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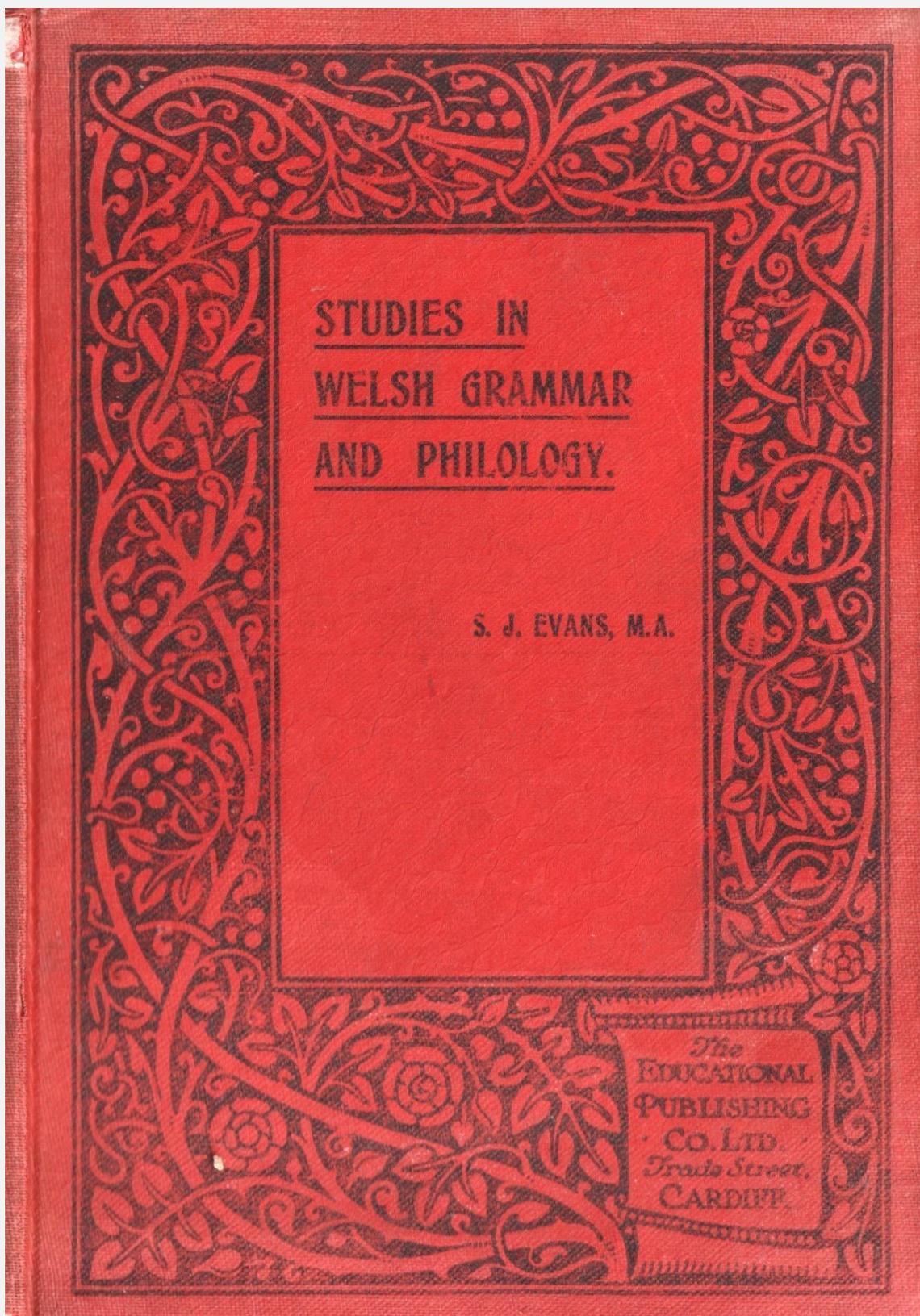
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STUDIES IN
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AND PHILOLOGY.

S. J. EVANS, M.A.

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STUDIES
IN
WELSH GRAMMAR
AND
PHILOLOGY

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PREFACE

IN the following pages an attempt is made to throw light upon some of the more salient features in the history of the Welsh language.

No claim is made to completeness of detail, and not every problem that confronts the student in the domain of Welsh Grammar and Philology has been here discussed. Still, the field covered is a wide one, and many of the more patent and interesting facts of the language have been carefully analysed.

The book is of necessity largely historical. In no other way is it possible to bring out the true significance of forms and constructions, phonetic growth and decay, the ever-present operations of analogy, foreign influences, the effect of dialectal peculiarities upon literary speech, and the changes consciously and unconsciously introduced by individual writers. Language is a living organism, and to understand its present constitution some knowledge of its life-history is essential.

Numerous as the examples and quotations are, few, it is believed, will think them too many. Here

the debt of Welsh students to Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans and Sir John Rhys for the "Oxford Texts" will be patent. Without these texts and the publications of the Guild of Graduates the present work would not have been possible.

It is expected that the book will be found useful not only by the general reader, but also by the student who is reading for his Degree or for the Honours Examination of the Central Welsh Board. It contains much that would be serviceable even to those preparing for the Senior Certificate of the same authority and for Welsh Matriculation.

S. J. EVANS.

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REFERENC AND ABBREVIATIONS

B. C., or Bardd Cwsc	Professor Morris Jones's Edition (Jarvis and Foster, Bangor).	
Brutieu, or Bruts	The Oxford Edition, by Sir John Rhys and Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans.	
D. ab G.	Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym, o Grynhoed Owen Jones a William Owen—Llundain 1789.	
Edw. Morus	Cywyddau Edward Morus editel by Mr. O. M. Edwards.	
G. B. C.	Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru, edited by Cynddelw (Humphreys, Caernarfon).	
G. G. G., or Edw. S.	Gwirionedd y Grefydd Gristionogol, by Edward Samuel, edited by Dr. Silvan Evans (Spurrell, Carmarthen).	
G. O.	Cywyddau Goronwy Owen; Mr. W. J. Gruffydd's Edition (Southall, Newport).	
Iolo MSS.	I. Foulkes's Reprint.	
Lib. Land.	Liber Landavensis	
Llyfr (Llyvyr) Job	Bishop Morgan's Translation (1588), edited by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans (Henry Frowde).	
Llyfr yr Ancr.	Edited by Prof. Morris Jones.	
Llythrau G. O.	Llythrau Goronwy Owen, edited by Prof. Morris Jones (Isaac Foulkes).	
M. A.	The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales (Gee and Son, Denbigh).	
Mab.	Mabinogion—The Oxford Edition, by Sir John Rhys and Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans.	
The Morris Letters	Edited by Mr. J. H. Davies, Registrar, U.C.W., Aberystwyth.	
Salesbury	Y Testament Newydd, Cyfieithiad William Salesbury. Argraffiad Caernarfon.	
Ystoria	Ystoria de Carolo Magno, edited by Prof. Powel (Cymmrodorion Society).	
Deff. Ffydd *	Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr. Guild of Graduates' Series.	
Morgan Llwyd. or Ll. y T. A.	Llyfr y Tri Aderyn do. do.	
D. y P. O.	Drych y Prif Oesoedd do. do.	
Synnwyr Pen	William Salesbury do. do.	
Yn y Lhyvyr Hwnn	do. do.	

< = is sprung from, is derived from.

> = passes into, is the parent of.

NOTE.—Modern characters have been used in the quotations: *s* for older *f*; *th* for Old Eng. *thorn* and *crossed d*; *w* for the mediæval *ō* and old English *wen*.

* From an advance copy of the Text, kindly lent by the Publishers. The work has since been issued with Introduction and Notes by Mr. W. Prichard Williams, Bangor.

STUDIES IN WELSH GRAMMAR AND PHILOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

I.—THE rule requiring (1) 'y' before consonants and consonantal 'w', and (2) 'yr' before vowels and consonantal 'i', is modern.

Much uncertainty once prevailed regarding the correct form before consonantal 'i'. In Mediaeval Welsh 'y' is quite as common as 'yr'; e.g.—

“Nyt af odyma yny gaffwyf vy march am arueu y vwrw y ianghwr racko.”—Mab. 219.

“Ac ar hynny y doeth y Iarll ieuanc . . . ac yna . . . yd erchis yr iarll idaw vynet yr neuad y vwyta.”

Mab. 256.

“Lluniwr pob deall uniawn,
A llyfr cyfraith yr iaith iawn.”

D. ab G. Marwnad Gr. Grug.

“O grôth pwy y daeth yr îa allan?”—Llyfr Job 88.

“O eiriau Cymraeg yn y Iaith Ladin.”—D. y P.O. 9 et passim; but 'yr Iaith Gymraeg', top of page 165.

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2.—POST-VOCALIC OR INFIXED ‘r,’ as the first epithet implies, is used after a vowel, whether the next word begins in a vowel or a consonant, as—

“ Canant i’w Nêr o bêr berth,
O’r untu, hyd awr anterth.”

G. O. Bonedd yr Awen.

“ Fe’i clywai ’r sêr disperod,
Llemain a wnae rhain i’w rhod.”—G. O. *ibid.*

The Post-vocalic and the previous word must form part of the same word-group. The phrase is the unit of speech, and in no language are the words of the unit kept separate. Thus in

“ O’r stryd fawr hon | ni aethom | i’r nesaf | lle
mae’r Dywysoges Elw | yn rheoli ”,

the words between the perpendicular lines are uttered without a break.

Within each group the consonants are assimilated, and the vowels are simplified or dropped exactly as within an individual word. The variations in Latin—‘haud’, ‘haut’, ‘hau’; ‘a’, ‘ab’, ‘abs’—point to such assimilations. This is the principle underlying liaison in French; e.g. ‘bon écolier’ is pronounced ‘bonécolié’, and ‘lierre’ *ivy* is for ‘le’ + Latin ‘hedera’. So in English: unless they are separated with conscious effort, the two words ‘at all’ are pronounced as one, and whilst the final ‘r’ in ‘her’ is inaudible when the word stands alone, it is quite clearly heard in ‘her and me’.

Liaison is a striking characteristic of Welsh, and it is indicated in writing to a remarkable degree. The Definite Article 'y' is merely a shortened form of 'yr'. As words in a phrase-unit are run into one another, they are likely to be wrongly divided, thus yielding new forms. This is the very reason for the shortened Indefinite Article 'a' in English, and why we say 'a nickname' for 'an ekename'. Ned and Nell contain the final 'n' of the Old English Possessive (< Min Edward, Min Ellen), and the *ch* in Welsh *chwefror* is simply the 's' of 'mis' detached and prefixed to the Welsh form of Latin *Februarius*. Ab Einon has become Beynon, Ap Harri > Parry, and the French 'l'azur' is in Welsh 'llasar'. Mediæval 'yd erbyniaf' is now 'y derbyniaf', and 'yd aeth' has passed into 'y daeth'—a form which has ousted Mediæval 'doeth', 'death' (*v.* chapter on the Verb). 'Y Rhyl' is from 'yr Hyl', from 'hel', 'hela', and therefore meaning 'the Hunting Grounds', probably of the adjoining Castle of Rhuddlan. 'The Ralt' (= yr Allt) is a hill in the immediate neighbourhood of Welshpool; 'y rhoces' is clearly yr hoces from the same root as hogyn; 'y rhawg' and 'yr hawg' are doublet forms, and it is not impossible that 'y rhai' is for 'yr hai,' the Demonstrative being a disguised plural form of 'hwn', 'hon', 'hyn'.

The reduction of 'yr' to 'y' then, by detachment of the 'r', is a simple process due to an erroneous division of words.

The former use of the fuller form in -r, even before

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consonants, is still exemplified in the post-vocalic, for 'o'r ty' must be from older 'o yr ty', and cannot possibly be accounted for by 'o' + the modern locution 'y ty'.

We are therefore not surprised to find that the rule in Early Welsh was :—

Yr * before all words, the 'y' being dropped after a vowel in the same phrase-unit.

Now though speech is uttered in phrases rather than in individually separated words, what constitutes a unit is not always clearly marked, nor would any two readers follow consistently the same divisions in a given passage. Hence considerable diversity of usage is found in different writers in the use of Post-vocalics.

In Mediæval Welsh the 'y' of 'yr' was seldom elided, except after—

y to ; a and, with, Relative Pronoun ; o of, from ; no than.

A casual perusal of that masterpiece of Welsh prose, "Y Bardd Cwsc," on the other hand, will disclose a freer use of Post-vocalics than will be found in the work of any writer of distinction now living.

The desire manifested in all written languages to preserve the normal form of words accounts in part for

* 'ir' in the Glosses and Llyfr Llandav : e.g.—

"bet ir alltudion," the grave of the exiles (or foreigners).

'yr', 'er', 'y', 'r', in the Laws : e.g.—

"Ei le yn y lys y rwg yr osb a'r penhebogyd."—M.A. 965.

"Er escolheygyon . . . er escrethur glan."—M.A. 993.

the not infrequent use of the full form 'yr' where we should expect the Post-vocalic :—

“y wrthwynebu yr paganyeit.”—Ystorya 2.

“Kerdda yr lheyat.”—Yn y Lhyvyr Hwn.

“tua yr nefoedd.”—Llyfr Job 6.

“Drwy yr byd mawr.”—D. y P. O. 6.

The examples here adduced show the phonological effect of a vowel-ending word upon the following Article, and the hesitation of the writer to elide the 'y'.

3.—'Y', then, is a truncated 'yr', due to the -r having been erroneously prefixed to the next word. Hence in its early history 'Y' would be found only before words beginning in the consonant r (or n-, or l-, see below). Then by analogy it came to be used before words beginning in other consonants.

A comparison of the Welsh form 'yr' with the Breton Definite Article 'ar', 'al', 'ann', and the ease with which these three liquids interchange, suggest an inquiry whether any traces of doublet forms in -n and -l occur in Welsh. Further reason for suspecting such forms exists in the fact that the Old Irish Definite Article was 'ind' (m.), 'inna' (f.), 'an' (neut.), and that its oldest form in Cornish was 'an'. In Welsh we have at least two instances of the form 'yn' in 'y naill' for 'yn aill', and 'yn awr', literally *the hour*. Probably 'y llall' is for 'yl all', and it is a noteworthy fact that in Demetian and Gwentian the common

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locution for 'y llall' is 'y nall'. On the other hand, 'y neilltu' is 'y lleilltu' in the Laws.*

4.—A comparison of all the above, and especially the evidence of Old Irish, suggest that the earliest form of the consonant was 'n'. When it is added that in Old Irish after certain prepositions to which the Article is suffixed, an *s* appears between the two words, as—

forsin < for *upon* + sin (the article),

we may infer a still older form, 'sind', of which the 'sin' (for 'sim', by assimilation of *m* to the 'd') is cognate with Latin 'semel', 'similis', English 'same', and Welsh 'hafal'; while the 'd', found in Irish alone, is cognate with τό, the neuter Definite Article in Greek.

If this is correct, then our Definite Article is in origin the first part of a compound, of which the second element—the presumably original Definite Article—is completely lost from the Brythonic languages.

5.—DECLENSION.—While in modern Welsh the Article is indeclinable, the evidence of mutation points to inflection in Brythonic :—

1. The Article governs the soft mutation of 'dau' and 'dwy', e.g.—

'Y ddau ddyn', 'Y ddwy wraig',

* See Wade-Evans' "Welsh Medieval Law" (p. 47), published while these sheets were passing through the press.

while it is followed by the radical in 'tri', 'tair', 'pedwar', 'pedair', and other numerals.

The existence of a dual number in Old Irish leads one to expect a dual form in Brythonic, which of course would be used before 'dau' and 'dwy'.

The form of the dual Article in Irish does not help us much, but if we turn to Greek, where that number was still in use in the classical period, we note that in the Nominative and Accusative it always ended in a vowel. Similarly the only surviving dual forms in Latin are 'duo' and 'ambo', both of which end in -o.

A dual Article in Brythonic would thus mutate the vowel-flanked *d* of *dau* and *dwy* into *dd*. This same fact has been used by Sir John Rhys to account for the soft mutation in 'Yr Eifl' = The Rivals, the name of certain forked peaks in South-West Carnarvonshire. If Geifl were plural, the initial would not disappear, for the Article does not mutate the initial consonant of a plural noun. Hence he inferred that here we have the dual, and the once vowel-ending dual Article accounts for the mutation (cf. Number in Nouns).

2. The Feminine Singular of the Article once ended in a vowel, hence its governing the soft mutation; e.g.—

Y wraig (from gwraig) y dduwies (from duwies),
for—we may here observe—mutation goes back to a time anterior to the shortening of 'yr' into 'y'.

6.—THE ARTICLE WITH PROPER NOUNS.—How is it

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that in Welsh the Definite Article is often used before such Proper Names as 'Mwythig' or 'Amwythig' *Shrewsbury, Bala Bala?*

The history of 'Yr Amwythig' is interesting and typical of a class :

Iolo Goch does not use the Article in—

“ Dwyn blaenffrwyth cwrw Amwythig,
Gwiredydd, bragodydd brig.”—G. B. C. 116.

But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the initial vowel, being unaccented and therefore indistinctly articulated, was misunderstood and detached. Hence on the title page of books printed by Thomas Durston the name is 'Y Mwythig', and Goronwy Owen in his letters writes—

' yn y Mwythig ' (p. 29), and ' i'r Mwythig ' (p. 11).

Later the A- was restored, but without any suspicion that the detached 'y' was anything but the Definite Article. Hence the modern form 'Yr Amwythig'.

The same explanation applies to the 'yr' with Iwerddon, Eidal or Idal, Yspañ, Amerig, Almaen, Bermo, etc., and instances of their use with and without the Article may be adduced :—

“ Wynt a welynt teir llong ar dec yn dyuot o deheu iwerdon.”—Mab. 26.

“ Lloegyrr a freinc ar almaen . . . ar eidal . . . ac yr yspañ.”—Ystorya de Carolo 1.

“Dyred, wrth ddymuned Mon,
O'r Nordd hyd yn Iwerddon.”

Iolo Goch, G. B. C. 119.

“Germania vawr, a'r Almaen . . . Lloegr, Ffrainc,
Llydaw, Llychlyn, Iwerddon . . . yr Ital, a'r Yspañen.”
—Salesbury's Introductory Letter to the New Test.

“Efe a obeithie y rhuthre Iorddonen iw safn ef.”—
Llyfr Job 94. Which has been turned into ‘yr Ior-
ddonen’ in the Authorised Version.

“Iaith Spañen.”—Deff. Ffydd, M. Kyffin.

“y Fyrnwy” (< Evernwy).—Llythyrau G. O., p. 42.

Y (or yr) with Drefnewydd *Newtown*, Bala, Wyddgrug
Mold, Wyddfa *Snowdon*, is due to the fact that here we
have common nouns used as Proper, for ‘y Wyddfa’ is
the conspicuous spot, and ‘y Bala’ is *the outlet*.

With one or two exceptions the Article is seldom used
with the names of rivers :—

“Ar Hafren” *on the Severn*—Mab. 146.

“Glan arf deifrdarf Glyn Dyfrdwy.”

Iolo Goch, G.B.C. 117.

yngwaelod Tams—D. y P.O. 34.

So ‘Glan Ogwen’, not ‘Glan yr Ogwen’.

‘Cwm Rhondda’, not ‘Cwm y Rhondda’.

The insertion of the Definite Article before such
names is no doubt common in present-day Welsh, and
is due to the analogy of English; e.g.—

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“Wedi croesi 'r Fenai, daethant wyneb yn wyneb a gwyr Môn.”

7.—The phonetic decay of an unaccented initial vowel or syllable has fostered the growth of the Definite Article before other words also ; e.g.—

Y Fenni from (Aber)gavenny.

Y Berch is the usual pronunciation of Abererch.

Y fi for myfi (*v.* Pronouns).

For the use of the Definite Article in Modern Welsh the reader is referred to the Author's “Elements of Welsh Grammar,” Chap. XI, and the Introduction to his “Welsh and English Exercises.”

8.—Mention should be made here of the occasional dropping of the Definite Article in Welsh as in English, in some familiar phrases, as, ‘yn ty’ for ‘yn y ty’ (= ‘gartref’); ‘yn dre’ for ‘yn y dref’ (English ‘in town’). Instances occur in literature :—

“Ai gwas ydyw Israel? Ai gwas a anwyd *yn ty* yw efe?”—Jeremiah ii. 14.

“Daw i ddyn y dyddanwch
Yn nefoedd, hoff lysoedd fflwch.”

G. O. *Y Maen Gwerthfawr*.

That the Article is understood in “yn ty” is clear from the absence of the nasal mutation.

Contrast ‘yn *nhy* fy nhad’, ‘yn *nhref* Aberystwyth’.

9.—The use of the Article with ' Iesu ' is in imitation of the Greek original—a bold and telling violation of Welsh idiom by the able translators of our Bible—a violation thoroughly justified by the remarkable grip and definiteness it gives the name—yr Iesu—as compared with the English, Jesus.

CHAPTER II

GENDER

I.—GENDER is a grammatical distinction in words, which—in English—corresponds to the natural difference in sex. The names of inanimate objects and of qualities in such a language cannot belong to either the masculine or the feminine gender. Hence they are said to be of the “neuter” (i.e. neither) gender.

Of course, even in English, names of things may acquire gender by personification, thus Sun, Fear, Tiber, Helvellyn are masculine; while Earth, Moon, Night, Nature, Justice, Liberty, Wisdom are feminine.

In Welsh, as in French, every noun is either masculine or feminine. In the main,* grammatical gender is based on natural difference of sex in persons and animals, but in these languages names of all inanimate objects are similarly treated on the ground of some supposed analogy between the object named and a living being. As the operations of analogy are wayward and uncertain, i.e. are essentially psychological rather than logical,

* The names of some animals, birds and fish are epicene. Thus—cyw, llo, eryr, creyr, dryw, eog, brithyll are masculine, while neidr, ysguthan, pioden, gwennol are feminine, irrespective of the sex of the object.

it is often extremely difficult to ascertain the gender of any particular noun unless it denotes a person.

In French, Latin, Greek, and other languages where gender in words is not co-terminous with sex in the object, it is recognised in two ways :—

(a) by concord between adjectives and nouns, e.g.—

bonus rex, bona regina, bonum regnum ;

(b) by the gender of the substitutory pronoun, e.g.—

qui for rex, quae for regina, quod for regnum.

These two methods together with a third are available in Welsh, e.g.—

(a) *y dyn hwn, y wraig hon* ;

(b) *y brenin yw efe, y frenhines yw hi* ; and

(c) by the softening or otherwise of the initial consonant of the following adjective or of the noun after the Article ; as—

y dyn, y wraig ; dyn da, gwraig dda.

Of course these instruments for indicating grammatical gender are of little use to a foreigner learning the language. His difficulty is a previous and more fundamental one, for a knowledge of the gender of a word is a condition antecedent to the correct use of the above methods. For this very reason the following rule of WILLIAM GAMBOLD* is of little value :—

* *v.* his Anglo-Welsh Grammar, published in 1724.

“ Any word beginning with any of the mutable consonants, except ll- and rh-, if upon putting y in apposition before it, its initial consonant does naturally change into its light sound ; as, *melin*, *y felin* ; *caseg*, *y gaseg* ; such words are infallibly of the feminine gender ; but if the initial change not thereupon, we may justly conclude such words to be of the masculine gender ; as, *brethyn*, *y brethyn* ; *march*, *y march*.”

Nor is the rule here formulated *always* an “ infallible ” guide to the gender. Thus final ‘ -s ’ may cause a reversion of the following initial to its radical form, and ‘ nos *da* ’ or ‘ nos *dawch* ’ is the invariable phrase throughout Wales, though there is no suspicion of ‘ nos ’ being masculine. Again, the absence of mutation in the familiar locution ‘ ewyllys *da* ’ cannot by itself be taken as a proof that ‘ ewyllys ’ is masculine (*v.* below). ‘ Dwyrain ’ is masculine, but the initial of the qualifying adjective is usually softened, as “ Dwyrain *faith* ’, ‘ -*bell* ’, ‘ -*deg* ’. Further, it is a fact, frequently commented on, that ‘ *bach* ’ (not *fach*) is regularly used in Gwynedd after a feminine singular ; e.g.—

“ Pan oeddwn ddoe mor friw fy mron,
A'm calon *bach* mor brudd . . . ”

Caniadau Prof. Morris Jones, 142.

In “ a chred *dihoced* yw hon ” * *dihoced* is for *ddihoced*, owing to the hardening effect of d in chred.

The Anglesey phrase ‘ y *dywydd* ’ is no proof that ‘ *tywydd* ’ is feminine, and ‘ y *bennill* ’ is often used

* G. O., y Cynghorfynt ; *v.* Mr. Gruffydd's note.

in the same county by people who would still regard 'pennill' as masculine (*v.* 'pennill' below).

Take again that principle of Welsh cynghanedd, in accordance with which 'g-g' alliterate with 'c' (or 'gh'). As 'g-g' have this sound value, the poets often take the liberty of emphasizing the fact by writing them as 'g-c'. Thus in Edward Morus's "Cywydd y Paen" 'Draig cynnar' is merely another way of writing 'Draig gynnar', and the restored 'c' is not a proof that draig is masculine. The lines are—

“Dirugl-was blin, dryglais bloedd,
Draig cynnar y drighinoedd;
Draig laswerdd yn drwg leisiaw,
Draig yn gloch dyrogan glaw.”

2.—NAMES OF INANIMATE OBJECTS AND QUALITIES.—

The gender of these, then, is apt to be uncertain, for primarily the attribution of gender to this class of words depended upon the feature or aspect of the object that most deeply impressed itself upon the mind of the person using the word. Now the subjective view often varies materially, and while one man will regard a noun as masculine, because (e.g.) he sees in it the attribute of strength, another will be more impressed by its productivity, and will consequently make the noun feminine.

(a) In the case of DERIVATIVES the difficulty is not great, for gender is closely associated with the form of the termination. Thus in Brythonic, as in Latin, it was customary for words in '-a' to be of the feminine

gender. This ‘-a’ partially assimilated the short ‘i’ and short ‘u’ of a preceding syllable, making them ‘e’ and ‘o’ respectively; hence

Latin ‘manica’ > Welsh ‘maneg’.

Brythonic ‘tluca’ > ‘tlosa’ > ‘tlos’.

The result is that in nouns, as in adjectives, the vowels ‘e’ and ‘o’ in the last syllable, whatever their origin, are taken to imply a lost final ‘-a’, and hence the tendency is to regard such nouns—especially if they are monosyllables—as feminine. This is why the Latin masculine ‘pontem,’ *bridge*, has passed into the Welsh feminine ‘pont’, and the Mediæval masculine ‘chwedl’ has now changed its gender. On the other hand, monosyllables, the vowel of which is ‘w’ or ‘y’, are apt to become masculine. The Mediæval feminine ‘llys,’ *court*, is now masculine.

Similarly gender is associated with the form of the suffix: ‘-fa’ is feminine, while ‘-ni’ as regularly implies the masculine.

The history of ‘porth’ shows a curious interchange of genders, for while

porth, m., *a gate, door*, is from Latin porta, f.,

porth, f., *a harbour, port*, is from Latin portus, m.

The original gender of porth, *a gate, door*, is seen in—

“O’r Gollborth fawr ar Ddestryw”—Bardd Cwsc 80.

The change of gender in porth (*harbour, port*) is partly due to its being used formerly in the compounds

'llongborth' and 'porthfa', where the feminine 'llong' or 'fa' would help to determine its gender.

(b) In a very large number of words the gender is not accompanied by any special mark, and it therefore leaves but little impression upon the mind; e.g. in—

dull, clust, ewin, sain, bawd,

there is no termination recognised as such to-day,* and the internal vowel is not one of those mentioned above as suggesting a particular gender.

Words of this kind are exceedingly liable to variation of gender, either in different dialects or at different periods, or even in individual writers; e.g.—

'Dull' is usually masculine, but Henry Perri (d. 1617), in his "Egluryn Phraethineb", and some other writers make it feminine.

'Arddull', on the other hand, is regularly feminine, but not so (e.g.) in the Essays of Dr. Lewis Edwards.

3.—The difficulty of ascertaining dialectal custom has been brought home to me repeatedly when collecting material for this chapter. Thus to the inquiry, "What gender is 'bawd' in your district?" I have received many decided answers that are mutually destructive. So for dawn, munud, eiliad, tafod, and a host of others.

* -st in 'clust' is in origin a suffix added to the root of 'clyw', 'clywed'.

The lists given below are the result of investigation extending over a number of years, but they lay no claim to completeness. I only trust that the present essay will stimulate careful observation in various parts of Wales, and that those interested in the work will help to define, as far as may be, the territorial limits of variations in gender. Anything like a precise mapping out of the districts on this basis in a subject of such extreme fluidity can never be attained.

4.—Sometimes the tendency to harmonize gender and form leads to a change, not of the former, but of the latter. Thus Latin 'catena' (f.) gives Welsh 'cadwyn' (f.), but because '-yn' looks like a masculine termination some writers change the word into 'cadwen', in spite of the fact that, in the process, 'w' is made consonantal. 'Awen' for 'afwyn', from Latin 'habena', is similarly accounted for. And 'cwt', from English 'cot'; 'bwrdd' < Middle English 'bord'; and 'Twm', a doublet of 'Tom'.

5.—ANALOGY.—The gender of the common name of a class or species fixes the gender of the name of a member of that class; e.g.—

Llun, *Monday* (< Latin feminine *lunae*) and Gwener (< Latin *Veneris*) are masculine because of—

(a) the gender of 'dydd', and

(b) the fact that the names of the other week-days are masculine.

So the names of the seasons and months of the year are masculine on the analogy of 'tymor' and 'mis'.

The names of rivers, towns, and countries, and the letters of the alphabet are feminine, corresponding to the gender of 'afon', 'tref', 'gwlad', and 'llythyren'. Hence 'ffrwd' is now feminine, in spite of the vowel 'w':—

“Ac yn cnoi dail yr India hyd oni red dwy ffrwd felyngoch hyd ei ên.”—G. O. Llythyrau 37.

In Mediæval Welsh it was masculine:—

“tri ffrwt o waet.”—Mab. 203.

6.—THE NEUTER GENDER.—Originally, no doubt, grammatical gender coincided throughout with natural sex, and in late Brythonic there were many words that had not become masculine or feminine, i.e. they were of the neuter gender. One neuter still remains crystallized in Welsh—the singular 'hyn, *this*', corresponding to the masculine 'hwn' and the feminine 'hon', as

“Hyn a ddywedaf.”

A study of Old Irish suggests the inference that the following, among others, were originally neuter in Welsh:—

bwyd	<i>food</i>	glin	<i>knee</i>
cam	<i>step</i>	glyn	<i>dell, glen</i>
enedl	<i>kind, tribe</i>	llam	<i>leap</i>
cwrw	<i>beer</i>	lled	<i>width</i>
cyfoeth	<i>power, wealth</i>	llyn	<i>pond, pool</i>

chwedl	<i>story</i>	medd	<i>mead</i>
din	<i>a fortified place</i>	mis	<i>month</i>
drum	<i>back, ridge</i>	nef	<i>heaven</i>
drws	<i>door</i>	sudd	<i>juice</i>
enw	<i>name</i>	tes	<i>heat</i>
ffrwd	<i>stream</i>	tir	<i>land</i>
galar	<i>grief</i>	torraith	<i>fruit</i>
gair	<i>word</i>	ty	<i>house</i>
gawr	<i>shout</i>	yd	<i>corn</i>

With the decay of the neuter gender the above and other neuters passed almost without exception into the masculine, due largely to the similarity of declension between neuter and masculine nouns. Some of them have since become feminine, due to form or analogy; thus in Mediæval Welsh 'nef' and 'chwedl' were masculine:

Nef:—

“Pa beth yw nef. Tri ryw nef a dywedir . . . ail yw un ysbrydawl y kredir bot yr egylyonn yn y gyfuannhedv. Y trydyd yw nef dyallus yn yr hwnn y mae y drindawt.”—Llyfr yr Ancr 4.

Chwedl:—

“chwedyl grymus.”—Ystorya 28.

“Codi'r osler niferoedd

I gid, a chwedl dybryd oedd.”—D. ab G. CXLII.

and even later—

“Nid ofna efe rhag chwedl drwg.”—Psalm cxii. 7.

Their change to the feminine is due to the fact that monosyllables containing the vowel -e- are generally of that gender.

7.—GENDER OF COMPOUNDS

One part of every compound noun is substantival, the other is attributive. In gender the compound is usually the same as its substantival element; e.g.—

Agendor is masculine, like dor < tor, *a break, chasm*, though the attributive 'agen' is feminine.

Cistfaen is feminine, like cist.

(a) In some instances, however, the gender of the attribute, if it comes first, overrides that of the substantive:—

brawdle f.	<	brawd f. <i>judgment</i> , + lle m.
brodir f.	<	bro f. + tir m.
coelfaen f.	<	coel f. + maen m.
cornant m.-f.	<	cor m. + nant f.

“Megis cornant gwyllt.”—D y P. O. 133.

Cornant is usually feminine in Demetian and Gwentian.

crogbren generally masculine, but occasionally feminine, < crôg f., + pren m. :—

Masc. : “Y crog-pren.”—Deff. Ffydd 107.

Fem. : “Mae llun y grogbren yn ei wyneb.”

“Tri chymmydog goreu yn y byd : celfydd ei law,
dedwydd ei fuchedd, a chybydd ar y grogbren.”

Trioedd Doethineb.

cymanfa-gyngor m.-f., < cymanfa f., + cyngor m.

Masc. : “ Y Cymanfa-Gyngor diwaethaf a gynhaliwyd yn-rhef Tridentum.”—Deff. Ffydd 15.

Fem. : “ Mewn cymanfa-Gyngor gyffredin.”

Ibid. 15.

daeargryn m.-f., < daear f., + cryn, crynnu m.

Masc. : “ Ac wele, bu daeargryn mawr.”

Matt. xxviii. 2

Fem. : “ Ond y canwriad, a'r rhai oedd gyd âg ef yn gwylied yr Iesu, wedi gweled y ddaeargryn . . . a ofnasant yn fawr.”—Matt. xxvii. 54.

Fem. : “ Oherwydd eu bod yn rhoddi eglurdeb . . . am y ddaiargryn.”—Ed. S. 85.

gwrthddadl usually f., like dadl (*v.* below), but masculine in—

“ 'r gwrthddadl hwnw.”—Ed. S. 81.

hogfaen f., though maen is masculine, on the analogy of hogalen f.

penglog m.-f., < pen m., + clog f., *a stone, hard mass* :

Masc. : “ Ni chawsant o honi onid y penglog.”

2 Kings ix. 35.

(Altered in later editions into ‘ y benglog ’.)

rhandir f., though ‘ tir ’ is masc. :

“ Pedeir rantir.”—Laws.

(b) A few compounds differ in gender from that of either element :—

canrif is usually feminine, although both 'cant' and 'rhif' are masculine :—

Fem. : "Am y ganrif nesaf."—Prayer Book.

It is occasionally used as a masculine :—

"Cyfnewidiwyd llawer ar lythyaeth yr Yspaeneg . . . tua chanol y canrif diweddaf."—Dr. Silvan Evans' *Llythyaeth yr Iaith Gymraeg* 5.

croglith m., < crôg f., + llith f. ; e.g.—

"Dydd Gwener y croglith."—Prayer Book.

Still 'croglith' is feminine as a rule in South Wales dialects, e.g.—

"Dy' gwener y Groglith."

8.—GENDER AND INTERNAL VOWEL

Some doublets owe their origin to an effort to harmonize form and gender :—

awen f., < afwyn, < Latin habēna.

bwrdd m., bord f., < Middle English 'bord', a board, table ; e.g.—

"Hir bord was served most with whyt and blak,
Milk and broun breed, in which she fond no lak."

Chaucer's Nun's Priest's Tale 23.

cadwen f., < cadwyn, < Latin catena.

cnwd m. ; cnod f. in Gwentian, as—

cnod o aeron, a crop of berries.

cwd m., cod f.

cwt m. (plural 'cytiau', as 'Cytiau'r Gwyddelod'),
< English cot.

drws m., dor f. :—

“Yna y daeth Lot attynt hwy allan i'r drws, ac
a gauodd y ddor ar ei ol.”—Gen. xix. 6.

