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Studies In Welsh Phonology.

Samuel J. Evans, M.A. (Lond.) (1870-1938).

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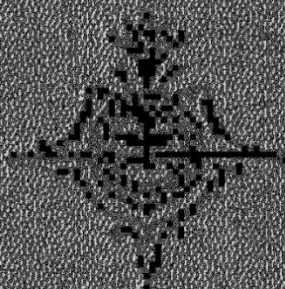
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STUDIES IN
WELSH PHONOLOGY.



SAMUEL J. EVANS, M.A.

(delwedd F6354b)

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IN
WELSH PHONOLOGY

BY

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1870-1938

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—
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PREFACE.

THE right of Welsh to an honourable place in our system of education has been amply recognised of late years in the schools and colleges of the Principality. The movement for the introduction of this subject into the curriculum is not an isolated fact, or the feverish dream of a few irresponsible enthusiasts.

It is a part of the Educational renaissance which has stirred and possessed the nation for the last forty years. It has a counterpart in the recent upheaval in Western Europe and in America for the due recognition of the mother tongue in education, both as a mental discipline and a material gain, and in the main its methods must be those sanctioned for modern languages by the leading educationists of all countries.

It is universally recognised that a training in phonetics must constitute an essential and organic part of the "Reform movement." But while English, French, and German sounds have been carefully analysed, classified, and compared, little has been done for this department of Welsh study outside the lecture rooms of our National Colleges. Sir John Rhys's Lectures on Welsh Philology—the only work yet issued that gives much attention to the subject—is out of print, and its Phonology is mainly historical.

The author is well aware that these Studies can lay no claim to any finality, but he believes that as they embody careful observation extended over a number of years, and a systematic attempt at equating and differentiating the sounds of Welsh, English, and French—the three languages with which Welshmen are most intimately concerned—they will not fail to advance the cause of Welsh education, and enable the teacher to adopt more completely for Welsh and English, the method already adopted in most secondary schools for French and German. He has allowed himself the pleasure of a frequent digression into the field of Etymology, wherever, by so doing, he could throw light on any point of Phonetics.

The author has derived useful hints from the writings of Sir John Rhys, Dr. Silvan Evans, Professors Anwyl and Morris Jones, Zeuss and Loth, Brugmann, Giles and Peile, and is in a special degree indebted for many suggestions to the works on Phonetics by Viëtor and Passy, Sweet and Rippmann. He will be grateful for any suggestions that may contribute to greater lucidity or accuracy.

LLANGFNI,

December, 1908.

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REFERENCES & ABBREVIATIONS.

- B. C. or Bardd Cwsc.* : Professor Morris Jones's Edition, (Jarvis and Foster Bangor).
- Brutieu* : The Oxford Edition, by Sir John Rhys and Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans.
- D. ab. G.* : Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym, o Grynhead Owen Jones a William Owen—Llundain 1789.
- G. B. C.* : Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru, Edited by Cynddelw, (Humphreys, Caernarfon).
- G. O.* : Cywyddau Goronwy Owen : Mr. W. J. Gruffydd's Edition (Southall, Newport)
- G. G. G.* : Gwirionedd y Grefydd Gristionogol, by Edward Samuel, Edited by Dr. Silvan Evans, (Spurrell, Carmarthen).
- Llyfr Job* : Bishop Morgan's Translation (1588), Edited by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, (Henry Frowde).
- M.'A.* : The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales—(Gee & Son, Denbigh).
- Mab.* : Mabinogion—The Oxford Edition, by Sir John Rhys & Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans.
- Deff. Ffydd* : Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr.
Guild of Graduates' Series.
- Morgan Llwyd* : Llyfr y Tri Aderyn. do.
- D. v P.O.* : Drych y Prif. Oesoedd. do.
- Ystorva* : Ystorya de Carolo Magno, edited by Professor Powel (Cymmrodorion Society's Publications.)
- < = is sprung from, is derived from.
- . = passes into, is the parent of.

WELSH PHONOLOGY.



CHAPTER I.

VOWELS.

No study of the sounds of a language can be considered satisfactory which does not investigate to some extent their physiological basis.

The nature and the timbre or quality of every sound may be determined by reference to the vocal organs concerned in its production. Thus *p, t, c (=k), b, d, g* (as in Welsh *garrd*, Eng. *get*) are called Mutes or Checks, because the passage of the breath is momentarily stopped before the sounds are uttered. If the vocal chords are not brought into action at all, the sounds are *p, t, c*, while for *b, d, and g* some vibration is necessary.

The Vowels on the other hand are primarily the result of the vibration of these chords, but their distinctive timbre is determined by a number of secondary tones produced by a peculiar configuration of the mouth. The shape of the cavity is largely dependent upon the position of the stopper or tongue and the lips. For one

position of the stopper the mouth may be closed or at any intermediate stage up to wide open.

Again, the lips may be drawn back, yielding 'unrounded' vowel sounds, while "rounded" vowels are those produced when the lips are brought over the mouth so as to diminish the orifice. French *u* as in *vu*, *lune*, and Welsh *w* in *cwm*, *swn*, are extreme instances of rounded vowels.

TABLE OF VOWEL SOUNDS.

An attempt is here made to indicate diagrammatically the position of the tongue, and the part of it specially adjusted in the articulation of various vowel sounds heard in Welsh and English :

Front of Tongue.		Back of Tongue.
Tongue highest.		
Close i	close u	close w
open i	open u	open w
close e		close o
open e (ϵ)	neutral (ə)	open o (ɔ)
very open e (æ)		
	a	
	<i>a</i>	
Tongue lowest.		

In producing vowels no friction or stoppage must occur. The voice has free play, but with a given opening of the mouth, as measured by the angle of the jaws, the blade* of the tongue (*e.g.*) may be brought near

* Tip, blade, front, middle, back are the terms generally used for consecutive parts of the tongue from tip backwards.

the front palate, yielding the 'close i' of the table; or if the mouth be somewhat more open and the interval between the tongue and palate be in the slightest degree increased the timbre is that of 'open i.' This shade of difference in the aperture, together with an accompanying small change of the part raised of the tongue, constitutes the distinction indicated in the table by the epithets 'close' and 'open.'

The symbols in brackets are from the Alphabet of the Association Phonétique Internationale, and will be used for phonetic transcription in this book.

We will now discuss the vowel sounds in greater detail.

I.—MEDIO-PALATAL: clear *a*, neutral *a*.

a: This sound is produced by very slightly raising the fronto-medial part of the tongue. It is heard in—

Welsh—calon, tad.

French—ma, rage.

It is unknown in Standard English, but in the North the 'a' in such words as 'pat' and 'man' has this value.

On the other hand, English has two 'a'-sounds unknown in Welsh outside certain dialects, viz.—

(i.) *a*, as in father. It is produced by slightly lifting the *middle* of the tongue, that is, the part immediately behind that raised in articulating the 'a' in Welsh tad. It is the sound of 'a' in French âme, pas.

This is the timbre often given to 'a' in Cloriannydd, and the first 'a' in Bala by English speakers.

The failure of many Welshmen to produce without much practice this English *a* sound is one of the chief elements in the so-called Welsh accent imported by them into English speech.

(ii.) æ : This perhaps is the commonest 'a'- sound in English. Heard in glad, man, sad, &c. It is not as open as the Welsh 'a,' the angle of the jaws being somewhat smaller and the tongue higher. An Englishman speaking Welsh provokes a smile on the part of a native more on account of the peculiar æ timbre he gives to the Welsh 'a' than because of his blunders over 'll' and 'ch.'

II.—FRONT VOWELS.

Open e (ε) : as in eto, erddi, echnos. This sound occurs also in English, as 'let,' 'met.'

Close e : as in rhed ; = 'ai' in French paix, and the first part of the diphthong in English pale, make. Welsh close long e is a simple sound, while in English it is invariably diphthongal, thus 'make' and 'pale' are pronounced meik, peil. Failure to notice this difference accounts for the occasional articulation of these words as mêk, pêl, on Welsh lips. Teachers in Elementary and County Schools in the Principality will readily appreciate this point.

Open i : as in erlid ; English, pill.

Close i : as in hir ; English, ee in peel ; French, i in si.

III.—BACK VOWELS.

It should be noticed that for these the lips are generally rounded, especially when the tongue is much raised, just as for the Front Vowels already considered, the lips are more and more unrounded in the passage along the series from 'a' to 'i.'

Open o (ɔ) : long and short in English and French, e.g. English *all*—pronounced ɔ:l, *Paul* (=pɔ:l), *crop* (=krɔp).

In Welsh this sound is always short, as in *hon* (=hɔn), *trom* (=trɔm).

Hence a Welshman's first attempt at pronouncing long open 'o' is generally a failure. He will substitute for it the long close 'o,' with which he is quite familiar in Welsh (see below), so that on his lips the first in each of the following pairs of English words is undistinguishable from the second: *law* and *low*, *saw* and *so*, *Paul* and *pole*, *hall* and *hole*, *naught* and *note*, *Saul* and *soul* or *sole*.

Close o : always long and always a simple vowel sound in Welsh: as *tro*; *llo*; *Paul* and *Saul* as popularly pronounced in Welsh (=pôl, sôl); =*eau* in French *beau*, and *o* or *ow* in Scotch *no*, *know*. In Standard English long close 'o' is always diphthongal. Hence the Welshman who pronounces English 'note' as 'nôt,' and the Englishman who

pronounces Welsh *tro* as *trow*, are equally wide of the mark.

Open *w* : always short, as *trwm* ; so in English, full.

Close *w* : examples *llw*, *mwg* ; —*oo* in English *pool*, and *ou* in French *sou*.

IV.—MIXED VOWELS.

'A' and 'a' have already been referred to (see i. above).

As the neutral *ə* will have to be discussed in greater detail, we shall begin this series with—

Close *u* : as *u* in Welsh *un*, *pur*, and *y* in *hŷn*.

Open *u* : as 'y' in *hyn*, *byr*, and 'u' in *alltud*.

These two sounds differ from French 'u' in that the latter is (1) a *blade* and not a *front* or *medial* sound, and (2) more rounded.

Neutral *ə* : This sound is usually represented by phoneticians as an inverted 'e' thus—*ə*. It is produced by closing the mouth rather more than is done in articulating the *a* of English *father*, and slightly elevating the middle of the tongue. It is variously represented in English—

By 'a' in (*e.g.*) *India*, *America*, *attend*, *villa*, &c.

„ 'ar'	„	beggar, altar.
„ er	„	father, weaker.
„ e	„	sudden.
„ u	„	purple.
„ or	„	sailor.
„ o	„	son, harmony.

In works on English it is often called the 'obscure or natural vowel a'—'natural' because the sound is produced with the minimum of effort. It is also known as 'ə schwa' or 'neutral vowel,' and its commonest symbol in Latin, Teutonic, and Celtic is 'a;' thus the Aryan or Indo-Germanic hypothetical form *pə-ter-* is in Latin *pater*, Gothic *fadar*, and Old Irish *athir*.* In Welsh it is usually referred to as the 'obscure y' sound because it is oftenest represented by that symbol. It is the regular value of 'y' in non-final syllables, as in *chwydwi*, *tydi*, *hynod*, and also in proclitics as *y*, *yr*, *yn*, *fy*, *dy*. 'Y' however is not the only symbol used in Welsh to represent this sound, though the fiction whereby it is commonly asserted that Welsh words are phonetically spelt, has tended to the assimilation of the sounds of a word to its spelling. We need no further proof of this effort at harmonising sound and spelling than that contained in the Possessive *ei*, *his*. In Mediaeval Welsh this was written 'y,' but since William Salesbury gave currency to the new and unreal form 'ei,' an effort has been made in formal speech to pronounce the word as a diphthong. Now, when in speaking the mouth is slightly more open than is the case when uttering neutral ə, we get a sound still obscure, but hardly distinguishable from 'a,' and it is an interesting and instructive phenomenon in Welsh orthography that in originally unaccented syllables—and the origin

* Indo-Germanic *p* is lost in Celtic, except before another consonant, when it becomes a spirant.

of this sound is to be looked for in the absence of accent —‘ a ’ and ‘ y ’ are very freely interchanged. We shall give a fairly long list, as the question will come up again in various forms.

INTERCHANGE OF A AND Y.

Mediaeval *yn* and *an* = English our.

Mediaeval *ych* and *awch** = English your.

The Relative Pronoun *y* for *a* is sometimes met with in Mediaeval and early Modern Welsh :—

‘ Y wneuthur yn gyuurd gwr ac *y* bei arglwyd ar *y* sawl vrenhined hynny.’—*Mab.*, 82.

‘ Nid ei gair nhwy *y* saif.’—*Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, 192.

‘ Y digred *y* welaist gynneu.’—*Bardd Cwsc*, 32.

‘ Pwy a haeddei uffern well na chwi, *y* fyddei’n hel ac *yn* dyfeisio chwedleu.’—*Ibid.* 95.

‘ O flaen pob Llith, *y* Gweinidog *y* ddywed.’—*Rubric to the Te Deum in the Prayer Book.*

For the same reason *a* is occasionally used where we should now use *y* :—

‘ Y mae ynys parth hwnt *y* ffreinc *yn* gadwedic or mor o bop tu idi, ac *a* uu gewri gynt *yn* y chyuanhedu.’
Bruts—, 52.

‘ Od oes ddim ynom *a* ellir craffu arno.—*Deffyniad Ffydd*, 65 (cf pp. 92, 150).

* For the ‘ w ’ in *awch* see below.

Welsh Definite Article yr and Breton ar.

Amwythig and Y Mwythig.

Aberffraw and Y Berffro.

Atolwg and ydolwg :

'Ai'r Pâb yn unig a ddaeth ynghyfle Pedr Apostol ?
Ymha herwydd (y dolwg) ?—*Deffyniad Ffydd*, 191.

amgeledd and ymgeledd :

'Do, ebr ynte, rai unic a dihelp a phell oddiwrth ym-
geledd.'—*Bardd Cwsc*, 57.

amddifad and ymddifad.

amddiffyn and ymddiffyn.

ychwaneg and achwanec (Mediaeval) :

'ath iarllaeth titheu heuyt yn achwanec.'—*Mab.* 209.
y vreham for Abraham.—*Ystoria de Carolo*, 20.

anial and ynial :

'Ynteu peredur a gychwynnwys racdaw. Sef y deuth
y goet mawr ynyal.'—*Mab.* 200.

Angharad and Ygharat (Mediaeval) :

'Nachaf ygharat law eurawc yn kyuaruot ac ef.'—
Mab. 215.

amdano and ymdano :

'A pheredur a gyuodes, ac a wisgawd y arueu ym-
danaw ac ymdan y uarch.'—*Mab.* 217.

yfory and afory :

'a thost yw gennyf welet ar was kyn uonhedicket a
thi y dihenyd a vyd arnat avory.'—*Mab.* 216.

canhebrwng and cynhebrwng :

' dyma Ganhebrwng yn mynd heibio.'—*Bardd Cwsc*, 28.

cyn and the somewhat unliterary can, with the Equal Degree :

'A phe bai un gan ffoled a gwneuthur hynny.'—G. O., *Llythyrau*.

canfas and cynfas.

dynwarded and danwarded :

' danwaret y kyweirdabei a welsei .'—*Mab*. 195.

Mediaeval ys and as,—Extended forms of the Infixd Pronoun of the 3rd person :

' Pei as gattei lit idaw.'—*Mab*. 274.

' Pei as gwypwn mi ae dywedwn.'—*Mab*. 130.

' Pei ys gwypwn ny down yma.'—*Mab*. 29.

ambell and ymbell :

' Rhaid yw cyd-ddwyn ag ymbell fai.'—*Defnywiad Ffydd*, p. xiii.

llysenw, and the colloquial North Wales llasenw. This word is sometimes ' blasenw ' in Anglesey.

afagddu and y fagddu :

'A chroesaw fyd uffernol ! a thydi

Afagddu, ddyfnaf lyngclyn, derbyn fi.'—I. D. Ffraid : *Coll Gwynfa*, i. 303-4.

' Cydfydd y Fall a'i gallawr,

Câr lechu'n y fagddu fawr.'—G. O. : *Y Farn Fawr*.

It will be noticed that the variation is commonest in the initial syllable, but it occurs in other positions, as—

boly and bola, from the Brythonic *bolg*.

'Beth yssyd yn y boly hwnn heb ef.'—*Mab*. 38.

hely and hela, from the Celtic root *selg*.

eiry and eira, from the root seen in Latin *argentum*:

'[Y] petheu draw sy'n perthyn i drafaelwyr mynydd-
oedd eiryog.'—*Bardd Cwsc*, 57.

Similarly, while *gwely* is the usual form of the word for *bed*, the plural *gwelâu* is from the variant singular *gwela** (> *gwela-au* > *gwelâu*):

'Gwelem rai ar welâu sidanblu.'—*Bardd Cwsc*, 23.

It must not be supposed that, when these doublets arose, the *-y* and *-a* of *hely* and *hela*, &c., had their modern values in these words. They are rather the two symbols which most nearly represented the neutral *ə* sound which resulted from the vocalisation of the *-g*.

The same attempt at representing the obscure vowel sound is seen in—

py—a common variant of 'pa' in Mediaeval literature:

'A gofyn a oruc idi py dir oed hwnnw a phy le.'—

Mab. 184.

The vowels in unaccented syllables are not clearly pronounced in any language, and this reacts on the spelling, for if 'a,' 'e,' and 'y' acquire an approximately common value in that position, it follows that the sound in any given word may be variously represented by different writers or even by the same writer at different times—sometimes by 'a' and at other times by 'y' or 'e.' Of course, in a language like

* Compare note in Prof. Morris Jones's Edition of *Bardd Cwsc*.

Welsh, where popular etymology has played such a prominent part, orthography will shew abundant evidence of it. Further, adjoining sounds frequently determine the character of the vowel: thus, 'n,' being an unrounded dental, tends to clarify or palatalize an obscure or guttural sound, with the result that the sequence 'an' or 'yn' sometimes appears as 'en.' Compare English 'Harry' and 'Hal' with 'Henry.' In an unaccented syllable the reverse process is not uncommon (see below).

A AND E.

Med. -ei > Mod. -ai, as, dysgei > dysgai.

Med. -eu > Mod. -au, as plural suffix.

agor and egor ;

The latter is the regular form in *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*.

angraifft and engraifft :

'Kymer agreift o lawer o betheu.

Ystorya de Carolo, 22.

anrhydedd and enrhydedd :

'Mi ath vryrwys yr enryded a gwassanaeth idaw ef.'—

Mab. 200.

