The Second Branch of the Mabinogi from Peniarth 6:

A Linguistic Commentary

BA Thesis Celtic Languages and Culture

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16 April 2019

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to give a translation and linguistic commentary of a fragment of "Branwen Uerch Lyr" or "The Second Branch of the Mabinogi" from Peniarth 6. The linguistic commentary contains the first eleven sentences from the fragment with an analysis and an etymology of the words. There is also a comparison with the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest.

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1. Introduction

One of the medieval Welsh stories of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, and one of the eleven stories contained in *The Mabinogion*, is "Branwen Uerch Lyr", or "The Second Branch of the Mabinogi". It is suggested that the story may have originated somewhere between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries (Hughes ix); or according to Derick S. Thomson, "in the second half of the eleventh century" (xi). The story has come down in different manuscripts. The two main versions are found in the Red Book of Hergest and the White Book of Rhydderch, but there is also a fragment of Branwen contained in Peniarth 6 (Thomson ix-x). Ian Hughes notes that all three manuscripts may be derived from the same source (ii).

Most often, the versions from the Red Book of Hergest (1382-c. 1410) and the White Book of Rhydderch (c. 1350) are used for editions (Davies ix; xxxi). Because Peniarth 6 is just a fragment, it is not surprising that it is less used. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the Peniarth 6 version, and gives a translation and a linguistic commentary of this fragment.

1.1 Aim of the thesis

The aim of this thesis is to translate the first eleven sentences of the fragment of "Branwen Uerch Lyr" from Peniarth 6 and to give a linguistic commentary to accompany it. Linguistic commentaries are not uncommon in the field of Celtic studies. A few examples of commentaries on Irish texts are Wolfgang Meid's *The Romance of Froech and Findabair*, *Die Suche nach der Traumfrau* and *Der Rinderraub*.

A commentary like this can make the text accessible to people who have a basic knowledge of Middle Welsh or who are learning Middle Welsh, and it can help to understand the translation, because the linguistic commentary provides the meanings and grammatical information that is necessary to translate the text. The etymological information that is provided may be interesting for people with a broader interest in linguistics. What makes this fragment valuable for a linguistic commentary are the possibilities for further research, to compare it with the other manuscripts, the Red Book of Hergest and the White Book of Rhydderch, and to determine the differences in the language that is used and the changes that were made in the copying of manuscripts.

1.2 The comparative method

The linguistic commentary that is discussed in this thesis has a strong etymological component which rests on the findings of the comparative method. Robert L. Rankin gives the following definition of the comparative method:

> The comparative method is a set of techniques, developed over more than a century and a half, that permits us to recover linguistic constructs of earlier, usually unattested, stages in a family of related languages […] The techniques involve comparison of cognate material from two or more related languages. Systematic comparison yields sets of regularly corresponding forms from which an antecedent form can often be deduced and its place in the proto-linguistic system determined. (183)

Cognates are necessary to determine if two languages are related (Harrison 217). Words are cognates when they "are *similar* in both facets of the sign relation, in form and in interpretation, and [when] they meet a *disjunctive elimination condition* that the similarity is not (likely to be) a consequence of *chance* or of *borrowing/diffusion*" (Harrison 218). This similarity therefore can only have originated in a common ancestor of the languages (Harrison 215; Hock 557).

This thesis uses etymologies that are found in different sources. Most come from Peter Schrijver's *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology* (1995) and *Studies in the History of Celtic Pronouns and Particles* (1997), Ranko Matasović's *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (2009) and the online Welsh dictionary *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (GPC; 2019). However, there are a few words this thesis discusses that are not found in any of these works. For these words, etymological information is lacking in the commentary.

1.3 Structure and methodology

After the introduction which contains the the translation policy, a note on the orthography in this thesis and a summary of the story of Branwen, I give the Welsh text, transcribed by Derick S. Thomson (42), and my own translation of it. After that, I provide a sentence-for-sentence overview of the fragment that is given in the introduction with a linguistic commentary for every word. This linguistic commentary provides basic information about

the words, an etymological overview and a comparison between the White Book of Rhydderch, the Red Book of Hergest and Peniarth 6, based on the edition of the White Book of Rhydderch by Thomson (11-12).

The basic information always includes the meaning of the word. If it is a noun, I give the gender and in the case of a plural noun what the singular is. If it is an adjective, I give the same information and if it is an adjective of comparison, which degree it is. If there is a visible mutation, I explain what caused it. For conjugated prepositions, I give the preposition it comes from, the person and the number. For verbs, I give the citation form, the mood, the tense and the person. The etymological information is mostly based on what is available. For most of the words I have been able to find at least some etymological information, like Proto-Celtic or Proto-British forms. When I have found earlier forms, like Proto-Indo-European, I have included them in the commentary as well. Where possible, I also added the Old Irish cognates. There are also a few words for which I have not been able to find an etymology, which I have noted in the commentary.

The translation of the Welsh words is from both *Y Geiriadur Mawr* (YGM; Evans and Thomas 2014) and the online dictionary *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (2019). The verbal inflections can be found in *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* on page 114 and 115, in paragraph 127 (Evans 2003).

1.4 Orthography

There are some orthographical differences between Peniarth 6, the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest. Examples of such differences in orthography are where the White Book of Rhydderch has an *y* or *u*, Peniarth 6 may have an *e* or an *f*, respectively (Thomson xi-xiii). According to Hughes, the orthography in Peniarth 6 is older than the orthography in the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest (ii).

In this linguistic commentary, I will use the spelling of Peniarth 6, but I will mention any differences with the White Book of Rhydderch in the commentary. Differences with the Red Book of Hergest are discussed if Thomson points them out in his edition of the White Book of Rhydderch. Where nothing is mentioned about the Red Book of Hergest, I assume that there are no substantial differences between the Red Book of Hergest and the White Book of Rhydderch.

For the ortography in the etymology, for example the Proto-Celtic forms, I have decided to use one spelling, unless I quote someone. An *ṷ I have written as a *w, an *i̯ as a *y and a *ĝ as a *ǵ. All Middle Welsh, Old Irish and earlier forms are in italics.

1.5 Translation policy

There are different ways in which a text can be translated; Jeremy Munday discusses several of them. He distinguishes "'literal' (word-for-word) and 'free' (sense-for-sense) translation" (Munday 31). A word-for-word translation may result in an unreadable translation, but in a sense-for-sense translation, only the meaning is 'translated' (Munday 31). In a sense-for-sense translation, some of the Welsh structure and meaning may be lost. The difficulty with word-for-word translation, however, is that the syntax and grammar in Middle Welsh are frequently different from English syntax and grammar. This makes solely a word-for-word translation difficult to understand for readers in the target language. Therefore, my aim is to make my translation as literally as possible in English, but I adjust the structure of a sentence and make some small changes in the translation if that is necessary for the clarity of the translation. The linguistic commentary provides a more word-for-word translation, so the literal translation of parts where I had to deviate for clarity can be found in the commentary.

1.6 Summary of Branwen

This paragraph provides a summary of the story as a whole, to provide context for the small fragment that is treated in this thesis. The translation of the full story can be found in for example Sioned Davies' *The Mabinogion* (2007), which is used as basis for this summary, including the spelling of the names.

Matholwch, the king of Ireland, comes to the island of Britain to ask the giant Bendigeidfran, the king of Britain, for his sister Branwen's hand in marriage. Bendigeidfran gives Branwen to Matholwch. Efnysien, a half-brother of Branwen, feels insulted because his cousel was not asked. He then mutilates Matholwch's horses, and Matholwch wants to depart because he is insulted. Bendigeidfran compensates him by giving him new horses, and by giving him his honour-price. He also gives Matholwch a cauldron that can revive dead men. Then Matholwch and Branwen go to Ireland and a son, Gwern, is born. However, in Ireland the people think that Matholwch should avenge the insult that was done to him by Efnysien. They punish Branwen and prevent everyone in Wales from hearing this. Branwen,

however, gets a message across to Wales through a bird, and Bendigeidfran and his army go to Ireland to avenge the dishonour done to Branwen. Matholwch's men advise him to build a house that is big enough for Bendigeidfran to fit in. Bendigeidfran accepts this offer, and the house is built. However, they place armed men inside the house who are disguised as bags of flour, presumably to kill the Welsh, but Efnysien finds and kills them. He also throws Branwen's son into the fire, and a fight ensues. The Irish intend to revive the men who died by throwing them into the cauldron, but Efnysien hides between the dead men and when he is thrown into the cauldron, he breaks it. The British win the fight. Bendigeidfran is hit with a poisoned spear, and he orders his head to be cut off and buried in London, facing France. Branwen dies of grief.

The fragment in Peniarth 6 starts when Bendigeidfran and his men are on their way to Branwen in Ireland.

1.7 Fragment of Peniarth 6

This paragraph gives Thomson's edition of a part of the fragment of Peniarth 6 (42); my translation of this fragment is given in the next paragraph. The full fragment can be found on pages forty-two and forty-three of *Branwen Uerch Llyr* (Thomson 2010). The edition from the White Book of Rhydderch to which it is compared in the commentary, can be found on pages eleven and twelve in the same edition (Thomson 2010).

"… namyn a fo pen bid bont. Mi a fydaf bont,' hep ef. Ac ena gyntaf y dywedpwyd y geir hwnnw, ac y diarhebir etwa ohonaw.

Ac ena gwedy gorwet ohonaw ef ar draws er afon, y byrywd clwydeu arnaw ef, ac yt aeth y lu ef drwod ar y draws ef. Ac ar henny, gyd ac y kyfodes ef, llema genadeu Mallolwch en dyfod attaw ef, ac en kyfarch gwell itaw, ac en y annerch y gan Uallolwch y gyfathrachwr, ac en menegi o'e uot ef na haethei namyn da arnaw ef. 'Ac y mae Mallolwch,' hep wy, 'en rodi brenninaeth Ywerdon y Wern uab Mallolwch, dy nei ditheu, uab dy chwaer, ac en y estynnu itaw y'th wyt di, en lle y cam a'r kodyant a wnaethpwyd y Uranwen. Ac en y lle y mynych ditheu, arglwyt, ae ema ae en Enys y Kedyrn, gossymdeitha Uallolwch.' 'Ie,' hep enteu Uendigeiduran, 'ony allaf i uy hun cael y urenhinaeth, oc oduyt ys kymeraf y gygor am awch kenadwri chwi. O hynn hyd hynny ny chewch chwi y gennyf i ateb eny del gennwch amgen noc a doeth.' 'Ie, arglwyt,' hep wy, 'er atep goreu a gaffom ninneu, ataty y down ac ef, ac aro ditheu en kennaduri ninheu.' 'Aroaf,' hep ef, 'o dowch en ehegyr.'" (Thomson 42)

1.8 Translation of the fragment from Peniarth 6

'… except he who may be head will be a bridge. I will be a bridge,' said he. And then that word was first said, and proverbs are still spoken of him.

And then after he lay down across the river, hurdles are cast on him, and his host went over across him. And on that, as soon as he rose, behold messengers of Mallolwch coming toward him, and wishing him well, greeting him from Mallolwch, his kinsman, and expressing if his being that he may deserve nothing but good on him. 'And Mallolwch is,' said they, 'giving the kingdom of Ireland to Gwern son of Mallolwch, your nephew, the son of your sister, and is granting its possession to him in your presence in place of the wrong and insult which was done to Branwen. And in the place you may desire, lord, either here or in the Isle of the Strong, you must maintain Mallolwch!' 'Yes,' said Bendigeiduran then, 'if I am not able myself to get the kingdom, and perhaps I take his advice about your message. Henceforth until then you do not get an answer from me until there should come from you an alternative (other) than what has come.' 'Yes, lord,' said they, 'we shall get the best answer, we will come to you with it, and wait for our message. 'I will wait,' he said, 'if you come swiftly.'

