Lenition of the Conjugated Prepositions
in Irish and Welsh

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Plagiarism Statement

I hereby declare that I have committed neither fraud nor plagiarism prior, during or after the process that has resulted in this thesis.

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Abbreviations

ABA	Additamenta from the Book of Armagh
BMW	*Breudwyt Macsen Wledig*
BUL	*Branwen Uerch Lyr*
CH	Cambrai Homily
CO	*Culhwch ac Olwen*
CTDii	*Cotton Titus Dii.*
DIL	*Dictionary of the Irish language*
FG	The Story of Finn and Gráinne
FR	*Fingal Rónáin*
GMW	*Grammar of Middle Welsh*
GOI	*Grammar of Old Irish*
GPC	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*
LC	Lambeth Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount
LH	Irish prefaces from the Liber Hymnorum
LU	*Lebor na hUidre*
MW.	Middle Welsh
MoIr.	Modern Irish
MoW.	Modern Welsh
MT	Monastery of Tallaght
OIH	Old Irish Homily
OIr.	Old Irish
OJC111	*Oxford Jesus College MS.* 111
P4	*Peniarth* 4
P6i	*Peniarth* 6i
P16iii	*Peniarth* 16iii
P16iv	*Peniarth* 16iv
P44	*Peniarth* 44
PC	Old Irish Table of Penitential Communications

PPD	*Pwyll Pendeuic Dyfed*
SCC	*Serglige Con Culainn*
TDH	Three Drinking Horns
TE	*Tochmarc Étaíne*
TM	Treatise on the Mass
TPs	Treatise on the Psalter
VL	Vision of Laisrén
WMS	West Munster Synod
YBL	Yellow Book of Lecan

0. Introduction

When one speaks of defining features of the Celtic languages, a number of different features come to mind, such as the loss of initial p- in all of the Celtic languages. However, one of the most exclusive of those features – which any Celticist would count among them - is that of the initial consonant mutations. This phenomenon is not present in any of the other descendant languages of Proto Indo-European and must therefore be an innovation that took place only after the Celtic branch split off from the other Indo-European branches[1]. As such it is a rare and intriguing development, which has received quite a lot of scholarly attention over the years. The most common of all mutations is the initial consonant mutation known as *lenition*, which will be the focus of this thesis.

By using the grammar of the modern Celtic languages, the historical data from the medieval period and the reconstructions of individual words and sentences from before anything was written down, scholars have done a lot to improve our understanding of the origin and use of lenition and the other mutations. It is known now that lenition arose as the result of a regular sound change that occurred when a consonant was found between a vowel and a sonorant or word boundary[2]. However, during apocope – a development in the Celtic languages which caused the loss of the final syllable of unstressed words – this original environment was lost and because of this the occurrence of lenition became phonologically unpredictable.

Most instances of lenition in the Celtic languages can be explained relatively easily by looking at the historical phonological context of the lenited word. Examples such as the lenition observed after the feminine article in both Irish and Welsh and the lenition caused by certain prepositions such as OIr. *ó* 'from, by', MW *o* 'from, by', have been understood for a long time and go back to a phonological context. The examples given here are amongst the most recognisable instances of lenition because of their frequent occurrence, invariably leniting quality and the retention of lenition as a grammatical rule in the modern languages.

At other times, however, the observed instances of lenition in the Celtic languages are more difficult to explain. Some examples of lenition cannot be understood through reconstruction, but are the result of analogical extension from other lenited forms. An example of this is the mutation caused by the Old Irish 1sg possessive pronoun *mo* 'my': lenition. Although it is clear that *mo* always causes lenition, the mutation does not fit well with evidence from other Indo-European languages. Welsh, Avestan and Old Slavic cognates point to a reconstruction in a final nasal consonant[3], which means that the pronoun should go back to **mene*[4]. However, this ending would have caused nasalisation, instead of lenition. For this reason, it is generally believed that the lenition observed after the 1sg form is caused by analogy with another, quite similar form in the paradigm of possessive pronouns: the 2sg form *do* 'your'. This form always causes lenition and this is the expected mutation from the historical context[5].

However, there are also lenited forms that cannot be explained by either historical phonology or analogy. Especially some forms found in the medieval languages sometimes defy language internal explanations and might be considered spelling errors, for example due to dittography[6]: e.g. <u>ch</u>*ach* 'everyone', <u>chr</u>*ích* 'boundary'. Of course these examples must be isolated occurrences of lenition: whenever lenition occurs more frequently, there must be a reason for its occurrence and a different explanation should be sought.

There are cases of lenition in which the reason or cause of the mutation is as of yet unexplained, even though lenition occurs far too frequently to be accidental. For these forms no simple solution lies within reach even after well over a century of scholarship on this topic. It is interesting to see that some of kinds of lenition have

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[1] Grijzenhout 1995: 48-9
[2] McCone 1996: 96.
[3] Thurneysen 1946: 281.
[4] Schrijver 1995: 333.
[5] Thurneysen 1946: 281.
[6] Ibid.: 144.

ended up as a rule in the modern languages or have resulted in the permanent lenition of words belonging to the same category or paradigm, while they occurred only on an irregular basis in the medieval manuscripts.

This thesis will concern itself with one such case of lenition that defies explanation: the lenition of the conjugated prepositions in both Irish and Welsh in the medieval period. Neither language has a rule for this in either the medieval or modern stage of the language, but there is a noticeable tendency to lenite conjugated prepositions in both languages since the medieval period. The two examples below, one for Welsh and one for Irish, illustrate this form of lenition. It is evident that it is not the preceding word that causes the lenition of the conjugated prepositions. The mechanism that does cause this form of lenition, however, is unclear.

29.   BUL.   *ny eill neb uynet **drwydi***
                'it is not possible for anyone to go through her (the river)'

47.   SCC.   *a m-bátar íarom fón samail sin, tánic fer **chucu** isa tech*
                'when they were then thus situated, a man came into the house to them'

Lenition of the conjugated prepositions occurs – seemingly – haphazardly in Old and Middle Irish, but it certainly looks like there was increase in frequency over the centuries. In Welsh there seem to be big differences between manuscripts as far as the application of lenition is concerned. In Modern Welsh, however, all conjugated forms are lenited. When comparing the frequency and context of the mutations in the early medieval stage to the modern state of things, it is clear that certain changes must have taken place: while the earliest texts do not show any lenition in the conjugated prepositions at all, most conjugated forms in the modern languages have completely lost their original unlenited form.

The fact that both languages seem to lenite the conjugated prepositions is remarkable and suggests that there might be a similar underlying development in both languages. As of date, however, there has been no previous scholarship that has compared this practice in the two languages and very little has been written to explain this phenomenon in either of the two languages. Although the practice of leniting almost all conjugated prepositions in the modern languages does suggest that a development has taken place to bring the amount of lenition from zero in the early period to (near) completeness in the modern languages, little to nothing is known about its course, the contexts in which this form of lenition was originally found, the date of the development and the reason for its existence.

This thesis aims to fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge by applying these unknown factors in the form of research questions to a limited corpus of medieval Irish and Welsh texts and manuscripts. Only a few texts and manuscripts can be taken into account, given the scope of this thesis, but it is the objective to make a representative selection of Irish and Welsh sources. Since very little is known at present and research on this specific topic has been scarce, there is a good chance that these research questions will lead to new insights.

The formulation of the research questions can be found in Chapter 1. Theoretical background on the mutations is given in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 explains the methodology of the research process in this thesis, regarding the compilation of the corpus and the gathering and analysis of the data, while Chapter 4 describes the actual texts and manuscripts that have been chosen for the corpus, together with their estimated dates. Chapter 5 gives an overview of the variants of the conjugated forms in the corpus, in an attempt to list as many variants as possible. From Chapter 6 onwards the collected examples are presented and discussed. The Irish material is found in Chapter 6 and the Welsh material in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 presents the conclusions that can be drawn from the discussion in the previous chapters and, finally, Chapter 9 proposes some topics and questions that have arisen during this thesis for further research.

1. Research Questions

1. **Can a development in the use of lenition of the conjugated forms of the preposition be witnessed in the selected corpus from the medieval period?**
   If this is the case, is this development gradual or sudden?
   Is the development progressive, regressive or is there a stable equilibrium?
   Is this process similar in Irish and Welsh?

2. **Are the conjugated prepositions lenited regardless of their environment or do they require a specific context?**
   In which context is lenition of the conjugated prepositions observed?
   Are the contexts similar for each preposition within the same language?
   Are there exceptions to this type of lenition?

3. **From which period in time can lenition of the conjugated prepositions be observed?**
   Can a specific point in time be determined for the start of this development?
   Does the lenition of different conjugated prepositions occur at the same time in the same language?
   Does this form of lenition occur at the same time in the two languages?

4. **How can the existence of this lenition of the conjugated prepositions be explained?**

5. **Is the lenition of the conjugated prepositions in essence the same development for Irish and Welsh?**
   Does the lenition start with the same forms of the prepositions?
   Does the lenition start at (roughly) the same time and does it develop at the same pace?
   Does the lenition go back to a shared development in Island Celtic?

2. Theoretical background

<u>The origin of lenition</u>
Lenition started out as a Proto-Celtic process that caused a regular sound change to consonants between a vowel and a sonorant[7] or the word boundary[8]. As such, lenition was found with word-internal consonants: *in chlo<u>ch</u> thromm< *indā xlo<u>x</u>ā θrumbā <*(s)indā klo<u>k</u>ā <u>t</u>rumbā*[9], as well as with consonants on word boundaries in syntactically close groups: OIr. *in <u>b</u>enn <u>m</u>ár /in <u>v</u>en <u>ṽ</u>ār/*, MW *y <u>v</u>ann <u>v</u>awr <*(s)indā <u>b</u>annā <u>m</u>ārā* 'the great peak'[10].

This process probably did not take place in one single step, but in three separate steps in different stages of the language: 1) lenition of the Proto-Celtic voiced stops and probably */m/* to the corresponding fricatives, 2) Insular Celtic lenition of */s/* to */h/*, 3) separate Irish and British lenitions of voiceless stops to the corresponding voiceless fricatives and voiced stops respectively[11]. To place each of these stages in a historical chronology, evidence from all Celtic languages was examined to see which languages shared these three steps. The first step is thought to have been shared by all Celtic languages, including Celtiberian and Gaulish[12]. However, there is no evidence to prove that the second step (lenition of */s/* to */h/*) was present in the Continental languages. For this reason it is thought to be an Insular Celtic development[13]. The third stage of lenition is thought to be a development that occurred only once Insular Celtic had split into Irish and British because the process and resulting sound changes are so different. This last step must have been completed before apocope caused the loss of the final syllable and must therefore have occurred quite early in Irish and British[14].

Lenition started out as a phonetic change in the earlier stages (Proto-Celtic and Insular Celtic), but became phonemic[15] in Irish and British. The loss of the final syllables due to apocope had removed the context in which the phonetic change used to take place and phonemic differences could now be noticed. While lenition was a covert process word-internally - in most cases the word-internal consonant was permanently lenited - this was not the same for initial consonants, since forms with a lenited initial consonant now coexisted with the radical initial. Because of this, the speakers must have become aware of the clear distinction between different phonemes (radical opposed to lenited consonant) and the distinguishing function lenition had for certain homographs, such as the 3sg possessive pronoun[16].

Even though the outcome of lenition is phonetically different in Irish and Welsh, because of their close relationship and the shared historical endings, lenition is still often found with the same (cognate) lexical items and is found in the same contexts. For example, the masculine 3sg possessive pronoun OIr. *a* and MW. *y* causes lenition in both Irish and Welsh. Similarly, the feminine singular article causes lenition to the following noun in both languages, albeit only in the nominative or vocative case in Irish. Therefore, it seems that even though the resulting sounds were developed separately in the languages, lenition is found in the same contexts in both languages if it is the result of regular sound changes (opposed to analogically extended lenition).

<u>Contact mutations and syntactic mutations</u>
Every case of early lenition was a case of 'contact mutation': the first word regularly caused a mutation to the directly following word (as once caused by the historical context) whenever they were brought into contact with one another. The mutation was

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[7] McCone 1996: 81-2.
[8] Ibid.: 96.
[9] Ibid.: 89.
[10] Ibid.: 84.
[11] Ibid.: 96-7.
[12] Ibid.: 84-7.
[13] Ibid.: 88.
[14] Ibid.: 89.
[15] Schrijver 1995: 380
[16] i.e. OIr. *a*[L] 'his', *a*[H] 'her'; MW. *y*[L] 'his', *y*[S] 'her'.

unable to work across other constituents and could not affect anything outside the phrase it belonged to either. It is not surprising, therefore, that this terminology was chosen for this type of mutation. Lenition caused by certain prepositions and by the feminine singular article are good examples of contact lenition: they lenite the immediately following noun.

Because the original environments of lenition were lost during apocope, new generations of speakers could not always find a clear pattern in mutated expressions. As a result, the mutation was reanalysed and consequently extended to new places in the language. For example, certain adverbs became lenited in every context, while historically there never was a cause for their lenition, e.g. OIr. *thall* 'there'[17] and MW. *gynt* 'before'[18]. Moreover, some irregular paradigms were analogically levelled to show a (more) regular distribution of the mutations. Examples of such paradigms are the possessive pronouns and the numerals. An example of levelling within a paradigm was seen in Chapter 1 for the 1sg possessive pronoun in Irish. For the numerals this is seen with MW. *seith* 'seven' (cf. OIr. *secht*[N]) which sometimes caused lenition in the medieval period by analogy with leniting *wyth* 'eight' instead of the original nasalisation[19].

Given that the original phonological context of lenition was lost, the environments in which lenition is found cannot be phonological and must be - for this reason amongst others[20] - morphosyntactic[21]. Lenition is part of the morphology of specific lexical items, such as prepositions and forms of the possessive pronouns, but can also be used syntactically: the lenition of the object in Welsh, for example[22]. The use of the mutations as morphosyntactic markers became increasingly more frequent, especially when the mutations could convey new information or were a distinguishing factor in an otherwise ambiguous sentence.

Syntactic lenition is not triggered by a particular (preceding) word of which the historical context is the underlying cause of the lenition, but affects elements in the sentence based on grammatical function or grammatical relation to other. Examples of lenition that could also be explained by contact lenition are therefore never classified as syntactic mutation. A good example of syntactic lenition is object lenition in Welsh, which was erratically found in Middle Welsh, but has become a rule in Modern Welsh after the subject.

MW.   *y kynhelis*   *Bendigeiduran*   <u>*U*</u>*ranwen*[23]
        verbal   subject   object

        'Bendigeidfran supported Branwen'

MoW. *Collodd*   *Sion*   *ddwy bunt*[24]
        verb   subject   object

        'Sion lost 2 pounds'

Contact lenition – which would go back to a historical phonological context that once started this lenition - cannot explain these examples. The only logical conclusion is that the lenition is caused syntactically.

It is uncertain how lenition of the object emerged, but it is probable that it originates from a regular phonological process that was reinterpreted as a syntactic marker. In recent work by van Sluis[25] on Middle Welsh texts an attempt was made to find out whether object lenition stems from the lenition that occurs after certain forms of

[17] Thurneysen 1946: 144.
[18] Evans 1964: 223.
[19] Ibid.: 16.
[20] Green 2016: 1958-9.
[21] Ibid.:1951.
[22] Ibid.: 1983.
[23] Evans 1964: 18.
[24] King 1993: 23.
[25] van Sluis 2014.

the verb. It was hypothesized that the lenition caused by certain forms of the verb was reanalysed as object lenition. It is often either the subject or the object that stands right after the verbal form and given that certain verbal forms regularly cause lenition, a number of subjects and objects would have been lenited. Faced with a good number of lenited subjects and objects after verbal forms, it is imaginable that after some time speakers would have started to lenite forms outside of the original context, thereby introducing lenition after other verbal forms as well. This might have led to a new analysis: that the lenition was not due to the preceding verb, but that it was because of the function of a word. It should therefore be applied regardless of the position of the word, hence the lenition of the object even when it was separated from the verb.

However, the data from the researched corpus could not support this hypothesis. If object lenition would have been an extension of lenition after verbal forms, one would expect the contact lenition after verbal endings to have been replaced by lenition of the object by the end of the development[26]. As it is, contact lenition of the verbal endings is present until the end of the Middle Welsh period. For this reason, the hypothesis was abandoned.

What was brought forward in van Sluis' thesis was the fact that the purpose of object lenition in Modern Welsh is to clearly distinguish between the subject and the object and therewith avoid ambiguity in expressions. Because of the irregularity of the use of object lenition, combined with the presence of subject lenition in the Middle Welsh sources, it is clear that this purpose was not present at the start of the development. Rather, the use of object lenition as a distinguishing factor must have been invented sometime during the series of reanalysis and extension, after which it was established first as a pattern and then as a rule in the language. The very fact that this type of lenition has such a specific use and could be used to create unambiguous sentences is probably the reason why it was retained and eventually developed into a fixed rule.

Object lenition and other forms of mutation that cannot have been caused by contact lenition can be grouped together as 'syntactic mutations' or 'free mutations'. The latter takes its name from the fact that the mutation is not bound to lexical items as it is in the original contact mutations. The syntactic mutations are most obvious for Welsh, where it is observed for object lenition, adverbially used nouns and adjectives, lenition of objects of destination and in other places[27]. The practice is more subtle in Irish: there are no fixed rules for syntactic lenition, as opposed to Welsh. However, there are multiple cases of lenition in Middle Irish that can only be explained through syntactic mutation, such as the lenition of certain adverbs and lenition of some post-verbal words when they are separated from the verb[28].

The specific case of lenition of the conjugated prepositions could not be explained up to now by a simple form of contact lenition. After all, if the solution was as straightforward, a satisfying explanation for the mutation of these forms would have long been found. Moreover, the conjugated prepositions rarely seem to be preceded by the same lexical items or items from the same linguistic category. This suggests that the observed lenition of the conjugated prepositions is more likely to be an example of syntactic lenition in both languages. However, without looking at the actual data, whether the lenition if a consequence of contact lenition or syntactic lenition remains undecided.

<u>The reason of lenition</u>
While contact lenition can easily be explained by its historical context, the reason for lenition is not so clear for instances of syntactic lenition. As was mentioned before, if the lenition of the conjugated prepositions is not an example of contact lenition, this form of lenition is likely to have been caused by syntactic lenition. However, to go from a stage in which only a few forms were lenited to a stage in which every conjugated preposition is lenited regardless of its position in the sentence, requires an almost unbelievable

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[26] van Sluis 2014: 78.
[27] Schrijver 2010.
[28] Thurneysen 1946: 144-5.

analogical process without an intermediate stage in which there was good reason for lenition to be spread by analogy.

For example, in the case of object lenition in Welsh, we can clearly see how it would be beneficial to the speaker to extend a restricted phonological rule to objects in all contexts, thereby giving rise to a syntactic mutation. After all, it is the lenition of the object which makes unambiguously clear in any of the Welsh word orders which word or phrase is the object of the sentence. The fact that this tendency to lenite objects ended up as a fixed rule in Modern Welsh is therefore hardly surprising[29].

A way to explain the presence of lenition with the conjugated prepositions could be found in the hypothesis of the function and origin of Welsh 'free lenition' proposed by Schrijver in 2010. In this unpublished hand-out Schrijver deals with different kinds of 'free lenition' or non-contact lenition and he gives a list of the different variations of syntactic lenition in Welsh. The kinds of syntactic lenition that he mentions can be linked to a "wide notion of apposition"[30] and this sense of apposition could be the cause of lenition. Schrijver proposes that forms that give more information about an element that has already been introduced in the sentence are lenited. More specifically, Schrijver says that "If two sememes that belong to the same clause fill in one and the same abstract linguistic slot (e.g. 'subject', 'object', 'tense', 'mood'), one, usually the second, is lenited". In other words, a word that repeats something that has already been stated within the same sentence is lenited.

If this observation were true for the conjugated prepositions in Irish and Welsh as well, it might be the case that the conjugated preposition stand in a certain relation to another form in the sentence. One should therefore look for a connection between the conjugated prepositions and a preceding element in the sentence to see whether the presence of lenition can be explained by this hypothesis. The most likely candidate for a connection between the conjugated preposition and another form would be the verb, as this element is (overtly) present in almost every sentence and appears at the start of the sentence in Irish and as either the first or second element in Welsh.

The study of language change

Because mutations are not always directly the consequence of a regular sound change, but the product of (a multitude of) linguistic processes that induce language change, it can be difficult to find a straightforward explanation for their inception. In the study of modern language change, new developments can be observed and tracked over the course of time and a big advantage is that new developments can be put to the test by asking native speakers for a grammaticality judgement. Through these tests, researchers can determine the extent of a new development and by repeating these tests in certain intervals follow its progress both synchronically and diachronically.

When dealing with historical language change, however, a lot of factors are different. For one, there are no speakers to ask for grammaticality judgements. One must depend on the extant texts and base conclusions on the assumption that written sources were grammatical at the time they were written down and - at least to some extent - orthographically representative of contemporary pronunciation. This already poses a difficulty when one is dealing with a copy: did the copyist consider the material before him grammatical or not and did he choose to make changes or did he copy the text as faithfully as possible? Even in the latter case the question remains whether his own grammatical judgement did or did not (unconsciously) interfere while he was copying the text.

Because the amount of sources from the medieval period and knowledge about their provenance is often quite limited when dealing with medieval manuscripts, the study of historical language change almost always approaches language change diachronically. After all, without knowledge about the age and origin of the author, or even the area in which a manuscript was produced and copied, making a synchronic

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[29] van Sluis 2014: 79.

[30] Schrijver 2010: 2-3.

comparison between generations or geographical areas is impossible. It is rare to find an abundance of data that can be securely dated to the same period to support the outcomes that might result from such a comparison, while the chance of there being enough material available to study language change over a larger period in time is much greater.

This is especially true for the medieval Celtic languages: the amount of sources is very limited, in particular in the early medieval period, and it is almost never clear who wrote the text and what his background was. Fortunately, there is sufficient material to study language change diachronically. For this reason, this thesis deals with the diachronic development of the syntactic lenition of the conjugated prepositions in both languages.

Although explaining the origin of lenition of the conjugated preposition may not be straightforward, having a multitude of examples from texts and manuscripts that can be dated with relative certainty might help with forming hypotheses. Since dates are not always reliable or rather reflect the grammatical age of the text or manuscript opposed to when it was copied, they will mostly be used to put the sources in chronological order (in relation to one another). To be able to give an indication of the start of the development, texts and manuscripts for the corpus should not only be chosen from a period in which this form of lenition was already established, but also prior to or at the start of the development.

3. Methodology

<u>Compiling the corpus</u>
In order to answer the research questions, one corpus consisting of two parts, one Irish part and one Welsh part, has to be compiled. The texts and manuscripts for each of these parts have to fulfil certain requirements, which will be treated here.

