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Cognitive Aspects of the Grammaticalization of Medieval Welsh Prepositions

by

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Cognitive Aspects of the Grammaticalization of Medieval Welsh Prepositions

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by

Heather Rose Jones

Abstract

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by

Heather Rose Jones

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Eve E. Sweetser, Chair

Prepositions are one of the tools languages can use to mark and distinguish roles associated with particular semantic frames or grammatical functions. This work studies this phenomenon in Medieval Welsh texts from two angles: a catalog of the functions of prepositions, especially of their more abstract uses, and the cognitive mechanisms by which they are extended to those uses; and an analysis of the variety of motivations for preposition choice, especially when marking significant roles associated with particular verbs or particular semantic frames, and how they compete when multiple motivations are present.

What we find is a systematic hierarchy of motivations:

• Choice dictated by the abstract structure of the scenario, for example identifying a participant as part of a dual or multiplex constituent.

• Choice dictated by a relatively grammaticalized use of the preposition, typically based on syntactic rather than semantic function, for example identifying a syntactic

agent.

- Choice dictated by the morphology of the verb, typically arising historically from a semantic motivation, as with the use of a co-locational marker with morphologically mutual verbs.
- Choice expressing an *ad hoc* metaphoric expression of the scenario.
- A conventional lexical association of a preposition with a particular verb, typically deriving from one of the other motivations but generalized beyond its original scope.
- Choice driven by some prototypical semantics of the frame, arising via metaphor but determined by the nature of the metaphoric target domain.
- Choice driven by a generalize conventional metaphor (e.g. Event Structure) and determined by the nature of the metaphoric source domain.

Beyond the usefulness of such a study in understanding the structures of a particular language, a comparison of studies of this type can contribute to a cross-linguistic understanding of cognitive universals. Adpositional language is typically quite variable in how it bundles groups of spatial meaning, even among closely related languages, making it possible to distinguish significant patterns at a more finely-grained level between languages than within a single language. Finding the commonalties in the metaphoric and grammaticalized extensions of spatial language can help identify universal elements among more complex metaphors.

This work is dedicated first and foremost to my parents, Walter D. Jones and Phyllis G. Jones, whose support of every type has been endless, even if their patience hasn't always been so. To my brothers, who have understood because they have Been There and Done That. And to all the friends who have seen me through the last decade ... even when they haven't seen me very much.

To all of you, I say:

Nunc finem feci. Da mihi quod merui.

Omnibus est notum quod multum deligo potum.

(anonymous 14th century Welsh scribe, in Ellis 1924)

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List of Abbreviations and Conventions

In the Text

GPC *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*
MB Medieval Breton
MC Medieval Cornish
MW Medieval Welsh
OB Old Breton
OC Old Cornish
OIr Old Irish
OW Old Welsh
(P)IE (Proto) Indo-European

- Non-English words cited in normalized reference forms are in all upper case.
- Other quotations of non-English material are italicized.
- Names of cases and roles are capitalized when discussed in that function.
- Metaphors are given in small caps, with a subscript letter(s) indicating publications where that metaphor is mentioned, if available.

In Metaphor attributions

F *Foundations of Meaning* (Grady 1997)
M *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980)
P *Philosophy in the Flesh* (Lakoff and Johnson 1999)
W *Where Mathematics Comes From* (Lakoff and Nuñez 2000)

In the Glosses

ADJ	adjective
EMPH	emphatic
FUT	future
IMPER	imperative
IMPERF	imperfect
IMPERS	impersonal
NEG	negative
PART	particle
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
PLUP	pluperfect
PRES	present
PRET	preterite
REL	relative particle
SF	singular feminine
SG	singular
SM	singular masculine
SUBJ	subjunctive
VN	verbal noun

- Focal material is in bold.
- Only verbs and prepositions are given detailed morphological glossing.
- Bracketed material is supplied for better sense in the English translations but does not correspond to any element in the Welsh material.
- Pronouns are occasionally indexed with subscript numbers when necessary to avoid ambiguity.

1 Introduction

This study evolved from a very practical question: when learning a new language, how do I learn which preposition to use in which circumstance? In the specific instance when a verb requires the presence of a preposition to complete its meaning, what determines the choice of a particular preposition? Why do we typically look "at" something but gaze "on" it? Why do we both speak "to" and listen "to" a person, but shout "at" them?

While many semantic structures are very similar from one language to another, spatial language, and particularly spatial adpositions, typically vary considerably in how they divide up the semantic territory. And when spatial language is borrowed for more abstract purposes, such as marking semantic roles or grammatical functions, this effect is strengthened. My quest became to discover the underlying system that motivates and shapes the use of prepositions for non-spatial purposes in Medieval Welsh, and in particular their use in conventional associations with verbs to mark important semantic roles.

Such an analysis would necessarily involve questions of how words extend their meanings and functions: polysemy and grammaticalization. This brings in a consideration of the processes by which such new meanings and functions arise: metonymy, metaphor, image schemas, and the reanalysis of inaccessible forms and constructions. Moreover, an analysis of the extended, non-spatial uses of prepositions must be based on an

understanding of their more basic, concrete applications.

I will begin with a brief review of the theoretical context in which I have done this analysis, specifically the fields of polysemy, diachronic meaning change, grammaticalization, and an understanding of the motivations of these processes founded in cognitive linguistics. Next I will discuss the sources of spatial language in general and prepositions in particular in Medieval Welsh, and catalog the meanings and uses found in Medieval Welsh for all words and constructions identifiable as prepositions, comparing them, where possible, with cognate usage in other Celtic languages. Following this, I will discuss the various prepositional strategies used to mark particular semantic functions, and the specific patterns of motivation found for them. Finally, using a selection of specific semantic fields, I will discuss and demonstrate how a variety of competing strategies resolve themselves in a given text.

1.1 Why Medieval Welsh?

1.1.1 The Celtic Language Family

A brief account of the Celtic language family will help set the stage. The early history of the family from the time it emerged as a separate branch of the Indo-European family to the earliest written records is much debated, and those who study the topic are frustratingly (although understandably) prone to dodging the issue of specific dates. The family appears to have emerged at least by the beginning of the first millennium BCE, and by the middle of that millennium, when the earliest written records appear, was well

established over the majority of central and western Europe. The family is often discussed in terms of two groupings, Continental and Insular, although the only undebated point is that these groupings correspond to the time periods from which the evidence is drawn (Continental, from the earliest sources up through the height of the Roman Empire; Insular, from the sub-Roman period to the present). The Continental groups for which evidence is available include Gaulish, Lepontic (possibly a dialect or earlier stage of Gaulish), Celtiberian, and Galatian. At some point roughly during the first half of the first millennium BCE, Celtic languages made their appearance in the British Isles. Insular Celtic consists of two groupings, Goidelic (whence Irish, and the later-developing Scottish and Manx Gaelic–of which only Irish is relevant for the period of my study), and Brythonic (whence Welsh, Cornish, and Breton–as well as the scantily attested Cumbric). The exact relation between the two branches–whether they constitute a linguistic or simply a geographic grouping–is still under debate; however the preponderance of the evidence suggests an earlier, rather than a later, divergence between the two, and a closer relationship between Brythonic and at least some of the Continental languages than with Goidelic (Eska and Evans 1993, Fife 1993, Mallory 1989, Russell 1995, Schmidt 1993). Note that I have chosen to use "Brythonic" when speaking of the language family and "Brittonic" when speaking of the common ancestor of that language family—a convention that has the advantage of precision, although not necessarily wide acceptance.

Significant amounts of continuous text (as opposed to brief inscriptions) are

available for the Goidelic branch beginning around the 8th century, although the quantities of material increase significantly in the 12th century and later (Thurneysen 1947). A certain amount of inscriptional material is available from even earlier (McManus 1991) but this is less useful in addressing questions of semantics and syntax than those of phonology.

The Brythonic branch is considered to have diverged around the 6th century (although the precise date is regularly debated) into the branches that evolved into Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. Surviving written records in these languages begin to appear in the 8-9th centuries, but significant amounts of continuous prose text do not appear until the 12th century for Welsh, the 14th century for Cornish, and the 15th century for Breton (Jackson 1953, Russell 1995, Sims-Williams 1991).

The Brythonic and Goedelic branches underwent two significant changes in parallel: intervocalic lenition of consonants (completed around the 5th century) and syncope and apocope of unstressed syllables (during the 6th century) (Schmidt 1993).

1.1.2 Diachronic Context

The Celtic languages, and specifically Welsh, provide an unusually convenient context for the study of semantic change over time, particularly changes that may be affected or motivated by significant phonological and typological changes. When tracing innovations, either in semantic or grammatical application, we have the advantage of comparative material from early Indo-European languages to establish those elements

most likely to have been inherited by the Celtic language family (that is, ones that are shared with other Indo-European families) versus those likely to be innovations of some later stage. Similarly, the abundant material for Old Irish helps distinguish shared Celtic innovations versus specifically Brythonic (or Brythonic/Continental–depending on your analysis) innovations; and comparison of Welsh material with Breton and Cornish helps distinguish the latter from specifically Welsh changes.

Even this abundant comparative material cannot definitively establish a chronology for polysemic extensions or grammaticalization shifts. As we will see in following sections, many (if not most) of the motivations and paths for these processes are common cross-linguistically. The inheritance of polysemic or grammaticalized forms by sister languages can be difficult or impossible to distinguish from the inheritance of a set of cognate lexical items and identical cognitive mechanisms for extending their meaning or function. For example, Old Irish *ar chiunn* and Medieval Welsh *erbyn* both derive from cognate elements meaning BEFORE+HEAD and function as adpositions (Williams 1969). However, given the cognate adpositions OIr *ar*, MW *er*, and the extremely common derivation of spatial language from terms for body parts, parallel development is inherently as plausible as common inheritance. The two possibilities can be clearly distinguished only when sufficient textual evidence is available for the earlier stage of the language, or when a shared construction shares some extension of meaning or function that is unlikely to be coincidental. Among Celtic languages, this quantity of textual evidence is only really available beginning in the medieval period, after all the major evolutionary

branchings mentioned above have taken place.

Any approach to this topic, then, must find ways to argue from absence. If a particular extended meaning or grammaticalized function is absent in some branch or set of branches of the Celtic family, then either the presence or the absence represents an innovation. And since, as we shall see, both semantic extension and grammaticalization are strongly directional processes, we can make fairly confident arguments for the interpretation of any particular pattern of absence. For example, the presence in two branches of a relatively more grammaticalized function of an element combined with the absence in one of a less grammatical stage of the same element argues that the loss of the less grammatical stage is an innovation in the language that shows it. Again using OIr *ar chiunn* and MW *erbyn* as an example, the Irish term has spatial ("in front of, before, facing") and interactional ("opposing, meeting") senses (among others), while the MW term lacks spatial senses but has the interactional ones. Since the directionality of meaning change would predict that the spatial sense was a necessary precursor to the interactional one (see e.g. Bybee et al. 1994, Fleishman 1982a, Heine et al. 1991, Heine and Kuteva 2002, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Nikiforidou 1991, Svorou 1986, Sweetser 1987, 1990, Traugott 1989), we can conclude that the loss in MW is an innovation and that an earlier stage of the language included it. The presence in two branches of a relatively basic sense of an element, and the absence in one branch of a semantic extension that could only logically come from that basic sense in one of the branches, argues that the semantic extension is an innovation in the language that displays it.

Similarly, valuable information may be obtained from occasions when sister languages apply different semantic or grammatical extension paths to cognate vocabulary, or apply the same paths to non-cognate but synonymous vocabulary. As above, this is primarily useful in identifying and establishing a chronology for non-shared innovations, rather than for shared features.

1.1.3 Phonological Processes

Phonological processes in the Celtic family–some general and some specific–have exacerbated the normal process of phonological erosion in grammatical forms,. The loss of Proto-Indo-European *p, a defining characteristic of the Celtic family (Meid 1968, Jackson 1953), had a disproportionate effect on inherited PIE adpositions. These adpositions were relatively short (roughly half being monosyllabic, by most reconstructions) and a startling number included *p (roughly a third, by most reconstructions), in several cases as the only consonant (Beekes 1995, Friedrich 1987, Kurylowicz 1964, Meillet 1908). Thus, we can expect that the loss of PIE *p in Celtic would have produced a significant potential for ambiguity and merger in this class of elements, leading to a shift to alternate or reinforced forms. Therefore, Common Celtic might be expected to be a fertile ground for studying the renewal process in spatial elements. Unfortunately, since our only access to this stage of the language is through historic reconstruction, there is a limit to how useful such a study would be, due to uncertainties in the reconstruction process itself.

The processes of lenition (around the 5th century) and syncope/apocope (during the 6th century)–both in Brythonic and Goedelic–produced a similar assault on adpositions, and here we can directly observe some of the consequences (Jackson 1953, Koch 1983, McManus 1991, Schrijver 1995). The most extreme example may be the merger of prepositions meaning TO and FROM over the period from Brittonic to Medieval Welsh (Evans 1964, GPC). The reconstructed Common Celtic forms are **do* "to" and **de* "from", but by the Old Welsh period, both have merged in the form *di*. At this time, both occur in simple and compound forms, but by the Medieval Welsh period, when they have reduced further to *y*, the FROM element remains only in compound prepositions indicating sources (e.g. *y wrth* "from next to", *y ar* "from on") where they are not ambiguous, while the simple form had been replaced in function by the unrelated *o* "from". By the Late Medieval Welsh period, even this compounding function had been replaced by doublet forms reinforced by a prefixed *o* (e.g. *oddi wrth* "from next to", *oddi ar* "from on") (GPC). A semantic parallel to this merger, although not to its resolution, can be found in French, where the Latin prepositions *ad* "to, toward" and *ab* "from" have phonologically merged as *à* which, as with the Medieval Welsh case, became primarily associated with the goal-marking function (Bissell 1947). The innovation of new prepositional forms required to resolve this and similar ambiguities makes it easier to see the process by which these new forms move from ad hoc descriptions to grammaticalized spatial language to non-spatial applications.

1.1.4 Brythonic and Goidelic Contrasts

In addition to the simple availability of comparative material from multiple branchings of the Celtic family, we are dealing with a language family in which the two surviving sub-families have taken significantly different paths in several areas. Common Celtic had a relatively extensive system of nominal case-inflections. Gaulish provides examples of seven cases: Nominative, Vocative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, Locative, and Instrumental (Lambert 1994). The Goedelic branch retained a relatively large subset of these case distinctions, even after much of the original inflectional suffixes had been lost to apocope, distinguishing five in the Old Irish period: Nominative, Vocative, Accusative, Genitive, and Dative, although they are not all clearly distinguished in all noun classes and, as in Welsh, prepositions have begun to take over (or reinforce) many of their functions (Lambert 1994, Thurneysen 1947). The same five are reconstructed for Proto-Brittonic but were lost during the 6th century apocope (Hamp 1975b, Koch 1983). Hence, any semantic and grammatical information previously conveyed via case-inflection would need to have found a different vehicle. In some cases, pragmatics could supply the need. For example, while Old Irish distinguished Location and Goal senses of some prepositions by means of the accusative and dative respectively, similarly to Greek and Latin (Williams 1969), Medieval Welsh survives without making any grammatical distinction between the two, although the Goal sense may usually be indicated unambiguously by a compound or an alternate form. As spatial language, and particularly adpositions, are a common non-inflectional means of indicating case-relations, this

provides an unusually useful laboratory for examining the renewal of case-marking language. (This is not the only language family in which such a study is possible. The Romance family, for example, has also experienced a significant loss of inflectional case-marking, and has the advantage of extensive textual evidence for the early, inflection-rich stage of the language. However we do not have the same intriguing situation of two sister branches displaying such different behavior with respect to the phenomenon.)

Renewal of function in this manner normally exists concurrently with older, more grammatical forms (Hopper and Traugott 1993, Kemmer 1993). Thus, we would expect to see case-marking periphrastic constructions (e.g. adpositional phrases) appearing in parallel with inflectional case-marking before the loss of the inflectional forms. Here it will be very fruitful to examine adpositional case-marking in the Brythonic languages and to seek to find cognate constructions in the Goidelic branch. (Another comparison is offered by the different fates of adpositional preverbs in the Goedelic and Brythonic branches of Celtic, although these lie outside the scope of my present study.)

1.1.5 The Textual Sources

Why Medieval Welsh? The answer to "why Welsh?" must be simply that it is the language I was already interested in when I entered the field of linguistics. Why Medieval Welsh specifically? Beginning in the late Medieval Welsh period, and increasingly in the Early Modern Welsh period, the English language has had a large influence on Welsh, and particularly on the language of the literate class: the language we

typically have access to in a historic context. In the 15th century, we see a massive influx of borrowed vocabulary and calques from English. The contemporary language, where virtually every Welsh speaker is bilingual in English, shows even more influence. If I want to study a specifically Welsh metaphoric system, I need to attempt to study, as much as possible, a period of the language prior to this type of influence.

In absolute terms, this is impossible. Latin had been exerting its influence on at least the literate class of Wales for the better part of a millennium by the time we have significant amounts of connected text surviving. (While the literate class would have been small in absolute numbers, the surviving texts were necessarily produced by this source, so the potential influence cannot be ignored.) But in the case of English the initial flourishing of Welsh vernacular literature just barely predates the rise of significant influence and its influence may be filtered out. (I oversimplify matters here by ignoring the matter of Norman French.)

In order to study this less-influenced stage of the language, I focus my study on Welsh texts from the 14th century and earlier, and on texts that appear to have been composed in Welsh, rather than being translations from some other source. For example, essentially all of the Welsh religious texts of this period are translated from Latin originals, and in some cases, prepositional constructions and uses can be identified in them that appear to exist only to translate some Latin form or idiom (Lewis 1923, Parry-Williams 1923). Some of the Welsh versions of Arthurian or Carolingian romances are certainly translations of some French original, even if the particular text cannot be

identified. I have elected not to include poetic works in the main part of the study, largely due to the greater difficulty in confident interpretation (although, given the self-conscious conservatism of Medieval Welsh poetics, this means that I exclude a number of archaic uses that have disappeared in prose). I have also not included a few early legal marginalia (e.g. the *Surexit* memorandum in the Lichfield gospels) as the debate over their precise interpretation is still on-going. A side effect of applying these restrictions on time period and genre is that I am left with a corpus that is large enough for productive analysis, but small enough that the study can be fairly exhaustive. The texts I have identified that fall in this category are the following. (The citation format for each text is also given here.)

Book of Llan Dav [LD page:line no.] (J.G. Evans 1979)

> Boundary descriptions found in otherwise Latin charters. Given the status of Latin in these documents, it seems unlikely that the boundary descriptions would have been translated *into* Welsh for inclusion in the texts–rather, given that they are in Welsh, the most straightforward explanation is that they record vernacular verbal formulas.

Legal tracts [LI: section no.] (William 1960)

> There are a number of manuscripts representing several major text groups with a great deal of overlap in material. I selected the Llyfr Iorwerth text as representative and because it was available in the most accessible editions.

"Native" prose romances

- Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed [PPD: page:line no.] (Williams 1982)
- Branwen ferch Lyr [BFL: page:line no.] (Williams 1982)
- Manawydan fab Llyr [MFL: page:line no.] (Williams 1982)
- Math fab Mathonwy [MFM: page:line no.] (Williams 1982)
- Lludd a Llefelys [LL: line no.] (Roberts 1975)
- Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig [BM: column no.: line no.] (Evans 1973)

• Culhwch and Olwen [CO: line no.] (Bromwich and Evans 1992)
• Breuddwyd Rhonabwy [BR: page no.: line no.] (Richards 1980)

Within these texts, every preposition was identified and coded for its semantic context and for the verb, if any, with which it was most closely associated. This is the data on which the analysis in this dissertation is based.

1.2 The Metaphoric Structure of Language and Cognition

Many phenomena of language and cognition display effects that are insufficiently explained by traditional philosophic views of language as arbitrary, "logical" (in the formal mathematical sense), and based on abstract principles that exist "in the world" separate from human thinkers and speakers. The patterns by which Medieval Welsh prepositions are adapted to mark semantic roles demonstrate some of the difficulties of a traditional approach. For example, while the use of a preposition meaning "located in the hand" for marking a patient of abstract manipulation might be explainable as a type of polysemy, the shift of a preposition meaning "on top of" to this same function requires some understanding of bodily interactions, not simply abstract force dynamics.

Further, the ways in which human beings categorize entities, concepts, and activities–when studied via "real life" interactions and unconscious parameters such as reaction time–fail to conform to the requirements of classical logic, such as a reliance on "necessary and sufficient conditions". Rather, classification strategies can be shown to proceed from such approaches as interactional patterns or frame structures (Lakoff 1987a). Similarly, the ways in which unconscious reasoning can be correlated with

explicit metaphoric modeling argue for a deep connection between that modeling and cognition (Gentner and Gentner 1982).

1.2.1 The Bodily Basis of Cognition

Approaches to language meaning and function that treat the relationship between words or structures and meanings as arbitrary fail to account for the extensive and consistent patterns of form-meaning relationship that can be observed cross-linguistically. For example, if language existed separately and independently of human speakers, there would be no reason to expect features of the human physical body and its interactions with the world to be privileged in the construction of meaning. And yet, we consistently find just such a privileging, for example in the use of human body-part terms to structure space. Many phenomena of language and cognition make sense as proceeding naturally from the physical nature of thinkers/speakers: the structure of our bodies, the ways we interact with the world and each other, and not simply these experiences as embodied beings, but as embodied beings of a particular shape, with particular needs and physiological abilities and reactions. For example, the transfer of language for multiplex objects to mass objects mirrors the constraints of the human visual system and the shift, as distance increases, from the ability to perceive a collection of objects as distinct units, to the ability to perceive only a general mass. (Langacker 1987 and Talmy 2000 discuss a number of mass-multiplex issues, although not this one in particular.)

In the realm of spatial relations, we consistently find a privileging of human

physiology. While notions such as Up and Down can be derived from the external force of gravity, the notions of Left and Right, Front and Back, can be derived only from the particular asymmetries and symmetries of a human-like frame of reference. Further, the asymmetric treatment of LEFT and RIGHT in language is dependent on asymmetric dominance patterns in human kinesthetic abilities (Clark 1973, Svorou 1994).

If language is a window on our cognitive processes, we see how much–sometimes all–of our understanding of abstract realms of experience is based on and filtered through more immediate, concrete, common interactions with the world around us (see e.g. Bowerman 1983, Gentner and Gentner 1982, Johnson 1996, Lakoff 1987a, Sweetser 1987, Talmy 2000, Taub 2001). As an example, a wide array of non-concrete phenomena are discussed (and so conceptualized) in terms of concrete force dynamics: the experience of acting against resistance, of manipulating objects, of physical cause and effect. So we have the potential for characterizing any interaction that precipitates change as if it were a physical force, and any conditions that interfere with an event as a physical barrier (Johnson 1987).

Similarly, our experience with the non-random distribution of essential resources in the environment (e.g. food, water, optimal temperature, shelter) leads us to associate volitional movement with the fulfillment of these physical needs, and hence with abstract notions of "need" and "purpose" (Lakoff 1987b, Grady 1997, Johnson 1987). A sessile species (such as sea anemones) would make very different conceptual connections (assuming, purely for the sake of argument, the possibility of sentient sea anemones).

Indeed, our ability to move volitionally through space relative to salient aspects of our environment is a pervasive influence on our relationship to the world, and thus on language. And, as we shall see, this forms the basis for many of the most grammatical functions of role-marking prepositions in Medieval Welsh.

Such linguistic phenomena as polysemy and meaning change (and hence grammaticalization) reflect this complex system of understanding and speaking of one thing in terms of something different, based on perceived connections and similarities between the two–connections and similarities that often cannot be explained by reference to abstract objective properties, but rather to experiential similarities and correlations.

1.2.2 Categorization

The ways in which the mind categorizes entities, concepts, and so forth is an important factor in the ways in which meanings and functions of language spread (Lakoff 1987a). If a construction arises that indicates possession, the types of meanings and situations it is likely to be applied to will depend on how the conceptual category of "possession" is structured–what it does and does not include, and what applications are felt to be "better" or "worse" examples of the concept. Similarly, if a particular lexical item indicates location or movement relative to a container, the acceptable applications of that term will be shaped by notions of what the category "container" does or does not include.

An example of a grammatical catgory that displays this non-classical structure

(and its effects) is that of Possession (Heine 1997a). Here, there is not clearly a single, overlapping core of characteristics, but rather a cluster of basic interactional schemas that tend to pattern together cross-linguistically. Some of the basic foci of the category include:

- physical co-location and direct physical control
- "legal" possession, i.e. a socially understood right of access and control that is not dependent on immediate physical access
- inalienable possession, i.e. relationships to entities that the individual does not normally have the ability to sever, typically body parts and genetic family relationships
- part-whole relationships

As Heine demonstrates, the overall unity but internal complexity of this category goes far to explain both the patterns of how subsets of the category are treated differentially in particular languages, and the patterns of similarity that occur cross-linguistically with respect to the concepts involved. Similar categories will be seen to motivate some of the paths of meaning extension found in this study.

1.2.3 Metonymy

Two major processes participate in extending the meaning of lexical elements. Metonymy operates by identifying one part of a domain of experience in terms of another part of that domain (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The process might operate solely in a physical part-whole context, as in the use of "wheels" to refer to an automobile, or it may be a more abstract relation, such as INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION or PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER. The selection of the referent is not random, but rather highlights

some salient aspect of the domain, such as the use of FACE FOR PERSON when individual identity is salient, due to the importance of facial features in the perception of individual difference.

Because metonymy operates within a specific domain, the same lexical item, appearing in different domains, may be used to refer to different targets. In the context of an entertainment event, "hand" is likely to be linked metonymically to the most salient hand-action of that domain, i.e. applause, whereas in the domain of manual labor, by the same principle, it is likely to be used for physical assistance. Similarly, words for physical sensory organs may be used metonymically for the action of perception involving them (e.g. "eye" for "seeing") (Sweetser 1990).

Metonymy is a vital component in the development of spatial language. An entity and the region surrounding it constitute a domain within which metonymy may operate. So, for example, terms for parts of the body can be used to refer metonymically to regions adjacent to those body parts. A similar process is observed for salient topographic landmarks, such as (MOUNTAIN) SUMMIT, for the adjacent elevation, i.e. UP (as in Medieval Welsh I MYNYDD ("to + mountain") "upwards" (Svorou 1994, Brugman 1984). The reanalysis of pragmatic context in grammaticalization is another application of metonymy (see e.g. Bybee et al. 1994, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Traugott 1989).

1.2.4 Metaphor

While metonymy operates by making connections within domains of experience, metaphor operates by making connections between domains (Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1987b, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff and Johnson 1999). While traditional approaches to metaphor have viewed it purely as a linguistic phenomenon, and specifically a literary one, evidence from a wide range of fields (including patterns of polysemy and inference, semantic change, and psycholinguistic observation) demonstrate that metaphor is, first and foremost, a conceptual phenomenon (Gibbs 1994, Gentner and Gentner 1982). Metaphor is grounded in the correlation, on a neurological level, of sensory-motor experiences with subjective experiences in the context of language learning. Common, basic, everyday interactions with the world become associated on an unconscious, cognitive level with our subjective understanding of those interactions, such that the one becomes an essential tool for accessing the other.

The general structure of metaphor involves thinking and speaking of one domain (the target) in terms of another (the source). (The standard format for expressing metaphors is SOURCE IS TARGET.) The connection between domains may be based on a similarity of physical structure (image metaphors) or a similarity of conceptual structure and interactional patterns (conceptual metaphors). It may relate single concepts (e.g. THE TOP OF AN OBJECT IS A HEAD) or may relate a complex system of concepts to another similarly complex system (e.g. LOVE IS A JOURNEY$_{M,P}$).

These connections are not simply labels that may be used as alternate language for

the target domain, rather the activation of the source domain makes available our knowledge of correspondences and inferences that hold in the source domain and applies them to the target. This process is asymmetrical because the connections and inferences that are made are not limited to those common aspects of the two domains that motivated the initial mapping between the two. So, for example, human brains and computers share the salient activity of taking external input, processing it in complex ways, and producing conclusions and results based on that input. But the inferences drawn from saying THE HUMAN BRAIN IS A COMPUTER$_P$ are very different from those involved in A COMPUTER IS A HUMAN BRAIN. The former invokes inferences about the brain having to do with the highly regular, predictable, and (usually) error-free workings of computers, while the latter suggests inferences about computers having to do with intent, agency, and emotional evaluation.

In the case of relatively abstract target domains, metaphor may be our primary or only approach to conceptualizing the domain. In these cases, a crucial consequence of the inheritance of inferences from a source domain is that the metaphors we use can constrain and limit our understanding of the target, in addition to assisting it. Reddy (1979) discusses some consequences of our metaphoric conceptions of language and communication and how they affect our perception of, and reactions towards, failures of communication. Similarly, Johnson (1987) discusses how the metaphor THE BODY IS A MACHINE shapes attitudes toward health, disease, and medicine, and Gentner and Gentner (1982) show how metaphoric models affect abstract problem-solving ability.

1.2.5 "Primary" Metaphor

While observed metaphors range from those that appear to be human universals to those that are clearly specific to a particular language or culture, one class of metaphors, termed "primary metaphors", gives evidence for a high level of universality (Grady 1997, 1999, Lakoff and Johnson 1999). These tend to be grounded in the bodily sensations and perceptions involved in simple, basic, potentially universal experiences that can be dealt with cognitively as a single unit, for example, the experience of lifting and carrying a heavy weight. These primary metaphors, such as DIFFICULTY IS HEAVINESS$_{F}$, occur regularly cross-linguistically, and are consistent and complete in their mappings. That is, while a less basic metaphor such as ARGUMENTS ARE BUILDINGS$_{F,M}$ will show gaps in what aspects are normally mapped (e.g. foundations, yes; windows, no), a primary metaphor will map in all aspects of the source and target. Target domains for primary metaphor tend to be relatively poor in image content, being cognitive functions operating at or around the conscious level, and relatively subjective (compared to the source). Perhaps surprisingly, they also tend to be more familiar than the source domain–that is, primary metaphors are not used to conceptualize unfamiliar things in terms of familiar ones, but rather to conceptualize familiar but subjective things in terms of less subjective experiences.

Grady proposes that more complex metaphors and metaphoric systems arise from the combination of primaries. These blends may then be instantiated in use by any

specific source domain that is compatible with the blended structure and salient to the user. For example, the primary metaphors STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE$_{F,P}$ and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT$_{F}$ give us a blended framework where the persistence of our target structure (e.g. a theory) is conceptualized in terms of some erect physical structure. While many source domains would be compatible with this blend, a very salient type in Western culture is a building, hence THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS$_{F}$. Blends such as these may be conventional and frequently used (as the preceding) or ad hoc and transitory. The construction of these conceptual blends allows for new, complex inferences not present in the primary metaphors–and details of the specific instantiation may allow for others, intended or not. (So, for example, although "windows" are not a central or critical aspect of the metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS$_{F}$, if someone using the metaphor makes reference to "windows", the hearer will use inferences from the domain of buildings, and likely from domains involved in the purpose of windows, such as vision, to provide a context for, and interpretation of, the reference.)

Complex metaphors are a difficult topic to study without a detailed understanding of the culture in which they are operating (Van Brabant 1986). And yet the investigation of metaphoric universals and primaries can be hindered by the unexamined assumptions inherent in the metaphoric system of the researcher when researching her or his own language and culture. Studies comparing the metaphoric systems of a variety of languages, or the development of metaphoric applications over time, will be critical in

avoiding these assumptions and biases (Brugman 1984, Grady 1999, Sweetser 1987, 1990, Taub 1998, 2001).

1.2.6 Spatial Cognition in Primary Metaphor

One overwhelming theme in the source domains of common and important metaphors is that of relative spatial location of the participants, and of changes in that relative location (i.e. movement). A simple index to this importance can be found in Grady's (1997) list of 100 metaphors likely to be primary. Half (48/100) involve either location, relative position, or movement relative to some key element of the source domain. The largest group (30) involve location, either relative to a container (9), relative to some other type of landmark (12), or unspecified (9). About half as many (14) involve a motion-path schema, and another four involve orientation in space (e.g. up, forward). The full list, categorized according to the type of spatial reference, follows.

Location

Relative to a Container

- ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL
- DEGREE TO WHICH AN ATTRIBUTE DEFINES AN ENTITY IS DEPTH
- CONSTITUENTS ARE CONTENTS
- CATEGORIES ARE BOUNDED SPATIAL REGIONS
- TIME PERIODS ARE CONTAINERS
- PERCEPTIBLE IS "OUT" (IMPERCEPTIBLE IS "IN")
- ACCESSIBLE TO AWARENESS IS "OUT" (INACCESSIBLE TO AWARENESS IS "IN")
- DEDUCIBLE INFORMATION IS CONTENTS
- KNOWLEDGE IS PHYSICAL CONTENTS OF THE HEAD

Relative to Other Landmark

- SIMILARITY IS PROXIMITY
- SIMILARITY IS ALIGNMENT
- ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE
- IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL
- QUANTITY IS VERTICAL ELEVATION
- CIRCUMSTANCES ARE SURROUNDINGS
- CAUSAL RELATEDNESS IS PHYSICAL CONNECTION
- BEING IN CONTROL IS BEING ABOVE
- EMOTIONAL INTIMACY IS PROXIMITY
- SOCIAL STATUS IS VERTICAL ELEVATION
- AGREEMENT/SOLIDARITY IS BEING ON THE SAME SIDE
- KNOWLEDGE IS PHYSICAL CONTENTS OF THE HEAD

Nonspecific Location

- EXISTENCE IS LOCATION HERE
- A SITUATION IS A LOCATION
- CONTEXTUAL ROLES ARE LOCATIONS
- STATES ARE LOCATIONS
- NOW IS HERE
- CORRECT/APPROPRIATE IS IN THE RIGHT LOCATION
- BEING CONSCIOUS IS BEING HERE
- MENTAL STATES ARE LOCATIONS
- A BELIEF IS A PHYSICAL POSITION/ORIENTATION

Path-Motion

Path is Not Explicit

- CHANGE IS MOTION
- AN EVENT IS THE MOTION OF AN OBJECT
- ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION
- EFFECTS ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS
- ACQUIESCING TO A SITUATION IS TAKING AN OBJECT
- COMMUNICATION IS LEADING

Path/Source/Goal is Explicit

- DEGREE IS DISTANCE ALONG A PATH
- QUANTITY IS POSITION (ALONG A PATH)
- ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS ARRIVING AT A DESTINATION
- MEANS ARE PATHS
- MOMENTS IN TIME ARE OBJECTS IN MOTION ALONG A PATH
- THE EXPERIENCE OF TIME IS OUR OWN MOTION ALONG A PATH
- CAUSES ARE SOURCES
- EFFECTS ARE OBJECTS WHICH EMERGE FROM CAUSES

Orientation

- FUNCTIONALITY/VIABILITY IS ERECTNESS
- GOOD IS FORWARD
- HAPPY IS "UP"
- ACCESSIBLE TO PERCEPTION/AWARENESS IS "UP"

Talmy's (1996) study of fictive motion in language is another demonstration of the pervasive influence of metaphors based on motion, direction, and path-structures. Compound metaphors and complex metaphor systems add further potential for spatial involvement in metaphor. For example, several of Grady's primary metaphors that don't appear on the above list of "overtly" spatial source domains use possession as a source domain. But as we will see later, possession itself is often conceptualized metaphorically in spatial terms–as co-location, source, or goal. The extensive involvement of spatial relations in the source domains of primary metaphors should not be surprising when we consider how primary metaphors are grounded (in basic bodily interactions with the world) and the crucial importance to us, as human beings, of the non-random spatial distribution of both desirable and undesirable interactions in our environment, and our

ability to use intentional, self-propelled motion to affect our involvement in those interactions.

Many specific metaphors and metaphor groups have been studied in detail, primarily in English but also in other languages, and there are several works that catalog much of this existing work. In the body of this study, metaphors discussed in the following publications are identified by the given codes. (Unattributed metaphors do not occur in that specific wording in these sources, although I have often linked them to similar published versions. Because multiple reserachers may easily hit on the same wording for a particular metaphor, the lack of a specific attribution should not be taken as a claim that I am the first person to use that particular expression.)

M *Metaphors We Live By.* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980)
F *Foundations of Meaning.* (Grady 1997)
P *Philosophy in the Flesh.* (Lakoff and Johnson 1999)
W *Where Mathematics Comes From* (Lakoff and Nuñez 2000)

1.2.7 The Event Structure Metaphor

One particular metaphor complex, EVENT STRUCTURE, is worth setting out in detail at the start, as its components will reoccur many times throughout this analysis (Lakoff 1993a, Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Talmy 2000, among others). The target domain of this metaphor complex is the nature of generic events: agents and their actions, causes, means, instruments, difficulties, processes, results, and so on. These are understood in terms of a source domain of spatial relationships involving an animate agent operating in a landscape.

The metaphor complex occurs in two versions which are figure-ground reversals of this agent-landscape scenario. In the Location version of this metaphor, particular states of being are understood as locations, with change of state corresponding to change of location, and all the interactional understandings in the source domain about moving objects and things that affect their motion being mapped to corresponding aspects of state-change. Thus we get a set of metaphors such as:

- States are Locations
- Change is Motion
- Causes are Forces (that Cause Motion)
- Difficulties are Impediments to Motion
- Purposes are Destinations
- Means are Paths
- Action is Self-Propelled Motion

In the Object version of Event Structure the metaphoric "moving object" rather than being the notional agent/experiencer is the action/experience/attribute, while the notional agent/experiencer is the reference location relative to which it moves. Thus we get a set of metaphors parallel to the previous set, but with the figure and ground more or less reversed.

- Attributes (including States) are Possessions (Objects)
- Change is Object Transfer (Motion of Possessions)
- Causes are Forces (on the Transfered Objects)
- Difficulties are Impediments to Motion (of the Object)
- Purposes are Desired Objects

When an analysis brings in one element of either of these metaphor complexes, the rest should be understood as entailments in that context. So it is important to understand

that, although a particular prepositional use may instantiate States are Locations, for example, such an identification is not an isolated observation but is one face of a more complex underlying metaphor.

1.3 The Nature of Polysemy

The adaptation of spatial language to identify verb roles is part of a larger pattern of meaning change in language whereby words extend their application to a greater number of often tenuously related meanings (the development of polysemy) and may also shift from lexical reference to a more abstract grammatical function (grammaticalization). Spatial language is an excellent laboratory in which to study this entire set of processes. Consider the following uses of Medieval Welsh YN "in".

Location in a region

(1) Yn hela yd oedwn **yn Iwerdon** dydgueith ar benn go(r)ssed uch penn llyn oed **yn Iwerdon**, a Llyn y Peir y gelwit. [BFL:35:11]

PART hunt-VN PART be-IMPERT-1SG **in Ireland** day-time on head mount above head lake be-IMPERF-3SG **in Ireland** and lake the cauldron PART gall-IMPERF-IMPERS

*I was hunting **in** Ireland one day, on top of a mount above a lake that was **in** Ireland, and it was called Lake of the Cauldron.*

Container or substance-interior as a goal of motion

(2) Kyllell a edyw **ym mwyt** a llynn **ymual**, ac amsathyr yn neuad Vrnach. [CO:772]

knife PART happen-PRET-3SG **in food** and drink **in-horn** and throng in hall Wrnach

*Knife has gone **into food** and drink **into horn** and [there is] a throng in Wrnach's hall.*

Temporal "location"

(3) **En e trededyd**, guedy e delher uynep en uynep, yaun yu y paub eysted en e le mal ed eystedus e dyd gynt. [LI:77]

in the third-day after PART come-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS face-in-face, right be-PRES-3SG to everyone sit-VN in the place as PART sit-PRET-3SG the day previously

***In the third day**, after coming face to face, it is right for everyone to sit in the place as they sat the previous day.*

Experience of an emotion as object-internalization

(4) Hitheu a gymerth diruawr lywenyd **yndi**. [MFM:85:12]

she-EMPH PART take-PRET-3SG very-great joy **in-3SF**

*She took great joy **inside herself.***

Acquisition of social status as motion into a region

(5) Guedy yd el enteu **em breynt** e tat, ef a'e tal. [LI:98]

after PART go-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **in status** his father, he PART it pay-PRES-3SG

*After he would go **into** his father's **status** [i.e acquires his father's status], he pays it.*

When we find the same surface form being used to identify a physical location, a goal of motion, the relation of an event to a time period, the experiencer of emotion, and a social attribute, are we dealing with a single "word" or multiple words? With a single "meaning" or multiple meanings? Do we posit a single, highly abstract sense that somehow subsumes all these uses (without reference to metaphor), or a single, specific, concrete sense that is understood only via the application of metaphor or metonymy (each time we hear an extended use), or a collection of discrete senses that may have arisen via metaphor/metonymy but now function as independent words?

In strict usage, "polysemy"–this consideration of multiple uses for a lexical

item–covers only cases where:

- There are two or more different (but related) meanings;
- These are associated with a single linguistic form
- they all belong to the same grammatical category (Heine 1997b)

Some authors, however, have expanded the field to cover "heterosemy", the consideration of etymologically related forms that may occur in different grammatical categories or in different forms (Lichtenberk 1991, Traugott 1986).

The consideration of the relation of meaning to a particular linguistic form has involved the proposal of a number of contrasting extreme positions, whether or not the extremes proposed for contrast are actually held by the writer (Bartsch 1982, Boers 1987, Deane 1988, Heine 1997b, Lichtenberk 1991, Sweetser 1986, Taylor 1993, Traugott 1986).

- The form actually has only one, highly abstract sense, and differences in use are produced solely by context.
- There is not one form, but many homonymous forms, each with a single, highly specific sense. (This is separate from those cases where synchronically identical forms with different semantics can be shown to derive diachronically from non-identical sources.)

The strong version of either position can be shown to be flawed–cases can be found where each fails to provide a useful explanation. The "abstraction" position cannot explain cases where senses exist that share no elements of meaning directly (Deane 1988, Sweetser 1986). And it is difficult to accept that elements with an extremely common concrete sense (e.g. "head") are actually represented in our lexicon by some much more abstract concept (e.g. "upper portion of an object with vertical orientation"). The

position often relies on a concept of "economy of meaning"–an assumption that language will not tend to encode meaning redundantly, and thus that elements of meaning that can be supplied from context or pragmatics will not also be encoded in the lexical item. And yet this principle of economy is habitually violated in other aspects of language, making it a weak basis from which to argue the nature of meaning (Boers 1987). The "homonymy" position–that we are dealing with the equivalent of independent words–could be viable only from a purely synchronic view. It declines to address the historic development of senses (Traugott 1986), general patterns of meaning-extension that can be observed (Bartsch 1982, Deane 1988), or the ability of these patterns not only to describe existing senses, but to create new ones (Deane 1988). Thus it is descriptive but lacks explanatory power. These flaws in the strong version of each position do not entirely cancel the analytic value of each approach. Some relatively grammatical elements, such as negation markers, behave more in line with the abstraction model (Sweetser 1986), and the importance of context and encyclopedic knowledge in disambiguating polysemous elements cannot be denied (Deane 1988, Taylor 1993).

The observable pattern of distinct, occasionally non-overlapping senses that yet are clearly related, sometimes asymmetrically, and often in highly predictable ways, is one also seen in the structure of radial categories, and a number of writers have found this a productive framework in which to analyze polysemy (Bartsch 1982, Boers 1987, Brugman 1981, 1984, Lichtenberk 1991, Lindstromberg 1998, in addition to those previously mentioned). And it is this understanding of polysemy and meaning change

that I will be assuming in analyzing how and why particular MW prepositions come to mark particular semantic and grammatical roles.

1.4 Grammaticalization

This adaptation of spatial language to mark purely grammatical functions is of particular interest to me in this study. Over time, there is a tendency for certain elements in a language to progress from lexical function (referring to entities, attributes, actions, etc.) to grammatical function (Bybee Perkins and Pagliuca 1994 , Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991, Fleischman 1982a, 1982b, Heine, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Heine and Reh 1984). Although the specific sources and products of grammaticalization are not predictable in any given case, clear patterns can be traced cross-linguistically, as well as classes of elements that are particularly productive sources, and grammatical functions that are particularly common products of the process.

The general phenomenon of grammaticalization encompasses several processes. As a prerequisite, there must be a type of pragmatic polysemy, whereby the occurrence of elements in a context rich with pragmatic implications tends to associate those implications with the elements themselves. Thus, as Fleischman (1982b) shows, elements with future meaning tend to become pragmatically associated with the reasons for which people normally discuss future events: questions of likelihood, volition, obligation, and so forth. As shown in a wide variety of studies (Genetti 1986, Haspelmath 1989, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991, Lichtenberk 1991, Van Gelderen

1992) the normally volitional and purposeful nature of human movement tends to associate the function of Purpose with elements referring to physical motion. And, as detailed in Sweetser (1990), the importance of visual perception to humans in the acquisition of knowledge about our surroundings leads to an association of vision with knowledge itself.

This pragmatically motivated polysemy then allows reanalysis of the source elements as carrying the pragmatic, more grammatical meanings, rather than simply setting up the scenario in which they can be inferred. Following this reanalysis, the use of the elements is decoupled from conditions in which their original, lexical meaning was a possible interpretation. So, for example, the rise of the "go" future in English (Hopper and Traugott 1993) passes from a stage where physical motion is clearly salient but futurity is a pragmatically possible interpretation, to a stage where physical motion is always possible although futurity is often clearly implied, to a stage where the construction may be used to express the future even when actual physical motion is not possible.

This type of pragmatic reanalysis is proposed by Lambert (1978) as the origin of instrumental AC (with, and) in Welsh from a conjunction. When a coordinated subject of an action involves an animate and inanimate entity, the animate one will pragmatically be understood as the Agent, and the inanimate one as part of the physical context of the action. The syntactic structure of Welsh typically places the subject between the verb and the remainder of the predicate, and so the second element of a conjunct subject is

available for re-association with that remaining portion. Furthermore, when one element of a coordinated subject is pronominal, the syntactic dissociation of that element from any conjoined nominal elements will be even stronger (see section 2.1.2). This syntactic dissociation, and the inherent semantic asymmetry of the elements further pushes the hearer towards understanding the inanimate "co-subject" as a distinct element in the sentence and, given the types of entities that would appear in such a context in the first place, towards interpretation as an Instrument (and so, interpretation of the conjunction as an instrumental marker). Using a simplified version of Welsh word-order the following invented examples illustrate this process.

Coordinated subject

(6) fought Arthur and/(with) his army the enemy
"Arthur and his army fought the enemy."

Pronominal agent

(7) fought-3sg and/with his army the enemy
"He and his army fought the enemy."

or

"He fought the enemy with his army."

Pronominal agent and patient

(8) 3pl-OBJ fought-3sg and/with his army
"He fought them with his army."

Coordinated subject

(9) fought Arthur and/with his sword the enemy
?"Arthur and his sword fought the enemy."
or ?"Arthur, with his sword, fought the army."

Pronominal agent

(10) fought-3sg and/with his sword the enemy

?"He and his sword fought the enemy."

or

"He with his sword fought the enemy."

Pronominal agent and patient

(11) 3pl-OBJ fought-3sg and/with his sword

"He fought them with his sword."

Once this "decoupling" has taken place, elements instantiating the lexical and grammatical functions are free (although not required) to take separate evolutionary paths. The original lexical sense may be lost, as in the case of the English modal "may" where the original reference to physical strength and ability can no longer be made with this word (Sweetser 1990). The relatively lighter stress given to grammatical "function words" can lead to phonological erosion, as evidenced in the English "go" future by the acceptable substitution of unstressed and eroded "gonna" for the stressed, phonologically complete "going to", but only when serving a grammatical, not a lexical function. This process of erosion may further progress through clitics and affixes. See, for example, Huumo's (1996) citation of an Estonian postposition meaning "with", grammaticalized as a comitative suffix.

A key tendency of the grammaticalization process is unidirectionality. Lexical items acquire grammatical function, but not typically the reverse. Less grammatical items become more grammatical, but not the reverse. Hopper and Traugott (1993) note that proposed contradictions to this pattern can be shown to be the result of analogical spread

or lexicalization, rather than a reversal of the typical grammaticalization process. Instead, we find a renewal process whereby new, less grammatical elements and constructions are constantly being fed into the process from the lexical end (Fleischman 1982a, Huumo 1996). A good example of this process in Medieval Welsh is the regular shift of language meaning "front" to more grammatical uses, and the renewal of spatial "front" language from body-part terms. The oldest "front" root still identifiable in the language, ER , no longer has any spatial uses (although it has temporal uses that still reflect the "front" sense). A newer "front" preposition, RHAG (before), is significantly shifted to non-spatial senses and tends to be used spatially only in compounds reinforced by "front" body-parts. The early compound ERBYN ("against" from ER PEN "before + head"), has also lost nearly any original spatial "front" sense. And much of the spatial "front" sense is now supplied by compounds of "front" body-parts with relatively non-specific prepositional elements. (See sections 2.3.1.5 and 3.1.1.2.)

In addition to the shift from lexical to grammatical function, as Traugott (1989) notes, there is a general shift from propositional to "subjective" meanings. Language used to describe external situations comes to be applied to internal descriptions, and thence to descriptions of the speaker's subjective beliefs or attitudes, or to metalinguistic functions. For example, English "while" develops from a purely propositional meaning (time when) to a grammatical function (conjunction), to expressing concession on the part of the speaker (although). Similarly, Sweetser (1990) discusses the general pattern of shift among English modals from expressing external force-dynamics to expressing internal

evaluations of obligation, compulsion, conditionality, and ability.

I will be exploring the reflection in Medieval Welsh of cross-linguistic patterns of grammaticalization of spatial language in more detail in section 4.1.

1.5 Verb-Adposition Constructions

In Welsh, as elsewhere in Indo-European (and, indeed, in other language families), key roles associated with a verb may be identified or distinguished with adpositions. In discussing and analyzing these roles, I follow Fillmore's (1968, 1982, 1987) concepts of "frame roles"–highly specific semantic roles associated with a particular prototypical cognitive scenario–and their relationship to "case roles"–a more limited set of abstract semantic relations (e.g. Agent, Instrument, Experiencer, Patient, Result, Location, Source, Goal, Path, Time, Benefactive, etc.) which in turn are associated by language-specific constructions with particular grammatical categories (e.g. Subject, Object) or particular expressions (and here were are concerned with those expressed via prepositional phrases).

The general structure of adpositional constructions involves one element being located (or otherwise defined) in relation to another element or elements. For convenience, I will refer to these two roles as the "trajector" and "landmark" respectively, following the terminology used more generally for this type of figure-ground relationship (Langacker 1987, Talmy 2000). Although the terminology was designed to discuss topics such as focus and backgrounding, I will be relying on it more as a shorthand for the syntactic relationships. Thus, for example, in the phrase "the cat on the mat", "cat" is the

trajector and "mat" the landmark.

1.5.1 Grammaticalization and Renewal of Spatial Elements Associated with Verbs

The driving focus of this work is to examine close associations (and especially idiomatic associations) between verbs and prepositions, and it is necessary to consider the broader context of this phenomenon. The identification of grammaticalized spatial elements as "adpositions" and "preverbs" masks the close functional equivalence of the two classes. Verbal, nominal, and spatial elements (when all are present) operate as a single system, where the spatial elements contribute to the nature of the verb's action as well as to the relations between the nominal elements, and the grammatical classification of the spatial elements depends largely on which other elements they are felt to be most closely associated with syntactically. Given appropriate syntactic conditions, there may be ambiguity as to which class a particular element falls in. For example, evidence from the earliest Indo-European languages shows just such a potential for ambiguity. Reconstructions of PIE suggest that OV was the unmarked sentence order, that postpositions were at least as common as prepositions, and that the unmarked position for adverbial elements closely associated with a verb was as pre-verbs (Brugmann 1903, Friedrich 1987, Holland 1980, Lehmann 1974, Watkins 1964, 1976). While this stage is retrievable only from a few very early sources in Indo-European, a similar cluster of conditions can be observed directly in contemporary languages such as Ingush (Jones 1998). Postpositions, loosely associated preverbs, and normal OV order allow for a

continuum between relatively free adverbs, elements used preferentially as postpositions, those used preferentially as preverbs, and those that may appear as either (or both in the same utterance) without affecting the semantics.

In the Indo-European languages, we can trace the grammaticalization of preverbs through a continuum of stages (the three scales are independent to some extent):

- Loosely bound (other elements may intervene) > fusion with verb stem > phonological reduction
- Freely productive > mostly fixed combinations, less productivity > no, or extremely limited, productivity
- Semantics relatively compositional > semantics relatively idiomatic

Overlapping this progression, we find repeated renewal of the adposition-verb association, either from the same pool of inherited IE adpositional elements as the first stage of preverbs, or from adpositions that developed later. This renewal may occur as an addition to a productive, inherited system, as in early stages of German (Lockwood 1968) or may occur after phonological changes have obscured the inherited system, as in Scandinavian (Blaisdell 1959). Medieval Welsh examples of multi-level renewals of this sort can be seen in verbs from my data like YMGYDYMDEITH ("to become friends with, to associate with": YM- mutual prefix + CYD "together", co-action prefix + YM- mutual prefix + TAITH- "to journey, to travel") and a variety of verbs of the form YM+CYM+stem.

A second form of renewal occurs when adpositional phrases are used to reinforce the semantics of preverbs, either using the adposition cognate with the preverb or an unrelated one with similar semantics. A clear example of this occurs in the Romance

language family, where prepositional phrases using derivatives of Latin *cum* are commonly used in combination with compound verbs incorporating the same element (Moody 1972). Medieval Welsh examples can be seen with the spatial motion verb DYFOD "to come" (from DI-, an older form of I "to" + BOD "to be") used with goals marked both with I (cognate with the verbal prefix) and with AT (to) or AR ("to") with similar semantics, but an unrelated origin, and similarly with the verb GORFOD ("to overcome, to conquer": from GOR-, an unreduced form equivalent to AR "on, over" + BOD "to be") used with patients marked with AR, but also with prepositions carrying no "on" sense.

1.5.2 Verb-Adposition Constructions and Phrasal Verbs

In English, the renewal of verb-adposition associations occurs in an environment of prepositions and VO word order. Once again, this can place the verb and adposition in close syntactic association–a situation that contributes (along with the occurrence of adpositional adverbs) to a potential reanalysis of the adposition as being closely associated with the verb (Fraser 1976). Another motivation for reanalysis may be the implicitness of some participants (especially the original direct object), or the relative semantic importance of some oblique object. For example:

(12) "She swept the dirt off the floor."

versus

(13) "She swept the dirt off."

or

(14) "She swept off the floor."

The semantic frame of sweeping tends to presuppose dirt/litter as the object of the process, hence "She swept ..." provides essentially the same information as "She swept the dirt ...". In contrast, the entity from which the dirt is being removed is far more salient than the dirt. Hence, the reanalysis of "sweep off" as behaving as a semantic unit with "floor" as its object. A variety of syntactic tests differentiate these verb-adposition constructions (or "phrasal verbs") from constructions involving adpositional phrases (Aarts 1989, Brugman 1981, Fraser 1976, Lindner 1981, Vestergaard 1977). For example, the adposition is able to occur either before or after a nominal direct object (but only after an unstressed pronominal one).

(15) "She swept off the dirt."

(16) "She swept the floor off."

(17) "She swept it off." (with either meaning)

Close associations of verbs with particular prepositions in this manner have been studied in a variety of European languages (Brorström 1963, 1965, De Gorog 1972, Evans 1952, 1953, 1954b, Janda 1986, Long 1974, Planchy 1962, Rudanko 1996, Shyldkrot and Kemmer 1995, Williams 1956, 1976).

The syntactic context in Medieval Welsh is somewhat different. The unmarked

word order can be understood as VSO (although this is an oversimplification, and some doubts about its usefulness even as a generalization have been raised, see e.g. Lewis 1942, Schmidt 1993, Watkins 1987, 1993), and there is a noticeable aversion to the conversion of simple prepositions to adverbial particles. (Compound prepositions deriving from full prepositional phrases are freer to become adverbial.) Medieval Welsh is also emerging from a period of loosely associated adpositional preverbs and pronoun objects infixed between the preverb and verb stem (an system that can be seen in productive form in Old Irish). That is, the fodder for reanalysis might be expected to be <preverb> + <pronoun object> + <verb > constructions. However I know of no evidence that such constructions did produce alternative readings and hence the sort of ambiguity found in "She swept it off" above. A major bar may have been significant phonological differences between the form of pronouns as infixed verb objects and as prepositional objects. (As prepositional objects, pronouns tended to be incorporated into personal forms of the preposition, see section 2.2.2.)

In some ways, this simplifies the consideration of verb-preposition associations in Medieval Welsh. In the material I am studying, even when the choice of preposition is determined largely or solely by the specific nature of the verb, we are dealing syntactially with verbs and independent prepositional phrases, not with phrasal verbs that may or may not have overt "objects".

1.5.3 General Correlations in the Grammaticalization of Adpositions

The grammaticalization of adpositions as case-role markers, as pre-verbs, and in phrasal verbs have in common the shift in adpositional semantics from direct interaction with nominal elements, to modification of the semantic frame or syntactic context of the verb. Whichever grammatical or semantic path a construction takes, the result is a narrowing or specification of the semantics of the overall construction, and a strengthening of particular conventional means of expressing the relationships involved. For example, a relatively ungrammaticalized construction specifying a Goal argument, such as the English verb "look", may allow a wide variety of goal-marking constructions (indicating the entity being perceived) such as:

(18) "I looked at the sign."
(19) "I looked to the north."
(20) "I looked into the box."
(21) "I looked on her face."

The choice of construction indicates (or is determined by) the nature of the perceived entity and perhaps the attitude of the speaker to that entity (e.g., objects versus directions, degree of involvement or evaluation). In contrast, the vision verb "glare" uses a relatively more grammaticalized construction where one particular goal-marker is strongly preferred, although others may be allowed.

(22) "I glared at the sign."

(23) ?"I glared to the north."

(24) ?"I glared into the box."

(25) *"I glared on her face."

Further along the scale are constructions where a choice of adposition modifies the semantics of the verb, but is not directly influenced by the nature of the nominal element .

(26) "I talked to him."

(27) "I talked at him." (I.e. "I spoke, but failed to communicate successfully." (Sweetser 1987))

Case-markers fall towards the extreme end of this grammaticalization scale, where the specific semantics of the verb do not affect the choice of marker, although broad categories of case-role may. The state of grammaticalization is reflected not only in the abstract nature of the semantics, but in the restricted scope of the choice of options. For example, while markers for the Agent of a passive may, in general, be taken from Source- or Path-marking language, grammaticalized Agent-markers are selected from a narrow range of the potentially available linguistic markers of Source and Path. So, for example, the English passive-agent marker "by" may not normally be replaced by alternate Path- or Source-marking language.

(28) "The dinner was made by the girl."

(29) *"The dinner was made through the girl."

(30) *"The dinner was made from the girl."

In an interesting example of linguistic ontogeny recapitulating phylogeny, however, Johnson (1996) shows that children appear to learn the association of Agent with Source/Path before learning the specific vocabulary that English has chosen to instantiate this association. They will cheerfully mark passive Agents with "from" as one of the earliest senses of the word they acquire. Similar effects are noted by Bowerman (1983) and Clark and Carpenter (1989).

The correlation described here between restricted selectivity, degree of grammaticalization, and a shift of the semantics/function of the adposition from interaction with nominal to verbal elements, has been suggested by anecdotal examples and would be worth pursuing more rigorously.

2 The Medieval Welsh Inventory of Prepositions

2.1 The Linguistic Background of Welsh Prepositions

2.1.1 Standardized Reference Forms Used in this Work

A brief technical introduction to the nature and grammar of Welsh prepositions is in order and some explanation is required for the citation forms I will be using in this work. In addition to the vagaries of Medieval Welsh orthography and its systematic differences from that of Modern Welsh, particular grammatical contexts can affect the surface form of a preposition, and interactions between elements in a compound can cause phonological changes as well. As an example of this phenomenon, the compound I represent as YN PEN (in + head) appears in the data in the following forms:

Table 1: Manuscript forms of YN PEN (in + head)

With following noun phrase: standard form *ym mhen*	em pen i penn ipenn y pen ypenn ym penn ympenn ym pen ympen ymphen
Personal form 3sgf: standard form *yn ei phen*	yn y fenn

Personal form 3sm: standard form *yn ei ben*	en e pen en y pen yn y benn yn y penn
Personal form 3pl: standard form *yn eu pen*	en eu pen

In order to simplify consistent reference throughout this work, Welsh prepositions have been cited with all elements in their radical form, and except in certain special cases, using the standard orthography of Modern Welsh. This means that the citation form discussed in the text may be significantly different in form from what appears in the example (and may, in fact, be a form that would never appear in actual use). The exceptions to this approach involve a few forms, such as Y, where I have standardized to the typical Medieval Welsh spelling in order to avoid ambiguity (in this case, with I), or in the case of prepositions that became obsolete at an early date (such as ITHR "between") for which no standard Modern Welsh form exists, in which case I have used the form most commonly cited in the literature. (Throughout this work, verbs are cited in the verbal-noun form.)

Medieval Welsh prepositions do not correspond directly in meaning to particular English prepositions in most cases, however it has been convenient to develop a set of arbitrary English glosses for the convenience of the reader. I have deliberately chosen *not* to adapt these glosses to the particular semantics of each discussion for the most part, but rather have kept them as fixed references to the most basic meaning of each element in order to emphasize that these are not "translations" but are mnemonics so that the reader

need not work from the Welsh reference forms alone.

The following is a list of standardized forms and arbitrary glosses that will be used for prepositions (and elements in compound prepositions) in this work. Unless otherwise noted, the standardized form is the heading under which the relevant word is discussed in GPC. When a preposition occurs repeatedly in a discussion, it will only be glossed the first few times.

Table 2: Standard Glosses of Prepositional Elements

Form	**Gloss**	**Notes**
A	from	
AC	with	
ACH	by	
ACHOS	reason	
ALLAN	out	
AM	about	
AR	on	
AT	to	
BLAEN	front	
BON	base	the vowel is marked as long in the modern language
BRON	breast	
CANOL	middle	
CEFN	back	
CIL	back	
CONGL	corner	

Form	Gloss	Notes
CWBL	whole	
CWMPAS	circle	
CYD	with	
CYFAIR	(opposite) place	
CYFYL	edge	
CYLCH	circle	
CYM	with	
CYN	before	
DIWEDD	end	
DRWS	door	
EITHR	outside	
ER	for	
ERBYN	against	
GAN	with	
GER	with	
GLAN	shore	
GLIN	knee	
GLYN	attached	the vowel is normally marked as long
GWAELOD	depth	
GWAERED	down	
GWARTHAF	top	
GWEDD	shape	
GWEDY	after	
GWYDD	presence	the "w" is normally marked as long
GWYNEB	face	
HANNER	middle	

Form	Gloss	Notes
HEB	beside	
HERWYDD	by	
HON	from	
HYD	length	
I	to	
IS	under	
ITHR	between	
LLAN	enclosure	
LLAW	hand	
LLAWR	ground	
LLE	place	
LLED	breadth	
LLUN	shape	
MAES	field	
MEWN	inside	
MODD	manner	
MUNUD	moment	
MYNYDD	mountain	
MYSG	mixture	
NAMYN	except	
O	of, from	
OED	time	
OL	track	the vowel is normally marked as long
PARTH	part	
PEN	head	
PERFEDD	middle	
PLITH	midst	

Form	Gloss	Notes
PLYG	fold	
PY	to	
RHAG	before	
RHITH	shape	
RHOD	circle	
RHWNG	between	
TAL	extremity	the vowel is normally marked as long
TAN	under	
TRA	beyond	
TRAWS	across	
TROED	foot	
TROS	across	
TRWY	through	
TU	side	
UCH	above	
WRTH	with	
WYSG	track	
Y	from	
YMAITH	away	
YMDAITH	journey	
YMYL	edge	
YN	in	
YNY	until	

2.1.2 Syntax

Prepositions may occur as a single lexeme or as a compound of two or more elements (at least one of which normally also occurs as an independent preposition). For example, we find simple AR (on) alongside the compounds AR LLAW (on + hand, beside) and Y AR (from + on, off of).

The boundary between established compound prepositions and ad hoc phrases that are simply of high frequency in extended meanings is not always easy to determine. For example, prepositions commonly occur with PEN (head). These range from descriptions of spatial location relative to a physical head (UCH PEN "above + head", AM PEN "around + head") to relatively compositional expressions based on an extended sense of PEN (head) for "top" (UCH PEN "above + head" = "on top of") to compounds associated with an idiomatic meaning that is motivated, but not determined, by the compositional semantics (AM PEN "about + head" = "towards in a hostile fashion"). The first case provides no support for interpreting the phrase as a compound preposition, the last is rather strong evidence for that interpretation. At the far end of this scale are constructions such as ERBYN (against) where the compounding elements have fused phonologically, are treated as a single syntactic unit, and there is no doubt that the element should be understood as a distinct preposition. Notice, however, that the same construction can fall in more than one category. Is AM PEN (about + head) a compound preposition when it is used to mean "towards in a hostile fashion" but not when the same expression is used to mean "encircling a head"? In gathering and analyzing

data for this study, I have leaned towards the generous side, including all examples of a construction if any give evidence for being a compound preposition, and including preposition + noun constructions if the noun ever occurs in clearly prepositional compounds.

In Medieval (and Modern) Welsh, nominal objects of prepositions occur after the preposition (whether simple or compound). Pronominal objects follow several patterns that can be usefully diagnostic. Simple prepositions will typically have "personal" forms (sometimes called "inflected" forms) deriving historically from a phonological fusion of the preposition and a following pronoun. (These fused forms have then undergone a number of analogical and regularizing processes that have made them more similar in appearance to verbal paradigms (Ball 1987).) Some simple prepositions instead take a following pronoun object directly parallel to a nominal object. Personal forms of prepositions may also be reinforced by a following pronoun. If a compound preposition is composed solely of prepositional elements, then the final prepositional element in the compound will behave as a simple prepposition, taking either a personal form or a following pronoun according to its nature. However, if the final element of a compound preposition is nominal in origin, then the pronoun object appears in a genitive construction with that nominal element.

Genitive constructions with pronouns place a genitive form of the pronoun before the possessed object and optionally place a regular form of the pronoun after it. Given that genitive nouns simply follow the thing possessed, one could also say that, when the

final element of a compound preposition is nominal, the object (whether nominal or pronominal) appears in a genitive construction with it.

Table 3 shows typical constructions with both nominal and pronominal objects, personal versus non-personal forms, and simple versus compound prepositions.

Table 3: Syntax of Prepositional Phrases in Medieval Welsh

Preposition	Pronoun object (*ef* "him")	Noun object (*y march* "the horse")
Simple preposition, personal forms		
AR	*arnaw (ef)*	*ar y march*
"on"	"on him"	"on the horse"
Simple preposition, no personal forms		
AC	*ac ef*	*a'r march*
"with"	"with him"	"with the horse"
Compound, ending in preposition, personal forms		
Y AR	*y arnaw (ef)*	*y ar y march*
"from + on"	"from on him"	"from on the horse"
Compound, ending in preposition, no personal forms		
PARTH AC	*parth ac ef*	*parth a'r march*
"side + with, to"	"to him"	"to the horse"
Compound, ending in noun		
AR PEN	*ar ei ben*	*ar ben y march*
"on + head, on top"	"on top of him"	"on top of the horse"
Cf. genitive construction		
	ei ben (ef)	*pen y march*
	"his head"	"the horse's head"

2.1.3 Mutation

Also useful is a brief background on initial mutation in Medieval Welsh. (Because this explanation is aimed at following the text examples, it focuses on orthographic rather than phonological aspects.) These initial sound-changes, triggered diachronically by phonological environment, but conditioned synchronically by lexical or syntactic context, occur in conjunction with most simple prepositions, as well as after many possessive pronouns (thus affecting personal forms of compound prepositions). Mutation comes in three varieties, shown in the table below using the most typical spellings found in the texts. (Entries in italics represent sound-changes not typically reflected in Medieval Welsh orthography–here the modern written form is given and texts will more typically use the radical.) A more detailed explanation of mutation can be found e.g. in Evans (1964).

Table 4: Mutation in Medieval Welsh Orthgraphy

Radical	P	T	C	B	D	G	M
Lenited	B	D	G	V	*DD*	-	V
Nasalized	MH	NH	*NGH*	M	N	*NG*	
Aspirated	PH	TH	CH				

Lenition occurs after:

- the prepositions A, AM, AR, AT, GAN, HEB, HYD, I, IS, O, TAN, TROS, TRWY, UCH, WRTH, YNY
- the 2sg and 3sgm possessive pronouns

The nasal mutation occurs after:

- the preposition YN
- the 1sg possessive pronoun

The aspirate mutation occurs after:

- the prepositions AC, TRA
- the 3sgf possessive pronoun

2.2 Evidence for the Chronological Development of Medieval Welsh Prepositions

2.2.1 Distribution of Cognates

(Literature citations for this section can be found under the individual prepositions in section 2.3.1.)