2. Linguistic Commentary

2.1 "'… namyn a fo pēn bid bont." (Thomson 42)

Translation: '… except he who may be head will be a bridge.

namyn: preposition and conjunction, 'except'. In this sentence, it is a conjunction. According to D. Simon Evans, "*[n]amwyn* is probably from *yn amwyn* (*amwyn* 'to contend for, take, seize [...]), a present participle which developed as a preposition" (Evans 232, par. 255). Evans refers here to Sir Ifor Williams' *Armes Prydein*, in which he explains the origin of *namyn*. He writes that the "full form" of *namyn* was *namwyn* (Williams 42), and he argues that "*namwyn* 'except' came from *yn amwyn* 'excepting' – the first is merely a compressed form of the second" (Williams 43). "*[N]amwyn, namyn, amyn* may all be translated by Eng. *except* (a borrowing from Latin) [...] Lat. *excipio* 'to take to oneself, to catch, capture, take, receive'" (Williams 43). *Amwyn* comes from British **ambi-*, which means 'around', and the verbal root **wuk-*, which means 'to fight' (GPC s.v. amygaf: amwyn[1]). The first part comes from Celtic **ambi*, which comes from Indo-European **(ə)m̥bhi* (GPC s.v. am-[2]; Schrijver 1995: 141). The latter part comes from Celtic **wik-*, which itself comes from Indo-European **weik-* (GPC s.v. amygaf: amwyn[1]). Matasović writes that *amwyn* comes from Proto-Celtic **wik-o-* 'fight' and Proto-Indo-European **weyk-*, which also means 'fight', and that it has an Old Irish cognate verb *fichid* (Matasović 421). Schumacher writes that *amwyn* may come from Proto-British **-wuk-* with a suffix **-ni-* (2000: 199-200).

a: this is the relative pronoun *a*, which was *(h)ai* in Old Welsh (Evans 60-63, par. 65). According to Schrijver, "*hai* may be compared with the OIr. antecedent *a n-* 'that (which)' < **sosin*" (Schrijver 1997: 161). *A* has two functions: one being a verbal particle, the other being a relative pronoun (Schrijver 1997: 161). The relative pronoun *a* is used in sentences "where the relative functions as subject or as object of the verb" (Evans 60, par. 64). However, there is no antecedent in this sentence, also not in the part that precedes *namyn* in the White Book of Rhydderch (Thomson 11). A relative without antecedent also occurred in Irish, "[s]ince several early Irish texts [...] show zero-antecedent with the prepositional relative" (Ó Cathasaigh 419). This zero-antecedent can be translated as "he who …". The relative pronoun *a* causes lenition on the following verb (Evans 20, par. 23).

fo: 3rd person singular present subjunctive of the copula *bot*, 'to be': 'may he be' (Evans 137; par. 144). The Proto-Celtic present stem of *bot* is **es-/*s-*; the suppletive root is **bw-iye/o-* and the Proto-Indo-European root is **bʰweh₂-* (Schumacher 2004: 241), which supplies all

tenses of the verb "to be", except the present and imperfect indicative (Evans 138, par. 144). Since this is the present subjunctive, it is derived from the Indo-European root *bʰweh₂-. In this sentence, *bo* is lenited to *fo* because of the relative pronoun *a* (Evans 20, par. 23). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *uo* (Thomson 11).

pen: masculine noun, 'head'. Another translation is the adjective 'chief, supreme'. The noun *pen* comes from Proto-Celtic *kʷenno-* (Matasović 177; Schrijver 1995:42) or *kᵘenno* (Falileyev 129). Its Old Irish cognate is *cenn*, but it has a separate word for chief, *conn*; their Proto-Indo-European root is unknown (Matasović 177). According to Evans, *pen* is lenited because it is a nominal predicate following a form of 'to be' (17-19, par. 21). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *penn* (Thomson 11).

bid: *bid* is the 3ʳᵈ person singular consuetudinal present and future or the 3ʳᵈ person singular imperative of *bot*, 'to be' (Evans 136-138, par. 144). Both analyses can fit in this sentence: "he who may be head will be a bridge" for the future, or "he who may be head must be a bridge" for the imperative. I have chosen here to translate it is a future tense, because it is something that will happen. For the etymology of *bot*, see earlier in this sentence. *Bit* comes from Proto-British *biyétit* (Schumacher 2011: 193). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *bit* (Thomson 11).

bont: from the feminine noun *pont*, 'bridge'. *Pont* is a Latin loanword (GPC s.v. pont). It is lenited because the nominal predicate *bont* follows a form of 'to be' (Evans 17-19, par. 21). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *pont*, the spelling in the Red Book of Hergest is *bont* (Thomson 11).

2.2 "Mi a fydaf bont,' hep ef." (Thomson 42)

Translation: I will be a bridge,' said he.

mi: 1ˢᵗ person singular of the simple independent pronoun: 'I, me' (Evans 49, par. 54). It comes from Indo-European *me-* (GPC s.v. mi[1]). Schrijver suggests that *mi* was *mī* in Proto-British and that "it may reflect the old stressed accusative, PCl. *me > *mē > *mī*" (Schrijver 1997: 90). Matasović gives both *mī and *me* as possible Proto-Celtic forms; *me* later resulted in Old Irish *mé* (270). The spelling in the Red Book of Hergest is *miui* (Thomson 11).

a: verbal particle. It is used "in the abnormal order where the verb is preceded by the subject or object" (Evans 172, par. 192). It is the same the relative particle *a* (Schrijver 1997: 161), which is used in the previous sentence. For more information on *a*, see the previous

sentence. Just like the relative particle *a*, the verbal particle *a* also causes lenition on the following verb (Evans 20, par. 23).

fydaf: *bydaf* is the 1st person singular consuetudinal present and future of *bot*, 'to be' (Evans 136, par. 144). For the etymology of *bot*, see the first sentence. It is lenited because it is preceded by the verbal particle *a* (Evans 20, par. 23). The ending -*af* comes from British **-ami* (GPC s.v. -af²). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *uydaf* (Thomson 11).

bont: see the first sentence. *Pont* is lenited because it is a nominal predicate following a form of the verb 'to be' (Evans 17-19, par. 21). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch here is again *pont*, and the spelling in the Red Book of Hergest is *bont* (Thomson 11).

hep: 'said'. This verb is used to portray direct speech (Evans 154, par. 170). It is a defective verb (Thomson 59). *Hep* is derived from the Proto-Indo-European root **sekʷ-* 'say' and from Proto-Celtic **sekʷ-o-*. There is another Proto-Indo-European root **sekʷ-* which means 'follow'. Matasović speculates that there may have been one verb for both meanings. The Old Irish cognate of *hep* is *sechid*, *sichid*, which means 'asserts' (328). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *heb* (Thomson 11).

ef: simple independent personal pronoun 3rd person singular masculine, 'he' (Evans 49, par. 54). In Late Proto-British, it was **eμ-*, which "most likely reflects the Insular Celtic Asg. **em* of the pronominal stem **e-*, followed by some unknown element which was added to it before word-final **-m* became **-n*" (Schrijver 1997: 66). Schrijver also suggests that the 3rd person singular masculine personal pronoun *ef* "probably reflects just such a reduplicated **em-em*" (1997: 87). Two other uses for *ef* are that it can be used as a preverbal particle, or that it can get the meaning 'thus' (Schrijver 1997: 161).

2.3 "Ac ena gyntaf y dywedpwyd y geir hwnnw, ac y diarhebir etwa ohonaw." (Thomson 42)

Translation: And then that word was first said, and proverbs are still spoken of him.

ac: conjunction 'and'. According to Falileyev, it comes from Indo-European **ad-ǵhe-* (Falileyev 1).

ena: adverb 'there, then', which has no known etymology. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yna* (Thomson 11).

gyntaf: from the adjective *cyntaf*, 'first, chief, earliest'. It is the superlative of *kynnar* 'early', and it has a comparative *kynt* (Evans 40, par. 42). It comes from Proto-Celtic **kentu-*, 'first',

and has an Old Irish cognate *cét-* (Matasović 201). Schrijver gives an elaborate overview of *cyntaf*: "PCl. *kintusamos* 'first' > PBr. *kintusamos* > *Kintuhaµoh* > *Kintuhaµ* (apocope) > *Kïnthaµ* (syncope) > MW *cyntaf*" (1995: 22). However, he gives slightly different forms elsewhere in the book, where the *u* in the first few forms is replaced by an *i*: "PBr. *kint-isamos* 'first' > *Kintihaµ* > LPBr. *Kïnthaµ* > MW *kyntaf* 'first'" (Schrijver 1995: 383).

y: verbal particle *y(d)*. According to Evans, "[i]t is the most common form of the simple affirmative particle in MW […] It is found before the verb at the beginning of a sentence" (Evans 171, par. 190). It is also used before the verb when the verb is preceded by an adverb (Evans 171, par. 190). It functions as "an indirect relative pronoun and a preverbal particle. The element(s) preceding it, if present, cannot function as the subject or object of the verb immediately following the particle" (Schrijver 1997: 162). *Y(d)* does not cause any mutation on the following verb (Schrijver 1997: 162), different from the relative and verbal particle *a* (Evans 20, par. 23). Schrijver writes that it is "generally accepted" that *y(d)* comes from Proto-British and Proto-Celtic *ide* and Proto-Indo-European *id^he*, but he proposes that another etymology is necessary (1997: 162). He "[proposes] to connect W *yδ* etc. with the OIr. neuter personal pronoun *ed* (leniting), which [he has] reconstructed as reduplicated *ed-ed* > Cl. *ede* (loss of final *d*) > LPBr. *əδ* + lenition […] The fact that personal pronouns could develop into preverbal particles is exemplified by MW *ef*" (Schrijver 1997: 164). For *ef*, see the second sentence.

dywedpwyd: the preterite impersonal of *dywedyd* 'to say', so 'was said'. It is from the Proto-Celtic root *wet-e/o-* 'say' (Matasović 418; Schumacher 2004: 679). Its Proto-Indo-European root is *weth₂* 'say' (Schumacher 2004: 679). Matasović gives *dy-wedaf* from *dī-wet-* (418). According to GPC, it comes from Celtic *do-wet*, *do-wed* and the root *wed*, which means 'to say' (GPC s.v. dywedaf: dywedyd, dywedud, dweud, dywedwyd, &c.). Schrijver and Schumacher both give *tu* as a preverb for *dywedyd* (Schrijver 1995: 17; Schumacher 2004: 679). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *dywetpwyt* (Thomson 11).

y: definite article *y(r)*, 'the' (Evans 24, par. 27). Schrijver writes on the definite article in Insular Celtic that it is most often considered to be *sindos* for the masculine article and *sindā* for the feminine article (1997: 44). However, he writes that he "would prefer to reconstruct a Proto-Insular Celtic pronoun *sin-de*, based on anaphoric *sin* < *sim* […] *sin-de* was remodelled into Nsgm [nominative singular masculine] *sindos*, f. [feminine] *sindā*

and acquired a pronominal inflection" (Schrijver 1997: 45). According to GPC, *y(r)* comes from Celtic **sindo-*, and the definite article in Old Irish is *in(t)* (GPC s.v. *y*[1], yr[1], 'r[1]).

geir: the masculine noun *gair*, 'word', which is found in Modern Welsh. *Geir* is Middle Welsh (Matasović 153; Thomson 56). It comes from Proto-Celtic **garyo-* and **ǵh₂r-yo-* can be the Proto-Indo-European root, "because of the development **CHry > *Cary-* in Celtic" (Matasović 153). Schrijver gives **garyo-* for the Late Proto-British form (1995: 281). The Old Irish cognate of *geir* is *gair*, which also means 'word' (Matasović 153; GPC s.v. gair[1]).