   The first of these requirements is that the texts have to reflect the development of the observed lenition for the two languages and should therefore – whenever possible - be taken from the transition period of this development. In other words, the corpus should preferably include a few early texts that do not show this development, texts from the intermediary stage in which the development is progressing and a couple of texts from a later period to which the intermediary stage can be compared to see whether an end point has been reached. By having two extremities and a decent number of texts between those two, it may be possible to observe the start of the development and the way this development progresses over time.

   Given that many linguistic changes have taken place in the transition period from the Old to the Middle stage of the languages, combined with the fact that the lenition of conjugated preposition is certainly present in the Middle stage of both languages, it is probable that the development originated somewhere during the transition period from the Old to the Middle stage for both Irish and Welsh. To limit the corpus, texts should be selected up to the end of the Middle stage of the language. Secondary literature on the grammar of Modern Irish and Modern Welsh should be able to show whether the development has been completed, stabilized or is still ongoing.

   The Old Irish stage is traditionally dated to 600-900 AD with Middle Irish being used up to the 13th century[31]. Although the speed of language change is very hard to predict or even reconstruct, arguably, the transition period started somewhere around 800 AD for Irish, in order for a Middle stage to emerge[32] a century later. Therefore, texts for the corpus were selected from ca. 700 AD up to 1200 AD. A closer examination of the earliest Irish texts in the corpus will prove whether the selected time period is sufficient for this specific development.

   The Old Welsh stage is typically thought to span the centuries between 800 AD until the mid 12th century[33]. Unfortunately, very little is extant from this period and mutations – although certainly present at this stage in the language - are rarely expressed in the orthography. In order to observe lenition and to have easy access to the texts, most sources in corpus will probably be from the Middle Welsh period. It is possible that some of the research questions cannot be answered on the basis of this corpus, due to little or no evidence from an earlier period.

   The second requirement is that selected individual texts or manuscripts should preferably be large enough to yield a good number of results for further analysis. Depending on the available material, individual texts should be at least a thousand words long. Having a reasonably long text increases the chance that multiple conjugated forms are found within the same text and allows for better analysis of the forms within the same text. In an attempt to rule out most of the stylistic differences in the use and writing of lenition, the texts should share some features like style or genre. In this case, the texts were required to have been written in prose.

   Thirdly, each text and manuscript should already be transcribed, have been edited and be made digitally available. The latter is necessary so that searching the conjugated prepositions in the corpus is not an as time consuming process as it would be to search printed material manually. Moreover, whenever digitally parsed texts are available, these are preferred over unparsed texts, as the parsing significantly increases the ease with which to search the text for prepositions. After all, having parsed texts

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[31] Thurneysen 1946: 1-2.
[32] After all, the languages had to look different enough from an earlier period to be labeled as a new stage by scholars.
[33] Evans 1964: xvi-xix.

means that lexical searches are no longer necessary and that one can search for grammatical categories instead.

On the Irish side, a syntactically parsed corpus by Elliott Lash[34] is available that contains texts dated between 700 AD and 1100 AD. As using a parsed corpus significantly simplifies finding conjugated prepositions, the basis of the Irish corpus used for this thesis is formed by texts from Lash's corpus. Even though not all parsed texts are of significant length – the Cambrai Homily, for example, is only a couple of hundred words long and contains a lot of Latin text - the fact that the texts are parsed outweighs the requirement of length. As there is no parsed corpus available for Welsh, the texts and manuscripts were taken from *Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif*[35] and the *Rhyddiaeth* website[36].

Unfortunately, technical problems at the time of writing this thesis made searching the manuscripts from the *Rhyddiaeth* website through the search function impossible. This function would have allowed for searches with wildcards, proximity searches and searches for entire phrases, which would have made the process of finding the required forms significantly faster. However, since using the search function inevitably lead to a "fatal error" on the website, other means had to be exercised to search the manuscripts.

The only way around the search engine was to search each form and all its (possible) spelling variants in the wordlist instead. This function allows specific words to be found in every manuscript, but only with the spelling that is entered. This slows the process considerably. Since spelling conventions could differ from manuscript to manuscript and sometimes even differ within a single text, finding the required forms is an intense process, without any guarantee that the resulting list is exhaustive. Especially the many conjugated forms of the prepositions and their varying initial would require at least fourteen different searches[37], not counting spelling differences of individual forms. Therefore, the choice was made to limit this part of the corpus to four texts found in two manuscripts.

All the texts and manuscripts that are part of this corpus are listed and described in Chapter 4.

Gathering data
Due to the lack of orthographical representation of certain lenited initial consonants or because the prepositions start with a vowel, many prepositions and their conjugated forms are not relevant for this investigation. Moreover, to ascertain that the frequency of the simple prepositions is high enough to be able to observe changes, only the more frequent prepositions were taken into account. For Irish, this resulted in the following prepositions: *co* 'to, until', *for* 'on, over', *fri* 'against', *tar* 'across, over'[38]. For Welsh, the prepositions are: *can/gan* 'with', *tar/dar* 'over', *trwy/drwy* 'through'.

The Irish material in the parsed corpus is made available in a Window's text format for each individual text. This format allows for a quick search for all conjugated forms by using the search function of the programme and entering Lash's parsing code. He has encoded the prepositions as (P [preposition]) and since the preposition forms the head of a prepositional phrase, prepositions are always found as (PP (P [preposition])). The conjugated forms of the prepositions are encoded as (PP (P+PRO [conjugated form])). To find the conjugated forms the text format should be searched by using the string "(PP (P+PRO". Unfortunately, this search string also gives prepositions with a possessive pronoun, which are encoded as (PP (P+PRO$ [form])). To exclude the possessive forms, the search string should end in a blank space "(PP (P+PRO ".

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[34] Lash 2014.
[35] Isaac (et al.) 2010.
[36] Luft, Thomas, Smith 2013.
[37] The 1st and 2nd forms of the singular and plural (4), the masculine and feminine suffix for the 3rd singular (2) and one form for the 3rd plural (1). Each of these seven forms can appear with and without lenition of the initial consonant, making a total of at least 14 different forms for each conjugated preposition.
[38] Thurneysen 1946: 495-534.

In order to find cases of lenition of the prepositions without a parsed corpus, a list of prepositions and their conjugated forms was drawn up with which to lexically search texts. This list is found in Chapter 5. Because the prepositions and the pertaining conjugated forms are a fixed set of items, this list is a complete representation of the targeted forms in the corpus.

Spelling conventions can differ greatly from text to text and to make certain that most – if not all – variations of the conjugated prepositions were taken into account, a list of these forms was made for reference. To create this list of possible variants, the GOI and DIL, the GMW and GPC were consulted. This list, one part consisting of the many forms of the Irish prepositions and the other of the Welsh prepositions, can be found in Chapter 5. The list contains the most common variants and names some of the possible spelling variants that were taken into account. The list therefore not only contains the forms that were actually attested in the corpus, but is comprised of forms that could have been found. Even so, because spelling variations can be unpredictable and are not always listed in the grammars and dictionaries, the list is most probably not exhaustive.

In order to determine where lenition and non-lenition occur and to see whether any regularity in the use or non-use of lenition can be observed, the direct context of the prepositions has been collected as well. Both the preceding words and the words following the prepositional forms, and the syntactic position of the prepositions could play a role in the occurrence of lenition. For example, there might be contexts in which lenition is triggered or blocked by a certain syntactic position or by specific preceding words or sounds.

Because the relevant context for each conjugated preposition can differ greatly for each example, the context has to be determined manually by looking at the sentence structure. The texts from the parsed corpus are already provided with punctuation by editors to indicate the sentence structure to a modern reader. Because of this, extracting the relevant context from the parsed corpus for each conjugated preposition is made much simpler. Depending on the length of the sentence, the direct context is usually taken up to the first comma or from the closest preceding comma. For the unparsed texts, the direct context is thought to span at least the phrase in which the preposition is found and sometimes the entire sentence. Most of the Welsh texts, however, have been transcribed much closer to the manuscript and only contain the Middle Welsh punctuation. In order to establish the boundaries of the phrase, especially conjunctions (mostly *a(c)* 'and') were considered.

The direct context that surrounds the conjugated prepositions in the corpus is always given when the conjugated prepositions are listed in Chapter 6 and 7. To clarify this context as well as possible, every example has been provided with a translation. Some of the translations were taken from other authors, whenever they were readily available, other translations are from my own hand. The intention was to be as close to the syntactic structure of the examples as possible and to this end, some of the already available translations were slightly altered. For each text or manuscript in the corpus the origin of the translations has been mentioned in Chapter 4.

Analysing data

Each individual result has to be analysed in multiple ways to attain a complete overview of the use of syntactic lenition with the forms of the prepositions in their context and over time: separately, results grouped by lenition/non-lenition, results grouped by preposition, results grouped by text, results grouped by syntactic position, results grouped by language and results from (roughly) the same period in time. Each of these analyses contributes differently to answering the research questions.

Prior to presenting the forms in this thesis, each form was analysed separately to determine the position of conjugated preposition in the clause. The syntactic position was determined in relation to the verbal form: directly after the verb, with at least one constituent between the verb and the preposition or without a verb. By looking more closely at the reason for lenition, it could become clear, for example, that the observed lenition is caused by an already established form of contact lenition with the preceding

word instead of by an unknown form of contact lenition or syntactic lenition. By doing this, examples that are lenited by a known form of lenition could be excluded and only relevant examples remain to base hypotheses on and draw conclusions from. However, it proved unnecessary to exclude any of the examples on this basis.

Furthermore, the lenited examples were listed separately from the ones that do not seem to have been lenited. By doing this, a shared context might become obvious for either all lenited or all unlenited forms through further analysis. However, the conjugated prepositions of the same simple preposition might vary from another preposition in the way they develop, the rate of change or the starting point and should therefore be critically observed as well. Groups of the same conjugated preposition that have a very different lenition rate or differ in other respects, were treated separately.

After this preparation, a couple of other examinations will have to be done. The first of these is grouping the collected data from the same text as this will show whether the use of syntactic lenition can be observed repeatedly within the same text and whether that is for example a consequence of one specific preposition, a recurring context or whether the use of lenition is a common practice for all conjugated forms, regardless of the context. Moreover, this allows for closer examination of possible differences in behaviour of different prepositions. If differences in the use of lenition occur between different prepositions within the same text, this (largely) rules out the effect that difference in date might have had on the examples.

Analysing results within the same period – a generally broader period - serves the purpose of observing what the general tendency of using syntactic lenition was within that timeframe. Comparing the timeframes to one another in their historical order may show a certain development or may show such dissimilarity that no pattern can be distinguished. Either result is enlightening. A drawback in comparing timeframes is that there are fewer texts in the corpus dated to the earliest periods, simply because material from the early periods is scarce. To avoid that some timeframes consist of only one text or that there are gaps between timeframes, for which it is impossible to argue that a tendency or pattern exists within a certain period, the timeframes must be large enough to include multiple sources. Even then, working with the supposed dates of texts and manuscripts easily becomes conjecture and should therefore only yield tentative deductions.

After reaching this point it is possible to come to come to an explanation of how the use of lenition with conjugated prepositions is exercised throughout the development of both languages. One can conclude, for example, whether the lenition of conjugated prepositions is gradual, in which contexts the development is observed and whether a reason can be discerned for the use of this syntactic lenition. Specifically for the Welsh corpus, it is interesting to compare the practice of lenition of the conjugated prepositions to different recensions of the same text and to see to what extent the versions agree. Looking at all the evidence within the corpus of the same language and considering this data in light of the modern languages, the stage of each development can be established: whether the development has reached its end point, has reached a certain stability or is still ongoing in the language.

Throughout the initial analyses the Welsh and Irish conjugated prepositions are considered separately for the reason that the lenition of one of these languages could be similar to the other language or completely different. Only once the development within both languages is reasonably clear, will the two be compared to one another. There are a few things that should be taken into consideration when comparing the two languages: the observed developments for each language, the extent of the use of lenition, the contexts in which lenition is observed and/or blocked, the stage/end point of the development, the rate of change and the estimates of the starting point of the practice of lenition of the conjugated prepositions in both languages.

4. Selected Corpus

4.1 Irish

Most of the Irish texts in the corpus of this thesis are from the parsed corpus by Elliot Lash (Lash 2014). He has taken the texts for his corpus from editions and has syntactically parsed every text, allowing for quick searches for prepositions and other categories. His parsed corpus is still a work in progress: as of today he has compiled the corpus with fourteen texts dated between c. 700 and c. 1100, but he aims to include more earlier and later texts in the future to span a period of 600-1200.

Each text is found in a separate Windows text file, in which the text is parsed sentence by sentence and the structure of the sentence is represented in a constituency-based parse tree. The texts vary greatly in length, but even the shortest texts (Old Irish Homily, the Three Drinking Horns) take up over 20 A4 pages in Word because of the large syntactic structures. Lash usually provides a translation of the preceding Irish text at the end of each sentence, although he sometimes parses multiple sentences before giving a translation. In most cases Lash drew from editions and translations of the text, although he changed some translations to make them more literal or to highlight the Irish syntax.

Below are the fourteen texts that Lash has parsed with the manuscripts they are taken from and their proposed dates as provided by Lash. For a list of the edition(s), translation(s) and dating of each text, see Lash' Annotation Manual on the DIAS website[39]. The proposed dates are with varying degrees of certainty, but are included here to give a general idea of the presumed time frame for each text. The dates are of the individual texts rather than of the manuscripts, which makes the dates hard to use for the purpose of this research. After all, although the grammar of the text might represent a far earlier the date, the orthography – which includes the (non) writing of lenition - could have been modernised by copyists and is therefore only representative of the time the manuscript was compiled, i.e. the time when the text was copied. The dates will therefore be used as a rough timeframe and a way to order the texts somewhat chronologically, but will not be used as a means to date a development.

Lash's parsed corpus is roughly 28.500 words long. The texts listed below are preceded by an abbreviation in brackets. These abbreviations are used in the upcoming chapters to show from which text examples are taken.

(CH) **Cambrai Homily**
MS.: Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 679 (formerly 619), ff. 37rb- 38rb
Date: late 7th century

(ABA) **Additamenta from the Book of Armagh**
MS.: Book of Armagh (TCD 52, fol. 16rb – 18vb)
Date: c. 700

(LC) **Lambeth Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount**
MS.: Originally fly-leaves of: MS. London, Lambeth Palace 119 (G.n.12 -N.14)
Now: Fragments 1229, fol. 7-8.
Date: c.725 (or first quarter of the 8th century)

(PC) **Old Irish Table of Penitential Communications**
MS.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512, ff. 42c - 44a RIA 3 B 23 (now 1227)
Date: c. 751-800

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[39] www.dias.ie/celt/celt-publications-2/celt-the-parsed-old-and-middle-irish-corpus-pomic

(TM) **The Treatise on the Mass**
MS.: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS D ii 3 (1238) = Stowe Missal, ff. 65v- 67r
Date: late 8th or early 9th century

(TPs) **The Treatise on the Psalter**
MS.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512, ff. 45a-47b
Date: early 9th century

(WMS) **The West Munster Synod**
MS.: Laud Misc. 610, ff. 102 – 104
Date: no later than the 9th century, probably early 9th

(MT) **The Monastery of Tallaght**
MS.: Dublin, RIA 3 B 23, ff. 33a-47a22.
Date: c. 830-840

(OIH) **The Old Irish Homily**
MS.: Dublin, RIA 23 P 2
Yellow Book of Lecan, co. 397sq
Date: possibly mid 9th century

(VL) **The Vision of Laisrén**
MS.: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512, f.44
Date: late 9th or early 10th century

(FR) **Fingal Rónáin**
MS.: LL fols. 271-3
H 3.18 749-54
Date: early 10th century

(FG) **The Story of Finn and Gráinne**
MS.: Dublin, RIA, Great Book of Lecan, ff. 181 a 2.
Date: late 9th or early 10th century

(LH) **The Irish prefaces from the Liber Hymnorum**
MS.: Dublin, TCD E. 42. (only this recension of the text was used by Lash, as the other existing version - the F manuscript - is a different recension)
Date: late 11th, early 12th century

(TDH) **The Three Drinking Horns of Cormac úa Cuinn**
MS.: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 O 48 (Liber Flavus Fergusiorum)
Date: -

The parsed texts are of varying lengths. Some texts easily surpass the 1.000 words criterion, while others are shorter than that. The Cambrai Homily, The Treatise on the Mass, The West Munster Synod, The Old Irish Homily, The Vision of Laisrén, The Story of Finn and Grainne and The Three Drinking Horns do not fit the criterion. In contrast, the Monastery of Tallaght and the Liber Hymnorum are over 8.000 and 5.000 words, respectively. Since these texts are easily accessible because they are parsed, all parsed texts will be taken into account.

The parsed corpus alone does not yield many conjugated forms of *co* and *tar*. In order to find more examples so that hypotheses could be tested on more data, two additional texts are included in the corpus. These two texts are edited, longer prose texts from the later Old Irish period, which are digitally available through CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts[40]. They were included because of their size and digital availability.

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[40] Färber 1997-2015.

Tochmarc Étaíne contains roughly 7.700 words and *Serglige Con Culainn* is just over 6.000 words in length.

Translations of the context of *Tochmarc Étaíne* were taken from the edition that goes by the same name (Bergin and Best 1938). This edition and translation was chosen because out of the many translations available, this is one of the few that has based the edition and translation on the manuscript versions that were also used online on CELT: the Yellow Book of Lecan (YBL) and G4. The translations of examples from *Serglige Con Culainn* are of my own hand, using the glossary from the edition by Myles Dillon (Dillon 1941).

(TE) **Tochmarc Étaíne**
MS.: Dublin, Trinity College Library, H 2. 16, Leabhar Buidhe Lecain: Yellow Book of Lecan, col. 876–877 (facs. p 175a–b).
Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS G 4, cols 985–997.

The second manuscript (G4) was once part of the YBL. It contains the full text, while what remains in YBL are only sections of the text. For the edition both manuscripts were used, but mostly G4 as it is the most complete text.

Date: The YBL manuscript is dated to the end of the 14th century or the start of the 15th century[41]. G4 at the end of the 14th century.
Rem.: There are three parts to the tale, which are found right after one another in the G4 manuscript. Although the parts look like complete stories in their own right, they are not completely separate entities: the second part is an episode in the third part. In each of these three parts different pieces of the tale are told, with Étaín and Midir as the central figures. Because the parts tell their own tale and because examples are more easily traced back to their place of origin when the text is not referred to as one large piece but as three separate tales, examples of conjugated prepositions in these text will be preceded by the abbreviation of the text and the number of the tale: for example, TE2 refers to the second part of the tale.

(SCC) **Serglige Con Culainn**
MS.: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, Lebor na hUidre, fol. 43a–50b.
Date: LU is dated to the the 11th/12th century.

4.2 Welsh

For the Welsh corpus texts have been chosen from the digitally available *Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif*[42], which is a Word document that contains eighteen manuscripts that are dated to the 13th century. Since this file was too large to search through entirely and contains a lot of poetry alongside prose, a selection of manuscripts was made and is presented below. These five 13th century manuscripts in the Welsh part of the corpus have a total of over 80.000 words. The corpus had to be a large size to acquire enough examples of conjugated prepositions, as the prepositions *tros/dros* and *trwy/drwy* are not very frequent. The abbreviation for the manuscript appears between brackets before the name of the manuscript. The date of the manuscript according to Daniel Huws in his *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*[43] and genre are listed beneath that. Translations for the examples from this part of the corpus are from my own hand.

(P44) Peniarth 44
Date: mid 13th century
Genre: Prose: *Brut y Brenhinedd*

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[41] CODECS 2015.
[42] Isaac (et al.) 2005.
[43] Huws 2000.

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(P6i)        Peniarth 6i
Date:        13th century
Genre:       Narrative prose


(CTDii)      Cotton Titus Dii
Date:        13th century
Genre:       Law: LLyfr Iorwerth


(P16iv)      Peniarth 16iv
Date:        13th century
Genre:       Prose


(P16iii)     Peniarth 16iii
Date:        13th century
Genre:       Narrative prose
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Later texts were taken from the *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425*[44] website. Knowing that the White Book of Rhydderch (Peniarth 4[45]) and the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford Jesus College MS. 111) contain quite a few of the same texts and clearly have a very close relationship, texts were chosen that are present in both manuscripts for comparison. The intention was to see whether both manuscripts have the same forms (lenited or unlenited) of the conjugated prepositions in the exact same contexts, or whether the writing of lenition seems (largely) independent of the context.

These two manuscripts are in close relationship to one another to such an extent that it is now commonly thought that they share a common ancestor, while previous opinions held the view that the Red Book was a copy of the White Book[46][47]. There are some consistent spelling differences such as <u> for /v/ in the White Book version, opposed to <v> for the same sound in the Red Book, but the similarities of the two versions are striking.

The abbreviation of the manuscripts, their date by Huws and the genre of the chosen texts are as below:

```
(P4)         Peniarth 4
Date:        mid 14th century
Genre:       Narrative prose: Mabinogion


(OJC111)     Oxford Jesus College MS. 111
Date:        14th/15th century, probably between 1382-1410[48]
Genre:       Narrative prose: Mabinogion
```

Because of the time consuming process of searching for every spelling variation for every form, the corpus had to be limited to a couple of large texts from both manuscripts. The texts that were included in the corpus are four well-known texts from the Mabinogion, for which the two manuscripts are most famous. The first two chosen texts are two of the four Branches of the Mabinogion: the four 'main' stories that have become known as branches of the Mabinogion with which the White Book of Rhydderch begins. The two chosen branches are the first two branches: *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet* and *Branwen Uerch Lyr*. Other tales in the same genre are now included as part of the greater Mabinogion and two of those have been chosen: *Culhwch ac Olwen* for its length

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[44] Luft, Thomas, Smith 2013.
[45] The White Book as a book is a combination of the Peniarth 4 and 5 manuscript. In this thesis, however, only texts from Peniarth 4 were used.
[46] Thomson 2010: xi-xii.
[47] Huws 2000: 246n, 254-5.
[48] Ibid.: 254.

and sometimes seemingly older forms[49] and *Breudwyt Macsen Wledic* as another reasonably large text to complement the other texts.

      All combined, these four texts contain over 30.000 words. The texts are listed below with their abbreviation and the places in the manuscripts in which the entire texts can be found. The translations that are provided in the upcoming chapters are from my own hand with help of the editions of the texts, which can be found in the bibliography.

(PPD)   *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet*
P4   1r-10r
OJC111   175r-179v

(BUL)   *Branwen Uerch Lyr*
P4   10r-16r
OJC111   179v-182v

(CO)   *Culhwch ac Olwen*
P4   79v-88v
OJC111   200v-210r

(BMW)   *Breudwyt Macsen Wledic*
P4   45r-48v
OJC111   172r-174r

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[49] Rodway 2005: 46.

5. Selected Prepositions

Below is an overview of the prepositions that have been collected in the corpus for both Irish and Welsh. The lists are ordered alphabetically by headword. Beneath the headword a translation, a list of all conjugated forms, variants and remarks are listed. The spelling of lenition is not considered a variant, which means that each of these forms could appear with a lenited first consonant but that these are not all listed alongside the radical forms.