-deb : the familiar substantival suffix is -dab in—

'Ai cudab yw rhoi codwm?'—G. O. : *Cywydd y Calan*.

'Duwdab, dyndab a swydd Iesu Grist.'—Contents of 1st ch. of Gospel acc. to St. John.

fal (< hafal), now fel.

wynebwarth and wynabwarth :

'Ac yn wynabwerth idi hitheu dy vwrw o honaf i.'

Mab. 210.

The intensive prefix 'en-' assumes the form 'an-' in a few words on the analogy of the negative 'an-'; e.g.

anaele < en + aele ;

anghysbell < en + cysbell ;

annog < en + root seen in hogi, awch, eg-ni,* diog, &c. ; English 'to egg;' Latin *acer*, &c.

annwn < en + dwfn, hence *the extremely deep or bottomless pit* ;

anrheg < en + rheg, *a gift* ;

ansawdd < en + sawdd.

Y AND E.

brodyr and older broder.†

'Afiachus fu faich oes fer,

Echdoe fryd eich dau froder.'

Tudur Aled : *G.B.C.* 228.

deall and dyall.

'Ac yna y dyallawd Peredur.'—*Mab.* 216.

dyred (now tyred) and Demetian dere ;

egni and yni ;

ennill and ynnill :

'Ny allwn i vyth ennill vy arglwyd i o dyn arall.'—*Mab.* 176.

'Ni fynnem bei allem dy ynnill di.'—*Ll. y T. Ad.* 188.

ysgar and esgar ;

ysgymun and esgymun.

* Dr. Silvan Evans incorrectly analyses 'egni' into e + gni.

† Compare the Author's 'Latin Element in Welsh,' p. 8.

Mercher—older Merchur—is sometimes Merchyr :

‘ Dyw merchyr mae’n bybyr bwyll,
Doed yn ddyw sadwrn didwyll.’—D. ab G. cxxix.
‘ Dydd Merchur y Llundw.’—*Prayer Book*.

‘ Er,’ *for, because of, notwithstanding*, is regularly ‘ yr ’ in Mediaeval literature :

‘ Yr y lawn werth.’—*Mab*. 179,
and similarly yrof (=erof) and yrdaw (=erddo) as in *Mab*. 105.

On the other hand the Definite Article ‘ y ’ was sometimes written ‘ e,’ as—

‘ E brenhin yna a disgynnawd.’—*St. Greal*, § 85.

The Mediaeval Possessive Adjective ‘ y ’ (*his, her, its ; their*) was regularly written ‘ e ’ when—

(1) Suffixed to *a* or *o* :

‘ Nynt eynt hwy oe bod.’—*Mab*. 32.

‘ Y wreic ae gwr ae phlant.’—*Mab*. 32.

(2) Used with *hun*, *self* :

‘ A chyn penn y pedwryd mis wynt ehun yn peri eu hatgassau.’—*Mab*. 32.

In the same way the Postvocalic or Infix Personal Pronoun was ‘ e ’ after ‘ a,’ as—

‘ Mi ae dywedaf itt.’—*Mab*. 200.

‘ Mi ae lledeis.’—*Mab*. 200.

The diminutive suffixes *-yn* (m.), *-en* (f.), and *-an* (common) :

In Gwynedd the suffix *-en* is generally pronounced *-an*, as—

merlan for merlen and hogan for hogen,

while doublets like *archan* and *archen* have literary sanction.

Further, the interchange of *-yn* and *-an* is not infrequent in literature, as, *dynyn* and *dynan*.

Hence the form ' *-an* ' has gained currency as a doublet of both ' *-yn* ' and ' *-en* .'

Examples of the interchange of ' *y* , ' *a* , ' and ' *e* ' need not be further multiplied.

As far as its origin is accentual—*i.e.* where analogy or adjoining sounds do not account for it—it is an illustration of the Law of Ablaut or Vowel Gradation which is so marked a feature of Strong Verbs in English. The ultimate result of this weakening due to the absence of accent is the total elimination of the sound. Thus, while *u* in *cynnull* is distinctly articulated, it is generally elided in *cynulleidfa*. Maurice Kyffin and Elis Wyn leave the ' *u* ' out in writing.

An ' *y* ' sound follows the ' *g* ' in *tragywydd*, but it is seldom heard and not often written in *trag(y)wyddol* and *trag(y)wyddoldeb* :

' Dirgelion tragwyddoldeb nis gwn i,
A darllain gair o'u gwera nis gelli di.'

Caniadau Prof. J. Morris Jones, 166

For the same reason ' *io* ' is dropped from ' *Cristnogion* ' in ' *Deffyniad Ffydd* , ' M. Kyffin, as—

' Ni a wyddom fod yn amser yr Apostolion ddynion Cristnogion. '—65.

Plas (compare English *palace*) ; *baswn* and *basai* for *buaswn*, *buasai* ; *rheiny* for *rhai hynny*, and the Venetian *cleta* and *dled* for *caletaf* and *dyled*, are all instances of the operation of the Law of Ablaut.

O AND A.

The interchange of *o* and *a* is not uncommon in Welsh. In some instances *a* is merely a weakened *o*. Examples—

‘Meredic a (=o)wyr’ (*you are*) strange men.—*Mab.* 126.

O’r a (=Lat *ex eis qui*), as—

‘Dugant bop peth or a oed reit herwyd eu deuawt wrth aberthu gantunt.’—*Brutieu*, p. 52.

This phrase in Modern Welsh is generally ‘a’r a,’ and even ‘ar a,’ as—

‘Yr wyf yn gobeithio fod yr Hanes oll mor gywir ac mor llawn hefyd ar a ellir ei ddysgwyl.’—*D. y P. O.* 7a.

Achos from Latin *occasio*.

Achub from Latin *occupo*.

Sawdwr or sawdiwr from Mid. Eng. *soudiour*.

‘Beth yw Sawdwr lledlwm addycco dy ddillad wrth ei gleddyf, wrth y Cyfreithwyr?’—*Bardd Cwsc*.

(Ym)achlud from Lat. *occludo*.

Yrwan is from yr awron (=yr awr hon) and not from a diminutive form of awr with the Definite Article (=yr awran) as has been sometimes asserted.

-am and -om :—am common in Mediaeval literature and even as late as the 17th century in the 1st plural of the Aorist and of Pronominal Prepositions, *e.g.*—

‘Ni a doetham y erchi olwen yr gwas hwnn.’—*Mab.* 117 (cf. pp. 129, 130, *et passim*).

‘Ie heb ynteu bwyll ni awn yr un niver y buam doe.’—*Mab.* 10.

‘Diolwch y duw kaffel o-honat y gedymdeithas honno, ar arglwyddiaeth a gawssam ninheu.’—*Mab.* 8.

With this regular Mediaeval termination we may compare the -am of the Old Irish preterite 1st person plu.

As *m* is a rounded consonant, the tendency is to convert the unrounded and palatal ‘a’ into the rounded and more guttural *o*. Hence -om is the regular ending in present day Welsh of the 1st plural Aorist, and 1st plural of Pronominal Prepositions of the ‘ataf’ class. As daethom, buom, cawsom; arnom (Mediaeval arnam).

Po and pa with Superlatives—

Pa uchaf yr ymgodant isaf y cwympant.—*Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, p. 212.

‘A’ changes into ‘o’ especially when adjoining a guttural like ‘w’ or a rounded sound like ‘f’ or ‘m.’

In writers of the 16th century and later ‘aw’ tends to pass into ‘ow’ in words of more than one syllable—a change practically unknown in Mediæval literature. Maurice Kyffin in *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* (1595) shews an especial fondness for ‘ow;’ thus he writes—nowfed, anhowsder, howsach, yr owron, mowrion, cowri, iniownder, odidowgrwydd, &c. Bardd Cwsc has llownion for llawnion. So in Demetian and Gwentian, forms like mawr, mawredd, are regularly mowr, mowredd. Mediaeval cawad (a shower) is now more usually cawod or cafod, though the ‘a’ is still retained colloquially in Demetian. But the student must here be warned against the somewhat natural tendency to regard a

modern literary form as a lineal descendant of that found in our Mediaeval literature. The best prose of the pre-Reformation era was in South Welsh. The *Mabinogion*, the *Bruts*, and the *Laws of Hywel Dda* were all written in that dialect. On the other hand, in the 16th and 17th centuries and early 18th, a galaxy of able writers and translators in North Wales eclipsed their contemporaries in the South, and their productions came to be regarded as the standard of Welsh composition. It follows that many Venedotian peculiarities gained literary currency for the first time, supplanting rather than growing out of the Demetian peculiarities of older literature. Thus it is more correct to regard *cawod* and *cawad* as coexisting in sister-dialects than as having developed one out of the other. The same explanation holds good in the case of Demetian *ef a* (or *ef â*) and Venedotian *efo* (=with); both are etymologically the same and mean literally 'he and' or 'he with.' It is natural that in the form 'efo' the etymology of the phrase should be obscured, and then 'efo' acquired the general meaning 'with,' and came to be used with other than the 3rd sing. masculine, *e.g.*—

Dos di efo fo.

'Gweddiwn efo'n cyd-Gristianogion.'—G. Mechain.

It may be noted as further evidence of the origin of *efo* that before vowels the fuller form 'efog' is sometimes used—

'Efog (—ef âg), annogaeth i bob dyn i ystyried eu ffyrdd a'u crefydd.'—*Agoriad* (1703).

The simple preposition *o* (for *â*) is often used in the dialect of Glamorgan to denote the instrument, as, 'Codi glo o'r rhaw (*â*'r rhaw) = throwing up coal with a shovel.'*

It is interesting to note that the history of the English language shews a similar break of continuity. Modern standard English is a direct descendant not of the vigorous West Saxon dialect of King Alfred—the dialect in which all extant Old English literature is written—but of the Midland or Mercian which gained literary currency and precedence in the 14th century due to a complexity of causes, but mainly because that consummate literary artist—Chaucer—wrote his inimitable Canterbury Tales in that dialect. Thus it is that we write 'did' and not 'dud,' which would be the Modern form of the Old English (*i.e.* West Saxon) *dyde*, and, to take only one other instance, the word *all* is sprung from the old Midland *all*, and could not be explained by reference to the West Saxon *eall*.

But to return to the interchange of 'a' and 'o,' a few other instances may be mentioned—

'Ystondard' (from Eng. standard).—*Mab.* 155.

'Bonlllef' (= banlllef).—*Bardd Cwsc*, p. 107.

Na, nag, and Mediaeval no, nog, after a comparative.

Orgrephid for argrephid.—*Llyfr Job* (Dr. Morgan), 43.

Coron and coran.

Cawgiau and cowgiau, &c.

In Anglesey and Carnarvonshire *dafad* is regularly pronounced *dafod*.

* Quoted from Mr. John Griffiths's 'Y Wenhwyseg,' p. 19. Published by J. E. Southall, Newport.

ow < yw :

'w,' being a high back rounded vowel sound, tends to assimilate 'y,' as well as 'a,' into the intermediate back rounded vowel 'o,' especially in colloquial speech: *e.g.*

'bowyd,' 'tragowydd,' for 'bywyd,' 'tragywydd.'

Instances are found in literature:

'cowir' for 'cywir':

'Codi gwal cauedig wedd—
Caer enwog, cowir rinwedd.'

Edw. Morus, *Cywydd y Paen*.

'cowydd' for 'cywydd':

'Am Englyn neu Owdl neu Gowydd e wyr pawb nad cynefin ond i un dyn ar unwaith ganu'r un o'r rheini.'—*Deff. Ffydd*, xv.

'clowem' for 'clywem':

'Er mwyn na chlowem ar eyn calonneu adel llugru gwir wasanaeth Dduw drwy'r fath ofregedd.'

Deff. Ffydd, 46.

Howel (Eng. *Howell*, *Howells*) < Hywel.

MUTATION AND SIMPLIFICATION OF VOWEL SOUNDS. *

Besides those already discussed, the leading vowel changes in Welsh may be thus classified:—

* Compare Prof. Anwyl's Grammar and Prof. Morris Jones's Welsh Orthography.

A.—Simplification in final unaccented syllables :—

ai > e as byddai > bydde
 ei > y „ eleirch > elyrch
 ae > e „ gadael > gadel
 adwaen > adwen
 aw > o „ ysgawl > ysgol
 brawd (*judgment*) > difrod

Final ‘-aw’ (‘-ew’) sometimes passes into ‘-au’ ‘-eu,’ as tawaf > 3rd sing. tau, and goleu side by side with llewyrch. This ‘au’ or ‘eu’ is further simplified in a few instances, as gwrendy for gwrandau or gwrandeu from gwrandawaf; ymedy for ymadau or ymadeu from ymadawaf; tery < tarau or tareu from tarawaf.

B.—Change in a final syllable due to the suffixing of another syllable—

au > eu as ffau—ffeuau
 ai > ei „ llai—lleiaf
 w > y „ crwm—cryman
 aw > o „ pawl—polion
 brawd—brodyr
 uw > u „ uwch—uchder
 lluwch—lluchio
 y (clear) > y (obscure) bryn—bryniau.

C.—Affection or mutation due to—

I. lost final a :—

y > e as gwyn—gwen
 w > o „ hwn—hon

II. consonantal *i* or long vowel *i*, whether lost or retained :

a >	ai or ei	as	march—meirch gwan—gweiniaid
ae >	ai	,,	draen—drain maen—main
e >	ei, ai	,,	dywed—dywaid nifer—nifeiri cyfer—cyfair and cyfeiriad
ê >	ŷ	,,	hên—hŷn gwêl—gwŷl
o >	y	,,	agoraf—egyr porth—pyrth adroddaf—edrydd
oe >	wy	,,	oen—wyn

III. The vowel *i* of the next syllable :—

a >	e	as	can—ceni
ae >	ei	,,	saer—seiri maen—meini
aw >	ew	as	tawaf—tewi
u (y) >	i	,,	dysgit from older dysgud ti, dysgyd ti.

As the last change throws much light upon the history of an important inflectional form, illustrative examples are appended—

The first stage is the Mediæval *-ut*, as,

‘ Pa wyneb yssyd arnat ti, pryt na *delut* y edrych y gofut a uu arnaf i.’—*Mab.* 176.

Later, with the unrounding of *u* towards the close of the Mediæval period, *u* and (clear) *y* were confused and

freely interchanged as may be readily seen by even a casual perusal of *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* (1595), or of *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*. Hence the existence of the doublet forms gwneuthym, deuthym, and euthym by the side of the better attested and older gwneuthum, deuthum, and euthum, and hence the frequent appearance of 'y' in the 2nd sing. Past Imperfect, as,

'Goddau f'armerth, o'm *nerthyd*,
Yw Dydd Barn a diwedd byd.'—Goronwy Owen,
Cywydd y Farn Fawr.

Then *y* passed into *i*, due to the thin *i* of the following 'ti.' Hence the present day forms 'delit,' 'nerthit,' 'dysgit,' &c.

The objection may readily be raised—why then has not the *i* of the final syllable affected the *y* in the Pronominal Prepositions *gennyf*, *gennyt*, *wrthyf*, *wrthyt*, &c. ? The answer is not far to seek. The present-day spelling of these is a case of an artificial reversion to the Mediaeval forms after an intervening period when *gennifi* or *gennif*, *genniti* or *gennit*, &c., were the accepted spelling. The different stages are illustrated in the following :—

(1) 'Da yw *gennyf* heb y lunet nat achaws itt y hynny.'—*Mab*. 177.

'Chwedleu o lys arthur *gennyt* heb yr iarllles.'—*Mab*. 178.

'Pette *gennyf* y seibiant a'r hamdden sydd gan lawer.'—*Deff. Ffydd* (1595).

(2) 'Pe profem ni (ddywedyd) gair *wrthit ti* a fydde blin *gennit ti?*' Bishop Morgan—*Llyfr Job*, p. 9 (1588).

'Da *gennif* ddwyn y ddeilien lās a newydd da i'r rhai a achubir.'—*Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, p. 158 (1653).

'Mi fynnw'n wybod *genniti* pa beth yw dirgelwch Arch Noah.'—*Ibid.* p. 158.

'Drych yspio amgen nac oedd *genni fi* ar y mynydd.'—*Bardd Cwsc*, p. 9 (1704).

(3) 'Nid oes *gennyf* ddim i ddywedyd chwaneg.'—*Drych y Priŷ Oesoedd*, p. 6a (1740).

Thus it will be seen that the mutation or affection of *u* (or *y*) into *i* in Pronominal Prepositions began to come into vogue in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and held its ground until the early part of the eighteenth.

IV.—The vowel *u* or *y* of the next syllable.

a > *e* as *nant*—*nentydd*
tant—*tennyn*

ae > *eu* ,, *gwnaeth*—*gwneuthum*
maes—*meusydd*

All the changes detailed under C are cases of assimilation—an active principle in all languages. Thus in the English word *many*, it is evident that the change from *a* to *i* or *y* is considerable, and before we have left the former we try to adjust our organs of speech for the pronunciation of the coming *i*. This reduces *a* to *e* or a diphthong intermediate between the original *a* and the *i* of the next syllable. The symbol *a* continues to be written in *many*, but its sound is that of the Welsh

open 'e,' and generally the spelling is changed to represent the sound, as—

(1) English *men* from *man*, through the intermediate stage *mani*, *manni*.

(2) Welsh *ceni* from *canaf*.

Similarly while Brythonic *vindos* has become Welsh *gwyn*, the feminine *vinda*, through the partial assimilation of the *i* to the *a*, has become Welsh *gwen*.

All the changes given in the above classification are not without exception. *Adwaen* and *gadael* are as common as *adwen* and *gadel*, if not more so, while the change into *y* in *gwrendy*, &c., is exceptional. Again the mutation of *aw* into *o*, as in *pawl*—*polion*, does not take place in *mawrion* (< *mawr*), *llawnion* (< *llawn*). *Byddai* is rarely written *bydde* to-day,

Lost final 'a' changes 'y' into 'e,' but it leaves the diphthong 'wy' unaffected. Thus while the feminine of *gwyn* is *gwen*, the diphthong in *mwyn* and *tywyll* is the same in both genders.

Tywell, sometimes met with, is due to the mistaken notion that the 'w' is consonantal, *e.g.*—

'Y nos dywell yn distewi,—caddug
Yn cuddio Eryri,
Yr haul yng ngwely'r heli,
A'r lloer yn ariannu'r lli'.'—Gwallter Mechain.

Similarly while 'y' changes 'a' into 'e' as in *nent-ydd*, 'y' in the diphthong 'wy' is eclipsed by 'w,' and loses its assimilating power: hence *anwyl*, *arwydd*, not *enwyl*, *erwydd*.