9.—GENDER OF DERIVATIVES

The Gender of a Derivative is usually determined by its suffix. Thus nouns in -ad, -iad, -ant, -aint, -deb, -der, -did, -dod, -dra, -edd, -i, -iant, -id, -yd, -ineb, -ioni, -ni, -rwydd, -ych, -ydd, are of the masculine gender; while those in -aeg, -eg, -aeth, -iaeth, -as, -ed, -es, -fa, -fan are as regularly feminine.

Exceptions, however, occur, and some of the commoner examples are here adduced :—

-ach f. Cyfrinach, *a secret*, is generally feminine, but not so in—

“Cyfrinach yw Arch Noah iw ddangos i rai.”

Ll. y T. A. 159.

-ad, -iad. Verbal nouns, and nouns denoting the result of an action, in -ad, -iad are masculine, as lladdiad, dyfarniad, cadwad.

Adeilad, adeiliad, is uncertain :—

Masc. : “I'm bun wych y chwenychwn,

Dal y ty a'r 'deiliad hwn.”

D. ab G. CLXXIX.

Fem. : “ Dyma’r Llew wedi gyrru i mi rai defnyddiau tu ag at yr adeilad orchestol honno.”—Llythyrau G. O. 100.

Galwad is generally feminine, as—

‘ yr alwad honno.’

Cyfodiad is regularly masculine, but Gor. Owen in Cywydd y Calan makes it feminine :—

“ Er trymed dy gur tramawr,
Penllad yw’th Gyfodiad fawr.”

Eiliad is usually feminine in South Wales (*v.* below).

Similarly, nouns in -ad, -iad, denoting the agent, are masculine, as lleiddiad, ceidwad.

But cennad, both as an abstract noun and as the agent, is regularly feminine ; e.g.—

“ Galwant ef yr Angel neu’r Genad.”—Ed. S. 141.

It is masculine in—

“ Wele, yr ydwyf fi yn anfon fy nghennad o flaen dy wyneb, yr hwn a barottoa dy ffordd o’th flaen.”

Matt. xi. 10.

Lleuad (lit. = *light-giver, source of light*) is feminine, except dialectally.

-aeth, -iaeth f.

Amrywiaeth is masculine.

Barddoniaeth is regularly feminine, but not so in Llythyrau Gor. Owen, p. 91 :—

“ Onid gwych fyddai cael tipyn ychwaneg o'r
Barddoniaeth yna ? Ni flinwn i byth byth-
oedd arno.” (Cf. also p. 97.)

Claddedigaeth, masculine in—

“ Y Claddedigaeth.”—Genesis 1. contents; see
also in Mark xiv. 8.

Coffadwriaeth is occasionally masculine; e.g.—

“ Diolchwch iddo'n hytrach am gadw coffa-
dwriaeth parchus o'ch henw ar y ddaiar.”
Bardd Cwsc 61.

“ Coffadwriaeth bendigedig.”

Intro. to the Prayer Book.

Creadigaeth f., but occasionally masculine, e.g.—

“ Y mae pob peth yn parhâu fel yr oeddynt o
ddechreuad y creadigaeth.”—2 Peter iii. 4.

Genedigaeth f., but masculine in—

“ Y ryw anedigaeth hwnnw.”—Ystorya 20.

Gwasanaeth masculine, but feminine in—

“ Gwir wasaneth Dduw.”—Deff. Ffydd 46.

Hiraeth is always masculine:—

“ Hwn a'm gyr heno i'm gorwedd:
Hiraeth myn Mair! a bair bedd.”

D. ab G. CLXXV, 31-2.

Prynedigaeth masculine in—

“ Llyfr y prynedigaeth.”—Jeremiah xxxii. 12.

Profedigaeth 'f. It is usually masculine in the Bible, as—

“ Yn nydd y profedigaeth ”—Heb. iii. 8 ;
but feminine in—

“ Minnau a'th gadwaf di oddiwrth awr y brofedi-
gaeth.”—Rev. iii. 10.

-edd m. 'Gorfoledd' and 'tangnefedd' are occasion-
ally feminine ; e.g.—

“ Myn eich gorfoledd, yr hon sydd gennyf yng
Nghrist Iesu ein Harglwydd.”—I Cor. xv. 31.

“ Y dangneued honno a gyweirwyt.”—Mab. 37-8.

“ Ymgais â thangnefedd, a dilyn hi.”

Psalm xxxiv. 34.

-fa f. But—

Morfa is always masculine :—

“ A'r morfa yn drigfa iddo ef.”

Llyfr Job 90.

Compare 'Morfa Coch', a farm near Dinas Dinlle.

Cynteddfa f. Masculine in—

“ Llenni 'r cynteddfa a fyddant liain main cyfro-
dedd.”—Ex. xxvii. 9.

Compare also verses 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19 ; Num.
iii. 26, etc.

Amddiffynfa f. Masculine in—

“ Y ddau amddiffynfa hynny.”

II. Maccabees x. 23.

-ell f. As Brythonic masculine -illos > yll, and feminine -illa > ell, words in -ell, of whatever origin, are apt to become feminine. Hence—

Latin cultellus m. > Welsh cyllell f.
 „ cancellus m. > „ cangell f.
 „ flagellum n. > „ fflangell f.

A few in -ell are masculine :—

castell, cawell, macrell, parchell or porchell.

-en f. As Brythonic feminine -īna > -en, all nouns in -en (-ent) tend to be treated as feminine. Hence—

Latin testamentum n. > Welsh testafen f.
 (But ‘ testament ’ is masculine.)

Latin firmamentum n. > Welsh ffurfafen f.
 „ monumentum n. > „ mynwent f.

The corresponding masculine ending is ‘ -yn ’ (< Brythonic -īnos). Hence the following doublets :—

clogyn (S. Wales) masc.; clogan (= clogen) in N. Wales, fem., *a little cloak.*

plufyn (S. Wales), m.; pluen (N. Wales) f., *a feather.*

cordyn m.	corden f.	<i>a string</i>
cortyn m.	corten f.	<i>a curtain</i>
cilionyn m.	cilionen f.	<i>a fly</i>
clofyn m.	clofen f.	<i>a knot, branch.</i>

-ineb m. But—

‘doethineb’ is usually feminine. Wisdom personified is, by classical tradition, a goddess :—

“Ond i ddangos i ti ddoethineb ddayarol y frân”, etc.—Ll. y T. A. 191.

“Gad i ddoethineb watwar

Ein hocheneidiau ni ;

Gwell ydyw tristwch cariad

Na’i hoer bleserau hi.”

Caniadau Prof. Morris Jones, 132.

-ydd m. Crefydd (f.) was formerly masculine—

“Lle y cadd y crefydd hwn faeth a dechreuad.”

Deff. Ffydd 61.

“Y crefydd yr hwn yr oeddynt yn ei addef.”—

Ibid. 12. Cf. also pp. 178, etc.

Instances of its use in the feminine, however, occur in the same text ; e.g.—

“I’r grefydd Gristnogawl.”—17-18. So on p. 18.

10.—CHANGES OF GENDER FROM MEDIÆVAL AND EARLY MODERN WELSH

addewid f. Masculine in earlier literature, as—

“Efe a orchymynodd iddynt nad ymadawent o Jerusalem, eithr disgwyl am addewid y Tad, yr hwn, *eb efe*, a glywsoch gennyf fi.”

Acts i. 4.

anadl f. Masculine in—

“Cynneddf hwn neb ni’s cenyw,
Cynnadl dau anadl,—da yw!”—D. ab. G. ccii.

“Anadl bendigaid.”—Deff. Ffydd 192.

anian f., *nature, instinct*. Formerly sometimes masculine, as—

“Fel trwy y rhai hyn, y byddech gyfrannogion
o’r duwiol anian.”—2 Peter i. 4.

awyr f. (< Latin m. aer) was formerly masculine, as—

“Yr awyr buan.”—Wisdom xiii. 2.

beibl m. Formerly feminine, as in—

“Dr. William Morgan a gyfieythodd y Beibl
drwyddi.”—Deff. Ffydd, ix.

braich f. (< Latin n. brachium), older masculine, and still of that gender occasionally, when meaning ‘spur of a mountain,’ or ‘stave in a verse.’

“Da ddwyfron yn y fron frad,
Da ddeufraich, nid oedd afrad.”

D. ab G. CLXXVIII. 11-12.

“Ac fel y drillid y braich derchafedic.”

Llyfr Job 87.

“A braidd na roiswn ddiodyd byth wneuthur
un braich o bennill hyd oni chawn Ramadeg.”

Llythyrau G. O. 74.

Masc. in Deut. vii. 19; Daniel xi. 6, etc.

braint f. Masculine in Mediæval Welsh, as—

“y breint hunn.”—Lib, Land,

And even in *Patrwm y Gwir Gristion* :—

“Cofia'r Braint a'r Urddas a dderbyniaist wrth
Arddodiaid Dwylo'r Esgob.”—292.

breuddwyd m.; but feminine in—

“Breudwyt a weleis i ac yn y vreudwyt y
gwelwn morwyn.”—Mab. 86.

clod. Feminine in older Welsh, but now often masculine, especially in South Welsh :—

“Ac yna y bydd y glod i bob un gan Dduw.”
1 Cor. iv. 5.

“Iddo ef y bo'r glôd.”—Ll. y T. A. 262.

“Ni chaiff elw o ryfelwaith,
Na chlod wych hynod ychwaith.”—G. O. iv.

“Mae clod mawr yn ddyledus iddo.”—Demetian.

clog, a *cloak*, *mantle*. Masculine in Mediæval Welsh, and so still in South Wales, where the diminutive ‘*clogyn*’ is very commonly used. In Gwynedd it is now feminine.

“Gydag ieir cei dy garu,
Y ceiliog dewr a'r clog du.”
D. ab G. cx. 1-2.

“Y mae dwy did o sidan,
Am Lio'n glog melyn glân.”
Dafydd Namnor G. B. C. 139.

colled f. Formerly masculine :—

“tri cholled.”—*Cyfreithiau Cymru*,

“Y colled ni ellir ei ennill.”—D. y P. O. 120,

Feminine :—

“ I ba beth y bu'r golled hon ? ”—Matt. xxvi. 8.
 crefydd f. Formerly masculine (*v.* above, under Derivatives).

cusan. Masculine in Mediæval and still in South Welsh:—

Cywydd “ i'r Cusan ”.—D. ab G. ccii.

Feminine in modern North Welsh.

cyngrair m. Feminine in Mediæval Welsh :—

“ A phwy bynhac a dorrei y gygreir yn dirybud
 y lad a wneit idaw.”—Ystorya 18–19.

ciniaw. Feminine in Mediæval Welsh and still in Demetian :—

“ y ginyaw yn hardlech.”—Mab. 43.

Masculine in modern North Welsh and often in Gwentian.

chwedl f. Formerly masculine :—

“ chwedyl grymus.”—Ystorya 28.

“ Codi'r osler niferoedd

I gid, a chwedl dybryd oedd.”

D. ab G. CXLII. 61–2.

“ chwedl garw.”—D. y P. O. 43.

“ chwedl parod.”—G. O. Llythyrau 109.

damwain f. Formerly masculine :—

“ damwein hwnnw.”—Mab. 19.

“ (y) damwein tyghetuenawl hwnnw.”

Brutieu 48.

“ Pryd cain, pan fu'r damwain da,
A roes Duw Nef ar Efa.”—D. ab G. xxix.

“ Ac eto mi a welais yr un damwain yn digwydd
iddynt oll.”—Pregethwr II. 14.

N.B.—In—“ Ni wyl o ddrwg un wala,
Ni thrain lle bo damwain da.”—G. O. 47.
'da' is a noun.

dawn. Formerly masculine, and still so dialectally in
parts of North and South Wales :—

“ Chwiliwn, o chawn y dawn da,
Hyd rwndir daear India.”

G. O. *Y Maen Gwerthfawr*.

dinas. Formerly *an entrenched encampment, a hill fort*,
and always masculine :—

“ Llu y brenhin ae allu yssyd yn dyuot yr dinas
hwnn hediw.”—Mab.

So still in many place-names, as—

Tan y Dinas, Dinas Cerdin.

dyn. Often used for *woman* in mediæval and early
modern literature, and then always feminine :—

“ Gwisg angel o wallt melyn,
Yn wrÿdd aur am wâr y ddyn.”—D. ab G. vii.

“ Nyt oes yn y byt dyn vwy y galar no hi.”

Mab. 24.

“ Mwynach a fych, fy meinwen,
Archaf i Dduw Naf, ddyn wen.”

G. O. *Calendr y Carwr*.

The formally feminine ' dynes ' is met with occasionally, even in older literature ; e.g.—

“ Cefais, dywedaf rhag gofid,
Ddynes fwyn i'r llwyn rhag llid.”

D. ab G. LXXXI. 13-14.

Colloquially the term ' dynes ' is seldom used outside Gwynedd.

ellyn. Now masculine, as—

“ Fel ellyn llym, yn gwneuthur twyll.”—Ps. lii. 2.

But feminine in Mediæval Welsh, as—

“ Ac odynd agori prenuol a thynnu ellyn, ac
charn o asgwrn eliphant.”—Mab. 176.

ffrwd. Masculine in Mediæval Welsh—

“ tri ffrwt o waet.”—Mab. 203.

Now feminine—

“ dwy ffrwd felyngoch.”—G. O. Llythyrau 37.

gwaew, gwayw. Feminine in Modern Welsh, probably through association with ' ffon ' (f.) in ' gwaewffon '.
Masculine in older Welsh :—

“ A gwaew gantunt anveitrawl y veint.”

Mab. 203.

“ Ymauael a oruc yspadaden penkawr yn un or
tri llechwaew gwennwynnic oed geir y law.”

Mab. 118.

gweithred f. Masculine in Brutieu, e.g.—

“ Clot oed y gweithret hwnnw y wyr groec.”—2.
gwalch m., as—

“ A chyw 'r estrys, a'r fran nos, a'r gog a'r
gwalch yn ei ryw.”—Lev. xi. 16.

Feminine in Mab. 211—

“ A gwalch wyllt wedy llad hwyat.”

gwirionedd m. In ‘Llyfr y Tri Aderyn’ it is generally
masculine, but on p. 200 he speaks of—

“ Y wirionedd.”

Compare also ‘gwir’, feminine in Edw. Samuel :—

‘ Gwir ddiwâd ydyw.’—147.

gwobr f. But formerly masculine, as—

“ Ag ar gwobr brynta.”—Deff. Ffydd 68.

“ Gwobr da am eu llafur.”—Pregethwr iv. 9.

hanes m. Often fem. in 18th and 19th cent. writings :

“ Hanes . . . hon.”—D. y P. O. 63.

“ Hanes gryno.”—Lewis’s Welsh Dict. 1815.

haul m. Feminine in Mediæval literature :—

“ Hyd y llawr, dirfawr derfyn
Haul a ddaw mal hoywliw ddyn,
Yn deg, o fewn corph y dydd
Bugeilies wybr bwygilydd.”—D. ab G. LXII.

“ Haul dlos geinwedd.”—Edmund Prys.

Compare Old English ‘sunne’, feminine. Modern
English, ‘sun’ is masculine when personified.

Note that the obsolete ‘huan’, *sun*, also was feminine.

Heddwch m. Feminine in—

“ Hedwch lwydyannus.”—Mab. 99.

llyn. Feminine in the Mabinogion :—

“ A diwarnawt mynet a oruc y iarllles ae llawuorynyon y orymdeith gan ystlys llynn a oed yn y parc hyt ar gyfeir y chanawl.”—183.

“ A gweisson yn pycotta ar y llynn honno.”—200.

And it is still feminine in Demetian. The diminutive there is ‘ llynwen ’.

In Bardd Cwsc it is masculine ; e.g.—

“ Llyn tro mawr.”—7.

And so regularly in Gwynedd. There the diminutive is ‘ llynwyn ’ ; e.g.—

“ Aeth y plentyn melyn wylofus yn llynwyn o waed rhwng ei ddwylaw.”—Ysten Sioned 86.

It is masculine in Gwentian also.

llys, now masculine, formerly feminine :—

Fem : “ Yn llys kyfurd a honno.”—Mab. 197.

“ Vyn tat i bioed y kyuoeth hwnn yn veu idaw e hun ar llys honn.”—Mab. 207.

So ‘ Llyswen ’, a farmhouse in Llangristiolus, Anglesey.

“ Y mae’n oll mewn ewyllys,
Yn dri llu yn dy dair llys.”—G. B. C. 134.

Masc. : “ Llys teg iawn ac arno ” . . . —Bardd Cwsc 16.

nef f. Masculine in older Welsh (*v.* above).

person (<Latin *persona* f.) m., but fem. in Med. lit. :—

“Dwy bersson.”—Llyfr Ancr 3.

“Teir person.”—Ystorya 19.

pebyll (modern pabell, *v.* chapter on Number) was formerly masculine, e.g. in William Salesbury's New Testament we meet with—

“tri phebyll.”—Mark ix.

“Ein dayarol duy y pebyll (margin—lluest, trigva) hyn.”—2 Cor. v. 1.

plat, a *plate, sheet*, m. Fem. in—

“Arhoes ef [yno] yny vyd y pleit hayarn yn wenn.”—Mab. 33.

siwrnai f. Masculine in—

“Haws yw cael, lle bai gwael gwŷdd,
Siwrnai dwfn, saer na defnydd.”

D. ab G. CXXI. 43-4.

To m., as—

“To gwrdd las fal tw gardd-lwyn.”

Edw. Morus, *Y Dderwen*.

Feminine in Mabinogion 254—

“A thorri to o beledyr a thorri yr eil a thorri y dryded do.”

II.—DIALECTAL DIFFERENCES

Many nouns vary in gender according to locality :—
Adroddiad m. in Demetian. Often fem. in Gwynedd.

anerchiad m. in Demetian. Often feminine in Gwynedd.

alarch m.—

“ Cyfarch, meddwl alarch mwyn,
Gwell iddi, ddyn gall addwyn.”

D. ab G. CLXXVII.

And so in Gwynedd and in Gwentian to-day ; but it is often feminine in Demetian.

Amser m. But sometimes feminine in Gwynedd :—

“ Dywedodd, wrth ymado,
Na chawn mo'i gweled eto
Tan yr haf a than y caf
Droi adre'r amser honno.”

Caniadau Prof. Morris Jones.

aradr f. in S. W. ; m. in N. W.

arf m. in Gwynedd, and its diminutive is 'erfyn' :—

“ Tri arf cyvreith y sydd.”—Cyfreithiau Cymru.

But it is feminine in parts of S. W., and so in—

“ Arf ddu hir, ni orfydd hon ;
Arfer dewr arf fer dirion.” *—Sion Philip.

bawd m—f. Feminine in Anglesey, where it is often referred to as 'fodryb fawd'. 'Y Fawd' is a house in Llangristiolus, in the same county.

basged f. in N. W. and Gwentian ; m—f. in Demetian.

brooch f. in N. W. ; m. in S. W.

* Quoted by Dr. Silvan Evans (*s.v.* 'arf').

bwrdd m. N. W. ; bord f., S. W.

carol m. in N. W. ; f. in S. W.

ciniaw m. in N. W. and Gwentian ; f. in Demetian.

clod, generally feminine in literature, as—

“ Ond dwyn y gerdd wrthwyneb
Y glod yn anglod i neb.”—D. ab G. cxxvii.

“ Drws y glod a droes y glaw
Drwy elor o dra wylaw.”—G. B. C. 177.

“ Na chlod wych.”—G. O. 12.

But commonly masculine in S. W., and often in N. W.

clog f. in Gwynedd ; m. in S. W., where the diminutive
‘ clogyn ’ is the regular form used.

clust m. in most parts of S. W., and in S. W. literature—

“ Deuglust.”—Mab. 123, Brutieu 54.

Feminine in N. W., and in N. W. literature—

“ Onid y glust a ddirnad ymadroddion ? ”
Llyvyr Job 27.

“ Dwy glust.”—Ll. y T. A. 179.

coler m. in S. W. ; f. in N. W.

cornel f. in N. W. ; m. in S. W.

crombil m. in N. W. ; f. in parts of S. W.

cwpan f. in N. W. ; m. in S. W.—

“ Y Tair Gwpan Aur.”—Brython Hughes.

cynfas f. in N. W.—

“cynfas glaerwen.”—Morris Letters 203.

Masculine in S. W., where it is generally pronounced ‘cafнас’.

cyflog m. in N. W. ; f. in Demetian.

chwarel f. in N. W. ; ‘cwarre’ m. in S. W.

chwech (*sixpence*) m. in N. W. ; f. in S. W.

eiliad (*a second*) m.-f. in N. W. ; f. in S. W.

gwniadur m. in N. W. ; f. in S. W.

llyn m. in N. W. and Gwentian ; f. in Demetian.

nyth m. Generally fem. in Demetian.

pennill m. Occasionally fem. in Anglesey, and so in—

“Ac y mae un o ben-prydyddion yr oes honno yn dymuno llwyddiant iddo ef a'i wyr, yn y fath bennill a hon.”—D. y P., O., 38.

pin f. in Gwynedd, m. in Demetian.

rhyfel m. in S. W. ; f. in Gwynedd.

sâch *a sack*, m. in Gwynedd, f. in Demetian.

swper m. in N. W., and so in—

“Y swpper hwnnw.”—Deff. Ffydd 37.

“Swpper mawr.”—Luke xiv. 16.

Generally feminine in Demetian.

tafarn f. in N. W. ; m. in S. W.

tie m. in N. W., as—

‘tie du’, ‘tie gwyn’, but sometimes ‘tie wen’.

Feminine in S. W.

troed m. in N. W. Cf. also 'deutroet', Mab. 188.

"ar ei bedwar troed."—Ex. xxv. 26.

Feminine in Demetian and Gwentian.

cryman m. Fem. in Arfon.

12.—Again, many words show PECULIARITY OF GENDER IN PARTICULAR AUTHORS. Some of these may prove to be dialectal differences, or instances of changes in the history of words. Others will remain as words presenting difficulty of gender to the writer :—

aberth m. But feminine in—

"Yr aberth honno."—Deff Ffydd.

achos m. Feminine in—

"achos fwya."—Bardd Cwsc 40.

anwiredd m. Feminine in Amos i. 3, 6, 9, 11, 13.

caethiwed m. Feminine in—

"rydit or ryw geithywet honno."—Brutieu 50.

"Am iddynt gaeth-gludo'r gaethiwed gyflawn."

Amos i. 6.

cath f. Masculine in—

"Y cath a estynnawdd ei balf."—Iolo MSS.

cerydd m. Feminine in—

"O bob gair segur y bydd

Cyfri'r gwr cofia'r gerydd."

Edw. Morus, *Llwon Ofer*.

cwymp m. Feminine in—

“Och o'r gwymp drachwerw gânt.”

G. O. *Sion Herbert.*

diod f. Masculine in—

“Diod peraidd.”—*Story of Dwynwen* in Iolo MSS.

dadl f. Masculine in—

“Dadl mawr yn eu plith.”—Acts xxviii. 29.

dryw m. Feminine in—

“Nerth dryw ei chelfyddyd.”—Proverb.

dull m. But H. Perri generally, and others occasionally, use it as fem. (v. Silvan Evans' Dict.).

dychymyg m. Feminine in—

“Dychymyg ryfeddol oedd hon”—D. y P. O. 66.

“Y ddychymyg yma.”—Edw. S. 148.

eryr m. Fem.—because Lat. aquila is fem.—in—

“Teml rhwng dwy eryr.”—D. y P. O. 63.

heresi f. Masculine in—

“Heresi . . . dylid ei brofi.”—Deff. Ffydd 19.

lle m. Feminine in—

“Lle honn.”—Mab. 3.

moes f. Masculine perhaps in—

“moes boneddigaidd.”—Bardd Cwsc 26.

pla and cymysgbla m. Feminine in the Bible. Dr. Silvan Evans suggests that this is due to the fem. gender of the Greek and Latin parent words:—

“A daeth cymmysgbla drom i dŷ Pharaoh.”

Ex. viii. 24.

“Un bla etto a ddygaf ar Pharaoh.”—Ex. xi. 1.

pobl f. But Edw. S., p. 138, has this curious sentence:—

“Nid oes fodd mai yr un bobl oedd yr hwn y dywed Esai am dano.”

rhyfyg m. Feminine in—

“Rhyfyg wallgofus.”—Edw. S. 24.

sail f. Masculine in—

“Sail . . . ei osod.”—Deff. Ffydd, 183.

“Sail da.”—W. Salesbury, 1 Tim. vi. 19.

sect f. Masculine in—

“Yr hwn ytoedd sect y Tsadduceit.”

Salesbury, Acts v. 17.

synnwyr. Masculine in—

“Synwyr cyffredin.”—G. O. Llythyrau 103.

“Synnwyr Pen.”—William Salesbury.

Feminine in—

“Synwyr ddrud.”—Bardd Cwsc 78.

“Synwyr ddeallus.”—Edw. S.

And so in Ll. y T. A. 162.

sylfaen f. Masculine in—

“Sylfaen arall ni's gall neb ei osod.”

1 Cor. iii. 11.

tafod m. Fem.—by metonymy for iaith—in—

“Heblaw'r dafod Roeg.”—Deff. Ffydd viii.

terfysg m. Feminine in—

“Pan ddistawodd y derfysc.”—Bardd Cwsc 115.

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tir m. Fem.—by metonymy for cors—in—

“ Yn y dir 'r wy'n ymddiried
A gwn y cair ynddi ged.”

G. O. Cywydd i Ofyn Ffrancod.

ty m. Fem.—by metonymy for “ ystafell ” or “ pleit ”
—in Mab. 33.

ymadrodd m. As in—

“ ymadrawd hwnnw.”—Brutieu 50.

Fem. in—“ Ymadrodd odidog.”—Deff. Ffydd 169.

ystlys m. But—

“ dwy ystlys.”—Caradoc of Llancarvan.

And so generally in South Wales.

13.—WORDS VARYING IN GENDER ACCORDING
TO THEIR MEANING

Many pairs of homonyms might be adduced, as—

gwaith m.	<i>work</i>	gwaith f.	<i>time</i>
llwyn m.	<i>bush, grove</i>	llwyn f.	<i>loin</i>
porth m.	<i>gate, door</i>	porth f.	<i>harbour, port</i>

But as such words are quite distinct, except that they happen to be identical in sound, they will be excluded from the following list :—

achles f. shelter, refuge, harbour, protection, support.—
North Wales.

„ m. manure, fertilizing substance.—South Wales.

adeilad m. *the act of building, construction.*

„ feminine often when = *a building, edifice* ; as—

“ Adeilad deg.”—Bardd Cwsc 44.

“ Adeilad hon.”—Ibid. 45.

anian f. nature, instinct, disposition.

„ m. a living being.

“ Natur a wnaeth—iawn ytyw—,
Ei rhan ar bob anian byw.”—G. O.—41.

cariad, m. But when denoting *a lady-love* it is sometimes feminine :—

“ Myfi a'm cariad wen.”—Caniadau J. M. J. 145.

cethlydd m. a singer, songster.

„ f. a singing bird, warbler, cuckoo.

coes f. leg.

„ m. in North Wales when = *a handle* :—

“ Y coes.”—Prof. Lloyd's Llyfr Cyntaf Hanes 24.

croes f. cross.

„ m. transept ; e.g.—

“ Croes glandeg.”—Bardd Cwsc 45.

cyfarwyddydd m. guidance, party of guides.

„ f. sometimes, when = *story, account* ; e.g.—

“ Ag fal hynn y mae'r gyfarwyddydd.”—Iolo MSS. 39.

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Cymraeg f. the Welsh language.

„ m. the style of an individual writer, or the
Welsh of a particular period ; e.g.—

“Cymraeg pur, cyhyrog Dafydd ab Gwilym.”

draig f. a dragon.

„ masculine in one or two writers, when used in
the sense of ‘ a leader ’ or ‘ the Devil ’ :—

“ y draig mawr.” *—T. Huet.

deheu m. *south*.

„ f. *the right, the right hand*.

ewyllys, *will, inclination, desire*, is generally masculine :—

“ Yr hwn ewyllys.”—Heb. x. 10.

“ Ewyllys rhydd.”—Ll y T. A. 162, 174, etc.

„ f. when = *a will, a testament*.

golwg m. *eye, eyesight* :—

“ Dau gydymaith gywaithas,
Dau olwg leddf, a dail glas.”

D. ab G. CXLVIII.

„ f. generally when = *aspect, appearance* :—

“ Nyt oed olwc degach nor eidi.”—Mab. 117.

“ Etto gwelir, hir fy hun,
Olgw dost ar ei eulun.”—D. ab G. CXCIV.

“ Llys anferthol o faint, a thirion iawn yr olwg
cynta.”—Bardd Cwsc 27.

* Quoted by Dr. Silvan Evans (*s.v.* ‘ draig ’).

N.B.—The ‘ c ’ in ‘ cynta ’ for ‘ g ’ is due to the surd value of the two ‘ g’s ’—‘ olwg gynta ’—and is not to be taken as evidence that ‘ golwg ’ is masculine here. Compare ‘ dreig coch ’ in the Bruts for ‘ dreig goch ’. The poets often indicate the hard sound of ‘ -g g- ’ by writing ‘ -g c- ’, as—

“ Draig cynnar y dryghinoedd.”

See page 15 above.

CHAPTER III

NUMBER IN NOUNS

I.—THE DUAL :

THE existence at one time of the DUAL NUMBER in Welsh was discussed under the Article (*q.v.*). Some further evidence of its use may be adduced here.

It is a well-known principle that the initial consonant of an adjective following a plural noun is not softened, e.g.—

merched diwyd (not ddiwyd)
ystafelloedd bychain (not fychain).

In the following examples, however, where the Dual would naturally occur in a language retaining that number, the initial of the adjective is softened :—

“ Deu uann gochyon *vy*chein.”—Mab. 205.

“ Deu vilgi *v*ronnwynnyon *vry*chyon.”—Mab. 225.

“ Didolc a llym yw d' adain,
Dy wobr fydd dau gywydd gain.”—D. ab G. CLXIV.

“ Da o beth fydd deubeth *f*wyn
Ym Mai, irwydd a morwyn.”—D. ab G. CXLVIII.

“ Gwae fi! na chair deuair *d*eg,
Oni chawn un ychwaneg.”—D. ab G. CLXX.

“ y ddau Ymherawdr gyfreithlon.”—D. y P. O. 68.

Contrast—

“Cerais un dyn cwrs hin-deg
Dan gariad y teir gwlad teg.”—D. ab G. CLXX.

As explained under the Article, the vowel-ending Dual would account for the mutation.

Other traces of the Dual are found in such compounds as—

dwylaw; deubar, *couple, two* (e.g. D. ab G. LXXIV.; 2 Kings v. 23); dwylen; dwyfron, etc.; and in ‘Yr Eifl’, mountains in South-West Carnarvonshire. Contrast the plural ‘y gaflau’ with the initial ‘g’ retained.

‘Dwylaw’ is interesting in that it is an instance of the Dual ousting the Plural.

‘Dwy ddwylaw’ (Micah vii. 3), as well as ‘deubar’ (Nehemiah xiii. 24), is pleonastic.

2.—The study of the PLURAL NUMBER is interesting and instructive. Thus many words have changed their plural form; others have two plurals, some with difference of meaning, others without; some form their singular from the plural, and others have a mutated vowel in the singular reverting to its more original form in the plural. A few have double plurals, others no plural at all, and a very small number no singular.

We will here discuss and illustrate some of the more instructive features of the subject.

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3.—WORDS THAT HAVE CHANGED THEIR PLURAL FORM :

(a) Anything like an exhaustive list would run to many pages, and would serve no useful purpose. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the fact.

Many nouns have substituted -oedd for older -edd :—

brenhinedd : “ A bot breint y escop y lle hynny y urdaw escyb y wlat ae *brenhined*.”

Ystorya 25.

dyfredd : “ Ar *dyfred* a edewit yn diffwyth.”—Mab. 94.

tiredd : “ Nid oes dŵr na dwys *diredd*
Na goror ym môr a'i medd.”

G. O. Y Maen Gwerthfawr.

ynysedd : “ Dyred i'n gwlad, dur iawn gledd,
Deyrnaswr, drwy *ynysedd*.”

Iolo Goch, G. B. C. 120.

(b) Plural by vowel change used to be much commoner than it is to-day ; e.g.—

Gwyddel—gwyddyl : “ Beth yssyd yn y boly hwnn
heb ef wrth un or *gwyddyl* ? ”

Mab. 38.

“ Gwna lynes gain o longwyr

O gynfyl *Gwyddyl* a'i gwyr.”

Iolo Goch, G. B. C. 120.

Ffreinc = Ffrancod : Gwiffert petit y geilw y *ffreinc*,
ar brenhin bychan y geilw y kymry ef."

Mab. 281.

Ffrancod in Bardd Cwsc 69.

seren—syr : " Ef a arganuu ar y nef mal fford o syr."

Ystorya 1.

" Gwewyr, rhif y syr, y sydd
Yn difa holl gorph Dafydd."

Gruffydd Gryg.

(See D. ab G. CXX. 13-14.)

The reader will have noticed—

' gwewyr ' plural of ' gwaew ', ' gwayw ',
in the last quotation. The context leaves no manner
of doubt as to its number. Compare Isaiah xiii. 8. :—

" *Gwewyr* a doluriau a'u deil hwynt."

Pangs and sorrows shall take hold of them.

In Mediaeval literature it was ' gwaewar ', ' gwaewawr ',
and had its literal meaning of *spears* ; e.g.—

" Sef a wnaeth y weisson seuyll kastellu eu taryaneu
yn y gylch ar peleidyrr *gwaewar* rac yr heul."

Mab. 82.

" *Gwaywawr* trymffysg mal o'th eurddysg mal i'th
urddwyd."—M. A. 298a.

(c) Plurals in -awr were not uncommon in Mediaeval
literature ; * e.g.—

* Compare Prof. Anwyl's Edition of the Gogynfeirdd (Gee
and Son), pp. 11-15.

aes *a shield* plural aesawr, aessawr.
 cleddyf *a sword* „ cleddyfawr.

(d) OTHER CHANGES are illustrated in—

caer—ceurydd, ceurydd; now generally caerau :—

“Distryweist *uygkeyryd*.”—Ystorya 12.

“Alecsander Mawr, uwch cawr *ceurydd*,
 Ynillai y byd, a llu bedydd.”—G. B. C. 265.

‘Caerau’ in—

“Cur gestyll *caerau* gystudd,
 Concweria wâl cwn Caer Ludd.”

Iolo Goch, G. B. C. 120.

ewig—ewiged, now ewigod :—

“Ef a gymhellwys yr *ewiged* y gyt ar geifyr y
 mywn.”—Mab. 194.

brawd—broder and brodyr :—

“Deu *vroder* un uam ac ef.”—Mab. 26.

“Afiachus fu faich oes fer,
 Echdoe fryd eich dau *froder*.”

Tudur Aled, G. B. C. 228.

‘Brodyr’ in—

“y *urodyr* maeth,” *his foster brothers*.—Mab. 34.

‘Cymru’ as well as ‘Cymry’ was used for *Welsh People*
 in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, e.g.—

“Arwydd i annerch y *Cymru*.”

Ll y Tri Aderyn (title page),

'Kymry' was the invariable form in Mediæval literature for both *Wales* and *Welsh People* :—

" Y gwaratwyd a gawssei vatholwch ygkymry."

Mab. 34.

" Ar brenhin bychan y geilw y *Kymry* ef."

Mab. 281.

morwyn—morynion, and so still in dialects, as in Demetian :—

" Yd oed gwreic vawr delediw yn eisted y mywn kadeir a llaw *uorynyon* yn amyl yn y chylch."

Mab. 210.

" Lloer *morynyon* llawr Meirionydd."

M. A. 335 b.

Also in Caniadau Prof. Morris Jones—

" *Morynion* bro Meirionydd—

Ba raid sôn ?—yn hoywbryd sydd,

Yn hyfryd lân rianedd

Fal blodau 'r drain, gain eu gwedd."

Cywydd Priodas Owen M. Edwards.

4.—Many nouns have TWO OR MORE PLURAL FORMS without any appreciable difference of meaning ; e.g. :—

llith — llithoedd and llithiau.

sant — saint and seintiau.

tref — trefi and trefydd.

5.—Others have TWO PLURAL FORMS with difference of meaning, though it should be added that distinct words

like 'llwyn,' *grove, bush*, and 'llwyn,' *loin*, which happen to be identical in form, can scarcely be held to come into this category :—

amser	<i>occasion, point of time</i>	amserau (pl.).
	<i>period, a round of time</i>	amseroedd, amserau.

bron	<i>breast, pap</i>	bronnau.
	<i>hill-side</i>	bronnydd.

cam	<i>step</i>	camrau.
	<i>an injustice, wrong</i>	cammau.

