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Why Jesus and Job spoke bad Welsh
The origin and distribution of V2 orders in
Middle Welsh

Proefschrift

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Dr. David Willis (University of Cambridge)

to my family

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Abbreviations and Primary Text Editions

WORKS OF REFERENCE AND PRIMARY TEXT EDITIONS

- AM *Audacht Morainn*, ed. Fergus Kelly, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976.
- B *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, Cardiff.
- b1588 *Y Beibl Cys-segr-lan. Sef yr Hen Destament, a'r Newydd*, translated by William Morgan, Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1588. Available online from the National Library of Wales digital manuscripts www.llgc.org.uk/big/index_s.htm and in the Historical Corpus of Welsh by David Willis: <http://people.ds.cam.ac.uk/dwew2/hcwl>.
- BBC *The Black Book of Camarthen*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Pwllheli, 1906.
- BD *Brut Dingestow*, ed. Henry Lewis, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1942.
- BM *Breuddwyd Maxen*, ed. Ifor Williams, Bangor: Jarvis a Foster, 1908.
- BMer *The Life of St. Meriasek*, ed. Whitley Stokes, London, 1872.
- BR *Breudwyt Ronabwy*, ed. Melville Richards, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1948.
- Branwen *Branwen Uerch Lyr*, ed. Derick S. Thomson, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1961.
- BT *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliessin*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Llanbedrog, 1910.
- CA *Canu Aneirin*, ed. Ifor Williams, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1938.
- CF 'The Computus Fragment', ed. Ifor Williams, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 3 (1927), 245-72.

- Chad 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels Part I', ed. Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 5 (1983), 37-66.
- CLIH *Canu Llywarch Hen*, ed. Ifor Williams, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1935.
- CLLL *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, ed. Brynley F. Roberts, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975.
- CO *Culhwch ac Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale*, ed. Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992.
- DB *Delw y Byd (Imago Mundi)*, ed. Henry Lewis and P. Diverres, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1928.
- DGVB *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton* (containing glosses from MS Angers 477), ed. Léon Fleuriot, Paris: Klincksieck, 1964.
- Gereint *Ystorya Gereint Uab Erbyn*, ed. R.L. Thomson, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1997.
- GPC *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, ed. R.J. Thomas, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, available online: <http://geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>.
- HGC *Hen Gerddi Crefyddol*, ed. Henry Lewis, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1931.
- HGK *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, ed. D. Simon Evans, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1977.
- Juv. 'Naw Englyn y Juvenicus', ed. Ifor Williams, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 6 (1932), 205-24.
- Laws *Machlud Cyfraith Hywel*, Llawysgrif BL Add. 22356 (S), ed. Christine James, available from www.cyfraith-hywel.org.uk/en/machlud-cyf-hyw.php, last accessed on 5 April 2016.
- LL *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav*, eds. J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhys, Oxford, 1893.
- MAV *Marvailhou ar Vretoned*, a collection of Breton tales, mostly from the 19th century, Brest, 1941.
- MBJJ *Ma Beaj Jeruzalem*, ed. L. Le Clerc, Saint-Brieuc, 1903.
- MC OW glosses in the Corpus Christi College (Cambridge) MS. of the *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella, ed. Whitley Stokes, in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1-21, 1873.
- N *La Vie de Sainte Nonne*, Middle Breton mystery play, ed. E. Ernault in *Revue Celtique* 8, (1887), pp. 230-301.
- Nl *An Nouelou ancien ha devot*, Middle Breton Christmas hymns, ed. Hersart de la Villemarqué from a book of 1650, in *Revue Celtique* 10-13.
- O *Ordinale de Origine Mundi*, ed. Edwin Norris, in *The Ancient Cornish Drama* 1, 2ff, Oxford, 1859.
- Owein *Owein or Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn*, ed. R.L. Thomson, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1968.