5.1 Irish Prepositions

Many Middle Irish spelling variations have been taken into account, such as the interchange between –nd/-nn, geminated or single spelling of consonants, alternation of medial and final <t>/<d> and <c>/<g>, and the change of many unstressed vowels to *schwa*. These variations have not been listed separately, but have been searched for in the corpus. The paradigms of conjugated forms are taken from Thurneysen's GOI[50]. A few of the more common variants of certain forms were taken from DIL and GOI[51] and are presented below the paradigm.

co

Translation:	'to, until'			
Conjugated forms:	1sg	*cuccum*	1pl	*cucunn*
	2sg	*cuc(c)ut*	2pl	*cuc(c)uib*
	3sg mn	*cuc(c)i, cuccai*	3pl	*cuccu*
	3sg f	*cuicce, cucae*		

Variants:	1pl *cucainn*

for (/far)

Translation:	'on, over'			
Conjugated forms:	1sg	*form,*	1pl	*fornn, furnn*
	2sg	*fort*	2pl	*fuirib, fo(i)rib*
	3sg mn	*for* (D), *foir/fair* (A)	3pl	*for(a)ib* (D),
	3sg f	*fuiri/furi* (D), *forrae* (A)		*forru* (A)

Some forms appear in a slightly different form when they are followed by an emphasising particle: 1sg *forum-sa,* 1pl *forum-ni,* 2pl *furib-si.*

Variants:	1pl *foirn, forainn* 3pl *forthu, forta*

fri

Translation:	'against'			
Conjugated forms:	1sg	*friumm*	1pl	*frinn*
	2sg	*frit(t)*	2pl	*frib*
	3sg mn	*fris(s)*	3pl	*friu*
	3sg f	*frie*		

Some forms appear in a slightly different form when they are followed by an emphasising particle: 1sg *frim-sa, frium-sa.*

Variants:	2sg *friut(t)* (D), 3pl *frithiu*
Remarks:	According to DIL, specially the 1pl conjugated form *(f)rinn* seems to appear without /f/ at an early stage.

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[50] Thurneysen 1946: 272-6.
[51] Ibid.: 515.

tar/dar
Translation: 'across, over'
Conjugated forms: 1sg   *thorom, thorum**   1pl   *torunn*
                    2sg   *torut*   2pl   *toraib**
                    3sg mn   *tarais*   3pl   *tairsiu*
                    3sg f   *tairse**

                    * attested later than other forms

Variants: 3sg mn *tairis*, 3pl *tarsa*

5.2 Welsh Prepositions

Common spelling differences in (early) Middle Welsh were not separately listed, such as <u,v, w> for /w/, <u, v> for /u/, <f, u, v, w> for /v/, <t, th, d, dd> for /ð/, and others as found for example in Evans' Grammar of Middle Welsh[52]. The Welsh paradigms as presented below were taken from GMW, variants from GMW and GPC.

*can/gan**
Translation: 'with'
Conjugated forms: 1sg   *kenhyf*   1pl   *kenhym*
                    2sg   *kenhyt*   2pl   *kenhwch*
                    3sg mn   *kantaw*   3pl   *kantunt*
                    3sg f   *kenti*

Variants: 3sg f *ganthei*, 1pl *gennyn,* 3pl *gantut, gantu*
                    The conjugated forms can occur with and without medial
                    aspiration and with single –n- or double –n- in 1st and 2nd person
                    singular and plural.

tros/dros
Translation: 'over, instead of'
Conjugated forms: 1sg   *trosof*   1pl   *trosom*
                    2sg   *trosot*   2pl   *trosoch*
                    3sg mn   *trostaw*   3pl   *trostunt*
                    3sg f   *trosti*

Variants: Medial –s- is sometimes spelled double if it does not appear with
                    another consonant (1st and 2nd person singular and plural).

trwy/drwy
Translation: 'through'
Conjugated forms: 1sg   *trwydof*   1pl   *trwyom*
                    2sg   *trwydot*   2pl   *trwyoch*
                    3sg mn   *trwydaw*   3pl   *trwydunt*
                    3sg f   *trwydi*

Variants: 1sg *trwyof*, 2sg *drwod*

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[52] Evans 1964:1-9.
*GMW always spells conjugated forms with initial g- even though early forms still have k-. Therefore, this paradigm has been slightly altered to show the unlenited forms. The variants given by GMW have been shown in this overview with the initial as listed in GMW.

6. Irish: Lenition of the conjugated forms of the preposition

What is typically regarded as a Middle and Modern Irish feature is the lenition of the conjugated forms of the prepositions *co* 'to', *tar* 'across', *for* 'on' and *fri* 'against'. However, it seems that the lenition of these forms occurs far earlier than the Middle Irish period: as early as the Milan glosses, though not as early as the Würzburg glosses[54]. McCone therefore suggests that the tendency to lenite conjugated prepositions and the occurrence of related 'analogical confusions' was already present in colloquial speech in the 8th century, but was for a large part resisted by the learned register. To McCone, examples of lenition of the conjugated preposition are instances in which the scribe 'slipped' from the learned register into a colloquial register.

The exact reason for the lenition of the conjugated prepositions is uncertain. Thurneysen ascribes their lenition to post-verbal lenition. He observes in §233 of his *Grammar of Old Irish* that lenition is optionally found after any verb, regardless of whether that verb originally caused lenition and of the function of the word directly following the verbal form. He gives gloss Ml. 46c1 as an example, which illustrates post-verbal lenition of a conjugated preposition: *con-toat **chucai*** 'who turn to him'[55]. In a footnote he describes that the lenition of certain adverbs, prepositions and pronouns has been generalised in the course of time.

Thurneysen's account of post-verbal lenition as the origin of the lenited conjugated prepositions was shared by Pedersen, who believed – even before Thurneysen - that the lenition of adverbs is of the same post-verbal origin as object lenition[56], only somewhat later[57]. He remarked that the same verbal forms that lenite objects, also lenite adverbs and regarded the conjugated forms as adverbial expressions. Pedersen found that the verbal form and conjugated preposition could be separated from one another and that lenition would still occur. He concluded that in most examples in the Sankt Gallen glosses the lenited adverbs are separated from the verb by at least one element, whereas in the Milan or Würzburg glosses the lenited adverbs were never separated from the verb. Pedersen argued that, as nasalisation can work across other constituents, elements that were separated from the verb could be lenited, whenever the verbal form caused this mutation[58].

To explain the later tendency to lenite all conjugated prepositions, Pedersen hypothesised that there were more leniting verbal forms than non-leniting verbs and that the practice of leniting adverbs analogically spread to a much broader context. After some time, the lenition of the conjugated preposition became even completely independent of the verbal form[59]. In manuscripts that were composed much later than the glosses, such as the Book of Leinster, Pedersen found that the lenition of adverbs could be blocked by homorganic sounds, for example: *oenlae**ch** **c**ucund* (LL. 17a50) "a lone warrior (comes) towards us" and *contoracht ton**d** **t**aris* (LL. 65a45) "so that a wave passed over it"[60]. For these later examples Pedersen's assumption was that the conjugated prepositions should have been lenited because of their adverbial quality. He explains the lack of lenition with the hypothesis that the lenition was blocked by the presence of homorganic sounds. All other adverbs he expected to be lenited, regardless of the presence or position of the verb.

If it is indeed post-verbal lenition that originally caused the lenition of the conjugated prepositions, it seems plausible that for the lenition to work across other

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[54] McCone 1985:88-9.
[55] This is the only example in the Milan glosses of a lenited form of the conjugated preposition *co*.
[56] Pedersen believes to see an archaic functional use in the lenition of the object in the Würzburg glosses that might have been used – similarly to Welsh – to distinguish between the subject and object. However, the application of lenition was never grammaticalized as it was in Welsh and was not retained in later stages of the language. (Pedersen 1898:331-2)
[57] Pedersen 1898: 332.
[58] Ibid.: 335-6.
[59] Ibid.: 336.
[60] Ibid.: 332.

constituents of the phrase there needed to be a certain link between the verb and the preposition. After all, since it was no longer necessary for the forms to be adjacent to one another, any form of contact lenition would have been impossible. For a syntactic mutation to arise and work even after the constituents were separated, the verbal form and the conjugated preposition must have shared a connection that kept them together as a unity in the mind of the speaker. Otherwise the original contact lenition would not have become syntactic and as a result have worked across other elements. Pedersen makes no mention of a connection between the two forms, nor does he elaborate on how the mutation could otherwise have worked across boundaries, other than his statement that it works similar to nasalisation. Hopefully, the results from the corpus of this current research can shed some light on this.

The conjugated prepositions of *co* and *tar* are listed in the sections 6.1 and 6.2 directly below and will be discussed in section 6.3. The forms of *for* and *fri* are discussed in section 6.4. Each of the conjugated prepositions is shown in its context, printed in bold. In order to view examples of the conjugated prepositions in a comparable context, all instances are presented by category, instead of shown by text and in order of appearance. The forms are first categorised by their unlenited or lenited appearance and then further divided for syntactic position: directly after the finite verb, separated from the finite verb or positioned in a phrase without a finite verb.

6.1 Unlenited forms of *co* and *tar*

Finite verb + conjugated preposition

1.   ABA.   *du-llotar **cuci** i suidiu secht-maicc cathboth*
             'the seven sons of Cathboth went to him there'

2.   TPs.   *ocus téiti **cuci** doridise*
             'and goes to him again'

3.   MT.   *bat **cuici** tési*
             'it is to it you shall go'

4.   MT.   *is fochric immurgu má gabthair **tairis***
             'it is meritorious, however, if a man gets clear of it'

5.   LH.   *nó in regad **cucisom** féin sair*
             'or should he himself go eastwards to him?'

6.   LH.   *7 is ann sein rolá dé in mbrat corcra roboí **tarais***
             'and then he flung from him the purple cloak that was on him'

7.   LH.   *ro-chuinnig **cuicce** co tarrtad a coibsena*
             'he asked her to confess'

8.   TE3.   *nachim forraig **tairis** ol sé*
             '"injure me no more," said he'

Finite verb separated from conjugated preposition

9.   ABA.   *du-lluid int aingel **cuci***
             'the angel came to him'

10.   MT.   *cond-atecht a mathair **cucisom** a ggaire*
             'his mother besought him to take care of her'

11. MT. *do luid íarum **cucisom***
   'she came to him then'

12. OIH. *cotngéra in coimdiu **cucai** i llaithiu brátha*
   'the lord will call to him on the day of judgement'

13. LH. *ar ní tic teidm **tarais** innun*
   'for pestilence does not come across beyond [the sea]'

14. LH. *do-foilet oígid h-úasliu **cucunn** indiu*
   'nobler guests are coming to us today'

15. LH. *ro thothlaig trá griguir a coibsena **cucusom***
   'then Gregory demanded their confessions from them'

16. TDH. *or tucad cealtar **tairsib** ó día*
   'for a veil was spread over them by God'

17. SCC. *dotháet alaili **cucai** dano*
   'the other came up to him then'

With verbs of "seeing, noticing"

18. ABA. *amail imm-ind-ráitset con-acatar fíacc find **cuccu***
   'as they spoke of him, they saw Fíacc the Fair (coming) to them'

19. FR. *co-n-accatar **cuccu** doridisi*
   'they saw him (coming) towards them again'

20. LH. *con-faca in curach **cuice** don fearand*
   'he saw a boat (coming) towards him to land'

21. TE3. *7 bai & a righan a n-imagallaim for lar an lis, co n-acadar Midir **cuco***
   'and when he and his queen were conversing in the middle of the court, they saw Midir (coming) towards them'

22. SCC. *co n-accai in dá mnaí **cucai***
   'he saw the two women (coming) towards him'

Construction without finite verb

23. MT. *7 do chor súlae **taris***
   'and to cast eyes over it'

24. TE2. *ba tocha duid toidheacht **cucamsa***
   'it were more fitting for thee to come to me'

25. TE3. *7 a ndodnucuiss do cuingid **cucum***
   'and all that … to demand from me′

26. SCC. *.i. cechtar dé imma sech **cucai** béus dia búalad combo marba acht bec*
   'that is, each of them in turn (went) to him, moreover, to strike him until he was nearly dead'

6.2 Lenited forms of *co* and *tar*

<u>Finite verb + conjugated preposition</u>

27. MT.   *ce ní-s-tuca-su **chucud** dochom betad hísi*
              'although you do not bring her to you to life'

28. FR.   *ro-s-fáid **chuci** fo chétóir*
              'she sent her to him at once'

29. TE1.   *cid condaighi **chucum** a fecht sa? ol an Mac Óg.*
              '"What do you ask of me now," said the Mac Óg'

30. TE1.   *7 dofusced in tan dotheighedh **chuici** nech nachad caradh*
              'and whenever anyone approached who did not love him, she would
              awaken him'

31. TE1.   *7 bes as **chuici** forobairt an bean*
              'and perhaps it is she that the woman is making for'

32. TE3.   *matumchotaise om aiththighi ragasa **chucad**; minam édai, ní ragh*
              'I will go to thee, if thou obtain me from my husband, if thou obtain me
              not, I will not go'

33. SCC.   *ní rigtha **chucu**, ar itá nách cumachta fora cúl na n-én sa*
              'you would not go towards them, for there is a power at the back of these
              birds'

<u>Finite verb separated from conjugated preposition</u>

34. MT.   *do-luid ind satan **chuici** íarsin*
              'Satan came thereafter to him'

35. FR.   *gaibid ind óc-ben **chucu** co-m bói oc imbirt*
              'the young woman came towards them until she was playing'

36. FR.   *7 dálfaid in ben a ssétchi **chucund***
              'and the woman will cause her companion to meet with us'

37. FR.   *ro-m-uc-sa congal **chuci** co bo thrí ó matin*
              'Congal brought me to him three times since morning'

38. FR.   *tucad trá íarsin in cocad **chucaiseom***
              'the fighting then was then carried to him'

39. LH.   *tánic danó in scolaige cétna **chucu** íarna barach di a fis*
              'on the morrow that same student came to them to visit them'

40. LH.   *7 co ro léced a bráthair é **chucai***
              'and that his brother should let him come to him'

41. TE1.   *7 teis Aengus **chuici***
              'and that Aengus should come to him'

42. TE3.   *is iarum dothaet a ceili **chuice***
              'it after that his opponent went to him'

28

43. TE3. *7 dóet nech **chuca** ass, 7 isbreth fris vel friu nabú ann baí a mben*
'and a certain person comes forth and said to him or to them that it was not there that their woman was'

44. TE3. *lodar da fiach finda **chuco** asin tsidh*
'two white ravens went from the mount to them'

45. TE3. *tic nech **chuco** afrisi as*
'one comes forth to them again'

46. SCC. *dolluid in ben cosin brot úane **chucai***
'the woman with the green cloak came to him'

47. SCC. *a m-bátar íarom fón samail sin, tánic fer **chucu** isa tech*
'when they were then thus situated, a man came into the house to them'

With Verbs of "seeing, noticing"

48. TE1. *co n-acadar in marcach isin magh **chucu** don usciu*
'when they saw from the water a horseman entering the plain towards them'

49. TE3. *co n-acca a cheile **chuicé** iarsind tsosad ina arrud cheana*
'and he saw his opponent close by (coming) towards him along the terrace'

50. TE3. *a mbatar fora mbriathraib co n-accadar Midir **chucu***
'while they were speaking they saw Midir (coming) towards them'

51. TE3. *a mbatar iarom fora mbriathraib co n-accotar Midir **chucu** for lar an rigthaighe*
'thereafter as they were speaking they saw Midir (coming) towards them in the midst of the royal house'

52. TE3. *a mbatar and oc tochailt Sídh Breg Leith co n-acatar Midir **chucu***
'as they were there razing Sid Bri Leith they beheld Midir (coming) towards them'

53. SCC. *co n-accai in mnaí bruit úani **chucai***
'when he saw the green cloaked woman (coming) towards him'

54. SCC. *7 lotar do dorus tige co n-accatar in fer **chucu***
'and they went to the door of a house, they saw the man (coming) towards them'

55. SCC. *co n-acca **chuci** iar sin Lí Ban*
'he saw Lí Ban (coming) towards him after that'

56. SCC. *7 níro airigset na mná **chucu***
'and they did not notice the women (coming) towards them'

Construction without finite verb

57. TDH. *oc tíachtain dont slúadh **thairis***
'as the army was going across it'

58. TE1. *doluid an Mac Og do acallaim Ailella do chuindchid Etaine **chuici***
'Mac Óg went to adress Aillil to request Etain from him'

59. SCC. *ro boíseom dano oc cuingid digi **chucu** iar sin*
'he was then at asking compensation of them after that'

60. SCC. *ní maith dún ém cid for túrusi **chucund** innuraid*
'it is not good for us, indeed, what was the reason for your (pl.) journey to us last year?'

6.3 Discussion – conjugated *co* and *tar*

Of the 60 conjugated forms of the prepositions *co* and *tar* in the corpus, 34 forms appear in their lenited forms: 33 forms of *co* and one form of *tar*[61]. This means that 26 forms appear unlenited: 20 forms of *co* and six forms of *tar.*
    Both the Additamenta from the Book of Armagh and the Treatise on the Psalter only contain unlenited forms of the conjugated prepositions. The Monastery of Tallaght, dated to the 9th century, is the first of these texts to show lenition in conjugated forms of *co* and shows – like all other texts containing lenited forms - a mix of lenited and unlenited forms. Especially *Tochmarc Étaíne* and *Serglige Con Culainn* have noticeably more lenited than unlenited forms. There are no conjugated forms of these prepositions – lenited or unlenited - in the Cambrai Homily, the Lambeth Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, the Old Irish Table of Penitential Commutations, the Treatise on the Mass, the West Munster Synod, the Vision of Laisrén and the Story of Finn and Gráinne.
    With regards to the forms that are found, most forms are in the 3sg or 3pl, as can be expected. All conjugated forms of *co* appear at least once, with exception of the 2pl plural form. The conjugated forms of *tar* appear only in the 3sg and 3pl form.

Syntactic position of the conjugated prepositions
Syntactically, the conjugated forms always appear in a position after the finite verb and the conjugated form gives additional information about the verb as a complement. The forms of the preposition either directly follow the verb or are separated from the verb by one or more constituents. In phrases in which there is no finite verb present, the conjugated forms of *co* and *tar* are often found after a verbal noun, or – as example 51 indicates – after a noun. The conjugated forms of *co* can also be used in clauses in which there is no direct relation between the finite verb of "seeing, noticing" and the conjugated form of *co*.
    Looking at the conjugated prepositions in relation to other adverbs in the sentence, it seems that there is a tendency to put the conjugated preposition first whenever there are multiple adverbs or adverbial phrases in the sentence. There are 30 instances in the corpus in which there are one or more adverbs or adverbial expressions in the same clause as the conjugated preposition. In 24 of these the conjugated preposition comes first in the order, preceding mostly adverbs of time and location, and other prepositional phrases: 1, 2, 5, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 27, 28, 29, 34, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 51, 55, 59 and 60. It appears, therefore, that the usual order of multiple adverbial expressions would start with a conjugated preposition.

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[61] Without the inclusion of the versions of *Tochmarc Étaíne* and *Serglige Con Culainn* the forms showing lenition would be much fewer: there are 23 lenited *co,* six unlenited *co* and one unlenited *tar* in these two texts.

The other six examples, in which the conjugated preposition is preceded by another adverbial expression – or even two adverbs in example 38 – in the same phrase, are found below. The conjugated prepositions have been printed in bold, while the adverbs are indicated by an underscore.

11.   MT.   *do luid íarum* **cucisom**
             'she came to him then'

15.   LH.   *ro thothlaig trá griguir a coibsena* **cucusom**
             'Gregory demanded then their confessions from them'

26.   SCC. *.i. cechtar dé imma sech* **cucai** *béus dia búalad combo marba acht bec*
             'that is, each of them in turn (went) to him, moreover, to strike him until he was nearly dead'

38.   FR.   *tucad trá íarsin in cocad* **chucaiseom**
             'the fighting was then carried to him'

39.   LH.   *tánic danó in scolaige cétna* **chucu** *íarna barach di a fis*
             'on the morrow that same student came to them to visit them'

48.   TE1. *co n-acadar in marcach isin magh* **chucu** *don usciu*
             'when they saw from the water a horseman entering the plain towards them'

The reason why these adverbs or adverbial phrases appear before the conjugated preposition can be explained to some degree for each of these examples. For *íarum* 'then' in 11, it is the case that this word can appear in different positions in the sentence: at the end of the sentence or right after the finite verb. It originates from the 3sg neuter conjugated preposition of *íar*, but was probably later viewed as an adverb in its own right. With the progression of time (particularly in later texts) *íarum* even became a connective particle 'indeed, so' and lost most of its original temporal meaning. However, as this is essentially a conjugated preposition too, it may have retained its syntactic position even when it had become semantically bleached. As to the order of multiple conjugated prepositions, perhaps future research can shed some light on this. One can imagine that there is a specific order for adverbs.

The adverb *trá* occurs only in 15 and 38 and in no other examples of the conjugated prepositions in the corpus. The reason why *trá* appears before the conjugated preposition can be explained by its use: according to DIL, it can have either a conjunctive 'then, therefore' or an adversative use 'however, but' and usually comes right after the first principal stressed word in the sentence, which it emphasises. In 15 and 38 the first stressed word is the verb and *trá* is used to draw attention to it. Given its function, it is only natural that it precedes the conjugated form of the preposition.

While example 26 does not contain a finite verb - it is the only example in the corpus in which a conjugated preposition is preceded by an adverb without a finite verb in the phrase - this too is an example in which an adverb precedes a conjugated preposition within the same part of the sentence and as such should be noted. The phrase *imma sech* 'in turn' is an adverbial phrase that belongs to *cechtar dé* 'each of them'. The two phrases work together to express that an action is done repetitively by multiple individuals and are syntactically close together because they are used to convey this specific meaning. This is probably why the conjugated preposition is preceded by an adverbial phrase in this example.

In example 38 *íarsin* precedes the conjugated preposition, but it is also found following the conjugated preposition in example 34.

34.   MT.   *do-luid ind satan* **chuici** *íarsin*
             'Satan came thereafter to him'

Looking at examples in DIL, it seems *íarsin* can appear in any position in the sentence and apparently does so to cause a slightly different meaning depending on its position. This is not too different from *danó* in example 39, which can also appear in various positions in the sentence to give emphasis. As such it has various different meanings ranging from 'too, also' to 'however', 'therefore', and 'even'. In 17 *dano* is found after the conjugated preposition:

17. SCC. *dotháet alaili **cucai** dano*
'the other came up to him then'

While *dano* is found after the conjugated preposition, it comes before the form of the preposition *co* in 39, showing that it indeed appears in various syntactic positions. It would seem, then, that some adverbs do not follow a particular order but can rather be used in any position in the sentence to give emphasis to the preceding specific word.