The change of 'uw' into 'u,' as uwch—uchder, is rather a case of reversion to a more radical form. The 'w' in uwch, awch (Mediaeval, =your), and several other monosyllables, is intrusive or inorganic: ch is articulated by bringing that part of the tongue, which is raised for the sound 'w,' a little nearer to the soft palate so as to cause an audible friction when breath is exhaled. Hence in a leisurely and careless pronunciation of a vowel—other than 'w'—before ch*, the tongue in taking up the consonantal position glides through the 'w' position, and in so doing articulates more or less audibly the 'w' which is written in the above words. When another syllable is added, a shorter, brisker, and consequently more precise articulation of the first syllable is imperative, with the consequent elimination of the 'w.'

The 'w' is of somewhat later growth in uwch than in buwch, lluwch, &c. In the *Mabinogion* the comparative is regularly spelt *uch*, as—

'uch penn y pwll.'—216 (cf. 153, 175, &c.).

This is due to the influence of the positive uchel where of course 'w' does not occur.

Still, uwch is met with as in—

'Ac yn dyvot yn ogyfuwch ar orsed.'—*Mab.* 8;

and in the poetry of Dafydd ab Gwilym (d. 1400) it is quite common—

'Nid gwen gwelwdon anghyfuwch,
Nid gwyn ewyn llyn, na lluwch.'—xxix.

* ch generally lengthens the preceding vowel in monosyllables.

AE AND AI.

Although in this essay we are only indirectly concerned with the representation of sounds in writing, a short digression may be made to refer to the notations *ai* and *ae*. In Mediaeval Welsh our modern diphthong *ai* was written *ei* (ey), and the sequence *ai* (or *ay*—for in Mediaeval writings *y* is often used with the value of modern *i*) was then comparatively rare. A diphthong beginning in *a* followed by a palatal vowel was regularly written *ae*: thus our modern *a'i* (*and his*) was *ae*, and even *a* + consonantal *i* had the same form, as in *daeoni*. The use of *e* for the palatal vowel after *a*, where we now write *ai*, long continued a common feature of Welsh orthography. Hence the *ai* of English words passed into *ae* in most Welsh derivatives, as—

ffrae	< <i>fray</i> .
maeden	< <i>maiden</i> .
paent	< <i>paint</i> .
plaen	< <i>plain</i> .
trafaelio	< Middle English or Anglo French <i>travail</i> , whence Modern English <i>travel</i> .
Yspaen	< <i>Spain</i> .

On the other hand the verb-noun termination of these derivatives is *-io*, *-o*, the very ending we should expect if the diphthong were 'ai' as in the English original, as,

gwaith	— gweithio.
disglair	— disgleirio.*

* Cyfaiith—cyfieithu is an exception.

Words containing 'ae' in their final syllable regularly form their verb-nouns in *-u*, as—

arfaeth — arfaethu.

But for these borrowed words we have *ffraeo*, *paentio*, *trafaelio* :

'A gymmereich i Fardd i'ch plith sy'n chwennyech trafaelio ?'—*Bardd Cwsc*, 6.

Still, *trafaelio* seems dialectal, for in *Dafydd ab Gwilym* the form *trafaelu* also occurs :

'Tra fu'n trafaelu trwy fodd,
Trwy foliant y trafaeliodd.'—*Cywydd* iv.,

and so regularly in Demetian to-day.

THE VALUES OF 'Y.'

Something too should be said on this question ; while the power of every other vocalic symbol has been already sufficiently indicated, 'y' is different. Besides the neutral ə sound, which is always short, and inevitably so, it has the clear sound of 'u' in—

(a) Monosyllables : *e.g.*, *dyn*, *llym*, *ty*.

Exceptions : it has the primary or neutral ə value in proclitics, that is, words that have no accent of their own, but are for this purpose read with the following word. The most common proclitics are 'fy;' 'dy;' 'y,' yr'—(Definite Article, Relative Pronoun, Adverb, and Conjunction).

(b) In the last syllable of words of more than one syllable, as *gelyn*, *plentyn*.

(c) In any syllable when followed by a vowel, *e.g.* *hyawdledd*, *gwelyau*.

(d) In the diphthong 'wy,' *e.g.* *hwyl*, *mwynhad*.

(e) Frequently when preceded by consonantal 'w,' *e.g.* *gwystlon*, *wynebau*.

(f) Generally in the prefix *cyd-*, and in the first elements of compounds, if monosyllabic, *e.g.*, *cydweithio*, *Rhydychen*, *byrfyfyr*, *Tyhên*, *brysneges*.

N.B.—'y' has sometimes the value of Welsh 'i,' as in *megys*, *tebyg*, *heddyw*.

VOWELS IN DIALECTS.

The simplification of diphthongs has proceeded much further in dialects than is recognised in the Welsh literature of the present day. It is hardly necessary to add that the dialects differ considerably among themselves in that respect.

This chapter may be appropriately closed with a few examples of dialectal changes and vowel values.

'E' in final unaccented syllables is pronounced like 'a' in the North West portion of Gwynedd—*i.e.* in Anglesey, Carnarvonshire, and part of Denbighshire—and often in Gwentian, as—

bach(g)an for *bachgen*.

'-Au' and '-eu' final have the value of—

(i.) 'a' in North West Gwynedd and in Gwentian, as—
petha, *gola*.

(ii.) 'e' in the rest of Wales, as—

pethe, gole.

'Ae' and 'ai' in final unaccented syllables are pronounced as—

(i.) 'a' in North West Gwynedd and in Gwentian, as—

gadal, perffath.

(ii.) 'e' in the rest of Wales, as—

gadel, perffeth.

'Ae' and 'oe' in monosyllables are simplified into 'â' and 'ô' respectively in Demetian and Gwentian, as—

mân, côs, for maen, coes.

'Ai' in some monosyllables—generally those ending in *r*—is pronounced 'ae' in Demetian, as—

gwaer, taer, for gwair, tair,

also Caen for Cain.

'Au' in monosyllables is generally pronounced 'oi' in Demetian and Gwentian, as—

doi, hoil, coi, oir, for dau, haul, cau, aur.

'U' and the clear 'y' are generally pronounced 'i' in all parts of Wales outside North West Gwynedd, as—

cani for canu, mîd for mud, hin for hyn, hîn for hÿn or hun.

CHAPTER II.

CONSONANTS.

B AND M.

The relation of these two sounds is intimate. The passage is closed at the lips. If then the lips are separated to allow the breath to escape, and the vocal chords are at the same time vibrated, *b* is articulated. But the lips may be kept together, and the breath passed out through the nostrils, giving rise to the sound *m*. Hence the frequent interchange of *m* and *b*, as—

W. blith and Eng. *milk*.

„ mieri and Eng. *briar*.

But in Welsh this is not the only reason. At least two other contributory causes of considerable importance exist—

(1) The soft mutation of both *m* and *b* is *f*, and as the softened initial is a very common feature in Welsh construction, a word may be more familiar in that state than in its radical form. Hence a not uncommon re-

version to the wrong original. Thus *maban* (diminutive of 'mab') commonly occurs under the form 'faban,' as 'ei faban,' 'dy faban,' 'dyma faban tlws.' In Modern Welsh *faban* has been referred back to a radical 'baban' so often that this doublet has gained a firm footing in the language. In this particular instance no doubt the English word 'baby' materially helped the growth of the doublet. But no such outside influence can account for 'modrwy,' which is from 'bodrwy' (< bawd + a termination meaning band, cf. aerwy) through the intermediate 'fodrwy.' From early times up to the seventeenth century it was quite customary to wear rings on the thumbs; but as the custom changed and as rings were worn on other fingers as well, the origin of 'fodrwy' was obscured. Hence its being accidentally referred back to a coined 'modrwy,' which has now supplanted the more correct form. For a similar change of custom we need only refer to the English *thimble*, which is no longer worn on the thumb except occasionally by sailors in repairing the tough fabric of their sails. It is clear that the etymological meaning of *modrwy* could not be known to the translator of Hosea ii. 13. :

'Mi a ymwelaf â hi am ddyddiau Baalim, yn y rhai . . . y gwisgodd ei chlustfodrwiau a'i thlysau.'

A still more curious instance is 'bodo,' the familiar name for *aunt* in North Cardiganshire. In the light of this interchange of *b-* and *m-*, its origin is at once made clear: it is a shortened form of *modryb* with the diminutive suffix *-o*, just as *-ie* is added in English to make

auntie. The shortening of words in this way is a fact of daily occurrence. Hence Ned for Edward, with the *-n* of the 1st sing. possessive adjective prefixed, so Nel from *-n* Ellen. *-O* is a familiar suffix used to denote smallness or endearment: Gweno, Deio, Bilo (= William), Iolo (= Iorwerth), and others will occur to the reader.

(2) The tendency to refer borrowed words in *f-* to radical forms in *m-* or *b-* has given endless scope for diversity of treatment, for while one speaker will refer 'volet' (a gauze veil worn by ladies in the middle ages) to a radical boled, another may with equal justice consider moled as the correct radical form.

This same keenness for provection accounts for *m-* in mal < fal (whence fel) < y fal < hafal, cognate with Lat. *similis*. This word is often 'bal' in Gwentian.

In addition to those already mentioned, the following are some of the most interesting instances of the changes here described—

bargod, as compared with Latin *margo*, English *margin* ;

bainc and mainc < A.S. *benc*, whence English *bench* ;

banon and manon ;

balaen, balain, balen (< *Milan*), a steel blade for the manufacture of which Milan was celebrated in the Middle Ages ;

bodrydaf and modrydaf ;

borddwyd and morddwyd ;

bore and English *morrow*, *morning* ;

bwysel and mwysel < English *bushel* ;
 byswynog and myswynog ;
 baeddu and maeddu ;
 beiddio and meiddio ;
 ben and men (*a wagon*) ;
 benyw and menyw ;
 bilain and milain (< Eng. *villain*) ;
 bignen and mignen, and Eng. *bog* ;
 bigwrn and migwrn ;
 bwyaid and mwyaid ;
 bwytal and bitail, from Mid. Eng. or Anglo French
vitaille (whence Mod Eng. *victuals*), *food* :

‘ Dyvot a oruc gwyr iwerdon hyt att Arthur a rodi
 bwyttal idaw.’—*Mab.* 136.

bydwraig is a half adapted and half translated
 form of English *mid-wife* ; ‘ mid ’ > ‘ bid ’ (and
 then by popular etymology ‘ byd,’ though the
 term makes nonsense) + ‘ gwraig,’ translation
 of ‘ wife.’ The English word ‘ bracelet ’ was sub-
 mitted to the same piecemeal treatment :
 ‘ breich ’ (=braich) is a correct translation of
 brace, which is no other than the French ‘ bras,’
an arm, and -led is the English -*let* with the regu-
 lar softening of final *t* after a vowel. The popular
 etymologist saw the word ‘ lledr ’ (= leather) in
 the suffix, and Lewys Glyn Cothi has the rather
 amusing couplet*—

‘ Gwisgaw breichledr, os medraf,
 O arian neu aur a wnafr.’

* See Silvan Evans’s Dictionary under ‘ Breichledr.’

Dr. Silvan Evans (*v. breichled*) is disposed to follow this fanciful etymology.

burgyn and Eng. *morkin* ;

melfed < Eng. *velvet* :

‘ Y tal dan y melfed du
A gae wirion dy garu.’—Bedo Brwynllys.

miswrn < Eng. *visor* :

‘ Pwy nid yw’n canfod Rhufain . . . yr hon a beintiessid gynt â lliwieu hyfryd, eithr yr owr’on gan dynny ei miswrn, y mae’n haws yr olwg, ag yn llai’r bris arni—’—*Deff. Ffydd*, 188.

mwydyn < bwydyn < y bwydyn < abwydyn ;
mach, meichiai, is cognate with Latin *vas*, a *surety*.

C.

c is always hard as in English *cat*.

Initial *c* + consonantal *w* does not occur in native Welsh words. *Cweryl*, *cwestiwn*, *cwarel*, are all borrowed, and are as yet unnaturalised, and *cwinc*, a *finch*, is dialectal.

In the following couplet from Edmwnd Prys—

‘ I rannu hon ar onest,
Ni cheir cydwybod na chwest,’

the last word in its radical form may be either *chwest* or *cwest*.

It is clear that the genius of the language rejects this sequence. In fact Aryan *qu*, that is *q* velar after which

a slight consonantal *w* was regularly developed, passed into *p* in Brythonic. Compare Welsh *pedwar*, pump, with Latin *quattuor*, *quinque* (see Sir John Rhys's Welsh Philology). Words in *qu* borrowed into Welsh as they become naturalised change *q* into *ch*, as—

chwil and *chwart*, from English *quill* and *quart*.

C and the corresponding voiced sound *g* have two values according to the part of the mouth concerned in the articulation.

If the stoppage is between the ridge of the tongue and—

(i.) The back or soft palate, the sound is back or velar, as in *cwys*, *cwm* ; *gwas*, *gordd*.

(ii.) The front or hard palate, the sound is front or palatal, as in *cil*, *cig* ; *gilydd*, *gerwin*.

In Montgomeryshire and along the Merioneth coast an extreme palatal value is given to these mutes before *a*, with a consequent growth of a parasite *i* after the consonant ; thus in the above-named districts *caws*, *cath*, and *gardd* are pronounced *ciaws*, *ciath*, and *giardd*. The same peculiarity is found in Gwentian, where for example *cant* is pronounced *ciant*.

C AND T.

Now, if the stoppage is made by the tip instead of the adjoining blade of the tongue, the sound produced is *t* and not palatal *c*. The physiological difference is so slight that one can easily understand why palatal *c* and *t* pass so readily into each other. Indeed there is

abundant evidence that the transition from velar 'c' ('g' or 'ch') to the labio-dental 't' ('d' or 'th') is easy and of common occurrence. Thus in Latin we find the doublets—

juvencus and juvenus ;
novitius and novicius ;

while in Late Latin verbs the endings *-itare* and *-icare* were frequently interchanged.

So, older English *apricock* is now *apricot*, though probably here the change of 'c—c' into 'c—t' is due in part to dissimilation.

In Welsh poetry *-od* and *-og* are sanctioned as correct rhyme, *e.g.*,

'Lle cyrch iyrchod, rywiog ryw,
Lle cân edn, lle cain ydyw.'—D. ab G. xix.

Interchange of—T (or D) and C ;

TH „ CH ;

D (or DD) „ G :

I. T (or D) AND C.

dyllhuan, tyllhuan and cylluan, cyrlluan ;
dyrchafael and cyrchafael :

Ascension Thursday is 'Duw Ieu Kyrchael' in *Brut y Tywysogion*.'

ieuanc, ieuant, and ieuwaint :

'A'r cloyn a gâr yr ieuwaint.'—Llywarch Hen.

(*v.* Pughe and Pryse's Dictionary, *s.v.* ieuant).

ysgol (< Latin *scala*) and ystol.

chwilcath (vb. and noun) and chwiltath (verb).

‘Gwar gwrcath, gwydn chwilcath chwai.’

D. ab G. ccxxx.

‘Pa beth sydd yna’n chwiltath?’

Tyngais i’m cyffais mai cath.’—D. ab G. clviii.

tywarch and cywarch.

For ‘Glynn Cywarch’ see *Bardd Cwsc*, 54.

‘Tyddyn Cywarch’ is a farm near Llanfechell in Anglesey.

The late Dr. Silvan Evans in his monumental dictionary (see under Cywarch) enquires—

‘Can it be that *cywarch*, *cywarchan*, *cywarchen* . . . have originated in misreading *c* and *t* (*tywarch*, *tywarchan*, *tywarchen*), which are very like in old Mss.?’

While probably this suggested explanation has some foundation in fact, it should be borne in mind that the interchange of *t* and *c* is not confined to Welsh or modern languages. Moreover, no such misreading would account for the interchange of *d* and *g* (see below).

llogwrn and llostwrn :

compare llostlydan, *a beaver*, and Cornish lost *a tail* ;

tlws and clws ;

tlawd and clawd :

Clawd is the general pronunciation in parts of Gwynedd (as in Llŷn) and also in Gwentian. *Tl* in the same syllable involves a peculiar change of direction in the emission of breath, and great mobility or muscular activity in the tip of the tongue. The breath forces its

way out over the tip (*t*), which is then immediately replaced, the air being passed laterally over the sides of the tongue (*l*). The closely related sequence *cl* is much easier, for after the stoppage between the back or middle of the tongue and the roof of the mouth is forced open (*c*), it is not difficult to bring the tip into contact with the gums of the upper teeth so as to divert the escaping breath over the sides (*l*).

The change of *tl* (or *dl*) into *cl* is not peculiar to Welsh. Latin very early turned medial *-tl-* into *-cl-* as in *periculum*, and probably English *clever* is from Middle English *deliver* (= *quick, active*).

2. TH AND CH.

brith and brych ;
brithyll and (Gwentian) brychyll ;
dethe (Demetian) and decha (Gwentian) = deheuig ;
blith as compared with Eng. *milk*, Old Irish *melg*,
(For interchange of *b* and *m* see above).

3. D (OR T) AND G (OR C).

bwrdaïs and bwrgais, from Eng. *burgess* ;
cyfod and cyfog ;
'Ac yna ymgyuoc o bawp ar hyt y ty.'
'*And then all in the house arose.*'—*Mab.* 39.
Cyfog has now a specialised meaning.

cywyll (*culture, tillage*) and diwyll, diwyllio ;
dillwng (*to liberate, set free*) and gollwng ;
deor and gori ;
dweyd and colloquial gweyd ;
pioden and piogen ;

Piogen occurs in *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, p. 229. There is a Tyddyn Piogen in the parish of Holyhead, Piod is common.

sudd and sug : see *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, p. 263.

Welsh softens final *-c* after a vowel into *-g*, except in a few borrowed words which have not been completely naturalised. Thus—

Mediaeval *rhac* is now *rhag*, and English *catholic* is *catholig*.

The preservation of ‘*ac*,’ *and*, and ‘*nac*,’ *no*, *neither*, *nor*, side by side with ‘*ag*,’ ‘*nag*,’ is due to a conscious effort to differentiate forms on account of difference of function. This very desirable distinction is scrupulously observed in present-day writings, but in works of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries ‘*ag*’ and ‘*nag*’ are frequently used for *ac* and *nac*. Thus in *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* by M. Kyffin (1595), ‘*ag*’ is the regular form used for *and* before vowels. Again Edward Morus in *Cywydd y Llwon Ofer* writes—

‘ Buddiol, gweddol ag addas,
O bur gred i beri gras.’