“ Ar rheini a wnaethant *gammau* drwy blundrio'r gwledydd.”—Llyfr y Tri Aderyn 172.

cern	<i>the side of the head</i>	cernau.
	<i>a steep hill-side</i>	cernydd.

“ Tri pheth anhydrefn eu defnydd ; nyth ysguthan ; *cernydd* Moel Maen Llwyd ; ac iaith y Sais.”
Trioedd Doethineb.

cyngor	— <i>counsel, advice</i>	cynghorion.
	<i>council</i>	cynghorau.

canon	<i>a church dignitary</i>	canoniaid.
	<i>rule, law</i>	canonau.

(eithaf)	<i>confines, furthest reaches</i>	eithafoedd.
	<i>extremes (metaphorical)</i>	eithafion.

“ A cherdet racdaw a oruc *eithafoed* byt.”—Mab. 170.

llwyth	<i>tribe</i>	llwythau.
	<i>load, burden</i>	llwythi.

person	<i>person</i>	personau.
	<i>parson, clergyman</i>	personiaid.

pwyth	<i>stitch, point</i>	pwythau, pwythi.
	<i>wedding gift</i>	pwython.
wyneb	<i>face, countenance</i>	wynebau.
	<i>surface</i>	wynebion.

“O ganol gwaelod y ddayar ir *wynebion*.”

Llyfr y Tri Aderyn 226.

ysbryd	<i>spirit, soul</i>	ysbrydoedd, ysbry- dion.
	<i>ghost</i>	ysbrydion.
	<i>mood, courage</i>	ysbrydoedd.

It must however be admitted that the distinctions here tabulated have not always been observed.

Thus ‘*cyngorau*’ is used for ‘*cyngorion*’ in—

“Tro dy bwyll at *gyngorau* doethion.”*—M. A.

llwythau for *llwythi*—

“Wele, pobl y wlad yn awr ydynt lawer, a pharasoch iddynt beidio â’u *llwythau*.”—Exodus v. 5.

Compare also Exodus vi. 6, 7.

Similar confusion is shown in the use of ‘*llwynau*’ for ‘*llwyni*’ in D. y P. O. 48 :—

“Yr oedd Ynys Fôn y pryd hwnnw yn llawn o Lan-
neirch a *Llwynau* pen-dewon.”

So also in Deff Ffydd 167, 169. ‘*Llwynau*’ is usually the plural of ‘*llwyn*,’ *loin*, while the regular plural of ‘*llwyn*,’ *a bush, grove*, is ‘*llwyni*.’

* Quoted in Dr. Silvan Evans’s Dictionary, *s.v.* *Cyngor*.

In view of the fact that 'brodor,' *a native*, is a doublet of 'brawd' (for 'brawd'r'), *brother*, it does not seem strange that in earlier literature 'brodorion,' now the plural of 'brodor,' should be often used for *brothers*; e.g. :—

“Ac ymgeissaw a oruc ae gedymdeithon ae *vrodoryon* maeth.”—Mab. 144 (cf. 203, 207).

6.—Other nouns, again, have TWO PLURAL FORMS, implying no distinction of meaning, but originating in different DIALECTS :—

	<i>North Wales</i>	<i>South Wales</i>
cariad	cariadau	cariadon
llythyr	llythyrau	llythyron

And again—

cath	cathod	cathau
nyth	nythod	nythau

The student of the Mabinogion will not fail to notice another difference of wide application in the plural of nouns, and one that is still characteristic of Demetian and Gwentian: the dropping of consonantal 'i' before certain terminations if the preceding syllable is diphthongal. In the two dialects named the plural suffix in such cases is -on, -aid, not -ion, -iaid, and often -au for -iau, as—

meinon for meinion; anifeiled (= anifeilaid) for anfeiliaid. eneide (= eneidau), gweithe (= gweithau) for eneidiau, gweithiau.

Nor is this difference confined to plurals ; e.g. :—

N. W. ceiniog, draeniog, treulio, are in S. W. ceinog, draenog, treulo.

7.—DOUBLE PLURALS are not uncommon ; as—

arwyddonau (< arwydd) :

“ Oliuer hagen aegwant ef yn gymwys trwy y holl arwydoneu tec ae aruev.”—Ystorya 47.

celaneddau :

“ Lleinw leoedd â *chelanddau*.”—Ps. cx. 6.

negeseuau or negeseuon :

“ I ba beth y mae 'n rhoi *negeseuon* arnaf ? ”

Llythyrau G. O. 121.

teiau :

“ Oni wyddosti i bôd nhwy yn ymlusgo i *deiau* ? ”

Ll. y T. A. 170.

Other examples, some of which are common, may be mentioned, such as—

asglodion	blodeuon or blodeuoedd	clychau
chwedleuon	dagreuoedd	dieuoedd (< diau,
estyllod	geneuau	pebyllau [<i>days</i>)

‘ Dilladau ’ and ‘ lloiau ’ are used in Anglesey, and sometimes in literature :—

“ Addoli *lloyeu* euraid.”—Deff. Ffydd 134.

8.—Some nouns occasionally restore or insert an ‘ *f* ’ before a plural termination, as—

brofydd (usually broydd) < bro :

“ Mae yma o 30 i 40 nad oeddynt gennyf na chyn neb arall yn y *brofydd* yma.”—The Morris Letters I. 162.

bwafau (usually bwäau or bwâu) < bwa :

“ Goreu naf â *bwafau*,
Gorau ior y mwyn-ior mau.”*—Lang Lewys.

llefydd (usually lleoedd) < lle :

“ Digwyddodd i ddau frawd . . . a fase yn gweithio mewn *llefydd* eraill . . .”—The Morris Letters 214.

llyfon, llyfau (as well as the more common ‘llwon’) < llw :

“ Meddwdod, *llyfon*, cwerylon, enllib a chelwydd.”
Bardd Cwsc 119.

“ Ein lliaws gwâr yn llesghau,
Am oer lefain mawr *lyfau*.”

Edward Morus, Llwon Ofer.

‘llwf’ is probably a back formation from llyfon, llyfau :

“ Ond am *lwf*, nid aml ofyn
Gan swyddog ddiysgog ddÿn,
Y llw hwn, gwelwn y gwir,
Enau hardd ni waherddir.”

Edward Morus, *ibid.*

All the instances here adduced originally contained the guttural ‘g’ : thus ‘bro’ is ‘brog-’ in Allobroges (Welsh ‘Allfro-wyr’), a Celtic tribe in ancient Gaul ; ‘bwa’ is from a root ‘bug,’ seen in Old English ‘buga’

* Quoted by Dr. Silvan Evans, *v.* under ‘bwa.’

rhiaïn

rhianedd

“*Rhiaïn* loyw firain leferydd gwastad.”—M.A. 333b.

“Yn iach can i’r *rhianedd*

Del i’r rhain dal wŷr a hedd.”—G. O.

Other examples are—

Singular

Plural

adain

adanedd

daint

dannedd

deigr, deigryn

dagrau

lleidr

lladron

neidr

nadredd, nadroedd

“Llawer o bysgawt ac adar a gwenyn ac *anadred*.”

Ystorya 21.

“Fel nythed o *nadroedd*.”—Ll. y T. A. 191.

“Seirph, *nadroedd* . . . a’r cyffelyb.”—B. Cwsc.

‘Daint’ is peculiar. It is never a plural in Anglesey, while in South Wales it would be regularly regarded as of that number. ‘Daint’ is found as a plural in Goronwy Owen’s *Cyfieithiad o Anacreon* :

“*Daint* hirion llymion i’r llew”—

and Goronwy was an Anglesey man.

10.—SINGULATIVES.—Many nouns form the singular from the plural or a collective form, as—

Plural

Singular

adar

aderyn

blodau

blodeuyn

cnau	cneuen
drysi	drysïen
gwybed	gwybedyn
llygod	llygoden
malwod	malwoden
piod	pioden
plant	plentyn
pysgod	pysgodyn

'Pysgod' is formed from 'pysg,' itself now often used in the plural, but strictly a singular, from Latin 'piscis.'

It is singular in—

"Mynet a oruc kei a bedwyr ar dwy yscwyd y *pysc*."
Mab. 131.

The singular, 'pi,' is occasionally used—

"Dammeg : yr Ysguthan a'r Bi."—Iolo MSS. 159.

11.—HYBRIDS.—The practice of forming singulatives from plurals and collectives by the addition of -yn, -en, has led to the formation of many hybrids in colloquial speech, as—

bribysyn or bribsyn < plural of English 'bribe,'
which meant originally *a fragment*.

bricsen < English, bricks.

clocsen < „ clogs.

'Briwsion,' 'briwsionyn,' have taken the English plural suffix *s* by analogy, though the word 'briw' is native, and the pure doublets 'briwion,' 'briwionyn,' occur,

12.—INCORRECT PLURALS

Some writers regularly write 'merchaid,' 'pryfaid,' 'ychain' for 'merched,' 'pryfed,' 'ychen,' though instances of the correct forms abound in the classics.

merched: "*Merchet* teyrned ynys prydein."—Mab. 149.

"Canwyll *merched* y gwledydd;
Cred a roes honno i'r crydd."

D. ab G. CLXIX.

pryfed: "Briwaw y *pryuet* a oruc ymplith y dwfyr."

Mab. 97 (cf. Bardd Cwsc 95).

ychen (cf. English 'oxen')—

"Oni th'rewais gwr fy ngên
Ar ucha' côr yr *ychen*."—D. ab G. CLVIII. 17.

Edw. Samuel writes 'ychain' on page 98 of *Gwirionedd y Grefydd Gristionogol*—

"megys' elephantiaid, llewod, ceffylau, *ychain*."

13.—A few plurals are of especial interest:—

nefoedd, plural of 'nef,' is often used as a singular:—

"Efe a esgynnodd i'r nefoedd."

(*He ascended into heaven.*)

The usage is a Hebraism.

ysgyfaint, *lungs*, is a plural of 'ysgafn,' by false analogy of 'car—ceraint,' 'gof—gofaint,' etc. For a parallel term compare English 'lights,' often used for these organs in lower animals.

pebyll was originally singular, as—

"Ac yn y llannerch y gwelei *bebyll*. Ac yn rith

eglwys ef a gant y pader wrth y *pebyll*. A pharth ar *pebyll* y doeth, a drws y *pebyll* a oed yn agoret, a chadeir eureit oed yn agos yr drws."—Mab. 195-6.

And the plural was 'pebylleu':—

"Ac ny welas neb lle amlach *pebylleu*."

Mab. 207-8.

Hence 'pabell' is a modern back formation, through a mistaken notion that 'pebyll' was plural.

Bresych: the Latin 'brassica' (or rather 'brassicca') should yield Welsh *brasech*. The form 'bresych' is from the plural 'brassiccae.'

crwys is usually treated as plural of 'croes', on the analogy of such words as—

croen	—	crwyn
oen	—	wyn

In origin it comes from the Latin singular 'cruX,' and instances occur of its use in that number; e.g.—

"Wrth y gair yma, pren, y deallir y *grwys* y croeshoelwyd Crist arni."—Henri Perri.

Crwysgad, crusade.

"Y mae dan ei *grwys*" is a familiar expression in South-west Wales for a body between death and burial. The expression recalls a Roman Catholic custom.

'Cerbyd', on the other hand, is in origin plural. Compare the Irish singular form, *carpat*.

CHAPTER IV

DIMINUTIVES

I.—THE suffixes named above as forming singulatives out of collectives and plurals are essentially diminutive ; e.g. :—

cenllysgen	<	cenllysg
ysgawen	<	ysgaw
aderyn	<	adar
colyn	<	col

For the idea of being named as belonging to a group or species suggests inferiority or incompleteness.

For the same reason the name of an article formed out of mass or material readily suggests a diminutival sense ; e.g. :—

cosyn	<	caws
euryn	<	aur

Some diminutives are but indirectly related to the primary words ; e.g. :—

corsen, *a reed* < cors, *a marsh*.

tywysen, *an ear of corn* < tywys, *ears of corn* (lit. *leading, to lead*).

Compare English 'nestling' (< nest), *a little nest bird*.

2.—DIMINUTIVES AND PET NAMES.—The sense of diminution passes readily into that of—

(a) endearment on the one hand, and

(b) depreciation or detraction on the other ; e.g.—

(a) *branos* :

“Gwahard wynt y wrth vy mranos.”—Mab. 154.
(*Forbid them to worry my little crows.*)

(b) *dynos* :

“Edrych lle gwelych y gwaelion *ddynos*,
Yt’ o gas agos dygasogion.”—W. Middleton.

The primary force of the suffix may be lost altogether, and the derivative have the power of the word from which it is formed. ‘*Bachgen*’ not infrequently denotes a *youth*, without special reference to age, so much so that ‘*ieuanc*’ is often added to differentiate the younger members of the class.

The suffixes ‘-c’, ‘-g’ (= English *-ck* in *bullock*, *hillock*), and ‘-l’ (= English *le* in *bramble*, *dribble*), have completely lost their original force in Welsh, and the suffix *-an* in Irish has nearly arrived at the same meaningless stage. ‘*Rhisgl*’ has the same force as ‘*rhisg*’ ; ‘*awdl*’ (< Lat. ‘*odula*’) is no more diminutive than the English *ode*, its cognate without the *l*. So the *l* in ‘*tymestl*’ (< Lat. ‘*tempestatas*’) is purely formal.

3.—The COMMONEST DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES in Welsh are
-an, -en, -yn ; -ell ; -es ; -i, -ig ; -o, -og ; -ach, -iach ; -os

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I.—SINGULAR :—

-an (compare Irish *an*, always masculine, as loc, *a lake*, dim. loc-an, *a small lake*). A doublet of both -yn (masc.) and -en (fem.), and therefore of the same gender as the word to which it is affixed ; e.g.—

Dyn (now usually masc., but in Mediæval Welsh masc. or fem.) > dyn-an, m.f., *a little person*.

When feminine it is a term of endearment :—

“ Ni bu ddyndan fechan fach,
Os mul hi, ysmalhaeach.”—D. ab G. XLII. 9–10.

When masculine it conveys the added sense of pity or contempt :—

“ Ar hyn dyma bedwar o rai moelion ereill yn
llusgo dynan at y cyffeswr.”—Bardd Cwsc.

Sometimes added to words of foreign origin, as—
spel-an (< English ‘spell’); awr-an (< Latin ‘hora’).

“ Ar bob allawr yr awran
Y gwneir cost o’r gwin a’r can.”

Dafydd Nanmor.

Other examples of this suffix are—

hun-an (< hun < un, *one*).
oen-an.

-en < Celtic -ina, and therefore feminine :—

daearen < daear.

“ O ddaiaren na orchguddia di fyng-waed.”

Llyvyr Job 38.

cors-en < cors, *a bog, marsh.*

pel-en < pel.

The -en in cywen < cyw (compare English ‘chick-en’ < ‘cock’) has been mistaken for the plural suffix, as ychen < ych. Hence a further diminutive suffix has been added—‘cywenen’, ‘c’wenen’.

In ‘bachgen’ -en is masculine, unless this word is a back formation from ‘bechgyn’ (Cf. pabell < pebyll).

-yn < Celtic -inos, and therefore masculine. In Irish, diminutives in ‘-in’ are of the same gender as the nouns from which they are derived.

The ‘y’ of ‘yn’ affects or mutates the vowel of the preceding syllable. Hence—

tennyn	<	tant
rheffyn	<	rhaff
defnyn	<	dafn

It is added to the plural in—

dynion-yn, *a paltry fellow*; grugionyn, *ant.*

“ Fal y gwnaeth y grugionyn

A’r ceiliog rhywiog rhedyn.”

D. ab G. CXCII. 3-4.

-ell : Generally, in words of Latin origin, feminine, with the exception of—

castell, cawell, porchell.

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Examples :—

bachell < bach, *a nook* ; compare 'cilfach' :

“Islaw hyn, yr oedd bachell swrth.”

Bardd Cwsc 104.

cronell ; hunell, *a nap* ; llinell ; priddell, *a clod, tile* ; pibell ; rhonell, *a tail* ; iyrchell (< iwrch), *a young roe*.

-es, f. baches, *a little girl*.

llonges *a little ship*.

-i = English -y, -ie, as Peggy, birdie.

Examples :—

Beti, Cadi :

“Gwyddost, Gadi deg wiwddyn,
Lyfr Ofydd mewn glaswŷdd glyn.”

D. ab G. cxcix.

Dani ; Ifi (< Ifan) ; Pegi.

-ig, or rather -i-g, for here we are probably dealing with a double suffix. Feminine, e.g. :—

canig < cân.

oenig < oen.

orig < awr.

o : Generally a suffix of endearment,

1. In proper names :—

Beto < Bet = (Eliza)beth.

Bilo < Bil = William.

Crallo, as in Llangrallo in Glamorgan.

Deio < Dai = Dafi = Dafydd.

Gwe_{llo} < Gwen (cognate with Latin 'Venus'),
whence Gwendolen, Gwenhwyfar, etc.

Ifano and Ianto < Ifan.

Llelo < Llewelyn.

Iolo < Iol = Ior(werth).

2. Also in—

bodo, a term used in North Cardiganshire for
'modryb', < bod < mod(ryb). The inter-
change of 'm' and 'b' is very common in
Welsh. Compare 'modrwy' for 'bodrwy'
(< bawd, *a thumb*).

dic-o, *a chicken*.

dyn-o, *a mannikin*.

-og, or rather -o-g, feminine. Compare Irish -og (fem.),
as, gabal, *a fork* : gabalog, *a small fork*. Example :—
pwtog, *a little woman*.

II.—SINGULAR OR PLURAL :—

-ach, -iach : In the singular always suggesting contempt
or reproach, and generally so in the plural :

bwbach	cleiriach	chwantach
dodrefnach	dynionach	plantach
poblach	rhedyniach	

III.—PLURAL :—

-os : Often suggesting endearment :

bechgynnos	cynos, <i>small dogs, puppies</i>
dynionos	gw lithos plantos
teios	wynos

Added to the singular in, branos, *little crows* ; dynos.

4.—DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES ARE OFTEN COMBINED :

This is done generally to give a fuller and more emphatic expression to the idea of diminution and the concomitant colour of either affection or contempt ; e.g. from ' bach ' :

bych-an-ig-yn :

“ O doi i fedwgell bellach,
Fy nyn bychanigyn bach.”—D. ab G. xci.

bach-ig-yn (' bychanigyn ' in some editions of the Bible) :

“ Oblegid ychydig bachigyn etto, a'r hwn sydd yn dyfod a ddaw.”—Hebrews x. 37.

bych-an-ig :

“ Tri anferthwch gwledd ; meddwdod, ymrysonau, a chrochwerthin am ben bychanigion o chweiniau.”—Trioedd Doethineb.

bach-g-en-yn :

“ A thithau fachgennyn a elwir yn brophwyd i'r Goruchaf.”—Luke i. 76.

Sometimes a second suffix is added in consequence of the complete loss of the diminutival sense in the first. Compare ' -l-et ' and ' -k-in ' in English, and ' -c-ulum ' in Latin. Examples :

bach-g-en	brig-l-yn (plu. brig-l-ach)
hurth-g-en	lloer-c-en
ffwl-c-yn	llip-r-yn (r < l, by dissimilation)
penllor-c-an	tal-c-en

5.—DIMINUTIVE DOUBLETS are not uncommon :

awran	and orig
Beto, Beti	„ Betsan
Bili	„ Bilo
cynos	„ cwnach
chwechan	„ chwechyn
dynan	„ dynyn
dynionos	„ dynionach
llongan, llonges	„ llongig
Iolo	„ Iolyn
pibell	„ piben
priddellan	„ priddellig
wynos	„ wyniach

Of course, differentiation of meaning is a common accompaniment of doublet forms ; thus ‘ dynyn ’ is masculine only, while ‘ dynan ’ may refer to male or female.

CHAPTER V

ADJECTIVES

I. GENDER.—In Brythonic the gender of an adjective was indicated by its termination, the masculine ending in ‘-os,’ and the feminine in ‘-a’; e.g. :—

Brythonic :	vindos	—	vinda
	trummos	—	trumma
Modern Welsh :	gwyn	—	gwen
	trwm	—	trom

Now, final ‘-a’ of the Brythonic or Romano-British period mutates or infects an old ‘i’ (=modern ‘y’) and ‘ü’ (=modern ‘w’) of a preceding syllable into ‘-e-’ and ‘-o-’ respectively.

Hence Latin ‘manica’ becomes ‘maneg’ in Welsh, and Latin ‘purpura’ > ‘porphor.’ Similarly—

Brythonic	catta vinda	>	Mod. cath wen.
„	alta trumma	>	„ allt drom.

In Mediæval and Modern Welsh the terminations *-os* and *-a* are lost, but the infection caused by the *-a* remains, so that the rule has to be restated thus :

Adjectives form their feminine by a change of the internal vowel :

y > e as llym — llem
 w > o „ hwn — hon

One word apparently changes 'i' into 'ai,' viz.—

brith (m.) — braith (f.)

but it is only another instance of the effect of *-a* upon the *-i-*, coupled with a diphthongization familiar in Welsh.

In Brythonic the forms would be—

brīctos (m.) — brīcta (f.)

Now *-ict* of the Romano-British period passes into 'ith' in Welsh; e.g.—

Lat. benedictio > W. bendith
 „ maledictio > W. melldith
 and Brythonic brīctos > W. brith

On the other hand, 'brīcta' would be infected into 'brecta', and

brecta > Med. W. breith
 > Mod. W. braith

with which compare—

Lat. perfectum > Med. W. perffeith
 > Mod. W. perffaith
 „ defectum > Med. W. diffeith
 > Mod. W. diffaith

The infection of the internal vowel is confined to the singular, for the open 'a' that governed the change

was itself modified in the plural into a closer non-inflecting sound.

We may illustrate this important point from words of Latin origin: The sound-change from *i* to *a* in 'manica' is great, and while the very close *i* is articulated, the organs of speech are being partially adjusted for the coming open *a*, with the result that 'i' acquires the timbre or value of the intermediate sound 'e.'

Hence Lat. manica > W. maneg
and asina > W. asen

On the contrary, 'bresych,' strictly speaking, comes not from 'brassicca,' which would give us 'brasech,' but from the plural 'brassiccae,' for '-ae' has a much closer sound than 'a'; and the change from 'i' to 'ae' is sufficiently easy not to involve any assimilation of the former.

Hence the adjective 'gwyn' is thus declined:

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural</i>
M. gwyn	M. } gwynion
F. gwen	F. }

(Note that 'y' in the diphthong 'wy' is not inflected: Masc., 'twym'; Fem., 'twym'.)

2.—Even in the singular the infection is rapidly disappearing, and the masculine *swrth* is as freely used as *sorth*, with a feminine noun.

But in the case of

hwn and its compounds *hwenna* and *hwennw*

the change of the vowel is imperative, e.g. ' y gwr hwn ', ' y wraig hon ' ; never ' y wraig hwn ' .

3.—Similarly for the PLURAL. Whereas the tendency is to use the singular form with plural as well as singular nouns, *hwn*, *hwonna*, and *hwonnw* are never allowed for the plural.

The persistency of grammatical inflections in the demonstrative is singularly illustrated in English : while every other adjective is now indeclinable, *this* and *that* must be inflected for number :

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural</i>
this	these
that	those

In Mediæval Welsh and in the poets the vowel change in the feminine of adjectives is much more strictly observed than in modern prose ; e.g.—

“ Gwarant modrwy a mantell,
A *gwerdd* wisg a urddai well.”—D. ab G. x.

“ Ni bu, dref *sorth* tan orthrech,
Fy nhrem, am Gaersalem, *sech*.”

G. O. Hiraeth am Fôn.

II.—COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

Welsh has four degrees of comparison :—

The Positive, as, teg, gwyn, da.

The Comparative (Proper), as, tecach, gwynnach, gwell.

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The Comparative of Equality (or The Equal, or Equative), as, *teded*, *gwynned*, *cystal*.

The Superlative, as, *tecaf*, *gwynnaf*, *goreu*.

1. COMPARATIVE.—The termination in a regular adjective is 'ach' * (= Breton 'o'ch'), as 'teg', 'te-ach'. There is evidence also of another comparative suffix corresponding to Old Irish 'iu', 'u', in some irregular adjectives, e.g.—

W. hên	>	hŷn	bach	>	llai.
O. Ir. sen	>	siniu	bec	>	laigiu.

2. THE EQUAL DEGREE OR COMPARATIVE OF EQUALITY.—This is peculiar to Welsh. It enters into many idiomatic constructions. It is formed by adding '-ed' to the positive, as—

teg	—	tec - ed.
sych	—	sych - ed.
cyflym	—	cyflym - ed.

* From Aryan *iso*, whence the '-ior,' '-ius' of Latin and the '-er' of English. The change of the vowel-flanked *s* into the aspirate is regular in Welsh. Initially, when not followed by *w*, it is the simple spirant, e.g.—

haul,	cognate with Latin, sol
Hafren	,, ,, English, Severn
hesp	,, ,, Latin, siccus

Finally, it is a guttural spirant :

fflach,	cf. English, flash
fflwch	,, ,, flush
och	,, ,, oh
mach	,, Latin, vas

This ‘-ed’ is the abstract noun suffix ‘-ed’ seen in ‘colled’, ‘tynged’, ‘syched’, ‘hoced’; and in verb-nouns, as ‘gweled’, ‘yfed’, and is the same as the Latin ‘-itas’ in ‘civitas’, whence Welsh ‘ciwed’ :—

“ Weithon nyt oes dyrnued yn y uchet.”—Mab. 130.
(*Now it is not a hand in (its) height.*)

“ Ac yn ol hynny goueileint a delis yndaw o gamhet idaw attal y mab gantaw.”—Mab. 22.

“ A chan aruthret vu gan Arthur a chan Owein uch ben yr wydbwyll klybot y kynnwryf.”
Mab. 156.

“ Fangau graen fyngau o gred,
Fwngial rhag ei Chyfynged.”—D. ap G. CLXI.

“ A Duw, gan hyfryted oedd,
Dywedai mai da ydoedd.”
Gor. Owen, y Calan.

The transition from an abstract noun to an adjective is easy, as may be seen from the above quotations.

3.—CYN WITH THE COMPARATIVE.—In composition, where actual comparison is made, a form in ‘-ed’ is preceded by the adverb *cyn*, as—

“ Ac ef a allei uot yn gyn digriuet ymi or hela ac udunt wynteu.”—Mab. 247.

“ Ac nid allasent chwaith ddysgwyl y buasai eu hathrawiaeth byth yn cyrhaedd cyn belled.”
Ed. Samuel 41.

In Mediæval Welsh 'cyn' ('kyn') is occasionally written 'cy' ('ky'); e.g.—

“Pa achaws y ducpwyd gwas ky ieuanghet ygkyghor gwyr kyvurd ar rei racko.”—Mab. 160.

“Or byd neb ky ehofnet ac amwyn y gorvlwch hwnn a mi, a dial sarhaet gwenhwyfar, deuet ym ol yr weirglod a mi ae harhoaf yno.”—Mab. 197.

It should be noted, however, that 'ky' in these and like examples found in mediæval literature is to be read as 'kyn', 'cyn', just as 'llogeu' is pronounced 'llongeu'. The mediæval scribe, for economy of time and writing material, adopted certain abbreviations which would be familiar enough to his readers, but were occasionally misread later. Thus before *g*, it was customary to write *n* in a curve or straight line over the preceding vowel, and if a word was sufficiently familiar the *n* was often left out altogether; e.g., 'llong' was written 'llōg' and 'llog', but was always supposed to be articulated as 'llong'; 'n' was sometimes dropped elsewhere, as—

“Ac arveu trwm rytlyt dielw estronawl ymdanaw ac *ynda* y varch.”—Mab. 254.

CYN AND CAN.—Dr. Silvan Evans, in his monumental Welsh Dictionary, under 'cyn' writes: “Since the early part of the present (i.e. 19th) century it has been usual with some writers (following Pughe) to substitute *can* for *cyn* in this sense, a practice much to be deprecated, as *can* does not imply any comparison which *cyn* (with its

varieties—*cy-*, *cyd-*, *cym-*, *cys-*) does. This perverted use of *can* is unknown in the older language.”

The last statement is not quite correct. ‘*Can*’ occurs occasionally in Llythyrau Goronwy Owen, e.g.—

“Mae fel y byddwch *gan fwyned* ag ymwrando am offeiriadaeth i mi erbyn Calanmai.”

Llythyrau, 144.

“*Gan wiried.*”—Ibid. 62.

“*Gan faned.*”—97 ; etc.

And frequently in the letters of the Morusiaid, e.g. Vol. I, p. 258 :—

“*Gan fod yn rhyngu bodd . . . i Wilym Parri yntau fod gan fwyned a gyrru am ychydig hadau,*” etc.

The use of ‘*can*’ in this connection by eighteenth-century writers was an extension of a function of the word common in mediæval and modern literature. Thus the phrase—

gan mwyaf, for the most part,

is quite common.

So ‘*gan*’ with substantival forms in ‘-ed’—

gan aruthret (v. above).

And again as a conjunction in—

gan fwyned oedd.

Nor is *gan* as an adverb an impossible form :

Probably the adverb 'cyn' is in origin the same as the preposition 'can' (Cornish 'cans', 'gans', Breton 'gant'). The preposition has an accent of its own, but when used with the comparative of equality it is a proclitic, and through the absence of an accent the 'a' readily changes into the more obscure 'y' sound.

But when Dr. Silvan Evans deprecates the use of 'can' for 'cyn' he has the unanimous support of all Welsh scholars of the present day. 'Can' (= 'cyn') in the pre-Pughean period is rare, and limited to a few writers. Moreover, attaching two functions to *can*, where *cyn* has been clearly specialized for one of them, leads to confusion, and is contrary to the movement in the direction of differentiation of usage which marks the growth of all languages.

'Cyn' is sometimes written as a prefix to the form in '-ed'; e.g.—

cymhelled = cyn belled.

“Ond gan na ddichon nerth dyn gyrhaedd *cymhelled*.
... Er bod ei drigfan *cymhelled* o'r tu isaf iddynt.”

Edw. S. II.

In 'cyfuwch' it is added to the comparative proper:
“A pheis o pali melyn ymdanaw yn *gyfuch* a mein y esceir.”—Mab. 154.

But usually when 'cyn' in this function is prefixed, it is to a noun, not to an adjective; e.g.—

kymryt = cyn + pryd, *form, beauty*,

“A hyspys oed gan owein na welsei ef eiryoet gwreic
kymryt a hi beyt uei ar y ffuryf iawn.”—Mab. 175.

cynddrwg, cynrwg < drwg = *evil*.

“Kany s kyndrwc dy wybot heb hi ac nas dywedy ymi mi ae gouynnaf idaw ehun.”—Mab. 248.

cystal < cys + tâl *payment*; etc.

4.—The comparative of equality is followed by *ag, a*; but if it is qualified by a numeral higher than *un*, the function of the phrase is naturally that of a comparative proper, and *na, nag* are sometimes used instead of *a, ag*:—

“Y pedwar cymmaint *na*'r waith gyntaf.”

D. y P.O. 99.

5.—Equal forms in ‘-ed’ are often used without ‘cyn’ in exclamatory sentences to express the possession of a quality in a superlative degree; e.g.—

“Pa nesa yr awn atti mwyfwy y rhyfeddwn uched, gryfed a hardded, laned a hawddgared oedd pob rhan o honi, gywreiniad y gwaith a chariadused y defnyddieu.”—Bardd Cwsc 45.

6.—By careless articulation ‘cymaint’ sometimes appears as ‘y maint.’ Compare—

‘Y fi’ for ‘myfi,’ and

‘Y Fenni’ for ‘Gavenni’ or ‘Gavenny.’

“Ac o hynny y bu y meint goruot a uu y wyr ynys y kedyrn.”—Mab. 40.

No doubt the Definite Article in this construction was seen to be unidiomatic. Hence the not infrequent use

of the simple 'maint' (< y maint < cymaint);
e.g.—

“Ac wrth hynny y mae iawn medylyaw meint cabyl
y gristawn na wassanaetho yn ufyd ar achenogyon
Crist.”—Ystorya 15.

“Hawdd ganddo wylo wrth y bobl *faint* yw eu cam
gan ddrwg swyddogion yn eu gorthrymmu.”

Bardd Cwsc 15.

“Er maint o anrhegion . . . ag oedd efe a'i wyr wedi
eu derbyn, etto efe a fynnai gael Dinas Gaerog
dan ei lywodraeth.”—D. y P.O. 99–100.

7.—Mention may be made here of an idiomatic use of
'cymaint' in the phrase 'CYMAINT UN' for *every one* ;
e.g.—

“Ac ual ydoedynt ac eu gwrthrw m ueicheu gantunt
dyuot udunt brenhin cordibi . . . ac eu llad
kymeint un.”—Ystorya 16.

“Ond chwithau hefyd cymmmain un, felly cared pob
un o honoch ei wraig fel ef ei hunan.”

Ephesians v. 32.

“Ac ymwan hwnt gymmain' hyn,
Ba nerth na bai wan wrthyn' ?

Tudur Aled,” Marwnad Owain ap Meurig.

“Sef y dywedasant gymmain un a llais a llef mal o
un genau.”—Iolo MSS. 185.

8.—ADJECTIVES IN '-B', '-D', '-G.'—The superlative
suffix '-af' stands for Old Welsh '-ham'. Thus in the

Cornish glosses (*v.* Rhys's Welsh Philology 231) 'hynaf' appears as 'hinham' (Gl. Ox. B 45a), and 'ieuaf' is 'ieuhaf' in Mab. 193.

This suffix is cognate with '-sim-us' in Latin, the *h* in Welsh being the regular representative of older *s*, as 'haul' (Lat. 'sol').

Hence 'rhad' in the superlative would be 'rhadhaf', whence 'rhataf' by a regular change of *dh* into *t*, with which we may compare 'ateb' from 'ad-heb.' Similarly 'teghaf' would pass into 'tecaf', and 'gwlybhaf' into 'gwlypaf'.

The equal degree shows the same hardening, probably due to the development of an accentual *h* before the accent retreated to the new penult; e.g. 'teg-héd' > téd-ed compare the form 'dahet' (later 'daed') :—

"Gorawenu a wnaeth ynteu wrth decket yr eur, a dahet gweith y kawc."—Mab. 50.

The provection of the soft mutes '-b', '-d', '-g' in the comparative proper is much later,* and is due to the analogy of the equal and superlative degrees; the comparison of 'teg' was formerly—

<i>Positive</i>	<i>Equal</i>	<i>Comparative</i>	<i>Superlative</i>
teg	teced	tegach	tecaf

"A gwedy bot yn degach genthi kymryt y phenyt noc ymdaeru ar gwraged y phenyt a gymerth."

Mab. 19.

"Gwell gwr a phenedigach yth wna."—Mab. 195.

* Exc. : "Hyfrytach a llawenach y kerdawt Enit."—Mab. 291.

“ Ni weles neb wyneb iach
 Drud fydd deigr, nid oedd degach.”—D. ab G.

For the approximate phonetic equivalence of ‘ t ’ and ‘ dh ’, ‘ c ’ and ‘ gh ’, ‘ p ’ and ‘ bh ’ we may adduce the following facts :—

(a) Their use is allowed in ‘ cynganedd ’—

“ Golwg *teg* fydd *gweled hyn*.”—D. ab G. VIII.

“ Wych nwy *teg*, a *chenadhau*.”—Ed. Morus, y Paen.

(b) The nasal mutation of ‘ p ’, ‘ t ’, ‘ c ’ is the same as that of ‘ b ’, ‘ d ’, ‘ g ’, with an added *h*; that is, e.g.—

p > mh, b > m.

Hence *p* has approximately the value of *bh*. When the accent is moved away, the *h* can no longer be separately sounded, and the work of representing the value of the two is thrown entirely upon the mute, which is therefore protracted into *p*, as—

gwlyb-hed' > gwlyp'-ed
 teg-hed' > tec'-ed

9.—ADJECTIVES ENDING IN SONANT MUTE + LIQUID :

As in the case of final ‘ -b ’, ‘ -d ’, ‘ -g ’, so, if an adjective ends in ‘ b ’, ‘ d ’, or ‘ g ’, plus ‘ -l ’, ‘ -n ’, ‘ -r ’, as ‘ abl ’, ‘ hyawdl ’, ‘ hagr ’, ‘ dygn ’, the soft mute is protracted; e.g.—

“ A meuhl ymi heb ef or deuy di yma yny wpych
 di a golleis i vy nerthoed yn ky *gwplet* ac y
 dywedy di.”—Mab. 269.

