

‘A Linguistic Analysis of Dated Poems from the Book of Taliesin’



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Cyflwynir y gwaith hwn er cof am fy annwyl daid

Gwilym Pryce Thomas
(1924-2005)

a fu'r cyntaf i'm cymell ar hynt ddoethuraidd

Ecclesiastes 12:12

‘A Linguistic Analysis of Dated Poems from the Book of Taliesin’: Abstract

The lack of surviving Welsh vernacular manuscripts from before the thirteenth century, and the general scarcity of Welsh-language material elsewhere from that early period, has meant a great deal of controversy around those texts which may be early but are found in later manuscripts. The confidence with which many texts were given early dates has disappeared, and even those texts for which early dates are still proposed meet with varying levels of scepticism. Work has been done to develop our understanding of the language’s historical developments, however Haycock has remarked that it is something of an embarrassment that there exists no agreed and dependable set of linguistic criteria for pre-c. 1100 verse.

This thesis takes five poems from the fourteenth-century Book of Taliesin, for which dates have been offered between the ninth and eleventh centuries, on the basis of their historical context. The same scribal hand copied four other manuscripts, the contents of which date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The language of the poems is analysed, using the language of the other manuscripts as a linguistic control, informed by other scholarship, to assess the survival of archaic forms through the process of subsequent redaction to arrive at the Book of Taliesin.

The main finding of the thesis is that the language of all five surviving manuscripts by the Book of Taliesin scribe presents a largely uniform picture. There are a handful of examples that do diverge from the scribal norm. If the dates given to the poems are accepted, the evidence points to extensive redaction, removing those forms that had become unfamiliar or out-of-date. In this scenario, there should be no embarrassment that early texts cannot be dated on the basis of their linguistic features: the language of early texts may have been so altered as to appear contemporary to texts many centuries their junior.

‘A Linguistic Analysis of Dated Poems from the Book of Taliesin’:

Longer Abstract

The lack of surviving Welsh vernacular manuscripts from before the middle of the thirteenth century, and the general scarcity of Welsh-language material elsewhere from that early period (i.e. inscriptions and glosses), has led to a great deal of controversy around those texts which may be early but are found in later manuscripts. The picture in Wales is not dissimilar to that elsewhere in these islands where the survival of early manuscripts has been poor due to various factors including climate, Vikings, poverty, and the dissolution of the monasteries which housed them. In addition to this, whereas Latin manuscripts from Wales were of universal interest, Welsh vernacular material did not have the same appeal to audiences outside of Wales.

The confidence with which many texts were given early dates has disappeared, and even those texts for which early dates are still proposed meet with varying levels of scepticism. Simon Rodway has given a comprehensive overview of these discussions in the introduction to his book, *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature: Evidence from the Verbal System*.¹ Much work has been done to develop our understanding of the development of the Welsh language in the early medieval period, however Marged Haycock has remarked that it is still “something of an embarrassment that we lack a set of agreed and dependable linguistic dating criteria for pre-c. 1100 verse (as well as for the *non*-panegyric poetry during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries).”²

This thesis takes five poems from the fourteenth-century Book of Taliesin, for which dates have been offered between the ninth and eleventh centuries, on the basis

¹ Rodway, 2013.

² Haycock, 2007, 21.

of their historical context. These poems, and their proposed dates, are: *Edmyg Dinbych* (814-70); *Armes Prydein* (927-42); ‘Rydyrchafwy Duw ar Plwyff Brython’ (942-60); ‘Dygogan Awen’ (c.979 or 1039); ‘Echrys Ynys’ (c.1017). The same hand copied four other manuscripts, the contents of which have been given approximate dates in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They are: Mostyn 117, containing a Welsh translation of *Historia Regum Britanniae* dated to the thirteenth century; Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv, containing a law text dated to the late-twelfth/thirteenth century; Peniarth 6iv, containing a romance dated to between c.1136 and the late thirteenth century; and Harley 4353, containing a law text again dated to the late-twelfth/thirteenth century.

The surviving material copied by this scribe provides an opportunity to investigate the way in which later scribes transmit early material. This project analyses the language of the individual poems, using the language of the other manuscripts as a linguistic control, informed by other scholarship, to assess the survival of archaic forms through the process of subsequent redaction to arrive at the Book of Taliesin. The investigation is split over four chapters:

Chapter 1 seeks to investigate the orthographical patterns of the poems and comparison texts. Orthography is clearly essential in understanding the language of the texts *per se*, yet it is also useful as a means to identify items which have survived what is likely to have been several redactions. As Welsh orthography underwent significant changes during the period between the proposed dates of the poems’ composition and the copying of the Book of Taliesin, this investigation had the potential to produce features clearly identifiable as being ‘Old Welsh’, or features of Middle Welsh origin out of keeping with the norm presented elsewhere in the language used by the scribe. The data for Chapter 1 was produced by counting the

graphemes appearing in the texts according to their phonological value, which was assessed according to the word environment in which they were found, as well as the graphemes' wider context, as in Welsh initial consonants may undergo mutation in certain circumstances.

Chapter 2 seeks to investigate the representation of initial consonant mutation by the scribe. The representation of mutation by the scribe is revealing, not only as it is something which would largely have had to have been imposed upon Old Welsh texts as part of their redaction, but also as the environments in which mutation occurred varied over the period between the poems' composition and copying into the Book of Taliesin. The investigation had the potential to produce further examples identifiable as being Old Welsh, or as later Middle Welsh redactions. The data for Chapter 2 was produced by assessing all the environments in which any mutation was found in the texts. These environments were then listed as places where mutation was to be expected, and that rule applied to each of the texts. This allowed for the creation of data sets including examples where mutation is marked, and also examples where mutation is expected but the radical grapheme is retained.

Chapter 3 seeks to investigate certain vowels found in the poems and comparison texts. The use of particular graphemes for certain vowels reveals variation in both orthography and phonology. Where these are orthographical, variation may reveal something of the text of a poem's exemplar, and where phonological, it may reveal something of the sound changes occurring prior to, and during the period of redaction between the poems' composition and copying into the Book of Taliesin. The forms discussed in the chapter were selected from those forms highlighted in scholarly editions of the poems, in addition to forms shown to be variants as given by, or in comparison to *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, and grammars.

Chapter 4 seeks to investigate morphological forms relevant to the dating of the texts in the Old and Middle Welsh period. The chapter is divided between two sub-chapters. The first considers verbal forms, which are revealing as certain forms fell out of use during the period between the poems' composition and copying into the Book of Taliesin, whereas other new forms emerged. The second considers plural forms of nouns, and the use of infix pronouns, and forms of conjugated prepositions, which also altered over that period. The data for Chapters 4a and 4b was produced by scouring the poems and comparison texts for all instances of verbal forms (with the exclusion of verbal nouns), plural nouns, infix pronouns, and conjugated prepositions. This created data sets revealing what forms were used in which texts.

The study is limited by several factors arising from the parameters of the project itself. The first, and perhaps most apparent limitation is that discussion is limited to linguistic features. The study has also been limited by the available data: the poems contain only so much text, and this has meant, at times, that there is insufficient data available to draw reliable or meaningful comparisons with the comparison texts. There is also the paucity of evidence from the limited corpus surviving from the Old Welsh period, which has had the effect of limiting, to an extent, the possibility of assessing what is old and what is innovation in texts supposedly originating in the Old Welsh period, but surviving in later manuscripts. The poems and comparison texts are divided by genre, as well as time: as well as being earlier, the poems may contain forms chosen on the basis of poetic archaism, while the comparison texts may, as prose, contain more innovation and fewer conservative forms than would contemporary poetry.

The main finding of the thesis is that the language of all five surviving manuscripts by the Book of Taliesin scribe presents a largely uniform picture in each area of investigation. There is a handful of examples that do diverge from the scribal norm, and in the conclusion these are used to propose rough transmission histories for the poems:

Edmyg Dinbych witnesses features suggesting three definite points of redaction, with unknown possible additional stages. The earliest features evidence a written form of the poem in the Old Welsh period. The similarities with the Black Book of Carmarthen, as well as the presence of the additional stanza, also found in the Black Book, indicate the poem's redaction in the mid-thirteenth century. Finally, the poem's present form shows that its former contents were edited, before being copied into the Book of Taliesin.

Armes Prydein again witnesses features suggesting the same three definite points of redaction: Old Welsh, the thirteenth century, and proto-Taliesin.

'**Rydyrchafwy Duw ar Plwyff Brython**' has fewer divergent features, meaning there are no reliable features to use in discussion of transmission.

'**Dygogan Awen**', like *Edmyg Dinbych* and *Armes Prydein* witnesses definite points of redaction in the Old Welsh period, the thirteenth century, and proto-Taliesin. However the poem contains no clear link to an orthography similar to that of the Black Book of Carmarthen.

'**Echrys Ynys**' does not witness features enabling such a definite picture as *Edmyg Dinbych*, *Armes Prydein*, and 'Dygogan Awen', however, the poem does offer a unique glimpse into the human process of redaction in those features which are present.

It is clear that the recent transmission history of both the poems and comparison texts is very closely linked. While the redactions that resulted in this situation are responsible for the small number of diagnostic features uncovered by this study, the unity of form seen in the language of poems and comparison texts has meant that forms diverging from the norm are clearly identifiable. It is a happy thing, considering the thoroughness and skill of the redactions to each of the texts, that any features should have survived at all.

The conclusion drawn is that if the dates given to the poems are accepted, the evidence presented in this thesis points to extensive redaction, removing those forms that had become unfamiliar or out-of-date. In this scenario, there should be no embarrassment that early texts cannot be dated on the basis of their linguistic features. The success of the project may be in showing why agreed and dependable linguistic criteria are so hard to come by: that the language of early texts may have been so altered as to appear contemporary to texts many centuries their junior.

Ultimately, the absence of demonstrable Old Welsh features cannot disprove an early date. A further stage of redaction might have gone on to remove those few survivals from the poems of this study. As Jon Coe stated, “all that can reasonably be suggested from analysis of a particular [linguistic] criterion is that a text which appears to be earlier by virtue of its forms is probably early; texts which appear to be late may not be so”.³

There are avenues in which the results of this project could be further tested and developed. The conclusions have been drawn solely from the evidence of five poems in the Book of Taliesin. This may mean that the results, in terms of the features listed above may have sole, or particular relevance, to other poems in the same

³ Coe, 2004, 5.

manuscript. This is not a negative thing: the manuscript contains many poems which cannot be dated on the basis of their historical context, or the traditional dates of which are questioned. The natural continuation of this project, then, would be to examine other poems in the Book of Taliesin, be they the twelve identified by Ifor Williams as the work of the sixth-century poet Taliesin,⁴ others such as *Marwnad Cunedda*,⁵ or the wider corpus of the Book of Taliesin. This would serve a double purpose: to test the project's application in terms of other poems, and also as a check of the project's conclusions as to the redaction of the manuscript's poetry. If this proved successful, the distinctiveness of the Book of Taliesin's poetry could be ascertained by the same double check against other Hengerdd poetry.

⁴ Williams, 1968.

⁵ Koch, 2013, 39-104.

List of Abbreviations for the texts discussed

The poems:

ED *Edmyg Dinbych* from pp. 42-4 of the Book of Taliesin

AP *Armes Prydein* from pp. 13-8 of the Book of Taliesin

R ‘Rydyrchafwy Duw ar Plwyff Brython’ from pp. 72-3 of the Book of Taliesin

DA ‘Dygogan Awen’ from pp. 70-1 of the Book of Taliesin

EY ‘Echrys Ynys’ from pp. 68-9 of the Book of Taliesin

The comparison texts:

M The selected text taken from pp. 3-12 of Mostyn 117

CC The selected text taken from pp. 55r-59r of Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv

P The selected text taken from pp. 17-26 of Peniarth 6.iv

H The selected text taken from pp. 16v-22r of Harley 4353

Introduction

i: Taliesin

It seems appropriate that a thesis analysing poems from the Book of Taliesin should begin with the beginning of the eponymous Taliesin's story. That story begins with the witch, Ceridwen, and a bowl of a magic potion. A young boy is set to tend to the brewing of the potion, and spills some onto his finger. Feeling it scald him, he puts the finger to his mouth, thereby gaining the intended benefits for himself. This sets off a series of events that sees the boy flee from Ceridwen, both shape-shifting into various animals, predator and prey. Ultimately the boy, as a grain of corn, waits to be devoured by Ceridwen, in the form of a hen. There then passes a nine-month gestation before the boy is reborn to Ceridwen, as the infant poet, Taliesin.

The relevance of the story to this study is the survival of whatever essence belonged to the boy in his original form, through the transformations, through the pregnancy, to be reborn as Taliesin. The comparison between Taliesin and the poems of the manuscript named after him is apt. Many of the poems found therein long predate the manuscript, having undergone redaction. Those redactions have altered the form in which the poems are now found. The frequency and severity of the redactions are not known, nor, in many cases, is the timeframe over which they took place.

This is a problem for almost all of the earliest examples of Welsh poetry. With the exception of "an inscribed stone from Tywyn, the so called '*Surexit* memorandum' and other marginalia from the Book of St Chad, the bizarre alphabet ascribed to 'Nemnius', the twelve Juvenius *englynion*, the Computus fragment, the four line poem to St Padarn's staff, a few short passages in the Book of Llandaf, and a relatively modest number of glosses and proper names in Latin texts dating from the

ninth century onwards”,¹ no Welsh-language material survives from the period prior to the middle of the thirteenth century. The amount of lost Welsh-language material is not known.

Nor is it known when vernacular literature began to be written down, although the possibility of the seventh or even sixth century has been raised, on the basis of comparison with the situation in Irish and the existence of a single standard orthography for Old Welsh, Old Cornish, and Old Breton.² British poets are mentioned in the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*, and there are references to vernacular manuscripts by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gerald of Wales in the twelfth century, and perhaps in the poem *Edmyg Dinbych*. Simon Rodway writes that while there are grounds for scepticism concerning Geoffrey’s supposed ‘Brittonic’ manuscript, his reference to a vernacular text “testifies to the fact that Geoffrey’s early-twelfth-century audience would have found the idea of an ancient British book plausible.”³ The survival rate of manuscripts in Britain is poor due to factors such as climate, Vikings, poverty, and the dissolution of the monasteries which housed them, and therefore the absence of Welsh vernacular material before the thirteenth century is not overly problematic.

If any of the material by early poets, contained in early manuscripts, survived, it only survived in manuscripts copied centuries after its composition. This may have meant oral transmission, scribal redaction, or both. It would certainly have meant that those responsible for preserving it in thirteenth century manuscripts, and later, spoke a language separated by several centuries from any original form taken by the poems. The comprehensive nature of redaction suggests regular, successive emendation.

¹ Rodway, 2013, 13.

² Rodway, 2013, 3; Charles-Edwards, 2013, 643; Sims-Williams, 1991, 23 & 78-9; Koch, 1985-6, 43-4.

³ Rodway, 2013, 2, f.5.

ii: Introduction to the thesis

The dates traditionally given to the earliest pieces of Welsh poetry have become increasingly uncertain in recent decades. The question at the root of the problem is how can the age of the poetry be known when it is transmitted in later manuscripts? The answers provided by modern scholarship have challenged much of the old certainty provided in the chronologies of John Morris-Jones and Ifor Williams. Marged Haycock wrote in the introduction to her *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* that, “it has long been something of an embarrassment that we lack a set of agreed and dependable linguistic criteria for pre-c.1100 Welsh verse”.⁴

The evident problem in using linguistic data to provide dates for texts is how to place that data in a wider chronology in the first place. Simon Rodway highlights the danger of using controversial dates given for *Hengerdd* poetry to date other undated texts, thereby risking circular argument.⁵ Both tools are to be used: where satisfactory dates can be provided on the basis of historical context, a poem’s linguistic content may be a useful tool in providing dates for texts which cannot be dated on the basis of their historical context. It is essential however, that the correct texts be chosen. Were the language of a text of uncertain date to be used in order to date other texts it would be a case of the blind leading the blind into a pit.

The opportunity to see whether it is possible to develop such linguistic criteria is presented in the work of an early-fourteenth century scribe, to whom Daniel Huws gives the designation X86. This is the scribe who copied the large collection of poems found in the manuscript Peniarth 2, The Book of Taliesin. Four other manuscripts survive in the same hand: NLW 3036 (Mostyn 117), Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv, Peniarth

⁴ Haycock, 2015, 21.

⁵ Rodway, 2013, 15-6.

6iv, and Harley 4353.⁶ By taking poetry from the Book of Taliesin, which has been dated with varying degrees of certainty by modern scholarship to the Old Welsh period, and comparing its language with that of the other manuscripts, the contents of which are later, a plan to ascertain the treatment of older material by later redactors begins to take shape.

Five poems have been chosen for this study from the Book of Taliesin, to which modern scholars have assigned provisional composition dates covering the span of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries: *Edmyg Dinbych*, *Armes Prydein*, ‘Rydyrchafwy Duw ar Plwyff Brython’, ‘Dygogan Awen’, and ‘Echrys Ynys’. The period of the Welsh language from the ninth to the mid-twelfth century is termed Old Welsh, and it is from this period that the earliest extant written Welsh is found.⁷ Those surviving texts, as mentioned above, are an inscribed stone from Tywyn, the ninth-century Surexit Memorandum and alphabet of Nemnius, the tenth-century Juvencus *englynion* and Computus fragment, the eleventh century poem to St Padarn’s staff, certain charters in the early-twelfth-century Book of Llandaf, as well as other glosses in Latin manuscripts. The basis for the dates given to the five poems from the Book of Taliesin will be discussed below.

The other four manuscripts by the scribe X86 contain material originating in the period between the end of Old Welsh and their copying. Of these Mostyn 117 and Peniarth 6iv contain prose texts, *Brut y Brenhinedd* and *Geraint* respectively, while Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv and Harley 4353 contain copies of the Cyfnerth Redaction of the Welsh laws. *Brut y Brenhinedd* and is a Welsh-language reworking of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c.1136). The version found in Mostyn 117 follows the Dingestow version found in the late-thirteenth century manuscript, NLW

⁶ Huws, 2000, 59.

⁷ Willis, 2009, 1.

5266, although Brynley Roberts places the archetypes of all variant versions in the early part of that century.⁸ The text of *Geraint* has been dated between the publication of *Historia Regum Britanniae* and the late thirteenth century.⁹ Thomas Charles-Edwards writes that the original lawbook of the Cyfnerth Redaction “is probably from the last quarter of the twelfth century”, with redactions to the Cyfnerth text “at least partly of the thirteenth century”.¹⁰ Thus the other four manuscripts contain material originating from, and undergoing redaction over, the Middle Welsh period.

The opportunity presented by the surviving texts of X86 is to compare his treatment of materials originating in the Old and Middle Welsh periods. An attractively simple plan becomes clear: in the comparison of the older and more recent texts those features which are common to both sets can immediately be rejected as dating criteria, while further investigation may show that features only found in the older texts can be used for that purpose. Clearly other variables will have to be taken into account. For instance, the texts used in this study to represent X86’s treatment of Old Welsh material are poetry, and the Middle Welsh material, prose. Immediately this necessitates reference to materials outside of X86’s surviving corpus, namely the corpus of *Beirdd y Tywysogion*, the work of the poets of the Welsh princes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. While the use of this external material as a control cannot give any information concerning X86’s use of older material, it will inform the interpretation of poetic features not found in contemporary prose. That is, forms may still be in use in poetry which have fallen out of use in prose language. In this way, this thesis will look to weigh the similarities and differences between the older and more recent material in X86’s corpus in the light of other contemporary texts.

⁸ Roberts, 1972-4, 289; Sims-Williams, 2011.

⁹ Thomson, 1997, lxxv.

¹⁰ Charles-Edwards, 1989, 20.

This thesis will not posit dates for the poems on the basis of their linguistic content. Rather, using dates already provided by existing scholarship, it will assess the evidence that the poems' redactors have left certain features of the language of earlier redactions. It is these features which form the central part of the project.

The overarching result from the data presented in this thesis is that there is great similarity between the language used in X86's older and more recent texts. It will be seen that in many cases similarities greatly outweigh any differences in various aspects of the texts' language. The question of how can the supposedly pre-1100 poems present language so similar to that of centuries younger prose texts throws up several possible solutions. The simplest of these is a scenario whereby X86 received a series of texts, both poetic and prose, from a variety of sources and times of composition, and amended them so as to follow his own preferences and norms. This has several problems as the data from the poems and comparison texts, while showing many similarities in language does show some differences, which as shall be seen amount to more than the variations likely during a single career.

The scenario could be corrected to suppose a process of various redactions. It is simply not known how many copies of the poems now found in the Book of Taliesin were in circulation in the fourteenth century, or beforehand. Of the five poems studied for this thesis, only one, 'Rydyrchafwy Duw ar Plwyff Brython', has survived outside the Book of Taliesin.¹¹ The other copy is found in the early seventeenth-century manuscript, Peniarth 111, which itself was copied from a late sixteenth-century copy of a piece of vellum, the contents of which could not be understood or copied correctly.¹² It appears that the Peniarth 111 version is not derived from that of the Book of Taliesin. The contents of the Peniarth 111 and Book

¹¹ Haycock, 2013, 109.

¹² Haycock, 2013, 109.

of Taliesin copies are, however, very similar. While this similarity between the texts does not show evidence of wide copying and circulation, neither does it prove the opposite. However, this thesis will show several aspects of redaction indicating different redactors at different times. Scribal practice may have varied, with some scribes copying *verbatim* and others changing the language and expression of the texts before them. Some of aspects of this redaction are found across various poems, with others limited to individual poems.

Another possible, and perhaps complementary, scenario is that some or all of the poems underwent a period or several periods of oral transmission between their original composition and their final copying into the Book of Taliesin. This is not to say that it is feasible for the poems only to have been transmitted orally: one of the poems, *Edmyg Dinbych*, makes special mention of “the writings of Britain”, and elsewhere in the poems there are hints at forms and orthography which necessitate a written exemplar in Old Welsh at some point in the poems’ redaction history. However, a close relationship between a written text and oral performance could explain a degree of ease of adaptation and flexibility of form in the poems’ transmission that would render them somewhat contemporary, or at least comprehensible, to each successive generation.

A further suggestion could be made that the similarity between the poems and later texts indicates that their language is similar because they date from the same period; that it is the dates given for the poems, and not their form, which is to be questioned. The evidence presented in this thesis, it is hoped, is enough to assuage this concern and demonstrate the presence of Old Welsh exemplars for each of the five poems. However, this remains an important challenge as it strikes at the very heart of the matter: how significant is the date of ‘original composition’? Below, the

arguments for the dates of the five poems will be set out, and yet it has already been conceded that the poems in the form in which they are now found have undergone such severe redaction as to make them highly similar in terms of orthography and linguistic forms to other, later texts copied by a scribe up to five centuries later. It is safe to say, on the basis of those forms diverging from the scribe's norm, that the five poems in this study as they are found now, do not take their original form having undergone redaction. However, the implications of that redaction vary widely depending on the case being made. While the poems in their current form could not be used as a reliable basis to study the linguistics of pre-1100 Welsh poetry, fossil forms discussed in the thesis show that much of the material of the original poems does remain, and so they can still evidence a range of the aspects of early poetry, in largely later language.

From the patterns of similarity and difference between X86's older and more recent materials, the most likely scenario seems to be one of successive modernising redaction to the poetry. It is not clear whether this is done in order to prepare the poems for performance, or whether it occurs as the poems are copied from collection to collection. What is clear is that, across the poems, there is evidence of several separate efforts to redact the language of previous exemplars; much of which is orthographical. These redactions are thoroughgoing but not comprehensive, resulting in patterns that hint at underlying layers that could reveal something of the transmission histories of the poems.

If the survival of certain features could be used to develop a transmission history for the poems of this study, then it would be possible to use these features to see whether similar histories could be constructed for other poems collected into the Book of Taliesin. If dates could be assigned to the layers of redaction then that would

allow this tool to be extended to other collections. Such features would include the unusual use of certain graphemes which are found commonly in other manuscripts (for example <w> for /v/ in *Edmyg Dinbych* and *Armes Prydein*, or the use of <dd> for /ð/ also found in *Armes Prydein*), in addition to instances of the survival of fossils from Old Welsh orthography. This cannot be achieved solely by the comparison of X86's texts, and would require triangulation between the posited transmission histories of the five poems of this study, study of the features present in other poems and collections of poems, and the scholarship on those features' dates.

To summarise then, while the poems examined in this study have been provisionally dated on the basis of their historical context, their language is largely later than those dates. This makes any attempt to use them to provide linguistic criteria for the dating of other poems problematic. However, there are interesting features found in the poems' texts which allow further comment, and it is these features that invite comparison that could ultimately result in the creation of linguistic criteria to build a picture of a text's transmission history.

The question of the trustworthiness of early dates is essential. It has been stated, and will be shown, that the language of the allegedly pre-1100 poetry, and the later prose is highly similar. Two points must be borne in mind: the reliability of dates given on the basis of linguistic content, and the reliability of dates given on the basis of historical context. The former is compromised by later redaction: the poems discussed in this study do contain certain features which appear to date them to the Old Welsh period, which as witnessed in surviving texts is prior to c.1100, however, their presence is as survivals of a process of redaction which may have succeeded in removing similar survivals from other texts. The latter is not always easy, or uncontroversial, to achieve. However, by taking both separately into account, any

possible surviving early linguistic content as well as arguments for a certain historical context, the case for an early date may be strengthened in some circumstances on the basis of this project.

iii: Introduction to the texts

This thesis will concentrate on five poems found in the Book of Taliesin, or National Library of Wales Manuscript Peniarth 2, and on the contents of four other manuscripts by the same hand, X86. Daniel Huws has described The Book of Taliesin as the ‘most fascinating’ of the five manuscripts described in his chapter ‘Five Ancient Books of Wales’,¹³ the others being the Black Book of Carmarthen, the Red Book of Hergest, the Book of Aneirin, and the Hendregadredd Manuscript. Huws continues, however, to state that it “as an artifact is much the least interesting of the five”.¹⁴ Huws contends that the manuscript’s clear and even layout belies its transmission history from a exemplar resembling the Black Book: “though it should be said that the Book of Taliesin is slightly more orderly, and more exclusive, in that it excludes both poetry of the *Gogyneirdd* [, the poets of the princes,] and ‘saga poetry’”.¹⁵ Marged Haycock expands on the idea of an earlier exemplar, saying, “the ordering of the manuscript is not necessarily the work of the present scribe. It is rather more likely ... that he just made a fair copy of an existing anthology. But he may have made an amalgam, perhaps of several large blocks of preassembled material.”¹⁶

The contents of the Book of Taliesin were collected into a manuscript, which was copied an unknown number of times before being copied into the manuscript in which they are now found. As stated previously there are survivals of separate orthographical redactions across the five poems of this study, and which would seem to have occurred before they were collected together. Huws describes the effect of

¹³ Huws, 2000, 77.

¹⁴ Huws, 2000, 79.

¹⁵ Huws, 2000, 79.

¹⁶ Haycock, 2015, 3.

this as like that of a new housing estate: “we are surprised to discover after a while what interesting old characters live in some of the houses”.¹⁷

A full description of the manuscript is given by Marged Haycock in an article for the *National Library of Wales Journal*, ‘Llyfr Taliesin’.¹⁸ She writes that the manuscript contains about sixty poems in all, contained within a writing frame of 146x89mm, with 26/27 lines to each page. The manuscript contains thirty-eight pages over five quires: the first page of the first quire has been lost, as has the first page of the fourth quire, and one or more quires have been lost from the end of the manuscript. This means that four poems in the surviving manuscript are incomplete. The manuscript bears later inscriptions in Welsh, English, and Latin. These include titles for some of the poems, names of various people, as well as longer passages that reveal something of the manuscript’s history. This is likely to have been largely in Radnorshire.

Marged Haycock, on the basis of a comparison between the five manuscripts of X86 and three by the scribe Gwilym Wasta dates X86’s career to the early fourteenth century, roughly before the year 1336.¹⁹ Haycock summarises the case for the location of the manuscript’s copying as in south or mid Wales, in the east.²⁰ It was in an anglicised area in the fifteenth century, when an English-language gloss was added,²¹ and by the end of the sixteenth century it was in Radnorshire, in the possession of a Hugh Myles.²² From there it passed to Robert Vaughan in

¹⁷ Huws, 2000, 79.

¹⁸ Haycock, 1988, 357-86.

¹⁹ Haycock, 1988, 359-62.

²⁰ Haycock, 1988, 367.

²¹ Haycock, 1988, 358-9.

²² Haycock, 1988, 367.

Merionethshire by 1655, before being left to W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth in 1859 from whence it was bought for the National Library of Wales in 1909.²³

²³ Haycock, 1988, 370.

iv: Poems

The five poems to be examined in this thesis are *Edmyg Dinbych*, *Armes Prydein*, ‘Rydyrchafwy Duw ar Plwyff Brython’, ‘Dygogan Awen’, and ‘Echrys Ynys’. Where discussed collectively or in comparison to the later prose texts of X86, they will be referred to as ‘the poems’. The full text of each of the poems is given in the Appendix.

Edmyg Dinbych

W. F. Skene numbered *Edmyg Dinbych* as poem XXI of the Book of Taliesin.²⁴ The poem begins on line 16 of page 42 and runs to line 16 of page 44. The name *Edmyg Dinbych* comes from a cropped marginal note reading ‘*mic dinbych*’.²⁵ The poem will be referred to by the acronym *ED* from this point on. R. Geraint Gruffydd suggests that the poem secured its place in the collection due to a stray stanza which had become attached to it, which is also found in the Black Book of Carmarthen.²⁶ As this poem appears not to have been part of the original body of the poem, Gruffydd excludes it from his text and translation,²⁷ and while the additional stanza is included in the Appendix, data from it has not been included in this study.²⁸

The date given for the composition *ED* of 814-870 is agreed by Ifor Williams, R. Geraint Gruffydd, and Thomas Charles-Edwards.²⁹ It has been challenged by Nikolai Tolstoy on the basis of what Simon Rodway has described as “an elaborate and very circumstantial argument”.³⁰ Further criticism has been made by David Dumville, in particular of Ifor Williams’ use of the confusion of Insular <r> and <n> as support for a late ninth-century date.³¹

The case made for dating the poem on its historical context rests on the references in the poem to the figures Owein and *Bleidud* (from *wleidud* in l.36). The repeated geographical clues that the fortress praised in the poem lies on a promontory surrounded by the sea indicate that the *Dinbych* in question is the present day

²⁴ Skene, 1868.

²⁵ Gruffydd, 2005, 91.

²⁶ Gruffydd, 2005, 91-2.

²⁷ Gruffydd, 2005, 96-9.

²⁸ See discussion on additional stanza in Russell, 2017, 22-4.

²⁹ Williams, 1972b, 156-61; Gruffydd 2005, 93; Charles-Edwards, 2013, 659-65.

³⁰ Tolstoy, 2009, 495-520; Rodway, 2013, 14.

³¹ Dumville, 1976-8, 247-9.

Dinbych-y-Pysgod, or Tenby. This defines the parameters of the search for the identity of Owein and *Bleidud* to the ruling houses of Dyfed.

Thomas Charles-Edwards sets out the case for the date of *ED* as 814-870, as the most likely period for someone called *Bleidud* to have been ruler of Dyfed.³² The last ruler of the old dynasty in Dyfed, Triffun, died in 814 or 815, and Asser mentions that another ruler, Hemeid, expelled a bishop, Nobis from St Davids. Nobis died in 873 or 874, and so he must have been expelled prior to that! The likelihood that *Bleidud* is to be found in the intervening years is strengthened by the fact that *Brut y Tywysogion* gives the name of Hemeid (or Heinuth or Henweith)'s father as Bledri/Bledric. Charles-Edwards notes that Bledri married Tangwystl, a daughter of Owain, who was an uncle of Triffun. This would mean that Bledri had married a female heir of the former dynasty. As to the inconsistency of the names, Charles-Edwards shows that the name Bledri may be an error for *Bleidud*, or that *Bleidud* is another member of the family: the endings *udd* and *rhi* both indicate a ruler.³³

The *terminus post quem* is the death of Triffun around 814. The *terminus ante quem* is the reign of Hemeid, which we know to have been in swing by the year 873/4. In addition to this, Charles-Edwards interprets 1.24, *noc eillon deutraeth gbell kaeth dyfet*, as being a reference to the political pressure from an aggressive Gwynedd that would lead to Hemeid's submission to Alfred of Wessex in exchange for his protection.³⁴

³² Charles-Edwards, 2013, 661.

³³ Charles-Edwards, 2013, 662.

³⁴ Charles-Edwards, 2013, 664.

Armes Prydein

W. F. Skene numbered *Armes Prydein* as poem VI of the Book of Taliesin.³⁵ The poem begins on line 1 of page 13 and runs to line 25 of page 18. The name *Armes Prydein* comes from the title given in the manuscript: *Arymes Prydein Va6r*. The poem will be referred to by the acronym *AP* from this point on. The poem sits easily alongside other prophecies in the manuscript, and it is clearly its prophetic content which gained it its place.

The date given for the composition of *AP* is largely undisputed. Rodway sums up the situation: “Although scholars disagree on the decade, there has been agreement that the poem dates from the tenth century. Nonetheless, this has recently been challenged by Colmán Etchingham who suggests that the content of the poem might be consistent with a date in the eleventh century. While his argument seems inconclusive to me, a new note of caution has crept into recent references to the date of the poem. We would certainly be wise to hesitate before concluding, as did Ifor Williams in a lecture given in 1943, that ‘we can now use it as evidence of Welsh poetic diction and prosody about 900 to 930’.”³⁶

Helen Fulton has posited a date for the poem’s composition in the early 950s.³⁷ A general consensus, however, is for an earlier date, around that of the Battle of Brunanburh in the year 937. This is based on the political climate surrounding the conflict between Olaf Guthfrithsson and Aethelstan of Wessex for the hegemony of northern England following the death of Sihtric, king of York, in 927. Thomas Charles-Edwards divides those portrayed as would-be allies in the poem into two

³⁵ Skene, 1868.

³⁶ Rodway, 2013, 15.

³⁷ Fulton, 2001.

categories.³⁸ The first category contains the poem's *g6yr dilyn G6ydyl iwerdon mon a phrydyn* (the men of Dublin, the Gaels of Ireland, Anglesey, and northern Britain), as well as other Hiberno-Norsemen. The second category contains the Britons themselves: the Cumbrians, the Cornish, and later in the poem, the Bretons. Fulton sees more fortuitous circumstances for members of both camps post-950, with the accession of a sympathetic dynasty in Brittany and Scandinavian successes in Northumbria. Charles-Edwards, however, is at pains to explain the presence of the Bretons in the poem as necessitated by "the established conventions of the genre".³⁹ The presence of the Bretons in the poem is not a reflection of contemporary reality as in the year 937, Alan II of Brittany is aided by Aethelstan in his return to power.⁴⁰

If the poem is taken to reflect the events surrounding the Battle of Brunanburh in 937, Charles-Edwards writes that "one need only assume that Irish settlers in Anglesey joined hands with the men of Dublin" for the first category of allies to be correctly matched in the poem.⁴¹ The mismatch rests within the Britons' camp. The speculation is that the poem is written in order to spur the Welsh to join the wider cause. The call seems to have fallen on deaf ears in 937, where neither the Britons of Wales, Cornwall, or Brittany, but only of Strathclyde took part. However, Charles-Edwards notes, "that Idwal, king of Gwynedd, and his son Elisedd were killed by the English in 942, suggests that Gwynedd sided with Olaf Guthfrithsson in 939-40."⁴²

The *terminus post quem* is the death of Sihtric of York in 927. The *terminus ante quem* is the death of Idwal of Gwynedd in 942. The latter event also serves, as

³⁸ Charles-Edwards, 2013, 529.

³⁹ Charles-Edwards, 2013, 520.

⁴⁰ Dumville, 1983, 145-59.

⁴¹ Charles-Edwards, 2013, 530.

⁴² Charles-Edwards, 2013, 530.

will be seen below, as the *terminus post quem* for the poem ‘Rydyrchafwy Duw ar Plwyff Brython’.

A further point of note on the provenance of *AP* is the proposal of southern authorship.⁴³ Charles-Edwards shows that this results from the authorial fallacy: that the author’s preference rather than those of his audience determines the text’s character.⁴⁴ In this instance, that would mean that as the poet is dealing with south Wales, he must be from south Wales. It is a shame for the purposes of this study that the geographical origins of the poems are not more certain. Charles-Edwards does, however, concede two pointers to southern allegiance on the part of the author: the first is the “one trump card” of references to St Davids, the patron saint of Asser’s southern ‘archbishopric’ of St Dewi, as opposed to the northern archbishopric in Gwynedd; the second is reference to two southern kingdoms in l.99, *na chrynet dyfet na glybyssyg*, suggesting an attempt to influence southern policy.⁴⁵ These references cannot in themselves, however, provide a secure footing for a claim of southern authorship.

⁴³ Williams, 1972a, xxiv-xxvi; Dumville, 1983, 148; Breeze, 1997, 217-8; Isaac, 2007, 162.

⁴⁴ Charles-Edwards, 2013, 532.

⁴⁵ Charles-Edwards, 2013, 533.

‘Rydyrchafwy Duw ar Plwyff Brython’

W. F. Skene numbered ‘Rydyrchafwy Duw ar Plwyff Brython’ as poem L of the Book of Taliesin.⁴⁶ The poem begins on line 23 of page 72 and runs to line 19 of page 73. The poem is not given a title in the manuscript and so this study follows Marged Haycock in using its first line as a title.⁴⁷ The poem will be referred to by the acronym *R* from this point on. Like *AP*, the poem is prophetic in nature. A copy survives of another medieval redaction of the poem. This was copied by John Jones, Gellilyfdy, into Peniarth 111 around 1610, under the title *Kywrisset Gvynet a Deheparth*, from a copy, from a piece of vellum, made by George Owen Harris. A further copy is known to have existed and to have been copied by John Davies, Mallwyd, in the early seventeenth century.

Haycock writes that the Catwallawn of *R* may have been thought of as a figura for the Idwal mentioned in l.21.⁴⁸ He is identified as Idwal Foel, the same Idwal of Gwynedd whose death provided the *terminus ante quem* for *AP*. Ifor Williams takes the contents of the poem, with all of its pale faces and vengeance, as a basis for a certain level of immediacy, “when the land was in dire distress and in the depths of despair”,⁴⁹ however, Marged Haycock allows the possibility of a later date of composition.⁵⁰ Thomas Charles-Edwards recommends extending by a decade the timeframe offered by Williams of 942-50 to 960.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Skene, 1868.

⁴⁷ Haycock, 2013, 109-22.

⁴⁸ Haycock, 2013, 110.

⁴⁹ Williams, 1968, xxviii.

⁵⁰ Haycock, 2013, 111.

⁵¹ Charles-Edwards, 2013, 661, n.52.

‘Dygogan Awen’

W. F. Skene numbered ‘Dygogan Awen’ as poem XLVII of the Book of Taliesin.⁵² The poem begins on line 16 of page 70 and runs to line 6 of page 71. Ifor Williams, on the basis of other pairings of poems in the manuscript, saw this poem as “a short poem corresponding to the long Prophecy” of *AP*.⁵³ He does not, however, go so far as to name the poem *Armes Prydein Vechan*, although this is clearly what he believes it to be. As Marged Haycock points out, *Arymes Prydein Vawr* may have “meant or [been] understood as ‘The Prophecy of Great Britain’, that is of *Britannia maior*, as opposed to Brittany, *Britannia minor*.”⁵⁴ In the absence of a title in the manuscript, this study follows Haycock in using its opening words as a title.⁵⁵ The poem will be referred to by the acronym *DA* from this point on.

The date of *DA*’s composition is by far the most difficult of all the poems. Ifor Williams sees a connection between the *llymina6c* of l.14 and that of Gruffudd ap Cynan, on the basis of a reference to a prophecy of Merlin in *Historia Gruffudd ap Cynan*, where he is described with the same word, *llymina6c*.⁵⁶ Based on this Williams understands the poem to be referring to Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd who died in 1137, and thus very loosely dates the poem to the “last quarter of the eleventh century”.⁵⁷ Marged Haycock points out the clear flaw in this reasoning: that *llymina6c* may refer to more than one individual, especially when other such epithets (Haycock gives the examples of *gwr o gudd* and *mab darogan*) are applied to various

⁵² Skene, 1868.

⁵³ Williams, 1972a, xli.

⁵⁴ Haycock, 2013, 83.

⁵⁵ Haycock, 2013, 83-97.

⁵⁶ Williams, 1972a, xliii-xliv.

⁵⁷ Williams, 1972a, xliv.

people.⁵⁸ In addition, Haycock states that, due to the lack of specific references to people and events in the poem, Williams' date is "no more than a possibility."⁵⁹

Another possible candidate, listed by Haycock, was that suggested by Margaret Enid Griffiths, namely Cadwaladr.⁶⁰ Again, this identification assumes "a one-to-one correspondance between a historical figure and a prophecy designation".⁶¹ As this is problematic, a better course of action is to turn to the named historical figure, Iago, in l.7. Haycock gives three possible candidates for a Iago in Gwynedd: Iago son of Beli (d.34); Iago son of Idwal Foel (d.979); and Iago son of Idwal ap Meurig (d.1039).⁶² As the opening lines of the poem indicate a familiarity with *AP*, the Iago mentioned must be one of the latter two. This would provide a *terminus post quem* for the poem of either 979 or 1039. The two possible dates mean that the *DA* constitutes an interesting test case, by providing an opportunity to see whether, through the analysis of the language of the poem, one date appears more likely than the other.

⁵⁸ Haycock, 2013, 84.

⁵⁹ Haycock, 2013, 84.

⁶⁰ Griffiths, 1937, 121-2.

⁶¹ Haycock, 2013, 84.

⁶² Haycock, 2013, 92-3.

'Echrys Ynys'

W. F. Skene numbered 'Echrys Ynys' as poem XLV of the Book of Taliesin.⁶³ The poem begins on line 5 of page 68 and runs to line 8 of page 69. The name, 'Echrys Ynys', comes from the opening line of both of the poem's stanzas. The poem will be referred to by the acronym *EY* from this point on. R. Geraint Gruffydd states that the poem survives, preserved in the Book of Taliesin, due to its references to the legend of Taliesin.

Gruffydd gives a loose date for the poem's composition, on the basis of rhyme and alliterative features, of "the three centuries between the ninth and the eleventh".⁶⁴ This is due to what he perceives as an intermediate stage of development between the poems of the Book of Aneirin and the earlier poems of the *Gogynfeirdd*. He also points to the form *ymretonia* in l.40, drawing comparisons with "kindred forms" occurring in the eighth-century writings of Bede and a ninth-century Cornish charter.

Ifor Williams gives a cut off date for the composition of the poem, stating that the 'Irish rhyme' used in the poem is unlikely to occur after the year 1100.⁶⁵ However, Haycock notes that while it is eschewed by the *Gogynfeirdd*, it is present in poetry of a less exalted level.⁶⁶ While Williams does mention the possibility of a connection between the repeated mentions of *aedon* and *archaedon* in ll. 5, 7, 17, and 27, and Aeddan ap Blegywryd, he shies away from the idea rather interpreting it as an otherwise unknown common noun meaning 'lord'.⁶⁷ Conversely, Gruffydd

⁶³ Skene, 1868.

⁶⁴ Gruffydd, 1999, 42-3.

⁶⁵ Williams, 1972b, 177.

⁶⁶ Haycock, 2015, 39, n.129.

⁶⁷ Williams, 1972b, 179-80.

hypothesises that *aedon* might be a by-form of Aeddán, the long *ā* in the Irish-loaned name either becoming a short *-an* or sometimes the substituted *-on* in Welsh.⁶⁸

If the poem is a lament for the death of an Aeddán/Aeddon who ruled Anglesey, then the task is to identify this historical character. Thomas Charles-Edwards writes that “there is no period between 800 and 1064 other than the beginning of the eleventh century when it is easy to think of a ruler of Anglesey and probably also of Arfon who did not belong to a well-recognised dynasty”.⁶⁹ This is where Aeddán ap Blegywryd comes to the fore: he was killed *circa* 1018 by Llywelyn ap Seisyll,⁷⁰ whose reign in Gwynedd Charles-Edwards shows as beginning the return of a recognised dynasty in 1017. Charles-Edwards points out that the contents of the poem seem to show the poet’s negotiation into a new regime.⁷¹

The *terminus post quem* for the poem is the death of Aeddán ap Blegywryd in 1017. The poem must have been written in the aftermath of that death in Anglesey. The effects of the death of Aeddán to the poet personally, as described by Charles-Edwards, indicate further that the poem is written shortly after the event.

⁶⁸ Gruffydd, 1999, 40; Charles-Edwards, 2013, 666.

⁶⁹ Charles-Edwards, 2013, 666.

⁷⁰ Williams, 1972b, 179.

⁷¹ Charles-Edwards, 2013, 666-8.

v: The other manuscripts of X86

As already stated, in addition to the Book of Taliesin, four other manuscripts survive in the same hand. These are: Mostyn 117, Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv, Peniarth 6iv, and Harley 4353. In this thesis, the language of these texts is used as a control by which to assess the language of the five poems discussed above. Rather than generating excessive amounts of data for that control at a prohibitive cost in time, for this study selected portions of each manuscript have been taken as representative of the linguistic content of the whole. It is therefore important to distinguish between the manuscripts in their entirety and the chosen texts referred to in this study. To make the difference apparent, the selected texts will be referred to, where discussed collectively in comparison to the poems, as the 'comparison texts'. The full text of the selected portion from each manuscript is given in the Appendix.

Mostyn 117

Marged Haycock places the copying of Mostyn 117 comparatively early in the career of X86 on the basis of his use of <gu> and a dotted <y>. ⁷² These features are also found in Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv. The manuscript's contents are as follows: pages 1-266, the Dingestow version of *Brut y Brenhinoedd*; and pages 267-8, early genealogies. ⁷³

The text copied into the manuscript is known as *Brut Dingestow*. ⁷⁴ This text is a Welsh translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. ⁷⁵ While Geoffrey composed the Latin version *circa* 1139, the earliest concrete evidence of its translation into Welsh dates from the mid-thirteenth century manuscripts, Llanstephan 1 and Peniarth 44. Daniel Huws dates Mostyn 117 to the earlier part of the fourteenth century, ⁷⁶ meaning the text found in the early-thirteenth-century redaction, ⁷⁷ *Brut Dingestow*, dates to within a century of its copying into Mostyn 117. It can therefore be expected that the language of the manuscript is fairly contemporary to that of its scribe, especially in relation to the language of the poems.

The portion of the manuscript selected for this project runs from the start of the first clause on page 3 of the manuscript continuously to an appropriate conclusion to the section of narrative on page 12. The text is taken from Cardiff University's *Welsh Prose 1300-1425* project. ⁷⁸ The decision to begin at page three was made on the basis of gaps in the text in pages 1 and 2. The section of text used will be referred to by the acronym *M* from this point on.

⁷² Haycock, 1988, 360.

⁷³ Luft, 2013.

⁷⁴ Haycock, 1988, 359.

⁷⁵ Roberts, 1971, xxiv-xxxix.

⁷⁶ Huws, 2000, 59.

⁷⁷ Roberts, 1972-4, 289; Sims-Williams, 2011.

⁷⁸ Luft, 2013.

Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv

As in the case of Mostyn 117 above, Marged Haycock places the copying of Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv comparatively early in the scribe's career on the basis of his use of <gu> and a dotted <y>. ⁷⁹ The manuscript contains a copy of the Cyfnerth Redaction of the Welsh laws. Aneurin Owen designates this law manuscript as *W*. ⁸⁰

T. Jones Pierce sets out the case for dating the Cyfnerth Redaction: “the silence of *Cyfnerth* on those manifestations of a changing order of society, known to have had their beginnings no earlier than the middle of the twelfth century, and which are featured prominently in the work of Iorwerth ... suggests that ... this deals with a phase in Welsh legal history which antedates the phase revealed in Iorwerth”. ⁸¹ While Thomas Charles-Edwards agrees to an extent with Jones Pierce's ordering of the versions of the law, ⁸² he places the surviving copies of the Cyfnerth Redaction “at least partly of the thirteenth century, but the original lawbook is probably from the last quarter of the twelfth century.” ⁸³ Such a date would make the text's composition a little further removed from the scribe than that of Mostyn 117, but would place it within the period of Middle Welsh. While the text is further in time from X86 than *M*, it is still far closer to him than are the poems.

The portion of the manuscript selected for this project runs from the beginning of page 55r continuously to the end of the section on page 59r. The text is taken from Cardiff University's *Welsh Prose 1300-1425* project. ⁸⁴ The decision to use this section was made to match with a corresponding version in Harley 4353. The section of text used will be referred to by the acronym *CC* from this point on.

⁷⁹ Haycock, 1988, 360.

⁸⁰ Owen, 1986, 179.

⁸¹ Jones Pierce, 1972, 295.

⁸² Charles-Edwards, 1989, 36.

⁸³ Charles-Edwards, 1989, 20.

⁸⁴ Luft, 2013.

Peniarth 6iv

Marged Haycock posits that Peniarth 6iv may have been copied between Mostyn 117 and Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv on one hand, and the Book of Taliesin and Harley 4353 on the other.⁸⁵ This is on the basis of the form of the grapheme <6> used for /w/ which appears to develop over the scribe's career. The manuscript contains an incomplete copy of one of the three Welsh Romances, *Ystoria Gereint uab Erbin*. The beginning and end of the story are missing from the manuscript.

Robert L. Thomson places the version of Geraint found in Peniarth 6iv, along with that of Peniarth 6iii, in a separate textual transmission from the version found in the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest.⁸⁶ He offers a latest date for the composition of the Peniarth 6iii/6iv urtext, based on the palaeographical evidence of Peniarth 6iii, late in the thirteenth-century. He insists that the Welsh Romances “have no jot of indebtedness to any work of Chrétien de Troyes”,⁸⁷ positing rather a *terminus post quem* of c.1136 due to the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, or perhaps its thirteenth-century Welsh translations.⁸⁸ The text is unlikely then to be as close in time to X86 as *M*, perhaps being on a par with *CC*.

The portion of the manuscript selected for this project runs from the beginning of the clear narrative on page 17 continuously to the resolution of the battle on page 26. The text is taken from Cardiff University's *Welsh Prose 1300-1425* project.⁸⁹ The decision to use this section was made as it is the first ten pages of text. The section of text used will be referred to by the acronym *P* from this point on.

⁸⁵ Haycock, 1989, 360.

⁸⁶ Thomson, 1997, xix.

⁸⁷ Thomson, 1997, lxxv.

⁸⁸ Thomson, 1997, lxxv.

⁸⁹ Luft, 2013.

Harley 4353

Marged Haycock places Harley 4353 along with the Book of Taliesin itself, comparatively late in the scribe's career.⁹⁰ The manuscript contains a copy of the Cyfnerth Redaction of the Welsh laws, as well as a section containing notes made by a later hand. Aneurin Owen designates this law manuscript as *V*.⁹¹

The case for the date of the Cyfnerth Redaction is set out above in the introduction to Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv. The text selected from Harley 4353 is longer than the corresponding section in Cotton manuscript. Harley 4353, along with the texts designated *Mk*, *X*, and *Z*, all contain forms of the Surety Tractate “which show differences of order and of reading from the version found in [Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv].”⁹² This may mean that the contents of Harley 4353 are earlier than those of the other law text.

The portion of the manuscript selected for this project runs from the beginning of page 16v continuously to the end of the section on page 22r. The text is taken from Cardiff University's *Welsh Prose 1300-1425* project.⁹³ The decision to use this section was made in conjunction with a corresponding version in Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv. The section of text used will be referred to by the acronym *H* from this point on.

⁹⁰ Haycock, 1988, 360.

⁹¹ Owen, 1986, 179.

⁹² Owen, 1986, 180.

⁹³ Luft, 2013.

vi: Methodology

As stated above, this project seeks to provide an analysis of the linguistic content of five dated poems from the Book of Taliesin. The unique opportunity provided by poems in the Book of Taliesin, is the availability of a range of later texts in the same hand, which may be used as a control in the analysis, showing the language of a period much closer to that of the scribe. The process undertaken here, of analysing the language of both the poems and comparison texts, has been done in each case in two stages: firstly the data has been taken from the texts; and secondly that data has been sifted to find the needle of possibly older linguistic forms in X86's haystack of largely consistent, presumably contemporary language.

The study is divided into four chapters, with the fourth again divided into two subchapters. These chapters consist of the presentation and analysis of data on consonantal orthography, initial mutation, vocalism, and morphology. Initial conclusions are drawn within the chapters themselves, to be brought together in the conclusion to the thesis as a whole.

Chapter 1, on consonantal orthography

This chapter seeks to investigate the orthographical patterns of the poems and comparison texts. Welsh orthography underwent significant changes during the period between the proposed dates of the poems' composition and the copying of the Book of Taliesin. Orthography is clearly essential in understanding the language of the texts *per se*, yet it is also useful as a means to identify items which have survived what is likely to have been several redactions. This may present as features clearly identifiable as being 'Old Welsh', or as features of Middle Welsh origin out of keeping with the norm presented elsewhere in the language used by X86. Scribal error may be twofold: including things meant to be redacted out of the exemplar text; and adding new mistakes in the copying of the texts.

The data for Chapter 1 was produced by counting the graphemes appearing in the texts according to their phonological value. For example, *ED* begins with the word *archaf*, with <archaf> corresponding to /arxav/. The phonological values of graphemes were assessed according to the word environment in which they were found, with information provided by *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (that is, modern standard forms, historical variants, etymologies, and so on). The wider context of the grapheme was also taken into account, as in Welsh initial consonants may undergo mutation in certain circumstances.

The data from both the poems and comparison texts is presented in a series of tables, designed in order to allow easy comparison between the patterns of each of the texts. Following each table, where relevant, is a comparison and analysis of the patterns presented. The chapter is divided between the discussion of stops and fricatives, with conclusions drawn both at the end of those sections and at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 2, on initial consonant mutation

This chapter seeks to investigate the representation of initial consonant mutation by the scribe. As part of the orthographical changes from the Old to Middle Welsh period, the system of consonantal mutations which were present during Old Welsh began to be regularly represented in texts. The representation of mutation by the scribe is revealing, not only as it is something which would largely have had to have been imposed upon Old Welsh texts as part of their redaction, but also as the environments in which mutation occurred varied over the period between the poems' composition and copying into the Book of Taliesin. The picture presented in Chapter 2 is complex, as the scribe does not represent all cases of mutation in his orthography. There are also, no doubt, examples of scribal error where he intended to represent mutation and did not. However, there are examples of the scribe's inclusion and exclusion of mutation that appear to reveal wider patterns.

The data for Chapter 2 was produced by assessing all the environments in which any mutation was found in the texts. These environments were then listed as places where mutation was to be expected, and that rule applied to each of the texts. This allowed for the creation of data sets including examples where mutation is marked, and also examples where mutation is expected but the radical grapheme is retained.

The data from both the poems and comparison texts is presented in a series of tables, designed in order to allow easy comparison between the patterns of each of the texts, according to the cause of mutation. Following each table, where relevant, is a comparison and analysis of the patterns presented. The chapter is divided between the discussion of lenition, nasalisation, and spirantisation, with conclusions drawn both at the end of those sections and at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 3, on vocalism

This chapter seeks to investigate certain vowels found in the poems and comparison texts. The scribe's use of particular graphemes for certain vowels reveals variation in both orthography and phonology. Where orthographical, this variation may reveal something of the text of a poem's exemplar. Where phonological, this variation may reveal something of the sound changes occurring prior to, and during the period of redaction between the poems' composition and copying into the Book of Taliesin.

The forms discussed in the chapter were selected from those forms highlighted in scholarly editions of the poems, in addition to forms shown to be variants as given by, or in comparison to *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, and grammars. The forms are grouped with similar examples and discussed; the poems in comparison to the comparison texts.

The examples discussed in this chapter are not frequent enough to warrant tabulation in the majority of cases. Where useful, information is presented in tables, with comparison and analysis following. Elsewhere, the examples under discussion are presented in the body of the text. The chapter is divided between the grouped examples.

Chapters 4a and 4b, on morphology

These chapters seek to investigate morphological forms relevant to the dating of the texts in the Old and Middle Welsh period. The verbal forms are revealing as certain forms fell out of use during the period between the poems' composition and copying into the Book of Taliesin, whereas other new forms emerged. The same is true in the case of plural forms, and the use of infixes pronouns, and forms of conjugated prepositions also altered over that period.

The data for Chapters 4a and 4b was produced by scouring the poems and comparison texts for all instances of verbal forms (with the exclusion of verbal nouns), plural nouns, infixes pronouns, and conjugated prepositions. This created data sets revealing what forms were used in which texts. The analysis of the forms discussed in Chapter 4a is done in comparison to Simon Rodway's work on the verbal forms found in the *Beirdd y Tywysogion* corpus.⁹⁴

The data from both the poems and comparison texts is presented in a series of tables, designed in order to allow easy comparison between the forms present in each of the texts. Following each table, where relevant, is a comparison and analysis of the forms presented. The chapters are divided between the large number of verbal forms discussed in Chapter 4a, and the smaller numbers of plural nouns, infixes pronouns, and conjugated prepositions discussed in Chapter 4b.

⁹⁴ Rodway, 2013.

vii: Limitations

This study is limited by several factors arising from the parameters of the project itself.

The first, and perhaps most apparent limitation is that discussion is limited to linguistic features. Valuable work has been done on other features that could be used as criteria for dating early poetry. This includes style, metre, rhyme, content, and much else. There is certainly more work to be done, however, that is not the intent of this thesis, and would be quite contrary to its effort to provide a framework resting on linguistic content alone.

The study has also been limited by the available data. *AP* is certainly a lengthy poem that does produce forms in a quantity and variety not seen in the other, far shorter poems. This has meant, at times, that there is insufficient data available to draw reliable or meaningful comparisons with the comparison texts. A perfect example of this paucity of data is seen in Chapter 4b where the comparison texts offer a large number of valuable examples of conjugated prepositions, and yet only a handful are seen throughout the five poems.

There is also the paucity of evidence from the Old Welsh period. Despite the valuable work done by various scholars, only so much Old Welsh material survives in contemporary manuscripts, and that in the form of marginalia. This has had the effect of limiting, to an extent, the possibility of assessing what is old and what is innovation in texts supposedly originating in the Old Welsh period, but surviving in later manuscripts. There may be forms which, although old, are not found in extant Old Welsh texts. It is hoped that the methodology of this project will minimise the implications of this however.

It has been important, in undertaking the analysis of the data provided by the poems and comparison texts, to consider the implications of the fact that they not only represent texts divided by time, but also by genre. It is stating the obvious perhaps, but the five poems taken from the Book of Taliesin contain poetry, while the texts taken from the other four manuscripts contain prose. As well as being earlier, the poems may then contain forms chosen on the basis of poetic archaism, while the comparison texts may, as prose, contain more innovation and fewer conservative forms than would contemporary poetry.⁹⁵

There are also other limitations in the project, many surely resulting from the present author's foible and frailty, and for these he takes sole responsibility.

⁹⁵ See discussion in Rodway, 2013, 23-34.

Chapter 1

Consonantal Orthography

1.1: Introduction

Welsh orthography was not standardised during the medieval period. There are, however, certain patterns which can be seen in the orthographical systems used. In particular the orthography of /k/ and of the dentals varies between manuscripts. The phoneme /k/ may be represented by <c k> or a doubling or combination of both, and the dentals /t d ð/ are similarly represented by various combinations, doubling, and placing of <t d>. These will be looked at in detail later in this chapter. In addition to the spellings of /k t d ð/, further complication arises due to consonantal mutation.

Mutation will be the focus of Chapter 2, but it is directly relevant to this chapter also. Mutation, especially lenition, is not always marked. This complicates the orthography as phonological change has not resulted in orthographical change. The possible effects of this is shown in the table below:

Radical	/k/	/p/	/t/	/g/	/b/	/d/	/t/	/m/
Lenited	/g/	/b/	/d/	/-/	/v/	/ð/	/l/	/v/
Marked	<g>		<d>	<->	<u v w>	<d>	<l>	<u v>
Unmarked	<c k>	<p>	<t>	<g>		<d>	<ll>	<m>

Table 1.1a – graphemes used to represent lenited consonants (initial position), if marked or unmarked in Middle Welsh

Even beyond the initial complication of the orthography of /k t d ð/, mutation results in a great increase in the possible uses for individual graphemes. The use of individual graphemes to represent multiple phonemes is not limited to instances of grammatically productive mutation in Middle Welsh in word-initial position, but can also be found in medial and final position, arising from historical lenition, nasalisation, and spirantisation at earlier stages in the history of the language.

The orthography of Middle Welsh also shows signs of historical lenition in medial and final positions. John Morris-Jones states that in Middle Welsh “**p, t, c** no longer represent *b, d, g* medially”,⁹⁶ however this chapter will show that, in both the

⁹⁶ Morris-Jones, 1913, 20; cf. Schumacher, 2011, 101-4.

poems and comparison texts, the graphemes <c p t> may on occasion be used in medial as well as final positions to represent the voiced stops /g b d/. This feature is inherited from the pattern in Old Welsh where graphemes used in initial position for the radical, would be used in medial and final position to represent the lenited form.

This is illustrated in the table below:

Grapheme	<c>	<p>	<t>	<g>		<d>	<m>
Initial	/k/	/p/	/t/	/g/	/b/	/d/	/m/
Medial	/g/	/b/	/d/	/- ŋ/	/v/	/ð/	/v/
Final	/g/	/b/	/d/	/ŋ/	/v/	/ð/	/v/

Table 1.1b – a simplified pattern of the phonological value of graphemes in Old Welsh, according to their position in a word

Kenneth Jackson explained the development of this pattern as the result of lenition having arisen in Late Brythonic and spoken British Latin simultaneously: “When the loosening of articulation which was the cause of lenition began to affect internal consonants in the native British speech of these people, it inevitably affected also, and equally, their Latin pronunciation.”⁹⁷ This resulted in the Latin graphemes in the table above acquiring the new values of the lenited phonemes when not in word initial position.

While the above system, with certain exceptions, applies thoroughly to Old Welsh, by the Middle Welsh period it had begun to break down. For example, <b m> are not used for /v/, nor <g> for /-/, apart from where grammatical lenition occurs in initial position. As stated already, the pattern of the dentals is complicated: <d> and <t> are used for /ð/ in the absence of an appropriate Latin grapheme. The remaining graphemes <c p t> continue to be used according to the Old Welsh pattern into the middle Welsh period, however in medial position their function had come to be shared with <g b d>. A clear example can be found in *EY*, where lines 13 and 14 begin with *katarn* and *kadarn* respectively.

