

*Middle Welsh Personal Pronouns in Thirteenth-Century
Manuscripts: Variation and Development*

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ABBREVIATIONS

Secondary sources

CA: Canu Aneirin

CCG: A Comparative Celtic Grammar, Lewis and Pedersen

EWSP: Early Welsh Saga Poetry, ed. Jenny Rowland

GMW: A Grammar of Middle Welsh, Simon Evans

GyG: Gramadeg y Gymraeg, Peter Wynn Thomas

LIDC: Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin, ed. A. O. H. Jarman

WG: A Welsh Grammar, John Morris Jones

Publications

BBCS: Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies

CMCS: Cambrian/Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies

Manuscripts

BL Addl 14931 for London, British Library, Additional 14931

BL Cotton Caligula A.iii for London, British Library, Cotton Caligula Aiii

BL Cotton Titus Dii for London, British Library, Cotton Titus Dii

Llst 1 or Llanstephan 1 for Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan 1

NLW 5266 for Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 5266

Pen(iarth) 1 for Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 1, aka. The Black Book of Carmarthen/Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin

Pen(iarth) 3i for Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 3i

Pen(iarth) 6 for Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 6

Pen(iarth) 14 for Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 14

Pen(iarth) 16iii for Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 16iii

Pen(iarth) 17 for Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 17

Pen(iarth) 29 for Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 29

Pen(iarth) 30 for Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 30

Pen(iarth) 44 for Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 44

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to present the forms of the Middle Welsh personal pronouns as found in thirteenth-century manuscripts, as well as to investigate their morphological, syntactic and semantic use and assess any developments during the thirteenth century. The Middle Welsh pronominal system contains five types of pronouns: simple, reduplicated, conjunctive, infixed and possessive.¹ These types serve different semantic functions as well as having different syntactical properties.

Below is a table outlining the standardised spellings of the Middle Welsh pronouns. The varying orthography of the thirteenth-century manuscripts gives us an extensive variation of spellings throughout the corpus, so this table should chiefly function as a starting point.

Table 1: The common Middle Welsh personal pronoun forms						
	1st pers. sg.	2nd pers. sg.	3rd pers. sg.	1st pers. pl.	2nd pers. pl.	3rd pers. pl.
Simple	<i>mi, ui, i</i>	<i>ti, di</i>	<i>ef (masc.), hi (fem.)</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>chwi</i>	<i>wy, hwy, (h)wynt</i>
Reduplicated	<i>myvi</i>	<i>tydi</i>	<i>efo (masc.), hihi (fem.)</i>	<i>nini</i>	<i>ch(w)ichwi</i>	<i>wyntwy</i>
Conjunctive	<i>min(h)eu</i>	<i>titheu, ditheu</i>	<i>ynteu (masc.), hitheu (fem.)</i>	<i>nin(h)eu</i>	<i>chwitheu</i>	<i>(h)wynteu</i>
Infixed	<i>'m</i>	<i>'th</i>	<i>'u, 'y, 'i, 's</i>	<i>'n</i>	<i>'ch</i>	<i>'u, 'y, 'i, 's</i>
Possessive	<i>vy</i>	<i>dy</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>an, yn</i>	<i>awch</i>	<i>eu</i>

The simple pronouns are most commonly used for unmarked persons (though they can be used in their affixed form to reinforce a certain person in a sentence or clause), whereas reduplicated and conjunctive pronouns always place emphasis on their referent. There is a

¹ The independent possessive forms *meu, teu, eidaw, eidi, einym* etc. are not discussed in this thesis, as I did not

vestigial case system in Welsh as regards pronouns: the infix pronouns can be used to indicate accusative or genitive case; the masculine third person singular form 'y, causing lenition, indicates the genitive case, as does the feminine third person singular form 'y, which causes aspiration; the third person singular and plural form 's causing sandhi h- when immediately preceding a word beginning with a vowel can be either feminine or masculine and is used to indicate the accusative case. The form 's is commonly found attached to conjunctives and particles, such as *ny, na, ony, pei*, and the relative particle *a*.

Welsh possessive pronouns are grouped into two categories: independent pronouns and dependent pronouns. The independent pronouns are those that can function on their own in subject position, and these can be simple, reduplicated or conjunctive. Dependent pronouns only occur together with a verb, preposition, particle or head noun and can be simple, reduplicated (though this is fairly rare), conjunctive, infix and possessive. All but the latter are dependent when they appear in affixed position, whereas the possessive pronouns appear in either prefixed or infix position and are always dependent. Affixed pronouns that appear after a verb or a head noun are dependent and, if representing the subject, do not strictly need to be there in order for the person and number of the referent to be conveyed as they appear together with conjugated verbs that indicate person and number or, in the case of a possessive construction, a head noun preceded by a prefixed possessive pronoun. If they function as objects, they are of course necessary.

The argument of this dissertation is that the thirteenth century was a time of considerable change in the Welsh language, which is evident from the use of personal pronouns during this period. Personal pronouns are ubiquitous in prose texts and their forms as well as their semantic and syntactic use can provide evidence indicating language development. Furthermore, this dissertation argues that the chief pronouns undergoing development were the simple pronouns, while emphatic pronouns were being standardised semantically. There is evidence to indicate that infix pronouns are likely to have been used more in speech than in writing, and though this concerns the entire type, the evidence of plural pronouns is particularly indicative of this being the case.²

Sources

² For further discussion on this, see Emrys Evans, 'Y Rhagenw Mewnol Genidol', *BBCS* 14 (1952), 24–9.

The main source for the data presented in this dissertation is the Thirteenth Century Welsh Prose Manuscripts database, known in Welsh as *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg o Lawysgrifau'r Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg*, transcribed by Professor Patrick Sims-Williams, Dr Simon Rodway and Dr Graham Isaac and edited by Ms Silva Nurmio and Ms Krista Kapphahn. Additionally, A. O. H. Jarman's edition of Peniarth 1 (*Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* or The Black Book of Carmarthen) has been consulted for evidence from the poetry in Peniarth 1, Ifor Williams' edition of *Canu Aneirin* has been used for Cardiff 2.81 (The Book of Aneirin; a digital edition of Peniarth 3.1 edited by Lloyd has been used for evidence from the poetry of Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr.³

Manuscripts

The data in this dissertation might be used to both date and locate manuscripts to some extent, though the latter is a difficult issue considering the fact that most extant thirteenth-century Welsh manuscripts were produced in North Wales, whereas the main bulk of extant Welsh manuscripts from the fourteenth century were produced in South Wales. Peniarth 1 is not necessarily a trustworthy representative of Welsh in the South specifically, as most of the content in the manuscript consists of poetry and presents several issues concerning language use, dating and location. As regards dating of the Welsh thirteenth-century prose texts through the evidence of personal pronouns, there are some pronoun forms that seem to change in preference from one form to another over the thirteenth century and a chronological timeline can thus be established. An example of this is the different forms of the simple third person plural pronoun and the preferences for the various forms in the texts. If we study the development in preference for these forms, we can see that they correspond to Daniel Huws' dating of the manuscripts in the corpus and the pronouns can thus be viewed as supporting evidence for their dating.⁴

Below is a table outlining the manuscripts in chronological order (according to Huws) in the thirteenth-century corpus and the genres of their contents. Manuscripts highlighted in the same colour share the same scribe according to Huws (manuscripts not highlighted in colour

³ Jarman, ed., *LIDC* (Cardiff, 1982) and Williams, ed., *CA* (Cardiff, 1938).

⁴ Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, 2000).

do not share a scribe with any of the other manuscripts).⁵ Genre plays a significant role in the use of personal pronouns in Middle Welsh, as there are different needs for semantic functions as well as variations in syntax in different genres. For example, hagiographical texts contain high levels of affixed pronouns, arguably to create emphasis on their referents. Manuscripts containing the pseudo-historiographical text *Brut y Brenhinedd*, a Welsh translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De Gestis Britonum* (better known as *Historia Regum Britanniae*) use reduplicated and conjunctive forms to a greater extent when placing emphasis on the referent.

⁵ It is worth noting that Peniarth 29 and Peniarth 30 do not have the same scribe throughout. For more information on the prose manuscripts of the thirteenth-century corpus, see Simon Rodway, *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature* (Aberystwyth, 2013).

Table 2: Thirteenth-century Welsh manuscripts and their contents	
Manuscript	Content
Peniarth 1	Poetry
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	Prose (<i>ByB</i>)
Llanstephan 1	Prose (<i>ByB</i>)
BL Cotton Caligula Aiii	Law (Owen's C; Iorwerth red.)
Peniarth 29	Law (Owen's A; Iorwerth red.)
Peniarth 30	Law (Iorwerth red.)
Cardiff 2.81	Poetry (<i>CA</i>)
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	Prose (religious)
Peniarth 17	Prose (<i>HGK, DyB</i>)
Peniarth 6i	Prose (<i>Mabinogion</i>)
Peniarth 6ii	Prose (<i>Mabinogion</i>)
BL Cotton Titus Dii	Law (Owen's B; Iorwerth red.)
BL Additional 14931	Law (Owen's E; Iorwerth red.)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	Prose (<i>ByB</i> , etc.)
Peniarth 3i	Poetry
Peniarth 16iii	Prose (narrative)
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	Prose (religious)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	Prose (religious)
Peniarth 6iii	Prose (<i>Mabinogion</i>)

Methodology

The data presented in this dissertation is by no means exhaustive. Due to the unstandardized orthography, which changes from manuscript to manuscript and often from scribe to scribe (particularly in the case of Peniarth 29), one would have to go through the entire corpus manually for each form to find every single instance of every form, which the time constraints of this dissertation do not allow.⁶ The methodology for procuring data from the corpus has been to use the document search function to search for as many variants as imaginable, based on the known orthographical representations of sounds included in the concerned form as well as searching for spellings already attested in previous scholarship.

Another issue in locating data has been locating forms that are identical to very common words in Middle Welsh. An illustrative example is the form *y*, which could be the prefixed third person singular possessive pronouns (both masculine and feminine) that are spelled *ei* in Modern Welsh, the prefixed third person plural possessive form normally found as *eu*, the infixed third person singular or plural forms accidentally separated from a preceding particle or preposition or the first person singular simple affixed form, not to mention the particle *y*, the preposition *y* meaning ‘to’ and the definite article. Where evidence has been scarce or exceedingly difficult to find, a sample has been produced to illustrate the form’s use in as far as can be seen from the located data.

⁶ For a more extensive discussion on the scribes and the orthography of Peniarth 29, see Paul Russell, ‘Scribal (In)competence in Thirteenth-Century North Wales: The Orthography of the Black Book of Chirk (Peniarth MS. 29)’, in *National Library of Wales Journal* 29 (1995), 129–76.

REVIEW OF SCHOLARSHIP

The existing body of scholarship on the Welsh personal pronouns is very limited, and scholarship on their development in and before Middle Welsh is even more rare. The notes and discussions in the existing Welsh grammars, particularly D. Simon Evans' *Grammar of Middle Welsh* and John Morris Jones' *Welsh Grammar*, have therefore been indispensable. There are, however, a few key works on certain types of personal pronouns in Welsh; Paul Russell and Pierre-Yves Lambert being some of the most prominent contributors to this area of research. Graham Isaac and Elena Parina have also brought some very important points to the discussion on the syntactical environment of personal pronouns and conjunctive pronouns respectively. Emrys Evans' M.A. thesis contains a high amount of examples of Welsh personal pronouns from fourteenth-century texts, which may be useful for future extended research on the development of the Welsh personal pronouns after the thirteenth century, as the bulk of manuscripts in Middle Welsh was written in the fourteenth century.

Grammars

Much of the secondary reading for this dissertation has been based around grammars, particularly D. Simon Evans' *Grammar of Middle Welsh* and John Morris Jones' first volume of his *Welsh Grammar*.⁷ Morris Jones' grammar focused on the phonology of the Welsh personal pronouns, whereas the focus of this dissertation is morphology (though phonology and syntax are also commented on), but his etymological discussion was still useful for considering the development of the pronoun forms during the thirteenth century. Most of his examples from Middle Welsh manuscripts were from the fourteenth-century, rendering them less useful to this dissertation. D. Simon Evans' focus was primarily on extant forms in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and though he did not have access to the resources available today, he noted a few developments in personal pronoun forms and use that he had noticed in the thirteenth and fourteenth corpora, such as the decline of the use of infixed forms to denote the dative case.

⁷ D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1964), and John Morris Jones, *A Welsh Grammar: Historical and Comparative. Phonology and Accidence* (Oxford, 1913).

Lewis and Pedersen's grammar emphasises the etymology of the Welsh personal pronouns and has more focus on morphology than Morris Jones, but as their work is somewhat dated it could benefit from having a wider body of data to with which to assess their theories.⁸ In *An Introduction to Early Welsh*, John Strachan refers to *meu*, *teu*, *eidaw*, *iedi*, *einom/einym*, *ein(y)wch* and *eidud/eidunt* as possessive pronouns rather than possessive adjectives and the pronouns referred to as possessive pronouns in this thesis (both prefixed and infix) as possessive adjectives.⁹ A case could be made for these terms to be switched around or simply referred to as either independent (in the case of *meu* etc.) versus dependent (in the case of *vy* etc.) possessive pronouns.

Scholarship

Though the focus in Emrys Evans' M.A. dissertation was also personal pronouns in Middle Welsh, his approach to the topic was very different from that of this dissertation. Evans' dissertation focused chiefly on collecting examples of different personal pronouns in Middle Welsh, mainly from the fourteenth century, and there is very little comparative data or discussion at length surrounding the use of the different pronouns. The dissertation would have been very useful to someone looking to conduct further research into Middle Welsh personal pronouns before the advent of modern databases, such as the thirteenth-century prose database (on which most of the research in this dissertation is based), the Cardiff database and the *Cyfraith Hywel* database of medieval Welsh law texts. Evans himself produced several pieces of scholarship surrounding the use and the origins of Welsh personal pronouns, and it is possible that he based his research on the corpus of pronouns he had already amassed. His later scholarship proposed theories that were difficult to confirm at the time due to the evidence being contained in myriad manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but the research conducted in this dissertation through the thirteenth-century prose database has been able to confirm his theory regarding the preference of prefixed possessive pronouns over infix possessive forms for persons in the plural. Proinsias Mac Cana outlined the different uses of the conjunctive pronouns in an article, but the problem with his article is the same as with Emrys Evans' M.A. dissertation, namely that

⁸ Lewis and Pedersen, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (Göttingen, 1974).

⁹ Strachan, *An Introduction to Early Welsh* (Manchester, 1909).

the bulk of the examples are from the larger fourteenth-century corpus. As the point of this dissertation is to assess the earliest period from which we have extant prose texts in Middle Welsh, evidence from the fourteenth century is only useful for comparative purposes.¹⁰ Paul Russell, Peter Schrijver and Pierre-Yves Lambert have placed the most focus on the origin of the conjunctive pronouns in secondary scholarship, and though as previously stated this dissertation does not focus on etymology, it is nevertheless worthwhile considering their theories for the assessment of variation in the personal pronoun forms found in the thirteenth-century corpus.¹¹ Elena Parina has provided one of the most recent and thorough contributions to the discussion surrounding the use of conjunctive pronouns in Middle Welsh, her focus being on the syntactical and semantic properties of the conjunctive pronouns as coherence markers.¹² Parina's work has been of immense use for considering these properties when assessing the data from the thirteenth-century corpus.

The only two other works that have been produced using the thirteenth-century corpus database are Patrick Sims-Williams article on conjugated prepositions and Simon Rodway's monograph on dating medieval Welsh using evidence from the verbal system. Both of these works have been very useful in providing ideas for how best to assess the data from the corpus and how best to present it in order for it to be of use for future scholarship.¹³

¹⁰ Mac Cana, 'On the Uses of the Conjunctive Pronouns in Middle Welsh', (Amsterdam, 1990), in *Celtic linguistics: Ieithyddiaeth Geltaidd. Readings in the Brythonic languages. Festschrift for T. Arwyn Watkins*, ed. M. J. Ball et al pp. 411–33.

¹¹ See in particular Russell, 'The Origin of the Welsh Conjunctive Pronouns', 30–8; Lambert, 'Vieux Gallois nou, nom, inno', (1982), 20–9 and Schrijver, *Studies in the History of Celtic Pronouns and Particles* (Maynooth, 1997).

¹² Parina, 'Coherence Markers: Conjunctive Personal Pronouns in Middle Welsh', *Studia Celtica Fennica* 4 (2007), 75–84.

¹³ Sims-Williams, 'Variation in Middle Welsh Conjugated Prepositions: Chronology, Register and Dialect', in *Transactions of the Philological Society* 111 (2013), 1–50 and Rodway, *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature*.

SIMPLE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The unmarked form for the first person singular in Middle Welsh is *mi* (OW *mi* < IE **mē*).¹⁴ In dependent position we mainly find the form *ui* (Mod.W. *fi*), developed as a lenited form of *mi* (which was originally both the independent and the affixed form, as shown in OW *rit pucsaun mi*, ‘I should wish’, from the Juvencus Nine *englynion*, 7.2).¹⁵ *Ui* is responsible for the creation of the affixed form *i*, as the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ assimilates with the first person singular verb and conjugated preposition ending (vowel + v), leaving only *i* as the pronoun. D. Simon Evans cited the affixed first person singular forms in the order *ui*, *uy*, *e*, *i*, which indicates that he either perceived *ui* as the affixed form used most often in Middle Welsh or chose to give the longer forms precedence before presenting the shorter attested forms.¹⁶ The evidence of the thirteenth-century corpus suggests otherwise, as *i* seems to be the more prominent form in the prose texts of this period, though the order would be correct if it were referring to primacy rather than frequency, as Evans’ order is correct in terms of derivation. A problem that sometimes occurs with independent forms is the contextual ambiguity of having the form immediately after a preposition, which can lead to problems with word division in both manuscript and transcription. This can, for example, give us *ymi* where *y mi* was intended, or vice versa, and therefore it can be difficult to ascertain whether the present form is an independent form with a preceding preposition or whether the form is to be considered a conjugated preposition.

Independent form

The independent form *mi* is most often found as the subject of a sentence or clause where abnormal word order is used, e.g. *mi a tebygaf* (‘I presume, believe’), but also in context such as *a mi* (‘and me, as me’) and *na mi* (‘nor me, than me’).¹⁷ It is occasionally found after a non-conjugated preposition, e.g. *dywet y mi en gentaf, hep yr Yessu* (‘“Tell me first,” said

¹⁴ Falileyev, *EGOW*, pp. 112–13.

¹⁵ Falileyev, *EGOW*, pp. 112–13.

¹⁶ Evans, *GMW*, §62, p. 57.

¹⁷ NLW 5266, p. 125. Own translation.

Jesus’); however, though the pronoun and preposition are separated, we cannot be certain that a conjugated preposition was not intended here. It is nevertheless important to note that *mi* is not lenited by the preposition *i*, regardless of whether it is to be considered a conjugated preposition or not.¹⁸ As both *imi* and *i/y mi* are attested in the thirteenth-century corpus, there is reason to argue that this may be due to suprasegmental differences, where the separated pronoun in *i/y mi* carries stress, whereas the more common conjugated preposition form *imi* does.¹⁹

Dependent forms

Dependent forms of the simple first person singular pronoun are *ui* and *i*; these forms occur after conjugated verbs and prepositions as well as after the dependent possessive pronoun and the head noun in possessive constructions and cannot stand alone in the way that the independent form *mi* can. The first person singular affixed forms are most commonly found after possessive constructions (*vy* or ‘*m* + head noun), after conjugated verbs and prepositions and as direct object in phrases such as *llyma ui* (‘behold me’) and *atdeb ui* (‘answer me’), but also in formulaic constructions such as *gwae ui*, ‘woe is me’ (if we consider this phrase to correspond grammatically as well as semantically with the Latin phrase *vae mihi*, *ui* would here be expressing the dative).²⁰ The use of an affixed pronoun in a possessive construction, particularly when the infixated possessive form ‘*m* is used, can increase the emphasis of the person, as the infixated form is unmarked. This also occurs regularly with the second person singular infixated possessive form ‘*th* in possessive constructions, where *ti* or *di* is used after the head noun. Though there are many instances of an affixed form following *vy* + head noun in thirteenth-century Welsh prose, e.g. *vy merch i* (‘my daughter’), it is far more common to find a possessive construction using the marked possessive form *vy* without a following

¹⁸ Peniarth 14, p. 76. It may be worth noting that the same paragraph contains an example of *i ty*, where the preposition fails to lenite the simple second person singular pronoun; however, this phenomenon is regular at all attested periods of written Welsh. Also, the ratio between examples of *i mi/y mi* to *imi/y mi* is 14 to 1 with 28 examples of the former (including *y mmi*) and 2 examples of the latter. These forms are cited as they are found in the thirteenth-century manuscripts, including spacing/non-spacing.

¹⁹ For further discussion on this, see Morris Jones, *WG*, p. 407.

²⁰ Morris Jones, *WG*, p. 280.

affixed pronoun than it is to find a possessive construction using the unmarked infixed possessive form *'m* without an affixed pronoun following the head noun.

