forms as llefen for llefain, 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, Ml. W. kyveir § 215 iii (9), ystyyried for ystyriaid § 203 iii (2).

(2) The levelling in the dialects of the sounds mentioned gave rise to uncertainty as to the correct forms of some words. The word bore 'morning' began to be wrongly written boreu or borau in the 15th cent.; 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 ychlain for ychen 'oxen' § 121 iii is due to the idea that -en is dialectal. In Gwynedd ychlain is heard, but is a dialectal perversion like merchaid for merched.

Tesog fore gwaun'r lle'n llon,
Ac annwr y tai gwynion.—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 adewais lednais le
Ynhymry ar fy nghamre.—I.G. 201.

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

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

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

A phan edrychwyd 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 afaith

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

Yn y nef mae 'n un afiaith
Yn són archangylion saith.—Gr.H. g. 101.

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

Ef a gâr awd âr araith,
Ef a â'r synnwyr y saith.—H.D. p 99/469.

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

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

'Bright chaste virgin Mary.'

Coed osglog, caedw disglair,
Wyth ryw ŷd, a thli 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 r.cw. 8, early editions of Bible, etc.

Fal goddaith yn ymdaith nos.—D.G. 13.

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

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

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

Twyso g yw, enwog i waiith,
Teilian i wisgo talait.—E.U.

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

Tros dilyw tros y dalaith,
Torri ar rif tyrau'r iaith.—Gu.O. A 14967/62.

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

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

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

§ 33. Late Contractions. i. (1) We have seen that a-e and o-e were contracted early into ae and oe; § 29 ii (2). This contraction also took place later, as in Cymrâeg 'Welsh', Groeg
'Greek', and in verbal forms such as aed 'let him go', rhoed 'let him give', rhoes 'he gave'; see § 185.

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

Cymro da i Gym|ra|eg,
Cynered air Cymru d|eg.—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. c. 251. Later, this was usual:

Da i Gym|ra|eg, di-gymar òedd,
Di-di|lawd ym nhob da|dl y|doedd.—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 gl|yn|faes D.G. 135 'vale', méin-droed do. 262 'slender foot', d|ew-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 kwyrd, § 122 ii (3), pl. of kaer 'fort', treythych 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 d|yn,
Lleuad rh|ianedd Li|è|qn.—G.Gl., m 148/191.

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

Salbri ieuanc sél bër|ur
Sydd i gael 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 òi na chaùr na d|yn chwyrn,
Heb haint Dwe, a'n pen tê|ürn.—T.A. c. ii·81.

'Neither a giant nor a violent man, without the scourge of God, could take our liege lord.' See c. 176, f. 14, 33. See hê|ürn / tê|ürn / këdùrn 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 Lléyn is now pronounced Llŷn, and regarded as an exception to the rule that Welsh is written phonetically. Llŷn, as the name should be spelt, is a contraction of Llyyn, which also occurs, r.B.B. 307, 342; and has been written in the contracted form from the 16th cent. The contraction is as old as the 14th, for we find llyyn in R.P. 1360, where the metre proves the sound to be llŷn.

O Lŷn i Dynewn, yn dau,
O Dynewn i dir Deau.—W.II., q. 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 rhoi̯ from rhoddi ‘to give’;
ymarhbus c.c. 330 for ymarhe̱us ‘dilatory’; rhowch for rhoi̯e̱ch ‘give ye’; rhoist for rhoi̯e̱ist ‘thou gavest’; rhoi for rhoi̯ei ‘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, royen do. 243. But uncontracted forms occur even later; tróis D.G. 307, tróí L.G., cyffróí L.G.C., d. 16.

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

iv. A late contraction may take the form of one of the old diphthongs, or even of a simple vowel; as gla̱n̩hau̱ for gla̱n̩há̱u̱ ‘to clean’; plau R.P. 1222 for plá̱eu̱ ‘plagues’;
dí̱l̩eu̱ for dí̱l̩eu̱ ‘to delete’; awn for á̱wn ‘we go’; gla̱n̩hâ̱d for gla̱n̩há̱d ‘cleansing’; (g)unai w.m. 54, 250 for gwa̱e̱i ‘did’, cf. B.B. 64; cyfûn for cyfû̱n ‘united’; bûm for bû̱m ‘I have been’; gwy̱bûm for gwy̱bûm ‘I knew’; can for cá̱eu̱ ‘to shut’. These forms occur uncontracted in Ml. W.: gunaun B.B. 81 (≡gwaun rhyming with vu) ‘I would do’; yn gyltuun R.B.B. 238; cyau L.A. 167 (≡câ̱y̱n), kaen w.m. 24 (≡kâ̱e̱n). Uncontracted forms are met with as late as the 16th cent.

Dy ganu a wybû̱m;
Darllain dy bylgain y bû̱m.—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, with his', but not with the latter: ac i 'and to'.

Aner wyf fi'n cyweirio i fedd.—7 syll. § 44 vi. Da i Gymraeg, di-gymar oedd.—7 syll., i above.

Nos da i welch 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>Sound</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>caniad, iár</td>
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<td>ie</td>
<td>jechyd</td>
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<td>io</td>
<td>rhodío, iór</td>
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<td>iw</td>
<td>iorch, rhodiwn</td>
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<td>iy</td>
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<td>wo</td>
<td>gwatwor</td>
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<td>wu</td>
<td>galwnt</td>
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<tr>
<td>wy</td>
<td>penwyni</td>
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In Ml. W. i is generally written y, § 17. The combinations ii, iy, in, yw do not occur in Mn. W. They occur in verbal forms in Ml., W. but are generally simplified; see § 36 i, ii.

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

iii. When an unaccented i comes before any other vowel the two are frequently contracted into a rising diphthong; thus di'oddef 'to suffer' becomes a disyllable di'oddef D.G. 137. Some early examples occur, as er'iod ef 'ever' for *er| i| ęed 'since his time'. dijor 'by heaven' § 224 iv (2) is a monosyllable, as the metre shows in r.p. 1206, D.G. 46, 51. dijwał 'devil' must have been contracted into a monosyllable in O.W.
when the accent fell regularly on the ultima; otherwise it would have become *diawl.

iv. The rising diphthongs wa and wo are frequently interchanged; as gwatwar w.m. 185, gwatwor D.G. 136 ‘to mock’; marwar m.a. 39, marwor ‘embers’ (cf. muroyn § 36 iii); cawad, cawod ‘shower’; pedwar, pedwor ‘four’.

Pedwor tryor tir Iesu.—H.R., c 7/114.

‘The four treasures of the land of Jesus.’

The change takes place both ways; wa becomes wo in cawad b.m. 180, r.p. 1223, D.G. 57 (rhyming with brad) and cawodydd or cafodydd D.G. 325 (penult rhyming with bod); wo becomes wa in cynawon pl. of ceneu § 125 iii; dyfad for dyfod from dyfod § 193 ix (3).

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

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

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

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

ii. (1) In Mn. lit. W. i generally appears after syllables having ei, as in ysheiliach ‘I rob’ (ysbail ‘spoil’ < Lat. spolium); teithiach ‘I journey’ (taith ‘journey’), geirian ‘words’ (gair ‘word’), neithiach(y) ‘last night’, Ml. W. neithwyr § 98 i (3). In these cases the i is omitted in S. W. dialects and most Ml. mss., as
keinhauc B.B. 54 = keinhauc 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 ķ, as keynhauc a.l. i 24 ms. A., cf. 22 mss. B., D., Mn. W. Ceinioq 'penny'.

(2) There are, however, several exceptions to this rule besides those mentioned or implied in § 36. The ķ is omitted before the substantival terminations -en, -es, -edd; as deilen (M.IL. i 155 has the unusual deilien) 'leaf', bygiles 'shepherdess', cyfeillies (printed cyfeillies in D.G. 75) 'amie', meithedd 'lengthiness'; before endings of comparison, as meithed, meithach, meithaf (maith 'long'), meined, meinach, meinaf (main 'slender'), except rheit-ied, -iach, -iaf § 149 i, stems in -eidd- as manweidiych ii.a. 8 'finer', pereiddiaf 'sweetest', and some stems in -eith- as perfeithiaf 'most perfect'; before the pl. endings -edd, -oedd, as meithoedd 'languages'; in a few isolated words as teilo 'to manure' (but teylyaw in B.CH. 102), adeilad 'building' (but adeilyat in R.P. 1220), cymdeithas 'society', eiddo 'property'.

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

iii. ķ is also added to many stems having i or u; as cil 'back', pl. cilian, cilaf 'I retreat'; tir 'land', old poetic pl. tirion B.B. 26, R.P. 1144, tirio 'to land', tirioq 'landed' (but pl. tiredd, tiroedd); grudd 'cheek', pl. gruddian; llun 'form', pl. lluniau, llunio 'to form', lluniaidd 'shapely'; ystydwy, llawyrwaw ii.a. 11 'to study', 'to labour'. In some of these cases also the ķ is lost in S. W. dialects.

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

§ 36. i. w drops before w, and ķ 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 kadwen, the older W.M. 71 has in the same passage *mi a gadwun, mi ay cadwen. Similarly we have *veddydyt in L.A. 48 but bedydir earlier, p. 42.

The syllable closed by the w or ţ remains closed after its loss; thus cad|d|wun, bed|dyf|dir became cād|wun, be|ddy|d|ir (not cā|d|wun, be|ddy|d|ir). By re-formation the w is sometimes restored in the spoken lang., in forms like ber|gwech ‘boil ye’ impv., on account of the strength of the analogy of ber|gwi, ber|goaf, ber|goð, etc. But the lit. and ordinary form is bēr|gwech, and the absence of yw in the traditional pronunciation accounts for the well-known W. pronunciation of E. wood as *ood, etc.

ii. ţ drops before ŷ and ŵ in monosyllables and final syllables; as yrch aL. i 20, L.A. 67 for *iyrch pl. of īr|ch 'roebuck'; udd 'lord' < O. W. Iud- (‘*warrior’); peidynt r.m. 90 (from peid|yan 'to cease', cf. peidy|yrs r.m. 98); Mare|du, R.P. 1194 for *Marediub, O. W. Mør|getiud gen. xiii (≡ Mørget|ũð), Gruffydd < O. W. Gri|pi|u|d (≡ Griffi|u|ð). It is often found written in Ml. W., as ystyr|y|c R.P. 1153 'thou mayst consider', hilynt L.A. 11 'they would breed', llyf|vi|rus do. 28 'laborious', me|dy|l|ynt W.M. 103 'thou wouldst think'; but the spelling is perhaps theoretical; see below.

Initial ţu in polysyllables has given i, as in Iddew 'Jew' for *i|du|w; Ithel < *i|du|hæl, O. W. Ith|hail.

See Iseau p 14/1 r. (13th cent.); itewon (t ≡ ţ) B.B. 102; so in L.A. see its index, and in R.B., see R.B.B. index. Salesbury wrote Iddew, which he inferred from the derivation. The Bible (1588 and 1620) has Iddew; but late editors have adopted Salesbury's unphonetic spelling. D. includes ţu among rising diphthongs; but his only example is the artificial Iddew.

It is seen that ţu became ţ in the syllables which were accented in O.W., and ţ 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 ţu (≡ *tu) are analogical formations, and perhaps artificial.

iii. w sometimes drops before o; as in the prefixes go-, gor- for g|o|-, g|o|r-; thus Ml. and Mn. W. go|le|u|ni 'light', O. W. gu|ole|u|ni ţuv. But analogy has tended to restore it; thus while we find athrawon M.A. i 256, ii 319 for athrawon L.A. 112, R.M. 19, R.P. 1234 'teachers', canaon B.A. 38, M.A. i 261, 315 for kanawon R.B.B. 147 'whelps', lle|ot L.M. ii 234, 235 for lle|wot L.A. 10
RISING DIPHTHONGS

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

Ambiguous Groups.

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

The sea washes the sweet coast of Môn.

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

v. ĵ drops after w following a consonant, or following a diphthong; thus ceidwad for *ceidwyr 'keeper, saviour', geirwv for *geirwýon, pl. of garw 'rough', hoywv for *hoywýon, pl. of hoyw 'sprightly'. But when w follows a simple vowel the ĵ remains, as in glewýon, pl. of glew 'bold', glawî 'to rain'.

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

vi. ĵ drops after u, as in duon for *duýon, pl. of du 'black', gorenýon for *gorenýon pl. of goren 'best'.

vii. ĵ drops after r or l following a consonant, as meidrol for meidrîol 'finite' (veidrîawl R.P. 1233, veidrîawl do. 1234), budron for *budrýon, pl. of budr 'dirty', cwydrad for cwydrîad 'wanderer', meistraid for meistriaid 'masters', teimlo for *teimlîo 'to feel', treiglo for treiglîo 'to roll'.

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

**ii. iw in the ultima followed by a consonant is iw, as iwerch 'stag', rhodiwch 'walk ye', cosiw 'we remember', myrddiw 'a myriad'. The only exceptions are the Mn. forms i'ch for Ml. ych 'to you', and niwl for Ml. nywl § 77 v, § 90.**

The Demetian disyllabic niwel (D.D. s.v., D.G. 150 ni-wel /ná-wyr) is <"niwel < *niwyl < nywl 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 niwl /nós); and all the derivatives are from niwl-, as niwliog or niwlog 'misty', niwen 'a veil of mist'.

Initial iŵ became *iû and then *iû in med 'porridge' < Ml. W. ivt (≡ iûd) 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 iy, Ml. yw ‘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 heiddiw; but the Demetian heddi implies heddiw. The bards always rhymed it as heddiw, till it came to be written haddiw in the 15th cent. (one example in R.P. 1286), an artificial restoration, see § 77 v.

> Nid oes fyl na rheu na rhiw

> Na lle rheul na llawr heddiw.—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 hawedd niwso heddiw

> I an offried yn i effriw.—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 digeddi ‘end’, niwgeddio ‘to harm’, cigdod ‘race, people’. Exceptions are the borrowed words sjwênai ‘journey’, siwr ‘sure’, and diwrnod ‘day’ when contracted, as in Gr.O. 88, for dilwnc for Ml. W. digyrnawd, w. ia (generally in Ml. W. digarnant, 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 gweddli ‘prayer’, gweddli-wn ‘let us pray’, gweddli-ver ‘suppliant’. In such words the i is generally written in Mn. W. with a diaeresis—gweddliwrr.**
v. The combination **iwy** has four sounds: (1) the mixed triphthong **iwy**, as in *neithiwyr*, § 34 ii. It occurs in verbal forms when the terminations -**wyf**, -**wyd**, -**wys** are added to stems in **i**, § 35; as *rhodiwyf* 'I may walk', *tyfriwyd* 'it was thought'.

(2) **iwy** disyllabic. It occurs when the above endings are added to stems in vocalic **i**, as *gwediwyf* (3 syll., see example in § 201 ii (2)); and in compounds of di- with stems having **wy**, as in *di-wyr* 'not bent' (*gwyr* 'bent').

(3) **iwy**, or (4) **iwy**, according to position, as in *liwydd* g. 164 'painter', pl. *liwyddion*; *diwyd* 'diligent' spv. *diwytaf*. These sounds may occur either when **wy** is followed by **y** or **γ** or when **i** is followed by **wy** or **γy** in word-formation.

§ 38. i. The distinction between the falling diphthong **wy** and the rising diphthong **wu**, both written **wy**, is an important one. The difference between them is seen most clearly in monosyllables such as *gwyr* 'he knows', *gwyr* '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 **wy** (only used initially and after **γ**, **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 **wy**, where necessary, in this book. The rising diphthong is indicated by marking the **w** a consonant.

ii. In monosyllables **wy** represents the falling diphthong except when preceded by **γ** or **ch**; thus *dîwn* 'to bring', *briwn* 'rushes', *cîwn* 'complaint', *chîwn* 'hurdle', *thîwr* 'path', *hiwynt* 'they, them', *cîwynp* 'fall'. Words beginning with **γ** or **ch** have usually the rising diphthong, as *gwyn* 'white', *gwîdd* 'green', *gwîdd* 'trees', *chîwyrn* 'roaring', *chîwîth* 'blows'; the exceptions are *Gîw* 'the Wye', *gîwîdd* 'goose', *gîwîdd* 'presence', *gîwl* 'vigil, holiday', *gîwl* 'modest', *gîwl* 'goblin', *gîwr* 'knows', *gîwr* 'a bend', *gîwîsl* 'pledge', *gîwîth* 'anger', *chîwîdd* 'swelling'.

Note the following words which conform to the rule, though spelt like some of the above-mentioned exceptions: *gwîdd* 'trees', *gwîl* 'sees' § 173 iv (1), *gwîll* 'darkness'.

iii. When a word has the falling diphthong **wy** in its simple form, the diphthong remains so in all derivatives; thus *mîwn*
'gentle', *mwyynach* 'gentler', *mwyánhau* 'to enjoy'; *cwy* 'complaint', pl. *cwyjon*, v.n. *cwyno* 'to complain'. Similarly the rising diphthong remains rising, the *y* becoming *y* according to rule, § 82 ii (5); thus *gwy* 'white', *gwyynach* 'whiter', *gwynnu* 'to whiten'.

In N. W. dialects *wy* has come to be sounded *wy* in the penult after *c*, *g* or *ch*, as *cwyno* for *cwyno* 'to complain'; *gwyddau* for *gwyddau* 'geese'; *chwyddlo* for *chwydddo* 'to swell'. But original *wy*, which in the penult is properly *wy*, has become *w* in all dialects, as *chwynu* for *chwythu* 'to blow', *chwru* for *chwyru* 'to roar', *gwnnu* for *gwynnu* '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', *wythnos* 'week', *wybr* 'sky', *wylo* 'to weep', *wyl* 'weep', *wyneb* 'face'.

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

*Rhaid im ddâvon pridd ar f’*wyneb*<sup>a</sup>

_Rhay bod i’r adnabod neb._—D.G. 307.

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

_Amlwg fydd tri*byn* ar *wyneb*_;

_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*<sup>b</sup>
_Fal ar glaw siopau Sièb._—D.G., 330.

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

_Os* wyneb*<sup>b</sup> *farr sy’n y bedd,*
_farr a aned erllynedd._—D.N., c. i 161.

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

_So always in the Bible; see fy* wyneb,*<sup>c</sup> Gen. xliii 3, Ex. xxxii 20, Lev. xvii 10, etc.; _eu hwynebau,*<sup>c</sup> Gen. xlii 6, etc. An early indication of the mispronunciation is found in *wynebeu*, b.cw. (1703), p. 7, which should be *yr* *wynebeu*, but has not yet become *y* *gwynebeu*.

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

_Co_win, Myfanwy, arlwy* 'a spread', _dirwy* 'fine', _ilywy* 'beautiful',

<sup>a</sup> Pronounce the *wy* of *wyneb* so that it rhymes with the *wy* of *ddàvon*, *tri* in as the cynganedd lugz demands.

<sup>b</sup> Not a’r *gwyneb*, os *gwyneb*, the *g* being ruled out by the cynganedd.

<sup>c</sup> Not *fy ngwyneb*, ex *gwynebaw*. 
Tawy; also medial wy followed by a vowel, as mwyar 'blackberries', gwyar 'gore'.

Tlawd a wyr talu dirwy:
Ni their math Louri mwb.

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

But in the Pl. 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', annwyl 'cold', addwyn D.G. 355 'gentle', caunwyll '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 dŵyll.—E.P. 235.

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

Oer gennych eira gwanwyn:
Oerach yw 'myd yr ych mwbn.—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 yw ddwy gadwyn,
A'i roddi'n faich i'r ddyn fŵyn.—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 gwan ddal y gannwyll—
Da o le maen dalu i ðwyl.—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 e, as in ðwyl 'thought', Ir. ciáll, gòydil 'goose', Ir. gél, gieystil 'pledge', Ir. giáll, etc.; or when it is derived from Latin ë, ëg or ï, as in rhôyl 'net' from rete, ñwr 'wax' from círa, églüys 'church' from ecclesia, eglüddor 'alphabet' from abécédarium, gwenóyn 'poison' from venenum, ðuys 'intense' from densus, ñyhn 'charm' from signum; sñwyr 'sense' from sentire. Rule vi may be verified in many words
by applying the test of derivation; e.g. cannuwyll from candela, cadwyn from catena,* parádwys from paradisus.

Gëriran da a gwy t ùw dówyn
A ddinistr y ddau wenwyn.—D.I.D., F. 11.

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

\[ Y \text{ doeth ni ddywaid a ùwr; } \]
\[ Nid o sôn y dâu synnûyr. —G.I.H., G. 144. \]

'The wise does not say what he knows; it is not from talk that sense comes.' See also G. i11, 175, 234, 296.

viii. wy is the falling diphthong in the substantival terminations -rwydd 'ness', -wys ' -ians', and in the verbal terminations -wyf, -wys, -wyd, but is the rising one in -wyrr pl. of -wr ' -er'.

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

\[ Hyd loryk y bu hydrefd ùwys, \]
\[ A'r gwânûyn ar y Gwennûys. —L.G.C. 421. \]

'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', disgwyl '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 / brëyn R.P. 12O6; cerwyn / coll-hwyn D.G. 347.

\[ Y \text{ ferch addfùyn o Wynedd, } \]
\[ Sy ymyst osat a medd.—D.G. 314. \]

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

\[ Mi a euraf bob morwyn \]
\[ O eirian nawel er i mûyn. —D.G. 281. \]

'I will gild every maid with words of praise for her sake.' See also D.G. 126, 236, 297, 298, 356, and G. i19, 229, 243.

\[ Ar i farch yr âi f' erchwun \]
\[ Yn y llu ddoe'n llew o ddûyn.—T.A. G. 234. \]

* Pughe, deriving cadwyn from cadyg, made it cadwyn, and asserted that it was masculine. He then inferred a fem. cadygen, which (as cadwyn is fem.) was unfortunately adopted by many 19th cent. writers. But no one has had the courage to write cadwenni for the pl. cadwyni. There is an old word cadgen or cadgent which means 'a battle', from cad.
‘On his steed went my protector in the host yesterday, a man like a lion.’ See also L.G.C. 143, D.G. 510.

The word kyfrwys ‘shrewd’ (rhyming with henwerys and ymys in r.t. 78, and with pris = prys and chwis = chwisys in r.b. 57) is now sounded kyfrwys on account of the difficulty of the consonantal group frw. The word celwydd has undoubtedly the rising diphthong; see kelwyd / kymwyd r.p. 1223, cf. 1251, and D.G. 338; probably gêwydd / gelwydd, D.G. 256, is a misreading, but this form occurs in the 16th cent., see r. 36.

x. wy after a vowel has generally been changed to wy, except in verbal terminations. Thus awyr/ hênwy / hênwy r.p. 1029, and generally so rhymed, see D.G. 395, 416, is now pronounced awyr, and the rhyme with yr occurs already in the 13th cent.: awyr / sîr r.t. 23, G.Y.C. r.p. 1418. Similarly awôd / rôd / awôd r.p. 1180 is later a-wydd. Powys L.G.C. 381 is pronounced Powys § 192 ii (2); tywyll as in tywill / canwill r.b. 30, tywyll / gannwyll / pwyll r.p. 1045, tywyll / amôd D.G. 267, tôwyll / tywyll do. 117, 283 is now twyll, and already in D.G. rhymes with hyll 71, 285, 421, and with cyll 173, 185; ewyn r.p. 1036, later ewun ‘foam’. On the other hand glanhâ-wyd ‘was cleansed’ and all similar inflected forms are still so pronounced.

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

Accentuation.

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

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

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

ii. The remaining syllables of the word are also pronounced with varying emphasis, but this may generally be disregarded, and they may all be considered as unaccented syllables. In
some cases, however, one of them may attain a decided 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,
y*, 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 rhag in rhag ofu '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
Arduireau1' tri B.B. 36 (Ar'dwyreaf-i dri) for Arddwyreaf dri (5 syll.)
'I will exalt Three'. These may however be accented for emphasis.

§ 40. i. In Mn. W. all polysyllables, with a few exceptions
named in § 41, are accented on the penult; as c6|naf 'I sing',
c6\nad 'a song'; c6\d|dan '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 cynghanedd was fully developed in its modern form in
which the penultimate accent plays an important part, ZfCP.
iv 123 ff.

iii. (1) But certain vowel values point to a period when the
accent fell generally on the ultima. The evidence seems to show
that this was the case in O. W., and that the transition took
place in the Early 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 dy6 'day', it is y. There has been no shifting of
the accent in y d\6 the day', which therefore preserves the accentuation
that resulted in the vowel sequence y...y. Hence a word like
\6\6\6, which contains this sequence, must once have been accented
\6\6\6.
§ 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) ysgrîn ‘shrine, coffin’, § 23 ii, ysstrîd ‘street’, ysgrîch ‘screech’, ystôr ‘store’; (2) ymwîl ‘do thou visit’, ymâdl ‘do thou leave’. But most words with these initial syllables are accented regularly, as ysegol ‘school’, ysbrîd ‘spirit’, ysegwîl ‘to shake’, ymlaith ‘journey’, ymgudd D.G. 374 ‘hides’. In some cases we have both accentuations, see ymwl below;
occasionally with different meanings, as ymladd ‘to fight’, ymlâdd ‘to tire one’s self’; ymddwyn ‘to behave’, ymddwyn ‘to bear’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Y dydd a'r awr, ni'm dawr, dod;} \\
\text{ýmwel a mi dan ámod.—G.I.H., tr. 91.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Y forch wêddwy ddisfrychêuddeddf} \\
\text{Wedi'r ymlâdd a'r drem lêddf.—D.E., p 112/840.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

ii. The reduplicated pronouns mwyfî, 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\(\text{ra}\)\(t\)ôi for Ml. W. pa\(\text{ra}\)\(t\)ôi ‘to prepare’, cy\(\text{t}\)\(\text{a}\)\(n\) for Ml. W. cy\(\text{t}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{n}\) ‘united’, Gwr\(\text{th}\)\(\text{e}\)yrn for Gwr\(\text{th}\)\(\text{e}\)yrn, Cym|\(\text{r}\)\(\text{a}\)\(eg\) for Cym|\(\text{r}\)\(\text{a}\)\(eg\), pa\(\text{rh}\)\(\text{â}\)d for pa\(\text{rh}\)\(\text{â}\)d ‘continuance’. It is seen that in these words the accent in Ml. W. was regular, and kept its position after the ultima was merged in the penult.

(2) In the word ysgolhâig, Ml. W. yscolheic ‘scholar’, the contraction in the last syllable seems to have taken place early in the Ml. period, as Nid vid iscolheic nid vid eleic unben B.B. 91 (10 syll.; read sco\(\text{l}\)heic, § 23 ii), but it was necessarily subsequent to the fixing of the present accentuation; in B.B. 81 the uncontracted form occurs, rh. with gyledic. A similar form is pen-ôig ‘chief’. The word ffelaig seems to have been accented regularly; thus in R.P. 1221 we have ffel\(\text{e}\)\(i\)\(c\)/\(\text{f}\)\(\text{i}\)\(l\)i, the latter being the Lat. filii.

\[
\text{Tudur waed Tewdwr ydoedd,} \\
\text{A phenaig cyff Ieuan oedd.—Gu.O., g. 196.}
\]

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

iv. A few words recently borrowed from English; as apél, ‘appeal’.
v. Disyllables in which h stands between two vowels are accented regularly; thus cyhyd as in Cyhyd a rhai og hâearn D.G. 386 'spikes' as long as those of an iron harrow'; and hyd gyhyd c.o. 312 'full length'; cyhoedd 'public', as in gyhoedd/gwedd, R.P. 1283; gwéheid G. 26 'forbids'. Contraction has taken place in some of these, thus cyhoedd > *cõhoedd > coedd, D.G. 524; so gwáhan > gwân, which gave rise to gwahân. This appears to be the reason for gwahân, cyhyd, gyd, gwahárdd, etc. in recent W.

§ 42. In Ml. and early Mn. W. final w after d, s, n, l, r, s was consonantal, § 26 iv; thus meddwp 'drunk', marwp 'dead', delwp 'image', were monosyllables, sounded almost like meddf, marf, delf. Hence when a syllable is added the w is non-syllabic for the purposes of accentuation; thus medddwón 'drunkards', marwpol 'mortal', mårwnad 'elegy', dêlwan 'images', árddelwp 'to represent, to claim'. The w is usually elided between two consonants, as médd-dow 'drunkenness', for medddwdod. In B.B. 84 we have netudlaud (=fëwgydaud), but in Ml. W. generally such words were written without the w, as meddawt, R.P. 1217, 1245, 1250, 1269, I.A. 147; gweddawt B.T. 31, R.P. 1261 'widowhood'. The w inserted in these words in recent orthography is artificial, and is commonly misread as syllabic w, thus méddw|dod, the accent being thrown on the ante-penult, 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 apparent exception to the rule of accentuation; thus árddelwp 'to claim', sêberwp 'proud' are written árddel, sêber. In owárchadwp 'to guard', ymôralwp 'to attend (to)', metathesis took place about the end of the Ml. period, giving gwárchawd, ymôr-awdd, which became gwárchod, ymôrol in Mn. W.

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

Da arôdelw kynnelw Kynôelw kêinôawn.—R.P. 1229 (9 syll.)
'A good representation of the exemplar of Cynddelw exquisitely gifted.' The accentuation of Kynôelw corresponds to that of kêinôawn. Cf. kyrwarch/kýfenw, 1230.

I llôrf d'm pair yn llwyrfarw
O hud gwîr ac o hoed garw.—D.G. 208.

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

E 2
PHONOLOGY § 42

Din 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.

F’emaid heon geirw afonydd,
Fy nghaniad dy fárwnad fŷ ld.—IL.G., F.N. 30.

My beloved of the hue of the foam of rivers, my song thy dirge shall be.’  Cf. i fárwnad efô 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.’

Pwy a’th eilw pe a’th wayw onn?—T.A., A 14975/102.

‘Who will challenge thee if with thy ashen spear?’

The last example shows that eilw could still be a pure monosyllable at the end of the 15th cent., for the present disyllabic pronunciation mars the cyngahanedd. Even stronger evidence is afforded by the accentuation dêu-darlý dodi B.Ph.B., Stowe 959/988. Although final w was non-syllabic, ym or yr following it was generally reduced to ‘n or ‘r, being combined with the w to form yn or yr, § 26 iii.

A’ch gwaed, rhyn ynoch gadw’r hêol.—T.A., A 14965/46.

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

Murnio da, marw’n y diweddl.—D.II., v. 31.

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

In a compound like marwnad the w was not difficult, for ym (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 marnad and barnad. The combination is more difficult in such compounds as dêrwgoed ‘oak-trees’, mûreditwr ‘stagnant water’, chwêrw-der ‘bitterness’; and though the etymological spelling persisted in these, the pronunciation dê-goed, mûr-dîwr, chwêr-der is doubtless old.

Lle dirgel gerllaw dêrwgoed.—D.G. 321.

‘A secret place near oak-trees.’  Cf. dêrwyst, T.A., g. 232.

Tre fy chwer’der yn felysdra.—Wms. 657.

‘Turn my bitterness into sweetness.’

Gyr chwêrwyder o garchárdai;
Newyn y lleïdr a wna’n llaï.—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 cyngahanedd, but the bards of the 19th cent. hardly knew what to make of it. Thus R.G.D. 97 uses mårw 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
cyghaneddd, marw rhymes with gary, tary only, and delw with elw,
gwey 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) bvr rhymes with galw, a rhyme condemned by S.V. because
galw is a monosyllable whose vowel is a, p. li. xxii.

Some old rhymes are syberg/hirerp/derw/chwerg, B.B. 69; agery/
chwerg/syberg/gochwerg, B.A. 19; hely/delw, ib.; djveine/dyleine,
B.T. 21; divang/langw, M.A. i 475; ymoralw/saluw, do. 466; cadw/
achdy/bradw, I.G. 422; evy/seynw, do. 407; geirw/teirw, D.G. 500;
syberw/ferw, E.P. 203.

Note 2. In hwnnw, acw (earlier raccw) the w was vocalic; also
probably in other forms in which it is a reduction of -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 Sáesneg, Sáesones
are misspellings of Sáesneg, Sáesnes.

A'r gyfreith honno a droes Alveyt 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, oméga, penigamp 'masterly', períglor 'parson',
lladmerdd 'interpreter', ysgelérder 'atrocity', oléwydd 'olives'.

A thálw'r ffin gathólíg.—S.C.

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

Cyngor períglor églwys.—M.R., f. 12.

'The counsel of a church parson'.

Penáig y ylod, penigamp—
Pennod i chompod a'i champ.—M.B. (m. D.G.), A 14967/183.

'Master of the [song of] praise, supreme—the height of its compass
and achievement.'

Alpha ac Oméga máwr.—A.R. (1818), e.g. p. xiii.

'Great Alpha and Omega.' Cf. l.m. 2. See Wms. 259, 426, 869.

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

* This word has been naturalized in Welsh as in other languages, and the natural
Welsh pronunciation is probably nearer the original than the ômega now some-
times heard from the pulpit in imitation of the English fashion. The adjective is
not an enclitic in â µéya. 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 ‘scythe’, for Mn. W. paladur, c.m. 95 (paladurwy r.m. 425, 426); Mn. W. gwando ‘to listen’, for Mn. W. gwurandaw, r.m. 16, c.m. 29; Mn. W. Clynnog for Mn. W. Kelynnawc, i.l.a. 124.

Some shortened forms are found, though rarely, in Mn. prose and verse: gwurandau, c.m. 27; kweirnywyt for Kyweirnywytyt ‘was equipped’, r.p. 1276 (the y was written, and then deleted as the metre requires); pinyburn r.p. 1225 from E. opinion; gennyd do. 1055 for gareynyd.

For dywedud ‘to say’ we generally have dwedul in Early Mn. poetry (written doedyl in the 16th cent.); so twysoy, E.U. § 32, b.c.w. 71, for tyrwyso ‘prince’; cledion c.c. 334, 390, pl. of caed ‘hard’; clonnau for calonnau ‘hearts’, in Tyrd, Ysbyrd Glân, i’n clonnau ni, R.V.

ii. In words of four or more syllables, when pronounced deliberately, the first syllable has a secondary accent, as bënd|ig|ion ‘blessed’, pl. bënd|ig|ion. This also applies to trisyllables with the accent on the ultima, as cëf| praw|ned ‘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 gor|chfygu i.l.a. 15, and in Mn. W. verse tragwyddol for træ|g|wy|ddol ‘eternal’, partó for pà|t|t‘ to prepare’, llythrénnau for llyth|rénnau ‘letters’, perthnasau ‘relations’ for perthynsaus, etc.

Gweddwn, feirdd, yn dragwyddol;
Gwae ni nad gwir yn i dl.—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 ddfal beunyo i bartó. —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 pladurwy ‘mowers’; twysoes b.c.w. 11 ‘princess’ from twyso, for tyrwyso; tragwyddol ‘eternity’, ymbartó ‘to prepare one’s self’, wylllys-gar ‘willing’ (ewylls, ‘wyllys ‘will’).
Wedi 'mrawd yma'r ydwyf;
Ato, Dduw, ymbartōi '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 erlidedigaeth '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.; 'ewyllys for ewyllys in verse; and in Late Mn. W. machlud 'to set' (of the sun) for Ml. and Early Mn. W. ym-achludd, D.G. 121, § 111 vii (3). As a rule, however, this elision only takes place after a vowel:

Tebug yw'r galennig iân
I 'dafedd o wlad Ifan.—I.D., tr. 142.

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

Ac ef gyda'i ogyfoed
Yw gwôr 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 ūnud 'but' appears generally as ond in Mn. W. Other examples met with in Mn. (rarely in Late Ml.) verse are myned for myñyd 'to go', tyrd for tyrcal 'come!' gweld for gweled 'to see', llond for llóndaid 'full (capacity)', cans for cânys 'because', namn for nàmyn 'but', all except the last two in common use in the dialects. Similarly ér ys becomes ers, § 214 vii.
Ancr wi/fji'n cyweirio i fedd,
Ond aros münd i orwedd.—D.G. 295.

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

Cans ar ddwiwed pob gweddidi,
Cef cywir, yr henwir hi.—D.G. 235.

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

Máseu, kanye ti yw'r me&ic.
K.P. 1298 (7 syll.).

'Forgive, for Thou art the Healer.'
The length of the line shows that kanye is to be read kans. It occurs written cans in W.M. 487.

Ni edrychodd Dua'r achwyn;
Ni mynnedd aur, namn i ddwyn.—G.C1., M 148/256.

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

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

vii. The vowel of a proclitic is often elided
(1) After a final vowel, y is elided in the article yr, § 114; the pronouns yn 'our', ych 'your' (now written ein, eich), § 160 ii (1); the oblique relative y or yr, § 82 ii (1), § 162 ii (2); the preposition yn, § 210 iv.
(2) Before an initial vowel, y is elided in fy 'my', dy 'thy', § 160 i (1).
(3) The relative a tends to disappear even between consonants, § 162 i.
(4) The vowel of pa or py 'what?' sometimes disappears even before a consonant, as in p'le 'where?' § 163 ii (2).
(5) After pa, rwy tends to become ry and r', § 163 ii (6).

§ 45. i. (1) Compound nouns and adjectives are accented regularly; thus gwiti-llan 'vineyard', cadéir-fardd 'chaired bard', gwág-law or lláw-wag 'empty-handed'.

Gwáwd-lais myyalek ar góed-lwyn,
Ae éos ar lios lwyn.—D.G. 503.

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

Yn i dydd ni adai wan

'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
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 cōel grēfydd ‘false religion’, gāu brōffwyd ‘false prophet’, hēn iōr ‘old man’ (sometimes accented regularly, hēnwr, 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, ov, or ə in its final syllable; thus in cŷd-ñabyddiaeth ‘acquaintance’ there may be a secondary accent on cŷd (short ə), but in cŷd gynall- jihadist there is an independent accent on cŷd (long ə). 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 hyphenated, thus coel-grēfydd; 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 lónni* ‘to wag the tail’, *pŷsor rédant* ‘they swiftly run’.

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

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

iv. (1) Prefixes form strict compounds with nouns, adjectives, and verbs; as *áthrist* ‘very sad’ (*trist* ‘sad’), *ám-gyleh* ‘circumference’, *cŷn-nal* ‘to hold’, etc., etc.

(2) But compounds with the prefixes *an-, di-, cyd-, go-, gor-, gwyrh-, rhy-, tra-* may be either strict or loose; as *án-awdil* or *áu háwdd* ‘difficult’, § 148 i (6); *án-amt/ýnys* G. 103, *áu áml*, § 164 i (1); *dí-wair, ñl wáir* ‘chaste’; *rhy-wyr* ‘high time’ and *rhŷ hýwr* ‘too late’; *trá-mawr* Gr.O. 51, *trá máwer* ‘very great’; *trá-doeth* do. 52, *trá dôeth* ‘very wise’.

 Di-dad, amddifad ydwf,
 A dî fráwd wedi i farw ñyw.—L.Mor. (m. I.F.).

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

 Y mae’r ddîwyais mor ddiwair.—D.G. 148.

 ‘The bosom is so chaste.’

 Fwyn a dî wáir—f’enaid yw.—D.G. 321.

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

 Trá dâ im y trŷ déu-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-úwech* ‘above’, *gor-ís* ‘below’, the first element has lost its accent, though these are also found as strict compounds, thus *góruwech*, 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. Mutable vowels are mutated (*y > y*, etc.) as in single words.

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

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

ii. Improper compounds accented on the penult consist of—

(1) Some nouns qualified by *da*, as gibr-*da* 'goodman', gwreig-*dda* 'goodwife', hin-*dda* 'fair weather', gêir-*da* 'good report'. Names of relatives with *maeth*, as tád-*maeth* 'foster father', màmaeth (for màm-*faeth*, § 110 iii (1)) 'foster mother', màb-*maeth*, bráwd-*maeth*, chwydr-*faeth*. A few other combinations, such as hêul-wen 'bright sun' *(haul fem., § 142 iii)*, oël-certh 'bonfire' (lit. 'certain sign'). See also (3) below.

*A bryno tir à braint da
Yn i árdal d'an wr-*da*.*—L.G.C. 249.

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

(2) Nouns with dependent genitives: trêf-tad 'heritage', dýdd-brâwd or dýdd-bárn (also dýdd brâwd, dýdd bárn) 'judgement day', pén-tref 'village', pén-cerdd 'chief of song', pén-tan 'hob'. See also (3) and (4) below.

(3) Nouns with adjectives or genitives forming names of places; as Tré-for or Tré-fawr, Bryn-gwyn, Mynydd-*mawr*, Aber-*mawr*, Mynydd-*mawr*, Pen-*tir*, Pen-mon, Pen-*mon* Mawr.b

Even when the article comes before the genitive, the whole name is sometimes thus treated, the accent falling upon the article; as Pen-*y*-berth near Pwlheli, Tal-*y*-bryn in Llannefydd, Clust-*y*-blaim near Cerrig y Drudion, Moel-*y*-cî (pron. Moullheiri), a hill near Bangor, Llan-*é*-cîl 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 benaid o Ben-é-goes.*—L.G.C. 429.

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

(4) The word dûw (or dyw) followed by the name of the day in the genitive; as Dûw-sul as well as Dûw Sul or Dýdd Sul 'Sunday'; so Dûw-llun 'Monday', Dûw-*mawr*th 'Tuesday', and Dîf-iaw for Dîw *fâw* 'Thursday'. 'Similarly dûw(-gwy)l 'the day of the feast (of)'.

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

b The common spelling Penmaenmawr appears to be due to popular etymology. Camden, 4th ed., 1594, p. 18, has Pen-*mon* mawr, and the word is now pronounced Pen-*mon*-mawr.
Echrys-haint, och, wir Iesu!
Ddyfod i lâl Ddïf-jaul du.—T.A., g. 233.

'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 swyddog 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', dwy-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 pêth '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-nhâwn for prytnawn.

Yr eog, rhînoig ben-rhaith,
At Wên dos eto un-gaith.—D.G. 148.

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

A'm cêrydd mawr i'm câriad,
Ac na'r gawn yn llâwn ben-llâd.—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-tyrch.

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 gwir da, Aber Maw, Pen y berth were originally accented as they would be if they were formed now, with the main
stress in each case on the last word. When each combination came to be regarded as a unit, the main stress became the only accent; thus, *gwr-dá, *Aber-máw, *Pen-y-berth. This was at that time the accentuation of ordinary words, such as *pechadur, § 40 iii. When the accent shifted, and *pechadūr became pechadur, *gwr-dā became gwr-da, *Aber-máw became Aber-maw and *Pen-y-berth 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-berth, which is a common place-name, is usually so accented, and the accentuation Pen-y-berth is exceptional. In such a phrase as pryt návon 'time of noon', each noun retained its meaning to the Ml. W. period; then, when the combination came to be regarded as a unit, the first element became unstressed, resulting in pryt-návon, whence prynhávon, § 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-aelh, 'nobility', tref-tád-aeth 'heritage', di-dref-tád-u s.g. 306 'to disinherit', prynhávon-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 Ml. 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 Ml. W. y gánn, which became gan 'by' in Late Ml. and Mn. W. by the loss of the unaccented syllable.

On the analogy of y gánn, y iverth, etc., derivative and other old prepositional and adverbial formations retained the O.W. accentuation, as ódán, yríng, yrháwg.

The separate accent often persists in Mn. W., as in óddi iverth (Ml. W. y iverth), and in adverbial phrases like óddi yno (in the dialects ódd yno as in Ml. W.). In the latter the first element may become predominant, thus ódd yno 'from there' in the spoken language (often contracted to ódno 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', yntáwen 'forward', ynghyd 'together', i ógád 'together', eriód 'ever'.

These expressions thus form improper compounds accented on the ultima. The adverb achlán (achlán) 'wholly' is similarly accented.
Heais fat orohon
I chîbâl yng Ngwynedd achlân.—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 accentuated on the penult; as ol-ŷn-ol 'track in track', i.e. 'in succession',* ben-drá-phen 'head over head', law-ŷn-llaí 'hand in hand', etc. The first noun may have a secondary or separate accent, as blîth drá-phlîth 'helter-skelter'. The first noun being in an adverbial case has a soft initial.

A dau fraud ieuaf ar ôl
Eli êypog ol-ŷn-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-ŷn-ael â' i elynjon.—D.N., c. i 160.

'Brow to brow with his enemies.'

Dal-ŷn-nal rhwng dwy lânmerch.—D.N., M 136/147.

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

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

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

Arglwyddi lîn ô-lîn ynt,c.—L.G.C. 460.

'They are lords from line to line.'

See wers dragwers ii.A. 164 'reciprocally', gylch ogyllch do. 166 'round about', ddŵrn trá-dŵrn, lâw drá-llaí, L.G.C. 18. In many cases the first noun also is preceded by a preposition, as

Marchog o lîn ô-lîn oedd.—L.Mor., I.MSS. 292.

'He was a knight from line to line.'

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

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

b In all the above examples the 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.
The ordinary accentuation is also met with in the bards:

**O Iwñ i Iwñ, ail Éníd.**—D.G. 84.

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

iv. When *pa* or *py* is followed by a preposition governing it, the latter only is accentuated: *pa-hám* (for *pa am*, § 112 i (2)) 'what for? why?' often contracted into *pam* by the loss of the unaccented syllable, § 44 vii. So were doubtless accented the Ml. W. *pa'hář* a.l. i 108, i 134, *pa hár* do. i 118 (for *pa ar*) 'what on?' *pa ráč* 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 *ceñhédloedd* 'nations', from *ceñedd*; *boñhédig* (vonhédig R.P. 1331) from *bonedd* 'gentry', § 104 iv (1); *cyñhálwyl*, from *cyñnal* 'to support' from *cyn* + *dal* (*d* normally becomes *n*, not *nh*, § 106 ii); *díñhângol* from *dí-anc* 'to escape'; *a phlannhédieu* R.P. 1303 'and planets', usually planedau; *kenhâden* w.m. i 184, oftener in Ml. W. *kennâdeu* do. 42 'messengers'.

*A'i aour o'i fêdd y gîwyrf o,*

*Fônñhédig,* a *fy nyhûddo.*—L.G.C. i 88.

'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 *cŷnnes* 'warm', for *cŷn-nhes* from *cyn* + *tes* (*t* gives *nh*, § 106 iii (1)); *brênñiu* 'king', for *brênñhin* from *breñhin* from *brentin*, Cornish *brentyn*; *tânñpau* 'strings', for *tânñpheu* from O. W. *tantou* m.c.; *êang* 'wide', for *âh-ang* from *âks-ang*; *ânawld* L.A. 109 for *ân-hawld* 'difficult'; *ârual* 'bright', for *âr-haul*, which appears as *arheul* in R.P. 1168. The *h* is, however, retained between vowels in a few words, as *êhûd* 'foolish', *dêhau* and *dêau* 'right (hand), south'; and in *nrh*, *nhrb*, *nghr*, and *lhr*, as *ânraith* 'spoil', *ânhreñf* 'disorder', *ânghred* 'infidelity', *ôtrhain* 'to trace'.

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

\[\text{a} \quad \text{L. G. C.'s editors print *voneddig* in spite of the answering *h* in *nyhûddo.}\]

\[\text{b} \quad \text{nrh and *nhrb* have the same sound but differ in origin: *nrh* = *n + rh*; *nhrb* is from *n + tr*. They are often confused in writing.}\]
brėniníaethau ‘kingdoms’. So we have cenedlâethau ‘generations’, bôneddigaidd ‘gentlemanly’ (voneidigéi R.G. 1129).

iii. Note therefore the shifting of the h in such a word as dihareb ‘proverb’, Mi. W. dihareb R.F. 1326, pl. diarhēbion, Mi. W. diarhebyon 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, anghenius (< *ynen, Fr. écen); eymur, eymharu (< 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, cenhedloedd; 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’enphûlìn; 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 Mi. period, brenhined and brenin L.L. 120. But the traditional spelling, with h, persisted, and is general in B.R., as minheu 12; synhûir (= synnhwyr) 17; aghen agheu 23; brenhin 62; though we also find a few exceptions, as kaigîl 35. In R.M. it still survives in many words, as brenhin 2; agheu 5 (but anheu ib.); mwyhaf 11; minheu 12; but more usually ewyaf 13; minneu 3; geuyf 8; synhwyr 13; amarch 36; llînat (for ‘lîn-had’) ‘linseed’ 121. In the R.P. we find ánauod 1227, 1264, 1270, 1299; áneird, ánoery 1226; diagyr (for di-hagur) 1289; llâwir (for llaw-hir ‘long-handed’) 1207, 1226; lâwhir 1214, with h inserted above the line—an etymological correction; áverhoma 1271, with h deleted by the underdot—a phonetic correction.

Intrusive h makes its first appearance later, and is rarer in Mi. W. than lost h. In A.L., M.S. A., we find bônedyc ii 6, 14, but in this Ms. v may be for nh; in later M.S. bonhedyc i 176–8, M.S. E.; bonheôc in Mi. W. generally. In other cases it is less usual; thus kemadec is the form in R.M., though the older w.m. has sometimes kenhadeu 184, 249; kenedloed R.B. 259, Il. A. 169, so generally.

The orthography of the 1620 Bible generally observes the phonetic rule; thus brenin, brenhinoedd Ps. ii 6, 2; cenedl, cenhedloedd do. xxxiii 12, ii 1; anghu, anghedol do. vi 5, vii 13; aros, arhododd Jos. x 12, 13; bonheddig, bonnedigion Es. ii 9, 1 Cor. i 26; ammarch, amnherchi Act. v 41, Rhuf. i 24; etc. There are some irregularities and inconsistencies; e.g. diharebion Diair., title, i 1, and anghall Diair. i 4 beside the phonetic angall do. viii 5. The Bible spelling was
generally followed, and the use of h medially was fairly settled on phonetic lines, when Pughe introduced confusion by discarding it wherever his mad etymology failed to account for it. His wildest innovations, such as glanâu, parðu 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. 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 ammeuthum) 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 cênedlâethau, though before a vowel it may be long in deliberate pronunciation, as in dealltwriaeth.

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

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

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

* 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; dål b.cw. 91, hèl do. 95, càlon

In this grammar the circumflex has been retained in most cases where it is, or might be, used in ordinary writing. But where the position of the accent has to be indicated, \( \text{\textasciitilde} \) is used; where there is no need to point out the accent, and the word is not usually circumflexed, \( \text{'} \) is used. As every long vowel must be accented in Mn. W., it will be understood that \( \text{'} \), \( \text{\textasciitilde} \) and \( \text{'} \) in Mn. W. words mean the same thing. In Brit. and earlier a vowel marked \( \text{'} \) is not necessarily accented. As \( \text{\textasciitilde} \) is required to denote a secondary accent it would be confusing to use it to mark a short accented vowel; hence \( \text{\textasciitilde} \) is used here for the latter purpose, where necessary. The accent mark \( \text{'} \) denotes accent without reference to quantity. A medium vowel can only be indicated by showing the syllabic division; thus cà\(\text{\char13}nu\).

Note. The medium vowel, or short vowel with open stress, which occurs in the penult, is not heard in English where a penultimate accented vowel, if not short as in fathom, is long as in father. Silvan Evans calls the medium vowel "long", and J.D.R. often circumflexes it. But the \( a \) of cà\(\text{\char13}nu\) is not long, except in comparison with the \( a \) of cà\(\text{\char13}nu\); beside the \( a \) of cà\(\text{n} \) it is short. It is a short vowel slightly prolonged past the point of fullest stress, so as to complete the syllable, and the following consonant is taken over to the ultima.

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

ii. The vowel is short before two or more consonants, or before \( p, t, c, m, ng \); as câ\(\text{\char13}nt \) 'hundred', lôf 'crowd', ðôrth 'portal', bôrd 'bard', ðê 'to', llôc '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 hûp, 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, grôt (but in S. W. côt).

W. ðê 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 ss followed by another consonant have the vowel long; as trist 'sad', cosìb 'punishment', hált 'salt' adj., etc., except in borrowed words, as cást 'trick'. In S. W., however, all such words as the above conform to the rule.

2. The vowel is long when it is a late contraction, § 33 iv; as ānt 'they go', for a-ant; bûm 'I have been', for bu-un; bōnt 'they may be', for bo-ont; rhônt 'they give', for rho-ant. In ñm 'we are', ñnt 'they are', the vowel is pronounced long; it is marked long by J.D.R. 94; but E.P., ps. lxxv 1, rhymes ynt with hynt, and in Ml. W. it is written ynt (not *yynęt); hence the lengthening is probably due to false analogy.

Cánt 'they shall have' is for ca-ant and has long a; but cant 'sang' is for can-t, and is therefore short. Even gwěld, § 44 vi, from gwël, 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 chwent, and in quoting Gr.O. 82, where no circumflex is used. The word never rhymes with ōnt, gwōnt, etc.

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

3. The mutated form dény 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, ę; as ę́y 'house', ęllė 'place', máb 'son', tăd 'father', gwaę 'empty', dōf 'tame', rhōdd 'gift', clōf 'lame', crōth 'womb', cóch 'red', glās 'blue'.

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

(2) Words borrowed from English, as sād 'steady', tūb, fľōch (from flash), lōch (from lash). Sud, 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 chwaff, piff, āch. The interjection och is now short, but is long in the hards; see Och / Gōch D.G. 464. Cųff 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 for rhoddod. 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 nód 'cry' to distinguish it from nōd 'that not'.

iv. If the vowel be followed by 1, n or r, it may be long or

Each of these consonants may be etymologically single or double. Dål is from *daly- § 110 ii (2), so that the final l represents two root consonants. In O. and ML. W. final n and r when double in origin were doubled in writing, as in penn, ‘head’, Irish cenn, in other cases of course remaining single as in hên ‘old’, Irish sen; thus the principle that the vowel is short before two consonants, long before one, applied. The final consonant is now written single even in words like pen, and only doubled when a syllable is added, as in pennaf, cf. Eng. sin (O. E. sinn) but sinner (though even medial -mn- 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, tål ‘pay’, cán ‘song’, dór ‘door’, dël ‘may come’, hûn ‘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 dîfn, hên, ól 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 yrr ‘drives’. It is not sounded double now when final; but the consonant is distinctly longer e.g. in pin than in hên. In Corn., penn became pedn.

Note. The a is long in tål ‘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 Cassitales. In the spoken language the word survives only in place-names, and is sounded short in such a name as Tål-y-bont because this has become an improper compound accentuated 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-tål near the Rivals. Tegiğil o tål, Edeirnawn, Ídl b.n. 74 ‘Tegeingl to its end, Edeirnawn, [and] Yale.’ The rhyme with Ídl shows the quantity of tål.

Y fun uraf, fain, eirian,
A'r tål fal yr aur mîl mân.—D.G. 330.

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

v. When the word ends in ñ the quantity varies. In N. W. it is short in all such words except òll, holl; in S. W. it is long, except in gûł ‘can’, dåll ‘manner’, miêll ‘sultry’, cyll ‘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 rhag 'against', hês 'without', nàd, nàdl 'not', dàn 'under' (originally one u), màl, fàl, fèl 'like', àg (written ac) 'and', nàg (written nac) 'nor'; but àg 'with'.

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

Serochog y cân dàn y dail.—D.G. 225.

‘Lovingly it sings under the leaves.’

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

ii. The vowel is long in ae, oe, iwy; thus træd 'feet', óen 'lamb', hwydr 'late', cæc 'field', cáem 'we might have', dóc 'yesterday', mwy 'more', cïwn 'complaint', hïwnt 'they', blôesg 'blaesus', rhïwsg 'pomp', mäent 'they are', trênt 'they might turn'.

But except before -sg, iwy is short before two or more consonants or m; as tïwym, tïwmn, 'hot', rhïwym 'bound' (also rhïwym), cïwmp 'fall' (now pron. cŵïmp in N. W.), llïwybr 'path', rhïwysr 'hindrance', brïwydr 'battle', piwnt 'point'; — hïwnt is influenced by hïwy 'they'. Similarly mäent formed from, and influenced by mäe. The other cases are exceptions of contraction: càem < cæ-em, trênt < tro-ynt.

iii. The vowel is short in all other falling diphthongs; as bâi 'fault', bïw 'alive', trôi 'to turn', llâûd 'mud', brïw 'wound', dïw 'god', bâwch 'cow', hâul 'sun', ãur 'gold', dêwr 'brave', bâwl 'thumb', mäwl 'praise', etc.

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

(2) au is long in trâu 'wear', expense', pâun 'peacock', gwâudd 'daughter-in-law', fâu 'den', gwâun 'meadow', câul 'remmet', pâu 'country'. The form gwæun is a recent misspelling of gwâun. In West Gwynedd the word is pronounced gwêun (e ð e), Ml. W. gwuein, O. W. quoun.

(3) The vowel is long in ãu when contracted for a-au, as in plâu 'plagues'; but in cân for o-æ-u, § 202 iii, it is short. It is long in ãi for a-ai, and òi for o-ai when final, as gwâni, trôi 3rd sg. impf.; but
\( \ddot{o}i \) for \( o-ai \) not final, as in trôis for trô-ais. On account of the long vowel gwôäd, trôï, etc. are generally sounded and often written gwôae, troe, etc.; but in the bards -\( \ddot{a}i \) rhymes with ai, see wôôï/ehedai \( \text{c. 242} \). Both forms are seen in Ml. W. gwôae \( \text{w.m. 25, 54, gwôay} \) \( \text{r.m. 237} \) \( (ae=ay, \; \text{s 29 ii (1)} \)).

(4) The vowel is long in \( o'i, \; a'i, \; da \; i, \) etc., \( \text{s 33 v, of course only when accented. In Ml. W. o'i, a'i are written oe, ae or oy, ay.} \)

\( \S 53. \) When the accent in a polysyllable falls on the ultima, the above rules apply as if the ultima were a monosyllable; thus, short, pahâu `why?', penôig, \( \text{\S 41 iii (2), parhâu 'to continue',} \)
\( \text{gwyrôôi 'to distort'; long, Cymrâeg, parhânt (for parhâ-ant),} \)
\( \text{gwydrôôi (for gwydro-ai) 'he distorted', penllâd 'sumnum bonum'.} \)

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, \( \text{\S 54 iii.} \) When contracted the \( a \) is short. In D.D. and Bible (1620) it is not circumflexed. J.D.R. 144 writes cadarnhâu. But see \( \text{\S 55 ii.} \)

\( \S 54. \) 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 hâddwch `beauty', plûtyn `child', cânnoedd `hundreds', bîyrach `shorter', ôstron `stranger', ëpil `progeny', òteb `answer', ârneu `to doubt', ângen `need', âllen `out', Lêsu `Jesus', glânûdeg `fair', glânwaith `cleanly', tânjo `to fire', òbybiof `I suppose'. There is no exception to this rule, though before \( m \) the vowel is sometimes wrongly lengthened in words learnt from books, such as trâmor `foreign', âmûrs `ambiguous'.

Silvan Evans marks many obsolete words, such as amug, amug with long \( \ddot{a} \), 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 òteb, 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 gâlfu, doubling \( l \) (his \( l = t \)). 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 ateb; mesur is necessarily messur. 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 cannu ‘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. canu). The distinction is made in nearly all Ml. mss., and generally in Mm. 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|waith from glân ‘clean’. Ml. scribes, knowing that the syllable was closed by two consonants, and not knowing that the second in this case was i or w, sometimes doubled the first consonant, as in dynjyon w.m. 32, (g)lanweith r.m. 52; but as a rule, perhaps, it is written single, as in dynjyon r.m. 21, (g)lanweith 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|to ‘to land’, from glann ‘shore’, form a perfect double rhyme. It is therefore unusual to double the consonant in the modern language in these forms; glannio and torriad are written glanio and toriad, which adequately represent the sound (cf. pentref for penntref, etc.). Thus in ysgrifennwyd ‘was written’ the double n indicates that the w is a vowel; in ysgrifennwy ‘writers’, the single n indicates that the w is consonantal. Hence some words like annwyl c.m. 70, synnwyrr r.m. 116 are now written with one n owing to a common, but by no means general, mispronunciation of wwy as wv; see r.m. xcvi, where Llyr / ssynwyr 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 gô|baith ‘hope’, dê|deg ‘time’, sé|gur ‘idle’, c|faith ‘effect’, c|hol ‘to elect’, pé|chod ‘sin’, cá|nu ‘to sing’, bô|re ‘morning’, cá|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 I, as in Ið|lo (often mis-read Ið|lo); câlon ‘heart’; câ|yn ‘sting’, O. W. colginn juv.; ból|wost ‘colic’ < *bolg.; dê|lir ‘is held’ for dê|lir § 36 i < *dê|lir. In Ml. W., such forms are written with double 1, § 22 ii.

Double l cannot be from original ll, which gives the voiceless Welsh ll (tt). It occurs only in a new hypocoristic doubling as in Iol-lo, or where a consonant now lost closed the syllable before disappearing:
in cālon the lost consonant is w; in cōlyn it is ð < ð; w drops before o, and ð before y § 36 iii, ii;—cālon (Corn. colon, Bret. kalon, kaloun) <*kaluond- : W. cołweð B.A. 6 'heart', coludd 'entrail': Skr. krodd-h 'breast, interior': Gk. χολάδης, O. Bulg. želqđ-ñkâ 'maw' with gh- (q/gh alternation).—For Early Mn. W. cālyn 'to follow' the Mn. en±lyn has been restored in writing.

A short vowel also occurs in cădun, tŷbir, etc. § 36 i.

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

iv. It is short in all falling diphthongs; as câe|aïl 'lid', mwb|af 'most', llê|af 'least', rhô|y|dau 'nets', llô|y|bran 'paths', hê|v|og 'sunny', têw|dwr 'thickness', bè|w|yl 'life', cnâw|dol 'carnal'.

But in N. W. the vowel is medium in aw, ew, iu before a vowel, that is the w is heterosyllabic; thus tâw|el 'silent', tê|gi 'to be silent', llê|vod 'lions', uh|wed 'harm'. In S. W., however, these are sounded tâ|wel, tê|gi, lê|vod, uh|wed.

§ 55. i. The above are the quantities of the vowels in the Mn. language. They were probably the same in Mn. W. where the vowel is simple. Thus map or mab, lat, gwac had a long û like their modern equivalents môb, tâd, gwâg; for where the vowel was short and the final consonant voiceless (= Mn. p, t, ç), the latter was doubled, as in brâtt R.G. 1117, Mn. W. bratt D.D., or brat (= brât) 'rag, apron'. In the case of Mn. single -t, both the long vowel and the voiced consonant are attested in the spelling of foreigners; thus the place-name which is now Bôd Feirig, which in Mn. W. spelling would be *Bot veuruc, appears in Norman spelling in the Extent of Anglesey, dated 1294, as Bode-veurük (Seebohm, Trib. Sys. 1 App. 6), where bode doubtless means bôd, the Mn. W. sound. Again in the Extent of Denbigh, dated 1335, the Mn. W. Rhôs 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 Mn. spelling; and we are told in R.G. 1120 that the vowel is long when followed by another, as the i in Gwenlliant, Mn. W. Gwen-lli-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, troi-ŭ must have had a long ō, so that, when first contracted, it was still long; it remains long in Montgomeryshire; thus the short o in troi is probably late. Similarly short ēi for e-i, āu for a-u, ōu 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 ā gives aw §71, long ā lengthened from ā remains ā. It also took place after the reduction of pp, it, ce into ñ, th, ch, for the latter are treated as single consonants for this purpose; thus Lat. success became sāxos with single ñ, which gives sâch (≡ sâch) in Welsh. Long vowels remained long, as in pâr from Lat. pârus. On the other hand, a vowel originally long was shortened before two consonants; thus the ō of Lat. forma became ō, which was shortened in the Welsh ffâr. 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. lītan 'wide' (; Gaul. lītanos in Koơko-λεπανος, Smertu-litanus, etc., Ir. lethan) was probably sounded *līy-dān, while quintlann was doubtless *gwīnl(l)ānn. In Ml. W. when the ultima became unaccented this distinction was lost, the a of Uydān being shortened, § 49, and the un of gwīnlann being simplified, § 27 ii. The rule forbidding the rhyming of such a pair was handed down from the older period, and is given in n.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": kallonmeu (l = l-l) 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 -ann, several forms in -an occur, as imuan 1 (: gwanaf 'I wound'), durogyn 7 (: canaf 'I sing'), which shows that
the distinction was beginning to disappear. The Late Ml. poets frankly
give it up; e.g. Ca. bychan / glan / kyvan(n) / diñlan(n) / darogan/ . . .
kalan(n) / kuñ / Ieuan(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
bicchan ox. ‘little’ (cf. vychanet w.m. 44, B.M. 31), atar ox. ‘birds’
(cf. adären B.B. 107), scribenn M.C. ‘writing’ (cf. yscrivennu M.A. 2),
corsenn ox., quinlann juv., etc. The dimin. endings -yn, -en appear
as -ñnn, -ñnn; the pl. ending -ion is always -ion.

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

v. The diversity in the present quantity of vowels before ū and ə,
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.

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### THE ARYAN VOWELS IN KELTIC

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Short vowels</th>
<th>Long vowels</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ë</td>
<td>ë</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Short diphthongs</th>
<th>Long diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oi</td>
<td>au</td>
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<td>au</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>au</td>
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<tr>
<td>eu</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>eu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Short vocalic</th>
<th>Long vocalic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ë</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ë</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

§ 58. i. The Aryan short vowels remained unchanged in
Primitive Keltic, except ã, 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. α). Lat. dacruma (lacruma), Gk. δάκρυν,  
Goth. lagr : W. pl. dagrau ‘tears’ < Pr. Kelt. *dakruna.—Ar.  
*agō > Lat. agō, Gk. ἀγω : Ir. again ‘I drive’, W. af for a-af  
for *agaf ‘I go’ < Pr. Kelt. *ag.—Lat. sãl, sális, Gk. ἁλς,  
Goth. salt : Ir. salan, W. halen ‘salt’ < Pr. Kelt. *sal-.

iii. Ar. e (Lat. e, Gk. ε). Ar. *bher- > Lat. ferō, Gk. φέρω,  
O. E. beran ‘to bear’ : Ir. berimm ‘I bear’, W. ad-fereaf ‘I re-
§ 59. ARYAN VOWELS IN KELTIC 75


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


iv. Ar. i (Lat. i, Gk. i). Ar. *qhrīt- (√ qhrējā- ‘buy’) > Skr. krīdā ‘bought’ : Ir. crīthid ‘inclined to buy’, W. prīd
PHONOLOGY

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

§ 62. **ARYAN VOWELS IN KELTIC**

Ir. *cru* comes from *qri* before *i, e* or *u*, as shown by *crumther* 'priest' which appears in ogam as *qurimitir* < Early W. primter, Thurneysen Gr. 135; therefore this proves nothing as to Kelt. *g*. But Kelt. *gch* gave Brit. *gch* > W. *rych* as in *drych* above, *rych* < *ygh*—

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

(2) Before vowels and *i* and *u*, Ar. preserved an older form of these sounds, which we may write *e, e, r*, where *e* represents an indistinct or murmured vowel. These give Kelt. *ar, a1*, see § 63 iii.


(2) Before vowels and *i* and *u*, the forms were *ē, e, n*, see § 61 i (2); these gave *am, an* in Kelt., and appear so in Ir. and W.; thus W. *adanedd* 'wings' < *pē* *ē-wīs*; O. W. *ham*, W. *-(h)af* spv. suffix < *-iē-mos*. But when *en* followed the accent it seems to have become *ann* in Kelt. (through *un*?)—thus Ir. *annann* 'names' < *ān*m*nu* < *ānomnu* § 121 iv, § 63 v (2)—Ir. *Érenn* 'of Ireland' < *ēriann* < *iēriienu-os* beside W. *Iverdon* 'Ireland' < *iārion*—; Brit. *Britann-* < *pēltiēn-*— § 3 iii; with the same suffix W. *pell-enn-ig* 'stranger';—W. *griddfan* 'groan' pl. *griddfanau* § 203 ii (4);—W. *Gofannon*, Gaul. *Gobanninos*, 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. -oed, the second i becoming ð. Similarly ou after the accent gives W. -ei, prob. from 'ou-§ 76 iii (2).

ii. Ar. ã, ã were doubtless mä, ná in Pr. Kelt. Thus Ar. *sã- (R² of √ senê-, see § 63 vii (2)), > Ir. snû-that, W. no-dwydd 'needle'—Ir. gnith, W. gnawd 'known, accustomed' might be from *gã- like Lat. gnâ-rus, but is more probably from *gû- like Lat. nôtus, √ genê-. The Gaul.-gnatus 'born' is assumed to have û, in which case it may be from *gû-; but it may have ù from ù, like W. ynad 'judge', Early Ml. W. pl. hyûned b.b. 10, 84 <*hyn-gnât <*sêno-gnât- 'elder' <*gû Böl-< <*sêno- '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 F⁰. In either case the vowel might be lengthened, becoming e or ð; the lengthened grades may be denoted by L and L⁰. The vowel might become more or less indistinct; in this case we write it below the line thus e; 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>F⁰</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>L⁰</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zd</td>
<td>sãd</td>
<td>sed</td>
<td>sod</td>
<td>sãd</td>
<td>sãd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 63 VOWEL GRADATION 79

\[ \text{'ed- 'eat':--V 'd-: W. dant, Lat. dent-, etc. < 'd-nt- (partici-

\[ \text{pial stem) 'eater'.--F 'ed-': W. ġs 'eats' < *ēstī < 'ed-tī, Lat.

\[ \text{edo, est'.--L 'čd-: Lat. in-čdia, Skr. ādyaḥ 'eatable'.

\[ \text{< \text{vowel'} < \text{'run':--F 'ret-: W. rhedač 'I run', gwa-redač 'I succour,

\[ \text{Gaul. Vo-reto-.--Fо 'ret-: Ir. roth, W. rhod 'wheel', Lat. rota.--L 'rōt-

\[ \text{t: W. rhačd 'troop', Ml. W. gwaračt 'he succoured' < *yo-rāt-

\[ \text{t < *upo-(r)ōte.

In Kelt. e becomes a before explosives, as well as before l, r, m, n, see iii below. Thus W. adur 'birds' < *pēt-r-; adanedd 'wings'

\[ \text{< *pēt-; beside edn 'bird' < *petn-, \text{vowel'} 'fly'. In Italian also we seem to have a for it, as in Lat. quattuor < *quētrōres; in Gk.

\[ \text{i in πtóropes; Hirt, Abr. 15, Meillet, Intr.² 73.

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

\[ \text{V R F Fо L Lо}

\[ \text{r / r er or \text{vowel'} or}

\[ \text{Examples: suffix *-ter-:--V *-tr-: W. modryb 'aunt' < mā-tr-ŋŋ-ŋ, Lat.

\[ \text{gen. mā-tr-is.--R *-tr-: Skr. mā-tr-kā 'grandmother'.--F *-ter-

\[ \text{: W. bro-der 'brothers', Gk. acc. πt-ęp-a.-Fо *-tor-: W. bro-đor-ion

\[ \text{'brothers, clansmen', Gk. acc. φpá-tor-a.--L *-tēr-: Gk. πatìp.--Lо

\[ \text{*-tēr-: Gk. φpá-tor.}

\[ \text{\text{vowel'} 'bear':--R *bhr-: W. cymryd 'to take' < *kom-bhr-t-

\[ \text{< F *bher-: W. cymerač 'I take' < *kom-bher-; Lat. fero, Gk.

\[ \text{φeω, etc.}

\[ \text{\text{vowel'} 'hide':--R *kēl-: W. clyd 'sheltered' < *kēl-t-, Lat. occultus

\[ \text{§ 61 i (r).--F *kēl-: W. celaf 'I conceal'.--L *kēl-: Lat. cēl-o.

Before these sonants e appears as a in Kelt., giving al, ar, am, an.

\[ \text{In other branches thus: Ar. əl, ə give Gk. al, ap, Lat. al, ar, Germ.

\[ \text{ul, ur, Skr. īr ur (for both), Lith. īl ul, īr ur; Ar. ām, ā give Gk.

\[ \text{ap, an, Lat. am, an or em, en (venio § 100 i (4), tenuis below), Germ.

\[ \text{um, un, an, am, Lith. im um, in un.}

The V-grade occurs only before vowels. The form \text{vowel'} \text{vowel'}, etc. of the

\[ \text{R-grade occurs only before consonants; the form \text{vowel'} \text{vowel'}, etc. before

\[ \text{vowels, and before \text{vowel} and \text{vowel}. Where in the derived languages the latter

\[ \text{appears before other consonants, a vowel following it has been elided

\[ \text{during the Ar. period. I use ' to mark this elision.

Examples: V-grade of el in W. glas 'green' see vii (3); of er in

\[ \text{rhamm vii (2); of en in glin vii (4).}

R-grade before consonants, \text{vowel'} \text{vowel'}, see examples in §§ 61, 62.

R-grade before vowels: W. malač 'I grind' < *melač-

\[ \text{'grind';--arač 'speech', Ir. airecht < *reg-t-, \text{vowel'} 'speak':}

\[ \text{O. Bulg. reča 'I speak' (with V-grade of 1st syll.);--archač 'I ask,

\[ \text{Ir. arco < Kelt. *ark- < *pēr-ark-, \text{vowel'} 'speak' (with V-grade of

\[ \text{1st syll.);--carr 'car', carr, Gaul. (-Lat.) carr(-us) < Pr. Kelt.

\[ \text{*kar'sos: Lat. currus < *grs-os;--darn 'fragment' < *d,rn- <

\[ \text{*d,rn-: Skr. dinnāḥ 'split, divided' < *dīn- < *d,rn- < \text{vowel'}
PHONOLOGY

'split' — so sarn 'causeway': Skr. स्तर्नाह 'strewn', √sterō-; —
carn 'hoof', Galat. κάρων 'trumpet': √κεράω(y); —tenew 'thin',
Corn. tanow, Ir. tana: Gk. ταυω-, Lat. tenuis, Skr. tanū-ḥ, all < Ar.
*ṭanw-: —hafal 'like, equal', Ir. samail 'likeness' < *sēm-il- : Lat.
similis; —ganed 'was born' < *γάν-, √gēnē.-

R-grade before ū: W. carwy 'deer' < *κρυ-os : Lat. cervus < *κερν-os ; —marwy 'dead': Lat. mortuus § 204 ii (5); —before i: W. myned § 100 iv.

The forms ḫ, ū, m, ū 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 ū. In fact ū 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 eī, eu) is parallel,
i and ū corresponding to l, r, m, n, and vocalic i, u to vocalic ḫ, ū, m, ū.
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>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>(ū)</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The R-grade forms i, ū occur before consonants only; the forms ei,
eī, which became iī, uū, occur before vowels.

Examples: V-grade: W. breivi 'to boil', Lat. ferveo < *bhervey-,
√bhervey-: —W. duw 'god' < *dwīyp, Lat. deus, both < *deiyo-os,
√deiyo-; vii (4).

√eyd- 'see, know': —R: gwedd 'aspect' < *uid-ā; gwīys
'summons', gwīys 'it is known', both < *uīst- < *uid-t- : Lat.
vid-eo; —F: gwīyd 'presence' < *uid-, arūgydd 'sign' < *pēri-uid-;
Gk. έόπαι; —F°: Gk. οἶδα < *uoid-ā.

√kleu- 'hear': —R: clod 'praise' < *kluo-tō-m § 66 v; Gk.
κέ-κλυ-ΰί-α: —F: clust 'ear' < *kleu-t-st- § 96 ii (3).
√deuk- 'lead': —R: deg-af 'I bring', dwg 'brings' < *duk-;
dwym 'to bring' < *duk-m-; —F: Lat. dūco, O. Lat. douco-o, Goth.
tiun-an < *deuk-; —L°: dūg 'brought' < *(du)-dūk-, § 182 ii (2).

The V-grade disappears between consonants; see √geneu- vii (4)
√geneu- ib.; see vii (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 ī and ū.

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

As shown by Meillet (ib. 140) initial a- may coexist with the F- or
L-grade of the following syll., as in Gk. d(F)ēξω with F *meg- beside
avξω, Lat. augeo with V *ug-; cf. ἀστήρ. This seems to imply that
a- might be a movable preformative, but it does not prove that it was
outside the ablaut system; in fact, the common gradation \( \ddot{a} : \ddot{o} \) necessarily implies the ablaut of \( a, \ddot{e} : \ddot{o} \) does that of \( e, o \); 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. ta’d ‘father’, in W. child-speech it remains as ta’dāa.

In the ordinary language \( a \) stands side by side with \( e/o \), or occurs where we should expect \( e/o \), in the following cases: 1. initially; 2. before *\( q \) or *\( i \); 3. before gutturals. Thus 1. at-, ati-: et-, eti-: pref. and adv. ‘beyond, and, but’ § 222 i (3); O. W. anu, Ir. aïnm ‘name’ < *án(\( i \)my), Armen. anum ‘name’: Gk. óνομα < *ónomy, \( \sqrt{onó-}/anó- \).

2. The ending of the neut. pl. nom.-acc. is \( \ddot{o} \); now the neut. pl. of \( o/e \)-stems is -ā from *-\( a\), where *-\( a \) represents the stem vowel instead of -o- (or -e-); similarly the fem. of \( o/e \)-stems is formed with -ā for *-\( o\)-; but \( i/o \)-stems have beside -ä- < *-\( ia\)- the fem. form -ā- < *-\( ie\) -. Cf. also \( a \) : \( õ \) ix below. In the dat. sg. of cons. stems both -\( ai \) and -\( e \) occur, as Gk. infin. suffixes: -μεναι: Osc. diuvei, paterei,

Solmsen KZ. xlii 161 ff.

In the positions indicated, \( a \) has R- and L-grades. Thus, 1. Initially: F *am- in Gk. ἀμφί, Lat. ambi-: R *am- in Ir. imb, imm, W. am, ym-, Skr. abhi-taḥ (ār < *-\( m \)) ‘on both sides’; F *ar- in W. arth, Gk. ἀρχος: R *r- in Lat. urbus, Skr. ṛkṣaḥ § 98 i (2); F *aṛ- in Lat. aqō, Gk. ἄγω: L *āg- in Lat. ambāgēs.—2. Before \( q \) or \( i \): F *ā (\( < \*\( a\))-: R *\( a \), see vi; F *ai- in Gk. αἰθω, Ir. ael ‘fire’, W. aelwyd: R *i- in Skr. idh-mā-s ‘firewood’. For the fem. of \( i/o \)-stems there is beside -\( ū \)- and -\( ī \)- a form -\( ī \)-; this may be explained thus: RF *iṅa-, *iṅa- give iṅa, iṅ: RR *iṅ>ī, vii (2). Cf. vii (5).


vi. (1) The long vowels \( ē, \ddot{o}, \ddot{ā} \) had R- and V-grades; \( ē \) had also the F\(^{0}\)-grade \( \ddot{a} \). The R-grade of each is \( a \). Before a vowel \( a \) regularly disappears, giving the V-grade, as in Skr. ḍā-ḍ-ati ‘they give’, where -\( ā \)- is the V-grade of √dā-. It also occurs before consonants, as in Skr. da-da-māḥ ‘we give’ beside Gk. δῆ-δο-μεν; but the disappearance of \( a \) between consonants is believed to be due to analogy or elision after the Ar. period. It is however lost in syllables not initial or final in Germ., Balt.-Slav., Armenian, Iranian; Meillet, Dial. 63.

\( a \) appears to come from a guttural spirant resembling ẓ (§ 110 ii (2)), which played the same part as the sonants, so that the ablaut series of \( ē \) is parallel to that of \( e/\ddot{e} \) or \( er \), the F-grade \( ē \) being for *\( e\); thus V (\( a \) non-syllabic, lost); R *\( a \) (syllabic); F \( \ddot{e} \) for *\( e \); F\(^{0}\) \( \ddot{o} \) for *\( o\); corresponding to V \( ī \) (non-syllabic); R \( i \) (syllabic); F \( e/\ddot{e} \); F\(^{0}\) \( o \).

This explains why \( a \) is the R-grade of all the long vowels.
In cases where the F-grade has not survived, or has survived only in Indo-Iranian, where َا, َ, ُ all appear as ا, so that the quality of the vowel is unknown, it is usual to write it ا.

Examples: √dō- 'give':—F: dawn 'gift' < ∗do-n-; Lat. dō-num; Gk. δι-δο-μ -V: rho-δ-ant 'they give' < ∗pro-δ-ντι; Skr. dā-d-ati < ∗dē-d-ṇi. — √dhē- 'put':—F: Gk. τι-θ-μ -V: rho-δ-ant 'they put'. See § 179 ii.

√sthā- 'stand':—R: gwa-sta-d 'level' < ∗upo-sth-a-t-; Lat. stā-tus; W. sa-f 'stand' < ∗sth-a-m- § 203 vii (5); —F: saw-dl 'heel' < ∗sthā-tl-.

√sē- 'saw':—R: had 'seed' < Ar. *sa-t-; Lat. sā-tus.—F: hīl 'progeny', Ir. sēl < ∗sē-l-; Lat. sē-vi, sē-men.

(2) 致力 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 ə or ə, the R-grade often appears as e or o. Elsewhere e beside a is probably explained as due to a variant of the root, with short vowel; thus W. tref, O. W. treb 'homestead' < ∗treb-; Lat. trābs < ∗treb-; Gk. τέμνων, τέραμων both < ∗tereb-. √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 *qetuer- in (4) below.

(2) A large number of roots were disyllabic. A characteristic form of Ar. root had a short vowel in the first syllable and a long in the second. A very common form of reduction was RR, i.e. R-grade of both syllables. When the consonant between the vowels was one of the sonants ɡ, ɣ, RR was ɣɡ, ɣɣ, which gave ɣi, ɣu; these were generally contracted to ɡ, ɣ respectively; we may call this contraction R². On the analogy of these it is assumed that RR ḫa, ḫa, ḫa, ḫa gave respectively R² ḫ, ḫ, ḫ, ḫ, § 61 ii, § 62 ii. The uncontracted RR forms also survived, as in Gk. παδύγη < ∗pá̆d-mā, ∗pelai-, beside W. llaw(f), Ir. lám < Kelt. ∗lā̆mā < ∗pl-mā;—W. taradr 'anger', Ir. tarathar < RR ṭɛr-tr-, beside Gk. τερπέων < FR τερ-τρ-, √terē-bore';—W. rhaeadr 'catarract' < RR ∗rēs-tr-, beside Lat. rivus < R² ∗rīs-, √rēsā- 'flow'. In many cases the ə dropped, see vi (1), as in Lat. palma < ∗p̣al(ə)-mā; we may denote this by R(R). Beside these these also have VR forms ḫ, ḫ, ḫ, ḫ; thus beside W. gwlad 'ruler' < RR ∗ɣw-l-tr-, we have W. gwlad 'country', Ir. fłaith 'lordship', < VR ∗u-l-tr-, √uelt(e) (i.e. Lat. valēre, E. yield);—W. gwlan 'wool' < VR ∗ulon-ā, beside Lat. lāna, Skr. uṁṇa < R² ∗uṇ-ā;— W. rhann 'share', Ir. rann id. < VR ∗pr-ν̣-nā, beside Lat. part- < R(R) ∗p̣ra(ə)-t-, beside Skr. pūr-t-ām 'reward' < R² ∗p̣ṛ-t-, √p̣eṛ-;—W. ystrad 'dale', Gk. στρατός < VR ∗str-ə-t-, beside W. sarn 'causeway' < R(R) ∗sṭar(ə)-m-, beside Skr. strā-ṇāḥ 'strewn', Lat. strā-tus < R² ∗sṭṛ-t-, √steṛ- 'spread out'.—When the long vowel after ɪ, ɻ, m, or ɔ was ə or ə we cannot distinguish in Kelt. between
R² and VF, since in Kelt. ʃ, ɫ, ɬ, all give ɫ; we can only infer the probable original from a comparison of cognates; thus O. E. flor 'floor' < VF *pla-r- suggests that Ir. lær, W. lawr 'floor' contain VF *plā-r-, *pelā-; and Gk. παλάς < RR as above suggests W. llaw < R². But where the vowel was ɛ as in *pelē- 'fill', we know e.g. that W. llawer, Ir. lán 'full' come from R² *plē-n-, since VF *plē-n- as in Lat. plēnus would give W. *līn, which does not exist, and does give Ir. lín-, which is seen in tāncaim 'I fill'.

R(R) is postulated instead of RV because the loss of ə 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 eiz; thus RR iż > R(R) iź(ə) > i. Where ry occurs in W. beside forms implying an original long vowel we may assume that the former comes from a variant with short vowel of the root; thus W. gwyrosg 'boughs, twigs' < *wyrdsq-, RV of *wyrods-. Lat. rādīx < *yrīd-. R² of *yerōd-, O. E. wrōt < *yrōd-, VF of *yerōd-.

(3) A few examples are appended:

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

√gelāk/g- 'milk': RR *gēlak- > Gk. γάλα, γάλακτος; —VR *gēlak- > Lat. lact- (whence W. llaeth); *gēlkt-s > Ir. glass 'milk', W. glasdwr 'milk and water'.

√qeūp- 'blow': VF *quēp- > Lith. kvępti 'blow'; —RR *qonid- > W. caudād 'shower', Ir. cūa, gen. cūad; —VR *quēp- > Lat. vapor, Gk. καπτός.


√bhēuā- 'be': R(R) *bhu- > Lat. fu-terus, Gk. φύ-ος, Kelt. *bu-tā > W. bod 'to be'; —LV *bhōm- > W. bu § 189 iv (3); —VV *bh(y)- > f- in Lat. fio, b- in W. byð § 189 iv (1).

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

√deīué- 'god, day': FV *dei-uo-s > Lat. deius, W. *duwv > duw 'god'; —R² *diu- > Lat. div-us; —RV *diu- > W. dyw 'day'; —RL *diu- > Lat. dies, W. dydd 'day'.

√qonid- 'nit': FR *qonid- > Gk. κονιός gen. κονίδος 'nit'; VR *qoid- > O. E. hniu, E. nit, O. H. G. hniiz 'nit'; *s(q)mid-ā > W. nedd 'nits', Ir. sned 'nit'; —FV *qond- > Lith. kandis 'moth'; *sqɔnd- > W. chwann-en 'flea'.

√genu- 'knee': FR *genu- > Lat. genu; —FR *genu > Gk. γόνον; —with -en, -er- forming names of parts of body: base *genu-en-: VR² *gēnān-, by dissim. > Kelt. *glānā- > Ir. glān, W. glin 'knee'; —base *genu-er-: RVV *g(e)n(y)r- > *ganr- > W. garr 'knee' (afal garr 'knee cap').

√goru-: FR *goru- > Gk. κορῦ-φί; —VF *goru- > W. cūg 'heap, hillock'.

§ 63 VOWEL GRADATION


There's a page from a document that seems to be discussing phonology. It includes various transliterations and comments on language forms and roots. Some key points include:

1. The term "boil" is noted as having a pronunciation involving "bheru−".
2. "Late" is discussed, with forms like "sei−, eia−, eiai−".
3. "Laugh" is analyzed with forms like "seio−, sei−, seison−".
4. "Sleep" is noted with forms "svepr−, svepr−, svepr−".

The text also mentions the use of "long diphthongs" and the reduction of certain vowel sounds. It discusses the distinction between roots and reduced forms, and the implications of these changes on the pronunciation of words.

The text seems to be an excerpt from a larger work on phonology, discussing the evolution of phonemes and the influence of these changes on the structure of words in a particular language. It includes examples and principles to illustrate these points.

The document also includes a note on the use of "ii, iii, iv, v" in the discussion, indicating a classification of phonetic patterns.

Overall, the text provides a detailed analysis of phonetic changes and their implications on the structure of words. The references to "svepr−" and "svepr−" suggest a study of vowel reduction in or around vowel sequences like "ei, ae, ai, etc."
\[\text{§§ 64, 65 VOWEL GRADATION} \]

\[\pi\lambda\tau-\upsilon; - \text{RV } *\mu\rho\varepsilon\theta > \text{Armen. layn 'broad'; (without } l, \text{§ 101 ii (2))}\]

RF \[*\rho\varepsilon\theta > \text{Lat. } \text{patē-re, etc.}\]

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

ix. Some roots have more than one ungraded form; thus radical \[a\] may stand beside radical \[\ddot{a}\], as in \[*arā- or *arō- 'scratch, bite; plough, dig'\]: Lat. \[arā-re\] has F \[*arā- of the first, Gk. ἀπορροβος has R \[*arō- of the second. The F of both, with -d- extension, occurs in Lat. \[rād-o, rūd-o\]. Beside \[a\] we have sometimes to assume \[a\], as in Skr. \[rādāti 'scratches, digs' \(\text{not } 9\) 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-: *teūa-or \[*gheit-: *gheetā- (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 \[āī ūi āu, īu\]
- Short vocalic \[l m n r\]

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. Cynrro \(<*\text{kom-brōgos, but Cymraes 'Welsh-woman'} <*\text{kom-brogīsē}: *brog-, W. bro 'border, region'} < *mrog-, VF of \(\sqrt{\text{marog}}\), whose VF gave Lat. \text{mary-o} ;—W. \text{troed 'foot'} < \text{acc. } *\text{trōget-m, pl. traed < acc. pl. *troget-ass \(<*-\dot{m}: \text{Skr. -āk}, or from gen. pl. *troget-ön \(<*-\ddot{m} \text{ which was generally}}\]
accented in Ar.) as in gwýr traed ‘infantry’; √t/dhregh- : Gk. τρέχω, τρέχως; the √ had also a by Ar. a/e/o altern. § 63 v (2), as in Ir. traig ‘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. achub < *occup- for Lat. occup- § 73 ii (4).

(2) On the other hand a > o in Pr. Kelt. before Ar. gʰh in W. oen, Ir. uan ‘lamb’ < *ognos < *agʰhinos : O. E. ēnan ‘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. Cato-tigirn, also spelt (in Cornwall) Tegerno-mali beside Tegerinomatum Rhys LWPh.² 404, Gaul. Tigernum, Ir. teg ‘house’, tigerne ‘lord’, √(s)hég- § 92 i.—W. hy ‘bold’ < *segos : Gaul. Seg-a-mapos, √segh- : Gk. εἰχω < *seghō, Skr. sāhah ‘might’.—W. gwê-ly ‘bed’ < *y-o-yeg- : Ir. lige < *legiō-√legh- : Where e appears it is due to a-affectation; as in bre ‘hill’ < *brīgā § 103 ii (1); thus lle ‘place’ < acc. *līgan < *leg-m, √legh- ; gre ‘herd’ < *greg-m = Lat. gregem ; godre ‘bottom (edge of garment), foot (of hill)’ < *yo-treg-m, √tregh- , see (1), pl. godryon, godreon, both in R.M. 151.

But before a consonant eg remained: W. gwâir m. ‘hay’ < *ęegr- : Ir. fér ; W. tâl ‘manure’ < *tegl- § 104 ii (1) ; W. awwain ‘to lead’ < *ari-ęeg-n- √ęegh- : Lat. veho ; olfein, etc. § 203 iv (1) ; W. tw ‘thick’ § 76 viii.

iii. (1) The mid vowels e and o were pronounced close in Brit. before nasal + explosive and became i and ē respectively. Examples: e before nas.+exp. > W. y; thus W. hynt ‘way’ Ir. sēt < *sent- ; O. H. G. sīnd ‘way’ < *sent- .—O. W. pimp, Ml. W. pymp ‘five’, Gaul. πεμπε- < Pr. Kelt. *gorp-e < Ar. *pemp-e —W. cy-chwynnu ll. a. 133 ‘to rise’, later ‘to start’, Ir. seindim < Ar. *sgend- § 96 iii (2).—The y becomes e by a-affectation, as Gwent < Venta ; cf. E. Winchester ‘Venta Belgarum’. In Lat. loanwords we have y, as tymp < tempus ; tymor < tempora ; cymyn(af) < commend-o ; egeyn(af) < ascend-o, etc.; but most nouns have -en, Mn. W.-en, as elfen < elementum ; ffurfafen < firmamentum ; ysgrifen < scribenda, all fem., having been treated like native nouns in -enn § 143 i ; myrvent fem. ‘graveyard’ alone has -ent < pl. monumenta. (Colan is from Vulg. Lat. Kalant-, which occurs.)

o before nas.+exp. > W. w; thus trwnc < *tronq- § 99 v (3) ;

twng ‘swears’ : Ir. tongim ‘I swear’ ; -hwn t ‘yonder’ : Lpret. hōnt § 220 ii (5).—The change took place in Lat. loanwords, as pwnn ‘burden’ < pondus ; ysamburg < spongus ; except in fem. forms, as llony ‘ship’ < longa (nāvis). W. pont ‘bridge’ < Brit. acc. *pontan (< -m) put for Lat. pontem, became fem. The 3rd pl. subjunct. -on t instead of *-wnt is prob. due to the analogy of the other persons, which have -or.

(2) The same change took place before a liquid and explosive, though here with less regularity.
 § 65

KELTIC VOWELS IN WELSH

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e + liq. + exp. > W. y; thus Ml. W. kymyrth < *kombert-et, with
a-affection kymrth § 181 vii (r); — gwyllt 'wild' < Brit. *gweltis: Ir.
geill § 92 iv.—But usually it remains as e; thus for mythr b.B. 68, the
ordinary form is nerth m. 'strength'; so perthyn < Lat. pertin- owing
to preference for the sequence e.. y.— merch 'maid', perth 'bush' are
fem.; and melli pl. 'lightning', gwellt pl. 'grass' may be neut. pl. in
*ā or fem. pl. in *ās.

o + liq. + exp. > W. w; thus W. iwrch 'roe buck', Bret. iourech';
O. Corn. gorch: Gk. ὁρχή—W. twrch 'boar', Bret. tourec'h: O. Corn.
torch, Ir. torc;—W. swlil 'money, shilling' < Lat. soldus.—torch
'torque' is fem.; Ir. torc. But other exceptions occur as corff 'body'
< Lat. corpus; porth m. 'gate' f. 'harbour' has exchanged genders and
keeps o in both. Formations like gor-ffen etc. are also exceptions.

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

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

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

(5) e before ss > y; as in ys (ys, ŷs § 82 ii (1)) < *estī 'is';—ŷs
'ears' < *ēsī < *ed-tī: Lat. est. Also before Lat. st as in tyst
'witness' < testisis. But either affection or the sequence e.. y (or e.. u)
causes it to be e, as in fenestr 'window', testun 'text' < testimonīum.

iv. (1) In the present penult y appears for e and o before a nasal
whether followed by another consonant or not; as in cyégwennu,
tymlor iii (1); ffynhanawm, now ffynnon < Lat. fortāna; tyner < Lat.
tenerum; myfgr < Lat. memoria; myned 'to go': Bret. monet;
mywyn beside monvent < Lat. monumenta. But many exceptions
occur, as cenedd 'nation', Connwy; and derivatives like gwenu 'to
smile' (: gwēn 'smile'), tounau 'waves' (: tonn 'wave') do not show
the change (exc. hynaf 'oldest' assim. to the cpv. hūn, § 148 i (11)).

(2) o > y in the prefixes *ko-, *kom-, *kon-, *tor-, *do-, *ro-; as
W. cywir 'correct' < Kelt. *ko-yāros; rhy-faor 'very great' <
*p mono-marios; see § 16 iii; except when the vowel of the root is lost,
as in W. cosp 'punishment', Ir. coscé < *kon-sq- § 96 iii (5); W.
rhodd 'gift' < *(p)rOd- § 63 vi (1).—When separately accented
rhy has acquired a new strong form rhŷ, as rhŷ ddā 'too good';
similarly *dy, *by, written di in O.W. ( < *do to'), as a preposition
became *by > Ml. W. y > Mnl. W. i ' to' § 16 ii (3). So cyn before
the equative, now sounded cvn, and dialectally kīn.
v. (1) o and a interchange after y § 34 iv. So we have *guw- beside go- for guro- < *guw-: Gaul. vo- < Ar. *upo; thus guwa-red-ver ‘saviour’ < *uvo-reto-vir-: Gaul. Voretovir--; W. gwas ‘servant’; Ir. fos < *upo-st- § 96 ii (2). The 15th cent. pedwar § 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 ù (cons. or voc.), as breun for *breun § 76 iv (2); báan for *biôn § 76 ix (2); (Anglesey dial. neuð for neuð).

(2) After m- there is an older change of a to o, as in W. mór ‘sea’, Gaul. Aremoric, Ir. muir: Lat. mare;—W. myned < *monet-, Bret. monet < *manet- § 100 iv;—W. morwyn < *marin- § 125 v (1).


vi. (1) After i post-tonic a became e; thus wyneb ‘face’ < *eni-eq-, §100 v, < *eni-eq- < *eni-èq-, < éqi=SkR. anikam ‘face’ < *eni-èqom. But when pre-tonic the a remained, as in wynab-, in composition, from *eni-eq-; gwiað < *iäd- § 180 iv (1).

(2) Pre-tonic ∊o prob. became ia; thus we have aea < -*iia-’, but no *aeo < -*iio-’, so that the latter perhaps became -*iia-’ § 75 vi (2). So the rel. a < *ia < Ar. ãos, § 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 Πρετ(τ)αυικη (νυσος) : W. (γνυς) Prydain, but i by the Romans as in Britannia (Gk. i was close, Lat. i open). Brit. i gave W. y, which is y in the ult. and accented monosyllables, y in non-ultimate syllables and proclitics. Brit. u remains, now written w, in the ultima and monosyllables, and becomes y (≡ y) in all other syllables. See § 40 iii. Examples: W. drych ‘appearance’, edrychaf ‘I look’ < Pr. Kelt. *di:k-, § 61 i;—W. cyn ‘dogs’, cynos ‘little dogs’ < Pr. Kelt. *kun-;—W. cybydd ‘miser’ < Lat. cupidus;— W. terfyn ‘end’ < Lat. terminus.

y and y may interchange with e, and y with a, § 16 iv.

u before a labial may develop irregularly, § 73 ii.

ii. (1) y in the penult, whether from i or u becomes w in Mn. W. before w in the ult., as in cymen ‘cloud’ for cymwcl < *cumbul-< Lat. cumulus; swymbul < *stymbul- < Lat. stimulus; cymwcl ‘comet’ < Ml. W. kymwcl; dychwun < dythun < dydd hwen § 164 iii. When a syllable is added, both w’s become y, as cymyldw ‘clouds’.
§ 67. A short vowel (but no long vowel) was liable to be affected by a sound in a succeeding syllable. Affection is of two kinds in Welsh: 1. ultimate, when it takes place in the syllable which is now the last, having been brought about by a sound in a lost termination; 2. non-ultimate, when it takes place in the present penult or antepenult, the affecting sound being generally preserved in the ultima. Ultimate affection is caused by a or i sounds; non-ultimate by the latter only.
§ 68. Ultimate a-affection.—i and ū became respectively e and o in the ultima when the lost ending had a; thus gwedd 'aspect' < *yid-ā § 63 iv;—bod 'be' < Kelt.*bu-tā § 189 iv (6);—cived 'rabble' < Lat. civitās;—gramadeg < Lat. grammatica; colofn < Lat. columna.

Hence adjectives having û (< y) or w (< ū) in the ultima change these to e and o in the fem., the affection being due to the lost fem. ending -ā; thus Brit. *kindo, *kindo gave respectively gwynn, gwynn 'white'.

The adj. *briktos had regularly fem. *brigta, which by the rule became *breata; now *ekt > ्iθ and *ekt > eiθ, later aith § 108 iv (1); hence brith 'speckled', f. brath, which is thus seen to be quite regular.

The affection is original only in adjectives of the -o/s-ā declension; but after the loss of the inflexional endings, it spread by analogy to other stems; e.g. crewn 'round' < Brit. *krundis (I. crund) has f. crumn on the analogy of trwm < Brit. *trumbos (I. tromm) f. trom; and gwyrð < Lat. vir'dis has f. gwerð on the analogy of ffyrf, fffer < Lat. firmus, firma. Doubtless deilien wyrrd in M. Ll. i. 155 represents a local survival of the old fem., as in tonn wyrt (-t = -δ) w. 9a 'green wave'.

§ 69. Ultimate i-affection. i. This was caused by i, ī (from ĭ, ē, ō or ū), or by accented ē or ţ. Kelt. post-tonic ə̄ before a vowel became ā and caused this affection § 75 vii (1), so e(p) see ib.; also Lat. ĕ, and sometimes e, before a vowel.

   i. (1) a becomes Ml. W. əi, Mn. W. əi: əi1, ail 'second' < *alōs : Lat. alius;—yspeit, ysbaid 'space' < Lat. spatium;—rhaiš 'spoil' < Lat. rapio;—beirdd 'bards' < *bardi;—meiθ 'sons' < Brit. *mapi1;—ugeist, ugain 'twenty' < *gikantē < Ar. ʕikantī;—lleidr 'thief' < Lat. latrō;—deigr 'tear' < *dakrū § 120 iii (1).

   (2) ak or ag before a consonant, which becomes ae in Ml. and Mn. W. § 104 ii (1), iii (1), § 108 iv (1), is affected to ek or eg which gives Ml. W. ei, Mn. W. ai, see ib. Thus Saxones > Saeson but Saxō > *Sex > Seis, Saís;—*kaktos 'serf' (< *gaptos) caelē, but pl. *akktē > ceith, caith 'serfs';—*dragnos > draen 'thorn' § 104 ii (1), pl. *dragnesa > *dragniā > drein, drain.

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

beside kedeirn do. 49, pl. of cadarn ‘mighty’;—so alarch pl. eleirch, elyrch § 117 i;—tywarchen pl. tyweirch, tywyrch § 126 i (2);—paladr, pl. peledyr w.m. 179, Mn. W. peulgur;—Mn. W. bustych, menych, § 117 i. Also in the proclitic geir > gyr ‘near’ § 214 ii.

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

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

iii. (1) e becomes u: enyl ‘angels’ < Lat. angēli;—cyllyll 'knives’ < Lat. cultelli;—so, cestyll, gwêyll § 117 i;—erlyn ‘against’ < Kelt. *aɾi quennōi § 215 ii (4);—gwyl ‘sees’ § 173 iv (1).

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

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

iv. (1) o becomes ei (Mn. ai) or u: yspeil, ysboil ‘spoil’ < Lat. spolium;—seil, sail ‘foundation’ < Vulg. Lat. solea for Lat. solum, cf. E. soil;—myfyr ‘thought’ < Lat. memoria;—ystyr ‘meaning’ < Lat. historia;—dy’n ‘man’ < *donjös: Ir. duine;—mûr ‘seas’ < *morî § 122 ii (4);—esgyb ‘bishops’ < Lat. episcopi;—Selyf < Salomo;—tair Mn. W. teir for *ty-eir ‘three’ fem. < *tisorés § 75 vi (3);—pair, Mn. peir ‘caldron’: Ir. coire § 89 iii.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 70. Non-ultimate affection. i. a and sometimes o in the syllable which is now the penult became e when the following syllable had i or ï (now i or y), except where the ï was itself affected to e, § 68. Thus cerydd 'reprimand' < *karið(s) besides caredd 'fault', Ir. caire, < *karîth;—Ml. W. gwedy 'after'; O. W. goutig;—Ml. W. peyll 'tent' < *papîlîo < Lat. pâpîlio;—Ebrill < Aprilis;—cegın < coquina; melin < molina; etc. In Ml. W. the affection extends over two syllables, as ederyn 'bird'; Mn. W. aderyn, pl. adar.

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

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

ii. (1) Before ī the same change took place, and a and o appeared as e in O. W.; but the e was further affected by the ī, and became ei in Ml. and Mn. W.; thus Mariānus > O. W. Meriaunn gen. iii. > Ml. W. Meiryawn r.b.b. 81, Mn. W. Meirion;—so O. W. Brichenianc a.c. 895, Mn. W. Brycheiniog;—O. W. mepion gen. xii, Mn. W. weïlion 'sons'. See § 35 ii.

In the dialect of Powys celîgōg 'cock', ceinîgō 'penny' are pronounced celîg, ceinîg. This is perhaps a simplification of ei. § 78 v, rather than old e retained.
(2) Original e also became ei before i; thus Eterniánns > Edeirnann B.B. 74 Edeirnon W.M. 50, R.M. 35, Mn. W. Edeirnon (now wrongly spelt Edeyrnion); -so penceridd 'chief of song' Ml. pl. penkeirddig r.p. 1230, Mn. W. penceirddiaid; -anrheg 'gift' pl. anrheigion r.p. 1221 (generally anrhegion r. B.B. 394, R.M. 257, now anrhegion); un-ben 'mon-arch', unhefynoeth, a.l. i. 34, 382, 'sovereignty' (now unbewnaeth, new formation); gorweidd 'to lie', gorweiddio 'bed-ridden'; gweiniaith § 32 for gwenjaith 'flattery'.

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

iii. The Ml. and Mn. diphthong ae, whether from ak- or ag-before a consonant, or from a-e, becomes ei before i or i, as in Ml. W. keithiinet < Brit.-Lat. *kaktmitis; saer 'craftsman' pl. seiri; gwaeldd 'cry', gweiddi 'to cry'; draen 'thorn', dreiniog 'thorny'. Similarly og..i or ug..i > ei..i; as in gweini 'to serve' < *gyo-gwim; heini 'active' < *su-gwim: gwim-
§ 203 vii (4). Before y it becomes ey, as in keirydd 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 ceidwiad, § 36 v.

v. The affection of a and o by a lost stem-ending -i-, -io-, -ū-, 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') < *matū-tin- (treated as a compound) < Lat. matūtinum; -o > y in ysl-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 < *menyoeth < *meda-njekte. The forms meinyd B.T. 31, meinyd do. 55 'mid-day' are formed on its analogy.

**The Long Vowels.**

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

The Early W. o is attested in Bede's *Dinoot* (≡ Dūnōt), Ml. W. *Dunawt* < Lat. Dūnātus. In all syllables except the ultima it became o, as *broder* 'brothers' < Pr. Kelt. *brāteres*; in this position aw from ā occurs only in late formations like mawrion pl. of *mawr* 'great', and after y § 148 i (6). But in the ultima and in monosyllables o > O.W. aw ≡ Ml. W. aw, as O. W. brawt ox. 'judgement' < Pr. Kelt. *brāton, trintaut juv. sk. < Lat. trinitātem; Ml. W. brawt, trindawt. In Ml. W. aw remains in monosyllables, as brawd, but in the now unaccented ultima it has become o, as in trindod. The following table summarizes the history of Brit. (and Lat.) ā:

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<tr>
<td><em>brāteres</em></td>
<td><em>brāton</em> trinitātem</td>
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<td>ā</td>
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<td>aw</td>
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(2) ā when unacc. was shortened and gives a § 74 i (1); this might happen in monosyllables as a 'of' § 209 vii (5), a 'whether' § 218 iii. When acc. in Brit. and unacc. later, it gives o, as in pob § 168 i (3), mor § 151 i, o 'from', of' § 209 vii (5), o, 'if' § 222 v (1).

ii. (1) Ml. W. aw in the unaccented ultima (whether from ā as above, or from ou § 76 iii) survives in the spoken language in cardlaw 'hand-rail', daillaw 'to brew', distaw 'silent', eirlaw 'sleet', ysgaw (also ysco) 'elder-tree', llwsfrawd 'brother-in-law'; in compounds with numerals, as demawr '18', d wynawr '2 hours', teirawr '3 hours', etc. (except dibylo for dibylaw 'hands'); and in compounds of mawr, as dirfawr 'very great', trystfawr 'noisy' (except in place-names, Trerfor, Coetmor). In a few book-words which have gained currency it is not a genuine survival: as trathawd 'treatise', catrawd 'regiment', bydysawd 'universe', rhaglaw 'deputy'; and the forms llaws 'multitude', cyflaen 'just', Ionawr 'January', ansawdd 'quality', are influenced by the written language, which, however, had also llios, cyfion, Tonor, ansodd I G. 187, formerly; see examples below. Chwefrol has o 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 fydwlion '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).
'Love will not be disavowed, or manifested to many a host.'

Gwahwdd Sasen 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 rhynugu bodd y byd.—T.A. A 14967/29.

'It is difficult to please the world.'

2 aw in the ultimate began to be reduced to o in the Mn. period; thus we find Edeirnon w.m. 59, achos l.l. A. 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 "esgwb" for esgob 'bishop', "dyniawn" for dynion 'men'. This is not due to a confusion of the sounds of o and aw (for the a in aw is a pure a, quite distinct from o), but to the blundering notion that as some o's may be written aw, any o may. The Early Mn. poets generally use aw correctly, guided by a living literary tradition. The distinction is seen in Mn. W. ysgol 'school', iscol b.b. 81 from Lat. sc(h)ola and ysgol w.m. 189 'ladder' < Lat. scâla, both ysgol in Mn. W.