“ Yno . . . y magwyt pryderi . . . yny oed delediwaf gwas a theckaf a *chwplaf* o bop camp da.”

Mab. 25.

“ Ny dodes dyn y araf yndaw yg katgamlan rac y haccret.”—Mab. 108.

“ Mi ofnais y gallei gastie’ *butrach* na rheini fod yn agos.”—B. Cwsc 24.

“ Either Erasmus Roterodamus yr athro dyscedickaf, *huotlaf*, ac awdurusaf yn Cred oll, or a fu in oes ni ac ys llawer oes or blayn.”—Synnwyr Pen 8.

“ Am hynny Gochel meddaf, fel dymma’r dyddiau diwaethaf dyrrysaf *perycclaf*.”—Ll. y T. A. 264.

For the change of *sonant + liquid + h*, into *surd + liquid*, we may compare—

cwpla < cwblhau ; dyffryn < dyfrhynt.

Examples of the absence of provection, though rare, do occur :—

chwidrach :

“ Odid y canfu adyn
Chwidrach anwadalach dyn.”—G. Owen 2.

dygnach :

“ Eithr fe’n dysgir i ymbil yn *ddygnach* ac yn fwy difrifol am y pethau a berthyn i fywyd tragwyddol.”—Edw. Samuel 52.

10.—Comparative + an old abl. case :

The student of Latin knows that 'quam' (= Eng. *than*, Welsh 'na', 'nag'; old Irish 'ol', 'inda') may often be omitted, the noun with which the comparison is made being put in the ablative case—called ablative of comparison.

A parallel construction whereby *ol* or *inde* may be omitted is not uncommon in Old Irish,* the dative of the name of the compared object being used instead :

“Ni diliu nech limm alailiu” = “nid hygarach neb imi (nag) arall.”

In Middle Irish the accusative is used in the same way :

“It lúathidir gáith n-erraig.”
(*They are swifter than a spring gale.*)

Rare examples of the same construction are found in Welsh ; e.g. 'bellach hynny'—

“A unbenn heb hi nac ewch bellach hynny mi a dygaf bop un o honawch hyt y llys.”—Mab. 23.

chwaethach :

“Ni allassom-mi ymhellach geisio cyngor gan gnawd a gwaed, chwaethach gwneuthyr y peth oedd ddyledus.”—Deff Fydd 182.

It is the usual construction with 'chwaethach', which however is occasionally accompanied by 'na' :

“Ni ddyle gwyr doethion duwiol mor rhyfeddu . . .

* See Windisch's Old Irish Grammar.

fod yn well gennym aros gartref, a rhoi'r cwbl ar Dduw, *chwaethach na* chymeryd hirdaith arnom."—Deff Ffydd 163.

II.—WELSH SUPERLATIVE=ENGLISH COMPARATIVE :

When that with which the comparison is made is not formally stated, the superlative is used in Welsh, where English would require the comparative ; e.g.—

Eng. He is the *younger*.

Welsh. Efe yw'r *ieuaf*.

Out of this use of the superlative there arises a difficulty not experienced in English ; e.g.—

John Jones Junior
is John Jones *Ieuaf*,

though he may not be the youngest.

A son who is neither the eldest nor the youngest may be referred to in English as 'a younger son' ; but such use of the comparative is not allowed in Welsh. In Genesis ix. 24, where Shem, Ham, and Japheth, sons of Noah, are referred to, Ham is mentioned as "ei fab ieuangaf."

12.—COMPARATIVES AND SUPERLATIVES FROM NOUNS :

The substantival origin of the equal degree has already been referred to.

There are instances of adjectives in the comparative proper and superlative formed from nouns : 'lletach'

and 'lletaf' are from 'lled', *width*, not 'llydan', *wide*; 'diweddaf' is from 'diwedd', *end*; and 'pennaf', with the rarer 'pennach', are from 'pen', *head, top*:

"Ny ddarostwng y welh neu bennach noc ef."

Yn y Lhyvyr Hwnn.

The following belong to a more doubtful class: angeuach; amserach; dewisach, dewisaf; gogleddaf; gwraf; ingaf; llesach; rheitied, rheitiach; anifeiliach; penaduriaf; elwach; cywilyddiach; arfaf; for while they may be referred to pure nouns (angeu, amser, etc.), they may equally well be from the positive adjectives in '-ol' (the last two in '-us' and '-og' respectively). For the dropping of '-ol' compare—

rhagorol — rhagored — rhagorach — rhagoraf

Examples of their use:—

angeuach :

"Mi a dodaf teir diaspat ar drws y porth hwnn, hyt na bo agheuach ympenn Pengwaed yng kernyw."

Mab. 103-4.

amserach :

"A phan vu amserach kymryt hun no chyvedach y gyscu yd aethant."—Mab. 6; compare 217.

anifeiliach :

"O ffoliaid difedr a chawciod ynfyd ac anifeiliach na chynffon yr asen yr hon a gusanent, a gredient y pethau hyn!"—Ed. James: Hom. II. 108.

arfaf, from 'arf' (*v.* Silvan, s.v.) :

"Difai Ion erfai arfaf ei ganmawl."—M.A. 1. 461.

cywilyddiach :

"Canys beth sydd anghyfiawnach a chywilyddiach na Chospi pobl am ladd un neu ddau, ac ymffrostio a gorfoleddu am ladd miloedd, megys rhyw orchest ogoneddus?"—Edw. Sam. 53.

dewisach, 'preferable' :

"Dial Duw arnaf heb hi onyt dewisach gennyf vy agheu oe law ef noc o law neb."—Mab. 270.

dewisaf : "Dewisaf, gan Naf, i ni
Oedd ddeisyf iddi oesi."

G. O. Cywydd Marged Morus.

elwach : "O Dduw cyfoeth doeth wyt ti ;
Ond oedd elwach d'addoli."

Caniadau Prof. Morris Jones.

gogleddaf : "Y lle gogleddaf agos yn Nghymru."

Llythyrau G.O. 80.

gwraf : "Gwraf edlin brenhinwawr
Blaenllin Cymru fyddin fawr?"

G. O. Cywydd i Dywysog Cymru.

haeach : "Y bwa yw, ni bo iach
A der dau hanner hayach."—D. ab G. ccvii.

"Hyn a allaf ei ddywedyd yn hŷ am dano na chlywais erioed haiach well pregethwr, na mwynach ymgomiwr."—Llythyrau G. O. 36.

ingaf : “ Pa gryfach gadarnach dau
I'r ingaf arwr Angau ? ”

G. O. y Cryfion Byd.

llesach :

“ Arhoaf yn llawen heb hi ac oed llessach yr march
pei ass acrhut yr meittyn.”—Mab. 11.

penaduriaf :

“ Ac o iawn dilyet y gossodet ruuein yn bennadur-
yaf eistedua ebystyl.”—Ystorya 25.

rheitied :

“ Mae cyn rheitied i ni ag i bobl ereill fedru rhoddi
rheswm am y gobaith sydd ynom.”—Ed. S. xvii.

rheitiach :

“ Ie, Ie, eb yr angel, cedwch eich dagreu at rywbeth
rheitiach.”—Bardd Cwsc 28.

“ Nid rheidiach i'm byd rhydeg
Rhoi rhactal am y tâl teg.”—D. ab G. ccvii.

Here should be mentioned such phrases as ‘ bore wawr ’ and ‘ angau loes ’, if ‘ bore ’ and ‘ angau ’ stand for ‘ boreol ’, ‘ angeuol ’ by back formation from ‘ boreuach ’, ‘ angeuach ’.

On the other hand, they may be mere imitations of the common English construction seen in ‘ morning light ’, ‘ death pang ’, etc.

A third explanation is possible : ‘ bore ’ and ‘ angau ’ may be in the Genitive Case dependent on ‘ wawr ’ and ‘ loes ’, though the genitive in Welsh regularly *follows* the noun upon which it depends.

13.—ADJECTIVES > ADVERBS :

Some adjectives in the Comparative Degree have acquired a special adverbial function :—

bellach < pell, with initial softening common in adverbial expressions ; as, 'ddoe' from 'doe'. It means *at length, now at last*.

hytrach < hydr, *strong, brave, confident*. It means *rather, somewhat*.

hwyrach < hwyr, *late*. It means *may be, perhaps*.

mwyach < mwy < mawr. Therefore in form a double comparative.

chwaethach* < gwaeth (by provection of gw > chw) < drwg. Therefore, like 'mwyach', a double comparative ; e.g.—

“Llawer o wyrion, chwaethach plant.”

Morris Letters I. 244.

(*Many grandchildren, not to mention children.*)

hwyrach : a double comparative from 'hir' :—

“Ni fu hwyrach ganddo na myned i'w gyfarfod.”

Demetian.

14.—Many adjectives show irregularity of form or usage :—

Daed : The usual equal degree of 'da' is 'cystal', but the more regularly formed 'daed' has the sanction of some of the best Welsh classics ; e.g.—

* < chwaith.—Dr. Silvan Evans.

“Gorawenu a wnaeth ynteu wrth decket yr eur,
a *dahet* gweith y Kawc.”—Mab. 50.

“Y ddiod fedd *ddäed* fu.”—D. ap G. xxiii.

“Mynych iawn y mudant, heb fedru fawr aros
yn y naill gan *ddaed* ganddynt dywysoges
stryd arall.”—B. C.

‘Daed’, compound of ‘da it’, should not be confused with this; e.g.—

“Ac ni chanaf a’*m* tafod,
Yn neutu glyn, ond dy glod !
I’th ganmol ferch urddol waed—
Dy wedd !—Dôs a dyddiau *daed*.”

D. ap G. cxci.

hynach and *(an)hawsach* : Double comparatives common in colloquial Welsh, but of rare occurrence in literature :

hynach : “Y mae yn ein mysc ni hên, ac oedrannus hefyd ; *hynach* o oedran na’th dâd ti.”

Llyvyr Job Ch. xv.

anhawsach : “Yn gwneuthur llawer o bethau *anhawsach* . . . nag oedd orchymynedig yn y ddeddf.”

Ed. Samuel, G. y G. G. 80.

hawsaf is a superlative on a comparative base :

“Kyrchwn loeger *hawssaf* yw yni ymborth yno.”

Mab. 52.

“ Na wn i heb yr owein namyn y gyueir y myn-
nych ac y bo *hawssaf* gennynt dos.”—Mab. 293.

hawsed, like ‘gwaethed’, has its ‘-ed’ added to the comparative form:—*anhawsset*. Mab. 282.

Cymaint and Cynifer: Strictly speaking ‘cymaint’ should refer to quantity, while ‘cynifer’ denotes number. Still, ‘cymaint’ by looseness of construction is sometimes used as the comparative of ‘llawer’ (many); e.g.—

“ Y rhai a hynododd Duw drwy gymmaint o wyrthiau.”—Deff Ffydd.

And frequently in D. y P.O.

llawer: The superlative is the substantival phrase, ‘y rhan fwyaf’, or the prepositional phrase, ‘gan mwyaf’; e.g.—

“ A gadu y pyscawt yn noeth a meirw vyd eu kan mwyhaf.”—Mab. 241.

uwch: ‘w’ is excrescent, and is due to the glide of the tongue in passing from the ‘u’ to the ‘ch’ position. Compare mediæval ‘awch’, a doublet of ‘ych’, *your*, and the ‘u’ before ‘gh’ in English ‘bought’, ‘thought’, etc. The ‘w’ generally disappears when another syllable is added; e.g.—

buwch	—	buchod
lluwch	—	lluchio

Hence ‘uched’ is better than ‘uwched’, and ‘uchaf’ than ‘uwchaf’. ‘W’ was very rare even

in the comparative of this word in mediæval literature, the regular form being 'uch'; e.g.—

“*Uch* penn y pwll.”—Mab. 216.

“Ac uch oed y diaspat noc a oed o dyn a chorn yn y llu.”—Mab. 175.

“gwyd gogyfuch” = *trees of equal height*.

Mab. 163.

Note that the form 'ogyfuuch' occurs in—

“Ac yn dyvot yn ogyfuuch ar orsed.”—Mab. 8.

iawn in Mediæval Welsh is fully compared:—

iawnach: “A *iawnach* yw kerdet velly.”

Mab. 236.

iawnet: “Pei gwyput ti *iawnet* itt chware ac eisted y gyt ar gwr hwnnw nyt eistedut ac ny chwaryut.”—Mab. 235.

iawnaf: “*Iawnaf* y gwnaf i heb yr Arthur, mynet y hela ef auory yn ieuencitit y dyd.”

Mab. 245.

15.—The following are no longer in common use:—

hydyr: “A phann welei y iarll ae niver marchawc y llamhystaen yn *hydyr*.”—Mab. 254.

And its superlative—

hyttraf (*hytraf*): “A phan vei *hyttraf* gereint y llawenhaei y gwr gwynllwyt ae wreic ae verch.”—Mab. 255.

newyddach : “ Ac ny bu newydach gantunt y dyvodyat no chynt.”—Mab. 6.

ambellach, comparative of ‘ ambell ’ :

“ Ac na fychanom neb am fod ei ddoniau ef yn ambellach na’n doniau ni.”

Edw. James, Hom. III, 139.

llêd, as comparative of ‘ llydan ’

“ [mae] ei fesur ef yn hwy na’r ddaiar : ac yn llêd na’r môr.”—Llyfr. Job. ch. XI.

“ Lledled rydau, waethwaeth ddeddfau.”

Ll. y T. A. 184.

16.—THE SYNTHETIC AND THE ANALYTIC METHODS OF COMPARISON.—The growing use of the analytic method of denoting comparison is very noticeable in modern writings.

In Mediæval Welsh *cyn* + *Equal degree* was the all but invariable method of expressing that degree in construction ; e.g.—

“ Ac wynt yn un vam un dat, ac yn un dylyet, ac yn gyn dewret, ac yn gyndecket, ac yn gynhaelet.”

Bruts. 72.

“ A dywedut pa wed y gellit dwyn mein kymeint ar rei hynny o le kynbellet a hwnnw.”—Bruts. 167.

Mor + *positive* was extremely rare, except in an exclamatory sense, = *how very*. The following is an example from the Mabinogion :—

“ A gwledychu o honaw yno mor lwydyannus a dwyn y dwy deyrnas yn un drwy y dewred ef ae vil-wryaeth y diffygywys y enw ef ar pwyll penn-deuic dyvet.”—8.

In sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century writings this construction gained ground, though most writers felt it to be the exception,* and even to-day the more idiomatic *cyn + Equal degree* has the better literary sanction.

Again, ‘mwy’ and ‘mwyaf’ with the positive to express the comparative and superlative respectively is a characteristic of Modern Welsh. It was practically unknown up to the middle of the fourteenth century.

The gradual adoption of ‘mor’, ‘mwy’, and ‘mwyaf’, with adjectives is due to two influences:—

- (1) The tendency of all modern languages to become analytic.
- (2) The influence of—

(a) French *aussi . . . que*
and English *as . . . as*

which helped on the use of ‘mor’ in Welsh; and

(b) French *plus le plus*
and English *more most*

which secured the introduction of ‘mwy’ and ‘mwyaf’ into the corresponding constructions in Welsh.

* Mor + positive is not uncommon in “Deff. Ffydd.”

That English played an important part in this development is evident. The use of *more* and *most* with the positive was due to French influence, and they therefore appear later in this rôle than *as . . . as*. So in Welsh, while *mor* + *positive* had gained early currency, 'mwy' and 'mwyaf' do not appear until after 'more' and 'most' came to be similarly used in English.

CHAPTER VI

THE NUMERALS

1.—As in Breton, Welsh has two forms for *two*, *three*, and *four*, one masculine, the other feminine. Old Irish has three forms—masc., fem., and neuter.

The names of the cardinal numbers for 1–20 :—

WELSH	BRETON	OLD IRISH
un	unan	óin, óen
dau, m., dwy, f.	daou, f. diou	dá, f. dí, n. dá n-
tri, m., tair, f.	tri, f. teir	trí, f. teoir, n. trí
pedwar, m., pe- dair, f.	pévar, f. péder	cethir, f. cetheoir, n. cethir
pump	pemp	cóic, cúic
chwech	c'houec'h	sé
saith	seiz	secht n-
wyth	eiz	oct, ocht n-
naw	naô	nói n-
deg	dék	deich n-
un-ar-ddeg	unnek	óen...déc or déac
deuddeg	daouzek	dá...déac
tri-ar-ddeg, m., tair-ar-ddeg, f.	trizék	trí...deac
pedwar-ar-ddeg, m. pedair-ar-ddeg, f.	pévarzék	cethir...déac

WELSH	BRETON	OLD IRISH
pymtheg	pemzék	cóic...déac
un-ar-bymtheg	c'houézek	sé...déac
dau-(dwy-)ar- bymtheg	seiték	secht n-...déac
deunaw	triouec'h	ocht n-...déac
pedwar-(pedair-) ar-bymtheg	naônték	nói n-...déac
ugain	ugent	fiche

2.—ELEVEN TO NINETEEN.—These seem to have been in Indo-Germanic expressed by copulative compounds, which are retained in Latin throughout (undecim . . . octodecim, etc), and in Breton, with the exception of 18,* which is multiplicative (= 3 × 6). The still remaining forms, 'deuddeg' and 'pymtheg', show that the same copulative method once existed in Welsh. The rest have now vanished, owing to numbers beyond twenty being generally expressed by multiplication.

The Aryan or Indo-Germanic system was decimal, but counting by scores must be very old, for we find it in Old Irish, where (e.g.) 40 is 'dá fichit' (= 2 × 20) as well as 'cethorcha', and similarly for 60, 80, 100. So in Breton and Welsh—

BRETON	WELSH
40 is daou-ugent	deugain
60 ,, tri-ugent	tri-ugain, trugain, trigain
70 ,, dek ha tri-ugent	deg a thrugain
80 ,, Pévar-ugent	pedwar ugain

* 'Deunaw' for 18 in Welsh is multiplicative.

and so on to 180 and beyond :

180 naou-ugent naw-ugain.

In Liber Landavensis 40 is 'douceint' and 60 'triu-
ceint'.

Compare also French—

60 soixante
70 soixante-dix
80 quatre-vingts
90 quatre-vingt-dix.

3.—NUMERAL + NOUN:—

Cardinal Numeral Adjectives are followed by the
noun in the singular in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton ;
e.g.—

Welsh : dau oleuad.

Cornish : dew golow.

Breton : diou c'houlaouen.

Similarly in Irish—

cead ceann (sg.) = W. can pen.

It is necessary, however, at the outset to distinguish
two co-existent constructions :

I. That, so common in other languages, which does
not allow the noun to be in the singular with a numeral
higher than one.

That this rule was operative in Welsh at one time is
proved by the following sets of facts :—

(a) In such expressions, as *trywyr* ; *seithwyr* ; *deu-nawweis* (Mab.), the noun is clearly not singular :—

“ Edrychwch yn eich plith am *seithwyr* da eu gair.”
Acts vi. 3.

(b) The soft mutation of the initial consonant of an adjective following a noun qualified by ‘*dau*’, proves that the noun was at one time a vowel-ending dual :

“ Deu wydel *uonllwm*.”—Mab. 39–40.

“ Deuair *deg*.”—D. ab G. CLXX.

Cf. chapters on the Article, and Number in Nouns.

II. Another construction is much commoner in Modern Welsh, and it is usually formulated in some such rule as that given above, i.e. that the noun remains singular when qualified by a numeral ; as—

tri dyn ; *ugain niwrnod*.

When that construction is looked into more closely, its exceptional character may prove to be more apparent than real.

If we assume the numeral to have been regularly or even frequently substantival, and therefore that the noun dependent upon it was in the Genitive Plural, the construction may be shown to be in line, after all, with that in use in other Aryan languages ; for though a non-Aryan strain exists in Celtic syntax, it is the exception rather than the rule, and we should hesitate to

refer to that source a strange feature which may prove to be merely a disguised variety of what obtains in other Aryan tongues.

What, then, is the evidence to support the above assumption ?

(1) Welsh numerals are often treated as singular substantives with collective meaning :—

saith o fechgyn as well as saith bachgen,
ugain o blant „ „ ugain plentyn.

And the higher the numeral the more regular its use as a substantive. 'Mil' and 'myrdd' are pure nouns ; e.g.—

mil o wyr, *not* mil gwr.

This is true of all Aryan languages, for we find in the earliest records of other members of the family such a construction as 'a ten of men' side by side with 'ten men'. But some languages show a far greater preference than others for the former construction. Thus in Balto-Slavonic the word for *ten* is always a noun, never an adjective.

It follows that the dependent noun would be in the Genitive Plural.

(2) The forms 'diau', *days*, and 'blynedd', *years*, used with numerals, are not the regular singular forms of the words. 'Diau' is undoubtedly plural, and 'blynedd' has been similarly explained by eminent scholars like Zeuss and Ebel, though this view has been

challenged in favour of the theory that 'blynedd' is a variant form of 'blwyddyn':

"Seith nieu a seith nos."—Brutieu 54.

"Fel y bu Jonas dridiau a thair nos ym mol y morfil, felly y bydd Mab y Dyn dridiau a thair nos ynghalon y ddaear."—Matth. xii. 40.

"Y ginyaw yn hardlech seith mlyned . . . ar yspydawt benn pedwar ugeint mlyned."—Mab. 43.

(3) The demonstratives are always plural in such constructions; e.g.—

"Y tair twysoges *hyn*."—Bardd Cwsc 11.

And often the initial of the adjective is not softened, where a singular noun would require it:

"Cerais un dyn cwrs hin-deg,
Dan gariad y teirgwlad *teg*."—D. ab G. CLXX.

And so in the familiar phrase:

y tair blynedd *diweddaf*.

(4) In Irish, if the noun following 'da', *two*, is in the genitive, it will be in the Genitive Plural; e.g.—

'Lān a dā lām', *the full of his two hands*.

(5) In Old English, *hundred* and *thousand* were always substantives governing the Genitive Case; and the other cardinal numerals were often similarly used; e.g.—

"Up ahof rihtes reniend *thara roda twa*."—Elene 880.
(*The minister of right raised two [of] roods.*)

“*Feower tida* syndon on thæm geare, on thæm we oft agyltath.”—Blick. Homilies 31.

(*There are four [of] times in the year in which we often sin.*)

Again, while the Nominative Plural of Old English ‘fōt’, *foot*, was ‘fet’, its Genitive Plural was ‘fota’, which passed into modern ‘foot’ through the stages ‘fōte’, ‘foot(e)’; so that in

‘A two-foot rule’

‘foot’ is in appearance singular, whilst in reality it is Genitive Plural.

(6) In Old Irish there is nothing to distinguish the Genitive Plural of many nouns from the Nominative Singular, except that in the genitive they eclipse the initial consonant of the following noun. In Modern Irish the identity of form has become more general.

These facts seem to me to afford a strong presumption in favour of the theory formulated above—that the ‘singular’ with numerals, other than *one*, is in many cases nothing but a Genitive Plural. With the decay of inflections, and the consequently growing identity of form between this genitive and the singular, there was nothing to prevent the extension of the construction at the expense of the simple plural construction.

4.—DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERALS.—Bob yn un; bob yn ddau; etc.

The introduction of 'yn' is modern. In older Welsh the forms are—bob un; bob dau; etc.; e.g.—

“Kymelleis y creulonyon geirw ar ffo ac ae lledeis
pop tri, pop petwar.”—Brutieu 55.

An idiom identical with the Old Irish—

cach óen = singuli
cach dá = bini
cach tri = terni, etc.

The introduction of 'yn' obscures the syntax of the phrase; in—

bob dau

'bob' is a Distributive Adjective qualifying the numeral substantive 'dau'.

But in

bob yn ddau

'bob' is a substantive like 'bawb'—a function foreign to it everywhere else in Modern Welsh.

'yn' is predicative, and 'ddau' is a predicative numeral adjective qualifying 'bob'.

5.—ILL + NUMERALS:

The numeral locutions containing 'ill' are somewhat peculiar:

“A gwledychu y wlat . . . ae rannu y ryngtunt *ell*
pump.”—Mab. 43.

“Ac yn hynny tyuu kedymdeithas y rygtunt *yll*
pedwar.”—Mab. 46.

The 'yll', 'ell'—modern 'ill'—are merely weakened forms of 'oll', *all*. For the change of 'o' to 'y' we may compare 'ys' for 'os' in—

“ys (= os) têt eu gwaith”—Bardd Cwsc 8,

and the regular change of Brythonic or Latin 'ø' into 'ȳ' in Welsh; e.g.—

cönsulor > cysuro.

The interchange of 'y' and 'e' in originally unaccented syllables is seen in the doublets—

ennill and ynnill

esgar „ ysgar

A parallel construction to this use of 'oll' is found in French; as—

tous les deux, *both*.

6.—ORDINAL NUMERALS.

One idiomatic construction involving the use of the ordinals is attended by some ambiguity; e.g.—

“Ar y ugeinuet or kewri,” in Geoffrey's Brut. 58,*

means, *he along with twenty giants*, for in the Latin version the words are “*ille cum viginti gygantibus.*”

This kind of phrase is rather common in Mediæval Welsh, and as the exact force of the words is not always as above, it may not be inappropriate to quote two or three others in point:—

(a) “Mi af *ar vyn deudecuet*. . . . Ef a aeth a gil-uaethwy a degwyr gyt ac wynt.”—Mab. 60.

* See Prof. Rhys's Introduction.

Where *ar vyn deudecuet* must mean, *I the twelfth, I and eleven others.*

- (b) “Ymgyweiryaw a oruc teirnon *ar y drydyd marchawc*, ar mab yn pedwryd gyt ac wynt. . . . Sef ual yd eistedyssant. Teirnon y rwng pwyll a riannon a deu gedymdeith teirnon uch law pwyll ar mab y ryngtunt.”—Mab. 23.

Where, again, *ar y drydyd marchawc* clearly means, *he and two other horsemen.*

- (c) “Ac adaw seithwyr yn tywyssogyon yma, a chradawc uab bran yn bennaf ac eu seith marchawc. . . . Sef seithwyr oedynt Cradawc uab bran. . . .”

Mab. 35.

- (d) “Tygu or perchennawc ar y trydyd o wyr un vreint ac ef.”—The Laws, v. fo. 41 b.

(The owner swearing with two of his peers.)

A later instance, where the meaning is more in harmony with the quotation from the Brutieu, is :

- “Peth arall hefyd a syrthiodd mewn tir da, ac a ddygant firwyth, peth *ar ei ganfed*, arall *ar ei driugeinfed*, arall *ar ei ddegfed ar hugain.*”

Matth. xiii. 8.

The same idiomatic use of the Ordinal Numeral, but without the preposition, is seen in—

- “A honno oed *dryded prif rieni* yn yr ynys honn.”

Mab. 27.

(*And she was one of the three chief ladies in this island.*)

“Cladassant y penn yn y gwynurynn. A hwnnw uu y trydyd matcud pan cudywyt, ar trydyd anuat dalcud pan datcudywyt.”—Ibid. 42.

(*They buried the head in the White Mount, and when it was buried, it was one of the three goodly concealments; and it was one of the three ill-fated disclosures when it was disinterred.*)

“Paluawt branwen, yr honn a vu tryded anuat paluawt yn yr ynys honn.”—Ibid. 43.

(*The blow given to Branwen, which was one of the three unhappy blows of this island.*)

This use of the Ordinal for the Cardinal is seen also in French; e.g.—

lui quinzième, *he with fourteen others.*

And in Middle English—

“His *fiftend some* of knight
With him yede na mare.”
(i.e. *he with fifteen others.*)

Köbling, Notes to Sir Tristrem.

And the Scotch *foursome*, *foursun*—a term used where four act together—is probably from *fourthsome*, illustrating the same idiom.

We may compare also the Old English method of stating numbers containing a fraction, e.g.—

'Other healf,' (so German, 'andert-halb'), *one and a half*; lit. *the second a half*.

'Fifte healf hund, *four hundred and fifty*; lit. *the fifth a half-hundred*.

Compare also Latin 'sestertius', a contraction of 'semis tertius' lit. *the third a half*; hence *two and a half*.

We noticed above that, though the *ar*-phrase usually comprises the previously named individual or object, in one or two examples it is additive. A similar uncertainty existed in the use of 'sum', *some*, with numerals in Old English; e.g. in Orosius CCII. 16—

feowera sum = *with four others*;

while in Beowulf 3124—

eahta sum = *with seven others*, i.e. *himself the eighth*.

CHAPTER VII

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

A. SIMPLE OR NORMAL PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

(I) Mediæval :—

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	mi, vi, i	ni, ny
2.	ti, di	chwi
3. m.	ef, efo	{wy, hwy
f.	hi, hy	{wynt, hwynt

1st Singular.—In English, Latin, and some other Aryan languages two entirely different stems have to be distinguished: English *I* (Old Eng. *ic*) and Latin *ego* are different from English *me*, Latin *me*. The strictly Nominative form has disappeared from Welsh, the other stem now doing duty for the Nominative as well as for oblique cases. So in Old Irish 'mé' stands for 'I' and 'me'. French, too, has gone a long way in the direction of obliterating the distinction between the functions of the two stems, in that 'moi' often stands for the Nominative:

Welsh, *myfi yw* (= English, It is *I*) = French, *C'est moi*.

The same tendency is observable in the English vulgarism 'It is me', but this is not sanctioned by literary usage.

Examples of *mi*, *vi*, *i* :—

“ Ac wrth hynny tra vu *vygkyvoeth i* yn gallu rodi rodyon pawb am karei. Ac nyt *mi* a gerynt namyn *vy* rodyon am devodeu am donyeu.”

Bruts. 67.

“ Och *vi* a dwyweu nef a dayar pa bryt y daw yr amser y gallwyf y talu elchwyl yny gwrthwyneb yr gwyr hynn.”—Bruts. 67.

Where the pronoun is affixed as an auxiliary for explanation or emphasis of an already expressed Possessive or Personal Pronoun, the form is always ‘*i*’ or ‘*vi*’ (Mod. ‘*fi*’), never ‘*mi*’. Of these, ‘*i*’ is the usual form except when following a verb or pronominal preposition in ‘*-f*’; e.g.—

“ Cymerais *i*; adwaen *i*; fy mhlant *i*;

Ti a’m gwiscaist *i*.”—Llyfr Job. x.

But some writers freely use the fuller form “*fi*,” even in this connection; e.g. in Bishop Morgan’s Bible—

“ Efe a’m barn *fi* yn drofaus.”—Llyfr Job. ix.

“ Ti a’m cyssylltaist *fi* ag escyrn.”—Ibid. x.

Similarly the fuller auxiliary form ‘*fi*’ is often used colloquially in Gwynedd; e.g.—

dyma fy lle *fi*.

After the first person of a verb in ‘*-f*’ or of a pronominal preposition, “*fi*” (older ‘*vi*’) and “*i*” are used indifferently:

“ Mwy boen yw genyf *i* yr awr hon goffav uygky-
uoeth.”—Bruts. 67.

“ Gweddw hebot ydwyf *fi*.”—J. M. J.’s *Caniadau*, 18.

Mi is used—

(i) at the beginning of a sentence—

mi a âf

(ii) when governed by ‘ â ’ with its compounds ‘ gyda ’,
‘ tua ’, ‘ parth â ’, and after the preposition ‘ i ’—

“ Prydydd wyt medd prophwydi
Cywyddol manol i mi.”—D. ab G. cxxx.

2.—Ti, di : At the beginning of a sentence the form is
usually ‘ ti ’ ; e.g.—

Ti a weli.

Ti Dduw a folwn.

But some writers, like Morgan Llwyd, prefer ‘ di ’—

“ Di dy hunan a ddylit fynnu gwybod.”

Llyfr y Tri Ad. 183.

“ Di ddywedaist ddigon.”—Ibid. 181.

After forms in ‘ -d ’, ‘ -t ’, much freedom is allowed, no
doubt due in part to the fact that in ‘ cynghanedd ’
‘ t ’ alliterates with ‘ d-d ’, ‘ dt ’, ‘ td ’, and ‘ tt ’.

Hence ‘ di ’ and ‘ ti ’ are used indifferently, though in
present-day Welsh ‘ ti ’ is much commoner than ‘ di ’
in that construction—

“Nyt mwy o volyant y Owein a dywedeist di no minneu.”—Mab. 170.

3.—Ti and chwi : The use of the plural of courtesy is of much more recent growth in Welsh than in English. In the latter ‘you’ for ‘thou’ does occur even in the thirteenth century, though the struggle between the courtly ‘ye’ and the honest old ‘thou’ was not finally settled for centuries after :—

“‘Louerd,’ he seiden everilc on,
‘*your* siluer is *yu* brogt agon.’”

“‘Lord,’ they said every one, ‘*your* silver is brought *you* back again.’—Genesis and Exodus (c. 1250).

In Mediæval Welsh the use of ‘chwi’ for ‘ti’ is unknown. The knights regularly addressed even King Arthur and his queen Gwenhwyfar in the 2nd person singular.

Owain, speaking to the King, says :

“Ti a glywy a dyweit y mackwy os da genhyt gwahard wynt y wrth vy mranos.”—Mab. 153-4.

And Cai to Gwenhwyfar :

“Nyt mwy o volyant y Owein a dywedeist di no minneu.”—Mab. 170.

Early in the eighteenth century ‘chwi’ for ‘ti’ is often used for politeness and respect to superiors. Bardd Cwsg (1703) addresses the Angel in the 2nd per-

son plural; e.g. “Beth y gelwch i’ r” (= gelwch, chwi’ r) “tair hudoles yna.” But the Angel generally uses the 2nd person singular in his replies; e.g. “Tyred ym mlaen a dangosaf i *ti* beth ychwaneg.” In the same text occurs a striking instance of a sudden change from the respectful ‘chwi’ to the ‘ti’ of contempt or defiance in the same speech:

Lucifer, addressing Angeu in reference to some undesirable subjects about to be sent him, says:—

“Am hynny *trawch* hwy’n ei hôl, neu *gedwch* gyda *chwi* hwyn. Oblegid myn y Goron uffernol os *bwri* hwy yma, mi a faluriaf tan seiliau *dy* Deyrnas *di*.”

So in *Drych y Prif-Oesoedd* (1740) the feigned mutual respect of the Lion and the Goat is emphasized by the use of the plural:—

Llew: “Beth a *wnewch chwi* yn dihoeni ar dussw o wellt?”

Gafr: “Diolch i *chwi*, meistr, . . . am eich cynnyg da.”

pp. 54-5.

Contrast the conversation of Gwrtheyrn and Hengist in the same text:—

Gwrtheyrn: “Estron a phagan ydwyd ti.”

Hengist: “O arglwydd Frenin caniattâ i’th wâs gymmaint o dîr i adeiladu Castell ag yr amgylchyna Carrai.”

Gwrtheyrn: “Di a geffi gymmaint a hynny yn rhwydd.”—p. 100.

4.—Third person masculine: ‘ef’ in the Red Book, *passim*. The form ‘fo’ does occur occasionally in mediæval literature: e.g.—

“Sefais innau heb sonio
Yn fud yn ei ymyl fo.”—D. ab G. CXV. 11-12.

And later, in the works of North Wales writers, ‘fo’ is found sporadically; e.g.—

“Gwrthwyneba *fo* yn dy galon.”
Llyfr y Tri Aderyn 243.

5.—In the plural of the 3rd person the mediæval form, masc. and fem., is *wy* (= Old Irish ‘é’), which, after the verb and pronominal preposition, was often aspirated into *hwy*—

“Ba ffuryf y keffir *wy* y gantaw?”—Mab. 60.

“Auory minneu a dangossaf gyfnewit am danunt *wy*.”—Mab.

“Menegis idi hi nat oed iawn udunt *hwy* attal y mab.”—Mab. 22.

Before the verb the form was ‘wynt’, i.e. ‘wy’ + the 3rd person plural termination of the verb; e.g.—

“Ac ual yd oedynt yn eisted uelly *wynt a welynt* teir llong ar dec yn dyuot o deheu iwerdon.”

Mab. 26.

6.—Two derivative forms of the Personal Pronoun are of common occurrence in Welsh:

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B.—THE REDUPLICATED OR EMPHATIC : myfi (from mi + mi), etc.