⁹⁷ Jackson, 1953, 70.

In addition to these developments, Middle Welsh uses a wider variety of graphemes to represent consonants. <k> (/k/) and <w> (/v w/) are used for the first time and <u v> comes to represent /v/ in addition to its previous vocal and semi-vocal function. Lenition, spirantisation, and to an extent nasalisation, also begin to be marked during the Middle Welsh period.

That the poems show these changes from the orthography of Old to Middle Welsh means that either they, or their orthography, are later than the dates which have been proposed for them. If any patterns of redaction can be found, it may provide information upon which to base a chronology for the process by which they came to be written in their current form. These patterns may be found in pairs, for example *katarn/kadarn* in *EY*, or as individual fossils of an older orthography.

This chapter will also serve a more fundamental purpose in providing a basis for examining the language of the poems and comparison texts. The poems and prose texts of this study exist as written pieces, and have to be analysed as such. It is an obvious, but important point that the relationship between their orthography and phonology must be understood before understanding the grammatical rules governing their mutation and morphology. The patterns that emerge at the orthographical and phonological level impact upon the patterns elsewhere.

The question to be answered in this chapter is to what extent are the orthographical patterns of the poems the same as those of the comparison texts? It will be seen that on the whole the patterns are very similar. There are however certain examples which do seem to provide information about the redaction of the poems into the Book of Taliesin. Such information is very helpful, not only in answering the question posed by this chapter, but also in building a picture of the history of the

poems and drawing conclusions as to what sort of orthographical features can be expected to survive redaction from Old into Middle Welsh.

As was previously stated in the introductory chapter, the methodology for obtaining the information discussed in this chapter was to count the graphemes appearing in the texts according to their phonological value. This phonological value was assigned based on information provided by *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (i.e. modern standard forms, variants, etymologies, etc.), and whether initial consonants were in positions requiring their lenition. Having collected the data, the emerging patterns were compared across the poems and comparison texts. This chapter will provide analysis of those patterns.

The chapter is divided into two main parts, concentrating on stops and fricatives, with initial nasals discussed at length in Chapter 2. The collected data is presented in tables arranged by grapheme, with each table containing the relevant data from each of the poems and comparison manuscripts. This chapter will consist in each section of that data and relevant comment and comparison, followed by analysis of any patterns emerging to conclude each section.

1.2: Stops

The orthographical representation of the stops presents the most complicated picture of the three subsections of this chapter. As shown above, this is due to the function of <c k p t b g d> in representing both radical consonants and their lenited forms. In addition to this, Middle Welsh uses two graphemes to represent /k/: <c k>. The frequency of <c> and <k> before particular vowels will be examined separately. Marged Haycock has also noted that the lenition of initial /p t/ is not generally marked by the scribe,⁹⁸ meaning high frequencies of <p> for /b/, and <t> for /d/ across the texts. Finally, the scribe uses <t d> and combinations of them for /t d ð/.

The general pattern of the scope of phonological values for <c k p t g b d> is that <c k p t> represent both voiced and voiceless stops, whereas <g b d> represent voiced stops alone, with <d> also representing /ð/. As the orthography does not signal whether <c k p t> represent voiced or voiceless stops, this must be understood from context. <g> is used in final position to represent /ŋ/, and <c> for /g/. Examples of <g> for /ŋ/ are not shown in the table for <g>. Instances of <g> for /ŋ/ nasalisation as productive grammatical mutation will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Tabulated below will be every instance of stop graphemes (with the exception of <g> for /ŋ/ for reasons outlined above).

⁹⁸ Haycock, 2015, 7, n.18.

1.2.1: <c k> and <g> for the velar stops

<c k>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/k/: - <k> x13 - <c> x4	/k/: - <c> x7	/k/:
	/g/:	/g/:	/g/: - <c> x13
AP	/k/: - <k> x59 - <c> x20	/k/: - <c> x11 - <cc> x2	/k/: - <c> x2
	/g/:	/g/: - <c> x4	/g/: - <c> x20
		/ɣ/: - <c> x1	
R	/k/: - <k> x7 - <c> x2	/k/: - <c> x1	/k/: - <c> x1
	/g/:	/g/:	/g/: - <c> x4
DA	/k/: - <k> x3 - <c> x1	/k/: - <c> x1	/k/:
	/g/: - <k> x1	/g/:	/g/: - <c> x5
EY	/k/: - <k> x10 - <c> x5	/k/: - <c> x1	/k/:
	/g/:	/g/:	/g/: - <c> x5
M	/k/: - <k> x66 - <c> x25	/k/: - <c> x13 - <k> x1 - <cc> x1 - <ck> x1	/k/: - <c> x4
	/g/: - <k> x2 - <c> x1	/g/: - <c> x5	/g/: - <c> x197
CC	/k/: - <k> x50 - <c> x15	/k/: - <c> x5 - <k> x5 - <cc> x1 - <ck> x1	/k/: - <c> x2
	/g/: - <c> x7	/g/: - <c> x1	/g/: - <c> x49
P	/k/: - <k> x66 - <c> x19	/k/: - <c> x23 - <cc> x4 - <k> x2 - <ck> x1	/k/: - <c> x9
	/g/: - <k> x2	/g/: - <c> x3	/g/: - <c> x183
Table continued on following page (H)			

<c k> cont.	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
H	/k/: - <k> x77 - <c> x19	/k/: - <c> x7 - <cc> x4 - <k> x3	/k/: - <c> x4
	/g/: - <k> x2 - <c> x1	/g/: - <c> x2 - <cg> x2	/g/: - <c> x96

Table 1.2.1a – the scope of phonemes represented by the graphemes <c k> across the texts

Firstly, in light of the data presented above, some mention should be made of the distribution of <c k>. <c> is found in initial, medial, and final position in both the poems and comparison texts, and <k> is found in initial position in the poems, initial and medial position in the comparison texts, but not in final position. Simon Rodway has shown that by the thirteenth century, the initial <c> of Old Welsh had begun to be replaced by <k> in the majority of instances.⁹⁹ The choice of <c> or <k> seems to reflect the distribution in Norman French (i.e. <ke/i/y>, and <ca/o/u>). The incidence of <c k> when preceding <a o u 6> and <e i y> is shown in the tables below:

/k/ + <a o u 6>	<ca>:<ka>	<co>:<ko>	<cu>:<ku>	<c6>:<k6>
ED	3:3	5:0	1:0	0:1
AP	9:13	6:1	2:3	6:0
R	0:1	0:0	0:0	0:0
DA	0:1	1:1	0:0	0:0
EY	0:3	2:0	1:0	1:1
M	18:26	9:0	7:0	0:0
CC	10:8	6:0	1:0	2:0
P	8:22	10:0	7:0	2:0
H	7:15	5:2	1:1	2:0

Table 1.2.1b – the ratio of <c>:<k> preceding <a o u 6>

/k/ + <e i y>	<ce>:<ke>	<ci>:<ki>	<cy>:<ky>
ED	0:3	0:1	0:7
AP	1:10	1:1	5:39
R	0:2	0:0	0:6
DA	0:0	0:0	1:2
EY	0:1	0:0	1:6
M	1:26	0:1	0:24
CC	0:16	2:1	0:35
P	2:14	0:0	7:40
H	2:19	2:1	0:45

Table 1.2.1c – the ratio of <c>:<k> preceding <e i y>

Tables 1.2.1b and 1.2.1c provide a more nuanced picture than the outline given by Table 1.2.1a. Whereas the first table showed a difference in the use of <c k> between

⁹⁹ Rodway, 2009, 123.

the poems and comparison texts (that <k> was not found in medial position in the poems), the later tables show that the use of <c k> before vowels follows the same pattern in both the poems and comparison texts. As noted by Rodway, the tables also show a tendency to write <ka>, also suggesting French influence.¹⁰⁰

Returning to the discussion of the data in Table 1.2.1a, in addition to the use of <c k>, there are examples of the combinations <cc ck> in medial position. In *AP*, *M*, *CC*, *P*, and *H* where these occur they are used to represent provection of /g/ (i.e. /g/ + /h/ > /k/), whether in subjunctive verbs, superlative or equative adjectives, or the adverbial form *racco*. A further combination, <cg> for /g/ is seen twice in *H*. This occurs at the boundary of the compound nouns *manacg6r* and *gyflocg6r*. There are also some instances, in initial position, of <c k> for /g/, resulting from lenition not having been marked. This occurs much less frequently than in the cases of <p> for /b/ and <t> for /d/, which do not usually mark lenition in X86's texts.¹⁰¹

Paul Russell suggested, in conversation, a reason for this pattern in the fact that the lenition of /g/ means the loss of the initial consonant by the Middle Welsh period. In the case of /p t/, lenition creates a chain of three consonants: /p>/b>/v/ and /t>/d>/ð/. In the case of /k/, that chain ends in the loss of the third consonant: /k>/g>/-/ . The medieval reader would have known that mutation was not always represented orthographically, meaning consonants in positions to be lenited could be found in radical (<c p t g b d m>), or lenited form (<g b d - v d v> respectively). This means that /b d/ can result from leniting radical /p t/, or, if themselves radical, result in lenition to /v ð/. This is not the case for /g/, which is lenited to nothing. The use of <g> following the lenition of /g/, in contrast to the use of <b d> following the lenition of /b d/, would mean the use of a grapheme to represent a non-existent sound. Should

¹⁰⁰ Rodway, 2009, 129.

¹⁰¹ Haycock, 2015, 7, n.18.

that have resulted in <g> being dropped where /g/ is lenited, then every instance of <g> would represent /g/, whether radical or resulting from lenition.

By the period at which X86 wrote, /b/ > /v/ lenition is always marked by a change of grapheme, and there is no regular grapheme for /ð/ to mark /d/ > /ð/. If the above theory for the marking of /k/ > /g/ lenition, where /p/ > /b/ and /t/ > /d/ are not marked, is correct, then it must have developed at an early stage in the marking of lenition before the marking of /b/ > /v/ lenition, assuming /g/ > /-/ was marked initially. Once /b/ > /v/ lenition was marked, then the same reasoning would hold for , but this is not seen in the texts of this study. Whatever the case, this may not prove to be a productive path of investigation for the chronology of mutation as both the poems and comparison texts alike follow the same pattern, marking /k/ > /g/ but not /p/ > /b/ and /t/ > /d/.

In final position <c> is used for /k g/ in the poems and comparison texts. Where <c> represents final /k/, it is written as part of a cluster, for example <nc> and <sc>. Middle Welsh phonology would not permit /k/ to stand alone in final position.

Lastly, the use of <c> for medial /ɣ/ in *AP* should be mentioned. The form *decymyd* is found in l.37 after two repetitions of the same word written as *dechymyd* in ll.35-6. This is surely just a copying error with <h> omitted.

The data on the use of <g> is given in the table on the following page.

<g>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/g/: - <g> x27 - <g6> x10	/g/: - <g> x5	/g/:
AP	/g/: - <g> x71 - <-> x1 - <g6> x50	/g/: - <g> x33	/g/:
		/k/: - <g> x2	
R	/g/: - <g> x11 - <g6> x5	/g/: - <g> x3	/g/:
DA	/g/: - <g> x4 - <g6> x5	/g/: - <g> x6	/g/:
EY	/g/: - <g> x20 - <g6> x11	/g/: - <g> x4	/g/:
M	/g/: - <g> x147 - <-> x1 - <gu> x74 - <g6> x9	/g/: - <g> 46	/g/:
		/k/: - <g> x1	
CC	/g/: - <g> x66 - <gu> x33	/g/: - <g> x70	/g/:
P	/g/: - <g> x192 - <g6> x57	/g/: - <g> x78	/g/:
		/k/: - <g> x5	
H	/g/: - <g> x117 - <g6> x43	/g/: - <g> x85 - <cg> x2	/g/:

Table 1.2.1d – the scope of phonemes represented by the grapheme <g> across the texts

The table shows that <g> almost always has a phonological value of /g/. As stated in Section 1.2, there are certain occasions where it is used to represent /ŋ/ in medial position, as it does in all final positions, not shown here. In addition to this, there are instances of <g> for /k/, found in *AP*, *M*, and *P* in the consonant cluster <sg>. Elsewhere in the texts this cluster is written <sk>, as there is no phonological contrast between an underlying [sg] and [sk] in Middle Welsh. Also shown in the table are the

few examples of <g> used to represent /-/ and the instances of <gu g6>.¹⁰² Both of these will be commented on further in Section 1.3.1.

¹⁰² See Tables 1.3.1c and 1.3.1d respectively.

1.2.2: <p> and for the bilabial stops

<p>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/p/: - <p> x10	/p/: - <p> x1 - <pp> x1	/p/:
	/b/: - <p> x2	/b/:	/b/: - <p> x2
AP	/p/: - <p> x42	/p/: - <p> x3	/p/:
	/b/: - <p> x6	/b/: - <p> x2	/b/: - <p> x6
R	/p/: - <p> x6	/p/:	/p/:
	/b/: - <p> x3	/b/:	/b/: - <p> x1
DA	/p/: - <p> x3	/p/:	/p/:
	/b/: - <p> x1	/b/:	/b/: - <p> x1
EY	/p/: - <p> x11	/p/:	/p/:
	/b/:	/b/:	/b/: - <p> x2
M	/p/: - <p> x41	/p/: - <p> x3	/p/:
	/b/: - <p> x27	/b/:	/b/: - <p> x11
CC	/p/: - <p> x42	/p/: - <p> x2	/p/:
	/b/: - <p> x6	/b/:	/b/: - <p> x8
P	/p/: - <p> x23	/p/: - <p> x9	/p/:
	/b/: - <p> x11	/b/:	/b/: - <p> x3
H	/p/: - <p> x51	/p/: - <p> x1	/p/:
	/b/: - <p> x13	/b/:	/b/: - <p> x16

Table 1.2.2a – the scope of phonemes represented by the grapheme <p> across the texts

The scope of <p> is the simplest of <c k p t>. With the few exceptions to be seen in Chapter 2, where /p/>/b/ lenition is marked, <p> is used in initial position to represent all instances of initial /p/ whether radical or after lenition to /b/. In medial position, <p> is found in consonant clusters. It is also found as the double <pp> in *ED*, outside a cluster, as the result of provection in the word *byppo*. Where it is used in medial position in *AP* for /b/ this is at morpheme boundaries in the words *ymprofyn* and *ryplanhassant*, where in each the second element begins with unmarked /p/>/b/

lenition. In final position, <p> is used to represent /b/ only in the word *pop* in the poems and comparison texts, with one example of *ba6p* in *P*. The orthography is consistent across all the texts.

The data on the use of is given in the table below:

	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/b/: - x16	/b/: - x6	/b/: - x1
AP	/b/: - x30	/b/: - x22	/b/: - x6
R	/b/: - x4	/b/: - x2	/b/:
DA	/b/:	/b/: - x5	/b/: - x3
EY	/b/: - x10	/b/: - x3	/b/:
M	/b/: - x65	/b/: - x26	/b/: - x32
CC	/b/: - x53	/b/: - x11	/b/: - x28
P	/b/: - x38	/b/: - x40	/b/: - x72
H	/b/: - x71	/b/: - x12	/b/: - x43

Table 1.2.2b – the scope of phonemes represented by the grapheme across the texts

Other than the small number of examples where /p/>/b/ lenition is marked, initial represents radical /b/. In medial position, represents /b/. Unlike the case of /k/ above there is no corresponding confusion to <sc sk sg>, as <sp> is used rather than <sb>. In final position, is used for all instances of /b/ with the exception of the examples of *pop* and *ba6p* mentioned above. This makes the most well-established of <c k p t g b d>: not only is it solely used to represent /b/, but also /b/ is generally written only as , something which is true across all the texts.

1.2.3: <t> and <d> for the dental stops and /ð/

<t>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/t/: - <t> x7	/t/: - <t> x2 - <tt> x1	/t/: - <t> x2
	/d/: - <t> x3	/d/: - <t> x4	/d/: - <t> x32
		/ð/: - <t> x1	/ð/: - <t> x2
AP	/t/: - <t> x27	/t/: - <t> x23 - <tt> x6	/t/: - <t> 69
	/d/: - <t> x9	/d/: - <t> x17	/d/: - <t> x92
R	/t/: - <t> x4	/t/: - <t> x3	/t/: - <t> x7
	/d/: - <t> x1	/d/: - <t> x1	/d/: - <t> x6
DA	/t/:	/t/: - <t> x2	/t/:
	/d/: - <t> x1	/d/: - <t> x1	/d/: - <t> x7
EY	/t/: - <t> x14	/t/: - <t> x5	/t/: - <t> x7
	/d/: - <t> x1	/d/: - <t> x6 - <tt> x2	/d/: - <t> x18
M	/t/: - <t> x43	/t/: - <t> x60 - <tt> x11	/t/: - <t> x86
	/d/: - <t> x33	/d/: - <t> x45 - <td> x1	/d/: - <t> x167
CC	/t/: - <t> x51	/t/: - <t> x17 - <tt> x5	/t/: - <t> x70
	/d/: - <t> x41	/d/: - <t> x16	/d/: - <t> x103
P	/t/: - <t> x34	/t/: - <t> x57 - <tt> x21	/t/: - <t> x116 - <tt> x9
	/d/: - <t> x48	/d/: - <t> x29	/d/: - <t> x212
H	/t/: - <t> x80	/t/: - <t> x36 - <tt> x6	/t/: - <t> x101
	/d/: - <t> x65	/d/: - <t> x20	/d/: - <t> x164

Table 1.2.3a – the scope of phonemes represented by the grapheme <t> across the texts

The scope of <t> is the widest of <c k p t>, as it is used to represent /t d ð/. The pattern for the use of <t> is straightforward: in initial position it is used for radical /t/ and /d/ resulting from lenition; in medial position it is used somewhat interchangeably

to represent /t d/ both in and out of consonant clusters; and in final position it is used to represent /d/ and also /t/ in consonant clusters, as well as /t/ in the examples of *garāt* (i.e. within a consonant cluster in the lenited *carant*) in *AP*, *it* in *M*, and *it* and *itt* in *P*. All examples of <tt> for medial /t/ are due to provection of /d/ before /h/, including the example of *llettata6t* in l.175 of *AP* which Ifor Williams describes as “a mistake for *llettawt* ‘will spread’”.¹⁰³

The three examples in *ED* of <t> for /ð/ are *atu6yn* (written elsewhere in the poem repeatedly as *adu6yn*) in l.34, and *bleidut* and *gorll6yt* both in l.54. Marged Haycock discusses the use of <t> for /ð/ in her notes on the poem *Aduwyneu Taliessin* in relation to the forms *atwyn* (*adwyn*) and *adwyn* (*addwyn*).¹⁰⁴ Haycock notes that it is difficult to identify whether the commoner form *adwyn* contains /d/ or /ð/ due to the ambiguity of /d/, pointing to the similar problem of *atuwyn* in the poem *Angar Kyfundawt*.¹⁰⁵ This is the issue found in *adu6yn/atu6yn* in *ED*. Haycock states that the orthography of *atwyn* unequivocally denotes /d/, therefore, considering that *atu6yn* occurs in *ED* alongside multiple examples of *adu6yn*, it is possible that the spelling is due to the influence of *adwyn*. On the issue of the use of <t> and <d> Paul Russell has written:

“In the first attempt /əm’laðgar/ was spelt with *t* for /ð/, *ymlatgar*, in the second with *d* for /ð/, *ymladgar*. This can be argued either way: either the scribe got it right the first time and then at the second attempt slipped up, or alternatively the first attempt was the error. Whichever way it looks as if he was trying to write in an orthography with which he was unfamiliar and the lapses may then be interpretable as a reversion either to a more familiar orthography, perhaps to his own habitual orthography or the orthography of the exemplar.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Williams, 1972a, 67.

¹⁰⁴ Haycock, 2015, 97, n.1.

¹⁰⁵ Haycock, 2015, 158, n.195.

¹⁰⁶ Russell, 1999, 89.

Russell has also written of a Middle Welsh orthographical system (labelled *ii*) which “attempted to regularise the spelling of /d/ but at the expense of producing an anomalous internal and final *t* for /ð/.”¹⁰⁷ The manuscripts given by Russell as examples of this system (the Black Book of Carmarthen and the Hendregadredd MS) show that the system was in place at the time when X86 was active.¹⁰⁸ If the variation of *atubyn* from *adubyn* and the use of <t> for final /ð/ are signs of interference from another orthographical system, then this may point towards redaction away from a system using <t> for /ð/. This would mean a previous redaction of *ED* following the development of that system.

The data on the use of <d> is given in the table on the following page.

¹⁰⁷ Russell, 1995, 217.

¹⁰⁸ Huws, 2000, 58-9.

<d>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/d/: - <d> x13	/d/: - <d> x11	/d/: - <d> x1
	/ð/: - <d> x5	/ð/: - <d> x30	/ð/: - <d> x26
AP	/d/: - <d> x88	/d/: - <d> x44	/d/:
	/ð/: - <d> x20	/ð/: - <d> x31	/ð/: - <d> x113
R	/d/: - <d> x18	/d/: - <d> x9	/d/:
	/ð/: - <d> x1	/ð/: - <d> x10	/ð/: - <d> x10
DA	/d/: - <d> x10	/d/: - <d> x4	/d/:
	/ð/: - <d> x1	/ð/: - <d> x5	/ð/: - <d> x19
EY	/d/: - <d> x12	/d/: - <d> x8	/d/:
	/ð/: - <d> x5	/ð/: - <d> x9	/ð/: - <d> x11
M	/d/: - <d> x96	/d/: - <d> x120 - <td> x1	/d/:
	/ð/: - <d> x30	/ð/: - <d> x124	/ð/: - <d> x121
CC	/d/: - <d> x83	/d/: - <d> x39	/d/:
	/ð/: - <d> x19	/ð/: - <d> x41 /t/: - <d> x8	/ð/: - <d> x56
P	/d/: - <d> x140	/d/: - <d> x117	/d/: - <d> x12
	/ð/: - <d> x42	/ð/: - <d> x92	/ð/: - <d> x127
H	/d/: - <d> x114	/d/: - <d> x104	/d/:
	/ð/: - <d> x42	/ð/: - <d> x67	/ð/: - <d> x93

Table 1.2.3b – the scope of phonemes represented by the grapheme <d> across the texts

<d> represents /d ð/, and in eight instances /t/ in *CC*. In initial and medial position its phonological value must be understood from context, but in final position it can be taken to represent /ð/ in all but a handful of instances in *ED* and *P*. There are also examples of <dd> which will be discussed below in Section 1.3.3.

The examples of <d> for /t/ in *CC* are found repeatedly in the word *alltud*. Stefan Zimmer states that the Modern Welsh form *alltud* must be younger than the

form *allfro*, which shares a similar meaning and construction.¹⁰⁹ This would allow the possibility that *alldut* is an earlier form of *alltut* on the same style as *allfro*. Zimmer bases this assessment on the “syncope of the thematic vowel as shown by the delention of *-tud*”. This, however, does not appear to be a satisfactory explanation of /t/ in this position following *all-* as Zimmer lists other, later forms which have lenition following the prefix (e.g. *all-wlad*, *all-blyg*, *all-ganol*). A more likely explanation seems to be provelction to /t/ following *lt* as in *ufylltawd* from *humilitatem* (/l-t/>*/l-d/>/t/) and *melltith* from *maledictio* (/l-d/>*/l-ð/>/t/).¹¹⁰ This would mean that while /t/>/d/ lenition is expected following the prefix *all-*, the same process of syncope between /l-d/ in other words produces /t/. Jackson writes that “Pr.W. *l - d* < Brit. *l - d* gave MW. *lld* or *llt*.”¹¹¹ The difference between <lld> and <llt> may be purely orthographical, without phonological contrast.

The examples of <d> for /d/ in final position are found in the word *p6yllad* in *ED* and in the personal name *Enyd* in *P*. In Section 1.2.3 Paul Russell’s orthographical system (ii) was referenced. In his article he gave two basic systems for the orthography of dentals in Middle Welsh.¹¹² The system used in our texts is clearly similar to his system (i): “a continuation of the Old Welsh pattern reflecting the pre-lenition system”,¹¹³ that is: <t> for initial /t/, <t> or <tt> for medial /t/, <d> for initial /d/, and <t> for medial /d/ also. Not taking initial /d/ resulting from lenition into consideration, there is some divergence from this pattern in that medial /d/ is also represented by <d>, which is covered by Russell’s system (ii). System (i) is a continuation of the Old Welsh pattern; Russell continues to say that this prevails into

¹⁰⁹ Zimmer, 2000, 146.

¹¹⁰ Jackson, 1953, 433.

¹¹¹ Jackson, 1953, 433.

¹¹² Russell, 1995, 216.

¹¹³ Russell, 1995, 216.

the fourteenth century, therefore the standard representation of /d/ in the texts of this study can divulge little about their age. The anomaly of <d> for final /d/ in *ED* and *P* could only be comfortably accommodated, however, in circumstances where that final /d/ did not have to represent /ð/. Russell shows such a circumstance in system (iv) from the late fourteenth century, where a shift occurs with <dd> for /ð/, freeing /d/ in thirteen instances across the texts to represent final /d/.¹¹⁴ This then gives a clue to dating, which will be followed up when looking at the representation of /ð/ in Section 1.3.3.

EY provides an insight into the use of <t d> for medial /d/ in the use of both graphemes in *katarn/kadarn* in ll.13-4. *EY* has several examples of <t> for medial /d/ up to the divide between 1.13 and 1.14. Each line begins with the same word, with changed orthography beginning in 1.14 with *kadarn* and from which point <d> is used for medial /d/ throughout the rest of the poem. This suggests that that it is the form *kadarn* that has been updated to conform to the orthographical ideals of the current scribe or his predecessors.¹¹⁵ The law texts provide an excellent opportunity to investigate further whether <d> for medial /d/ is indeed the scribe's orthographical preference. *CC*, which displays earlier orthographical features (<gu> and <y>),¹¹⁶ repeatedly uses <t> for medial /d/ in the same locations that the later *H* uses <d> (for example, *kytsynya6/kydsynya6*, *lletrat/lledrat*, *bra6t6r/bra6d6r*, and *lleityr/lleidyr*). To repeat, both texts do use <d> for medial /d/ in the majority of cases, but these comparisons allow the speculation that later in his career X86 was more confident in editing the texts he copied to conform with his own orthographical preferences. The case of *katarn/kadarn* proves that he did this in the case of the poems also.

¹¹⁴ Russell, 1995, 216.

¹¹⁵ Williams, 1972b, 174.

¹¹⁶ Haycock, 1988, 360.

Finally, the instance of <td> in medial position in *M* can be satisfactorily explained as an orthographical error arising from confusion around the double plural form in the word *coetdyd*.¹¹⁷ The scribe could easily have written *coet* as the plural form, before realising that the word to be copied had a plural suffix. Following that realisation the suffix was added, including his preferred grapheme for medial /d/, resulting in the form *coetdyd* rather than **coedyd*.

¹¹⁷ GPC, s.v. *coed*.

1.2.4: Comments on the orthography of voiced and voiceless stops

The analysis given above of the orthographical patterns of stops shows the scribe to have been highly consistent throughout. Interestingly, cases such as the choice of <c k> before certain vowels show his consistency, across his texts, in tending to use one grapheme over another, while maintaining that other to a lesser extent under the same circumstances. Similarly, there is a consistent approach in his assigning certain phonological values to particular graphemes, which apply in each text. Notable exceptions to this are: the use of <t> for medial and final /ð/ which only occurs in *ED*; <d> for medial /t/ which only occurs in *CC*; and <d> for final /d/ which occurs in *ED* and *P*. While all of these features are unusual in X86's orthography, and may indicate the orthography of previous redactions, none of them is indicative of redactions that must be that much earlier than the time of the scribe himself. In fact, the examples of <d> for medial <t> and final <d> may show that the comparison texts have undergone similar redaction to the poems. This kind of redaction process is highlighted by examples such as the switch from <t> to <d> for medial /d/ mid-poem in *EY*, and the copying of *CC* and *H*. That the same orthographical changes are being made in redacting the poems and the comparison texts show that they are changes within Middle Welsh, as opposed to being a change from Old to Middle Welsh.

There is no evidence of Old Welsh in the orthography of stops used in the poems. However, there is evidence that could be consistent with redaction from one Middle Welsh system to another. If nothing else, this shows that the texts of the poems are not being copied in the same form from manuscript to manuscript.

1.3: Fricatives

The orthographical representation of the fricatives differs greatly from the systems seen above in the case of the stops. The most apparent difference is that, with the exception of <ff>, the scope of a grapheme is limited to the representation of one phoneme. The phonemes /χ θ/ are represented by the digraphs <ch th> respectively, and /f v/ may both be represented by the digraph <ff>. While already discussed above, <d> for /ð/, will also be referred to in this subsection.

As stated, <ff> may represent either /f v/, but the labio-dental fricatives as a group also present a more complex pattern than the other fricatives in other ways. Section 1.3.2 will look at a variety of grapheme-phoneme relationships: <ff> for /f v/, <ph> for /f/, and <u v w> for /v/. As in the case of the pattern of <c k p t g b d>, <ff> can represent both the voiced and voiceless consonants. However, <ph> and <u v w> represent either voiceless or voiced consonants respectively.

The majority of fricative consonants in initial position occur due to either lenition (/b d m/>/v ð v/) or spirantisation (/k p t/>/χ f θ/). In medial and final position the fricatives were formed by historical word-internal lenition and spirantisation, however by the time of Middle Welsh these changes were no longer productive. An exception to this is initial /f χw/ which may both occur in initial position without being caused by spirantisation.

Tabulated below will be every instance of fricative graphemes, with the addition of <gu g6> which arose from a historical initial /w/. As the voiced velar fricative had fallen out of use by the Middle Welsh period, instances of /g/>/-/ lenition are also tabulated.

1.3.1: <ch> for /χ/, lost /g/, and consonants from /w/

<ch>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/χ/: - <ch> x3	/χ/: - <ch> x8	/χ/: - <ch> x7
AP	/χ/: - <ch> x13	/χ/: - <ch> x38 - <chch> x1	/χ/: - <ch> x3
R	/χ/:	/χ/: - <ch> x4	/χ/: - <ch> x2
DA	/χ/: - <ch> x3	/χ/: - <ch> x3	/χ/:
EY	/χ/: - <ch> x3	/χ/: - <ch> x9	/χ/:
M	/χ/: - <ch> x17	/χ/: - <ch> x55	/χ/: - <ch> x20
CC	/χ/: - <ch> x4	/χ/: - <ch> x23	/χ/: - <ch> x14
P	/χ/: - <ch> x34	/χ/: - <ch> x40	/χ/: - <ch> x55
H	/χ/: - <ch> x9	/χ/: - <ch> x34	/χ/: - <ch> x15

Table 1.3.1a – the scope of phonemes represented by the grapheme <ch> across the texts

The digraph <ch> is used for every instance of /χ/ across all the texts, with the exception of the word *decymyd* in 1.37 of *AP* as mentioned above. The digraph is doubled in the word *kylchchyn* in 1.15 of *AP* as it is found at a line boundary. It should be noted that the form *a* in 1.112 of *AP* is a verbal form and no spirantisation is expected to the following consonant.

<chw wh>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
DA	/χw/: - <chw> x1		
M	/χw/: - <chw> x1		
CC	/χw/: - <wh> x12 - <w> x1		
P	/χw/: - <chw> x1		
H	/χw/: - <wh> x16 - <chw> x2		

Table 1.3.1b – the scope of phonemes represented by the graphemes <chw wh> across the texts

Jackson notes that /χw/ developed from the Indo-European /sw/ via /hw/.¹¹⁸ Haycock remarks on the scribe's use of <wh> for what would in later Welsh be written <chw>.¹¹⁹ Jackson also comments that the exaggeration of /h/ > /χ/ probably never occurred in southern dialects of Welsh.¹²⁰ That orthography favours <wh> over <chw> may then be a sign of southern provenance. That southern provenance is shown in the law texts *CC* and *H* (both of the southern Cyfnerth Redaction), by the use of <wh>. The two examples of <chw> in *H* are found where the material is extended beyond that of *CC*. The <chw> found in *DA* conforms to the poem's northern provenance.

¹¹⁸ Jackson, 1953, 525.

¹¹⁹ Haycock, 1988, 360.

¹²⁰ Jackson, 1953, 526.

<->	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	x12		
AP	x21 <i><g> x1</i>		
R	x4		
DA	x4		
EY	x9		
M	x95 <i><g> x1</i>		
CC	x19		
P	x145		
H	x48		

Table 1.3.1c – occurrences of the lenition of /g/ to <-> across the texts

The table above gives the number of instances where /g/ > /-/ lenition occurs in each text. Also shown in italics are the instances where that lenition is not marked. The table shows how well-established the marking of this lenition is. The data in this table is used to inform the analysis of the information contained in Table 1.3.1e.

<g6 gu>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/gw/: - <g6> x10		
AP	/gw/: - <g6> x50		
R	/gw/: - <g6> x5		
DA	/gw/: - <g6> x5		
EY	/gw/: - <g6> x11		
M	/gw/: - <gu> x74 - <g6> x9		
CC	/gw/: - <gu> x33		
P	/gw/: - <g6> x57		
H	/gw/: - <g6> x43 - <ku> x1		

Table 1.3.1d – the graphemes used to represent /gw/ across the texts

Indo-European /w/ (and */g^wh/) developed into /gw/ in Welsh. The orthographical representation of /gw/ is shown in the table above. Haycock writes that <gu> is earlier than <g6> and may suggest that *M* and *CC* were written before the scribe had

changed his practice.¹²¹ It is interesting that *M* uses <g6> in a minority of instances alongside <gu>. It must also be noted that only <g6> is used in the poems, suggesting that this is a feature to have been first introduced in the redaction of X86. Finally, the instance of <ku> in *H* is found in the word *kuaraneu*, written *guaraneu* in *CC*. Both are preceded by the leniting preposition *dros*. GPC gives the original form as *curan*, *cuaran*, *cwaran* < Irish *cuarán*, with *gwaran* as an alternative form.¹²² Given the position following *dros*, it seems that the *guaraneu* in *CC* is a lenited form, and that the lenition of *kuaraneu* in *H* is not marked.

<w 6>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/w/: - <w> x9 - <6> x2		
AP	/w/: - <w> x12 - <6> x6		
R	/w/: - <w> x2 - <6> x1		
DA	/w/: - <w> x4		
EY	/w/: - <w> x9		
M	/w/: - <w> x39 - <6> x3		
CC	/w/: - <w> x9		
P	/w/: - <w> x57 - <6> x6		
H	/w/: - <w> x18		

Table 1.3.1e – the graphemes used to represent initial /w/ across the texts

The table shows the grapheme used to represent initial /w/. /w/ results from the lenition of /gw/. All of the texts prefer the use of <w> to <6>, however those poems that do use <6> do so as a higher proportion than the comparison texts. Perhaps the

¹²¹ Haycock, 1988, 360.

¹²² GPC, s.v. *curan*.

consistency of <w> in *CC* and *H* hints at consistency in previous redactions of the Cyfnerth law text, rather than at redaction by X86 himself.

1.3.2: <f ff> for /f v/, <ph> for /f/, and <u v w> for /v/

<f ff>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/f/: - <f> x1 - <ff> x1	/f/: - <ff> x3	/f/:
	/v/: - <f> x1	/v/: - <f> x14	/v/: - <f> 14
AP	/f/: - <ff> x11 - <f> x1	/f/: - <ff> x13 - <f> x3	/f/: - <ff> x1
	/v/:	/v/: - <f> x40	/v/: - <f> x4
R	/f/: - <ff> x1	/f/: - <ff> x1	/f/:
	/v/:	/v/: - <f> x10	/v/: - <f> x3 - <ff> x1
DA	/f/: - <ff> x1	/f/:	/f/:
	/v/:	/v/: - <f> x4	/v/: - <f> x1
EY	/f/: - <ff> x3	/f/:	/f/:
	/v/:	/v/: - <f> x9	/v/: - <f> x10
M	/f/: - <ff> x11 - <f> x2	/f/: - <ff> x23	/f/: - <ff> x1
	/v/:	/v/: - <f> x27	/v/: - <f> x53
CC	/f/: - <f> x2	/f/: - <ff> x11	/f/: - <ff> x3
	/v/:	/v/: - <f> x18	/v/: - <f> x20
P	/f/: - <ff> x4 - <f> x2	/f/: - <ff> x14	/f/: - <ff> x1
	/v/:	/v/: - <f> x71	/v/: - <f> x89
H	/f/:	/f/: - <ff> x12	/f/: - <ff> x5
	/v/:	/v/: - <f> 61	/v/: - <f> x33

Table 1.3.2a – the scope of phonemes represented by the graphemes <f ff> across the texts

The scope of <f ff> despite their initial apparent overlap is quite straightforward. Other than the example of <f> for /v/ in *fein* in 1.56 of *ED*, <f ff> is used in initial position only to represent /f/. In initial position, generally <ff> is favoured over <f> for /f/, with only two examples of <f> in the poems and a further six in the comparison texts. These examples are: *felyc* (*ED* 1.17), *flet* (*AP* 1.52), *frost* and *ford*

(*M*), *froen* and *fech6ys* (*CC*), and *fr6ythla6n* and *ford* (*P*). Of these examples, all but *fech6ys* represent radical /f/, and *flet*, *ford*, and *fr6yth* are written elsewhere with <ff>. While the scope of <f ff> may overlap in representing initial /f/, all examples of <f ff>, with the exceptions of *fein* and *fech6ys*, represent radical /f/. This serves to distinguish the radical initials from the lenited and spirantised forms represented by <u v w> and <ph> respectively.

In medial and final position the scope for <f ff> is clearly delineated. /f/ is represented by <ff> in both medial and final position, with the exception in *AP* of one instance of the word *dychyfroy* (l.38) and twice in *rydrychaf6ynt* (ll.82, 178). The <f> in *dychyfroy* is hard to account for, however, it seems that in form *rydrychaf6ynt* the scribe has not marked the provection caused by the third person plural present subjunctive suffix *-h6ynt*. This may be unconsciously done, as elsewhere in the same poem he writes *safh6ynt*, showing that he is aware of the need to note the *-(h)-* or resultant provection found in these forms. In medial position <f> is used alongside <u v> for /v/. In final position /v/ is represented only by <f>, with the exception of the one instance of <ff> for /v/ in *pl6yff* in l.1 of *R*. Both occasions of deviation from the general pattern occur in the poems.

<ph>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
AP	/f/: - <ph> x4		
R	/f/: - <ph> x1		
DA	/f/: - <ph> x2		
M	/f/: - <ph> x3		
CC	/f/: - <ph> x3		
P	/f/: - <ph> x12		
H	/f/: - <ph> x5		

Table 1.3.2b – the scope of phonemes represented by the grapheme <ph> across the texts

The scope of the digraph <ph> is limited to the representation of /p>/f/ spirantisation.

As a result it is only found in initial position. As stated above, it is used in all but one instance of this mutation, the exception being *ni fech6ys* in *CC*.

<u v w>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/v/: - <v> x8 - <u> x1 - <w> x1	/v/: - <u> x15	/v/:
AP	/v/: - <v> x17 - <u> x4	/v/: - <u> x19 - <v> x1 - <w> x1	/v/:
R	/v/: - <v> x5	/v/: - <u> x4	/v/:
DA	/v/: - <v> x4 - <u> x2	/v/: - <u> x3	/v/:
EY	/v/: - <v> x6 - <u> x2	/v/: - <u> x5	/v/:
M	/v/: - <v> x37 - <u> x32	/v/: - <u> x76	/v/:
CC	/v/: - <u> x24 - <v> x5	/v/: - <u> x34	/v/:
P	/v/: - <v> x63 - <u> x29	/v/: - <u> x78	/v/:
H	/v/: - <u> x35 - <v> x34	/v/: - <u> x34	/v/:

Table 1.3.2c – the scope of phonemes represented by the graphemes <u v w> across the texts

Of <u v w> for /v/, <v> is favoured in initial position except in the two law texts, *CC* and *P*. In medial position, <u> is used in all instances apart from two examples in *AP*, one of <v> for /v/ in *atvi* in 1.115 where it is almost immediately followed by *atui* in ll.117, 118, and 119, and one of <w> in *dychyferwyd* in 1.121. There are no examples of <u v w> for final /v/ in any of the texts.

When comparing the use of <f u> for medial /v/ a further pattern emerges. Between vowels, either may be used, with <u> being more frequent in all texts but *H*. However, in the comparison texts, where /v/ is found in a consonant cluster, it is represented <fC Cu>, with the sole exception of *diulin* found twice in *M*. This pattern can be explained by the additional use of <u> as a vowel: <u> may be the second grapheme in a diphthong, but it can only front a vowel if it represents /v w/. The poems also follow this pattern, with five exceptions in *AP*. These exceptions give four

examples of <Cf>, *lletfer* (1.38), *dygorfu* (1.125), *dýgorfu* (1.127), and *dyorfyn* (1.12), and one example of <Cv>, as seen above in *atvi* (1.115). The pattern of *atvi:atui* is the same as seen in the case of *katarn:kadarn* above. After the unfavoured form is written once, the scribe changes his pattern, and writes *atui* from that point on.

The examples of <w> for /v/ in initial position *ED* and medial position in *AP* are unique. D. Simon Evans notes that <w> is frequently used for /v/ in the Black Book of Carmarthen,¹²³ which has since been dated to the mid-thirteenth century.¹²⁴ This is likely be a spelling which has survived from a previous redaction of the poem, as there are no other examples of <w> for /v/ in the poems or comparison texts. The survival of *wleidud* (1.36) in *ED* is strange, however, as the personal name *Bleiddudd* is not uncommon in the Middle Welsh period and any redaction of <w> to <f u v> would surely also have involved other such instances. The cluster <wl> does occur elsewhere in *ED*, *AP*, *EY*, and *M* to represent /wl/, but it is difficult to see what meaning the scribe would have given to such a reading in this case. The easiest, and perhaps wisest, explanation of the survival of <w> here is as a simple scribal oversight. The explanation for the example in *AP* is simpler, with a likely *-uid* ending in an Old Welsh exemplar being incorrectly modernised to *-wyd* rather than *-uyd*.

¹²³ Evans, 1964, 8; Russell, 2009, 139-45.

¹²⁴ Huws, 2000, 58.

1.3.3: <th> for /θ/ and /d/ for /ð/

<th>	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position
ED	/θ/: - <th> x2	/θ/: - <th> x2	/θ/: - <th> x4
AP	/θ/: - <th> x4	/θ/: - <th> x33	/θ/: - <th> x37
R	/θ/: - <th> x1	/θ/: - <th> x6	/θ/: - <th> x3
DA	/θ/:	/θ/: - <th> x3	/θ/: - <th> x4
EY	/θ/:	/θ/: - <th> x3	/θ/: - <th> x5
M	/θ/: - <th> x6	/θ/: - <th> x49	/θ/: - <th> x62
CC	/θ/: - <th> x7	/θ/: - <th> x21	/θ/: - <th> x40
P	/θ/: - <th> x14	/θ/: - <th> x88	/θ/: - <th> x87
H	/θ/: - <th> x13	/θ/: - <th> x41	/θ/: - <th> x77

Table 1.3.3 – the scope of phonemes represented by the grapheme <th> across the texts

The digraph <th> is used for /θ/ in every instance, in initial, medial, and final position. As such, the representation of the voiceless dental fricative is easier for the reader to identify than its voiced alternative. While instances of the <t d> for /ð/, were shown in Section 1.2.3, the representation of /ð/ will now be comprehensively reviewed at this point.

Section 1.2.3 showed an overlap in the scope of <t d> in the representation of /t d ð/. Table 1.2.3a shows three instances of <t> for /ð/ found in *ED*, possibly surviving redaction from a previous orthography. In addition to this, Table 1.2.3b shows the most common representation of <d> for /ð/ in all positions. In addition to <t d> for /ð/, however, are several instances of <dd>.

The examples of <dd> are: *ddu6* in 1.51 of *AP*; *ryddit* in *M*, and three examples of *ddiwato*, and one of *uurdd6rn* in *CC*. These examples then are in initial and medial position. The use of <dd> in medial position in *CC* is explained by the location of *uurdd6rn* at a line break as *uurd+d6rn*, meaning that this may not be an intentional rendering of /ð/ as <dd>. Similarly the use of <dd> in *ryddit* is explained

by the etymology given by GPC, of *rhydd+did*, leaving the possibility of <dd> for /ðd/.¹²⁵

This leaves the four examples of initial <dd>. Writing on the development of <dd> for /ð/, Paul Russell shows that <dd> occurs in the thirteenth century Black Book of Chirk and Hendregadredd Manuscripts.¹²⁶ Russell notes that “the main scribe of the latter manuscript tended to use *t* for internal and final /ð/ but it is clear that in some of the exemplars he was copying, *dd* for /ð/ occurred”. There is no overlap between the use of <t> and <dd> for /ð/ in the poems of this study. Only *ED* has <t> for /ð/, and <dd> is only definitely found in initial position in *AP* and *CC*. The treatment of /ð/ as <t dd> suggests divergent redaction histories for the different poems in which the separate forms are found: where *ED* has <t> and no <dd> for /ð/, *AP* has <dd> and no <t> for /ð/. However, neither is used in the majority of instances of /ð/. In the case of *a ddiwato* in *CC*, the corresponding sections of *H* have *a watto*, entirely avoiding /d/ > /ð/ lenition.

At the viva for this thesis Paul Russell pointed out that, in the manuscript, the <dd> in l.51 of *AP* contains two differing forms of <d>. He suggested that this may have resulted from a scribal error whereby the scribe’s eye temporarily slipped forwards to the following *yd*. If this is an error, the scribe has not acknowledged it. This example may provide an insight into the ways in which a text might alter through error over successive redactions.

¹²⁵ GPC, s.v. *rhyddid*.

¹²⁶ Russell, 1995, 218.

1.3.4: Comments on the orthography of voiced and voiceless fricatives

The analysis shows a greater number of orthographical anomalies in the representation of fricatives than were found in the case of the stops: <fw> for initial /v/ in *ED*; <ff> for final /v/ in *R*; <f> for initial /f/ in *CC*; <f> for medial /f/ and <w> for medial /v/ in *AP*; <Cf Cv> rather than <Cu> in *AP*; <uC> rather than <fC> in *M*; and the cases of <dd> for initial /ð/ in *AP* and *CC*. Again, none of these anomalies can place previous redactions in the Old Welsh period, as they are firmly within the timeframe of Middle Welsh. In the case of <w> for /v/ in *ED* the orthography of the previous redaction may be a century earlier than the Book of Taliesin, but that is still within the Middle Welsh period, and is small change for a poem that could date from a further four hundred years into the past. The same <w> for /v/ in *AP* could reflect a similar orthography as that of the *w*-using exemplar of *ED*, or be a straightforward incorrect modernisation. Once again, however, there appears to be evidence of redaction from one pattern to another.

1.4: Nasals

The nasal consonants resulting from mutation will be discussed in Chapter 2.3. Like the initial fricatives /χ v θ ð/ (with the exception of /χw/) which result from lenition and spirantisation, the initial nasals /ŋ^o ŋ m̥ n̥/ only occur as a result of nasalisation, with /m n/ being found as radical initials. Unlike /χ v θ/, however, /ŋ^o ŋ m̥ n̥/ do not have assigned graphemes used to represent them, and use <g(h) g m(h) n(h)>, therefore relying on context to be understood.

1.5: Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter the question was posed as to the extent of the similarity of orthographical patterns between the poems and comparison texts. This chapter has analysed the data of the scope of the phonological value assigned to stop, fricative, and nasal graphemes. Having found high regularity between the patterns of orthography in the poems and comparison texts, instances of deviation from the general patterns have been discussed in the light of wider scholarship on Middle Welsh orthography. The outcome of this examination is that due to the high level of uniformity in the scribe's orthography, anomalies within his system have been spotted and identified with other Middle Welsh orthographical systems. None of these breaks from the general pattern of the scribe can be attributed to Old Welsh orthography, however.

Particular features surviving from alternative orthographical systems are the unusual use of the dentals: <t> for medial and final /ð/ in *ED*; <d> for medial /t/ in *CC* and for final /d/ in *ED* and *P*; and the possible <dd> for initial /ð/ in *AP* and *CC*. That these cases appear in such small numbers shows the broad success of the imposition of a unifying system of dental orthography to a set of texts whose exemplars used multiple alternative systems. This change of system is again highlighted by the move from <t> to <d> for initial /d/. Similarly, the orthography of labio-dental fricatives in the texts also points towards redaction towards an imposed unifying standard.

None of these anomalies must date from the Old Welsh period however, as they exist happily within other Middle Welsh systems. The orthography of the nasals again reinforces that all of the texts, poems and comparison texts, comprehensively bear Middle Welsh orthographical features. This is sobering if the intention is to find

features that can be shown to date from the Old Welsh period. However, if such a level of redaction is taking place even between the orthographical fashions of Middle Welsh, it should come as no surprise, if the poems were to date from the Old Welsh period, that any anomalous orthographical feature would have been replaced over several centuries of similar redaction.

That must suffice as a conclusion to this chapter: scribes redacted the orthographical patterns found in their exemplars to suit their own preferences. There is ample evidence of this having taken place either in the copying of the texts of this study, or in their immediate exemplars. If these changes were taking place within Middle Welsh, it is hard to use the apparent modernity of a text's orthography as an argument against its antiquity.

Chapter 2

Initial Consonant Mutations

2.1: Introduction

Welsh, like the other insular Celtic languages, has a system of initial consonant mutations. These mutations consist of a phonological change to certain initial consonants in particular grammatical contexts. In Welsh, the consonants which may be affected by mutation are /k p t g b d ʎ m r/. There are three varieties of mutation, lenition, nasalisation, and spirantisation: lenition voices voiceless stops (/k p t/>/g b d/), but turns voiced stops to fricatives (/g b d/>/ɣ (later > - [zero]) v ð/), and also voices /t/>/l/ and turns /m/>/v/ via an original /μ/, and /r/>/r/; nasalisation turns voiced stops to voiced nasals and voiceless stops to a voiceless nasal equivalent (/g b d/>/ŋ m n/ and /k p t/>/ŋ̥ m̥ n̥/); spirantisation turns voiceless stops into fricatives (/k p t/>/χ f θ/).

The system of initial consonant mutations originated as part of wider phonological changes to word-internal consonants in the post-Roman period.¹²⁷ Initial mutation took place across word boundaries, where two words were in close connection. Paul Russell gives some examples of this kind of close connection: article + noun, noun + adjective, negative particle + verb. In these kinds of positions *sandhi* operated to assimilate the initial consonant to the preceding final sound: lenition arose following a final vowel, nasalisation following a final nasal consonant, and spirantisation following a variety of consonants, often /-s/, which had become /-h/ by the time this mutation developed.¹²⁸ After the development of this *sandhi*, Brythonic underwent a further change, losing the final syllable of almost all words. From that point onwards many mutations came to perform a grammatical function: for example differentiating between the masculine and feminine possessive pronoun. In Proto-Celtic these were **esjo* and **esjas*, which had both become <y> in Middle

¹²⁷ Russell, 1995, 236.

¹²⁸ Sims-Williams, 2007, 44; Isaac, 2008, 17.

Welsh, and the difference is only shown by the difference in mutation. ‘His cat’ is *y gath* and ‘her cat’, *y chath*.¹²⁹ These changes had occurred by the end of the sixth century,¹³⁰ well before the period of the poems’ composition, and are therefore too early to be used to date any of the texts in and of themselves. The discussion of these changes can, however, be useful on occasion, as sometimes unhistorical patterns of mutation arise by analogy, an example of which is found in the case of *tra*, which was historically followed by spirantisation, but which was more often found with lenition in Middle Welsh (see discussion below in 2.2.05).

Broadly the same sound changes are present in both Old and Middle Welsh, with /g/ > /ɣ/ becoming /g/ > /-/ and /m/ > /μ/ becoming /m/ > /v/ by the Middle Welsh period. The consonants /h/ and /r/ develop from /L/ and /R/ respectively during the Old Welsh period, then developing a phonetic relationship with /l/ and /r/ in most circumstances in which lenition would be expected (but not following predicative *yn*) by the Middle Welsh period.¹³¹ Mutations in Old Welsh are not generally marked orthographically, for example the Computus Fragment has an unmarked /b/ > /v/ in *ir bloidin* where the article preceding a feminine noun regularly causes lenition. There are rare examples of marked lenition in the surviving Old Welsh corpus: for example, the word *hendat* is found in a gloss in Bodley MS 572, which may be Old Cornish, where the lenition of /t/ > /d/ is marked in a compound following the adjective *hen*.¹³² In Middle Welsh, mutation is partially indicated. The orthography of X86 allows for the marking of the lenition of /k/ as <g>, /p/ as , /t/ as <d>, /g/ as <->, /b/ as <u> or <v>, /d/ as <dd>, /h/ as <l> and /m/ also as <u> or <v>. Haycock notes of the

¹²⁹ Russell, 1995, 249-50.

¹³⁰ Jackson, 1953, 696; Sims-Williams, 2003, 284.

¹³¹ Falileyev, 2016, 9.

¹³² Falileyev, 2016, 9.

scribe's norm that "lenition of initial p, t (and d) are not generally realized".¹³³ Although rare, there are some instances of the consonant /ð/, lenited from /d/, being marked as <dd>. As is common in the Middle Welsh period, the scribe's orthography makes no differentiation between /r̥/ and /r/ which makes the marking of the lenition of /r̥/ impossible.

As mutation is only rarely seen in Old Welsh texts, it is a feature that would probably not have been marked in written texts before the Middle Welsh period (conventionally starting c. 1150). The presence of mutation in the five selected poems from the Book of Taliesin clearly shows that the orthography of the poems is not that of the Old Welsh period. If the poetry does date from before the year 1100, any patterns in the marking of mutation may shed light on the nature of the poetry's redaction over the centuries of its transmission. A comparison between the patterns of the individual poems may uncover whether they have been edited as a predefined collection, or whether they bear evidence of separate redactors' work. If there are some differences, and some similarities it may be possible to develop a hypothesis of various layers of textual redaction, which in conjunction with similar information from the comparison texts could be useful in drawing conclusions on dating various periods of redaction. Similarities to the Middle Welsh norm can either be explained as the work of a redactor, or as evidence that the poems were in fact written in the Middle Welsh period, thereby falsifying the traditional pre-1100 date. However, any differences observed would lead to more detailed analysis of the textual transmission of the poetry.

The question to be answered in this chapter then is what is the extent of the similarity between the marking of mutation in the poems, and also in the comparison

¹³³ Haycock, 2015, 7, n.18.

texts? It will be seen that the patterns of mutation in both the poems and comparison texts are very similar. The examples of lenition provide the greatest variety, both in terms of whether it is marked, and also how it is marked. The examples of nasalisation provide interesting patterns of marking mutation that may point to a history of multiple redactors. The examples of spirantisation show it to be consistently marked in a uniform way: /k/ > /χ/ = <ch>, /p/ > /f/ = <ph>, and /t/ > /θ/ = <th>. These similarities between the texts, and also with the later comparison texts show that either the poems have undergone substantial redaction from their original form, or that the poems were composed at a date later than that claimed on historical grounds by some scholars. However, there are also differences worthy of note between the texts.

As was previously stated in the introductory chapter, the methodology for obtaining the information discussed in this chapter was firstly to assess every different environment in which mutation is marked in X86's corpus. Having made that initial assessment, those mutation-causing environments were listed forming a general rule for when mutation could be marked, and that rule then applied to each of the texts. In each such environment mutation was taken to be expected, as it had been found elsewhere in the same hand under the same conditions. Thus the general rule allowed an assessment of those locations in which mutation should be present, but where the radical grapheme is retained. The rule then allows two observations to be made in each case of mutation: firstly whether mutation is marked or the radical grapheme retained, and secondly how marked mutation is represented orthographically. Having collected this information on mutation, the examples were compared with examples found in the same positions in the scribe's other texts. This chapter will analyse the patterns emerging from those comparisons.

The chapter is divided between the three types of mutation, lenition, nasalisation, and spirantisation. In each section the data will be provided in tables with relevant comments and comparison. The analysis of the patterns emerging from the data will be given as a conclusion to each section.

2.2: Lenition

Lenition is the most frequently found form of mutation in the corpus of the texts. Originally, rather than leniting to nothing, lenited /g/ gave the velar voiced fricative /ɣ/. In the corpus of the scribe's texts, lenition is found in the following positions: after certain prepositions in their radical form; after prepositions in their conjugated form; after the preverbal particles *a* (relative) and *yt*; after the possessive pronouns *dy* (2sg.) and *y* (masc. 3sg.); after the interrogative *k6d* ('where'); to feminine nouns after the article; after the conjunctions *neu* ('or'), *pan* ('when'), *tra* ('while'), and *hyny* ('until'); after the cardinal numbers *vn* ('one'), *deu/d6y* ('two'), *seith* ('seven'), and *na6* ('nine'); after adjectives; to forms of *bod* in copula constructions; after the vocative particle; to adjectives after feminine nouns; to adverbs; to subject, direct object, and complement directly following verbs; to direct object not directly following certain verbal forms; in genitive constructions; due to *sangiad* (an insertion into the flow of the clause); after the predicative particle *yn*; after the negative particle *ny*; after the preverbal particle *ry*; and following the pronouns *p6y/py* (who/which).

The general pattern of lenition across the corpus of the scribe's texts, as will be seen below, is to mark the lenition, with a degree of inconsistency, of /k g b m ʎ/. The orthography does not differentiate between /d/ and /ð/ (normally using <d> for both) except in a handful of cases, in which <dd> is used for /ð/. Lenition of /p t/ is only marked in a handful of cases, despite the fact that the relevant phonemes are elsewhere regularly denoted by and <d> respectively.

Tabulated below will be every instance of a lenitable consonant (with the exception of /r/ and /d/ for reasons outlined above), which appears in a position that elsewhere in X86's writing has had marked lenition.

2.2.01: Cases of lenition following prepositions

The pattern of lenition following prepositions is the same across the entire corpus of the scribe's texts. Cases which diverge from the general pattern, which marks the lenition of /k g b m l/, but not of /p t/, are attested in the texts of both the poems and comparison manuscripts. These exceptions along with similar examples to be seen later in other positions can therefore be excluded as evidence of chronological developments in orthography, but rather are something occurring across the scribe's texts.

	/k/>/g/ following prepositions
<i>ED</i>	ar gla6r; o glas -
<i>AP</i>	am g6r6f; ar gychwyn; hyt gaer; hyt gaerwynt; tr6y goet ar <u>katueirch</u> ; tr6y <u>kyfergyr</u>
<i>R</i>	am gaer -
<i>DA</i>	o g6d; y gynhon -
<i>EY</i>	gan grist; gan grist -
<i>M</i>	ar gerrec; gan g6ynuan; gan gyrcu [sic]; heb geithiwet; o garchar; o garchar; o garchar; o geithiwet; o genedyl; o genedyl; dan geithiwet; y gan; y gan; y ganta6; y geissa6; y geissa6; ar <u>kic</u> ; heb <u>canhorth6y</u>
<i>CC</i>	ar geuyn; ar geuyn; ar gyfloc; gan ganhyat; gan gredu; heb gaeth; heb gaeth; heb gaeth; heb gaeth; dros guaraneu; y gan heb <u>caeth</u> ; heb <u>canhyat</u>
<i>P</i>	am ganhebrygyeit; heb gyscu; o garyat; o garyat; o gerny6; o gerny6; o gymwyeu; tr6y gerdeu; tr6y gymedrollder; tr6y gymedrollder; y gad6; y gad6; y gad6; y gad6; y ganhadu; y ganta6; y gerdet; y gyfanhedi; y gymryt; y gynhal; y gyscu; y gyscu -
<i>H</i>	ar gefyn; ar gefyn; ar gyfloc; ar getymdeithon; gan ganhat; gan golli; gan gredu; heb gaeth; heb gaeth; heb gaeth; heb gaeth; heb gaeth; heb ganhat; heb greir; o genedyl; o gyfarch; y gan; y gan; dros <u>kuaraneu</u>

Table 2.2.01a – Instances of /k/>/g/ following prepositions

Radical <k>/<c> following prepositions is retained in *AP*, *M*, *CC*, and *H*, in the nouns *katueirch*, *kyfergyr*, *kic*, *canhorth6y*, *caeth*, *canhorth6y*, and *kuaraneu*. Apart from *ar katueirch* in *AP* and *dros kuaraneu* in *H*, in each instance where the radical is retained, the same preposition has marked /k/>/g/ lenition elsewhere in the same text. It should be noted that while the form *kuaraneu* is given in *H*, the corresponding

instance in *CC* text is *guaraneu*. GPC allows for both /k/ and /g/ to be the radical initial in this position, so it would be possible for neither to be lenited in this instance.¹³⁴ It is likely though as these manuscripts are both copies of the *Cyfnerth* redaction, both ‘closely allied’,¹³⁵ and as they are both written by X86 that the same form of the word is being used, and that the *CC* example is lenited. If this is the case, then lenition may have been prevented in these voiceless stops by devoicing following -s, although Morgan only gives examples of this occurring in /ð/>/d/.¹³⁶ This cannot be tested, however, as *guaraneu* / *kuaraneu* are the only examples of lenition to /k/, and the scribe’s orthography does not regularly mark the lenition of /p t/.

	/p/>/b/ following prepositions
<i>ED</i>	- hyt <u>p</u> ell; y <u>p</u> a6b
<i>AP</i>	- am <u>p</u> eurllyn; ar <u>p</u> etwar; hyt <u>p</u> an; o <u>p</u> op; o <u>p</u> leit; o <u>p</u> rydein; y <u>p</u> eri; y <u>p</u> op
<i>R</i>	- ar <u>p</u> l6yf; ar <u>p</u> l6yff; o <u>p</u> op
<i>DA</i>	- o <u>p</u> ennaeth; o <u>p</u> ennaeth
<i>M</i>	- am <u>p</u> en; am <u>p</u> en; am <u>p</u> en; ar <u>p</u> andrasius; heb <u>p</u> edrussa6; hyt <u>p</u> an; o <u>p</u> arth; o <u>p</u> op; o <u>p</u> op; o <u>p</u> op; o <u>p</u> op; o <u>p</u> op; o <u>p</u> op; o <u>p</u> op; o <u>p</u> op; o <u>p</u> op; dan <u>p</u> andrasius; y <u>p</u> a6b; y <u>p</u> a6b; y <u>p</u> a6b; y <u>p</u> a6b; y <u>p</u> andrasius; y <u>p</u> op
<i>CC</i>	gan borth; gan ba6b; gan <u>p</u> a6b; gan <u>p</u> a6b; hyt <u>p</u> an; dros <u>p</u> op; dros <u>p</u> op; dros <u>p</u> op
<i>P</i>	- am <u>p</u> en; o <u>p</u> op; o <u>p</u> y; o <u>p</u> op; dros <u>p</u> edrein; y <u>p</u> a6b
<i>H</i>	- am <u>p</u> a6b; ar <u>p</u> en; hyt <u>p</u> an; o <u>p</u> arth; dros <u>p</u> op; dros <u>p</u> op; dros <u>p</u> op; dros <u>p</u> op; dros <u>p</u> op; dros <u>p</u> op

Table 2.2.01b – Instances of /p/>/b/ following prepositions

Marged Haycock has noted that /p/ does not generally show lenition.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ GPC, s.v. *curan*: *gwaran* or *curan/cuaran/cwaran* from the Irish *cuarán*, making /k/ the original radical consonant here.