hwnnw: singular masculine demonstrative pronoun, 'that'. The demonstrative pronoun has different forms: the singular masculine *hwnn*, the singular feminine *honn*, and the singular neuter and the plural are *hynn*. These forms all mean 'this'. There are also extended forms, which are the singular masculine *hwnnw*, the singular feminine *honno*, and the singular neuter and plural *hynny*. These forms all mean 'that' (Evans 82, par. 91). The Proto-Celtic root is **sindo-* 'this' (Matasović 336-337), which is the same as GPC gives for the article *y* earlier in this sentence (GPC s.v. *y*[1], yr[1], 'r[1]). "[I]t may be that **sindo-* is from **sīndo-* […], and that it contains the Acc. sg. of the feminine demonstrative stem **sih₂-m-* plus a particle **do* […] **sondo-* could then be the masculine Acc. sg. (**so-m*) plus the same particle" (Matasović 337). According to Schrijver, *hwnn* comes from Proto-Celtic **sondos*, which comes from the accusative singular **som* + the particle **d(ʰ)e* (1995: 27). *Honn* comes from **sondā* (Schrijver 1995: 28). The neuter *hynn* comes from **sindom* (Schrijver 1995: 165). From this, it can be assumed that all these forms consist of an accusative singular plus the particle **do* or **d(ʰ)e* that Schrijver and Matasović posit (Matasović 337; Schrijver 1995: 165). The Proto-Indo-European root is **so-* 'that'. Its Old Irish cognate is *sin* (Matasović 337).

ac: see earlier in this sentence, 'and'.

y: see the verbal particle *y(d)* earlier in this sentence.

diarhebir: impersonal present indicative of *diarhebu*, 'to speak proverbs'. It may come from the noun *dihareb* (GPC s.v. diar|hebaf: diar|hebu). The noun *dihareb*, 'proverb', is derived from Celtic **dī-ad-ro-sekʷ-*, which has the root**sekʷ-* which means 'to speak' (GPC s.v. dihareb, dihaereb). The noun *diha(e)reb*, which means 'proverb', consists of three parts: *di-ar-heb* (Evans 154, par. 170). For the etymology of *heb*, 'said', see the second sentence under *hep*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *diharebir* and the spelling in the Red Book of Hergest is *diaerebir* (Thomson 11).

etwa: adverb, 'again, still'. Originally, the *t* in *etwa* was a *d*. It became a *t* because of provection (Evans 221, par. 247). *Etwa* can be found under *eto* in GPC, which lists several etymologies for the different forms, but *etwa* is not specifically mentioned in any of them. The other etymologies are "*edwaeth, *edwoeth* < Brth. *eti-u̯okt-* […] *eton, etwan* < *edu̯on* < Brth. *eti-u̯o-nā*" (GPC s.v. eto, eton, etwan, etwa, etwo, etwaeth, edwaeth).

ohonaw: first conjugation of conjugated preposition *o* 'from, of', 3rd person singular masculine (Evans 58-59, par. 63). *O* is from Proto-Celtic *aw* or *au* (Matasović 46; Schrijver 1997: 36). It comes from Proto-Indo-European *h_2ew* 'away' and its Old Irish cognate is *ó, úa* (Matasović 46). The Indo-European root is, according to Falileyev, *au-* (122), or *apo-*, according to GPC (GPC s.v. o[1]). The ending *-aw* of the 3rd person singular masculine comes from Proto-*British *-ɔ̄d-, *-awδ and* Old Welsh *-aud* (Schrijver 1997: 36). The Old Irish cognate of *o* is *ó, úa* (GPC s.v. o[1]).

2.4 "Ac ena gwedy gorwet ohonaw ef ar draws er afon, y byrywd clwydeu arnaw ef, ac yt aeth y lu ef drwod ar y draws ef." (Thomson 42)

Translation: And then after he lay down across the river, hurdles are cast on him, and his host went over across him.

ac: see the third sentence, 'and'.

ena: see the third sentence, 'there, then'. The spelling is also *yna* in the White Book of Rhydderch (Thomson 11).

gwedy: preposition 'after'. "It is used with a verbal noun to form (*a*) a temporal clause, (*b*) a past participle" (Evans 193, par. 217). In this sentence, it forms a temporal clause with *gorwet*. *Gwedy* comes from Old Welsh *guotig, guetig* (Schrijver 1995: 113). It also comes from British *wo-tig*, and it has an Old Irish cognate *tiug*, which means 'last' (GPC s.v. gwedi, gwedy; eDIL s.v. 1 tiug).

gorwet: the verb *gorwedd*, 'to lie down'. *Gorwedd* consists of the parts *gor* and *gwedd* (GPC s.v. gorweddaf: gorwedd). The *g* of *gwedd* is lenited because it is in a compound with a preposition (Evans 17, par. 20). *Gor-* means 'over' and it comes from Celtic *wor-* and Indo-European *uper*; the Irish cognate of *gor-* is *for*, which means 'on' (GPC s.v. gor-, gwor-, gwar-, gwer-, gwr-; eDIL s.v. for). *Gwedd* means 'appearance' or 'face' and comes from Celtic *widā* (GPC s.v. gwedd[1]). Together, it means 'over the face' or 'on the face', which is similar

to the definition 'lying down'. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *gorwed* (Thomson 11).

ohonaw: see the third sentence, 'from him, of him'.

ef: see the second sentence, 'he'.

ar: preposition *ar*, 'on'. Evans writes that there probably were three different prepositions *ar*: "(*a*) OW *guar, guor*, Ir. *for* < *$\ddot{u}or$* < *$uper$* […] (*b*) OW *ar* 'before, for' […] Ir. *ar*, Gaul. *are*, Gr. *πά(ρ)α,* Engl. *for* […] (*c*) OW *að* 'to, at' […] Lat. *ad*, Engl. *at*. The meanings of (*a*) became general, and predominate in ModW [Modern Welsh]; the meanings of (*b*) are expressed mostly by *rac* […] those of (*c*) by *at*" (Evans 188, par. 205). For (*a*), see also the first part of *gorwet* earlier in this sentence. Of the above options, Schrijver gives only *guar* as the Old Welsh form of *ar*, 'on' (Schrijver 1995: 120). *Ar* lenites the following word (Evans 17, par. 20).

draws: as an adjective, *traws* can mean 'cross, perversive' or 'oppressive, strong', and as a masculine noun 'oppression' or 'direction'. However, *ar draws* as a composite preposition means 'across' (Evans 188, par. 206). *Traws* comes from Proto-Celtic *$tr\bar{a}nts$* and Proto-British *$tr\bar{a}ss$* (Schumacher 2012: 367) *Traws* is lenited to *draws* because it is preceded by *ar* (Evans 17, par. 20). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *traws*, even though it is also preceded by *ar* (Thomson 11).

er: definite article *y(r)*, 'the'. See the third sentence under *y*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yr* (Thomson 11).

afon: feminine noun, 'river'. It is from Proto-Celtic *ab-on-* (Schrijver 1995: 351; Matasović 23-24). It has an Irish cognate *ab, aub*, which, according to Matasović, "points to PCelt. *$ab\bar{u}$*, Acc. *$abonen$*; the form *$abon\bar{a}$* (> MW *afon*) was built to this stem. The n-stem is probably inherited from PIE [Proto-Indo-European]" (24). Its Proto-Indo-European root is *h_2ep-h_3on-*, 'river'. Matasović has reconstructed the Proto-Indo-European root as *h_2ep-* with *-h_3on-* as a possible suffix, although he is not certain of this; the *ph_3* would then become *b* (Matasović 23-24). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *auon* (Thomson 11).

y: verbal particle *y(d)*, see the third sentence.

byrywd: *byrywd* is the impersonal preterite indicative of *bwrw*, 'to cast' (Thomson 49). Schrijver gives *$burg$-* as a possible Proto-British root-form and as possible Proto-Indo-European form *b^horg^h-eie* (1995: 55-56; 67). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *byrwyt*, and the spelling in the Red Book of Hergest is *byrywyt* (Thomson 11).

clwydeu: plural of the feminine noun *clwyd*. It means 'gate, hurdle' or 'roost'. It comes from Proto-Celtic **klētā*, from the Proto-Indo-European stem **ḱley-t-*; its Irish cognate is *clíath* (Matasović 207). *Clíath* is an *ā*-stem, but "OIr. also had a neuter *io*-stem derivative *cléithe* 'ridgepole', which can be traced in at least part of the semantics of W *clwyd*. Hence one might perhaps argue that *kleit-iom* rather than **kleit-ā* was the proto-form of British, or, somewhat less drastically, that the former exerted a formal and semantic influence on the latter" (Schrijver 1995: 230).

arnaw: first conjugation of conjugated preposition *ar* 'on', 3rd singular masculine: 'on him' (Evans 58, par. 63). For the etymology of *ar*, see earlier in this sentence. For the ending *-aw*, see *ohonaw* in the third sentence.

ef: see the second sentence, 'he'. This *ef* is an affixed pronoun. It may be used for emphasis, because it repeats the 3rd person singular masculine pronoun already present in *arnaw*.

ac: see the third sentence, 'and'.

yt: verbal particle *y(d)*, see the third sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yd* (Thomson 11).

aeth: 3rd person singular preterite indicative of *mynet* 'to go': 'went' (Evans 132, par. 142). *Aeth* comes from the Proto-Indo-European root **h₂eǵ* which means 'drive', and it is formed with the Proto-Celtic root **aǵ*, the present stem of which is **aǵ-e/o-* (Matasović 27; Schumacher 2004 189; GPC s.v. af: mynd, myned[1]). The form *aeth* comes from the t-preterite **akt-* (Schumacher 2004: 189-192). Proto-Celtic **ag-o-* has a suppletive verbal noun in Middle Welsh, which is *mynet* from Proto-Celtic **mon-ī-* 'go' and Proto-Indo-European "**menH-* 'tread, stamp on'" (Matasović 27; 276).

y: this *y* lenites the following noun, so it can be the 3rd person singular masculine of the possessive pronoun. Another option is the preposition *y*, 'to' (Evans 16-17, par. 20). The possessive pronoun fits better in the context and corresponds with *ef*, which is used two words later. *Y*, 'his', comes from Celtic **esyo* (GPC s.v. ei[1], 'i; Lewis and Pedersen 216). Schrijver gives the following etymology for the stressed pronoun that means 'his', which also leads to **esyo*: "[t]he MW stressed independent form *eid-aw* [...] 'his' points to **eiδ < *eii̯o < *ehi̯o < *esi̯o*" (Schrijver 1997: 57).

lu: the lenited form of the masculine noun *llu* which means 'host, throng'. *Llu* comes from Proto-Celtic *slowgo-* 'troop, army' and from Proto-Indo-European *slowg*(h)*o-* 'retinue' (Matasović 346). Schrijver gives two Proto-Indo-European forms, namely **slougos* and

sloug^ho as well, and he gives Proto-British *slōgos* (Schrijver 1995: 352, 431). Its Old Irish cognate is *slúag, slóg* (Matasović 346). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is the lenited plural *luoed* (Thomson 11).

ef: see the second sentence, 'he'. Here, it is an affixed pronoun which can be used to emphasize the possessive pronoun *y*, 'his', earlier in this sentence. *Ef* is left out in the Red Book of Hergest (Thomson 11).

drwod: it can be a conjugated preposition, 2nd person singular of *trwy, drwy*, meaning 'through' (Evans 59, par. 63). However, it can also be an adverb, which is the case in this sentence. As adverb it can also mean 'through', but 'over' or 'across' as well. It comes from Celtic **trei* and its Old Irish cognates are "*tre, tri, tré, trí*" (GPC s.v. trwy[1], drwy).

ar: preposition 'on'. See earlier in this sentence.

y: see the possessive pronoun *y* earlier in this sentence: 'his'.

draws: see earlier in this sentence for the composite preposition *ar draws* under *draws*, 'across'. Here, *traws* is lenited to *draws* because of the possessive pronoun *y* (Evans 16, par. 20).

ef: see the second sentence, 'he'. It may be used to emphasize *y*, 'his', that precedes *draws*.