C.—THE CONJUNCTIVE : minnau (? < mim + teu), etc.

B.—I. The accent being on the last syllable of the Reduplicated Pronoun, the vowel of the first syllable through indistinct articulation passed into the 'natural a' ('obscure y') sound.

Hence— mi + mi > myfi
 ti + ti > tydi
 hi + hi > hyhi, etc.

The 'e-' of 'ef' is an exception as far as the written form is concerned, and 'efef' is written 'efe' instead of 'yfe'. Still, even here, colloquially, the sound is that of 'y' rather than 'e'.

2.—The whole first syllable of these compounds is often further changed colloquially into 'y' and not infrequently detached, due to its resemblance to the definite article; and as the function of reduplication is closely analogous to that of the article, 'y fi' for '(m)yfi' would not seem at all strange.

These corrupt forms are found occasionally in literature; e.g.—

“Artaith ddirym ar Gymro,—Eres yw ei fyw y fo!”
 Gruffydd Gryg in D. ab G. cxx.

“Onid y *nhwy* yw'r adar gwirion.”
 Llyfr y Tri Aderyn 163.

“ Och yfi ha wr fab.”

Wm. Morris to Richard, letter cxxxiii (1752).

“ Mynega os adwaenost ti y hi ei gyd.”

Llyfr Job xxxviii.

3.—Or, again, the first vowel may disappear, leaving the initial consonant like a post-vocalic possessive adjective; e.g.—

'm fi :

“ Gwr iau ydyw mewn gwradydd,
Mewn difri, na'm fi o flwydd ! ”

D. ab Gwilym, cxxvii. 29–30.

“ Onid gwatwarwŷr [ydynt] gyd a'm fi ? ”

Llyfr Job cxvii.

“ Mae ei feddwl ef mewn tair o gadwyni heŷrn . . .
ac yn nigofaint y brenin mawr gydam fi.”

Llyfr y Tri Aderyn 259.

'th di :

“ Nid adwaenost di (Druan) nath di dy hunan, nar
hwn ath wnaeth.”

Llyfr y Tri Aderyn 117.

“ *gidath di*.”—Ibid. 118.

Here the apostrophe is entirely misplaced, as the elision is after ' m ' and ' th ', and not before.

The same mistake occurs in the post-vocalic Possessive Adjectives and Personal Pronouns. The stages of development in the latter are :—

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Efe a mi gwelodd > efe a my gwelodd > efe am
gwelodd > efe a'm gwelodd.

And the Possessive Adjectives :—

Gyda m(yn) tad > gydam tad > gyda'm tad.

The '-yn' of 'myn' was dropped before the nasal mutation was accomplished.

The use of the apostrophe is quite recent, and is due to the analogy of the post-vocalic Definite Article, where, though modern, it is justified on account of the dropping of 'y'. Thus—

i yr lle > ir lle > i'r lle.

4.—Finally, the whole of the first syllable up to and including the vowel may be lost, causing a reversion of—

myfi, hyhi, nyhi, and chwyhwi

to the simple forms

mi, hi, ni, and chwi,

and of 'tydi' into the mutated form 'di', as well as the protracted form 'ti'.

The use of 'di' at the beginning of a sentence has been illustrated above (*v.* Simple Personal Pronouns).

In the 3rd pers. sing. masc. and the 3rd pers. plural this elision yields the truncated forms—

fo, fe; [plu.] nhwy.

“Sefais innau heb sonio,

Yn fud yn ei ymyl fo.”

D. ab Gwilym CXV. 11-12.

“ A fuost ti erioed yn i mysg *nhw*y i weled beth y mae *nhw*y yn i wneuthur ? ”—Llyfr y Tri Aderyn 170.

These truncated reduplicated pronouns are no longer emphatic, and they are used for the simple pronoun. Thus the ‘*ef a . . .*’ of Mediæval Welsh is ousted by the ‘*fe a*’ of the Llyfr y Tri Aderyn and Bardd Cwsc. ; e.g.—

“ *ef a a y nywl ymeith.* ”—Mab. 294,

and

“ *ef a aeth un o nadunt.* ”—Mab. 247,

referring to one of the ladies of Gwenhwyfar.

“ Erbyn i mi ddeffro *f*am dygasei i ryw ffordd allan o bellder y tu arall i’r Gaer.”—Bardd Cwsc. 59.

“ *Fe a* *ŵyr* bob peth sydd, ac a fydd, ac a ddylai fod.”—Edw. Samuel, Gwirionedd y Grefydd Gristionogol, 14.

5.—Strange as it may seem, the concurrent loss of emphasis in these truncated forms of the Reduplicated Personal Pronoun is so pronounced that ‘*fe*’ at the beginning of a sentence in the Demetian dialect is purely formal, and is used for the masculine and feminine in all persons of the singular and plural ; e.g.—

Demetian :

Sing. :	<i>fe wela</i> (f)	<i>fe weli</i>	<i>fe wel</i> (e and hi)
Plur. :	<i>fe welwn</i>	<i>fe welwch</i>	<i>fe welan</i> (t)

It is noteworthy that the dialect of Gwynedd has

extended the use of 'mi' in the same way. Hence Gwynedd—

Sing. :	mi wela(f)	mi weli	mi wel (o and hi)
Plur. :	mi welwn	mi welwch	mi welan(t)

Literary usage does not sanction either of these dialectal extremes ; it insists upon the distinctive use of 'mi', 'ti', 'ef' and 'hi', 'ni', 'chwi' and 'hwy' :

mi	(a)	welaf
ti	(a)	weli
fe	(a)	wel, etc.

This simplification of the reduplicated pronoun had not taken place in the Mabinogion, where, therefore, the forms 'di' (for 'tydi'), 'vo' (for 'euo'), and 'nhwy' (for 'wyntwy') do not occur : at the head of a sentence in the Mabinogion, the 2nd person sing. is 'ti', not 'di' ; e.g.—

“Ti a gey ychwanegu it wrth dy vynnu dy hun.”
Mab. 31.

At that time, even the darkening of the first vowel sound from 'i' to 'y' was not quite completed, at any rate, in writing ; for side by side with the later forms we find occasionally the earlier 'mivi', 'tidi', 'nini' ; e.g.—

“Llyna heb hi beth ny weda mivi.”—206.

“Duw a wyr na weleis i eirmoet was well no *thidi* wrth wreic.”—173.

“ A gouyn a oruc idi ae hihi oed yn peri hynny y ereint.”—268.

‘Euo’ is the reduplicated form of the third singular masculine in Mediæval Welsh :

“ Ef a wyl pawb or a del y mywn ac nys gwyl neb *euo*.”—Mab. 224.

In the sixteenth century ‘efe’ and ‘fe’ came into use and rapidly ousted ‘efo’ and ‘fo’, though sporadic instances of the latter are found in North Wales writers. In *Deffynniad Ffydd Maurice Kyffin* both *efo* and *efe* occur ; also *fo* and *e*—

“ *E* fynne Dduw fod rhai . . . a gynneuent fegis rhyw wreichionen.”—100.

William Salesbury, *Yn y Llyvyr Hwn*, and Bishop Morgan use ‘efe’, ‘fe’, though instances of ‘efo’, ‘fo’ are found in the 1588 translation of the Bible :

“ Os myn *efe* ymryson ag *efo*.”—*Llyvyr Job ix*.

Similarly, while Morgan Llwyd and Elis Wyn do not completely discard the older forms, as—

“ Ond mae *fo* yn esceuluso hyn.”—*Ll. y T. A. 141*.

“ Oh ! na yrrei *fo* yma seithgant.”—*Bardd Cwsc 101*.

they are clearly partial to the newer ‘efe, fe.’

C. I.—THE CONJUNCTIVES.—Mediæval :

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plural</i>
I. minneu (? < mim-teu)	ninneu (< nin-teu)

2. titheu (< tit-teu) chwitheu (? < chwich-teu)
 3. m. ynteu (? < em-teu) }
 f. hitheu (? < hih-teu) } wynteu

The etymology given in brackets is that suggested by Zeuss in his *Grammatica Celtica*.

The third plural *wynteu* has been replaced in Modern Welsh by the newer form *hwythau*.

2.—The Conjunctive Personal Pronouns show no weakening of the vowel of the first syllable; i.e. the forms are 'minnau', 'tithau', etc., not 'mynnau', 'tythau'.

This is due to the position of the accent. In the great majority of words in Early Welsh it was on the ultima, due to the disappearance of the final unaccented syllable. Thus—

Latin 'praesent' > Early Welsh 'presseñ' > Med. and Mod. 'présen'.

Latin 'memória' > Early Welsh 'myvyr' > Med. and Mod. 'mýfyr'.

That the accent, however, was always on the first syllable in the conjunctives is clear from the retention of the 'i'.

3.—Hence we infer that the suffix '-tau' is an enclitic, i.e. had no accent of its own at any stage of its history. Its function, whatever its origin, is distinctly that of English 'and', 'also'. Philologically, there would seem to be no difficulty in equating it with the Greek enclitic 'te' and Latin '-que' of the same meaning.

“In the Epic dialect ‘te’ is frequently employed to indicate the agreement not only of separate parts of a sentence, but of whole sentences; often, too, in connection with other particles, such as ‘kai’, ‘men’, ‘dě’, ‘alla’, and with relatives (‘hoste,’ ‘hososte’). In these cases ‘te’ must generally be left untranslated or rendered by an unaccented *also*” :

“Hos ke theois epipeithêtai mala t’ ekluon autou.”

Curtius’ Greek Grammar, § 624.

“Y neb a gredo i’r duwiau gwrandawant *hwythau* arno *yntau*.”

The above quotation may be said to express almost to a nicety the function of the enclitic ‘-tau’ (older ‘-teu’) in the Welsh pronouns.

Examples :

“Dewis di unbenn ae ti a elych yr llys ae *titheu* a delych gyt a mi y hela.”—Mab. 237.

“Mi ath gymeraf yn wreic im, ac a rodaf uedyant vyg kyuoeth yth law *ditheu*.”—Mab. 65.

“Aniueileit bychein gwell eu kic no chic eidon, bychein ynt *wynteu*.”—Mab. 60.

Note that ‘hwythau’ is modern, replacing the mediæval ‘wynteu’.

“A gwedy gwybot o wyr y kastell bot eu harglwyd yn llad eu gelynyon velly, dyuot allan or kastell a wnaethant *wynteu*.”—Brutieu 48.

“Dioddefwch fi, a *minne* a lefaraf; ac wedi i mi ddywedyd, gwatwar *dithe*.”—Llyfr Job 46.

4.—The Conjunctive Pronoun is often used in apposition to a noun with the force of ‘also’, and in that connection it is more nervous and idiomatic than ‘hefyd’; e.g.—

“Sinai yntau a grynodd o flaen Duw.”—Psalm lxviii. 8.

“’Roedd y rhain hwythe’n methu cael y ffordd i ddianc.”—Bardd Cwsc 32.

The following from the Mabinogion would be more idiomatic if ‘ynteu’ were substituted for ‘ef’:—

“Goueileint a delis yndaw o gamhet idaw attal y mab gantaw ac *ef* yn gwybot y vot yn vab y wr arall.”—22.

5.—The final ‘-u’ of the conjunctive has been mistaken by some writers for a vocalized form of ‘f’. Hence—

“Ac *yntef* oedd yn eistedd yng-hanol y llwch.”
Llyfr Job ii.

“O! ebr *yntef*, mwy gennym ni rinwedd Cardottyn na mawredd brenin.”—Bardd Cwsc 85.

The mistake of deriving ‘ynteu’ from ‘yntef’ does not seem unnatural; but the conversion of the ‘-u’ of the first person into ‘f’, a practice affected by William Salesbury, and sometimes by other writers, is a strange freak of fancy:

“Cans pe’s credyssech Moysen, chwi am credyssech inef.”—Efyngyl Ioan, ch. v.

“Minef’ sy y yn gweithiaw.”—Ibid. ch. v.

“Ar du Cephaz medde’r llall rydwyf innef, a minnef medd’r trydydd, yn dal gyda’g Apollo.”

Deff. Fydd 56.

6.—An unfortunate tendency is noticeable in Modern Welsh to limit the use of the conjunctives. This is due in part to the fact that no corresponding words are found in English, and to the excessive tendency in Modern Welsh to an analytic form of speech. The same tendency which leads to the use of—

yr wyf yn gweled *for* gwelaf

favours also the use of—

ti hefyd *for* tithau,

and similar loose constructions, so unlike the strong, nervous, and idiomatic style of Bardd Cwsc and Drych y Prif Oesoedd.

D.—POST-VOCALIC OR INFIXED PERSONAL PRONOUNS :—

(I) Mediæval :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	m	n
2.	th	ch
3.	e, y, s (ys, as)	e, y, s (ys, as)

2.—When used : When any of the following words

precedes a transitive verb which itself governs a personal pronoun in the accusative case, the object is placed immediately before the verb, as—

Ni'm halogwyd i, *not* Ni halogwyd fi.

The preceding word may be—

- (a) the Personal Pronoun—mi, ti, fe, etc. ;
- (b) the Relative—a or y ;
- (c) the Adverbs—ni, oni, na ;
- (d) a conjunction ending in a vowel, as—na, pe, y.

Note that the function of the Post-fixed Pronoun—as *i* in the above example—is merely to explain or emphasize the object already expressed.

Examples :

“ Duw a wyr . . . na thwyllaf i *am* cretto.”—Mab. 117.

“ Yr honn a vynnei drigyaw yn llys Arthur hi *ae* kaffeï.”—Mab. 192.

“ Nyn lledir namyn y gyt.”—Mab. 117.

“ Yr duw canych (= can nych) gwelas neb or gaer ettwa, ymchoelwch dracheuyn.”—Mab. 117.

“ Y gred a rois ar y llyn,
Na lafur byth ei gofyn :
A'r gred a rois ar feddwdawd
Ni's cywiraf hyd ddydd brawd.”

D. ab G. CLXXXI.

The *s* in the third person was found to be phonetically the only possible form after ‘*ni*’ (‘*ny*’), for ‘*nyy*’

would be indistinguishable in speech from the simple negative 'ny'.

Compounded with 'ny', the regular forms were therefore—

nym, nyth, nys ; nyn, nych, nys.

These in modern orthography become—

ni'm, ni'th, ni's *or* nis ; ni'n, ni'ch, ni's *or* nis.

“Nyt oes neb yma a wypo (dim) y wrth hynny o nys gwyr Branwen.”—Mab. 35-36.

Contrast—

“Ie heb ynteu Vendigeit Uran ony allafi vy hun cael y vrenhinyaeth.”—Mab. 37.

Where the object of *allaf* is the verb-noun *cael*.

Curiously, the sigmatic form was not used after *y*, where the same difficulty in a less degree was experienced. Hence in Mediæval Welsh and much later *y* has to do duty for modern 'y'i', 'y'u' (or 'ys', 'y's').

“Lli ac Archan y [= ys, y's *or* y'u] gelwit.”—Mab. 35.

“Kany's mawr y [= y'i, ys *or* y's] karei.”—Mab. 212.
(*For he loved him dearly.*)

“A dywedut wrthunt a wnaethpwy't, nat yr amarch arnunt y [= y'u, y's *or* ys] dodit islaw y teulu.”
Mab. 227.

“Myfi a wn fod fy mhrynwr yn fyw ac y [= y'i, y's, ys] cyfodir.”—Llyvyr Job XIX.

“O lafur ei enaid y gwel ac y [=y'i, y's, ys] diwellir.”
Edw. S.

Much uncertainty in the use of *s* has always prevailed :—

(i) It is incorrectly left out of the following :—

“ Ny [*for nys*] welei neb ef.”—Mab. 41.

“ A'r eiddo ei hun ni dderbyniasant Ef.”

St. John i. 11.

(ii) The following examples illustrate its correct use :—

“ Ie heb ef ac atuyd y mae arnat o enryded ual nas dylyy.”—Mab. 2.

“ Keissyaw Rolant ae dwrn a oruc ac nys cauas.”

Ystorya 18.

(iii) It is incorrectly used in the following :—

“ Ac atuyd ys kymeraf gyghor.”—Mab. 37.

“ Os y Pabau y pryd ymma, nid ydynt yn gwneuthyr y petheu hyn ; neu ynte, onis gwnaeth Pedr Abostol y pethau rhagddoededig o'r blaen.”

Deff. Ffydd 194-5.

“ Nis gwn i, ebr finneu, beth a allei'ch meddwl fod.”

Bardd Cwsc 61.

“ Nis gwn i ddim o'u storiâu.”—Ibid. 64.

“ Pe ni's gadawsent i fusgrellni a llaithder eu gor-threchu.”—D. y P. O. 94.

“ Mae cyhyd amser er pan ysgrifennais attoch, na's gwn yr awrhon pa sudd i ddechreu.”

Llythyrau G. O. 50.

It will be seen from these examples, and a host of others that might be adduced, that the pronominal

function of *s* is often lost sight of, and there has been a growing tendency to regard it as a mere euphonic or formal termination of *ni* and *na* before a verb in *c-* or *g-*.

(iv) It is sometimes given a Relational function, e.g.—

“Atteb nys kauas ef genthi.”—Mab. 7.

“Dianc nys gallei.”—Mab. 66.

“F’a’m cipiodd yr Eryr nefol fi . . . ffordd na’s gwelawn.”—B. C.

Similarly, it is often retained after ‘*pe*’ as a merely formal or euphonic termination. In the following it has its true pronominal force:—

“Och ym ! *pe*’s brathai Gymro,
A gwayw o Fon ond gwae fo !”

D. ab G. cxx.

These forms are used after *pan*,* but with the decay, and maybe the transference, of the final vowel of *pan*, new forms of the pronoun arose, viz.—

ym (for *m*), *yth* (for *th*), etc.,

and the third person reverts to the form ‘*y*’ later ‘*ei*’ (sing.), ‘*eu*’ (pl.).

“Pan y kollassei.”—Mab. 192.

(When he had lost him.)

“Yr pan *yth* weleis gyntaf mi ath gereis.”—Mab.

“Nid oes etto oddiar flwyddyn er y diwrnod y darfu amdanai, pan *i’m* (for *ym*) damniwyd.”

B. C. 130.

“Darfydded am y dydd *i’m* (for *ym*) ganwyd ynddo.”

Llyfr Job III.

* *pan* originally ended in a vowel. Compare Latin *quando*.

“A'r lleidryn pan *ei* gwelodd a ymgroesodd byth wedi.”—B. C. 131.

“Eithr pan y'th [read *yth*] wahodder.”—Luc xiv. 10.

3.—The regular MODERN FORMS of this pronoun are—

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	'm	'n
2.	'th	'ch
3.	'i ('s)	'u ('s)

But in many writers of the early modern period there is much uncertainty in the use of 'i and 'u, the former being often used for the latter :—

“Ac *ai* sancteiddie hwynt.”—Llyfr Job 1, *et passim*.

The AUXILIARY POST-FIXED PRONOUNS 'i, 'di, 'ef, etc., 'innau, etc., as was stated above, are often added to define or emphasize the infixed pronoun, but should not be substituted for it; e.g.—

“A'r Arglwydd pan y gwelodd hi.”—Luke vii. 13.
should be, therefore—

“pan *ei* gwelodd hi.”

The insertion of the Auxiliary after the third singular is often necessary to avoid ambiguity, e.g. in—

Efe a'i canmolodd

'i' may be 'him' or 'her', whereas

Efe a'i canmolodd ef

is quite clear.

CHAPTER VIII

POSSESSIVES

A.—SIMPLE POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE.

I.—MEDIÆVAL :—

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. <i>vyn</i> , <i>vym</i> , <i>vyng</i> , <i>vyg</i> , <i>vy</i> , <i>y</i> , <i>ym</i> or dropped after nasalizing the initial of the next word	<i>yn</i> , <i>ynn</i> , <i>an</i>
2. <i>dy</i>	<i>ych</i> , <i>awch</i>
3. <i>y</i> (e before <i>hun</i> , <i>self</i>)	<i>eu</i> , <i>y</i> (e with <i>hunein</i>).

1st singular :

“ Y neb a dechreuis *vyn* diua yssyd yn y orfen.”

Mab. 53.

“ A hynny yw *vym* penyt am lad ohonaf *vy* hun *vy* mab ae diuetha.”—Mab. 23.

“ O hynny allan y dygyuores *vyg* kyuoeth am *vym* pen.”—Mab. 32. (‘ *Vyg* ’ pronounce ‘ *vyng* ’ ; ‘ *n* ’ before ‘ *g* ’ in Mediæval Welsh is generally left out in writing.)

“ *Ym* kyffes y duw.”—Mab. 271.

“ Y mam, heb ef.”—Mab. 194.

In Dafydd ab Gwilym, and later, the 1st pers. sing. 'fy' appears occasionally under the following variant forms :

(i) y :

“ Ai canu (er mwyn cyni)
Yn iach y mun, wnewch a mi.”—D. ab G. IX.

“ Duw oll, ef aeth a'm dillad,
A thori 'nhŷ, a thre' 'nhad,
'Y mhoen yw i'm hoyw ynys,
F'yspeiliaw, 'nhreisiaw, dwyn Rhys.”
Deio ap Ieuan Du, G. B. C. 176.

'Y' for 'fy' is common colloquially in present-day Welsh, and examples are found in literature ; e.g.—

“ Y modryb.”—Bardd Cwsc 13 ; cf. p. 33.

regularly in William Morris's letters ; e.g.—

“ y nhad ”.

In these letters 'fy', in its reduced form 'y', is often treated as a definite article, e.g.—

“ Dacw'r frech wen yn nhy'r chwaer.”—217.

“ y brawd Llewelyn.”—226.

Here 'y' may be for 'yn', *our*.

(ii) f' : often before vowels :

“ Mae weithian f' anian yn fwy
Y mae f' ofn yma'n fwyfwy.”—D. ab G.

“ Ertolwg, ebr fi, f' arglwydd.”—Bardd Cwsc 45.

(iii) yn :

“ rhai eraill a'm diystyrant i mhellach gan yn galw'n Frân.”—Bardd Cwsc 63.

(iv) It may be dropped altogether, after producing the nasal mutation—

‘ oeri \wedge ngholyn.’—Bardd Cwsc 74.

“ A bu lawen iawn genni \wedge 'ngweled fy hun.”

Bardd Cwsc 77.

2nd singular :

“ kan dy pader wrthi.”—Mab. 195.

3rd singular :

“ ar y phenn.”—Mab. 210.

“ yn y orfen.” (See first example above.)

With ‘ hun ’ (*self*), ‘ hunan ’, the possessive was written *e*, and was probably made a more open sound than *y* to differentiate it from *u* of ‘ hun ’ :—

“ yn y garchar ehun.”—Mab. 15.

Probably *h* in ‘ hun ’ was a very soft spirant, so that *e* and the *u* of ‘ hun ’ were practically contiguous sounds.

It was different with ‘ hun ’, *sleep*, where the *h* represents an original *s* (cognate with Latin ‘ somnus ’), and consequently the more regular ‘ y ’ is used with the latter ; e.g.—

“ y vorwyn ry welsei trwy y hun.”—Mab. 85.

1st plural—‘an’ and ‘yn’:

“nyt nes *an* dianc ni erbyn y dyd noc udunt *yn* llad.”—Mab. 210.

2nd plural:

“tyghetuen am rodes i yn *awch* medyant chwi.”

Brut. 50.

“dyt *ych* dreic chwi diaspat engiryawl.”—Mab. 96.

“Pobl anghyfrwys ydych ar ymladd, namyn *ych* bod yn arferedig i ddiwyllaw daear yn fwy nac yn dyscu ymladd. A phan ddoethant *ych* gelynion am eich pennau. . . .”—D. y P. O. 83-4.

3rd plural:

“A chyn penn y pedwryd mis wynt *ehun* yn peri *eu* hatgassau.”—Mab. 32.

“Buassei y mab ar y hardelw hwy.”—Mab. 23.

2.—The modern forms—

ei, his, her ; ein, our ; eich, your

never occur in Mediæval Welsh. They are first met with in the writings of William Salesbury, translator of the New Testament into Welsh. ‘*Ei*’* appears to be due mainly to a failure on the part of Salesbury to distinguish the sound of ‘*i*’, ‘*y*’ (sing.), and ‘*y*’, ‘*eu*’ (plural), for he not only frequently used ‘*i*’, ‘*e*’, ‘*y*’, ‘*eu*’, and the new form ‘*ei*’ without distinction

* See Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans’s Introduction to *Synnwyr Pen* (Guild of Graduates Series).

in the same passage, but in the Dictionary he gives 'eu' as the only form for *his*. Dr. Evans considers "it was an afterthought which led to the employment of 'ei' for *his, hers*." The change was perhaps helped by the Latin form *ejus*, familiar to Salesbury from the Latin Vulgate. He went further, and extended the vowel initial 'e-' to the 1st and 2nd persons plural, coining the forms *ewn* and *en*, *ewch* and *ech*, which culminated in *ein* and *eich* in his New Testament. The introduction of the diphthong into these two words was in part due to the *ei* of 'einym', 'einwch'.

The older form 'yn', *our*, occurs in Llyfr y Tri Aderyn once—

"Ac os gellir profi yn bôd ni o'n bodd yn niweidio nêb."—171.

and 'ych', *your*, in D. y P. O. 83—

"Pobl anghyfrwys ydych ar ymladd, namyn *ych* bod yn arferedig i ddiwyllaw daear yn fwy nac yn dyscu ymladd."

These words are still pronounced as 'i', 'yn', 'ych', not only colloquially, but even in formal reading, unless an effort is made to pronounce according to the written letter.

3.—Even the plural 'eu', which has the sanction of mediæval writings, side by side with 'y' (= modern 'i' in sound) is articulated as the simple sound 'i', not as the diphthong 'eu'. Hence it is not strange to find other writers besides Salesbury failing to distin-

guish in writing the singular and plural of the 3rd person, the form most favoured being the phonetic 'i' (also 'ei') for both.

“Ai tâd a roddes iddynt hwy etifeddiaeth ym mhlith *ei* brodyr.”—Llyfr Job XLII.

“Yr eiddynt *ei* hun.”—Deff. Ffydd,

but in that work it is generally *eu*. Note the converse use of *eu* as singular on page 104—

“Y Pab *eu* hun.”

In Morgan Llwyd's Llyfr y Tri Aderyn instances of *eu* are very rare :—

“(Mae) rhai yn llefaru yn erbyn *ei* hewyllys, ac yn ôl *eu* cydwybod.”—181.

Morgan Llwyd regularly uses—

(i) 'i' before a verb-noun ; e.g.—

“Mae *ei* gweithredoedd *ei* hunain yn *i* barnu.”—168.

Exception : *ei* (= *eu*) occurs on page 207—

“Ac yn *ei* gweled.”

(ii) *ei* and *i* before other nouns :—

For *ei* see (i) above.

i : “Fe a glywodd Duw arno gymryd *i* fâb.”—240.

“Fe ddylai rheolwyr roi Cennad *i* bawb *i* ddwedyd *i* meddwl.”

Ellis Wynne generally differentiates *ei* and *eu*.

B.—POST-VOCALIC OR INFIXED POSSESSIVE
ADJECTIVES.

1.—Mediæval forms :—

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. m	n
2. th	ch
3. e (-w rare)	e (-w rare)

2.—Modern :—

1. 'm	'n
2. 'th	'ch
3. 'i, 'w (after prep. i)	'u, 'w (after i)

3.—Examples of 'm', 'th', 'n' are common; 'ch' is rare. The full form, 'ac ych', 'ac awch', being much commoner than 'ach' (= 'a'ch'):

"Ac ych etiued."—Mab.

(*And your heir.*)

but instances of *ach* do occur :—

"Ac os ovynn yssyd arnawch chwi, ymkyffes y duw mi ach differaf."—Mab. 19.

In Mediæval Welsh the 'e' of the 3rd person was probably pronounced like modern 'i', and the representation of *to his*, *to her*, *to their*, showed much uncertainty. In Modern Welsh the similarity of sound in preposition and possessive (i'i, i'u) has been overcome by the regular use of 'w' after the 'i' = *to*. In mediæval literature this simple solution was only beginning to gain recognition.

Examples of its use are rare :—

“Dywedassant wynteu wrth yr amherawdyr nat oed weithret y neb y gaffel y gaer nac *yw* rodi idaw ynteu.”—Mab. 91.

This *w* has been shown by Sir John Rhys (*v.* Introduction to Brutieu, pp. xxxii–xxxiii) to occur in ‘padiw’ (< pa+di+w = *which of them*) with *di* (now *i*) in its old sense of *of* cognate with Latin *de*.

Another solution was to use *o* (from Brythonic ‘do’, cognate with English ‘to’) in its fast-disappearing sense of ‘to’, and suffixing the possessive in the form ‘e’. Examples :—

“A chyn penn y pedwyred vlwydyn yd oed yn ymoprau a gweisson y meirch am y adu *oe* [= *i’w*, plural] dwyn yr dwfyr.”—Mab. 21.

“Sef y kawssant yn eu kyghor gossot kanwr ym pop tri chymwt ym powys *oe* [= *i’w*, to his] geissaw.”

Mab. 144.

Still another method, in the plural only, was to write *y eu* in full, as—

“Kyghorei kymryt y verch hynaf . . . yn wreic y eu tywyssawc.”—Brutieu 49–50.

And finally, the commonest expedient was to drop the possessive altogether after mutating where possible the following consonant; e.g.—

“Ac ef a dywawt y [for *i’w* = to his] annwyleit.”

Mab. 82.

“ Ar da hwnnw a rannei owein *y* [= *i'w*] varwnyeit
ae uarchogyon.”—Mab. 179.

4.—The dropping of the post-vocalic, both pronoun and possessive, is not uncommon, both in mediæval and modern literature, after an ‘*i*’, ‘*y*’, or ‘*u*’ sound, e.g.—

“ *y* phryt ” [= *i'w* phryd].—Mab. 45.

“ *y* [= *i'w*] deyrnas.”—Mab. 96.

“ or mor *py* gilyd [= *py'i*, *to its*].—Mab. 83.

“ ac yn *y* diwed *y* [= *y'i*] lladawd.”—Mab. 218–219.

“ ae adef ae wadu ” [= *ai ei addef ai ei wadu*].

Mab. 235.

“ Pan dycko beich . . . *ny* welir [= *ni's gwelir ef*]
vyth.”—Mab. 109.

“ A hi a uu wreic ” [a hi a fu *ei* wraig].—Mab. 191.

“ Ac am hyny yr un deml *y* [= *y'i*] gelwid hi.”

Edw. Samuel 129.

The post-vocalic *i* is common in some writers for the plural, e.g.—

“ Yno yr annuwolion a beidiant *ai* cyffro.”

Llyfr Job III.

“ Yr awron fe roes *y* tri i wascu *i* penneu 'nghyd.”

B. C. 17.

“ Eu cymharu a'i cystadlu oll, un ac arall, a hen
hanesion y Brutaniaid.”—D. y P.O. 6a.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

Mediaeval and Early Modern :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	y meu (vi or i)	yr einym
2.	y teu (di)	yr einwch
3.	m. yr eidaw (ef) } f. yr eidi (hi) }	yr eidunt

Often used absolutely, but sometimes conjoined to nouns, in which case the article—less often the Poss. Adj.—is usually placed before the noun preceding ‘ meu ’, ‘ teu ’, etc.

Examples (1st pers.) :—

“ y meu i.”—Mab.

“ y meu vy hun.”—Mab. 24.

(2nd pers.)—

“ y teu.”—Mab. 214.

“ dy teu di.”—Mab. 292.

“ deuparth y teu ditheu.”—Mab. 104.

(3rd pers.)—

“ yr eidaw ef.”—Mab. 199.

“ y rei eidaw.”—Mab. 234.

“ yn eidi hi.”—Mab. 254.

(1st plural)—

“ ar einym ” [*and ours*].—Mab. 132.

(2nd plural)—

“ yr einwch.”—Ystorya 12, twice ; Mab.

(3rd plural)—

“ eidunt ” (Mab. 269) ; “ yr eidunt.”—Mab.26.

“ y rei eidunt.”—Ystorya 15.

Later examples :—

D. ab G.

“ A ddarfu ym, mau lym lid,
Nod mwy ofn, neud mau ofid ! ”—CXIV.

“ Lle rhadlawn lliwiwr odlau
Llwybr chweg, llafur teg yw'r tau.”—i'r Hedýdd.

“ Nid llwyd fy marf, arf erfai,
Nid lleddf fy nghorun, nid llai
Na phan ydd oeddem, gem gu
Einym gur, yn ymgaru.”—CXVII.

William Salesbury ; Synnwyr Pen :

trwyr llatrat yma meuvy.—1.

(through this theft of mine)

ar iaith einym.—2.

Bible :—

“ Y llawenydd hwn mau fi gan hynny a gyflawnwyd.”

John iii. 29.

Goronwy Owen :—

“ Crist fyg a fo'r meddyg mau,
Amen ! a nef i minnau.”—y Farn Fawr.

“ A thyle dwr o'th law dau.”—Bonedd yr Awen.

2.—GROWTH OF THE MODERN FORMS: ‘einym’ and ‘einwch’ were never freely used even in Mediæval Welsh, and practically disappeared after Salesbury’s time. That writer, however, coined the substantival ‘eino’ and tried, in vain, to give it currency in the various persons; e.g. in *Synnwyr Pen* we find—

“yr eino vyhun.”—5.

“yr eino yr hen Brytanait.”—9.

With the disappearance of ‘einym’, ‘einwch’, the need of forms to replace them became pressing. An attempt was made to effect this by regarding one of the remaining forms as a substantive, and using it with proper suffixes or auxiliary pronouns for the singular and plural in the three persons. ‘Meu’ and ‘eidaw’ gained some currency in this new capacity.

Meu :

Even in the *Mabinogion* at times *meu* was treated as an indeclinable substantive, in the sense of *possession*; e.g.—

“Vyn tat i bioed y kyuoeth hwnn yn *ueu* idaw ehun.”—207.

“Ae *meu* y minneu dy uerch di weithon. *Meu* heb ynteu.”—142.

“Vy merch inneu a geffy yn *ueu* itt.”—125.

Compare ‘meuvel’, *possession*, in the *Black Book*, third poem.

Meu soon gave way to ‘eiddo’. The first step was

to regard 'eiddo' as a substantive, meaning *possession*, seen in such phrases as—

“eiddo 'r Arglwydd y ddaear.”—Psalm xxiv. 1.

“A minnau yn eiddo yntau.”—Caniad Solomon ii. 16.

And, with pronouns instead of nouns in the Possessive Genitive,—

eiddo fi, eiddo ti, etc.

which occur frequently in *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* and other writings.

The suffixing of the pronoun was then easy, thus converting 'eiddo' back again into a pronoun; e.g.—

eiddo fi > eiddofi > eiddof i, eiddof fi, eiddof

eiddo ti > eiddoti > eiddot ti, eiddot

EIDDOM – EIDDOCH: The first and second person plural were modelled on Pronominal Prepositions like 'atom', 'atoch', and certain tenses of the verb; as, 'gwelsom', 'gwelsoch'.

EIDUNT > EIDDYNT: The *u* of the third plural was changed into *y* on the analogy of the verb.

'Eiddi' in the third singular feminine held its ground. Hence the modern forms—

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	eiddof	eiddom
2.	eiddot	eiddoch
3. (m.)	eiddo	eiddynt
(f.)	eiddi	

3.—ORIGIN OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUN.

'Mau' and 'tau' are genitives of the Personal Pronoun; 'tau' is cognate with Sanskrit 'tava.'

'Eiddo' is not so easily explained. There is a difficulty in connecting the first element with 'ei', *his, her*, because the mediæval form of the latter was 'y'.

However, just as 'y' (*his, her*) was *e* before 'hun', to differentiate it from the *u* sound following, so it is possible that the analysis of 'eiddo' is *e* (= *y*) + *id* + *o* (*him*), 'eiddi' = *e* + *id* + *hi*; *id* (now 'idd-') can be equated with the Old Irish neuter third singular of the Personal Pronoun, and with English *it*, Latin *id*. If that be correct, it is the Welsh Mediæval Relative Pronoun *yd*, the *yd* of 'ydoedd,' the *-ydd* of 'sydd' (for 'ys- ydd'), and may be the *d, dd, t, th* found in the third person of Pronominal Prepositions; e.g. yn-dd-o, gan-dd-o, gan-dd-i, mediæval genthi, genti.