¹³⁵ Wade-Evans, 1909, xiv.

¹³⁶ Morgan, 1952, 191 & 386.

¹³⁷ Haycock, 2015, 7, n.18.

	/t/ > /d/ following prepositions
ED	- ar <u>ton</u>
AP	o dyn <u>get</u> ; heb <u>talet</u> ; y <u>tir</u> ; y <u>tywyssa</u> 6
R	- ar <u>taradyr</u>
DA	- o <u>tir</u>
EY	- ar <u>tir</u> ; hyt <u>tra</u>
M	y dan; y dan; y danadunt; y dana6; am <u>tri</u> ; ar <u>torr</u> ; gan <u>taflu</u> ; gan <u>tygu</u> ; hyt <u>tra</u> ; tros <u>teruyneu</u> ; tr6y <u>tywyll6ch</u>
CC	- gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; o <u>teir</u> ; o <u>teir</u> ; o <u>teir</u> ; o <u>teir</u> ; dros <u>teir</u>
P	ar dra6s; gan <u>tyl6yth</u>
H	- gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; gan <u>tri</u> ; o <u>teir</u> ; o <u>teir</u> ; o <u>teir</u> ; o <u>tystolyaeth</u> ; dros <u>teir</u> ; y <u>tat</u> ; y <u>tal</u>

Table 2.2.01c – Instances of /t/ > /d/ following prepositions

Haycock has noted that /t/, like /p/, does not generally show lenition.¹³⁸

	/g/ > /-/ following prepositions
ED	o wydrin -
AP	ar rud; hyt weryt; o wa6l; o wir; y 6rtheyrn; am <u>g6y</u> ; ar <u>gynhon</u>
R	6rth alon -
DA	y werescyn; y <u>gynhon</u>
EY	o wlat -
M	ar wledeu; gan wyr; heb 6ybot; o roec; o wladoed; o wyr; o wyr; o wyr; o wyr; o wyr; y wladoed; y 6rth; y wyr; y 6yla6; o <u>groec</u>
CC	ar alanas; ar alanas; ar alanas; ar wahan; dros 6dyf; y wneuthur -
P	ar Ereint; ar Ereint; att Wenhwyuar; gan Wenhwyuar; 6rth Ereint; 6rth Ereint; o waryeu; o wirowdeu; o oreugwyr; o wraged; o 6ybot; o wyr; dros Ereint; y Ereint; y Ereint; y Ereint; y. Ereint; y ofyn; y orescyn; y raessa6; y welet; y 6rtha6; y 6rthunt; y 6rthunt; y 6rthunt; y 6ybot -
H	ar alanas; ar alanas; ar alanas; ar wahan; o alanas; tros alanas; dros 6dyf; y wadu; y wneuthur; y 6rth -

Table 2.2.01d – Instances of /g/ > /-/ following prepositions

Radical <g> following prepositions is retained in *AP*, *DA*, and *M*, in the nouns *g6y*, *gynhon*, and *groec*. There is another example in *M* where lenition is marked, *o roec*.

¹³⁸ Haycock, 2015, 7, n.18.

The graphic retention of radical <g> in *g6y* is in the cluster /gw/>/w/, and is reminiscent of the pattern found in Old Welsh, where /w/ was written <gu>, even in positions where it was not historically from lenited /gw/, as in the form *petguar* ‘four’ < **petwores*.¹³⁹ A similar example is found following the pronoun *p6y* in the phrase *p6y g6ahard6y* in *EY*.¹⁴⁰

The noun *gynhon* is the plural of *gynt* > Latin *gentem*.¹⁴¹ The etymology of *gynt:gynhon* as a loan from Latin could account for the lack of lenition here: that the noun was not perceived to follow the normal patterns of lenition, and as a borrowed word did not experience lenition. The examples of the nouns found in this study would support that interpretation, however, in her note on the form *y gynhon* in *DA* Haycock lists several examples of lenition to *ynt* and *ynhon*, making this unlikely.¹⁴² While the Latin origin of *gynhon* may be the reason for the graphic retention of the radical here, it is not a rule that applies to the entire Middle Welsh corpus.

The etymology of *groeg* as a proper noun taken from Latin could account for the lack of lenition here: that the noun was not perceived to follow the normal patterns of lenition, and as a borrowed word did not experience lenition. The sample size of two, one with marked lenition, one without, is too small to make any conclusion. However, a search of Cardiff University’s Welsh Prose 1300-1425 projects database shows that in a total of 175 examples of the noun *groec* following a leniting preposition only fourteen cases do not mark lenition.¹⁴³ It seems sensible to conclude then that the example of *o groec* is anomalous. While both *g6y* and *groec* are place names, other consonants display lenition in initial position in place names, for

¹³⁹ Falileyev, 2016, 14.

¹⁴⁰ See below Table 2.2.03d and comments.

¹⁴¹ GPC, s.v. *gynt*².

¹⁴² Haycock, 2013, 96.

¹⁴³ Luft, 2013, *passim*.

example *o von* in *R*. For the sake of clarity it is also worth noting that Rachel Bromwich gives a translation for *ar rud allmyn* in *AP* of “foreigners’ cheeks”, and that the initial consonant in question is therefore /g/ rather than /r/.

	/b/>/v/ following prepositions
<i>ED</i>	ar veird; ar vrys -
<i>AP</i>	hyt vra6t; hyt vra6t; tr6y u6rch -
<i>R</i>	ar vrys -
<i>DA</i>	hyt valaon; o veli; y vrython -
<i>EY</i>	gan vra6t -
<i>M</i>	ar vlaenwed; ar vrenhinya6l; ar vrutus; o vrutus; o vrutus; o vrutus; o v6r6; y vrenin; y vrutus -
<i>CC</i>	o urethyn; o uarchogaetha; dros u6yall -
<i>H</i>	6rth vreint; 6rth vreint; 6rth vreint; o vrethyn; dros u6ell; y uot -

Table 2.2.01e – Instances of /b/>/v/ following prepositions

	/d/>/ð/ following prepositions
<i>AP</i>	y ddu6

Table 2.2.01f – Instances of /d/ as <dd> following prepositions

In all other instances of /d/>/ð/ lenition following prepositions, the grapheme <d> is retained.

While the scribe’s orthography does not usually mark the lenition of /d/, there are several examples in both the poems and comparison texts where /ð/ is represented by <dd>, both in word-initial and medial position. In the poems this is limited to the example of *y ddu6* (l.51) in *AP*, although note the comment on page 72. There are other examples of doubled /d/ in *AP*, but, these are found in the consonant cluster /ðd/ in *medda6[t]* (l.35) and *medda6t* (l.102), written *medd-dod* in modern orthography.¹⁴⁴ The remaining examples are found in the comparison texts: *ryddit* in *M*, and three examples of *a ddiwato* and one of *uurdd6rn* in *CC*.

¹⁴⁴ GPC, s.v. *medd-dod*.

While the example of *uurdd6rn* in *CC* contains <dd>, this is the noun *murdwrn*, and the consonant in question is /d/.¹⁴⁵ The presence of <dd> can be explained simply in that it appears across a line break in the manuscript (58v.19-20) as *uurd-d6rn*, making the presence of <d> twice a scribal error. This is not the case for the other example of medial <dd> for /ð/ in *ryddit* in *M*. However, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* lists a variant form *rhydd-did* from *rhydd*¹+*-did*.¹⁴⁶ That being the case, all instances of <dd> in medial position, with the exception of *uurdd6rn*, can be explained as /ðd/. That cluster is not possible in initial position and so the digraph must be being used to represent /ð/ when it occurs initially. This is far from impossible, as the use of <dd> for /ð/ is attested in the mid-thirteenth century Black Book of Carmarthen. However, this seems to be in medial position at morpheme boundaries, and hence used differently to the solely initial position in which it is found in the hand of X86.¹⁴⁷ The digraph <dd> is used in word-initial position by the α hand of the Hendregadredd Manuscript, which Daniel Huws has dated to around 1300.¹⁴⁸ Paul Russell and Thomas Charles-Edwards have argued that this scribe, α 's exemplars may also have used <dd>, thereby pushing the use of word initial <dd> back into the thirteenth century as well.¹⁴⁹

This raises the question, if the scribe was aware of the use of <dd> to denote /ð/, why his use of it is so rare, especially if he is attempting to standardise the texts' orthography. Where <dd> appears in *CC*, it does not appear in the corresponding phrases of *H* where *a watto* is used instead of *a ddiwato*. Another such case of one standard being used in one text and another in the corresponding text is the use of

¹⁴⁵ GPC, s.v. *murdwrn*.

¹⁴⁶ GPC, s.v. *rhyddid*.

¹⁴⁷ Russell, 2009, 432.

¹⁴⁸ Huws, 2000, 213.

¹⁴⁹ Charles-Edwards, 1993-4, 432-3.

<gu> or <g6> which can be used to place the scribe's manuscripts in a relative chronology.¹⁵⁰ *CC* has <dd> and the earlier <gu> whereas *H* has no <dd> and the later <g6>. It should also be noted that <dd> is only found in three of the four examples of the phrase, the final example is written *a diwatto*. Were more examples available in the texts where <dd> is found it could be theorised that the scribe flirted with <dd> at one stage, before turning his back on it. With only five examples across the texts used in this study, however, nothing more can be said than has already been noted by Ifor Williams: simply that the example in *AP* is an early example of <dd>.¹⁵¹

	/l/>/l/ following prepositions
<i>ED</i>	- ar llydan
<i>AP</i>	am lan; ar lego; hyt lyda6; o lyda6; tr6y la6; tr6y liein -
<i>R</i>	am lyn; am lys -
<i>EY</i>	y l6r6; y l6r6 -
<i>M</i>	heb la6; o lin; y ledrada6l -
<i>CC</i>	am ledrat; 6rth lad; heb ledach; o lei; dros la6d6r -
<i>P</i>	am lad; o la6; o les; o lewenyd; o lys; dros la6d6r; y losci; y losci; dan lla6
<i>H</i>	6rth lad; heb ledach; o lei; y lad -

Table 2.2.01g – Instances of /l/>/l/ following prepositions

Radical <ll> following prepositions is retained in *ED* and *P*, in the preposed adjective *llydan* and the noun *lla6*. Morgan gives two examples of variation between /l/ and /l/ following *ar*,¹⁵² perhaps this can be explained by the provection of /l/ following /r/ usually occurring in proper compounds.¹⁵³ Morgan notes Ifor Williams' comment in *Canu Llywarch Hen* that *ar* is followed by /l/, and not lenited to /l/ as in later

¹⁵⁰ Haycock, 1988, 360.

¹⁵¹ Williams, 1972a, 37.

¹⁵² Morgan, 1952, 387.

¹⁵³ Morgan, 1952, 27-8.

Welsh.¹⁵⁴ Williams compares this graphic retention of the radical to that found in *ar lles* in line 17 of the poem *Gorhoffedd Gwalchmai* from the Hendregadredd Manuscript.¹⁵⁵ In the Hendregadredd Manuscript the phrase is written by α , whom Daniel Huws dates to around 1300.¹⁵⁶ The graphic retention of radical <ll> in the texts of this study is limited to these positions, however. Considering the possibility, following Ifor Williams' comment quoted above, that lenition may not be expected in /l/ following *ar*, it is worth noting that the form *ar lego* is itself uncertain, as in the manuscript what would be the arm of <r> is very high. J. Gwenogvryn Evans and later Graham Isaac read *ar lego*,¹⁵⁷ whereas Ifor Williams read *ailego*.¹⁵⁸ Isaac suggests that *lego* is an orthographical variant of *Legio* from the Latin *legiones*, which in light of Haycock's note that the manuscript tends to drop /j/, is quite plausible.¹⁵⁹ The oblique Latin form became *lleon*, *lleion*, *llion* in Welsh after the loss of medial /g/ and the change of initial /l/ to /l̥/.¹⁶⁰ Clearly the form *lego* here has not lost its medial <g>, and so the initial consonant may also be the Latin initial, /l/, as per an unassimilated Latin form. While it is then possible that this is not an example of lenited /l/, if it is /l̥/, lenition is marked. As in the case of the possible provection in *ar llydan*, provection may also be caused following /n/, as in *dan lla6*. While this is most commonly seen in medial position in compound nouns (e.g. *gwinllan*),¹⁶¹ it is also seen in the pattern that /l̥/ is not lenited following the predicative particle *yn*.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁴ Morgan, 1952, 387.

¹⁵⁵ Williams, 1935, 77; Morris-Jones, 1933, 17; Williams, 1994, 198 (notice too the example in l.16, although this is disputed, see note on p.212).

¹⁵⁶ Huws, 2000, 213.

¹⁵⁷ Evans, 1910, 16; Isaac, 2007, 165.

¹⁵⁸ Williams, 1972a, 49, cf. p.62.

¹⁵⁹ Isaac, 2007, 165; Haycock, 1988, 364.

¹⁶⁰ GPC, s.v. *lleon*².

¹⁶¹ Jackson, 1953, 475.

¹⁶² Thomas, 1996, 689.

	/m/>/v/ following prepositions
<i>ED</i>	tr6y veuyilhaet; y <u>my</u> 6n
<i>AP</i>	ar vor; 6rth von; o ved; o vyna6; o vynyd; y vedyc -
<i>R</i>	o von -
<i>EY</i>	ar vor -
<i>M</i>	ar vab; ar uaes; ar uaeth; y <u>my</u> 6n; y <u>my</u> 6n; y <u>my</u> 6n
<i>P</i>	ar varch; ar veicheu; 6rth varchogaeth; y venegi; y <u>my</u> 6n; y <u>my</u> 6n
<i>H</i>	o varchogaeth; o vod; o vynet -

Table 2.2.01h – Instances of /m/>/v/ following prepositions

Radical /m/ is retained in *ED*, *M*, and *P*, in each instance in the phrase *y my6n*. The preposition in this phrase is likely not to have been *y* originally but rather *yn*, and cognate with the Irish form *in medon*.¹⁶³ Other than the instances of this phrase where lenition is not expected, the lenition of /m/ is marked consistently across each of the texts.

A further note may be made on the preposition *tra*, in the example *trath*mein* found in *ED* (1.53). In his diplomatic edition, J. Gwenogvryn Evans gives this form as *trath-/amein*, found over the break between lines four and five on page 44.¹⁶⁴ Ifor Williams suggested a reading of *tra thrumein*, with a translation of “over the hills”.¹⁶⁵ This interpretation is also followed by R. Geraint Gruffydd.¹⁶⁶ If this interpretation were to be accepted then the preposition *tra* would be causing spirantisation, rather than lenition.

John Koch raises an example of lenition following *tra*, also found in the Book of Taliesin, in his notes on the poem *Marwnad Cynddylan*. There he discusses two cases of the lenition of /gw/ in positions where lenition is not expected: in the phrases *tra wael* and *gwin waretawg*. Koch suggests that these examples could have arisen

¹⁶³ Morgan, 1952, 394-5.

¹⁶⁴ Evans, 1910, 44.

¹⁶⁵ Williams, 1972b, 170.

¹⁶⁶ Gruffydd, 2002, 20.

from ultimate exemplars written **tra uail* and **uin uaredoc* dating to the seventh century before the development of /gw/ from initial /w/, and therefore would not be examples of lenition following *tra* at all.¹⁶⁷ While this theory depends upon the existence of a posited seventh-century exemplar, it would explain the presence of /w/ rather than /gw/ in two separate locations where it might not be expected historically. It must be noted that the form *tra wael* could also be merely an example of Middle Welsh lenition. T. J. Morgan notes that the tendency to spirantise following *tra* begins in the seventeenth century,¹⁶⁸ which is odd as *tra* derives from **trāns*,¹⁶⁹ and which would be expected to follow the same pattern as other forms ending with -s which as was seen in the introduction to this chapter, results in spirantisation. This would make spirantisation following *tra* correct historically, supporting Koch's interpretation of the form *tra wael*.

Even without the etymological difficulties in ruling out spirantisation following *tra*, Morgan's dating of spirantisation following *tra* to the seventeenth century may be problematic as there is another example of the same phrase in the thirteenth-century Book of Aneirin.¹⁷⁰ In his notes, however, Ifor Williams notes that the form *dra thrumein* cannot be original, as the old form of the noun was *drum*, rather than *trum*.¹⁷¹ On the interchangeability of *tr-* and *dr-*, Morgan writes that word beginning originally with *dr-* may become *tr-* resulting in spirantisation of some initial /d/ forms via initial /t/ to /θ/.¹⁷²

Considering that the possible interchange of *dr-* and *tr-* allows the reading of *dra thrumein* ruled out by Williams, there is room to consider whether these examples

¹⁶⁷ Koch, 2013, 275, 283, & 292.

¹⁶⁸ Morgan, 1952, 379.

¹⁶⁹ GPC, s.v. *tra*².

¹⁷⁰ Williams, 1938, 26, l.641.

¹⁷¹ Williams, 1938, 231.

¹⁷² Morgan, 1952, 460.

predate the levelling of the type of mutation following *tra* from spirantisation to lenition. Were that the case, this instance of spirantisation following *tra* would be a strong candidate for an early feature for dating *ED*. Just how early a date, however, would depend upon a more certain date for the material found in the Book of Aneirin.

2.2.02: Cases of lenition following preverbal particles

The pattern of lenition following the preverbal particles *a* and *yt* is the same across the entire corpus of the scribe's texts. The lenition of /k g b m ɹ/ is consistently marked, while the radical graphemes <p> and <t> are retained, as attested in both the texts of the poems and comparison manuscripts. As in the Section 2.2.01, there does not appear to be useful evidence of chronological dating here, as the pattern of marking lenition is uniform. There are, however, some points of note.

T. J. Morgan notes that in the earliest texts *ry* causes spirantisation to /k p t/ in non-relative clauses.¹⁷³ He goes on to say that if *ry* follows a pattern similar to that of the negative particle *ny*, where spirantisation followed in main clauses, and lenition in relative clauses, then there should be no mutation at all in the early texts of /g b m ɹ/ in initial position in non-relative clauses. However, by the Middle Welsh period lenition was to be expected in every position, in prose at least.¹⁷⁴ This seems to be the case in both the poems and the comparison texts, again meaning the texts display the Middle Welsh norm rather than an earlier pattern. Lenition of /k g m ɹ/ is marked, with the radical <t> retained. One of the two instances of lenited /p/ is marked: in *AP*, the phrase *ryplanassant* (l.85), the radical <p> is retained, however, in the phrase *ry buchaf* in *P* the lenition is marked. The graphic retention of radicals is not found in relative clauses.

Both examples of *ry* in *M* are found as an affirmative particle before a verbal noun, introducing the object of a preceding verb. The context of *ry uynet* is *kanys yno y tebygei ry uynet brutus* ('because he supposed that Brutus had gone there'). The context of *ry lad* is *a dolurya6 yn va6r ry lad y wyr* ('and [he] grieved greatly that his men were killed').

¹⁷³ Morgan, 1952, 365.

¹⁷⁴ Morgan, 1952, 366.

	/k/>/g/ following preverbal particles
AP	a geffyn; a genyn; a gerd; a grebys; a gbynyn; a gynullant; rygedbys (m.c.) -
R	a geunis -
M	a gedernheynt; a gaßssant; a gyfarffo -
CC	a gaffer; a gytyto -
P	a gaffbn; a geffbch; a gerda; a gerych; a getwis; a ggleu; a glywaf; a glywei; a glybhych; a glywy; a golleis; a gymyrth -
H	a gaffer; a geiff; a geiff; a geiff; a gnithyo; a gredir; a gymer; a gymerant; a gytyto -

Table 2.2.02a – Instances of /k/>/g/ following preverbal particles

	/p/>/b/ following preverbal particles
AP	- ryplanhassant (m.c.)
P	- a peris; ry buchbn (m.c.)
H	- a perthyn

Table 2.2.02b – Instances of /p/>/b/ following preverbal particles

	/t/>/d/ following preverbal particles
ED	- a treidbn;
AP	- a talei; a telhyn; ry treghis (m.c.)
CC	- a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a talant; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; ry traethassam (m.c.)
P	- a talho; a talho; a tebygaf; a treulassant; a treulassant; a treulassant; a treulassant
H	- a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a tal; a talhont; a talbys; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; a telir; a tynher; a tyster; a telir; a tal; ry traethassam (m.c.)

Table 2.2.02c – Instances of /t/>/d/ following preverbal particles

	/g>/-/ following preverbal particles
<i>ED</i>	yt wna -
<i>AP</i>	a orolchant; a 6dant; a wnaant; a wnant -
<i>DA</i>	a wna -
<i>EY</i>	rywnel (m.c.) -
<i>M</i>	a ada6ssei; a anet; a elwit; a oruc; a ossodit; a wna; a wnaei; a wnaeth; a wnaeth; a wnaethant; a wnaethant; a wnaethant; a wnaethant; a wnaethant; a wnaethp6yt; a wnelei -
<i>CC</i>	a wnel -
<i>P</i>	a allei; a oruc; a orugant; a orugant; a orugant; a orugant; a weldy; a welei; a welei; a weles; a welhei; a welych; a welych; a welynt; a wel6n; a wnaei; a wnaei; a wnaeth; a wnaethp6yt; a wnaethp6yt; a wnaef; a wnaef; a wnaef; a wnaef; a wneit; a wnelych; a wney -
<i>H</i>	a watto; a watto; a watto; a watto; a wnel; a wnel -

Table 2.2.02d – Instances of /g>/-/ following preverbal particles

The presence of the leniting particle *yt*, here in *ED* and in Table 2.2.02e in the phrase *yt yd* in *AP*, is worthy of note: D. Simon Evans notes that the particle *yt* is earlier than the particle *yd*, which does not cause mutation, and examples of which are found elsewhere within the poems and the comparison texts.¹⁷⁵ Thomas Charles-Edwards has also written on the dating of *yt* and *yd* that “[*yt*] is quite common in the Gogynfeirdd, though not as common as [*yd/y*].”¹⁷⁶ He notes, however, that Bromwich and Evans remark that the particle *yt* is only found in prose in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, which they date to around the year 1100,¹⁷⁷ and in a passage surviving in *Llyfr Blegywryd*.¹⁷⁸ The particle’s leniting presence here, therefore, is likely to be a relic having survived redaction from previous exemplars where *yt* was more commonly found alongside *yd*. The form *yt* appears once in *ED* and twice in *AP*, although only

¹⁷⁵ Evans, 1964, 171 ff.; Schumacher, 2013-4, 158-217.

¹⁷⁶ McLeod, 2010, 50.

¹⁷⁷ Bromwich, 2012, xxvii. This date has been questioned, most recently Rodway has suggested the second half of the twelfth century (Rodway, 2013, 168).

¹⁷⁸ Bromwich, 2012, xxv.

one of those instances is found before a lenitable consonant. *ED* also has one instance of the form *yd*, with the additional stanza from the Black Book of Carmarthen having a further example again, and *AP* has two instances of *yd*. Only the form *yd* is to be found in the comparison texts, twenty-one times in *M*, once in *CC*, sixteen times in *P* and twice in *H*. The presence of *yt* in the poems and its absence in the comparison texts does not, however, indicate an earlier authorship for the poems. Charles-Edwards comments on the presence of *yt* alongside *yd* in the work of the Gogynfeirdd (c. 1100-1300), at a period when it is apparently lost in prose texts. It should be noted that *yt* survives fossilised in the form *ped* (=pe+yt in a later orthography) before vowels and causing lenition to forms of the verb *bod* well into the Modern Welsh period.¹⁷⁹ While it is noteworthy that *yt* survives in the poems yet is absent from the prose texts, this appears to be true for the majority of cases where *yt* is found. There is no distinction in the function of the two particles and Isaac notes that by the Middle Welsh period they had begun to be confused.¹⁸⁰

	/b/>/v/ following preverbal particles
<i>ED</i>	a fein -
<i>AP</i>	a uyd; yt vyd -
<i>DA</i>	a uyd -
<i>M</i>	a uei; a ueichogassei; a uodassant; a uuassei -
<i>CC</i>	a uarn6ys; a ueichocco; a uo -
<i>P</i>	a uu -
<i>H</i>	a ueichocco; a uo; a uo; a uyd; a uyd -

Table 2.2.02e – Instances of /b/>/v/ following preverbal particles

¹⁷⁹ GPC, s.v. *pe*: An example is given of *ped fawn* in the work of Jack Glan-y-Gors in 1795.

¹⁸⁰ Isaac, 1996, 391.

While Ifor Williams equated the form *affein* in *ED* (1.54, not included in the table above) with *a fein* (1.56), this cannot be the case. The form *bein* would be from the 3pl. *beynt*, and therefore not the 3sg. required by the context.¹⁸¹ R. Geraint Gruffydd suggests a more convincing translation of ‘treasure’ for the former.¹⁸² This he interprets as having been borrowed from a lost Old English word for King Offa’s silver penny, via the Old Irish form *affaing*.¹⁸³ An additional reason for doubting Williams’ interpretation is that this would be the only example of <ff> for initial /v/ found in any of the texts in this study (there is also one example of <ff> for final /v/ in *R*).¹⁸⁴

	/d/ > /ð/ following preverbal particles
CC	a ddiwato; a ddiwato; a ddiwato; a diwatto

Table 2.2.02f – Instances of /d/ as <dd> following preverbal particles

As mentioned above in the case of *y ddu6*, <dd> for /ð/ is anomalous.

	/l/ > /l/ following preverbal particles
AP	a lefeir -
M	a ladei; a ladei; ry lad -
CC	a lather; a latho; a losker; a lygr6ys -
P	ry lithra6 (m.c.) -

Table 2.2.02g – Instances of /l/ > /l/ following preverbal particles

	/m/ > /v/ following preverbal particles
M	ry uynet -
P	a venegis; a uynhych; a uynnaf -

Table 2.2.02h – Instances of /m/ > /v/ following preverbal particles

¹⁸¹ Russell, 2003, 131.

¹⁸² Gruffydd, 2005, 99.

¹⁸³ Gruffydd, 2005, 100-1.

¹⁸⁴ Haycock, 2013, 114.

2.2.03: Cases of lenition following pronouns

The pattern of lenition following the pronouns *dy*, *y*, *k6d*, and *p6y/py* is the same across the entire corpus of the scribe's texts. There are three examples of the graphic retention of radicals where the pattern established above would expect lenition: twice of <c>/<k> in *M* and *P*, and once of <g> in *H*, each example being found following *y* in the comparison texts. Morgan notes examples of provection of /g b d/ to /k p t/ following the infixed possessive pronoun *-th*, resulting in no mutation taking place.¹⁸⁵ However, the where *-th* is used in *M* and *P*, it is followed only by radical /k t m l/, thus meaning no comparison may be made.

	/k/>/g/ following pronouns
<i>ED</i>	k6d gygein -
<i>AP</i>	y gilyd; y gilyd; ae gyfnewitwyr; py geissyssant; p6y kynt
<i>EY</i>	y gyfeissor; p6y gynheil -
<i>M</i>	dy ganhat; ath gyfoeth; ae gadarnhau; y getymdeith; y getymdeith; y getymdeith; y getymdeithon; ae getymdeithon; oe getymdeithon; y gladu; y glot; ae glot; y gorn; y gyfeir; oe gyfoetyon; y gyghor; y gyghorwyr; oe gytuarhogyon -
<i>CC</i>	y gar; ae gelu; ae glust; y gna6t; ae guhuda6; ae gychwyn; y gytleidyr; p6y gilyd -
<i>P</i>	oth garant; dy getymdeithon; dy gyfoeth; dy gyfoeth; dy gyfoeth; dy gyfoeth; dy gyfoeth; dy gyghor; dy gyghor; ath gygho [sic]; ath gytuarhogyon; y getymdeith; ae getymdeithon; y glot; y glot; y gyfoeth; y gyfoeth; y gyfoeth; y gyfoeth; ae gyfoeth; ae <u>kyttiryogyon</u>
<i>H</i>	y gar; ae gelu; y genedyl; y genedyl; ae genedyl; y gerenhyd; y getymdeith; y gilyd; ae gilyd; ae glust; y glybot; y gna6t; nae gymryt; nae gymryt; ae gytetiuedyon; ae gytetiuedyon; y gytleidyr -

Table 2.2.03a – Instances of /k/>/g/ following pronouns

The example of *ae kyttiryogyon* in *P* is clearly a contraction of *a* (and) and a possessive pronoun. In context that pronoun is clearly 'his' as others do not fit: *ac y venegi y vot ef yn amdrymu ac yn dynessau ar henaint. ae kyttiryogyon o bybot hynny yn kamteruynu ac ef* ('and to report that he was growing weary and approaching old age, and his neighbours on knowing that were fixing false boundaries with him').

¹⁸⁵ Morgan, 1952, 156-8.

	/p>/b/ following pronouns
<i>M</i>	p6y bynhac -
<i>CC</i>	- y prynu
<i>H</i>	- y pen; oe pen; y penkenedyl; y prynu; py bryt

Table 2.2.03b – Instances of /p>/b/ following pronouns

	/t>/d/ following pronouns
<i>AP</i>	- py treiglynt
<i>M</i>	- yth teyrmas; dy trugared
<i>CC</i>	- y tref; y tat; ae tir; y troet; ae troet
<i>P</i>	- dy teruynau
<i>H</i>	- y tat; y tat; y tat; y tat; ae tat; y tref; ae troet; ae tr6yn

Table 2.2.03c – Instances of /t>/d/ following pronouns

	/g>/-/ following pronouns
<i>EY</i>	oe wironyn; p6y g6ahard6y
<i>M</i>	y allu; y allu; y allu; y wyr; py wed -
<i>CC</i>	y eir; y odef; y odef; y werth; ae weus -
<i>P</i>	dy wyr; y wreic; ae wreic; y wyr; y wyrda; ae wyrda -
<i>H</i>	y alanas; ae alanas; y eir; y eir; y odef; y odef; y orhenuam; y orhentat; y werth; ae weus; y wreic; y g6allt

Table 2.2.03d – Instances of /g>/-/ following pronouns

The example of *y g6allt* in *H*, as well as being a possessive pronoun, could be the article. In context, however, it is found in the same position as possessive pronouns, one of which causes lenition: *a cheinha6c dros pop blewyn bonwyn a tynher oe pen. a cheinha6c dros pop bys a el yn y pen. a phedeir ar hugeint dros y g6allt taldr6ch. dewisset pa6b y vreint* ('and a penny for each white-rooted hair which may be pulled from his head, and a penny for each finger which should go into his head, and twenty-four for his cropped hair, let each choose his value'). It seems most likely therefore that this example is of a masculine possessive pronoun.

	/b/>/v/ following pronouns
<i>AP</i>	c6d vyd; py vro -
<i>M</i>	dy uuched; noe uodi; ae vot; y ura6t; y vra6t; oe vra6t; y vron; ae vydin -
<i>CC</i>	oe uod; y ureint; y uugeilyaeth -
<i>P</i>	dy vron; ae vod; y uot; y vot; y vot; p6y vei -
<i>H</i>	y varn6ys; oe vod; y uot; y uot; y vot; y vreint; y vreint; ae vrodyr; ae vrodyr; y vron; y uugeilyaeth -

Table 2.2.03e – Instances of /b/>/v/ following pronouns

	/l/>/l/ following pronouns
<i>DA</i>	y luyd -
<i>M</i>	y lad; y lu; ae lu; oe lu -
<i>CC</i>	y lad; y lad; y la6; y la6; ae lygat -
<i>P</i>	yth la6; oe la6; y lys; y lys; y lys; y lys -
<i>H</i>	y lad; y lad; y la6; oe le; y l6; ae lygat; py le -

Table 2.2.03f – Instances of /l/>/l/ following pronouns

	/m/>/v/ following pronouns
<i>ED</i>	y vynet -
<i>AP</i>	- p6y <u>meint</u>
<i>EY</i>	y vod -
<i>M</i>	dy vedyant; y uab; y uam; y vam; y vam; y vam; y vam; y uar6olaeth; ae vil6ryaeth -
<i>CC</i>	y uam; y uechniaeth -
<i>P</i>	dy varch; oth ved6l; dy vynet; dy vynni; y vab; y vam; y varch; varch; y varch; y varch; y ved6l; oe veicheu -
<i>H</i>	ae vam; y vam; ae vam; y uechniaeth -

Table 2.2.03g – Instances of /m/>/v/ following pronouns

2.2.04: Cases of lenition following the article

The pattern of lenition of singular feminine nouns following the article is the same across the entire corpus of the scribe's texts. The lenition of /k g b m l/ is consistently marked, while the radical graphemes <p> and <t> are retained. This pattern is attested in both the texts of the poems and comparison manuscripts.

	/k/>/g/ following the article
<i>ED</i>	y gell -
<i>AP</i>	yr gat -
<i>R</i>	y gath -
<i>M</i>	y genedyl; y genedyl; y genedyl -
<i>CC</i>	y gaer; y gennad6ri -
<i>H</i>	y gaeth; y gaeth; y getymdeithas -

Table 2.2.04a – Instances of /k/>/g/ following the article

The form *yr* in the phrase *yr gat* in *AP* should not be confused with the form of the article *yr* which is found before initial vowels. Rather, it is a contraction of the article and another preceding part of speech ending in a vowel. Here, the preceding word is the preposition *y*.

	/t/>/d/ following the article
<i>AP</i>	- y <u>tr</u> eth; y <u>tr</u> inda6t
<i>P</i>	- y <u>te</u> yrnas; y <u>te</u> yrnas; y <u>tr</u> yded nos
<i>H</i>	- y <u>tr</u> oet; ar <u>tr</u> yded; y <u>ty</u> stolyaeth

Table 2.2.04b – Instances of /t/>/d/ following the article

It is interesting to note that while the general orthographical pattern is not to mark the lenition of /t/, four of the nouns where that lenition is not marked in the table above,

trinda6t in *AP*, *teyrnas* in *P*, and *troet* and *tystolyaeth* in *H* are given as occurring also as masculine by *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*.¹⁸⁶

	/g/>/-/ following the article
<i>AP</i>	or wlat -
<i>EY</i>	y wlat -
<i>M</i>	y wed; y wed; y wed; y wed; y lan -
<i>P</i>	y lan; yr ol6c; y wisc; ar wreic -
<i>H</i>	yr alanas; or alanas -

Table 2.2.04c – Instances of /g/>/-/ following the article

As in Table 2.2.04a, the form *or* in the phrase *or wlat* in *AP* is a contraction of the article and another preceding part of speech ending in a vowel. Here, the preceding word is the preposition *o*.

	/b/>/v/ following the article
<i>M</i>	y uudugolyaeth -
<i>H</i>	y varn; y ua6t -

Table 2.2.04d – Instances of /b/>/v/ following the article

	/m/>/v/ following the article
<i>EY</i>	y varanres -
<i>M</i>	y uor6yn; y uor6yn; yr uor6yn -
<i>P</i>	y uor6yn; y uor6yn; y uor6yn; y uor6yn; y uor6yn; y vor6yn; y vor6yn; y vor6yn; y vor6yn; y vor6yn; ar vor6yn; ar vor6yn; ar vor6yn; yr uor6yn -
<i>H</i>	ar vam; y uor6yn -

Table 2.2.04e – Instances of /m/>/v/ following the article

¹⁸⁶ GPC, s.v. *trindod*, *teyrnas*, *troed*, *tystiolaeth*.

2.2.05: Cases of lenition following conjunctions

The pattern of lenition following the conjunctions *neu*, *pan*, *tra*, and *hyny* is the same across the entire corpus of the scribe's texts. The lenition of /k g b m l/ is consistently marked. The radical graphemes <p> and <t> are retained in most cases, although there are two apparent instances of marked lenition of /t/ in *CC* and *H* following *neu*, both of *neu dros*. The initial consonants of unstressed prepositions, however, may be subject to lenition, thus *dros* can be treated as a radical form, and so no special significance should be read into the replacement of the radical <t> here.¹⁸⁷

	/k/>/g/ following conjunctions
ED	pan gatt6yf -
M	pan genhettych; pan glywynt -
CC	neu gyghella6r; neu gyghella6r; neu gyrch; pan gyfriuer -
P	yny gyfoethoges -
H	neu gefynder6; neu glaf6r; neu gyferder6; neu gyghella6r; neu gyghella6r; neu gyrch; pan gyfriffer -

Table 2.2.05a – Instances of /k/>/g/ following conjunctions

	/p/>/b/ following conjunctions
AP	- pan prynassant
CC	- neu penkenedyl

Table 2.2.05b – Instances of /p/>/b/ following conjunctions

	/t/>/d/ following conjunctions
AP	- pan t̄alhont
CC	neu dros; neu t̄alet; neu t̄orri
P	- yny tyrr
H	neu dros; neu t̄orri; neu t̄alet

Table 2.2.05c – Instances of /t/>/d/ following conjunctions

¹⁸⁷ Morgan, 1952, 451.

	/g>/-/ following conjunctions
<i>ED</i>	pan wna -
<i>R</i>	pan welych -
<i>M</i>	pan welas -
<i>P</i>	yny orffei; hyny wneler; hyny 6yp6n; hyny 6ypych -

Table 2.2.05d – Instances of /g>/-/ following conjunctions

	/b/>/v/ following conjunctions
<i>ED</i>	hyny u6yf -
<i>AP</i>	neu vreint; pan uyd -
<i>R</i>	pan vo -
<i>EY</i>	tra u6yf -
<i>M</i>	pan uo; tra uei; hyny uydnt -
<i>CC</i>	neu uurdd6rn -
<i>P</i>	tra uu; hyny vyd; yny vyd -
<i>H</i>	neu uurd6rn -

Table 2.2.05e – Instances of /b/>/v/ following conjunctions

	/h/>/l/ following conjunctions
<i>CC</i>	pan lather -
<i>H</i>	pan lather -

Table 2.2.05f – Instances of /h/>/l/ following conjunctions

	/m/>/v/ following conjunctions
<i>H</i>	neu vab; neu vam; neu uut -

Table 2.2.05g – Instances of /m/>/v/ following conjunctions

2.2.06: Cases of lenition following cardinal numbers

The pattern of lenition following the cardinal numbers *vn*, *deu*, *d6y*, *seith*, and *na6* is the same across the entire corpus of the scribe’s texts. Any exceptions to the general pattern of marked lenition as established above are discussed below.

Lenition is only to be expected after the cardinal number *vn* when the following noun is feminine, and it is marked in all examples of lenitable consonants in initial position, other than *vn punt* in *CC*. There are further examples in both the poems and comparison texts of *vn* causing lenition to masculine nouns, however, in those cases lenition is due to *vn* being an adjective meaning “of the same ...”, rather than the numeral one and so they are listed with preposed adjectives.¹⁸⁸

	/k/>/g/ following cardinal numbers
<i>AP</i>	deu geda6l -
<i>CC</i>	- deu ǵanh6r
<i>H</i>	- deu ǵanh6r

Table 2.2.06a – Instances of /k/>/g/ following cardinal numbers

Radical <c> in *CC* and *H* is not retained in the poem texts. While noting the general rule that lenition occurs following *dau* in words with both loose or tight stress, T. J. Morgan makes special note that certain words do not lenite following *dau* in contexts where the numeral does not lenite following the article.¹⁸⁹ He suggests that these might be old neuter forms surviving as remnants from Brythonic.

	/p/>/b/ following cardinal numbers
<i>CC</i>	- vn ǵunt (fem.); seith ǵunt
<i>H</i>	- seith ǵunt

Table 2.2.06b – Instances of /p/>/b/ following cardinal numbers

¹⁸⁸ Haycock, 2013, gives the translation ‘unanimously’ for *vn eir*, p.115.

¹⁸⁹ Morgan, 1952, 131.

	/g>/-/ following cardinal numbers
<i>AP</i>	deu orsegyn; seith weith -
<i>R</i>	vn redyf (fem.) -
<i>CC</i>	deu 6r -
<i>H</i>	vn wreic (fem.); deu 6r; seith rad; na6 rad -

Table 2.2.06c – Instances of /g>/-/ following cardinal numbers

The examples of *na6 wyr* in *M* and *CC* contain lenition of /gw/, which is noted as a special case by Richard Glyn Roberts and T. J. Morgan.¹⁹⁰ Morgan also notes that the form *na6 rad*, as attested in *H*, may be analogical, based on the incorrect division of *dengradd* as *deng-radd*.¹⁹¹ This latter example could also hold true in the case of *seith rad* in *H*. If this was the case, all of the examples of marked lenition after both *seith* and *na6*, which as stated under Table 2.2.8f should cause nasalisation historically, could be explained as an extension of the patterns of other cardinal numbers that cause lenition. Unlike *seith*, there are examples in the texts of this study of *na6* causing nasalisation, which will be looked at in detail later in the chapter.

	/b>/v/ following cardinal numbers
<i>P</i>	d6y vreich; d6y vron -

Table 2.2.06d – Instances of /b>/v/ following cardinal numbers

	/l>/l/ following cardinal numbers
<i>R</i>	deu lu -

Table 2.2.06e – Instances of /l>/l/ following cardinal numbers

¹⁹⁰ Roberts, 2012, 33-47; Morgan, 1952, 136.

¹⁹¹ Morgan, 1952, 137.

	/m/>/v/ following cardinal numbers
<i>DA</i>	- seith <u>meib</u>
<i>M</i>	na6 wyr; seith <u>mil</u>
<i>CC</i>	deu vab; deu vanach; d6y uu; d6y uu; na6 wyr -
<i>P</i>	vn vor6yn (fem.); deu varch -
<i>H</i>	deu vab; deu vanach -

Table 2.2.06f – Instances of /m/>/v/ following cardinal numbers

Etymologically both *seith* and *na6* should cause nasalisation, *seith* < **sextan* and *na6* < **nauan*. T. J. Morgan notes, however, that *seith* caused lenition in Middle Welsh.¹⁹² Morgan explains that provection following *-th* often means no lenition takes place.¹⁹³ Morgan states that nouns beginning with /m/ do not lenite following *saith*, although he does tentatively cite an example of this lenition in the phrase *saeth fain dros y saith fynydd*. He does, however, question whether this is an example of the numeral *saith*, perhaps due to its proximity to the form *saeth*.¹⁹⁴ It is interesting to note, in the case of *meib* in *DA*, that it is a plural following a cardinal number, and that similar examples given by Richard Glyn Roberts show lenition to other lenitable consonants, but not to /m/.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Morgan, 1952, 134.

¹⁹³ Morgan, 1952, 135.

¹⁹⁴ Morgan, 1952, 135.

¹⁹⁵ Roberts, 2012, 40.

2.2.07: Cases of lenition following preposed adjectives

The pattern of lenition following preposed adjectives is the same across the entire corpus of the scribe's texts. While the marking of the lenition of /h/ is less frequent than in other positions, examples are attested in both the poems and comparison texts.

	/k/>/g/ following preposed adjectives
<i>ED</i>	adu6yn gaer; adu6yn gaer; adu6yn gaer; adu6yn gaer; adu6yn gaer; adu6yn gaer; goreu <u>ki</u> wet
<i>AP</i>	mynnynh gennadeu; vn gor; vn g6ssyl; la6 gyghor; vn gyghor; vn gyghor; kadyr gyweithyd; pryda6 gyweithyd -
<i>EY</i>	kadarn gyfed; katarn gygres; cu <u>k</u> ynaeth6y
<i>M</i>	vrenhina6l genedyl; vrenhinya6l gyfoeth; holl gynnulleitua -
<i>P</i>	amryfalyon gerdeu; holl gyfoeth -
<i>H</i>	vn gymeint -

Table 2.2.07a – Instances of /k/>/g/ following preposed adjectives

The grapheme <k> is attested twice in word-initial position following a preposed adjective, once in *ED* and once in *EY*. The example in *ED*, *goreu kiwet* (l.26), can be explained by an established pattern that preposed superlatives do not cause lenition.¹⁹⁶

The example in *EY*, *cu kynaethwy* (l.15), would be noteworthy as the only such unexplained example of the graphic retention of radical <k>/<c> for /k/>/g/ in sixteen instances following adjectives across the texts. R. Geraint Gruffydd, however, credibly emends *kynaeth6y* here to *kyn aethyw* on the basis of internal rhyme, with a translation of “beloved was he before he departed”,¹⁹⁷ and so both cases of the retained radical grapheme are explained.

¹⁹⁶ Morgan, 1952, 52.

¹⁹⁷ Gruffydd, 1999, 45.

	/p/ > /b/ following preposed adjectives
<i>DA</i>	- diwed <u>p</u> lo
<i>EY</i>	dragana6l ben; prioda6r <u>p</u> erchen

Table 2.2.07b – Instances of /p/ > /b/ following preposed adjectives

In contrast to patterns seen elsewhere, in this position the lenition of /p/ is marked in one of the three instances across the texts, in the phrase *dragana6l ben* (1.20) in *EY*. There does not appear to be a reason for change from the usual pattern of the graphic retention of radical <p> to mark that lenition in this position.

	/t/ > /d/ following preposed adjectives
<i>M</i>	- hen <u>t</u> eilygda6t

Table 2.2.07c – Instances of /t/ > /d/ following preposed adjectives

	/g/ > /-/ following preposed adjectives
<i>ED</i>	p6yllua6r wofri; ?ma6r 6rhydri; gorwen <u>g</u> 6ylan
<i>AP</i>	ma6r watwar; ma6r wira6t; ma6r wira6t; llia6s <u>g</u> 6lat
<i>R</i>	vn eir; brys <u>g</u> orchordyon
<i>M</i>	ledrada6l odineb -
<i>CC</i>	vn werth -
<i>P</i>	dirua6r oruoled; didla6t wassanaeth; amryfal wiroweud; holl wiscoed; holl wraged; oll wraged; holl wyrda -
<i>H</i>	holl radeu; vn werth -

Table 2.2.07d – Instances of /g/ > /-/ following preposed adjectives

Radical <g> is retained in *ED*, *AP*, and *R*. The example in *ED*, *gorwen g6ylan* (1.35), is interpreted by Ifor Williams as an elided copula construction, translated as “pure is the white sea-gull”,¹⁹⁸ which would account for a lack of lenition here. There are, however, further cases as will be seen below, where the radical is retained due to consonance of the initial consonants of the adjective and following noun. In this case consonance would be even greater in an underlying form, **gworwen gwylan*. In the

¹⁹⁸ Williams, 1972b, 165.

case of the second example, *llia6s g6lat* (1.128) in *AP*, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* notes that *lliaws* is not an adjective in every case, sometimes operating as a noun, and that even as an adjective often it does not cause lenition to the following consonant.¹⁹⁹ If, from context, it is taken to be an adjective here, T. J. Morgan notes that *lliaws* does cause lenition in some fourteenth century examples.²⁰⁰ The reason for the graphic retention of the radical in the third example, *brys gorchordyon* (1.3) in *R*, is not clear. Haycock notes examples from other scribes where lenition to *gorchordyon* is marked in the same position following preposed adjectives.²⁰¹

	/b/>/v/ following preposed adjectives
<i>AP</i>	dirua6r vydina6r -
<i>DA</i>	g6lat wehyn vargotyon -
<i>M</i>	sa6l ul6ydynded -

Table 2.2.07e – Instances of /b/>/v/ following preposed adjectives

	/l/>/l/ following preposed adjectives
<i>ED</i>	- llydan <u>l</u> lyn; deruin <u>l</u> lan
<i>AP</i>	geu luyd; pryda6 luyd; llawen <u>l</u> lafar; llym llifeit <u>l</u> lafna6r; llia6s <u>l</u> a6
<i>M</i>	ry6 lythyr -
<i>P</i>	- thec <u>l</u> ludyas

Table 2.2.07f – Instances of /l/>/l/ following preposed adjectives

The pattern of the lenition of /l/ following adjectives is unusual when compared to the patterns seen elsewhere, in that radical <ll> is generally retained. Out of nine instances where /l/ could be lenited, it is only marked in three: *pryda6 luyd* (1.153) and *geu luyd* (1.124) in *AP*, and *ry6 lythyr* in *M*. In the remaining six instances in *ED*, *AP*, and *P* radical <ll> is retained. It is interesting to note that even when excluding *llia6s*

¹⁹⁹ GPC, s.v. *lliaws*.

²⁰⁰ Morgan, 1952, 94.

²⁰¹ Haycock, 2013, 114.

lla6 (1.120), for reasons stated above about lenition following *llia6s*, the majority of instances where radical <ll> is retained display consonance, as was seen earlier in the case of *gorwen gbylan*. The remaining examples are *llydan llyn* (1.11) and *deruin llan* (1.31) in *ED* and *llawen llafar* (1.185) in *AP*, the graphic retention of radical <ll> in which may be due to the presence of /n/ before the /l/,²⁰² and *thec lludyas* in *P*, which is unexplained.

	/m/>/v/ following preposed adjectives
AP	ymdifeit veibon -

Table 2.2.07g – Instances of /m/>/v/ following preposed adjectives

²⁰² Jackson, 1953, 475; Morgan, 1952, 27-9.

2.2.08: Cases of lenition following feminine nouns

The pattern of lenition in adjectives following feminine nouns is the same across the entire corpus of the scribe's texts. There are exceptions to the general pattern seen elsewhere in some instances of the lenition of /k/.

	/k/>/g/ following feminine nouns
<i>ED</i>	nef gytlef -
<i>M</i>	- kyflauan <u>k</u> ymeint
<i>CC</i>	- gureic <u>k</u> aeth; gureic <u>k</u> aeth
<i>P</i>	uor6yn glotuoraf; mil6ryaeth <u>k</u> ymeint
<i>H</i>	- g6reic <u>k</u> aeth; g6reic <u>k</u> aeth; g6reic <u>k</u> aeth

Table 2.2.08a – Instances of /k/>/g/ following feminine nouns

The lack of lenition in the phrases *kyflauan kymeint* and *mil6ryaeth kymeint* in *M* and *P* is explained by the fact that the equative degree of an adjective resists lenition, meaning that there is no lenition to be represented.²⁰³ The remaining five instances of *gureic kaeth* and *g6reic kaeth* in *CC* and *H* can either be understood as ‘a female slave’ or as the genitive construction, ‘the wife of a slave’. While the former seems a more likely translation, and was favoured by Meinir Elin Harris in her PhD thesis,²⁰⁴ lenition is to be expected in either case, as the possessive noun is lenited in genitive constructions in normal word order following a feminine noun.²⁰⁵ The lack of lenition in these examples is explained by provection due to contact between the final /g/ of the noun and the lenited initial /g/ of the adjective.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ Morgan, 1952, 260.

²⁰⁴ Harris, 2003, 95.

²⁰⁵ Morgan, 1952, 32 & 101; GPC, s.v. *caeth*.

²⁰⁶ Morgan, 1952, 61.

	/g/>/-/ following feminine nouns
ED	clot wascar -
DA	g6lat wehyn -
P	wisc waethaf; ol6c wedeidl6ys; ystauell wydrin; vor6yn 6ympach -

Table 2.2.08b – Instances of /g/>/-/ following feminine nouns

	/b/>/v/ following feminine nouns
AP	gath vreith -
DA	g6lat uer6 -

Table 2.2.08c – Instances of /b/>/v/ following feminine nouns

	/l/>/l/ following feminine nouns
P	hynt l6ydyanus -

Table 2.2.08d – Instances of /l/>/l/ following feminine nouns

2.2.09: Cases of lenition in copula constructions

T. J. Morgan notes that forms of the copula are lenited when following their complement in the central position between it and the subject.²⁰⁷ This case is notable for the utter consistency of marked lenition. In each case the lenition of word-initial /b/ in forms of the verb *bod* is marked by <u>/<v>.

	/b/>/v/ in copula constructions
<i>AP</i>	atporyon uyd; s6ynedic uyd -
<i>M</i>	bl6g uu; ha6d uu; kymeint uu -
<i>CC</i>	coet6r uyd; Kymro ... uyd; guir vyd; kyhyt ... vyd; g6r breyr uyd; hanhera6c uyd; hanhera6c uyd; hanhera6c uyd -
<i>P</i>	Canmoledic uu; llawen uu; vn or petheu ae deffroes ef uu -
<i>H</i>	koet6r vyd; credad6y uyd; kymro ... vyd; g6arthech uyd; g6eniga6l uyd; g6reiga6c uyd; hanhera6c uyd; hanhera6c uyd; hanhera6c uyd; heuyt uyd; hugeint vyd -

Table 2.2.09 – Instances of /b/>/v/ in copula constructions

2.2.10: Cases of lenition following the vocative particle

Lenition after the vocative particle is only found in the two comparison texts shown below.

	/g/>/-/ following the vocative particle
<i>M</i>	ha 6r -
<i>P</i>	a 6r; a 6rda -

Table 2.2.10 – Instances of /g/>/-/ following the vocative particle

²⁰⁷ Morgan, 1952, 271.

2.2.11: Cases of lenition in adverbs

Describing Modern Welsh, Peter Wynn Thomas notes that whether the initial consonant of an adverb is lenited or not is dependent on its position within a clause; he states that an archaic style would not have lenition when the adverb comes at the start of the clause.²⁰⁸

	/k/>/g/ in adverbs
<i>AP</i>	gynt -
<i>CC</i>	gynt -
<i>P</i>	gynneu; gynt -
<i>H</i>	gynt -

Table 2.2.11a – Instances of /k/>/g/ in adverbs

The five examples in the table above are found at the end their clauses.

	/p/>/b/ in adverbs
<i>AP</i>	beunyð; peunyð

Table 2.2.11b – Instances of /p/>/b/ in adverbs

The two examples in the table above are found at the end of their clauses. Most of the examples of graphic retention of the radical in adverbs are of <p> and <t>, as expected, however, *AP* features an example of marked lenition from <p> in *beunyð* (1.111) alongside the retained radical <p> in *peunyð* (1.191).

	/t/>/d/ in adverbs
<i>M</i>	- tranoeth
<i>P</i>	- Trannoeth; tranoeth; tranoeth; trachefyn; trachefyn

Table 2.2.11c – Instances of /t/>/d/ in adverbs

The examples in the table above are found in the following positions in their clauses:

M – *tranoeth* (end); *P* – *Trannoeth* (start), *tranoeth* (start), *tranoeth* (start), *trachefyn*

²⁰⁸ Thomas, 1996, 431-2.

(end), *trachefyn* (end). As stated above, Peter Wynn Thomas states that an archaic style would not have lenition when the adverb comes at the start of the clause.²⁰⁹

	/g/>/-/ in adverbs
<i>P</i>	weithon -

Table 2.2.11d – Instances of /g/>/-/ in adverbs

	/m/>/v/ in adverbs
<i>EY</i>	- <u>m</u> einoeth tymor

Table 2.2.11e – Instances of /m/>/v/ in adverbs

The example in the table above is found at the end of its clause. The graphic retention of radical <m> in *EY* is unexplained.

²⁰⁹ Thomas, 1996, 431-2.

2.2.12: Cases of lenition in the subject of leniting verbs (with direct contact)

T. J. Morgan lists the verbal forms after which lenition of the subject should be expected in Middle Welsh as follows: after 3sg. imp. *-ai*, after 3sg. plup. *-asai*, after forms such as *gwybu*, *dyfu*, and after *cigleu*.²¹⁰ As the tables below show, the forms *oed* and *-hwynt* may also be added to this list. The lenition of initial consonants belonging to the subjects of verbs is found after the following verbal forms: the 3sg. imperfect indicative, e.g. *oed*, and *-ei*, 3sg. preterite of *bod* and its compounds, eg. *bu* and *dyfu*, and the 3pl. present subjunctive, *-(h)wynt*.

	/k/>/g/ in subject of a leniting verb (direct contact)
ED	bu goscor; bu <u>k</u> erd
AP	safh6ynt galaned; safh6ynt galaned; dyfu gatwalla6n; rydrychaf6ynt gymry; ymgetwynt gymry; b6ynt <u>k</u> ychmyn; dygorfu <u>k</u> ymry; d6gorfu <u>k</u> ymry
EY	- oed <u>k</u> yghor

Table 2.2.12a – Instances of /k/>/g/ in the subject of a leniting verb (with direct contact)

It should be noted that the marking of the lenition in the example in *ED*, *bu goscor* (1.15), is ambiguous as both *cosgor* and *gosgor* may occur as radical forms, however, the latter is historically correct coming from **gwoſgordd* < *gwos-* + *cor(dd)*.²¹¹ The examples of retained radical <k> in *ED*, *AP*, and *EY* are unexplained.

	/t/>/d/ in subject of leniting verb (direct contact)
M	- oed <u>t</u> eruyneu

Table 2.2.12b – Instances of /t/>/d/ in the subject of a leniting verb (with direct contact)

²¹⁰ Morgan, 1952, 183.

²¹¹ GPC, s.v. *cosgordd*, *gosgordd*.

	/g/ > /-/ in subject of leniting verb (direct contact)
<i>AP</i>	atchwel6ynt 6ydyl -
<i>EY</i>	ny bu werthuor -
<i>M</i>	ladei wyr; oed wyr; oed wyr; oed wyr -
<i>P</i>	oed wely; oed wenhwyuar; delei. Ereint; deuei. Ereint; oed <u>g</u> oreug6yr

Table 2.2.12c – Instances of /g/ > /-/ in the subject of a leniting verb (with direct contact)

The retained radical in *P* is unexplained.

	/b/ > /v/ in subject of leniting verb (direct contact)
<i>M</i>	- elhei <u>b</u> rutus

Table 2.2.12d – Instances of /b/ > /v/ in the subject of a leniting verb (direct contact)

The retained radical in *M* is unexplained.

2.2.13: Cases of lenition in the direct object of leniting verbs (with direct contact)

Morgan notes that lenition of the direct object is expected.²¹² Looking at the many examples above of the graphic retention of radicals in positions where lenition would be expected in the case of subject lenition, a similar examination of the appropriate positions for direct object lenition reveals far fewer instances of similarly retained radical graphemes. It is noteworthy that the graphic retention of radicals is rarer in the case of direct object lenition than in the case of subject lenition. Morgan writes that the use of lenition to differentiate grammatically between the subject and direct object was only perfectly regularised by the early Modern Welsh scholars of the sixteenth century, but that tendencies towards the later pattern had been emerging long before that period.²¹³ He points to a possible reason for this in that only one of six persons of the verb can have a noun as its subject, whereas all six persons may take a noun as their direct object. A consistent tendency towards object lenition and less frequent subject lenition, as found in the texts of X86, would place the final redaction of the texts of this study at one chronological point, if Morgan is correct in stating that the modern system was long in developing. If the poems and comparison texts do date from a wide period of original composition, then this redaction to a later norm would be a clear sign of modernisation, and gives evidence for the practice of X86 as a modernising scribe.

²¹² Morgan, 1952, 184.

²¹³ Morgan, 1952, 192-3.

	/k/>/g/ in direct object of a leniting verb (direct contact)
AP	dychyrch6ynt gyfarth -
EY	hut6yt geluyd -
M	- wnelei kyflauan
CC	talet g6byl; par gyweira6 -

Table 2.2.13a – Instances of /k/>/g/ in the direct object of a leniting verb (with direct contact)

Firstly, it should be noted that the example of *hut6yt geluyd* (l.10) in *EY* is emended to *hutynt* by Ifor Williams, who suggests that the mistake arose from a miscopying of Old Welsh *hutint* in an earlier exemplar, via a misreading of something like **hituit*.²¹⁴ He is followed in this reading by R. Geraint Gruffydd.²¹⁵ This would mean that the leniting form in question is a 3pl. imperfect indicative, rather than an impersonal preterite. This misreading may be a datable feature, as will be explored in Chapter 4.

	/p/>/b/ in direct object of leniting verb (direct contact)
P	wydyat beth; buch6n peri; 6yp6n p6y

Table 2.2.13b – Instances of /p/>/b/ in the direct object of a leniting verb (with direct contact)

	/t/>/d/ in direct object of leniting verb (direct contact)
M	- mynaf t6ylla6

Table 2.2.13c – Instances of /t/>/d/ in the direct object of a leniting verb

	/g/>/-/ in direct object of leniting verb (direct contact)
ED	ny llafaraf eu -
R	pan welych wyr -
EY	erdygna6t wir; lleweis wira6t -
M	kaffwyf wneuthur -
P	g6el6n ereint; welei ol6c; kymer 6ryogaeth -
H	talhont alanas -

Table 2.2.13d – Instances of /g/>/-/ in the direct object of a leniting verb (with direct contact)

²¹⁴ Williams, 1972b, 174-6.

²¹⁵ Gruffydd, 1999, 44.

	/b/>/v/ in direct object of leniting verb (direct contact)
<i>P</i>	dalhei vot -

Table 2.2.13e – Instances of /b/>/v/ in the direct object of a leniting verb (with direct contact)

	/l/>/l/ in direct object of leniting verb (direct contact)
<i>AP</i>	na cheiss6ynt lyfra6r; r6ycca6t lluyd
<i>CC</i>	rodet l6; rodet l6 -
<i>H</i>	rodet l6; rodet l6; rodet l6; rodet l6 -

Table 2.2.13f – Instances of /l/>/l/ in the direct object of a leniting verb (with direct contact)

The retained radical in *AP* is unexplained.

2.2.14: Cases of lenition in the complement following a copula

In contrast to the patterns seen in the marking of lenition to the subject and object of verbs, following a copula a clear difference emerges if each text is examined individually. *ED*, *AP*, and *R* all each contain one example of marked lenition of the complement of the copula, and one where the radical grapheme is retained (<t> in *ED* and *R*, and <k> in *AP*); *EY* contains four examples, two again being from <t>, yet of the remaining lenited /k b/ only /b/ > /v/ is marked, in the phrase *u6yfuy6*; in *M* five of the seven examples are marked, with <t> accounting for the examples where the radical grapheme is retained, and interestingly including /p/ > /b/ in the phrase *oed borthach*; the radical graphemes are retained in all five of the examples in *CC*; *P* only marks one example, with examples of the graphic retention of radical <c> and <k>; and *H* only marks three of its six examples, with examples of the graphic retention of radical <t>, , and <m>.