The end of the sentence consists of the same words in the White Book of Rhydderch and in Peniarth 6, but the words are in a different order. In Peniarth 6, the end of the sentence is as it is analysed here: "*drwod ar y draws ef*" (Thomson 42). In the White Book Rhydderch, the following order of words is used: "*ar y draws ef drwod*" (Thomson 11).

2.5 "Ac ar henny, gyd ac y kyfodes ef, llema genadeu Mallolwch en dyfod attaw ef, ac en kyfarch gwell itaw, ac en y annerch y gan Uallolwch y gyfathrachwr, ac en menegi o'e uot ef na haethei namyn da arnaw ef." (Thomson 42)

Translation: And on that, as soon as he rose, behold messengers of Mallolwch coming toward him, and wishing him well, and greeting him from Mallolwch, his kinsman, and expressing if his being that he may deserve nothing but good on him.

ac: see the third sentence, 'and'. This word is not used in the White Book of Rhydderch.

ar: see the fourth sentence, 'on'.

henny: see the third sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *hynny* (Thomson 11).

gyd: the masculine noun *cyd*, 'a joining'. *Gyt ac y(d)* means 'as soon as', and Evans gives in his *Grammar of Middle Welsh* exactly this sentence as example for *gyt ac y(d)* (Evans 236, par. 263). Taking the context into account, 'as soon as' indeed seems to be a better translation than 'a joining'. *Cyd* comes from the root **kei-* in the Proto-Celtic formation **ki-tu* (GPC s.v. cyd[1]). Schrijver, however, writes that *cyd* may be derived from **ke-* or **ki-* (Schrijver 1997: 78). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *gyt* (Thomson 11).

ac: for *ac*, see the third sentence. Together with *gyd*, it means 'as soon as' (Evans 236, par. 263).

y: see the verbal particle *y(d)* in the third sentence.

kyfodes: the 3rd person singular preterite indicative from the verb *codi, cyfodi*, 'to rise, to arise, to raise'. It consists of *cyf-* and *odi* (GPC s.v. codaf, cyfodaf: codi, cyfodi, cyfod). The prefix *cyf-* comes from Proto-Celtic **kom-* (GPC s.v. cyf-, cy-[2]; Matasović 213), which in turn comes from Proto-Indo-European **ḱom*, meaning 'with' (Matasović 213; Schumacher 2004: 83). It has as Old Irish cognates the preposition *co*[N] 'with' and the preverb *com-* (Matasović 213; eDIL s.v. 2 co; GPC s.v. cyf-, cy-[2]; for more about the Old Irish cognates, see Thurneysen 501-504, par. 829-830). *Odi* comes from the verb *odi*, 'to snow, to throw', which itself comes from Indo-European **pet-* (GPC s.v. odaf: odi[1]). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *kyuodes* (Thomson 11).

ef: see the second sentence, 'he'.

llema: the adverb *llyma*, 'behold, lo'. Evans writes about *llyma*, which means 'lo here!', that it is an interjection from *syll yma*, which means 'look here' (Evans 246, par. 280). GPC notes a comparison to *llacw* and *llyna* (GPC s.v. llyma, llyman[1]). *Llacw* means 'see (over) there' (GPC s.v. llacw). *Llyna* means 'lo there!' and it is derived from from *syll yna* (Evans 246, par. 280). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *llyma* (Thomson 11).

genadeu: plural of the feminine noun *cennad*, 'messenger'. Schrijver gives **kennatV-* or possibly **kesnatV-* as Proto-British forms of *cennad* (Schrijver 1995: 42). *Cenadeu* is lenited because it is an object that follows a verbal form (Evans 17-18, par. 21), probably because *llema* can be treated as a verb. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *gennadeu* (Thomson 11).

Mallolwch: the spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *Matholwch* (Thomson 11). According to Rachel Bromwich, Mallolwch is the older version of the name Matholwch. It

may have changed to Matholwch to resemble the names of Math and Mathonwy, two characters from the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi (Bromwich 208).

en: there are a number of different *yn*'s that can be found in Middle Welsh. Six are given below, four of which are discussed by Sims-Williams (286):

- The first is the preposition *yn*, 'in', which causes nasalization (Evans 21, par. 25; Sims-Williams 286). Its cognate is Old Irish *i*, which also causes nasalization (Sims-Williams 287).

- The second can form adverbs by using *yn* with an adjective. In this case, *yn* causes lenition (Sims-Williams 286). Its Old Irish cognate is *ind* and a protoform is **inV* (Sims-Williams 287).

- The third also causes lenition. It is used "before adjectival or nominal predicates" (Sims-Williams 286). It may have been specific to Welsh (Sims-Williams 292).

- The fourth is used in a periphrasic construction, which is usually "verb 'to be' + *yn/wedy* + verbal noun; the verbal noun may, however, come first, in which case *yn/y* is usually dropped" (Evans 138, par. 145). This *yn* does not cause any mutation (Sims-Williams 295).

- *Yn* can have the meaning 'there, then'.

- *Yn* can be the first 1st person plural possessive pronoun, 'our' (Simon Evans 53, par. 56).

In this case, the following word is a verbal noun, meaning that *yn* here is a preposition and is used like the first point that is discussed above. In this sentence, the next word is a verbal noun: *dyfod*. *Yn* comes from Proto-Celtic **eni* and Proto-Indo-European **(h₁)eni* (Matasović 116). GPC also gives **(ə)en(i)* as the Indo-European form, but Celtic **in* (GPC s.v. yn[1], 'n[2]). According to Falileyev, *yn* comes from Indo-European **en-* (91). There are Old Irish cognates of the preposition *yn*: *i* that causes nasalization on the following word (Matasović 116), and *in* (Falileyev 91). Thurneysen explains the two forms of *in* as follows: "[t]he two forms of the preposition found in Gk. ἐν and ἐνί apparently existed in Irish also. The vowel of the shorter form seems to have fluctuated between *e* and *i* in Irish. One could explain *in* as due to the influence of **ini < *eni* ; but W. *yn, yⁿ* [...] suggest rather that *in* had developed as a by-form of *en* at an early period" (521, par. 842; I have italicized the bold words). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yn* (Thomson 11).

dyfod: verbal noun, 'to come'. The verbal noun *dyfod* consists of *dy-* ('to') and *bod* (GPC s.v. deuaf, dof, doaf: dyfod, dod; Evans 136, par. 143). *Dy-* comes from **tu-* (Schumacher 2004: 190; 245). For the etymology of *bot*, see *fo* in the first sentence. It is used together with the preposition *en*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *dyuot* (Thomson 11).

attaw: 3rd person singular masculine conjugated preposition of *at*, 'to': 'to him' (Evans 58-59, par. 63). It is used with verbs that denote motion (Evans 189, par. 207). Its Proto-Indo-European form is **h₂ed*, which also means 'to', and Proto-Celtic **ad* (Matasović 24). However, according to Falileyev, *at* comes from Indo-European **ad-* (3). The Old Irish cognate of *at* is *ad-*, also meaning 'to' (Matasović 24; eDIL s.v. ad-). For the ending -*aw*, see *ohonaw* in the third sentence.

ef: see the second sentence. This *ef*, 'he', after *attaw* 'to him', is probably used to emphasize 'him'.

ac: see the third sentence, 'and'.

en: the preposition *yn* 'in'. See earlier in this sentence, under *en*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yn* here, as well (Thomson 11).

kyfarch: from *cyfarch*, which is a verbal noun 'to greet, to request'. The noun *cyfarch* comes from *cyf-* and *arch* (GPC s.v. cyfarch[1]). The feminine noun *arch* means 'request', with the same preverb *cyf-* that was used earlier in this sentence, see *kyfodes*. The verb *archaf* comes from Celtic **ark-* (GPC s.v. archaf: erchi) or Proto-Celtic **far-sko*, which means 'to ask' (Matasović 125). It is derived from Indo-European **pr̥ḱ-sḱe-* (GPC s.v. archiaf: erchi) and the root **preḱ-* meaning 'to ask' (GPC s.v. archaf: erchi; Matasović 125). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *kyuarch* (Thomson 11).

gwell: comparative of the adjective *da*, 'good': 'better' (Evans 40, par. 42). *Cyfarch gwell* means 'to wish one well' (GPC cyfarchaf: cyfarch[2], cyfarchu). *Gwell* comes from Proto-Celtic **wello-* and Proto-Indo-European **welH-* "want, wish, choose" (Matasović 411). According to GPC, *gwell* comes from Celtic **wel-no-*, which comes from the root "**wel-, wlei-, wlē(i)-, wolo-*" (GPC s.v. gwell[1]). *Da* comes from Proto-Celtic **dagos*, but according to Schrijver, it does not have an Indo-European etymology (1995: 311). Matasović and GPC also give **dago-* as Proto-Celtic (Matasović 86-87; GPC s.v. da). However, Matasović notes that the Proto-Indo-European form of *da* may be **dḱo-* (87). *Da* has an Old Irish cognate *dag-* (Matasović 87). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *guell* (Thomson 11).

itaw: 3rd person singular masculine conjugated preposition of *y*, 'to' (Evans 60, par. 63). Schrijver gives the following etymology of *y*: "MW *y* 'to' < *$\delta\ddot{\imath}$* < PCl. *$d\bar{u}$* < *$d\bar{o}$*" (1995: 125). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *idaw* (Thomson 11).

ac: see the third sentence, 'and'.

en: the preposition *yn* 'in'. See earlier in this sentence, under *en*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yn* (Thomson 11).

y: possessive pronoun 3rd person singular masculine: 'his' (Evans 53, par. 56). See also the fourth sentence.

annerch: verbal noun 'to greet, to address' or the noun '*greeting*, address'. In this sentence, it is the verbal noun. It contains a prefix *an-* of unclear meaning and origin (GPC s.v. anerchaf: annerch[1]; an-[2]). The second element is *archaf* (GPC s.v. anerchaf: annerch[1]). For *archaf*, see earlier in this sentence under *kyfarch*.

y: preposition 'from'. It comes from Old Welsh *di* and Indo-European *$d\bar{e}$* and it has an Old Irish cognate *di* (GPC s.v. i[4]).

gan: preposition 'with'. Together with *y*, as *y gan*, it means 'by, because', but it can also mean 'from' if it is followed by a name (Evans 200, par. 223). That is the case in this sentence, because *y gan* is followed by the name *Uallolwch*. *Gan* comes from Old Welsh *cant* (Schrijver 1995: 125). It comes from Indo-European kṇta, which in turn is derived from *kṃta*, which is from the Indo-European root *kom* (GPC s.v. gan[1], cant[4], can). For more about Indo-European *kom*, see *kyfodes* earlier in this sentence. Matasović writes that *gan* comes from Proto-Celtic *kanti*, which means 'together with', and from Proto-Indo-European *ḱm-ti-* (188). It lenites the following word (Evans 17, par. 20).