3 In a few cases aw comes from o: praw( f) beside profi < Lat. prob-; mawl beside molaf 'I praise', Ir. molim; tymawr r.p. l.244 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 nawn 'noon' we have aw < Lat. ë. These have been explained as late borrowings; but historically this is improbable. Possibly the pronunciation of hero varied in Lat., since Gk. ò (≡ ë) was popularly sounded ë (γλωσσα > Ital. chipsa); ë would give ë > aw. For nawn see § 76 iii (4).

iii. ëg > O. W. oũ, Ml. W. eu, Mn. W. eu, au; thus breuant 'wind-pipe', O. W. -brouannon < *brügt-: Ir. bræge gl. cervix, O. Bret. brehant;—W. pau 'country', O. Bret. poun, Corn. pow < Lat. pāg-us;—so ëk or ëg before a consonant: W. gwaun, O. W. guoun l.l. 156, 196 'lowland', Ir. fán < *yâku- < *yo-ak-n-—§ 104 iii (1);—W. ceul 'to congeal' < *câgl- < Lat. co-âgl-o. But before t the ë is shortened § 74 iv.

iv. -än- often gives onn in the present penult: cronni: crawn § 202 v (2);—ffyohonau 'fountains' < fontân;—Meirionyô g.c. l.22, R.B.B. 263, beside Meiryon yô do. 303, 306, < Mariân-.
§ 72. i. Pr. Kelt. i (\textless Ar. ē, ēi, i) remained in Brit., and Brit. and Lat. i remain in W., § 59 iii, iv. Further examples: W. hir 'long', Ir. sir \textless Pr. Kelt. *śiros \textless *śi-ro-s : Lat. sērōs ; 
\textemdash W. gwin \textless Lat. vinum. It is, of course, shortened in W. before two consonants ; as gwin-llan 'vineyard'.

ii. Lat. ĭ is treated as ē or Kelt. ei in W. paradīgys \textless paradīsus \textless Gk. παραδίκως ; and synnūyr \textless sentīre. In rustic Lat. ĭ was often sounded ē, but whether only in words with original ei is not clear, Lindsay, p. 29. In Lat. ign the ĭ was often written long, or was written e; hence it probably differed little from Lat. ē, and so gives W. ēy, as swyn 'charm' \textless 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 Advocvatō-dōvov, 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. *dānʊm > 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. *ku > Ir. cū 'dog', W. cī, § 89 iii. -- But Lat. pūrīs gives pūr, múrīs gives múd, etc.

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

(1) Lat. ū in cūpa gives ī in W. ciēb, Bret. kiēb. This seems to be the only example in W., and may be due to fluctuation between ū and ī before a labial; cf. conversely W. uffern 'hell', Bret. ifern < Vulg. Lat. iferna, Lat. inferna.

(2) Brit. and Lat. ū before ū followed by a vowel gave W. u; as du 'black' for *dīw < *dub- : Ir. dub 'black'; W. cudīygl for *cufīygl < Lat. cūbic'īnum. But before n, r, l, ub gives w regularly, as in dufn, dufr, § 90.

(3) ū before m is regular, as shown by W. twf 'growth', tyfū 'to grow' \textless *tum- § 201 i (8). But Lat. ū in numerus gives ī in nifer. This may be due to a dial. pronunciation of Lat. u as ī; cf. Osc. Numeriēs 'Numerīi', and the Oscanized Lat. Numerīii 'Numerīus'. Lat. itself had ī before m in an unacc. syll., as maximus, maxūnum \equiv maximus. The sound ī would be identified with Brit. ī, and prob. lengthened, giving the same result. W. vufīll 'humble' \textless Lat. humilīs may perhaps be similarly explained, but with u for ī as in uffern.

(4) ū before p is regular, as seen in cybīyīd 'miser' \textless Lat. cupidūs, sybergū 'proud' \textless Lat. superbus. In W. achūb < Lat. occūpo the ū may be due to the lengthening of the ū when it came to be accented, as it did in Brit. § 65 ii (1).

For Lat. ē see § 75 iii (1) ; for Lat. ē see § 76 ii (1).
§ 74. i. (1) In Brit. ā was shortened when unaccented. Thus W. pechadur 'sinner' <*peccātór-< Lat. acc. peccāt-or-em beside pechod 'sin' <peccātum;—W. meitín 'morning' <*meid-ain <*matu-tiu-< Lat. matutinum;—W. agwysaer for *afgwysaer < Lat. ābēcēdārium;—W. Madrun < Lat. mātrōna beside modryb 'aunt' < Kelt. *matraq;—W. ceiliagwydd 'gander', Ml. W. keyljacynyt A.I. i 280 < *kaliako-géidos beside ceiliog 'cock' < *kaliákos;—W. paratoi 'to prepare', § 201 iii (5), beside parod 'ready' < Lat. parātus, etc., etc.

Naw mwy i frag na cheiliagwydd,  
Naw gwell i synnwyr na gwŷdd.—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 Jānuārius 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. -ak-āl- would give -ag-ol. The word lluosog is an old formation, but it is not formed from the original of *lliauws; the latter has ā from ō, 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 ā and ū need not have been accented to cause affecetion 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 shorteneed before groups of sonant + explosive, as in gwyt 'wind' <*uentos <*uentos; so Lat. ventus. W. dyall <*diyalt< *diyalt-  § 75 vi (4). Also before two explosives; *-o-akt- *-ak- > *-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.

*kaito- : Goth. haipti, O. H. G. heida, E. heath, Lat. bu-cetum (§ for ae 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 (r); 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. ái > W. wv, as in mwy ‘greater’ < *má-jós or *máision : Ir. mao for *man < *májós. When unaccented it was shortened and so gives oe, as prob. in Ml. W. moe i.l.a. 142 ‘more’.

A new ái was produced before a vowel in Brit. when ás was followed by i or e; thus *karás-it>*karáijt>karwy § 183 ii (1).

A new ái might be produced before a cons. by metath. of i § 100 v; thus Lat. occásio > W. achos, but Brit. pl. *accáisiones > *accáises > Ml. W. achwysson.

(4) W. oe > ae after w or m, etc.; oe > wae after g § 78 ii (2).

ii. (r) Ar. oi remained in Pr. Kelt., and appears in Ir. as ói, óe. In W. it became u before a consonant. Thus Ar. *oinos ‘one’ > Gk. oivos, oíví ‘ace’, O. Lat. oinos, Lat. unus : Ir. oen, W. un ‘one’.—W. ud in anudon ‘perjury’, Ir. oeth ‘oath’: Goth. aip-s ‘oath’.—W. grug ‘heather’, for *gruwig (Pemb. dial. grwíg), Ir. froech < *aroiko-s : Gk. ἐρείκη < *ereikâ.

Before or after y in Brit., oi became ai which gives W. oe (oy); as in gloyw ‘shiny, glossy’ < *gloi-yo-s : Gk. γλούσ < γλαύφos, § 92 i;— ky(h)oeët ‘public’ < *ky-woët < *ko-woïd- : W. göyd ‘presence’ < *yoid-, √yoid- ‘see’; here -w- dropped; where it remained, woe again gave wae § 78 ii (2); thus gwoethaf for *gwoethaf < *waidisamos < *woïdisamos < *yo-ed-isamos < *upo-ped-isamo-s § 148 i (5).

(2) Before a back vowel oi gave W. wv; as *-oian>*-wy-n >-wn § 180 iii (1); cf. § 76 v (4). But before i or e the i
dropped § 100 vi, and o before the vowel developed like u before a vowel, that is, as oy; thus *dó esō > *doğū > *dōi > *doğ > *deu § 76 vi (1), whence deuaf § 193 x (5); and *do est > *dojet > *doet > *dojet > daw, or without diphthongization *do-et > do, see ib.; so *moi estō > *mo esti > *mo ys > moes § 200 ii. Followed by { after the accent it gives -i, as in -ői f. sing. ‘to her’< *'-doî < *'-do-ōi § 210 x (1).

(3) Ar. ői gave Kelt. āi and developed accordingly.

iii. (1) Ar. ei remained in Pr. Kelt. In Gaul, it is written e or ei, as Devo-gnata, Dēiovora. In Ir. it appears as ē or ia. In W. before a consonant it became wy. Thus W. goyō ‘presence’ for *guygōy < Ar. *yeid- § 63 i.v.;—mor-dwy ‘sea voyage’< *mor-tyeg- § 103 ii (1), etc.

In Brit. and Gaul, it was probably sounded as ei. Latin ē which was sounded i, was identified with this sound in Brit., and shared its development in W., thus rāte > rhwyd, rēmus > rhwyd, plēbem > plwyf, cēra > cēyr, etc. Lat. oe which seems to have varied from o to e appears in W. as i, oe or wy, as ciniaw ‘dinner’, poen ‘pain’, cwny ‘supper’.

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

(3) Ar. ēi before a vowel > Kelt. ī > W. i. Thus W. diad, Ml. diaut ‘drink’< *dhēi-āti-s, √dhēi- ‘suck’.—W. lliaus ‘multitude’, Bret. lies< Brit. *liásās < *liāstāls < *(p)liōs-tāls, a noun in *-tāl- from the cpv. *plē-īōs : Lat. insc. pleores, Gk. πλεοπ. Before Kelt. o it becomes u, as in lluosog, Ml. lluosau< Brit. *lluossa<os< an extension of *(p)liōs- to an adj. formed from *plē-īōs like Lat. honestus from honōs; see § 76 ix (2), § 74 i (2), § 169 iii (3). Before a consonant ēi > ē giving Kelt. ī, W. i.

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

(1) Accented ī (or āi or ēi), which is generally in the penult, but may be ante-penultimate, gives W. -ęδ; thus W. rhyō ‘free’< *priōs : Goth. freis, Eng. free;—trefyō ‘towns’< *treb|ious ;—trydō ‘third’ m. < *tritīos; with -a in the ult. it gives -oδ, as trėdeδ ‘third’ f. < *triti̯ā. In the ante-penult -ęδ-, as W. gwlydd ‘thorn’; Ir. sce, gen. pl. sciad.

(2) Post-tonic ‐ię gave *aįį, which became oeδ, § 62 i (2);
thus morocē 'seas' < *mōriān : Lat. maria ;—ML. W. gyladocē 'countries' < *gylātiês ;—dannocē fem. M.M. 8 'toothache' < *dāntiā :—oēb 'would be, was' < *sījēt, § 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) iēi > W. -i, as in tri 'three' m. < *trījēs (accented like the f.) < Ar. *trējēs (f. *tisrēs) see § 103 i (3) ;—W. treth 'towns' < *trebīēs.

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

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

(4) iēa > O. W. -ai, Ml. and Mn. W. -ae, -e, also Ml. W. ōŷ ; as in O. W. guarai, later gwarae, gwre, chwarae, chware 'to play', Bret. c'hōari, Corn. hewr < Brit. *(s)uariā < *seirē, *yirēi § 63 vii (3); a variant is guarray B.B. 50 = gwaraŷ.

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 (< o or e) ; the combination -iā- gave W. -aæa- (also written aya), O. Bret. -oia-, Bret. -oua-, -oa-. Thus W. claear 'lukewarm', Bret. klourar : Gk. χλαρός (Ar. alternation k/gh) ;—W. gaeaf, gaeaf, Bret. goañv 'winter' < *ghiiomō-s : Skr. himāḥ, Lith. žėn, Gk. χεμού, χėiμa, Lat. hiems : Gaul. Giām.., Ir. gem-reid (e for ia) ;—W. traean 'third part' : Ir. trian ;—W. rhæadr 'catacact' < *riō-krō- : Ir. rithor : Lat. rīvus, √reikā- 'flow' ;—W. daear 'earth', Bret. dōnar < *ghōiēsā § 98 iii.-isā- or -esa- gives the same result: Pr. Kelt. *isernos- (*is R-grade of *ais : Lat. aes) : Gaul. Ysarno- Iserno- : W. haearn, hayaern 'iron', O. W. Gur-haier ŭn GEN. xxiii, O. Bret. hoiarn.

Before the loss of the accented ending the accent must have shifted to the present penult, which had the next highest stress. In Gwent and part of Dyfed the unaccented a was generally lost; thus daer 'earth' now dår § 29 ii (dår a yen Wms. 785). The O. W. dair, dayr L.L. 120, gaem R.S.C.H. 3 represent this dialect. The reduction is general in claer 'bright' beside claear 'lukewarm', with differentiation of meaning. From daer comes daerawl 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 mwyair : miaren—*gwbyair : gwïalen, a new pl. gwial 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. guiannuin ox. ‘Spring’, Early Ml. W. guiainn(u)i(n), guawanuhin A.L. i 142, also gwahanwyn do. 308, Ml. and Mn. W. gwanwyyn, gwanyyn < Brit. *yæsant-: Skr. vasanta-h ‘Spring’, Lat. vēr < *yēsr.

(3) When the following a or o was affected, the diphthong became y or e, liable to be assimilated and lost; thus tyeidyr, heydyr ‘cataracts’, heyryn ‘iron’ § 69 ii (3), Gwyn. dial. hýrn for hyyryn;—W. tair ‘three’ f, Ml. and O. W. teir for *tyeir (cf. breint, Seint § 108 ii (1)), Ir. teoir < *tisores: Skr. lîraññ; so W. pedair ‘four’ f, Ir. cethoer < *gesiores: Skr. cátasraññ.

Such forms as heyryn, rheisidr are quite late and artificial. But some old re-formations occur when the diphthong stood in the present ante-penult, as deyryn (-yn ë-in) B.A. 12 ‘earthen’, heyrein ib. ‘of iron’, daeoorin B.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’ < *esak- : Ir. éo, gen. iach—W. deall, dyall, dalll § 82 ii (3) ‘understanding’, dealll-wriaeth id., N.W. dial. dallt < *diyalt- < *diyalt- § 74 iv, met. for *diyâ-ilo-, √ dheiâ- ‘appear, perceive’: Skr. dhya-yati ‘thinks’, dhïraññ ‘intelligent’; Ml. W. dyat ‘thought’ < *diyâ-l- with
analog. accentuation for original *dhi-st-; — Ml. W. gorffyws, later, with y lost, gorffyws ‘rest’ < *yar-q*îsti-st-, √q*îst- : Lat. quiesco.

(5) Latin pretonic i or e before a vowel is treated as i̯, thus diá-b(o)lus gives diávul § 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 δ.

(1) In the penult after the accent -es->-i-; thus Ml. W. tei ‘houses’ < *tigia < *tigesa § 104 ii 2; — W. clwyn ‘hearing’ < *kloyı- § 76 v (2) < *kléosis-, nom. *kléos : Ir. cluí, Gk. κλέος < *kléosis, neut. s-stem.— So -ep-: W. ceifn ‘distant cousin’ < *kém-njós < *kóμ-nepót-s, see § 123 v.

(2) In the penult and ante-penult, when és came before e-, contraction took place, and ése > ei > W. wy; thus W. wy-l ‘art’ < *ése tā < Ār. *esi ‘art’; — W. neitthwy > *nokti dijéser-§ 98 i (3).— So épe: W. twynn < *tepes(e)n- § 86 i (3).

In the penult -és- before -ī- gave oe; thus W. chwaer for *chwyer i (4), Corn. hoer < *suéir < *suésor; — W. doe ‘yesterday’ < *dési < *ghdísei : Lat. heri, Gk. χθές, Skr. hyāḥ.— Corn. noi ‘nephew’ < *népōts,— -es- before i prob. gave ei (like -ii- before -i-, see v), and Ml. W. nei, Mn. W. nai ‘nephew’ may represent *népōts (accented like the f. *néptis : Skr. náptih).— -es- before -i̯- gave y, as in Ml. W. y ‘his’ < *esió, y ‘her’ (for e?) < *esías, § 160 iv.

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


So is before lost u or o gives iw, and ais gives oew: W. gwîw ‘good’ < *uisus < *uisu-s : Gaul. Visu-ria : Skr. vásu-ḥ, Gk. εὖ, √eyesey-; — W. gwaew ‘spear’ for *goew § 78 ii (2) < *gaison: Gaul. gaison whence Lat. gaesium : Ir. gae.

Lat. e in the penult gives ew before lost o or u: W. llew
§ 76. KELTIC VOWELS IN WELSH

'lion' < leo; pydew 'pit' < puteus; olew 'oil' < olenum. But Lat. i in the same position gave į which affected the vowel: W. yspeīl < spolium; so sometimes e: W. cyn 'chisel' < Lat. cuneus.

viii. (1) In final syllables, lost in W., Ar. ai, oi, ei became į 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. *-ēi), became -i (though -oi also survives in a North Italian Kelt. insc.: Tanotaliknoi, Rhys, CIFI. 60); thus Brit. *bardos pl. *bardī > W. bardd, pl. beirdd.

-āi unaccented > ai > į, thus Gaul. Bηλησαμι dat. of a name whose nom. occurs as Belisama; įi > įi, in Pr. Kelt. later į, § 60, cf. Ir. dat. fiur 'to a man' < dat. *γιύνει; -ei doubtless gave -i.

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

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

-ei > wy; W. wy 'they' < *ei : Ir. ē.

-oi > wy; W. pwy 'who?' < *qyo-i = Lat. qui § 163 vi; when unaccented it became eu (O. W. ou, oi) § 78 iii, thus Ar. *moi, *toi > 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 lento- beside τουτιον and Neviad... 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 (≡ įi) in W., ūa in Ir. Thus W. tud 'people, country', Ir. tuath < *teulā, Gaul. teuto- : Goth. piudō, etc.;—W. rhudd 'red', Ir. rūad < *roudh-os, Gaul. Roud-ius : Goth. raups;—W. cuuld 'hidden', cuddio 'to hide' < *goudh- : Gk. κεύδω, O.E. hīde, E. hide;—W. bugail 'shepherd' < *bou-koliōs < *gō-ou-goliōs : Gk. βουκόλαος.

In Brit. it was probably sounded φυ̂ ; and Lat ķ (≡ ĵ) and ū shared its development; thus W. jffurf < Lat. fūrma; mur < Lat. mūrus, etc.

(2) But original eus gives W. ew, as rhew 'ice' < *preus-:
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 u or u; thus Ar. *tauros ‘bull’ became Kelt. *tauirus (in imitation of *yerydu > Ml. Ir. ferd ‘cow’, Vendryes MSL. xii. 46), whence Kelt. *taruus > Ir. tarb, W. tarw ‘bull’. Later, when au had become ou in Brit., *ou-tu- > *a-tu- > W. odid ‘rarity’, beside Ir. othad, uathad < *au-ta-, both from *pau-: Lat. pau-o-8, O. H. G. foh, E. fow.

iii. (1) Before a vowel the diphthong became aw when unaffected. Thus W. naw ‘nine’ < Brit. *nuouan < Ar. *nuuy; — W. baw ‘dirt’ < *bou-, beside budj ‘dirty’ < *bou-tro-

The above change may be due to a doubling of y, see § 62 i (2), thus *auy > *iiy > *iu > *u > O. W. oii, Ml. W. eii.

(3) iou- gives W. iu (≡ ieu). Thus W. ienanc ‘young’ < Brit. *iouankos < Ar. iuūkūs: Lat. iuvencus § 100 i (1); — W. Ienaw < *iouānnes for Iōānnēs; — Mn. W. Iau, Ml. W. Ieu ‘Jove’ < Brit. gen. *iou-os for Lat. Jovis; — Mn. W. iau, Ml. W. iau ‘yoke’ < *iou-ōn < *jou-ōn, see vi (1). Here we have the assimilation of y to i by which it becomes ii; cf. the assim. of i to ii in -io in O. W., § 25 i.

An alternative form is-ef, 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: Parw yn eu rhif yn ifanc S.C., c. i 114 ‘all in their [full] number young’.
Ifanc, ifanc a ofyn:
Henaint, at henaint y tynt.—S.Ph. br. iv 391.

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

Paham, a minneu’n ieuanc,
Yr wyf yn rhwym ar fy nhanc?—B.A. n. 133/77.

‘Why, when I am young, am I bound at death’s door? ’ The dialects now have if-, as Ifan, ifanc, but *ienctid* for *ieuencid* ‘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. *kojarbs : Gaul. Kavapos, Ir. caur (< W.? ) √ kējā-. We also have *aw* regularly for Lat. au, as in awilur < Lat. au(e)trem; lla沃 ‘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. *au* gave u in W., as in bu ‘has been’ < *(be)bāye < Ar. *bebhāye § 189 iv (3); curu ‘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 *e* remaining as *y* or *i*, it appears as *ew*, as in newydd ‘new’, Bret. nevez < *noviyōs < *neuβios ;—W. cnewyll ‘kernels’ < *kneu- : E. new < *knu-d- ;—W. ewyth ‘uncle’ < *ayon-tēr : Lat. avun-culvs < *aion- (nom. *ayō see v (5)); Bret. eontr (co for eu ; *i* lost), Corn. enitor (-tor = *tor?) ;—W. ewyllys ‘will’ < *oni-, √ *auei-.—Similarly rhewin ‘ruin ’ derived from the Lat. ruina.

(2) Before *i* when pretonic it is *eu* (≡ *ei*), the *i* being lost; thus W. breuan ‘handmill’ for *brenon < *brouiōn- ( : Corn. broi, Bret. breo, Ir. bráu all from nom. *brouiō, Ir. gen. broon) : Goth. quainius, E. quern, √ gkerē-.

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

In late formations i has no effect: gwrandawįd 'hearing' from gwrandaw 'to listen'.

(3) Where it remained a diphthong before a consonant iii (4), its affected form is eu; thus ceuri p 94/179 n. 'giants' now ceiri (in Tre'r Ceiri, etc.) by § 77 ix, pl. of cawr; the usual pl. cevri w.m. 441, 2.l. 44 is a re-formation;—W. bendency < Brit. *bóyi-tigos, a later formation than *boukolios ii (1) (cf. Lat. nāufragus, later nāvi-fragus);—Ml. W. Meuruc § 77 viii < Mauricius;—Ml. W. cyngheussaeth < *con-caus-į-act-: cyngaws 'lawsuit' < Lat. causa.

(4) ūi became įı giving ūy § 75 i (3); as andwyo 'to mar, spoil' met. for *ad-nwy-o < *ati-nāu-į-, niwed 'injury' for *nwyet § 78 iv < nāu-įlat- < *nōy-į: Lith. novyti 'to afflict' < *nουγῖ-.

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. dev, O. W. dou < *dō̯i < Ar. *duyō(y): Gk. δό̯ο, δό̯ο, Lat. duo, Skr. durā(v);—W. tau 'is silent' < *tō̯i̯ < *(a)tup-į̯, beside taw 'be silent!' < *tō̯e̯:—W. cenau 'whelp' < *kanō̯i̯ < *kanō̯ō̯: Ir. cana: from *k(y)en-: Lat. canis.

2. Before accented į; as W. teneu 'thin' (Corn. tanow, Bret. tanao) < *tanouis < *tēnyu̯is: Lat. tennis, Skr. tanūḥ f. tanvī.

3. Before a consonant; as W. hau̯l 'sun' < Brit. *sau̯lī̯os < *sau̯elī̯os: Gk. ἁλίος, ἁλίος, Dor. ἁλίος Lith. sāulē, Skr. sārya-h, Lat. sōl < *sānu̯ol < *sāu̯el. ('-į̯' would have given W. ll; hence we assume Brit. -į̯-; 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 Ml. W. aur, Mn. W. eur represents the adj. *aurī̯os for aureus, which spread from expressions like modrey 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
formation of the 3rd sg. pres. ind. of verbs; thus *tereu ‘strikes’: *taraw = *sai: *sa:§ 173 iv (1). It is seen that when -eu is the result of affection as above, an a before it is affected to e; see iii (2).

(2) -ôuû- gives -yw. Thus W. dilyw ‘flood’ (now generally misspelt diluw) < *dilôyio- < Lat. diluvium; — distrust ‘destruction’ < *dî-strôûû-; Goth. straujan, Lat. destruo; the vb. is distrustwaf iv (2); —W. llyw ‘rudder’, < *lôyio-: Ir. lue < *lu-iyio-: Gk. πλῶς, √pleu-; — W. chyw ‘hearing’ < *kloyû- < kîleye-

§ 75 vii (1).

There is no reason to suppose that wî became iû in Brit., as stated by Pedersen, Gr. i 61; yw is from ôuû as above. Clywaf ‘I hear’ is a denominative from chyw, cf. chywaf c.m. 32 (the pres. stem of √kley meant ‘to be named’, and clywaf cannot come directly from it; cf. Meillet, MSL. xv 337).

(3) -áûû- became -ái- which gives -wîy § 75 i (3); thus W. wy ‘egg’ < Brit. *áuion < Ar. *âuûûom: Gk. ἄιον, φον, Lat. ovum; — Cornwy < Cornâûûi-(a); — Aethwy e.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 ý under certain conditions became in Ir. a spirant written g; thus Ir. ugaire ‘shepherd’ < *ouûû-órius: ói, ui ‘sheep’, Lat. ovis; Mn. Ir. ughachd ‘will’ < *ouûû-akt-, √aûû-, iv (1). — Eng. egg is from Icel. egg < Pr. Germ. *aûja- < *ouûu-.

(4) -ouû or -ouû- was similarly simplified to -ôi-, -oi-’, which gives -wîy; thus W. dwy ‘two’ f. < *doûi < *duûai: Lat. duaen, Skr. dvaç < *duûai; — W. aswy ‘left (hand)’ < *al-soûû-ì: Skr. savyà-h ‘left’.

-wîy as in (3) and (4) may be weakened to -eu; as Corneu, asseu; these are not direct affections, as shown by the unaffected a-; also to w, assw, see § 78 iii, i.

(5) -áûû, -áuû- or -ouû- by the shortening of unace. ã became -aûû, -auû- or -uû- simplified to -a-û, -a-i- or -a-ì-’, which gives -oe. The simplification here was late, so that -aûû did not, like -asì, give -ei. It did not take place in Bret. and Corn., in which the groups appear as -ou (-ow). In W. -oe generally becomes -ô, § 78 i (1). Examples: -ô no in proper names; Iud-noe l.l. 176, 187, Balch-noe D.G. 43; Gueithgno l.l. 144, Guiûno
(wrongly wr. guipno) gen. v, Mn. W. Gwyddno; Machno b.b. 61, Beuno l.l. 119, Mn. W. Tudno, Machno, etc., all <-gnà-yòd-s: Lat. Graecus < *gnà-yòs < *γα-, √γενε, be born. (With the accent on the á it gave -nwy by (3), as Machno b.b. 47, Gronw § 78 i (2), weakened to -néu, see (4), as Guineu b.b. 98, 106, Iudnoun l.l. 73, 77, etc.) — W. clo 'lock' < *glà-yòs : Gk. κληίς, Lat. clavis, √(s)glà-y-. — W. noe 'large bowl' < *nà-yò : Lat. nàvia, nàvis, Gk. νάυς, Ion. νῆς, Skr. nàüh; — W. athro 'guardian, teacher', < *altrà-yò < *altrà-yò < *altro-yòd, § 155 ii (1) : *aúon-iv (1) ; pl. athrawon, alltrawon < *altrà-yònes; f. elltreven 'stepmother' < *altrà-yòvò; Bret. aoultrou 'seigneur', Corn. altrou 'fosterfather'.

The mas. sg. is athis in all Ml. W. texts; b.b. 86; a.l. i 338; w.m. 128, 452–3; r.m. 100–1, 202; l.l. 3, 6, 49, 107, 113; r.p. 1225, 1241, 1255, 1345, 1348; r.b. 975; l.o. G. 640, etc.; and in the early edns. of the Bible. The late athrew (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 edns. of the Bible. The sg. alltraw is also artificial. (So in late W. cenaw is written for cenau in defiance of the pronunciation in all the dialects, which is cen or cenu implying cenau § 6 iii.)

Pughe's fem. elltreven is his own invention; -en would not affect the -awv- to -ewv-.

Other examples of the same development, though the orig. formation is not so clear in these, are — W. glo 'coal' for *gyloë < Brit. *gylà-nis, √γυλέο(-) : E. coal, Skr. jvâlati 'blazes' ; — W. gro 'gravel' < *grà-yòis < *ghròw, √ghreyo- : Lat. rúdus, E. grit; — W. tymo 'plain, meadow' for *tno, O. W. tonou l.l. 32, 44, 74, Bret. tonou (: W. teneu, √ten- 'stretch').

(6) Doublets occur for several reasons. — 1. Difference of accentuation in Brit.; thus W. gurwv 'male', benyv 'female' < Brit. *uirò-yòs, *banó-yòs, beside guru, banu l.l. i 272 = Gwyn. dial. guruv, banuv for *guruv *banuv < *uirò-yòs, *banó-yòs. — 2. Difference of ending, as in cenuw 'whelp' < *kanòwò, see (i) above, beside cnyw 'young of an animal' < *k(α)nò-ò-wò, whence, by § 101 ii (2), cnyv 'young of an animal' pl. cywion < *k(α)nò-ò-iones. — 3. Difference of strong and weak forms; as asywy beside asseu and assu, Gronwy beside Gronow, Cornwy beside Corowe, see § 78.

Note. — It is to be observed that -ò does not produce i-affectation in Bret.; hence W. aff. dau, but Bret. unaff. daou, < *diu. On the other hand W. aff. hawl, Bret. aff. heol both from *sawlòs. The assumption usually made that áu gives W. -eu, -au based entirely upon these two words (taken as *d(μ)au, *saw'l-) does not explain the difference in Bret.

vi. (1) uug before a vowel > nuy in Brit. and developed like
ordinary *u* or *w*. Thus W. traw-af 'I strike' < *trug-ami* < *prug-* for *p*—, *phu*—§ 97 v (3)—after i-, iii (3), W. iau 'yoke': Lat. jugum, Gk. *gyývós*, Skr. *yugám* all < Ar. *jégóm*;—before i retained as y, W. llewych 'light' < *lýg-*;—before lost i, O.W. *poullor-aer*, Ml. W. *peullawr* b.t. 25 'writing tablet' < Lat. *pugillæres*;—before -u, W. go-leu 'light' < Brit. *mu-lúgů*.—For *w* before i see § 104 ii (2).

(2) But oug has the regular development of on before a consonant, and gives *u* > *u* as W. lnu 'host', Ir. *siúg* < *sloung-, § 95 i;—W. tru, tru-an 'wretched', Ir. trúag < *troung-*;—W. bn-arth 'farmyard' < *bou-nart-: Lat. *hortus* § 99 vi.

vii. In Brit. m between vowels or sonants was already loosened to nasalized *v* or *w*; 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 all 'like, equal': Ir. *samail* § 94 i; affected it gives medially ef before a vowel, eif before i, ef or eu before n, as in defydd or dewaydd r. 37 'material' < *dam-níjó*: Ir. damnae id., *démá- 'build'; cyntefig 'primitive': cyntaf 'first';—finally, eu, as W. edau, edeu 'thread' < *etamí*, O. W. etem (≡ edyé?), pl. edafeð < *etámíːgás < *pétas-, √ peté-; so Ml. W. gwelleu 'shears', Mn. W. *gwellaif* pl. *gwelleifian*; Mn. *lit. gwellaif* is deduced from the pl.; *hynaif* is doubtless analogical; so drycheif, drychaf, § 188 iii. The variant of -eu is -yf: crog-edyf '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 *w*) y(w) as in tywyll § 111 i (2), tywyd § 86 i (5); affected, finally, -yf or -eu; as cleddyf or cledeu 'sword' < *klad-emó* (cf. Gk. *ákrémuóν*), √ goléd-; pl. cleddyfau a new formation; so nedyf or nedeu 'adze', § 180 i.

(3) om gives of as in dof 'tame': Lat. domáre; affected, yf as in Selyf § 69 iv (1); before -n- it gives af as in safn 'mouth' < *stom-n-: Gk. *stóμα*; affected, eif as in eifn § 75 vii (1), simplified to ef, § 78 v, in the improper compound efnuresw, O. W. pl. efnirn § 137 ii.

(4) um before a vowel gives -w(f), -yf-, as in tow(f) 'growth', lyfu 'to grow': Lat. *tuméo*; before n it gives aw, af or w, as in
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§ 77

Ml. W. *ysgawu > S. W. *ysgon, also *ysgafn, Mn. W. and N. W. *ysgafn, Ml. W. *ysgwn § 101 iv (3).

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

(2) The vowel also develops regularly before gy, as in tew 'thick', Ir. ting < *tegy- : E. thick; cf. ii (2).

ix. (1) iu and iu occurring as V- and R-grades of eiyu, eiêu, etc.; Kelt. iu also < Ar. ēu. The i or ē appears regularly in W. as y or i. Thus byw 'live' < gyiu- § 63 vii (3);—W. liu < *liu-: Lat. vivor.

(2) iuo gives W. iuo or iua (§ 65 v (1)); thus W. buan 'quick' < Brit. *biyo-no-s § 63 vii (3);—W. hual 'shackle' for *fynial < *fynol < Lat. fibula;—original ro > iuo > ūo as in lluosawc § 75 iii (3).

Later Modifications of Vowels.

§ 77. i. In Late Ml. W. y, when short, became i before g (then written c) or ng. Thus in the unaccented ultima in Late Ml. W. we generally find 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; kwyng r.m. 110 (but kwyng w.m. 46, 465, r.m. 32). Such words are rhymed by the bards with monosyllables having i (not y):

Ond 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 mob Ieuau feddig
Ar dy rudd fal aur a drig.—L.G.C. 348.

'The virtue of Ab Ieuau the physician will dwell as gold on thy cheek.'

A'frig yn debig i dân.—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 y, as in plyg '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 yfder r.m. 119.

The only words in which the vowel is sounded y in the unaccented ult. are compounds of plyg, cryg etc., as dyblyn D.G. 258, (g)wyrblyg 255, oergyg 244, dewydbylcy r.m. 68; also the 3rd sing. pres. ind. of
verbs with stems ending in -og, as *ysgyg D.G. 370 'shakes' (though we have *ennig C.M. 13 from *annoc 'incite'). In other cases the sound is *ig. The late Mn. spellings *meddyg, *tebyg etc., are purely artificial, deduced from *meddygon, *tebyg etc. A few words of this class are still written phonetically, as *cerryg.

The sound was *y in Early Ml. W. as shown by the rhyme *cerryg / plyg C. M. A. I 241, and the consonance metic / bid B.B. 76 (≡ *medyg / byd); and *y of the mutation *y remains in the penult. Hence we have two forms: (1) *iy for -yg < -yc-, which becomes -yg- in the penult; (2) *iy for -ig < *ic-, which is *ig- in the penult. Thus (1) meddig < Lat. medicus, pl. meddygon, (2) lleithig < Lat. lectica, pl. lleithigeu. In Mnl. W. one or two words of the second class have passed over to the first: *perigl 'danger' < Lat. periculum; *cynnig 'to offer' < Lat. condico, though still sounded *perigl, *cynnig are written perygl, cynnyg because, by false analogy, derived forms have come to be sounded with *y as peryglus, cynnygiaf. In Mnl. W. the penult had *i in these, as periglwys R.B.B. 44-5, periglus I.L.A. 146, berigleu R.B.B. 121, gynnig-wyt W.M. 168, gynnigweyt R.M. 234, kynnigwys do. 144.

.ii. *y 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; cregin for *cregyn. But as a rule *y remains; egyr 'opens', diogyn 'idler', neydd 'denier', dengys 'shows', are so pronounced, owing to the influence of analogical forms without *g or *ng.

.i.ii. In the same position *y frequently becomes i after penultimatic *i or *ei; thus lllyn 'string', but llin in four lines earlier, also 78, lllyn R.M. 54, 56 (each time), dibin C.M. 91 'hang', amdfrin R.L.L. 211 R. 'to defend', gwthlin W.M. 455, R.M. 102 'dewdrop', gilid W.M. 9, 134 'other', origin I.L.A. 122 'a moment', (double dim. of awr 'hour'), dilin D.G. 343 'to follow'.

Derfel wrth ryfel a thrin
Dewr odd, a da i wreiddin.—D.I.D., g. 178.

'He was a brave Derfel in war and encounter, and of good stock.'

Herwydd nas gwnai ddwyhirin
Fentrio i oes o fwnn thrin.—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:

Ysbys y dengys y dŷn
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' dŷn,
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, amddigyn, gilið, gwreidin, etc.; the y written is an etymological spelling. Sometimes it is wrongly written, as in ers meityn for ers meitin § 70 v. This may also occur in Ml. W. as in yr meityn w.m. 17, r.m. 11 beside the correct er meitin w.m. 128, 138, yr meitin r.m. 280, cf. meitin/sin b.a. 18; dilyt beside dilít w.m. 41.

iv. In Mm. W. y followed by i in some common groupings became i; thus ceri di ‘thou lovest’ became ceri di, and ceri supplanted cery as the regular form. So wrthif i, wrthif 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 (≡ e) in eyw ≡ kiw (but pl. eywion ≡ gwion), after r in ryw and its compounds anryw, eyryw, etc., in dryw, ystryw, gyrwy, after n in benyw, and initially in yw ‘is’, yw ‘to his’ now written i.w. (Gyrwy, benyw, yw ‘is’ are not dialectal forms in N. W., but are sounded with -iw in reading or quoting.) Ml. W. nywol r.m. 46, w.m. 64 ‘fog’ is now written niwol, § 37 ii. In distryw, dilyt the -iw sound is earlier, on account of the preceding i; both are often spelt with -iw in Ml. W. After d and t the sound iw is still earlier; thus ydiw, heðiw are so spelt in Ml. W. in mss. where i and y are distinguished.

The only words remaining now with yw are byw, cyw, llwy ‘prince’ and llwy ‘rudder’ (also sounded lliv), gwryw ‘withered’ in addition to Duvw which is sounded Duvw in Late Mm. W.; and compounds of these llefyw, hyglyw, etc.

vi. In the Mm. language y in the unaccented ult. is sounded i before ll in some words; as cqlyll ‘knives’, gwynyll ‘fan’; in some, as candryll ‘shattered’ (lit. ‘100 bits’), both y and i are heard; others have y always, as seffyl. This modification sometimes appears in late mss.; but is not recognized in the rhymes of the bards.

vii. (1) In Ml. W. u (≡ u) was unrounded to i after the labial in govut ‘pain’; the usual Ml. form is govut w.m. 138 l. 15; 231; but gofit w.m. 138 l. 4; 131, 141, etc.; Mn. W. gofdu.

(2) In a few cases y came to be rounded after a labial; thus pump ‘five’ for an earlier ppm, O.W. pmp; bustl ‘gall’ for *bystl. Bret. bestl (Bret. e = W. y § 16 iv (2)).

viii. As it was difficult to pronounce unrounded i or y and rounded ū in consecutive syllables, assimilation took place: *iðuunt ‘to them’ (cf. iðau ‘to him’) became uðuunt and always appears so in Ml. W. see a.l. i 2; P 17/1 r.; l.a. 7, 8, 11, 21, etc.; w.m. 6, 26; r.m. 4, 7, etc. The natural sound in Gwyn. is uðun, though the artificial Mn. lit. iddýnt and the analogy of iddo may have influenced the pronunciation of some speakers. Similarly ei became eu, as in rheidus w.m. 21, r.m. 13, r.p. 1238 for rheidus ‘needy’; teulu ‘household troops’ for teulu, the form implied in the spelling teulu of a.l. i 2, 12, etc.; eilun often later for eilun, and now sounded eilun. In the reverse order we have Ml. W. Meuruc for Meuric.
ix. In Mn. W. u having come to be sounded ȝ, it becomes i in those positions where ȝ would be so treated; thus barrug, esgus, cynnnull are sounded barrig, esgis, cynull.—D.G. rhymes menig / sarrug 8.—Before i or i it is sounded i. Dr. M. writes iniiwn Job i i; we now say inion ‘straight’ for uniwn, inig for unig, tostirio for tostirio, etc. Hence caru; ti became cari; ti, and -it in Late Mn. W. replaced -ut as the 2nd sg. impf. ending.

x. u being rounded in O. and Mn. W., final ch after it retained its rounding; thus uch ‘higher’ = ıwech, sometimes written woch in Late Mn. W.; when the u was unrounded the glide remained, and the sound became ynoch as implied in ynoch B.F. 1295; this is the present sound; it is written woch in Mn. W. But in the penult we have uch, as in urch ‘high’. Hence the mutation, uv : u, § 81.

xi. The modern pronunciation cited in this section is that of Gwynedd, where the sound ȝ or u is quite distinct from the sound i.

§ 78. i. (1) The diphthong oe or oy, O. W. oi, remains finally in only two words: noe ‘basin’, doe ‘yesterday’; Mn. W. had moe ‘more’ also. Elsewhere it is regularly reduced to o, as in creto ‘may believe’ for *cred-hoe appearing as credo B.B. 53, a stray survival, § 183 ii; and in -no in personal names for -noe, clo for *cloe, etc. § 76 v (5); in am-dlo ‘shroud’ for *am-doe § 104 ii (2); th or ð may be lost after it as in heno ‘to-night’< O. W. henoid Juv. sk. = henoeth B.F. 1040; it became ui by assim. in hwnnoi ox. > hwnnoid m.c. > Ml. and Mn. W. hennoi; and kinnoid gave hymn by analogical assimilation (-d  ð in O.W.). A late example is y ddannodd ‘toothache’< Mn. W. y dannood § 75 iv (2), in which however the final -ð remains.

Final -aeth = -a in the same way in yna, etwa for ynaeth, etwaeth.

(2) Similarly wv, O. W. wi, may be reduced to w; cf. hummaw above. Thus lwe ‘oath’ § 104 ii (2); Gronwey W.M. 110, 111 > Gronw do. 101, 105; Gronwey, Gorwey for *gworwey < *y(1)ro-gnàwios § 76 v (5); both forms survived: Pont Ronw (Lanedwen) is called Pont Ronw by some, but whether the latter is of lit. origin is difficult to decide. So assu A.L. i 144 ( = asswu) < asswuo ‘left’; — guru, banu < *gworos, *banos § 76 v (6); — racew § 210 x (3).—Before a consonant: aor. 3rd sg. -wy > -ws § 175 i (5); tynget b.A. 4 for tynget; adeithet, ranwvtr g.c. 106, 108; and doubtless impf. 1st sg. -wv is for an earlier *-wyn § 180 iii (1); — wv for *-wv > § 215 iii (1). So murthwel W.M. 46, R.B. 968, D.G. 430, myrtel b.M. 32 beside mortyel b.C.H. 77, northyel, murthwel D.D., northyel Bible, spoken lang. murthwel pl. myrtwelcion. Late Mn. W. neithier ‘last night’< neithiwr § 34 ii, Ml. W. neithiwr 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. mätirus) is given by Wm.S. and D.D. s.v. as madwys, which is not attested;—cyfarus, W.M. 454, 459-60, later ceifarwys, see Silvan Evans s.v.

ii. (1) In some words oe in the ultima was reduced to e, and ȝy to y; thus *nammowen ‘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-oin (variant maharuin, b.s.ch. 3), Early Ml.W. maharaen a.l. i 278, Ml. and Mn. W. maharen 'ram', pl. *meheruin > mehryn; mahar-*mas,-ro- 'male': Lat. mās, suff. § 153 (5), + oen § 65 iī (2);—*adwoen (written adwaen but rh. with hoen, poen b.b. 70) > adwaen, adwen 'I know';—brenhinoet b.b. 53 > brenhinied, but -oed remains in N. W. and Mn. Lit. W.;—so efnederweid, efnethro. The change seems to be due to rounding by dissimilation with a labial in the word (twyned followed the synonymous brenhined). Later examples are Cawlwyd, Mowddwy now sounded Cowlwyd, Mowddy; cf. also a(ys)wyd > awyd, etc. § 38 x.

(2) After a labial O. W. oi > Ml. W. ae; as O. W. gwolau b.s.ch. 6 > Ml. gwaelod, Mn. gwaelod;—W. gwae ‘woe’ for *gwe < *yai : Lat. vae, Goth. wai;—W. gwæ ‘cry’ for *gwoed, Ir. fæd < *yaid-: Lith. waidi ‘lamentation’;—baed ‘boar’ < *boed (written baed but rh. with oed b.t. 26, l. 17).

After r-, oi (oe, oy) became way, yae as in gwegian ‘spear’ for *gown § 75 vii (3) written gwæ but rhyming with gloe (gloew) b.b. 72;—gwæd ‘blood’ for *godd = Bret. god, Leon he chool ‘his blood’ (c’h<g); see gwæt rh. with cost, eirjorpt 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. -wi, was liable when unaccented to be weakened to oii > Ml. W. eu; thus eu ‘their’ for *wy from *eisom § 160 iv;—neu, teu § 75 viii (2), § 161 iv;—pi-eu ‘whose is?’ with eu for *wy < *eset § 179 ix (3), § 192;—asseu, Corneu, Guiteu, Iudnou § 76 v (4), (5); nev § 219 i (2).

iv. (1) wi (wy) finally or before a vowel was liable to be metathesized to yw; as in yw ‘is’ for *wy § 179 ix (3);—yw ‘to his, to her’ for *wy § 160 iv (2);—nwy ‘who . . . not . . . him’ for earlier nywy § 160 ii (2).—After a dental it became iw, § 77 v, as in Ml. W. ydiw ‘is’ for *yd-wy;—W. niwed ‘harm’ for *niewet § 76 iv (4).—In Bret. and Corn. this metathesis was carried further: Bret. piou, Corn. pyw, pew: W. pyw ‘who’, etc.

(2) This might happen before a consonant also; but in that case *ywy became i in; thus *dywygod ‘god’ > *dwo-w > dwi; the form *dwyw is attested in b.t. 10, where, though spelt dwi, it rhymes with plwyw (= plwyf i); and it remained in all derivatives, as O. W. durwit ‘divinity’, Ml. W. dwywes ‘goddess’, dwyuael, Mn. W. dwyoil ‘divine’; the forms dwiws ‘goddess’, dwiul ‘pious’ etc. are late deductions from dwi;—similarly Early Ml. W. verbal noun dyvedwyf a.l. i 146, 152, etc. gwedwy dyvedwyf w. 150 ‘after saying’ > Ml. W. dyvedut ‘to say’; the ow remains in dyvedwydat w.m. 63, r.m. 45 ‘saying’, dywedwydat s.g. 171 ‘babbler’.

v. In the penult oe, ae, et tend to become o, a, e respectively before two consonants, more especially in Mn.W.; thus ove 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 øi § 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 Mn. 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 øi with open ø, § 69 vii. But in unaccented syllables it came to be sounded øi to avoid lowering the tongue to ø and raising it again to i in the short time available. The same thing took place in accented syllables ending in a group of consonants, as beirð, since the time required to pronounce the consonants left less time to sound the diphthong. But in accented syllables with a simple or no consonantal ending the øi remained. Ml. W. ei therefore represented øi and øi; the former gave Ml. W. ei, sounded øi; the latter gave ai. The old distinction is reflected in the Gwynedd pronunciation of a preceding guttural: ceinigog, ceirch are sounded keinjog keirch; but caib, cais are qaib, qais; the velar and palatal alternate in the same word: qaib, knibjo; it may be added that before ordinary ø (≡ ø) the consonant is the velar, thus cybyð, cymnar are qobyð, qomnar. It is seen therefore that the first element of øi must be from close ø, for it differed from that of ai which comes from open ø, and also from the old ø (≡ ø). The present sound øi seems to be as old as the 16th cent., for rheir contracted for rhy-hir (rlo-rir) is written rher in g.r. 101. The present sound øi is at least as old as the 14th cent.: gwana (≉ gwana) is rhymed with delei in r.p. 1271 by M.D., and with divei n.r. 1293 by G.V. The oldest appearance of the spelling øi seems to occur in the Red Book: benn Faith r.p. 1194, divair do. 1200, kain 1205, arynaic 1227, kain, main 1318; but Norman scribes heard the øi as ai much earlier, to judge by such a form as Trefwalkenay in the Extent of Anglesey dated 1294 (Seebohm, Trib. Sys. 1 App. 10), Ml. W. Gwalchmai, Mn. W. Gwalchmai.

ii. O. W. ou (≡ ou) has a somewhat similar history. The ø was probably close in unaccented and open in accented syllables. In Ml. W. it was unrounded in both cases, giving a close ø and an open ø, both written e, so that the two sounds of the diphthong were written eu. The close ø remains in Ml. W. eu, sounded eu; the open ø gave a in Ml. W. au. That the former was a close ø and not a close ø is shown by the fact that in Gwynedd exunant, ceulo are sounded qunant quto. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>In final, and monosyllables.</th>
<th>In other syllables.</th>
<th>Examples.</th>
<th>§</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>adail, adeilad; caib, ceibio</td>
<td>79 i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>haul, heulog; aur euraid</td>
<td>79 ii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>tlawd, tledion, tlodi, tlotaf</td>
<td>71 i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>trwm, trymion, trymach</td>
<td>66 i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>byr, byrion, byrder</td>
<td>66 i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>uw</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>bwch, buchod, buches</td>
<td>77 x.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, traien, cuaed, cauodd, gauaf, cynhauaf are not exceptions but misspellings of daear, graean, haearn, rheaadr, traean, caead, caeodd, gaeaf, cynhaeaf; the diphthong ae (also written ay § 29 ii) being one which does not undergo mutation in Lit. W., but re-

*Cyled i chae à daear.*—D.G. 205.

‘Her desmesne is as wide as the earth.’

*Ba le mae ’r gorsied gaead?*—L.G.C. 372; cf. 28, l. i.

‘Where is the closed gorget?’

The spelling *ai*, as in *dayar*, 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 *gaeaf* always.) *gaeaf* 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 *dyne* ‘man’. In *cawodd* etc. the error was suggested by the fact that the verbal noun is *cau* ‘to shut’, a contraction of *cayu* or *cae/u* § 33 iv. Such spellings as the latter-day *traithawd* for the usual and correct *traethawd* are due to bungling etymological theories. Pedersen, Gr. i 67, imagines from these false spellings that the difference between *ay* and *ai* is small in diphthongs and vanishes where the second element is heterosyllabic. It is not heterosyllabic in these diphthongs, see § 54 iv; and *y* and *i* are perfectly distinct wherever the dialect distinguishes between *y* and *i* as vowels. The possible forms in the penult are *ae, eu, ei*, now sounded in Powys *ay, ey, ei*, and in Gwynedd *ay, ey, ei*. No one in Powys or Gwynedd sounds an *i* in *daeir*.

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 *ll, r* for *rr*; thus *beirdd* ‘bards’, *teiﬂ* ‘throws’, *eithr* ‘except’, *gweleirdd* D.G. 20 ‘forbids’, *meiry* pl. of *marwy* ‘dead’, *deil* ‘holds’ for *deilg*, *ceir* ‘cars’, pl. of *carr*. Before *ll* usage varies: *lleill* ‘others’, *y naill* the one’, *ereill* or *eraill* ‘others’. In polysyllables it sometimes occurs before *m* or *ch*; *dycheilm* Gr.O. 90 ‘leaps up’, *myneich* ‘monks’. But *ai* appears before *nc, nt, sq*, as *cainc* ‘branch’, *maint* ‘size’, *henaînt* ‘old age’, *braisg* ‘thick’; also in *Aifft*, *enghraifft*, *ailr*.

As a contraction of *e-i* the diphthong is now written and spoken *ei* (that is *ei*), as *ceir*, *gwneir*; 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 *gorau, golau, dechrëu* for *gorau, golau, dechrëau*. 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 -ė-u, -ė-u were distinct, as are contracted -ėu, -ėw now: dileu, parhau, § 33 iv.

(2) The mutation aw : o is not of general application. The penultimate o does not come from the ultimate aw, but both come from o; see § 71 i. Hence when aw is an original diphthong < Brit. or Lat. on or au, it remains aw in the penult, as in awdur < Lat. au(ō)tōrem; so cowgian pl. of cawg < late Lat. caucus; awyd, etc. § 76 iii; canawon, athrawon, § 36 iii. This shows nawn which gives prynhawnt, prynhawngweith, etc., to be from *nuna § 76 iii as opposed to awr which gives oriau, orioq, etc., and is from *(h)ora § 71 ii (3). In late formations aw < ė is unmutated as in mawrion § 144 iii (1), ardderchaweugrydd beside ardderchogrydd. Before a consonant, penultimate aw is sounded uw, and sometimes written ow, as cowgian D. 40, ardderchaweugrydd.

Where Ml. W. aw in the unaccented ult. has become o, § 71, the mutation of course disappears; thus it appears in Ml. W. pechauw, pechodeu, but is lost in Mn. W. pechol, pechodau. Where at the same time the aw represents a Brit. diphthong, as in gwranod, gwranduaw, the rule of mutation is reversed. So in final -o for affected au, in athro, athrawon § 76 v (5).

(3) ow 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 lluchio ' (snow)drift', we have the old lluchio 'to hurl', and the new lluchio 'to drive (dust or snow)'. For the derivatives of duw see § 78 iv (2).

(5) On unmutated forms in loose compounds see § 45 ii (2).

§ 82. i. From the table in the above section it is seen that the use of the two sounds of y is regulated by the law of vowel mutation. The general rule in its special application to these sounds may be stated as follows:

y has the ɨ sound in monosyllables and final syllables, and the y sound in all syllables not final; as edrych, edrychwech, bryn, brynau, wynydd, wynyddoeedd, byrddau, prydd, prydderth, dysod, cyfynger.

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', wyn, ym 'by' (in oaths). Pre-verbal yd, 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 $y\delta$, $y\delta$; § 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 $oesawdl$ ir $a'r$ teirsyde, L.G.C. R.P. 1412, or $Vran$ i $deuan$ do. 1411. J.D.R. and D. regularly write it with $y$ ($\equiv \eta$); but Dr. Davies later in his D.D. (opp. p. i) says that the sound is $y$. The explanation doubtless is that it was originally $y$ and $y$ according to the accent; and both survived, the $y$ becoming $i$ (like the preposition, § 16 ii (3)). It is often non-syllabic after a vowel in poetry; if its vowel is written it must be read as $i$ or $\eta$ forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel, § 33 v.

*Hen(e)iddio* $ir$ *wyf*, *hym* oedd *reid*.—I.G., p 53/91 R.

_Ac yno* $y$ *tric enaid Rys._—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 *didwyl._—An., p 54/27 R. (15th cent.).


_Thomas dduclas, lle* 'dd $dywyf._—H.D. (auto.?), p 67/212 R.

_Ac yno* 'tric enaid R(h)ys._—R.C. (auto.), p 68/19 R.

$ys$ as a proclitic is $ys$, as *ys gwir* 'it is true', often *'s gwir* § 221 iii; when accented it is *ys* 'there is, people are'.

_Llenwi, dros yr holl *ysys,*

_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_ $\delta$, MLW. *y gyt a*, § 216 ii (2). G.R. writes it _gida_ and J.D.R. _gyda_ (his $y \equiv \eta$); both these pronunciations survive.

(3) *Non-ultimate* $y$ before a vowel is now mostly $\eta$; but originally it was $y$ regularly, for it may come from _o_ as in *dy-, rhy-*, 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 MLW. _deodreven_ (≡ _dyodreyn_) a.L. i 80 > _doodeven_ do. 94 > Mn. W. _dodrefn_ 'furniture'; _rhyodres_ b.A. 5 > _roodres_ r.B.B. 195 > * _rheodres_ 'pomp'; _kypoéd_ R.P. 1206 > * _cooëd_ > _coëd_ § 41 v; _gwelyeu_ > _gwelyau_ > _gweilau_ P.s. exlix 5, Can. vi 2 (1588 and 1620), B.C.W. 23 'beds'; * _cyd-dy-un_ > ML.W. _cytun_ § 33 iv; _dylyed_ > * _dyleed_ > _dyléd_ § 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 _dallt_ I.D. 12, N.W. dial. _dál_; _godrewn_ beside _godryon_ § 65 ii (3); _darlleaf_ § 203 iv (3); or was raised to $\eta$, which broke up later into _sy_ (written _eu_); thus _godrewn_ J.D.R. [xxi] for _godryon_, lletweddod Gen. xxxii 21, _dylleuf_ so printed in d.g. 35, beside _gwelyeu_ J.D.R. (whose $y \equiv \eta$) [xiv, xix], _dhylyei_ [xix, xxxi], _dhylyedic_ [xvi, xix]. Cf. _rhy_ < _rhy_ § 65 iv (2). (But *huawdl* 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 boreuach.

(4) yw follows the rule, as byw, bywyd, bywydog; clyw, clwyd; llyw, llwydd, llwynio, etc., except in late formations, especially from forms in which yw became iow § 77 v, as in amrycio (sounded amrycιο), distrwyaf (distrwyaf), etc. J.D.R. writes amrycio (y = η) [xiv], distrwyiau [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 gwyrtoedd is recent; but gwyrwo ‘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 mwynu, mwynach, mwynion; and the y remains when the wy is mispronounced as wy § 38 iii, as Gwenedd for Gwenedd.

(1) In the words sylw, gywry, the final w and y were non-syllabic § 42, § 110 ii; hence the y is y; thus sylw (but sylgi), gywry.

(2) With the exceptions mentioned in ii, the sound which is now common to y and u, if it occurs in the penult, is to be written u. Thus we write munud, munudau, papur, papurau. Following this rule the translators of the Bible were misled by the late disyllabic pronunciation of sylw to write it sulw; in late editions this error is corrected.

(3) In a few cases w in the ultima has come to be mistaken for y and mutated to y in the penult; as in ysgrythrau in the Bible (but ysgrythrau correctly in the 1727 edn.) pl. of ysgrytheur (< Lat. scriptura) regarded as ysgrytheur on the analogy of llythyr ‘letter’. So testynau for testunau, Early Mn.W. testunion, pl. of testun (< Lat. testimonium) treated as testyn; corynau ‘crowns’, corynfoel B.cw. 33 ‘bald-headed’, from corun H.B.B. 171 (< Lat. coröna) 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 c-affection, § 68.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Unaffected</th>
<th>Affected</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>gwyn, f. gwên; crŷf, f. crêf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>trêm, f. trêm; 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 crowlech (crwm ‘arched’); and in superlatives, as gwennaf, tromaf § 147 iii. In bychan, f. bechan, the e
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 (ai or ei</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>brán, brain; bardd, heirdd; dal, deil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tafarn, tefcwn or tefyrn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ae (ai</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>draen, drain; cyrraedd, cyrraidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>angel, engyl; ateb, eteb; seren, sŷr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>agor, cygr; efôn, fŷn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>ŵy</td>
<td>asgwrn, esgwrn; swrth, swrth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>au or eu</td>
<td>oen, ŵyn; croen, crŷn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>taw, tau; taraw, Mi. W. terun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>taraw, Mn. W. tery</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 (i); the form y occurs only in the unaccented ultima, § 69 ii (3).

The form y of No. 7 is not a phonetic development of eu, but is due to false analogy; when taraw had become tawr the 3rd sing. pres. ind. tery was formed from the latter on the model of agor : eygr. 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>ũ i</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>mab, meibion; cym-ar, -heiriaid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gorwedd, gorweiddiol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ũ i</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>lruan, lrueni; plant, plentyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gwaedd, weiddiol; draen, dreinjog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i or ũ</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>caer, cyryd; saeth, seythudd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>i or ũ</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>aeth, enthun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>taw, tei, teywyd; caer, cevri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTE 1.—No. 1 occurs only in old formations; -iad denoting the agent affects, -iad abstract does not, § 143 iii (18), iv (5).—No. 2, though common as a fixed affection, is comparatively rare in inflexion. No. 3 is usual in inflexion, but rare in composition, e.g. rhán-dir ‘allotment’, haf-ddyd ‘summer’s day’, cân-drydl ‘shattered’, á-dyn ‘wretch’, ád-fyd ‘adversity’, tán-ddyd ‘fiery’, hâd-yd ‘seed’ (had + yd, but hêd-yn ‘a seed’).—No. 4 is only written in old combinations, as gweiddi R.M. 174, seiri; it is rare before i, see § 144 iii (2).—Nos. 5 and 6 also occur only in set forms, and ey is now wrongly written eu, as meusydd.

NOTE 2.—In Ml. W. a in preceding syllables had become e before y, or before one of the above affections; in Mn. W. the a is generally restored, § 70 i, as enryded now anrhedydd ‘honour’, gwerendwych, now gwrandewych. It occasionally remains as in lleferyd ‘speech’ (: llafar id.), and even spreads, as in llefaru for llafaru.

NOTE 3.—y in the falling diphthong óy does not affect: arwydd etc. § 38 vi.

NOTE 4.—u does not affect a: canu, parchu, etc. But crededun 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>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tenues</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ƙ</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenues aspiratae</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ƙh</td>
<td>qh</td>
<td>q²h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediae</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ƙ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediae aspiratae</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>ƙh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>g²h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirants:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>s, ʃ</td>
<td>z, ʒ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonants:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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\section*{THE ARYAN CONSONANTS}

\section*{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. \textit{tad}, or like t before an accented vowel in Eng. or N. German, in all of which breath is heard as an off-glise. 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. \textit{abhorr}, \textit{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.

\section*{Note 2.---It is generally held that there were as above three series of gutterals. The palatals were sounded on the hard palate like W. c in \textit{ci} or E. k in \textit{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. \textit{u}, E. \textit{u} in \textit{full}. These two series are established by such equations as Skr. \textit{s} = Lat. c < Ar. \textit{k}, and Skr. \textit{k}, c = Lat. qu < Ar. q\textsuperscript{3}. But another equation often occurs: Skr. \textit{k}, c = Lat. c, which points to Ar. q intermediate between the two others, too far back to give Skr. \textit{s} and too far forward to give the labialized Lat. \textit{qu}. In the Western languages Kelt., Ital., Germanic, Greek, there is no difference between Ar. \textit{k} and \textit{q}; both give \textit{k} which is generally accommodated to the following vowel; thus Ar. \textit{kantōm} gives W. \textit{cant} pronounced \textit{qant}, not \textit{*kant}. Where a guttural occurs in a form only found in Western languages, we can only write it \textit{k}, \textit{g}, etc., with no diacritic mark. In the Eastern languages (except Tocharish) the palatals became sibilants, thus \textit{k} > Skr. \textit{s} (an sh sound); but the velars remain, or became \textit{tch} sounds (as in \textit{fetch}) before front vowels, thus \textit{q} > Skr. \textit{k}, or \textit{c} (a \textit{tch} sound), the latter before an Ar. front vowel.—Meillet, Intr.\textsuperscript{2} 63 ff., admits only two series, \textit{k} and \textit{q}\textsuperscript{4}, and regards Skr. \textit{k} = Lat. \textit{c} as a special treat ment of Ar. \textit{k} in Skr. and the Eastern group. He points out that the supposed \textit{q} occurs chiefly before \textit{r}, before \textit{a}, and after \textit{s}.

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

\section*{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.
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It is usual to include in the Ar. nasals ṣ, occurring only before ḳ, ɣ, ḵh, ɣh, and ṡ occurring only before ḥ, ḡ, 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. ūn in *kṣatōm still remaining in Lith. szimtus, § 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 ḳ, gave k. Hence, ģ, ɣh, g, gh all appear as g in Kelt.

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


*do-pro-d-, \( \sqrt{\text{d}o} \), § 63 vi (1).—*\( \text{mpl} \) *\( \text{mpr} \)→*\( \text{aml} \), *\( \text{amr} \)→W. af-l-, af-r-, as af-les 'harm', Ir. am-less; thus af- spread for au-<*

\( \text{g} \) (neg. prefix) before \( l \) and \( r \), see § 156 i (5).

(5) Ir. col, Bret. col, W. cöl 'fault': Lat. culpa, O. Lat. colpa.
—Ir. cilornn gl. uroens, O. W. cilurnn (≡ cylewrrn) gl. urnam, W. celurn, Bret. kolorn : Lat. calpar, Calpurnius, Gk. κάλπη, Skr. karpara- 'shell' (Kelt. \( \ddot{e} \) or \( \dot{e} \) in first syll. unexplained).—W. crydd 'shoemaker' (for *ceryydd § 40 iii (3)), Bret. kere<

*karpiw, Lat. *karpara-h celwrn, af-l-, etc., *do-pro-d-, co/c, etc., *karpara-h celwrn, af-l-, etc., *do-pro-d-, co/c, etc.,

(6) *\( \text{mpl} \), *\( \text{mpr} \) gave *\( \text{ml} \), *\( \text{mr} \), W. fl, fr, as cyflawn 'full'<

*kom-\( \text{pln} \)-, cyflan 'share'<*kom-\( \text{prot-sin} \) § 63 vii (2).

ii. (1) Before \( t \), Ar. \( \text{p} \) became \( q^{\text{a}} \) > \( k \) (§ 89 ii) in Pr. Kelt. Thus Ar. *\( \text{septy} \) > Pr. Kelt. *\( \text{sektym} \) > Ir. secht \( n \)-, W. saith : Lat. septem, Gk. ἑπτά, etc.—Ar. *\( \text{gap-tos} \) > Pr. Kelt. *\( \text{kaklos} \) > Ir. cacht, W. caeth 'serf' : Lat. captus.—Ar. *\( \text{neptis} \) > Pr. Kelt.

*\( \text{nektt} \) > Ir. necht, W. nith 'niece' : Lat. nepitis.—W. lliithro 'to slip' < *\( \text{slitktr} \) < *\( \text{slip-tr} \), \( \sqrt{\text{sle}} \)- extension of \( \sqrt{\text{sle}} \)-: E. slip, etc., § 95 i.

Before or after \( s \) also, \( \text{p} \) was liable to become \( q^{\text{a}} \) in Kelt., § 96 iv ; also before \( n \), see iv below.

(2) Initially in anticipation of medial \( q^{\text{n}} \), Ar. \( \text{p} \) became \( q^{\text{a}} \) in Italo-Keltic ; as Ar. *\( \text{penq} \)e 'five'> Skr. pañca, Gk. πέντε : Lat. quinque, Pr. Kelt. *\( \text{q}^{\text{a}} \text{eq}^{\text{n}} \)e > O. W. pimp, Ml. W. pymp, pump, Ir. coic, Gaul. πέμπε-.—Ar. *\( \text{peq} \)z, *\( \text{poq} \)- > Gk. πέπων, πόπανον : Lat. coquo (<*\( \text{quequod} \)), coecus, Bret. pibi, W. pobi 'to bake' (<*\( \text{qaq} \)oq<\( \text{n} \)-), poeth 'hot' (<*\( \text{qaq} \)oq<\( \text{n} \>-t-).

(3) In anticipation of \( k \) or \( g \), Ar. \( \text{p} \)- seems in some cases to have become \( t \) ; thus Ir. torc (beside oirc), W. torch 'boar': Lat. porcus; see turio § 101 iii (1);—W. tanc 'peace': Lat. pax, pango, \( \sqrt{\text{pák/g}} \>-;

—W. teg 'fair', Gaul. Tocos: O. E. fiegr, E. fair, \( \sqrt{\text{pék}} \>-;—W. gwar-
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theg 'cattle': Lat. pecus, Lith. pėkus, Skr. pāṣu 'cattle';—W. talch 'flake': Lat. plancus, E. flag-stone, flake, √pelāg--;—W. troll 'hole' < *tuk-slo-s, tyliu 'to pierce': Lat. pungo, punctum, √peuk/ţ. —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. hṛṣ- 'aspect' < *gṛṣpa;—W. cawad 'shower': Ar. *gurep—§ 63 vii (3);—W. called 'hard', as a noun 'difficulty' v.b. 65: ? Gk. χαλιέρός (% < 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 q; or, where the word had a guttural already, the dental t. Before s, both the substitution and the regular development took place; the former, -q's-, attested later as -x- in Gaul. Crixos, gives W. -ch--; the latter, -f-, gives W. -f-. Before t, I have assumed the former, as the substitution of qs for p, known to occur, seems more likely than that of χ for f, so that pt > qt > χt is more probable than pt > ft > χt.

iv. Before s, p > q > 'k after a rounded vowel; thus *upšel- > *ukšel- > oukšel-> W. uchel, Ir. ūasal; *lɔpsq-> *lošksk-> W. llusgo § 96 iii (5);—similarly before n; *supsn-> *swkn- > W. hun 'sleep', Ir. sūan, § 63 viii (1); *γ-γο-δυπ-ν-> W. an-o-δυν 'bottomless', ef. anwefn § 102 iv (2), √dheup/b-; so possibly before t; W. tuth 'trot' < *tupt-: O. Bulg. tăpati 'palpitare', tăpatati 'palpitare, calcare', Gk. τῦπτω. Original q before t had become k earlier (in It.-Kelt.), and develops as k, as in poeth above. m before p prevents the diphthongization: W. llost < *lomps- § 96 ii (3).

§ 87. i. Ar. t (Lat. t; Gk. τ; Germ. β, ð; Lith. t; Skr. ṭ) and Ar. th (Gk. θ; Skr. ṭh) appear in Pr. Kelt. as t. Thus Ar. *tauros > Lat. taurus, Gk. ταῦρος: Ir. tarb, W. tarw;—Ar. *lepr-: W. les, twynn, tán § 86;—Ar. *trejš-> Skr. trāyas, Gk. τρέις, Lat. trēs: W. tri, Ir. tri, 'three'.—Ar. *arōtrom > W. arad 'plough': Gk. ἄροτρον.—Ar. *plēθo-> Gk. πλάτανος, Gaul. -λτανός, O. W. litan, W. llydan 'broad', § 63 viii (1).

ii. In Ar. the first t in the group tt had become an affricative; this stage is represented thus tt; in Skr. it went back to tt (just as tst, 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'
> W. melys 'sweet', Ir. milis. As ðt became tt, § 93 i, the same result followed; thus Ar. √ueid- 'see, know', gave *√yd-t- > √yitt- > √yitt- > W. gwys 'it is known', § 63 iv: Skr. vitta-h 'known';—Ar. √(s)heid-/Ø(heid-: R-grade nasalized > Lat. scindo, F-grade *keid-t- > *keit-t- > W. cìogs 'furrow', Ir. cèis.—So W. cas 'hate' < *kád-t-, √kád-: E. hate; F-grade, W. cawdd 'insult': Gk. κηδος. Similarly Ar. dd > d²d > zd, § 91 ii.

§ 88. Ar. k (Lat. c; Gk. κ; Germ. h, -g-; Lith. s; Skr. ṣ), Ar. kh (Gk. χ), Ar. q (Lat. c; Gk. κ; Germ. h, -g-; Lith. k; Skr. ḷ, c), Ar. qh (Gk. χ, Skr. kh) appear in Kelt. as k. Examples: Ar. *kytóm '100' > Lat. centum, Gk. ε-κατάν, O. E. hund, Lith. sviūnas, Skr. satā-m: Ir. cēt, W. cant < Pr. Kelt. *kytóm.—Ar. √q-, F-grade Lat. cārnus, Skr. kāyamāna-h 'fond', R-grade W. caraf 'I love'.—Ar. *qap-t- > Lat. capio: W. cael § 188 iv.—Ar. *qrecht > Ir. creocht, W. craith 'scare' < Pr. Kelt. *krekt-: Skr. kuvātī 'injures' < *qer-; √qer-.—Ar. *qret- > Pr. Kelt. *arekt- > W. araith 'speech' § 63 iii.

§ 89. i. Ar. q (Lat. qu; Gk. π, but τ before ε or η, and κ before or after υ; Germ. hw, -f-, -w-, -g-; Lith. k; Skr. ḷ, c) and probably Ar. qh (Skr. ḷh; Gk. φ, θ?) were q in Pr. Kelt. This remains as q in the ogam inscriptions, but became c in Ir.; in Gaul and Brit. it appears as p.—Examples: Ar. *qʰetuer- (in various grades § 63 vii (4)) > Lat. quattuor, Skr. cātvāraḥ: W. pedwar, Ir. cethir.—Ar. √qʰelā- / qʰel- > W. pell 'far' (< *qʰel-s-o-): Gk. τηλε-: Ar. √seq-: Lat. inquam < *insquām: Ml. W. hep, heb 'says'.—W. prynaf 'I buy' § 201 i (4);—Ar. √leiq- > Gk. λεῖπω: W. llywyd-r 'track': Lat. īnquo (a-infix).

 ii. (1) Before t, s and prob. n, Ar. q became k in Kelt. Thus Ar. *poqʰ-t- > *qʰoqʰ-t- > *qʰok-t- > W. poeth, § 86 ii (2).—Ar. *noqʰ-t- (√noqʰ->) > Kelt. *nok-t- > Ir. nocht, W. noeth 'naked': Lat. nīdus < *nokʰ-ethos.—W. gwlyb, O. W. gulip 'wet' < *uiliq-: Lat. liquo; W. gwylith 'dew' < *uiliq-t- < *uiliq-t-; gwlych 'liquid' (such as gravy, etc.) < *yliq-n- or *yliq-s-: √cóleiq-.

 For Ar. sqʰ, qʰs, see § 96 iii.

 (2) After l or r also (but not l, s), we have k for Ar. q; thus W. golch 'slops', golchi 'to wash' (Ir. folcaim) < *yolk- < *yolq-.

§ 100 ii (2): *uiliq-*, as above.—W. cynnyrch 'crop, produce' <
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§ 90. Ar. *kôn-dérq* - Gk. δέπω 'I mow, reap', δέπανη '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. cw 'where?' < the Ar. interrog. stem *kûw-, § 163 i (7). vi.


But before u it gives k, as in W. ci 'dog' < *kū < *kũ < *kuō<br>
= Skr. śvā; cf. ii (3) above.

In the Roman period, therefore, there was no Brit. q* or qu, and Lat. qu gives k; as in caravys, garavys 'lent' < quadragōsina; W. cegin 'kitchen' < coqūna.

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 -πτ- 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. *bhātēr, *bhrātēr- > Lat. frāter, Gk. φράτωρ 'member of a clan', E. brother, Skr. bhṛātar-: Ir. brāthir, W. brwoad 'brother'. - Ar. √ bherey- > Lat. ferveo: W. berwv, § 63 viii (4). - Ar. *bhu- > W. bod, § 63 vii (3). - Ar. √ nebh-: VF *nebh- > Gk. νέβος, νεφέλη, Lat. nebula : Ir. nēl 'cloud' < *neblo-, Ml. W. nyel 'fog' < *neblīo-; see § 37 ii.

- b: Ar. √ bregh- 'short': Lat. brevis, Gk. βράχυς: 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 (tt), and W. th § 97 ii. Thus W. peth ‘some, a certain quantity of, something, thing’, beth ‘what?’, Ir. cuit ‘part, share’ < *q*id-dȝ : cf. Lat. quid-dam.—W. rhathu ‘to scrape, smooth’ < *rād-dh- (or *rād-żgh-): Lat. rādo, § 63 ix.—W. meth ‘miss, failure’ < *mit-dh-: Ir. mis-, milh- ‘miss’, E. miss, *meit-: Lat. mūto.

§ 92. i. Ar. ĝ (Lat. g; Gk. γ; Germ. k; Lith. k; Skr. j), Ar. ĝh (Lat. h; Gk. χ; Germ. g; Lith. h; Skr. h), Ar. g (Lat. g; Gk. γ; Germ. k; Lith. h; Skr. g, j), Ar. gh (Lat. h; Gk. χ; Germ. g; Lith. g; Skr. gh, h) all appear in Kelt. as g. Examples: ĝ: Ar. ĝn- > Lat. grānum, Goth. kaūn, Lith. kūnus, Skr. jūpā-h: Ir. grān, W. graun § 61 ii.—Ar. *gēn- > Lat. genitor, Gk. γενετής, Skr. jānatī ‘begets’: W. geni ‘give birth’.—Ar. *areg- > Lat. argumens, Gk. ἀργυρός, Skr. rajatā-m ‘silver’: W. arian, Ir. aige & airget ‘silver’ < Pr. Kelt. *aerg-—gh: Ar. *ghēi-em- > Lat. hiems, Gk. χείμα: W. gaeaf, § 75 vi (1).—Ar. *seg- > Gk. ξω ( < *seghō), Skr. sāhate ‘vanquishes’: W. hy ‘bold’ < *seg-os, Gaul. Sego-; hael ‘generous’ < *seg-lo- < *seglo-; haar ‘impor-
tunate' < *sag-ro-.

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\( g \): Ar. \( \sqrt{\text{glei}} \) 'sticky, liquid' : Lat. \( \text{gi}u\text{s} < *\text{gloi-s} \), Gk. \( \gamma\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma < *\gamma\lambda\iota\omicron\nu\sigma\oslash : O.W. \text{glio}u \) gl. liquidum, W. glo\( \text{w} \) 'shiny', glo\( \text{w} \)-\( \text{du} \) 'glossy black' \( < *\text{glo}-\text{u} \) § 75 ii (1), Ir. g\( \text{le} \), g\( \text{lac} \) 'bright' \( < *\text{glei}-\nu\sigma \), *\text{gloi}-\nu\sigma \), O.Corn. digluin\( \text{h} \)it ox. 2 gl. eliqua, W. glo\( \text{w} \iota \) 'to drain (after boiling), to clarify, to polish'; R *\( \text{gli} \)- > Lat. gli-s, Gk. \( \gamma\lambda\iota\nu\nu \), Lith. gli-\( \text{tus} \) 'smooth, sticky', Ir. gle\( \text{nim} \), W. gly\( \text{naf} \) 'I adhere'.—Ar. \( \sqrt{(s)\text{t}e\text{g}} \)- > Lat. tego, Gk. \( \sigma\tau\varepsilon\omega\sigma \), \( \tau\varepsilon\gamma\oslash \), Skr. st\( \text{h\~a\~g\~a}t \) 'covers' : Ir. tech, teg, O.W. t\( \text{ig} \), W. \( \text{ty} \) 'house' \( < *\text{tegos} \); F \( *\text{t}\text{h}\text{og} \)- > Lat. toga, W. to 'roof', § 104 ii (2). --- \( \text{gh} \): Ar. \( \sqrt{\text{gha\~b}} \)- > Lat. habeo, Lith. gaba\( \text{n\~a} \) 'armful' : W. gaf\( \text{ael} \) 'to take hold', Ir. gabim 'I take'.—Ar. \( \sqrt{\text{le\~g}} \)- 'lie' > Lat. lectus, Gk. \( \lambda\varepsilon\chi\oslash \) : W. ile 'place', Ir. lige 'bed', W. \( \text{gwe}-\text{ly} \) 'bed' ; L \( *\text{l\~e\~g} \)- > Lith. p\( \text{\~a\~l\~e\~g} \) 'confinement to bed'; F \( *\text{l\~e\~g} \)- § 58 v.

ii. Ar. \( g^\text{\~n} \) (Lat. \( \upsilon \), \( \text{gu} \) after \( n \), \( g \) before cons. and \( u \); Gk. \( \beta \), \( \delta \) before \( \epsilon \) or \( \eta \), \( \gamma \) before or after \( v \); Germ. kw; Lith. \( g \); Skr. \( g, j \) gave Pr. Kelt. \( b \). Thus Ar. \( \sqrt{g^\text{\~n}\text{e\~n}} \)- > Lat. vivo, Gk. \( \beta\oslash \) : W. by\( \text{w} \), etc., § 63 vii (3).—Ar. \( *\text{g\~n}\oslash\text{us} \)- > Lat. \( \text{b\~\~o} \) (Umbr.-Samn. form for true Lat. \( *\text{v\~o} \)), Gk. \( \beta\oslash \oslash \) : Ir. \( \text{b\~\~o} \), W. bi\( \text{w} \), pl. biu.

iii. But Ar. \( \text{g\~n\~h} \) (Lat. \( f, -v, -b, \text{gu} \) after \( n \); Gk. \( \phi \), \( \theta \); Germ. \( w, g \); Lith. \( g \); Skr. \( \text{gh, h} \) 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 \( f \) (\( \equiv v \)) between vowels. Thus Ar. \( \sqrt{\text{g\~n}\text{e\~n}} \)- > Gk. \( \theta\varepsilon\varepsilon\omega \), \( \phi\varepsilon\nu\sigma \), Lat. \( \delta\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \) : Ir. gonim 'I wound', W. gw\( \text{vanu} \) 'to stab' \( < *\text{g\~v\~o} \)- § 65 v, gw\( \text{vanaf} \) 'swathe' (hay cut at one sweep).—Ar. \( \sqrt{\text{g\~n}\text{e\~n}} \)- > Lat. formus, Gk. \( \theta\varepsilon\rho\mu\oslash \), E. warm : Ir. gorim 'I warm', W. gori \( < *\text{gwori} \) § 36 iii), Bret. gori, gwir \( \text{i} \) 'to incubate', W. gori 'to suppurate', g\( \text{\~o} \)r 'pus', W. gw\( \text{r\~e}\)s 'heat', § 95 iii (1).—Ar. \( \sqrt{\text{g\~h\~e\~l}} \)- 'green, yellow' > Lat. flavus : W. gw\( \text{elu} \) 'pale', gw\( \text{e\~l\~e\~t} \) 'straw, grass', Ir. gelim 'I graze', gel\( \text{\~l\~e\~t} \)- ' fodder'; the doublet \( *\text{g\~h\~e\~l} \)- > Skr. h\( \text{\~r\~i} \)-h 'yellow, greenish', Gk. \( \chi\lambda\nu\eta \) 'verdure, grass', \( \chi\lambda\nu\nu \) 'green': W. gle\( \text{ld} \) ' turf', gl\( \text{a\~s} \) 'green, glas-wellt' 'grass', § 101 iv (1).—Ar. \( \sqrt{\text{g\~h\~e\~l\~e\~l}} \)- > Gk. \( \pi\theta\varepsilon\omega \), \( \theta\varepsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma \) : Ir. guidim 'I pray', W. gw\( \text{eddi} \) 'prayer'.—Medially: Ar. \( \sqrt{\text{sne\~i\~g\~h}} \)- > Lat. ninguit, nix, niv\( \nu \), Gk. \( \nu\varepsilon\nu \) : Ir. snig\( \text{d} \) 'rains', sne\( \text{ch\~e\~t} \) 'snow', W. nyf
§ 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 εὐκτός : εὐχομαι, Meillet, Intr. 106. So in Italic and K 2
Keltic; thus Lat. lectus, Ir. lecht ‘grave’, √ legh-; W. gwraith ‘fois’, Ir. fecht < Pr. Kelt. *yekt-, √ xeigh- § 100 i (2).

(ii) (1) Ar. -pt-, -kt-, -q̆t-, -q̆kt-, all gave -kt- in Pr. Kelt., §§ 86 ii, 88, 89 ii; this appears in Ir. as -cht, in W. as -يث, 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. achar ‘hated’, Ir. accais ‘curse’ < *akkass- < *ad-kad-s- § 87 ii.—W. achar ‘loves’ < *akkar- < *ad-gar-: Lat. āurus § 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, ɣgrythur < 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. agarw ‘rough, rocky, unfertile’ w.m. 180 < *aggaru- < *ad-ɣhɹ quý-: Ir. garb, W. garw ‘rough’ < *ɣhɹ quý-: Gk. χέρως, Skr. ḍyitāḥ ‘bristling’, Av. zarētvā ‘stone’, Lat. horreo, hirsūtus, ɣhēres-; § 95 iv (3).—W. aber, O. W. aper ‘confluence’, aberth ‘sacrifice’ < *abber- < *ad-bher-, ɣbher-.

There seems no good reason to suppose that gd, db could give χδ̇, δ̇t in W. W. gowyd ‘goose’ cannot come from Stokes’s *gegda (if q were not assimilated, eg would give ei, not ɣy, in W.), and Pedersen’s breuddwyd < *brogd- (Gr. i τοῦ) is not convincing. W. ď̇ can only come from ʒd, or ʒg § 97 iii, iv, or from dm; words like addfiyn, addfain come from ad-m (mwyyn ‘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 δ < z in Brit., or when the second was the sonant m.

(iii) (1) Ar. tt became t̆t, and Ar. dd(h) became d̆d(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. techu ‘to skulk, lie hidden’, √ (s)tegh- § 92 i.—W. saeth ‘arrow’ < Lat. sagitta.—For tt + liquid see § 99 v (4).

Similarly d-d when they came together in Kelt. > Brit. t > W. d; as in edifar ‘repentant’ < *ad-di-bar-: W. bár ‘indigna-
tion', Ir. bara : Lat. *ferio.—W. *credaf 'I believe', Ir. *cretum
\( i \equiv d-d \) < *kred d- : Skr. *śrād dhā- 'confide, believe'.

Ar. *śrād dhā- 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), Brugmann² I 670, 691. Lat. *credō is also irregu-
lar, as if *dō 'give' had been substituted for *dhē 'put', Sommer 251.

When d-d came together later in Brit., they seem to have been
simplified to d giving W. $, as in adysg 'education' < Lat. *addisc-;
so W. aðef 'home' < *ad-dem-, √ demā- § 91 i.

(2) The change of the first t in tt to the affricative t* was
perhaps due to the tendency in Ar. to avoid double consonants,
which in other cases seem to have been simplified. Gemination
however was a special characteristic of diminutives and hypo-
coric or pet names, and of child-language, which was in a sense
a language apart; and in these even tt remained unchanged.
Thus Gk. Νικοττό (for Νικοτέλεια), Δικκό, Θεοκκό, Φιλλιός,
Κρίττις, Σθέννις, O. H. G. *Sicco (for Sigerich or Sigbertus), Lat.
Varrō (beside Vārus), Brit. Commio (beside Comus, Gaul. Comus),
W. *iol-lo (with double l in Ml. W. § 22 ii, for Iorwerth), Gutto
(for Gruffudd) ;—Gk. αττα, 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 gʰgʰ in the ogam maqʰgʰi, and for the tt in
Brit. *genettā > W. geneth r.p. 1359 'girl'. So in tribal names:
Brittones beside Britannii; Galli beside Γαλλίαι. 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. mochyu
'pig', Ir. mwcc, Germ. dial. mōcke '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. , Germ. s, Lith. s, Skr. s) appears in Ir. as s-, in W. gene-
rally as h-, sometimes as s-. Examples: Ir. sainail 'likeness', W. hafal 'like' <*saime-: Lat. similis, Gk. ὁμαλός, √ sem- 'one'. —Ir. sam, W. haf 'summer': O. H. G. sumar, E. summer, Skr. sāna- 'year'. —Ir. sen, W. hên 'old': Lat. senex, Gk. ἐνος, Skr. sāna-ḥ 'old', Lith. sēnas 'old'. —W. had : Lat. satus § 63 vi (1). — W. hun 'sleep': Lat. somnus, Gk. ύπνος, § 63 viii (1). —W. hynt 'way', Ir. sæl, § 65 iii. —W. hir 'long', Ir. sîr : Lat. sērūs, § 72. — — Ir. secht u-, W. saith 'seven': Lat. septem, Gk. ἑπτά, etc. < Ar. *sep'tm § 86 ii (1). —W. șil 'progeny, seed', beside hil <*sē-l-, √ sē- § 63 vi (1). —W. serr, Ir. sêr, § 86 i (5). — W. saer, Ir. sæær <*sapero-? : Lat. sapio.—W. sugnaf, Ir. sűgim 'I suck': Lat. sūcus, sūgo, O. E. sūgan, sūcan 'suck'.

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. cog, Ml. W. ehaew, Ir. eo, gen. iach < Kelt. *esāk- <*esōk-, Lat. eoxo < 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 cases < cánus. 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 bestavor < sextarius; this either was a trade term borrowed early, or has followed the analogy of words like Hafren. Possibly a transition stage is represented by Isarninus, Isarninus beside Isarninus Rhys LWPh.1 418. (The Ir. reduction of s is independent, and is included in the Ir. system of initial mutation.)
iv. Ar. su- remained in Pr. Kelt., and gives s in Ir., chw-, hw- in W., § 26 vi. Thus Ar. *snesdr > Ir. siur, W. chwaer 'sister' § 75 vii (2).—Ar. *suid-t- > *suib-t- > W. chwyd 'sweat': Skr. svidyati 'sweats': Lat. sudor < *soid-: E. sweat.—Ar. *suek > W. chwech, Ir. së: Gk. 'Fé̂g, § 101 ii (2); Ar. *suek(n)r- > W. chwydrwn 'father-in-law', chwydr 'mother-in-law': Lat. socer, socres, Gk. ekpó̂s, ékupáz, Skr. sváṣurah, sváṣráh.—W. chwi 'you' < *s-nŷs: Lat. vós § 159 iv.—Before s from ā it was unrounded to h, as in hawdd < *syaidd- § 148 i (6).

Medial -us-> h> W. w § 76 ii (3).

§ 95. i. Ar. sm-, sn-, sl-, sr- remained in Pr. Kelt. and appear in Ir. unchanged, in W. as m-, n-, ll-, rh-. Thus, sm-: Ir. smér 'blackberry', W. mwyar 'blackberries' § 75 vi (2).—Ir. smir gen. smera 'marrow', W. mér id.: Gk. σμυρίζω, μυρίζω 'I anoint', E. smear, Lith. smarsas 'fat'.—sn-: Ir. snechta, W. nyf 'snow': Lat. vinguit, O. H. G. snéo, E. snow § 92 iii.—Ir. snám 'I swim', W. nawf 'swimming': Lat. náre, Skr. snáti 'bathes'.—Ar. ħ seńe(i)- 'thread': Ir. suim, W. ydldaf 'I spin', Ir. snáthat, W. nodwydd 'needle': Lat. nère, E. snare, Skr. snáy 'bowstring'.—sl-: Ir. sleum, W. llynf 'smooth': Lith. lúbrícus < *slobrisco, E. slip.—Ir. slúag, W. llu 'retinue': O. Bulg. sluga 'servant'.—sr-: Ar. *srŷ- : Ir. sroth 'stream', W. rhwd 'dung-water' (rhwd tomydd I. G. 238), rhewn 'gutter': Lith. srutà 'dung-water', Gk. ρυός, ροῦμα, etc. § 58 vi, § 76 iv (1).—Ir. srwn 'nose' < *sroku-, W. rhoch 'snore' < *sroku-. § 99 vi (3): Gk. ἑγγέω, ἑγκο 'I snore', ἑγγός 'snoring', ἑγγός 'pig's snout', § 97 v (3).

As s- before a vowel sometimes remains in W., so a few examples occur of s- before a sonant, as (y)moden 'band, lace', Ir. smáthé gl. filum < *sūt-, √ seré(ī); —(y)slath beside llath 'lath', Ir. slat: E. lath, O. H. G. latta without s. The N. W. dial. slywen 'eel' is prob. for *slywywen: Corn. seluyas, syllyes 'eels', Bret. silienn (stlaonenn) 'eel'; the Mn. lit. W. llyswen, S. W. dial. llysibén, seems to be a metathesized form; prob. √ selei- : Lat. limax. The second element is perhaps -onghy-: Ir. eso-ung 'eel': Gk. ἐγγέλως 'eel' (the root has many forms, see Walde2 s. v. angúis).

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 ū § 54 i (2). Examples: sm: W. twymyn ‘fever’ < *tepes-men- § 86 i (3).—W. ym ‘we are’, Ir. ammi < Kelt. *ömnesi § 179 ix (3).—sn: W. onn-en ‘ash’, Ir. huinn-ius < *os-n-: Lat. orius < *osinus, O. H. G. as-k, E. ash.—W. bron ‘breast’, Ir. bruinne id. < *brus-n-: O. H. G. brus-t ‘breast’.—sl: W. coll ‘hazel’, Ir. coll < *gos-l-: Lat. corulus < *cosculus, O. H. G. hasal, E. hazel, Lith. kasulas ‘spear’—sr: W. fferu ‘to congeal’ < *spis-r-: Lat. spissus ‘thick’—After a long vowel or diphthong n or r is simplified, as in fhūn ‘breath’ < *spis-n- § 96 iv (1); —gpawr ‘dawn’ < *yôs-r-: Lat. vér ‘spring’ < *yôs-r, */eyes-. But the simplification took place too late to give *f, *l for m, ūl in twymyn, pwyll, etc.; and -m, -ll remained double after simple vowels and shortened as in drūm § 100 v, dúll (2) below.

(2) An explosive before one of the above groups simply disappears; thus *pro-t-smā > W. rhann § 63 vii (2); —*tuk-šlo-s > W. twll § 86 ii (3); —*džk-smā > W. drem ‘sight’, /derek-§ 61 i; —W. rhwym ‘band’ < *reig-smen, /reig-: Lat. corrigia;—W. pwyll, Ir. ciall ‘thought’ < *q*eit-sl-: Skr. cit-tā-m ‘thought’, caityah ‘soul’; —W. dull ‘manner, appearance’ < *doik-sl-, /deik-.: Gk. δείκνυμι.

(3) But a sonant in the above position remains. Examples: W. garm ‘shout’, Ir. gairm < *gär-smyn, /gār-: Lat. garrio;—W. telm ‘snare’, Ir. tailm, gen. telma < *tel-sm-: Gk. τελμάων ‘thong’;—Ml. W. annyned (now annyed), Ir. aímenus ‘patience’ < *g-menieniá, /menei ‘thought’, pref. y- ‘in’; —W. mrmyn ‘a little bit’, Ir. mbr ‘a bit of flesh’ < *mèmesro-m (i shortened in Brit., m lost in Ir.): Lat. membrum < *mèmesrom, Gk. μηρός < *mèmesros or *mēros, Skr. mās ‘flesh’;—W. cern ‘back of cheek’ < *kersn-: Lat. cernius < *kersn-, Gk. κάρπον < *kérasnom, Lat. cerebrum < *kersasrom; W. carr yr ‘jawbone’ either < *kér’s-r-: (cf. Lat. cerebrum) or simply < *kér’s-:—W. annaíd ‘nod’ (for *anmeid), O. W. pl. enmeituou, O. Bret. enmetiam gl. innuo < *in-smel-: Ir. smélím ‘I nod’ < *smen-. It is to be observed that m in these groups = mm, and is not mutated to f.

iii. (1) Ar. -ms-, -ns- became -ss- in Pr. Kelt., and appear so in Gaul., Ir., and W. Thus Gaul. esseda ‘war-chariot’ < *en-see-ā § 68 ii; and acc. pl. -ass in artuass (like Lat. -ās) < *-áns. In
W., where -ss- became final by loss of the ending, it became -s early; but medially it is still double, though now written -s- § 54 i (2). Examples: W. crus, Ml. W. crus, ‘to bake’, cræs ‘baked’ < *krams- < *grem-s-, √ gerem-: Lat. cremo, Gk. κέραμος, W. cramwyl ‘pancake’ < *kram-pok-li, —W. mis ‘month’, Ir. mìgen. mis < *mènisis: Lat. mensis, Gk. μήν, Lith. mënù, mënesis ‘month’; —W. gwerês ‘heat’ < *gʰrens-os, √ gʰer-, § 92 iii: Skr. ghirasāḥ ‘heat of the sun’ < *gʰrens-ős; —Ml. W. cysefthin ‘sitting together’ < *kon-sed-.

(2) The same change takes place before an explosive; thus nst > st; noq> > sp; as W. cystadl, cystal ‘as good’ § 96 ii (3); cosp < *konsq- § 96 iii (5).

(3) The nasal also disappears when an explosive came between it and the s, as in W. cysefin ‘primitive’, Ml. W. cysefin < *kiul’saminos, beside. cyntaf ‘first’ § 106 iii (3), cyntafin ‘Spring’ < *kiult<saminino-.

iv. (1) Ar. -ls-, -rs- probably became -ll-, -rr- in Pr. Kelt. Examples of the former are uncertain in W., because -ln-, ’-l̂- also give W. ll; perhaps W. pell ‘far’ < *gʰel-s- : Gk. τέλος, —W. carr, Ir. carr, Gaul, carr-(us) < *gʰel-sos § 63 iii; —W. torr ‘crowd’ (b. n. 44, 45), ‘heap’ < *tur-s-, ur < *gʰer- § 63 viii, √ tycer-: Lat. turbä, 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. gyyr ‘a drove’ (of cattle) < *gerks- < *gerrg-s- : Gk. γέργαρα: Πολλά: Ηεσ., Lat. crex, W. gre; —W. torr ‘to break, cut’ < *torq-s-, √ tereq-: Lat. truncus < *tronqos, W. thrwech ‘broken, cut’ < *tronqos; —W. carreg ‘stone’ < *kʰelq-s-iqā, √ kereq-: Skr. śákaṇṇah ‘pebble’, Gk. χρώκαλη ‘pebble’, W. crogen ‘shell’, craig ‘rock’ < *kroqi-; —W. torr ‘belly’ (generally of an animal), torrog ‘pregnant’, Ir. torrach ‘pregnant’ < *torq-s-: Lat. turgus ‘body of an animal, hide’; —W. gwarr ‘upper part of back’, gwarr héol G. 300 ‘ridge of the roadway’ < *gort-s- : Lat. vortex, W. gwarthaf ‘summit’ < *gort,mo-; —W. corr ‘dwarf’ < *gort-s- : Lat. curtus, Ir. cert ‘little’, √ (g)ger-: —Possibly we have ll from -lks- in W. callesstr ‘flint’ < *qʰelq-s- : Lat. calx, Gk. χάλις, √ q(ʔ)elei- parallel to √ kereq- above.
(3) An explosive following the group remains, and the s disappears; thus W. *torth 'loaf', Ir. *tort- 'baked': Lat. *torreus < *tors(i)los : torreo < *torseo; W. *tarth 'vapour, mist' (tarth may Act. ii 19 'vapour of smoke', tan tvmn tarth b. ft. 38 'hot scorching fire') < *tros-st- : Gk. τερσαίων, τερες- 'dry up'; — W. *garth 'promontory, hill', Ir. *gert < *gertos-t- : Gk. ξέρσος, γέρης- § 93 ii (3) (not to be confused with garth 'enclosure': Lat. hortus § 99 vi (1), § 76 vi (2)).

§ 96. i. Ar. s- + tenni succeeded 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 pp 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.

Tennis + 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 > dz (dzh); the group became tenni + 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); angwrn < *ast-korn- ii (4); nos < *nots < *noq*ts ii (5). The same simplification took place later in words borrowed from Lat. : W. *estron 'stranger' < extraneus, astrus < abstrūsus, etc., § 103 i (5).

ii. (1) Ar. st- became s- in Ir., st- or s- in Bret., Corn., and W. Examples: Ir. sál, W. sawdl, Bret. seu 'heal' < *stā-il- § 63 vi (1); — Bret. *stere, Corn. stere, W. seren 'star' : Lat. stella < *ster-lā, Gk. ἀστήρ, O. H. G. sterno, E. star : Ar. *stēr- ; — Bret. staon 'palate', W. safn 'mouth' : Gk. στόμα ; — Ir. *sere, W. serch 'love', Bret. serch 'concubine' : Gk. στέρησις : Ar. *sterek/g- ; — W. (y)starn, Bret. starn, stern 'harness' beside W. saru 'causeway' § 63 vii (2), √ sterō- 'spread out'. It is not to be supposed that st- became s- in W. in seren etc. after the separation of W. and Corn., since Lat. st- generally remains (not always; swmbel...
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§ 66 ii (1)); but rather that st- and s- existed side by side, and one form or the other prevailed; cf. § 94 iii. The lisped form & is attested in Gaul, in the name Dirona, also spelt Sirona (? star-goddess, *stér-).


(3) When -st- is preceded by a nasal or explosive or both, the whole group gives W. st. Examples: W.ystal, older eystaill ‘as good’< *kom-sthā-āhlō- ‘standing together’; Lat. stabulum< *stha-āhlō-m;—W. trwst ‘tumult’< *trum-st- (ru< u₂ § 63 viii (1)), √tyer-: Lat. turma, turba, Gk. σύρβης, Att. τύρβης;—Ir. los, los (i. erball) ‘tail’, Bret. lost ‘tail’, lostenn ‘petticoat’, lostek ‘tailed, trailing’, W. ilost ‘tail’ in ilost-lydan ‘beaver’, arlost ‘the butt end of a spear’< *lomp-st-, √leb- ‘hang down’: Skr. lámbate ‘hangs down’, Lat. limbus ‘hem of a garment’< *lembōs, E. lop in lop-eared, lop-sided: W. llwsgo ‘to trail, drag behind’< *lomp-sq;—W. cynnwst ‘kennel’< *kuño-loq-st-, √legh- ‘lie’;—W. gast ‘bitch’< *gauast- for *kuau-st-§ 101 iii (2)< *k(γ)st- ‘dog’ § 76 v (1);—W. clust ‘ear’, Ir. cluass< *kleu-st-, a Kelt. formation< Ar. *kleutom ‘hearing’: Av. srāt-st- m, Goth. hlinbl.——(For the group after a liquid, see § 95 iv (3).)

After a prefix both forms occur: W. gwā-sarn ‘litter’, √sterō-; gwā-stad ‘level’, √sthā- ‘stand’; di-serch ‘unlovely’, √sterk/g- (1)
above; *di-stadl* 'insignificant', lit. 'without standing', cf. *cystadl* above.

We have perhaps to assume *uos-* (cf. Lat. *sus*) beside *uo-* and *dès-* beside *dè-, giving *sêt-* beside *sê-, resulting in *sêt- beside *sê-. 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* < *stre-t-*, /sterô- § 63 vii (2); — W. *ystrew*, trew 'sneeze' < *streus-* § 76 ii (2), /stereu- : Lat. *sternuo*, Gk. πτάρνυμι; — W. *ystlys* 'side', Ir. *sliss* 'side' < *stl- -s- : Lat. *latus* < *stl- -s-, /stel(a)- ; — W. *arwestr* 'band, (apron-)string' < *are- west-râ : Gk. Dor. Φαστρά (γέστρα: στολή Hes.), Lat. *vestis* ; — W. *rhwystr* 'obstacle' < *reig-s-tro-* ' *snare' : W. *rhwym* § 95 ii (2); — W. *bisl* 'gall' (u for y § 77 vii (2)), Corn. *bistl*< *bis-tl- : Lat. *bilis* < *bis-lis* (different suffixes -tl- : -l- ) ; — W. *destl* 'neat, trim', *dîddestl* '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 *stsk* > *sk*, as in W. *asgwyn*, Ml. *ascwrun* 'bone' < *ast-korn* : Gk. δότεον, see (2) above (initial a/o altern, § 63 v (2)); and *llosgwyn* 'tail' similarly formed from *lompst-, see (3); — W. *guisg* 'dressing' < *gêst-q-, dî-osg* 'to undress' < *dê-yos-st-q-, /yes- : 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' < *smîit-s-, noun in -s- beside melys 'sweet' participle in -t- § 87 ii, base *meleit-* ; — W. *ylls* 'court', Ml. Bret. *leis*, Ir. *liss*, less < *y(l)t- -s-, with an -s- suffix which lost its vowel, added to *plîth* § 63 viii (1); — W. *aswy*, Ml. *aswy*, aswy 'left (hand)' < *at-sowid-s* < *adsweyôs* : Skr. *savyâh* 'left'. — An explosive before the group drops; thus W. *nos* 'night' < nom. *not-s* < *noqst-s* beside noeth in *trannoeth* 'the following day', heno, O.W. *henoid* (= henoyth) 'to-night' from oblique cases *noklt- ; so *glas-* 'milk' < *glokt-s*, § 63 vii (3); *tes* 'heat' < *tekts* < *tep-l-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- (< χ) in W.

After a prefix: W. *cysgod*, *gwasgod* `shade' √skhul-, as above.


*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-, er-,* § 101 ii (3). Medially we may have -chl-, -chr-, § 156 i (11), (13).


(4) Medially between vowels Ar. -sk- > W. *ch*, but is hardly to be found except in old compounds like gochel `to guard (against)', *ym-ochel* `to take shelter' √upo-*s-kel-, √kel- § 63 iii. —Ar. *sq-, sq*- gave *x*, generally unrounded to *ch* ; in Ir. all appear as *ss.*
Thus Ar. verbal suffix *-sq- (< Skr. -eca-, Gk. -eka, Lat. -ec), appears as ch in W. chwenycaf; finally -wch < *yk* < *-i-q- (< Gk. -i-eka) § 201 iii (2);—Ml. W. amkwed w.m. 453 ‘replied’ < *am-%-aw% § 156 i (4) < *mybi-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. mysqu, cymysgu ‘to mix’, Ir. mescaim ‘I mix’ < *mik-sq- : Lat. miscuo, Gk. μίγνυμι, Skr. miśrā-ḥ ‘mixed’, /meīk/%-;—W. llusgo ‘to drag’ < *lop-sq- ii (3) above;—W. heyg ‘sedges’, Ir. sessenn ‘swamp’ < *seq-sq- : E. sedge, O. E. secg /seq/g- ‘cut’: Lat. seco etc.;—W. llseg ‘languid, infirm, sluggish’, Ir. less ‘slothful’ < *leg-sq-, /s/)eg- : Skr. lauqqa-h ‘lame’ < *leng-, Lat. linguo < *leng-, Gk. λαγαφός ;—W. gwyrfg ‘twigs’ < *uqd-sq- : Lat. rāmsus < *uqd-mo-s, /yrd- § 91;—W. diyasg f. ‘a cry’ < *de-ad-sq-altā, /seq/-, suff. § 143 iii (18); W. cosp ‘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. hyesp ‘dry’ (without milk), di-hysb-yddu ‘to bail’ (a boat, a well, etc.), di-hysb-ydd ‘inexhaustible’ < *siuq-yo- redupl. of /seq- ‘dry’: Avest. hišku- f. hiškvī-, Lat. siccus < *sicos (W. sych, Ir. secc < Lat.?).


As before ts, an explosive or nasal before the group dropped; but in that case -ks- probably, like -sk-, did not become x, but remained and developed like Lat. -x-; so perhaps traís ‘oppression’ < *treks- < *trenk-s- : W. trenn, Ger. stren § 148 i (13). A liquid before the group remains, § 95 iv (2); -kal-, -km- etc., § 95 ii (2).

iv. After s, Ar. p in Kelt. either (a) became *f as usual; or (β) was altered to q as and developed accordingly.
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(β) sp(h) > Kelt. sqh > W. chw- (-h-) or sp-, Ir. sc-. Thus W. chhynn ‘weeds’ (prob. originally ‘furze’, as E. whin which comes from it) < *sqh*inn- < *spid-* : Lat. pinna < *spid-* ; Ir. sce gen. pl. sciad, W. ysypuddad ‘hawthorn’ < *sqh*y*id-at- : Lat. spīna, spōca, √ spei- ;—W. chwydd ‘to vomit’, chwyld ‘vomit’ § 100 ii (3), √ speiγ- : Lat. spuo, E. spew, etc. ;—W. holl ‘split’, hollti ‘to split’, beside (a) Bret. faouta ‘to split’ < *spolt-, √ spel- § 101 iv (2) ;—W. yspar ‘spear’, Bret. sparr : Lat. sparsus, O. H. G. spōr, E. spear, √ sfỵrēc- § 97 v (3) ;—W. chhynn ‘swift’ < *sfhreγ-, hord ‘a violent push’ < *sfhreγ- § 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’ < *ui-sp(uy)-*n- : sg. *ffēr, Lat. perna above ;—(β) W. ucher ‘evening’, Ir. fēscor : Lat. vesper, Gk. επιερός § 66 iii.

After a consonant (a) -sp- > W. *ff- ; unlike -st-, -sk-, which preserve the explosive, sp had become *sf-, and there was no explosive to preserve. Thus W. *ffro ‘awake’ < *eksprog- dissim. from *eks-pro-gr- : Lat. expergiscor for *ex-pro-griscor (Walde, s.v.) : Av. fra-yrismnō ‘waking’, Skr. jārate ‘wakes’, Gk. ἐγείρω, √ ger-, gerēi-.

(3) Ar. -ps- also gives (a) W. *ff-, or (β) W. *ch-, but Ir. *ss- . Thus (a) W. *краf ‘sharp, keen’ < *qrap-* < *grab-* : Icel. skarpr, O. E. scarp, E. sharp, E. scrape, W. *crauf ‘to scratch’ ;—W. praaff ‘burly’ < *qrap-* : Lat. corpus, etc. ;—(β) W. uchel ‘higher’, uchel ‘high’, Ir. *ũsāl, uasal, Gaul.
§ 97. Before a media or aspirated media, s had become z medially in Pr. Ar. Thus the V-grade of ½ sed- was -zd-. Ar. z became $ in Pr. Kelt. This remained in Brit., and the media following it was reduced later to the corresponding voiced spirant.

ii. Ar. -zd-> Kelt. ðd. In W. this became ðh, through ðh; in Ir. it appears as t, ðt (≡ ðd-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. niñad-ḥ, ½ sed- § 63 ii;—W. sith 'upright', sythu 'set erect', Ir. seta 'tall'<*sizd- : Lat. sīdo<*sizdō, Skr. sidati 'sits' for *sidati<*sizd-, Gk. ἵω<*sizdō, ½ sed-, redupl. *sizd-;—W. goyth 'anger', ad-wyth 'hurt, mischief, misfortune'<*ɣheizd-, Ml. Ir. goet 'wound'<*ɣhoizd- : Skr. ḍeñä-ḥ 'anger'<*ɣheizd-va, hēñati 'angers, vexes, hurts', Lith. žaizda 'wound', Žaidžiù 'I wound', Av. zōñdā- 'hateful';—W. brathu 'to stab, bite', brath 'a stab, a bite'<*bhrazd(h)- : Russ. brozdá 'bit, bridle'<*bhrazd(h)-, O. Bulg. břžda id.<*bhəz(d)- : with -st-, Skr. ḍhrñī-ḥ 'tooth, point', Lat. fastigium for *frasti- (<*frasti-?), *bhər-? Walde 275, extension of *bhər- 'prick': W. bér 'spear, spit';—d- presents: W. chwythaf 'I blow'<*sūiz-d-, Ir. sēlim id.<*sêuiz-d- : Skr. kṣvedati 'utters an inarticulate sound, hisses, hums'<*kṣveiz-d- : with -l-, 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 > ð is later, so that Brit. -ðd> ðh > th. Thus the prefix *eks- + d- gave *e(g)zd-d>*eðd-> eth- as in ethol 'to elect'<*egz-dol- : E. tale, Ger. Zahl 'number', W. didoli 'to segregate', Skr. dālam 'piece', Lith. dališ 'part', ½ dēl- 'divide'.

iii. Ar. -zē(h)-, -zg(h)- > Kelt. -sg- ; in Ir. it appears as dg (≡ ðg); in W. *ðg became ð by met.; after w, *ðg> 8f. Thus
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W. maidd 'whey' < *mežô-, met. for *mež-; Ir. meðg 'whey', Gallo-Lat. mesga (s for ð? cf. § 96 ii (1)): Lat. mergo, Lith. mazybti 'to wash', Skr. majjati 'sinks' < *meẓg-;—W. haiddl 'barley' < *se-zg-, redupl. of *seg-: Lat. seger;—perhaps W. twddf 'a swelling' for *tuog-< *tuzg-, s-stem of √ tenē-: (Goth. þuē-)+-g- suff.: Lat. turgeo (Walde² rejects his first suggestion that this is from *tuzg- in favour of Solmsen's √turigo, IF. xxvi 112 ff., with -igo (; ago), though this is usually 1st conj., as navigāre).