   In example 48 *isin magh* 'into the plain', which expresses the route of the horseman, is used before the conjugated form of *co.* Here, it can be argued that the syntax helps to determine which location belongs to which actor in the sentence. Both locations could belong to either the 3pl expressed in the verb or to *in marcach* 'the horseman'. Of course, it is also possible that one location is meant for each. This part of the story relates how Étaín went bathing with 50 daughters of chieftains and how they saw a rider coming towards them. By placing *isin magh* syntactically right after *in marcach* it is made clear that *in marcach isin magh* belong together, forming one constituent that denotes the object of the verb. In this phrase *isin magh* clarifies the initial location of the rider when Étaín and the daughters spot him.

   Depending on the analysis of *don usciu* – either *de* 'from' + article or *do* 'to' + article – the second location could refer to the 50 women who are in the water when they see the rider or *don usciu* could denote the route of the horseman towards the water. Given their translation, Bergin and Best must have believed the form was *de* + article, even though it is rather far from the verbal form that includes the subject. However, as it is placed right after *chucu* it might as well be part of a larger phrase that relates the destination of the rider: *chucu don usciu* 'towards them to the water'.

   As each of these examples can be explained, it seems acceptable to conclude that the conjugated preposition is usually placed first in a succession of adverbial expressions. The only exceptions to this rule are adverbs that emphasise preceding words, otherwise ambiguous syntactic constituents and other conjugated prepositions.

Lenition and non-lenition at face-value
To find out in which contexts the conjugated prepositions were lenited, the lenited and unlenited results have to be compared. If we assume that the forms are all spelled just like they were pronounced, there are 34 examples in which the conjugated preposition is lenited and 26 in which the conjugated preposition is not lenited.

   However, the first thing that becomes apparent is that parallel constructions appear lenited in one text and unlenited in another. For example, 9 and 34 show exactly the same verbal form, followed by the article and a noun and then the 3sg m conjugated form of *co.*

9. ABA. *du-lluid int aingel **cuci***
'the angel came to him'

34. MT. *do-luid ind satan **chuici** íarsin*
'Satan came thereafter to him'

The only differences between the two constructions are the noun, the text the examples originate from and most importantly the presence or absence of lenition. Since the nouns, being nominative singular masculine forms, would not cause lenition to the

following word[62], the observed lenition must come from elsewhere. One might think that it is the final consonant in 9 or 34 that causes or blocks the lenition of the conjugated preposition. However, the possibility that final –*l* is blocking lenition is contradicted by the occurrence of lenition after –*l* in example 37.

37.   FR.   *ro-m-uc-sa congal **chuci** co bo thrí ó matin*
        'Congal brought me to him three times since morning'

While there is no pair of examples for final –*n* in the corpus in which the first example shows no lenition of the conjugated preposition, while the second example does after -*n*, there are other consonants that do, such as final –r in examples 10 and 47 below:

10.   MT.   *cond-atecht a mathair **cucisom** a ggaire*
        'his mother besought him to take care of her'

47.   SCC.   *a m-bátar íarom fón samail sin, tánic fer **chucu** isa tech*
        'when they were then thus situated, a man came into the house to them'

These examples indicate that the lenition of the conjugated preposition does not stem from the preceding final consonant, but has to have been caused by something else.
        Other very similar constructions with lenition in one example and non-lenition in the other is a construction with *co n-acca* in 22, 27 and 52, 53:

22.   TE3.   *7 bai & a righan a n-imagallaim for lar an lis, co n-acadar Midir **cuco***
        'and when he and his queen were conversing in the middle of the court, they saw Midir (coming) towards them'

27.   SCC.   *co n-accai in dá mnaí **cucai***
        'he saw the two women (coming) towards him'

52.   TE3.   *a mbatar and oc tochailt Sídh Breg Leith co n-acatar Midir **chucu***
        'as they were there razing Sid Bri Leith they beheld Midir (coming) towards them'

53.   SCC.   *co n-accai in mnaí bruit úani **chucai***
        'when he saw the green cloaked woman (coming) towards him'

Examples 22 and 52, and 27 and 53 form a pair: the verbal forms are the same and the rest of the context is also rather similar. Moreover, the pairs are from the same text. Especially for the pair from *Tochmarc Étaíne* no significant difference can be pointed out: the entire phrase is exactly the same, with only a minor spelling variation in the verbal form and the last vowel of the conjugated preposition. This leaves the reason why the one form is lenited and the other form unlenited unexplained. After all, even if the habit of lenition was changing over time, one would not expect to find a difference in its application within the very same text in exactly the same context.
        There are two explanations that can be given for this difference between the examples. The first is that the text in which the pair of examples is found reflects multiple layers of the language: an older and a younger stage. In this case the unlenited example would represent the older stage in which lenition was not present with the conjugated prepositions at all or not in this context. A scribe faithfully copied this unlenited example from his older exemplar, without making any changes. The lenited example, however, reveals the contemporary, younger stage of the language of the time it was copied by the scribe. Inadvertently or purposefully – but certainly inconsistently - the scribe innovated the text he was copying and introduced the practice of leniting the

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[62] Thurneysen 1946: 141-6.

conjugated preposition (in that context), thereby introducing a new application of lenition in an older text.

Given the contradicting examples above and there being no discernible system in the distribution of lenition and non-lenition in the rest of the corpus, the problem could also be approached differently. Although some discrepancy in the distribution may show because the material is from different periods in time, for example the Additamenta from the Book of Armagh shows no lenition of the conjugated preposition at all and may have been prior to this development, there is another way to look at the data that might lead to new insights.

The second explanation, therefore, is that the lenition is not always expressed in the orthography. It is well-known that lenition is not consistently written during the medieval period: in many texts multiple examples can be found where lenition is expected and was very probably present, but has not been written. This may be true for many examples in this corpus as well, especially if McCone[63] was right and the register resisted the spelling of lenition of the conjugated prepositions at first.

Because of this, we could look at the data differently and assume that whenever the lenited form is written, which is the marked form, it was undoubtedly lenited, but that the reverse is not true: the unmarked, unlenited form is ambiguous and could represent both an unlenited first consonant and a lenited first consonant. Therefore, the only conclusive data is that which is orthographically lenited.

Lenition in prepositional constructions
If one considers the orthographically lenited data only, it is possible to find a couple of correspondences between all lenited instances. It is clear that the syntactic position of the conjugated preposition can vary and that it therefore cannot be the position in the sentence that causes the lenition. Moreover, no directly preceding word can be pointed out as the trigger of the lenition for all the lenited examples. It is very likely, therefore, that the lenition is caused by syntactic lenition and what most lenited conjugated prepositions share is that they form a certain construction with the direct verb.

According to DIL, *co* and its conjugated forms are often used with verbs of seeing, verbs of asking and summoning, verbs of reaching and placing, and of course verbs of motion. This is reflected in the examples in the corpus, where *co* is indeed used with such verbs. Although this fact is in itself rather circular – certain verbs are only listed in DIL when they are frequently found with *co* in certain contexts and these verbs are therefore bound to be present in the corpus - one can imagine that there are some verbal forms that usually or always go with a certain preposition to express destination, origin or benefit. In such cases the verb and the preposition form a fixed construction which carries a particular meaning when the two are used together. This can easily be illustrated by verbs with a fixed preposition in English, but this is the same for Irish, Dutch (*voorzetselvoorwerp*) and many other languages as well.

Three different prepositional constructions can be distinguished. The first construction is a verb that takes only one fixed preposition in every context. Examples of this construction are 'to wish **for**', 'to object **to**'. The second construction is a verb that can take multiple prepositions depending on context and meaning, such as 'to apologise **to**', 'to apologise **for**' and 'to agree **with**' and 'to agree **on/to**'. With this construction it is possible to use multiple prepositions with that verb at the same time. For example 'to apologise **to** someone **for** something'. The third construction, called the phrasal verb in English, is when the verb is altered in meaning because of the preposition and acquires a figurative meaning[64]. There are examples in which the verb can take multiple prepositions in this phrasal verb construction, such as: 'break **up**' (of relationship) and 'break **out**' (of disease).

It is precisely these kinds of constructions – where the verb and preposition are very closely connected - that may have allowed post-verbal lenition to work across other

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[63] McCone 1985:88-9.
[64] Bolinger 1971: 3-8.

constituents. In order to determine whether a certain verb is used in a fixed prepositional construction in Old Irish, DIL was consulted to discover whether the verbal forms in the corpus have one or more fixed prepositions. For some verbs these prepositions are listed in the DIL and differences in meaning are explained for each preposition. However, there are also verbs for which no such construction is explained or for which *co* is not explicitly listed amongst the other fixed prepositions. For these verbs the examples below the headword in DIL were consulted to see whether one or more specific prepositions were repeatedly used. If there were one or more such prepositions and the prepositions expressed the same function every time they were used, it was assumed that the verb formed a prepositional construction.

For most verbs in the corpus in the direct context of *co* it seems that *co* forms a prepositional construction with that verb. This can be illustrated by example 36. The construction that is observed in this example is that the transitive use of the verb *dálaid* 'summon to tryst' forms a fixed prepositional construction with *co* to denote the second party in the tryst (the first being the object of the verb). The construction observed in this example reflects the first of the three prepositional constructions.

36.　FR.　　*7 dálfaid in ben a ssétchi **chucund***
　　　　　　　and the woman will summon her companion to a tryst with us

Although there is no finite verb present, the same can be observed for the lenited conjugated form of *tar* in 57:

57.　TDH.　*oc tíachtain dont slúadh **thairis***
　　　　　　'as the army was going across it'

This example reflects the second prepositional construction: the conjugated preposition is part of a prepositional construction with the verbal noun of *téit* and can take multiple different prepositions. The verb *téit* can take many prepositions and (slightly) changes its meaning with every different preposition, but does not acquire the figurative meaning that would have been present if it formed the third construction with each preposition. For example, with *tar* its meaning is 'to cross', with *co* 'to go to', with *ass* 'to leave', and with *for* it can mean 'to attack'. Although the combination *téit for* might certainly be considered a phrasal verb, as the expression is used figuratively to mean 'to attack' instead of 'to go upon', this is not as clear-cut for all other examples: while *téit tar* might be a phrasal verb meaning 'to cross', it could also simply reflect the movement 'to go over'.

A complete list of verbs that are found in the corpus with one or more lenited conjugated prepositions is found below in Table 1. When looked up in DIL, most of these verbs are mentioned with (a list of) the preposition(s) they form a construction with and if applicable the resulting differences in meaning. However, when judging the combinations of verbs and prepositions for prepositional constructions, it can be difficult to distinguish between the first and second prepositional construction and the third: the phrasal verb. Because there are no native speakers, judgements can only be based on the English translations, but this is only an approximation of the Irish construction. Because of this - as seen in the previous paragraph with *téit tar* - some examples will remain undecided.

In Table 1, the headwords of the verbal forms found in the corpus are cited alphabetically, with their translation and the different prepositions these verbs can take. The prepositions are listed in order of appearance in DIL and although this is not elaborated on in the list, each different preposition often represents a subtle semantic difference. Prepositions that are not specifically listed as a fixed preposition with the verb in DIL are underscored. This table includes the verbal nouns found in 57-59. In these examples the conjugated prepositions are believed to form a construction with the verbal noun, instead of with the finite verb.

Some of the verbs found below can take multiple prepositions to convey roughly the same meaning, others have a very particular interpretation or shade of meaning when a different preposition is used.

Table 1 – Verbs with prepositional constructions			
Example	**Verb**	**Translation**	**Preposition(s)**
37	*beirid*	'to carry'	*la, a, ar, di,* ***co*** *do, dochum, for*
29, 58, 59	*con-dïeig*	'to ask'	***co****, di, do, for*
36	*dálaid (tr.)*	'to summon to tryst'	***co****, fri, la*
27, 38	*do-beir*	'to bring'	*do, fri, ar, i, uad, imm, fo, for, tar, la, ass, de,* **_co_**
30, 34, 39, 42, 46, 47	*do-tét*	'to come'	*ar, as, de, do, for, fri, re, fo,* **_co_**
28	*foídid*	'to send'	**_co, do_**
35	*gaibid*	'to grasp, (to go to)'	*ar, imm, for,* ***co****, de, do, fo, fri, la, oc*
40	*léicid*	'to allow to go'	*a, ar, for, cen,* ***co****, di, do, eter, fo, fri, i, imm, la, ó, sech, tar, tre*
32, 33, 41, 43, 44, 45, 57	*téit*	'to go'	*ar, for, ass, cenn,* ***co****, dochum, de, do, eter, fo, fri, i, iar, ó, re,* ***tar****, tre*

Example 43 is found with a form of the verb *do-etha* 'goes to, approaches'. However, considering the likeness of this form to forms of *do-tét* such as subjunctive 3sg *do-eit* 'he may come'[65], this verb is probably a Middle Irish derivative of the Old Irish preterite passive of *do-tét* and is therefore listed under *do-tét*.

Example 31 is the only lenited example that is not present in this verb list.

31.   TE1.   *7 bes as* **chuici**[66] *forobairt an bean*
        'and perhaps it is to her that the woman is making for'

The verbal form that the conjugated preposition belongs to is the verb *fúabair* 'to make for'. However, only an explicit construction with *for/ar* is mentioned in DIL with this verb. The examples given in DIL do not hint to a frequent co-occurrence of this verb with *co* either. According to the hypothesis that lenition occurs because of a prepositional construction between the verb and the conjugated preposition, the conjugated preposition in this sentence should not be lenited. However, it clearly is. Depending on the interpretation of the copula, its phonemic value being /əs/, the following lenition is either caused by contact lenition of the relative form of the copula[67] or cannot be explained by means of this hypothesis. Since *bés* 'perhaps' is rarely followed by a

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[65] Thurneysen 1946: 474.
[66] Interestingly, this conjugated preposition is not lenited in the version of this text in LU. However, nothing conclusive can be said on the phonetic value of the grapheme and this is beyond the scope of the current research.
[67] Thurneysen 1946: 144.

relative[68], the form should probably be read as its Old Irish equivalent *is,* which leaves the lenition of the conjugated preposition in this example unexplained.

So far, examples 51-56 and 60 have not been treated, as these examples cannot form a prepositional construction between the verb and the conjugated preposition. In example 60 this is impossible because the phrase lacks a verbal form other than the copula form in *cid* 'what is?', while in examples 48-56 the verbal forms have no observable connection with the conjugated prepositions.

Example 60 with the form *túrusi* (*túrus* 'journey' + 2pl emphasising pronoun) followed by a lenited conjugated preposition is difficult to explain. The lenition cannot have been caused by contact with the noun, as the noun is in the nominative singular case and does not cause lenition, and – as was already stated – the sentence lacks a verbal form other than the copula form within *cid*. Because of this, no prepositional construction can be formed with the verb and therefore the lenition in this example cannot be explained by this hypothesis.

60. SCC. *ní maith dún ém cid for túrusi **chucund** innuraid*
      'it is not good for us, indeed, what was (the reason for) your (pl.) journey to us last year?'

Examples 48-56 contain verbal forms of seeing and noticing; constructions with *co n-acca* (from *ad-cí* 'to see') or *airigidir* 'to notice'. In each of these phrases the conjugated preposition signifies the destination of an unexpressed movement: a verbal form has to be supplied, such as *téit* 'to go' or *do-tét* 'to come'. Example 48 from *Tochmarc Étaíne* 1 illustrates how *co* can be used without a verbal form or verbal noun to express motion.

48. TE1. *co n-acadar in marcach isin magh **chucu** don usciu*
      when they saw from the water a horseman (coming) into the plain towards them

A similar construction appears but once with a form of the verb *airigidir*, as in example 56 below. Here too a verb of motion has to be supplied in order to create a meaningful translation.

56. SCC. *7 níro airigset na mná **chucu***
      'and they did not notice the women (coming) to them'

The examples in which the conjugated preposition appears lenited after a *co n-acca* construction are either from a version of *Tochmarc Étaíne* or *Serglige Con Culainn*, where both lenited and unlenited examples can be found in this construction. There are no lenited examples of the conjugated preposition in this construction in any of the other texts. The construction is found in the Additamenta from the Book of Armagh and *Fingal Rónáin* as well, but is not spelled with a lenited first consonant in either of these texts. It is impossible to tell whether the examples of non-lenition after the *co n-acca* construction from the Additamenta from the Book of Armagh and *Fingal Rónáin* are from an earlier stage of the language during which there was no lenition in this construction or whether lenition did occur, but was simply not orthographically expressed.

Since it is always a verb of motion that has to be supplied in these constructions and the finite verb forms no overt construction with the preposition in the sentence, it might be the case that the lenition is analogical to the lenition after forms of *téit* or *do-tét.* The speaker felt a form of *téit* or *do-tét* had to be supplied and this resulted in the lenition of the conjugated preposition after a perceived prepositional construction.

Be that as it may, there may be another explanation for these verbs. Despite the fact that DIL does not list *co* as a preposition that frequently goes with forms of *ad-cí* and gives almost no examples from which this could be concluded, the examples from the corpus – even though they are only a small part of all that has been written down –

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[68] Thurneysen 1946: 241.

show that there is most definitely a recurring construction of *ad-cí* with *co*. It might be the case that the literal English translation of these individual words draws attention away from the possibility that the two form a prepositional construction in Irish and perhaps even a phrasal verb. If this is the case the combination would mean something along the lines of 'to see X going to Y' and this is a meaning that certainly supersedes the meaning of the individual words, which points to a type three prepositional construction.

Unfortunately, without more (counter)examples and grammaticality judgements of the speakers of Old Irish, little more can be done than hypothesise that lenition of the conjugated preposition in these constructions is either due to the inclusion of a form of *téit* or *do-tét,* possibly through an unexpected prepositional construction after all, or through (the process of) analogical levelling of all the conjugated forms of *co* to *ch-*.

At this point, however, there is a strong risk of circularity, which should not be underestimated. When looking at Table 1 above the eye is immediately drawn to the long list of prepositions behind certain verbal forms, especially forms of *téit*, *léicid* and *do-beir*. Each of these verbs takes so many prepositions that it is difficult to imagine that all of these prepositions work in a 'special' prepositional construction. After all, the fact that a verb of motion takes prepositions that designate location, destination or route is anything but surprising.

To prove that this hypothesis (that the lenition is caused by prepositional constructions) could work, one must find counterexamples: examples that show verbs and a preposition that certainly do not form a construction and are therefore not lenited. For this, we turn back to the unlenited corpus and look at the verbal forms found there. Many of the verbs in the context of an unlenited conjugated preposition are the same verbs as found in Table 1. Still, there are a few verbal forms in these examples that are not present in Table 1 and they are given below.

4.   MT.   *is fochric immurgu má gabthair **tairis***
              'it is meritorious, however, if a man gets clear of it'

6.   LH.   *7 is ann sein rolá dé in mbrat corcra roboí **tarais***
              'and then he flung from him the purple cloak that was on him'

8.   TE3   *nachim forraig **tairis** ol sé*
              '"injure me no more," said he'

23.   MT.   *7 do chor súlae **taris***
              'and to cast eyes over it'

26.   SCC.   *.i. cechtar dé imma sech **cucai** béus dia búalad combo marba acht bec*
              'that is, each of them in turn (went) to him, moreover, to strike him until he was nearly dead'

Like before, the verbal nouns are assumed to take prepositional constructions as well as verbal forms. The forms presented here are from the verbs *gaibid* 'to take'*,* the substantive verb, *foirrgid* 'to overpower'*, fo-ceird* 'to throw' and no verbal form. Of these four verbs, only *gaibid* and *fo-ceird* are said to form prepositional constructions: both with multiple different prepositions, though not with *tar*. The question for each of these examples is then: do they truly not form a prepositional construction?

Example 4 immediately touches the heart of the problem: even though DIL does not list *tar* as a form for a prepositional construction, this context is very suggestive of a phrasal verb. Especially if one looks at the translation, it is clear that simply combining the meaning of the verb and the preposition would not result in the meaning that is shown in 4. Moreover, the meaning of the construction is figurative, not literal, which points even more in the direction of a phrasal verb. Without more examples of the construction *gaibid + tar*, it is difficult to conclude that this combination is a phrasal verb construction, but the chance that this is a phrasal verb is significant.

The substantive form in example 6 does not seem to form a prepositional construction with *tar*: the form is not listed in DIL and the examples do not imply the presence of a prepositional construction either. However, whether this combination is a phrasal verb or not is difficult to tell: the two could simply be the sum of what each individual word means, but they could also have been a phrasal verb in Irish with the meaning 'to wear, to bear'. This example is, therefore, inconclusive.

The translation of example 8 is an example that shows no sign of a prepositional construction at all. The verb *foirrgid* 'to bear down, to overpower' is in the imperative 2sg form and is used after the negative *ná* (*nach* with infixed pronouns) with the 1sg pronoun. No construction with *tar* is mentioned for this verb, but in this particular instance there is no need to expect a prepositional construction. The conjugated preposition *tairis* is used here to express a notion of time: 'beyond it, after it' or as Bergin and Best have translated this conjugated form 'anymore'. In this instance the conjugated preposition does not form a prepositional construction with the verb, but is used as an adverbial expression.

Example 23, like example 4, is an example in which it is probable that the combination *fo-ceird* plus *tar* yields a phrasal verb, due to the figurative sense of the sentence. However, the context with *súlae* 'eyes' is – as it is with the same expression in English – very specific. It is possible that the noun is essential for the figurative meaning and that this is not simply a construction with the verb and preposition, but one that requires this noun as well. As such it is not so much a phrasal verb as an idiom, although there is a fine line between the two.

In example 26 the meaning and analysis of the sentence depends on the interpretation of the syntax. There is no finite verb present in the first part of the phrase (*combo* is evidently the start of a new phrase) and the closest thing to a verb is the verbal noun *búalad* 'striking'. The conjugated preposition *cucai* 'to him' seems to be in an odd syntactic position and it is not entirely clear where it belongs to, as there is already an object of the striking in the combination *dia*, which is interpreted here as a combination of the preposition *do* plus the 3sg masculine possessive pronoun (lit: 'for his striking' -> 'to strike him'). The position of *béus* in the middle of the first phrase is also important: from the examples in DIL it is clear that it is usually used at the end of the sentence. It seems to me that a verbal form of *téit* should be supplied in this example, which explains the use of the conjugated preposition and the position of *béus*. *Béus* can either be interpreted sentence connector 'moreover', but can also be used to express a repeated action of a verb. This approach would yield either one of the following translations: 'that is, each of them in turn (went) to him, moreover, to strike him until he was nearly dead' or "that is, each of them in turn (went) to him (repeated action) to strike him until he was nearly dead'.

If we assume that a form of *téit* has to be supplied for this example, this would mean that this example – like all other examples with *téit* - should be interpreted as an example for a prepositional construction as well.

Most examples discussed above that were analysed to see whether they form a prepositional construction are inconclusive or largely depend on the way one interprets the sentence. Only for example 8 could be said with any certainty that there was no prepositional construction present. However, in this particular example the question is whether *tairis* acts as a conjugated preposition or a temporal adverb. If it is the latter, no prepositional construction could be formed to begin with, which makes this example unsuited to put forward as a corroborating counterexample to the hypothesis.