One key to the chronology of the development of prepositions (both simple and compound) in Welsh is the distribution of cognates in other Celtic languages. A significant core of the most common, most widely used, and most basic Medieval Welsh prepositions derive from adpositions identified in Proto-Indo-European, or early compounds or derivatives of that class of elements. This group also tends to survive in both branches of Insular Celtic, and to be represented in most or all of the individual

medieval languages, within the constraints of the available material. (While many of these are also represented in Gaulish material, it is primarily as prefixes to other roots, not as independent adpositions. This makes them considerably less useful when analyzing use and distribution.) This core group of adpositions inherited by the Celtic family and continuing in general use includes (using the Welsh forms): AM, AR, AT/AR, EITHR, ER, GAN, I, O, UCH, WRTH, Y, YN. Other members of this group that are obsolete or absent in Medieval Welsh, but represented in Old Welsh and/or in other medieval Brythonic languages include: ECH, HON, ITHR. CYM- and GWO- exist in all the medieval Celtic languages, but only as a prefix in the Brythonic languages while functioning independently in Old Irish. Similarly, RY survivies in Medieval Welsh as an adverb and archaic pre-verb but still functions as an adposition in Old Irish. RHAG also appears to belong in this group,although I can find no OIr cognate. TRA, TROS and TRWY appear to be of similar age, although the precise relationships between their representation in different languages is not always clear.

A very small group of elements do not appear to have been adpositional in PIE, but seem to be relatively early Celtic developments. (This group should probably be larger–particularly given that the appearance of an element in both Brythonic and Goedelic is fairly strong evidence of significant antiquity–but I am limiting this group to elements for which there is some direct Continental evidence.) This group includes ALL- and WRTH.

There is a larger group of elements found in both branches of Insular Celtic that

are best explained as a common inheritance. These include HEB, IS, MAL, PY, and possibly, in some form, AC and/or WNG (see the complicated discussions in sections 2.3.1.4.3 and 2.3.1.4.6). Perhaps also A, but it is unclear what, if any, Irish element it corresponds to.

Prepositions represented in two or more of the Brythonic languages but not found in OIr include CYN, GWEDY, YNY (all three primarily temporal), HYD and its extended form BE-HYD, HERWYDD, TAN, and various constructions based on CYD. Some of these have OIr cognates that do not function as adpositions: HYD (present as an adjective in OIr), GWEDY (present in OIr as a verb), CYN (present in OIr as an ordinal number and a preverb). Similarly, some OIr adpositions are represented in Brythonic by other word classes: ADD- (re-; ex-), GWYDD (the cognate is used as an adposition in OIr, but only in adpositional compounds as a nominal element in Brythonic). In both cases, these do not appear to represent inherited adpositions, but have developed as adpositions from other sources in one family and not the other.

And finally there are adpositions that do not appear to be inherited and which appear in only one language. It is always possible that this is a chance survival of a more widespread word, but the straightforward interpretation is that they are relatively late developments confined to a single language. Welsh examples include ACH and GER (which, if they are late, local developments, appear to have been relatively failed experiments, for their use in MW is rare and limited, and primarily as compounds with body-part terms–but see section 2.3.1.5.2.3 for further discussion of the origins of GER),

and RHWNG which, in Welsh, replaces the otherwise ubiquitous ITHR for the meaning "between" (but see section 2.3.1.6.3 for problems in dating RHWNG). Also in this group are NAMYN and YMAITH (from verbal elements), and YMYL (rare in simple form).

There are also some adpositional compounds shared by both insular branches, most notably ERBYN and AR PEN. The phonological changes in ERBYN suggest that it was established fairly early as a fixed construction (see section 2.3.1.5.2.2). Other possible candidates for a shared compound development are YN MEWN (the adpositional element of the compound became optional in both OIr and MW), YN MYSG, and YN DIWEDD. As a general pattern, however, morphologically transparent adpositional compounds are only occasionally shared between Brythonic and Goedelic. This is not entirely surprising from one standpoint: compounds inherited by both branches would be expected to go through exactly the sorts of phonological changes that we see in ERBYN. However this observation also suggests that novel adpositional compounds were frequently being drawn from different lexical pools, i.e. either that the same meanings were being drawn on for compounds but non-cognate lexemes were used, or that cognate lexemes were available, but the compounds drew on different semantic strategies.

Of the compound adpositions shared among two or more of the Brythonic languages, only two show significant phonological changes. BEHYD, or its reduced form BET, is nearly obsolete in MW, displaced in function by its root HYD, and appears in reduced forms in both MB and MC, where cognates of HYD also occur independently.

(This may be a case, like YN MEWN, where the nominal element of the compound acquired enough adpositional force early on to eliminate the need for a compound in its simplest use, although it was further compounded for more specific meanings.) In addition, the semantically redundant compound stem O+HON is used for personal forms of O in all branches of Brythonic. Otherwise, the shared compounds are phonologically transparent, and semantically compositional: Y AR, Y RHAG, Y WRTH.

Compounds shared by only two branches of Brythonic primarily include compounds of AR, O, and YN, and it is unlikely to be coincidental that these are the most productive compounding elements found in Medieval Welsh. From this, one could conclude either that this productivity argues for their early establishment in this function, hence the co-inherited compounds, or that, being statistically the most common groups of compounds, pure chance suggests that shared compounds–whether inherited or developed in parallel–are likely to involve these elements. In contrast, the vast majority of compounds are unique to a particular language, even though the cognate elements are available in the other languages. Some of this may be mere statistical distribution in the surviving data–many occur relatively rarely and the lack of examples in the limited medieval data may be an accident of history. (Many compounds disappear from use between the medieval and modern periods, so the absense in the modern language is not conclusive.) In other cases, semantically parallel compounds occur using non-cognate elements, for example MC has several compounds using the cognate of LLWRW (path) in parallel to MW compounds using OL (track), and similarly has compounds using the

cognate of BAN (peak, highest point) in parallel to MW compounds using MYNYDD (mountain). MC and MB share a compound cognate with YN CRAIDD (in + heart) but MW not only uses a different default word for "heart", but lacks compound prepositions based on the heart entirely. In such cases, the evidence points much more strongly to evolution after the divergence of the Brythonic languages.

Based on the above distribution patterns, a tentative chronology for the evolution of the prepositions that survive in Medieval Welsh may be proposed.

1. PIE adpositions: AM, AR, AT/AR, CYM-, ECH, EITHR, ER, GAN, GWO-, I, ITHR, O, RHAG, RHY, TRA/TROS, TRWY, UCH, Y, YN
2. Shared Celtic innovations: ALL-, WRTH
3. Shared Insular Celtic innovations (less clearly dating to Common Celtic): ERBYN, HEB, IS, MAL, PY; possibly A, AC, WNG
   Compounds: possibly YN DIWEDD, YN MEWN, YN MYSG, AR PEN
4. Shared Brythonic innovations: CYD, CYN, GWEDY, HERWYDD, (BE)HYD, TAN, YNY
   Compounds: O + HON (as personal stem), probably compounds of Y, possibly many compounds of AR, O, YN
   BEHYD/BET, HERWYDD, Y AR, Y RHAG, Y WRTH (possibly Y + preposition in general), YN MYSG (possibly YN + generic topological term in general)
   Probably also: O ACHOS, O HYD, O PEN, O RHAG, O UCH (and O + noun in general), YN GWAELOD, YN HYD, YN PARTH, YN TAL, YN TRAWS (but these are probably covered under YN + generic topological term, above), AR DIWEDD, AR GWYNEB, AR PARTH, AR TU (and possibly a more general pattern of AR + noun), PARTH AC, TU AC
5. Welsh innovations (or, at least, found only in Welsh): ACH, GER, NAMYN, RHWNG, YMAITH, YMYL
   Compounds: those not covered above–in pariticular this would include compounds of ACH, AM, GER, HYD, I, IS, PARTH AC, RHAG, TAN, TROS, UCH; and possibly many comopunds of AR, O, and YN

2.2.2 Evidence of Personal Forms of Prepositions

(Data on personal forms is found in Evans 1964, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, and Lewis and Piette 1966.)

Another key to the chronology of prepositional development, especially of more recent ones, is the presence or absense of personal forms or "inflected" forms. These developed from a phonological fusion of the preposition and a following pronoun.

From this it is clear that, while both the Brythonic and Goedelic branches of Celtic share this development, it is a parallel development, or at most an type of areal feature, not a shared inheritance. However, because the development of personal forms occurred during a particular narrow time-period, the regular use of personal forms of a preposition is evidence that the preposition was in use then, and the absence of personal forms is strong evidence for later development (or, in the case of compounds, alternately, that the compound was still loosely compositional at that time).

Although there is considerable variation between languages in regard to which prepositions have personal forms, this has more to do with the absence (or obsolescence) of the prepositions, rather than their presence but non-participation in the phenomenon. Those prepositions whose personal forms are found only in Irish either do not occur as prepositions in Brythonic, or are extremely rare or obsolete in the data. Similarly, when personal forms occur for a preposition in some, but not all branches of Brythonic, it generally reflects the appearance or absence of the preposition in the language. The exceptions are AM and ER (personal forms in MW and OIr but not MC or MB), IS (a

defective personal paradigm in MW, and present but with no personal forms in all other languages), UCH (personal forms in OIr and MC, a defective paradigm in MW, and only simple forms in MB), and HEB (personal forms in all languages, but the MW paradigm is defective). Note that when the prepositions with personal forms are grouped generally by semantics, rather than simply by etymology, there is a preposition with personal forms available in any given language for all the major semantic functions (e.g. location, goal, source, inside, in front, above, etc.). For example, for the meaning "between", all languages except MW have personal forms of ITHR while in MW this word has disappeared (although there are a few Old Welsh examples) and RHWNG, with personal forms, has taken its semantic place (but is absent in any form in the other languages).

Another phenomenon in personal forms is the use of modified or even compound stems (see e.g. Jones 1913). For the most part, this is an opaque phenomenon in Medieval Welsh–simply resulting in irregularities of the paradigms (e.g. the presence of -*dd*- in third person forms), but in some cases we see either a redundant doubling of the semantics of the preposition (e.g. O + HON, where both elements have a source-marking sense) or hints of a compound that has not survived in the simple form, but may have been in independent use at the time the personal forms were developing (e.g. AM + TAN–compare GWO + TAN, which resolved later into simple TAN).

Some prepositions developed personal forms by analogy after the medieval period in Breton (Hemon 1984). The only similar example in Welsh appears to be HYD, for which personal forms are mentioned in some Early Modern grammar books (GPC), but

the experiment appears to have been discarded.

If the presence of a full personal paradigm indicates use during the critical period and the presence of a defective paradigm (in the presence of common use of the preposition) indicates some weakness in this status, then we should expect to see a correlation between which chronological group a preposition falls in, and whether personal forms occur. Table 5 shows this correlation (for simple prepositions).

Table 5: Personal Paradigms of Prepositions

Group	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Full personal paradigm in all languages it appears in	AR AT GAN I O RHAG TROS TRWY YN	WRTH		(GWO)TAN	RHWNG
Defective or missing paradigm in some languages	AM+TAN ER HON UCH		HEB IS	HYD (late analogical forms)	

Group	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
No personal forms in Welsh: element does not appear indepen-dently in Welsh	CYM- GWO- Y	ALL-		CYD	
No personal forms in Welsh: element is obsolete or extremely rare	ECH ITHR RHY		MAL PY WNG A		ACH GER YMYL
No personal forms in Welsh: other	TRA EITHR		AC ERBYN	HERWYDD CYN GWEDY YNY	NAMYN

As a general pattern, the prepositions with a full paradigm in Medieval Welsh tend to correspond to group one, the earliest stratum of adpositions–those identifiable with PIE adpositions and Medieval Welsh prepositions in this group either have a personal paradigm or have some clear reason for not having one. Y has become obsolete as an independent preposition (replaced largely by O), while ECH, ITHR, and RHY have become nearly obsolete in any context. CYM- and GWO- do not occur independently, so the question does not arise. EITHR has primarily shifted to a conjunction-like function where pronoun objects would not occur (and, in fact, while my data includes examples of

EITHR with nominal landmarks, it has none with pronominal landmarks in any form). TRA, in my data, appears primarily in a conjunction-like function, the exceptions all involving TRA MOR "beyond the sea" (which might almost be considered a prepositional compound).

From groups two and three we find a similar pattern: prepositions either appear with personal forms or have an obvious explanation why not. The exceptions here are ERBYN (which, as discussed in section 2.3.1.5.2.2 has fused from a loose compound only in Welsh, and therefore relatively late), and AC (which may have been exempted from participation by pressure from the conjunctive use).

In groups four and five the first impression is of the opposite pattern, i.e. the majority of prepositions lack personal forms. But on closer examination this is just a continuation of previously seen patterns. (GWO)+TAN must be considered beside the use of AM+TAN as a personal stem for AM–that is, the pattern of extending certain elements with TAN must have occurred before the development of personal forms, no matter how much earlier the initial element was in use. HYD only develops analogical personal forms briefly in the Early Modern period (and they may be no more than an academic fiction of the period). RHWNG is a bit of an oddity, but the presence of personal forms may instead be evidence for the earlier development of the preposition despite its absence from the other languages (see section 2.3.1.6.3 for further discussion). In contrast, the prepositions in these groups that lack personal paradigms do so for similar reasons to those in groups one to three. Either they are vanishingly rare in simple

form (ACH, GER, YMYL), or have semantics that don't lend themselves to pronominal landmarks (CYN, GWEDY, YNY), or do not occur independently (CYD). This leaves HERWYDD and NAMYN (relatively recent developments from verbal compounds) and HYD, the one element where the absence of personal forms appears to be useful in dating its development as a preposition.

Overall, then, the evidence of personal paradigms primarily agrees with the distributional evidence, except possibly for arguing for a relatively earlier date of development for RHWNG and establishing a relatively late date of development for HYD (at least as an independent simple preposition).

2.2.3 Prepositional Chronology and the Range of Semantic Extensions

One might expect that chronology will also correlate with the extent to which a preposition has extended its established senses. While it is difficult to identify an objective measure of how many senses a preposition has, using a relative estimate based on my analytical categories, this correlation does appear.

Of the simple prepositions that are found in ten or more distinct established senses, all are from the earliest strata (groups one and two). The prepositions from this group found in a more restricted range of senses often have highly specific basic meanings (EITHR, UCH), or have lost their spatial sense and so have less potential for novel extensions (ER), or have senses that are broad in function but don't lend themselves to more specific distinction (GAN).

A few of the shared Insular or Brythonic innovations (groups three or four) have as many as five or six established senses (AC, TAN) but as a general rule, prepositions from this period or later (including all of the transparent compounds) appear in my data in only one to three distinct senses, and those very closely related.

One of the questions that interests me is whether any of the prepositional role-marking can be understood as a systematic replacement for the function of noun cases. As noun cases were lost at a period roughly equivalent to (or by some theories, slightly predating) the divergence of the branches of Brythonic (Hamp 1975b, Koch 1983), this particular question may only be answerable within a narrow scope. The most commonly extended prepositions had been in use (and presumably in extended use) long since by this time, and may have been used redundantly in combination with noun cases well before the cases began to be lost. (Useful evidence on that hand would be whether cognate constructions are found in OIr.) Only in the case of prepositions in group four or later is it possible to establish that an extended use could not have developed significantly before the era of case loss, and therefore might be a candidate for a response to that loss. As I shall discuss in section 4.1.2.4, HYD is one excellent candidate for this interpretation.

2.3 Catalog of Medieval Welsh Prepositions: Etymology and Semantics

In the next portion of this study, I shall examine the linguistic origins of the Medieval Welsh inventory of prepositions, discuss the patterns in which new

prepositions develop, particularly those that function grammatically as phrasal prepositions in Medieval Welsh, and provide a very brief sketch of the range of uses each has. The current section summarizes work that will be discussed in detail in section 3, working from the point of view of the semantic functions, and returned to in a more analytic context in section 4. (The presentation and discussion of the textual data itself fits best in section 3 and has not been duplicated in the current section.)

In this section, I also discuss the distribution of cognate forms throughout Celtic and identify correlations in the uses to which they are put, with an aim towards developing a possible chronology for particular senses. My ability to do the latter is hampered somewhat by the structure of my reference works. The *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL) is extremely useful for Irish, in that it not only gives extensive outlines of the semantic range of each word, but lists prepositional compounds that occur for each noun. For Breton, I have been limited largely to the discussions of forms listed in historic grammars such as Hemon (1984); however for Cornish Williams (1865)—although unreliable for etymology—frequently provides examples of prepositional compounds under noun listings, as well as including a number of the common ones independently. Beyond this, I have relied heavily on the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (GPC) to alert me to the existence of cognates for individual elements found in compounds.

Polysemy, metonymy, and metaphor play a vital role in both the creation of spatial language, and in the ways in which spatial elements extend their meanings. As a general pattern, spatial relations are defined relatively–in terms of location relative to

some object or to a particular part of some object.

As a cross-linguistic phenomenon, the majority of spatial language develops from nominal sources, although more rarely it may derive from verbs (CROSS, FALL), participles (FOLLOWING), adverbs (DOWN), or adjectives (HIGH) (Friedrich 1987, Norwood 1968). There are four general types of nominal sources: body parts (HEAD, FOOT, BREAST, HAND), environmental landmarks (SKY, FIELD, TRACK), relational object parts (FRONT, IN, TOP), and abstract spatial notions (LENGTH, PLACE, DIRECTION) (Brugman 1984, Heine 1997b, Svorou 1994).

The prepositions of Medieval Welsh follow these patterns fairly closely, although for grammatical reasons the participial and adverbial sources are not found. Prepositions derived transparently from verbs are extremely rare (I YMDAITH "to + journey"), but those derived at a greater remove include HERWYDD (by). Nominal sources are by far the commonest in creating new prepositional expressions. The body parts PEN (head), LLAW (hand), and BRON (breast) are particularly productive. In less transparent form, ERBYN (against) contains a modified form of PEN, and IS (under) is thought to derive from an old locative form of "foot". Environmental landmarks such as MYNYDD (mountain) and LLAWR (ground) tend to appear only in adverbial constructions derived from prepositional phrases, but OL (track) appears in compound prepositions. The category of relational object parts is extremely productive in Welsh, although many of the resulting expressions are rare and highly specialized in meaning. Such members as PARTH (part), PERFEDD (middle), CYLCH (circle), and YMYL (edge) are more

common and widespread. Abstract spatial concepts are best represented by HYD (length).

Nominal sources follow a regular path of development whereby the original concept (of whatever source) is mapped onto an object via an image metaphor. The term then comes to stand for an external region in contact with that part, and further for a region projected from the part, whether in contact or not, as well as being extended to scenarios where the original referent is mapped onto an abstract concept (Svorou 1986, 1994). The grammatical path that parallels this semantic development is covered in section 4.1.2. An excellent example of this process can be found in the Welsh compound GER LLAW, where we see a range from direct reference to a physical hand, to general reference to a human lateral region, to an abstract notion of proximity.

(31) Kyuodi a orugant vy, a meglyt a oruc Yspadaden Penkawr yn un o'r tri llechwayw gwenhwynic a oed **geir y law** ae dodi ar eu hol. [CO:521]

rise-VN PART do-PRET-3PL they and grasp-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Ysbaddaden Pencawr in one of the three stone-spear poisoned REL be-IMPERF-3SG **with his hand** and-it put-VN on their track

*They rose, and Ysbaddaden Pencawr grasped one of the three poisoned stone-spears that were **at hand**, and threw it after them.*

(32) Dyuot yr ty a oruc, ac eisted **geyr llaw** Kulhwch [CO:499]

come-VN to-the house PART do-PRET-3SG and sit-VN **with hand** Culhwch

*She came to the house and sat **beside** Culhwch.*

(33) "Gwelem, Arglwyd," heb wy, "mynyd mawr **gyr llaw** y coet" [BFL:39:23]

see-IMPERF-1PL lord, say-PRET-3SG they mountain big **with hand** the wood

*"We have seen, lord" they said, "a big mountain **beside** the wood"*

A wide variety of types of information may be encoded in spatial language. The landmark may be conceptualized as an exterior surface, a two-dimensional bounded region, or a container. Exteriors may be coded as a point, a one-dimensionally extended object, or a two-dimensionally extended surface. External relations may specify contact or not, symmetric or asymmetric orientation, relative separation from the landmark, or a specific "search domain" (the way in which the landmark divides space, e.g. the distinction between "over" and "above" in terms of vertical projection). Containers may encode the nature of the landmark: a hollow enclosure, a solid, a liquid, or whether it is animate or inanimate.

Landmarks may be simplex (i.e. existing as, or treated as, a single discrete object) or multiplex. Trajectors, similarly, may be simplex or multiplex. Multiplex trajectors may consist of two or more discrete objects existing simultaneously, or as a single moving object evaluated at multiple timepoints, or further as the path described by those multiple evaluations. Multiplex, and particularly path trajectors, may encode directionality (toward, away), inclusion of a specified point or region in the path ("by" in its dynamic sense), whether the starting point (from) or ending point (to) is profiled, or both (between) or neither (through) (Boers 1987, Brugman 1981, Dirven 1993, Svorou 1994, Taylor 1993).

When the number of potential contrasts and specifications is compared to the actual numbers of spatial terms occurring in languages, it is clear that only a small number of the potential combinations of relations are actually encoded in basic spatial terms. To

specify many of the possible relations, compound or phrasal spatial descriptions may be necessary. As a general pattern, there is an iconic parallelism between the complexity of the relationship being specified and the internal complexity of the expression used to describe it (Svorou 1994). So, for example, one would not tend to expect languages to have a simple, monomorphemic term for "from underneath, along a curving path, to location in front of". This does not mean that the basic spatial terms of a language decompose spatial relations down to their simplest contrasts. However there is a pattern that those terms that do identify relatively simple, non-specific relations are more likely to produce extensions in meaning, both within and without the spatial realm (Dirven 1993).

When particular spatial features are "bundled" in a single, simple term, they are typically features that tend to co-occur for interactional reasons in the world. For example, due to gravity, the relationship "above" co-occurs with "in contact with" more commonly than "below" does. This tendency for basic spatial terms to encode at least some amount of complexity procedes from the implications present in the source domains from which spatial language is taken. For example, a term encoding movement out of a container may carry implications of upward movement, due to the commonness of containers that rely on gravity for part of the restriction on the movement of their contents (e.g. bowls). Similarly, due to our experience of moving objects, terms for motion toward a region are often derived from those for location at the region. From location, we may assume previous movement to that location; from movement toward a

landmark, we may project accomplished location at that landmark. (In contrast, terms indicating sources of motion far less commonly appear in the same form to indicate location. The pragmatic counterpart is that if an object has moved from a source, by definition it is not located at that source and there is no particular reason to expect it to return to its original location. And, conversely, if an object is at a particular location, by definition it has not (yet) moved from that point, nor is there necessarily any expectation that it will move in the future and turn the location into a source.)

There are clear cross-linguistic patterns to the ways these implications work to extend the meanings of spatial language. The use of the same language to mark goal and location is common, similarly for location and a path passing through that location (Taylor 1993). Both of these are seen very commonly in Medieval Welsh (see section 3.1.2). We have already seen the progression from an object part, to a contact region, to a non-contact region. Just as the movement of a trajector in a single dimension can be equivalent to an extended trajector or path (see the origins of HYD and its development to mark goals in section 2.3.2.4.2), so the movement of a trajector in two or three dimensions can be extended to define a two or three dimensional trajector (Brugman 1981). And, of course, spatial language may be extended to non-spatial functions, which will be the main focus of this study.

2.3.1 Simple Prepositions

I will begin with the prepositions that function as single lexical units, and then

cover those that function as (or are clearly identifiable as) compounds. Many of the apparently monomorphemic prepositions can also be identified etymologically as having been compounded or extended at some point in their development, but I have grouped them here on the basis of syntactic behavior, that is, if they function syntactically as a single unit. The majority of these have fairly ancient roots, being identifiable with adpositional elements reconstructed for PIE. In some cases, these PIE roots may have been modified or extended to produce the forms that appear in Medieval Welsh, a distinction that is is not within the scope of this work to explore in detail.

2.3.1.1 Source

I have grouped the discussions according to general categories of basic meaning, rather than the temporal groupings discussed previously. I begin by considering those with a basic source-marking sense.

2.3.1.1.1 A

The preposition A, from Brythonic **á* (GPC) occurs in all three branches of Brythonic but is not identified by any of my sources with a particular PIE root.

It is vanishingly rare in my MW data, only occurring in certain highly formulaic expressions and in semantic functions paralleled by O. Its distribution in my data is limited to the Four Branches. One might speculate that the abundance of other common elements of the same phonological form (at least half a dozen in MW) motivated an

abandonment of this particular source-marking option, although the language shows a remarkable tolerence for multiple homophony in function words.

It can indicate origin with no current motion (although the example might as easily be interpreted as partative), and several examples with a partative sense, where the trajector is a subset of a multiplex landmark. See similar uses under O for a discussion of the motivations for these uses.

2.3.1.1.2 HON

HON/HAN derives from the PIE adposition **(s)nhi* "without" (Beekes 1995). There is a Gaulish example as a preverb (Eska 1989) and the OIr cognate appears as an adjective "separate, special, opposite" (DIL), but HON occurs in all three Brythonic languages in prepositional contexts, as well as functioning as a verbal prefix. Primarily, however, this element occurs as a redundant stem-extender with O in personal forms (Evans 1964, Hemon 1984, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Piette 1966). The element appears as an independent preposition in OB (Hemon 1984) and OW (Williams 1927) but not later. Some notion of what its independent semantics may have been can be seen when it is used as a verbal prefix, where it has a sense of origination or separation. (Use as a stem extender for O is not conclusive evidence for synonymy, cf. AM+TAN.)

2.3.1.1.3 O

O is cognate with the OIr preposition *ó, ua* (Lewis and Pedersen 1989) and these

are thought to derive from the PIE adposition *h_2*épo*, *h_2*pó* "from" (GPC) or *h_2*eu* (away from) (Beekes 1995). It is the most general "from" word found in Medieval Welsh and is widely extended to non-spatial and grammatical senses, as well as being productive in forming compound prepositions. It has two redundant extended combining forms: O + HON used as the stem for personal forms of O (found in Breton and Cornish as well—Hemon 1984, Lewis and Piette 1966) and O + DY in compound prepositions (rarely in Medieval Welsh except with IS, UCH, and EITHR, but with increasing frequency from the 14th century onward (GPC)). Occasionally, O takes the form *oc* before vowels, by analogy with AC (Evans 1964). The occasional use of O, both alone and in compounds, to mark static location senses raises the question of whether some other locational preposition has merged with source-marking O, but none of my references raise this possibility. This locational sense occurs frequently in compounds, and possibly in a few extended senses of the simple preposition.

Source of Motion (see section 3.1.3.1)

As a source-marker, O occurs when:

- The trajector is not a whole animate being (although it may be a body-part) with all types of landmarks.
- The trajector is insubstantial (but treated as a moving object) or is referred to metonymically via an event.
- The landmark is not a whole animate being (landmarks can include body-parts).

O is the primary, but not the only source-marking when:

- The landmark is a region, substance, or event (with all types of trajectors).
- The trajector and landmark are both inanimate but mobile objects.

O is not the primary but is a possible source-marker when the landmark is animate (and the trajector is not) and it does not occur at all when both trajector and landmark are animate and the trajector is undergoing voluntary motion.

A direct extension from source-marking is the use of O to mark a non-immediate source (e.g. country of origin, parentage), and the specialized idiom "of the world" used emphatically (or rarely to contrast with an otherworldly origin). This expression (which appears more commonly with YN "in") emphasizes the scope which a statement or evaluation covers (i.e. "in the whole wide world"), but otherwise follows the expected spatial language for regional landmarks.

Source of Extent or Path (see section 3.1.4)

Another direct extension of the source-of-motion sense (via an image-schema transformation) is marking one endpoint of an extent or path, characterized as motion along that extent or path. This use also applies to "sensory vectors", i.e. vision or hearing characterized as a vector beginning at the sensor and ending at the stimulus. So O is used to mark the location of the sensor, even though the sensor is not undergoing motion.

Location (see section 3.1.1.1)

Purely locational senses are extremely rare for the simple preposition, and occur specifically in a sense of "location external to a container", deriving presumably from an image schema transformation which equates location external to a region with motion from the interior of the region. Locational senses are somewhat more common in compounds, and some non-spatial senses may derive from this (although they are rare and may be generalizations of source-derived senses).

Temporal Applications (see section 3.2.3.2)

The primary temporal use is to mark the landmark as the early end of a trajector time extent, deriving from the MOVING TIME METAPHOR$_P$, specifically the MOVING EXPERIENCER version of this concept. O is by far the commonest preposition in this sense. A less common, but not rare, use is to identify the landmark as occurring before the POV by the trajector amount. This derives straightforwardly from the previous usage.

STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_P$ (see section 3.3.2.2.6)

Via this metaphor, we get the use of O to mark a state that is *not* being currently experienced by the trajector. It may mark a former state, a prevented state, or simply a state where the non-experience is being contrasted with an expected experience. O is the only preposition found in this sense. Very rarely, O is used to mark a state being

currently experienced by the trajector. This may derive from the rare location-marking sense of spatial O via the same metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_P$, or it may be a generalization from "O marks former states" to "O marks any state". (Here we see ambiguity regarding whether the source and location senses of O generate "state" senses in parallel, or whether the "former state" sense, from the Source sense, is primary, and the other state uses are generalized from it.)

A SUBSET IS A PORTION REMOVED FROM THE WHOLE (see sections 3.3.1.1.1-2)

The use of O to mark the trajector as a subset of a multiplex landmark is extremely common. O is overwhelmingly the most common marker for this sense. Rather less common is use to mark the trajector as a part of a unitary landmark. There are occasional overlapping examples that cover some combination of origin, source-marking senses, and subset senses.

MATERIALS ARE SOURCES, CONTENTS ARE MATERIALS (see section 3.3.2.1.1.1)

The concrete applications of this sense include the very common use to identify the landmark as the physical material of which the trajector is composed, or as the objects (animate or not) that comprise the trajector group. (See Williams (1971) for a comparison of one construction using this sense in both Welsh and Irish.) There are various non-concrete extensions of both of these where the "material" is metaphoric (relatively rare) or the "contents" are metaphoric (fairly common, but not as common as the physical case),

or where the trajector is an action or state and the specific nature of that state is the landmark (consider: THE NATURE OF AN EVENT IS ITS SUBSTANCE). In the concrete senses, O is virtually the only preposition found (there are a couple of uses of YN for physical contents). O is very common, but not necessarily the majority marker for metaphoric contents.

TOPICS ARE SOURCES (see sections 3.3.2.1.1.6-8)

Possibly closely related to the non-physical contents sense is the use of O to mark the topic of speech or of a text, although it is not the most common maker for this.

One-to-One Matching (see section 3.3.2.3.2)

The use of O to mark a multiplex trajector matched one-to-one with a multiplex landmark overlaps heavily in specific examples with uses for marking (metonymic) sources, subsets, containers of contents, and causes, although there are also examples where none of these other senses are strongly present. The match-up sense may simply emerge pragmatically from this variety of source-derived senses.

AGENTS ARE SOURCES (see section 3.5.1 generally)

The use of O in marking the agent of a verb is primarily restricted to constructions where the verb occurs as a verbal-noun, and is essentially the only agent-marker in these constructions. O also occurs as an agent-marker in other types of constructions (e.g.

where the action is indicated by a noun), but it constitutes a minority of these cases and never occurs when the action is directly physical.

CAUSES ARE SOURCES$_P$ (see section 3.4.1 generally)

As part of the EVENT STRUCTURE$_P$ metaphor complex, we find O used to identify the landmark as a physical or legal cause of the trajector event. There is extreme overlap between the two types of causes and between either of them and the means by which the trajector event is accomplished (including instruments), although examples with only a means/instrument sense are extremely rare. Another variant of this sense marks the landmark as either the state in which the trajector event occurs or the stimulus for the trajector event occurring although, as noted previously, examples marking only a state are rare.

Of the various cause-like functions (differentiated in section 3.4.1), O is the default marker for a stimulus, although other prepositions are specified in particular contexts; it is significantly the most common out of a wide variety of markers for legal causes (i.e. the evidentiary basis on which a legal decision is based); it is fairly rare as a non-physical reason for an event, but is the commonest marker for a physical cause, especially when the caused event is also a physical action.

Willingness as a Context (see section 3.4.1.5)

A somewhat difficult to untangle application of O occurs in combination with a

form of BODD "will, willingness, desire". This occurs in two scenarios: <event> O ANFODD (from + un-will [of] <person>), where an undesired trajector event occurs in spite of the landmark's unwillingness; and <negated event> O BODD (from + will [of] <person>), with a trajector event that fails to occur in spite of the desire of the landmark. These appear to relate most closely to the use of O to mark the context of an event or state in which it occurs (but clearly without a cause-like function).

O as a Substitute for Other Source Markers

Rarely, there are examples where O seems to be substituted in a context where another, originally source-marking, preposition is expected, such as the provider of a socio-legal relationship (see section 3.6.1).

Cognates

The OIr cognate of O has a large overlap with the MW functions in both spatial and non-spatial senses, including: spatial source or origin, partitive, material or contents, early endpoint of a temporal extent, topic, cause, agent, and to create compound adverbial expressions of manner (see section 2.3.2.6.3). In addition, we find Irish uses for an instrument (a natural accompaniment to cause and agent senses), and a maleficiary (i.e. "beneficiary" of harmful action) presumably via an object-removal metaphor, just as benefit markers are sometimes motivated by object-receipt (DIL, Fraser 1910).

2.3.1.1.4 Y, DY

Medieval Welsh Y gives us a fascinating view of a preposition teetering on the edge of obsolescence. The element derives from PIE **de* (from, GPC) and appears as a preposition in some form in all the Celtic languages (Billy 1993, Eska 1989, Hemon 1984, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Thurneysen 1947, Williams 1865). It can be found as an independent element in Welsh as late as the 9th century Surexit Memorandum in the Lichfield Gospels (Jenkins and Owen 1984) but is not used independently in the roughly contemporary Llandav charters, or in any of my other data sources except possibly in certain conventional expressions (see Evans 1964 regarding Y TRAIS "by force", BLWYDDYN Y HENO "a year from tonight", which are difficult to explan via I). By the OW period it had become extremely phonologically similar to I (Old Welsh di) "to", and this phonological ambiguity between elements with opposite meanings created a clear pressure for some resolution. (A similar situation in French developed from the products of Latin *ad* and *ab*, with a similar resolution in favor of the "to" sense, but with isolated idioms surviving from the other origin (Bissell 1947).) My choice to represent the "from" element with "(D)Y" is not entirely an arbitrary distinction from I. The orthography of the two elements in MW texts suggests that the "from" element corresponds to the sound written "y" in Modern Welsh. In stressed contexts, the two prepositions would have essentially identical pronunciation, while in unstressed positions there would be a minor distinction.

The element is still common in Medieval Welsh in prepositional compounds in its

reduced form Y (e.g. Y AM, Y AR, Y GAN, Y WRTH) but these are beginning to lose the specific semantics associated with Y and may be found functioning identically to the second element alone. The full form DY occurs occasionally in my data in two-part compounds (e.g. DY EITHR, DY WRTH) and survives into Modern Welsh in the redundant form O + DY which came to largely supplant both O and Y in forming source-marking compounds, beginning in the Medieval Welsh period. (It appears very rarely in my data , and seems to occur earliest and most consistently with IS and UCH.) In compounds, it adds a "source" sense to spatial contexts, and typical extensions of the notion "source" to non-spatial ones.

The OIr cognate of Y is an independent preposition, still filling a major source-marking role. In non-spatial senses, it covers much the same ground as Medieval Welsh O (and OIr *ó*), indicating material,contents, partitive, genitive of description, topic, cause, and instrument. It is also used with verbs of removal, prevention, and protection in senses for which Welsh tends to use RHAG (DIL, Fraser 1910). Irish compounds of this element tend to have only spatial application (where some Welsh compounds have extended uses–see section 2.3.2.2.1.1).

2.3.1.2 Goal

While most prepositions whose basic sense is locational can be used to mark goals of motion, this section covers those elements that obligatorily bear this sense. See also the discussion of HYD in section 2.3.2.4.2.

2.3.1.2.1 PY

PY is cognate with OIr *co* "to" (Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Thurneysen 1947), but unlike the Irish word is limited in use in Medieval Welsh to the fixed construction *o X py* [i.e. *py* + *ei*] *gilydd* ("from [one] X to the/each other"), either in spatial or temporal senses (GPC, Hamp 1956, Wagner 1972). For the underlying motivation for the temporal use, see the parallel sense under I.

The spatial and temporal senses found in Welsh are also found for the OIr cognate, which is much more common in use. In addition, there are senses parallel to those found for more common Welsh goal-marking elements, especially I, including result, hearer, and the formation of spatial adverbs (DIL, Fraser 1910, Müller 1995).

2.3.1.2.2 I

Medieval Welsh I "to" derives from a Celtic adposition **dó* (GPC) or **to* (Lewis and Pedersen 1989). Thurneysen (1947) suggests origin in a PIE demonstrative stem **to-*. It has cognates both as prepositions and as prefixes throughout Insular Celtic (GPC, Hemon 1984, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Piette 1966, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Strachan 1909, Thurneysen 1947). The interpretation of this element in Medieval Welsh is sometimes confused by its phonological similarity to Y (q.v. although the rarity of the latter lessens the problem), by its written appearance as *o* before certain possessive pronouns, and by the similar appearance of YN in non-nasal variants in certain contexts

(Evans 1964).

Goal

In a spatial sense, I is the least restricted goal marker, appearing in all types of contexts (i.e. with all classes of trajector and landmark), including those where more specific markers are also found. (There are some low-frequency combinations in which it doesn't occur, but this seems to be statistical rather than meaningful, except possibly when the landmark is a body-part, or when the landmark is identified as the location of an event when there is no implication of purpose.) Among the high-frequency trajector-landmark combinations, I is a very minor pattern when both participants are human, but is a common pattern for all other contexts.

Ambiguous Uses Possibly Involving Goal-Marking (see section 4.1.1)

There are several areas of broad overlap or ambiguity where spatial motion is involved but the goal of that motion may be profiled additionally (or more specifically) as a beneficiary or a participant in a genetic or social relationship (especially when that person may benefit from the relationship in some way) where it is unclear whether the goal, beneficiary, or relationship sense is the primary motivation for I. Another somewhat ambiguous group identifies the landmark as a beneficiary of God, where the benefit may be interpreted as being characterized as object-transfer. (The specific wording involved is "May God give to <recipient> good" but the word translated as

"good" is, if anything, most typically used for material goods, rather than immaterial benefit. So the interpretation of this expression as referring to the transfer of concrete objects depends greatly on how the speaker understood the potential concreteness of divine benefits. In general, I have interpreted linguistic references to God as to an animate, volitional, concrete being, an interpretation consistent with the prepositional evidence.)

PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (GOALS)$_P$ (see section 3.4.3)

The development of purpose expressions from the language of spatial motion shows clearly in Medieval Welsh. These expressions primarily involve verbs of motion (whether indicating actual spatial motion or not) with a goal-marking preposition identifying the purpose phrase. (Purpose expressions with verbs of motion outnumber those with non-motion verbs by 8:1, although there are also a substantial number of purpose expressions with no explicit verb.) Although several goal-marking prepositions can occur in these constructions, I is overwhelmingly the most common (by a factor of ten) and the others generally indicate some more specific semantics, e.g. a benefit as the purpose.

RESULTS ARE GOALS (see section 3.4.4)

Although one common way of expressing the result of an action or process is with the language of spatial goals, I is only occasionally used for this purpose.

SPEECH IS A TRANSFERRED OBJECT, HEARERS ARE RECIPIENTS (see section 3.3.2.2.4.2)

Language about speech operates in a variety of frames, focussing on different facets of the action. (See section 4.2.2.2 for a detailed consideration.) The most common and unmarked way of identifying the hearer of speech treats that hearer as a recipient of a transferred object, and most commonly uses I to mark the hearer. The conditions under which I is used are most easily identified by the more specific circumstances in which it is typcially *not* used. I is not the preferred option when the content of the speech is quoted, when the verb of speech is DWEUD "to say", or when the purpose of the speech is the infliction of social or other harm to the hearer (e.g. lies, curses). I is common, but not the majority option, when the purpose of the speech is social or legal control or influence on the hearer (e.g. commands, judgements).

SENSORY EXPERIENCES ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS (see section 3.3.2.2.4.1)

In parallel with the use of I to mark hearers of speech, there are a few examples of I marking the viewer of enabled or caused vision (with verbs like "show"). This particular use could, just as easily, be interpreted as identifying a beneficiary.

EXPERIENCERS ARE RECIPIENTS (see section 3.3.2.2.3 generally)

In addition to the more specific types of experiencers discussed above, I is used to identify the experiencer of a variety of other situations, although it is usually a minority strategy in these situations. These include emotional and mental experiences (where

knowledge and memory, in particular, are discussed in terms of spatial motion) and negative socio-legal experiences (where these are not more clearly categorizable as maleficiaries). Also included here is a common formulaic construction loosely equivalent to "It happened [to X] that ..." where I marks the experiencer of this "happening", who is typically the notional agent of the following material (typically expressed with a verbal-noun phrase).

EVALUATIVE STATES ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS (or EVALUATORS ARE BENEFICIARIES) (see section 3.3.2.2.5.3)

One of the ways of marking an experiencer of an evaluative state (i.e. the person making the evaluation) is with I. The other language used in this same context suggests that the evaluation (e.g. the state of being "good" or "pleasant") may be treated as a possession of the evaluator, but it is also plausible to connect this use with beneficiaries.

BENEFICIARIES ARE RECIPIENTS (see section 3.5.2.1)

As noted above, there is a broad area of overlap between recipients and beneficiaries in examples where both interpretations are possible. However, in scenarios where no spatial motion or concrete object transfer is involved, I is also overwhelmingly the most common way of marking a beneficiary. (This category includes both true "beneficiaries" and similar experiencers of indirect negative experiences–which one might call "maleficiaries" or "anti-beneficiaries".) Due to the broad range of potential "benefits", there are a significant number of examples where the use of I is ambiguous between

identifying a beneficiary and identifying a participant in a relationship.

PATIENTS ARE EXPERIENCERS (see sections 3.3.2.2.1-2)

Patients of physical influence, control, or manipulation may also be identified with I, although this is usually a minority option. Only when non-physical aspects of the scenario are being emphasized (e.g. benefit, enablement, and to a lesser extent control) does I become a major strategy. (Note that patients are far more commonly direct objects of verbs, and in that context would not come into this study at all.)

ATTRIBUTES ARE CONNECTED TO THE BEARER, PATHS ARE CONNECTIONS, A GOAL DEFINES A PATH (see section 3.3.2.1.6)

One of the ways of expressing the relationship between an attribute and the bearer of that attribute is to identify the bearer with a goal-marking preposition. This can apply to both physical and social attributes, whether alienable or not. I is a minority strategy with attributes of physical appearance or physical ability (for the latter, only occurring with the evaluative HAWDD "easy"), or age, but is the primary or only strategy for identifying the bearer of certain social attributes (especially status, legal rights, and states that overlap with beneficiary functions like social "suitability" and "shame").

The bearer of a bodypart is always identified with I (see section 3.3.1.1.3), and this is overwhelmingly the preferred option for a participant in an interpersonal relationship (see sections 3.3.1.2.1-2) whether genetic (e.g. mother, son) or socially constructed (e.g. wife, servant).

POSSESSORS ARE RECIPIENTS, OR POSSESSIONS ARE CONNECTED TO THE POSSESSOR

Legal possessors are also identified relative to the possession most typically with I (see section 3.3.1.2.3). There are a significant number of bridging examples where the possessor is also a physical recipient of the possessed object, as well as a number where the possessor also has a significant beneficiary function.

ACTIONS ARE POSSESSIONS OF THE AGENT(?)

Rarely, I is used to mark the agent of a non-inflected verb (Williams 1981).

PARTS ARE CONNECTED TO THE WHOLE, CONNECTIONS ARE PATHS, A GOAL DEFINES A PATH (see section 3.3.1.1 generally)

Closely related to the previous category is the use of I in this same "connection-marking" sense to identify the whole of which the trajector is a part (compare with the use of source-marking language in a similar context), or to identify components related by a semantic frame, especially in identifying a landmark in proximity to which a trajector region is defined (see section 3.3.1.2.4). The function of identifying the trajector and landmark as related components in a semantic frame could be seen as the origin of the "bearer of attributes" uses.

THE FUTURE IS A GOAL OF MOTION (Moving Time Metaphor: Moving Experiencer Version)

The use of I in temporal expressions indicates a landmark in the future relative to the trajector. Using the metaphor of an experiencer moving toward future events, the preposition may identify a later event in a sequence of events or the late-point of a time-extent.

Although Modern Welsh makes extensive use of a periphrastic GO future using I, examples in my data that can be interpreted in this fashion are extremely rare. Only two examples use I in a way that is ambiguous between identifying a goal of motion and a future event.

Semantic Complexes (see section 4.1.1)

Many of the senses decribed above overlap significantly in use, and a particular text example may partake of several senses in ways that help establish the motivation and developmental pathways for the more abstract senses.

Cognates

The OIr cognate has highly parallel uses, both in the specifics and in the use of this element for generally "dative-like" purposes. Specific uses include (in addition to spatial goals): purpose (with a verbal-noun as landmark), possessor, part-whole relationships, bearer of attributes, hearer, and a beneficiary-recipient sense. In addition, the Irish element may mark the agent of a verbal participle or verbal-noun, and the

intersection of apposition and purpose that I am calling "instantiation", i.e. "serving as, understood as, functioning as" (DIL, Fraser 1910, Williams 1981).

2.3.1.2.3 AT and AR

One of the factors complicating the interpretation of certain uses of AR in MW is its dual origin. The PIE adposition **upér(i)* (over) gave rise to OW *guar* (with cognates thorughout Celtic), retained in Medieval Welsh in the full form *gor-* only as a prefix and reduced to *ar* as a preposition (Beekes 1995, Billy 1993, Eska 1989, Evans 1952, 1953, 1954b, 1956b, GPC, Hamp 1954, Hemon 1984, Jones 1913, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Lewis and Piette 1966, Strachan 1909, Thurneysen 1947).

The other contributing element derives from the PIE adposition **$h_2$ed* (to) (Beekes 1995, GPC, Hamp 1976, Lewis and Pedersen 1989). OIr *ad* appears to be cognate, although the references are not entirely clear (Thurneysen 1947) and OIr appears to use it only as a prefix. The word occurs in OW as *ad* and *add*, but normal phonological change altered this to *ar* by the Medieval Welsh period (Evans 1964, GPC, Williams 1927). In certain phonological contexts, however, provection altered it instead to *at*. One of these contexts was that of personal forms (GPC, Lewis and Pedersen 1989) and Hamp (1976) suggests that proper names provided another such context. The use of AT as an independent preposition is a back-formation from these contexts. (Lewis and Pedersen (1989) indicate that examples of independent *at* do not occur before the 13th century.) Both contexts are disproportionately associated with animate (and especially human)

entities, and this would help explain the distribution of AT in Medieval Welsh, which is confined largely to goal scenarios with animate participants (see section 3.1.2.1). Beyond that, it is found in certain limited cases of fictive motion (especially speech) and in certain constructions that normally use AR.

AR, on the other hand, inherited the remaining contexts for *h_2ed*, as well as those for **upér(i)*. I have sorted out the senses that seem likely to derive from each underlying source, but it is quite possible that some extended senses evolved after the distinction was lost. Comparisons with applications of the OIr cognates are useful here.

AT Senses

Goal of Motion (see section 3.1.2.1)

The use of AT is extremely restricted, almost exclusively to concrete motion. It occurs to identify a goal of spatial motion when the landmark is animate, and especially when human. AT is a very minor pattern when the trajector is inanimate and a somewhat less minor pattern when the trajector is a non-human animal (examples of any type with both elements being non-human animals are rare, so it is not necessarily meaningful that AT does not occur there). But AT is the major pattern (although not overwhelmingly so) when the trajector is human and the landmark is animate of either type. (There are very rare examples of AT in other contexts. These may be cases of personification, or there may be some other explanation.)

Fictive Motion

AT can, in certain circumstances identify the hearer of speech when the speech is being characterized as a moving object (section 3.3.2.2.4.2). Similarly, it can identify the experiencer of an acquired ability, characterized as a volitionally moving object (see section 3.3.2.1.6).

Goal of a Vector (see section 3.1.4)

In parallel with source-markers, this goal-marker can be used to identify the non-POV end of a vector, in this case, an orientation vector.

CO-LOCATION DUE TO NON-MOVEMENT IS A GOAL (see section 3.1.1.1)

There's one example of AT identifying a landmark as co-located with the trajector explicitly due to non-movement, assuming this is not a manuscript error or hyper-correction for AR (see following).

Hyper-Corrections for AR

In a very few examples, AT appears to occur as a hypercorrection for AR in "on" senses (i.e. when the function is not only overwhelmingly identified with AR, but the function derives more from "location above and in contact" senses rather than goal-marking senses).

AR Senses

The spatial senses of AR that are best explained as deriving from the "to" sense are identical to AT: identifying the (typically human) landmark as a goal of the (typically human) trajector's motion, or as the goal of an orientation-vector.

One not uncommon spatial use that is also more likely the non-specific "to" sense identifies the trajector as being located in the vicinity of (but not within) a body of water as the landmark. (But cf. English *on*, Latin *apud* in similar senses.)

SENSORY STIMULI ARE GOALS OF A VECTOR (see section 3.3.2.2.4 generally)

When vision and hearing are expressed specifically as a directed or self-conscious activity (e.g. "looking" as contrasted with "seeing", or "listening" as opposed to "hearing") the stimulus can be marked with AR. Rarely, AR is also used to mark the stimulus or content of directed mental activity. These senses may bring in hints of fictive manipulation that would suggest the "on" sense, in which case, the motivation might be more in the field of SENSING IS TOUCHING (cf. SEEING IS TOUCHING$_M$).

Results (see section 3.4.4)

The majority of examples where AR marks the result of a process or change involve a decision-making process, for which the most likely motivation seems to be the use of AR in marking topics. However there are sufficiently clear examples of AR

marking the result of a physical process or change that this cannot be the sole motivation. In general, results are identified with goal-marking prepositions, so the "to" sense of AR is more likely for the more general result-marking sense.

2.3.1.3 Vertical Position

I have placed the group of prepositions indicating relative vertical position here to provide a smooth transition between the two domains of AR. There are two contrasting pairs of prepositions here: UCH and IS with primarily spatial application and fairly limited use, and AR and TAN with more complex and more extended senses, although TAN is more limited in scope than AR.

2.3.1.3.1 AR

Of the locative prepositions indicating relative verticality, AR is by far the most common and has the most semantic extensions. The etymology and dual origin of AR has been discussed in section 2.3.1.2.3.

Goals

The spatial senses of AR that are best explained as deriving from the "on" sense center on the combination of features CONTACT (OR ATTACHMENT) of the trajector with a TOP SURFACE of the landmark (see section 3.1.1.3). The largest number of examples involve all three features, using the "contact" version. There is a common

extension from this omitting the "top" requirement (i.e. the trajector is in contact with a non-top flat surface of the landmark). When the "flat surface" feature is omitted, the focus is on the attachment of the trajector to the landmark, either when the "top" feature is retained or more commonly when it is omitted as well. (There are also rare examples of other subsets of these features, e.g. "above with no contact", "contact but not attachment to a non-top surface".)

The core features cluster pragmatically due to the behavior of objects in a gravitic environment. A trajector above a landmark will default to being in contact with it in a way that a trajector below or beside a landmark will not. Similarly, a trajector in contact with an elevated portion of a landmark will tend to be more stable when the relevant part of the landmark involves a flat surface–trajectors resting "on top" of a relatively small, acutely shaped landmark will not tend to be involved in static relationships unless attachment, rather than mere contact, is involved. Similarly, if the vertical orientation is omitted, the remaining features of surface contact are much more likely to be retained if attachment (rather than mere contact) is involved. The use of AR is not confined to circumstances where "contact with a top surface" is being focused on or highlighted. It is also a normal "co-location with contact" marker in circumstances where top location is the only possible, or functional relationship, such as riders on horses, or entities in a level geographic region.

AR can also occur in a goal-marking sense for any of these combinations of features described above (see section 3.1.2.6).

A group of specialized senses deriving from the "above and in contact" complex have a landmark that is a means of locomotion: either where the landmark is the general geographic type of locomotion (e.g. "by land", "by sea", from the general "location in a geographic region" sense), or where the landmark is the subset of the moving entity that comes in contact with the ground while moving (where the moving entity is necessarily located above the relevant subset, compare with the "on a horse" examples). In at least one case, these uses have given rise to a non-spatial sense of "means of locomotion", where the landmark is a type of motion (running) rather than the instrument used in producing that motion.

EVENTS IN TIME ARE LOCATIONS IN SPACE$_P$ (see, among others, section 3.2.1.1)

Temporal uses of AR derive from a non-specific locational sense, best seen in the geographic applications (i.e. location in a level geographic region). AR locates a trajector event either coincident with a landmark event, or as occurring within a landmark extent (which may be identified metonymically by an event defining the extent). Rarely, there may be a slight implication of causation, deriving from CAUSES ARE CIRCUMSTANCES (cf. CAUSES ARE CORRELATIONS$_P$), but AR is not normally used to provide this sense and the rare examples may be purely pragmatic. The most common temporal use of AR is in the phrase AR HYNNY ("on + then", "thereupon") used in narratives simply to advance the action, with no more specific meaning.

CONTROL IS UP_M (see various topics under section 3.3.2.2)

AR is used extensively to mark the patient in situations of manipulation (including by magic), control (including government and rule), influence, constraint (either physical or social), and especially when these involve a significant componant of harm or potential harm. The harm can be directly physical, indirect but still concrete (e.g. theft), or it may be social harm expressed verbally (e.g. lies and accusations) or via actions (e.g. legal insult). While control situations normally involve a volitional controller, this general scenario seems to be the best source for the use of AR to mark the experiencer of an emotion or state (most typically, negative ones).

In most of these functions, AR is significantly the most common preposition used for these functions, the exceptions being physical control, where it is common, but not the majority option, and positive emotional experiences, where AR is rarely used.

Verbal Control (see section 3.3.2.2.4.2)

When socially based control over an individual is expressed verbally, via commands or requests, the hearer of the speech (i.e. the patient of the control) can be marked with AR, although other options for marking the hearer of speech (as appropriate for the particular construction and verb) are equally common. AR is not used to mark hearers in non-influencing situations, although the degree of control or influence expressed can vary greatly.

Eating

There are several possible motivations for the use of AR to mark the patient of eating (or some other entity standing metonymically for a source of nourishment). An image metaphor from the typical spatial relationship between an eater and food could, by itself, lead to the use of AR with a food landmark, and this seems to be the strongest motivation. In many cases, there is an element of control and manipulation as well, although although it does not seem extensive enough to be the primary source.

Sound Production

In a couple of specialized uses, AR marks an instrument of sound production. When the sound producer is a musical instrument, the trajector is the sound produced. Alternately, in a fixed legal expression having to do with the method of presenting evidence, AR TAFOD "on the tongue" is used metonymically to indicate personal verbal testimony (as opposed to written testimony or that delivered through an intermediary). The primary motivation for this use may be characterizing produced sound as a type of temporary attribute or activity, but in the musical instrument case there is at least some overlap with control senses.

ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES ARE SURROUNDINGS (see section 3.3.2.2.6)

A loose group of examples use AR to identify the landmark as an activity or state for which the trajector is the agent or experiencer. As with several of the other uses of

AR, this would seem to derive from a general locational sense, rather than any of the more specific spatial senses. (Compare with apparently locational uses of YN with activities.)

A similar, non-specific locational motivation appears to be behind the use of AR to indicate that the landmark is an attribute of the trajector. This entire group appears superficially to invert the use of AR described above where it is the trajector that is the attribute, state, or activity. While it is not impossible that these are essentially equivalent and reflect the symmetry of a simple co-locational relationship, the distribution reflects a clear distinction between the two types of function (AR with attribute/state/activity trajectors is the norm, with attribute/state/activity landmarks is a minority option).

ATTRIBUTES ARE CONNECTED TO THE BEARER (CONNECTIONS ARE PATHS, A GOAL DEFINES A PATH); or ATTRIBUTES CONTROL THE BEARER; or ATTRIBUTES ARE SURFACE PROPERTIES OF THE BEARER

AR is used extensively to identify the trajector as an attribute or property of the landmark. This sense includes physical attributes such as color or appearance, temporal attributes (age), physical abilities whether innate or acquired, social attributes such as names, rank, or value, or behavioral attributes such as discourtesy. For most of these, AR is the majority option by a significant margin. (See section 3.3.2.1.6 for a discussion of attributes and properties for which AR does not occur.) There are reasonable arguments for motivating this use from either the "to" or "on" origins of AR. The "to" sense would be parallel to the use of I in the same function, while the "on" sense might develop via the prototypical case of visible physical attributes as surface features of a landmark. (The

Irish cognate is a strong argument for the "on" origin here, see e.g. Grady (ms).)

We may see a somewhat extended sense from this where the trajector and landmark are related components in a frame, with the trajector either an attribute or possession of the landmark. However a significant number of these occur with the specific construction PERTHYN AR (pertain to) which is most likely a calque of Latin *pertineo ad*, and so would represent the "to" sense of AR.

Topics (see sections 3.3.2.1.1.6-8)

The use of AR to mark the topic of speech or of a legal contract has several possible motivations. Topics can be construed as surroundings (via a regional location use of AR), but another plausible source might be via the mental activity version of SENSORY STIMULI ARE GOALS OF A VECTOR seen above.

EVIDENTIARY BASES ARE FOUNDATIONS (see section 3.4.1.3)

In a small group of examples, the landmark of AR is the evidentiary basis for the existence or nature of the trajector event. In most cases, the landmark is a generic "law", but parallel religious examples where "faith" is the basis for the trajector are also found.

MORE IS UP$_M$, ADDITION IS OBJECT COLLECTION$_M$ (see section 3.3.2.3 generally)

AR is used to express addition in compound numbers, most likely characterizing addition as the vertical stacking of scalar measurements. In a similar sense, it is used to indicate the lesser member of a scalar comparison.

Cognates

The major uses of the OIr cognate are extensive and essentially identical to the above list (DIL, Fraser 1910) and have been used to help distinguish "to" and "on" senses of AR in Welsh.

2.3.1.3.2 UCH

UCH forms a behavioral parallel with IS in both Welsh and Irish (although it derives from a relational object part rather than from a locative body part like IS). It had developed into an adjective as well as appearing as a preposition as early as Continental Celtic (Billy 1993, Eska 1989, Hamp 1982, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Thurneysen 1947). Its use in Medieval Welsh is largely the complement of IS, indicating "above", "at a higher elevation, upstream", and "in a high-status region". More abstract extensions of the concept "above" work from AR (just as more abstract extensions of "below" use TAN rather than IS).

STATUS IS UP_M

In parallel with IS, we find UCH used to locate the trajector in a region defined by high status. UCH is also found as a goal-marker with this sense.

PREVIOUS IN TEXT IS UP

The correlation of a point previous in a text being located higher on the page leads to a general use of UCH to mean "previous in a text" in general, even when the trajector and landmark could not be located on the same physical page. This use seems to be tied specifically to written texts, there are no examples used to mean "previously in a verbal narrative", although the nature of the sources provides less opportunity for this.

The OIr cognate covers the above senses (except possibly the textual one) and in addition has extensions based on CONTROL IS UP_M and MORE IS UP_M (DIL, Fraser 1910)

2.3.1.3.3 IS

While body-part terms contribute greatly to Medieval Welsh compound prepositions, IS is the only simple preposition that appears to have this origin (GPC, Lewis and Pedersen 1989 suggest an origin in PIE **péd-su*, a locative form of "foot"). The cognate is also found in OIr as a preposition, but Cornish and Breton appear to have it only as a comparative adjective "lower", a sense also found in Welsh. If this lack is accurate, rather than an artifact of the limited data, they must have lost the prepositional use, as the adjectival sense is a later development (Lewis and Pedersen 1989).

The prepositional senses of IS are, for the most part, also found when it is used adjectivally. The basic spatial senses locate the trajector vertically below, and not in contact with, the landmark, or at a lower elevation than, but not vertically aligned with, the landmark (including "downstream from"). When the landmark is a three-dimensional

substance, the trajector is located relative to the upper margin, i.e. "submersed in". There is a single example with IS marking a goal of motion (specifically, a lower elevation, not vertically aligned), but the lack of other goal-marking senses seems best explained by the overall rarity of the preposition.

STATUS IS UP$_M$

There are no prepositional uses of IS that have no spatial component, however several examples locate the trajector in a region defined by low status rather than low elevation.

The OIr cognate appears to be limited to spatial applications in the sense "below" (DIL, Fraser 1910).

2.3.1.3.4 TAN, GWO-

The evolution of TAN as an element meaning "under" demonstrates the process of reinforcement, erosion, and resulting replacement in spatial language. The original Celtic element with the "under" sense came from the PIE adposition **upó*, represented in OIr by *fo* and in Welsh by *gwo-* or *go-* (Beekes 1995, GPC, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Thurneysen 1947). In Brythonic, this element was extended by the element TAN, cognate with Latin *tenus* "stretched" (GPC). As late as OW, the compound appears as *guotan*, but by the Medieval Welsh period, the first syllable had reduced phonologically to *y* and was reinterpreted as an optional particle. In all the Brythonic languages, the

semantic burden shifted to the TAN element. In my data, the preposition appears in the orthographic variants *tan, a tan,* and *y tan* with no distinction of semantics and even considerable alternation within the same text. (One exmple of *y tan* may contain the source-marking compound Y TAN instead, but this is impossible to determine from the written form.) GWO- still survives in Medieval Welsh as a prefix, although no longer significantly productive (Lewis and Pedersen 1989). It occurs in one compound preposition, GWO CYFAIR, in my earliest data (see section 2.3.2.3.3.3).

The origin of TAN as a general stem extender reduces some of the confusion caused by its appearance in personal forms of AM. We need not try to understand these as "around and under" but perhaps as something more like "stretched around".

The spatial senses of TAN are similar to those for IS, except that the trajector and landmark are typically in contact, non-vertically aligned examples are absent, and goal-marking senses are more common. In addition to examples locating the trajector below the landmark (with or without contact), and the trajector submersed in (below the surface of) a three-dimensional substance, we find the former relationship as a goal of motion.

There are a couple of examples of TAN marking both a goal of motion (where the resulting relative position does not involve location underneath) and a patient of hostile action. These are hard to interpret, as the power/aggression dynamic is opposite to the general rule for spatial mappings, yet the preposition seems to supply at least some of the semantics in these examples. The preposition might simply be operating as a non-specific goal-marker, but there is no other evidence for this sense (but see a similar Irish

use below).

There is a single example of Y TAN marking location below and in contact with the landmark as a source of the trajector's motion. It is possible that Y here is the source-marking preposition rather than the reduced form of GWO-, however in context it seems unlikely that this could be used in any sort of distinguishing manner. There are other examples where basically locative prepositions can be used to mark sources (although shifts to goal-marking are far more common), so the interpretation as the more common GUO+TAN is also possible.

CONTROL IS UP_M (see sections 3.3.2.2.1.3 and 3.3.2.2.2.3)

The major systematic extension of TAN is to identify the landmark as the patient of control, either physical or socio-legal. There are bridging examples where both a spatial "below" and "under control of" sense are present.

A more general sense of influence results in examples where the landmark is a state or condition affecting the trajector either positively or negatively (i.e. the trajector is either a beneficiary or maleficiary of the landmark). This general sense of an influencing condition may also account for examples where TAN marks the trajector and landmark as co-occurring events (i.e. the trajector happens in the context of the landmark) or this may derive simply from an attenuated sense of co-location.

If one compares the Welsh uses for TAN with those for OIr *fo* (= GWO-), the continuity is noticeable. The Irish element, in addition to spatial location or goal "below"

(and extensions of this via CONTROL IS UP_M) can be used for a general location "in" and an interior goal, especially in the context of hostile action. (Note that using *fo* to mark a patient of hostile action, if based on verticality, would represent something like "Power is Down", but seems more likely to derive from its goal-marking sense.) The general location sense is extended to a variety of context senses, including cause, reason, and topic (DIL, Fraser 1910).

2.3.1.4 General Co-Location

It is rare for a preposition to indicate non-specific spatial co-location alone. Generally, either a more specific spatial orientation is indicated or some non-spatial relationship is emphasized along with the location. This group of prepositions has simple co-location as the basic sense, but are much more commonly used in extended meanings.

2.3.1.3.1 CYM

The PIE adposition **k'o(m)* (together, with) (Beekes 1995) appears in Brythonic and Continental Celtic only as a prefix (Billy 1993, Eska 1989, GPC, Lewis and Pedersen 1989) although the cognate element in OIr also appears as an independent preposition. It is relevant to the immediate study in two functions: verbs prefixed with CYM- (typically having a mutual sense), like those with YM-, may mark their most salient non-agent role with AC, regardless of the specific semantics.. (See section 4.2.1.1.) Secondly, CYM-

may be prefixed to prepositions to supply an equative (CYM + ERBYN "facing") or mutual (CYM + AR + GWYNEB + AC "opposite to") sense. (This is a more general use of its function in creating equative forms of adjectives.)

The uses of the OIr cognate do not compare directly to the Welsh element, since the latter does not occur independently, but they parallel those for other Welsh co-locational markers, especially AC (marking passive accompaniment, conjunction-like uses, and instrument) and GAN or WRTH (for manner or circumstance) (DIL, Fraser 1910).

2.3.1.4.2 CYD

CYD does not occur alone as a preposition, but forms the semantic nucleus for the forms Y CYD and (Y) CYD AC (as well as the compound YN CYD–see section 2.3.2.5.3.4). It derives from the Celtic verbal adjective **ki-to-* with senses in the range "lying (with), joining (especially sexually), joint, united" (GPC, Hamp 1987). Cognate constructions to Y CYD AC are found in Cornish and Breton (Hamp 1976, 1987). The initial element may be the predicative/adverbial *yn* (Hamp 1987) but it is beginning to become optional by the Medieval Welsh period (one-fifth of the examples lack it, in no particular pattern of distribution), a practice that expanded after the medieval period.

(Y) CYD behaves syntactically as an adverb and occurs with a dual trajector, always with a sense that the trajectors are co-located and function in parallel, either as the goal of each others' motion, or as co-agents or co-patients of an event but always

combined with physical co-location.. There is a single example with a temporal extension of this sense, where the dual trajectors are events that occur simultaneously.

(Y) CYD AC has extremely similar functions to (Y) CYD, but with an explicit landmark which is in greater focus than the trajector. The trajector and landmark may simply be co-located, or they may also be co-agents or share some other grammatical function (compare with the similar use of RHWNG where there is more equal focus—see section 2.3.1.6.3). In extended applications, both may be circumstances or events rather than concrete entities. The two may be equally in focus, or the trajector may be a secondary accompaniment or event in the control of the landmark.

YN CYD is relatively rare and has a similar function to the preceding (co-location or co-function) but with an implicit rather than explicit landmark (i.e. functioning as an adverb).

2.3.1.4.3 AC

(Note: It is a convention in Modern Welsh to write this element as *a(c)* when used as a conjunction and *â(g)* when used as a preposition. In order to recognize the essential unity of the two elements, I have chosen to represent them identically as AC.)

In the case of AC, it may be easiest to begin by identifying the functions of the word in Medieval Welsh, and then move on to its derivation. While the various uses of most prepositions are connected semantically, the four major groupings in the uses of AC as a preposition relate back to its origin as a coordinating conjunction "and". Even within

several of these four groupings, there may be a wide variety of specific semantic contexts, unified only by a fairly abstract grammatical function.

The largest and most semantically varied group occurs in combination with verbs that have a morphological element indicating mutual action (most commonly YM-, CYM-, CYD-) whether or not that mutual sense is present in use, or with verbs that have an inherent mutual sense without any morphological element corresponding to this meaning. (The commonest prefix in this group, YM-, may also indicate a reflexive sense, but this does not directly motivate the use of AC.) With these verbs, AC is used to indicate the verb's most salient role (or the role of highest animacy) after the agent. When the verb is being used in an actual context of mutual action, this use is semantically equivalent to a coordinated subject, although syntactically the element marked with AC may behave differently than a coordinated subject would. However the same verbs may be used in contexts where either there is the theoretical potential for mutual action but it is clearly not present in the immediate instance, or in contexts where there is not even the possibility of mutual action. The verb YMLADD "to fight, battle" shows this range of contexts. It may be used with mutual hostile action between an animate trajector and landmark, in a situation where both participants are animate but the action is asymmetrically transitive, or in a context where the landmark being attacked is a location or building, where mutual action is impossible. Some verbs that have a morphological mutual marker are never used in MW with a mutual sense, but the roots of this construction in a coordinated subject are abundantly clear. (See section

4.2.1.1—otherwise exampels are spread over a wide variety of semantic fields in section 3.)

In two other general groups of usage, AC seems likely to mark a similar origin in a coordinated subject, but could not represent an actual plural agent in the current situation. The use of AC to mark an instrument (see section 3.4.2.1) has struck some authors as distinct enough from the conjunction that they have felt the need to propose a word of separate origin (Jones 1913). Closely related is the use of AC to mark accompaniment (see section 3.1.1.10; prototypically this is an object under physical control, but the use is also extended to certain physical attributes or attributive states). This is particularly notable with generic verbs of motion, e.g. MYNED "to go" and DYFOD "to come", used with AC in a sense equivalent to "take" and "bring" (i.e. "go with <object>", "come with <object>"). Lambert (1978) explores the questions these senses raise in some detail and considers it most likely that both of these extensions derive from pragmatic reanalyses of a general accompaniment sense derived from the conjunction. That is, that if two coordinated entitites are involved in an event, animate entities will be understood pragmatically as either acting in concert (a true coordinated agent) or acting mutually (given the proper cues), while an animate/inanimate pair will be interpreted pragmatically as involving an agent passively accompanied by either a controlled object or, under felicitous conditions, an object whose presence furthers the overall event (i.e. an instrument). This pragmatic connection between accompaniment and instrument can also be seen with GAN.