While the poems, with the exceptions of the graphic retention of radical <k> in *AP* and <c> *EY*, mark lenition in all instances where it would be expected according to the patterns established above, three of the four comparison texts are very sparing in their marking of lenition in this position. Imagining that the scribe was consciously emending texts while copying, and in so doing introducing marked lenition, the regularity seen in the poems in contrast to the pattern seen in the comparison texts suggests that he was conscious of the need to make such changes when he copied the poems in a way he was not when copying the comparison manuscripts. If this is true more generally than only in this specific position, then it may be that he made similar changes to the marking of lenition in other positions in the poems while being less thorough with the comparison texts.

	/k/>/g/ in complement following copula
<i>AP</i>	- poet <u>k</u> ynt
<i>R</i>	bydant gysson -
<i>EY</i>	- ny bu <u>c</u> lyt
<i>M</i>	oed garedic -
<i>P</i>	- oed <u>c</u> lotua6r; byd <u>k</u> yn
<i>H</i>	bei gyfranna6c -

Table 2.2.14a – Instances of /k/>/g/ in the complement following a copula

	/p/>/b/ in complement following copula
<i>M</i>	oed borthach -
<i>CC</i>	- byd <u>p</u> etrus

Table 2.2.14b – Instances of /p/>/b/ in the complement following a copula

	/t/>/d/ in complement following copula
<i>ED</i>	- hyny u6yf <u>t</u> aua6t
<i>R</i>	- pan vo <u>t</u> r6m
<i>EY</i>	- na b6yf <u>t</u> rist; b6yf <u>t</u> rist
<i>M</i>	- oed <u>t</u> eil6g; oed <u>t</u> eil6ng
<i>H</i>	- kanyt <u>t</u> eil6ng bot

Table 2.2.14c – Instances of /t/>/d/ in the complement following a copula

	/g/>/-/ in complement following copula
<i>AP</i>	yssyd 6r -
<i>CC</i>	- bei <u>g</u> uir dyn

Table 2.2.14d – Instances of /g/>/-/ in the complement following a copula

	/b/>/v/ in complement following copula
<i>EY</i>	u6yf uy6 -
<i>M</i>	bu var6; bu var6; udynt uri6edic -
<i>CC</i>	- uyd <u>h</u> onhedic; uyd <u>h</u> onhedic
<i>H</i>	- vyd <u>h</u> onhedic

Table 2.2.14e – Instances of /b/>/v/ in the complement following a copula

	/l/>/l/ in complement following copula
<i>ED</i>	bit lawen -
<i>R</i>	nyt oed l6yr -
<i>P</i>	oed lei -

Table 2.2.14f – Instances of /l/>/l/ in the complement following a copula

	/m/>/v/ in complement following copula
<i>CC</i>	- bu <u>m</u> ar6
<i>H</i>	oed uor6yn; oed vor6yn; byd <u>m</u> ar6

Table 2.2.14g – Instances of /m/>/v/ in the complement following a copula

2.2.15: Cases of lenition in the direct object of leniting verbs (without direct contact)

This position is an extension of the discussion above of direct object lenition. The example of the graphic retention of the radical found in *AP* retains consonance at the expense of the lenition. In the case of the comparison texts, however, each text contains at least one example of marked lenition in a position where the direct object is separated from its verb. In *M* this is in the phrase *anuones brutus lythyr*.

The scarcity of examples from the poems makes proper comparison impossible. Were more examples such as the retained radical <c> in *AP* available in the poems' texts, however, then any difference between the graphic retention of radicals in this position in the poems and marked lenition in the comparison texts could have suggested a change of orthographical or even phonological norm at some point in the transmission of poems before the transmission history of the comparison texts began. However, it is impossible to establish this due to the small number of examples available.

In *ED* and *P* there are three examples where a direct object is separated from its verb by a subject pronoun. The use of pronouns in texts of *Hengerdd* may have been down to scribal whim, and so these examples have been marked as containing a pronoun in the tables below.²¹⁶ However, within the context of the wider marking of lenition in this position a pattern may be emerging of consistent marking of lenition in this position whether or not the pronoun is used.

²¹⁶ Isaac, 1998, 64, n.25.

	/k/>/g/ in direct object of leniting verb (without direct contact)
<i>AP</i>	- arbett6y car <u>corff</u>
<i>R</i>	nyt di6ystyl godi -
<i>CC</i>	allo kenedyl gymhell -
<i>P</i>	oes dim gassach -
<i>H</i>	tal pop vn gymeint; allo kenedyl gymhell -

Table 2.2.15a – Instances of /k/>/g/ in the direct object of a leniting verb (without direct contact)

	/t/>/d/ in direct object of leniting verb (without direct contact)
<i>ED</i>	lafaraf i deith [pronoun] -

Table 2.2.15b – Instances of /t/>/d/ in the direct object of a leniting verb (without direct contact)

	/g/>/-/ in direct object of leniting verb (without direct contact)
<i>ED</i>	archaf y wen [pronoun] -
<i>P</i>	kaffo edern. Mab. nud <u>gofit</u> ; nat 6yt ti 6r [pronoun] -
<i>H</i>	dylyant 6y wneuthur -

Table 2.2.15c – Instances of /g/>/-/ in the direct object of a leniting verb (without direct contact)

	/b/>/v/ in direct object of leniting verb (without direct contact)
<i>M</i>	- deholes guyr yr eidyal <u>brutus</u> ; wnaethant 6ynteu <u>b6r6</u>

Table 2.2.15d – Instances of /b/>/v/ in the direct object of a leniting verb (without direct contact)

	/l/>/l/ in direct object of leniting verb (without direct contact)
<i>M</i>	anuones brutus lythyr -

Table 2.2.15e – Instances of /l/>/l/ in the direct object of a leniting verb (without direct contact)

2.2.16: Cases of lenition in regular genitive constructions

Lenition in genitive constructions is to be expected under two circumstances: in *hydref ddail* combinations where the elements of a standard genitive construction are placed in reverse order (see Section 2.2.17);²¹⁷ and also where the possessive noun in normal word order follows a feminine noun, as discussed below.²¹⁸

	/k/>/g/ in regular genitive constructions
<i>ED</i>	nos galan; esgor gynfrein -
<i>AP</i>	kaer geri; kaer geri; gelli kaer
<i>M</i>	gued geithiwet -
<i>CC</i>	- rod <u>k</u> enedyl; colouyn <u>k</u> yfreith
<i>P</i>	- callon <u>c</u> 6byl
<i>H</i>	- rad <u>k</u> enedyl; rod <u>k</u> enedyl; colofyn <u>k</u> yfreith

Table 2.2.16a – Instances of /k/>/g/ in regular genitive constructions

There are seven instances where radical <k> or <c> is retained in positions where lenition is expected. For the case of *gelli kaer* (l.197) in *AP*, Rachel Bromwich follows A.O.H. Jarman in identifying it rather as a misinterpretation of *Celi Caer*, removing the cause of expected lenition here as the noun *celi* is masculine.²¹⁹ The remaining six instances are all found in the comparison texts. Even so, lenition in this position was productive well after the dates offered for authorship of *M*, *CC*, *P*, and *H*.²²⁰ Similarly there is no obvious reason for lenition not to be marked in the cases below, of *llogell g6yr* in *P*, or in the phrase *merch maer* in *CC*.

²¹⁷ Owen, 2003, 237-51.

²¹⁸ Morgan 1952, 32, 101; Thomas, 1996, 322-3.

²¹⁹ Williams, 1972a, 70; GPC, s.v. *celi*.

²²⁰ For examples of this, see Morgan, 1952, 101-12.

	/p/ > /b/ in regular genitive constructions
ED	yscriuen brydein -
P	- ynys prydein

Table 2.2.16b – Instances of /p/ > /b/ in regular genitive constructions

The lenition of /p/ in this position is unusual in that it is marked in one of two instances, both of which occur to the noun *prydein*: *yscriuen brydein* (1.45) in *ED* and *ynys prydein* in *P*. While T. J. Morgan lists *Ynys Prydain* as an exception to the rule, it would not be expected to show lenition in this instance anyway, in consistency with the patterns above of not marking the lenition of /p/ even in contexts where lenition is present.²²¹ The true exception here then would appear to be the marked lenition of /p/ in *ED*.

	/t/ > /d/ in regular genitive constructions
M	- kenedyl tro; kenedyl tro

Table 2.2.16c – Instances of /t/ > /d/ in regular genitive constructions

	/g/ > /-/ in regular genitive constructions
AP	gaer weir -
R	porth 6gyr -
DA	pennaeth weissan -
EY	wlat wytyon -
P	g6reic. Ereint; llogell g6yr

Table 2.2.16d – Instances of /g/ > /-/ in regular genitive constructions

It should be noted here that the form *pennaeth weissan* (1.13) in *DA* is an example of the feminine noun meaning ‘lordship’, rather than the masculine noun meaning ‘chieftain’.²²²

²²¹ Morgan, 1952, 114.

²²² Haycock, 2013, 95; GPC, s.v. *pennaeth*.

	/b/>/v/ in regular genitive constructions
ED	kyweithyd wleidud -
AP	g6lat vrython -

Table 2.2.16e – Instances of /b/>/v/ in regular genitive constructions

	/l/>/l/ in regular genitive constructions
R	lys lonyon; gaer llion
P	- kaer llion

Table 2.2.16f – Instances of /l/>/l/ in regular genitive constructions

R contains a break in the previously expected pattern of the lenition of /l/ which is not marked in the phrase *gaer llion* (1.20). *P* has the same form, *kaer llion*. T. J. Morgan explains that this feature is to be expected following /r/ and so there is no lenition to be marked in this instance.²²³

	/m/>/v/ in regular genitive constructions
CC	- merch maer

Table 2.2.16g – Instances of /m/>/v/ in regular genitive constructions

The phrase *kymro vam tat* in *CC* and *H* should be mentioned in this section. It is not a simple genitive construction but rather means ‘a Welshman characterised by relation to father and mother’.²²⁴ In both texts lenition is marked.

²²³ Morgan, 1952, 30.

²²⁴ Zimmer, 2000, 163.

2.2.17: Cases of lenition in *hydref ddail* combinations

As stated above, *hydref ddail* combinations are genitive constructions where the elements are placed in reverse order.²²⁵ With the exception of the three cases where the radical grapheme is retained in *AP*, *kymry kyneircheit* (1.77) *kymry kynhyrcheit* (1.61) and *g6aethyl g6yr* (1.7), the instances of *hydref ddail* combinations clearly follow a pattern similar to that seen previously above. The presence of this form in the poems and its absence from the comparison manuscripts is not an indication of age of composition, but rather of form. T. J. Morgan refers to the use of these genitive constructions in both the work of Lewis Glyn Cothi in the Middle Welsh period, and also in the works of hymn writers centuries later.²²⁶ It is, however, a feature reserved for poetry.

	/k/>/g/ in <i>hydref ddail</i> combinations
ED	escar gychwyn -
AP	ynys gym6yeit; kymry <u>ky</u> neircheit; kymry <u>ky</u> nyrcheit

Table 2.2.17a – Instances of /k/>/g/ in *hydref ddail* combinations

	/p/>/b/ in <i>hydref ddail</i> combinations
ED	bryder briff6n -

Table 2.2.17b – Instances of /p/>/b/ in *hydref ddail* combinations

Note the unusual marked lenition of /p/ here, possibly due to consonance in the phrase *yscriuen brydein bryder briff6n*.

	/t/>/d/ in <i>hydref ddail</i> combinations
EY	- meinoeth <u>t</u> ymhor

Table 2.2.17c – Instances of /t/>/d/ in *hydref ddail* combinations

²²⁵ Owen, 2003, 237-51.

²²⁶ Morgan, 1952, 32.

	/g/>/-/ in <i>hydref ddail</i> combinations
ED	wled waretret -
AP	g6lat wartheygydd; g6aethyl g6yr
EY	teyrn wofr6y -

Table 2.2.17d – Instances of /g/>/-/ in *hydref ddail* combinations

	/l/>/l/ in <i>hydref ddail</i> combinations
ED	med lestri -
R	marcha6c lu -

Table 2.2.17e – Instances of /l/>/l/ in *hydref ddail* combinations

	/m/>/v/ in <i>hydref ddail</i> combinations
R	keredigya6n vaon -

Table 2.2.17f – Instances of /m/>/v/ in *hydref ddail* combinations

The pattern of inverted genitives leniting where a normal genitive would not is clearly show in the phrase *keredigya6n vaon* (1.9) in *R*, as the same text gives the form *dinas maon* (1.25) where the genitive is formed in the normal word order.

2.2.18: Cases of lenition in epithets

T. J. Morgan notes that when an indefinite or definite noun follows a proper noun, mutation may but does not always occur to that following noun. In each case noted, he stated that a lack of mutation is a more common feature in the later period. This may account for the haphazard marking of lenition in this position in *M* and *P*, but that pattern contrasts strikingly with the lenited epithets of other characters, eg. *lauinia merch latinus* and *Enyd verch yny6l* or *Turn brenhin ruthyl* and *pandrasius vrenhin groec*.²²⁷

	/k/>/g/ in epithets
<i>M</i>	anacletus <u>k</u> etymdeith anti-

Table 2.2.18a – Instances of /k/>/g/ in epithets

	/g/>/-/ in epithets
<i>P</i>	- G6rei <u>g</u> 6alsta6t ieithoed; G6eir <u>g</u> 6rhyt ua6r

Table 2.2.18b – Instances of /g/>/-/ in epithets

	/b/>/v/ in epithets
<i>M</i>	pandrasius vrenhin groec; antigonus <u>b</u> ra6t pandrasius; pandrasius <u>b</u> renhin groec; Turn brenhin ruthyl

Table 2.2.18c – Instances of /b/>/v/ in epithets

	/l/>/l/ in epithets
<i>P</i>	- G6yn <u>l</u> logell g6yr

Table 2.2.18d – Instances of /l/>/l/ in epithets

²²⁷ Morgan, 1952, 122-3.

	/m/>/v/ in epithets
<i>M</i>	elenus vab priaf; Pir vab achyl; lauinia merch latinus
<i>P</i>	Enyd verch yny6l; Enyd verch yny6l; Dyuyr. <u>Mab.</u> alun; Bedwyr. <u>Mab.</u> bedra6t; Rioganed. <u>Mab.</u> brenhin; Kai. <u>Mab.</u> Kynyr; Erbin. <u>Mab.</u> Custenhin; Goreu. <u>Mab.</u> Custennin; ondrya6. <u>Mab.</u> duc; Ondra. <u>Mab.</u> y duc; Peredur. <u>Mab.</u> Efra6c; Howel. <u>Mab.</u> emyr; Garanhon. <u>Mab.</u> Glythmyr; Kad6ri. <u>Mab.</u> G6ryon; edern. <u>Mab.</u> Nud; G6ilym. <u>Mab.</u> R6yf; G6yn. <u>Mab.</u> tringat

Table 2.2.18e – Instances of /m/>/v/ in epithets

2.2.19: Cases of lenition following *sangiad*

Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru defines *sangiad* as a word or clause which cuts across the grammatical flow of a sentence, but which is connected with it.²²⁸ These interpolations cause lenition.²²⁹ Morgan notes at the start of his discussion of *sangiadau* that he does not intend to discuss the technical feature found in *cywyddau* called *sangiad*. Morgan gives two examples of the way in which *sangiad* may occur. In the first example, the normal order of the sentence is changed, resulting in lenition following the interpolation: cf. *y mae ceffyl gennyf* and *y mae gennyf geffyl*. In the second example the interpolating phrase cannot be placed elsewhere in the sentence, for example *rhaid imi fynd*.²³⁰ Instances of *sangiad* found in the poems are listed in the table below. As the cases of *sangiad* are given in context, the affected consonants where lenition is marked are highlighted in **bold**, where the radical grapheme is retained, the consonants are underlined as elsewhere.

In the poems, the majority of instances of *sangiad* in the table above are single words or phrases, inserted into the flow of the clause, which refer back to nouns or noun phrases earlier in that clause. In *AP*, *gymry* refers back to *by* (1.97), *kadyr gyweithyd* to *gymry* (1.178), and *kasnar degyn* to the *g6yr gwychyr* (1.5). In *R*, *kyweir kymon* refers to the *deu lu* in the preceding line (ll.7-8). In *EY*, *kymry dinas* refers back to *budwas* (1.19).

In the case of the comparison texts, Morgan notes several instances where the interpolation may be in the form of conjugated prepositions.²³¹ There are also some examples, where other phrases are inserted into the flow of the clause. In context these are: *Ada6 a oruc gan tygu ll6 wneuthur* and *guelas yno guelygord* in *M*; *Hyt hyn*

²²⁸ GPC, s.v. *sangiad*.

²²⁹ Morgan, 1952, 425-35.

²³⁰ Morgan, 1952, 425.

²³¹ Morgan, 1952, 427.

gan ganhyat du6 kyfreitheu, weithon gan borth y gogonedus argl6yd iessu crist kyfreitheu gulat a dangoss6n, and Kyntaf y6 o na6 affeith galanas tauotrudyaeth in CC; Sef a oruc Gereint o hynny allan karu and Par yn gyflym heb ef kyweira6 in P; and Hyt hyn gan ganhat du6 kyfreitheu and weithon gann borth y gogonedus argl6yd iessu grist; kyfreitheu g6lat a dangoss6n in H.

	/k/>/g/ following <i>sangiad</i>
AP	g6yn eu byt 6y gymry; gymry <u>k</u> adyr gyweithyd; g6yr g6ychyr yn trydar <u>k</u> asnar degyn
R	- vn redyf un eir <u>k</u> yweir kymon
EY	- budwas <u>k</u> ymry dinas
M	- medylya6 onadunt <u>k</u> eissa6; darffei ida6 <u>c</u> r6ydra6; oed teil6g gantunt <u>k</u> ymryt
CC	- hyt hyn gan ganhyat du6 <u>k</u> yfreitheu; weithon gan borth ... <u>k</u> yfreitheu
P	- Sef a oruc Gereint o hynny allan <u>k</u> aru; darffo im <u>k</u> ymryt; Par yn gyflym heb ef <u>k</u> yweira6
H	- hyt hyn gan ganhat du6 <u>k</u> yfreitheu; weithon gann borth ... <u>k</u> yfreitheu

Table 2.2.19a – Instances of /k/>/g/ following *sangiad*

	/p/>/b/ following <i>sangiad</i>
ED	yscriuen brydein b ryder briff6n -
R	- kyfryssed g6yned b rys gorchordyon
EY	- dragana6l ben p rioda6r perchen
M	- ymgynullyssant atta6 p a6b; genhettych ti vdunt 6y p ress6yla6; bod yn well gantunt 6y p res6yla6
P	- talho itt p eri

Table 2.2.19b – Instances of /p/>/b/ following *sangiad*

In *ED*, *bryder briff6n* refers back to *yscriuen brydein* (1.45), in *R*, *brys gorchordyon* refers back to *g6yned* (1.3), and in *EY*, *prioda6r perchen* to *dragana6l ben* (1.20).

	/t/>/d/ following <i>sangiad</i>
<i>CC</i>	- y6 o na6 ... <u>tauotr</u> duyaeth
<i>P</i>	- bot yn well ida6 <u>treula</u> 6

Table 2.2.19c – Instances of /t/>/d/ following *sangiad*

	/g/>/-/ following <i>sangiad</i>
<i>ED</i>	kyweithyd o ryd <u>wled</u> waretret -
<i>AP</i>	- kymry <u>g6</u> genera6l
<i>EY</i>	- <u>g6</u> rhyt eruei
<i>M</i>	oruc gan tygu ll6 <u>wneuthur</u> -
<i>CC</i>	- <u>g</u> uelas yno <u>g</u> uelygord; kymryt yn vrenhin arnadunt <u>g6</u> r

Table 2.2.19d – Instances of /g/>/-/ following *sangiad*

In *ED*, *wled waretret* refers back to the *kyweithyd o ryd* (1.25), in *AP*, *g6genera6l* to *kymry* (1.192), and in *EY*, *g6rhyt eruei* to *mon* (1.2).

	/b/>/v/ following <i>sangiad</i>
<i>EY</i>	- <u>b</u> uched gyfa
<i>M</i>	- menegi iti <u>bot</u>
<i>P</i>	nyt kam im vot -

Table 2.2.19e – Instances of /b/>/v/ following *sangiad*

In *EY*, *buched gyfa* refers back to *ran trugared* (1.29).

	/l/>/l/ following <i>sangiad</i>
<i>AP</i>	lafna6r a ga6r a gryn; dybi o lego lyghes rewyd -
<i>M</i>	- uuassei y sa6l ul6ydyned hynny yg keithiwet y danadunt <u>ll</u> afassu
<i>P</i>	y6 it lonydu -

Table 2.2.19f – Instances of /l/>/l/ following *sangiad*

Of the two examples in *AP*, *lafna6r a ga6r a gryn* (1.57) seems to refer back to the method with which the opposing armies will test each other, the verb in question being *ymprofyn* (1.56). In the example of *lyghes rewyd* (1.149), lenition could be

caused by the imposition of the adverbial phrase *o lego* between the verb, *dybi*, and its subject.

	<i>/m/ > /v/ following sangiad</i>
<i>AP</i>	y dihol o brydein virein luyd; Mab meir <u>ma</u> 6r a eir; Mab meir <u>ma</u> 6r a eir; nys g6naho mola6t <u>me</u> iryon mechteyrn; deu erchwyna6c prydein <u>mi</u> rein luyd
<i>P</i>	y6 i minheu heb y G6enhwyuar vedylya6; y6 i6ch vynet -

Table 2.2.19g – Instances of /m/ > /v/ following *sangiad*

In *AP*, *virein luyd* refers back to the 3pl. possessive pronoun *y* (l.152), the two examples of *ma6r a eir* to *mab meir*, *meiryon mechteyrn* to *hyn* in the preceding line (ll.17-8), and *mirein luyd* to *deu erchwyna6c prydein* (l.169).

2.2.20: Cases of lenition following the predicative particle

T. J. Morgan states that lenitable consonants following the predicative particle *yn* should be lenited, with the exception of /t r/; the latter of which is not differentiated from its lenited form in the scribe's orthography anyway.²³²

	/k/>/g/ following predicative particle
ED	yn galet -
AP	yn gynifwyr; yn gyweir -
M	yn gall; yn gewilydus; yn graff; yn g6byl; yn gyflym; yn gyntaf; yn gyntaf; yn gywir; yn gywir -
CC	yn getymdeithas; yn gyfarwyd; yn gyflog6r; yn gyfu6ch -
P	yn gyflym; yn gyn gywired; yn gyn l6yret; yn gyweir -
H	yn gyfarwyd; yn gyflocg6r [sic]; yn gyfuch; yn gyntaf; yn gyntaf; yn gyntaf -

Table 2.2.20a – Instances of /k/>/g/ following the predicative particle

	/p/>/b/ following predicative particle
AP	yn baladyr -
M	- yn <u>para6t</u> ; yn <u>pymtheg</u>
CC	- yn <u>porthord6y</u>
P	yn <u>bara6t</u> -
H	- yn <u>porthord6y</u>

Table 2.2.20b – Instances of /p/>/b/ following the predicative particle

Note the instances of the marked lenition of /p/ in the phrases *yn baladyr* (1.91) in *AP* and *yn bara6t* in *P*.

²³² Morgan, 1952, 243.

	/t/ > /d/ following predicative particle
<i>M</i>	yn dawel; yn teir; yn tywyssaŵc; yn tywyssaŵc
<i>CC</i>	- yn teir; yn trosc6yd6r
<i>H</i>	- yn tat; yn teir; yn teir; yn trosc6yd6r

Table 2.2.20c – Instances of /t/ > /d/ following the predicative particle

Note the lenition of /t/ in the phrase *yn dawel* in *M*.

	/g/ > /-/ following predicative particle
<i>R</i>	yn orllwython -
<i>M</i>	yn oreu; yn well; yn wreic; yn wiscedic; yn 6ra6l; yn 6ra6l; yn 6ychyr; yn 6ychyr -
<i>P</i>	yn well; yn 6ympaf -
<i>H</i>	yn wahanreda6l -

Table 2.2.20d – Instances of /g/ > /-/ following the predicative particle

	/b/ > /v/ following predicative particle
<i>ED</i>	yn vrowyr -
<i>M</i>	yn vrenhin; yn vrenin; yn ueichaŵc; yn vydinoed -

Table 2.2.20e – Instances of /b/ > /v/ following the predicative particle

	/m/ > /v/ following predicative particle
<i>M</i>	yn va6r; yn va6r; yn u6y; yn u6y -
<i>P</i>	yn var6; yn u6y -
<i>H</i>	yn vab -

Table 2.2.20f – Instances of /m/ > /v/ following the predicative particle

2.2.21: Cases of lenition following the negative particle

Simon Rodway notes that Old Welsh seems to have had a system, comparable to that of Old Irish, in which spirantisation followed the preverbal particles *ny* and *ry* in main clauses, but lenition followed in relative clauses.²³³ The system operating in later Welsh is that the three voiceless stops, /k p t/, are spirantised and the other mutating consonants, /g b m ɲ/, are lenited, regardless of whether they are found in a main or relative clause. The difference between the two systems would be evidenced in the texts by the lenition of /g b m ɲ/ in main clauses or the spirantisation of /k p t/ in relative clauses. This does not appear to be the case for either the poems or the comparison texts. If the dates given for the composition of the poems are accepted, the lack of any surviving evidence of the older system points towards substantial reworking of the mutations marked in the poems over the centuries leading to their copying into the Book of Taliesin. If this shift is an innovation within the redaction of the poems, an example of the older system in the work of the fourteenth-century poet Iolo Goch is of particular interest, as it would show a continuing awareness, and use, of the older system a century after the final redaction of these texts by X86.²³⁴

	/g>/-/ following negative particles
ED	ny wnant (m.c.); ny 6yppo (r.c.) -
AP	ny alwa6r (m.c.); ny wellyc (m.c.); ny wydynt (m.c.); ny 6yr (m.c.); ny 6y6 (m.c.) -
M	ny orffowyssynt (m.c.); ony edy; ony wney; chany allei; kany allyssei -
CC	ny allo (r.c.) -
P	ny orffowyssa6d (m.c.); ny weda (m.c.); ny wydyat (m.c.); ny 6n (m.c.); ny wney (r.c.); na welynt; kany allei -
H	ny allo (r.c.); ny ellir (m.c.); ny ellir (m.c.) -

Table 2.2.21a – Instances of /g>/-/ following negative particles

²³³ Rodway, 2013, 85.

²³⁴ Johnston, 1988: XXXIX.14 has *safn ni ganodd sallwyr*.

	/b/>/v/ following negative particles
AP	- ny <u>byd</u> (m.c.); ny <u>byd</u> (m.c.); ny <u>byd</u> (m.c.)
EY	nyt uu; nyt vi; ny <u>bu</u> (m.c.); ny <u>bu</u> (m.c.); na <u>b6yf</u> ; na <u>b6yf</u>
P	- ny <u>bu</u> (m.c.); ny <u>byd</u> (m.c.)
H	- na <u>bei</u> ; na <u>bydynt</u>

Table 2.2.21b – Instances of /b/>/v/ following negative particles

The consonant /b/ is found only in forms of the verb *bod* and following *ny*, lenition is not marked in either main or relative clauses, as is the case in the Modern Welsh *ni bydd*. An exception of sorts to this is the lenition seen in two phrases in *EY*, following the negative particle *nyt*: *nyt uu* and *nyt vi* (1.6). Both of these examples are in main clauses. The use of *nyt*, rather than *ny*, before a consonant in this line is a unique case before a verbal form.²³⁵ Kim McCone discusses these forms alongside the Old Breton *ce-nit-guelhum-ni* and Old Welsh *cen-nit-hoys* and *cen-nit-boi*, suggesting that the *nyt(/nit)* in these cases is the negative particle plus an infix pronoun *-t*.²³⁶ In this case it is the pronoun, rather than the negative particle, which causes the lenition. McCone notes that the pronoun in this construction was largely petrified, and so while he also points to the fact that “by the Middle Welsh period *-(i)t* had been abandoned as a genuine infix pronoun”, the presence of *nyt uu* and *nyt vi* in *EY* cannot be definitive proof of the poem’s composition in the Old Welsh period when such pronouns were still productive.

	/l/>/l/ following negative particles
ED	ny lafaraf (m.c.); ny llafaraf (r.c.)
M	na ladhei -
H	na lygr6ys -

Table 2.2.21c – instances of /l/>/l/ following negative particles

²³⁵ Evans, 1964, 173.

²³⁶ McKone, 2006, 239.

2.2.22 Comments on the orthographical representation of lenition

A date for *ED* has been proposed as early as the ninth century. It broadly follows the same patterns of orthographical representation of lenition as the other texts in the scribe's corpus. There are some exceptions, however. Following the preposition *ar*, an example of the lenition of /l/ is not marked, perhaps as a result of the provection of /l/ following /r/.²³⁷ This is not the only example of the graphic retention of radical <ll> following prepositions, and similarly a retained radical grapheme is found following *dan* in the Peniarth text, where in the case of the former this may also be due to provection.²³⁸ Continuing with the graphic retention of radical <ll>, there is the example of *ny llafaraf* (l.23), which contrasts with the marked lenition of *ny lafaraf* (l.43).²³⁹ There is no other example of the lenition of /l/ after a negative particle in any of the texts. The lack of other examples of /l/ following *ny* makes intertextual comparison impossible in this position, however, the fact that Old Welsh often used <l> for radical /l/ raises interesting questions about the contrast between *ny lafaraf* and *ny llafaraf* here. Is the insertion of <ll> where only <l> was required a case of hypercorrection, or if as stated above the Old Welsh system required spirantisation in main clauses like these, is the example *ny llafaraf* representative of an earlier redaction? As variation is witnessed in the comparison texts, it may simply be that the contrasting *ny llafaraf* and *ny lafaraf* are part of the pattern of inconsistency by the scribe in marking lenition, rather than belying a process of transcriptional hypercorrection from the form in a hypothetical Old Welsh exemplar.

ED also has a higher number of instances of the marked lenition of /p/ than the other texts in the corpus. The line *yscriuen brydein bryder briff6n* (l.45) contains three

²³⁷ Morgan, 1952, 387. See above Table 2.2.01g and comments.

²³⁸ See above Table 2.2.01g and comments.

²³⁹ See above Table 2.2.21c.

such examples. The first, in *brydein*, results from following a feminine noun in a genitive construction, the second, in *bryder*, results from *sangiad*, and the third results from a *hydref ddail* combination.²⁴⁰ This is the only text in which the lenition of /p/ is marked in any of these positions. Considering the general pattern in Old Welsh was not to mark mutation, it is odd that the text which has been given the earliest date should be the one to contain the most innovative marking of lenition. If the poem does date from the Old Welsh period, while this could be due to consciously careful redaction by the scribe of an early poem, it might also point to a separate line of transmission for *ED* that was not shared by the other poems. The orthography of *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn* is a clear, if exceptional, example to show that not all of the poetry of the Book of Taliesin has been through the same policy of orthographical redaction.²⁴¹ The poem retains the radical grapheme <p> in many examples in these positions, meaning that any change in policy in marking lenited /p/ is not consistently enacted.

The presence in the poem of the preverbal particle *yt* (l.46) should also be noted.²⁴² This feature is also found in *AP*, and it is one of the more promising features in providing evidence for the early date of the poems. As stated above, however, *yt* is found alongside the longer-lived *yd* in both poems, a pattern which is common in the work of the Gogynfeirdd in the thirteenth century. The form *trath*mein* (l.53), is controversial. While Morgan states that the earliest examples of spirantisation following the preposition *tra* date from the seventeenth century, there is an undisputed example in the thirteenth century Book of Aneirin and according to its etymology, *tra* should have caused spirantisation originally. Following an explanation of the initial

²⁴⁰ See above Tables 2.2.16b, 2.2.19b, and 2.2.17b, and comments.

²⁴¹ Koch, 2013, 105-51.

²⁴² See above Table 2.2.02d and comments.

tr- in initial position where *dr-* is expected, it is possible that the spirantisation following *tra* is early, predating the levelling of the mutation following *tra* from spirantisation to the lenition seen in Morgan's pre-seventeenth century examples.

Overall, the representation of lenition gives little backing to the early date proposed for *ED*. The patterns seen in the poem are common to the entire corpus of the scribe's text. The only features potentially inconsistent with fourteenth century norm seen elsewhere are the preverbal particle *yt* and the spirantisation found in the form *trath*mein*.

AP is generally dated to the tenth century. It too, broadly, follows the same patterns of orthographical representation of lenition as the other texts in the scribe's corpus. There are some exceptions, however. Following the preposition *am* there is an example of the graphic retention of radical <g> in /gw/, reminiscent of the Old Welsh orthography for /w/.²⁴³ This is not the only example of the graphic retention of radicals following prepositions: radical <k> and another <g> are also retained once each following *ar*. The graphic retention of radicals like that of both of these examples can also be found following prepositions in the comparison texts.

AP has three instances of the graphic retention of radical <ll> following adjectives, as well as an example of the graphic retention of radical <g>.²⁴⁴ As in the case of *ED*, the graphic retention of radical <ll> is interesting, as it could have occurred from hypercorrection if copied from an Old Welsh exemplar, but not from provection in these cases. While the Mostyn text does provide an example of lenited /l/ in this position in the phrase *ry6 lythyr*, again *P* has an example where the radical grapheme is retained, *thec lludyas*, showing variation in the scribe's practice of marking lenition.

²⁴³ See above Table 2.2.01d and comments.

²⁴⁴ See above Table 2.2.07f and comments.

The poem marks the lenition of /p/ in two instances: once lenition is caused adverbially in the phrase *beunyd* (l.111), a form which is given elsewhere with the lenition unmarked (l.191); and after the predicative particle in the phrase *yn baladyr* (l.91).²⁴⁵ The general system used by the scribe retains the radical graphemes <p> and <t> and it is likely that if earlier exemplars of the poems date from the Old Welsh period, that lenition would not have been marked. While it is strange then that both *ED* and *AP* should contain uncommon examples of the lenition of /p/, as stated above marked lenition in this position does not necessarily point to special redaction by X86. Surely were the presence of in these poems due to the scribe being conscious that they needed careful orthographical emendation then there would be a greater number of examples found in these and other texts. An additional instance of unusual, innovative marking of lenition is found in the phrase *y ddu6* (l.51).²⁴⁶ This is the only example of <dd> in word-initial position in the poems, and is only found in word-initial position a further three times in the phrase *a ddiwato* in *CC*.

Just as *AP* agrees with *ED* in its occasional marking of the lenition of /p/, it also contains an example of lenition following the particle *yt*.²⁴⁷ Radical graphemes are retained in *AP* in three of five instances of *hydref ddail* combinations.²⁴⁸ Elsewhere in the poems lenition is marked in all expected locations in this position. Similarly the radical grapheme is retained in the phrase *arbett6y car corff* (l.116), although as seen in Section 2.2.13, this is a more common position for the radical grapheme to be retained.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ See above Tables 2.2.11b and 2.2.20b, and comments.

²⁴⁶ See above Table 2.2.01f, and Section 1.3.3.

²⁴⁷ See above Table 2.2.02e and comments.

²⁴⁸ See above Tables 2.2.17a and 2.2.17d.

²⁴⁹ See above Table 2.2.15a.

While *AP* is purportedly the second earliest of the texts, there is less evidence for that date, on the basis of marked lenition, in than there was in *ED*. It does, however, contain an example of the leniting preverbal particle *yt*. Otherwise, the patterns seen in the poem are common to the entire corpus of the scribe's texts.

R has also been dated to the tenth century. It contains no variation from the scribe's general pattern of marking lenition that is not more frequently attested in other texts, be that a poem or comparison manuscript. It is notable as following that general pattern more closely than the comparison texts. Again there is no evidence from the orthographical marking of lenition to confirm the date given.

DA has been dated, more controversially, to the eleventh century. It has fewer examples of consonants in an appropriate position for marked lenition than *R*. The overall impression given is the same, however. There is no anomaly that is not to be found elsewhere, and no evidence in lenition to support the date given for the poem.

EY has been variously dated from the ninth to the eleventh century. Once again, it follows the general patterns closely. Following adjectives, there are two instances, however, of the graphic retention of radicals presumably in order to preserve consonance in the radical forms.²⁵⁰ This feature is not seen in *R*, *DA*, or in any of the comparison texts, but is found in *ED* and *AP*. As the dates for *ED* and *AP* are not certain, it is impossible to confirm the date for *EY* by its association with those texts in this single feature. There remains, however, one unusual feature in *EY* not seen elsewhere in the poems or comparison texts: that is, the forms *nyt uu* and *nyt vi* in 1.6.²⁵¹ Kim McCone interpreted the *-t* as an infix pronoun. This pronoun was abandoned before the Middle Welsh period following a merger and redistribution of *e/y* and *-s* forms in the Old Welsh period, with *-s* then being used in those positions

²⁵⁰ See above Section 2.2.07.

²⁵¹ See above Table 2.2.21b and comments.

where *-t* was once found. This feature, while early, cannot provide a definite date, but may give additional weight to the earlier ninth- or tenth-century date indicated as equally valid by Gruffydd.²⁵²

²⁵² Gruffydd, 1999, 43

2.3: Nasalisation

T. Arwyn Watkins set out two systems for the marking of nasalisation in Old and Middle Welsh: *seinegol* (phonetic) and *rhannol-seinegol* (semi-phonetic).²⁵³ He puts the development of both systems in the Old Welsh period: the semi-phonetic system emerged across word-boundaries, in order to clarify the presence of nasalisation where the older unphonetic system had not marked it. For example, he cites examples such as *i cair* for the earlier unphonetic system and *ig cairmirdin* for the semi-phonetic system, where <g> is added to *i* to mark the following nasalisation but no change is made to the nasalised consonant /k/. The phonetic system, however, developed within words as internal nasalisation, for example in the words *keghellaur* and *teghu*. He says that as the system is twofold, it comes as no surprise that there should be inconsistencies in its application where the internal phonetic system is used initially.²⁵⁴ While Watkins' systems hold as a description of the way in which X86 marks nasalisation, his phonetic system has been divided in two here for reasons described below. The ways that nasalisation is represented by X86 can be organised therefore into the following three categories:

²⁵³ Watkins, 1968-70, 7-13; cf. Sims-Williams, 2015, 287-8.

²⁵⁴ Watkins, 1968-70, n.9.

- System 1: Watkins' semi-phonetic system, where nasalisation is not marked in the mutated consonant, however, the mutation may be implied by a change to the preceding form (e.g. *yg kalan* from *yn*, and *vyg kyffes* from *vy*)
- System 2: Watkins' phonetic system (part 1), where nasalisation is marked by the merging of the nasalised word with the nasalising form (e.g. *yg6aetlin*). In some of these cases nasalisation is marked by a change in the grapheme used to represent the nasalised consonant (e.g. *ymretonia*)
- System 3: Watkins' phonetic system (part 2), where nasalisation is marked by a change in the grapheme used to represent the nasalised consonant (e.g. *ml6yd*, *mu*, *nyn*). Unlike System 2, which also falls under Watkins' phonetic system, System 3 maintains the orthographical word-boundary, and often the preceding nasalising forms have lost their final nasals.

Nasalisation is found in three positions, two shown in the tables directly below, and in a third table shown with the discussion of System 3:

	Preposition: yn
ED	yg kalan; yn deruin; yn dinbych
AP	yg keithiwet; yg ketoed; yg koet; yg kynted; yg cystud; ym perued; ym pop; ym pop; ym pop; yn tywyll; yg gelli; yg gofut; yg gorffen; yg gorffen; ym bryn; ygat; yg6aetlin; ygwerth; ygwerth; ygwerth
R	yg kyfleudon; ym porth
EY	yg kymelri; ym pop; ymretonia; ymy6
M	yg keithiwet; yg keithiwet; yg keithiwet; yg keithiwet; yg kylch; ym pebyll; ym plith; ym plith; ymplith; ymplith; ymplith; ygroec; ygroec
P	yg kaer; yn dyngannan; ymlodeu
H	yg kreuyd

Table 2.3a – Consonants nasalised after yn

	Pronoun: vy
ED	vyn tr6ydet; vyn defa6t; vygwedi
P	vyg kyffes; vyg gallu; vyg goreug6yr

Table 2.3b – Consonants nasalised after vy

2.3.1: System 1, the semi-phonetic system

The first, and by far the most common method used by the scribe to denote nasalisation is Watkins' semi-phonetic system, whereby the orthographical representation of the nasalising final consonant is changed rather than that of the nasalised initial consonant of the following word. This is clearly seen across the texts in the case of the preposition *yn*. Ending in /n/ the representation of the nasalising final consonant does not change before nasalised dental stops, and so, in practice, nasalisation is not marked by any orthographical change in these cases. In the case of initial /k p g b/, however, the preceding consonant does change: /k g/ are preceded by *yg*, and /p b/ by *ym*. In the case of the pronoun *vy*, System one extends to dental stops too: Watkins notes that the use of *-n* in the preposition *yn* was the first step towards marking nasalisation,²⁵⁵ however, by the Middle Welsh period, this final *-n* was firmly established as part of the preposition and as such where *-n* could be replaced by *-m* or *-g* when followed by labials and velars, no such change could be made in the case of dentals. The possessive pronoun *vy*, however, ends in a vowel and therefore *-m*, *-g*, and *-n* may be added to mark nasalisation. There are no examples of bilabial nasals in this position, and so the form used to mark nasalisation in this position is either *vyn* before dentals or *vyg* before velars. System 1 is found in both the poems and comparison texts.

²⁵⁵ Watkins, 1968-70, 8.

2.3.2: System 2, the phonetic system

Both the preposition *yn* and the pronoun *vy* have examples of the merging of the nasalising form with the following word. It should be noted that in the case of the nasalised bilabials, the voiced stops which form /m m/ across the word boundary are entirely merged and represented by the same grapheme. Where the stop is voiceless, forming /m m/ across the word boundary the merge does not happen, giving the three examples of *yimplith* in *M*. While the same pattern seems to be at work in the case of the voiced velars, in the sole example of a voiceless velar, *ygat* (1.150) in *AP*, the voiceless velar is not represented and only <g> from the preceding pronoun *yg* is written. This grapheme in word-final position normally represents the voiced nasal velar, giving the form *ygat* an appearance as though its voiceless quality had been lost. This is surely just a slip by the scribe: there is an example of the expected spelling <gk> in the final stanza of *ED* in the phrase *ygkyfnofant* (1.62).

In the case of the pronoun *vy* there is only one example for System 2, in the phrase *vygwedi* (1.9) in *ED*. By comparing it with the examples of *vyg goreug6yr* and *vyg gallu* in *P*, it can be seen that the pronoun is found in the form *vyg* before nasalised /g/. Assuming then a level of consistency with the same system of marking nasalisation as is found in the preposition *yn*, it can be understood that in this example, the /ŋ ŋ/ across the word boundary has been merged and is represented by the one grapheme here too.

A possible further example for this system would be the case of *degwyr* found twice in *H* (see Table 2.3.1c below). However, as was stated above the cluster /gw/ following a cardinal number appears to be a special case.²⁵⁶ If this -g in *deg wyr* is in

²⁵⁶ Roberts, 2012, passim; Morgan, 1952, 136.

fact a nasal, as favoured by Patrick Sims-Williams then that would offer an explanation of the <g> as opposed to <c> in this position at the word boundary.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Sims-Williams, 2007, 48, n.6.

2.3.3: System 3, marked nasalisation of the initial radical consonant

	Nasalisation following nasalising numerals
<i>AP</i>	vgein canh6r
<i>M</i>	pymtheg ml6yd
<i>CC</i>	ugein ml6yd; deudeg mu; na6 mu; na6 mu; na6 mu; na6 mu; na6 mu; na6 mu; ugein mu; ugein mu; ugeint mu; ugeint mu; vgein mu; ugein mu; ugein mu; na6 nyn; deudec keinha6c; deudec kyuelinya6c
<i>H</i>	vgein ml6yd; deudec mu; na6 mu; na6 mu; na6 mu; na6 mu; na6 mu; na6 mu; vgeint mu; vgein mu; vgeint mu; vgeint mu; vgeint mu; vgein mu; vgein mu; na6 nyn; deudec keinha6c; deudec keinha6c; deudec kyfelinya6c *degwyr; *degwyr

Table 2.3.3 – Consonants nasalised after numerals

The system in which the grapheme of the nasalised consonant is changed is found only following the cardinal numbers *na6*, *dec*, *deudec*, *pymtheg*, and *ugeint*. Morgan states that following these numerals, nasalisation is only expected to the words *blynedd*, *blwydd*, and *diwrnod*.²⁵⁸ *CC* has an additional example of *deudeg mu* (where the final grapheme <c> has been replaced by the <g>, which is nasal in final position)²⁵⁹ and *H* of *deudec mu*, and both texts also have examples of *mu* following variations of the cardinal *ugeint* (*ugeint*, *ugein*, *vgeint*, *vgein*). These are /b/ > /m/ nasalisation and there is no marked nasalisation of /k/ in the phrases *deudec keinha6c* and *deudec kyfelinya6c* which follows John Morris Jones observation that the numeral *dec* “did not mutate initial *p*, *t*, *k*”.²⁶⁰ Patrick Sims-Williams also notes the significance of *dec* before /p t k/ and *deg* before other consonants undergoing nasalisation in signifying the presence of nasalisation in the following consonant.²⁶¹ Finally *AP* has an example of *vgein canh6r* (1.73), where again there is no nasalisation of /k/, as expected following *ugeint*.

²⁵⁸ Morgan, 1952, 138.

²⁵⁹ See discussion in Chapter 1.

²⁶⁰ Morris-Jones, 1913, 170.

²⁶¹ Sims-Williams, 2007, 48, f.6.

2.3.4 Comments on the orthographical representation of nasalisation

Watkins does not give a chronology for the use of one system over another, rather he states that both systems were used side by side. There are two possible ways in which it could be imagined that the systems could be used to date the texts in which they are found: first, regular use of the semi-phonetic system in the word-boundary position in which it originally developed, and second any examples of the older unphonetic system. Both ways are impracticable, however. The first because the systems are mixed in each manuscript studied by Watkins, and the second because there are no examples of the unphonetic system in the scribe's corpus. The different ways of marking nasalisation across the corpus of the scribe's texts are not based on the chronology of their textual history. Rather *ED*, *AP*, and *EY* contain examples of both System 1 and System 2. *R* only attests examples of System 1. However, the sample size is too small to allow for conclusions to be drawn. Similarly, *DA* does not have any examples of nasalisation. There are no examples of System 3 in the poems' texts, but this is due to there being no nasalising numerals in those texts. Where patterns of nasalisation are attested, they are the same across the entire corpus of texts. The marking of nasalisation provides no evidence to support the dates given to the poems.

2.4: Spirantisation

Like nasalisation, spirantisation is found less frequently than lenition. It affects only the voiceless stops and does so in the following way: /k/ > /χ/, /p/ > /f/, /t/ > /θ/. Spirantisation is the most consistently marked of the three types of mutation, spirantised /k/ written as <ch>, /p/ as <ph> or once as <f>, /t/ as <th>.

Spirantisation is found in the poems and comparison texts in the following positions: following the preposition *a*; following the negative particles *ny* and *na*; following the negative conjunctions *ony* and *kany*; following the 3sg. feminine possessive pronoun *y*; following the conjunction *a*; following the cardinal number *tri*; and possibly following the preposition *tra*. The marking of spirantisation is consistent across the entire corpus of the scribe's texts.

In the case of the preposition *a*, spirantisation is marked in each case. This is also the case for the negative particles *ny*, *na*, *ony*, and *kany*. There is only one example where spirantisation would be expected and yet the radical grapheme is retained: following the pronoun *y* in the phrase *ae kyffr6y* (1.41) in *ED*, and it may be retained in order to preserve consonance (see Table 2.4.3 below). Following the cardinal number *tri* spirantisation is marked in *M* in the phrase *tri chastell*, but *CC* and *H* have no spirantisation in the phrase *tri kyntaf*. There is no anomaly, however, in the lack of marked lenition in *tri kyntaf*: as the adjective *kyntaf* describes the *tri*, rather than the *tri* governing the *kyntaf*, as it would a noun.

2.4.1: Cases of spirantisation following the preposition *a*

	Preposition: <i>a</i>
<i>ED</i>	<i>a thi</i>
<i>AP</i>	<i>a chreu</i>
<i>R</i>	<i>a phen</i>
<i>M</i>	<i>a thi</i>

Table 2.4.1 – Consonants spirantised after the preposition *a*

2.4.2: Cases of spirantisation following negative particles

	Negative particle: <i>ny</i>
<i>AP</i>	<i>ny cheffir (m.c.); ny chryd (m.c.); ny pheirch (m.c.); ny phlyc (m.c.); ny threinc (m.c.)</i>
<i>M</i>	<i>ny th6yll6ys (m.c.)</i>
<i>CC</i>	<i>ny fech6ys (m.c.)</i>
<i>P</i>	<i>ny thebygaf (m.c.)</i>
<i>H</i>	<i>ny chymer (m.c.); ny phech6ys (m.c.); ny thal (m.c.); ny thal (m.c.)</i>

Table 2.4.2a – Consonants spirantised after the negative particle *ny*. Main clauses are marked (m.c.) and relative clauses (r.c.)

It should be noted that there are no examples of relative clauses in the table above. As the earlier system governing mutation in main and relative clauses caused spirantisation in main clauses and the later system spirantisation to /k p t/, this means that the evidence is inconclusive as to which system is in operation. While spirantisation in main clauses in this position cannot point to one system or the other it should be noted that there are examples discussed above of lenition to /g b m ð/ in main clauses which would only occur in the later system. Even if this were not the case, no conclusions can be drawn on the basis of spirantisation to /k p t/ in main clauses as this occurs in both systems.

	Negative relative particle: <i>na</i>
<i>AP</i>	<i>na cheiss6ynt; na chrynet; na thardet</i>
<i>EY</i>	<i>na chyrb6yllwyf</i>
<i>CC</i>	<i>na chytyet</i>

Table 2.4.2b – Consonants spirantised after the negative relative particle *na*

	Conjunction: ony
<i>CC</i>	ony chly6

Table 2.4.2c – Consonants spirantised after the conjunction *ony*

	Conjunction: kany
<i>M</i>	kany cheffyt

Table 2.4.2d – Consonants spirantised after the conjunction *kany*

	Conjunction: na
<i>AP</i>	na chynhoryon
<i>DA</i>	na chymry

Table 2.4.2e – Consonants spirantised after the conjunction *na*

As stated above and previously discussed in the case of the leniting negative particles in Section 2.2.17, the consonants /k p t/ are spirantised and the consonants /g b m l/ are lenited following the negative particle *ny* in main clauses in the texts of this study. It should be noted that examples of spirantisation to /k p t/ are only found in main clauses, but this would be found in both the earlier and later system governing which mutation follows *ny*. Spirantisation to /k p t/ in relative clauses would prove the later system was in operation, and lenition to /k p t/ in relative clauses would prove the earlier system was, however, there are no examples of /k p t/ following *ny* in relative clauses in the texts, and therefore the pattern of /k p t/ is inconclusive. Lenition, however, would not be found in main clauses at all under the earlier system and yet there are ample examples in table 2.2.17a of lenition to /g b m l/. The evidence from spirantisation is inconclusive in the absence of relative clauses following *ny*, but the evidence from lenition clearly points to the later system. In the case of the preverbal particle *ry*, there are no examples of spirantisation: all consonants are lenited. As the texts only positively evidence the later system, the earlier system was either removed or was never present, signalling an authorship after the change in system. Clearly, the

use of the later system does not show the poems have been composed at the early periods assigned to them, but neither can it disprove those dates unless it can be shown that the older system has not been removed in redaction.

2.4.3: Cases of spirantisation following the pronoun *y*

	Pronoun: <i>y</i>
<i>ED</i>	<i>y</i> chalan; <i>y</i> cherdeu; <i>oe</i> chylchyn <i>ae</i> <u>kyffr</u> 6y kedeu
<i>DA</i>	<i>oe</i> pherued;
<i>P</i>	<i>ae</i> chanlyn; <i>ae</i> chetymdeithon; <i>y</i> chlot; <i>ae</i> phryt
<i>H</i>	<i>y</i> chowyll; <i>y</i> chymryt; <i>ae</i> chymryt

Table 2.4.3 – Consonants spirantised after the possessive fem. pronoun *y*

It is worth noting that the phrase *ae kyffr6y kedeu* (1.41) in *ED* is the only instance where expected spirantisation is not marked. As was seen above for lenition, there are examples in the poems where radical graphemes are retained in order to preserve consonance. This may be such a case for spirantisation. Alternatively the scribe may have misinterpreted *kyffr6y* as a verb rather than a verbal noun.

2.4.4: Cases of spirantisation following the conjunction *a*

	Conjunction: <i>a</i>
<i>AP</i>	a chatwaladyr; a chanh6ynydy; a cherd; a chlod6ys; a chymot; a chymot; a chyny; a phennaeth; a phrydyn; a theyrned; a th6r6f
<i>R</i>	a theiui
<i>DA</i>	a chat; a chymryt; a phennaeth
<i>M</i>	a chadarnhau; a chaffel; a chaffel; a chany; a chartreuu; a cheissa6; a cheissa6; a cheissa6; a chymeredic; a chymryt; a chynnulla6; a chyrchu; a chyrchu; a chyrchu; a phan; a pha6b; a pheunydyadl; a than; a thegach; a their; a thom
<i>CC</i>	a cheissa6; a cherdet; a chlybot; a phetwar; a thrayan; a thri; a thri; a thri; a thri; a thri; a thri; a thri; a thri
<i>P</i>	a chadarnaf; a challon; a chan; a chan; a chartrefu; a charu; a cheneuina6; a chennadeu; a cherd; a cherdet; a cherdet; a cherdeu; a chetymdeithas; a chl6yfeu; a choet; a chychwyn; a chyfanhedaf; a chyfarch; a chyfarhos; a chyfar6ydyt; a chyfot; a chyfranceu; a chymer6ch; a chymryt; a chyt; a chyt; a chymer; a chyn; a chyt; a phan; a phan; a phan; a phan; a phar; a phar; a pharth; a pha6b; a pheth; a ph6y; a thebic; a their; a thitheu; a thra; a thranoeth; a thranoeth; a thranoeth; a threigylg6eith
<i>H</i>	a cheinha6c; a cheinha6c; a cheissa6; a cherdet; a chlybot; a phan; a phedeir; a phetwar; a phetwar; a their; a thitheu; a thrayan; a thri; a thri; a thri; a thri; a thri; a thri; a thri; a thri; a thri

Table 2.4.4 – Consonants spirantised after the conjunction *a*

2.4.5: Cases of spirantisation following the cardinal number *tri*

	Cardinal number: <i>tri</i>
<i>M</i>	tri chastell
<i>H</i>	tri kyntaf

Table 2.4.5 – Consonants spirantised after the cardinal number *tri*

2.4.6: Comments on the orthographical representation of spirantisation

There are only a handful of instances across the entire corpus of the scribe's texts where spirantisation is not represented, and represented according to the single pattern for its representation. In the case of spirantisation following the negative particle, the pattern of spirantisation fits both the earlier and later system equally well, the indication that the later system is in use being found in the pattern of lenition to /g b m ʎ/ in main clauses.²⁶² The marking of spirantisation therefore provides no evidence to support the dates given to the poems.

²⁶² Rodway, 2013, 86.

2.5: Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter the question was posed as to what the extent of the similarity between the marking of mutation in the poems and comparison manuscripts is. This chapter has examined each instance where initial consonant mutation is expected in the texts, according to instances of marked mutation in those texts. Having found the pattern to be broadly similar across the corpus of the scribe's texts, those examples that broke from the pattern have been discussed and explained. The outcome of this examination is that in addition to the broad uniformity to be seen in the scribe's marking of lenition in both the poems and comparison texts, the vast majority of anomalous cases can also be explained without reference to the transmission history of those texts. There remain, however, certain features which do offer some insight into the process of transmission for some of the poems.

The use of the preverbal particle *yt* in *ED* and *AP* secures for those texts a linguistic dating at least as early as the work of the Gogynfeirdd. Spirantisation following *tra* in *ED* is, according to T. J. Morgan, not to be expected until the seventeenth century (three centuries later than the manuscript in which the form is found), however, its presence in the A hand of the Book of Aneirin in Ifor Williams' Stanza LV.A allows for a date at least as early as that stanza's, and possibly prior to a shift in mutation following *tra* from spirantisation to lenition. Again *EY* features the infix pronoun *-t*, the only other examples of which in Welsh date from the Old Welsh period.

There is also evidence showing common redaction of all the texts, possibly by X86 and if not, certainly by Middle Welsh redactors. One example is the pattern of marking lenition following direct contact with verbs (Section 2.2.12), which suggests the redaction of this feature in all of the texts at a certain point. Another example is

that mutation following negative particles always follows the Middle Welsh rule, rather than the older archaic form based on a distinction between main and relative clauses. These features by no means necessitate late authorship of any of the texts, indeed, in light of those few cases of older features, they show that the texts have undergone some level of redaction to replace older forms with new.

Lastly there are the surviving features of what may be separate lines of transmission for the poems. One example of this is the occasional marking of the lenition of /p/ as in *ED* and *AP*. Other examples include the use of <dd> for /ð/ in initial position in one example in *AP*, and the lack of marked lenition of /t/ following *ny* in *ED*.

There are several possible scenarios that could lead to the orthographical situation found in the marking of mutations. Firstly, the question must be asked whether the high level of similarity found between the poems and comparison texts is due to late authorship of the poems. If this is the case then those few features which do appear old would need to be explained. While the older features could be explained as being purposefully inserted archaisms, this seems unlikely. Such features are absent from *R* and *DA* where poets who wanted to add archaic flare to their work could also have used them. On the basis of those few old features, an early date of authorship seems more likely for *ED*, *AP*, and *EY* on the basis of the orthography of mutation found in them. That being the case, the fact that those features appear few and far between in texts which otherwise share a pattern of marking of mutation with other much later texts must be answered for.

There are three possibilities. First is oral transmission over the majority of the period between original authorship and the poems' copying into the Book of Taliesin. This, however, seems unlikely considering the nature of the examples of surviving

archaic features: over centuries of oral transmission it would have been very easy, indeed probable, for *yt* with lenition to have been naturally updated to *yd* without, *tra* followed by spirantisation to have been followed by lenition instead, and for the *-t* in *nyt* to have become *-s*. None of these changes would have had any impact on other considerations in the poems. Second then, is that all of the emendations were imposed by the scribe who copied the poems into the Book of Taliesin. This too seems unlikely as there is some evidence of other previous exemplars using to mark lenited /p/ in *ED* and *AP*. This feature is not common in the work of X86, and such marked mutation would not have been found in Old Welsh exemplars. If that were not enough, the case of *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn* shows that X86 did not impose a single orthography onto at least one of the poems copied into the Book of Taliesin. The most likely scenario therefore, is that at least *ED*, *AP*, and *EY* were committed to manuscript at an early period, and then underwent stages of redaction before their final redaction in the Book of Taliesin. It is not sensible to state, on the basis of the evidence seen in this chapter, how early that period was, although the infixed pronoun *-t* seems to only be found in Old Welsh texts.

Any findings in this chapter rest, to an extent, on three archaic features: the particle *yt*, spirantisation following *tra*, and the enclitic pronoun *-t*. Simon Rodway has written that “if we are to avoid the risk of circular argument, linguistic data from these texts [that is texts given dates earlier than their manuscripts,] cannot be admitted as a control against which to measure other undated texts.”²⁶³ This concern must be borne in mind here. However, these features appear as anomalies within X86’s wider corpus and they are dated by scholarship to periods before the poems’ fourteenth century appearance in the Book of Taliesin. It seems then that it would be possible to

²⁶³ Rodway, 2013, 16.

use features found and checked in this way to offer tentative broad dates for other undated poems in the same manuscript.

Overall, the finding that there has been redaction over the transmission history of at least three of the poems from the Old Welsh period both confirms the validity of their early date, and allays concerns about the later linguistic features. The findings of this chapter do not prove the dates of any of the poems to be correct, but they do not prove them incorrect. Most importantly, this chapter shows that the poems *ED*, *AP*, and *EY* contain early features, and explains the reason behind the many contemporary features. Due to the thorough redaction seen in the texts, it is not then possible to challenge the dates given on the basis of historical context on linguistic grounds.

Chapter 3

Vocalism

3.1: Introduction

Many vowels found in late Brythonic continue unchanged into Welsh.²⁶⁴ However, a major change from the Brythonic model in the development into Welsh was the new quantity system, whereby the contrastive vowel lengths of Brythonic became redistributed so that they became allophonically predictable: vowel length came to depend on phonological environment.²⁶⁵ Kenneth Jackson dated this development to the late sixth century, while Patrick Sims-Williams and Kim McCone have more recently favoured a date in the earlier part of that century.²⁶⁶ A further change occurs to certain long vowels, /e: ε: ɔ:/, which diphthongise to become /ui oi au/ between the sixth and eighth centuries.²⁶⁷ These changes all occur long before the proposed dates of the poems of this study.

There was a further change, however, caused to the vowels of Old Welsh by the accent shift. David Willis explains that “Late Brythonic had penultimate stress, which became word-final stress as the result of the loss of word-final syllables. In Old Welsh, the stress accent shifted back to the penultimate syllable although the pitch accent remained word-final”.²⁶⁸ Several features can be relatively dated by this development. Willis notes that sound changes differentiating final syllables, and monosyllables, from non-final syllables are dated to before the accent shift, while changes differentiating the penult, and monosyllables, from other syllables are dated after it.

There has been some dispute over when the accent shift occurred. John Morris-Jones dated it to the Middle Welsh period, in the twelfth to early thirteenth

²⁶⁴ Willis, 2009, 4.

²⁶⁵ Willis 2009, 4-5.

²⁶⁶ Jackson, 1953, 338-44; Sims-Williams, 1990; McCone, 1996, 145-65.

²⁶⁷ Jackson, 1953, 293-6; Sims-Williams, 1991, 47-9.