The data is inconclusive: there are no examples that dismiss this hypothesis out of hand, but there are also no clear examples of unlenited conjugated prepositions that are *not* in a prepositional construction to support the hypothesis. This means that the hypothesis is circular and therefore – at this time – no good candidate to explain the occurrence of lenition with the conjugated prepositions. Without examples in other sources that show that a verb and a preposition can exist together without their immediately forming a prepositional construction, the hypothesis cannot be maintained and should be abandoned.

<u>Lenition of destination</u>
There is, however, a second hypothesis for the lenition of the conjugated prepositions: that the lenition observed in the conjugated prepositions of *co* and *tar* is the result of lenition of destination. In examples 48-56 it is clear that the conjugated prepositions in these *co n-acca* constructions express the destination of the supplied verb of motion. The same is true for the as of yet unexplained case of lenition in 60: the conjugated preposition is used to express the destination of the noun *túrus* 'journey'. Therefore, if we take the reason for the lenition to occur to be lenition of destination, these nine examples can be explained with ease.

Looking at the use of conjugated *co* in the rest of the corpus*,* it is clear that it is used without fail to express destination in every instance where a form of *co* is used. The verbs in Table 1 can all be used in combination with a destination and do so especially when they are used with a form of *co*. Even when the preposition is used with a verb of asking, such as in 29 below, but also in 58 and 59, it is referring to a destination: it deals with the asking that is done to someone.

29. TE1. *cid condaighi **chucum** a fecht sa? ol an Mac Óg.*
'"What do you ask of me now," said the Mac Óg'

The same is true for *dálaid* 'to summon to tryst' in example 36, where the summons is addressed to someone by means of the conjugated form of *co*, and *gaibid* in example 35, where the verb is used intransitively and expresses 'to go to, approaches' and *co* indicates the destination. With *léicid* in example 40 the meaning of the verb is specifically 'to allow to go' in combination with *co,* and *co* is then used to express the destination.

For the single lenited example of *tar* in the corpus (example 57), it can also be argued that the conjugated preposition expresses the destination of the preceding verbal noun. In the context the army is crossing a river, going from one bank to the other side of the river. The "other side", implicitly expressed by the conjugated form of *tar*, is the destination of the motion in this example. Even though there are no other lenited forms of *tar* in the corpus, it seems acceptable to assume that for form of *tar* – as well as for forms of *co* – the hypothesis of lenition of destination fits.

57. TDH. *oc tíachtain dont slúadh **thairis***
'as the army was going across it'

The fact that lenition occurs in the examples in the corpus where the common factor is the fact that the destinations are lenited, is reminiscent of the practice of lenition of destination Welsh. In Welsh, objects of destination are generally lenited after verbs of motion[69]. However, an important difference between the two languages is that in Welsh lenition occurs when no preposition is used, while in Irish prepositions are present and are in fact subjected to lenition themselves. It raises the question whether the lenition of destination in Welsh could be similar to this lenition in the Irish language, even though they differ in the presence or absence of a preposition.

Although (almost) all Welsh prepositions are lenited at some point during the Middle Welsh period, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, the Old Welsh preposition *di* already appears as *y*, even in the earliest Middle Welsh texts. The older form *di* is probably for this reason not even mentioned in the GMW. This implies a different and much earlier development from the other prepositions and could perhaps be explained by the lenition of destination. There is a chance that OW. *di* was lenited, like the Irish conjugated forms of *co*, by lenition of destination and that this development was earlier in Welsh than the lenition of the other prepositions.

It would be rare to find two related languages that have developed this very specific form of lenition independently of one another, but it is unlikely that the lenition of destination was a shared development that goes back to Proto-(Island)Celtic. If that

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[69] Evans 1964: 19.

would have been the case, the Irish material would show *cho* in most contexts of the simple preposition *co*, while evidence suggests that *co* was /go/ from an early stage.

This theory of lenition of destination would predict that many – if not all - of the other unmarked examples spelled with an unlenited first consonant, were lenited in pronunciation, especially in the later texts. Even so, since this theory almost exclusively depends on the forms of *co*, the argument is very circular. After all, *co* always expresses destination and especially so in the context of verbs of motion. The evidence of *tar* cannot support this hypothesis, since there is only one lenited form of the preposition in the corpus, which is only arguably and not obviously a destination. The hypothesis, therefore, seems to work in this corpus, but only does so because the forms of *co* by their very nature express destination.

Three explanations
So far three different explanations have been suggested for the lenition of the conjugated prepositions, the first by Pedersen and Thurneysen and the other two in this thesis. While the first of the three hypotheses explains the lenition of conjugated prepositions through contact lenition that was later extended, the other two hypotheses try to explain the phenomenon as a syntactic lenition.

  I.   post-verbal lenition, extended by analogy
  II.   lenition through prepositional constructions (Hypothesis 1)
  III. lenition of destination (Hypothesis 2)

There is no reason to accept the theory of Pedersen and Thurneysen that the lenition of the conjugated preposition has its origin in post-verbal lenition and was consequently further extended, as there is no way to disprove the theory. Moreover, how this lenition could have worked across other constituents if the verb and preposition were separated has not been sufficiently explained by either of them. Without further comment on the mechanism of this analogical process from very few instances of post-verbal lenition to the lenition of every conjugated preposition, it seems better to put this theory aside as unsatisfactory and concentrate of the remaining two.

It may be clear that the two hypotheses proposed in this thesis: the first being that lenition could work across other constituents because the verb and conjugated preposition worked together in a prepositional construction, the second being that the observed lenition is lenition of destination, have to be researched further to establish the veracity or fallacy of either one. Both hypotheses have a problem of circularity and should be tested again on different material. Due to the circularity of both hypotheses, it is difficult to choose one hypothesis over the other based on the Irish material alone.

Perhaps a contemporary manuscript could show something that repeatedly copied manuscripts might not. Unfortunately, a quick excursion from the current corpus to the digitally accessible Milan glosses[70] cannot further either one of the theories either. Instead, there is not much data to draw conclusions from. There are ten instances of the conjugated preposition *co*, of which but one (046c01) is lenited in its context. In three glosses a conjugated preposition of *tar* can be found, all unlenited. These instances are listed below, with the translations taken from Griffith's database.

028c12   .i. *dath firinne dothochur* **tarais** *7 gau 7 fomraith fusuidiu calléic*
              'i.e. to put the color of truth over it and, however, falsehood and
              treachery [being] under it'

038c01   .i. *dauc* **cucai** *innasairse*
              'i.e. he took it for himself, into his sermon'

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[70] Griffith 2013.

044c20   .i. *ama*l *dunthluichiursa* **cucut** *a dæ ærren da*m *thuforacht*
[leg. *thufortacht*]
'i.e. as I ask it of You (sg), O God: give Your (sg) help to me'

046c01   .i. *contoat* **chucai** *son*
'i.e. who turn to Hím

048a07   .i. *is écmacht doib denum neich ɔdegar* **cuccu**
'i.e. the doing of anything which is asked of them is impossible for them'

055c01   *dluid* [leg. *doluid*] *dua*id *iar*um *aidchi roboi* **cucu** *innan dunad*
'David then came one night into their camp'

092a19   .i. *is* **cuccut** *su*
'i.e. it is to You (sg)'

102a08   .i. *rasaig acrích* **cuccai**
'i.e. their boundary extends to it'

108b01   .i. *dutéigtis* **cucum** *intan nombíinn hisóinmigi*
'they used to come to me when I was in prosperity'

121b01   .i. *cotaised* **tairsiu**
'i.e. that he would come across them'

123d03   .i. *airnibugnath dusuidib huisce dutecht* **tairsiu** *airat cuidi tirmaidi sidi 7 slogait nanní do uisciu doda·ic*
'i.e. for water passing over them was not customary for them, for they are dry pits and swallow whatever water comes to them'

129a12   .i. *innatecht* .i. *niɔagathar drochscela duthabairt* **cucai** *ón*
'of the messengers, i.e. that is, he does not fear that bad tidings may be brought to him'

130c08   *doib ɫ.* **cucai**
'for them or to it'

The context of the single lenited example 046c01 does not differ significantly from the other contexts. The verb *con-toí* 'to turn, change' does not occur in the other glosses with conjugated prepositions, so whether this verbal form lenites conjugated prepositions more often cannot be observed. From the examples in DIL the verb *con-toí* does not seem to take a fixed prepositional construction with certain prepositions, but the examples are too few to be certain and the construction is very reminiscent of other prepositional constructions. Moreover, both the English translation and the difference between the most common meanings of *con-toí* and its use here do not exclude the possibility that this is a phrasal verb and thus the third prepositional construction.

Unfortunately, there are so few examples of lenition that it is difficult to base conclusions on this data alone. While a number of the verbs in these contexts are also present in Table 1 or otherwise go with a prepositional construction, nothing more can be said in favour of Hypothesis 1. All conjugated prepositions in these glosses do express destination, but since lenition was either not present at all in at least nine of these cases or is not expressed in writing, the data can contribute little to Hypothesis 2 either. Therefore, hardly more can be said based on this data than that (the writing of) lenition of the conjugated prepositions was either still very rare or that this single example of lenition was even accidental in the Milan glosses.

<u>Why are *co* and *tar* never lenited?</u>
Without more examples of verbs found in the direct context of a lenited conjugated preposition, it is difficult to verify the veracity of Hypothesis 1 and 2. Nevertheless, there is a question that needs to be dealt with to see whether the hypotheses hold up: if it is lenition because the verb forms a prepositional construction or lenition of destination that caused adverbial lenition in this context, why did this lenition not extend to the unconjugated forms *co* and *tar*?

This question can be dealt with without needing more data. There is no evidence in the Irish language of *co* ever being lenited to *cho,* regardless of the context of *co,* and in the Old Irish period the same is true for *tar*. Although there was an alternation between *tar* and its voiced counterpart *dar*, there was no lenited form present at the early stage of the language[71]. The reason why lenition of these prepositions did not occur lies in their initial consonant, which was spelled <c> and <t>, but probably represented the sounds /g/ and /d/. The form *dar* was already found as the dominant form in the Würzburg glosses alongside *tar*. However, in the Milan and Sankt Gallen glosses the dominant spelling was *tar*, with some alternation with *dar*[72]. Even though there was no orthographical alternation of *co* and *go* in the early literature, the preposition ended up in Modern Irish as *go* and was spelled as such throughout the late Middle Irish and Modern Irish period. Therefore, it is very likely that the first consonants of these two prepositions were voiced during the Middle Irish period as well and because of this resisted lenition in a prepositional phrase or lenition of destination.

The voicing of certain initial consonants in unstressed words – such as uninflected prepositions – can be illustrated by the change of the preverb **to-,*tu-* to *do-* when unstressed, which also changed *tar* to *dar*[73]. The corresponding sound law as given by McCone is: "a voiceless dental stop or fricative on the word boundary was regularly voiced in contact with an unstressed vowel, but otherwise remained unvoiced"[74]. For this reason there is no lenition when the dental consonant was directly followed by another consonant, which is why *tre* 'through' has always remained this way[75]. Arguably, *co* underwent a similar sound change: a voiceless stop on the word boundary became voiced in contact with an unstressed vowel. The fact that the lenited counterpart of *co* does not exist, supports this hypothesis.

It stands to reason then, that the lenition of prepositional constructions or lenition of destination could not change the voiced initial consonants of the simple preposition *co* to something that can be orthographically observed. However, because the conjugated prepositions were stressed forms, their initial consonants were never voiced and do show lenition orthographically in the right contexts.

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[71] The Modern Irish form of the preposition *tar* is *thar*, but this is the result of analogical remodelling of *tar* on the highly marked forms of the conjugated paradigm which all ended up as *tha(i)r-* in Modern Irish (Pedersen 1898:337).
[72] McCone 1981: 42.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.: 44.
[75] Ibid.: 42n.

6.4 Discussion - conjugated forms of *for* and *fri*

<u>The collapse of *for* and *ar*, and *fri* and *re*</u>
Lenition in Irish is not only found with the conjugated forms of *co* and *tar*, but also with the simple prepositions *for* 'on' and *fri* 'against' and their conjugated prepositions. In this case, lenition of the initial labiodental fricative of *for* and *fri* which results in *zero* is not spelled by a *punctum delens* as it sometimes is for nouns, but lenition is applied by completely removing the initial f- from the orthographical representation. Combined with the interchange of *for* with *far*[76] and the collapse of unstressed final –e and -i to *schwa* in the Middle Irish period[77], what remained of *for* and *fri* were the prepositions *ar* and *re*, which merged with the actual prepositions *ar* 'before, for the sake of' and *re* 'before, in front of'.

The question is which of the forms was the first to undergo the lenition that inevitably led to the confusion of the two pairs. Although the observed lenition is difficult to explain, it is almost certainly the conjugated forms of the prepositions that were first lenited, for similar reasons to why *co* and *tar* could not be lenited. When we turn to the DIL the forms of *for* are not only with initial *f-*, but there are also variants with initial *b-*: *bar*[78]. This is very reminiscent of the voicing of unstressed prepositions as was present with *co* and *tar*. If the actual underlying initial sound of *for/far* is in fact /v-/, written <b>, this would mean that the initial consonant of *for* cannot have been lenited, unless the lenition was caused by analogy. Of course, this analogy is most likely to have originated from conjugated counterparts of *for*.

For and *fri* and their conjugated forms were used alongside their lenited counterparts for a while and somewhere during this development there was a two-way exchange of semantic load between *for* and *fri* to *ar* and *re*, which resulted in a single preposition for each pair: *ar* and *re* with a 'merged' semantic use. Beside the semantic load the prepositions *ar* and *re* originally had, they had taken up most of the meaning of *for* and *fri* as well. The prepositions *for* and *fri* have disappeared from the modern language, and *re* too shared that fate at some point, leaving only *ar* 'on' and its conjugated forms to be used in present-day Irish[79].

According to DIL, the original meaning of *for* was 'on, upon' with a local use or a quasi-local use in abstract or figurative expressions. If it was used in a "verbal construction" as it is called in DIL, it usually indicated the object after verbs of asking, fighting and giving, amongst others. This verbal construction is the same construction as the prepositional construction mentioned in the previous section, and quite a number of verbs are listed under *for* for this construction in DIL. The use of *ar* on the other hand is sometimes locative 'before, in front of', albeit less frequently used with concrete things and rather with abstract expressions, or uses of *ar* are derived from the original meaning 'on account of, in return for, for the purpose of'. It is also used with verbs of depriving and protecting where it expresses 'from' in a fixed prepositional construction.

Similarly, *fri* originally meant 'towards, against' in local relations, or could express aim, purpose or opposition in a figurative sense. Furthermore it could mean 'on account of, on behalf of' and the means through which something is accomplished. *Fri* is also found in regular and occasional prepositional constructions with specific verbs (and nouns with cognate meanings). The original preposition *re* was used with the meaning 'before' in local sense and its 3sg masculine/neuter conjugated form could be used adverbially with the meaning 'previously'. There are a number of verbs with which the preposition can be used, such as verbs of motion, verbs of opening, and after words expressing fear, warning, welcome and protection.

Due to the falling together of the two preposition pairs it is difficult to tell whether a conjugated form of *for* or *fri* appears in its lenited form, whether it is in fact an original form of *ar* or *re* respectively or a merged form of either *for* and *ar* or *fri* and *re*. This poses a problem when collecting lenited data of *for* and *fri* to answer the research

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[76] Thurneysen 1946: 72.
[77] McCone 1985:87.
[78] With suffixes *barsin, barsa* and *bard*.
[79] Ó Dónaill 2010: 49-50.

questions. Although Lash has usually indicated lenition as a separate category whenever he observed it during the parsing of his corpus, he did not note lenition for any form of *for* and *fri*, quite possibly because if they were lenited, their original form would have been anything but obvious in these forms.

Therefore, in order to find out whether forms of *for* and *fri* were already being lenited and merging with forms of *ar* and *re*, the semantic value of the conjugated preposition was taken into account while analysing the data. If a form of *ar* or *re* is found in a context that does not fit *ar* or *re* but is fitting for *for* or *fri,* the conclusion should be that there had been an exchange of semantic load and that therefore lenition of forms of *for* and *fri* must have been at work. Forms for which there can be no doubt that they are forms of *ar* and *re* because of their particular meaning have not been included in the list of results. A full list of all examples in the corpus and their context, provided with a translation of each example by Lash, can be found in appendices I. and II.

Conjugated forms of *for* and *fri* in the corpus

A thorough search of the parsed corpus results in 125 forms of the conjugated prepositions of *for* 'on' and *fri* 'against' in total, amongst which 75 unlenited forms of *fri*, 48 unlenited forms of *for* and possibly two lenited forms of *for*. Of the preposition *for* all conjugated forms occur at least once, except the 1st person singular. Of *fri* all persons are present in the texts in the corpus of both the singular and the plural. For both prepositions the 3rd person singular and plural occur most frequently and occasionally the conjugated forms are followed by an emphasizing particle.

In all examples of *for* and *fri* in the corpus – lenited or not - there are no adverbs that precede the conjugated form, while there are quite some instances in which multiple adverbs are present (88, 96, 107, 108, 113, 126, 133, 135, 151, 159, 162, 166, 178, 185). The syntactic position of the conjugated prepositions is the same as was observed with the conjugated forms of *co* and *tar*: whenever there are multiple adverbs, the conjugated preposition comes first.

As stated before, there seems to be no way to distinguish the lenited conjugated form from the other preposition in the pair other than by looking at their meaning. Conjugated forms of – on the surface – *ar* and *re* are not very common in the corpus, but for two forms it seemed probable that they are not simply forms of *ar*, but might be either lenited forms of *for* or the merged form. The two examples are listed below.

184.   MT.   *is íarum do-rad mín* **aire**
              'it is then he put meal over it'

185.   FR.   *a-t-chicera didiu comartha* **airi** *innossa*
              'then you will see a sign of that now'

Example 184 has a good chance of being a lenited form of *for,* as it directly reflects one of the many meanings of *for*. Example 185 is more difficult: the meaning and use of this conjugated preposition do not fit the original meaning and use of *ar* well, but the example is not a straightforward example of a lenited form of *for* either. Because example 185 cannot directly be categorized as either original *ar* or *for*, this example might be the conjugated form of the merged preposition of *for* and *ar*.

With so few instances that might be lenited forms of *for* the distribution of the lenited and unlenited forms of *for* and *fri* is significantly different from the distribution of *co* and *tar.* Even excluding the texts *Serglige Con Culainn* and *Tochmarc* Étaíne - which were added to the parsed corpus in order to have enough examples to test hypotheses – to compare the same texts to one another, *co* is lenited in 39% (10/26) of all cases and *tar* in 25% (1/4) of the examples. For *for* and *fri,* on the other hand, the percentage of possibly lenited forms is as little as 4% (2/49) of all examples of *for* - that is including example 185 – and no examples of *fri*.

The distribution of the lenited forms and the insecurity in labelling the forms set the forms of *for* and *fri* apart from the forms of *co* and *tar*. The difference between the

two pairs gives the impression that the conjugated forms of *for* and *fri* have followed a different development. If they had followed the same development, more lenited forms of *for* and *fri* would have been expected than are currently present within the corpus. It would be interesting to see, therefore, whether the lenition of the conjugated forms of *for* might be explained by Hypothesis 1 or Hypothesis 2. With so few lenited examples it is very difficult to discern a new pattern in the lenition of the conjugated forms of *for* (and *fri*, of which there are none at all) and to propose a new hypothesis for just these forms.

<u>Testing the hypotheses</u>
The first hypothesis for the lenition of the conjugated prepositions is that their taking part in a prepositional construction is the cause for the lenition. The verbs used in the two lenited examples are *do-beir* 'to give' in example 184 and *ad-cí* 'to see' in 185. In Table 1 *do-beir* was already shown that a prepositional construction was possible with *for* and several other prepositions. In example 184 the verb forms the second prepositional construction with the conjugated form of the preposition: a fixed co-occurrence of the verb with multiple prepositions with slight changes in meaning. There is no indication that this is a phrasal verb construction: the combination of this verb and preposition does not seem to express a new (figurative) meaning.

The verbal form *ad-cí* in example 185, however, only forms a fixed construction with *do* and only when the verb is used passively. In this example with the preposition *for* the verb would be unable to form a prepositional construction. Moreover, there is no reason to assume on the basis of the meaning of the example that a prepositional construction is formed with either the second or third (phrasal verb) construction. The verb and the preposition do not seem to have a direct connection in meaning. Rather, the conjugated preposition says something about the preceding noun *comartha* 'sign'. These two forms are closely linked, but – like example 60 with the noun *túrusi* – because *comartha* is not a verbal noun, the conjugated preposition cannot form a prepositional construction with it.

The second hypothesis is that lenition occurs with destinations. The prepositions, *for* 'on' and *fri* 'against' are usually used to denote locations, but can also designate destinations when used with verbs or (verbal) nouns of motion. When *for* is used with the accusative after a verb that implies motion, it usually means 'on(to), over, towards'. Moreover, *for* can express the object/destination of verbs of 'asking' and the destination of 'throwing, placing'. F*ri* can mean 'towards', but is usually used when the actor remains in the same place and is "facing" something. Still, the forms of *fri* are known to be used as destinations, although this use is less common: *fri* can express the direction of feelings or behaviour towards someone or something, or the recipient of prayer or hostility.

Thus, both prepositions are able to express destinations, but the question remains whether *for* does so in these two examples. In example 184 the use of a destination is very clear: *aire* denotes the location after a verb of placing, which is an action that requires a destination. In the context food is prepared according to the daily allowance of the people of the church. First, water is boiled and after that "meal is put over it". *Aire* refers back to the boiled water as a destination. *Airi* in example 185, on the other hand, does not express a destination: no motion is expressed or implied in this example, so a destination would not fit in this context.

To sum up, both the first and the second hypothesis seem to work for example 184, but example 185 does not fit either of the hypotheses. It seems that neither hypothesis can explain the observed lenition.

While the hypotheses do not seem to work for the lenited examples of *for*, this is not the case for other examples of *for* and *fri*. There are a number of examples in the corpus that could have been lenited according to these hypotheses, but appear to be unlenited. For example, example 159 of *for* would fit both hypotheses: *fo-ceird* forms a prepositional construction with *for* amongst other prepositions and the use of *for* in this example is clearly a use of destination.

159.   MT.   *fo-ceirtt lámae **fair** fa deóig*
             'she laid her hands on him at last'

Example 71 below shows how forms of *fri* could fit both hypotheses. The verbal form of *as-beir* can form prepositional constructions with *fri* (most commonly) and *do* and *di*. The conjugated form is also the destination of what is being said.

71.   LC.   *iss ed as-rubart **frimm** alaile ebride*
             'it is this a certain Hebrew person said to me'

So while there are examples in the corpus that could have undergone lenition because of either one of the two hypotheses, this is not observed. Moreover, the fact remains that, regardless of the cause of the lenition, far more forms than the one or two observed here would be expected if *for* and *fri* followed a similar development to *co* and *tar*. Given the pattern that is observed for *co* and *tar*, the ratio of lenited forms of *for* and *fri* as opposed to the unlenited forms would have been much closer to that of *co* and *tar* than is observed now. Even taking into account the fact that lenition is probably not always orthographically expressed, one would expect that this would not be so dissimilar for *co* and *tar* opposed to *for* and *fri* as it seems to be on the basis of this corpus.