The fourth major function of AC is to mark the comparand of an equative adjective (see section 3.3.2.3.1.1). Semantically, this is again equivalent to a coordinated subject. That is "X is equally ADJ with Y" is semantically equivalent to "X and Y are equally ADJ". (In Welsh, the verb normally takes the 3sg form with nominal subjects, whether singular or plural, so the two constructions are even more equivalent in Welsh.)

As noted above, it is a purely arbitrary convention in Modern Welsh for the conjunction and preposition to be distinguished in writing, but the two types of functions are clearly considered distinct in Medieval Welsh, and this is most easily seen when the preposition and conjunction are used together. For example:

(34) **A**'r meirch **ac a**'r cwn y doeth ef at Pryderi. [MFM:70:14]
with/and the horses **and with/and** the dogs PART come-PRET-3SG he to Pryderi
*He came **with** the horses **and with** the dogs [i.e. he brought the horses and dogs] to Pryderi .*

The origin of prepositional AC in the conjunction would appear to greatly simplify identifying its origins and connections, but this is not entirely the case. As a conjunction, AC has clear cognates in Breton and Cornish ("ha(g)") and it is used at least in Breton with the equative, similarly to Welsh. (Breton and Cornish both also use a cognate of MAL *q.v.* with the equative.) I have been unable to determine whether the accompaniment and instrumental senses of the element occur in Breton and Cornish. Lewis and Pedersen (1989) suggest a cognate equivalence of AC with Latin *atque* and the negative form *na(g)* with Latin *neque*. (This supercedes the much more convoluted

suggestions offered in Jones (1913).) As background for the following discussion, there also exists a cognate set in Brythonic: MW *agos*, MB *hogoz*, MCo *ogas*, meaning "near" (GPC, Lewis and Pedersen 1989).

Beyond this, agreement on the connections is harder to find. It is natural to look for some connection with the OIr conjunction *ocus*, *agus* (earliest form *ocuis*). Working from the Irish side, *ocus* is the default coordinating conjunction (i.e. the same function served by AC in Welsh), can be used to mark the comparand of an equative, may be used to indicate an attribute or attributive state (as in Welsh), and has been extended to use as an adjective and noun meaning "near(ness)" (DIL, Thurneysen 1947). *Ocus* is considered to be connected to the OIr preposition *oc* "at, beside, with" by several authors (DIL, Thurneysen 1947). *Oc*, in addition to indicating spatial or temporal location, and marking progressive forms of verbs, may indicate circumstance or condition (found generally for location markers in Welsh) and preventing cause (a function mostly marked by RHAG in Welsh) (DIL, Fraser 1910).

There is considerable difference of opinion as to the relationship, if any, between the Brythonic and Goedelic elements described above. Jones (1913) equates Welsh AC and Irish *ocus* (but seems in general to have had his opinion superceded by later work). GPC equates Welsh *agos* and Irish *ocus*, while Lewis and Pedersen (1989) make a similar suggestion but specifically for adjectival *ocus*. Hamp (1980) not only gives this equivalence but offers an etymology from an expression meaning "at hand" (which, if accurate, indicates that either there is no direct connection between AGOS and AC or OIr

ocuis and *oc*, or that Lewis and Pedersen's equivalence of AC with Latin *atque* is in error). Thurneysen (1947) simultaneously supports the connection between the two (p.72) and doubts it (p.54), and then suggests an equivalence between Irish *oc* and Welsh *wng*–a connection also discussed by Isaac (1994a) in connection with *oc* as a progressive marker. It is unclear whether this last possibility is completely contradicted by the much clearer cognate relationship seen in Welsh *cyf-yng* and OIr *cum-ung*, "narrow" (Lewis and Pedersen 1989).

While it would be desireable to sort out these connections more clearly–particularly in tracing non-conjunctive functions shared by AC and *ocus*–since the functions in both languages can be understood as arising directly from the conjunctive function, the parallels are plausible without the need for a common inheritance, whether the elements involved are cognate or not.

2.3.1.4.4 GAN

GAN derives from the PIE adposition **k'nt-* (by along) (Beekes 1995, Lewis and Pedersen 1989), and is represented in all branches of Celtic (GPC, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Piette 1966, Hermon 1984, Evans 1956b) although in OIr it appears to occur only as a prefix (DIL, Thurneysen 1947).

It is a general rule that the more specific locative prepositions are freely usable in a goal-marking sense, but this is not the case with GAN. There are both motivations and consequences for this. Because the locative sense of GAN is relatively unspecified as to

the spatial relationship between the trajector and landmark, a hypothetical goal-marking sense would be expected to be similarly non-specific, and therefore to be functionally synonymous with I. Redundancy of meaning clearly does not block the extension of meaning as a general rule, but in this case it lessens the consequences of not extending GAN to goal-marking. One consequence of this non-extension is that there is less potential for ambiguity when the source-marking compound Y GAN loses its initial element.

In a locational sense, GAN occurs with all types of trajectors and landmarks, but is most typical when the landmark is human and when there is a strong implication that the landmark has control or influence over the trajector. We also find GAN used as a source-marker in similar situations (human landmark with trajector formerly in its control), but this is more likely to be an eroded form of Y GAN than an extension of the locative sense of GAN. There is also an example of this sense with what is likely to be an ad hoc metaphor where "reputation" is the entity being removed from a human landmark.

We also find some of the same conjunction-like uses for GAN that occur for AC. GAN occurs rarely to mark the landmark as an instrument, from the same pragmatic interpretation of "co-location > availablity > utility" as for AC instrumentals. GAN also occurs to mark an addition or accompaniment (especially in a scalar sense) in situations where it functions like an emphatic conjunction.

POSSESSION IS CO-LOCATION (see section 3.3.1.2.3)

The strong implications of the landmark controlling the trajector enable GAN to be extended to possessive function even when there is no physical co-location. GAN is the second most common preposition used to mark legal possession, but is very much a minority option.

ACCOMPANIMENT IS CO-LOCATION (see section 3.1.1.10)

A number of specific uses seem to branch off of a general sense of accompaniment or association. One group that shows this sense fairly directly uses GAN to indicate that the trajector and landmark form a functional set, either by the addition of the trajector to a previously established landmark, or by indicating the landmark as an addition to the trajector.

EXPERIENCES ARE ACCOMPANYING ENTITIES (see section 3.3.2.2.5.3)

GAN is used to mark experiencers where the trajector is the experience–specifically, polarized, evaluative experiences such as good/bad, pleasant/unpleasant, surprise/certainty, or evaluations of magnitude. There are also bridging examples where an object is being evaluated and it is ambiguous whether the object or the evaluation event is the trajector. As with the locational and possession senses, the landmark tends to be more in focus than the trajector In these senses where GAN competes with I, GAN is generally more common for those types of experiences it occurs with (except for the good/bad set) but I is used much more generally for other

types of experiences.

ATTRIBUTES AND ABILITIES ARE ACCOMPANYING ENTITIES (see section 3.3.2.1.6)

As with the preceding sense, GAN takes attributes and abilities as a trajector with the bearer as the landmark, where the landmark is the focal element. Physical attributes are rare in this construction; most common are physical abilities (including evaluations of ability such as "easy"), behavioral habits, and non-physical abilities and attributes (such as "meaning"). In general, GAN is very much a minority option for marking the bearer of attributes or abilities with the sole exception of physical abilities, where it is one of several major options.

CIRCUMSTANCES OR CONDITIONS ARE ACCOMPANYING ENTITIES

There are several special cases of this found for GAN, although not so much for a non-specific idea of circumstance or context.

ENABLING OR BENEFITTING CONDITIONS ARE ACCOMPANYING ENTITIES (see section 3.1.4.5)

The potential symmetry of relationship between the trajector and landmark in the locatives sense of GAN carries over when it is used with enabling or benefitting (or un-benefitting) conditions such as permission, advice, refusal. Most commonly the trajector is the benefitted entity with the landmark being the enablement or benefit, but the reverse is also found. Used to identify the landmark as a benefit or enablement, GAN is the most

common prepositional option, although not overwhelmingly so. Used to identify the landmark as a beneficiary, it is very much a minority option.

TEMPORAL CIRCUMSTANCES ARE ACCOMPANYING OBJECTS

This is simply the temporal version of the general case. GAN is a relatively uncommon option for this sense.

CAUSES ARE CIRCUMSTANCES (i.e. CORRELATIONS$_P$) (see section 3.4.1)

The shift from neutral circumstances to causes and cause-like functions (reasons, motivations, legal bases) derives from a pragmatic understanding that entities in close proximity are likely to influence each other. There are several types of sources for causal language, most commonly source-marking elements, and it is possible that the use of GAN here is as an eroded form of source-marking Y GAN instead. The causation in these examples is mostly indirect–more implied than explicit.

AGENTS ARE SOURCES (see section 3.5.1)

The use of GAN to mark agents derives from an eroded form of source-marking Y GAN. Both forms are found in this sense and although plain GAN is somewhat more common, the occurrence of both points to Y GAN being the origin of this use. While (Y) GAN is an extremely rare option with actions expressed by a verbal noun (where O is the much preferred option), it is the preferred or only option when the action is expressed by a noun or verbal adjective.

Since OIr cognate uses aren't available for comparison, a survey of the Cornish cognate uses may be useful. Evans (1956b) catalogs these, showing broad overlap with the Welsh senses, covering possession, circumstances (temporal and event-based), causes, and instruments (although not agents). Interestingly, given that the OIr cognate is not used as an independent preposition, the closest semantic parallel in Irish for this set of senses comes from *la*, *le*, *li*, which itself has no prepositional cognate in Welsh. In addition to spatial co-location (as a rare usage), it can be used to mark a possessor, context or sphere of action, agent, experiencer, instrument, temporal location or duration, cause, and purpose (DIL, Fraser 1910, MacCana 1983, Müller 1992, Schrijver 1995).

2.3.1.4.5 WRTH

WRTH derives from the PIE verbal stem **uert-* (to turn) and evolved into an adposition early enough that it appears in adverbial form in Continental Celtic (Eska 1989) and has a prepositional function throughout Celtic (Evans 1956b, Hamp 1954, Hemon 1984, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Lewis and Piette 1966, Schrijver 1994, Thurneysen 1947, Williams 1927, Williams 1956). The etymology suggests an original sense of "turned towards" and the spatial senses in Insular Celtic cover a complex range of meaning including "facing towards, against, by, opposite to" that focus around co-location with an orientation of salient interactive surfaces.

The locative uses of WRTH (see section 3.1.1.10) include examples of simple co-location, but focus more on cases where the trajector and landmark are in contact or

actually attached to each other, but their relative orientation is otherwise unspecified. This focus on attachment may be the inanimate version of the focus on interactive co-location or co-location with an entity on which attention is focused. WRTH can also be used to indicate any of the location conditions as a goal of motion. But goal-marking use is uncommon enough that it is difficult to identify any restrictions on the nature of the trajector or landmark in this context. WRTH may also mark the goal of an orientational vector, unsurprisingly given its origin.

Speech/Hearing Involves the Interaction of Two Co-Located Animate Entities (see section 3.3.2.2.4.2)

The above is not a statement of metaphor, but a pragmatic background understanding. WRTH is used to mark the hearer of speech in specific circumstances. When the content of the speech is supplied by a quote, WRTH is the preferred choice to mark the hearer by a large margin, and the exceptions primarily involve the verb GOFYN "to ask". WRTH is also used with indirect speech or speech referred to nominally in the presence of certain verbs, primarily DWEUD "to say" or CROESO "to greet, welcome", but I is normal in these situations with other verbs.

An Agent is Co-Located with, and Gives Attention To, an Activity

There are a several special cases of this use, but also a general sense that WRTH can mark an activity that is being engaged in. This also seems to be the sense underlying the "cause" and "purpose" group of senses.

The Target of an Errand is an (Intended) Hearer ; or perhaps simply: Errands Expect Interactional Co-Location as an End Product (see section 3.4.3)

A group of uses of WRTH seem to be triggered by the use of forms of the root NEGES "errand", quite possibly motivated by a prototypical scenario in which errands are characterized primarily as speech-related events and the target of an errand as an intended hearer. WRTH is used to mark the target or purpose of an errand (using NEGES) even when this is an event or a non-human entity. There are also examples where the landmark of WRTH is the errand itself, which may simply be a metonymic transfer of reference from a component of the errand frame to the whole frame.

A Stimulus Operates in the Near Vicinity of, and Interacts With, the Experiencer

In a use that seems parallel to that of marking hearers, WRTH is used to mark a person (or other entity) towards which an emotion is expressed. Note that this is different from the experiencer of an internal emotion, and also distinguished from the stimulus of an internally experienced emotion. In theory, one may have a scenario where a Stimulus causes an Experiencer to feel and subsequently express an emotion towards a Target with different entities in each role. Frequently, however, the Stimulus and Target are the same entity, and it is ambiguous which function is being marked (see sections 3.3.2.2.3.3, 3.4.1.1.4, and 3.6.3). And WRTH is also used to identify the landmark as a stimulus in circumstances where a separate target expression is not expected. Both these functions may also overlap with a hearer of speech in the examples.

The Content or Topic of a Mental Experience is a Stimulus of that Experience (see section 3.3.2.1.1.7)

WRTH is used to mark the topic or content of certain evaluative mental experiences, particularly "need", possibly extended from its use in marking a stimulus. However there are also examples of topics or contents of mental experiences being marked with Y WRTH, parallel to the use of source-marking O in the same function, and the use of simple WRTH in this sense may simply be an eroded form of Y WRTH.

CIRCUMSTANCES ARE SURROUNDINGS; CAUSES, REASONS, LEGAL EVIDENCE, AND PURPOSES ARE CIRCUMSTANCES (see section 3.4 generally)

As we saw with GAN, the circumstances of an event can be characterized as physical surroundings or entities in the environment. Further, circumstances can be reanalyzed as direct causes, indirect reasons or stimuli of the event, or a socio-legal evidentiary basis for the nature or occurrence of an event, and WRTH is used to identify the landmark as all of these. But we also find these circumstances having implications of purpose, from the reverse analysis. Of these various functions, the most common is an indirect reason, with purpose coming second. Physical causes and legal bases are less common. WRTH is, in fact, the majority choice for marking indirect reasons, but is very much a minority option for marking physical causes and legal bases. When marking purposes, WRTH, like I, does not restrict the nature of the purpose, but WRTH is much less common in this function than the other, occurring mostly in combination with non-

motion verbs.

A Standard or Determiner of Scalar Amount is a Circumstance (see section 3.3.2.3.4)

There are a cluster of uses of WRTH where the landmark in some way determines, influences, or measures the scalar amount of the trajector. These may be extensions of the the use in marking causes and indirect reasons, but some members of the cluster seem more likely to derive directly from an image metaphor of placing two entites beside each other in contact to measure one against the other.

Cognates

The OIr cognate is strongly parallel in function, covering not only the spatial senses, but also topic or context, activity, patient/stimulus of emotion or behavior, and hearer. The Irish element also covers a number of functions more typically associated with the compound Y WRTH in Welsh (although see section 2.3.2.2.1.1.2 regarding the erosion of distinction between the two), including comparand, separation, speaker (with verbs of listening), as well as other functions more commonly associated with source-marking language, such as agent and instrument (DIL, Fraser 1910, MacCana 1983).

The range of uses for the Cornish cognate is also worth noting. It covers much the same territory as the Welsh element except for the measurement sense, along with several uses for which other prepositions are more typical in Welsh, e.g. patient of hostility or manipulation (typically AR in Welsh), prevented or hindered entity or action (typically

RHAG in Welsh), and with a verbal-noun to mark the progressive (Evans 1956b).

2.3.1.4.6 WNG

The vanishingly rare Welsh element WNG (also *wnc*, *yng*) has unclear connections. Lewis and Pedersen (1989) note a Breton cognate *enk* and mentions the cognates Welsh *cyf-yng* OIr *cum-ung* "narrow" containing it. However this equation appears to be in conflict with suggestions that it is cognate with OIr *oc* (Isaac 1994a, Thurneysen 1947). Part of the context of Isaac's argument is to suggest that Welsh WNG is not only cognate with OIr *oc*, but shared its function as a progressive marker (used with verbal-nouns) and was the origin of the Welsh progressive marker *yn*. This conflicts with other opinions that Irish *oc* is to be connected with Welsh *a(c)* and *agos* (see discussion in section 2.3.1.4.3) as well as being believed to be unnecessary under alternate theories of Welsh progressive/predicative *yn* (see the discussion in section 2.3.1.6.1). Since the progressive/predicative marker has not been part of my study (except in the necessity of distinguishing it from the preposition YN), the resolution of this question is not vital to the present work.

The Welsh element is identifiable for the most part only in compounds (YN WNG "near", O WNG "from near") none of which occur in my data. Jones (1913), in his discussion of personal forms of RHWNG appears to connect it in some way with WNG, for which see the discussion on RHWNG.

See the discussion under AC (section 2.3.1.4.3) for consideration of possible Irish

cognates.

2.3.1.4.7 ACH

This element is something of a mystery–none of my sources so much as speculate on its origins, and no cognates are mentioned in any other language, even Welsh's closest relatives. ACH only occurs in compounds, of which ACH LLAW is the only relevant item here. The element appears to contribute only a general locative sense, although based on other compounds, this is no indication that the independent element might not have had a more specific meaning originally.

2.3.1.5 Front

One of the clear effects of embodiment on prepositional language in Medieval Welsh is the asymmetry between elements identifying front versus back location. Entities located in front are typically more salient to our consciousness because that is the region of our body where sensory and interactive features are located, and hence this location is part of a richer pragmatic context and more likely to be borrowed for non-spatial applications. There are no simple prepositions indicating location behind (and relatively few compounds), while there are two basic roots indicating the front position, one of which occurs in several forms that I classify as "simple", as well as a multitude of compounds with a similar sense.

2.3.1.5.1 RHAG

This element derives from a compound stem in PIE, **pró-ko-* (GPC). The compound is found in several IE families, in some cases as an adposition or spatial adverb, suggesting that it may have existed as an adposition in Celtic in general (or perhaps as early as PIE), despite its apparent absence in OIr. It occurs throughout Brythonic (GPC, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Piette 1966, Hemon 1984).

In locative senses, RHAG indicates the loction of the trajector in the vicinity of, and in a region projected from the front of, the landmark. Most commonly, the landmark is animate, but it may be an asymmetric inanimate entity to which a "front" has been mapped, based on the most salient interactive subset. One notable extension of this is the treatment of the portion of a body of land bordering a body of water as a "front", thus a landmark located near a shore, but separated by water can be marked by RHAG (and this particular use occurs as an adjective as well). There are several examples where the trajector of RHAG is an event that occurs in front of the landmark and clearly benefits the landmark. While this could, in theory, be available for extension to a general beneficiary-marking function, there are no beneficiary examples without spatial components.

This "located in front" sense is not extended to a goal-marking sense in my data. There is, however, a common idiomatic use of RHAG that apears to derive from a reflexive use of "motion to a location in front". It occurs with verbs of motion used to indicate actual spatial motion, and with an inflected form of RHAG in concord with the

agent of the verb. It seems to function similarly to the English adverb "forth" in the sense of emphasizing the progression of movement, and deriving proximally from an image of the moving entity going "forward", i.e., constantly having as a goal a region projected from its own front. The general notion of progress and process has been abstracted from this, and we find a few examples of this usage with non-motion scenarios, focusing on the progress of an activity (THE PROGRESS OF EXTERNAL EVENTS IS FORWARD MOTION$_L$). (Note that the personal form of RHAG matches the agent of the activity, not necessarily the subject of the verb.)

NEGATIVE AND AVOIDED STIMULI ARE ENTITIES CONFRONTING THE EXPERIENCER

The other non-spatial uses of RHAG all involve notions of conflict, negative stimulus, avoidance, prevention, and the like. These senses select out a different aspect of "facing" than the positively interactional one characterized by WRTH (see section 2.3.1.4.5), working instead from the threat/aggression potential inherent in such a scenario. From a prototypical scenario in which these events involve two animate antagonists, physically confronting (and facing) each other, we find RHAG marking the stimulus of the event. For a scenario where the landmark is the stimulus of avoidance behavior (i.e., the thing being avoided) we even have a bridging example where the avoider experiences the stimulus while located in front of that stimulus. The most common use is in situations where the landmark is the stimulus of a preventive action. (This sense is also extended to the use of RHAG as a verb.) Less strongly, we find as landmarks events

being opposed or contradicted (without full prevention) or possibilities being indemnified against. Even more generally, there is significant use when the landmark is a negative simulus or cause for the occurrence of an event. Much more rarely, we find RHAG marking a neutral or positive cause or stimulus of an event, but from the overwhelming predominance of negative landmarks, this would appear to be a generalization from the negative case.

Interestingly, Cornish uses its cognate of RHAG to mark (among other things) an equivalent or exchange (Williams 1944), compare a similar sense for Welsh ER (see section 2.3.1.5.2.1), sharing the underlying "front" sense.

2.3.1.5.2 The ER Group

I have grouped here a number of prepositions that derive (or are proposed to derive) from the element ER. Although some of them are clearly of compound origin, I include them here because they behave syntactically as single units in Medieval Welsh.

2.3.1.5.2.1 ER

Medieval Welsh ER has a confusing background, possibly due to the merging of two separate words (Thurneysen 1947, Lewis and Pedersen 1989). Several authors connect the word with OIr *ar, air*, an so with the PIE adposition **péri* (over) (GPC, Hamp 1975a, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Thurneysen 1947, Williams 1969) but Thurneysen (1947) suggests merger with an element cognate with Greek *pár, pára, páros*

(and so from PIE *$*prh_2ós$* "before"), which matches significant semantic aspects of the ER cognates more closely. There is a general agreement that the word can be connected with Continental Celtic *are-* (Billy 1993, Eska 1989, GPC, Thurneysen 1947, Williams 1969) but there is the same disagreement seen above as to which PIE element this connects it with and, in fact, the precise relationship between the Irish and Welsh words (Williams 1969).

Spatial uses of ER can be found occasionally in Old Welsh and archaic texts, and there are traces of spatial use (for general co-location) in Medieval Cornish. Medieval Breton only shows non-spatial senses parallel to the Welsh uses for marking causes and contrasts, and even these seem to have disappeared early in the period. The evidence of Brittonic and Gaulish place-names suggests spatial uses similar to those found for RHAG in Medieval Welsh, including "located near and especially facing (across) a body of water" (e.g. *Aremorica* Williams 1969). The Irish cognate, however, retains extensive spatial applications, centering around location (or goal) in front of the landmark, as well as having non-spatial senses matching those of the Brythonic languages, including beneficiary, cause, and exchange. This pattern makes ER an interesting study in patterns of evidence for semantic change and loss. The picture we get is of a spatial preposition that had developed an variety of established non-spatial extensions at a very early stage–possibly even at the Common Celtic stage. In the Goedelic branch, the spatial senses were retained, but in the Brythonic branch they were lost in favor of other front-marking strategies (RHAG and various compounds drawing on body parts). The non-spatial uses

continued in Brythonic, although with variable endurance. The "front" sense does survive, however, in the compound AR CYFAIR "facing, opposite" (where the first element of the compound is actually to be identified with ER–see section 2.3.2.3.3.3), but not so much in ERBYN (see section 2.3.1.5.2.2). (Williams 1944 discusses this general topic in detail.)

The uses of ER occur in three general semantic clusters: temporal, a contrastive conjunction-like function, and marking a purpose-like function.

Temporally, ER behaves somewhat differently from the usual extensions of "before, front" spatial relations. It marks the trajector event as occurring at some point between the beginning of the landmark (usually a time-extent) and the implicit "now" of the utterance. It always occurs in reference to an established "historic" scenario relative to a narrative point of view, and never in abstract time references or projected future events. While the basic metaphor is clearly that of moving time, it is ambiguous whether we are dealing with the "moving experiencer" version, with the landmark extent as "experiencer" in front of which (i.e. later than which) the trajector is located, or whether we are dealing with the "moving event" version, with the implicit point of view as the event in front of which (i.e. earlier than which) the trajector occurs. Elsewhere, temporal versions of "in front" senses invariably use the "moving experiencer" metaphor.

Cause, Benefit, Purpose (see section 3.4 generally)

As with AR, O, and WRTH, the cause-like senses of ER occur in a cluster of

partially overlapping specifics. Cases of pure "physical cause" and "non-physical reason" occur occasionally, but much more commonly we find these overlapping with "in exchange for" or that sense alone. "In exchange for" further overlaps heavily in examples with an indication of purpose or with a beneficiary (both of which also occur alone).

A significant subset of the examples where ER marks a beneficiary are cases where the proposed benefit is relatively intangible and the potential beneficiary is being invoked in order to influence the volitional actions of a third party. There is a relatively continuous spectrum of examples as follow:

- <proposed action> ER <person purposefully and concretely benefitted by action>
- <proposed action> ER <person indirectly and perhaps incidentally benefitted by action>
- <proposed action> ER <person intangibly benefitted by action, e.g. "in honor of">
- <proposed action> ER <God, i.e. a special case of the preceding>

This set of data leads me to challenge the established interpretation of a common conventional expression in Medieval Welsh literature: *yrof a Duw*, habitually translated as "Between me and God!" but for which I will argue the interpretation "For my sake and God's!" (see section 3.5.2.1.1 for this discussion).

ER as a Conjunction

The conjunctive use of ER seems most likely to derive via the metaphor CIRCUMSTANCES ARE SURROUNDINGS$_F$, with the same sort of contradictory or oppositional flavor that pervades the use of ERBYN and which may derive from prototypically

oppositional readings of a face-to-face (mutually "in front") scenario involving human beings. (Note that all the various "mutually facing" prepositional constructions *can* have non-confrontational uses, but these do seem to predominate.) So we can see this sense arising from a reading "event X occurs in the presence/context of event Y which might be expected to contradict or prevent event X". There are two distinct conjuctive uses: where the trajector event occurs in contradiction to the landmark event, and where the landmark event is conceded (as a negative factor) but the trajector event occurs anyway.

Cognates

As noted above, the OIr cognate has significant overlap with the Welsh element in marking cause, beneficiary, invoked entity, purpose, and substitute. In addition, it retains spatial senses (although they are less common than the non-spatial uses) as location in front (and occasional temporal extensions as "before") or a general goal of motion. The Welsh use as a concessive conjunction can be related to the Irish use with verbs of deprivation, loss, protection, and defense (cf. Welsh RHAG). There are a handful of other Irish abstract senses that are not paralleled in Welsh, including topic, means, context, and stimulus of a mental experience (DIL, Fraser 1910, Williams 1969).

2.3.1.5.2.2 ERBYN

ERBYN is the Medieval Welsh preposition most clearly on the cusp between compound and simple prepositions. It derives from a compound of ER (see section

2.3.1.5.2.3) and PEN ("head", see section 2.3.2.3.1.1), but shows complete fusion by the absence of infixed pronoun objects, as well as showing signs of age in the preservation of an old dative form of PEN (GPC, Hamp 1975a, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Thurneysen 1947). Cognates of the compound are found throughout Insular Celtic, and in OIr it is still very much a loose compound.

While compounds with "head" are both common enough and well-motivated enough for coincidence to be a possibility, the semantic parallels between the two branches of Insular Celtic, as well as the phonological signs of age, make this rather less likely. The overlap between simple ER and ERBYN around the functions of contradiction and opposition (and, in Irish, around "location in front") suggest that the compound may originally have been simply a reinforced form of ER with similar semantics, although the two have diverged or specialized at a later point. The behavior of personal forms of ERBYN in the Brythonic languages illustrates a transitional stage between loose and close compounds. Medieval Cornish contains personal forms of the type found for loose prepositional compounds: <presposition> + <genitive pronoun> + <noun>. The earliest Welsh examples are already fused morphologically, but this fusion does not appear to have occurred early enough for ERBYN to have developed personal forms by suffixing pronouns to the compound. Instead, when ERBYN occurs with a pronominal landmark, it is always in the form YN ERBYN. (See section 2.3.2.3.1.1 for a detailed discusion of this phenomenon.)

Presumably the original sense of ERBYN would have been primarily spatial with

a sense of "front" and there are traces of this in the various compounds of the element (see section 2.3.2.2.3), but it is absent from the simple form in Medieval Welsh. The most common use of simple ERBYN is temporal, indicating a trajector event located at some time prior to the later end of a landmark event or extent (possibly before the landmark extent entirely, but more typically relatively close to the later end). Compare the general temporal use of PEN to indicate the later end of a time extent (section 2.3.2.3.1.1) and the use of ER in some sense similar to "earlier" (section 2.3.1.5.2.1). This may occur with an implication that the landmark event is the end purpose or the indirect reason for the trajector event (CAUSAL PRECEDENCE IS TEMPORAL PRECEDENCE$_L$).

The other uses of ERBYN mark the landmark as either a physical subset or attribute (specifically, a name) by which the trajector is accessed or manipulated. These may derive through a co-location sense, via ACCESS IS PROXIMITY, cf. GER and HERWYD in similar senses (see the following sections).

The OIr cognate of ERBYN shares a similar temporal sense, but not the manipulative sense. It also has a sense of "goal for the purpose of meeting" and confrontational senses extended from this for which Welsh uses YN ERBYN (Williams 1969).

2.3.1.5.2.3 GER

Williams (1954, 1969) presents intriguing arguments that GER is actually simply a variant of ER (cf. *gerfydd* as a variant of HERWYDD), originating first in compounds

such as GER LLAW, GER GWYNEB, and GER BRON (see section 2.3.2.5.3.1) and later giving rise to simple GER as a back-formation. It occurs primarily in the above-mentioned body-part compounds, and the lack of examples of GER PEN may be strong support for Williams' theory (i.e. they are pre-empted by the existence of ERBYN), an absence that is otherwise hard to explain, given that PEN is the most widely used body-part with non-specific prepositions in compounds. GER as an independent preposition occurs only once in my data, indicating a subset of an entity by which the entity is manipulated–extremely similar to a sense found for HERWYDD and ERBYN.

2.3.1.5.2.4 HERWYDD

This element is also discussed in the section on compounds derived from verbs (section 2.3.2.6.2), but I include it here because it functions as a unitary word in Medieval Welsh (as well as appearing as the second element in compounds, although none that occur in my data). It derives from Celtic **ari-wid-*, elements meaning "front + to see" (GPC, Lewis and Pedersen 1989). (Variant forms *erwydd* and *gerfydd* also occur.) It is found in some function in all three Brythonic languages (GPC, Hemon 1984) but I can find no reference to any Irish cognate.

In Welsh, it is rare in a spatial sense (where it means roughly "accessing or manipulating an entity by means of some sub-portion of that entity") and is more typically found in manner-type expressions with senses ranging from "according to [some authority]", "in an amount or manner determined by [determining event or condition]". Breton and Cornish share the "according to" sense, and we may propose a link between

the etymology and the various manner senses, aided by a shift similar to that found for YN OL (see section 2.3.2.3.2) from "following (in space)" to "following, in accordance with (an authority)". We may propose a semantic chain something alont the lines of:

1. looking forward at
2. location behind (with attention)
3. following, pursuing
    and thence to both
        4a. pursuing to control or manipulate
    and
        4b. acting in parallel, imitation, or accordance with.

2.3.1.6 In

Simple prepositions referring to interior locations tend to have relatively distinct applications. So, for example, RHWNG has replaced ITHR, rather than coexisting with it. See also the discussion of MEWN in section 2.3.2.3.3.6, but in the medieval period it still occurs primarily in compound form, so I have placed it in that section.

2.3.1.6.1 YN

The derivation of the preposition YN is extremely straightforward. It comes from the PIE adposition *$*h_1en$* (in) and can be found as an independent preposition throughout Celtic (Beekes 1995, Billy 1993, Eska 1989, Hemon 1984, Jones 1913, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Lewis and Piette 1966, Strachan 1909, Thurneysen 1947). The difficulty in interpreting examples of YN comes from the number of other elements of similar form it can be confused with.

Due to orthographic practices, the preposition and conjunction YNY (see section 2.3.1.9.3) can be confused with YN + <various elements of the form "y"> (Lewis and Pedersen 1989). The same source suggests that one temporal construction of the form *yn + <relative clause>* involves an archaic form of the definite article, used as a relative marker, rather than the preposition (although I have found extremely parallel constructions with unambiguously prepositional elements such as HYD). Further confusing the issue, most of the elements that normally occur as *yn* may occasionally appear as *y* (or *i*) either in particular contexts (e.g. before the 1sg and 2sg possessive pronouns (Evans 1964)) or due to the elision of homorganic consonants (e.g. *ym + Mon > ymon*) or simply as a free orthographic variant (Watkins 1957, 1960).

The principal confusion comes from the progressive marker *yn* (used in periphrastic constructions with BE and a verbal-noun) and the predicative/adverbial particle *yn* (used with BE and a predicate noun or adjective, or with an adjective used adverbially). Although these two functions are often discussed together, there is good evidence that they have entirely different origins. Various authors have advanced a theory that the predicative/adverbial *yn* derives from a variant form of the definite article (Gensler 1996, Pedersen 1899, Watkins 1962), while opinion is mixed on whether the progressive *yn* shares the same origin or is prepositional in origin, and if so, from what preposition (Gensler 1996, Isaac 1994a, Schumacher 2000, Watkins 1962). (Isaac, in particular, argues that progressive *yn* not only parallels the function of Irish progressive *oc* but is a direct cognate of that element and can be identified with the preposition WNG. This

view, however, goes against the general opinion on the relationships of Irish *oc* and seems motivated largely by a desire to identify a common origin for the Irish and Welsh progressive constructions. Others (e.g. Fife 1990) consider a multiple-origin theory unnecessary and consider it plausible for all three functions to derive from the same prepositional origin.

Fortunately, the question of the possible prepositional origins of the predicative or progressive markers in MW is enough of a minor topic in my study that I can set the question aside unsettled. What I cannot ignore is the need to distinguish between these three constructions in my data in order to explore how the senses of YN are related and extended. The three major players under consideration here are distinguished in use in a number of ways, at least in theory. However not all of these distinctions are consistently made in Medieval Welsh texts.

Predicative/adverbial *yn*

- causes lenition in the following element
- is followed by an adjective phrase or an indefinite noun phrase
- always retains the same form

Progressive *yn*

- causes no mutation
- is followed by a verbal-noun (which may have a pronominal object prefixed, taking the form of a "genitive" pronoun); note that verbal-nouns are also able to behave in every way as a noun in noun phrases
- always retains the same form

Prepositional *yn*

- causes the nasal mutation in the following element
- is followed by a noun phrase (of any type: pronominal, definite, or indefinite)
- shows allomorphy, appearing as *ym* before labial consonants, *yng* before velar consonants, and *yn* elsewhere

So, in theory, an example of *yn* must be prepositional if any of the following occur:

- it shows allomorphy
- it causes nasal mutation
- it takes a pronominal object (i.e., appears in a personal form)
- it takes a definite noun phrase (although a verbal-noun + pronoun object can give the false appearance of a definite noun phrase)

Matters are not quite this simple, unfortunately. The presence of allomorphy is fairly useful. A survey of nearly 500 of the most unambiguously prepositional examples in my data (spatial location) show that the allomorphy rule is only broken when the reduced form of the preposition, "y", is written. One never finds the written form "yn" before labial or velar consonants.

The presence, or rather the absence, of the nasal mutation is considerably less useful as an indicator. It is rarely indicated by orthography after YN in the aforementioned sample data, except for C/K where the mutation is written out about a quarter of the time. (While there is sometimes a tendency for proper nouns not to mutate, and proper nouns are significantly represented in this data, there is no distinction shown on this basis in this particular context.)

Lenition after predicative/adverbial *yn* is reflected much more consistently in orthography in my data. Of the consonants subject to lenition in this context, only "d"

regularly lacks an orthographic indication (and there is commonly a general failure to distinguish [d] and [D], whether or not lenition is involved), and "t" shows a mixed pattern.

Even within the above constraints, the appearance of allomorphy and mutation in the texts may not always be a clear indicator of the nature of the element. Evans (1964) identifies a number of apparent predicative/adverbial examples showing allomorphy and the nasal mutation. He specifically mentions examples of *ygwyllt* "wild", *yn nyblyg* "enfolded, in the folds of", *ymhell* "far", *ynghynt* "sooner", and *yn nellt* "splintered, in splinters" (the first three of which occur in my data). I am somewhat less certain that these need to be explained in terms of the adverbial *yn* construction.

Gwyllt and *dellt* occur both in nominal and adjectival uses, and the constructions with *yn* would make just as much sense as the prepositional use marking the result of a change process (see below) as an adverbial construction. The example of *yn nyblyg* involves literal spatial location not simply within a defined region, but involving a container schema. While *pell* alone does not appear to be used nominally, it occurs in a number of clearly prepositional compounds (HYD PELL, I PELL, O PELL) which provide a more than reasonable context for interpreting YN PELL as similarly prepositional. This leaves only *ynghynt* (YN CYNT) without an obvious argument for a prepositional interpretation. Narrowing the apparent exceptions down to a single case greatly undermines the position that allomorphy of *yn* and the nasal mutation are normal outside the prepositional construction, and I have worked from the position that these

attributes indicate the preposition.

Given the tests detailed above to distinguish prepositional from non-prepositional *yn*, what are some circumstances where the identification is still uncertain, and why? (And do they present a significant problem for the goals of my analysis?) Both progressive and predicative expressions often describe a state or activity that applies to an entity. And states and activities *can* be expressed in unambiguously prepositional constructions, usually motivated by the metaphor STATES/ACTIVITIES ARE LOCATIONS$_P$ using e.g. O or AR. So on this basis, there is no inherent semantic bar to understanding the *yn* in an expression *<entity> yn <state/activity>* as prepositional and motivated by a spatial metaphor. (Indeed, this is the underlying motivation commonly offered for progressive *yn*, although opinions on the specific nature of the preposition differ.) This comprises the most problematic category for interpretation and, given any cue for the preposition, I have considered examples in that context.

Constructions with adverbial/predicative *yn* can also cause confusion in analyzing possible prepositional compounds. Some words indicating generic object parts or abstract spatial concepts may serve as both noun and adjective. Thus a construction *yn + <spatial element>* may be interpretable as either an adverbial construction from an adjective (which may subsequently be related to a reference entity using similar strategies as compound prepositions), or as a compound preposition based on a de-adjectival spatial noun (which may subsequently be used adverbially in addition to being used with an overt landmark).

Spatial Location

Spatial uses of YN focus on locating the trajector in the interior of a defined two- or three-dimensional landmark. There is no particular restriction on the nature of the trajector. Major categories of landmarks that are found with locative senses of YN include geographic regions (whether identified by a proper name or by a generic term), three-dimensional substances (e.g. water), man-made structures (specifically including buildings, rooms, and enclosures), made-made objects whose primary function is containment (bags, dishes) or that surround the trajector (clothing), or where the trajector is a decorative element (such as a gemstone) both inset into the landmark and presumably fastened by partial containment. The trajector may also be an event, occurring within the limits of the landmark. Although not functional containers, beds and chairs are marked with YN relative to a human trajector using them. This may be derived from a more general "defined region" sense, or may have evolved in the context of more container-like furniture styles.

While any of the above senses may also occur as a goal of the trajector's motion, examples where the landmark is a man-made container (e.g. a bag) or where it is water (as a three-dimensional substance) are disproportionately represented among goals. (Regions as goals more typically use the compound HYD YN and man-made buildings as goals more typically use I.) YN may also mark the goal of a sensory vector or of an extent.

In a conventional expression, the use of YN with "the world" as a landmark is

used to indicate exhaustive scope. (The bridging sense is fairly obvious, but can be seen additionally in an example that uses "the sea" as a landmark where the trajector is an aquatic animal.) This is the same scope expression discussed earlier for AR (see section 2.3.1.3.1).

BODIES ARE REGIONS/CONTAINERS (literal and metaphoric)

The body is treated as a container, using YN, for trajectors physically located within the boundaries of the body (blood, fetuses, inserted weapons), but can also be used to mark the body as a whole of which a bodypart is a subset. When a part of the body is in manipulative or enclosing contact with an object it is characterized as containment (see also compounds such as YN LLAW). Beyond this, the body is conceptualized as a metaphoric container for a number of non-concrete trajectors. Both a body's own soul and a possessing devil can be located "in" a body.

The body can be characterized as a metaphoric container for a variety of attributes, abilities, experiences, and states. These include physical attributes (appearance, temperature, age), physical abilities, experiences (mental or emotional activity, physical states), or socio-legal attributes (value). YN is, however, a minority option for expressing this sort of relationship.

A small group of examples are hard to relate directly to these or the preceding concrete senses, using YN to identify the landmark as a patient of physical manipulation. One example is ambiguous between this sense and the body as the container-goal of a

weapon, but this seems unlikely to be the path for the general case.

GROUPS AND SEMANTIC FRAMES ARE REGIONS/CONTAINERS (cf. SOCIAL GROUPS ARE CONTAINERS$_M$) (see section 3.3.1.1.1)

YN is used to indicate membership of the trajector in a landmark group, or as a subset of a landmark, or as an element of a semantic frame as landmark. Probably included in this general sense is the use of YN to relate units of measurement to an overall measurement as the landmark.

TEXTS ARE CONTAINERS OF LANGUAGE$_M$ (see section 3.3.2.1.1.5)

While there are other ways of relating the contents or meaning of a text to the text itself, one method is to treat the text as a container, using YN.

TIME-PERIODS ARE REGIONS/CONTAINERS (see various references in section 3.2 generally)

In temporal uses, YN is used to indicate co-occurrence of two events, either when the trajector and landmark are co-occurring discrete events, or when the landmark is an extent of time and the trajector is either a discrete event or a time-extent occurring within the bounds of the landmark. (The landmark may be identified metonymically by an event or state that defines the time-period.)

CIRCUMSTANCES ARE REGIONS/CONTAINERS (see section 3.3.2.2.7)

The context in which a trajector-event occurs can be expressed with YN, where that context may be another event or activity (whether physical or socio-legal), or the presence or absence of a state. Several of the common extensions for circumstances are also found with YN, such as MEANS ARE CIRCUMSTANCES and PURPOSES ARE CIRCUMSTANCES. A specialized subset involve circumstances of socio-legal control identified as MEDDIANT (power) or EWYLLUS (will). Possibly also included here would be the use of YN to mark the topic or content of an event.

Predicative-like Functions

Two groups of senses have a major potential for category ambiguity. One involves a concept of purpose or instantiation (see section 3.3.2.3.2), that is, of an entity that functions as, is considered as, or takes on the nature of, some other entity. This closely parallels the general function of predicative/adverbial expressions, and the general semantic function contains examples that unambiguously belong to both constructions, as well as those that cannot be distinguished by form alone. The second problematic group marks the result of some type of process of change (see section 3.4.4.3.1). If prepositional YN can indicate a metaphoric state-location, then (because it is used spatially both for static locations and goals of motion) it can also mark an acquired state as an achieved location. However it is also the case that verbs of becoming may, like the copula, take nominal or adjectival predicates. So both interpretations are well-motivated.

Examples of results of change that give syntactic or morphological evidence for using the preposition rather than the predicative marker include *yn eu cnawd eu hun* "[changed] to his own body" (in a magical shape-shifting context) and *ym breint ei tad* "[comes into/achieves] his father's status" (see section 3.4.4.3.1 for further examples in context).

In all, there appears to be strong evidence for considering at least some subset of these two groups (instantiation and result of change) to be prepositional, even though some are also clearly predicative. (Indeed, points of overlap such as this may have created enough confusion to motivate some of the constructional "leakage" between the two.)

Cognates

The OIr cognate provides substantial support for understanding many of these "predicative-like" functions as prepositional instead. Like the Welsh element, it can be used with manner or circumstances, result (especially of a process of change), instantiation, and state or condition. In fact, OIr *i n-* is used to form adverbial compounds–a curious parallel to Welsh predicative/adverbial *yn*, given that that function is the one generally agreed upon *not* to be prepositional in origin. These senses are in addition to parallel uses for location or goal (and temporal extentions of this). There are a few uses in Irish that don't correspond to my Welsh data, such as motivation or evidence. Like the Welsh preposition, the Irish one is extremely productive in forming prepositional compounds with nouns (DIL, Fraser 1910).

2.3.1.6.2 ITHR

ITHR still occurs as a preposition in OW (Strachan 1909) but disappears by the MW period and does not occur in my data at all, being replaced in function by RHWNG. The lack of identifiable cognates of RHWNG in other Brythonic languages, and the prevalence of cognates of ITHR in those languages (Hemon 1984, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Lewis and Piette 1966, MacCana 1974) suggests that this replacement was relatively recent and swift. ITHR is cognate with OIr *etir* (Thurneysen 1947) and appears in Continental Celtic as an independent adposition (Billy 1993, Eska 1989) and derives originally from the PIE adposition *$*h_1enter$* (between, inside) (Beekes 1995).

There has been at least one proposal that ITHR survived in Medieval Welsh in personal forms based on the stem *(y)r-*, which are generally categorized as alternative forms of RHWNG (Isaac 1994b).

2.3.1.6.3 RHWNG

RHWNG is unusual among prepositions in being limited, apparently, to Welsh, and yet having a fairly abstract meaning. The spatial senses of RHWNG locate a trajector in a region between a dual landmark (either supplied by a coordinated noun phrase or by a plural personal form of the preposition). This sense can also appear as a goal of motion. In path or extent contexts, the presence of dual landmarks supplies both a source and goal. This last is the only sense that has a temporal equivalent, identifying a time-extent

bounded by the two landmark events.

But this spatial meaning could reasonably be considered simply one aspect of the abstract use of RHWNG to mark two entities who share a key role with roughly equal importance. (For non-spatial uses, the participants are typically animate.) Ordinarily, a preposition established this strongly in such an abstract sense would be expected to have been in use long enough that we would look for cognates in the other Brythonic languages, but in Breton and Cornish, the default "between" word is cognate with ITHR (which appears to have become obsolete in Welsh during the Old Welsh period).

When a prepositional element has this sort of abstract but broadly applied funtion, as with AC (see section 2.3.1.4.3) it tends to derive from a relatively grammatical element (e.g. a conjunction in the case of AC) where some grammatical function is being reinterpreted as prepositional. But for RHWNG there is no obvious source for such an evolution. In fact, the origins and relationships of RHWNG are far from agreed-upon.

GPC offers no etymology for the word, nor any cognates in other languages. Jones (1913) offers the etymology **per-ongo-*, and follows this with a discussion (implying, but not explicitly stating, a connection) of *cyf-wng* "intermediate space, interval, gap", *cyf-yng* "confined, narrow" (equated both by Jones and GPC with OIr *cumung*), *eang* "wide" (for which he gives the derivation **eks-ang-*, which GPC identifies as a Brittonic form, deriving from Celtic **eks-nghu-*), identifying the second element as cognate with a Greek word meaning "near", or Latin *angustus* "narrow. The GPC listing for *ing, yng* "strait, narrow" mentions a similar derivation, citing Celtiberian *anCiós*

"small" and deriving it originally from an element meaning "narrow". Lewis and Pedersen (1989) connect the second element in Welsh *cyf-yng* and OIr *cum-ung* with the obsolete Welsh preposition WNG (see section 2.3.1.4.6), bringing in the whole WNG/*oc*/AC debate (see section 2.3.1.4.3). In contrast to this, Isaac (1994b) suggests the etymology **pro-onk-* for RHWNG. (It is unclear whether his **onk-* is simply an alternate reconstruction of the element given by others as **angh-*.) The two suggestions for the first element, **per-* and **pro-*, both had "front" senses (Beekes 1995) and both are offered by various authors as possible origins for ER (see section 2.3.5.2.1), while **pro* is generally identified as the origin of the preverb RHY (see section 2.3.1.10.1).

This confusion over the derivation of RHWNG would be a side interest except that it touches on two issues in interpreting my data. The first is an issue of morphology and the identification of lexical forms to be classified under this word. Two variables occur: the presence or absence of initial *y-* (i.e. *yrwng* versus *rwng*), and the presence of two different stems for personal forms, *(y)ryng-* and *(y)ro-* (the latter, in the full form, being identical with personal forms of ER, although these can normally be distinguished by context).

Strachan (1909) lists RO as an independent preposition, identical in meaning to RHWNG, but virtually all other writers consider this form imaginary, pointing out, among other factors, the absence of non-personal forms using this version. Both stems have fairly complete personal paradigms (Evans 1964, Jones 1913, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Strachan 1909) although in my data the *(y)ro-* stem is the only one found for first

and second person forms, and is extremely rare (2/39) among third person forms.

The second issue is of more theoretical interest to my topic, i.e. whether the origins of the preposition make its distribution and semantics more understandable. The distribution would make the most sense if RHWNG were a novel compound in Welsh, arising since the divergence of the various Brythonic languages. But novel compounds of similar time-depth are typically extremely transparent, and typically arise from commonly used and productive elements in the language. Whether one interprets the initial element in RHWNG as equivalent to ER or to RHY, neither can be considered particularly productive by the Old Welsh period (although there are several compound prepositions from an earlier date involving ER). And whether one interprets the second element as prepositional WNG or as nominal "narrowness, an intervening space", we are again dealing with relatively rare and non-productive elements by the Old Welsh period. It is not impossible that rare elements might produce a compound preposition, but it raises serious questions. Most notably, we would expect the structure of the compound to remain more transparent. Further, although either the loss or acquisition of the initial vowel might be motivated by analogy with prepositions like *(y) tan* and the Y compounds (see section 2.3.2.2.1.1), the time-depth again seems a bit shallow for a novel Welsh compound.

The hypothesis of a novel Welsh compound also fails to address the question of the shorter personal stem. Isaac (1994b) addresses both these questions (although the briefness of his discussion leaves me not fully convinced). His derivation of RHWNG

from **pro-onk-* suggests that *rhwng* is the underlying form, with the initial vowel being intrusive. Further, he suggests that the shorter personal stem is, instead, a survival of ITHR, and that the identical meanings of the two elements and the strong similarity in phonology attracted both to compromise forms, with RHWNG picking up the initial vowel, and ITHR losing the fricative. While tidy, I feel this still leaves significant unanswered questions. The derivation involving RHY- still strikes me as arguing for an early enough date of evolution that the absence of Breton or Cornish cognates is odd.

At any rate, the question is intriguing, particularly in terms of explaining the peculiarly abstract and consistent semantics in Welsh, but I don't have the background to address the phonological questions in a critical fashion and it is not impossible that the lack of Breton and Cornish cognates might be a historical accident.

2.3.1.7 Out and About

This section deals both with words that indicate exclusion or an exterior, and those with a sense of surrounding or enclosing.

2.3.1.7.1 ALL-

The evidence for ALL- as an independent preposition in Brythonic is uncertain, although its cognate occurs as such in OIr as an obsolete preposition meaning "beyond" (Thurneysen 1947) and in Continental Celtic in the sense "other, second" (Billy 1993). Its interest here is due to the word ALLAN "outside, outward" which may derive from a

prepositional compound ALL + LLAN "outside an enclosure". (The existence of this compound suggests, although it does not prove, the use of ALL at some earlier date as an independent preposition.) For details of the semantics, see LLAN in section 2.3.2.3.2.

2.3.1.7.2 ECH, EITHR

ECH (out of) appears rarely in MW poetry, but not in my data. It derives from the PIE adposition *h_1*eg'h-s* (Beekes 1995, Eska 1989, Lewis and Pedersen 1989) and is cognate with Continental Celtic *e(k)s, ex-* and OIr *a, as, ess* (Beekes 1995, Billy 1993, Eska 1989, Thurneysen 1947). The OIr cognate has spatial and non-spatial senses found in Welsh for O: source, origin, separation, material, instrument, cause (DIL, Fraser 1910).

EITHR derives from an extended form of the same element (the same extended root seen in Latin *extra*), and cognates are found throughout Celtic (Beekes 1995, GPC, Strachan 1909, Thurneysen 1947). In the relatively few spatial senses, EITHR identifies the trajector as being located external to a defined region (either to a geographic region or man-made structure, or to the interior of an object as defined by its surface). In contrast with ALLAN, this defined region is supplied by an explicit landmark.

The non-spatial senses of EITHR fall in a single group, behaving as a contrastive conjunction, where both the trajector and landmark are clauses rather than noun phrases. The overwhelming majority of examples identify the landmark as an exception to a trajector event. In a single example, EITHR presents the landmark simply as a preferred option to the trajector, rather than an exception.

While this conjunctive use of EITHR can easily be derived from the spatial sense via a metaphor along the lines of NORMS ARE CONTAINERS, EXCEPTIONS FALL OUTSIDE THE CONTAINER, the lack of other similar extensions or of clearly bridging examples suggests that this extension may be of fairly long standing and that the non-conjunctive uses are in the process of disappearing.

The OIr cognate is mostly limited to spatial senses ("outside") and it has not developed the abstract "exception" conjunctive sense.

2.3.1.7.3 HEB

HEB derives from the PIE verbal root **sequ-* (follow) and a cognate preposition occurs in OIr sharing the spatial sense "past", although with a different set of extended uses (GPC, Hemon 1984, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Strachan 1909, Thurneysen 1947).

The basic spatial uses of HEB reflect its original path-marking sense, as well as profiling the non-intersection of that path with the landmark, but the non-spatial senses seem to extend more from a sense of "external to a defined region". As with EITHR, the spatial senses are much rarer than the highly grammaticalized ones, and the latter form a single, if broadly applied, sense. In the case of HEB, this sense is omission or exclusion of the landmark from a set or frame defined by the trajector, particularly when that omission or exclusion is highly marked. This use is reminiscent of STATES ARE LOCATIONS_{M}, but is more general in application. While the landmark of HEB can be a full

clause, it is more typically a noun phrase. In another contrast with EITHR, the landmark of HEB is never realized (but is contrasted with an expected realization), while the landmark of EITHR most typically *is* realized (and is contrasted either with an expectation that it will not be, or that a different option would be realized). See section 3.5.3 for a further comparison of these functions.

The OIr cognate overlaps the Welsh uses in the sense "without", but for the most part the Irish element has extended the spatial sense of "motion past" to an additive function ("besides, in addition, more, in preference to") rather than the exclusion function which drives most of the Welsh uses (DIL, Fraser 1910).

2.3.1.7.4 AM

AM derives from PIE *$*h_2mbhi$* (around, on both sides) (Beekes 1995, Brugmann 1903, Friedrich 1987, Jones 1913) and is well-attested in other branches of IE in clearly related senses (compare especially Greek *amphi*, Lat. *amb-* with both "around" and "both" senses). The Celtic cognates have very similar semantics (Billy 1993, Eska 1989, Hemon 1984, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Thurneysen 1947). In addition to the preposition, the element appears in Welsh as a verbal prefix YM-, giving the verb a mutual or reflexive sense also found in OIr (GPC, Thurneysen 1947) although this sense has often been lost for individual verbs. In personal forms of the preposition, AM is compounded with TAN (cf. GWO + TAN) with no alteration of the semantics.

The basic spatial sense of AM involves an extended trajector that significantly

surrounds the landmark, where the latter is most commonly a body part. (A significant use is to describe the relationship between clothing and the wearer.) A dual version of this schematically represents "surrounding" by placing the trajector on the opposite side of the landmark from the point of view. AM may also present these scenarios as a goal of motion.

TEMPORAL OCCURRENCE IS LOCATION

There is only a single temporal example of AM, where it indicates general co-occurence of the trajector and landmark.

CIRCUMSTANCES ARE SURROUNDINGS, TOPICS ARE CIRCUMSTANCES (see sections 3.3.2.1.6-8)

With the exception of a single example where AM identifies the landmark as a patient of physical manipulation, the other non-spatial uses form a complex cluster of related senses. These focus around Topics on the one hand (and extensions therefrom, such as Causes and Purposes), and examples with a matching or exchange function on the other hand. The path for the first group seems likeliest to involve the general metaphor CIRCUMSTANCES ARE SURROUNDINGS$_F$ or ATTRIBUTES ARE SURROUNDINGS. In addition to identifying the landmark as a Topic of the trajector, in a wide variety of contexts, we find the common extensions of general circumstances to the specific functions of Purpose (relatively rare) or Cause-like functions (see sections 3.4.1, 3.4.3).

EQUIVALENTS ARE SURROUNDINGS (see section 3.3.2.3.2)

The second group of functions revolves around a sense of equivalence between the trajector and landmark, where the equivalence might be one of value, or substitution, or simply enumeration. This sense of equivalence or symmetry is deeply rooted in the dual sense of AM, being present in the cognate prefix YM-, forming reciprocal and reflexive forms of verbs. Within each of these two groups, there is frequently overlap or ambiguity between various sub-senses, such as the landmark being both the Topic of, and Reason for, a trajector event, or where the landmark is both matched numerically with, and exchanged for, the trajector. In addition, there is significant overlap between the general "Topic" senses and the general "Exchange" senses, for example where the landmark is both the Topic of an oath and the legal action offered in exchange for an offence; where the landmark is theTopic of a legal payment and the action for which the payment is exchanged; or where the trajector is both the legal value of the landmark and the legal cause for its exchange for the landmark. (See section 3.6.2 for a clearer explanation of this frame.)

Cognates

The OIr cognate covers very similar territory with spatial use for "around, surrounding (especially clothing)", temporal location or approximate location, topic, circumstance, or activity. There are also hints of a parallel to the hostile sense of AM and

AM PEN in the Irish element's use with a patient of physical impact (DIL, Fraser 1910).

2.3.1.8 Paths

Three prepositions have spatial senses that primarily emphasize a path: TRA (beyond), TROS or TRAWS (across), and TRWY (through).

2.3.1.8.1 TRA, TROS (TRAWS)

While these two prepositions are clearly distinct in MW, I consider them together because the literature suggests that they both derive from PIE **ter* (through) (GPC).

There appear to be cognates of both elsewhere in Brythonic, although my sources are unclear about identifying specific relationships (Hemon 1984, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Pedersen 1989). I have also been unable to find a clear statement regarding Irish cognates.

TRA

Early forms of TRA use *trac* before vowels (GPC) and the compound TRA CEFN shows aspiration of the second element if no pronoun intervenes, supporting *trac* as the underlying form. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find literature discussing this point.

Spatial uses of TRA tend to be limited to certain idiomatic situations, particularly the location of a trajector of the far side of an aquatic landmark relative to the point of view. But a more general sense of "a path or goal located at some point beyond the

landmark relative to an established point of view" can be retrieved from this and compounds of TRA.

TIME EXTENTS ARE SPATIAL EXTENTS

The major extensions of TRA are temporal, locating a trajector event within a landmark time-extent. The motivation for this extension is not as directly obvious as for some other temporal expressions, but if the spatial sense is seen as defining an extent equivalent to and ending just beyond the landmark, then the temporal sense may be seen as locating the trajector event somewhere within the temporal equivalent of this extent. And, in fact, there is one direct spatial parallel of this using TRA, where a trajector-event is defined as occurring within a spatial region (the landmark) defined by a physical attribute. Slightly more common than the simple location of an event in time are examples that partake of CAUSES ARE (TEMPORAL) CIRCUMSTANCES, and carry an implication that the event defining the landmark-extent also provides a Cause-like function: either a physical Cause, a motivating Reason, or simply an enabling condition (see section 3.4.1).

MORE IS FARTHER

In another extension from the spatial "extent or location beyond" sense, TRA occurs in combination with adjectives to mark degree, in the sense of "very, exceedingly".

TROS

When used as a spatial noun (the function it fills in compound prepositions), TROS occurs with a long vowel as TRAWS, and because this is consistent, I have made the same distinction in my standardized forms.

The spatial uses of TROS involve a path trajector (or an extended trajector) that crosses the landmark, most typically an extended or linear landmark (especially an acquatic one) crossed perpendicularly. (Less typically, TROS describes a path through a geographic region.) From this use, TROS has given rise to a noun indicating the width of an object, and to an adjective describing a perpendicular orientation.

Temporal uses of TROS are rare, but map the end result of a path (as above) to a future-directed path, locating a trajector event at a point later than the landmark event. (Interestingly, based only on the spatial examples in my data, one might have predicted that the temporal uses of TRA and TROS would be switched, however if other contemporary data is included, their temporal uses overlap a great deal more.)

Substitution

The remainder of the non-spatial uses of TROS stem from a general sense of the trajector as a substitute or equivalent for the landmark. The trajector may be an agent acting on behalf of a landmark who would ordinarily be expect to act for itself, or the trajector may be an entity or action done in exchange for the landmark. The first is further extended to cover the Topic of an oath (from a case where the oath is being sworn on

another's behalf, to cases where the oath is being sworn "on behalf" of an inanimate entity such as a piece of land, to Topics of oaths in general). The relationship of these substitute senses to the spatial ones is not clear.

Although it is unclear from my sources whether OIr *tar* is directly cognate with TROS, the semantic range is extremely parallel, covering spatial applications such as motion or location over or crossing, past, through, and non-spatial extensions such as Substitute, Beneficiary-substitute ("on behalf of") and an entity sworn by (possibly from an image metaphor of placing a hand over the entity?) (DIL, Fraser 1910).

2.3.1.8.2 TRWY

TRWY derives from Celtic **trei* and cognates are found throughout the family (Billy 1993, Eska 1989, GPC, Hemon 1984, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Strachan 1909, Thurneysen 1947). The PIE root is unclear from my sources.

Spatial senses of TRWY identify the trajector as describing a path through (that is, substantially surrounded on all sides by) a landmark that may be either a geographic region (including aquatic regions), a container, an opening in a barrier or a piercable barrier, or a substance. Instead of a region, the landmark may be defined by a multiplex group of discrete objects. The trajector may be an extended object located statically along a similar path. There is a single example where this sense is used in a poetic metaphor for the experience of emotion as being an entity piercing through the experiencer.

MEANS ARE PATHS$_P$

The non-spatial senses of TRWY are all variations on the mapping MEANS ARE PATHS$_P$, from EVENT STRUCTURE. The type of Means by which the trajector event is realized does not appear to be restricted, and includes the Instrument by which the event is done, the State (e.g., dreaming) which enables the event, or an action by which the event is accomplished. The last includes examples where the trajector event is the passage of time and the landmark is an activity filling that time (i.e. "causing" the time to pass).

Cognates

The OIr cognate has extremely parallel uses: through, across, mixed with, Means, or Instrument (and hence, Cause). There are a few specific extensions of these not found in my Welsh data, including language (from Means), enabling or authorizing entity (from Means), and temporal extent (from the spatial "through, across" sense) (DIL, Fraser 1910).

2.3.1.9 Time

This group of prepositions has only, or primarily, temporal scope.

2.3.1.9.1 CYN

CYN "before, earlier than" derives from the Celtic ordinal **kentu-* (first) (Billy 1993, GPC, D. Simon Evans 1979) and occurs as a preposition elsewhere in Brythonic,

but evidently in Irish only as an ordinal and a preverb (Hemon 1984, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Thurneysen 1947). D. Simon Evans (1979) indicates that development as an independent preposition came relatively late. CYN has only temporal application, locating a trajector event earlier than the landmark event. When a spatial path is being defined by the movement of an entity over the path, CYN may functionally indicate relative location along that journey, but this sense is not extended to any applications not immediately involving an action over time. This element also occurs as a comparative adjective "earlier (than)", and in the form *cynt* as an adverb "formerly".

2.3.1.9.2 GWEDY

GWEDY derives from the Brythonic compound **uo-tig*, meaning something like "at or after the end" (GPC). For the first element, see TAN/GWO-; the second element has a cognate in OIr in various forms centering around the meaning "end, last", although there is no equivalent of the Brythonic compound (Lewis and Pedersen 1989). (The compound is also found in Cornish and Breton (GPC, Hemon 1984).)

GWEDY locates a trajector event later than the landmark. In a slight majority of examples, the preposition is used simply as a narrative sequencer, without any significant function. The second most common use involves scenarios where the specific ordering of events in time is under focus or must be explicitly indicated for clarity or, in a single example, to contrast the state of affairs at the two timepoints. In a smaller, but still significant, number of examples GWEDY supplies a perfective aspect to a verb. (In some

cases, it co-occurs with the archaic preverbal particle RY, which also has perfective sense (Evans 1964).) In Medieval Welsh this use is restricted to cases where the verb phrase functions as a modifier and has not yet spread to the general perfective use seen in Modern Welsh (see section 3.2.1.3). Very rarely, GWEDY may mark the landmark as the early end of a time-extent, but it is very much a minority strategy for this function.

CAUSAL PRECEDENCE IS TEMPORAL PRECEDENCE$_P$ (see section 3.4.1)

The temporal sequencing function of GWEDY can also have implications of causation.

SPATIAL ARRAYS ARE TEMPORAL SEQUENCES

In a turnabout for spatio-temporal relationships, the use of GWEDY to sequence events in time can be extended to the spatial sequencing of entities in a row, deriving from the equivalence of a path and motion along that path. That is, the ordering of a row of entities is characterized as movement along a path from one to the next, and thus as a sequence of events occurring over time.

2.3.1.9.3 YNY

YNY (until) is formally classified as a conjunction, deriving from the phrase *hyd ni* (Evans 1964, Jones 1913, Lewis and Pedersen 1989). The semantic evolution is not particularly obvious, but Jones (1913) suggests understanding it as "the length (*hyd*) of

time during which it is not the case that [the following clause holds]", that is, emphasizing a time extent defined by the absence of the state or event that marks the later end of that extent. The element appears to have a Breton cognate (Hemon 1984, although the specific relationshp is not mentioned) but not an OIr one (unsurprisingly, since HYD does not have an Irish counterpart in a similar function). Although this element is best understood as a conjunction, given that it relates clauses rather than smaller phrases, I include it because it illustrates the difficulty in drawing clear boundaries between the two categories. Not only does YNY derive from a preposition (HYD), it has temporal functions that parallel those of items that are clearly prepositional, e.g. HYD, marking the later end of a time extent, especially when either the end-point or the extent is invoked metonymically via an event or state. From this temporal sequencing function, it may be extended to mark results (see section 3.4.4) and often both senses occur together.

2.3.1.10 No Prepositional Function in Medieval Welsh

For the sake of completeness, I mention here two elements of prepositional origin that have lost all prepositional funcion by the Medieval Welsh period, while retaining it in other Insular Celtic languages.

2.3.1.10.1 RHY

The only trace of prepositional RHY in MW is as a near obsolete preverb with perfective sense, the same function as its OIr cognate *ro* (Thurneysen 1947) from the PIE

adposition **pro* "before" (Beekes 1995, Eska 1989, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Thurneysen 1947). It will not be considered in this study. (A number of adpositional preverbs can also be traced in MW compound verbs, cf. YM- under AM and CYM-, but I have not looked at this category in any systematic way.)

2.3.1.10.2 MAL

While cognates of MAL "like, as" occur as prepositions in the other Brythonic languages and in OIr (Hemon 1984, Lewis 1946, Lewis and Pedersen 1989, Lewis and Piette 1966, Thurneysen 1947), in MW it is virtually obsolete in this function and most commonly occurs as a conjunction (Evans 1964). It does not occur as a preposition in my data.

2.3.2 Compound Prepositions

2.3.2.1 Types of Compound Prepositions

Prepositional compounds occur in three general classes: preposition + preposition, preposition + noun, and noun + preposition. (There is also a small category of preposition + adjective which produces adverbial compounds, primarily of manner, but they are not considered here in depth.) The first two classes are rarely recursive (i.e. involving a compound preposition as the prepositional element) while the third class frequently involves a compound in this position, typically one that exists independently as well.

Preposition + preposition compounds fall into two general morphological and

semantic categories: those involving a source-marking preposition in the first position (either Y or O), and those having CYM- in the first position, ostensibly adding an equative or mutual sense but often, in effect, not altering the semantics of the second element. Compounds with Y or O in the first position typically create a source-marking compound where the original static relationship is that described by the second element. As a general pattern, Y appears in combination with the oldest stratum of prepositions, while O tends to appear with more recent developoments. O compounds occasionally have a static location sense. A third class for this overall constructional type contains only YN ERBYN, which is discusssed in more detail below under ERBYN.

Preposition + noun compounds can involve a wide variety of prepositions, although YN and AR are by far the most common, with I and O in the next rank. The nouns are drawn from three basic classes: body parts (such as "head", "foot", "hand"), generic object parts (such as "middle", "edge", "base"), and a much smaller category of landscape features (such as "mountain", "ground"). The preposition may indicate a general locational sense (the most common use of YN and AR) or may provide a goal- or source-marking sense (most commonly with I and O respectively), or may indicate a more specific relative location (such as "above", "around", "external to"). The noun may indicate its literal referent (creating a bridge between prepositional phrases and phrasal prepositions) or an extended sense of its literal referent, including extension to a projected region identified by proximity to the referent. It may duplicate the relationship identified by the preposition–what I refer to as "redundant compounds" (e.g. RHAG BRON "in

front of the breast"), or it may be semantically empty (e.g. compounds with LLAW where no particular relationship is implied, not even animacy or asymmetry on the part of the landmark).