The evidence from the thirteenth-century corpus database shows that both *vi* and *i* were used as affixed pronouns during this period, *vi* being used after first person singular ending *-f* (*/v/*), e.g. *gallaf vi*, and *i* being used in other cases, particularly as an affixed pronoun after a possessive pronoun + head noun. The choice of affixed pronoun in the first person appears to be for a distinct phonological reason: if the preceding word ends in */v/*, as it does in all verbs and prepositions conjugated in the first person singular, it seems to have been general practice to use *vi* rather than *i*. The tendency to use the affixed form *i* instead of *vi* after a possessive construction might thus imply that, by the thirteenth century, this was in fact the primary form, as it always appears in an environment uncompromised by the phonological effect of the first person singular ending.²¹ A head noun ending in */v/* in a possessive construction consisting of *vy* + head noun + affixed pronoun might have illuminated this point even further; unfortunately, no such example was found in the thirteenth-century corpus. The fourteenth-century corpus from *Welsh Prose 1300–1425* contains nine instances of a first person singular possessive construction with *cledyf*, ‘sword’, as the head noun, thus creating *uyg kledyf i/vyg kledyf i*, ‘my sword’, which serves to illustrate this point.²²

Peter Wynn Thomas has argued that there is a choice between the forms *fi* and *i* after a word ending in *-f* in Modern Welsh, with *fi* (MW *vi*) often being used after the a word ending in *-f* and *i* being used after any consonant.²³ He further posited that *i* has a tendency to be preferred in southern dialects, after words ending in a consonant as well as after words ending in a vowel.²⁴ Though these examples came from Modern Welsh, one might consider whether the case is the same in Middle Welsh. We might also consider the evidence from Peniarth 1, where *vi* is often found after words ending in a vowel, e.g. *guae wi* and *ergliv. wi*, whereas *i* usually occurs as part of a possessive construction; note that these are not affixed pronouns, but they are nonetheless worth considering as they occur in the phonological context under

²¹ An exception to this is found in NLW 5266, p. 145: *trwy uym porth ui* (‘through my gate’).

²² National Library of Wales MS. Peniarth 8i, p. 16; Oxford Jesus College MS. 111 (the Red Book of Hergest), pp. 101v and 159r; National Library of Wales MS. Peniarth 5 (the White Book of Rhydderch, part 1), pp. 24v, 84r, 98r and 108r, National Library of Wales MS. Peniarth 4 (the White Book of Rhydderch, part 2), p. 52v.

²³ Thomas, *GyG*, p. 259.

²⁴ Thomas, *GyG*, p. 259.

discussion.²⁵ It is worth noting that Peniarth 1 contains a considerably higher amount of *i* (60 attestations) compared to *vi* (four attestations).

Mi is also found as an anomalous dependent form; whereas it is normally an independent form, it also occurs after the first person verb ending *-m*, as in *eithum mi*; this is clearly due to missegmentation of the final consonant of the verb ending.²⁶

It is likely that initial /v/ in the form *vi* is preserved due to its immediate phonological environment, that is, a preceding first person singular verb or conjugated preposition /v/-ending. This also explains the anomalous affixed form *mi*, which occurs after the first person singular /m/-ending, such as in *eithum mi*. Examples found outside this common phonological environment, such as in *uym porth ui* ('my door'), could be explained through analogy. It is also worth noting that in the orthography of Peniarth 1, present first person singular verb endings end in /w/ to represent [v], rather than the more common /f/, and this may have some effect on a following affixed first person singular pronoun.

²⁵ 'Oianau Myrddin', l. 94, *LIDC*, p. 31 and 'Aswynaf Nawdd Duw', l.34, *LIDC*, p. 53.

²⁶ Peniarth 14, p. 7.

SIMPLE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The main form of the simple second person singular, *ti* (< OW *ti* < IE **tū*), shares a number of morphological characteristics with the first person singular form *mi*.²⁷ Where *mi* creates the dependent forms *vi* and *i* through lenition and missegmentation, *ti* creates *di*. However, no form is created through missegmentation with final *-t* from the second person singular preterite, imperfect and pluperfect verb endings, as this would create a form identical with that of the first person singular (i.e. *i*). The second person singular gains a third form, *thi*, due to spirant mutation.

Independent form

The form *ti* is the main independent form, though it appears with spirant mutation when it follows the conjunction *a*, e.g. *a thi a allut kyffroi ar dagreu* and *a thi ath wreic datcanedic*.²⁸ There are relatively few examples of *ti* in the abnormal word order compared to verb-initial word order.

Dependent forms

Both *ti* and *di* occur as dependent affixed forms. *Di* is used at a high rate, including contexts where one might expect *ti* to be used, such as after conjugated verbs with the second person singular *-t* ending and head nouns in possessive constructions ending in *-t*. Most manuscripts containing examples of the affixed second person singular contain both *ti* and *di*, but the evidence indicates an overall preference for *di*. The table below sets out the respective numbers of occurrences of *ti* and *di* in the manuscripts where the simple second person singular is used in prose (examples from the poetry in Peniarth 1 and Cardiff 2.81 are not included).

²⁷ Falileyev, *EGOW*, p. 147.

²⁸ ‘And you would give rise to tears,’ NLW 5266, p. 124, and ‘You and your declared wife,’ Peniarth 14, p. 59. Own translation.

Location and number of the simple second person singular forms		
Manuscript	<i>Di</i>	<i>Ti</i>
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii		8
Peniarth 29	6	1
Peniarth 14 (1-44)	24	16
Peniarth 14 (45-78)	15	11
Peniarth 14 (79-90)	1	2
Peniarth 17	7	3
BL Cotton Titus D.ii		114
BL Addl. 14931	7	5
NLW 5266	50	33
Peniarth 6	6	4
Peniarth 16iii	2	4
TOTAL:	122	201

The table above reflects the relative preference for *di* as an affixed pronoun; note that the evidence from BL Cotton Titus D.ii is in stark contrast to that found in the other manuscripts. We even find *di* after the second person singular form of *bot*, giving us *byt di*.²⁹ However, the thirteenth-century evidence shows that there is a strong tendency to use *ti* rather than *di* after conjugated prepositions.

²⁹ Peniarth 6i, p. 1.

SIMPLE THIRD PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The simple third person singular pronouns, both the masculine form *ef* and the feminine form *hi*, are found extensively throughout the thirteenth-century Welsh prose corpus. As they are some of the most common pronouns used in prose texts (particularly *ef*), it is unsurprising to note that they are very regular in form and syntactic use, with no alternative forms for *ef*, such as *fe* or *fo*, present. Due to the largely male-dominated content of the thirteenth-century prose texts and the unmarked nature of the simple pronoun forms, *ef* has one of the highest numbers of attestations of the personal pronoun forms, whereas we find significantly fewer examples of *hi*. The syntactical contexts in which we find simple third person singular pronouns are the same as those illustrated in earlier grammars of Middle Welsh: we find them used as subject (independent) and object (dependent) in abnormal and normal order and after conjugated prepositions, e.g. *ef a aeth* ('he went'), *doeth ef* ('he came') and *arnei hi* ('on her').

As *ef* is one of the most common pronouns found in the thirteenth-century corpus (4286 examples in total), it conforms to the rule of regularisation of the most commonly used grammatical components. *Hi* occurs far less often (529 examples in total), but due to its character as a simple (unmarked) third person singular pronoun, the only variations we find are orthographical (*hi*, *hy*; *ef*, *ev*, *ew*, *eu*) rather than morphological. Judging by the evidence of the earliest dated thirteenth-century manuscripts, which show a standard Middle Welsh usage of *ef* and *hi*, we can establish that these forms had become standardised and had the syntactical properties as has been established by grammatical research on Middle Welsh by the mid-thirteenth century.³⁰

Subject position

The most common word order in Middle Welsh, the so-called abnormal order, shows a significant number of examples of the string *ef a*, all in all circa 1350 examples.³¹ The

³⁰ Evans, *GMW*, pp. 49–51, Lewis and Pedersen, *A Comparative Celtic Grammar*, Morris Jones, *WG*.

³¹ The number of *ef a* meaning *he and* contained in the thirteenth-century corpus amounts to 50 instances.

equivalent string containing the feminine form, *hi a*, gives us only 84 attestations in the thirteenth-century corpus.³²

Object position

No particular oblique form of *ef* to denote the accusative or dative is found in the thirteenth century texts, in opposition to the form *eſe* (having derived from *fe* < *fo* < *efo*) found in later manuscripts where an oblique form of the third person singular masculine was implied, i.e. ‘him’; this came to be used in biblical language.³³ John Morris Jones highlighted the late copyist practice of changing the reduplicated form *efo* to *eſe* where *efo* occurred in poetry and did not sustain rhyme.³⁴ *Ef* is thus the only form used for the simple third person singular masculine in Middle Welsh, both as subject and object, independently and dependently.

After conjugated prepositions

Ef and *hi* are both found after third person conjugated prepositions, though a sample, using the conjugated third person forms of the preposition *am*, suggests that these affixed pronouns are omitted more often than they are used. There seems to be an overall higher number of affixed pronouns after third person masculine conjugated prepositions than after the feminine equivalent in all prepositions: various spellings of *amdanaw* (*amdanaw*, *amdana6* and *amdanau*) yielded 98 attestations, but only eight of these were followed by *ef*. There are only five attestations of *amdaneſi* and none of them is followed by *hi*.

³² The exact phrase searched for in the database was ‘BLANK PRONOUN BLANK a BLANK’, using the spellings *ef*, *ew* and *ev* for the masculine singular form (*eu* was also used but did not yield any third person pronoun singular results) and *hi* and *hy* for the feminine singular form.

³³ Morris Jones, *WG*, §159, p. 272.

³⁴ Morris Jones, *WG*, §159, p. 272.

SIMPLE FIRST PERSON PLURAL FORMS

The first person plural simple form *ni* is the most common of all the first person plural forms in the thirteenth-century corpus, but as it is only found in direct speech (including law texts where it is used for the ‘authoritative plural’) it is a relatively rare person. A large part of the attestations of *ni* occurs in the context *ual y dywedassam ni uchot* (‘as we say above’) or similar, a phrase used in law texts to refer to a previously mentioned statement. As this is where the context in which we mostly find *ni* and many other of the attestations occur as affixed pronouns, it can be surmised that the first person plural simple pronoun is most often used as an affixed pronoun and secondly as an independent pronoun in abnormal order sentences.

Table 4: Location, numbers and orthographical representation of the simple first person plural form	
Manuscript	<i>Ni</i>
Peniarth 1	ni (3); ny (1); ne (14)
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	ny (22)
Llanstephan 1	ny (42)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	ny (18)
Peniarth 29	ny (11); ne (1); ni (3)
Peniarth 30	ny (5)
Cardiff 2.81	
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	ni (2)
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	ny (1)
Peniarth 17	ni (3)
Peniarth 6i	ni (1)
Peniarth 6ii	ny (36); ni (1)
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	
BL Additional 14931	ny (26); ni (2); ne (1)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	ni (13); ny (1)
Peniarth 3i	
Peniarth 16iii	ni (4)
Peniarth 6iii	
TOTAL:	211

SIMPLE SECOND PERSON PLURAL FORMS

The simple second person plural in Middle Welsh (OW *hui*: C *why* < CC *suīs-* < IE **iu-*) occurs in two forms, *chwi* being the main form and *chi* being the later unrounded form that eventually took precedence over the rounded *chwi*.

Morris Jones noted the occurrence of the unrounded form *chi* in the fourteenth-century corpus, which he believed was its earliest attestation.³⁵ There are no instances of *chi* in the thirteenth-century corpus, so Morris Jones was correct.

³⁵ Morris Jones, *Syntax*, p. 83.

Table 5: Use of the simple second person plural forms (rounded versus unrounded)		
Manuscript	<i>Chwi</i>	<i>Chi</i>
Peniarth 1		
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	chwy (17)	
Llanstephan 1	chwy (19); ch6y (2)	
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii		
Peniarth 29		
Peniarth 30	chwy (1)	
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	ch6i (2)	
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	chwi (6)	
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	chwy (1)	
Peniarth 17		
Peniarth 6i	ch6i (2)	
Peniarth 6ii		
BL Cotton Titus D.ii		
BL Additional 14931		
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	ch6i (3)	
Peniarth 3i		
Peniarth 16iii	ch6i (4)	
Peniarth 6iii		
TOTAL:	57	0

SIMPLE THIRD PERSON PLURAL PRONOUN FORMS

Three forms make up the simple third person plural in Middle Welsh: *wy*, *hwy* and *wynt*, with *hwy* and *wynt* developing from the original form *wy* (which survives alongside the new forms). *Wynt* is arguably the main form for independent use in the thirteenth century, though *wy* is occasionally also used as an independent form.³⁶ By using Daniel Huws' dating of Welsh thirteenth-century manuscripts, a picture of chronological development and preference can be established for the use of the three respective forms. There is considerable evidence in favour of the theory that *hwy* developed out of *wy* after a third person plural *-nt* verb ending (also used for conjugated prepositions), which developed phonologically into /nh/ and thus prefixed *h* to *wy*. *Hwy* then began to be used elsewhere, for example as a possessive affix in the formula *eu X hwy*. *Wynt*, probably having developed through analogy with the Welsh third person plural verb ending from the earlier form *wy*, is a recurring form throughout the latter half of the thirteenth century, probably because of the tendency to use this form in the abnormal order for a simple third person plural subject. *Wy* loses ground to *hwy*, which becomes a widely used form in the latter half of the thirteenth century, in several contexts. Most extant thirteenth-century manuscripts containing Welsh prose were produced in North Wales, whereas many of the fourteenth-century manuscripts are southern, so this may be indicate a preference for *wynt* in southern dialects.³⁷

Chronological development

Apart from a few exceptions in Peniarth 1, National Library of Wales 5266 and Peniarth 16, a chronological development of preference in third person plural forms is visible throughout the latter half of the thirteenth century, as *hwy* develops and takes prevalence over the previously popular form *wy* alongside *wynt*. Peniarth 1, dating from around 1250 and thus the oldest surviving thirteenth-century manuscript, provides the most striking exception to this continuity, as it contains 14 examples of *wy* and no examples of any other form. This may be due to a number of reasons: firstly, it is a relatively old manuscript containing poetry, and as *wy* was the original simple third person plural form, it agrees with the early dating and the

³⁶ See BL Add. 14931, p. 98, ll. 14–15 (*Canys ket boet maru yr abat y clas ar canon wy a dyly y da ew*) and Peniarth 30, col. 266, ll. 1–2: (*anolo vy a dewetuynnt o d[eruyd]*) for examples of *wy* as an independent form.

³⁷ See also Simon Rodway, *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature*, pp. 138–40.

conservative and archaic language of the poetry. Secondly, it is a southern manuscript, in contrast to the other extant manuscripts dating from the thirteenth century, which are northern. This may, therefore, show a dialectal preference in south Wales for *wy* over *wynt* in the thirteenth century. However, *wy*, though still very much in use, is surpassed by *wynt* in southern fourteenth-century manuscripts. It is therefore likely that Peniarth 1's preference for *wy* lies in either its early date or its content; another point on this is that *wy* is preferable over *wynt* for rhyming purposes in poetry.³⁸

A certain amount of overlap is visible in a few manuscripts, where all three forms occur in similar volumes: this is particularly evident in the latter part of Peniarth 14 and Peniarth 17, but also in Peniarth 30. Table 1 below sets out the forms found in each of the thirteenth-century manuscripts.

³⁸ Graham Isaac argues that pronouns are extrametrical in poetry in '*Gweith Gwen Ystrat*', 64.

Table 6: Location and orthographical representation of simple third person plural forms				
Manuscript	<i>Wy</i>	<i>Hwy</i>	<i>Wynt</i>	<i>Hwynt</i>
Peniarth 1	1 x we; 6 x vy; 7x ve			
Pen. 44 + Llanstephan 1, 102–45	29 x wy (P44); 17 x wy (L11)		56 x wynt (P44); 50 x wynt (L11)	
Llanstephan 1 (remainder)	32 x wy		155 x wynt	
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	20 x wy		23 x wynt	
Peniarth 29		1 x hue; 1 x hui	3 x vynt; 2 x uent; 1 x uuynt	1 x huynt; 1 x huent
Peniarth 30	12 x wy; 2 x vy	2 x huy	14 x wynt; 6 x vynt; 2 x uynt	
Cardiff 2. 81	11 x wy			
Peniarth 14, 1– 44	3 x wy	2 x hwy	15 x wynt	
Peniarth 17	4 x wy	5 x hwy	9 x wynt	
Peniarth 6i	6 x wy	1 x h6y		
Peniarth 6ii				
BL Cotton Titus D.ii		29 x huy; 4 x h6y; 3 x hvy	19 x vynt; 6 x uynt; 2 x 6ynt	
BL Additional 14931	6 x 6y; 1 x uy?	18 x huy?; 6 x h6y; 1 x hvy	9 x 6ynt; 6 x uynt; 2 x wynt	
NLW 5266 + Pen. 16.iv	7 x 6y; 2 x wy?	58 x h6y; 6 x hwy	102 x 6ynt; 5 x wynt	
Peniarth 16iii	10 x wy	3 x hwy	14 x wynt	
Peniarth 14, 45– 78		2 x hwy	14 x wynt	

Peniarth 14, 79– 90	1 x wy	1 x hwy; 1 x huy	3 x wynt	
Peniarth 6iii		1 x h6y		1 x h6ynt
TOTAL:	177	145	663	3

There is further evidence for the parallel use of *wy* and *wynt* in the mid-thirteenth century in Llanstephan 1 and Peniarth 44, which, despite the preference for *wynt*, contain a fair number of examples of *wy*. There are 172 examples of *wy* in the extant prose texts from c. 1250 to c. 1300, in contrast to 518 examples of *wynt*; however, it is important to keep possible dates of composition in mind rather than which extant manuscripts the texts are found in.

The total number of examples of *hwy* in the same corpus is somewhat less than that of *wy*, with 144 examples, whereas we only have 3 examples of the unusual form *hwynt* from the thirteenth century, found in Peniarth 29 (The Black Book of Chirk) and Peniarth 6. The earliest extant example of *hwy* is, just as with *hwynt*, found in Peniarth 29. As the orthography of Peniarth 29 is notoriously experimental, we here find *hwy* written as *hue* and *hui*.³⁹ Peniarth 30 contains two examples, both written as *huy*. These stray examples are, however, far earlier than the stage at which *hwy* becomes a common form: this does not occur until the time of British Library Cotton Titus D.ii, British Library Addl. 14931 and National Library of Wales 5266. National Library of Wales 5266 contains the text *Brut y Brenhinedd*, where *hwy* is a commonly used form for the simple third person plural pronoun. The two former manuscripts both display a preference for *hwy* with *wynt* as their scribes' secondary choice. This seems peculiar, since one would expect these relatively late manuscripts to have a preference for both of the shorter forms, but Cotton Titus D.ii does not contain any examples of *wy* at all, and Addl. 14931 only has seven in contrast to seventeen examples of *wynt* and twenty-six examples of *hwy*. It is worth noting that Cotton Titus D.ii, which contains the Iorwerth redaction of *Cyfraith Hywel*, contains a significant amount of attestations of *hwy*, but no attestations of *wy*. We have a similar case with Addl 14931 where there are more attestations of *hwy*, though *wy* is occasionally used as well. The older

³⁹ It is worth noting that *hui* is found as the OW spelling of the second person plural pronoun *chwi* in earlier sources. See Falileyev, *EGOW*.

manuscript containing the Iorwerth redaction, namely BL Cotton Caligula A.iii, contains no attestations of *hwy* at all but twenty attestations of *wy*.

The overall picture we gain from analysing the data is that *wy* and *hwy* assumed prevalence over *wynt* at some stage in the last decades of the thirteenth century. However, fourteenth-century sources show that *wynt* was still the most widely used form during this period, followed by *wy*, *hwy* and lastly the relatively rare *hwynt*.

Syntactical context

The syntactical context in which we find the simple third person plural forms in the thirteenth-century corpus does not point to any dramatic changes in use. There are four positions in which we most often find them: as the initial component of the abnormal order sentence, after a third person plural verb or a conjugated preposition, as an affixed pronoun after the third plural possessive pronoun *eu* and its object and after the conjunctive phrase *y gyt ac*, meaning ‘together with’ (occasionally only the conjunction *ac* is used). *Wynt* is clearly the standard independent form used in the Middle Welsh abnormal word-order, though *wy*, as shown above, is very occasionally used. It may be argued that *wynt* as a form is stronger than its shorter counterparts due to its retention of the third person plural verb ending and was therefore deemed to be suitable as the main independent form. Peniarth 44 presents an interesting example of the abnormal sentence, beginning with *wynt*:

*Wynt a dywedassan yr brenyn y bot en beychya6c ar 6ap ladey y 6am ae tat.*⁴⁰

This sentence shows *wynt* being used as the subject of a third person plural verb form without final *-t*. The loss of final *-t* in the verb ending in instances such as this one is likely to be down to error, as the number of third person plural verb endings without final *-t* is very small. Simon Rodway has posited that ‘the percentage of forms [in *-n*] in the prose texts is so small [1%] that it seems reasonable to assume that the scribes of these MSS aimed for 100% *-nt* and that forms in *-n* are errors’.⁴¹ It is, however, worth noting that as the verb ending shows influence from the spoken language, it may be reasonable to assume that the pronoun would have been influenced in the same way, though as final *-t* is preserved in *wynt* here, it seems more likely that *wynt* was seen as the appropriate form with which to begin an

⁴⁰ Peniarth 44, p. 1, ll. 14–15. ‘They said to the king that she was pregnant and the son would slay his mother and his father.’ Own translation.

⁴¹ For further discussion on this, see Rodway, *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature*, p. 58-59 (quote from p. 58).

abnormal-order sentence and the missing *-t* from *dywedassan[t]* is a scribal error. The use of *wynt* in this context may be due to it being deemed as having a more formal quality to it (as opposed to *wy*) and therefore making it more fitting for this type of prose, or its preservation of final *-nt* may be due to its intervocalic context; it is probably a combination of the two.