CH.

CH is a guttural spirant bearing the same relation to *c* as Welsh *ff* does to *p* and *th* to *t*. It is somewhat harder than the guttural in Scotch *loch*, Irish *lough*, German *nacht*, and Old English *liht*. It may be—

- (1) an immutable radical as *chwi*, *chwant*, or
- (2) a spirant form of *c* as *tri chant*.

As a radical initial it is invariably followed by *w*, which is in some words nothing but a parasitic sound heard as the tongue moves away from the *ch* position.

Further, this *w* is always consonantal except in the word *chwydd** (*a swelling*) and its derivatives. Compare the consonantal value of *u* after *q* in English. Indeed the Welsh initial *chw-* differs in phonetic value from English *qu* only in that *q* is a guttural stop, while *ch* is a guttural spirant. And as *cw-* is foreign to Welsh (*v.* under *C* above) it is not strange that English *qu-* words pass into Welsh under the form *chw-*.

For the same reason protracted *gw* (consonantal) passes into *chw*, as—

- chware* from *gware* ;
- chwaen* from *gwaen* ;
- chwedi* from *gwedi* ;
- chwysigen* from *gwysigen*.

Now *ch* will readily pass into *h* if the back of the tongue be not held so near the back of the palate as to produce the friction heard in the former sound. And that is exactly what takes place regularly in the radical initial group *chw-* in Demetian. There *chwant* is pronounced *hwant*, and *chwaer* is *hwar*. *Chwi* and its derivative *chwithau* are exceptions, and retain even in that dialect the full value of the *ch*, though it may be mentioned in passing that the *w* is usually dropped, the words being pronounced *chi* and *chithe*. The com-

* Consonantal *w* in Demetian.

pound *chwychw*i is not heard in that part of Wales except in the very corrupt form 'y chi.'

Instances of *hw-* (or rather *wh-*, see below) occur in Mediaeval works written in Demetian :—

'Gossot y deulu ar *wh*ech milltir o wastattir.'

Y storya, II.

'Duw a talo itt vyg *wh*aer heb y peredur.'—*Mab*. 220.

The same characteristic marks Gwentian, except that in that dialect a further change is often made whereby the spirant disappears altogether, thus—'whar' or 'war' (the 'a' having the same value as in English *glad*, *man*), 'wh'ech' or 'wech.'

A similar change occurs in late Cornish and in Breton.

But why the spelling *wh* and not *hw* in the above instances? Etymologically *hw* would be more correct, while phonetically the digraph stands for a simple sound, and the aspirate comes neither before nor after the *w*. A simple symbol would more accurately represent the sound, or, failing that, a mark of aspiration over the *w* as in Greek. The reason for the changed order is two-fold—

(1) The analogy of *ph*, *rh*, and *th*.

(2) An idea prevalent in Mediaeval times that the digraph represented two distinct sounds, and that the aspirate followed the *w*. A similar mistake accounts for the change of Old English 'hwa' into Middle English 'who.'

Just as *chw-* in South Welsh passes into *wh*, the reverse process may be and is resorted to in order to give a word a more distinctly Welsh sound and appearance.

Thus English words in *wh-* are borrowed into Welsh under the form *chw-*, as—

chwip from Eng. *whip* ;

chwirligwgan from Eng. *whirligig* ;

chwisgi from *whiskey*.

It is a natural corollary that there are no words in Standard Welsh to-day beginning in *hw* or *wh*. In the few words in *hw-*, *w* is invariably a vowel, as—

hwy, hwyl.

No words outside the dialects begin in *wh*.

Any enquiry then into the origin of radical *ch-* and *chw-* must take note of the many avenues along which words containing these sounds have come to their present form.

Thus *chwysigen* is borrowed from Latin *vesica*, through the intermediate form *gwysigen*, where the *g* itself is prosthetic, and therefore not an organic part of the word. In *Chwefror* the *chw* is from the *s* of *mis* and the *j* of Latin *Februarius*, the *s* passing into *ch* through the intermediate *h*. Similarly *chwech* goes back to a hypothetical Aryan *sueks*, a doublet of *seks* which is the parent of English *six* and Latin *sex*. Hence W. *chwech*, Eng. *six*, and Latin *sex* are all cognate. As in the case of *h* (see below), radical *ch* may often be referred to Aryan *s*. (For secondary *ch* see chapter on Mutations.) *Ch* in *chwip* is from the inorganic *h* in English *whip*.

It was stated above that Old English had a guttural spirant which was represented in writing by *h*, as—
 ‘liht’ (modern *light*), ‘broht’ (= *brought*), ‘neah’ (= *nigh*), ‘heah’ (= *high*), ‘hreoht’ ‘ruh’ (= *rough*), ‘hleahhan’ (= *to laugh*), ‘hoh’ (= *hough*).

The Mediaeval scribe, who sought to spell the English of his day phonetically, represented the guttural spirant by the nearest digraph at his command, that is by *gh*, just as successfully as the Welsh scribe who adopted *ch* for the parallel but more surd Welsh sound. Of course, the limited number of symbols in either alphabet made a more accurate representation impossible, unless the bold (and better) step were taken of coining or borrowing new symbols for these individual sounds. It is true that in neither language did the digraphs have the separate values of their component parts; that is, *gh* in 'brought' at no time in its history had the value of 'g + h' in 'big horn,' nor was *ch* in Welsh *chwi* intended to represent the distinct sounds heard in 'ac hefyd.' But just as the Greek aspirated *t*, *p*, *c*—that is, *theta*, *phi*, and *chi*—in the post classical period became continuants, so had English 'p-h' and 't-h' passed into the spirants or continuants *ph* (= *f*) and *th* (= *th* in *thin*, *this*). Hence Mediaeval orthographists in adopting *gh* (in English) and *ch* (in Welsh) as symbols for the guttural continuants in those languages were only extending a principle already recognised in the case of *ph* and *th*.

The reader will not fail to notice another instructive parallel between English and Welsh in the development of the parasite *u* in most instances before the guttural. As in the case of the *w* in Welsh *awch* (*your*), *uwch* (*higher*), &c., the guttural vowel sound is somewhat inevitably produced as the tongue takes up its position for the articulation of the guttural spirant. This is especially the case after a back or low vowel like 'o' or 'a.'

Further, just as in South Wales *ch* in 'chw' has almost everywhere passed into *h*, so even in Old English *h* at the beginning of a syllable was a simple spirant as in Modern *he, has*. Hence while the second *h* in Old Eng. *heah* passed into Middle English *gh*, the initial *h* remained.

In Modern English the guttural 'gh' sound has disappeared. The muscular effort involved in its articulation was found too severe, and either the sound was dropped with compensatory lengthening of the vowel as in *though, high, Vaughan* (< W. Fychan), or it was changed into the more easily produced labio-dental spirant *f* as in *laugh, rough, Gough* (< W. Goch).

No such difficulty has been experienced in Welsh except initially as mentioned above—and the interchange of *ch* and *ff* is not common. *Dichlais* and *difflais*, *safe, secure*, may be an illustration, but even if they are, the change is probably from the *ff* of *difflais* (= ? *di, not* + *flexus, bending*) to the *ch* of *dichlais*.

D.

D is a dental sonant of which the corresponding spirant is *dd* (= *th* in English *then*), just as *th* is the corresponding spirant to the dental surd *t*. The inter-relation therefore of these sounds may be expressed by the formula—

$$d : dd \quad :: \quad t : th$$

or again—

$$d : t \quad :: \quad dd : th.$$

D-t > st > s :

The change of 'd—t' into 's' in 'llas'—a form once common for the aorist Impersonal 'lladdwyd,' 'lladded'—is a striking case of dissimilation. In early Welsh 'd—t,' in lladt, a short doublet of lladded, lladdwyd, came too near together to be distinctly and separately articulated; the mobility of the tip of the tongue was not equal to the task. Hence an attempt was made to articulate the 'd' by bringing the adjoining blade of the tongue into contact with the palate, leaving the tip free for the immediately succeeding 't.' But that division of labour of necessity yielded 's—t,' and eventually the *s* assimilated or eclipsed the *t*:

llad-t > llast > llas.

The same result is familiar to us in the English 'must' and 'wist,' and in Latin 'est,' *he eats*. 'Must' is from A.S. 'moste' (for mot-te) the preterite of 'mot,' and 'wist' (< wit-te) is the preterite of 'wit,' still used in 'to wit.' 'Est' is for 'ed-t' a doublet of edit from edo.

The same process of dissimilation will probably explain 'Wstrws,' the name of a large house near Capel Cynon, on the road between Llandyssul and New Quay, in Cardiganshire. The origin of the name has been the subject of much discussion at different times. It seems likely to be nothing but a modified form of 'Wyth-drws,' just as 'wythnos' is pronounced 'Wsnos' in Anglesey and other parts of Wales. For such a name as 'Wyth-drws' compare 'Saith-aelwyd,' a farm by Llangefni.

Di > Dzh :

'Di,' when followed by a vowel, tends to acquire the

'dzh' sound heard in English *judge, gin*. In formal speech this change is not countenanced, due partly to the fiction that Welsh words are spelt phonetically, and that therefore *per contra* they should be pronounced as they are spelt. But colloquially *diogel* and *diofal* are approximately *dzhogel* and *dzhofal*, while only a mincing pronunciation of 'diawl' in colloquial speech would differentiate the sound from that in 'dzhawl.' Compare the pronunciation of *t* in English *nature* and similar words.

Dd is the soft mutation of *d*, and is never met with as a radical initial in Welsh (cf. chapter on Initial Mutations).

For inorganic *dd* and lost *dd* see sections below devoted to excrescent and lost sounds.

Final *dd* after a vowel is apt to be hardened into *d*, thus, while *gormodd* has literary sanction, *e.g.*,

'Marw mab mam, mawr ymhob modd,

Mair a Garmon! marw gormodd.'—Tudur Aled, *G.B.C.*, 230.

and is still used colloquially in Gwentian, *gormod* is the recognised literary form to-day. Similarly *machlud* (from *ym* + Latin *occludo*) is for an older form *ymachludd*, while *ansawdd* has been kept by the side of *ansawd*, but with differentiation of meaning.

N tends to harden *dd* into *d*, as *bendith* from *benddith*.

F and *Ff*.

Both are labio-dental spirants, *f* being voiced like English *v*, or *f* in *of*, and *ff* the corresponding voiceless sound like *f* in English *for*.

Initial *F*- does not occur in the radical or dictionary form of a word, except—

(1) by Aphaeresis, as ‘fel’ < ‘fal’ < hafal.

(2) by crystallization of a mutated form as the radical, as *fi*, *fy*. In many instances this is due to the habitual use of the definite article ‘y’ with the word, as (y) fagddu, (y)fory.

(3) In a few borrowed words which have resisted provection into *m*- or *b*-, due to the influence of the familiar original spelling, as *finegr*, *fermilion*.

DD AND F.

The interchange of the voiced spirants *f* and *dd* is common, due to the ease with which the vocal organs can pass between the two positions concerned in their articulation. If the tongue be dropped from the *dd*-position, the lower lip is readily brought into contact with the upper teeth yielding *f*, while again the dropping of the lip is often accompanied by the raising of the front and tip of the tongue. Examples :—

Afanc and addanc :

‘Ac wynteu a dywedassant bot *adanc* mywn gogof.’—
Mab. 224.

Balwyf and balwydd :

Balwydd is probably to a great extent due to a fancied connection with *gwŷdd*.

Cufigl and cuddigl.

Caerdyf and Caerdydd :

Etymologically the word denotes the caer on the river Taff (Welsh Tâf), though there is a local tradition that it denotes the caer of Aulus *Didius*.

‘ A’ m bod er’s talm, salm Selyf,
Yn caru dyn uwch Caerdyf.’—*D. ab G. II.* (p. 3).

Eifonydd and Eiddionydd ;

eddain ,, efain ;

edryd ,, edryf :

‘ ach ac edryd (or edryf),’ *stock and lineage.*

godwrdd, dadwrdd, godwrf, tarfu, cynnwrf ;

gwyryf, gwyrydd, and adwerydd ;

gwyddon and gwyfon ;

hwyddell ,, hwyfell ;

lladd and cyflafan ;

llawryf and llawrwydd.

For llawrwydd compare balwydd above.

nwyddau and nwyfau ;

plwyf and plwydd.

We may also compare rhudd and English *ruddy* with *Rufus* and *rubric*.

The corresponding voiceless *th* and *ff* are not nearly as often interchanged, for the muscular tension required for their articulation in the vocal organs is unfavourable to the necessary fluidity. Still examples do occur :

The 3rd Sing. Pres. Indic. termination of verbs is
-ith in Demetian, -iff in Gwentian, as rhedith,
rhediff, *runs* ;

benthyg is a corruption of benffyg ;

and pencnath (N. Wales), penneth (S. W.) are common pronunciations of English *penknife*. Similarly English children sometimes say 'nuffink' for 'nothing,' and some always pronounce 'three' as 'free.'

DD AND TH.

Dd in an energetic articulation may easily pass into *th*, and on the other hand a languid pronunciation may reduce *th* into *dd* :

arglwydd and arglwyth ;
colwydd and golwyth ;
cynysgaeth and cynysgedd ;
diwaethaf and diweddaf ;
(gwen)ith and yd :

Old Ir. *ith* = *corn* ; compare English *wheat* = the *white* grain.

wmbredd and wmbreth.

We may compare the voiceless 'th' often heard in the articulation of 'with' in English, when special emphasis is laid upon it ; also the emphatic adverb 'off' and the weakened preposition 'of.'

The adjoining 'n' accounts for the unvoicing or hardening of the 'dd' in—

(1) *ganthaw*, *gantaw* ; *ganthi*, *genti* (common in the *Mabinogion*), from *ganddo* ; *ganddi*.

(2) Mediaeval *ganthunt* and *gantunt* for *ganddunt* (—Modern *ganddynt*, the *u* > *y* on the analogy of the 3rd plu. Past Impf. and Plupf. of verbs) :

'A diheu oed *ganthunt* na welsynt eiryoet gwr a march ac arueu hoffach *gantunt* eu meint noc wynt.'—*Mab.* 248.

F (=v), AND W OR U.

The interchange of the voiced spirant 'f' and 'w,' whether vocalic or consonantal, is one of the best attested facts in Welsh phonology. In value the 'w' is a vocalised *f*, as in—

awrddwl from afrddwl ;
cywoed from cyfoed.

Further, the softening of the labials 'm' and 'b' may follow one of two lines: (1) the lower lip may be brought into gentle contact with the upper teeth, allowing a mild escape of breath. The resulting sound is *f* (=v). Or (2) with equal ease the tension may cease in the lips, which will then be held loosely together, and, due to the gentle pressure of the breath in the resonance chamber behind, they will be pushed forward; the back of the tongue will at the same time be raised as an automatic accompaniment; the resulting sound is 'w.' Thus the Welsh cognate of Old Irish 'cumachte,' and of English 'might,' assumes the doublet forms

cyfoeth and cywaeth.

'Cawn o ddawn a eiddunwyf,
Cywaethog ac enwog wyf.'—D. ab G. iii.

and the 'b' seen in Old Irish *Serb, delb, marb, tarb, &c.*, is 'w' in their Welsh cognates *chwerw, delw, marw, and tarw.*

The change of 'w' or 'u' into 'f' is sometimes fanciful and due to false analogy, as,

yntef for yntau :

'Ac yntef oedd yn eistedd yng-hanol y llwch.'—Llyfr
Job, ch. ii.

and, anghefol for angheuol :

‘ (Fel) y nessao ei enaid i’r clawdd : a’i fywyd i [loesion] anghefol.’—*Llyfr Job*, xxxiii.

Other examples of the interchange of ‘f,’ and ‘w,’ ‘u’ are—

archfa for archwa :

‘ archfa’r bwydydd.’—*Bardd Cwsc*, 23.

berfa, from Old. Eng. *berewe* ;

colloquial bregwast or brecwast, from Mod. Eng. *breakfast*.

criafol and criawol ;

cenafon and cenawon ;

cleddyf and cleddau ;

-aw and -ew in final unaccented syllables are sometimes weakened into -au, -eu. Compare cenawon with ceneu (also cenaw), llewyh and goleu.

cafod and cawad :

‘ Llyma gawat o nywl yn dyuot.’—*Mab*. 46.

‘ Cafodydd didorr o saethau marwol.’—*Bardd Cwsc*, 47

Diofryd and diowryd :

‘ Rho’ ddiowryd rhyw ddirwy,

Adeiliad serch er merch mwy.’—*D. ab G.* clxxix.

diawl and diafol :

Diafol is a modern learned borrowing. The word occurs repeatedly in *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* (1595), and its form is invariably ‘diawl’—

‘ Yr ydych o’ch tad Diawl, ai ewyllys ef a fynnwch ‘i gyflowni.’—191.

dwyfol and dwywol ;
 dwyfes and dwywes ;
 defnydd and deunydd :

‘ Os dilyni onestrwydd, nid wyti ond ffwl di-ddeu-
 nydd.’—*Bardd Cwsc*, 38.

goreu and goref, goraf ;
 Iau and English *Jove* ;
 pythefnos and colloquial pythewnos ;
 ysgafn and ysgawn ;
 ysgaw and Esceifiog ;
 tywod and tyfod :

‘ Canys yn awr trymmach fydde na thyfod y môr.’—
 Llyfr Job, 14.

Also the dialectal—

brifo (in Gwynedd)	for	briwo, briwio ;
llifo	„	„ lliwo, lliwio ;
dyfyd	„	„ dywed (<i>he</i>) says ;
dwad (Demetian)	„	„ dyfod ;
towlad	„	„ taflod.

G.

Always hard as in English *get*, never as in *gin*.

Initial *g-* is often prosthetic, as—

gallt for allt ;
 godidog < odid ;
 gonest < English *honest* ;
 gwin, gwineu < Latin *vinum*
 gwynt < Latin *ventus*.

Why? The reason is two-fold—

(1) Initial *g-* in soft mutation, after passing through the intervening stage of a very soft spirant, something like the 'r' *grasseye* of French or the lisped *r* sometimes heard from English and Welsh speakers—was eventually dropped, *e.g.*

gardd—ei ardd ;
gwaith—ei waith.

Hence the radical form of *ardd* and *waith* will be found not under *a-* and *w-*, but under *g-*. Analogy and uncertainty have greatly extended the prosthesis of *g-*, and quite a host of words which originally began in a vowel or *w* have now to be looked for under the guttural. Others have gained currency in dialects, as *gaddo* for *addo* in Gwynedd, and *giar* for *iar* in Demetian.