Noun + preposition compounds fall primarily into two classes: those with PARTH or TU in the first position, often indicating a sub-region or subset of the landmark as further specified by the second element, and those with HYD in the first position, specifying a goal-marking reading of the second element, a reading normally available, but optional, for the second element by itself. It might be better to treat HYD as a preposition in these compounds, but its status is unclear, and it seemed better to consider it separately from compounds with older, long-established prepositions in the first position. As noted above, the second element itself can be a compound or a simple preposition and with rare exceptions also appears independently as a preposition.

2.3.2.2 Preposition + Preposition Compounds

2.3.2.2.1 Source-Marking Prepositions

2.3.2.2.1.1 Compounds with Y

The largest group of preposition + preposition compounds have the archaic source-marking preposition Y as the first element and give the second (locative) preposition a source-marking sense. By the Medieval Welsh period, the source-marking function of these compounds was being lost. (By the late Medieval Welsh period, the

source-marking function would be reinforced by the further prefixing of O–usually appearing in a redundant form O + DY as *oddi-*.) In some cases, no source-marking function remains for Y compounds and the compound appears interchangeably with the simple preposition. In other cases, both functions may appear for both forms, but there is a clear statistical preference for the compound in source-marking functions and for source-marking functions when the compound is used (Y AM, Y AR, probably Y AR PEN but there is only one example, Y TAN). In other cases, the compound occurs only with source-marking (and related) senses, although these may be available for the simple preposition as well (Y GAN, Y WRTH). Some compounds in the last two groups have also developed non-spatial semantics that are not found for the simple preposition (Y AM, Y GAN, Y WRTH).

The prepositions found as a second element in this group of compounds all come from the older stratum of prepositions while more recently developed prepositions are compounded with O for similar semantics (see section 2.3.2.2.1.2).

2.3.2.2.1.1.1 Source-marking (and extended applications) prevalent, but not exclusive

Y AM occurs in a source-marking sense only in the specific context of clothing (just as AM marks the relationship of clothing to a clothed person, Y AM marks this previous state in the context of removing clothing). The majority of other examples of Y AM are identical to senses available for simple AM (location of dual trajectors on opposite sides of a landmark, location of an extended trajector surrounding a landmark,

landmark as reason for trajector event). In addition, Y AM occurs in a non-source-marking sense that is not available for simple AM: introducing a list of items that are either in apposition to, or additional participants to, the trajector (the distinction is not always clear from context, but both senses appear).

Y AR occurs roughly equally in locational and source-marking senses parallel to the core spatial uses of simple AR (contact with top surface, contact with level geographic surface, contact with or attachment to non-surface top portion). In addition it is found parallel to the use of AR in the formula AR Y BYD (on + the + world, "at all, in the whole world") a use for which no source-marking parallel is available, and marking a substance as a source, for which there is no locational parallel for AR. In non-spatial uses clearly derived from a source-marking sense, we find Y AR used to identify a former legal possessor or responsible party (cf. AR in these senses) and the former experiencer of a state for which experiencers are marked with AR. Another use where Y AR behaves identically to simple AR is in marking the patient of hostile action expressed by the word TRAIS "violence, rape". Cognates of Y AR are found in both Breton and Cornish, apparently with a source-marking sense, although my references are not explicit on this point (Lewis 1946, Hemon 1984).

Y AR PEN occurs only once in the data, in a locational sense identical to one available for AR PEN (and for AR, for that matter): location in contact with the top of a landmark. A cognate of Y AR PEN is found in Breton marking a topic, although the motivation for this sense is unclear beyond the ability of AR to mark topics (Hemon

1984).

Examples of Y TAN can be difficult to distinguish from one form of the simple preposition (see section 2.3.1.3.4). In two cases, we find the form *y adan* (read: Y GWO-TAN?) used to mark a former (and not current) socio-legal controller of the trajector, where the simple *adan* (read: GWO-TAN?) is found marking a current controller. It seems very likely, based both on the form and the semantics, that these derive from a source-marking compound preposition. There is one example of *adan* (read: Y TAN?) marking location below the landmark as a source of motion. Based on the semantics, this is also a likely candidate for the source-marking compound, but here the form is ambiguous.

2.3.2.2.1.1.2 Source-marking (and extended applications) only

Y GAN occurs in two general functions: marking the landmark as the source of the trajector's (typically caused) motion, and marking an Agent-like participant (Agent or Experiencer) where the notional trajector is the action, state, attribute, etc. The source-marking function can also be found with simple GAN, but much less commonly. The Agent-marking function is roughly equally common with GAN, although there are some distributional tendencies that can be related to fictive movement (see section 3.5.1). Specifically, the form Y GAN is more commonly found in combination with a verb whose root meaning is one of object-acquisition (e.g. CAFFAEL "to get", CEISSIO "to seek (to get)", CYMRYD "to take") while GAN is more associated with expressions lacking verbs

of this type–but these are trends, not an absolute distinction. It is worth noting that, unusually for locational prepositions, GAN never occurs in a goal-marking sense (possibly because its locational sense is non-specific, so the corresponding goal-markers are the non-specific I, AT, and AR). If a goal-marking interpretation is somehow blocked, then the apparent lack of ambiguity in using simple GAN for source-marking (which increases greatly after the Medieval Welsh period) is more understandable.

In spatial functions, Y WRTH and the simple preposition WRTH both occur in locational and source-marking senses, but there is no actual overlap in function in the data. Y WRTH can mark an animate source of motion as landmark or can indicate static separation of the trajector and landmark (often caused separation, with no implication of previous co-location), neither of which function occurs with simple WRTH. (As a special case of source-marking, Y WRTH can have as a landmark an avoided action, referred to metonymically by location.) WRTH can mark a landmark to which the trajector was previously attached (as well as marking static attachment), but its locational senses all involve co-location of some type. (Note that, unlike GAN, simple WRTH *does* occur in goal-marking functions, and so there is significant potential for ambiguity not only in its spatial uses, but in extensions from them. See the discussion under section 2.3.1.4.5.)

In non-spatial contexts, the functions in which Y WRTH occurs can also be filled by simple WRTH, but appear to derive from notional sources. That is, in non-spatial functions where both Y WRTH and WRTH are found, the latter appears to be

functioning as a reduced version of the former, rather than representing the simple preposition. This group of functions includes the landmark as a topic of information or knowledge, as the reason for the nature of a naming event, or as a comparand. The Cornish and Breton cognates of Y WRTH have a variety of applications overlapping the Welsh ones (and conveniently cataloged in Williams 1956). Both can indicate source or static separation. The Cornish element appears marking agents, while the Breton one can mark a temporal origin and a source of information or an authority (see a similar sense in Welsh for a speaker or topic of spoken information).

Cornish and Breton also have cognate compounds to Y RHAG (Lewis and Piette 1966, Hemon 1984, Lewis 1946), a form not occurring in my Welsh data, but found elsewhere in Medieval Welsh (GPC). In all cases, the elements appear to be spatial only, but with both locative and source-marking function.

2.3.2.2.1.2 Compounds with O

O RHWNG marks a location between dual landmarks as the source of a trajector's motion, a sense entirely compositional from the elements. The use of O rather than Y could be evidence on the "recent development" side of the argument for RHWNG (see section 2.3.1.6.3), however given that the simple preposition may occur as either RHWNG or YRHWNG, there would be no unambiguous way to compound RHWNG with Y for a source-marking preposition. The compound is very rare (only one example in the data), quite possibly for pragmatic reasons. But also, RHWNG is abstract enough

in use that it may have been usable alone in a source-marking sence, given the proper context.

O Y EITHR behaves as a locative preposition, available for use in marking the region exterior to the landmark (a container, specifically a building) either as the location or goal of the trajector. This would seem to contradict our basic understanding of O as marking sources and is discussed further in section 2.3.2.5.3.3 below. Not occurring in my data, but elsewhere in Mediveal Welsh, we also find Y EITHR in a similar sense (Evans 1964), and this is the only one of the preposition + preposition compounds for which I have found corresponding Welsh and Irish cognate forms, although the lack of sufficient cross-referencing in my sources may be partly to blame for this lack. (In both of these compounds, Y takes the more archaic form *ddi*.)

2.3.2.2.2 Compounds with CYM-

As noted in section 2.3.1.4.1, the adpositional element CYM- does not occur independently, however it may be prefixed to a preposition to form a compound. In doing so, it does not appear to be acting directly as a prepositional element, but rather in its function in forming equatives. We see this particularly in constructions of the form CYM + preposition + AC. (See section 3.3.2.3.1.2 regarding equatives.) Here it seems intended to give a mutual sense to the root preposition, i.e. "X CYM + ERBYN AC Y" = "X is equally confronting with Y; X and Y confront each other".

It occurs in my data in three compounds: the aforementioned CYM + ERBYN +

AC with a sense of either "confronting each other" or "adjacent"; CYM + *arwyneb* + AC (see note following) with a sense of "near, and especially separated by water from" (see the discussion at 2.3.1.5.1 for other examples of non-oriented entities "facing" water); and CYM + RHWNG, which has no obvious distinction in use from simple RHWNG.

Note: the root preposition in CYM + *arwyneb* + AC seems likely to be ER + GWYNEB (Evans 1964), a combination not found independently in my data. Taking GER as a variant of ER (see section 2.3.1.5.2.3), it would be equivalent to GER GWYNEB, found occasionally from the 14th century on, but not in my data (GPC).

2.3.2.2.3 Compounds Ending In ERBYN

YN ERBYN is the primary member of this group and is discussed below under PEN compounds (section 2.3.2.3.1.1). The use of YN here is not compositional, but simply functions as a "supporting" preposition, as it does in compounds with nouns. See also CYM+ERBYN in section 2.3.2.2.2.

2.3.2.2.4 Compounds Ending In TRAWS

Two compounds, AR TRAWS and YN TRAWS, would at first appear to be preposition + preposition compounds, but both in their semantic and syntactic behavior resemble the category of preposition + generic object part, similarly to the case of YN ERBYN. This interpretation is supported by the existence of TRAWS as a noun (GPC), itself derived from the preposition. They will therefore be covered in section 2.3.2.3

below. (Note that GPC treats YN TRAWS as involving the predicative *yn* plus TRAWS as an adjective, however see my discussion in 2.3.2.5.3.4.)

2.3.2.2.5 Compounds Ending in UCH

Three compounds have some form derived from UCH (above, higher) as the second element, however, as with the TRAWS compounds in 2.3.2.2.4, it is not clear that they are preposition + preposition compounds in their origins.

AR creates compounds with UCH in the adjectival superlative form UCHAF, but in a construction where the adjective is behaving nominally. In the examples, AR contributes one of its basis senses "in contact with a two-dimensional surface (not necessarily vertically oriented)" and UCHAF can either have the sense "uppermost surface" or "outermost surface". This last suggests the mapping OUTER IS ABOVE. Given the grammatical form and function of UCH in this compound, it would be better classified as a preposition + generic object part compound, as seen in 2.3.2.3.3 below.

The compound I UCH is the UCH compound that best fits the preposition + preposition category. The semantics of the one example are directly compositional from basic senses of the two elements, with I supplying a goal-marking sense, and UCH specifying the relative location of the trajector and landmark after movement (with UCH in this example meaning "at higher elevation but not vertically aligned").

There are three examples that appear mophologically to be the compound O UCH, but which behave semantically as UCH alone, with either a locative or goal-marking

application of senses available to UCH. As previously noted, there is a minor pattern of compounds with O having a locative, rather than a source-marking sense (see section 2.3.2.5.3.3) and, given that locative prepositions normally may be extended to goal-marking functions, this could explain the examples. But there is also a correlation between the use of O UCH and personal forms of UCH. Two of the three examples of O UCH appear in personal forms, and only one example with simple UCH occurs in a personal form. It is possible that this was a strategy used to extend the stem for inflectional purposes with no actual semantic contribution.

Cornish has a cognate of O UCH, but apparently in a static locational sense (Lewis 1946). OIr has a cognate of Y UCH (which does not occur in Welsh) in a compositional source-marking sense (DIL).

2.3.2.3 Preposition + Noun Compounds

2.3.2.3.1 Nouns Taken from Body Parts

2.3.2.3.1.1 Head

PEN "head" appears in 13 prepositional compounds, contributing semantics that range from location relative to a physical head or head-related object (such as a helmet), to an image-metaphor extension to the upper portion of a vertically elongated object, to a more general sense of a top or upper portion. The "upper part of a vertically extended object" sense is generalized, by removing the necessary vertical orientation, to "extremity

of an extended object". This last appears to provide the sense of PEN found in temporal expressions: specifically "later end of an extent of time". (That is, PEN in temporal uses does not appear to derive directly from an animate image-metaphor with events in time as an animate moving entity. See section 2.3.6 for further discussion.) In addition, as PEN identifies higher elevation, it can be extended in ways parallel to other ABOVE-type relationships, for example to location upstream from a landmark or to a landmark subject to controlling or hostile action. (That is, a trajector positioned relative to the head of a landmark will, by implication, be elevated relative to the landmark and thus in a position of actual or metaphoric power or control over the landmark.) Because PEN is extremely productive in forming compounds, it is useful to explore the pattern of its use and extension. A similar table is shown for LLAW "hand" in section 2.3.2.3.1.2. The distribution and rough semantics of PEN compounds (excluding ERBYN) are summarized in the following table.

Table 6: Compounds of PEN
(L = location, G = goal, S = source)

	Literal Head	Head-related Object	Top	Extremity	Non-specific or Non-spatial	Temporal: late end
AM around	L, G +hostility	G			patient of hostility	
TROS head over heels	G					
AR contact or attachment	L, G	L	L	L		
TAN under	L, G			L+control		
UCH above	L, G	L	L, G (+extent)			
Y AR contact			L			
BET non-specific			G			
BET YN non-specific			G			
YN non-specific	L +contact, G + hostility	G	L +contact	L	G+control, legal speaker	L

	Literal Head	**Head-related Object**	**Top**	**Extremity**	**Non-specific or Non-spatial**	**Temporal: late end**
O optional attachment	S		S (+ Extent)			S
HYD YN non-specific				G		G
CYN before						L

Assuming these semantics for PEN, the compounds with AM, AR, CYN, I, O, and TAN are compositional, reflecting senses for the simple preposition as applied to one of the above senses of PEN, but within this compositionality particular compounds may profile specific aspects of the range of possible meaning. Compounds with HYD and BET, as always, specify a goal-marking sense to the sub-compound to which they are added, but HYD compounds overwhelmingly have temporal application. The appearance of BET PEN (marking a geographic region goal) with no preposition in the sub-compound suggests that PEN may have had opportunities to evolve into an independent preposition itself, but this opportunity was never followed up. (HYD and BET normally compound only with independent prepositions, whether simple or complex.)

Although any head-related location may imply power over or hostile intent towards the landmark, this function is primarily indicated with AM PEN and secondarily

by YN PEN (in the case of YN, a similar sense is available for the simple preposition–see section 2.3.1.6.1–and the hostile/power sense may derive from both elements).

Compounds with TROS, UCH, and YN, in addition to compositional senses as above, include senses that extend specifically from the particular compound, rather than extensions of the individual elements. UCH PEN, in addition to senses deriving from "elevation above a landmark with 'head' semantics" (see also Thurneysen 1910) is extended to "location relative to the head that would be 'above' in a canonical orientation". (E.g. if the landmark is lying down, the trajector is in a region projected from the head that would be "above" if the entire scenario were rotated to verticality.) This is not simply an extension of the "extremity" sense of PEN, but retains the relative locations of the trajector and landmark from the canonical "above" relationship when the landmark is rotated into non-canonical orientations. TROS PEN is a manner of motion expression and appears to be a non-transparent idiom with a sense similar to English "head over heels", but with no explicit trajector identified. YN PEN has two non-compositional senses: one identifying the landmark as a patient of controlling or hostile action, and one in an idiom identifying the landmark as a designated legal advocate (via a chain of metonymic reference: HEAD FOR MOUTH, MOUTH FOR SPEECH). The use for a patient of controlling or hostile action overlaps strongly with a subset involving the literal head interior as the goal of a weapon's motion, so it may be a more shallow extention of physical harm rather than deriving from the more general pattern CONTROL IS UP_M.

One other PEN compound, ERBYN, behaves in Medieval Welsh as a simple

preposition and is discussed in section 2.3.1.5.2.2. In Medieval Welsh, not only has the compound fused morphologically, but it is strongly prone to occurring compounded with YN as the first element, especially when the landmark is a pronoun. Simple ERBYN occurs 19 times, none with pronominal landmarks. YN ERBYN occurs 43 times, 23 with pronominal landmarks, 20 with non-pronominal ones. Hamp (1975a) discusses the historic development of YN ERBYN but does not significantly touch on the motivation for its use.

It is tempting to conclude that, when ERBYN lost the ability in Welsh to support an infixed pronoun object, a semantically empty YN was prefixed when used with pronoun objects in order to once again provide a syntactic context for an infixed pronoun object (that is, to allow forms like *yn ei erbyn* rather than *erbyn ef*) and this question is worth exploring further. (Some references identify this expression as involving the predicative/adverbial *yn*, however in addition to the general counter-arguments discussed in section 2.3.1.6.1, the existence of the mutual formula ERBYN YN ERBYN -- see sefction 2.3.2.6.4 -- seems a significant argument for prepositional YN.) The historic context of preposition development in Welsh meant that pronoun objects in Medieval Welsh normally appear either as personal forms of the preposition or infixed in a loose compound. There is, in fact, a notable dearth of pronoun objects that do *not* follow one of these patterns (i.e. examples where the pronoun follows the preposition in the same slot that a regular noun would). Of those simple prepositions whose semantics allow for pronoun objects and which do not take personal forms (and which are common enough in

the data for useful conclusions), only AC, EITHR, ERBYN, HERWYDD, HYD, CYN, and GWEDY come into consideration. AC and GWEDY occur in the data with following pronoun objects. CYN, EITHR, HERWYDD, and HYD have no examples in the data with pronoun objects of any type, although they all have examples with human landmarks, so there is no semantic reason why pronoun objects could not occur. (The Modern Breton cognate of HERWYDD has personal forms, but they don't appear until the 20th century and must be analogical formations (Hemon 1984).)

This pattern creates a context where it would be unsurprising for ERBYN to analogize to one pattern or the other. HYD seems to have made an abortive stab at personal forms (see section 2.3.2.4.2), and ERBYN might have followed the same path. Instead, one reasonable interpretation of the distribution of simple and compound forms of (YN) ERBYN is that the element chose instead to re-form once again as a loose compound, capable of taking an infixed pronoun.

This is not the whole story, because while pronoun objects of ERBYN only appear with YN ERBYN, YN ERBYN is not restricted to pronoun objects and, in fact, ERBYN and YN ERBYN also show clear semantic differences in distribution. ERBYN occurs:

- in temporal uses (by, before)
- indicating physical or metaphoric control or access by means of a part or attribute

YN ERBYN occurs:

- to mark a goal
- indicating physical opposition or action against opposition
- indicating both physical co-location and a stimulus of emotion.

(These senses can be combined into a connected whole more easily by supplying an absent, but expected, sense "location in front" that is supported both by the etymology and by the OIr cognate.)

What we see is that when a sense may normally have a human landmark (and so is likely to occur with pronoun objects), YN ERBYN is used for that sense in all cases. When a sense does not lend itself to human landmarks (e.g. temporal uses, or the "access/control" sense which specifies a particular part or attribute of a person as landmark), and so is unlikely to appear with pronoun objects, then ERBYN is used throughout. In other words, we see the pragmatic contexts driving a morphological differentiation.

In addition to demonstrating the historic pressure for dealing with pronoun objects in particular ways, this compound emphasizes that the use of YN in compounds is often semantically empty, providing only syntactic structure and a cue for category membership. (See section 2.3.2.5.3.4 for further discussion of this issue.)

Cognates

As noted in section 2.3.1.5.2.2, cognates of ERBYN occur throughout Insular Celtic, and even the OIr cognate shows a very similar range of senses, except that in

temporal use it means "after" rather than "before, by the time that" (DIL, Hamp 1975a). AR PEN also has cognates throughout Insular Celtic, but in Medieval Welsh is confined to spatial senses (on the head, on top of, at the extremity of) and a single temporal example (at the later end of, after), but only the temporal use seems to overlap with OIr.

The range of semantics for the OIr cognate of YN PEN overlap the Welsh only in the temporal sense (at the later end of). Similarly, that of UCH PEN overlaps only in the basic spatial sense "above". It is unclear if OIr *tar cenn* is precisely cognate with Medieval Welsh TROS PEN (although they derive at some remove from the same roots), but they share the sense of "upset, turned upside down" (DIL). Cognates of the compounds with I and AM also occur in OIr, but do not appear to share any extended senses.

2.3.2.3.1.2 Hand

LLAW "hand" appears in thirteen potential compounds. In addition to references to the literal hand (AM LLAW, AR LLAW, GER LLAW, IS LLAW, O LLAW, UCH LLAW, YN LLAW), the major extension of meaning is a pragmatic one of physical (or, by further extension, non-physical) control (O LLAW, TAN LLAW, YN LLAW), with a significant body of ambiguous examples where physical location relative to the hand exists but it is the control aspect that is profiled (HYD LLAW, O LLAW, TAN LLAW, YN LLAW). There is also a purely spatial extension from "hand" to the lateral vicinity of the landmark (AR LLAW, HEB LLAW, LLAW HEB LLAW). In a significant number of

compounds, LLAW appears to have no semantic function at all (applying to non-human, inanimate, and even symmetric landmarks) and this most likely evolved from the "lateral vicinity" sense via a non-specific vicinity sense (GER LLAW, IS LLAW, RHAG LLAW, UCH LLAW). This group primarily involves fairly extended senses of the preposition involved, such as relative social status or temporal location. It may also be relevant that the prepositional elements in this last group are less available in personal forms. (GER, in that form, has no personal forms–and its probable origin, ER, is not used in a spatial sense. IS and UCH have defective paradigms for personal forms. And simple RHAG is relatively rare in a straightforward spatial sense. This suggests the possibility that, similarly to the "empty" use of YN in YN ERBYN, the presence of LLAW here may be partly to provide syntactic support for infixed pronoun objects.

Comparing the compounds that can have control senses, YN LLAW is by far the most common for control (or ambiguous hand-location and control) either as a static state or as a goal or result of action, while O LLAW covers the same ground for the landmark as a source or previous state of the action. Both also function similarly for literal spatial location, goal, or source in contact with the hand. TAN LLAW is much less common than YN LLAW in the same senses and primarily occurs in the ambiguous function in legal rituals where a physical action of placing the hand on someone's head corresponds to a transfer of legal control to the landmark. HYD LLAW also occurs in the ambiguous function, but in addition to specifying the landmark as a goal of the controlled object, the specific example marks the landmark as the last in a sequence of recipient/controllers, and

so brings in the "extent" sense of HYD.

I can find no reference to Brythonic cognates of LLAW compounds, but this may partly be due to the lack of extensive cross-referencing in my sources for Cornish and Breton. Old Irish has cognates of compounds with AM, AR, HEB, I, and YN, as well as a compound with the cognate of GWO- (corresponding loosely to the Welsh compound with TAN). Of these, the compounds corresponding to YN and TAN share extended senses having to do with control and authority, the compound corresponding to AR shares the sense "beside", while the others have no significant overlap (DIL). There is no reason to assume that these parallels must represent common inherited usage, given that the shared semantics derive largely from the "hand" associations rather than the specific prepositions it is combined with.

Table 7: Compounds of LLAW
(L = location, G = goal, S = source)

	Literal Hand	Lateral Region	Vicinity	Spatial + Control	Temporal	Control
A M	L					
I	G					
AR	L	L				
HEB		Path				
LHL		L				
GER	L		L/G			
RHAG					later	

	Literal Hand	Lateral Region	Vicinity	Spatial + Control	Temporal	Control
HYD				G + sequence		
IS	S + extent		L + low status			
UCH	S + extent		L + high status			
O	S			S		S
YN	L, G			L, G		L, G
TAN				L		L

2.3.2.3.1.3 Front and Similar Senses

2.3.2.3.1.3.1 Breast: BRON

BRON "breast, chest, front" appears in six compounds: four preposition + noun compounds, and two of these doubled by a form with prefixed HYD. In contrast to the overall patterns for preposition + noun compounds, AR and YN are not the major prepositional elements involved. Instead, the majority of examples occur with RHAG in a redundant compound, where both elements specifiy location relative to the front of an asymmetric landmark. RHAG BRON always retains this sense, with the specific relationships including contact with the landmark but much more typically non-contact location in a region projected from the front of the landmark. Either static location or a goal of motion can be indicated. (HYD RHAG BRON, specifying a goal-marking sense, also occurs.) GER BRON is much rarer, but has similar locational sematics.

I BRON and YN BRON attenuate the specific semantics of BRON and indicate only location in the immediate vicinity of the landmark (as a goal and as static location respectively) with no specific orientation of the landmark–or even animacy of the landmark–implied. (HYD YN BRON, on the other hand, does retain the asymetric landmark-front sense as a goal.) Compare this with other body-part compounds, such as LLAW, that have significant applications where the body-part reference seems to have lost any specification of meaning, whether of orientation, subset, or even animacy.

My data includes only one temporal extension of BRON. It retains a "front" sense in identifying an early subset of a time-extent landmark. Since there there is no indication in the examples that the events or time-extents are moving with respect to the experiencer, this should be understood conservatively as FUTURE EVENTS FACE THE EXPERIENCER, rather than necessarily as TIME IS SOMETHING MOVING TOWARDS YOU_L.

Old Irish has a number of compounds using the cognate of BRON (all revolving around a "front" sense), but only overlaps the Welsh inventory at GER BRON, and the shared "in front" sense is purely compositional (DIL).

2.3.2.3.1.3.2 Knee: GLIN

GLIN "knee" occurs in one compound, RHAG GLIN and behaves in parallel with the central cases of BRON, but is much less common. It similarly denotes location in a region projected from the front of an asymmetric (human) landmark, but one key contrast with BRON that is directly related to the specific semantics of the elements is that the

examples of RHAG GLIN all involve a human landmark in a sitting position (while human landmarks of RHAG BRON may be in any posture). In one text, RHAG GLIN and RHAG BRON alternate in different manuscripts. I can find no reference to cognate compounds in OIr, although the cognate of GLIN is the usual word for "knee". (This element should not be confused with GLYN, in the compound YN GLYN, discussed in section 2.3.2.6.2.)

2.3.2.3.1.3.3 Face: GWYNEB

GWYNEB (face) occurs in six compounds, none of which is particularly common. In addition to literal reference to contact with the face (in AR GWYNEB), there are two extensions of meaning: a projected region from the front of the landmark (RHAG GWYNEB, WRTH GWYNEB, GWYNEB YN GWYNEB, CYM+AR+GWYNEB AC); and an extended flat surface (AR GWYNEB, TROS GWYNEB). In the "flat surface" sense, GWYNEB merely reinforces a sense available to the simple preposition. In the "front" sense, GWYNEB may be similarly redundant (RHAG GWYNEB) but more often is the only source of the "front" sense in the compound. In addition to spatial location in front of the landmark, we find temporal use (RHAG GWYNEB "next later in a sequence of events" via the moving time metaphor in the form TIMES ARE LOCATIONS ON AN OBSERVER'S PATH OF MOTION$_p$. WRTH GWYNEB can have a sense of hostile opposition taken from WRTH, although the specific example functions as an adjective rather than a preposition. Both WRTH GWYNEB and CYM+AR+GWYNEB AC can have a

specialized spatial application also found for RHAG alone where the trajector is located in the vicinity of, but separated by a body of water from, the landmark, with no requirement for an asymmetric landmark. This theme appears in enough different forms that we may propose a general metaphor in Welsh: SUBSETS ADJACENT TO WATER ARE FRONTS (i.e. landmasses "face" water).

Breton has a cognate for YN GWYNEB, but the sense is "against" (Hemon 1984), more abstract than in Welsh–a sense found in Cornish for the cognate of GWYNEB alone (Williams 1865). I can find no corresponding forms in OIr, either for the compounds or the noun itself.

2.3.2.3.1.3.4 Face: GWYDD

While GWYDD can mean "face" (my reason for placing the discussion here), the primary meaning is "presence" (related to its origins in a root for "vision, to see"), and it retains this more specific sense in prepositional contexts. It occurs in one compound and, in addition to a sense of location in the immediate vicinity of the landmark, adds semantics taken from the word's origin via the metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING$_F$. YN GWYDD always has a sense of "in the vicinity of and as the focus of the attention and awareness of the (human) landmark". It most commonly occurs when the landmark is being identified as a legal or legalistic witness to the trajector-event. The orientation of the landmark with respect to the trajector is implied by the sensory access, but is not otherwise specified.

There is a Breton cognate of GWYDD used in a compound with a different preposition, but used adverbially to mean "openly", where the semantic parallel is presumably driven by the meaning of the noun (Hemon 1984). Old Irish has turned the cognate noun itself into a preposition with similar semantics: "before, in the presence of, openly" (DIL, Thurneysen 1947). Both of these support a hypothesis that some form of the shared meaning was inherited attached to the noun, and that this meaning was particularly prone to developing a prepositional sense, but followed derivational strategies particular to the individual languages.

2.3.2.3.1.4 Back: CEFN, CIL

Words for "back" naturally enough form compound prepositions generally meaning "behind". The most common of these is TRA CEFN. Like the commonest of the "front" compounds, it uses a prepositional element with relatively specific semantics (rather than one of the generic "supporting" prepositions like YN or AR), but in this case the prepositional element does not, itself, also supply a "behind" sense. (This is demonstrated by Medieval Welsh poetic examples of TRA BRON "in front of", although this does not occur in my data.) In addition to indicating location behind, TRA CEFN may indicate re-orientation of the front toward the previous "back" direction and, by extension, retracing a previously traced path, and hence any reversal of a process or return to a pre-existing condition. I am aware of no other Celtic cognates for this compound.

CIL (back) occurs in one compound (with only one instance): IS CIL, but with a

non-compositional sense "behind (rather than below) the back". Since location relative to a literal human back is involved, it is difficult to justify treating this as a true compound preposition, although it sheds interesting light on extended uses of IS. I don't have enough data to support a general orientational metaphor IN FRONT IS UP, BEHIND IS DOWN, but this example suggests the possibility.

2.3.2.3.1.5 Foot: TROED

TROED "foot" occurs in three compounds with semantics parallel to the body-part senses of PEN compounds. The vast majority of examples involve a literal foot. AR TROED (location on the surface of a foot) is hard to justify as a compound preposition as opposed to a prepositional phrase with TROED as the landmark. (Note that the one example occurs in the same sentence with AR GWYNEB (on the face) and AR LLAW (on the hand) discussing bodily blemishes. The latter two, however, also occur in non-literal applications.) IS TROED and TAN TROED (located at a lower elevation than a foot), however, involve two types of extension that begin to move the constructions into the realm of compound prepositions. One extension applies TROED via metonymy to a subset of an inanimate object associated with feet (specifically, the "foot" of a bed), the other extends the two "under" compounds to location in a region projected from the soles of the feet even when the body is in a non-vertical orientation (cf. UCH PEN). In general, however, compounds with "below" + TROED remain closely tied to literal feet (or closely associated objects) and unlike most other "redundant" body-

part compounds do not move into more general usage as "below". I have not found any cognate compounds for TROED.

2.3.2.3.2 Nouns Taken from Landscape Features: DRWS, GLAN, LLAN, LLAWR, MYNYDD, OL, WYSG, MAES

In addition to compound prepositions derived from generic features of objects (or generic object types), which will be covered in the next section, some compounds take their second element from specific inanimate elements in the landscape: either specific geographic features (e.g. mountains, fields) or created features (e.g. pathways, buildings). A significant subset of this type of compound behave as spatial adverbs rather than prepositions, others are operating on the border between literal and extended reference to the second element of the compound.

DRWS "door, doorway" occurs in four compounds (with AR, I, YN, and HYD AR). In my data, the reference is always to a literal door or doorway, or a region defined by near vicinity to a door, but the phrase always occurs with a distinct separate landmark: e.g. *yn nrws y porth* (in + door + the gate). Jones (1939), however, provides examples of YN DRWS with an extended meaning of "before or in front of" where the landmark has no connection with a door, and this extended sense is found for a cognate construction in OIr (DIL, Jones 1939, Richards 1937, Thurneysen 1910).

None of these compounds are particularly common in the data. AR DRWS can refer to physical contact (motivated by the "contact with flat surface" sense of AR) or non-contact location in the vicinity of the landmark. YN DRWS similarly indicates non-

contact location in the vicinity, and both I DRWS and HYD AR DRWS have a similar relationship as the goal of motion. In all cases, these senses are directly compositional. I have found no cognates elsewhere in Brythonic.

GLAN "shore, river bank" occurs in four compounds (with AR, I, YN, HYD YN). In all cases a literal body of water is involved and the semantics of the compound is directly compositional from the first prepositional element. Although some examples, particularly of AR GLAN, convey a general sense of "beside, near", in the absence of examples with a non-water landmark, there is no reason to treat these compounds as having crossed the line from literal reference to function as compound prepositions. In Cornish, however, the cognate of AR GLAN does occur in a non-acquatic "beside" sense (Williams 1865).

LLAN began with a sense of "enclosure, yard" and it is this sense that appears in the compound ALLAN (ALL + LLAN), although by the Medieval Welsh period the noun had narrowed in sense in its simple form to "churchyard, church". This compound is also the only one in which ALL- appears. Although it derives from a prepositional phrase, ALLAN behaves adverbially, rather than developing as a compound preposition taking a separate landmark. Of the three "exterior" markers, it is the least grammaticalized, covering primarily spatial and temporal functions.

The basic spatial sense is the location of the trajector external to a man-made structure or other container or, somewhat more commonly, this situation as the goal of motion. Several examples appear to invoke a mapping (DRY) LAND IS A CONTAINER, where

ALLAN describes location of the trajector in (or on, or above) a body of water. In the usual extension of goal-marking senses to spatial extents and sensory vectors, ALLAN can mark the goal of either of these.

KNOWABLE TIME IS A CONTAINER

The temporal use of ALLAN is similar to the spatial "goal of an extent" sense, following the MOVING OBSERVER (OF TIME) METAPHOR$_P$, except that it does not simply indicate a time-extent from a reference point into the future, but specifically an extent indefinitely into the future (with the implication "for all time"). Both spatial and temporal extent senses contribute to the use of ALLAN to indicate an indefinite extent of a specified range of options (whether those options are conceptualized as a sequence of events in time or as a physical range of objects).

Although cognates for the noun occur throughout Insular Celtic, I can find no cognates for the compound. For similar semantics, both in composition and use, compare MAES below (Rowland 1990).

LLAWR "floor, ground" occurs in three contexts (with AR, I, HYD), however based on my data, none of them are best interpreted as compound prepositions. Not only do they all concern the literal ground as a landmark, they all occur with the noun in definite form (*i'r llawr* "to the ground, downwards"). I mention them here because there are Medieval Welsh examples excluded from my data of all three compounds used adverbially, and some appear to have developed into true compound prepositions (with

objects) by the Early Modern period (GPC). While cognates of LLAWR exist throughout Insular Celtic, only in OIr have I found it used in prepositional compounds. These, however, are unrelated semantically to the Welsh uses, and tend to involve a "middle" sense (DIL).

MYNYDD "mountain" occurs in only one compound, I MYNYDD, which functions as a directional adverb indicating that a higher elevation (than the established POV) is the goal (of motion, a vector, or an extent). Examples from the Llandav charters show the contrast between literal and directional uses of this construction (the presence and absence respectively of the definite article being one major feature). In later texts, we see phonological erosion of the compound with the loss of the final consonant. The grammaticalization path is closely parallel with that of I LLAWR, but in this case has progressed further. The use of MYNYDD in compounds contrasts with PEN in similar uses in that PEN compounds take an overt landmark, while MYNYDD compounds do not. Although cognates of MYNYDD occur throughout Insular Celtic, I can find no evidence for prepositional compounds using it elsewhere. Compare, however, Cornish *avan* (using BAN "mountain peak") in the sense "above" (Williams 1865).

OL "track, path, rear" occurs in two compounds (with AR, YN). The semantics of both compounds overlap significantly, although YN OL is significantly more common and has greater scope. OL can contribute a sense either of a literal back (of a human being), or of a path defined by the previous motion of the landmark, or extensions from the latter. (There is some pragmatic overlap between these two senses, as an entity

following immediately in the path of a human landmark will normally be located relative to, and oriented towards, the landmark's back.) The landmark's back can be the goal of the trajector (or of a vector) with no "path" created by the landmark (both AR OL and YN OL) or the trajector may be retracing a path created by the landmark's previous motion (both AR OL and YN OL) and a specialized sense of YN OL from this is "pursue for legal action" where literal flight and pursuit is assumed but may also be generalized to the abstract concept. YN OL is also generalized to mark a goal of motion where there is no pre-existing path and no specific relative orientation of the trajector to the landmark. A pragmatic reanalysis of this spatio-temporal scenario can produce an ambiguous reading of a trajector event (or trajector standing metonymically for an event) occurring later in time than the landmark event (or landmark standing metonymically for an event), which occurs with YN OL, and this is generalized to "trajector occurs later than landmark" with no spatial involvement, found for AR OL. This type of ambiguity demonstrates one motivation for the MOVING (TEMPORAL) EVENT METAPHOR$_P$. An observer facing and interacting with two moving entities, one behind the other, will encounter the one "behind" at a later time-point. The ambiguous case (where both path-retracing and temporal sequencing are highlighted) may also have implications of causation, whether this derives pragmatically from an assumption that the trajector is attempting co-location with the landmark for a specific purpose, or simply from the general grammaticalization pattern of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, i.e. CAUSAL PRECEDENCE IS TEMPORAL PRECEDENCE$_P$. One type of causation occurs for YN OL with no spatial or temporal component, where

the trajector is a legal decision and the landmark is the evidentiary basis (expressed as an act of advice or metonymically as the giver as that advice) for the nature of the decision. (Examples outside my data place this use in the general context of "following" an authority or source of evidence.) We might see this as a special case of a metaphor IMITATION (OR OBEDIENCE?) IS FOLLOWING.

While cognates of OL exist in Cornish and Old Irish, no other language appears to use it for prepositional compounds. Compare, however, Cornish *warlerch*, Breton *oar lerch*, cognate with Welsh AR LLWRW (on + path). The compound does not occur in Welsh, but the Breton and Cornish compounds have extremely similar semantics to the Welsh OL compounds (Hemon 1984, Williams 1865). Old Irish has a cognate for LLWRW with similar nominal senses, but it does not occur in prepositional compounds. See also the following item.

WYSG "path" occurs in only one compound, YN WYSG, (and there is only a single citation in my data). One might expect this to behave similarly to YN OL, based on the root semantics, and this appears to be the case with the single example marking the landmark as a goal of motion but with no implication that the trajector is retracing the landmark's path of prior motion. For this last reason, it seems valid to include it as a compound preposition rather than a literal use, as no literal "path" is involved. I can find no cognates for the compound.

MAES "field" occurs in only one compound, YN MAES, with only a single citation in my data. The semantics are identical to the temporal use of ALLAN (see

section 2.3.2.3.2), "a time extent from a separately mentioned reference point extending indefinitely (implied: "forever") into the future. As with the parallel use of ALLAN, there is an implied metaphor TIME TO DATE IS A BOUNDED REGION, THE FUTURE IS EXTERNAL TO THAT REGION, which is discussed in more detail in the section on temporal applications. There are cognates for YN MAES throughout Insular Celtic, corresponding to the spatial sense of ALLAN, "outside" (O'Brien 1958, Rowland 1990).

2.3.2.3.3 Nouns Taken from Generic Object Features

It's not uncommon for nouns indicating generic object features to be usable alone as prepositions, as well as in compounds. Both patterns are found side by side in my earliest sources (e.g. YMYL vs. YN YMYL). The distribution does not provide strong arguments that the simple form is a later erosion–on the contrary, there seems to be a general trend away from the simple form over time, raising the question of whether they may represent traces of old locative formations that were supplanted by the more productive compound forms.

The two elements in this section that have moved farthest along the grammaticalization path are LLE "place" (becoming a spatial relative pronoun) and MEWN "inside" (which, contrary to the general pattern, generalizes the non-compound form).

One interesting feature of this group is the number of nominal elements derived from Latin borrowings. This provides some fairly hard evidence for the date at which the

compounds arose, although the distribution of parallel forms in different languages may sometimes be a result of separate borrowings (especially when the same element is borrowed into both branches of Insular Celtic), and a detailed examination of the phonology would be necessary to pin down the date of borrowing in most cases.

2.3.2.3.3.1 Location: LLE, CYFAIR

LLE "place" occurs in eight compounds (with AM, AR, HYD, HYD YN, I, O, TU AC, YN). In nearly all cases, LLE functions syntactically as a relative pronoun, but in the overwhelming majority of these it retains a clear locative sense: "the physical location (which is defined by the relative clause)". In these, the compound semantics are supplied and restricted by those available for the prepositional element in the compound. HYD LLE, I LLE, O LLE, HYD YN LLE, and TU AC LLE occur only in a purely locational sense. The single example of AM LLE is ambiguous between a locational sense and a sense of substitution or exchange (also supplied by AM alone). The single example of AR LLE has no locational interpretation, but references a set of legal circumstances, invoking the general metaphor CIRCUMSTANCES ARE LOCATIONS.

The most common LLE compound and the one with the most diverse uses is YN LLE. Two senses account for the vast majority of cases: the locational sense as described above and the meaning "as a substitute for" via ROLES OR FUNCTIONS ARE LOCATIONS. Less commonly, the compound may be ambiguous between these two senses, or between the locational sense and an implication of causation (i.e. that the circumstances incidental to

the landmark location are the reason or cause for the trajector's presence there). There is also a temporal sense, which appears in the form YN Y LLE "in + the + place" (i.e. with the definite article) with the sense "presently, immediately, as soon as". While the connection with the locational sense is not immediately obvious when the expression occurs alone as a temporal adverb, intermediate examples show a possible evolution (via TIMEPOINTS ARE LOCATIONS) from a temporal relative clause: "at the time of LM" > "as soon as LM occurs" > "immediately when LM occurs" > "immediately".

Of the LLE compounds, I would only tend to classify YN LLE as clearly prepositional, with weaker arguments for AR LLE and AM LLE. For the most part, in prepositional contexts LLE is best understood as a relative pronoun with primarily spatial reference.

LLE has cognates throughout Insular Celtic, but the OIr sense is extremely different, "bed, grave" (DIL). In Cornish, the LLE cognate not only shares the function as a relative pronoun, but we find the compound corresponding to YN LLE indicating substitution (Williams 1865).

More restricted in distribution is the generic location term CYFAIR "place, opposite position". It occurs in my data only in compounds with spatial meaning and only in the Llan Dav charters. While the major prepositional elements compounded with it are ER and GWO- (the only compound with GWO- in my data, apart from GWO + TAN in its later reduced form), my examples tend to involve a more elaborate formulaic context along the lines of HYD/O + PEN + ER/GWO + CYFAIR + (AC) "to/from the

headland/elevation opposite to", where the core semantics appear to be driven by the "opposite position" sense of CYFAIR. Although the compound ER CYFAIR appears in Medieval Welsh texts as *ar cyfair*, the identity of the prepositional element is apparent in the Old Welsh form *ar cimeir*, where a compound with AR would be expected to appear as **guar cimeir* instead (GPC , Williams 1944, Williams 1969). This raises the question of whether other apparent AR compounds for which we do not have Old Welsh examples might derive from ER instead as well. The distribution of the CYFAIR compounds is unusual, disappearing after the early Medieval Welsh period (not only in my data, but generally) and then reappearing in the Early Modern period.

2.3.2.3.3.2 Subsets: PARTH, TU

Two elements, PARTH (part, region) and TU (side) occur as the second element in compounds referring to a non-specific subset of a region or object, typically a binary division. Both elements appear to occur in identical senses, although there are some differences in the specific compounds that appear, and PARTH is significantly more common, both in terms of the number of different compounds and in the total number of examples. There may be some distributional differences between the two groups–only PARTH compounds occur in the Llandav charters and in the Four Branches, while both types occur in most of the other sources.

Beginning around the 15th century, we see an enormous proliferation of compounds based on TU, usually of the form "<optional preposition> TU <modifier> I

<landmark>". This is also the basic format for the examples in my data. (See section 3.1.1.11 for a more detailed discussion of the syntax of these compounds, and section 3.3.1.2.4 for the use of I to mark an associated region.)

The subset element may refer to a geographic region defined by a compass direction, but more commonly to one part of a region defined by contrasting halves relative to the landmark. This may be extended to indicate a subset of a group of people, defined in contrasting halves.

AR occurs with both elements indicating a location or goal of the trajector in a geographic subset. While TU compounds normally contrast dual subsets, particular constructions could evolve idiomatic senses, see e.g. AR UN TU "individually" (Evans 1956a), AR UN TU "in a row" and AR NEILL TU "separately" (Evans 1954a, Williams 1950), although these senses do not occur in my data. O occurs with both elements indicating location of the trajector in a region defined by contrasting halves relative to the landmark (including left/right lateral subsets). O occurs only with PARTH marking this same type of subset as either a source or goal of motion. (The source-marking function of this compound derives from the basic semantics of O, but see section 2.3.2.5.3.3 below for O-compounds marking static location, and hence having a goal-marking sense available.) O also occurs with both elements in a partative sense, dividing a group of people into contrasting halves. O TU also occurs with RHAG suffixed to identify a subset defined by a front/back contrast, an early example of the type that became extremely productive for TU in the 15th century and later. In addition to these shared

constructions, PARTH occurs with I in a goal-marking sense and YN in a locational or goal-marking sense with a subset defined by contrasting halves or compass direction. (I PARTH also occurs where PARTH has a literal sense of "dais, elevated platform", but this should not be counted as a compound preposition.)

Cognates of PARTH occur throughout Insular Celtic (GPC) and Cornish uses it both in compounds cognate with AR PARTH (but with the meaning "together"), O PARTH (but with the meaning "within, in the name of"), and YN PARTH (meaning "within"), as well as in its simple form in the same subset sense as Welsh, i.e. "on the <modifier> side of" (Williams 1865). (Despite its apparent non-compound form, the element appears lenited, suggesting that it is reduced from some compound with a leniting preposition.)

TU also has cognates throughout Insular Celtic, but I can find no example using it in parallel compounds to those under discussion here. (But see also section 2.3.2.4.1 for compounds with PARTH and TU as the initial element.)

2.3.2.3.3.3 Dimensions: HYD, LLED, TRAWS

Three compounding elements derive from nouns referring to linear dimensions of an object or region (HYD "length", LLED "breadth", TRAWS "across, transverse"). In the case of TRAWS, this nominal use derives from the preposition TRAWS, TROS (across, over). In the case of HYD and LLED, the nominal use is original. Of the three, HYD is by far the most extensively used, and in addition to use as a nominal element in

compounds, it evolved into an independent preposition (discussed in section 2.3.2.4.2 below).

TRAWS occurs in two compounds (AR TRAWS, YN TRAWS). In both, the prepositional semantics are identical to senses available for TRAWS/TROS as a preposition: defining a path perpendicularly crossing an extended landmark (which may be defined by a geographic elevation), or, in the case of AR TRAWS, more generally a path traversing any region. YN TRAWS occurs only in the Llandav charters, while AR TRAWS occurs there and in the literary tales. (See section 2.3.1.8.1 for cognates of TRAWS. I have found no cognates for the compounds.)

LLED is rare but occurs in three constructions (AR LLED, O LLED, YN LLED). In all cases, it occurs in the context of a physical measurement and in parallel constructions with HYD. The literalness of all these uses argue against treating LLED constructions as compound prepositions, but I have included them because of the parallels with HYD constructions which clearly *can* function as compound prepositions. AR LLED describes the path of a measuring event where the landmark is the object being measured. O LLED has no explicit landmark but itself serves as the content of an act of measuring. YN LLED specifies a measurement as the trajector where the landmark is the object being measured. Cornish and Breton have cognates of LLED but I have found no similar constructions to the above.

HYD occurs in only three compounds of the form preposition + noun (only two of which are at all common), but as discussed in section 2.3.2.4.2 below, it plays a much

larger part in compound prepositions as a preposition itself. Of the three compounds in the current section, AR HYD, O HYD, YN HYD, the least common and least grammaticalized in my data is O HYD, with semantics parallel to O LLED above, serving as the content of an act of measuring, with no explicit landmark. There are also examples of YN HYD that parallel YN LLED where the trajector is a measurement and the landmark the object being measured. These uses border on being prepositional phrases, rather than compound prepositions, however other Medieval Welsh data shows them more clearly as prepositions.

Otherwise, AR HYD and YN HYD have essentially identical semantics with some differences in distribution among the texts. The most basic use describes the path of the trajector along a linear geographic landmark. Secondarily, the landmark may involve a path through any region (but especially up or down a slope). A spatial extension found only for AR HYD indicates the distribution of a multiplex trajector in an extended landmark region. Both compounds have a temporal extension marking a trajector event (or extent) occurring in (or coincident with) the landmark time-extent.

Some of the distributional differences procede from the nature of the usage. YN HYD marking a measured object occurs only in the laws. All the path-marking uses of YN HYD and the vast majority of the examples of AR HYD in this sense come from the Llandav charter boundaries (tracing boundaries along geographic features), however outside this text, only AR HYD occurs with the path-marking function.

Cognates of HYD occur in Cornish and Breton in prepositional contexts (GPC),

although the Cornish cognate of O HYD is temporal, rather than among those seen for Welsh above (but somewhat similar to temporal uses of the compound in Welsh elsewhere). In OIr, the element cognate with HYD only occurs as an adjective meaning "long".

2.3.2.3.3.4 Vertical Subsets: GWARTHAF, GWAELOD, GWARED, BON

Four elements indicating vertically defined subsets of an object or region occur in compounds.

GWARTHAF (top, summit; from a superlative adjective from the same root as the preposition AR (GPC)) is the only element in this group referring to an upper portion and it occurs in two compounds. (This meaning is primarily provided by body-part compounds, specifically PEN, and the GWARTHAF compounds are extremely rare.) AR GWARTHAF indicates a planar trajector located uppermost or outermost relative to a landmark. (Compare the use of AR in contexts involving flat surfaces, see section 2.3.1.3.1.) TU GWARTHAF functions as a directional adverb, possibly indicating motion to a higher elevation, but the context is not clear. A cognate occurs in prepositional contexts in Cornish, but in a compound cognate with Welsh O GWARTHAF, which does not occur in my data (Williams 1865). It carries a source-marking sense in that compound.

BON, GWAELOD, and GWAERED occur in compounds referring to the lower portion of an object or substance, or to a lower elevation than the starting position.

BON (base) occurs only indicating the lower portion of a vertically extended object. YN BON and BET YN BOD indicate the vicinity of such an item as the location or goal of a trajector. I can find no Brythonic cognates for this. Old Irish has a cognate with a similar meaning, but the prepositional compunds it occurs in do not overlap with the Welsh set in either the prepositional elements involved or the resulting semantics (DIL).

GWAELOD (bottom) indicates the lower portion of a three-dimensional substance or container, or a subset of a geographic region defined by low elevation. It occurs in two compounds: YN GWAELOD and HYD YN GWAELOD identifying such a region as the location or goal, respectively, of the trajector. There are Breton and Cornish cognates of the element and Cornish has a cognate of the compound I GWAELOD used adverbially in a meaning similar to Welsh I GWAERED (Williams 1865).

GWAERED (bottom) indicates a lower vertical elevation, either of a geographic feature or an object, but where GWAELOD and BON indicate the lowest available part, GWAERED merely specifies a lower part than the point of view. Another contrast is that compounds with GWAELOD and BON have explicit landmarks while compounds with GWAERED function as directional adverbs with no explicit landmark. GWAERED occurs in two compounds, I GWAERED and YN GWAERED, both indicating motion or an extent to a lower elevation. YN GWAERED only occurs once, and while the data contains a large number of examples of I GWAERED, all but a small number come from the Llandav charters where it contrasts with I MYNYDD for upward motion. I can

identify no cognates for this word.

2.3.2.3.3.5 Front-back: BLAEN

BLAEN (front, extremity), referring to the front subset of an object (or metaphoric extensions of this sense), forms four compounds (AR BLAEN, O BLAEN, YN BLAEN, HYD YN BLAEN). O BLAEN and YN BLAEN both refer to static location in a region projected from the front subset of an animate landmark. (See the discussion in section 2.3.2.5.3.3 below on the use of O in locational compounds.) Compounds with BLAEN can also have temporal application via FUTURE EVENTS ARE MOVING TOWARDS THE EXPERIENCER, with the landmark of BLAEN referring to the early portion of a temporal extent: AR BLAEN (location at the early point of a time-extent), YN BLAEN (location before the early point of a time-extent). (It isn't clear that these specific distinctions are consistent and meaningful, rather than being a chance byproduct of the small data set.) BLAEN can also refer to the extremity of an extended object, in the forms YN BLAEN (locational) and HYD YN BLAEN (goal-marking). While the extension of PEN (head) to the meaning "extremity" is a fairly straightforward generalization from an image metaphor, the connection between "front" and "extremity" is less obvious. In the case of BLAEN, the range of meanings found for the noun suggest that the word itself carries an inherent sense "front end of an extended entity", and this polysemy is simply carried over into the prepositional uses. Cognates of BLAEN occur in Cornish and Breton, but I have found no prepositional compounds involving them.

In the compound HYD YN RHAG, the preposition RHAG behaves syntactically as if it were a generic object-part noun, but see the discussion on this in section 2.3.2.5.1.3 below.

There are no compounds involving elements meaning "back subset of an object" other than those derived from body parts (as seen in 2.3.2.3.1.4 above).

2.3.2.3.3.6 Interiors: CANOL, HANNER, MEWN, MYSG, PERFEDD, PLITH, PLYG

Seven elements indicating some type of interiority appear in compound prepositions, or possible compounds. The choice between them can related to the nature of the landmark (multiplex landmarks with CANOL, MYSG, and available for PLITH; container landmarks for MEWN and PLYG; region or object landmarks for PERFEDD and HANNER), or specifics of the interior location (highly central for CANOL, HANNER, and PERFEDD; less specific for the others), or the nature of the trajector (multiplex or extended for MYSG and PLITH). Compounds with YN are by far the most common for general locational and goal-marking senses, although AR occurs rarely with some elements of this group. It seems likely that this is directly related to the use of YN for interior relations by itself. There is occasional source-marking with O. Two of the center-marking elements also occur with AM, but the motivation for this is unclear (see section 2.3.2.5.1.1). A few other prepositions occur with specific elements in this set.

By far, the most common element in this set is MEWN "middle", indicating non-specific interiority relative to a defined two or three-dimensional landmark. The word

MEWN, like HYD, shows an interesting developmental stage. It is clearly identifiable as nominal in origin (Beekes 1995, GPC), and in both Welsh and Irish the early examples behave as nominal elements in prepositional compounds. In Medieval Welsh, however, it has lost any function as an independent noun (a function retained in Irish). And from at least the medieval period, it begins to be able to be used independently as a preposition. Phonology may have assisted this process. As Evans (1964) suggests, the usual medieval form *ymywn* or *y mywn* represents YN MEWN, but normal phonological processes tended to reduce the prepositional element and, like *y tan* and *y rhwng*, the intial vowel was eventually reanalized as optional and dropped. MEWN occurs in two compounds YN MEWN and O MEWN. YN MEWN can indicate location of the trajector non-specifically within a defined region, a three-dimensional container (especially man-made structures), or a three-dimensional substance. It can also describe the relationship of a sitting person to a chair (see also YN in a similar sense), presumably either via "chair as defined region" or based on some prototypical chair that has container-like features. (Note the same use in English: one sits *in* a chair, but *on* a bench.) O MEWN is not used for source-marking, but rather for static location external to an interior-landmark (whether or not previous motion from within that landmark is implied). As mentioned above, a cognate compound to YN MEWN is found in OIr, although it has more of a sense of "in the middle; midway between". Cornish may have a cognate in *mein, meini* "within, in" (Williams 1865), although GPC does not mention this and Williams is not always reliable in identifying cognates.

Compounds with PLYG (fold) were included in the data as possible compound prepositions. There is one example of O PLYG marking the source of an extent as located within a folded cloth and two of YN PLYG marking the location of a trajector as within a lap (YN PLYG CROTH), or possibly more literally "a crotch". In argument for treating these as compound prepositions, all take an external landmark, but in argument against such an interpretation there is no clear extension of meaning from the basic one of "fold". There are cognates of the root word in Cornish and Breton (GPC), but not of the compound.

Three elements with a general meaning of "center, mid-point" appear in compounds.

HANNER, literally "half", appears in five compounds (AM HANNER, HYD AM HANNER, I HANNER, O HANNER, HYD YN HANNER), although most have only a single example in the data. HANNER tends to mark a very narrowly specified mid-point either in a region or a time-extent. Goals (either spatial or temporal) are indicated by compounds with AM, HYD AM, I, and HYD YN; sources (temporal only) by compounds with O; and static location (temporal only) by compounds with AM. HANNER has cognates in Cornish and Breton (GPC), but I can find no mention of prepositional compounds using them.

PERFEDD is a borrowing of Latin *permedius* (GPC) and appears in five compounds (AM PERFEDD, AR PERFEDD, YN PERFEDD, HYD YN PERFEDD, PARTH AC PERFEDD). It seems to allow a more general target than HANNER, but

still centered around a midpoint. As with HANNER, both spatial and temporal uses occur, and PERFEDD also allows a dual landmark (specifying a region centered on the midpoint between them, rather than the entire region defined between them as with RHWNG). Also as with HANNER, several of these compounds have only a single example and none is at all common. Spatial location is found with AM and YN, temporal location with AR; goal-marking is found with AM, YN, HYD YN, and PARTH AC. There are no examples of source-marking with PERFEDD. Cognates of the element occur in Cornish and Breton (GPC) and Cornish has a cognate compound for O PERFEDD, but the meaning (in, within, on, upon) behaves more in parallel with Welsh MEWN.

CANOL (middle), too, is borrowed from Latin, and appears in only two compounds, both rare. Both (AR CANOL, YN CANOL) specify location of a trajector roughly central relative to a multiplex landmark. There are no temporal extensions. I can find no reference to cognates.

In addition to compounds with CANOL, two other elements occur with multiplex landmarks, but specify a less specific location relative to a region defined by the landmark.

PLITH (midst) occurs in three compounds: YN PLITH indicating the multiplex-defined region as either the location or goal (or rarely the source–see section 3.1.3.1 regarding the use of YN in source-marking) of the trajector. In some, but not all, examples there is an implication of non-marginal location (but not clearly central location). In a small number of examples with a multiplex trajector, complete intermixing of the trajector

and landmark is indicated. There is a single example where the landmark is a region rather than a multiplex set. O PLITH indicates non-specific location among a multiplex landmark as a source. One example of TRWY PLITH occurs indicating the path of a trajector through a region defined by the presence of a multiplex landmark. There are no temporal uses of PLITH in the data. I have found no mention of cognates for this element.

MYSG (mixture) is considerably rarer in the data and only occurs in one compound: YN MYSG. It can indicate the location of a trajector within a region defined by a multiplex landmark, but more commonly occurs with a similar temporal application, indicating an event that occurs non-specifically within a timespan defined by multiplex events. There are cognates of MYSG throughout Insular Celtic and both Cornish and OIr have cognate compounds to YN MYSG, with the sense "in the middle or midst of" (DIL, Williams 1865).

2.3.2..3.3.7 Margins: CYFYL, YMYL, CONGL

Three elements referring to the margin of a landmark occur in compounds. Each is associated with a specific type of margin. YMYL "edge" primarily marks a marginal subset that is included in the landmark but this can be extended to an external vicinity by the usual method. CYFYL (edge) marks a region immediately exterior to the landmark (although with only two examples in the data, this is a tentative evalutation). CONGL (corner), based on the derivation, may originally indicate a "corner" of an asymmetric

margin although, in the one data example, the reading can be a non-specific interior margin. I have not been able to identify cognates for any of these elements.

CONGL (a borrowing of Medieval Latin *conculus* (GPC)) and CYFYL (from a compound of CYM- and the same root as YMYL (GPC)) occur only in compounds with YN and indicate location of the trajector as noted above.

YMYL is considerably more common, occurring in five compounds: AR YMYL, GAN YMYL, I YMYL, O YMYL, YN YMYL. Location at an interior margin of, or in external contact with the landmark is indicated by AR, GAN, and YN. YN, however, more commonly marks location in the immediate external vicinity of the landmark. I marks an interior margin of a multiplex landmark as goal, O the exterior vicinity as source.

2.3.2.3.3.8 Exteriors, Circles: CWMPAS, CYLCH, RHOD

Three compounding elements indicate a trajector that surrounds the landmark in a basically circular fashion, either as an extended object, a multiplex group, or via a path. The small number of examples for two of them make it difficult to determine whether they are specific in any way.

CYLCH circle, circuit—a borrowing of Latin *circulus* (GPC)) is the most common of the three but occurs in only one compound, YN CYLCH. It may indicate the location of an extended or multiplex trajector surrounding the landmark or these same relationships as a goal of motion. In addition it may define the path of the trajector (either physical or the goal of a vision-vector) tracing a circle around the landmark (the viewer, in the vision

cases). A cognate element (or parallel borrowing) appears in Breton.

CWMPAS (circle—a borrowing originally from Latin, but most likely via Middle English (GPC)) occurs in YN CWMPAS marking the location of an extended trajector around a landmark.

RHOD (circle, wheel) occurs in AR RHOD indicating the path of a moving trajector around a landmark. Cognates of the word, but none of the compound, occur throughout Insular Celtic.

2.3.2.3.3.9 Extremities: TAL, (BLAEN)

As noted above in section 2.3.2.3.3.5, (HYD) YN BLAEN occurs with BLAEN referring to the extremity of an extended landmark and the "extremity" sense is an inherent part of the root noun. TAL (extremity, end) also occurs in this sense in YN TAL, indicating either location in contact with, or in the vicinity of, an extremity. (TAL also has a body part sense, meaning "forehead", but etymologically it is thought to originate as an object feature, "flat, ground" (GPC) and it is unclear whether the body part sense mediated in the creation of the prepositional compound.)

2.3.2.3.3.10 Temporal Elements: DIWEDD, MUNUD, OED

Three nouns referring to general temporal features occur in prepositional compounds that have only temporal scope.

DIWEDD (end, finish) occurs in five compounds (AR DIWEDD, O DIWEDD,

YN DIWEDD, HYD YN DIWEDD, HYD PARTH AC DIWEDD) in all cases referring to the later end-point of a time extent. AR DIWEDD and YN DIWEDD both refer to the location of an event at (or immediately after) the later end-point of the landmark time-extent. O DIWEDD has an extremely similar application, but in the data examples occurs in the specific sense "as the last of a sequence of events" with an implicit landmark. HYD YN DIWEDD and HYD PARTH AC DIWEDD, as is expected from the temporal interpretation of the goal-marking use of HYD, indicate that the later end of the trajector time-extent corresponds to the later end of the landmark time-extent. Given the relatively narrow and transparent sense in which DIWEDD occurs, it is highly questionable whether these constructions should be treated as compound prepositions rather than simply high-frequency combinations.

Cognates of DIWEDD occur throughout Insular Celtic (GPC). Cornish has cognates for the compounds with YN and AR, but they appear to be used adverbially in the sense "at last, finally" (Williams 1865). Old Irish has a numbr of prepositional compounds involving the element, but the only overlap corresponds to YN. While there is also semantic overlap in the sense "after, following", the Irish compound is used in a much wider variety of senses and contexts (DIL).

MUNUD (moment, minute—a borrowing of Latin *minutium*, possibly via English or French (GPC)) occurs rarely in the construction YN UN MUNUD AC (at the same moment as). I mention it as a compound preposition only because it occurs outside my data set as YN MUNUD as a temporal adverb "immediately" (GPC). There are parallel

forms throughout Insular Celtic, but if my sources are accurate that the word entered Welsh via English or French, then they must be independent borrowings, rather than the shared result of an early borrowing. (And in the case of the Irish form, must be independent in any event.) I can find no prepositional compounds using them outside Welsh.

OED (date, appointment, time) occurs only in the compound HYD YN OED where it functions in a temporal parallel to HYD YN LLE. In only one case, however, is the application strictly temporal (with the landmark providing the later end of the trajector time-extent). The more common function has as a trajector a person or object standing metonymically for the last in a set of events that are only implicitly temporally sequenced. (There should be some metaphor involved along the lines of A SET IS A SEQUENCE—compare ARITHMETIC IS MOTION ALONG A $PATH_W$.) In all of these examples, the focus is on a pragmatic interpretation of HYD YN OED marking the extent of a scope of options. Cognates of OED appear in Cornish and Breton, but I found no evidence for compounds using them.

2.3.2.4 Noun + Preposition Compounds

A limited, but widely used, set of compound prepositions are formed from a spatial noun of very general semantics followed by a preposition or compound preposition, or more rarely by the spatial noun alone (as detailed in section 2.3.2.3). In the first case, we may understand the initial noun to be functioning grammatically in a

locative sense (although there is no reflection of this in the morphology), generally "in (or to) the place <as stipulated by the prepositional element>". In the second group, we see these elements beginning to behave more prepositionally, although only HYD takes up this role extensively.

2.3.2.4.1 Compounds with PARTH or TU

Compounds of this type, in which the initial nominal element is PARTH or TU (both generally meaning "side"), show traces of the sense found in section 2.3.2.3.3.2 in an emphasis on scenarios that have a region, or particularly a contrastive subset of a region, as a landmark. Both also occur in a construction clearly identifiable as a locative noun phrase in the form "YR PARTH/TU <deictic]> I/AC <landmark>", i.e. "[in] the <deictic> part of <landmark>", which always marks static location of the trajector in a subset (as defined) of the landmark. (In one case, this construction is modified slightly to "YR PARTH <relative clause>" where the trajector is located in a region defined by proximity to the that identified by the relative clause. In another, a spatial adjective substitutes for the deictic expression, as YR TU GWARTHAF.)

Only the PARTH/TU AC variant of this shifted into a more prepositional use, and both occur almost exclusively to identify the landmark as a goal (or fictive goal) of motion. The only clear exception is that the rare temporal uses identify the landmark as a time of occurrence, rather than the endpoint of a trajector-extent that would be usual for temporal extensions of goal-markers. Beyond that, there are two occurrences of PARTH

AC that I am inclined to discount. In one, the formula PERTHYN PARTH AC "belong to, pertain to" occurs in place of the otherwise consistent formula PERTHYN AR/AT, quite possibly a copyist's hyper-correction. In the other, although the form occurs with BOD "to be" which would imply static location, the overall context is one of motion, and it would not be entirely arbitrary to consider PARTH AC to be marking a goal in this case as well.

For the simple form PARTH/TU AC, the landmarks strongly tend to imply a geographic region, although occasional buildings or movable objects also occur and there is one example with a group of people as the landmark. However these compounds can also occur followed by yet another preposition or spatial noun that either further restricts the type of region, or overrides this regional-marking tendency. PARTH AC AT, for example, takes a human landmark, following the rule for the simple preposition AT (see section 2.3.1.2.3). PARTH AC PERFEDD restricts the goal of motion to a central subset of the landmark region. HYD PARTH AC DIWEDD has temporal scope, following the specifications of DIWEDD (i.e. the trajector-extent has its later end at the later end of the landmark-extent). TU AC LLE identifies the landmark via a relative clause.

The cognates of PARTH and TU have been discussed above in section 2.3.2.3.3.2. Of the current group of compounds, only TU AC has a corresponding form in Cornish (Williams 1865).

This use of AC in creating co-locational senses should be compared to its function in Y CYD AC (see section 2.3.1.4.2) as well as similar senses for AC alone.

2.3.2.4.2 Compounds with HYD

The element HYD is unique among the expressions covered in this study not only for its place in a transitional stage between spatial noun and preposition, but for the extreme productivity with which it combines with other prepositions and the striking degree to which its meaning is abstracted from a concrete sense of "length" to a purely grammatical element converting or restricting the associated preposition to a goal-marking sense.

The functions of HYD used alone have been covered in section 2.3.2.3.3.3. As an initial element in a prepositional compound the sole function of HYD is the aforementioned goal-marking specification. Resulting compounds identify the landmark as the goal of the trajector's motion, if spatial, or as the later endpoint of a time-extent, if temporal. (There are also a couple of rare examples where the landmark is the last in a range of options, identified metaphorically as a spatial or temporal sequence.) In all cases, the specific nature of the resulting relationship is that identified by the second element of the compound, and the second element may itself be a compound of any level of complexity. The second element may also have as its basic sense a purely goal-marking function (HYD AT), or it may have either a locational or goal-marking function available (HYD AR, HYD TRA, HYD YN, HYD YNY), or it may occur only in static locational senses (HYD GWEDY, HYD YN BLAEN, HYD YN GLAN). In rare cases, the second element is not found independently in the data. This may be due simply to

the rarity of the elements in general (HYD PARTH AC DIWEDD, where there is only a single example of hte HYD phrase, and the relatively few compounds with DIWEDD are distributed among a wide range of constructions), or due to pragmatic issues that make the non-goal-specific sense less likely (possibly the case for HYD YN OED), or for more idiomatic reasons (as with HYD YN RHAG, where RHAG behaves here as if it were a spatial adjective rather than a preposition, see the discussion in section 2.3.2.5.1.3 below).