The dependent forms after third person plural verb forms and conjugated prepositions are significantly more varied, though there seems to be a preference for *wy* or *hwy* – possibly because *wynt* was considered unnecessarily long and the person and number had already been marked by the verb ending and the front part of the pronoun (*wy*). As mentioned above, this is probably where *hwy* came into being, as the prefixed *h-* would have developed out of an assimilation of final *-t* in the third person plural verb ending as it came into contact with the form *wy*. There is one anomalous case where assimilation occurred to *wynt* after a verb, creating *hwynt* (spelled *h6ynt*).⁴²

Wy and *hwy* are commonly used as affixes in possessive constructions, after the possessive pronoun *eu* and its object. The head noun in question is often found to be a phrase rather than a single word; this could be the chief reason for attaching an affixed pronoun afterwards, as it turns the genitival noun phrase into an envelope construction and thus clarifies the grammatical relationship between the parts of the phrase. As this context involves a head noun rather than a conjugated verb or preposition immediately preceding the affixed pronoun, we would not expect forms with a prefixed *h-* here. *Wynt* also occurs as an affixed form in the same type of context, and provides us with some striking evidence suggesting that the scribe of Peniarth 44 intentionally added an affixed pronoun after a possessive construction, which was not present in his exemplar:

*A medylya6 e6 gwarchae en wynt eny byd6n mar6 o newyn.*⁴³

The *en* before *wynt* in the sentence above is very likely to be where the scribe initially started copying the following word after *gwarchae*, apparently *eny*. However, Brynley F. Roberts emended *en* to *eno* here, thus giving us *e6 gwarchae eno wynt*. I would be prepared to accept this emendation as the construction verbal noun + adverb + affixed pronoun occurs occasionally in Welsh (and in Irish).

⁴² Peniarth 6iii, p. 5, l. 22: '[...] *h6ynt a* [...]

⁴³ Peniarth 44, p. 54, l. 25. 'And thinking about their being imprisoned there until they died from hunger.' N.B. based on Roberts' emendation in *Astudiaeth destunol o'r tri chyfieithiad Cymraeg cynharaf o Historia Regum Britanniae Sieffre o Fynwy: ynghyd ag "argraffiad" beirniadol o destun Peniarth 44* (PhD thesis; Aberystwyth, 1969), p. 70.

REDUPLICATED FIRST PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The first person reduplicated pronoun *myvi* is scarce in thirteenth-century manuscripts, but appears with relatively high frequency in BL Cotton Titus D.ii and NLW 5266. The following section from *Brut Dingestow* in NLW 5266 illustrates how *myvi* is used in contrast to the conjunctive third person singular pronoun *ynteu*:

*Miui ae guneuthum ef yn treftad6c. Ac ynteu ysyd yn llauurya6 uy didreftadu inheu. Miui ae gossodeis ef yr eilweith yn y urenhinaeth. Ynteu ysyd yn chuenychu uy nihol inheu.*⁴⁴

Myvi is characteristically used to emphasise the subject, whereas *ynteu* is used in one of its characteristic ways, namely to contrast the new subject (*ynteu*, referring to the object *ef* of the previous clause) against a previous subject (*myvi*), thus changing the topicality of *myvi* from 100% to 0%. It is worth noting that *myvi* is then used to reintroduce the first subject and again change the topicality to *myvi* 100%, *ynteu* 0%, which is then changed back to *ynteu* 100%, *myvi* 0% in the following phrase. This shows that both conjunctive and reduplicated pronouns can act as topicality-changers in a sentence. The first person singular conjunctive form *inheu* is used twice in this passage to form part of a possessive construction acting as the object; thanks to passages such as this one, we can study the use of a conjunctive pronoun and a reduplicated pronoun in similar syntactic contexts. The initial position of both the reduplicated form *miui* and the conjunctive form *ynteu* introduce switches in topicality as soon as a new sentence begins. This is obviously done to put the two persons in apposition to one another. The fact that the reduplicated form is used first in both cases indicates that this is the primary emphatic pronoun, whereas the conjunctive pronoun is the main topicality switcher used for contrast.

There are two examples of *myfi* in the poetic thirteenth-century corpus; these are both found in Peniarth 1, in the *mi a wum*-stanzas included in poem 34, *Ymddiddan Rhwng Gwyddneu Garanhir a Gwyn ap Nudd*:

Mi a wum lle llas milvir pridein.

⁴⁴NLW 5266, p. 65. 'I made him a proprietor, and he is striving to disinherit me. I placed him a second time in the kingship, and he is desiring to expel me.' Own translation.

vr duyrein ir goglet.

Mi.wi. wiw. vintev. y. bet.

Mi a vum lle llas milguir bridein

Or duyrein ir deheu.

*Mi.wi. wiv. vintev y aghev.*⁴⁵

This is another example where *myvi* is used to emphasise the subject in anticipation of the following clause, where the next subject is represented by a conjunctive pronoun (here the third person plural form *wynteu*) in order to achieve a contrastive effect. It is worthwhile pointing out that while there is a further contrast between the simple first person singular form *mi* in the first line of the stanza and *myvi* in the final line, where there is no need for extra emphasis of the subject in the first line, *myvi* creates an echo of the first part of the recurring opening phrase *mi a vum*. *Myvi* is thus used morphologically as an emphatic marker, and poetically as an echoing mechanism.

Myvi is also found acting together with a possessive construction (*myby am mam ynhe6*) as part of a double referent of the previous possessive construction involving the first person plural (*yn d6cpwyt ny*):

*Arglwyd ep ef pa acha6s yn d6cpwyt ny myby am mam ynhe6. rac de bron ty.*⁴⁶

Here we find the reduplicated pronoun acting with a conjunctive pronoun in a way that differs from the examples set out above. *Myvi* is, as always, used emphatically, but the conjunctive pronoun in the possessive construction is not used for contrastive effect, but for further emphatic effect, to be translated as ‘my own mother’. This is another known function of the conjunctive pronouns, which is in some ways more similar to the emphatic function of the reduplicated pronouns.⁴⁷ The fact that these pronouns both pertain to the first person

⁴⁵ *LIDC*, ed. Jarman, Poem 34, ll. 57–63, p.73.

⁴⁶ *Llst* 1, p. 128.

⁴⁷ See Mac Cana, ‘On the Uses of the Conjunctive Pronouns in Middle Welsh’, 411–33.

singular subject may be kept in mind, but the same effect could arguably be created with other persons as well.

Myvi is also found used as an emphatic object, here in a mixed-order sentence:

*Ac brth henny nyt myby a kerynt wy namyn e da a rod6n 6d6nt.*⁴⁸

Here *myvi* is set against a third person plural subject, represented by the simple affixed form *wy* and the third person plural verb form *kerynt*, and referred back to (here as the object) in the following clause in the conjugated preposition form *udunt*. Though the subject is marked by use of an affixed pronoun, it seems clear that the object, when represented by a reduplicated pronoun, has a higher topicality rate. The topicality of *myvi* is promoted even further by use of the mixed word order. The use of *myvi* as object is fairly rare in the thirteenth-century corpus; most examples of this syntactic setting cited in articles and grammars are found in texts dated to the fourteenth century and later.

The thirteenth-century manuscripts containing the most tokens of *myvi* are NLW 5266 and Peniarth 44, containing 16 and 11 tokens respectively. This is perhaps to be expected, as these are some of the largest manuscripts containing running prose (*Brut y Brenhinedd* in the case of Peniarth 44 and *Brut Dingestow* in the case of NLW 5266), therefore giving plenty of opportunity – and need – for variation in emphatic markers, such as reduplicated pronouns. Bear in mind, however, that this form is very rare and should therefore not be expected to yield a large number of results in any text from the thirteenth-century corpus.

⁴⁸ Pen. 44, p. 26. ‘And therefore it is not me they love, but the wealth I gave to them.’ Own translation.

Table 7: Use and orthographical representation of the reduplicated third person singular form	
Manuscript	<i>Myvi etc.</i>
Peniarth 1	miwi (2)
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	my6y (9); 6y6y (2)
Llanstephan 1	myvy (1); 6y6y (1)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	my6y (2)
Peniarth 29	myuy (1)
Peniarth 30	myuy (1)
Cardiff 2.81	
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	6i6i (2); mi6i (1); 6y6y (1)
Peniarth 17	mi6i (2)
Peniarth 6i	
Peniarth 6ii	
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	myuy (8); uyuy (1)
BL Additional 14931	myuy (1)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	miui (13); myuy (3); 6y6y (1); 6i6i (1)
Peniarth 3i	
Peniarth 16iii	mi6i (2); 6y6y (1)
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	mivi (1); my6y (1)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	6y6y (1)
Peniarth 6iii	mivi (1)
TOTAL:	58

REDUPLICATED SECOND PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The second person singular reduplicated pronoun *tydi* (reduplicated from simple *ti*) was used in varying contexts, and just as with conjunctive pronouns a translation of a reduplicated pronoun into English carrying the same semantic nuance can sometimes be a difficult feat. The following examples from *Brut y Brenhinedd* portray some of the main uses for the second person reduplicated pronoun.

*En herwyd e bych ty ac e bo defnyd yt ebelly e karaf ynhe6 tydy.*⁴⁹

Here the reduplicated pronoun *tydy* and the dependent conjunctive pronoun *inheu* are arguably used to create a distinction between the two persons. It is interesting to note that this device was applied despite there being no ambiguity between the two people involved in the conversation, and as this is in direct speech, we are bound to have the speaker in the first person and the addressee in the second person. The person in focus is King Llyr (the referent of *tydi*) and the speaker, to whom the conjunctive pronoun refers, is Cordeylla. It may be argued that the reduplicated pronoun sets the focus on Llyr, whereas the conjunctive pronoun bears a semantic value beyond that of its simple equivalent *ui/i*. The conjunctive pronoun is still used to mark the speaker, but it could be argued that the conjunctive pronoun creates semantic emphasis whereas the reduplicated pronoun is used to create focus (as is further suggested by its final place in this mixed-order sentence). The pronouns in the Latin version of this line do not indicate any emphasis (as there are no separate emphatic pronouns in Latin) and the only notion of an emphatic periphrastic construction would be to take *etenim* as an emphatic marker:

*Etenim quantum habes tantum uales tantumque te diligo.*⁵⁰

Perhaps the subject and object are simply to be semantically understood as emphatic through the context, or perhaps *etenim* really is functioning as an emphatic marker, thus making *tydi* a more suitable translation for *te* than *ti*.

*Kanys mwy eyryoet e kereys y tydy noc wyntwy.*⁵¹

In this sentence *tydi* is used in apposition to another reduplicated pronoun, the third person plural form *wyntwy*, and the dependent simple first person singular form *i*. The speaker is put in a secondary position of focus as the addressee and the indirect object are put into direct focus using reduplicated pronouns. One might argue that a conjugated verb together with a dependent simple pronoun creates focus on that person, but it seems likely that it would end

⁴⁹Pen. 44, p. 5. ‘According to what you are and according as it benefits you, so I love you.’ Own translation.

⁵⁰*Historia Regum Britannie* I, ed. N. Wright (Cambridge, 1984), 19. Cf Wright’s translation: ‘You are worth what you have, and that much I love you.’ *Historia Regum Britannie*, p. 38.

⁵¹Example from Llŷt 1, p. 34. ‘Since I always loved you more than them.’ Own translation.

up below reduplicated and conjunctive forms in the emphatic hierarchy.⁵² Is there a difference in focus between *tydi* and *wyntwy*? Possibly, since *tydi* is the direct object, but it may also be that the two are united by the conjunction *noc* and are thus given an equal amount of focus due to the comparative nature of the syntax. We might then compare the persons of this sentence to the following one: *a thythe6 ym kar6 ynhe6 en lley noc wyntwy*, where both objects are conjunctive pronouns.⁵³ It is possible that the reduplicated pronouns in this phrase are being used to recreate the cadence in the Latin version, which seems to use *quantum* and *tantum* to achieve a type of mirror effect or cadence in the phrase. If we consider the Latin version of these two lines, we see that some elements have contributed to the choice of reduplicated and conjunctive pronouns in the Welsh version:

Quippe cum te plusquam ceteras hucusque dilexerim,

*tu uero me minus quam cetere diligas.*⁵⁴

The direct object *te*, equivalent to *tydy* in the Welsh version, is only to be understood as being emphasised as there is no periphrastic construction for creating emphasis. *Tu*, appearing in the next line, possibly has the aid of *uero*, as this would translate as ‘you, indeed’ in English, and in Middle Welsh we find it eclipsed by the pronoun, turning *ti* into *titheu* but also *ui* into *uinheu*. It is worth noting that this passage in the Latin version contains parts that seem to mirror each other, namely *plusquam* and *minus quam*. We may then consider the possibility of *titheu* and *inheu* being used to create the same effect in the Welsh version, just as *quantum* and *tantum* seem to be creating a mirror pattern or cadence in the Latin passage previously mentioned (where the Welsh version seems to be trying to do something similar using reduplicated pronouns).

As with most reduplicated pronouns in the thirteenth-century corpus, *tydi* is relatively rare, particularly when compared to its conjunctive counterpart *titheu* (this may be a more fair comparison than to the simple form *ti*, as these two pronouns are usually used to emphasise the referent). With a mere 28 examples across the corpus, it is difficult to fully map its use, but the paucity of examples tells us something in itself, which is that the use of a second person singular reduplicated pronoun was very limited, partly due to it being constrained within direct speech and partly due to it having a smaller semantic range than the conjunctive pronoun *titheu*, which seems to have absorbed its function as an emphatic pronoun.

Out of the 33 attestations of *tydy* (including mutated examples, e.g. *thydy*) in the corpus, 10 are found in Peniarth 44 and 6 are found in NLW5266, since it also contains the same dialogue from *Brut y Brenhinedd*.

⁵² See also Morris Jones, *Welsh Syntax: An Unfinished Draft* (Cardiff, 1931), p. 83.

⁵³ Example from Ll1 1, p. 34. ‘And indeed, you love me less than they do.’ Own translation.

⁵⁴ *Historia Regum Britannie* I, ed. Wright, .19. ‘Of course, while you [have] far more of [my] attachment than the others do, you actually seem to love me less than the others.’ Own translation.

Table 8: Use and orthographical representation of the reduplicated versus the conjunctive second person singular forms		
Manuscript	<i>Tydy</i>	<i>Titheu</i>
Peniarth 1	tidi (1)	
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	tydy (10)	tythe6 (20); thythe6 (1)
Llanstephan 1	tydy (4); thydy (1)	tythe6 (18); tythev (5); thythe6 (1)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii		thythe6 (1)
Peniarth 29		ditheu (1); thitheu (1)
Peniarth 30	tydy (2)	tytheu (1)
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	tidi (1)	ditheu (9); titheu (5); thitheu (2)
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	tidi (2)	titheu (1)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)		thitheu (1); dithe6 (1)
Peniarth 17		titheu (1)
Peniarth 6i		ditheu (3); thitheu (1)
Peniarth 6ii		
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	thydy (4); tydy (3)	tytheu (15)
BL Additional 14931		tytheu (1)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	tydy (5); tidi (1)	ditheu (9); titheu (15)
Peniarth 3i		
Peniarth 16iii		titheu (1); ditheu (1)
Peniarth 6iii		ditheu (1)
TOTAL:	33	126

A small total number of examples of marked second person singular pronouns is to be expected since these are only found in direct speech, which is in minority to narrative in thirteenth-century prose texts in Middle Welsh. However, *tydi* makes up around a quarter of the overall sum of examples in the table above, whereas *titheu* makes up the rest: this agrees with the results for the other persons in the reduplicated category, where evidence from the corpus shows that the number of conjunctive pronouns is significantly higher than that of corresponding reduplicated pronouns. The question here is whether there was a general preference for the conjunctive (or, indeed, the simple) form by the thirteenth century or

whether the reduplicated pronouns had a fixed semantic and syntactical context. It is possible that this context involved an unambiguous referent and therefore only required marking rather than rendering any further meaning in the way that a conjunctive pronoun does, which is particularly useful when the referent is in apposition to another subject or object in the sentence. It is worth noting the mutated forms, as they give an indication of the syntactical context as well. The only manuscript containing more examples of *tydi* than of *titheu* is Peniarth 30, though there is one example tipping the scales in favour of *tydi*.

The only example of *tydi* in the poetic material from the thirteenth century is found in the poem *Dadl y Corff a'r Eneit* in Peniarth 1 (the Black Book of Carmarthen):

Guae tidi hewid

Pir doduid im bid.

Onid imwaredit.

Or druc digonit.

Nevd uid yth rihit.

*yth urid. a. kerit.*⁵⁵

⁵⁵ 'Dadl y Corff a'r Enaid', ll. 22–7, *LIDC*, p. 7. 'Woe to you also that you have come into the world. Unless you do not deliver yourself from the evil which you are doing you will be in your glory and your thinking which you love.' Trans. Myriah Williams.

REDUPLICATED THIRD PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

Reduplicated pronouns are found to be in distinct minority to simple and conjunctive pronouns in thirteenth-century texts; this is particularly visible in the third person forms. As there are relatively few examples of feminine pronouns in the corpus, we cannot expect to find a great number of the feminine reduplicated pronoun *hihi*, and we do not: there are only 15 examples in the corpus. The masculine reduplicated pronoun *euo* appears more frequently with 73 examples; however, this is a small number by comparison to the amount of examples we find of the simple form *ef* and the conjunctive form *ynteu*.

The ratio for *efo* versus *ynteu* in thirteenth-century texts is roughly 1 to 20, but the two pronouns appear in the same manuscripts in relatively similar concentration apart from in Llanstephan 1 and the latter parts of Peniarth 6, where there are no examples of *euo*; however, there is only a small number of examples of *ynteu* in Peniarth 6. The manuscripts with the highest amounts of examples of *ynteu* also have the highest amounts of examples of *euo*; see for example those found in NLW5266 and BL Cotton Titus D.ii. As there are no examples of *hihi* in Llanstephan either, but a relatively high number of both *ynteu* and *hitheu*, it seems that conjunctive pronouns were preferred as they could be used in lieu of *efo* for marking the subject/object. A study of the reduplicated third person singular pronouns found in Peniarth 44 (which is similarly high in conjunctive pronouns but only contain a few reduplicated ones) indicates that *euo* was used in contexts where the referent was unambiguous:

*Pwy amgen noc ebo a alley hedyw rydha6 allt6dyon tro gwedy e bydynt eg keythywet e ssa6l wlywnyded ac adan e sa6l tewyssogyon e b6ant en gwassanaeth6 6d6nt en kaeth a hedyw e6 goll6ng en ryd o kadwyne6 keythywet.*⁵⁶

Ar mebyon oll ac assarac6s e6 bra6t en tewyssa6c arnad6nt a aethant a llynghes kanth6nt hyt en germanya ac o kanh6rthwy syl6y6s albe e gorescynnassant Germanya ac e ka6ssant e

⁵⁶ Peniarth 44, p. 8. ‘Who other than he could today release the exiles of Troy after they were in captivity for those years and under those princes which they were serving as slaves and set them free today from the chains of slavery?’ Trans. Simon Rodway (unpublished).

*brenhynyaeth. Br6t6s hagen taryan glas a tryg6s y gyt ae tat hyt pan bey e6o a gwledychey gwedy y tat.*⁵⁷

*Namyn os ef a dywedy ty e mae e6o ath dyholyes ty oth wlat ac oth ky6oeth.*⁵⁸

These examples illustrate how *efo* refers back to a known subject without the need for a conjunction to clarify (interestingly, the third example has *Br6t6s hagen* rather than *ynteu Br6t6s*, which would have been a suitable conjunctive substitute).

⁵⁷ Peniarth 44, p. 22. ‘And all the sons with Assaracus their brother as a prince over them went with a fleet to Germania and with the help of Silvius Albe they conquered Germania and took the kingship. Brutus Tarian Glas furthermore dwelt with their father so that it was he who ruled after their father.’ Trans. Rodway (unpublished).

⁵⁸ Peniarth 44, p. 36. ‘Only if you say that it was he who banished you from your country and from your domain.’ Trans. Rodway (unpublished).

Table 9: Use and orthographical representation of reduplicated and conjunctive masculine and feminine third person singular forms

Manuscript	<i>Euo</i>	<i>Ynteu</i>	<i>Hihi</i>	<i>Hitheu</i>
Peniarth 1		intev (1)		
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	e6o (3)	ente6 (165); entew (1)		hythe6 (13)
Llanstephan 1		ente6 (210); entev (26); ynte6 (1)	hyhy (1)	hythe6 (20)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	e6o (5)	ente6 (56); entew (30)	hyhy (1)	hythew (9); hythe6 (7)
Peniarth 29	euo (4), efo (1)	enteu (53); entheu (10); ynteu (4); ynteu (1); henteu (1)	hihe (1)	hytheu (4); hitheu (3)
Peniarth 30	euo (2); efuo (2)	enteu (84); ynteu (2); entev (1); hynteu (1)		hytheu (34)
Cardiff 2.81				
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	e6o (4); euo (1)	enteu (76); ente6 (3)	hihi (1)	hitheu (23)
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	e6o (3)	enteu (12)	hyhy (1)	hitheu (6)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	euo (1); e6o (1)	ente6 (5)		hitheu (1); hithe6 (1); hythe6 (1)
Peniarth 17	e6o (2); evo (1)	enteu (68); ynteu (1)		hitheu (5)
Peniarth 6i		enteu (4)		hitheu (1)
Peniarth 6ii		enteu (5)		hitheu (1)
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	euo (16)	enteu (185)	hyhy (3)	hytheu (33); hythey (2)
BL Additional 14931	euo (6)	ynteu (106); enteu (1); yntev (1)	hyhy (2)	hytheu (22); hitheu (3)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	euo (19)	ynteu (258); enteu (3);	hyhy (5)	hitheu (26); hytheu (2);

		ynte6 (1)		hythe6 (1)
Peniarth 3i				
Peniarth 16iii	euo (1)	enteu (35)		hitheu (8)
Peniarth 6iii	efo (1)	ynteu (10)		
TOTAL:	73	1394	15	226

Ifor Williams argued in his notes to *Canu Aneirin* that the *euo* found in *Y Gododdin* cannot be a third person singular masculine reduplicated pronoun due to its syllable-length and therefore recommended that *ac euo* be emended to *acero* (for *agerw*).⁵⁹ This is the sole string in *Canu Aneirin* resembling a reduplicated pronoun. There are no reduplicated pronouns in Cynddelw's poetry found in Peniarth 3i, and no third person singular conjunctive pronouns either, which is also the case for *Canu Aneirin*. The issue of reduplicated pronouns being replaced by conjunctive pronouns is thus not a crucial point in poetic material, but rather their general scarcity.