The fact that there is an abundance of forms of *for* and *fri*, but very few examples of lenition, combined with the probability that *for* and *fri* have followed a very different development might suggest that a separate development of *for* and *fri* has only just started in the texts in the corpus, while the development of lenition for forms of *co* (and possibly *tar*) has already progressed to a further stage. If this is the case, the lenition of the conjugated prepositions of *for* and *fri* might not have been caused by a form of the initial consonant mutations but through analogical extension induced by the lenition of the conjugated forms of *co*. This means that the texts in the corpus reflect the initial phase in which analogy is extended to forms of *for* and *fri* and that later texts would show an increase in the frequency of lenition without a clear function for this lenition.

This tentative proposition seems to work in light of the available data, but will have to be applied to other texts to see whether the lenition of the conjugated forms of *for* and *fri* is indeed in analogy to the lenition of the forms of *co* or has another cause. A larger corpus could also show that there *is* a pattern in the lenition of the forms of *for* and *fri*, which would suggest that there is a separate development that mutates these forms without any influence of the forms of *co*.

7. Welsh: Lenition of the conjugated forms of the preposition

It is clear that the Irish conjugated prepositions follow a development in which they are progressively more frequently lenited, starting from no lenition in early Old Irish to becoming fixed lenited forms in Modern Irish. Texts from between those periods often show a mix of lenited and unlenited forms, with increasingly more lenited forms in the later periods. This points to a gradual development in which increasingly more contexts allowed for the lenition of the conjugated preposition, until it was finally extended to all conjugated forms in all contexts. Seeing this development in Irish and given that the Welsh conjugated prepositions are lenited to some degree as well, makes one question whether the Welsh development is similar to what is observed with the Irish conjugated prepositions and whether this case of lenition of the conjugated prepositions has a comparable origin.

For Welsh there are three prepositions for which lenition could be orthographically observed in the (early) Middle Welsh period: *can/gan* 'with', *tros/dros* 'for', *trwy/drwy* 'through'. Each of these prepositions started out with a voiceless initial consonant. However, the resulting prepositions either favour a voiced initial consonant in Modern Welsh (*tros/dros* and *trwy/drwy*) or are not used with the voiceless initial at all (*gan*)[80]. Although some interchange between *tros/dros* and *trwy/drwy* still exists, the voiceless forms of *tros/dros* are mostly restricted to the literary register[81].

To find out whether the Irish and Welsh lenition of the conjugated prepositions follow a similar development, the corpus of Welsh texts was searched for conjugated forms of these prepositions. As there already is a thorough investigation of the lenition or non-lenition of the initial consonant for *can/gan* by Patrick Sims-Williams[82], which covers even more texts than the corpus compiled for this thesis does, only forms of *tros* and *trwy* are presented in the next section, with inclusion of their direct context.

The texts *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyued* and *Branwen Uerch Lyr* appear in both *Peniarth* 4 (the White Book of Rhydderch) and *Oxford Jesus College MS*. 111 (the Red Book of Hergest). As the examples have proven to be exactly the same except for some minor spelling differences, only the text of *Peniarth* 4 is represented in the examples below.

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[80] Evans 1964: 190, 210-12.
[81] King 1993: 336, 347-8.
[82] Sims-Williams 2013.

7.1 Unlenited forms of *tros* and *trwy*

Unlenited forms of *tros*

1. P44. 3   *ac en keyssya6 bryssya6* **trosty**
                 'and trying to rush for her'

2. P44. 19   *hyt tra etoed6n en emlad ac estra6n kenedloed anetnebydedyc* **trosta6**
                 'while I had come fighting with unknown foreign tribes throughout'

3. P44. 19   *a chymryt morwyn agky6yeyth* **trosty**
                 'and the taking of the foreign maiden for her'

4. P44. 55   *namyn e gwyr a emlado* **trost6nt**
                 'except the men who would fight for them'

5. CTDii 18   *talhent ehun* **trostunt** *o henne allan*
                 'they themselves should pay on their own behalf thereafter'

6. CTDii 18   *ny deleyr talu amober* **trosty**
                 'the payment of the amobr is not required for her'

7. CTDii 18   *pob keulauan a wnel gureyc talet* **trosty** *mal tros gur ony byd guryauc*
                 'every crime a woman may commit let there be paid for her like for a man unless she is married'

8. CTDii 20   *o un o try achaus e byd ryd mach ae o talu* **trostau** *ae o uystlau ae o wadu mach*
                 'by one of three ways the surety is free: by paying for it and by pledging and by denying surety'

9. CTDii 23   *a thalet* **trostau** *neu wadet*
                 'and to pay for it or deny (it)'

10. CTDii 25   *ac e deleho talu galanas e gyt ac ef ae kemryt.* **trostau**
                 'and he should keep the payment of galanas with him and the taking for it'

11. CTDii 25   *o men enteu e dyeyssewau or den a kemyrth ef uot* **trostau**
                 'he took from that place the compensation from the person that is for him'

12. CTDii 25   *talet e goruodauc* **trostau** *kubel*
                 'he must pay the surety for it entire'

13. CTDii 37   *ac a deleant cadu dyffeyth e brenhyn a tygu* **trostau**
                 'and they pay to maintain the land of the king and to swear for it'

14. CTDii 39   *neu keynnyauc er nep ae kynneuho* **trostau**
                 'or a penny to the person who would set fire to it'

15. CTDii 40   *O henne allan ene uo seyth bluyd e dele y tat tegu a thalu* **trostau**
                 'until it is seven years thereafter the father should give an oath and payment for it'

16. CTDii 40 *eythyr na dele talu na dyrue na chamluru er brenhyn **trostau***
'except that he should not give payment nor *dyrue*[83] nor *camlwrw* to the king for it'

17. CTDii 40 *canes y tat en henne o amser a dele attep **trostau** am pob peth*
'because the father should give an answer for it at that time for everything'

18. CTDii 40 *ac yna e dele enteu gurhau er argluyd a bot urth ureynt e argluyd ac ef ehun byeu attep **trostau***
'and then he should pay homage to the king and it is according the status of the king and him himself he has to answer for it'

19. CTDii 42 *guedy dywycco e keulauan **trostau***
'he should pay the compensation of the crime for it afterwards'

20. CTDii 61 *ef a seyf em pob peth **trostunt***
'he stands (trial) for everything for them'

21. CTDii 63 *puy a dewyt **trostunt***
'who would speak for them?'

22. CTDii 63 *puy a dyweto **trostunt***
'who would speak for them?'

Unlenited forms of *trwy*

23. P44. 36 *Ac y gyt a henny he6yt edryc nat **trwyda6***
'and together with that, moreover, to see what is not through him'

24. P44. 60 *namyn kynhal e 6renhynyaeth **trwyda6** eh6n*
'except to maintain the kingship through himself'

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[83] The heaviest fine, six times the *camlwrw* (Lewis 1913: 133).

7.2 Lenited forms of *tros* and *trwy*

<u>Lenited forms of *tros*</u>

25. P16iii 38   *E caeroed nessaf yd a **drostunt** ar mynyded gurthuynep a emch6el arnei*
'he goes to the nearest forts above them on the mountains, instead of turning to her'

26. PPD.   *y gymryt a wnaf heb y pwyll keis ueicheu **drossot***
'"I will take it," said Pwyll, "take sureties for your sake"'

27. PPD.   *ni a uydwn **drostaw** heb heueyd*
'"we will be for him," said Hyfaidd'

28. PPD.   *yny uo ryd y wyr y uynet **drostaw***
'"until his men are free to go in his stead"'

<u>Lenited forms of *trwy*</u>

29. BUL   *ny eill neb uynet **drwydi***
'it is not possible for anyone to go through her (the river)'

7.3 Discussion – conjugated *can*, *tros* and *trwy*

Throughout the corpus there are 26 forms of *tros*, of which four are lenited, two unlenited forms of *trwy* and one lenited form of *trwy*. With the exception of one 2sg form, all forms are in the 3rd person singular or plural. In the singular forms both the masculine and feminine suffix is present. The forms were found in the manuscripts *Peniarth 44, BL Cotton Titus D.ii, Peniarth 16iii* and in the texts in the corpus from *Peniarth 4* and *Oxford Jesus College MS. 111*. There are no differences in the spelling of the conjugated preposition between *Peniarth 4* and *Oxford Jesus College MS. 111*. The other manuscripts do not contain forms of these conjugated prepositions at all.

Although there is no abundance of forms in the corpus, it is immediately clear that the distribution of lenited and unlenited forms is not the same in Welsh as it is in Irish. There is no alternation between unlenited and lenited forms within the same text or manuscript. To put it more strongly, it seems that in each manuscript the conjugated forms of *tros* and *trwy* start with either a voiced or voiceless initial consonant and that this initial is used for all conjugated forms of this preposition throughout the entire manuscript. Even though there are few conjugated forms of *trwy,* it appears to be the case that if forms of *tros* and *trwy* appear within the same manuscript, they have the same initial.

In the overview below the manuscripts have been listed with the initial consonant of the conjugated prepositions *tros* and *trwy* and their date as proposed by Huws[84].

Manuscript	Form	Date
Peniarth 44	t-	mid 13th century
Peniarth 6i	x	13th century
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	t-	13th century
Peniarth 16iv	x	13th century
Peniarth 16iii	t-	13th century
Peniarth 4[85]	d-	mid 14th century
Oxford Jesus College MS. 111[86]	d-	14th/15th century

If one looks at the period in time these texts are dated to, it becomes clear that the three early manuscripts have t- whereas the two later manuscripts have initial d-. Like in Irish there is a transition from an unlenited initial consonant to a lenited consonant: in this case from initial t- to d-.

With regards to the distinction of *ken(h)-* and *gen(h)-* in Middle Welsh - the conjugated forms of *can/gan* - there is a table by Patrick Sims-Williams which deals with all manuscripts that are securely dated to the 13th century and counts the use of /g/ and /k/ for the first and second singular of conjugated preposition *can/gan* 'with'. While researching the conjugated forms of the preposition *can/gan* for forms with and without medial aspiration (–h-), Sims-Williams drew up an overview of conjugated forms from 19 different manuscripts, ordering them by date and grouping manuscripts that were written wholly or partially by the same scribe(s)[87].

This overview, found on page 23 of Sims-Williams' article, shows a very clear distinction between initial /k/ and /g/ in different manuscripts. There is almost no alternation between lenited and unlenited forms within the same manuscript, which is slightly different from what is observed with the forms of *tros* and *trwy*. Of the eighteen manuscripts *Peniarth* 1, *Peniarth* 29, *Cardiff* 2.81 and *Titus Dii* each have one single example that is different from the spelling of the other conjugated forms. Only *Llanstephan 1* shows a more significant difference: the initials of 18 conjugated

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[84] Huws 2000: 57-64.
[85] Only the texts *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet, Branwen Uerch Lyr,Culhwch ac Olwen, Breudwyt Macsen Wledig*
[86] Only the texts *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet, Branwen Uerch Lyr,Culhwch ac Olwen, Breudwyt Rhonabwy, Breudwyt Macsen Wledig*
[87] Sims-Williams 2013: 23-24.

prepositions start in <k>, while 5 are written with <g>. However, out of all 13th century manuscripts, this is the only one that shows this alternation. Unfortunately, Sims-Williams has not proposed an explanation for the fact that this is the only manuscript that actually used both forms.

Because there is so little alternation within the same manuscript, it seems that the scribe(s) of each manuscript used either /k/ or /g/ as the initial of the conjugated preposition. Initial /k/, furthermore, is only found in the earlier manuscripts, while initial /g/ was used in one early (*Peniarth* 1*)* and many later manuscripts. By the end of the thirteenth century, the initial /k/ of the conjugated preposition *can/gan*, spelled <c, k>, had almost completely disappeared in prose. Those few examples of initial /k/ that still remain in later manuscripts are probably due to careful copyists, who faithfully copied their exemplar and did not modernise this spelling.

Sims-Williams observed: "Thus *k-/c-* seems to indicate a pre-fourteenth century date whereas g- is neutral, being found at all periods of Middle Welsh."[88] This observation might lead one to believe that there was a strong alternation in the spelling of the initial between manuscripts before the 14th century. However, the only early manuscript (pre *Peniarth* 30) of the five that he has examined that has initial g- is *Peniarth 1*.

From the data from the corpus and the data studied by Sims-Williams, one could conclude that the conjugated forms of *tros* and *trwy* and the forms of *can* seem to follow a similar pattern: in early manuscripts the voiceless initial consonant appears, while later manuscripts favour the voiced initial and alternation between forms within the same text is rarely observed. However, if one looks at the date of the manuscripts in which Sims-Williams detects the transition from k-/c- to g- and compares this to the forms of *tros* and *trwy,* there is a discrepancy in time. Sims-Williams observed the following sounds for the 13th century manuscripts in the corpus of this thesis:

Manuscript	**Form**	**Date**
Peniarth 44	k-	mid 13th century
Peniarth 6i	g-	13th century
BL Cotton Titus D.ii	g-	13th century
Peniarth 16iv	g-	13th century
Peniarth 16iii	g-	13th century

With regards of the development of forms of *can* to *gan*, the dates of the manuscripts show that the writing of lenition of *can* was earlier than the lenition of the initial consonants of *tros* and *trwy.* Sims-Williams shows that *Peniarth* 44 has only unlenited forms of *can*, while the other, later manuscripts have already completely transitioned to the lenited initial consonant. The forms of *tros* and *trwy* in this corpus, on the other hand, only start to appear in their lenited forms in the 14th century manuscript *Peniarth* 4.

So while their developments share similarities in that they do not show a gradual development but rather a specific period in time after which all conjugated forms are lenited, the three prepositions do not appear with lenited consonants at the same time. Moreover, it has to be noted that prior to the ostensible shift from initial c-/k- to g- *Peniarth* 1, the earliest of the 13th century manuscripts, already had initial g-. This may have been due to dialectal differences, as this manuscript, also called the Black Book of Carmarthen, is thought to be a southern manuscript, while the other manuscripts are from the north[89]. Therefore, it seems that initial c-/k- seems to be used before the 14th century, while initial g- could also be used prior to that, albeit in the southern dialect.

Another difference between the data collected by Sims-Williams and presented in this thesis is that Sims-Williams only used the 1st and 2nd singular and plural forms of *can/gan*, while the corpus of this thesis almost exclusively contains 3rd person forms of

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[88] Sims-Williams 2013: 24.
[89] Sims-Williams 2013: 23.

tros and *trwy*. With the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person forms occurring less frequently than 3ʳᵈ person forms, one can imagine that the forms could have been treated differently. However, looking at some of the manuscripts in the corpus of this thesis for 3ʳᵈ singular and plural conjugated forms of *can/gan*, which are listed in appendices III. and IV., it appears that those forms conform to the pattern observed by Sims-Williams. *Peniarth* 44 only contains initial c-/k-, while the conjugated forms from *Peniarth* 6i onwards show initial g-only[90].

Since the development of lenition is not preserved in the manuscripts as a gradual development, the contexts are of little help in determining where this development originated and why it persisted. One would not expect a change in the initial consonants to occur overnight, but rather as a gradual development that starts with zero lenited conjugated prepositions and then shows a gradual increase of lenition. The reverse would be expected for forms with initial k-: first a period in which almost all forms start with k-, then a gradual decrease in frequency, until finally there are no forms with initial k- left. In these Welsh contexts, however, it seems to have been the case that - at least in the northern dialect - the written register strongly preferred the spelling of the conjugated forms one way, up to a certain point in time, after which this changed radically. The change is very sudden and therefore has to be the result of a change in spelling convention instead of an actual representation of the development of this lenition at the time of writing.

However, if the writing of lenition was a matter of choice for the right spelling, it does not explain why forms of *can* were spelled in their lenited form so much earlier than forms of *tros* and *trwy.*

The simple prepositions

While the conjugated prepositions appear either their lenited or unlenited form within the same manuscript, the lenition or non-lenition of the forms of the simple preposition *can, tros* and *trwy* may show some variation. With a quick scan through the texts in the corpus, it is evident that *gan* already appears in *Peniarth* 44 and all the later texts and that *can* had already disappeared. Apparently, even though the simple preposition *can* had been lenited to *gan*, its conjugated forms remained unlenited for some time. It is plausible that the conjugated forms of *gan* soon changed to the initial g- through analogy, simply because the simple preposition was already lenited and the simple preposition and its conjugated forms were too different.

The prepositions *tros/dros* and *trwy/drwy* have a slightly different distribution in the manuscripts. The preposition *dros* occurs but rarely, once in *Peniarth* 16iv and twice in *Peniarth* 16iii and in none of the other 13ᵗʰ century manuscripts; *tros* is the most common form and appears 46 times in the 13ᵗʰ century manuscripts in the corpus. The manuscripts from the 13ᵗʰ century have only one occurrence of *drwy* in *Peniarth* 16iv, while *trwy* occurs 45 times, showing that *trwy* was the preferred form.

Pen 16iv 52   *ac aethant y gyt a chaswalla6n eu hewytyr* **drwy** *6or yn ol y cesaryeit*
               'and they went together with Caswallawn their uncle across the sea in pursuit of the men of Caesar'[91]

In the later texts from *Peniarth* 4 and the *Oxford Jesus College MS.* 111 the opposite is observed for *tros*: excepting one occurrence of *tros* in the *Peniarth* 4 recension of *Breudwyt Macsen Wledig*, the preposition is always in its lenited form and appears 11 times in *Peniarth* 4 and 17 times in *Oxford Jesus College MS.* 111[92].

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[90] For an overview of all conjugated forms of *can/gan* in the corpus of this thesis, see appendices III. and IV.
[91] Bromwich 1961: 81.
[92] The difference in these numbers comes from the fact that the White Book does not have certain sentences that the Red Book does have: four sentences in the text of *Culhwch ac Olwen* one example in *Breudwyt Macsen Wledig*.

Pen 4   *parth ac ynys prydein y doethant tros vor a gweilgi*
OJC   *parth ac ynys prydein y doethant dros vor a gweilgi*
           'they went towards the Isle of Britain across the sea and ocean'

The results for *trwy/drwy* show a completely different distribution, however. There is a total of 25 forms of *trwy* and 18 forms of *drwy.* In the overview below the forms are counted for each text in the two manuscripts. The first number indicates the forms of *trwy*, while the one after the slash shows the count for *drwy*.

	Peniarth 4	Oxford Jesus College MS. 111
Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet	2/4	3/3
Branwen Uerch Lyr	0/5	1/4
Breuwdyt Macsen Wledig	5/1	6/0
Culhwch ac Olwen	3/1	5/2

Not one of these texts has the same forms in both manuscripts: *Peniarth* 4 uses slightly more lenited forms (11 lenited out of 21: 52%) in comparison with *Oxford Jesus College MS.* 111 (9 lenited out of 24; 37%), but because there are so few forms, the difference is very small in absolute numbers and is not statistically significant. In *Culhwch ac Olwen* the text diverges in some places, leaving the text in *Peniarth* 4 with fewer forms of *trwy/drwy* than the other recension.

 Based on the data of the simple prepositions it seems that all three prepositions have appeared in their lenited form at a different point in time. The simple preposition *can* is the first to transition to its lenited form *gan*, followed by *tros* and finally *trwy*. In Modern Welsh *tros/dros* and *trwy/drwy* are still used alongside each other in the written language, as opposed to *gan*, which is the only remaining form[93]. However, the lenited forms of *tros/dros* are most certainly the preferred forms in the modern spoken and written language, while the unlenited forms are mostly restricted to the literary register[94].

 Given the clear preference of *dros* over *tros* in the later manuscripts in the corpus, it may be surprising that both *tros* and *dros* remain in Modern Welsh today. However, literary Welsh and colloquial Welsh are known to differ in how they apply the mutations. Lenition, for example, is far more generalized in the spoken language, while "the literary standard shows a more complex and rigidly applied system"[95]. Chances are that the development of *tros* has in fact resulted in *dros* in most parts of the Welsh language, but is (artificially) retained in the literary register, perhaps for alliteration purposes. It seems, therefore, that the development has reached its end point in which only *dros* remains in the spoken language.

 The same cannot be said for *trwy/drwy*. Apart from the fact that the inclination to leniting *trwy* to *drwy* was not as strong as with *tros/drwy*, King's Modern Welsh grammar shows that *trwy* is still very much in use today and appears alongside the lenited form[96].

Hypotheses
Unlike with *can/gan*, the simple forms *tros* and *trwy* seem to be lenited about the same time as their conjugated forms or perhaps even slightly earlier. After all, the first early forms of *dros* and perhaps *drwy* are already present in the 13th century manuscripts. For each of these three prepositions, though, and most strongly for *can,* it may well be the case that the simple preposition was lenited first – at the same time all Welsh prepositions were[97] lenited by a sound law that lenited the initial consonants of unstressed clitics - and that the lenition spread by analogy to the conjugated forms of

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[93] King 1993: 276, 277, 288.
[94] Ibid.: 276.
[95] Ibid.: 16.
[96] Ibid.: 288.
[97] With the exception of OW. *di* 'to', which was already *y* by this time.

can/gan, tros/dros and *trwy/drwy*. If this was the case, the writing of lenition of the conjugated prepositions would have been resisted in the written register until the time (almost) all conjugated forms were lenited.

What this hypothesis does not explain, is why the simple preposition *can/gan* and its conjugated forms are written in their lenited forms so much earlier than *tros/dros* and *trwy/drwy* in orthography. One would expect that if these three prepositions were lenited at the same time, their orthographical representation would change at the same time as well. It may be the case, though, that the lenition of *tros* and *trwy* was not at the same time as *can*, but that the (spelling of) lenition was delayed due to the initial tr- cluster in both prepositions. Schumacher has shown in his contribution to the book *Mittelkymrisch* that the consonant cluster /tr/ - amongst other clusters – occasionally resists (orthographical) lenition.[98] If the prepositions and the conjugated forms of *tros* and *trwy* at first resisted the change, but became increasingly more lenited in the spoken language, until finally they were orthographically represented in their lenited form, this might explain the discrepancy in time between the lenition of *can* and *tros* and *drwy*.

What this suggestion does not explain is why *tros* and *trwy* do not seem to have been written in their lenited forms at the same time. The difference between these two forms cannot lie in the frequency with which both prepositions are used: *tros/dros* occurs almost exactly as many times as *trwy/drwy* does in the 13th century manuscripts and this is not very different for the tales of the Mabinogion either. For this difference, unfortunately, no explanation can be proposed at this point.

As the corpus of this thesis is not very big and given that there is a significant gap between the 13th century manuscripts and the White and the Red Book, future research may be able to draw conclusions that this thesis cannot. Until that time, the hypothesis that the conjugated prepositions were lenited through means of analogy to the simple prepositions seems acceptable.