In addition, HYD (or a variant form BET, see section 2.3.2.3.3.3) occurs in four compounds where the second element is simply a spatial noun (HYD LLAW, HYD LLAWR, HYD LLE, BET PEN). In all cases, the semantics are identical to those found for the same element compounded with I or YN. For LLAW, both I LLAW and YN LLAW occur (the later in much greater numbers) and there is only a single instance of HYD LLAW. For LLAWR, only I LLAWR also occurs, and it is significantly more common than the single instance of HYD LLAWR. There are 15 examples of HYD LLE, outnumbering both I LLE and HYD YN LLE, but significantly outnumbered by YN LLE. BET PEN occurs in roughly equal numbers with BET YN PEN, but is restricted to a particular complex construction (BET PEN AR CYFAIR AC) and PEN may be serving as a topologic term here, i.e. "to the headland opposite to".

It seems unlikely to be entirely coincidental that three of these four nominal elements lead the pack, in general, in terms of the number of different compounds they occur in, as well as the number of total examples found. (Only LLAWR doesn't fit this

pattern.) Two possible explanations present themselves. The occurrence of these particular HYD + noun compounds may be purely statistical chance. That is, the construction may in theory be available to any spatial noun, but only those with a high frequency in the language are likely to occur in the data. (If so, even the single example of HYD LLAWR could be justified as random chance.) Alternately, it may be that these high-frequency spatial nouns are coming the closest to slipping over the border to prepositional status themselves, and that they are likely to make this transition first in situations where they are supported by other, more clearly prepositional, elements. (I would expect HYD LLE, because LLE, rather than becoming prepositional, is clearly grammaticalizing in the direction of a relative marker.) The strongest argument against this explanation is that none of the four *did* evolve into independent prepositions.

Overall, the extreme productivity of HYD in compounds seems most likely to be related to a desire for less ambiguity in circumstances where the underlying preposition is ambiguous between locational and goal-marking senses. Assuming that Brittonic behaved in parallel with certain Irish prepositions (and some other Indo-European languages with case-marking), this locational/goal-marking distinction would originally have been expressed by use of the dative and accusative cases respectively. HYD rises into prominence as a preposition precisely during the period when the loss of case-marking would have left a semantic vacuum in this regard. (This question is discussed at greater length in section 4.1.2.4.)

2.3.2.5 Semantic Contributions of Prepositions to Compounds

The semantic contributions of prepositions in preposition + noun compounds fall in three general categories. In the first, both the prepositional element and nominal element contribute the same or highly similar semantics, and the compound can be seen as simply reinforcing the simple preposition. In the second, the preposition supplies relatively specific information about the relationship between the trajector and landmark, and the nominal element restricts the nature of the landmark (including cases where it functions literally). In the third, the preposition provides some relatively abstract spatial relation (such as Location, Source, Goal) and the nominal element supplies the specifics of the associated static relationship.

2.3.2.5.1 Prepositional Elements in "Redundant" Compounds

Roughly half the compounds listed here are semantically redundant (in the sense of doubling functions commonly found for the simple preposition) as well as morphologically redundant. The other eight involve some additional, non-compositional meaning (as, perhaps, for WRTH GWYNEB) or re-emphasize a relatively basic sense associated with the simple preposition but for which the simple form is no longer a typical marker. I don't include in this section the redundant stems O + HON and O + DY which are only used in combination with other elements (see section 2.3.1.1.3).

2.3.2.5.1.1 AM

One set of compounds with AM may derive from a type of redundant compounding, although the parallel is not completely obvious. The only compounds in which AM seems to have a general locative sense are those where the second element is a generic object feature meaning "center, mid-point": (HYD) AM HANNER, AM PERFEDD. I'm hesitant to call this a redundant compound in the same class as the others, since simple AM never has a "midpoint" sense, but there does appear to be some special non-additive relationship between the elements.

2.3.2.5.1.2 HEB

As an initial element in compounds, HEB occurs only in redundant compounds and only in one of these (plus one variant). Although it is statistically rare, one of the basic spatial senses of HEB indicates the path of a trajector passing through the general (typically lateral) vicinity of the landmark. The data examples of HEB LLAW follow this sense of LLAW with the nominal element simply duplicating the semantics of the prepositional element "passing beside". The construction LLAW HEB LLAW (see section 2.3.2.6.4 below for further discussion) may retain a lateral sense (i.e. "side by side") but since the specific example is in the context of sexual activity, the relative orientation of the trajector and landmark may be less closely specified.

2.3.2.5.1.3 RHAG

As an initial element in compounds, RHAG occurs primarily in redundant compounds and always in combination with a body-part noun: (HYD) RHAG BRON, RHAG GLIN, RHAG GWYNEB. The basic sense of these compounds is clearly locating the trajector in the immediate front vicinity of an asymmetric (and usually human) landmark, with a goal-marking sense available for RHAG BRON and obligatory for HYD RHAG BRON. Temporal interpretations of "in front" (i.e. "later relative to an experiencer") are also found for RHAG GWYNEB (a sense also found for RHAG LLAW, which is not strictly "redundant"). These temporal senses function grammatically as adverbs with no explicit landmark (the implicit landmark being the experiencer) and identify the trajector as the next later in a potential sequence after a previously established reference time-point (or possibly in one case for RHAG LLAW establishing a trajector-state as extending from a previously established reference time-point indefinitely into the future). These instantiate the MOVING OBSERVER (OF TIME) METAPHOR$_P$.

In purely spatial applications, compounds using RHAG are more than twice as common as the use of simple RHAG, and temporal uses of simple RHAG do not occur at all. As discussed in section 2.3.1.5.1, the simple preposition most commonly occurs in extended meanings having to do with avoidance or prevention, with a smaller group having a sense of progression or continuance of an activity or motion (cf. temporal RHAG LLAW above). What we appear to be seeing here is the use of compounding to reinforce a more concrete interpretation of the general sense of the preposition, in a context where

the simple preposition is shifting to more grammatical functions. (Compare with ER where this process has gone much further.)

2.3.2.5.1.4 TRWY

TRWY PLITH (through the midst of) is debatable as a redundant compound, as PLITH doubles the "interior" sense of TRWY but not the "path" sense, and adds (or at least strongly encourages) a specification that the landmark be multiplex. However, given that multiplex landmarks can occur with simple TRWY, and region landmarks can occur with PLITH compounds, this strong tendency for TRWY PLITH to occur with a multiplex landmark cannot be considered strictly compositional. TRWY occurs in no other compound prepositions.

2.3.2.5.1.5 WRTH

The evidence for WRTH GWYNEB (facing, confronting, opposing) as a compound preposition is not strong in my data. Of the two occurrences, one is clearly adjectival and the other is difficult to interpret. The semantics of the compound, whether functioning prepositionally or not, lean toward the redundant class, if one takes the core semantics of WRTH as including something like "turned to, facing" (see section 2.3.1.4.5), doubled by GWYNEB (face).

2.3.2.5.1.6 YN

If Evans (1964) is correct that Y MEWN should be understood as YN MEWN (an interpretation I am accepting), then it should be understood as a redundant compound with both elements indicating interiority. See MEWN (section 2.3.2.3.3.6) for the semantics. YN is also found in many other compounds, for which see section 2.3.2.5.3 below. In the modern language, YN MEWN has reduced to simple MEWN, and the primary distinction in use between YN and MEWN is that the former takes definite landmarks and the latter indefinite ones. This distinction does not exist in the Medieval Welsh data.

2.3.2.5.1.7 AR / UCH PEN

If one takes PEN as contributing a "top" sense (although this is not the only sense it can provide), then AR PEN and UCH PEN are excellent examples of redundant compounds, being used in senses that duplicate the prepositional element ("on" or "above"), whether or not a literal "head" is involved (see also the discussion in Thurneysen 1910). (In parallel, one might consider IS TROED a redundant compound, but I consider the evidence thin for treating it as a compound preposition at all. See section 2.3.2.3.1.5.)

2.3.2.5.2 Prepositional Elements Providing Relatively Specific Semantics

2.3.2.5.2.1 AM

(See section 2.3.2.5.1.1 above for other compounds with AM.) Three compounds with AM as the first element occur in this group, two of which, AM LLAW and AM LLE only occur once each in the data, the third being AM PEN. AM can bring the sense of "surrounding, encircling" in combination with a literal use of the nominal element (AM LLAW, AM PEN), or with an extended spatial use of the nominal element (AM PEN, with PEN in the sense "top part of an object, elevation"). AM also occurs in two more extended senses. In AM LLE, there is a strong element of "as a substitute for, in exchange for", a prominent sense in which simple AM occurs (see section 3.3.2.3.2). A different large subset of the examples with AM PEN identify the landmark as the patient of violence or hostile action. There is a continuum from examples where this violence is directed (or can be understood as directed) at the patient's literal head, to cases where literal head involvement is a tenuous or unavailable interpretation. This function is not found for simple AM, and seems to evolve from a prototypical attack scenario where the head occurs as a locus of vulnerability.

2.3.2.5.2.2 CYN

Only one compound preposition involves CYN as the prepositional element, CYN PEN, and there is only one example in the data. The sense is directly compositional from the use of CYN (trajector event occurs earlier than the landmark event) and the

temporal extension of PEN (later end of a time-extent). In the example, there is a pragmatic understanding that the trajector event occurs immediately before the end of the landmark extent rather than a long time before it, but it isn't clear whether this is an essential part of the semantics.

2.3.2.5.2.3 IS

Three compound prepositions occur with IS as the prepositional element: IS LLAW, IS TROED, IS CIL. In all cases, the nominal element derives from a body part, although the examples for LLAW include several non-literal applications. The basic sense of IS as "trajector located below the landmark" is rare in actual use here (only two out of the eight examples), but the various semantics it supplies are all found for the simple preposition as well with the possible exception of IS CIL (under + back, behind), depending on whether one interprets the "behind" sense to derive entirely from the nominal element, or whether one considers it a general orientational mapping BEHIND IS BELOW, complementary to the use of elements like PEN for both "top" and "front" (in which case, IS CIL would count as a redundant compound). These functions include spatial mappings such as LOWER ELEVATION IS BELOW (or perhaps DOWNSTREAM IS BELOW), LOW STATUS IS DOWN_{M}, and BEHIND IS BELOW (including scenarios where this is applied metonymically to a foot-related subset of an inanimate object, such as a bed). In all cases, the compounds mark static location or the goal of an extent, although there is no reason to assume that a regular goal-marking function would be impossible. (As it happens, there is

only one goal-marking example for simple IS–that function is primarily supplied by TAN.) The nominal body-part elements generally restrict the landmark to being human (or having a human structure easily mapped onto them), with the exception of LLAW (hand) which, as shown in section 2.3.2.3.1.2, can be extended to a relatively semantically empty reference to any type of landmark.

2.3.2.5.2.4 TAN

TAN occurs as the prepositional element in three compounds: TAN LLAW, TAN PEN, TAN TROED. As in the case with IS, all three nominal elements derive from body parts. In the case of TAN compounds, the majority of examples can have a spatial interpretation ("under" or "located in a projected region from the feet" in the case of TAN TROED), although about half are ambiguous between this and the non-spatial function, "trajector is controlled (physically or non-physically) by the landmark", i.e. UNDER CONTROL IS BELOW (cf. CONTROL IS $UP_{M,P}$). The nominal components can restrict the landmark to a literal interpretation (TROED), or may allow a specific but regular extension in addition (PEN also appears in the sense "extremity", LLAW also appears in what is either an "empty" reference to a human landmark, or in a somewhat redundant sense standing metonymically for control).

It is interesting to compare IS and TAN, both in simple and compound forms. Both are commonly used for a spatial "below, under" sense, and for the metaphoric extension of this to low status. IS has a broader range of spatial applications (lower

elevation and especially downstream, foot-related location in non-canonical orientations) while TAN has a greater variety of non-spatial extensions (control, context, benefit). These patterns are found in the compounds as well as the simple forms.

2.3.2.5.2.5 TROS

TROS occurs as the prepositional element in two compounds, TROS GWYNEB and TROS PEN. TROS PEN is difficult to characterise in terms of compositional semantics, as the two examples (both in reference to the same event) use it in an idiomatic way where the exact nature of the reference is unclear from the context. It appears to be roughly equivalent to English "head over heels", in the sense of an uncontrolled tumbling movement of a body.

In TROS GWYNEB, the nominal element specifies the landmark as a two-dimensional extent, working from a general spatial mapping of "face" onto "flat surface, especially a round one". The sense of TROS that appears here is the least specified sense of "path or linear extent through a region" (a sense available, but less common, for simple TROS), rather than the more typical sense "path crossing a (linear) landmark perpendicularly".

2.3.2.5.2.6 UCH

UCH occurs as the prepositional element in two compounds, UCH LLAW and UCH PEN, with semantics that place it between the current group and the redundant

group (see section 2.3.2.5.1.7). In UCH LLAW, the nominal element mostly supplies no specific semantics (see section 2.3.2.3.1.2 for more details) and the compounds are identical in function to senses available for simple UCH. The one exception is the use of UCH LLAW in reference to an extent upward from a literal hand which, in isolation, would not be counted as a compound preposition. UCH PEN parallels IS TROED in focusing on the location of the trajector above the head or head-related part of the landmark (including examples where this relative location is preserved when the landmark is rotated to a non-vertical orientation). In this case, however, this redundant function is much more widely extended to location above inanimate landmarks, or in contact with elevated geographic landmarks. In contrast with simple UCH, two examples of UCH PEN have pragmatic understandings involving hostile action and controlling access, respectively, in addition to involving an actual spatial position above (or at least elevated with respect to) the landmark. This overlap of "above" with "controlling" or "threatening" is more commonly associated with AR (see section 2.3.1.3.1).

2.3.2.5.3 Prepositional Elements Providing Relatively General Semantics

Six prepositions occur in compounds supplying extremely general semantics, where the specific nature of the relationship between trajector and landmark is determined solely by the nominal element. In the case of GAN, GER, I, and O, this lack of semantic specification is present in the simple preposition itself. In the case of AR and YN, the simple prepositions have fairly specific semantics available (although less specific

applications can also be found), but in these compounds that specificity is not necessarily present (although traces of it survive–see section 2.3.2.5.3.4). The discussions that follow focus strongly (but not exclusively) on how the uses of these prepositions contrast in compounds, especially when several of them appear in combination with the same nominal element.

2.3.2.5.3.1 GAN, GER

GAN only occurs as the initial prepositional element in one compound, GAN YMYL, and is the anomaly in this group. This compound duplicates the function of AR YMYL and YN YMYL, and there is only a single example in the data. The simple preposition GAN, when used for spatial relationships, primarily focuses on situations where the landmark has implications of control over a (potentially movable) trajector, either animate or not. There are a very few examples of GAN locating a trajector relative to a region landmark. It is in this second, rare sense that GAN occurs in GAN YMYL, defusing the possibility that the latter is some sort of textual anomaly, but suggesting that it is not part of a productive pattern.

GER occurs in two compounds, with BRON and LLAW, as well as a single example in the simple form. (In other data, a compound with GWYNEB also appears (GPC).) The sense which GER brings to the compounds is not the manipulation-point sense found in my single example of the simple form, but a more general locational "near, in front of" sense found in Medieval Welsh texts not included in my study (GPC). The

semantics of the compounds derive from their nominal elements, "front" for BRON and "side, general vicinity" for LLAW.

2.3.2.5.3.2 I

Compounds with I as the prepositional element all identify the landmark as a goal of motion, either directly in a spatial sense, or in a simple extension to a temporal sense (with the "goal" being the later end of a time extent). In addition to combining with most of the basic types of nominal elements–body parts (BRON, LLAW, PEN), generic object parts (GWAERED, HANNER, LLE, PARTH, YMYL), specific objects (DRWS), geographic objects (GLAN, LLAWR), only temporal nouns are not represented–it can occur with "newer" prepositions as the second element (I UCH) or with verbal elements (I YMDAITH–see section 2.3.2.6.2). Although the majority of these compounds take overt landmarks, several appear only as directional adverbs (I GWAERED, I LLAWR, I MYNYDD).

The goal-marking function of I in compounds is usually doubled by other compounds with the same nominal element, most commonly by HYD YN (and once by HYD AR) which are obligatorily goal-marking due to the use of HYD. As a goal-marking function is theoretically available to any locative construction, we also find parallel goal-marking compounds with YN and even O via its unusual locative use (see section 2.3.2.5.3.3). In most cases, goal-marking compounds are rare enough that there is no identifiable preference between the options, but we do find I GWAERED and HYD YN

PEN as the clearly preferred goal-marking options for their respective nominal elements.

With the exception of HANNER, nominal elements appearing with I in a goal-marking sense have parallel locative compounds with AR or YN (and usually both). (HANNER occurs rarely in locative compounds–either spatial or temporal–with AM, but in general the sense "located in a central region" is supplied by other nominal elements, especially PERFEDD.)

2.3.2.5.3.3 O

The function of O as a prepositional element in compounds is not entirely predictable from its use as a simple preposition. In addition to compounds with purely compositional semantics where O provides a source-marking sense (with LLAW, LLE, PARTH, PEN, PLITH, PLYG, RHWNG, YMYL) or the temporal equivalent where it indicates the earlier end of a time extent (with HANNER), there is a large group of compounds with O that occur in a locative sense (with BLAEN, EITHR, MEWN, PARTH, TU, UCH, and temporal equivalents with BLAEN, DIWEDD, PEN) and these may further extend to having a goal-marking function (with EITHR, PARTH, UCH, and possibly MEWN). With EITHR, we find O doubled by Y (in the form *ddy*), reinforcing its expected understanding as a source marker (and undermining a hypothesis that the O in this group is some unrelated and unidentified locational preposition). On a lexical level, the potential for ambiguity seems to be held to a minimum, with only O PARTH occurring in both source-marking and locative (and hence, potentially goal-marking)

senses. But on an etymological level, some explanation for this pattern is required.

The case of O MEWN can be excluded, to some extent, as the compound marks *exclusion* from the region identified by simple MEWN, that is O MEWN locates the trajector outside the landmark container. A similar sense can be found very rarely for simple O. This sense can be achieved via a scenario in which the trajector was formerly located inside the landmark, with O MEWN identifying the interior as the source of movement and the pragmatic implication that the trajector is now located exterior to the landmark. This resulting locative sense can then be extended to cases where the trajector was never contained within the landmark.

The case of O PARTH and O TU may also have a bridging scenario from ordinary functions of simple O, as the compound also occurs in a partative sense identifying the trajector as being a part (or located in a part) of the landmark via the partative function of simple O (see section 3.3.1.1.1). This partative sense may then be interpreted as having locative function, and from that may develop a goal-marking sense (although O TU does not appear in the latter function).

The stories for MEWN and PARTH, however, cannot explain the cases of BLAEN and UCH unless we assume a general extension from this partative sense. This general phenomenon is cataloged in the literature (GPC, Evans 1964) but I have not found any discussion about its evolution or motivation.

In addition to the spatial and temporal compounds discussed above, there are two other groups of compounds with O. One group, O HYD and O LLED, are marginal in

terms of being considered compound prepositions. They both mark the content of an act of measurement and derive from the content-marking sense of simple O (see section 3.3.2.1.1.8), with the nominal elements functioning literally.

The other group form adverbial compounds, primarily from adjectives, as discussed in more detail in section 2.3.2.6.3, but these fall outside the primary scope of this work. The group includes O BRAIDD, O CWBL, O NEWYDD, and O TRO.

2.3.2.5.3.4 AR and YN

These two groups are best described in parallel, as they have extremely similar distributions and semantics. Initially, I will focus on compounds where the two can be compared. (Note that some of the patterns discussed here may be artifacts of small data sets.) Some compounds found with *ar* in Medieval Welsh derive from ER instead, and these can be difficult to identify unless we have examples of them from Old Welsh, see for example ER CYFAIR in section 2.3.2.3.3.1 (Hamp 1975a). Since the amount of surviving Old Welsh data is extremely small, the ability to make this distinction is primarily based on luck.

Similarly problematic is the difficulty in unambiguously identifying constructions of the form *yn* <*noun*> as involving the preposition rather than the predicative/adverbial *yn*. I have discussed this issue in detail in section 2.3.1.6.1 and remain unconvinced that the majority of these expressions should be understood as involving the predicative/adverbial particle. I believe extensive set of parallel constructions with AR

and YN supplies positive evidence for the prepositional argument, or at least for a prepositional origin for these constructions.

When both YN and AR occur in combination with the same second element, in a significant number of cases the semantics appear to be identical. This is the case in spatial applications when the second element is CANOL, GLAN, HYD, PARTH, or PEN, and in all temporal applications (with BLAEN, DIWEDD, HYD, OL, and PEN). The specific understanding of these compounds depends on the nature of the second element, but the default is simple location (either spatial or temporal).

In another group, both sets of compounds occur in a locative sense, but there is a distributional difference in the examples with respect to whether contact with the landmark is implied. If only one of the pair has a contact sense, it is the compound with AR; if only one has a "vicinity but non-contact" sense, it is more often the compound with YN. This group includes compounds with the second element DRWS, GWYNEB, LLAW, OL, and YMYL. This distinction presumably derives from the greater emphasis on a contact/non-contact contrast with simple AR.

In a third group, the data shows a semantic distinction between spatial senses of the AR and YN compounds greater than the contact/non-contact contrast above, but there is no clear pattern to it. This group includes compounds with HYD (where AR HYD appears in a sense of "multiplex trajector distributed throughout an extended landmark region" not found for YN HYD), LLED (YN LLED only occurs marking a patient of measurement and not a path), and TRAWS (AR TRAWS marks a path through a region

landmark while YN TRAWS marks a path perpendicularly crossing a linear landmark). YN CYFAIR and ER CYFAIR are not part of this pattern despite the superficial form *ar cyfair* (GPC).

A fourth group has completely unrelated senses for the two compounds, which neither support nor contradict any of the above patterns. This includes LLE (AR LLE marks a legal context, YN LLE a spatial or temporal location or a substitute) and PERFEDD (AR PERFEDD marks a temporal location and YN PERFEDD a spatial one).

The discontinuous patterns in the third and fourth group (and in cases where only one of the two possible compounds occurs) may sometimes be a random function of the rarity of the second element, but in some derive from a semantic conflict in the non-occurring compound. The preference for AR LLAWR and AR TU over non-ocurring *YN LLAWR and *YN TU may derive from the use of simple AR for location on surfaces (but note YN PARTH). The non-ocurrence of *YN UCH and *YN GWARTHAF may derive from a preference for AR in a somewhat redundant "on, above" sense. The ocurrance of YN, but not AR with MAES, MEWN, MYSG, PLITH, and PLYG undoubtedly is motivated by the "interior" sense of these elements, which YN doubles to some extent. GWAERED presents the opposite case to UCH, where the conflict between AR's "above, on top" sense and GWAERED's "lower portion, bottom" sense may block the compound. The lack of examples of *AR BRON may be purely statistical, but given that AR carries at least some implication of contact, AR BRON may simply be dispreferred in the "location in vicinity" contexts in the data. It might, on the

other hand, have been expected in an example involving the location of a brooch on the wearer's breast, but RHAG BRON is used instead. Similarly, the preference for YN over AR in "non-contact vicinity" senses probably motivates the occurrence of YN BON, (HYD) YN RHAG, YN GLYN, YN GWYDD The "contact" implication of AR more clearly motivates AR TROED, which is better interpreted as simple AR and literal TROED.

A number of compounds occur very rarely and have no obvious motivating preference for one prepositional element over another. AR RHOD, YN CYLCH, and YN CWMPAS all involve location surrounding the landmark and both prepositional elements occur, although never with the same second element. YN WYSG parallels YN OL in semantics, with AR OL also occurring. (HYD) YN OED, (HYD) YN HANNER, and YN MUNUD all have similar temporal senses to those found with both AR and YN above. YN CANOL, YN CONGL, YN CYFYL, and YN TAL may be motivated by a preference for YN in identifying subsets of regions, but since AR is also found in this function the preference is not obligatory. Similarly, YN RHITH may be motivated by the use of YN to mark results of a physical change, since the compound always refers to a false or magical appearance that has been adopted or imposed (see section 3.4.4.3.1).

AR forms a set of compounds with generic nouns of form or appearance to produce prepositions of manner (AR GWAITH, AR GWEDD, AR LLUN, AR MODD) which are discussed further in section 2.3.2.6.3.

Adverbial compounds with the preposition YN are usually difficult to distinguish

from constructions with the predicative YN (see the extensive discussions in sections 2.3.1.6.1 and 2.3.2.6.3).

In summary, AR and YN as the first element in compounds have extremely similar functions, distribution, and semantics, largely indicating simple location, with the differences that do occur being dictated, or simply motivated, by traces of the more specific semantics of these prepositions: AR carrying senses of contact, flat surfaces, and elevation, and YN carrying senses of interiority and portions of geographic regions.

2.3.2.6 Other Semantic Sources for Preposition-like Elements

In addition to the regular, productive sources of elements for prepositional compounds discussed above, there are a handful of more idiosyncratic derivations for prepositions and preposition-like elements and compounds. These include conjunctions, verbs (or nouns of action), and elements of various types forming adverbial compounds when used with prepositions.

2.3.2.6.1 Conjunctions

The most prominant preposition derived from a conjunction is AC, as discussed in section 2.3.1.4.3. Another element that took the same path is ONYD, deriving from a compound of O + NYD (if not), with prepositional semantics essentially identical to its use as a conjunction, identifying the landmark as an exception or contrast to the trajector.

Somewhat more commonly, elements of prepositional origin may have semantics

that lend themselves to use as a conjunction. In a set of uses very similar to ONYD, we find EITHR and NAMYN crossing from preposition to conjunction, but with extremely similar semantics in both functions. (See section 2.3.2.6.2 below for the origin of NAMYN.) For a detailed contrast of these and other elements in this type of function, see section 3.5.3.

One compound that does not fit well in any existing category is O ACHOS (because, for the reason that), combining O in cause-marking sense found for the simple preposition with the generic noun ACHOS (reason, cause). Functionally, this is similar to the redundant spatial compounds, with ACHOS simply reinforcing a sense already available to O, but the compound is often used with clausal landmarks leading to formal classification as a conjunction.

In fact, there is a tendency in the literature to classify particular elements as conjunctions or prepositions depending only on whether the landmark is a clause or a noun phrase, and not on whether the element joins equivalent syntactic units or not. A good example of this is Evans' (1964) classification of the "means" sense of TRWY as a conjunction when it is followed by a clause, and prepositional when it is followed by a noun phrase.

Several prepositions with temporal use are simliarly classified as conjunctions when the landmark is clausal: TRA (while), HYD TRA (while, as long as), and YNY until—see section 2.3.1.9.3 for the derivation).

More rarely, a preposition may develop a sense as a conjunction that is not

directly paralleled by any prepositional sense, as with HYD in the sense "so that, in order that".

Because I am focusing more on semantic than syntactic functions in this study, I have been fairly inclusive in analyzing examples if there is any basis for considering an element prepositional.

2.3.2.6.2 Verbs

The derivation of prepositional elements from verbs is rarely transparently obvious in Medieval Welsh (unlike, for example, the participal-derived prepositions of English, such as "following". There are a couple of older prepositions that seem likely to be based on roots indicating actions, although it is difficult to identify the immediate morphological origins as specifically verbal. This group includes HERWYDD from a root meaning "see" (section 2.3.1.5.2.4) and at a much earlier stratum possibly WRTH from a root meaning "turn" (see section 2.3.1.4.5).

In NAMYN, the probable origin in the present participle *yn amwyn* "contending for, taking, seizing" is more thinly disguised (Evans 1964). Its sense as a preposition is to indicate an exception or contradiction (a sense also found as a conjunction, see section 2.3.2.6.1) and the verbal use identifies the metaphoric motivation fairly clearly as EXCEPTION OR OMISSION IS THE REMOVAL OF AN OBJECT.

Another verbal origin is seen in YN GLYN, from the verbal adjective GLYN (clinging, adhering). Properly, we would expect GLYN to form an adverbial phrase with

the predicative *yn*, but the combination is always found with the nasal mutation associated with prepositional *yn*, as *ynglyn*, (see the extensive discussion on this topic in section 2.3.1.6.1). As a prepositional compound, the phrase appears with WRTH (motivated, no doubt, by WRTH's attachment sense) and YN GLYN WRTH can be attenuated to mean "together with, around" in addition to the more compositional "attached to, stuck to" sense. (This last is not found in my data, but can be found in unpublished slips collected for the GPC.)

YMDAITH is a verbal-noun meaning "travel, journey" and occurs in the compound, I YMDAITH, which is relatively common. The compound behaves as a spatial adverb indicating motion resulting in separation of the trajector from a landmark that is either implicit or is given in a separate prepositional phrase. Also found is YMAITH (with no prepositional element) in the same sense. This appears to be a slightly reduced form of the verbal-noun, although I can only find this connection implied and not stated explicitly (Evans 1964).

2.3.2.6.3 Adverbial Compounds

Prepositional compounds that function adverbially fall outside the main interest of this work, but bring up interesting questions of underlying semantics. In addition, some of these constructions, although having adverbial semantics, are structured syntactically as prepositional phrases. These constructions fall into three general groups.

Compounds of AR with generic nouns meaning "form" or "appearance" produce

adverbs of generic manner, where the specific nature of the manner is indicated by the landmark of the construction. AR GWAITH, AR GWEDD, and AR LLUN have extremely similar semantics (in the manner of) and are not common enough to be certain of any patterns of minor semantic difference. AR MODD occurs specifically with scalar factors as the landmark.

Compounds of O with certain adjectives produce aspectual adverbs: O BRAIDD (scarcely, hardly), O CWBL (entirely), O NEWYDD (anew), O TRO (for long). (This class of aspect markers is relatively rare in my data but becomes more important in the Early Modern period.) The function of O in these may be related to the rare locational sense it can have in compounds (see section 2.3.2.5.3.3) following the metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_P$. The compounds in this category that survive in this function in Modern Welsh have generally lost the preposition.

As mentioned above in section 2.3.2.5.3.4, some compounds with YN function adverbially and can be difficult to distinguish from adverbial constructions with predicative *yn*. The similar adverbial compounds with AR and O strike me as evidence against Evan's (1964) assertion that YN + adjective must necessarily be interpreted and involving the predicative *yn* even when the allomorphy and nasal mutation characteristic of the preposition is present.

In this group we may include YN PELL (far, distant) which always appears with allomorphy of YN and nasal mutation. Similarly, YN CYD (together) behaves much like a spatial adverb derived from a predicative adjective, except for nasal mutation in the

second element. The semantics derive from CYD in its sense of co-location of the trajector and landmark (with an extension to possession via POSSESSION IS CO-LOCATION). Only rarely do adverbial compounds occur in parallel with more than one type of prepositional element. YN/O CWBL is the most obvious exception, with both constructions having essentially identical semantics. Several other constructions were considered in this context (YN RHAGOR "more", YN AMROSGOYW "diagonally", YN CYNDRYCHOL "present") but there seemed to be no good evidence for considering them to be prepositional compounds rather than predicative adjectives.

2.3.2.6.4 A Template for Mutual Prepositions

An interesting formula occurs with certain high-frequency elements found in compound prepositions, primarily body parts, taking the form "X <preposition> X" and used adverbially, primarily with a mutual spatial sense.

The examples found in my data are: ERBYN YN ERBYN, LLAW HEB LLAW, and GWYNEB YN GWYNEB. (The semantics will be dealt with shortly.) Other examples of this pattern attested in GPC include, from the medieval period, LLAW TRA LLAW, LLAW YN LLAW, GWYDD YN GWYDD, and from the early modern period CEFN YN CEFN and PEN AM PEN.

As a rule, the elements also occur as a regular compound preposition (e.g. YN ERBYN occurs as well as ERBYN YN ERBYN). The exceptions to this are *YN GWYNEB (although it is actually somewhat surprising not to find examples of this), and

*TRA LLAW.

The semantics of these adverbial constructions, as mentioned above, generally have a mutual sense related to the basic spatial sense available for the equivalent short form of the construction, e.g. "back to back" for CEFN YN CEFN, "face to face, openly" for GWYDD YN GWYDD, and "face to face" for GWYNEB YN GWYNEB. In some cases, the choice of preposition affects the reading of the compound, e.g. LLAW YN LLAW (hand in hand) versus LLAW TRA LLAW (hand to hand, as in combat). In other cases, the particular preposition used is difficult to find motivation for, as with PEN AM PEN. The semantics are not clear, perhaps "back to front", or in another citation "one-to-one".

Two of the examples appearing in my data are, unfortunately, not entirely clear from context. ERBYN YN ERBYN occurs in a context of hostile conflict similar to that possible for YN ERBYN, and GPC suggests a reading along the lines of "in opposition to each other".

LLAW HEB LLAW provides a more difficult case. A purely compositional reading would suggest "side by side", following a sense available to HEB LLAW (although not appearing in my data) and this is one possibility discussed in Thomson (1961), however Williams (1930) prefers the reading "promiscuously", citing the only other instance of the phrase I can find reference to (Lewis and Diverres 1928): *Delw y Byd* 57: *a'r daear blith drachemysc lau hep lau a'r dufyr* "and the earth PLITH TRACHYMYSG LLAW HEB LLAW with the water", corresponding to the Latin text *et terra est aquae*

permista where *plith drachymysg* translates *permista* "mixed up, in confusion, promiscuously", and LLAW HEB LLAW is evidently assumed to double this meaning. But here the phrase describes a purly physical mixing of the elements of earth and water, which hardly supports the presumably sexual reading of “promiscuously”. There seems to me no overriding evidence for interpreting LLAW HEB LLAW as indicating anything more than a spatial mixing, presumably deriving from a more narrow "side by side" sense, and that the translation “promiscuously” has been influenced by 20th century sexual attitudes to the described situation.

As a side note, this general type of construction also exists with identical semantics in a form that simply duplicates the nominal element, e.g. *bronfron*, *cefngefn*, *llawlaw*, *penben*. But as this takes the matter entirely outside the realm of prepositions, I have not tracked these constructions systematically.

3 Semantic Topics

The following section focuses on particular semantic functions marked by prepositions and explores the range of prepositions used for that function and potential motivations for those choices. I have tried to give examples of each preposition found for each distinct function. This may sometimes give a false impression of the relative proportions of use, although these proportions are discussed in the text. In section 4, I will address how various competing semantic, syntactic, and morphological forces influence or determine the choice of preposition in any particular context by examining particular semantic fields or categories of meaning.

3.1 Spatial Reference

As a foundation for considering other prepositional uses, we must explore their use to describe spatial relationships. There are a number of variables that may be encoded in these spatial prepositions. The trajector may have a static location with respect to the landmark, or the landmark may be a source or goal of motion, or some feature of the path of motion. The preposition may encode more specific information about the positional relationship of the two (such as proximity or vertical positioning), or about the nature of one or both of them, whether in terms of a general image schema such as "container" or more specific information such as animacy. Some types of information may only be encoded or distinguished in particular contexts, for example, the animacy of the landmark is more often indicated for sources and goals than for static locations. Similarly, the

distinction between a location and goal is often supplied by other context and not distinguished in the preposition. (For considerations of spatial language, see e.g. Boers 1987, Brugman 1988, Langacker 1987, Svorou 1994, Talmy 2000.) In coding my data, I distinguished between five general classes of entity: humans, animals, inanimate objects treated without regard to internal structure, inanimate objects profiled as containers, and two-dimensional (e.g. geographic) regions. Given the nature of the data, those categories are not always as clear-cut as one might think. For example, a significant number of animal participants in the literary tales are highly anthropomorphized (or even magically transformed human beings), which tends to blur the distinction between human and animal.

3.1.1 Static Location

Prepositions indicating the static location of a trajector relative to a landmark may indicate a general sense of co-location or location in the near vicinity, or may encode a fairly specific relative position (in front, behind, under, above). They may indicate something about the nature of the trajector or landmark (unitary, multiplex, extended, animate), and may supply some specific non-spatial meaning in addition to the locational one. The enormous variety of prepositional expressions used in locational senses are made up primarily of compounds, especially compounds with body-part terms or generic object parts. In many cases, the distinction between these constructions as compound prepositions as opposed to prepositional phrases with literal reference of the nominal

element is subtle. In cataloging them here, I have been generous on the side of including items as compound prepositions, especially if the construction is ever used (including non-spatially) in a non-literal sense, or if the nominal element is one found in other constructions that are clearly compound prepositions. (See section 2.1.2 for further discussion of evaluating constructions as prepositional.) Prepositions are discussed in detail under the heading that seems to be their primary meaning, with extended or secondary meanings in the same discussion.

3.1.1.1 Location-markers Apparently from Goal and Source Senses

A small group of examples appear to mark static location with language normally indicating goals or sources. As mentioned in section 2.3, it is common for locational markers to be used in the same form to mark goals. It is not a common pattern, however, for overtly goal-marking prepositions (that is, ones including an element whose primary overriding semantics includes a goal sense) to be used in situations of static location.

The most problematic apparent examples can be seen to be situationally analogical uses, that is, they occur in context in a parallel construction to a goal-marking expression. In another case, an apparent location expression is better interpreted as a body-part relationship (see section 3.3.1.1.3).

The element HYD is strongly associated with a goal-marking function (see section 2.3.2.4.2), however it still retains its sense as an abstract spatial term meaning "length, extent" and occurs as a noun in this sense commonly in Medieval Welsh. Thus

expressions such as AR HYD and YN HYD, used to mark static location, do not require interpretation as goal-marking language, but can be understood as location relative to a path or extended landmark.

(35) di-r lech **in hit** i- foss [LD:260:6]
to the stone **in-length** the ditch
*[the boundary runs] to the stone, **along** the ditch*

(36) Ac arganuot y bolyeu crwyn a wnaeth **ar hyt** y pyst. [BFL:42:16]
and perceive-VN the bags skin PART do-PRET-3SG **on length** the posts
*And he perceived the skin bags **along** the posts.*

Source-marking prepositions (based on O or Y) can be adapted to characterize distance or external location as a result of fictive motion. However a number of location-markers involve prepositional compounds of O where no sense of even a fictive source is present. Here, the element seems to function as a semantically empty "supporting preposition", primarily in compounds with nouns, but sometimes prefixed to independent prepositions. In most cases, the O-compounds are paralleled by (and outnumbered by) compounds with YN or AR (in the case of nominal compounds) or the simple preposition (for prepositional compounds) with identical semantics. (This function led me to wonder whether it might be possible that some other compounding preposition, indicating general co-location, has at some point merged with O, but I have found nothing other than the unexpected semantics to support such a hyppothesis.)

3.1.1.2 Location In Front (and Extremities)

Constructions indicating location in front of the landmark focus around three groups: those based on the preposition RHAG, those based on body parts that have been extended to "front" senses, and those based on the generic object part BLAEN. While these elements have the predominent meaning "in front of", when they are applied to landmarks with no inherent front/back orientation, they extend in three regular ways: to mean "location at an extremity of the landmark", "location at an elevation", or "location adjacent to a body of water". (Two regular orientational mappings are found here: ENTITIES FACE UPHILL and ENTITIES FACE AN ADJACENT BODY OF WATER.)

A general "location in front" sense can be found for the following prepositions: RHAG, O TU RHAG, RHAG BRON, RHAG GLYN, RHAG GWYNEB, CYM+AR+GWYNEB AC, YN BLAEN, O BLAEN.

(37) A-chyfodi a-oruc y vor6yn **racda6** o-r gadeir eur. [BM:182:2]

and rise-VN PART do-PRET-3SG the maiden **before-3SM** from the chair gold

*And the maiden arose **in front of him** from the gold chair.*

(38) Vn llawes a-oed a ar gapan pob vn onadunt **o-r tu racda6** yn ar6yd eu bot yn gennadeu pa ryueltir bynhac y kerdynt ynda6 na wnelit dr6c udunt. [BM:184:23]

one sleeve PART be-IMPERF-3SG on cape each one of-3PL **of the side before-3SM** PART sign they be-VN PART messengers what war-land whatever PART travel-IMPERF-SUBJ-3PL in-3SM NEG do-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS bad to-3PL

*One sleeve on the cape of each one of them was **to the front side**, as a sign that they were messengers [and] whatever warring land they might travel in, no harm would be done to them.*

(39) Ac Owein uab Uryen yn seuyll **rac y uron**. [BR:11:24]

and Owein son Urien PART stand **before his breast**

*And Owein son of Urien standing **before him**.*

(40) E gof llys em pen y ueyng, **rac** deu glyn yr effeyryat. [LI:5]

the smith court in head the bench **before** two **knee** the priest

*The court smith [sits] at the end of the bench, **in front of** the priest.*

(41) Kynedyf arall a uyd arnaw: pan dycco beich, na mawr na bychan uo, ny welir uyth na **rac vyneb** na thra'e geuyn. [CO:268]

property other PART be-PRES-3SG on-3SM: when carry-PRES-SUBJ-3SG burden, NEG big NEG small be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG, NEG see-PRES-IMPERS ever NEG **before face** NEG beyond his back

*Another property that is on him [i.e. that he has]: when he carries a burden, whether it be large or small, it will never be seen, either **in front of him** or behind him.*

(42) Ac ar y lleithic **kyfar6yneb ac** ef y g6elei deu vacc6y wineuon ieueinc yn g6are g6ydb6yll. [BM:181:1]

and on the throne **opposite-face with** him PART see-IMPERF-3SG two youth auburn young PART play-VN gwyddbwyll

*And on the throne **facing** him he saw two young auburn-haired youths playing "gwyddbwyll".*

(43) Sef a wnaeth Efnyssyen dyuot **ymlaen** llu Ynys y Kedyrn ymywn, ac edrych golygon orwyllt antrugarawc ar hyt y ty. [BFL:42:14]

thus PART do-PRET-3SG Efnissien come-VN **in-front** army island the strong within and look-VN looks fierce unmerciful on length the house

*This is what Efnissien did: [he] came inside **before** the army of the Island of the Mighty and looked fierce unmerciful looks along the house.*

(44) Ac ef a welei lannerch yn y coet, o uaes guastat; ac ual yd oed y erchwys ef yn ymgael ac ystlys y llannerch, ef a welei carw **o ulaen** yr erchwys arall. [PPD:1:13]

and he PART see-IMPERF-3SG clearing in the wood of field level and as PART be-IMPERF-3SG his pack his PART MUTUAL-reach-VN with/and edge the clearing, he PART see-IMPERF-3SG stag **of front** the pack other

*And he saw a clearing in the wood, [consisting] of a level field, and as his pack reached the edge of the clearing, he saw a stag **in front of** another pack.*

RHAG BRON also occurs in a non-specific "vicinity" sense, although with a human landmark.

(45) Gwreic y gyscu genthi, a didan gerdeu **rac dy vronn** [CO:97]
woman to sleep-VN with-3SF and entertainment songs before your-SG breast
*A woman [for you] to sleep with her and entertainment [of] songs **before you.***

CYM+AR+GWYNEB AC, based on the underlying morphology, appears to have as its basic meaning a mutual sense "in front of each other, facing each other", although no examples of this are clearly found. The "facing water" sense is found for RHAG and CYM+AR+GWYNEB AC.

(46) Ac odyno ef a-welei {enys} yn y mor **kyfar6yneb a**-r tir amdyfr6ys h6nn6. [BM:180:21]
and thence he PART see-IMPERF-3SG island in the sea **opposite-face with** the land strong that
*And from there he saw an island in the sea **facing** that strong land.*

(47) cann teir-eru ir-ynis **rac** pouis-ma deui. [LD:260:6]
with three-acre the island **before** resting-place Dewi
*[the boundary goes] by Three-Acre, the island **opposite** the resting-place of Dewi*

A "location at an extremity" sense is found for YN BLAEN, in a context of "top extremity". In addition, the compouind YN TAL, although related at least distantly to the body part "forehead", is found only in the "location at an extremity" sense.

(48) A phan edrych, ef a welei eryr **ym blaen** y prenn. [MFM:89:20]
and when look-VN, he PART see-IMPERF-3SG eagle **in-front** the tree
*And when he looked, he saw an eagle **at the tip of** the tree.*

(49) E le yn e llys yv **en tal** y ueync, en nessaf e'r effeyryat teylu. [LI:39]
his place in the court be-PRES-3SG **in end** the bench, PART nearest to the priest household
*His place in the court is **at the end** of the bench, nearest to the household priest.*

The elevation sense is seen for YN BLAEN above (in combination with the "extremity" sense) and is the only sense found for YN BRON, but this latter case is derived more directly from the topological sense of BRON "hill" (via an image-metaphor from BRON "breast") and is better not counted as a compound preposition.

(50) ar-hit ir-ard n-i-hit n-**y bron** ir-allt [LD:184:18]
on-length the hill in-its-length **in breast** the slope
*[the boundary goes] along the hill, along it, **on top of** the slope*

Related to the "in front" senses, although orientation is only implied pragmatically, are YN GWYDD and YN CYNDDRYCHOL, both derived from elements meaning "see", used in a general "vicinity" sense with the added implication that the trajector is the focus of the landmark's attention (landmarks are human in all examples). Because of this directed attention (and the relation to vision), a front location can be inferred, but these constructions do not seem to be generalized to a purely spatial sense.

(51) ny dely mach dwyn gwystyl hep e kynnogyn ony bey ryuot negydyaeth **eny kyndrychavl**. [LI:62]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG surety bear-VN pledge beside the principal-debtor if-NEG be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG some refusal **in-his presence**

*the surety is not entitled to take a pledge without the principal debtor unless there has been some refusal **in his presence**.*

(52) "Neus rodes y uelly, arglwydes, **yg gwyd** gwyrda," heb ef. [PPD:14:7]

PART give-PRET-3SG PART thus, lady, **in presence** noblemen, say-PRET-3SG he

*"He has given it thus, lady, **in the presence of** noblemen," he said.*

3.1.1.3 Location Above, On Top, At an Elevation

"Front" elements are far from the only ways to express location at an elevation relative to a landmark. This sense is also indicated by expressions focusing around four elements: the prepositions AR and UCH, the body part PEN, and the generic object parts GWARTHAF and UCHAF (both nominalized superlatives indicating "highest part"), including combinations of these.

Compounds involving AR tend to indicate both location above and contact with (or even attachment to) the landmark. The second element of the compound may involve literal reference (AR GWYNEB, (Y) AR PEN) but these expressions are also used with inanimate landmarks. In this latter sense, GWYNEB seems to add a sense that the landmark is a flat plane (although the single example is not much to work from), and PEN, in its extended sense of "top region" simply reinforces the sense of elevation.

(53) Teyr kreyth gogyuarch ysyd: un **ar vynep** ac arall ar llau a'r tryded ar troet: xxx. ar e troet; lx. ar y llau; cxx. **ar y vynep**. [LI:147]

three scar conspicuous be-PRES-REL-3SG: one **on face** and other on hand and the third on foot: 30 on the foot; 60 on the hand; 120 **on the face**

*There are three conspicuous scars: one **on a face**, and another on a hand and the third on a foot; [the scar's compensation is] 30 [pence] on [or: for] the foot, 60 on [or: for] the hand, 120 **on [or: for] the face**.*

(54) a llenn o pali **ar wyneb** y gerwyn [LL:98]

with sheet of brocade **on face** the tub

*with a brocade sheet **over** the tub*

(55) Helym eureit **ar penn** y marchawc a mein mawrweirthawc gwyrthuawr yndi. [BR:15:24]

helmet golden **on head** the knight and/with stone great-valued value-great in-3SF

*A golden helmet **on** the knight's **head** with a valuable precious stone on it.*

(56) Pan yttoed Gei a Bedwyr yn eisted **ar benn** Pumlumon ar Garn Gwylathyr, ar wynt mwyaf yn y byt, edrych a wnaethant yn eu kylch [CO:953]

when PART-be-IMPERF-3SG Cei and Bedwyr PART sit-VN **on head** Pumlumon on Carn Gwylathyr, on wind biggest in the world, look-VN PART do-PRET-3PL in their circle

*When Cei and Bedwyr were sitting **on top of** [the mountain] Pumlumon on [the rock] Carn Gwylathyr, in the biggest wind in the world, they looked around them.*

(57) Mi a deuthum yma yr ys pell o amser, a phann deuthum yma gyntaf maen a oed ym, ac **y ar y benn** ef y pigwn y syr bop ucher. [CO:886]

I PART come-PRET-1SG here for be-PRES-REL-3SG long of time, and when come-PRET-1SG here first stone PART be-IMPERF-3SG to-1SG, and **from-on his head** his PART peck-IMPERF-1SG the stars every evening

*I came here a long time since, and when I first came here there was a stone to me [i.e. I had a stone], and **from the top of it** I pecked the stars every evening.*

With a generic object part, AR GWARTHAF and AR UCHAF similarly reinforce the sense of "on top", but both have an additional use indicating "loction exterior to the landmark", suggesting a general orientational metaphor EXTERIOR IS UP.

(58) Breckan lwytkoch galetlom toll a dannwyt arnei, a llenlliein vrastoll trychwanawc **ar uchaf** y vreckan, a gobennyd lletwac a thudet govudyr idaw **ar warthaf** y llenlliein. [BR:3:15]

blanket gray-red hard-bare holed PART spread-PRET-IMPERS on-3SF, and sheet-linen broad-holed tattered **on above-most** the blanket, and pillow half-empty and cover very-dirty to-3SM **on top** the sheet-linen

*A holey, hard-threadbare, gray-red blanket was spread on it [i.e. the bed], and a tattered, broad-holed linen sheet **on top of** the blanket, and a half-empty pillow with a very dirty cover for it **on top of** the linen sheet.*

(59) Ac **ar warthaf** hynny llenn o pali melyn wedy ry wniaw a sidan glas, [BR:4:8]

and on top that cloak of brocade yellow after PART sew-VN with silk green,

And on top of that a cloak of yellow brocade, sewn with green silk,

(60) Ac **[ar] uchaf** yr hossaneu dwy wintas o gordwal brith [BR:12:7]

and **on above-most** the hose two buskins of cordovan speckled

*And **outside** the hose, two buskins of speckled cordovan*

UCH, in its simple form, has a variety of uses, all deriving from a sense of "higher than".

(61) Pedeir tywarchen a ladei pedwar carn y gorwyd, mal pedeir gwennawl yn yr awyr uch y benn, gweitheu **uchtaw**, gveitheu istaw. [CO:74]

four clods PART strike-IMPERF-3SG four hoof the steed, as four swallow in the air above his head sometimes **above-3SM**, sometimes below-3SM

*The hooves of his steed struck [up] four clods, like four swallows in the air above his head, sometimes **above him**, sometimes below him.*

In addition to purely spatial examples, it may indicate location in a high-status location (STATUS IS UP_F), or in a specialized sense, location non-immersed in water or earth as a substance (although this overlaps completely with location above).

(62) O deruyd y den guneythur cam **uvch** y kynted a'y daly ohanav neu o un o'y teylu yn fo, trayan y dyrvy a dely e penteylu. [LI:6]

if happen-PRES-3SG to person do-VN wrong **above** the court and him catch-VN of-3SM or of one of the warband PART flee-VN, third the fine PART ought-PRES-3SG the head-warband

*If it happens to a person [that he] does a wrong **above** the court [i.e. in the upper or high-status part of the court] and he is caught by him [i.e. by the captain of the warband] or by one of his warband while fleeing, the captain of the warband is entitled [to] a third of the fine.*

(63) E gur a dele er escubaur ac a uo **uvch** daear ac ys daear o yt. [LI:44]

the man PART ought-PRES-3SG the barn and REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **above** earth and under earth of grain

*The man is entitled to the barn and what is **above** the earth and below the earth of grain.*

UCH is also common in an "impersonal" personal form, UCHOD (which functions adverbially, although it may be understood as having the current point of view as an implicit landmark). While this occurs in the same "located above" sense as UCH, it is particularly common in reference to an earlier position in a written text. If the textual trajector and landmark both occur on the same page, this would be a straightforward "above" sense, but this understanding has been extended to any point earlier in the text.

(64) Guedy daruot y'r seithwyr a dywedyssam ni **uchot**, cladu penn Bendigeidruan yn y Gwynuryn yn Llundein [MFL:49:1]

after happen-VN to the seven-men REL speak-PRET-1PL we **above**, bury-VN head Bendigeidfran in the Whitehill in London

*After it happened to the seven men we mentioned **above** [that they] buried Bendigeidfran's head in the Whitehill in London*

O UCH appears very rarely with similar meanings to UCH (see section

2.3.2.5.3.3 for a discussion of doublets compounded with O) and one new one, indicating the immersion of the landmark in a substance (water). Here we aren't dealing with an extension of meaning to a sense of "immersion", but simply with an interactional understanding of the salient properties of water: if there is water above the trajector, then under normal circumstances the trajector must be immersed completely.

(65) Ac ymauael yn gyntaf yn y traet, a'e gleicaw ohonunt yn Hafren, yny yttoed yn llenwi **ody uchtaw**. [CO:1182]

and MUTUAL-grasp-VN PART first in his feet, and him immerse-VN of-3PL in Hafren, until PART-be-IMPERF-3SG PART flood-VN **from-from-above-3SM**

*And [they] first grabbed onto his feet, and they immersed him in the Hafren [river], so that it flooded **over him**.*

UCH also appears compounded with the body parts PEN and LLAW. A few of the examples with PEN involve a literal head, but for the most part the element simply has a "top" sense or reinforces the sense of "above".

(66) Ereyll a dyweyt e mae guyalen gyhyt a'r gur huyaf en e tref a'e lau **uuch y pen**, LI:82]

others PART say-PRES-3SG PART be-PRES-3SG rod same-length with/and the man tallest in the village with/and his hand **above his head**,

*Others say [the measure] is a rod as long as the tallest man in the village, with his hand [stretched] **above his head**,*

(67) Gwneuthur ennein im ar lan auon, a gwneuthur cromglwyt **uch benn** y gerwyn [MFM:86:25]

make-VN bath to-1SG on shore river, and make-VN arch-gate **above-head** the tub

*Make a bath for me on the bank of a river, and make an arch **above** the tub*

The compound with LLAW has no body-part reference in the examples. Here

LLAW has become a semantically empty reference and the compound functions identically to simple UCH.

(68) gorssed a oed **uch law** y llys, a elwit Gorssed Arberth.[PPD:9:2]
mound REL be-IMPERF-3SG **above hand** the court, REL call-IMPERF-IMPERS mount Arberth
*a mound that was **above** the court which was called the Mound of Arberth.*

The compound YN PEN draws a sense of elevation or extremity from PEN (or may have literal body-part reference), but the examples also show the influence of various uses of YN. (This is not necessarily typical–YN in locational compounds often conveys no particular semantics.) Thus we commonly find it with region landmarks in the sense "located at an elevated portion of the landmark" (see section 2.3.2.5.3.4 for the association of YN with region landmarks) rather than "located above the landmark".

(69) Mae yr yniuer y buom ni doe ac echtoe **ym penn** yr orssed? [PPD:11:16]
PART be-PRET-1PL we yesterday and day-before-yesterday **in head** the mound
*[Where] is the retinue we were yesterday and the day before **on top of** the mound?*

YN is also found indicating the location of decorative elements on an object (see section 3.3.2.1.6) and it is found in this sense in YN PEN with literal reference to the body part.

(70) Ac ar penn yr helym llun ederyn egrifft a maen rinwedawl **yn y penn**. [BR:18:4]
and on head the helmet image bird griffon with/and stone virtuous **in the head**
*And on top of the helmet, the image of a griffon-bird with a virtuous stone **in/on the head.***

YN also can have a sense of manipulation or control (also common for AR), and two somewhat odd examples of YN PEN, where the trajector is a bridle located on a horse's head, may be motivated by this.

(71) ac evelly e tryc eny vo frwyn **en y pen**; a'r dyd e frwyner e dyrcheyf arnav pedeyr keynnyavc hep arderchavael, a chwe vgeynt a tal. [LI:122]
and thus PART dwell-PRES-3SG until be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG bridle **in his head** and the day PART bridle-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS PART raise-PRES-3SG on-3SM four penny beside augmentation, and six twenty REL pay-PRES-3SG
*And thus [the horse] remains until there would be a bridle **on its head**, and the day it is bridled, [its value] raises four pence on it [i.e. its value increases four pence], and six-score [pence] are paid.*

The simple preposition AR carries a sense of "above", but it will be covered in the section on general location below (section 3.1.1.10).

3.1.1.4 Location Below, Under, Lower

The sense of location below or under the landmark is conveyed by the use of the prepositions TAN or IS (alone or in compounds), or by the generic object parts GWAELOD or BON.

(72) Pedeir tywarchen a ladei pedwar carn {bedwarcarn} y gorwyd, mal pedeir gwennawl yn yr awyr uch y benn, gweitheu uchtaw, gveitheu **istaw**. [CO:74]

four clods PART strike-IMPERF-3SG four hoof the steed, as four swallow in the air above his head sometimes above-3SM, sometimes **below-3SM**

*The hooves of his steed struck [up] four clods, like four swallows in the air above his head, sometimes above him, sometimes **below him.***

(73) Sef mal e prouyr, tanu llenllyeyn wen **adanadunt** newyd olchy, a menet e gur ydy ar honno e uot genthy [LI:54]

thus like PART test-PRES-IMPERS, spread-VN sheet-linen white **below-3PL** new wash-VN, and go-IMPER-3SG the man to-3SF on that REL be-VN with-3SF

*This is how it [i.e. impotence] is tested, spread a white linen sheet **below them**, newly washed, and let the man go to her on that to be with her [i.e. to have sex with her]*

Both TAN and IS appear less commonly in semi-redundant compounds with TROED, but these always occur with a human landmark or with one clearly mapped to the human body, and so are less obviously to be classified with compound prepositions than, for example, UCH PEN.

(74) "Arglwyd," heb y Goewyn, "keis uorwyn a uo **is** dy **draet** weithon. Gwreic wyf i." [MFM:74:6]

lord, say-PRET-3SG Goewyn, seek-IMPER-2SG maiden REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **under** your-SG **feet** now. woman be-PRES-1SG I

*"Lord," said Goewyn, "seek a maiden who would be **under** your **feet** now [i.e. as your foot-holder]. I am a woman."*

(75) Gwadyn Ossol, pei safhei ar benn y mynyd mwyaf yn y byd ef a uydei yn tyno gwastat **dan** y **droet**; [CO:301]

Gwadyn Ossol, if stand-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG on head the mountain biggest in the world he PART be-PAST-3SG PART plain level **under his feet**

*Gwadyn Osol: if he stood on top of the tallest mountain in the world, it would be a level plain **under his feet.***

Both TROED compounds can also indicate location in the near vicinity of a foot, but not directly underneath.

(76) Sef y cudyawd, y mywn llaw gist **is traed** y wely. [MFM:77:19]

thus PART hide-PRET-3SG within hand chest **below feet** the bed

*This is where he hid it: within a small chest **at the foot of** the bed.*

(77) Pan wybu Gei yn diheu y uot ef yn kyscu, gwneuthur pwll a oruc **dan** y **draet**, [CO:970]

when know-PRET-3SG Cei PART certain his be-VN his PART sleep-VN, make-VN pool PART do-PRET-3SG **under his feet,**

*When Cei knew for certain that he was sleeping, he made a pool **below his feet**,*

IS and TAN, in their simple forms, have similar extended meanings, including location in a low-status region (STATUS IS UP_F) and immersion in a substance (see the parallel reasoning above for O UCH with a substance trajector).

(78) O deruyd e den guneythyr cam **ys** coryf a fo ohanav **uvch** coryf a'y daly eno kyn caffael navd, traean e dyrvy a dely e dysteyn. [LI:8]

if happen-PRES-3S to person do-VN wrong **under** bar and flee-VN of-3SM **above** bar and him catch-VN there before get-VN protection, third the fine PART ought-PRES-3SG the steward

*If it happens to a person [that he] does wrong **below** the bar [i.e. in a lower status part of the court] and he flees **above** the bar, and he is caught there before getting protection, the steward is entitled [to] a third [of] the fine.*

(79) E gur a dele er escubaur ac a uo **uvch** daear ac **ys** daear o yt. [LI:44]

the man PART ought-PRES-3SG the barn and REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **above** earth and **under** earth of grain

*The man is entitled to the barn and what is **above** the earth and **below** the earth of grain.*

TAN is often accompanied by a sense of contact and this, combined with the motivation of CONTROL IS UP_P results in examples indicating a landmark in controlling contact with a trajector, with no relevant vertical positioning.

(80) O'r anreyth a dyccer o orwlat ef a dele tarv, neu anyueyl nyt el **adan** wed, neu kenflyth. [LI:34]

from the spoils REL bear-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS from foreign-land he PART ought-PRES-3SG bull, or animal NEG go-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **under** yoke, or first-milk

*From the spoils that are taken from a foreign land, he is entitled to a bull, or an animal that has not gone **under** the yoke, or a first-milk heifer.*

Two examples of TAN PEN also occur, but provide little argument for treating this as an established compound preposition. One is simply for the compositional meaning "located under a head". The other is also compositional, but from the extended senses of "controlling contact" and "extremity".

(81) a'r gobennyd yd eystedho e brenhyn arnav e dyd **adan e pen** enteu e nos. [LI:10]

and the pillow PART sit-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the king on-3SM the day **under his head** his-EMPH the night

*and the cushion on which the king sits [during] the day **under his head** [during] the night.*

(82) euelly e dyrcheyf arnau enteu hyt e dyd e dotter **adan pen** er yeu Chueuraur. [LI:128]

thus PART raise-PRES-3SG on-3SM him-EMPH length the day PART put-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS **under head** the yoke February

*thus [a male yearling's value] rises on him until the day he is put **under the end** [of] the yoke [in] February.*

The compounds with BON and GWAELOD are more narrow in meaning. They appear prefixed with YN, most likely because the "above" sense of AR (the other common "supporting preposition") selects against it in this context. YN BON indicates location in the vicinity of the lower portion of a landmark (but not directly under it). YN GWAELOD indicates location in the lower portion of a three-dimensional space or substance, or in a low-elevation subset of a region.

(83) Ac **y-m**on colofyn y neuad y g6elei g6r g6ynll6yt [BM:181:14]
and **in** base column the hall PART see-IMPERF-3SG man white-gray
*And **at** the base of the hall's column he saw a white-gray [haired] man*

(84) A mein sugyn yssyd **ygwaelawt** yr auon, ny eill na llong na llestyr arnei. [BFL:40:20]
and stone sucking be-PRES-REL-3SG **in-depth** the river NEG be-able-PRES-3SG nor ship nor vessel on-3SF
*A sucking stone is **in the bottom of** the river: neither ship nor vessel can [go] on it.*

3.1.1.5 Location Behind

Markers indicating location behind are fewer in both type and overall numbers. The specific locational sense derives either from a body-part element meaning "back" (CEFN, CIL), or a geographic element meaning "path, footprint" (OL). The prepositional elements of the compounds are a mixed bag, and there is no simple preposition with the meaning "behind".

TRA CEFN only appears with human landmarks and has a simple sense "located behind".

(85) a'r ryghyll en seuyll **tra cheuen** e kegaus, a'r pleyt arall e tu arall e'r ford. [LI:73]
and the serjeant PART stand-VN **beyond-back** the case, and the party other the side other to the road
*and the serjeant stands **behind** the case [lawyer], and the other party [on] the other side of the road*

Just as "front" elements can be found with an "elevation" sense, the compound IS CIL (again with a simple "behind" sense) provides the symmetric association of lower elevation with "back".

(86) Ac odyna Idawc a gymerth Ronabwy **is y gil**, ac y kychwynnyssont [BR:9:7]
and thence Iddog PART take-PRET-3SG Rhonabwy **under his back**, and PART set-out-PRET-3PL
*And thence Iddog took Rhonabwy **behind him** [on the horse] and they set out*

The most common preposition in this group is YN OL, but it usually occurs with the additional context that the trajector is moving in parallel with the landmark (i.e. following the landmark's "path", and therefore necessarily located behind it).

(87) Pa uab yssyd **i'th ol** di? [MFM:78:22]
what boy be-PRES-REL-3SG **in your-SG track** your
*What boy is **behind you**?*

(88) A diwyrnawt ef a gerdawd **yn ol** Gwydyon y orymdeith allan. [MFM:78:19]
and day he PART travel-VN **in trac**k Gwydion to walk-VN out
*And one day he went **after** Gwydion to walk outside.*

YN OL can also still appear in a very literal sense "location in the region defined

by a person's footsteps".

(89) Pedeir meillonen gwynnyon a dyuei **yn y hol** myn yd elhei.[CO:497]
four clover white PART grow-IMPERF-3SG **in her track** where PART go-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG
*Four white clovers would grow **in her tracks** where she would walk.*

3.1.1.6 Location Beside

The three expressions meaning "located in the lateral vicinity to a landmark with a front-back orientation" derive this sense from the body-part element LLAW. Although the landmarks in the examples are all human, the element primarily has a general "lateral" sense here. AR LLAW is the commonest of the three and always occurs with a modifier referring to the dual nature of lateral space (left/right or NEILL/ARALL "the one / the other") in addition to the landmark.

(90) E le yu **ar** neyll **lav** er egnat llys. [LI:40]
his place be-PRES-3SG **on** one **hand** the judge court
*His place is **at** one **side** of the court judge.*

AR LLAW can also occur with literal reference in the sense "located in contact with the hand" with no implication of lateral regions.

(91) Ronabwy, a wely di y vodrwy a'r maen yndi **ar law** yr amherawdyr? [BR:7:3]

Rhonabwy, PART see-PRES-2SG you-SG the ring with/and the stone in-3SF **on hand** the emperor?

*Rhonabwy, do you see the ring and the stone in it **on** the emperor's **hand**?*

ACH LLAW occurs in the sense "beside, at hand" with no emphasis on contrasting dual lateral regions, and may be generalized to "near" with no lateral sense.

(92) Mal y kyuodant, kymryt a oruc ynteu yr eil llechwayw a oed **ach y law** a'e odif ar eu hol. [CO:536]

as PART rise-PRES-3PL, take-VN PART do-PRET-3SG he-EMPH the second stone-spear REL be-IMPERF-3SG **by his hand** and it throw-VN on their track

*As they rose, he took the second stone spear that was **by his hand** and threw it after them.*

The mutual construction LLAW HEB LLAW appears syntactically as an adverbial phrase, but can be understood semantically as having a dual trajector that is also understood as the landmark. The interpretation of this expression as locational is based on the semantics of HEB LLAW and on the semantic pattern of similar constructions (of the NOUN + PREPOSITION + NOUN type). However the phrase is extremely rare in Medieval Welsh texts, and the sexual nature of the context has led to a suggested interpretation of "promiscuously" rather than a spatial relationship [GPC]. It's unclear what the basis for this interpretation is, given that descriptions of sexual activity frequently mark the participants with the language of co-location (see section 3.3.2.2.1.5).

(93) Ac yna, kyscu pob un **lau heb lau** gan uam y gilid, a gwledychu y wlat a'y chyuanhedu, a'y rannu y rydunt yll pymp. [BFL:48:5]

and then sleep-VN each one **hand beside hand** with mother his fellow and rule-VN the land and it inhabit-VN and it divide between-3PL those five

*And then each one slept "**hand-by-hand**" with each other's mother, and they ruled the land and inhabited it and divided it between them those five.*

When there is no front-back orientation in the landmark, several expressions supply the sense "adjoining, adjacent", which is particularly distinguishable when the landmark is a region or a multiplex group and the expression indicates that the trajector is located immediately at the vicinity of the landmark, but not located within it. These expressions primarily derive their meaning from the generic object part YMYL, supported by one of the common compunding prepositions. (There is no obvious distinction in semantics for the choice of prepositional element.) In addition to GAN YMYL, and YN YMYL in this sense, we find a single example of simple YMYL behaving as a preposition.

(94) bet crib ir-alt **emil** cestill dinan. mal-i-duc cecyn crib ir-alt ar-i-hit [LD:182:22]

length ridge the-slope **edge** castle Dinan. as-it-leads ridge ridge the-slop on -its-length

*[the boundary goes] to the ridge of the slope **next to** Castle Dinan, the ridge as it leads [to] the ridge of the slope [and] along it*

(95) Pvybynnac a dycco maen teruyn a uo honneyt erug due tref, talet chue ugeynt e perchennauc e tyr a chamluru e'r brenhyn; ac euelly am ford a gatwo teruyn **gan emyl** e ford. [LI:95]

whoever PART bear-PRES-SUBJ-3SG stone boundary REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG notorious between two town, pay-IMPER-3SG six twenty to owner the land and fine to the king; and thus about road PART keep-PRES-SUBJ-3PL boundary **with edge** the road

*Whoever moves a boundary stone that is notorious between two towns, let him pay six-score [pence] to the land's owner and a fine to the king; and similarly regarding a road that keeps the boundary **beside** the road.*

(96) O deruyd e den tydau cassec **en emyl** yt, a'r ebaul en llygru er yt ac na chaffer y dale [LI:156]

if happen-PRES-3SG to person tether-VN mare **in edg**e grain, and the foal PART spoil-VN the grain and NEG catch-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS it catch-VN

*If it happens to a person [that he] tethers a mare **beside** a grain-field, and the foal spoils the grain*

AR YMYL also occurs in the data, but with the slightly different sense "located at a marginal position within a regional landmark", a sense also found once for YN YMYL. (The expressions are rare enough that it isn't clear that this distinction is deliberate.)