As Modern Welsh has practically lost the reduplicated pronouns, whereas conjunctive pronouns are still very much in use in both literary and spoken Welsh and together with the construction involving *hun* or *hunan* e.g. *ei hun* for the third person singular, it is interesting to note that the development in choosing other means of expressing a marked referent than the reduplicated pronouns seems to have started already by the thirteenth century.⁶⁰ Third person singular forms are a useful way of mapping this type of development as they are likely to occur in narrative texts such as those that make up most of the thirteenth-century prose corpus.

⁵⁹ Williams, *CA*, note 147, p. 117.

⁶⁰ For a discussion on the conjunctive third person singular forms *ynteu* and *hitheu*, see p. 67.

REDUPLICATED FIRST PERSON PLURAL FORMS

The first person plural reduplicated pronoun *nini* is, like the rest of the pronouns in the reduplicated category, relatively rare in comparison with the conjunctive form *nin(h)eu*. It does, however, occur often enough to give us an idea of its use in thirteenth-century texts. It most often occurs in BL Additional 14931 (28 tokens), Peniarth 29 (22 tokens) and Peniarth 30 (10 tokens), where it is most commonly found as the subject of a sentence in the abnormal order, e.g. *nyny a dywedun dygyddau hunn6 ay uot yn dyls*.⁶¹ It also occurs as a direct object following an imperative, e.g. *ac wrth henny kymer ty nyny ar kadwyn hon*.⁶² There are no examples of *nini* occurring in the thirteenth-century poetic material.

All but one of the tokens of *nini* found in Peniarth 29 are in the context of the phrase *nini a ddywedwn* ('we say'), a formula commonly found in the laws of Hywel Dda, where an 'authoritative plural' is used to denote recognised legal procedure in various scenarios involving a legal dispute. This phrase is the only context in which we find *nini* in the thirteenth-century corpus save for a few exceptions.

Apart from the phrase *nini a dywedwn*, there is one other example of *nini* being used as the subject of an abnormal sentence, found in BL Additional 14931:

Niny eissyoes a ad6n wad ual y dywedassam ny ucho.⁶³

This is another case of the 'authoritative plural' being used in legal texts to represent the law. There is a continuation of the subject being marked by a pronoun in the next clause, where the simple first person plural form *ni* is used as an affixed pronoun to further mark the person of the first person plural preterite verb form *dywedassam*, thus maintaining focus on the subject.

The next example presents an interesting case of interplay between reduplicated and conjunctive pronouns:

⁶¹ BL Add. 14931, p. 36.

⁶² Llanstephan 1, p. 134.

⁶³ BL Add. 14931, p. 28. 'We already give denial as we said above.' Own translation. See also Pen. 29, p. 37.

*Nyt cayedyc keureyth am tyr egluys un amser e rygthunt ehun cany henyu oc an keureyth ny o holant huenteu nyny neu nynheu vynteu cayedyc uyd.*⁶⁴

There is a dizzying amount of topicality switches in this sentence, much due to the first person plural subject and the third person plural object switching functions in the third clause, where the third person plural becomes the subject and the first person plural becomes the object. To begin with, the first person plural subject is marked by a possessive construction, *an kyureith ni*. Following this, the third person plural conjunctive form *hwynteu* signals a topicality switch, where the focus shifts from ‘we’ to ‘they’. However, the previous first person plural subject is reintroduced immediately afterwards with the reduplicated form *nini*, bringing about another shift in focus. It is possible that the conjunctive pronouns in this passage are used in order to achieve a contrastive effect, which would explain why *ninheu* is used rather than *nini* in contrast to *wynteu* in the final clause; the issue at large here is the distinction between the two parties, rather than an emphasis on any one party over the other.

The following passage illustrates the use of *nini* in a mixed-order sentence, which further marks the subject (represented by *nini*).

*Pwy hep e ioseph a eill atal e mab h6n ae dysgu. ac os tidi a eill y atal ef ae dyscu nyt nini ae llud y ty yu dyscu ef or dysc a dyskir e deneon.*⁶⁵

The marking of a subject through the use of a reduplicated pronoun also lends itself well to rendering a contrastive sense, particularly if mixed order is used and the object is represented by a reduplicated pronoun as well. Unfortunately there are no examples of the first person plural being used in this way.

The passage below contains an example of *nini* being used to represent the object of a sentence.

*Ef esyd wyr bra6d6r pan weles ef nyny hep ymchwlwyt y wrth en pechode6 na mynn6 gorffowys o e6 gwne6th6r. ac nat oed nep a alley en gwrthlad nynhe6 or teyrnas.*⁶⁶

⁶⁴ BL Cotton Titus D.ii, ff. 32v. See also BL Add. 14931, p. 53. ‘Law for church land is not closed at any time between themselves, for it does not belong to our law. If they sue us or we [sue] them, then if the season is restricted, law will be closed between them.’ Trans. Jenkins, *The Law of Hywel Dda*, p. 97.

⁶⁵ Pen. 14, p. 72. ‘Who, said Joseph, can restrain this boy and teach him? And if you can restrain him and teach him, it is not we who shall hinder you from teaching him that teaching which is taught to men.’ Own translation.

The use of *nini* places the focus on the object, rather than the subject (represented by the simple third person singular pronoun *ef*). In the second sentence an affixed conjunctive pronoun is used in a possessive construction, thus maintaining focus on the first person plural speaker(s). Interestingly, no affixed pronoun is used in the possessive construction in the first sentence, *en pechodeb*, which also pertains to the speaker(s). There seem to be no instances of the reduplicated first person plural being used as an affixed pronoun, so we might therefore only expect a simple or conjunctive form in this context.

Judging by the evidence in the examples discussed above and the data set out in the table below, it seems *nini* was primarily used in a legal context to denote an ‘authoritative’ plural, which may be best translated as ‘we say’, though the technically accurate translation would be ‘we (ourselves) say’. *Nini* is most often used as the subject of an abnormal-order sentence, but the thirteenth-century corpus includes a handful of examples where it is used elsewhere, often in order to achieve extra emphatic or contrastive effect.

⁶⁶ Llanstephan 1, p. 202. ‘He is a true judge. When he saw that we would not resile from our sins nor desired to desist from committing them and that there was no-one from the kingdom who could oppose us.’ Own translation.

Table 11: Use, location and orthographical representation of the reduplicated first person plural form	
Manuscript	Form
Peniarth 1	
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	nyny (1)
Llanstephan 1	nyny (1)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	
Peniarth 29	nyny (12); nini (5); ninni (2); niny (2); nynny (1)
Peniarth 30	nyny (9); neny (1)
Cardiff 2.81	
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	
Peniarth 17	
Peniarth 6.i	
Peniarth 6.ii	
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	nyny (1)
BL Additional 14931	nyny (24); niny (4)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16.iv	
Peniarth 3.i	
Peniarth 16.iii	
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	nini (1)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	
Peniarth 6iii	
TOTAL:	64

REDUPLICATED SECOND PERSON PLURAL FORMS

The second person plural reduplicated pronoun is extremely rare in the thirteenth-century corpus. It is found in varying forms in fourteenth-century texts, the most common forms being *chwichwi* and *chwchwi*. Morris Jones pointed out that the Modern Welsh form, spelled *chwychwi*, often has the first diphthong /ui/ reduced to the single vowel /u/ in the spoken language.⁶⁷

The only example of the reduplicated second person plural in the thirteenth-century corpus is found in Llanstephan 1 (cited below). Interestingly, both the reduplicated form *chwychwy* and the simple form *chwi* are used for the same direct object.

*Ae chwychwy er analwedygyon tyghetbeneb. Pa le e kerd6ch chwy tros ech gnotaedygyon hynt. Pa acha6s ed ardyrcha6assa6ch ch6y 6y6y eyryoet ar orwuchelder anryded. kanys mwy poen yw koffa6 pryd6erth6ch a chy6oeth gwedy e koller.*⁶⁸

In the first sentence *chwychwy* is used within an interjection, translated from the Latin vocative phrase *o irreuocabilia fatorum seria*. Using the reduplicated form in the Middle Welsh version makes sense, as the direct object is very much in focus here. However, in the next sentence the same object has been changed to *chwi* as it is no longer the object of focus (which is now on *ech gnotaedygyon hynt*). In the third sentence the subject is put into focus through the medium of a reduplicated pronoun: *myui* (N.B. in a mutated form). The object is still marked through the use of the affixed pronoun *chwi* after a conjugated verb, but it seems clear that the focus is on the subject.

The Middle Welsh thirteenth-century prose corpus only contains a few examples of all second person plural pronouns, so the scarce amount of examples is not restricted to the second person plural in the reduplicated category. This is only natural since these pronouns would only be expected to surface in a particular context involving direct speech to a group

⁶⁷ Morris Jones, *WG*, §159.ii, p.271.

⁶⁸ Example from *Llst* 1, p. 36. 'Oh, you irrevocable Fates, where do you walk on your habitual journey? Why did you ever raise me up on lofty heights of glory since it is more troublesome that I remember it easily and abundantly after it is lost?' Own translation.

of people.⁶⁹ However, since the amount of examples is insufficient for a thorough analysis, it is very difficult to draw any greater conclusions about the pronoun *chwychwi*. Previous scholarship on the form has focused on examples from fourteenth-century material, where we find more examples and more variation, and together with the one example from the thirteenth-century corpus, it is likely that this is as far as we will get in our attempts to investigate its use in Middle Welsh.

⁶⁹ The second person singular is used for addressing higher authorities in Middle Welsh; see, for example, the examples illustrating the reduplicated second person singular, where Cordeylla addresses her father, King Llyr, in the second person singular.

REDUPLICATED THIRD PERSON PLURAL FORMS

Represented by 23 tokens, the reduplicated third person plural form *wyntwy* is scarce in the thirteenth-century corpus when compared to its conjunctive equivalent, (*h*)*wynteu*. However, it is far more common than the reduplicated second person plural form *chwichwi*, and it has a wider range of syntactic use than the first person plural form *nini* (which most commonly appears as the subject of an abnormal sentence). *Wyntwy* also appears in poetry: Peniarth 1 contains two tokens in the poems commonly known as *Englynion y Beddau* and *Yr Oianau*.

E beteu hir yg guanas

ny chauas ae dioes.

*pvy vyntvy pvy eu neges.*⁷⁰

The use of *wyntwy* for the third person subject in this stanza creates focus on the subject matter of the last line, which seems to be the soldiers occupying the long graves in Gwanas rather than the graves themselves (which is the subject of the first line). William Skene's translation of the stanza has 'whose' for the first occurrence of *pwy* in the final line, indicating that he read this as *pieu* rather than *pwy*.⁷¹ This would mean that Skene thought that the focus was on the graves throughout the stanza and that the subject never changed, which would make *wyntwy* a referent for the graves rather than their occupants. It may be that Skene translated *pwy* as 'whose', which is a plausible translation that occurs elsewhere, though not in this specific context.⁷² The semantic significance of this query is whether this is a case of a reduplicated pronoun being used as a code-switcher to introduce a new subject or whether it was used as a particularly strong way of referring to a referent which had not been mentioned since the first line of the stanza; though a reduplicated pronoun could plausibly be used for either purpose, the former theory seems most likely in this case. A further point to

⁷⁰ Poem 18 (*Englynion y Beddau*), ll. 87–9, *LIDC*, ed. Jarman, p. 39. 'The long graves on Gwanas, they who despoiled them did not discover who they were, what their mission was.' Trans. Thomas Jones, 'The Black Book of Carmarthen "Stanzas of the Graves" (Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture)', in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967), 97 – 137.

⁷¹ Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales: Containing the Cymric Poems Attributed to the Bards of the Sixth Century* (Edinburgh, 1868).

⁷² See *GPC*, 2947, s.v. *pwy*1, 1 (c). See also *Sanas Cormaic*, ed. Kuno Meyer, reprint including Meyer's own revisions to the text (Felinfach, 1994), p. 28 for an example of *cia*, the Irish cognate for *pwy*.

make in the argument for <pvy> being *pwy* is that the /ui/ diphthong echoes in *wyntwy*. If this was intended as a stylistic feature, one might argue that this was a reason for using the reduplicated form for the third person plural subject rather than the conjunctive form *wynteu*, which would also have strengthened the focus on the subject (albeit with a slightly altered semantic range). There is, however, another poetic aspect to the choice of pronoun here: though the simple form *wy*, which is the form most often used for the simple third person plural in Peniarth 1, contains the same diphthong as *wyntwy* and thus would have rhymed with *pwy*, it is possible that the form would have failed to make up the syllable count of the line.⁷³

Ef gunahaud ryuel a difissci.

ac arfev coch. ac och indi.

Ac winttuy in dihev a doant oheni.

*ac a wnant enrydet ar bet. Dewi.*⁷⁴

This is the only example of *wyntwy* being spelled with a double <t>, and, as can be seen above, this is not a regular spelling in Peniarth 1 (admittedly, there is no ‘regular’ spelling of the word as such in Peniarth 1, as there is only one example of each, but <vyntvy> seems to be more in accordance with the general orthography of the manuscript).

The two tokens from Peniarth 1 discussed above make up half of the body of examples of *wyntwy* being used as a referent for a third person plural subject in thirteenth-century texts; the other two (the only ones found in prose texts) occur in NLW 5266, both in the abnormal sentence order.

*bynt6y a oresgynnynt y g6ladoed ar brenhinaetheu o 6ng ac o bell y 6rthunt.*⁷⁵

*Ac bynt6y a udynt argl6ydi ar yr holl enyssed yn eu kylch.*⁷⁶

⁷³ N.B. There is no scholarly consensus regarding pronouns being included in the syllable count in the poetry of the *Hengerdd*; see Graham Isaac, ‘*Gweith Gwen Ystrat* and the Northern Heroic Age of the Sixth Century’, 61–70 for an argument for the exclusion of pronouns from the syllable count.

⁷⁴ *Oianau Myrddin*, ll. 36–9, *LIDC*, ed. Jarman, p. 30. ‘He will make war and uproar and red arms and woe there. And they without doubt shall come from there and shall pay homage to the grave of Dewi.’ Trans. Bollard in *The Romance of Merlin*, ed. Goodrich, pp. 24–30.

⁷⁵ NLW 5266, p. 123.

There is one example of *wyntwy* being used in subject position outside the abnormal order; this is found in BL Cotton Caligula A.iii in the following passage:

*Ac ena e mae ya6n yr hablwr dywedwyt breynt y tystyon. ay wyntwy en beyry. ay wyntew en kyghelloryon. ay wynte6 en beneych ne6 en athraon. ay wynte6 en effeyryeyt ne6 en escolheygyon. ay wynte6 en leygyon breynhya6l.*⁷⁷

The position of the reduplicated form *wyntwy* in this passage, in contrast to its corresponding third person plural conjunctive form *wynteu*, is arguably of semantic importance. In this list of occupational roles, *wyntwy* is the first form to be used to refer to the third person plural subject, thereby marking the new subject (i.e. *y tystyon*, which was the object in the preceding sentence). After this and throughout the passage, the conjunctive form *wynteu* is used instead of *wyntwy*. It seems that *wyntwy* was used in order to mark the subject at the beginning of the list and was then replaced by *wynteu* in order to create a reiterating sense semantically (which the conjunctive forms do but reduplicated forms do not), whilst maintaining focus on the subject.

There are three occurrences of *wyntwy* being used as part of a possessive construction in the thirteenth-century corpus. Despite the low number of examples, this is remarkable, as reduplicated pronouns are very rarely used as affixed pronouns. However, as Emrys Evans has pointed out, the few examples we have of affixed reduplicated pronouns are in the third person.⁷⁸

*Ac oby6n ew kenhyf kaffael oc ew gwyr wyntwy e brat a llesteyrya6 6e darpar ynhe6 o henny.*⁷⁹

*Sef a wnaeth ynteu y nos honno ef ae lu eu pydydya6 bynt6y y my6n glyn dyrys oed ar eu ford.*⁸⁰

⁷⁶ NLW 5266, p. 301.

⁷⁷ BL Cotton Caligula A.iii, col. 2.

⁷⁸ Emrys Evans, 'Y Rhagenw Mewnol Genidol', 24–9.

⁷⁹ Pen. 44, p. 5. 'And I am afraid that their men will betray me and thus hinder my own agenda.' Own translation.

⁸⁰ NLW 5266, p. 46. *pydydya6* should be emended to *pydya6* ('to ambush, imperil'); see *Brut Dingestow*, ed. Henry Lewis (Cardiff, 1942), p. 38. 'This is what he did that night, he and his army: ambush them in a wild valley which was on their way.' Trans. Simon Rodway (unpublished).

*Ac 6rth hynny menegi y ulkessar eu bot bynth6y yn barab6t y ymlad tros eu gulat ac eu rydyt a thros eu ternas.*⁸¹

There are fifteen cases of *wyntwy* being used as a referent for the object in thirteenth-century prose; twelve of these are indirect objects, found after the adverbial phrase (*y gyt*) *ac...*, meaning '(together) with', and as the object of the comparative phrase *C noc O*, for example *a thythe6 ym kar6 ynhe6 en lley noc wyntwy*.⁸² *Wyntwy* is also used in direct object position in three places:

*Canys dodeys y vyntuy yth ulaen ty deleu eu muynhau huynteu en e blaen.*⁸³

*Canys nys amdiffynn6s pan y goresgynneis y bynt6y.*⁸⁴

*A gbedy dywettych hynny dwc dy wynt6y attaf i mal y gall6yf eu gaffael 6rth 6y ewylllys.*⁸⁵

⁸¹ NLW 5266, p. 57. 'And then they stated to Julius Caesar that they were ready to fight for their country and their freedom and their kingdom' Trans. Simon Rodway (unpublished).

⁸² *Brut y Brenhinedd*, Llanstephan 1, p. 34. 'And you in turn love me less than they do.' Own translation.

⁸³ BL Cotton Titus D.ii, ff. 66r. 'Since I fused them before you, you should enjoy them before [?me].' Own translation.

⁸⁴ NLW 5266, p. 254. 'Because he did not defend them when I conquered them.' Own translation.

⁸⁵ NLW 5266, p. 10. 'And after you say that, bring them to me, so that I can get them for my uncle.' Own translation.

Table 12: Use and orthographical representation of the reduplicated third person plural form, with or without prefixed *h-*

Manuscript	<i>Wyntwy</i>	<i>Hwyntwy</i>
Peniarth 1	vyntvy (1); winttuy (1)	
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	wyntwy (2)	
Llanstephan 1	wyntwy (2)	
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	wyntwy (1)	
Peniarth 29		
Peniarth 30		
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	wyntwy (2)	
Peniarth 17		
Peniarth 6i		
Peniarth 6ii		
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	vyntuy (2)	
BL Additional 14931		
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	6ynt6y (6); wynt6y (4); 6ynth6y (1)	
Peniarth 3i		
Peniarth 16iii		
Peniarth 14 (45–78)		
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	wynthuy (1)	
Peniarth 6iii		
TOTAL:	23	

CONJUNCTIVE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The origin of the conjunctive pronouns in Middle Welsh has been widely debated for some time, notably by Lambert, Russell and Schrijver, and it is not the aim of this dissertation to delve into any greater discussion on the matter but rather to trace their development in early Middle Welsh.⁸⁶ The conjunctive first person singular forms are markedly varied in the thirteenth-century corpus, both in independent and dependent position: we find the independent forms *minheu* versus *minneu* and the dependent forms *inheu* versus *uinheu*. A point of interest regarding the independent forms is the presence or absence of internal <h> and whether these forms *minheu* and *minneu* are representations of two phonologically distinctive forms or whether *minheu* was already an archaic form by the thirteenth century and was used to archaïse the texts it occurred in. This point is applicable to the dependent pronouns as well, as we find one example of *inneu*, which is missing the otherwise ubiquitous (in dependent forms) internal <h>. This may be due to assimilation, as it occurs after a word containing an internal *-nn-* in the phrase *mynnaf ynneŋ* ('I wish, desire'). However, as all other attested instances of dependent first person singular conjunctive pronouns contain internal <h>, the greater issue at hand is that of the interchange between *inheu* and *uinheu* and whether *uinheu* strayed from its original morphological context (having developed its initial /v/ from preceding first person singular conjugated prepositions and verb endings in /v/, e.g. *attau ui* ('towards me'), *karau ui* ('I love')) and gained further syntactic ground even at this early stage. The most common form found is *minheu*, despite it having been argued that *inheu* was the original first person singular form, which possibly shows the origin of internal <h> as a weakened *t-* from the element **teu*, as in the third person singular *ynteu*, probably having changed to *-nh-* inbetween an archaic first singular pronoun form **iμ* and the element *teu* (the *t* in *teu* having changed the latter *m* in **mim* to a dental nasal).⁸⁷ A secondary form where the *-nh-* cluster is further weakened with the loss of <h>, giving *minneu*, is also used. The evidence from the thirteenth-century corpus shows that at this stage *minneu*, which became the standard first person singular conjunctive form in Modern Welsh, was in distinct minority to *minheu*.

⁸⁶ See Lambert, 'Vieux Gallois *nou, nom, inno*', *BBCS* 30 (1982), 20–9, Russell, 'The Origin of the Welsh Conjunctive Pronouns' in *BBCS* 30, 30–8 and Schrijver, *Celtic Pronouns and Particles*.

⁸⁷ See Russell, 'The Origin of the Welsh Conjunctive Pronouns', 30–8.