(2) Analogy and uncertainty will not adequately explain the remarkable fact that hardly any Welsh word in the radical form begin in consonantal 'w.' Another principle has been at work. The back of the tongue in being raised to the 'w' position is carried a little too far and touches the back of the palate, with the inevitable result that *g* is articulated. This may be a case of indistinct articulation, but it seems more likely to be an illustration of the law whereby initial *l* and *r-* in Welsh are almost invariably protracted into *ll-* and *rh-*: 'w' as an initial lacks precision and definiteness, and the effort at giving it a more distinctive character leads to the muscular tension in the back of the tongue, which brings it into contact with the back of the palate, yielding the guttural 'g.'

The Celts of France introduced the same peculiarity into French. Hence English *war* is *guerre* in French, and the forms *guard*, *guise*, *guarantee*, &c., are nothing but the English words *ward*, *wise* (= *manner*), and *warrant*, borrowed by the French who recast them in their linguistic mould, and returned them to the English in a new garb. French has gone further, and has lost the lip element altogether in pronunciation, though the 'u' generally remains in writing. Hence phonetically in that language initial *w* sound has passed through *gw* into *g*.

A similar change is found in the prefixes *go-* and *gor-* for older *gwo-* and *gwor-* in Welsh. And colloquially initial *gwn-* *gwl-*, *gwr-* are continually pronounced in most parts of Wales without the *w*, as—

g'na for *gwna*, *g'lyb* for *gwlyb*, and in Gwentian 'gwraig' is 'grraig.'

'W' in initial 'gw-' + vowel, is generally consonantal, as in—

gwyn, *gwas*, *gwaith*, *gwyh* ;
but in a few words it is a vowel if 'y' follows, as—
gŵydd, *gŵyl*, *gŵyr*.

H.

H: as in *hardd*, *hwn*. Never silent as in English 'honest.' In Mediaeval writings it seems to have been in some words either silent or very nearly quiescent. Thus in 'hun,' *sleep*, *h* was a strong spirant as it is to-day, but in *hun*, *self*, it had probably no more value than in English 'historian.' The grammatical rule

which requires 'a' before history, but 'an' before historian points to the weakening of the 'h' in the latter word. Similarly in Mediaeval Welsh, the phrase for 'his sleep' was 'y hun,' but for 'himself' the possessive 'y' was always written 'e,' thus in *Maxen Wledic* we find on the same page (85) :—

(y) uorwyn *e* hun, *the maiden herself* ;
 y wreic vwyhaf a garei a welai trwy y hun,
he saw in his sleep the lady he loved most.

As the *h* in hun, *self* (hun < un, *one*) was of little value, it was necessary for distinctness to differentiate the sound of the possessive 'y' more from that of 'u' in hun.

In origin, *h* is frequently—

- (1) from *s*, as in hun, *sleep*, cf. Latin *somnus*, or
- (2) accentual, as in cenedloedd, plu. of cenedl.

In 'hun,' *self*, after the feminine possessive *e*, it may be regarded as the Welsh modified value of the *s* originally ending the Feminine Sing. Possessive. But the normal *h* in this word should rather be considered as a somewhat quiescent intervocalic *h**, arising from the fact that the word is regularly used with the Possessives 'vy,' 'dy,' 'y,' &c.

The fact that ninnau was written both as ninneu and ninheu in Mediaeval literature points to the same inaudible *h*.

* For instances of this *h* see Sir John Rhys's *Welsh Philology*, p. 232.

THE HARDENING of *b, d, g* into *p, t, c* in the comparison of Adjectives, and of *b, d, g, f* into *p, t, c, ff* in the Present Subjunctive of Verbs and in Verb-nouns is, in most cases, due to an accentual *h*: thus the Noun *bwyd* yields the Verb-noun *bwydha'*, which, with the shifting of the accent to the first syllable, became ' *bwyta,*' so—

ceiniog—*ceiniog-ha'*—*ceinioc'a* ;
cardod—*cardod-ha'*—*cardot'a* ;
cwbl—*cwbl-ha'-u*—*cwbl-ha'*—*cwp'la*.

Cwpla is the familiar pronunciation in Gwentian. In the same dialect one meets *cryffa*, 'to grow strong,' from *cryf-ha'* from *cryf*.

llaw > *llof-ha'* > *lloff'a*.

So in the Verbs—

gwybod > *gwyb-hwyf'* > *gwyp'wyf* ;
gadaw, gado > *gad-ho'* > *gat'o* ;
dwyn > *dyg-ho'* > *dyc'o* ;

and, finally in Adjectives—

teg—*teg-hed'*—*tec'-ed* ;
teg-haf'—*tec'-af* ;
gwlyb—*gwlyb-hed'*—*gwlyp'ed* ;
gwlyb-haf'—*gwlyp'af*.

The hardening in the Comparative Proper (*tecach, gwlypach, &c.*) is due to the analogy of the other two degrees—the Equal and the Superlative.

Intervocalic *h* is sometimes hardened into *ch*,* especially in the Gwentian dialect, as *cychyd* for *cyhyd*, *deheu* for *deheu*, *echon* for *ehon*, *eon*, *echedydd* for *ehedydd*. The change is euphonic.

* Cf. Silvan Evans's Welsh Dictionary *s.v.* *cychyd*.

THE ADDITION OF INITIAL H.

This occurs only in words beginning in a vowel. It is added—

(I) To Nouns, after the Possessive Adjectives—

'm, *my* ; ei, 'i, 'w, *her* ; ein, 'n, *our* ; eu, 'u, 'w, *their*, as—

ei hwyneb ; ein hawydd.

(ii.) To *ugain*, when governed by 'ar,' *on*, in composite numbers, as un-ar-hugain.

(iii.) To Verbs after the Postvocalic (or Infix) Personal Pronouns—

'm, *me* ; 'i, *him, her* ; 'n, *us* ; 'u, *them*.

'Efe a'u hanfonodd hwynt.'—Luke ix. 2.

I.

I : may be a vowel as in—

hir, ewin.

or a consonant as in—

iawn, iechyd, cuddio.

Compare *y* in English heavy, ready (vowel), and yes young (consonant).

Long *i* like long *a*, long *e*, and long *o* are simple sounds in Welsh, never diphthongal as in English.

The change from vocalic to consonantal *i* is very simple. For the vowel the middle of the tongue is brought near the palate ; let there be a momentary contact, and the 'i' is consonantal.

SI (+ VOWEL) = SH.

I after *s*, if another vowel follows, has no separate value. The *si* together are sounded like *s* in English 'sure.' The explanation is simple: the tongue seeks to anticipate the 'i' position during the articulation of the sibilant, and neither the *s* nor the *i* is clearly produced. We get instead the mixed *sh* heard in English *shun*, *sure*, that is, an *s* articulated with the tongue in the *i* position. Examples—

siom, siwr.

The reader will immediately recognise in these two examples the English words 'sham' and 'sure.' Further investigation will lead to the suspicion that the sound under discussion is confined to borrowed words. This is not quite borne out by all the facts, at any rate in dialects, for a few words like 'brysio' are pronounced by many people with an 'sh' rather than an 's-i.' Still it would be generally conceded that to sound 'sh' in 'ceisio,' 'blysio,' is to use a corrupt pronunciation, and it may be fairly argued that 'brysio' should not be an exception. Many people in Gwynedd find 'sh' difficult to articulate, and pronounce 'ship' like 'sip.'

It will be instructive, therefore, to enquire where we have borrowed this sound from. It cannot fail to throw some light upon the limitations of Welsh speech-sounds.

(1) First then, it stands for English 'sh'—a sound usually represented in works on Phonetics by the old symbol *f*:

siom < Eng. *sham* ;
 siop < Eng. *shop* ;
 siwr < Eng. *sure* ;
 sir < Eng. *shire* ;
 siffrwd < Eng. *shuffle* ;

‘ Eraill yn siffrwd y Disieu a’r Cardieu.’—

Bardd Cwsc, 23.

siri < Eng. *sheriff* ;

‘ Dyna, ebr ef, Rowndiad sy’n mynd yn Siri.’

Bardd Cwsc, 36.

(2) It is our way of representing Eng. *ch* (tsh) as in *chance*, by ignoring—as Modern French also does—the initial *t* heard in that complex sound :

Sieb < Eng. *Cheapside*, as ‘ Siopeu Sieb ’ in
 Dafydd ab Gwilym.

sir (> siriol) < English *cheer* :

‘ Dy sir dda ar y cyrff meirwon.’

Llyfr y Tri Aderyn, 165.

‘ Gwnaethum iddynt gymmaint o sir ag a allwn.’

William Morris’s *Letters*, 248.

sias (a turn, game, set) from Eng. <i>chase</i> ;	
Siarlymaen	„ <i>Charlemagne</i> ;
siawns	„ <i>chance</i> ;
siars	„ <i>charge</i> ;
sinnai	„ <i>chimney</i> ;
Rhisiart	„ <i>Richard</i> .

(3) English *j* (and *g* in gaol = *dzh*) is the soft sound corresponding to the surd *ch* mentioned in (2) above. Welsh has no such sonant sound corresponding to the surd

si. Hence English *j* is proved in borrowed words and is represented by *si*, the initial *d* being again ignored like the *t* of *ch* (= *tf*). French did not follow as simple a course: when the Classical Latin mid-front *i* (= *i* in Welsh *iawn*) was shifted forward and made a blade-point sound (= Eng. *j*) in Popular Latin, French adopted the change, a course which English followed under the influence of French. But while English has adhered to the prosthetic *d* sound, French has long reverted to the pure spirant. Welsh Examples:—

Sior and Siors	from Eng. <i>George</i> ;
siaced	„ <i>jacket</i> ;
Siams	„ <i>James</i> ;
Sian	„ <i>Jane</i> ;
Sion	<i>John</i> ;
Siasper	„ <i>Jasper</i> ;
siwглаeth	<i>jugglery</i> :

‘Hyd y Stryd allan gwelit chwareuon Interlud, siwглаeth a phob castieu hug.’—*Bardd Cwsc*, 23.

siel from Eng. *jail*, *gaol* :

‘Pa beth, ebr y Cyffeswr, tan edrych ar ryw siel ddu oedd yno gerllaw.’—*Bardd Cwsc*, 34.

siwrnai from Eng. *journey*, or French *journee*.

These equations are subject to some limitations :

(a) They hold true only at the beginning of a word. At the end, when the speaker’s energy is already somewhat spent, his ability to imitate these foreign sounds is more impaired, and they are all regularly reduced to the pure sibilant *s* ;

awrlais from Mid. Eng. *orlage* < French, *horloge*.

The 'ai' is due to popular etymology.

colas < Eng. *college*.

Coleg is a learned borrowing from Lat. *collegium*.

ceisbwl < Eng. *catchpole* ;

hais < Eng. *hedge* ;

mantais < Eng. *vantage* ;

mursen < Eng. *virgin* :

For *v* > *m*, see under B ; also the section on Provection.

estrys < Eng. *ostrich* ;

scwrsio < Eng. *scourge* :

'Tan scwrsio tri o ddynion a gwial o scorpionau tanllyd.'—*Bardd Cwsc*, 3.

piser < Eng. *pitcher* ;

potes < Eng. *potage* ;

bernais < Eng. *varnish* ;

wits, witsiaid < Eng. *witch* ;

siars < Eng. *charge*.

(b) The fact that (1) in *si* + a consonant the *s* is generally a pure sibilant as in 'sigr,' and (2) the semi-dialectal difficulty of articulating 'sh,' have led to some uncertainty in the pronunciation of words like 'sir' and 'simnai.' That is, the *s* is sometimes given the value of 's' in 'saer,' 'swn,' and not the more usual 'sh.' To these two causes, but more particularly the latter, must be ascribed instances, like those given below, of initial *j* (=dzh), and *ch* (=tsh) becoming Welsh 's' and not 'si' (=sh). See reference above to the pronunciation of 'ship' as 'sip.' Compare also English *chase* and *lance* borrowed from the Central

French dialect, with their doublets 'catch' and 'launch' derived from Norman French :

'siriol ;'

'som,' 'somi,' doublets of siom, siomi, *e.g.*,

'Llyma ymodwrd yn iwerdon am y . . . som a wnathoedit (i vatholwch) am y veirch.—*Mab*. 34.

'Dros eich car disomgara
David Davis, dewis da.'

Edw. Morus, *Cywydd y Paen*.

Sermania (=Germany) :

'Sarpes gadwynog falch anrhugarog,
A'i hesgyll yn arfog o Sermania.'

(quoted in) *Drych y Priŷ Oesoedd*, 24.

And Suddas < Judas :

'Gwnaeth Suddas a chusan
Diau gwnaid gloyw enaid glan
Dihenydd Duw ei hunan.'—M.A. 342a ; c 1300 A.D.

'Milweis eiddig mal Suddas,
Heb son am Dregaron gas.'—Gor. Owen, *Cywydd i Ieuan Brydydd Hir*.

(c) The *j* (*dzh*) sound in English is a comparatively modern development, and is unknown in classical Latin and Greek. It follows that Welsh words borrowed from Greek retain the consonantal *i* sound :

Iago, Iddew, Iesu, Ioan, Iorddonen, &c.

(d) The modern innovations, Jacob, Jerusalem, Jeremiah, &c., are unnaturalised forms.

L, LL.

Initial *l*- does not occur in the radical or dictionary form of a word, except—

(1) By aphaeresis ; as, *larwm* < Eng. *alarum*.

(2) By crystallization of a mutated form as the radical ; e.g. *lwyn* (= *loin*) side by side with *llwyn*.

(3) In a few borrowed words which have not been quite naturalized, as—

lifrai < Eng. *livery* ;

lili < Eng. *lily*.

In all other words original initial *l*- has been protected into *ll*-, as—

llaes < Latin, *laxus*.

Ll represents a peculiar sound. If the vocal organs be in readiness to pronounce *tl* in English *antler*, the sound *ll* can be arrived at by attending to two particulars—

(i.) Emit the breath more freely than for *tl*, and—

(ii.) Let the emission of the breath be continuous, without the sudden explosive sound of *t* at the beginning.

It is identical with the sound of 'dhl' in *Isan-dhlwana* as pronounced by a native.

L, N, R.

The relation of these three sounds is intimate, and their interchange might be illustrated from many languages. The difficulty of distinguishing *r* and *l* is felt

in our own time by the Chinese and Siamese. *Christ* in Chinese is *Kilisetu* ; a Siamese will pronounce ' the flames rolled on ' as ' the frame loll on. '* When we enquire into their physiological basis the ease of transition from one sound to another will be at once appreciated. For all three the tip of the tongue is raised to touch the sockets of the upper teeth. If then the breath is passed through the nostrils, *n* is sounded. Let it glide over the sides of the tongue, and *l* is produced. Or finally, the tongue may be held loosely in the same position, and the breath forced out over its centre and tip, setting up a sharp vibration of the latter against the front of the palate : Welsh *r* is the resulting sound.

The reasons for the interchange are various. In many cases it is the desire for dissimilation to avoid the repetition of the same sound, as in—

Latin *caerulus* from *caelum* ;

cancer from the root *carcr*.

French *pelerin* and English *pilgrim* from Latin *peregrinus*. Note that Welsh has not felt the need of a change here, hence the form ' pererin. '

Welsh *galler* often heard for *gallel*, *gallael*.

Again *r* is a difficult sound for many people. It has disappeared almost entirely from English speech except when it is followed by a vowel, thus *reader* is pronounced *ri:də*. Some people in attempting the trill find the tip of the tongue glued to the sockets of the upper teeth, and their articulation of *arall* cannot be distinguished from that of *alall*.

* Giles's *Comparative Philology*, p. 122.

The most active causes of the interchange of the three sounds in Welsh words are carelessness of articulation and a failure on the part of the hearer to catch the precise sound uttered.

The following list is far from complete, but it will help to shew the extreme fluidity of these liquids, and incidentally suggest to the etymologist lines of enquiry.

Intensive al-, an-, en-, er- :

alban, alaeth ; annwn, enfawr ; erfawr, erfyn.

addoli and Latin *adoro* ;

blagur and brag (*malt*) ;

clul and cnul, also English *knell* ;

Cordovan and cordwal (= *cordovan leather*) :

‘ Ac yna dechreu prynu y cordwal teckaf a gafas yn y dref.’—*Mab.* 48.

cornel < English *corner* ;

‘ Gochel di . . . (ei) ddarllain yn ddifraw, ai fwrw i gornel i rydu yn dy erbyn.’—Morgan Llwyd, 252.

cysuro < L. *consulor* ;

cythraul < L. *contrarius* ;

clwch, cnwc, and crug :

Clwch may be an Irish cognate. It occurs in ‘ Clwch Dernog,’ a farm in Anglesey, and perhaps in Maen Clochog in Pembrokeshire. Cnwc and crug, besides being familiar as common nouns, enter into the place-names Knucklas, in Radnorshire ; Cruglas, in Anglesey ; Maesycrugiau, in Carmarthenshire (not Maesycrygiau), &c.,

Chwefror and Chwefrol, Cornish *Huerval*.

torri, didor ; toli, didol, toliant ; ton, didwn.

The Def. Article 'yr;' 'yn' in y naill (for yn aill), yn awr; 'yl' in y llall for yl all. In Gwentian and to a less extent in Demetian 'y nall' is the colloquial form of 'y llall.' Compare the Definite Article in Breton—*ann, al, ar*.

elydr and elydn (*brass*) :

'Ac ar y maen hwnnw y mae y delw honno or elydyn teckaf wedy rydineu ar lun dyn.'—*Ystorya de Carolo*, 4.

ernes and Gaelic earlas ;

fflangell and ffrewyll ;

ffunen and Eng. *fillet* ;

gwawr, gwawl, and gwawn ;

gwna, *he does* ; Irish, *gni* ; Cornish, *gura* ; Breton *groa, gra*.

Ior(werth) and Iolo ;

Ior and Ion ;

ulw, hulyf, and Lat. *comb-uro* ;

Llevelys is called leuerys in *Mab*. p. 94 ;

Mari, Mol, Mali, Malen ;

mesur and mesul ;

maenor, maenol, and maelor(?) ;

mwrn and mwrl (*sultry*) ;

mor(wydd) and Eng. *mul*(*berry tree*) ;

Sara, Sali, and Sal ;

shuffle and siffrwd ;

ser and Lat. *stella*.

N.

N. The normal value of *n* is the same as in English *man*. Exceptions—

(1) Before a labial it is assimilated into *m* not only in the body of a word, as—

an + parch < amharch,

but also in word groups, as—

fyn brawd > fymbrawd > fy mrawd ;

yn + Bangor > ymBangor > ym Mangor.