W. gwðf 'throat', N. W. dial. gwðw, pl. gyðfe, gyðfa, S. W. dial. gwðwyg, pl. gyðge, gythce, Bret. gouzoug, with -g for -ʒ, § 111 vii (4), seems to require *guzy-; √ ghu-s, √ gheu-: (Lat. fusces) + -g-, as in mien-g 'mane'.

iv. Ar. -zb(h)- > Kelt. ðb > Ir. db, W. ðf. Thus W. oddf 'knag, knot, nodeule', Ir. oðb : Gk. ὀσφός (< *ost-bhu- ?).

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 tafol 'tongue' corresponding to d- elsewhere (O. Lat. dinguia), which is parallel to the t in taw 'be silent' (s still kept in di-staw) corresponding to the *dh- which gives the d- of E. dumb. But it hardly explains the alternation when the tenuis is general and the media exceptional, as in W. eraidd, Lat. cord-, Lith. szirdis, E. heart, Gk. καρδία < *k̯- : Skr. hṛḍ-, Av. varṣda < *g̯h-, 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 √bhúre-, extd. *bhúre-g-/*gh-/*q-, orig. meaning r. 'hurl', 2. 'smite'; hence from r. 'sprinkle, cast (seed); roar, snore; rattle; talk': from 2. 'break; crash, break out, burst; smell'. bh- : W. burøw 'hurl, smite', burøw glaw 'to rain', burøw had 'to cast seel' < *bhur'g- (ur < ẙr); Lat. ſrango < *hraŋɡ-, ſrágor < *bhr̥g-, ſrä-
grære, E. break; burst, W. brych, brith ‘speckled’; — sph-: W. hwerθ § 100 iii (2), chweyn ‘swift’ § 96 iv (1), chweynu ‘to roar, snore’; Skr. svaratī ‘spurns, darts, bounds’, svarājati ‘rumbles, roars, rattles, crashes’ < *sphārya-; Lat. sperma, spargo; E. spurn, sprinkle; Gk. σφάραγος; W. frræth § 96 iv (1), ffroen < *sphrug-nā (ru < yr); — ph(1)—: W. arch ‘speckled’, Gk. πέρκος; W. arch-fa ‘stench’ < *phīr-qa-; aroglen ‘a smell’, compound p̃̃rhoq-prág—(<p...g > t...g § 86 ii (3)) trywyð ‘scent’, trywyn ‘nose’ < *prug-no-, trawaf ‘I strike’ < *prug- (ru < yr); — spr > sr § 101 ii (3): W. rhuo ‘roar, talk loudly’ < *sroq-, Gk. ἐγχω, ἐγκω, ἐγχος, ἐγχός, W. rhoch ‘snore’.

§ 98. i. (1) In Gk. and Kelt. a dental explosive sometimes appears after a guttural where the other languages have s; this is explained by the supposition that Ar. possessed after gutturals another spirant, similar to E. th in think, W. th, which is written þ. After an aspirated media, as s became z, § 96 i, so þ became ð; thus ghθ > ghθ (gθ). Brugmann² I 790 ff.


Ar. ᵉk- (Lat. x-, Gk. -κτ-, Skr. -kṣ-) gave Kelt. -kt-. Thus W. arth ‘bear’, Ir. art < *aetros < *arktos : Gk. ἀρκτος, Lat. ursus < *ursos, Skr. ṛkṣaḥ : Ar. *arkhos, *ṛkpos § 63 v (2).

(3) Ar. ġhθ- (Lat. h-, Gk. χθ-, Skr. ḳ-, Germ. ḳ-, Lith. ḳ-) gave Kelt. da-. Thus Ir. indhe, W. doe ‘yesterday’ < *desi = Lat. heri : Gk. χθές, Skr. hyāḥ, § 75 vii (2); this occurs medially in W. neithįwyr ‘last night’, § 78 ii (2) for *neith-dįwyr < *nokti dieserāi (assuming the case to be loc.) : O. H. G. gestaron, E. yester-, Lat. hesternus : Ar. *γδός-, suff. *-ero-/-tero-.—W. ty-dyn ‘a measure of land, a small farm’ lit. ‘house-land’, tref-dyn B.T. 14, gwel-dyn (gwelliun b.b. 64), Ml. pl. tyɔynnu for *-dy núem < *domi- : Lat. humus, Gk. χθῶν : Ar. *γδόμ- ‘earth’; allied to this as meaning ‘terrestrial’ are the names for ‘man’: W. dyn, Ir. dnine < *dɔnjo- < *γδόμi- : Lat. homo, Lith. žmū, žm-ą-gus pl. žmönęs, Goth. guma pl. gymans : Ar. *γδόμ-. This may be for *γδόm- as Pedersen suggests, Gr. i 89-90; in that case the root must be *γδόεi-, which therefore must be the same as

* In Late W. wrongly spelt tudwedd from a fancied relation to tud ‘people’, whence ‘country’. The examples in B.B. both rhyme with -ed.
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The Sonants.

§ 99. i. Initially before vowels, and medially between vowels, Ar. 1, r, m, n (so in most of the languages, but r > ēp- in Gk.) remained unchanged in Pr. Kelt. In W. initial 1- and r- became 1- and rh-, § 103 i (4). Many examples occur in the above sections; as W. illost < *lomspst- § 96 ii (3); W. halen 'salt' § 58 ii; W. rheym, ṣreig- § 95 ii (2); W. adferaf, ṣber- § 58 iii; W. mis 'month' § 95 iii (1); W. haf, Ir. sam 'summer' § 94 i; W. naw 'nine' § 76 iii (1); W. ychen '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. ml-, mr- remained in Pr. Kelt., but in Brit. they became bl-, br- and appear so in W.; in Ir. both m- and b- appear. Thus W. blys < *mlit-s- § 96 ii (5);—W. bro 'region', Ir. mruig 'boundary' < *mrog-: Lat. margo, O. H. G. marka, O. E. meare, E. march § 65 ii (1);—W. brag 'malt', Ir. mraich.
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< *mraq-, W. braenu ‘to rot’ < *mrug-<, *mer<q̣y- ‘decay’ : Lat. fracēs ‘oil-dregs’, Gk. ἁμόργη (< *dμορκά, whence Lat. amurca Walde² 464).—Similarly Ar. m- before ₱ or γ, short or long: W. blith ‘milk, milch’, Ir. mliacht, blicht < *mǐkt-, § 61 i; W. bławd ‘flour’ < *mlt- § 61 ii.—The same change probably took place medially also; in that position both m and b would now appear as f, but in O. W. ū from m, while v from b appears as b; and such a form as ancibret ox. < *hb-th-kom-(p)ro-ret-§ 156 i (9) implies v < b; so Brit. Sabrina probably contains *sam-. In the Coligny calendar tio-cobrezio very probably contains *kom-rekt- = W. cyfraith, Rhys CG. 16. But. W. cy̆-< *kom- persisted by analogy: cymreith (m = ū) L.L. 120; cf. § 16 iv (3). (Lat. m...l became mb...l in cumulus, stimulus § 66 ii (1).)

(2) Ar. medial -lm-, -rm- remained in Pr. Kelt., and -imp-, -rpm- became -lm-, -rm-; they appear so in Ir.; in W. the m appears as f or w. Thus W. celsfydd ‘skilful’, celsfyddyl ‘craft’, O. Bret. celdmed gl. efficax, Ir. calma ‘doughty’ < *qel’mp-: Lat. scalpo, Lith. sklempiu ‘I polish’, Skr. kalpanā ‘fashioning, invention’, kļptā ‘arranged, trimmed, cut’: E. skill, Goth. skilja ‘butcher’; √ (s)qel-, extd. *(s)gel-;—W. cwrf, cwrw, Ml. W. kwrf, coll. cvwr for cwrwf or cwrw ‘beer’, Ir. cuirm, Gaul. κωρμυ, < *korm-: Lat. cremor ‘thick juice obtained from vegetables’; Lit. ‘*docoction’, √ gerem- § 95 iii (1) ;—W. serfyll ‘prostrate’ < *stf’r-m-: Lat. strāmen, Gk. ṣτράῳμα, Skr. stāman-‘strewing’, √ stero- § 63 vii (2).—So in old compounds: W. gorfynt ‘envy’, Bret. gourvent, Ir. format < *mer-ment-: Lat. gen. mentis, E. mind: Gk. ῥπερ-μεν-ης with same pref. and root: √ men-; but later compounds may have rm, as gor-mor ‘too much’.

Probably the m was already somewhat loose in Brit., as Gaul. cervesia ‘beer’ beside κωρμυ shows it to have been in Gaul. Hence new formations with a new m might be treated differently. Thus, in Lat. loanwords, while we have usually lf, rf, as in palf < palma, terfyn < terminus, we may have lm, rm, as in Garmon < Germanus, salm < psalmus, prob. borrowed later.

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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-llad, an-rhec, § 111 i (1).


iv. (1) Ar. -mn-, -nm- remained in Pr. Kelt., and appear so in Ir. (or with an epenthetic vowel); in W. the mutated form f (or w § 102 iii (1)) takes the place of m. Thus W. safn ‘mouth’, Bret. staoû ‘palate’ < *stom-n- : Gk. στόμα § 76 vii (4);—W. cyfnesaf ‘kinsman’ < *kom-nessem-, § 148 i (1);—Ir. aínwm ‘name’, O. W. anu < *anμmy § 63 v (2);—W. menw-yl ‘mind, pleasure’, Ir. meume ‘mind’ < *men-m- : Skr. mánman- ‘mind, thought’;—W. an-fud ‘atrocious’ (: mad ‘good’), Gaul. (Sequ.) anmat… ‘unlucky’ < *g-mat- : Lat. mātrus orig. ‘in good time’ Walde2 476.

An explosive probably dropped before the group : W. pythefnos, pythefnos ‘fortnight’ lit. ‘15 nights’ for *pyrnthēnnoth (dissim. of nasal) < *pempede(k)n-m-noktes < Kelt. *qerqpedekn noktes.

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

v. (1) A group consisting of l, r, m or n and a single explosive remained in Pr. Kelt. (except that p dropped, § 86, and a nasal assumed the position of a following explosive). The further development of such groups in W. is dealt with in §§ 104-6.

(2) When a liquid came before two explosives the first explosive dropped; thus W. perth ‘bush’ < *perlä < *qerq-t- : Lat. quercus < *perq̂-us § 86 ii (2) : O. H. G. forha, O. E. fyrh, E. fir, Skr. parkati ‘ficus religiosa’;—W. celth ‘flint’ < *gelq-t- : Lat. calx § 95 iv (2);—W. arth, Ir. art < *arktos § 98 i (2).

(3) But when a liquid came before two explosives, the nasal dropped; thus W. truyth ‘wash, lye, urine’ < *tronkt- : W. truno ‘urine’ < *tronq- : Lith. trenkû ‘I wash’ (W. trochi ‘to bathe’ <
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*tronq-*, see vi (3)): Lat. stercus, Bret. striôûk ‘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. pweth ‘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. eîthr ‘except’, Ir. echtar < *ektro-s: Lat. exterus, extrâ, Osc. ehtrad (-x- for *c- is a Lat. innovation, Walde2 263); — W. aethn-en ‘aspen’ < *aktun- < *aptn-: Lith. aπužė ‘aspen’, O. H. G. apsa, O. E. aps, E. asp: Lat. pòpulus < *ploptol-, Gk. πτελέα ‘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- < *etr- < *ad-tr-. In later formations the double consonant remained, as in W. athrist ‘sad’ < *attrîstis < *ad- + Lat. trîstis. kr, tr may develop as kkr, ttr in W. as in ochr, rhnhr § 104 iii (2). A double media in Brit. is treated regularly as a single tenuis in W., as in edrych ‘to look’ < *etr- < *ed-dr- < *ad-dr- or *eg-dr-; once as a double tenuis; see l. c.

vi. (1) A group of the form nt or nd, followed immediately or 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 cêol, abra, cobrith (b ã 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 *êî- the regular Ir. for *ent-) beside Bret. eître, Corn. ytire : Lat. inter, Skr. antâr; — W. athruagar ‘pitiless’ < *atîr- beside Ir. âîrôár < *entîr-, both < *y-trongâkaros; — W. cathl ‘song’ < *katîllo-, Ir. cêol id. < *kîl(t)lo-, O. W. centhliat, centhliat (eu ã ã) gl. canorum, beside Ir. cêol < *katîlo-, Bret. kêtel ‘lesson’; — W. allwedd f. ‘key’ for *alchwedd, Bret. alc'houez metath. for *achlweñ < *y-gl(o)y-îâ (‘unlocker’,
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cf. agoriad ‘opener’ used instead in N. W.), also allwydd m. <
-cios : Lat. clando, clavis, Gk. κληθς, etc.;—W. achrle ‘shelter’
< *γ-kl-stā (γ- ‘in’), √ kel- ‘hide’ : O. H. G. hulst ‘cover’, W.
cydi § 63 iii ;—W. achenog ‘needy’, achen ‘need’, beside W.
anhenog, angen, Ir. éen ‘need’ < *gk-en- : Gk. ἀνάγγη.

Mediae : W. adyn ‘wretch’ < *yddonios < *γ-λονίος ‘not-man’,
beside the later annyn ‘wretch’, annynol ‘inhuman’, Mn. Ir.
andine ;—W. agor ‘to open’ < *eggor- < *γ-ghor- (γ- negative),
beside egor id. < *eggor- (pref. *ek-), √ γhor- ‘enclose’ : Lat. hortus,
Gk. χόρος, W. garth ;—W. wybren ‘cloud, sky’, O. Corn. huibren,
Ml. Corn. ebron, Bret. Van. ebr, beside Ir. imrim ‘storm’ : Lat. imber,
§ 100 v ;—W. hebrwng ‘to accompany, convey’, O. Corn. hebrechiat,
Mn. Corn. hembronk, Ml. Bret. hambrouk < *sem-hromk- : Skr. sam-
abran < *abra-, Ir. abra < *abra-, beside W. amrant < *am-brant-
(γ- ‘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
nu ; thus W. enderig ‘steer’, O. W. enderic gl. vitulus, beside W.
anner ‘heifer’ which contains old nd ;—Gwyn. dial. ãw-gar ‘hot
breath, steam’ for lit. W. ager ‘steam’ < *egger-, beside angerdd
(νγ = νν) < *awger-, all < *γ-g-her- § 92 v.

Similarly ltr > *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 < *bhrknós : Gk. περικνός § 101 iii (2);
as -*ce occurs in Ir., the doubling here is not Brit. γκk < γk § 61 i (1);
—W. eroth a kind of fiddle, eroth ‘womb’, Ir. cruit ‘harp, hump’ <
*grutn- : Lith. krūtis ‘woman’s breast’, krūtinė ‘breast’.—But many
doublings attributed to this cause are due to other causes; see
Thurneysen Gr. 88.

(3) It seems as if n + explosive coming after a sonant might
become a double explosive, as in W. roch ‘snore’ : Gk. ῥόχος, ῥέγκω
§ 97 v (3). We have nk > kk > c’h after a nasal in the Bret. muta-
tion after ma ‘my’, nao ‘nine’, as va c’haloun ‘my heart’, nao c’hant
‘go’ ; but the development is regular in W.

§ 100. i. (1) Ar. i- (Lat. j-, Gk. ἴ, Germ. j, Lith. j, Skr. iy-) remained in Pr. Kelt. ; it disappears in Ir., but remains in W.
Thus W. īeuane, Bret. iaouank, Corn. iouenc, Ir. òac, óc : Lat.

Thus W. gwraith f. 'fois' (tair gwraith '3 times'), Ir. fecht id. < *uekt-, W. ar-wain 'to lead' < *ari-ueg-n- § 203 iv: Lat. vebo, Gk. ξός Hes, δόσ, Skr. vahati 'conveys, draws, leads', O. H. G. wagan, E. wain, way;  

veru*;—W. gwir 'true', Ir. fir: Lat. værus, O. H. G. wär; Ar. *yeros;—W. gwedd, gwís § 63 iv; gwall § 99 iii (1).—So before 1 or r: W. gwylb § 58 iv, gwlad § 63 vii (2), gwraidd § 91.

Though gw- generally remains, it became gwñ- in gwñá 'make, do': Bret. gra, Corn. gwa < *ure-g: cf. Corn. gwreans 'work', gwrear 'worker' < *ureg-. In the Oldest W. r remains: guragun tage (≡ gwraγwεν τακε) B.S.C.H. 2 'let us make peace', wreath B.A. 22 'was made' < *urekt- later gwnech LL. 120, B.T. 64 'may do' < *urek-s-; Ml. W. goreu 'did' < *ureg- < perf. *ue-ureg-e; *ureg-: E. work, Gk. ἔγων (Féypov). Also in gwñio 'to sew': Bret. gria id., Corn. gwry 'seam' < *ureg-, same root; cf. Ir. frace 'needle', fraig 'osier': Gk. πῆγος, etc. (orig. meaning 'bend', hence 'weave', hence 'work'; see Welde s. v. verge).

When gw- or gw- is followed by a rounded vowel or w-diphthong, it may become gr- or gl- by dissimilation: W. grug for gürug § 75 ii; glyw for gelyw § 102 iii (2).

(3) Ar. -i- and -u- between vowels remained in Pr. Kelt.; they disappear in Ir., but generally remain in W., though sometimes altered; see §§ 75, 76, and iii (1) below.

ii. (1) After an initial consonant i or u was liable to drop from the earliest period § 101 ii (2); thus W. doe, Lat. heri, Gk. χθές: Skr. hyāḥ § 98 i (3);—W. dall: Goth.двальс § 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. dīen 'days' for dīen as in Mn. W. trīlian '3 days' (the accentuation implies O. W. dī-) < Brit. *dīowes, < *dīēnes (iōn > W. ēu § 76 iii (3)). The hesitation between \( ḳ \) and i must go back to O. W. when the accent was on the ult. and the i was not unaccented. Lat. i became ḳ early, and
we have *diawl monosyll. § 34 ii < *diab(o)lus, but pl. *di[wyl 3 syll. m. a. i 192a for *dielvalt < *diaboli.

After medial consonants u and ñ remained, as in W. pedwar 'four.' § 63 vii (4);—W. celwydd 'lie' < *kalviö-: Lat. calunnia < *calwennia;—W. dedwydd 'happy' < *do-tulios: Lat. tuéri, tutus, O. Icel. þýða 'friendship', Goth. þinþ 'good' noun, √ teyê(i)- (not √ teyâ- 'swell, increase' according to Walde s. v. tucor)—W. pl. ending -iôn § 121 i; verbal suffix -i- § 201 iii (6); see also iii (2) below.

(2) Between two consonants u and ñ had dropped in Brit.; thus W. garr 'knee' < *gyaur- < *ýr(y)r- § 63 vii (4);—chwan-en < *squond- < *sqond(y)d- ib.;—golchi < *golk< < *gol(i)qy- § 89 ii (2).—On -ey- which came later between consonants in W., see § 42.

(3) Between i or ñ and a consonant, u dropped; as in chwyd 'vomit' < *spî(y)t-<v, speijy- § 96 iv (1);—W. hoed 'grief', Ir. saeth < *saî(y)t-: Lat. saevus (orig. 'sore, sad', see Walde s. v.);—W. oed 'age' < *ai(y)t-: Lat. uetas, older aevitas. Hence while W. has final -yw-, -oyw it has no -yvp-, -ywd, -yte, etc.

iii. (1) In Brit., in the diphthong ië (ei, ai), when accented or following the accent, ñ became a spirant probably like French j, which became s, and appears so in W. Thus -iëos > -ys, -iâ > -es; -iê > -oes § 75 iv. But the change did not take place in ei or ñ.

(2) The same change took place after i or r following the accent; thus 'ïë > *lò > W. ll; and 'rë > *rë ë W. rë. Examples: ñë: W. gallaf 'I can': Lith. galiu 'I can';—W. all- in all-fro 'foreigner', Gaul. Allo-broges < *alio-: Lat. alius, Gk. ἄλλος < *álio;—W. gwell 'better': Skr. várýa- 'eligible', várýān 'better': O. E. wel, E. well, orig. 'choice', √ jel- 'wish'.—rë: W. arddaf 'I plough': Lith. ariu 'I plough', Goth. arjan 'to plough';—Pr. Celt. Iger-iôn, -iann- > W. Iwerddon 'Ireland', Ir. gen. Êrenn;—W. morddwyd 'thigh': O. H. G. muriot 'thigh';—W. hward 'a violent push' < *spuri- (ur < yë § 63 viii (1)) < *spueryê- 'hurl, smite' § 96 iv (1); Lith. spiriu 'I kick' (ir √ < yë § 63 iii); also possibly W. g-ordd fem. 'mallet' (g-exerescent § 112 ii (2)), O. W. ord ox. 2. Bret. orz < *prúj-á 'smiter': Gk. σφῦρα 'mallet' < *sφυρή: in that case Ir. ord̀d is from British (a not improbable borrowing, cf. Pedersen Gr. i 22-4).
(3) The change of \( \digamma \) to *\( \delta \) 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 affeption, and the *\( \delta \) could not affect; hence \( ar\delta af \), not *\( eir\delta af \), 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- < *\( \delta \)li-o-, but aill 'second' < *\( \delta \)li-o-, etc.; see § 165 vi.

iv. Ar. -\( \text{-mi} \)- became -\( \text{-ni} \)- in Pr. Kelt.; as W. dyu 'man', Ir. duine < *\( \text{gh}\)domio-, § 98 i (3), § 121 i;—W. myned, 'to go', Ml. Bret. nonet, Corn. mones < *moni- for *mam\( \text{-} \)- § 65 v (2), by assim. for *bam-\( \text{-i} \)- < *\( \text{g}n\)em-i-, \( \sqrt{\text{g}n\text{em}} \)- : Lat. venio, Gk. \( \text{Bai\text{-}} \)- both < *\( \text{g}n\text{em}\)io, Goth. giman, E. come. The -\( \text{-i} \)- disappeared before the -e- of the suffix; the suffix may have been -af-, § 203 ii, which following the accent would become -et- after \( \text{-i} \), see § 65 vi (1). The \( \text{-i} \) was lost in the compounds an-\( \text{fon} \), dan-\( \text{fon} \) 'to accompany, send', prefix § 156 ii (1).

v. In some cases metathesis of \( \text{-i} \) took place in Brit. Thus Ir. suide 'soot' comes from *sodio-, but W. hudd- in huddygl 'soot' implies *sojd-; O. E. \( \text{\text{-s\text{o}}} \)-, Lith. sudžiai 'soot' have L\( \text{\text{-}} \)-grade; so W. saddaf 'I sink' < *\( \text{sodj} \)-< *sodli- beside W. soddaf 'I sink', sawdd 'subsidence' < *\( \text{\text{-s\text{o}}lo} \)-, \( \sqrt{\text{\text{-sed}}-} \)- § 63 ii.—W. drum 'ridge' < *droimmi-< *drommi-< *dros-mi-: Ir. druimm < *drommi- (i-stem) : Lat. dorsum < *\( \text{d\text{-s\text{-so}}-m} \)-, Gk. \( \text{\text{\text{-s\text{-dd\text{-a}}}} \)-, Skr. \( \text{\text{-s\text{-dd\text{-a}}}} \)- 'rock, millstone', \( \sqrt{\text{\text{-deres}}} \)-:—W. turjo 'to delve' < *toin\( \text{-} \)< *torgi-: Lat. porca § 101 iii (1);—W. ar-o-fun 'intend', dam-(\( \text{f\text{-}} \))-un-aw, dy\( \text{m\text{-}} \)-un-o- 'desire', with -fun-< *\( \text{\text{-m\text{-\text{-o}}-}} \)-< *\( \text{\text{-moni-}} \)-: Lat. moneo, \( \sqrt{\text{\text{-m\text{-\text{-e\text{-n}}} \}-}} \)- extension of \( \sqrt{\text{\text{-m}}} \)- 'mind';—W. ulw 'ashes, powder' < *oily-< *\( \text{\text{-polu\text{-}}} \)-: Lat. pulvis < *\( \text{\text{-polu\text{-}}} \)-:—W. Urien, O. W. Urb-gen § 25 i < *oibro-gen-< *orbo-: Gaul. Orbus 'heir', Lat. orbus, Gk. \( \text{\text{-o\text{-f\text{-a\text{-n\text{-os}}} \}-}} \)-:—W. wyneb 'face', in comp. wyneb- r.m. 3\( \text{-} \) < *einp-< *einap-< *eni-\( \text{-aq} \)- (§ 65 vi (1)) : Skr. \( \text{\text{-n\text{-\text{-k\text{-c\text{-a}}}} \}-} \)- 'face' < *eni-\( \text{-aq} \)-, \( \sqrt{\text{\text{-\text{-q}}} \}- \); the un-metathesized form is seen in O. W. einupp, where ein- is from *\( \text{en(i)} \)- § 70 v, since old ei had then become ei ≡ Mn. wye; O. W. enep, Corn. eneb Bret. enep, Ir. enech show i lost, which occurs before e in Brit., see vi below, and cf. § 35 ii (2), and is usual in Ir., cf. i above;—W. wybr, wybren 'cloud' m. l. 104, 91, 'sky', O. Corn. huibreng gl. nubes < *eibr-< *embrj- § 99 vi (1) : Lat. imber gen. imbris (i-stem) < *embhr-
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’; √(s)theg-;—Ir. scarain, W. ysgraraf ‘I separate’ Lith. skiru id.: Lat. caro ‘flesh’, orig. ‘piece (of flesh)’, Gk. κείπω, Skr. kṛntāti ‘cuts’: √(s)qer-;—W. chwech ‘six’ < *sqēks: Armen. več < *sqēs;—Lat. spargo, E. sprinkle: Gk. περκνός, W. erch ‘speckled, grey’ < ρεργ-, § 97 v (3).—This treatment of s- persisted long after the dispersion; and many of the examples found are undoubtedly cases of the dropping or the adding of s- in the derived languages. In Kelt. s- seems to have been added and dropped with a freedom hardly equalled elsewhere.—As -s was an extremely common ending in Ar., it is natural to suppose that -s st- would be confused with -s t-, so that it would not always be easy to decide whether the initial had s- or not. But some scholars regard the s- as a “preformative” or more or less meaningless prefix; see Schrijnen KZ. xliii 97 ff.

(2) A consonantal sonant after an initial consonant was sometimes dropped. Thus W. chwech, Gk. 'feč < *sqēks: Lat. sex, Goth. sāils < *seks--; Gk. πλατύς, W. lydan, √plēthē- ‘spread out, stretch’: without -l-, Lat. patēre, Gk. πέτανυμι, W. ēdau ‘thread’;—W. brau ‘brittle’
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< *hhrąg-, Lat. frango, E. break : Skr. bhanákti ‘breaks’; Ir. com-
boing ‘confringit’, Armen. bek ‘broken’;—W. cryg ‘hoarse’ < *qri-q-,
yşreach ‘scream’ < *sqrr-q-ná, Gk. κρίτω, κρήτη, E. shriek, Lat.
crimen, vreit : without r—, W. cwyn ‘complaint’ < *get-no-, Ir.
coilín ‘I’m mourn’, Germ. heiser ‘hoarse’, O. E. hās > E. hoarse
(intrusive r)—W. craff ‘sharp’, crafu ‘to scratch’, crach ‘cabs’,
E. scrape : without r—, W. cafu ‘trough’ (scooped out), E. seab,
shave, shape, Gk. σάκτω, σάκφo, Lat. scabo, Lith. skabus ‘sharp’:
*sqrá-b/-bh/-p—;—Lat. brevis < *breğiñuis, Gk. βαχχής < *lβήθς:
without r—, Ir. berr, W. byrr, Corn. ber, Bret. berr ‘short’ < *bek-s-
ro-s (with -ro- suffix. like W. hîr ‘long’ < *sê-ro-s); Ir. becc(e) ‘small’,
< *bégos with dimin. gemination; W. bach ‘small’ < *bφh(u)so—;
bychan ‘small’, O. W. bichan, Bret., Corn., bician < *bìskònu-
< *briks-<*lβýh(u)so—; bechan < *bêgh(u)so—, assumed to be f. in W.
—Later examples of lost r—are E. speak: O. E. sprecan, Germ.
sprechen.—W. gwraith ‘work’: (g)wreith § 100 i (2)—Guto (t ≡ tt)
hypocoristic form of Gruffudd.

(3) Between initial s- and a sonant, a labial or guttural was liable
to drop; thus spr : er, and sgl : sl, etc., Siebs, KZ. xxxvii 285 ff.—
W. cleddyf ‘word’, ar-choll ‘wound’ § 156 i (6), clais ‘bruise’,
< *gld-iti-, claddu ‘to bury’, > golad— ‘strike, cut, dig’: W. iuldd
‘kill, cut off, now’, Ir. slaidim ‘I strike, cut’ < *slad-< *sld—;
W. fffrew ‘stream’, jfrjiao ‘to gush’ < *brgh-t, Germ. Sprudel ‘fount,
gush, flow of water’: W. rhwd, rhewyn, etc., § 95 i, < *sru—;
—W. ffrøen f. ‘nourish’, Ir. srōn f. ‘nose’ < *sprγná ‘without s—p . . y
> t . . g § 86 ii (3)). W. trwyn m. ‘nose’ < *prungn-o, trynød
‘scent’ < *prγnijo—: Gk. πράγιος ‘pig’s snout’ < *sroγhos § 97 v
(3)—So prob. Lat. sœavus, W. clwth § 96 iii (2) < *sq-, by (2) above for
*sgl-: Lat. laevus, Gk. λαუός < *sl-; by (2) *sl- > *s-, whence W.
asswy < *ad-sow-, Skr. savyáék; as sk- alternates with sp-, see iv (1),
the sinple root is perhaps *klei-: Lat. clino, clivus, W. cledd ‘left
(hand), go-sledd ‘north’. So perhaps Lat. lact- for *slact- for
*sglac’ : Gk. γάλα, W. glas-dur § 63 vii (3)—W. ffrèu B.B. 37
‘fruit’ < *sprág-: Lat. frágum < *srág—.

(4) A semiwowel after a long vowel was often dropped: Skr.
aštú ‘eight’, Goth. ahtau : Skr. aštú, Gk. ὄκτω, Lat. octo. The
reduced grade may come from either form; see ?ure(?) § 63
vii (5).

Other sonants might disappear after long vowels, as Gk.
máti.

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. difan, E. dive < *dheup-: W. dèfn ‘deep’, Gaul. dubno-
Lith. dabis ‘deep’ < *dhb-, > dheup/b—;—Lat. gen. pācis : Lat.
pango ∨ pāk/-g—;—Lat. sparq-b : Gk. περκ-νός, W. erch, ii (1) above;
—Lat. plancus, W. talch : E. flake, ∨ pelâq/g§ 86 ii (3)—Lat.
lūceo, Gk. λευκός, W. lug ‘light’; W. go-leu ‘light’, Gaul. Lugu-, \(\sqrt{\text{leuq}}\).—So Lat. porca, W. rhych ‘furrow’ < *pšk: W. turio ‘to delve’ < *torgi- (2- for p- § 86 ii (3)); W. tyrchio ‘to delve’ is a late form from *twēch = Lat. porcus, prob. allied to the above words despite Armenian. herk ‘newly ploughed land’ which implies -q-; (Lith. pafsas ‘pig’ implies -k-); see iv (1).

In the same position an aspired media alternated with a media:
—W. oen ‘lamb’, O. E. ðanfan ‘yean’ < *ag\(\text{h}\)n-: Gk. ἀνός < *ag\(\text{h}\)n-: Lat. agnus ambiguous;—Skr. budhnā-ḥ ‘bottom’, Gk. πυθμόν < *bhdh-: O. E. būn < *bhud-: W. būn ‘bottom’ < Kelt. *budn-6- ambiguous.

An aspired tenuis alternated with an aspired media:—Skr. nakhu-ḥ ‘nail’: Ir. ingen, W. ewin, Lith. nūgās ‘nail’.

(2) Initially a tenuis alternated with an aspired media, more rarely with a media. Thus W. craud, Lat. cord-, Gk. καρδία, Lith. svirdis, E. heart, Sk. šrad-, all from *\(\text{h}j\)-: Ir. cingin ‘I go, stride’, W. hych-ynyg ‘to amble’, Ir. ceimm ‘stride’, W. cam id. < *kngh-smen-: Germ. Gang, E. gang-way, Gk. κακόνιον for *κακόνιον < *kngh-: Lith. ženiū < *kngh- (cf. \*skég § 96 iii (1));—Lat. porcus, Ir. ore, torc, W. twrch, O. H. G. fur(a)h < *p-: O. H. G. barah, O. E. bearh < *bh-:—O. Lat. dīnua, O. H. G. zunga, E. tongue < *d- : Ir. tengue, W. tafod, Corn. twot, Bret. teod < *t-, see § 92 v, § 97 v (2):—W. erch ‘grey, speckled’, Gk. περκόνος : W. brych, brith ‘speckled’, bāwv ‘cast, sprinkle’, see § 97 v (3). As in the last equation, several examples occur in W. and Ir. of *b- pointing to the alternation of *p- : *bh(\text{h})- before the disappearance of *p- in Kelt. Thus Lat. pūs, puter, Gk. πυχός, πῦθμαι, Goth. fūls, E. foul, Skr. pūyati ‘putrefies, stinks’, \(\sqrt{\text{pēu(ā)\text{z}}}\), pū-: W. baw ‘dirt’ < *bh(\text{h})eu-, budr ‘dirty’ < *bh(\text{h})eu-tr-; also with \(\sqrt{\text{p}}\) for \(\sqrt{\text{p}}\), iv (1), Lat. paedor < *pāi-d-, \(\sqrt{\text{pēi}}\): W. boeddu ‘to dirty’ < *bh(\text{h})ai-d- (d-present);—Lith. plūskos ‘hair’, O. E. flōs, F. flece, Ger. Fliss, \(\sqrt{\text{pleus}}\): W. bēw ‘hair’ (mostly of animals, not of man’s head in W., as in Corn. and Bret.) < *bh(\text{h})lews-:—Lat. pasco, Gk. πατέωμαι, Goth. fādjan, E. food,! W. yd ‘corn’, Ir. iθ id., Skr. pitā-h ‘food’, \(\sqrt{\text{pā}}(\text{j})\)-: O. W. bit ‘food’ < *bh(\text{h})it-, Ir. biald id. < *bh(\text{h})i-z-, W. bwyd do. < *bh(\text{h})si-t-:—Lat. piģet, Lith. pėkti ‘to blame’, O. E. jocil, E. jickle, \(\sqrt{\text{pēq/g}}\): W. bai ‘blame, fault’ < acc. *bh(\text{h})ijgin-:—Gk. πέπωμαι, ἔτρωμαι, Lat. pars, W. rhan, \(\sqrt{\text{pērō}}\) § 63 vii (2):—W. bawrn ‘judgement’ < *bh(\text{h})r-\(n\), brāwd id., Ir. bráth id.< *bh(\text{h})r-\(t\)- (for meaning cf. Germ. Teil ‘part’ : Urteil ‘judgement’).—The above alternation may be accompanied by a similar alternation medially; thus Lat. caper, Gk. κάπος, W. caer-\(\text{h}\)r ‘roebuck’, all < *gap(e)r-: W. gabr ‘goat’, Ir. gabor, gabar, Gaul. Gabro- < *g(h)arb(\text{h})r-:—Lat. capio, Goth. hafjan, W. cæffel ‘to get’ < *gap-: Lat. habeo, W. gab-\(\text{h}\) ‘to take hold (of)’ < *głabh-.

There seems to have been a later tendency to substitute a media for a tenuis initially before a sonant in Brit. and Godicel; as in Brit. Britan- for *Pritan- § 3 iii;—so W. brig ‘top (of a tree), crest.
(of a wave), hair of the head, border (of a country)', *briger* 'hair of the head' < *brik- for *prik-* 'comb, crest, ridge (of a roof)' : Ir. *crich* 'boundary of a country' < *qri-q-3o-broken redupl., */qerei- 'separate, divide, cut off' : Lat. *crena* 'notch', *crista* 'crest', *cranis* 'hair of the head' : Ir. *drioch* 'wheel': W. *tro* 'turn'; —Ir. *ghe* : W. *caine* 'branch' < */kno- : Skr. *sakhà* 'branch' ; —W. *gast* 'bitch' : ci 'dog' § 96 ii (3). — Cf. W. Grawys, Garawys 'Lent' § 138 ; < Lat. *quadragésima*. — Still later is the softening of the initial of an adverb, and of a proclitic, as dy 'thy'; these are regarded as mutated forms, and are not mutated further (except occasionally by false analogy).

(3) Alternations like the above occur also in suffixes ; as *-tro- : *-thro- and *-tlo- : *-dho-.

(4) Though l and r are not mixed indiscriminately, several doublets occur in which they alternate, as */ghuer- /ghuel- § 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 */gherè- 'devour' gives *g'rer-g'olor- , *g'oro-g'olor- , etc., also with g for g² by dissim.; thus Gk. *bòbòvskò*, Lat. vorare, W. *barus* 'greedy' < *g'or- : (broken redupl.) Gk. *bòbògè*, Ml. H. G. *kragè*, Ir. *bràige*, W. *brenant* 'windpipe' < *g'or-g'or- : (full redupl.) Lat. *gurgulio*, O. H. G. *querenchela*, Gk. γάγγανων : Lat. *gula*.

iv. The place of articulation might vary.

(1) The different gutturals sometimes alternate. Thus, q/k/: — */leuq/k- : Skr. *rócate* 'lights, shines', *rokà-h* 'bright', Lith. *laukti* 'to expect', with *-q- : Skr. *rùsant- 'bright, white', Lith. *lùsizis* 'lynx' with *-k- : — the suffix *-go- : *-ko- , as Skr. *maryakà-h (maryà-h* 'young man') with *-q- ; Skr. *yuvasa-h* (yúvan- 'young') with *-k- : Lat. *juvenus*, W. *ieuam* ambiguous ; — */ak/-oq/- § 63 v (2) ; — */kei- : */qoi- : */qei-, see Walde s.v. *civis*. For a large number of examples see Brugmann I 545 ff. After s-, q- predominates, § 84 Note 2 ; and k/q alternate, as Skr. *chivàtìi* 'eats, severs', < *sk-Lith. skédžiu* 'I separate' < */sq- ; */sk(h)eid/-sq(h)eid-.

q²/h²g/- : Lat. *fi-lum* 'thread' < *g²h²i- : W. *gè-av* 'nerves, sinews' < */ghà- ; — W. *gures*, Gk. *thèpòs*, etc. < */g²h²- , § 92 iii : Lith. *žaryjos* 'glowing coals', Alb. *zàdr* 'fire' < */gh- ; — W. *gvelu* 'pale', Lith. *gelas* 'tawny' < */g²h²- : Lith. *žèliè* green, W. *glas* 'green' < */gh , § 92 iii.

Exactly the same change of position as the last is involved in the alternation of y and i, which occurs in some roots, as */ghèu- : */ghéi- 'yawn' .

(2) The Ar. consonant series p, t, k, q, q² is not a line with p and q² as loose ends, but as it were a circle, in which p and q² approach one another. q² 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 q² became p in some languages as W., Osc.-Umb., Gk., or that under certain conditions p > q², § 96 iv. Already in Ar. there seem to be some cases of p alternating with q², and even
with \( q \); this takes place before \( l \), and before \( r \) when it is a variant of \( l \). Thus we have the parallel roots *pel-*, *qel-*, *gel-* 'to turn', also with \( r \), *qer-. Examples:—*pel-*: Lat. poples 'bend of knee', Ir. *imclé-, W. ym-yi 'rim, edge' < *mhib-pel-, W. cyf-yi 'border, vicinity' < *kom-pel-, ol-wyn 'wheel'. Gk. τέλομα < *pel- (since \( q^e > \tau \) § 89 i);—*qel-*: Lat. codo, incuba, Gk. τελεθρω, πολέων, W. dy-chwal-af 'I return' < *do-sqel-'; redupl. Gk. κύκλος, O. E. hwæohl, E. wheel;—*gel-*: Gk. κέλλον 'stream', Lat. coluber.—

\[ \text{qer}-: \text{Lat. curvus, Gk. καρφών, Ir. cor 'circle', W. cwr 'circle, close', cored 'round weir', Ml. W. at-coraf 'I return', Ir. cruind, W. crwnn 'round'.} \]

—So the roots *spel-*, *sqel-*, *qel-*, *sger-* 'to split, separate, scatter'; thus *spel-*: O. H. G. spalten, E. split, Skr. śphātāyati 'splits', Bret. flecota 'to split', W. ffloehon 'splinter', hollit 'to split' § 96 iv (1);—*sqel-*, *sqel-*: Lith. skeliū 'I split', Bret. skula, W. chwalu 'to scatter', Ir. scāilim 'I scatter';—*sger-*: Lith. skiriū, W. ysgar, etc. ii. (1);—also in the sense of 'snatching'; with \( p \), Lat. spolium: with \( q \), W. ysgylfio 'to snatch', ysgylfaeth 'prey' < *sql-m-*.—So Gk. πλειόν, πνεύμω 'lungs', Lat. pulmo (for *plemō), O. Bulg. plušta, O. Fruss. plauti 'lung', the 'light' member (cf. E. lights 'lungs'), W. lluman 'banner' < *pleus-mun-: Skr. klōman- 'right lung', < *gleumon-, W. ysgylphant dual 'lungs' < *squn-mun- (I lost ii (2), see also § 121 iv), Bret. skewnt, Ml. Ir. scamten (I < Brit.), Ml. W. ysgun b. b. 4 = ysgwn 'light, soothing', O. W. scamn-, W. ysgwnn, ysgafn, Bret. skaun 'light' < *s-qumunn- § 76 vii (4); W. cochfan for *cy-chwyfan 'to wave in the breeze, flutter' < *ko-squmon-, chwyf 'waving' < *squdmō : \( \sqrt{plew-} \) (pneu-) 'float, waft'.

(3) The change of \( p \) to \( t \), which sometimes occurs is doubtless always secondary, as in Skr. śṭhivati 'spews' (Lat. spuo, E. spew) where the \( t \) is due to the following palatal, cf. Gk. πτφω < *ptφtō. In Kelt. \( p \) became \( q^e \) before \( q^e \), but sometimes \( t \) before a palatal or velar § 86 ii (3), perhaps a compromise between the labial and guttural positions.

Assimilation, Dissimilation and Metathesis.

§ 102. i. Assimilation, dissimilation and metathesis of consonants have taken place at all periods; most of the examples occurring have arisen since the Ar. dispersion. In many cases the change has become a phonetic law; but most of the changes, especially of dissimilation and metathesis, occur only accidentally.

ii. (1) Assimilation of joined consonants: (a) Ar. \( pd > bd \) etc. § 93 i; \( sd > zd \) § 97; \( ghb > ghθ \) § 98.—(b) In most of the derived languages \( mt > nt \), etc. § 84, Note 3.—(c) In Kelt. \( tk > kk \), etc. § 93, ii (2), (3); \( nl > lr, nr > rr, ln > ll \) § 99 iii; \( lθ > l\ell \) § 100 iii (2).—(d) In W. \( nt > n\ell \) etc. § 106, \( llt > l\ell \) § 105; \( dθ > d\ell > t \) § 111 vii (2); \( lx > l\ell \) § 110 ii (2). In Late Mn. W. \( nff > n\ell \) in benhhyg < Ml. W. benffic < Lat. beneficium.
(2) Assimilation of separated consonants: Italo-Kelt. \( p \ldots q^w \rightarrow q^m \ldots q^w \) § 86 ii (2).—Kelt. \( b \ldots m \rightarrow m \ldots m \) in *momiat- > W. mynec § 100 iv.

iii. (1) Dissimilation of joined consonants: (a) Ar. \( tt > tt \) § 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. \( ml- > dl-, nr- > br- \) § 99 ii (1); in W. \( nö > nd \) as in bendith ‘blessing’, \( sò > sd, lò > ld, lùd > lùd \) § 111 vii (2); \( dl > dò \) as in bodlon, \( ðr > dr \) as in cadr § 111 vii (1); \( ñx > mc \) as in amcan § 156 i (4); \( ñò > nw \) as in O. W. \( anu \) § 99 iv (1), \( rv > rv \) as in syberw § 105 ii, \( ðl > ðl \) § 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’ < *teimnño < *tann- < *læng-smen- : Lat. tango.

(2) Dissimilation of separated consonants: (a) Already in Ar, \( r \ldots r > r \ldots l \) etc. § 101 iii (4); and \( r \ldots r > t \ldots r \) in *tisores ‘three’ fem. > W. tair, Skr. tirsáh § 69 iv.—(b) In Kelt. \( gn \ldots n > gl \ldots n \) in *glaun- > W. glín ‘knee’ § 63 vii (4); \( l \ldots l > r \ldots l \) in *aralios > W. arall ‘other’, Ir. araile.—(c) In W. \( gw \ldots y \) > \( g \ldots y \) in glyw ‘lord’ < *gwlyw < *uli-wo-s, VR of \( \sqrt{wet}\)§ 63 vii (2); \( gw \ldots v \) > \( g \ldots v \) in greõf ‘instinct’ (greõfu ‘to be imbred’) < *yrd-mâ : Ir. frém § 91; \( r \ldots r \) > \( l \ldots l \) in Chwefrol § 138 i (2); \( l \ldots l > r \ldots r \) in llefrith ‘new milk’ for *lle-flith < *lo-ulus ‘call-milk’; \( th \ldots th \) > \( t \ldots th \) in gwairthe ‘manure’ < *yur-tek-t, \( \sqrt{theg} \) § 92 i; \( l \ldots ð \) > \( l \ldots d \) in late Mn W. machlud etc. § 111 vii (3); \( ð \ldots l > d \ldots l \) in pedol ‘horseshoe’ for *pe nostalg § 76 iii (1), anduyw § 76 iv (4).

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- > *jung- > Lat. jungo, \( \sqrt{jeug} \); if so, forms like Skr. yundki ‘joints’ 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. \( dì > id \), etc. § 100 v.—(c) In W. \( lg > gl \) in annwyl ‘dear’ < *induglens < Lat. indulgens; \( chl > leh \) in allewèd ‘key’ for *alchweð, Bret. alchoheuw, for *achl- § 99 vi (1); \( nm > mn \) in annmaid ‘nod’ < O. W. enmeit § 95 ii (3); \( dn > nd \) in anduw ‘listen’ for *adnaw § 76 iii (1), anduyw § 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. annweñ ‘heli’ < *y-duñ-n- for *y-bud-n- ‘bottomless’: Gk. \( 
\alpha \beta \tau\nu\rho\sigma\sigma \); cf. O. Bulg. \( dîñö \) ‘bottom’ and Armen. \( \text{andunë} \) “\( \alpha \beta \tau\nu\rho\sigma\sigma\sigma \)” with \( d \ldots d \) for \( b \ldots d \) by assimil.—(b) In Kelt. \( n \ldots r > r \ldots n \) in Gaul. Taranis ‘Jupiter tonans’, Taranus-, W. taran ‘thunder’, Ir. toran ‘din’, < *taran-, *toran- for *\( \text{nr}^\text{tnor-}^\text{toner-} \) : Brit. (-Lat.) Taran-o Chester inscr. (re-metath.?), O. E. \( \text{junor} \), E. thunder, Lat. tono, Gk. \( \sigma\tau\epsilon\omega \) \( \sqrt{\text{tenë}} \); \( b \ldots g > g \ldots b \) in Ir. \( \text{goba} \), W. \( \text{gof} \) ‘smith’ < Kelt. *gobann- for *bog- < *bhóg- : Gk. \( \phi\omega\gamma \), E. bake < *bhóg-, Germ. backen < *bhóg-n-, Lat. focus
\( \sqrt{\text{bho}}k/g-; \) 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-
\( \sqrt{\text{ger}}\text{ tri}p- \) 'shee' § 86 i (5).—(c) In Brit. \( n \ldots l > l \ldots n \) in W. telyn f. 'harp', Bret. telen, Corn. telein < *teleni for *ten-el-i, \( \sqrt{\text{ten}}-\) 'stretch': W. tant 'harpstring', Lat. tendo, Gk. τείνω, etc.—(d) In W. \( l \ldots \delta > \delta \ldots l \) in medial 'soft' for *melâd < *melâd- : Lat. mollis < *molávis, Skr. mrdû-h 'soft', etc. \( \sqrt{\text{melâ}}\text{ tri} \) ; and in eidi\( l \) 'feeble' for *\( \text{eidi}l\) d, § 156 i (2) : ymlâd § 204 i, \( \sqrt{\text{led}}- \) '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 \( b, d, g, f, \delta, \zeta, f \) respectively in W. Thus W. Cyndaf < Brit. Cunotam(os) ;—W. \( \text{saeth} \) 'arrow' < *sageth < Lat. sagitta ;—W. \( \text{deg}' \) ten' < Brit. *dekan < Ar. *dekn ;—W. cybydd 'miser' < Lat. cupidus ;—W. Ifafur '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. *\( \text{oinos} \) markos gave \( \text{un march} \) 'one horse', Brit. *\( \text{oini} \) mam\( \text{m} \) gave \( \text{un fam} \) 'one mother', not *\( \text{un mam} \).

(3) The conditions are, however, not quite the same initially as medially. Medially -sk- became -\( \chi x- \) 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 \( \chi x \), as shown by the retention of Lat. \( \text{sc} \), see (5), and of Brit. medial \( sk \) from \( \text{ksk} \) 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 *\( \text{diucus dagos} \) > dydd da 'good day'.
But when the final syllable of the first word was accented, its
-s combined with an initial tenuis, which thus became a spirant.
For this reason we have the spirant mutation of a tenuis after
Ml. W. y 'her' (now written ei)<*esijás=Skr. asyáh 'her'; tri
'three' < Brit. *trejês (for *tréjes would have given *trydd);
a 'with' and a 'and' < Brit. *aggós § 213 iii (1), § 222 i (3). On
the mutation after ni, see § 217 iv (1); after chwe § 108 iii.

	air and pedair had the same accentuation, and in Bret. ter, peder,
and also pevar (=pedwar), cause the spirant mutation. The radical
has been substituted in W., as in the majority of cases where the
spirant occurred from the above cause.

(4) After final -s initial 1 and r were unvoiced; cf. șl- > șl-;
șr- > rh-, § 95 i; but between vowels 1 and r underwent no change.
Thus we have șl 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 șl, 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 mean-
less. Continental scholars use "Lenition" as a term embracing
the Welsh "soft mutation" and the corresponding Irish "aspira-
tion".

(5) Lat. sp, st, so remained, as Ml. W. yspeil < spolium § 69
iv (i), yslyr < historia ib., escyn < ascend-. An explosive before
the group dropped in W., as in estron < extraneus; so after the
loss of an intervening vowel, as W. esgob < episcopus, W. egud
'active' < executus. See further § 111 vi (2). Except where c
dropped as above Lat. x > ḵ, § 108 v.

ii. (1) Medially between vowels ș, the soft mutation of g, dis-
appeared completely after the O. W. period; as in saeth i (1):—
maes <*mazes § 29 ii (2) : Gaul. -magus ;—teyrn 'ruler' < *tyyrn
< *tigirm-;—also finally, as da 'good' < *dag- § 63 v (2) ;—ty 'house' < *tigos § 65 ii (3) ;—bro < *mroig- § 99 ii (1) ;—bre (prob. f.) 'hill', Corn. bre f. < *brigā, Gaul. -briga < *bhrgh- : Germ. Berg ;— bore 'morning', O. W. more in B.A. 17 l. 20, Bret. beure < acc. *mārig-an (< *y) : Ir. imbārach, Mn. Ir. mārach < *mārig- : Kelt. *mārig- < *mōrigh- L.R. 2 of */merē(i)g/gh- : Skr. māriciḥ 'ray of light', Goth. maurqins, E. morn.—Already in O. W. we find nerteint (=<*c*ziint), beside scannheoint (g = ı).

ig gives y, affected to e, as above; it is often assimilated to the following vowel, as in dyllid < ML. W. dylyet < *dliyet- § 82 ii (3) ; ML. W. brecnhin 'king' < *brigant-in- : Skr. acc. bṛhant-am, gen. bṛhat-āḥ 'high, great' < *bṛhānt-ānt- , -at-. Before ei it was lost, as in braint 'privilege', ML. W. breint < O. W. bryeint L.L. 120 < *brigant-ı- ; ML. W. Seint < *Sigontion 'Segontium'—wy comes not from ig, but from eig, as in mod-rwyy 'ring' < F-grade *reig-, as in rhwm 95 ii (2) ; mor-dwy 'sea-voyage' < *teig- , Ir. triagn 'I go' : Gk. στείξω ; so canworthwy 'assistance' < *kanta-yer-teig- , lit. 'go over with'.—āg gave eu, au, § 71 iii.

Initially ı disappeared completely; but as the initial of the second element of a compound it often became ı > i after a dental (d, δ, n, l, r), as Llwyd-jarth < *lɛist-garto- § 95 iv (3) ; Pen-jarth < *penno-garto- ; mil-ast D.G. 278 beside mil-ast 'greyhound bitch'; aww-floedd-ast § 157 ii (1) ; Mor-ıen, O. W. Mor-gent < *sea-born' ; Ur-ıen, O. W. Urb-gen § 100 v.

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

(2) The soft mutation of m was originally the nasalized spirant ŭ. 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 jawd 'the thumb'), still with m- in mod-rwyy orig. 'thumb-ring'. In a few cases m- and b- interchange, as bath and math (y fath 'the kind of'), baeddau and maeddu 'to dirty'.

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

'I know not, it is right to say it, her like now in the world.'

m 2
Och imi! pe marw chwemwy,
O bydd i math mewn bedd mwy.—D. N., F.N. 90, c.c. 267.

'Woe is me! though six times more died, [I doubt] if her like will ever more be in a grave.'

In bore for more we may have dissim., as in mr- > br-.

iii. In O. W. softened consonants were represented by the corresponding radicals; see § 18 i, § 19 i. It would be wrong to conclude from this that the softening had not then taken place, for its occurrence initially is due in almost every case to a vocalic ending which was then already lost. The difference between the radical m in un march and the soft f in un fam cannot be accounted for if assumed to have taken place since the O. W. period when 'one' was un; it must be referred to the Brit. m.

§ 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. *uo-primani, √q*rejā- § 201 i (4); —pl > bl in W. pobl < Lat. pop'bus; —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' < *uo-kr-, √qerēi-: Lat. crēbrum; —br > fr in W. dwfr 'water' § 90; —bn > fn in W. dwfn 'deep' ib.; W. cefn 'back' < *kebn-: Gaul. Cebenna 'les Cévennes' (*qeb- allied to *gambnp- § 106 ii (1)); —dm > df, see iv (2).

ii. (1) g before l, r, n gave ġ, which became ġ forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. The Mn. developments are as follows: ag > ae; eg > ei or ai; ig > i; og > oe; ug > uy; āg > eu or au; īg > i. Thus W. aer 'battle', Ir. ār 'slaughter' < *agr-: Gk. ἀγράφα; —W. draen 'thorn' < *dragun- < *dhr̥gūn-: Gk. τρέχων; —W. tail 'manure' < *tegl- § 35 ii (3); √(s)theg- 'cover' § 92 i, cf. gwentaith 'manure' < *yēr-tekl-; —W. oen 'lamb', Ir. iān < *oignos § 65 ii (2); —W. oer 'cold', Ir. iār < *ogr-: Gaul. (Seq.) Ogron... name of a month; —W. annwyl § 102 iv (1); —
W. ceulo < *vøgl- § 71 iii. Examples of gm are uncertain. On
swyn < Lat. signum see § 72 ii.

Following the accent, g after a became z 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, Broccoli giving W. Maelan, Carfan,
Brychau; Ir. -án as Broccán; so O.W. bichan, W. bychau, Ir. becán.

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

(2) gi > z i; thus W. cae 'enclosure, field' < *kagjo-, Gaul.
5th cent. caium, whence Fr. quai, √ kogh-/kogh-: Lat. cohus, E.
hedge, Germ. Hecke;—Ml. W. daeoni 'goodness' < *dag-jouo-
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 i < ο; 
thus W. lāi, Ml. W. lei 'less', Ir. laigin, both < *lagís <
legh(y)jós : Lat. levis, Gk. ἀλαξύς;—W. -(h)ai, Ml. -(h)ei <
*sagió § 121 i, § 201 iii (4).—So igi affected by a gave egi be-
coming -ei, -ai, as W. tai, Ml. tei 'houses' < *ligia < *ligesa, pl.
of *ligos 'house';—W. carrai 'lace' < Lat. Corrigia. When
unaffected, igi gave i > i; as in bri 'honour' < *brigjo-: breniu,
braint § 103 ii (1); and llión in Ml. W. Kaer-llion < *ligōnos,
Brit. gen. for Lat. legiônis.

Similarly ogi > oe > o, § 78 i (1), in to 'roof' < *töijo- : Ir.
tuige gl. stramen, and amdo 'shroud' < *mi-łigjo- : Ir. im-thuige
'clothing': Lat. toga, √(s)thej-.—ugi > wy > -w, § 78 i (2), in
lwv 'oath' < *lugioun : Ir. luige, lugae < *Inghioun. (Ml. W. pl. llyeu,
llyeu, Mn. llvon, dial. illyon are all analogical formations.)

(3) gu > z > w : W. tew 'thick' < *tujo- § 76 viii (2).—ogii
> oqj > eu in euont 'worms in sheep' < *ogii < Ar. *ogii : Gk.
øφις, Skr. åhī 'snake'.

iii. (1) Before n Brit. k > χ, so that kn gives the same
result as gn; thus W. dwyn 'to bring' < *dún-n- § 203 iv (3);—
bracnu 'to rot' < *braknu- < *mrq-n- § 99 ii (1);—croen 'hide,
rind' < *kroku-, Bret. croc'hen, Ir. crocenn < *kroku- (kn > kk) <
groq-, VL of *qereq- broken redup. of √ qer- 'divide, rip': Lat.
corium, cortex, O. Bulg. (s)kora 'rind', koreţ a kind of vessel, W.
ceregl 'coracle';—W. gwau < *wāku- < *yo-aqe-: W. ochr see
below;—W. tin 'buttock' < *taknā < *tāqna, Ir. tôn < *tāknā:
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' $< *sneuk-n-, √ sneug/ɡ-$ : Lat. *sūcns, sūgo, E. *suck*, etc.;—
W. *dygn* 'grievous' $< *diku- < *deogn-* : Ir. *dingim* 'I press down',
O. E. *tengn* 'to press';—W. *rhymn* 'to rub' $< *ruknu- : Gk. *purkān̄* ;—W. *dogn* 'portion, dose' $< *dok-n-, √ dck-$ : Gk. *dēkōmai, dokān̄* *θίκη*.

(2) Before $r$, $k$, $t$ give $g$, $d$ regularly, as in $gogr$ i above;—
$chwegr < *swegr- $ § 94 iv;—W. *deigr* 'tear' $< *dakrū $ § 120 iii (1);
—W. *aradr* $< *arvstrorn $ § 87 i;—W. *modryeb* $§ 69$ ii (4); etc.
But W. *ochr* 'edge, side' beside Ir. *ochar* $< *okr-, √ ak-/oq-,
W. *rhuthr* 'rush' beside Ir. *rūaθhar* $< *reu-tro-, √ reu- : Lat. *ruo*, imply $kkr$, $tt$ for $kr$, $tr$ $§ 99$ v (4). Compounds like *go-ehrwm*:
*ehrwm* 'bent' may owe their $ch$ to this, or to $s$ before $k$.

An example of $k < gg$ giving the same result is Ml. W. *achreawdwr*
$ (*r. $ 9 'gathering' $< *aggregātiō, with excrescent -r ; cf. cyng-
reawdr $< congragātiō in Cyngrreawdwr *Fynydd (Mount of Assem-
[27] lby') 'The Great Orme', a Similarly $g$ before $r$ may be treated as
$gg$ and give $g$, as in *uyguru* 'to injure, violate, corrupt' : Gk. *λυρός,

iv. (1) Brit. *dn > W. *n (not *un); as in W. *bôn* 'stem'
$< *bud-n̄-b-, bonedd* 'nobility' $< *budnīā : Ar. *bhullh- 'bottom'$
§ 102 iv (2);—W. *blynedd* $< *blindnīās $ § 125 v (1).

(2) Brit. *dm > W. *df ; as W. *greddf* 'instinct' $§ 102$ iii (2);—
W. *deddf* 'law' $< *dedmā $ < *dēdhu-mā, √ dē- : Gk. *τεθμός,
*θεθμός $< *dēdhu-mos ;—W. *aidd-ffwyn* etc. $§ 93$ ii (3), q.v.

(3) Brit. *dl, dr* after a back vowel became $dl$, $dr$; the $d$
remained after the accent, and was protracted to $d$, as *haidl, cadr*
§ 111 vii (1), and disappeared before the accent, as in *iôr < *iud-rōs
§ 66 v. After a front vowel *dl, dr > gl, gr, and developed
accordingly, ii (1); thus W. *cadair*, Ml. *kavlir* $< *cat(h)edra ;
—W. *eirif* 'number' $< *ed-rim- $ < *ed-rim- : Ir. *āram ;—W.
i *waered* 'downwards' $< *di woiret $ < *do upo-ped-ret- ; gwael* 'base'$
$< *upo-ped-los, *ped- 'foot' ;—W. *aelwyd* 'hearth', Bret. *oaled,
O. Corn. *oilet < *aidd-l-let̄- : Gk. *aïdhaλως* 'soot', Lat. *acdes,
√ *aidh- 'burn', cf. § 78 ii (3).

v. *bl > fl or *wl, as in *gafl* 'fork' : Ir. *gabul*, Lat. *gabalus* *The identification of the name (treated as two common nouns by Silvan Evans)
is the discovery of Professor J. E. Lloyd, Tr. Cym. 1899–1900, p. 158.*
§ 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. port < Lat. portus; — W. archof § 63 iii, etc.

1k > lch, as W. golchi § 89 ii (2); — W. calch < Lat. calc-em.

lp > lff, as W. Elfyn < Gallo-Lat. Alpinus.—It > Itt, as in Ml. W. kyffyllt 'friend' = Ir. comatle 'foster-brother' < *kom-all(i)tos; W. allt 'declivity;grove' < *alt-; *al- 'grow, nourish': Lat. alo, altus; — medially it becomes 11 as in W. cyffyll 'knife' < Lat. cultillus; W. di-wyllio 'to cultivate': gryffyll '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. cifaill, Ml. and Mn. deall § 75 vi (4).

ii. rb > rf, as in W. barf 'beard' < Lat. barba; also rw, as in syberw 'prond' < Lat. superbus.—rd > r8, as in bardd < Brit. *hardos (bærdoi: ðauði param Ḩalātáis, Hesych.). — Medially rg > ri as in arian 'silver' = Ir. airget < Kelt. *argyt-om: Lat. argentum, Skr. rajatā-m: Gk. ἀργυρός, ἀργύ-. Finally rg > -r, -ry, -ra, -rw § 110 ii.

lb > lf, as in gylfin 'beak', O. W. gilbin : Ir. gilban id. < Kelt. *gulb.—Medially lg > li, as in dalif § 110 ii (2) ; for final lg see ib.—Medially ld > ll as in callawr 'caldron' < Lat. caldārinum; — finally llt as in mellt '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. kynthom '100' > Brit. *kanton; Ar. *pent* '5' > Kelt. *p*empe. 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 *prinigaf* n.r. 1278, spv. of *prin* ‘scarce’ ib. 1280 (< *q*uris-sou-s: prid ‘precious’, *q*ureiā- ‘buy’); meithring (*-i*) D.G. 69 for *meithlin* ‘to nourish’; *Eingion* is often written *Eingion* or *Eingion* = *eiðon*, which has become *ewian* in Gwynedd, e.g. *Llan-engan* near Pwllheli.

ii. (1) Brit. *mb*, *nd*, *ng* became respectively *mm*, *nn*, *nn*; they remain so in *W.*, *mw* being generally written *m*; *nn* finally written *-n* (but *-nn* in monosyllables in *Ml. W.*); *nx* written *ng* (and *Ml. W. gg* or *g*); see § 51 iv, § 54 i (2). Thus *W.* cwm ‘valley’ < *Brit.* *cumbo-, *q*enb/p- ‘curve’; Lat. *cúpa-, *cumbo-, Gk. *κύμβος*, etc. ;— *W. cam* ‘bent, crooked’ < *Brit.* *kambo-*: Gaul. Cambo-dawai, Gallo-Lat. *cambiare* : Lat. *campus* (orig. ‘vale’), Gk. *καμπή*, *καμπτό*, *καμβά*, *καμβά* - *qamb/p- ‘curve’ ;— *W. towm* ‘bruised, broken’ f. *tnn* < *Brit.* *tund-os-, *q*- : Lat. *tundu*, Skr. *tundate* ‘strikes’, *q*enb-<*d*;— *W. tovn* ‘wave’ < *Brit.* *tundā*<*tum-dā*: Lat. *tumeo*, *W. tufū*, *teñā*- ‘swell’ ;— *W. cunn* ‘white’, *cann* ‘to whiten’, *llöbr-gan* ‘moon-lit’<*qand-*: Lat. *cando*, Gk. *κάνδαρος*<*qand-*, beside *W. cynnen* ‘to kindle’, *cyne* ‘a burning’, *cynuud* ‘firewood’, Ir. *candad*<*qand-*: Skr. *cand-, *scand- ‘shine’<*qand-*: *qand*-<*qand-*<*qand-* ;— *W. lony* ‘ship’< *Lat. longa* ;— *W. angel* < *Lat. angelus*. So before a sonant, as *Cymro* pl. *Cynr* < *Brit.* *kom-brog-os-, *q*-;— *W. amrwcl* ‘raw’ : *brwd* § 63 vii (4);— *Cynngeawdr* § 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* (< *Ar. ng*¹) was unrounded and gave *wo*, as in *llynyr*, *angerdd* § 92 v. When *wo* came before a sonant, including *y*, it was first simplified to *w* and then lost, as in *ewin, tafod*, see ib. So we have *nawrað* r.p. 1331, g.r. 372 ‘nine degrees’< *Brit.* *noua-grad-*(navgrað b.b. 42 may have old *w*, but is prob. analogical);— *W. cyni* (one *n*) ‘trouble’< *konimi-<*kon-gnī-mu-§ 203 vii (4);— *W. aren* ‘kidney’, Ir. *āru*< *awr-< Kelt. *awg*-< *anghr-, *aneg*-< *Ar. *ng*¹< Gk. *νεφρός*, Lat. *Prænest. nefrōnēs*, *Launuv. nebrundinēs*
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(See Lat. inquent with *g*, Walde s.v.). But after e or i and before r or l, the *w* became *v* and gave *j* as in eirin Deut. xxiii i for *eiryn*, § 77 iii, *<eoryn* pl. of aren above;—W. cilydd ‘mate’ < *cilyd* (*i* > W. *i* not *y*, cf. § 104 ii (2)) < *kewglíos* (§ 65 iii (1)) = Ir. cíle < *kewglíos* : Ir. cingin ‘I go’, W. cam ‘stride’, see § 101 iii (2); for meaning, cf. Ml. W. keinat ‘mate’ < cam. The rule only applies to old formations where the *w* already existed in Brit.; in newer formations, and Lat. derivatives *w* remains, as Cyngreawd, above.

(2) The above changes took place before the loss of Brit. syllables, for *nd* coming together after the loss of a syllable remains, as in trindod < Lat. trinitāt-em. Initial mediae were assimilated to final nasals before the latter were lost; e.g. *naw mlynedd* ‘nine years’ < *nuqam mlidniās* < *nywy bl*.

Every Brit. *nd* became *nn*, 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*, *pump* < Brit. *pempe*; W. *cant* < Brit. *kanton*; W. *ieuanc* < Brit. *iouaðos* § 100 i (1). For exceptions see (2). Medially they became *mmh*, *nnh*, *nwh* respectively, as in Ml. W. *ymherawdryr* < Lat. imperātor; W. *cynhesu* ‘to warm’ < Brit. *kon-tess*, √ tep-, § 96 ii (5); W. *anghenol* ‘deadly’ < Brit. *awkoM-, √ anek- : Lat. *neco*, Gk. *vēkus*, *vekpos*, 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’, *aneu* (≡ *awxeu*) ‘death’ § 48 ii, iv.

(2) Final *nt*, *mp* are mutated in gan ‘with’ ≡ *gann* § 211 iv (1); in *cont* ‘100’, *pump* ‘5’ which appear as *ugein* 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 arjan ‘silver’; in *diffrient* (*i* ≡ *y*) B.B. 91 ‘vale’ (< *dyfr-hynt* ‘water-way’), already *diffrin* in B.B. 74, Mn. W. *dyffryn*; in *cymaint* sometimes, especially in the phrase *cymain* vn 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 l 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* A.L. 116 ‘every one’; *can hwr* W.M. 136 ‘100 men’; *Pum heryr* ‘5 eagles’ G.Gl. m 1/606.
Gwledd echdo a dews i dy,
Gwledd canh hannedd cyn hynny.—G.Gl. m 146/278.

'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 ym hwun again hannerch.—B.Br., h.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'. we is often written nge (cf. § 18 iii), but nc is adequate and unambiguous, as nk in Eng. bank.

(3) Medial nt, etc. remain when originally followed by h as in cyntedd 'porch' for *cynt-heð < *kiantu-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 amrankau W.m. 41, amrankau Job xvi 16; seinnyceu § 128 ii, Mn. W. seintiau 'saints'; gwynnoes L.A. 5, gwyntoedd Matt. vii 25; heint- yeu L.A. 123, heintiau Luc xxii 11; ceigheu, ceingeu L.A. 144, ceingeiau Can. viii 8.

(4) The nasal mutation of the tenuis does not date from the Brit. period, for the nasal endings of *nonan 'nine', *dekan 'ten', etc., while they mutated initial mediae, did not mutate initial p, t, k; thus naw cant '900', deg pys '10 lbs.' The mutation of the tenuis 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- < *ymbi-, scribenn M.C. < Lat. scribend-, crunn- M.C. 'round' (Ir. crunind), etc., but no mb, nd. But the tenuis are found unmutated, as in tanwau, Mn. W. tananu, sometimes mutated as in brouannon M.C., pl. of breuant 'windpipe'. In pimpheu ox. 'fifth', hanther ox. 'half' is perhaps reflected the transition stage in which, as the p and t were disappearing, the h was becoming more noticeable; see § 107 v (1). In any case it is safe to conclude that this mutation came about in the O. W. period.

In Ml. W. the tenuis is mutated, as in breenuhu b.b. 75, § 103 ii (1), aghenu, agoheu 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 nu represents an n which is continued during the time it took to pronounce the original nd. As the W. tenues are really aspirated, that is t = t-h, see § 84 Note 1, when the stop was loosened the aspirate remained; thus ut, properly nt-h, became nnh. That Early Ml. W. nh as in synhuir § 48 iv is short for 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 R.M. 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 glânhaef, superlative of glân 'clean'. It is clear therefore that the mutation of nt is strictly n-nh, not n-h.

§ 107. i. While initial mediae are nasalized after several numerals, initial tenues are nasalized only after yn 'in' and fy 'my', and this mutation is not original after fy.

ii. Taken in conjunction with the following noun, yn 'in' (< Brit. *en) has a secondary accent, but fy 'my' (< Brit. *men < Ar. *mene gen. sg. of the 1st pers. pron.) is wholly unaccented—the emphasis when required is thrown on an auxiliary pronoun: 'my head' is not *fy wenn, but fy wenn i. This difference between yn and fy is old, for Brit. *en has kept its -n, but *men (already a proclitic in Brit. § 113 ii) had lost its -n before the O.W. period. This is clearly seen in phrases where the following word began with a vowel or an immutable initial; thus yn: ynn lann L.L. 120, in alld B.B. 64, in llaw do. 63, 64, yn amgant do. 66, in llurvo 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. vy L.L. 120 'in its' is probably y y, with syllabic y or yu, a pronunciation still often heard.

iii. After yn in Early Ml. MSS., b and d are generally mutated,
and probably $g$ is to be read $w$. Thus in B.B. we find innechreu 29, innefin ($\equiv$ yu nefin) 87, inyffrin 65, inyganhy 47; $yy$ godir, ygodir 63; in A.L. ms a. eniokel ($\equiv$ yu niogel) i 46, 50, emon e kolouen ($\equiv$ ym môn y golofn) i 10. Non-mutation is rarer: $ym$ brin B.B. 33, in diffrin 47, 48. On the other hand $p$, $t$, $c$ are rarely mutated, the usual forms being in tyno, im pop B.B. 33, im pob 87, im pen 42, 57, impell 82, $yy$ coed 49; eu 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 ymlith B.B. 20, in hal art do. 49, eghyd ($\equiv$ yghyd) A.L. i 40, emop lle do. 60. These examples show that the mutation had already taken place, and that the written radical was a survival of O.W. spelling. It is to be noted that the $n$ of $yn$ is in every case assimilated in position to the explosive, even where that is unmutated. So before $m$, as im mon B.B. 61, in minit eiddin do. 95.

iv. Since $yn$ kept its nasal, it is natural that it should mutate tenues as well as mediae; but as $fy$ lost its nasal ending early, we should expect it to mutate the mediae but not the tenues, like $naw$, which gives $naw$ mlynedd ' 9 years', but $naw$ $pwys$ ' 9 lbs.' In O.W. and Early Ml. W. this is, in fact, the case. Thus in O.W. we have mi-telu 'my household', $mi$ coneidid 'my company', Juv. sk. (9th cent.); and in B.B. we find $vy$ tud 13, $vy$ perchen, $vy$ parch 42, $vy$ clun 49, $vy$ pen, $vy$ crown 62, $vy$ penhidd 81, $vy$ ki 99; the form wympchaud 83 is a rare exception, and in no case is the tenuis nasalized. But $b$ and $d$ are generally nasalized in B.B., $g$ being also probably for $w$; thus $vy$ wruc 24, $vy$ wragyn 51, vi-mrid ($\equiv$ fy mryd) 82, vi-nwyvron ($\equiv$ fy nwyrfron) 100, vy-nhenit 50, $vy$ martrin 67. The occurrence of a number of examples like $vy$ bartrin 67, $vy$ duw 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 $vy$ 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 fyn;
thus yn ty vynmat i w.l.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 = vyn pechawt r.m. 255,
etc. Further, the cynganedd always implies the mutated form; as

\[\text{yn-trugared yn fi gwirion,—r.p. 1216;}
\]
\[\text{o syrth ym-perigyl swrth amharavt,—d.o. 1250;}
\]

where ntr is to be read nhn to correspond to nh, and mp must be
mh to answer mh. In w.m. and w. we sometimes find a survival of the
curious transitional form met with in O. W. § 106 iii (4); thus
ynphene w.m. 256, vyghret do. 390; vygh khof w. 7b. The last
example shows that what is meant is not the voiceless spirant, for χ
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 blaen in r.m. 38; both have
ymon colofyn w.m. 181, r.m. 84. Here again the cynganedd belies
the non-mutation, as in

\[\text{yg-karchar yn-daeas yn yt,—r.p. 1168;}
\]

where we must read yn naear (to give na/mj as required by the
cynganedd sain). With yn, g is generally doubled, as in yggyovot,
yggyvdh w.m. 123, but is sometimes single, esp. before v, as in ygjuaus
w.m. 57; in all cases it is doubtless to be read v. After fy the single
nasal is used; thus in w.m. we have vy mot 32, vy maryf 59, vy
nrawt 62, vy-gwere 62, vy ni waradwydoaw 43; more rarely the nasal
and mute, as vym-bravt 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 Peniarth mss., we find ynghaer llion 50/90, ymysill, ynghaer
53/126, ymorgannwug 54/37, vymod 54/21, vymgeallt 54/280, ymhob
54/209, vymhennadur 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 save
the word the les mained," as he explains (1586 Pb. Preface). G.R.
mutated the consonants and joined the words, *fynhy* 41, *ynnhy* 79; he states that *m* is double—"*ymnho* a *lettvisr ymmhob*" So (see § 54 i (2)). His reason for joining *fy* appears to be that *ng* cannot be initial, "*canys rhy anod yw sillafu fy ngwraith, fy nhyllawes*" 42. Dr. Morgan separated the words in the case of *n* and *m*; as *fy nh* Job xix 15, *yn nh* do. i 13, *fy when* xxix 3, *yn mka* both vi 24; but he appears to think like G.R. that *ng* cannot be initial, and writes *fyng-halon* xxxvii i, *ynghilfach* 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 nh*.

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* (≡ ω) 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 *yngh lynmyr* p. [iv]; the 1620 Bible *yanGhrist* i Cor. xv 18, 19, 22; so in the Bibles of 1677 and 1690. Later, we find *yngh Haerlijdd* T.J. title (1688); *yn Ghymru* Rh.B.S. dedic. (1701); *Ynghroeg* 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 Ng*—which appears about this time, see B.CW. lxxv, grew out of *yn Gh*—because it was felt that the initial was *Ng*; it is objectionable because *n* is not accepted as a symbol for ω except before *k* or *g*. The later form *y' Ngwneyedd* d.g. 41 (1789) misrepresents the preposition as an open syllable. Pughe adopted *yn Ng*—, *yn M*—, because, in the teeth of all the facts, he denied that the *n* of *yn* was mutable. This unphonic spelling, which stultifies the history of the nasal mutation, § 106 i, has predominated since his day.

J.J. wrote *yngh volau* p 312/iv 1 e., 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) *Fy* being unaccented, the following nasal, though of double origin, is simplified, and belongs to the second syllable § 27 ii, i; thus the syllabic division is *fy*/*naw*. 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 Nghaw*, ordinarily and correctly written *yn Nuw*. In the same way we have
§ 108  THE NASAL MUTATION  175

ym Mangor, ym Dwyneidd. With our present alphabet we have to write the last yng Ngwynedd; so yng Ngwadelling. 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. yggwuned w.m. 108, yg gadelllg w. 9a, § 24 i.

(6) There are, however, a number of adverbial and prepositional expressions, in which yn, followed by the nasal mutation, is wholly unaccented. In this case the nasal is single, as after fy; and the preposition is naturally joined to its noun, exactly like the in in the Eng. Indeed. These expressions are ynghyd, ynghyllch, ynglyn, yngholl, ynghudd, ymhell, ymhllith, ymysg, ymron, ymllan, ymhen, yngham, ymhellach, ynghynt, 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; hwch : Ir. socc, etc., § 93 iii (2). It occurs when an initial tenuis follows an explosive in word-composition, as in aches § 93 ii (2), atheck § 93 iii (r), athrist § 99 v (4). This is called the 'spirant mutation' of the tenuis.

ii. In Brit. s + tenuis had already become a double spirant § 96 i; and original oxytones ending in s caused the spirant mutation of a following initial tenuis § 103 i (3), as tri chant '300'. In this case th- and ph- were chosen as the mutations of t- and p-, as their relation to the radicals is clearer than that of the alternative forms s, χ.

iii. The spirant mutation after chwe 'six' is irregular. From Kelt. *sueks kantom we should expect *chwe cant, since ksk gives sk, and final -s would drop. But the independent form of *sueks was already *χεχ 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 > Ь; the Ь 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; ffwrwyth < Lat. fractus; saith < Brit. *sektan < Ar. *seply; perffaith < Lat. perfectus; brith < Brit. *briktos < *bhktos § 101 iii (2); eithin
\[ \text{furzo} & < *\text{ekt\textsc{\textsubscript{i}n}}- < *\text{ak-t\textsc{\textsubscript{l}u}}, \sqrt{\text{ak-\textsc{\textsubscript{o}}q-}}; \text{seithug} \text{ 'fruitless}; < *\text{ek-t\textsc{\textsubscript{on}}k-} < *\text{seq\textsuperscript{n}}- 'without' + *\text{teu-q-}, \sqrt{\text{teu\textsc{\textsubscript{x}}-} 'increase'; \text{eithaf} \text{ 'extreme'} < *\text{ek-t\textsc{\textsubscript{m}}-}\text{os} : \text{Lat. extimus}. \]

(2) In Ml. W. there was a tendency to voice this \( \text{th} \) to \( \delta \), as in \text{perffaith} from \text{perffaith}, now re-formed as \text{perffaithio} 'to perfect'; \text{arhwaed} \text{ont} do. 32 'they may taste' ('chweith 'taste'). The \( \delta \) survives in \text{cynysgae\textsc{\textsubscript{d}}u} from \text{cynysgaeth} 'endowment'. In \text{aeth} + \text{vb.} 'to be' forming old perfects and pluperfects, the diphthong was simplified, giving \text{ath-}, affixed to \text{eth-}, as \text{ethyw} \text{p.l.A. 82}, more commonly \text{ethw} 'went'; so \( \alpha\delta\text{oed} \) 'had gone', etc., § 193 vi (3), (5).—Final \( \delta \) so produced disappeared in \text{heno}, \text{ynu}, etc. § 78 i (1).

v. Lat. \( x > \ast x \ast > \text{i}s \); thus \( ax > \text{aes}, \) etc. ; as W. \text{llaes} 'trailing' < \text{laxus} ; \text{pais}, Ml. W. \text{peis < pexa (tunica)} ; \text{coes} 'leg' < \text{coxa}. So \text{Saeson < Saxones}, \text{Sais < Saxo} § 69 ii (2). Similarly Brit. -\text{ks} from -\text{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 fem. sg. noun has its soft initial because most fem. sg. nouns ended in a vowel.

The following table shows all the mutations of the nine mutable consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>ll</th>
<th>rh</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soft</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dd</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>mh</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ngh</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirant</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The words 'No change' in the table mean that the consonants under which they are placed retain their radical forms in those positions where the others undergo the respective mutations. Thus after \( \text{yn} \), which nasalizes the explosives, \( m, ll, \) and
rh remain unchanged; and words which cause the tenues to become spirants do not alter the other six. This is always understood when the nasal or spirant mutation is named, and there is no need to particularize except in ease 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" d and f were liable to be confused; and so we find one substituted for another as in cuddygjl (kuddyyl W.M. 140, R.M. 211) 'cell' for *cufygjl < Lat. cubitum (prob. influenced by cudil 'hidden'); Eifigynod R.P. 1287 for Eifigynil (eiuonit B.B. 69); Late Mn. W. Caer Dydd for Caer Dyff 'Cardiff'; or two metathesized, as in clefydue R.M. 182 for cedivyve do. 126, and in clefytaud (t=δ) B.B. 48 for cledyfuwd; W. cledydf, § 76 viii (2) (Ir. claideb 'sword' < W.).—S.V. (P.H. xci) says of the line Kawn vedd rhad kyneddau Rhys (by H.K., see c.c. 344) that it pleases the ear though it violates the rule. The ear does not notice the inversion v δ/δ v.

ii. (1) The soft mutation of g has uniformly disappeared as an initial sound. Thus *dy gwadd 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 ynad § 62 ii; cf. § 106 ii (1).

(2) Medially after l or r it appears as i, § 105 ii, which is lost before y, as in colyyn < O.W. colyyn § 54 ii. This palatalization of z to i>z after a liquid is comparatively late, for it does not take place finally; in that position z remained dark, and became non-syllabic y, as in Ml. W. daly (1 syll.) 'to hold'; this was either assimilated to the l as in N. W. dal (<*dal-l, double l, not ll), or was lowered to a and became syllabic, as in S. W. dala; from Brit. *dalg-<*dјgh-, √delăqgh:- Skr. dīrghāh 'long', Lat. indulgeo, longus. Medially it is i from the same stem, as in dalijaf 'I hold, maintain, continue'. So we have Ml. W. hely 'to hunt', N. W. hēl 'collect', S. W. hela; Ml. W. bolj 'bag, belly', N. W. bol, S. W. bola; Ml. W. gvaly, Mn. W. gwala 'sufficiency'; Ml. W. eyr 'snow', Mn. W. (N. and S.) eira, and ier in ier-law 'sleet', ces-air 'hail'; Ml. W. lary 'generous' < Lat. largus, Mn. W. llariaid. 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, holy D. i. 9. 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}. [ţ>y>a forms an interesting parallel to the supposed Pre-Ar. ژ giving ژ and then mostly ژ.]

(3) Lat. virgo > W. gwyry (1 syll.) D.G. 156, ll.A. 84, 87, 90, etc., whence gwyrdawt B.B.B. 119, though we have also gwyrdawt ll.A. 17, 50, 84, B.B. 40, direct from virginitatem. In B.B. 70 occurs the pl. gwerion<Brit. *viriones. Later we find morwyn wyra A.L. i 518; Gwynedd dial. menyn gwyrd (for *gwynt-r cf. dal-l) 'unsalted butter', Dyfed menyn gwyra, Llys CC. 46. We also have gwyrf (1 syll.) D.G. 118, gwyryf vireindawl (4 syll.) R.P. 1199, and gwyrd (2 syll.) R.P. 1200, D.G. 137, pl. gwyredon (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.; gwyrd must be Kelt. and may represent *gbrighto, pl. *gbrighiones: Ir. geraid 'virgin', geraid (i. mac boc) 'little boy' O'Dav.: redupl., Gk. παρθενος < *gbrg*hen- (not : Skr. पत्नुको 'boy, calf', since *th > Gk. τατα, Lat. virgin- < *gbrger-ghen-, dissim. for *gbrger-g*hen-, and perhaps W. gwyrf < *gbergh*ho, which fits exactly, § 92 iii.—Dr. Davies wrongly takes Ml. W. gwyrd as a disyllable gwyryf, which it may have become dialectally, § 16 v (3). The biblical pl. gwyryfon is formed from the new disyllable.

(4) In buwv < *burg- § 97 v (3), lluwv < *burg- < *lorg- § 215 ii (7), the -ژ was rounded by the preceding w, and became -w. In derived forms, however, it became ژ regularly; as Ml. W. byrïaf ‘I cast down’, now buriaf.

(5) In hy 'bald' (<*hyg < *sig- < *sgeo-: § 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 lleiyydd, brofyydd, dial. pl. of lle, bro, are due to false analogy. Other spurious forms like hyf occur in late ms., such as dafl, llef, brof for da, lle, bro. In none of these is the j an old substitution for ژ; 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' < *rhawf < *rá-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 glean' < *llof-ha, rohiau 'spades'. So praw ll.A. 24, R.P. 1215 'proof' for prawf a back-formation from provi ll.A. 38, 72 < Lat. probo. The re-introduction of f in praw is artificial, and inconsistent with the N.W. pron. praw, § 52 iii, Exc. (1).
Na wrthod, ferch, dy berchi;
Na phraw ymadaw â ni.—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 rïw vabon R.B. 1066, and after w in tw 'growth', dîo 'water', reappearing in tyfu 'to grow', dyfroedd 'waters', in which w is mutated to y. It disappeared regularly after u, as in phu 'feathers' sg. pluên < Lat. pluma;—cu 'dear', O.W. cum (m Ý h), Corn. cuf, Bret. kuï, kuïw, Ir. cûên < *koï-m-, √ kei-: Skr. séva-h 'dear' < *kei-y-os, Lat. cēvis;—du 'black', Corn. duw, Ir. dub < *dheubh-, √ dheubh- : Gk. ῥφλός;—so in derivatives cu-dab, cu-ed, cu-ach, etc.

f being originally bilabial, § 19 ii (4), when it followed y, w or u (≡ u), 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 mâmæth for *mâm-fueth 'foster-mother'; im 'y hun for im fy hun 'for myself'.

Ni byddai bwn, heb ddau bâr,
Im 'y hunan o'm heiniai.—I.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 cânfa 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 yôkorn (≡ y nghorn) ym neðeir B.T. 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 nghfa, 'y mraint, do. 274, etc.—It is lost in vab 'son' in patronymics, as Hywel ab Einion;—in ychydig for fychydig, rad. bychydig.

Dëuaf—myð yw d' ðos—
Diaw, 'y nûn, 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. testimontum. Hence in compounds, where it is the initial of the second element, it is often lost, as in Bod-ðrgan for *Bod Forgan ('Morgan's dwelling'), Bod-ðrog for *Bod Ferrog, etc.; Bendigeddran § 45 i (2) for Bendigeddr-Vran (Bendigkeitravan, 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 Õymedd, Gwennlant § 111 i (1) and Hydryf do. vii (1). Rarely before an explosive, as in agwyðawr for *agwyðawr § 74 i (1).

(4) Final fn in unaccented syllables is generally reduced to n, especially after rounded vowels, as in eon for eðfn 'fearless' § 156 i
Val Samson with golon gynt
A fu'n rhwy'm yw fy nhre'mynt.—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 gwarthfa 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.; lii for liif 'flood'; dïrri r.p. 1149 for dïfrîf 'serious'; cyfri D.G. 4 for cyf-rifr '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. n. 238, ydw'ny mwy D.G. 72, cry/lesw do. 474, ha'/Efa do. 157; so una' 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 ofnwy'r D.G. 321 for ofnwyf y; ydwyn for ydwuf yn § 125 iii ex. 1; Tre'r kastell r.p. 1210 for Tref y Castell.

Final f is not known to drop in the old words glâf 'sword', of 'raw', bîf 'catapult' or in lit. W. llfr 'cry', srf 'that is'. It is still retained in the spoken language in dof 'tame', rhwyf 'oar', bref 'bleat', prif 'chief', Taf 'Taff', and in borrowed words, as braf 'fine': Fr. brave, E. brave.

iv. (1) Initial 6 in O.W. di 'to' disappeared, giving Ml. W. y, Mn. W. i, 'to' § 65 iv (2).

(2) Medial 6 disappears in meun : Ir, medon § 215 iii (1); in the verb rhoddaf, v.n. rhoddi 'to give', which became rho-af > rhoaf, v.n. rhoi; see rhoist, etc. § 33 iii (1); but the 6 also persisted in the written language; see § 186. Similarly arhoaf for *arhodaf § 187 iii. Medial 6 also disappears in tyddyn > ty in place-names of the form Ty'n-y-môes (*tyyn > *tyyn, *tyn, ty'n).

Medial 6 is sometimes lost as the initial of the second element of a compound; thus rheg-ofydd (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 Blegynwrty A.L. i 338 (m.s.l.) for Bleu-gwynwr (Bledenurit L.L. 222); diwédlydd (diwédit r.b. 90) 'evening' for *diwð-dyð; gwypo 'flies' for gwypoð (gwynbôr r.m. 54).

(3) Final 6 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 i'si = yssî in B.B.), though ydd may still be heard as sy. Sometimes in naw Duw! F.N. 63 for nawð Duw! 'God's protection!' (i.e. God help us!). In i fyndd
`up` the final -δ was lost early, though it is sometimes found written in Ml. W., as `kywedi y vyntyδ` W.L. 111, and survives to this day in parts of Dyfed. With its δ, i `fynty` lost all trace of its original signification, as seen in the unconscious repetition in `y vynty y vyntyδ` Oliver r.p. 1280 `up to Mount Olivet`. The final -δ of `eisted` also disappeared very early; it is `eiste` in the B.B. and B.C.H. So in w.m., e.g. 4 times in col. 449, in each case changed to `eisted` in r.m. 293-4. The -δ is deduced from `eistedaf`, etc., and its re-insertion finally is artificial; it is not sounded in `eiste` in the spoken language. Final -δ also disappeared in `hvwnw` 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 `brawd` § 113 i (1).

(2) Final -nn was sometimes lost in unaccented syllables; as `cyfu` `whole`, Ml. W. kyfá r.p. 1285 for `cyfän(n)`, cf. `kyfannu` w.m. 129; `yyna` `here` for `yman(n)` § 220 ii (11); (e) `felly` `so` `< *lefel ymn` `like this`, cf. `fyll hymn` § 215 iv (2); Ml. W. ky- for `kynn` `as` before the eqtv. § 147 iv (4); `fu` for `fann` § 143 iii (16). The tendency was arrested, and -nn generally remains; it had not gone far in `kyfan` 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.

Provision.

§ 111. i. (1) When n or r came before a liquid after the loss of an intervening vowel, the liquid became voiceless; thus nl > nl; rl > rll; nr > nrh; rr > rrh. Examples: `gwynllan` `vineyard` `< *gwinllan` `< *gvin-landa`; `hirllaes` `long trailing` for `hir-laes`; `penrhy` `pro- montory` for `penn-ryn`; an-rhyg § 156 ii (1); Henllan, Henlys, etc. Also in combinations in which no vowel had intervened, as `gor-lawn` `high tide`, an-llagredig `incorruptible`. So initially: `yn llawen` for `yn laewn` `full`; `yn rhad`, mor `llawen`, mor `rhad` (yn and mor generally cause lenition of adjectives); so pur `llawn` `very full`; hên llew Job iv 11 (1620), hên llew p 121/35 R.

This change had taken place before the loss of γ and δ as described in § 110, and did not take place later. So where γ or δ originally stood between the sounds it did not occur. Thus we have `Cyn-las` `< *Cyn-λas` `< Cyno-glæs; tór-lan` `brink` `< *torr-λaan` `broken bank`; Hár-lech `< Harð-lech` w.m. 38; cór-lan` `fold` `< *cord-lann. Thus `yn làn`, mor `làn` from `glán` `clean`, fair`; and while we have `ylán` `the hamlet` from `yr lunn` from `llawn` `enclosure`, we have `ylán` `the bank` from `yr λlán` 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 `yllynedd` more fully `yr llynedd` for `yr flynød`; Gwennllan `< *gwenn-fiánit.

(2) l was palatalized and became ll in two positions: (a) after Brit.
ei, Lat. է; thus կանանիիլ < Lat. candêla; տիվիլ 'deceit' < Lat. têla; տիվիլ 'dark' § 38 x for *tyw-*vîll § 76 vii (2) < *têmeil- < *tems-e-lo-s: Buct. teral, têmval for *teimorel, Corn. tivul, Ir. temel: Lat. tendrae < *tmesrai, Skr. tânasâh 'dark-coloured'; but not after Brit. ai, e.g. coel 'omen' < *kael- < *qai(w)y: O. H. G. heilisôn 'augurari': Ir. cêl < *kael.-@B) Between two i's, as in Ebrill < Lat. Aùrul'; pebîll 'tent' < Lat. pâpilîo.

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 Catêyrmr for Catêyrmr < *Câdâgîsmr- < Brit. Cato-tâgîrn- (Rhys no. 47); meitin < *meid-din < Lat. màtâni-num § 70 v; wynepryd 'countenance' < *weneb-bryd; and in the example bywîoelld < bywêig gledd:

A'm bêwêlad a'm bywîoelld
Yn orfâu 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 d- etc. frequently appear as -d t- etc.; thus Nhîd Taethhine hyb len B 54/356 n. 'There is no wisdom without learning'; Gwâlîd twa og enaid howel B 63/7 r

'Let God do with the soul of Howel'; Ygwêlad ta a vac têyrmr B 52/22

'Good blood begets a king'; Glowêd tim ond y glad twa C.C. 342 'To hear anything but thy praise'; ùr wlad tragwyddol b.w. 86 'to the eternal land'; Y Ddraig goch ddyry cychwyn C. 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 ðyxyan" J.J. w 144/51. In all cynganedd 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) ðð became th in myth, syth, etc. § 97 ii; cf. dial. rhôth for *rhôdð < rhôddô 'gave'. Similarly ɡɡ became ch in dichôn § 196 ii (2). But generally two voiced spirants remained, written single, as in prifarð for prif-farð 'chief bard'.

iii. (1) When a media was followed by h the two became a double tenuis; thus ateb (t = i) 'reply' < *ad-heb < *ati-seh-, *sèg*- 'say'; drycin 'storm' § 27 i < *dryg-hin; gwêlyapaf 'wettest' for *gwêlyb-haf § 147 ii.

When the sounds came together in different words they gave the double sound dt etc., see ii (1) above; and in all standard cynganedd -d h- corresponds to t, -b h- to p, -g h- to c; as Oer yw heb hwn, wðr hy pert Gr.H. o. 99.

(2) Similarly in some cases th > ff; ðh > th; as in uofua '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-fr > ffr in cyyfredin § 156 i (9). But as a rule the groups remain, as dyddhau, dyfrhau; and -f h-, -θ 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 pobeth (p = pp) < *pob-peth ‘everything’; gwethrych ‘object’ < *gweth-orthych. In ordinary pronunciation the result is the same when the sounds occur in different words; and in Ml. W. mss. -th δ- frequently appear as th only; thus athiowd n.l.a. 157 for ath diweu ‘and thy end’; Athlhu athweylaw ar llet r.p. 1220 ‘And Thy image with Thy hands extended’; cf. 1205 l. 34, 1321 l. 32; similarly weilliant tec 1424 for (G)weilliant deg; cereint 316w 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 dicter r.p. 1209, atkessynt 1309, heppor 1230, dyncectpwytw m.w. 96, ducepwytw do. 183, attpawr r.b. 35. The second is, however, often written as a media, as o wadder r.p. 1280, atboryon do. 1208, kytdbar do. 1300, llygatgall do. 1308. In the 1620 Bible we have atcas, datcuddiad, 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 dicter, the g being due to dig. In cynganedd either consonant may correspond to a tenuis or a media. Pughe’s etymological spellings adgas, udgorn, hebgor, etc., misrepresent the sound, which is as nearly as possible atgas, utgorn, hepgor.

(2) A media was frequently, though not necessarily, unvoiced before l, r, m, n, θ, f and even w, j. Thus in Ml. W. we find llwydaw r.p. 1222 ‘Ludlow’, atraws 1251, tatmaethiu r.m. 24, atnewydweys 93, wreida 23, dymgletwen 73, atwen 245, lletyteih r.p. 1222. But while r.m. has grwytrwis 86, the older w.m. has in the same passage grwydraw 183. In r.p. 1269, 1303 we have sygneu ‘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 heidiaw/echytat r.p. 1283, chendloed/chynatleu 1204, dilitya/dy aelodeu 1216. In the last example the sound is certainly d, as aelodeu 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 Dudditja 'r/diwyd latai p. 19, neitjor/ natur 133; and (b) the tenuis has survived in a number of examples, as Coetmor (for coed-mor < coed mawr); tycjo ‘to prevail’ < tyc ‘prosperity’ < tyc-, etc., cf. § 108 iv; eto for etwo < edwaeth.
§ 220 ii. (7); ysgatydd ‘perhaps’; Llan Deowyn; caneitiog ‘to brighten’ (of the moon) < cannaid; cartref, pentref.

(3) The mediae were unvoiced before voiceless consonants; thus atsein B.T. 20, datsein R.M. 289, Botffordd g. 102. In Late Mn. orthography etymological spellings prevail, as adsain Exec. vii 7, Botffordd. The latter, the name of a place in Anglesey, is always sounded Botffordd, in spite of the spelling with d.

(4) It is seen from (1), (2) and (3) above that a media is liable to be unvoiced before any consonant in the middle of a word. But we have seen in the preceding subsections that a change which took place medially also occurred when the group belonged to different words. Hence final mediae must frequently have been sounded as tenues before an initial consonant; and this is very probably the reason why they were so commonly written as tenues, the pre-consonantal form being generalized in writing. The facts are briefly summarized in § 18 ii.

But before an initial vowel it is certain that a final explosive, though written as a tenuis, was in fact a media in the 14th cent. In the following examples from R.P. (which might easily be multiplied) it is seen that the final t or c in heavy type must be pronounced d or g to correspond to a media in the other part of the line:

Digystud ſ anrec am (dec ystwyl 1202,
Glót oleu 1203,
Gwledic eursyllt ſ vn (gwl a gorséd 1208;

so before a liquid:

Temyl ſ y gríst ſ 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 gwag is proved by such a spelling as yn waac...y gadeir waac W.M. 449, R.M. 293. Cf. § 55 i.

The final media before an initial consonant, however, corresponds to a tenuis in much later cynghanedd, especially when the initial is voiceless:

Heb swydd ſ wn (hopus a huw g. 239
Brig ʃ fydd ſ a bair koffa huw, etc., p.II. 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 Grwilym beside ab. Edmond.

(5) Since the explosive was a tenuis before a consonant we have -p m- and -t n-; these combinations were mutated to mh and nh in the following examples, the voicelessness of the tenuis being retained after its assimilation: Amhadawc P 61/18 R, for Ap Madawc, Amhredydd C.C. 334 for Ap Mareddu, 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 *prydhaen* is an artificial reconstruction; the spoken language preserves the traditional pronunciation *prynhawn*.

Ag un lliw, gannwyll awyr,
Y barnwn haul brynhawn hwyrt.—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: *nkd* > *nkt* or *nt*, as in *teuengtid* 'youth' also written *teuengtid*; —*ntg* > *ak*, as in *difancoll* D.G. 387 'perdition' < *difant-goll*; *deinycyd* D.G. 385, r.p. 1157 'gnashing of teeth' < *deint-gryd*.

(2) A media was generally unvoiced after a voiceless spirant; as *glastysfy* r.m. 146 for *glaedwyr* § 96 ii (5); *neilparth* do. 148 for *neilbarth*; *dywespwyd* do. 99; *gwaethpwyd* do. 89; *gwallw* b.c.w. 37 for *gwallyf*; *altud* for all-*dud*. On the other hand *p* and *c* are voiced, sometimes even in M.L., after *s*; thus while we have *yskyn* r.m. 11, *kysou* do. 21, *yspryt* l.l.a. 99, we also find *disgynment* r.m. 14, *gosygyn* do. 91, *ysbryt* l.l.a. 3, *esgussawd* w. 1a, *pasgadur* l.b. 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, llt, cht, ffr, 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 gollynghy* in r.m. 56; *Bet yr owynyyn* b.b. 81 'If I knew'; os *kowyn* l.l.a. ii 18 'if he asks it'; *seith pechawt* l.l.a. 143 for *seith bechawt* s.c. 36 'seven sins'; *a' th caledrwydd* r.h.b.s. 74 'and thy hardness,'

vii. (1) *sl* > *dl*, as in *bodlon* 'satisfied' < *bod-laen*. The recent spelling *bodlôn* is a reconstruction due to Pughe; the natural pronunciation is *bodlon* (S.W. *bôlon*); cf. *Fodlon im dan fedylwyrn* ir D.G. 172 'contented with me under fresh birch-trees'; *Bodloni bydol annyn* Gr.O. 34 'to satisfy a worldly wretch'; *hadl* 'lying in ruins' for *hadl* < *s-l, r-hed-* 'settle' § 63 ii. Similarly *dr* > *dr*, as in *caedr* 'puissant' for *caadr*: Gaul. *Belatu-cadrus* ep. of Mars, O. Bret. *caedr* gl. decreeo, Bret. *caer* kaer 'handsome': Gk. *kekadivos*, Skr. *śāsad* 'distinguish oneself'. It took place after the loss of *f*; thus *Hydref 'October* < *hydref* (hedyref l.l.a. i 24, *calan hydref* m.a. i 346b 'Oct. 1st'), *dedr* 'verdict' < *ded-fryd*.

On the other hand *d* (< *orig. *t*) is sometimes treated as *δ* before a sonant, and in S.W. dial. has remained *δ* or disappeared. Thus *cenedd* is *kenetyl* in r.b. 10, 16, where *t* = *δ*, but in O.W. is *cenetl* b.s.ch. 2, where *t* = *d* (S.W. dial. *cenetl*); *hoedl* (with *d* < *t*, cf. Late Brit. *Vennisett*, and see § 63 vii (5)) is treated as *hoedl* by Casnodyn, *heodyl* / *heodwch* 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. *heodl* for *cwoedl* cannot mean that the suff. was *-* *طفال-*, for *-edl-* would give
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-* and could become *tr-* for *dryg, drych, drain, drud*, etc., all retain *dr-*.  

(2) $\delta > d$ after *s, t, d*, and in old formations after *l, ll, n*; thus *treisdwyyn* for *treis-dwyn* 'a taking by force', *dreis-dwyyn*/dristyt R.P. 1288; *atal* 'to withhold' for *ad-dal* for *ad-dal*; *llygeitu* for *llygerid-du*, etc.; *bendith* for *ben-dith* < Lat. benedictio; *mellith* or *meldith* for *melðith* < 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* $\delta$- (nos being f.—the orig. mutation was rad. after *no(k)ts*, but this cannot be assumed to have survived); so *yr wylynos dibwethaf* 'last week'; *tros Dafydd* c. 237, *tros daear* e. xiv for *tros $\delta$*; *Bledyn tu* R.P. 1284 for *Bledynt du* for *Bledynt du*; *lleian du* D.G. 20 'black nun'; *Siwan du* L.G.C. 319, 321 'black Joan'; *holl daear* do. 446.

*Pan aeth Tomos ap Rhoser*  
*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 maer blodau*  
*A'r holl dawn o'u rhyw ill dau.*—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, myn Iesu,*  
*Einioes dyn megis nos du.*—G.Gl., c 7/44.

'Then, by Jesus, man's life darkens like black night.'

(3) $\delta > d$ 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. macchlud < *ym-aclud* § 44 v < Lat. occlūdu; Late Mn. W. gormod for *gormod* the usual form in the bards; *Maesyfel* 'Radnor' for *Maes Hysted*; *dido < *di-sawll* § 156 i (ii), *pedol* § 102 iii (2). The change, being a form of dissimilation, is only accidental.

(4) The change of *æ* to *g* and of *f* to *b* under similar conditions is rare: *arglwyd* 'lord' beside *arlawd* (both in w.m. 160) < *ar-gylwyd* < *p ri-ydei- *VR, *y deu*; cf. *glyw* § 102 iii (2); *cwyb* for *cwb* § 165 ii (3); *parabɛl* 'saying' for *paraf* < Lat. parabola; *cwb* 'calumny' for *cwb* < *kaml-* met. for *kalmen*; Lat. calumnia § 100 ii (1); so Bret. *cablus*, Cdrn. *cabal*.

§ 112. i. (1) In O.W. and Early Ml.W. an initial vowel or a medial vowel in hiatus seems to have been pronounced with a distinct breathing which is often represented by $h$. This breathing was voiced,
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 1v (1)—Ml. W., from a.l. l, hyudvet (wythfled) 58; huchof ib. ‘above me’; hun din (un dyn) 124 ‘one man’; yr hun (yr un) 256; hauwi (wyf f) 114; er hyd (yr yd) 326 ‘the corn’; othyd (o yd) 82 ‘of corn’; herect (erect) 152; hodyn (odym) 78, etc. Medially it occurs not only where a soft spirant had disappeared, as in diheu r.m. 181 < *di-zeu, Mn. W. diau ‘truly’; rohi a.l. i 118 < rodi; but also where no consonant ever existed, as in diheu a.l. 21 ‘days’; diheg i r.b.b. 48 ‘escaped’.

(2) Although this breathing has generally been smoothed away, it was liable to become voiceless before an accented vowel, and in that case it survived as $h$; thus medially in dihangol ‘escaped, safe’; initially, after a vowel in pa hám for *pa am ‘what for’, pa hachos a.l. 123, pa hawr do. 15; after r in un ar huygain ‘21’, yr holl § 168 ii (3); in all positions in hōgi ‘to whet’ for *ōgī < *āk-, √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. arduus, cf. Huréd-teg orig. quite evidently ‘high rock’;—so sometimes henw ‘name’ (henw ‘noun’ r.o. 1121), generally with $h$- in Gwyn. dial., but anwediog without it: Bret. hāw, hanu, hano, Corn. hanow; O. W. anv, 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 hevīo ‘to-day’; yevelly w.m. 41 for *hefelly, see § 110 v (2); O. W. anter-metetic gl. semiputata (hanner medidy).