Independent forms

There are 17 instances of *minneu* in the thirteenth-century corpus. In stark contrast to this is the number of examples of *minheu* in the same corpus, amounting to 85. This indicates that the h-form was still preferred in the thirteenth century and it may also indicate that the <h> created a phonological distinction between the two forms. There is no evidence to suggest that this is a reflection of dialectal variation, as Peniarth 1 (The Black Book of Carmarthen), the only southern manuscript in the corpus, does not show any particular preference for either form. However, evidence from the Cardiff fourteenth-century prose database indicates a shift in preference from *minheu* to *minneu*, with 274 instances of *minheu* (three of which are spelled *minhe*) versus 299 instances of *minneu* (five of which are spelled *mine*). This shift toward conjunctive non h-forms seems to be reflected in the first person plural, as there is a significant increase in use of the non h-form *ninneu* towards the end of the fourteenth century, thus overtaking the h-form *ninheu*, which was in clear majority until this point. There is also the possibility that h-forms were used to archaïse texts, in the same way that *brenhin* is likely to have lost /h/ in its pronunciation through assimilation by the thirteenth century, and yet the <h> was regularly orthographically expressed well beyond this period. Daniel Huws has previously remarked that the scribe responsible for Peniarth 44, Llanstephan 1 and Cotton Caligula A.iii was ‘old-fashioned’ in his orthography, which would agree with the theory of the forms used in the Peniarth 44 being archaic.⁸⁸ However, Russell later argued against this, showing that the Peniarth 44/Llanstephan 1/Cotton Caligula A.iii scribe was systematically experimenting with different orthography in these manuscripts.⁸⁹

Dependent forms

The main dependent forms, *uinheu* and *inheu*, are both present in the thirteenth-century corpus, showing a total of 94 examples of *inheu/inneu* versus 35 examples of *uinheu*; this gives us a ratio of 73% to 27% if we use the evidence from the poetry in Peniarth 1. The use of dependent h-forms in thirteenth-century prose is even more prominent than in examples of the independent form, as there is only one example of the non h-form *inneu* in the corpus and

⁸⁸ Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, pp. 177–92.

⁸⁹ Russell, ‘Codicology as a Key to Orthography’, 77–85.

no example of a non h-form version of *uinheu*.⁹⁰ This piece of evidence coupled with evidence from the first person plural suggests that there was a preference for h-forms throughout the Middle Welsh conjunctive pronominal paradigm during the thirteenth century. However, the evidence from both independent and dependent forms may also imply that stray non h-forms were slipping into the language and that the weakening in distinction between h-forms and non h-forms, which increased with the vast production of literature in Middle Welsh during the fourteenth century, was beginning to take place.

⁹⁰ Llanstephan 1, p. 6.

Table 13: Location and orthographical representation of the dependent conjunctive first person singular forms		
Manuscript	<i>Inheu</i>	<i>Uinheu</i>
Peniarth 1	ynheu (1); inhev (1); innhev (1); (ynne6 (1))	
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	ynhe6 (19)	wynhe6 (1)
Llanstephan 1	ynhe6 (25); ynhev (5); (ynne6 (1))	vynhev (1)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	yinnhe6 (1)	
Peniarth 29		
Peniarth 30		
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	inheu (4)	6inheu (3); uinheu (1)
Peniarth 17		
Peniarth 6i		
Peniarth 6ii		
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	ynheu (3)	uynheu (24)
BL Additional 14931		uynheu (1)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	inheu (20); ynheu (8); innheu (1)	uinheu (2); uynheu (1)
Peniarth 3i		vynhev (1)
Peniarth 16iii		
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	inheu (2)	
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	ynhe6 (1)	
Peniarth 6iii		
TOTAL:	94	35

A general rule for the choice of dependent form of the conjunctive first person singular seems to have been similar to the one applying to the corresponding simple forms: if the preceding word ends in /v/, e.g. after some first person verb or conjugated preposition endings, the preferred form is *uinheu* (corresponding to the simple form *ui*), and in other cases, both after vowels and after other consonants, the preferred form is *in(h)eu* (corresponding to the simple form *i*). However, there are plenty of exceptions, e.g. *rac byg6th ryuel ysyd arnaf inheu* ('because of the threat of conflict that is upon me'), *llawen byf inheu* ('I am happy'), *un arch a archaf inheu* ('the one request that I have'), *minheu a uarnaf dylyu ohonaf inheu* ('I judge

that I have a right to it’).⁹¹ If we consider the evidence found in verse, a striking feature of the results for the dependent forms is that Peniarth 1 contains only one of the forms: *inheu*. This form occurs even in contexts where one might expect to find *uinheu*, such as in *Ymddiddan Ugnach a Thaliesin*:

Vgnach bendith ith orsset

ath vo rad ac enrydet.

Taliessin viw inhev

*talaw itti dy gulet.*⁹²

This stanza illustrates not only how *inheu* is used after a first person singular /v/-ending (in this case after the first person singular present indicative active form of the verb *bot*), but it is also a good example of a conjunctive pronoun not necessarily rendering a ‘conjunctive’ meaning as such, but its main purpose seems to be to code a switch in topicality from the addressee (Ugnach, addressed in the first line) to the speaker (Taliesin). There is still an issue of contrast, but it seems to be syntactical rather than semantic in this context.⁹³ There is one other example of *inheu* being used after a first person singular /v/-ending in Peniarth 1: this is found in a very similar syntactical context in *Aswynaf Nawdd Duw*:

Assuynaw naut duv diamehv y daun

*ae donyauc wiff innhev.*⁹⁴

On reflection over the discoveries outlined above, the detected preference of *in(h)eu* over *uinheu* may not be as radical as the 73% – 27% ratio suggests; rather, it portrays a wider use of *inheu* in varied syntactical contexts, whereas *uinheu* appears to be more rooted to its probable syntactic origin following a preceding first person singular /v/-ending.

⁹¹NLW 5266, p. 126; NLW 5266, p. 139; NLW 5266, p. 140; NLW 5266, p. 254. Own translations.

⁹² ‘Ymddiddan Ugnach a Thaliesin’, ll 25–8, *LIDC*, ed. Jarman, p. 76.

⁹³ See Isaac, *The Verb in the Book of Aneirin*, section 2.4, pp. 54–6.

⁹⁴ ‘Aswynaf Nawdd Duw’, ll. 1–2, *LIDC*, ed. Jarman, p. 52.

There is no obvious connection between genre and form regarding both independent and dependent forms, and a clear chronological development in preference for forms is not evident at this stage.

Table 14: Location and orthographical representation of the independent conjunctive first person singular form, with or without internal <i>-h-</i>		
Manuscript	<i>Minheu</i>	<i>Minneu</i>
Peniarth 1	minhev (2)	minnev (2)
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	mynhe6 (5)	
Llanstephan 1	mynhe6 (7); mynhev (6)	
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	mynhew (1); mynhe6 (1)	
Peniarth 29		minneu (2); myneu (1)
Peniarth 30		mynneu (2)
Cardiff 2.81		(1)
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	minheu (7); mynhe6 (2)	mineu (1)
Peniarth 17		
Peniarth 6i		
Peniarth 6ii		
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	mynheu (19)	mynneu (3)
BL Additional 14931	mynheu (2)	mynneu (2); myneu (1)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	minheu (19); mynnheu (1); mynheu (1)	minneu (1); mynneu (1)
Peniarth 3i		
Peniarth 16iii		minneu (1); mynneu (1)
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	mynhe6 (4); minheu (1)	
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	mynnhe6 (1)	
Peniarth 6iii		
TOTAL	79	19

CONJUNCTIVE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The conjunctive second person singular pronoun *titheu* occurs in all thirteenth-century manuscripts (including Peniarth 6.i and Peniarth 6.iii but excluding Peniarth 6.ii). However, the examples are often sparse in concentration, with most manuscripts containing only a few examples. The exceptions to this are Peniarth 44, Llanstephan 1 (though curiously not BL Cotton Caligula A.iii, which was written by the same scribe who wrote Peniarth 44 and Llanstephan 1) and NLW 5266. These manuscripts each contain over 20 examples each (as many as 34 in the case of NLW 5266, where over half of the examples are subject to lenition), which is a striking number in comparison to the other manuscripts; however, the first part of Peniarth 14 and BL Cotton Titus D.ii also contain relatively high amounts of examples. This is interesting as Peniarth 14.i generally contains a high number of conjunctive pronouns, particularly compared to Peniarth 14.ii, which is not much shorter in length but holds a strikingly lower amount of conjunctive pronouns. As Peniarth 14.ii and 14.iii had a different scribe from that of Peniarth 14.i, and bearing in mind that all three parts consist of religious narrative prose, this may point to the Peniarth 14.i scribe having made a conscious choice in using conjunctive pronouns in order to better mark the semantic nuances in the text.

The total number of examples of *titheu* etc. is almost four times the size of the body of examples for the corresponding reduplicated pronoun *tydi*. This agrees with the results in other persons, showing that conjunctive pronouns are far more common than reduplicated pronouns in thirteenth-century texts. Of course, part of the explanation lies in syntax: the conjunctive pronouns can be used as either dependent or independent forms (for a more extensive view of independent versus dependent forms, see *minheu/(u)inheu*) and we would therefore expect to find more conjunctive pronouns. The data for *titheu* etc. is one of the more useful conjunctive forms in that it has a distinctive set of mutations, which indicate the syntactic function of mutated examples such as *ditheu* and *thitheu*. The affixed dependent form *ditheu* occurs 39 times across the thirteenth-century corpus after second person singular verbs and as the secondary part of possessive constructions. An important thing to note is that, with very few exceptions, *ditheu* occurs after the second person singular endings that do not end in *-t*, such as present forms (*yr hyn a dywedy ditheu*; ‘that which you say’), imperatives (*wrth henne canorthwya ditheu ynnu*) and subjunctives (*er honn a wiskych ditheu*

amdanat).⁹⁵ The head nouns in the possessive constructions where *ditheu* is used rarely end in *-t*, which further illustrates the function of *ditheu* as an affixed form traditionally used after words without final *-t*. An interesting case is the phrase *dy tat titheu* from *Brut Dingestow*.⁹⁶ Here we have an example of *titheu* used as the secondary part of a possessive construction with a head noun ending in what is orthographically represented by <t>, but with the phonological value of /d/. It seems plausible that the use of *titheu* here was influenced by the orthography of the immediately preceding word, regardless of phonology, as *tat* should here be read as /dad/.

The examples of *thitheu*, caused by spirant mutation, are all after the conjunction *a*, and several of the examples are ‘duplicates’, i.e. they occur in the same context (though with some variation in word order) in different manuscripts, for example:

*A thitheu o buosty ema ty haythost en keureythaul odema.*⁹⁷

*... a thytheu o buost ty yma yn kyureythyaul yd eythost odyma...*⁹⁸

*A thytheu o buosty yma ty a eythost yn gyureythyaul odyma.*⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Two exceptions are *detkeneist ditheu ymy* from Pen. 14, p. 19, and *ar mod e treytheyst ditheu lewenyd ymi* from Pen. 14, p. 20.

⁹⁶ NLW 5266, p. 304.

⁹⁷ Peniarth 29, p. 53.

⁹⁸ BL Cotton Titus D.ii, ff. 28r.

⁹⁹ BL Add. 14931, p. 46.

Table 15: Location and orthographical representation of the conjunctive second person singular form	
Manuscript	<i>Titheu</i>
Peniarth 1	
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	tythe6 (20); thythe6 (1)
Llanstephan 1	tythe6 (18); tythev (5); thythe6 (1)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	thythe6 (1)
Peniarth 29	ditheu (1); thitheu (1)
Peniarth 30	tytheu (1)
Cardiff 2.81	
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	ditheu (9); titheu (5); thitheu (2)
Peniarth 17	titheu (1)
Peniarth 6i	ditheu (3); thitheu (1)
Peniarth 6ii	
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	tytheu (15); thytheu (1)
BL Additional 14931	tytheu (1); dytheu (2); thytheu (1)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16.iv	ditheu (19); titheu (15); dytheu (1)
Peniarth 3.i	
Peniarth 16.iii	titheu (1); ditheu (1)
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	titheu (1); thitheu (1)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	dithe6 (1); dytheu (1)
Peniarth 6.iii	ditheu (1)
TOTAL:	132

CONJUNCTIVE THIRD PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

It has been argued that the conjunctive third person singular masculine form *ynteu* is the origin of the entire conjunctive paradigm, with the other personal forms having developed through analogy.¹⁰⁰ *Ynteu* appears frequently in thirteenth-century prose and is used significantly more often than the corresponding reduplicated pronoun *euo*. This is likely to be due to the morphological and semantic flexibility of *ynteu*: it functions both as an independent and a dependent pronoun and it has a generous range of possible meanings due to it also functioning as a conjunctive or even an adverbial phrase, from ‘he, too’ to ‘he, on the other hand’.¹⁰¹ The same semantic range applies to *hitheu*, which is also found more frequently than its reduplicated counterpart *hihi*.

The amount of examples of *ynteu* listed in each manuscript in the table below usually corresponds well with the length of the text: for example, the *Dingestow* manuscript (NLW 5266) contains a high number of examples but is also significantly larger than many of the other Welsh thirteenth-century manuscripts. Peniarth 6, on the other hand, holds less than 20 examples altogether but the text itself is very short, and therefore the concentration of examples is at least equally high to that of the *Dingestow* manuscript. An interesting exception is the first part of Peniarth 14 (containing the miracles of Mary of Egypt and Saint Edmund, Archbishop of Kent), which Daniel Huws has dated to the middle of the thirteenth century. This part of Peniarth 14 is longer than the two latter parts, which have been dated to the end of the thirteenth century, but it is not much longer than the second part. The first part does, however, have a strikingly high amount of conjunctive pronouns (79 x *ynteu* and 23 x *hitheu*) in comparison to the two latter parts (12 x *ynteu* and 6 x *hitheu* versus 5 x *ynteu* and 3 x *hitheu*), and it is relatively rich in examples in the context of the entire thirteenth-century corpus.

There is no obvious link to any particular genre of prose where *ynteu* is used more often, which points to the notion that *ynteu* was likely to be preferred to *efo* and *ef* whenever the

¹⁰⁰ Schrijver, *Pronouns and Particles*, section III.5, pp. 83–90. Paul Russell presented his theory of the conjunctive paradigm originating in the third person plural form *wynteu* in ‘The Origin of the Welsh Conjunctive Pronouns’, 30–8.

¹⁰¹ See Mac Cana, ‘Conjunctive Pronouns in Middle Welsh’, pp. 411–33.

referent was in apposition to the subject or object and there was need for a code switch in topicality or when there was another issue of marking involved, for example when the subject might have been ambiguous. Variants of these issues occur in all types of prose texts and it is therefore not surprising that *ynteu* is found in all genres represented in the thirteenth-century corpus.

Lambert highlighted the connection between Middle Welsh *ynteu* and Latin *ipse* when analysing an Old Breton gloss where the Latin dative form *ipso* was glossed by Old Breton *intou*, which is clearly cognate with *ynteu*.¹⁰² *Ipse* is often used when the pronoun carries further meaning, either in an adverbial or conjunctive sense or when it is in apposition, where it may be translated as ‘the aforementioned’ or ‘said’, thus referring back to a previously mentioned subject or object. The semantic properties are thus often similar to those of the conjunctive pronoun in Middle Welsh; however, it is worth noting that Latin *ipse* is perhaps more appropriately referred to as a demonstrative pronoun, something which may be useful when considering the full properties of Middle Welsh conjunctive pronouns, particularly *ynteu* as it is the third person singular (masculine) form and therefore the form most likely to be used when referring to aforementioned objects.¹⁰³ Simon Evans mentioned the use of *ynteu* in an adverbial sense in *GMW*, citing examples such as:

*Ar engylyon enteu a dugant y wynbydedig ueir e baradwys duw.*¹⁰⁴

This is a good example of a context where *ynteu* is used in the sense of *ipse*, that is, it is remarking the subject (*yr engylyon*) to reintroduce it in the narrative. What is interesting is that it is used in the singular to mark a plural subject: this is thus a good example of *ynteu* acting more as a conjunctive/demonstrative marker (Evans’ translation renders a conjunctive sense with ‘the angels then’, but an adverbial or possibly demonstrative reading could be imagined in the form of ‘the aforementioned angels’) than as a pronoun in itself. In this context we have the subject right in front of the pronoun at the beginning of the sentence, which means there is no need for a personal pronoun. As *ynteu* is the only conjunctive pronoun that

¹⁰² Lambert, ‘Notes de Vieux-Breton’, 196.

¹⁰³ For a discussion on Old Irish *suidel/-side*, which is similar to Latin *ipse* and Middle Welsh *ynteu*, see ‘Old Irish *suide* / *-side* ‘the aforementioned’ in *Celts and Their Cultures at Home and Abroad: A Festschrift for Malcolm Broun*, ed. Pamela O’Neill & Anders Ahlqvist (Sydney, 2013), 55–73.

¹⁰⁴ Peniarth 14, p. 31–2. ‘And the angels then brought the Blessed Mary to God’s Paradise.’ Trans. Evans, *GMW*, §55, p. 51.

functions in this way, it speaks in favour of the theory that conjunctive pronouns arose from this context and from the third person singular form *ynteu* in particular, and that after *ynteu* gained the semantic value of a personal pronoun a morphological development followed, where a paradigm was created through analogy. Another example used by Evans to illustrate the adverbial function of *ynteu* is the phrase *neu ynteu*, ‘or otherwise’.¹⁰⁵ This phrase occurs in Peniarth 29 (5 examples), Peniarth 30 (3 examples), BL Cotton Titus D.ii (11 examples) and the second part of Peniarth 14 (one example) as *neu ent(h)eu* and in BL Additional 14931 (7 examples) and NLW 5266 (7 examples) as *neu ynteu*. The syntax of this phrase is completely different to that of the phrase quoted above, but this is perhaps an even better example of *ynteu* being used adverbially; it is still arguably a pronoun, but it does not qualify as a personal pronoun. It is very unlikely that this function of *ynteu* would have arisen in Middle Welsh since *ynteu* chiefly functioned as a personal pronoun by around 1250, but the evidence of *intou* being equated with *ipse* in Old Breton may well indicate that the adverbial sense was present in Old Welsh, though this is difficult to ascertain as there are no attested occurrences of **intou* in the extant Old Welsh translations of Latin texts.

There is one occurrence of *ynteu* etc. in Peniarth 1, found in the poem known as *Oianau Myrddin* or *Yr Oianau*:

Oian a parchellan hoian hoiev.

Bei ychenauc duv gunai. ymchuelev.

Y p[]ll yssy. wiv. bitaud mev.

*Ar hun yssy []keissed intev.*¹⁰⁶

The two lacunae in the stanza mean that there is some difficulty involved in analysing the semantic value of the conjunctive pronoun judging by its context. However, in his notes to the poem, Jarman suggested that *p[]ll* be read as *parchell* (‘pig’) and that the missing word in line 76 might be *marw* (‘dead’), judging by the version found in Peniarth 3, something Bollard used in his translation of the stanza.¹⁰⁷ An interesting point on the use of a conjunctive pronoun here, particularly as it is the only one found in Peniarth 1, is that it is

¹⁰⁵ Evans, *GMW*, §55, p. 51.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Oian, little pig! Hoian! Hoiau! If there were needy ones, God would make changes. The pig which is alive will be mine; let him seek out that one which is dead.’ Trans. Bollard, ‘Myrddin in Early Welsh Poetry’, p. 26. *Oianau Myrddin*, ll. 73–6, *LIDC*, ed. Jarman, p. 31.

¹⁰⁷ *LIDC*, ed. Jarman, p. 98.

used in close proximity to the emphatic possessive first person singular pronoun (also used as an adjective) *meu*. The pronoun places emphasis on Myrddin taking possession of the live pig, and therefore the focus is on Myrddin. When *ynteu* is used in the next line, it is used to contrast Myrddin with whomever *ynteu* is referring to, be it the wanderer (*huimleian*) referred to in lines 57 and 64, or God (which may make more sense), referred to in line 74 in conjunction with the contrasting of the pigs (if Jarman was correct, one is alive and one is dead). Though the conjunctive pronoun may be used in a contrastive sense in this stanza, it is important to remember that it follows the end-rhyme: *hoiev – ymchuelev – mev – intev*. This may well have played an important part in the inclusion of a type of pronouns that are otherwise unusual in this context, both in the *Myrddin* poems as well as the rest of the poetry in Peniarth 1. This, together with the near absence of examples of *ynteu* and the absolute absence of *hitheu* in thirteenth-century redactions of poetry, further indicates that conjunctive pronouns had a function which had a natural place in prose texts due to their semantic range, though it is helpful to bear in mind that emphatic third person singular pronouns are more likely to be found in high amounts in narrative prose texts and law texts (where their ranging semantic properties are often needed) than in poetry, as pronouns are not usually emphasised in early Welsh poetry and as the bodies of poetry concerned often have a conversational setting between two speakers, wherefore we might expect more examples of first person singular and second person singular pronouns.

There are far fewer examples of *hitheu* than there are of *ynteu* in the thirteenth-century corpus; this is unsurprising, since most of the third person singular referents in these texts are masculine. The ratio we have for the overall amounts of examples of *ynteu* etc. versus *hitheu* etc. is circa 82% versus 18%. There is some proportionate correspondence between the two genders: BL Cotton Titus D.ii, BL Additional 14931, NLW 5266 and Llanstephan 1 all contain proportionately high amounts of examples of both *ynteu* etc. and *hitheu* etc., though Peniarth 30 contains the highest amount of examples of *hitheu* etc. (and, admittedly, a fair amount of examples of *ynteu* etc.).

There are no attestations of *hitheu* etc. in poetry contained in the thirteenth-century manuscripts, nor are there any examples of the reduplicated form *hihi* etc. *Hi* etc. is found, though not in great amounts. The most obvious reason behind the lack of these forms is that the content matter in the poetry contained in this corpus is largely focused on male figures, e.g. *Y Gododdin* in Cardiff 2.81 and the poems featuring Myrddin (though he is never specifically mentioned), Arthur and Taliesin in Peniarth 1. Furthermore, there are few

examples of feminine pronouns in Cynddelw's poetry found in Peniarth 3.i, due to the same reason.