Uallolwch: see earlier in this sentence under the unlenited *Mallolwch*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *Uatholwch* (Thomson 11).

y: *y* lenites the following word, so it can be the 3rd person singular masculine of the possessive pronoun or the preposition *y* (Evans 16-17, par. 20). I have translated it as 'his' because of the context. For the etymology, see the possessive pronoun *y* in the fourth sentence.

gyfathrachwr: the noun *cyfathrachwr*, 'kinsman'. It consists of the feminine noun *cyfathrach* 'relation, kinship' with the masculine noun *gwr*: 'vassal' or 'man, husband'. *Cyfathrach* means 'relation' and it consists of three different parts: *cyf-*, *athr* and *ach* (GPC s.v. cyfathrach[1]). For the etymology of *cyf-*, see earlier in this sentence under *kyfodes*. The

second part is *-athr-* or *-ythr-*, which means 'between' (GPC s.v. ythr). *Athr* is derived from Proto-Celtic **enter* and Indo-European **(ə)enter*, both meaning 'between' (GPC s.v. ythr; Matasović 117). It has an Old Irish cognate *eter* (Matasović 117; GPC s.v. ythr), and "*iter, etir, etar, itar*" (GPC s.v. ythr). The last part, *-ach*, means 'lineage' and GPC compares it to Old Irish *aicce*, which means 'nearness' (GPC s.v. ach[5]; eDIL s.v. aicce). *Gwr* is lenited because it is a compound and therefore the *g* has disappeared (Evans 15, par. 19). The Proto-Celtic form of *gwr* is **wiros* (Schrijver 1995: 151). Its etymology is: *gŵr* "< **u̯ur* < Brth. **u̯iros* < Clt. **ŭ̯ro-s* […] < IE **ŭ̯ro-s*" (GPC s.v. gŵr). GPC also refers to the Latin word for 'man', *vir* (GPC s.v. gŵr). Matasović gives **wiro-* as Proto-Celtic form of *gwr* as well, and the Proto-Indo-European as **wiHro-*, which both also mean 'man' (Matasović 423). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *gyuathrachwr* (Thomson 11).

ac: see the third sentence, 'and'.

en: see earlier in this sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yn* (Thomson 11).

menegi: verbal noun, 'to express' or 'to declare'. The verb is derived from the noun *manag* (GPC s.v. mynagaf, menegaf, manegaf, managaf, &c.: mynegi, mynegu, menegi, manegi, manegu, &c.), which is without etymology.

o'e: *o* is a conjunction, 'if'. *O(t)* is used before a verb in the indicative (Evans 240, par. 272). It has an Old Irish cognate *ó*, meaning 'since' (GPC s.v. o[3], od[2]; eDIL s.v. 2 ó). *'e* is an infixed possessive pronoun 3rd person singular or 3rd person plural, or infixed object pronoun 3rd person singular or 3rd person plural (Evans 53, par. 56; Evans 55, par. 58). Because a verbal noun can be preceded by a possessive pronoun (Evans 159-161, par. 180), the possessive pronoun fits best in this sentence, and the 3rd person singular because of the context. For the etymology of the personal pronoun 3rd person singular masculine, see the fourth sentence under *y*.

uot: verbal noun of the verb 'to be'. For the etymology of *bot*, see the first sentence under *fo*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *uod* (Thomson 11).

ef: see the second sentence, 'he'.

na: negative. This form, together with its Old Irish cognate *nach* 'not', comes from Proto-Celtic **ne-kʷe*, which means 'not' (Schrijver 1997: 160; Matasović 287; GPC s.v. na[2], nac[1]), via the steps "MW *na(c)* 'not' < **nek* < **nekʷ* < **ne-kʷe*" (Schrijver 1997: 160).

haethei: it is the 3rd person singular imperfect subjunctive of the verb *haeddu* 'to deserve, to merit', although Thomson defines it as 'reach' (59). It comes from the root **sāg-* (GPC s.v. haeddaf: haeddu). According to Schrijver, it comes from the verbal noun **sag-iyā* (Schrijver 1995: 329). Its Old Irish cognate is *saigid*, which means 'to go' (GPC s.v. haeddaf: haeddu; eDIL s.v. 1 saigid). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *haedei* (Thomson 11).

namyn: see the first sentence, 'except'.

da: adjective, 'good'. For the etymology of *da*, see *gwell* earlier in this sentence.

arnaw: see the fourth sentence, 'on him'.

ef: see the second sentence, 'he'. This ef is probably used to emphasize the 3rd person singular masculine in *arnaw*. It is not used in the Red Book of Hergest (Thomson 11).

In the White Book of Rhydderch and Peniarth 6, the word order differs for the last four words in the sentence. This sentence ends in the White Book of Rhydderch as "arnaw ef namyn da" (Thomson 11) and in Peniarth 6 as "namyn da arnaw ef" (Thomson 42)

2.6 "'Ac y mae Mallolwch,' hep wy, 'en rodi brenninaeth Ywerdon y Wern uab Mallolwch, dy nei ditheu, uab dy chwaer, ac en y estynnu itaw y'th wyt di, en lle y cam a'r kodyant a wnaethpwyd y Uranwen." (Thomson 42)

Translation: 'And Mallolwch is,' said they, 'giving the kingdom of Ireland to Gwern son of Mallolwch, your nephew, the son of your sister, and is granting its possession to him in your presence in place of the wrong and insult which was done to Branwen.

ac: see the third sentence, 'and'.

y: see the third sentence for the verbal particle *y(d)*.

mae: 3rd person singular present indicative of *bot*, 'to be': 'is' (Evans 136, par. 144). As an interrogative, *mae* can mean 'where is?', as a relative 'where is' or when it is a locative, 'there is' (Charles-Edwards 161). Charles-Edwards discusses in his article that *mae* may consist of the noun **magos*, meaning 'plain' or 'place', which later became *ma*, and an enclitic of the verb 'to be': **mages-est* (161; 169). For the etymology of *bot*, see the first sentence under *fo*.

Mallolwch: see the fifth sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *Matholwch* (Thomson 11).

hep: see the second sentence. In the White Book of Rhydderch, *hep* is left out (Thomson 11).

wy: 3rd person plural simple independent personal pronoun: 'they' (Evans 49, par. 54). *Wy* comes from **eyes* or **ens* (Schrijver 1997: 53). **eyes* is an old nominative plural while **ens* is an old accusative plural, and both Schumacher and McCone are of the opinion that *wy* comes from the accusative **ens* (qtd. in Schrijver 1997: 61). In GPC, however, a different etymology is given: "*wy* < Clt. **ei* < **jei* < **joi*" (GPC s.v. hwy[1], wy[2], hwynt[1], wynt). In the White Book of Rhydderch, *wy* is left uit (Thomson 11).

en: see the fifth sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yn* (Thomson 11).

rodi: verbal noun of the verb 'to give' (Evans 155, par. 175). Falileyev does not give a conclusive answer to the Indo-European form, but he mentions that it is argued to come from Indo-European **dō-*, which means 'to give' (Falileyev 138). According to Schumacher, it is possible "to reconstruct a Proto-British verbal noun **rodīmā*. Genetically, **rodīmā* is the verbal noun of a compound and can be segmented as preverb **ro-* (< PIE **pro*) + root syllable **dī-* + suffix *-mā-*. Like its cognate **kred-dī-* 'to believe, **ro-dī* is a compound of **d^{h}eh$_1$-*" (Schumacher 2000: 131). He writes that it is unlikely that *rodi* comes from **deh$_3$-* (Schumacher 2000: 131).

brenninaeth: the feminine noun *brenhiniaeth*, 'kingdom' or 'soeveignty'. This consists of *brenin-* and *-iaeth* (GPC s.v. brenhiniaeth, brenhinaeth). *Brenin*, 'king', comes from British **brigant-īnos* and the Indo-European root **b^{h}r̥ǵ^h-* (GPC s.v. brenin). GPC does not give a meaning for the suffix *-iaeth*, but notes its Old Irish cognate **-acht* and that the preform is **-aktā* (GPC s.v. -aeth, -iaeth). As Thurneysen notes, the suffix forms abstract nouns (167, par. 260). Schrijver discusses the etymology of the word *breenhin*, which means 'lord', and gives it the following etymology: "MW *breenhin* 'lord' < **Breyẹntin* < **Brïyẹntin* < PBr. **brigantīnos*, cf. OB *brientinion*" (1995: 70). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *brenhinaeth* (Thomson 11).

Ywerdon: Ireland. *Brenninaeth*, the feminine noun, and *Ywerdon* are in a genitival relationship, hence 'the kingdom of Ireland' in the translation (Evans 14, par. 19). Isaac gives the etymology of *Ywerdon* as follows: "I identify rather the root PIE **h$_2$uer-* '(flowing) water' […] I posit an underlying adjectival formation **h$_1$epi-h$_2$uer-io-* 'on, upon, at, by, near, of the water, stream' […] from which an *n*-stem noun may be derived, **h$_1$epi-h$_2$uer-io-n-* 'place on, upon, at, by, near the water, stream' > Celt. **eiweryon-*, etc." (54). Another option that he gives, but which he finds less likely, is the Proto-Indo-European root **h$_2$uer-s-,* which means 'rain', and **h$_1$epi-h$_2$uer-s-ion-*, which means "place *par excellence* on which it rains" (Isaac

55). This gives Celtic "*epiwersyon- > *epiweryon- > *eiweryon" (Isaac 55). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *Iwerdon* (Thomson 11).

y: the preposition *y*, 'to'. For the etymology of *y*, see *itaw* in the fifth sentence. *Y* lenites the following word (Evans 17, par. 20).

Wern: from *Gwern*, Branwen's son. The word *gwern* means 'alder-tree' and comes from Celtic *wernā* (GPC s.v. gwern, gwernen; Schrijver 1995: 65), which in turn is derived from Proto-Indo-European *wer-(ₑ)nā*, which also means an (alder-)tree (GPC s.v. gwern, gwernen). However, Matasović gives as Proto-Celtic and Indo-European form *werno-*, which seems odd, given that the Irish cognate of *gwern* is the feminine noun *fern* (414).

uab: masculine noun *mab*, 'son'. It is lenited because it is "[a] noun in apposition to a personal name, usually serving as a title" (Evans 15, par. 19). The Old Welsh spelling of *mab* is *map* (Falileyev 109). Falileyev gives the following etymology: "<Britt. *mapo-* < Celt. *makᵘo-* < IE *maghos*" (Falileyev 109). Matasović gives the slightly different *makʷo-* as Proto-Celtic form, and notes that the Proto-Indo-European root could be *meh₂ḱ-,* but that it is not certain whether that is correct, because "the development would have been from 'raised, fed' to 'son'" (Matasović 253). In GPC, the etymology of *mab* is written as follows: "Brth. *mapo-* < Clt. *maqᵘo-*" (GPC s.v. mab). The Indo-European form posed by Falileyev, *maghos* (109), is probably not correct because the Welsh *p* comes from Proto-Celtic *kʷ* (Schrijver 1995: 349). Old Irish *macc*, which also means 'son', is related to *mab*, but it comes from *maqʷqʷo-* (GPC s.v. mab; eDIL s.v. 1 mac, macc).

Mallolwch: see the fifth sentence. It is in a genitival relationship with *uab*, hence 'son <u>of</u> Mallolwch' in the translation, though it is not lenited because *uab* is a masculine noun (Evans 14, par. 19). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is Matholhwch (Thomson 11).

dy: 2nd person singular possessive pronoun: 'your' (Evans 53, par. 56). It comes from Celtic *to(u)* and it has an Old Irish cognate*, do* (GPC s.v. dy[1]). According to Schrijver, it comes from Proto-Celtic *tewe* (1995: 17).

nei: Modern Welsh *nai*, 'nephew'. It comes from Proto-Celtic *nefūt-* (Matasović 286-287) and Proto-Indo-European *nepōt-* (Matasović 286-287; GPC s.v. nai[1])*.* GPC compares the Indo-European form to Latin *nepōs* (GPC s.v. nai[1]). Schrijver gives *nepōts* as Proto-Indo-European form, but *ne(φ)ūts* as Proto-Celtic form and *neῑh* as Proto-British form (1995: 19; 389). The Old Irish cognate of *nei* is *nia* (Matasović 286-287).

ditheu: 2nd person singular affixed conjunctive personal pronoun; affixed personal pronouns are used "after words with personal endings, or with prefixed or infixed pronouns" (Evans 57, par. 62). In this sentence, it is used to emphasize *dy*. Schrijver writes about conjunctive affixed pronouns that "[the conjunctive] pronouns can also be used as affixed pronouns, which emphasize a previously expressed pronoun or personal ending" (Schrijver 1997: 83-84). Conjunctive personal pronouns consist of the simple pronoun, in this case *di* or *ti*, with a suffix, *-theu* (Schrijver 1997: 83). He writes that "[i]n MW prose, the conjunctive pronoun is often used in sequences of direct speech and seems to indicate a change of speaker (*heb ynteu* 'he in his turn said')" (Schrijver 1997: 84). Schrijver concludes that the etymology of the Proto-Celtic form of *ditheu* is as follows: "2sg. **tū de su̯e > *tūδehu̯e > *tiδhu̯ > *tiϑu̯* > MW *titheu*" (Schrijver 1995: 89).