(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-cdigg) 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 cenhedloedd Ps. ii 1; kynhel-les r.b.b. 234, cynhaliath (l-l and l < *l); cymhedravol a.l. ii 343 (cymhedråvoll ib. 355); cynhyrchol marc iv 8; but this never became a strict rule; it is carried somewhat further in the recent than in earlier periods: cymneddfaw Diar. xxxi cyn. (1620), cymheddfiu in late eds.—(β) Where $n$ stands for $δ n$, as in bonedd from bonedd < *budniša, as if the $δ$ had left a soft breathing; blynyddoedd is a late formation § 122 iv (2) and has no $h$.—

(γ) Where $r$ comes after $n$, as in anrheithi; this occurs even after the accent, as anrhaith § 111 i (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 danhēddog for *dant-eďava; kynbeltawš r.b.b. 327 < Lat. compiled; anghenus < *awk-; anghesol < *awk-, etc.; probably planhēdew § 48 i followed the analogy of planhigion < *plant-; canhwylleu r.b.b. 380 seems to be due to the treat-
ment of Lat. nd as nt, cf. Corn. cantuil, Bret. cantol.—(b) For original s, as in anhēbēu w.m. 81, cyfinheddus do. 73, anhēbēu mwvn ewyny hybod Il., from ann(h)eδ < *γδο-σδ- § 63 ii; glanhāu, parhāu etc. § 201 iii (4); probably -he- in iscelheic b.b. 91, pl. yscelheigyn b.B. 235, Mn. W. sg. ys golthāig is the suffix -ha- < *sag- see ib. -s- between sonants disappeared, e.g. aynynedd § 95 ii (3); but kenhadu § 48 i may contain a reflection of it: kennaδ 'message, messenger' < *γεν-ν-τά, √κεν- 'speak with authority, etc.' see Walde² 151: 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 i, w, ū seem to have been pronounced in Farly Ml. W. with friction of the breath, which is often represented by h before i or u, especially in the n.ch. Thus yhu (yw) a.l. i 6; Mawrth (Mawrth) 64; eutehu (ynteu) 130; nehuat (neuad) 78; arnhy (arnei) 100. More rarely it occurs between two u's (wu = w), or two i's, as in arnaulu (arnaw) 132; doissiotion (doythion) 124. With w such a breathing would be equivalent to back ź, and at an earlier period it was represented by g, which survives in egyw a.l. i 100 for enyi '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) dym medu B.ch. 120 'anything that a drunken man does'; auguenelhont (a ynelhont) do. 118. In O. W. w is written gu as in petgwar ox. for pedwar '4'. The sound of w, then, was virtually ź; this after h < s became ź, written chw- § 26 vi, § 94 iv. Initially on the analogy of g: ź it became ź in the position of a radical consonant, remaining ź as a soft mutation; later gw-: w-. This had taken place before the separation of Bret and Corn.

(2) The breathing before a vowel might also take the form ź, so as to give a new initial g-; thus *orδ § 100 iii (2) > gorð f. b.t. 7 through *gorδ, this being taken for the soft mutation after the art., as in ir guit (≡ yr gwyt) f. b.B. 97 'the goose'. Later gallt for allt f. 'slope'; gerfydd beside herwydd for erywδ § 215 ii (5). The Mn. godidog g. 252 for odidog 'rare', and N.W. dial. gonest for onest probably involve a confusion of initial o- with the prefix go- § 156 i (16).

(3) Conversely initial g is sometimes lost, as in ewog 'guilty' for gewog (geuawc M.a. 155 "mendaces", gau 'false'); elor f. 'bier' for gelor m.a. i 205a, met. for *gerol < Lat. gerula (clawr 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. *yındos f. *yinda, W. ciwed < Lat. civitas, W. cvdod < Lat. civitātem, § 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. *suesir < *syesor, § 75 vii (2); W. ymherawdr < Lat. imperator; but in common words it disappeared after a consonant in W., as in brawd 'brother' for *brawdr (= Bret. breur) < Brit. *brâter. 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), cymerwn § 180 iii (1).

A sonant coming before the final vowel also remained, as in ffenestr < Lat. fenestra, perigl< Lat. periculum; 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, achreawdwr § 104 iii (2).

(2) The vocalic ending of the first element of a compound, § 155 ii (1), became an obscure vowel, and disappeared; thus Brit. Maglo-cunos > W. Maelgwn; Brit. *Katu-mannos > W. Cadfan; Brit. Mori-danun > W. Myrddin; Lat. bene-dictio > W. bendith. Similarly the vowel before the suffixes -tât-, -tät-, -tero-, etc., as ciwdd < Lat. acc. civitatem, gwendiid 'weakness' < Brit. acc. *yanno-tutan; 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. agwydwr < Lat. âbecidarium, meitin < mätülitum, Saesneg < *Saxonikâ, etc. Stems in -ã- had -o- in composition; thus Kelt. *tenta 'people' was Teuto- in compounds; and ã in the second syllable generally remains in nouns, as in Caradog < Brit. Caratâcos, flürfafen < Lat. firmâmentum. But in many formations -a- in the ante-penult was lost, as in Ml. W. karhont < *karasonti § 183 ii (1), and the suff. -gar < *-ãkaros § 153 (8).

The loss of the root vowel in such forms as allwod< *n-ql'w-ïdå § 99 vi (1), dedgyd< *do-l'w-ïdå § 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. *arc- > 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 Catamamus Rhys no. 6 (LWPh.² 364), Aliortus no. 14, Veracus 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 mag⁴⁴ 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 ic jacit 37. Fem. nouns end in -e, which is doubtless the ordinary late Lat. -e for -ae, though the noun in apposition stands in the nom., as Tuncetace usor Daarit hic jacit 77, et uxor eius Cawne 20. A nom. in -a appears in Avitioria filia Cunigni Eglwys Clymyn insc. Possibly a Brit. nom. ending in -o for -os occurs in Aliortus Elmetiaco hic jacet Rhys 14 (the only stone with jacet) and Vitaliani Emereto 76. In a few cases no ending occurs: Etterni fili Victor 71, in which the legend is complete, and Victor is gen.; Velvor filia Broho 32. These and the false concords seem to indicate that the case endings were lost in the spoken language.

The stem-vowel u appears as -u- and -o-, as Catu-rugi Rhys 60, Cato-tigirni 47; and -o- appears as -e-, -w-, -e-, -i-, as Cuno-gusi 5, Vendu-magli 45, Vinne-magli 21, Vende-setli 12, Venni-setli 67, pointing to -e- for -o- 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; Trene-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 Dumnaqual beside Dumnqual both in gen. v. That the former is not merely an archaic spelling of the latter is shown by the survival of both in the Mn. language:

Mal mab i Ddyfnwal Moel-máid
Yw Phylip braz i olud . . .
Mae yn llaw hil Dyfnawal
Yr erwi mawr a’r aur mãl.—L.G.C. 209.

*Like a son of Dyfnwal Moelmud is Philip of vast wealth. In the hand of the descendant of Dyfnawal are the broad acres and the milled
gold.' Other similar doublets are Tudwal and Tudawal R.P. 1394, Dingad and Dinogat B.A. 22. The au in Dyfnawal 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. -ouses 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- legion, Bar- 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 < *klijaros § 75 vi (1); haul < *sauelios § 76 v (1); so probably cawr < *koyaros § 76 iii (4). With haul 'sun' < *sauelios < *sauelios contrast the disyllable huan 'sun' < *sauyanos < *sau enos (with n-suff. like E. sun, cf. Walde 2 721); 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 < *nors < *noqts § 96 ii (5); W. moch 'early': Lat. mox; W. yn 'in' < Brit. *en < Ar. *en.
ACCIDENCE

THE ARTICLE

§ 114. i. The definite article is yr, ’r or y. There is no indefinite article in Welsh.

ii. The full form yr is used before a vowel or h, as yr aphon ‘the river’, yr haul ‘the sun’, awfr yr aphon, gwres yr haul; the y is elided after a vowel, as i’r aphon ‘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 Ml. 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; yr iarll 189 ll. 2, 20. As initial wy is wy § 38 iv, we have in the standard language yr wy ‘the egg’, yr wyr ‘the grandson’, yr wyth ‘the eight’, yr wythnos ‘the week’, yr wylo ‘the weeping’, yr wyneb ‘the face’, yr wybren ‘the sky’. Similarly yr wyddfa ‘Snowdon’, yr wyddgrug ‘Mold’, with radical gw- fem., see v.

iii. O. W. has only the first two forms, written ir and r; thus ir tri ox. ‘the three’, ir pimphet do. ‘the fifth’, ir bis bichan do. ‘the little finger’, ir mant do. ‘the thumb’, ir guolleuni juv. ‘the light’, or decollion 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 belev ae gulich y glau b.b. 63 ‘the graves which the rain wets’.

In Ml. W. r is used after a ‘and’, with’, o ‘from’, y ‘to’, na ‘nor’, no ‘than’; but usually y or yr after other words ending in vowels, as kyrchu y illary, ... a chyrchu y bordeu w.m. 5, illary y illary do. 6, etc. The reason is probably that the article, as a proclitic, was generally joined to the following word, thus illary ‘the court’, so that these groups became isolated in the scribe’s mind, and were written in their isolated forms. On the other hand, the article could not be separated from the above monosyllables (cf. yny which is the regular form of yn y ‘in the’), hence after these it assumes its post-
vocalic form. It was undoubtedly spoken r after all vowels then as
now, except when a pause came between the words; for we find early
examples of r even after diphthongs; thus kir llaw r eircheid B.B. 10
‘beside the suppliants’, mi yw r iarl w.m. 137 ‘I am the earl’,
gwirion yw r vorwyyn do. 138 ‘the maid is innocent’, erglynw r pod-
loed r.p. 1201 ‘the people will hearken’. In some cases y is
written where the metre requires r as Pa gwr yw y porthaur 9 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 r bet
B.B. 66 for pieu’r bed? ‘whose is the grave?’; llyma’r ywedd B.M. 2
for llyma’r ywedd ‘this is the manner’. In the early M. bards ‘r is
regular, esp. after pure vowels; and it is general in later prose, e.g.
the 1620 Bible, though not without exception here. Pughe attempted
the 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 pre-
ference 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 cli-
pped 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 naiell for *yn aili § 165 (Bret. ann eil § 166 iii, Ir. ind-ala),
The art. in Corn. is en or an; in Ml. Bret. an; in M. Bret. ann
before vowels, t-, d-, n- and k-, al before l-, ar before other con-
sonants (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 σοκων νευτρον ‘this temple’ as
an example of the art. in Gaul., which is as if one were to quote
in hoc tumulo from a Lat. inscr. as an example of the Latin
“article” hic.

Though common in the O. W. glosses and prose fragments, the art.
seldom occurs in the early poetry; it is not found in juv. sk., and is
rare in the B.A.: Gwy r a aeth Catraeth ‘[the] men who went to
Catraeth’. It does not occur in O. Corn, or O. Bret., see Lloth Voc.
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. *suprâ*; *yr* < *is-ros*? cf. Lat. *ille* < *is-le*.

v. The initial consonant of a fem. sg. noun (except *ll*- and *rh*) undergoes the soft mutation after the art.

Note initial *gwy-*: *yr* *wyl* 'the holiday', *yr* *wydd* 'the goose'; initial *gwy-*: *y* *wyth* 'the miracle', *y* *wys* 'the summons'.

The mutation shows that the art. had the *o/ā*-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. *civitas*; sometimes from the accusative, as *ciwed* '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' < *uiros*, and *fer* '(two) men', apparently from *uirō*, as *uirō* would have given *fiur* (cf. Gk. δίος, Vedic voc. -a; but W. *dau* implies -o in *dūyō itself). Thus W. *daur* *daro* 'two bulls' (deudarg p. 52), *dew-war* L.G.C. 185 'two men' (-*wr* keeps its sg. form while the pl. became *gwyfr* § 66 iii (1)). But in nouns with consonant stems the dual must have taken the same form as the pl.; thus Ar. *uqpō* > W. *ych* 'ox', but the dual *uqsen* and the pl. *uqsenes* both gave *ychen*; so we have Ml. W. *deu ychen* B.M. 121 'two oxen', *deu vroder* do. 26 'two brothers'; and, by analogy, *dwy wavages* A.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 wyfel vonthóm w.m. 56 'two bare-backed Irishmen', *ydwy wergedd rywiogach L.G.C. 127 'the two women [who are] kinder'.

iii. In W. the noun has two genders only, the masculine and the feminine.

The following traces of the old neuter survive: (1) nouns of vacillating gender § 142 i.—(2) The neut. dual in Kelt. had been reformed with -n on the analogy of the sing., e.g. Ir. *da n-droch '2 wheels'; hence in W. after *dau, some nouns, originally neuter, keep p-, t-, e-unmutated § 106 iii (4); thus *dau cant or deucant '200', *dau tu or *deutu 'both sides'; and by analogy *dau pen or *deupen 'two ends'.

**Number.**

§ 116. The plural of a noun is formed from the singular either by vowel change or by the addition of a termination, which may also be accompanied by vowel change. But where the singular has been formed by the addition to the stem of a singular termination, this is usually dropped in the plural, and sometimes a plural termination is substituted for it, in either case with or without change of vowel. There are thus seven different ways of deducing the pl. from the sing.: i. change of vowel; ii. addition of pl. ending; iii. addition of pl. ending with vowel change; iv. loss of sg. ending; v. loss of sg. ending with vowel change; vi. substitution of pl. for sg. ending; vii. substitution of pl. for sg. ending with vowel change.

**Parisyllabic Nouns.**

§ 117. i. The vowel change that takes place when the pl. is formed from the sg. without the addition or subtraction of an ending is the ultimate i-affection; see § 83 ii. This was originally caused by the pl. termination -i of o-stems; thus *bárdos gave *bard 'bard', but *bárdi gave *beirdó 'bards'; and also by -i of neut. i-stems, as in mýr 'sens' < *morí § 122 ii (4); possibly -uí 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.

‘I would not exchange my swans in Hiraddug for ten of a duke’s horses.’

*M’redudd Fychan lân i lys, Oedd aml i dda a’i emys.—G.Gl., m 146/188.

‘Maredudd Fychan of the bright court, many were his goods and his horses.’

**Myneich a rhent, main a chrwys, Mintai rugl meun tair eglwys.—G.Gl., m 146/271.**

‘Monks with a rental, [and] stones and crosses, a prosperous community in three churches.’

There does not seem to be an example of *aw > eu* in a pl. noun; but another affection *aw > yw* (§ 76 v (2)) occurs in *alaw* ‘water-lily’, pl. *elyw* b.t. 32.

*ii. haearn* ‘iron’ has pl. *heyrn*, and *rhacadr* ‘cataract’ has *rhëyd*, *rhyeit* § 69 ii (3), § 75 vi (3); *pennog* ‘herring’ has *penwaig* § 36 iii; *iwrch* ‘roebuck’ has *yrch* § 36 ii, later *yrchod* a. 167; *giór* ‘man’ is for *gw giór* and has pl. *gw yr* § 66 iii (1), and so its compounds, as *pregethwr* ‘preacher’, pl. *pregethygr*; *gwrda* ‘goodman’, pl. *gw yrda*.
D. 38 gives *ieirch* rh. with *llenneirch*; but the pl. of *llennerch* '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. *trœad* § 65 ii (1); and *tyr* '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, gwinteyi r.P. 1202 'banqueting houses'; *lletyeu* R.P. 1274 'lodgings', clasidyeu do. 1269 'hospitals', *hundyeu* w.M. 5 'sleeping rooms'.

In Gwynedd -*dai* is generally accented, as *beu-dai* 'cow-houses', *poptai* '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. *bûys < *gônus; *bu <$ *bâyes < *gônes*; pl. *biw* from a re-formed *bûges*.

(3) Other cases are *carreg*, pl. *cerrig* (for *cerryg*) § 77 i; *crogen*, *cragen*, pl. *cregin* (for *cregyg*) § 77 ii; *asyn* 'ass', Ml. pl. *essyn* 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-* b.T. 59.

iv. Ml. W. *pebyll* m. 'tent' § 70 i (pl. *pebylleu*), Mn. *pebyll* sg. W.II. 216, is treated as pl. in the Bible, with a new sg. *pabell* f., from Wm.S.'s hypothetic *pabell hwu* glossing *y pebyll hyyn* sg. 2 Cor. v 4. It is generally supposed that *amwes* 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. *ceffyl*.

§ 118. i. In many parisyllabic nouns, after the loss of the Brit. endings, the pl. was not distinguished from the sg. by affection as above. These were (1) neut. nouns, whose pl. ending -*â* did not affect; thus Brit. *arganton*, pl. *argantâ* > W. *arian*, which is sg. and pl. § 133 ii.—(2) Nouns in which the vowel is not capable of *i*-affection (Brit. *ü*, *â*, etc.); thus Lat. *piscis*, pl. *pisces* > W. *pyse* 'fish' sg. r.M. 131, usually pl.—(3)
Nouns in which the vowel is affected in the sg. and pl.; thus Brit. *yرادوس, pl. *yرادي > W. ْوَرَأَيْد ‘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, medići had both become medyḍ, a new pl. medyḍgon 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 guraidd 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. latrö and its Brit. pl. *latrönes 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. *’-ojes, *’-oya the pl. endings of u-stems; thus Brit. *katus, pl. *katóyes, gave W. cad ‘battle’, pl. cadau. This termination spread and became the commonest in W. (and Bret.). It was added to—

badau 'boats'; tonnau juv., Ml. tonneu, Mn. tonnau 'waves';
pebyleu w.m. 44 'tents'; betev (t ≡ 5) b.b. 63, Mn. beddau 'graves'; frwytheu, llanneu do. 56, Mn. frwythau 'fruits', llannau 'churches', etc. So drysau 'doors', cadeiriau 'chairs', canhwyllau 'candles', llyfrau 'books', etc. etc.
The chief exceptions are nouns taking -i, see § 122 ii (2), and names of implements taking -ion, § 121 ii (2).

(2) Some nouns denoting persons, as tadau 'fathers'; mamau 'mothers'; kenhadu w.m. 184 'messengers', Late Mn. W. oenbadon; meichau w.m. 25 'sureties', now meichiau; dwyenu r.b.b. 67 'gods', Mn. W. duwiau; fem. nouns in -es, as breninesau 'queens', etc.

(3) A few names of animals, as hebogeu w.m. 12 'hawks'; keffyleu w.m. 119; keilogeu ll.a. 165; bleiddiau § 123 iv (4).

(4) Many abstract nouns, as drysau 'evils'; brodhyeu r.p. 1238 'judgements'; poenau w.m. 49, poenau 'pains'; gofidiuau 'sorrows'; meddylyeu § 121 ii (3) 'thoughts', etc.; and abstract derivatives in -ad or -iad, -aeth, -as, -ler, -did, -edd, -yd; as buriau 'intentions', gwelaiddigaethau 'visions', priodasau 'weddings', mwynderau 'delights', gwendidau 'weaknesses', pererindodau 'pilgrimages', troseddau 'transgressions', cleydau 'fevers'. Also some names of times, seasons, etc., after dien § 132 (2) : oriau 'hours'; bore-enu r.p. 1290 'mornings'; nosseu c.m. i, 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. arogli, vb. aroglaf, which with various derivatives are used in the Bible. But the word is aroglau, see aroglau ll.a. 81 translating "odor" 232, vb. arogleuaf b.t. 79; v.m. 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, dificiou § 25 i, Ml. W. grudhyeu w.m. 140, Mn. W. gruddiau 'cheeks'; glynhyeu w.m. 434, glyniau '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.
§ 121. i. -ion and -on come from Brit. -iones and -ones, pl. endings of n-stems.

The Brit. forms were *-ū < *-ō, pl. -ones, as in Brittones; but *-ū < -ū̯, pl. -ones, as in Verturiones, Gaul. Susessiones, seems to have predominated, as in Goidelic (Thurneysen Gr. 182). Hence the greater prevalence of -ion in W. Borrowed words were of course declined like native, and Lat. latrones > Brit. *latrones > W. lladron.

In Ar., nouns in -ō(n), -īō(n), -īō(n) (loss of -n § 101 ii (4)) were (a) nomina agentis, frequently from adjectives with or, ē-, īo-, n-stems; thus Gk. στράβων 'squinter': στραβός 'squinting'; οὐπάνων 'heavenly one': οὐπάνω 'heavenly'; (b) abstract nouns, as Lat. ratio. Thus the use of -ion in W., which is added to names of persons and instruments, and to abstract nouns, corresponds roughly to the original value of the suffix.

-on goes back to Brit. in nouns in which the vowel is affected in the sg., § 125 iii; after -hai < *-saj̯ai̯, pl. -heion re-formed for *-heion < *-saj̯iones, and after -ydd, pl. -ydion, re-formed for -ydon < -iones, as in gywerydion § 110 ii (3). But in most cases it is a new addition in W., as in ymerodron, pl. of ymerawdr < Lat. imperator. W. dynion is also prob. an analogical formation, for Ir. duine implies *dōnios, and Bret. and Corn. use tud, tus 'people' for the pl. The adj. *dōniōs and its pl. *dōnī will 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; mab 'boy, son', pl. meibion, Ml. meibon § 35 ii (1), O. W. mepion § 70 ii (1); gwas 'servant', pl. gwesigion, Ml. gweisson w.m. 33; wyr 'grandson', pl. wyrion, Ml. wyron r.b.b. 49; gwastraecd 'groom', pl. gwastrodyon w.m. 33; including derivatives in -(h)ai, -ydyl, -og Ml. -awe, -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. gwehyddion; marchog 'knight', pl. marchogion; cantor 'singer', pl. cantorion; pendefig 'chieftain', pl. pendefigion; dysgawdr 'doctor', pl. dysgawdron (in Recent W. re-formed as dysgawd-wr, -wyr); and adjectives used as nouns § 145 iii. In a few cases the ending is -on, as meddygon § 118 ii; Iddew 'Jew', pl. Iddewon, Ml. Ibowon l.a. 19, Ibowon do. 17; athrawon, etc. § 125 iii.

(2) Some names of implements: cfn 'chisel', pl. cynion; ebill 'auger', pl. ebillion; trosol 'bar, lever', pl. trosolion; ys gol, Ml. yscawl 'ladder', pl. ysgolion, Ml. ysgolion w.m. 189; ysgolion 'schools' follows this probably.

(3) Some abstract nouns: rhybuddion 'warnings' (Ml. ðynbðæg e w.m. 72); esgusión 'excuses'; trasserthion 'troubles'; with -on: gofalon 'cares'; cy suron 'comforts'; but most take -au § 120 i (4). H.M. has meddyllion ii 194, M 147/639 R., for the usual meddylyau, Ml. W. meddylyeu r.p. 1201, 1303.

(4) ebol, Ml. ebawl 'colt', pl. ebollion, Ml. ebolion w.m. 45; keneu, see § 125 iii; planhigion 'plants', sg. planhig-yn.

iii. -en < Brit. *-enes < Ar. *-enes survives only in ychen 'oxen', sg. ych § 69 v; and in Ml. W. Pryden 'Picts' (Gynt a Gwydfyl a Phryden b.a. 24 'Danes and Irish and Picts'), O. W. Prilen gen. xix.

Ar -en- was the F-grade of the suffix, of which -on- was the F2-grade, and -on the L2-grade § 63 iii.

The first occurrence of the misspelling ychain, § 31 ii (2), known to me is in Rhydychain in the title of the 1690 Bible; it did not come into common use before the 19th cent. The form is always ychen in Ml. W. and in the rhymes of the bards before the recent period. See ychen w.m. 480, R.m. 121, B.T. 59, L.A. 109, R.P. 1241, M.A. i 230, 426; ðyt ychen 'Oxford' see indexes of R.m. and R.B.B.

Da'r ardd ychen mewn pen pant.—W.II. F. 8.

'Well do oxen plough at the end of a valley.'

Dig 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, gen/ychen do. 318, men/ychen L.G.C. 189; wén/Rhydychen S.ph. c.c. 189; ðyrdd ychen/dalen p 54/242 R.

iv. The R-grade ð 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 Mn. W. *gwyveint m.m. 2, Mn. W. *gwyfaint ‘lungs’ < *squem *i, old neut. dual; the noun has no sg.;—O.W. anu ‘name’ pl. enwein, Mn. W. pl. enweu, with a new sg. env, Mn. W. env, pl. enweau (the α- 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.; —rhwym ‘band’, O. W. pl. ruimein, now rhwyman;—gof ‘smith’, also gosfan(n) B.T. 7, pl. Mn. W. govejm A.L. i 72, Mn. W. gofaint : 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. eduaint Gr.O. 10;—llw ‘oath’, Mn. W. pl. cam lyein L.A. 158, camlyeu R.P. 1201 ‘false oaths’, Mn. W. llwôn, Gwyn. dial. lyfon.

§ 122. i. -i, -ydd, -oedd, -edd represent the Brit. endings of -i-, -io-, -ia- and -i- stems.

ii. -i-stems. (1) The vowel is not affected in the sg. All the above endings occur in the pl.

The Ar. nom. endings were m.f. sg. *-is, pl. *-iés; neut. sg. *-i, pl. *-ioi, *-i. In Brit. the sg. *-is, *-i became *-es, *-e and did not cause affection; the pl. *-iés became *-iës which gave -i, -ydd or -oedd according to the accentuation § 75 v, iv; the neut. pl. *-ioi > *-ia > -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 (≡ trefi) B.B. 54, trewit (≡ trefyð) do. 91, Mn. W. trefi § 160 iii (2), and trefydd D.G. 3; cantref ‘canted’ makes cantrevocé R.B.B. 407 ff., but Mn. W. cantref-i, -ydd like tref; see § 75 iv, v.


-i was added to some names of persons: saer ‘craftsman’, pl. seiri W.M. 189; maer ‘steward’, pl. meiri B.B. 54; cawr ‘giant’, pl. cewri (rarely cevri) § 76 iv (3); merthyr ‘martyr’, pl. merthryri L.A. 126; prophwyldi 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'; gwernenn-i a hwylbrenn-i do. 51 'masts and yards'; canhwyllbrenn-i, also -au, both in 1 Chron. xxviii 15 'candlesticks'; *fenestr-i m.a. i 216a 'windows'; *cethr-i I.G. 584 'nails'; *perth-i r.P. 1272 'bushes'; -baniar-i m.a. i 197b 'banners', sg. baniar; *per-i ib. 'spears', sg. pár; *defn-i 'drops'
§ 202 v (3), for *dafneu r.P. 1184; *der-i r.P. 1318 'oaks', sg. dár
The use of -i has been extended in Mn. W.; thus Mn. W. kerdèu w.m. 6 'songs', Mn. W. cердди T.A. and later; Mn. W. garđen r.B.B. 145 'gardens', Mn. W. gerđdi D.G. 258; Mn. W. llwyneu r.B.B. 40 'bushes', so llwynau D.G. 60, later llwynd; Mn. W. mein 'stones' (sg. maen), Late Mn. W. meini (Ml. meini in ZE. 284 is an error for meini, see r.m. 196, l. 5); beddi b.c.w. 59 beside the usual beddau, Mn. beteu (t = ð) b.B. 63.

(3) -ydd and -oedd are found in avon-it (≡ -yð) b.B. 91 'rivers', avon-oedd r.B.B. 40, Mn. W. afonydd; gwloydöd m.a. i 199a, c.m. 2, r.B.B. 44, w.m. 190, later gwledyð in the last-quoted passage in r.m. 91, Mn. W. gwledydd; keyryð w.m. 192 'castles', kaeroð r.P. 1230, also caereu b.A. 26, Mn. W. keyrydd W.I.L. 64, caeran G.Gl. m.146/163; dinasoeð w.m. 190, r.m. 91, 93, Mn.W.dinasoedd, rarely dinessyð 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), Mn. W. tyrchaoð r.P. 1241 'crowds'; as well as -au, Mn. W. -eu: presswylvaeu w.A. 57 'habitations', eisteddraen do. 62 'seats' (-aeu later contr. to -áu).

-ydd alone occurs in meysyð w.P. 1188 'fields', Mn. W. meysydd (wrongly spelt mensydd), sg. maes; heolyð r.m. 175 'streets'; bro-yð r.P. 1189 'regions'; dolgyð do. 1188 'meadows' (also doleu b.T. 33); gwynnynr r.P. 1286 'meadows', sg. gwynn, gwaun; lluos-s-it (≡ -yð) b.B. 66, r.P. 1188 'hosts', sg. lliaws; neuydd 'brooks', poet. naint D.G. 25, sg.endant; coed-ydd 'trees', ystormydd 'storms', etc.

(4) Old neut. nouns take -oedd or -edd, sometimes alternating with vowel-affection; as mór m. 'sea', pl. moroedd < *mórija beside myr < *morí, § 117 i; dant m. 'tooth', pl. dannedd < *dantíja beside deint r.P. 1036, daint D.D. s.v.; deint is also sg., see iii (2). -oedd may be orig. m. or f. also, see (1).
-edd and -oedd are added to nouns orig. of other declensions as follows:

-ė in Ml. W., -oedd in Mn. W. are added to tir m. ‘land’ (an old neut. s-stem), pl. tiret (-t = -ė) B.B. 33, tireb R.B.B. 40 (beside tirion § 35 iii), Mn. W. tiroedd D.G. 436, 524; mynydd m. ‘mountain’ (< *monţo-), pl. mynyddoedd w.m. 250, B.T. II, R.B.B. 40, Mn. mynyddoedd; dwfr m. ‘water’ (neut. o-stem), pl. dyfroedd i.a. 54, 65, Mn. dyfroedd.

mynyddoedd having become mynyddf in S.W. dialects (cf. eiste § 110 iv (3)), this was wrongly standardized as mynyddau by some recent writers, but the traditional lit. form mynyddoedd prevails. The same remark applies to blynyddoedd, now sometimes written blynyddau for dial. blynyddf < *blynyddf. In the above words -oė 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. canoedd; north m. ‘strength’ (neut. o-stem); mil f. ‘thousand’; mur m. ‘wall’, pl. muroedd w.m. 191, muroedd g. 237, later murian; llu m. ‘host’ (m. o-stem), pl. IIuoedd r.m. 175, Mn. IIuoedd; byd m. ‘world’ (m. u-stem), pl. bydoedd M.A. i 199, Mn. bydoedd; nifer m. ‘host’, pl. niveroedd w.m. 54, Mn. niveroedd; mis m. ‘month’, pl. misoedd; teyrnas f. ‘kingdom’, pl. tmyrnscoedd w.m. 50, Mn. tmyrnscoedd; tŵr m. ‘tower’ (< E. < Fr.), pl. tyroedd w.m. 191, tyreu do. 133, Mn. tyrau; iaith f. ‘language’, pl. ieithoedd w.m. 469, b.t. 4, Mn. ieithoedd; gwledd f. ‘feast’, pl. gwleddoedd D.G. 524, gwleddau do. 8; gwisg f. ‘dress’, pl. gwisgoedd; oes f. ‘age’, pl. O. W. oisou (with @ added at some distance, see fac. b.s.ch. 2, for ‘deest’ according to Lindsay, E.W.S. 46), Ml. W. oesoedd i.a. 103, oesoeu b.t. 15, 19, Mn. W. oesoedd, oesau; achoed (t = ė) b.b. 53, Mn. achoedd, achan ‘lineage’ both in L.G.C. 213, sg. ach f.; dyfoneroedd ‘depths’, blinderoedd, au ‘troubles’.

iii. ő-stems. (1) The vowel is affected in the sg.; the pl. ends in -yd, -oedd, -edd.

The Ar. nom. endings were m. sg. *(t)iōs, pl. *(t)iōs; neut. sg. *(t)ōm, pl. *(t)ōm. In Kelt. *(t)iōs gave place to *(t)iōi > *(t)iū; this gave -yš or -oš according to the accent; neut. *(t)ū gave -eš; -eš in m. nouns is prob. for -oš. Where neither sg. nor pl. had i before ū, we had e.g. dyn ‘man’ and *men; then a new dynion for the latter § 121 i.
(2) Ml. W. bugel 'shepherd', pl. bugelyð L.IA. 109, R.B.B. 245 < *boukolios pl. *boukolijī. This was a rare type, and in Mn. W. a new pl. was formed: bugel, pl. bugelhait. But the f. adain 'wing' (iā-stem), pl. adanedd, had a new pl. made by affecting this, as if the word belonged to the -iō- declension: adain, pl. adenydd § 125 iii.

The word for 'tooth' seems partly to have passed over to this declension; thus*datiōn pl. *datiūn giving sg. deint L.I.A. 67 translating "dens", Mn. W. daint, as heb un-daint D.G. 323 'without one tooth', pl. dannedd as for sg. dant ii (4) above. In Gwyn. dial. the sg. is daint.

The ending was -oeð in brenhinoet B.B. 53 'kings', Mn. W. brenhinoedd; but the more usual Ml. 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', ewthyreð R.M. 140 'uncles'; cystlyn 'family', pl. cystlynedd R.P. 1267.

Cystlynedd Gwynedd i gyd, Cynafon Hwlocyn hefyd.—G.Gl. m i/no. 49.

'All the families of Gwynedd, and the scions of Hwlocyn too.'


iō- and iā-stems have R-grade forms in -i, p. 81. In Lat. and Balt. they remain distinct or have become so (Lat. dūritia; dūriēs). In Kelt. they seem to be mixed, see Thurneysen, Gr. 180 f.; but as e > i in Kelt., the meaning of the facts is often obscure. In other branches -iō- and -iā- are indistinguishable. The W. sg. may come from *-iā, *-iō, or *-i; pl. -eð < *-iās.

(2) blwyddyn 'year' (Ir. bliadain) < *bleidōnī, pl. blynedd < *bliduējās § 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. blwynydeð L.IA. 105, Mn. W. blynyddoedd, S. W. dial. blynydeð (whence latterly a false blynyddau see ii (4)).—modryb 'aunt' < *mātr-ág*- (†ōq*- § 69 ii (4)), pl. modrabedd c.c. 282 (so in Gwyn. dial.; -o-<sg.) < *mātrāqgiās; the form modrybed R.P. 1362 seems to be remade from the sg., as modreped ox. 2. — edau 'thread', pl. edafedd § 76 vii (1); adain 'wing' pl. adanedd, etc., see § 125 iii.
ACCIDENCE § 123

*bwydd* means ‘a year of one’s age’ or adj. ‘year old’ pl. *bwyddiaid*, § 145 iii Note, teir*bwydd* ‘three years old’, *pyrmythegnwyd* r.b.b. 185 ‘fifteen years old’, etc. The use by recent writers of *bwydd* for ‘year’ is as foreign to the spoken language as it is to the literary tradition, and the forms *bwyddau, bwyddi* for ‘years’ are pure fabrications.

(3) -edd, later replaced by -ydd, was added to *chwiör < *syesores, the pl. of *chwaer* ‘sister’, as *chwiored* ll.a. 38, r.b.b. 39, w.m. 158; in the last passage *chwioryd* in r.m. 226; Mn. W. chwíôredd T.A., Wm.S., later only chwíôrydd; § 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) b.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 *guystred* b.b. 53 ‘beasts’; and in O. W. *ätinet* broenbreifiet ox. gl. cicadae.

The stem-form is seen in Gaul. *Cing-es*, gen. -etos, and *Nemetes* ‘nobles?’ beside the -eto-stem in *nemeto- ‘temple’*. As it seems to have been used to form names of persons it may be original in *merch*, which would so be from *merke(s)s* < *merkets* (pl. *merketes*) < *mer(i)k-et- : Skr. *märyakáh* § 101 iv (1), *merē*- § 125 v (1).—

*pryf* is an old i-stem § 61 i (i), ending therefore in *-es* (< -*is*), which seems to have been mistaken for *-es(s) < -*ets*.


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).

(i) It was added to most names of animals: *llewot* w.m. 229, ll.a. 165 ‘lions’, now *llewod*; *eryrot* ll.a. 167 ‘eagles’, now *eryrod*; *lydnot* r.m. 52, w.m. 73, now *lydnod*, sg. *lùdn* ‘pullus’; *hydrot* w.m. 158, now *hyddod* ‘stags’; *gwiberot* do. 229, now *gwiberod* ‘vipers’; *ednot* ll.a. 130, now *ednod* ‘birds’ (also *ednaint* § 121 iv, and in O. W. *ätinet* i above). In Mn. W.
cathod, llwynogod, ewigod (Ml. W. ewiged r.m. 118), ysgyfarnogod, crancod (Bardsey crainc, so G.Gr. p 77/193), colomennod, etc.

(2) It was added to some names of persons: gwidoigot w.m. 178 ‘witches’; meudwyot L.A. 117 ‘hermits’ (also meudwyaid D.G. 409); gwrach ‘lag’, pl. gwrachtot p 12/124 r., Mn. W. gwrachiod D.G. 332, in which -od seems to be added to an old pl. *gyrechi (cf. the adj. gwrachlaidd).

Er wyn a gwylan arwain glod
A chwydd i wrachtiod.—I.B.H., BR. 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 llipryniod ‘weaklings’, mursennod ‘prudes’, dyhirod ‘knaves’ sg. dyhiryn; and to other nouns originally in a contemptuous sense, as eurychod ‘tinkers’, turneiod a charcocod B.C.W. 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, Ml. W. tatmaetheu W.M. 37; ewythrod for ewythredd § 122 iii (2), cyfnitherod for cyfnitheroedd W.II. c.L. 132.

(3) It occurs after a few names of things: (a) geminated forms, or what appeared to be such, as cyckod sg. cwch ‘boat’; nythod ‘nests’, Ml. W. method (e = y) A.L. i 24; bythod, sg. bwth ‘hut’; (β) diminutive forms, as tenynnod ‘halters’ sg. tennyn; bythynnod ‘cottages’, sg. bwthyn; and by false analogy Mn. W. tyddynnod ‘small farms’, for Ml. W. tydyyneu A.L. i 168, 182; bwlanod sg. bwlan ‘a vessel of straw’; (γ) some names of coins: dimeiot R.B.B. 384 now dimeiau ‘halfpennies’; ffyrriligot ib. now ffyrlligod ‘farthings’; floringod D.G. 287 ‘florins’, hatlingod ‘half-farthings’; (δ) personifications etc.: angheuod B.C.W. 65 ‘death-sprites’; eilunod ‘idols’, erthylod ‘abortions’.

iii. Ml. W. -awt occurs in pyscawt r.m. 52, w.m. 73, R.B.B. 149, B.T. 8, B.B. 89 ‘fish’ < Lat. piscātus, § 118 ii (2); and in
gorwydant b.t. 36 'horses', sg. gorwyd; eddystraut 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 affaction of the ending -iad, Ml. W. -yat §143 iv (5); thus offeiriaid 'priest' pl. offeiriaid, Ml. W. offeireit l.a. 117. All names of living things in -iad (except cariad) form their pl. so; thus ceinigaid M.A. i 285 'singers', lleityeid (t = 8) ib. now lleiddiaid 'murderers', gleissyeid ib., now gleisiaid, sg. gleisaid 'salmon'; but abstract nouns in -iad have -iaidan §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: personyeit l.a. 117, now personiaid, sg. person 'parson'; confessorieit do. 70; tacloryeit w.m. 456, Mn. W. rhagloiaid, sg. rhaglaw 'deputy'; barwnyeit r.m. 179, now barwniaid, sg. barwn 'baron'; makwyieit w.m. 15, muckwyieit r.m. 9, sg. maccwy(f) 'youth'; byleynyeit a.l. i 24, sg. bilaen r.b.b. 123 'villain'; cythrenyeit m.a. i 251b 'devils'; ysgwieryeit s.g. ii 11 'squires'; in Mn. W. pen-naethiaid Ps. ii 2, sg. pennaeth; estroniaid 'strangers', meistraid 'masters', gefeilliaid 'twins', Protesseniaid, Methodistaid, etc. Also adjectives used as nouns, §145 iii.

(2) Tribal and national names: Albanyeit r.b.b. 271, also Albanwr do. 270, sg. Albaner 'Scotchman'; Coranyeit r.m. 96, no sg.; Brytanyeit do. 91, no sg.; y Groesieit a'r Lhadinieit J.D.R. [xiv] 'the Greeks and Latins'; Rhufeiniaid, Corinthiaid, etc. Also family and personal names: y Llwydriaid 'the Lloyds', y Lleisioniaid L.G.C. 110 'the Leyshons', Koytmoriaid p 61/33 r.

(3) All names in -ur of living things: pechaduryeit l.a. 152 now pechaduriaid, sg. pechadur 'sinner'; kreaduryeit do. 4, now creaduriaid, sg. créadur 'creature'; awduriad J.D.R. [xiv], awduryeit r.p. 1375, sg. awdur ib. 'author' (the pl. awdurion seems to come from the gorsedd writings, the source of numerous fabrications); Mn. W. foüdluriaid, cysgaduriaid, henuriaid, etc.

Other nouns in -ur take either -iau, as gyniadurjau 'thimbles', pladurjau 'scythes', or -au as papurjau 'papers', mesurjau 'measures', or -on as mururon, cysuron.
(4) Some generic names of animals; as anifeileit l.l.A. 165, w.m. 228, now anifeileaid, sg. anifail ‘animal’; mileit r.m. 129, Mn. W. milod, sg. mil ‘animal’; so bwystvileit r.b.b. 40 now bwystvilod, sg. bwystv; 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, Mi. bleójyeu m.a. ii 230; gwenoliaid D.G. 20, sg. gwenonol ‘swallow’.

Strictly, of course, -iad is not a t-stem but a to-stem; thus -iad from *-iatos, pl. -iáid < *-iátí.

v. -ant < Brit. *-antes, m. f. pl. participial ending occurs in carant b.A. 14, b.b. 46, l.l.A. 153, r.m. 130, sg. cár ‘kinsman’ < *karants (Ir. care < *karants) < *kér-: Armen. ser ‘progeny, family’, E. her-d, Lat. crésco, √ ker- ‘grow’. In Early Mi. 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 Mi. W. nei (now nai) ‘nephew’: negebínt l.l.l. i 8, ngeint w.m. 89, l.l.A. 121, Mn.W. neiænt; and of ceifn ‘3rd cousin’: keyvoneïnt (≡ keivneïnt) b. ch. 76 defined ib. as ‘children of the 4th mother’ (those of the 2nd being ‘cousins’, etc.). Mi. W. meddweint l.LA. 55 ‘drunkards’ may be an old participial form. A few other nouns have -eint, Mn. W. -aint affected for an earlier *-ann, § 121 iv.

r-stems.

§ 124. i. -er < Brit. *-eres occurs in broder w.m. 38, r.m. 26, later affected to brodyr r.m. 140; broder survived, as in T.A. g. 229, Wm.S. e.g. Act. xv 23, but was at length ousted by brodyr, cf. § 122 iv (3). In Mi. 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. φράτωρ); in Late Mn. W. it came to mean ‘natives’; brodor ‘a native’ is a new sg. deduced from this pl.

-yr was added (instead of the old -awr) to gwayw ‘spear’ (also in Mn. W. ‘pain’), giving gwaewyr c.m. 48, but more usually gwewyr r.b. 1074 (for *gweywyr).

\[
\text{Ofera' gweith fu i'r gwyf}
\]
\[
\text{Eliaw òl i wewyr. — D.N., p 99/598.}
\]

‘It was the vainest task for men to anoint the marks of his spears.’
ii. -awr is common in Early Ml. W. poetry: *gwawaur* B.B. 58, B.A. 9 (see fac.) 'spears', *yrwydawr* B.A. 9 'shields', *cledyawr*, *bydinaur*, *llawnyawr* ib. 'swords, armies, blades'; later (in prose) *gwawar* W.M. 182, R.M. 85.

-awr < Brit. *-ãres < Ar. *-ãres.

**Vowel Changes.**

§ 125. The vowel changes which occur when an ending is added to form the pl. are the following:


ii. Penultimate Affection § 83 iii: The endings which cause affection are -i, -ydd, -iaid, -ion: *pár*, peri; *dár*, *deri*; *maer*, *meiri*; *cawr*, *cewri*; § 122 ii (2); —*caer*, *ceyrydd*; *maes*, *meisydd*; do. (3); —*cymar* ‘mate’, pl. *cymeriaid*; *gefell* R.P. 1302 'twin' (< Lat. gemellus), pl. *gefeilliaid*; *memkeirbyeit*, *anreigyon* § 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:


Edn a’i draed ydyw’n y drain,
A’r glud ar Gil i adain.—T.A., A 14866/201.

‘I am a bird with his feet in the thorns, and the lime on the edge of his wing.’

Hwde un o’i hadanedd;
E heda byth hyd y bedd.—I.F., M 160/456.

‘Take one of its [the swallow’s] wings; it will fly always till death’ [lit. ‘till the grave’].

Llathen heb yr adenydd
Yn y saeth a dynnai sydd.—Gut.O., A 14967/50.

‘There is a yard without the feathers in the arrow which he drew.’

Mal nodwydd ym mlaen edau
Y mas llío hon i’r lleihau.—D.G. 296 (? T.A.).

‘As a needle threaded, does her aspect make me spare.’

Aur a dyf ar edafedd
Ar y lwyn er mwyn a’i medd.—D.G. 87.

‘Gold grows on threads on the bush [of broom] for the sake of [her] who owns it.’

Ni’r cymer i fy rhiai:
Ni’r gwrtthyd f'anwrylyd fain.—D.G. 429.

‘My damsel will not have me: my slender love will not reject me.’

Er bod arian rhíanedd
Fwy na’i bwys ar faen y bedd.—H.D. P 99/402.

‘Though there be [of] maidens’ money more than his weight on the gravestone.’

Fy mrawd, mi a roi fy mryd
Ar ddau genau oedd gennyd.—G.I.H., P 77/384.

‘My brother, I have set my heart on two whelps that thou hadst.’

Kedyrn ac ieuaine ydynt,
Kynafon a’r Kynfyn ynt.—Gut.O., P 100/343.

‘Strong and young are they; they are the golden scions of Cynfyn.’

P 2
Note.—Reversion has puzzled writers of the late modern period, and lexicographers. *adain* was used regularly by the Early Mn. bards; but the Bible has *aden*, deduced from the pl. *adenydd*; from *aden* a spurious pl. *edyn* was formed, which seems to occur first in E.P., ps. lvii 1, but did not make its way into the spoken language. In the 1620 Bible *censeuw* is, by a slip, correctly written in Esa. xi 6, elsewhere it is carefully misspelt *censew*; in later editions this became *cenaew*, 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 *eleincd* 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 himself inserts the equally spurious *dagr* ‘tear’ and *deigron* ‘tears’. In his Llythryaeth p. 17 he attempted to change the spelling of *Saeson* to *Seison*.


v. Anomalous changes: (i) *morwynyôn* ‘virgin’, pl. *morwyniôn* b.b. 61, *morynôn* 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'rînion*. Note the double rhymes in

Lledyf enlynwyn lliw fôs gwynnnyôn,
Hoer morwynyon llawr Meiryonyd.—I.C. B.P. 1287.

‘Sad verses [to her of] the colour of white roses, the moon of the maidens of the land of Merioneth.’

The same change occurs in *blwyddyn*, pl. *blwynedd* § 122 iv (2).

This change seems to be due to the survial in Brit. under different accentuations of two R-grades of *ei*, namely *R₁ eĩ*, and *R₂ i*, § 63 vii (5). Thus *morwîn* < Brit. *morînjō* < *mæri- < *m-reĩ- ; morwyniôn* < Brit. *morînîjônes* < *m-ri- ; *merît- : Lat. *mæri-tus* < *m-ri- with *R₂ i*—*blwyddyn* ‘year’, I.R. *bhadain* < *bleidôn*, a fem. *i*-stem from an adj. *blei-don-s* from a vb. stem *blei-d- ‘to blow’, *blîd-*, extension of *bhel-*, *bhel- whence O.H.G. *blu-ian* (< *bhlo-*) ‘to blossom’, Ml. W. *blawt* ‘blossom’, Lat. *flōs*, etc. § 59 v, thus *blwyyn* ‘*budding season’; pl. *blwynedd* < *blîdniãs; tair* blwynedd ‘three *seasons*’.

(2) chwaer pl. *chwîorydd* § 75 vi (2), vii (2).
(3) achos pl. *achosion*, Ml. W. *achaws* pl. *achwysson* l.a. 129, see § 75 i (3).
§ 126 NOUNS

Plural of Nouns with Singular Endings.

§ 126. Nouns with the singular endings -yn and -en fall into three classes for the purposes of pl. formation.

i. Class i. The sg. ending is dropped, with or without vowel change; thus, without vowel change: pluen ‘feather’, pl. plu; mochyn ‘pig’, pl. moch; cwningen ‘rabbit’, pl. cwning (226); blewyn ‘a hair’, pl. blew. The vowel changes that take place when the ending is dropped are the following:


2. Ultimate Affection: collen ‘hazel’, pl. cycl; onnen ‘ash’, pl. ynn; dalen w.m. 231, r.m. 167, Ps. i 3 ‘leaf’, pl. dail; chwannen ‘flea’, pl. chwain; draenen ‘hawthorn’, pl. drain; tywarchen ‘sod’, pl. tyweirch, tywyrch:

Drylliwr evys 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.

4. Exchange of penultimate for ultimate affection: giewyn ‘sinew’, pl. gtau; Ml. W. ilysewyn II.A. 97, 166 ‘plant’, pl. ilyseu m.m. 3, Mn. ilyssau W.II. 99, ilysiau.

ii. Class 2. A plural ending is substituted for the sg. ending, as diferyn ‘drop’, pl. diferion; crwydryn ‘vagrant’, pl. crwydraid; meddwyn ‘drunkard’, pl. meddlwon; planhigyn ‘plant’, pl. planhigion; cwningen ‘rabbit’, pl. owningod. The following vowel changes occur:


2. Reversion: gelyn ‘enemy’, old pl. galou 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.W. 71, gelynion B.B.B. 71, Mn. W. gelynion; defyn Gr.O. 48, defynnau Luc xxii 44; dalen 'leaf', pl. dalennau Ex. xxxix 3; mursennod, 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. tydlynnod, Mn.W. tyblynneu A.L. i 168, 180, 182; moharein m. c.m. 26, myharen D.G. 202 'ram', pl. meheryn; crogan, cragen, 'shell', pl. cregin § 117 iii (3); ettrewyn § 76 v (5), pl. *-yned not found; blwydyn § 122 iv (2).

Plural Formed from Derivatives.

§ 127. The pl. of a few nouns is formed by adding a pl. ending to a derivative: glaw 'rain', pl. glawogydd R.B.B. 324, G. 98; Mn. W. cristawn 'christian' pl. cristonogion B.B. 71, Mn. W. cristion, pl. cristionogion, cristnogion; llif 'flood', pl. llifogydd; addurn 'adornment', pl. addurniadau; erwydr 'wandering', pl. erwydr(i)adau; serch 'affection', pl. serchadau; dychryn 'terror', pl. dychrynadau, dychrynseydd; rheg 'curse', pl. rhegseydd; dyn 'man', pl. dyniafon R.P. 1196, dyneon I.L. 11 beside dynion; cas Deut. vii 10 'hater, foe', pl. caseion W.I.L. 8, also pl. cas do. 5.

Beside glawogydd the dialects have glawiau, evidently a new formation, though Bret. has glawioù. 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 Mn. W., as glaw b.b. 63, glaw I.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 11/95b; and of course there is no trace of gw- in the spoken language. The word cannot be from *uo-iau- 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. *glow- (*glo-uo- : Skr. jala- 'water, rain').

camrau is used in the Bible for 'steps'; but the true pl. of cam is camau III. 28/96 x., Mn.W. kamneu R.B.B. 149, O. W. cemmein § 121 iv; and camrau is a mere misspelling of kam-re, see § 31 ii (2).
§ 128. Double plurals are of common occurrence, and are formed in the following ways:


In old formations -*ion* affected the preceding vowel, thus the *ei* of *meibion* is the affection of *a* by *i*, as shown by the intermediate form *neibion* § 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 *i*, 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 *angylion* 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 L.A., where the reading is *eiglyyon* 129.

In most cases however -*ion* is added to the sg., and does not affect *ae, e, o*: *kaethion* R.P. 1272, *ysgolion* 'schools'.

iii. The diminutive pl. endings -*ach* (-*jach*) and -*os* are added to pl. nouns, as *eryddionach* Gr.O. 208, *dynionach* do. 93, J.D.R. [xx]; *dreiniach* 'thorns'; *plantos*, *guragedhos*, *dilhados* (dh≡ð, lh≡ll) J.D.R. [xv] 'children, women, clothes'; *cynos* 'little dogs'; more rarely to sg. nouns: *branos* R.M. 154, L.G.C. 148, 'little crows', *caregos* '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 > tt, etc.).
iv. A noun with a pl. ending sometimes has its vowels affected as an additional sign of the pl., as ceraint for carant § 123 v, 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, moroeb § 122 ii (4); arf ‘bishop’, pl. arveu w.m. 97, 99, etc., poet. eirf D.G. 2; esgob ‘bishop’, pl. esgyb, later esgobion (15th cent., Gut.O. A 14967/87), esgobiaid (T.A. A 14975/61), the first and last now obsolete; Mi.W. kénynder ‘cousin’, pl. kényndyr, a.l. i 222, Mn. W. cefnder, pl. cefndyr, cefnderoedd L.G.C. 167.

In Recent Welsh new and inelegant weak forms are sometimes found, as castelli, alarchod for cestyt, eirf. 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 (amrantau) § 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. tref, trefydd § 122 ii (2); kaer ‘castle’, pl. keirydd, 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 Mi.W. ceing old pl. caneu § 125 iii, newer pl. ceingheu a.l. 144; these survive in Mn. W. as caine pl. cangau, ceinciau. So cawr ‘giant’, pl. ceuri, cewri § 76 iv (3); achvar, achos ‘cause’ pl. achwysson § 125 v (3), achwuysgon 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 i, § 126 i, have two plurals, one without and one with the vowel affected; as gwian ‘twig’, pl. gwial or gwital; seren ‘star’, pl. sér B.T. 26, or sýr a.l. 5, the latter now obsolete; collen ‘hazel’, pl. coll m.m. 32, generally cyll; onen ‘ash’, pl. onn, more usually ynn; mellten ‘flash of lightning’, pl. mellt a.l. 107, rarely myllt R.B.B. 259.
Ni thawaf, od af heb dál,
Mwy nog eos meun gwiai.—D.G. 418, cf. 151.
'I will not be silent, though I go without pay, more than a nightingale in the branches.

E gaeodd Mai à gwiai.
Y llwybrau yn dyrrau dail.—D.G. 442, cf. 87, 162, 225.
'May has blocked up with twigs the paths into masses of leaves.'

Mawr yiv seren y morwyr,
Mwy yw no swrn o'r mdn sŵr.—L.G.C. 459.
'Great is the star of the mariners, greater than a cluster of small stars.'

Men wedd yw'r ais, a'i rhifo,
Ful eronglwyd 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.'

It is evident from my ribs that I have become lean through concealing this [secret].'

Siôn ffriu ac asennau Ffranc
Sy lew brau—Saltbr ieuanc.—T.A., A 14965/44.
'Siôn, of the face and frame of a Frank, is a spirited lion—young Salesbury.'

Singular Doublets.

§ 130. i. A noun not ending in -yn or -en may have two forms of the sg. owing to various phonetic accidents: (1) -yf : -eu § 76 vii: clebyf r.p. 1236 'sword', clebeu do. 1369, pl. clebyfeu; necyf do. 1237 'adze', and nebeu.
(2) dant, daint 'tooth', pl. dannedd § 122 iii (2).
(3) gwyr, 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 amsynt.
(4) paret w.m. 92, parwydt b.t. 27 (the latter obsolete), pl. parwydydd 'walls' (of a house).

(5) gwarthafl 'stirrup', Mn. W. gwarthol (-afl > -awdl > -ol), pl. gwarthaflau, Mn. gwarthaflaw.

(6) dydd 'day', dyw in dyw Sul etc., pl. dyddiau, dtaw.

ii. A noun may have a sg. form with, and one without, a sg. ending; as deigr, deigryn 'tear', pl. dagrâu; efsyn, arf 'weapon', pl. arfau § 129 i (1); edau, edefyn 'thread', pl. edafedd, § 125 iii. The diminutive form has sometimes a pl. of its own; as dafn 'drop', pl. dafnau § 122 ii (2), and defnyn 'drop', pl. defnynnau § 126 iii; cainc 'branch', pl. cangau, cæinciau § 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. cowny 'stalk'; cawnen 'rush'; gwial or gw'iail, sg. 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 bronneu w.m. 94, D.G. 233 'breasts', brownyð m.a. i 415, D.G. 70, 'hills', sg. bron 'breast, hill'; personiaid § 123 iv (1) 'parsons', 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', cynghoran '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', pryduau 'meals', sg. prydl; pwysau 'weights', pwysi 'lbs.', sg. pwys; ysbrydion 'spirits' (beings), ysbrydoedd 'spirits' in other senses (but Ml. W. ysprydoed, s.g. 308-9, ysprydyeu 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.L. 121, Mn. W. taid means the latter only, as

Penaethiaid yw dy daid oll.—G.I.H., II 133/211.

'All thy ancestors are chieftains.' teidiau 'ancestors' is perhaps to be treated as the pl. of taid 'grandfather', a derivative (<*tatios?) of tad, cf. nain 'grandmother' (<*naniā?). 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 mae'r elwch
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), dalenau 'leaves' (artificial only, but Mn. W. dalenneu b.B. 101 'leaves' of trees). Complete desynonymization has taken place in the sg. and pl. in cors f. 'marsh', pl. corsydd, and corser f. 'reed', pl. cyrs (in Mn. W. core, corsydd 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', cawcen 'reed'; gwialed 'twig, wand', gwielyn 'osier' (used in wicker-work—the original meaning, § 75 vi (2)).

In the dialects also coeden 'tree': 'vox nuperrime ficta' D.D. and coedlyn 'piece of wood'. The word for 'tree' in lit. W. is pren; cf. ny elwir coet o un pren R.P. 1044 'wood is not said of one tree.'

In some cases, of course, the diminutive was from its earliest formation 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 < *kūu < Ar. *k(u)yō : Skr. śvā § 89 iii; cŵn < Brit. *kunes < Ar. *kunes.
(2) dydd ‘day’ < *dīēus: Lat. diēs, and dyw ‘day’ in dyw Gwener ‘on Friday’ etc. from an oblique case (Ar. gen. *dīēs, *dīos), pl. diēu < Brit. *dīēus § 100 ii (1), beside dīēuoed § 128 i, and dybgyeu Ill. 51, R.B.B. 9, re-formed from the sg., Mn. W. dyddiau, now the usual form, though tridiau is still in common use.

Bluitinet a hir dieu (t = δ) R.B. 56 ‘years and long days’; deugein niheu Ill. 21 ‘forty days’; seith nieu R.B.B. 54; deugain nieu D.G. 198, etc.

(3) duw ‘god’, O. W. duiu- § 78 iv (2) < *deiuos (: Lat. deus) is the same word as the above with different vowel grades § 63 vii (4). The Ml. pl. dwyweu Ill. 73 is formed from the old sg.; gen-dwyen also occurs do. 44 with loss of ν; the Mn. pl. dwjau is a second re-formation.

(4) diawl ‘devil’, pl. diiefyl § 100 ii (1), also a late pl. diawl(i)aid (loss of i by dissim. is usual); the pl. dieifl used by Gr.O. is artificial, as possibly the sg. diafl. Wm.S. invented a new sg. diafol, which was adopted in the Bible, and so considered more respectable than the genuine form.

(5) blwyddyn ‘year’, pl. blynedd, blwybyned, blynynddoedd § 122 iv (2), § 125 v (1).

(6) aren pl. eirin § 106 ii (1), new pl. arennau; eirin ‘plums’, new sg. eirinen.

(7) pared, pl. parwydydd § 130 i (4); ffér ‘ankle’, pl. (old dual) uffarnau, ucharnau § 96 iv (2), late pl. fferau, 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 credadunigol; 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 gwanc ‘voracity’, llwnc
'swallowing', llafur 'labour', cred 'belief', tywydd 'weather'; or derivative as sychd 'thirst', tristwch 'sadness', ffyddlondael 'fidelity', glendid 'cleanliness'.

But a large number of abstract nouns have pl. forms: chwant 'desire', pl. chwantau; coel 'belief', pl. coelion, etc.; see § 120 i (4), § 121 ii (3), § 122 ii (4).

II. Nouns denoting material or substance, as mel 'honey', glo 'coal', ymenyn 'butter', gwaed 'blood', baw 'dirt', llaeth '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 gwyinion 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.L. 2. Similarly heyrn the pl. of haearn means 'irons' as fire-irons, etc.

The names of trees 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'; onn 'ashen', etc. (but not ynn etc.): Llithio'r wyd y llath hir onn
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', iör '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 '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 Mowys 'men of Môn' § 38 viii.
I have sung the nobility of Gwynedd, flowers of the shire with no Saxon alloy.

The sg. *rhiant* (pl. *rhüaint*) given by Pughe seems to be his own invention.


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 pi. ending; so also the spurious pl. *brieill*.

iii. Adjectives used as nouns: (1) persons: *fforddolion* ‘wayfarers’, *tlodion* ‘paupers’; (2) qualities: *prydferthion* ‘beauties’, § 145 iii.

For the pl. of compound nouns, see § 157 iii.

**Gender.**

§ 135. The gender of a noun denoting an animate object agrees in general with the sex of the object; thus the nouns *gw* ‘man, husband’, *ceffyl* ‘horse’, *brawd* ‘brother’, *gwas* ‘servant, youth’ are m., and *gwraig* ‘woman, wife’, *caseg* ‘mare’, *chwaer* ‘sister’, *mornyn* ‘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’, *ysgyfarog* ‘hare’. Thus we say *y cennad* (not *y *cennad) even when we mean a man.

*Kymer y gennat honn*, a duc of *y* dy Ernallt c.m. 33 ‘Take this messenger and bring him to the house of Ernault’. See also *R.B.B.* 68, *M.A.* i 111 and 2 Sam. xi 19–25.

These nouns do not change their gender by the addition of *gwyrw* ‘male’ or *benyw* ‘female’, as old-fashioned grammarians taught. In
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’, cyfynder ‘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.


Y ddyn twyn oedd ddos’n f’annerch:
Aeth yn fud weithian y ferch.—D.E., ch. 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 latai 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 dyres 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 dullad ‘poor thing’ f.

‘Y myd wen, mi yw dy wîr,
A’th was t’th burlas barlor.—D.G. 156.

‘My fair life, I am thy husband and thy servant in thy leafy parlour.’
F' enaid dlos, ni ddaw nosi
I adail haf y ddel hi.—D.G. 321.

'My beautiful soul! there comes no nightfall to the summer-house to which she comes.'

iv. Similarly a mas. abstract noun, when personified is occasionally treated as fem., as doethineb in Diar. i 20, ix 1–4.

§ 137. i. Some mas. names of living objects are made fem. by the addition of -es, or by changing -yn to -en; thus breinin 'king', brenhines 'queen'; bachgen 'boy', bachgennes Joel iii 3 'girl'; llew 'lion', llewes 'lioness'; asyn 'asse', f. asen; coegen 'fop', f. coegen b.c.w. 14.

arglwydd 'lord', arglwydies w.m. ii 'lady'; marchwuc w.m. 2, Mn.W. marchog 'horseman, rider, knight', marchoges, w.m. 13, b.c.w. 58; iarll, iarllles w.m. 254 'earl', 'countess'; amhervawdysr w.m. 178 'emperor', amherodres do. 162; caras l.G. 557 'relative' f.; tynysoges 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. *Saxo, *Saxonissá, § 113 i (2). On the vowel change in Cymro, f. Cymraes see § 65 ii (1).

ii. In the following cases the distinction of gender is irregular: nai 'nephew', nith 'niece'; cefnder(g) 'cousin', f. cyfnither(g); chwegrwn 'father-in-law', f. chwegr; hesbwn, f. hesbin 'ewe'; f'él 'fool', f. f'elynog; grër, gyraig; ci § 132 (1), gast § 96 ii (3).

nai < Ar. *nepóts; nith < Ar. *neptis § 75 vii (2); cefnderw § 76 vii (3) (O.W. pl. seitiriu) and cyfnitherw are improper compounds representing ceifn derw and cyfnith derw; for ceifn lit. 'co-nephew' see § 75 vii (1); cyfnith < *kom-neptis 'co-niece'; derw is an obsolete adj. meaning 'true', Ir. derb 'sure' < *deryos, Ar. base *dereu-: E. true, and doubtless W. pl. derwyd-on a 'soothsayers' < *druies (: Gaul.druides < Brit., Caesar b.c. vi 13, Ir. druid < Brit. i): W. dir 'true, certain', Ir. dir 'due' < LR *dérus.—chwegr § 94 iv; chwegrwn < *suckru-no; —hesbin from W. hesb f. of hysh 'dry' § 96 iii (5); the formation of hesbwn is not clear; perhaps for *hesbun formed on the analogy of chwegrwn; —grër < Ar. *vríos: Lat. vir; gyraig < *uraki prob. < *u(i)r-ak-i, a noun in -i (: -i-ák, cf. pl. gyraed) from a derivative in -ak- of *vríos: cf. Lat. virágō.

* 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. ὅς, etc., are probably derived from the same Aryan base *dereu- 'fast, hard'.
§ 138. Nouns

iii. (1) As in other languages, near relations and familiar animals have names of different origin for males and females: tad 'father', mam 'mother'; brawd, chwvaer; ewythr, modryb; ceffyl, caseg; etc.

(2) Names of birds are epicenes, mostly f. as y ffeylach or y fwy-y-lchen 'the blackbird', y fronfraith 'the thrush', yr wydd 'the goose', y goch 'the cuckoo', y frán 'the crow', etc.; but almost an equal number are m., as er yr 'eagle', dryn 'wren', barcut 'kite', heddyd 'lark', achar 'swan'. The male bird is in some cases distinguished by using eilidog followed by the specific name in the attributive genitive, as y eilidog bronfraith or y eilidog mwylach; but this cannot be done generally. Note eilidgwydd 'gander' § 74 i. The names of one or two male animals are formed in a similar manner; as bwch gaf 'he-goat', gwreath 'tom-cat'.

§ 138. The gender of nouns denoting inanimate objects or abstractions can only to a very limited extent be determined by the meaning.

i. The following nouns are mas.:

(1) tymor 'season', and the names of the seasons: gwanwyn, haf, hydref, gaeaf, see hydref dwys a'r gwanwyn § 38 viii; so y Garawys, y Graweys '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 ddyddiau 1620 Bible Almanac 'February has 28 days'.

(3) dydd 'day', and names of days, see Difau du § 46 ii (4); so y Pasg 'Easter', y Nadolig 'Christmas', y Sulgwyn 'Whitsunday', y Calun 'New Year's Day'; but gŵyl 'feast' is f., so that Gŵyl Fair 'Lady Day', etc., are f.

(4) gwyn 'wind', and the names of points of the compass: y gogled 'the north', y dwyrain 'the east', y deheu 'the south', y gorllewin 'the west'.

(5) Nouns denoting material or substance: aurr, arian, haearn, pres, pren, derrn, ffaurydd, glo, maen, pridd, calch, clai, tail, gwair, gwallt, yd, bwyd, bara, cig, gwael, gwin, cwrw, dwfr, gwydr, lledr, lliain, sidan, gwaw, 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 Iân 'beautiful Wales', Prydain Fawr 'Great Britain', y Fôn faw Gr.O. 16 'my Mona'. But tir 'land' is m., hence Tir Groeg m. 'Greece'.

(2) trêf 'town', llan 'church', and names of towns and parishes: Bangor Fawr yn Arfon; Lanbadarn Fawr.

(3) afon 'river', and names of rivers: Dyfi wendal D.IL 'fair-browed Dovey'.

(4) Names of mountains and hills: yr Wyddfa 'Snowdon', Carnedd
ACCIDENCE § 139

Ddofydd, Moel cyn - af "mountain' and bryn 'hill' are m., and so therefore are names formed from them, as Myndyddmawr.

(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'. llythrynn 'letter' is fem., and names of letters and sounds: a farin 'thin a' (i.e. "e").

(6) Names of trees: derwen 'oak', dôr 'oak', collen 'hazel', etc.

(7) Collective nouns denoting communities, etc.: y genedd 'the nation', y werin 'the people, the crew (of a ship)', y bodl 'the people', y bendefigath 'the nobility', y gymnaf 'the assembly', y gymulleidif 'the congregation', y glôr 'the bars' (y fôn glôr L.G.C. 71), y dorf, y dyrfu 'the crowd', y gynhadledd 'the assembly'; with some late exceptions, as y cyngor 'the council', y burdd '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, -hed, -i ni -ñoni, -iad -ad, -iant, -inab -ineb, -rwedd, -wch (-wyg), -yd, -yn.

Examples: llawbach, henaint, traethawd, llecyun, un-dab, deb, blinder, gwendid, cryndod, ffeidd-dra, cryfïdur, amynnedd, glanhha, lloedi, noethni, drygioni, cariad, teimlad, mwyniant, doethin-ab, -eb, enbydrwydd, tunyfil-wch, -wch, iechyd, offiryw.

Exceptions: awdurddod, trindod; buchedd, cynganeddod, trwygaredd, see § 143 iii (13); menadw (f. after cennad); adeilad § 205; caniad 'song' (f. after edn) but caniad 'singing' m.; galread (f. after galweiddi-aeth); blwyddyn, elltwyyn, odyn, telyn, twymyn. In the last group -yn is not the sg. ending -ynn, see § 126 iv.

ii. The following endings form f. nouns: -ach (abstract), -aeth -iaeth etc., -as, -ed, -ell, -en, -es, -fa, -wr.

Examples: cyfeilo, cosbedigaeth, athrawiaeth, teyrnas, colled, aegell, seren, llynges, porfa, natur, pladur.

There are many endings in -aeth and -iaeth; as claddedigaeth, darfodedigaeth, gwasaeth, hiraeth, amrywjaeth, gwahanjaeth, llun-iaeth.—Other exceptions are lluedad, caithwed, syched, pared; castell, cavell, hiriell 'angel' D. 43; maharen; hanes m. in N.W.—gyniadur '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 crochaniad m. 'potful'; llhayaid f. 'spoonful'; maban m. 'babe', gwreigan f. 'little woman', dynan com. 'little person'; cleddyfod m. 'stroke of sword', ffonmod f. 'blow of a stick', dyrnod m., arfed f. (cleddyfawd f. D.G. 473 is exceptional).

iv. -og (-awc) forms m. titles and designations, as tynwysog 'prince', marchog 'knight', swyddog 'officer', cymyddog 'neighbour', taegy 'villain'; and f. terms of reproach, as ffolog 'fool' f. budrog 'slattern, slobog id. Names of inanimate objects in -og are generally f., as arfedog 'apron', clustog 'cushion', mawnog 'bag'.

Dafydd, Moel cyn - af "mountain' and bryn 'hill' are m., and so therefore are names formed from them, as Myndyddmawr.
-ig forms m. titles, as gwledig ‘prince’, pendefig ‘chief’, and f. diminutives as oenig, etc.

-in is m. in brenin ‘king’, dewin ‘sage’, buslin ‘drinking horn’, ewin ‘(finger-)nail’, gortlewin ‘west’; otherwise f., as byddin, cegin, cribin, gwerin, hesbin, megin, melin.

v. -ai, Ml. W. -ei (for -he) forms nouns of com. gender, as llatai § 136 ii; see cicai f. D.G. 166.

§ 140. i. No useful rule can be laid down for determining by the form the gender of nouns without derivative endings. It is true that nouns having w or y in the ultima are mostly m., and those having o or e are mostly f.; thus asgwrn, arddwn, dwn, dwfr, ellyll, byd, bryn are m.; colofn, tonn, ffodd, ffenestr, gwén, deddf are f. But exceptions are so numerous that the rule is of no great practical value.

The reason for the rule is that Brit. u and i, which normally give W. w and y, were affected to o and e by the lost f. ending -a, § 68, thus bringing about a preponderance of f. nouns with o and e. The reasons for the numerous exceptions are the following: (1) o and e may be original Brit., and not the result of affection at all, as in mór m. ‘sea’, penn m. ‘head’; (2) y is often due to affection by the lost f. ending -i; as in blwyddyn f., telyn f. etc.; (3) endings other than -a, -i caused no affection; hence ffried f., huch f. etc.

u seems to some extent to have followed the analogy of w, thus W. cur m. < Lat. caura f.; most monosyllables with u are thus m.; but chud ‘vehicle’, tud ‘people, country’, hug ‘covering’, clun ‘thigh’, hun ‘sleep’, punt ‘£ 1’, ffust ‘flail’ are f.

There is no reason why a, i and the diphthongs should be distinctive of gender; and rules which make them the basis of such a distinction are arbitrary, and worse than useless. Thus Mendus Jones, Gr. 75, states that monosyllables having a are f.; Anwyl, Gr. 28, says they are m., and names 13 exceptions (omitting gardd, sarff, barf, nant, cad, lleath, barn, etc., etc.); actually, the proportion of m. to f. (excluding Eng. words, and names of males and females, as tad, mam) is about 55 : 45. Similarly monos. with i are said to be m.; in reality the numbers of m. and f. are practically equal:—m., lid, gwrid, pridd, lif ‘flood’, rhif, brig, cig, cil, mil ‘animal’, ffin, llin, min, gwín, glin, tir, mis, plisg, lîth ‘mash’;—f., pi, crib, gwib, gwích, tid, ffridd, lif ‘sw’, gwig, pig, hil, mil ‘1000’, hin, tin, trin, rhin, gwig, cist, lîth ‘lesson’.

ii. A few doublets occur with m. -w-, f. -o-; as cewd m. ‘bag’, cod f. ‘purse’. The others are borrowed words containing -or + cons.; as torf ‘crowd’ < Lat. turfa: tworf ‘tumult’;—fforch ‘a fork’ < Lat. furca: ffwrch ‘the fork, haunches’;—ffordd ‘way’ <
ACCIDENCE §§ 141, 142

O.E. fôld: i ffwrdd 'away'; — bôrd 'board, table' < M.E. bord: bwrdd id. < O.E. bôrd.

Also with -yn: -en, as ysge Lynn: ysghallen § 130 iii, coegen: coegen etc., § 137 i, ffwlydd: ffolen, and S. W. dial. crwydd 'boy': croten 'girl'.

§ 141. i. The gender of a compound noun is generally that of its subordinating element; thus elusenky 'almshouse' m. like ty 'house', this being the subordinating, and elusen the subordinate element. So gwñillan 'vineyard' f. like llan; canhwyllbren '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); pen-dro f. 'vertigo' (tro m.), as Mae'r bendro o 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 trêf-tud 'heritage' f.; dydd-brâd 'day of judgement' m.; pônt-bren 'wooden bridge' f.; pên-cerrdd 'chief of song' m.

§ 142. i. There are many nouns of vacillating or uncertain gender. Some of them are old neuters, like braic'h from Lat. brachchium. In other cases the uncertainty is due to the action of analogy.

ii. The gender sometimes varies according to meaning or use:— gôlwy 'sight' m., as in gôlwy byr 'short sight' (but f. in L.A. 107); gôlwy 'appearance' f., as in teg yr oheg 'fair to see';— bath or math 'kind' m., as dau fath 'two kinds': with the art. f., as y fath 'the kind', y fath bôth 'the kind of thing':— man 'spot' m., as yr òen van gochyon w.m. 140 'to the two red spots', man gwan 'weak spot': man 'place' f. generally as in Matt. xxviii 6, often m. as in Jer. vii 3; note yn y fan 'immediately', yn y man 'by and by';— to 'roof' m., as in aderyn y to 'sparrow': to 'generation' sometimes f., as in L.G.C. 204;— coes 'leg' f.: coes 'stalk' or 'handle' of a spade, etc. (where there is only one) m., dim. coesyn m.— Unrelated pairs: gwaith 'work' m., gwaith 'fois' f., as in dwy gwaith 'twice'; lîlîf m., lîlîf f.; mil m., mil f.; llîth m., llîth 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.: \textit{damwein} \textit{w.m.} 29, \textit{r.m.} 19 'accident'; \textit{breint} \textit{l.l.} 121, \textit{r.b.b.} 71 'privilege'; \textit{dinas} \textit{c.m.} 3, 8, \textit{l.l.a.} 44, D.G. 325 'stronghold, city'; still m. in place-names; \textit{nef} \textit{l.l.a.} 4 'heaven', S.Ph. (m. W. \textit{L.l.}) late 16th cent. has \textit{ne gwyn}, but H.S. mid. 15th already has \textit{nef} f., see §160 iii (2) (c); \textit{chwechf} \textit{r.m.} 192 'tale', \textit{chweched drog} \textit{ps.} cxxi 7; \textit{grudl} \textit{l.l.a.} 93 'cheek', \textit{yu grudd, dewrudd} in the bards, but f. in Bible; \textit{gweithret} \textit{al.} i 526, \textit{b.b.} 7, \textit{l.l.a.} 132; \textit{ergit} \textit{r.b.b.} 42; \textit{krevyd} \textit{l.l.a.} 143.

The following are f. in Ml. W., m. in late W.: \textit{tangneved} \textit{w.m.} 43, \textit{r.m.} 30, 38 (but \textit{y tangneved} \textit{w.m.} 55) 'peace', m. in Bible; \textit{gwirioned} \textit{w.m.} 29, \textit{r.m.} 19 'truth', m. in Bible and later bards, c.c. 357; \textit{cygfreir} \textit{c.m.} 18, \textit{r.m.} 160 'truce', m. in Bible, Deut. xxix 14; \textit{tydii} \textit{r.b.b.} 83 'freedom'; \textit{person} \textit{c.m.} 19, \textit{l.l.a.} 3 'person'; \textit{llynn} \textit{w.m.} 51, \textit{r.m.} 36 'lake'; \textit{lly} \textit{w.m.} 5, \textit{r.m.} 3 'court'.

In some cases the gender fluctuates in Ml. W.: \textit{breich}, as in \textit{c.m.} 18 \textit{ar y breich} 'on the arm', and in the next line \textit{g}r \textit{vreiche} 'to the arm'; it is m. in the Bible, but now f. except in place-names;—\textit{heul} 'sun', m. \textit{l.l.a.} 3, f. do. 161, generally f. in the bards, m. in Bible, f. in \textit{wms.} 257, now m.; \textit{heulwen} is an improper compound of \textit{haul} \textit{wenn} §46 ii (1);—\textit{clot} 'praise' m. as \textit{clot bych} \textit{w.m.} 142, \textit{r.m.} 212, generally f. in the bards g. 184, f. in the Bible, i Bren. x 7, now m., orig. neut. §66 v.

iv. The difference is in some dialects \textit{cintiao} 'dinner' f. in \textit{w.m.} 61, \textit{r.m.} 43, now f. in S.W. but m. in N.W.; \textit{troed} m. in Ml. W. e.g. \textit{deudroet} always (not \textit{duy-}), m. in N.W., f. in S.W. The following are f. in S.W., m. in N.W.: \textit{cylog, hanes, garr, gwnedadur, llym, parys, munud, clorian} (though \textit{ar y fanud}, \textit{yn y glorian} in N.W. also); in Mn. Lit. W. these are mostly m. as in N.W.; \textit{crib} 'comb' now m. in N.W., but \textit{crib} 'ridge' f. On the other hand in N.W. \textit{cusan} (m. c.m. 58, 61) and \textit{cwpenn} (m. in Bible) are sometimes treated as f., doubtless a late misuse, as also the use in some parts of \textit{canhwyllt} as f. But \textit{clust} m. \textit{r.b.b.} 54, m. in S.W., is f. in N.W. and in the Bible. N.W. is not uniform: \textit{such} m. in Gwynedd (<Lat. \textit{saccus}) is f. in Powys.

\textbf{Derivative Nouns.}

\textbf{§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. \textit{-yn}, f. \textit{-en}. The O. W. forms are \textit{-inn}, \textit{-enn}, and the \textit{n} is doubled in Ml. and Mn. W. when a syllable is added, as \textit{defnyn-aw} Can. v 2, \textit{canghenn-aw} Luc. xiii 19. They probably represent the Ar. suffixes \textit{-ino-}, \textit{-ina-} with dimin. gemination §93 iii (2), giving Brit. \textit{*-inno-s}, \textit{*-inna-}.

They may also be added to adjectives and vb.-stems, as \textit{coeg-yn} 'fop', \textit{coeg} 'empty, vain'). \textit{ysgogyn} 'swaggerer' (\textit{ysgog-i} 'to shake')

ii. Diminutive endings added to nouns: \textit{-ach}, as \textit{corrach} 'dwarf' <a Brit. \textit{*-akkos}, with dimin. gemination;—\textit{an}, as \textit{dynan} 'little
person, *gureigan* 'little woman'; this appears in late Brit. as *-agn*; in Ir. it is *-än*; see § 104 ii (1); — *-ell*, as in *ýrrchell* 'a roe', < Brit. *-ellá* or *-íllá*; — *-ig*, as in *óenig* 'lamb', < Brit. *-iká*; — *-cyn*, f. *-cen*, sometimes added to contracted personal names, as Hwelyn for Hlywel, appears to be comparatively late, and may be from E. *kin*.

iii. Abstract and collective noun endings, etc.: (1) *-ach* as *cyrfeilach* 'friendship' *cyrfrinach* 'secret' (< *-akeð, v.n. suffix § 203 i (3) (4)). (2) *-aeth* 'act', *-aktá*, § 203 i (1), as in *gwasaeth* 'service' (< *wöo-ssän-áktá* < *wöo-stá-no-aktá* § 96 ii (2); as *gwasan* does not occur, the suffix is here felt to be -ánaeth. It takes the form -jaeth from stems in *-a*, thus added to -aid in *dysg-bid-jaeth* 'learning'; hence *hynafjaeth* 'antiquity', *gosfaniaeth* 'smithing'; hence -ánaeth in *gwlydanjaeth* 'wet weather'. So *jaeth* as *marfaidjàeth* 'commerce'; -*niaeth* as *saeraidjaeth* 'workmanship', *mechfniaeth* 'surety'. In *arglyddiaeth*, *arglywddiaeth* both accentuations occur, see *Arglywddiaeth* (4 syll.) D.G. 8; *Gwledd Dduw* a'i *arglywddiaeth* Gut.O. M 146/397 r. 'The feast of God and his Lordship': *Pe talair* *wôdyd* *arglywddiaeth* D.G. 210 'If the goose paid tribute'. The form in Late W. is the last. The ending is also added to verbal adjectives in -*adwy-, *edig*; as *onadwyaeth* 'terror', *poenedigaeth* 'torture', *erledigaeth* § 44 iv. It is also seen in -*aedeath*, -*dabaeth*, -*debaeth*, -*wríaeth*, etc. (3) *-aid*, Ml. W. -eit < *-atiod-s*, *-atia*: *llwyaid* § 139 iii. (4) *-aint*, Ml. W. -eint: *henaint* 'old age; doddefaith* 'suffering' § 203 ii (3), q.v. (5) *-an*: *cusan* 'kiss', *chwiban* 'whistle', v.n. suff. § 203 vi (1). (6) -*as* < *assá* : *teyrnas* f. 'kingdom'; also *-jas*, as *trigías* 'residence': Ir. -as m. < *-assu*; (Goth. *-assu*): *-at-tá*, *-at-tu-*. (7) *-awd*, *-od*, Ml. W. -awt < *-át*: *traethaod* 'treatise' < Lat. *tractátus*; *molauad* 'praise': Ir. *molad*; used to denote the stroke of a weapon *clédyafoat*, etc. § 139 iii < *-atíó*. (8) *-deb*, *-dabáeth*, -*débaeth*, -*inab*, -*inab* all contain *-ap* < *-op*, < *-óp*—like Lat. *antiquus*, Skr. *práti-kám* 'face' and W. *wyneb* § 100 v. In *-deb* *ap*—is added to a -*ti-* stem, in *-inab* to Brit. -ini- (as in *brenin* iv (10)); *-ja* > *je* > *e* § 65 vi; in *-dab* -inab to allied adj. stems in -to-, *-ino-* (cf. Brugmann II i 285); *-oa* > *-á* > *a*. Silvan Evans states s.v. *duwead* 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*, *atabdod*, not *ataboddd*). The forms with a occur before any trace of dial. a, and are used by writers of all parts: *duveirdap* 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 i (c. 1310-1330); *coureindab* S.T., II 169/39 R.; *hydab* L.G.C. 195; *gwend* Ps. lxii 9.

Y Drindod a ro *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.'
§ 143

NOUNS

(9) -der, -ter < *tero- cpw. suff. : dyfn-der 'depth'.
(10) -did, -tid, Ml. W. -dit, -tit < Ar. *-tit- : qwen-did 'weakness';
-dod, -tod, Ml. W. -dawt, -tawt < Ar. *-tawt- : cryn-dod 'trembling';
— : Lat. vir-tut- (< *vir-o-tut-); civi-tit-.

-dra, -tra, see (22) below.

(11) -dwr < *turo-, prob. -ro- added to -tu- stem., cf. Gk. μάπ-ρυπος: 
crydfwr 'strength'.

(12) -ed, Ml. W. -et, partly < -itás, as in ciwedd < Lat. cívítas;
partly < *-e-to, Ml. W. dyly-et < *dligeto-n : Ir. dliget.—syched 'thirst';
nodd-ed 'protection', colled 'loss', etc.

(13) -edd < *-iča : trugaredd 'mercy' < *trougākariča : Ir. trōcaire;
— : Gk. -iā, árapχία, 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, Gwynnedeg 'the dialect of Gwynedd',
Gro-eg, Cymrā-eg. In the last two contraction took place. Wm.S.
took -aeg for the ending in Cymrāeg, and so, beside the correct
Saesneg, wrote Saesnaeg and Saesnaeg; see the headings in his Dis.
Gwyddeleg, Ffrancaeg etc. were also formed, either by him or by his
imitators. D.D. s.v. aeg vehemently protests against these solecisms,
and against the use of aeg as a word meaning 'language'.—Kanys
Yspanneg a dynwed ei y kawr c.m. 19 'For it was Spanish that the giant
spoke'. Kymrāec/chweec B.P. 1189. Ffranganeg da lôwdec dîletyeth
do. 1225 'Good clear pure French'.

Dysgais yr eang Ffrangeg;
Doeth yrw i dysg, da iaith deg.—I.R., p 82/309 B.

'I have learnt the rich French language; wise is its learning, fair
good tongue.'

(15) -es < *issā : buches 'herd of cows, place for milking'; llwynes
'fleece', lloches 'hiding-place'; cf. iv (4).

(16) -fa : i. < *mag- 'place'; por-fa 'pasture'; cam-fa 'stile';
trig-fa 'dwelling place'; cyrch-fa 'resort'.—2. Abstr. for -fan(a)
V.n. ending § 203 ii (4), by loss of -nn § 110 v (2) < Ar. *-mān-
§ 62 i (2) : llosg-fa 'a burning'; lludd-fa 'slaughter'; cryn-fa
'tremor'; bodd-fa 'deluge'. The two are confused, and the second
class have plurals like the first, as llosgyfedd.

(17) -i is the same as the v.n. ending -i, see § 202 ii; thus tloedi
'poverty' (also as v.n. 'to impoverish'), noethi 'nakedness' (v.n. 'to
denude'), diogi 'idleness' (v.n. 'to idle'), caledi 'hardship', gwogi
'vanity', ymddifedi 'destination'.

(18) -jad, -ad added to verb-stems is properly -ad, as shown by

* Yr aeg is of course parallel to the 'ologies' in Eng., except that in Eng. no
one imagines ology to be a real word. It is strange that the false division was
not extended to -es; though a Welshwoman in Cymraes, no one has written
Gwyddeleg for Gwyddeles, or called his wife yr aeg.
such forms as carad, e.g. ilu du di-garad n.b. 86, and especially the
form -hád (for -ha-ad), which would be *-haead if the ending were
-iad; but with stems in -i we have e.g. rhodi-ád (: rhodi$afr); from
these -iad was generalized, but too late to cause penultimate affection;
hence carjad 'love' (-iad agent affects, see iv (5)). -ad, pl. -adu is
from *-a-tu- (Ar. *-tu- verbal-abstr. suffix): Lat. supine genitum <
*geno-tu-m; -ad f. < *-a-tä § 203 iii (8).

(19) -iant is similarly -ant < *-nt-, participial suffix, as in Ml. W.
derewant u. l. 152 'stink', Mn. W. drewiant; it generally appears as
-iant in Ml. and Mn. W.: mediant w.m. 8, Mn. W. meddiant
'possession'.

(20) -id in addewid f. 'promise', perhaps < *-i-tä ( : Lat. finitus); in
cadernid m. 'might' < *-i-tu- ( : Lat. sup. vestitum); -rhyddid is
a late re-formation of rhy(d)-did.

(21) -ni < Brit. -gmnui, O. W. gmn 'work' § 203 vii (4): mech-ni 'bail' (macht 'a surety'), noeth-ni 'nakedness'; -ioni < -iono-
gnän- § 155 ii (1): haeliöni 'liberality'; also -oni in barddoni (bardhony a.l. i 78) 'hardism'. As -ni is for *-gni, and nzn > n
§ 110 ii (1), the ending cannot be distinguished from -i after n; thus
trueni 'wretchedness', gwrthuni 'unseemliness' may have -i or *-gni.

(22) -red, lit. 'course', < *-reto, v. ret- § 63 ii: gweithred 'action',
Ml. W. brithred 'confusion' ( = Ir. brechtad 'commingling'); in
a more literal sense, hyddred 'length', lledred 'breadth'.

-rywdd, lit. 'course', < *-reido- Gaul. rëda 'waggon' < *reidä,
W. rhwydd 'easy, without let, perfunctory', lit. *-running'; a fertile
abstr. suffix in W. : enbyd-rywdd 'peril', gwalgog-rywdd 'insanity'.

-dra, -tra, lit. 'course' < *-trog-, v. tregh- § 65 ii (1): e-öfn-dra
'fearlessness'.

(23) -wch < *-is-qa, v.n. ending; see § 201 iii (2): tywylwch
'darkness', heddwch 'peace'. The -wch in the by-form tywylweg
is prob. due to dissim. of continuants; see § 201 iii (3).

(24) -yd < *-o-iilis, nom. sg. of *-o-iiit- (10): bywyd 'life', Ir.
bethu < Kelt. *biyo-ilis; melwyd 'youth'; partly perhaps < *-iiit ( : Lat.
-ita, and substituted for it, as trystyd < *tristiti < tristitia).

(25) -ynt in helynt 'course'; tremynnt (dremynnt) 'sight'; prob.
*-en- + -li.

iv. Endings denoting agent or person: (1) -adur < Lat. -ätörem,
as in pechodur < peccätörem, extended to new formations: henadur
'elder', penadur 'chieftain'; in creadur 'creature' it comes of course
from -ätura.

(2) -ai, Ml. W. -ei, properly -hei for it hardens the preceding
consonant, < *-sagio 'seeker' § 104 ii (2), as biotai 'beggar of meal'
(blawd 'meal'), cynuatii 'gatherer of firewood' (cynnud 'firewood')
etc. The late artificial formation mynegai 'index' is wrong in form
(it should be 'myneaci') and in meaning (it should denote a 'seeker').

(3) -awdr < Lat. -ätör, as in ymhéravdr < imperator, créavdr <
creátor, extended in W., as in dysgawdr 'teacher', llywiau̇dr 'ruler'.
For W. awdr ‘author’ < Lat. au(c)tor (beside awdur < acc. au(e)toræm) the dial. form awdur (with parasitic w § 16 v (3)) came to be used in Late W. The above words were then mistaken for compounds of this, and wrongly spelt and accented ymheráwdr, credwodwyr. Lastly the -wr was mistaken for -wr ‘man’, (8) below, and a new pl. ymherawdwr formed instead of the true pl. ym(ñ)herodron; but ym(ñ)herodraeth remains.

(4) -es < Brit. *-issā : Lat. -issa : brenhines etc. § 137 i.

(5) -jad : hebræycyat w.m. 4 ‘guide’; it affects a to ei : lleiddiad ‘killer’ (lladd ‘kill’), datgeiniad ‘singer’; after y the i is lost § 36 v, as geilwad ‘caller’ (galv ‘call’), ceidwad ‘keeper, saviour’ (cadv ‘keep’). It implies Brit. -jatís (or jatā) : Gaul. Naēnastos, Galátra : Ir. -ith, i-stem; the suffix is -ti- (or -tā) : Gk. μάντις, κρέτης; -ia- or -a- >> -i- or -e-; the affection of the vowel shows that the -ia- form was already generalized in Brit.

(6) -og, Ml. W. awo < Brit. -ākos adj. suffix § 153 (5) forms m. nouns as tywysog ‘prince’, marchog ‘knight’, swyddog ‘officer’, and f. nouns as ffolog, see § 139 iv; the former have feminines in -oges : tywysoges ‘princess’, cymydoges ‘neighbour’.


(8) -wr ‘man’ : pregêthŵor ‘preacher’, gweithiŵor ‘worker’ etc.; -wraig ‘woman’ : gölechprai̯g ‘washerwoman’.


(10) Endings of more restricted use: -ig in pendefig ‘chieftain’, gwledig ‘prince’, < *i-ko-, § 153 (9). -in in brenin < -ini- ; cf. pl. brenhinoedd; -in from Lat. -ino- in deuin for *divin < divimus, per(ñ)erin ‘pilgrim’ < *pergerinos < peregrinus.

v. Endings denoting instrument or thing: (1) -adur, iv (1): Ml. W. paladur, Mn W. pladur ‘scythe’, gwniadur ‘thimble’ etc.

(2) -in < -ína : melin ‘mill’ < Lat. molina; cegin § 89 iii; so cribin, megyn, etc. 139 iv. The m. buelín may have -in < *-ikno-, cf. Gaul. celienon ‘tower’, *gel- ‘high’ : Lat. celsus, columnen.

(3) -ell < -ella or -ella : padell ‘pan’ < Lat. patella; pigell ‘pipe’, ffnionnwell ‘fountain, source’.

(4) -og iv (6), besides names of persons, forms f. names of things, as arffedog ‘apron’, clustog ‘cushion’, of plants, as tebbanog ‘mullein’, of places, as maenog ‘peat-bog’, brwymog ‘marsh’, etc., and m. names of birds as cwsyflog ‘woodcock’, and animals, as draenog ‘hedgehog’, llwynog ‘fox’.

(5) -wr iv (8) : crasfer ‘scaper’.
ADJECTIVES

§ 144. The pl. of adjectives is formed from the sg. as follows:

i. By change of vowel. The change is the ultimate i-affecti-
\[\text{§ 83 ii; cf. § 117 i. Examples: bychan 'little', pl. bychein}
\[\text{Mn. W. bychchain, so llydan 'broad', truan 'wretched',}
\[\text{buon 'quick'; cadarn 'strong', pl. kedrn w.m. 40, kedryn do. 51,}
\[\text{Mn. W. cedryn; ieuanc 'young', pl. ieneinc w.m. 181, Mn. W.}
\[\text{ieuainc; harô 'handsome', pl. heirô; bydar 'deaf' pl. bydeir}
\[\text{R.P. 1196, Mn. W. byddair.}

ii. By adding the ending -ion. Examples: mud 'mute', pl. mudyon R.P. 1196, Mn. W. mudyon; coch 'red', pl. cockyon R.P.
\[\text{1236, Mn. W. cockyon; glew 'bold', pl. glewion; cul 'narrow',}
\[\text{pl. culion.}

iii. The addition of -ion causes the following vowel changes:

(1) Mutation § 81: llawd 'poor', pl. llodyon R.P. 1196,
\[\text{Mn. W. llodion; trwm 'heavy', pl. trymyon R.M. 14, Mn. W.}
\[\text{trymion; llwm 'bare', pl. llymion; llwm 'keen', pl. llymion;}
\[\text{melyn 'yellow', pl. melynion; Mn. W. main 'slender', pl.meinion, etc.}
\[\text{The comparatively late pl. mawrion is an exception; an older form}
\[\text{is perhaps moryon b.t. 45; but the original form mawr < *mârî (like}
\[\text{the sg. mawr < *mâros) generally remained: loppaneu mawr w.m. 23,}
\[\text{R.M. 14 'big boots'. A similar exception is trasion m.A. i 544.

(2) Penultimate affection § 83 iii: glas 'blue', pl.
\[\text{gleissyon R.P. 1196, now written gleision; dall 'blind', pl. deilllon}
\[\text{ib., Mn. W. deilllon; claf 'sick', pl. cleiryon ib., Mn. W. cleifion;}
\[\text{gwag, pl. gweigion; cafr, pl. ceidrion R.P. 1169 (ceidron iv).

\[\text{e is not affected: uchel 'high' pl. uchelion M.A. i 565a; see gwell-
\[\text{won etc. iv.} \ a \ is \ unaffected \ in \ the \ late \ pl. \ meddlion; \ the \ old \ pl. \ is}
\[\text{meddal like the sg.: petheu claryr medal M.A. 70 "blanda et mollin".}
\[\text{ae remains unaffected, and the ending in some old forms is written}
\[\text{-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}
\[\text{that the ending appears as -on: gwele 'pale', pl. gwelion R.P.}
\[\text{1196, gweddy 'widowed', pl. gweidyon do. 1236; chyery 'bitter',}
\[\text{pl. chyeryon; hoor 'sprightly', pl. horyon; du 'black', pl.
\[\text{duon; teney 'thin', pl. teneun; budr 'dirty', pl. budron; garw}
\[\text{'rough', pl. geiwrion; marw 'dead', pl. meirion; llathr 'bright',}
§ 145. i. The only pl. forms which are originally adjectival are those produced by vowel afflection; where these exist they generally accompany pl. nouns, thus *gwŷr cedyn, not gwŷr cadarn. But we have seen that from the Ar. period *-iô, pl. *-iones formed nouns corresponding to adjectives in *-iôs § 121 i; and there can be no doubt that W. forms in -ion (from *-iones) were originally nouns, as they may still be, e.g. *yw llodion 'the poor'. The distinction between these nouns and adjectives proper was obscured by the fact that adjectives might be used as nouns, e.g. *yw kedyn w.m. 51 'the mighty'; then, in imitation of *gwŷr cedyn 'mighty men', expressions like plant llodion 'poor children' were formed for the sake of formal agreement, as the agreement was not apparent in an adj. like tlawd which had the same form for sg. and pl. But the old tradition persisted, and the use of forms in -ion was, and is, optional: *eriron du, *... coch, eririon gwinn, ... glas, ... lluid b.b. 72-3 'black', ... red, ... white, blue, ... grey eagles'; *dywyn mwyn r.m. 21 'gentle folk', meirch dafdo. 31 'tame horses'; and is more frequent in later than in earlier periods, thus bratleu trwm of w.m. 23 appears as bragion trywgon 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, cal, cas, certh, craff, eu, cyn, chwng, da, dig, dryg, flwch, gan, gwfr, gwir, gwymp, hafal, hagr, hawdd, hên, hoff, llawen, llesg, llon, llwyr, mad, mân, pur, rhad, serfyll, 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.’

dryg 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 henyon 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 aðhlyff, pruff 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’.

glân ‘clean’ has pl. gleinjon M.A. 102, R.P. 1236, which is comparatively rare, and became extinct. D. 56 includes tyyll, but quotes an example of tywyllion; this and one or two others like melysion (for melys pl., Diar. xxiii 8) are not uncommon in Late Mn. W.

(2) Adjectives of the equative or comparative degree. But superlative adjectives have substantival plurals.

(3) Derivative adjectives in -adwy, -aid, -aidd, -ar, -gar, -in, -lyd, § 153. But adjectives in -ig, -og, -ol, -us have plurals in -ion, which commonly precede their nouns, but may follow them, as gwyr bonheigion s.g. 62 ‘gentlemen’.

nefolion wybodeu ac ysprydolion gelwydodeu M.A. 103 ‘heavenly sciences and spiritual arts’, cf. 102. Deddfolion ddylonion a ddyfia-lant M.A. i 26 ‘law-abiding men they deride’. o’r nefolion a’r daer-olion a thanddaerolion bethau Phil. ii 10.—Nerthorê nefolion... neu wrthieu tyvesolion M.A. 102 ‘heavenly powers or wonderful miracles’.

Y maer sir wedi marw Siôn
Yn wag o wyr envigion.—Gut.O., g. 219.

‘The county, after the death of Siôn, is void of famous men.’

Rhod yn un bedd mauredd Môn—
Eu deugorff urddedigion.—H.K.

‘In one grave has been laid the greatness of Môn, their two noble bodies.’
Most compound adjectives, as hy-glyw, hy-glod, e-ang, ffwrth-lon, melys-lais, etc. But when the second element is an adj. which may take -iôn, the ending is sometimes affixed to the compound; thus clær-wynnyn M.A. 92 'bright', gloyw-duon 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

\[\text{Dynion cyndynion dinerth} \]
\[\text{Hyllion erchyllion a cherth. — Anon.}\]

'Stubborn (but) weak men, ugly, hideous and strange.'

iii. Many adjectives have substantival plurals used partly as abstract nouns as uchelon 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 -iôn or -iâid, Ml. W. -yon, -yeit; the latter is used for persons only, and causes the same penult. affection as -cion, except in late formations. Thus caeth 'slave' pl. keith, Ml. W. caith L.G.C. 63, or Ml. W. keithyeit or Mn. W. caethion; byddar 'deaf' pl. byddair, later formation byddariaid; balch 'proud' pl. beilch R.P. 1334 l. 46, beilchion, beilchiaid; truan 'wretch' pl. truain, trueinion, trueiniaid; gwan 'weak', pl. gweinion M.A. i 220b, gweinjeit R.P. 1196, Mn. W. gweiniaid; dall 'blind' pl. deillion, deilliaid.

\[\text{Ar ol y ferch ar òyl Fair} \]
\[\text{O gli’r bedd e glyw’r byddair. — T.A., c. ii 83.}\]

'The deaf hear [the lamentations] for the maid on Lady Day at the closing of the grave.'

\[\text{A’i lun gwrol yn gorwedd} \]
\[\text{Ef a una i’r beilch ofni’r bedd. — T.A., a 14975/107.}\]

'Since his manly form lies [in it], he makes the proud fear the grave.'

\[\text{Be chwilid pob ach aliwn,} \]
\[\text{Bylchau’n ach beilchion a wn. — T.A., a 14966/277.}\]

'If every alien pedigree were examined I know gaps in the pedigree of proud ones.'

\[\text{A phlaid o feilchiaid a fydd. — D.E., p 100/249.}\]

'And there will be a company of the proud.'

\textbf{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 *goreuon*, *hynafiaid* (the a of -*af* is not affected); *eithafoedd* R.M. 186, L.G.C. 140, 152 (beside *eithafoiu*) and *pellafedd* 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 hynafaid.*—T.A., A 31102/158.

'Llan Nefydd, the place of his ancestors.'  
*I wyth ymys y’th aned,*  
*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 cyfoethigion* 'the wealthy', *meidrolion* 'finite beings', *rheidusion* M.A. i 315a 'needy ones'.

*Ace yr wyf inneu yn mynet yn erbyn bonhêsigyon y wlat hon* s.g. 293 'and I am going against the gentlemen of this country'.  
*Efe a dywallt ddîrmyg 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'; *bwlch* (kic *bwlch* A.L. i 524 'meat in cut'), *f*. *bolch*
Rhydd pwl tyn{n) distended blunt',
All bold gwyrdd syth f. gwedn; aych cryg drwg brych givrm warm spotted hyll, colder sbort curyf clyd in keen f. cryf llwgr byrr geg-rwth sbort, hoarse if llyfn I.R. hydr brwd gwrdd syn(n) green

(Rhews hwrdd i'm llong, rhews fiong floedd.—G.Gr. p 51/49.
'The billow] gave my ship a push, and gave an angry shout.'

Oer yw rheu ar warr heol;
Oerach yw 'mronn donn yn d'ol.—W.I.L., e 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. 8o, but -ffloch in comp. I.G. 226 'flush'; -podr 'rotten', f. Num. v 21, but podr I.G. 399; rhwth 'distended', gec-rwth f. D.G. 344, but roth I.G. 406; swrth, f. sorth 'prostrate' Gr.O. 59.—y : clyd 'sheltered', old f. B.B. 62, but cled D.G. 221 and later poetry, see ex., now clyd f.; crych 'curly', f. D.G. 75, -grec in comp. see iv (1); chwyrn 'whirling', f. D.G. 418, late chwern D.P.O. 344; gwyn(n) 'white'; gwyrdd 'green' (but see § 68); hysb 'dry'; llwyd 'smooth'; llym 'keen'; sych 'dry'; syth 'upright'; tyn(n) 'tight'. All the f. forms of the y-group are in colloquial use, except creg.

Od aeth Rhys o'i glaerllys gled.
Yr wyf finnau ar fynd.—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 : bword 'warm', drowq 'bad', glwth 'gluttonous', gwerdd 'strong', gwrm 'brown', llwgr 'corrupt'.—y : dygn 'grievous'; gryn 'strong'; gwych, f. D.G. 89, 143, 156, 315, 359 'fine' (gwech is a late fabrication); gwyehr 'victorious'; gwyllt see ex.; hy 'bold'; hyd'r 'valiant'; myg 'admirable'; rhyydd 'free'; rhyn(n) f. D.G. 267 'shivering, cold'; syn(n) 'astonishing'.

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For the sake as far as the land of Essyllt 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 “manwl et manol” s.v. but cites (from L.G.C. 318) manul f.; the form manol seems a variant (late) of manwl rather than a f. For the f. of tywyll L.G.C. and D.E. wrote tywell, which is quite certainly a spurious form, for tywyll originally had in its ult. not y but 管理办法 § 38 x, § 111 i (2), and could no more take a. f. form than llwyd ‘grey’. The true f. is tywyll: Stuwell Gynegylan ys tywyll 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 ocs un ynys well. —L.G.C., M 146/140.

‘Good night to the dark island; I know not if a better island be.’ The name, which denotes Anglesey, is properly yr Ynys Dywyll (Ynis Dowyll Camden 481, Ynis Dowyll Mona Ant. 24). Rowland 41 gives tywell as regular, and cites the couplet as an example, borrowing it from D. or his translator, but lacking D.’s scholarship. Some recent writers have used the form, having learnt it from these sources; and naturally Wms’s tywyll nos is everywhere “corrected” to tywell nos in the new C.-M. hymnbook. The spoken language of course preserves the traditional form nos dwywyll.

In Ml. and Early Mn. W. derivatives in -lyd had f. forms in -led:
croc creuled B.B. 41 ‘bloody cross’; y drie danllet s.g. 294, 329 ‘the fiery dragon’; arf wyarled G.Gl. d. 59 ‘gory weapon’;
-Ac wybren drymled b ledor
A'i lluch yn goruchuio’r lloer.—D.G. 229.

‘And a gloomy chilly sky, and its drift hiding the moon.’

3. But the bulk of polysyllabic adjectives with w or u in the ult., which are not conscious compounds, have no distinctive f. form:

iv. The affection often takes place in compounds:

1. In the second element when it is an adj. as pen-grych r.m. 163 ‘curly-haired’, f. benn-grech do. 232 (but ben-grych in the earlier
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w.m. 165); clærwun m.a. i 92 ‘bright’, f. clærwen D.G. 48; mynygl-wen do. 137 ‘white-throated’, drwyn-liem do. 395 ‘sharp-nosed’; gwallt-felyn g. 157 ‘yellow-haired’, f. gwallt-felen D.G. 107; di-syml ‘artless’, f. di-seml D.G. 53.

Dywed, donn lwys-gron, láš-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’, cyffelyb ‘like’, amlwg, agwrdd, etc. iii (3).

v. The following are irregular:

(1) brith ‘speckled’ has f. braith, Ml. W. breith, a special case of a-affection, not originally irregular, see § 68.
(2) The change takes place in the penult in bychan ‘little’, f. bechan, see § 101 ii (2), and 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 á (unacc., á): cyn wynnèd á'r eira ‘as white as snow’; ‘of’ after the spv. is expressed by o: y byrraf o'r ddau lit. ‘the shortest of the two’.

ii. (1) The derived degrees are formed from the positive by the addition of -(h)ed, -ach, -(h)af respectively. The -h- of the equative and spv. disappeared after the accent § 48 ii, but hardened final -b, -d, or -g to tenues, even when these were followed by a sonant; in Late 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:—
The equative and superlative, however, always have the tenuis: kyn-delycket w.m. 34, r.m. 22, teccet w.m. 181, r.m. 84, teccaf a gwastataf w.m. 179, r.m. 83, etc. The -h- which caused this hardening is sometimes preserved in Ml. W.: dahet r.m. 50 'as good'; mwyhaf w.m. 179, r.m. 83; ky cvawhet, gurhaw § 149 i (2); pennhaw (-w = -f) B.B. 102; see § 48 iv.

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 dissymlaef of w.m. 6 becomes disemylaf in r.m. 4. Other examples are tromhaf w.m. 82, r.m. 60; gwenn(n)ach r.b.b. 60; gwennet r.p. 1239; dosnet do. 1276. A few survive in the Mn. period, eos dlosaf D.G. 402 'most beautiful nightingale'; berraf f. 17; Wennaf Wen.

iv. (1) The comparison of adjectives in the Ar. languages is largely formed by means of the Ar. suffix *-jes-. The L- grade *-jős gives Lat. -ior nom. sg. m. f. of the cpv.; the F- grade *-jős gives Lat. -ius the corresponding neuter; the R-grade -is is seen in the Lat. cpv. adverb mag-is. The R-grade -is- with other suffixes gave many forms of the cpv. and spv.
(2) The W. spv. -haf (=Ir. -em, -am) is from Kelt. *-isamos, *-isamū < Italo-Kelt. *-is,mo-os, -ā, cf. Lat. plurimus < *plōis,mos.

This is formed by adding the ordinal ending *-mos (; Lat. sept-iinus) to the suffix of comparison -iis-, just as the other ordinal ending -tōs (; Lat. sex-tus) added to -iis- forms the other spv. ending -ītōs familiar in-Gk. and Germanic. [The -s- of Lat. -issimus is due to some reformulation, probably -iis- + -imīnis newly compounded, the latter element containing -(i)īs- 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-isān (final *-on for *-ōn § 59 v) the cpv. in *-is-ōn (; Gk. -oN, Goth. -iza) of a derivative in *-āk-ōs of the adj. § 153 (5). The general substitution of the cpv. of a derivative for the ordinary cpv. in *-ōs is doubtless due to the fact that, after the loss of endings, the cpv. in -ōs did not differ from the pos. pl. (*katarn-ōs would give *cedeirn), or in some cases from the pos. sg. (*meliss-ōs would give *melys). The suffix -āk- itself prob. had a heightening force, as it has in Lith. when added to an adj.; in Lettish -āks is the ordinary cpv. ending. The suffix *-isān is formed by adding *-ōn to the suffix of comparison *-iis-. It occurs with loss of -i- in W. nes, hawos, 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 haecohen a. 234, apparently an obl. 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 *-iis-. It contains the same elements as the spv. suffix *-ītōs, 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 ā as beautiful as', lit. 'equally excelling-in-beauty with'. Without cyn it is an exclamationative, as uchēt y kwynaf r.p. 1417 'how loudly I lament!'; so Ml. Bret. kacret den 'what a fine man!' (in the dial. of Leon the spv. is substituted for it, as brasa den 'what a big man!'). In W. it is largely used substantivally as the obj. of a vb. or prep., meaning not the quality denoted by the adj. but the degree of it: er i theced 'in spite of her superior beauty'.