Table 16: Location and orthographical representation of the masculine and feminine conjunctive third person singular forms		
Manuscript	<i>Ynteu</i>	<i>Hitheu</i>
Peniarth 1	intev (1)	
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	ente6 (165); entew (1); ent6 (1)	hythe6 (13)
Llanstephan 1	ente6 (210); entev (26); ynte6 (1)	hythe6 (20)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	ente6 (56); entew (30)	hythe6 (7)
Peniarth 29	enteu (53); entheu (10); entehu (4); ynteu (1); henteu (1)	hytheu (4); hitheu (3)
Peniarth 30	enteu (84); ynteu (2); entev (1); hynteu (1)	hytheu (34)
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	enteu (76); ente6 (3)	hitheu (23)
Peniarth 17	enteu (68); ynteu (1)	hitheu (6)
Peniarth 6i	enteu (4)	hitheu (1)
Peniarth 6ii	enteu (5)	hitheu (1)
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	enteu (185)	hytheu (33)
BL Additional 14931	ynteu (106); enteu (1); yntev (1)	hytheu (22); hitheu (3)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	ynteu (258); enteu (3); ynte6 (1)	hitheu (26); hytheu (2); hythe6 (1)
Peniarth 3i		
Peniarth 16iii	enteu (35)	
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	enteu (12)	hitheu (6)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	ente6 (5)	hitheu (1); hithe6 (1); hythe6 (1)
Peniarth 6iii	ynteu (10)	hitheu (8)
TOTAL:	982	216

CONJUNCTIVE FIRST PERSON PLURAL FORMS

We encounter the same type of variation in the conjunctive first person plural form as we do in the conjunctive first person singular: the interchange between h-forms and non h-forms is also present here, giving *ninheu* versus *ninneu* to correspond with first person singular *minheu* versus *minneu*. *Ninheu* is strongly preferred over *ninneu* in thirteenth-century prose, which together with the first person singular conjunctive evidence suggests an overall preference for h-forms; this may indicate a phonological distinction, where the <h> in *ninheu* may still have been pronounced, but it is more likely that the h-forms are archaisms used to achieve a more authoritative tone in the texts. However, towards the end of the thirteenth century we see an increase in non h-forms, which may suggest either a phonological development away from the h-forms or, more likely, an orthographical development in the standardisation of written Welsh, as the production of texts in Welsh increased. The movement from h-forms to non h-forms is further attested through evidence from the fourteenth-century corpus, which shows that non h-forms overtook h-forms as the preferred form before the end of the fourteenth century.

With a ratio of 20 to 1 (81 examples of h-forms versus 4 non h-forms), it is clear that the h-form *ninheu* was overall preferred in thirteenth-century prose. The non h-form *ninneu*, on the other hand, was relatively rare. The manuscripts containing the highest amounts of examples of *ninheu* are Peniarth 44 (10, including Llanstephan 1 pp. 102–45), Llanstephan 1 (23, excluding examples from pp. 102–45) and the Dingestow manuscript (NLW 5266 with 34 examples). These statistics correspond well with the first person conjunctive form *minheu*, which is in strong majority against *minneu* in Peniarth 44 and Llanstephan 1 (15 versus none in both manuscripts) and in slight majority in NLW 5266 (3 to 2). Interestingly, the non h-form *ninneu* occurs in two manuscripts where there are no examples of *ninheu*, namely Peniarth 29 and Peniarth 30. These manuscripts seem to favour conjunctive non h-forms, as the same phenomenon occurs in the first person singular. However, as conjunctive non h-forms are so rare in the thirteenth-century corpus, particularly in the first person plural, it is difficult to determine whether there was an active choice against the h-forms or not; also, the remaining two examples of *ninneu* are found in Peniarth 6i and British Library Additional 14931, where we also find one and two examples of *ninheu* respectively.

The table below sets out the occurrences of the conjunctive first person plural according to form, orthography and the manuscript(s) they are found in.

Table 17: Location and orthographical representation of the conjunctive first person plural forms, with and without internal –h–		
Manuscript	<i>Ninheu</i>	<i>Ninneu</i>
Peniarth 1		
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	nynhe6 (10) NB 1 x nyn!he6 incl.	
Llanstephan 1	nynhe6 (13): nynhev (10)	
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	nynheu (1)	
Peniarth 29		ninnev (1)
Peniarth 30		nynneu (1)
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	ninheu (4)	
Peniarth 17	ninheu (5)	
Peniarth 6i	ninheu (1)	ninneu (1)
Peniarth 6ii		
BL Cotton Titus D.ii		
BL Additional 14931	nynheu (2)	nyneu (1)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	ninheu (28); nynheu (1); ninhe6 (1)	
Peniarth 3i		
Peniarth 16iii		
Peniarth 14 (45–78)		
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	ninheu (5)	
Peniarth 6iii		
TOTAL:	81	4

The forms *ninhe* and *ninne* do not occur until the fourteenth century; *ninhe* first occurs in Peniarth 8i, dated by Daniel Huws to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and *ninne* is not used until the end of the fourteenth century in Jesus College, Oxford 111 (The Red Book of Hergest), and each form is only attested once.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, p.58.

Table 18: Period, location and orthographical representation of the conjunctive first person singular and plural forms in the fourteenth century				
Period	1 st sg. + h	1 st sg. – h	1 st pl. + h	1 st pl. - h
1275–1325	Minheu (P8i: 1; P8ii: 1; P7: 2); minhev (P8i: 16; P8ii: 7; P7: 7; P21: 7); minnhev (P8i: 1; P7: 1); minhe (P7: 1; P21: 1) 45	Minev (P7: 6; P3ii: 1); ,minnev (P7: 3); minneu (P3ii: 1) 11	Ninhev (P8i: 5; P8ii: 3; P21: 3; P7: 1); ninheu (P16i: 1; P21: 2); ninnheu (P16i: 1); ninhe (P8i: 1) 17	Ninneu (P16i: 5); nineu (P16i: 1) 6
1300–1350	Minheu (P9: 26; M117: 25; P35: 19; P45: 15; P14iii: 10; P6iv: 7; P37: 1; CCAxiv: 1; CCBvi:1); minnheu (14iii: 1) 106	Minneu (P20: 1; CCBvi: 2); mineu (P14iii: 1); minev (H2: 1) 5	Ninheu (M117: 24; P9: 20; P45: 14; P14: 4; P35: 1; H2: 1) 64	Ninneu (P20: 1); nineu (P9: 1) 2
1350	Minheu (WBii: 50; WBi: 38; P46: 17; H1: 11; P18: 2; P10: 1; OJC119: 1); minhev (WBi: 32; OJC119: 4; P10: 1; P46: 1); minnheu (WBii: 1) 159	Minneu (WBi: 15; WBii: 5; P10: 4; H1: 1; P46: 1); mineu (P10: 15; H1: 7; WBi: 2; WBii: 2); minne (WBi: 1; WBii: 1); minew (P10: 1) 55	Ninheu (WBi: 29; H1: 23; WBii: 15; P46: 13; P10: 9; OJC119: 1); ninhev (WBi: 10; OJC119: 5); ninhew (P10: 1) 106	Nineu (P10: 7); ninneu (P10: 3; WBi: 1; B5: 1); ninew (P10: 1) 13
1350–1400	Minheu (M116: 17; Addl19: 22); minnheu (M116: 1) 40	Mineu (M116: 9); mine (Addl19: 1) 10	Ninheu (M116: 20; Addl19: 14); ninheu (Addl19: 1) 35	Nineu (M116: 3; Addl19: 1) 4
1375–1425	Minheu (RBH: 41; P11: 17; Sh11: 6; P15: 5; P19:3; LlSt4: 1; OJC20: 1); minhev (P15: 3); minnheu (P11:1; RBH: 1); minhe (RBH: 1) 80	Minneu (RBH: 115; P11: 108; LlSt27: 46; P19: 18; OJC20: 9; LlSt4: 9; OJC57: 9; Ph: 6; P190: 3; P32: 3; H16: 2; P12: 1; Addl14: 1; Sh11: 1); mineu (RBH: 4; Sh11: 3; OJC20: 1; Addl14: 1); minnev (RBH: 5; P15: 1); minev (P15: 3); minne (RBH: 2); Ph: 1); minna (190: 1) 353	Ninheu (RBH: 40; P11: 9; P19: 4; Ph: 3; P15: 2; Sh11: 2; P32: 2; OJC20: 1; P190: 1); ninhev (P15: 5; RBH: 1); ninneyu (P15: 1) 71	Ninneu (LlSt27: 60; P11: 29; RBH: 25; P19:17; LlSt4: 12; P190: 8; P12: 6; OJC20: 4; Sh11: 2; H16: 1; OJC57: 1); nineu (RBH: 3; LlSt 27: 2; Sh11: 2; H16: 1); ninnei (P11: 1); ninne (RBH: 1) 175
TOTAL:	430	434	293	200

CONJUNCTIVE SECOND PERSON PLURAL FORMS

The conjunctive second person plural form *chwithheu* is relatively rare in the thirteenth-century corpus compared to the other conjunctive pronouns, but it is a form which, due to its very nature, would not be expected to be found other than in particular contexts involving direct speech and a second person plural object as well as a need for a conjunctive sense semantically. It is also important to note that its reduplicated counterpart *chwichwi* is even rarer in thirteenth-century manuscripts.

The manuscripts with the highest amounts of examples of *chwithheu* are NLW 5266, Llanstephan 1, Peniarth 44 and the first part of Peniarth 14, all of which have considerable amounts of conjunctive pronouns in all persons. As expected, *chwithheu* appears in narrative texts, such as *Brut y Brenhinedd*, and hagiographical texts, such as *Mair o'r Aiffi*. The most common syntactic context for *chwithheu* in Peniarth 14 is following a second person plural verb form or a second person plural conjugated preposition, such as *ydywch chwithheu*, *yd eisteduch chwithheu*, and *ohonauch chwithheu*.¹⁰⁹ *Chwithheu* is most often used in this way in Peniarth 44 and Llanstephan 1 as well, but it is also found as part of possessive constructions, such as *ech kenedyl chwythe6*, *ech bra6t chwythe6* and *ech dy6odedygaeth chwythe6*.¹¹⁰ There are 7 examples of *chwithheu* being used as an independent pronoun; these are found in NLW 5266 (3 examples), Peniarth 14.i (1 example), Peniarth 14.ii (1 example) and Peniarth 44 (1 example).

*Gwell yu synnwyr yr anieillyeit ar bwystuilet en adnabot eu harghlyd ac en y adoli noc vn e deneon a **chwithheu** wedy auch gwneithur ar lun duw ae delw hep y adnabot.*¹¹¹

This is an illustrative example of a conjunctive pronoun with a contrastive effect.

¹⁰⁹ Examples from Peniarth 14, pp. 18, 32 and 2.

¹¹⁰ Examples from Llanstephan 1, p. 194.

¹¹¹ Peniarth 14, p. 75. 'Better is the sense for animals and beasts knowing their lord and worshipping him than that of men, since you were made in the image and form of God, yet do not know him.' Trans. Barry Lewis (unpublished).

There is one instance where the /ui/ diphthong is represented with a simple <u>; this is found in NLW 5266, and it is likely to be an error where the <i> has been left out by accident; the regular spelling of *chwithheu* as <chuitheu>, *chwi* as <chui> and *chwichwi* as <chuichui> indicates that this is the case. Russell has previously argued the opposite, suggesting that *chutheu* shows a phonological reduction of the /wi/ diphthong and should be read as /u/ rather than /ui/.¹¹² There are no signs of the regular <ui> spelling for /ui/ in the NLW 5266 examples of *chwithheu* being changed to <uy> or similar in accordance with Russell's observations on the scribe seemingly changing the orthography from a 'y-shy' to an 'i-shy' system. There are no attestations of *chwithheu* in the Peniarth 16.iv fragment.

¹¹² Russell, 'What Did Medieval Welsh Scribes Do?', p. 92.

Table 19: location and orthographical representation of the conjunctive second person plural form	
Manuscript	<i>Chwytheu</i>
Peniarth 1	
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	chwythe6 (4); chwythey (1)
Llanstephan 1	chwythe6 (7, incl. <i>chwythe6os</i> , where the following word <i>os</i> is accidentally attached to the preceding pronoun)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	
Peniarth 29	
Peniarth 30	
Cardiff 2.81	
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	chuitheu (5)
Peniarth 17	
Peniarth 6.i	
Peniarth 6.ii	
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	
BL Additional 14931	
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16.iv	chuitheu (8); chutheu (1)
Peniarth 3.i	
Peniarth 16.iii	
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	chwitheu (1)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	chuithe6 (2); chuytheu (1)
Peniarth 6.iii	
TOTAL:	30

CONJUNCTIVE THIRD PERSON PLURAL FORMS

Third person plural conjunctive pronouns are found widely throughout the thirteenth-century corpus. The main form is *wynteu*, which Russell has argued to be the origin of the conjunctive paradigm.¹¹³ *Wynteu* is strikingly similar to the simple third person plural form *wynt*, which is arguably the most consistently popular of the three simple third person plural forms. *Wynteu* is used syntactically as both the independent and the dependent form of the third person plural, and this versatility means that we would expect a high amount of examples in the thirteenth-century prose corpus. It appears twice in poetry in Peniarth 1, both examples appearing in the same stanza of *Ymddiddan Gwyddno Garanhir a Gwyn ap Nudd*, where they are in apposition to the speaker and his current state (the speaker being alive and the soldiers, to whom *wynteu* is referring, having died in battle):¹¹⁴

Mi. wi. wiw. vintev. y. bet.

Mi. wi. wiv. vintev. y aghev.

A secondary conjunctive third person plural form, *hwynteu*, is present, which was created through the orthographical representation of a prefixed aspirant; this form is likely to have developed after third person plural verb and conjugated preposition *-nt* endings.¹¹⁵ *Hwynteu* is overall very much a secondary form as it is far more rare than *wynteu*, but interestingly it is the preferred form in Cotton Titus B.ii and equal in amount to *wynteu* in Peniarth 29.

There are a few points of interest regarding the conjunctive third person plural: the presence of the alternative form *hwynteu*; the orthographical representation of medial <t> and the correspondence between conjunctive third person plural and singular forms as well as the correspondence between the conjunctive third person plural and the simple third person plural forms *wy*, *wynt* and *hwy*.

¹¹³ Russell, 'The Origin of the Welsh Conjunctive Pronouns', 30–8.

¹¹⁴ *Ymddiddan Gwyddno Garanhir a Gwyn ap Nudd*, ll. 60 and 63, *LIDC*, p.73. Jenny Rowland treats the *Mi a vum* stanzas as a separate poem and while she thinks Gwyddno may be the speaker, it may be someone entirely different if the poem was indeed intended to be separate from the rest of the *Ymddiddan*. See Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 247.

¹¹⁵ *Hwynteu* is in fact an artificial spelling at this stage, as there are no instances of this spelling in the thirteenth-century corpus.

The form *hwynteu* first appears in Peniarth 29, which is also one of the thirteenth-century manuscripts containing the highest amounts of examples of this form. The occurrence of the form *huntheu* should not be taken as evidence for a form with lost rounding, but rather <u> should be read as /ui/ in this context. Similarly the <u> or <v> of the spellings *vnteu* and *vntoe* (also found in Peniarth 29) should here be taken as an orthographical representation of /ui/, usually represented by <wy> in other thirteenth-century manuscripts.¹¹⁶ Paul Russell has also noted some examples of <v>, <u> and <w> for /ui/ in NLW 5266.¹¹⁷ The prefixed aspirant is very likely to have the same origin as that of the prefixed aspirant in the simple third person plural forms *hwy* and *hwynt*, that is, from a common morphological environment where a preceding third person plural *-nt* ending creates aspiration before /u/, e.g. *udunt hwy* ('to them'), *wnaethant h6ynteu* ('they did'); there are other examples of extra-morphological application of this phonological rule, e.g. *eu breynt hvynteu*. However, similarly to the development of the simple forms *hwy* and *hwynt*, *hwynteu* begins to stray from its original phonological environment and is used in similar environments that crucially lack phonological reason for the <h> to appear, such as in *eu muynhau huynteu* (used as an affixed pronoun as part of a possessive construction but without a head noun ending in *-nt*), and occasionally it is used in entirely new environments, as in *huenteu a deleant y anrchu [sic] ef am pop llauur* (used as the subject of an abnormal-order sentence). The feature of prefixing an aspirant to *wynteu* does not seem to be a chronological development, but it occurs in certain manuscripts (often with considerable frequency in the manuscripts concerned): apart from the previously discussed Peniarth 29 (where forms with a prefixed <h> are frequently found), *hwynteu* is found in relatively large amounts in Cotton Titus D.ii, BL Add. 14931 and NLW 5266 (the *Dingestow* manuscript). These results correspond fairly well with those of the simple third person plural, with the exception of Peniarth 29 showing a preference for the form *wynt* despite a general penchant for prefixing <h> to its forms. Another observation is that these forms are mainly found in law texts, apart from the *Brut Dingestow* in NLW 5266.

¹¹⁶ Peniarth 29, p. 54 for *vntoe* and pp. 50, 54 and 81a for *vnteu*. See also *unteu*, Peniarth 30, col. 41. Some possible Old Welsh examples of this are given by B. Lynette Olson and O. J. Padel, 'A Tenth-Century List of Cornish Parochial Saints', *CMCS* 12 (Winter 1986), 33-71 (p. 59) and *The Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript*, ed. Helen McKee (Aberystwyth, 2000), pp. 482-83.

¹¹⁷ Russell, 'What Did Medieval Scribes Do?', 91. Some examples from NLW 5266 of <6> for /ui/ are *m6af* for *mwyaf* 'more' (p. 284), *maelg6yn G6ned* (p. 297), *wn[.]b* for *wyneb* 'face' (p. 312). Note also *maelg6yn* for *Maelgwn* (< Gildas's Maglocunus) = hypercorrection. On this, see Rodway, *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature*, pp. 131-33.

The medial dental in *wynteu* and *hwynteu* is occasionally found spelled <th> rather than <t>; we find this feature in Peniarth 29 (*hwynteu* only) and in Peniarth 14 (*wynteu* only). It is unlikely to be a representation of a dental fricative as all examples occur in manuscripts where <t> is used more frequently for the medial dental in both forms, and a more likely explanation is that the <h> is reinforcing <t> as a medial stop. It is worthwhile considering this medial h-form alongside the conjunctive first person forms *minheu* and *ninheu*. If indeed the medial <h> in these forms was there to mark ultimate stress, this may have been the case in the third person plural as well. We do, however, face a problem in third person plural forms containing medial <h> being in distinct minority to those lacking the feature, which leads us back to the aforementioned theory of <h> reinforcing the medial dental stop, or possibly even to the notion that it may just be an occasional orthographic feature.

An interesting parallel between the conjunctive and the simple third person plural forms is that certain manuscripts contain corresponding high amounts of forms with initial h-; one of these is BL Cotton Titus D.ii, which shows a preference for the form *hwy* for the simple third person plural, and it is also the only thirteenth-century manuscript with a higher amount of examples of *hwynteu* than of *wynteu*. Another is BL Additional 14931, which, though it does not favour *hwynteu* over *wynteu*, contains a relatively high concentration of examples of *hwynteu* and it clearly favours *hwy* over *wy* and *wynt* in the simple third person plural. NLW 5266 does not favour forms with initial h-, but it is one of the few thirteenth-century manuscripts that contain examples of *hwynteu* and it contains a relatively high amount of examples of *hwy* (64 examples versus 107 examples of *wynt* and 9 examples of *wy*). Similarly to *hwy*, there are signs that by the second half of the thirteenth century *hwynteu* had already begun to stray from what must have been its original morphological and syntactical context as a dependent form following third person plural *-nt* endings, for examples *lladant huenteu* and *onadunt h6ynteu*. There are two examples in Peniarth 29 and one in Peniarth 30 of *hwynteu* being used as the subject of an abnormal sentence:

*Huenteu a deleant y anrchu ef am pop llauur.*¹¹⁸

*...ac huenteu a deleant pan uuoent uaru y adau yr brenyn.*¹¹⁹

*...a hynteu a dyly guassanaeythu hunnu ual gur medyannus arnadunt.*¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Peniarth 29, p. 28. ‘They should greet him with every effort.’ Own translation.

¹¹⁹ Peniarth 29, p. 104. ‘And they should leave them to the king when they are dead.’

Another development is that *hwynteu* is found used as a dependent form in a possessive construction without head nouns ending in –t, for example *eu gyrr hwynteu*, *eu da hwynteu* (these are found in the same sentence), *eu muynhau hwynteu*.¹²¹ This further highlights the gradual use of *hwynteu* as a form in its own right, though it is important to note that these occurrences are confined to Peniarth 29, Peniarth 30 and BL Cotton Titus D.ii; NLW 5266 uses *hwynteu* strictly after –nt endings.

Table 20: Location and orthographical representation of the conjunctive third person plural forms, with and without prefixed h–		
Manuscript	<i>Wynteu etc.</i>	<i>Hwynteu etc.</i>
Peniarth 1	vintev (2)	
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	wynte6 (39)	
Llanstephan 1	wynte6 (44); wyntev (7); wynte (2); wyntew (1)	
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	wyntew (13); wynte6 (10)	
Peniarth 29	vnteu (4); vinteu (3); uunteu (1); vntoe (1)	hunteu (5); huntheu (1); huinteu (1); huintheu (1); huyntheu (1)
Peniarth 30	wynteu (12); vynteu (10); unteu (1)	hynteu (1)
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	wynteu (10)	
Peniarth 17	wynteu (16)	
Peniarth 6.i		
Peniarth 6.ii	wynteu (1)	
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	vynteu (9); uunteu (1)	hunteu (18); huynteu (7); hvynteu (1)
BL Additional 14931	6ynteu (20); vynteu (1)	huynteu (6)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16.iv	6ynteu (84); wynteu (6); 6ynten (1)	h6ynteu (8)
Peniarth 3.i		
Peniarth 16.iii	wynteu (5)	
Peniarth 14 (45–78)		
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	wynteu (4); wynte6 (4); wyntheu (1)	
Peniarth 6.iii		
TOTAL:	313	49

¹²⁰ Peniarth 30, col. 190. ‘And they should serve that like a thoughtful man [would] unto them.’ Own translation.

¹²¹ Cotton Titus D.ii ff. 36r, Cotton Titus D.ii ff. 66r.