- Ox 'Glosau Rhydychen [The Oxford Glosses]: Mesurau a Phwysau', ed. Ifor Williams, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 5 (1930), 226-48.
- Peredur *Historia Peredur vab Efwrc*, ed. Glenys Witchard Goetinck, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1976.
- PKM *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. Ifor Williams, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1930.
- Pwyll *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet*, ed. R.L. Thomson, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957.
- R *Ordinale de Resurrexione Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi*, ed. Edwin Norris, in *The Ancient Cornish Drama* 2, 2ff, Oxford, 1859.
- RIG *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises (XLVe supplément à "GALLIA")*, ed. Paul-Marie Duval et al. 4 volumes, Paris: CNRS, 1985-2002.
- RM *The Text of the Mabinogion...from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. John Rhys and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Oxford, 1887.
- SG *Y Seint Greal, Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, volume 1, ed. Robert Williams, London, 1876.
- SM 'The Surexit Memorandum', ed. John Morris-Jones, *Y Cymmrodor*, 28 (1918), 268-79; 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels Part II: The "Surexit" Memorandum', ed. Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 7 (1984), 91-120.
- T *Gwaith Talhaiarn*, ed. John Jones, Llanrwst, 1869.
- Trip *The Tripartite life of Patrick, with other documents relating to that saint*, ed. Whitley Stokes, MRIA, 1887.
- WM *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans with introduction by R.M. Jones, Caerdyd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1973; new edn. of *The White Book Mabinogion*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Pwllheli: J. Gwenogvryn Evans, 1907.
- Wz *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus: a collection of Old-Irish glosses, scholia, prose, and verse*, volume 1: *Biblical glosses and scholia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901.
- YCM *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, ed. Stephen J. Williams, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1930.
- YBH *Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn*, ed. Morgan Watkins, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1958.
- YSG *Ystoriaeu Seint Greal*, ed. Thomas Jones, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1992.
- YMTh *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*, A.O.H. Jarman, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1951.
- YT Elis Gruffydd, *Ystoria Taliesin: The Story of Taliesin*, ed. Patrick K. Ford, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991.

GRAMMATICAL GLOSSES

1S etc.	first-person singular inflection/clitic
1P etc	first-person plural inflection/clitic
4	impersonal inflection
REL	relative form of the verb
F	Feminine
FUT	future-tense verb form
IMPERS	impersonal verb form
IMPF	imperfect-tense verb form
IPV	imperative verb form
INF	infinitive
M	Masculine
NEG	negative marker
PERF	perfect verb form/perfect aspect marker
PLUPERF	pluperfect verb form
PRED	predicative marker
PRES	present-tense verb form
PROG	progressive aspect marker
PRT	preverbal particle
REDUP	reduplicated pronoun
SUBJ	subjunctive form of the verb
VN	verbal noun
*	(in syntax) ungrammatical form; (in historical phonology) reconstructed form
#	pragmatically infelicitous form

Verbs unglossed for tense are present tense.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative
AgrSP	Agreement Subject Phrase
AyVSO	Adjunct-y-Verb-Subject-Object
AdvP	Adverb Phrase
AdvVSO	Adverb-Verb-Subject-Object
AM	Aspirate Mutation (of initial consonants)
AspP	Aspect Phrase
AuxSVO	Auxiliary-Subject-Verb-Object
C	Copula
CG	Common Ground
ContrP	Contrast Phrase
CP	Complementiser Phrase
df	degree of freedom (in statistical tests)
DP	Determiner Phrase

EF	Edge Feature
F(-score)	Harmonic mean of precision and recall
FamP	Familiar Topic Phrase
FocP	Focus Phrase
ForceP	Force Phrase
FinP	Finite Phrase
G1,G2	Grammar 1 (in historical syntax G2 can replace G1)
GEN	Genitive
GroundP	Ground Phrase
HT	Hanging Topic
ID	Identity
IND	Indicative
IS	Information Structure
LD	Left-dislocated Topic
LF	Logical Form
MBT(g)	Memory-Based Tagger (generator)
ModW	Modern Welsh
MP	Minimalist Program
MW	Middle Welsh
NLP	Natural Language Processing
NLTK	Natural Language Toolkit
NM	Nasal Mutation (of initial consonants)
NP	Noun Phrase
NT	New Testament
Op	Operator
OSWB	Old South-West British
OT	Old Testament
OVS	Object-Verb-Subject order
OW	Old Welsh
P	Predicate
PF	Phonetic Form
PoS	Part-of-Speech
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PredP	Predicate Phrase
ShiftP	Shift Topic Phrase
SM	Soft Mutation (of initial consonant)
Spec	Specifier
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object order
TP	Tense Phrase
t	trace
UG	Universal Grammar
vP, VP	little v, Verb Phrase
VSO	Verb-Subject-Object order
V1,2,3,4	Verb-first, -second, -third, -forth word order
XP	Any phrasal constituent