(97) A'r gwr a uei **ar ymyl** y llv yr awr honn a vydei ar eu kanawl e[i]lchwyl. [BR:10:7]

and the man REL be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG **on edge** the army the hour that PART be-FUT-3SG on their middle again

*And the man who had been **on the edge** of the army then would be in the middle of them again.*

Besides the YMYL compounds, we also find an "adjoining regions" sense for CYF ERBYN. Given the underlying semantics of the elements, this is likely an extension from a sense of "mutually facing", but that specific use is not found–the only example with

human trajector and landmark has a general "vicinity" sense.

(98) Gwr yssyd **gyuerbyn** y gyuoeth a'm kyuoeth inheu yssyd yn ryuelu arnaf yn wastat. [PPD:2:28]

man be-PRES-REL-3SG **with-against** his realm and my realm my-EMPH be-PRES-REL-3SG PART make-war-VN on-1SG PART constant

*A man, whose realm is **opposite** mine, who is constantly making war on me.*

It's not surprising to find the more central "adjacent region" markers extended to a general vicinity sense as well, and this is found for YN YMYL.

(99) Pan doethant parth a'r llys, wynt a welynt Riannon yn eisted **yn emmyl** yr yskynuaen. [PPD:25:10]

when come-PRET-3PL part-with the court, they PART see-IMPERF-3PL Rhiannon PART sit-VN **in edge** the mounting-block

*When they came to the court, they saw Rhiannon sitting **beside** the mounting block.*

3.1.1.7 Location Surrounding, Around

Expressions indicating the location of an extended or multiplex trajector surrounding the landmark derive this sense from two sources: the preposition AM, and the abstract spatial term CYLCH. (Interestingly, while the intersection of these elements, AM CYLCH, was used in Medieval Welsh [GPC], it does not appear in my data.) YN CYLCH is, with a specialized exception, the most widespread marker in this general sense, appearing with both extended and multiplex trajectors.

(100) Ef a welei, ual am gymherued llawr y gaer, fynnawn a gueith o uaen marmor **yn y chylch**. [MFL:56:9]

he PART see-IMPERF-3SG as about middle floor the castle, fountain with/and work of stone marble **in its circle**

*He saw, around the middle of the floor of the castle, a fountain with work in marble **around it**.*

(101) Llyna y llynghes **yng kylch** y ty. [MFM:83:4]

behold the fleet **in circle** the house

*Behold, the fleet [was] **surrounding** the house.*

AM and its compounds do not occur with multiplex trajectors, and examples with the compounds AM PEN and AM LLAW both have literal reference to the body part.

(102) A modr6yeu amhyl **am** y d6y **la6.** [BM:181:19]

and rings plentiful **about** her two **hand**

*And many rings **on** her **hands**.*

(103) A ractal o rudeur **am y phen**. [BM:181:36]

and circlet of red-gold **about her head**

*And a circlet of red gold **around her head.***

The one context where AM and YN CYLCH overlap but where AM is strongly preferred is in the case of clothing trajectors.

(104) A'e dyuot hitheu a chamse sidan flamgoch **amdanei**, [CO:487]

and she come-VN she with/and gown silk flame-red **about-3SF**

*And she came, with a flame-red silk gown **about her**,*

Both AM and Y AM have a special use for "'surrounded' by a dual trajector",

although the semantic structure is hidden somewhat by the formulaic syntax "X am Y ac Z", that is "X and Z are on opposite sides of Y from each other". Like most locational compounds of Y, there does not appear to be any "source" sense involved in this use, but there is an interesting distributional asymmetry. For unknown reasons, Y AM is four times as common as AM in this function, in large enough numbers for some significance.

(105) E le en e neuad yv **e am** y tan **a**'r brenhyn, en nessaf e'r keluy [LI:7]
his place in the hall be-PRES-3SG **from-about** the fire **with/and** the king, PART nearest to the screen
*His place in the hall is **opposite** the fire **from** the king, nearest to the screen*

3.1.1.8 Location In the Middle of, Among, Within, Between

This group of senses includes a number of clear but subtle distinctions that determine preposition choice. These include whether the landmark is dual, multiplex, regional, or a container, and whether the trajector is simply located in a region defined by the landmark or is specified as located at a midpoint.

RHWNG and CYF RHWNG occur only with dual landmarks and indicate location between them with no other specification. (As we will see thorughout this study, RHWNG is one of the most consistent prepositions in its use, always indicating a dual landmark, without any regard to the semantic nature of the role that landmark plays in the overall context.) The single example of CYF RHWNG shows no distinction of meaning from the simple form.

(106) Ac yn yd aeth pawb ym pen yr arueu, y kynhelis Bendigeiduran Uranwen **y rwng** y taryan a'y yscwyd. [BFL:44:6]

and in PART go-PRET-3SG everyone in head the arms PART hold-PRET-3SG Bendigeidfran Branwen **between** his shield and his shoulder

*And when everyone went on top of [i.e. went for] the weapons, Bendigeidfran took Branwen **between** his shield and his shoulder.*

(107) Dygyrchu y ty a oruc, ac eisted **kyfrwg** Kulhwch a'r dalueinc. [CO:499]

come-VN the house PART do-PRET-3SG and sit-VN **equal-between** Culhwch and the high-seat

*She came to the house and sat **between** Culhwch and the high seat.*

YN PERFEDD also occurs with a dual landmark and the meaning "between", as well as the more usual sense carried by PERFEDD of "location at the midpoint of the landmark".

(108) Ac **yghymherued** y dwy uaynawr yd arhoed, Maynawr Bennard a Maynawr Coet Alun. [MFM:72:10]

and **in-equal-middle** the two manor PART stay-PRET-IMPERS, Maenor Bennard and Maenor Coed Alun

*And a stop was made **at the midpoint of** the two manors: Maenor Bennard and Maenor Coed Alun.*

(109) Ac yna y bu y kynghor ganthunt hwy **ymherued** llawr yr ystauell; ac yd arhoes ef yny uyd y pleit haearn yn wenn. [BFL:36:17]

and then PART be-PRET-3SG the consultation with-3PL them **in-middle** floor the chamber; and PART wait-PRET-3SG he until be-PRES-3SG the side iron PART white

*And then there was a consultation with them [i.e. they had a consultation] **in the middle of** the floor of the chamber; and he waited until the iron wall was white[hot].*

This sense, with a regional landmark, is also found for AM PERFEDD. AM is not typically used as a supporting preposition in compounds–when it appears in

compounds it usually adds specific semantics, such as "surrounding"–however it seems to have a particular attraction to elements meaning "middle".

(110) Ef a welei, ual **am gymherued** llawr y gaer, fynnawn a guith o uaen marmor yn y chylch. [MFL:56:9]

he PART see-IMPERF-3SG as **about middle** floor the castle, fountain with/and work of stone marble in its circle

*He saw, **around the middle of** the floor of the castle, a fountain with work in marble around it.*

Another expression indicating location at a midpoint, this time of a multiplex landmark, is AR CANOL. The examples are too few to be certain if a meaningful distinction between the regional and multiplex landmarks in this context.

(111) A'r gwr a uei ar ymyl y llv yr awr honn a vydei **ar eu kanawl** e[i]lchwyl. [BR:10:7]

and the man REL be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG on edge the army the hour that PART be FUT-3SG **on their middle** again

*And the man who had been on the edge of the army then would be **in the middle of them** again.*

When general location of a trajector within a region defined by a multiplex landmark is indicated, it may be with YN MYSG, or more commonly by YN PLITH. A multiplex to mass transformation extends this to use with substance or regional landmarks, however it is not the typical marker for such cases.

(112) Ac y doeth hyt yg Garth Grugyn, ac yno y llas Grugyn **yn y mysc**, ac y lladawd Ruduyw Rys, a llawer gyt ac ef. [CO:1160]

and PART come-PRET-3SG length-in Garth Grugyn and there PART kill-PRET-IMPERS Grugyn **in their mixture** and PART kill-PRET-3SG Rhuddfyw Rhys, and many together with him

*And he came to Garth Grugyn, and there Grugyn was killed **amongst them**, and he killed Rhuddfyw Rhys and many along with him.*

(113) A-llog a welei **ym plith** y llyghes. [BM:180:5]

and ship PART see-IMPERF-3SG **in midst** the fleet

*And he saw a ship **in the middle of** the fleet.*

(114) briwaw y pryuet a oruc **ymplith** y dwfyr [LL:120]

crush-VN the creatures PART do-PRET-3SG **in-midst** the water

*[he] crushed the creatures **among** [i.e. into] the water*

YN MEWN occurs to mark location of a trajector in the interior of a container, and rarely in non-containers that use the language of containers such as furniture (chairs and beds).

(115) Nyt **ymywn** ty yd oydynt, namyn **ymywn** palleu. Ny angassei Uendigeituran eiryoet **ymywn** ty. [BFL:31:11]

NEG **within** house PART be-IMPERF-3PL except **within** tents. NEG be-contained-IMEPRF-3SG Bendigeidfran ever **within** house

*They were not **within** a house, but rather **within** tents. Bendigeidfran had never been contained **within** a house.*

Numerically, the most common marker found to indicate location within a container is simple YN, which will be treated in detail in section 3.1.1.10 below.

In the special circumstance of an extended trajector in an extended container, TRWY occurs, emphasizing the linear image. Possibly from a sense of "multiple portions

of the trajector in proximity to multiple portions of the landmark" we also find an example of TRWY indicating the mixture of a multiplex trajector in a multiplex landmark.

(116) A gwas gwineu mawr yn seuyll rac eu bronn a'e gledeu **trwy** y weill yn y law [BR:6:13]

and lad auburn big PART stand-VN before their breast with/and his sword **through** the scabbard in his hand

*And a large auburn lad stood before them with his sword **through** the scabbard in his hand*

(117) A phan edrychwyt y dyle nyt oed arnei namyn byrwellt dysdlyt chweinllyt, a boneu gwrysc yn amyl **trwydaw** [BR:3:11]

and when look-IMPERF-IMPERS the bed NEG be-IMPERF-3SG on-3SF except short-straw dusty flea-ridden, and bottoms stalks PART frequent **through-3SM**

*And when the bed was examined there was nothing on it except flea-ridden, dusty short straw, with the ends of stalks plentifully **through it***

3.1.1.9 Location Exterior To, Distant From, Beyond

Prepositions having as their basic meaning a source-marking sense can be used to indicate static location relative to a landmark when the trajector is distant from a point landmark or external to a region or container landmark. These relationships are characterized as resulting from motion from the vicinity or interior of the landmark, even though there is no contextual implication that there was actual prior co-location. The particular form of the preposition is determined generally by the nature of the landmark, with O MEWN marking exterior location to containers (just as YN MEWN marks interior location), and Y WRTH marking separation from an animate or regional landmark (although, as we will see in section 3.1.3.1, this is a more general use than Y WRTH has in

actual source-marking contexts). Simple O occurs in both senses, but more rarely.

(118) Ereyll a dyweyt na dele ef e lety **o**'r neuad. [LI:10]

others PART say-PRES-3SG NEG ought-PRES-3SG he his lodging **from** the hall

*Others say he is not entitled to his lodging **outside** the hall.*

(119) Y dyd yd aeth ef parth a Chaer Tathyl, troi **o uywn** y llys a wnaeth hi. [MFM:84:12]

the day PART go-PRET-3SG he part with Caer Dathyl, turn-VN **from inside** the court PART do-PRET-3SG she

*The day he left for Caer Dathyl, she took a turn [i.e. went for a walk] **outside** the court.*

(120) A milltir **y wrth** y Ryt o pob tu y'r fford y gwelynt y lluesteu a'r pebylleu [BR:6:7]

and mile **from-with** the ford of each side to the road PART see-PRET-3PL the tents and the pavilions

*And a mile **from** the ford, on each side of the road, they saw the tents and pavilions*

EITHR also occurs in the sense "located exterior to a region or container". There is a single example of O EITHR in the same sense, but here O must be functioning in the semantically empty sense discussed in section 2.3.2.5.3.3, or as a redundant compound.

(121) nac en e llys e bo nac **eythyr** e llys [LI:17]

NEG in the court PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG NEG **outside** the court

*whether he is in the court or **outside** the court*

(122) ac yskynuaen a oed **odiethyr** y porth [PPD:21:21]

and mounting-block REL be-IMPERF-3SG **from-outside** the gate

*and a mounting block was **outside** the gate*

I also include here ALLAN, which indicates location exterior to an implicit

landmark, but functions syntactially as an adverb.

(123) "Ny ellir uy llad i y mywn ty," heb ef, "ny ellir **allan**" [MFM:86:22]

NEG be-able-PRES-IMPERS me kill-VN me within house, say-PRET-3SG he, NEG be-able-PRES-IMPERS **out**

*"One can't kill me within a house," he said, "One can't **outside**"*

A similar distancing function occurs with TRA, indicating location of the trajector on the distant side from the POV of a linear or acquatic landmark. (This use is similar in many ways to the subset-location markers discussed below in section 3.1.1.11, except that the deixis is specifically encoded in the preposition.)

(124) E werth yu punt, os o'r enys hon yd henyu; os **tra** mor uyd, chue ugeynt a punt uyd e werth. [LI:110]

his value be-PRES-3SG pound, if of the island this PART originate-PRES-3SG; if **beyond** sea be-PRES-3SG, six twenty and pound be-PRES-3SG his value

*His [legal] value is a pound if he originates in this island; if [he] is [from] **beyond** the sea, 120 [pence] and a pound is his value.*

3.1.1.10 Non-Specific Co-Location

The heading "non-specific" is a misnomer here, but this section covers the most general location markers, both in distribution and scope. Two simple prepositions, YN and AR, do the vast majority of the location marking (and it is not at all surprising, given this, that they are also the most widespread supporting prepositions in locational compounds). To give some idea of scale, of the hundred or so different prepositions and compounds found to mark location, two-thirds occur five times or fewer in this function,

only a dozen occur more than twenty times, but AR (accompanied by a small handful of examples of Y AR in the same senses) provides nearly 250 examples, and YN well over 500, together accounding for approximately half of all location expressions.

YN occurs primarily with region and container landmarks and covers the whole range of subtypes within these categories. That is, among regional landmarks, it is used whether the region is identified via a proper name, or a descriptive phrase, and among containers, whether the item is a building, a moveable object, or a substance that the trajector is interior to.

(125) A frynhawngueith yd oed **yn** Hardlech **yn** Ardudwy, yn llys idaw. [BFL:29:3]

and morning-time PART be-IMPERF-3SG **in** Harlech **in** Ardudwy PART court to-3SM

*And one morning he was **in** Harlech **in** Ardudwy, a court of his.*

(126) Ac ef a welei lannerch **yn** y coet [PPD:1:13]

and he PART see-IMPERF-3SG clearing **in** the wood

*And he saw a clearing **in** the wood*

(127) Mabon uab Modron yssyd yma **yg carchar**, ac ny charcharwyt neb kyn dostet yn llwrw carchar a mi, na charchar Llud Llaw Ereint, neu garchar Greit mab Eri. [CO:914]

Mabon son Modron be-PERS-REL-3SG here **in prison**, and NEG imprison-PRET-IMPERS anyone as painfully in path prison with/and me, NEG prison Lludd Llaw Ereint, NEG prison Greid son Eri

*Mabon son of Modron is here **in prison**, and nobody was imprisoned as painfully as me, neither the imprisonment of Lludd Llaw Ereint, nor the imprisonment of Greid son of Eri.*

(128) "Beth yssyd **yn** y boly hwnn?" heb ef, wrth un o'r Gwydyl. [BFL:42:17]

what be-PRES-REL-3SG **in** the bag this say-PRET-3SG he with one of the Irishmen

*"What is **in** this bag?" he said to one of the Irishmen.*

(129) Mel a uo chwechach naw mod no mel kynteit heb wychi ac heb wenyn **yndaw** a vynnaf y vragodi y wled. [CO:610]

honey PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG sweeter nine manner than honey first-swarm beside drones beside bees **in-3SM** PART wish-PRES-1SG to supply-mead-VN the feast

*I want honey that is nine times sweeter than the honey of a first-year swarm, without drones and without bees **in it**, to make mead for the feast.*

In addition, there are a small number of other identifiable groups YN appears with. Furniture meant for sitting or lying is consistently treated as a container in Medieval Welsh (indeed, as in English, where we sit *in* a chair and lie *in* a bed).

(130) Ac yd eisted6ys yr amhera6dyr **yn**-y gadeir. [BM:190:28]

and PART sit-PRET-3SG the emperor **in** the chair

*And the emperor sat **in** the chair.*

Attached decoration of an object marks the object with YN, whether the decorative element is a surface feature (such as silver chasing) or a discrete element (such as a jewel). (Note that this is different from the treatment of non-separable visual properties of entities, such as color, which we will examine in section 3.3.2.1.6.)

(131) Y marchawc yn dyuot a phaladyr llinon bras yn y law, a phenn newyd gwaetlyt arnaw, a llettemmeu aryant **yndaw**. [BR:17:6]

the knight PART come-VN with/and spear ash broad in his hand, with/and head new bloody on-3SM, with/and wedges silver **in-3SM**

*The knight came with a broad ash spear in his hand, with a newly bloodied head on it, with silver rivets **in it.***

(132) Helym eureit am penn y marchawc, a mein saffir rinwedawl **yndi**. [BR:17:1]

helmet golden about head the knight, with/and stone sapphire virtuous **in-3SF**

*A golden helmet about the knight's head, with a virtuous sapphire **in/on it.***

Location in the near vicinity of, but not in, a body of water can be marked with YN.

(133) Ac aber seint a-welynt a-r gaer **yn** aber yr auon. [BM:185:15]

and estuary Seint PART see-IMPERF-3PL and the castle **in** estuary the river

*And they saw the mouth of the Seint, and the castle **in** the mouth of the river.*

In contrast, the primary use for AR derives from a complex of spatial features, primarily "above" and "in contact with". The "contact" sense is found alone about as often as the two occur together, while the "above" sense is fairly rare without contact. These two features are often accompanied by significant flat-surface involvement, although this feature is rarely extended in isolation. The largest group using AR involve object landmarks (whether animate entities or moveable objects) and the vast majority of the remainder of the examples involve a geographic region as a landmark. Here we see a distinction from the use of YN with region landmarks, as AR is virtually never used with regions identified by proper names, but only those identified by description. Nor is it used when location in an interior is highlighted. This distinction may suggest that described landscape features may be understood in terms of the physical surface on which

something stands as well as involving defined boundaries, while named regions are understood more in terms of defined boundaries indepenedent of the physical surface of the ground.

(134) Ac eisted a oruc Arthur **ar** y llenn. [BR:11:23]
and sit-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Arthur **on** the cloak
*And Arthur sat **on** the cloak.*

(135) Nachaf ynteu yn dyuot **ar** uarch coch mawr [BR:11:11]
behold he-EMPH PART come-VN **on** horse red big
*Behold, he came **on** a large red horse*

(136) Yna y trigyssant wynteu **ar** eu kyuoeth [PPD:27:12]
then PART dwell-PRET-3PL they **on** their realm
*Then they dwelt **on** their realm*

(137) Gwregys y cledyf o gordwal ewyrdonic du, a throstreu goreureit **arnaw**. [BR:15:21]
belt the sword of cordovan Irish black, with/and bars gilded **on-3SM**
*The belt of the sword [was] of black Irish cordovan, with gilded bars **on it.***

In addition to these two major location markers, there are a number of others that indicate non-specific location in the near vicinity of a point landmark (animate creatures, moveable objects, or buildings when considered without reference to interiority). These markers may be associated with contact or non-contact scenarios, and those associated with contact may carry an implication of control or manipulation by one participant over the other.

GER LLAW and YN GLYN are relatively rare and indicate vicinity without contact. (GER LLAW carries no particular reference to literal hands, and is used with

non-human landmarks as often as not.)

(138) "Gwelem, Arglwyd," heb wy, "mynyd mawr **gyr llaw** y coet, a hwnnw ar gerdet." [BFL:39:23]

see-IMPERF-1PL lord, say-PRET-3SG they mountain big **with hand** the wood, and that on walk-VN

*"We have seen, lord" they said, "a big mountain **beside** the wood, and that was walking."*

(139) Sef a wnaeth ef a'e gedymdeithon **yglyn** wrthaw, mal nat oed vwy no dim ganthunt mynet dros y teir catlys a wnaethant hyt pan dyuuant y mywn y gaer. [CO:806]

thus PART do-PRET-3SG he and his companions **in-attached** with-3SM, as NEG be-IMPERF-3SG more than anything with-3PL go-VN over the three bailey PART do-PRET-3PL length when come-PRET-3PL within the castle

*This is what he did, [he] and his companions **near** to him, as if it was not more than anything for them they went over the three baileys until they came within the castle.*

WRTH is rather more common and carries a significant, but not complete, implication of contact or attachment between the trajector and landmark. (We shall see in the section on source-marking that, in that context, WRTH is strongly associated with animate participants, but there does not appear to be any disproportionate association with them here.)

(140) Ac yd eisteda6d **6rth** y gaer rufein. bl6ydyn y bu yr amhera6dyr **6rth** y gaer. [BM:188:33]

and PART sit-PRET-3SG **with** the castle Rome. year PART be-PRET-3SG the emperor **with** the castle

*And they sat **by** [i.e. beseiged] the fortress of Rome. The emperor was a year **at** the fortress.*

(141) Ac y gyt ac yd ymeueil a'r cawc, glynu y dwylaw **wrth** y cawc, a'y draet **wrth** y llechyd oed yn seuyll arnei [MFL:56:16]

and together with PART MUTUAL-grasp-PRES-3SG with/and the bowl, stick-VN his two-hand **with** the bowl, and his feet **with** the stone be-IMPERF-3SG PART stand-VN on-3SF

*And the moment he grasped the bowl, his hands stuck **to** the bowl, and his feet **to** the stone it was standing on*

AC is somewhat rarely used for non-contact vicinity, and is much more common in contexts where the trajector is in controlling contact with the landmark. It occurs in this sense primarily in combination with verbs of motion, and these constructions can generally be interpreted as equivalent to "bring/take <landmark>" focusing on the caused motion of the landmark, rather than as simply "come/go while happening to carry <landmark>".

(142) **A**'r meirch ac **a**'r cwn y doeth ef at Pryderi. [MFM:70:14]

with/and the horses and **with/and** the dogs PART come-PRET-3SG he to Pryderi

*He came **with** the horses and **with** the dogs [i.e. he brought the horses and dogs] to Pryderi .*

ERBYN and HERWYDD occur here only with a sense of controlling contact by the (human) trajector, and always in a context where the point of contact with the landmark is a subset (primarily a body part) via which the entire landmark is manipulated or accessed. (The motivation for this sense is unclear, but the distribution suggests it is inherent to some degree in the element ER, see section 2.3.1.5.2 generally.)

(143) Ef a dele o'r anreyth o uoch a del trve e porth hvch a allo ef **erbyn** e gurych e dyrchauael a'e un llav ene uo kyuuvch a thraet a thal e glyn ef. [LI:35]

he PART ought-PRES-3SSG from the spoils of pigs REL come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG through the gate pig REL be-able-PRES-SUBJ-3SG he **against** his bristles it raise-VN with his one hand until be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG equally high with/and feet with/and end his knee his

*He is entitled from the spoils of pigs that come through the gate [to] a pig that he can lift **by** its bristles with one hand until its feet are as high as his kneecap.*

(144) Ac ual y deuthant y mywn y'r ogof y hachub a oruc y wrach, ac ymauael a oruc yn Hygwyd **herwyd** gwallt y benn, a'e daraw y'r llawr deni. [CO:1211]

and as PART come-PRET-3PL within to the cave them seize PART do-PRET-3SG the witch, and MUTUAL-grasp-VN PART do-PRET-3SG in Hygwydd **by** hair his head, and him strike-VN to the floor below-3SF

*And as they came into the cave, the witch seized them and grabbed Hygwydd **by** the hair of his head, and struck him to the ground beneath her.*

Two other prepositions with a general "vicinity" sense are Y GYD AC and GAN. For Y GYD AC, this is the primarily use and it is accompanied by a sense that the trajector is an additional participant in a scenario where the focus is on the landmark. A few examples imply contact (specifically, co-location in the context of sexual activity), and a very few imply controlling contact by the landmark.

(145) "Pa daruu," heb wynteu, "y Gradawc uab Bran, a'r seithwyr a edewit **y gyt ac** ef yn yr ynys honn?" [BFL:45:27]

what happen-PRET-3SG say-PRET-3SG they to Caradog son Bran and the seven-men REL leave-IMPERF-IMPERS **together with** him in the island this

*"What happened," they said, "to Caradog son of Bran and the seven men who were left **together with** him in this island?"*

(146) A thrannoeth kyuodi a oruc, a chymryt y uab **gyt ac** ef, a mynet y orymdeith gan lann y weilgi rwng hynny ac Aber Menei. [MFM:79:10]

and beyond-night rise-VN PART do-PRET-3SG, and take-VN the boy **together with** him, and go-VN to walk-VN with shore the sea between that and Aber Menai

*And the next day he rose and took the boy **with** him, and went to walk on the shore of the sea between there and Aber Menai.*

Y GYD and YN CYD may also occur with a similar range of senses but with no overt landmark. Instead they are associated with a plural role that functions as mutual trajector and landmark.

(147) Kyuodi a oruc ynteu yn eu herbyn, a'y graessawu, ac eisted **y gyt**. [MFL:65:6]

rise-VN PART do-PRET-3SG he-EMPH in their against and them greet-VN and sit-VN **together**

*He rose [and went] to meet them and greeted them and [they] sat **together**.*

(148) A'r nos honno y bu yr ymgynghor ganthunt pa furu y kehynt uot **yg kyt**. [MFM:85:19]

and the night that PART be-PRET-3SG the council with-3PL what form PART get-IMPERF-SUBJ-3PL be-VN **in-with**

*And that night there was a council with them [i.e. they held a council] how they would get to be **together**.*

GAN is less commonly used for simple vicinity location, but is commonly found in the specialized context of "co-location for sexual activity".

(149) A thrannoeth kyuodi a oruc, a chymryt y uab gyt ac ef, a mynet y orymdeith **gan** lann y weilgi rwng hynny ac Aber Menei. [MFM:79:10]

and beyond-night rise-VN PART do-PRET-3SG, and take-VN the boy together with him, and go-VN to walk-VN **with** shore the sea between that and Aber Menai

*And the next day he rose and took the boy with him, and went to walk **on** the shore of the sea between there and Aber Menai.*

(150) A'r nos honno y kyscwys Kulhwch **gan** Olwen. [CO:1242]

and the night that PART sleep-PRET-3SG Culhwch **with** Olwen

*And that night, Culhwch slept **with** Olwen.*

GAN is very common with controlling contact, but here the landmark is the controlling entity (in contrast with AC, ERBYN, and HERWYDD above). There is an interesting contrast because in the sexual examples the landmark is presented as the patient of the action. This is not an inherent conflict in the semantics of GAN but a difference in the syntactic contexts in which the two uses occur. The sexual examples are of the format "trajector-agent sleeps with landmark-patient" while the controlling-contact examples are of the format, "agent does X, and trajector with landmark[agent]". That is, in the control examples, the landmark is nearly always a previously mentioned entity and the trajector, while the topic of current focus, is a notional patient, while in the sexual examples the interaction between the trajector and landmark centers around the verb, and a more typical agent/trajector and patient/landmark alignment is found.

(151) Ac yn y diwed, nachaf gwr diruawr y veint yn wiscedic o arueu trymyon kadarn yn dyuot y mywn a chawell **gantaw**, [LL:146]

and in the end, behold man very-large his size PART dressed of arms heavy strong PART come-VN inside and/with basket **with-3SM,**

*And at last, behold, an man of enormous size dressed in strong, heavy armor came in with a basket **with him**,*

Controlling contact may also be indicated by YN LLAW, but in all cases a literal hand is involved even though it is the control or manipulation aspect that may be profiled.

(152) Nachaf ynteu yn kyuot a chledyf Arthur **yn y law**. [BR:10:26]

behold he-EMPH PART come-VN with/and sword Arthur **in his hand**

*Behold, he came with Arthur's sword **in his hand.***

The commonness of prepositional compounds based on AR and YN that occur with low frequency can make it difficult to draw the line between compound prepositions and prepositions with complex landmarks (see section 2.1.2). Three examples that I included in the data for completeness' sake that seem better interpreted as complex landmarks are AR GLAN, YN DRWS, and YN PLYG.

(153) A meicheit Matholwch a oedynt **ar lan** y weilgi dydgueith, yn troi yg kylch eu moch. [BFL:39:15]

and swineherds Matholwch PART be-IMPERF-3PL **on shore** the sea day-time

*And Matholwch's swineherds were **on** the **seashore** one day*

(154) Kyweithyd yssyd **yn drws** y porth ac a uynnynt dyuot y mywn. [CO:780]

company be-PRES-REL-3SG **in door** the gate and PART wish-IMPERF-3PL come-VN within

*There is a company **at the door** of the gate and they wish to come in.*

(155) Ac yn yr oes honno Math uab Mathonwy ny bydei uyw, namyn tra uei y deudroet **ymlyc** croth morwyn, onyt kynwryf ryuel a'y llesteirei. [MFM:67:5]

and in the time that Math son Mathonwy NEG be-PAST-3SG live, except beyond be-IMPERF-3SG his two-feet **in-fold** lap maiden, if-not tumult war PART him hinder-IMPERF-3SG

*And at that time, Math son of Mathonwy would not live except while his feet were **in the folds** of the lap of a maiden, unless the tumult of war prevented him.*

3.1.1.11 Location in a Sub-Region

Location in a particular sub-region of space relative to a landmark may be indicated by a complex variety of constructions primarily centering around the generic object parts PARTH and TU. These elements may occur alone in a prepositional function (extremely rarely), or in compounds suffixed by AC or I, or prefixed by AR, O, or YN. Not all combinations occur and the relationship between the morphological structure and the distribution of usage is complex.

Most typically, these constructions divide space into two contrasting halves, with the landmark defining the division. (These sub-regions are often, in theory, extended to infinity, but in practice the portion relatively close to the landmark is in focus.) The contrasting regions may be identified as left and right (relative to a landmark with an inherent front/back axis) or near and far (relative to an existing point of view on one side of the landmark) or simply as "the one" and "the other". Alternately, the division of space into two regions may be specified, and then location in both is indicated (without specifying the nature of the distinction between them). The landmark may be overt, in which case a compound ending in I is used (cf. the use of I in associated region

relationships in section 3.3.1.2.4), or it may be implicit from previous reference, in which case a compound without I is used (the significantly more common type). As exceptions, YN PARTH and O TU appear with overt landmarks without I. The prepositional constructions used in this sense include PARTH I, AR PARTH, O PARTH (I), YN PARTH, TU (I), AR TU, and O TU (I). YN CYFAIR (with overt landmark) and YN CONGL (with implicit landmark) occur in this sense once each. The most common marker with overt landmarks is O TU I and with implicit landmarks is O PARTH.

(156) A milltir y wrth y Ryt **o pob tu y**'r fford y gwelynt y lluesteu a'r pebylleu, a dygyfor o lu mawr. [BR:6:7]

and mile from-with the ford **of each side to** the road PART see-PRET-3PL the tents and the pavilions

*And a mile from the ford, **on each side of** the road, they saw the tents and pavilions*

(157) Sef y gwelynt Arthur yn eistedd mywn ynys wastat is y Ryt, ac **o'r neillparth idaw** Betwin escob, ac **o'r parth arall** Gwarthegyt vab Kaw. [BR:6:10]

thus PART see-PRET-3PL Arthur PART sit-VN within island level below the ford and **of the one-part to-3SM** Bedwyn bishop, and **of the part other** Gwarthegyd son Caw

*This is what they saw: Arthur sitting in/on a level island below the ford, and **on the one side of him** Bishop Bedwyn, and **on the other side** Gwarthegyd son of Caw.*

A sub-region may also be identified with forms of TU and PARTH in terms of proximity to the landmark. This differs from expressions that indicate location in the vicinity of a landmark in that the target region in which the trajector is located may in fact be distant from the defining landmark, or may be defined in terms of an abstract concept such as a compass direction. Expressions with a compass direction landmark occur with

PARTH AC, TU AC, AR PARTH, WRTH PARTH, and YN PARTH.

(158) cecin ir-all in-i-creic **ar-parth** gulleugin [LD 242:9]
ridge the slope in the stone **on-part** west
*[the boundary follows] the ridge of the slope to the stone **to** the west*

Expressions defining a sub-region defined by proximity to an object or location (or an event defining a location) occur with PARTH, PARTH AC, O PARTH (I), and TU AC. In all cases, an overt landmark is present.

(159) Ac yn gytneit ac yd aeth hun yn y lygeit y rodet drych idaw y vot ef a'e gedymdeithon yn kerdet ar traws Maes Argygroec, a'e ohen a'e vryt a debygei y uot **parth a** Ryt y Groes ar Hafren. [BR:3:25]
and PART co-leap with PART go-PRET-3SG sleep in his eyes PART give-PRET-IMPERS vision to-3SM PART be-VN he with/and his companions PART travel-VN on-across Plain Argyngroeg, and his desire and his mind PART suppose-IMPERF-3SG him be-VN **part-with** Rhyd-y-Groes on Severn
*And simultaneously with sleep going into his eyes, a vision was given to him [that] he was with his companions traveling across Argyngroeg Plain, and his desire and his mind he supposed to be **towards** Rhyd-y-Groes on the Severn.*

3.1.1.12 Relative Location

Spatial prepositional expressions based on compounds of LLE function straightforwardly as prepositions with a relative clause for a landmark, where LLE blends the functions of generic spatial reference and a relative pronoun. This use, however, motivates non-spatial functions where LLE compounds are more clearly prepositional (see e.g. section 3.3.2.3.2). In locational senses we find YN LLE, and much more rarely

AM LLE. The last inherits from AM a sense that the trajector occurs as a substitute for an expected item (a sense explored more fully in section 3.3.2.3.2).

(160) Ac yn ol y baed y kerdassant, yny welynt gaer uawr aruchel, a gueith newyd arnei, **yn lle** ny welsynt na maen, na gueith eiryoet [MFL:55:20]

and in track the boar PART travel-PRET-3PL until see-IMPERF-3PL castle big very-high with/and work new on-3SF **in place** NEG see-PLUP-3PL NEG stone NEG work ever

*And they traveled after the boar until they saw a large, tall castle with new work on it, **in a place** they had never seen neither stone nor work*

(161) a deudec kyfrwy ar y meirch, ac **am** pob **lle** y dylyei hayarn uot arnunt, y bydei gwbyl o eur [MFM:70:7]

and twelve saddle on the horses and **about** every **place** PART ought-IMPERF-3SG iron be-VN on-3PL, PART be-PAST-3SG entire of gold

*and twelve saddles on the horses, and **in** every **place** there ought to be iron on them, they were entirely gold*

3.1.1.13 Location Using Temporal Language

Rarely, prepositions with primarily temporal meaning may be used to specify location. CYN marks relative location along a watercourse where the motion of the water over time is re-interpreted as indicating relative locations along its path. That is, CYN marks a location upstream from the landmark.

Similarly, one of a linear sequence of entities may be marked as being located "after" the adjeacent entity, using GWEDY. This could be motivated either by understanding an array of entities in terms of scanning along them over time, or by understanding a row of animate entities in terms of the potential for moving past a point over time. In this particular case, status is also involved, and this may simply be a

mapping of IMPORTANT IS EARLIER. In any case, the rarity of the use suggests that the temporal term has not been generally extended to mean "next to".

(162) bet-pan discinn in-i-dair **cin** circhu taf. Od-ina di-taf ar-hit taf cum piscibus di-r-guairet [LD:258:15]

length-when descend-VN in the Dair **before** make-for-VN Taf. from-there to-Taf on-length Taf [begin Latin] with fish [resume Welsh] to-the-down

[the boundary follows] to where [it] descends into the Dair [river] ***before*** *making for the Taf [river]. From there, to the Taf, along the Taf with its fishing [places] downward*

(163) **guedy** henny yr osp; **guedy** hynny yr edlyg; **guedy** hynny e penhebogyd; [LI:5]

after that the host; **after** that the heir; **after** that the head-falconer

[seated] ***after*** *that the host,* ***after*** *that the heir,* ***after*** *that the chief falconer*

3.1.2 Goal of Motion

There is an enormous variety of prepositions used to mark spatial goals–over sixty depending on whether certain constructions are counted as compound prepositions or literal reference–but most occur only a few times and have extremely specific semantics in addition to the goal-marking sense.

In the case of static location, we saw that it was rare for a location to be indicated completely generically, without any reference to the specific relationship of the co-located trajector and landmark. With goals, however, it is very common for the only spatial element expressed to be the abstract Goal sense, with the particular resulting disposition of the trajector and landmark left unspecified. When the particular resulting positioning *is* specified, it is not uncommon for the preposition to be the same as that

used for the corresponding static location–that is, for the Goal sense to be supplied by non-prepositional language or by context. More commonly, however, this static-relationship preposition is compounded with an element that supplies an explicit goal-marking sense, especially HYD (but PARTH AC is also sometimes found for this). HYD may also be added, apparently redundantly, to prepositions that are already explicitly goal-marking, e.g. HYD AT.

Several goal-marking prepositional phrases have become (or may be found as) adverbs or adverbial phrases, representing a different line of evolution from true compound prepositions. The significant difference here is that these adverbial constructions do not take an overt landmark (although there may be one implicit in the context). I include them for comparative purposes especially because, in some cases, there are directly parallel constructions that took the prepositional path.

Prepositions are discussed under the category that appears to be their primary sense, even when they have other uses.

3.1.2.1 General Co-Location as a Goal

If we focus on contexts where the resulting relationship of the trajector and landmark is unspecified, the primary distinction we find in the choice of prepositions involves animacy. This is not always so much an absolute distinction (i.e. it does not seem to be a grammatical issue) but rather a set of very strong preferences and levels of markedness.

When both the trajector and landmark are animate and the trajector is undergoing volitional motion, the overwhelmingly preferred marker is AT. In the same context, we find a very few examples of the redundant compound HYD AT, and even fewer of PARTH AC AT). (More typically, compounds of HYD with simple prepositions will outnumber the simple preposition in a goal-marking sense, but the difference here may be that AT is unambiguously goal-marking in its simple form.)

(164) Y gan Uendigeiduran y kyrchawd y mab **at** Uanawydan [BFL:43:14]
from-with Bendigeidfran PART make-for-PRET-3SG the boy **to** Manawyddan
*And from Bendigeidfran, the boy went **to** Manawyddan*

(165) Ac ar hynny **at** y cwn y doeth ef [PPD:1:24]
and on that **to** the dogs PART come-PRET-3SG he
*And then he came **to** the dogs*

(166) Dyuot a oruc gwyr Iwerdon **hyt att** Arthur a rodi bwyttal idaw. [CO:1064]
come-VN PART do-PRET-3SG men Ireland **length-to** Arthur and give-VN food-tribute to-3SM
*The men of Ireland came **to** Arthur and gave a food tribute to him.*

(167) Ac ual yd oed yn y dyrchauael, llyma rwtter escob a welei a'y swmereu a'y yniuer; a'r escop e hun yn kyrchu **parth ac attaw**. [MFL:63:6]
and as PART be-IMPERF-3SG PART it raise-VN, behold retinue bishop PART see-IMPERF-3SG and his sumpters and his followers and the bishop himself PART make-for-VN **part-with-to-3SM**
*And as he was raising it [i.e. the gallows], behold, he saw the retinue of a bishop, with his sumpters and his followers, and the bishop himself making **towards him**.*

Much less commonly, but not so much as to be considered rare, we also find AR in this context. Here, we may reasonably understand AR to represent the underlying "to" sense (see section 2.3.1.2.3), and as an alternative form of AT. Even so, there is a

distinction in use between the two forms, with AR being used broadly, without regard to the animacy or portability of the participants, and AT being much more restricted in distribution (to animate participants). As usual, this restriction is a statistical pattern rather than being absolute, and AT is found in a small handful of examples with inanimate trajectors and animate landmarks.

(168) deuot e due pleyt a'r mach **ar** er egnat, [LI:58]
come-IMPER-3SG the two side and the surety **on/to** the judge
*Let the two sides and the surety come **to** the judge.*

In the following example, AT and AR are found in the same passage in two different manuscripts of the text.

(169) Keissaw gwiscaw y uodrwy ohonaw ac nyd aei idaw, a'y dodi a oruc ynteu ymys y uanec, a cherdet a oruc adref a roti y uanec (ms1) **ar** y kymhar; (ms2) **att** y gymhar y gadw. [CO:442]
seek-VN dress-VN the ring of-3SM and NEG go-IMPERF-3SG to-3SM, and it put-VN PART do-PRET-3SG he-EMPH in-finger his glove, and travel-VN PART do-PRET-3SG home and give-VN the glove (ms1) **on** the spouse; (ms2) **to** his spouse to keep-VN
*He tried to put on the ring but it wouldn't go to him [i.e. wouldn't fit him], and he put it in the finger of his glove, and traveled home and gave the glove (ms1) **to** his spouse; (ms2) **to** his spouse to keep.*

WRTH may also be found in this context, carrying a sense of social interaction with the goal, especially in combination with forms of NEGES (errand) or words with similar meaning. In these examples, both trajector and landmark are animate or stand metonymically for an animate entity (see section 3.3.2.2.2.4). We also find goal-marking

uses of WRTH related to its static sense of attachment or contact, where the trajector comes into solid and abrupt contact with the landmark. (This contact is not necessarily hostile, although the scenario lends itself to hostility.) There is a single example of WRTH with no obvious additional semantics beyond a basic goal-marking sense, but where the choice may be motivated by a parallel construction in the same sentence indicating contact as a goal of motion.

(170) "Arglwyd," heb ef, "**wrthyt** ti y mae uy neges i, ac y erchi it y dodwyf." [PPD:14:3]

lord, say-PRET-3SG he, **with-2SG** you-SG PART be-PRES-3SG my errand my, and to ask-VN to-2SG PART come-PERF-1SG

*"Lord," said he, "my errand is **to you**, and I have come to ask you [something]."*

(171) Rac angerd y c6n 6rth eu kynllyfaneu. Ac ysc6ydeu **urth** y taryaneu yn ym gyfaruot y gyt. A pheleidyr y g6aewar ygyt yn kyflad. A-g6eryrat y meirch ac eu pestylat; Deffroi a-wnaeth yr amhera6dyr. [BM:182:12]

before violence the dogs with their leashes. and shoulders **with** the shields PART MUTUAL-meet-VN together. and shafts the spears together PART MUTUAL-strike-VN. and neighing the horses and their stamping. awake-VN PART do-PRET-3SG the emperor.

*Because of the violence of the dogs at their leashes, and shoulders **on** the shields meeting together, and shafts of the spears striking together, and the horses's neighing and their stamping, the emperor awoke.*

(172) A-phan ytt-oedynt y deu amhera6dyr ac eu b6yt. Y doeth y brytanyeit **6rth** y gaer a dodi eu hyscolyon **6rthi**. [BM:189:34]

and when PART be-IMPERF-3PL the two emperor with their food. PART come-PRET-3SG the Britons **with** the castle and place-VN their ladders **with-3SF**

*And when the two emperors were at their food, the Britons came **to** the castle and placed their ladders **against it.***

Outside of the both-animate realm, the default, most widely distributed, and

numerically most common goal-marker is I. (Note that, contrasted with AR and AT, I is never compounded with HYD to reinforce or add a goal-marking sense, quite probably because always inherently carries that sense.)

(173) Pwyll ynteu a doeth **y** Dyuet. [PPD:15:26]

Pwyll he-EMPH PART come-PRET-3SG **to** Dyfed

*Pwyll himself came **to** Dyfed.*

(174) mi a gigleu dyuot **y**'r Deheu y ryw bryuet ni doeth **y**'r ynys honn eiroet. [MFM:68:16]

I PART hear-PRET-3SG come-VN **to** the South the sort creature NEG come-PRET-3SG **to** the island this ever

*I heard [there] came **to** the South a sort of creature that has never come **to** this island before.*

(175) Ac ymchoelut o'r Iarll **y**'r pebyll. [BR:11:3]

and return-VN of the earl **to** the tent

*And the earl returned **to** the tent.*

(176) Ac **y**'r ystauell yd aeth Pwyll a Riannon, a threulaw y nos honno drwy digriuwch a llonydwch. [PPD:18:20]

and **to** the chamber PART go-PRET-3SG Pwyll and Rhiannon, and spend-VN the night that through enjoyment and pleasure

*And Pwyll and Rhiannon went **to** the chamber**,** and spent that night in enjoyment and pleasure.*

(177) Kyweiryaw y neuad a wnaethpwyt, ac **y**'r bordeu yd aethant. [PPD:13:20]

prepare-VN the hall PART do-PRET-IMPERS and **to** the tables PART go-PRET-3PL

*The hall was prepared and they went **to** the tables.*

(178) "Arglwyd," heb y Matholwch, "pan doeth **yti** y peir a rodeist **ymi**?" [BFL:35:1]

lord say-PRET-3SG Matholwch when come-PRET-3SG **to-2SG** the cauldron REL give-PRET-2SG **to-1SG**

*"Lord," said Matholwch, "when did the cauldron come **to you** that you gave **to me**?"*

I also occurs with animate trajectors and landmarks, but virtually always in situations of involuntary movement (e.g. with verbs of giving or sending). This suggests that the true distinction between the AT group and the I group is not so much animacy, but the capacity for (and use of) voluntary movement. In addition to the "give" type of examples with animate trajectors (taking I), we see some support for this in rare examples of inanimate trajectors behaving as if self-propelled and taking AT. This is not the entire explanation, however, as a distinction based on voluntary motion would be expected to be affected only by the nature of the trajector, and yet when animate trajectors move voluntarily towards inanimate goals, we find a complete absence of AT.

(179) A hitheu wreic Teirnon a gytsynnywys ar anuon y mab **y** Pwyll. [PPD:24:27]

and she-EMPH wife Teirnon PART agree-PRET-3SG on send-VN the boy **to** Pwyll

*And she, the wife of Teirnon, agreed to send the boy **to** Pwyll.*

(180) Riannon uerch Heueyd Hen wyf i, a'm, rodi **y** wr o'm hanwod yd ydys. [PPD:12:23]

Rhiannon daughter Hefaidd Hen be-PRES-1SG, and me give-VN **to** man from my will PART be-PRES-REL-3SG

*I am Rhiannon daughter of Hefaidd Hen, and I am being given **to** a man against my will.*

(181) Ef a dele trullyav e llyn a rody **e** pavb herwyd e delyho. [LI:18]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG serve-VN the drink and give-VN **to** everyone by PART ought-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

*He ought to serve the drink and give [it] **to** everyone according to [what] he ought [to have].*

But compare voluntary motion between animals with I, and motion of possibly

personified fire with AT.

(182) Pan nessaant, llyma uaed coed claerwynn yn kyuodi o'r berth; sef a oruc y cwn, o hyder y guyr, ruthraw **idaw**. [MFL:55:14]

when near-PRES-3PL behold boar wood bright-white PART rise-VN from the thicket; thus PART do-PRET-3SG the dogs, from courage the men, rush-VN **to-3SM**

*When they near [it], behold, a bright white wild boar rises from the thicket; this is what the dogs did: by the men's encouragement, [they] rushed **at it.***

(183) O deruyd enynnu ty em plyth tref, talet ef y deu ty nessaf a erbynnyus **atau** en gyntaf, a thalent huenteu o nessaf y nessaf mal y dylehoent. [LI:118]

if happen-PRES-3SG take-fire-VN house in midst village, pay-IMPER-3SG he the two house nearest REL receive-PRET-3SG **to-3SM** PART first, and pay-IMPER-3PL they-EMPH from nearest to nearest like PART ought-PRES-SUBJ-3PL

*If it happens [that] a house in the midst of a town takes fire, let him [i.e. the owner] pay [for] the two nearest houses that received [it] **to them** first, and let them pay from nearest to nearest as they ought.*

Note that the distribution found for AT in Medieval Welsh is somewhat different from what the theories on its origin would predict (see section 2.3.1.2.3). That derivation might motivate the use of AT when the goal is human (or, by further generalization, animate), but the restriction to animate trajectors as well–a restriction not seen for AR–suggests a further shift in its understood meaning. (The use of AR "to" with both inanimate and animate trajectors involves filtering out goal-marking examples of AR "on" via above/contact/surface features.)

The range of goal-markers for inanimate landmarks is considerably wider, and distributional patterns are somewhat more subtle. When the landmark is an object treated as a point with no internal structure (whether it is a potentially movable object, or an

immobile one such as a building or topographic feature) by far the typical marker is I, with PARTH AC being the only other option with noticeable numbers.

(184) Ac y dyuu Glewlwyd **y**'r porth, ac agori y porth racdaw. [CO:139]

and PART come-PRET-3SG Glewlwyd **to** the gate, and open-VN the gate before-3SM

*And Glewlwyd came **to** the gate, and opened the gate before him.*

(185) Os ef a wna e mach gurthtug ar e kennogen, gurthteghet tra uo e kennogen en rody y eneu **e**'r kreyr guedy e tegho. [LI:59]

if he PART do-PRES-3SG the surety counter-swear on the principal-debtor, counter-swear-IMPER-3SG beyond be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the principal-debtor PART give-VN his mouth **to** the relics after PART swear-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

*If the surety is counter-swearing against the principal debtor, let him counter-swear while the principal debtor is giving his mouth **to** [i.e. kissing] the relics after swearing.*

Also found are AR, HYD AR, HYD YN, TU AC, and HYD but in extremely small numbers. These are more commonly found either for defined regions as goals (see below) or with more specific semantics.

(186) ac os dvc **ar** ty ac anlloed a'e bot egyt ac ef hyt em pen e seyth mlened, rannu a hy a dele o henne allan megys a gureyc a rodyeyt arney. [LI:48]

and if bear-PRET-3SG **on/to** house and home and her be-VN together with him length in head the seven years, share-VN with/and her PART ought-PRES-3SG from that out like with/and woman with/and givers on-3SF

*and if he takes [a woman] **to** house and home and is together with her until the end of seven years, he ought to share with her from then on as with a wife with bestowers on her [i.e. who has bestowers].*

(187) Ac yna y doeth hi **hyt** y llong. [MFM:80:13]

and then PART come-PRET-3SG she **length** the ship

*And then she came **to** the ship.*

(188) deuot hy a'r mab **hyt** er egluys e bo y uydua endy [LI:100]

come-VN she with/and the boy **length** the church PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG his grave in-3SF

*She comes with the boy [i.e. brings the boy] **to** the church in which his[the father's] grave is*

(189) yd ymedeweis ac wynt, ac y deuthum **hyt ar** y Llech Las ym Prydein y penytyaw. [BR:5:12]

PART MUTUAL-leave-PRET-1SG with them, and PART come-PRET-1SG **length-on** the Stone Green in Britain to do-penance-VN

*I left them and came **to** the Green-stone in Britain to do penance.*

(190) Ymrodi y gerdet ohonaw ynteu, **hyt ym** Mynyd Amanw, ac yna y llas banw o'e uoch ef. [CO:1145]

try-hard-VN to travel-VN of-2SM him-3SM, **length-in** Mount Amanw, and then PART kill-PRET-IMPERS piglet of his pigs his

*He strove to travel **to** Mount Amanw, and there a piglet of his pigs was killed.*

(191) A gwedy hynny y gwelei vydin yn dyuot **tu a**'r Ryt. [BR:7:9]

and after that PART see-IMPERF-3SG army PART come-VN **side-with** the ford.

*And after that he saw an army coming **towards** the ford.*

(192) Ac yna yd ymchoeles y mackwy **tu a**'e bebyll. [BR:12:28]

and then PART return-PRET-3SG the squire **side-with** the pavilion

*And then the squire returned **to** the pavilion.*

A focus on two entities being mutual goals of motion can be expressed by the adverb Y CYD (compare with the form Y CYD AC, which takes an overt landmark and more commonly has a grammatical function "in addition to", rather than a spatial sense).

(193) Ac ar hynny y deu urenhin a nessayssant **y gyt** am perued y ryt e ymgyuaruot. [PPD:5:19]

and on that the two king PART near-PRET-3PL **together** about middle the ford to MUTUAL-meet-VN

*And at that, the two kings neared **together** at the middle of the ford to meet [each other].*

A small group of goal-marking prepositions are unusual in structure for one reason or another and do not demonstrate any major patterns of use, occurring only once each. There is an example of PY HYD in a goal-marking context. At this point in the language, PY has become obsolete as an independent entity, although it survives in a number of compounds or fixed expressions, such as PY GILYDD "to the other of a pair or set".

(194) A-g6edy y kerdei ar tra6s yr ynys o-r mor **p6y hyt** yr emyl eithaf o-r ynys. [BM:180:16]

and after PART travel-IMPERF-3SG on across the island from the sea **to length** the edge farthest of the island

*And afterward they traveled across the island from the sea **to the** farthest edge of the island.*

There are single examples of a mutual-goal sense being indicated with the expression GWYNEB YN GWYNEB used adverbially, or GWYNEB YN GWYNEB AC as a preposition (but here the motion is not mutual), which are interesting primarily for the structure of the compound (see section 2.3.2.6.4).

(195) En e trededyd, guedy e delher **uynep en uynep**, yaun yu y paub eysted en e le mal ed eystedus e dyd gynt. [LI:77]

in the third-day after PART come-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS **face-in-face**, right be-PRES-3SG to everyone sit-VN in the place as PART sit-PRET-3SG the day previously

*In the third day, after coming **face to face**, it is right for everyone to sit in the place as they sat the previous day.*

(196) Kadeir a dodet y danaw, **vyneb yn vyneb ac** ef. [CO:564]

chair PART place-PRET-IMPERS under-3SM, **face in face with** him

*A chair was placed under him, **face to face with** him.*

3.1.2.2 Geographic Regions and Containers as Goals

When the goal is a geographic region rather than a discrete object, a similar range of prepositional markers is found, but with less concentration on I, although it remains the most common option. Only slightly less common (considered as a group) are YN and HYD YN, profiling the "bounded region" sense as well as the goal. Somewhat less common are PARTH AC and HYD. We also find TU AC, AR, and HYD AR in small numbers, but not often enough to consider them part of the established repertoire.

(197) Guedy rodyaw pob lle, ef a doeth **y** Aruon [MFM:88:23]

after walk-VN each place, he PART come-PRET-3SG **to** Arfon

*After walking everywhere, he came **to** Arfon*

(198) Disgynnu a wnaeth Twrch Trwyth **ym** Porth Cleis yn Dyuet. [CO:1097]

descend-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Twrch Trwyth **in** Port Clais in Dyfed

*Twrch Trwyth descended **into** Port Clais in Dyfed.*

(199) A hynny o Abermenei y kychwynnyssant teir llong ar dec, ac y doethant **hyt yn** Iwerdon. [BFL:37:]

and that from Abermenai PART set-out-PRET-3PL three ship on ten and PART come-PRET-3PL **length in** Ireland

*And those set out, three ships and ten, from Abermenai, and they came **to** Ireland.*

(200) A cherdet **parth ac** Arberth a wnaethont, ac ny bu hir y buont yny doethont y Arberth. [PPD:25:8]

and travel-VN **part with** Arberth PART do-PRET-3PL, and NEG be-PRET-3SG long PART be-PRET-3PL until come-PRET-3PL to Arberth

*And they traveled **to** Arberth, and it was not long they were until they came to Arberth.*

(201) A gwedy hynny y gwelei vydin yn dyuot **tu a**'r Ryt. [BR:7:9]

and after that PART see-IMPERF-3SG army PART come-VN **side-with** the ford.

*And after that he saw an army coming **towards** the ford.*

But region goals are common enough that we can identify some other distributional trends. The nature of the trajector appears to make little difference in choice, nor does the type of region being referred to, but the type of linguistic expression used to refer to the region does correlate to some extent with different prepositions. Regions identified with proper names are preferentially (although not overwhelmingly) marked with HYD YN and PARTH AC, and are the main uses for these prepositions.

(202) Dyuot a oruc Arthur **hyt ym** Mynyw y nos honno. [CO:1098]

come-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Arthur **length-in** Mynyw the night that

*Arthur came **to** Mynyw that night.*

(203) Ac ar hynny, kerdet a wnaeth y seithwyr **parth a** Hardlech, a'r penn gantunt. [BFL:45:21]

and on that travel-VN PART do-PRET-3SG the seven-men **part with** Harlech with/and the head with-3PL

*and at that, the seven men traveled **to** Harlech, with the head with them.*

Regions identified by a relative clause (most commonly using LLE) are disproportionately marked with simple HYD, and this is the primary use for this preposition here. (This use of HYD with relative landmarks only seems to apply to regions and not to other classes of goal.)

(204) Ymchoelut ohonunt wy odyno, a dyuot **hyt lle** yd oed Arthur. [CO:920]

return-VN of-3PL them from-there, and come-VN **length place** PART be-IMPERF-3SG Arthur

*Then returned thence, and came **to where** Arthur was.*

Other possible patterns are based on too few examples for much confidence, but TU AC seems to associate with relative clauses as well, AR and HYD AR avoid proper names and prefer generic topographic descriptions.

(205) Dyuot a oruc y marchawc **tu a**'r lle yd oed Arthur ac Owein vch penn yr wydbwyll. [BR:16:6]

come-VN PART do-PRET-3SG the knight **side-with** the place PART be-IMPERF-3SG Arthur and Owein above head the *gwyddbwyll*.

*The knight came **towards** the place where Arthur and Owein were over the "Gwyddbwyll" [game].*

(206) Ac en er oet barnedyc hunnu e mae yaun e paub dyuot **ar** e tyr, ac vynt ac eu porth. [LI:73]

and in the time judgement that PART be-PRES-3SG right to everyone come-VN **on/to** the land, and they and their aide

*And at that judgement time, it is right for everyone to come **to** the land, both they and their supporters.*

The distinction between goals understood as defined regions and those understood as three-dimensional containers can be seen when we look at examples where the latter sense is specifically profiled. These include geographic features such as caves, man-made objects such as buildings, pots, boxes, etc. (when the goal is explicitly indicated as interior location), and solid substances such as bodies, when penetration of the interior is the goal. While YN is commonly found for this type of goal as well as for two-dimensional regional goals, we find a set of markers restricted solely to three-dimensional containers: YN MEWN or its reduced form MEWN, or an extended form YN MEWN I. (YN MEWN is also found in the same sense as a spatial adverb "inside, within".)

(207) ac yna kymryt pawb o'r niuer a doeth y gyt a Guawl a'y dodi **yn** y carchar e hun. [PPD:17:1]

and then take-VN everyone of the retinue REL come-PRET-3SG together with Gwawl and him put-VN **in** the prison his own

*and then everyone of the retinue came with Gwawl [i.e. brought Gwawl] and put him **in** his own prison.*

(208) Ac yna y byrywyt y kalaned **yn** y peir, yny uei yn llawn [BFL:44:10]

and then PART throw-PRET-IMPERS the corpses **in** the cauldron until be-IMPERF-3SG PART full

*And then the corpses were thrown **into** the cauldron until it was full*

(209) Peri dwyn y gassec **y mywn** ty a wnaeth, a gwiscaw arueu amdanaw a oruc ynteu, a dechreu gwylat y nos. [PPD:22:11]

cause-VN bear-VN the mare **within** house PART do-PRET-3SG, and dress-VN arms about-3SM PART do-PRET-3SM he-EMPH, and begin-VN watch-VN the night

*[He] caused the mare to be brought **inside** the house, and dressed armor about him and began keeping watch [though] the night.*

(210) Ac ual y deuthant **y mywn y**'r ogof y hachub a oruc y wrach [CO:1211]

and as PART come-PRET-3PL **within to** the cave them seize PART do-PRET-3SG the witch

*And as they came **into** the cave, the witch seized them*

(211) Hitheu a doeth **y mywn**, a morwyn y gyt a hi. [MFM:82:11]

she PART come-PRET-3SG **within**, and maiden together with her

*She came **in**, and a maiden with her.*

3.1.2.3 Front as a Goal

Front location as a goal is most typically indicated by compound prepositions based on BRON, where the prepositional element may either duplicate the "front" sense (RHAG) or may have a generic goal (or location) sense. Among goal-marking body-part compounds, those with BRON show the strongest influence of the nominal element on the preposition compounded with it, with half the examples using the redundant RHAG BRON (alone, or prefixed by HYD). In these goal-marking compounds, BRON rarely has any literal sense (although there are static location senses involving the fastening a piece of jewelry onto the clothing at the breast/chest) but rather carry a sense of "front region" with animate landmarks and "near vicinity" with inanimate ones. There is no particular correlation between the prepositional elements of the compounds and the nature of the landmarks, and examples with compounds having no overt goal-marking

element outnumber those that do. In addition to the above-mentioned compounds with RHAG, BRON is found with GER, I, and (HYD) YN, most with only a single example in the data.

(212) Ef ehun a dele dyuot a'r anrec dywethaf a'e gossot **rac bron** e brenhyn, ac ena e brenhyn e anregu o wet a llyn. [LI:20]

he himself PART ought-PRES-3SG come-VN with/and the gift last REL it place-VN **before breast** the king, and then the king him gift-VN of food and drink

*He himself should come with [i.e. bring] the last gift and place it **before** the king, and then the king presents him with food and drink.*

(213) Ac yna dyuot o Idawc ac wynteu ygyt ac ef **hyt rac bronn** Arthur, a chyfarch gwell idaw. [BR:6:20]

and then come-VN of Iddog with them with him **length-before-breast** Arthur, and greet-VN well to-3SM

*And then Iddog brought them with him **to before** Arthur, and greeted him.*

(214) Kadeir a dodet y danaw. **geyr bron** gwrnach [CO:787]

chair PART place-PRET-IMPERS under-3SM **with breast** Gwrnach

*A chair was placed under him **in front of [or: near]** Gwrnach.*

(215) pan delhei Arthur a'e luoed **y uron** llifdwr y keissit lle kyuyg {kyuing} ar y dwuyr [CO:278]

when come-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG Arthur and his armies **to breast** torrent PART seek-IMPERF-IMPERS place narrow on the water

*when Arthur and his armies would come **near** a torrent a narrow place on the water would be sought*

(216) Ar eildyd ar trydyd dyd y kerdassant ac o vreid y doethant hyt yno a phan deuant **ym bronn** y gaer [CO:415]

and-the second-day and-the third day PART travel-PRET-3PL and of scarcely PART come-PRET-3PL length there and when come-PRES-3PL **in breast** the castle

*And they traveled the second day, and the third day, and they had scarcely come to [that place] when they came **before** the castle*

(217) A phan y tynnei attaw y nesseynt wynteu attaw **hyt ym bron** y march. [BR:4:17]

and when PART pull-IMPERF-3SG to-3SM PART near-IMPERF-3PL to-3SM **length-in-before** the horse

*And when he drew [breath] to him, then came near to him **to in front of** the horse.*

HYD YN RHAG behaves very similarly to the compounds with BRON. The only example in the data involves an inanimate landmark and, similar to inanimate landmarks in the BRON group, indicates location in the general vicinity of the landmark.

(218) Kyuodi a oruc Arthur a milwyr Ynys Prydein gantaw y geissaw Eidoel, a dyuot a orugant **hyt yn rackaer** Glini yn y lle yd oed Eidoel yg karchar. [CO:829]

rise-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Arthur and soldiers Island Britain with-3SM to seek-VN Eidoel, and come-VN PART do-PRET-3PL **length-in-before** castle Glini in the place PART be-IMPERF-3SG Eidoel in prison

*Arthur arose, and the soldiers of the Island of Britain with him, to seek Eidoel, and they came **to before** Castle Glini in the place where Eidoel was in prison.*

Simple RHAG retains the more specific sense of "front", occurring only with animate entities, but all the examples involve a specific idiomatic construction with reflexive reference and the sense is simply that of reinforcing an image of forward motion. (I.e. similar to English "go forth" except explicitly identifying "forth" as "location in front of the self".)

(219) Kerdet a orugant **racdunt** hyt att Vwyalch Gilgwri. [CO:847]

travel-VN PART do-PRET-3PL **before-3PL** length-to Blackbird Cilgwri

*They traveled **forth** to the Blackbird of Cilgwri.*

Goal scenarios marked with YN ERBYN have a relatively rich context in which

not only are both trajector and landmark animate, but the resulting co-location specifically involves conscious interaction between the two. In only a small minority of examples is this interaction of the hostile variety that predominates in non-spatial uses of YN ERBYN. While the etymology of ERBYN leads us to expect some sort of "in front" sense, we don't find it conveys only this spatial arrangement, but always comes with some additional sense of interaction (and this is no doubt related to its relatively rare use in primarily spatial scenarios, and much greater use in social interactions).

(220) Gwedy y dyuot y'r llys, kyuodi a oruc Aranrot **yn y erbyn** y raessawu, ac y gyuarch guell idaw. [MFM:78:21]

after his come-VN to the court, rise-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Aranrhod **in-his-against** to-him welcome-VN, and to greet better to-3SM

*After he came to the court, Aranrhod rose **before** him [i.e. to meet him] to welcome him and to greet him.*

(221) Gwyssyaw Kernyw a Dyfneint o Arthur **yn y erbyn** hyt yn Aber Hafren [CO:1167]

summon-VN Cornwall and Devon of Arthur **in-his-against** length-in Aber Hafren

*Arthur summoned Cornwall and Devon **to meet him**, to Aber Hafren*

3.1.2.4 Side as a Goal

Somewhat at the other end of the scale from BRON, compounds of LLAW generally involve a literal hand as the goal of motion, although often in a context that highlights the resulting physical control over the trajector. When there is no involvement of an actual hand in the scenario, the compounds carry a sense of "lateral region" (for an animate landmark) or "vicinity" (for an inanimate one). Compounds of LLAW are the

only method of specifically indicating lateral position as a goal (but see section 3.1.4 for examples of HEB used to indicate a path defined by lateral position).

Overt goal-marking elements in the compounds are few–we find LLAW prefixed by AR, GER, HYD, I, TAN, and YN. The prepositional elements do not correlate with the default goal-markers for the type of landmarks present. In general, the nature of the prepositional element also does not correlate with any particular semantics of the scenario, although the noticeable prevalence of YN LLAW no doubt derives from the container-like nature of a grasping hand, and the examples of TAN LLAW appear to be a transparent construction "to under the hand". (The context of this last, however, is ceremonial, and the expression may have metaphoric rather than spatial intent.)

(222) **Ar** neil**law** Pryderi y gossodet Guydyon y nos honno. [MFM:69:6]
on one-**hand** Pryderi PART place-PRET-IMPERS Gwydion the night that
On the one side *of Pryderi, Gwydion was placed that night.*

(223) "A dwyn bwch," heb ef, "a'y dodi **gyr llaw** y gerwyn" [MFM:86:28]
and bear-IMPER-2SG goat, say-PRET-3SG he, and it place-VN **with hand** the tub
"And bring a goat," he said, "and place it ***beside*** *the tub"*

(224) O deruyd y den caffael kyc anyueyl ny bo eydau, ae gan kun ae eg kudua arall, a'e kemryt hep ganhyat ohonau, dyruyauc uyd hyt yd el, nac o rod nac o prynu nac o wadaul, **hyt** y canuet **llau** [LI:113]

if happen-PRES-3SG to person get-VN meat animal NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG his, either with dogs either in hidden-place other, and it take-VN beside permission of-3SM, dirwy-ADJ be-PRES-3SG length PART go-PRES-SUBJ-3sg, NEG of gift NEG of buy-VN NEG of endowment, **length** the hundredth **hand**

*If it happens to a person [that he] gets the meat [of] an animal [that] isn't his, either with hounds or in another's cache and he takes it without his permission, it is [subject to] a dirwy [fine] as far as it goes, whether by gift or by purchase or by endowment, **to** the hundredth **hand***

(225) ac yuelly o lau **y lau** hyt ar e gur dywethaf. [LI:103]

and thus from hand **to hand** length-on/to the man last

*And so from hand **to hand** to the last man.*

(226) O pen e seyth blened allan ef ehun byeu tygu tros e weythret a'e tat byeu talu, canys ena yd a **adan lau** er effeyryat ac e kymer gued Duu arnau. [LI:97]

from head the seven years out he himself own-PRES-3SG swear-VN over his deeds and his father own-PRES-3SG pay-VN, since then PART go-PRES-3SG **under hand** the priest and PART take-PRES-3SG yoke God on-3SM

*From the end of seven years onward he himself owns [i.e. is responsible for] swearing for his deeds and his father owns paying [for them], then he goes **under** the priest's **hand** and takes God's yoke on him.*

(227) Y cledyf a daruu y wrteith, a'e rodi a oruc Kei **yn llaw** Wrnach Kawr y malphei y edrych a ranghei y uod idaw y weith [CO:812]

the sword PART happen-PRET-3SG its whet-VN, and it give-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Cei **in hand** Gwrnach Cawr PART as-if to look-VN REL satisfy-IMPERF-3SG his will his the work

*The whetting of the sword was finished, and Cei gave it **into the hand** of Gwrnach Cawr as if to see whether the work pleased him.*

(228) Vynt a deleant talu tung eu tyr **en llau** uaer e bysweyl ac a deleant e porthy due weyth en e ulueden. [LI:94]

they PART ought-PRES-3PL pay-VN twnc their land **in hand** maer the dung and PART ought-PRES-3PL him support-VN two time in the year

*They are oblige to pay the "tunc" [tax] [of] their land **into the hand** of the dung-maer, and they are obliged to support him twice in the year.*

3.1.2.5 Behind as a Goal

Closely related to the body-part compounds are those based on OL and WYSG, both with a sense of "track, path, footprints" and forming compounds with the basic meaning "to location behind" or "to the back".