INFIXED FIRST PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The first person singular infix form *'m* is found throughout the thirteenth-century prose corpus, paired with the monosyllabic prepositions *o*, *a* and *y* (Modern Welsh *i*) and the relative particle *a* as well as the negative particles *ny* and *na*, the conjunction *ony* ('unless') and the perfective particle *ry*. It can be used as the object of a transitive verbal noun, the subject of an intransitive verbal noun and to indicate the genitive case. The largest amounts of the first person singular infix pronoun were found coupled with the prepositions *a* and *y* and the relative particle *a*, giving 60 attestations of *a'm* and 62 attestations of *y'm* (with *'m* being used to denote the possessive and the accusative cases, giving 'and my', 'to my', 'in my', 'to me', 'who *V* me' and the accusative first person singular in a normal-order sentence, attached to the pre-verbal particle *yd*, shortened to *y*).

Orthographical representation of the prefixed aspiration to a word beginning with a vowel following the infix first person singular pronoun *'m*, represented by sandhi /h/, is extremely scarce in the thirteenth-century corpus. The only examples discovered are found in National Library of Wales, 5266:

*Canys pei dechreu6n i a6ch anry[d]edu chui megys pria6t ky6da6t yr enys guyrda yr enys a gyuodynt y'm herbyn ac a 6rth6ynebynt ym.*¹²²

*Ac or diwed kydyab a mi a'm hada6 yn ueichya6c.*¹²³

National Library of Wales, 5266 has been dated by Daniel Huws to the latter part of the thirteenth century, and its late date combined with its large size may explain why the aspiration is shown here and not elsewhere in the corpus. There are plenty of examples of the correct conditioning environment where aspiration does not occur, such as *a'm ar6aeth* (Llst. 1, p. 51), *a'm arglwyd* (Llst. 1, p. 78), *a'm anryded* (Pen. 44, p. 26), *a'm edryf* + *a'm amheuo* (Pen. 30, p. 113), *a'm an6ones* (Pen. 14i, p. 35) and *a'm atwen* (Pen. 14ii, p. 75). This further

¹²² NLW 5266, p. 141. 'For if I were to begin to honour you as the rightful people of the island, the nobles of the island would rise up against me and oppose me.' Own translation.

¹²³ NLW 5266, p. 155. 'And in the end he coupled with me and left me pregnant.' Own translation.

suggests that orthographical representation of the feature was not put into regular practice until the fourteenth century.

No examples of a first person singular infix pronoun being used in the dative have been found in the thirteenth-century prose corpus. D. Simon Evans raised the point of the infix pronoun occasionally being used to denote the dative, but also noted that most examples of this occurring in Middle Welsh are found in early poetry.¹²⁴ Evans quotes the examples *y gwr a'm rodes y gwin* ('the man who gave me the wine') and *mawr anrhydedd a'm deddyw* ('a great honour has come to me') for the first person singular. Though the second example is from Dafydd ap Gwilym (poem number 22 in Parry's system) and therefore from the fourteenth century at the earliest, one needs to take extra caution when considering evidence of infix pronouns in verse, as it is both practical to have a non- or monosyllabic pronoun (depending on whether it is suffixed to a particle, such as in the examples quoted above) for syllable-counting purposes and the poet may also have intended to use the form to archaize the work.

There are plenty of examples showing the first person singular infix pronoun being used to denote the accusative and the genitive or possessive, which are the two main uses for the infix pronoun. The most common purpose of the first person singular form in the thirteenth-century prose corpus is to represent the possessive.

¹²⁴ *GMW*, ed. Evans, §61, p. 57.

Table 21: Location of the infixed first person singular form following pre-verbal particle *a*, relative particle *a*, prepositions *y* and *o*, negative particle *ny*, negative relative particle *na*, perfective particle *ry* and conjunction *ony*

Manuscript	A'm	Y'm	O'm	Ny'm	Na'm	Ry'm	Ony'm
Peniarth 1							
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	9		4	1			1
Llanstephan 1	16		7				1
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii							
Peniarth 29							
Peniarth 30	2		1				
Cardiff 2.81							
Peniarth 14 (1– 44)	4		5				
Peniarth 17	2						
Peniarth 6.i							
Peniarth 6.ii							
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	4		5				
BL Additional 14931							
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16.iv	19		6	1			
Peniarth 3.i							
Peniarth 16.iii							
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	1		1				
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	3			1			
Peniarth 6.iii							
TOTAL:	60		29	3			2

INFIXED SECOND PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The second person singular infix form *'th* is commonly found suffixed to monosyllabic prepositions, namely *a* ('and'), *o* ('from, to') and *y* ('to', ModW *i*, and the shortened form of *yn*, 'in'), and the relative and negative particles *a*, *ny*, *na* and *no* as well as the pre-verbal particle *yd* (shortened to *y*) in the thirteenth-century corpus. The corpus gives us *a'th* (93 attestations), *y'th* (84 attestations), *o'th* (23 attestations), *no'th* (six attestations), *na'th* (five attestations) and *ny'th* (one attestation). Just as with the first person singular infix form, *'th* can be used as the object of a transitive verbal noun, the subject of an intransitive verbal noun and to indicate the genitive case.

As the manuscripts in the thirteenth-century corpus vary in their representation of lenition, we see the expected results after the second person singular infix form according to the manuscript (and scribe). Where mutations are represented orthographically, we see lenition indicated after the second person singular infix pronoun, for example *yth wedia6* ('for your praying'), *yth bra6t* ('to your brother'), *oth wyrda ath gyghores* ('from your noblemen and your council').¹²⁵ Several manuscripts show inconsistencies in indicating lenition after the second person singular infix form; Peniarth 44 (including pp. 102–45 of Llanstephan 1) gives *oth bed6l* ('from your mind'), *ath brodyr tythe6* ('and your own brother'), *oth wlat* ('from your land') and *yth 6eybyon ty* ('for your sons'), but also *oth tr6gared* ('from your mercy'), *yth gwlat* ('to your land') and *oth kenedyl* ('from your people'). This variation is frequent enough to conclude that representation of lenition after the second person singular infix form is not standardised in the orthography of Peniarth 44 (this is particularly clear from the occurrence of both *oth wlat* and *yth gwlat*), though the presence of lenition represented in some cases indicates a familiarity with the mutation caused by the second person singular infix pronoun, particularly concerning words with initial bilabial consonants /b/ and /m/.

There are no attestations of the dependent possessive second person singular form *dy* being used after the monosyllabic prepositions and particles outlined above; this would not have been expected, but it is worth noting that the corpus does not show any variations from the formula 'V + 2. sg. INF.', where V represents a monosyllabic vocalic preposition or a particle ending in a vowel.

An observation in the narrative is that the second person singular infix form gives further evidence to the practice of using the second person singular rather than the second person plural when addressing a person of higher status, for example *argluyd hep ef mae deu yarll or ardal yth annerch ac yth wedia6 am dy dyuot en diogel gyt ath wyr dieither y gyfruch ac wynt hyt yg gruc yn edeirnya6n*.¹²⁶ John Morris Jones touched on this in his *Welsh Grammar*,

¹²⁵NLW 5266, p. 107.

¹²⁶ Pen. 17, p. 12. "Lord", he said, two earls from the district greet you and pray that you and your foreign men come safely to meet them at Y Rug in Edeirnion." Own translation.

setting the start date of the use of the second plural for the second singular in polite addresses to the fifteenth century.¹²⁷

Peniarth 44 and Llanstephan 1 have a larger amount of infixes second person singular pronouns paired with affixed pronouns (both simple and conjunctive) than the rest of the manuscripts in the thirteenth-century corpus. Peniarth 44, including Llanstephan 1 pp. 102–45, contains 23 instances of second person singular infixes pronouns (attached to the prepositions or particles outlined in the table below) with an affixed pronoun following the object. Llanstephan 1 contains 21 instances of the same construction. Most of the instances found are not followed by an affixed pronoun.

Interestingly, the instances where the infixes pronoun and subject are not followed by an affixed pronoun usually follow a clause or sentence where affixed pronouns are used. This suggests that once the object represented by an infixes pronoun had been emphasised with an affixed pronoun and did not change in the following clause or sentence, there was no need for an affixed pronoun to further highlight the subject. The example below from Llanstephan 1 illustrates this practice:

*Ac eyssyoes ep ef wynt ath gwarchaeant ty kessebyn em mebn twr ac ath loscant.*¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Morris Jones, *WG*, pp. 270–1.

¹²⁸ Llanstephan 1, p. 129. ‘And anyway, said he, they will besiege you initially in a tower and they will burn you.’ Own translation.

Table 22: Location of the infixed second person singular form following pre-verbal particle *a* and relative particle *a*, prepositions *y* and *o*, negative particle *ny*, negative relative particle *na*, perfective particle *ry* and conjunction *ony*

Manuscript	A'th	Y'th	O'th	Ny'th	Na'th	No'th
Peniarth 1	29	9	15	6		
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	17	19	9		1	2
Llanstephan 1	19	17	2		2	1
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	2					
Peniarth 29		1				
Peniarth 30	2	1				
Cardiff 2.81						
Peniarth 14 (1– 44)	3	6	5			
Peniarth 17	18	3				
Peniarth 6.i	1	1				
Peniarth 6.ii	1			1		
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	11	6	1			
BL Additional 14931	2	1				
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16.iv	23	20	5		2	1
Peniarth 3.i						
Peniarth 16.iii	3	3				
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	6	3	1			
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	1					
Peniarth 6iii						
TOTAL:	109	81	23	1	5	4

INFIXED THIRD PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The Middle Welsh third person singular infix forms are 'e, 'i, 'w and 's.¹²⁹ These forms are used for both genders. The thirteenth-century corpus contains a vast amount of third person singular infix forms in a wide variety of spellings, most of which refer to a male subject.

Due to the similarity in spelling between the preposition *y* ('to', Modern Welsh *i*) + infix third person singular pronouns construction and *yw*, the third person singular indicative form of the verb *bot*, it would be beyond the time constraints of this thesis to count every single instance of these constructions. It is, however, possible to show a sample of the spellings and use of the third person singular infix forms in the thirteenth-century corpus.

Peniarth 14 and National Library of Wales 5266 both contain spellings of *yw*, 'to him/her' (Modern Welsh *i'w*), that are identical to *yw*, the third person singular present form of the verb *bot*, for example *yw draet* (to his feet), *yw 6am* (to his mother) and *y6 uerchet* ('to his daughters'). Lenition after the masculine third person singular infix form is consistently represented in both of these manuscripts.

In Modern Welsh apostrophes are used between the preposition/particle and the infix pronoun, and these constructions are therefore more easily recognisable, but this is not the case in Middle Welsh and so we are left with forms that are identical to full-grade words. The table below has the Modern Welsh forms as headings; for the Middle Welsh forms, just omit the apostrophe.

¹²⁹ The apostrophes here are only used for clarifying purposes, as they are only found in Modern Welsh texts. Evans also uses apostrophes in *GMW*, §58, p. 55.

Table 23: Location of the masculine and feminine infixed third person singular forms following the preposition <i>o</i>, pre-verbal particle <i>a</i>, relative particle <i>a</i>, negative particles <i>no</i> and <i>ny</i> and negative relative particle <i>na</i>						
Manuscript	<i>O'e</i>	<i>A'e, A'i</i>	<i>No'e</i>	<i>Na'e</i>	<i>A's</i>	<i>Ny's</i>
Peniarth 1	14	5 (rel. pron.); 1 (preverb. part.)	1		2	10
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	107	<i>ae</i> (302)	3	3	1	5
Llanstephan 1	59	<i>ae</i> (335)	4		1	10
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	24	<i>ae</i> (5)	5		8	6
Peniarth 29	13	<i>ae</i> (114); <i>ai</i> (4)	3	1	13	11
Peniarth 30	20	<i>ae</i> (21); <i>ai</i> (1)	4		1	23
Cardiff 2.81	0	<i>ai</i> (18)			0	
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	60	<i>ae</i> (137)	1	4	0	5
Peniarth 17	33	<i>ae</i> (99)	3	0	1	0
Peniarth 6.i	3	<i>ae</i> (2)	0	0	0	0
Peniarth 6.ii	0	<i>ae</i> (3)	0	0	0	0
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	54	<i>ae</i> (572)	5	8	17	16
BL Additional 14931	4	<i>ae</i> (4)	5	0	17	17
NLW 5266 +	139	<i>ae</i> (442)	8	7	5	9

Peniarth 16.iv						
Peniarth 3.i	3	<i>ae</i> (12)	0	0	1	0
Peniarth 16.iii	20	<i>ae</i> (74)	0	2	0	2
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	14	<i>ae</i> (54)	0	1	0	4
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	3	<i>ae</i> (10)	0	0	0	2
Peniarth 6iii	1	<i>ae</i> (8)	0	0	1	0
Harley 1796	2	<i>ai</i> (4)	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:	559	2227	42	26	78	120

Due to the time constraints of this thesis, a sample from Peniarth 17 is used to represent the use of *yw* (Modern Welsh *i'w*) in the thirteenth-century prose corpus:

*A chanys dery6 henne bryssy6n y6 briodolyon weithredoed herwyd yd edewit gennym trwy hen gy6arwydyt.*¹³⁰

*...yw friodi.*¹³¹

¹³⁰ Peniarth 17, p. 4. ‘And since that has happened, let us hasten on to his proper deeds, as was promised by us, according to ancient lore.’ Own translation.

¹³¹ Peniarth 17, p. 31. ‘... to marry her.’ Own translation.

INFIXED FIRST PERSON PLURAL FORMS

The infixes first person plural form 'n is very uncommon on the Welsh thirteenth-century corpus.¹³² As expected, it appears in texts where the first person plural, which is one of the more uncommon persons in the Welsh thirteenth-century corpus, is commonly used. These texts mainly fall into the genres of hagiography, historiography and vernacular prose (*Mabinogion*), though they occasionally occur in law texts as well. As with all infixes pronouns, the first person plural infixes form can be found attached to prepositions ending in or consisting of single vowels such as *y* ('to', Modern Welsh *i*), the pre-verbal particle *a* and the relative pronoun *a*, ('who'). It can also be attached to shortened forms of the preposition *yn* ('in'), the conjunction *ac* ('and, with'), *oc* ('to, from') and the pre-verbal particle *yd*. However, the thirteenth-century corpus only contains a few examples of these conditions; the rest are found in texts from the fourteenth century and onwards.

There are very few attestations of the infixes first person plural pronoun in thirteenth-century texts. D Simon Evans stated in his *Grammar of Middle Welsh* that infixes plural pronouns are scarce in early texts, and we begin to see a significant rise in numbers during the fourteenth century with the increased production of texts in Middle Welsh.¹³³ The first person plural form 'n is only found in the corpus following the preposition *o*, the pre-verbal particle *a* and the conjunction *a*, meaning 'with'. The one instance of *o'n*, 'from our', is found in Llanstephan 1: *on hentade6 brenhyned*.¹³⁴

The following three passages are the same part from *Brut y Brenhinedd* taken from three different manuscripts (Peniarth 16iii, Llanstephan 1 and NLW 5266 (*Brut Dingestow*)). Though they differ in structure and slightly in wording, all three include two instances of an infixes first person plural pronoun together with the pre-verbal particle *a*. These passages possibly contain the only examples of the construction pre-verbal particle *a* + 'n.

¹³² Apostrophes are used with the infixes forms in this dissertation for the sake of clarity; there are, of course, no apostrophes in the forms found in the thirteenth-century corpus.

¹³³ *GMW*, ed. Evans, §56, pp. 53–4.

¹³⁴ Llanstephan 1, p. 194. "...born from our royal forefathers..."

*Ti ac an rodeist ni argluyd duw megys deueit en uwyt bleidyau ac em plith e kenedloed an gbesgereist.*¹³⁵

*Dyw ty ac en rodeyst megys debeyt a ysset. ac an gweskereyst emplyth e kenedloed.*¹³⁶

*Ti an rodeist megys deueit yn wuyt bleideu. Ac an guesgereist ymplith y kenedloed.*¹³⁷

The following passage shows the use of a separate preposition + constant and possessive pronoun alongside the use of the preposition + infixed pronoun construction. Both are first person plural as the referent is the same.

*...namyn hyt tra barhao ettwa tywyll6ch y nos y mae ya6n y ninheu arueru oc an glewder ac on kedernyt.*¹³⁸

This indicates that the use of the infixed pronoun has syntactical reasons: if there are two references to the same referent in apposition, an infixed pronoun is likely to be used in the latter reference.

If we consider poetic material from the thirteenth century, there are fourteen instances of the infixed first person plural form: twelve instances of *a'n*, one of *ni'n* and one of *i'n*.¹³⁹

The following excerpt shows the use of an infixed pronoun acting as part of a possessive construction, where the possessive construction forms the object referring to the previous clause (here marked as a sentence, where the subject is found along with another possessive construction acting as the object of the sentence):

¹³⁵ Peniarth 16iii, ff. 29v. 'You gave us, Lord God, like sheep, as food for wolves and you scattered us amongst the peoples.' Own translation.

¹³⁶ Llanstephan 1, p. 202.

¹³⁷ NLW 5266, p. 312.

¹³⁸ NLW 5266, p. 207. '...but as long as the darkness of the night may persevere, it is right for us to make use of our bravery and our strength.

¹³⁹ *A'n* (expressed as *an*) is found in 7.9, 7.37, 11.3 (x 3), 11.5, 11.8, 11.9, 11.11, 11.12, 17.79 and 17.126; *ni'n* (expressed as *nin*) is found in 5.89 and *y'n* (expressed as *in*) is found in 17.168 in *BBC*, ed. Jarman.

INFIXED SECOND PERSON PLURAL FORMS

The infix second person plural forms *'ch* and *'wch* are scarce in the thirteenth-century corpus. In fact, only one instance of a second person plural infix pronoun was found in the corpus, which has the *'wch* form used to denote the accusative case paired with a contraction of the particle *yd*:

*Ywch kymellasant y ada6 a6ch keibeu.*¹⁴⁰

Thanks to this particle, the infix pronoun (together with the particle) is able to stand in initial position in the sentence. The results are inconclusive regarding which form was more commonly used due to the paucity of evidence from the corpus. This is, however, not surprising; D. Simon Evans previously noted that the plural forms of infix pronouns are rare in Medieval Welsh texts.¹⁴¹ Evans based his research mainly on examples from fourteenth-century manuscripts, where one would expect all pronouns to be more abundant, and though it is still true in the case of plural infix pronouns they are still very rare compared to other personal pronouns.

From both a morphological and a phonological perspective, an infix pronoun might have been fixed onto *ada6*, but this was clearly not the practice with infix pronouns and a prefixed form was thus used. The reason behind the position of the infix pronoun in this sentence may simply be that it is in the accusative case. Usually the infix pronoun is found in secondary position to the independent pronoun (in this case *a6wch*), though the syntactical environment is usually a double possessive scenario (e.g. 'your X and your Y'), where the first possessive construction usually has an infix pronoun, whereas the second possessive construction contains the prefixed form.

¹⁴⁰ NLW 5266, p. 119. 'They urged you to abandon your mattocks.' Own Translation.

¹⁴¹ Evans, 'Y Rhagenw Mewnol Genidol', *BBCS* 14, (1950–52), 24–29.

INFIXED THIRD PERSON PLURAL FORMS

The third person plural infix form, standardised to *'u* in Modern Welsh, appears as *u, y, e, i* and *s* after prepositions or particles ending in or consisting of a vowel. After the particle *y* this form together with the particle is sometimes contracted to a single *y* and sometimes represented separately, giving *y y*, e.g. *y y penn* (to their head).¹⁴² The contracted form *y* is very difficult to locate due to it being identical in spelling to a number of words in the thirteenth-century corpus; Evans uses examples from poetry and fourteenth-century prose in his *Grammar of Middle Welsh*.¹⁴³ The *s* form is particularly common in law texts in manuscripts such as Peniarth 29 and Cotton Caligula A.iii, for example *gwedy as dangosso* ('after he has shown them' [referring to dogs]).¹⁴⁴ This form is also used for the third person singular infix pronoun, which is also common in law texts.

¹⁴² NLW 5266, p. 168.

¹⁴³ Evans, *GMW*, §58, p. 55.

¹⁴⁴ BL Cotton Caligula A.iii, p. 151r, col. 1.

POSSESSIVE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

There is a large amount of variation in the orthography of the prefixed first person singular possessive form, most commonly spelled *uy* in Middle Welsh (later standardised as *fy* in Modern Welsh). As with other first and second person pronouns, this form is usually found in literary texts containing direct speech. We therefore find instances of *uy* in abundance in manuscripts such as National Library of Wales, 5266 (68 instances), Peniarth 44 (45 instances) and the first part of Peniarth 14 (28 instances).

Some of the variation in the orthographical representation of the first person singular possessive pronoun is due to various attempts at representing the nasal mutation that follows this form; these attempts give us forms such as *uym*, *uyn* and *uyg*. Forms ending in *-g*, spelled *vyg*, *uyg* and *byg* in the thirteenth-century corpus, are followed by words beginning with either <k/c> or <g>; there is also an example of what looks like lenition but is probably missegmentation, namely *uyg wlat i* ('my land/country', National Library of Wales 5266, p. 140). Forms ending in *-m*, such as *uym*, tend to precede words beginning with , but in a few cases they are also used before words beginning with <p>, such as *vym peis* (Peniarth 14, p. 11), *bym peryerin i* (Peniarth 14, p. 21) and *uym porth ui* (National Library of Wales 5266, p. 145). Similarly forms ending in *-n*, such as *byn*, are followed by words beginning with <t>, for example *byn tat ynhe6* ('my own father', Llanstephan 1, p. 196).