uab: for the etymology of *uab*, 'son', see earlier in this sentence. It is lenited because it is in apposition (Evans 15, par. 19).

dy: see earlier in this sentence, 'your'.

chwaer: feminine noun, 'sister'. It comes from Proto-Celtic **swesūr-*, gen. **swesr-os*, and Proto-Indo-European **swesōr*, all meaning 'sister' (Matasović 364). Schrijver also gives the Proto-Celtic form as **swesūr*, and he gives the following etymology for its Proto-British form: "PBr. **hu̯ehūr > *hu̯eīr > *hu̯ēīr* (lengthening in hiatus) > **hu̯ēr* (apocope) > LPBr. **hwoer* [...] MW *chwaer*" (Schrijver 1995: 131; see also 388). The Old Irish cognate of *chwaer* is *siur* (Matasović 364).

ac: see the third sentence, 'and'.

en: see the fifth sentence for the preposition *yn*, 'in'. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yn* (Thomson 11).

y: see the fourth sentence for the possessive pronoun *y*, 'his'.

estynnu: the verb *estyn*, 'to reach' or 'to extend', but also 'grant possession'. It is a Latin loanword, from *extendo* (GPC s.v. estynnaf, ystynnaf: estyn[2], estynny, ystyn[2], ystynnu). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *ystynnu*, the spelling in the Red Book of Hergest is also *estynnu* (Thomson 11).

itaw: see the fifth sentence, 'to him'. This word is not used in this sentence in the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest (Thomson 11).

y'th: preposition *yn* 'in' with an infixed possessive pronoun 2nd person singular (Evans 53, par. 56). For the preposition *yn*, see *en* in the fifth sentence. For the possessive pronoun 2nd person singular *dy*, see earlier in this sentence.

wyt: lenited form of *gwydd*, 'presence'. It is lenited because it follows the infixed possessive pronoun 2nd person singular (Evans 16, par. 20). *Gwydd* comes from **weidos*, which has the root **w(e)di*, which means 'to see', and its Old Irish cognate is *fíad*, which means 'before' or 'in the presence of' (GPC s.v. gŵydd[1]; eDIL s.v. 1 fíad). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *wyd* (Thomson 11).

di: affixed simple pronoun 2nd person singular (Evans 57, par. 62). *Ti* comes from Indo-European **tu-* (GPC s.v. ti[1], di[3]). It is used to emphasize the infixed possessive pronoun 2nd person singular in *y'th*, earlier in this sentence.

en: preposition *yn*, 'in'. For the preposition *yn*, see the fifth sentence under *en*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yn* (Thomson 11).

lle: masculine noun *lle*, 'place'. Together with the previous word, *en*, it becomes 'instead of' (GPC s.v. yn[1], 'n[2]). It comes from Proto-Celtic **leg(y)o-,* which means 'bed' or 'place', and Proto-Indo-European **leg^h-*, which means 'lie' (Matasović 237). According to Schrijver, *lle* comes from "Asg. **legan < *leg-m̥*" (1995: 68) or from **legyo-* (1995: 304). In GPC is written that *lle* comes from Celtic **legā* or **lego-*, which come from the root **legh-*, meaning 'to lie' (GPC s.v. lle[1]). Schrijver, however, writes that *hy* 'bold' and *ty* 'house' come from **segos* and **tegos* respectively, and that the verb *de* therefore could not have come from **dego-* (1995: 68; 317): "[t]his points to the conclusion that when **e* became **i* (> W *y*) before **g* (> **γ*) + vowel, the proto-form of *de* cannot have been **deyo-* (Schrijver 1995: 317). With this argument, *lle* could not be from **lego-* either. The Old Irish cognate of *lle* is *lige* (Matasović 237).

y: definite article *y(r)*, 'the'. See the third sentence.

cam: masculine noun *cam*, which has two separate entries in GPC. The first means 'step', the second 'crooked', but also 'wrong'. In Proto-Celtic, these were two different words. Proto-Celtic **kanxsman-*, meaning 'step' (Matasović 188-189) is the first *cam*, which comes from British **kanksman* (GPC s.v. cam[1]). It has an Old Irish cognate *céimm* (Matasović 188-189). The second is Proto-Celtic **kambo-,* which means 'crooked', which in turn comes from Proto-Indo-European **(s)kambo-* (Matasović 186). GPC also gives Proto-Indo-European **(s)kamb-* (GPC s.v. cam[2]). Welsh *cam*, 'crooked, wrong' has an Old Irish cognate *camm*,

'crooked' (Matasović 186; eDIL s.v. 1 camm). This meaning seems to be the best in the context because of the noun *kodyant* later in the sentence, which means 'insult'.

a'r: *a* from the conjunction *ac*, 'and', and *'r* as the definite article. For *ac*, 'and', see the third sentence. For *'r*, see the definite article *y(r)* in the third sentence.

kodyant: it is continued by the Modern Welsh masculine noun *coddiant*, 'insult'. It consists of the parts *cawdd* and *-iant* (GPC s.v. coddiant). *Cawdd*, 'anger', comes from Proto-Celtic **kādo-* and Proto-Indo-European **ḱeh₂do-* (Matasović 183). Similarly, Griffith writes that "[t]he Indo-European root is **keh₂d-* 'to be agitated'"(Griffith 45). GPC also gives Celtic **kādo-s-*, which comes from the root **kad-* (GPC s.v. cawdd). GPC compares the suffix *-iant* to *-ant²* (GPC s.v. -iant). This *-ant* comes from Indo-European **-n̥t-* (GPC s.v. -ant²). The spelling in the White Book of Rhyddech is *codyant* (Thomson 11).

a: relative pronoun *a*, see the first sentence.

wnaethpwyd: impersonal preterite of *gwneithur*, 'to do, to make' (Evans 130, par. 141). *Gwneuthur* comes from Proto-Celtic **wreg-o-*, **wreg-e/o-* and Proto-Indo-European **werǵ-*, which both mean 'to do' or 'to make' (Matasović 429; Schumacher 2004: 707). The *n* in forms of *gwneuthur* was introduced during the Old Welsh period by continuants of the Proto-Celtic verb **gn-iye/o-*, which means 'to do, to make' (Schumacher 2004: 709). It is lenited by the relative pronoun *a* (Evans 20, par. 23). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *wnaethpwyt* (Thomson 11).

y: preposition *y* 'to', see *itaw* in the fifth sentence.

Uranwen: Branwen. *Bran* means 'crow' or 'raven'. *Bran* comes from Proto-Celtic **brano-*, which means 'raven' (Matasović 73) or **bran(n)o* (GPC s.v. brân, &c.). The other part of *Branwen*, *gwen*, is lenited because it is a compound (Evans 20, par. 22). It can mean 'fair maiden' or 'white'. Together, it can also be translated as 'white crow' or "'a little bird', secret source of information" (GPC s.v. brân, &c.). Mac Cana writes that *Bronwen* may be an older form of *Branwen* (Mac Cana 169). Just like *Mallolwch*, the change from *Bronwen* to *Branwen* might be caused by a name, in this case *Brân* (Bromwich 208). However, in Peniarth 6 the newer spelling *Branwen* is used, but the older spelling *Mallolwch*. It is lenited because of the preposition *y*, 'to' (Evans 17, par. 20).

2.7 "'Ac en y lle y mynych ditheu, arglwyt, ae ema ae en Enys y Kedyrn, gossymdeitha Uallolwch.'" (Thomson 42)

Translation: And in the place you may desire, lord, either here or in the Isle of the Strong, you must maintain Mallolwch!'

ac: see the third sentence, 'and'.

en: preposition *yn*, 'in'. For the preposition *yn*, see the fifth sentence under *en*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yn* (Thomson 11).

y: definite article *y(r)*, 'the'. See the third sentence.

lle: see the sixth sentence, 'place'.

y: verbal particle *y(d)*, see the third sentence.

mynych: 2nd person singular present subjunctive of *mynnu*, 'to desire'. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *mynnych* (Thomson 11). *Mynych* has no known etymology.

ditheu: see the sixth sentence, 'you'.

arglwyt: with Modern Welsh spelling *arglwydd*, a masculine noun meaning 'lord'. According to GPC, it may come from *ar-* and **glwydd* (GPC s.v. arglwydd). *Ar-* comes from British *are-*, which does not have an English translation (GPC s.v. ar-). However, according to Schrijver, *ar-* comes from **(φ)ari-*, and *gwlydd* may have come from **-wlē̆δ*, itself from **-wlei-d(ʰ)-*, but he points out that this is not certain (1995: 236). GPC notes for **glwydd* a comparison with *culwydd* (GPC s.v. arglwydd), which means 'lord' or 'chief' (GPC s.v. culwydd). *Arglwyt* is not used in this sentence in the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest (Thomson 11).

ae: an interrogative particle which means 'is it?'. If there are two instances of *ae*, it has the meaning 'either … or' (Evans 174-175, par. 196). Evans refers to Lewis and Pedersen and writes: "*ae* probably consists of *a* and a form of the verb 'to be', 3. sing. pres. indic." (Evans 175, par. 196). Lewis and Pedersen write the following about *ae*, under the 3rd person singular present of 'to be': "[t]he interrog. part. MlW. *ae* 'is it?', used before forms other than verbs, seems to contain the particle *a* (used before verbs) and a form of the verb 'to be' with the final labial lost" (Lewis and Pedersen 320, par. 478). This *a* is the interrogative particle *a*, which is used in questions (Evans 174, par. 196). For *bot*, 'to be', see *fo* in the first sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *ay* (Thomson 11).

ema: from the adverb *yma*, 'here'. There is no known etymology for *ema*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yma* (Thomson 11).

ae: this is the second part of the interrogative particle, see earlier in this sentence under *ae*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *ay* (Thomson 11).

en: preposition *yn*, 'in'. For the preposition *yn*, see the fifth sentence under *en*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yn* (Thomson 11).

Enys: feminine noun, meaning 'island'. According to Matasović, it comes from Proto-Celtic *$*eni$-stī*, which also means 'island' and in turn comes from Proto-Indo-European *$*(h_1)eni$-sth$_2$-ih$_2$*, meaning "that which stands in (the water)" (116). There are other possibilities for Proto-Celtic: *$*inistī$* and *$*inestī$*, but regardering the Proto-Indo-European form, only *$*enistī$* would be the correct one (Matsović 116). Schrijver gives the following etymology for *ynys*: "W *ynys* 'island' < *$*inessī$* or *$*inissī$*" (Schrijver 1995: 277). Its Old Irish cognate is *inis* (Matasović 116; Schrijver 1995: 277). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *Ynys*.

y: definitive article *y(r)*, see the third sentence.

Kedyrn: plural of the adjective *cadarn*, meaning 'strong'. *Cadarn* comes from British *$*catarno$-*, and GPC refers to the feminine noun *cad*, which means 'battle' (GPC s.v. cadarn; cad[1]). *Kedyrn* is in a genitival relationship with *Ynys*, hence the translation '<u>the</u> Isle <u>of</u> the Strong' (Evans 14, par. 19). GPC translates *Ynys y Cedyrn* as 'Island of Britain' (GPC s.v. ynys).

gossymdeitha: 3rd person singular present indicative or 2nd person singular imperative of the verb *gosymddeithio*, 'to maintain'. Given the context, I have chosen to translate it as the 2nd person singular imperative. *Gosymddeithio* comes from the noun *gosymdaith* (GPC s.v. gosymdeithaf, gosymdeithiaf, gosymddeithiaf, gosymeithiaf, &c.: gosymdeitho, gosymdeithio, gosymddeithio, gosymeithio, &c.). The noun *gosymdaith* means 'provisions' and it consists of the parts *gos-* and *ymdaith* (GPC s.v. gosymdaith, gosymddaith, gosymaith). *Gos-* does not have an English translation according to GPC, but it comes from the Celtic prefix *$*wo-eks$* (GPC s.v. gos-, gwos-). *Ymdaith* means 'journey' and consists of the parts *ym-* and *taith* (GPC s.v. ymdaith[1]). The prefix *ym-* is related to *am-* (GPC s.v. ym-); see the first sentence under *namyn*, where its etymology is discussed as *ambi-*. *Taith* also means 'journey'. It comes from Indo-European *$*steigh$-*, which means 'to rise', via Proto-Celtic *$*tix$-tā* (p.c. Aaron Griffith). It has an Old Irish cognate *techt*, 'going' (GPC s.v. taith[1]; eDIL s.v. 1 techt).