The predicative *yn* and the preposition *yn* + verb-noun are notable exceptions in writing but not in pronunciation, thus :

yn + parchus > yn barchus ;

yn + parchu > yn parchu.

The *n* in Llan- is not changed in writing before *b-*, *p-*, as—

Llanbedr, Llanberis,

but its phonetic value is distinctly that of *m*. The English for the former—Lampeter—shews the correct sound of the nasal.

(2) Before a guttural it has the value of *ng* in English *sing*, as Bangor = Bang-gor.

Final *n* is apt to pass into *m*, especially after a back 'rounded' vowel like 'o.' The labial *m* in its turn reacts on the vowel assimilating it to the still more rounded 'w;' as—

botwm < Eng. *button* ;

cotwm < Eng. *cotton* ;

latwm < Eng. *latten* ;

offrwm < offeren < L. *offerenda* :

From the practice of making contributions (offrwm) to various causes at the celebration of the mass (offeren).

- patrwm < Eng. *pattern* ;
 rheswm < Eng. *reason*, or French, *raison* ;
 saffrwm < *saffron*.

So also in *lladmer* < Eng. *Latimer* for *Latiner*, the original meaning of a *Latin scholar* becoming generalized in Welsh into an *interpreter, translator* ; and *maentumio* < Eng. *maintain*, or Fr. *maintenir*.

The same change of *n* to *m* is sometimes found in English, as in *Latimer* above. Compare also lime-tree for linden-tree ; and *pilgrim* < Lat. *peregrinus*.

Final *-in* often passes into *-ing*, as—

- Llading* < Latin ;
 colloquial *pring* < *prin*.

P.

P. Aryan *p* is lost in Celtic, but velar *q* was advanced into the labial position in Welsh, yielding a new *p*. It will be interesting here to explain very briefly how the change of velar *q* to *p* came about : velar *q* is a *k* sound followed by *w* ; that is, the *q* was sounded with rounded lips. Once the lips were called into use, the whole duty of articulating this 'velar q' was thrown upon them in Welsh. That is, from being a labio-guttural the sound passed into a pure labial. This change took place in Brythonic but not in Goidelic. Hence while 'four' and 'five' are 'pedwar,' 'pump,' in Welsh and 'pevar,' 'pemp' in Breton, Old Irish shews the guttural, but yet a guttural relieved of its excrescent 'w'—cethir, coic.

R

R. Always a strong trill in Welsh. Initially it is protracted into *rh*.

When preceded by *e*, *r* has a tendency to develop an *i*-glide after the vowel; thus in Mediaeval and early Modern literature *ger* is regularly *geyr*, *geir*, and *gerbron* is *geirbron*; so in *eirmoet* though here the *i* may be on the analogy of *eirioet* where it can be accounted for as an affection of the *e* due to the *i* after the *r*. *Cyfeir*, *cyfair*, like its Irish counterpart *comhair*, shews the glide. Dr. Silvan Evans (see Dict. under 'Cyfair') connects the word with *cyf* and *âr*, *aru*, *to plough*, and adds the note 'Cyfar seems the better form, but *cyfair* is the older and the plural is more regularly formed from it.' The fact is, it has nothing to do with *âr*, *aru*. It is simply the word 'cyfer,' *opposite, against*, and its secondary meaning of *acre* is an interesting parallel to English 'country,' which is borrowed from French *contree* < Med. Latin *contrata* < L. *contra* = *against, opposite*, and therefore 'the land over against the town;' compare also German *gend* < *gegen*.

S.

S. Never voiced as in English *is, was*.

Certain difficult combinations of consonants lead to the growth of a preceding euphonic vowel in some languages. This is not the case in English, but it is common in Greek, Popular Latin, French, Spanish, and Welsh.

The consonantal group is usually initial *s* + consonant, as *sc*, *sp*, *st*, *sm*. Thus in French :

- esprit < L. *spiritus* ;
 école < Old Fr. *escole* < L. *scola* ;
 écu < Old Fr. *escu* < Popular Latin, *iscutum* ;
 < Latin, *scutum*.

In Welsh the euphonic vowel usually prefixed is the obscure *y*-, as—

- ysgrif < L. *scribo* ;
 yspryd < L. *spiritus* ;
 ysmegu < Eng. *smoke* ;
 ysten < Old Eng. *stane* (*a stone jug*).

Sometimes the vowel is *e*, as—

- esmwyth : compare Eng. *smooth* ;
 esgud, *swift*, *nimble* ; compare Eng. *scud*.

Sometimes the glide, heard when the tongue takes up the position for articulating the nasal *n*, is represented in writing. Thus *neidrwydd*, the *temples*, appears in *Llyfr Ancr* (93) as *eneidrwyd*. But this is of a different order, as the insertion of the *e* in *eneidrwydd* is due to somewhat leisurely and slipshod pronunciation.

In the case of *yspryd*, *ysgwydd*, *ysmegu*, &c., on the other hand, a real difficulty of pronunciation was experienced, and the problem was solved by dividing the consonants between two syllables, the first of which was improvised for the purpose. Even this expedient failed to solve the difficulty in French, for after the addition of the euphonic *e*- the *s* was nevertheless dropped from the majority of the words.

In Welsh, where the *y-* (or *e-*) was not prefixed, either the *s* was dropped, as in—

mwg, mwyth (contrast *ysmygu*, *esmwyth*),

or the following consonant, as—

sefyll for *stefyll*, from the same root as Latin *sto* ;

English, *stand* ;

sofl < Lat. *stipula*.

It must not be assumed that the euphonic *y-* was not heard because William Salesbury, Morgan Llwyd, Ellis Wyn, Theophilus Evans, and other writers of their time generally ignored it in writing. We might just as reasonably say that *b* was sounded in the 16th century in English *det* and *dout*, for *b* was then reintroduced into these words by writers of an etymological school, which sprang up with the Revival of Learning in Western Europe. The very same thing happened in France during the same period. It is unfortunate that Welsh is not yet free from the practice and doctrines of those etymologists from Salesbury to Dr. William Owen Pughe, who seriously tampered with our orthography, and who propounded absurd and impossible theories in Welsh etymology. It is true that Edward Llwyd and Sir William Jones were brilliant exceptions, and did a great work on sound lines in Celtic and Aryan Philology, but their influence upon the current of linguistic opinion in Wales at the time was comparatively small.

Even the sound *s* was found difficult of articulation, for in Old Welsh, where it was not flanked by a pro-

tecting consonant, usually *t*, it almost* invariably passed into *h*, as—

haul, compare Latin *sol* ;
 hir „ „ *serus* ;
 haf „ Eng. *summer*.

T.

Intervocalic *t* has become *d* in Modern Welsh, as—
 adar from older atar.

What then is the origin of our modern intervocalic *t*? It is from—

(1) *dh* as ateb < ad-heb, tecaf < teg-haf.

(2) *d-d* as cytuno < cyd-dy-uno.

dh and *d-d* alliterate with *t* in Welsh poetry, e.g. :

‘ Wych mwy teg, a chenadhau.’—Edw. Morus *Cywydd y Paen*.

‘ Oleu teg a elwid dydd.’—G. O., *Cywydd y Calan*.

(3) *d-d* < *d-b* as petawn < ped-dawn < ped-bawn.

(4) Analogy as rhatach for rhadach, because of the *t* in rhated, rhataf.

(5) *t* in learned borrowings, as natur < L. *natura*.

Intervocalic *-c-* and *-p-* in Modern Welsh are to be similarly accounted for.

Th: always voiceless as in English *thin*, never voiced as in *this*.

* *s* in saith (cognate with Latin *septem*), sil (doublet of hil), and one or two other words resisted the change into *h*.

As no words in Welsh begin with *th*, the digraph is changed into *t* in borrowed words, as—

trefa < Eng. *thrive* ;

tron, trwn < Eng. *throne*.

W.

(See also under C, Ch, G, and Chapter I.)

It may be a vowel as in *gwn*, or a consonant as in *gwas*.

The vowel 'w' in the diphthong 'wy' is apt to become consonantal: thus *w* in *awydd* and *awyr* in older writers was usually vocalic, but in present-day Welsh they are generally pronounced *aw-ydd*, *aw-yr*. Compare also *cadwen* from *cadwyn*, and the use of *tywell*, sometimes met with, as feminine of *tywyll* implies a new consonantal value for the *w*.

The *w* in *marwnad*, *meddwdod*, *delw*, &c., is consonantal in origin (= O. Ir. *b*), and it is seldom given a syllabic value in poetry, *delw* being a monosyllable and *meddwdod* a dissyllable for metrical purposes. For the same reason the accent on *marwnad*, &c., is on the first syllable (= *mar'-wnad*).

Thus in Goronwy Owen's *Cywydd Marwnad Marged Morys*, 'garwfrwyn' and 'weddwdod' are dissyllabic :

'Tristyð ac oerfyð garwfrwyn
 Llŵyr brudd a chystudd a chwyn.'
 'Ac o'i herwydd dwg hiraeth
 Ormod, ni fu weddwdod waeth.'

The final *w* in *hwnnw* and *acw* are exceptions in that they are not consonantal. Both come from *o* by back formation; *acw* is from Mediaeval *racco*, which with the loss of the *r* through confusion with the Definite Article, gives modern *aco* (*yco* colloquial) > *acw*. *Hwnnw* is from *hwn* + *yno*, just as *honno* is from *hon yno*, and, to give it more the appearance of a masculine, *hwn-yno* was changed into *hwnnw* (for *hwnno*), just as *Tom* becomes *Twm* and *bord* > *bwrdd*. Probably the 'w' of 'acw' is due in part to the 'w' of *hwnnw*.

CHAPTER III.

MUTATION OF INITIAL CONSONANTS.

The words of a sentence fall into groups according to the closeness of their interdependence ; thus in—

Cefais y llyfrau yn rhâd,

we have two phrase units—‘ cefais y llyfrau,’ and ‘ yn rhâd.’ In reading we observe an interval between the two ; but a stop cannot be made in the middle of the unit, say between ‘ y ’ and ‘ llyfrau,’ without tending to obscure the meaning. Again in—

Daeth llythyr | i'm llaw.

O'i dlodi | a'i hiraeth | cododd yr alltud | lef | oedd
yn adlais | o feddwl Cymru—

the units are indicated by the perpendicular lines.

Just as in French, liaison is regularly observed within the phrase, so in Welsh the nine mutable consonants undergo changes according to the following table and the appended rules :—

Radical.	Soft.	Nasal.	Aspirate.
p	b	mh	ph
t	d	nh	th
c	g	ngh	ch
b	f *	m	
d	dd	n	
g	— †	ng	
ll	l		
m	f *		
rh	r		

* Formerly f from m was nasalized and this distinction between f (< b) and f (< m) is still kept up in Breton.

† Originally a very soft guttural spirant was audible in this mutation of g.

PRINCIPLES OF SOUND-CHANGE.

MUTATION IS ASSIMILATION, and its object is to economize effort in pronunciation. It takes place to some extent in other languages; thus *in* + perfect becomes *imperfect*, and *dogs* is pronounced *dogz* in English.

Note in these two examples that the first and last consonants of the significant or root word assimilate the adjoining consonants of prefix and suffix. That too is the case in Welsh, where it is extended to word groups.

NASAL MUTATION: The first stage in the assimilation of *yn* + *pen* is *ympen*, a form familiar in Mediaeval literature. But Welsh does not stop here: the *-n*, after becoming *-m* by partial assimilation to the *p*-, in turn eclipses the latter, that is, converts it into *mh*. Hence the stages are:

yn pen > *ympen* > *ym mhen* or *ymhen*.
yn Caer > *yng Caer* > *yng Nghaer* or *y'Nghaer*.
Fyn Duw > *fynDuw* > *fy Nuw*.

The same changes occur in COMPOSITION, *e.g.*:

Con + *bro* > *Cymbro* > *Cymro*.
con + *paro* > Lat. *comparo* > Welsh *cymharu*.
an + *doeth* > *annoeth*.

SOFT MUTATION: Note that a *vowel* is a *voiced* or *sonant spirant*, that is, a *soft* sound produced by a *continuous* though very slight emission of the breath, causing a vibration of the vocal chords. On the other hand *p*, *t*, *c*, are *voiceless* or *surd mutes*, that is, *hard* sounds produced by a sudden explosive opening of the vocal organs after a complete stoppage of the breath.

In these there is no 'voice,' for the vocal chords do not vibrate. Hence a vowel-flanked *p*, *t*, or *c*, will be partially assimilated from *surd* or *voiceless* to *sonant* or *voiced* (*b*, *d*, *g*). Thus:

Old Welsh: *aþer* > Mod. Welsh *aber*.
 „ *maþ* > „ *mab*.
 and *ei* + *pen* > *ei ben*, *his head*.

Similarly the *sonant mutes*, *b*, *d*, *g*, are changed into the *sonant spirants*, *f*, *dd*,—(*g* disappears), under the same conditions.

The vowel preceding the mutated consonant has often disappeared from Modern Welsh, but the mutation—in so far as it is phonetic in origin (see the disturbing influences referred to below)—is as positive a proof of its presence in the early stages of the language, as the nasal mutation in ‘*nhad*,’ used by a child in calling or addressing its father, implies a lost ‘*fy*’ (older—*fyn*) before the noun. So the Definite article ‘*yr*’* softens the initial mutable consonant of a feminine singular noun because the former word in this gender and number originally ended in a vowel. Similarly it softens the *d* of *dau* just as *dau* itself turns ‘*dyn*’ into ‘*ddyn*,’ e.g. ‘*y ddau ddyn*,’ because the dual in Celtic as in Greek ended regularly in a vowel. Similarly, as *-o-* connects *cun* and *belinos* in *Cunobelinos* (Mod. *Cynfelyn*) and accounts for the softening of the *b* into *f*, and as we write Anglo-Norman for English-Norman, so *môrgainc* and *diod-lestr* must have been connected by a vowel, which accounts for *gainc* (< *cainc*) and *lestr* < *llestr*.

ASPIRATE MUTATION. Stages—

ac + *pan* > *appan* > a *phan*.
ac + *tair* > *attair* > a *thair*, &c.
ac + *can* > *accan* > a *chan*.

The *pp*, *tt*, and *cc* involve such a strong emission of breath that they resist ‘voicing’ into *b*, *d*, *g*. The alter-

* The reader must not think that the mutation of (e.g.) *m* into *f* in ‘*y fam*’ (< *mam*) is due to the vocalic ‘*y*.’ The softening dates from a time anterior to the loss of the *r* of *yr* and implies an early feminine form such as ‘*yre*.’

native is assimilation to the spirant character of the vowels flanking them. Similarly in composition—

Lat. <i>occasio</i>	>	W. <i>achos</i> .
„ <i>cippus</i>	>	W. <i>cyff</i> .
„ <i>sagitta</i>	>	W. <i>saeth</i> .

TWO FACTORS have considerably affected the range and use of mutations :

(a) ANALOGY : *e.g.*, *wyth* nasalizes the *b* of *blwyddyn* because *saith* and *naw* do so. But *saith* and *naw* in Brythonic ended in *-n* (= *m* in Latin *septem* and *novem*). *Wyth* never had a final *-n*.

(b) The growing use of mutations for purposes of SYNTAX. Thus, on phonetic grounds, in the 18th century and earlier, it was customary to soften the initial consonant of the subject after verb-forms in *-ai*, that is, the 3rd sing. Past Imperfect and Pluperfect, no doubt due to the influence of the final vowel in the verb, *e.g.*,

‘ O *chai fachgen wrth eni,*
Wyd awen deg, dy wen di.’—Gor. Owen.

This softening of the initial of the subject, in the case of the substantive verb, was extended by analogy to *oedd* and sometimes to other parts, both of the substantive verb and others, *e.g.*,

‘ (Syn fyfyriais) *wyched oedd gael arnynt lawn olwg.*’—*Bardd Cwsc*.

‘ *Dygymydd Duw ag emyn*
O awen dda a wna ddyn.’—G. O.

‘ Efe oedd gannwyll yn llosgi, ac yn goleuo.’—Ioan v.
35.

‘ Ac o’i herwydd, dwg hiraeth
Ormod, ni fu weddwod waeth.’—G. O. vi.

‘ Nid oes *ddim* cywir-Grefydd yn yr offeiriad.’—*Deff.*
Ffydd, 66.

Still exceptions occur, as—

‘ Fel y galle Cymro ei ddarllen ef yn rhwydd.’—*Deff.*
Ffydd, xviii.

‘ Amhossibl fydde dwyn.’ . . . *Ibid.* xiv.

But in present-day Welsh it has become the rule that the initial consonant of the subject is to remain radical after all parts of the verb (see below).

RULES OF MUTATION.

The commonest change is—

THE SOFT MUTATION.

(a) After the Definite Article, in any noun or adjective—including ordinal numerals—of the Fem. Sing.,
e.g.,

y bobl, the people.

a’r fwyn ferch, and the gentle maid.

y bumed salm, the fifth psalm.

N.B.—The following remain radical after the Def. Art. :

(i.) Words in *ll-* and *rh-*, *e.g.*,

y llaw, the hand.

y rhaw, the shovel.

This is rather a case of reversion after a period of mutation. The stages are—

Yre llawf — yr(e) lawf — yr law — yr llaw — y llaw ; for rl becomes rll, as perllan from perlan ; contrast ydlan. Harlech for Mediaeval Harddlech (see *Mabinogion*) and erlyn for older erglyn are scarcely exceptions, for the intervening ‘d’ and ‘g’ were present during the period when rl changed into rll. So *h* in rhaw is accentual, ‘rr before an accented syllable becomes rh.’*

(ii.) The initials of plurals, except ‘pobloedd,’ *e.g.*,
y gwragedd, *the women*.

‘Yr Iesu a ddechreuodd ddywedyd wrth y bobloedd,’—Matt. xi. 7.

(iii.) Initials of Cardinal numerals of either gender, *e.g.*,

‘y tair hudoles hyn, *these three witches*.’—

Bardd Cwsc.

y Deng Air Deddf, *the ten commandments*.

Dau (m.) and dwy (f.), *two*, on the other hand, shew softening :

y ddau ddyn, *the two men*.

y ddwy wraig, *the two women*.

(b) In nouns, as agnomens—that is, when following proper nouns of either gender as titles or epithets, *e.g.*

Ioan Fedyddiwr. Iesu Fab Dafydd.

Mair Forwyn. Serigi Wyddel.

Duw Dad. Hugh Flaidd.

* See Welsh Orthography, pp. 22–3.

Also in adjectives qualifying proper nouns :

Hywel *Dda*. Noah Gyfiawn.