The hypotheses already proposed in this thesis – based on the Irish examples and suited for the Irish data - do not fit the Welsh results well at all. The hypothesis of the prepositional phrase could be true in some constructions, such as 29, but does not work for, for example, example 26. Neither the examples in the Welsh dictionaries, nor the explanation of the verb *mynet*, nor the translation of the sentence give any inclination to a prepositional construction for example 26.

26. PPD.   *yny uo ryd y wyr y uynet **drostaw***
              "until his men are free to go in his stead"'

29. BUL   *ny eill neb uynet **drwydi***
              'it is not possible for anyone to go through her (the river)'

The hypothesis that the conjugated preposition is lenited because it expresses a destination is not very likely either. While, *trwy* could be interpreted to designate route or direction, similar to the Irish *tar*, the same cannot be said for *tros.* In the examples in the corpus conjugated forms of *tros* often mean 'for (the benefit of)' or 'in stead of'. At best, this could be interpreted as an abstract form of location, but not destination.

As a whole, it is hard to apply either of these two hypotheses to the texts in the corpus based on the distribution of lenition and non-lenition, because the presence or absence of lenition seems to have very little to do with the context and everything with the period in time the manuscript was composed in. At this time, therefore, no solution for the lenition of the Welsh conjugated prepositions can be proposed other than that the development might have originated with the lenition of the simple prepositions. It would seem, though, that each preposition appears in its lenited form at a (slightly) different pace from the others, perhaps because the initial /tr-/ cluster of *tros* and *trwy* resisted the (writing) of lenition for some time.

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[98] Ternes 2011: 115.

8. Conclusions

A number of interesting aspects have come to light in this thesis that had not been discovered up to this point. Some of these can form points of departure for further research, for while the conclusions presented below are true for this corpus, some conclusions may not necessarily be representative for all other records of the language.

An unforeseen result of this examination of the examples in the Irish corpus is a pattern in the syntactic position of the conjugated prepositions, for all researched prepositions. It was already known that the conjugated preposition in Irish can be positioned directly after the verb or can be separated by several other constituents and thus the place of the conjugated preposition in relation to the verb will generally vary from sentence to sentence. However, this thesis has shown for the examples in this corpus that the conjugated preposition is almost always the first element in a chain of multiple adverbial phrases in the sentence. As a rule, only adverbs that lend emphasis to a specific preceding word and other conjugated prepositions can appear before them.

This chapter will recapitulate the answers to the research questions that could be drawn on the basis of the corpus, in order of the research questions that were first presented in Chapter 1.

Can a development in the use of lenition of the conjugated forms of the preposition be witnessed in the selected corpus from the medieval period?

For the Irish texts it is very clear that a gradual, progressive development is witnessed in the data. However, this development is different for the prepositions *co* and possibly *tar* (there are too few forms of *tar* in the corpus to make strong claims about its development) opposed to the development of *for* and *fri*.

At first there are but few examples of (written) lenition of the conjugated prepositions of *co*, but the amount of lenition gradually increases over time. Even excluding the forms for *Tochmarc Étaíne* and *Serglige Con Culainn* for comparison with *for* and *fri*, there are ten instances of lenition and sixteen forms that are spelled without a lenited initial, resulting in a lenition rate of 39%. Important to note is that it seems that the spelling cannot simply be taken at face-value: while lenition is always present when it is spelled, the same cannot be said for unlenited initials. It appears that unlenited initials are no indication of non-lenition, but are an unmarked form that can represent both lenition and non-lenition. This means that there might have been more lenition than was written and that the spelling of lenited forms marks a progressive development in the orthography with regards to lenition, but does not directly reflect the actual development of lenition of the conjugated prepositions. However, given the gradual development of the spelling of lenition, it seems probable that the underlying development was gradual as well.

For the conjugated forms of *for* and *fri* lenition the situation is different. The simple prepositions *for* and *fri* and their conjugated forms merge in form and meaning with *ar* and *re* respectively, which results in difficulty determining which form belongs to which preposition. Only by looking at the meaning of the conjugated forms and discovering that some conjugated forms reflect a meaning that their form does not suggest, can one determine whether lenition has taken place. However, lenition is only observed in one or two cases of *for* in the corpus out of 49 forms of *for* (4%) and 74 forms of *fri* (0%). This strikingly low rate of lenition – especially when compared to the ratio of lenition of *co* - strongly suggests that the development for these forms follows a different development from *co* and possibly started later than the development of lenition of the forms of *co*.

Regardless of the differences during their development, all conjugated forms of these prepositions end up with fixed lenited initials in Modern Irish: all conjugated forms of *co* (MoIr. *go*) start with *ch-*, forms of *tar* (MoIr. *dar*) with *th-* and of *for* and *fri* only a paradigm of the preposition *ar* remains. This proves that the development was

progressive and that - with the change of all forms to a final lenited form - the process has reached its end point.

On the Welsh side the lenition of the conjugated prepositions is neither gradual nor does the corpus reflect a development. What is witnessed in the corpus is a sudden, drastic change in orthographical conventions. Up to a certain point in time all manuscripts choose not to write lenition for forms of a certain preposition and then suddenly lenition is written for those forms in all manuscripts. Curiously, the spelling convention changes for each preposition at another point in time: first forms of *can/gan* are spelled in their lenited forms, then *tros/dros* and lastly *trwy/drwy*. The fact that *can* is the first of the three to be lenited can be explained by the reluctance with which the initial cluster *tr-* is lenited: this cluster resists (the writing of) lenition in other parts of the language as well and might therefore be the reason why the lenition of these forms is much later than the lenition of *can/gan.* However, no explanation can be given on the basis of this corpus for the difference between *tros/dros* and *trwy/drwy*.

Although the precise development is obscured by the observed spelling conventions, the end point for each of these three Welsh prepositions is known and differs for each of these prepositions. While *can* and its conjugated forms have completely turned into *gan* in all contexts in Modern Welsh, *tros/dros* and *trwy/drwy* are still used alongside one another. It is clear, however, that the use of *tros* is restricted to the literary register and that *dros* is the only form that remains in the spoken and most of the written language. The use of the unlenited forms is artificially retained and the development seems to have reached its end point for this preposition. On the other hand, *trwy* and *drwy* still alternate in the modern language and time will tell whether it has reached a point of stability or whether one of the two forms will displace the other in the end.

Are the conjugated prepositions lenited regardless of their environment or do they require a specific context?

The Irish data suggests that there are different contexts in which *co* (and possibly *tar*) and *for* (and possibly *fri*) are lenited. For *co* it has been hypothesised that the conjugated forms are lenited whenever they (1) form a prepositional construction with the finite verb or verbal noun in the sentence, or (2) denote destination. The second hypothesis is interesting because the lenition would be similar to the lenition of destination in Welsh if the hypothesis proves true. It is unlikely, however, that the lenition of destination is a Proto-(Island)Celtic development, as – if it is parallel to the hypothesis that the lenition of OW. *di* 'to' to MW. 'y' was due to lenition of destination – *co* would have had a lenited counterpart *cho*, which it obviously does not.

For both hypotheses a syntactic mutation is thought to be the cause of the observed lenition. Unfortunately, both hypotheses have proven to be circular and because of this no preference can be given to either one at this time and on the basis of this corpus. It will remain to be seen whether the hypotheses can be proven true in light of new material or should be abandoned in favour of another hypothesis.

There are too few lenited forms of *for* and *fri* to establish a pattern or even a recurring context in which lenition occurs. The lack of lenition strongly suggests that the development and context must have been very different from that of *co,* otherwise more lenited forms would have been expected.

Although there are no examples in the Irish part of the corpus in which lenition appears to be blocked, Pedersen[99] has suggested that blocking could occur when the final consonant of the preceding word and the initial of the conjugated preposition are homorganic. Other than this possibility, no blocking environments were observed.

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[99] Pedersen 1898: 332.

For Welsh it is abundantly clear that there is no recurring context within the language in which (the writing of) lenition is observed or not, but that the occurrence of lenition solely depends on the dominant spelling convention of the period in time in which the manuscript was composed.

From which period in time can lenition of the conjugated prepositions be observed?

The first appearance of the lenition of the conjugated prepositions in the Irish texts in the corpus were forms of *co* and a form of *for* in the text of the Monastery of Tallaght, which is dated to the 9th century. From then onwards there is a mix of lenited and unlenited forms in every text in the corpus that contains forms of the conjugated prepositions of *co*. Lenition of *for* is only witnessed one other time in *Fingal Rónáin* and the lenition of *tar* is only observed once: in The Three Drinking Horns.

Because the dates for the Irish texts are based on the (grammatical features of the) individual texts and not the period in which the manuscript was compiled and examples of lenition may be due to orthographical innovation by later copyists, no exact date can be identified for the emergence of lenition of the conjugated prepositions in Irish. In the relative chronology of the texts, however, lenition seems to have taken place in every text after the Monastery of Tallaght and never in the texts that are considered earlier than that.

As the compilators of the Welsh manuscripts seem to have chosen between writing all the conjugated prepositions either lenited or non-lenited, only the date after which their spelling convention changed can be observed. From the manuscripts in the corpus and Sims-Williams' contribution[100] we see that up to the mid 13th century the practice was not to spell lenition of the conjugated forms of *can/gan*, while after that point in time the unlenited conjugated prepositions completely disappear and only the lenited forms remain. Lenition of the forms of *tros/dros* and *trwy/drwy* does not appear until the 14th century manuscripts, but follows the same practice: after a certain point in the 14th century all unlenited conjugated forms disappear in favour of the lenited forms.

Lenition of the simple prepositions, especially *can* to *gan,* probably occurred earlier than the lenition of their conjugated counterparts. The lenition of *can* to *gan* was already completed in the 13th century manuscripts, since there is not a single form of *can* attested in the corpus. That the simple prepositions were lenited earlier than the conjugated forms is not as clear for *tros* and *trwy*. However, given that all simple prepositions were lenited, including *tros* and *trwy*, it would make sense if this development started at the same point in time for all prepositions and was caused by the same sound law. The initial cluster of *tros* and *trwy* would then have simply delayed (the writing of) this lenition.

How can the existence of this lenition of the conjugated prepositions be explained?

Regardless of whether any the two hypotheses might be true, the exact reason for the lenition cannot be explained by them: they explain only how the lenition can still work even when the verb and conjugated form are separated. Pedersen[101] considered the appearance of lenition with the conjugated prepositions as examples of post-verbal lenition, that was once only present as contact lenition after a specific set of verbal endings, but analogically spread to all verbal forms and then to the conjugated preposition. This theory does give an explanation why the lenition came into existence (i.e. contact lenition) but requires far reaching analogy, without any reason for the

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[100] Sims-Williams 2013.
[101] Pedersen 1898.

speaker to retain and extend this lenition. Moreover, his hypothesis cannot be demonstrated to be false.

However, there is another way the existence of the lenition of the conjugated prepositions can be explained: by the theory that whenever information is repeated the repeated information is lenited, as put forward by Schrijver[102] for Welsh. If one assumes that the same could be true for Irish, the Irish verbal form already announces the presence of a preposition (for example because the verb forms a prepositional construction or because the verb expresses motion and requires a destination) and the appearance of the actual preposition is then considered repetition of the information.

Schrijver's explanation would work well for the conjugated forms of *co* (and possibly *tar*), but there is no reason to assume this is the case with forms of *for* and *fri*. Rather, it has been tentatively put forward in this thesis that the lenition of the conjugated forms of *for* and *fri* is caused by analogy with the conjugated forms of *co* and that the development is only just starting when we see the first examples of lenition in the corpus.

Lenition of the Welsh conjugated prepositions, on the other hand, may not be due to a grammatical rule at all, but rather due to analogical extension of the lenition of the *simple* prepositions. Due to a sound law, the initials of all simple prepositions were lenited. This means that while the conjugated forms of *can/gan* were still written with initial *k-*, the simple preposition was already lenited to *gan* and this can be observed in the corpus. Although a similar difference in the initial consonant of the simple preposition and its conjugated forms is not found as clearly in the corpus for *tros* and *trwy*, there is no reason to assume that the mechanism of the development was different for these prepositions. Given that the lenition of the simple preposition would have resulted in a significant difference between the simple preposition and its conjugated forms, there is no denying that generations of speakers might be inclined to analogically level all forms of the prepositions so that the initial consonant of the simple preposition and the conjugated forms was the same once more.

Is the lenition of the conjugated prepositions in essence the same development for Irish and Welsh?

Seeing how different the process and origin of lenition of the conjugated prepositions is in both languages, there is only one conclusion that can be drawn with regards to the similarity of Irish and Welsh: although the lenition of the conjugated prepositions in Irish and Welsh looks very similar on the surface, the underlying developments and origin are different to such extent that it is clear that the practice of lenition of the conjugated prepositions must be a completely separate phenomenon in each language.

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[102] Schrijver 2010.

9. Future research

During this thesis a couple of new questions have arisen that bear answering in future research. This small chapter aims to bring a few of these questions to attention, but is by no means meant as an exhaustive list of all possible research questions one could ask on the basis of this thesis. Some of the presented data and conclusions might spark someone's interest for future research in an entirely unforeseen way. It is for this reason too, as well as others, that the data that was not used in the main text of this thesis has been included in the appendices.

One of the first options for further research that comes to mind is to look further into the process of the lenition of the initial consonants and collapse of the (conjugated forms of) *for* and *fri* in Irish. Researching a larger corpus, containing younger texts than studied in this thesis, for forms of the conjugated prepositions of these prepositions and their context will almost certainly result in a much better idea of how these forms were lenited. Moreover, the mechanisms behind the collapse of the conjugated forms of the prepositions *for* and *ar* and *fri* and *re* and the simple prepositions is far from obvious as most conjugated forms are not easily confused with one another. It might be enlightening to discover how these mostly dissimilar forms could collapse.

Another possibility would be to test the conclusions and proposed hypotheses for *co* and *tar* on data from other texts. This would expand the corpus and the new data that would arise might be helpful to decide between one of the hypotheses. It is very possible that one could prove or disprove (one of) them in the light of new evidence, or propose a new hypothesis altogether.

For the Welsh conjugated prepositions a closer look at *Llanstephan* 1 is certainly warranted, as this is the only manuscript that has spelled the conjugated forms of *can/gan* with alternating lenited and unlenited initials. It would be interesting to see whether *tros/dros* and *trwy/drwy* show any alternation in this manuscript as well. A closer study of this manuscript might show a different practice in this single example to the other manuscripts of the 13th century and could perhaps even show specific context or a pattern in the distribution of the lenition that the other manuscripts cannot.

Next to the phenomenon of lenition of the conjugated prepositions is the equally mystifying and to date unexplained lenition of adverbs in both Irish and Welsh. While the lenition of nouns and adjectives when they are used as adverbs is a known practice in Welsh, this is not the case for Irish. Even so, there are a great number of Irish adverbs that become lenited in the course of time and eventually lose their radical form, for example *thall* 'yonder' and *chena* 'instead'. The questions for this form of syntactic lenition could be similar to the questions asked in this thesis: Can a development be observed? What is the origin of this form of syntactic lenition? Is this phenomenon comparable in Irish and Welsh?

Another interesting conclusion from this thesis that deserves enlightenment is the order of adverbs in any given sentence in Irish. The context of the conjugated prepositions strongly suggests that there is a clear order in which adverbs should be presented, with the conjugated preposition as the first adverb in a longer series. The position(s) an adverb can occupy in the sentence might be telling for the nature of adverbs and adverbial phrases: such as that some are used for lending emphasis to other words while others receive emphasis whenever they are positioned elsewhere.

The last option for future research that will be noted here involves the Welsh representation of the lenited conjugated prepositions in different manuscripts. It would be interesting to compare multiple recensions of the same text between the 13th and 14th century with later versions to see to which extent the spelling of lenited conjugated prepositions in the manuscripts was adapted. The presence or absence of these adaptations might reveal more about the apparent underlying practice of choosing a single form for each different preposition and whether this was dependent on a certain period in time, an individual scribe, a geographical region or a specific monastic school.

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Appendices

I. Conjugated forms of *fri*

<u>Forms</u>

61.   ABA.   *con-ríccatar a seuít **frie***
                    'until her chattels be paid to her'

62.   ABA.   *7 as-bert **fris***
                    'and said to him'

63.   LC.   *as-mbert **fris***
                    'saying to him'

64.   LC.   *as-rubart **fris***
                    'having said to him'

65.   LC.   *is **fris** samaltir int í chomalnas na bíeiti so*
                    'it is to him that the one who fulfils these beatitudes is likened'

66.   LC.   *is ed trá as-biur **frib***
                    'it is this I say to them'

67.   LC.   *a n as-rubart día **friu***
                    'what God has said to them'

68.   LC.   *nád n-erbart día **friu***
                    'that God had not spoken to them'

69.   LC.   *as-biur-sa **fribsi***
                    'that I say to you (pl.)'

70.   LC.   *sechi rather 7 sechi déntar **frinn***
                    'whatever may be said or done to us'

71.   LC.   *iss ed as-rubart **frimm** alaile ebride*
                    'it is this a certain Hebrew person said to me'

72.   TPs.   *ar immaircidetaid a céille ocus a n-intliuchta **friu***
                    'because of the agreement of their sense and their meaning with them'

73.   TPs.   *ocus do-romenathar ní dorád **fris***
                    'and remembers something to say to him'

74.   WMS.   *7 asbert **friu***
                    'and he said to them'

75.   WMS.   *is **fris** beimmi húere*
                    'it is to him we shall be loyal'

76.   MT.   *hi fil molad dé 7 neméli **fris***
                    'which contains praise of God and lamentation addressed to him'

77.   MT.   *asrubart **frissim** ón*
'that had told him (to do) this'

78.   MT.   *con-túasfe **frimsai***
'that shall hearken to me'

79.   MT.   *tromde íarum ro búi **frissim** ind chaillech oc atach dé co mór*
'then it was weary to him how the old woman's praying mightily to God was'

80.   MT.   *iss ed danó asrubart máol róin **frissim***
'this is then what Mael Ruan said to him'

81.   MT.   *7 atbert ar sruithi **friindi***
'our saintly friend spoke about it'

82.   MT.   *ní dénae cros-figill **friu***
'he does not perform a cross-vigil with them'

83.   MT.   *ní apur **frit***
'I do not tell you'

84.   MT.   *aurd dar a gaib tre sind dochrad sa **fris***
'the orders which he transgressed by his ill-behaviour against him'

85.   MT.   *ní h-écoir laissim ind praind sin do adcor for sind comdid ar bruc **friss***
'he considers it not amiss to cast that meal back upon the Lord in displeasure at him'

86.   MT.   *7 attag n-dé **fris***
'and beseeching God therewith'

87.   MT.   *is íarum asbertsom **frie***
'it is then he said to her'

88.   MT.   *asbert si **fris** íarum*
'then she said to him'

89.   MT.   *7 ní con ebera **fris***
'and another thing you shall say to him'

90.   MT.   *andand asbert immurgo **frisiom** ro-m-ba sí sain-serc samdine hé*
'but when he told him he was Sadam's favorite'

91.   MT.   *anddond íarum a-t-bert **fris** dús ind aithcomraict is ban-scále fris*
'when the paddler asked him next whether women took counsel of him'

92.   MT.   *anddond íarum a-t-bert fris dús ind aithcomraict is ban-scále **fris***
'when the paddler asked him next whether women took counsel of him'

93.   MT.   *apursiu **friesi***
'tell her'

94.   MT.   *7 tuidecht do légind nó a scrútain **fris***
'and he should resort to reading or to examining himself against it'

95.   MT.   a-d-bir-sa **fritsa**
'I pronounce upon you'

96.   MT.   *to-lduid íarum taurtaim **fair** for a béolu*
'then a trance fell upon him, as he lay on his face'

97.   MT.   *robuí de muintir tamlachti **friss***
'that was between the monastery of Tallaght and him'

98.   MT.   *7 as-bert **friu***
'and he said to them'

99.   MT.   *a-t-bert aingel **friu***
'the angel said to them'

100.   MT.   *7 tóchbále soscéli **fris***
'and to lift up the gospels towards him'

101.   MT.   *con-dálid-si íarum ar n-aurnithe **friindi***
'and then share our prayers with us'

102.   MT.   *má ní bé nech aile bes lór laiss ifocraíb dó do athcomarc **fris***
'if there be no one else at hand of sufficient authority for him to consult with'

103.   MT.   *fóidis íarum a muindtir dochum n-adamnáin do achúine **friú***
'then he sent his monks to Adamnán to complain against them'

104.   OIH.   *as-mbéra **friu***
'he will say to them'

105.   VL.   *cu cúala trena cotlud in guth **fris** a-t-raí-su ass*
'and in his sleep he heard a voice say: "Arise!"'

106.   VL.   *asbert an delb **fris***
'the figure said to him'

107.   VL.   *apair **friu** immorro dénat aithrige*
'tell them, however, to repent'

108.   VL.   *apair **friu** íarum*
'say to them then'

109.   VL.   *acus cungénaid trócaire dé **fris***
'and the mercy of God will help him'

110.   FR.   *ocus feraid fáilti móir **friesi***
'and he offers her a great welcome'

111.   FR.   *corobáigsi **frie** a cend do béim dí*
'so that she threatened to strike off her head'

112.   FR.   *co mboí oc imbirt fidchille **friu***
'until she was playing fidchell alongside them'

113.   FR.   *do-gén-sa do les su féin **frisseom** chena*
'I will do that on your behalf instead'

114.   FR.   *a-t-beir ind óc-ben **friesi***
'the young woman tells it to her'

115.   FR.   *acht co comrís féin **fris***
'provided that you meet with him'

116.   FR.   *ocus déna mo lessa íarum **friss***
'and do my bidding with regard to him afterwards'

117.   FR.   *ingen echdach oc báig mo marbtha **frim***
'the daughter of Echad is threatening me with death'

118.   FR.   *nách dénaim a lles **fritso** co comairsed **frit***
'since I am not doing her wishes with regard to you, such that she would meet with you'

119.   FR.   *ferthair fáilti mór **friss***
'a great welcome was given to him'

120.   FR.   *ocus ferait fáilti móir **fris***
'and they gave him a great welcome'

121.   FR.   *cid do-gén **friss** só*
'what should I do with regard to that?'

122.   FR.   *asbert a sétig **frie***
'her companion told her'

123.   FR.   *.i. comrac **frim***
'that is a meeting with me'

124.   FR.   *nocha béosa íarum oc gabáil **fris** ní bas síriu*
'I may not be struggling against him any longer after that'

125.   FR.   *gébsa leth-rand dús in ba cubaid **friss** a ngébasom*
'I will give a half-verse, to see whether it be fitting with what he will make'

126.   FR.   *ó roboí a druim **fríu** frisin tenid*
'since his back was towards them by the fire'

127.   FR.   *mo chinsa do imrádud comraic **frie***
'my crime of thinking to meet with her'

128.   FG.   *ar is coma dímaig robáil dísi díarraid fairseom ardaig ná coimrised **fris***
'for it is an impossible condition she wished to demand from him, that she might not be united with him'

129.   FG.   *ragadsa **fris***
'I shall go and bring it'

130.   LH.   *7 asbert **friu***
'and he said to them'

131.   LH.   *co n-eibert scandláin **fris** ar críst friut eirg fort cúlu*
'for Scandlán said to him, "for Christ's sake go back"'