There are plenty of examples of nasalisation of a following word beginning with and <c>, such as *uy mreynt* ('my privilege'; BL Cotton Titus D.ii, ff. 68r), *by nghynetyf* ('my special custom', Peniarth 6iii, p. 6) and *uy gygor i* ('my counsel', Peniarth 6ii, p. 3).¹⁴⁵ However, words beginning with <t> and <g> tend to only have their nasalisation indicated by the preceding pronoun, rather than <t> be changed to <nh> and <g> to <ngh>.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Own translations apart from 'my special custom' for *by nghynetyf* in Peniarth 6iii, which is by Sioned Davies in *The Mabinogion* (Oxford, 2007), p. 168.

¹⁴⁶ There are two examples of the nasalisation of /k/ being represented as <ngh>, as it is in Modern Welsh, in the thirteenth-century corpus. These are the aforementioned *by nghynetyf* in Peniarth 6iii, p. 6, and *y nghymerued*, 'in its centre', in Peniarth 6iii, p. 7. For a more extensive discussion on the orthographical representation of nasalisation in Middle Welsh, see T. Arwyn Watkins, 'Dulliau Orgraffyddol Cymraeg Canol Oddynodi'r Treigladd Trwynol' in *BBCS* 23 (1968–70), 7–13.

The most common syntactic context of the possessive first person singular pronoun is in the middle of a sentence, though it is also found at the beginning of sentences (especially in addresses found in reported speech). It is always followed by the possessed object, which in some texts is followed by an affixed pronoun. While the addition of an affixed pronoun, either simple or conjunctive, provides a function in marking both the subject and the object and thus putting it in apposition to another object in the same sentence, it is arguably also a stylistic feature. The high amount of possessive constructions (made up by a possessive pronoun + object + affixed pronoun) found in manuscripts containing the pseudo-historiographical text *Brut y Brenhinedd* indicates that this is the case. It might be considered that this could be a technique used in translations, particularly from Latin, in order to clarify the relationships of different objects in one sentence, as well as to create some distinction between them. If there are two objects possessed by a first person singular subject, the independent possessive pronoun is only used with the former object, while the infixed possessive pronoun is used for the latter, such as in *vy ryeny am kenedyl* ('my parents and my people'; Llanstephan 1, p. 165). The object in a possessive construction is rarely found together with a qualifying adjective, though there is some evidence of this in the thirteenth-century corpus, such as *uyg caredic uerch y* ('my loving daughter', National Library of Wales, 5266, p. 34).

Table 24: Location and orthographical representation of the dependent possessive first person singular form, with and without affixed pronouns		
Manuscript	+ Affixed pronoun	- Affixed pronoun
Peniarth 1		
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	13 (6e); 2 (6eg); 1 (6y)	28 (6e); 1 (6eg)
Llanstephan 1	11 (6e); 4 (6eg); 3 (6y); 2 (vyg); 2 (vy); 1 (6yn)	5 (6e); 4 (vy); 4 (6eg); 1 (vyg); 1 (6yg)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	1 (6e)	3 (6e)
Peniarth 29		1 (ve)
Peniarth 30		2 (ue)
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	8 (6y); 1 (6yg); 1 (6ym)	11 (6y); 2 (6yg); 2 (6yn); 1 (vyn); 1 (vym); 1 (6ym)
Peniarth 17		1 (vy); 1 (vyg); 1 (6yg)
Peniarth 6i		1 (uy)
Peniarth 6ii	1 (uy)	1 (uy)
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	8 (ue); 4 (uy)	21 (ue); 6 (uy); 1 (uyn); 1 (uem)
BL Additional 14931	1 (uy)	2 (uy); 1 (vy)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	15 (uy); 9 (uyg); 2 (uyn); 2 (6yn); 1 (6yg)	19 (uy); 11 (uyg); 4 (6y); 3 (uyn) 1 (6yg); 1 (uym)
Peniarth 3i		

Peniarth 16iii		1 (6y)
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	1 (vy); 1 (uy); 1 (6y); 1 (vyg); 1 (vyn); 1 (6yn); 1 (6ym)	4 (uy); 1 (vy); 1 (6y); 1 (6ym)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	1 (6y)	3 (6yn); 1 (6y); 1 (6yg)
Peniarth 6iii		1 (6y); 1 (vym)
TOTAL	101	159

POSSESSIVE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The prefixed second person singular possessive form *dy* is represented as ‘dy’ and ‘de’ in thirteenth-century orthography, thus showing some confusion surrounding the orthographical representation of /ə/. There are 326 instances of the form all in all, most of which are found in texts containing a substantial amount of direct speech in dialogue form, such as *Brut y Brenhinedd* and the Four Branches of the *Mabinogi*.

Affixed pronouns are commonly used with the possessive prefixed pronouns to form possessive constructions in Middle Welsh, and the evidence from the thirteenth-century corpus shows that the practice was used throughout the thirteenth century, both in legal and in literary texts. The prefixed second person singular possessive form is most often found without an affixed pronoun, but when the affixed pronoun is used it is usually a case of distinguishing between different persons or objects of importance that figure in one sentence.

The first part of Peniarth 14 once again differs from the two latter parts in that it contains a significantly higher volume of prefixed second person singular possessive pronouns, though the evidence found in all three parts reveals that the prefixed form is most often used without an affixed pronoun in these texts.

Lenition is commonly represented after the second person singular possessive pronoun in the thirteenth-century corpus, though there are some instances in the corpus where the object of this pronoun is represented in unlenited form: 25 instances of initial <k>, 11* instances of initial <t>, 8* instances of initial <g>, 6* instances of initial <d> 5 instances of initial <p>. It should, however, be noted that the most common convention for representing /ð/ in Middle Welsh is <d>. There are no examples of an unlenited <m> following *dy* in the corpus.

Table 25: Location and orthographical representation of the dependent possessive second person singular form, with and without affixed pronouns

Manuscript	+ Affixed pronoun	- Affixed pronoun
Peniarth 1		dy (32); di (12); du (1)
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	de (23)	de (18)
Llanstephan 1	de (16); dy (2)	de (13); dy 10
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	dy (1); de (1)	de (1)
Peniarth 29	de (3)	de (5); dy (4)
Peniarth 30	de (3); dy (1)	de (4); dy (1)
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	dy (7); de (1)	17 (dy); de (1)
Peniarth 17	dy (1)	dy (8)
Peniarth 6i	dy (1)	dy (2)
Peniarth 6ii	dy (1)	
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	dy (18); de (3)	dy (8); de (7)
BL Additional 14931	dy (2)	dy (11)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	dy (28)	dy (35)
Peniarth 3i		
Peniarth 16iii		dy (6); de (1)
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	dy (3)	dy (11)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	dy (2)	dy (5)
Peniarth 6iii		dy (5)
TOTAL	117	218

POSSESSIVE THIRD PERSON SINGULAR FORMS

The Middle Welsh form for both the masculine and the feminine third person plural possessive pronoun is most often found as *y*, in some manuscripts *e* (*ei* in Modern Welsh). It is a difficult form to locate in the thirteenth-century corpus, due to the myriad instances of the single letter *y* being the spelling for the definite article, the preposition meaning ‘to’ and an untranslatable particle. These are all very common words in Middle Welsh texts and it would take a very long time to sift through irrelevant evidence from the corpus, which the time constraints of this dissertation do not allow. The focus here is therefore to consider the regularity of the mutations these pronouns cause; the masculine form causing lenition and the feminine form causing aspiration.

Table 26: Location and orthographical representation of the feminine dependent possessive third person singular form where spirant mutation is indicated in the orthography of the following word	
Manuscript	<i>Y</i> (fem.) + aspiration
Peniarth 1	
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	y + ch- (20); y + th- (15); y + ph- (5)
Llanstephan 1	y + ch- (33); e + ch- (1); y + th- (9); y + ph- (5)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii	y + th- (15); e + th- (1); y + ch- (9); y + ph- (3)
Peniarth 29	e + ch- (5); y + th- (2); y + ph- (1)
Peniarth 30	y + ch- (5); y + th- (2); e + th- (2)
Cardiff 2.81	
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	e + ch- (15); y + ch- (9); e + th- (5); y + th- (2); e + ph- (1)
Peniarth 17	y + ch- (16); e + ch- (1); y + th- (1); y + ph- (3); e + ph- (1)

Peniarth 6i	
Peniarth 6ii	
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	e + th- (10); y + th- (7); e + ch- (16); y + ch- (6); e + ph- (2)
BL Additional 14931	y + ch- (53); y + th- (16); y + ph- (6)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	y + ch- (35); y + th- (22); y + ph- (6)
Peniarth 3i	
Peniarth 16iii	y + th- (2); e + ch- (4); y + ch- (2); e + ph- (1)
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	y + ch- (1); e + ch- (1)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	
Peniarth 6iii	
TOTAL	378

It seems that words following the feminine form as a rule are represented with initial spirant mutation. The masculine form is much more common and with its spelling being *y*, which is used to represent a number of common words in Middle Welsh, collecting every single attestation of this form would take longer than the time constraints of this dissertation allow. A sample shows that lenition is usually represented orthographically after the masculine third person singular possessive pronoun in the thirteenth-century corpus, such as *y uam* ('his mother') and *y uynet* ('his going').¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Examples from Peniarth 29 and Peniarth 14 respectively. Own translations.

POSSESSIVE FIRST PERSON PLURAL FORMS

The first person plural possessive pronoun, standardised in Middle Welsh as *an* or *yn* by D. Simon Evans, is most commonly found in hagiographical texts and excerpts from the *Mabinogion*, contained in all three parts of Peniarth 14 and Peniarth 17, as this is where most of the texts where the first person plural is used in direct speech are found in the thirteenth-century corpus.¹⁴⁸

The first person plural possessive pronoun affixes sandhi *h-* to the following word if it begins with a vowel, e.g. *yn harglwyd ni* ('our Lord').¹⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that while this feature (which is shared with the feminine third person singular and third person plural possessive pronouns) is represented orthographically as standard where it is caused by the third person plural possessive pronoun, it is not in the case of the first person plural possessive; an example being *an ansaud ninheu* ('our own condition'), where we would expect to find **hansaud*.

Affixed pronouns are commonly used with the first person plural possessive pronouns in Middle Welsh, and as can be seen from the table below, most texts from the thirteenth-century corpus that contain first person plural narrative pair possessive first person plural pronouns with their affixed counterparts, e.g. *an yachwydaul argluyd ni* ('our redeeming Lord').¹⁵⁰ National Library of Wales, 5266 stands out as having considerably more instances of the possessive first person plural pronoun without an affixed pronoun, but it is also important to bear in mind the size of this manuscript in relation to the other manuscripts in the corpus. In terms of genre, it is interesting to note that possessive pronouns and their objects are followed by affixed pronouns as a rule in hagiographical texts, as is evident from the numbers found in Peniarth 14 and Peniarth 17. In very few instances, the phrase (often written as one word with all persons) *ni hunein* is used in lieu of an affixed pronoun; it is, however, arguably a pronominal phrase rather than an emphatic pronoun, despite this being its primary function in this context.¹⁵¹

Emrys Evans' theory regarding a suspected preference of prefixed possessive plural pronouns over their infixed counterparts in Middle Welsh texts is supported by the evidence found in the corpus. Even in environments where one would expect to find the infixed first person plural pronoun '*n*', such as after prepositions and particles consisting of or ending in a vowel, we instead find the prefixed form. Take for instance *o an kenedyl n6h6neyn* ('from our own

¹⁴⁸ GMW, ed. Evans, §56, p. 53. N.B. There is significant repetition of phrases containing the possessive first person plural form in these types of prose, but its prevalence is likely to be more attached to repeated phrases in direct speech such as *an harglwyd* than to specific genres.

¹⁴⁹ Own translation. Example found in Peniarth 14, p. 81.

¹⁵⁰ Own translation. Example found in Peniarth 14, p. 58.

¹⁵¹ For a more extensive note on *hunan*, *hunein*, see Morris Jones, *WG*, §160, p. 275.

people’) and *heb bybot y an brenhin* (‘without our king’s knowledge’), where *on* and *yn* would be the expected forms used, yet the clash of these prepositions and the prefixed possessive form does not seem to cause a problem. However, there is no evidence of *a* (conjunction or preposition) being used before *an* or *yn*; instead the form *ac* with a final consonant is used.

The prefixed first person possessive plural form is also found in the phrase *yn an deu* (‘to us two’).¹⁵²

For obvious reasons, a pronoun with the spelling *yn* is particularly difficult to locate in a Middle Welsh corpus due to the extensive amount of the word *yn*, which is the more well-known spelling of the adverbial particle and the preposition meaning ‘in’ and therefore the evidence found presents a clearer picture of when the pronoun is used with the spelling *an*.

¹⁵² Own translation. Example from National Library of Wales, 5266, p. 304.

Table 27: Location and orthographical representation of the dependent possessive first person plural form		
Manuscript	+ Affixed pronoun	- Affixed pronoun
Peniarth 1		an (1)
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	an (1)	an (2, one of which is followed by <i>ni hunein</i>)
Llanstephan 1		an (1)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii		
Peniarth 29		
Peniarth 30		
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)	an (12)	
Peniarth 17	5 (an)	
Peniarth 6i		
Peniarth 6ii		
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	an (1)	
BL Additional 14931	an (1)	an (1)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv	an (13)	an (48, one of which is followed by <i>ni hunein</i>)
Peniarth 3i		
Peniarth 16iii	an (5)	an (1)
Peniarth 14 (45–78)	an (7)	an (9)
Peniarth 14 (79–90)	an (8)	an (2); yn (1)
Peniarth 6iii		
TOTAL	53	66

POSSESSIVE SECOND PERSON PLURAL FORMS

The second person plural possessive pronoun is usually spelled *ech* in the thirteenth-century corpus (*eich* in Modern Welsh), though variations including <w> (for example *awch*, *auch*) do occur.

The three parts of Peniarth 14, although contained in different manuscripts, are united by the form *auch* for the possessive second person plural. This form is not found elsewhere in the corpus.

The evidence of second person plural possessive pronouns in the thirteenth-century corpus supports Emrys Evans' theory that prefixed possessive plural pronouns were used in favour of their infixed possessive counterparts, even in environments where an infixed pronoun would normally be expected (for example after monosyllabic prepositions and particles consisting of or ending in a vowel, such as *i*, *o*, *a*, *no*, *na*, *trwy* et cetera).¹⁵³ An example of this is *y ech yechyt chwy* ('to your health').¹⁵⁴

A quote from Myrddin in *Brut y Brenhinedd* illustrates the difference in the use of prefixed possessive second person plural pronoun followed by object (INDEP. POSS. 2PL + OBJ.) and the same construction with an added affixed pronoun (INDEP. POSS. 2PL + OBJ. + AFF. 2PL).

*Llawurywch gwyr yebeync oc ech nerth y keyssya6 dyot e meyn. ac edrych6ch pa peth ore6 a 6o ae ech nerth chwy ae ente6 ethrelyth a chewreynrwyd.*¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ See Evans, 'Y Rhagenw Ategol Dwbl Mewn Cymraeg Canol', 173–6.

¹⁵⁴ Own translation. Peniarth 44, p. 7.

¹⁵⁵ Llanstephan 1, p. 138 (within Peniarth 44). 'You able-bodied, young men, seeking drink inside for your strength, look what might be best, either your own strength or [your] talent and privilege.' Own translation.

Table 28: Location and number of attestations of the dependent possessive second person plural form, with and without affixed pronouns		
Manuscript	+ Affixed pronoun	- Affixed pronoun
Peniarth 1		
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	6	16
Llanstephan 1	6	25
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii		
Peniarth 29		
Peniarth 30		
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)		
Peniarth 17		
Peniarth 6i		
Peniarth 6ii		
BL Cotton Titus D.ii		
BL Additional 14931		
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv		
Peniarth 3i		
Peniarth 16iii		
Peniarth 14 (45–78)		
Peniarth 14 (79–90)		
Peniarth 6iii		
TOTAL	12	41

POSSESSIVE THIRD PERSON PLURAL FORMS

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that the third person plural possessive pronoun *eu* (also found as *y*) was used more frequently in lieu of the third person plural infixed forms ‘*u*, ‘*e* and ‘*y* after prepositions, including monosyllabic prepositions such as *i* (‘to’) and *o* (‘from, to’). This agrees with the theory, posited by Emrys Evans, that there might have been a preference for prefixed pronouns in the third person plural in written prose, and it also tells us that this practice was in use not just in the fourteenth century, which is the period from which Evans got most of his examples, but as early as the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁶ The instances of *eu* found in the thirteenth-century corpus also reveal that the scribal representation of sandhi *h-* after the third person plural possessive form was very much in use by this period.

Most of the third person plural possessive pronouns in the thirteenth-century corpus are found in the pseudo-historiographical text *Brut y Brenhinedd*, contained in Peniarth 44, British Library Cotton Titus D.ii and British Library Additional 14931. The third person plural possessive pronoun causes sandhi *h-* to be attached to the following word, i.e. the object, when the following word begins with a vowel, for example *eu hettyued* (‘their heir’) and *e6 hanreythya6* (‘robbing them’).¹⁵⁷

The prefixed possessive third person plural pronoun is considerably easier to locate than its infixed counterpart, which is usually found as *y*, *u* or *e*. It does, however, seem that the prefixed form was preferred to the infixed form, in spite of conditioning environments that would normally suit an infixed pronoun (see chapter on infixed pronouns), in most cases.

Both types of possessive pronouns (infixes and prefixed) can be used to indicate the accusative case; *eu cadu* (‘keeping them’) and the aforementioned example of *e6 hanreythya6* from Peniarth 44 is a good example of this.¹⁵⁸ There is evidence for this construction being used throughout the thirteenth-century corpus, though most prefixed possessive pronouns are used to indicate possession, e.g. *e6 breynt* (‘their privilege’).¹⁵⁹

The independent third person plural possessive pronoun is known to cause sandhi *h-* being prefixed to the following word in both Middle and Modern Welsh, provided that the following word begins with a vowel. The orthographical representation of this feature is entirely regular in the thirteenth-century corpus. It is interesting to note that it was already a strong enough feature to merit regular orthographical representation at this stage, as this was not the case with the representation of the far more common mutations (especially lenition) following pronouns such as the second person singular possessive pronoun *dy*, where

¹⁵⁶ Evans, ‘Y Rhagenw Ategol Dwbl Mewn Cymraeg Canol’, 173–6.

¹⁵⁷ Own translation. Examples found in Peniarth 30, col. 66 and Peniarth 44, p. 21.

¹⁵⁸ Own translations. Examples found in Peniarth 29, p. 1 and Peniarth 44, p. 21.

¹⁵⁹ Own translation. Example found in Llanstephan 1, p. 41.

representation of mutated words differs between manuscripts is arguably only close to standardisation at the end of the thirteenth century.

Due to the difficulty in locating the spelling *y* for the third person plural possessive pronoun, this spelling has been omitted from the data in the table. The spelling *ew* is used for the third person plural possessive pronoun, but it is also used for the third person singular masculine pronoun *ef* as well as *yw*, the third person singular present indicative form of *bot*, and thus yields a large number of results. Unfortunately, it would be beyond the time constraints of this thesis to sift through the results yielded by the thirteenth-century corpus.

Table 29: Location, orthographical representation and number of attestations of the dependent possessive third person plural form		
Manuscript	+ Affixed pronoun	- Affixed pronoun
Peniarth 1		25 (ev); 17 (eu)
Pen. 44 + Llst. 1 (102–45)	17 (e6)	303 (e6)
Llanstephan 1	6 (ev)	107 (ev); 1 (eu – found as <i>euhol</i>)
BL Cotton Caligula A.iii		
Peniarth 29		5 (ev)
Peniarth 30		13 (ev)
Cardiff 2.81		
Peniarth 14 (1–44)		39 (eu)
Peniarth 17	4 (eu)	87 (eu)
Peniarth 6i		
Peniarth 6ii	1 (eu)	28 (eu)
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	25 (eu)	255 (eu)
BL Additional 14931	9 (eu)	231 (eu)
NLW 5266 + Peniarth 16iv		
Peniarth 3i		
Peniarth 16iii		
Peniarth 14 (45–78)		
Peniarth 14 (79–90)		
Peniarth 6iii		
TOTAL	62	1,111

CONCLUSION

The evidence contained in the thirteenth-century prose corpus reveals that the development of the Welsh personal pronouns was at a crucial stage of standardisation during this period. As far as extant manuscripts show, this period witnessed the introduction of writing in the vernacular at length in Wales, and it is important to bear in mind that the distinction in register between spoken and written Welsh may not have developed fully at this stage.

The personal pronoun that shows the most development during the thirteenth century in terms of form is the third person plural simple pronoun, which had several different preferred forms over the course of the thirteenth century (*wy*, *hwy*, *wynt*). We also see high levels of experimentation in orthography the thirteenth-century manuscripts, especially in Peniarth 29 and arguably also in Peniarth 44, Llanstephan 1 and BL Cotton Caligula A.iii, and some of the spellings contained in these manuscripts may well serve as evidence for alternative forms. An example of this is the retention versus the loss of internal *-nh-* in forms such as the first person singular conjunctive *minheu* and *minneu*. These forms also appear without final *-u*, giving *minne* or similar, and though these forms might be regarded as scribal errors they might also provide evidence for dialectal variation.

In terms of morphological development the use of infixed pronouns to denote dative meaning seems to be disappearing, at least in prose. D. Simon Evans quoted a few examples of this feature in fourteenth-century manuscripts, but it seems unlikely that they would be commonplace during this period.¹⁶⁰ There is at least no evidence of the feature occurring during the thirteenth century. When considering the evidence in texts of different genres, it is interesting to note that reduplicated and conjunctive pronouns are very common in manuscripts containing the text *Brut y Brenhinedd*. If we compare this to the hagiographical texts in Peniarth 17 and the fragments of the *Mabinogi* in Peniarth 14, we see that affixed pronouns are preferred in the latter manuscripts, arguably to emphasise their referents in a way different from the reduplicated pronouns. The reduplicated and conjunctive pronouns are all emphatic but with different semantic ranges; however, the evidence from the corpus shows that affixed simple pronouns can also be used as topical switches.

¹⁶⁰ Evans, *GMW*, §61, p. 57.

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