Zimmer, KZ. xxxiv 161-223, held that the eqtv. was a noun like colled, etc., which became an adj. by being compounded with cyn, which he regarded as *kone; cf. liw 'colour', cyflw 'of a like colour'. His explanation did not account for the -h- in the suffix; hence Stern, ZtCP. iii 164, suggests that the eqtv. is a compound, the second element being allied to Ir. sāiθ, Lat. satīs, but this the vowel does not admit of.—The fact that teced is a noun in er i theced no more proves it to be a noun originally than the use of guaethaf

* Both survived for hūn 'old', but the pl. only as a noun; thus hūn 'older'< *senjōs, hūn 'ancestors'<*seni.
as a noun in *er dy waethaf* 'in spite of thy worst' proves the spv. to be a primitive noun; the ordinal itself is so used, as *ar cyn dewdecuet* 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 nhlodíi* is 'in spite of my poverty', but *er fy nhloted* is 'in spite of the degree of my poverty'; the former means 'though I am poor', the latter 'however poor I may be'; the idea of 'degree' is common to the W. eqtv. and Bret. exclamative, and it is absurd to assert, as Zimmer does, that it is a meaning read into the form by us moderns.

Some of the irregular equatives given in the next section begin with *cym-*, *cyn-*, *cyf-, 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 formation from *kom-*, the two generalizations would have to be independent, so that the improbability is raised to the second degree. Further, the -n- of *cyn* is not only old enough to provect l- and r- (§ 111 i), as in *cyn llonned*, *cyn rhated* (as opposed to *cyf-lawn*, *cyf-ran* from *kom-*), but is actually older than the separation of W. and Bret., for in Ml. Bret. it is *quen*. Some other explanation of *cyn* must therefore be sought.

*cyn* (≡ *cyn*, in the dialects mostly *kin*) is now a proclitic, though it may be accented for emphasis; it was also a proclitic in Ml. W. for it was generally joined to the eqtv. in writing, though often separated, see below. But its -y- shows that originally it was a separate word separately accented, and distinguishes it from all the forms of *kom-*, which have y. In *cyn-dwrw*, *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 dloi*, *cyn rhaid*, *cyn gymdeithas*, but must say *cyn harbed*, *cyn dloed*, *cyn rhetid*, *cyn gyllymeithus* 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 *drowg*, and that is an adj. In Bret. *quen*, *ken* (ker, kel) comes before positive adjectives: *quen drowg*, *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 beuor* '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 profection. The base of *cyyn* 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 *cyyn* < *kon-dhi*; cf. Umbr. ponne *cum* < *qom-de*, O.Lat. *quamde* 'quama'.

In Ml. W. beside *kyn-* as *kyndeybycket* w.m. 34; and *kynn* written separately as *kynn decket* l.m. 19, 67, *kyn* gadarmet do. 67, etc. we sometimes find *ky*- as *kyngfyfhet* r.m. 150, *ky druttet* ib. This is due to the loss of final unaccented *-nn*, see § 110 v (2).

The misspelling *can* for *cynt* 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 regularly:—

(1) *agos* 'near'; § 222 i (3); eqtv. *nor* *agos* s.g. 34, Job xli 16, *kynnesset* c.m. 58; cpv. *nes*; spv. Ml. *nessaf*, now spelt *nessaf*.

W. *nessaf*, Ir. *nessam* < *ned-*s mo-s : Osc. *nessimas* 'proximae', Umb. *nestimei* 'proxime' : Skr. *nāhyati* 'binds' (*h* < *dhi*), *nedh-* 'bind'. The cpv. *nes* (≡ *nes*) < *ned-*son < *ned-*sōn; 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 *ffor* *gosal* 'nearest way' for lit. *fort* (≡ *for*δ) *nessaf* m.a. i 367b. These forms sometimes crept into the written language in the late period; see Silvan Evans s.v. *agos*.


*bychan* § 101 ii (2); *vychanet*, yr *bychanet* w.m. 44; am beth *kyn-vychanet* a *hyrny* 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. *nymryn*.

(3) *cyynar* 'early', *buan* 'quick'; eqtv. *cynted*; cpv. *cynt*; spv. *cyntaf*—*buan* is also compared regularly: *buaned* D.G. 132, *buanch* do. 225, Galarnad iv 19; so *cyynar*, spv. *cyntharaf* 'earliest' etc.

_Ni wydîn i varch gynt... no hûn* r.m. 9 'I knew of no fleeter steed than this'.

*buan* § 63 vii (3);—*cynt* (Ir. *cît*, Gaul. *Cinu*) is perhaps cpv. in meaning only; it is believed to be cognate with Goth. *hindumīists*;

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Eng. hind-er, be-hind, perhaps from kent- 'point'; cf. blaenaf 'foremost, first'; blaen 'point';—cystadl §106 iii (3); cymnar §153 (4); cystadl 'tail' < cystadl shows cyst meaning 'hind'.

(4) da 'good'; eqtv. Ml. kynna b.t. 10, R.P. 1403; Ml. kystadl 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. gwell; 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 monosyll., 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;—gwell orig. 'choice' §100 iii (2), prob. not cpv. in form;—goreu appears to be formed from gor- 'super' §156 i (17) and some form of the base _eueseu_ '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-éd fo'r gair di-werth,
Ni bydd gwir heb addaw gwether.—I.F., m 148/59.

'However good a word without a brieve may be, it will not be [accepted as] true without the promise of a brieve.'

Gwae ni dy ddaed gan dy ddwyn.—T.A., G. 230 (7 syll.).

'Woe to us that thou wert so good since thou art taken away.' Cf. L.G.C. 190.

O gwyl gŵr gael y gorau,
Oed i'r gŵr hwn drugarhau.—T.A., A 24980/85.

'If a man sees that he has the best [of it], it is time for that man to relent.' So iau/orau H.C.II., W 133/212b; H.D. p 99/498.

(5) drowg 'bad'; eqtv. kynðrwe r.p. 1357, s.g. 11, 34, 37, etc., cynddrew. Gen. xli 19; as a noun drycket w.m. 227, Mn. dryced D.G. 40; cpv. gwath; spv. gwethaf.

drobh, Bret. drouk, droug, Ir. droch-, drog- < Kelt. *druko-√dhreugh/q : Skr. drāh-, dhruk 'injuring, betraying', drūhāti 'hurts', Germ. Trug : Lat. fraus;—cynddrew §147 iii (4);—gwath, gwethaf, Bret. gwaz, gwasa, Vann. gwath, Corn. gweth, gwetha; the Bret. forms show that W. wac is for we, so that Stokes's *yakto-s Fick ii 260 is inadmissible; hence probably gwathaf < *gwæð-haf < *upo- ‘bad’; mos §75 ii (1): Lat. pessimus < *ped-s₂mos; 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 gwaelawt 'bottom', O. W. guoilaut, preserves the literal meaning ('under foot'). Of course in Ml. and Mn. W. gwael is compared regularly, its relation to gwaethaf having been forgotten.

(6) hawdd 'easy'; eqtv. havset p.la. 81, Mn. hawsed; cpv. haws; spv. hawssaf p.la. 81, s.g. 13, Mn. hawsaf.

hawdd, originally 'pleasant', as in hawddfyd 'pleasure', hawdit (≡ hawd-eyd) b.B. 90 'fine day', hawdd-gar 'handsome' §153 (8) for *hawodd §94 iv < Ar. *suād-w: Gk. ἱσῶς, Skr. svād-ḥ, O. E. sweote, Lat. suavis (≡ *suādi-s), etc.;—cpv. haws < *suād'wson < *suādisōn = Gk. ἵσῶς < *suādisōn;—spv. hawsaf < *suād'smos; the -aw- instead of -o- in the penult is due to the lost w before it; cf. gwawd 'song' < *wāt-, Mn. pl. gwawddeu r.p. 1216. In Gaul, we find Suavu-rīx, -genus (prob. -ā-). For the development of the meaning cf. E. ease 'comfort; facility'.

In Recent W. we sometimes see hawddach and hawddaf which come from the most debased dialect; good speakers still use the standard forms haws, hawsaf.

Similarly an-hawdd, ánawf r.p. 1227, etc. §48 iv, Mn. ánodd 'difficult', O.W. hanaud cp.; eqtv. anhawsed; cpv. ánaws, ános; spv. anhawssaf.

Owing to its obvious formation the word is generally written anhawdd in the late period; but the regular Mn. form is ánodd, because h is lost after the accent §48 iv, and unaccented aw > o §71 ii (1). The spoken form is ánôd, in some parts hónôd by early metathesis of h, as perhaps in the O.W. form above.

Maddau án ym 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 ánôs yw d'aros di.—T.A., c. i 340.

'But it is more difficult to confront thee.'

But the prefix may be separately accented §45 iv (2), in which case the word is necessarily án-hawdd; this form is attested in—

O dewaf sôl i w dái fo.
An-hawdd fydd fy nhûddo.—Gut.O., A 14967/60.

'If I come on a holiday to his houses, it will be difficult to comfort me.'

(7) hên 'old'; eqtv. hyncid; cpv. hyn b.t. 26≡Mn. hûn; hynach c.c. 342; spv. hyngaf, O.W. hinham.
hén, Ir. sen < Ar. *seno-s=Gk. εἶναι, Skr. sánah, Lith. sēnas ‘old’, Lat. sen-;—cpv. ἑών, Ir. sínu < *sēnīs=Lat. senior;—spv. ἑών(h)af < *sen-is'mos, see llydan below.—The cpv. ἑών is still in colloquial use, though the later and weaker ὑνάχ is more common; in S.W. also a still later ἱνάχ, ἱναφ, re-formed from the pos.

(8) hir ‘long’; eqtv. khybt w.m. 43, cychd § 41 v, contr. to cŷd; as a noun hŷd, e.g. in er hŷd ‘howeyer long’; cpv. hwy; spv. hwyaf.

hir § 72; the root is *sei-; cychd ‘as long’ < *ko-sit-; hŷd ‘length’, Ir. sîth < *si-t-, R₂ *si- § 63 vii (5);—cpv. hwy, Ir. siâ < *sei-sôn ib.;—so spv. hwyaf, Ir. siâm < *sei's'mos.

The contracted form cŷd is common in Mn.W.: cŷd a rhaff D.G. 48 ‘as long as a rope’, cŷd a gwydd D.E. c. 124 ‘as long as trees’, cŷd E.P. ps. xlv 23 ‘so long’; cŷd a phregeth ‘as long as a sermon’—cŷd < cychd (which gives Card. dial. cichyd).

(9) ñeuanc, ñefanc, ífanc § 76 iii (3) ‘young’; eqtv. iævanghet r.m. 160, ìvanghet c.m. 84; cpv. Ml. íeu b.t. 26, 28, Mn. ïau; also ìvanghach s.g. 66; íævangach Job xxx 1; spv. íæhaf a.l. i 542, íæaf, íæaf, íæangaf.

ñeuanc, Bret. ñaouank, Ir. òac, contr. òc (whence W. hog-lanc ‘lad’);—cpv. íeu < *iunjós (Ir. òa with -a from the spv., see 11 below): Skr. yàviyas—;—spv. íeuaf, Ir. òam < *iùis'mos.

(10) íssel, now written isél ‘low’; eqtv. ìset r.m. 94, Mn. ísæl; cpv. ís (≡ ís); spv. ísaf, ísaf.

W. íssel = Ir. ís(s)el. The origin of the word is not certain, but it is most probably cognate with Lat. imus. Brugmann IF. xxix 210ff. derives ímus, Osc. imad-en ‘ab imo’ from *i or *id an adv. from the pron. stem *i-, as Lat. démus, dénum is formed from dé; and quotes other examples of ‘here’ becoming ‘here below’. The Kelt. adj. is obviously formed after *up-set-s (> W. ucel ‘high’, § 86 iv); if the orig. adv. was *id, the adj. would be *id-set-s > *íssel-s, which gives W. íssel, Ir. íssel regularly. Pedersen suggests *ped-set-o, *ped- ‘foot’; but the connexion with Itali. spv. ímo- is more probable.

(11) llydan ‘wide’; eqtv. cysflled, as a noun lléd; cpv. lléd, late llétach; spv. llétaf.

W. llydan, Ir. lethan § 63 viii (1); W. lléd noun, see ibid.; spv. llétaf < *plet-is'mo-s.—The cpv. lléd, Ir. letha (~a added in Ir.) is irregular; Oesthoff derived W. lléd from *plet-is (Thurneysen Gr. 227), but it is not clear why the adverbial form -is should be generalized (the regular *plet-is would give W. *llyd, Ir. *liithiu). As many comparatives were the same as the superlative without its ending, e.g. hwy, hwyaf, Ir. sia, siám, the probability is that some,
which differed, were assimilated, so that *led is a re-formation of *lyd on the analogy of *lettach. This seems also the simplest explanation of Ir. *leth is and similar forms. In the same way W. *hynaf seems to owe its y to the comparative kyn, § 65 iv (1).

The cpr. *led in Job xi 9 is changed in late editions to *lettach; the literary form is *led: thus Edion *led no’r dunnell win II. A14967/20 ‘an ox broader than a tun of wine’; cf. L.G.C. 429.

O drugaredd pen Califaria, sydd yn llawer *led na’r byd.—Wms. 490.

‘Oh the mercy of mount Calvary, which is much wider than the world.’

(12) *mawr ‘large, great’; eqtv. Ml. *kymin, Mn. *cymin, and Ml. kymein, Mn. cymaint § 106 iii (2); as a noun meint, Mn. maint; cpr. Ml. moe § 75 i (3), Ml. and Mn. mwy, as an adv. mwyach also; spv. mwyhaf § 147 ii (2), mwyaf.

W. mawr, Ir. mär, mór, Gaul. *kymin < Kelt. *mā-ro-s;—
cpr. cvy, Ir. māo, māo, mōu < *mā-fós § 75 i (3); spv. mwvyhaf <
*māisemos < *mā-isemos; — the eqtv. noun maint < *ma-ní-s <
*mā-ní-s § 74 iv, with the suffix of numeral substantives such as
dekanti-s < *dekni-t-s: Skr. daśatiḥ ‘a decade’; cf. the formation of
eqtv. adjectives with ordinal suffixes; cf. also pa veint c.m. 78
‘how many’, y meint gwyr a oed iðaw 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:

\[ \text{Nid cymin ar y min maw} \]
\[ \text{Blys gwir a blas i genau.—D.G. 317}. \]

‘Not so much on my mouth is the desire of wine as of the taste of her lips.’

(13) *tren(n) ‘strong’; cvp. *trech (≡ trēch); spv. trechaf.

Trenchaf tresied, gwannaf gwawedd prov. ‘let the strongest
oppress, the weakest cry’. S.T. has a new cvp. *trenchaf f. 6.

W. trenn, Ir. trēn < *tren-sno-s, √streg: Germ. stark, strong,
Eng. strong;—cvp. trech, Ir. tressa (with added -a) < *tren-son <
*tren-isó-s;—spv. *trenchaf, Ir. tressam < *tren-smo-s.

chweg ‘sweet’ has Ml. cvp. chwechach w.m. 481, r.m. 121, formed like
trechach from an old cvp. *chwech < *seck-son.

(14) *uchel ‘high’; eqtv. Ml. *kyvuch, Mn. *cyvuch, contr. cuwch;
exclam, uchel r.p. 1417; as a noun uchel w.m. 189; cvp. Ml. *uch,
Mn. *wuch; spv. uchaf.

uchel § 86 iv, § 96 iv (3); uch, *wuch < *up-son; uchaf < *up-
*smos: Lat. s-umnum < *s-up-mo-s, Gr. υπαρχεω < *up-mo-s. On the
mutation uch- : *wuch see § 77 x. The form *uchaf sometimes met
with in Late W. ignores the mutation; it is a re-formation from *wuch,
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. eithr '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-āk-is-en- > *amgen > amgen § 100 vi. (As the 2nd syll. drops -is- remained and gave i not h.)

(3) prif 'chief' < Lat. primus is not felt as a spv. in W. ; it always forms the first element of a compound: § 155 iii (1).

iii. Equatives with the prefix cy- may have before this the prefix go-, as gogymaint, gogfyfuwch etc. Thus—

A'r llail a oed yn kynoduet ac yn ogymeint a bran s.g. 99 'and the other was as black and as large as a crow'. yn ogfyfuwch à Dwn, Phil. ii 6.—This form is sometimes predicated of both the things compared: Nid gogyhyd esgetrwn y cloff Diar. xxvi 7.

§ 149. i. Many nouns take the endings of comparison, and thereby become adjectives of the respective degrees.

(1) The following are in common use in Mn. W.:

rhaid 'need'; eqtv. cyn 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. rheitiach.

rhaid < Kelt. *(p)rat-jo- 'due, due share' < *prot-, √ pero- 'dispose': W. rhad see below, rhann 'share', Lat. part- § 63 vii (2), W. barn § 101 iii (2).

elw 'profit'; cpv. elwach 'profiting more, better off', as (pa) faint elwach fyddi di ? 'how much better off wilt thou be?'

elw is properly helw, still so pronounced in Gwynedd in phrases like ar dy helw 'in thy possession'; helw = Ir. selb 'possession' both < *sel-yo-, √ sel- 'take': Ir. selaim 'I take', Gk. elēv, Goth. saljan, O.E. sellan, E. sell.

blaen 'point, front'; also adj. as troed blaen 'fore-foot'; spv. blaenaf, 'foremost, first'; § 215 iii (10).

ōl 'rear, track', as yn ōl 'after, according to' § 215 iii (6), ōl troed 'foot-print'; also adj. as troed ōl 'hind foot'; spv. olaf 'last' < *ol-is_mos : Lat. ultimus < *ol-t_emos.
pen(n) 'head'; spv. pennaf 'chief'; also in Ml. and Early Mn. W. epv. 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. purītaṃ 'reward'; see rhaid above.

diwed (end'); spv. diwaethaf 'last' l.a. 7, r.f. 1195, 1249, 1298, p 16/19 r., i Petr i 5 by R.D. (in Wm.S.); diwethaf 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, diwedd.

A.L. i 48 dywedaf does not imply δ, as we have pemdec for pymteg on the same page. The form diweddafl seems to come from Wm.S.'s dywedd Matt. xxvii 64; and as it seemed to be "regular" it ousted the traditional forms in the written lang. of the 10th cent.; but the spoken forms are dyætha' (Powys), dwytha' (Gwyn.), and dyætha' (S.W.).

Caned dy feirdd—cyntaf fâm,

'Let thy bards sing—I was the first [of them], and I have come last'.

The O.W. diwed b.s.ch. 2 and Bret. divez, Corn. dewedh, Ir. diad, dead show that the noun diwedd cannot be for *diwaedd; on the other hand diwaethaf cannot well be for diwethaf. The explanation of the former seems to be that it comes from an intensified form with *-uo-, which survived only in the spv.; thus diwaethaf < *diwoed-haf < *diyo-(y)od-isamo-s, cf. gwæthafl (5) above.

diwed is 'end' in the sense of 'close, conclusion', not a geometrical term; hence from *di- 'out' + yed, √yedh- 'conduct, lead': Lith. vedū 'I conduct, lead', E. ved, etc., cf. W. gor-diwedaf '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' (iles 'benefit'); dewissach c.m. 11 'preferable' (dewis 'choice' noun); penadurjaf do. 8 'most princely'; ky vawhet r.m. 149 'as cowardly', bawaf r.p. 1278 'most vile' (law 'dirt').

ii (1) Equative adjectives are formed from many nouns by prefixing cyf-, cym-, (as cyfled, cymaint); thus kyflivo r.b.b. 179 'of the same colour'; kyvurð w.m. 75 'of the same rank';
kymoned 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 -aidd, -ig, -in (not denoting substance), -og, -us; as peraidd 'sweet', eqtv. cyn bereiddied, cpv. pereiddiaf, spv. pereiddiaf; so physicsaf '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-ðuaf L.A. 93 'of a most glossy black', llathyr-wynnaf ib. 'most lustrously white', klaer-wynaf ib. 'most brilliantly white', cyn vlaen-llymet ... blaen-llymaf W.M. 176 'as sharply pointed ... most sharply pointed'.

Dwy from mor wynion a'r òd, Gloyw-wynnach na gwynlanod.—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-ddrwg, troed-lýdan, pen-úchel, etc. A few of these may, however, be compared by adding the endings to derived forms, as gwêrth-fawr 'valuable', spv. gwêrthwawrusaf L.A. 80, or gwêrthfawroc; clôd-fawr 'celebrated', spv. clôdforusaf. (G.M.D. has gwêrthvoraf 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, mwv, mwya, 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 dymuend Ps. xix 10, Diai. 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 *mais < *mā +-is as in Lat. mag-is; the corresponding form of the spv. would be *māsamon (cf. Lat. plurimum, Gk. πλειστον), 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. *māro-; and so causing lenition. For o instead of aw see § 71 i (2). It is now generally accented, and pronounced mōr; D.D. gives it as mor (≡ mōr), but mōr (cf. poð § 168 i (3)) may sometimes be heard, when it is emphatic. It was first used as an exclamative, thus OW. mortrux ox. gl. eheu, morliaus do. gl. quam multos. The transition from the literal meaning ‘greatly sad’ of the compound mor-drù, through ‘very sad!’ to ‘how sad!’ is easy; and as the last meaning is equivalent to that of the exclamative eqtv., the form mor drù 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 env 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: mortrux gl. eheu!—Mor truan genhyf mor truan
a 8eryv b.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 sèryys yw r.m. 120 ‘so tangled is it.’—mor hagyr y gwelic y alew ry oed
arrow w.m. 251 ‘so ugly did he perceive the appearance that he bore.’—mor sèrjeit . . . mor dec r.p. 1385 ‘how bad . . . how fair.’

Wyló’r wyf lawer afon
Drosti hi, mor drist yw hon.—Gut.O., A 14967/119.

‘I weep many a river for her, so sad is she.’

Truan, mor wann yw’r einoedy
Trymed yw tor amod oes!—T.A., J 17/201.

‘Alas, how weak is life, how sad is the breaking of life’s promise.’
Equate: *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 awron.—H.K.**

'There has not been to any man of Môn so cold a world as it is now.'

(3) *mor* with a noun forms the equivalent of an eqtv. adj., as O. W. *morliaus* gl. quam multos; Ml. W. *mor eiseseu 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 gwell/* but the above may be a stray example of an idiom once in use. It is quite consistent with the explanation of *mor* adopted above.

(5) In S.W. dialects *mor* is sometimes used instead of *cyn* before the eqtv., as *mor laned* for *cyn laned* or *mor lân*.

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 ddiweddd* W.IL. 62 'and very good till his death'. Very rarely it forms a strict compound, as
ADJECTIVES

Péll-bell, ar draws pob hyll-berth,
Po bellaf, gwethaf yw'r gweryth.—G.G. 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 gweth-waeth 'worse and worse', lléi-lai 'less and less', lléd-led 'wider and wider', nés-nes 'nearer and nearer', mwy-fwy Phil. i 9 'more and more'. In present-day speech the compound is oftener loose, as llái lái. When the cpv. is a polysyllable, the compound is necessarily loose; see the ex. below.

Ef a afon yn fwyfwy
Hyd y môr, ac nid a mwy.—L.G.C. 357.

'A river goes increasing to the sea, and goes no more.'

Gŵr a wella’r gwŷr wellwell,
A gwŷr a wynda’r gŵr yn well.—D.N., v. 4, g. 161.

'A master who betters the men more and more, and men who make the master better.'

A Dafydd oedd yn myned gryfach gryfach, ond tŷ Saul oedd yn myned wannach wannach.—2 Sam. iii 1.

The combination always forms a compound, for the second cpv. has always its soft initial.

mwy na mwy 'excessive', understood as 'more than more', is doubtless originally 'more and more', the n- of na being the final -n of the cpv. § 147 iv (3).

Derivative Adjectives.

§ 153. Derivative adjectives are formed from the stems of nouns, adjectives and verbs by the addition of the following suffixes:

(1) -adwy, -ediw, -edig, -awd verbal adjective suffixes, see § 206.

Ml.W. -awdyr seems to be -awd with excrescent -r § 113 i (1):
annydo'sevyjawdwr M.A. 53 ‘intolerable’, teimlyjawdwr do. 42 ‘sensitive’, teolawdwr c.m. 14 ‘regular.

(2) -aid, M.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; M.W. eureit w.m. 180 ‘golden’; ariannaid, M.W. arjanneit r.m. 83 ‘silver’; it may represent Brit. *-at-jo-s, a -io-
derivative of the participial -st. It is distinct from -aidd; euraidd is a late bungle (not in D.D.).

(3) -aidd, M.W. -oidd: 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. caruaidd ‘lovable, loving’; to adjectives as peraidd ‘sweet’, puraidd ‘pure’, often modifying the sense, oeraidd ‘coldish’, tlodaidd ‘poorish’; it represents Kelt. *-adjos, a -io- 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. -αίδ in μύαι ‘mixed’, etc.

Also -faidd in arglwlyddaidd D.G. 450 ‘lordly’, -onfaidd in baridd-
onaidd do. 449 ‘poetic’.

(4) -ar < Kelt. *-aro- < *-ro- in byddar ‘deaf’, Ir. bodar: Skr.
badhir-ḥ; cyynnar ‘early’, diweddar ‘late’; cf. -ro- in mavor < *mā-ro-s, etc.

-acus, Gk. -ηκος, -άκος, Skr. -ākaḥ, Lith. -okas; added to nouns, as arvawc r.m. 270, Mn.W. arfog ‘armed’, llidyawc w.m. 51, Mn.W.
llidiog ‘angry’, gylanog ‘woolly’, gwpesog ‘hot’, pwylog ‘deli-
berate’, etc.; many of these adjectives have become nouns: marchog, swwyddog, etc. § 143 iv (6), v (4).

The suffix is sometimes added to adjectives, as trugarog: trugar
‘merciful’; dwog, M.W. dwawc r.m. 172: du ‘black’; gwnawc:
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. gwethfaurocach.

(6) M.W. -awl, Mn.W. -awl, -ol < Kelt. *-alos: Lat. -ālis in
liberālis, etc.; an exceedingly common suffix; added to nouns, as
nefol ‘heavenly’; to adjectives, as estronol ‘foreign’; and to verb
stems, as symudol ‘movable, moving’, dymunol ‘desirable’.

(7) -se; occurring in M.W. verse: tanse, eurđe P.M. M.A. i 292b
‘fiery’, ‘golden’. It seems to be the Ir. -de (≡ -de: W. -aið, see (3)
above) borrowed during the 12th cent. bardic revival which drew its
inspiration from Ireland. It does not seem to occur in prose.

(8) -gar < *-akaro-s < *-akaro-s; thus havd-gar ‘comely’ <
Brit. *suđadakaros < Kelt. *suđad(2)-akaro-s § 148 i (6); a combina-
tion of (5) and (4) above: added to nouns, as epilgar ‘prolific’ (epil
‘offspring’), dialgar ‘revengeful’, emillgar ‘gainful, lucrative’ (ennill
‘gain’); added to adjectives, as meistrolgar ‘masterful’, trugar
‘merciful’ (tru ‘miserable’, for meaning cf. Lat. misericordia); added
to verb stems, as den-gar ‘alluring’ (denu ‘to allure’), beiddgar
‘daring’.
The idea that -gar means 'loving' (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 gwladgar 'patriotic', ariangar 'money-loving'. But many new formations in the dialects preserve the original force of the suffix, as sgilgar 'skilful' from E. skill. It need hardly be added that Stokes's implied explanation of trugar as 'loving the wretched' Fick\(^4\) ii 138 is fanciful, as also the popular explanation of hawddgar as 'easy to love'.

(9) -ig, Ml.W. -io < Kelt. -*itos: Skr. -iqa-, Lat. -icus, Gk. -icus; as unig 'only, lonely', deheuig 'dexterous', iloig 'lunatic', bonhediq 'gentle-'; etc.; O.W. cisemic JUV. gl. primus.

(10) -in < Kelt. *-inos: Skr. -ina-, Gk. -inos, Lat. -inus, Lith. -ynas (y\(\equiv i\)); it is added to names of materials, as in derwin M.A. i 191 'oaken', lietrin B.T. 9 'leathern', meinin E.P. ps. xviii 29 'of stone', daeerin, heyerin § 75 vi (3); and to adjectives as gerwin 'rough' (garw 'rough'), gwerto helfen 'highest', cysefin 'primitive' § 95 iii (3), cf. O.W. cisemic above.

(11) -lawn, Mn.W. -lawn, -lon 'ful- = lawn 'full', § 63 vii (2); as ffrwychlon 'fruitful', prydlon 'punctual', heddychlon 'peaceful', bodlon § 111 vii (1), etc.

(12) -lyd, after n or r -yll, Ml.W. -lyt, -yllt 'covered with' < *(g)tl-; > pleth- § 63 viii (1); as ulychlyt B.M. 145 'dusty', dysdlyt chweintyllt do. 146 'dusty flea-infested', seimlyd 'greasy', rhydlyd 'rusty', creulyd, gwaedlyd 'bloody', tomlyd 'dungy', tanllyd 'fiery'. When added to adjectives it is the equivalent of led- 'rather': Ir. leth 'half', which is ultimately from the same root ('stretch out > *surface > *side > half'); as gwvalllyd 'rather weak', oerllyd 'coldish'.

(13) -us < Lat. -usus; originally in Lat. derivatives as dolurus 'sore' < Lat. dolorosus, llafurus, Ml.W. llafuryus < Lat. labōrīsus; 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\(\equiv y\) § 16 ii (2)) B.B. 83, 101, melys B.A. 3, ILA. 42, 70, R.B.B. 208, melyster II.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 mel 'honey' by the addition of -us. In derived forms the sound is y as melyyach, as opposed to grymyach, and the v.n. is melyyn D.W. 112, as opposed to grymyso, see § 202 iii, iv (Pughe's meluso 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.
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. pum, pemp, O. pem.——6, chwech, chwe.—7, saith, Ml. seith.—8, wyth.—9, naw.—10, deg, déng, Ml. déc, dyng.—11, un ar ddeg.—12, deuddeg, deuddled, Ml. devod, O. doudec.—13, tri (f. tair) ar ddeg.—14, pedwar (f. pedair) ar ddeg.—15, pymtheg, Ml. pymtheg.—16, un ar hymtheg.—17, dau (f. dwy) ar bymtheg.—18, deunaw or tri (f. tair) ar bymtheg.—19, pedwar (f. pedair) ar bymtheg.—20, ugain, Ml. ugeyn, ugeint.—21, un ar hugain.—30, deg ar hugain.—31, un ar ddeg ar hugain.—40, degau.—41, un a degau or degaun ac un.—50, deg a degau, Early Ml. W. pym(h)uent.—60, trigain, Ml. trugain(t).——80, pedwar ugain.—100, cant, canu.—101, cant ac un.—120, chwech ugain, chweugain.—140, saith ugain, etc.—200, deucant or dau cant.—300, trychau, Late W. trichant.—1000, mil.—2000, dwyfil.—3000, teirmil or tair mil.—10,000, déng mil, myrdd.——1,000,000, myrddiwn, milwn.

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 vii 9, etc. So in all combinations: deunaw ar hugain ‘38′—pymtheg b.B. 2, 9 from something like *pempontes for Kelt. *pemgaonta (:Ir. cóca) for Ar. *pengekomta : Gk. πεντάκοντα. For the history of the other forms consult the Index.

Forms like deuddeg, pymtheg, deunaw, degau may be called “compound numbers”, forms like un ar ddeg, un ar hugain, “composite numbers”.


In the spoken lang. un-ar-ddegau, un-ar-bythegau, 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. trydded.—4, pedwerydd, Ml. pedweryd, pedweryd ; f. pedwaredd, Ml. pedwaredd, pedwaredd, O. petguared.—5, pumed, Ml. pymhet, O. pimphet.—6, chwechau, Ml. chwechet,
huech.,—7, seithfed, Ml. seithvet.—8, wythfed.—9, nawfed.—10, deugfed, Ml. decvet.—11, unpfed or ddeg, Ml. unvet arbe.—12, deuddegfed, Ml. deudecivet.—13, trydydd (f. tryddd) or ddeg.—15, pymthegfed.—16, unpfed or bymtheg.—17, ail (or eiwed) or bymtheg.—18, deunawfed.—20, ugeinfed.—30, deugfed or hugain.—40, deuginfed.—41, unpfed a dengain.—100, canfed.—1000, milfed.

(2) cyntaf § 148 i (3);—ail § 100 iii (3);—trydydd, tryddd § 75 iv (1);—pedweryd < *penq*eto-s; pedwrych (later pedwrydd Ml. 54, § 66 ii (2)) has -wy- < *nu- re-formed for u < n § 63 viii (1).

W. pymtheg, Ir. cicio come from a Kelt. *g*eto*etos, which, like Skr. pañecatha-h, implies the addition of the ordinal suffix -(h)o-s to the full form *penq*eto, thus *penq*eto-to-s, as opposed to Lat. quintus, Gk. πέντε, O.H.G. finfo, which imply Ar. *penq*eto-s. In Pr. Kelt. by the side of *g*eto*eto-s there arose *sejeto*etos which gave Ir. sessed, W. chwecched; and thus -eto-s came to be regarded as the ordinal suffix. Added to *sektam (< *septim*) it gave *sektameto-s, which gave Ir. sechtma'd, W. seithfed; added to *dekom it gave *dekometo-s, which is seen in Gaul.-Lat. petru-decameto (ablative) 'fourteenth', and gave Ir. dechmad, W. deugfed; similarly *kptometo-s > Ir. ceí-
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. nómad, may come directly from *nouameto-s; but *oktameto-s would give W. *oeth-fed, so that wyth-fed was again re-formed from wyth; so ugein-fed.

iii. (1) Multiplicatives are formed by means of gwaith, Ml. gwaich f. 'fois', preceded by cardinal numbers, the two generally compounded, but sometimes accented separately; as unwaith or un wai' once', Ir. deufecht; dwywaith 'twice', teirgwaith 'thrice', pedair gwaith 'four times', pum waith 'five times', chwe gwaith, seithwaith Lev. iv 6, 17, saith waith do. viii 11, wythwaith, nawwaith c.c. 227, dengwaith, ugeinwaith, canwaith, milwaith.

(2) But before a comparative the m. cardinal only is generally used, the two sometimes compounded; *pum mwy* D.W. 146 'five [times] more' i.e. five times as many, saith mwy Lev. xxvi 18, 21 'seven times more'; déwcell 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 ugeinmai, moes ganmwy,
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
18 '3 × 300', tri phumcant GRE. 166 '3 × 500',
dau wythgant ib. '2 × 800', naw deg a saith ib. '9 × 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 dà; bob ddau I.G. 180,
L.G.C. 381, 436; bob dri L.G.C. 148 'three by three'; also
bob un ac un C.M. 49 'one by one', bob un a dau R. 26; and bob
ganner L.G.C. 383 'in hundreds', lit. 'every hundred-man',
cf. Ir. cach còic-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 ddi 1 Cor. xiv 27; bob yn un ac un Es. xxvii 12, Marc xiv 19;
bob yn ddau a dau Marc vi 7; bob yn aill '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 pob here was an oblique case ending in a vowel.  

v. Fractions: ½, hanner; ⅓, traean; ⅓, pedwaran, chwarter;
⅓, wythfed; ⅓, canfed; ⅗, dewarth; ⅐, Mn. tri chwarter; ⅔, tri
wythfed.

Rann truan: traean R.B. 973 'the share of the weakling: one-
third'. dewarth...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 hâf-ddydd ‘summer’s day’; a-n hâwdd-fyd ‘pleasure’; a-a gwîrdd-llas ‘greenish blue’; n-a pên-gam ‘wry-headed’.

The reason is that the first element in Brit. ended in a vowel, as in Brit. Maglo-cunos > W. Mael-gwn; so *samo-diţ(e)w > W. haf-ddydd; *katu-markos > W. cad-farch, etc. In these, as generally in the Ar. languages, the first element is the stem. In Kelt. when the stem ended in a consonant an -o- was added to it; thus the stem *kun- ‘dog’ is in compounds *kuno-, as Brit. Cuno-belinos > W. Cyn-felyn; W. cyn-ddared ‘rabies’ < *kuno-dawogriţa < *-dhegær-kri- : Lat. febris < *dhegær-kri-s, √dhegær- § 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 *gnimu-; now *drukion-jonimu- should give *drygni by the usual loss of stem endings; but *drukiono-gnimu- > *drukion-twif > drygioni (since nzn > n § 110 ii (1)). When the second element began with a vowel, contraction took place; thus *altro + ayô > *altrâwô § 76 v (5), cf. Gk. Dor. στραταγός ‘leader of an army’ < *stýto + aγ-, Brugmann 3 II i 79.

(2) When the first element ends in u or r, and the second begins radically with ll or rh, the latter is not softened: gwîn-llan, per-llan, pen-rhyôn see § 111 i (1); so gwen-llys L.G.C. 8, eu-rllin D.G. 13, etc.; similarly, though less regularly, in loose compounds: hên llew, hên llwys, pur llawn § 111 i (1).

When a compound is consciously formed both ll and l are found thus ysgafn-ulref D.G. 37 ‘light-voiced’, but eu-r-len D.G. 109 ‘cloth of gold’, geir-lon do. 110 ‘of merry word’; ir-twynn do. 504, per-twynn 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. 1, prif-lys r.m. 1 ‘chief court’, prif ðinas w.m. 179 ‘chief city’, prif gaer ib. ‘chief castle’; y prif ddyn ‘the chief man’. It cannot be used as an ordinary adj.; such a phrase as *dýn prif does not exist.

(2) hên, as hên wr or hên-yr ‘old man’; hên ddyn id., also hên-ddyn whence E. quot Hending; Hên-llyn l.m. 105, Hên-llys etc., hên yd Jos. v 11, yr hên ffordd Job xxii 15, yr hên deryn 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 Ieuan Tew Hên ‘Ieuan Tew the Elder’.

Er daed draw, rai llawen,
Mae gwae rhai am y gŵr hên.—W.IL.

‘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: gêr-wir ‘truthful’. gwir is also a noun ‘truth'; compounded, cás-wir ‘unpalatable truth’.

(4) gau ‘false’, the antithesis of gwir, as geu ñwysen L.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 ffôn gam ‘a crooked stick’; as a noun ‘injustice’.

Tasgu bu twysog y byd
Gam ran i Gwrw ennyn.—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, wirhyw, holl, cwbl, y sawl, ychydig, ambell, aml, lliaws, etc., §§ 165, 168, 169.

iv. The following words precede adjectives, and are compounded with them:


Nid mawr well nad meiry i wîr,
Llédd féirw pan gollé f’èryr;
Nid byw am enaid y byd,
Llédd-fyw yngweddill adfyd.—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.’
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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-ryl 'half-holiday', lléd-fryd 'listlessness', lléd-faith 'brogue, foreign accent', lléd ymyl 'border near edge'.

(2) pur 'very', as pur-du, pur-wynn R.M. 151, pur-goch 154; pur-iaun 'very well', now purion. It now forms loose compounds mostly, as pur dda 'very good'. Used after its noun as an ordinary adj. it means 'pure'.

§ 156. i. The first element of a compound may be a prefix, which was originally an adverb or preposition. Some other vocables of adj. or noun origin have become mere prefixes; for convenience of reference these are included in the following list. Where the mutation of the initial after the prefix is fairly regular, it is noted in square brackets. Most of the prefixes form verb-compounds also, and some are often so used; hence it is convenient to include verbal nouns and verbs in the examples.

(1) ad- [soft] < Brit. ate- : Gaul. ate- < Kelt. *ati- : Skr. atri 'over, beyond'; *ati- 'very'; § 222 i (3). Three distinct meanings occur in W.: (a) 'very', ât-gas § 111 v (1) 'hateful'; (b) 'second', ât-gno 'chewing the cud', âd-ladd 'aftermath', hence 'bad' as âd-flas 'after-taste, ill taste'; (c) 'over again, re-', âd-lam 'a leap back', âtel (< *ad-heb) 'reply', âd-lais 'echo'.

(2) ad- before a vowel or f (from m) < Brit. *ad- : Lat. ad; intensive; âdd-oer 'very cold', âdd-fwyn, âdd-fain § 93 ii (3). Before a tenuis it is a- followed by the spirant mutation, as âchas § 93 ii (2), âthrist 'very sad': trîst 'sad'. Before a media it is a- followed by the radical, âgarw 'very rough': garw § 93 ii (3); but before d- it is a- followed by ð, as a-ðef § 93 iii (1), a-ðail, etc. With initial s- it gives as-, as in as-gloff 'lame' < *ad-skloppos < vulg. Lat. cloppus *cloppos : W. clôf 'lame'. Before l- or r- followed by ð it gives ei- as in eirif § 104 iv (3); eîil 'feeble', met. for *eîlð § 102 iv (2) < *ad-lïð- < *ad-lêð-, √lêð- : Lat. lassus, Gk. ληδέν 'to be fatigued' Hes., § 204 i. In aberth, aber § 93 ii (3) it means 'to' (or is aber < *a-bher-?; cf. Gael. Inver-).

(3) all- < Brit. allo- : Gaul. allo- 'other' § 100 iii (2); òll-fro 'foreigner'; òll-tud 'exile'.

(4) am-, ym- [soft] < Brit. òmbe-, ambî- : Gaul. *Ambé- : Gk. ἅμφι, Lat. amb-, ambì § 63 v (2); -(a) 'around': òm-gorn 'ferrule', òm-gylech 'circuits', òm-do 'shroud', am-ddîffyn 'defence'; hence (b) 'on each side, mutual', òm-ladd 'battle', òm-drech 'struggle', òm-gynnull 'a gathering together'; hence (c) reflexive, as òm-olchi
'to wash oneself'; (d) 'round' > 'different, changeable' as án-ryw 'of various kinds', ám-ryd 'corn of different kinds mixed', am-liwio < 'parti-coloured', amheu w.m. 186 'to doubt', Mn. áneu, vb., am-heu-af < *mbi-ság-, *ság- : Gk. ἱπέμπα, Dor. áy- 'I think, believe', Lat. sagax.—am-ce < *am-x by dissim. of continuants, as án-can 'design, purpose, guess' < *am-čan < *amb-šę-n-, *škhe(1) : Lat. seio, Skr. chyāti 'cuts off'; and amkawð w.m. 453 'replied, said' < *am-xavo < § 96 iii (4).

(5) an-, en-, etc., neg. prefix < Ar. *n- (R-grade of neg. *ne); ánheurod 'unprepared' : parod 'ready'; ánraith 'breach of privilege': braint; aithruar, ánhrugaroq § 99 vi (1); án-nédog, 'unhappy': dedwyð 'happy': ánghardig 'unkind': caredig 'kind': én-wir 'untrue, evil' < *an-yi-ro-s, re-formed én-wir in Mn. W.; án-fyyn 'unkind': wyyn; án-fad : mad § 99 iv (1); áf-les § 86 i (4); lles 'benefit': ál-raid 'needless' < *am-(y)p-rat-jo < *n-pratio- : rhaid 'need' § 149 ii; so áfraid, áfryw; —before orig. l-; anllirydég; —an + glân should give *alan § 106 ii (1); this is re-formed in two ways, án-lan, ál-lan 'unclean'; —b often follows the analogy of m, as án-fonhddig : bonhddig 'gentlemanly'. The prefix when not bearing the principal accent has often a strong secondary accent; this might become a separate accent, as in an allu (≡ án allu) w.l.a. 33 'want of power'; hence án hawdd § 148 i (6), án áml § 164 ii (2).


(7) can(ñh)- [soft] 'with, after' < Brit. *kanta- < *kñta : Gk. καρᾶ : cân-lym v.n. 'following'; canh-orthwy § 103 ii (1) now spelt cynorthwy; cân-hebrwng 'funeral'; hebrwng § 99 vi (1); cân-llaw 'balustrade; assistant in law-court'.

(8) cyd- [soft] 'together, common', is not, as is often assumed, identical with çygf, but is the noun cyd as in i gyd 'together', also used as an adj. in tir cyd 'common land'. A few of the compounds which it forms are strict, as cytán < *cyd-þiun 'united', cyd-fod 'concord', cyd-fywbod '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 dînesydd 'fellow-citizen', cyd genedl 'kindred', etc. The word seems to be a verbal noun *ki-tu- from *kei- 'lie', cf. Ml. W. kyt gwr w.l.a. 136, c.m. 21 'cohabitation

(9) cyfr- before vowels and ū, ū, ū; cyf- before ω, χαω, χ; with following ε-, ωυ-, elsewhere cyfr(μ)-, cyfr-, cyfr(γ)- [nasal]; < Kelt. *kom-: Lat. come; (a) 'com-', often followed by ū 'with', cyfr-ar 'co-tillage'; cyfr-liw, cyfr-urð, etc. § 149 ii; cyfr-ran 'share': rhan 'part'; cyfrmod 'concord': bod 'be'; cyfr(n)urdf 'commotion': twrf; cyfrghaned 'harmony': cān 'song'; cyfral § 148 i (4).—(b) Intensive (together > 'fully'); cyfrlawn 'complete': llawn 'full'; cyfr-ym 'fleet': llwm 'keen'.—A few irregular forms are found, which are due to false analogy, as cyfr-ðyð 'dawn', formed after cyfr-nos 'evening'.

The form *ko- (beside *kom-) goes back to Italo-Kelt. It occurs before ū u- as W. eýwir, Ir. cóir < *ko-yóros; before m-, as W. cof 'memory', Ir. cuman < *ko-men-, √men- 'mind' (but later *kom- as in W. cymysg (m = mn)); sometimes before sg-, sg', s-, as W. cy-húddo 'to accuse': Icel. skúta, skúti 'a taunt', O.Bulg. kuditi 'to revile', Gk. κωδάεω 'to reproach', √(s)geud-; see § 96 iii; cyfr-hafal 'co-equal': hafal § 94 i.

cyfr- [soft] < *kom(y)-ro- § 113 i (2); intensive, as cyfr-goll 'utter loss, perdiction'; cyfr-wys (generally mis-pronounced cyfr-wys) 'trained, cunning': gwís 'known'; cyfr-gain (kywrgein B.B. io) 'very fine'.—cyfr-r- > cyfrh- > cyfr as in cyfrédin 'common' < cyfr-red-in; amgyfrred 'comprehend' < *am-gwy-r-red : rhedeg 'run'; the O.W. amceibret may represent the stage amgyfrred.

(10) cyn(μh)- [soft] 'former, preceding' < Brit. *kintu- § 148 i (3); cyhn-áeaf 'autumn': gaeaf 'winter'; cyn-ddail 'first leaves', cyn-ddelu 'prototype'; the t is kept before h § 106 iii (3), as cyntaid for *cyn-ldaid '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. *dī- < *dē-: Lat. dē. Two meanings: (a) 'outer, extreme, off', as di-ben 'end, aim': pen 'head, end'; di-dol, Ml. di-dawd 'cut off, separated', see below; di-nvethi v.n. 'de-nude'; (b) 'without', as di-boen or di-bén 'painless', di-dduo or di-ddiw '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 I', exactly like ganan wyf 'weak am I', as opposed to heb gefn yr wyf 'without help am I', 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 di was a negative prefix, which therefore might be compounded with adjectives; thus di-oγ 'lazy', O.W. di-awc: *awc 'quick, active'; Gk. ὥσ, Lat. ócior, so di-brin 'not scarce', di-drist 'not sad', di-vael 'not mean', etc.—Lat. dē- seems to have been identified in Brit. with the
native prefix, and gives W. dir-, as diffyg 'defect' < *dé-fic-.—Exceptional mutation: di-chell 'wile' < *dé-sqel(y)tlâ, *squele : W. celfyddyd 'craft' etc. § 99 ii (2); di-chlym 'exact, cautious, circumspect', as v.n. 'to choose, discriminate' < *dé-sqyl-n-, *squeyl- 'split, separate'; di-chlais 'break (of day)' < *dé-sqel-tdi- or *dé-kkl- for *dê-kkl- § 99 v (4), *golâd- 'strike, break': W. clais 'bruise', archoll (6) above; dichlon, digon § 196 ii (2); W. dídawl, didol for *di-dawl (δ . . . l > d . . l § 102 iii (2)): gwâ-dawl 'endowment', Ir. fo-dâl 'deals out' < *dol-, W. ethol < *dol-, see § 97 ii.

dis- before t < *dê-s-, where s is the initial of the second element, often lost in the simple form: di-stall § 96 ii (3); di-striech 'foam' < *dê-stêk-, *stereq- : W. trwyth 'wash, lye' § 99 v (3); di-staw 'silent': tau 'be silent' < *stuyn < *stup-, *stûp/bh- : Ger. stumm 'dumb', Lat. stupero: E. dumb, *dheubh-(dh/st- alternation). Before other consonants < *dê-ek-, as in disgrâf § 201 iii (6). Also from Lat. dê-s- as in disgyn(n) < *dê-seund-.

(i2) dir- [soft] 'vehemently' Richards, 'truly' < *dêru- : dir- 'true', Ar. base *derey- 'hard' § 137 ii; dir-boen or dir bôn 'great pain', dir-fâw'r 'very great', dir-gel 'secret'.—Exceptional mutation: dir-myg 'contempt' < *dêru-smi-k-, *smei- 'smile'; here dir- is not necessarily neg. for beside 'admiration' as in ernygg, edmygg (6) above, we have 'mockery' from the same root, as in W. tre-mygg 'insult', O.H.G. bi-smær 'mockery'; nor in dir-west 'abstinence', which is literally 'hard diet', cf. E. fast.

(i3) dy- [soft] 'to, together', often merely intensive < Brit. *do-; dy-fen 'summons': mymnu 'to will'; dy-gymnâl v.n. 'gather together', dy-gyfor w.m. i 'muster'; dy-weddil 'fiancée'. In a few cases it interchanges with ty-, as Ml. W. dy-welaw v.n. 'to pour (into)': Ml. W. tŷwalt 'pour'; dy-ret 'come!': ty-red 'come!'; very rarely ty- alone is found, as ty-wysog 'prince'. Except. mut.: dy-ch- < *do-sk- or *do-kk- before r, l; as dy-chryn 'fright': crynu 'tremble', yserid B.B. 31 'trembles', Bret. skrija 'to tremble from fear'; dy-chluad: cludo 'to carry'. Hence dych- in dych-lâmn '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 dê-dy-ô§ § 100 ii (1).

dad- [soft] < *d(o)-âite- see (i) above: (a) intensive; dâit-gan v.n. 'proclaim': canu 'sing'; (b) 'un-' (as in 'un-do'); dâit-gwynh v.n. 'to unload', etc. The unacc. o of do- was elided before a vowel.

dam- [soft] < *d(o)-ambe-, see (4); dâm-sang 'to tramplle': senyi 'to tread'; dâm-wain 'accident': ar-wain 'to lead': *väegh-. Also dym-: Ml. damunet, Mn. damuniaid '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-; dân-fon, see ii (1) below.

dar- [soft] < *d(o)-are- < *do-Êri-; dár-fod 'to have happened' § 190 i; dár-ôstwng 'to subdue': go-stwng 'to suppress' < *uo(s)-
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‘under’ + *stong-: Goth. stæogan ‘to thrust’. The irregular mutation in dærmerth ‘provision’ (of food, etc.) is due to -sm- > -mn-.

*do-are-smer-t-, √smer-: Lat. meroe, Gk. μέρος, μερίς. In dærpar, the prefix had the form *(d(0)-)aros-, see § 196 i (3). This form may also account for the preservation of -st- in dær-stain ‘to resound’, thus *(d(0)-)aros-stani-: W. sainn ‘sound’, √stenn.

dos- < *(d(0)-)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. cannot be proved to be primitive, and is obviously in most cases comparatively late. The facts in this case are as follows: (a) In Ir. the prep. is do, du, always with d- (as opposed to tar, mostly with t-);

the pref. is to-, tw-, 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 *d-); but the prep. was *dy (written do in O.W.) giving Ml. W. y, 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.


(14) dy- ‘bad’ < *dus-: Gk. δωρ-; dýchan ‘lampoon’ < *dus-kán-: cón ‘song’; reduced to *du- on the analogy of *sú-, (19) below, in dú-bryd ‘shapeless, ugly’, Ir. do-chruth < *du-qû-tu-: W. pryd, Ir. chruth ‘form’.

(15) eb- < *ek-uo-; in épil for *eb-hil § 89 iii, ébruydd ‘quick’:

rhuydd ‘easy’ § 143 iii (22).

e-, eh-, ech- < *eks- § 96 iii (6); ʻe-ofn, Ml. W. eh-ofyn ‘feareless’.Ir. esomun, Gaul. Exomnus; è-ang ‘wide, extensive’ : *ang ‘narrow’. ech- developed before vowels, but spread by analogy: éch-nos ‘night before last’, éch-doe ‘day before yesterday’. But the regular form before an explosive is es- (ys-) as in és-tron ‘stranger’ < Lat. extran-

eus; êstyn ‘extend’ < ex-tend-, etc.; ês-gor ‘to be delivered’ (of young), ñ(ś)ger ‘separate, cut’.

(16) go-, gwo-, gwa- [soft] ‘sub’ < Kelt. *yo- < *upo-: Skr. îpa, Gk. ῥπα, Lat. sub, § 65 v (1); gwo- ‘prize’ < *uo-pr-: prywn ‘to buy’ § 201 i (4); gwá-stad ‘level’ § 63 vi (1); go-famed, ‘desire’, ar-ô-fun (13) above. In Mn. W. go- freely forms loose compounds with adjectives § 220 viii (1).

gos- < *yo-s- + initial s-; gösgorð ‘retinue’, Ml. W. gwooscorð b.b.

10 < *yo-skor-d-, √sper-: dósbarth (13) above.

(17) gor-, gwor-, gwar- ‘super-’ < *gor- for *uer < *uper: Skr.
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ufáir, Gk. ἀπέρ, Lat. super § 65 v (3); gôr-dânach ‘finish’; penn ‘end’; gôr-fod ‘conquer’; bod ‘be’; gwâr-chadog ‘guard’; cadw ‘keep’, etc.

(18) gwârth- [soft] ‘contra-’ § 66 iii (1); gwârthwun, Ml. W. gwârth-yun ‘hateful’; dymuniad (13) above; gwârth-glâw ‘rampart’; clâw ‘dike’, etc.

(19) hy-[soft] ‘well, -able’ < *su-: Gaul. su-, Ir. su-, so-: Gk. ι- (in ι-νις), Skr. su- (! from the base *eueseu- ‘good’ with V-grade of the first two syllables); hö-gar ‘well-beloved, lovable’: caraf ‘I love’; hö-dyn ‘tractable’: tymnaf ‘I draw’; Hö-wel ‘*conspicuous’: gwêlaf ‘I see’; hö-fryd ‘pleasant’: bryd ‘mind’, etc.

(20) rhag- [soft] ‘fore-’ < *prako-, by § 65 ii (1) < *pro-go- (i.e. *pro- with suffix -go-): Lat. reci-proc-us < *reco-proco-s; rhag-farn ‘prejudice’: barn ‘judgment’; rhâg-fur ‘contramurere’: mur ‘wall’; rhâg-ddor ‘outer door’; rhag-lâniaeth ‘providence’, etc.


(22) tra-[spirant] ‘over, very, excessive’ < *tar- < *gôs-, § 214 iii: Ir. tar-, Skr. tirás-; trá-chwant ‘lust’; trá-chas ‘very hateful’; trá-serch ‘great love, adoration’; trá-chul ‘very lean’; trâmôr ‘oversea’ r.i.e. tramnor for *trimmor < *tâs marí.; trachywres b.t. 30: guvres § 92 ii. 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-lînycu ‘to gulp’; lînycu ‘to swallow’ < *trans-: Ir. trem-, tairm-, an m-formation from the same base: cf. Lat. tarmes, trâmes; see § 220 ii (10). There seems to have been some confusion of the two prefixes: tramor above and trâmûwy ‘to wander’ < *mozi- ( Lat. moveo) may have either. This would help to spread tra- for *tar-. trâmnoeth ‘over night’ cannot be from *tram- which would become traf- before n; trênnyd ‘over the day’ i.e. ‘next day but one’ is probably re-formed after tramnoeth.

traows-, tros- § 210 x (6); Ml. W. traows-eyð w.m. 83, 85, ‘trans-action’; in Mn. W. leniting, traows-iffiant ‘usurpation’, prob. owing to se > sg etc. § 111 vi (2), as in traows-gwyð b.m. 60, 61.

(23) try-[soft] ‘through, thorough’; try-dîll ‘perforated’; try-loyw ‘pellucid’; try-fier ‘javelin’; bêr ‘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) < *yn- ‘in’; ócles § 99 vi (1), annmynès § 95 ii (3); ânglâd ‘funeral’ < *yn-glâd- (clâddu ‘to bury’) √ qolâd- § 101 ii (3).
§ 157. i. No compound has more than two elements; but any element may itself be a compound. Thus *a*nyfryd ‘unpleasant’ is compounded not of an + hy + bryd but of an + hyfryd, though hyfryd itself is a compound of hy + bryd; similarly hardd-deg ymddrech 1 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.

Deurôddloyw fis dewisaif,
  Dyred ar haul daradr haf.—G.Gr., p 51/49.

'Most exquisite bright-cheeked month, bring the sun of summer
  ray.' Deurôddloyw fis is a loose compound; its first element is a compound
  of deurô and gloyw, deurô itself being compounded of dau
  ‘two’ and gwo ‘cheek’.

ii. (1) In compounds of three syllables in which the first element
  is a compound, as pengÔch-lôn 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 gwim ‘white’; têw gôd-allt do. 328 for têw-gôd-allt
  < têw-gôd (do. 157) ‘thick trees’ and (g)allt ‘copse’; gôrô floedd-
'Dawn-bright maid, too beautifully slender, of the dark brow, that wearest gold and [precious] stones'; *gwawr dlosferch* < *gwawr-dlos* 'dawn-beautiful' + *merch* 'maid'; — *ry dlysfaín* is a loose compound of *rhy* and *ilys-fain*, so that its accentuation is normal; — *gwm ael* is a loose bahuvrihi (or possessive) compound 'possessing a dark brow'.

(2) The same accentuation occurs when a compound number is compounded with a noun, as *dau çann-oen* G.G. m 146/313 '200 lambs'; *sáith ugin-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*)

iii. Strict compounds are inflected by inflecting the second element, as *gwindy* pl. *gwindei* § 117 iii, *hwyl-brenni*, *canhwyl-brenni* § 122 ii (2), *claer-wynnñon* etc. § 145 ii (4), *an-variáid* etc. § 145 vi, *an-hawsaf* § 148 i (6), *gloyw-ðuaf* etc. § 150 ii.

But in loose a-n compounds the adj. is often made pl., as *nefolion wybodeu* etc. § 145 ii (3). Indeed these formations are so loose that the second element may be suspended, as in *nefolion- a'r daerolion- a thanddaerolion- 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’, panyw id., pei ‘if it were’, etc., and after the uninflected heb y ‘said’ (heb y mi § 198 i). Independent personal pronouns are either simple, reduplicated or conjunctive; thus:

i. Simple: sg. 1. mi, 2. ti, 3. m. ef, f. hi; pl. 1. ni, 2. chopi, 3. Ml. wy, wynt. Mn. hwy, hwnt (also occasionally in Late Ml. W.).

The h- of the Mn. 3rd pl. forms comes from the affixed forms; thus gwelant wy ≡ gwelant-h wy mutated to gwelann-h wy, see § 106 iv; the -h was transferred to the pronoun, cf. § 106 iii (2); and the independent forms borrowed the h- from the affixed.

ii. Reduplicated: (1) Ml. W., sg. 1. mivi, myvi, myvy, 2. tidi, tydi, 3. [m. efo], f. hihi; pl. 1. nini, 2. chwichwi, chwchwi, 3. wyntwy, hwntwy. — Mn. W. sg. 1 myfi, 2. tydi, 3. [m. efo, fo (later fe, efe see below)], f. hyhi; pl. 1. nini, 2. chwichwi (often pronounced but rarely written chwchwi), 3. hwnt-hwy.

mivi, tidi w.m. 4, myfi (see vyvi § 160 iii (1)), chwichwi r.b.b. 67, chwchwi s.g. 164, hwntwy r.m. 132, wyntwy s.g. 165.

(2) These pronouns are usually accented on the ultima: myfi, tydi, hwnt-hwy, etc.; but they were formerly accented on the penult also, and this accentuation survives in certain phrases used in Powys. Examples of penultimate accentuation:

Du serchog yw’th glog mewn glyn,
A myfi sy’n d’ ymofyn.—D.G. 521.

‘Of a lovely black is thy coat in the glen, and it is I who call thee.’—To the blackbird.

Nid didolc onid tydi;
Nato Dwu bod hebot 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.:

Mawr oedd gennyd dy fryd fryd,
Móbyñwy 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 myfy, tydy sometimes lose their unaccented y after a, na or no, giving a mfi, a th'di, etc.; as negys yð ymyduwssam ath ti lit. 148 'as we forsook thee', cf. 121, 1. 6.

**Dwv a' th roes, y doeth rysur;**
**A th'di a unae th Dwv ym wr;'**—W.IL. 8.

'God gave thee, wise hero; and thee did God make a man.'

(4) In the spoken language efó, hyhí became yfó, yhi; and the others followed, thus yfó, ythdí (in Gwynedd ychdi by dissim.) yni, ychí, ynhó(þ). These may sometimes be seen written yfo etc. in the late period, e.g. c.c. 273, 340.

(5) Beside efó the reduced form fó 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 ynté Í for onid lef? 'is it not so?'; ai ë ì 'is it so?'); in S.W. ê(f) remained, and fo was changed to fe. From the S.W. fe Wm.S. made his new ŵfe 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 efé is used where W. idiom expresses 'he' by an oblique case, as am rod yn hoff ganddo efé y hi Gen. xxix 20, o herwydd efá farw efé 2 Sam. xiii 39. In Ml. W. the only form is efó, see iv (2), which is rare compared with the simple ef. The bards also use efó, accented éfó and efó, see examples; but where it does not rhyme, late copyists often change it to efé; thus in A fo doeth efé a dau g. 144, the ms. actually used by the editor of g. has efó 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 éfó survives in dial. efo 'with' for éfó a § 216 ii (3).

_Nid oes offrum, trwnn yw'r tro,
Oen Dwv ùfydd, ond éfo._—R.R., f. 7.

'There is no sacrifice—sad is the case—except Him, the obedient Lamb of God.'

_Iarll Penfro, efó rydd fârch._—L.G.C. 355.

'The Earl of Pembroke, he will give a horse.'

iii. Conjunctive: (1) Ml. W., sg. r. mynheu, minheu, minnu,
2. tithen, 3. m. ynteu, f. hitheu; pl. 1. mynheu, ninheu, ninneu,
2. chwitheu, 3. wynteu. —Mn. W. sg. r. minnau, 2. tithau, 3. m.
yntau, f. hithau; pl. 1. minnau, 2. chwithau, 3. hwyttau, 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: chwir 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, dyhma finnau 'n marw Ceirigog 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. 17, cf. 12, 14 'he also, [namely] Pwyll' i.e. Pwyll also; a gwyr Troea wynteu r.b.b. 20 'and the men of Troy on their part'. The 3rd sg. ynteu answers naill in the expression naill 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.a. 13 'why, then?' Pwy, 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 ymlað 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 ymlað 'or else fight' under the influence of ymlað dithew '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. ĭ); -tī, Ir. tū < *tū : Lat. tū, Av. tū, Gk. τυ-ν, O.H.G. dū; ti partly also from Ar. acc. *t(y)ē < cf. O.W. em, Corn. ef, nom. -e, Ml. Bret. ef, Ir. ē, hē; f. hi, Corn. hy, Bret. hi, Ir. sī. The 3rd sg. pron. in Kelt. as in Germ. seems to have been *es or *is, f. *sī; thus O.H.G. er < *es : Ir. ē or hē < *es (: Umbr. es-to- 'iste'); the Corn. nom. postfixed -e may represent this; but in W. it has been replaced by ef; W. ef < *emen < *em-em = O.Lat. em-em, redupl. acc. of *es, cf. Skr. im-ām < *im-em. As hi 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. ontēf e 'is it not so?' for onid hēf (ef); here ef may be from *semo-s 'same' = Skr. equal 'like, same'. W. hi < Ar. *sī : Goth. si, O.H.G. sī, sī, Gk. σί (Sophocles); *sī is an ablaut variant of *s(i)yā § 122 iv (1), f. of the pron. *s(i)yōs, *s(i)yā, *s(i)yōd (Skr. syāh, syā, tyað) a derivative of *so, *sā, *tōd (Skr. sā, sā, tāt, Gk. o, ὁ, το).—Pl. ni, chwi, Ir. sni, sī < *s-nēs, *s-nes : Lat. nōs, vōs, Skr. nāb, vāh (or, as the ē-grade is not certain elsewhere, < *sni, *sni with nom. pl. -i after o-stems); —wy, Ir. ē < *ei nom. pl. of *es; unwynt 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: mi-vi < Brit. *mi mi, etc. As ef seems itself to be a redupl. form it is natural that it is not found reduplicated (ef being a figment i (5)); the emphatic form is efo. In Ml. W. this is chiefly
an affixed accusative § 160 iii (1): *lyma efo w.m. 160 'see him here'; mostly following other pronouns: *gwassanaetha di efo r.m. 185 'serve thou him', cf. 164, 168, 170, 198, 280; the transition to the indep. use is seen in a thrw gwôgych ti efo, efo a'r gôd ditheu r.m. 173 'and while thou hidest it, it will hide thee'. The form *efo is prob. for *efo§ 78 i (1); this implies *emio-, and may be acc. *em-eio : cf. Lat. gloss im-eum "riv ali\ov" < *im-eion.

(3) The conj. pronouns are re-formations based upon yntau which is for *hynn-teu (loss of h- on the anal. of ef) < Brit. *sándos toyos 'this other, the other'; *toyos < *tuyos : Skr. tvah, tvah 'other', mostly repeated tvah ... tvah 'the one ... the other'; the word is always unaccented in Skr.; this is also the condition to give -eu in W. § 76 iii (2). The origin is seen clearly in nai\ll ... yntau from *sändod all\jdod ... sändod toyod ; cf. Skr. tvad ... tvad 'at one time ... at another' or with tvad after the second member only. When *hyn teu came to mean 'be too' a fem. *hîh teu was formed giving hitheu; then followed *mîm teu > mînheu, minneu; *tit teu > tîtheu; and on these are modelled the pl. forms.

§ 160. Dependent personal pronouns are either prefixed, infixed or affixed.

i. Prefixed pronouns. (1) The following stand in the genitive case immediately before a noun or verbal noun; the mutation following each is given after it in square brackets. For the aspiration of initial vowels see ii (5).

Sg. 1. fy, f', 'y, '[nasal], 2. dy, d' [soft], 3. Ml. y, Mn. i, late misspelling ei [m. soft, f. spirant]; pl. 1. Ml. an, yn, Mn. yn, late misspelling eiu [rad.], 2. Ml. avch, 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 'th y head'.

Before a vowel fy 'my', dy 'thy' tend to lose their y, and f', d' occur frequently in poetry: f'annwyl § 38 vi, f'erchwyn § 38 ix, f'annerch § 136 ii, f'gwyneb § 38 iv; d'eos § 110 iii (2), d'adwyth D.G. 35, d'adynod 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.cw. 13 'my aunt'), for otherwise 'y could not be distinguished from the article y; as it is, it cannot be distinguished from unaccented yn 'in' (*y mînheu 'my head', ynhên '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:
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Darfu 'r ieuenciti 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 wog i yn ddioded;
Ar ben yr hwybren mar 'nhroed.—H.D., f 101/259.

'At once I am a sailor; my foot is on the top of the mast.' See also yw 'myd § 38 vi, yw 'mron § 146 ii (1).

Ml. y 'his, her' > Mn. i § 16 ii (3). Occasionally i is already found in Ml. W., as o achaw i dirgiant ef w.m. 12 'on account of his residing'. The spelling ei is due to Wm.S., § 5 (4), who also changed yn b.b. 108, ych 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, yn, ych, as in Early Mn. W. It is doubtful whether the correct spelling can now be restored, as the misspelling is distinctive, enabling ei 'his' to be distinguished from i 'to', and i 'I', as in goelais i dy; and ein 'our' from yn 'in'; but the written ei, ein, eich should be read i, yn, 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', yppen, ytauodeu 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, huan 'self', § 167 i (3), the following forms occur in Ml. W.: sg. 1. vy, vu, my, mu, 2. dy, du, 3. e; pl. 1. ny, 2. ?, 3. e.

a minneu vy hun w.m. 88 'and I myself'; am lað o honaf vu hun vy mab do. 35 'because I myself slew my son'; namyn my hun do. 88 'except myself'; bwu mu huan r.p. 1045 'I myself [am] alive'; dy anwybot dy hun w.m. 2 'thine own ignorance'; du hun do. 29 'thine self'; ae swylaw ei hun w.m. 10 'with His own hands'; ohun w.m. 77 'herself'; arnam ny hunein w.m. 29 'on ourselves'; ar yn llen ny hun r.p. 1368 'on Our own image'; a gewsyst y hun w.m. 59 'what they had had themselves'; yr ygythunt e hun w.m. 421, y rymyntu hunein 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.1. an, yn, 2. (awch, ych), 3. yll, ell, Mn. W. 1. yu (misspelt ein), 'n, 2. ych (misspelt eich), 'ch, 3. iil.

ni an chwech w.m. 29 'us six', yn dwy 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 dywlaw yll dywyeôd do. 39 'with both his hands'; ubunt 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. -n, 'n [rad.]; 2. -ch, 'ch [rad.]; 3. Mn. -e, -y, Mn. -i, 'i, late misspelling 'w [rad.]. Also 3rd sg. and pl. -w, 'w after Mn. y, Mn. '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 âi (unacc. oi), 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 Dwu 'n Tud, Dwu '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' th are properly a mi', 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 ñ 'to', o 'from', which caused gemination of the initial of a following unacc. word in Kelt., thus W. í'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 ywm serch 498, yw'm Selyf 522, yw'ith gân 137, yw'th oen 497. After other words 'm and 'th are rare in D.G., and are possibly misreadings, as iddi'm traserc'h 498, yno'th ddyw 478. After neu 'or' and trwy 'through', fy and dy are always used: neu dy ladd 264, trwy dy hoyculiw 180, Dyro dy len drwy dy bais 107. So after all ordinary words ending in vowels; the only non-syllabic forms of the pronouns being f', ð' or the nasal mutation, see i (1) above; as hec'de f'anfodd 114 (not hec'de'm anfodd), d' e'isaiu 19 (not maech eisaiu), d' wyneb 107 (not maeth wyneb), colli'na na 303 (not colli'm da), gwanu'm moron 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' th etc.) appears first in hymns to fill up the line, and is usual in the dialects; but it is a violation of the literary tradition.

* One or two apparent examples (as yth effeirgat 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 *dy* 'to his house', *i*w *thy* 'to her house', *i*w *tig* 'to their house'. The combination appears in B.C.H. as *yu*, as *pan el e brenyn yu* estavell A.L. i 48 'when the king goes to his chamber'; later *yw* voli c.m. 49 lit. 'for his praising', *yw* supwr do. 43 'for their supper'; it is prob. a metathesis of *a*w § 78 iv (1) from *d(o)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 *oe*, as *A doei hi y gyt ac ef oe wlat* W.M. 125 'would she come with him to his country?' In the 16th cent. *oi* 'to his' was still used in Carnarvonshire, G.R. [129]. But *oe*, Mn. *ei* also means 'from his'; as this is an obvious meaning (*o* being 'from'), *oe* 'to his' became obsolete. A third form of the combination is *yw*, a contraction of *ry* 'to his'; this is a re-formation, with the prep. taken from other connexions after it had become *yw*; it is the usual form in Mn. MSS., as *y brenhin a eith* *yw* estavell c.m. 43 'the king went to his chamber', *Ynteu Puwyll* . . . *a doeth *yw* gywoeth ac *yw* wlat W.M. 11 *Puwyll too came to his dominions and to his country*. In B.B. we find *yw* eu 66 l. 5 'to their', a rare form. The form *i* 'to his, to her, to their' survives in Gwyn. dial.; but the usual Mn. form is *i*w, which is the least ambiguous, and represents the oldest contraction.

*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 Mn. W. there is no trace of *au*, *ou*; rarely we have *o eu* as in *v 6/ii* n., 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 & pronuncia tur *i*, vt, *ai* carodd, pro *a* *u* carodd, &c."

D. 177. The 1620 Bible always has *i* both gen. and acc.: *iachodd hynny*, ac *a* *i* gwaredodd *o* *i* dinistr Ps. cvii 20.

The forms *m* and *i* occur after *er* in Mn. W. *er*moet 'during my time', *er*yoet 'in his time', Mn. W. *er*-m-*od* (*er-* *od*; the latter became the stereotyped form for all persons, and is the usual expression for 'ever'. But *ermoet* 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.


*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 *neg*, *neg*, *e*, *io*, *fe*; the negative particles *mi*, *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:
'No eye sees thee in thy vast lair; a thousand hear thee, [in] the nest of the great rain.'—To the Wind.

The 3rd sg. and pl. -e or -y, Mn. -i, 'i (u) is used after the relative a and the affirmative particles a, e, a, fo, fe; as pawb a' thy dylw 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 'that . . . it'); as lýma yr wedd y keffy r.m. 2 'this is the way that (= in which) thou shalt have it'; sef val y gwnaf 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 yj).

The 3rd sg. and pl. -s is used after ni, na, oni 'unless' and o 'if'; as Aë eiðaw nys arvollassant w.m. 161 'and his own received him not'; onis cwplaa oe weithretoed c.m. 15 'unless he fulfils it in his works'; os myn L.G.C. 187 'if he desires it'. It often serves to save the repetition of the object in the second of two negative sentences: ny mynnes is inheu un gwr . . . ac nys mynnof r.m. 11 'I did not want a husband, and do not want one'; nyd enwafr neb ac ny's gwradwyddaf J.D.R. [xvii] 'I name no one, and disgrace him not'; and often refers to a noun or pronoun placed absolutely at the head of a sentence, as ond ef nis gwelsant Luc xxiv 24 'but [as for] him, they saw him not'; Safnau'r mor 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 ysgwyrum w.m. 42; in M.W. generally written pei as, as pei as mynhyd w.m. 142 'if thou wished it'. Similarly gwedy as gwelych c.m. 83 'after thou hast seen it'. After affirmative neu, as neu rodes w.m. 20 'he has given it'; rarely after affirmative a, as As attebwys dofyb b.t. 24 'the Lord answered him'.—In Late Mn. W. nis is sometimes treated as if the s meant nothing; such a misuse is rare in Mn. W. and, where it occurs, is probably a scribal error, as Nys gwelas llygat ei roet y savd dynion w.m. 117 with nys repeated from the previous line. On os for o 'if' see § 222 v (1).

In Early Mn. verse we sometimes find nuy (≡ nwy) in relative sentences corresponding to nis in direct statements (nwy from an old contraction of *no i, cf. *owy (1) above, *no being the orig. form of the neg. rel., see § 162 vi (3)); as nis gwibit ar nuy g(u)elho b.m. 7 'he
will not know it who has not seen it"; cf. do. 8 li. 1, 13. Later by metathesis this appears as nyw, as nyf kerðawr nyw molwy r.p. 1400 "there is no minstrel who does not praise him"; nyw deiryt 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.C.H. occurs enyu (≡ yynvy) teno tranoth 14 (misprinted eny in A.L. i 32) "until he removes it the following day", formed analogically. We also find rwy rel., as rwy digonsei b.t. 24 "who had made him".

(3) After pan 'when' and Ml. kyt 'since' syllabic accus. forms are used: ym, yth, y, ym, ych, y. In Late Mn. W. these are written y'm, y'th, ei, y'n, y'ch, eu; the apostrophe is incorrect, see iv (2). But even in Ml. W. after pan and other conjunctions ending in consonants, an affixed acc. pron. after the verb is preferred to the infixed; see iii (1).

yr pan yth veleis gyntaf w.m. 156-7 'since I saw thee first'; pan i'm chwyd clust Job xxix 11; kid im gunedt b.b. 23 (≡ eyd ym gwyd) 'since thou makest me'. In the early period also after nid 'there... not', as nid ann-eyd 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 dodynw 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 tiu teg D.G. 136 '[she of] the hue of summer gave me a fair pledge'; Cerdd eos a'm dangosai 'Y man hert 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.

oeð liw y hwynneb e.l.a. 81 'was the colour of her face'; oc eu hamsser do. 119 'of their time'; mi a'ri hadwaen ef Gen. xviii 19.

After 'm, 'n and yn gen. and acc. both aspirated and unaspirated initials are found.

om hanvosô B.M. ii, W.M. 18, om ânvoð R.M. 30, W.M. 43 'against my will'; yn harylyd ni e.l.a. 165, yn arderchogryl ni do. 168 'our majesty'. So in Early Mn. W.: A'm annwylyl D.G. 219, a'm edwvyn 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.

dygyrch vi ôzyma w.m. 8 'bear me hence'; hualwyd ò D.G. 47 'I have been shackled'; clyw fyfy do. 100 'hear me'; pann veilsant ef M.a. 114 'when they saw him'; ny roddasit hi do. 122 'she had not been given'. They often follow auxiliary affixed pronouns, as Pan geisych di vyvi R.m. 224 'when thou seekest me'.

They are also used in the dative after interjections, as gwae ò! '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. -ë (≡ y); in Late Mn. W. it is written ù after -f, but this is an error, though sometimes found in Ml. W.; the 2nd sg. is di, after -t ti, Early Ml. -de; 3rd sg. m. ef, efo, f. hi; pl. i. ni, Early Ml. -ne, 2. chwi, 3. vy, wynt, later hwy, hwyt. There are also conjunctive forms, innau, dithau, etc.

Supplementing (a) the personal form of a verb: gudeis-ò B.B. 71 'I saw', ardùireaw-ò do. 36 'I extol'; pan roddais i serch D.G. 134 'when I set [my] affection', andau-de B.B. 61 'listen thou', Beth a glywaist ti? D.G. 335 'what didst thou hear?' y dêl hi § 136 iii, etc.

(b) the personal ending of a preposition: irof-ò B.B. 23 'for me', arnati D.G. 136 'on thee', òdaw ef W.m. 5 'to him', etc.

(c) a prefixed or infixed pronoun, gen., acc. or dat.: wi-llaw-ò B.B. 50 (≡ vy-llaw-y) 'my hand', fënaid i D.G. 148 'my soul'; am creuys-ò B.B. 82 'who created me'; nym daw-ò do. 62 'there comes not to me'; dyn ni 'ò m cred i D.G. 173 'a woman who does not believe me'.

Ni cheisiwn nef na'i threvis
Be gwypwn nas kai hunn hi.—H.S., p 54/1/257 R.

'I would not seek heaven and its abodes if I knew that he 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. esyā; y ‘her’ < Ar. *esiəs : Skr. esyāḥ, § 75 vi (2);—an ‘our’, Bret. hon, hor, all for *anr, which (like Ir. ar (n)- for *anr n-) represents regularly (§ 95 ii (3)) Kelt. *nsron < *ns-rōm : Goth. unsara, with suff. -(e)ro—cf. Lat. nostrum with suff. -(e)ro;—ny before hun < *nes or *nos : Skr. nāḥ acc., gen., dat.;—auch ‘your’, formed from chwī on the analogy of an : ni;—eu ‘their’, O.W. ou, Bret. ho, is probably for *wō unaccented, and so from *eisōn < Ar. *eisōm : Skr. eṣām, Osc. eisun-k; for the weakening of unaccented *wō to eu see § 78 iii;—yn, yeh before numerals < *esenes, *esyes : Goth. iwis ‘you’ acc. < *esues;—yll is a form of an l-demonstrative § 165 vi, perhaps < acc. pl. *ollōs < *ōlīo- or *ōlno- : Lat. ollus.

(2) Infixed.—Gen.—m, -th see ii (1); Brit. *men caused the rad. of tenues, the nas. of medieæ § 107 iv, and as the latter was generalized for fy, the former was for *m;—e or -y is merely the prefixed y contracted with the preceding vowel;—n, -ch are the prefixed forms with the vowel elided;—e or -y ‘their’, originally only after o ‘from’ and *do ‘to’; thus oe or oy ‘from their’ < o *wō contracted; similarly the rarer e ‘to their’; oy ‘and their, with their’ is formed on the analogy of oy, instead of the orig. ac eu which also survived, as oc eu ‘from their’ was formed on the analogy of the latter, instead of orig. oy (o ‘from’ had no -o);—i‘w ‘to his’, etc., Ml. W. yw met. for *wō < *do i ‘to his’ contracted after *esiō ‘his’ had become *i, but early enough for *oi to become *wō, see ii (1); the metathesis is actually attested in nuny (≡ nōw) > nyw, see below.

Acc. (dat.).—-m, -th < *mm-, *tt- from acc. *me, *te, dat. *moi, *toi, originally used after the neg. ny, the tense part. ry, etc., which caused gmination 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-) < *nes, see (1); -ch by analogy;—the syllabic forms prob. developed thus: *pann m el- > *pann ny 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 y’m is misleading and wrong;—e, -y, in ae, ay ‘who...him’, for at *ti 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’, *sīsā ‘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. *ti was lost after ni; thus *ni caf of became nis caf of on the anal. of nis caf hi; so ae ‘who...her’
instead of as on the anal. of ae 'who...him';—rel. nyw < myy (≡ nywy) < *no i, see ii (2).

(3) Affixed.—The substantive forms are the same as the independent forms. Auxiliary: i, B.B. -e (≡ y) < *ix < *ego: Lat. ego, Gk. ἐγώ, 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.

§ 181. i. A possessive adjective was placed after its noun, which was usually preceded by the article, as y τῇ ταῦ D.G. 18 'thy house', sometimes by a pref. or inf. pron., as ἡ τῇ ὑμνητικῇ τεῦ R.P. 1202 'to thy paradise'; rarely it was added to an indefinite noun, as

_Ac i wneuthur mesuraw
O ben轩辕 nvynion 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 eiðaw Ἰ.Α. 20 "suos". Ordinarily the possessive adjective stands as the complement of the verbs 'to be', 'to become', etc., as malpei teu rei R.M. 127 'as if it were thine'; or is used substantively preceded by the article, as арнаф 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. eiðaw, f. eiði

_Pl. 1. einym
2. einwch
3. eiðunt

In Mn. W. the first three forms became mau, ταῦ, εἴδδο, by the regular change of final syllables; and new forms of the 1st and 2nd persons arose; see iii.

See Ml.W. einym r.m. 132, eiðunt do. 26, eiði w.m. 476; einwch etc. see below. The form eiðyaw Ἰ.Α. 129 shows ἱ after ei § 35 i; but the present N.W. sound is εἴδδο with no trace of -ι- 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 meun inneu, teu di or
ten di\th\au, eiddaw e\ho or eiddaw efo, etc. In Mn. W. the 1st sg. takes the form mau fi or mau finnau.

Paesarpar y\w eu y\w einwch chwi? R.M. 292 'what preparation is yours?' By \ryw neges y\w eu eiddaw ef? W.M. 40 'what business is his?' y\r meu i s.g. 34 'to mine', y teu di w.m. 84 'thine', y meu inneu s.g. 251; A'r gwyn tau di... y\w r gwyn mau finnau I.G. 392 'and thy plaint is my plaint'; the -f- is attested by the cynghanedd in I.G. 318 q.v.

iii. In the 15th century new forms of the 1st and 2nd sg. and pl. sprang up. Si\on Cent has A'i natur... y\w eiddom y\\w n soddi c 7/86 'and its [the earth's] nature is ours to sink us'. T.A. has eiddoch A31102/121. We also find eiddod:

\Gwyr glân a gair air o glod;
Gorau oedd \y gair eiddod.—G.I.I.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. einweyd d. 185. — G.R. (1567) gives einof or eiddof, eiddot, eionom p. [123]; eionom in a.g. 52. — J.D.R. gives eiddof, eiddot, eiddom, eiddoch 69. These are the forms used in Late W., though mau and tau persisted in poetry.

Wm.S. used mau and tau in his N.T., which were mostly changed into eiddof and eiddot by the translators of the Bible, see e.g. Ioan xvii 6, 9, 10.

The forms of the 3rd sg. and pl. remain unchanged, except that eiddunt is misspelt eiddyn\t in Late W.

iv. (1) It is generally assumed that meu is a new formation after teu, and that the latter comes from the Ar. gen. *te\xep : Skr. t\xva. But Ir. mui shows that the formation is not very new; it goes back at least to Fr. Kelt. The Ir. mui occurs as a gloss, but *tui is not found, and neither form occurs in construction. It is probable therefore that the predicative and substantival constructions so common in W. are secondary; for if original they might be expected to survive in Ir. on account of their convenience. Hence we may conclude that meu and teu were originally postfixes, a construction which disappeared in Ir. and only survived in poetry in W. They may therefore be derived directly from the Ar. enclitic genitives *moi, *toi: Gk. mo\i, toi (sou), Skr. me, te (e < *ai < *oi), Lat. m\i (< *moi), see § 75 viii (2).

(2) The Ar. 3rd sg. corresponding to *moi, *toi was *soi: Gk. oi, Av. ha\, \v\; this gives W. *(h)eu. Beside y meu and ya teu, there must have been yr *heu, 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 meued 'property' (meued m.a. i 361b). It was followed by i 'to' and a pronoun: Ae meu y minneu dy verch di weithon? Meu heb ynteu r.m. 142, lit. 'is thy daughter property to me now? Property [i.e. Yes] said the other'; ey merch inneu a geyff yn veu ittd do. 125 'and my daughter thou shalt have as property to thee', i.e. for thine own; yn veu idaw e hun do. 207 'as property for himself'. In its orig. form the last expression would be *eu idaw; of this eiddaw is an obvious contraction; similarly eidi for *eu (idi); eïdent for *eu idunt. On the analogy of eïdaw ef (for *eu idaw ef) arose meu i, teu di. In eïdaw ef the ef is of course the ordinary affixed pron. supplementing the personal ending of idaw, see § 160 iii (2) (b).

(3) The use of yn *eu for the later yn veu is attested in the O.W. nou glossing genitives in m.c.; as nouirfionou gl. rosarum = (yn) *eu yr fïoneu 'as the property of the roses', i.e. that of the roses (n-representing yn before a vowel is common, e.g. ny L.L. 120 'in its' § 107 ii). It is found before the 1st pl. pron.: noui gl. nostrum = (yn) *eu (yn)ny; later *eu ymny became einym on the analogy of the prepositional form of eïdaw, and of gennym '(belonging) to us' (mae gennym 'we possess'); einwch was evidently formed from einym on the analogy of gennwch.

The processes which produced these forms have repeated themselves at later periods: eïdo '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 eïdaw dy vam di s.g. 270 'was thy mother's property'; eïdaw nep m.a. 35; eiddo'r Arglwydd i Cor. x 26; thus O.W. n-ou-r-fïonou would now be yn eiddo'r fïon. From eïdoo were formed the new 1st and 2nd sg. and pl. forms eïdof (ef), eiddot (ti), eiddom (ni), eiddoch (chwi), carrying further the analogy of eïdoo (ef). Lastly, there is a recent tendency, instead of yn eïdoo (ef), to say yn eiddo iddo (ef), which exactly reproduces yn *eu idaw (ef), which is the origin of yn eïdo (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. : gyrn yr erch wys a ladyyssei y canw eymeith w.m. 2 'to send the pack that had killed the stag away'; Gwyn ei fyd y dyn a wenelo hym Es. lvi 2 'Blessed is the man that doeth this'.—Acc. : o ymgael a'r gwr a dyneddy di w.m. 4 'to find the man whom thou
mentionest’; Air dyna’r ympryd a ddevisais? Es. lviii 5 ‘Is this the fast that I have chosen?—Adv. : o’r lle yð oed w.m. 39 ‘from the place where he was’; e korn oð euo e brethyn a.L. i 76 ‘the horn from which the king drinks’.—Nom. and adv.:

Af a mawl a fo melys
O’r tud yr wyf i’r tad Rys.—G.S. p 55/31.

‘I will go with praise that is sweet from the land where I am to Father Rhys.’

The gen. rel. is supplemented by a prefixed personal pronoun to point out the case : Mab ... a ðylivas Ìdas ð leith b.n. 87 ‘the Son whose death Judas plotted’; Ol ... a ðucwnydw moch ð dat w.m. 469 ‘Ol, whose father’s pigs were stolen’; brawt y’r gwyr y buost neithwyr yn ð lys do. 130 ‘brother of the man in whose court thou wast last night’; y neb y maddeuwyd ei drosedd Ps. xxxii i ‘he whose transgression is forgiven’.—Similarly a preposition takes a personal ending to show the gender and number of the relative : y’r neb a weleu newyn a sychet arnaw i.i.a. 126 lit. ‘to the one whom he saw hunger and thirst on him’; nyt amgen no’r prenn y dibynnawð yr arglydò arnaw do. 61 ‘no other than the tree on which the Lord was crucified’.—Dat. y followed by i with suff. : y rhai y rhoddwyd iddynt Matt. xix 11 ‘they to whom it is given’; also without the prep. :

Ieuan deg a’i onwayw dur
Y perthyn campau Arthur.—G.Gl., p 83/58.

‘Fair Ieuan with his spear of ash and steel to whom belong the qualities of Arthur.’ Rhevia’ dyn y rhod enaid T.A. A 14967/29 ‘the most generous man to whom a soul was [ever] given’.

The form ae in E betev ae gwlch y glaw b.n. 63 ‘The graves which the rain wets’ may be an echo of O.W. ai with the rad. after the acc., see vi (r).

By the elision of unaccented syllables a is often lost in Mn. W. verse, as Y ddraig coch’ ddyry cychwyn D.I.D. g. 177 ‘[it is] the red dragon that gives a leap’. Y’gwr llen’ gwr holl Wynedd Gut.O. g. 204 ‘the learned man whom all Gwynedd loves’. The soft initial remains to represent it. In Mn. W. it may be lost before initial a-. The frequent dropping of the rel. a is a characteristic of much of the slipshod writing of the present day.

ii. (1) The usual adverbial form before a vowel in Mn. W. is yð; but yr, though rare, appears in the 14th cent., as yno yr adeitawd Beuno cyhlwys i.i.a. 123 ‘[it was] there that Beuno built a church’; hyt y send yr ocdit yn y aros do. 114 ‘as far as the synod where he was awaited’. In Mn. W. yr became the usual form, but yð remained as a poetical form, the bards using both indifferently according to the demands of the cynghanedd, as
O ero i gant yr â gŵr:
O ddwy i un ydd â anwr.—I.D., tr. 150.
‘[It is] from an acre to a hundred that a man goes, [and] a churl from two to one.’

(2) Between vowels yð or yr may become 'ð or 'r, e.g. wedi'dd ðl L.G.C. 394 ‘after [the time] when it goes’; but before a consonant it is always y; unlike the article, it cannot appear as 'r after a vowel if a consonant follows. On the sound of the y in the word see § 82 ii (1).

iii. In Early Ml. W. the adverbial rel. often appears as yd (≡yd, not yð), later written yt; this occurs not only before vowels but before consonants also, the latter usually undergoing the soft mutation.

_Tec_ yd gan ir adaren b.b. 107 ‘[it is] sweetly that the bird sings’; _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 projection. Before t-, d-, g-, ff-, s-, m- n-, only y [rad.] occurs; before k-, gw-, b-, ù-, both y [rad.] and yd [soft] appear; before y-, r- only yd-; before a vowel, yð, rarely yd.

iv. (1) The pres. ind. of the verb ‘to be’ has a relativa form sydd, sy, Ml. W. yssyð, yssy, in the b.b. often issi (i≡y). The full form yseydd 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 chwychant sy bobl Job xii 2 ‘ Doubtless it is you who are people’.

(2) In the verb pi eu 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 wlat . . . pan henwyt c.m. 33 ‘from what country [is it] that (= whence) thou art sprung?’ _Ae o bysgotta pan dewy di_ do. 53 ‘is it from fishing that thou comest?’ In these cases yð may be used, and yr supplants pan in Mn. W. On pan in answers see § 163 i (6).
v. (1) The negative relative is nom. acc. ni, nid, Ml. W. ny, nyt; this form is also used in the gen., in the loc. after lle, and in cases governed by prepositions; but the adverbial form generally (e.g. after pryd, mord, 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'r'ih adnapo R.M. 3 'there is in it no one who will not know thee'. Gwyyn ei fyd y gwr ni rodia Ps. i 1.—Acc.: yr hynn ny velesynt L.L. 12 'that which they had not seen'; cenedd nid adweini Es. lv 5; also with a redundant -*s: *Ilywa beth ny*s gwrthodaf-i c.m. 42 'that is a thing which I will not refuse (it)'.—Gen.: y drus ny *lywn ny *f agrori 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 rosid li ... idaw R.M. 33 'to whom she did not give'.—Adv.: prydi na L.L. 26, w.m. 183, R.M. 85, prydi na Jer. xxxii 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, *ia, *iod: Skr. yá-h, yá, yád, Gk. ἥ, ἥ, ὅ. It was a proclitic in Brit., and pretonic *ia might become *ia § 65 vi (2); this was metathesized to ai the oldest attested form, as in hai-oid B.S.C.H. 2 'which was', ai torro hac ny dimanuo 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 *ia like that of *so, *sá, *tod: Gk. ὅ, ἥ, ὅ (forms without -s are older, and *ia might be a survival).—The verb syð, yssyð represents regularly *estīo = *estī *ið; it differs from yssit 'there is', which sometimes precedes it, as yssit rin yssyð vwy b.t. 28 'there is a secret which is greater', § 189 iii (3).—The acc. a (< *i)om) prob. had a radical initial after it at first, cf. ae gulich i above, and a gulich ... 'which ... moistens' four times in B.B. 46.

(2) In Ar. adverbs were formed from pronominal and other stems by adding various suffixes, many of which began with a dental: thus, denoting place, *-dhi (Gk. πó-thi 'where?'), *-dhi (Skr. i-hu 'here'), Gk. ida-ye[víjs], *-ta (Gk. kará, W. gan < *kn-ta); whither, *-te (Gk. πó-rei < -te, Goth. hvaþ 'whither?'); whence, *-dham (Gk. ὅ), *-tos (Skr. yá-taḥ 'whence'), Lat. in-tus, W. hwm-t 'hence'); manner, *-ti (Skr. i-ti 'thus', Lat. iti-dem), *-thá (Skr. ka-thá 'how', yá-thá 'as', Lat. ita < *i-ta); time, *-dá (Skr. ya-dá 'when'), *-te (Gk. ὅ-rei 'when?'); Brugmann² II i 728–734. To these may be added the adj. of number formed with *-ti (Skr. ká-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. *iο-; 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.—
yδ before a vowel may represent *iο-dhi ‘where’ or *iο-dhem ‘whence’; possibly in id thrice before aeth in B.B. 3, 97 (marg. bis) an old distinction is reflected: id < *iο-te ‘whither’.—yd [soft] denoting manner as kelvit id gan B.B. 15 ‘[it is] skillfully that he sings’ < *iο-ti or *iο-thā; denoting number, as pop cant id cultin do. 95 ‘[it was] by the hundred that they fell’ < *iο-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. yδ must have been orig. used before consonants as well as vowels, and might take the rad. (yδ ‘whence’ < *iο-dhem); the -δ 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 lygryssit ... y grofdeu W.M. 75 ‘the way that his crofts had been ruined’, from yr ry, as pob gwlat o’r yr fuwm do. 144 ‘every country of those where I have been’. (Earlier, ry is used without y as Huchof re traydhassam A.L. i 58.) The analogy of the art. y : yr might help to spread yr rel. before a vowel.

(3) The neg. rel. ny may be < *no < *nio < *ne iο. 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 sowl, 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, producing 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 welais 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. 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 **grant cath palu**c B.B. 96 'who wounded P.'s cat?  Ac ny 
unm i **pwy** wyt ti w.m. 3 'and I know not who thou art'; y **bwy** y 
ôdït w.m. 402 'to whom it should be given'; Pwy *a osododd ei 
meswrau hi, os gwyddost? neu pwy *a estynnodd linyrn arni hi?* Job 
xxxviii 5. **Bwy** W.II. 44, 59.

In Ml. W. *pwy* is also used for 'what is?' as dayar, pwy *y llet 
neu pwy *y thewhet B.T. 20 'the earth, what is its breadth or what is 
its thickness?' pwy *enw y teir ker do. 35 'what is the name of 
the three forts?' C.f. r.F. 1054. It is also found later with *enw*, as Pwy 
dy hênw D.G. 365 'what is thy name?' This may be for *py* *wy* 
where *wy* is an older form of *yw* 'is' § 78 iv (1); if so, in pwy *yw* 
dy *enw* P. A. 128 the *yw* is redundant.

The use of *pwy* before a noun is rare: Pwy *ystyr yw gennyt ti 
kelu ... w.m. 454 'what reason hast thou to conceal ...?' Probably the *yw* here is redundant as above, and the construction was originally that in Pwy *ystyr nas ogory 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* m. 30/103, pwy *ryw fyd* do. 480, 
cf. pwy *un* 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 ger*).

Pa gur *yw* y *porthaur* B.B. 94 'what man is the porter?' Pa 
gwywarwydd a *wy'd ymi w.m. 4 'what indication will there be to me?' 
y edrych pa *vedol yw* yr eiôdant do. 39 'to see what thought is theirs'; 
ym *mha* ddinasodd y maent yn preswyllo Num. xiii 19.—Py *drwc 
yo hynn* R.M. 178 'what evil is that?' i.e. what does that matter? 
py *le pan deuc* w.m. 132, R.M. 204 'whence he came'.—Ba *beth 
1402 U
see (3), by δυν bynnac B.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 roteiste oth olud B.B. 20 'what didst thou give of thy wealth?' Pa ðaræw w.m. 58, r.m. 41 'what happened?' Pa wnaf B.P. 1045 'what shall I do?' Py gynheil magwyr dayar yn bresswyl b.t. 28 'what supports the wall of the earth permanently?' —It is also used for 'why?' as Py liwy (≡ liwy or liwy) di w.m. 454 'why dost thou colour?' Duw reen py bereist lyvor B.P. 1032 'Lord God, why hast thou made a coward?'


A wðost ti peth wyt b.t. 27 'dost thou know what thou art?' Na wen, heb yntev, peth yw marchawc w.m. 118 'I do not know, said he, what a knight is'; Peth bynnac see iv.

Beth yw dy arch di w.m. 20 'what is thy request?' Beth yw hynny do. 28, 42 'what is that?' Beth yssyð yn y boly hwnn do. 54 'what is in this bag?' Beth yssyeð yna ib. 'what is here?' Beth a ðaræw yn y driwð iðaw ef w.m. 16 'what happened in the end to him?' Beth am y rëi bychein do. 41 'what about the little ones?' Beth . . . pei 'what if' 12 times in w.m. 67-8. Beth a gawn g. 228 'what shall we have?' Beth a whawn i'n chwaer? Can. viii 8.

Papeb bi Juv. gl. quid; papedpinnac m.c. gl. quoduis; ba beth oreu rac eneid B.B. 84 'what [is] best for the soul'; Pa beth a wnnant wy w.m. 66 'what do they do?' Pa beth yw dỳn i ti i'w goisto? 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 wýnt, pet ðrëw, pet awon b.t. 20 'How many winds, how many streams, how many rivers'; Gogon . . . pet ðyð ym ðlwðyn, pet paladýr yð kat, pet ðos yð 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 deuthoste B.B. 23 'why hast thou come?' Pyr na'm dywedyð b.t. 27 'why dost thou not tell me?' Pyr na thr(a)ethoch traethawt 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 echênis drwe 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.
PRONOUNS

The use of pronouns in Welsh is quite similar to that in English. The pronoun *pan* (he, it, they) is used similarly to *he* in English, while *o* (he, she, it) is used similarly to *he* or *she*. The interrogative pronoun *pan* (whence?) is used similarly to *whence* in English.

(7) Early Ml. W. *cw*, *cwd* (*cwt*), *cws* ‘where?’ ‘whence?’ ‘whither?’

*mor, cv threia cud echwît... Redecauc dwyr... cvd a... cv treigil, cv thrawnna(?), pa hâd a, nev cud vit B.B. 88* ‘The sea, whither it ebbs, whither it subsides... Running water, whither it goes, whither it rolls, where it settles (?) far it goes, or where it will be.’

*kwî ynt plant y gwâr W.M. 453* ‘where are the children of the man?’

On *pan* rel., see § 162 iv (3).

(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. gwraig i bwy un o honyn yw hi? Luc xx 33. Pa rei cu y rei hymny L.A. 17* ‘which were those?’

*pa un* is also used sometimes for ‘who?’ as *dywet titheu... pa un wyt li s.g. 57* ‘and do thou say who thou art’.

*pa un* and *pwy un* are sometimes contracted to *p’un* and *pwy’n*; thus *pun wyt* R.M. 222 ‘who thou art’ (for W.M. 154 *pwy wyt*); *Brig kŵyr, pwen ni wyr pwy’n yw? S.P. c 19/274* ‘(Maid of) the waxen hair, who knows not who she is?’

(2) *pa le, ple, ble ‘where?’ ‘whither?’ *o ba le, o ble ‘whence?’ i ba le, i ble ‘whither?’ *pa du ‘where?’ ‘whither?’* (These forms supplanted *cw, cwd, cws* in Late Ml. and Mn. W.)

*Pa le y bu Babel L.A. 44 ‘where was Babel?’ *ble mae plant y gwâr R.M. 101, see i (7) above; Pa le yd âeth âsaf yna L.A. 13* ‘quo ivit tunc Adam?’

*Ble’ld àn’ rheug blai’d o Wynedd T.A. A 14966/57*
ACCIDENCE

§ 163

‘whither will they go from the wolf of Gwynedd?’ O ba le y daw brenduwdon ᵓ.ᵃ. 57 ‘whence come dreams?’ ᵐ ble y tyn heb weled tir T.A. ¹ 14979/143 (D.G. 296) ‘whither will it (the ship) make for without seeing land?’ ᵔ du ᵓ.ᵃ. 19 ‘whither?’ ᵒ tu w.m. 484 ‘where’.

(3) pa təlw, pa wəd, pa ñfrwryf, pa vəð, lat pa sut ‘how?’

Pa təlw y daw yr arglwŷd y’r vrawt ᵓ.ᵃ. 61 ‘qualiter veniet Dominus ad judicium’.” Pa wəd do. 15 ‘quali modo?’ Pa ñfrwryf do. 4; pa vəð do. 21.

pa bryd ‘when?’ ‘pa awr (pa hawr § 112 i (2)), pa əyð, 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 diöory pa veint o wyrdə Ffreinc a ðivaer c.m. 78 ‘thou carest not how many of the nobles of France are destroyed’. Pa faint o gamweddau . . . ? Job xiii 23. Pa hyd arglwŷd y’r amhgoi? Ps. xiii 1. Bysawl nes ysyð ᵓ.ᵃ. 128 ‘how many heavens are there?’ Pysawl pechawt a cruc Aðaf do. 131 ‘how many sins did Adam commit?’ Pa sawl llyfr, pa sawl bedd . . . a welsoch n.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 ða, etc.


Py gyfrwy wr yw awch tat chwi pan allo lleasu pawb welly w.m. 152 ‘what manner of man is your father when he can kill everybody so?’ Pa ryw fath rai ᵓ.g. 36.—cyfrwy is the equivalent of an equative § 149 ii (1).

(6) pa ryw [soft] ‘what . . . ?’ adjectival.

Sometimes pa ryw means ‘what kind of?’ as Pa ryw lun ysyð ar yr englyfon ᵓ.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]’ ymteu a ofynnws pa ryw dynyfon oed 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 ddfynder M.II. i 212 ‘what depth?’ This is again reduced to pa r (wrongly written pa’r), as pa r’ oful waeth T.A. ¹ 14866/201 ‘what sorrow [could be] worse?’ Perygl i wyr, pa’r
glwy waeth L.M. D.T. 145 ‘dangerous to men, what disease [is] worse?’ a pha'r gledi sydd arno ‘rîdan R.C.W. 73 ‘and what hardship does he suffer now?’—pa ryw un ‘which (particular) one?’ becomes pa'r'wn M.L. i 182, which is very common in Gwynedd, and is sometimes further reduced to p'r'un.

iii. pa or py might have a postfixed preposition, § 47 iv. Of the expressions so formed only pahám ‘why?’ survives; often contracted to pam which is at least as early as W.B. Others in use in M.L. are pa-har and pa rac or py rac; for references see § 47 iv.

Pam y kmeron inheu hynny gan y taygou 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 Pasiphas pretiosas sumere vestes?” isit padiu itau gilat 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. geifr eu ý eigr [cf.] paðyũ ý ðodes [pyðið ñys ðodes] A.L. M.S. A. [M.S. 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 vyt pyðið ý ðodir kerennyð Duw R.P. 1056 ‘Blessed is he to whom is given the grace of God’. Later with a redundant ý ‘to’: ý byðið ý bo gorderch 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 a wnnho L.A. 138 “Quicunque vult”. Peth bynnac o gwniðrwyd a vei yrungthunt W.M. 6 ‘whatsoever of blandishment there was between them.’ A Duw a vyd ì gyt a thi bethbynnac a wnelych L.A. 105–6 ‘And God will be with thee whatever thou dost’. By ðyn bynnac vych, by gevð a veitrych R.P. 1256 ‘what man soever thou art, what craft [soever] thou art skilled in’. pa ddaioni 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 bynn 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 *gynnag pa\v{y}, *gynnag beth are found in some lesser writings of the late period; more recently they appear in the corrupt and curiously meaningless forms *gan nad pa\v{y}, 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 pa\v{y} a \v{y}yr 'who [is it] that knows?' on the analogy of Du\v{w} a \v{y}yr 'it is God that knows', § 162 vii (2). But this appears to be an innovation in the case of the interrogative, as the oldest examples omit the relative, as *pwy guant i (1), pa roteiste i (2), *p\~{y}r deu\~{h}oste i (5).

vi. The stems of the interrogative in Ar. were \*\^{q}o\~{r}-, \*\^{q}\text{e}-, f. \*\^{q}\text{k}{\~{a}}-, also \*\^{q}\text{h}{\~{k}}-; the last in adverbs only (Brugmann² II ii 348).—W. \pwny < nom. sg. mas. \*\^{q}o\~{r}-: Lat. qui < \*\^{q}o\~{r}-.—W. pa, \pwy adj. < stem \*\^{q}\text{u}- 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, \pwy subst. < nom., acc. sg. neut. \*\^{q}\text{o}-d-, \*\^{q}\text{i}-d : Lat. quod, quid; lenition is perhaps due to the analogy of the adj. pa, \pwy.—W. \peth < \*\^{q}\text{d}-dm \$ 91 ii; already in Brit. the word had become indef., meaning 'something, thing', hence pa beth 'what thing?' beth is not necessarily a shortening of this, as pa is not omitted in such phrases in Ml. W.; but beth is for \peth (= Ml. Bret. 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 < \*\^{q}\text{e}-ti \$ 162 vi (2).—Ml. W. \pwy 'why?' < \*\^{q}\text{o}-r : Goth., O.E. hwor 'where?' < \*\^{q}\text{o}-r, Lat. c\~{u}r < \*\^{q}\text{o}-r.—W. pan < \*\^{q}\text{an}-d- < \*\^{q}\text{am}-d- : cf. O. Lat. quemde, Umbr. pionne § 147 iv (4) p. 245.—Ml. W. cu, cud, cu\~{d} represent different formations of \*\^{q}\text{u}- (\^{q} > k before \u \$ 89 ii (3)) by the addition of more than one of the suffixes named in \$ 162 vi (2); the different forms have been confused, and can no longer be disentangled; similar formations are Skr. ku\~{h}a (\h < dh), Gathav. ku\~{d}a 'where?' Lat. ubi < \*\^{q}\text{u}-d-, O. Bulg. ku\~{i}-d- 'where?'

W. pam, pa\~{h}am < \*\pa\text{d}(\delta) am < \*\^{q}\text{o}d\text{mbhi} 'what about?' pa\~{d}iw or py\~{d}iw is obscure; no dative form seems possible; an analogical *pod-do might give *py\~{d} (as d-d > d \$ 93 iii (1)) and iv may be \yw 'is' § 77 v, 'to whom it is' or 'for what it is'.

W. bynnag, Bret. bennak, bennag, seems to be from some such form as \*\^{q}\text{om}-d- 'when' + ac 'and', so that in meaning it is the literal equivalent of Lat. cum-que, and is, like it, separable (Lat. qu\~{i} cumque lit. 'who and when').

**DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.**

§ 164. i. (1) The demonstratives h\wn 'this', h\w\wnw '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 g\wr
This page contains a detailed analysis of the different pronoun forms in Welsh, including their usage and meanings. Here is the document transcribed and formatted in a more readable manner:

The different forms are—sg. mas. hwn, hwnnw, fem. hon, honno, neut. hy, hynny, pl. m. and f. hyn, hynny.

The following forms occur in O.W.: hinn m.c., jwv., cp. ‘hyn’; hinnoid ox., hinnuid m.c. ‘hwnnw’; hinnoid ox. ‘hynny’; hirunn jwv. ‘yr hwn’; yr hinn m.c. ‘the one’; m., see iv (1); hinnuith cp. f., hinnith ib. m., hinnith ib. neut. and pl.

(2) hwnnw means ‘that’ person or thing out of sight, ‘that’ in our minds. To indicate objects in sight, adverbs are added to hwn; thus hwn yna ‘that (which you see) there, that near you’, hwn acw, Ml. 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.

Vyr arglywydes i yw honn racko R.M. 175 ‘that (lady) yonder is my mistress’. Gutun Yowain a ysgivennodd hwnynma Gut.O. auto. Il. 28/33 R. ‘Guttun Owain wrote this’.

An-ânl yw 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 wèdw honn yman E.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 E.A. 102, 155 ‘in this world’; o’r esgobwnt yma B.R. 1272 ‘from this diocese’; y vydín burmewn racco R.M. 151 ‘the white army yonder’. Any other adverb of place may be similarly employed: y fan draw, y tu hwn, etc.

In the spoken language hwn yna, hon yna, hyn yna are commonly contracted to hab’na, hò’na, hï’na (not hwnna, etc.); and these forms occur in recent writings.

(3) The neut. sg. hyn, hynny always denotes an abstraction; it means ‘this’ or ‘that’ circumstance, matter, thought, statement, precept, question, reason, etc.; or ‘this’ or ‘that’ number or quantity of anything; or ‘this’ or ‘that’ period or point of time.

Hynny, hep ef, ansybywyt oed W.M. 2 ‘that, said he, was ungentlemanliness’ (meaning ‘that’ conduct); Pater noster . . . sef yw pwyll hynny yna tat ni E.A. 147 ‘Pater noster . . . the meaning of that is our Father’. A wenelo hyn nid ysgogir yn dragwydd Ps. xv 5; wêt 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 kysfwg hynny r.b.b. 11 for y y kysfrwg hynn do.
319, 320, 321. The examples show that it is added to nouns expressing ideas for which substantival hyn stands.

o’r chweell hir hyn H.A. n. 133/164 ‘of this long story’; A’r peth hyn S.Ph. e.p. 275 ‘and this thing’ [which thou knowest]; y peth hyn Dan. iii 16 ‘this matter’; ein neges hyn Jos. ii 14, 20 ‘this our business’; y pryd hynn 1 Sam. xiv 18; ai’r pryd 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 hinnuith as in 9, 11, 14, 15, a form of hwnnw, with y for w in the penult, cf. § 66 ii (i).

(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 vynet w.m. 35 ‘I do not imagine any of these will go’. a hene (≡ hynny) a elguyr goskorth e brenyn a.l. i 8 ‘and those are called the king’s guard’. Ni phalla un o hyn Es. xxxiv 16 ‘Not 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. l 24980/85.

Angeu Duw fu ’Nghedewain
O’i trysor hwy ’n treisaw ’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.’

a Cf. θεμποτοκῆς φθόνος εί Κέρκυραν, ἐν αὐτῶν εὐρυγῆς, Thuc. i 136.
“Massiliam pervenit, atque ab iis receptus urbi praeficitur,” Caes. B.C. i 36.
—Paul-Strong 163.
PRONOUNS

Mae'r henwyr? Ai meirw'r rheini?

Hynaf oll heno wyf i.—G.Gl., p. 100/411.

'Where are the elders? Are those dead? Eldest of all to-night am I.'

iii. Adjectival hwn and hon form improper compounds with nouns of time; thus yr awr hon > yr áwron (§ 48 iv), yr áwron; y waith hon > Ml. W. e weithyón a.l. i 242 (ms. b) usually weithon, Mn. weithión, weithian (§ 35 ii (1)); y pryð hwn > y prytwon w.m. 102; y vers hon > y wërshon w.m. 128; all the above mean 'now'. So y nos hon > y noson 'that night', and y dydd hwn > y dythwn, y dythwn § 66 ii (1) 'that day'. The form dynthia was still in use in the 17th cent.; see Silvan Evans, s.v. dythwn.

Arwydd ydyw 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 gwir a'r cann.—D.N., g. 149.

'On every altar now provision is made of wine and white [bread].'

Bardd weithian i Ieuan wyf.—L.G.C. 275.

'I am now a bard to Ieuan.'

By dissimilation yr awran (pron. yr owran § 81 iii (2)) became yr owan, and is now sounded in N.W. yravan. The loss of the r goes back to the 15th cent.:

O bu draw 'r bywyd ar ran,

Mae'r Eos yna'r owan.—G.I.H. p 77/384.

'If his life has been spent partly away, the Nightingale is here now.'

As 'this day' and 'this night' were expressed by hebaw 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 ðele y dithun kafail ateb 'he is not to have an answer that [same] day', the later ms. e. has y dythwn hwunw. This is the Biblical construction; see y dwthwun 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 rhb.s. 215 translating "who has spent his day holily".

iv. (1) The forms yr hwun, yr hon and yr hyn (but not *yr hwunnw etc.) are used before the relative, meaning, with the latter, 'the one who' or 'he who', 'she who', and 'that which'; in the pl.
y rhai 'the ones' is used, which is more strictly the pl. of yr un 'the one'; the latter is similarly employed, as are also y neb, y sawl and definite nouns like y gŵr Ps. i 1, etc.

O. W. ir hinn issid m.c. 'he who is' gl. ille; ir hinn issid Christ juv. 'he who is Christ'; hirunn 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 odidockaf a wypych R.M. 163 'of the rarest that thou knowest'; o'r hyn goreu a gaffer w.m. 428 'of the best that is to be had'. When so qualified a rel. clause need not follow: o'r hyn lleiaf Act. v 15 'at least'; taled o'r hyn goreu yn ei faes ei hun etc. Ex. xxii 5. So with adverbial expressions: yr hwnn y tu a Chernyw w.m. 59 'the one towards Cornwall'.

(3) In the 16th cent. yr was often omitted before hwn in this construction: hwn a fodd fawredd W.II. 6. 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 weddiller Act. xv 17. In Gwyn. dial. yr hwn has been replaced by hwnnw.

v. Before relatives we also have in Ml. W. the form ar, which is sg. and pl.

*Iolune ar a beir B.B. 88 'let us praise Him who creates'; yno kyrcheist ar a gereist o rei goreu G.M.D. r.p. 1202 'there thou broughtest those whom thou lovedst of the best'; ar ny del yn wyd kymmeller o neth cledyceu w.m. 8 'let him who will not come obediently be compelled by force of arms'; ac a vynwyswyd o'r Saracénjyeit a adwys Charlys yn vynw, ac ar nys mynnwys a lâsawd 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 helgwn y byt, ny welsei con 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 yr llys w.m. 34 'of those who came to the court'; pob creadur o'r a twaethpwyt 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 (1).

na dim ar sydd eiddo dy gymydog Ex. xx 17. Pob peth byw ar sydd gyda thi Gen. viii 17, see ix 16. ym mhob dim a'r y galwom arno Deut. iv 7. dim a'r a wnaethpywyd 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
*sundī or *sindi. The -u- and -i- are undoubtedly for -a- and -e-
before -nd- § 65 iii (1); we arrive, therefore, at *sundos, *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 *d(h)- suffix, § 162 vi (2), to *sem-, *som-: Skr. samāḥ
'same', Gk. ὁμός, Ir. som 'ipse'. The form of the adverb would be
similar to that of Skr. sa-ḥā 'in the same place together' < *syd-he;
but the Kelt. formations have the full grades *sem-, *som- (instead of
the R-grade *smy-) 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. *sundos, f. *sondā, neut. *sondod, pl. m. *sendi 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
henn was m. in O.W., but was already beginning to be ousted by hirun
(for *ir hunn), as *henn had perhaps been already replaced by honn,
for in Corn. the forms are m. hen (= W. hynw), 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-o- of the adj.
*sundos; thus *sōndiōs > hunnuiō § 75 iv (2) > hunnuiō > hwnnw
§ 78 i (1), (2). The fem. *sōndiā would also give the same form,
which actually occurs as f. : *sonds hwnnuith cp. 'that year'; honn
is therefore a re-formate on the analogy of hon; so the lastyll. of
hynny § 78 i (1).
ar is prob. formed in a similar manner from an adv. with the suffix
-r which was mostly locative, Brugmann² 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 lall '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 lall '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 gwyr, gwyr, gwraig show the position and initial mutation of the noun:

Adj. def.: y naill âr ... y gwyr arall 'the one man ... the other man'; y naill wraig ... y wraig arall; y naill wyr ... y gwyr eraill. For yr naill Ml. W. has yr neill or yr lleill, and for eraill, eraill, also used in Mn. W.

Adj. indef.: rhyw âr ... gwyr arall 'a certain man ... another man'; un gwyr ... gwyr 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. eraill, 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 leited § 155 ii (1), iii (7). The compound is often a strict one as y neillforbb, rhynobeth. As -ll causes profection of mediae, an initial tenuis after neill, lleill generally appears unmutilated 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 belth a'r llall 'the one thing and the other'; but neilltu, see ib.

Subst. : yn gyflyn y lladawd y neill o'r gweisson, ac yn y lle y lladawd y lleill r.m. 191 'he quickly slew one of the youths, and forthwith slew the other'; un orfei y lleill ar y llall r.m. 262, w.m. 408 'until the one overcame the other'; a'r un y bydei borth ef iði a golli y gware, a'r llall a bodei awr w.m. 174-5 'and the one that he supported lost the game, and the other gave a shout.'—rei ohonunt yn wylau, eraill yn udaw, eraill yn cudwnw 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 w.m. 421-2 'on the one hand ... and on the other hand' (b beginning barth deleted by underdot); am nat oed kyn dygelet y neillforbb o'r llall s.g. 29 'because the one way was not as safe as the other'.—Or bwytey mywn un amser yn y dyb, a symut hymyn y amser arall m.m. 33 (from b.b.) 'if thou eatest at one time in the day, and changest that to another time'; ryw dyn ymchhiennu ... un dyn arall J.D.R. [xxii] 'a jealous man ... any other man'; Mn. W. rhai dynion ... eraill rh. b.s. 87 "some men ... others"; the use of rhai before a noun seems to be late, but neb 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!*

_Hawodd yr llaw gyhuddor llall._—T.A., c. ii 78.

'A kinsman accusing another!' [It is] easy for the hand to accuse the other.'—*kanys 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': *mwy ... oed honno no'r rei oreill* oll w.m. 180 'that [ship] was larger than all the others'; *llog a oed wcy noc un o'r rei oreill* do. 185; cf. _Il.A._ 102.

(2) The first alternative may be implied, as in other languages; as _y dydd* arall M.lL. 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. F. 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 âl 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. _rhe* 'some'; often with qualifying adjectives _un da* 'a good one', _rhai drwyg* 'bad ones'. Also _yr un* 'the one', pl. _y rhai*, Ml. _y rhe* '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 obei th ysgyd yr gler? _Nyt oes yr un Il.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.

rhyw *duted edmic b.B. 43* 'an admirable covering'. rhyw *davatеннeu m.m. 6* (from r.B.) 'some warts'. *Yr oedd gan rhyw w’r ddau fob Luc xv i1 "אָרָמְיָּס תִּמְשׁ". rhyw *ddynion i Tim. v 24* 'some men'; rhyw *bethau 2 Petr. iii 16* 'some things'; mywn rhyw *bhannew (bh ≡ v) J.D.R. [xvii]* 'in some places'.

iv. Subst. *un*, pl. *rhai* and adj. *rhyw*, preceded by pronouns, numerals or prefixes, form composite or compound pronominalia, thus:

(1) *Pa un*, pl. *pa rai* 'which?' § 163 ii (1); *pa rhyw 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 *féy o(r) reié henne x.l. i 8* 'all of those'. Gofyn a oruc y Chyarlys ansawd pob *féi o nañunt c.m. 14* 'he inquired of Charles the condition of all (i.e. each group) of them'.

(3) *neb un* or *nebun* subst. 'some one, any one', adj. 'a certain', pl. *neb rhai*, generally in positive sentences.

'Subst. *nid mor ddihareb nebun* § 151 ii (3); *neb féi o oxynnei [read -eu] bychein w.l. 2* "quasdam quaeṣtiunculas"; *nep féi drwe do. 30* 'certain bad ones'.—Adj. *neb un* vrenhindref *yni w.l. 166* 'a certain province of ours'; *nebun genedyl b.B.B. 280* 'a certain tribe'; *neb féi ðinweðeu w.l. 102* 'certain miracles'.

(4) rhyw *un*, rhýwun 'some one', pl. rhyw *rhai, rhýwrail*, Ml. *fyw rei*.

rhyw *un i Cor. xv 35* " rhetorical *rhwy rei ... kanys y mac rhwy rei a’m llaedi i s.g. 320* 'On account of the brutality of some people; for there are some who would kill me'.

(5) *dau rhyw*, tri *rhyw*, etc. 'two (three, etc.) different, two (three, etc.) kinds of'.

Seithryw *pechawt* (read bechawt) marwawl ysyð *w.l. 147* 'there are seven different deadly sins'. Tri *fyw gwyôd ysyð ... Deu *ryw gwyôd deu eir ysyð r.g. 1134* 'there are three kinds of cywyddau, ... there are two kinds of cywyddau deuair'.

(6) *pa rhyw* § 163 ii (6).

(7) *pob rhyw* 'every, all manner of'.

Pob *fyw* ða o’r a orchymynnei yr yscrythur lan w.l. 126* 'Every good that holy scripture commanded'. a *phob fyw v’las ysyð ar y
**PRONOUNS**

**§ 165.**

dwfy r **hwnnw** do. 167 'and that water has every kind of taste'.  
a phob **ryw** unpati R.P. 1214 'and every single thing'.  
i bob **ryw** aderyn Ezec. xxxix 4; o bob **ryw** beth Matt. xiii 47.

(8) **neb** **ryw** 'any, any kind of', in negative sentences.

canyt oes **nep** **ryw** greadur a allo y drossi ef E.L. A. 33 'for there is not any creature that can turn Him'.  
ynt argyweda **neb** **ryw** wenw yn do. 166 'no poison hurts'.  
**neb** **ryw** 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.

Ysitt **yn** y boly **hwnn** **amryw** vlaet W.M. 54 'There are in this bag various kinds of flour'; **amryw** duted (t = 5) M.A. i 220, 'various coverings'; **amryw** wledeu E.L. A. 70 'various feasts'; **amryw** bywys, **amryw** fesur Deut. xxv 13, 14; **amryw** had ... **amryw** ddefnydd Deut. xxi 9, 11; **amryw** Galan Gr.O. 40 'many a New Year's Day'; **amryw** bywysau ac **amryw** fesurau Diar. xx 10; **amryw** glefydau Matt. iv 24; **amryw** ddioniau ... **amryw** weithrediau ... **amryw** dafodau i Cor. xii 4, 5, 6, 10.

**amryw**, like **ryw**, forms the first element of a compound; in some cases the compound is strict, and **amryw** then appears as **amry-**; thus **amry-liw** 'parti-coloured'; **amryson** 'wrangle' (són 'talk'); **amryfus** 'erring' (-fus < *mois- < *moit-t-: Lat. mütö, 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 demonst. prob. represents an old obl. case of comparison).

**y kyfryw** vroyt **ac** a oed ganthau s.g. 200 'such food as he had' (lit. 'as what was with-him'); **yn** **y kyfryw** le a **hwnn** W.M. 10 'in such a place as this'; **y kyfryw** dyn a **hwnn** W.M. 123 'such a man as this'. Without **ac** 'as': **y kyfryw** varchau yd oed ef **yn** y ol W.M. 138 'such a knight as he was after'; **y kyfryw** dyn **hwnn** R.M. 198 'such a man [as] this'; **yr** **kyfryw** wr **hwnn** R.B.B. 65 'to such a man [as] that'. Without the art.: a galw **kyfryw** dyn a **hwnn** W.M. 123 l. 30 (beside **y kyfryw** l. 16 quoted above) 'and to call such a man as this'; cf. s.g. 316, Jer. v 9, Matt. ix 8.

On the analogy of **y meint** etc., **y** **ryw** is used instead of **y** **cyfryw** in the above constructions.
**ACCIDENTE**

§ 165

*Ny bu eirioet y ſyw lewenyô a conjunctiopt s.g. 144 ‘there never was such a welcome as was prepared’; y ſyw bryf a homnno w.m. 77 ‘such a reptile as that’. Without ac ‘as’: y ſyw genedyl a elwir y pagannŷet l.l. a 166 ‘such a tribe as is called the pagans’; y ſyw bryf homnno r.m. 54 ‘such a reptile [as] that’; y ſyw gatwent homnno r.b.b. 58 ‘such a fight [as] that’.

*y cyfryw* is also substantival.

*laver o’r kyfurry* l.l. 49 ‘many such’. Yn erbyu y *cyfryw* nid oes ddeddf Gal. v 23.

*pa cyfryw* § 163 ii (5); * pob cyfryw* ‘all’ emphatic § 168 i (2); * neb cyfryw* ‘any such’ § 170 iv (3).

(11) un*rhyw*, generally yr *unrhyw* ‘the same’, followed, if necessary, by ac (ag), a ‘as’.

*a’r unrhyw* ymadrawd ganunt ac a doforod gan y marchawc cyntaf r.m. 200 ‘and [bringing] the same tale with them as came with the first knight’. Nid *yw* pob cnawd un *rhyw* gnuad 1 Cor. xv 39.

Note.—un*rhyw* 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* *d*yn. Pughe in his Dic. does not give the word this meaning. (In D.G. 519 l. 46 unrhyw seems to be a mistake for *yn rhyw*. The phrase o an *rhyw* ‘of any kind’ is older.

un *rhyw* or unrhyw ‘same’ is also substantival.

*Ponyt un *rhyw* a gymerth Judas a Phedyr l.l. a 25 “Nonne Judas idem accepti quod Petrus?”

v. *rhyw* is also used as a noun m. ‘kind’; and as an ordinary adj. in the phrase *rhyw* i ‘[it is] natural to ...’. From *rhyw* ‘kind’ come *rhywiog* ‘kindly, of a good kind’, *rhywogeth* ‘species’, *afryw* *afrywiog* ‘unnatural, harsh’.

*Y rhyw* hwn Marc ix 29.—mor oed *rhyw* ym lleu hywyaw G.D.A. r.p. 1226 ‘how natural it was to my lion to rule!’ *Rhyw* iddi roi rhodd yr *wyl* T.A. A 9817/179 ‘It is natural to her to give a gift at the feast’. *Nid rhyw* iddaw ond rhoddi G.Gl. p 152/102 ‘It is only natural to him to give’.

vi. *y naill* (Ml. *y neill*) ‘the one’ is for *ynn eill* in which *ynn =* hymn ‘this’, Ir. *indo* ‘the’ < *sendos* § 164 vi; *eill* < *άλ’ίος* < *άλιος*, redupl. of *άλιος*: Lat. *alius*, Gk. *άλλος*; owing to the wrong division the *y* is treated as the art. 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 *άλιος* itself, Brugmann² Π ii 340.—*y lleill* similarly for *yll all; all* < *άλιος*; pl. *y lleill* with *eill* < *άλιοι*—arall < *άράλιοι*: (Ir. *araile*)
by dissim. for *alātios § 102 iii (2); pl. erreill < *arali; see § 100 iii (2), (3).—Note the contrasted accentuation *al(a)tos > *eill ‘one’; *alātios > arall ‘other’.—un ‘one’ § 75 ii (1).—rhyw < *rijo; rhai < *rhi § 75 v; *rijo- < *pri-o- = -prio- in Lat. proprius: Lat. prīmus, Umbr. prever ‘singulis’, preve ‘singillariter’, Osc. preivatud ‘privato, reo’ (the -v- in these is a suff.); the orig. meaning is ‘proper, particular’.—rhyw syn ‘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- (for *prie, *prai)’ before’ (‘prominent’ > ‘characteristic’), esp. Lat. prīmus.

§ 166. i. ‘Each other’ is expressed by pawb i gilydd or pob un i gilydd, literally ‘each his fellow’ or ‘each one his fellow’.

do y tagnovedwyd pawb o naówn ae giliS w.m. 451 ‘and each of them was reconciled to the other’. Llawn vu pob un wbl y giliS o honont do. 9 ‘Each of them welcomed the other’. (For the form giliS 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 gowydd
Roi golwyr 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 Ioan xiii 34; os bydd gennyg gariaid i’w gilydd do. 35; Byddwch yn eu-frydl do’i gilydd Lrhuf. xii 16; Anherchwch ei gilydd 1 Petr v 14; Anwyllyd carwn ei gilydd 1 Ioan iv 7, see 11, 12. In

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all these cases the 3rd sg. pron. was changed by R.M. (1746) to eich, 'ch, ein.

ii. (1) After yr un in negative sentences i gilydd often takes the place of y llall.

Ac nyt attebei yr un mwy noe gilyð R.M. 211–2 'and neither answered more than the other'.—ny bagiawn yr un oohnun vot y'worth y gilyð II.A. 128 'Neither of them can be away from the other'.

(2) It takes the place of arall after neu 'or'; as ryw ddydd ne'i gilydd D.G. 337 [ne'i (for neu'i) misprinted no'i] 'some day or other'.

(3) It is used instead of arall or y llall after a noun, § 165 ii (1), in such phrases as the following:

O drwe y [= y ĭ] gilyð R.M. 141 'From one evil to another'; o'r pryty y [= y ĭ] gilyð do. 62 'from one time to the other' (i the same on the following day); o'r ysgraft pnyg gilyð s.G. 125 'from one barge to the other'; o'r mor yw y [gilyð] W.M. 180, o'r mor py[=py ĭ] gilyð R.M. 83, o'r mor bwy gilyð R.P. 1263 'from sea to sea'.

Da iawn y goyr dan y gwydd
Droi gwledyn 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 chèile, the exact equivalent of pavob i gilydd, is used in the same way. The Breton expression is ann eil égîlê (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 rae Davyt awch kilyt kilywch P.M., M.A. i 280 'before David your comrade stand aside'. Dwo y Cheli vu y chilyð B.D. R.P. 1251 'God her Lord was her companion'. Also in the proverb Ch(w)echach buyt 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 mi af yno fy hun 'I will go there myself' or 'I will go there alone'. After gen.
prefixed or infixed pronouns it means 'own', as fy llwyfr fy hun 'my own book'.

(3) *fy hun, dy hun, etc. always stand in an adverbial case, meaning literally 'by myself', etc.; they do not replace a pronoun or nominal element, but supplement it. Thus euilkum 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 Iadd ei hun Act. xvi 27; cf. i loan i 8; Iago i 22; 2 Tim. ii 13; efe a'i dibrisioddl ei hun Phil. ii 7; similarly arn at dy hun i Tim. iv 16 (not *ar dy hun); ynddo ei hun Es. xix 17 (not *yn ei hun); drostum e-hunein a.L.A. 37 (not *dros e hunein), etc. The reflexive *ym- counts as a pronoun: *ymrodi e-hun A.L.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 Iadd 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 mî 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 nyth archaf inker y neb gofyn 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 b.cw. 68 'that there is on this side none but myself'; yn uch no my-hun A.L.A. 67 'higher than myself'.—When put at the head of the sentence fy hun etc. are followed by the adverbial rel. y (yð, yr), as vy hun yr af i.d. 35 lit. '[it is] myself that I will go'; canys et hunan y gelwais ef, ac y bendithiars, ac yr amheirs ef Es. li 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 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 hunan is not merely accentual. Before u it may represent either *s- or *su-; thus hun may be from *su'oinom < *sue oinom (limiting accusative); the reflexive *sue might stand for any person at first (Brugmann2 ii ii 397), but personal pronouns were afterwards prefixed, thus *me su'oinom > my hun. The u in Ml. mu etc. is due to assim. to the u of hun.

§ 168. i. (1) Subst. pawb 'everybody'. Though sometimes treated as pl., e.g. pawb a debygynt w.m. 463 'everybody thought', pawb a'm gadawasant 2 Tim. iv 16, pawb is, like Eng. everybody, properly sg., and is mas. in construction:

Pawb ry-gavas y gyvarws w.m. 470 'everybody has received his boon’. So in a large number of proverbial sayings: Pawb a'i chweddl gantho 'everybody with his story'; Rhydd i bawb i farw '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'; poparth g. 234 beside pob parth 'every part'; o boptu besides o bob tu 'on each side'.

The mutated form bob, by dissimilation of the consonants appears, though very rarely, as bod, in late Ml. orthography bot; as y bot un ohomunt M.l. 3 'to each one of them'. N.W. dial. bod yg un 'each and all', lit. 'and one'; earlier bod ag un M.l. 9, T. i 346.

pob un, pob rhyw § 165 iv, pob cyfryw 'every such', as pob cyfryw orsoleidd Iago 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 of after pob (not by ag 'as' after cyf-, the cyf- is not comparative).

pob kyfryw dyn eithyr Awt r.p. 1245 'every single person but Awd'. Yr rêi hynn oed gyfrywys ... ym pob kyfryw arweu c.m. 10 'these were skilful in all manner of arms'. Pa le i mae Christ? Ymhob cyfrif le c.c. 319 'Where is Christ? In every single place'. Pob cyfrif beth coll. 'every single thing'.—o bob kyfryw wvydeu o'r a rybuchaët ehen s.g. 10 'of all viands which (lit. of those which) he himself desired'. Cf. R.M. 8, R.B.B. 50.

(3) pawb, Ir. cäch, gen. cáich < Kelt. *gʷaqʷos; the second element is probably the interf. and indef. *gʷos and the first, *gʷ-, an adverbial form of the same (Thurneysen Gr. 293).

pob, Ir. each 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. -ã-, § 71 i (2). Similarly Bret. pep < *peup with *eu < -ã-. 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 lyssoed y bwyrc w.m. 6 'all the courts of the earth' (lyssoed being made definite by the dependent gen.).

A wybyd yr holl seint a wnneuthum i yma M.l. 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 ffrdd Ps. xci ii.

A compound of holl of the form hollre M.l. 166, holre do. 165, y rolre (= yr otre) B.B. 71 is used much in the same way, but is rare. The derivative hollol 'entire' is an ordinary adj. following its noun, but is used chiefly with yn as an adverb: a hynnyn yn hollawl M.l. 162 'and that wholly'; cf. Ps. cxxix 8; Gen. xviii 21, etc.
(2) oll. This is always used in an adverbial case (of measure), and generally follows the word or phrase which it limits, though in poetry it may precede it.

Kenry 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 dafy l a.l. i 396 ‘to deny wholly the plea’; Nynt oll Es. liii 6.

It cannot be used in the nom. or acc. case, but is always adverbial, limiting the pronominal element which is subj. or obj., and which must be expressed; thus aethant oll ‘they went wholly’ (not *aeth oll ‘all went’); arnaund oll r.m. i 13 ‘on them altogether’, Mn. W. arnaund 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 hollow the adjectival phrase, see below.)

(3) W. oll < Kelt. *olgod (limiting accus.); Ir. uile < Kelt. *oligos; probably cognate with Eng. all, Germ. all, Goth. alls < *ol-no-s.

The h- of hollow 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.

Hollow seems to be compounded of hollow and gres < *greg- : Lat. greg-; as in camore § 127.

iii. (1) Subst. cwbl ‘the whole’, followed by o ‘of’.

If a dy am dy benn cwbyl o’r govu 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’; kaeswâ kwbil o dŷssesu . . y neuâs s.g. 5 ‘closed all the doors of the hall’; kwbil o’r wirionâs do. 161 ‘the whole of the truth’; yn oll 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. xxxiii 22, 2 Chron. xxxii 31.

(2) Adj. cwbl [soft] ‘complete’.

cwbyl waraidwyd 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 ddiwydwydd 2 Pedr i 5.

It is also used after its noun: kanny by weithret cwbyl a.l. i 526 ‘since there was not a complete act’; cymoddonedd cwbl m.a. i 348 ‘complete reconciliation’.

Adv. yn gwbl, o gwbl ‘wholly’: ac egeyl en kuby l a diлеassant
ACCIDENCE § 169

A.L. i 2 'and others they entirely abrogated'; y byðei eur o gwbyl R.M. 62 [where iron should be] 'there was gold throughout', cf. R.B.B. 280. In neg. sentences o gwbl 'at all' is in common use in spoken W. (pron. o gwbl).

(3) W. gwbl, Corn. cowl, cowal probably represent *cewl § 111 vii (4) < *kom-(p)lu-(s): Gk. πόλις, 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 as guelei kyflawn vyðei oe serch R.M. 117 'such as saw her was filled with her love'; guelet y sawl a velei 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 twy o sawl y òei ysslô 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 bwynt yr sawl viñjoedd ysslô yma, ac o achaws hynny y mae y sawl velineu (hynny) 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 vorynyn racko s.g. 33 'as many maidens [as those] yonder'. Y sawl rhyedawt ac ysslô 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 gueydy byrjær llawer yndi w.m. 21 'and when much has been thrown into it', i.e. much food; llawer mys guir ac gowin b.B. 68 'many who do not know ask it'; a llawer o vein gwerthnewr eirell l.l.A. 166 'and many other precious stones'; llawer a ddichon tauer weddi y cyflawn Iago v 16; fy ngwas cyflawn a gystfawnh à llawer Es. liii 11.

In an adverbial case (of measure) llawer [rad.] before a cpv. and llawer after a cpv. signify 'much' adv.: llawer gwel 'much better'; llawer sawn gwel Phil. i 23 'very much better'; mwy llawer l.l.A. 68 'much greater'; a mwy Wydjon noc ynteu llawer w.m. 106 'and Gwydion [regretted] more than he, much'; mwy oed ef llawer no hymny 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.

*a llawer* damwein a *digion* bot w.m. 28 ‘and many an accident may happen’.

**Llawer merch weddwr o'i pherchen,**
**Llawer gor meun llurig wen.—D.II., tr. 249.**

‘Many a woman widowed of her lord, many a man in a white corselet.’

(3) W. *llawer* < *(p)luueros* formed by adding the cpv. suffix -ero- to *plu-*, *p(a)lu-*: Gk. *πλούς* < *(p)lu-.*

iii. (1) Subst. *lliaws* ‘many, a multitude’; *lluosydd* id.

*lliaws* B.B. 5 (*y = i*); *yn llvyr y guyr* *lluossit* B.B. 66 (*it = y?*).

‘thoroughly does a multitude know it’.

Na ddilyn *lliaws* i *wnethur drwy* Ex. xxiii 2; *lliaws o flynyddoedd* Job xxxii 7. With a dependent genitive: *lliaws dy dosturiaethau* Ps. li i.

(2) Adj. *lliaws* [soft] ‘many a, much’, with a sg. or a pl. noun; this is the noun *lliaws* compounded with another noun. The adj., used as a complement, is Ml. W. *lluossawc*, Mn. W. *lluosog*.

**Lliaws guryaw** r.p. 1216 ‘much suffering’; Ceveis *i liaws awr eur a phali* M. m.a. i 192 ‘I had many a time gold and silk’; *o liaws eirchyd* M.A. i 259 ‘of many suppliants’; *i lios lu* § 71 ii (1); *Mor Lluosog yw dy weithredoedd* Ps. civ 24.

(3) *lliaws* < *pleiosto-ta(t)ys*. The longer forms have *u* as *lluossawc* r.p. 1043, *lluosogrwy* W.m. 34, r.m. 22, *lluosog* in 1620 Bible. These are not formed from *lliaws* but from an old adj. *pleiosto-s*, see § 74 i (2), § 75 iii (3) and § 76 ix (2).

iv. (1) Subst. *peth* ‘some, a certain quantity’.

*Dyvedadwy yw rac llaw o beth o vuche* Veuno e.L.A. 118 ‘[the story] is to be told in what follows of some of the life of Beuno’; ac wrth hau, *peth* a *syrthiodd ar ymyl y fford... a pheth arall*, etc. Luc viii 5–8.

In an adverbial case, *beth* ‘to some extent, for some time’:

*Dir yw in dario ennyd,*

*Ac aros beth gurs y byd.—D.II., w. 120//258 r.*

‘We must tarry a little, and await a while the course of events.’

(2) *peth* is the interrogative pronoun § 163 i (3) used indefinitely (cf. Gk. τίς); from ‘some, something’ it came to mean ‘thing’, and thus became an ordinary noun, pl. *pethai*; see § 163 vi.

v. (1) Subst. *bychydic*, *ychydig* ‘a little, a few’.

*bychydic a dal vy nghyngor i y ti s.o. 43 lit.* ‘[it is] little that
my advice avails to thee’ i.e. my a. is worth little. Pa obei th yseyd y’r porthmyn? Ychydig πλ. 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 ysgu, ychydig hepian, etc. Diar. vi 10; ychydig win i Tim. v 23.—Ychydig bochoda T. A. c 16/13 ‘a few sins’; ychydig ddyddiau Gen. xxix 20; ychydig betbau Dat. ii 14.

(3) Ychydig is for fyhydlig mut. of bychydlic : W. bychod ‘small quantity’, bychoddedd ‘scarcity, poverty’; Corn. boches ‘a little’, bochesog, bochoder ‘poor’, Ir. bocht ‘poor’ : *buk-so-t-, *buk-to-: with Kelt. b- for *p- to Lat. paucus? § 101 iii (2).

(4) Subst. odid ‘a rarity’.

Odit a vo molediw r.p. 1041 ‘a rarity [is he] who is worthy of praise’; ac odit o’r rei hymyn yseyd yn gristonogion πλ. 165 “quarum paucae [lit. paucitas] sunt Christianae”; odid elw heb antur prov. ‘a rarity [is]’ (i.e. there is rarely) profit without enterprise’.

On d odi d ‘probably’, literally ‘excepting a rarity’.

(5) Odi d : Lat. paucus, E. few § 76 ii (3).


Ami iawn waedd am Elin wen, Ami eisiau am elusen.—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’. Ami ddrygau Ps. xxxiv 19, dy ami drugareddu di Dan. ix 15; 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.v.v.

(2) ami < Brit. *ambi-lu- for *ambleus < *mbhl-(y)lu-, with *plu- for *p-lu-: W. llavwr ‘many’, Gk. πολις, 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 Dduw, heb ddim 'without God, without anything'. Also in conditional sentences, as o phecha heb I Ioan ii i 'if any man sin'; in questions; in comparisons; etc.

A derivative nebawd occurs: nebawd B.B. 21, 43 'any one', ny gwyoys nebawt B.T. 19 'no one will know'.

ii. Owing to constant association with negatives neb and dim came to be used in certain phrases for 'nobody' and 'nothing'.

As a rule it is the verb that requires the negation; thus 'he gave me nothing' is logically 'he did not give me anything' ni roes ef imi ddim, since there was no giving. But the verbal idea may be positive, as in 'it is given for nothing'; this has to be expressed by fe'i rhoddir am ddim, where dim has to stand for 'nothing'. dim is thus used as early as the 14th cent.; see IL.A. 60, 89. But there seem to be no Mi. examples of neb 'nobody'.

iii. dim and neb are positive in positive sentences in the phrases—

(1) pob dim 'everything':

Pob dim kyvrein . . . goruc Kelvyð B.D., r.p. 1251 'every cunning thing the Artist made'. Dduw, madd eu bob dim iddaw I.F. m 148/329 'God forgive him everything'. Cf. i 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 aðefvo kyfvinach arghys ò'r nep a vypo y vot yn elyn iddaw IL.A. 26 'he who betrays a lord's secret to him he knows to be his enemy is a traitor'. Cf. IL.A. 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' IL.A. 126.

(3) neb cyfryw [soft] 'any at all', cf. § 168 i (2).

Kanyt oes neb kyfryw rym . . . y gallem ni vynet R.B.B. 178 'for there is no power by which we might go'.

(4) némawr, némor (for *neb mawr), with a negative 'not much, not many, but little'.
ny weleiste eto nemawr o boeneu uffernn ll.A. 154 'so far thou hast seen but little of the pains of hell'.

Adjectival, with neg., nemor ddim 'hardly anything', nemor un 'hardly any one'.
yn cmawr s.g. 27, yn ymor c.m. 55, with prosthetic y § 21 iii.

(5) népell (for *neph pell), with a neg.'not far'.
er nad ywo efe yn ddiau nepell oddiwrth bob un o honom Act. xvii 27; yn epell s.g. 219.

v. (1) dim is probably never an adj.; a noun following it is a dependent genitive, as—

heb dim llwynyð ll.A. 147 'without anything of joy' i.e. without any joy; heb atel gwneuthur dim ies s.g. 37 'without being able to do any good'; na wna ynddo ddim gwath Ex. xx 10; cf. Ps. xxxiv 10.

(2) But before a definite noun or pron. o 'of' is used after dim:

ny wydant dim ohonunt ll.A. 8 'they know nothing of them'; ac nyt oeð dim ohonaw yno r.m. 18 'and there was nothing of him there' i.e. he was not there; ny warandawei dim o'r attep w.m. 53 'he would not listen to anything of the reply' i.e. to the reply.

dim 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.

Odidi Dduw, doed a ddol,
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 dim signifies 'at all', etc. Nae ef' dim ll.A. 48 'not at all'; cf. 1 Cor. xv 29, 1 Thes. v 3.

This adverbial ddim is nearly as frequent in the spoken lang. as pas after a neg. in French.

vi. (1) W. neb, Ir. nech 'any one' (gen. neich) < Kelt. *neg"os: Lith. nekás 'something', nekûrs 'quidam'. It is believed that the *ne- is the neg. particle, so that the meaning was originally neg., and became positive by the use of another neg. in the sentence (cf. Fr. nul). But it is possible that this *ne- is positive, and is a form of the n-demonstrative: Lat. ego-ne, see Walde® 255 (where Lith. ne-kûrs is so explained, though differently in 510).

(2) W. dim : Ir. dim 'something', as in ni di nacca dim, acht is du dim 'it is not from no thing, but is from something'.—The W. dim is written with i in Ml. mss. which distinguish i and y; and dim in "proest" with grym m.A. i 374 shows that its vowel was not y in the
§ 171. PRONOUNS

early 13th cent. The v.n. diddymu is a late 16th cent. word formed from diddim on the false assumption that it stands for diddym as dibin does for dibyn § 77 iii, whence dibynnau; a more correct, and prob. older, form is diddimio M.K. [40]. In the laws dyn didim means 'a man without assets', see A.L. ii 36. Hence we may suppose W. *di-men, *di-men, *di-men, *di- from § 63 vii (5) : Gk. ὁδόμει, ὁδός, ὁδός, ὁδός, Skr. ὁδόμει 'divides, allot, possess' , dinth 'distribution' (E. time < Pr. Germ. *din-mean- 'period' < *di-); heb didim lit. 'without a fraction'. A dimin. (or obl. case) dimyn occurs in kymeint timynn R.F. 582 'every jot' (cf. kymein hun § 106 iii (2)); whence perhaps Mn. bob tipyn (by dissim. mm > bb, which gives pp).

VERBS

§ 171. i. (1) The Welsh verb has three moods, the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative.

(2) The indicative mood has four tenses, the present, the imperfect, the past (aorist or perfect), and the pluperfect.

(3) The subjunctive mood has two tenses, the present and imperfect.

(4) The imperative mood has one tense, the present.

ii. (1) The pres. ind. is often future in meaning. In the spoken language the future is the usual meaning; the present sense is retained only in a few common verbs such as gwela 'I see', clwyaf '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. 193): Vedic kāmāyeta rājā samrāt bhāvātām 'a king would like to be a supreme ruler' = W. carai brenin fod yn benadur, cf. Ni 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 ...]'; χερμαίον ... διὸ δύο γ' ἀνθρώ φέρουν, E 302 = W. maen ... ni chodai deu-ddyn, cf. Ni thynnai saith einioes him 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.
L 14975/107 'seven (men) could not take his life'; θεός γέβιλων... 
άξιόνας... ἐπιοῦ δωρήσατο, K 556 = W. ρηοσαι (plup.) δῶ 
ευπλήσαρ γελειρ ιερί; Vedic yát pácéhuḥ kravyádaṁ kuruyah = W. 
pes pobyt gwnnaent [y tún] yn gniod-ysol (carnivorous), etc. It 
denotes a possible or hypothetical as opposed to an actual thing; cf. 
1 na velum Wms. 508 'Oh that I am unable to see ' i.e. would that 
I saw! The impf. use comes through forms like gwelai 'he could 
see' > 'he saw', as in ef a velei lannerch... ef a velei carw etc. 
w.m. 1. The form oed 'would be' w.m. 17, 1. 29, has passed over 
entirely to the impf. sense, and forms periphrastic impfs. in the 
spoken lang., which does not use the impf. of other verbs in that 
sense. In speaking, we do not say fe safai't dref ar y bryn 'the 
town stood on the hill' as the expression of a fact, but we do say fe 
safai Dafydd yn segur am orian 'D. would stand idle for hours' 
expressing a possibility; we say fe welai rhywbeth 'he saw something' 
(could see), but not fe safai yno 'he stood there' (was standing).

(3) The past is in the vast majority of cases aorist in meaning, 
as it is predominantly in derivation. It may however have a 
perfect meaning, as some verbs have perfect instead of aorist 
forms, as treuliais fy nghloid 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 par-
ticular, contingency; thus doed a ddél 'come what may come', as 
opposed to y byd a ddaw 'the world which will come'.

(6) The impf. subj. is used in dependent clauses only; it either 
stands in the protasis before the impf. ind., or represents the past 
of the pres. subj.

The uses of the tenses can only be dealt with fully in the 
Syntax.

iii. (1) Each tense is inflected for the three persons of the sg. 
and pl.

(2) Each tense has in addition an impersonal form, whose 
implied indefinite subject means 'some one, some, they', Fr. 'on', 
Germ. 'man'; as dywedir 'they say, there is a saying, on dit'.

The impersonal form is generally spoken of as a "passive"; but as 
it takes after it pronouns in the accusative case, it cannot be parsed 
as a passive. Thus fe 'm cerir or cerir fi 'on m'ai'me' (not *cerir i 'I 
am loved'). The older grammarians pretended to inflect it for the 
different persons by adding 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 syn 'he sees a man'; but this is a late use; the soft is rarely found after the 3rd sg. in Early Mn. poets. It arose to distinguish the subject from the obj., but in the case of the impersonal there is no ambiguity. Intransitive verbs including the verb 'to be' are frequently used in the impersonal, and the forms are not felt to be in any way different from transitive impersonals except that a trans. verb requires an object: cychwynnir am ddau 'a start will be made at two'.

The impersonal with its object is generally most conveniently translated into English by a passive with its subject, thus cerir fi 'I am loved'; but this should not blind us to the construction in Welsh.

iv. (1) Each verb has also a verbal noun and most have verbal adjectives.

(2) The verbal noun is not strictly an infinitive; it governs the genitive, not the accusative, case. It may be used, like an abstract noun, with the article or an adj., as the subject or obj. of a verb or the obj. of a preposition; but it is sufficiently distinct from an ordinary abstract noun by reason of certain constructions in which it cannot be replaced by the latter. See e.g. § 204 ii.

(3) Verbal adjectives are used like ordinary adjectives, and have not developed the peculiar uses of participles.

THE REGULAR VERB.

§ 172. i. The regular verb caraf 'I love' is conjugated as follows; Ml. forms are given in spaced type:

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ml. W.</th>
<th>Mn. W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. karaf 1. karwn</td>
<td>1. caraf 1. carwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. kery  2. kerwch</td>
<td>2. ceri  2. cerwch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kar   3. karant</td>
<td>3. cér  3. carant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. kerir</td>
<td>Impers. cerir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## ACCIDENCE

### Imperfect Tense.

<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. karwn</td>
<td>1. karem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. karut</td>
<td>2. karewch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. karei</td>
<td>3. kerynt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. kerit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Aorist Tense.

<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. kereis</td>
<td>1. karassam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. kercest</td>
<td>2. karassawch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. karawd</td>
<td>3. karassant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. karwyd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Pluperfect Tense.

<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. karasswn</td>
<td>1. karassem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. karassut</td>
<td>2. karassewch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. karassei</td>
<td>3. karassynt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. karassit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Subjunctive Mood.

### Present Tense.

<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. kar(h)wyf</td>
<td>1. kar(h)om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ker(h)ych</td>
<td>2. kar(h)och</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kar(h)o</td>
<td>3. kar(h)ont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. kar(h)er</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Imperfect Tense.

<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. kar(h)wn</td>
<td>1. kar(h)em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. kar(h)ut</td>
<td>2. kar(h)ewch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kar(h)ei</td>
<td>3. kar(h)ynt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. ker(h)it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Imperative Mood.

### Present Tense.

<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. karwn</td>
<td>1. carwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. kar</td>
<td>2. kerwch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. karet</td>
<td>3. karent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impers. karer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 173. Pres. Ind.—i. In the 2nd sg. and pl. and the imp.s, a and aw in the stem are affected; thus Mn. W. teli ‘thou payest’, ceni ‘thou singest’, gwrandoewi ‘thou listenest’, gwrandoewch for gwrandoewch ‘ye listen’, gofelir ‘care is taken’, amcenir ‘an attempt is made’.

ii. The 1st sg. ends in -af; in B.B. written -aw, as dywedaw, kynodaw, credaw 82 (= dywedaf, cyfodaf, credaf); in O.W., -am (= aw), as ni choiain 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 -yð = Bret. -ez by loss of -ð, § 110 iv (3); the form -yð occurs in Early Ml. verse: ymwaredit B.B. 19 (where -it = -yð) ‘savest thyself’, digonit ib. ‘committest’, guneit do. 23 ‘makest’; roðð B.T. 57 ‘givest’, mal y kynnulldð yt wesceryð ib. ‘as thou gatherest thou scatterest’. Before di the -ð was lost early: nerthiti ox. gl. hortabere, Ml. W. nerthy di ‘thou strengthenest’ (cf. diweddyð for ‘diwed-duð § 110 iv (2)).

(3) In some expressions in common use forms without an ending occur; thus beside wel dy yna w.m. 36 we have wel dy yna r.m. 23 ‘seest thou there?’ wel dy racc w.m. 59, etc. § 221 iv (2). So os mwn di E.M. 93 ‘if thou wilt’; and dial. fyn di ‘wilt thou?’ glor di ‘dost thou hear?’ Without di we have os mwn 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 dalaf ‘I hold’, dei ‘holds’; -archaf ‘I bid’, eirch ‘bids’; -galwaf ‘I call’, geily; -safaf ‘I stand’, saif; -paraf ‘I cause’, pair, peir; -gannaf ‘I am contained’, v.m. genn ‘to be contained’ (< *ghan assays. 5th pre-hendo, Gk. χαθάω), 3rd sg. gain, see example; in Ml. W. (g)in R.P. 1055, see vi (3) below, also geying by § 106 i (2), whence ng spread to other forms; -agoraf ‘I open’, egyr; -collaf ‘I lose’,
cyll;—torraf 'I break', tyrr, written tyr;—atebaf 'I answer', etyb;—
gwelaf 'I see', gwjfl, in Late Mn. W. gwël;—cynhalaf 'I hold',
cynnail, cynneil;—gwaharddawf 'I prohibit', gwheirdd D.G. 20;—
ataf 'I withhold', eteil;—gwysgaraf 'I scatter', gwoesyr and
gwysaf;—tauraf 'I am or become silent', teu, tau;—(g)adawaf
'I leave', edeu, gedy;—tarawaf 'I strike', terew b.b. 63, tery;—
gw'(a)ntandawaf 'I listen', gwuwrenden, gwrendy;—gosodaf 'I set',
gesyd;—cyraeddaf 'I reach', cyrraidd;—sorraf 'I suck', syrr,
written syr;—somaf (sionaf) 'I disappoint, cheat', sym;—diolechaf
'I thank', diylch;—parchaf 'I respect', peirch b.b. 50, B.T. 17, C.Gr.
d.g. 254;—arbaf 'I spare', erbyd Diar. vi 34, E.P. 269 (but arbed
Es. lv 7);—rhangaf fodd 'I please', reingk bod s.g. 277.

Ni aín o fewn main y nur,
Ni bu 'n f'oes neb un fesur.—T.A., A 14967/91b.

'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 aín d'aur mewn 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;
Amoeth ni reol enau.—G.I.H., tr. 87.

'[He] who is wise is silent; the unwise does not control his man.
Panwynner iši teui hi a teu r.m. 122 'when one wishes it (a certain
harpo) to be silent, it is silent'. fel y tau dafad Es. liii 7 'as
a sheep is dumb'.

O syr, lle gwesgyr gwosgwyn,
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 gw anair ond ennyd;
Ni sym twyll mo bwyll 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 o ddáylch
Gan i chwaer 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', càm 'sings', tâl 'pays', gâd '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 LL. a. 169, D.G. 29, or gall E.P. 259; dialaf
'I avenge', dail D.G. 162, G.Gl., p 108/41 r., dial L.Môn § 186 ii;
dweirddaf 'I laugh', chweirîd r.p. 1240, chweird D.G. 402, L.G.C.
379, Job xli 29, Ps. ii 4; barnn LL. a. 64 'judges', beirn r.p. 1321.
(3) The vowel of the stem, if mutable, is of course mutated when the ending is dropped in the 3rd sg.; thus cyrchaf 'I make for', cyrch; dygaf 'I bring', dwe 'brings'; ceisiwf 'I seek', Mn, W. cohseeks', Ml. kewis, § 81 iii (1). In many cases -o- is a mutation of -aw-, the latter appearing in the 3rd sg., thus toddaf 'I melt', lawdd 'melts'; boddab 'I drown, or am drowned', bawdd 'drowns'; holaf 'I ask', hawf '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', adrawod B.A. 'narrates', later edryd R.P. 1253; halogaf 'I defile' (denominative from halowe, Mn. W. halog), helyc IL.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. gwarchod for gwarchawd metath. for gwarch-adwy; the old 3rd sg. was gwer-choidyw.

v. (1) Verbs with stems in -ha- had the vowel unaffected in the 3rd sg.; the affected forms bowty 'eats', pery D.G. 441 'lasts' are late; the original 3rd sg. of bowty-adf 'I eat' is bowty w.m. 456 'eats', ef a vocytta L.A. 170, and of parh-a is pâr(h)a, as parha B.T. 40 'lasts', ny phara R.P. 1046, W.M. 86 'does not last', ni phara T.A. 6. 236. The accent falls regularly on the penult; and the -h- after it was lost, § 48 ii, as in pâra, but not before changing a media to a tenuis as in bowty 'eats' (: bowyd '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-adf, v.n. neshá-u and nês-adf, v.n. nesu 'to approach' (: nes 'nearer'); the 3rd sg. of the first is regularly nês-(h)a, which, being very naturally taken to be the 3rd sg. of the second, suggested a 3rd sg. ending -(h)a. For exactly the same reasons it became a 2nd sg. imperative ending, and is used as such in all verbs in which it appears in the 3rd sg. pres. ind. In older examples the form is -ha, the -h- hardening a media or remaining as an -h-; such examples survive in Ml. W. side by side with others in which the ending has come to be regarded as -a simply. Thus we find gwata R.P. 1382 'denies', oetta impv. R.P. 1254 'delay', gwatta M.A. i 319a 'denies', echta do. 319b 'flies', tremycca L.A. 150 'despises', poenha do. 28 'punishes', dieuwha do. 147 'ruins' (makes worthless), gwywnea do. 148 'withers', cerðha do. 168 'goes', gweðha do. 165 'beseeems', side by side with gwada R.P. 1256 'denies', oeda impv. do. 1285 'stay', lletyda do. 1254 'lodges', ogana ib. 'satirizes', a gylichyna M.A. i 319b 'surrounds', a boena M.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 huwyda m.a. 148 (hwyd, chwyd 'a swelling'), a ge(i)thiwa ib. (keithiw 'captive'), argyweda do. 166 (argywedd 'harm'), saetha r.p. 1272 'shoots' (saeth 'arrow'), amanca 185 (amecan 'design'), gwaerhae ib. (gwarchae 'fortification'), dilysya ib. dilysa 154 (dilys 'certain'), llaessa 1254 (llaes 'slack'), sura r.m. 123 (sur 'sour'), a gospa m.a. 30 (gosp 'punishment'), gwassanaetha do. 28 (gwasanaeth 'service'), kysyrgolla do. 35 (kysr-goll § 156 i (g)), breinia m.a. i 318a (braint 'privilege'), ystya ib. (ystig 'crushed'), diwedda do. 318b (diwed 'end'), cynnyddu 319a (cynnydd 'increase'), mynycha 319b (mynych 'frequent'), lwydda ib. (llywdd 'prosperity'), a gocha r.b.b. 146 (coch 'red'), kysfle r.p. 1286 (cyf- 'situation'), metha 1253 (meth 'failure').

(4) It is also added to some stems not obviously denominative; thus cerddaf 'I walk, go' has 3rd sg. cerda in Ml. W., see examples above, and in Mm. W., see Dier. ii 28, vi 3, but a gerə b. t. 15; so sathra m.a. 147 'tramples', but sathyr r.b.b. 144; damuna m.a. 148 'wishes' (the noun is damunet 'wish'), traetha b. b. 8 'relates' (noun traethawd 'treatise' < Lat. tractāt-us).

(5) It is added to stems in -i- mostly denominatives; as tykja w.m. 14, Mn. W. tycja 'avails' (tig 'success' < *tu-k-, tεŷ̅a- 'increase') used only in the 3rd pers., § 196 v, llywja r.p. 1285 'govern', Mn. W. llywia 'steers' (llyw 'rudder'), hwylija m.a. i 318a, Mn. W. hwylija 'sails, governs' (hwyli 'sail', cf. Lat. gubernare 'steer, govern'), ciha do. 319b 'recedes' (cil 'back'), rhodia Ps. i 1 (rhawd 'course' < *r̅o-t-, L- grade of r̅εt- 'run'), Mn. W. presywyla 'resides' Ml. W. presswyla m.a. 169 (presswył 'residence'), distrywia (distryn 'destruction'). But some i-stems do not take it; daliaf, deil (not dalia), ceisiaf 'I seek', cais (not ceisia), peidiaf 'I cease', paid (not peidia), meidiaf, beidiaf 'I dare', maiid, baidd, 'dares'.

(6) It is added to denom. stems in -ych-; as gwledycha m.a. 169, m.a. i 318a 'govern', flammycha do. 3186 (flame), except whenych r.m. 123, chwen(n)ych m.a. 73 'desires' (chwant 'desire').

(7) Lastly, it is added redundantly to -ha- itself, as meynhha m.a. i 317b, Mn. W. meynhā 'enjoys', kyt-lawenha m.a. 72, Mn. W. lawenha 'rejoices', dynessaa r.b.b. 148, Mn. W. neshā 'approaches', arwydothaa do. 144, Mn. W. arwydocā 'signifies', Mn. W. glanhā 'cleans', edifarhā 'repents', etc., etc.

(8) A few verbs have two forms, one with and one without -(h)a; as plycea impv. r.m. 97 'fold', plyce b.t. 18 'bends' (plyqaf 'I bend', plyfa 'fold'); tybia D.I.D. tr. 98, tyb T.A. f. 16 'imagines' (tybiat 'I imagine', tyb 'thought, fancy'); a dwylla r.c. ix 5, a dylla m.a. 147 'deceives' (tyyllaf 'I deceive', twyll 'deceit'); gweinyda r.p. 1254 'serves', gweinyd do. 1238; barn iv 2, barna Ps. cxxxv 14.

vi. (1) Sg. 3. -id, used where there was no preverb, is found in Mn. W., and survived in proverb, and rarely in verse; like the fut. -(h)awd it became -(h)id; thus O.W. prinit (without -h-) ox. 22b.
'buys'; Ml. W. ottid b.b. 89 'falls' (of snow), meccid do. 90 'nourishes'; Trenght golut, ny threeingk molut b.b. 1082 'wealth perishes, fame perishes not'; Tyfdd maban, ny thyf i gadachan 'an infant grows, its swaddling cloth does not grow'; Dirmycid merch...wir ni velo G.gr. p 77/194 'a woman despises a man whom she does not see'.

-ýd occurs in -ýð (rh. with byt 'world') b.p. 1055 'goes'. It seems to be confused with -id in megyt, meckyt b.p. 1029 'nourishes', gyltychyt do. 1032 'wets'.

(2) An ending -(h)awd of the 3rd sg. occurs in Early Ml. W. with a future meaning: bithaud (≡ byðhaud) b.b. 7 'will be', ñeddawd (dd ꞌ= tt for dh) do. 58 'will run', direachauð do. 61 'will arise', parahaud do. 100, parahaud b.t. 23 'will continue', gynhawt 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', briuauð do. 58 'will be broken'.

There are traces of a 3rd sg. in -ýð, as ny wneyð swir ny ein ymro b.p. 1055 'he who does not do justice will not be suffered [lit. contained] in a country'; kyn noc y daow rong y ñwylaw y gwesgeryð do. 1049 '[it is] before it comes between his hands that he scatters it'. This is quite distinct from -ýd above, and comes, as seen, after relatives.

There is no sufficient ground for the assumption, Arch. Camb. 1873 153, of a 3rd sg. -haw; for chaffaw b.b. 6 = chaffaf 1st sg., see ii above, gwnaw sk. 126 is an error for gwnahs b.t. 16 l. 2; a wnað b.t. 30 l. 18 is prob. a sc. error for wnaðt; the other examples are from untrustworthy texts.

(4) In the dialects an ending -iff, in Gwynedd -ith, is in common use. D. 85 regards it as falsely deduced from caiff, 'Vt Ceriff pro Cor, Periff pro Pair...Quæ nunquam sine indignatione audio.' (As -iff is not a syllable in caiff the suggested deduction is improbable.)

vii. Beside the usual -wn of the 1st pl., we seem to have a 1st pl. pres. -en once in the O.W. cef iben juv. sk. 'we drink together'.

viii. The affection of the stem vowel in the 2nd pl. cer_UC shows that -wch must be for -ywch § 26 vi (5). A trace of this form occurs in chedywch l.M. 157 'ye keep' dissim. for *cheddywch; the usual form is cedwch for cedywch: cadwaf 'I keep'.

ix. (1) Corresponding to the 3rd sg. in -haut, a 3rd pl. in -hawnt occurs rarely in the earlier periods: cuinhaunty juv. gl. defleb(unt), gwnahauñt b.t. 13 'they will make'.

(2) In O.W. a 3rd pl. pres. -int occurs, as limmint juv. gl. tendont, scamnhegint juv. gl. levant, northeint juv. gl. armant. Some examples occur in the early poetry: divvissint kedwyr...mi nyd aw b.b. 108 'warriors hasten...I go not'; vyð...pan ñyorð(ý)yyn b.t. 13 'will be when they conquer', disceyynn ib. 'they will descend'.

x. òr 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 ii (2): tirran (≡ tyrren) b.b. 2 'they must', dygan ib. 'they bring', darparan y 2
do. 5 'they prepare', *vidan (≡ wydan) ib. 'they will be'; other tenses: 
denthan do. 2 'they came', *wenathan do. 4 'they did', *darvan do. 6 'they perished', *cuitin (≡ cujyyn) do. 95 'they fell'. The -i is lost in the 
spoken language.

x. (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', *fobahtar b.t. 16 'there will be flight', *dyhawr 
ib. 'there will be vengeance', *dyrehawr do. 33 'will be mustered', 
agawr w.m. 456 'will be opened'; *Dygyff yr oðaw a garawr b.b. 
1062 'it is hard to promise what is loved'; Heul yr Ionawr ny mat 
*velawr, M(a)wrth a Whefrawr ac *diałowr b.b. 970 'Sun in January 
is not good to be seen, [in] March and February there will be retribu-
tion for it'.

(2) The ending -(h)er has a fut. ind. meaning in Early Ml. W., as 
moch guelher y niwer b.b. 2 'soon will the host be seen'; *nyth atter 
ti y mæwen w.m. 457 'thou shalt not be admitted'.

(3) In the early poetry an impersonal in -itor, -etor, -ator, -otor 
occurs: *kenhitter kivrn b.b. 52 'horns will be sounded', *canhator b.t. 
75 'will be sung', *megitoor b.b. 62 'will be brought about', *rëwinetoor 
b.t. 68 'will be ruined', *traethator, *molhator do. 23, *brithotter b.b. 33 
'are variegated'. Forms in *etawr also occur: *dygetawr b.t. 10 'will 
be brought', *galwettawr 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 wyddud, atebud rhyming with mud in D.G. 460; but 
udu di became -it ti § 111 ii, § 77 ix; hence Late Mn. W. carit. The 
-i- not being original does not affect the -a-; cerit is an artificial 
form: "secunda sing. fit etiam sine mutatione vocalis, & fortasse rectiùs, 
Carit" D. 89. In the dialects the vowel of the 2nd pl. is introduced, 
as caret; and this debased form occurs in recent writings.

ii. In the early poetry a 3rd sg. -i is found, affecting -a- in the 
stem (as well as the usual -ei, not affecting); thus ef gelwi b.a. 22 'he 
called', ef leiddi ib. 'he slew' (beside pan elci ib. 'when he went'), ny 
cheri do. 26 'he loved not' (beside ef carei ib. 'he loved'), eidduni do. 
16 'he desired', klywgi ib. 'he heard', a weli 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 arti-
ficial. 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 terfyynen' 
L.G.C. 244 'they would not end him' (usually L.C.C. has -yn(t); a 
bertynt 186, a'm ceryn' 206). In Late Mn. W. the re-formed -ent 
became the usual ending, though -ynt remained in use in poetry, e.g. 
E.F. 36, 287, 316.

(2) In Ml. W. a re-formed 3rd pl. -eint, with the vowel of the 3rd
§ 175. Aor. and Plup. Ind.—i. The 3rd sg. aor. has a number of endings:


(2) -as, in cavas 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, bradas, tycyllas B.B. 81 ‘betrayed, deceived’, creas G. M.A. i 196 ‘created’, gallas B.V. do. 372 ‘could’. In cavas it survived in Early Ml. W.:

Pwy mewn gacaf 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 diceones Juv. sk.

wrought, rotes (t ≈ 8) B.B. 42, rodes w.m. 9 ‘gave’, Torres W.m. 94 ‘broke’, arhoðs do. 47 ‘waited’, ffoës R.M. 152 ‘fled’, ymhoeles R.B.B. 199 ‘returned’. It is common in Ml. W., more especially in the earlier period: ffoës D.G. 61, siomes 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 rheos, toes.—Contrary to analogy it replaced -as in gwelas in Late Ml. and Early Ml. W., as gwelas R.B.B. 130, D.G. 279, T.A. g. 235.

(4) -is is added to stems having -a- (which it affects to -e-), or -aw(- > -ew-): tresghis B.B. 21 ‘perished’, edewis do. 43 ‘kept’, erchis M.p. 2 ‘bade’, dienghis w.m. 56 ‘escaped’, peris do. 57 ‘caused’, ettellis (l-l, vb. ataliæf) R.B.B. 174 ‘withheld’, cynhellis (l-l, vb. cynhaffaf) do. 257 ‘held’, edewis R.M. 169 ‘left’, edewis R.B.B. 171 ‘promised’. Also dechreu w.m. 27, R.M. 17 ‘began’ (beside dechreuwys w.m. 413, R.M. 267). It is occasionally met with in Early Ml. W., as gadewis 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) -wys is perhaps the commonest ending in Ml.W.: pechuis B.B. 41
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'sinned', quisvis do. 43 'wore', treulws w.m. 9 'spent', cyrchwys ib. 'made for', medyliwys do. 10 'thought', diffyliwys do. 12 'failed', trigwys R.M. 92 'resided', gallywys do. 108 'could', mynwys R.B.B. 200 'desired'. It was simplified early to -ws § 78 i (2), as bendigos R.B. 36 'blessed', fruinchwyn (read -clymynus) do. 93; cerdws § 14/6 R. (mid-13th cent.) 'walked', cladws § 14/14 R. 'buried', kemerrws § 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.

Hadlyad liv huddol o dwys,
Huddion a'i hadeilws.—D.G. 447.

'Perished colour enchantingly beautiful, it is enchanters that built it.'

(6) -t in -t-aorists, see iii (1).

ii. (1) The above are strictly stem-forming suffixes, with no personal ending, added to the pres. stem. The 1st sg. has -as affected to -eis; 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 Mn. W. -ass-, -yss- and -ss-, Mn. W. -as-, -ss-.

(2) -ass- and -yss- are not sharply distinguished: thus dywedassam R.M. 44 = dywedysam w.m. 61 'we mentioned', collysam R.M. 52 = collyssam w.m. 72 'we have lost', cilyssant, torrassant R.M. 36 = cilyssant, torryssant w.m. 52 'they retreated, they broke'. Both forms occur throughout the Ml. period, -ass- enroaching 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', cymersant w.m. 169 (= cymerassant R.M. 235) 'they took', adcorssant B.B. 46 'they returned', ymadawssam H.M. ii 292, W.L.A. 148 'we left', cylwssant w.m. 33 'they heard', dechreuassant do. 41, 72 'they began', beside dechreuysyaant 44. In Mn. W. it is regularly found in gwelsom, and always after -aw- as gwrandausom; sometimes in other cases, as talsom, cymersom. 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: doethoach 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 deliesset Tewun . . . vob Duw . . . ym derfyr echwyd 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) ib.; also -yl, as keressyt R.P. 1168, preghethysit (/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. 1, W.M. 120, R.M. 196 'sang' (not cænt as wrongly assumed by some recent copyists), gwant R.M. 81, W.M. 111 'pierced'; *-er-t- regularly becomes -yrth § 65 iii (2), hence diffirth, kymirth B.B. 40
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'saved, took', with a-affection differth B.B. 213, kymerth W.M. 9, see § 181 vii (x).

(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', ceurnost b.b. 21 'thou hast sung'; gweint m.a. i 194a 'I charged' (in battle).

iv. (1) The impersonal, like the 3rd sg., has various endings. Verbs which take -as, -es, -is, -wyd 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 gwaelat w. 51, r.m. 36 'were (was) seen'. In the old poetry it is seen in other verbs, as artsad (t = 8) B.B. 23 'was blackened' se-suinaid ib. 'was conjured (?)' (redupl. perf.)

(3) -ed, after -o-, -oe- : anvomet w.m. 84 'were sent', oillet do. 472 'was lost', dodet do. 32 'was put', rodet do. 33 'was given' Mn. W. rhoddded f.n. 28, poened c.c. ii, hoelied p 49/54b, etc.

It is also found in ganet w.m. 28, Mn. W. ganed 'was born'; and in Early Mn. W. gweled D.E. li 163/119 'was seen' for Ml. gweleat, like gweles for gwaellas i (3); Mn. W. fixed m.a. i 373, llased do. 220.

(4) -id, after -a-, -aw- : y delit ... ac y carcharwyd b.b.B. 338 'was caught and imprisoned', edewit w.m. 58 'were left', edewit r.m. 162 'was promised'. Only the context, as seen in the first example, shows that this is not the imperf., which ends in -id in all verbs. In Mn. W. -id aor. gave place to -wyd to avoid the ambiguity: dalwyd 'was caught', gada(w)wyd 'was left'.

(5) -wyd, as in magwyd w.m. 33 'was reared', gollwyngwyd, tydshawyt do. 25 'was released, was set free', cyweirwyd do. 26 'was prepared', treulwyd ib. 'was spent', gommenwyd 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. caud § 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. p 67/277 r.; klas D.E. J 17/478 r. 'was buried', usually clawyt w.m. 89; gwys D.G. 236 'is known'.

Ef a'm llas i a'm nasin
Yr awr y llas yr iarll hwn.—G.Gl., c. i 193.

'I was slain and my nation the hour that this earl was slain.'

(7) Some verbs take -pwyd, which is generally added to the perf. or aor. stem; thus aethpwyt w.m. 59 'there was a going', deulhpwyd do. 141 or deothpwyt do. 96 'there was a coming', gweathpwyt 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), gwaed are also found.

Other examples are ducpwyd w.m. 28 'were brought' (perf. st. duga-
§ 194 iii), gorsepwyd w.m. 452 'was done', clwysepwyd r.b.b. 178 'was heard', dehexepwyd s.g. 291, canwpwyd § 182 iv (4).

It is added to the present stem in dalpwyd r.b.b. 388 'was caught', kynnicpwyd do. 398 'was offered', gatpwyd do. 399 'was left', dywetpwyd w.m. 52 beside dywespwyd do. 189 'was said'.

v. (1) The pluperfect is formed by adding the personal endings of the imperfect to the aorist stem.

The imper. -it and 3r. pl. -yn affect -aw- in the penult, thus adewssynt r.b.b. 180 'they had left', edewssit r.m. 288 'had been left'. But -ass- usually remains unaffected: buassyst w.m. 86 (beside buessyst r.a. 19) 'they had been', anvonassit r.b.b. 306 'had been sent', mynassit r.m. 13 = mynysst w.m. 20 'had been desired', collassyt r.m. 42 = collassynt w.m. 60. D.G. 279 has dygesynt (if weles before it is the correct reading; if welas, it would be dygasyst); the plup. of this verb is often syncopated, tygassun etc. D. 134.

(2) Some verbs have a plup. formed by adding oedwn, oedut etc. to the aor. stem: cauosseodun etc. § 188 i (7), foessod § 186 iii, as well as athoaed etc. § 193 vi (5).

(3) An imper. of the plup. formed by adding -adoe8, -ydoe8 to the pres. stem occurs in some verbs: ganadoed § 197 'had been born', awawadoed g.c. 122 'had been promised', managadoed m.a. ii 103 'had been mentioned', magadoet, defnytadoed (t = δ) 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 nothtyf 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 gwnaho b.t. 16, gunelhont r.b.b. 60.

In Early Mn. W. the tenuis generally remained, and survived later in a few expressions as gato in na ato Duw 'God forbid': gadaf 'I permit'. But from the 16th cent. the ind. stem has mostly been used, and the media restored, as in Dyn a godo Duw'n geidwad S.T. e.r. [375] 'A man whom God raises as a saviour'.

(2) Some verbs have special subj. stems, as el- : af 'I go', etc. § 193 vii; b- : wyf 'I am' § 189; Early Ml. W. duch, gwares § 183 iii (1).

ii. The ending of the 3rd sg. pres. is -o : talo w.m. 9 (: talaf 'I pay'), adnuoppo do. 36 (adwaen § 191), dycco do. 465 (: dygaif 'I bear'). This is a simplification of -oe, which survives in creddoe (ad = tt ≤ dh) b.b. 53 (: credaf 'I believe'), see § 78 i (1). The form -wyf is a variant of -oe § 183 ii (1), and the former not uncommonly occurs in Early Ml. W., as gwelehy r.b.b. 74 'may see', achupey do. 75 (: achubaf 'I seize'), notty do. 76 (: nodaf 'I specify'), guledichuy do. 59 'may rule', canuwi do. 48 'may sing'.

iii. (1) The 1st sg. ends in -wyf: cattwyf w.m. 125 for *catwyf (: catwaf 'I keep'), ymgaffwyf a ib. 'I may meet', etc. This is the usual form in Ml. and Mn. W. The occurrence of -of is compara-
tively rare: gwiscof w.m. 97 (= gwisgwyf b.m. 71), cysegof h.m. ii 137, gosynnofd o. 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 elevynt B.A. 2, 3 ('af 'I go'), and -ent, as pan venoent 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 : diwycom, digonhod B.B. 30, crottoch b.m. 131.

(4) The impers. ends in -er; but there are examples of a form in -wynt: rothwynt b.m. 1 for the usual roder 'may be given'.

iv. The 2nd sg. ending is -ych: dochych w.m. 4 'thou givest' (mayest give), gwyppych do. 14 'thou knowest', gellych do. 151 ('gallaf 'I can').

In Late W. a dialectal form -ech sometimes occurs, § 16 iv (2) (β), as llethuech Ruth i 16, gweddlich 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 -ost has been written; in Wm's verse Marchog, Iesu the last line Tyrd am hynny maes o law 849 appears in recent hymnbooks as Pan y byddost ti gerllaw.—geltyt Z.E. 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.) bei dywettut ti . . . (ind.) minheu a dynedwm 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 deil 'he holds', dal 'hold!' tau 'is silent', taw 'be silent!' pair Zech. x 1 'causes', piwr Ps. xxv 4 'cause!'

(2) Verbs which have -a in the 3rd sg. pres. ind. take it also in the 2nd sg. impv.: kerda w.m. 83, r.m. 60, llamnya w.m. 25, r.m. 16, etc., see § 173 v.

ii. (1) The 3rd sg. ends in -ed: kymneret w.m. 30, r.m. 19 'let her take', act un w.m. 13, r.m. 9 'let one go', godaued, dychedled Es. iv 7.

(2) A 3rd sg. in -id added to the subj. stem is also met with: elhid b.b. 101 ('af 'I go'), rothid do. 93 'may he give', gorrhleir Dwo h.a. 26 'may God ward off', Trowyr (≡ try-wyr), getid Dwo'r ieuaf Gl. m 146/185 'three men, God spare the youngest', getid Mair D.N. c. 154, Telid Dwo iddlynt M.K. [viii] 'let God repay them'.

iii. The 3rd pl. ending is -ent: diskynnent w.m. 22 'let them descend', katvennt 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: gwybyddiant Ps. lix 13 'let them know', dychwelant do. 14 'let them return'. This is a late re-formation following the analogy of the 1st and 2nd pl. which are taken over from the pres. ind. In spite of the use of
this form in the Bible, the older form persisted in the late period: Angylion doeun... Rhoeun 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. 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-t; pl. 1. -o-më, -o-mô, 2. -ë-te, 3. -o-nti.

Athematic: sg. 1. after a vowel -m, after a cons. -m, 2. -s, 3. -t; pl. 1. -më, -mô, 2. -te, 3. after cons. -ent, -nt, after vow. -nt.

(3) Middle voice (medio-passive); 1st and 2nd pl. omitted.

Primary.—Thematic: sg. 1. -o-mai, -ôi, 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.
The characteristic of the primary endings is final -i. The
difference in the sg. between primary thematic and athematic forms
may have arisen by phonetic change in the parent language; thus we
should expect themat. sg. 2. -esi, but (though Skr. has bhār-asti) the
Ar. form seems to have been -iis; possibly by metath. and compensatory
lengthening, but this is quite uncertain.

iv. Mood and Tense Stems.—(1) The present stem was rarely
the simple root. In most cases it was either the reduplicated root,
the root with thematic vowel, the root with stem-forming suffix, or
the root with the infix -n- or -ne-.

The present stem with primary endings formed the pres. ind.; as
*dī-dō-mi (Gk. δίωμι) 'I give', √dī-; *bher-o-ni (Gk. Dor. φέρωντι)
'they bear', √bher-.

The present stem with secondary endings, and with the augment
before it, formed a past, as *ē bher-o-m (Gk. ἐφερόν) 'I bore'. This
augmented past is called imperfect, because it is imperfect in meaning
in Gk. In Skr. it is merely a past.

(2) The stem of the s-aorist was formed with -s- (athematic); of
the future with -e- or -se- (thematic); of the optative with -jē- 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 līg-o-m (> Gk. ἔληρον), √leig-;
this may be called the thematic aorist;—secondly, F-grade of √ (at
least in sg.), athematic, as *ē bheid-ẹ (> Skr. ābhedam), √bheid- 'split';
this is called the root-aorist.

v. The Augment was a separable accented preverb denoting past
time. It was lost entirely except in Gk., Armenian and Indo-Iranian.

The augment is always followed by forms with secondary endings.
These forms were also used without the augment; they are then called
injunctive; thus Skr. Ved. bhārat 'bore', Gk. Hom. φέρε 'bore' <
Ar. *bhere-t beside impf. ābharat, ἐφέρε < *ē bhere-i. Injunctive forms
are either past or pres. in meaning; the augment makes them definitely
past.

The Welsh Verb.

§ 179. Pres. Ind.—i. In Ar. the verb was unaccented when it
followed a preverb such as a negative particle, or a preposition later
compounded with it. This was undoubtedly the rule in Kelt. (despite
deviations in Ir.), as it was in Italic. In the pres. ind. in Kelt. in
the 3rd sg. the accented verb had the primary ending, that is, the
regular present ending; but the unaccented verb had the secondary
suffix, that is, the injunctive form. Thus the W. proverb Trenghit
golut, ny threeingk molut § 173 vi (1) represents Kelt. *traskō-t ūo...,,
nē traskō-t ūo... 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 vocal had F-grade in the sg., R-grade in the pl., as in Gk. ἰστημι < *si-sthā-mi, pl. 2. ἰσταρε < *si-sthō-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. *di-dō-mi 'I give' > Kelt. *(p)ró (di-)dā-mi > Brit. *rō-da-me > W. rhōdāf 'I give'; — (2) Ar. *dhū-dhē-mi 'I put' > Kelt. *(p)ró (di-)dī-mi > Brit. *rō-dī-me, which would give W. *rōdīf 'I put'. But the latter ending was rare, and was supplanted by -af, the result being, in this case, that two verbs became one: rhōdāf 'I give, I put'. The reduplicating syllable was probably lost by haplophony. Only the vowel of the syllable dropped in dodaf 'I give, I put'. The introduction of -h- before the ending in Ml. W., where not etymological as in trenghtīt (ngh < nok), is analogical, and partly artificial. The second form tended to oust the first in this case, as seen in O.W. prihūt 'buys' for *prinhu-t < Brit. *prinā-ti : Ir. cren(a)id ; see § 201 i (4). The -īd form with the initial of the affixed pron. fo, thus *-īd-f, gave *-it-f and then -ōf, the dial. ending, by loss of the t as in the 2nd pl., see vii. The West Gwyn. -ith has recent th for f.

Ml. W. -yd in ēy, § 173 vi (1), is from *ēti < *-ē-tāi the middle 3rd sg. ending: Gk. φέρετα; see § 193 x (1).

(2) But the usual form of the 3rd sg. in W. is the stem without or with vowel affection; this comes from the unaccented injunctive form; thus cār loves < Brit. *kara-t; rhýdd 'puts' < Brit. *rō-dī-t. The latter, being more distinctive, spread; thus rhýdd 'gives' instead of *rhōdd < *-rō-da-t.

iv. (1) The Ar. thematic endings *-ō, *-ēs, *-ēit would become *-ū, *-īs, *-īt in Kelt.; and these in W. would all drop after affecting the vowel. The 1st and 2nd sg. so formed were lost because they were not distinctive; but prob. the 3rd sg. added to the number of affected stems forming the W. 3rd sg.

(2) The thematic injunctive ending -et of unaccented verbs dropped without affecting the vowel; thus Ar. inj. *bher-e-t 'bears' gives Kelt. *kōm beret > W. cymer 'takes', and Kelt. *āti beret > W. adfer 'restores', etc. It is found not only in compound, but in simple verbs, as cēl 'conceals' < *kelet, rhēd 'runs' < *rētēt, etc., because
the unaccented was, as in the case of athematic stems, the commoner form; e.g. ni chêl grudd gystudd 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 -i- conjugation; as rhedid car gan anwaered prov. 'a car will run down hill'. (So Ir. berid for *beri, with anal. -d.)

v. The W. 3rd pl. -ant is from Kelt. -anti < Ar. *-o-nti which was common to the -a- and -i- 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, Ml. W. -ynt, may represent the athem. *-enti or the middle *-ontai, more probably the latter; -(h)awnt is certainly formed after -(h)awt.

vi. The 2nd sg. -yd (which is the oldest form of the ending -y, later -i) seems to come from accented forms of iteratives in -êi.e, or denominatives and deverbatives in *-ie- the commonest stem-suffix in the Ar. languages. In Kelt. from *karo-s 'dear' the *-e-denom. would be *karê-iê, *karê-iêi, *karê-iêit; all these would give W. keryê. But the 1st and 3rd sg. had more distinctive endings, and -yd 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 (Ml. Bret. -et); to this was added the initial of the affixed pron. chwi, thus *caret-chê > carewch by loss of t, cf. iii (1); at this stage a 1st pl. *caren was formed on the analogy of the 2nd pl., with the initial of the aff. pron. ni 'we'; this form is attested in O.W. iohen, and survives to this day in West Gwyn. in caran beside caron '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 *cerywch > cerwch 'ye love' subsequently the vowel of this ending intruded into the 1st pl., giving caron '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 *-rs, 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. ferrar 'on porter', pres. ind. ier 'on va', Oscan subj. sakrafir (with ultiumam for object) 'cysegri'. Secondly it was added to the 3rd sg. or pl. middle, and then extended
to other persons in deponent verbs in Ir., and deponent or passive in Lat., as Lat. *itur, Osc. vincetur 'vincitur', Umbr. *emanturn 'emanturn'. On the impersonal use of the Lat. passive see Ernout MSL. xv 273–333.

(3) In Kelt. the ending may be taken to have been *-re (also *-ro ?). The Brit. shorter forms of the -ār-, -ār-, and thematic conjugations in the pres. were *-āre, *-ēre and *-e-re respectively. These give the W. pres. imper. -ator, -ēr 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 -avor, 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, *-ī-to-re and *-e-to-re. These give the W. -ator or -otor, -itor and -etor. The dental should be -d-, which occurs in dygedawr b.t. 75; the -t- is partly due to the intrusion of subj.-h-, partly a mistranscription of O.W. -t-, as these forms were obsolete at the dates of our mss.—Since the above was written an O.W. example has come to light in cephitor cp., with one -t- as in retec ib., Ml. W. ōredc.

ix. (1) The reason why the Welsh pres. has always had a fut. meaning is that it contains beside the pres. the Ar. -e- future, generally called subjunctive. This tense is formed by adding the thematic vowel e/o to the pres. stem. In the case of thematic stems the effect was to lengthen the thematic vowel throughout. In the sg. this would make no difference (Gk. subj. φέρω, ind. φέρω; the subj. φέρης is a re-formation; orig. *θηρείς would give *φέρεις as in the ind.). In long-vowel stems the added thematic vowel simply converted them to thematic stems, as Gk. subj. διδόσ beside ind. διόμου; this introduces no new element. The 3rd pl. fut. *-ōnti (Gk. Dor. φεροντι) 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 *-ō-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 *es-e-; the former gives the Ar. pres. *ēs-mi, *ēs-(s)i, *ēs-ti ( > Skr. āṣmi, āsī, āsti); the latter gives the Ar. fut. 1. *ēs-ō ( > Lat. esō), 2. *ēs-ēs, 3. *ēs-ēt, injunctive *ēs-et ( > Skr. āsati, Lat. estī).

The W. pres. is a mixture of pres. and fut. forms. The Kelt. fut. *ēsū, *ēsūs, *ēsūt would give *oe for the three persons; of this a trace survives in oe-f b.b. 50 "I am ". The pres. sg. 2. *ēsē ( < Ar. ēsē) and 3. inj. *eset would give *wy, whence sg. 1. wy-f, 2. wy-t, 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. *ēsū survives in W. ys, which has become impersonal. The W. 3rd pl. ynt (for *hynt) comes from Ar. 3rd pl. pres. *s-enti (*s- is Y-grade of ēes-). The W. 1st pl. ym (Ir. ammi)
§ 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 *-iā-, *-iē- with secondary endings.

ii. (1) In athematic verbs the suffix *-iē- was F-grade and accented in the sg.; the preceding vowel had R- or V-grade; thus 3rd sg. Gk. τὸ εἶναι < *dhl-dhe-jēt (εἰ Rn of εἰ), Skr. dādhyāt < *dhe-dh-ēt, the Skr. preserving the original accentuation.

(2) In Kelt. the ē became ī, so that the forms would be *-a-īt, *-a-īt; these were levelled as *-i-īt in Brit. and this gives -ai, § 75 iv, v (2); thus Kelt. *kara-īt > W. carai 'would love'. This form would also result from the 1st and 2nd sg. forms *-a-īm, *-a-īs; hence the endings for those persons were selected from thematic verbs.

(3) The consonant stem *es- 'be' gave Ar. *es- (<ti)ēt, which gives Skr. sīyāt or sāyāt, O. Lat. siet; in Kelt. it would be *siīt. Coming generally after a preverb, or after its complement, it was unaressed; and *siiit gives regularly W. (h)oe8 would be, was' § 75 iv (2); the h- is seen in yttō8 < *yd-hoe8 < *ita siiit 'there would be' § 219 ii. The whole tense oedun etc. was built from the 3rd sg.

iii. (1) In thematic verbs the suffix -ēi- had its V-grade -ī-, which formed a diphthong with the thematic vowel, which was always -o-; thus the optative of *bhērō 'I bear' was sg. 1. *bhērō-n > Skr. bhāreyam (for *bhārayam). In Kelt. it would be *bērō-im > Brit. *bērōi-an(n) > W. *cy-mero-mn > cymerwm. The only possible explanation of -wn is that it is for *-wyn, see § 78 i (2); on *oi > wiŋ § 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-thēs. The ending *-thēs (Skr. -thāb) 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 *-iō-; this coming before the accent remains as -ia-; thus in the deponent verb gwmn 'I know' the 3rd sg. impf. is gwye8ad for *gwysa8d regularly representing the 3rd sg. opt. mid. *yōd-ītō.

(2) In long-vowel stems the reduced stem-ending and suffix would thus be *-iō-; by § 63 vii (5) this should give *iō > -ī-, which is the usual form (though other reductions are possible), as in Skr. da-dī-tā < *de-dī-tā, ∨ dīt. Thus the 3rd sg. opt. mid. of Kelt. *karā-mi would be *karā-ī-tō, which gives regularly W. cerid, 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 *-ūr, had gone out of use owing to its clashing with the pres.

implies a Kelt. **esmesi, a confusion of pres. *smesi and fut. *esmesi. The W. 2nd pl. ych is, as usual, a new form made to match.

As bydōf is used for the fut., wūf has lost its fut. meaning except in certain idioms, as yr wūf yno yfory 'I shall be there to-morrow'.
(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 hareudd etc. B.B. 20, which should be *ac yth urvedud etc. ‘and thou wert borne’, etc., where the scribe mistook the impers. for the 2nd sg., which makes no sense if it is active, and we can hardly assume the 2nd sg. to have retained a passive sense.

v. (1) In the 1st and 2nd pl. of athematic stems the Ar. form was *-i%- : *-i-. We can probably assume for Kelt. *kár(a)-/o-me; the m was doubled on the analogy of the aor. ; and post-tonic *xa > xe > e in W., § 65 vi (1); hence W. carem. Similarly 2nd pl. *caret + chw- > karowch, carech.

(2) The 3rd pl. ending was *-jént (for *-jént). The form *a-jént gives W. -i § 75 v (1); as tri ugeint canhwr 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 < *-i%-n/o (or *-ento < *-i%-nt), 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 < *uieid-is-i-m-. Thus Kelt. *kara-siit > Ml. W. karheii.

(2) The plup. is an optative formed from the new Kelt. ss-aorist. Thus Brit. *karassiiit > carassai.

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.


(2) This tense was wholly reconstituted in Kelt., with stem sg. *kárass-, pl. *káress-. The 1st and 2nd sg. were made anew with thematic endings; thus 1. *kárassú, 2. *kárassís (inj. -es). The 1st pl. became *káressammo instead of *kárammon; then followed 2. *káressate instead of *káresse. Unaccented á was shortened in Brit. and Ir. and these formations gave regularly Ir. sg. 1. ro-charus (2. ro-charsai), pl. 1. ro-charsam, 2. ro-charsaid, and W. sg. 1. kereis, 2. kereis + t, pl. 1. karassam, 2. *karassat + chw- > karassavch. The ending of the 3rd pl. was made primary; thus *káressantti > Ir. carsait, W. karassant. As a variant the thematic vowel was brought into the
pl. also; thus Brit. *kārss-o-mmos, *kārss-o-nūi giving W. karassom, karassont; from these followed carasoch.

iii. To the 3rd sg. two things happened. (1) It remained unchanged; thus *kārss > W. *kar, which was extended to karawd to distinguish it from the pres. ; for -awd 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 *kārsset; or with -a- from the pl. as *kārssat. 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 *-īss-; 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 z, the R-grade of the -ē- from which the -ī- is derived.

v. (1) Consonant stems formed the aorist with *-is-, cf. Lat. vid-is-tis, which developed similarly, and gives W. -ysse 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. *kōm bere-iss-at > W. kymerwys, kymerws.

vi. The impersonal forms -ad, -id, -ed, -wyd seem to have been formed on the analogy of the impf. impersonal, with the vowels of the 3rd sg. aor.

vii. (1) The root-aorist, § 178 iv (3), was treated similarly in Kelt. Thus for the root *gan- 'sing' the orig. Kelt. root-aor. would be sg. 1. *kan-π, 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. gomim, g′thn, 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 < *kōm bertet or kymerth < *kōm bertat, § 175 iii (1).

(2) Other examples that survived are from roots ending in gutturals: dyrrreith b. t. 54 'returned' < *do-(p)ro-rek-t-et, √ rež- : W. dyre 'come!' § 193 x (8);—maeth b. t. 74 l. 1 'nursed' < *mak-t- < *māk-, √ māk- : magaf 'I nourish'. The root *yereg- 'work' had sg. 1. *yrek-t-ū, 3. *yrek-t-et giving W. gwrith, gweith; the former occurs in ef gwrith b. t. 26 (1 3rd sg.); the latter seems to occur in gwnaeth [read gw(e)r(e)ith] gwynneith gweith e law b. a. 2 lit. 'work of vengeance wrought his hand'; but this verb (gwnaf) being in the pres. conjugated like of, this tense was assimilated to the perf. of of, and became sg. 1. gweuthum. 3. gwnaeth. The quotation shows that scribes changed old gweith to gwenath, the wrong gweith, 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° in the 1st sg., and L° in the 3rd sg., as Skr. cakāra 'I made' < *gegōra, cakāra 'he made' < *gegōre.—Mt. W. kiglew 'I have heard, he has heard', Ir. ro-chúala, ro-chúalae. The W. form implies the 1st sg. kú-klooy-a : Skr. su-srāva; for the long ū of the reduplicator cf. Skr. tā-tāva, √tey- 'be strong'. See § 194 v (4).

   ii. (1) The following old perfects are 3rd sg. only, and show L°-grade of the root: √ūreg- 'work' gave *u-e-ūrōge > Brit. *u-ūrōge > Mt. W. guoreu, goreu 'did' (ū lost by dissim., āg > eu § 71 iii); — √re- 'run' gives gwa-red-af 'I succour'; perf. sg. 3. *re-rūt-e > Brit. *u-(re)rūtele > Mt. W. gwarawt 'succoured'; — √vet/d- 'say' gives dy-wed-af 'I say'; perf. sg. 3. Brit. *do-yāt-e or *do-yāt-e > Mt. W. dyawaut or dywaut 'said' (unacc. ā shortened § 74; wa : wo § 34 iv).

   (2) √deuk- had R-grade *duk- in the Brit. pres., giving W. dyg-af (: Lat. duco < O. Lat. douco, F°-grade); perf. sg. 1. *du-duuk-a > W. *du-duuc, 3. *du-duoke > W. dy-duuc 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 eistedaf 'I sit', goruwedaf 'I lie', arwedef 'I carry', goth(d)wedefaf 'I overtake', etc., the form of the above perf. is seen in gothwawd w.m. 42 'overtook'; this being re-formed as goruwewadw r.m. 29 (so eistededw w.m. 188, etc.), the -awd seemed to be a 3rd sg. past ending; and was added to suffixless aorists like *kar § 181 iii (1) giving karawd, Mn. W. carodd 'loved'.

   iv. (1) Deponent verbs in Brit. had epirhaphic perfects formed like those of Lat. deponents. Thus √aj- : perf. sg. 1. *aktos esmi > *aktokimin > aethum, euthum; 2. *aktos (e)si > *aktost > aethos + t = aethost; 3. *aktos 'st > *aktosst > aeth 'went'. From these forms 1st and 2nd sg. endings -um, -ost were deduced, and added to other formations, such as the root-aor. keint and the perf. duc. This perf. itself was completed in the pl. by the addition of the aor. endings -am, -awth, -ant.

   (2) The Mt. plup. is sg. 3. aethoed for *aethoed, which represents *aktos(s) siint. The diphthong ae was simplified prob. by dissim. with the diphthong oe. The second perf. athwyf etc. seems to be a new creation formed on the analogy of the plup.

   (3) The impers. llas 'was slain' is an example of this formation. It is not a root-aor. as it has R-grade of √golād-. It is probably a perf. passive; thus *slad-tos (e)st > *slasst-osst > llas 'was slain'. This passive has a pl. illessint b.b. 63 'were slain' which seems to be re-formed like impfs. in -ynt § 174 iii (2), for *lessint < *slasst senti; llædëssint b.a. 9 'were slain' seems to be another re-formate.

   (4) The impers. of the above perf. is formed by adding the impers. *bwynt of the verb 'to be' to the stem; thus aeth-pwynt, etc. This was extended to root-aorists, as *kant-pwynt > kanpwynt, perfects, as duc-pwynt, and presents; § 175 iii (7). The form *bwynt 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 *e-aor.), which gives Italic subj. also: Lat. *fuxit. 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. *vna$hont 61 ll. 14-15.

ii. (1) Stem *karā-se- gives sg. 1. *karāsō > *karāśu > *karāti > 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 > karō, § 75 i (2), (3), § 78 i (1); pl. 1. *kara-so-mos, with m doubled after the aorist pattern, gave kar-hom; pl. 3. *kara-sōnti gave kar-hont.

(2) Impers. *kara-se-re > kar-her § 75 i (2). The form *rothwyre § 176 iii (4) is most probably made from the 3rd sg. *rothwy.

(3) According to the above the -h- belongs to the pl. and impers. only; in the sg., therefore, it is an intrusion. In Ml. Bret. it is not usual in the sg. but occurs regularly in the pl.

iii. (1) In consonant stems the -s- came immediately after the cons.; few examples survive because the conjugation had become vocalic in the indic. — *werek ‘work’; pres. ind. *wrug-at > W. gwyna ‘does’, subj. *yrek-se-t > gwnech B.B. 120 ‘may do’, ny ofyn y néb a gwnech B.T. 64 ‘he asks no one what he may do’; — *deuk-: pres. ind. *duk-at > W. dwoi ‘brings’, subj. *deuk-se-t > duich B.B. 40, later duwech B.T. 28: — *ret-: subj. *yoret-se-t > gwares § 194 ii. The vowel of the root is seen to be F-grade in this tense.

(2) Corresponding to the 3rd sg. gwnech the 2nd sg. *yrek-sūs would give *gwnych; this being re-formed as *gweyn-ych and gwneil-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. cōr ‘love thou’ < Kelt. *kārā; W. kymer ‘take’ < *kōm bere < Ar. *bhere: Gk. φέπε.

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, *-is-to (W. gwystiad, cerid) would give -ed, -id if in the former the accent were shifted to the stem. The 3rd pl. may have been *-en (Corn. *-yns beside *-ens), the form in the impf.; but it was re-formed with the vowel of -ed, rarely of -id as in bint § 189 ii (5).

(2) The 1st and 2nd pl. took the forms of the pres. ind. early; and in the late period the 3rd followed.
§ 185. i. (1) Verbs whose stems end in -o- or -a- (mostly from Brit. -og- or -od- and -ag-) have many contracted forms, more especially in the Mn. language. The following tables show all the possible contractions; the accent is marked in each case, and the accented vowels which are long in the present pronunciation are so marked, all others being short. Forms that are never contracted are distinguished by a hyphen, as parhæ-ais. Any other form may occur uncontracted; thus trö-af as well as tröf occurs in Mn. W.

Exx. tröf for trö-af 'I turn' (paratöf for paratö-af 'I prepare'); parhaf for parhâ-af 'I continue' (glanhaf for glanhâ-af 'I clean').

### Indicative Mood.

#### Present Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tröf</td>
<td>1. tröwn</td>
<td>1. parhaf</td>
<td>1. parhauwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tröi</td>
<td>2. tröwch</td>
<td>2. parhi</td>
<td>2. parhéwch</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. tröj</td>
<td>3. trönt</td>
<td>3. parha, péry</td>
<td>3. parhánt</td>
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(3. paratö-a)

Impers. tröir

#### Imperfect Tense.

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<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tröwn</td>
<td>1. tröem</td>
<td>1. parhauwn</td>
<td>1. parhaém</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. tröut</td>
<td>2. tröech</td>
<td>2. parhaut</td>
<td>2. parhaech</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. tröi</td>
<td>3. tröent</td>
<td>3. parhai</td>
<td>3. parhäent</td>
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Impers. tröid

#### Aorist Tense.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tröis</td>
<td>1. tröesom</td>
<td>1. parhæ-ais</td>
<td>1. parhásom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tröist</td>
<td>2. tröesoch</td>
<td>2. parhæ-ist</td>
<td>2. parhásoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tröes, trödd</td>
<td>3. tröesant, -ont</td>
<td>3. parhâ-odd</td>
<td>3. parhásant,-ont</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Impers. trö-wyd, tröed

#### Pluperfect Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tröeswn, etc.</td>
<td>1. parháswn, etc.</td>
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</table>
### Subjunctive Mood.

**Present Tense.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
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<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tró-wyf</td>
<td>tróm</td>
<td>parhá-wyf</td>
<td>parhá-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tróch</td>
<td>tróch</td>
<td>parhé-ych</td>
<td>parhá-och</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tró</td>
<td>trónt</td>
<td>parhá-o</td>
<td>parhá-ont</td>
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</table>

**Impers. tró-er**

**Impers. parhá-er**

### Imperative Mood.

**Present Tense.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.</th>
<th>1. trówn</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>1. parháwn</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. tró</td>
<td>2. trówch</td>
<td>2. pára</td>
<td>2. parhéwch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2. paratā-a)</td>
<td>(2. glanhá)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tróed</td>
<td>3. tróent</td>
<td>3. parháed</td>
<td>3. parháent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers. tró-er**

**Impers. parhá-er**

### Verbal Nouns.

trói (paratāi), pára, parháu (glanháu)

### Verbal Adjectives.

tro-édig, tro-ádw, tró

(2) It is doubtful whether -er occurs contracted; the 3rd sg. impv. in -ed is mostly uncontracted.

(3) The contracted forms -di, -di of the 3rd sg. impf. are often pronounced and written -oe, -ae, see § 52 iii (3).

(4) The aor. stem -oes- is generally misspelt -ois- in Recent W.; thus troesom Es. liii 6, paratoesant i Bren. xviii 26 (so in 1620) appear as troisom and parottoisant! in recent bibles.

(5) On the 3rd sg. pres. para, pery see § 173 v (1).

ii. Stems ending in ō-diphthongs have contracted forms when the endings -wn or -wch follow; thus tāwn for tāwc-wn ‘let us be silent’, tewch for tewc-wch ‘be ye silent’; gweordewch for gwerdēwch-wch ‘listen ye’; clīwn for clyw-wn ‘we hear’, clīwch (re-formed clīwch) for clīw-cwch ‘ye hear’ or ‘hear ye’.

iii. Other vowels and diphthongs are not contracted; e.g. gweol-ir ‘there will be prayer’, cāe-ent (cāy-ent) ‘let them shut’, bēi-id ‘fault was found’, dilē-er ‘may be deleted’, cynorthwy-ynt ‘they assisted’. But for -ā-odd in the 3rd sg. aor.
we sometimes find -ádd in the Late Mn. period, e.g. cashádd E.P. 222 for cashádd, gwelhádd c.c. 338; cf. cádd § 188 i (6).

§ 186. i. The full form rhoddaf 'I give, put', v.n. rhoddi, survives throughout as a literary form in Mn. W.; but in the living language the -δ- had already disappeared in the Ml. period, and the verb is also conjugated like tró-af, tróf, in Ml. and Mn. W.; as roet (1 syll.) r.p. 1217 'was given', roy A.L. i 6 'to give'; see § 110 iv (2) and § 33 iii (1). In the 3rd sg. pres. ind. rhydd the -δ survives in the spoken lang. (and is sometimes wrongly transferred to try); but rhy is used commonly in lit. W. as Duw a ry gwynp i'r drwy ŵr 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 -δ- indifferently:

Rhoddi gwin yn rhuydd a gaid,
Rhannu a rho i weiniaid.—D.I.D., q. 179.
'There was a generous giving away of wine, a distributing and giving to the weak.'

ii. In the subj. mood, we have ro-ho A.L. i 6, contracted to ro w.m. 23; and *roδ-ho giving rhoddo (roto, -t- ≡ -δ-, B.B. 29), or rhotho by the comparatively rare change of δk to th (≡β) § 111 iii (2).

A ro gam i wraig o Iâl,
Fo ry Duw rai a'i dial.—L. Môn, A 31059/78.
'Whoever deals injustice to a woman of Yale, God will provide those who will avenge her.'

Maer Rhuthun im a'i rhotho.—T.A., A 14976/169.
'May the Mayor of Ruthin give it [the bow] to me.'

iii. Beside the aor. 1st and 2nd sg. roδeis, roδeist (roteist, -t- ≡ -δ-, B.B. 20), a perfect was formed for these persons by adding -um, -ost to the aor. stem roes-; see § 182 iv (1); thus roessum w.m. 63, L.A. 124 'I have given'. There is also a plup. 3rd sg. roessoed, 3rd pl. roessoedyn; this survived in Early Mn. W. but seems to be used as a perf.:
Llaw Rys nid llai a roesoeð.—H.D., p 99/482.
‘The hand of Rhys has given no less.’ Other Late Ml. forms are rocoaoed, rocoed, Cymrhodor ix 77. Gwent rysoeddyd H.G. 30.

iv. On the origin of rhoddaf, see § 179 ii.

§ 187. i. arhoeaf w.m. 17 ‘I wait’, contr. arhoaf, 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. arhói, 3. éry; pl. 1. arhôwn, 2. arhôwch, 3. arhônt; impv. sg. 2. áro ‘stay!’ Mn. W. arho w.m. 17, aro do. 125; etc.

Å gwaew hir gwae a’i héry.—I.H.S. 26.
‘Woe to him who awaits him with a long spear.’

Neidia gorwech hen adwy
I’r maes, ac nac aro myw.—D.G. 30.
‘Jump over an old gap into the field, and stay no longer.’

Nid arhón’ hwy draean hyn.—I.F., M. 148/721.
‘They will not remain one third of this [time].’

ii. The above conjugation persisted well into the Late Mn. period, e.g. arhoent b.cw. 23, arhowch do. 102; but in the late 15th cent. a new formation sprang up in which the v.n. aros is substituted for the stem aro-, giving arhosaf, etc. The earliest examples I have noted are in I.F.

Od ymdengys 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 -s- has disappeared in this word as in rho-af (the 8 of rhodaf being more or less artificial); hence arho-af for *ar-hos-af < *ari-sod-tu- ‘sit before’;

§ 63 ii, § 110 iv (2).

§ 188. i. (1) caffaf ‘I shall get’ has stem kaff-, kah- or ka- in Mn. W., and ca- in Mn. W. with -ff- in 3rd sg. pres. ind. and in subj.; and is conjugated regularly, except in the aor. The forms that occur are as follows.
(2) Indic. pres.: Ml. W. kaffaf w.m. 459, caahaf H.m. ii 126, caf w.m. 3; keffy w.m. 3, 23, 80, etc. (spelt keffy 3, 460), kehy R.m. 120, key do. 293, 57, 118; ceif w.m. 25, 43 = ceiff R.m. 16, 30; caaffwn w.m. 34, caewn do. 84, R.m. 61; cefswch R.m. 19, ceowch w.m. 29; caaffant w.m. 183; keffir w.m. 83, R.m. 60, keir w.m. 85, keffitor a 14869/56, O.W. ceffitor cp.

Mn. W. cáf; céi, cái; cáiff, cáiff; cáwn, cáwch; cánt; cér, cáir, § 81 iii (1).

(3) The impf. in Ml. W. has kaff- or ka- in the indic.: caewn w.m. 394, R.m. 251, caffut w.m. 396, R.m. 253; subj.: pei caffwn w.m. 18, R.m. 12. In Mn. W. cáwn, cáut, cái, etc., and sometimes caffwn etc. in the subj.

(4) The pres. subj. seems to have kaff- chiefly: caffwyf w.m. 454 (twice); keffych do. 480 (4 times); kaffont, kafwent (f = ff) R.ch. 4, etc.; but caho il.A. 150, caont do. 48. Mn. W. has caff- only.

(5) Impv.—The vb. implies an absolutely passive ‘getting’ or ‘catching’ (as ‘catching’ a cold), and so has never been used in the impv. except in the 3rd pers. (or impers.), in which case the command is not addressed to the subject, and its carrying out is independent of his will. The forms are Mn. W. 3rd sg. caffed, caed, 3rd pl. caffent, caent; impers. caffer.

(6) Aorist.—The Ml. W. forms (all of very frequent occurrence except the 2nd pl.) are, sg. i. keveis, 2. keveist, 3. kavas; pl. i. kawssom, -am, (2. kawssawch), 3. kaussant, -ont; impers. kaffut, kahat. (The apparent contraction a geis R.m. 253 is almost certainly a scribal error for a ge(ve)is, cf. w.m. 395.) The Mn. W. forms are sg. 1. cefaics, 2. cefaist, 3. cafas § 175 i (2), later cafodd; pl. i. caussom, 2. caussoch, 3. caussant. In the 14th cent. the following contracted forms are found, sg. i. ces D.G. 124, G.Gr. d.g. 254; sg. 3: cas D.G. 294; impers. a gat r.p. 1299, cad D.G. 189, 409, 429, 430. Later are found cés; cést; cás and cádd D. 130, cadl M.K. [67]; impers. cafad B.Br. F. 6, cád; cáed (prob. orig. a false spelling of cád); cafynyd (cawd c.c. 271), a dial. form used in late verse § 175 iv (5).

(7) Pluperf.—The forms are Ml. kawssen, etc., Mn. causwen, etc., conjugated regularly. In Ml. W. is also found a plup. formed with -sod: sg. 1. kawssoiden s.g. 278; sg. 2. caussoidut do. 247; sg. 3. kawssoid do. 303, caussoidi H.m. ii 170, caussoid-yat s.g. 30, -at H.m. ii 224; pl. 3. kawssoidynt s.g. ii. It is seen that the forms are found in Late Ml. mss. They are also used occasionally by Early Mn. bards, e.g. caussoidd L.G.C. 18.

(8) Verbal Noun.—Ml. W. caefael w.m. 12, kaefel r.m. 8, 141, caed w.m. 13, R.m. 8 (once, caffu R.B. 53). Mn. W. caefael, caefel, cael.

There is no *cauvel; the form caefael w.m. 60 = kaefel r.m. 43. Nettlau’s cauvel does not exist; the word is gauvel (≡ gauvel) r.m. 7, see below.

ii. (1) gafaelaf ‘I take hold’ is conjugated regularly in Ml. and Mn. W. with the v.n. gauvel as stem.
The inflected forms are mostly those of the compound ym-afaelaf; e.g. 3rd sg. pres. ind. ymaveil W.M. 70, 71; 3rd sg. aor. ymavaelaf R.M. 50.

The verbal noun is gavel W.M. II, R.M. 7, ymavel R.M. 142, ymavel ib.; Mn. W gafel, gafel, ymeful, ymefel.

Other forms of the verb occur in Late Mn. W.: ymeflafl, 3rd sg. pres. ind. ymeilfl, v.n. ymeflaf; and ymeflafl, v.n. ymeflaf; 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 dyrchafael w.m. 39 or dyrchafel R.M. 271; in Late Mn. W. this is superseded by dyrchafu; v. adj. dyrhafedig 'exalted'.

The 3rd sg. pres. ind. is Mn. W. dyrhaf R.H.M. ii 274 or drychaf R.B.B. 144, Mn. W. drychaf g. 138, there printed dyrchaf the usual form. There is also in Mn. W. dyrchafedig R.B.B. 82 'raises'. The 2nd sg. impv. is dyrchof s.g. 23, L.G.C. 144, becoming dyrcha 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 dyrach, with v.n. dyrcha!  

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 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 causant and *cafsant from the original caff-. In Bret. kaf- (≡ kaff-*) remains in forms ordinarily unvoiced, and kav- is extended to others; but forms like kaf (= W. caiff), beside kav, survive to bear witness to the original stem kaf- in Bret. also.

caffael and gavel seem to contain the doublet *gap- : *ghabh- § 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 *ghabh- and *ag- § 203 i (4). The vb. in Ir. is gabim, and the W. gafaelaf prob. replaces an old *gaf-aff equivalent to the Ir. (Dialectal gafaf is no doubt new.)

The W. stem caff- or cah- represents *gap-s-, § 96 iv (3); hence caff from the fut. *gapse, with the usual reconstruction which gives e.g. ad-feraf from *bheró. The pres. caffaf, caf 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 wyf yn cael '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 *cauv-. 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)ro-* § 156 i (13), which cannot give -ch- from k- or g-.

The root seems to be *sqabh- 'fix, hang': Skr. skabhūati '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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. wyf, ydwyf, yttywf</td>
<td>1. ym, ydm, yttym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wyt, ydwyt, yttywt</td>
<td>2. ywch, ydwych (ych, ydych)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yw, ydlw, yttlw (late ydylw), y mae, mae, oes</td>
<td>3. ynt, ydymt, yttyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† yssit 'there is', † ossit 'if there is', -s in os 'if it is'</td>
<td>† yssydut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relatival form: yssyb (y sydd), syd, yssy (y sy), sy.