Analogous in formation to 'mau' and 'tau' is the interrogative 'piau' (=whose), from the root of 'pa,' 'py,' 'pwy':

Pieu y gaer heb wynt.—Mab. 126.

Whose (is) the castle? they inquired.

As the verb 'to be' was not expressed in questions introduced by 'piau,' the interrogative itself acquired a verbal function and came to be partially conjugated:

A gofyn a wnaeth pioed y meirch.—Mab. 28.

CHAPTER IX

INTERROGATIVE AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS

(I) INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN AND ADJECTIVE :—

Pronoun	—	Pwy
Adjective	—	Pa

'Pwy' and 'Pa' are doublets like 'pawb' and 'pob', and the cause of the differentiation is the same: 'pwy' retains its principal accent, while 'pa' is a proclitic passing its accent on to the following word; e.g.—

pa ún ? pa béth ? pa wédd ? pa rýw ?

If we postulate a late Brythonic 'pē', its phonetic representative to-day will be 'pwy'; compare Latin 'sérus', 'pēnsum', > Welsh 'hwyr', 'pwys'. If the accent is removed, long 'ē' is subject to the same laws of sound change as accented short 'ě'; that is, it may pass into Modern Welsh 'y'; cf.—

sentire > synnwyr
tempore > tymor

And so unaccented

pē > pě > py.

The interchange of *y* and *a* in an unaccented syllable is not uncommon; compare—

amddiffyn *and* ymddiffyn ; ambell *and* ymbell, etc.

Hence

$p\bar{e}' > pwy$

and proclitic

$p\bar{e} > p\check{e} > py \text{ or } pa$

'Py' is not uncommon for 'pa' in Mediæval Welsh—

"py le pan doei, pan deuaf o lys Arthur."—Mab. 204.

(*Whence comest thou? Whence do I come?—from the court of Arthur.*)

2.—'Pwy' is an Interrogative Pronoun, and in Modern Welsh is strictly confined to persons ; e.g.—

"Beth a dybygwch chwi am Grist? Mab i bwy ydyw?"—Matt. xxii. 42.

In mediæval literature it is often used in asking the name of a man—a perfectly natural extension of its use :

"A govyn pwy oed y enw."—Mab. 214.

"A dywedy di ynni pwy dy lyssenw."—Mab. 147.

'Pwy' is occasionally met with as an adjective ; e.g.—

"Ni waeth amcan merch i bwy Hywel oedd Nest."

Llythyrau G.O. p. 108.

"Pwy ffraethach areithydd? . . . pwy waeth pryd-ydd?"—Ibid. 103-4.

The adjectival use of 'pwy' is common in colloquial Welsh.

3.—‘ Pa ’ is constructed with a word which can receive the principal phrase accent :—

(i) When that is a noun or its equivalent, ‘ pa ’ is adjectival :

“ Pa beth . . . a derw y titheu.”—Mab. 288.

(And what has befallen thee ?)

‘ Beth ’ is often left understood in early writings :

“ Pa deryw ytti ? ”—Mab. 288.

(What has happened to thee ?)

And even the whole phrase ‘ pa le ’ is sometimes understood, as—

Mae Abel dy frawd ?

On the other hand, in Modern Welsh ‘ pa ’ is often omitted, and ‘ beth ’ used alone as the interrogative :

“ Beth yw hyn ? Pa athrawiaeth newydd yw hon ? ”

Mark i. 27.

‘ Rei ’ (modern ‘ rhai ’) is omitted from the phrase—

Pa diw *or* py diw* = pa (py) + di + w

(Which of them ?)

(ii) When prefixed to prepositions, ‘ pa ’ is strictly substantival, but the whole phrase is adverbial in its function :

paham < pa + am ;

pahar < pa + ar ;

parag, pyrag < py, pa + rhag.

* See Brutieu, pp. 57, 162, and the explanation of this phrase by Sir John Rhys in the Introduction.

All meaning *why, wherefore* :

“Pahar e mae macht ?”—Laws.

(*For what is bail ?*)

Of these ‘paham’ alone remains in use in Modern Welsh.

‘Pa un’ is now selective, like the English Interrogative *which* :

Pa un yw’r goreu ?

(*Which is the best ?*)

But in Mediaeval Welsh it is often equivalent to ‘pwy ?’ (*who ?*) :

“Pa un wyt titheu ?”—Mab. 209.

(*And who art thou ?*)

“Tra uych yn dywedut ym pun wyt.”—Mab. 222.

“Nid er d’ ofn, nid er d’ arswyd,

Ond er gofyn,—pa un wyd ?”—D. ab G. cxcii.

4.—‘Pwy’ and ‘pa’—unlike the English interrogatives *who* and *which*—have not become Relatives. Still, the first stage in the transition is accomplished, viz. in their being used in the Indefinite Relative phrases—

pwy bynnag, pa . . . bynnag.

Further, a comparison with English and other languages shows clearly that an oblique case of the Interrogative more readily passes into a Relative than does the Nominative. Thus *whose* and *whom* were Relatives in English long before *who* acquired that function.

Somewhat analogous is the early use of 'pan' and 'po'—oblique cases of the Interrogative—as Adverbs. The originally interrogative character of 'pan' is still faintly discernible in the sentence already quoted from the Mabinogion :

“ Py le pan doi? Pan deuaf o lys arthur.”

Lit. “ What place *whence* comest thou? *Whence* do I come?—from the court of Arthur.”

In Modern Welsh *pan* has travelled so far from its originally interrogative force that it cannot be used to ask a question; e.g.—

“ Pa bryd [not *pan*] y deuaf ac yr ymddangosaf ger bron Duw? ”—Psalm xlii. 2.

(II) RELATIVE PRONOUN :—

a ; y, yr older *yd*, *ydd*

1.—‘ a ’ is Subject or Direct Object of a verb :

Subject : Y neb *a*'m gwelodd i *a* welodd y Tad yr hwn *a*'m hanfonodd i.

Object : Mwy yw hyn nag *a* welais erioed o'r blaen.

2.—‘ y ’ (before consonants), ‘ yr ’ (before vowels), are used for all other case relations :

“ Braidd y medraf fi ddarllen y llaw.”

Llythyrau G.O. 97.

“ Têg, eb ef, y gwnaethent â thi oni bai 'nyfod i mewn pryd ith achub.”—B. C. 8.

“ Y dydd y daeth y newydd.”

3.—As the Relative is a proclitic, the phonetic values of *a* and *y* have not always been easily distinguished; and examples occur not infrequently in literature of one being used for the other.

a for *y* :

“ Y mae ynys parth hwnt y ffreinc yn gadwedic or mor o bop tu idi, ac *a* uu gewri gynt yn y chyuanhedu.”—Brutieu 52.

“ A chwithau *a* fydd cywilydd arnoch.”

Esaiiah lxv. 13.

“ Mewn pedwar ugain o ysgraffau *a* fordwyodd efe a'i wyr tuag at ynys Brydain.”—D. y P.O. 29.

y for *a* :

“ Y digred *y* welaist gynneu.”—Bardd Cwsc 32.

“ Try allan ddynion tri-llu

Y sydd, *y* fydd, ac *a* fu.”—G.O. y Farn 93-4.

4.—This confusion made it possible to detach the initial ‘*y-*’ of ‘*ysydd*’ (< ‘*ys*’ *is*, + pronoun ‘*ydd*’) and attribute to it the function of the Relative, as in the last example above. Compare also—

“ O fy nghares, eb efe, beth *a* wnewch chwi yn dihoeni ar dussw o wellt mor arw ag *y* sydd yna rhwng y creigydd ? ”—D. y P.O. 54.

Strictly speaking, *y* with a pronominal function before *sydd* is pleonastic, as the verb contains its own

relative in the suffix ‘-ydd’. The correct usage is seen in—

“ Arall yw yr hwn sydd yn hau, ac arall yr hwn sydd yn medi.”—John iv. 37.

5.—ETYMOLOGY OF ‘A’ AND ‘YDD’ :—

(i) As the *ydd* in ‘sydd’ is always subject of the verb, its function is that of the modern *a*.

(ii) The natural *a*-sound is often represented indifferently by ‘a’ and ‘y’; e.g.—

Med.	an, yn (<i>our</i>)
„	awch, ych (<i>your</i>)
	ambell and ymbell, etc.

(iii) The examples given above prove the occasional use of *a* for *y*, and *y* for *a*.

Hence the evidence is strong in favour of the supposition that the Relatives *a* and *y* (‘y-dd’) go back to the same ultimate form, and that their present differentiation of function is a fact of modern accomplishment.

Both are probably demonstrative in origin, and the *-dd* is a neuter suffix cognate with *d* in Latin ‘id’, and *t* in English ‘it’.

6.—‘YDD’, mediæval *yđ*, was the fuller form of *y* :

“ Gwedy y vlinaw o wrthrw m laur *yđ* aruaethwys gorfywys o hynny allan.”—Ystorya I.

“ Wedi ’i ddwyn anrhydedd oedd,
Ydd arbedwn dda’r bydoedd.”

Tudur Aled, G. B. C. 238.

“ Diachos im’ dy ochel,
Dywed ydd wyf, doed a ddel.”

Ieuan Deulwyn, G. B. C. 149.

As *ydd*, older *yd*, is a proclitic, it is read with the following word without a break, and in mediæval MSS. it was regularly written close up to it. Hence

(i) in some words it is bodily prefixed to the next word, as—

ydwyf, ydwyt, ydyw ; ydoedd. (Cf. p. 181.)

(ii) When the next word begins with a vowel, a false division of words is apt to take place, and the final *d* of the pronoun detached and prefixed to the next word ; e.g.—

y daeth	<	Med.	yd aeth
y derbyniaf	<	„	yd erbynnaf

Hence the growth of a new and shortened form of the Relative, *y*, which is now regular before consonants ; e.g.—

“ Cofier, ar ol pob cyfarch,
Nad i ddyn y perthyn parch.”

G.O. Hiraeth 29–30.

“ Pa fodd y bu hynny mi a ddangosais eusys.”

D. y P.O. 24.

7.—Once the Relative was shortened to ‘*y*’, confusion with the Definite Article ‘*y*’ arose, and the fuller form ‘*yr*’ of the latter gradually supplanted the earlier ‘*yd*’, ‘*ydd*’. Instances of ‘*yr*’ with this new function are

very rare in Mediæval Welsh, but one or two examples occur in the Mabinogion :

“ Mynet yr lle yr oedwn i ohonaw ef pan ym byryawd ar par, a minheu y lle yr oed ynteu.”—80.

“ Dyuot a orugant hyt lle yr oed.”—131.

Later, instances become more numerous :

“ Wylo'r wyf o lwyr ofal,
Sori Duw, sarhawyd Ial.”—Tudur Aled, G. B. C. 234.

' Ydd ' has completely disappeared from present-day Welsh prose.

8.—WEAKNESS OF THE RELATIVE.—(i) As in Old English the indeclinable Relative ' the ' had to do duty for all genders and both numbers, so in Welsh the Relative has no difference of form to denote change of gender or number.

(ii) Further, it cannot be governed by a preposition—* at any rate, directly.

(iii) Again, as *a* may be subject or direct object of a verb, an ambiguity often arises ; e.g.—

Dyma'r eneth *a* welodd fy chwaer

may mean : *This is the girl whom my sister saw*, or *This is the girl who saw my sister*.

The need, therefore, of supplementing the Relative has been keenly felt. Latin solved a like difficulty by using the Interrogative for the Relative, with a slight

* One or two instances occur in Early Welsh.

modification of form. In English the effort at evolving serviceable and satisfactory Relative forms can be studied in detail in old, mediæval, and early modern literature; and as it will help to throw light upon the problem as it presents itself in Welsh, brief reference will be made to it here.

(i) THAT.—In Old English the Demonstratives ‘se,’ m. ‘seo,’ f., ‘thæt,’ n., came to be used as Relatives, either by themselves or in connection with the indeclinable Relative ‘the’.

In Early Middle English ‘thæt’ acquired this new function for all genders and both numbers, and ‘the’ was dying out.

(ii) WHO, WHICH, WHAT.—Always Interrogative, never Relative, in Old English.

In Middle English the oblique cases *whose* and *whom* became relational, and by the end of the sixteenth century *which*, *who*, and *what* had acquired the new power.

The transition took place through the following uses of the Interrogative—uses found even in Old English:—

(a) The phrases ‘swa hwa swa’ (*whosoever*), ‘swa hwæt swa’ (*whatsoever*), ‘swa hwilc swa’ (*whosoever*) were used as Indefinite or General Relatives.

(b) They were used after ‘gif’ (*if*), as Interrogatives it is true, but with a force that easily passed into that of an Indefinite Relative:

Gif eow hwylc segth.

(*If any man say to you.*)

Lit. “*If—who should say to you?*”

The very same transition is seen in Latin—

quis = *who?* but si quis = *if anyone.*

(c) From the beginning indirect questions were introduced by Interrogative Pronouns, and in such sentences the force of the Interrogative is distinctly conjunctive or relational :

He ascode thone cyning hwone he geseah.

(*He asked the king whom did he see.*)

Welsh has sought to solve the difficulty in much the same way. But it should be explained that here the Relative is free from many of the disadvantages that would attach to a single indeclinable Relative like *that* in English, for the Pronominal Preposition at the end of the sentence, whenever it may be used, will render the exact scope and meaning of 'y' or 'yr' perfectly clear :

I bob un y mae *ganddo*, y rhoddir *iddo*.

And, while an inferior writer might say—

Dyma'r dyn â 'r *hwn yr ymddiddanwn*,

or even—

. . . â *pha un yr*,

the construction

Dyma'r dyn *yr ymddiddanwn âg ef*

is in every way as clear, and more idiomatic.

But it is evident that no such construction could be resorted to in order to distinguish the subject *a* from

the direct object of the verb; and even in mediæval literature, especially in translations, the Demonstratives are sometimes used as a part of the Relative phrase in much the same way as 'se', 'seo', 'thæt' were used in Old English. Nor was that always due to the need of greater perspicuity :

“ Ac yna y gossodet y uorwyn *yr hon* a elwit ignogen gwreic vrutus yn y kwr ol yr llog.”—Brutieu 51.

“ A llyna ual y teruyna y geinc honn or mabinogi, o achaws paluawt branwen, *yr honn* a vu tryded anuat paluawt yn yr ynys honn.”—Mab. 43.

“ Pa beth yw'r drws . . . ? y briw ynghalon yr Oen ar y groes *o'r hwn* y daeth allan ddwfr a gwaed.”

Ll. y T. A.

Elis Wynne very seldom uses 'yr hwn', 'yr hon', 'y rhai', even as antecedents; while Bishop Morgan and Morgan Llwyd crowd their works with them, and often without the least excuse.

9.—The Interrogatives 'pa' and 'pwy' have not acquired the simple relational force of the English *who*, *which*, *what*. They are, of course, used in indirect questions, and as such have a conjunctive function :

“ Nid ydwyf yn cofio *pa* bethau oedd yn hwnnw.”

G. O. Llythyrau 97.

They are also freely used as Indefinite Relatives in conjunction with 'bynnag' :

“ *Pa* diaspettych di *bynnac* am gyfreitheu llys arthur nyth ellyngir di y mywn.”—Mab. 104.

“ A pha rai bynnag ni 'ch derbyniant. . . .”

Luke ix. 5.

The simple phrases ‘ pa un ’, ‘ pa rai ’, etc., are used by many inferior writers, and occasionally they occur in works that otherwise show a decided regard for Welsh idiom ; e.g.—

“ Dydd Pasg, ar ba un y mae'r lleill yn sefyll, yw bob amser y Sul cyntaf,” etc.—Prayer Book.

‘ Pa un ’ occurs once in the Bible :

“ Chwi a welwch y dyn hwn, oblegid pa un y galwodd holl liaws yr Iuddewon arnaf fi.”—Acts xxv. 24.

“ Gwal Sefer ; am ba un y can rhyw hen fardd fel hyn.”

D. y P. O. 59.

CHAPTER X

OTHER PRONOUNS

I. RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS

(i) ein — eich — eu gilydd.

'CILYDD' is a noun cognate with Old Irish 'cele' (*companion*), and the softening of the initial consonant is appropriate only in the singular 'ei gilydd' (*his companion, his fellow*).

The phrase 'Ei gilydd' is the origin of the reciprocal pronoun, and in Early Welsh it was always used in conjunction with a singular noun or pronoun; e.g.—

"Bot plant y *bop un* ohonawch *oe gilyd*."—Mab. 67.

"Ar draws yr ynys or *mor py gilyd*."—Mab. 83.

"Mawr syrth ar fy mro y sydd,
Mur gwelw o'r mor bwy gilydd."—D. ab G. ccv.

"A chan ein bôd ni ymma gydai gilydd."

(Wrongly changed in some editions into *gyda'n*.)

Llyfr y Tri Aderyn 210.

English has almost the literal equivalent in *one another*:

And as we are here with one another.

With one another is syntactically = *one with another*.

And in the last-quoted Welsh sentence the antecedent of *i* is not *ni*, but 'pawb' or 'pob un' understood, the fully expressed sentence being—

“A chan ein bod ni ymma bawb gyda'i gilydd.”

In William Salesbury's translation of John xiii. 34 we have the correct construction :

“Gorchymyn newydd 'wyf yn roi ychwy, ar garu o hanoch y *gylydd* : mal y cerais i chwychwi, a'r ychwy garu bawb y *gylydd*.”

The idiom has been kept in most of the older editions of the Bible, but is altered in others into *eich gilydd*. Kept in—

“Gyr imi hanes, gynnes gân,
Morynyon glân Merionydd.
Fel yr addewaist imi 'r pryd
Y'n gwelit gyd a'i *gilydd*.”

Caniadau Prof. M. J.

The modern practice of using *ein*, *eich*, *eu* with *gilydd* has arisen from a failure to grasp the syntax of the sentence containing the phrase, or perhaps one should say it is a legitimate extension of usage common in language :

“Gosod y Twysogion ben ben a'u *gilydd*.”

Deff Ffydd 193.

(ii) *y naill*, *y llall* (*each other*, *one another*) ; e.g.—

“Y naill wenwyn a ladd y llall.”—Proverb.

In Mediæval Welsh 'y lleill . . . y llall' was the common formula :

"Ef a welei dwy vanaches yn dyuot, a chostrel yn llawn o win gan y lleill, a chwe thorth o vara kann gan y llall."—Mab. 206.

"Ewch chwitheu a bydwch y lleill yn uaed coet ar llall yn garnen coet."—Mab. 66.

Similarly—

"Or lleillparth . . . or parth arall."—Mab. 273.
(*On the one side . . . on the other.*)

The easy interchange of *n* and *l* is one of the best attested facts in phonology. Hence mediæval 'y lleill' and modern 'y naill' for *the one*, are doublets. Note also that in Gwentian and Demetian to-day

y naill y nall

is the regular expression for the literary

y naill y llall

The *n*- and *ll*- in 'naill', 'nall', 'llall', and 'lleill' are the ending of the Definite Article detached by a wrong division of words and prefixed to the pronoun.

Hence 'y naill' from 'yn aill'; 'y llall' from 'yll all', or 'yl all'; 'y lleill' from 'yll eill' or 'yl eill'.

II. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

1.—Amryw (sing.), amryw (plu.), *several, diverse; different*: from 'am-' (cog. with Irish 'imm', 'imme');

Latin 'amb', 'ambi-', 'am-'), denoting here *variety*, *multitude* (cf. *amliw*); + *rhyw*, *kind*, *class*.

As an adjective, it is usually constructed with a plural ; e.g.—

“ E ddarfu iddo chwanegu *amryw chwedlau* at hanes Tysilio.”—Ieuan Brydydd Hir.

But sometimes with the singular—

“ Ac *amryw* le diffeith.”—Mab. 195.

“ Na fydded gennyt yn dy god *amryw bweys*, mawr a bychan. Na fydded gennyt yn dy dŷ *amryw fesur*.”—Deut. xxv. 13, 14.

“ Er gweled, *amryw Galan*,
Gofal yn lle cynnal cân,
Parchaf anrhydeddaf di,
Tymhor nid drwg wyt imi.”

G. O. Cywydd y Calan.

Dr. William Owen Pughe introduced a new plural, *amrai*, through the completely mistaken notion that 'rhai' is the plural of 'rhyw' (v. 'rhyw' and 'rhai' below). 'Cyfrai' for 'cyfryw' is due to the same error. Neither form has gained any literary sanction.

2.—'Arall' (plu. 'ereill', 'eraill'), a reduplicated form of *all* by dissimilation of *l*. Compare Old Irish 'araile', 'alaile'; '-all' is cognate with Latin 'alius', English 'else', and a doublet of Welsh 'allan' and 'ail'. It enters into many compounds: 'alltud', one from *another people*, 'allforion', *exports*, etc.

3.—‘Dim’ (Irish ‘dim’), *anything*, is not in itself negative :

“Byd heb *ddim* yw bod heb Dduw.”—D. ab G. CCXLVI.

But its frequent use in (i) an indefinite sense, with the force of *the least thing, anything whatsoever*, and (ii) in negative or quasi-negative sentences, has led to its often having itself the force of a negative ; e.g.—

dim o ddim.

“Nid oedd dim ond y distryw gwyllt o bob ochr.”

D. y P. O.

With this acquired negative force, we may compare French ‘pas’, *step*, and ‘point’, *point* ; e.g.—

N’est-ce pas ? (*is it not ?*)

Pas encore (*not again, no more*).

4.—Neb (Irish ‘nech’ *some one, any one*) : *anyone*.

As in the case of ‘dim’, ‘neb’ often acquires a negative character :

Oni welsoch chwi neb ? Naddo, neb.

(*Did you not see anyone ? No,—no one.*)

The use of ‘neb’ as an adjective, as—

neb dynion,

has no literary sanction, and should be avoided.

5.—Holl and oll : cognate with Old Irish ‘uile’, ‘ule’, *whole, all*. Both are adjectives.

The *h* in ' holl ' is accentual, after the *r* of the Definite Article ' yr ' which so often precedes it. Compare—

ugain *with* deg ar hugain.

' Holl ' precedes the noun : ' yr holl fyd.'

' Oll ' follows ,, ,, ' fy mebyd oll.'

' Oll ' with the Definite Article, like most other adjectives, may be used as a noun :

Dyna'r oll.

' Holl ' can never be so used.

When constructed with numerals, a modified form, ' ill ' (mediæval, ell, ill, yll), is used, as—

ill dau, ill dwy, ill pedwar.

With this idiom we should compare the analogous use of French ' tous ', as—

tous les deux (*both*).

6.—' Pawb ' and ' pob ' are doublets, ' pob ' being a weakened form, due to its being used in construction with a noun or pronoun upon which the emphasis or phrase-accent is thrown. The very same feature is observable in their Old Irish cognates, ' cāch ' and ' cach ' or ' cech '.

' Cāch ' with the long ' ā ' is equivalent to ' pawb '. Both are substantival, i.e. are used without a noun. Hence—

pawb dynion, *for* pob dyn *or* pawb,

is incorrect.

'Pob' and 'cach' (cech) are adjectival. And just as 'pob' is often associated with 'un', so 'cach' is with its Irish equivalent 'oen'. Both phrases—'pob un' and 'cach oen'—have the same meaning—*everyone*.

Like their Irish congeners, 'pawb' and 'pob' are properly singular :

“ Ac uelly gware ar got a wnaethant. Pawb ual y delei a ovynei pa chware a wnewch chwi uelly.”

Mab. 16.

See further examples of 'pawb' in the singular under Reciprocal Pronouns.

'Pawb' is now often used in the plural ; e.g.—

“ Eithr pawb a'm gadawsant.”—2 Timothy iv. 16.

'Pob' is not often used in the plural, and a few phrases, like 'pob dynion', sometimes used, have not gained the sanction of good writers or of colloquial speech.

7.—Rhywun (sing.), rhywrai (plu.)

These compounds show clearly that 'rhai' is not the plural of 'rhyw', as Dr. William Owen Pughe seemed to think when he coined 'amrai' as a plural for 'amryw'.

'Rhyw' and 'rhai'* are distinct and unconnected :
(a) 'Rhyw' is singular or plural, and denotes kind or quantity, as—

Rhyw beth	rhyw bethau
<i>some (kind of) thing</i>	<i>some (kind of) things</i>

* Compare Dr. Silvan Evans's Dictionary, under 'Amrai.'

' Rhai ' is always plural, and applies only to number :

Rhai pethau (*some things, a number of things*).

(b) ' Rhyw ' governs the soft mutation :

Rhyw beth (< peth); rhyw bethau (< pethau).

' Rhai ' is followed by the radical :

Rhai pethau.

CHAPTER XI

THE VERB

1.—To the student of comparative grammar, as exemplified in the two languages with which Wales is most intimately concerned, one of the most noticeable peculiarities of the Welsh verb is the absence of an Infinitive Mood, including participles. Taking the last, we find that the Present, Past, and Future Participles Active are regularly expressed by prepositional phrases, without any trace of a participial inflection; thus—

learning	is yn dysgu
having learnt	„ wedi dysgu
being about to learn	„ am ddysgu, ar ddysgu.

But when the matter is looked into a little more closely we find that English is not so far removed from Welsh in this construction, for *learning* is in origin a verbal noun, and, in Old English, was always used as such. In Middle English ' -ing ' ousted the Old English present participle ending ' -nde ', as—

O. E. leornende Mid. E. leorning.

The transition is seen in such expressions as—

The house is building, *for*
The house is a (= on, in) building.

When the preposition is thus supplied, the analogy to the Welsh construction is remarkable.

The Old English present participle ending still survives in two or three words, where its presence might not be readily suspected, viz. in 'fiend', 'friend', and 'husband', meaning respectively the *hater*, the *lover* or *cherisher*, and the *house-dweller*. By Verner's Law we expect a *d* in English, in an originally unaccented syllable, from an Aryan *t*, as 'third', Latin 'tertius'. This *t* is preserved in Latin, for the stem of the present participle ends in '-nt', as 'amant(em)'. It is instructive to trace the same termination in Welsh, though no longer with a verbal function. It occurs in such words as 'meddiant' and 'dihuddiant'. Nor is the change of meaning difficult. It is a case of simple association to pass from the act of possessing to the thing possessed. Compare a parallel transference in English—

We are *holding* our own (ptc.).

This is a small *holding* (noun).

2.—THE VERB-NOUN

The student must beware of regarding it as a mere equivalent of the English infinitive mood. It is much more of a noun than the latter; thus—

(a) It may be qualified by the definite article :

“Gan gydymholi beth yw yr adgyfodi o feirw.”

Mark ix. 10.

(*Questioning one with another what the rising from the dead should mean.*)

(b) Also by an adjective :

canu da, (*good singing*).

(c) The noun dependent upon it, as when dependent upon any other noun, is in the genitive case, and undergoes no initial mutation :

Contrast : derbyn tâl (*the receipt of payment*).

and— derbyniais dâl (*I received payment*),

where 'dâl' is accusative case, and has the customary soft mutation of the object when following a transitive verb.

Likewise the post-vocalic or infix pronoun preceding it is in the possessive (= genitive case in function) and not the accusative. This is evident from the mutation, e.g.—

A'i channol a wnaeth (*And he praised her.*)

The possessive 'i governs the aspirate mutation.

Contrast :

Fe'i canmolodd hi (*He praised her*),

where the 'i is followed by the radical, and is thus in the accusative case direct object of 'canmolodd'.

(d) It is governed by prepositions :

Cyn derbyn tâl,

Before the (receipt of payment).

(e) It may be the subject or direct object of a verb :

Clywaf iddo lwyddo yn yr arholiad.

(*I hear that he has passed the examination.*)

Still note that it has a verbal function, thus—

(i) It is essential to the complete conjugation of a verb.

(ii) In the periphrastic conjugation it is modified by adverbs, e.g. in—

Yr oedd yn canu'n dda

' dda ' is an adverb of manner modifying ' canu '.

3.—THE FINITE VERB

Final *-t* in the 3rd person plural and final *-f* are regularly dropped in colloquial Welsh :—

(i) '*-f*', as ' penna ' for ' pennaf ', ' gwela ' for ' gwelaf ', and ' arnai ' for ' arnaf i '. Illustrations may be adduced from literature, e.g.—

“ A phawb a'i lygad arnai [= arnaf i].

Bardd Cwsc 6.

“ Nis gwn i p'le yw yma . . . na pheth wy [= wyf] fy hun.”—Ibid. 8.

“ Ni chredai [= chredaf i] mo bôb chwedl.”

Ll. y T. A. 166.

(ii) '*-t*' in the third plural of the verb and of pro-

nominal prepositions, as 'dysgan', 'gwnan', 'oeddyn', 'ganddyn' for 'dysgant', 'gwnant', 'oeddynt', 'ganddynt'.

Examples of this too may be found in the Welsh classics :—

“ Llyna'r modd yr adroddyn'
Treiir rhwng y tri wyr hyn.”
Dafydd Nanmor, quoted in D y P. O. 135.

“ Dy frawd o'r dwfr o oedir,
A'th nai da, aethon, i dir.”
Deio ap Ieuan Du, G. B. C. 175.

With this dropping of final 't' in verbs we may compare the suppressing of '-nt' in the pronunciation of the third person plural of French verbs, though the letters are regularly written, as—

ils parle(nt)—parlaie(nt)—parlère(nt).

4.—THIRD SINGULAR PRESENT INDICATIVE.—

Colloquially in Gwentian the verb ends in '-iff', as—

dysgiff, gweliff, rhediff,

while in Demetian it ends as consistently in '-ith'—

dysgith, gwelith, rhedith.

'-ith' is the older form, and occurs in old Welsh glosses as 'id', 'it'; '-ff' is a phonetic variant. That *th* and *ff* are occasionally interchangeable is shown by—

'benthyg' for 'benffyg', from Latin 'beneficium'.

(*Nuffink, free*, sometimes heard from children for—
nothing, three.)

The suffix ‘-ith’ is cognate with English ‘eth’, now obsolete, but common enough in Biblical language, as—
maketh, seeth, receiveth.

It must have been at one time present in the third singular present indicative of the English verb ‘to be’; without the thin *i* of the suffix the mutation of the root-vowel could not be accounted for:

asith > isith > is.

The *th* is the same in origin as the *t* of Latin ‘est’, ‘amat’, ‘currit’, etc.

In its modified form ‘-iff’, it has survived in a few literary forms, as—

aiff, *goes*; caiff, *obtains*; gwnaiff, *does*;

and Charles Edwards uses it in ‘rhediff’:

“Ni rediff y sŷg o’r aeron . . . nes eu dryllio a’u
gwascu.” *

Though the termination has disappeared except in a few sporadic instances like the above it has left traces of itself in two particulars:

(i) The frequent mutation of the internal vowel † in

* See *Clasuron Rhyddiaith Cymru* 117.

† Analogy here as elsewhere accounts for some forms. Thus the noun ‘dichon’ (< digon *enough, plenty, sufficiency*) has acquired a

the third person is due to the *i* of the termination ; as—
edrydd, gwyl, dengys, *from* adroddaf, gwelaf, dangosaf.

(ii) The frequent use of *-a* in the 3rd person is no doubt largely an extension of the *-a* of Denominatives, to other verbs, as cana, cerdda, rheda, on the analogy of—

cardota, cneua, dyfrha, etc.,

where the *-a* belongs to the stem. Still it seems in part derivable from the termination under review.

The ending did not completely disappear. It was reduced to the 'natural *a*' or 'obscure *y*' sound, as so often happens with unaccented syllables (see chapter on the Article). The form it now takes is *-a*, a symbol which shares with *-y* in Welsh the work of representing this originally obscure sound. Compare 'hely' and 'hela', 'boly' and 'bola', 'ambell' and 'ymbell', etc. The *a* of Denominatives helped to determine the form.

5.—PAST IMPERFECT INDICATIVE.—

Second person singular termination. In Early Mediæval Welsh, ' -ud ', ' -ut ' :—

verbal function due to the frequent dropping of the verb *to be* in sentences containing the noun. On the analogy of so many verbs, some writers mutate it into 'dichyn.' That form is common in Deff. Ffydd :

"Ni ddichyn hwnnw fod yn Gristion."—11.

It is occasionally used by other writers, as

"Rrwn irioed nis gweles un dyn, ac nis dichin i weled."

Salesbury, New Test. 397.

"Fe ddichyn fod rhai yn min-gammu."—D. y P. O. 8a.

“ Py wyneb yssyd arnat ti pryt na *delut* y edrych y gofut a uu arnaf i.”—Mab. 176.

“ A bychan a rybychud

Im’o gerdd, rym agwrdd ddrud.—”D. ab G. cxxiv.
-ud, -ut, > -yd, -yt:

Original long ‘ \bar{w} ’ sound (as in ‘*sæn*’, ‘oo’ in English ‘*pool*’) had a marked tendency in Welsh to unrounding and palatalization. Thus *u* of Latin ‘*tu*’ (pronounce like English ‘*to*’), and Old English ‘*thu*’ (> Modern ‘*thou*’) is the unrounded palatal *i* in Welsh ‘*ti*’; and ‘*rhin*’ is cognate with English ‘*rune*’. The ‘ \bar{w} ’ of the later Romano-British period has not advanced quite as far in literary Welsh, though outside Gwynedd it has colloquially the value of *i* rather than the standard *u*. Hence Latin ‘*pūrus*’, ‘*mūrus*’, have, by unrounding, passed into Modern Welsh ‘*pur*’, ‘*mur*’. One wide-spread result of the unrounding of *u* (w-sound) was to confuse it with *y*, which in final syllables had the same value as the *u* was now acquiring. The result is a very noticeable uncertainty in the use of *u* and *y* in final syllables. Thus in the Bruts and Mabinogion ‘*Kymry*’ is the invariable form for both *Welsh people* and *Wales*, but in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries a variant form in *-u* arose, and was used side by side with ‘*Cymry*’ in both senses. The limiting of ‘*Cymru*’ to denote Wales is a very modern distinction. Similarly ‘*melus*’ during the same period came to be almost invariably written ‘*melys*’, and the verb-suffix under discussion was changed from ‘*-ud*’, ‘*-ut*’, into ‘*-yd*’, ‘*-yt*’, as—

“Goddau f’ armerth, o’*m nerthyd*,
Yw Dydd Barn a diwedd byd.”

G. O. y Farn.

Finally, under the influence of the thin *i* of the pronoun *ti*, which usually follows the verb, the suffix is now ‘-id’, or rather ‘-it’, due to the *t* of the pronoun.

Third singular ‘-ai’, older ‘-ei’: many writers—like Maurice Kyffin, Bishop Morgan, and Morgan Llwyd—continually use the simplified *-e* heard colloquially throughout Wales, as—

“Canys y glust [a’*m*] clywe a’*m* bendithie.”

Llyvyr Job 63.

The termination *-iad* occurs in one or two words, e.g.—

“Ac na wydyat pwy ae lladei.”—Mab. 41.

“Nid adwaeniad odineb,
Ni fynai nyn fi na neb.”—D. ab G. xxxi.

“Nid oes, f’ Arglwydd, a wyddiad
Ei dymp, onid Ef a’i Dad.”—G. O. y Farn.

6.—PAST IMPERFECT PLURAL.—

In Mediæval Welsh the terminations were regularly ‘-em’, ‘-ewch’, ‘ynt’. The *e* of the first and second persons is now commonly extended by analogy to the third—

-em, -ech, -ent.

But the modernity of the last form may readily be seen by reference to our older classics; thus in the Mabino-

gion ‘-ynt’ is the invariable form, and it occurs on every page, e.g.—

elynt (p. 85); gwydynt, tebygynt, cerdynt, gwelynt (all on p. 86); gwelynt (six times on p. 87); notteynt (88); peidynt, yttoedynt (90); oedynt, buasynt (91).

The poets have resisted the change of ‘-ynt’ into ‘-ent’, due no doubt in part to the far larger number of words that can be found to rhyme with the old form. Still, the newer ending occurs even in poetry, and especially where rhyme requires it:—

“ Yn llinyn yno *llanwent*
Hapus gylch Powys a Gwent.”

G. O. i Ofyn Ffrancod.

“ *Rhoent* obaith ar weniaith wag.”

G. O. Y Maen Gwerthfawr.

7.—THE AORIST OR PRETERITE OR PAST INDEFINITE.

—The regular termination of the third person singular in Modern Welsh is ‘-odd’, as—

dysgodd, gwelodd, canodd, rhedodd, lladdodd.