²⁶⁸ Willis, 2009, 6.

century, Jackson gave a date in the eleventh century, while T. Arwyn Watkins followed by McCone and Schrijver preferred an earlier date of the ninth century.²⁶⁹ Were the poems to predate the accent shift, and were vowels evidently earlier than the shift found to be present, this would be a useful feature for dating the poems. Willis lists two features which are “sensitive to stress as it occurs in Modern Welsh, so postdate the accent shift”: the loss of /h/, for example *brenin*<*brenhin*, and monophthongisation of /au/ to /o/ in the final syllable of polysyllabic words.²⁷⁰ It should be noted, however, that due to the generally conservative nature of Middle Welsh orthography, both <h> and final-syllable <a6> are to be found in the comparison texts, which certainly post-date the accent shift.

Further changes between the vowels of Old and Middle Welsh are not phonological, but rather orthographical. Alexander Falileyev shows there are even differences between the orthography of early and later Old Welsh, in particular the use of <y> and the representation of /θ/.²⁷¹ Further examples will be seen later on in the chapter; however, orthographical change proves to be a more productive avenue than phonological change for datable features.

The question to be answered in this chapter is to what extent do the vowels of the poems contain features which can be shown to be Old rather than Middle Welsh? As explained above, much of the Brythonic system of vowels continues unchanged into Old Welsh, and from there into Middle Welsh, where orthographic traditionalism hides many of the changes which do occur. This chapter will not therefore constitute a comprehensive survey of every vowel occurring across the texts. Rather, it will focus on those vowels which might be useful in providing dating criteria for the poems.

²⁶⁹ Morris-Jones, 1913, 48; Jackson, 1953, 687&699; Watkins, 1972 & 1976; McCone, 1996, 20; Schrijver, 1998-2000, 147-60.

²⁷⁰ Willis, 2009, 7.

²⁷¹ Falileyev, 2016, 7.

The methodology for obtaining the information discussed in this chapter was to select those forms highlighted by the various editions of the poems, or which were shown to be variants of those forms given by *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*. In addition to this have been included notable forms as commented on in various grammars.²⁷² Having selected these forms from the poems and comparison texts, they are discussed in terms of their etymology and, where possible, their relationship to other forms in the texts. This chapter will analyse the forms in terms of their strengths as dating criteria.

The chapter is divided into several subsections, discussing: the post-shift use of <a6> and <o> in final syllables; epenthetic and prothetic vowels; close, central, and open vowels; forms with *i*-affection; and various other examples. Where there is a sufficient volume to warrant, data is tabulated. Elsewhere individual forms are discussed alongside similar examples. Broader analysis will be drawn in the conclusion.

²⁷² For example: Evans, 1964; Willis, 2009; Falileyev, 2016; Jackson, 1953; Morris-Jones, 1913.

3.2: <AW> / <O>

David Willis states that the long /ɔ:/ of Late Brythonic was shortened to [ɔ] in pretonic syllables in Old Welsh, giving the example of */nɔdɔlig/ from the Latin *Nātālicia*.²⁷³ In stressed syllables, /ɔ:/ was diphthongised to /au/. Following the shift of the stress accent to the penult, /au/ was monophthongised to /o/ in newly post-tonic syllables.²⁷⁴ Willis cites the pair *llaw:dwyllo* as an example of the effect of this change in Welsh. He goes on, however, to note that Middle Welsh orthography does not normally indicate the new monophthong, writing <aw> in stressed and post-tonic syllables.

Kenneth Jackson writes that the latest example of /ɔ:/ of which he knew was *retinoc* in Chad 6, from the eighth or early ninth century, although Rodway cites examples from as late as the tenth century, suggesting that this is due to orthographic convention.²⁷⁵ Willis shows that monophthongised /o/ must return after the accent shift. As stated above, the shift has been dated to the eleventh, twelfth, or early thirteenth century, with the most recent and convincing case made for an earlier date of the ninth century.²⁷⁶ The earliest of these dates would place the development of post-tonic /o/ at a similar date to the supposed date of composition of the earliest of this study's poems, *ED*, and the latest at a date similar to the latest poem, *EY*. David Willis notes that Watkins' further points on consonant reduction resulting from the accent shift support the ninth century date for the shift.²⁷⁷

In addition to the monophthongised, post-tonic /o/, Old and Middle Welsh inherited a short /o/. The date of the shift must determine any interpretation of the

²⁷³ Willis, 2009, 4.

²⁷⁴ Willis, 2009, 7.

²⁷⁵ Rodway, 2013, 136.

²⁷⁶ Jackson, 1953, 687; Morris-Jones, 1913, 48; Watkins, 1972 & 1976; McCone, 1996; Schrijver, 1998-2000.

²⁷⁷ Willis, 2009, 8; cf. Schrijver 1998-2000.

pattern of <aw> and <o>. If the shift is later, <aw> and <o> may have represented different sounds at some point in the history of the poems' redaction. However, if the shift is earlier, then the difference would have been purely orthographical, as the vowels had fallen together prior to the poems' composition.

Both the poems and comparison texts appear to differentiate between the monophthongised /o/, written <a6>, and the preexisting /o/ written <o>. In order to facilitate the comparison of the post-tonic syllables featuring /o/, the instances found in the texts are tabulated below according to nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions and other miscellaneous examples.

Nouns

Text	Examples of <a6> in nouns	Examples of <o> in nouns
ED	defa6t x2; lledyfa6t; taua6t	amot; kymot; eillon; escor; goscor
AP	ana6r; vydina6r; dyrna6t; garma6n; wira6t; llafna6r x2; lyda6 x2; lyfra6r; medda6t x2; mola6t; vyna6; tralla6t; trinda6t x2; tywyssa6c	alluro; atporyon; balaon; brython x3; granwynyon; gyghor x3; chymot x2; kymro; chynhoryon; derwydon; eissor; gynhon x3; iwerdon x2; veibon; meiryon x5; perydon x2; saesson x12
R	gatwalla6n; keredigya6n; eigya6n; marcha6c	aeron; auon; hagyfieithon; alon; brython x2; keinyadon; kyfleudon; daryfon; deduon; gofalon; gorchordyon; orll6ython; g6ystlon; iwerdon; llion; lonyon; maon x2; meillon; nefon; ranwynyon; riedon; r6ython; saesson
DA	Kaswalla6n	valaon; vargotyon; vrython; weisson; g6ystlon; gynhon; hoelyon; iago; saesson
EY	braga6t; wira6t; roda6c; prioda6r	aedon x2; amaethon; archaedon x2; gyfeissor; kyghor; deon; ebostol; egypton; eluinor; escor; werthuor; g6ytyon x2; seon; te6dor; tymhor
M	acha6s x2; ansa6d x2; Diwarna6t; marcha6c; teilygda6t; tywyssa6c x4	akalon; auon x3; carcharoryon; gyfoetyon; kyghor x3; gytuarchogyon; getymdeithon x3; dewinyon; doethon; disgyryon; escor; ffoedigyon; gelynyon x2; guedillon; meibon x3; noethon; press6yluot; ragor; tywyssogyon; ymborth
CC	aela6t x2; keinha6c x2; gyghella6r x2; mor6ynda6t; taua6t; taya6c x4; yscuba6r	arbenigyon; gyfloc; kyghor; kymro; eidon; lladron; trefgord; aelot
P	hacha6s x2; ana6; bedra6t; graessa6 x5; diga6n x2; Efra6c; g6alsta6t; llyda6; marcha6c x4; ondrya6	amryfalyon; anregyon x2; callon x2; gytuarchogyon; kyttiryogyon; ketymdeithon x4; gyghor x2; d6yvron x2; dynyon; ffydlonyon; Garanhon; G6ryon; iwerdon; lladron; llion; vorynyon; rodyon;
H	aela6t; keinha6c x6; gyghella6r x2; gorcha6 x2; gorchenga6; g6eniga6l; mor6ynda6t; Taua6t; taya6c x4; yscuba6r	amrysson; kyghor; gytetiuedyon x2; getymdeithon; kymro; eidon; etiuedyon; lladron; trefgord

Table 3.2a – Instances of <a6> and <o> in final syllables in nouns

Nouns provide the most examples of <o> in final position. As the table above shows, many of these instances are found in plural endings in *-on*, although many occur within the stem of the word. Across the texts, the difference between monophthongised <a6> and original <o> is generally maintained. There is one notable exception of *aelot* in *CC*. The editors of the Welsh Prose 1300-1425 project suggest that the form should be amended to *aeloteu*.²⁷⁸ The corresponding section in *H* does not include the clause featuring *aelot*, however, *aelot* appears to refer to the *tri dyrchauell/drychafel* mentioned in 57v of *CC* and 20v of *H*. If that is the case, then the

²⁷⁸ Luft, 2013.

plural *aeloteu* would better fit the circumstances, likely meaning that *aelot* is a scribal error.

There are a further two forms that should be noted: *hoelyon* in *DA* (1.9) and *werthuor* in *EY* (1.13). Marged Haycock proposes that *hoelyon* be amended to *holwyn* to fit the rhyme, as discussed further below.²⁷⁹ R. Geraint Gruffydd amends *werthuor* to *warthuor*, suggesting the form might be considered a compound of *gwarth* and *bor*, rather than *mawr*, on the basis that “the probable date of composition is rather early for reduction of *-fawr* > *-for*” and that the rhyme is on *-or* rather than *-awr*.²⁸⁰

The use of <a6> and <o> in final syllables in nouns is the same in the poems and comparison texts and cannot therefore be used to date the poems’ composition.

²⁷⁹ Haycock, 2013, 94.

²⁸⁰ Gruffydd, 1999, 46.

Verbal nouns

Text	Examples of <a6> in verbs	Examples of <o> in verbs
AP	ada6; anneira6; eirya6l; tywyssa6; ymtreula6	attor x3; dihol x2; hebcor
R		hamrysson
DA	rewinya6	
EY		aros; gohor
M	ada6 x2; blina6; briwa6; bryssya6; bydina6; keissa6 x9; keithiwa6; cr6ydra6 x2; kyneuina6; kynhorth6ya6; chynnulla6; dewina6; dispeila6; dista6; dolurya6 x2; gobeitha6; gogyfada6; 6yla6; llafurya6 x2; lluyda6 x2; medylya6 x3; pedrussa6; press6yla6 x2; treula6; trygya6; t6ylla6 x2; ymgudya6; ymgynylla6; yssiga6	adnabot; anuon x3; annot; aruoll; arganuot; arhos; daruot; dehol; diaruot; dyuot x7; goruot x2; gossot x2; g6ybot x3; ymadnabot
CC	art6ya6; keissa6 x2; guhuda6; kytsynya6; duhuna6 x2; r6yga6	dangos
P	cheneuina6; kyweira6 x2; diwarthrudya6; fr6ynglyma6; g6isca6; llitya6; lithra6; medylya6 x3; treula6	anuon; aruoll; clybot; chyfarhos; chyfot; diot; dyuot x8; gossot x4; 6ybot x2; ym6ybot
H	ard6ya6; keissa6 x2; kydsynya6; duuna6 x2; r6yga6	gossot

Table 3.2b – Instances of <a6> and <o> in final syllables in verbs

With the exception of *eirya6l* in *AP*, all instances of <a6> in verbal nouns occur in the verbal suffix *-o* < *-aw*.²⁸¹ The examples in the table above show that the separation of <a6> and <o> is maintained. It should be noted that the form *diot* in *P* is the verb *diod*, *diodi*,²⁸² rather than the noun which would be expected as *dia6t*.

²⁸¹ GPC, s.v. *-o*¹.

²⁸² GPC, s.v. *diodaf*².

Adjectives

Text	Examples of <a6> in adjectives	Examples of <o> in adjectives
ED	<i>p6yllua6r</i>	<i>diachor</i>
AP	<i>aga6r</i> ; <i>geda6l</i> ; <i>dirua6r</i> ; <i>dylyeda6c</i> ; <i>erchwyna6c</i> ; <i>gafla6</i> ; <i>g6enera6l</i> ; <i>bara6t</i> ; <i>pryda6 x2</i> ; <i>vnffa6t</i>	<i>agor x2</i> ; <i>gýtson</i> ; <i>hiryon</i>
R		<i>kymon</i> ; <i>gysson</i>
DA	<i>chswana6c</i> ; <i>llymina6c</i> ; <i>pellena6c</i>	
EY	<i>Dragana6l</i> ; <i>dia6c</i> ; <i>Tristla6n</i>	<i>diachor</i> ; <i>gobetror</i>
M	<i>agheua6l</i> ; <i>arua6c x3</i> ; <i>ueicha6c</i> ; <i>vrenhinya6l x2</i> ; <i>coeta6c</i> ; <i>dirua6r</i> ; <i>ffydla6n</i> ; <i>6ra6l x2</i> ; <i>ledrada6l</i> ; <i>para6t x2</i> ; <i>pheunydy6a6l</i> ; <i>tyghetuena6l</i>	
CC	<i>canh6yna6l x3</i> ; <i>kyuelinya6c</i> ; <i>kyhoeda6c x2</i> ; <i>dioureda6c</i> ; <i>hanhera6c x3</i>	
P	<i>arua6c</i> ; <i>buduga6l</i> ; <i>clotua6r x2</i> ; <i>kyndeira6c</i> ; <i>didla6t x3</i> ; <i>dirua6r</i> ; <i>donya6c</i> ; <i>dysgeiticia6n</i> ; <i>estrona6l</i> ; <i>fr6ythla6n</i> ; <i>llitya6c x2</i> ; <i>oetya6c</i> ; <i>bara6t</i> ; <i>ymadra6dlym</i>	
H	<i>canh6yna6l x3</i> ; <i>kyfelinya6c</i> ; <i>gyfranna6c</i> ; <i>kyhoeda6c x2</i> ; <i>diofreda6c</i> ; <i>wahanreda6l</i> ; <i>g6reiga6c</i> ; <i>hanhera6c x3</i>	

Table 3.2c – Instances of <a6> and <o> in final and other noteworthy syllables in adjectives

Many instances of <a6> are found in the adjectival suffixes *-awg* and *-awl*, although other forms are found in compounds, for example *p6yllua6r* in *ED*, *vnffa6t* in *AP*, and *Tristla6n* in *EY*. The difference in *AP* between *aga6r* (=angawr) and *agor* should be noted: the former, meaning ‘greedy’, with its <a6> resulting from an original long /a:/, and the latter, meaning ‘open’, with its <o> resulting from an original short /o/. In the compound form *ymadra6dlym* in *P*, the post-tonic <a6> has been moved by the suffix to the stressed penult.

Prepositions

Text	Examples of <a6> in prepositions	Examples of <o> in prepositions
M	arna6 x6; atta6 x5; ganta6 x9; dana6; 6rtha6 x2; ida6 x13; ohona6 x4; ynda6	ohonot x2
CC	arna6 x2; ganta6 x2; ida6 x2; ynda6;	
P	arna6 x3; arna6ch; atta6 x3; ganta6 x5; dana6; 6rtha6 x2; hebda6; ida6 x5; rygta6; ymdana6 x3; ynda6	ohonot
H	arna6 x2; ganta6 x2; drosta6; ida6 x5; ynda6	

Table 3.2d – Instances of <a6> and <o> in final syllables in conjugated prepositions

As will be seen again in Chapter 4b, conjugated prepositions are rare in the poems, and such forms featuring <a6> and <o> in final syllables are only found in the comparison texts. The third person singular masculine form ends in *-a6*, and is witnessed in the majority of instances in the table above. In addition to this are the second person forms. The second person plural is found in the form *arna6ch* in *P*, and the singular in *ohonot* in *M* and *P*. While the latter of these forms provides the only use of <o> where <a6> could be used in final syllables, Sims-Williams shows that *ohonot* is to be expected in fourteenth century prose.²⁸³ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* lists the form *ohanavt* in *Brut Dingestow* in the thirteenth century, and the form *honawd* in the Hendregadredd Manuscript. Unfortunately, while this form is useful in showing a break in the previous pattern of <a6> and <o>, it is found in a form which is limited to the comparison manuscripts, and cannot therefore be used in relation to the poems' dates.

²⁸³ Sims-Williams, 2013, 5.

Miscellany

Text	Examples of <a6> in various words	Examples of <o> in various words
M	heibya6	heno; honno x5; yno
CC		weithon
P	heiba6	efo; weithon; honno x9; yno x4
H		weithon

Table 3.2e – Instances of <a6> and <o> in final syllables in various words

The table above features various other forms with <a6> or <o> in the final syllable.

Again here, the division is maintained correctly.

3.3: Epenthetic and prothetic vowels

David Willis writes that, “Epenthetic schwa develops in Old and Middle Welsh between two consonants in word final position in the sequences:

- (1) consonant + /r l n/
- (2) /rm rv lm lv/
- (3) /ðv/²⁸⁴

This vowel was presumably syllabic in speech, but nonsyllabic in poetry. Willis states that in some cases it assimilates to the vowel of the previous syllable. Paul Russell explains the development of epenthetic vowels as the result of inherited consonantal clusters being unacceptable when found in final position following the loss of final syllables.²⁸⁵ This results in a pattern, as witnessed for example in *R*, where the word *diḡystyl* (1.28) contains an epenthetic vowel, whereas the form *gḡystlon* (1.4) does not. The difference is that /stl/ is not an acceptable cluster in final position, but it is in medial position. The need for such vowels would have arisen at the loss of final syllables. Gwennlian Awbery suggests two ways in which the problem of these final position clusters were dealt with: epenthesis or the loss of one element of the cluster.²⁸⁶ Paul Russell shows the antiquity of the latter, by pointing to the nouns *trawst* and *brawd* (pl. *trostrau* and *brodyr* respectively).²⁸⁷ While Alexander Falileyev notes that epenthetic vowels are sometimes present in Old Welsh,²⁸⁸ John Morris-Jones states that these are usually not present, citing the example of *reatir* and then *cruitr*, *discl*, *datl*, *scribl*.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁴ Willis, 2009, 9.

²⁸⁵ Russell, 1995, 154.

²⁸⁶ Awbery, 1984, 89; cf. Sims-Williams, 2017, ll.79-114.

²⁸⁷ Russell, 1995, 155.

²⁸⁸ Falileyev, 2016, 6.

²⁸⁹ Morris-Jones, 1913, 17.

Russell paints a different picture for the prothetic vowels. He states that in late Old Welsh (eighth-tenth century) initial clusters beginning in /s/ became unacceptable, leading to the development of *ysbryd*<*spiritus* and *ystrad*<**strat*-.²⁹⁰ Russell bases this date on Jackson who gives the sole Old Welsh example of *istlinnit* in the ninth-century Juvencus Manuscript.²⁹¹ This example has elsewhere been explained as a copying error for *.i. stlinnit*, meaning that prothetic vowels may not have developed long before the twelfth century.²⁹² Morris-Jones cites examples of *Istrat*, *Estrat*, alongside *Strat* in the Book of Llandaf, as the earliest recorded examples of prothetic vowels in this position.²⁹³

Epenthetic vowels

Text	Epenthetic vowels in final syllable	Epenthetic vowels in non-final syllables
ED	llyfyn; ll6ybyr; 6ybyr	lledyfdaf; veuylhaet
AP	G6aethyl; g6r6f; gwychyr x2; katwaladyr x3; kadyr x3; lloegyr; baladyr; ruthyr; th6r6f; vthyr	
R	di6ystyl; taradyr	
EY	ffyrff	
M	kenedyl; g6byl; diaryf; d6fyr; eithyr; 6ychyr; ofyn; ruthyl	diafyrd6l; ofynhau
CC	geuyn; kenedyl; colouyn; gobyr; 6dyf; gytleidyr; lleityr; ll6dyn; penkenedyl	
P	c6byl; dogyn; lloegyr; meuel; talym; trachefyn	threigylg6eith
H	gefyn; kenedyl; colofyn; gytleidyr; dadyl; eithyr; gobyr; 6dyf; Lleidyr; ll6dyn; penkenedyl; Roda6dyr	

Table 3.3 – Instances of epenthetic vowels found in the poems and comparison texts

The table above shows that epenthetic vowels are well represented in the orthography of both the poems and the comparison texts. The clusters above do not occur in final position without epenthetic vowels. Their comprehensive use in the poems indicates the later pattern of Middle Welsh, rather than the less regular pattern of Old Welsh.

²⁹⁰ Russell, 1995, 154.

²⁹¹ Jackson, 1953, 527.

²⁹² McKee, 2000, 520.

²⁹³ Morris-Jones, 1913, 26.

An example of the inconsistency of Old Welsh in this regard can be seen in the spelling of the word *gwychr*, as *guichr* in the early ninth century Bodleian MS Auctarium F.4.34,²⁹⁴ and as both *guichr* and *guichir* in the late ninth century Juvenius MS.²⁹⁵ The word is spelled with the epenthetic vowel in *g6ychr* in *AP* (ll.5&147). All examples of epenthetic vowels in non-final position occur in compounds where the epenthetic vowel has been moved via the addition of a suffix.

Prothetic vowels

Prothetic vowels are found in the poems in *ED* in *yscriuen* (l.45) and in *DA* in *ystic* (l.21). The syllable count of both poems varies sufficiently that no conclusion can be drawn on that basis as to whether the prothetic vowels are original. The vowels are also to be found in the comparison texts: *yscuba6r* in *CC*, *yscyfal6ch*, *ystauell*, and *yscaeluswisc* in *P*, and *hyscyfarn* in *H*. Once again the pattern is that of later Old Welsh and Middle Welsh.

²⁹⁴ GPC, s.v. *gwychr*.

²⁹⁵ Falileyev, 2000, 68.

3.4: Close vowels

Paul Russell highlights the problem of the representation of central vowels and fricatives.²⁹⁶ He shows the complexity of the orthographical situation in Old and Middle Welsh in a series of tables consolidated below:²⁹⁷

Century (and Manuscript)	/j/	/i/	/i/	/w/	/u/	/u/	/v/
9 th C. (Chad 1 and 2)	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>b m</i>
12 th C. (Breint Teilo)	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>y i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u f</i>
13 th C. (Cotton Caligula A.iii)	<i>y</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>y e</i>	<i>v w u</i>	<i>u w v</i>	<i>v w u</i>	<i>v w u f</i>
13 th C. (Cotton Titus D.ii)	<i>y</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>y e</i>	<i>w (g)u-</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u v</i>	<i>u f</i>

Table 3.4 – The representation of central vowels and fricatives in the 9th-13th centuries, from Russell, 1995, 215 & 218, Tables 6.9 and 6.11

Russell also explains the creation of <6> as resulting from the limited of stock of graphemes.²⁹⁸ The use of the graphemes <u v w> as consonants must then be differentiated from their use as vowels.

Turning to X86's orthography, across the poems and comparison texts <u v> are used interchangeably for /u/, albeit with a much lower frequency of <v>. There are also examples of the same graphemes being used for /u/: *CC* has a single example of *Vythuet* (55r), where the corresponding section of *H* has *6ythuet* (17r); *AP* has *kud* (l.112), before the scribe changes the spelling to *c6d* twice more on the same line; and *R* has *kyfleudon* (l.5), which *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* lists as a variant of *cyflawddon*.²⁹⁹ In addition to these, *ED* has *deruin* (l.31) with <u> for /w/. Elsewhere, <u> fo /w/ is only witnessed in the cluster <gu> for /gw/. Marged Haycock suggests an emendation in *DA* of *g6d* (l.24) to *gud* (/guð/ rather than /guð/), which stands in contrast to the *kud* for /kuð/ in *AP* (l.112), where the spelling is not emended despite emendation to <k6d> being required, and indeed found twice again later in the same

²⁹⁶ Russell, 1995, 214.

²⁹⁷ Russell, 1995, 215 & 218.

²⁹⁸ Russell, 1995, 215.

²⁹⁹ GPC, s.v. *cyflawddon*.

line.³⁰⁰ The validity of the Haycock's emendation is confirmed by both rhyme and reason.

Each of these examples suggest confusion in redaction resulting from exemplars using <u> for /u u w/. While this points to the existence of older orthography in an exemplar, Old Welsh orthography would certainly be too early for the example of *Vythuet* in *CC*. However, Russell shows that elsewhere, in Cotton Caligula A.iii, <v> for /w/ is used.³⁰¹ The corresponding section in *H* for uses <6>. The instances of confusion in redacting <u 6> for /u w/ in the poems' texts may then be remnants of an older orthography.

D. Simon Evans writes that /u/ merged with /i/ during the Middle Welsh period. He states that the sound survived longer in accented syllables, including monosyllables, than in unaccented finals.³⁰² Clearly, this occurs after the accent shift, with David Willis explaining that evidence of the confusion of <u> and <y> dates from the fourteenth century onwards.³⁰³ The example of *custud* in *AP* (1.94) shows the assimilation of /ə/ in the first syllable to /u/ via vowel harmony, although this cannot be used to date the poem any earlier than the comparison texts which also contain similar examples: *udunt* in *M*, *P*, and *H* (the comparison texts all have <unt> in third plural conjugated prepositions), as well as the accented vowel affecting the preceding vowel in *duuna6* in *CC* and *H*, and *guhudyaw* in *CC*.

Evans states that, "in monosyllables where *u* was followed by *ch* the rounding was retained; this is evidenced by the glide *w* in ModW: *uch* (ModW *uwch*), *buch* (ModW *buwch*), *ruch* (ModW *rhuwch*). This development already appears in late

³⁰⁰ Haycock, 2013, 96.

³⁰¹ Russell, 1995, 218.

³⁰² Evans, 1964, 1-2.

³⁰³ Willis, 2009, 8.

MW: *ywch* (=uwch), *odywch* (od+ywch), *bywch*.³⁰⁴ *ED* is the only poem with any examples of *u* in this environment, in *uch* (ll.6&16) and *oduch* (l.55). While both of these do not show the /w/ glide, the scribe does write <u6> in *CC* in *bu6ch* (56v) and *gyfu6ch* (57r). As seen elsewhere, *CC* does not usually contain the orthographic innovations found in *H*, and so it is interesting that the corresponding section in *H* has *gyfuch* (19v) without the glide. *H* has no corresponding reference to *bu6ch* in *CC*. Just as *H* had no /w/ glide, neither has *M*, where the scribe writes *uch*. The spelling of *uch* in the comparison texts shows that it was not a feature that the scribe sought to change in copying the poems, despite his familiarity with *u6ch* as shown in *CC*.

³⁰⁴ Evans, 1964, 2.

3.5: Central vowels

There are several examples across the poems and comparison texts of the confusion of <e i y>. This is found in the following positions: <i> for <y>, <y> for /e/, /e/ for /i/, and <y> for /i/. The instances are listed below.

John Morris-Jones gives an etymology of *tristydyd* <*trīstitī*> <*trīstitia*> for the form found in *AP* as *tristit* (1.39).³⁰⁵ This spelling *tristit* is also found elsewhere in the Book of Taliesin, and *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* cites both *tristydyd* and *tristit*.³⁰⁶ Other forms are found in the texts where *-yd* is used: *clefyd* in *AP* (1.158), *keluydyt* in *M*, and *chyfar6ydyt* in *P*. The latter forms, *keluydyt* and *chyfar6ydyt*, match Morris-Jones' etymology for *-yd* <**o-tūts*>,³⁰⁷ however the form *clefyd* (**klamito-*³⁰⁸), also ends in *-yt*, with short /i/ regularly giving <y>. Endings including <i> are maintained, however, elsewhere in the poems and comparison texts, in the word *ewyllis* in *AP* (1.20), *M*, and *P*, and also in *thebic* in *P*, the same root is found elsewhere in *P* in *tebygaf*. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* gives examples of *ewyllys* ending in *-ys*, *-is*, *-us*, and *-wys*,³⁰⁹ A spelling of *ewyllys* using <i> is also found in the thirteenth century³¹⁰ Black Book of Chirk where the word is found *evvlis*.³¹¹

The example of *tebic:tebygaf* results from the stress accent shift, which resulted in /i/ in non-final syllables weakening to /ə/. Falileyev shows that in Old Welsh <i> represented /i ə/ as well as /i/.³¹² It seems unlikely however that the examples here are fossils from Old Welsh, especially considering that they are found in the comparison texts. A more satisfactory explanation is that the scribe

³⁰⁵ Morris-Jones, 1913, 232.

³⁰⁶ GPC, s.v. *tristydyd*.

³⁰⁷ Morris-Jones, 1913, 232.

³⁰⁸ GPC, s.v. *clefyd*.

³⁰⁹ GPC, s.v. *ewyllys*.

³¹⁰ Huws, 2000, 58.

³¹¹ GPC, s.v. *ewyllys*.

³¹² Falileyev, 2016, 7.

occasionally used <i> for /i/. This is shown by the two spellings in *AP* of *iwys* (l.108) and *iwis* (l.181), which may be problematic as a name originating as *Gewisse*.³¹³ A further example is found in the examples of *Miui* and *hihi* in *P*, where both are formed by the reduplication of the pronoun. That formation is shown orthographically whatever the phonological realisation may be.

At the viva for this thesis Paul Russell pointed out that spellings which seem to be modernising a previous <e> to <y> may derive from a spelling system which used <e> for /i ə/. There is no evidence of this in Old Welsh orthography, but it was common in thirteenth-century North Wales. This is seen in the examples of *llymina6c* in *DA* (l.14) and *huynys* in *EY* (l.1). Marged Haycock links *llymina6c* to the words *llemenic* and *llemina6c* elsewhere in the Book of Taliesin, with internal *i*-affection and reduction of /e/ to schwa before the accent.³¹⁴ At the viva John Koch noted that the short /e/ in *llemina6c* could have been neutralised before the nasal in *llymina6c*. R. Geraint Gruffydd translates *huynys* as ‘splendid’, deriving from *huan* (‘light’, ‘sun’), again with *i*-affection and reduction to schwa before the accent.³¹⁵ *AP* has the variant spellings of *kechmyn* (ll.40&184) and *kychmyn* (l.27), again showing reduction before the accent. Additionally, D. Simon Evans shows that Modern Welsh *er* was written *yr* in Middle Welsh and *ir* in Old Welsh, with the later *er* coming from the conjugated forms (e.g. *erof*). This goes to explain the incidence of *yr* in *AP*, *CC*, *H*, and *P*.

There are extant examples in the texts of this <e> for /i ə/. The comparison texts contain examples of *e hun* / *e hunan*, once in *M*, twice in *CC*, and three times in both *P* and *H*, and *reeni* in *H*. Evans shows that this interchange still occurred in the

³¹³ GPC, s.v. *iwys*.

³¹⁴ Haycock, 2013, 95.

³¹⁵ Gruffydd, 1999, 46.

fourteenth century.³¹⁶ Other examples of <e> for <y> are found in the poems in the form *dechymyd* in *AP* (ll.35-9) and in *EY* in the word *eluinor* (l.10), which R. Geraint Gruffydd followed J. Lloyd-Jones in proposing a derivation from *gyluin*,³¹⁷ and in the comparison texts in the various forms related to *getymdeith* (*M*: *getymdeith*, *getymdeithon*; *CC*: *ketymdeith*, *getymdeithas*; *P*: *getymdeith*, *ketymdeithon*, *ketymdeithas*; *H*: *getymdeith*) and *gewilydus* in *M*.

Lastly, Ifor Williams notes that <y> is used in *llyn* in l.14 of *ED* where rhyme and reason confirm that it should read *llin*.³¹⁸ He connects the use of <y> for /i/ with the thirteenth century Black Book of Carmarthen. Paul Russell shows that <y> was used for /i/ in the twelfth-century *Breint Teilo* in the Book of Llandaff.³¹⁹ This feature appears to show redaction from an earlier exemplar using <i> to a later orthography favouring diversification from <i> to <y>.

³¹⁶ Evans, 1964, 1.

³¹⁷ Gruffydd, 2005, 46; Lloyd-Jones, 1963.

³¹⁸ Williams, 1972b, 156-7.

³¹⁹ Russell, 1995, 215.

3.6: Open vowels

There is limited variation across the texts in the use of <a> and <y>. This occurs in three positions: firstly before nasals, secondly before <ch>, and thirdly before <ss> in the third person plural preterite ending. The last of these positions results from *s*-preterites with *a* or *y* (<-*ws* or <-*wys*) in the suffix stem.³²⁰

The poems maintain the separation of <a> and <y> in most cases. Exceptions to this are found in unstressed proclitics (in *an teyrned* (l.40) and *an seint* (l.139) in *AP* and *at* (l.11) for *yt* in *EY*), and in the use of <-*yssant* alongside <-*assant* in third person plural preterites. Similar instances are also found in the comparison texts: following nasals in *ymdanunt*, *ymdifferynt*, *ynyal6ch*, *kanhorth6ya6*, and *damunassei* in *M*, *vanach* in *CC*, and *ymdanat*, *ymdana6*, and *ymdanei* and *canhebryngeit* in *P*; and before <ss> in *ymgynullyssant* in *M*, and *ymwahanysant* in *P*. In addition to these, the comparison texts also contain an example of variation before <ch>, in *a6ch* (=eich) in *P*.

D. Simon Evans lists examples of both <y> for <a> and <a> for <y>.³²¹ The latter must postdate the accent shift, as only then did /i/ weaken to /ə/ in order to be able to alternate with /a/.³²² Evans gives such an example in the word *amherawdyr* found in the Red Book of Hergest.³²³ The majority of examples found in the comparison texts, however, are cases of an original /a/ weakening to /ə/, sometimes with /ə/ later becoming standard. It is the original /a/ that is presented in *kanhorth6ya6* and *damunya6*, with instances of <y> resulting from weakened /a/.³²⁴

³²⁰ Rodway, 2013, 75.

³²¹ Evans, 1964, 2.

³²² Willis, 2009, 6.

³²³ Evans, 1964, 2.

³²⁴ GPC, s.v. *cynorthwyo* and *dymuno*.

Evans also notes an increased tendency towards *-assant* from *-yssant* between the writing of the White Book and Red Book versions of the Mabinogion.³²⁵ However both of these manuscripts are later than those of this study.³²⁶ While Rodway also notes that *-as(s)-* was spreading at the expense of *-ys(s)-* in the historical period,³²⁷ it does not appear that these features can be used as criteria to provide dates for the poems.

³²⁵ Evans, 1964, 125.

³²⁶ Huws, 2000, 59-60.

³²⁷ Rodway, 2013, 75, n.228.

3.7: Vowels with *i*-affection

Kenneth Jackson describes *i*-affection as occurring since Late British (c. 500).³²⁸ The realisation of *i*-affection is represented in similar ways in the poems and comparison texts. Not all forms which might undergo *i*-affection do so.

Some examples of *i*-affection are very straightforward; a final syllable in /i i/ affects the quality of the vowels preceding it. There are many examples such as *ymledynt* and *telir* where verbal endings cause *i*-affection. *H* also contains examples of third person singular feminine conjugated pronouns with *i*-affection: *erni* and *oheni*.

Jackson states that, “quite often, not only the vowel of the syllable immediately preceding the [i] and [j] but also that of the syllable or syllables before it was affected.”³²⁹ This ‘double affection’ is seen in *CC* in the form *effeirat*, which Jackson explains in stating that, “e, ei, or eu arising by affection itself affects a preceding vowel in precisely the same way as *ĩ* does” as a form of double affection.³³⁰ Verbal forms with endings in *y* can also cause double affection: *gedernheynt* and *genhettych* in *M*. Other examples of *i*-affection are found repeatedly in the word *llewenyd* in *R* (1.2), *DA* (1.29), and *P*. It is also found in *DA* in *werescyn* (1.16), however *i*-affection is not present in the first syllable in *orescyn* in *P*. Jackson explains this as resulting from *gwo-* resisting *i*-affection, leaving *go-* after the /w/ was later dropped.³³¹ This would necessitate a pre-affection *gwa-* in the form *weresyn*. The *i*-affection in the word *menegi* in *M*, *P*, and *H*, contrasts with *H*'s *manac* and *manacg6r* which show the non-affected vowels.

³²⁸ Jackson, 1953, 579.

³²⁹ Jackson, 1953, 591.

³³⁰ Jackson, 1953, 592.

³³¹ Jackson, 1953, 590.

There remain two examples of *i*-affection to discuss: in *EY ebostol* (1.16) and *egylyon* (1.17). *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* shows that the form *ebostol* developed by analogy with the plural *ebestyl*<*apostoli*, which itself contained double affection.³³² The form *egylyon* is a double plural, formed by the addition of the plural ending *-yon* to the existing plural *egyl*<*angeli*.³³³ Thus, neither of these forms show true *i*-affection.

³³² GPC, s.v. *ebostol*.

³³³ GPC, s.v. *engyl*.

3.8: Other vowels

There are several other miscellaneous vowels of interest in the poems.

R. Geraint Gruffydd follows Ifor Williams in recognising *felyc* in *ED* (l.17) as *ffeleic*, as it is written elsewhere in the Book of Taliesin.³³⁴ Why <ei> has become <y> here is unclear: both Gruffydd and Williams take it to be scribal error,³³⁵ perhaps from an exemplar with <e> for <ei> wrongly modernised to <y>. The grapheme <y> is also used once in the diphthong /ei/ in *prydeyn* in *AP* (l.105) where <ei> is used when the word is repeated twice later on in *AP*. *Prydein* is also the spelling used in both *ED* and *P*. *Prydeyn* may be an instance of the scribe being too eager in redacting <y> to <i>.

Ifor Williams notes that the example in *AP* of *dychyfroy* (l.38) is an example of older orthography for *dychyffrwy*. Falileyev shows that it was Old Welsh practice sometimes to write /ui/ as <oi>.³³⁶ This <oi> for /ui/ can be seen in Old Welsh texts in examples such as *ir bloidin hunnuith* in the Computus Fragment.³³⁷ This instance appears to be good evidence of the poem's redaction from an older exemplar using <oi>.³³⁸

Marged Haycock suggests a reading of *holwyn* for the manuscript's *hoelyon* in *DA* (l.9). This emendation means a rhyme with *hafwyn* in the following line, and Haycock suggests the scribe may have become confused due to a change in metre and substituted an ending in *-on*.³³⁹ If the scribe was indeed looking for an *-on* ending, it is easy to see how an exemplar in Old Welsh written **holoin* (with <oi> for /ui/ as above) could be jumbled to become *hoelyon*. Especially considering examples in Old

³³⁴ GPC, s.v. *ffelaig*.

³³⁵ Gruffydd, 2005, 96-7; Williams, 1972b, 168.

³³⁶ Falileyev 2016, 8; cf. Rodway, 2013, 133, n.380.

³³⁷ Falileyev 2016, 24.

³³⁸ Cf. Band, 2015.

³³⁹ Haycock, 2013, 94.

Welsh of *i*-diphthongs spelled without *i*.³⁴⁰ Examples of this include *POUOS* for *Powys* on the Pillar of Eliseg, and *Guodel* for *Guoidel* in the Book of Llandaf.³⁴¹ This is not, by a long way, such a clear-cut example as the remnants of Old Welsh orthography seen in *dychyfroy* in *AP*, but it points in the same direction.

Haycock shows the spelling in *R* of *geunis* (1.13) to be the result of a confusion of minims in what should read *gennis*.³⁴² This was apparently due to an unclear exemplar at some point in the texts' history as the corresponding section of Peniarth 111 reads *kimis*, with confusion arising from the same minims. The date of Peniarth 111, as well as the fact that its exemplar was described as containing many corrupt letters, makes any inference on the basis of that text tentative at best.

D. Simon Evans states that “unaccented *ae* in a final syllable was often reduced to *e*”.³⁴³ This is found in *g6are* in *R* (1.22). The feature allows for internal rhyme with *pelre* in the same line. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* cites no extant examples of *gware*, or *chware*, prior to the fourteenth century.³⁴⁴ As the form is confirmed by rhyme this could be problematic for a proposed early date, however, the Book of Aneirin appears to contain examples of *gware*: in *Gwarchan Maeldderw* in earlier orthography, *idware* (1.1455) and in the B¹-text in *ware* (1.598), the latter confirmed by internal rhyme.³⁴⁵

An example pointing to an Old Welsh exemplar, this time in *EY*, is found in the form *goge* (1.2). Gruffydd describes it as ‘baffling’.³⁴⁶ The obscurity of the form could be the reason why it was not emended to follow the clearly intended internal

³⁴⁰ Rodway, 2013, 132-3.

³⁴¹ Koch, 2003, 53.

³⁴² Haycock, 2013, 117.

³⁴³ Evans, 1964, 3.

³⁴⁴ GPC, s.v. *gwaræ*, *gware* and *chwaræ*, *chware*.

³⁴⁵ Williams, 1938, 57 & 24.

³⁴⁶ Gruffydd, 1999, 46.

rhyme with *eruei* (1.2). Gruffydd notes John Koch's comment that "the spelling is Old Welsh". If the poem was copied from an Old Welsh exemplar, both the *-ei* in *goge* and *eruei* might have been written <e>. ³⁴⁷ Rodway notes, however, that examples of <e> for <ei> occur as recently as the thirteenth-century Black Book of Carmarthen. ³⁴⁸

Lastly a small comment should be made on the form *oe*, meaning 'to his/her' found in both the poems and comparison texts. The form originated as a contraction of the personal pronoun with the preposition 'to' *o<do*, which later became *y* in Middle Welsh. The preposition *o* was productive in Old Welsh, but had become fossilised in *oe* by the Middle Welsh period. Examples are found in both the poems and comparison text: in *DA* in *oe heithaf oe pherued // oe dechrau oe diwed* (ll.18&19), in *EY* in *oe wironyn* (1.24), in *M* in *oe gytuarhogion* and *menegi hynny oe getymdeithon*, and in *H* in *talet ... oe hargl6yd*.

³⁴⁷ Falileyev, 2016, 8.

³⁴⁸ Rodway, 2013, 132.

3.9: Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter the question was posed as to what extent do the vowels of the poems contain features which can be shown to be Old rather than Middle Welsh? This chapter has analysed those vowels which could potentially reveal features indicative of Old Welsh phonology or orthography. It was established in the introduction that the majority of vowels would not be of interest to this study, having been established centuries prior to the proposed dates of the composition of the poems. The forms which were selected have been discussed in the light of wider scholarship, and in comparison to other similar forms found in the poems and comparison texts. The outcome of this examination is that the majority of the selected forms could be explained as resulting from variation within Middle Welsh, with some features indicating the possibility of Old Welsh orthography in the poems' exemplars.

It was seen in the case of <a6> and <o> in final syllables that the scribe employed a traditional orthography maintaining the use of <a6> in final syllables. In the examples in *EY* of *werthuor* (l.13), in *CC* of *aelot*, and in *P* of *diot*, it was shown that the final syllable <o> was due to the etymology of the form not requiring <a6> (as in *werthuor* and *diot*), or as a probable error on the part of the scribe (as in *aelot*). Both *M* and *P* contained examples of *ohonot* showing that the scribe was not thoroughly consistent in his use of final syllable <a6>, despite its use in every other instance. Both the epenthetic and prothetic vowels were also entirely consistent with the Middle Welsh pattern.

Analysis of the close vowels showed examples of anomalies apparently resulting from erroneous redaction from <u> in the exemplars of *ED*, *AP*, *R*, and *DA*. This consisted of both the omission of redaction to forms with should have used <6> in Middle Welsh orthography, and the overly enthusiastic redaction of <u> for /u/ to

<6>. Both the evidence of the scribe's efforts and failure to redact <u> are indicative of the presence of an exemplar where <u> was used according to the pattern of Old Welsh. The development of *u6ch*<*uch* was not present in the appropriate position in *ED*, but while it was found in *CC*, *M* and *H* also had the older *uch*.

There was nothing in the selected central or open vowels to suggest Old rather than Middle Welsh orthography, and this was also the case for forms containing *i*-affection.

Several other vowels were finally discussed, however, which pointed again to Old Welsh exemplars. These were: the possible <oi> for /ui/ behind the spellings in *AP* of *dychyfroy* (1.38) and in *DA* of *hoelyon* (1.9); the minim confusion resulting in *geunis* and *kimis* in the two copies of *DA* (1.13); and the presence of <e> and <ei> in a rhyme in *EY* (1.2).

Any evidence from the vowels is based on orthography rather than phonological change from the Old to Middle Welsh period. These features are perhaps more reliable, if they survive due to scribal error in redaction rather than a policy of maintaining traditional spellings based on older phonology (for example <a6>/<o>). It is notable that these apparent survivals from an older orthography are present in the text of each of the poems.

Chapter 4a

Verbal Morphology

4a.1: Introduction

Middle Welsh verbal morphology, as a means of dating literature, is the focus of Simon Rodway's book *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature: Evidence from the Verbal System*.³⁴⁹ This chapter, like Rodway's wider study, will assess all verbal forms found in the poems and comparison texts according to their person, tense, and mood. This chapter will draw comparisons between the poems and comparison texts, alongside forms in Rodway's study and other scholarship.

Rodway explained the difficulty in attempting to create a relative chronology of linguistic change in medieval Welsh.³⁵⁰ Unlike Irish, the seventh-ninth century corpus of which is large enough to build a grammar to compare with the language of the twelfth century onwards, comparatively little Old Welsh material has survived. In addition, from that which has survived it is apparent that while large-scale linguistic changes took place in medieval Irish, that did not occur in medieval Welsh. Rather, the drastic change from late Brythonic to early Welsh took place in the prehistoric period. The issue is further complicated for this study, as it intends to assess possible linguistic grounds for dating texts which themselves might be regarded as some of the most promising examples of early poetry, thus creating a circular argument.

Rodway's solution to the problem of this circular argument, is to take later poetry, of identifiable, historically placeable poets and attempt to build a chronology of linguistic change in the twelfth and thirteenth century. That timeframe suits this project well, as it sits at the juncture between the first Norman incursions into Wales, marking the end of Old and beginning of Middle Welsh, and the copying of the Book of Taliesin in the fourteenth century. Where linguistic features are given a chronology

³⁴⁹ Rodway, 2013.

³⁵⁰ Rodway, 2013, 12.

by Rodway, that chronology is relevant to whichever of those features are found in the poems.

The question to be answered in this chapter is where do the morphological forms found in the poems fit in the chronology of medieval Welsh? It will be seen that the great majority of forms are unremarkable in the fourteenth century, as indeed with appropriate orthographical adjustment, they would be unremarkable in the twenty-first century. The indicative mood provides the greatest number of features with which a history of redaction for the poems can be built. Similarly, subjunctive forms shed some light on the redaction of the poems, especially *AP*, over the period of transmission. Other than orthographical differences, however, there is little change in the formation of the imperative mood.

Verbal nouns have not been included in the study. All examples of conjugated verbal forms were tabulated and are presented below arranged into three sections: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. These are divided into subsections according to tense, under which the data is presented person by person. In the case of the poems an asterisk is added following the form listed if it is confirmed by either final or internal rhyme. As stated above, the data is compared across the poems and comparison texts, but more importantly comment is made in comparison with Rodway's analysis of the *Beirdd y Tywysogion* corpus, which includes the poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Rodway's study did not consider the verbs of *bod*, *dod*, *gwneud*, *mynd* or their compounds. Following the relevant comment and comparison of the forms, any emerging patterns will be analysed to conclude each section.

4a.2.1: Present Indicative

The poems and comparison texts provide examples of all six persons of the verb as well as the impersonal in the present indicative: singular and plural forms of the first, second, and third person, and the impersonal.

1st Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>adnabod</i>	atwen	irregular formation
	<i>erchi</i>	archaf	
	<i>llefaru</i>	llafaraf, lafaraf	
R	<i>clywed</i>	cly6yf	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
EY	<i>bod</i>	6yf *	
M	<i>bod</i>	6yf	
	<i>erchi</i>	archaf	
	<i>meddwl</i>	medylaf	
	<i>mynnu</i>	mynaf	
P	<i>bod</i>	6yf x2	
	<i>clywed</i>	glywaf	
	<i>dewis</i>	dewissaf	
	<i>dyfod</i>	deuaf	
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywedaf x2	
	<i>gwneud</i>	g6naf, wnaf x5	
	<i>gwybod</i>	6n	
	<i>mynnu</i>	uynnaf	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodaf	
	<i>tebygu</i>	tebygaf, thebygaf	
H	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywedaf	

Table 4a.2.1a – First person singular present indicative verbs found across texts

The forms in the table above are found in *-af* and other irregular forms (*6yf* and *cly6yf* from *bod*, and *6n*). The form *cly6yf* in l.19 of *R* (cf. *glywaf* in *P*) is formed on the pattern of *wyf*: *bod*.³⁵¹ It is not an example of the *-if* form which Rodway gives a ratio as 33:1 of *af:if*.³⁵²

³⁵¹ GPC, s.v. *wyf*, *clywaf*.

³⁵² Rodway, 2013, 45.

2nd Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
M	<i>gwneud</i>	wney	
P	<i>bod</i>	6yt x3, ytt6yt	
	<i>clywed</i>	glywy	
	<i>dyfod</i>	deuy	
	<i>gwneud</i>	wney	

Table 4a.2.1b – Second person singular present indicative verbs found across texts

The forms in the table above are divided into two patterns, those on -y and those on 6yt from *bod*. The second person singular present indicative forms are only attested in the comparison texts.

Consuetudinal present

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
P	<i>gwybod</i>	g6ybydy	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>

Table 4a.2.1c – Second person singular consuetudinal present indicative verbs found across texts

D. Simon Evans lists the second person singular present indicative form of *gwybod* as *gwydost*.³⁵³ The verb in the table above is formed on the pattern of *bod*. Evans lists *gwybydy* as being the consuetudinal present or future second person singular form.³⁵⁴

³⁵³ Evans, 1964, 147.

³⁵⁴ Evans, 1964, 148.

3rd Singular

Simon Rodway begins his discussion of the third person singular present indicative by stating that it retains functionally absolute forms in *-(h)awd*, *-(h)id*, and *-(h)yd*.³⁵⁵

Rodway states that the standard conjunct form of the third person singular present indicative is formed by the verbal stem alone, in some cases with *i*-affection, and in some cases without. He goes on to write about the spread of the innovative suffix *-a*.³⁵⁶ It will be seen below that there are few examples of verbs on this latter pattern, as shown in Table 4a.2.1f. The analysis of third person singular present indicative verbs will be divided here into four parts: those forms with a suffixless root, forms on the pattern of *bod*, any other patterns, and the consuetudinal present.

³⁵⁵ Rodway, 2013, 49.

³⁵⁶ Rodway, 2013, 50.

Suffixless root

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>cyngenni</i>	gygein *	
	<i>cynnwys</i>	kynn6ys	
	<i>dychyrchu</i>	dychyrch	
	<i>dylu</i>	dyly	
	<i>gwneud</i>	g6na, wna x2	
	<i>manu</i>	fein *	
AP	<i>arddisbyddu</i>	ardispyd *	
	<i>crydu</i>	chryd *	
	<i>dianc</i>	dieinc *	
	<i>dichlyn</i>	dichlyn *	
	<i>dychyffrwy</i>	dychyfroy *	variant orthography
	<i>dyddyfod</i>	dyda6	
	<i>dygogan</i>	dygogan, dysgogan x2	alternative form with infixed pronoun
	<i>dygymod</i>	dechymyd x3, decymyd	alternative form resulting from scribal error
	<i>gwasgaru</i>	g6ascar	
	<i>gward</i>	g6eryt	
	<i>gwellygio</i>	wellyc *	
	<i>gwneud</i>	g6na	
	<i>gwywo</i>	6y6	
	<i>llefaru</i>	lefeir	
	<i>parchu</i>	pheirch *	
	<i>plygu</i>	phlyc *	
<i>trengu</i>	threinc *		
DA	<i>dyddyfod</i>	dyda6	
	<i>dygogan</i>	dygogan	
	<i>estwng</i>	est6g	
	<i>gwneud</i>	wna	
EY	<i>ciawr</i>	rychior *	translated by Gruffydd as 'is fallen'
	<i>cynnal</i>	gynheil	
M	<i>gadael</i>	edy	
	<i>gollwng</i>	ell6g	
	<i>gwneud</i>	g6na, wna	
CC	<i>cael</i>	keiff, geiff	
	<i>clywed</i>	chly6	
	<i>dyfod</i>	da6	
	<i>lladd</i>	llad	
	<i>pieufod</i>	bieu x3	form not originally a verb, and does not vary
	<i>tal</i>	tal x9	
	<i>taro</i>	tere	
	<i>ymarddel</i>	ymardel6	
P	<i>dyfod</i>	da6	
	<i>dylu</i>	dyly x2	
	<i>hebu</i>	heb x27, eb	
H	<i>cael</i>	keiff, geiff x3	
	<i>cymryd</i>	gymer, chymer	
	<i>dyfod</i>	da6 x2	
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dyweit	
	<i>pieufod</i>	bieu x2	
	<i>sefyll</i>	seif	
	<i>tal</i>	tal x17, thal x2	
	<i>taro</i>	tere	
	<i>torri</i>	tyrr	
<i>ymarddel</i>	ymardel6		

Table 4a.2.1d – Third person singular present indicative verbs (suffixless root) found across texts

The table above gives the examples of those verbs for which the third person singular present indicative is formed by the verbal stem alone, sometimes showing affection. Rodway calls this the standard third person singular present indicative form.³⁵⁷ The orthography of *dychyfroy* in 1.38 of *AP* is commented on in both Chapters 1 and 3.

Bod etc

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>bod</i>	ys	copula
	<i>bod</i>	yssyd x7	relative form
	<i>dyddyfod</i>	dydybyd	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
AP	<i>bod</i>	mae x2	
	<i>bod</i>	yssyd x2	relative form
	<i>cyfarfod</i>	kyferuyd	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>darfod</i>	deruyd *	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>difod</i>	dioes x2 * ^{x1}	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>dychyfarfod</i>	dychyferwyd *	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i> , variant orthography
	<i>dyfod</i>	deubyd *	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>gorfod</i>	goruyd *	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
<i>pieufod</i>	bieiuyd *	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>	
DA	<i>dyddarfod</i>	dyderuyd	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>dyfod</i>	dyfyd *	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>rhyddyfod</i>	rydybyd	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
M	<i>bod</i>	y6	
CC	<i>bod</i>	y6 x40	
	<i>bod</i>	yssyd	relative form
	<i>hanfod</i>	henuyd x2	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
P	<i>bod</i>	mae x3	
	<i>bod</i>	oes x2	
	<i>bod</i>	yssyd x3	relative form
	<i>bod</i>	y6 x4	
H	<i>bod</i>	mae	
	<i>bod</i>	oes	
	<i>bod</i>	y6 x55	
	<i>hanfod</i>	henuyd x2	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>pieufod</i>	bieiuyd	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>

Table 4a.2.1e – Third person singular present indicative verbs (*bod*) found across texts

The table above gives the examples of those verbs for which the third person singular present indicative is formed on the pattern of *bod*. There are no comparable examples in the comparison texts.

³⁵⁷ Rodway, 2013, 49.

Additional patterns

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>dyfod</i>	dymbi	future ending on the pattern of <i>bod</i> , infixed pronoun
	<i>parhau</i>	pereit	absolute form
AP	<i>adfod</i>	atvi, atui x3	future ending on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>dyddarfod</i>	dyderpi	future ending on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>dyfod</i>	dybi x2, dýbi	future ending on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>dyfod</i>	dybyd	on the pattern of <i>bod:bydd</i>
	<i>gwasgaru</i>	g6asgara6t	absolute form
	<i>gwybod</i>	6yr	
	<i>gyrru</i>	gyrha6t	absolute form
	<i>lledu</i>	llettata6t	manuscript to be corrected to <i>lletawt</i> , absolute form causing protracted /t/
	<i>mynd</i>	a *	
	<i>rhewinio</i>	rewinya6t *	absolute form
	<i>rhwygo</i>	r6ycca6t *	absolute form causing protracted /k/
<i>ymddaith</i>	ymda *	compound form of <i>af</i> ³⁵⁸	
DA	<i>colli</i>	kolla6t	absolute form
EY	<i>atrefnu</i>	attrefna *	
	<i>bod</i>	vi *	future form
CC	<i>mynd</i>	a	
P	<i>cenhadu</i>	canhatta	
	<i>cerdded</i>	gerda	
	<i>gweddu</i>	weda	
H	<i>mynd</i>	a	

Table 4a.2.1f – Third person singular present indicative verbs (additional patterns) found across texts

The table above contains several absolute forms of the verb: in *ED* *pereit* in 1.47 (although Russell has recently suggested that *perheit hyt* should be interpreted as *perheit*);³⁵⁹ in *AP* *g6asgara6t* (1.7), *gyrha6t* (1.28), *llettata6t* (for *lletawt*) (1.175), and *rewinya6t* and *r6ycca6t* (both in 1.150); and in *DA* *kolla6t* (1.12). In a note elsewhere on the form *pereid*, Ifor Williams states that it is a verb at the beginning of a clause.³⁶⁰ Simon Rodway explains that “in Old Irish, simple verbs have longer absolute forms when they occur right at the beginning of a clause, but shorter conjunct forms when preceded by a so-called ‘conjunct particle’ such as negative *ní*.”³⁶¹ Bearing in mind that this system was reflected in Old Welsh, it is interesting that of these forms, while *pereit*, *llettata6t*, *rewinya6t*, *r6ycca6t*, and *kolla6t* are verb-initial, *g6asgara6t* and

³⁵⁸ Lewis and Pedersen, 1937, 335.

³⁵⁹ Russell, 2017, 11.

³⁶⁰ Williams, 1935, 233.

³⁶¹ Rodway, 2013, 86.

gyrhabt are subject-initial. These latter forms should not therefore be absolute. John Strachan notes that while the Welsh absolute agrees with the Irish in that it is not used following the negative, it differs in that it has spread to compound verbs.³⁶² Hence the case of *gwasgarabt*, which is a compound rather than simple verb (<*wo-skar-).³⁶³

Rodway explains that forms in *-(h)awd* continued to be productive into the fifteenth century, even if only to add ‘an archaic flavour’.³⁶⁴ He also points to the form *dielid* in *Englynion y Misoedd* which Nicholas Jacobs dates to “the early or middle years of the fifteenth century”.³⁶⁵ Such a date would mean the survival of the form, as a fossil,³⁶⁶ a century later than the time of X86’s writing. On that form *-id* in third person singular present indicative, Rodway points to the form *chwerddid* which was recycled by Dafydd ap Gwilym in the fourteenth century,³⁶⁷ while Jacobs notes that the “absolute form survives in proverb collections, though probably as a linguistic fossil, [into seventeenth century manuscripts].”³⁶⁸ Jacobs also elaborates on the source of Dafydd ap Gwilym’s *chwerddid*, saying that it echoes an *englyn*, again proverbial, from the bardic grammars.³⁶⁹ Rodway points out, however, that the poet Casnodyn was also correctly using the absolute in the fourteenth century.³⁷⁰ Even if the form in *-id* had become fossilised by the time of Dafydd ap Gwilym in the fourteenth century, it would only show the form in *ED* to be older than the poem’s redaction in the fourteenth-century Book of Taliesin.

³⁶² Strachan, 1909, 83

³⁶³ GPC, s.v. *gwasgaraf*.

³⁶⁴ Rodway, 2013, 108.

³⁶⁵ Jacobs, 2012, 70.

³⁶⁶ Jacobs, 2012, 70.

³⁶⁷ Rodway, 2013, 107.

³⁶⁸ Jacobs, 2012, xxxviii.

³⁶⁹ Jacobs, 2012, xxxviii, n.78.

³⁷⁰ Rodway, 2013, 108.

In contrast to the absolute forms, the table also contains future forms ending in *-bi* which appear to be cognate with the Irish conjunct ending: in *ED* in *dymbi* (l.51), in *AP* in *atvi/atui* (ll.115&117-19), *dyderpi* (l.157), and *dybi* (ll.149,151,&153), and in *EY* in *vi* (l.6). Lewis and Pedersen list the form among other ‘archaic MIW. forms with future meaning’, and the form is not found in the comparison texts.³⁷¹ Marged Haycock notes that these future forms “mark prophetic discourse”.³⁷² Alexander Falileyev has an example of *bi* in the Old Welsh corpus.³⁷³

The table also contains additional verbs. In the poems, these are limited to the forms *a* of the suppletive verbal noun *mynd* and *ynda* of *ymdaith* in l.112 of *AP*, and the *attrefna* from *atrefnu* in l.26 of *EY*. The form *a* is also found in *CC* and *H*, with three further forms in other verbs found in *P*. The instances of verbs in *-a* are limited to *attrefna*.

Consuetudinal present

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
AP	<i>bod</i>	byd x2, uyd x3, vyd x3 *x5	
DA	<i>bod</i>	uyd	
CC	<i>bod</i>	byd x3, vyd x2, uyd x7	
P	<i>bod</i>	byd, vyd x2	
H	<i>bod</i>	byd x5, uyd x11, vyd x2	

Table 4a.2.1g – Third person singular consuetudinal present indicative verbs found across texts

The above table gives the instances of the consuetudinal use of the verb *bod*. The form is consistent across the texts.

³⁷¹ Lewis and Pedersen, 1937, 325.

³⁷² Haycock, 2013, 35.

³⁷³ Falileyev, 2000, 158.

1st Plural

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
M	<i>erchi</i>	arch6n	
CC	<i>dangos</i>	dangoss6n	
P	<i>bod</i>	ym	
	<i>cael</i>	gaff6n	
	<i>dyfod</i>	do6n	
	<i>mynd</i>	a6n	
H	<i>dangos</i>	dangoss6n	

Table 4a.2.1h – First person plural present indicative verbs found across texts

The forms given in the table above are all on *-wn*, with the exception of *ym* from *bod* in *P*. There are no instances of the first person plural present indicative in the poems. Rodway notes that *-n* here, as in the case of *-ch* in the second person, derives from the pronominal suffix.³⁷⁴

2nd Plural

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
P	<i>aros</i>	arho6ch	
	<i>cael</i>	geff6ch	
	<i>dyfod</i>	do6chi	with affixed pronoun
	<i>mynd</i>	e6chi	with affixed pronoun

Table 4a.2.1i – Second person plural present indicative verbs found across texts

All the instances of the second person plural present indicative verbal forms come from *P*. As stated above, Rodway notes that the *-ch* suffix derives from the pronominal suffix. As seen previously in *P*, in the form *weldy* in Table 4a.2.1b, the pronoun is affixed to the verb on two occasions in *do6chi* and *e6chi*.

³⁷⁴ Rodway, 2013, 56.