132. LH. *co n-eibert scandláin fris ar críst **friut** eirg fort cúlu*
'for Scandlán said to him, "for Christ's sake go back"'

133. LH. *a-d-bert colum cille **frissium** íarsin*
'Colum Cille said to him thereafter'

134. LH. et dixit *an dall **fris***
'and the blind man said to him'

135. TDH. *gun eabert a bean **fris** ar a bárach*
'and on the morrow his wife said to him'

II. Conjugated forms of *for*

<u>Unlenited forms of *for*</u>

136. CH. *is sí tiscál ar cruche dúnn **furnn***
'our taking up of our cross upon us is the following'

137. ABA. *du-bbert grád n-epscoip **foir***
'he conferred Episcopal orders on him'

138. LC. *con rétrommigedar **fair** in sáeth*
'until the sickness lightens upon him'

139. LC. *is ant trá sin gaibid cumsulcud **foir***
'so, it is then that recuperation takes hold of him'

140. LC. *is ant ro-uci **fair** imlainni imm in fírinni*
'it is then that he takes upon himself a greediness for justice'

141. LC. *ar ní talla dítin ná erlabrae **foir***
'for neither protection nor speech has a place at it'

142. TPs. *imm-a-comraccat inna deich timma **fuiri***
'the ten commandments unite on it'

143. PC. *nó méit an sáothair do-charadar nech **fair** féssin*
'*or the amount of mortification someone takes upon himself*'

144. TPs. *indul atát cóic tintúdu **foraib***
'for there are five translations on them'

145. WMS. *arubtá amser bas trom co n-artríg lúachra ocus Locha Léin **foraib***
'a difficult time is in store for you (pl) under the high king of Lúachair and Loch Léin'

146. MT. *do-luid íarum duiblitir dochum mail rúoin do uráil **fair** co mbed túasclud do muindtir*
'then Dublitir came to Mael Rúain to urge him to grant his monks relaxation'

147. MT. *int pennit bes choir **fortsu***
'the penance that is meet to you'

148. MT. *nád canar* unitas *nó* cantemus **furri**
'neither Unitas nor Cantemus is sung after it'

149. MT. *canair immurco* magnificat **furri** *7* ymnum dicat
'However, Magnificat and Hymn Dicat are sung after it'

150. MT. *ná bat mór* **fair** *deithitiu na coilnidi*
'concern of carnal things should not weigh on him'

151. MT. *abstinit* **foraib** *íarum fri féoil 7 lánamnas*
'after that time abstinence is on them both from flesh and intercourse'

152. MT. *cid comarlécther* **foraib** *do daul immach*
'he thinks it reasonable that they should be allowed to go out'

153. MT. *ar na rap galar dóib gabáil* **foraib**
'lest the constraint upon them should induce disease'

154. MT. *acht ní bés etir la beoch do tabirt* **fair** *di maith*
'but one should do all the good that lies in one's power'

155. MT. si quis uero sua peccata alicui confitiatur vel *a lán-pendait* **fair**
'if, however, a man confesses his sins to someone, full penance must be laid on him'

156. MT. *7 ro-n-áil* **fair** *co ná tormaigfed nó ná digébad cid a óen focul di bríathraib si*
'and she bound him not to add to nor take away a single word she said'

157. MT. *7 ro búi buidetai bec* **fair** *do cáomclód a datha*
'and there was a little yellow on it, enough to change its colour

158. MT. *do-gnísat arale immurgo gu-choibsenae ind a ldeth fadésin do tormuch pende* **foraib**
'some, however, make false confessions about themselves, in order to increase penance laid upon them'

159. MT. *fo-ceirtt lámae* **fair** *fa deóig*
'she laid her hands on him at last'

160. MT. *co ruccae breith* **fort**
'that he may pass judgement on you'

161. MT. *oc a auráil do neuch* **fairsiom** *guidhi dé laisiom*
'when anyone enjoined on him to pray God for him'

162. MT. *do-rónais fingáil* **fort** *ám*
'truly you have wrought an unnatural crime upon yourself'

163. VL. *do-forthrom cotlud* **fair**
'fast sleep overpowered him'

164. VL. *acus nocha targart* **fuirri** *gach ní*
'and he did not charge her with anything'

165. VL. *acus cona thonnaib díaisneisi* **fair**
'and unspeakable waves upon it'

166. FR. *corraib mo ṡelb* **forru** *nammá*
'so that my ownership may be upon them only'

167. FG. *no chuindigfed* **fair**
'which she would demand of him'

168. FG. *ro airigaistair droch-blath* **fuirri**
'he noticed her sorry look'

169. FG. *ar is coma dímaig robáil dísi díarraid* **fairseom** *ardaig ná coimrised fris*
'for it is an impossible condition she wished to demand from him, that she might not be united with him'

170. LH. *ord aipgitrech* **fair**
'it is in alphabetical order'

171. LH. *co ro-chairig comarba íte* **fuirri** *sé tabairt in balláin dó*
'and Ita's coarb rebuked her for giving the vessel to him'

172. LH. *conid aire sein tuccad in buide-chair* **forru**
'and therefore the yellow plague was inflicted on them'

173. LH. *co n-eibert scandláin fris ar críst friut eirg* **fort** *cúlu*
'for Scandlán said to him, "for Christ's sake go back"'

174. LH. *gaibidsom* **fair** *a ére di araille chloch*
'he takes upon him his burden from a certain stone'

175. LH. *7 is* **furri** *do-gníther roinn*
'and it is upon it there is made a division'

176. LH. *7 di ernáil* **fuirri** *side*
'and (there are) two kinds in it'

177. LH. *is dé no bíad a rath* **fair**
'it is because of this its grace would be on it'

178. LH. *7 tanic rath mór* **fair** *íarsein*
'and a great grace came upon him afterwards'

179. LH. *7 co tartad grád n-epscuip* **fair**
'and a bishops rank was conferred on him'

180. LH. *doratad trá cumrech* **forrusom**
'then the bonds were put on them'

181. LH. *do-rothlaig* **fair**
'who had requested to him'

182. LH. id est *.xii. chuibrech* **fair**
'namely twelve fetters on him'

183. LH. *ro ráthaith siumh na conaire* **fair**
'then he made prosperous the way before him'

Lenited forms of *for*

184. MT. *is íarum do-rad mín* **aire**
‘it is then he put meal over it’

185. FR. *a-t-chicera didiu comartha* **airi** *innossa*
‘then you will see a sign of that now’

III. Unlenited conjugated forms of *can*

N.B. For the reason that the examples below have not been used for any other means than checking whether an alternation was present between initial c-/k- and g- within the same manuscripts, the examples have not been provided with a translation.

30. P44. 5   ac o6yn ew **kenhyf** kaffael oc ew gwyr wyntwy e brat a llesteyrya6 6e darpar ynhe6 o henny

31. P44. 8   a chet 6uydhawyf kanys dydan ew **kenhyf** rody 6e karedyc 6erch yr gwas ye6anc essyd kymeynt y clot a h6n

32. P44. 8   Ac eny 6o he6rydach **kenh6ch**

33. P44. 23   kanys mwy e kery ty 6 heneynt y noget de wuched ty 6e karedycaf 6erch y mynhe6 ath rodaf ty en prya6t yr gwr a dewyssych tythe6 a thryded ran enys prydeyn **kenhyt**

34. P44. 24   Ac eyssyoes ep hy gwaranda6 ty hespysrwyd e karyat essyd **kenhyf** y arnat ty

35. P44. 26   Mwy poen ew **kenhyf** y hedyw koffa6 6e medyant am anryded hyt tra edoed6n ar sa6l mylyoed o 6archogyon a oed ym kylch ac en gorescyn ac dystryw e sa6l o kestyll a cheyryd

36. P44. 26   Ac 6rth henny hyt tra wu da **kenhyf** y a all6n y rody ena e kanlyney pa6b 6y6y

37. P44. 26   kanys y gyt ac ed aeth e da y **kenhyf** y e kylyassant wyte6

38. P44. 55   Nyt esca6yn llad casswalla6n a my6 en 6y6 er h6n nyt kewylyd **kenhyf** rody 6em porth am nerth yda6 ony bydy ty 6rth 6eg kyghor y

39. P44. 61   A hyt henny dyga6n ew or rey henny kany b6 ar6aeth **kenhyf** traeth6 oc e6 hystorya wy

40. P44. 1   Pyrr 6ab achel a d6gassey er helen6s h6nn6 a llawer y gyt ac ef eg karchar **kantha6** gwedy distryw tro en dyal y tat

41. P44. 3   a thra edoed en mynet hep la6 e kastell a elwyt spartanus y kyrch6 a or6 br6t6s a thry myl o wyr **kantha6** en dyreb6d ac ente6 hep tebyg6 dym o henny

42. P44. 3   a gal6 y kytemdeythyon en 6n 6edyn ac en wychyr kyrch6 gwyr tro a bot en gwell **kantha6** y lad en clot6a6r kan kymh6 noe dyang en agclot6a6r kan ffo

43. P44. 4   a mynet a gwnaeth ente6 yr koet ae lw **kanthaw** en e lle ed oed y anhede6 en y arhos

44. P44. 7   Medylya6 a or6c bot en wuy a kaffey o da yr y eneyt **kantha6** ae ad6 en 6yw noc oe lad

45. P44. 7   ac yr castell ed aeth ente6 ar brenyn **kantha6** hyt tra 6edynt en rann6 er espeylye6

46. P44. *7*   rey a kyghorey kymryt y **kantha6** ran oe ky6oeth a thryga6 y presswylya6 endy

47. P44. *7*   Ereyll a kyghorey kymryt a nottynt o da y **kantha6** ac e6 hellyng en ryd y emdeyth

48. P44. *7*   6n peth essyd ya6n ywch y erchy ae 6ynn6 y **kantha6**

49. P44. *7*   Ac 6rth henny e kyghoraf y ywchwy kymryt y **kantha6** e 6erch hynaf yda6

50. P44. *9*   Ac o kyffredyn kyghor e kymyrth br6t6s **kantha6** geryon dewyn a de6deg wyr o hynafgwyr y gyt ac ef

51. P44. *10*   a mynet yr temyl a or6c a dwyn **kanth6nt** er hyn a 6ey reyt 6rth er aberth a gwnaethant.

52. P44. *11*   kyn dewrhet oed a pey emlade ef ar ka6r mwyhaf nat oed anha6s **kantha6** noc emlad a map bychan

53. P44. *12*   Ac o 6reyd dyanc a gwnaeth er rey ereyll y **kantha6** a mynegy y goffar ffychty megys e lladadoed e6 kytemdeyth

54. P44. *14*   ac amylder o lwoed **kantha6** ac ente6 en lle honno en e6 haros wynt

55. P44. *15*   Sef e b6 dewyssach **kantha6** mynet oe longhe6 ar ran wuyhaf oe lw en yach ettwa **kantha6**

56. P44. *15*   ny b6 hwy no henny **kantha6** kan kyghor y wyrda y e6 llyghes ed aethant

57. P44. *16*   digryf oed **kantha6** emlad ar kewry kanys amylhaf lle en er enys hon e kartre6yn eno

58. P44. *16*   A chymeynt e dywedyt bot y nerth ae kry6der ac e tynney e derwen wuyhaf en y koet oe gwreyd kan y hescytweyt 6n weyth en kyn ha6sset **kantha6** ente6 a tynn6 gwyalen goll 6echan

59. P44. *16*   kanys dygryf oed **kanthaw** gwelet katwent er rygtha6 a choryne6s

60. P44. *17*   Ac kerdet a gwnaeth ar hyt er enys y keyssya6 lle a 6ey adas **kantha6** k6ppla6 a pherpheytha6 y darpar

61. P44. *17*   ac gwedy kaffael ohona6 lle adwuyn ac a wu ryghadwy bod **kantha** ef a adeyl6s dynas eno ac ae gelwys y henw tro newyd

62. P44. *18*   Ac 6al ed oedyn ell try e6elly en kytgwledych6 en hed6ch e doeth h6mer brenyn h6nawt a llyghes **kantha6** hyt er alban

63. P44. *18*   a chyn6lla6 holl ye6enctyt e gwlat a mynet ae holl kedernyt **kanth6nt** en erbyn brenyn h6na6t

64. P44. *21*   ac anter6ynedyc anreyth o amylder e6r ac aryant **kantha6**

65. P44. *22*   a aethant a llynghes**kanth6nt** hyt en germanya

66. P44. *22*   Ar lleon h6nn6 gwedy rwydha6 llywodraeth e e teyrnas **kantha6**

67. P44. *23*   ac e6 rody wynte6 y gwyr ar ky6oeth **kanth6nt** y pob 6n y ran onad6nt

68. P44. *24*   *a thewyssa6c e gogled. ar k66oeth en de6 hanner* **kanth6nt**

69. P44. *25*   *rac bot en gewylyd* **kantha6** *na bey marchogyon yda6 eh6n y gyt ac ef*

70. P44. *25*   *rac e sa6l 6archogyon oed* **kanthau**

71. P44. *27*   *Ac gwedy dar6ot henny an6on lleyr a chordeylla y 6erch y kyt ac ef hyt en enys prydeyn ar llw h6nn6* **kanth6nt**

72. P44. *28*   *a c6neda map eynya6n bot antheylyng* **kanth6nt** *bot gwreyc en med6 e 6renhynyaeth*

73. P44. *29*   *ar holl kyn6lleyt6a a doethoed* **kantha6**

74. P44. *29*   *a the6d6r brenyn escotlont ac e6 ll6oed* **kanth6nt**

75. P44. *29*   *a dec myl ar r6geyn o wyr* **kantha6** *a dechre6 emlad a gwnaethant*

76. P44. *31*   *Ac ena pan 6ynegyt y bely henny dr6c wu* **kantha6** *henny*

77. P44. *31*   *Ac ena pan kygle6 bran henny kymryt llw ma6r a gwnaeth* **kantha6** *o lychlyn*

78. P44. *32*   *sef a gwnaethant e6 daly ac e6 dwy hyt ar bely ker llaw er ar6ortyr h6nn6 ae lw* **kanthaw** *en arhos dy6odedygaet y 6ra6t o lychlyn*

79. P44. *32*   *Ac ena pan 6ynegyt henny yr brenyn llawen wu* **kantha6** *kanys da oed kantha6 kaffael dyal ar y 6ra6t*

80. P44. *33*   *ac e6 bydynoed bryw essyc* **kanth6nt**

81. P44. *34*   *kanys oed* **kantha6** *y dyhol oe gwlat*

82. P44. *34*   *Ac nyt namwy y* **kantha6** *ef eh6n*

83. P44. *35*   *a chymryt kanhyat e 6ynet trwy e6 gwlat ae lw* **kantha6** *parth ac enys prydeyn en ryd*

84. P44. *37*   *ac e6 holl lwoed* **kanth6nt** *a dechre6 a gwnaethant gwascar6 e keyryd*

85. P44. *37*   *Ac ena gwystlon a kymyrth bely a bran y* **kanth6nt**

86. P44. *37*   *ac ed aeth bran ae lwdoed* **kantha6** *y emlad*

87. P44. *38*   *a thebyg6 e mae bran oed ena a gwyr byrgwyn* **kantha6**

88. P44. *40*   *Ac esef a gwnaeth ente6 bot en tr6m* **kantha6** *henny a mynet a llyghes* **kantha6**

89. P44. *41*   *neb nas lladey o bey o amylder ar6e6* **kantha6** *e kymeynt*

90. P44. *41*   *Ac en y amser ef e doeth brenyn moryan a llw ma6r* **kantha6**

91. P44. *41*   *Ac ena e doeth mor6d en y erbyn a holl lw ente6* **kantha6** *ac emlad ac*

wynt.

92. P44. *43*   *y dwyn* **kantha6** *hyt en dynas alcl6t*

93. P44. *43*   *ae k6dya6 em me6n esta6ell* **kantha6**

94. P44. *44*   *kanys gwell wu* **kantha6** *cre6londer noget gwne6th6r gwyryoned*

95. P44. *46*   *Ac nyt dyga6n henny he6yt* **kanth6nt**

96. P44. *49*   *ac odyna ed aeth ae lw* **kantha6** *en 6rywedyc essyc en y longhe6*

97. P44. *49*   *a gwnathoedynt bot casswalla6n a llynghes 6a6r* **kantha6** *en y emlyt ar e mor*

98. P44. *50*   *e ke wylyd ar kollet a ka6ssey ente6* **kanth6nt** *wynte6 kyn no henny*

99. P44. *50*   *Ac ena pan weles casswalla6n henny y ar e glan or lle ed oed en edrych llawen wu* **kantha6**

100. P44. *50*   *a thryst wu* **kantha6** *gwelet er rey a dyenghys en kaffael e tyr*

101. P44. *51*   *a dyga6n o da wu* **kantha6** *en lle gowunet kaffael e mor oe amdyffyn*

102. P44. *51*   *ac erchy y pob g6rda en er enys dy6ot wynt ac e6 gwraged* **kanth6nt**

103. P44. *52*   *Ac ena sef a gwnaeth a6arwy bot en pedr6s* **kantha6** *peth oed med6l e brenyn 6rtha6 rac meynt y lyt 6rth y ney*

104. P44. *53*   *Myfy a kynhelyeys* **kantha6** *ef tref y tat ae ky6oeth*

105. P44. *53*   *mal e bey dyogelach* **kantha6** *kyrch6 enys prydeyn*

106. P44. *53*   *ae lw* **kantha6** *yr tyr ada6 ll6ndeyn a gwnaeth*

107. P44. *53*   *ac odyno e mynnynt mynet en dyrryb6d am pen cassawalla6n a rydha6 ll6ndeyn y* **kantha6**

108. P44. *54*   *ky6ody a gwnaeth a6arwy ae 6ydyn* **kantha6** *oe lech6a a chyrch bydyn kasswalla6n*

109. P44. *55*   *kaffael hed6ch* **kantha6** *ente6 kyn no hyn*

110. P44. *55*   *Pa peth a 6ynny y* **kantha6** *ef amgen no darestwng yt a thal6 teyrnget y r6ueyn*

111. P44. *56*   *Ar gwr h6nn6 a wu kymeynt ka ryat gwyr r6ueyn* **kantha6**

112. P44. *56*   *e doeth Gloe6 amhera6dyr r6ueyn a llw ma6r* **kantha6** *a hamo en pente6l6 yda6*

113. P44. *57*   *6ydynoed eh6n ar escym6n 6ud6golyaeth honno* **kantha6**

114. P44. *57*   *Ac ena e ffoes er amera6dyr ar neyll ran* **kantha6** *or ny6er y e6 llonghe61*

115. P44. *58*   *a gwell wu* **kantha6** *o kymhenda6t a doethynep keyssya6 e6 gorescyn no mynet y emlad pedr6s ac wynt*

116. P44. *58 hep keyssya6 dym y **kantha6** namyn daly enys prydeyn a dan r6ueyn*

117. P44. *58 ac ente6 a phorth y gweyryd **kantha6** a gorescynn6s enyssed orc ar enyssed ereyll en e6 kylch*

118. P44. *59 Ac ena gwedy mynet e gayaf h6nn6 heybya6 emchwel6t a gwnaethant e kennade6 or r6ueyn ar 6orwyn **kanth6nt***

119. P44. *60 Ac esef acha6s oed kymeynt oed e llw a dothoed **kantha6***

120. P44. *61 e doeth Rodry brenyn scythya a doeth a llw ma6r **kantha6** or ffychteyt*

121. P44. *62 an6on a gwnaeth y kennade6 ac escry6enne6 **kanth6nt***

122. P44. *64 Ac ena pan kygle6 gwyr r6ueyn henny ed an6onassant se6er6s amhera6dyr a dwy leng o wyr **kantha6** y orescyn er enys 6rth r6ueyn trache6yn*

123. P44. *64 Ac ena gwedy gwelet or amhera6dyr henny e b6 tr6m **kantha6***

124. P44. *65 Ac ena gwedy kyn6lla6 ohona6 ena holl ye6enctyt e wlat honno y gyt ac ef e doeth a dyr6a6r lynghes **kantha6** hyt en enys prydeyn*

125. P44. *66 Ac ena gwedy clybot en r6ueyn henny ed an6ones gwyr r6ueyn allect6s a theyr lleng o wyr **kantha6** y lad e cre6la6n h6nn6*

126. P44. *68 e gwr a kynhyrwus sened r6ueyn llawen wu **kanth6nt** henny*

127. P44. *69 heb keyssyaw dym y **kantha6** ohoney namyn e teyrnget m6ryedyc*

128. P44. *69 Ac ena gwedy dywedwyt e kennad6ry honno 6urth constans da wu **kantha6** ae chanhyad6 a gwnaeth*

129. P44. *70 sef a gwnaeth an6on tryhayarn ewythyr helen a theyr lleng o wyr **kantha6** y orescyn er eny*

130. P44. *70 Ac ena e doeth tryhayarn ae lw **kantha6** hyt eg kaer perys*

131. P44. *74 Ac ena llydya6 a gwnaeth edwyn a dywed6yt ket bey dr6c **kantha6** y gwnaey*

132. P44. *74 Edwyn a d6gassey honno o kaer gwyraghon **kantha6***

IV. Lenited conjugated forms of *can*

N.B. For the reason that the examples below have not been used for any other means than checking whether an alternation was present between initial c-/k- and g- within the same manuscripts, the examples have not been provided with a translation.

133. P6i 1   *ny che6ch ch6i y **gennyf** i atteb eny del genn6ch amgen noc a doeth*

134. P6i 1   *ny che6ch ch6i y gennyf i atteb eny del **genn6ch** amgen noc a doeth*

135. P6i 1   *ny warandawei dim or atep a aeth **gennym** ni atta6 ef*

136. P16iii 26 *henne rac dily6 creuyd en gubyl a oed en barhaus **gennym** er en oes Llud 6renhin*

137. P16iii 43 *Heb e g6as en atep o acha6s na chafant dy wyrda na nep y **gennyt** na neges*

138. P16iv 52 *namyn deu kymeint ac a delei **gantha6** idi*

139. P16iv 52 *Ac ny doeth gantha6 yr gaer gyntaf namyn ef ae was*

140. P16iv 52 *Sef acha6s y gelwit y6elly. 6rth 6ynet eur ac aryant yr enys **ganthunt***

141. P16iii 27 *Ar saesson enteu a gynnalyassant **ganthunt** kent*

142. P16iii 30 *Nyt amgen Catwalader 6renhin a aeth parth a llyda6 gan druan lynghes ae holl bobyl **ganthau** hyt ar allan 6renhin llyda6*

143. P16iii 34 *Sef oed h6nn6 henri henaf 6ab g6ilim bastard e disgynnei e goron e **ganthau** ef yr petweryd o hona6*

144. P16iii 35 *Ac urth henne richert 6renhin vu yr eil y **gantha6** enteu o hyna6yaeth a ganedigaeth*

145. P16iii 43 *Ny cheffit dim e **gantha6***