Colloquially in Gwentian ‘-ws’ is the common termination, as—

dysgws, gwelws, canws, rhedws, lladdws,

while in Demetian *-as* is occasionally heard, as—

gwelas.

In Mediæval Welsh—

-wys, -as, -awd, -es, -is,

all occur, and it may be safely said that in the Mabinogion ' -wys ' and ' -as ' are quite as common as ' -awd '.

" Y gwyr a wiscwys ymdanunt."—Mab. 26–7.

" Llyma heb wynt y tir a welas an harglwyd ni."

Mab. 87.

" Ac yna y dewissawd gwneuthur y gaer uchaf yn aruon idi."—Mab. 89.

" A phan deffroes, hoedel nac einyoes na bywyt nyt oed idaw."—Mab. 85.

" Y neb a dechreuis vyn diua yssyd yn y orfen."

Mab. 53.

The ' -ws ' of Gwentian is a doublet of the ' -wys ' of the Mabinogion.

In a few verbs the ' -dd ' (older ' -d ') of ' -odd ' is sometimes attached to the stem without a connecting vowel, as—

cant *for* canodd, gwant *for* gwanodd,
cymerth *for* cymerodd.

The *d* is hardened into *t* by the adjoining *n* ; compare ' genti ' for ' ganddi ', common in mediæval literature and still used colloquially in some parts of Wales ; also—

ynte < on'de < onide.

The joining of the final consonant of the suffix to the stem without an intervening vowel is seen in *llas*, the aorist impersonal of ' lladdaf '. Thus while the

fuller form 'lladedd' goes back to older 'lladet', the variant 'llas' is from 'llast' < 'llad-t'. Similarly 'wÿs' is from 'wyst' < 'wydt'.

For the change of *d* into *s* compare Latin 'est', (*eats*) < 'ed-t', and English 'wist' < 'wit-te', and 'must' < 'mot-te'. The eclipsing or assimilation of the *-t* to the *s* in 'llas' and 'wys' from 'llast' and 'wyst' is a later change.

The aorist plural regularly ended in

-am, -awch, -ant,

in mediæval literature :—

1st : "Yn kwn a gollassam."—Mab. 52.

"Ai gwaeth i ddyn, gwiw ei thaid,
Yn y llwyn ennill enaid,
Na gwneuthur fal y gwneutham
Yn Rhufain, ac yn Sain Siam?"—D. ab G. x.

2nd : "Ha wyr heb ef or gwnaethawch gam y mi digawn y buawch ymhoen."—Mab. 67.

3rd : "A phan edrychyssant."—Mab. 46.

"Ar gwraged a gyvodassant racdaw."—Mab. 223.

In the change of *a* into *o* in the first and second persons, at least two influences have been at work :—

(i) *m* is an essentially rounded consonant and tends to convert the unrounded medial *a* into the rounded and more guttural *o*. Compare—

'siom', 'som', from English 'sham'.

(ii) The growth of the inorganic * *w* before the 'ch' of the second person yielded, in conjunction with the *a*, the diphthong *aw*, which is regularly simplified into *o* in a final unaccented syllable, as—

eiddo < Med. eidaw.

Hence the modern endings of the plural aorist are—

-om, -och, -ant.

An occasional instance of the change is found even in mediæval literature, e.g.—

“ Mae yr enw heb y penndaran dyuet. Gwri Wallt Euryn a dodyssom ni arnaw ef.”—Mab 24.

Third plural in ' -ont ' : even the ' -ant ' of the third person was occasionally changed into ' -ont ' by analogy:

“ Ymysc hynny wynt a glywsont chwedyldyaeth y wrth riannon.”—Mab. 22.

“ Ac yn hynny rybud a gawssont wynteu.”—Mab. 47.

' -ont ' occurs not infrequently in early Modern Welsh, as in *Deffynniad Ffydd*—*gwnaethont* (p. 120), *cipiasont* (133), *rowsont* (133), etc. So in Bishop Morgan's translation of the Bible, *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, and *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*; but ' -ant ' never fell into disuse, and is now the invariable form except in the verb ' to be ', where both ' *buont* ' and ' *buant* ' are fully sanctioned. It should be noted that the ' -ont ' of ' *buont* ' is not

* Or the *w* here may be an instance of metathesis, e.g.—
gwelsachwi > gwelsawchi > gwelsawch.

used in the derivatives and compounds of 'bod'; hence—

adnabuant, canfuant, *not* adnabuont, canfuont.

8.—IMPERATIVE

Much uncertainty is experienced by some writers over the correct form of the third person plural.

It originally ended in ' -ent ' :—

“ Pan glywhont llef dy gorn disgynnent wynteu am ben y llys.”—Mab. 14.

In Modern Welsh, however, ' -ant ' is the regular form :

“ Ond llawenycher y rhai cyfiawn, a gorfoleddant ger bron Duw ; a byddant hyfryd o lawenydd.”

Ps. lxviii.

“ Canys dywedant hwy a fynnonnt yng nghylch ei gwreiddyn, a dygant eu tadau o 'Spaen . . . neu'r man y mynnont, nid y'nt ond cymmysg o Ellmyn a Brython.”—Llythyrau Goronwy Owen 124.

Maurice Kyffin in *Deffynniad Ffydd* occasionally uses the Jussive Subjunctive instead of the Imperative :

“ Gwrandawont Barnard.”—105.

(*Let them listen to Barnard.*)

“ Cystadlon-nhwy'n heglwysi ni, a'u heglwysi eu hun ; a nhwy a gânt weled ddarfod iddynt hwy'n frwnt aruthr ymadel a'r Apostolion.”—145.

So in—

“ Ac aed Moses ei hun at yr Arglwydd ; ac na *ddelont*
hwy, ac nac aed y bobl i fynu gyd ag ef.”

Ex. xxiv. 2.

9.—SUBJUNCTIVE PRESENT

In Mediæval Welsh the second person singular ended in ‘ -ych ’ :

“ Pa geluydyt yd awn ni wrthi heb y manawydan.
Yr honn y mynnych or a wdam ni heb y pry-
deri.”—Mab. 48.

“ Ac o achaws y kewilyd a wnaethost di y llew llaw
gyffes, na beidydh ditheu dangos dy wyneb liw
dyd vyth . . . ac na chollych dy enw.”—Mab. 80.

In Modern Welsh the suffix is as often *-ech* as *-ych* ;
thus in Matthew vi. we find—

“ pan wnelych.”—*vv.* 2, 3.

“ A phan weddiech.”—*v.* 5.

“ Ond tydi, pan weddiech.”—*v.* 6.

“ Eithr pan ymprydiech di.”—*v.* 17.

‘ -ot ’ is sometimes met with—a modern back forma-
tion from the third singular, which ends in ‘ -o ’ :—

“ Fel y mynnot, Iesu anwyl

Ac nid fel y mynnaf fi.”—W. A. Griffiths.

(See *Y Caniedydd Cynulleidfaol*, hymn 531.)

10.—‘BOD’ AND ITS COMPOUNDS; ‘DYFOD’, ‘MYNED’,
‘GWNEUTHUR’.

These constitute a class by themselves, and may be referred to as the Second or Strong Conjugation.

They all form their Aorist in ‘-um’,* as—

VERB-NOUN	PRES. INDIC.	AORIST INDIC.
bod	wyf, byddaf	bum
canfod	canfyddaf	canfum
gwybod	gwn	gwybum
dyfod	deuaf, dôf	deuthum†
gwneuthur	gwnaf	gwneuthum†
myned	af	euthum†

(a)—The verb ‘to be’, as in English and other languages, is very irregular. It is not proposed here, however, to enter into a systematic analysis of the forms. Still, reference must be made to some of the more salient features of the verb:

(b)—‘yd-’ in ‘ydwyf’, ‘ydoedd’, etc., is the Relative Pronoun (cf. p. 152).

As a proclitic it was written in Mediæval Welsh close up to the following word. Hence it was occasionally mistaken for a prefix, as here. In other instances the

* Extended by analogy to ‘roessum’ (Mab. 45), ‘roisym,’ William Salesbury, 1 Corinthians xiii. 11.

† After the unrounding of the ‘u’ in Mediæval Welsh, ‘-ym’ was sometimes substituted for ‘-um’ in these verbs, especially in writings of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Frequent instances occur in *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*.

'y' was detached and the *-d* prefixed to the next word, as—

y danfonais	<	y d anfonais
y darganfu	<	y d arganfu.

The same pronoun is suffixed to the third singular 'ys', yielding the relational form 'ysydd'. Hence the relative pronoun should not be used with 'sydd':

"Myfi yw'r hwn sydd yn tystiolaethu am danaf fy hun."—John viii. 18.

Contrast—

"Canys y neb y mae yr Arglwydd yn ei garu, y mae yn ei geryddu."—Heb. xii. 6.

And yet the 'y-' of the verb 'ys' is sometimes detached and assumes the function of the pronoun, e.g.—

"Try allan ddynion tri-llu
Y sydd, y fydd, ac a fu."—G. O. y Farn.

"Beth a wnewch chwi yn dihoeni ar dussw o wellt mor arw ag y sydd yna rhwng y creigydd?"
D. y P. O. 54.

Similarly the relational origin of 'yd-' in 'ydoedd', 'ydwyf', is lost sight of in Modern Welsh writings. Hence the common use of the relative with these extended forms.

(c)—The verb 'to be' has distinct forms for the Simple and the Habitual Present:

Simple Present: wyf *or* ydwyf; wyt *or* ydwyt; etc.
Present Habitual: byddaf; byddi; etc.

It is interesting to note that in the derivatives and compounds of *bod*—

the forms in ‘-byddaf’ are Present (or Future) in function, e.g.—

canfyddaf, darfyddaf ;

the forms in ‘-wyf’ have rather the force of a Present Complete or Perfect. They are now obsolete. They were never common, and were almost entirely confined to the third singular, as—

deryw, has happened ; cenyw, has seen ; deddyw, is come.

“A unbennes heb ef pa deryw ytti.”—Mab. 288.

“A chan derw itt dywedut y geir a dywedeist dyro vi idaw.”—Mab. 13.

“Ar geniver dyn a doeth yno, ny dodyw vyth drachevyn.”—Mab. 291.

“Wrthyt ti y mae vy neges i ac y erchi itt y dodwyf.”

(d)—The Present GWN and ADWAEN are irregular. They are Past-Present verbs, like English ‘can’, ‘may’, and ‘must’ ; that is, they are Past Tense forms which have come to be used as Presents. And as the English verbs just quoted show traces of the Past Tense inflection in that they do not add ‘-s’ to the third singular, so these two Welsh verbs form their plural and their second person singular on the model of such Aorists as—bum, buost, bu, buom, buoch, buant (buont) :

gwydd-ost ; gwydd-om, -och, -ant.
adwaen-ost ; adwaen-om, -och, -ant.

(e)—Again, the Past Continuous of the verb ‘to be’ is different from the Past Habitual :—

Past Continuous : oeddwn, oeddit, etc.
Past Habitual : byddwn, byddit, etc.

The former at one time entered into the formation of derivatives and compounds, e.g.—

hanoedd < hanfod.

But now only the Past Habitual forms are so used, as—
canfyddwn, darfyddwn.

Another distinction is observable :

The Past Habitual may be used in the Subjunctive, and its doublet *bawn* is confined to that mood. The Past Continuous, on the other hand, is essentially Indicative in Modern Welsh. But there is some evidence that ‘oeddwn’, ‘oeddit’, ‘oedd’, etc., were formerly Subjunctive as well as Indicative :—

“Kyn ny bei urenhin ar iwerdon da oed gennyfi ymdirioni ar mab.”—Mab. 39.

“*Though he were not king of Ireland, yet willingly would I fondle the boy.*”—Lady Guest’s translation.

“Iawnach oedd iddo’ mofyn,
Myn Oswallt ! a’i wallt yn wyn,
Margen am gael dadeni,
Na cheisio eich hudo chwi.”

D. ab G. CLXIII.

“ Gwell oedd naccau ar ddau-air,
Na chael addewid ni chair ! ”

D. ab G. CLXVII.

“ A gwyched oedd gael arnynt lawn olwg.”

Bardd Cwsc 5.

(f)—The Aorist is ‘bum’, and its derivatives and compounds should always end in that form, as—

adnabum, canfum, cydnabum, gwybum,

not

adnabyddais, canfyddais, cydnabyddais, gwybyddais.

The latter forms are seldom if ever found in the classics of Welsh literature.

II.—THE AORIST OF ‘DYFOD’, ‘MYNED’, and ‘GWNEUTHUR’.—

The forms best sanctioned in mediæval literature were—

(Sing.)	1. deuthum	euthum	gwneuthum
	2. deuthost } doethost }	aethost	gwnaethost
	3. deuth } doeth }	aeth	gwnaeth
(Plur.)	1. doetham(-om)	aetham(-om)	gwnaetham(-om)
	2. doethawch	aethawch	gwnaethawch
	3. doethant } deuthant }	aethant	gwnaethant

No change has taken place in the second and third verbs except that the ' -am ' of the first plural has become ' -om ', and the ' aw ' of the second plural is simplified into ' o '.

The change in the first verb is considerable, in that it has been completely assimilated to the other two, so that its conjugation to-day is—

deuthum, daethost, daeth ; daeth-om, -och, -ant.*

The change is no doubt largely due to analogy, but these forms have also reached us along a different avenue and from a different source : the verb ' euthum ' detached the *-d* of the proclitic pronoun ' yd ' which so often preceded it in Mediæval Welsh, giving rise to the phrase—

y deuthum < yd euthum ;

and as every *going* is a *coming*,—it all depends on the point of view,—the meaning offered no check to the change. The expression " I shall come to see you " is often heard for the better-sanctioned ' I shall go to see you ', and it is logically correct from the standpoint of the person addressed.

It will be observed that the diphthong ' ae ' is mutated or affected into *eu* in the first person singular, due to the *u* of the following syllable. Occasionally a

* I have met with one instance of the later form in the *Mabinogion* :

" Yr neuad y daethant ac y ymolchi."—23.

writer may be found who forgets this fact, and he will retain * the 'ae' in that person too; e.g.—

“Ond yn aderyn dŷ yr aethym † i i'r yscol, ac yn gigfran ddŷ fel y gweli y daethym i adref.”

Ll. y T. A. 163.

But this is rare, and it is still rarer to extend the *eu* of the first person singular to the second or third person, or to the plural number.

12.—PLUPERFECT OF 'DYFOD', 'MYNED', AND 'GWNEUTHUR'.—

In Mediæval Welsh these were formed by adding the Past Continuous of the verb 'to be' to a participial stem. They were not common, and were practically confined to the third singular and plural.

Singular :—

“A chadw y ragor val y gwnathoed kyn no hynny.”
Mab. 287.

“Neut athoed hi heibaw.”—Mab. 9.

“Ac ny dothoed owein y nerth ettwa.”—Mab. 190

Plural :—

“A gwedy kaffel eu hangerd ac eu budugolyaeth yn llidyawc orawenus yn gytneit y gostygassant yr llawr am penn y gwyr a wnathoedynt lit a goveileint a chollet udunt kyn no hynny.”
Mab. 155.

“Ac ny dothoedynt yno namyn ar gwr mwyhaf a garei bop un o nadunt gyt a hi.”—Mab. 191.

* Or, extend it to that person by analogy.

† For the *y* in 'aethym,' 'daethym,' see *supra*.

These forms are no longer in use, having been completely ousted by the more modern—

daeth-wn, aeth-wn, gwnaeth-wn, etc. (regular).

13.—PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE OF 'DYFOD', 'MYNED',
AND 'GWNEUTHUR'.—

The third person singular of the regular verb ends in '-o', e.g.—

dysgo, credo, rhedo.

As 'dyfod', 'myned', and 'gwneuthur' have special stems in *-l* confined to the Subjunctive, the forms are already sufficiently differentiated, and the need of the ending *-o* is not felt. Hence the doublets—

delo, del; elo, el; gwnelo, gwnel.

“Yr wyt ti yn ei orchfygu ef yn dragywydd, fel yr elo efe ymmaith.”—Llyvyr Job 33.

“Val nat el neb y gymry, ac a del yma o gymry carchara wynt hyt nat elont dracheuyn rac gwybot hynn.”—Mab. 34.

“A wnêl, parhaed.”—Bardd Cwsc 1.

14.—Other verbs of this class are—

<i>Verb-noun</i>	<i>Pres. Indic.</i>	<i>Aor. Indic.</i>
dwyn	dygaf	dugum
		gorugum, <i>I did.</i>

The former is now largely assimilated to the first conjugation—

dygais, dygaist, dygodd, etc.

The latter is obsolete, but is very common in mediæval literature in the aorist :—

Sing. : (i) — gorugum, gorum ; (ii) — gorugost ;
(iii)—goruc. "

Pl. : 1st—gorugam ; 3rd—gorugant.

15.—This chapter will be closed with a reference to a verb of unusual interest—' ebr ' (' ebyr ', ' eb'r '). It is a deponent form in '-r' from the Aryan root 'sequ'. The older form of the word was 'hebr' and 'hebyr'. For the change of 's' into 'h' in Welsh, compare 'Severn' and Welsh 'Hafren', Latin 'sol' and Welsh 'haul', Latin 'similis' and Welsh 'hafal', etc. etc. Aryan 'qu' is retained in Latin, but changed into 'p' in Welsh. Compare Latin 'quattuor,' 'quinque', etc., with Welsh 'pedwar,' 'pump', etc. Very early the exceptional form of the termination '-r' or 'yr' in a personal verb led to its being detached and regarded as the definite article. Hence we find in the Mabinogion, 'Heb y Pwyll', 'Heb yr Hafgan', the 'yr' losing its '-r' before consonants, as is usual with the article.

Where the definite article is not required, the verb is written 'heb' simply, as 'heb hi', 'heb ef', 'heb wynt', etc., *passim* in the Mabinogion.

Ellis Griffith (time of Edward VI) writes 'hebyr yr abad, hebyr ywain', quite correctly.

So Ellis Wynne in *Bardd Cwsc* has 'ebr' (pp. 6, 7,

etc.), but he is not quite free from the idea of the article, e.g.—

“Edrych yrwan, eb yr Angel.”—9.

Derivatives of this word are ‘ateb’, ‘gohebu’, ‘diareb’. ‘Hebrwng’, *to accompany, escort*, is from the same root.

CHAPTER XII

ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, AND CONJUNCTIONS

I. ADVERBS

1.—ADVERBS are, for the most part, derived from other parts of speech, and this chapter will be confined to a brief discussion of their etymology.

Prepositional phrases are adverbial in their function generally; thus—

day by day in the morning with confidence
are equivalent to—

daily early confidently

2.—A number of adverbs in Welsh are merely prepositional phrases, as—

i fyny (< i + mynydd); ar ol; i waered;

and if we are right in supposing the predicative *yn* to be prepositional in origin,* the list of adverbs from prepositional phrases can be indefinitely multiplied, as—

yn dda yn gynnar yn ddiau

Many phrases are written as one word; e.g.—

drachefn drannoeth echdoe erioed oddeutu

* Compare *en* in French :

Il a agi en roi, *he behaved royally.*

vivre en sauvage, *to live like a savage.*

'Drachefn' is from *tra + ei her + cefn*, and it is now used without reference to the pronoun which enters into its composition. In Mediaeval Welsh other forms were sometimes used, as—

draegeuyn (3rd sing. masc.) :

“Or lle y doeth Mab duw o nef ydymchoeles idaw draegeuyn.”—Ystorya 22.

drae keuyn (3rd plural) :

“Ac ny wydynt gerdet rac ovyn namyn ac eu hwyneb drae keuyn.”—Mab. 79.

Similarly, 'erioed' is from *er + i his + oet*. The phrase containing the pronoun of the first person singular was at one time common, as—

“A diheu oed iti Gei na weleis i eirmoet bwynt na llynn ny welwn yno y gyffelyp.”—Mab. 165.

“Arwydd na fynwn eiriawl,
Wyro ermoed, air o'r mawl.”—D. ab G. cxxii.

3.—Others are merely truncated phrases or sentences :

Dyma	<	gwel di yma.
Dyna	<	„ yna.
Dacw	<	„ acw.
Llyma	<	gwel yma <i>or</i> syll yma.

“Ac wel dy yna dy uab arglwydes heb y Teirnon.”
Mab. 23.

In the following the phrase is already stereotyped, and the *dy* has lost its special pronominal force :

“ Wel dy yma ynni dyuot da yn rat ac yn dilauur heb wynt.”—Mab. 273.

‘ Mae’l ’ or ‘ mae fel ’, meaning *would that*, occurs in a few eighteenth-century writings, as in Bardd Cwsc, Llythyrau Goronwy Owen, and those of the Morusiaid :

“ Mae fel y rhowch iddo wers, a dau dro a hanner ar ei arddwrn.”—Llythyrau G. O. 128.

‘ Ai ? ’ stands for a, + i = *is*. Hence its use with parts of speech other than the verb.

ïe < i, *is* + ef, and therefore = it is.

nage < nac + ef.

aie < a + i *is* + ef.

felly < fellny < fel hynny.

nis, nas ; the *s* has been discussed in the chapter on Pronouns.

nid, nad : (i) before verbs the *-d* is euphonic, as—

Nid yw efe yma.

Gwelwn nad ymchwelent hebddo.

(ii) before other parts of speech the *-d* is verbal in origin and function :

“ nid hwn yw efe.”

Lit. : *it is-not this one he is.*

onid < the interrogative a (i) + nid.

o

unwaith, dwywaith, etc. < the numerals, + 'gwaith' meaning *time*, cognate with Irish 'fecht'.

4.—Some adverbs are purely pronominal in origin, as 'po', ablative of the Interrogative Pronoun. Compare *how, why*, ablative of *who*; and *the* with comparatives, as, "the more the merrier"; *the* is the ablative of the Old English Demonstrative.

So 'y', 'yr' ('yd,' 'ydd') are the same as the Relative Pronoun (*q.v.*). As adverbs they are introductory in function. The change from pronoun to adverb may be thus explained:

Pronoun : Yn y ty yr oeddwn.

Lit. : (*It was*) *in the house in which I was.*

Then, largely through the apparently simple character of the sentence, the pronominal force of 'yr' was obscured, and the word came to be looked upon as a verbal particle, and therefore liable to be moved about with the verb. Hence its use in a perfectly normal sentence as merely an introductory verbal particle or adverb:

Yr oeddwn yn y ty.

The changes in English *there* from (1) an oblique case of the Demonstrative to (2) an Adverb of Place, and finally into (3) an Introductory Adverb, as—

"There is no place like home,"

show a closely parallel development.

5.—Several adverbs are derived from pronominal prepositions of the second person singular:—

- (i) 'isod', 'uchod', and the now obsolete 'yngod':
 "Blwng wrth y bobl yngod."*
 (*Severe to the people here.*)
- (ii) In a few cases the final '-d' is softened into '-dd':
 tanodd, trosodd, trwodd.
- (iii) In others it is lost altogether:
 'Yno', whence the later variant 'yna'; 'ynod' occurs in—
 "Cronigl y iaith cywrain glod,
 A'r dwned, a roed ynod."†

iso *for* isod:

"Ac yn iach fy nghâr arab,
 Iso'n fy myw, Siôn fy mab."‡

'yngo' (< 'yngod'; see above):

"Pettwn hebdo, yngo angerdd,
 Aed fyd cof, adfydig cerdd."

D. ab G. CXXVII.

raco:

"Mi a welaf longeu racco heb y brenhin."—Mab. 26.

The *r* in this word was mistaken for the Definite Article and detached. The *o*, too, has been changed into *w*, so that the modern word is 'acw'—a form not found in mediæval literature.

heibio.

* Quoted in Pughe and Pryse's Dictionary, *s.v.*

† See Mr. Arthur Hughes's "Cywyddau Cymru," p. 166 and note.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 70 and note.

II. PREPOSITIONS

I.—Several Welsh prepositions have a variety of meanings, and their correct use is one of the first concerns of the student and the teacher. The following are a few of the most important :—*

am : *on the other side of, beyond ; within :*

“ Kerdassant hyt pann deuthant am y uagwyr ar karcharawr.”—Mab. 131.

“ Gweled serchawgddyn golau
Drwy goed y glyn, ni'm syn serch
Am y maenfur a meinferch.”

D. ab G. CLXXIV.

“ A meibion Israel a wersyllasant yn rhosydd Moab am yr Iorddonen a Jericho.”—Numbers xxii. 1.
= *at :*

“ A chwithe'n y Werddon . . . yn chwerthin am eu penneu.”—Bardd Cwsc 103.

ar = *to :*

“ Ac erchi udunt wynteu ymchoelut ar Chyarlymaen ac erchi idaw y arhos.”—Ystorya 8.
= *at :*

“ Ac val y gwyl chyarllys yn eisted ar y bord.”
Ystorya 14.

“ Ar y torr ef ” (= *against him, in defiance of him*).
Brutieu 138.

So Dafydd ab Gwilym, addressing Gruffydd Gryg :

“ Af i Wynedd aml wledd ym
Ar dy dor, wr du dirym.”—CXXV.

* A large number of examples will be found in the author's “ Welsh and English Exercises.”

oddi : The second element is 'di' (whence modern *i*) in its original sense of *from*, like its cognate Latin 'de'. The earlier meaning is still retained by the preposition *i* in such phrases as—

y tu hwnt i'r afon.

o : In Mediaeval Welsh two prepositions of this form are met with :

(i) 'o' (*from*).

(ii) 'o' < 'do', cognate with English *to*, and of that meaning. Both prepositions occur in the following sentence :—

“A chyghori a wnaethant y eu tywyssawc mynet yr demyl ac aberthu yr dwywes. A gofyn pa wlat y presswylei *oe* [= i'w] chyuanhedu yn dragywydawl idaw ac *oe* [= i'w] etiued. Ac o gytgyghor y kymmerth brutus geryon dewin. A deudec *oe* [= o'i] henafigwyr y gyt ac ef ac y daethant hyt y demyl.”—Brutieu 51-2.

i : (i) *of, from*, Latin 'de'. (See 'oddi' above.)

(ii) *in, at, by* ; as—

i'th law : *in thy hand, by thee*.

“I'r nef ar air Naf yr oedd.”—G. O. yr Awen.

(iii) *to* ; its usual meaning in Modern Welsh.

myn (lit. = *my*) is an instance of a possessive adjective acquiring a prepositional function. It is borrowed from French 'mon', as used in—

Mon Dieu (*my God, by God*),

commonly occurring as an oath. It is therefore a cognate of Welsh 'fy' :

“ Yr ydwyf beunydd yn marw, myn eich gorfoledd, yr hon sydd gennyf yng Nghrist Iesu ein Harglwydd.”—I Cor. xv. 31.

2.—The orthography of the preposition 'yn' + a noun with initial 'c-' or 'g-', has always presented peculiar difficulties. In early writings like the *Mabinogion* we find 'ygkaer, yngkaer'. Ellis Griffith (time of Edward VI) writes 'ynghymru'. Dr. Morgan, in his translation of the Bible (1588), has 'yngardd, yng-hylch, yng-Hrist', on the same principle as he writes 'fyng-nhawd, fyng-hyfnewidiad, fyng-hamreu'. In Dr. Davies' Grammar (1621 ed.) we find 'yng-nghanol, ynghanol'; and Morgan Llwyd writes 'ynghroth, yngolwg'; Ellis Wynne, in *Bardd Cwsc*, has 'yn Ghaer, yn ngraddeu'. In *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* we have 'yng-Hymru' (p. 11); also 'ynghymru' (p. 12), 'yng Heredigion' (p. 70), 'yng Hwch' (p. 97), etc. The 'yn' in all cases is a proclitic, but the phrases into which it enters vary in natural emphasis.

There seems a practical unanimity among the best writers that 'yn' should be written as part of the next word in the less emphatic phrases, e.g. 'ynghylch', just as we also write 'ymhob', 'ymhen', etc. Where the emphasis, however, is greater, the spelling 'yng Nghymru, yng ngardd', etc., has been recommended. While this lacks sufficient authority, it is not even phonetic. The analogy of 'fy nghnawd, fy nghamreu',

etc., older 'fyng-nhawd, fyng-hamreu', etc., suggests 'y'Nghymru, y'ngardd', the apostrophe indicating that the first word is still written 'yn' when alone, and the separation of the elements of the phrase leaving it possible for a proper name, as 'Cymru', to begin with a capital letter.

The unmutated 'yn' is used by some writers before nouns in p-, b-, c-, g-, denoting time or place: e.g.

yn Mangor, yn Nghaer.

But this is a violation of an important principle of sound-change. The preposition and the noun form a phrase-unit, and are almost as intimately connected as the prefix and a root in a derivative. It is a principle of phonology that the initial consonant of the root assimilates the final consonant of the prefix. Thus, in English, the con- of connect is col- in collect, cor- in correct, and com- in company. Similarly the -n of the Welsh preposition 'yn' becomes 'ym' before p- or b-, and 'yng' before c- or g, even before these initial consonants are nasalized.

IIA. PRONOMINAL PREPOSITIONS

I.—The most striking characteristic of Welsh prepositions is the fact that a large number* of them can be

* With only one or two exceptions, the prepositions that can be conjugated are also those which govern the soft mutation. Both facts, in so far as they are not due to analogy, point to a common cause: most of these prepositions originally ended in a vowel; consequently both the agglutination of the following pronoun was readily effected and also the softening or lenation of the initial consonant of the next word.

conjugated by means of pronominal suffixes. Their conjugation consists of three types determined by the vowel connecting the pronominal suffix of the first person and the preposition, and they may be accordingly termed the 'A', the 'O', and the 'Y' conjugations :—

	A	O	Y
(<i>Sing.</i>) 1.	danaf	hebof	wrthyf
2.	danat	hebot	wrthyt
3. m.	dano	hebdo	wrtho
f.	dani	hebdi	wrthi
(<i>Plur.</i>) 1.	danom	hebom	wrthym
2.	danoch	heboch	wrthych
3.	danynt	hebddynt	wrthynt

In Mediæval Welsh *ohonof* followed the first or 'A' conjugation, thus—

(*Sing.*) ohonafi, ohonaf ; ohonat ; ohonaw (m.).
ohonei (f.).

(*Plur.*) ohonam ; ohonawch ; ohonunt.

The 3rd pers. plu. in Early Welsh ended in *-u*,* (*-udd*). The addition of *-nt* in Med. W., and the later change of '*-u*' into '*-y*', were made on the analogy of the 3rd plu. past impf. and plupf. of the verb.

Other changes must also be noted :

(i) The '*-y*' of the first and second person singular of the Third or 'Y' Conjugation is an instance of re-

* Very rare in mediæval literature, but note—

“Y kennadeu a gyrchassant *racdu*” (=rhagddynt).—Mab. 37.

version to the mediæval type after an interval when the vowel was 'i', the 'y' having been mutated into this thin sound by the 'i' of the pronoun :

wrthyfi > wrthifi > wrthif
wrthyti > wrthiti > wrthit

“ Blin gennit ti am ddyfod [hyn] i ti'n awr.”

Llyvyr Job 9.

“ Onid [ydyw] fy amddeffyn gennifi ? ”—Ibid. 14.

(ii) In Mediæval Welsh a *-w-* appeared before the *ch* of the second person plural ; as, 'danawch', 'gennwch', 'wrthywch'. It was either excrescent before *ch*, as it is in 'buwch', 'uwch', or the *w* of '-chwi' by metathesis, as in—

iwch < iwchi < ichwi

(iii) The extended forms 'arnadunt', 'ohonadunt', 'onadunt', 'danadunt' in the third plural were once common.

2.—The preposition *i* with the pronoun of the first and second persons forms rather unstable compounds. Hence the variant forms :—

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1.	i mi, imi, im	i ni, inni, in
2.	i ti, iti, it	i chwi, ichwi, iwch
3. m.	iddo	iddynt
f.	iddi	iddynt

For instances of the conjugated first and second persons the reader may be referred as follows :—

for im, Mab. 189; ym, Mab. 196, 198.

„ iti, Mab. 165; ytt, Mab. 207; ytti, Mab. 164.

„ in, Mab. 165, 189; ynn, Mab. 47; ynni, Mab. 207.
ywch, Mab. 207, 263.

The 3rd plural in Mediæval Welsh was *udunt*, the preposition 'i' being assimilated to the 'u' of the suffix.

3.—It is a noteworthy fact that while the preposition *i* regularly governs the soft mutation, as—

i feddwl i dy

it is followed by the radical in 'mi', 'minnau', 'ti', 'tithau'.

The explanation is found in the pronominal preposition: the final *d* of the second person singular is projected into 't', due to the 't' of the frequently post-fixed pronoun 'ti'; thus—

danad ti	>	danatti or danati	>	danat
hebod ti	>	hebotti or heboti	>	hebot
wrthyd ti	>	wrthytti or wrthyti	>	wrthyt
and id ti	>	itti or iti	>	iti or it

Now, 'iti', as was said above, is a very unstable compound, and is readily disintegrated into 'i ti'. Hence the apparent violation of the law of mutation. Analogy would account for—

i tithau < i dithau,

and probably for—

i mi, and i minnau.

III. CONJUNCTIONS

1.—*ac* : Welsh regularly softens a simple final surd into the corresponding sonant, if a vowel precedes. *Ac* is an exception in Modern Welsh. The form is somewhat artificial, and has been retained, or reverted to, from a desire to represent a variety of function by a difference in spelling. Hence the doublets ‘*ac*’ (*and*), ‘*ag*’ (*as*), and ‘*âg*’ (*with*). The distinction has not been always observed, and in *Deffyniad Ffydd* the word for *and* is regularly written ‘*ag*’. ‘*Ac*’ is usually pronounced ‘*ag*’, and in ‘*cynghanedd*’ its *c* is allowed to alliterate with ‘*g*’ :

*Ac yn ei dull, Gwen a'i dwg.**

‘*ac*’ is shortened into ‘*a*’ before consonants. Hence it is not correct to write ‘*ac fod*’ for ‘*a bod*’.

2.—Some conjunctions are pronominal in origin. ‘*Pan*’, like its English equivalent *when*, is an oblique case of the Interrogative. In Mediæval Welsh it had a much wider meaning than it has to-day; thus, in addition to its present force of *when*, it stood for—

(i) *whence* : “*Py le pan doei ?*”—*Mab.* 204.

(ii) *that*, when in conjunction with ‘*yw*’ :

“*Ny thebygassei aigolant etwa panyw Chyarlys oed ef.*”—*Ystorya* 8.

* See “*Yr Ysgol Farddol*,” p. 96.

'Pan' should not be followed by the Relative.
Hence—

Pan ddel *not* pan y del.
Pan glywodd ,, pan y clywodd.

It governs the soft mutation—

Pan ddel, *not* pan del.

'Pan *mae*' is an exception, if the phrase is allowed to stand; it is a modern construction, and it is doubtful if it has gained any literary sanction. 'Yw' is the correct form with 'pan'. The reader will have noticed *pan yw* above—a phrase of common occurrence in early writings. Other examples are:

“Pan yw fy nhad a'm mam yn fy ngwrthod, yr
Arglwydd a'm derbyn.”—Psalm xxvii. 10.

‘Pan yw yn dywedyd celwydd, o'r eiddo ei hun y
mae yn dywedyd.’—John viii. 44.

“Fel taith ar foreu rhewllyd, pan yw'r gwaed
A'r pen yn gloywi'n min yr awel lem.”

Elfed, y Sabboth yng Nghymru.

And in the plural—

pan ydynt, *not* pan maent.

“Pan ydynt yn peri enwaedu'r galon.”—Edw. S. 125.

Nes requires the same construction—

“Y mae yr Eryr yn gwasgu at y Gigfran yn fwy
difrifol, nes yw hithau o'r diwedd yn blino.”

Darlithiau Dr. Edwards, 142.

“ Mae un yn dal ei ddrychfeddyliau clir
 O flaen y dorf mewn ymresymiad coeth,
 Nes yw'r gwirionedd heb gymylog len
 Yn edrych yn eu llygaid.”

Elfed, y Sabboth yng Nghymru.

os : The *s* of *os* is of double origin—

- i. It is often the Post-vocalic or Infix Personal Pronoun, as in—

‘Mi a ddywedaf wrtho *os* gwelaf.’

I shall tell him if I see him.

And though its pronominal function is now obscured, the rule whereby the verb must immediately follow the infix pronoun is strictly observed. Hence—

os daw, *not os y* daw.

os bu ,, *os y* bu.