Uallolwch: see the fifth sentence, under the unlenited form *Mallolwch*. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *Uatholwch* (Thomson 11).

2.8 "'Ie,' hep enteu Uendigeiduran, 'ony allaf i uy hun cael y urenhinaeth, oc oduyt ys kymeraf y gygor am awch kenadwri chwi." (Thomson 42)

Translation: 'Yes,' said Bendigeiduran then, 'if I am not able myself to get the kingdom, and perhaps I take his advice about your message.

ie: adverb, 'yes'. There is no known etymology for *ie*.

hep: see the second sentence, 'said'. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *heb* (Thomson 11).

enteu: 3rd person singular masculine independent conjunctive personal pronoun. This can give the meaning of 'then, also' and it can be used in apposition (Evans 49-51, par. 54). Y*nteu* can be reconstructed in Proto-Celtic as follows: "**en de su̯e > *indehu̯e > *ɨndhu̯* (apocope, syncope) > **ɨntu̯* > MW *ynteu*" (Schrijver 1997: 89). **en de swe* consists of different parts. The first, **en*, is the 3rd person singular masculine personal pronoun. **de swe* is also reconstructed for the 3rd person singular feminine, the 2nd person singular and the 2nd person plural; **swe* means 'self' (Schrijver 1997: 89). For the conjunctive personal pronoun *ditheu*, see the sixth sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *ynteu* (Thomson 11).

Uendigeiduran: the name Bendigeiduran. The first part of the name, *Bendigeid-*, exists of two parts: *bendigo* and *aid*, and it means 'blessed' (GPC s.v. bendigaid). *Bendigo* means 'to worship' and is a Latin loanword, from *benedīcō*, 'to worship'; it has an Old Irish cognate *bennachaid*, which means 'to bless' (GPC s.v. bendigaf: bendigo; eDIL s.v. bennachaid). The suffix *-aid* comes from British **-atyo-*, which has no English translation in GPC (GPC s.v. -aid[2], -iaid[4]). For the last part, *bran*, see *Uranwen* in the sixth sentence.

ony: *ony(t)* means 'if … not' (Evans 241, par. 272). *Ony(t)* lenites the following word (Evans 21, par. 23). The lenition of *ony* can be explained as the preposition *o* 'if' and the negative particle *ny* (GPC s.v. oni[1], onid[1]). For the conjunction *o*, 'if', see the fifth sentence under *o'e*. *Ny* comes from Proto-Celtic **ni*, **nī* (cf. Old Irish *ni* or *ní* (GPC s.v. ni[2], nid[1]; Matasović 286)), a replacement in main clauses for **ne*, Proto-Indo-European **ne*. Given that both British Celtic and Irish have gemination after the negation, there must have been a particle following the negative, and this particle may be "the clitic 3sg. pres. of the copula, **esti > *est > *ess*" (Matasović 286). An alternative to this particle is **et(i)*, as Schrijver argues (1997: 158).

allaf: the 1st person singular present indicative of the verbal noun *gallu*, 'to be able'. *Gallu* is found under two entries in *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*: the noun and the verb.

The one that fits in the context here is the verb, which comes from Proto-Celtic *gal-n-*, which means 'be able', and from Proto-Indo-European *gelH-* (Matasović 149-150). The development of this word is, according to Matasović, "*g^hln > *galn- > gall-*" (Matasović 150). For the ending *-af*, see *fydaf* in the second sentence. *Gallaf* is lenited following *ony* (Evans 21, par. 23).

i: 1st person singular of the affixed personal pronoun (Evans 57, par. 62). For the etymology of the simple independent pronoun, see *mi* in the second sentence.

uy: 1st person singular unstressed possessive pronoun (Evans 53, par. 56). Schrijver gives the following etymology of *fy*: "the old Gsg. *mene* > early PBr. *min* (> proclitic MW *fy*, MB *ma*)" (1997: 90). However, according to GPC, *fy* comes from British *men'*, which in turn comes from Indo-European *me-me* (GPC s.v. fy[1]). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *ue* (Thomson 11).

hun: from the pronoun *hun*, 'self'. *Fy hun* together means 'myself' (GPC s.v. fy[1]; Evans 89, par. 98). Evans writes that *hun* is a form of *un*, 'one' (89, par. 98). *Un* comes from Celtic *oino-*, which is derived from Indo-European *oi-no-*, and it has an Old Irish cognate *óen* (GPC s.v. un). Schrijver gives the following etymology for *un*: "PIE *Hoinos* > PCl. *oinos* > OIr. *óen*; W Co. B *un* 'one, a'" (1995: 194).

cael: verbal noun of the verb *caffael, cael*, 'to get'. It comes from Proto-Celtic *gab-yo-*, which means 'take, hold' and Proto-Indo-European *g^hHb^h-* (Matasović 148). However, "[t]he PIE reconstruction is disputed" (Matasović 149). Schumacher writes the following about the roots of *cael*: "[i]t is clear that Celtic had at least two roots of the meaning 'to grasp, take, hold'. The first is *gab-* < ?*g^heHb^h-* or ?*g^heHb-* […] The second, *kaC-*, underlies forms like MW 2.sg. pres. *ke-y* etc., 1.sg. imperfect *ka-wn* etc., impers. pret. *ka-at* and 3.sg. subj. *nyr ga-ho* […] and has two potential preforms in PIE, *kag^h-* '(ein)fassen' […] and *kh_2p-*, the zero grade of *keh_2p-* 'fassen, schnappen'" (2000: 204). Furthermore, it has two different stems in Middle Welsh: "Middle Welsh has two more allomorphic stems, *caf-* /kav-/ and *caff-* /kaf-/, the former restricted to the preterite and the latter to the present and subjunctive stems. Both can be traced back to *kab-*, the Early Proto-British contamination of PCl *gab-* and *kag-*. While MW /kav-/ directly continues *kab-*, /kaf-/ is the regular outcome of LPBr -*β*- plus the -*h*- of the subjunctive endings" (Schumacher 2000: 204).

y: definite article *y(r)*, 'the'. It lenites the following feminine noun (Evans 14, par. 19). For the etymology of *y*, see the third sentence.

urenhinaeth: see the sixth sentence, under the unlenited *brenninaeth*.

oc: see the third sentence under *ac*, 'and'. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest is *ac* (Thomson 11)

oduyt: the adverb *adfydd*, 'perhaps' (Thomson 45; 67). The verb *adfod* consists of two parts: *ad-* and *wyf*, and it means 'to pass away' or 'to be' (GPC s.v. adwyf, atwyf: adfod², atfod). The prefix *ad-* means 'back'. It comes from Celtic **ati-* and it has an Old Irish cognate *aith-* (GPC s.v. ad-). *Wyf* is the 1st person singular present indicative of *bot*, 'to be' (Evans 136, par. 144). For the etymology of *bot*, see *fo* in the first sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *aduyd* and the spelling in the Red Book of Hergest is *atuyd* (Thomson 11).

ys: the verbal particle *y(d)* and the 3rd person singular or plural proleptic infixed pronoun (Evans 55-56, par. 58-60). See the third sentence for the verbal particle under *y*. The infixed *'s* is a proleptic infixed pronoun. In this sentence, it is the 3rd person singular. "A proleptic infixed pronoun is sometimes used where the object follows in the form of a noun" (Evans 56, par. 60). In this sentence, the object is *gygor*.

kymeraf: 1st person singular present indicative of the verb *cymeryd*, 'to take'. *Cymeryd* comes from Celtic **kom-ber-*, which comes from the Proto-Indo-European root **bher-*, which means 'to carry' (GPC s.v. cymeraf: cymryd, cymrud, cymeryd). For the ending *-af*, see *fydaf* in the second sentence.

y: 3rd person singular masculine possessive pronoun (Evans 53, par. 56). It lenites the following word (Evans 16, par. 20). For the etymology of *y*, see the fourth sentence. This word is not used in this sentence in the White Book of Rhydderch (Thomson 11).

gygor: lenited form of the masculine noun *cynghor*, 'advice'. It comes from Celtic **kom-kor-*, which comes from the root **kor-*, which means 'to put' or 'to throw', and it has an Old Irish cognate *cocur* which means 'consultation' (GPC s.v. cyngor; eDIL s.v. cocur). Celtic **kom* becomes the Middle Welsh prefix *cyf-*, or *cy-* (GPC s.v. cyf-, cy-²), which has already been discussed above for *kyfodes* in the fifth sentence. *Cynghor* can be connected to the Proto-Celtic noun **koro-*, which is "the 'act of putting, casting, a throw'" (Matasović 217). This becomes *cor* in Old Irish, and Proto-Celtic **koro-* itself comes from Proto-Indo-European **(s)ker-*, which means 'curve' (Matasović 217). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *gynghor* (Thomson 11).

am: preposition 'about'. See *namyn* in the first sentence, where the etymology of *am-* is discussed under Celtic **ambi-*.

awch: 2nd person plural unstressed prefixed possessive pronoun (Evans 53, par. 56). *Awch* comes from "a combination of a pron. used as article (IE **so*, cf. Br. *ho-*) + an enclitic g. [genitive] pronoun […] The MlW. indep. g. forms are probably late re-formations by anal. [analogy] with the 3. pers. forms." (Lewis and Pedersen 215-216, par. 357). *Awch* thus consists of *a-* and *-wch* (Pedersen 169, par. 501). The enclitic genitive that Lewis and Pedersen refer to, is "**snōsōm* (**snēsōm*?), **swēsōm*, **swōsōm*" (Pedersen 170, par. 501). The forms **swēsōm* and **swōsōm* eventually became the 2nd person plural *awch*; the forms **snēsōm and *snōsōm* became 1st person plural *an* (Lewis and Pedersen 215, par. 357). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *ych* (Thomson 11).

kenadwri: feminine noun *cenadwri*, and it means 'message'. According to GPC, it comes from *cennad* and *-wri*; it is unknown what *-wri* means (GPC s.v. cenadwri). *Cennad*, 'messenger', comes from **kennatV-* or **kesnatV* (Schrijver 1995: 42). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *kennadwri* (Thomson 11).

chwi: 2nd person plural affixed simple pronoun (Evans 57, par. 62). For affixed pronouns, see the sixth sentence under *ditheu*. It is used to emphasize *awch*. According to Matasović and Falileyev, *chwi* comes from Proto-Celtic **swīs* and means 'you (pl.)', as well (Matasović 365; Falileyev 87-88; GPC s.v. chwi). Matasović writes that this is "unusual" because "the PIE stem is **we-* […] but the word-initial **s-* must be analogical (perhaps influenced by the demonstrative / 3 sg. and pl. pronoun stem **so-*?)" (365). Falileyev writes that *chwi* comes from Indo-European **iu-* (87-88), though his derivation is unclear. It has an Old Irish cognate, *sí* (GPC s.v. chwi; Matasović 365; Falileyev 87-88).

2.9 "O hynn hyd hynny ny chewch chwi y gennyf i ateb eny del gennwch amgen noc a doeth.'" (Thomson 42)

Translation: Henceforth until then you do not get an answer from me until there should come from you an alternative (other) than what has come.'