3rd Plural

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>gwneud</i>	wnant	
AP	<i>adrodd</i>	adrodynt *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>amwyn</i>	amygant *	
	<i>atgor</i>	atcorant *	
	<i>bod</i>	ynt *	
	<i>canu</i>	genyn *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>caru</i>	karant, garāt * ^{x2}	alternative spelling with macron representing following nasal
	<i>cwyno</i>	c6ynant *	
	<i>cwyno</i>	c6ynnyn, g6ynyn * ^{x2}	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>cyfarfod</i>	kyferuydyn *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>cynnull</i>	gynnullant *	
	<i>dirwadu</i>	dirwadant *	
	<i>disgyn</i>	discynnant *	
	<i>disgyn</i>	discynnyn *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>dychynnull</i>	dychynnullant *	
	<i>dychynnull</i>	dychynnulllyn *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>dyfod</i>	deuant *	
	<i>dyfod</i>	dybydyn *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>dygofrysio</i>	dygobryssyn *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>dyorfod</i>	dyorfyn *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>dyrchafu</i>	drychafant *	
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywedant *	
	<i>esgor</i>	escorant *	
	<i>gofyn</i>	gofynnant *	
	<i>gorolchi</i>	orolchant *	
	<i>gwneud</i>	wnant, wnaant * ^{x2}	
	<i>gwneud</i>	g6naha6nt	absolute form, cf. <i>wnant</i> and comment on p.212
	<i>gwybod</i>	6dant *	
	<i>gwybod</i>	wydynt *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>lladd</i>	lladant *	
	<i>sefyll</i>	safant x2 * ^{x2}	
	<i>sathru</i>	sathrant *	
	<i>syrthio</i>	syrthyn *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>techu</i>	techyn *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
<i>treiglo</i>	treiglynt *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present	
<i>ymbrofi</i>	ympofyn *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present	
<i>ymorchymyn</i>	ymorchymynynt *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present	
<i>ymwadu</i>	ymwadant *		
<i>ymwrthfyn</i>	ym6rthuynnyn *	Williams interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present	
R	<i>bod</i>	bydant *	
	<i>cyfrannu</i>	kyfranant	
	<i>dyfod</i>	dybydant	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>gorfod</i>	gorynt	
	<i>gwneud</i>	g6nant	
	<i>mynd</i>	ant *	
DA	<i>dygobrysisio</i>	dygobryssyn *	Haycock interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
CC	<i>bod</i>	ynt x2	
	<i>dwyn</i>	dygant	form on <i>dwg</i>
	<i>talw</i>	talant	
H	<i>bod</i>	ynt x2	
	<i>cymryd</i>	kymerant, gymerant	
	<i>dwyn</i>	dygant	irregular form on <i>dwg</i>
	<i>dylu</i>	dylyant x4	

Table 4a.2.1j – Third person plural present indicative verbs found across texts

Simon Rodway gives two possible forms for the third person present indicative: *-ant* and *-ynt*.³⁷⁵ The ending *-ynt* is also used used to form the third person plural imperfect indicative and subjunctive. The allocation of tense to *-ynt* in this study has followed that given by Marged Haycock and Ifor Williams in most cases in the poems,³⁷⁶ and the current author's assessment of context in the case of the comparison texts. Writing on the *-ynt* forms *keffynt* and *dechrymynt*, Rodway says, "there is no evidence that the [present indicative] ending *-ynt* survived into the thirteenth century in poetry or in prose, and it may already have disappeared by the twelfth".³⁷⁷ He continues, "there can be no doubt that *-ant* had been generalised by the twelfth century."³⁷⁸

If *-ant* had generalised by the twelfth century, that would suggest either a pre-twelfth century date for the poems with *-ynt*, or that that feature had been added to give archaic flair. The example of *dygobryssyn* in l.1 of *DA* is a clear example of the way in which tense can be assessed from a verb's context. Haycock translates the line, "The *awen* foretells that they will hasten". This is the only rendering of *dygobryssyn* that would make sense in such a context, as the *awen* would display little talent in foretelling events that had already occurred. The majority of instances in *AP* assessed to be present *-ynt* by Williams are also in similar contexts: *adrodynt* (l.97), *genyn* (l.90), *g6ynyn* (l.19), *kyferuydyn* (l.54), *discynnyn* (l.16), *dychynnullyn* (l.21), *dybydyn* (l.13), *dyorfyn* (l.12), *wydynt* (l.30), *syrythyn* (l.60), *techyn* (l.96), *treiglynt* (l.30), *ymprofyn* (l.56), and *ym6rthuynnyn* (l.20). The forms *c6ynnyn* (l.47) and *ymorchymynynt* (l.51), however, appear among forms translated as imperfect, and seem viable either as present or imperfect forms.

³⁷⁵ Rodway, 2013, 56.

³⁷⁶ Haycock, 2013; Williams, 1972a.

³⁷⁷ Rodway, 2013, 58.

³⁷⁸ Rodway, 2013, 58.

D. Simon Evans notes the form *gónahaónt* in *AP* (1.8), alongside the forms *cuinhaunt* from the Juvenius glosses³⁷⁹ and the forms *pebyllyawnt* and *bydawnt* from another poem in the Book of Taliesin, *Yn wir dymbi Romani kar*,³⁸⁰ as being third person plural forms corresponding to the singular *-(h)awt*, “found in the early period”.³⁸¹ This would make them absolute forms. This is supported by the clause-initial position of each of the cited examples.

There are also several forms in *AP* and *DA* which have lost final *-t*. Each of these examples are confirmed by rhyme. Rodway notes that “the early examples of 3 pl. *-n* for *-nt* may be attributable to genre . . . while the court poems only exceptionally admitted rhymes in *-n*, authors of other types of poetry, including prophecy were happy to admit these forms in rhyming position from at least the ninth century.”³⁸² While this would open up the possibility of an early date for the poems, it provides no *terminus ante quem* for the forms in *-n*, other than to state that the court poets, in particular, generally avoided them from the twelfth century.

³⁷⁹ Falileyev, 2000, 38.

³⁸⁰ Haycock, 2013, 151-75, ll.38&64.

³⁸¹ Evans, 1964, 120.

³⁸² Rodway, 2013, 58.

Impersonal

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>rhoi</i>	rodir	
AP	<i>cael</i>	cheffir *	
	<i>dial</i>	diala6r	
	<i>edmygu</i>	etmycca6r	-awr causing protected /k/
	<i>ffoi</i>	ffoha6r	
	<i>galw</i>	alwa6r	
	<i>talw</i>	talha6r *	
R	<i>amwyn</i>	amygir	
EY	<i>crybwyll</i>	kyrb6ylletor *	early form in <i>-etor</i> , functionally absolute form ³⁸³
	<i>cynnwys</i>	cyn6yssetor *	early form in <i>-etor</i> , functionally absolute form
	<i>rehwinio</i>	rewinetor *	early form in <i>-etor</i> , functionally absolute form
CC	<i>gallu</i>	ellir	
	<i>rhannu</i>	rennir	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodir	
	<i>talw</i>	telir x14	
H	<i>credu</i>	gredir	
	<i>dylu</i>	dylyir x2	
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywedir	
	<i>enwi</i>	enwir	
	<i>gallu</i>	ellir x2	
	<i>rhannu</i>	rennir x2	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodir x2	
	<i>talw</i>	telir	
	<i>treisio</i>	treissir	
	<i>trychu</i>	trychir	

Table 4a.2.1k – Impersonal present indicative verbs found across texts

Rodway gives four impersonal present indicative endings, as found in his Middle Welsh corpora: *-ator*, *-itor*, *-awr*, and *-ir*.³⁸⁴ Of those, *-ir* is in the majority in the table above, followed in terms of numbers by *-awr* which has the majority in *AP*. Of the examples of *-awr*, only *talha6r* is confirmed by rhyme, and that is internal rhyme with *ana6r* (l.145). In addition to these, however, are the forms *-etor* in *EY*, which is not found in the *Beirdd y Tywysogion* corpus. The four examples found in *EY* are unusual, however the element *-etor* in *kyrb6ylletor* (l.15), *cyn6yssetor* (l.17), and *rewinetor* (l.4), is comparable to *-ator* and *-itor*, which were in use as late as the first half of the thirteenth century.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Rodway, 2013, 90-1.

³⁸⁴ Rodway, 2013, 60.

³⁸⁵ Rodway, 2013, 200-2.

There are other examples of *-etor* elsewhere in the Book of Taliesin. The poem *Preideu Annwfn* has *kymyscetor* (1.25).³⁸⁶ Haycock states that the example of *dysgogettawr* (1.12) in *Ymarwar Llud bychan* seems to be influenced by the future ending *-hawr*.³⁸⁷

Rodway divides the forms between the conjunct *-awr* and *-ir*, and the absolute *-ator* and *-itor*. In the work of the court poems, Rodway gives the ratio of *-awr* to *-ir* as 11:203.³⁸⁸ Of those eleven examples of *-awr*, only one comes from the fourteenth century, leading Rodway to state that the form is exceptional in poetry after the thirteenth century.³⁸⁹ The form *-awr* is more common in the *Hengerdd*, although it is still outnumbered by *-ir*, yet it is not found in the extant Old Welsh texts.³⁹⁰ Rodway notes that *-etor* is, functionally, an absolute form,³⁹¹ and Falileyev gives an example of a verb in *-etor* in Old Welsh found in the Computus Fragment from the turn of the tenth century:³⁹² *tarnetor*, ‘is reckoned’.³⁹³ Once again, other instances of these forms are substantially earlier than the Book of Taliesin.

³⁸⁶ Haycock, 2015, 436.

³⁸⁷ Haycock, 2013, 178 & 181-2.

³⁸⁸ Rodway, 2013, 60.

³⁸⁹ Rodway, 2013, 61.

³⁹⁰ Rodway, 2013, 61.

³⁹¹ Rodway, 2013, 90.

³⁹² Koch, 2006, 470.

³⁹³ Falileyev, 2000, 145.

4a.2.2: Imperfect Indicative

The poems and comparison texts provide examples of only certain persons of the verb in the imperfect indicative: singular forms of the first, second, and third person, the third person plural, and the impersonal.

1st Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>dewis</i>	dewiss6n *	
	<i>treiddio</i>	treid6n *	
P	<i>gweld</i>	g6el6n x2, wel6n	
	<i>pucho</i>	buch6n	
	<i>ymdiddan</i>	ymdidan6n	

Table 4a.2.2a – First person singular imperfect indicative verbs found across texts

The ending used to form the first person singular imperfect indicative, *-wn*, is homophonous with the first person plural present indicative. The meaning can be assessed in each instance found in the text from context.

2nd Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
P	<i>bod</i>	oedut	
	<i>dwyn</i>	dygut	
	<i>mynnu</i>	mynnud	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodut	

Table 4a.2.2b – Second person singular imperfect indicative verbs found across texts

There are no instances of the second person singular imperfect indicative in the poems. Those found in the comparison texts are limited to *P*.

3rd Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>bod</i>	oed x2	
AP	<i>bod</i>	oed x3 *x ¹	
	<i>talu</i>	talei *	
R	<i>bod</i>	oed	
EY	<i>bod</i>	oed	
		goge *	manuscript to be corrected to <i>gogei</i> as confirmed by internal rhyme with <i>eruei</i> - see Chapter 3.8
M	<i>bod</i>	oed x29	
	<i>deffro</i>	deffroei	
	<i>dianc</i>	diaghei x4	
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywedei	
	<i>gallu</i>	gallei x4	
	<i>gwneud</i>	wnaei	
	<i>hanfod</i>	hanoed x4	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>lladd</i>	lladei	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodei	
	<i>tebygu</i>	tebygei	
CC	<i>bod</i>	oed	
P	<i>bod</i>	oed x23, yttoed x3	
	<i>clywed</i>	glywei	
	<i>dyfod</i>	deuei x2	
	<i>gallu</i>	allei x2	
	<i>gweld</i>	welai	
	<i>gwneud</i>	wnaei x2	
	<i>gwybod</i>	wydyat	form in <i>-yat</i>
	<i>yngystlynu</i>	yngystlynei	
H	<i>bod</i>	oed x3	

Table 4a.2.2c – Third person singular imperfect indicative verbs found across texts

Third person singular imperfect indicative verbs are formed in a total of three ways across the texts. Verbs following the pattern of *bod* use (-)oed. All other verbs use -ei with the exception of *gwybod* in *P* which uses -yat. The example *goge* in *EY* is anomalous. Gruffydd amends it to *gogei*, which he translates as ‘did arise’.³⁹⁴ As to its unusual -e, Gruffydd cites a reminder by John Koch that “the spelling is Old Welsh.”³⁹⁵ Rodway shows that the frequency of the use ending -ei compared to -i increased over the period 1100-1300, but is careful not to imply that other form was replaced by it during that period.³⁹⁶ That these examples of -ei are found in *AP* and *EY* does not have any bearing on the poems’ date. The form -iad may be cognate with the

³⁹⁴ Gruffydd, 1999, 45.

³⁹⁵ Gruffydd, 1999, 46.

³⁹⁶ Rodway, 2013, 66.

Irish *-benad*, *-carad* <*-*a-to*,³⁹⁷ however, the form is found elsewhere in the Middle Welsh canon, and is therefore not useful as a criterion to date older poetry.³⁹⁸

3rd Plural

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>ymdullio</i>	ymdullyn *	- <i>t</i> omitted
AP	<i>bod</i>	oedyn *	
	<i>cymodi</i>	kymodynt *	Williams interprets as imperfect, possibly <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>llefaru</i>	lleferynt *	Williams interprets as imperfect, possibly <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>tarddu</i>	terdyn *	Williams interprets as imperfect, or equally <i>i</i> -stem present
DA	<i>achystuddio</i>	achestudyn *	see note: Haycock (2013) p.92.
EY	<i>cwyddo</i>	k6ydynt	
	<i>digoni</i>	digonyn *	Gruffydd interprets as <i>i</i> -stem present
	<i>hudo</i>	hut6yt	manuscript to be corrected to <i>hutynt</i>
M	<i>aros</i>	arhoynt	
	<i>bod</i>	oedynt x3	
	<i>boddi</i>	bodynt	
	<i>cadarnhau</i>	gedernheynt	
	<i>cael</i>	cheffynt	
	<i>clywed</i>	glywynt	
	<i>colli</i>	collynt	
	<i>dylu</i>	dylyynt	
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywedynt	
	<i>gallu</i>	gellynt x2	
	<i>tebygu</i>	tebygynt	
	<i>syrthio</i>	syrthynt	
	<i>ymddiffryd</i>	ymdifferynt	
	<i>ymladd</i>	ymledynt	
P	<i>bod</i>	oedynt	
	<i>caru</i>	kerynt	
	<i>erfyn</i>	eruynnynt	
	<i>gweld</i>	g6elynt, welynt	
H	<i>addef</i>	adefynt	

Table 4a.2.2d – Third person plural imperfect indicative verbs found across texts

R. Geraint Gruffydd's translation of *digonyn* in 1.24 of *EY*, as third person plural present indicative, does not fit the context as well as would the imperfect, as favoured by Ifor Williams.³⁹⁹ The only indication of time in the stanza before the verb *digonyn* is given by the phrase *wedy eu c6yn* (1.22). The next verbal forms, present indicative and subjunctive (1.25), are found in a different clause expressing a new thought.

³⁹⁷ Evans, 1964, 122.

³⁹⁸ Johnston, 2010, 140.

³⁹⁹ Gruffydd, 1999, 45; Williams, 1972b, 178.

Without a note of explanation, Gruffydd's interpretation of the form as present indicative must be discounted. Ifor Williams interprets *hut6yt* in 1.10 of *EY* as a scribal error arising from a misinterpretation of a previous form **hutint* as ***huituit* to give *hut6yt* rather than **hutynt*.⁴⁰⁰ Williams places this reconstructed original form in the Old Welsh period due to the possibility of it having arisen from minim confusion. This example is discussed in Chapter 2.2.13, with the form shown in Table 2.2.13a.

Impersonal

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
M	<i>gosod</i>	ossodit	
	<i>lladd</i>	lledit	
P	<i>dywed</i>	dywedit	
	<i>erchi</i>	erchit	
	<i>gwneud</i>	wneit	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodit	

Table 4a.2.2e – Impersonal imperfect indicative verbs found across texts

The impersonal imperfect indicative is only found in the comparison texts, *M* and *P*.

⁴⁰⁰ Williams, 1972b, 174-5.

4a.2.3: Preterite Indicative

The poems and comparison texts provide examples of only certain persons of the verb in the preterite indicative: singular forms of the first, second, and third person, plural forms of the first and third person, and the impersonal.

1st Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
EY	<i>llewa</i>	lleweis	
P	<i>colli</i>	golleis	
	<i>cynnal</i>	kynheleis	
	<i>erchi</i>	hercheis	
	<i>gallu</i>	elleis	
	<i>medru</i>	medreis	

Table 4a.2.3a – First person singular preterite indicative verbs found across texts

The examples of the first person singular preterite indicative are all *s*-preterites. There is only one such instance in the poems.

2nd Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
P	<i>cael</i>	keueist	
	<i>dwyn</i>	dugost x2	irregular verb on <i>dwg</i> , form in <i>-ost</i>
	<i>peri</i>	pereist	

Table 4a.2.3b – Second person singular preterite indicative verbs found across texts

Examples of the second person preterite indicative are only found in *P*.

3rd Singular

The analysis of third person singular preterite indicative verbs will be divided here into five parts: *s*-preterite forms, *t*-preterite forms, forms in *-awdd*, forms on the pattern of *bod*, and additional patterns.

s-preterites

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>rhoi</i>	rodes	
AP	<i>cadw</i>	ryged6ys	
	<i>creu</i>	gre6ys	
	<i>trengi</i>	treghis	
R	<i>atrefnu</i>	atrefn6ys	
	<i>kannu</i>	geunis *	manuscript to be corrected to <i>gennis</i>
	<i>tewi</i>	dewis *	
M	<i>adeiliad</i>	adeil6s	
	<i>anfon</i>	anuones	
	<i>anoddi</i>	annodes	
	<i>cael</i>	kauas x2	
	<i>deol</i>	deholes	
	<i>dygrynaf</i>	dygrynoes	
	<i>goleuo</i>	oleuha6ys	
	<i>gweld</i>	guelas, welas	
	<i>peryglu</i>	perigl6ys	
	<i>twyllo</i>	th6yll6ys	
CC	<i>barnu</i>	uarn6ys	
	<i>beichiogi</i>	beichoges	
	<i>llygru</i>	lygr6ys	
	<i>pechu</i>	fech6ys	
P	<i>cadw</i>	getwis	
	<i>cychwyn</i>	kych6ynn6ys	
	<i>cyfoethogi</i>	gyfoethoges	
	<i>cyffroi</i>	kyffroes	
	<i>cyrchu</i>	kyrch6ys	
	<i>deffro</i>	deffroes	
	<i>erchi</i>	erchis	
	<i>gweld</i>	weles	
	<i>mynegi</i>	venegis	
<i>peri</i>	peris		
H	<i>barnu</i>	varn6ys	
	<i>beichiogi</i>	beichoges	
	<i>creu</i>	cre6ys	
	<i>llygru</i>	lygr6ys	
	<i>pechu</i>	phech6ys	
	<i>talw</i>	tal6ys	

Table 4a.2.3c – Third person singular preterite indicative verbs (*s*-preterite) found across texts

Simon Rodway gives five inherited *s*-preterites in the third person singular: *-as*, *-es*, *-is*, *-ws*, and *-wys*.⁴⁰¹ Each of these is attested at least once in the table above. There are several points to note from the table: first, the variation between the ‘fossil’ *guelas*, *welas*⁴⁰² in *M* and *weles* in *P*; second, the suffix *-oes* in *dygrynoes* in *M*, which may be a variant of *-wys* (cf. the early southern Welsh orthographical variation between *oef* and *wyf* in the thirteenth century manuscript Peniarth 3⁴⁰³);⁴⁰⁴ third, the use of *-ws* and *-wys* in the poems and comparison texts. It seems likely, on comparing *ryged6ys* in l.180 of *AP* with the form *getwis* in *P* that the form in *AP* has been corrected from an original *-is*, where *-is* is the cause of the internal *i*-affection.⁴⁰⁵ A similar correction was seen above, made to **hutint* to become *hut6yt*, which would allow the possibility of an underlying **getuis* in *AP*.

Rodway states that *-ws* and *-wys* are likely variants sharing a common derivation.⁴⁰⁶ Thomas Charles-Edwards follows Rodway in saying that *-ws* is the older, with *-wys* being a hypercorrection of the original form.⁴⁰⁷ Of the seven examples from the poems only *gre6ys* in l.195 of *AP* and *atrefn6ys* in l.18 of *R*, and possibly also *ryged6ys* in l.180 of *AP*, use *-wys*. The rest have *-is* or *-es*. There is, however, an example of the earlier *-ws* in *adeil6s* in *M*. The sample is too small to draw conclusions on any hypercorrection from this distribution.

⁴⁰¹ Rodway, 2013, 72.

⁴⁰² Sims-Williams, 2007, 238.

⁴⁰³ Band, 2015.

⁴⁰⁴ Rodway, 2013, 129.

⁴⁰⁵ Rodway, 2013, 72-3.

⁴⁰⁶ Rodway, 2013, 129.

⁴⁰⁷ McLeod, 2010, 48; cf. Rodway, 2013, 130 ff.

t-preterites

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
EY	<i>dyfod</i>	doeth x2 *x ¹	
M	<i>gwanu</i>	guant	
	<i>gwneud</i>	wnaeth x2	
	<i>mynd</i>	aeth	
CC	<i>cymryd</i>	kymyrth, gymyrth	
	<i>dyfod</i>	doeth x6	
	<i>gwneud</i>	g6naeth, wnaeth	
	<i>mynd</i>	aeth x5	

Table 4a.2.3d – Third person singular preterite indicative verbs (*t*-preterite) found across texts

The *t*-preterites are far fewer in number than the *s*-preterites. The one example found in the poems, *doeth*, in ll.7 and 8 of *EY* is also found in the comparison texts, six times in *CC*.

Preterites in *-awdd*

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
M	<i>lladd</i>	llada6d x2	
P	<i>arofun</i>	arofuna6d	
	<i>bwrw</i>	byrya6d	
	<i>cenhadu</i>	kanhada6d	
	<i>cyrchu</i>	kyrcha6d, kycha6d	alternate form due to error
	<i>erbyn</i>	herbynya6d	
	<i>gorffwys</i>	orffowysa6d	
	<i>lladd</i>	llada6d	
	<i>llonyddu</i>	llonyda6d	

Table 4a.2.3e – Third person singular preterite indicative verbs (*-awdd*) found across texts

Rodway writes that *-awdd* had almost completely supplanted *-ws/-wys* forms of the preterite in poetry by the fourteenth century.⁴⁰⁸ Excluding the form *llada6d* which occurs in early texts, the ratio of *-wys* to *-awdd* in *P* is 2:7.⁴⁰⁹ However, forms in *-awdd* are not seen in the poems. The absence of this feature seems to necessitate a date before 1300.

⁴⁰⁸ Rodway, 2013, 128.

⁴⁰⁹ Rodway, 2013, 154-65.

bot and its compounds

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>bod</i>	bu x2	
AP	<i>dyorfod</i>	dygorfu, dýgorfu	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i> . Williams' interpretation as <i>dygorfi</i> ⁴¹⁰ seems unlikely
R	<i>dyfod</i>	dyfu	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
EY	<i>bod</i>	bu x2, uu	
M	<i>bod</i>	bu x2, uu x3	
	<i>darfod</i>	daruu	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
	<i>dyfod</i>	dyfu	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>
P	<i>bod</i>	bu x3, uu x6	
	<i>gwybod</i>	6ybu	formation on the pattern of <i>bod</i>

Table 4a.2.3f – Third person singular preterite indicative verbs (*bot*) found across texts

Ifor Williams' emendation of *dygorfi* in ll.125 and 127 (cf. forms in Table 4a.2.1f) is based on the assertion that “the past tense is not suitable in a prophecy”.⁴¹¹ For clarity, the changed tense in his translation makes the difference between “the Cymry will prevail/survive”,⁴¹² and “the Cymry prevailed/survived”. The latter would hardly be a controversial statement in the context of the prophecy. Furthermore, the use of *dygorfu* is followed by a catalogue of historical injustices suffered, with definite examples of the third person plural preterite: *vreint an seint pyr y saghyssant* (l.140), *reitheu dewi pyr y torrassant* (l.141). For these forms Graham Isaac notes “the minim misreading for putative *dygorui* (future), as argued for by Williams is entirely possible, but the immediate scribe had no difficulty identifying and accurately copying other future forms in the poem, so I choose instead to interpret the lectiones difficiliores with the preterite as actually transmitted”⁴¹³

⁴¹⁰ Williams, 1972a, 56.

⁴¹¹ Williams, 1972a, 55.

⁴¹² Williams, 1972a, 11.

⁴¹³ Isaac, 2007, 176.

Additional patterns

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
AP	<i>gwarded</i>	g6ara6t *	alternate root vowel
M	<i>gwneud</i>	oruc x25	alternate root vowel
P	<i>clywed</i>	gigleu	reduplicated preterite
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywa6t	alternate root vowel
	<i>gwneud</i>	oruc x2	alternate root vowel

Table 4a.2.3g – Third person singular preterite indicative verbs (additional patterns) found across texts

Simon Rodway listed *dywedyd* as a verb taking an ablauting preterite, with root *-e-* becoming *-aw-*, as seen in *M*.⁴¹⁴ This is also the form of preterite seen in *g6ara6t* in 1.98 of *AP*. Both the forms *oruc* and *gigleu* are common in Middle Welsh. The forms are not found in the poems, and while they later fall out of use themselves are of no use in dating the poems.

1st Plural

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
CC	<i>traethu</i>	traethassam	
H	<i>traethu</i>	traethassam	

Table 4a.2.3h – First person plural preterite indicative verbs found across texts

Rodway notes that only the ending *-assam* is found in prose manuscripts.⁴¹⁵ The first person plural present indicative is not found in the poems.

⁴¹⁴ Rodway, 2013, 73.

⁴¹⁵ Rodway, 2013, 75.

3rd Plural

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
AP	<i>ceisio</i>	geissyssant *	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>digoni</i>	digonsant *	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>dyfod</i>	doethant x2 *x ²	<i>t</i> -preterite
	<i>prynu</i>	prynassant *	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>rhyddygyrchu</i>	rydygyrchassant *	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>rhyblannu</i>	ryplanhassant *	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>sengi</i>	saghyssant *	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>seilio</i>	seilyassant *	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>torri</i>	torrassant *	<i>s</i> -preterite
M	<i>boddi</i>	uodassant	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>cael</i>	ga6ssant	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>dyfod</i>	doethant	<i>t</i> -preterite
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywedassant	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>ffoi</i>	ffoassant	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>gwneud</i>	wnaethant x5	<i>t</i> -preterite
	<i>ymgynnull</i>	ymgynullyssant	<i>s</i> -preterite
P	<i>bod</i>	buant	
	<i>cychwyn</i>	kychwynassant	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>cysgu</i>	kycassant	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>dyfod</i>	doethant x2	<i>t</i> -preterite
	<i>digwydd</i>	dyg6ydassant	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywedassant	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>gwneud</i>	g6naethant x2	<i>t</i> -preterite
	<i>gwneud</i>	orugant x5	alternative root vowel
	<i>mynd</i>	aethant x2	<i>t</i> -preterite
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodassant	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>treulio</i>	treulassant	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>ymwahanu</i>	ymwahanyssant	<i>s</i> -preterite

Table 4a.2.3i – Third person plural preterite indicative verbs found across texts

In the case of *s*-preterites, the majority of examples use *-assant* rather than *-yssant*, however the latter is found in both the poems and comparison texts. The ratios of *-assant* to *-yssant* are 5:2 in *AP*, 3:1 in *M*, and 6:1 in *P*. Setting to one side the small sample size, there is only a slight change in pattern between *AP* and *M*, with the greater divergence being between *M* and *P*. There are a further two elided forms: *digonsant* in *AP* (1.143) and *ga6ssant* in *M*. All forms end in *-nt*, with no evidence of the loss of *-t*, which is a marked change from the third person plural present indicative forms. All the forms in *-ant* in *AP* other than *prynassant* are confirmed by rhyme.

Consuetudinal past

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
M	<i>bod</i>	u ^u dynt	
H	<i>bod</i>	bydynt	

Table 4a.2.3j – Third person plural consuetudinal past indicative verbs found across texts

There are only two examples of the third person plural consuetudinal past, both found in the comparison texts.

Impersonal

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
M	<i>geni</i>	anet	
	<i>gwneud</i>	w ^{naethp} 6yt	<i>t</i> -preterite
CC	<i>rhifo</i>	riu6yt	
P	<i>bod</i>	bu6yt	
	<i>dyfynnu</i>	dyfyn6yt	
	<i>gollwng</i>	gellyg6yt	
	<i>gwahodd</i>	g6ohodet [sic]	
	<i>gwneud</i>	g6naethp6yt, w ^{naethp} 6yt x2	<i>t</i> -preterite
H	<i>barnu</i>	barn6yt	
	<i>rhifo</i>	rif6yt	

Table 4a.2.3k – Impersonal preterite indicative verbs found across texts

There are no examples of impersonal preterite indicative forms in the poems. Note that the *t*-preterites take the ending *-pwyd*.⁴¹⁶

Consuetudinal past

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
M	<i>bod</i>	bydit	

Table 4a.2.3l – Impersonal consuetudinal indicative verbs found across texts

The impersonal consuetudinal indicative is only found once in the texts, in the comparison text *M*.

⁴¹⁶ Rodway, 2013, 77.

4a.2.4: Pluperfect Indicative

The poems and comparison texts provide examples of only certain persons of the verb in the pluperfect indicative: singular and plural forms of the third person.

3rd Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
M	<i>beichiogi</i>	ueichogassei	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>bod</i>	uassei	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>cael</i>	ka6ssei	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>dyfod</i>	dothoed	<i>t</i> -preterite, formation on the pattern of <i>bod:oed</i>
	<i>dwyn</i>	dugassei	irregular form on <i>dwg</i> , <i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>dymuno</i>	damunassei	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywedassei	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>gadael</i>	ada6ssei x2	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>gallu</i>	allyssei	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>gwarchod</i>	guarchassei	<i>s</i> -preterite
P	<i>bod</i>	buassei	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>dyfod</i>	dothoed	<i>t</i> -preterite, formation on the pattern of <i>bod:oed</i>
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywedassei	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>gnotáu</i>	gnottaassei	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>mynd</i>	athoed	<i>t</i> -preterite, formation on the pattern of <i>bod:oed</i>

Table 4a.2.4a – Third person singular pluperfect indicative verbs found across texts

The third person singular pluperfect indicative is formed by the third person singular imperfect indicative form being added to the preterite. In the case of *s*-preterites, *-ei* is added. In the case of *t*-preterites, *-oed* is added following the pattern of the verb *bod*.

Examples are only found in the comparison texts.

3rd Plural

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
DA	<i>dyrchafu</i>	dyrchafyssyn *	<i>s</i> -preterite
M	<i>gorffwys</i>	orffowysynt	<i>s</i> -preterite
P	<i>clywed</i>	clywssynt	<i>s</i> -preterite
	<i>gweld</i>	welssynt	<i>s</i> -preterite

Table 4a.2.4a – Third person plural pluperfect indicative verbs found across texts

The third person plural pluperfect indicative is formed by the third person plural imperfect indicative form being added to the preterite. Examples are found in both the poems and comparison texts.

4a.2.5: Comment on the Indicative Mood

The verbal forms found in the indicative mood provide the greatest amount of evidence for dating the poems. Four of the five poems contain verbal forms which may be used to place the poems earlier than contemporary to the scribe. Those poems, and the features found in them are discussed below: *ED*, *AP*, *DA*, and *EY*. *R* contains no such datable features. Apart from the features mentioned below, the data provided in the tables has shown that the indicative verbal forms found in the poems are broadly very similar to those found in the comparison texts.

ED contains the absolute form *pereit* in l.47. As stated above, while such forms are found in later texts than the Book of Taliesin, these appear to have survived as fossils, having fallen out of use as productive features of the language. That the form had been fossilised by the time of Dafydd ap Gwilym does not necessarily place the poem as far back as the ninth-century date it has been given, it certainly shows it to have a history going further back than its redaction into the Book of Taliesin.

AP contains three features which can be used as *termini ante quem*. The first of these is the use of an *i*-stem third person plural present indicative ending, *-ynt*, which Rodway places before thirteenth century, perhaps twelfth. This feature is dependent on a correct analysis that the form is indeed present, rather than imperfect, but this seems likely in the majority of instances. The second feature is the use of the pre-fourteenth century impersonal present indicative absolute ending *-awr*. The third is the possibility of previous early Old Welsh orthography leading to the spelling *ryged6ys* from **cetuis* where elsewhere the scribe writes *getwis* for the same form.

DA also has an example of the pre-thirteenth century third person plural ending, *-ynt*. It should be noted, however, that the line in which it is found, *dygogan awen dygobryssyn* (l.1), is also the first line of *AP*. It is no great feat for the

imagination, were there no other factors in the dating of this poem in its fourteenth century manuscript, to see this as a fossil contained in a line borrowed from elsewhere.

EY contains two further datable features, both of which seem to indicate a previous Old Welsh orthography. The first feature is straightforward: *goge* may be the Old Welsh spelling for what Middle Welsh would render *gogei*. The second feature appears to be another instance of Old Welsh orthography being incorrectly redacted: *hut6yt* is found where context and mutation say *hutynt* should be. This has been explained as resulting from a misinterpretation of the minims in *hutint* as *hutuit*.

In addition to the above features, none of the poems feature the third person singular preterite ending *-awdd*. Rodway notes that this form had supplanted the *-ws/-wys* preterite forms by the fourteenth century. Again, this indicates a longer history for the poems than their current redaction in the fourteenth century Book of Taliesin.

4a.3.1: Present Subjunctive

The poems and comparison texts provide examples of only certain persons of the verb in the present subjunctive: singular forms of the first, second, and third person, the third person plural, and the impersonal.

1st Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>bod</i>	b6yf, u6yf	perhaps 3sg. pres. subj. + affixed pronoun: <i>b6yf(i)</i>
	<i>cadw</i>	gatt6yf	subjunctive ending causing protracted /t/
EY	<i>bod</i>	b6yf x4, u6yf	
	<i>crybwyll</i>	chyrb6yll6yf *	
M	<i>cael</i>	kaff6yf	
	<i>gallu</i>	gall6yf	
P	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywett6yf	subjunctive ending causing protracted /t/

Table 4a.3.1a – First person singular present subjunctive verbs found across texts

The ending *-(h)wyf* is found in both the poems and comparison texts.

2nd Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
R	<i>gweld</i>	welych	
M	<i>cenhadu</i>	genhettych	subjunctive ending causing protracted /t/
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywettych	subjunctive ending causing protracted /t/
P	<i>caru</i>	gerych	
	<i>clywed</i>	glywhych	
	<i>gweld</i>	welych x2	
	<i>gwneud</i>	wnelych	irregular form on <i>-el</i>
	<i>gwybod</i>	6ypych	subjunctive ending causing protracted /f/
	<i>mynnu</i>	uynhych	

Table 4a.3.1b – Second person singular present subjunctive verbs found across texts

The ending *-(h)ych* is found in both the poems and comparison texts.

3rd Singular

The analysis of third person singular present subjunctive verbs will be divided here into three parts: forms in *-(h)wy*, forms in *-(h)o*, and additional patterns.

Present subjunctive in *-wy*

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
AP	<i>arbed</i>	arbett6y	subjunctive ending causing provection /t/
	<i>arhaeddu</i>	arhaed6y	note the lack of provection to /ð/
R	<i>noddi</i>	noth6y	subjunctive ending causing provection /θ/
	<i>rhyddyrchafu</i>	rydyrchaf6y x2	note the lack of provection to /v/ ⁴¹⁷
EY	<i>gwahardd</i>	g6ahard6y *	note the lack of provection to /ð/

Table 4a.3.1c – Third person singular present subjunctive verbs (*-wy*) found across texts

The form *-(h)wy* is only found in the poems, where it appears alongside *-(h)o*. The relationship between the two forms will be discussed beneath Table 4a.3.1d.

⁴¹⁷ See Table 1.3.2a for instances of the use of <f> for /f/ across the texts.

Present subjunctive in -o

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>gwybod</i>	6yppo	subjunctive ending causing proected /p/
AP	<i>dyfod</i>	dyffo	subjunctive ending causing proected /f/
	<i>gwneud</i>	g6naho	
R	<i>bod</i>	vo	
	<i>trabluddio</i>	trabludyo	note the lack of proection to /ð/
M	<i>bod</i>	uo	
	<i>cyfarfod</i>	gyfarffo	subjunctive ending causing proected /f/
CC	<i>addef</i>	adefho, hadefho	
	<i>beichiogi</i>	ueichocco	subjunctive ending causing proected /k/
	<i>bod</i>	uo	
	<i>cydio</i>	gyttyo	subjunctive ending causing proected /t/
	<i>diwad</i>	diwatto, ddiwato x3	subjunctive ending causing proected /t/
	<i>engi</i>	agho	
	<i>gallu</i>	allo	
P	<i>lladd</i>	latho	subjunctive ending causing proected /θ/
	<i>cael</i>	kaffo x2	subjunctive ending causing proected /f/
	<i>cynghori</i>	gygho	form following <i>gyghoro</i> (see Thomson 1997)
	<i>darfod</i>	darffo	subjunctive ending causing proected /f/
	<i>ergydio</i>	erkytyo	subjunctive ending causing proected /t/
	<i>gwarafun</i>	g6arafunho	
	<i>lladd</i>	lladho	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodho, rotho x2	alternative forms with subjunctive causing proected /θ/
H	<i>talu</i>	talo, talho x2	
	<i>addef</i>	adefho	
	<i>beichiogi</i>	ueichocco	subjunctive ending causing proected /k/
	<i>bod</i>	bo x2, uo x2	
	<i>bwrw</i>	byryo	
	<i>cnithio</i>	gnithyo	
	<i>cydio</i>	gyttyo	subjunctive ending causing proected /t/
	<i>dwyn</i>	dycco x2	subjunctive ending causing proected /k/
	<i>engi</i>	agho	
	<i>ennyn</i>	enynho	
	<i>gallu</i>	allo	
	<i>gwadu</i>	watto x4	subjunctive ending causing proected /t/
	<i>lladd</i>	llatho, latho	subjunctive ending causing proected /θ/
<i>rhoi</i>	rotho	subjunctive ending causing proected /θ/	
<i>treisio</i>	treisso		

Table 4a.3.1d – Third person singular present subjunctive verbs (-o) found across texts

Simon Rodway summarises the relationship between *-(h)wy* and *-(h)o*, writing “in the Book of Taliesin . . . the two forms are neck and neck”.⁴¹⁸ He also says that the thirteenth-century prose manuscripts only have *-(h)o*, a situation also found in the comparison texts, dating from the fourteenth century. While Rodway shows that *-(h)o* increasingly replaces *-(h)wy*, he shows that this does not mean *-(h)wy* is earlier, or

⁴¹⁸ Rodway, 2013, 82.

original. Rodway cites Kim McCone, Stefan Schumacher, and Nicholas Zair, who all believe *-(h)o* to be the primary form.⁴¹⁹ Rodway also cites Graham Isaac in supporting *-(h)wy*, however. Rodway concludes that the *-(h)wy* form was no longer used in poetry by the second half of the thirteenth century.⁴²⁰ Russell notes a further example of *-(h)wy* being replaced by *-(h)o* in *Breint Teilo*.⁴²¹

Additional patterns

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>gwneud</i>	<i>g6nel</i>	irregular verb in <i>-el</i>
AP	<i>bod</i>	boet x5, poet x2	alternative form in <i>-et</i> , alternative forms with subjunctive causing protracted /p/
EY	<i>gwneud</i>	<i>rywnel</i>	irregular verb in <i>-el</i>
M	<i>dyfod</i>	<i>del</i>	irregular verb in <i>-el</i>
CC	<i>gwneud</i>	<i>wnel</i>	irregular verb in <i>-el</i>
P	<i>bod</i>	boet x2	alternative form in <i>-et</i> ,
	<i>dyfod</i>	<i>del</i>	irregular verb in <i>-el</i>
H	<i>gwneud</i>	<i>wnel</i> x2	irregular verb in <i>-el</i>
	<i>mynd</i>	<i>el</i> x2	irregular verb in <i>-el</i>

Table 4a.3.1e – Third person singular present subjunctive verbs (additional patterns) found across texts

The forms *g6nel* from *gwneud* and *boet* from *bod* are found in both the poems and comparison texts.

⁴¹⁹ Rodway, 2013, 81; Schrijver, 2011, 62; Schumacher, 2004, 52; Zair, 2012, 101-6.

⁴²⁰ Rodway, 2013, 166.

⁴²¹ Russell, 2016, 51-3.

3rd Plural

The analysis of third person singular present subjunctive verbs will be divided here into two parts: forms in *-(h)wynt* and forms in *-(h)ont*.

Present subjunctive in *-wynt*

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>gadael</i>	ada6h6ynt	
AP	<i>atchwelyd</i>	atchwel6ynt	
	<i>bod</i>	b6ynt	
	<i>ceisio</i>	cheiss6ynt	
	<i>dychyrchu</i>	dychyrch6ynt	
	<i>rhyddyrchafu</i>	rydrychaf6ynt x2	note the lack of protection to /v/
	<i>sefyll</i>	safh6ynt x2	
	<i>syrthio</i>	syrth6ynt	
	<i>ymgadw</i>	ymgetwynt	subjunctive ending causing protected /t/

Table 4a.3.1f – Third person plural present subjunctive verbs (*-wynt*) found across texts

Rodway cites Nicholas Zair, explaining that form in *-(h)wynt* is an innovation based on *-wy-* from other forms in the paradigm.⁴²² The majority of third person plural present subjunctive forms in the poems use *-(h)wynt*, as can be seen by comparison with the table below.

Present subjunctive in *-ont*

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
AP	<i>dyfod</i>	dyffont	subjunctive ending causing protected /f/
	<i>mynd</i>	ahont	
	<i>talw</i>	talhont	
H	<i>talw</i>	talhont	

Table 4a.3.1g – Third person plural present subjunctive verbs (*-ont*) found across texts

According to Rodway, *-(h)ont* is the regular, expected form, deriving from **-āson̄ti*.⁴²³ In light of Rodway's comment that the law manuscripts in particular yield relatively high numbers of innovative *-(h)wynt*, it is worth noting that the one example of the third person plural present subjunctive found in the comparison texts is *talhont*, from the law text *P*.

⁴²² Rodway, 2013, 83; Zair, 2012, 103.

⁴²³ Rodway, 2013, 83.

Impersonal

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
AP	<i>dygogan</i>	dygoganher *	
CC	<i>cael</i>	gaffer	
	<i>cyfrif</i>	gyfriuer	note the lack of provection to /v/
	<i>dwyn</i>	dycker	subjunctive ending causing proected /k/
	<i>lladd</i>	lather x2	subjunctive ending causing proected /θ/
	<i>lloggi</i>	losker	
	<i>trychu</i>	trycher	
H	<i>cyfrif</i>	gyfriffer	subjunctive ending causing proected /f/
	<i>dwyn</i>	dyccer	subjunctive ending causing proected /k/
	<i>cael</i>	gaffer	
	<i>lladd</i>	lather x4	subjunctive ending causing proected /θ/
	<i>lloggi</i>	lloscer	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rother	subjunctive ending causing proected /θ/
	<i>talw</i>	taler	
	<i>tynnu</i>	tynher	
	<i>tystio</i>	tyster	

Table 4a.3.1h – Impersonal present subjunctive verbs found across texts

Rodway notes the difficulty in distinguishing impersonal present subjunctive forms from impersonal imperative forms, as both end in *-er*.⁴²⁴ They are distinguished in this study according to context, or the presence of provection in the case of the subjunctive. The forms without provection in the table above are: *gyfriuer* in *CC*, and *taler* and in *H*. The context in which *lloscer/losker* is found is the phrase *y peth a losker* (*CC*) and *y peth y lloscer ac ef* (*H*), “the thing which be burned” and “the thing which be burned with it” respectively, clearly with impersonal, rather than imperative meaning. In *CC*, *gyfriuer* is found in the phrase *pan gyfriuer*, spelled with provection in *pan gyfriffer* in *H*, “when counted”, and *trycher* is found in the phrase *kyn trycher clust*, “before an ear be cut”, rendered *or trychir clust* in *H*, “if an ear is cut”. In *H*, *taler* and have no corresponding forms in *CC* and are found in the phrases *a phan taler racdant*, “when an incisor be paid”, and *a tyster ida6*, “which be testified to him”.

⁴²⁴ Rodway, 2013, 42.

4a.3.2: Imperfect Subjunctive

The poems and comparison texts provide examples of only certain persons of the verb in the imperfect subjunctive: singular forms of the first and third person, the third person plural, and the impersonal.

1st Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>cadw</i>	ryscat6n *	infixd pronoun -s-, subjunctive ending causing proected /t/
P	<i>gwybod</i>	6yp6n	subjunctive ending causing proected /p/

Table 4a.3.2a – First personal singular imperfect subjunctive verbs found across texts

The first person singular imperfect subjunctive is formed by the first person singular imperfect indicative ending with an additional proection to the preceding consonant.

The form in *ED* also contains an infixd pronoun.

3rd Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
AP	<i>bod</i>	bei	
	<i>dyfod</i>	dyffei *	subjunctive ending causing proected /f/
M	<i>bod</i>	bei, uei x2	
	<i>damwain</i>	damweinhei	
	<i>darfod</i>	darffei x2	subjunctive ending causing proected /f/
	<i>gwneud</i>	g6nelhei, wnelei	irregular verb in -el
	<i>mynd</i>	elhei	irregular verb in -el
	<i>mynnu</i>	mynhei	
CC	<i>bod</i>	bei	
P	<i>bod</i>	vei	
	<i>cyhydreg</i>	kyhyttrei	subjunctive ending causing proected /t/
	<i>dal</i>	dalhei	
	<i>dyfod</i>	delei	
	<i>gorfod</i>	orffei	subjunctive ending causing proected /f/
	<i>gweld</i>	welhei	
H	<i>bod</i>	bei x2	

Table 4a.3.2b – Third personal singular imperfect subjunctive verbs found across texts

The third person singular imperfect subjunctive is formed by the third person singular imperfect indicative ending with an additional proection to the preceding consonant.

In the case of the verb *bod*, the form *bei* is used. As was seen in Table 4a.3.1e, certain verbs form the subjunctive with the ending *-el*. This is followed in the imperfect by

the third singular imperfect ending. Schumacher writes that the subjunctive in *el-* comes from the Proto-Celtic * φ ela(:)se/o, with other verbs following this formation.⁴²⁵ While Schumacher gives forms in *gwnel-* he also lists the existence of forms such as *gwnech*.⁴²⁶ Note the use of the analogical form *delei* in *P*, but the use of *dyffei* in *AP* (1.24).

3rd Plural

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
AP	<i>cael</i>	keffyn, geffyn * ^{x2}	
	<i>cilio</i>	kilhyn *	
	<i>ffoi</i>	ffohÿn *	
	<i>talu</i>	telhyn *	
M	<i>tebygu</i>	tebyckynt	subjunctive ending causing provection /k/
P	<i>dodi</i>	dotynt	subjunctive ending causing provection /t/

Table 4a.3.2c – Third personal plural imperfect subjunctive verbs found across texts

The third person plural imperfect subjunctive is formed by the third person plural imperfect indicative ending with an additional provection to the preceding consonant.

Impersonal

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
AP	<i>gwrthod</i>	g6rthottit	subjunctive ending causing provection /t/
EY	<i>gwneud</i>	g6nelit	irregular verb in <i>-el</i>

Table 4a.3.2d – Impersonal imperfect subjunctive verbs found across texts

The impersonal imperfect subjunctive is formed by the impersonal imperfect indicative ending with an additional provection to the preceding consonant. As seen in Table 4a.3.2b, *gwneud* becomes *g6nel-* plus the impersonal imperfect ending.

⁴²⁵ Schumacher, 2011, 184-8.

⁴²⁶ Schumacher, 2011, 188.

4a.3.3: Comment on the Subjunctive Mood

The verbal forms found in the subjunctive mood provide less evidence for the dating of the poems. Rodway has shown that neither the *-(h)o* or the *-(h)wy* ending is favoured over the other in the Book of Taliesin as a whole for the third person singular present. While there is a slightly greater number of instances of *-(h)o* in the poems of this study, Rodway appears to show that *-(h)o* is older. It is worth noting, however, that the original third person plural form *-(h)ont* has only three examples, each in *AP*, whereas the later form, *-(h)wynt*, has eight in *AP* and a further example in *ED*. Unlike other forms which show redaction from one to another there is no point in *AP* where the use changes (cf. *katarn/kadarn* in Chapter 1), but rather *-(h)ont* and *-(h)wynt* are used side by side through the poem.

4a.4.1: Imperative Mood

The poems and comparison texts provide examples of only certain persons of the verb in the imperative mood: singular forms of the second and third person, plural forms of the first, second, and third person, and the impersonal.

2nd Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>gogyfarch</i>	gogyfarch	
M	<i>dwyn</i>	d6c	irregular verb in <i>dwg</i>
P	<i>cerdded</i>	cherda, kertha	
	<i>cyfodi</i>	chyfot	
	<i>cymryd</i>	kymer, chymer x2	
	<i>cynnal</i>	kynhal	
	<i>dwyn</i>	d6c	
	<i>dywedyd</i>	dywet	
	<i>gweld</i>	weldy	with affixed pronoun
	<i>gyrru</i>	gyrr	
	<i>peri</i>	par, phar x2	
	<i>torri</i>	tyrr	

Table 4a.4.1a – Second personal singular imperative verbs found across texts

Like the third person singular present indicative, the second person singular imperative consists of the bare stem, in all the above instances with the exception of *cherda/kertha* in *P*. However, the imperative forms show no affection.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁷ Evans, 1964, 129.

3rd Singular

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>bod</i>	bit	
	<i>bod</i>	boet	
	<i>treiddio</i>	treidet *	
AP	<i>crynu</i>	chrynet *	
	<i>gwrthod</i>	g6rthodet *	
	<i>tal</i>	talet x2 *x2	
	<i>tarddu</i>	thardet *	
M	<i>dodi</i>	dodet x3	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodet	
CC	<i>cydio</i>	chytyet	
	<i>magu</i>	maget	
	<i>mynd</i>	aet	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodet x5	
	<i>tal</i>	talet x5	
P	<i>cenhadu</i>	canhadet	
	<i>dangos</i>	dangosset	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodet	
H	<i>dewis</i>	dewisset	
	<i>dodi</i>	dodet	
	<i>dylu</i>	dylyet	
	<i>mynd</i>	aet	
	<i>peri</i>	paret	
	<i>rhoi</i>	rodet x5	
	<i>tal</i>	talet x5	

Table 4a.4.1b – Third personal singular imperative verbs found across texts

The third person singular imperative is formed by adding the ending *-et*. Schumacher states that along side the third person singular imperative form *bit*, the subjunctive from the form *boet* is often used.⁴²⁸

1st Plural

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
AP	<i>iol</i>	jol6n	

Table 4a.4.1c – First personal plural imperative verbs found across texts

The first person plural imperative is formed in the same way as the first person plural present indicative. The two moods must be differentiated by context.

⁴²⁸ Schumacher, 2011, 196.

2nd Plural

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
P	<i>bwrw</i>	byry6ch	
	<i>cymryd</i>	chymer6ch	
	<i>ymgyweirio</i>	ymgyweir6ch	

Table 4a.4.1d – Second personal plural imperative verbs found across texts

The second person plural imperative is formed in the same way as the second person plural present indicative. The two moods must be differentiated by context.

3rd Plural

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
AP	<i>gwneud</i>	g6naent	
R	<i>gadu</i>	gadent	

Table 4a.4.1e – Third personal plural imperative verbs found across texts

The third person plural imperative is formed by adding the ending *-ent*.

Impersonal

Text	Verb	Form in text	Notes
ED	<i>dibynnu</i>	dimpyner	infixd pronoun <i>-m-</i>
AP	<i>pwyllo</i>	b6yller *	
P	<i>gwneud</i>	wnelel	irregular verb in <i>-el</i>

Table 4a.4.1f – Impersonal imperative verbs found across texts

The impersonal imperative is formed in the same way as the impersonal present subjunctive. The forms may be distinguished by context. Note the presence of an infixd pronoun in *dimpyner* in 1.55 of AP.

4a.4.2: Comment on the Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is well attested in both the poems and comparison texts. Where comparable forms are found across the texts, they are similar throughout. Therefore it is not possible to use verbal forms of the imperative mood as datable features in this study.

4a.5: Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter the question was posed as to the place of the verbal forms found in the poems, within the chronology of medieval Welsh. This chapter has assessed each example of a conjugated verb in both the poems and comparison texts. Having found few dissimilarities between the small sample groups of the poems and comparison texts, those features which do break from the norm have been discussed with reference to Rodway's work on twelfth- and thirteenth-century forms. The outcome of this examination is that there are number of features which demonstrably predate the language of the fourteenth century, some of which might be placed within Old Welsh.

The particular features are given here in reverse chronology: the poems contain no examples of the preterite ending *-awdd* which had supplanted third person singular preterite indicatives in *-ws/-wys* by the fourteenth century; *ED* and *AP* have examples of absolute forms; *AP* and *DA* have examples of *i*-stem third person plural present indicative endings; *AP* and *EY* have indications of Old Welsh orthography. At the same time there are features which point to modernising redaction taking place during transmission: *ED* and *AP* have examples of the later *-(h)wynt* subjunctive ending, in addition to the smaller number of the earlier *-(h)ont* in *AP*.

The collective evidence of the verbal morphology is the best support seen in this study for the dates given to the poems. It should be remembered that those dates were given on quite different grounds: the poems' historical contexts. If their contents also show some signs in agreement with proposed early authorship, the case is strengthened. This chapter has also given some of the clearest dates for certain features which will be useful in constructing chronologies of the poems redaction.

Chapter 4b

Other Morphological Features

4b.1: Introduction

Chapter 4 is divided into two parts, the larger section has focussed on the morphology of the verbs found within the poems and comparison texts. There are, however, other relevant morphological features found across the texts, and they will be discussed here. This chapter will consider the morphology of plural noun forms, infixed pronouns, and conjugated prepositions.

The question to be answered in this chapter is to what extent do the poems and comparison texts differ in the morphology of plural nouns, infixed pronouns, and conjugated prepositions, and can any differences be explained as resulting from the chronology of the texts' composition?

The methodology for obtaining the information to be discussed in this chapter was to collate every example of plural nouns, infixed pronouns, and conjugated prepositions into tables. Those forms have been assessed in the light of *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*. The forms in the poems are discussed in relation to the forms found in the comparison manuscripts, and other scholarship on those forms. This chapter will analyse the forms in terms of their strengths as dating criteria. The chapter is divided into three sections: plural morphology, the morphology of infixed pronouns, and the morphology of conjugated prepositions. Conclusions will be drawn at the end of the chapter.

4b.2.1: Introduction to plural morphology

Nouns in Old and Middle Welsh inflect for number but not for case.⁴²⁹ David Willis states that “the two major devices for forming plurals involve vowel alteration or the addition of one of various plural suffixes.” As expected, that pattern is reflected in both the poems and the comparison texts. In addition to vowel alteration, the plural suffixes found in the texts are: *-ant*, *-awr*, *-ed*, *-ein*, *-eit*, *-eu*, *-i*, *-oed*, *-on*, *-yd*. Vowel alteration originated from Brythonic o-stem nouns which formed their plural in *-i*, causing *i*-affection that outlasted the final syllable *-i* which was lost in the second half of the sixth century, according to Kenneth Jackson.⁴³⁰ The plural endings result from the following forms: *-ant* from nt-stem plural (**-ant-es*),⁴³¹ *-awr* from a Latinate suffix (= *-ārium* & *-āria*, or *-ārum* & *-ōrum*),⁴³² *-ed* from i-stem plural (**-ijās*),⁴³³ *-ein* from n-stem plural (**-en<*-an-ī*),⁴³⁴ *-i* and *-oed* from the s-stem plural (**-es-a>*-eh-a> *-ia>*-īa>*-ī*, and **-oed<*-oiđ<*-eđ<*-eh-ī<*-es- +*-oi* respectively),⁴³⁵ *-eit* from affection of *-at* suffix,⁴³⁶ *-eu* from the u-stem plural (**-(j)owes <*(j)ewes*),⁴³⁷ *-(y)on* from the n-stem plural (**-jones*), and *-yd* from i-stem plural (**-ijes*),⁴³⁸ Often plural suffixes in later Welsh do not correspond to a noun-class in Brythonic, with many nouns reassigned into various thematic categories.⁴³⁹ The plural forms found in the poems and comparison texts are tabulated below, according to plural marker.

⁴²⁹ Willis, 2009, 16.

⁴³⁰ Jackson, 1953, 618-20.

⁴³¹ Schrijver, 2011, 43.

⁴³² Nurmio, 2014, 139.

⁴³³ Schrijver, 2011, 42.

⁴³⁴ Schrijver, 2011, 42.

⁴³⁵ Schrijver, 2011, 42.

⁴³⁶ Nurmio, 2010, 94.

⁴³⁷ Schrijver, 2011, 43.

⁴³⁸ Schrijver, 2011, 42.

⁴³⁹ Morris-Jones, 1913, 198-210.

4b.2.2: Discussion of plural morphology

Before discussing the plural forms proper, there are several miscellaneous forms which should be mentioned at this point. There are several demonyms in *AP* which are best discussed here: *brython* (ll.12&90 and also *R* ll.1&29) is originally both singular (from an oblique case) and plural (<*Brittones*); *chlud6ys* (l.11) and *iwys/iwis* (ll.108&181) are collective (-*wys* < Lat. -*enses*); and *corny6* (l.11) is an example of a toponym used to mean the inhabitants of the place.

There are examples in both the poems and comparison texts of monomorphemic plurals, that is where a singular suffix must be added to plural stem to create the singular form. The form *coet* is found in *AP* (l.65), *CC*, *P*, and *H*, and the forms *drein* and *dillat* in *M* and *g6arthech* in *H*. There are also forms which are clearly the result of historical plural suffixes, but which act like the above: *meillon* in *R* (l.26) and *miere* in *M*.

Outside of the poems, there is also the form *ml6yd*, which is found in *M*, *CC*, and *H*. This is to be differentiated from *blyned* in *AP* (l.146) and *ul6ydynd* in *M*. The former of those is the original plural, and the latter a re-formed plural based on the singular. The form derives from **bleid-ā*.⁴⁴⁰ *P* has examples of the dual forms in *d6yvron* and *d6yvreich*.

Lastly, before moving on, the example of a borrowed plural suffix from English in the form *ffoxas* in *AP* (l.66) should also be mentioned. T. H. Parry-Williams shows that this form has carried its English noun-class with it. He labels it as having a 'strong' a-stem.⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴⁰ GPC, s.v. *blwydd*.

⁴⁴¹ Parry-Williams, 1923, 38.

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
ED	<i>bardd</i>	beird x2	
	<i>bröwr</i>	vrowyr	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>
	<i>cynfran</i>	gynfrein	
	<i>gorwr</i>	gor6yr	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>
AP	<i>aber</i>	hebyr	
	<i>allmon</i>	allmyn x6	
	<i>arall</i>	ereill x2	pl. substantive adj.
	<i>cachmon</i>	kechmyn x2, kychmyn	
	<i>cadfarch</i>	katueirch	
	<i>cadwr</i>	ketwyr x2	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>
	<i>caeth</i>	keith	
	<i>cyfnewidiwr</i>	gyfnewitwyr	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>
	<i>Cymro</i>	kymry x13	
	<i>cymwyad</i>	gym6yeit	pl. in <i>-eit</i> from sg. in <i>-at</i>
	<i>cyneirchiad</i>	kyneircheit x2, kynyrcheit	pl. in <i>-eit</i> from sg. in <i>-at</i>
	<i>cynifwr</i>	kynifwyr x2	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>
	<i>cysuliwr</i>	kussulwyr	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>
	<i>Gwyddel</i>	g6ydyl x3	
	<i>gŵr</i>	g6yr x6	
	<i>march</i>	meirch	
	<i>milwr</i>	milwyr	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>
<i>sant</i>	seint x2		
R	<i>gŵr</i>	g6yr x2	
DA	<i>Cymro</i>	kymry x2	
	<i>mab</i>	meib	
EY	<i>Cymro</i>	kymry	
M	<i>arall</i>	ereill x2	pl. substantive adj.
	<i>carreg</i>	kerryc x2	
	<i>castell</i>	kestyll x3	
	<i>cynghorwr</i>	gyghorwyr	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>
	<i>dafad</i>	deueit	
	<i>gŵr</i>	guyr x29	
	<i>gwyliwr</i>	g6ylwyr x4	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>
	<i>march</i>	meirch	
<i>ymladdwr</i>	ymladwyr	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>	
CC	<i>corn</i>	kyrn	
	<i>gŵr</i>	wyr	
P	<i>cynhebryngiad</i>	ganhebrygyeit	pl. in <i>-eit</i> from sg. in <i>-at</i>
	<i>goreugwr</i>	goreug6yr x3	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>
	<i>gŵr</i>	g6yr x7	
	<i>gwrda</i>	wyrda x3	containing <i>gŵr:gwŷr</i>
	<i>hebryngiad</i>	hebrygyeit	pl. in <i>-eit</i> from sg. in <i>-at</i>
	<i>march</i>	meirch x2	
H	<i>corn</i>	kyrn	

Table 4b.2.2a – instances of plurals formed by vowel alteration to noun stem

As stated above, plural formation by vowel alteration developed from Brythonic o-stem nouns which formed their plural in *-i*, prior to the loss of that final syllable. Many of the forms listed above from the poems all derive from o-stem nouns, while vowel alteration has spread to other nouns. The English loan-suffix *-mon* regularly pluralises as *-myn*, whether by analogy here, or comparison to the English-language

plural *man:men*. *Seint* (sg. *sant*) is borrowed from the Latin *sanctus* with the plural *sanctī*. Allowing for the loss of /k/ in the cluster /nkt/,⁴⁴² *i*-affection from the Latin plural ending would produce the form *seint* in Welsh. The form *hebyr* (l.174) in *AP* is also interesting, as Falileyev gives the Old Welsh plural form as *aperou*, which would give *abereu* in Middle Welsh.⁴⁴³ The form is confirmed by *odl wyddelig* with *-yd* and appears to be the original form in the poem, Falileyev shows, however, that there was another productive plural form in early Welsh. Silva Nurmio states that *ebyr* is the older form.⁴⁴⁴

Nurmio states that the form *meib* is the regular plural of the o-stem of *mab* (**mapi̯*⁴⁴⁵) to which the suffix *-ion* was later added to become the common plural form by the Middle Welsh period.⁴⁴⁶ As in the case of *hebyr* above, there are examples of the addition of a plural suffix to the stem in the Old Welsh period. David Willis shows that this led to a situation where certain nouns, including *meib* and *blyned* (see below), use the inherited plural only after numerals, with an analogically reformed plural being found in other contexts.⁴⁴⁷ In *DA* the form is found as *seith meib* (l.5).⁴⁴⁸ Falileyev cites the form *mepion* in Old Welsh.⁴⁴⁹

The comparison manuscripts offer a different picture, with a larger number of loanwords, and forms not derived from o-stem nouns. Forms such as *allmyn* in *AP* appear to show that *i*-affection had spread from its original environment to other

⁴⁴² Charles-Edwards, 2013, 630.