There is a clear distinction in semantics between AR OL and YN OL in goal-marking examples, but it is unclear if the distinction derives from underlying prepositional semantics or simply reflects fixed conventions that arose from two functionally equivalent goal-marking options. Overall, AR OL is considerably less common than YN OL. YN OL most typically indicates a scenario where the trajector is tracing a path previously established by the motion of the landmark, with the intent being co-location with the landmark. (These is also a single example of AR OL in this sense.)

(229) "Ie, Arglwyd," heb wy, "anuon etwa genhadeu **yn y ol**." [BFL:33:14]
well, lord, say-PRET-3SG they send-VN again messengers **in-his-track**
*"Well, lord," they said, "send messengers again **after him**."*

(230) E kennadeu a aethant **ar ol** Matholwch, ac a uanagyssant idaw yr ymadrawd hwnnw yn garedic, ac ef a'e guerendewis. [BFL:33:26]
the messengers PART go-PRET-3PL **on track** Matholwch, and PART tell-PRET-3PL to-3SM the speech that PART friendly, and he PART it hear-PRET-3SG
*The messengers went **after** Matholwch and told to him that speech in a friendly [manner], and he heard it.*

From this "tracking, following" context, we also get examples where the motion is not along a pre-established path, but there is a sense of "motion for the purpose of

obtaining; hunting for; going to get". (This is also the sense of the single example of YN WYSG.)

(231) os miui a gar yr amhera6dyr; deuet hyt y-man **y-m hol**. [BM:186:7]

if me-EMPH PART love-PRES-3SG the emperor, come-IMPER-3SG length here **in-my-track**

*if the emperor loves me, let him come here **after me**.*

(232) "Mae yr aniueileit yd aethawch **yn eu hwysc**?" heb y Math. [MFM:71:22]

be-PRES-3SG the animals PART go-PRET-2PL **in-their-track**, say-PRET-3SG Math

*"[Where] are the animals you went **after (them)**?" said Math.*

AR OL, in contrast, most commonly indicates (situationally) hostile motion terminating in a physical back.

(233) Kyuodi a orugant, ac mal y kyuodant kymryt y trydyt llechwayw gwenwynic a'e odif **ar eu hol**. [CO:549]

rise-VN PART do-PRET-3PL, and as PART rise-PRES-3PL take-VN the third stone-spear poisoned and it throw-VN **on their track**

*They rose, and as they rose he took the third poisoned stone spear and threw it **after them.***

It is possible to understand both compounds as having relatively transparent compositional semantics if one assumes different basic understandings of OL. In YN OL, if OL is understood as referring to the spatial region defined by the landmark's prior motion path, then YN OL may be understood as indicating the region in which the following motion is occurring (with the goal understood pragmatically) rather than as a goal-marking YN compound. Conversely, if the OL in AR OL is understood as the literal

body part, then the semantics of the compound derive directly from this and the general goal-marking sense of AR (possibly involving the context of hostile action that often accompanies AR). (Both compounds can also indicate "time after" in Medieval Welsh but later this sense became restricted to AR OL, and YN OL has a number of non-spatio-temporal extensions as well–see section 2.3.2.3.2.)

3.1.2.6 Above, On as a Goal

More commonly than AR and HYD AR appear in a general goal-marking sense, they appear associated with path or resulting arrangement senses related to the static locational senses of AR. The majority of these mark a resulting position where the trajector is located above and in contact with the landmark, or less commonly simply in contact with, or attached to, the landmark. This is often accompanied by a downward path of motion. Alternately, the motion may accompany hostile or controlling intent by the trajector towards the landmark. (See sections 3.3.2.2.1 and 3.3.2.2.2 for these non-spatial senses of AR.)

(234) A diskynnu **ar** e yscwyd, a garwhau y phluf [BFL:38:15]
and descend-VN **on** his shoulder and roughen-VN her feathers
*And [the bird] descended **onto** his shoulder and fluffed its feathers*

(235) a dody e llau deheu **ar** er **allaur** a'r kreyryeu, a'r llau assu ar pen e mab, [LI:100]
and put-VN his hand right **on** the **altar** with/and the relics, and the hand left on head the boy
*And he puts his right hand **on** the **altar** with the relics, and his left hand on the boy's head.*

(236) Yskynnu a oruc Pwyll **ar** y uarch [PPD:11:27]

ascend-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Pwyll **on** his horse

*Pwyll mounted **on** his horse*

(237) Tra yttoed vilwyr Arthur yn ymlad a'r gaer, rwygaw o Gei y uagwyr a chymryt y carcharawr **ar** y geuyn, ac ymlad a'r gwyr ual kynt. [CO;925]

beyond PART-be-IMPERF-3SG soldiers Arthur PART MUTUAL-fight-VN with/and the castle, break-VN of Cei the wall and take-VN the prisoner **on** his back, and MUTUAL-fight-VN with/and the men as before.

*While Arthur's soldiers were fighting with the castle, Cei broke the wall and took the prisoner **on** his back and fought with the men as before.*

(238) Ac ual yd oed yn trossi penn y varch y trewis y gwas oed yn seuyll rac bronn Arthur y march **ar** y dwyffroen a'r cledyf trwy y wein, [BR:7:30]

and while PART be-IMPERF-3SG PART turn-VN head the horse PART strike-PRET-3SG the lad be-IMPERF-3SG PART stand-VN before-breast Arthur the horse **on** the two-nostril with the sword through the scabbard,

*And while he was turning the head of his horse, the lad who was standing in front of Arthur struck the horse **on** the nostrils with the sword through the scabbard,*

(239) a dodi boly croyn **ar** bop guanas, a gwr aruawc ym pob vn ohonunt. [BFL:42:11]

and place-VN bag skin **on** each peg, and man armed in each one of-3PL

*and [they] placed a skin bag **on** each peg, with an armed man in each one of them.*

(240) wynt a syrthant yn rith deu barchell **hyt ar** y llenn [LL:100]

they PART fall-PRES-3PL in shape two piglet **length-on** the sheet

*they will fall in the shape of two piglets **onto** the sheet*

Compounds with PEN fall between BRON and LLAW in terms of literal reference to the body part, and they more often reflect the specific semantics of the prepositional elements of the compounds. When the goal is not a physical head, it may be the vertical top of the landmark, or the extremity of an elongated landmark. PEN may also imply the entire landmark in expressions indicating hostile or controlling action as well as spatial movement. These last arise in contexts where hostile action directed specifically at the

head is also common, particularly AM PEN and UCH PEN, although based on hostility-associated uses of AR elsewhere, it would be unsurprising to find AR PEN in this context, too. The shift in meaning is from literal reference to a saliently vulnerable target of hostile action to "head" as a reference to a general state or position of vulnerability.

(literal head)

(241) a dody e lau deheu ar er allaur a'r kreyryeu a uo arney a'r llau assu **ar pen** e mab, [LI:100]

and put-VN his hand right on the altar with/and the relics, and the hand left **on head** the boy

*And he puts his right hand on the altar with the relics, and his left hand **on** the boy's **head**.*

(vertical top)

(242) Ac ymrithaw a oruc Menw yn rith ederyn, a disgynnu a wnaeth **uch penn** y gwal, a cheissaw ysglyffyaw un o'r tlysseu y gantaw. [CO:1030]

and REFLEXIVE-shape-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Menw in shape bird, and descend-VN PART do-PRET-3SG **above head** the wall, and seek-VN snatch-VN one of the treasures from-with-3SM

*And Menw transformed himself into the shape of a bird, and descended **on top** of the wall, and sought to snatch one of the treasures from him.*

(extremity)

(243) A diwarna6t yd aeth yr amhera6dyr y hela y gaer vyrdin. Ac yd aeth **hyt ym pen** y-freni ua6r. [BM:187:31]

and day PART go-PRET-3SG the emperor to hunt-VN to Caerfyrddin. and PART go-PRET-3SG **length in head** Y Fenni Fawr

*And one day the emperor went to Caerfyrddin to hunt. And he went **as far as the top of** Y Fenni Fawr.*

(hostility)

(244) Kyrch, Arglwyd, a doeth **am uym penn**, a hynny yn diargel, ac ny buum distaw inheu. [MFM:74:8]

attack, lord, PART come-PRET-3SG **about my head**, and that PART unconcealed, and NEG be-PRET-1SG silent I-EMPH

*An attack, lord, came **about my head** [i.e. came on me], and that openly, and I was not silent.*

Several PEN compounds show a range of senses from those where the prepositional element supplies specific spatial semantics to those where it appears to add some particular non-spatial semantics, to those where it functions simply as "support" for the nominal element with a general goal-marking meaning. These three (somewhat arbitrary) distinctions can be seen in various examples of AM PEN, where we find senses ranging from "to a location surrounding" to "towards, in a hostile fashion" to simply "towards". Similarly for YN PEN, we find both "to the interior of the head" and "to contact or co-location with the head".

(245) E navd yv o'r pan dechreuho guneythur kerven ued ene rvymho e hvyl **am e phen**, dven e den a wnel e kam. [LI:16]

his protection be-PRES-3SG from the when begin-PRES-SUBJ-3SG make-VN vat mead until bind-PRES-SUBJ-3SG her cover **about her head**, bear-VN the person REL do-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the wrong

*His protection is from when he begins making a vat [of] mead until he binds the cover **on top of it**, [to] convey the person who did wrong.*

(246) Pan glywhont llef dy gorn, diskynnent wynteu **am pen** y llys. [PPD:15:16]

when hear-PRES-SUBJ-3PL cry your-SG horn, descend-IMPER-3PL they **about head** the court

*When they hear the cry of your horn, let them descend **about the head of** [i.e. attack] the court.*

(247) A phan delei annwyt arnei y byryei arffedeit o'r us **am penn** y tan [BR:2:20]

and when come-IMPERF-3SG cold on-3SF PART throw-IMPERF-3SG lap-full of the chaff **about head** the fire

*And when cold came on her, she would throw a lapful of chaff **on top of** the fire*

(248) Try arperygyl den: dyrnaut **em pen** hyt er emenhyd, a dyrnaut eg corf hyt er emyscar, a thorry un o'r petwar post. [LI:147]

three dangerous-wound person: blow **in head** length the brain, and blow in body length the bowels and break-VN one of the four post

*[There are] three dangerous wounds [of] a person: a blow **in the head** to the brain, and a blow in the body to the bowels, and breaking one of the four posts [i.e. limbs].*

(249) a'r dyd e dalyer ac ed el llaw **en y pen** e dyrcheyf arnav vgynt, eny vo henny en vn ar pymthec a phym vgeynt [LI:122]

and the day PART take-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS and PART go-PRES-SUBJ-3SG hand **in his head** PART raise-PRES-3SG on-3SM twenty, until be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG that PART one on fifteen and five twenty

*And the day [the horse] is caught and a hand goes **to its head** [i.e. holds it by the bridle] [its value] raises twenty [pence] on it [i.e. its value increases twenty pence] until that would be 116 [pence].*

(250) Ac yn yd aeth pawb **ym pen** yr arueu, y kynhelis Bendigeiduran Uranwen y rwng y taryan a'y yscwyd. [BFL:44:6]

and in PART go-PRET-3SG everyone **in head** the arms PART hold-PRET-3SG Bendigeidfran Branwen between his shield and his shoulder

*And when everyone went **on top of** [i.e. went for] the weapons, Bendigeidfran took Branwen between his shield and his shoulder.*

Compounds with AM and YN are described above. Compounds with HYD YN and I have a simple goal-marking sense (combined with the range of possible references

encoded in PEN). UCH PEN, like AM PEN, ranges from compositional use ("to above the head/top") to a general sense of hostile or controlling motion. AR PEN, somewhat uncharacteristically, appears only in a relatively transparently compositional sense "to location on top of the head". We also find the idiomatic expression TROS PEN that, from context, appears to have a sense similar to the English expression "head over heels" indicating a physical , out of control, tumbling motion.

(251) **bet y- pen**-brynn eital. ad sinistram trus di-pen|-y-bryn [LD:146:22]
length in head hill Eidal. [begin Latin] to left [resume Welsh] over to head the hill
*[the boundary follows] **to the top** of Eidal Hill, to the left over to the top of the hill*

(252) **y-penn** y-glas-pull. ar-tyui. [LD:78:6]
in-head the blue pool on Tyfi
*[the boundary follows] **to above** the blue pool on the Tyfi [river]*

(253) Dyuot ohonaw **vch pen** y Kawr malphei y cledyf a dottei yn y wein. [CO:819]
come-VN of-3SM **above head** the giant as-if the sword PART place-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG in the scabbard.
*He came **over** the giant as if to put the sword in its scabbard.*

(254) a dody e llau deheu ar er allaur a'r kreyryeu, a'r llau assu **ar pen** e mab, [LI:100]
and put-VN his hand right on the altar with/and the relics, and the hand left **on head** the boy
*And he puts his right hand on the altar with the relics, and his left hand **on** the boy's **head**.*

(255) A phan el ef, tro ditheu y got, yny el ef **dros y pen** yn y got, ac yna llad glwm ar garryeu y got. [PPD:15:12]
and when go-PRES-SUBJ-3SG he, turn-IMPER-2SG you the bag, until go-PRES-SUBJ-3SG he **over his head** in the bag, and then strike-VN knot on strings the bag
*And when he goes [into the bag], you turn the bag so that he goes **head over heels** in the bag, and then put a knot on the strings of the bag.*

UCH might be expected to mark a resulting arrangement of a trajector above a landmark, but the only present example involves a metaphoric application via STATUS IS UP_F, where the goal is location in a high-status position.

(256) O deruyd e den guneythyr cam ys coryf a fo ohanav **uvch** coryf a'y daly eno kyn caffael navd, traean e dyrvy a dely e dysteyn. [LI:8]

if happen-PRES-3S to person do-VN wrong under bar and flee-VN of-3SM **above** bar and him catch-VN there before get-VN protection, third the fine PART ought-PRES-3SG the steward

*If it happens to a person [that he] does wrong below the bar [i.e. in a lower status part of the court] and he flees **above** the bar, and he is caught there before getting protection, the steward is entitled [to] a third [of] the fine.*

Also with a general "up, above" sense is an adverbial expression indicating motion in a more or less vertical direction with I MYNYDD. In a few cases, this expression might be ambiguous with a literal reference except that we would expect to see a definite article in the literal form. (Both constructions can be found in the Llan Dav data in extremely parallel forms. After the medieval period, an eroded form of MYNYDD is used in the adverbial expression, and it is easily distinguishable from literal reference on this basis.)

(257) Ac yn ieungtit y dyd trannoeth, kyuodi a wnaethant, a chymryt yr aruordir **y uynyd** parth a Brynn Aryen. [MFM:81:18]

and in youth the day beyond-night, rise-VN PART do-PRET-3PL, and take-VN the coast **to-mountain** part-with Bryn Arien

*And in the youth of the day, the next day, they rose and took the coast **upward** toward Bryn Arien.*

(compare)

(258) **dy**-r mynyd ar-hyt yr-cecyn [LD:144:29]
to the **mountain** on-length the ridge
*[the bounary follows] **to** the **mountain** [and] along the ridge*

(259) ar-hit ir-cecin **i-uinid** n-i-hit [LD:154:26]
on-length the ridge **to-mountain** in-its-length
*[the boundary follows] along the ridge **upwards** along it*

3.1.2.7 Below, Under as a Goal

TAN marks goals under which the trajector comes to be located. More rarely, it is found with no relevant vertical orientation, but simply motion to a location in or among the landmark, sometimes accompanied by hostile intent. It may also occur in compounds specifying the nature of the trajector more closely (although the compound examples in my data are better interpreted as literal complex landmarks).

(260) Kadeir a dodet **y danaw**, vyneb yn vyneb ac ef. [CO:564]
chair PART place-PRET-IMPERS **under-3SM**, face in face with him
*A chair was placed **under him**, face to face with him.*

(261) Ynteu Wydyon a doeth **y dan** y prenn, ac a edrychwys pa beth yd oed yr hwch yn y bori [MFM:89:17]
he-EMPH Gwydion PART come-PRET-3SG **under** the tree, and PART look-PRET-3SG what thing PART be-IMPERF-3SG the sow PART it graze-VN
*He, Gwydion, came **under** the tree, and he looked at what the sow was grazing [on].*

(262) Ny chymerwn ninheu y gan y tayogeu hynny. Awn **adanunt** a lladwn. [MFL:53:28]

NEG take-IMPER-1PL we-EMPH from-with the churls those. go-IMPER-1PL **under-3PL** and kill-IMPER-1PL

*Let us not take [this] from those churls. Let us go **at them** and kill [them].*

(263) Taryan eurgr6ydyr a dodassant **dan** y **pen**. [BM:179:21]

shield gold-chased PART place-PRET-3PL **under** his **head**

*A gold-chased shield was placed **under** his **head**.*

(264) o'r pan dechreuho e gof llys guneythur pedeyr pedol ac eu to hoellyon ene darfo ydav ef eu dody hvy **adan traet** march e brenhyn [LI:31]

from the when begin-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the smith court make-VN four horseshoe and their roof nails until finish-PRES-SUBJ-3SG to-3SM him them put-VN them **under feet** horse the king

*from when the court smith begins to make four horseshoes with their set of nails until it finishes to him [i.e. he finishes] putting them **under the feet** of the king's horse*

Downward motion can also be indicated by the spatial adverbs I LLAWR and I GWAERED, with the nominal elements taken from the classes of environmental landmarks and relational object parts respectively. Both of these are still in the process of evolving from full prepositional phrases with definite landmarks to the reduced forms (with indefinite landmarks) found in later language. Parallel examples of I GWAERED with and without the definite article can be found in the Llan Dav data, while I LLAWR consistently uses the article in my data (but loses it entirely at a later period of the language, and there are contemporary poetic examples without the article). Compare these with the compound preposition HYD YN GWAELOD, similarly based on a relational object part, but taking an overt landmark. (See section 2.3.2.3.3.4 for other possible distinctions in reference.)

(265) A pharth a pherued y llannerch llyma yr erchwys a oed yn y ol yn ymordiwes ac ef, ac yn y uwrw **y'r llawr**. [PPD:1:16]

and part with middle the clearing behold the pack REL be-IMPERF-3SG in his track PART MUTUAL-overtake with/and him, and PART him throw **to the ground**

*And towards the middle of the clearing, behold, the pack that was after him overtook him and threw him **to the ground.***

(266) dour n-y-hyt **y-guairet** hyt pan-dyscynn y-guormuy. [LD:134:6]

water in-its-length **to-down** length when descend-VN in Gorimi

*[the boundary follows] the water [or: the Dwfr river?] along it **downward** to where it descends into the Gorimi [river]*

(compare)

(267) nant ybard n-i-hyt **y-r-guayret** hyt pan-dyscin yn-dour. [LD:134:6]

stream the bard in-its-length **to-the-down** length when descend-VN in water

*[the boundary follows] Bard Creek, along it **downward** to where it descends into the water [or: into the Dwfr river]*

(268) A gwedy blinaw onadunt a diffygyaw, wynt a disgynnassant ar warthaf y llenn a'e thynnu gantunt **hyt yg gwaelawt** y gerwyn. [LL:130]

and after become-tired-VN of-3PL and grow-weary-VN, they PART descend-PRET-3PL on-top the sheet and it pull with-3PL **length-in-depth** the tub

*And after they became tired and grew weary, they descended onto the sheet and pulled it with them **to the bottom of** the tub.*

3.1.2.8 Around as a Goal

A position surrounding the landmark as a goal is indicated with the same language used for static location, using AM or, less transparently, YN CYLCH. Both are found when a multiplex or extended trajector moves to a position surrounding the landmark. (A

specifically circular surrounding pattern is not necessary for YN CYLCH.) Compounds with AM may indicate more specific surrounding relationships, see e.g. AM PEN in section 3.1.2.6 above.

(269) Sef a wnaeth ynteu, maglu y llinin **am** uynwgyl y llygoden. [MFL:63:4]

thus PART do-PRET-3SG he-EMPH, tie-VN the cord **about** neck the mouse

*This is what he did: tied the cord **around** the mouse's neck.*

(270) Caswallawn a daroed idaw wiscaw llen hut **amdanaw**, ac ny welei neb ef yn llad y gwyr, namyn y cledyf. [BFL:46:5]

Caswallon PART happen-IMPERF-3SG to-3SM dress-VN cloak magic **about-3SM** and NEG see-IMPERF-3SG anyone him PART kill-VN the men excep the sword

*It happened to Caswallon [that he] dressed a magic cloak **around himself**, and nobody saw him killing the men, but only the sword.*

(271) ac a droes llen o bali **yn y gylch**, ac a'e cudyawd. [MFM:77:16]

and PART turn-PRET-3SG sheet of brocade **in-his-circle**, and PART-him hide-PRET-3SG

*and [he] wrapped a sheet of brocade **around it** and hid it.*

(272) A sef a-wnaeth y weisson sefyll kastellu taryaneu **yn-y gylch** ar peleidyr g6aywar rac yr heul. [BM:179:18]

and thus PART do-PRET-3SG the servants stand-VN fortify-VN shields **in his circle** on shafts spears before the sun

*This is what the servants did: setting up a fortification of shields **around him** on spear-shafts [protecting] against the sun.*

3.1.2.9 Among, In the Middle, Between as a Goal

An override in the selection of prepositions that we will see many times, shaped by the general abstract structure of the expression rather than the specific semantics, is one that marks dual or multiple important non-subject roles with RHWNG. Even in

spatial contexts, this can appear meaning not simply "to location at a point between" the landmarks (although this sense is also found), but appears with the sense "to location with X, and also with Y". Very rarely, we find the variant CYM-RHWNG.

(273) Gossot o Gei eiras **kyfrwg** y dwylaw. [CO:462]
place-VN of Cei stake **between** his two-hand
*Cei placed a stake **between** his hands.*

(274) Ef a dely am pob dadleu tyr a daear pedeyr ar ugeynt **erygthav a**'r egneyt, ac ydav ef ran deu vr. [LI:10]
he PART ought-PRES-3SG about each case land and earth four on twenty **between-3SM and** the judges, and to-3SM him part two man
*He is entitled for each case [concerning] land and earth [to] twenty four [pence] [shared] **between him and** the judges, and for him, two man's share.*

While the prototypical motion scenario involves unitary trajectors and landmarks, there are situations in which one or the other may be profiled as multiplex or extended, typically when the enclosure of a unitary entity within a multiplex/extended entity is salient. A unitary trajector moving to location within a region defined by a multiplex landmark marks the landmark with YN PLITH. This compound is relatively transparent in semantics, if one understands the scenario as inherently involving a regional goal.

(275) A hwnnw yn marchogaeth **ym plith** y llu. [BR:10:13]
and that PART ride-VN **in-midst** the army
*And that [one] rode **into the midst of** the army.*

When a goal-marking construction, especially a compound, specifies a particular aspect of the landmark as the goal, there seems to be a lessening of the importance of the

expected compositional semantics of the prepositional elements. Perhaps the clearest example of this involves expressions specifying the goal as the midpoint of the landmark. All involve compound prepositions ending in the nominal elements PERFEDD or HANNER. Because these compounds always refer to an actual midpoint (whether spatial or, by extension, temporal–see section 3.2.2.3 et al.), it is tempting to consider PERFEDD/HANNER to be a literal element and part of the landmark rather than the preposition. Arguing against this view, the presence of this class of nominal elements appears to override the otherwise expected choice of preposition in the compound. For example, (HYD) AM does not occur alone as a goal-marking preposition except with the specific sense "motion to location surrounding". But in the compounds (HYD AM HANNER/PERFEDD there is no "surrounding" sense, rather the choice of AM seems to be associated with the presence of HANNER/PERFEDD without any direct semantic motivation. Thus, a compound like HYD AM HANNER is not simply a transparent product of HYD AM with a landmark describing the midpoint of some entity, rather, the construction HYD AM HANNER behaves idiomatically as a phrase, with its own non-compositional meaning, and one derived more from the nominal elements than the prepositional ones, and is best considered as a single unit.

Six different midpoint-goal compounds appear in the data, each only once. There is some overlap between the prepositional elements of the compounds and the expected goal-marking preposition based on the nature of the participants, but only in two of the six. Only three are explicitly marked as goals (with HYD or PARTH AC).

(276) Ac yna achub a oruc Arthur drws yr ogof, ac y ar y drws a uyryei y wrach a Charnwennan y gyllell, a'e tharaw **am y hanner** yny uu yn deu gelwrn hi. [CO:1225]

and then rush-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Arthur door the cave, and from-on the door PART throw-IMPERF-3SG the witch with/and Carnwennan his knife, and her strike-VN **about her middle** until be-PRET-3SG in two tub her

*And then Arthur rushed the door of the cave, and from the doorway he threw [at] the witch with Carnwennan his knife, and struck her **in the middle** so that she became [like] two tubs.*

(277) A thynnu a oruc y marchawc y gledyf **hyt am hanner** y wein a gofyn idaw, "Paham... [BR:8:4]

and pull-VN PART do-PRET-3SG the knight his sword **length-about-half** the scabbard and ask-VN to-3SM, "Why..."

*And the knight drew his sword **halfway from** the scabbard and asked him, "Why..."*

(278) A **pharth a pherued** y llannerch llyma yr erchwys a oed yn y ol yn ymordiwes ac ef, ac yn y uwrw y'r llawr. [PPD:1:16]

and **part with middle** the clearing behold the pack REL be-IMPERF-3SG in his track PART MUTUAL-overtake with/and him, and PART him throw to the ground

*And **towards the middle** of the clearing, behold, the pack that was after him overtook him and threw him to the ground.*

(279) Ac ar hynny y deu urenhin a nessayssant y gyt **am perued** y ryt e ymgyuaruot. [PPD:5:19]

and on that the two king PART near-PRET-3PL together **about middle** the ford to MUTUAL-meet-VN

*And at that, the two kings neared together **at the middle** of the ford to meet [each other].*

(280) A gwedy eu dyuot **hyt ym perued** y Ryt ar Hafren troi a oruc Idawc penn y varch dra'e gefyn [BR:9:9]

and after their come-VN **length-in-middle** the ford on Severn turn-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Iddog head his horse beyond-his-back

*And after they came **to the middle of** the ford on the Severn, Iddog turned his horse's head backwards*

(281) Ac ar y gossot kyntaf, y gwr a oed yn lle Arawn a ossodes ar Hafgan **ym perued** bogel y daryan [PPD:5:20]

and on the blow first, the man REL be-IMPERF-3SG in place Arawn PART strike-PRES-3SG on Hafgan **in middle** boss the shield

*And at the first blow, the man who was in Arawn's place struck on Hafgan **in the middle of** the shield-boss*

3.1.2.10 Outside, Marginal Goals

ALLAN is the least transparent marker for an external goal in its Medieval Welsh form. However, if the nominal element LLAN is understood in its older sense of "enclosure" (rather than its later specific sense of "church, churchyard"), the compound has fairly compositional semantics "to location external to a defined region; to outside". Commonly, it occurs in combination with a source-marking expression identifying the defined region explicitly, but syntactically ALLAN always behaves as an adverb.

(282) Ban agorer y creu beunyd yd a **allan**. [MFM:89:3]

when open-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS the sty daily, PART go-PRES-3SG **out**

*When the sty would be opened daily, she goes **out**.*

Similar in sense, but entirely different in derivation is I YMDAITH, or the reduced form YMAITH, indicating motion towards an unspecified location distant from the landmark (i.e. "away"). As mentioned in section 2.3.2.6.2, this is one of the relatively few preposition-like expressions derived from a verbal root.

(283) Ac ar hynny at y cwn y doeth ef, a gyrru yr erchwys a ladyssei y carw **e ymdeith**, a llithyaw y erchwys e hunan ar y carw. [PPD:1:24]

and on that to the dogs PART come-PRET-3SG he, and drive-VN the pack REL kill-PLUP-3SG the stag **to away** and feed-VN his pack his own on the stag

*And then he came to the dogs and drove the pack that had killed the stag **away**, and fed his own pack on the stag.*

(284) A hynny a oruc y marchawc a mynet **ymeith**. [BR:6:2]

and that PART do-PRET-3SG the knight and go-VN **away**

*And the knight did that and went **away**.*

The phenomenon of compounds overriding the usual semantic patterns for their prepositional elements can be seen in a weak version in compounds with YMYL, identifying the goal as a marginal subset of the landmark (either a location towards the edge of a multiplex group, the margin of a region, or the edge of an object). YMYL always has a fairly literal meaning in these, but its presence pressures the prepositional element to be taken from the "compounding class" of prepositions (in this case, AR, I, YN), rather than necessarily those expected based on the natures of the trajector and landmark., although there is more correlation on this point than for the "middle" compounds discussed in section 3.1.2.9. (Also note that none of these particular examples behaves as a proper compound preposition, being either too literal, or in definite form, although in static location senses the compounds with AR and YN are much more clearly prepositional, hence my inclusion of these examples.)

(285) Yna y kyuodes ynteu o'r ennein a guiscaw y lawdyr amdanaw, ac y dodes y neilltroet **ar emyl** y gerwyn, a'r llall ar geuyn y bwch. [MFM:87:27]

then PART rise-PRET-3SG he-EMPH from the bath and dress-VN the trousers about-3SM, and PART place-PRET-3SG his one-foot **on edge** the tub, and the other on back the goat

*Then he rose from the bath and dressed the trousers around him, and he placed his one foot **on the edge of** the tub, and the other on the back of the goat.*

(286) a'r gwr yn y kanol yssyd yn ffo **y'r ymyl** rac y vriwaw o'r march. [BR:10:20]

and the man in the middle be-PRES-REL-3SG PART flee-VN **to the edg**e before him bruise-VN of the horse.

*and the man in the middle was fleeing **to the edge** lest he [be] bruised by the horse.*

(287) A-g6edy y kerdei ar tra6s yr ynys o-r mor puy gilid **en er emyl** eithaf o-r ynys. [BM:180:16]

and after PART travel-IMPERF-3SG on across the island from the sea to its fellow **in the edge** farthest of the island

*And afterward they traveled across the island from one sea to the other **at the** farthest **edge** of the island.*

Another compound preposition similarly taking its prepositional element from the "compounding prepositions" rather than the semantically predicted ones is YN CYFL, indicating "to the general vicinity, but not closely co-located with".

(288) Ac yn hynny ny doethant wy **yng kyuyl** y llys [MFM:74:19]

and in that NEG come-PRET-3PL they **in-edge** the court

*And during that, they didn't come **near** the court*

3.1.2.11 Other Goals

Three unusual and rare constructions have the morphological appearance of source-markers, being compounds of O, but appear in clearly goal-marking contexts. As

we have seen in section 2.3.2.5.3.3, O can be found occasionally with a sense of static location, and as we have observed earlier, prepositions of static location are frequently borrowed to indicate movement to that location. So the explanation for how these constructions *can* have goal-marking function is fairly straightforward. What is less clear is why such an ambiguous construction would be chosen in preference to other options. Of the three (O PARTH, O UCH, and O Y EITHR), only O PARTH is ever found in my data in a source-marking function (and that, extremely rarely), so actual contextual ambiguity seems to be avoided.

(289) Ac y doeth gwyr Ynys Iwerdon y'r ty **o'r neill parth**, a gwyr Ynys y Kedyrn **o'r parth arall**. [BFL:43:8]

and PART come-PRET-3SG men island Ireland to the house **of the one part** and men island the strong **of the part other**

*And the men of the Island of Ireland came to the house **on the one side**, and the men of the Island of the Mighty **on the other side**.*

(290) Mwys Gwydneu Garanhir: pob tri nawyr pei delhei y byt **oduchti**, bwyt a uynho pawb wrth y uryt a geiff yndi. [CO:618]

hamper Gwyddno Garanhir: every three nine-men if come-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG the world **from-above-3SF**, food REL wish-PRES-SUBJ-3SG everyone with his mind PART get-PRET-3SG in-3SF

*The hamper of Gwyddno Garanhir: if there came every [set of] thrice-nine men in the world **onto it**, everyone would find in it the food they like according to their mind.*

(291) A boregueith, kyuodi Pryderi a Manawydan y hela; a chyweiraw eu cwn, a mynet **odieithyr** y llys. [MFL:55:7]

and morning-time rise-VN Pryderi and Manawyddan to hunt-VN; and prepare-VN their dogs and go-VN **from-from-outside** the court

*And one morning, Pryderi and Manawyddan rose to hunt, and [they] prepared their dogs and went **out of** the court.*

3.1.3 Sources of Motion

Source-marking language is relatively simpler than that for goals or locations, with a smaller inventory of "core" members, making fewer distinctions in the type of participants than goal-markers, and showing less overlap with other general cataegories of meaning. Even so, a wide range of prepositions occur in this function, showing the range of motivations that can affect selection.

3.1.3.1 Non-Specific Sources

The vast majority of source-markers involve the prepositions O (in simple form or in compounds) or Y (occurring only in compounds in my data). Both of these elements have source-marking as their central function and do not add any other specific semantics to the scenario. As discussed in section 2.3.2.2.1.1, Y compounds predominently with older prepositions, while O combines freely with nouns and "newer" prepositions, as well as sometimes forming doublets of compounds using Y. But most of the different source-marking prepositions involve very specific spatial relationships, or occur in particular contexts. Only three are relatively unmarked in spatial relationship: O, Y GAN, Y WRTH.

These three are distributed according to the animacy of the trajector and landmark. When both participants are animate, Y WRTH and Y GAN occur in roughly equal numbers.

(292) "Dioer," heb hi, [103] "nyt ey **y wrthyf** i heno." [MFM:85:18]

God-knows, say-PRET-3SG she, NEG go-PRES-2SG **from-with-1SG** me tonight

*"God knows," she said, "you will not go **from me** tonight."*

(293) Ac guedy darfo e kylch hvnnv deuet ef ar e brenhyn a thryccet egyt ac ef hyt em pen e blvydyn; ac ny dely mynet **e ganthav** onyt y'v negesseu ef. [LI:6]

and after happen-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the circuit that come-IMPER-3SG he on/to the king and dwell-IMPER-3SG together with him length-in-head the year; and NEG ought-PRES-3SG go-VN **from-with-3SM** if-NEG to his errands his

*And after that circuit ends, let him come to the king and remain with him until the end of the year; and he is not entitled to go **from him** except on his errands.*

When the landmark (source) is animate but the trajector is not, Y GAN is the usual marker (less commonly, the reduced form GAN), and O is also found. When the landmark is inanimate, O is used.

(294) Brathu amws o Uabon uab Modron o'r neil[l]parth, a chael yr ellyn **y gantaw**, ac o'r parth arall y dygyrchwys Kyledyr Wyllt y ar amws arall gantaw yn Hafren, ac y duc y gwelleu **y gantaw**. [CO:1184]

spur-VN steed of Mabon son Modron of the one-part, and get-VN the razor **from-with-3SM**, and of the part other PART make-for-PRET-3SG Cyledyr Wyllt from-on steed other with-3SM in Hafren, and PART bear-PRET-3SG the scissors **from-with-3SM**

*Mabon son of Modron spurred his steed from the one side, and took the razor **from him**, and from the other side Cyledyr Wyllt came on another steed with him into the Hafren, and he took the scissors **from him**.*

(295) Y gymeint **ohonof** i a gaffer, a geffir drwy ymlad. [CO:918]

the amount **from-1SG** me PART get-PRES-IMPERS through MUTUAL-fight-VN

*The amount that is gotten **from me**, is gotten by fighting.*

(296) Eu kyfranc wy, "Y gwyr a gychwynwys **o** Iwerdon" yw hwnnw. [BFL:47:25]
their story their, the men REL set-out-PRET-3SG **from** Ireland is that
*Their story is that: "The men who set out **from** Ireland."*

This contrast between types of sources can be seen nicely in the following example where both a human and regional source are given for an animate trajector.

(297) Pryderi uab Pwyll, yd anuonet idaw **o** Annwn **y gan** Arawn Urenhin Annwn. [MFM:68:22]
Pryderi son Pwyll PART send-PRET-IMPERS to-3SM **from** Annwn **from-with** Arawn king Annwn
*Pryderi son of Pwyll–[they] were sent to him **from** Annwn **from** [or by] Arawn king of Annwn.*

This distributional pattern (even more clearly than patterns for static location) establishes a connection between the element WRTH and animate interactions that will be significant in interpreting a number of other semantic fields.

3.1.3.2 Specific Sources

Separate from this general pattern, we find a number of source-markers that indicate other functions without distinctions for animacy. One of the strong overrides, which we have already seen with goals and will see consistently across semantic categories, is that when the verb has the mutual/reflexive prefix YM- (whether or not the specific use involves a mutual or reflexive meaning), the most significant semantic role other than the agent will be marked with AC. (See section 2.3.1.4.3 for the full range of verb types that follow this pattern.) So, although we find AC used with entities that, in

context, are clearly being presented as spatial sources, it is inaccurate to consider AC a "source-marking preposition"–rather, it marks the prepositional object as filling a critical semantic slot of the verb, and the understanding of "goal" comes from the specific semantic frame of the verb.

(298) A chanu y gorn a dechreu dygyuor yr hela, a cherdet yn ol y cwn, ac ymgolli **a**'y gydymdeithon. [PPD:1:9]

and sing-VN the horn and begin-VN muster-VN the hunt, and travel-VN in track the dogs, and MUTUAL-lose-VN **with/and** his companions

*And [he] blew his horn and began mustering the hunt, and traveled after the dogs, and became lost **from** his companions.*

Another context that can override the specific semantics of the context is the use of a landmark that is dual, multiplex, or a subset (i.e. presented as a subset of a larger entity). Dual landmarks take RHWNG (in a source-marking function, specifically O RHWNG).

(299) Yr Duw, a wdost ti dim y wrth Uabon uab Modron, a ducpwyt yn teir nossic **ody rwng** y vam **a**'r paret? [CO:848]

for God, INTERROGATIVE know-PRET-2SG you-SG anything from-with Mabon son Modron, REL bear-PRET-IMPERS PART three night **from-from-between** his mother **and** the wall

*For God's sake, did you know anything about Mabon son of Modron who was taken at three nights [old] **from between** his mother **and** the wall?*

Similarly, multiplex sources are indicated by compounds of PLITH, in source-marking contexts by O PLITH or YN PLITH (see below for YN as a source-marking element).

(300) Oed gvynnach y falueu a'e byssed no chanawon godrwyth **o blith** man grayan fynhawn fynhonus. [CO:491]

be-IMPERF-3SG whiter her hands and her fingers than sprouts trefoil **from-midst** place gravel spring flowing

*Her hands and her fingers were whiter than the sprouts of trefoil **from among** a gravelly place of a flowing spring.*

(301) Teyr ruet gurda: e gre {ueirch E, A} a'e kenueynt warthec a'e kenueynt uoch; en e caffo anyueyl den **em plyth** e anyueyllyeyt ef, ef a dele pedeyr keynnyauc. [LI:42]

three net nobleman: his stud and his herd cattle and his herd pigs; in PART get-PRES-SUBJ-3SG animal person **in midst** his animals his, he PART ought-PRES-3SG four penny

*The three nets of a nobleman: his stud and his cattle herd and his swine herd; when he gets a person's animal **from among** his animals, he is entitled to four pence.*

Subsets are marked by PARTH or TU, here compounded with O (and regularly extended by deictic elements as in O TU TRAW I–see section 3.1.1.11 for a discussion of the complexities of this group).

(302) O deruyd guelet gureyc yn deuot **o'r parth** hun **e**'r llven a gur **o'r tu arall**, neu en dyuot o wacty, neu adan un uantell, os e wadu a wnant, llv deg wraged a deugeynt ar e wreyc, a'r kymeynt o wyr ar e gur. [LI:52]

if happen-PRES-3SG see-VN woman PART come-VN **from the part** this **to** the grove and man **from the side other**, or PART come-VN from empty-house, or under one mantle, if it deny-VN PART do-PRES-3PL, oath ten women and two-twenty on the woman, and the same of men on the man

*If it happens that a woman is seen coming **from this part of** a grove and a man **from the other side**, or coming from an empty house, or under the same mantle, if they deny it [i.e. impropriety], [the responsibility for] the oath of fifty women [is] on the woman, and the same [number] of men on the man.*

A more specific indication of the relative positions of the trajector and landmark before motion may be indicated by compounding Y or O with a preposition providing that relationship, as with Y TAN ("from under", although this particular compound is nearly impossible to disinguish clearly in medieval orthography from A TAN, an extended form of simple TAN), and Y AM (from around). Similarly, Y AR may either indiate the starting relationship between trajector and landmark, or may accompany a focus on upward motion from the source.

(303) Kymryt agalen gleis a oruc Kei **y dan** y gesseil. [CO:790]
take-VN whetstone striped PART do-PRET-3SG Cei **from-under** his arm
*Cei took a striped whetstone **from under** his arm.*

(304) Ac ymauel o Gacamwri {gacmwri} yndi hitheu herwyd gwallt y phenn, a'e thynnu **y ar** Hygwyd y'r llawr [CO:1213]
and MUTUAL-grasp-VN of Cacamwri in-3SF her-EMPH by hair her head, and her pull-VN **from-on** Hygwydd to the ground
*And Cacamwri grabbed onto her by the hair of her head and pulled her **off of** Hygwydd to the floor*

Y AR may also be used when the starting relationship overlaps with some non-spatial relationshp typically marked by AR. For example, various relationships involved in the legal "surety" system (see section 3.6.1 for an understanding of this semantic complex) may be marked with AR and the physical removal of an item used as a pledge may use Y AR reflecting this non-spatial pre-existing context.

(305) Ny dele mach duen guestel **y ar** e kennogen ae ef en negesseu e argluyd neu en e negesseu ehun neu en wan, ac ne dele er haulur duen guestel e mach eg kyhyt a henne o espeyt. [LI:63]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG surety bear-VN pledge **from-on** the principal-debtor either he in errands his lord or in his errands his-own or PART sick

*A surety is not entitled to take a pledge **from** the principal debtor if he is on his lord's errands or on his own errands or [is] sick*

Similarly, WRTH, in addition to focusing on interactions between animate beings may indicate physical attachment, and so the removal of something from a landmark to which it was physically attached may be marked with WRTH (as a reduced form of Y WRTH–see section 2.3.2.2.1.1) to indicate not simply motion but severance and then motion.

(306) Achub a oruc ynteu parth ac yno, ac mal y deuth yno dispeilaw cledyf a wnaeth, a llad y twynpath **wrth** y dayar, ac ev diffryt uelly rac y tan. [CO:944]

rush-VN PART do-PRET-3SG he-EMPH part-with there, and as PART come-PRET-3SG there unsheathe-VN sword PART do-PRET-3SG and strike-VN the anthill **with** the ground, and them defend-VN thus before the fire

*He rushed to there and as he came there he unsheathed [his] sword and struck the anthill **from** the earth, and so saved them from the fire.*

When a source of motion also serves another role in the event, it may be marked according to that role *instead* of being marked as a source, with the source role supplied by other context in the sentence. So, for example, when the motion is for the purpose of avoidance, and the source of motion is also the stimulus or reason for that avoidance behavior, it may be marked as the latter function with RHAG without any implication that RHAG carries source-marking semantics independent of the context.

(307) ae ffo a wna y llu **ragof**? [BR:10:15]

INTERROG flee-VN PART do-PRES-3SG the army **before-1SG**

*Is the army fleeing **before me**?*

[Other context indicates that the motion is in all directions not just "from in front".]

Similarly, in several examples involving the verb CAFFAEL (to get, obtain), the notional source is instead marked as the location (using YN) of the "obtaining" action, while its movement subsequent to being obtained is not overtly marked in the preposition. (There is another speculative possibility. As one of the oldest strata of prepositions, YN would expect to form source-marking compounds with Y, but a compound of the form Y YN would presumably have become indistinguishable phonologically from simply YN, and these examples may represent traces of such a construction, but this seems an unnecessary explanation.)

(308) O kalan Mey hyt Aust; o cheyff ef anyueyl ar keueyllyorn **en** urun o'r rey henne, ef a dele gaffael pedeyr keynnyauc manac. [LI:42]

from calends May length August; if get-PRES-3SG he animal on wandering **in** the-one of the ones those, he PART ought-PRES-3SG get-VN four penny information

*From the calends of May until August, if he catches a wandering animal **in** one of those [aforementioned situations], he is entitled to get four pence [for] information.*

When describing spatial relations, some apparent compound prepositions based on body parts may simply have literal reference. Compare, for example, O PEN in the following examples–in the first, referring to the literal head as a source and in the second in the extended sense of "top".

(309) Nyt oes yn y byt a'e tynho **o**'e penn namyn Odgar mab Aed brenhin Iwerdon. [CO:643]

NEG be-IMPERF-3SG in the world REL it pull-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **from** his head except Odgar son Aed king Ireland

*There is nobody in the world who could pull it **from** his head except Odgar son of Aed king of Ireland.*

(310) Ef a dele enynnu e kanhvylleu en e llys, ac a tenno a'e danhed **o pen** e kanhvelleu euo byeuuyd. [LI:21]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG light-VN the candles in the court, and REL pull-PRES-SUBJ-3SG with his teeth **from head** the candles he own-PRES-3SG

*He ought [to] light the candles in the court, and what he can remove with his teeth **from the top of** the candles belongs [to] him.*

Similarly, the use of O LLAW to mark a source indicates a literal hand (where non-spatial use may indicate a sense of control or authority). Note that even though these expressions cannot be counted as true compound prepositions, they follow compounding principles, combining with O (the default source-marking prepositions in such compounds) rather than following the pattern for animate sources and using *Y GAN LLAW or * Y WRTH PEN or the like.

(311) Teyr ford y serheyr y urenhynes: vn ev o torry y navd; eyl ev o tarav dyrnavt arney; trydyd yv o grypdeyllav peth **o'y llav**. [LI:3]

three road PART insult-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS the queen: one be-PRES-3SG from break-VN her protection; second be-PRES-3SG from strike-VN blow on-3SF; third be-PRES-3SG from snatch-VN thing **from her hand**

*[In] three ways one may insult the queen: one is by breaking her protection; second is by striking a blow on her; third is by snatching something **from her hand**.*

3.1.4 Path or Extent

In the discussions of goal and source above, the assumed scenario has been one of a moving trajector where the initial position or final position are in focus as the landmark, but where the spatial manner of the motion–i.e. the path described by the moving trajector–is not. The following discussions concern examples where the specific nature of the path is expressed prepositionally in some way, or simply where the existence of a specific path is relevant.

3.1.4.1 Path of Motion

The least specific indication of the nature of a path may be provided by RHWNG, with a dual landmark which provides both the source and goal information, but no specification of the nature of the intermediate path.

(312) Twrch Trwyth a aeth yna **y rwng** Tawy **ac** Euyas. [CO:1166]
Twrch Trwyth PART go-PRET-3SG then **between** Tawy and Ewias
*Twrch Trwyth went then **between** Tawy and Ewias.*

A common variant on this use indicates the source location metonymically with a pronoun referring reflexively to the trajector (i.e. to his starting location).

(313) Ef a aeth **ryngtaw a** llys Heueyd Hen. [PPD:13:17]
he PART go-PRET-3SG **between-3SM** and court Hyfaidd Hen
*He went **between himself** and the court [i.e. from where he was to the court] of Hyfaidd Hen.*

The specific path may be provided implicitly by TRA CEFN, in a goal-marking sense, indicating that the trajector retraces a path of prior motion (with the original source being the current goal), or retraces the path of some other entity it is being substituted for.

(314) Dyuot **tra y gefyn** y nos honno hyt yn Arberth. [MFL:59:9]
come-VN **beyond-his-back** the night that length-in Arberth
*[He] came **back** that night to Arberth.*

More explicit information about intermediate portions of the path may be provided by HEB, or in one case HEB LLAW I (with a regional landmark, so LLAW is not literal here). The spatial sense emphasizes exclusion or non-intersection as well as proximity (it is the former sense that we will see extended to non-spatial uses), i.e. "going near and past but not through".

(315) A hi a glywei lef corn, ac yn ol llef y corn llyma hyd blin yn mynet **heibaw**, a chwn a chynydyon yn y ol. [MFM:84:14]
and she PART hear-IMPERF-3SG cry horn, and in-track cry the horn behold stag tired PART go **beside**, and dogs and hunters in-its-track
*And she heard a horn-call, and after the cry of the horn, behold a tired stag going **past**, and dogs and hunters behind it.*

(316) ar hyt y prifford a gerdei **heb law y**'r orssed. [PPD:9:11]
on length the chief-road REL travel-IMPERF-3SG **beside hand to** the mound
*along the main road that traveled **past** the mound.*

When the path is characterized as passing through the interior of a defined two-dimensional region, the commonest marker is TRWY (or TRWY PLITH, in one example

where the region is defined by a multiplex landmark).

(317) O deruyd e alltut o wreyc menet **true** wlat ac ena e maru, talet e'r nep byeyffo e tyr un ar bymthec en e maru tewarchen. [LI:52]

if happen-PRES-3SG to foreigner of woman go-VN **through** land and there PART die-VN pay-IMPER-3SG to the anyone own-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the land one on fifteen in the death turf

*If it happens to a foreigner of a woman [i.e. a foreign woman] [that she] goes **through** a land and dies there, let her pay to the one who owns the land sixteen [pence] as the "death-turf".*

(318) hyt ene uarchoccer eg gyrrua deneon a meyrch endy **truy eu plyth**. [LI:123]

until ride-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS in crowd people and horses in-3SF **through their midst**

*until [the horse] is ridden in a crowd of people and horses, in it [and] **through their midst**.*

Also found in much smaller numbers are TROS, AR TROS, and even less commonly AR HYD. In contrast to its use in creating goal-marking compounds, HYD here behaves as an abstract spatial noun essentially identical to its use as an independent noun.

(319) A-g6edy y kerdei **ar tra6s** yr ynys o-r mor p6y hyt yr emyl eithaf o-r ynys. [BM:180:16]

and after PART travel-IMPERF-3SG **on across** the island from the sea to length the edge farthest of the island

*And afterward they traveled **across** the island from the sea to the farthest edge of the island.*

(320) di-r -luhin maur. **ar-hit** i- luin uersus orientem [LD 207:8]

to the grove big **on length** the grove [begin Latin] facing east

*[the boundary goes] to the big grove, **along** the grove to the east*

TRWY is not only associated with defined regions, but also with passage through containers or through surrounding openings in objects (e.g. doorways) or through the interior of substances or solid objects.

(321) llyma grauanc uawr **drwy** fenestyr ar y ty, ac yn amauael a'r ebawl geir y uwng. [PPD:22:16]

behold claw big **through** window on the house, and PART MUTUAL-grasp-VN with/and the colt with its mane

*behold, a big claw [came] **through** the window of the house, and grabbed the colt by the mane.*

(322) A'e aruoll a oruc Kulhwch a'e odif ynteu mal y rybuchei ae wan **trwy** aual y lygat hyt pan aeth **trwy** y wegil allan. [CO:551]

and him take-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Culhwch and it throw-VN as desire-IMPERF-3SG and it thrust-VN **through** apple the eye length when go-PRET-3SG **through** the nape out

*And Culhwch took it [i.e. the spear] and threw it as he desired and thrust it **through** his eyeball until it went **through** the nape of his neck.*

When the medial landmark defining the path is an extended object or geographic feature (e.g. walls, borders, roads, rivers), the path may either cross it perpendicularly or follow it in parallel. Perpendicular features are most commonly marked with TROS. (YN TROS is also found in this sense with an implicit landmark, used adverbially).

(323) Yna y camawd hitheu **dros** yr hutlath [MFM:77:13]

then PART step-PRET-3SG she-EMPH **across** the magic-wand

*Then she stepped **across** the magic wand*

(324) hit dou ceuiou **ynn-traus** [LD 247:14]
length two joint-field **in across**
*[the boundary goes] along **across** the double joint-field*

The major exception to the use of TROS and its compounds with perpendicular landmarks are aquatic features, where TRWY is more common. This suggests that the most salient feature of a body of water is understood to be its nature as a defined region, and that this may tend to override its nature as a perpendicular linear barrier.

(325) Wynt a gylyssant **drwy** yr auon, ac a torryssant y bont. [BFL:40:21]
they PART retreat-PRET-3PL **through** the river and PART break-PRET-3PL the bridge
*They retreated **across** the river and broke the bridge.*

When the path is parallel to the extended landmark, the overwhelming choice of marker is a compound of HYD–most commonly AR HYD, but YN HYD is also well-represented. Very rarely, CY HYD is found, but any specific nuances accompanying this compound are hard to recover. In my data, the primary difference bewteen YN HYD and AR HYD is syntactic: the latter occurs virtually always with a pronominal landmark,while the former occurs with both nominal and pronominal landmarks. (This distribution pattern is based largely on data from a single source–the Llandav boundary descriptions–so it is unclear how well this holds as a general pattern.)

(326) ac **ar hyt** y pont y tebygei y vot yn-kerdet y-r llog. [BM:180:11]

and **on length** the bridge PART suppose-IMPERF-3SG him be-VN PART travel-VN to the ship

*And **along** the bridge he supposed himself to be walking to the ship.*

(327) bet blain nant dincat i -nant **n-i-hit** bet-pan discinn in-nant cilieni. [LD 154:26]

length source stream Dingad the stream **in its length** length when descend-PRES-3SG in stream Cilieni

*[the boundary goes] to the source of Dingad stream **along** the stream to where it descends into Cilieni stream*

(328) **ce-hit** i- nant. [LD 72:29]

with-length the stream

*[the boundary goes] **along** the stream*

TRWY is found in two examples with parallel landmarks when the landmark is a valley (valleys are also found with HYD compounds), suggesting that this type of feature may sometimes be understood as a type of enclosure (i.e. it may be that the "half-tube" shape of a valley makes it available for interpretation as an enclosed region rather than a line). There is also a single example of AR TROS in this context but while the overt landmark is parallel to the path of motion, there is also a salient perpendicular feature previously described with AR TROS, and this may be a purely analogical phrasing. There seems no basis for interpreting this as an established general use for AR TROS.

(329) ar-hit ir-nant **trui** ir-pant bet-i-blain. di-nant arall. [LD 241:12]

on-length the stream **through** the valley length its source to stream other

*[the boundary goes] along the stream **through** the valley to its source, to another stream*

(330) Ac yna guedy gorwed ohonaw ef ar traws yr auon, y byrwyt clwydeu arnaw ef, ac yd aeth y luoed ef **ar y draws** ef drwod. [BFL:41:3]

and then after lie-VN of-3SM he on-across the river PART throw-PRET-IMPERS hurdles on-3SM him and PART go-PRET-3SG his armies his **on-his-across** him through

*And then, after lying by him [i.e. after he lay] across the river [as a bridge], hurdles were thrown on him and his armies went over **across him**.*

In summary, TRWY indicates passage through a defined region, whether geographic, a container, or a surrounding opening; and bodies of water, whatever their shape, are understood as "defined regions". TROS, and its compounds, are strongly associated with crossing a landmark perpendicular to the path, but this may be generalized to passage through a geographic region. A linear extent defining a parallel path is indicated by a form of HYD compounded with the most general locational prepositions (AR and YN). However in actual practice these categories are not always clear-cut, and that is reflected in some overlap in the markers relative to the semantic categories in which I classified the examples.

A special group of examples with landmarks that are sloping topological features provide an interesting observation. When a path is described relative to a sloping region (e.g. a hillside), the preposition used suggests that the slope is understood as a linear feature corresponding to the vertical axis. That is, travel up or down the slope is understood as moving "along" it, while travel on an even contour is described as "crossing" the slope.

A path may also be defined as a circle relative to a landmark at the center, using YN CYLCH or AR RHOD.

(331) A meicheit Matholwch a oedynt ar lan y weilgi dydgueith, yn troi **yg kylch** eu moch. [BFL:39:15]

and swineherds Matholwch PART be-IMPERF-3PL on shore the sea day-time PART turn-VN **in circle** their pigs

*And Matholwch's swineherds were on the seashore one day, turning their pigs **in a circle** [or maybe: taking their pigs on a circuit].*

(332) Meglyt o Lenlleawc Wydel yg Kaletvwlch a'e ellwg **ar** y **rot**, a llad Diwrnach Wydel a'e niuer achlan. [CO:1050]

grasp-VN of Llenlleog Wyddel in Caledfwlch and it release-VN **on his circle**, and kill-VN Diwrnach Wyddel and his retinue entirely

*Llenlleog Wyddel grabbed at [the sword] Caledfwlch and swung it **around him**, and killed Diwrnach Wyddel and all his retinue.*

3.1.4.2 Extent in Space

In my analysis I distinguished between the notion of "path" as defined by the motion of a trajector, and "extent" describing a dimension of a physical entity. As with abstract paths, much of this language is taken from that of sources and goals. For physical extents, language indicating the endpoints is much more common than language describing the medial portion, because the nature of the medial portion can normally be assumed from the nature of the larger entity. (E.g. if one is describing a horse's leg "from the knee to the hoof", the nature of the medial portion is defined by the nature of a horse's leg.)

The landmark may specify both endpoints and be marked with RHWNG.

(333) Ac ar a welei dyn o'e ardwrn **y rwng** y venic a'e lewys, gwynnach oed no'r alaw, a breisgach oed no mein eskeir milwr. [BR:6:17]

and REL PART see-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG person of his wrist **between** his glove and his sleeve, whiter be-IMPERF-3SG than the lily, and thicker be-IMPERF-3SG than thin leg soldier

*And what a person could see of his wrist **between** his glove and his sleeve, was whiter than the lily and thicker than the small of a soldier's leg.*

An endpoint characterized as a source is most typically marked with O, more rarely with specific compounds such as non-literal O PEN.

(334) Pont a-welei o asc6rn moruil **o**-r llog hyt y tir. [BM:180:10]

bridge PART see-IMPERF-3SG of bone whale **from** the ship length the land

*A bridge he saw, of whale ivory, **from** the ship to the land.*

(335) Ac **o penn** y dwygoes a thal y deulin **y waeret** yn las. [BR:4:3]

and **from head** the two-leg and end the two-knee **to-down** PART green

*[description of a horse] And **from the top** of his legs and his kneecaps **downward** [was] green.*

IS LLAW and UCH LLAW (in the same example) indicate a literal hand as the endpoint, as well as the relative direction of the extent (down or up).

(336) Kynnedyf arall oed arnaw: pan uei uwyaf y glaw, dyrnued **uch y law** ac arall **is y law** yt uydei yn sych yr hynn a uei yn y law, rac meint y angerd; [CO:388]

property other be-IMPERF-3SG on-3SM: when be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG most the rain, hand-breadth **above his hand** and other **under his hand** PART be-PAST-3SG PART dry the this REL be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG in his hand, before amount his heat

*Another property is on him [i.e. he has]: when the rain is worst, [for] a hand-breadth **above his hand** and another **below his hand** what would be in his hand would be dry, because of the amount of his heat.*

Because extents focus on path and length concepts, it is not surprising that endpoints characterized as goals are marked with compounds of HYD, primarily in its simple form (a major spatial use for the simple form). Also common are HYD YN (occasionally with more specific nominal elements added) and HYD AR.

(337) ar uarch kanwelw, a'r ureich asseu y'r march yn purdu **hyt** y mynnwes y garn. [BR:16:21]

on horse white-pale, with the arm left to the horse PART pure-black **length** the breast the hoof

*on a pale-white horse, with the left foreleg pure black **to** the quick of the hoof.*

(338) Sef yw hynny, o Porford **hyt yg** Gwauan yg gwarthaf Arwystli. [BR:1:2]

thus be-PRES-3SG that, from Porfford **length-in** Gwafan in top Arwystli

*Thus that [i.e. Powys] is: from Porfford **as far as** Gwafan in the uplands of Arwystli.*

(339) E navd ev **hyt ar** e urenhynes. [LI:9]

his protection be-PRES-3SG **length-on/to** the queen

*His protection is [to take the person] **to** the queen [i.e. his protection applies over an extent of space terminating at the queen].*

Intermediary portions of an extent may be indicated with the same language used for paths (TROS, AR TROS, O HYD, also TROS GWYNEB in a context where the trajector is a multiplex set of individuals describing a spatial extent but also the scope of an event).

(340) Yn y lle y bei bwll, **dros** vynwgyl y troet yd aei y dyn gan gymysc dwfyr a thrwnc y gwarthec. [BR:2:14]

in the place PART be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG hole, **across** neck the foot PART go-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG the person with mixed water and urine the cattle

*Where there was a hole, a person would go **past** the ankle with mixed water and urine of the cattle.*

(341) Ac yna guedy gorwed ohonaw ef **ar traws** yr auon, y byrwyt clwydeu arnaw ef, ac yd aeth y luoed ef ar y draws ef drwod. [BFL:41:3]

and then after lie-VN of-3SM he **on-across** the river PART throw-PRET-IMPERS hurdles on-3SM him and PART go-PRET-3SG his armies his on-his-across him through

*And then, after lying by him [i.e. after he lay] **across** the river[as a bridge], hurdles were thrown on him and his armies went over across him.*

(342) tra geffit gan Uanawydan, ny phrynit gan gyfrwyd **dros wyneb** Henford, na choryf, na chyfrwy [MFL:52:26]

beyond get-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS with Manawyddan, NEG buy-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS with saddle-maker **across-face** Henfford, NEG pommel, NEG saddle

*while it could be gotten from Manawyddan, nobody would buy from a saddlemaker **throughout** Henffordd neither pommel nor saddle*

(343) O deruyd caffael march tros gae **o hyt** e uunugyl en llygru yt, nyt yaun e dale, namen dyuuyn llugyr, ony glenheyr. [LI:156]

if happen-PRES-3SG get-VN horse over gate **from length** his neck PART spoil-VN grain, NEG right him catch-VN, except compensate-VN damage, if-NEG clean-PRES-IMPERS

*If it happens that a horse is found [going] over a gate **for the length of** its neck [to] spoil grain, it isn't right to seize him, rather the damange [is] compensated, unless it is cleared.*

Alternatively, a medial portion and endpoint may be indicated with a vector marker (I GWAERED, I MYNYDD, ALLAN) where the endpoint is provided implicitly by the limits of the entity.

(344) Cwnsallt y varch o'r gorof vlaen idaw **y vynyd** yn syndal purgoch, ac o'r gorof **y waeret** yn syndal puruelyn. [BR:15:17]

"Cwnsallt" the horse from the hoof front to-3SM **to-mountain** PART sendal pure-red, and from the hoof **to-down** PART sendal pure-yellow

The horse's "cwnsallt" [was] pure red from the hoof of the foreleg **upward**, and from the hoof **downward**, pure yellow.

(345) Sef mal yd eystedyr en keureythyaul ... a'e wyrda o henne **allan** o pob tu ydau. [LI:73]

thus how PART sit-PRES-IMPERS PART legally ... with/and his noblemen from there out of each side to-3SM

This is how they sit according to law ... [the king] with his noblemen from there out [i.e. continuing outward] on each side of him.

3.1.4.3 Orientation in Space

Another spatial function that is described in the language of sources and goals is that of orientation–that is, the trajector is oriented such that a salient asymmetric feature (typically the front, for animate trajectors) defines a vector originating at the trajector and pointing to the landmark. While a vector is, by definition, a straight line, and so might be expected not to use medial path language, on rare occasions, this type of language may be used to define the direction of the vector.

Ordinarily, the trajector itself defines the origin of the orientation vector, so source-marking language is rare in this context. However a significant proportion of orientation expressions are in the context of vision, and in that context, source-marking language may be used to locate the viewer with respect to a particular location for the purpose of having visual access from that point. That is, it is the viewer whose orientation is being described, but relative to a specific point of view (in the literal sense)

as well as a specific visual target.

(346) Ac **o**-r mynyd h6nn6 avon a-welei yn kerdet ar tra6s y wlat yn kyrchu y mor. [BM:180:27]

and **from** the mountain that river PART see-IMPERF-3SG PART traveling on across the land PART seek-VN the sea

*And **from** that mountain he saw a river traveling across the land [and] seeking the sea.*

(347) ac **o ben** yr orssed edrych a wnaethant, ac ymwarandaw a'r cwn. [MFL:55:23]

and **from head** the mound look-VN PART do-PRET-3PL and MUTUAL-listen-VN with/and the dogs

*and **from the top of** the mount they looked and listened for the dogs.*

TROS is found describing the orientation of a linear trajector relative to a linear landmark, as might be expected from its path sense.

(348) E theythy yu tynnu karr en allt ac egvayret a duyn pvn **traus**, a bot en ebolyauc [LI:125]

her properties be-PRES-3SG pull-VN cart in height and in down and bear-VN burden **across**, and be-VN PART foal-ADJ

*Her [i.e. a mare's] properties are [to] draw a cart up and down, and [to] bear a **cross**-load, and [to] have foals*

There appears to be no distinction in use between vision orientation and purely spatial orientation expressions. When the orientation is characterized in terms of a goal, a wide range of markers are used, corresponding to their use in marking goals, with the most common one being AR.

(349) Sef mal yd eystedyr en keureythyaul, eysted e brenhyn, neu e gur a uo en y le, a'e keuen **ar** er heul neu **ar** er hyn, rac aulonedu o'r hyn o'y vynep; [LI:73]

thus PART sit-PRES-IMPERS PART legally, sit-VN the king, or the man REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG in his place, with/and his back **on/to** the sun or **on/to** the weather, before disturb-VN of the weather of his face

*This is how one sits legally: the king sits–or the man who is in his place–with his back **to** the sun or **to** the weather, against the spoiling by the weather of his face.*

(350) Y gyt ac yd aethant yn y guely, ymchwelut e weneb **at** yr erchwyn a oruc ef, a'y geuyn **attei** hitheu. [PPD:4:27]

together with PART go-PRET-3PL in the bed, turn-VN his face **to** the wall PART do-PRET-3SG, and his back **to-3SF** her-EMPH

*Simultaneously with them going into the bed, he turned his face **to** the wall and his back **to her**.*

Examples are not given of the entire range of prepositions found in this context, however there are a few of particular interest. TRA CEFN and YN OL appear with a reflexive sense, when the trajector rotates to a position aligning its front orientation with its former back orientation. YN OL also occurs in a non-reflexive sense, indicating that the trajector's back orientation is to the landmark.

(351) Ac ymchoelut penn y uarch **drachefyn** tu a'e vydin.[BR:8:13]

and return head his horse **beyond-back** side-with his army

*And [he] turned his horse's head **back** towards his army.*

(352) Troi **yn y hol** a oruc ef, a gadel y uarch drythyll llamsachus y gerdet. [PPD:12:1]

turn-VN **in her track** PART do-PRET-3SG he, and allow-VN to-his horse spirited prancing his pace

*He turned **after her**, and allowed his prancing, spirited horse his pace.*

(353) wynt a welynt teir llong ar dec, yn dyuot o deheu Iwerdon, ac yn kyrchu parth ac attunt, a cherdet rugyl ebrwyd ganthunt, y gwynt **yn eu hol**, ac yn nessau yn ebrwyd attunt. [BFL:29:15]

they PART see-IMPERF-3PL three ship on ten, PART come-VN from south Ireland, and PART make-for-VN part-with-to-3PL and pace free fast with-3PL, the wind **in their track**, and PART near-VN PART fast to-3PL

*they saw three ships and ten, coming from the south of Ireland and making towards them, and a free, fast pace was with them [i.e. they had ...], the wind **behind them**, and [they] neared quickly towards them.*

We have a literal reference to the face in vision examples of YN GWYNEB, while a non-vision example of the formula GWYNEB YN GWYNEB AC indicates the mutual orientation of trajector and landmark. (See section 2.3.2.6.4 for a discussion of the mutual sense of this general construction.)

(354) Ac ar penn yr helym delw llewpart melynrud, a deu vaen rudgochyon yn y penn, mal yd oed aruthur y vilwr, yr kadarnet vei y gallon, edrych **yn wyneb** y llewpart anghwaethach **yn wyneb** y milwr. [BR:15:26]

and on head the helmet image leopard yellow-red, with/and two stone red-red in the head, like PART be-IMPERF-3SG terrible to soldier, for/despite strong be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG his heart, look-VN **in face** the leopard not-to-mention **in face** the soldier

*And on top of the helmet, the image of a yellow-red leopard, with two red stones on the head, so that it was terrible for a soldier, though his heart be strong, to look **on the face of** the leopard, not to mention **on the face of** the soldier.*

(355) Kadeir a dodet y danaw, **vyneb yn vyneb ac** ef. [CO:564]

chair PART place-PRET-IMPERS under-3SM, **face in face with** him

*A chair was placed under him, **face to face with** him.*

The use of YN ERBYN to define an orientation appears to be drawn, not from a primarily spatial sense (which is weak for YN ERBYN in any case) but rather through its

use to mark the patient of opposition, hence indicating orientation relative to (i.e. in opposition to) a force gradient (wind, or an elevated slope).