Exceptions : Rhodri *Mawr* ;

Deio ap Ieuan Du, where *D* (for *Dd*) is due to the hardening effect of the *n*. Compare *bendith* for *ben-ddith*, and see Chapter iv.—*Provection*.

(c) In addresses with or without an interjection, *e.g.*

Frodyr anwyl. O *Dduw* !
Da, was da (from *gwas*). Ha, was *drwg*.

(d) In an adjective after a noun feminine singular, *e.g.*,

gwraig dda.

(e) Likewise, in the latter of two nouns, if used attributively with a feminine noun singular :

llwy de. Pobl *Wynedd*—G. O.
llwy fwrdd. ‘*Gwlad Gymry*.’—M. *Kyffin*.
pont bren. *nodwydd ddu*.
canwyll gorff. Y *Forwyn Fair*.
canwyll wêr (fr. *gwêr*). *Gwlad Fon*.
y dduwies Wener (fr. *Gwener*).

Contrast : *llawr coed*. *llwybr troed*.

y dyn Crist Iesu.

where the initial remains radical, because the nouns *llawr*, *llwybr*, and *dyn* are masculine.

‘*De*,’ ‘*fwrdd*,’ and most of the second words in the above groups, are syntactically *Attributive Genitives*.

Similarly any noun in the *Genitive* dependent on another noun is more or less *attributive* in character,

and on that account tends to show initial soft mutation if the noun, on which it depends, is feminine, *e.g.*

Teyrnas <i>Dduw</i> .	Caer <i>Wrangon</i> .
Din <i>Dryfol</i> .	Awr <i>weddi</i> (<i>gweddi</i>).

(*f*) Even after a masculine in a very few instances, soft mutation occurs, *e.g.*

Ty <i>Dduw</i> .	Ty <i>Ddewi</i> .
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This is rare, and is probably due to—

(1) Analogy with feminine nouns, and—

(2) The fact that these phrases are of common occurrence, and therefore more or less subject to the rule of mutation in compounds.

(*g*) If nouns of either gender, singular or plural, are preceded by an Adjective in the Positive, or a noun used attributively, Welsh tends to regard them as compounds, and the initial consonant of the second word is softened :

hen <i>dy</i> ;	gwag <i>ogoniant</i> (fr. <i>gogoniant</i>) ;
y gwir <i>Dduw</i>	y Duw <i>Ddyn</i> ;
gau <i>brophwyd</i> ;	diod <i>lestr</i> ;
cam <i>ddefnydd</i> ;	mor <i>gainc</i> .

N.B.—Generally in Welsh such word groups coalesce and form genuine compounds, as *milgi*, *greyhound* ; *gwirfodd*, *good will*, *consent* ; *gwinllan*, *vineyard* ; *morfran*, *a cormorant* ; *byrbryd*, *luncheon* ; *byrgoes*, *short-legged* ; *byrbwyll*, *rash*, *hasty*.

Still, though the native tendency of the language is to reduce them all into compounds the process is gradual, and it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the two words have already coalesced ; *e.g.* the forms—

coel grefydd and coelgrefydd may be defended, gwag ogoniant and gwagogoniant, &c.

As the mutation is the same in either case, the accent is the only test whether a particular example is to be written in two words or as a compound ; the two words are separate if they retain their respective accents, as 'hen' dy', *an old house* ; but if one is dropped they form a compound, e.g. 'hen'dy.'

(h) After the INDEFINITE ADJECTIVES *ambell, amryw, cyfryw, holl, rhyw, unrhyw, ychydig* ;

Also after the INTERROGATIVE ADJECTIVE *pa* :

ambell waith (fr. gwaith) ;
yr holl fyd ; unrhyw le ;
' Pa dduw sy'n maddeu fel Tydi ? '

(i) In nouns after the Possessive Adjectives :

dy, 'th = *thy* ; ei, 'i, 'w = *his*, e.g.
dy gleddyf ; ei ben ;
i'th law ; i'w ferch.

(j) In Feminine nouns after Ordinal Numerals, e.g.

yr ail ferch ; y bedwaredd bennod.

N.B.—In present day Welsh, even in Masculine nouns after *ail*, e.g.

yr ail ddiwrnod ; yr ail lyfr.

The Bible shews the transition, e.g.,

Ail Llyfr Samuel, but Ail Lyfr y Brenhinoedd.

(k) After the cardinal numerals :

(i.) un (fem.) ; e.g.

un wraig (fr. gwraig), *one woman*.

but *ll* and *rh* remain radical, *e.g.*

un *llaw* ; un *rhodfa*.

Or rather, as after *yr*, the *ll-* and *rh-* are instances of reversion, the *l* > *ll* due to the hardening effect of *n*, and *nr* before an accented syllable > *nrh*. Contrast *anrhydedd* with *anwiredd* (< *gwir*).

(ii.) *dau*, *dwy* :

dau frawd ; *dwy eneth*.

So in the qualifying adjective, and for the same reason :

‘*Fal y ddau ychen, hen hy
Fanog, ba beth y fyny.*’—*D. ab G. cxiii.*

‘*Gwae fi, na chair deuair deg,
Oni chawn un ychwaneg.*’—*D. ab G. clxx.*

‘*Deu wydel uonllwm.*’—*Mab.*

Occasionally, *c-*, *p-*, *t-*, remain radical after *dau*, as—

‘*dau parth,*’ *two parts.*—*2 Kings ii. 9.*

‘*y dau cymaint,*’ *double.*—*Rev. xviii. 6.*

(iii.) *Saith*, *wyth*, if the following consonant is *p-*, *t-*, *c-* :

‘*saith dorth,*’ *seven loaves.*—*Matt. xvi. 10.*

saith dymor dyn, *the seven ages of man.*

wyth bennill, *eight stanzas.*

and often in the case of the other mutable consonants, as—

‘*saith fasedaid,*’ *seven basketsful.*—*Matt. xv. 37.*

dinas deg ar saith fryn, *a fair city on seven hills.*

(iv.) *Deng*, if the next consonant is *g-* : as—

‘*deng wr a thrugain,*’ *seventy men.*—Numbers xi. 24.

(l) In nouns, including the verb-noun, when following a PERSONAL VERB that governs them in the Accusative case :

Gwelais ddyn, I saw a man.

Clywaf ganu, I hear singing.

NOTE.—(i.) The accusative following a verb in the impersonal form shews no mutation, *e.g.*,

Gwelwyd dyn, a man was seen.

Clywid canu, singing was heard.

(ii.) A noun dependent on a verb-noun is in the Genitive (*not* accusative) case, and therefore shews no mutation as a verb-noun is always masculine (see (f) above), *e.g.*,

Gweled dyn, seeing a man.

Clywed canu, hearing singing.

(iii.) The subject of a verb usually shews no initial mutation in present-day Welsh, *e.g.*,

Daw diwrnod cyfrif ar ol hyn.

A day of reckoning will come after this.

(iv.) In older Welsh the initial consonant of the object often remained radical, *e.g.*,

Ef a glywei llef ; ef a welei carw ; ny welsei cwn ;

but also—*ef a welei lannerch :*

all on p. 1 of the *Mabinogion.*

And in the following line from Deio ap Ieuan Du :

‘*Y Ddraig Goch ddyry cychwyn.*’—*G. B. C. 172 ;*

the *cynghanedd* required *c-* in *cychwyn* to alliterate with the two *g*'s in *y Ddraig Goch*.

(*m*) In an Adjective after a noun feminine sing., *e.g.*,

Gwraig dda, a good woman.

But final *-s* sometimes restores the radical, as—

nos da ; ewyllys da ; Ynys Brydain.

(*n*) Sometimes in the Comparative after a masculine noun, if the sentence is negative or implies a negative, *e.g.*,

‘*Diheu oed gantunt na welsynt llongeu gyweiriach y hansawd no wynt.*’—*Mab. 27.*

But contrast—

‘*Gwaew a maneg am einioes,*

Gwalch na dyn glewach nid oes.’—*Tudur Aled, G.B.C. 229.*

(*o*) In the Personal Pronouns *mi, minnau*—Nominative or Accusative—if the verb precedes, *e.g.*,

dysgaf fi or *dysgaf i* (*mi > fi > i*) ;

dysgais innau (*minnau > finnau > innau*) ;

Gwelodd finnau.

Similarly in *ti* and *tithau*, unless the verb ends in *t* :

Gweli di -dithau ;

Gwelais di -dithau.

(*p*) In the *m-* and *t-* of *mi, minnau, ti, tithau* in the Genitive Case, *e.g.*,

fy llaw i ;

dy awydd dithau.

(*q*) In a verb following its subject :

Mi a welais (fr. gwelais) ;
Yr arglwydd a roddodd (rhoddodd).

(*r*) After the Adverbs *ni*, *oni*, *na*, if the verb begins in *b-*, *d-*, *g-*, *ll-*, *m-*, *rh*, as—

ni *ddaw* efe ;
oni welwn ni 'r môr ?
na lwfrhewch.

N.B.—The *b-* in *byddaf* and other parts of the substantive verb is sometimes softened but generally remains radical :

‘ Oni bai gywiro o’u harglwydd ei addewid.’—

Edw. Samuel.

(*s*) In Adjectival and Adverbial expressions after the predicative *yn*, as—

yn *dda*, *well* ; yn *deg*, *fairly* ;

but note—(i.) *ll-* and *rh-* remain radical—

yn *llawen*, *gladly* ; yn *rhwydd*, *easily*.

(ii.) *Yn* is usually dropped at the beginning of a sentence, and the consonant returns to its radical form, *e.g.*,

Gwn yn *dda*, but *da* y gwn.

(iii.) If *yn* is dropped in the middle of a sentence, the consonant may or may not be softened :

‘ A phump ohonynt oedd gall ’ (fr. *call*).—Matt. xxv. 2.

‘ Na phecha mwyach, rhag digwydd i ti beth a fyddo gwaeth ’ (fr. *gwaeth*).—John v. 14.

(iv.) Predicative *yn* is always dropped after the preposition *yn*, and the consonant remains radical, *e.g.*,

‘Pan ydynt *yn manwl gyfrif.*’—Edw. Samuel.

(t) After the prepositions—

am, ar, at, gan, heb, i, o, tan, tros, trwy, wrth; also *hyd* when it means *as far as*—

‘Heb *Dduw heb ddim.*’—Proverb.

Wrth law, at hand; *O Gaer, from Chester.*

N.B.—‘*i*’ is followed by the radical in *mi, minnau, ti, tithau.*

(u) After *pan, when*, and the interrogative particle *a*:

Pan *ddaeth*;

A *ddaeth* efe?

(v) In present-day Welsh the soft mutation has become the rule in a word when separated by an intervening word or phrase from the word with which it is closely connected, *e.g.*,

Ac wedi iddo *ddywedyd hyn.*

And when he had said this.

Contrast with this—

Wedi *dywedyd hyn, having said this.*

N.B.—*This rule overrides all others, e.g.,*

Daeth *llawer yno, but—*

Daeth *yno lawer*;

notwithstanding the rule requiring the radical initial in the subject of a verb.

Hence *dyma*, *dyna*, *dacw*, &c., are followed by the soft mutation in accordance with rules (l) and (v), e.g., in—

Dyna *ddyn* da.

There is a good man.

ddyn is accusative case governed by *gwel* (understood), and therefore *d-* becomes *dd-*. The soft mutation moreover is required because *ddyn* is separated from the verb *gwel* by the parenthetic *dyna*.

This beautiful rule is of comparatively recent growth. Thus in *Deffynniad Ffydd* (1595) the radical is continually used after a parenthesis, e.g.,

‘Ceisio bwrw i lawr braint llywodraethwyr,’ p. 7.

‘Yn yr hyn (Swpper yr Arglwydd) rydys yn rhoi fegis geyrbron eyn llygeid *marwolaeth* ag adgyfodiad Crist,’ 38.

THE SPIRANT MUTATION: This takes place in words after—

(i.) The adjectives *tri* = *three*; *chwe* = *six*; *ei*, *'w* = *her* (possessive); all of which originally ended in *-s*, e.g.,

tri phen, *three heads*; *chwe cheiniog*, *sixpence*.

(ii.) The adverbs *tra*, *ni*, *na*, *oni*.

Y dyn *tra phenderfynol*,
The very determined man.

Na *phechwch*, *sin not*.

(iii.) The preposition *â* (< *âg*—*with*), and its compounds *gyda*, *with*; *tua*, *towards*.

Tua *chyfeiriad y môr*,
In the direction of the sea.

(iv.) The conjunctions *a*, *and*; *na*, *nor*, *than*, *that*, *not*; *o*, *if*:

‘*O cherwch fi, cedwch fy ngorchymynion,*
If you love me, keep my commandments.’

The NASAL MUTATION takes place after—

(i.) The possessive adjective *fy*, *my*; *e.g.*,
fy mhen, my head.

(ii.) The preposition *yn*, *in*; *e.g.*,
yn niwedd y byd, in the end of the world.

NOTE.—(i.) *Yn*, however, does not nasalize the initial of—

(a) A verb-noun; *e.g.*,
yn gwerthu, selling.

(b) *Cymraeg, Welsh*, when used alone:
yn Gymraeg, in Welsh.

But note: *yng Nghymraeg Rhydychen, in Oxford Welsh*; *yng Nghymraeg y Beibl, in Bible Welsh.*

(ii.) The predicative *yn* when followed by *pell*, *far*, and sometimes *cynt*, *earlier*; *e.g.*, *ym mhell*; *ynghynt*.

This is no doubt on the analogy of the prep. *yn*.

(iii.) The cardinal numerals *pum*, *saith*, *wyth*, *naw*, *deng*, *deuddeng*, *pymtheng*, *ugain* and its compounds, *cau*, when followed by—

(I) *blwydd, blynedd*; *e.g.*,
Y mae efe yn ddeng mlwydd oed,
He is ten years old.

(2) *diwrnod*, though this not infrequently retains its radical initial; *e.g.*,

‘deng *niwrnod*.’—Rev. ii. 10;

‘deg *diwrnod* . . *ugain diwrnod*.’—Num. vi. 19.

N.B.—(a) *Deng* always nasalizes the *d*- of *diwrnod*.

(b) The nasal mutation after *un* in—

‘*un mlynedd ar ddeg*.’—Jeremiah i. 3

seems due to a syntactical confusion, the writer regarding *un-ar-ddeg* as a phrase unit. If it were possible to put *blynedd* after *deg* (> *deng*) the nasal mutation would of course be correct.

CHAPTER IV.

OTHER CHANGES AND THE ACCENT.

I.—SOFTENING OF CONSONANTAL SOUNDS.

We shall refer only to the voicing of *p*, *t*, *c* into *b*, *d*, *g*, and the aspiration of *b*, *d*, *g*, *m* into *f*, *dd*, —, *f*.

Something of what will be discussed here might have been given in the chapter on the mutation of Initial Consonants, but it seemed to conduce to simplicity and clearness to adopt the present arrangement.

As the initials *b*, *d*, *g* may be either radical, as,

bardd, dafad, gardd ;

or the mutated forms of *p*, *t*, *c*, as,

ei ben (< pen), ei dafod (< tafod), ei gynllun
(< cynllun),

it is natural that much uncertainty should often exist as to whether a form in *b*, *d*, or *g* should be treated as a radical, or referred back to a form in *p*-, *t*-, or *c*-. Further, the frequent use of many words in the soft mutation tends to stereotype those forms: they lose their resiliency or elasticity, and fail to revert to their

correct radical form. Thus several prepositions are regularly used in the mutated forms, as 'wedi' and 'gan,' from 'gwedi' and 'can.'

So the first part of beunydd, beunoeth is the accusative of pob.

bellach < pellach :

bitw—a word used in Cardiganshire for 'small,' 'very small,' is from English *petty*, or its parent French *petit*.

drachefn < trachefn ;

elor is from O.W. gelawr;

euog < geu-og < gau ;

grofft (see *Mab.* pp. 52, 53) < Eng. *croft* ;

Vychan and English Vaughan < Bychan > bach;

Ychydig < bychydig < bach, &c.

Intervocalic *p*, *t*, *c* are softened into *b*-, *d*-, *g*-, as

aber < aper ;

gadael < gatael ;

rhagor < rhacor, racor,

Present-day intervocalic *p*, *t*, *c* have sprung from other sources: see Chapter II. under *t*.

Final *-p*, *-t*, *-c* after a vowel are regularly voiced, as—

carped, cwpled, &c., < Eng. *carpet*, *couplet* ;

apostolig, catholig, &c , < Eng. *apostolic*, *catholic* ;

sieb, mab, &c., < Eng. *cheap(side)* & Old W. *map*.

The few modern words ending in a vowel + *-p*, *-t*, *-c* are not so much exceptions to this phonetic law as instances of counteracting influences, which either resist the change or cause a reversion from the softened form.

A few examples will serve as illustrations.

Chwip and not *chwib* from Eng. *whip*. The *p* is retained because the *i* is short. *-B* tends to lengthen the preceding vowel, but lengthening the *i* in this onomatopoetic word would be to weaken the sense; so 'rhic', a cut or groove.

The conjunction 'ac' retains its 'c' in order to differentiate it from 'ag,' 'âg.'

At (= *to*) is probably a back-formation from *ataf* for *adaf*, the *d* in this word being protracted. Compare the practice of hardening intervocalic voiced consonants in Gwentian, as *retws* for *rhedodd*. The need of distinguishing the pronominal preposition from (g)adaf, *I leave*, has been another contributory cause, as also the analogy of English *at*.

Brat, perhaps an Irish word, has a short *a*, and to change *t* into *d* would be to lengthen the vowel, and yield a word identical in sound and spelling with *brad*, *treachery*.

The *-t* in the 2nd person singular of the Past Imperfect and Pluperfect of Verbs (as *dysgit*, *dysgesit*) and of Pronominal Prepositions is protracted from older *d* under the influence of the *t* of *ti* habitually following these words.

II.—PROVECTION AND BACK-FORMATION.

(Cf. Chapter II. under 'B and M').

In the case of initial consonants this is the opposite of soft mutation. The uncertainty over the correct radical form, due to the prevalence of mutation, ac-

counts for many coined radical forms, as *bicer*, *bicar*, *micar*, *biceriaeth*, from English *vicar*. So almost all borrowed words in *f-*, *l-*, *r-* have been protracted into forms in *m-* or *b-*, *ll-*, *rh-*, as a perusal of a Welsh dictionary will amply prove.

Sometimes, however, protraction is due to an accental stress as in *tyred* (< *dy* + *rhed*), the Imperative of 'deuaf.'