White Book of Rhydderch: "O hyn hyt ban del amgen, ny cheffwch y genhyf i attep.'" (Thomson 11-12).[1]

Translation of the White Book of Rhydderch: From this until an alternative should come, you do not get an answer from me.'

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[1] Because of the differences between the manuscripts, I give both Welsh sentences and translations rather than point out all the differences. Both sentences together make the differences clearer.

o: the preposition *o*, 'from, of'. See the third sentence under *ohonaw*.

hynn: see the third sentence, under *hwnnw*. *Hynn* means 'this', but it can also be translated as 'this time' (GPC s.v. hyn). *O hynn* can be translated as 'henceforth' (GPC s.v. o[1]). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *hyn* (Thomson 11).

hyd: the preposition *hyd*, 'until', but as a noun, it can also mean 'length'. *Hyd* comes from Celtic **si-tu-* or **si-ti-*, both from the root **sē(i)-*, which means 'to let go' (GPC s.v. hyd). Matasović also gives Proto-Celtic **siti-*, which means 'length', which itself may come from **sh₁i-ti-* (Matasović 338). *Hyd* has an Old Irish cognate *sith-*, which means 'long' (GPC s.v. hyd; Matasović 338; eDIL s.v. sith-). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *hyt* (Thomson 11).

hynny: see the third sentence, under *hwnnw*. *Hynny* means 'that'. *Hyd (yn) hynny* together means 'until then' (GPC s.v. hyd).

ny: negative *ny(t)*. For the etymology of *ny*, see *ony* in the eighth sentence.

chewch: the spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *cheffwch* (Thomson 11). Both are a 2nd person plural present indicative of *cael*, 'to get' (Evans 149, par. 161). For *cael*, see the eighth sentence.

chwi: see the eighth sentence, 'you (pl)'.

y: preposition 'from'. For the etymology of *y*, see the fifth sentence. *Y* is part of *y gan*, which together means 'from'. For *y gan*, see the fifth sentence.

gennyf: 1st person singular conjugated preposition of *gan*, 'with' (Evans 60, par. 63). *Y gennyf* thus means 'from me'. For the etymology of *gan*, see the fifth sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *genhyf* (Thomson 12).

i: 1st person singular affixed pronoun (Evans 57, par. 62). It is also used in the eighth sentence.

ateb: masculine noun, 'answer'. The verb *atebaf*, which means 'to answer', comes from *ad-* and *heb(u)* (GPC s.v. atebaf: ateb[2]). For the prefix *ad-*, 'back', see *oduyt* in the eighth sentence. For *heb*, see *hep* in the second sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *attep* (Thomson 12).

eny: the conjunction *yny*, 'until'. It lenites the following verb (Evans 21, par. 23). *Yny* consists of Old Welsh *hit* and *ni* (GPC s.v. yny[1], hyny[1], yni, hyni). This can probably be compared to *hyd oni* or *hyd yny*, which both also mean 'until' (GPC s.v. hyd). For the etymology of *hyd*, see earlier in this sentence, and for the etymology of *ony*, see the eighth sentence.

del: 3rd person singular present subjunctive of *dyuot*, 'to come' (Evans 133-135, par. 143). See *dyfod* in the fifth sentence. *El* is the 3rd person singular present subjunctive of the verb *mynet*, 'to go' (Evans 132-133, par. 142). This subjunctive comes from Proto-Indo-European *$pelh_2$-*, and later from Proto-Celtic *$φal$-na-* and its subjunctive *$φel$-ase/o-*, which means 'to approach'; with the prefix *tu*, Proto-Celtic *tu-φel-ase/o-* became *del* (Schumacher 2004: 503-504).

gennwch: 2nd person plural conjugated preposition of *gan*, 'with' (Evans 60, par. 63). For the etymology of *gan*, see the fifth sentence.

amgen: adjective 'other' or 'alternative'; "[i]t is comparative in meaning, and is followed by *no(c)*" (Evans 44, par. 46). *Amgen* consists of two parts: *am-* and *cên*, though it is unknown what *cên* means (GPC s.v. amgen). For *am-*, see **ambi* under *namyn* in the first sentence. *Amgen* itself comes from Proto-Celtic **kina, *kinā*, which means 'besides', and it has an Old Irish cognate *cen*, which means 'without' (Matasović 204).

noc: *no(c)* means 'than' and it can follow a comparative (Evans 43, par. 46). It does not have a known etymology.

a: relative particle *a*, see the first sentence.

doeth: 3rd person preterite of *dyuot*, 'to come' (Evans 133-135, par. 143). For *dyfod*, see the fifth sentence. *Doeth* comes from Proto-Indo-European *$h_2eǵ$-* and the Proto-Celtic stem **ag-e/o-*, specifically from the t-preterite **akt-* with the preverb **tu-* (Schumacher 2004: 189-192). Evans gives the following etymology: "*doeth < *dōkt- < (do-ag-t)*; the root is **aǵ-*" (Evans 135, par. 143).

Ban is not used in Peniarth 6, but it is used in the White Book of Rhydderch and in the Red Book of Hergest. In this last one, it is written as *pan*. *Hyd pan* means 'until' (GPC s.v. hyd). *Pan* itself means 'when', and it comes from Indo-European **kʷo-* (GPC s.v. pan¹, ban³).

2.10 "Ie, arglwyt,' hep wy, 'er atep goreu a gaffom ninneu, ataty y down ac ef, ac aro ditheu en kennaduri ninheu.'" (Thomson 42)

Translation: 'Yes, lord,' said they, 'we shall get the best answer, we will come to you with it, and wait for our message.

ie: see the eighth sentence, 'yes'.

arglwyt: see the seventh sentence, 'lord'. This word is not used in this sentence in the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest (Thomson 12).

hep: see the second sentence, 'said'.

wy: see the sixth sentence, 'they'. In the White Book of Rhydderch, however, the word *wynteu* is used (Thomson 12). *Wynteu* is the 3rd person plural conjunctive personal pronoun (Evans 49, par. 54).

er: for the definite article *y(r)*, see *y* in the third sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yr* (Thomson 12).

atep: see the ninth sentence under *ateb*, 'answer'. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *atteb* (Thomson 12).

goreu: superlative of *da*, 'good': 'best' (Evans 40, par. 42). For *da*, see *gwell* in the fifth sentence. *Goreu* comes from Celtic **wor-gous-on* and it can be compared to Old Irish *forg(g)u, forgo*, which means 'choice' (GPC s.v. gorau[1]; eDIL s.v. forg(g)u, forgo).

a: verbal particle *a*, see the second sentence.

gaffom: 1st person plural present subjunctive of *caffael, cael*, 'to get'. See *cael* in the eighth sentence.

ninneu: 1st person plural affixed conjunctive personal pronoun (Evans 57, par. 62). See *ditheu* in the sixth sentence for the conjunctive personal pronoun. Schrijver explains the etymology of *ninheu* as an analogy to the first person *minheu*. The etymology of "*minheu* seems to consist of PBr. **min* > LPBr. **mɨn + huɏ*, with analogical replacement of **-ɨ-* by -*i*- on the model of MW *mi* 'I'. The 1pl. *ninheu* is probably analogical to the 1sg." (Schrijver 1997: 90). The Middle Welsh simple personal pronoun of the 1st person plural is *ni* (Schrijver 1997: 83). The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *ninheu* (Thomson 12).

ataty: the spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *attat ti*. This makes it clear that *ataty* consists of *attat* and *ti*. *Attat* is the 2nd person singular of the conjugated preposition *at* 'to' (Evans 58-59, par. 63). For the etymology of *at*, see *attaw* in the fifth sentence. *Ti* is the 2nd person singular of the affixed simple pronoun (Evans 57, par. 62). For *ti*, see *di* in the sixth sentence.

y: verbal particle *y(d)*, see the third sentence. In the Red Book of Hergest, *ni a* is used in the place where *y* is used in Peniarth 6 (Thomson 12).

down: 1st person plural present indicative of *dyuot*, 'to come' (Evans 133, par. 143). See *dyfod* in the fifth sentence en *doeth* in the ninth sentence.

ac: see the third sentence. Another meaning of *ac* is 'with'.

ef: see the second sentence, 'he'. In this sentence, however, *ef* refers to the masculine noun *atep*, 'answer'.

ac: see the third sentence, 'and'.

aro: 3rd person present subjunctive or 2nd person imperative of *aros*, 'to wait (for)' (Thomson 47). Because the messengers are speaking to Bendigeidfran, I have translated it as the 2nd person imperative. *Arho*, the more usual spelling of *aro*, comes from Celtic **ari-wos-*, and the verbal noun *ar(h)os* comes from Celtic **ari-wos-to-*, both from Indo-European **wes-*, which comes from **əwes-* (GPC s.v. arhosaf, arhoaf, arhof: aros[1]).

ditheu: see the sixth sentence, 'you'.

en: 1st person plural unstressed prefixed possessive pronoun *an* or *yn* (Evans 53, par. 56). The etymology of *en* is already discussed under the etymology of *awch*; see *awch* in the eighth sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yn* (Thomson 12).

kennaduri: from the noun *cenadwri*, 'message'. See *kenadwri* in the eighth sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *kennadwri* (Thomson 12).

ninheu: see earlier in this sentence under *ninneu*, 'we'.

2.11 "'Aroaf,' hep ef, 'o dowch en ehegyr.'" (Thomson 42)

Translation: 'I will wait,' he said, 'if you come swiftly.'

aroaf: 1st person singular present indicative of *aros*, 'to wait'. For *aros*, see the tenth sentence. For the ending *-af*, see *fydaf* in the second sentence. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *arhoaf* (Thomson 12).

hep: see the second sentence, 'said'. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *heb* (Thomson 12).

ef: see the second sentence, 'he'.

o: the preposition 'if'. See *o'e* in the fifth sentence for *o*. In the Red Book of Hergest, *a* is used (Thomson 12).

dowch: 2nd person plural present indicative of *dyuot*, 'to come' (Evans 133, par. 143). See *dyfod* in the fifth sentence.

en: see the fifth sentence under *yn* for the adverbial particle, which is the second *yn* that is discussed there. The spelling in the White Book of Rhydderch is *yn* (Thomson 12).

ehegyr: adjective, meaning 'swift'. This is written in the Red Book of Hergest as *ebrwyd* (Thomson 12). This also means 'swift'. There is no known etymology for *ehegyr*. *Ebrwyd* consists of *eb-* and *rhwydd* (GPC s.v. ebrwydd). *Eb* does not have an English translation nor a known etymology (GPC s.v. eb-). *Rhwydd* means 'easy' and it comes from Indo-European **reidh-* and it has an Old Irish cognate *réid* (GPC s.v. rhwydd).

3. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have discussed the first eleven sentences from the story of Branwen from the fragment of Peniarth 6. I have translated them and discussed the separate words: what kind of word it is and what it means, and given as much information as possible about the etymology. These eleven sentences are just about one third of the fragment from Peniarth 6, so further research could be done on the rest of the fragment. It has several research possibilities: in line with the Celtic tradition of linguistic commentaries, one can be made about the complete fragment, and a full comparison between Peniarth 6, the Red Book of Hergest and the White Book of Rhydderch would provide an overview of all the differences. It would be an interesting research topic if these differences have any significance. For the most part, the different manuscripts contain the same sentences, but they are written in different orthography. It is also interesting how the manuscripts are so similar, but contain a few sentences which differ more widely, for example the ninth sentence. The contents of the sentence are the same, but Peniarth 6 is much more elaborate in this sentence than the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest are.

In any case, there is a lot that can be found in a text. There are still a few words that do not have a known etymology; for these words, possibly there is not enough material to reconstruct the earlier forms, or maybe an etymology can still be created with the comparative method. Unfortunately, doing so is beyong the scope of this bachelor thesis. This does, however, provide more possibilities for further research. More research is also possible by comparing the different etymologies. Sometimes in this thesis, I have found different and even conflicting etymologies for one word; further research might provide insights as to which etymology is more likely to be the correct one.

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