⁴⁴³ Falileyev, 2000, 9.

⁴⁴⁴ Nurmio, 2010, 3-4.

⁴⁴⁵ Morris-Jones, 1913, 90.

⁴⁴⁶ Nurmio, 2010, 53-4.

⁴⁴⁷ Willis, 2009, 18.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. Roberts, 2012, 33-47.

⁴⁴⁹ Falileyev, 2000, 23.

nouns, and this is confirmed by examples such as *cerryg*,⁴⁵⁰ *cestyll*, and *cyrn*, although this may be an o-stem, if not a borrowing from Latin.⁴⁵¹

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
AP	<i>car</i>	karant	

Table 4b.2.2b – instances of plurals formed by addition of *-ant* suffix

D. Simon Evans notes that the form *karant* is derived from **karants*<*karantes*.⁴⁵² He notes that an additional plural from *kereint* had been created by the early Middle Welsh period, with the earliest recorded instance being found in the early thirteenth-century Black Book of Carmarthen. That same manuscript, however, also has *karant*, as does the mid-fourteenth-century Book of the Anchorite (a total of eight times in *Ystoria Lucidar* and once in *Breuddwyd Pawl*). Nurmio discusses the possibility that both *karant* and *keraint* may have developed independently from the time of Brythonic.⁴⁵³ This appears to be confirmed by the Breton plural, *kerent*. Whatever the case for *keraint*, *karant* was not unknown at the time the Book of Taliesin was copied.

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
AP	<i>byddin</i>	vydina6r	cf. <i>bydinawr</i> in AP and M – see Table 4b.2h
	<i>llafn</i>	llafna6r x2	

Table 4b.2.2c – instances of plurals formed by addition of *-awr* suffix

Silva Nurmio posits that the *-awr* plural form in Welsh is a Latinate suffix, derived from *-ārium* or *-āria*, or the genitive plural endings *-ārum* and *-ōrum*.⁴⁵⁴ She suggests that “the suffix entered Brittonic with a broader usage which got restricted in Welsh, probably by pressure from the agent-suffix *-awr*, to literary language where it was

⁴⁵⁰ Nurmio, 2010, 29-30.

⁴⁵¹ Nurmio, 2010, 38-9.

⁴⁵² Evans, 1964, 29.

⁴⁵³ Nurmio, 2010, 27-9.

⁴⁵⁴ Nurmio, 2014, 139.

useful for rhyme schemes.”⁴⁵⁵ The form *vydina6r* (1.56) does have internal rhyme, with *dirua6r*, however *llafna6r* (1.79) does not. While it is apparent that *-awr* has spread to both nouns as the suffix was “semantically associated with nouns for weapons and for warfare in general”,⁴⁵⁶ it is not clear when this occurred. While *llafna6r* is not chosen for rhyme, it is clear that *vydina6r* is, with *bydinoed* being used twice elsewhere in *AP* (ll.81&179) where there is no rhyme in *-awr* to be made. The form *vydinoed* is also found in *M*.

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
AP	<i>blwyddyn</i>	blyned	cf. <i>ml6yd</i> and <i>ul6ydynd</i>
	<i>celain</i>	galaned x2	<i>GPC</i> gives <i>e</i> as root vowel – the <i>a</i> in the singular may be due to vowel harmony
	<i>gwraig</i>	g6raged x3	retention of stem without <i>i</i> -affection before <i>-ed</i>
	<i>teyrn</i>	teyrned x3	
M	<i>blwyddyn</i>	ul6ydynd	cf. <i>ml6yd</i> and <i>blyned</i>
	<i>brenin</i>	brenhined	
	<i>dŵr</i>	dyfred	
	<i>gwraig</i>	guraged x3	retention of stem without <i>i</i> -affection before <i>-ed</i>
P	<i>gwraig</i>	g6raged x4	retention of stem without <i>i</i> -affection before <i>-ed</i>
H	<i>gwraig</i>	g6raged	retention of stem without <i>i</i> -affection before <i>-ed</i>

Table 4b.2.2d – instances of plurals formed by addition of *-ed* suffix

John Morris-Jones writes that “in some cases the vowel is affected in the sg., but reverts to (or, historically speaking, retains) its original sound in the plural”.⁴⁵⁷ The example of *gwragedd* shows this. Nurmio explains the contrast between *blynedd* and *blwyddynedd* as seen in the examples in *AP* and *M*, that the plural form following regular development from the Brythonic is *blynedd*< **blēdanijās*, with *blwyddynedd* being re-formed on the basis of the singular.⁴⁵⁸ Morris-Jones states that this form is only used after numerals, as it is found in *AP* (1.146), *pedeir blyned*. That the original plural form is used in the *AP*, while the re-formed plural is found in the comparison

⁴⁵⁵ Nurmio, 2014, 161.

⁴⁵⁶ Nurmio, 2014, 144.

⁴⁵⁷ Morris-Jones, 1913, 210.

⁴⁵⁸ Nurmio, 2010, 14.

text says nothing of the age of either text, only that the context of the plural is different: following a numeral in *AP*, and not in *M*.⁴⁵⁹

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
ED	<i>cof</i>	cofein	
	<i>*trum</i>	trath*mein	See discussion in Chapter 2.2.01

Table 4b.2.2e – instances of plurals formed by addition of *-ein* suffix

D. Simon Evans gives several examples of *-ein* plurals, with some examples coming from the mid-fourteenth-century Book of the Anchorite. The form is in use by other scribes of the period. The form *trath*mein* is problematic for reasons already seen in Chapter 2.2.01.

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
M	<i>anifail</i>	aniueileit	<i>i</i> -affection to stem, in addition to pl. suffix
	<i>cysgadur</i>	kyscaduryeit	

Table 4b.2.2f – instances of plurals formed by addition of *-eit* suffix

The suffix *-iaid* developed via *i*-affection to nouns ending in *-iad*. John Morris-Jones explains that the suffix “*-iaid* is added to form the pl. of names of living things whose sg. does not end in *-iad*” and lists both nouns in the table above, under generic names of animals he gives the form *anifeileit*, as *aniueileit* in *M*, and under all names in *-ur* he gives the form *cysgaduriaid*, as *kyscaduryeit* in *M*.⁴⁶⁰ The *i*-affection in *aniueileit* is due to the fact that the original form is *-ieit*. There is yod-deletion in the form cited above, however, which is a southern feature, developing in the Middle Welsh period.

⁴⁵⁹ Roberts, 2012.

⁴⁶⁰ Morris-Jones, 1913, 208-9.

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
ED	<i>ced</i>	kedeu	cf. <i>ketoed</i> in <i>AP</i> – see Table 4b.21
	<i>rhyd</i>	rydeu	
	<i>ton</i>	tonneu	
AP	<i>anair</i>	aneireu	
	<i>cennad</i>	kennadeu x2	
	<i>crys</i>	crysseu	
	<i>deigryn</i>	dagreu	
	<i>oes</i>	oesseu	
	<i>rhaith</i>	reitheu	
	<i>treth</i>	tretheu x5	
M	<i>annedd</i>	anhedeu	
	<i>anrhaith</i>	anreitheu	
	<i>arf</i>	arueu x4	
	<i>blaidd</i>	bleideu	
	<i>cennad</i>	kenadeu	
	<i>dyrnod</i>	dyrnodeu	
	<i>enaid</i>	heneiteu x2	
	<i>gair</i>	geireu	
	<i>gwerysll</i>	guerysllau x2	
	<i>gwledd</i>	wledeu	
	<i>llechfa</i>	llechuaeu	
	<i>llest</i>	llesteu x2	
	<i>pabell</i>	pebylleu x2	original sg. form (=pebyll) + pl. -eu
	<i>peiriant</i>	peiranheu	
CC	<i>aelod</i>	aelodeu x2	
	<i>caill</i>	Keilleu	
	<i>curan</i>	guaraneu	
	<i>cyfraith</i>	kyfreitheu x2	
	<i>dyrnfol</i>	dyrnuoleu	
	<i>sarhaed</i>	sarhaedeu	
P	<i>arf</i>	arueu x6	
	<i>baich</i>	veicheu x2	
	<i>blodyn</i>	blodeu	
	<i>braich</i>	breicheu	
	<i>cennad</i>	kennadeu x5	
	<i>cerdd</i>	gerdeu x3	original form – see Morris-Jones, 1913, 203.
	<i>clwyf</i>	chlwyfeu	
	<i>cyfranc</i>	chyfranceu	
	<i>cyfrwy</i>	kyfrwyeyu	
	<i>cymwy</i>	gymwyeyu	
	<i>deigryn</i>	dagreu	
	<i>eurdlys</i>	eurtlysseu	
	<i>gair</i>	geireu	
	<i>gofid</i>	gouityeu	
	<i>gwary</i>	gwaryeyu x2	
	<i>gwirod</i>	wirodeu x2	
	<i>peth</i>	petheu	
	<i>terfyn</i>	terfynau x5	
Table cont'd on f'wing page			

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
H.	<i>aelod</i>	aelodeu x6	
Cont.	<i>caill</i>	Keilleu	
	<i>curan</i>	kuaraneu	
	<i>cyfraith</i>	kyfreitheu x2	
	<i>drychafel</i>	drychafaleu	pl. of verbal noun
	<i>dyrnfol</i>	dyrnoleu	
	<i>gradd</i>	gradeu x2	
	<i>sarhaed</i>	sarhaedeu	
	<i>ugain</i>	vgeinheu	
	<i>urdd</i>	vrdeu	

Table 4b.2.2g – instances of plurals formed by addition of *-eu* suffix

Forms in *-eu* are the largest set in this study. Schrijver shows the *-eu* suffix to derive from u-stem nouns in Brythonic.⁴⁶¹ It appears that many of the examples in *ED* and *AP* are u-stem nouns (*rydeu* in *ED*, and *crysseu*, *dagreu*, *oesseu*, and *reitheu* in *AP*), however, as with other plural suffixes, the majority of nouns which take this ending are not u-stems. The form spread at an early stage at the expense of other endings.

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
ED	<i>llestr</i>	lestri	

Table 4b.2.2h – instances of plurals formed by addition of *-i* suffix

Morris-Jones notes that the suffix *-i* was “added to many names of things with *e* or *a* in the sg.”⁴⁶² Hence, the example of *lestri* in the table above, but also the Modern Welsh *cerddi* as opposed to the form *gerdeu* as listed under *P* in Table 4b.2.2g.

⁴⁶¹ Schrijver, 2011, 43.

⁴⁶² Morris-Jones, 1913, 203.

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
AP	<i>byddin</i>	bydinoed x2	cf. <i>bydinawr</i> in <i>AP</i> – see Table 4b.2b
	<i>ced</i>	ketoed	cf. <i>cedeu</i> in <i>ED</i> – see Table 4b.2g
	<i>cenedl</i>	kenedloed	
R	<i>dinas</i>	dinassoed	
M	<i>byddin</i>	vydinoed	cf. <i>bydinawr</i> in <i>AP</i> – see Table 4b.2b
	<i>gwlad</i>	wladoed x2	
P	<i>eithaf</i>	eithafoed x2	pl. substantive adj.
	<i>gwisg</i>	wiscoed	
	<i>iaith</i>	ieithoed	
H	<i>ach</i>	achoed x2;	

Table 4b.2.2i – instances of plurals formed by addition of *-oed* suffix

Schrijver states that the suffix *-oed* is derived from s-stem nouns (**-oeð<*-oið<*-eð<*-eh-ī<*-es- +*-oi*).⁴⁶³ Morris-Jones shows that *-oedd* was added to other nouns originally of other declensions.⁴⁶⁴ Some of those he lists, *gwisgoedd* and *ieithoedd* are found in the table above.

⁴⁶³ Schrijver, 2011, 42.

⁴⁶⁴ Morris-Jones, 1913, 202.

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
ED	<i>aillt</i>	eillon	
AP	<i>atbawr</i>	atporyon	
	<i>bela</i>	balaon	
	<i>cynnor</i>	chynhoryon	
	<i>derwydd</i>	derwydon	
	<i>granwyn</i>	granwynyon	pl. substantive adj.
	<i>gynt</i>	gynhon x3	
	<i>mab</i>	veibon	<i>i</i> -affection caused by <i>-(y)on</i> - /j/ dropped by scribe
	<i>maer</i>	meiryon x5	
	<i>Sais</i>	saesson x12	
R	<i>anghyfiaith</i>	hagyfieithon	pl. substantive adj.
	<i>ceiniad</i>	keinyadon	
	<i>deddf</i>	deduon	
	<i>gofal</i>	gofalon	
	<i>gorchordd</i>	gorchordyon	
	<i>granwyn</i>	ranwynyon	pl. substantive adj.
	<i>gwystl</i>	g6ystlon	
	<i>*mau</i>	maon, vaon	
	<i>?rhwydd</i>	r6ython	Haycock interprets as substantive adj. + <i>-on</i>
	<i>Sais</i>	saesson	
DA	<i>bargod</i>	vargotyon	
	<i>gwystl</i>	g6ystlon	
	<i>hoelen</i>	?hoelyon	Haycock emends to <i>halwyn</i>
	<i>gwas</i>	weisson	<i>i</i> -affection caused by <i>-(y)on</i> - /j/ dropped by scribe
	<i>Sais</i>	Saesson	
EY	<i>angel</i>	egylyon	double pl.: <i>i</i> -affection to stem, in addition to pl. suffix
M	<i>carcharor</i>	carcharoryon	
	<i>cyfoed</i>	gyfoetyon	
	<i>cydymdaith</i>	getymdeithon x3	
	<i>dewin</i>	dewinyon	
	<i>disgyr</i>	disgyryon	pl. substantive adj.
	<i>doeth</i>	doethon	
	<i>gelyn</i>	gelynyon x2	
	<i>gweddill</i>	guedillon	
	<i>mab</i>	meibon x3	<i>i</i> -affection caused by <i>-(y)on</i> - /j/ dropped by scribe
	<i>tywysog</i>	tywyssogyon	
CC	<i>arbennig</i>	arbenigyon	pl. substantive adj.
P	<i>anrheg</i>	anregyon x2	
	<i>cyd-farchog</i>	gytuarchogyon	
	<i>cyd-tirog</i>	kyttiryogyon	pl. substantive adj.
	<i>cydymdaith</i>	ketymdeithon x4	
	<i>morwyn</i>	vorynyon	
	<i>rhodd</i>	rodyon	
H	<i>arbennig</i>	arbenhigyon	pl. substantive adj. or as noun, s.v. <i>GPC</i>
	<i>cyd-etifedd</i>	gytetiuedyon	
	<i>cydymdaith</i>	getymdeithon	
	<i>etifedd</i>	etiuedyon	

Table 4b.2.2j – instances of plurals formed by addition of *-on* suffix

While Schrijver explains the derivation of *-on* from n-stem nouns,⁴⁶⁵ Morris-Jones shows the spread of the suffix to several categories of nouns: nouns denoting persons

⁴⁶⁵ Schrijver, 2011, 43.

(for example, *eillon*, *cynnor*, *derwydon*, *meibon*, *meiryon*, *saesson*, *keinyadon*, *g6ystlon*, *maon*, *weisson*, and *egylyon* above); names of implements (for example, *hoelyon* above, although not if the emendation to *halwyn* is accepted); some abstract nouns (for example, *deduon* and *gofalon* above); and some animals and plants (for example, *balaon* above).⁴⁶⁶ It should be noted, also, that certain forms in the table above, such as *saesson*, are n-stem nouns, albeit in the case of *saesson* a Latin n-stem.

Text	Noun	Plural form in text	Notes
AP	<i>llu</i>	lluyd x5	
R	<i>llu</i>	lluyd	
M	<i>coed</i>	coedyd x2	double pl.
P	<i>lluos</i>	lluossyd	pl. substantive adj.
H	<i>chwaer</i>	chwioryd x2	double pl.

Table 4b.2.2k – instances of plurals formed by addition of -yd suffix

Schrijver states the origin of the plural form in *-yd* is not clear, positing the i-stem plural (= *-ijes).⁴⁶⁷ At the viva for this thesis John Koch noted that the Old Irish *slogad*, meaning ‘hosting’ could be cognate with *lluyd* and the source of the Welsh plural form. He stated that ‘hosting’ is a better translation in some cases.

⁴⁶⁶ Morris-Jones, 1913, 200-2.

⁴⁶⁷ Schrijver, 2011, 42.

4b.2.3: Comment on plural morphology

Plural morphology reveals very little indeed about the date of the poems' composition. The same morphological features and analogical processes appear to be at work in both the poems and comparison texts. Even those few forms which might have seemed promising provided little: *-ant* in *karant* in *AP*, while not found in the comparison texts, was found in other contemporary prose texts by other scribes; *-awr* in *vydina6r* and *llafna6r* are “confined to literary, poetic language”,⁴⁶⁸ meaning that they would not be expected in the genre represented by the comparison texts, although Nurmio notes that the form had “virtually disappeared from Welsh by the end of the fourteenth century”;⁴⁶⁹ *-ein* while old, is not unknown at the time of the copying of the Book of Taliesin. Again, the striking finding of this section is the similarity between the linguistic features of the poems and those of the comparison manuscripts.

⁴⁶⁸ Nurmio, 2014, 161.

⁴⁶⁹ Nurmio, 2014, 143.

4b.3: Morphology of infix pronouns

James Fife writes that “an interesting concomitant of particle syntax in Celtic is the appearance of a pronominal series known as infix pronouns which are most frequently used in association with the particles. The infixation of a pronoun between the particle and verb is evidenced in Gaulish and was a very regular feature of Old Irish . . . In Welsh the infix accusative forms are found following preverbal or subordinating particles, but there are also similar genitive forms found enclitised to other items besides particles.”⁴⁷⁰

The table below shows that one significant difference between the poems and the comparison texts is the presence of infix particles within compound verbs in the poems. Infix pronouns are found in the comparison texts, but there, as also in the poems, they are fixed onto preverbal particles, prepositions (*a, i, o*, etc.), conjunctions and so on. Paul Russell shows that infix pronouns in compound verbs continue into Middle Welsh, citing examples from the *Beirdd y Tywysogion* corpus.⁴⁷¹ Their absence from the comparison manuscripts is not, then, the result of the comparative date of authorship, but perhaps a difference of medium between poetry and prose.

The third person singular infix pronoun *-t* found twice in *EY* is noteworthy as being an Old Welsh form.⁴⁷² The example is discussed in Chapter 2.2.21. A similar example is found elsewhere in the Book of Taliesin in the poem *Kadeir Tejrnnon: am nyt vo nyt vyd; nyt vyd am nyt vo* (ll.50&51). That poem may be late, featuring ‘Prydydd y Moch symptoms’, and Marged Haycock questions whether the lines echo

⁴⁷⁰ Ball and Fife, 1993, 17.

⁴⁷¹ Russell, 1995, 126.

⁴⁷² McCone, 2006, 239; cf. *cen nit̃ boi* and *cinnit̃ hoys* in Falileyev, 2016, 23.

a known saying.⁴⁷³ The *-t* pronoun was clearly present in some of the source material of poems in the Book of Taliesin.

Text	Pronoun	Form in text	Notes	
ED	1sg	am	dat. <i>am b6yf</i> (1.9)	
		dymbi	dat. infixed in verb (1.51)	
	3sg	ae x2	acc. <i>ae g6na</i> (1.27); gen. <i>ae kyffr6y</i> (1.41)	
		oe	gen. <i>oe chylchyn</i> (1.12)	
		ryscat6n	acc. attached to preverbal particle (1.43)	
AP	1sg	am	gen. <i>am du6</i> (1.197)	
	3sg	ae x3	dat. (1.155&164); gen. (1.184)	
		nys	acc. <i>nys</i> (1.70)	
		nas	acc. (11.45&49); dat. (1.50)	
		dysgogan x2	acc. infixed in verb (11.17&171)	
	1pl	an g6eryt	acc. (1.158)	
		ryn g6ara6t	acc. (1.92)	
	3pl	nys x7	acc. (11.29x2,86,&156); dat. (11.100,102,&170)	
R	3sg	ae	gen. (1.23)	
DA	3sg	oe x4	gen. (11.18x2&19x2)	
EY	1sg	am x3	dat. (11.16,25,&28)	
	3sg	oe	gen. (1.24)	
		nyt x2	acc. (1.6x2)	
M	2sg	ath	gen. x1	
		yth	gen. x1	
	3sg	ae x18	acc. x5; gen. x13	
		oe x8	gen. x8	
		noe	acc. x1	
CC	3sg	ae x10	acc. x4; gen. x6	
		oe	gen. x1	
		os x3	acc. x3	
P	1sg	am x3	acc. x2; gen. x1	
		om x3	gen. x3	
		ym	gen. x1	
		nym	acc. x1	
	2sg	ath x4	acc. x2; gen. x2	
		oth x2	gen. x2	
		yth x2	gen. x2	
	3sg	ae x26	acc. x9; gen. x17	
		oe x4	gen. x4	
		os x3	acc. x3	
		Nys	acc. x1	
	H	3sg.	ae x24	acc. x7; gen. x17
			nae x2	acc. x2
oe x4			gen. x4	
os x6			acc. x6	

Table 4b.3 – instances of infixed pronouns

⁴⁷³ Haycock, 2015, 31 & 306.

4b.4: Morphology of conjugated prepositions

Patrick Sims-Williams explains the formation of the conjugated prepositions as follows: “Semantically these are compounds of preposition + pronoun (‘with me’, ‘on me’, etc.), but the term draws attention to the mutual influence between the pronominal element and the personal endings of verbs.”⁴⁷⁴ While across the poems and manuscripts, prepositions are found in first, second, and third persons, in singular and plural, masculine and feminine, the poems have only a very small number of conjugated prepositions. These are found in the feminine third person singular and the first person plural. As the other conjugations do not stand chance of providing dating criteria for the poems, while the forms found in the comparison texts are tabulated, only those conjugations found in the poems will receive comment here.

Text	Preposition	Conjugated form	Notes
M	<i>at</i>	attaf	
P	<i>ar</i>	arnaf x4	
	<i>at</i>	attaf	
	<i>gan</i>	genhyf x5	
	<i>i</i>	imi x2, im x4	form containing attached pronoun
	<i>wrth</i>	6rthyf	
H	<i>i</i>	imi	form containing attached pronoun

Table 4b.4a – instances of first person singular conjugated prepositions

Text	Preposition	Conjugated form	Notes
M	<i>i</i>	itti x2, it	form containing attached pronoun
	<i>o</i>	ohonot x2	
P	<i>am</i>	ymdanat x2	
	<i>ar</i>	arnat x3	
	<i>at</i>	attat;	
	<i>gan</i>	ygenhyt;	
	<i>i</i>	itti x3, itt x11	form containing attached pronoun
	<i>o</i>	ohonot;	
	<i>wrth</i>	6rthyt x2, 6rthyti x2	form containing attached supplementary pronoun
H	<i>i</i>	itti	form containing attached pronoun

Table 4b.4b – instances of second person singular conjugated prepositions

⁴⁷⁴ Sims-Williams, 2013, 1.

Text	Preposition	Conjugated form	Notes
M	<i>ar</i>	arna6 x5	
	<i>at</i>	atta6 x5	
	<i>dan</i>	dana6	
	<i>gan</i>	ganta6 x8	
	<i>i</i>	ida6 x13	
	<i>o</i>	ohona6 x4	
	<i>wrth</i>	6rtha6 x2	
	<i>yn</i>	ynda6	
CC	<i>ar</i>	arna6 x2	
	<i>gan</i>	ganta6 x2	
	<i>i</i>	ida6 x2	
	<i>yn</i>	ynda6	
P	<i>am</i>	ymdana6 x3	
	<i>ar</i>	arna6 x3	
	<i>at</i>	atta6 x3	
	<i>dan</i>	dana6	
	<i>gan</i>	ganta6 x4	
	<i>heb</i>	hebda6	
	<i>i</i>	ida6 x5	
	<i>rhwng</i>	rygta6	
	<i>wrth</i>	6rtha6	
	<i>yn</i>	ynda6	
	H	<i>i</i>	ida6 x5
<i>tros</i>		drosta6	
<i>yn</i>		ynda6	

Table 4b.4c – instances of masculine third person singular conjugated prepositions

Text	Preposition	Conjugated form	Notes
ED	<i>i</i>	idi	
P	<i>am</i>	ymdanei x3	
	<i>ar</i>	arnei x2	cf. <i>arni</i> in <i>H</i>
	<i>i</i>	idi x5	
	<i>rhwng</i>	yrydi	
	<i>wrth</i>	6rthi x3	
H	<i>ar</i>	erni x2	<i>i</i> -affection, cf. <i>arnei</i> in <i>P</i>
	<i>o</i>	oheni	<i>i</i> -affection

Table 4b.4d – instances of feminine third person singular conjugated prepositions

The form *idi* is found in both *ED* and *P*. Sims-Williams states that “most early Welsh prepositions have either *-i* or *-ei* in the thirteenth century MSS, but not both.”⁴⁷⁵ The preposition *at* (not seen in the above table), always has the *-ei* suffix in the thirteenth century, whereas the prepositions *heb*, *i*, *rhag*, *rhwng*, *tros*, *trwy*, *yn*, and *wrth* have *-i*. The prepositions *am*, *ar*, *gan*, and *o* may have either. The table shows that both *ED* and *P* and *H* sit comfortably in the pattern established in the century before the copying of the manuscripts. Sims-Williams shows the Old Welsh form *i:didi*.

⁴⁷⁵ Sims-Williams, 2013, 7.

Text	Preposition	Conjugated form	Notes
AP	<i>gan</i>	genhyn x6	
	<i>wrth</i>	6rthym	
DA	<i>gan</i>	genhyn	
P	<i>i</i>	inni	form containing attached pronoun

Table 4b.4e – instances of first person plural conjugated prepositions

The table above shows that the first person plural pronouns end in both *-yn* and *-ym* in *AP*, and again in *-n* in *DA*. Sims-Williams explains that “whereas *-m* is etymologically correct in the 1pl of verbs, *-n* is expected in the 1pl of pronouns, and the development of pronominal forms from *-n* to *-m* can be explained by the analogy of verbs.”⁴⁷⁶ Sims-Williams shows that conjugated prepositions in Breton also underwent similar analogy, making it likely that early Welsh forms in *-n* are “archaisms rather than innovations.” There may be an example of an Old Welsh *-n* in *cennini*.⁴⁷⁷ There are certainly examples of *-n* from the Black Book of Carmarthen, all rhyming, with other examples of *-m* also found in the manuscript.⁴⁷⁸ Five of the six examples of *genhyn* in *AP* are confirmed by rhyme, as is the example in *DA*. The form *6rthym* is not in rhyming position. Sims-Williams writes of a clear difference by the thirteenth century between poetry which employed archaic *-n* and prose which did not, with the *-n* form being predominant in the works of *Beirdd y Tywysogion*. Sims-Williams gives a chronology whereby “*-n* is favoured up to 1248, thereafter *-m*, with *-n* starting to return c.1400”⁴⁷⁹ These dates would appear to place *-n* as found in *AP* and *DA* earlier than the mid-thirteenth-century.

⁴⁷⁶ Sims-Williams, 2013, 11.

⁴⁷⁷ Fleuriot, 1985, 102 & 412.

⁴⁷⁸ Sims-Williams, 2013, 11-2.

⁴⁷⁹ Sims-Williams, 2013, 42.

Text	Preposition	Conjugated form	Notes
P	<i>ar</i>	arna6ch	
	<i>i</i>	i6ch x2	
	<i>wrth</i>	6rthy6ch	
H	<i>rhwng</i>	yrochwi	form containing attached supplementary pronoun

Table 4b.4f – instances of second person plural conjugated prepositions

Text	Preposition	Conjugated form	Notes
M	<i>am</i>	ymdanadunt	
	<i>ar</i>	arnadunt x7	
	<i>at</i>	attadunt	
	<i>dan</i>	danadunt	
	<i>gan</i>	gantunt x4	
	<i>i</i>	udunt x11	vowel harmony
	<i>o</i>	onadunt x8	
	<i>rhwng</i>	yrydunt x2, yrygtunt	
	<i>yn</i>	yndunt x2	
CC	<i>o</i>	ohonunt x5	
P	<i>ar</i>	arnadunt	
	<i>at</i>	attadunt	
	<i>gan</i>	ganthunt x2	
	<i>i</i>	udunt x2	vowel harmony
	<i>o</i>	onadunt x6	
	<i>wrth</i>	6rthunt	
	<i>yn</i>	yndunt x2	
H	<i>ar</i>	arnunt	
	<i>i</i>	udunt	vowel harmony
	<i>o</i>	ohonunt x5	

Table 4b.4g – instances of third person plural conjugated prepositions

4b.5: Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter the question was posed as to the extent of variation in certain morphological features between the poems and comparison texts, with the purpose of commenting on the age of those features in relation to providing dates for the poems. This chapter has considered each example of plural nouns, infixed pronouns, and conjugated prepositions found in the poems and comparison texts. Those examples have been compared across the poems and comparison texts, with reference to external scholarship. The outcome of this is that there are very few features which suggest the poems date from a period any earlier than the comparison manuscripts.

From the discussion of plural morphology, few features appeared older than those found in the comparison texts, and the scholarship showed that those which did appear older were not unknown at the time the Book of Taliesin was copied. From the discussion of infixed pronouns, it came to light that compound verbs containing infixed prepositions were only found in the poems and not in the comparison manuscripts. External scholarship, however, showed that such forms were present in later poetry. Positively, the presence of the *-t* pronouns in *EY* and elsewhere in the manuscript appear to indicate Old Welsh exemplars for certain poems in the Book of Taliesin. Lastly, despite the small number of conjugated prepositions presented by the poems, the presence of the form *gennyn* in *AP* and *DA* may preclude their composition in the century and a half when *-n* fell out of favour, meaning a practical *terminus ante quem* of the middle of the thirteenth century for those poems.

Conclusion

viii: Overview

To conclude, it must be restated that the overwhelming impression left by the data presented in this thesis is of a unified linguistic style across both the poems and comparison texts. This has been seen in every area of investigation. However, there are, despite this, many instances of divergence from the norm that hint at previous redactions of the poems, and indeed of the comparison texts.

This conclusion will review the material presented above in three parts. Firstly, for each poem, those examples of divergence from the scribal norm will be discussed in terms of a chronology of their redaction and transmission history. Secondly, the points raised in the discussion of the poems' transmission and redaction will be considered as regards their value as linguistic criteria for dating other poetry. Thirdly, looking forward from this thesis, possible avenues to further test the project's results and their implications will be suggested.

Before moving on to that discussion, it was mentioned in the introduction that the Book of Taliesin is believed to be a copy of an earlier exemplar; that it is "seamless, the editorial activity screened."⁴⁸⁰ This certainly makes sense of many aspects of the poems' redaction, where, for example, the scribe appears to inconsistently enforce his own redaction policies or misunderstands forms in certain places that are perfectly clear to him in others. If the Book of Taliesin represents a faithful copy of a previous exemplar the mess of redaction is removed by one or several stages allowing for the appearance of Huws' 'new housing estate'.⁴⁸¹ This does, however, raise an issue that the present author has not been able to answer satisfactorily: what of the unity of language with the comparison texts?

⁴⁸⁰ Huws, 2000, 79.

⁴⁸¹ Huws 2000, 79.

If X86 did not contribute to the redaction of the Book of Taliesin, the question remains as to whether he did so in the case of his other manuscripts. The unity of language seems to point to a common editorial policy across the manuscripts. If he did contribute to the other manuscripts' redaction, the question must be asked why he did not in the case of the Book of Taliesin. If he was not involved in the redaction of any of his manuscripts, though, that would mean that all his manuscripts share, at least, the last two stages of their copying: their final redaction, and their copying by X86. This could make sense within a particular school, perhaps the final redaction was even conducted by X86 before the copying of the extant manuscript copies.

What is clear, however, is that the recent transmission history of both the poems and comparison texts is very closely linked. While the redactions that resulted in this situation are responsible for the small number of diagnostic features uncovered by this study, the unity of form seen in the language of poems and comparison texts has meant that forms diverging from the norm are clearly identifiable. It is a happy thing, considering the thoroughness and skill of the redactions to each of the texts, that any features should have survived at all.

ix: Poems

Here, an overview of each of the notable forms in the poems will be given, considering their implications for dating and establishing a history of redaction.

ED contains examples of <t> for /ð/ in medial and final position. Ifor Williams links this feature with the thirteenth-century Black Book of Carmarthen.⁴⁸² Although Paul Russell shows that it was also found in the later Hendregadredd Manuscript,⁴⁸³ the feature has been edited out in all other positions. The example of <d> for final /d/ in *p6yllad* (l.55), also ties in with a previous redaction using Russell's system (ii).⁴⁸⁴ *ED* also presents uncommon graphemes to represent /v/: <f> in *fein* (l.56) and <w> in *wleidud* (l.36). The latter, again, is reminiscent of patterns seen in the Black Book of Carmarthen. *ED* also contains the confused form *trath*mein* (l.53), the spirantisation in which would mean an indeterminate early date, prior to the development of lenition following *tra*. *ED* also features the correct mutation following the particle *yt*, which Graham Isaac shows had begun to be confused by the Middle Welsh period.⁴⁸⁵ *ED* also contains several unusual instances of the marked lenition of radical /p/ as , one of the most innovative features in marking lenition. However, *ED* is the only text in which an expected instance of spirantisation is not marked (l.41: *ae kyffr6y kedeu*). *ED* contains an example of a prothetic vowel in *yscriuen* (l.45), which Russell states developed during the Old Welsh period,⁴⁸⁶ with Morris-Jones citing the earliest examples in the twelfth-century Book of Llandaf.⁴⁸⁷ *ED* seems to display older orthography in its use of <u> for /w/ in *deruin* (l.31), and its miscorrection of <y> for /i/ in *llyn* (l.14). In terms of

⁴⁸² Williams, 1972b, 157.

⁴⁸³ Russell, 1995, 217.

⁴⁸⁴ Russell, 1995, 217.

⁴⁸⁵ Isaac, 1996, 391.

⁴⁸⁶ Russell, 1995, 154.

⁴⁸⁷ Morris-Jones, 1913, 26.

morphology, *ED* contains the absolute form of the verb *pereit* (l.47), which was a fossilised form by the fourteenth century. There is also the ‘archaic’ form *dymbi* (l.51).⁴⁸⁸ However, the text features the subjunctive ending *-(h)wynt* which may point to a modernising redaction.

The transmission history witnessed by the above features consists of three definite points of redaction, with unknown possible additional stages. The earliest features evidence a written form of the poem in the Old Welsh period. The similarities with the Black Book of Carmarthen, as well as the presence of the additional stanza, also found in the Black Book, indicate the poem’s redaction in the thirteenth century. Finally, the poem’s present form shows that its former contents were edited, before being copied into the Book of Taliesin.

AP has unusual examples of <v w> for medial /v/ in *atvi* (l.115) and *dychyferwyd* (l.121). As in *ED*, <w> for /v/ is reminiscent of the Black Book of Carmarthen, although in this case it may be a case of scribal error in copying an Old Welsh exemplar containing *-uid*. *AP* also contains an example of <dd> for /ð/ in *ddu6* (l.51), although this may be in error. Paul Russell shows this feature occurring as early as the thirteenth-century Black Book of Chirk.⁴⁸⁹ Again, as in *ED*, *AP* features the correct mutation following the particle *yt*, and also the marked lenition of radical /p/. There are several examples of failure to redact older, Old Welsh forms in the text: <u> rather than <6> in *kud* (l.112); and *dychyfroy* with <f> for /f/ and <oy> instead of <6y>. There are also examples of over-enthusiastic redaction, resulting, for example, in <y> in *prydeyn* rather than *prydein* (l.105) and *iwys* and *iwis* (ll.108&181). In terms of morphology, *AP* contains a range of absolute forms of the verb, as well as the

⁴⁸⁸ Lewis and Pedersen, 1937, 325.

⁴⁸⁹ Russell, 1995, 218.

‘archaic’ *-bi* form.⁴⁹⁰ There are several features which can be used as *termini ante quem*: the use of *i*-stem third person plural present indicative ending, *-ynt*, which Rodway places before the thirteenth, and perhaps twelfth, century;⁴⁹¹ the use of the impersonal present indicative ending *-awr* which was no longer in use by the second half of the thirteenth century;⁴⁹² and possible survivals of Old Welsh orthography. Like *ED*, *AP* features the subjunctive ending *-(h)wynt*, pointing again to a modernising redaction. The presence of first person conjugated prepositions in *-n* appears to be a feature earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century.

The transmission history of *AP* is similar to that of *ED*. There may be a connection with a style similar to the orthographical tradition of the Black Book of Carmarthen on the basis of <w> for /v/, although this is not such a clear case as *wleidud* in *ED*. A redaction in the thirteenth century seems clear though, on the basis of the similar use of <dd> for /ð/ to the Black Book of Chirk, a feature which is not present elsewhere in the poems. There are more hints to Old Welsh orthography in *AP* than in *ED*, although, everything else being equal, this would be expected due to their relative lengths. The points of redaction are the same as *ED* then: Old Welsh, Black Books of Carmarthen/Chirk, and proto-Taliesin.

R has fewer divergent features. No dating criteria were found in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 showed that *R* only used the early semi-phonetic system to mark nasalisation, however, sample size was an issue. Chapter 3 gave an example of what may be the survival of an Old Welsh form with <u> for /w/ in *kyfleudon* (1.5),

⁴⁹⁰ Lewis and Pedersen, 1937, 325.

⁴⁹¹ Rodway, 2013, 58.

⁴⁹² Rodway, 2013, 166.

although this may just be a variant form.⁴⁹³ There are no reliable features to use in discussion of transmission.

DA is the only poem to contain <chw>, which seems to point to its northern provenance. The poem appears to contain several hints of Old Welsh orthography: Haycock suggests the emendation of *g6d* (l.24) to *gud*, suspecting over-zealous redaction;⁴⁹⁴ similarly incorrect redaction, due to minim confusion may have resulted in *hoelyon* (l.9) instead of *holwyn*.⁴⁹⁵ In terms of morphology, *DA*, like *ED* and *AP* contains an example of the absolute form of the verb, in *kolla6t* (l.12). Like *AP*, *DA* has an example of the *i*-stem third person plural present indicative ending, *-ynt*, although this is found in the line shared with the first line of *AP*, and is not, therefore, independent evidence. The presence of the first person conjugated prepositions in *-n*, as also found in *AP*, appears to be a feature earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century.

The transmission history of *DA* is similar to those of *ED* and *AP* in that it has evidence of Old Welsh orthography, a link to the thirteenth century, and is copied from the Book of Taliesin's immediate exemplar. It differs however in that there is no clear link to an orthography similar to that of the Black Book of Carmarthen. Instead its thirteenth-century link is in its use of *genhyn*. Despite its smaller size *DA* offers similar features to *ED* and *AP*. In the Introduction it was stated that *DA* provides an opportunity to see whether analysis of the poem could show a date of 979 or 1039 to be more likely. On the basis of the Old Welsh features surviving in the poem, the miscopying of *g6d* and *hoelyon*, it is not possible to do so.

⁴⁹³ GPC, s.v. *cyflawddon*.

⁴⁹⁴ Haycock, 2013, 96.

⁴⁹⁵ Haycock, 2013, 94.

EY shows the clearest example of the process of redaction in the change of spelling from *katarn* to *kadarn* (ll.13&14). The poem contains an example of the marked lenition of radical /b/. *EY*, like the other poems, contains an example of minim confusion arising from a probable Old Welsh exemplar: *hut6yt* (l.10), rather than *hutynt*, from **hutint*. Further evidence of Old Welsh orthography is found in the form *goge* (l.2). In terms of morphology, the poem contains several older features: Old Welsh *t*-pronouns (l.6); the ‘archaic’ form *vi*;⁴⁹⁶ and absolute forms of the impersonal present indicative in *kyrb6ylletor*, *cyn6yssetor*, and *rewinetor*.

The transmission history of *EY* is not as clear as that of *ED*, *AP*, and *DA*. There is no clear evidence of a Middle Welsh redaction prior to the Book of Taliesin exemplar. The poem does offer a glimpse into the human process of redaction, however. It is clear that the redactor intended to change medial <t> to <d>, and having realised his oversight in line 13, is thorough from line 14 onwards. There are enough signs of Old Welsh orthography to be content with the date given.

⁴⁹⁶ Lewis and Pedersen, 1937, 325.

x: Linguistic criteria

When Thomas Charles-Edwards suggested this project five years ago, it had found its genesis in Marged Haycock's quote that "it has long been something of an embarrassment that we lack a set of agreed and dependable linguistic criteria for pre-c.1100 Welsh verse".⁴⁹⁷ While this thesis has not proven a definitive list of such criteria, it has confirmed the presence of certain such features in poems dated to the period pre-1100. The success of the project may have been, rather, to allay some of the embarrassment by showing why agreed and dependable linguistic criteria are so hard to come by: that older features have been systematically removed from early poetry by successive redactions.

Ultimately, the absence of demonstrable Old Welsh features cannot disprove an early date. A further stage of redaction might have gone on to remove those few survivals from the poems of this study. As Jon Coe stated, "all that can reasonably be suggested from analysis of a particular [linguistic] criterion is that a text which appears to be earlier by virtue of its forms is probably early; texts which appear to be late may not be so".⁴⁹⁸ The presence of certain features has succeeded in showing Old Welsh origins, and also evidence of later redaction to the poems. These features, as found in *ED*, *AP*, *DA*, and *EY*, are:

⁴⁹⁷ Haycock, 2015, 21.

⁴⁹⁸ Coe, 2004, 5.

Evidence of Old Welsh:

- 1) <u> for /w/, or scribal error in emendation thereof
- 2) incorrect emendation to <y> for /i/
- 3) examples of minim confusion arising from graphemes only present in Old Welsh orthography (e.g. <i> for later <y>, etc.)
- 4) other orthography (e.g. *i*-diphthongs spelled without *i*: hinted by *hoelyon* for *holwyn*, present in *goge* for *gogei* although cf. examples in Black Book of Carmarthen)

Evidence of later redaction

- 1) <t> for /ð/ in medial and final position (cf. the Black Book of Carmarthen)
- 2) <d> for final /d/ (cf. Russell's system (ii))
- 3) <w> for /v/ (cf. the Black Book of Carmarthen)
- 4) <dd> for /ð/ (cf. the Black Book of Chirk)
- 5) cases of partial editing (i.e. *katarn:kadarn*)

Obsolete forms over the course of redaction

- 1) verbal particle *yt*
- 2) *i*-stem third person plural present indicative ending, *-ynt*
- 3) forms in *-bi*
- 4) forms in *-etor*

It may be the case that these features are only relevant to poems that have undergone the same particular processes of redaction as those of the Book of Taliesin. The implications of this are considered in the final section.

xi: Looking forward

The conclusions of this project have been drawn solely from the evidence of five poems in the Book of Taliesin. This may mean that the results, in terms of the features listed above may have sole, or particular relevance, to other poems in the same manuscript. This is not a negative thing: the manuscript contains many poems which cannot be dated on the basis of their historical context, or the traditional dates of which are questioned. The natural continuation of this project, then, would be to examine other poems in the Book of Taliesin, be they the twelve identified by Ifor Williams as the work of the sixth-century poet Taliesin,⁴⁹⁹ others such as *Marwnad Cunedda*,⁵⁰⁰ or the wider corpus of the Book of Taliesin. This would serve a double purpose: to test the project's application in terms of other poems, and also as a check of the project's conclusions as to the redaction of the manuscript's poetry. If this proved successful, the distinctiveness of the Book of Taliesin's poetry could be ascertained by the same double check against other Hengerdd poetry.

⁴⁹⁹ Williams, 1968.

⁵⁰⁰ Koch, 2013, 39-104.

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Appendix

Edmyg Dinbych

ARchaf y wen y du6 pl6yf escori.
perchen nef a lla6r p6yllua6r wofri.

5 Adu6yn gaer yssyd ar gla6r g6eilgi.
bit lawen yg kalan eiryan yri.
ac amser pan wna mor ma6r 6rhydri.
ys gna6t gorun beird uch med lestri.
Dydybyd g6anec ar vrys dybrys idi.
ada6h6ynt ywerlas o glas ffichti.
ac am b6yf o de6s dros vygwedi.
10 pan gatt6yf amot kymot a thi.

Adu6yn gaer yssyd ar llydan llyn.
Dinas diachor mor oe chylchyn.
gogyfarch ty prydein k6d gygein hyn.
Blaen llyn ap erbin boet teu voyn.
15 Bu goscor a bu kerd yn eil mehyn.
ac eryr uch 6ybyr a ll6ybyr granwyn.
Rac vd felyc nac escar gychwyn.
Clot wascar a g6anar yd ymdullyn.

Adu6yn gaer yssyd ar ton na6uet.
20 adu6yn eu g6erin yn ymwaret.
ny wnant eu d6ynuyt tr6y veuyllaet.
nyt ef eu defa6t bot yn galet.
Ny llafaraf eu ar vyn tr6ydet.
noc eillon deutraeth g6ell kaeth dyfet.
25 kyweithyd o ryd wled waretret.
kynn6ys r6g pop deu goreu kiwet.

Adu6yn gaer yssyd ae g6na kyman.
medut a molut ac adar b6n.
llyfyn y cherdeu yn y chalan.
30 am argl6yd hywyd he6r eiran.
kyn y vynet yn y ad6yt yn deruin llan.
ef a rodes med a g6in o wydrin ban.

Adu6yn gaer yssyd yn yr eglan.
atu6yn y rodir y pa6b y ran.
35 atwen yn dinbych gorwen g6ylan.
kyweithyd wleitud ud erllyssan.
Oed ef vyn defa6t i nos galan.
lledyfa6t y gan ri ryfel eiran.
a llen lli6 ehoec a medu prein.
40 hyny u6yf taua6t ar veird prydein.

Edmyg Dinbych

Adu6yn gaer yssyd ae kyffr6y kedeu.
oed meu y rydeu a dewiss6n.
ny lafaraf i deith reith ryscat6n.
ny dyly kelenic ny 6yppo h6n.
45 yscriuen brydein bryder briff6n.
yn yt wna tonneu eu hymgyffr6n.
pereit hyt pell y gell a treid6n.

Adu6yn gaer yssyd yn ard6yrein.
Gocha6n y medut y molut gofrein
50 adu6yn ar eu hor escor gynfrein.
Godef g6rych dymbi hir y hadein.
dychyrch bar karrec crec mor ednein.
llit y my6n tyghet treidet trath*mein.
a bleidut gorll6yt goreu affein.
55 Dimpyner oduch llat p6yllad cofein.
Bendith cul6yd nef gytlef a fein.
ar nyn g6nel yn vrowyr gor6yr owein

and the additional stanza included in the manuscript, but not this study:

Adu6yn gaer yssyd ar lan lliant.
Adu6yn yt rodir y pa6b y chwant.
60 Gogyfarch ti vynet boet teu u6yant.
G6ayawa6r rym rein a derllyssant.
Du6 merchyr g6eleis wyr ygkyfnofant.
Dyf ieu bu g6artheu a amugant.
ac yd oed vriger coch ac och ar dant.
65 Oed lludued vynet dyd y doethant.
ac am Gefyn llech vael6y kylch6y vriwant.
C6ydyn y gan gefyn llu o garant.

Armes Prydein

Dygogan awen dygobryssyn.
maraned a meued a hed genhyn.
a phennaeth ehelaeth a ffraeth vnbyn.
a g6edy dyhed anhed ym pop mehyn.
5 G6yr g6ychyr yn trydar kasnar degyn.
escut yg gofut ryhyt diffyn.
G6aethyl g6yr hyt gaer weir g6asgara6t allmyn.
g6naha6nt goruoled g6edy g6ehyn.
a chymot kymry a g6yr dulyn.
10 G6ydyl iwerdon mon a phrydyn.
corny6 a chlod6ys eu kynn6ys genhyn.
atporyon uyd brython pan dyorfyn.
Pell dygoganher amser dybydyn.
Teyrned a bonhed eu goresc6yn.
15 g6yr gogled yg kynted yn eu kylchchyn.
ym perued eu racwed y discynnyn.

Dysgogan Myrdin kyferuyd hyn.
yn aber perydon meiryon mechteym.
a chyny bei vn reith lleith a g6ynyn .
20 o vn ewyllis bryt yd ym6rthuynnyn.
Meiryon eu tretheu dychynnullyn.
Yg ketoed kymry nat oed a telhyn.
yssyd 6r dilyeda6c a lefeir hyn.
ny dyffei a talei yg keithiwet.
25 Mab meir ma6r a eir pryt na thardet.
rac pennaeth saesson ac eu hoffed.
Pell b6ynt kychmyn y 6rtheyrn g6yned.
ef gyrha6t allmyn y alltuded.
nys arhaed6y neb nys dioes dayar.
30 ny wydynt py treiglynt ym pop aber.
pan prynassant danet tr6y fflat called.
gan hors a hegys oed yng eu ryssed.
eu kynnyd bu y 6rthym yn anuonhed.
g6edy rin dilein keith ymynuer.
35 dechymyd medda6 ma6r wira6t o ved.
dechymyd aghen agheu llawer.
decymyd anaeleu dagreu g6raged
dychyfroy etgyllaeth pennaeth lletfer.
dechymyd tristit byt aryher.
40 Pan uyd kechmyn danet an teyrned.
G6rthottit trinda6t dyrna6t a b6yller.
y dilein g6lat vrython a saesson yn anhed.
poet kynt eu reges yn alltuded.
no mynet kymry yn diffroed.

45 Mab meir ma6r a eir pryt nas terdyn.
kymry rac goeir breyr ac vnbyn.

Armes Prydein

kyneircheit kyneilweit vn reith c6ynnyn.
vn gor vn gyghor vn eissor ynt.
nyt oed yr ma6red nas lleferynt.
50 namyn yr hebcor goeir nas kymodynt.
y ddu6 a dewi yd ymorchymynynt.
talet g6rthodet flet y allmyn.
g6naent 6y aneireu eisseu trefdyn.
kymry a saesson kyferuydyn
55 y am lan ymtreula6 ac ym6rthym.
o dirua6r vydina6r pan ymprofyn.
ac am allt lafna6r a ga6r a gryn.
ac am g6y geir kyfyrgeir y am peurllyn.
a lluman ada6 a gar6 discyn.
60 a mal balaon saesson syrthyn.
kymry kynyrcheit kyfun dullyn.
blaen 6rth von granwynyon kyfyng oedyn.
meiryon yg werth eu geu yn eu creinhyn.
Eu bydin yg6aetlin yn eu kylchyn.
65 Ereill ar eu traet tr6y goet kilhyn.
Tr6y u6rch y dinas ffoxas ffohyn.
ryfel heb dychwel y tir prydyn.
attor tr6y la6 gyghor mal mor llithryn.

Meiryon kaer geri difri c6ynant.
70 rei y dyffryn a bryn nys dirwadant.
y aber perydon ny mat doethant.
anaeleu tretheu dychynullant.
na6 vgein canh6r y discynnant.
ma6r watwar namyn petwar nyt atcorant.
75 dyhed y eu g6raged a dywedant.
eu crysseu yn lla6n creu a orolchant.
kymry kyneircheit eneit dichwant.
g6yr deheu eu tretheu a amygant.
llym llifeit llafna6r ll6yr y lladant.
80 ny byd y vedyc m6yn or a wnaant.
bydinoed katwaladyr kadyr y deuant.
rydrychaf6ynt kymry kat a wnant.
LLeith anoleith rydygyrchassant.
yg gorffen eu tretheu agheu a 6dant.
85 ereill arosceill ryplanhassant.
oes oesseu eu tretheu nys escorant.

yg koet ymaes ym bryn.
canh6yll yn tywyll a gerd genhyn.
kynan yn racwan ym pop discyn.
90 Saesson rac brython g6ae a genyn.
Katwaladyr yn baladyr gan y unbyn.
tr6y synh6yr yn ll6yr yn eu dichlyn.

Armes Prydein

Pan syrth6ynt eu clas dros eu herchwyn.
Yg custud a chreu rud ar rud allmyn.
95 Yg gorffen pop agreith anreith degyn.
Seis ar hynt hyt gaer wynt kynt p6y kynt techyn.
g6yn eu byt 6y gymry pan adrodynt.
ryn g6ara6t y trinda6t or tralla6t gynt.
na chrynet dyfet na gly6yssyg
100 nys g6naho mola6t meiryon mechteyrn.
chynhoryon saesson keffyn ebryn.
nys g6naho medut medda6t genhyn.
heb talet o dynget meint a geffyn.
O ymdifeit veibon ac ereill ! r6yn.
105 tr6y eirya6l dewi a saint prydeyn.
hyt ffr6t ar lego ffoha6r allan.

Dygogan awen dyda6 y dyd.
pan dyffo iwys y vn g6ssyl.
Vn cor vn gyghor a lloegyr lloscit.
110 yr gobeith anneira6 ar yn pryda6 luyd.
a cherd ar alluro a ffo beunyd.
ny 6yr kud ymda c6d a c6d vyd.
Dychyrch6ynt gyfarth mal arth o vynyd.
y talu g6ynyeith g6aet eu h6nyd.
115 atvi peleitral dyfal dillyd.
nyt arbett6y car corff y gilyd.
atui pen gafla6 heb emennyd.
Atui g6raged g6ed6 a meirch g6eilyd.
Atui obein vthyr rac ruthyr ketwyr.
120 a lliacs lla6 amhar kyn g6ascar lluyd.
Kennadeu agheu dychyferwyd.
pan safh6ynt galaned 6rth eu hennyd.
Ef diala6r "y treth" ar g6erth beunyd
ar mynych gennadeu ar geu luyd.
125 Dygorfu kymry tr6y kyfergyr.
yn gyweir gyteir gytson gyfffyd.

Dygorfu kymry y peri kat.
a ll6yth lliacs g6lat a gynullant.
a lluman glan dewi a drychafant.
130 y tywyssa6 g6ydyl tr6y liein gant.
a gynhon dulyn genhyn y safant.
pan dyffont yr gat nyt ymwadant.
gofynnant yr saesson py geissyssant.
p6y meint eu dyl6et or wlat a dalyant.
135 c6 mae eu her6 pan seilyassant.
c6 mae eu kenedloed py vro pan doethant.
yr amser g6rtheyrn genhyn y sathrant.
ny cheffir o wir rantir an karant.

Armes Prydein

140 Neu vreint an seint pyr y saghyssant.
neu reitheu dewi pyr y torrassant.
ymgetwynt gymry pan ymwelant
nyt ahont allmyn or nen y safant.
hyt pan talhont seith weith g6erth digonsant.
ac agheu diheu yg werth eu cam.
145 ef talha6r o ana6r garma6n garāt.
y pedeir blyned ar petwar cant.

G6yr g6ychyr g6allt hiryon ergyr dofyd.
o dihol saesson o iwerdon dybyd.
Dybi o lego lyghes rewyd.
150 rewinya6t ygat r6ycca6t lluyd.
Dybi o alclut g6yr ! drut diweir
y dihol o prydein virein luyd.
Dybi o lyda6 pryda6 gyweithyd.
ketwyr y ar katueirch ny pheirch eu hennyd.
155 Saesson o pop parth y g6arth ae deubyd.
ry treghis eu hoes nys dioes eluyd.
dyderpi agheu yr du gyweithyd.
clefyt a dyllid ac an g6eryt.
G6edy eur ac aryant a chanh6ynydd.
160 boet perth eu disserth ygwerth eu dryc ffyd.
boet mor boet agor eu kussulwyr
boet creu boet agheu eu kyweithyd.
Kynan a chatwaladyr kadyr yn lluyd.
Etmycca6r hyt vra6t ffa6t ae deubyd.
165 Deu vnben degyn d6ys eu kussyl.
deu orsegyn saesson o pleit dofyd.
deu hael deu geda6l g6lat warthegydd.
deu diarchar bara6t vnffa6t vn ffyd.
deu erchwyna6c prydein mirein luyd.
170 deu arth nys g6na g6arth kyfarth beunydd.

dysgogan derwydon meint a deruyd.
o vyna6 hyt lyda6 yn eu lla6 yt vyd.
o dyuet hyt danet 6y bieiuidd.
o wa6l hyt weryt hyt eu hebyr.
175 LLetтата6t eu pennaeth tros yr ech6ydd.
attor ar gynhon saesson ny byd.
atchwel6ynt 6ydyl ar eu hennyd.
rydrychaf6ynt gymry kadyr gyweithyd.
bydinoed am g6r6f a th6r6f milwyr.
180 a theyrned de6s ryged6ys eu ffyd.
iwis y pop llyghes tres a deruyd.
a chymot kynan gan y gilyd.
ny alwa6r gynhon yn gynifwyr
namyn kechmyn katwaladyr ae gyfnewitwyr.

Armes Prydein

185 Eil kymro llawen llafar a uyd.
am ynys gymbyeit heit a deruyd.
pan safhbynt galaned 6rth eu hennyd.
hyt yn aber santwic s6ynedic vyd.
allmyn ar gychwyn y alltudyd.
190 ol 6rth ol attor ar eu hennyd.
saesson 6rth agor ar vor peunyd.
kymry g6genera6l hyt vra6t goruyd.
Na cheissbynt lyfra6r nac aga6r brydyd.
arymes yr ynys hon namyn hyn ny byd.
195 Jol6n i ri a gre6ys nef ac eluyd.
poet tywyssa6c dewi yr kynifwyr.
yn yr yg gelli kaer am du6 yssyd.
ny threinc ny dieinc nyt ardispyd.
ny 6y6 ny wellyc ny phlyc ny chryd.

‘Rydyrchafwy’

Rydyrchaf6y du6 ar pl6yff brython
ar6yd llewenyd lluyd o von.
kyfryssed g6yned brys gorchordyon.
ffa6 claer o pop aer kaffael g6ystlon.
5 Powys dybydant d6ys yg kyfleudon.
G6yr goruyn gorynt ar eu deduon.
Deu lu yd ant bydant gysson.
yn vn redyf vn eir kyweir kymon.
kyfranant yn ia6n keredigya6n vaon.
10 Pan welych wyr ryn am lyn aeron.
Pan vo tr6m tywi a theiui auon,
6y g6nant aer ar vrys am lys lonyon.
a geunis a dewis yn orll6ython.
Ny noth6y dinassoed rac y r6ython.
15 Dynclut. dyn maerut dyn daryfon.
nyt oed l6yr degyn dyn riedon
Pan dyfu gatwalla6n dros eigya6n iwerdon.
yd atrefn6ys nef6y yn ard nefon.
keinyadon moch cly6yf eu gofalon.
20 Marcha6c lu mor taer am gaer llion.
a dial idwal ac a ranwynyon.
a g6are pelre a phen saesson.
Ys trabludyo y gath vreith ae hagyfieithon.
o ryt ar taradyr hyt ym porth 6ygyr ymon.
25 Jeuanc did6ynas dinas maon.
Or pan amygir mel a meillon.
Gadent eu hamrydar ae hamrysson.
Nyt di6ystyl godi dic 6rth alon.
Rydyrchaf6y du6 ar pl6yf brython.

‘Dygogan Awen’

DYgogan awen dygobryssyn.
maranhed a meuued a hed genhyn.
a phennaeth ehalaeth a ffraeth vnbyn.
a g6edy dyhed anhed ym pop mehyn.
5 Seith meib o veli dyrchafyssyn.
Kaswlla6n a llud achestudyn.
diwed plo coll iago o tir prydyn.
G6lat uer6 dyderuyd hyt valaon.
lludedic eu hoelyon
10 ymdeithic eu haf6yn.
G6lat wehyn vargotyon.
kolla6t kymry oll eu haelder.
yn rygystlyned o pennaeth weisson.
Rydybyd llymina6c
15 a uyd g6r chwanna6c
y werescyn mon
a rewinya6 g6yned.
oe heithaf oe pherued
oe dechreu oe diwed.
20 a chymryt y g6ystlon.
Ystic y 6yneb
nyt est6g y neb
na chymry na Saesson.
Dyda6 g6r o g6d
25 a wna kyfamrud.
a chat y gynhon.
arall a dyfyd
pellena6c y luyd
llewenyd y vrython.

‘Echrys Ynys’

Echrys ynys g6a6t huynys g6rys gobetror.
Mon mat goge g6rhyt eruei. menei y dor.
lleweis wira6t g6in a braga6t gan vra6t escor.
Teyrn wofr6y diwed pop r6yf rewinetor
5 Tristla6n deon yr archaedon kan rychior.
Nyt uu nyt vi yg kymelri y gyfeissor.
Pan doeth aedon. o wlat wytyon seon te6dor.
G6en6yn pyr doeth pedeir pennoeth meinoeth tymhor.
k6ydynt kyfoet ny bu clyt coet g6ynt y gohor.
10 math ac euuyd. Hut6yt geluyd ryd eluinor.
Ymy6 g6ytyon ac amaethon. at oed kyghor.
T6ll tal y roda6c ffyryf ffo dia6c. ffyryf diachor.
katarn gygres y varanres ny bu werthuor.
kadarn gyfed ym pop gorsed g6nelit y vod.
15 Cu kynaeth6y hyt tra u6yf uy6 kyrb6ylletor.
am b6yf i gan grist. hyt na b6yf trist ran ebostol.
hael archaedon gan egylyon. cyn6yssetor

EChrys ynys g6a6t huynys g6rys gochyma.
y rac budwas. kymry dinas. aros ara.
20 Dragana6l ben prioda6r perchen ymretonia.
Difa g6ledic or bendefic ae tu terra.
Pedeir mor6yn wedy eu c6yn dygna6t eu tra.
erdygna6t wir ar vor ar tir. hir eu trefra.
Oe wironyn na digonyn dim gofettra.
25 kerydus 6yf na chyrb6yll6yf am rywnel da.
y l6r6 lywy p6y g6ahard6y p6y attrefna.
y l6r6 aedon p6y gynheil mon m6yn gowala.
am b6yf i gan grist hyt na b6yf trist o dr6c o da.
Ran trugared y wlat ried buched gyfa.