(a) The following are instances of initial protraction :

b < v :

berfain < Eng. *vervain*;

bogail < Lat. *vocalis*;

bernais < Eng. *varnish*;

berf < Latin, *verbum*;

bernagl < Eng. *vernicle*;

bitail & *bwytal* < Mid Eng. or Anglo French, *vitaille*;

becso (colloquial in Cardiganshire) < Eng. *vex*.

t < d :

telaidd, *telediw* < *del*, *delw* (Old Ir. *delb*);

tom < *dom* (cf. Eng. *dung*, from which it is probably borrowed. For change of *ng* to *m* compare *Trallwng* and *Trallwm* = *Welshpool*, *carlwng* and *carlwm*);

tracht < *dracht* < Mid Eng. *draught* (in Mod. Eng. the guttural has been advanced into a labio-spirant);

trum (Irish, *druim*) < *drum*;

tylluan < dyllhuan, dallhuan ;

‘Ac o achaws hynny y mae digassawc yr adar
yr tylluan.’—*Mab.* 80 ;

trem < drem ;

tychan < dychan ;

tyred < dyred ;

tywynnu < dy + gwyn.

p < b :

pe < be < bei (= bai, byddai) ;

peibl (rare) < beibl,

‘Pawb a gasul ful foelrhawn,
Pibl iaith yn dwyn pobl i iawn.’

D. ab G. ccxvii.

potel < Eng. *bottle* ;

Pabytoniaid < Babylonianid, as—

‘Pobl anwar Pabytonianid.’

G.O., *Hiraethgan am Fon.*

post < bost < (Eng. *boast*) ;

‘Da gwyddost, ein post a’n parch

Troi dwylaw fal traed alarch.’—G.B.C., 175.

Prydain < Brydain (whence Latin, *Britannia*).

Much uncertainty has been experienced by writers in dealing with this word owing to the common use of ynys before it. As ‘ynys’ is feminine the rule requires the softening of the following initial; thus, Ynys Frydain. But -s tends to resist this change (compare ‘nos da’ for ‘nos dda’); hence ‘Ynys Brydain’ is common. Compare ‘Ynys Mon’ side by

side with 'Ynys Fon.' But this influence of *s* is not as readily observed as the rule of soft mutation. Hence *B* in 'Ynys Brydain' was supposed to be derived from radical *P*. Hence the new form Prydain. This uncertainty may be well illustrated from *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*—

'Hen fatterion Brydain' (radical), 3a.

'Ym Mhrydain' (< radical—Prydain), 31.

par (< Welsh and Breton 'bar' whence English 'bar');

'Mynet ir lle yr oedwn i o honaw ef pan ym byr-yawd ar par . . . a gadel y minheu y vwrw ef a phar.'—*Mab.* 80.

p < ph:

Pysygwriaeth (and soft bysygwriaeth) frequently in *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, pp. 228, 236, &c.

c- < g-:

cêr < Eng. *gear*:

'A'ch holl ger eraill o'ch ol.'—*Bardd Cwsc*, 42.

crand (colloquial) < Eng. *grand*;

croesaw < groesaw, &c.

See also under *Ch* in Chapter II.

ff- < f-, partly on the analogy of ll- < l:

fferyllt, fferyllydd < L. *Vergilius* (=Vergil, as the author of the Georgics; then = 'herbalist,' and finally = 'chemist').

ffacbys < Eng. *vetches*, by popular etymology.

ffiol—if from English *vial*, *viol*.

m < v (compare also Chapter II. under 'B and M') :
 mywyliau (= *vigils*) < Lat. *vigilia*. A mediaeval
 borrowing, and therefore a doublet of 'gwyl,'
 borrowed into Old Welsh.

milain < Eng. *villain* :

'Llefain o'r milain i'm ol.'—D. ab G. clxxiv.

The provection of medial 'b,' 'd,' 'g' has already
 been discussed.

N tends to provect *d* into *t*, and it is a noteworthy
 fact that no Welsh words end in *-nd*, unless we except
 the contracted *myn'd* (for *myned*), *llon'd* (for *llonaid*)
 and *ond* for *onid*. Thus:—

garland	is	in	Welsh	garlant ;
diamond	„	„		diemwnt ;
pound	„	„		punt ;
Rowland	„	„		Rolant ;

and *onide* has developed the doublet *ynte* by dropping
 the unaccented short *i*.

Similarly *ndd* > *nd* :

Latin *benedictio* > *ben-ddith* > *bendith* ;

and *nl* > *nll* :

Henllan, *gwinllan* are for older forms where the *ll*
 of *llan* had been softened due to a connecting vowel
 (now lost) between the *n* and *ll* : compare Franco-
 British, Anglo-French.

III.—EXCRESCENT SOUNDS.

These are due to various causes, but in the great
 majority of instances they may be explained in one of
 two ways.

(1) Certain sounds are apt to be followed by other sounds due to careless articulation; thus if the tip of the tongue be held against the sockets of the upper teeth with unusual tension when *ll* and *n* are sounded, and then rather suddenly dropped, the liquid will end in a *d* or *t* sound. The same result follows if a little of the breath required for *ll* or *n* is left unexpended when the tip of the tongue is removed. This is such a common practice that illustrations may be found in many languages, as English cinder from Latin cineris, and thunder from older thuner, thunor. Hence the *t* in Welsh fferyllt from Latin Vergilius, and in 'dallt,' the regular pronunciation of 'deall' in Anglesey. Hence also the *t* in Ianto, a doublet of Ifano, from Ian or Ifan, with the diminutive or endearment suffix *-o*.

(2) The other leading factor in the development of excrescent sounds in Welsh is false analogy and mistaken etymology. Thus initial *g* in soft mutation disappears, *e.g.*

gardd — ei ardd.

Hence 'ardd' must be referred back to 'gardd' as its radical form. And by analogy many words which never had a *g* are now written with this initial, thus 'odidog' (< odid, *strange*, < od = English odd) is now 'godidog,' and English honest has become 'gonest' in Welsh. Of course, this *g-* is not always sanctioned in literature: thus the Gwynedd 'gaddo' (for addo, addaw) has no place in our classics, though William Morris in one of his letters (*v.* Morris's Letters, p. 204) uses gaddawiad for addewid. And it is doubtful if

the persistent attempt made throughout the 19th century to write *wyneb* with a guttural initial will receive much further support. In our earlier works the word is regularly 'wyneb,' as—

'Nid wyneb-pryd sarrig, sur, cymylog.'

Llyfr y Tri Aderyn, 251.

'The 'w' in 'gwlaw' (for 'glaw') on the analogy of 'gwlyb' is quite a modern innovation, and is condemned by some of the best of our present-day writers. It is scarcely likely that any reader will seek to prove the antiquity of the 'w' in 'gwlaw' by reference to the poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym, as published by Owen Jones and Dr. William Owen Pughe, for the *cynghanedd* proves conclusively that the 'w' is an editorial emendation :

'Cawrlais udgorn y curlaw.'—xliv.

Again final *f* is regularly dropped in all the dialects, and *tref*, *eithaf*, &c., are pronounced *tre*, *eitha*. But when another syllable is added the *f* is retained, thus—
trefydd, *eithafoedd*.

On the analogy of these and a host of others, words that never ended in *f* are apt to have it inserted where otherwise a hiatus would arise, thus *llw** is in the plural *llyfon*, *llyfau*, as well as *llwon*.

'Ein lliaws gwar yn llesghau,

Am oer lefain mawr lyfau.'—Edward Morris, *Llwon*

Ofer (v. Mr. O. M. Edwards' Edition).

* It may be argued that as *llw* (Irish, *luge*), *lle* (compare Latin *locus*), and *bro* (for *brog*), all had a *g* originally, the *f* is nothing but the guttural advanced into a labio-dental: compare Aryan *qu* > Welsh *p*. Probably both theories are correct, and one principle served to reinforce and direct the other.

so lle makes llefydd as well as lleoedd,
and bro > brofydd and broydd.

A few other instances of excrescent or inorganic sounds (and corresponding symbols) are here added:—

dd in iddo (< *i + o*), ganddo (?), iddynt, onaddynt, and in the Gwentian idd (= *to*). Idd is a bungling back formation from 'iddo,' 'iddi,' where the 'dd' has grown between the preposition and the pronoun. It would be equally correct to say 'ddo' for 'o' or 'fo,' and 'ddi' for hi. In Gwentian, and to some extent in Demetian, 'mae hi' is pronounced 'maedd i.'

d in cefndraff < cefn + rhaff.

g; (i.) initially, see chapter ii.

(ii.) medially between two vowels, as—

oddigerth < oddieithr ;

'ar i gôl i'—Gwentian, and 'ar i giol i'

—Demetian for 'ar (e)i hol hi.'

(iii.) Finally in words ending in *-in*, as—

dwsing < Eng. *dozen*;

dirfing < durfin ;

pring < prin ;

ffloring < fflorin ;

Llading < Eng. *Latin*, as—

'Lladingiaith.'—Edward Samuel: *Gwirionedd y Grefydd Gristionogol*, xvii.

n, especially after *r*, as arnaf (< ar on + fi), canwyll-arn, 'Talwrn and colloquial pinswrn, siswrn, &c. (< Eng. *pincers*, *scissors*).

r in llewyrch for llewych, caprwn (< Eng. *capon*).

t in *ysgyfaint* from *ysgafn*, *light*. The word is parallel in idea to the English word 'lights' for the same organs.

w in *uwch*, *lluwch*, &c.

y-, *e-* in words beginning with *s* + consonant (*v.* above).

Epenthetic or parasite vowels frequently develop themselves before the vowel-like consonants *r*, *l*, *n*, *m* at the end of a monosyllable, if another consonant of less *schall* or *voice* precedes. In this way the liquids acquire more syllabic value.

The excrescent vowel is generally that of the preceding syllable repeated, as—

<i>brodor</i>	< <i>brawd</i> (whence <i>brawd</i>) ;
<i>cafan</i>	< <i>cafn</i> ;
<i>cagal</i>	< <i>cagl</i> ;
<i>congol</i>	< <i>congl</i> ;
<i>hagar</i>	< <i>hagr</i> ;
<i>pobol</i>	< <i>pobl</i> ;
<i>ofon</i> (<i>ofan</i>)	< <i>ofn</i> ;
and <i>ffwrwm</i>	< English <i>form</i> :

' Yn rhodd a welsoch mewn un lle,
Rhyw gongol grê rhag angeu ? '—*Bardd Cwsc*, 80.

Not infrequently the vowel is 'y,' and this is especially the case when the preceding vowel sound is diphthongal, ending in 'y:'

awdyr < *awdr* < Latin, *auctor*.

The 'w' in 'awdwr,' 'ymherawdwr,' 'creawdwr,' &c., is of recent growth, due to the analogy of (*g*)*wr* as a termination of the agent in such words as *garddwr*, *prynwr*.

'Maxen wledic oed amherawdyr yn ruuein.'

Mab. 82.

brodyr < *brawd(r)* ('*brodyr*' is now used as the plural);
brwydyr < *brwydr*;
llwybyr < *llwybr*;
neidyrr, *neidar* < *neidr*.

Failing this excrescent vowel—and it is not much countenanced in present-day literature—the tendency is—either (1) to drop one of the two consonants, as—

banal < *banadl* :

'Teg fydd, pob dydd, dedwydd dâl
 Cnawd bun dan y cnwd banal.'*—*Dafydd Nanmor*.
brawd for *brawdrr* ; and colloquial—
anal for *anadl*.

Compare Irish *anal* = W. *anadl*, *cenel* = W. *enedl*.
 Or (2) to seek, by metathesis, an easier sequence, *e.g.*

oddigerth < *oddieithr* ; and colloquial—
ewyrth < *ewythr*.

Welsh has an even stronger objection to ending a word in a mute + *s*, so much so that no word of native origin closes with that sequence. If any such words are borrowed, a parasite vowel is regularly inserted before the 's,' as—

* Quoted by Dr. Silvan Evans, *s.v.* *Banadl*.

- bocys < English *box* ;
 bribis, bribys < English *bribes*,* which originally
 meant *fragments*, from the root of Welsh ' briw ' ;
 cocos < Middle English *cocks*, of which *cockles* is
 a diminutive ;
 ffigys < English *figs* ;
 hocys < English *hocks*, plural of *hock*, a species of
 mallow ;
 micas, *sop, bread and milk* < English *mix*.

Bribis occurs in *Bardd Cwsc*, 81 :—

' Nid yw'r bythol betheu mawr,
 I'th dyb di nawr ond bribis.'*

IV.—LOST SOUNDS (AND LETTERS)

This part of the subject would require several chapters to deal with it exhaustively, but some of the chief facts may be very briefly referred to.

(1) Short unaccented vowels are apt to be dropped : compare—

tragwyddol with tragywydd ;
 cynlleidfa with cynnull ;
 awdurdod from Latin *auctoritatem*.

(2) *t* in the 3rd plural of Verbs and Pronominal Prepositions is everywhere dropped colloquially and often even in literature, *e.g.*

' Dy frawd o'r dwfr a oedir,
 A'th nai da, aethon' i dir.'—*G. B. C.* 175.

* Cf. note by Prof. Morris Jones to the word in *Bardd Cwsc*.

‘ Gwreichionen a gaed o honyn’,
 Gwniwyd wyth bwyth ymhob un.’—*G. B. C.* 236.
 ‘ Pan doethan dracheuyn.’—*Mab.* 86.

Compare *-nt* dropped in 3rd plural of French verbs.

So also in a few other words, as—

arian < ariant, dyffryn < dwfr + hynt.

(3) Final *-f*; see above under Excremental Sounds.

(4) *n* before *s* is liable to disappear as in Latin (compare Latin Ordinal Numerals), as, yswirio < *insure* (the change of *wr* to *wir* is by popular etymology through a desire to connect the word with ‘ gwir ’).

cysuro < L. *consolor* ;

pwys < L. *pensum* ;

and in the dialect of Gwynedd Jones is Jôs.

(5) *-dd* ; *i fyny* for *i fynydd* ; *eiste* for *eistedd*, &c.

A characteristic of Cardiganshire Welsh.

(6) *mo* < *ddim o* ;

dyma, dyna, < *gwel di yma, gwel di yna*, &c.

V.—METATHESIS.

The transposition of letters, sounds, or syllables in a word is a familiar fact in all languages.

The liquids especially, on account of their fluidity, or perhaps we should say porosity, are very liable to interchange position with other sounds. But other sounds also are transposed to a less degree. Metathesis accounts for—

brown by the side of *burn* in English ;

third and *Riding* (*i.e.* *thirthing*) in Yorkshire.

The following are some of the most interesting instances in Welsh :—

creddyf for crefydd, commonly used as late as the end of the 18th century ;

dierth for dieithr, regularly in *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* ; see also *Deffynniad Ffydd*, 117 ;

dremygus for dirmygus :

‘Hwy a ledasant ei safnau yn fy erbyn, tarawsant fy nghernau yn ddremygus.’—*Llyfr Job*, 37.

dryntol from dwru + dolen :

‘Cyrraedd dol dryntol y drws.’

G. O., *Calendar y Carer*.

ewyrth for ewythr ;

dogyn and digon in *Mabinogion* ;

llewni and llenwi (< llawn) :

‘Ac ny welei nac ymyl nac eithaf yr lluoed yn llewni yr heolyd.’—*Mab.* 175.

oddieithr and oddigerth ;

pylgain and plygain :

‘Hir bylgeint gwydyon a gyvodes.’—*Mab.* 72.

sidan and English *satin* ;

tangeddyf regularly in early Modern Welsh for tangnefedd :

‘A gwir Dduw’r danghneddyf ar goleuni fydd gydath di ac ynot ti.’—*Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, 265.

ufydd and uddyf ;

iwch < iwchi < ichwi ;

Similarly the colloquial or dialectal—

blorio for brolio, in Carnarvonshire ;

clasgu for casglu, in Gwynedd and in Gwentian ;
 cynhoi for crynhoi, in Gwentian and Demetian ;
 chwaler for chwarel, in Anglesey ;
 drychynllyd for dychrynlllyd, in Gwentian and
 Demetian ;
 pyrnu for prynu, in Gwentian and Demetian ;
 Llawner and Llafner for Llanfair, often heard in
 Carnarvonshire.

Examples need not be further multiplied. The reader will no doubt be able to add many from his own observation.

VI.—ACCENT.

Definition : Accent, often called the syllabic accent, is the special stress of voice laid upon a particular syllable in a word, as English man'y, impos'sible, and Welsh dag'rau, *tears* ; gallu'og, *powerful*.

N.B.—Accent must be distinguished from emphasis, sometimes called thought-accent, which is the special voice stress laid upon a word in a sentence in order to express the meaning of the latter, *e.g.* in—

Myfi a'i gwnaeth.

It was I that did it.

The emphasis is on the whole word myfi, but the accent of that word is on the 'fi,' thus my-fi'.

At the dawn of the Mediaeval period in Welsh, the final unaccented syllable had disappeared, and the accent had not been drawn back from remaining ultima.

It was during that period that the *y* of the penult and earlier syllables, being unaccented, acquired its obscure *y* (neutral ə) sound.

Position of the accent in Modern Welsh : in words of more than one syllable it is almost invariably on the penult, or last syllable but one.

Examples : dag'rau, *tears* ; gallu'-og, *able* ; gall-uog'-i, *enabling*.

Exceptions : The following are the most important exceptions. Words accented on the last syllable—

(a) Verb nouns in *-oi* (< *o-i*) *au* and *hau* (< *ag-u*) and derivative nouns in *had*, for these are dissyllabic in origin.

Examples : osgoi, *avoiding* ; coffau, *reminding* ; byw-hau, *enlivening* ; glanhad, *a purifying*.

(b) The reduplicated pronouns—*myfi*, *tydi*, *eife*, *nyni*, *chwychwï*, *hwynt-hwy*.

(c) Certain dissyllables beginning in *ys-*, *ym-* ; e.g. *ysten'*, *a can* ; *ystorm'*, *a storm* ; *ymlyn'*, *adhere* ; *ym-gudd'*, *he hides*, *drachefn'* ; but note *ysten'-au*, *cans* ; *ystorm'-ydd*, *storms* ; *ymlyn-u*, *adhering* ; *ymgudd'-io*, *hiding* ; according to rule.

N.B.—(i.) Borrowed words often retain their original accent, as, 'philos'ophi.'

(ii.) The accent in diphthongs falls upon the leading vowel ; e.g. *gw'ydd*, *a goose*.

(iii.) The following have no accent apart from the word to which they are attached :—

a, yr, y, ydd, ys, fy, dy.

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