- ii. When followed by any part of speech other than a verb, the *s* stands for ‘*ys*’, 3rd sing. of ‘*wyf*’, e.g.—

“*Os myfi yr ydych yn ei geisio, gadewch i'r rhai hyn fyned ymaith*”—St. John xviii. 8.

Lit. *If it is I whom ye seek, let these go their way.*

y and *yr* (older—*yd*) are identical with the Relative. Both are probably Demonstrative in origin. Compare the Latin cognate *id* and English *it*. The change of function from pronoun to conjunction finds an exact parallel in the English *that*, which, etymologically, is the neuter of the Demonstrative.

The transition is not difficult of explanation in English. The stages are these :—

- (i) ' He will come,—I know that '.
- (ii) Then, with ' he will come ' understood or expressed earlier, simply—
 ' I know that ' ; and
- (iii) ' He will come ' is appended in apposition to *that* for the sake of clearness ; thus—
 ' I know that (viz.) he will come.'
- (iv) *That* in (iii) readily acquires a conjunctive force.

As ' y ' (' yr ' , ' yd ') has lost its Demonstrative power, the alteration of function is not as easily demonstrated.

3.—Some conjunctions are verbal in origin :

Pe < bei, the third singular past imperfect subjunctive of the verb ' to be '. Compare the semi-conjunctive force of the auxiliary verb in English when brought to the beginning of the sentence, as—

Were I to go = *If* I were to go.
Should he come = *If* he should come.

Ys in canys.

Mai is a doublet of mae :

" Llyma vy ffyd *mae* mi ae rannaf."—Mab. 206.

" Coelia fy rhain fain hir,

A gwyl ddihareb mae gwir."—D. ab G. CLXIII.

Taw : now obsolete as a verb. Compare Irish ' t̄ā ' (*is*).

CHAPTER XIII

COMPOSITION AND DERIVATION AND THE MEANING OF WORDS

I.—WITH the exception of a few hundred words taken from Latin, mainly during the Romano-British period, Welsh has, on the whole, successfully resisted the introduction of borrowed words. It has preferred to supply new words by forming compounds and derivatives from native elements—a characteristic also of Greek and Modern German. English at one time possessed the same power, but with the great influx of Norman-French words during the early Middle English period composition fell into desuetude, and to-day the language is open to the taunt, not infrequently levelled against it, that the bulk of its vocabulary is not English at all. Whether it is to the ultimate advantage of a nation to coin and build up out of its own store, and decline to adopt many words of foreign origin, is a debatable question. But a comparison of English and Welsh, as typical of two languages following divergent paths for the extension of their vocabulary, brings out one or two salient facts worthy of attention.

(a) Native words are always richer in associations, and Welsh is a language of great emotional suggestion. Its words are redolent of our hills and dales. They

pulsate with the trials and struggles, the failures and triumphs, of the past. Hence it is sometimes called the language of the heart. The same fact accounts for the criticism, in the case of English, that an address or an essay, except on a technical subject, sounds insincere or unreal if it contains a large number of foreign words to the exclusion of more expressive and simpler native synonyms. The vocabulary of the "Pilgrim's Progress" is remarkably "pure", and that book is always mentioned as evidence of the power and effectiveness of the "unpolluted English language." Macaulay has referred* to it as possessing "a strong human interest," and adds: "For magnificence, for pathos, for vehement exhortation, for subtle disquisition, for every purpose of the poet, the orator, and the divine, this homely dialect, the dialect of plain working men, was perfectly sufficient."

(b) But a weakness is inseparable from this excellence. It is difficult to divest a native word of misleading associations. Where precision is imperative, it is important that a word be found free from disturbing and irrelevant suggestion. Hence, for technical and scientific purposes, it conduces to lucidity to borrow words to which we can attach the precise meanings required.

(c) An intelligent borrowing will enrich a language with synonyms expressive of the most delicate shades of difference in meaning, as *paternal* and *fatherly*,

* Review of Southey's edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress."

vulgar and *common*, *commence* and *begin*. Welsh has to depend almost entirely upon its own resources for this purpose; but a few illustrations may be given of the advantage of borrowing, as *sych* and *hesp*, *hwyr* and *hir*, *ceffyl* and *ebol*. That Welsh can and does rather effectively meet the demand out of its native stock may be readily shown, as *brawd* and *brodor*, *poblog* and *poblogaidd*, *rhwymau* and *rhwymedigaethau*, *delwi* and *delweddi*, *caledi* and *caledrwydd*, *iechyd* and *iachawdwriaeth*.

(d) The ease with which derivatives and compounds can be formed in Welsh, as in German, has led to their multiplication, not always to differentiate meanings, but, too frequently, to save the writer or speaker the trouble to look for existing forms, or to give him the air of extensive learning. Such unwieldy forms as *bradwriaeth*, *cospedigaeth*, *creadigaeth*, *Cymreigaid*, *hanesyddiaeth*, *Seisnigaid* are often used where *brad*, *cosp*, *cread*, *Cymreig*, *hanes*, *Seisnig* would be in every way better.

(e) There is a very decided advantage in having the words that are related in meaning connected also in form and origin. Their study gives the speaker a more real grip on speech, and the analysis of complex forms not only enlarges a student's vocabulary, but also gives him greater precision in the use of terms. Thus he will trace—

Brawd, *judgment*, in brawdle, brawdlys, brawdwr,
brawdlyfr, adfrawd, difrod.

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Delw, in del, delwi, delweddi, delwig, anelwig, arddel, arddeliad, cerfddelw, cynddelw.

Awch, in hogi, hogfaen, annog, egni, yni, diog; English *to egg*, Latin *acus, acer, acies*.

The root of—

Gwn, English *know*, Latin (*g*)*nosco*, in gnawd, adnabod, cydnabod, ynad, anynad, dirnad, cadno, gwyddno Tudno.

Llaw, in llofffa, lloffion, llofrudd, llofnod, llyffethair, llawethar, dylofi, llofelu, canllaw.

Llwg, English *light*, Old English *liht*, in amlwg, eglwg, golwg, gorllewin, llewyrch or llewych, goleu, lleuad, llugorn, Lug (a river running eastward towards the light; contrast Wyre), Lligwy.

Llun, *shape, form*, in adlun, afluniaidd, arlun, arlunydd, cerflun, cynllun, darlun, dilun, eilun, gwrthlun, rhagluniaeth, etc.

Tud (cognate with *Teuton*, Old English *theod* = 1—people, nation; 2—country) in alltud, tudwedd, Ardudwy, Tudur, Tudno, Llandudno.

Instances might be multiplied, but the above will suffice at this stage to show what a fruitful field of study lies here for the Welsh student.

2.—MANY WORDS ARE READILY ANALYSED, as—

afrywiog < af, *not* + rhyw, *genus, class* + iog, adjectival suffix, and therefore parallel in meaning, as in construction, to English *degenerate*.

anhodyn, *obstinate, stubborn*, < an- *not*, + hy-, *easy*,
-able, + tynnu, and therefore literally = *not easily*
led.

chwilfrydedd < chwil, chwilio, + bryd, *mind, decision*,
+ abstract noun suffix -edd.

diledryw < di-, *not*, + lled, *rather, somewhat, not*, +
rhyw, and so = *not degenerate*.

drycin < drwg, + hin.

hunllef, *nightmare*, < hun, *sleep*, + llêf.

olynol < ol + yn + ol, *in the track of, successive*.

pendramwnwgl, *headlong*, < pen, + tra, *beyond, in*
front, before, + mwnwgl, *neck*.

ymddiofrydu, < ym- (reflexive), + di- (negative), + go,
somewhat, not, + bryd, + verb-noun suffix -u, and
so *to resolve, vow*.

ymennydd < yn + pen + -ydd, *what is in the head,*
brain.

ysywaeth < ysy(dd) + waeth, ysy(dd) itself coming
from the verb ys + the pronoun ydd, now yr.
(See Relative Pronouns.)

3.—HOMONYMS, or words of like sound but of different
meaning, should be carefully distinguished; e.g.—

Ber, fer, mer in adfer, berfa, cymeryd, Cymer, are
variant forms of a Welsh word cognate with English

bear, Latin *fero* ; while *fer*, *mer* in *diferu*, *dadmer*, *gofer*, are doublets of *mer*, *a drop*, *fluid*.

Cân (*a song*) in *adargan* ; *can* (*white*, Latin *candidus*) in *lloergan* ; *can* (< *cant*, *a hundred*) in *canwriad* ; *can*, *with*, in *canllaw*, *canfod*.

Gwên, *a smile*, in *crechwen* ; *gwen*, fem. of *gwyn*, in *Blodwen*, *Olwen*, *heulwen*—*haul* was fem. in *Mediæval Welsh* (*v. chapter on Gender*) ; hence *wen*, and not *wyn*.

Llys, *false*, in *dilys*, *dilysiant*, *llysenw* ; *llys*, *hall*, *palace*, *court*, in *llysdy*, *Henllys*, *Llyswen* (*v. chapter on Gender*) ; *llys*, *slime*, *snivel*, in *llysnafedd* ; *llys*, *a herb*, in *myglys*, *rhionllys*.

4.—LOSS OF WORDS

Many words have fallen out of use and have been replaced by others. Thus *hobeu* was no longer familiar in the dialect when the *Mabinogi of Math* assumed its present form :

“ Pwy y henw hwy heb ef. Hobeu arglwyd. Pa ryw anieileit yw y rei hynny, anieileit bychein gwell eu kic no chic eidon, bychein ynt wynteu. Ac y maent yn symudaw enweu. Moch y gelwir weithon.”—*Mab. 6o.*

But the word is still in use in the compounds ‘ *nerob* ’ and ‘ *horob* ’ (*a fitch of bacon*) < ‘ *hanner hob*, ’ and even the simple word remains in the title—

“ *Hob y deri dan dô*, ”

which meant that the swine of the forest had been slaughtered and hung up to dry under the roof, ready for the winter.

Llad, *a favour, kindness, good*, is scarcely in use to-day, but it occurs in llatai, lladai, *a bearer of favours, a love messenger* :

“ Y ddilediaith dda ladai.”—D. ab G.

Penllad, *summum bonum, the highest good* ; afrllad (sing. afrlladen), *wafers* :

“ A'i flas fel afrllad o fêl.”—Exodus xvi. 31.

anllad ; anlladrwydd.

Rhod in beddrod. ‘Bedd’, of course, is still in common use, and is probably a doublet of ‘bawdd’, ‘boddi’, the change of vowel being an illustration of the law of Ablaut or Gradation. ‘Rhod’ is different. It has nothing to do with ‘rhod’, *a wheel*, and must be referred back to Celtic ‘ratis’, Irish ‘rath’, *a mound, earth wall*. It occurs dialectally as ‘rath’ in Pembrokeshire, and in the place-names Roath, Amroth. It is, therefore, interesting that the heaping up of the earth on a grave above the surrounding ground not only is a perpetuating of the old cromlech, mound, and cairn of early times, but is also denoted in language by the last element of this compound.

Cledd is no longer used for *left*, but the derivative

'gogledd' is common enough. And the term reminds us that the points of the compass were named in relation to an observer looking eastward to the *rising* sun: dwyrain < dy (intensive), + a root seen in Latin 'oriens', whence Orient for the east. This term occurs in 'arwyrain', a *panegyric*; 'dwyre', *to rise*; and 'Wyre', a river rising in the *east* of Cardiganshire and running west to Cardigan Bay. To an observer thus facing the east, the north would be to his *left*, and the south—*de*—to his right (*deheu*).

Old Welsh *i* (<*di*), in the sense of *from*, cognate with Latin *de* is now rare. As it was gradually superseded, *o* was prefixed to explain its force in the preposition 'oddi.'

Ysgyfarnog, a *hare*, is a familiar word; but the Old Welsh 'ysgyfarn', *an ear* (Cornish 'scevarn', Breton 'scouarn'), is no longer used. 'Ysgyfarnog', lit. = *the long-eared one*.

Tud is now familiar only in its derivatives and compounds, as 'tudwedd', 'alltud', etc. (see above). The last-named word is identical, part for part, with Old English 'el-theod', a *strange nation*, whence 'eltheodig', a *foreigner*. 'Theod' was Latinized by the Romans into 'Teut-', 'Teuton', and the meaning of these words, and of Old Irish 'tuath', a *people*, points to the fact that 'Tud' meant a *people, a nation*, before it was applied to the land or country occupied by them. Plenty of

words of a parallel development could be mentioned, as Essex, Wessex, Middlesex, Sussex (= East, West, Middle, and South Saxons), Norfolk, Suffolk, etc., where the application of the terms to the land is derived from their denotation of the people. Whence we may legitimately infer that 'Cymry' was a *tribal* name before it became territorial under the modern form 'Cymru',* as we know is the case, too, with 'Wales' from Old English 'Wealas', meaning *foreigners*.

5.—PLEONASTIC COMPOUNDS, like 'greyhound' and 'hobby-horse' in English, are not uncommon in Welsh. Reduplication is generally due to one of two causes :

(a) The wish to emphasize a word, as—

angenrhaid, deubar (*a couple*), swyngyfaredd.

(b) The need of explaining a word falling out of use, or disguised in form, by a more familiar equivalent; e.g.—

Tawlbwrdd < tabl (< English or French *table*) + bwrdd; oddi < o, *from*, added to explain the Old Welsh 'i', 'di', *from*, cognate with Latin 'de'.

The following are additional examples of pleonastic compounds in Welsh—

Aergad; boncyff; bwystfil; certwyn < Middle English cart + wain; cilfach; chwibl-sur;

* Kymry is the invariable form in the Mabinogion and the Brutieu for both *Welsh people* and *Wales*.

coedwig; cyfan-gwbl; chwil-dro; gwyr-gam;
milgi; mygdarth; rhuddgoch.

6.—MANY WORDS ARE SO DISGUISED AND CORRUPTED that some knowledge of the principles of phonetic change and of the operations of popular etymology is necessary to discover their origin; e.g.—

awrlais, by popular etymology from Middle English 'horlage', 'horloge', French 'horloge'. It appears, with a modified meaning and in a less corrupt form, as *orloes* in—

“Gwrddlef telyn ag orloes,
Gormodd rhodd, gwr meddw a'i rhoes.”

D. ab G. CXIX.

barlys owes the form of its second element to an attempt at translating '-ley' (a doublet of *leek*, and of *lock* in 'hemlock' and *lic* in 'garlic') of English 'barley'. A similar but bolder step was taken in turning English 'poplar' into Welsh 'poplys', unless this word be directly from Latin 'populus'.

bodo, the familiar term in North Cardiganshire for 'aunt', is a shortened form of 'modryb', with the '-o' of endearment at the end (*v.* chapter on Diminutives). The interchange of *m* and *b* is one of the best-attested facts in Welsh phonology. Compare 'benyw' and 'menyw'. Hence 'modfedd' for 'bawd' + 'medd,' cognate with English 'mete', *measure*. Also 'modrwy' from 'bawd + rhwyf', for it was a regular custom up to the seven-

teenth century to wear rings on thumbs as well as on the other fingers; ‘-rhwyf’ is a doublet of ‘rhwym’, ‘rhwymyn’, and means a band. Compare ‘aerwy’, ‘breichrwyfeu’ (Mab.), ‘cyfrwy’, etc.

breichled: a partially translated form of English and French ‘bracelet’. ‘Braich’ equals French ‘bras’, *an arm*, and ‘-let’ is a diminutive suffix. For the softening of final ‘-t’ in Welsh, compare ‘cwpled’ and ‘soned’ from English ‘couplet’ and ‘sonnet’. Some writers, like Lewys Glyn Cothi, saw ‘lledr’, *leather*, in the last element and duly added the *r*:

“Gwisgaw breichledr, os medraf,
O arian neu aur a wnaf.”

The same attempt at “rationalizing” a suffix is observable in the etymology often given to ‘canwyllarn’,* ‘coesarn’, ‘llwyarn’, etc. The sound *r* is apt to develop an inorganic or epenthetic *n* after it, as in ‘ar-n-af’ (contrast ‘at-af’), ‘miswrn’ < English ‘visor’; and the substantival suffix ‘-ar’ (*yr* in ‘canwylyr’) in the above words assumes the extended form ‘-ar-n’. Hence the somewhat common impression that the suffix is a shortened form of *harn* (for *haearn*).

bydwraig (English ‘midwife’) is another instance of the interchange of *m* and *b*: ‘byd < mid’ meaning *with*, and ‘gwraig’, a translation of *wife*.

ceiniog is scarcely intelligible etymologically from the

* See Dr. Silvan Evans’s Dictionary (*s.v.*).

coin so named ; but one is reminded by such facts as—

“ *twenty-four* pennyweights make one ounce ”

that before 1797 the penny was a silver coin, and the term ‘ceiniog’ < ‘can’, *bright, shining, white*, is a record of the earlier currency.

‘Cyfan’ is shortened in various ways, as—

cefnfor, cefnllif ; cenlloer, cenllif.

cyfr : an intensive prefix meaning *whole, complete* ; probably a variant form of ‘cyfan’, for the liquids ‘n’, and ‘r’, readily interchange ; e.g.—

cnwc and crug

elydn ,, elydr.

So ‘cyfrgollledig’ would be ‘cyfan + gollledig’, *completely lost*. Compare ‘cyfrgrwn’, ‘cyfrgwbl’.

erbyn : -byn is the old dative of ‘pen’, *a head*. Other traces of case inflection are—

-dwy, in meudwy, lit. *servant of God* ; and Dyfrdwy. Genitive of Duw.

peun-, for older peupn, in beunoeth, beunydd. Accus. of pob.

gwarogaeth < older ‘gwrogaeth’, and therefore the exact equivalent of ‘homage’ (< Latin ‘homo’, *man*).

fel < fal < y fal < hafal, cognate with Latin ‘similis’.

The first syllable was corrupted, mistaken for the definite article and detached. Then the initial ‘f’ was sometimes protracted into ‘m’, as—

“Ef a arganuu ar y nef mal fford o syr.”

Ystorya 1.

7.—OTHERS HAVE TRAVELLED GREAT LENGTHS IN MEANING FROM THEIR LITERAL OR ETYMOLOGICAL SENSE; e.g.—

awgrym is eventually from Arabic “ ‘al-Khowarazmi’, *the native of Khwarazm (Khiva)*, surname of the Arab mathematician Abu Ja’far Mohammed Ben Musa, who flourished early in the ninth century, and through the translation of whose work on Algebra, the Arabic numerals became generally known in Europe ”.* Hence its first derived meaning is *a numeral, a figure*, and then it readily acquired the meaning of *symbol, sign*.

brudio, brudwyr < Brutus, the eponymous ancestor of the Britons. Hence ‘y Brutieu’, *the Bruts*, a chronicle or history of the Britons; and as these chronicles contained much prophecy ‘brudio’ has come to mean *to guess future events, to prophesy*; and ‘brudwyr’, *wisards, sorcerers*. (Compare Lev. xix. 31, Isa. xix. 3, Daniel ii. 27, etc.)

cawl, a South Wales term for *broth*, especially one in which cabbage or leeks have been boiled; from Latin ‘caulis’, *a cabbage* (whence English ‘cauliflower’).

cyfair, *an acre*; from ‘cyfer’, ‘cyfair’, *opposite*; hence ‘that over against the dwelling or the town.’ Com-

* Quote in Dr Evans’s Dictionary, under ‘Awgrym’.

pare English 'country' < French 'contrée' < Latin 'contra', *against*; also German 'gegend', *a region, country*, from 'gegen', *against, opposite*.

gwawd, originally *praise*, hence *mock praise* and finally *mockery*.

lladd, cognate with English 'slay', still retains its old meaning of *to strike* in 'ymladd'. Compare *sledge*, a doublet of *slay*, as in 'sledge-hammer', i.e. a striking hammer. From *to strike* it came to mean *to cut*, and that is its force in 'lladd gwair', 'lladd mawn', etc. Finally, *to kill*. 'Slay' shows a parallel change of meaning.

mynwent, *a graveyard, a burial place*, from Latin 'monumentum'. Hence (i) *a monument*, (ii) 'a place of tombs', and therefore *a burial ground*.

rhinwedd, *virtue*, from 'rhin'. The vowel goes back to a Brythonic or Celtic 'u'. Compare Welsh 'ti' and Old Irish 'tū', Latin 'tū'; also Welsh 'din', 'dinas', and Old Irish 'dūn', Old English 'tūn' (> Modern English 'town'). The word 'rhin' is thus seen to be cognate with English 'runes', the name given by the Old English people to the alphabet which they brought over with them from the Continent. But its use for the alphabet is derived and secondary, for its first meaning is *mystery*, and the invention of writing, the conveying of thought by means of scratches on sword-hilts, etc., must have been one of the greatest mysteries confronting

the savage mind. A knowledge of the original meaning cannot fail to enrich and deepen the force of the word 'rhin', 'rhinwedd', as used by us to-day. Thus 'yn rhin y gwaed' will seem appropriately interpreted as '*in the mystery of the blood*', '*that which cannot be fathomed*'.

8.—OTHER WORDS HAVE RETAINED A MORE ORIGINAL MEANING than the terms from which they are derived, or their cognates in other languages ; e.g.—

brâf, *fine, handsome*, like the French 'brave', *gay, fine, proud*. The English word 'brave' has acquired a secondary meaning. It is possible that 'brâf' is a Celtic word.

dwl : in Modern English 'dull' means *not keen, blunt, heavy*, but in Old English it = *foolish*, a meaning still preserved by the Welsh word. Compare German 'toll', *mad*.

sad, *steady, firm, discreet, serious*. The meaning alone would suggest that the word was borrowed from the English *sad* during the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth century, for that was the period during which the latter had the meaning of *serious, trustworthy*. Prior to the fourteenth century it had its literal meaning of *filled, satiated*, and in the seventeenth century it acquired its present force of *mournful*.

9.—CATHOLIC INFLUENCE.—We owe some words or

special meanings of words to Catholic custom; thus Shrove Tuesday is called Dydd Mawrth Ynyd (< Latin 'initium', *beginning*) because it comes at the beginning of Lent.

ymswyn < ym + Latin 'signum', *the sign* (of the cross), and

ymgroesi point to the Catholic practice of charming oneself against evil influences by making a sign of the cross upon the body.

cyngrair and cynghreirio go back to the custom of sealing a compact by swearing with one's hand upon holy relics (crair, creiriau).

Dan ei grwys, lit.: *under his cross*, is a familiar expression in South-west Wales for a body between death and burial. The phrase is to be explained by reference to the habit of placing a cross over the corpse to prevent the approach of the Evil One, who might otherwise spirit it away.

10.—LATIN WORDS IN WELSH.—A great many were borrowed especially during the Roman occupation of Britain. As I have dealt with this subject elsewhere,* I do not propose discussing the subject here at any length. Several words have been borrowed twice over, e.g.—

Yvreham and later, Abraham
Iago (= *Jacob*) ,, ,, Jacob

* "The Latin Element in Welsh."

diagon and later, diacon
 diawl „ „ diafol

In Deffynniad Ffydd M. Kyffin, the last term appears frequently, and it is invariably in the older form.

effaith < Latin 'effectum' is a very late borrowing.

It does not occur in the Bible or in Dr. Davies' Dictionary of 1632. It is interesting and instructive to see how the Welsh version expresses the idea conveyed by *effect* in the English Bible; e.g.—

“ Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition.”

“ Ac fel hyn y gwnaethoch orchymyn Duw yn ddirym trwy eich traddodiad eich hun.”

Matt. xv. 6.

“ Shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect ? ”

“ A wna eu hanghrediniaeth hwy ffydd Duw yn ofer ? ”—Rom. iii. 3.

“ The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.”

“ Llawer a ddichon taer weddi y cyfiawn.”

James v. 16.

Ffaith is an incorrectly formed recent borrowing, and is not found in any Welsh classic. The Latin 'factum' should give us 'ffaeth', and that form does occur in the sense of *fruitful, rich, ripe*.

II.—ENGLISH WORDS IN WELSH.—If we take literary

speech and classical writings as our standard the number of words borrowed from English will be found to be small.

Some well-defined phonetic principles are observed in the case of these borrowed words :—

i. Initial 'l-', 'r-', 'v-' are usually protracted into 'll-', 'rh-', and 'b-' or 'm'-, as—

lloft	<	loft	rhonc	<	rank
bernais	<	varnish	mentro	<	venture.

A few instances of unprotracted 'l-' and 'v-' occur, like—

lifrai	<	livery	ferfaen	<	vervain
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ii. Initial 'sh-', 's-' (sh- sound), 'ch-' (as in 'chance'), 'j-' and 'g-' (as in 'George') > Welsh 'si', as—

siom	<	sham	siwr	<	sure
siawns	<	chance	siwrnai	<	journey
		siors	<	George.	

iiia. In a few instances, they become 's', as—

som, somedigaeth (the common pronunciation of the word in Gwynedd)	<	sham
Suddas	<	Judas
Sermania	<	Germany.

iiib. At the end of a syllable they pass into s :—

estrys	<	ostrich	awrlais	<	horloge
		Siors	<	George.	

iii. Words in 's-' + consonant develop a euphonic 'y-'—

ystor < store ysmysgu < smoke
 ystad < state;

or drop one of the consonants, as—

mwg, myglis, < smoke.

iv. Final consonant + 's' develop an intervening vowel sound, e.g.—

ffigys < figs Morus < Moors

“Gwlâd y Morus duon.”—D. y P. O. 144.

socas < socks

v. Initial 'th-' > 't-', as no words in Welsh begin in 'th-':

trefa, drefa < thrive

vi. Final -p, -t, -c are softened into -b, -d, -g:—

ab < ape dwbled < doublet
 Catholig < Catholic.

12.—PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES.

Several prefixes and suffixes are in origin significant words, e.g.—

tra is an Old Welsh word for *thing*, and it is still in use in Breton. It is now a substantival suffix as in 'eofndra', 'gwyleidd-dra'; '-der' is a variant form.

deb is the substantive word in 'tebyg', 'ardeb'; but

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in 'purdeb', 'priodoldeb', etc., it is a pure suffix.

-llyd, -lyd, as in 'rhydlyd', 'newynllyd', 'dyfrllyd', is probably a weakened form of 'lled', *width*.

-fa, as in 'trigfa', 'morfa', is from an old noun 'mag', meaning *place*. It is sometimes prefixed to a noun, as—

ma mouric in Liber Landavensis.

Machynlleth < ma + Cynllaith.

Mallwyd < ma + Llwyd.

Mathafarn < ma + tafarn.

That the order of the elements constituting a compound varies occasionally may be illustrated from—

glaswellt and gwelltlas

Gwyndy ,, Ty Gwyn

Dinlle, Dinlleu ,, Lugodunum (> Lyons)

Other instances of significant words used as suffixes are—

-wr ; -wraig ; -llawn, -lawn ; -fawr, -gar, etc.

13.—Some suffixes have ceased to be recognised as such in Modern Welsh, and are therefore inapplicable to new words, e.g.—

-is in clais < root of claddu, cloddio. Hence its first meaning of *a ditch, a trench*, whence its secondary force of *a rivulet, a rill*, a meaning seen in Dulais, Dulas, and Douglas, all meaning *a black brook*. For

this derived meaning compare 'nant', which in North Wales means *a valley, ravine, dingle*, with the secondary force of *brook*, while in South Wales it is practically confined to the last-named meaning.

trais < tra, traha; etc.

-st, as clust, from root of clywed.

14.—Others have wandered so far from their original meaning that their force can be gathered only from a study of comparative grammar. A striking instance is the '-ant' of 'meddiant', 'diffuant', 'llwyddiant', etc. It is the old present participle suffix which has now ceased to have any verbal function, and is not found in the conjugation of a Welsh verb. It is cognate with the participial '-nd' of Old English verbs, now ousted by the abstract noun suffix '-ing' with an acquired verbal force. The old ending still remains in 'husband' (lit. 'a house-dwelling one'), 'friend', 'fiend'. The termination is familiar to the student of Latin under the form 'nt', as—'amant(em)', 'monent(em)'.

15.—Of the prefixes recognised as such in Modern Welsh some are apt to be elusive in form. Thus the intensive prefix 'en-', as in—

enfawr; enllyn (< en, + llyn, *a liquid*)

is er- in erfawr, ergryn, etc;

al- ,, alaeth;

e- ,, ehud < hudo, and therefore *easily led, foolish*;

effro < e + ffraw; ewyn < e + gwyn; and
even

an- in annog, annwn (for en + dwfn), anaele, etc.

And here it is identical in form with the negative prefix 'an-', as—

annoeth, anhawdd.

di- and dy- :

di- is usually negative, as—didduw, diddym, diog ;

while dy- is regularly intensive, as—dyfal.

di-, however, is not infrequently intensive, as—

diod < di, + od cognate with Greek hudōr.

dial < di, + gal, whence galon, gelyn.

dioddef < di, + goddef.

dilyn < di, + glynu ; cf. canlyn, ymlynu.

N. B.—(i) dy- is ty- in tyred < dy, + rhed.

(ii) dy- in 'dybryd' is different: it is cognate
with Greek dus- *hard, ill.*

An- and di- as negative prefixes are not identical in
function :—

di- is usually a pure negative, as—

didduw, *Godless* ; diflas, *tasteless*.

an- affirms the opposite, as—

anfad, *wicked* ; anair, *evil report, slander* ;

anwr, *a wretch*.

Still, the distinction is not always observed ; thus
'diystyru' affirms the opposite of 'ystyried', and
'annoeth' is no stronger than 'disynnwyr'.

y- and e- are mere euphonic prefixes to words beginning with (i) 's' + consonant, (ii) often 'ch' + consonantal 'w', and (iii) sometimes 'n-', as—ysmygu (compare English 'smoke'); ysbryd (< Latin 'spiritus'); esmwyth (compare English 'smooth'); ychwaneg; anadred (= nadredd, nadroedd), Ystorya 21; eneidrwydd.

ym-, reflexive, is a variant form of the preposition 'am'.* Hence such doublet forms as 'angeddu' and 'ymgeleddu'. It is essentially reflexive in 'ymgroesi', 'ymswyn', 'ymolchi', etc. It is slightly different in 'ymweled', which does not mean *to see oneself*, but rather *to take oneself to see, to visit*. In 'ymladd' it suggests reciprocity—*to strike and to be struck, to fight*. While in such a word as 'ymbwyll' it is almost purely formal.

16.—SUFFIXES

Little further need be said on the suffixes. One or two points of interest, however, should be mentioned.

The 'w' before '-r' in 'awdwr', 'ymherawdwr', and some other words borrowed from Latin is due to popular etymology. The stages are Latin 'au(c)tor' > 'awdr' > 'awdyr', and then, by analogy of 'prynwr', 'gweithiwr', etc., 'y' was changed into 'w'.

-ad, -iad :

(i) With the vowel of the preceding syllable affected or mutated—if it is mutable—they denote *person, doer*.

* See Prof. Anwyl's Introduction to the Gogynfeirdd.

(ii) With the vowel of the preceding syllable unmutated they form verbal nouns.

Examples :—

(i) <i>Agent</i>	(ii) <i>Verbal noun</i>
beirniad	dyfarniad
ceidwad	cadwad
deiliad	daliad
dadgeiniad	dadganiad
eirchiad	archiad
geilwad	galwad
lleiddiad	lladdiad

‘Cynhaliad’, *supporter*, in 2 Samuel xxii. 19 and Psalm xviii. 18 should be ‘cynheiliad’ :

“Ond yr Arglwydd oedd gynhaliad imi.”

-adwy and -edig are usually passive in function, e.g.—

gweladwy, *visible* ; rhoddedig, *given* ;

but they are active in a very few instances :

dyn teimladwy, *a man full of feeling* ;

calon gystuddiedig, *a contrite heart*.

“Codi’r glicied wichiedig,
Deffro porthor y ddôr ddig.”

G. O. Calendr y Carwr.

-edig is used for -adwy in—

“Anfesuredig Dad.”—Athanasian Creed.
(*The Father incomprehensible.*)

-us, *full of*, is cognate with Latin '-us' (as 'pius'), English '-ous'. After the unrounding of the *u*, whereby the sound was made identical with the clear *y*, the latter symbol was sometimes substituted for *u* in this suffix:—

“Melys-gan melldigedig y môr-fyrynnion.”

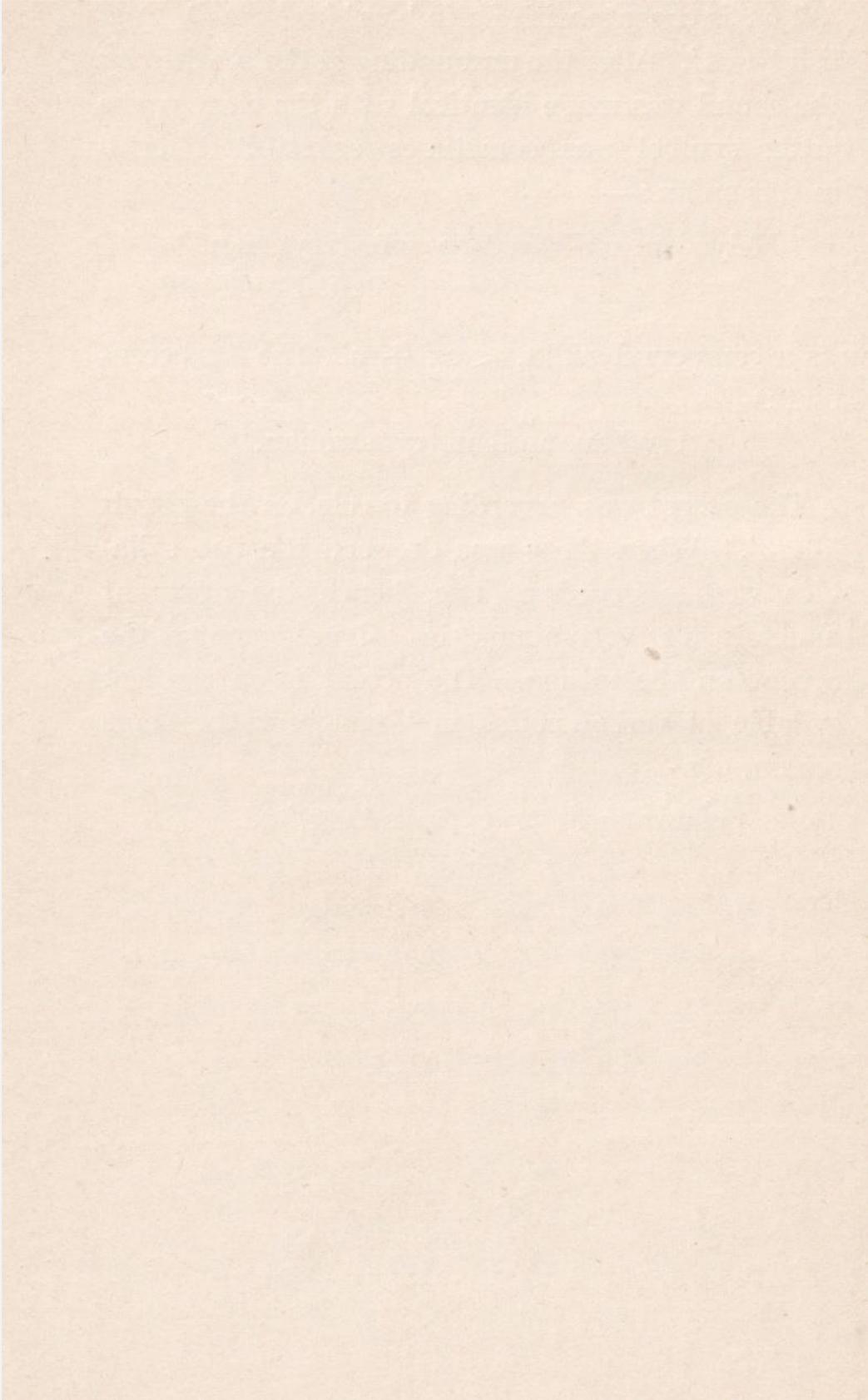
Deff. Ffydd 186.

-hau is a compound suffix, < ag + u. The *h* is accental:

cryfhau, amlhau, cyfiawnhau.

The accent was, according to rule, on the penult '-ag-'. When the *g* was dropped the two syllables were reduced to one, hence the apparent anomaly of verb-nouns in '-hau' having the accent on the ultima. The accent is on the last syllable of verbal nouns in '-had' for the same reason, e.g.—

cyfiawnhad' < cyfiawn-ha(g)'-ad.



(delwedd L1491) (tudalen 232)

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