Mostyn 117

[3] A goruot a wnaeth eneas. A llad Turn brenhin ruthyl. A chaffel yr eidyal. A lauinia merch latinus yn wreic ida6. Ac yna guedy eilenwi buched eneas. Ascanius y uab ynteu a wnaethp6yt yn vrenhin. A guedy dyrchhauel ascanius ar vrenhinya6l gyfoeth; ef a adeil6s dinas ar auon tyberis. A mab a anet ida6. Ac y dodet arna6 Siluius. Ar g6as h6nn6 guedy ymrodi y ledrada6l odineb; gorderchu a oruc nith lauinya ae beichogi. A guedy g6ybot o ascanius y tat ef hynny; erchi a oruc oe dewinyon dywedut ida6 p6y a ueichogassei y uor6yn. A guedy dewina6 onadunt. A chaffel g6ybot diheur6yd o hynny. 6ynt a dywedassant bot y uor6yn yn ueicha6c ar vab a ladei y vam ae tat. A guedy darffei ida6 cr6ydra6 llawer o wladoed y dayar. or diwed y da6 ar vlaenwed goruchel enryded. Ac ny th6yll6ys eu dewindabaeth 6ynt can doeth. Ac yna guedy dyuot oet yr uor6yn escor; y bu var6 hi y ar y hetuied. Ac yuelly y llada6d ef y uam. Ar mab a rodet ar uaeth ac y dodet brutus arna6. A guedy meithrin y mab ae vot yn pymtheg ml6yd. Diwarna6t yd oed y guas yn canlyn y tat 6rth hel6. Ac val yd oedynt uelly; nachaf car6 yn mynet heibya6. Sef a oruc brutus anelu b6a ac ell6g saeth. Ac yn keissa6 llad y kar6; quant y tat ar saeth dan y vron. Ac y bu var6. Ac yuelly y

[4] llada6d ef y tat. A guedy mar6 y tat or ergyt h6nn6; deholes guyr yr eidyal brutus. kanyt oed teil6g gantunt kymryt yn vrenin arnadunt g6r a wnelei kyflauan kymeint a llad y vam ae tat a guedy y dehol; yd aeth ynteu hyt ygroec ac y guelas yno guelygord o etiuied elenus vab priaf yg keithiwet y dan pandrasius vrenhin groec. Pir vab achyl a dugassei y genedyl honno ganta6 guedy distry6 tro yn dial y tat. Ac ae guarchassei 6ynt yg keithiwet yn gyt a hynny o amser. Ac yna guedy guelet o vrutus y genedyl trygya6 a oruc gyt ac 6ynt. Ac yn y lle guedy kyneuina6 brutus ac ymadnabot a pha6b ohona6; kymeint uu y da6n yn eu plith hyny oed garedic a chymeredic y gan y brenhined ar tywyssogyon yn u6y no neb oe gyfoetyon. A hynny oed oe pryt ae de6red ae haelder ae daeoni ae vil6ryaeth ae glot. A Sef acha6s hynny. doethaf oed ym plith y doethon. de6rhaf ym plith yr ymladwyr. Ac ygyt a hynny beth bynhac a damweinhei ida6 nac eur nac aryant na meirch na dillat. hynny a rodei ef oe gytuarchogyon. Ac y pa6b or ae mynhei y ganta6. A guedy ehedec y glot ef tros teruyneu groec; yd ymgynullyssant atta6 pa6b or hanoed o genedyl tro. o pop lle hyt yd oed teruyneu groec. Ac erchi ida6 ef bot yn tywyssa6c arnadunt. Ac eu rydhau o geithiwet guyr groec. A hynny

[5] a gedernheynt ac a dywedynt y allu yn ha6d. kanyt kymeint oed eu niuer guedy ymgynnylla6 ygyt ac yd oedynt seith mil o wyr ymlad heb y guraged ar meibon. Ac ygyt a hynny yd oed gyt ac 6ynt y guas ieuanc bonhediccaf ygroec o parth y tat. y vam ynteu a hanoed o genedyl tro. Sef oed y en6 assaracus. A h6nn6 a oed yn kanhorth6ya6 kenedyl tro. Ac yn ymdiret yndunt. Ac yn gobeitha6 kaffel nerth ma6r gantunt. Ac yssef acha6s oed hynny; guyr groec oed yn ryuelu arna6 ygyt a bra6t vn tat ac ef. A mam h6nn6 ae tat hanoed o groec. A ryuel a oed yrygtunt am tri chastell a ada6ssei y tat y assaracus yn y uar6olyaeth yn ragor rac y ura6t. A rei hynny yd oed wyr groec yn keissa6 eu d6yn y arna6. 6rth na hanoed y vam ef o roec. Ac 6rth hynny yd oed borthach guyr groec oe vra6t noc ida6 ef. Ac yna eissoes guedy guelet o vrutus amhylder y g6yr ac eu heirif a guelet y kestyl cadarn yn para6t ida6. ha6d uu ganta6 ufydhau udunt a chymryt tywyssogaeth arnadunt. AC yna guedy dyrchafel brutus yn tywyssa6c arnadunt. gal6 guyr tro a oruc o pop man a chadarnhau kestyl assaracus. Ac eu llenwi o wyr ac arueu a b6yt. A guedy daruot hynny; kychwyn a oruc ynteu ef ac assaracus ar holl

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[6] gynnulleitua or guyr ar guraged ar meibon ar anreitheu gantunt hyt yr ynyal6ch y diffeith ar coetdyd. Ac odyna yd anuones brutus lythyr hyt ar pandrasius brenhin groec yn y mod h6n. Brutus tywyssa6c guedillon kenedyl tro yn anuon annerch y pandrasius brenhin groec. a menegi ida6 nat oed teil6g atal yg keithiwet eglur vrenhina6l genedyl o lin dardan. nac eu keithiwa6 yn amgen noc y dylyynt yn herwyd eu bonhed. Ac 6rth hynny y mae brutus yn menegi iti bot yn well gantunt 6y pres6yla6 a chartreuu yn y diffeith ac ymborth mal anieileit ar kic amr6t a llysseu gan rydit. noc yn y kyfanhed ar wledeu a melyster y dan geithiwet. Ac os codi goruchelder dy vedyant ti ath gyfoeth a wna hynny. na dot yn eu herbyn namyn madeu udunt. kanys anyan a dylyet y6 pop kaeth llafurya6 o pop fford y ymhoelut ar y hen teilygda6t ae ryddit. Ac 6rth hynny yd arch6n ni dy trugared di. hyt pan genhettych ti vdunt 6y press6yla6 yn y coedyd y ffoassant udunt gan rydit. neu ynteu ony edy hynny udunt yth teyrnas ti gan rydit; ell6g 6ynt gan dy ganhat y wladoed y byt y geissa6 press6yluot heb geithiwet. A Guedy darllein y llythyr h6nn6 rac bron pandrasius. gal6 a oruc ef atta6 y gyghorwyr. A sef a ga6ssant yn eu kyghor lluyda6 yn eu hol. Ac eu hymlit. kanys bl6g uu gan wyr groec y gen-

[7] edyl a uuassei y sa6l ul6dynded hynny yg keithiwet y danadunt llafassu anuon y ry6 lythyr h6nn6. attadunt na medylya6 onadunt keissa6 b6r6 gued geithiwet y arnadunt. Ac 6rth hynny y kauas guyr groec yn eu kyghor lluyda6 yn eu hol a cheissa6 eu kymhell y eu keithiwet. Ac val yd oed pandrasius ae lu yn kyrchu y diffeith y tebygynt vot brutus ynda6. Ac yn mynet heb la6 kastell a elwit sparatinus; eu kyrchu yn dirybud a oruc brutus udunt. A their mil o wyr arua6c ganta6. Ac ymlad ac 6ynt a oruc guyr tro yn 6ychyr diafyrd6l. A llad aerua dirua6r y meint onadunt. A ffo yn gewilydyus a oruc pandrasius a guyr groec ygyt ac ef. y pop man or y tebyckynt gaffel dianc. A cheissa6 mynet tr6y auon a oed ger eu lla6. Sef oed y hen6 akalon. Ac yn keissa6 bryssya6 tr6y yr auon. y perigl6ys aneirif onadunt. A llawer a uodassant. A llawer or a diaghei heb eu bodi a ladei wyr tro ar y lan. Ac yn y wed honno guneuthur deudyblyc aerua onadunt. A guedy guelet o antigonus bra6t y vrenhin groec hynny; dolurya6 a wnaeth yn u6y no meint. A gal6 y getymdeithon guascaredic atta6. Ac eu bydina6 yn gyflym a chyrchu g6yr tro kanys clotuorach oed ganta6 a thegach y lad gan gyrchu ac ymlad; noe uodi gan ffo yn ll6ch a thom. Ac ymlad a oruc ef ae getymdeithon yn 6ychyr ac yn 6ra6l. Ac ny dygrynoes udunt namyn

[8] bychydic. kanys para6t oed wyr tro ac eu harueu yn wiscedic. gyweir ymdanunt. A guyr groec noethon diaryf oedynt. Ac 6rth hynny gle6ach oed wyr tro. Ac yn y wed honno ny orffowysynt oc eu llad hyny daruu eu distry6 yn g6byl hayach. A dala antigonus bra6t pandrasius ac anacletus y getymdeith. Ac ar hynny y uudugolyaeth honno; gossot a oruc chwechant marcha6c y my6n kestyl assaracus. Ae gadarnhau or petheu a uei reit ygyt a hynny. A chyrchu a oruc ynteu y diffeith ar dryll oe lu ganta6 yn y lle yd oed yr anhedeu ar guraged ar meibon. Ar nos honno guedy hynny coffau a oruc pandrasius y ffo e hun. a dolurya6 yn va6r ry lad y wyr a daly y vra6t. A chynnulla6 y ffoedigyon atta6 oc eu llechuaeu. A phan oleuha6ys y dyd tranoeth. kyrchu a oruc am pen y kastell. kanys yno y tebygei ry uynet brutus ar carcharoryon ganta6. A guedy edrych ohona6 ansa6d y kastell yn graff. rannu y lu yn vydinoed a oruc yg kylch y kastell. Ac erchi y pa6b guarhad6 y ran. Ac ymlad ac ef o pop keluydyt or y gellit. Ac yuelly o pop keluydyt llauurya6 a wnaethant y geissa6 y distry6 yn oreu y gellynt. A guedy bydit yn y wed honno yn treula6 y dyd; y gossodit rei ereill diulin y

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[9] ymlad y nos ac ef. hyt tra uei y rei lludedic o ymlad y dyd yn gorffowys. Ac ereill diulin a ossodit y byla6 y pebylleu rac ofyn kyrch diessyuyt y gan eu gelynyon. Ac or parth arall yd oed wyr y castell yn amdiffyn eu ty ac eu heneiteu. Ac o pop keluydyt or y gellynt 6ynteu g6rth6ynebu y eu peiranheu 6ynteu. Guers gan taflu. guers o saethu yd ymledynt. A guers o v6r6 br6nstan todedic am eu pen. Ac yuelly yd ymdifferynt yn 6ra6l. Ac yna guedy gossot o wyr groec h6ch 6rth y ty. A dechreu y gladu y dana6. Sef a wnaethant 6ynteu b6r6 d6fyr br6t a than guyllt am eu pen 6y. Ac yuelly eu kymhell ar ffo y 6rth y ty. Ac eissoes or diwed o eisseu b6yt a pheunydyas6l ymlad yn eu blina6. anuon kenadeu a wnaethant hyt ar vrutus y erchi canhorth6y am rydit udunt. kanys ofyn oed arnadunt eu guanhau o eisseu b6yt a goruot arnadunt rodi eu ty. A guedy kennattau hynny y vrutus. medylya6 a oruc py wed y gallei eu rydhau. Ac ofynhau a oruc yn va6r nas gallei rac ofyn colli y meint guyr a oed ida6. ac nat oed ida6 ynteu eithyr hynny mal y gallei rodi kat ar uaes y wyr groec. A guedy medylya6 ohona6 pop peth; y kauas yn y gyghor d6yn kyrch nos am eu pen. A cheissa6 t6ylla6 eu g6ylwyr. A chany allei ef hynny heb canhorth6y rei o wyr groec. gal6 anacletus ketymdeith anti-

[10] gonus a oruc atta6. A dywedut 6rtha6 yn y wed hon gan dispeila6 cledyf arna6. ha 6r ieuanc ony wney ti yn gywir ufyd yr hyn a archaf i itti. llyma teruyn dy uuched ti ac antigonus ar cledyf h6n. Sef y6 hynny. pan uo nos heno y medylyaf i d6yn kyrch am pen guyr groec. mal y kaff6yf wneuthur aerua dirybud onadunt. Ac yssef y mynaf t6ylla6 ohonot titheu eu g6ylwyr 6y. ac eu guersylleu kanys yndunt6y yd oed reit yn gyntaf ymchoelut yr arueu mal y bei ha6s y minheu kyrchu am pen y llu. Ac 6rth hynny g6na titheu megys g6r call doeth y neges yd 6yf ui yn y herchi it yn gywir ffydda6n. Pan del y nos kertha parth ar llu. A p6y bynhac a gyfarffo a thi dywet 6rtha6 yn gall. ry d6yn antigonus ohonot y my6n glyn dyrys coeta6c heb y allu y d6yn rac trymhet yr heyrn oed arna6 h6y no hynny. A guedy dywettych hynny; d6c ti 6ynt attaf i mal y gall6yf eu kaffel. 6rth vy ewyllis. AC yna pan welas anacletus y cledyf noeth uch y pen. A geireu y tywyssa6c yn gogyfada6 y agheu. Ada6 a oruc gan tygu ll6 wneuthur hynny. gan rodi y eneit ida6 ac y antigonus y getymdeith. A guedy cadarnhau yr aruoll yrydunt pan dyfu yr a6r gyntaf or nos. kychwyn a oruc anacletus parth ar llu. A guedy y dyuot yn agos

[11] yr llu. nachaf y g6ylwyr o pop parth yn y arganuot ac yn ymgynull am y pen. Ac yn gofyn ida6 py ansa6d y ka6ssei dyuot o garchar brutus. A dywedut a oruc ynteu nat yr bredychu ry dothoed. namyn yr dianc o garchar brutus, Ac erchi udunt dyuot ygyt ac ef hyt y lle yd ada6ssei antigonus yn llechu guedy y d6yn ohona6 o garchar g6yr tro. hyt yno. kany allyssei y d6yn bellach no hynny rac p6ys yr heyrn. Ac mal yd oed rei onadunt yn amheu beth a dywedei ae guir ae geu. nachaf vn or g6ylwyr yn y adnabot. ac yn menegi hynny oe getymdeithon. Ac yna heb pedrusa6 gal6 y guerssylleu a wnaethant a mynet ygyt ac ef hyt y lle y dywedassei ada6 y getymdeith. a guedy eu dyuot hyt yno. kyfodi a oruc brutus ae vydin ganta6 yn arua6c. Ac eu llad yn ll6yr. Ac odynd kerdet a oruc parth ac ar y llu. A rannu y llu yn teir bydin. A gorchymyn y pa6b kerdet yn dista6. a chyrchu o pop parth yr llu heb frost gan neb. Ac na ladhei neb vn g6r hyny elhei brutus hyt ym pebyll y brenhin yn gyntaf. Ac yna pan glywynt y gorn ef. g6nelhei pa6b y allu. A Guedy eu dyscu velly o vrutus 6ynt. kerdet a wnaethant yn dawel reolus hyny doethant ymplith y lluesteu. pa6b yn y gyfeir. Ac yuelly arhos yr ar6yd teruynedic a oed yrydunt ac eu hargl6yd. ac yna guedy dyuot brutus y dr6s pebyll y brenhin.

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[12] y lle y damunassei dyuot. heb annot canu y corn yn ar6yd a oruc. Ac yna nyt annodes neb or g6yr namyn mynet y my6n ar torr y kyscaduryeit a rodi dymnodeu agheua6l udunt. Ac yuelly cr6ydra6 y pebylleu ar lluesteu. Ac yna gan g6ynuan a disgyryon y rei meir6 y deffroei by6. A megys deueit ymplith bleideu heb 6ybot ford y ffo yd arhoynnt eu hageu. nyt oed udunt na6d. kany cheffynt 6ynneu ffo namyn redec yn noeth diaruot ymplith eu gelynyon arua6c ac y lledit. Ac o diaghei neb ac ychydic oe eneit ganta6 rac meint y awyd y ffo briwa6 ac yssiga6 a wnaei ar gerrec a drein a mieri. Ac ygyt yuelly y collynt eu gwaet ac eu heneiteu. Ac o darffei y rei onadunt o nerth ae taryan ar arueu ereill caffel lle y ymgudya6. tr6y tywyll6ch y nos ymplith y kerryc y syrthynt hyny udynt uri6edic anafus. Ac or diaghei neb or damwein tyghetuena6l h6nn6. y bodynt yn y dyfred ger eu lla6. Ac yuelly abreid y diaghei neb yn dianaf or ry6 direit damwein h6nn6.

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[55r] Hyt hyn gan ganhyat du6 kyfreitheu llys ry traethassam. weithon gan borth y gogonedus argl6yd iessu crist kyfreitheu gulat a dangoss6n.

Penhaf ynt ohonunt teir colouyn kyfreith. nyt amgen na6 affeith galanas. A na6 affeith tan. A na6 affeith lledrat.

Kyntaf y6 o na6 affeith galanas tauotrudyaeth. dangos y neb a lather ae guhuda6.

Eil y6 kytsynya6 ac ef am y lad.

Trydyd y6 rodi kyghor y lad.

Petweryd y6 disc6yl.

Pymhet y6 canhymdeith y llofrud.

Whechet y6 kyrchu y tref.

Seithuet y6 y art6ya6.

Vythuet y6 bot yn porthord6y.

Na6uet y6 guelet y lad gan y odef.

Dros pop vn or tri kyntaf. y telir na6 ugeint aryant a ll6 canh6r y diwat guaet. Dros pop vn or tri ereill y rodird deu na6 ugeint aryant a ll6 deu canh6r y diwat guaet. Dros pop vn or tri diwethaf y telir tri na6 ugeint aryant a ll6 trychan6r. y diwat guaet.

[55v] Y neb a ddiwato coet a maes rodet l6 deg wyr a deugeint heb caeth a heb alldut. a thri ohonunt yn dioureda6c o uarchogaetha lliein gureic. Y neb a adefo llofrudyaeth. talet g6byl or alanas. Trayan galanas a da6 ar y llofrud. Ar deuparth a rennir yn teir ran. D6y ran a tal kenedyl y tat. Ar tryded a tal kenedyl y uam.

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[16v] Hyt hyn gan ganhat du6 kyfreitheu llys ry traethassam. weithon gann borth y gogonedus argl6yd iessu grist; kyfreitheu g6lat a dangoss6n

[17r] Ac yn gyntaf teir colofyn kyfreith. nyt amgen. Na6 affeith galanas. A na6 affeith tan. A na6 affeith lledrat.

Kyntaf o na6 affeith galanas. y6 taua6trudyaeth nyt amgen menegi y lle y bo y neb a lather yr neb ae llatho.

Eil y6 rodi kyghor y lad y dyn.

Trydyd y6 kydsynya6 ac ef am y lad.

Petweryd y6 disc6yl.

Pymhet y6 canhymdeith y llofrud.

Whechet y6 kyrchu y tref.

Seithuet y6 ard6ya6.

6ythuet y6 bot yn porthord6y.

Na6uet y6 g6elet y lad gan y odef.

Dros pop vn or tri kyntaf; y rodird na6 vgeint aryant a ll6 canh6r y wadu g6aet. Dros pop vn or tri ereill; y rodird deu na6 vgeint aryant a ll6 deu can6r. Dros pop vn or tri diwethaf y telir tri na6 vgeint aryant a ll6 trychanh6r y diwat g6aet.

U neb a watto coet a maes; rodet l6 degwyr a deu vgeint heb gaeth a heb alltut. A thri ohonunt yn diofreda6c o varchogaeth a lliein a g6reic. Y neb a adefho llofrudyaeth; talet ef ae genedyl sarhaet y dyn a lather. ae alanas. Ac yn gyntaf y tal y llofrud sarhaet y dyn lladedic y tat ae vam ae vrodyr ae whioryd. Ac os g6reiga6c uyd; y wreic a geiff trayan y sarhaet y gan y rei hynny. Trayan yr alanas

[17v] a da6 ar y llofrud ae tat ae vam ae vrodyr ae chwioryd yn wahanreda6l y 6rth y genedyl. Trayan y llofrud elch6yl a rennir yn teir ran. y trayan ar y llofrud e hunan. Ar d6y ran ar y tat ar vam ar brodyr ar chwioryd. Ac or g6yr hynny y tal pop vn gymeint ae gilyd.

Ac uelly y g6raged. Ac ny thal vn wreic m6y no hanher ran g6r. Ar trayan h6nn6 a telir y tat a mam y lladedic ae gytetiuedyon megys y sarhaet. Y d6y ran a dodet ar y genedyl; a rennir yn teir ran. Ac o hynny y d6y ran a tal kenedyl y tat. Ar tryded a tal kenedyl y vam. Y kyfry6 achoed kenedyl a talhont alanas ygyt ar llofrud; yr vn ry6 achoed ae kymerant o parth y lladedic or gorchenga6 hyt y gorcha6. Ual hyn yd enwir na6 rad kenedyl a dylyant talu galanas ae chymryt. Ac eu haelodeu. Kyntaf or na6 rad y6 tat a mam y llofrud neu y lladedic. Eil y6 bra6t a whaer. Trydyd y6 hentat. Petweryd y6 Gorhentat. Pymhet y6 kefynder6. Whechet y6 kyferder6. Seithuet y6 keifyn. 6ythuet y6 gorcheifyn. Na6uet y6 gorcha6. Aelodeu y gradeu ynt; nei ac ewythyry llofrud neu y lladedic. Nei y6; mab bra6t neu vab whaer. neu gefynder6. neu gyferder6. Ewythyry y6. bra6t tat **[18r]** neu vam. neu y hentat neu y henuam. neu y orhentat neu y orhenuam. A llyma mal y mae meint ran pop vn or rei hynny oll yn talu galanas neu yn y chymryt. Y neb a uo nes y gerenhyd o vn ach yr llofrud neu yr lladedic nor llall; deu kymeint a tal neu a gymer ar llall. Ac uelly am pa6b or seith rad diwethaf. Ac aelodeu yr holl radeu. Etiued y llofrud neu y lladedic ny dylyant talu dim nae gymryt tros alanas. kanys ran y neb a tal6ys m6y no neb arall; a seif drosta6 ef ae etiuedyon. Ac eu pryder a perthyn y vot arna6. Pryder etiued y lladedic a uyd ar y reeni ae gytetiuedyon. kanys trayan galanas a gymerant. Ac o byd neb o genedyl y llofrud neu y lladedic yn dyn egl6yssid r6ymedic o vrdeu kyssegredic. neu yg kreuyd. neu glaf6r. neu uut. neu ynuyt. ny thal ac ny chymer dim o alanas. ny dylyant 6y wneuthur dial am dyn a lather Na g6neuthur dial arnunt 6ytheu

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O Na6 affeith tan kyntaf y6 kyghori
mynet y losci.
Eil y6 duuna6 am y llosc.
Trydyd y6 mynet y losci.
Petweryd y6 d6yn y r6yll.
Pymhet y6 llad y tan.
Whechet y6 keissa6 dyl6yf.
Seithuet y6 wythu y tan hyny enynho.
Vythuet y6 enynnu y peth a losker.
Na6uet y6 guelet y llosc gan y odef.

Y neb a ddiwato vn or na6 affeith hyn
rodet l6 deg wyr a deugeint heb gaeth a
heb alldut.

Kyntaf o na6 affeith lledrat y6 syllu
t6yll. a cheissa6 ketymdeith.
Eil y6 duuna6 am ledrat.
Trydyd y6 rodi b6yll6r6.
[56r] Petweryd y6 ymd6yn y b6yt yn
getymdeithas.
Pymhet y6 r6yga6 buarth neu torri ty.
Whechet y6 d6yn y peth ae gychwyn.
Seithuet y6 bot yn gyfarwyd ac yn
trosc6yd6r ar y lletrat a cherdet ganta6
dyd neu nos.
6ythuet y6 kyfranu ar lladron.
Na6uet y6 guelet y lletrat ae gelu yr
gobyr neu y prynu yr guerth.

Y neb a ddiwato vn or na6 affeith hyn.
rodet l6 deg wyr a deugeint heb gaeth a
heb alldut.

Na6 nyn a dygant eu tystolyaeth gan
gredu eu geir pop vn ohonunt ar
wahan.
argl6yd r6g y deu 6r.

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ny dylir. Ac ny ellir kymhell y kyfry6
tr6y neb kyfreith y talu dim. nae
gymryt nys dylant.

O Na6 affeith tan kyntaf y6 kyghori
llosci y ty.
Eil y6 duuna6 am y llosc.
Trydyd y6 mynet y losci.
Petweryd y6 ymd6yn y r6yll.
Pymhet y6 llad y tan.
Whechet y6 keissa6 dyl6yf.
[18v] Seithuet y6 whythu y tan hyny
enynho.
6ythuet y6 enynnu y peth y lloscer ac
ef.
Na6uet y6 g6elet y llosc gan y odef.

y neb a watto vn or na6 affeith hyn;
rodet l6 deg wyr a deu vgeint heb
gaeth a heb alltut.

Kyntaf o na6 affeith lledrat y6 syllu
t6yll a cheissa6 ketymdeith.
Eil y6 duuna6 am y lledrat.
Trydyd y6 rodi b6yll6r6.
Petweryd y6 ymd6yn y b6yt yn y
getymdeithas.
Pymhet y6 r6yga6 y buarth neu torri y
ty.
Seithuet y6 kychwynu y lledrat oe le a
cherdet dyd neu nos ganta6.
Seithuet y6 bot yn gyfarwyd ac yn
trosc6yd6r ar y lledrat.
6ythuet y6 kyfrannu ar lladron.
Na6uet y6 g6elet y lledrat. Ae gelu yr
gobyr neu y prynu yr g6erth.

Y neb a watto vn or na6 affeith hyn;
rodet l6 degwyr a deu vgeint heb gaeth
A heb alltut.

Na6 nyn a dygant eu tystyolaeth gan
gredu pop vn ohonunt ar wahan 6rth y
l6.
argl6yd r6g y deu 6r or dadyl a adefynt
yr y uot geir y vron ef. Ac na bei
gyfranna6c ynteu or dadyl. Ac na
bydynt vn dull.

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Abat r6g y deu Vanach ar dr6s y cor.
Tat r6g y deu vab

Bra6t6r am yr hyn a uarn6ys gynt or
byd petrus ganta6.

Mach am y uechniaeth pan y hadefho

effeirat r6g y deu dyn pl6yf.

Mor6yn am y mor6ynda6t.

Bugeil trefgord am y uugeilyaeth or
llad ll6dyn. y llall.

lleityr diobeith am y gytleidyr pan
dycker yr croc. kanys guir vyd y eir
yna.

Lla6 dyn ae troet ae lygat ae glust. ae
weus.

[56v] ae froen. Whe bu a whe ugein
aryant y6 guerth pop Vn ohonunt.

Kyn trycher clust dyn y ymdeith oll. a
chlybot or dyn arna6 mal kynt d6y uu a
deugeint aryant a tal. Ony chly6 arna6.

Whe bu a whe ugeint aryant a tal.

Keilleu vn werth ynt ar deudec aela6t
ury.

Taua6t e hunan kymeint y werth ar
sa6l aela6t a riu6yt.

Holl aelodeu dyn pan gyfriuer ygyt vn
punt a talant.

Guerth bys dyn. bu6ch ac ugeint
aryant.

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Abat r6g y deu vanach ar dr6s y kor.
Tat r6g y deu vab gan dodu y la6 ar pen
y mab y dycco y

[19r] tystolyaeth yn y erbyn. A
dywedut val hyn. Myn du6 y g6r am
cre6ys i yn tat itti. A thitheu yn vab
imi. g6ir a dywedaf i yrochwi.

Bra6d6r am y varn6ys gynt or byd y
deu dyn y barn6yt udunt yn amrysson
am y varn.

Mach am y uechniaeth ot adef ran a
g6adu ran arall.

Effeirat r6g y deu dyn pl6yf o
tystolyaeth a tyster ida6.

Mor6yn am y mor6ynda6t. os y g6r y
rother ida6 a dyweit nat oed vor6yn hi
yr d6yn y ia6n ae dylyet. Neu or
treissir ar g6r ae treisso yn dywedut nat
oed uor6yn hi. credad6y y6 tystolyaeth
y uor6yn yn y erbyn.

Bugeil trefgord am y uugeilyaeth or
llad ll6dyn y llall.

Lleidyr diobeith am y gytleidyr pan
dyccer yr groc. kanys credad6y uyd y
eir ar getymdeithon ac am y da a
dycco. heb greir. Ac ny dylyir diuetha
y getymdeith yr y eir ef namyn y uot
yn lleidyr g6erth. Credad6y heuyt uyd
manacg6r a wnel dogyn vanac. A
Roda6dyr a gredir ar y da a rotho. Ac
yna y dywedir. nyt oes rod onyt o vod

Lla6 dyn ae troet ae lygat ae weus ae
glust gan golli y glybot ae tr6yn;

[19v] whe bu a whe vgeint aryant y6
g6erth pop vn ohonunt.

Or trychir clust dyn oll ymdeith. A
chlybot or dyn arna6 mal kynt; d6y uu
a deu vgeint aryant a tal.

Keilleu vn werth ynt ar aelodeu vry oll.

Taua6t e hunan. kymeint y6 y werth ar
sa6l aela6t a rif6yt hyt hyn.

holl aelodeu dyn pan gyfriffer ygyt;
6yth punt a phetwar vgeint aryant a tal.

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Guerth y ua6t d6y uu a deugeint aryant.

Guerth ewin dyn dec ar hugeint aryant.
Guerth kyg6g eithaf. wech ar hugeint a dimei a thrayan dimei.
Guerth y kyg6g perued. dec a deugeint a dimei a deuparth dimei.
Guerth y kyg6g nessaf. petwar ugeint.

Guerth racdant dyn. pedeir ar hugeint aryant gan tri dyrchael.

Guerth kildant dec a deugeint aryant.

Pedeir ar hugeint aryant y6 guerth guaet dyn. can nyt
[57r] teil6g bot guerth guaet dyn yn gyfu6ch a guerth guaet du6. kyn bei guir dyn ef du6 oed ac ny fech6ys yn y gna6t.

Teir creith gogyuarch yssyd.

creith ar 6yneb dyn whe vgeint a tal.
creith ar geuyn y la6. trugeint a tal.

creith ar geuyn y troet dec ar hugeint a tal.

Sef y6 meint galanas maer neu gyghella6r. na6 mu a na6 ugein mu gan tri dyrchael.

Sarhaet pop vn ohonunt y6 na6 mu a na6 ugeint aryant.

Punt y6 ebedi6 pop vn ohonunt.

Punt y6 gobyr eu merchet.

Teir punt y6 eu cowyll.

Seith punt y6 eu heguedi.

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G6erth y ua6t; d6y uu a deu vgeint aryant.

Ewin dyn dec ar hugeint aryant a tal.
G6erth y kyg6ng eithaf; wech ar hugeint aryant a dimei a thrayan dimei.
G6erth y kyg6ng perued; dec a deu vgeint a dimei a deuparth dimei.
G6erth y kyg6ng nessaf; petwar vgeint aryant.

Racdant dyn; pedeir ar hugeint aryant gan tri drychafel a tal. A phan taler racdant; g6erth creith gogyfarch a telir ganta6.

Kildant; dec a deu vgeint a tal.

Pedeir ar hugeint aryant y6 g6erth g6aet dyn. kanyt teil6ng bot g6erth g6aet dyn yn gyfuch a g6erth g6aet du6. kyt bei g6ir dyn ef; g6ir du6 oed ac ny phech6ys yn y gna6t.

Teir creith

[20r] gogyfarch yssyd ar dyn.

creith ar 6yneb dyn; whe ugeint a tal.
Creith ar gefyn y lla6 deheu; trugeint a tal.

Creith ar gefyn y troet deheu; dec ar hugeint a tal.

G6erth amrant dyn hyt y bo y ble6 erni; keinha6c kyfreith a tal. pop blewyn; or tyrr dim oheni; g6erth creith o gyfarch a telir yna.

Sef y6 meint galanas maer neu gyghella6r; na6 mu a na6 vgeint mu gan tri drychafel.

Sarhaet pop vn ohonunt y6 na6 mu a na6 vgeint aryant.

Punt y6 ebedi6 pop vn ohonunt.

Punt y6 gobyr merch pop vn.

A their punt y6 y chowyll.

A seith punt y heguedi.

Or a merch maer neu gyghella6r neu vn o arbenhigyon llys yn llathrut heb rod kenedyl; na6 eidon kyhyt eu kyrn ac eu hyscafarn uyd eu heguedi.

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Pedeir bu a phetwar vgeint aryant y6 sarhaet teulu6r brenhin os o hynny yd ymardel6.

Teir bu a telir yn sarhaet teulu6r breyr nyt amgen tri buhyn tal beinc. Or a merch maer neu gyghella6r neu penkenedyl. neu vn o arbenigyon llys yn llathrut heb rod kenedyl. na6 eidon kyhyt eu kyrn ac eu hyskyuarn vyd eu heguedi.

[57v] Sef y6 meint galanas penkenedyl. tri na6 mu a thri na6 ugein mu gan tri dyrchael. Yn y sarhaet y telir tri na6 mu a thri na6 ugeint aryant. Galanas vn o aelodeu penkenedyl a telir o na6 mu a na6 ugeint mu gan tri dyrchael. Sef y6 aelot penkenedyl y gar yn y sarhaet y keiff na6 mu a na6 ugeint aryant.

Galanas pop breyr diss6yd a telir o whe bu a whe ugeint mu gan tri dyrchael. Yn y sarhaet y telir whe bu a whe ugein aryant.

Galanas bonhedic canh6yna6l a telir o teir bu a thri vgein mu gan tri dyrchael. Yn y sarhaet y telir teir bu a thri ugeint aryant. Kymro vam tat uyd bonhedic canh6yna6l. heb gaeth a heb alldut a heb ledach ynda6. Os g6r breyr uyd bonhedic canh6yna6l pan lather whe bu geiff y breyr y gan y llofrud or alanas.

Yr brenhin y da6 trayan pop galanas kanys ef bieu kymhell yn y lle ny allo kenedyl gymhell. Ac a

[58r] gaffer or da or pryt p6y gilyd yr llofrud ae tir y brenhin bieu.

Galanas taya6c brenhin a telir o teir bu a thri ugein mu gan tri dyrchael. Yn y sarhaet y telir teir bu a thri ugeint aryant.

Galanas taya6c breyr hanhera6c uyd ar alanas taya6c brenhin. Ac uelly am y sarhaet. Galanas alltut brenhin. a telir o teir bu a thri ugein mu heb dyrchael.

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Pedeir bu a phetwar vgeint aryant y6 sarhaet teulu6r brenhin os o hynny yd ymardel6.

Teir bu a telir yn sarhaet teulu6r breyr. nyt amgen tri buhyn tal beinc.

Galanas penkenedyl; tri na6 mu a thri na6 vgein mu gan tri drychafel. yn y sarhaet y telir tri na6 mu a thri na6 vgeint aryant.

Galanas vn o aelodeu penkenedyl;

[20v] nyt amgen y gar. A telir o na6 mu a na6 vgeint mu gan tri drychafel. Yn y sarhaet y keiff na6 mu a na6 vgeint aryant.

Galanas breyr diss6yd o whe bu a whe vgeint mu gan tri drychafel y telir. Y sarhaet a telir o whe bu a whe vgeint aryant.

Galanas bonhedic canh6yna6l a telir o teir bu a thri vgeint mu gan tri drychafel . Y sarhaet a telir o teir bu a thri vgeint aryant. kymro vam tat vyd bonhedic canh6yna6l. heb gaeth a heb alltut a heb ledach ynda6. Os g6r breyr a uyd bonhedic canh6yna6l pan lather; whe bu a geiff y breyr or alanas y gan y llofrud.

Ur brenhin y da6 trayan pop galanas. kanys ef bieu kymhell y lle ny allo kenedyl gymhell. Ac a gaffer o da or pryt y gilyd yr llofrud; y brenhin bieiuud.

Galanas taya6c brenhin a telir o teir bu a thri vgein mu gan tri drychafel. Y sarhaet y6 teir bu a thri vgeint aryant.

Galanas taya6c breyr; hanhera6c uyd ar alanas taya6c brenhin. Ac uelly y sarhaet. Galanas alltut brenhin; a telir o teir bu a thri vgein mu heb drychafel.

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Y sarhaet a telir o teir bu heb achwanec.

Galanas alldut breyr hanhera6c uyd ar alanas alldut brenhin.

Galanas alldut taya6c hanhera6c uyd ar alanas alldut breyr.

Ac uelly am y sarhaedeu herwyd eu galanas.

Punt a hanher y6 galanas caeth teledi6.

or byd anauus hagen neu ry hen neu ry ieuanc nyt amgen noc ugein ml6yd punt a tal

or henuyd or tu dra6 yr mor. Ac or henuyd or tu yma yr mor heuyt punt a tal.

kanys e hunan a lygr6ys y ureint nyt amgen no mynet yn gyflog6r oe uod.

Or tereu dyn ryd dyn kaeth talet deudec keinha6c

[58v] ida6. wech dros teir kyuelin o urethyn guyn tal pentan. y wneuthur peis ida6 6rth lad eithin.

Teir dros la6d6r.

Vn dros guaraneu a dyrnuoleu.

Vn dros 6dyf.

Vn dros raff deudec kyuelinya6c neu dros u6yall os coet6r uyd.

Or tereu dyn kaeth neb dyn ryd. Ja6n y6 trychu y la6 deheu. neu talet argl6yd y kaeth sarhaet y dyn.

Y neb a gyttyo a gureic kaeth heb canhyat y hargl6yd. talet deudec

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Y sarhaet y6 teir bu heb ychwanec.

Galanas alltut breyr;

[21r] hanhera6c uyd ar alanas alltut brenhin.

Galanas alltut taya6c; hanhera6c uyd ar alanas alltut breyr.

Ac uelly e byd eu sarhaedeu. E Neb a gnithyo dyn; talet y sarhaet yn gyntaf. kanys drychaf a gossot y6 sarhaet pop dyn. A cheinha6c dros pop blewyn bonwyn a tynher oe pen. A cheinha6c dros pop bys a el yn y pen. A phedeir ar hugeint dros y g6allt taldr6ch. Dewisset pa6b y vreint; ae 6rth vreint y penkenedyl. Ae 6rth vreint y tat. Ae 6rth vreint y s6yd.

Pvnt a hanher y6 g6erth kaeth telidi6 or henuyd or tu dra6 yr mor.

Or byd anafus hagen neu ry hen neu ry ieuanc nyt amgen no llei noc vgein ml6yd; punt a tal.

Or henuyd or tu yma yr mor heuyt; punt a tal.

kanys e hunan na lygr6ys y vreint o vynet yn gyflog6r oe vod.

Or tereu dyn ryd dyn kaeth; talet ida6 deudec keinha6c.

wech dros teir kyfelin o vrethyn g6yn tal pentan y wneuthur peis ida6 6rth lad eithin.

Teir dros la6d6r.

Vn dros kuaraneu a dyrnuoleu.

Vn dros 6dyf neu dros u6ell os koet6r vyd.

Vn dros raff deudec kyfelinya6c.

Or tereu dyn kaeth dyn ryd. Ja6n y6 trychu y lla6

[21v] deheu ida6 neu talet argl6yd y kaeth sarhaet y dyn. Na6d kaeth y6; hyt y byryo y kryman.

Y neb a gyttyo a g6reic kaeth heb ganhat y hargl6yd; talet deudec

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keinha6c y hargl6yd ac na chytyet ar
gaeth bellach.

Y neb a ueichocco gureic kaeth a uo ar
gyfloc.

rodet arall yn y lle y hargl6yd hyt pan
agho.

Ac odynd maget ef yr etiued ac aet y
gaeth yr y hargl6yd.

Ac or byd mar6 y gaeth y ar yr etiued
talet y neb ae beichoges y guerth
kyfreith y hargl6yd.

Y neb a wnel kynll6yn yn deudyblyc y
tal galanas y dyn a latho. deudeg mu
yn deudyblyc a telir yr brenhin.

Y neb a diwatto kynll6yn neu uurdd6rn
neu gyrch kyhoeda6c rodet l6 deg wyr
a deugeint heb gaeth a heb alltud. Ny
[59r] ellir kyrch kyhoeda6c o lei no
na6 wyr.

Llys bieu teruynu. A guedy llys llan. A
guedy llan breint. A guedy breint
kygwarchad6 ar diffeith. ty ac odynd ac
yscuba6r y6 kygwarchad6.

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keinha6c y argl6yd y gaeth dros pop
kyt.

Y neb a ueichocco g6reic kaeth a uo ar
gyfloc;

rodet arall yn y lle hyt pan agho.

Ac yna paret ef yr etiued ac aet y gaeth
y lle.

Ac or byd mar6 y ar yr etiued; talet y
neb ae beichoges y g6erth kyfreith oe
hargl6yd.

Pop dyn a geiff drychafel yn y alanas
ac yn y sarhaet eithyr alltud. yr
vgeinheu a telir ygyt ar g6arthech uyd y
drychafaleu.

Sarhaet g6reic kaeth; deudec keinha6c
a tal. Ac os g6eniga6l uyd nyt el nac
yn ra6 na ymreuan; pedeir ar hugeint
vyd y sarhaet.

Y neb a wnel kynll6yn; yn deudyblyc y
tal galanas y dyn a latho. A deudec mu
dir6y yn deudyblyc a tal yr brenhin

Y neb a watto kynll6yn neu uurd6rn
neu gyrch kyhoeda6c; rodet l6 deg wyr
a deu vgeint heb gaeth a heb alltud. Ny
ellir kyrch kyhoeda6c o lei no na6 wyr.

Llys bieu teruynu. A g6edy llys; llan.
A g6edy llan breint. A g6edy breint;
kynwarchad6. ar diffeith. ty ac odynd ac
yscuba6r

[22r] y6 kynwarchad6.

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[17] Trannoeth y doeth Gereint. parth ar llys. A disc6ylat a oed ar y gaer gan wenhwyuar rac y dyuot yn dirybud. Ar disg6ylat a doeth att wenhwyuar. Argl6ydes heb ef Mi a tebygaf heb ef y g6el6n Ereint. ar vor6yn gyt ac ef. Ac ar varch y mae ef a phedytwisc ymdana6. y vor6yn hagen val gorwyn y g6el6n. A thebic y llieinwisc a wel6n ymdanei. Ymgyweir6ch oll wraged heb y G6enhwyuar. Ni a a6n yn erbyn Gereint. y raessa6 ac y uot yn llawen 6rtha6. A dyuot a oruc G6enhwyuar yn erbyn Gereint ar vor6yn. A phan doeth Gereint yn yd oed wenhwyuar. kyfarch g6ell a oruc idi. Du6 a rotho da itt heb hi a graessa6 6rthyt. A hynt fr6ythla6n donya6c hyrr6yd glotua6r a dugost. A du6 a talho itt peri ia6n im yn gyn ualchet ac y pereist im. Argl6ydes heb ef mi a ry buch6n peri ia6n itt 6rth dy ewyllis. A llyma y uor6yn y keueist ti dy diwarthrudya6 oe hacha6s. Je heb y G6enhwyuar Graessa6 du6 6rthi. Ac nyt kam im vot yn llawen 6rthi. A dyuot y my6n a orugant A discynnu. A mynet a oruc Gereint y ymwelet ac arthur. a chyfarch G6ell ida6. Du6 a rotho da itt heb yr arthur. A graessa6 du6 6rthyt. A chyt kaffo edern. Mab. nud gofit a chl6yfeu ygenhyt; hynt l6ydyanus a dugost. Nyt arnaf i y bu hynny heb y Gereint. namyn a ryuyc edern e hun. nat ymgystlynei. nyt ymdidan6n inheu ac efo hyny 6yp6n p6y vei. neu yny orffe i y neill ar llall. A 6r heb yr arthur. Mae y uor6yn a gigeu y bot yth ardel6 ti. y Mae gyt a g6enhwyuar yn y hystauell. Ac yna y doeth arthur y welet y vor6yn. A llawen uu 6rthi ae getymdeithon

[18] a pha6b or llys. A hyspys oed gan pa6b onadunt pei kyhyttrei gossymdeith y vor6yn ae phryt na welsynt eiroet vor6yn 6ympach no hi. Ac arthur a uu rodyat ar y vor6yn y ereint. A r6ym a wneit yna yr6g dnyon a wnaethp6yt yr6g Gereint ar vor6yn. A dewis ar holl wiscoed g6enhwyuar a rodet yr uor6yn. Ar neb a welhei y uor6yn yn y wisce honno. ef a welei ol6c wedeidl6ys arnei. Ar dyd h6nn6 ar nos honno a treulassant tr6y gerdeu a didan6ch ac amhylder o anregyon ac amryfal wiroweiu a lluosydd o waryeu. A phan uu amser ganthunt vynet y gyscu 6ynt a aethant. Ac yn yr ystauell yd oed wely arthur a g6enhwyuar y g6naethp6yt g6ely Gereint ac enyd. Ar nos honno gyntaf y kyscassant ygyt. A thranoeth y llonyda6d arthur yr eircheit dros ereint. o ditla6t rodyon. A cheneuina6 a oruc y uor6yn ar llys a d6yn ketymdeithon idi o wyr a g6raged hyt na dywedit am vn vor6yn yn ynys prydein m6y noc ymdanei. Ac yna y dywa6t Gwenhwyuar. Ja6n y medreis i heb hi am pen y kar6 na rodit hyny delei. Ereint. A llyma le ia6n y rodi ef y Enyd verch yny6l y uor6yn glotuoaraf. ac ny thebygaf neb ae g6arafunho idi kanyt oes yrydi a neb namyn yssyd o garyat a chetymdeithas. Canmoledic uu gan pa6b hynny. A chan arthur heuyt. A rodi pen y kar6 a wnaethp6yt y enyd. Ac o hynny allan lluosogi a oruc y chlot ae chetymdeithon o hynny yn u6y no chynt. Sef a oruc Gereint o hynny allan karu t6rneimeint a chyfranceu kalet a buduga6l y deuei ef o pop vn. A bl6ydyn a d6y a their y bu ef yn hynny. hyny yttoed y glot g6edy ehedec

[19] ar dra6s y teyrnas. A threigygl6eith yd oed arthur yn dala llys yg kaer llion y sulg6yn. nachaf yn dyuot atta6 kennadeu doethprud dysgeiticia6n ymadra6dlym. Ac yn kyfarch g6ell y arthur. Du6 a rodho da i6ch heb yr arthur a graessa6 du6 6rthy6ch. Ac o py le pan do6chi. Pan do6n argl6yd heb 6y o gerny6. A chennadeu ym attat ygan erbin. Mab Custenhin dy ewythyr. Ath annerch y ganta6 val y dyly ewythyr annerch y nei. Ac val y dyly g6r annerch y argl6yd. Ac y venegi y vot ef yn amdrymu ac yn dynessau ar heneint. Ae kyttiryogyon o 6ybot hynny yn kamteruynu ac ef. Ac yn chwenychu y tir ae gyfoeth Ac adol6yn itti argl6yd y mae erbin ell6g Gereint y vab y gad6 y gyfoeth ac y 6ybot y teruynu. Ac yn menegi ida6 y mae bot yn well ida6 treula6 blodeu y ieuencitit ae de6red yn kynhal y teruynu e hun. noc yn t6rneimeint

Peniarth 6iv

diffryth. kyt kaffo clot yndunt. Je heb yr arthur e6chi y diarchenu. A chymer6ch a6ch b6yt. A byry6ch a6ch blinder y arna6ch. A chyn a6ch mynet ymdeith ateb a geff6ch. Ac uelly y g6naethant. Ac yna medylya6 a oruc. arthur. nat oed ha6d ganta6 ell6g Gereint. y 6rtha6 nac o vn llys ac ef. Nyt oed ha6d ganta6 ynteu na thec lludyas y kefynder6 y gynhal y gyfoeth ac y gad6 y teruyneu. kany allei y tat eu kynhal. Nyt oed lei gofal g6enhwyuar ae hiraeth hi ar holl wraged ar holl vorynyon rac mynet enyd y 6rthunt. y dyd h6nn6 ar nos honno a treulassant tr6y diwallr6yd o pop peth. Ac arthur a venegis y ereint. ystyr y kennad6ri a dyuodyat y kenadeu o gerny6 hyt yno. Je heb y Gereint. yr a del nac o les nac o afles imi argl6yd o hynny;

[20] dy vynni ti a wna6 i am y gennad6ri honno. LLyna dy gyghor am hynny heb yr arthur. kyt boet dyhir genhyf am dy vynet ti. mynet ohonot y gyfanhedu dy gyfoeth ac y gad6 dy teruyneu. A chymer y nifer a uynhych gyt a thi a m6yhaf a gerych om ffydlonyon i. yn hebrygyeit arnat Ac oth garant titheu ath gytuarchogyon. Du6 a talho itt a minheu a wna6 hynny. Reit y6 i minheu heb y G6enhwyuar vedylya6 am ganhebrygyeit a diwallr6yd ar yr vnbennes yssyd gyt a minheu. Ja6n a wney heb yr arthur. Ac y gyscu yd aethant y nos honno. A thranoeth y gellyg6yt y kennadeu ymdeith A dywedut udunt y deuei. Ereint. yn eu hol. Ar trydydyd g6edy hynny y kychwynn6ys Gereint. Sef nifer a aeth ygyt ac ef. G6alchmei. A Rioganed. Mab. brenhin iwerdon Ac ondrya6. Mab. duc b6rg6in. G6ilym. Mab. R6yf ffreinc. Howel. Mab emyr llyda6. Elifri ana6 kyrd. G6yn. Mab. tringat. Goreu. Mab. Custennin. G6eir g6rhyt ua6r. Garanhon. Mab. Glythmyr. Peredur. Mab. Efra6c. G6yn llogell g6yr ygnat llys arthur. Dyuyr. Mab. alun dyuet. G6rei g6alsta6t ieithoed. Bedwyr. Mab. bedra6t. Kad6ri. Mab G6ryon. Kai. Mab. Kynyr. Odyar ffranc ystiwart llys arthur. Ac edern. Mab Nud heb y gereint. a glywaf i y vot yn gallu marchogaeth a uynnaf y dyuot gyt a mi. Je heb yr arthur. Ny weda itti d6yn y g6r h6nn6 gyt a thi kyn boet iach hyny wneler tagnefed y rygta6 a g6enhwyuar. Ef a allei y wenhwyuar ygyt a mi y ganhadu ar veicheu. Os canhatta; canhadet yn ryd oe veicheu. kany digaa6n o gym6yeu a gouityeu yssyd ar y g6r yn lle sarhaet y uor6yn gan y corr. Je heb y g6enhwyuar

[21] a welych ti yn uot yn ia6n am hynny ti a gereint. Miui ae g6naf yn llawen argl6yd. Ac yna y kanhada6d hi edern yn ryd. A digaa6n y am hynny a aeth yn hebrygyeit ar Ereint. A chychwyn a orugant yn 6ympaf nifer a weles neb eiroet. parth a hafren. Ac ar y lan tra6 y hafren. yd oed goreug6yr Erbin. Mab. Custenhin. Ae tatmaeth yn y blaen yn aruoll Gereint. yn llawen. A llawer o wraged y llys ygan y vam ynteu yn erbyn Enyd verch yny6l g6reic. Ereint. A dirua6r oruoled a llewenyd a gymyrth pa6b or llys yndunt ac or holl gyfoeth yn erbyn Gereint. rac meint y kerynt ef. A rac meint y cly6ssynt y glot ynteu yr pan athoed y 6rthunt 6y. Ac am y vot yn dyuot y orescyn y gyfoeth e hun. ac y gad6 y teruyneu. Ac yr llys y doethant. Ac yd oed yno diwallr6yd ehalaethualch o amryual anregyon Ac amhylder o wiodeu A didla6t wassanaeth. Ac amryfalyon gerdeu a g6aryeu. Ac o enryded Gereint y g6ohodet holl wyrda y kyfoeth y nos honno. Ar dyd h6nn6 ar nos honno a treulassant tr6y gymedrolder o esm6ythter. Ac yn ieuencitit y dyd tranoeth kyuodi a oruc Erbin. A dyuynnu Gereint. atta6 ar Goreug6yr a dothoed y hebr6g. A dywedut 6rth Ereint. G6r amtr6m oetya6c 6yf i heb ef. A thra elleis i kynhal kyfoeth itti ac i minhei. Mi ae kynheleis. A thitheu G6as ieuanc 6yt. Ac ymlodeu dy de6red ath ieuencitit ytt6yt. kynhal dy gyfoeth weithon. Je mi heb y Gereint. om bod i ny rodut ti vedyant dy gyfoeth ym lla6 i yr a6r hon. ac nym dygut etwa o lys arthur yth la6 ti nu y rodaf i. A

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chymer hedi6 6ryogaeth dy wyr. Ac yna y dywa6t G6alchmei. Ja6nhaf y6 it lonydu hedi6 yr eircheit eit

[22] Ac auory kymer 6ryogaeth dy gyfoeth. Ac yna y dyfyn6yt yr eircheit y vn lle. Ac y doeth kadyrieith attadunt y edrych eu haruedyt. a pheth a eruynynt. Ac ny bu hir y bu6yt yn rodi. kanys teulu arthur a g6yr kerny6 a rodassant yn ehalaeth y pa6b 6rth y atol6yn. ae vod. y da y didla6t. Ar dyd h6nn6 ar nos honno a treulassant tr6y gymedrolder o esm6ythtra. A thranoeth yn ieuencit y dyd yd erchis Erbin y ereint. anuon kenadeu ar y wyr. y ofyn udunt a oed di6rthtr6m ganthunt na bar nac einiwet ae dim a dottynt yn y erbyn. Ac uelly y g6naeth ynteu. y dywedassant 6ynteu nat oed namyn kyfla6nder o lewenyd a gogonyant gan ba6p onadunt. am dyuot Gereint y gymryt eu g6ryogaeth. Ac yna y kymyrth Gereint. g6ryogaeth a oed yno onadunt. Ac yno ygyt y buant y tryded nos. A thranoeth yd arofuna6d teulu arthur. ymdeith. Ry eghyrth y6 i6ch vynet ymdeith etwa. Arho6ch gyt a mi hyny darffo im kymryt g6ryogaeth vyg goreug6yr oc a erkytyo onadunt dyuot attaf. Ac uelly y g6naethant 6ynteu. Ac yna y kychwynassant 6y parth a llys arthur. Ac yd aeth Gereint. ac enyd y eu hebr6g hyt yn dyngannan. A phan ymwahanyssant y dywa6t Ondra. Mab. y duc 6rth Ereint. kertha heb ef eithafoed dy gyfoeth. Ac o g6rthtryma gofit arnat. manac ar dy getymdeithon. Du6 a talo itt. a minheu a wnaef hynny. Ac yna y kyrcha6d Gereint. eithafoed y gyfoeth a chyfar6ydyt gyt ac ef o oreu6yr hyspys y gyfoeth. Ar amkan pellaf a.

[23] dangosset ida6 a getwis ynteu ganta6. Ac val y gnottaassei tra uu yn llys arthur. kyrchu t6rneimeint a wnaei. Ac ym6ybot ar g6yr de6rhaf a chadarnaf hyny oed clotua6r yn y kyfeir h6nn6 val y lle y buassei gynt. Ac yny gyfoethoges y lys ae wyrda. or meirch goreu ac or arueu goreu Ac or eurtlysseu arbennicaf a goreu. Ac ny orffowysa6d o hynny hyny eheda6d y glot dros 6yneb y teyrnas. A phan 6ybu ef hynny; dechreu karu esm6ythter ac yscyfal6ch a oruc ynteu. kanyt oed neb a dalhei vot yn y erbyn. A charu y wreic a g6astatr6yd yn y lys A cherdeu a didan6ch. A chartrefu talym a oruc. Ac yn ol hynny karu yscyfal6ch oe ystauell ae wreic hyt nat oed digrif ganta6 dim namyn hynny. hyny yttoed yn colli callon y wyrda ae hela ae digrif6ch a challon c6byl o nifer y lys. Ac yny yttoed ymod6rd a gogan arna6 dan lla6 gan tyl6yth y lys am y uot yn ymgolli yn gyn l6yret a hynny ac eu ketymdeithas 6ynt o garyat g6reic. Ar geireu hynny a aeth ar erbin. A g6edy clybot o Erbin hynny; dywedut a oruc idi. Ae hihi oed yn peri hynny y. ereint. Ac yn dodu y dana6 ymada6 ae tyl6yth ac ae nifer. Na vi myn vyg kyffes y du6 heb hi. Ac nyt oes dim gassach genhyf no hynny. A boreg6eith yr haf yd oedynt yn eu g6ely. Ac ynteu 6rth yr erchwyn. Ac enyd oed heb gyscu y my6n ystauell wydrin. Ar heul yn tywynnu ar y g6ely. Ar dillat g6edy ry lithra6 y ar y d6y vron ae d6y vreich. ac ynteu yn kyscu. Sef a oruc hitheu edrych tecket ac aruthret yr ol6c a welei arna6.

[24] A dywedut. G6ae vi heb hi os om hacha6s i y mae y breicheu hi ar d6yvron yn colli clot a mil6ryaeth kymeint a oed eidunt. A chan hynny ell6g y dagreu yn hidleit hyny dyg6ydassant ar y d6yvron ef. Ac vn or petheu ae deffroes ef uu hynny. A med6l arall ae kyffroes ynteu nat yr amgeled ymdana6 ef y dywedassei hi hynny. namyn ysgyfal6ch hebda6 ef. Ac ar hynny llitya6 a oruc gereint tr6y anhagnefed yn y ved6l. A gal6 ar ysg6ier atta6. Par yn gyflym heb ef kyweira6 vym march am harueu. A phar eu bot yn bara6t. A chyfot titheu heb Enyd a g6isc ymdanat. A phar gyweira6 dy varch. A d6c y wisc waethaf ar dy hel6 6rth varchogaeth. A meuel imi heb ef o deuy ti yma hyny 6ypych a golleis i vyn nerthoed yn gyn gywired ac y dywedut ti. Ac ygyt a hynny o byd kyn yscyfal6ch am y neb yd oedut yn medylya6 ymdana6. A

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chyfodi a oruc hitheu a g6isca6 yscaeluswisc ymdanei. Ny 6n i dim oth ved6l ti argl6yd heb hi. Nys g6ybydy ti yr a6r hon heb ef. Ac yna yd aeth Gereint y ymwelet ac erbin. A 6rda heb ef. y neges yd 6yf i yn mynet. Ac nyt hyspys genhyf py bryt y deua6 trachefyn. Mi a wna6 heb ef ac eres y6 genhyf mor deissyuyt yd 6yt yn mynet. A ph6y a gerda gyt a thi. 6rth nat 6yt ti 6r y gerdet tir lloegyr tu hunan. Ny da6 gyt a miui namyn vn dyn arall. Du6 ath gygho nu mab eb yr erbin

[25] A llawer dyn a ha6l arnat yn lloegyr. Ac yr lle yd oed y varch y doeth Gereint. Ac yd oed y varch yn gyweir o arueu tr6mloy6 estrona6l. Ac erchi a oruc ynteu y enyd escynnu ar y march a cherdet or blaen a chymryt ragor ma6r. Ac yr a welych ac a gly6hych arnaf i heb ef nac ymchoel ti trachefyn. Ac ony dywedaf i 6rthtyi. na dywet ti vn geir heuyt. A cherdet racdunt a orugant. Ac nyt y fford digrifaf a chyfanhedaf a peris ef y cherdet. namyn y fford diffeithaf a diheuaf bot lladron a herwyr a b6ystuilet kyndeira6c g6en6ynic. A dyuot y prif ford a orugant. Ae chanlyn. A choet ma6r a welynt y 6rthunt. A pharth ar coet y doethant. Ac yn dyuot or coet allan y g6elynt petwar marcha6c arua6c. Ac edrych a orugant arnadunt A dywedut a oruc vn onadunt. Llyma le da inni y deu varch racco ar arueu ar wreic heuyt. A hynny a gaff6n yn segur yr yr vn marcha6c pentr6m goathrist llibin racco. Ar ymdidan h6nn6 a glywei Enyd. Ac ny wydyat beth a wnaei rac ofyn Gereint. ae dywedut hynny ae tewi. Dial du6 arnaf onyt dewissaf genhyf vy agheu oe la6 ef nocet o la6 arall. a chyt am lladho mi ae dywedaf ida6 rac g6elet agheu arna6 ef yn dirybud. A chyfarhos gereint. a oruc hyny vyd yn agos idi. Argl6yd heb hi a glywy ti geireu y g6yr racco ymdanat ti. Drychafel y 6yneb a oruc ynteu. Ac edrych arnei yn llitya6c. Nyt oed reit it namyn kad6 a erchit itt y geir. Sef oed hynny tewi. Nyt amgeled genhyf ac nyt rybud y teu. A chyt mynnut ti welet vy agheu i am diuetha or g6yr racco nyt oes arnaf vn argyss6r6. Ac ar hynny est6g g6ay6

[26] a wnaeth y blaenaf onadunt a gossot ar Ereint. Ac ynteu ae herbynya6d ac nyt mal g6r llesc. A goll6g y gossot heiba6 a oruc. A gossot a oruc ynteu ar y marcha6c ym perued y taryan hyny hyllt y taryan ac yny tyrr yr arueu ac yny vyd dogyn kyfelin va6r ynda6 or paladyr. Ac ynteu dros pedrein y varch yr lla6r yn var6. Ar eil marcha6c ae kyrch6ys ynteu yn llitya6c am lad y getymdeith. Ac ar yr vn gossot y byrya6d ef h6nn6 yr lla6r ac y llada6d mal y llall. Ar trydyd ae kycha6d ac yuelly y llada6d. Ac uelly heuyt y llada6d y petweryd. Trist ac aflawen oed enyd yn edrych ar hynny. Disgynnu a oruc Gereint. A diot arueu y g6yr lladedic. Ac eu doddi yn eu kyfr6eu A ffr6ynglyma6 y meirch a oruc. Ac escynnu ar y varch. A weldy a wnelych ti heb ef. Gyrr y petwar meirch rac dy vron. A cherda or blaen mal y hercheis itt gynneu Ac na dywet ti vn geir 6rthyf i hyny dywett6yf i 6rthtyi. Ym kyffes y du6 os hynny ny wney; ny byd diboen itt. Mi a wna6 vyg gallu am hynny argl6yd. 6rth dy gyghor ti heb hi.