Impersonal: ys, ydkys,yttys.

Conjunctive: y mae or mae (late mai), † panyw, (dial. law).

Consuetudinal Present and Future.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. bydabf, † bydôf</td>
<td>1. bydwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bydy (byldi)</td>
<td>2. byðroh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. byð</td>
<td>3. byðant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cons. bit (bîd)</td>
<td>† byðhawnt, † bînt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. † bi, † bydhwnt, † bîawnt</td>
<td>Impers. (byddys, byddir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oédwn,† yttoédwn</td>
<td>oédem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oédut (-ud, -it)</td>
<td>oédewch (oeddéch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oéd, yttoéd (ydoedd)</td>
<td>oédyn,† yttoédyn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. oédit (oeddid)

Consuetudinal Imperfect.

Sg. 1. byðwn, etc. regular.

Perfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. buum, bum (bãm)</th>
<th>1. buam, -om</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. buost</td>
<td>2. buawch (buoch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bu</td>
<td>3. buant, buont</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>bwyf, byðwyf</td>
<td>bom (bõm), byðom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bych, byðych</td>
<td>boch, byðoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo, byðo, bytho</td>
<td>bont (bõnt), byðont, bythont, boent, † bwynt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperfect Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. bewn (bawnu), byðwn</th>
<th>1. beym (baem), byðem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. beut (baud, -it), byðut (-ud, -it)</td>
<td>2. (baech, byðdech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bei (bai), byðei (-ai), pei (pe)</td>
<td>3. beynt (baent), byðent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. byðit (-id), byðhit (-id)
ACCIDENCE § 189

Imperative Mood.

Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. byðwən</td>
<td>1. byðwən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. byð</td>
<td>2. byðwəch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bit (bid), boet (-d), poet (-d)</td>
<td>3. byðent, bint (bydded)</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 gler tros dy faur glwyf,
Trist étro trosot ãt śwyf.—G.Gl., m 146/161.

'Sad have been the minstrels for thy sore sickness, sad still am I.'

The 3rd sg. ydiw was so written up to the 16th cent.; and rhymes with words in -iw, as friw/ydiw D.G. 35, cf. 119, 144, 193, etc., and a. 186, 193, 203, 206, 235, 247, also with yw (≡ iv); see § 77 v. The Late Mn. ydyw is an etymological spelling, and is read ãt diw, except by a few affected persons. The N.W. dial. form is ãt di (and, in answering questions only, ãt di, a curious attempt to sound y with the tongue in the d position). S.W. dial., in questions and answers, ãt. ydys is sounded ãt dys; on ys see § 82 ii (1). In Mn. W. yd- and the rare yt- come only before monosyllabic forms, and always take the accent. ãtysydynt W.M. 457 is formed from ãtysit § 162 vi (1).

The Late Mn. spelling mæi of the conj. form seems to come from mai (≡ § 219 vi (1)); elsewhere the pronunciation is mæi ≡ mæ or mæ'; 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 gwen mæ Dafydd a’i gwvaeth 'I know that it is D. who made it'.

(2) The consuetudinal pres. is in use in that sense in the spoken lang. (in N.W.), but the fut. is a commoner use. The form 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 anwadol chyd 'the fool is changeable'; thus

Bid gwvaeth gwybodaau a gair
Beirdd gwedi 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 ãbi b.t. 12, ãbyðhawt W.M. 456, etc. are fut. only.
VERBS

(3) In the impf. the consuet. ind. byðun is distinguished from the subj. beun (bawn); the latter is never ind., but the former is used in the subj., as pei byðut, etc. M.A. 67; also byðhit 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. r. 2, should be bwn, *but like 3. bei; so in the pl. The phrase pei yt vun, occurring as bei et-vun w.M. 71, was contracted early to pettun ‘if I were’, 2. pettut, 3. pettei; pl. r. pettem, etc. Thus bettut kynn decket ac Absalon m.A. 67 ‘if thou wert as fair as A.;’ pettei do. 68; Mn. W. pettun b.cw. 10 ‘if I were’, petynt ‘if they were’. But pei bybey m.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. buiei r.P.1045, buyat (read bu-yat) do. 1038, pl. 3. blyn (read bu-yn) ib., bwynt b.B. 96.

(4) Beside the pres. subj. proper buwyf, the form byðwylf with ind. stem is used; also bytho T.A. c. i 342, bythonet w.M. 47, with byð + h-, a new subj. stem.—The impers. boer m.A. i 20 is doubtful; the context suggests sg. 3. bo.—But E.P. ps. xciv 13 uses boer.—3rd pl. bwynt b.T. 5; boent a.L. i 106, L.G.C. 240.

(5) As stated above (2), bit (bid) is usually impv. : Bit y waet ef arnam ni s.G. 25, m.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. 14 ‘let there be’. The form bint m.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 ṣwyf, ṣwyt, yw, ym, ych, ynt, see § 179 ix (3). yd- is the affirmative particle § 219 ii; yttyn < *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 ymæ Abel m.A. 118 ‘[in] the place where Abel is’, mae y mab? w.M. 29 ‘where is the boy? ’ The m- of mae is never mutated; this points to *mm (Corn. -mm-) < *sm. The y m- is prob. ynu- (often so written in M.L.) representing the locative in -smi of the *e-demonstrative (nom. sg. *es § 159 iv (1)), as in Umbr. loc. esme ‘in hoc’ < *esmi, Av. almi. Thus *esmi est, ‘here is, there is’ pronounced *esmiest *ymoed § 75 iv (2), whence by loss of -e and the change of oe to ae after a labial § 78 i (1) and ii (2) we have ymæa. The rel. form similarly from *gosmi 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 imt mae Arthur w.M. 123 ‘tell me where Arthur is’. Corn. has pyrna ? as if from *qgosmi est? The pl. y maent (≡ ymáynt) must be a new formation from y mae.—
The Bret. form is _ema_, _ma_, Corn. _yama_, _ymma_, _ma_, pl. _ymmon_; the last form confirms the assumption of _oe_ by preserving the _o_.

(3) _oes_ occurs after _nyt_ (*nīd*), _nat_ (*nad*), the interrr. part. _a_, and _ad_ 'if', in each case when the subject is indefinite. _nyt oes_ represents _nītaiti < *nī ita esti_ 'there is not'. The positive _esti ita_ 'there is' > _esti śita_ > _ysiti_. Similarly _ysiti_ 'if there is' > _štīta § 222 (1)._ In Ml. W. _ysit_ is only a survival, having been generally replaced by _y ma_. As _nid oes_ means literally 'there is not', it is natural that its subject should be indefinite. But early examples of a definite subject occur: _cinnit hoys it loc guac hinumith 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 M.R. 113 this becomes _nat ydīw y vorwlyn_ 'that the maid is not'.

(4) _ysydo, syd_, etc. < *estījo < _esti ito § 162 vi (1). _ys < _esti § 179 ix (3)—_panywu_ 'that it is' § 222 x (2).

(5) _oes_ see § 75 iv (2), § 180 ii (3), _ytoed_ § 180 ii (3), q.v.

iv. (1) From *bhewa_— *be_ there was an iterative derivative _bh(u)y)yij_ which gives Ir. _biw_ 'I am wont to be'; Lat. _fio_. The three persons of the sg. _bhuyī_, _bhuiāes_, _bhuiāet_ would all give W. _byδ_, which was afterwards inflected _bydaff_, _bydē_, _byδ_ by analogy. In Kelt., Ital., Germ., there are also athematic forms of this verb; thus there were sg. 2. _bhuiāi >_ Lat. _fēs_, 3. _bhuiāii >_ Lat. _fēt_, W. bid. [Lat. _fio_ takes its long _i_ from these.] The Early Ml. W. fut. _bi_ is a future of this form, representing _bhuiāet_ (or _bhuiāeti_?). The forms _byδhaut, biaut_ are of course formed by adding -(h)aut to _byδ_, _bi_.

(2) The opt. of _bh(u)yij_, sg. 1. _bh(u)yijoi-m_ might give _byδwun_, but prob. the whole tense is a later formation from _byδ_.

(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. _bōi_, _bōi_ represent Kelt. _be- _bāye < Ar. _bhe-bhōye_: Av. _bavāva_; § 76 iii (5).

(4) The pres. subj. _bwy(f)_ represents the -se- fut. of _bhewa_; thus _bh(u)yā-so >_ bwy etc. § 183 ii.

The impf. subj. sg. 3, _beí < *bitti < _baiti < _bh(u)y-soiēt_. From _beí_ was deduced _baw_, as in _beí et-vum_ ii (3); but later _baw_ns, as if _bei_ were _be-et_; in Ml. W. when _beí_ had become _bái_, the 1st sg. became _baw_; and in the late period _bái_ itself came on the analogy of this to be treated as _bái_ and sometimes written _bæ_., see § 185 i (3).

The initial _p_ is for _b-h_ with -_h_- from pl. forms; see § 183 ii (3).

(5) The impf. sg. 2. _byδ_ is from _bh(u)y-iē_ the crude stem of _bh(u)yij_. The 3rd sg. _bid_ is from _bh(u)yitō_ the 3rd sg. opt. mid. of stem _bhuiā_; see § 184 ii (1) and § 180 iv (2). The 3rd sg. _boed_ or _poed_ is a re-formation from the subj. stem. The pl. forms are obvious re-formations.

(6) The v.n. _boed_ implies Brit. _butā_, which (as there is _both_ in Ir. also) may be a Kelt. formation beside _bhui-tie_ which gives Ir. _buithe_: Gk. _φωρ_. Like other v.n.'s _boed_ has been made mas.; but in compounds it remains _f_, as _ha-fod, eisteidd-fod, preswyl-fod_.

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**ACCIDENCE** § 189
§ 190. VERBS

Compounds of the Verb ‘To Be’.

§ 190. i. (1) The verbs of the v.n.'s cánfod ‘to perceive’,
dârfod ‘to waste away; to happen’; górfod ‘to overcome’;
hánfod ‘to be from; to come’, are conjugated with the b-
forms of the verb ‘to be’; as canfyddaf, etc. In Ml. W. canfod
appears generally with the pref. ar-.

Pres. (fut.) ind. : sg. 1. gorwydaff c.m. 61, 70; — 2. henbydwy w.m. 97;
— 3. derwyd c.m. 43, gorvit (≡ gorwyd) b.b. 52; dy-derbi r.p. 578,
dy-worpi do. 585; — impers. gorwydir w.m. 82, r.b.b. 152, c.m. 13.
Impf. ind. sg. 1. gorwydwn w.m. 131; — 3. hanbydei w.m. 141.
Perf. : sg. 1. M. canfûm § 191 ii (5); — 3. kanuR.P. 1143, arganuu
C.m. 50, S.g. 7, darvu c.m. 59, gorvu w.m. 89; — pl. 1. darfuam b.b.
105; — 3. darvuan b.b. 6; — impers. arganuwyt w.m. 49, darvwyt
R.P. 1296. — Plup. : pl. 3. gorvauasyn c.m. 68.

Pres. subj. : sg. 1. hanbywaf M.A. i 301b; — 2. hanpych gwell r.m. 87,
w.m. 185, S.g. 1, hanbych well p 16/44, Mn. W. henfyffwch well ‘may
you come well!’ i.e. welcome! (gwell not orig. cpv. § 148 i (4)); —
3. darffio s.g. 17, c.m. 42, 59, gorpo b.b. 17, hanffo I.A. 131, C.m. 33;
— pl. 3. gorffont R.B.B. 222; — impers. gorwyder c.m. 13, gorfffer do. 22.
Impf. subj. : sg. 3. darfysi c.m. 68, 29, gorfiw r.m. 163, hanpheii
C.m. 55, hampek do. 58.

Impv. : sg. 3. derfif R.P. 1044, R.M. 155; derwheid b.b. 91.
V.n. arganvot w.m. 54, darvot c.m. 32, gorvot w.m. 56, hanvot do. 460;

(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-āri- § 156 i (13). The latter is used in the
3rd sg. only, see § 196, as Beth a darvu ññunt wy? I.A. 7 ‘What
happened to them?’; often as a so-called “auxiliary”; as pei na
darfsefi y’r dwst gyvodi c.m. 68 ‘if the dust had not risen’; deryw
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 deryw, as Ml. W. wrth
ry-darvot ñaw y’r)ði s.g. 32 ‘since he had given it’.

Examples: (a) derfyydd 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’, darvuan b.b. 6 ‘they perished’; — (b) darffo
i Cor. xv 54, darfu’ m (for darfu’ ym) Gr.O. 98 ‘it happened to me’,
i.e. I did; y darfsefi n. 112; a vynno Duw derfif R.M. 155 lit. ‘what
God will let it come to pass’.
(3) canfod, gorfod and hanfod contain respectively the prefixes canh- § 156 i (7), gor- do. i (17), and han- do. ii (3).

gorfod is chiefly used in the 3rd sg. in Mn. W., as gorfu i or gorfu ar ‘was obliged’ § 196 vii. For the verb the v.n. is often used, as gorfod iddo for gorfu iddo, cf. a hebw yn gorfod arnam . . . ymwahanu c.M. 50 ‘and to-day we must part’.

ii. (1) In addition to the above forms Ml. W. has a pres. and impf. formed with -wyf and -oedwn. These survived in Early Mn. W. Before -yw, -ym, -ywch, -ynt, -a- is affected to -e-; the -e- often intrudes into forms with -wyf, -wyt, and vice versa -a- often occurs before -yw, etc. Thus:

Indic. pres.: sg. 1. hanwyf w.m. 3, henwyf r.m. 2, cannonwaf D.G. 200;—2. hanwyf w.m. 3, 191, henwyf r.m. 2;—3. cannonwaf r.f. 1433, D.G. 205, deryw, derwyf w.m. 99, henwyf s.g. 13, hanwyf L.G.C. 9;—pl. 1. henym p.l.a. 164;—3. henynt p.l.a. 169.

Mil ar ben bryn a’i cennyw.—G.Gl., p 75/159.

‘A thousand behold it [the mansion] on the top of the hill.’

Na sonier am a dderyw.—I.G. 289.

‘Let there be no mention of what has happened.’

Mawrserch Ifor a’m goryw;

Mwy na serch ar ordderch yw.—D.G. 3.

‘The great love of Ivor overcomes me; it passeth the love of woman.’

Impf.: sg. 3. canhoeS w.m. 64, r.m. 46 ‘could see’, daroeS s.g. 25 ‘happened’, hanoS do. 41;—pl. 3. hanhoeSytnt s.g. 15, r.p. 1047.

Ymddiried im a ddaroedd.—G.Gl., m 146/168.

‘He trusted in me.’ (Elliptical, for a daroeS iðo ‘happened to him’, i.e. he did.)

O’r hen arglwyyddi’r hanoedd.—L.G.C. 2.

‘She was descended from the lords of old.’

O’r hen wydd yr hanoeddych.—I.H.S., p 133/212.

‘You are descended from the old stock.’

(2) Beside hanwyf etc., Ml. W. has handwyf, handwyd, handid, handym, handoetud, handoet (t≡ð) all in m.a. i 358, handid B.B. 33, 107; handoed 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): handwyyt 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 hanðnei* p 16/43 (W.M. p. 92) "he could not rest" (*hanðen*, by dissim. > Mn. W. *hanðen* 'leisure', *hamðenol* 'leisurely, slowly'; *han-* 'without' + *den*, √*dhen-*: Skr. *dadhan-ti* 'causes to run').

iii. The verb *cyfarfyddaf* á 'I meet' is conjugated like the above verbs (v.n. *kyvarvot* W.M. 58, 125, perf. sg. 3. *kyvarvu* do. 170, plup. sg. 3. *cyfarvusseii* 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. <em>gwnn</em> (<em>gwn</em>)</td>
<td>1. <em>gwdam</em>, -om (<em>gwyddom</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>gwdoost</em> (<em>gwyddoost</em>)</td>
<td>2. <em>gwdawch</em>, -och (<em>gwyddoch</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>gwyrr</em> (<em>gwyrr</em>)</td>
<td>3. <em>gwdant</em> (<em>gwyddant</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. *gws* (*gws*, *gwyds*)

| 1. *adwaen*, *adwen*, *atwen* (*adwaen*, *adwen*) | 1. *adwaenam*, *adwaenwn* (*adwaenom*, *adwaenwn*) |
| 2. *atwaenost* (*adwaenost*, *adweini*)           | 2. *adwaenawch*, *atweynwch* (*adwaenoch*, *adwaenwch*) |
| 3. *adwaen*, *adwen*, *atwen* (*adwaen*, *edwyn*) | 3. *atwaenant* (*adwaenant*) |

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. gwybydy (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)

| 1. adnabydaf (adnabyddaf)    | 1. adnabydwn (adnabyddwn)               |
| 2. adnabydy (adnabyddi)      | 2. adnabydwoch (adnabyddwoch)          |
| 3. adnabyd, ednabyd (adnabydd) | 3. adnabydant (adnabyddant)           |

**Impers.** adnabydir (adnabyddir)

### Imperfect Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwydwn, gwydwn (gwyddwn)</td>
<td>1. gwydem, gwydym (gwyddem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gwydyut, gwydyut (gwyddu,</td>
<td>2. gwydeuch (gwydduch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwyddi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwydyat, gwybat, gwydyi (gwyddiad, gwyddai)</td>
<td>3. gwydynt (gwyddiynt, -ent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers.** gwydyt (gwyddid)

| 1. atwaenwn (adwaenwn)       | 1. adwaenem (adwaenem)                  |
| 2. atwaenut (adwaenud, -it)  | 2. adwaenech                            |
| 3. atwaenat (adwaenid, ad- | 3. atwaenyn (adwaenyn, -ent)           |
|   waenai)                   |                                          |

**Impers.** etweinit (adwaenid, adweinid)

### Perfect Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwybumm (gwyblum)</td>
<td>etc. like canfwm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adnabum (adnablam)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers.** gwybwmovt, adnabwmovt (gwybwmovd, adnabwmovd)

### Pluperfect Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. gwybuasswn (gwybauasen)</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adnabuasswn (adnabauasen)</td>
<td></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, gwpwyfdwyf)</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adnapwyf (adnapwyf, adnapwyfdwyf)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. gwpwyf, gwpwyf, adnapo (gwpwyf, gwpwyfd, adnapo, adnapyd)</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 191

VERBS

Imperfect Tense.

sg. 1. gwypwn, gwbydwn (gwypwn, gwbyddwn)
    adnapwn, adnabydwn (adnapwn, adnabyddwn) } etc.

Imperative Mood.

Present Tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. gwbyð (gwbyð)</td>
<td>1. gwbydwn (gwbyddwn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwyped, gwbydeth (gwyped, gwbyddeder)</td>
<td>2. gwbyðwch (gwbyddwch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. gwypent, gwbyddent (gwypedent, -ant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. gwyper, gwbydfer (gwyper, gwbyddfer)

2. ednebyð, adnebyð (adnebyð)
3. (adnebydded)

(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
ML 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,
adwaen s.g. 72, atwen w.m. 390; 3rd sg. atwen H.M. ii 235, Atwen
mab a llocha, ac nyt atwen a e kar B.B. 964 'a child knows who
fondles him, but does not know who loves him'; pawb adwaen pwy
T.G. g. 79 'everybody knows who'.

Yr ydwyf, hyd yr adwen,
Yn d wyn haint ni'm gad yn hên.—D.G. 443.

'I am, as far as I know, suffering from a disease that will not spare
me to old age.'

A'r un sud, er nas edwyn,
Y mesur Duw amser dŷn.—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 -et is rare in Ml. W.: gwybêi b.a. 6, r.p. 1264. The -y- (≡ i) in gwybêin 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 gwybêi w.m. 183, b.m. 85, s.g. 11, atwaenai 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. 0. 234.

(4) On the -t- for -d- before y, see § 111 v (2).

(5) Note the accentuation of gwybâd, adnabâm, in which the last syllable has a late contraction, § 41 iii. Uncontracted gwybâum occurs as late as the 15th cent.; see § 33 iv. The 3rd sg. gwybu, adnâbu has no contraction, and is accented regularly.

O'r tad Hywel ap Cadell,
Nid adnabâm 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. adnabâm, so accented, b.cw. 105; so canfâm do. 16, 91. Ml. W. gwybuwm w.m. 389, adnabum ib.

iii. (i) gwôn probably comes from *yindô § 66 iii (1), or middle *yindôi: Skr. vindâ-iti 'finds', Ir. ro-finâdar 'is wont to know', */yeid- with -n- infix. The 3rd sg. gwyôr seems to be a deponent form made by adding the impers. *-re directly to the root § 179 viii (2); thus *yeid-re > *weig-re (§ 104 iv (3)) > gwyôr.—The 2nd sg. gwyôsôst represents a periphrastic form *yidos'si, 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. gwyô becomes gwyô- on the analogy of the other tenses. The impers. gwyôs prob. represents a passive *yid-tos ('st').

The tense replaces the old perf. with pres. meaning, *yoida : Gk. oîda.

(2) The impf. 3rd sg. gwyôdiad may be for *gwidôd § 180 iv (1). The 2nd sg. gwyôdut may represent a thematic *weidoithis, in which case its wy is original; and the 3rd sg. may have taken wy from this. The wy is the falling diphthong: Pod meistrôbrwydd 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 *weidans and the verb 'to be'.

iv. (1) adwaen corresponds to Ir. ad-gêin, which comes from *ati-gynna, re-formed in Kelt. for *gynânô: Skr. jajnâu, Lat. nôv-i, */gênô-; but W. adwaen, which is for *adwaen § 78 ii (1) (2), contains -ô- as pointed out by Rhys, RC. vi 22; it seems also to have the vowel of the reduplicator elided; thus adwaen < *ati-ôe-kn-ô < *ati-ôe-gyn-ô. It may however represent *ad-ôe-tin < *ati-ôe-gyn-ô.

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 *gwëost* 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-uo*gn-*ia-to < *-gn-*ia-*tô* 3rd sg. opt. mid.

(3) The rest of the verb comes from periphrastic tenses formed with the prefix *ati-* only, and a verbal adj. *gnauos < *gn*-*uo-s* (: cf. Lat. gnauus < *gno-*uo-so-s), with the verb 'to be'. This implies that -nab- is for -navb- (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 -au- cannot be from -a-, which would give -a- in the penult.)

§ 192. i. (1) *pieu* (Mn. W. *pi-*au) 'whose is?' contains the dative of the interrogative stem *q*-*i-* and -eu 'is', a weak form of *wy*, which elsewhere became *yw* '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 -ei- before *v* or *ff*:

Pres. ind.: sg. 2. *piwynt* see ii (1) below; — 3. *pieu*; — pl. 3. *piwynt*

(1) (for *piuynt*) W.M. 83. 


Fut.: sg. 3. *pîewyd* (*y = i*) A.L. i 179 M.S.B., *piwydd* ib. M.S.D., H.M. ii 81; — pl. 1 *pîeweïden* c.m. 42. 


(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 relatival *piau*; thus *oedd* *pia(u)* 'was who owns' for *pioedd* '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 oynnawd iðaw pioed mab s.g. i2 'she asked him to whom he was son' (whose son he was). Pìwyì gwìr 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 llonget hynn? . . . Arglwyd, heb wynt, mae ymna Matholwch . . . ac ef bieu y llonget 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'.

Pieu rhent Gruffudd ap Rhys?
Hwylol pieu 'n nhâl Pwys.—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 bìau 'who [is it] to whom belongs?' This occurs in Ml. W.; as Pwy bìwynt wy w.m. 83 'who [is it] to whom they belong?' Cf. § 163 v.

'Who has the blood of pipes of wine?'

(3) Relatival pieu sometimes introduces a dependent relative clause, as Dodi olew ar y gwelda bieu y gaer r.m. 174 'administering extremeunction 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 llonget (2) above 'it is' he who owns the ships'; Meuryc beyr biewoctud m.a. i 225 b '[it was] bright Meuryc to whom thou [sword] didst belong'; a minneu bieu y òwy iarlaeth r.m. 239 'and [it is] I to whom the two earldoms belong'.

(4) As pi- is itself relative it is not preceded by the relative a, ZfCP. iv 118; see examples above. Cf. also mi bieveu r.m. 252, mi bìau ... a thithau bìau I.G. 318, Dafydd biewyd 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 dïstegn pïeu A.L. i 20 'it is' the cook and
the steward to whom belong...’; e gur (≡ y gwr) pyeu do. 82; 
Hywel piau (2) above; Mi piau cyngor... mi piau nerth Diar. viii 14 
(1620). In the spoken lang. both p- and b- are heard; the 
former prevails in N.W.

(5) As pieu seemed to be a verb meaning ‘owns’ though 
without a subjective rel., it is sometimes found so used with an accusative rel.,
as castell Kaer Vyr Côin yr hwn a bie(u) y brenhin R.B.B. 297 ‘the 
castle of Carmarthen which the king owns’; y castell fry a pieu 
Belial b.cw. 10; more rarely with subjective rel., ni ac piefydo'n 
c.m. 42. Still rarer are re-formations like ti biy c.m. 14.

iii. pi- cannot come from *q%oi(i) < *q%oi the dat. of *q%o-, since q% 
became k in Kelt. before u; it is probable therefore that pi discards 
from *q%i < *q%ii < *q%iei: Oscan piei dative of the stem-form *q%i-
§ 163 vi.

Af, Gwnaf, Deuaf.

§ 193. i. af ‘I go’ and gwnaf ‘I make, do’ are conjugated 
alike in Mn. W. except in the impv.; deuaf ‘I come’ is analo-
gous, 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 as in § 185.

ii. af ‘I go’.

**Indicative Mood.**

**Present.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. af (áf)</td>
<td>1. aewn (áwn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ey (éi, ái)</td>
<td>2. ewich (éwich)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. a, e-yt (á)</td>
<td>3. aut (áut)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. eir (éir, áir)

**Imperfect.**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. aewn (áwn)</td>
<td>1. aem (áem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. aut (áut)</td>
<td>2. (áech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ae, aeg, ai (ái, ae)</td>
<td>3. eynt (ént)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impers. eit (éid, áid)
Perfect.

sg. | pl.
---|---
1. euthum (éuthum) | 1. aetham (áethom, -am)
2. aethost (áethost) | 2. aethawch (áethoch)
3. aeth (áeth) | 3. aethant, -ont (áethant, -ont)

Impers. aethpwyt (áethpwyd)

Second Perfect.

1. athwyf, abwyf, ethwyf, edwyf (éthwyf) | 1. ethym
2. athwyt, abwyt (éddwyd) | 2.
3. ethyw, edyw (éthyw, éddyw) | 3. ethynt, edynt

Pluperfect.

1. aethowf (áethwfn) | 1. (áethem)
2. (áethud, -it) | 2. (áetheck)
3. aethoed, aedoed (áethai) | 3. aethoedyn (áethynt, -ent)

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present.

1. el(h)wyf (élwyf) | 1. el(h)om (élom)
2. el(h)ych (élych) | 2. el(h)och (éloch)
3. el (él, élo) aho | 3. el(h)ont, el(h)wynt (élont) ahont

Impers. el(h)er (élér)

Imperfect.

1. el(h)wn (élwn) | 1. (élém)
2. el(h)ut (élud, -it) | 2. (élech)
3. el(h)ei (élai) | 3. el(h)yn (élnt, -ent)

Impers. (élid)

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Present.

2. dos (dós) | 1. awn (áwn)
3. aet, elhid (áed, éled) | 2. euch (éoch)
3. aent (áent, ánt)
VERBS

VERBAL NOUN.

*mynet (myned, mynd)* 'to go'

iii. *gwnaf* 'I make, do'.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.

sg. 1. *gwnaf* (*gwnaf*), etc. like *af* (*af*); exc. strong 3rd sg. *gwneyd*.

Imperfect.

sg. 1. *gwnawn* (*gwnáwn*), etc. like *awn* (*áwn*); pl. 2. *gwnaevch* (*gwnáech*).

Perfect.

A. sg. 1. *gwnethum* (*gwnéthum*), etc. like *euthum* (*éthum*).

B. sg. | pl.
--- | ---
1. gorugum | 1. gorugam
2. gorugost | 2. gorugawch
3. goruc, goreu | 3. gorugant

Impers. *gorugpwy*.

Second Perfect.

sg. 1. (*gwnéddwyf*), 2. (*gwnéddwyf*), 3. *gwnedyw* (*gwnédwyw*).

Pluperfect.

sg. | pl.
--- | ---
1. *gwnathoebwn* (*gwndethwri*) | 1. (*gwnathoebthum*),
2. *gwnathoebut* (*gwnathoebthud, -it*) | 2. (*gwnathoebthec*),

Impers. *gwnathoebit* (*gwnaethhid*).

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present.

sg. 1. *gwnel(ê)wyf* (*gwnélwyf*), etc. like *êl(ê)wyf* (*élwyf*) throughout; also sg. 3. *gunech, gwnech*.

Imperfect.

sg. 1. *gwnel(ê)wn* (*gwnélwn*), etc. like *êl(ê)wn* (*élwn*).
### 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. gwna (gwná)</td>
<td>2. gwna (gwná)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gwnaet (gwnáed)</td>
<td>3. gwnaet (gwnáed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers.**

### Verbal Noun.

**gwnel(h)er (gwnelher)**

### Verbal Adjectives.

**gwnelthuredig (gwnelthuredig, gwnelthurádwy)**

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, dòf)</td>
<td>1. deuaf, doaf (déuaf, dòf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. deuy, dewy, doy (dévi, dòi)</td>
<td>2. deuy, dewy, doy (dévi, dòi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dyb, dýw, dýv, dybant (déuaf, dòf)</td>
<td>3. dyb, dýw, dýv, dybant (déuaf, dòf)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers.**

### Second Future.

sg. 1. dybydaf; 3. dyryð, dybyð, dybyðhawt, dyvi, dybi, dypi, dybyð, deubi, deupi; pl. 3. dybydant.

### Imperfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. déuwn, down (déuwn, dòw)</td>
<td>1. déuwn, down (déuwn, dòw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. deuynt, doynt (déuñt, dònt, -it)</td>
<td>2. deuynt, doynt (déuñt, dònt, -it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. deuaf, doaf, doaf (déuaf, dòf)</td>
<td>3. deuaf, doaf, doaf (déuaf, dòf)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impers.**

---

Accidence

§ 193
Perfect.

A.  
1. deuthum, doethum (déuthum)  
2. deuthost, doethost (déuthost)  
3. deuth, doeth (dáeth, dôeth)  

B.  
2. dyvuost  
3. dyvu, dybu, deubu  

Impers. deuthpwyt, doethpwyt (déuthpwyd)

Second Perfect.

A.  
1. dothwyf, doðwyf  
2. dothwyf, doðwyf  
3. doethyw, dothyw, doðyw, doðyw  
   (doðdyw, deðdyw)  

B.  
1. dothoebwn (déuthwn)  
2. (déuthud, -it)  
3. doethoeb, doethoeb, dothoeb  
   (déuthai)  

Pluperfect.

A.  
1. dathoeb (déuth)  
2. (déuth, -en)  
3. doethoeb, doethoeb, doethoeb  
   (déuth, -ent)  

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present.

sg. 1. del(h)wyf (délyw, etc. like the el- forms of el(h)wyf (élwyf) throughout; also sg. 1. dywyf; 3. dyvo, dyfto, dyppo, dewpo, dyfei; pl. 3. dyffont, dewhout.

Imperfect.

sg. 1. del(h)wn (délyn, etc. like el(h)wn (élwn); also sg. 3. dybei, dyfei dyffei.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Present.

sg. 2. dyret, dabr (dýfyyd, dýred, dýrd, týred, týrd, dábre, dýre, dial. dýre); 3. deuet, doet (déued, dôed, dôled); pl. 1. down (déwn, dôwn); 2. dowch, dewch (déwch, dôwch, dêwch); 3. deuent, doent (dévent, dêvent).
Verbal Noun.

**dywod (dyfod, dywod, dywad).**

v. Pres. and Impf. Ind.—(1) The contracted forms *ei*, *eir*, *eid*, *gwni*, *gweir*, *gweid* are now written and pron. with *ei* (≡ *ai*); but formerly *ai* was used as in uncontracted forms; § 81 iii (1); as *Bwrdeisiaid* a *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 *do* 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 *e-yt* § 173 vi (1); of *gwnaf* is *gwné-yd* do. (3).

(3) The stems *dew-*, *do-*, are both used throughout the pres. and impf. except in the 3rd sg. pres.; thus *doaf*, *do* r.m. 76, w.m. 55, *deuaif*, *deuy* s.g. 15. In Mn. W. *doaf* is contracted to *dóf* D.G. 355, L.G.C. 266, 468; this is the usual spoken form, though *doaf* (f) persists in Dyf. dial. The 3rd sg. is *daw*; also do *b.t. 38, dybāu* b.b. 32 (*w* ≡ *w*), dybāw r.p. 1055, l. 16, dyδo ib. l. 23.—O.W. gurθdo gl. obstitt.


vi. Perf. and Plup.—(1) In late Mn. W. *euthum*, *gwneuthum*, *deuthum*, are often misspelt *aethum*, *gwnaethum*, *daethum*. In the dialects the 1st and 2nd sg. perf. are mostly replaced by new aorists *es*, *gwnés*, *dós* on the analogy of *cés* and *róois*, also *eis* and *gweis* ("balbutientium puororum mera sunt barbaries" D. 117).

(2) In Mn. W. the perf. stem of *deuaif* is *deuθ*- or *doθ*-; and the 3rd sg. is *deuθ* or *doθh*. Mn. 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 *doθh* D.G. 259 (misprinted *daeth*), 287, as there is no rhyme to *dauth* the regular Mn. equivalent of Mn. *deuθ*. Late Mn. W. *daeth* may be *dauth* H.G. 21 misspelt, as *daethant* is a misspelling of *deuθant*. The N.W. dial. form is *dóθ*, 3rd pl. *deuθon* or *doθhon*. In S.W. *dáθ* is also heard.—Impers. § 175 iv (7).

Dan i ddant eriod 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 *deuaif* is of frequent occurrence in Mn. W. poetry, as *athwaf*, *ethwef* H.O.G. m.a. i 275, *athwyd*, *ethwynt* P.M. do. 289, *aðwyf* C. do. 216, *etw* (*t* ≡ *ð* do. do. 220); *dōθwif* b.b. 79, *dotwyf* (*t* ≡ *ð*) M. w. 1a, *dotwynt* (≡ *dōθwynt*) do. do. 38, *ethwynt* b.b. 33. It is also met with fairly often in Mn. prose: *edwyf* w.m. 456,
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 *gwñaf*: *gwñeddwyf* D.G. 115, *gwñeddwyd* do. 102, *gwñeddyw* do. 429, *gwñèdyw* I.C. R.P. 1286. These imitations were shortlived.

(4) Both the first perf. in -th-un and the second perf. in -wefyf are probably original for *af* only. The older perfects of the other verbs are:


*deuaf*: sg. 2. *dywyd* W.M. 458 (= *doethwyd* R.M. 104); sg. 3. *dywu* W.M. 457 (= *doeth* R.M. 104), *dyw* M.W. 1b, 2a; pl. 3. *dybuant* B.T. 6, R.P. 1405, G.B. do. 1192.

(5) In M.L. W. the plup. of all three verbs was formed by means of -oedun; as *doethoed* H.A. 17 'had come', *athoed* W.M. 13, *aðoed* do. 15 'had gone', *gwaethoed* do. 30, *gwñathoed* do. 440, *gwñathoedun* s.g. 198, *gwñathoedbut* do. 274; *doethoed* R.M. 200, *datheoed* do. 197. These forms are rare in M.N. W.: *rhy-waethoed* D.G. 509. The M.N. plup. is a new formation made, as in regular verbs, by adding impf. endings to the perf. stem: *gwaethoem* Ezee. xxxi 9, *daethon* Matt. xxv 27, *aethai* Luc viii 2, etc. D. also gives *elston* etc.; this formation is used for *gwñaf* in the Bible: *gwñelson* 1 Chron. xxiii 5, *gwñelsei* 2 Chron. xxii 6.


The peculiarity of the pres. subj. with these stems is that the 3rd sg. lacks the usual ending -o (or -wy); thus a phon *el ef* ... *yn 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, hwennw a ordir* B.B. 1063 'the chisel that will go, that [is the one] that is hammered', *Gwledig* ... *a'n gwñel in rì (t= y, t~8)* B.B. 40 'may the Lord make us free', *y di y del pawp* do. 41 'the day when each will come'. So in M.N. W.; thus, expressing a wish: *Dél i'fh ryd dalu i'th fraed* D.G. 34 'may it come to thy mind to repay thy brother', cf. 341;
I henaint yr elfonno L.G.C. 10 'may she go [live] to old age', cf. 476; Dde amorth yn dal i mi Gr.O. 59 'may misfortune come as retribution to me'; in a dependent clause:

_Pan ddèl y Pasg a'r glasgoed,_
_Bun a ddaw beunydd 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 gwneof § 162 i, _doed a ddelo beside doed a ddèl 'come what may come'_.

(2) Other forms of the subjunctive occur as follows in Ml. W.:

*aft*: pres. sg. 3. aho _b.m._ 140; pl. 3. ahont _b.t._ 17.

_gwnef_: pres. sg. 3. gunafo _b.b._ 70, gunafo _b.t._ 10, ll. 13, 27, gunoch, guneqh § 183 iii (1); pl. 3. gwneafort _b.b._ 61, gwnefon _b.t._ 34.

deuo_: pres. sg. 1. dyboyf _r.p._ 1183; sg. 3. dybo _b._, dyvo _d._ 584, dyffo _b.t._ 10, dyppo _b.b._ 90, deupo _b.a._ 6, dyseuhu, deboho _b.t._ 29; pl. 3. dyffont _m.a._ 136, diffont _b.b._ 59, deuhoent _b.t._ 3; imperfect

sg. 3. dybei _b.t._ 3, dyfei _d._ 13, _b.a._ 2, dybei _b.t._ 6.

viii. Impv.—(1) _dos 'go!_' e.g. _dos y'r llys _w.m._ 14 'go to the court'. This is the usual meaning; but the original meaning was doubtless, like that of the Corn. and Bret. forms, 'come'. This is preserved in some parts of Powys to this day; and is sometimes met with in Ml. W.; e.g. _dos yma _b.m._ 176, _s.g._ 221 'come here'.

(2) Ml. W. _dyre_ _w.m._ 21, _b.m._ 173, _l.a._ 99, etc.; _dabre _b.b._ 102, _w.m._ 17, _b.b.b._ 125, etc.— _Mn. W._ _dyfudd _d.g._ 41, _dyred do_ 107, _dabre_ (misprinted _debre_) _d.g._ 31, 134, 515, _tyred, dyre _l.g._ 215, _Gwne dyfudd a dyrd_, _Gwendydd _d.c._ _w.l._ 83 'make an appointment and come, fair Gwendydd', _Tyrd i'r boch, taro dî'r bêt _l.t._ _l._ 133/213 'come to the breach, strike thou the ball', § 44 vi, _Dere a tafodydd hyfryd _w.m.s._ 273 'come with [i.e. bring] the gladsome showers'.

(3) _sg._ 3. : _aet _w.m._ 13, 35, _elhid _b.b._ 101, _gwnaed _w.m._ 406, _deuet _w.m._ 186, _deuhoet _w.m._ 88, _doot _w.m._ 122.

(4) _pl._ 2. : _dowch _w.b._ vi _b._, _w.m._ 407, 447, _r.m._ 261, 292, _dowch _l.a._ 126.

ix. Verbal noun.—(1) On _myned, mynd_, see § 44 vi.

(2) The _Ml._ and _Mn._ _v.n._ of _gwnefo_ is _gwneothur_. D. 121 also gives _gwneothud_, but this is rarely met with. It is printed in _d.g._ 107, but is not attested by the cynganed. In the dialects a new form _gwneud_ arose; this is in common use in the late period; the earliest example I have noted is in _r.h.b.s._ 1. (In _d.g._ 409 _gwenau_ makes a short line, and should be _gwnebhir_; for _it wv wenyd marnad arall c.i 200 read _wvri wîr dîr farwyd arall v 77/158_; so wherever _gwneud_ is attributed to an old author.) V.a. _gweneithurjedie _c.c._ 114.

(3) The only _v.n._ of _deuo_ is _dyfod_; but the _f_ became _w_ § 26 _v_, and _wo_ interchanges with _wë_ § 34 _iv_, hence _dywot _l.a._ 80, _dywod _t.a._ _a_ 14976/101, _dywod _d.g._ 306, spelt _dewch _c.c._ 369 (see § 33
ii), beside the original dyfod. The form dywad became dîvad in the dialects, and this is the spoken form both in N. and S.W. But in part of Dyfed a form dôd developed (apparently from *dowod < dywood); this was used by Wms, and has since been in common use, chiefly in verse in free metres.

The noun dovot w.m. 33 'a find' is a different word, being for do-vot a.l. i. 94 (also dohovet [read -ot] ib.) < *dy-yo-vot.

(4) All the forms given in dictionaries, containing the tense stems of these verbs, such as àu, athu, âu, eddu 'to go', dawed, dawad, delyd, doddi 'to come', gwneyled 'to do', are spurious. Silvan Evans misquotes D.G. 306 dywad as an example of dawad, s.v.; but admits that the others do "not occur in the infinitive"! see s.v. delyd.

x. Origin of the forms. (1) af < *ægɔːf: Ir. agaim 'I drive' √æg- : Lat. ago, Gk. àγω, Skr. ajiati 'drives'. The verb had middle flexion in Brit., cf. e-yt 'goes' < *æg-e-tai ('drives himself, goes') § 179 iii (1). Hence the perf. euthum < *aktos esmi § 182 iv (1), and the plup. athoeb ib. (2). For the voicing of th to ð in ëywy, äðoëb see § 108 iv (2). Stokes's reference of ëywyd 'ivisti' to √ped- Pick 28 (still quoted, e.g. by Walde s.v. pës) 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 *elə- : Gk. ἐλῶ 'I drive'; in the pres. ind. the stem was *èll-, prob. for *èll-, Thurneysen Gr. 314, as in Ir. ad-ella 'transit', di-ella 'deviat'; in W. *èll-af was driven out by af, but the subj. elwyf remained. W. delwyf is probably, like gwnelwyf an analogical formation. The reason why the 3rd sg. has no -o may be that these forms superseded an old 3rd sg. middle *elhyt and 3rd sg. gwnech which had no -o. The view that gwneel is a re-formation is borne out by the actual survival of gwnech.

(3) The stem of gwneaf is *urag-, √ureg- 'work' § 100 i (2). In the pres. and impf. ind., therefore, the flexion was exactly the same as for af, stem *æg-; this led to its being assimilated to af in other tenses. The old root-aor. sg. i. goreith, 3. goreith became gwneuthum, gwneath like the perf. of af, § 181 vii (2).—The old perf. of √ureg- is preserved in the 3rd sg. in Ml. W. gureu, goreu § 182 ii (1), Ml. Bret. guereu, gueure, gureu.—It does not seem possible to derive guruc from the same root; this occurs as sg. 1. 3. in Corn. gurûk (grûg etc.); it probably represents a synonymous form associated with goreu on account of accidental similarity; possibly < *uair-oi-k, √peik- : Skr. piṣāti 'carves, adorns, forms, prepares', pēṣah 'form' (Lat. pingo, with -k/- altering.); cf. Ddu an guruc B.B. 39 'God made us'.

(4) The v.n. gwneithur is for gwneithur g.c. 112, 128, w.m. pp. 93, 94 (p 16), B.Ch. 62 (cf. anghyfreith ouneithur B.P. 1296, i.e. unneithur) § 77 viii. The original v.n. was *gweith < *wr-k-tu-; by the loss of -r- after the initial this became gweth, gwth 'work'. The form *gureith occurs, written gureit, in enwir ith elwir od gwyrr gureit B.A. 37, which appears elsewhere as enwir yt elwir oth gwywr weithret
do. 34, l. 4, though the rhyming word is kyvjeith; but weithret is also a genuine variant rh. with kivet ib. l. 9. Possibly the -r- was first lost in the compound *gwreithret by dissim. The -ur added to *gwreith 'work' may have come from the synonymous llafur < Lat. laborem. The form *gwreithur might easily have become gwneithur by dissim. § 102 iii (2), as it was dissimilated to gwruith in Corn. The -n- might spread from this to the verb; but as gwun- is slightly easier than gyw- 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 gweth 'work' a new denom. gwethiaf 'I work' was formed, with gwethio 'to work' as v.n.—gweth battle < *uikta (: Ir. fichim 'I fight', Lat. vincio) is a different word.

(5) deuaf is a compound of the verb 'to be', as seen in the v.n. dy-fod. The prefix is *do- which appears regularly as dy- before a cons.—The pres. is future in meaning, and comes from the fut. *esō; thus *dō esō > *deu, which was made into dew-af § 75 ii (2), so the 2nd sg.; the 3rd sg. *do eSET gave daw or do see ib. The pres. deuaf would be in O.W. *doitam; under the influence of 3rd sg. do this became *do-am > Ml. W. doaf; thus deu- and do- became the stems of the pres. and impf.; and deu- was even substituted for dy- in some other tenses as deu-bi for dy-bi, v (4). [Later the 3rd sg. daw was made a stem in S.W. dialects, and dawaf, dawai, etc. occur in late mss.]

(6) Other tenses contain the b- forms of the vb. 'to be'; the fut. dywyd, dyvi, pres. subj. dywo, dyffo are regular; the perf. might be either dyvu < *do-(be-)bāge or dybu < *do-bāwe; from the latter the -b- spread to other tenses. The perf. dyvu or dybu was supplanted, see vi (4), by a new perf. formed in imitation of aeth but with the vowels of the pres. stems deu-, do-; thus deuth, deoth; and by a new second perf. similarly modelled on eðwv, which like eðyw itself became obsolete in Ml. W.

(7) The impv. of deuaf was dos, which was transferred to af, see viii (1). The Corn. forms are dus, dues, des, the Bret. is deu-. 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-vuch, Corn. dues after duech, des after de-uuch, Bret. deu after deu-it 'come ye'; a late example is W. dial. (to a child) donya yma 'come here' after douch. This leaves Corn. dus as the unaltered form; dus < *doistud < *do estōd : Lat. estō, estō, Gk. ἔστω.

(8) The loss of dos to deuaf was supplied by the impv. of verbs meaning 'come' from √rēg: Ir. do-rega 'he will come'; thus dabre < *dabhirigā < *doambi-reg-ā; dy-re < *do-riqā < *do-reg-ā. The forms with -d are generally referred to √ret- 'run'; but it would be more satisfactory if they could be connected with the above. Ir. tair 'come' < *to-reg shows *reg- athematic; to athematic stems a 2nd
194. *(i) dywedaf 'I say' has 3rd sg. pres. ind. Ml. W. dyweit m.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 affection as in gweryd : gwaredaf.)

The 3rd sg. dyweit seems to contain the affected form of the R-grade *uat- (*u e t-) of the root § 201 i (3); cf. beirv b.b. 101: berwaf.

(2) The aor. is dywedæis w.m. 10, dywedæist do. 63, dywed-assam, etc., which is regular, except that for the 3rd sg. the perf. is used : Ml. W. dywæwt r.m. 5, 6, dywat w.m. 6, 7 ; Early Mn. W. dywæwd 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, RC. vi 17).

'He spoke only modestly : he was neither vain nor proud.'

The imper. is the perf. dyweswyt r.m. 90, r.b.b. 10, dywet-pwyd s.g. 17, Mn. W. dyweltwyd Matt. i 22 (1620). But the aor. dywedwyd is more usual in Mn. W., and also occurs in Ml. W. : dyweddwyd m.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. dywedyd.

In the dialects S.W. gwewed (the vb. also gwedaf), N.W. (dweuad), dëud, dëyd, (e = e).

(5) dywedaf : ɾeuet/ɾd- 'say' : Skr. vâdáti 'speaks', W. gwawd 'song', Ir. fâth 'poet', Gaul. (-Gk.) pl. ofáras (whence Lat. vâtes, Walde, s.v.) < Kelt. *wet- < L° *wot-. Perf. dywæwt, etc., § 182 ii (1).—V.n. dywedwyd § 203 iii (4), (8).
(6) 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. *gwad*u, 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 symwyd,  
Ll. dêl, nad hyfryd liw dydd?—Gr.O. 38.

'Is there an astronomer who will deny that the light of day, where it comes, is pleasant?'


There is also a 3rd sg. pres. subj. *gwares* seen in *gwares* Duw *dy anghen* r.p. 577 'may God relieve thy want', § 183 iii (1).

(2) *gwared* < *yo-ret-* < *upo-* 'under' + *ret-* 'run': cf. Lat. *succurro* < *sub* 'under' + *curro* 'I run';—gwaraud § 182 ii (1).


(2) Perf. sg. 1. *dugum* w.m. 42; 2. *dugost* s.g. 246; 3. *dwe* w.m. 42; pl. 3. *dugant* C.m. 107, s.g. 246, re-formed as *ducsant* c.m. 59, *dugassant* s.g. 16. In Mn. W. the 3rd sg. *dug* (-*u-* remained the standard form, though a new *dygudd* has tended to replace it in the recent period. But the other persons were re-formed as aorists in the 16th cent., though the older forms continued in use:

* Dy wg yn hir y dugum;  
  O dygais, di-fantais fim.—W.1L.

'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. *ymddwynt* 'to behave', *ymddwynt* 'to bear' § 41 i; perf. sg. 3. *ymddyg* Can. iiii 4, in late bibles *ymddug* (and so pronounced).

(4) *dygaf*, *dug* § 182 ii (2); *dwynt* § 203 iv (3).

*am-wyn* seems to mean literally ‘fight for’, since it is followed by *a* ‘with’; as *amwyn y gorffwch hwn a mi w.m. 122 ‘to fight for this goblet with me’; *amwin ae alin terin quinet b.b. 57 ‘to fight with his enemy for the border of Gwynedd’.

(2) Perf. sg. 3. amuc b.b. 39, b.a. 12, neu-s amuc ae wayw b.a. 11 ‘defended him with his spear’. There is also a form amwyth used transitively, and therefore prob. a middle form like *aeth*; as *pan amwyth ae alon yn Llech Wen b.b. 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. πυγία, πυγμάχος, O.E. *feohtan*, E. *fight*.—The perf. amuc with - uc < *pouke*, like due § 181 ii (2). The form amwyth prob. represents *amb(i)uktos* ‘st; as it has the R-grade of the root, it cannot be a root-aorist. The v.n. has -no- suffix § 203 iv (3).—See also § 54 i (1).

The perf. has not been preserved in *gorchfygaf* ‘I conquer’, Ml. W. *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, Mn. W. clywed.

(2) Perf. sg. 1. cigleu w.m. 36, 83 = r.m. 23, 60, r.m. 129, b.t. 33; ciglef r.m. 130, 168, w.m. 408, 423 = r.m. 262, 274, c.m. 46, 48; sg. 3. cigleu w.m. 144 = r.m. 214, c.m. 50, s.g. 10, 11, etc. The rest of the tense is made up of aor. forms: sg. 2. clyweist w.m. 230, r.m. 168; pl. 3. clywsson w.m. 33, r.m. 22; impers. clywysbwyth pl.a. 117, clywswytl 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. clyw s.g. 362, Ex. ii 15, and impers. *clybwyd* Matt. ii 18 beside *clywyl* Ps. lxxxvii 8.

*Doe ym nherig y ciglef*

*Ynglyn aur angel o nef.*—D.G. i24.

‘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!'

Degle'n nes, dwg i liw nwf
Ddeg annerch oddi genyf.—D.G. 218.

'Lend nearer ear! bring to [her of] the colour of snow ten greetings from me.'

(4) claw af, see § 76 v (2).—cigleu § 182 i; the form ciglef is the result of adding 1st sg. -f to cigleu (enf > ef); it tends in late MSS. to replace the latter; thus cigleu W.M. 144 = ciglef R.M. 214. The cynghanedd in the example shows that the vowel of the reduplicator is i (as it is generally written), and not y; hence we must assume original *kū-. The 1st sg. was most used, and prob. gives the form cigleu.—clybot is probably for *clyw-bot, cf. adnabot § 191 iv (3).

vi. godiwesaf 'I overtake': v.n. godiws § 203 iii (7) so in Mn. W., sometimes re-formed in Late W. as godiweeddyd.—Perf. sg. 3. godiwawb, see § 182 iii.

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. ceuntost, 3. cant § 175 iii, § 181 vii (1), impers. canpwyt § 182 iv (4); there are no corresponding forms in the pl. The t-aor. was already superseded in Late Ml. W.; thus sg. 3. canawb +a.117, Mn. W. canodd; but cant survived in the phrase X. a'i cant '[it was] X. who sang it', ascribing a poem to its author, and is often miss-written cânt by late copyists § 175 iii (1).

(2) gwanaf 'I wound' is similar. Aor. sg. 1. gweint, 3. gwant § 175 iii; Mn. W. gwenais, gwanodd.

ii. (1) cymeraf 'I take', differaf 'I protect': 3rd sg. pres. ind. cymer, differ; v.n. kymrtyt w.m. 8, 9, diffyrtyt R.M. 132, 141.—Aor. sg. 3. kymrth, differth, kemirth (≡ kymrhth) A.L. i 126, diffyrth R.M. 139, § 175 iii (1). Beside these, forms in -wys, -ws occur in Ml. W., as kemerrws § 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. kymrtyt, Mn. W. cymrtyd c.c. 335, cwm-gymrtyd M.K. [137], has been re-formed as cymeryd; but the prevailing form in the spoken lang. is cymrtyd Ceirig o.H. 110 (or cym'yd). The translators of the bible adopted cymeryd, 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, cymrais E.P. ps. cxix ii.
(3) cymeraf < *kom-bher- § 90;—differaf < *de-eks-per-, ✓ per-
'bring': Skr. pi-par-ti 'brings across, delivers, protects';—cymryt
< *kom-bhr-tu- § 203 iii (8).—cymerth, cymyrth § 181 vii (1).

iii. Early Ml. W. dyreith ‘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, torei, fut.
dorbi; also with di- : didawr, didorei, v.n. didarbot. (The -d- is inferred
from Early Mnl. 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 vynet w.m.
437 ‘I do not mind going’; i is the affixed pron. supplementing
‘m, and the subject of tawr is vynet, thus ‘going matters not to
me’; so, Ny’m dorei syrthyaw ... nef r.p. 1208, lit. ‘the falling of
the sky would not matter to me’; odi a’m didawr r.p. 1029
‘[there is] scarcely anything that interests me’.

Pathawr (for pa’th dawr) w.m. 430 ‘what does [that] matter to
thee?’ Ny’m torei kyny bydwn 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’; ni’m dorbi b.b. 60, 62 ‘it will not matter to me’.
Without the dat. infixed pron.: ny dídawr, ny dawr cw’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 an y korff nys didorei ef s.g. 64 ‘about the
body he did not care’; heb didarbot py beth a damweinei idaw r.b.b.
225 ‘without caring what happened to him’.

In Late Ml. and Early Mnl. W. this new verb ‘to care’ came
to be inflected for all the persons; as ny ðidorynt R.B.B. 216 'they cared not', ni ðdoraf D.G. 529 'I do not care', ni ð dorwn i do. 296, ni ðdawr hi, ni ðdorwn 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. dorbi 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, gwybod. Hence we may infer dawr < *dâros st < *dô-(p)aros 
est; *paros : Gk. τάπος, Skr. purâh, all from Ar. *pâros 'before'; for 
development of the meaning cf. Skr. purâs kar- 'place in front, 
make the chief thing, regard, prefer'; with the verb 'to be' instead 
of 'to make' we should have 'to be in front, to be important, to 
matter'. The impf. dorei must therefore have been made from the 
pres. dawr.

The reason for dar- in the v.n. is a different accentuation : *do-âros-
> 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 *pâros 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' < *q'âr-, √q'er-
'make' influenced by Lat. paro (parâtus > W. parod 'ready').

From ðâsawr were formed the abstract noun ðísordep M.A. ii 346 
and the adj. ðiðdorol only occurring in Late Mn. W. and generally 
misspelt dyddorol 'interesting'.

ii. (1) Ml. W. dichawn, digawn 'can', Mn. W. dichou, is rarely 
used except in this form, which is 3rd sg. pres. ind.

ny ðichawn ef eu gwneuthur M.A. 33 'which He cannot do', cf. 34. 
35; llawer dawmwein a ðisawm bot w.M. 28, R.M. 18 'many an accident 
may happen'.—Chwi yn falch a ddichon fod T.A. A 9817/184 'you who 
may be proud'. Ni ddichon neb wasanaethu dau argywydd Matt. vi 24. 
Llawer a ddichon taer-weddi y cyfawn ïago v 16.

A subjunct. 3rd sg. occurs in kyn ny ðigonho y gerð hon w.M. 488 
'though he does not know this craft'. In g.c. 138 we find nas 
dichonaf vi ac nas dichownn pei 'that I cannot [do] it, and could 
not if ...'

The form dichym M.K. [ix.] is an artificial re-formation which was 
in fashion for a time, and then disappeared.

(2) dichon, dichawn < *ði-gawm < Brit. *ði-gâne ; digawn < 
Brit. *ði-gâne ; < Ar. perf. sg. 3. *gêgône : Gk. γέγονα 'I make 
known'; for meaning cf. Eng. can : √gêne- 'know'.—W. gogoniant 
'glory' orig. *fame < *qo-gân-.
§ 190

(3) A stem of the same form (usually with -g-) is inflected throughout in O. and Mi. W. in the sense of ‘cause to be, do, make’, v.n. *digon* M.A. i 359.


(4) This seems to come from √ _gêny_ - ‘cause to be, give birth to’, of which the pf. was sg. 1. *gêgona*, 3. *gêgône* : Skr. 1. _jājāna_, 3. _jājāna_, Gk. 1. _gêyôra_. 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) Mi. W. _digawn_, Mn. W. _digon_ ‘enough’ may have originated in phrases such as _digawn hymny_ ‘that will do’ understood as ‘that [is] enough’; cf. _digawn a sôdet yman_ R.M. 14. From _digon_ ‘enough’ a new verb was made in Mn. W., _digonaf_, v.n. _digonî_ ‘to suffice’.

iii. Mi. W. _deryw_, Mn. W. _darfu_ § 190 i (2).


Other persons are found: _gweða-, -wyf_ M.A. 122, _gewddynyt_ Gr.O. 63. _gewda_ is a denom. from _gewd_ ‘appearance’ < * _yid-ô_ § 63 iv.


_Ny tykya_ ý 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 _teog_: √ _teuâ-_, see § 111 v (2); but the -c- in the pres. is caused by the -h- of _ha_.


_A'r lludw gorff, lle daw ý gyt,_

_Y'r lludw arall lle deiryd._ —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 _deirydt_ from * _do-ghretai_ ‘holds himself to’.
vii. metha gan ‘fails’, synna ar ‘is astonished’:

Pan fethodd geni’ ddyfeisio b.c. 15 ‘when I failed to guess’, lit. ‘when guessing failed with me’; metha gan y buan ddianc Amos ii 14; synnadvodd arnaf D.G. 386 ‘I was astonished at’, synnodd arwnt 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 wrth weled Act. viii 13, where weled is no longer, as it should be, the subject; the next step is synnodd ef; then synnais, etc., in all persons.

Other verbs are used in a similar way in the 3rd sg., but not exclusively; hiraethodd arno ‘he longed’; llawenhaodd arno ‘he was rejoiced’; lleshaodd iddo ‘profited him’; gorfu arno or iddo ‘he was obliged’; perthyn iddo or arno ‘belongs to him’; digwyddodd iddo ‘it happened to him’, etc. The subject is usually a v.n.: digwyddodd iddo syrthio ‘he happened to fall’; gorfu arno fywed ‘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. Mn. 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. 11, ganadoed h.m. ii 263, ganydoed r.b.b. 111, ganyssit do. 286.

A 3rd. sg. aor. genis ‘begat’ occurs in c.m. 19, in a translation, and is prob. artificial.

ii. genir < Brit. *ganê-re < *gânê-, √genê-: Lat. gigno, Gk. γενο-, etc. The ganad- in the plup. is the perf. pass. part. *ganatos < *gânê-tos; prob. -yd- is due to the anal. of ydoedd.

§ 198. i. Ml. W. heb yr, heb y, or heb ‘says, said’ is used for all persons and numbers; the yr or y is not the definite article, as it occurs not only before proper names, but before pronouns. The Mn. W. forms corresponding to the above are ebr, ebe, eb. In Recent W. the form ebe (with -e for Ml. y § 16 iv (2)) is sometimes wrongly written ebai, the -e being mistaken for a dialectal reduction of the impf. ending -ai § 6 iii.

Oes, arghwyo, 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 wynt do. 27 'said they'; etc. Its use without an expressed subject is rare, and occurs chiefly where it repeats a statement containing the subject: Ac yna y dywat Beuno, mi a velaf, heb m.A. 126 'And then Beuno said, "I see," said [he]; A gofyn a oruc iðaw, arglywð, heb r.m. 179 'and he asked him, "lord," said [he]'; heb ef ... heb r.m. 96.

Mn. W. (N.W.) ebe ni Ps. cxxxvii 4 (1588), eb ef b.cw. 8 'said he', eb yr angel ib. 'said the angel', ebr ef do. io, ebr ynteu do. 15, eb ef M.K. [11], hebr ef do. [20]; (S.W.) ebe Myrddin D.P.O. 4, eb un do. 97, ebe l.mss. 154 ff. The N.W. dial. form ebr, e.g. ebr fi b.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'.

Ti hebaf 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 gwrthebaf 'I reply', gohebaf 'I say' (now 'I correspond') seem also to be regular: gohebych B.F. r.p. i 154 (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 *hebr₃ or heb before a consonant; the former would naturally become hebyr, later heby; this seems to be the sound meant by heb y, the y being written separately because sounded y as in the article. Before a vowel *hebr would remain, and is prob. represented by heb yr (the normal Ml. spelling would be hebyr ≡ hebyr). In S.W. heb and heby survived, becoming eb, ebe; in N.W. heb and hebr, becoming eb and ebr.

If the above is correct, the original *hebr must be from a deponent form with suffix *-re added directly to the root; thus *seq*-re, √seq*- 'say'; cf. gwyr § 191 iii (1). In the face of the compound ateb = Ir. aithesc, both from Kelt. *ati-seq*, Strachan's statement, Intr. 97, that heb 'says' is of adverbial origin seems perverse. A sufficient
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 amkawð ‘answered’ is a survival which occurs frequently in the w.m. Kulhwech, and nowhere else; the 3rd pl. is amkeuðant w.m. 486, –8, which the scribe at first wrote amkeuðabl do. 473, –7, –8, –9, mistaking n for n and writing it 6.

amk-awð, § 96 iii (4); if the explanation there given is correct, amkeuðant is a re-formation, possibly at first *amkeuðynht with affection of aw as in heuwydd § 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. 1. Með seint Austin II.a. 42 ‘St. Augustine says’; 2. með yr ystoria do. i 29 ‘says the account’; 3. Dioer, heb y kennadeu, Teq, með Pryderi oeð yr gwr... w.m. 88 “By Heaven,” said the messengers, ‘Pryderi says it would be fair for the man...’’; 4. Edyrn vab Nuð yu, með ef; nyt atwen inheu ef r.m. 259 ‘He says he is Edyrn son of Nudd; but I don’t know him’; 5. Blawt, meðei y Gwyødël w.m. 54 ‘Flour,” said the Irishman’; 6. Broch, meðynht wynteu do. 24 ‘A badger,” said they’.

Mn. W.: meddaf I.F. I.mss. 319, Col. i 20; medði Ioan viii 52; medð M.K. [20]; meddant 2 Cor. x 10.

(2) In the recent period medd has tended to take the place of eb, and has almost ousted it in the dialects. But in Ml. W. the two are distinct: heb is used in reporting a conversation, and is therefore of extreme frequency in tales; með is used in citing authors, as in exx. 1., 2., or in quoting an expression of opinion as in ex. 3., or an answer not necessarily true, as in exx. 4., 5., 6. Hence we may infer that með originally meant ‘judges, thinks’, and is the original verb corresponding to medwl ‘thought’: Ir. midiur ‘I judge, think’, Lat. meditor, √ med-, allied to √ me- ‘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. ind. 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. médati ‘rejoices’ (from the sense of ‘refreshing’ comes ‘healing’ in Lat. medeor, medicus). W. meddaf is often intrans., followed by ar; meddu ar ‘to rejoice in, be possessed of’. A common saying is Mae hwn yn well i feddu arno ‘this is better to give satisfaction’, lit. ‘to have satisfaction on it’.

D.G. has *dlyy* 28; elsewhere the impf. *dlyywun*, *dlyyai* (misprinted *dyleuaf*, *dylai*) 35 ‘I deserve, she deserves’; *Ni dlyynt ddit-ey* (misprinted *Ond ni ddylit*) 427 ‘thou oughtest not to destroy’. The 3rd sg. *dlyyai* became *dylái* § 82 ii (3), also without the intrusive *y*, *dlái*. Hence sg. i. *dyláwn*, 2. *dyláut*. These forms may still be heard from old speakers; but in the Late Mn. period a re-formed tense *dylwn*, etc. has come into use; and the written form is *dylwm* 2 Cor. ii 3, *dylit* Es. xlviii 17, *dyléi* Ioan xix 7, *dydlen*, i Ioan iv 11, etc. The plup. in any case would be *dylaswm* 2 Cor. xii 11, etc.—In the early 17th cent. an artificial sg. 3. *dyl* was sometimes used.

*Gwirion a ddlae a drugaredd;* *ms. dylae.*

*Gwaer ferch d’i gyrru 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 -dí see § 52 iii (3).

(2) The first *y* in *dlyyaf* is intrusive, and comes from *dlyy* < *dylg* § 40 iii (3). Related forms are Mn. W. *dylbet*, *dlyet* ‘merit; debt’, Mn. W. *dyléd* D.W. 80, *dléd* T.A. A 14967/29 ‘debt’, § 82 ii (3); the latter is the Gwyn. dial. form; late Mn. *dyled*; Bret. *ále* ‘debt’, *ddleut* ‘devoir’, Ir. *ddligim* ‘I deserve’, *ddlég* ‘law, right’; all these may represent either *dleg- or *dlyg-* in Kelt.: Goth. *dulgs* ‘debt’ < *dlahg-, O.Bulg. *d³log†* ‘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*, *hwly* ‘here! take this’ and *moes* ‘give me’ are used in the imperative only; in Mn. W. *hwde* has pl. *hwdiwch*; *moes* has Mn. pl. *moesswch* R.M. 182, Mn. *moesswch* Gr.O. 58.

*Hwde* wodrywy w.m. 168, r.m. 234 ‘take a ring’; *hwde* di y votrey honn r.m. 173 ‘take thou this ring’; *hwdry* di theu ef c.m. 31 ‘do thou take it’; *hwdiwch* M.K. [78], b.cw. 38.

*Moes* § 154 iii (2) ex.; *moes* wy march w.m. 17 ‘give me my horse’; *moes* imy goroboch w.m. 164 ‘give me the goblet’; *Melys*; *moes* mwy prov. ‘[It is] sweet; give me more’; *moes* imy dy galon Diar. xxiii 26; *moes*, *moes* do. xxx 15; *moesswch* ryngoch air Barn. xx 7.
ii. *hwde* is not used for ‘take’ generally, but is an exclamation accompanying an offer, cf. *Gwel un hwde no deu òdau b.b. 968 ‘better one “take this” than two promises’; hence possibly *hw* for *hwy* § 78 ii < *s(y)oi ‘for (thy) self’ the reflexive *sy* being used orig. for all persons. In that case -dy or -de is the ordinary affixed pron. (= b.b. -de, § 160 iv (3), used because *hw* was taken for a verb), or is perhaps voc.; *hwy* dí then is *hw* dydí. The S.W. *hvre* is late, M.II. ii 108 (not by him, see do. 319).

moes < *moi esto(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 *-ami*, which is sometimes original, and represents Ar. *-*ā-mi or *-*ō-mi; but -af was often substituted for -if < Brit. *-i-me < Ar. *-ē-mi*, and for the affection caused by Brit. *-*ū < Ar. *-*ō, the ending in thematic verbs. The W. verbal stem represents—


3. R-grade of √, as in *dyg-af* ‘I bring’ < *dük-* § 182 ii (2); also V-grade, as in *co-sp-af* ‘I punish’, Ir. *co-sc-aim* < *con-sc* (‘talk with’), √ *seg* ‘say’. (Though in rho-*dd-af* ‘I give’ the dd appears to be R-grade of √ *dō-, in reality *ddaf* represents Ar. *-*dō-mi with F-grade, as in Gk. *διδωμυ. ‘

4. R-grade of √ with *n-* infix, as in *gann-af* ‘I am contained’ < *ghyd-* § 173 iv (1), √ *ghed*: E. *get*; and in *gwenn ‘I know’ < *yind-, √ *yed*- § 191 iii (1).—W. *prynaf* ‘I buy’ < *q*rinā-mi, √ *q*reinā-§ 179 iii (1). The *n-* infix comes before the last cons. of the root, and is syllabic (*ne*) before a sonant; the last cons. in *q*reinā-*is* (ā = ae), and before the syllable is -na- § 63 v (2), hence *q*rinā-; cf. Gk. Dor. διῳμα, √ *δημα*.

5. R-grade of √ + ∫, as in *seini-af* ‘I sound’ < *st n-∫, √ sten-; sain ‘a sound’ is an old v.n., cf. *darstain* ‘to resound’ § 156 i (13).

6. V-grade of √ + *ii > W. *-g-, as in *b-yô-af§ 189 iv (1); and *gweinyô-af b.p. 1244 ‘I serve’, 3rd sg. *gweinyô do. 1238, gweinyôa
1254 < *yo-gn-i-i-, *gen-, § 196 ii (4); the v.n. is gweini < *yo-
gnim- § 203 vii (4). These represent Ar. iteratives and causatives in
-éie- (-i-, -i-).

(7) R-grade of √ + *-isq- > W. -ych-, as llwyrch-af (late corruption
llwyrchaf) < *buig-isk-, leuq/gr-; Gk. - arist; -grade of √ + *-sq-
kviešu ‘I invite’, O. Pruss. quoi ‘he will’, Lat. vis, O. Lat. vois ‘thou
wishest’, Lat. invitus, (qu> Lat. v), Gk. κόιταιν γυναικών ἐπισυμπαί Hes.
—Ar. suff. *-sq-.

(8) Other Ar. stem-forms, mostly deverbatives and denominatives,
such as -d- or -dh- stems, as rhathaf, rhathu § 91 ii; -t- stems, as
gadaf ‘I leave’ < *għo-t- ii (2); -y- stems, as (gwr)andawaf ‘I listen’
§ 76 iii (1); stems with -m-, as tyfaf ‘I grow’ < *tu-m-: Lat. tumeo,
*teux+ ‘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.
gwasanaethhu was made from the verb, § 203 i (1); ymddir(id)edaf
‘I trust’ from v.n. ymddir(id)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, gadel,
gadel has a doublet adawaf ‘I leave, leave behind’, v.n. adaw (in
Late Ml. and Mn. W. adawaf, v.n. gadaw, gado). The two verbs
are conjugated regularly throughout; thus—

1. gadaf: 3rd sg. pres. ind. gad, 2nd sg. impv. gad, 2nd pl. do.
gedwch, 3rd sg. pres. subj. gato = gatto R.P. 1271; na at r.p. 1299
> nat do. 1216, Mn. W. năd ‘let not’, na ato > nato ‘forbid’; from
these we have nadaf ‘I forbid’, v.n. nadu c.c. 187, Card. naddel.
Och argowyd, heb y Gwalchmai, gat y mi vynt . . . Ac adu a vnaeth
Arthur R.M. 181 ‘Alas lord,” said G., “let me go.” And A. let
him.’ Ny adoi ef hun vyth ar legat dyn w.m. 465 ‘he never left
sleep on eye of man.’ Ym-ád a P.G.G. 22 ‘forego’ impv.

Gwedd ewyn, eyd gweddinyw,
Gadu ar Dduw ranun ’r wyf.—D.G. 17.

‘[Maid of] the colour of foam, though I pray, I leave it to God to
dispose.’

Ac ato’dd awn bei’m getid.—G.G. p. 83/59.

‘And to him would I go, if I were allowed.’

Nad i ferch newidio f’oes.—D.G. 295.

‘Let not a woman change my life’ (I read niweidio ‘mar’).
Nato Duro § 159 ii (2), E.P. 274 'God forbid'; nadodd D.G. 105 'prevented'. Gedwch i blant bychain ddyfod attafi Marc x 14.

2. adawaf: 3rd sg. pres. ind. edeu, Mn. W. gedy, 2nd sg. impv. adaw, 2nd pl. edewch, Mn. W. gadéwch, 3rd sg. pres. subj. adawo, etc.

Adaw ti y lle hwnn MLA. 105 'leave thou this place'. Ac yn y Nestyr yd ymulcho yd edeu 'till he modrwyen w.m. 475 'and in the vessel in which she washes she leaves her rings'. hyt nat edewis efwr 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 *ḡh-e-, звуч- Skr. jāhāti 'leaves', Lat. ḥē-rēs, Gk. χῆπος. adawaf is a denom. from adaw, which may be an ad-compound of the same root with ḡ- verbal noun suffix § 202 v (I); thus *ati-ḡh-ῤ- > Brit. *ate-gāy- > ad-aw. Initial g- begins to appear in adaw in the 14th cent.: gedewis MLA. 106.

The verb gadaf is in common use in the spoken lang., but recent writers seem to think that it is a corruption of gadauaf; and in late eds. of the Bible gedwch 1.c. has been changed by vandals to gadéwch.

(b) cyfodaf 'I rise, raise', v.n. cyfodi, is generally reduced in Mn. W. to codaf, codi (cyfodi- = cyfod- = co-wod- = cod-). But in lit. W. the 3rd sg. pres. ind. cyfyd Matt. xvii 23, and 2nd sg. impv. cyfod Gen. xxxi 13, remained. In the recent period, however, a dial. form cywyd (< *ćb|yd = cywyd) is sometimes used for the former, and even as impv., e.g. Ceiriog C.G. 94.

In Gwyn. the dial. forms are cyfyd 'rises', ćb|ad 'rise!' the latter now being replaced by a new cod from the vb. stem.

cyf-o-d-af < *kom-(y)ot-, звуч- 'fly': Gk. ποτη, πτομα, O. Pers. ud-a-patali 'rises'; cyf-od- orig. 'rise' (of birds, bees, etc.). The звуч also means 'to fall' Walde 573, hence W. od-i 'to fall' (of snow), as Ottid eiry B.B. 59 'snow falls'; hence őd 'snow'.

(3) In Mn. W., especially in the late period, some verbs have been re-formed with the v.n. as stem; thus arhɔaf became arhosaf § 187 ii; adeilaf became adeiladaf § 203 iii (i); othrɛaf 'I trace', v.n. othrɛain § 203 iv (i), became othrɛinaf; and darliɛaf 'I read' became darilennaf, or darllenaf, formed from the dial. v.n. darllen, for the standard form darlein, darlain.

As there is no early evidence of darllen it cannot be assumed to be from llɛn < llec < Lat. legend-. darllenaf instead of *darlleiniaf may be due to the influence of ysgrifennaf. But in S.W. it is sounded darllenaf with single -n, as if influenced by lɛn. In the 1620 Bible the vb. is darllenaf Dan. v 17, but impv. darlain Es. xxix 11, darlein Jer. xxxvi 6, v.n. darlein 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'; meddianu-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'; chwennifer 'I desire', v.n. chwennychu w.m. i3, chwennychu R.B.B. 89, chwennyd D.G. 91, from chwanti 'desire'; twych-af 'I fatten', v.n. -u, from tev 'fat'; on the suff. see i (7).

The relation between this and the abstr. noun ending -wech § 143 iii (23) is seen in pas 'cough' < *qgwest- (: O.E. hwestinal), pesychaf 'I cough', pesychu 'to cough', peswech 'coughing'; the last is a suffixless v.n., and is still used as a v.n. in S.W. dialects. Ar. *-isq- > *-qwech > -wech § 96 iii (4), § 26 vi (5).

diolweg 'to thank' w.m. ii, 'thanks' do. 34, became diolé 'to thank', R.B.B. i34, 'thanks' do. io, and *diolychaf 'I thank' became diolychaf w.m. i04 even earlier; diolwech < *de-jâl-isq- : W. iolaf 'I praise', v.n., fôl, eiríolaf 'I entreat', v.n. eiríwch < *ar-jað- ; Kelt. *jað- 'speak fervently' < Ar. *jâl- 'fervent': Gk. ζῆλος, Dor. ζάλος 'zeal'.

(3) Suff. -yg-, as in gwaethyg-af 'I become worse', v.n. -u, from gwaeth 'worse'; mawryg-af 'I extol', v.n. -u, from mawr 'great'.

The suff. is prob. a variant of -ych- after th, ll, cf. -wyg § 143 iii (23). The stem-form of Ml. W. gwellygyaw from gwall 'defect' has been influenced by the synonymous diffygyaw < Lat. de-fici-.

(4) Suff. -ha-; the -h- unvoiced -b, -d, -g, and often -f, -ś § 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'); cica 'to beg meat' (cig 'meat'); ëta 'to beg corn' (ëd 'corn'); pysgôta 'to fish' (pysgod 'fish'); onena 'to gather nuts' (onau 'nuts'); adâra 'to go bird-catching' (adar 'birds'); cymûta 'to gather fuel' (cynnud 'fuel'); łygôta 'to catch mice' (lygod 'mice'); gwrêica 'to seek a wife' (guraig 'wife'); lloffa '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, cymûtai § 143 iv (2).

These forms are proper compounds of noun stems with *sag- < *seg-,
\( \sqrt{\text{ság}} : \) Ir. saigim 'I seek', Goth. sökján, E. seek; thus *mlātō-ság- > *blot-ḥa- > blotā. The noun suff. -hāi < *sagīō 'seeker' § 104 ii (2).

(b) 'to go as, act as', in ML. W. marchoccaaf 'I ride', marchoccaauv s.g. 34, marchoccauwn do. 35; v.n. marchogyaeth do. 1, 35. A variant of the verb is formed without a suff.: marchogaf, 3rd sg. pres. subj. marchoco a.l. i 24, imp. marckocer do. 264, also with v.n. marchogayth ib.

Brit. *markákos agāme 'I go as rider', treated as one word, gave *marchophagaaf > marchoccaaf. But the v.n. was a proper compound *markákō-aktā > *markákāktā > marchogyaeth 'to ride'. In Dyfed a new v.n. was formed from the vb. stem: marchocu, now corrupted to brochgu. (-aaf implies active flexion, but the vb. was orig. middle.)

(c) 'to become, be' with adjectives; as gwanhaf 'I become weak', v.n. gwanhān; cryfhaf 'I become strong', v.n. cryfhán, dial. cryffān; trugarhaf 'I am merciful, have mercy', v.n. trugarhān, from trugar; etc.

Brit. *yannos agāme 'I go weak' > *yannos-agame > W. gwannahaf. 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. dātāmas instead of dāturāh smas following the sg. dātāsmi 'I shall give' < dātā asmi 'I am a giver'.—W. parhaf 'I continue' (v.n. parhān, pāra) < Brit. *paros-agame 'I go on the same' < Lat. par.

(d) 'to make' with adjectives; glanhaf 'I clean', v.n. glanhān; gwastatāf 'I flatten, straighten', v.n. gwastatān; cadarnhaf 'I strengthen', v.n. cadarnhān.

Brit. *glanosagāme > W. glannahaf. 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 difetha 'to mar, spoil' < *di-fēs-ḥa 'to make unusable, unenjoyable', √ med- 'enjoy', § 199 i (3). The verb was difethuaf, see difetha-avō r.r.b. 394, difeth-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 dyfrhaf 'I water', v.n. dyfrhān; coffaf 'I remember', v.n. coffān or coffa; brytāf 'I eat', v.n. brytān.

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).

\[ \text{Similar formations abound in Ir., Thurneysen Gr. 314; but Ir.} \]
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: mitigare, remigare, navigare, etc.

(5) Suff. -ho-; in paratoaf 'I prepare' § 185 i; crynhoaf 'I compress, summarize', v.n. crynhôi.

W. paratoaf < *parad-hoð-af < *parâto-sod- 'set ready' < Lat. paratus + *sod-, √ sod- § 63 ii; cf. arhoaf § 187 iii; see also § 74 i (1).

(6) Suff. -i-; this is added to nouns, and is largely used: taniaf 'I fire' (tán 'fire'); glanjaf 'I land' (glân 'shore'); soniaf 'I mention' (sôn 'rumour'); meddyliaf 'I think' (meddwl 'thought'); rhodiâf 'I go about' (rhawd 'course'); etc.

This is the Ar. denominative suff. *-ie-, as seen in Skr.apas-yá-ti ' is active' from āpas- 'act'; Gk. τέλεω (<*τέλεω-ω) from τέλεω-; δηλώ (<*δηλο-ω) from δηλο-; etc., Meillet, Instr. 183.

In old formations the -i- of course affects the preceding vowel in W.; thus niweidiaf 'I injure' : niwed, Ml. W. er-nywed w. 48a, § 76 iv (4); peidiaf, v.n. peidio 'to cease, be quiet' < Brit. *pat- < *q(n)(i)t-, √ qeie-; Lat. quiès.

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' < *dê-eks-kl(i)ariōs (; clair < *kliaros § 75 vi (1)); hence W. disgleiriaf 'I shine', v.n. disgleirio. From these forms it was extended to other adjectives with -ei- as perfeithio, perfeidjâw from perfeith < Lat. perfectus; and with -i-, as gwirio 'to verify' from gwîr § 35 iii (but cywiro from cywir).

The suffix is generally used in verbs borrowed from Eng.; thus pasiaf 'I pass', passiodd Caun. ii i i ; peintiâw 'to paint' (§ 16 v (2)); ystopiâwod s.g. 72 'stopped'. In some cases two forms are used; thus ffaeljâw s.g. 285 'to fail', besides ffâlu 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: ateð 'to answer', vb. ateðaf; edrych 'to look', vb. edrychaf; dangos 'to show', vb. dangosaf; adrodi 'to recite', Ml. W. adrawð, vb. adroddaf; anfón 'to send', vb. anfónaf; bwyta 'to eat', vb. bwytá-af etc.; Ml. and Early Mn. W. ffo § 223 i (2), Late ffoi 'to flee'.
(2) This form implies a lost monosyllabic ending, most probably neut. *-os as in Gk. γέρος, Lat. gen-us; thus ateb < *at-e-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 gallaf ateb 'I can answer'. But it may also be nom. as ateb a wnaf '[it is] answer that I will do'. The word is the same as the abl. noun ateb '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 R.B. 63, and v.n. tarawi h.m. ii 253. The vowel in the first syll. of these two forms is probably intrusive § 40 iii (3); it does not occur in the other forms of the verb in Ml. W.: trawei w.m. 24, r.m. 15; trewisi w.m. 80, 90, r.m. 58, 66, c.m. 18; trawaf\(^\dagger\) s.g. 18, trawasant do. 31, trawseii do. 61; trawcher w.m.l. 3, trawchet do. 29. The Late Ml. trawaf, tarawiad are artificial; the natural forms are still trawaf, trawiad. If the etymology trawaf < *trug-ami (ru<ur\] § 97 v (3) is correct, it does not admit of a vowel between the \(t\) and \(r\).

(4) Many verbs which seem to have suffixless v.n.'s are 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 \(a\) conjugation.—

-u < *-ōu, prob. < loc.*-a-γen (or nom.-acc.*-a-γen): Skr. dat. dā-vān-e, Gk. Cypr. δo-εν-α, Att. δούνα; (*-a-γos is also possible, with the suff. of byw § 204 ii (5); but this is a rarer form).— -aw for *-aw(f) < loc.*-a-men (or nom.-acc.*-a-mp); see § 203 ii (4); but Ir. has also -mu- §203 vii (4), and -mā- beside -mā- flexion.

-i belongs to the \(i\) conjugation; the O.W. form was -im (≡ -i) § 110 iii (5); hence from *-i-men (or *-i-mn), as assumed above for -aw; thus rhoddi 'to put' < Brit. *ro-di-men < *pro-đē-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, paltu, diddanu, tarfu; taeru, arfaethu, saethu, gwaedu; credu, trefnu, senu, lledu; nyddu, crynnu, prydyddu, melysu. Exceptions: a few stems having a, v (3); gwaedaf 'I cry' has v.n. gweidi r.m. 174, w.l. 154; medaf has medi b.b. 45.

Ml. W. cae-u 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 medyljau w.m. 10, llygw do. 16, rhodio, diffygio, teithio, gweithio, seilio, hoelio, etc. In Ml. W. the \(i\) is often omitted, as trenlaw w.m. 6, Mn. W. trenli.
keissaw do. 487, Mn. W. ceisio, § 35 ii (1). Some -i-stems have other endings, see § 203 iii (2), vi (1), (2), vii (1).

A few -i-stems have suffixless v.n.'s; thus kynnegaf has kynnic w.m. 30 'to offer'; distrywaf has distryw r.b.b. 159, distrew do. 89, now distrewio. In Late Mn. W. meddiol, sôn have superseded meddylio, sonio as v.n.'s. In daliad the -i- represents original -g-, and daly, dala, late dat represent an original suffixless *dalz, see § 110 ii (2). Similarly hely, hela, hel, vb. heliaf, heliodd Gen. xxvii 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 y in the v.n. burg, see ib.

As ai is ei in the penult § 81 i, and stems with -ei- take -i- § 201 iii (6) it is seen that denominatives from nouns and adj.s. with -ai- must have v.n.'s in -io; thus areithio, disgleirio, diffethio, gwenniethio from araith, disglair, diffaith, gweniaith. (If these had been araeth, 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 cyfeithiaf by dissim. of i's; the regular cyfeithio also occurs, p 218/179 b.

(2) stems having i, u, eu, wy; as blino, gwrindo, llifo, rhifo; curo, dymuno, grymos; euro, heno, cenlo; bwydo, rhyfio, arswydo, twgyllo.

Ml. W. dinustyr x.m.m. 32 'destroys' has v.n. dinustraw r.p. 1246; in Mn. W. dinistr became dinistr by § 77 ix, and the verb is re-formed with -i- suff., v.n. dinistrio Deut. xii 2. (The late dinystrio is a mis-spelling; the sound in the penult is not y but i.) dinistr < *dén-ůy(i)-stro-: niced § 76 iv. (4), suff. as in Lat. mónstrum.

Some stems ending in -eu have suffixless v.n.'s, as dechreu 'to begin', madden 'to part with, to forgive', ameu 'to doubt', vb. amhenaf. Also in Mn. W. tramroy Job i 7, arlwy D.G. 104.

On account of the early change of wy 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 y; thus berwi, chwerwi, ewyi, sylwi, gwelwi. Some of these have suffixless v.n.'s, as cadw, galy, marw.

Two distinct formations are represented here.—1. In verbs which take -i the -wy- either forms part of the root, as in bervi, bherwy- § 63 iv, or belongs to the stem of the noun or adj. of which the verb is a denom., as gwelwi, from gwerb 'pale'.—2. In verbs which do not take -i the y is itself the v.n. suffix, from *-yen (or *-yos), see ii above, and the vb. is a denom. formed from the v.n.; thus cadw 'to keep' < *kat-ŷen, *kat- 'hide, cover, keep': O.H.G. huolen 'care for,
keep’, E. heed, Lat. cassis; galw ‘to call’ < *gal-uen, √ gal- : Lat. gallus, E. call. For two of these v.n.’s, by- and mar- were for two of these v.n.’s, by- and mar- were formed § 204 ii.

Though the classes remained distinct, a v.n. of one class was liable to pass over to the other; thus meryn p 12/124 R. ‘to die’.—From Brit. *şanos (< *şano-s § 63 vii (2)) ‘full’, a v.n. *sán-uen would give *ławyn, from which may come llawyn R.M. 94, llenyi w.m. 23, R.M. 15, llvoni r.m. 175.—arddelw (now arddelw) for arddelwy.

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 disiawu 165, and Mn.W. croesawu has croesawu.

(2) stems having oe or o, whether the latter be original o or a mutation of aw; thus oedi, troelli, oeri, poethi; llonni from llon ‘merry’, cronni from crawen ‘hoard’; torri, cyflogi, arfogi.

Some stems having o take no suffix, as dangos, anfon, adrodd i (1). Ml. W. agori w.m. 59, 60, r.m. 42, a.l. i 498, D.G. 134, Can. v 5 is later agoryd M.K. [30], Dat. iii 20, or agor M.K. [32], b.c.w. 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. sangaf; perchi, vb. parchaf; defni, vb. dafnaf.

mynegi, Ml. W. menegi, and trengi are stems with a; in Ml. and Early Mn. W. the verbs are managaf and trangaf; but in Late Mn. W. the e of the v.n. has intruded into the vb., and mynegaf, trangaf are the usual forms.—In b.b. 8 deli (l = l-l) occurs for the usual daly, daliv (1).—defni is also an abstr. noun ‘dropping’ Diar. xix 13, xxvii 15; and is often taken for a pl. of dafn e.g. I.mss. 232; v.n. defni M.A. 23.

§ 203. Verbal nouns are also formed by means of other suffixes, as follows:

i. (1) -aeth in marchogaeth § 201 iii (4) (6), and Early Ml. W. gwvasanaeth ‘to attend, serve’, later gwvasanaethu.

Eff a sely guassanayth ar e vre[nhines] ... Ny sely ef eyste, ... namyn guassanayth oy seyfl b.ch. 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 guasanaethod correctly, with -u as the reading of mss. c.d.e. In Late Ml. W. gwvasanaethu r.m. 174 is the form used. See § 201 ii (1).

-aeth became an abstr. noun suffix § 143 iii (2). Thus a lost verb *hir-ha-af ‘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, caffeil, cael § 188 i (8); dyrchafael § 188 iii; gadael beside gadhu § 201 ii (2); gallael beside gallu ‘to be able’. Probably -ael is original only in gafael § 188 iv.

(3) -ach, in cyfeddach ‘to carouse’, prystellach, ymdesach, clindarddach, caintach p 5/x n. 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 √ağ- seen in -ha- stems; thus -aeth < *-ak-tā (< -āk- < -o-ak-); the ā would be shortened before k when though accented) § 201 iii (4) (b), with *-tā suffix as in bod ‘to be’ < *bhu-tā.— -ael : Ir. -āi < *-aɡ-li-s, with fem. *-li- suff.; the suff. *-li- forms fem. abstract nouns in Slavonic also, and Armenian has an infinitive suff. -l— -ach < *-aks- < *-aɡ-s-, perhaps *-aɡ-sen; cf. Gk. φηριν < *φηρε-σεν.

ii. (1) -ofain, Ml. W. -ovein, -ovant occurs beside -aw in wylofaen, Ml. W. wylovein I.I.. 117, 154, cwynovein s.g. 343, cwinovant b.b. 46. A similar formation is digofain g. 132 ‘wrath’, later usually dígofant, abstr. noun.

(2) -fan(n), -fa, in cwyynfan, Ml. W. kwyvan I.I.. 154, beside cwynaw, cwyño; gridwan I.I.. 154, Mn. W. griddfan whence vb. griddfanaf, grieva r.m. 132; chedfan Ml. W. chetvan, beside chedeg, vb. chedaf ‘I fly’.

(3) -ain, Ml. -ein, in ʻlefain, ʻlevein r.m. 132, vb. ʻlefaf ‘I cry’; llemain, late llamu, Ml. llemein, vb. llamaf ‘I leap’; germain ‘to cry’; Ml. germein, no verb; ochain, vb. ochaf; ubain, diasbedain with no verbs. With -t in díoceśaint I.I.. 129 ‘suffering’, Mn. W. díoceśfacht, only occurring as an abstract noun.

(4) cwynnav < Brit. loc. *kein-á-men, denom. from *keino-, § 101 ii (2); cwynnofain from the dat. of the same stem, *kein-á-mนอน < *m.nai : Gk. δε-μαι, Skr. dā-mane ‘to give’.— -ovant represents another case, prob. loc. *-a-m.ni; -ant < -ann < *-n-, § 62 i (2).— -fan(n), -fa represents the same case as the last, but with a different accent; thus griddfan ‘to groan’ < *grido-m.ni, √ghrejaː : O.E. gränian, E. groan; cwyynfan is similar, or formed by analogy.—lef ‘cry’ < Brit. *lemen < *lep-men, < *lep- : Skr. lāpati ‘chatters, murmurs, laments’; ʻlefain is the dative *lemani < *lep-m.nai; ʻlefaf is a denom. from ʻlef. Similarly garm § 95 ii (3); germain < *gar-sm.nai ; no verb was formed for this; llam : llemein, vb. llamaf denon. From these -ain was deduced and added to the intjs. ub and och and to the noun diaspad (diasbad) ‘cry’; vb. ochy I.I.. 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 adeilaf; Ml. W. gwylat w.m. 74, R.M. 53 'to watch', gwylgat s.g. 2, vb. gwylaf w.m. 74, R.M. 53, also with y; chwibanat c.m. 48 'to whistle', vb. chwibanaf; dyhėad B.C.W. 124 'to gasp' beside dyhėu, vb. dyhėaf.

In Late Mn. W. adeilaf has been replaced by a denom. of the v.n.: adeiladaf, from which comes a new v.n. adeiladu. The origin meaning was 'to form a wattle'; the absence of i after l points to el coming from *egl- § 35 ii (3); hence adeilaf < *ati-eglāmi < *-peglo-
y by dissim. for *pleg-lo-, √ plek/y- : Lat. plecto, Gk. πλέκω, πλέγμα.

(2) -aíd, Ml. -eit, added to i-stems: ystyrjéit c.m. 61 'to consider', synjéit w.m. 33, R.M. 22 'to take thought', tybjeit s.g. 75 'to imagine', méyljéit M.A. i 251 'to think', errynjéit L.A. 125 'to implore', yslyfhjeit c.m. 5 'to snatch'; Mn. W. meddyljait D.G. 22, ystyrjaid, synjaid, tybjaid; -o is also used with these stems; and erfyñ is now suffixless. -eit is added to one e-stem: ysgytweit R.B.B. 58 beside ysgytvaw L.A. 166, Mn. W. ysgywd, vb. ysgydwaif 'I shake'.

On account of the dial. reduction of ai to e, § 6 iii this suffix is confused in Late Mn. W. with -ed; thus, ystyrjied, synied, tybied; these three are in common use. G.J. wrote ystyrjaid correctly, Hyff. Gymnwys 28.

The form ysgywd is v.n. and 3rd sg. pres. ind.; it is for ysgydwp by metath. of w, cf. echwyd 'evening, west' < Lat. occidus; —ysgydio 'brandishes' occurs M.A. i 285;—stem ysgydwp < *squti- for *squt-i-< *sqyti- : Lat. quatio for *(s)quatio, O.Sax. skuddjan; W. sgytio 'to shake violently', ysñwðl 'a push'.

(3) -ed, Ml. -et, in keret w.m. 486 'to walk', Mn. W. cerdded, vb. cerddaf; clywed § 194 v (1); gwelet w.m. 17, Mn. W. gweled, gweld 'to see', vb. gwelaf; yslet w.m. 182 'to drink', Mn. W. yfed, vb. yfaw; myned 'to go', vb. of § 193 ii. The -ed became part of the stem in dan-wared 'to mimic', √ ycerëi- § 63 vii (3); ymddiried, ymôtret 'to trust': dir 'true'.

cerdded < *kerd-, Corn. cérðhes 'to go, walk', Bret. kerzet id., Ir. ceir'd 'walk', √ sgrēad- 'turn about'; Gk. κόπας, Lat. cardo.—gwelaf 'I see', Bret. gwelout, Corn. gwéles 'to see' < *gʰywel- § 93 iv : Lith. žvelgu 'I look towards', žvilgoti 'to see', Gk. θέλω 'I fascinate' ("fascination is ever by the eye") Bacon, √ gʰwél-, extd. *gʰwél-g-. There is also a gwelaf from √ ywel - 'wish': tra welho Dew w.m. 72 'while God will', Mn. W. os gwelwch yn dea 'if you please'.

(4) -ud, Ml. -ut, earlier -wyt, in dywedut § 194 i (4); kyscwyt
b.t. 27, usually cynw ‘to sleep’; cadavid (≡ cadwyd) B.B. 62, cadwyd w. 10a, usually cadw ‘to keep’; ymchwelnut W.M. 10, 14, s.g. 23 ‘to turn’, ymchoelut C.M. 5. There is some confusion, even in Ml. W., of this suff. and -yt; thus the last word is written ymchoelyt in R.M. 7. In Mn. W. dywedut is spelt dywedyl; but G.J. wrote dywedul Hyff. Gwynws, p. iv.


(6) -ç, 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 -ç-, but this is an error, the older rhymes having -i-, as llid m.a. 6 408), 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. erlidaf 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 δ in the stem, in go(r)dîvès, vb. go(r)dîwesaf § 194 vi, Mn. W. v.n. goddîwès, late goddîweddyd; aros, verb arhoaf for *arhôaf § 187.

A megys nat ymôdiwes un creadur a Dws, ac ef yn ymôdiwès a phob peth... L.A. 10 ‘And as no creature apprehends God, and He apprehending everything...’

(8) Verbal nouns were formed in Ar. by means of suffixes -tu- (cf. Lat. supine -tu-), and *-ti-; Kelt. had also f. *-tâ, § 189 iv (6). The preceding vowel is generally, but not always, R-grade.—adeilad ‘to build’ = adeilad f. ‘a building’ < *ati-eglata < *-t-; — adít may be from a dat. *-ati < *-t-iai. — et < *-tâ; as yfed ‘to drink’ < *pibi- tâ, v pôi-; also from *e-to, *e-tâ, cf. § 143 iii (12).—The y of -yt comes from the i of *ri, *li representing Ar. *g, *g; thus corresponding to cymeraf ‘I take’ < *kom-bh- with F-grade *bher-, the v.n. had R-grade *bhr-, as *kom-bh-tu-> W. cymyrdd; so goglyt < *go-kli-tu-, v kel- ‘hide’. The -y- tended to spread from these.—The v.n. dilit is a similar formation, < *de-ti-tu-, where *ti- is R²-grade of v leîtâ- ‘to stick’; the vb. dilynafr < *de-lînâ-ni, with n-infix § 201 i (4). The verb *lynaf (cf. Ir. lenim) disappeared in W., and its compounds, as erlyn
(for *erlym), show the influence of the synonymous glynaf.—a (for -a) represents -ad-ter, § 187 iii.—ud <-wyd is a different formation from the others; the most probable explanation of the ñôy seems to be that it comes from new ai § 75 i (3); thus dywedut < dywedwyd < *do-yet-äitô < *do-yet-üitô : Lat. abstr. suff. -üitio, see vii (3).

iv. (1) -ain, Ml. -ein, for -e- in the stem, in olřein, darllein § 201 ii (3), dwyrein ‘to rise’, the latter surviving only as a noun meaning ‘east’. Examples of the verbs: olřewys w.m. 469, darllewyd do. 49, dwyreawcô M.A. i 300. The v.n. arwein has vb. arwedaf in Ml. W., later arweiniâf; so kywein: cywedi w.m. 119.

Gwell kadw no olřein R.B. 968 ‘better keep than seek.’

(2) -wôn, for -yg-, -wyg in the stem: dwyn, verb dygaf § 194 iii; ymddwyng, vb. ymdydwygâf ib.; amwôn verb amgyf§ 194 iv; adolwun, beside adolygw, also atolyw in Ml. W., verb adolygaf ‘I pray’.

*ac adolywyn y un yvnet 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. -an <-*o-no—*-egno- > -ein § 104 ii (1). Medial -eg- before a vowel > -ig- > y or e.—*-uk-no - > wyên § 104 iii (1).—ar-, cy-wain seem to come from *ueg-§ 65 ii (3), but the verbs imply *uyed- § 149 i; as dôn did not become gn (e.g. blyn-cô, not *blin-§ 104 iv (1)), we cannot assume *uyed- for the v.n.’s.

v. -eg, Ml. -ec, in rhedeg ‘to run’, vb. rhedaf; ehehedeg ‘to fly’, vb. ehedaf.

-eg <-*ikô abst. noun (orig. adj.) suffix, § 143 iii (14).

vi. (1) -an, added to i-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 trotlyâun R.P. 1272, mewlyân ‘to mumble’. Added to W. stems -ian forms a sort of pejorative v.n., as gorwedâjan ‘to lie about lazily’, ymlybrayan ‘to plod one’s way’, seflylian ‘to loaf’. It is not much used in the lit. lang.—Without i it appears as an abstr. suff.: cysau, Ml. W. cysau ‘kiss’ < O.E. cyssan ‘to kiss’.

Eng. strong verbs generally become i-stems in W. with v.n. -o as gildio ‘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 tincjal beside tincjan ‘to tinkle’, mewial beside mewian ‘to mew’; cyfnewidial D.G. 145 for cyfnewidio; naidral for naddu, techial for techu; sisjal whence vb. sisjalaf ‘I whisper’; myngial ‘to mumble’, no vb.
vii. Each of the following v.n.’s has a form peculiar to itself:

1. **lluddias** G.G.l. f. 14, Ml. W. **lluddìas** l.m. 19 ‘to hinder’, vb. **lluddìaf**, 3rd sg. pres. ind. **lludd** D.G. 105, aor. sg. **lluddìwys** w.m. 103, **lluddìdd** D.G. 105.

The suffix is prob. the same as the abstr. noun suff. -as § 143 iii (6).

2. **aredig**, Ml. W. **eredic** B.B. 44 ‘to plough’, vb. **arddaf** § 100 iii (2). There is a v.n. **erti** (≡ erdì) in B.B. 55, and a recent artificial **arddu**; but the v.n. in common use is **aredig**.

*Pwy bynnac a dorro teryn oy **eredyc**, y brenhyn a sỳly yr ychen ay harðò A.L. i 196 ‘Whoever shall destroy a boundary by ploughing it, the king shall be entitled to the oxen that plough it.’

The ending is similar in formation to that of the v.adj. -**edig** § 206 vii.


**chwerthin** B.M. 185, 237, wherthin W.M. 171. **chwerthin** is also an abstr. noun meaning ‘laughter’. *Gweniaith brydferth a **chwerthin** Erioed a fu ar dy fín.—D.G. 108. ‘Pretty flattery and laughter have always been on thy lip.’*

**chwardaф**<*s-uar-d-ami, d-stem, √ uerð(i)− : Lat. *rōdeo § 63 vii (5); −chwerthin, Bret. c'hœarzîn, <∗s-yar-lîn-î <∗s-/**y-**r-lîn-aï, dat. of ∗s-/**y-**r’-tîo, abs. noun in ∗-tîo : Lat. -tio; the oblique cases have ∗-tîn− (<∗-tîn(−) in Kelt. as in Osc.-Umbr., not -tîn-as in Lat., Brugmann II i 319. The dat. of this stem occurs as infinitive in Ir. also : do saigthin ‘to seek’. **chwerthin** seems the only survival in W. The use of -tîo as an abs. noun suffix is a feature of Italo-Kelt.

4. **gweini** ‘to serve’, vb. **gweinyydafa**.

The -i of **gweini** may represent the i which stands in ablaut with -eie; *uo-ţn-mu− > gweini : O.W. gnim, Ml. W. gnif, Ir. gnîm, u-flexion. On the verb see § 201 i (6).

5. **sefyll** ‘to stand’, vb. **safaf**.

**safaf** is a denom. from a noun ∗stha-**mo-s, √ sthā− ‘stand’, like *tyfaf ‘I grow’ from ∗tumo-s, § 201 i (8); −sefyll <∗stham-i-li-s, with the iterative and causative -i- (−eie), and the suffix ∗-li-, as in *gafael i (4); l between i’s gives W. ll § 111 i (2).


7. There are one or two other anomalous forms such as
chwilath D.G. 319 (beside chwiota); annos ‘to incite’ (beside annog); gwastrad-odd Gr.O. 178, 300 from gwastrad ‘groom’, suff. § 143 iii (13).

§ 204. i. Many verbal nouns have no verbs, but are used exactly like other v.n.’s in construction. Most of them have been named: cardota, blota, etc. § 201 iii (4) (a), cyfeddach, etc. § 203 i (3), germain, etc. § 203 ii (3); godro ‘to milk’; ym-ladd ‘to tire one’s self’ < *γηλ-λαδ-, √ λεδ- : Gk. ησείν ‘to be tired’, Lat. lassus § 156 i (2); but ym-lad ‘to fight’, √ qalad- § 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 myw o’r byd?
Mae’r haf wedy marw hefyd.—T.A., c. ii 79.
‘If the maiden is dead does the world any longer exist? Summer is dead too.’

I fardd ydwyf, ar ddidol,
Yn brudd yn byw ar i òl.—T.A., A 24980/166.
‘His bard am I, in seclusion, living sadly after him.’

Also when qualified by an adverbial expression consisting of yn and an adj., as byw’n gymwys W.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 maer ‘great mortality’, byw da ‘good living’, or when they follow yn with the nasal mutation:

Am ych dwyn ym myw’ch dynion
Yr oerai’r sir, eyr Sion.—T.A., c. 229.
‘Because you were taken in the lifetime of your men the shire became cold, eagle[son] of Sion.’

Also generally with prefixed pronouns: o dihenghy a’th vyw gennyt W.M. 476 ‘if thou escapest with thy life’: Mn. W. yn fy myw ‘in my life’, meaning ‘for the life of me’.
(3) They are adjectives when they qualify nouns expressed or implied:

\[ Y \text{ gwr marw, e gár morwyn} \]
\[ Ddeuar dy fedd er dy fwy. - T.A., g. 229. \]

‘Dead man, a maiden loves the dust of thy grave for thy sake.’

\[ Ar ol y \text{ marw yr wyl}, \]
\[ Ar ol y \text{ fwy'r wylaf fi}. - D.E., p 112/840. \]

‘Thou weepest for him who is dead; I weep for her who is alive’; lit. ‘the dead’ mas. sg., ‘the living’ fem. sg.

When following \( yn \) with the soft mutation:

\[ Ni \text{ bu 'n fyw, cyd bo 'n i fedd,} \]
\[ Ni \text{ bu 'n farw neb un faurredd}. - H.K. \]

‘There has not been alive, though he is [now] in his grave, there has not been dead any one so great.’

Also when they are complements, without \( yn \), of the verb ‘to be’, as bydd fwy lit. ‘be alive’ i.e. live! \( hwnno \) a fyd marw Ezec. xviii 4.

\[ Fy \text{ Nuw, pei eawn fy newis,} \]
\[ Ni \text{ byddai fyw o'm bodd fis}. - D.G. 174. \]

‘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 13, lvi 13, late and rarely used, and meiry, meirgon. In periphrastic conj. the pl. meiry is used for the v.n. when the subj. is pl., as \( y \) maen wedi meiry, by a confusion of the v.n. and adj.; cf. gwedy mybw m.a. i 228 for gwedy medwi pl.—Compared: marwed L.G.C. 218 ‘as dead’, \( yn \) gynwywjet s.g. 77 ‘as alive’; marwach, S.Ph. cy. ix 34.

(5) byw \(<^{*}g\text{hi-yos} \) § 63 vii (3), which may be an adj. like Lat. vivus, or a noun like Gk. \( \beta \text{ios} -. \) marw \(<^{*}m\text{ryos} (r, \text{not } 7, \text{ before } \gamma, \) § 63 iii) similarly formed from \( \sqrt{mer} - \); in Lat. mortuos \(<^{*}m\text{rtuos} \) the \( t \) is intrusive according to Brugmann\( ^{2} \) II i 448.

§ 205. The v.n. is always mas. in construction. But many of the forms were originally fem. and some remain fem. when used as abstract nouns. Thus bod \(<^{*}bh\text{u-tā} \) is f. in hafod § 189 iv (6); abstract nouns in -aeth are f. § 139 ii; gafael noun is f., gafael
gadarn w.m. i i, Mn. W. yr afael 'the hold'; and cered in y gerêt honno r.m. i83; so adeilad f. 'building', cyfeddach f. as y gyfeddach. Doubtless rhedeg, ehedeg, etc. were originally f.; O.W. trited retex cp. 'third (f.) course'.

But since v.n.'s were made mas., abstract nouns of the same form have tended to follow them. Thus gwwasanaeth 'service' is mas., because the same form continued in use as a v.n., §203 i (1). Similarly hiraeth mas. 'longing', see ib.

**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, -adwy. The last two suffixes are rare, even in Ml. W.; only a few verbs have suffixless v.a.'s; but all regular transitive verbs may have v.a.'s in -edig and -adwy. The former has usually the sense of a past pass. participle, the latter of a fut. pass. part. or gerundive.

ii. Suffixless: plan E.P. ps. cxxxvii 2 'planted', verb plannaf 'I plant'; pryn 'bought' vb. prynaf; cwsq 'sleeping' in bardd cwsq, vb. cyseg; llosg in marvor llosg 'burning embers', vb. ll osgaf; tavô 'melting' r.m. 169, Ps. lviii 8, 'molten' Lev. xix 4.


iv. Suff. -awt: guit gwy rhaud (= gwyô gwy rhawd) b.B. 89 'trees [are] bent'; At(wyn) lloer llew ychawl b.T. 9 'sweet [is the] moon shining'.

v. Suff. -adwy: dywedadwy §169 iv (1) 'to be said'; creda dwy c.m. 21 'to be believed, credible'; moladwy b.T. 71 'to be praised, praiseworthy'; ofnadwy 'terrible', vb. ofnaf 'I fear'; cyraeddadwy 'attainable', vb. cyrhaebaf 'I reach'; safadwy 'stable', vb. safaf 'I stand'. -edwy is a variant of -adwy: molediw §169 v (4).

vi. Suff. -ad in crwydred 'wandering', -aid in honnaid, as bit honneit §222 x (2), vb. honnaf 'I publish.'

vii. The suffixless v.a. is prob. originally the pres. part. act. in *-a-nts, *-e-nts : Lat. -ans, -ens; thus ll osg 'burning' < Brit. *l o sk-ans.
The suff. -awt is the past part. pass. in -to- of *-stems; thus *-å-to-s > -awt. Cf. barwaat b.r. 21 'bearded' < Lat. barbatus; — -adig is an extension in *-å-ko- of this; thus, *-å-tiko-s > -adig.—aid § 153 (2). -adwy is the fut. pass. part. in *-tegió-; the -a- before it may be from unacc. å or from ò; thus ofnadwy < *obna-touwós § 76 v (4): Skr. kar-tavyód-h 'faciendus'; — -adig is a variant of this due to metath. § 78 iv (1). The rhyme (glyw) r.r. 1041 shows that the -iw is for -yis after the dental § 77 v.—The element *-tegió- seems to have been used also with suff. -no- to form verbal adjs., which mostly became nouns in W.: credadun 'believing' D.G. 54, 'credible' M.A. i 563b, usually 'believer' < Brit. *kreta-tou-no-; —amheithun 'unaccustomed fare, treat', adj. 'unwonted', for *am-(w)heithun § 77 viii < *mbi-shek-tou-no-: chweith 'taste' § 108 iv (2), pref. 'different' § 156 i (4) (d), hence 'change of diet'; —ysparðun 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 < *talo-sektā 'forehead-attachment', √segän-: Skr. sajati 'attaches', Lith. segū 'I fasten, attach', sakīs '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 lwyranhā ei lawr dyrmu 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 uwch, is which cause the rad. except in uwchlèw, islèw, uwchbèn.

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, -wô, 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:

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<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. arnaf</td>
<td>1. arn-am,-ann</td>
<td>1. árnaf</td>
<td>1. árnom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. arnat</td>
<td>2. arnach</td>
<td>2. árnad, -t</td>
<td>2. árnoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m. arnaw</td>
<td>(arnadh)</td>
<td>3. m. árno</td>
<td>3. árnunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. arnei</td>
<td>arnadhô</td>
<td>f. árni</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>erni</td>
<td>arnudunt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arnu</td>
<td></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.: arnadduvt Neh. ix 1. The
adv. form occurs in oddi danawdd D.G. 306, oddi 'arnodd and oddi
tanodd Job xviii 16; danodd 'underneath' is common in Late
Mn. W. and the dialects. No other prep. of the 1st conj. has an
adv. form.—Ml. 1st pl. in -ann: amdanav(n), attann R.P. 1176,
amnaw(n) do. 1177, atann W. 121b, o hohan ni c.m. 13.

(2) Forms of ar: arnaf w.m. 2, arnat ib., arnaw ib., arnei do. 9,
eri B.B. 43, arnam w.m. 29, arnawch ib., aarnn= (-t = -e) M.A. i 258,
arnadunt w.m. 470, s.g. 89, arnu M.A. i 403, arnum do. 223, arnumt
w.m. 11, 39.

iii. at 'to' (i.e. motion 'to') is similar (but without 3rd sg. f.
-i in Ml. W.):
attaw w.m. 10, attat R.P. 1357, attaw w.m. 2, attei do. 6, attam do.
441, attunt do. 39, attadunt p 21/29; 2nd pl. -och in attoch s.g. 52.

iv. Mn. W. o dan, dan, tan 'under', Early Mn. dän § 51 vi,
ef. D.G. 373; Ml. W. aw dan, y dan, dan, O. W. guotan, gutan ox.
adan, ydan, dan w.m. 91, R.M. 66, dan w.m. 1, 463; adnaw do.
94, ydanaw R.M. 68, ydanam do. 165, adnamt w.m. 67.

v. am 'around, about, concerning'; stem amdan-, ymdan-,
Mn. amdan-. After gwiscaw the stem is generally used in Ml. W.
instead of the simple form; thus, instead of gwiscaw ymdanaw ac
am ý varch w.m. 165, the usual phrase is gwiscaw ymdanaw ac
ymdan ý varch do. 162 'to accoutre himself and his horse'; so
w.m. 147, R.M. 217, 229, 231; amdan w.m. 99. This form is
still in use in the spoken lang., pronounced amdan.

amdanaf w.m. 21, amdanat ib., amdanaw do. 2, amdanei do. 5, 13,
15, ymdeni R.M. 120, im-denii b.b. 43-4, ymdanaðs M.A. i 197,
amdanaðunt E.A. 40, amdamunt s.g. 43, ymdanunt do. 84; O.W.
amdantdi b.s.ch. 2.
The compound yam has two meanings, 1. 'besides, in addition to'
w.m. 469.—2. = Mn. W. oddiam 'from about, off' : ymdanaw w.m.
5, 24.

vi. o 'from, of,' Ml. W. o (oc in oc eu, see vii (5)); stem
ohan-, ohau-, Mn. W. ohon-. 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.
of, -ot are used exclusively (but dial. -a(f), -at). The 3rd sg.
and pl. have 1st conj. forms only; 3rd pl. onadunt.
ACCIDENCE § 209

_The Lat._ 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, ohonawt 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 hanei S.G. 12, o henì w.m. 3; o honawvch w.m. 7, ohonawch do. 13; onadunt R.M. 145, 151, ohonunt w.m. 22, R.M. 151, R.B.B. 48, ohonunw R.P. 1280, Mn. W. ohonon L.G.C. 318, onaddunt do. 462, onaddun Gr.O. 94.

In the 16th cent. ohon- was often contracted to on- or hon-, as cyn udnabod dim honi G.R. [xiv] ‘before knowing anything of it’; cf. E.P., Ps. cv 16; onynt M.K. [59], ono-fo do. [60]; later Os ymdafiad 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 ðdim ohonof, etc.; thus ni velais mono for ni velais ðdim 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. guar cp., Bret. war, Corn. war < *wor for Kelt. *yer < Ar. *yper § 65 v (3). The personal forms are made from an adverb *yor-nà; for the suffix, cf. Lat. superne § 220 i (3), and for the ending, suprà. The pronoun stood in a case not affecting a in the sg. or pl., hence prob. acc.; thus sg. 1. arnañ < *yörundne < *yörna me; pl. 1. arnam or arnan < *arnunn < *yör-

naname < *yörnà ysame (: Av. ahma, Gk. Lesb. āme ‘us’); sg. 2. arnat < *yornà te; pl. 2. arnavch formed on the analogy of the verb; sg. 3. m. arnav is prob. a re-formation after the 3rd sg. -ðaw § 210 x (1); sg. 3. fem. ern < *yoranasim < *yörnà sîm; arnei < *yornasim § 75 i (2); *sîm is the acc. of *si ‘she’. The most probable explanation of the -ð in the 3rd pl., which also occurs in the 3rd sg. of other conjugations, is that it is the prep. *do; this took the dative, orig. instr.; the instr. pl. of the pron. *es was *eibhas (: Skr. instr. pl. eibhि) as in fr. doib ‘to them’ < *do eibhas; this would give *duw in W.; v after u disappeared early, but if altered to ð (ð…v>ð…ð) would remain longer; hence W. arnadd(ð)<*yordanoidis<*yörna do eibhis or some such form; onadunt 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-tà; thus ataf<*ad-daf<*ató-ta-me; etc. as in (1).

(3) o dán (adan, O.W. quoten) is formed from *yo- ‘under’ § 156 i (16) (o-/a- < *yo-/ua- § 65 v (1)) and *tanà<*tênà as in Lat. pro-tinus<*pro-luos : Lat. tenus, *ten- ‘stretch’; *yo-tanà-me < o duanaf, etc., as arnañ above; adv. o danaf<*yo-tanà-de (suff. *-dhí or *-dhe § 162 vi (2)). On the accent of odán see § 47 i; odán >dan; see also § 51 vi.
PREPOSITIONS

§ 210. Second Conjugation.—i. To this belong rhag 'before'; heb '(past) by, without'; yn 'in'; trwy 'through'; tros 'over'; er, Md. W. yr 'for'; rhwng 'between'; unch 'above'; is 'below'.

ii. rhag 'before', Md. W. ruc, is conjugated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Md. W.</th>
<th>Mn. W.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sg.</strong></td>
<td><strong>pl.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. ūragof</td>
<td>1. ūragom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ūragot</td>
<td>2. ūragoch</td>
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<td>3. ūraedu</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. ūacdi</td>
<td>f. ūacdu</td>
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<tr>
<td>adv. ūacko, ūacew</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. rhagof</td>
<td>1. rhagom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. rhagod, t</td>
<td>2. rhagoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m. rhagdlo</td>
<td>3. rhagddunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. rhagdlid</td>
<td>f. rhagddunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ddunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv. rāco, acw</td>
<td>yonder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

rhagof w.M. 4, ūragot ib., ūraedaw do. 9, ūacdi s.g. 63, ūacdi w.M. 423, ūrogaw do. 444, ūacdi a.L. i 452, 516, 522, ūragom b.H. 29, ūragoch b.M. 129, ūraedu w.M. 53, r.M. 37, c.M. 37, e.L. 111, ūraedu w.M. 86; ūacko w.M. 251, ūacco w.M. 8, ūacew a.L. i 112 (m.s. 13th cent.). Md. W. rakw p 54/269, râcho L.G.C. 32, usually acw do. 83; forms with -o: Gwentian rhog (accented) h.g. 3, 70, râgo I.F. p 83/66; S.W. dial. òco.—O.W. sg. 3. m. raedam juv. gl. sibi.

iii. heb '(past) by; without': sg. i hebof; 3. m. hebðaw, Mn. hebðdlo, f. hebði; pl. i. hebom, 3. hebðunt; adv. hebðyaw, hebaw, Mn. hebibio 'past'.

1402
A cherdet heb gorr s.g. 257 'and walked past a dwarf'. hebof, hebot r.P. 1440, see § 198 ii, hebédaw ef w.m. 17 'past him', hebédaw ef do. 417 'without him', hebédí r.g. 1117; hebicaw r.m. 10, hebicaw w.m. 15; Mn. W. heboch D.G. 513, hebom i Cor iv 8 (1620), heboch Rhuf. xv 28 (1620, changed in late editions to hebiobch !). 'Past' as a prep. is in the late period generally expressed by hebiob i Job ix 11.

iv. yn 'in' ym, yng § 107, 'n, 'm, 'ng § 44 vii (1): sg. 1 ynof; 3. m. yndaw, f. yndi, Mn. W. yndo, yndi, re-formed later as yndo, yndi.

ynof i.a. 80, ynot w.m. 29, r.m. 19, ynoch s.g. 94; Mn. W. ynof G.R. [127], D. 70, ynot (3 times) Dat. xviii 22. The form indi r.b. 45, as opposed to hebi (≡ hebóé) do. 44, suggests d (yndi) rather than 8. So in Early Mn. W., as undyn/ynndaw H.D. p 99/474, rándar/ynndi L.G.C. § 34; but L.G.C. 231 has ynddo/Wenddydd (I read Wenddydd; the dial. forms are S.W. yndo, N.W. ynofo). Llundain, ni chair lle yndi;
Llu Owain hên a'i ileinw hi.—G.T., il 134/167 r. 'London—there is no room in it; the host of old Owain fills it.'

v. trwy 'through': sg. 3 trwyddaw, trwydî, pl. 3 trwyddunt. The stem of the 1st and 2nd pers. is trw-, or trwyð- taken from the 3rd. Adv. trwð (trwoð). In Mn. lit. W. the forms are trwof, trwot, trwyddo, trwyddi, trwom, etc.; adv. trwodd (dial. trwoð).

drwyddô s.g. 9, 12, drwyddot i.a. 49, drwot do. 99, drwyddaw, drwyði w.m. 111, trwyddaw r.b. 1418, drwyðunt i.a. 171, drwod w.m. 51-2, r.m. 36, s.g. 68, drwað r.m. 36. Mn. W. trwof-i 2 Tim. iv 17, trwot Philem. 7, trwodd Mic. v 8.


drossof w.m. 88, drossof do. 25, drostaw ib., drosti A.L. i 536, drossom i.a. 155, drostut (-t ≡ 8) M.A. i 258, drostunt i.a. 49. Mn. W. drossof-i Matt. xvii 27, trosom Eph. v 2, trosodd Matt. ix 1; etc.

vii. er 'for', Mn. W. yr: Mn. W. erof, érot, érdo, etc.; Ml. sg. 1. yrôf, erof, 3. yrôaw, yrôî; etc. No adv. yrôf r.P. 1264, yrôf, yrof w.m. 9 'for me', 'for thee', yrôaw do. 37 'for him', yrôm r.P. 1294 (/áreith), yrôunt r.m. 49. Mn. W. erôf-i Ps. cix 21, erôm Rhuf. xvi 6, erdô Col. i 16, etc.

viii. (1) rhwng 'between', Mn. W. òwng, òwng: Mn. W. sg. 1. yrôf, òof, 2. yrôl, òol, òynghol, 3. m. yrôaw, (y)yrôghaw, (y)yrôgtaw,
f. yrədi, (y)rynghthi, (y)rynghi; pl. i. yrəm, 2. yrəch, 3. yrəynt, (y)rynghthunt, (y)rynghunt; Mn. W. sg. i. rhəf, rhyngof, 2. rhət, rhyngot, 3. rhyngtho, -i; pl. i. rhəm, ryngom, 2. rhəch, rhyngoch, 3. rhyngthunt. In Late Mn. W. rhəf, rhət, 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 - as in Mn. W.

(2) yrəf i a duw w.m. 2, 9, 10, etc. 'between me and God', erəf a duw do. 88, rəf i a duw do. 18, yrənghoth w.m. 109, y əm ni do. 10 'between us', yr əch c.m. 41 'between you', yrəynt w.m. 64. c.m. 30, 41, rynghaw w.m. 22, ryngtaw do. 19, yrəynti do. 176, yrəngthunt, do. 6, 35, yrənghthunt do. 6. The forms yrəti w.m. 119, yrəng do. 75, 120, yrənghunt 75 with the form r as in yrədes (≡ y rhədes) do. 120, yrət (≡ yr rhət) do. 75, show that the r is rh, as if initial (medial r after y is written r).

(3) Strachan, Intr. 39, refers yrəf to a simple ro, which is imaginary. Mn. W. rhə in rhə Duw D.G. 227 is a contraction of rəho a < rhəf a. Zeus confused yrəf 'for me' with yrəf 'between me', ZE. 670; but the accentuation is different: Mn. W. erəf 'for me', Mn. W. yrəf, yrəm vii (accentuation attested by cynganhedd), but Mn. W. rhəf 'between me' Mn. W. rəf see above, Mn. W. y rhəm D.G. 201, rhəm 'between us', as—

Amodau, rhwymau oedd rhəm,
Eithr ângau a aeth rhýngom.—T.A., c. ii 79.

'Between us were covenants [and] bonds, but death went between us.'

(4) The compound cyfrwng is similarly used: kyfryŋ brodorion b.b. 55 'between brothers'; kyfryngoch m.a. i 222, kyfryngthut (-t≡t) do. 233.—cyfrwng is also a noun meaning 'interval' r.b.b. 11.—In Recent written W. a neologism cyfrhwng (cyd-rhθγ) is sometimes used.

(5) Without initial yr- we find 1st and 2nd sg. forms used as adverbs: yngəo D.G. 52, yngəod do. 88, 280, g. 142 'hard by', Mn. W. yghoth w.m. 118, yngot s.g. 304; cf. iso, isod.

ix. uwch 'above', is 'below', Mn. W. uch, is: Mn. W. sg. 3. m. uchtaw, istaw w.m. 455 'above him', 'beneath him', pl. i. uchom b.b. 29 'above us'. The 1st and 2nd sg. are used as adverbs: uchəf a.l. i 50, P14/38 r. 'above', uchot u.m. 115 'above', Mn. W. ucho g. 234, uchod 'above', iso, isod 'below'.

In Late Mn. W. uchod 'above', isod 'below' are used, but no other inflected forms. For uchəf, isod periphrastic forms are used, such as uwch fy mhen, is fy nhraed, or is fy llaw.

§ 210

PREPOSITIONS
x. (1) The -o- of the 1st and 2nd pers. endings of this conjugation prob. represents the ending -o of the prep. in Brit. Although the thematic vowel -o was not a case ending in Ar. it was a common ending of adverbs and preps., e.g. *apo, *upo, *pro, and may have spread in Kelt. Hence perhaps *proko me > Brit. *rokome > W. (*rhogof), rhagof. For the 3rd pl. -dwn in § 209 vii (1); 3rd sg. -di < *-do-*i § 75 ii (2), where *di is the instr. sg. of *di ‘she’. The 3rd sg. m. -daw is difficult; MI. W. -daw, and Bret. -Zen, OW. -dam (≡ -dai) seem to be two different reductions of *-daw, in which au (av) must be from *-ou- not from -ū- (since am > Bret. ëwñ); both *-dawf and Corn. -tho may be from *-do-em (§ 75 ii (2); *e-mi, instr. in *-mi of *es ‘he’.

(2) rhag < *proko : Lat. reci-procus, procul < *procolos, dim. of *prokos; unacc. ok > ak in Brit. § 65 ii (1); dialectal rhog, rogydô, etc. < *prék-. 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. raecw, raeco ‘yonder’ has a suffix *-hw or *-ho, prob. with loss of -mn (as yna ‘here’ etc. § 110 v (2)), for *-honn or *hon < *som-do or *som-da ‘there’ suff. *-hoe or *-húe § 162 vi (2), cf. hwnt § 220 ii (5); thus Brit. *rokó sonde ‘in front there’ > raecw. Initial r- was prob. first lost after consonants : y gró racw > y gró acw, y brín racw > y brín acw, *daco > daco, etc.

(3) heb ‘(past) by, without’, Ir. sech id., Bret., Corn. heb ‘without’ : Av. haéca ‘away from’, O.Pers. haéca id. : Lat. secur, Skr. sáča ‘at, in the presence of’. These are believed to be all from *seq- ‘follow’; e.g. Brugmann 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“You have not had my dinner’.

(4) yn ‘in’ < *en, *eni and *en-do : Lat. in, O.Lat. en, Gk. én, éni, etc. Although the last ends in -o, ynof, ynot, etc., cannot come directly from it, as they have only one -n- in lit. 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 provocation of ó 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 Brugmann II ii 900 gives *tres, comparing *pres in Gk. πρός; but as *pri, *prei existed beside *pres, so there were prob. *tri, *trei; these would account for the leniting forms. W. trwy < *trei; *trei do eibhis. The 1st and 2nd pers. forms and the adv. are analogical formations.

(6) tros ‘over, across’ is a weak form of traws § 71 i (2), as in ar draws ‘across’. It comes from a participial form *tráns = Lat. trāns < *trānts. The 3rd pers. trostan, trosti, trostunt < *tráns do-; the other persons and the adv. are analogical formations.
§ 211 PREPOSITIONS 405

(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. πέρι, Skr. पर, Skr. परान्. 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) yrwng 'between' has replaced O.W. ihr 'between'; Ml. W. yrwng < *per-ongo-, § 65 iii (1): cyf-wng 'interval', cyf-yng 'confined'; e-ang 'wide' < *eks-ang-: Gk. ἀγγείον, ἀγγείον '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 *yroof; the o seems to have been dropped, as before r, giving yrof, which kept its O.W. accentuation § 47 i, like yrwng; if so, the o in yróm was originally short, and yron(a) occurs for it in B.B. 101 l. 2; the o seems to have been metathesized in O.W. igruidu b.s.ch. 2 'between them' for *yrwyðu < *(p)er-ongo-doibis.—The forms yrwyhof, yrwythaw etc. are probably new formations from yrhwng, perhaps originally τροφον for *yroof. The curious 2nd sg. gryñhod w. 36 seems to be a scribal error for fynghod (M.A. i 192).

(9) uwch, is, see § 148 i (14), (16). 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. gennym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gennyt</td>
<td>2. gennwch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m. ganthaw,</td>
<td>ganthu(δ), -law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-unt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. genthi, -ti 3.</td>
<td>gantu(δ),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-unt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also in Ml. W. genhyf, etc. In Late Mn. W. sg. 3. m. gando, f. ganddi, pl. 3. ganddynt; the dd is artificial.

(2) O.W. caut ox. 'with', Early Ml. W. kan, as kan canyat e pentelwv a.L. i 14 'with the permission of the chief of the household'. The rad. is sometimes retained in Early Mn. verse: cenyd D.G. 329, cennyym T.A. 6. 252 (misspelt cenyd, cenyym). Ml. W. ċgan 'from with', as ugeynt ċkan pop gur a.L. i 14 '20
from every man’, became gan already in Ml. W., as attep ny 
chasas ef genthi hi w.m. 10 ‘he got no reply from her’; Mn. W. 
gan ‘ from’.

(3) genhiv (≡ genhyf) b.b. 101 ‘with me’, genhyf w.m. 55, gennyf 
do. 18, genhig b.b. 10, gennyt w.m. 11, ganthaw do. 9, genthi do. 10, 
15, genti do. 28, y gennym do. 12 ‘from us’, genhwich do. 57 ‘with 
you’, gennych ib., r.m. 40, s.g. 92, ganthut (-t≡-5) 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, nyd ant y kenhin b.b. 
49 ‘they will not go back’; also a form y genhŷd b.t. 75, in an 
occure passage.

(4) gan with the verb ‘to be’ expresses ‘have’: y mae gennyf 
‘there is with me’, i.e. I have, y mae gennyf ‘thou hast’, etc.; 
nil oes gennyf ‘I have not’, etc.

(5) On gennif, gennit, wrthif, wrthit, see § 77 iv.

iii. (1) wrth: sg i. wrthysf w.m. 10; 2. wrthyt ib.; 3. m. 
wrthaw do. 2; f. wrthi do. 10; pl. i. wrthym l.a. 155; 2. 
wrrthych w.m. 39; 3. wrthu l.a. 113, wrthunt 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 gwrthych ac ywrth ych tei 
l.a. 157 ‘from you and from your houses’, Mn. W. oddi wrth, 
odi wrthyf, etc.; Ml. W. y wrth also means ‘compared with’, 
w.m. 11, Mn. W. wrth b.cw. 5 ‘compared with’.

iv. (1) gan, O.W. cant (Corn. gans, Bret. gant, Ir. prefix ol-, 
ceta-) has the meanings of *kom, 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. *mĩ(d) = 
Lat. mĩ(d), or possibly a loc. *moi which as a mere suffix would 
become *-mĩ. So for the 2nd sg. The first and 2nd pl. are prob. 
analogical. The affection of a before a labial became y, § 69 ii (4); 

hence gennyf, gennym, gennywch, which caused the sg. 2. to follow; 
thus the distinction kept in Corn. between genef and worthyf 
(similarly in Bret.) is lost in W. Between vowels -nt > -nh- > 
mn- regularly. In the 3rd pers. *do is used, as after other prepo-
tions, taking of course the same case; hence *cant-sarō > gantew or 
gantaw; so for f. and pl. The 3rd pl. genhyn, with verbal -n (added 
to the apparent stem genhy-?).

(2) wrth, O.W. gurt(h), Corn. worth, orth, Bret. ouz, oz, implies 
some such form as *yertō § 66 iii (1); Ir. friith ‘against’ < *urt-:
Lat. red-, re- < Ital. *ured- < Ar. *yret-; cf. Lat. versus 'against', part. of vero: *yer- 'turn'. worthyf < *werto-mi, etc. The 3rd sg. wrotchaw < *wrotch-ðaw, the -ð- merged in the -th-; so for the f. and pl.

§ 212. i. The prep. i '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. qm, qmi, qmy, im, imi</td>
<td>1. qm, qmi, qmy, in, inni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ytt, ytti ytty, itt, itti</td>
<td>2. iyoch, iyochwi, iyochwy, iyoch, iyochwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m. idaw, Mn. iddo</td>
<td>3. idn, idnö, idunt, Late Mn. iddylnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. idi, Mn. iddi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples: ym Il.A. 98, l. 4, ymi W.M. 20, 22, im do. 46; ytt Il.A. 95, ytti R.M. 5, yti W.M. 4, itt do. 3, 8, 9, it do. 20, itti lb.; ymi do. 29, inni do. 139, ychwi R.M. 7, iyoch chui W.M. 11, iyoch do. 50, utut (≡ udnö) B.B. 49-50, idnö B.T. 74; udnö § 77 viii; idaw, idi passim. The Late Mn. W. spelling iddylnt 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 fry.—G.Gr. (m. D.G.) F.N. 1.

'Dafydd ap Gwilym—to me there was dismay because he was no longer [alive] there.'

Arglwedd gwynn, nid oes qn
Un tad oll onid tyrn.—M.R., p 93/56.

'Holy Lord, there is to us no father at all but Thee.'

Ni all angel penfelyn
Na lhu o saint ddim les qn.—G.I.I.L., F. 8, M 130/470 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 yni W.M. 20 must mean yni (the double consonant being simplified before the accent § 27 ii).

Gwell i mí golli 'mynywyd
Na chan boen nychu 'n y byd.—T.A., A 14866/201.

'It is better for me to lose my life than in pain to pine in the world.' Rarely in poetry i mỳft D.G. 53, i nỳnt H.S. 22, etc.; thus:
Mwy a ofn yw i myn
Ofn y paid ar fanap i.—I.D., A 14977/28.

'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 dáwch § 30.

"Nos daewch" i'r ferch nis dichon;
"Nos daed ti" nis dymaid hon.—D.E., A 14967/18 (g. 118).

'[To say] "good night to you" to the maid avails not; she will not say "good night to thee".'

Breiniawel wyt o'r barionwaed;
Barwn Stepleton, nos daed.—L.G.C. 141; see 127, 480.

'Noble art thou of the blood of barons; Baron of Stepleton, good night to thee.'

O'r cyff hun a'r Cyffinwaed
Y cawn was dewr. Can' nos daed!—T.A., A 14975/102.

'Of this stock and the blood of Kyffin we have a brave youth. A hundred good nights to thee.'

Dydd daed D.E. p 83/103, dyddiau daed G.G1., 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 (1); yw, i'w 'to his, to her, to their' ib., § 160 iv (2).

vi. y, i 'to', O.W. di < Brit. *do is equivalent to the prefix dy-
§ 65 iv (2), § 156 i (13). It is strange that this prep. whose 1st sg. is the only one in Ir. which has certainly a single -m (= W. *-f) is the only one in W. with -m (≡ -mm). The -m is due, like the usual -mm in Ir., to the Kelt. doubling of the initial of an unacc. word following an accented monosyll., § 217 iv (1); thus ym < *dó-mmê < *dô môt. 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. *daaw, *di, *du; as these were mere suffixes in the conjugation of other preps. it is probable that *δy was prefixed here to represent the prep.; y would be assimilated to a following i or u, and perhaps ieaaw 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-ðawr § 195 i.
§ 213. i. The prepositions a [spirant], ag, Ml. W. a, ac ‘with’ and wedi [rad.], Early Mn. and Ml. W. (g)wedy may be followed by independent pronouns; thus d mi ‘with me’, d thi ‘with thee’; d myst, d m’fi, d thydi, d lh’di § 159 ii (3); ag ef, ag efo ‘with him’; etc.; gueti ef L.L. 120 ‘after him’, gwydi ny B.B. 44 ‘after us’.

Ac ni bydd oherwydd hyn
Gwedy ef gwv dy ofyn.—I.G. 312 (m. D.G.).

And therefore it will be of no avail after him to ask for thee’ (i.e. for a cywydd).

Y Deheu feirdd wedy fo
Sydd wnnach 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 wedy hwy.—L.G.C. 463.

‘Good were the ancestors of H.C., and good is H. after them.’

In Late Mn. W. the use of a pron. as above after wedi is rare.

ii. (1) a is now generally circumflexed to distinguish it from a ‘and’. When it is accented it is of course long, but when unaccented it is short. The same is true of a ‘and’.

(2) wedi has late -i owing to the frequency of its use, cf. § 16 ii (3). In Early Ml. 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 < *aggos; it has two distinct meanings, and may therefore have a double origin: (a) ‘together with’ < *ad-g-: Ir. ac, oc, ecc < *ad-go-s : Lat. ad, Goth. at, E. at, Brugmann2 II ii 793; this is the prep. used after cyf- and ym-, as cyf-arfod a ‘to meet with’; and is the same as d, ag ‘as’ after the equative;—(b) ‘by means of’, as O.W. ha cri p ox. ‘with a comb’, Mn. W. a phyg Gen. vi 14 ‘with pitch’ < *ab-g-: o § 209 vii (5). For ag, a [spir.] in this sense o [soft] is used in Gwent: taro ct o asgorn ‘to strike a dog with a bone’ Seren Gomer, Mai 7 1814; cf. kymynyat o 8ur 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 ao y gellynt c.m. 54, gyntaf ae y gallawed s.g. 408,

Y glanaf ag a luniwyd,
A’r goreu oll o’r gwyr wyd.—T.A., A 14971/53.

‘The handsomest of [all] that have been created, and the very best of men art thou.’ In Ml. W. this is o before the demonstr. ’r, as goreu ... o ’r a vu R.M. 82 ‘best of those that were’; rarely a, as o bop ... a’r a vei M.A. 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 oo § 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. youde) ‘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 nur Kaer Loyw R.M. 131
‘beside the wall of Gloucester’; ym = am < *mōbi § 156 i (4).

ii. ger [rad.] ‘near’, Ml. kir, ker, gyr, ger, geir, geyr, gar, is used
chiefly in gerllaw, ger llaw ‘at hand’, gerbrôn, ger bron ‘before’ (ger
fy llaw ‘near me’, ger dy law di ll. A. 125 ‘near thee’, ger fy mron
‘before me’), but may occur before any noun denoting a place.

The radical initial is k-, as kir llaw B.B. 10, ker llaw R.P. 1246,
m. A. i 230, cer bron d. 206, ker tir Tyssilfaw d. 341, M. N. 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’, M. V. N. cyrr-aedd : haesaf
‘I reach’; possibly allied to cwr ‘edge’, *v(s)ger- ‘cut’; both -e-
and -i- 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 drachefu ‘backwards, again’ (cefu
‘back’); with infixed pronouns kilia drathgefyn c. M. 41 ‘with-
draw!’ 2nd sg. impv., dracheffyn R.M. 177 ‘behind her’. In
Late Ml. and M. N. W. by a strong division of dracheinf we have
drach dy geyst s. G. 275 ‘behind thee’, drach y nghyst D. G. 274

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.

trachefyn for *tarchefyn < *tarôs kebn- < Ar. *tôrû ; Skr.
tirâk < *tôrôs; allied to trauy § 210 x (5); see § 156 i (22).

iv. pw (py) is used only in the phrase pwy gilydd ‘to its
fellow’, as o ben bwy gilydd ‘from end to its fellow’ i.e. from end
to end. For examples see § 166 ii (3). A trace of a wider use survives in amser pry amser R.B.B. 107 ' [from] hour to hour '.

pwo: Ir. co 'to'. Initial gemination after the latter is secondary, according to Thurneysen, Gr. 456, who compares O.Bulg. kiu 'to' (< *qom: Skr. kdm after the dative). The Kelt. form would be *qbo; this may be the pron.-stem *qwO-, seen in e-grade in *qhe 'and' (Lat. -que, Gk. re, etc.): Lat. sis-que < *ud-s 'out' + *qhe 'to'.

v. eithr [rad.] 'without, except', § 99 v (4), is used before verbal nouns, as eithyr bot yr well kyweird sb yr bewf 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 yr be 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, ytre, Bret. entre, Ir. etar, eter: 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. l.l.a. 106, 107; er ys mis W.ii. g. 293 'for a month past'; contracted er's.

Ys guers yr wyf yr keissaw a olsheu vug cledyf w.m. 487 'for some time I have been seeking one who would burnish my sword.'

Ofwns fyth fu'r fynwes faw
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 oes '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 an being simplified owing to the word being unaccented, cf. canys § 222 iv (1): yn anad neb.
Or clwyd 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
n's are simplified in the same col.; heb ymygforwnt 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 llwyredig oedd ei wedd
yn anad neb, a'i bryd yn anad metbion dynion Es. lli 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. ávri, Lat. ante.

ix. myn [rad.] 'by' (in oaths); in N. W. sounded mynn;
Ml. W. mynn, myn.

mynn llaw vyghwydla w.m. 458 'by the hand of my friend'; 80 R.m.
105, mynn ll. etc. do. 170; myn vy fyô c.m. 57 'by my faith'; myn
Duw r.m. 115, myn Dyw w.m. 473 'by God'; myn fennaíd D.E.
c 49/15 r. 'by my soul'; myn einiôs Pharaoh Gen. xli 15.

Nid oes ym, myn Duw,' o swydd
Ond o'r hain anwadolrhwydd.—D.G. 33.
'I have, by God, no task but studying fickleness.' Cf. W.M.L. 41.

mynn: Gael. miôn 'oath', Ir. mind 'oath' : /mendh/- extension
of /men/- 'thought'; cf. W. adduned 'vow' < *ad-menî- § 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 Benno!
G.Gl. n 146/188; ym Iesu! T.A., e. 229.
The origin of the word is obscure (l 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 myned do. 30 'before going', kin brand do. 41
'before the judgement'. In Ml. W. it is followed by no 'than'
before pronouns pers. and demonstr., and thus remains an
adv.: kyn voc ef w.m. 178 'before him', kyn no hynny do. 11
'before that'. In Ml. 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 longô nes gwybot w.m. 167 ‘I shall not sleep comfortably until I know’; nês 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’.

Calw am ddyfod diodydd, Gwyliaw tan nes gweled dydd.—L.G.C. 439.
‘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 caffâf-efo
yn nês diofed llawer s.g. 291 ‘I shall not get him before suffering much’.

ii. Nominal preps. from nouns are used not only simply, as cyllch ‘about’, but with a preceding prep., as o gylch ‘about’; the latter forms may be called composite nominal prepositions. When a pers. pron. is required to be the object, it takes the form of an infixed pron. in the composite prep., as o’th gylch ‘about thee’; o’th achos D.G. 101 ‘on thy account, because of thee’. The simple nom. preps. are the following, all taking the [rad.] except hyd:

(1) achos ‘because of’; compos. o achos id.: noun achos ‘cause’.

o achaws w.m. 12 ‘on account of’; o’th achaws di r.m. 233; pa achaws R.B.B. 112 ‘why?’ achos gwenfun L.M.S. 239.

(2) cyllch, amgylch ‘about’; compos. yngylch, o gylch, o amgylch, o amgylch ógylch ‘round about’ : cyllch ‘circle’.

Yn bwhwman gan annuwyd
Cyllch drws dy dŷ, Llenschu Lluwyd.—L.G., BR. ii 171.
‘Shivering with cold about the door of thy house, Ll, Ll.,’ i.e. around thy grave; (v.l. Yngylch dy dŷ f.N. 29); cyllch dolydd Dwylais
cylich is believed to be derived from Lat. *circulus*; but the latter gives O.W. *cirich* cr. *cycle* regularly; and cylich, Bret. *kelch*, may well be Kelt. < *qʰu-qʰląż*—(by met.)—Gk. κύκλος, κύκλος: F. *wheel*, etc.

(3) *eisian* 'wanting, without'; compos. *o eisian* 'for want of', *oth eisian*, etc.: *eisian* 'want', prob. orig. an adj. < Lat. *exiguus* (nomin. *eisyvet < exiguitas*).

*Mis haf oedd i ferch Ddafydd, Ac eisian hwn gae’ sydd.—T.A., g. 245.*

'It was a summer month to the daughter of Dafydd, and without him [her dead husband] it is winter.'

(4) *erbyn* 'by' (a certain time or event), 'in readiness for'; compos. *yn erbyn* 'against' (a person or thing); *yn fy erbyn* Matt. xii 30 'against me'; also *i’r 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', i.e. 'for the judging of them'.

*erbyn* is itself originally a composite prep. < Kelt. *ari quennōi*, made up of the prep. *ari* § 156 i (6), and the dat. of *quennos* 'head': Corn. *erbyn*, Ir. *ar chiund* (in Ir. there is *ar chend* also, with *chend* acc.). The orig. construction with a pron. was Corn. *er 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) *herwyd* 'according to, in the manner of', and 'by' (as in lead 'by' the hand); *gerwyd* in Late Ml. W. in the last sense, Mn. W. *gerfydd*; compos. *o herwyd* 'on account of', *o’r herwydd* 'on my account', *o’r herwydd* 'on that account', *yn herwydd* 'according to', *yn ol yr herwydd* 'on the average', *pa herwydd* 'why?'

*herwyd* y *dyyll* [read *dyyll*] ... a roes *Duw y’r neb ac troes* H.A. 160 'according to the understanding that God has given to him who translated it'; *herwit gair in gueini* B.B. 44 'in the manner of men in service'; *herwyd* y *afwynen* W.M. 142 [lead the horse] 'by his reins'; *gerwyd* y *awynyen* C.M. 47 'by his reins'; *erwyd* y *tragt* W.M. 55 [grasped the boy] 'by his feet'; *oherwydd* hyn § 213 i; *o’i herwyd* D.G. 498 'on her account'; *yn herwyd* gneledigaeth W.M. 34 'as regards appearance'; *(y)r iailh 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. herwyd dwiuitit suv. ‘according to divinity’; hihi erguid ox. ‘in general’ (?).

herwyd: Corn. herwydd; Bret. hervez; the h- though appearing in all (as opposed to W. and Corn. erbyn) can only be explained as accentual, cf. hery, Bret. hano, Corn. hanow; the rest seems to be < *ari-u-id- ‘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 bronrn 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. hydò, hydòi (the y, instead of y, shows it to be late); this is sometimes met with in Late Mn. W.: ar hyd-odi Gen. xxviii 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 vel h.g. 23, 52 ‘till’.

bi- < Ar. *bhi (?: *boni) ‘on (to)’: Goth. bi, Skr. abhi (Lat. ob may be from *obhi or *opii); -het may represent acc. *-sitmy; 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, bête, 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. llwr i ben ‘head foremost’; also Ml. W. llwry.

llwrw essiwet ket B.P. 1351 ‘after dearth of largess’, llwrw a laeth . . . digraun . . . deigyr do. 1206 ‘with grief the tear flows’; yn llwrw llwyth doht doyt a’n dyd yn llaw P.M. M.A. i 306 ‘following earth’s tribe the Lord will place us in the ground’; dos heb
argyssurw ar llwrw y'r lle do. do. 292 'go without fear forward to the place'.

llwrw : Corn. lerc'h 'track', war lerc'h 'after', Bret. lerc'h 'track', Gael. lorg 'track', Ir. lorg; all < Kelt. *lorg- < *plorg- dissim. for *pro-rg-, *reğ- § 193 x (8): Lat. pergo, perrêxi < *per-reğ-; etc.

(8) parth, parthed 'towards, as regards'; compos. o parth, o barthret g.c. 108 'as regards'; imparthred B.B. 26 'in the region of'; parth is oftenest followed by á § 216 ii (2).

parth espyt B.P. 1226 'as regards strangers'.

parth 'part' < Lat. part-; parthed is by dissim. for parthred with -red as in gweithred § 143 iii (22).

(9) plith 'in the midst of'; compos. ymhliith 'among', yn en plith 'among them', o blith 'out of the midst of', o'ch plith 'from your midst', i blith 'into the midst of', i'w plith 'into their midst', plith drâphplíth § 47 iii.

plith from Lat.; perhaps < Brit. *ploit- for Lat. plicit-: W. plygu 'to fold' < Lat. plico-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. ì mwn, mwy n 'in' (though apparently a simple form, mwy n is a mere phonetic reduction of ýmwy n); o fewn 'within'; with inf. pron. i'w mewn hi Num. v 24; o'ch mewn Luc xvii 21; also in Mn. W. i fewn y llys Marc xv 16; adv. i mewn, oddimewn.

(y)mwy n 'in the middle of' has come to be used for 'in' before indefinite, yn being restricted to definite, objects; thus ýmwy n ty w.m. 53 'in a house', yn y ty do. 54 'in the house'; in Ml. and Early Mn. W. mwy n, mewn, is sometimes used before the latter.

i < *ensi: Gk. eís < ívs < *en 'in' + -s as in *éks. i mewn, ýmwy n = Ir. inmedóm, inmedón; Ir. medón 'middle'. The W. form has lost § 110 iv (2), and was therefore orig. disyllabic *mywun < *mydwn, which most probably represents *mywy n § 78 i (2). Both this and Ir. medón would be regular from Kelt. *mediknō: Lat. mediocris, spv. mediximus. If this equation is right, mediocris can hardly be '*middle-hill' (o acris, Sommer 488, Walde s.v.) but may be an adj. in -ri- (cf. ácri-, saceri-) from *medioque formed from medi-o- like prope (for *proque) from pro, as the spv. mediximus beside proximus suggests. The Kelt. would be a noun in -no- from the same (lt-Kelt.) extd. stem.—Orig. stem *medh(i)ţi- : Skr. mādhyā-t, Gk. μέδο-.
(2) er mwyn 'for the sake of, on account of, in order to'; er fy mwyn 'for my sake', etc.

Er dy fwyn yr ydw'f fî
Mewn cîra 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 mwyn'ant in Ml. W.; thus in R.B. 963, Ni wybydîr mwyn (v.l. mwyn'ant 1076) fînnaun ymêl yn yspida (disydd 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-, Vmei- 'exchange, barter': Lat. munus, munia.

(3) ymysg (ymysg) 'in the midst of'; ym eu mysq 'in their midst'; o'n mysq 'out of our midst'; i'ch mysq 'into your midst'; emysc hynny W.M. 33 'in the midst of that' i.e. those happenings; o fysq, i fysq.

Myysq : W. mysgu § 96 iii (5). The idea is 'mixed up with'; and there seems no need for Henry's attempt, s.v. emesik, to connect the word with *medhio-.

(4) yn wîysg 'in the track of, after', Ml. W. yn eu hyysc see below, yn wîysc y benn W.M. 55 'after his head', i.e. head foremost, Mn. W. yn wîysg fy mhen, yn wîysg dy drwyn, yn wîysg i gefu, etc.

Mae yr aniveileit yg â ethawc yn eu hîysc p W.M. 86 'Where are the animals which you went after?'

wîysg '*'track' implies *ei-šk-', and seems like a case of metath. of § 100 v (? *ped-skio-: Gk. πεδά 'μήτα', Lat. pēs 'foot', etc.).

(5) yn ethryb 'because of', o ethryb id. J.D.R. [xiv].

Pellynic vsg khof yg kyntevin
Yn ethrip caru Kaerwys vebin.—G., w. 7b.

'My mind is far away this Spring, on account of loving the maid of Caerwys."

ethryb 'causa, occasio' D.D. s.v. seems to contain *-sg*- 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 hîl or ar eu holau 'after them'; o'm hîl 'behind me', i'th ôl 'after thee'.

All in common use. ôl § 149 i.
(7) yngwyð 'in the presence of', yn fy ngwydd 'in my presence', i'fh wydd 'into thy presence', o'i gwydd 'from her presence', etc.

gwyð § 63 iv.

(8) o blegid 'on account of', o'fh 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 gyfair (now misspelt ar gyfer) 'opposite', ar fy nghyfair 'opposite me'; nghyfair 'opposite, against, instead of'; Ml. W. ar gyveir, yngkyveir, etc.; y gyveir W.m. 449 'the direction'.

O.W. ar cywcyr L.l. 141, ar ciueir do. 196; Ml. W. ar gyveir W.m. 250; ygyveir do. 449, yggyveir R.m. 293 'opposite', yn y gyveir R.m. 141 'in front of him, straight ahead', M.n. W. ar gyfaer D.G. 189 (rh. with ledaf-air).

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, cyferiaid 'direction', cyferio 'to direct', etc., are from cyferaer.

cyfer < *kom-arjo-, a compound of *kom- and *arjo- < *pęř-o-, a noun formed from the prep. *pęř-i : Lat. praer, 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 lw Ynys y Kedyrn W.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'; kereret oe blaen do. 49, W.m. 68 'to walk before them'.

blaen, O.W. blain: Corn. blyn 'tip', Bret. blein, blin 'bou, 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. bleanau in place-names 'outlying parts where valleys are hemmed in by mountains'. The orig. meaning seems to be therefore 'discharge, project'; hence prob. șy g*elte- : Gk. βάλλω 'I throw', βάλμα, βαλάν, βάλος 'a throw', βολές 'arrow', O.H.G. quellan 'to well, to gush', O. Norse kelda 'source', Gk. βέλον 'needle', Lith. gélīti 'to prick', gelonė 'needle', etc. The formation is not quite clear; the Corn. and Bret. forms seem to imply Brit. *blanc- (< *gml-ńi- : 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.IL. 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 y gyft 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; gerbrôn, ger bron ib.; drachefn do. iii, trachefn y dór W.M.L. 32 'behind the door'; ar draws § 210 x (6); ymrôn 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 âl y gwalt 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 Ddôl,
Riwig 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.F. 1403 'like him', fél myf, etc., or by demonstratives as fél hyn. (e) fél hyn (Corn. evel henn) though still surviving by re-formation, became (e)fell hyn, whence efelly yfelly, felly 'so', § 110 v (2). In Gwent fell hyn became lllyn, and subsequently yn lllyn with adverbial yn, BAB. i 376, 378.

Ni furiaidwn favr rodiaw
A gwôr fell hyn 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'; A(y) evelly y gynaethant voy? W.M. 41 'is it so that they did?'

(3) val, O.W. amal (: Ir. amal) is a weak form of hafal < *s*m* i-§ 94 i; Ml. W. mal may represent an early elision of the first
sylable, thus *s'\text{m}_\text{y}l\text{-}; the e in Mn. W. may come from forms like *\text{f}_\text{y}l\text{ly} where the a is affected by the y; but Bret. has *e\text{v}_\text{e}l also. Ir. am\text{a}l governs the acc. case.

megys seems to be a spv. (eqtv. ?) of the same word corresponding to comparatives in -ach (< *-\text{a}_\text{k}\text{-s}\text{on}); thus *s'\text{m}_\text{\-a}_\text{k}\text{-i}_\text{t}_\text{o}_\text{-} > megys; *s'am\text{-a}_\text{k\-i}_\text{t}_\text{o}_\text{-} > Mn. W. y\text{yegys} g.c. fac. i. The use of megys as a noun, as *yg y megys he\text{m}\text{n} c.m. 39 'in this manner', does not prove it an orig. noun; cf. Mn. W. *yr un fel 'in the same way'.

Section 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. y\text{m} am 'from about; besides'; § 209 v; y\text{r} ar 'from on'; \text{y} gan 'from with'; y\text{wr}th '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 oddi\text{b}r\text{th}; Mn. W. o\text{d} is r.m. 151, 172. Inflected: oddi am\text{d}ano Gu.O. g. 193, o\text{d}y w\text{c}h\text{aw} r.m. 141, etc.; Mn. W. \text{s}i\text{-e}\text{t}h\text{yr} s.g. 8 'except', o\text{-d}i\text{-e}\text{t}h\text{yr} ll.a. 143 'outside'; Mn. oddi\text{t}h \text{r} 'except', dial. corruption oddi\text{g}er\text{th}.

oddi is itself a compound of o + \text{s}i; in Mn. W. it is comparatively rare before vowels: o\text{d}y\text{ar}nati ll.a. 159, but occurs before adverbial expressions as o\text{d}y\text{ma} s.g. 7, 40, in which, however, it is generally o\text{d} before a vowel, as o\text{d}ym\text{m}a s.g. 4, o\text{d}ym\text{m}a w.m. 19; this is also the usual spoken form. The i (mostly i before a vowel) is taken in Late Mn. and Early Mn. W. from forms in which a consonant follows, as oddi\text{d}raw, Mn. W. o\text{d}\text{y}\text{d}raw c.m. 46. (oddi\text{t}h is for o d\text{d}i\text{t}h.)

In the Gwentian dial. o\text{d} was taken from these connexions, and used for o before a vowel, and \text{i}d for i was made on its analogy. These forms occur in late Gwentian writings; and Pughe made a determined but unsuccessful attempt to substitute in the written language the new Gwentian o\text{d} y 'from the', etc., for the ancient o\text{r}, etc., in order to avoid the apostrophe!

(2) Mn. W. er\text{r} ys, er's § 214 vii; er\text{c}yn, as in er\text{c}yn cof 'from before memory' i.e. from time immemorial.

(3) gor\text{-u}\text{w}ch, gor\text{-is} § 45 iv (2); cyf\text{-r}\text{w}ng § 210 viii (4).

(4) The forms od\text{a}n, am\text{d}an, ohonof, § 209, are compound prepositions, and are often written o\text{dan}, etc.; § 209 vii.

(5) The combinations a\text{ch}an 'having', heb\text{g}an '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 cyn dyfod ohonol 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 niwydyn w.m. 4 'till the end of the year'; hid attad b.b. 3 'to thee'; diaspad ... hid ar ddu y dodir do. 106 'the cry—to God is it raised.'

hyd yn oed 'as far as, even'.

In Ml. W. it has two meanings: (a) 'up to but not including' i.e. all except: a cafael ceful hyt enoet un keyniaca a.l. i 100 'and all is had except one penny'; (b) 'up to and including': hyt ynn oet eu pechaw l.a. 34 'even their sin'. The latter is the meaning in Mn. W.: hyd yn oed Marc ii 2 'even'. The phrase is in common coll. use.

The origin of oed or ynoed here is quite uncertain; as no pref. or inf. pron. is used with it, it would seem to be an adv. 'even' (? noet < *nai-t-, variant of neut 'indeed' § 219 i (1)).

(2) tu a(g), tua(g) 'towards', tua(g) at id., parth a(g) id., parth ag at id.; Mn. W. y gyt a(c), gyt a(c), Mn. W. gyd a(g), gyda(g), ymhyd a(g) 'together with', gyferlyn 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' ; y tu ac attaw c.m. 47 'towards him'; tu ac at l.a. 158; parth a'r berth w.m. 69 'towards the bush'; parth ac attunt do. 38 'towards them'; aros ... hyt parth a diwed y dyd do. 70 'to wait till towards the end of the day'; ygyn ac ef w.m. 7 'together with him'; y gyt ac wynn do. 5 'with them'; gyverbyn a hi r.m. 293 'opposite her', gyvarwyneb ac wynn w.m. 185 'opposite them'; tu-ag-at am M.K. [x1]'with regard to'.

tu 'on the side', like parth, is definite without the article—an old construction which survived in a few idioms; the tendency to use y before tu, as y tu ac above, is shown by the early tu ha to be a Ml. W. neologism, which did not become general.

(3) Ml. and Early Mn. W. vi a, ti a, ef a, efo a, hi a, before vowels vi ag, etc. 'with, together with', literally 'I with', 'thou with', etc. The pronoun had lost its pronominal force, and its antecedent was frequently a pronoun of the same person coming immediately before it. Thus:
A minleu vi a'r morynjon a wiscaf ymdanaf inheu w.m. 99 'and I with the maids will dress myself'. kysgeist di ti a Lawnelot s.g. 302 'thou didst sleep with Lancelot.' buyt a lynn... j' th neithawr di ti a'm merch i r.m. 120 'food and drink for thy nuptials with my daughter'. Sef a wnaeth ynteu ef ae tu y nos honno R.B.B. 76 'this is what he did with his host that night'.

A rhif gwlith o fendithion
A fo i Huw ef a hon.—L.G.C. 463; cf. 4, 308.

'And blessings numerous as the dew be to Huw with her.'

Yr oedd Esyllt urddaswawr
Draw hi a'i mab Rhodri Mawr.—L.G.C., M 146/140.

'Esyllt the noble was there with her son Rhodri Mawr.'

Y nef i hun ef o a hi.—T.A., A 14975/107.

'Heaven [be] to him with her.'

efo a(g) was contracted to efu(g), as the metre requires in the last example; see efo honn, efo hi S.V. c.c. 361. In Gwynedd efo(g) came to be used with 'irrespective of the person of the antecedent; this is noted by Simwnt Vychan as a grammatical fault, r.m. 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, Mi. W. ny, nyt, Mn. W. ni, nid; in an indirect sentence, Mi. 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
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(≡ nāg); in answering a question, na, nac (≡ nāg). The forms nid, naid, nac are used before vowels only; the forms ni, na before consonants, and a mutated ɡ, as ny wna... 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, nis, nyw etc.

The initial mutation after ny na in Ml. W. is as follows: p-, t-, c-spir.; b- rad.; m-, l- rad. or soft; d-, g- soft; r- not shown (r- may be r- or r-). But na (nac) takes the soft of b-, m-, l-. 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 thykiya w.m. 14 'avails not'; c-, ny chan b.b. 31 'he sings not'; b-, ny byd w.m. 4 'he will not be', ac na bo b.b. 54 'and that there may not be'; m-, ny myneis w.m. 18 'I would not', ny myn w.m. 148, na með do. 147, but ny wynhei w.m. 58 'would not'; l-, ny lluit revuct (t≡-5) b.b. 8 'wealth avails not', ny llesseint do. 63 'were not slain', but ni lados i di w.m. 8 'I will not kill thee'; g-, ny wyn, ny allaf above; d-, ny tiume (≡ ny div(yn)g) b.b. 8 'makes no amends'. Relative: corph ni glicit (t≡-5) b.b. 20 'body that hear-est not'; ny bara r.b. 1175.—Mn. W.: ni mynnafl L.E. p 97/179 'I will not', ni feddodd W.II. c.m. 105 'he possessed not'; ni bu T.A. g. 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.].

Ny1 gwaratwyd gwelâu b.b. 962 'it is no disgrace to reform'; Nid cur llaew 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 (≡ nāg) 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
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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 ðim '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 Jr. gemination occurs after ní 'not' and the preverbs ro, no. Thus Brit. *né kkarâme gives Ml. W. ny charaf. Hence the spir. of tenues after ní. So *bb- > b- *mr- > m-, *ll- > ll-. 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 relativaal form, lenition spread to b- m-, ll-, rh.—The neg. rel. lenited because it was orig. unacc., and the verb accented, so that the regular softening took place after the vowel, § 162 vi (3).

(2) 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 boi (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. eg. nom. of *so, *sâ, *tod > Gk. ὅ, ὅ, ὅ, § 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 *nê in direct sentences in Ar., it was accented in dependent clauses; this may have led to a reduced unacc. *nê 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 (Ir. na-thó) we have simple na; in nac ef 'it [is] not so' the -c may represent some form of *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), ond 'nonne?'; before nouns etc., Ml. ponyt [rad.], Mn. ponid. pond, pand, onid, ond 'is it not?' The initial mutation after pony etc.
is the same as after *ny*; so the use of -t before verbs. (3) Mn. W. ai ë ‘is it so?’, onid ë, onitë ‘is it not so?’ dial. N.W. ai ë?
yn’t ë? S.W. ai ëf e? ëf e? on’t ëf e?

Examples: (1) Mn. W. A wðost 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 vescitar? Mi. W. Pony welwch chwi r.p. i418 ‘do you not see?’ Pany chredwch chwi ib. ‘do you not believe?’ Ponyt ydym ni yn kredu W.A. 83 ‘do we not believe?’ Ponyt llygoden a welaf i’i thaw di w.m. 78 ‘is it not a mouse that I see in thy hand?’

Pand hir na welir ond nos?
Pe byr, hir yw pob aros.—I.F., m 148/59.
‘Is it not long that only night is seen? Though short, all waiting is long.’

Ond hir yr wyd yn tario?—W.I.L., o. 293.
‘Is it not long that thou art tarrying?’ Onid oes dinistr ír anwir? Job xxxi 3. Ond rhaid i trád fyw? b.c. 119 ‘must not trade live?’

Preverbal a may be followed by an infixed pron. in Mn. W.; a’m dywedyd W.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 kysfryw varchawc w.m. 138 ‘and inquiring of Pere-
dur whether he had seen such a knight’; ny wnn a glyweist ywthrhw
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 Dyweyt... a weleisti w.m. 118, which may be rendered ‘say whether thou hast seen’ or say, ‘say, hast thou seen?’

ae... ae ‘whether... or’ : A wðosti peth wyt... ae corff ae eneit b.t. 27 ‘dost thou know what thou art, whether body or soul?’ y rodi devis uðant ae gwthaw ëchau ae yrwan ac ef; see § 222 ii (2).

iii. a [soft] ‘whether’ may represent unacc. Brit. *ā* ‘if’ instr. sg. f. of the pron. *o-:* cf. Gk. *ν* ‘if’ which however is from *e*, variant of *o* instr. sg. m.; for the instr. f. as adv. cf. Lat. eā, quā. See § 222 v (1).

ae [rad.] is a contraction of a and a vocable *y*, which orig. ended in a cons., and may be from *id* ‘it’, so that ae may be lit. ‘whether it [is]’; cf. nyt § 217 iv (3).

po-ny, pa-ny < Brit. *g*ā ne ‘whether not’; *g*ā instr. sg. f. as *ā*
avobe; if unacc. in Brit. it would give pa-; if unacc. later, po-; see § 71 i (2).
ai e < ai ef 'is it so?' ynt e for *an'd hof 'is it not so?': (k)ef < *semo-s, -d 'that, it, so' § 159 iv (r). The S. W. second e repeats the pron. of ae. Mn. W. ai comes from ai e, which is easier than ae (ay) e.

§ 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. nue'm, nue's etc.; with the perfective particle neur. Before nouns, adjs. etc. neut. [rad.] 'it is'; with neg. part. neut na(t).

neu cheint r.t. 19 'I have sung'; neut atwen nat yr vy lles r.p. 1039 'I know that it is not for my good'; nue'm duc i Elfin b.b. 67 'E. brought me'; nue's fodes w.m. 20 'he has given it'; neur ywm r.b. 7 'I have been' (also in full neu ry do. 74, w.m. 80); neut kyme-tevin, neut ywod rych, neut crych egyn r.p. 1036 'it is spring, the furrow is red, the sprouts are curly'; neut na'm dawr do. 1227 'I care not'; neut nat iyô ib. In Early Mn. W. neu is a rare survival:

E fu amser—neu dderyw—
Och fôl bon oeddvin iach jfw.—D.G. 425.

'There was a time—it is past—ah me! when I was alive and well.'

(2) neu for *nyw, § 78 iii, < Brit. *nei loc. sg. m. of the pron. *no-: Gk. vai, Lat. nae 'indeed' (ei/ai § 63 v (2)), Gk. vî, Lat. nô '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. (r) Mn. W. y, e, yô, ed; yd, ed, yt; yd-, yt(t)-; Mn. W. y, yô, yr, yd-, yt-. In Mn. W. these are used almost exclusively before the pres. and impf. of the verb 'to be'. yd- was agglutinated to these tenses early, and ytt- spread from yttyn and yttod ñ § 189 iii (1), § 180 ii (3). The compounds yd-wyf etc. were used like the simple forms, and might take other preverbs before them, as neut yttiv dros amser w.m. 182 'it is past the time', nit yttodywn i do. 8 'I was not', a yttiv Llancilot yma s.g. 1 'is Lancelot here?' Even yr yd- is common; yr yllwff § 191 ii (2). In answers and denials the yd- forms only are used in the pres. except in the 2nd sg., as yllwff 'I am!' ydyclh 'you are!' but wyf 'thou art!'

Mn. W. Yd wele(i)s-e Gwendolen b.b. 53 'I have seen Gwendolen'. Y dodet yr march yr mar, ac yr deuth hi ... w.m. 33 'The horse was given to the boy, and she came ...' Ac y dyew Gewelwyf yr newad do. 457 'And G. came to the hall'. Pan dodeth yti y peir? E doeth im ... do 45 (cf. 46) 'Whence came the caldron to thee?' It came to
me...’ Na wir, yð ym wyryda r.m. 105, w.m. 458 ‘No, indeed, we are goodmen’. Yt oet (= yð oed) in y diffrid... Yspird Glan r.b. 45 ‘The Holy Ghost was protecting her.’—Mn. W: Ac y dyweit Iwl Kesar y.l.h. [8] ‘And Julius Caesar says’; yr wyf, yr wyt, yr oedd, yr ydym, yr ydoedd, etc.

(2) These terms 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 (ef laoheï b.a. 37, ef 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 ȝ weith r.p. 1056 ‘Everybody is praised according to his work’. Ef gwened b.a. 22 ‘There was an attack’.—(c) Ew kynhliw imy uwiw (≡ Ef cwyneif ynu fwyf) b.b. 100 ‘I shall complain while I am’. Ef guneif beirð 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 eisteded b.a. 10 ‘He would not sit at the end of a bench’.—(b) Nid ew rotir new IRQ neb nwy keis b.b. 86 ‘Heaven will not be given to him who does not seek it’. Nyt ef enir pawb yn ðoeth r.p. 1056 ‘Everybody is not born wise’.—(c) Nyt ef caraf ânryssonarat b.t. 8 ‘I love not strife’; kyt ef mynasswn 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.


(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 yt ll.A. 4 'I will tell it thee'; hi ay gwelei 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 wn 'I know' with mi a yyr 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. 1365 for hi wn.

(4) In Mn. W. ef a, mi a etc. remain in use, as Mi a euraf § 38 ix, Ef a borthes yr Iesu D.N. f.n. 94 'Jesus fed [the multitude]' In the Bible ef a becomes efe a, except where it is clearly a particle, when it is written fe or fe a, as fe allei Gen. xvi 2, fe a allei i Bren. xviii 27, or fo as fo'm lleddir Diar. xxii 13.

But the natural Mn. forms seem to be ef; e, fo, f', fe; mi, ti etc.; as Ef aeth D.G. 374, 527, Ef fu amser i (i), E gaeold Mai § 129 ii (i), Fo ddaw D.G. 175, fo'm cafodd do. 177; Mi wn do. 501, Mi velwon T.A. g. 238.

Tra fo gwelith mewn tref a gwlad
Fo sôn dynion am danad.—W.IL. 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 golhid yr hen lyfrfaw Y.L.H. [8] 'the old books would be lost'.

In the spoken lang., in S. W. i (for fi, 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', niw 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 Clywref 'Yes, I hear'.

(5) Mi. W. ef as in (1) above is the same as the ef in nac ef 'not so'; no', ai e 'is it so?' and i-ef 'it is so'. The construction mi ganaf may be originally 'as for me, I will sing', which explains the
oblique mi instead of the nom. i. Undoubtedly later the pronoun was identified with the subject, though ef largely retained its character of a particle.

iv. (1) The rel. a is used in Early Ml. W. to support an infixed pron. before a verb; thus

A' th kivarchau b.b. 98 = A' th gywarchaf b.p. 578 'I greet thee'.
A' th vendiguis-te Awraham b.b. 35 'Abraham blessed thee.' A
a'wch bi wynnyeith b.t. 12 'And there will be vengeance upon you'.
A's attebwys 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
(= eirolvoe ny) Mihangel do. 32 'May Michael intercede for us'.

(2) This form prob. arose where the subject was expressed, as in A's attebwys Dofydd, the a anticipating Dofydd; and is perhaps a survival for a particular purpose of the habit of putting the rel. clause first, which prevails in Skr. (Whitney 512 a), and may have been primitive.

v. (1) Ml. W. ry, the perfective particle, with the past makes it perf. in sense, as pawb ry gavas 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 eirote do. 454 'though he had never seen her'; with the plup., causes no modification of meaning, y ryn (= yr kyn) ry a' darwsei do. 453 'that which he had promised'. See Strachan, Intr. 57-60. It is sometimes reduced to r after neu i (1); ny, as ny'r barfio w.m. 230; a, as ar boethed do. 123. In Early Mn. verse ry is a rare survival: Anoethwas a'i rhwy
nawetheodd 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 ydob oeð kawat o eira gwedy ry-odi... a gwarch wyll gwedy ry-lad hwyat w.m. 140 'a shower of snow had fallen, and a wild hawk had killed a duck'; this is reduced to (g)wedyr s.g. 53, which survives in Early Mn. W. verse, as gwedy r' odi D.G. 27 quoted from the above; wedy r' euraw L.G.C. 363 'having been ennobled'.

It is seen from the first example above that the rel. a was not used with ry, which may contain the rel. without alteration of form. But
in the Late Ml. period a began to be inserted before it, as ac a ry-
unaethoes w.m. 30 (§ 151 ii (2)). The mutation after it was orig.
the same as after ny; thus in direct statements ṭy chedwis detyf b.b.
14 'he kept the law'; relativoal, pawb ṭy gavas above. The lenition
of the relatival form was generalized.

(2) Ml. W. ṭy = Ir. ṭo < *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. ṭy may have been formed like ny itself, by contraction,
thus ṭy < *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 gwenaf '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

\( ti \ a \ oδ\ e \ g e r \ d \ g a n h u n t ? \) Goyyneis 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. ṭo 'yes'. Thurneysen, Gr. 492, derives the latter from
Ar. *tod 'that'; but W. d- is inconsistent with this. Rhys, LWPb. 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: mligid
'milks', perf. sg. I. do-ommalg, tongid 'swears', perf. du-cui-iwig,
Thurneysen Gr. 322. The alternation l-: d- occurs in this, cf. § 196 i
(3); and the answer expected is a verb.

\( i-e f < *i \ \text{simo-s} \ ' \text{that [is] so} ' \) \( \text* : \ Gk. \ o\i\roo-t, \ Umbr. -\text{v} : \ Goth. \)
ja, O.H.G. ia, E. yea. mai ē '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-die.—(b) A preposition with its
object generally forms an adverb equivalent, and many such expressions became improper compounds, as Gk. ἐκ-προδότων.

(3) The special adverbial suffixes were (a) forms with a dental, see § 162 vi (2);—(b) forms with ἧθ as Gk. δι-γά; see § 222 i (3)—(c) forms with ῥ, as Lat. cùr, W. pyr 'why?'—(d) forms with a nasal, as Lat. superne, see § 209 vii;—(e) the suffix -ς, as in Gk. δις, Lat. bis.—See Brugmann n II ii 728-738.

ii. The following W. adverbs represent old adverbial forms:

(1) Early Ml. W. nu 'now', as Nu ny'm car-i Guendit B.B. 50 'Now Gwellydd 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) Brugmann n II ii 679: Skr. māksū 'quickly, soon'.

(3) doe 'yesterday'.

do = Lat. heri both from *ghô̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂̂...
ACCIDENCE

§ 220

e-bo dauleu a.l. 1 62 'where there is a suit'; A'r vorwyn a doeth
yn yd oc Peredur w.m. 148 'and the maid came to where P.
was'. Also, similarly used, myn, men, as myn-yd vo truin yd
uit trev (≡ ryd trev) n.b. 83 'where there is a nose there will be
a sneeze'; cf. 26; a bodes vy rën mën y maent ryd R.P. 1367
'which my Lord has put where they are free'; cf. 1244.

The older forms of yno, yna are ynoeth, ynaeth; the b.t. ynoeô
represents the intermediate stage between ynoeth and yno § 78 i (1).
ynaeth > yna 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 *enäkt- § 74 iv. These are prob-
derivatives of the pron. stem. *eno-; but the formation is not quite
clear. We may assume forms *enok-s, *enä-k-s formed like
*pro-k-s, *perä-k-s, and adverbs with a t-suffix formed from these,
on the analogy of *ek-tos (: Ir. acht, Gk. ἐκτός); thus *enok-te
'thither' > ynoeth. For the base cf. Skr. aná 'then; ever', Gk. ἐνν
'the third [day]' ('that [day]'), Umbr. inum-k, inum-ek, enom
'tum'.—Ml. W. yn 'there'; thither' may represent the loc. and acc.
*eni and *enom of the pron.—Ml. W. myn, men seems to be the same
with initial (y)m- < *esmi, see (11). The rhyme rën/mën 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) eto 'again, yet', Ml. W. etwo, etwa, earlier edwaeth C.
R.P. 1173, edwaeth b.t. 29, M. w. 3a, edwaeth (id ≡ d-d, not d*)
B.B. 88. Also etton R.P. 1264, 1309, etton do. 1321, etwan
l.a. 37, w.m. 61.

The t is for d by provection before w § 111 v (2), so that the older
form was edwaeth, *edwoeth (yw : yw interchange), which implies
Brit. *et.ynok-. This seems to be a formation like yno, see (6), from
a base *eti-yo; *eti : Gk. έτι, Skr. áti (which may represent *ati or
*eti) 'over, beyond'; yo < *upo : Skr. úpa, as adv. 'moreover,
farther', see (9). The form eton, etowan < *edwon < Brit. *eti-yo-ná,
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 eto
except as original *e-.

(8) hefyd 'also, besides', Ml. W. hevyt. In Late Mn. W. it
is used in positive statements only; but in Mn. and Early
Mn. W. its use is not so restricted; see e.g. w.m. 8.

* Cf. ryddnant 68 for rýd|nant; the d doubled because the syll. is closed; see
§ 54 i (3).
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ADVERBS

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Ni threithir y gwir i gyd
Yn llyfr nac unile hofyd.—G. Gl., P I I 4/458.

'The whole truth is not stated in a book or anywhere else.'

hofyd < Brit. *sami-ti; suff. of manner *-ti § 162 vi (2) added to
*sam-i, with i-flexion following *s-am-li- (: Lat. simili-s) : Ir. samith,
same meaning, < *samali-ti < the fuller *samali-ti- : cf. Lat. simiti
apparently formed with suff. -tūd from loc. *sēmei, Walde² s.v.

(9) wedi 'afterwards' e.g. Matt. xxvi 73, Act. iii 24, B.C.W.
21 l. 10, gwedi l. 22; Early Mn. W. and Ml. W. (g)wedy, O. W.
quoting ox., gweigt b.s.c.h. 2 'afterwards'; na chynt na gwedy

The final -i is late § 213 ii (2). In the recent period wedi adv. has
given place to wedȳn, a dial. contraction of wedy hyn 'after this'.

wedy, O. W. quoting, Bret. goude < Brit. *wotȳqos) which may be
for *uo-te-gos (eg > ig § 65 ii (3)); *uo < *upo which as an adverb
of time meant 'after', cf. Skr. ́upa adv. 'moreover, further', and
Lat. s-sub- in sub-sequo, succéedo; *-te suffix of time § 162 vi (2); to
*uo-te seems to have been added the suff. *-ghos as in ac 'and' § 222
i (3). Its consonantal ending is proved by the rad. initial which
follows it as a prep.

(10) draw 'yonder'; yma a thraw 'here and there'.

draw is probably for *traūef § 110 iii (r) < *trām-, perhaps loc.
*trāmei of stem *trāmo- : cf. *prāmo- in Lat. prandium. "From
ter- there are old nominal m-formations, which have become
adverbial and prepositional" Brugmann² II ii 901. See § 156 i (22).

(11) yma 'here', poet. yman; Ml. W. yma w.m. 22, ymma
do. 32, 39, yman m.a. 30; hyt yman w.m. 186 'hither'; draw ac
yma R.P. 1369.

A chais un o'i chusanau
Yman a i'w daeýn 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 hwnt Gr.O. 32
'Searching here, searching there'.

W. yma, yman, Corn. yma, omon (o = y Williams Lex. s.v.), -man
-man, Bret. ama, amain, -ma, -main, Van. ama, amann, amenn. On
the loss of final -m see § 110 v (2). The word is perhaps to be
divided *ym-anu < *esmt loc.sg. of the pron. *e- § 189 iii (2) + *anda
prob. < *an-dha; *an- variant of *en- of the *eno- pron. (cf. Goth.
anpar 'alius' Brugmann² II ii 336) with suff. -dha § 162 vi (2) as in
Skr. i-ha 'here', Gk. ?ν-θα; *anda survives in Bret. ann 'here',
Ir. and 'there, in it'.
(12) `allan 'out, in the open', Ml. W. allan r.p. 1044. I.M. 106, 167, usually written allan but rhyming with -ann in Early Ml. verse, thus can/orloegau(n)/allan(n)/lan(n) B.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 *pdi-jām-dha or a similar formation from √pelā- '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 sōin ale 'from that time forward' O'Don. Gr. 263: o hynny allan w.m. 12 (so in Mn. W.) 'thenceforth'.

(13) Ml. W. ñwy 'too much', as ñwy yr werthey Arthur w.m. 470 'overmuch dost thou asperse Arthur'; see viii (1).

(14) y, ȳ, ẏ adverbial rel. § 162; pyr 'why?' pan 'whence?' cw, cwð, cwð 'where?' § 163; arnodd etc. § 209; heibio, acw, trwod, drosodd, yngo, yngod, ucho, uchod, iso, isod § 210.

iii. The following adverbs are oblique cases of nouns and adjectives:

(1) fry 'up', obl. case, prob. loc., of bre 'hill' § 108 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); ddin 'at all' § 170 v (3); syrn 'a great deal' obl. case of swn 'cluster, crowd' § 129 ii (1) ex. 3 (< *s-tur-no-: Lat. tur-ma, √tuer-); gyflch gyyflch, etc. § 47 iii; agos 'nearly'; nemawr, fawr 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 lluoed achlán R.M. 136 'all the hosts'. It is prob. an adj. which as an adv. retains its old accentuation like yrhawg, eriod § 47 i, ii. The most likely Brit. form is *avkladnos which may be for *y-qled-no- 'un-broken', √qolad- 'strike, break': Lat. incolūmis 'un-harmed, whole'; cf. E. whole in two senses; cf. also W. di-dwun 'unbroken, whole', di-goll 'whole', coll < *qol'd-, √qolad-.

(3) After an adj.: iawn 'very', as da iawn 'very good'; odiaeth 'very', Gen. xii 14 (: odid); aruthr 'amazingly, very', as merch laneg aruthr B.C.W. 9; ofnadwy 'terribly', etc.
(4) Before an adj. with rad. initial: llawer before cpv., § 169 ii (1); mwy, mwyaf § 151 i; similarly llai, lleiaf; and in Mn. W. digon, as digon da 'good enough'; numeral with cpv. (with mutation peculiar to the numeral) § 154 iii (2).

(5) gynt 'formerly'; cynt 'previously'; gynneu 'a short time (few hours) ago'; mwy, mwyach 'henceforth'; byth 'ever'; weithiau 'sometimes'; unwaith, etc. § 154 iii (1); chwaith, ychwaith 'either', which replaces hefyd in neg. clauses in the late period, as na Herod chwaith Luc xxiii 15 'nor H. either'.

byth is the Ir. bith 'ever' borrowed, the etymological equivalent of W. byd 'world'. W. byth is generally sounded with short y, more rarely 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 chyth in which the orig. rad. is c-

chweith in Late Ml. W. occurs chiefly before a noun, and means 'any', as na chywei arnaw 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 rhag na chaphom aros chweith hir G.R. [95] 'lest we may not stay very long', Canys nid yno chweith teg do. [124] 'for it is not very seemly', chweith hir B.C.W. 40. These expressions seem to show that chwaith is orig. a noun; perhaps gwaith 'occasion' § 100 i (2), as in unwaith above (with pref. *eks-?) : Bret. ch'hoaz, Corn. whath, whêth, 'yet, again' (*-ykêt- : *-ykt-).

(6) mwy (no) 'more (than)'; wellwell, waethwaeth § 152 ii; haeach in neg. clauses, meaning with the neg. 'not much, hardly at all'; oreu 'best', gyntaf 'first', etc.

Nyt arhoes of haeach s.g. 38 'he did not stay long'. The word is often used as a noun, as heb wneuthur hayach o brwce s.g. 39 'without doing much wrong'; cf. R.A. 122. hayachen B.M. 142, G. 234 has the sense of 'almost'—haeach seems to be a cpv. of an adj. *hac < *sag-jo- or *sag-¿o-, /seg/-: Gk. ὅχα 'much' adv., /seg/-, Boisacq s.v. ὅχα. haeachen 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, yð, 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 yð, lle yr, generally lle, lle'r 'in the place where, where', Ml. W. lle ny, Mn. lle ni 'where . . . not'.

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(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 bám bridd yn y bedd D.G. 296 'I was almost dust in the grave'.

braidd may represent the instr. *bradū of an adj. cognate with Gk. βαδές '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 adv.

An adj. preceding a vb. directly (without y), as mad ðewthosê 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 guyð 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. hêddiw § 37 iii; heno § 78 i (1); e-leni 'this year' for *he-fleni, Bret. hevlene.

hêdiw for *hêddiw § 77 v < *se-diyes = Skr. sa-diwaḥ 'at once' beside sa-dyak 'on the same day' prob. loc. sg. of an s-stem, and so not formed directly from *diyak 'day', but an old formation going back to Pr. Ar. The others are prob. formed in Brit. on its analogy: hê-no < *se-nokti loc. of *nokts; e-leni for *he-lyni (owing to preference for e.i sequence, cf. § 65 iii (2)) < *blidnii loc. of *bleidoni which gives bliwyddyn 'year'.

2) beunydd 'every day', beunoeth 'every night'.

The noun in these was acc. But Brit. *pâpon dijen (< *qəpʰom dijəm) should give W. *paâb nyð; it seems to have been made into an improper compound early, and the aw treated like ordinary penu-ultimate aw (which normally comes from *ou) and affected to eu § 76 iv (3), giving *peunyð > peunyð; then by analogy peunoeth (and S. W. dial. o bètu for lit. o boptu); Bret. bemdeiz, Treg. baônde.

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).
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(4) pa le, ple 'where?' pa ddelw, pa fodd 'how?' pa bryd 'when?' etc. § 163 ii.

(5) rýwbryd 'some time', rýwfodd 'somehow'.

v. Adverbs formed of a noun or adj. preceded by a conjunction or neg. part.:  

(1) ond + noun or pron. : ond odid 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' i.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 'nearly' (lit. 'not otherwise') Ml. W. wyt amgen.

It is curious that nid hwyrach is generally reduced to hwyrach in the recent period, though it survives as tw(y)rach in Gwyn. dial.

vi. Adverbs formed of nouns governed by prepositions:

(1) The prep. and noun compounded: éch-nos 'the night before last'; éch-doe 'the day before yesterday'; trán-noeth 'the following day'; trén-nydd 'the day after to-morrow'; trá-dwy 'the third day from to-day'; Ml. W. a-vory, w.m. 4, i.l. 110, Mn. W. y-fory 'to-morrow'; yr-liýnedd, er-liýnedd 'last year'; ó-bry 'down'; éisoes, éísioes 'already', Ml. W. eisoes 'nevertheless'; gór-moð, Late Mn. W. gór-moð 'excessively'; adref i.l. 109 'homewards', so in Mn. W.

éch-doe is an improper compound formed when *ech < *eks was a living prep.; ech-nos is formed on its analogy, or is changed for an older *ech-noeth. On trannoeth, tremnyð see § 156 i (22);—tra-dwy for *tar-dwy < *tarós dywó 'beyond two [days]'; in such a phrase it is possible that the accent of *dywó might be on the -o, the original position ( : Skr. duvê); and *dywó > *dywó would give -dwy not -*den § 76 v (4);—a-vory for *ad-vory < *ad mărig-i (prob. loc.; *ad takes loc. in Germ. also) 'to-morrow';—yr-liýned < *per blidniðan acc. of *bleidnið 'year';—eisoes < *es-i-oes 'ever' (oes 'age') formed like eiroet (4); cf. Fr. toujours 'nevertheless';—adref, an old compound, § 99 v (4).

(2) The prep. and noun uncompounded, or forming improper compounds accentuated on the ultima: i fyny 'up', Ml. W. ý rynyð(i) § 110 iv (3); i lawr 'down'; i waered 'down'; i mewn 'inside' § 215 iii (1); i maes 'out', Ml. W. ý maes c.m. 58, r.m. 172, il.a. 122, 166; o vyen i.l. 166 'inside'; o vaes lb. 'outside';
yn ôl 'back', ar ôl 'behind' § 215 iii (6); ar hynt 'immediately' s.g. 274; oddi fyny 'from above', oddi lawr 'from below', oddi mewn 'inside'; ymlaen 'in front' § 215 iii (10); yngnyd 'together', Ml. W. yddyt w.m. 103, R.M. 75 (for which y gyt is oftenest found, see ib.), i gyd 'wholly', Ml. W. y gyd § 156 i (8); ar lled 'abroad', late ar led; ar frys 'hastily', rhag llaw 'henceforth', Ml. W. tac llaw r.p. 1418, dra-chefn 'backwards, over again' § 214 iii; ymaith 'away', Ml. W. ymdeith for earlier e ymdeith w.m. 2; i ffwrdd id.

i waered; gwaered < *upo-ped-ret- 'under-foot-run'—i maes = Bret. 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 'former'; 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-mêd 'during my time', Ml. W. eirnod r.p. 1259; er-i-mêd 'ever' § 34 iii, Ml. W. eirwog, eiroet; the form eiroet 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', trwy deg neu hagr 'by fair [means] or foul'; trwy iawn 'by right'; wrth wir 'truly'; o fraidd 'sarcely', Ml. W. o vreidd 1.108, a-breidd w.m. 131.

(2) Eir Any adj. following yn, as yn dda 'well', yn well 'better', yn ddrwg 'badly', yn fawr 'greatly', yn gam 'wrongly'. The adj. has the soft initial except when it is ll or rh § 111 i (1); but in many expressions forming improper compounds it has the nasal; as ynghynt 'sooner', ymhell 'far', ynghâm 'wrongly', ynghudd 'secretly' etc. § 107 v (6).
W. yn, Corn. yn, Ml. Bret. en, ent, Ir. in, índ < *en-do; W. yn favour = Ir. in mār. In Ir. the adj. was generally in the dat.; and Zeuss ZE. 608-9 explained índ 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 bèll ‘far’ and ymhell ‘far’ are a doublet, both forms being in use; ymhell is the same construction as ymlaen 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’, yŷgwaethach r.m. 85, yŷgwaethach do. 150, aŷgwaethach do. 156, yŷ kyvoethach w.m. p. 91b, anoethach do. 182; also later chwaethach b.cw. 14.

Hytrach is prep. of hydr ‘strong, prevailing’: O.Bret. hitr, Ir. sethar, of unknown origin.—chwaethach (misspelt chweithach by Silvan Evans) is generally supposed to be from chweith iii (5), e.g. D.D. s.v.; if so it has Fr. grade *-yok-t-; -nhw- > -o-w- § 26 vi (3); ţk = wh § 21 i; on- < *-do-: *en-do-; yŷ kyv- seems to have pref. kyv-; anoethach, with no pref., but with ţ 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 eithaf ‘extremely’; ar y cyntaf ‘at first’; dial. ar y lleiaf ‘rather too little’, ar y mwyaf ‘rather too much’.

Viii. (1) The prefixes rh-, go- and tra- by being accented separately before adjectives have come to be regarded as adverbs rhū. 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. ñwy, as in Nyt gwell ñwy no digawon r.m. 963 ‘too much is not better than enough’; this is prob. the adv., ii (13), used as a noun; rhwy adv. < *prei (: *prai, Lat. prae) § 210 x (5).

(2) lledd 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. *ysywaeth* II. A. 157, s.g. 252, for *yse waeth* 'which is worse'.

(2) *gwaethiroes* *duw* c.m. 30 for *gwaeth yr oed duw* (?) 'wore worth the day'; Gwentian *gwaithiro dduw* h.g. 106.

(3) *yswaethéroes* L.G.C. 38, seemingly a confusion of (1) and (2).

ii. (1) *agátfyd* Gr.O. 262, J.D.R. 134 'perhaps', Ml. W. *agatyd* s.g. 224, *ac atyô* w.m. 2, r.m. 2, for *ag a atyô* 'with what will be' i.e. per-adventure; cf. a *advo* B.B. 8 'what may happen'.

(2) *agattoes* h.m. ii 85 'it might be', *ac attoes* r.m. 212, for *ag a *ad-hoed*; for *hoed* see § 180 ii (3).

(3) *ysgátfyd* 'perhaps' I Cor. xv 37 for *ys ag a atfydd.*

iii. *ysgwîr* ',sgwîr* L.G.C. 444 'truly', for *ys gwîr* 'it is true'; *malpéi* 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) *llýma* 'voici', *llyna* 'voilà', for *syl yma* 'see here', *syl yna* 'see there', cf. Bret. *setu* 'voici, voilà' prob. for *sellet hu* 'see ye'; cf. *syl dy racco* r.m. 133.

(2) Mn. W. *dyma* 'voici', more fully *weldyma* B.C.W. 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', *welducho* for *wel(y) dy ucho*; *diso* 'see below', *weldiso* D.G. 113, dial corr. *duw*; *dyfry* 'see up', *dobry* 'see down', *dynogo* 'see close by' (yugo § 210 viii (5)).

CONJUNCTIONS

§ 222. The Welsh conjunctions are the following:

i. Annexive: *a, ac* 'and'. (1) The -c of *ac* is a survival of Ml. spelling § 18 ii; the word is sounded *ag*, and is treated as *ag* in cynghanedd, as seen by the correspondences marked below; cf § 111 v (4). In many Mn. ms, it is written *ag*. 
Ac yno yn medw Gwynedd
Imi ar bër y mae’r bedd.—D.G. 60.
‘And there among the birch-trees of Gwynedd the grave is being prepared for me.’ Ag in the text here, but Ac in the previous couplet.

Ni thorrais un ulythoren
O bin ac in 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 ymosynnaf;
Mwnai ac aur Môn a gaf.—L.G.C. M 146/140.
‘Môn will I seek; I shall have the money and gold of Môn.’

(2) ac (≡ag) is used before vowels; a [spir.] before consonants, including h, and in Ml. and Early Mn. W. ɨ; as bara a chaws; diwr a halen.

Ni chwynaf od wyf a fiach,
Os yfô sy fyw a iâch.—R.G.G. E.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 ɨ; but such combinations as ac haul sometimes seen in recent cyngihanedd have no lit. or dial. justification, except perhaps in Gwentian where h is dropped.—The same rules apply to a, ag ‘with’; na, nae ‘nor’; no, nec ‘than’.

(3) ag: Ir. acus, accus,ocus; the Ir. -c- or -cc- represents -gg- as proved by Mn. Ir. -g-; W. ag then represents *aggôs; the final -s and oxytone proved by the spirant initial which follows it; the Ir. acus older occis for *agquis < *aggos-ti. Brit. *aggôs < *at-ğhos formed of *at (: *et) § 63 v (2) and a ɨh-suffix as in Gk. δι-χα, δι-χω, δι-χό-θεν, etc.

The base *at (: *et) is connected with *ati (: *eti) ‘beyond’, whence ‘and, but’; thus Lat. et, Umbr. et ‘and’, Goth. iƀ ‘and, but’ < *et : Lat. at ‘but’, Goth. aƀ-fan ‘but’, Gk. ἀτ-άρ ‘but’ < *at. The suffix -ğhos 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-ğhos-to-s.

ii. Disjunctive: (1) neu [soft] ‘or’.

neu < *nôŷ < *nê-yê: Ir. nô, no, nu < *ne-yê. The second element is Ar. yê ‘or’; Lat. -ve, Skr. vâ ‘or’. Thurneysen takes the first to be the neg. *ne- so that the orig. meaning was ‘or not’: Skr. ná-vâ ‘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 ‘tó-sê’, 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.

\[ \text{Æ} \] roi\hspace{1pt}dewis \hspace{1pt}udunt \hspace{1pt}ae \hspace{1pt}gwerhau \hspace{1pt}i\hspace{1pt}daw \hspace{1pt}ae \hspace{1pt}ymwan \hspace{1pt}ae \hspace{1pt}ef \hspace{1pt}w.m. \hspace{1pt}160 \hspace{1pt}‘to
give \hspace{1pt}them \hspace{1pt}[\hspace{1pt}their\hspace{1pt}]\hspace{1pt}choice \hspace{1pt}whether \hspace{1pt}to
domage \hspace{1pt}to \hspace{1pt}fight
with him’; \hspace{1pt}dewis \hspace{1pt}ti \hspace{1pt}ae \hspace{1pt}o\hspace{1pt}’\hspace{1pt}th \hspace{1pt}o\hspace{1pt}d \hspace{1pt}ae \hspace{1pt}o\hspace{1pt}’\hspace{1pt}th \hspace{1pt}an\hspace{1pt}w\hspace{1pt}dol \hspace{1pt}do. \hspace{1pt}124 \hspace{1pt}‘choose thou
whether \hspace{1pt}willingly \hspace{1pt}or \hspace{1pt}unwillingly’; \hspace{1pt}æ \hspace{1pt}tydi\hspace{1pt}… \hspace{1pt}æ \hspace{1pt}titheu \hspace{1pt}do. \hspace{1pt}162, \hspace{1pt}171,\hspace{1pt}cf. \hspace{1pt}§ \hspace{1pt}159 \hspace{1pt}iii.

æ § 218 iii, yntau § 159 iii (2), iv (3).

(3) na, nac ‘nor’; na(c)...na(c) ‘neither...nor’; na [spir.]
before a consonant, including \(h\) and \(i\); nac before a vowel;
nac \(\equiv\) nag; exactly as for ac, see i above.

\[ \text{Er \hspace{1pt}i \hspace{1pt} gig \hspace{1pt} ni \hspace{1pt} ro\hspace{1pt}i\hspace{1pt}r \hspace{1pt}gcin}
\text{Nac \hspace{1pt}er \hspace{1pt}i \hspace{1pt} groen \hspace{1pt} garrai \hspace{1pt} grin.—G.Gl. \hspace{1pt}m \hspace{1pt}1/\hspace{1pt}no. \hspace{1pt}43.} \]

‘The kitchen would not give for his flesh or for his skin a sear thong.’

The MS. has actually nag, as is often the case; see i (1).

\[ \text{nag} < *\text{naggós} < *\text{n(e)} \hspace{1pt}at-glws \hspace{1pt}’and \hspace{1pt}not’ \]

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,
namwyn, § 78 ii (1); O.W. honit nammui ‘but only’.

\[ \text{namyn os mivi a gár \hspace{1pt}yr \hspace{1pt}amkerawdyr, \hspace{1pt}denet \hspace{1pt}lyt \hspace{1pt}yman \hspace{1pt}y’m \hspace{1pt}hol \hspace{1pt}w.m.} \]
\[ \text{i} \hspace{1pt}186, \hspace{1pt}cf. \hspace{1pt}185 \hspace{1pt}‘but \hspace{1pt}if \hspace{1pt}it \hspace{1pt}is \hspace{1pt}I \hspace{1pt}that \hspace{1pt}the \hspace{1pt}emperor \hspace{1pt}loves, \hspace{1pt}let \hspace{1pt}him \hspace{1pt}come \hspace{1pt}hither \hspace{1pt}for \hspace{1pt}me.’} \]

\[ \text{Hael oedd, \hspace{1pt}ac \hspace{1pt}ni \hspace{1pt}hawe \hspace{1pt}iddi} \]
\[ \text{Na’i \hspace{1pt} main \hspace{1pt}na’i \hspace{1pt} haur, \hspace{1pt}namyn \hspace{1pt} hi.—D.G.} \hspace{1pt}293. \]

‘He is chivalrous, and asks of her neither her jewels nor her gold,
but only herself.’

\[ \text{namwyn, O. W. nammui, Ir. namāa ‘not more’. It is sometimes} \]
found without \(n\)-, by false division, as amyn b.ch. 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.

\[ \text{canis rytwelsi ef; \hspace{1pt}wynteu hagen ni \hspace{1pt}wybrwyystnt \hspace{1pt}i \hspace{1pt}eissu \hspace{1pt}ef \hspace{1pt}w.m.} \hspace{1pt}9 \]
‘for he had not seen them; they, however, had not missed him’; \hspace{1pt}nyt
§ 222 CONJUNCTIONS

ved nes hagen iði no chyni do. 17 'he was no nearer, however, to her than before'.

hagen, O. W. hacen m.c. gl. at 'but', Bret. hoven 'but' (not enclitic). It has been suggested that the first part is identical with ac 'and' (Loth. Voc. 150, Henry 165); as *at the base of ac also means 'but', i (3) this is not improbable, but it is not easy to account for the form. O. W. has ha, hae as well as a, ac, but the h- is not the aspirate, and is lost in Ml. W., § 112 i. If, however, we suppose a cpv. in *-isón of *aggós, its loc. *aggisent would give *ag-ken, which by early metath. of h (§ 94 ii) might give hagen. For a similar cpv. cf. hwechen § 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'; kau(n)y, kan(n)yt, 'since ... not'; kan(n)ys, canis iii (4) 'since ... not ... him (her, them)'.

ergliv wi (≡ erglyw fi) can dothuwif b.r. 75 'hear me since I have come'; kann colles n.a. 147 'since he has lost'; A chan derw yt dynwedut y geir w.m. 21 'and since thou hast said the word'.—canys priflys oed do. 64 'for it was the chief court'; eisted di yn y lle hvyn kanys rydi beiw s.g. 6 'sit thou in this place for it is thou to whom it belongs'.—Cany velas w.m. 16 'since he did not see'; canyt oes vrenhin ur holl Annwvyn 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' = cannon y 'since it is' and is often written kannys e.g. n.a. 9, 10, 13, etc.; the -nn- 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. kanys is for can ny; it was prob. accented on the last syll., hence the simplification of the -nn-. The accent would suffice to distinguish kanys 'since ... not ... him' from the positive kanys 'since'.

(2) achos 'because', Ml. W. achaws.

Galw Gwyrhir Gwalstavt Ieithoedd, achaws yr holl ieihoed a wyôyat r.m. 114 'Gwyrhir 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, vii 12, Num. xxx 5.

(3) o ran 'for', § 215 iii (12).

Pob byw wrth i ryw yr aeth,
O ran taer yw'r naturiaeth.—W.I.I., c.m. 73.

'Every living thing goes after its kind, for nature is insistent.'
(4) Other composite nominal prepositions are used as conjunctions in the Late Mn. period: o blegid Act. i 5, ii 34; o herwydd 1 Cor. xv 53; o waith, in S.W. dial. waith. v. Conditional: (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 rhued llaw W. II. 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 chlywy biaspat ... o gwely 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 lleði 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 vyghyvarw do. 459 'if I get my boon'; or mynnly I.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 os (read o' th) vos y gwoney ditheu do. 429 'if it is of thy free will that thou dost'; or followed by a simple subject: os pechawt hynny I.A. 38 'if that is sin'. Ml. W. ossit before an indef. subject: ossit a òigrifhaol... c.m. 27 'if there is [any one] who enjoys ...'—The neg. forms ony etc. follow the rules for ny; before verbs: ony byð w.m. 95 'if there be not'; with infixed pron.: onys kaffaf do. 459 'if I do not get it'. Before nouns etc. onyf 'if it [is] not': onyf edicwr I.A. 47 'if not repentant'. This form became onyf, later onid, ond 'but'; ny ðewthum i yma onyf yr gwella u vy wúchd s.g. 184 'I have not come here but to amend my life'; ny mynywaf-i neb onyf Dweu 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 dyswost 'if it was a walk that thou camest'. For onf 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 *á-ti or *á-ta, 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 gawn w.m. 12 'if I know it'; this may well be *á tod 'if it'. os 'if it is' < *á 'sti; ossit 'if there is' < *a'síta < *á 'sti ita. The mutation after accented *á 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 ni rywscut 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 rhont 'if they granted').

vi. Temporal: (1) pan(n) [soft] 'when', § 162 iv (3), § 163 vi; sometimes ban, especially in poetry.

A phan soeth yno w.m. 8 'and when he came there'; a phan velas do. 13 'and when he saw'; pan glywhont do. 22 'when they hear'. Pa le'r oedd ti pan sylfaenais i y ddaear? Job xxxviii 4.—
Ban elom ni II.A. 168 'when we go'.

Synthaias, llewgyais i'r llawr,
Bann velais 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 parhau w.m. 26 is a rare exception in Mi. 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 barhau (read barhaun66) w.m. 26 'no one was refused while it [the feast] lasted'; tra gefft do. 65-6, 68, 72 'while one could have'; tra wynhu Dwu do. 71 'while God will', tra welho Dwu do. 72 id.; tra gerdych W.L. 6 'while thou walkest'; tra fyddai Matt. xiv 22, tra fyddswyt Marc xiv 32; tra fydдо haul Ps. lxxii 17.—

hyt tra ym gatter yn vyw w.m. 479 'whilst I am left alive'; hyt tra vei r.n.b. 79.

tra allied to the prep. tra, but coming from a Brit. form ending in a vowel, possibly *tare-* *tari cf. *are-* *piri; if so it is for *tar, see § 214 iii.
(3) cyn [rad.] ‘before’ § 215 i (1). It is used as a conj. proper, coming immediately before a verb, see examples. In the recent period it is treated as the prep. by having y put after it.

kin bu tav y dan mein B.B. 68 ‘before he was silent under stones’;
kyn bum b.t. 25 ‘before I was’; gwr a rotei gad kyn dybu y dyt w. 2a ‘a man who gave battle before his day came’; cyn elych s.g. 269.

O Dduw! cyn el i ddaear,
A ddaw cof iddi a’i car?—B.Br., p. 112/264.

‘O God! before he goes to earth will she remember [him] who loves her?’

(4) Ml. W. hyny, yny ‘until’; Early Mn. W. yni; Late Mn. W. oni, onid by confusion with oni v (1); and tautologically hyd oni.

A hwnnw a dysegawd Devi hyny vu athro E.A. 107 ‘And [it was] he who taught Dewi till he became a doctor’; Ar yns gawd ythant y Eryri w.m. 185 ‘And they traversed the island till they came to Eryri’; Ac yny aghroch y dried do. 57 ‘and until you open the door’; yny oed yn llawen do. 56 ‘until it was full’.

Ni ddod oddiwrth nai Ddafydd
Yni ddél y nos yn ddydd.—L.G.C. 210.

‘I will not come away from David’s nephew till night becomes day.’
—onid oedd yr haul ar gyrraedd ei gaereu b.c.w. 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 cann wr en yn ty E.A. 12 ‘though there might be 100 men in one house’;
Kyd carhuv-e morca cassau-e mor b.B. 100 ‘though I love the strand I hate the sea’. Cyd byddai nifer mewnion Israel fel tywod y mór 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 hyny r.m. 169 ‘And though that was a brave [fight]’; A chyn bo w.m. 62.—a chyn-nyt ymddalwes a thi w.m. 2 ‘and though I may not avenge myself on thee’; kyn-ny bwyn arglwyddes, 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. een nit boi . . . Cinnit hois cr. 'though there be not . . . though there is not.'

cyd : Ir. ce, cia 'though'; cyny : Ir. cein, cini, cenni. 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 be' etc. Before ny there was prob. no -d, and cyn ny is prob. a wrong deduction from cyny on the analogy of kan ny iv (1); cyn before a positive verb spread from this.—Traces of cy- without -d are found: ko-vei difficith B.A. 7 'though it were waste'; nyt arbedus ke-vei yr eglwyseu g.c. 130 'he spared not even the churches'; kyfffei b.b. 87.—Kelt. *ke may be the stem of the *ke- pronoun, as in Lat. céd- do; loc. in Gk. ε-καί, καί-θε.

(2) er na, see xi.

viii. Comparative: (1) cyn [soft] 'as' before the equative; see § 147 iv (4).

(2) à [spir.], ag 'as' after the equative, Ml. W. a, ac; see i (2). This is the same word as à, ag 'with'; see § 213 iii (1). It is often found before cyn 'though, pei 'if', pan 'when'.

A chyn driset oed hop dyn yno a chyn bei aigheu ym pop dyn onašunt r.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.], noo 'than' after the cpv.; Late Mn. W. na, nag; see i (2). Also Ml. W. nogyt, noget, noo et 'than'. no chyn 'than if' etc.

no chymt iii (4) 'than before'; ny wydwn i varc gynyt . . . no hwnnw w.m. 14 'I knew no fleeter steed than that'; no hi do. 63 'he had not seen a more beautiful woman] than her'; no hwnnw do. 67 'than that'; hyn na velsei dyn wenith tegach noo 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 arufach noget y vei eraill r.m.a. 101 'sweeter and calmer than the others'; iawnach yw idaw dy gynnhal nogyt ymi w.m. 37 'it is juster for him to support thee than for me', cf. r.p. 1039, ll. 10, 30; Ny byð hyn, ny byð ieu, noget y dechreu r.t. 36 'it will not be older, it will not be younger, than at the beginning', cf. 28.

The initial n- is the old ending of the cpv., see § 147 iv (3); cf. Bret. eget, Corn. ages corresponding to W. nogyt. The remaining -o, -oc (≡ -og) has the same formation as a, ac 'and', i (3), and the spirant after o, as after a, implies the accent on the lost ult. Since unacc. à, and unacc. o before a guttural, both give a, we must refer our o to u-§ 66 v.; hence -oc < *uogós, which may be for *ud-ghós: Lith. už- 'up' < *ud-ğh-, Ir. u- with gemination, Skr. ud- 'out, up', Goth. ut, 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.

Gwenawn glot ynteu o'th draws gampeu R.P. 1219 'Let us fashion praise, then, of thy feats of arms'.

x. Citative: (1) before verbs, y [rad.], yr 'that', Ml. W. y, (yd, yð). It is used to make a sentence into a noun equivalent not only after verbs of saying, believing, etc., as gwn y daw ef 'I know that he will come', but generally where a noun-clause is needed, thus diau y daw ef 'that he will come [is] certain'. The neg. form is na, nad, Ml. W. na, nat.

"ac a dysnedassant y guneynt yn yr un kysfelyb s.g. 11 'and they said that they would do likewise'; ac yn dysnedut y'rh leòr di do. 369 'and saying that thou shalt be killed'; ac a wnn y car Duw ynteu L.A. 112 'and I know that God loves him'; ef a wyddiat y collei ef do. 58 'he knew that he would lose'.

'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. ὅτι. 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 oeð; and ymae, mae Mn. W. mae 'that it is', in the late period written mai § 189 ii (1); also dial. (S.W.) tae. Neg. Ml. nat, Mn. nad.

A bit honneit panyw bychydig a dal deðaf Duw y mywn Cristawn onis cuplaa 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 yw ymae Duw a wnaeth pob yth L.A. 27 'It is true that it is God that made everything'; cf. do. 21 l. 13; llynra yv attep i ti i .. ymae ti a bewisswn W.M. 18 'that is my answer to thee, that it is thou whom I would choose'; mae ti a bewisswn R.M. 12.—ny
CONJUNCTIONS

§ 222

wydoly pan oes ti a gromem B.T. 12 'we knew not that it was Thou whom we crucified'.

pan yw 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 *yosmi est § 189 (ii). The loc. *yosmi may mean 'how' as well as 'where'.

xi. (1) A preposition governing the implied antecedent of an oblique rel. y (or neg. na) forms with the latter the equivalent of a conjunction:

gwed y o lit. 'after [the time] when', gwed y yr, gwed y, gwed na; gwed y is usually contracted to gwed; Mn. W. wed y dd, wed y r, wed y.

Wediyy elont or byt huenn C.M. 110 'after they go from this world'; gwed y gorw fflor ylon R.B.B. 7 'after he had conquered his enemies'; A gwed y byrijer llawer yndi W.M. 21 'and after much has been thrown into it'; gwed na cheffit ganhust wyd do. 66 'after it was not obtained from them'.—Wedydd el y dryd deeper oes L.G.C. 394 'After the third generation is gone'.—With inf. pron. gwed y as collont L.A. 167 'after they have lost it'.

hyt y o, byt y 'as far as, as long as'; byt na 'as far as not' > 'so that not'; Mn. W. hyd y(r), hyd na.

hyt y sych gwynnt, byt y gwyntglaw W.M. 459 'as far as wind dries, and rain wets'; cf. D.G. 2; byt na W.M. 4, byt nat do. 71.

gyt ac y 'as soon as'; Mn. W. gyd ag y.

Ar hymny gyt ac y kyvodes ef W.M. 52 'Thereupon as soon as he rose'. Ac val y gyt ac y do. 88, R.M. 64 'And as soon as'.

am na 'because . . . not'; er na 'though . . . not'; 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'.

W.M. 389 'because I knew not when he went'; eithyr na elllynt ðyucedu do. 56 'except that they could not speak'; trwy y colleto L.A. 143 'so as to cause loss', trw yt.

W.M. 453.

W.M. 13 'as he could', val na vywyn do. 429 'as if I knew not', mal na vybun do. 389 'so that I knew not'; megys y

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dyweit yr ystorja 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 pryd y 'at the time when', § 220 iii (7) (a).

In the recent period, in imitation of these, y is sometimes written after conjunctions, as pan y delo or os y daw instead of pan ddelo or o(s) daw.

INTERJECTIONS

§ 223. i. (1) The following interjections proper occur in Ml. W.: a passim; ha r.m. 235; oy a w.m. 57, oi a do. 147, wy a w. 120a; oian a b.B. 52 ff., hoian a do. 61−2; och b.B. 50, 91, w.m. 20; och a do. 170; ub do. 473; gwae r.p. 1150 l. 31, generally followed by the dat.; haha w.m. 123; tprue (≡ tprwy ?) r.p. 1277−8, Mn. W. trw (used in calling cattle).

(2) Many others occur in Mn. W.: o; ust 'hush'; ffi 'fie' (whence ffi'aidl 'loathsome'), later ffei, foll. by o, see ex.; wftt 'fie'; hu, huw D.G. d. 148, used to lull a baby to sleep, later hwi (short proper diphth.), hwian; dyt 'pooh', dydýt 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, wbaf wbwb, waw, wev, ffw, whw, wi, haihow, hawhw, hoko, bw, oio, wicwach. Other forms are ow, pw, wcw, hai wcw, hvw, heng; also twt 'pshaw!' ach, ych 'ugh!' and others.

Fei o iuenctid am ffo;
Ni ffy henaint, ffei 'honon.—S.T. p. 313/212.

'Fie upon youth for fleeing; old age will not flee, fie upon it.' [The ms. has affei in line 1 and ohono in line 2.]

(3) gwae § 78 ii (2).—oeh § 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. ai.—Interjections, like the forms of child-speech, are liable to continuous re-formation; and ā 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 'va e mi hi'; Gwa e agaur a grann maur verthet b.B. 31 'woe to the miser who
hoards great riches’; *Gwae a godwy διυ διυ R.P. II 50 ‘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* II.G. R.P. 1306; *wyth w&ejinnau G. 229; can’ och; naw wift.*

§ 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.IL. 232 last line, *Duw an(n)wyl Gr.O. 39*; later by euphemism *dyn and dyn annwyl.*

(2) *dydd da ‘good day’, nos da ‘good night’, etc.* § 212 iv.

(3) *hawS 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’!

*hawS amor i òr C. m.a. i 205b shows that hawdd-amawr I.G. 624 is a false archaism. amor < *ad-smor-, √smer- ‘part’ (§ 156 i (13)), hence ‘destiny, luck’: Gk. μόρος; μοῖρα ‘lot, destiny’, Hom. κατὰ μοῖραν (μυ- < *sm-), κάσμορος · δυστυρος Hes. < *κατ-σμορος.*

(4) *rhad arno ‘a blessing upon him!’ (usually sarcastic); yr achlod iddymt Gr.O. 200 ‘tie upon them!’ yr achlod iddo T. ii 194; druau ohono ‘poor thing!’; etc.

ii. Adjectives used adverbially, and other adverbial expressions: *(1) da ‘good!’; purion ‘very well!’; truan ‘alas!’; da di, da dishau, da chwi, da chwihau ‘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.cw. 80, R.G.G. 17 ‘pray!’

(3) *ymaith ‘away!’, adref D.G. 165 ‘home!’ hwnt ‘avaint!’* 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 *enō-κ-s,mo*-; see § 220 ii (6).

(4) *er Mair D.G. 18; er Duw ib.; ar f’enaid L.G.C. 223 ‘by my soul’; etc. *myn...! ym...! § 214 ix, x.*
iii. Verbs: *aro* 'stop!', late *aros*; *adolwg* 'pray!'; *atolwg* Ps. cxviii 25, for which the v.n. *adolwyn* § 203 iv (2) is sometimes found.

*Paid; Iör nefol, adolwyn,*

*O fyd yn danllyd a’m dwyn.—S.C. i.mss. 291.*

'Do not, heavenly Lord, I beseech thee, take me away in flames from the world'.

iv. Sentences: (1) *henffych well* 'hail' § 190 i (1).

(2) Contracted into single words, and sometimes corrupt:

*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; *ysyw- waeth* etc. do. i.

*Ysowaeth, nos o ayaf*

*Ym sy hwy no mis o haf.—D.E. p 76/29, c 7/649.*

'Alack! a night of winter is longer to me than a month of summer.'
INDEX

I. MODERN AND MEDIEVAL WELSH

Mn. W. forms are printed in roman type; Ml. W. forms in italics. Forms which survived and developed regularly in the Mn. period are given in Mn. spelling; thus for Ml. W. deveto see under defot. Italicized forms include those which became obsolete, or are replaced by re-formations in the Mn. period. But some forms, such as lladod, 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 vn. 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:

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Ml. W. k under c; 5 under dd; v and f under l; j under ng; i under rh.
Early Ml. W. t (० झ) under dd; t (० ञ) under y; u (० व) under w; w (० व) under l.

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Author: Jones, (Sir) John Morris
Title: A Welsh Grammar.