(356) Pan elwyf **yn erbyn** gwynt berwi a wnant; atuyd gal penn a ffendro arnaf ar ulaen pob lloer. [CO:554]

when go-PRES-SUBJ-1SG **in-against** wind boil-VN PART do-PRES-3PL; happen-PRES-3SG ache head and giddiness on-1SG on front each moon

*When I would go **against** the wind, they [i.e. my eyes] will water, a headache and giddiness will happen to me at the start of each [new] moon.*

3.2 Temporal Functions

Existing studies of the metaphoric construal of time (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Moore 2000) show that the most extensive and pervasive metaphoric source domain used is that of spatial location and motion. An experiencer is co-located with the present, with future events in front of them and past events behind them (the TIME ORIENTATION METAPHOR$_P$). Events in time may be fixed locations in this landscape, through which an observer moves (the MOVING OBSERVER METAPHOR$_P$), or the observer may be understood as stationary with future events moving towards and past the observer (the MOVING TIME METAPHOR$_P$). As we will see in the following section, the prepositional treatment of time in Medieval Welsh draws heavily on the MOVING OBSERVER METAPHOR$_P$, with events in time described in the language of static location in a geographic landscape, with earlier events treated as sources of motion and later events as goals. In this context, we see hints of a "go-future" (Fleischman 1982a, 1982b, Langacker 1991b) that develops more fully in Modern Welsh. The MOVING TIME METAPHOR$_P$ for

the most part does not appear in the form described for English, however although events are not described as "moving" in relation to the observer, they are treated as having a front-back orientation that corresponds to this scenario: EVENTS FACE THE EXPERIENCER, i.e. the "front" of an extent of time is the earlier portion and the later portion of an event is the "back". An earlier event may be described as being "in front of" a later event. (An apparent exception to this are several constructions using PEN (head) to identify the later end of a landmark-extent, but see section 3.2.2.4 for an explanation.)

Within this context, prepositional expressions of time situate some trajector event or time-point relative to a landmark event or time-point. (Reference to an event, activity, etc. for either of these roles may be understood as standing metonymically for the time in which they occur.) The trajector may be conceived of as a unitary moment or as an extent of time with internal structure (beginning, end, duration). The landmark may be similarly understood, or may involve multiple events or time-points.

The trajector may be identified as coincident with the landmark, as approximately coincident, as occurring prior to or subsequent to the landmark or, if the landmark is an extent of time, may have any of these relationships to some particular aspect of the extent.

3.2.1 Point Trajector and Point Landmark

In some of the examples covered here, the landmark event could be understood either as a unitary point in time or as an event occurring over a time-span, however the

possible internal structure of the landmark is not referenced.

3.2.1.1 Coincidence and Approximate Coincidence of Timepoints

The four least marked prepositions of static location, Y CYD (AC), GAN, AR, and YN, are used temporally to indicate the coincidence of a point trajector and a point landmark. Y CYD (AC) and GAN imply a scenario where both are discrete objects (i.e. CO-OCCURRENCE OF EVENTS IS CO-LOCATION OF OBJECTS an entailment of TIME IS A LANDSCAPE IN WHICH EVENTS ARE LOCATED$_L$), while AR characterizes the landmark timepoint as an underlying surface and YN characterizes it as a defined region in which the trajector timepoint is located, i.e. EVENTS ARE A LANDSCAPE ON WHICH OTHER EVETNS ARE LOCATED.

In narrative, AR and YN occur primarily in combination with the deictic pronoun HYNNY "that" as the landmark, understood in a narrative context to mean "the moment at which the last-mentioned event is accomplished". These two constructions (YN HYNNY, AR HYNNY) function to establish or emphasize the sequential rather than simultaneous nature of two described events. Although this sequencing function can imply a sense of "after that", the sequencing appears to be a pragmatic reading, rather than being inherent in the expression. This is best seen in the use of AR HYNNY in combination with an interjection expressing the immediacy or suddenness of the trajector event (NACHAF, LLYMA "behold!").

(357) Ac **ar** hynny nachaf ueird yn dyuot y datkanv kerd y Arthur. [BR:20:13]
and **on** that behold bards PART come-VN to recite-VN song to Arthur
*And **at** that, behold, bards came to recite a song to Arthur.*

YN HYNNY carries no such associations beyond the aforementioned sequencing function.

(358) Ac **yn** hynny, ymgynullaw y gyt o honunt, a duunaw ar y lad ef a'y gedymdeith. [MFL:53:4]
and **in** that, MUTUAL-gather-VN together of-3PL, and agree-VN on him kill-VN and his companion
*And **at** that, they gathered together and agreed to kill him and his companion.*

AR used with an explicit landmark, on the other hand, indicates coincidence with that event. (YN occurs alone only when the explicit landmark is an extent rather than a point in time.)

(359) Ac ef a debygei **ar** yr eil neit neu **ar** y trydyd y gordiwedei. [PPD:12:3]
and he PART suppose-IMPERF-3SG **on** the second leap or **on** the third PART overtake-IMPERF-3SG
*And he supposed [that] **on** the second leap or **on** the third he would overtake [her].*

GAN and Y CYD (AC) typically occur with a specific, explicit event as the landmark, with which the trajector co-occurs. Of the two, Y CYD (AC) creates a relatively more equal focus on the two events (often with an implication of some level of causation–see section 3.4.1) while GAN tends to background the landmark.

(360) Drem mab Dremidyd, a welei o Gelli Wic yGherniw hyt ym Penn Blathaon ym Predein pan drychauei y gwydbedin y bore **gan** yr heul. [CO:261]

Drem son Dremidydd, PART see-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG from Celliwig in Cornwall length-in Pen Blathaon in Britain when rise-IMPERF-3SG the fly the morning **with** the sun

*Drem son of Dremidydd: he could see from Celliwig in Cornwall to Pen Blathaon in Britain when a fly rose in the morning **with** the sun.*

(361) Ac **y gyt ac** y doeth i'r ryt, marchawc a gyuodes y uynyd, ac a dywot wal hynn; "A wyrda," heb ef, "ymwerendewch yn da. [PPD:5:11]

and **together with** PART come-PRET-3SG to the ford, knight PART rise-PRET-3SG to-mountain, and say-PRET-3SG like this, o noblemen, say-PRET-3SG he, MUTUAL-hear-IMPER-2PL PART good

*And **with** his coming to the ford, a knight rose up and spoke like this, "O noblemen," said he, "listen well."*

Indictations of approximate, rather than precise, coincidence of time are rare. In one case AM is used, deriving from its use to indicate location surrounding a landmark, i.e. defining a region in the near vicinity of the landmark. In the other case, TU AC is used, extended from its use to indicate a general direction or region defined by a vector.

(362) Ac ual y byd uelly yn wiscedic o arueu, val **am** y tryded wylua o'r nos, nachaf y clyw llawer o didaneu odidawc ac amryuaelyon gerdeu a hun yn y gymell ynteu y gyscu. [LL:142]

and as PART be-PRES-3SG thus PART dressed of arms, like **about** the third watch of the night, behold PART hear-PRES-3SG much of amusement rare and various songs and sleep PART him compel-VN him-EMPH to sleep-VN

*and as he was thus dressed in armor, like **around** the third watch of the night, behold, he heard much rare amusement and various songs, and sleepiness compelled him to sleep.*

3.2.1.2 Earlier Trajector Timepoint

Occurrence of a trajector time-point earlier than a landmark can be indicated with CYN, one of the few prepositions with primarily temporal uses.

(363) O deruyd rody moruen y vr ac na ouenher e chowyll **kyn** e chyuody e ar e guely trannoeth, ny dele ef attep o henne allan. [LI:53]

if happen-PRES-3SG give-VN maiden to man and NEG ask-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS her morning-gift **before** her rise-VN from-on the bed beyond-night, NEG ought-PRES-3SG he answer-VN from that out

*If it happens [that] a maiden is given to a man and her morning-gift is not asked for **before** she rises from the bed the next day, he is not required [to] answer [for it] from then on.*

The origins of CYN in a comparative adjective can be seen in parallel constructions using CYN NOC "earlier than". When the landmark is identified by the deictic pronoun HYNNY, the comparative construction appears to be preferred.

(364) Sef ffuruf y gelwit y lle hwnnw gwedy hynny Dinas Emreis, a **chyn no** hynny Dinas Ffaraon Dande. [LL:134]

This-is form PART call-PRET-IMPERS the place that after that Dinas Emrys, and **before/earlier than** that Dinas Ffaraon Dandde

*This is how that place was called after that: Dinas Emrys; and **before** that, Dinas Ffaraon Dandde.*

Occurrence of the trajector earlier than the landmark can also be expressed with a spatial metaphor, where the early "side" of an event is identified as the event's "front" using BLAEN, using the compounds YN BLAEN and O BLAEN. The majority have no explicit landmark other than BLAEN, creating a sense of "at the beginning, first" relative

to an implicit landmark. (Spatial examples of the same compounds typically have overt landmarks.)

(365) ac euelly tegu y Duu **en e blaen** ac e'r allaur honno ac e'r kreyryeu da esyd arney ac y uedyd y mab, [LI:100]

and thus swear-VN to God **in the front** and to the altar that and to the relics good be-PRES-REL-3SG on-3SF and to baptism the boy

*And so [she] swears to God **first** and to that altar and to the good relics [that] are on it and to the boy's baptism*

(366) Os o uewyt e guahanant tryccet hy a'r eydy hyt em pen e nau nyeu a'r nau nos en e ty, e vybot ae kyureythyaul eu guahan, ac os yaun eu guahan aet e da **o**'r **blaen**, ac ar ol e keynnyauc dywethaf aet ehun. [LI:45]

if of life PART separate-PRES-3PL dwell-IMPER-3SG she and the hers length in head the nine days and the nine night in the house, to know-VN if legal their separation, and if right their separation go-IMPER-3SG her goods **of** the **front**, and on track the penny last go-IMPER-3SG her-self

*If while living they separate, let her remain with her goods until the end of the nine days and nine nights in the house, to discover whether their separation is legal, and if their separation is appropriate, let her goods go **before** [i.e. first] and after the last penny let her go herself.*

In one example where an explicit landmark is provided, the expression is clearly ambiguous between a temporal and spatial reading. In fact, the ambiguity points out that the spatial motivation for EARLIER IS FRONT need not be a metaphoric mapping of front/back onto the spatial projection of an event, but may be a pragmatic interpretation of two entities moving through space in a sequenced fashion with their relative positions standing metonymically for their sequential interaction with some fixed entity.

(367) Sef a wnaeth Efnyssyen dyuot **ymlaen** llu Ynys y Kedyrn ymywn, ac edrych golygon orwyllt antrugarawc ar hyt y ty. [BFL:42:14]

thus PART do-PRET-3SG Efnissien come-VN **in-front** army island the strong within and look-VN looks fierce unmerciful on length the house

*This is what Efnissien did: [he] came inside **before** the army of the Island of the Mighty and looked fierce unmerciful looks along the house.*

The trajector and landmark are moving along the same path, with the trajector located spatially in front of the landmark, and therefore participating in a specific fixed-location event at an earlier time than the landmark.

3.2.1.3 Later Trajector Timepoint

As in the preceding section, the most common, least marked, and most extendable option for identifying a trajector time-point as occurring later than the landmark uses a preposition (GWEDY) whose basic meaning is temporal rather than spatial. The most basic use indicates the sequence of two events (which may serve a purely narrative purpose).

(368) "Gadwn ef," heb y Kei, "y yssu y wala o'r kic, a **gwedy** hynny kyscu a wna." [CO:968]

leave-IMPER-1PL him, say-PRET-3SG Cei, to eat-VN his fill of the meat, and **after** that sleep PART do-PRES-3SG

*"Allow him", said Cei, "to eat his fill of the meat, and **after** that he will sleep."*

This sequencing function may also allow or even imply a sense of causation (see section 3.4.1).

(369) A'r gweith hwnnw a lwydwys racdunt, hyt na phrynit taryan yn yr holl dref, onyt **guedy** na cheffit ganthunt wy. [MFL:53:20]

and the work that PART proceed-PRET-3SG before-3PL length NEG buy-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS shield in the all town except **after** NEG get-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS with-3PL them

*And that work proceeded forth until there would not be bought a shield in the entire town except **after** it could not be gotten from them.*

The sequencing function of GWEDY also motivates its grammaticalization as a perfective marker–a function that will eventually largely replace inflectional perfective forms.

(370) Gwled darparedic oed udunt erbyn eu dyuot yn Arberth, a Riannon a Chicua **wedy** y harlwyaw. [MFL:50:12]

feast prepared be-IMPERF-3SG to-3PL against their come-VN in Arberth, and Rhiannon and Cigfa **after** it prepare-VN

*A feast was prepared for them at their coming to Arberth, **after** Rhiannon and Cigfa preparing it [i.e. R. and C. having prepared it].*

These perfective and causative senses motivate the use of GWEDY followed by a verb phrase to express a previous event resulting in a current state, similarly to the adjectival use of past participles in English.

(371) A pheis o bali melyn am y marchawc, **wedy ry wniw** ac adaued glas. [BR:4:4]

and tunic of brocade yellow about the knight, **after PART sew-VN** with threads green

*And a tunic of yellow brocade about the knight, **sewn** [lit., after sewing] with green threads.*

Less common, and frequently more marked, expressions of later occurrence derive

from spatial metaphors for time. Of these, the most common (and least marked) is YN OL (in [the] track [of], [spatially] following). As discussed in the "earlier" section above, while this language creates an image of temporal events having a "front" and "back" and "facing" the past, a more direct pragmatic motivation comes from the image of a trajector entity tracing the same path as a landmark entity and located behind it, and therefore encountering other entities and events along the path at a later time than the landmark entity. In contrast to the example of YN BLAEN discussed above, the examples of YN OL are much more clearly temporal in reference, with explicit landmark events of a temporal nature.

(372) A hi a glywei lef corn, ac **yn ol** llef y corn llyma hyd blin yn mynet heibaw, a chwn a chynydyon yn y ol. [MFM:84:14]

and she PART hear-IMPERF-3SG cry horn, and **in-track** cry the horn behold stag tired PART go beside, and dogs and hunters in-its-track

*And she heard a horn-call, and **after** the cry of the horn, behold a tired stag going past, and dogs and hunters behind it.*

The purely temporal nature of this example is emphasized by the understanding that the stag would be located spatially in *front* of the person bearing the hunting horn. Other examples could, in context, be either spatial or temporal, and only an independent understanding of the scenario could distinguish them–or, in the following case, the knowledge that the trajector cannot both sit behind *and* rise in front of the landmark, and therefore one, or more likely both, of the references must be temporal.

(373) Sef achavs nas dele e gan er escop, vrth y uot en peryglavr e'r brenhyn a chyuody **racdav** ac eysted **en e ol** a dale e lewys tra ymolcho; [LI:11]

thus cause NEG-it ought-PRES-3SG from-with the bishop, with him be-VN PART priest to the king and rise-VN **before-3SM** and sit-VN **in his track** and hold-VN his sleeves beyond wash-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

*This is the reason he isn't entitled [to] it [i.e. the fee] from the bishop: because he is priest to the king and rises **before him** and sits **after him** and holds his sleeves while he washes.*

In parallel, there is a single example of AR OL in the same temporal sense. (AR OL is also considerably less common than YN OL in spatial senses, and in my examples carries a specific sense of "hostile pursuit".) In the modern language, AR OL has largely taken over this function.

(374) Os o uewyt e guahanant tryccet hy a'r eydy hyt em pen e nau nyeu a'r nau nos en e ty, e vybot ae kyureythyaul eu guahan, ac os yaun eu guahan aet e da o'r blaen, ac **ar ol** e keynnyauc dywethaf aet ehun. [LI:45]

if of life PART separate-PRES-3PL dwell-IMPER-3SG she and the hers length in head the nine days and the nine night in the house, to know-VN if legal their separation, and if right their separation go-IMPER-3SG her goods of the front, and **on track** the penny last go-IMPER-3SG her-self

*If while living they separate, let her remain with her goods until the end of the nine days and nine nights in the house, to discover whether their separation is legal, and if their separation is appropriate, let her goods go before [i.e. first] and **after** the last penny let her go herself.*

Two constructions use spatial language meaning "front" to provide a sense of later occurrence, but here the implicit (and unexpressed) landmark should be understood as the experiencer of the events. That is, the later events are "in front" of the experiencer, not in front of a reference time-point. Both expressions, RHAG GWYNEB and RHAG LLAW,

are used to indicate a time-point next in sequence later than the trajector time-point. (See sections 2.3.2.3.1.1-2 for the shift in meaning from "face" and "hand" to "front".) The opposing front/back orientations of the experiencer and event create this potential for ambiguity, however this is generally resolved in favor of an experiencer's point of view.

(375) Hymp, iiii.k' hyt kalan gayaf **rac vynep** guedy hympyer; [LI:138]
graft, 4 penny length calends winter **before face** after graft-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS
*A [tree] graft [is worth] four pence until the winter calends **ahead** [i.e. next] after it is grafted.*

(376) ac o vyl Yeuan allan hyt kalan gayaf **rac llau** [LI:136]
and from feast John out length calends winter **before hand**
*And from the feast of [Saint] John onwards until the calends of winter **beforehand** [i.e. next]*

While its function as a temporal preposition is marginal, this is also the place to discuss the fixed construction YN Y LLE (lit. "in the place", but with the sense "immediately"). This could be understood as implying either coincidence with the landmark or very immediate sequencing after it. In the handful of examples of this expression, we can see its development from an expression ambiguous between the spatial location of an event and the metonymic reference to the time of its occurrence, to one explicitly identifying a landmark "temporal location" with which the trajector is coincident, to an expression with no overt temporal landmark but simply the sense of urgent occurrence.

(377) Ac **yn y lle** y guelas delysc a morwyal, hudaw llong a wnaeth. [MFM:79:13]

and **in-the-place** PART see-PRET-3SG dulce and sea-girdle, enchant-VN ship PART do-PRET-3SG

*And **in the place** [or: at that time] he saw dulce and sea-girdle, he enchanted a ship.*

(378) Ac **yn y lle** gwedy eu discynnu, anuon kennadeu a orugant y venegi y wyrda Ffreinc ystyr y neges y dothoed o'e cheissaw. [LL:24]

and **in the place** after their descend-VN, send-VN messengers PART do-PRET-3PL to tell-VN to nobles France meaning the errand PART come-PLUP-3SG to it seek-VN

*And at the time [or: **immediately**] after they disembarked, they sent messengers to tell the French nobles the meaning of the errand he had come to seek.*

(379) Ac **yn y lle** paratoi llogeu ac eu llanw o varchogyon aruawc a chychwyn parth a Freinc. [LL:22]

and **in the place** prepare-VN ships and them fill-VN of knights armed and set-out-VN part-with France

*And **immediately** [they] prepared ships and filled them with armed knights and set out towards France.*

3.2.1.4 Occurrence Relative to Multiplex Landmark Timepoints

The occurrence of a trajector event within a time-frame defined by a multiplex set of landmark events is drawn directly from the parallel spatial scenario using YN MYSG. In all the available examples, the landmark is identified by the pronoun HYNNY "these", referring to events detailed earlier in the text.

(380) Ac **ymysc** hynny, ef a aeth at Caswallawn hyt yn Rytychen, y hebrwng y wrogaeth idaw. [MFL:51:11]

and **in-mixture** those, he PART go-PRET-3SG to Caswallon length-in Rhydychen to bring-VN his homage to-3SM

*And **among** those [events], he went to Rhydychen, to Caswallon to bring his homage to him.*

3.2.2 Point Trajector and Extent Landmark

Although a landmark event extending over an expanse of time may be treated as a unitary point with respect to a trajector event occurring entirely outside that extent, the internal structure of the extent may also be referenced. The trajector may simply be indicated as occurring within the extent of the landmark, or it may be located with respect to the early, middle or late portions of the landmark. The early end-point or subset of the landmark may be labelled explicitly with specifically temporal language (DECHRAU "beginning"), or with transferred spatial language (BRON "breast, front", BLAEN "point, front") or may be identified implicitly (ER). Similarly, the later end-point of the landmark may be identified with temporal language (DIWEDD "end") or with transferred spatial language (PEN "head", but here "end, extremity") or by implicit reference (TROS "over, beyond"). The mid-point of the landmark may be identified as HANNER (half) or PERFEDD (middle). In addition to subsets of the landmark, temporal relations in this group may involve a temporal point of view separate from trajector and landmark that derives from the narrative context.

3.2.2.1 Occurrence Within the Landmark

There are a variety of prepositions used to locate a point trajector within the duration of a landmark. Not surprisingly, by far the commonest choice is YN, characterizing the landmark as a bounded region in space.

(381) Puybynnac a losco godeythyeu en amser arall namen **em** Maurth, talet y weythret ehun. [LI:119]

whoever PART burn-PRES-SUBJ-3SG moor in time other except **in** March, pay-IMPER-3SG the deed himself

*Whoever burns moors in another time than **in** March, let him pay [for] the deed himself.*

The second most common option, TRA, does not derive directly from the spatial sense of this word "beyond", rather they both derive from the sense "over" where the spatial use transforms the path reading into an end-point reading, while the temporal use picks out the path as defining a bounded region. Half of the examples with TRA simply locate the trajector within the landmark extent.

(382) Ny dely keuody rac nep **tra** uo en poby. [LI:38]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG rise-VN before anyone **beyond** be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG PART bake-VN

*He is not obliged to rise before anyone [i.e. in anyone's presence] **while** he is baking.*

The other half have a strong pragmatic implication that the landmark event either enables or causes the trajector event (see section 3.4.1).

(383) Y wled honno a dreulwyt ac ny ommedwyt neb **tra** barhaawd. [PPD:19:2]

the feast that PART spend-PRET-IMPERS and NEG refuse-PRET-IMPERS anyone **beyond** continue-PRET-3SG

*That feast was spent, and nobody was refused **while** it continued.*

Two examples use TAN to locate a trajector event during a landmark event. One might expect that such a use would involve an implication that the nature of the landmark event in some way controls the nature of the trajector, however this is not clearly the case, and it may instead derive from the rarer spatial use of TAN with non-specific co-locational senses (see section 2.3.1.3.4).

(384) Bryssyaw a orugant parth a'r mwc, a dynessau parth ac yno **dan** ymardisgwyl o bell, yny uyd Dillus Uarruawc yn deiuaw baed coet. [CO:958]

rush-VN PART do-PRET-3PL part-with the smoke, and near-VN part-with there **under** MUTUAL-watch-VN from far, until be-PRES-3SG Dillus Farfog PART singe-VN boar wood

*They rushed toward the smoke, and came near to there **while** watching from afar as Dillus Farfog was singeing a wild boar.*

WRTH is the only relatively non-specific co-locational preposition that is not used to indicate the co-occurrence of two events considered as points, however it does occur when the trajector occurs within an extent-landmark. The examples are too few to establish any strong pattern of specific use, but there is at least some sense of enablement of the trajector event by the landmark. Compare the use of WRTH with event landmarks (section 3.3.2.2.6-7).

(385) Ac **wrth** rodyaw y wlat ny welsynt eiryoet wlat gyuanhedach no hi, na heldir well, nac amlach y mel na'y physcawt no hi. [MFL:51:7]

and **with** walk-VN the land NEG see-PLUP-3PL ever land more-inhabited than she, NEG hunting-land better, NEG more-plentiful her honey NEG her fish than she

*And **while** wandering the land, they had never seen a land better inhabited than it, nor a better hunting ground, nor more plentiful in honey and fish than it.*

3.2.2.2 Occurrence Relative to the Early End of the Landmark

In general, constructions locating the trajector relative to the beginning, middle, or end of the landmark time-extent are compounds of a simple preposition that can indicate static location (e.g. AR, YN, AM) and one of the subset identifiers mentioned in section 3.2.2. The entire group of examples (in this and the following two sections) is small, and meaningful distinctions between the various constructions are difficult to make. The occurrence of the trajector during or at the early end of the landmark extent may be indicated by AR DECHRAU, AR BLAEN, and YN BRON.

(386) Guedy daruot bwyta, **ar** dechreu kyuedach ymdidan a wnaethon. [PPD:25:25]

after happen-VN eat-VN, **on** begin-VN party, converse-VN PART do-PRET-3PL

*After the meal ended, **at** the beginning of the party, they conversed.*

(387) Pan elwyf yn erbyn gwynt berwi a wnant; atuyd gal penn a ffendro arnaf **ar ulaen** pob lloer. [CO:554]

when go-PRES-SUBJ-1SG in-against wind boil-VN PART do-PRES-3PL; happen-PRES 3SG ache head and giddiness on-1SG **on front** each moon

*When I would go against the wind, they [i.e. my eyes] will water, a headache and giddiness will happen to me **at the start of** each [new] moon.*

(388) A'r bore **ym bronn** y dyd drannoeth yd ymordiwedawd rei o'r gwyr ac ef. [CO:1119]

and the morning **in breast** the day beyond-night PART MUTUAL-overtake-PRET-3SG some of the men with/and him

*And [in] the morning, **at the beginning of** the day on the morrow, some of the men overtook him.*

With no direct reference to the internal structure of the landmark, the metaphoric understanding of the experiencer as moving towards the landmark, and therefore encountering the early end of the landmark first, motivates the use of the goal-marking PARTH AC in this meaning as well.

(389) **Parth a**'r dyd Riannon a deffroes, ac a dywot, "A wraged," heb hi, "mae y mab?" [PPD:20:23]

part-with the day Rhiannon PART rise-PRET-3SG, and PART say-PRET-3SG, o women, say-PRET-3SG she, be-PRES-3SG the boy

***Toward** the day, Rhiannon arose and said, "O women," said she, "[where] is the boy?"*

The early end of the landmark is also referenced with the use of ER to situate the trajector between that time-point and a contextually understood reference point of view (althouth this reference point may sometimes be specified with a separate expression indicating the later end of the landmark). Although ER no longer has any spatial sense in Medieval Welsh, it derives from a word with a sense of "in front", and so operates in parallel with the above examples in using the metaphor EARLY IS FRONT.

(390) O deruyd prynu buuch kyulo, a cholly e kyulodaut, a mynnv ohanav y holy, reyt yu ydau rody llv e bugeyl a llw y wreyc a'e godroho nat **yr** pan doeth attav ef e kollet [LI:127]

if happen-PRES-3SG buy-VN cow with-calf, and lose-VN her with-calf-ness and wish-VN of-3SM her claim-VN necessary be-PRES-3SG to-3SM rive-VN oath the herdsman and oath the woman REL her milk-PRES-SUBJ-3SG NEG **for** when come-PRET-3SG to-3SM him PART lose-PRET-3SG

*If it happens that a pregnant cow is bought, and she loses her pregnancy and he wishes to make a claim, it is necessary for him to give the herdsman's oath and the oath [of] the woman who milks her [that] not **since** she came to him has she lost [her properties].*

3.2.2.3 Occurrence Relative to the Midpoint of the Landmark

The occurrence of a trajector event at the mid-point of a landmark extent may be marked by AM HANNER or AR PERFEDD. (See section 2.3.2.3.3.6 for the motivations behind the structure of these compounds.)

(391) A phan yttoedynt **am hanner** y gware, llyma [BR:13:2]

and when be-IMPERF-3PL **about half** the game, behold

*And when they were **around the middle of** the game, behold, [an event happens]*

(392) A phan uo ef **ar perued** y digrifwch a'y gyuedach, dyret titheu dyhun y mywn [PPD:15:2]

and when be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG he **on middle** the entertainment and the party, come-IMPER-2SG you-SG-EMPH yourself-SG inside

*And when he is **in the middle** of the entertainment and the party, you yourself come in*

The trajector may also be specified as occurring before or after the midpoint of the landmark, using the most basic "earlier" and "later" terms, CYN and GWEDY, in combination with HANNER.

(393) O dywedant eu bot eg gwlat arall, neu uot llanu a threy yregthunt ac uy, oet petheunos o'r dyd hunnu, os **kyn hanner** dyd uyd; os **guedy hanner** dyd, petheunos o trannoeth. [LI:76]

if say-PRES-3PL they be-VN in land other, or be-VN flow and ebb between-3PL and them, time fortnight from the day that, if **before half** day be-PRES-3SG; if **after half** day, fortnight from beyond-night.

*If they$_1$ say that they$_2$ are in another land, or there is ebb and flow between them$_1$ and them$_2$, the appointment will be a fortnight from that day, if it is **before mid** day; if is is **after mid** day, a fortnight from the next day.*

3.2.2.4 Occurrence Relative to the Late End of the Landmark

Location coincident with, or immediately following the later end of a landmark extent may be identified with the phrasal prepositions AR DIWEDD or YN DIWEDD, combining the co-occurrence sense of the prepositions seen above with DIWEDD "end".

(394) A phan yttoedynt **ar diwed** y gware hwnnw, nachaf [BR:17:16]

and when be-IMPERF-3PL **on end** the game that, behold

*And when they were **at the end of** that game, behold, [an event happens]*

(395) Ac **yn niwed** hynny, y kychwynnwys Matholwch, a Branuen y gyt ac ef, parth ac Iwerdon. [BFL:37:5]

and **in end** that PART set-out-PRET-3SG Matholwch and Branwen together with him part-with Ireland

*And **at the end** of that [event], Matholwch set out–and Branwen with him–towards Ireland.*

Both YN DIWEDD and O DIWEDD also occur with no explicit landmark in the sense "finally, at last".

(396) Ac **yn** y **diwed**, dygyaw a wnaethant. [MFL:52:16]

and **in the end**, become-angry-VN PART do-PRET-3PL

*And **at last**, they became angry.*

(397) Ac **o**'r **diwed** ymauael a oruc Llud ac ef, [LL:158]

and **from the end** YM-seize-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Lludd with him,

*And **at last** Lludd seized him,*

We also find PEN used to identify the later end of a time extent in the compound prepositions AR PEN and AM PEN.

(398) **ar benn** y pethewnos a'r mi, y byd gwr ymlad llawn aruawc. [BFL:35:19]

on head the fortnight and the month, PART be-PRES-3SG man fighting full armed

***at the end of** a fortnight and a month, he will be a fully armed fighting man.*

(399) Ym penn y ulwydyn o'r un dyd, llyma y clywei odorun adan paret yr ystauell, a chyuarthua cwn y llys **am penn** y godorun. [MFM:75:9]

in head the year from the one day, behold PART hear-IMPERF-3SG tumult below partition the chamber, and barking dogs the court **about head** the tumult

*At the end of the year from that same day, behold, he heard a commotion below the partition of the chamber, and the barking of the dogs of the court **after** [or: **over**] the commotion.*

In its literal meaning of "head", we might expect these to follow the example of BLAEN and BRON using the metaphor EARLY IS FRONT. But the examples clearly have the opposite sense and, unlike RHAG GWYNEB and RHAG LLAW, cannot be explained as invoking the experiencer's metaphoric orientation. PEN, however, has a number of extended senses, even in spatial applications, including something that might be glossed as "distal extremity of an extended object", as in:

(400) A chledyf eurdwrn trwm trichanawl, a gwein o gordwal du idaw, a swch o rudeur coeth **ar penn** y wein, [BR:12:9]

with/and sword gold-hilt heavy three-channel, with/and scabbard of cordovan black to-3SM, and chape of red-gold worked **on-head** the scabbard

*[a man] with a gold-hilted, heavy, three-channeled sword, with a scabbard of black cordovan for it, with a chape of worked red gold **at the end of** the scabbard*

(This example is particularly pertinent as the normal orientation of the scabbard will orient the PEN at the lowest elevation of the object, no longer partaking of the "top, above" senses that are more basic to the word.) From such a sense, and taking the "forward-looking" experiencer as our orientational reference, the "distal end" of a time-extent would be the later endpoint.

This sense of PEN is also found in the compound CYN PEN, locating the trajector at any time prior to the later end-point of the landmark.

(401) A **chynn penn** y pedwyred ulwydyn yd oed yn ymoprau a gueisson y meirch am y adu o'e dwyn y'r dwuyr. [PPD:23:22]

and **before head** the fourth year PART be-IMPERF-3SG PART MUTUAL-bargain-VN with/and servants the horses about his allow-VN of it lead-VN to the water

*And **before the end** of the fourth year, he was bargaining with the grooms about letting him lead [the horses] to the water.*

Although the derivation is far less transparent, this sense of PEN also accounts for the use of ERBYN to locate a trajector event prior to the later end-point of a landmark extent. (See section 2.3.1.5.2.2 for the derivation.) As mentioned above, the obsolete spatial meaning of ER was "in front", so we would expect to find similar uses to CYN

PEN. In fact, ERBYN is the most typical marker for this sense.

(402) Ac **erbyn** hanner dyd drannoeth yd oed yn y uedyant y dwy dyrnas. [PPD:6:13]
and **against** half day beyond-night PART be-IMPERF-3SG in his power the two realm
*And **by** mid day the next day the two realms were in his power.*

The location of a trajector event significantly later than the later end of a landmark extent is marked with TROS "over, beyond", specifically evoking a metaphoric scenario with a moving observer who has passed through the entirety of the landmark event and crossed the boundary at the later end.

(403) Argl6yd heb 6ynt neut ytti6 **dros** amser it kymryt dy u6yt. [BM:182:27]
lord say-PRET-3SM they PART be-PRES-3SG **over** time to-2SG take-VN your-SG food
*"Lord," they said, "It is **past** time for you to take your food."*

3.2.3 Extent Trajector and Point Landmark

When the trajector in an expression of relative temporal location is explicitly characterized as an extent of time, the language used draws heavily from that of spatial paths and goals (where a goal implies motion towards that goal and therefore implies a path). The extent of the trajector may be given two explicit endpoints, either by the use of separate expressions for each, or by the use of a dual landmark, or one endpoint may be implicit in the point of view of the expression. The trajector extent may also be explicitly open-ended at the later end.

3.2.3.1 Earlier Trajector Than Landmark Timepoint

When the trajector extends from an earlier period and terminates coincident with the landmark time-point (or immediately before–the two cannot usually be clearly distinguished), the two major and equally common markers are HYD, a spatial goal-marker with strong path implications, and YNY, primarily a temporal element but originally a compound of HYD (see section 2.3.1.9.3).

(404) gwest **hyt** nawn [467] a diotta **hyt** nos. [CO:307]
feast-VN **length** noon and drink-VN **length** night
*feasting **until** noon and drinking **until** night*

(405) Yna y magwyt y mab yn y llys **yny** uu pedeirblwyd. [MFM:78:17]
then PART rear-PRET-IMPERS the boy in the court **until** be-PRET-3SG four-year
*Then the boy was raised in the court **until** he was four years old.*

Just as in spatial language HYD may be prefixed to a wide variety of spatial expressions to specify the nature of the goal state, it may appear in temporal use prefixed to the basic co-occurrence markers (HYD AR, HYD YN), or it may be prefixed to markers emphasizing the temporal nature of the expression (HYD PAN, HYD YNY, HYD YN OED) or further specifying the particular temporal relationship (HYD GWEDY). These are entirely compositional in meaning and are relatively uncommon.

(406) Ac os o'r enys hon yd hanuydant ny deleant trygyau en un lle e tu hun e Glaud Offa; ac os tra mor yd hanuydant ny deleant trygyau yma namen **hyt ar** e guynt kentaf e caffoent mynet y eu gulat [LI:89]

and if from the island this PART originate-PRES-3PL NEG ought-PRES-3PL dwell-VN in one place the side this to dike Offa; and if beyond sea PART originate-PRES-3PL NEG ought-PRES-3PL dwell-VN here except **length-on/to** the wind first PART get-PRES-SUBJ-3PL go-VN to their land

*And if [the foreigners] originate from this island, they are not entitled to remain in any place this side of Offa's Dyke; and if they originate beyond the sea, they are not entitled to remain here except **until** the first wind they could get [by which they] travel to their land*

(407) a'r keureythyeu a wnaeth ef a parhaassant **hyt en** oes Hewel Da. [LI:90]

and the laws REL make-PRET-3SG he PART continue-PRET-3PL **length in** age Hywel Dda

*And the laws that he made continued **until** the time of Hywel Dda.*

(408) Duw a vyr nat ymhoylwn **hyt** pan welhom y uorwyn. [CO:478]

God PART know-PRES-3SG NEG return-PRES-1PL **length** when see-PRES-SUBJ-1PL the maiden

*God knows we will not return **until** when we have seen the maiden.*

(409) ac o henny **hyt eny** ladho lygot, dwy keynnyavc kyvreythyavl [LI:131]

and from that **length until** kill-PRES-SUBJ-3SG mice, two penny legal

*And from then **until** [a cat] kills mice, [its value is] two legal pence.*

(410) Ac ar nys mynno bit yn erbyn Arthur **hyt yn** oet y gygreir. [BR:21:3]

and REL NEG desire-PRES-SUBJ-3SG be-PRES-3SG in-against Arthur **length-in** time the truce

*And who does not wish [to do it], let him be confronting [i.e. let him meet] Arthur **during** the time of the truce.*

(411) Os hanner dyd e lledyr, y adu **hyt guedy** naun hep ulygyau; os guedy naun, gatter **hyt guedy** gosper; os guedy gosper, gatter hyt trannoeth a thanu mantell arnau e nos honno. [LI:136]

if half day PART kill-PRES-IMPERS, it keep-VN **length after** nones without skin-VN; if after nones, keep-IMPER-IMPERS **length after** vespers, if after vespers, keep-IMPER-IMPERS length beyond-night and spread-VN mantle on-3SM the night that

*If [the stag] is killed at mid-day, keep it **until after** nones without skinning [it]; if [killed] after nones, it is kept **until after** vespers; if [killed] after vespers, it is kept until the next day and a mantle is spread on it that night.*

If the most important motivation for the use of HYD in temporal expressions were its goal-marking function, then it would be surprising not to find I used similarly to identify the endpoint of a trajector time-extent. Instead, we find I in this function only in a very small and restricted set of examples, specifically in the legal formula DWYN I'R DYGN, "to carry [a law suit] to the finish". Although DWYN occurs with HYD (and its compounds) in marking spatial goals, when fictive motion is indicated by DWYN, there is a general shift to using I to mark the fictive goal (unless some more specific semantics, such as control or violence scenarios, call for another marker). This suggests that the use of DWYN I to mark a temporal endpoint is not simply a direct transfer of a spatial scenario (where the common use of HYD in temporal contexts might be expected to influence the preposition choice), but rather involves an extension of DWYN to the realm of fictive motion (where the less-marked goal-marker I is preferred) and then a subsequent application to temporal description.

(412) Sef yu mab deolef, mab a dywetto gureyc ar e thauaut leueryd y uot en uab y ur ac nas dycco **e**'r dygyn. [LI:102]

thus be-PRES-3SG son clamor, son PART say-PRES-SUBJ-3SG woman on her tongue speaking him be-VN PART son to man and NEG-it bear-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **to** the extreme

*This is a "clamor" son: a boy that a woman says verbally [that] he is son to a man, and [she] doesn't take it **to** the extreme [end].*

3.2.3.2 Later Trajector Than Landmark Timepoint

When the trajector itself specifies the length of its extent, it may be located directly after the landmark time-point using GWEDY.

(413) Sef achaus e mae nau nyeu **guedy** kalan gayaf o'r keureyth en kayat, a nau nyeu **guedy** guel San Freyt en agoret, rac kaeu keureyth en un dedyauc; ac en un funut a henne nau nyeu **guedy** kalan Mey en kaeat a nau nyeu **guedy** Aust en agoret, rac agory keureyth en un dedyauc heuyt. [LI:72]

thus cause PART be-PRES-3SG nine days **after** calends winter of the law PART closed, and nine days **after** feast Saint Brighid PART open, before close-VN law in one daily, and in one minute with/and that nine days **after** calends May PART closed and nine days **after** August PART open, before open-VN law in one daily also

*This is the reason for the law [to] be closed nine days **after** the winter calends and open nine days **after** the feast of Saint Brighid: lest law be closed for a single day; and in the same way as that, closed nine days **after** May calends and open nine days **after** August, lest law be open for a single day.*

Far commoner, however, is the use of O to identify the landmark as the early point of a trajector-extent, using the most common, unmarked source-marking spatial language.

(414) Ac **o**'r awr y delis beichogi, yd aeth hitheu ygwylldawc heb dygredu anhed. [CO:5]

and **from** the hour PART hold-PRET-3SG pregnancy, PART go-PRET-3SG she-EMPH in-wildness beside visit-VN habitation

*And **from** the time she got pregnant, she went into wildness [i.e. became wild] without visiting habited places.*

More rarely, ER may be used in this sense, focusing, not on the temporal path defined by the trajector extent, but on the relationship of the experiencer to that trajector at the early limit of the extent, i.e. "forward from then (from the experiencer's point of view 'then'), until today".

(415) **Yr** hynny **hyt** hediw yd wyf i yma. [CO:867]

for that **length** today PART be-PRES-1SG here

***Since** then **until** today I have been here.*

These expressions profile only the early point of the trajector, and an unspecified extent may be indicated by using this with no explicit terminus. Far more commonly, either a specific later endpoint for the trajector is given in a separate phrase (using HYD, YNY, HYD YNY, or PY EI GILYDD) or the indefinite extent of the trajector into the future is explicitly noted using ALLAN or, in one example, YN MAES. Both of these indefinite-extent markers derive from spatial language referring to a location or goal external to a container or bounded region, suggesting the metaphor KNOWABLE TIME IS A CONTAINER (a special case of BOUNDED TIME IS A CONTAINER$_L$).

(416) na byd hawd kynnal yr ynys honn byth o hediw **allan**. [BR:17:9]
NEG be-PRES-3SG easy hold-VN the island this ever from today **out**
*it will not be easy to protect the island forever from today **on**.*

(417) Ac ny chahat y welet ef odyna **y maes**. [MFM:88:9]
and NEG get-PRET-IMPERS him see-VN him from-there **to-field**
*And sight was never gotten of him from then **on**.*

Just as ER occurs as a minority option to mark the early end of a trajector-extent from the experiencer's point of view, we also find some rare examples of RHAG and RHAG LLAW to indicate a trajector-extent with an indefinite later endpoint by profiling the experiencer's orientation from the landmark time-point. Compare this to the spatial use of RHAG to emphasize forward motion (section 3.1.2.3).

(418) A'r gweith hwnnw a lwydwys **racdunt** [MFL:53:20]
and the work that PART proceed-PRET-3SG **before-3PL**
*And that work proceeded **forth***

(419) onyt oes plant ydy, a thegu ohoney na bo **rac llau**, ne dele talu dym [LI:53]
if-NEG be-PRES-3SG children to-3SF, and swear-VN of-3SF NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **before-hand**, NEG ought-PRES-3SG pay-VN anything
*if there are no children to her [i.e. she has no children], and she swears there would not be [any] **in the future**, she is not required to pay anything*

3.2.3.3 Extent Trajector With Dual Landmarks

When both endpoints of a trajector extent are specified, rather than using a separate expression for each, RHWNG may be used with a landmark consisting of two conjoined phrases, exactly in parallel with the use of RHWNG with dual spatial

landmarks defining a path.

(420) a sef amser e kemeryr e reyth honno, **erug** e "Benedicamus" a rody e bara efferen. [LI:60]

and thus time PART take-PRES-3SG the compurgation that, **between** the "Benedicamus" and give-VN the bread mass

*and this is the time that compurgation is taken: **between** the "Benedicamus" and giving the mass-bread.*

If the two endpoints are understood as constituting a natural pair, then the construction O X PY EI GILYDD "from X to its companion/match" may be used. (See section 2.3.1.2.1. The preposition survives almost exclusively in this fossilized construction in the Medieval Welsh period.)

(421) Llo o'r pan anher hyt kalan gayaf, y warchae o'r pryt **buy**gylyd. [LI:154]

calf from when give-birth-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS length calends winter, it confine-VN from the time **to** its fellow

*[If caught in a grainfield] a calf [of an age] from when it is born until winter calends, is confined from that time **to** the same [the next day].*

3.2.4 Extent Trajector and Extent Landmark

Situations where a temporal trajector with explicit duration is related to a landmark that also has duration and internal structure present no new strategies. Instead we find constructions combining previously described strategies: the use of HYD and its compounds to indicate duration in the trajector combined with markers identifying the relevant internal structure of the landmark.

3.2.4.1 Coincident Extents

As with point-trajectors, the primary indication of co-occurrence of the trajector and landmark is YN, characterizing the landmark as a bounded region in time.

(422) A thrannoeth, **yn** ieuengtit y dyd, kyuodi a oruc a dyuot y Lynn Cuch i ellwng e gwn dan y coet. [PPD:18:23]

and beyond-night **in** youth the day, rise-VN PART do-PRET-3SG and come-VN to Llyn Cuch to release-VN his dogs under the wood

*And the next day, **in** the youth of the day, he arose and came to Llyn Cuch to release his dogs in the wood.*

The second most common marker, HYD TRA, combines the preferred indication of a trajector with duration, with the secondary strategy for landmarks with duration.

(423) A gwedy hynny ef a lywywys y kyfoeth yn prud ac yn doeth ac yn detwyd **hyt tra** barhaawd y oes. [LL:28]

and after that he PART rule-PRET-3SG the realm PART prudent and PART wise and PART happy **length-beyond** continue-PRET-3SG his age

*And after that, he ruled the kingdom prudently and wisely and happily **for as long as** his life continued.*

Occasionally, we find the spatial path-marking compounds AR HYD and YN HYD.

(424) Ac velly y bu yr 6ythnos **ar y hyt**. [BM:182:34]

and thus PART be-PRET-3SG the week **on its length**

*And thus they were **for the length** of the week.*

(425) Ef a dele dyllat e urenhynes: e rey e penyteo endvnt **en hyt** e Garawys. [LI:23]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG clothes the queen: the ones REL do-penance-VN **in-3PL in-length** the Lent

*He is entitled [to] the queen's clothing: those she does penance in **during** Lent.*

3.2.4.2 Occurrence Relative to Early End Of Landmark Extent

There are no examples in this group that specifically reference the early end of the landmark.

3.2.4.3 Occurrence Relative to Midpoint Of Landmark Extent

These are purely compositional from previously identified uses, with HYD (YN) HANNER indicating a trajector having its later termination at the mid-point of the landmark, and O HANNER one having its early termination at that point.

(426) Ef a dele e gan e kynedeon, o hanner Chweuravr hyt yn dywed e gesseuyn vythnos o Uavrth, {gesseuyn vythnos o Uavrth] gwaanhuyn E, A.} kroen ewyc; pan venhoent o'r dyd hvnnv **hyt en hanner** hydref, kroen hyd, canys en e temhoryeu henne yd heleyr. [LI:8]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG from-with the huntsmen, from half February length-in-end the original week of March {Spring} skin doe; when wish-PRES-SUBJ-3PL from the day that **length-in half** October, skin hart, since in the times those PART hunt-PRES-IMPERS

*He is entitled [to have] from the huntsmen, from mid February until the end of the first week of March {Spring} a doe-skin; when he wishes, from that day **until mid** October, a hart's skin, since [it is] in those times they are hunted.*

(427) Ny deleyr dale er ystaluyneyt **o hanner** Ebryll **hyt hanner** Meheuyn. [LI:156]

NEG ought-PRES-IMPERS hold-VN the stallion **from half** April **length half** June

*It is not right to distrain a stallion **from mid** April **to mid** June.*

3.2.4.4 Occurrence Relative to Late End Of Landmark Extent

Similarly, the examples referencing the later termination of the landmark are compositional from earlier senses, using PEN or DIWEDD to indicate the landmark subset and HYD YN or HYD PARTH AC to indicate a durational trajector terminating at that point, and O to indicate one beginning at that point. HYD YN PEN is by far the commonest construction for the first sense.

(428) ac o hynny **hyt yn diwed** y oes yn hedwch lwydyannus y llywyawd Llud uab Beli Ynys Prydein. [LL:168]

and from that **length-in-end** his age PART peace successful PART rule-PRET-3SG Lludd son Beli Island Britain

*and from then **until the end of** his life Lludd son of Beli ruled the Island of Britain in happy peace.*

(429) A'e aros ynteu a wnaeth Manawydan **hyt parth a diwed** y dyd. [MFL:56:20]

and him await-VN him PART do-PRET-3SG Manawyddan **length-part-with-end** the day

*And Manawyddan waited for him **until the end of** the day.*

(430) Yna y kerd6ys y kennadeu **hyt ym pen** y vl6ydyn y gr6ydra6 y byt ac y geissa6 chwedleu y 6rth y breud6yt. [BM:183:36]

then PART travel-PRET-3SG the messengers **length in head** the year to wander-VN the world and to seek-VN news from-with the dream

*Then the messengers traveled **until the end** of the year to wander the world and to seek news about the dream.*

(431) Ac o henne **hyt em pen** e pedeyr blyned ar dec, e deuparth ar e tat a'r traean ar e uam; ac **o pen** e petwared ulveden ar dec allan e mae yaun e'r tat e dven ar e argluyd, a gurhau ohanav enteu ydau ef. [LI:49]

and from that **length in head** the four years on ten, the two-part on the father and third on the mother; and **from head** the fourth year on ten out PART be-PRES-3SG right to the father him bear-VN on/to his lord, and do-homage-VN of-3SM him-EMPH to-3SM him

*And from then **until the end** of the fourteenth year, two parts [of the boy's maintenance] on the father [i.e. the father is responsible for ...] and the third part on the mother; and **from the end of** the fourteenth year on, it is right for the father to take him to his lord, and doing homage by him [i.e. the son] to him [i.e. the lord].*

3.2.4.5 Occurrence Relative to Dual Landmark Extents

As usual, reference to dual landmarks would be expected to bring in the use of RHWNG, no matter what the specific nature of the trajector and landmarks. One example may have this sense, but is more likely to reflect the use of RHWNG to mark dual equivalent elements (i.e. "both X and Y") rather than endpoints of fictive motion (i.e. "between X and Y").

(432) Ac **y r6g** dyd a nos y kerdassant y kennadeu trachefyn. [BM:186:12]
and **between** day and night PART travel-PRET-3PL the messengers beyond-back
*And **both** day and night the messengers traveled back.*

3.2.5 Ambiguous examples

A group of examples relating a trajector time-point defined by a generic interval (e.g. year, day, month) relative to a landmark time-point are difficult to interpret

unambiguously due to overlap in the markers used, and possibly due to uncertainty in identifying the specific prepositions involved.

There is a selection of examples where O is used to identify a trajector as occurring one (specified) unit later than the landmark, parallel with the use seen in section 3.2.3.2.

(433) O dywedant eu bot eg gwlat arall, neu uot llanu a threy yregthunt ac uy, oet petheunos **o**'r dyd hunnu, os kyn hanner dyd uyd [LI:76]

if say-PRES-3PL they be-VN in land other, or be-VN flow and ebb between-3PL and them, time fortnight **from** the day that, if before half day be-PRES-3SG

*If they$_1$ say that they$_2$ are in another land, or there is ebb and flow between them$_1$ and them$_2$, the appointment will be a fortnight **from** that day, if it is before mid day*

However two examples appear where O is used in exactly parallel fashion and clearly indicates a trajector earlier than the landmark.

(434) ac ual yd eistedyssant ulwydyn **o**'r nos honno yd eistedwys paub y nos honno. [PPD:18:16]

and as PART sit-PRET-3PL year **from** the night that PART sit-PRET-3SG everyone the night that

*and as they had sat a year **before** [lit.: **from**] that night, everyone sat that night.*

(435) Ac o cheyff un dyd **o**'r eyl uluydyn, pedeyr ar ugeynt ereyll arnau, eny uo uyth a deugeynt arnau, ac yuelly hyt e tryded uluyden e tryc. [LI:121]

and if get-PRES-3SG one day **from** the second year, four on twenty others on-3SM, until be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG eight and two-twenty on-3SM, and thus length the third year PART remain-PRES-3SG

*And if it [i.e. the horse] gets one day **before** [lit.: **from**] its second year, [there is a value of] another twenty four on it [i.e. it has ...], until there would be [a value of] forty eight [pence] on it, and thus it remains until the third year.*

In the second example, the use of O may be understood as deriving from a metaphor of removal, i.e., "one day removed or lacking from the second year", but the ambiguity of "[lacking] from" and "[continuing into the future] from" will not always be solved by context, as it is in the first example.

A slightly smaller group of examples, all involving a one year unit, locate a trajector unambiguously in the future relative to the landmark using an element at first appearing to be I (a use that would run counter to other contexts) but which Evans (1964) suggests may be a fossilized expression with Y instead, which would be consistent with the use of O in a similar function.

(436) A blwydyn **y** hediw, dowch yma ataf i. [MFM:75:8]
and year **to [or: from?]** today, come-IMPER-2PL here to-1SG me
*And a year **from** today, come here to me.*

Three examples, also all involving a one year unit, similarly use I (or Y) unambiguously to locate the trajector earlier than the landmark. This could be interpreted either as marking the future event as a goal with I (as in section 3.2.3.1) or marking the earlier extent as an amount subtracted from the landmark with Y (parallel to the use of O in this sense, seen immediately above).

(437) ni chyskeis inheu gyt a thi yr blwydyn **y** neithwyr, ac ni orwedeis. [PPD:7:25]
NEG sleep-PRET-1SG I-EMPH together with you-SG for year **to [or: from?]** last-night, and NEG lie-down-PRET-1SG
*I did not sleep together with you since a year **to** [or: **from**] tonight, and I did not lie down [with you].*

If these examples do actually involve I, one possible explanation occurs to me, which is not provable beyond speculation. The preposition may be serving more of a relational function (see section 3.3.1.1.4) with a sense of "a year with respect to the landmark" with the sequencing between the trajector and landmark left entirely to contextual interpretation, which is particularly strong in the "earlier" examples where the presence of ER (marking an early end for the trajector extent) in all three examples requires the landmark of I to fall at the later end of the trajector extent.

3.2.6 The Construction of Time in Medieval Welsh

In summary, the use of spatial prepositions for temporal description is pervasive and systematic. In general, time is viewed as a landscape in which events are located and through which the experiencer moves, from the past to the future. Co-occurring events are co-located, expanses of time are paths through space or objects with length. Although future events are characterized as facing the experiencer (i.e. with their "front" to the past and "back" to the future), we do not appear to see language characterizing them as moving through time towards a fixed experiencer. This could, in theory, result in describing a future event relative to an experiencer at a particular moment in time as being "in front" of the experiencer and "behind" the reference moment, as part of a single coherent system, as long as a clear understanding of the experiential point of view is maintained.

Apparent contradictions to this system either involve alternate senses of the language involved (e.g. PEN in the sense "distal extremity" rather than "top/front") or

involve interpretation from an implicit experiential point of view rather than relative to a fixed event in time. There is a small amount of evidence for time being treated as a resource processed by arithmetic functions, with an earlier event described via "subtraction" of the intervening interval from a later landmark but these are rare, possibly archaic, and ambiguous.

3.3 Entities and Properties

This general section covers the nature and description of entities, and various types of defining or descriptive relationships between entities.

3.3.1 Relationships of Entities

This section considers how the relationships between entities are described prepositionally. It covers relationships having to do with the definitions of the nature of the entities (e.g. membership in a group) or the description of relationships between entities (e.g. possession). But the guiding principle is that both trajector and landmark exist as discrete entities independent of the other's existence, even when they are identified, described, or understood relative to each other.

3.3.1.1 Part-Whole Relationships

This set of semantic relationships involve identifying either the trajector or landmark (most typically the former) as a subset of the other. That is, that there is a

larger entity (whether unitary, plural, or mass) and we are focusing on a subset of that larger entity as it operates synchronically as part of the whole. We are not concerned with isolating or separating the subset, or with any modification of the whole in the production or identification of the subset. The primary focus here will be on concrete entities, but when other concepts are treated metaphorically as objects with similar properties, they will also be discussed here (as well as in the more semantically appropriate section).

3.3.1.1.1 Subset of a Multiplex Group

When a discrete trajector is identified as a member of a larger multiplex landmark set, the language is either that of object removal (using O or equivalent expressions) or of static location in a region defined by the landmark (using YN). That is: DISTINCT SUBCATEGORIES ARE OBJECTS REMOVED FROM A CONTAINER OR BOUNDED REGION (compare CATEGORIES ARE CONTAINERS$_W$, CATEGORY MEMBERS ARE OBJECTS INSIDE BOUNDED REGIONS$_W$).

The largest number of part-whole relationships is identified by the use of O with no other contextual interpretation than the simple part-whole relationship. All types of entities occur in this construction. Animate entities necessarily involve subsets of countable groups (and comprise the majority of examples), but the inanimate entities may involve a subset of a group or of a relatively homogeneous non-countable mass. This use of O should be considered in the context of a variety of functions commonly associated

with the genitive for which O is used in Medieval Welsh (see section 4.1.2.1). However, to the extent that this function is understood as object removal (rather than an abstract genitive function), it provides evidence for the non-physical entites involved to be understood metaphorically as objects.

(438) "Beth yssyd yn y boly hwnn?" heb ef, wrth un **o**'r Gwydyl. [BFL:42:17]

what be-PRES-REL-3SG in the bag this say-PRET-3SG he with one **of** the Irishmen

*What is in this bag? he said to one **of** the Irishmen.*

(439) Kymeynt yu guerth e baed a guerth teyr **o**'r moch [LI:129]

same-amount be-PRES-3SG value the boar with/and value three **of** the pig

*A boar is the same value as the value [of] three **of** the piglets*

(440) Ef a dely dec keynnyauc **o** pob punt a del e'r brenhyn am tyr a dayar. [LI:8]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG ten penny **of** every pound REL come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG to the king about land and earth

*He is entitled to ten pence **of** every pound that comes to the king for [law cases concerning] land and earth.*

(441) Vn **o** rinwedeu y maen yw, dyuot cof yti a weleist yma heno; [BR:7:5]

one **of** virtues the stone be-PRES-3SG, come-VN memory to-2SG REL see-PRET-2SG here tonight

*One **of** the virtues of this stone is: memory will come to you [i.e. you will remember] of what you saw here tonight.*

In addition to constructions where the nature of the trajector-subset is explicitly identified, the subset may be identified implictly by reference to some pre-existing topic:

(442) Ac ar hynny **o** ginyaw y buant seith mlyned. [BFL:46:18]

and on that **of** dine-VN PART be-PRET-3PL seven years

*And at that **of** dining [i.e. at that dinner] they were [for] seven years.*

A small group of part-whole relationships marked by O are strongly ambiguous with other interpretations. A metonymic subset may be ambiguous with a matching relationship (see section 3.3.2.3.2). For example, here the ambiguity comes from the ability of the landmark to stand metonymically for a value, of which the trajector is a subset.

(443) Ef a dele pedeyr keynnyavc **o** pob buvch a del yn dirwy o'r a pertheno ar e llys. [LI:14]
he PART ought-PRES-3SG four penny **from** each cow REL come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG PART fine of REL PART pertain-PRES-SUBJ-3SG on/to the court
*He is entitled to four pence **for** every cow [i.e. from the value of every cow] that comes as a fine from those who belong to the court.*

A subset of a group of people may be ambiguous with an abstract notion of membership.

(444) ac ny bo nep **o**'y kenedel kyn noc ef ar y tyr. [LI:78]
and NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG anyone **of** his kindred earlier than he on the land
*and none **of** his kindred were before him on the land.*

Sometimes the ambiguity is due to ignorance of the context rather than being inherent in the text. The ambiguity here comes largely from ignorance of the specific spatial relationships involved. The trajector either is or is not located within the geographic scope identified by the landmark. If the former, then we have a part-whole relationship; if the latter, then a static separation relationship.

(445) Sef y kyrchyssant y dref uchaf **o** Arllechwoed, ac yno gwneuthur creu y'r moch, ac o'r achaws hwnnw y dodet Creuwryon ar y dref. [MFM:71:14]

thus PART make-for-PRET-3PL the town highest **from/of** Arllechwedd

*This is where they made for: the highest town **of [or: from?]** Arllechwedd*

Part of a group of objects may be ambiguous with the group as a source of spatial movement. Context usually disambiguates between these senses, although this ambiguity provides one of the stronger motivations for the part-whole sense of O, that is, focus on a subset being characterized as the metaphoric selection and removal of that subset from the whole. In most cases, the selected subset either clearly is, or is not, undergoing motion. Here the verb DYLYED can be interpreted pragmatically as "entitled (to take)" with actual motion involved, but the most simple literal meaning simply associates a property (entitlement of ownership) with a subset of the whole.

(446) Ef a dele **o** pob pvn kynnut a del trvy e porth eskyren [LI:35]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG **of** every load firewood REL come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG through the gate stick

*He is entitled, **of** each load of firewood that comes through the gate, to a stick*

The use of O PARTH and O TU in this sense derives directly from their "spatial subset" sense, because PARTH in all examples is understood as "group/side/half of people defined by the modifier". That is, the trajector is defined as a member of a subset of a group of people, where O marks the "membership" sense and PARTH/TU is part of the identification of the particular subset of the landmark it is a member of. The landmark

in all cases is a group of people.

(447) Sef a wyl e keureyth ena, llv e kennogen ar e seythuet o'e wadu: chue guyr ac ef ehun en seythuet (petwar onadunt **o parth** e tat a deu **o parth** e uam ac ef ehun en seythuet). [LI:60]

thus PART see-PRES-3SG the law then, oath the principal-debtor on the seventh of his denial: six men and he himself PART seventh (four of-3PL **of part** the father and two **of part** the mother and he himself PART seventh)

*This is what the law sees there: the oath of the principal debtor as the seventh of his denial: six men and he himself as seventh (four of them **from** his father's **side** and two **from** his mother's **side** and he himself as seventh).*

(448) Cane men ef muenhau e mach esyd ydau ar e peth e kemyrth, ac nat oes [uach {E}] e'r llall ar er aryant a kemhello ydau e kefnewyt, urth henne e mae ouer e uechny **o'r neylltu**, cany men e perchennauc ef. [LI:65]

since-NEG wish-PRES-3SG he enjoy-VN the surety be-PRES-REL-3SG to-3SM on the thing PART take-PRET-3SG, and NEG be-PRES-3SG surety to the other on the silver REL compel-PRES-SUBJ-3SG to-3SM it exchange-VN, with that PART be-PRES-3SG vain the suretyship **from the one-side** since NEG wish-PRES-3SG the owner it

*Since he does not wish [to] enjoy the surety that is to him [i.e. that he has] for the thing he took, and there is no surety for the other for the money to compel him [to] exchange it, because of that, the suretyship is vain **on the one side**, since the owner does not want it.*

The other major strategy for this sense is much less common than the O group. Most examples in this group show the pragmatic ambiguity which gives rise to the part-whole sense. In all cases, the "whole" is a group of people. In eight of ten examples, the highlighted "part" (one or more people) is ambiguous between being identified as a subset of the landmark-group and being identified as changing state from "not a member of the group" to "member of the group" by virtue of physical motion through space with the group as an achieved goal of motion. The examples range from those where actual motion

is explicit and the group-membership aspect is less important:

(449) Ac mal y gwelas mynet a oruc y brenhin **yg** kyghor kwt gaffei wreic. [CO:28]

and as PART see-PRET-3SG go-VN PART-do-PRET-3SG the king **in** council where get-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG wife

*And when he saw it, the king went **into** council [to decide] where he could get a wife.*

to examples where explicit motion is involved, but group membership is independent of it:

(450) Ac yna y kerd6ys maxen **yn**-y luyd parth a rufein. [BM:188:29]

and then PART travel-PRET-3SG Maxen **in** his army part with Rome

*And then Maxen traveled **as part of** [i.e. **with**] his army to Rome.*

to examples where there is no explicit motion, but physical co-location with the group is clearly implied:

(451) A g6ell ymladwyr oed **yn**-y llu bychan h6nn6; noc eu deu kymeint o wyr rufein. [BM:188:40]

and better fighting-men be-IMPERF-3SG **in** his army small that, than their two amount of men Rome

*And there were better fighting men **in** that small army of his than in [one] twice their size of men of Rome.*

to examples where the focus is on abstract membership in an identified group that does not necessarily have a spatial component. (This particular example shows the difficulty in separating prepositional YN and predicative/adverbial *yn*. The text is

theoretically also readable as "is entitled to 36 men as his company" in the the ambiguous adverbial/instantiation sense discussed in sections 3.4.3.2 and 2.3.1.6.1.)

(452) E brenhyn a dely **yn** y gedymdeythas vn dyn ar bymthec ar vgeynt [LI:3]
the king PART ought-PRES-3SG **in** his companionship one man on fifteen on twenty
*The king is entitled [to have] thirty six people **in** [i.e. **as**] his company*

Less clear is the example where Y GAN is used to identify a person's membership (actually membership-equivalence) in a group.

(453) Ef a dele ran gvr **e gan** e svydwyr. [LI:14]
he PART ought-PRES-3SG share man **from-with** the officers
*He is entitled to a man's share **among** the officers.*

It is tempting to view this as an error, mistakenly copying the extremely common legal formula *Ef a dele X y gan Y* (He is entitled to X from [person/group] Y), rather than functioning as an alternate means of identifying a member-group relationship.

There are only two examples of AR used in a membership sense, and the context is ambiguous. They could be understood as marking a topic rather than a subset. But if HELW is understood metonymically as "the amount of protection-money due", then it seems best interpreted as a subset.

(454) E keureyth a dyweyt nat guaettyr urun namen a talher en keureythyaul guedy na bo dym **ar** helu e llourud a talho [LI:87]

the law PART say-PRES-3SG NEG blood-land the-one except REL pay-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS PART legally after NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG anything **on** protection the murderer PART pay-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

*The law says that nothing is "blood land" except what is paid legally after there is nothing **on** [**of**?] the protection [of] the murderer to pay [i.e. nothing available to pay]*

3.3.1.1.2 Part of a Unitary Object

Closely related to the concept of group membership is that of a subset of a unitary whole (or of a mass substance). Here the particular nature of the entities determines the language used. When the trajector is a non-specific portion of a functionally homogeneous object or substance, we find O, just as for group membership.

(455) Ef a dele dyrnued **o** pob kanhvyll a dahlyo en e dvrn. [LI:29]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG fistful **of** every candle REL take-PRES-SUBJ-3SG in his fist

*He is entitled to a fistful **of** each candle that he takes in his fist.*

But when the trajector is a subset of a non-homogeneous landmark, that is, when the subset under focus is a distinctly identifiable portion rather than the equivalent of a random sample, then the relationship is most typically marked with I.

(456) Ac [a]ual rudeur wrth bop koghyl **idi**. [BR:11:16]
with/and apple red-gold with each corner **to-3SF**
*[a cloak] with a red-gold "apple" at each corner **of it.***

This use, in many cases, becomes ambiguous with a characterization of the trajector as a conceptually separate entity from (although physically incorporated in) the landmark. Body parts (see section 3.3.1.1.3 following) are a special case of this sense, and it is conceptually linked to certain possessive constructions (see section 3.3.1.2.3).

(457) Kymryt crip eur o Arthur, a gwelliu {gwelleu} a doleu aryant **itaw**, a chribaw y benn a oruc. [CO:164]
take-VN comb gold of Arthur and scissors with/and loops silver **to-3SM**, and comb-VN his head PART do-PRET-3SG
*Arthur took a comb of gold and scissors with silver loops **to them**, and he combed his head.*

A special type of part-whole relationship is that where the part is a unit of measurement and the whole is the entity being measured. Here we find the relationship consistently marked with YN. (We might propose a metaphor UNITS OF MEASUREMENT ARE CONTENTS OF THE THING MEASURED.) But see section 3.3.2.3.4 for other language about measurement.

(458) a mannat emenyn kyulet a'r dyscel letaf a uo en e tref a chyn tewet ac y bo deu uoeldernued **endau**, [LI:96]

and mass butter same-breadth with/and the dish broadest REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG in the village and same thick with/and PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG two bare-fistfull **in-3SM**

*And a mass of butter as broad as the broadest dish that is in the town, and as thick as [that] there would be two bare fistfulls **in it**.*

The constructions YN HYD and YN LLED also occur in this sense, where the path of the measurement as along a long axis or horizontal short axis respectively. While this is the only sense in which YN LLED occurs, as we have seen elsewhere, YN HYD has many other senses. The direct parallel with YN LLED suggests that this may be the original sense of the compound, however these examples of YN HYD, while providing a bridging sense, are best not considered as compound prepositions themselves.

(459) a llester emenyn try dernued **en e hyt** hep uoel a thry **en e let**. [LI:96]

and dish butter three fistfull **in its length** beside heap and three **in its breadth**

*And a dish of butter three fistfulls **in length** excluding the heap, and three **in breadth**.*

3.3.1.1.3 Bodyparts

The relationship of bodyparts to the body, with one exception, is always marked with I. This fits well with the pattern seen above where a distinctive subset of an object is related to the object with I, while a functionally random subset is related with O.

Among the body parts found in this construction, we have: tooth, lip, moustache, beard, ear, face, neck, eyelid, testicle, shoulder, arm, hand, leg, knee, foot, hoof. Most

typically, the landmark entity has been identified previously in the text, and is supplied by a pronoun in the prepositional phrase.

(460) A gwaell eur yn y llenn ar yr ysgwyd deheu **idaw** kyn vrasset a garanvys milwr. [BR:14:!]

and pin gold in the cloak on the shoulder right **to-3SM** as thick with middle-finger soldier

*And a gold pin in the cloak on the right shoulder **of him**, as thick as the middle finger of a soldier.*

Less typically, the landmark entity is first identified in the prepositional phrase itself.

(461) a thal eu deulin a phenneu eu dwy goes **y**'r meirch yn purdu [BR:9:14]

and top their two-knee and heads their two legs **to** the horse PART pure-black

*and the knees and tops of the legs **of** the horses [were] pure black*

Only once, we find YN marking the relationship between a body-part trajector and the body (metaphor: BODY PARTS ARE CONTENTS OF THE BODY), however this may simply be an unusual case of the "undifferentiated mass subset" as applied to a body.

(462) Ac en henne o espeyt hyt kalan gayaf e dele bot **en** hyd deudec golvyth kyureythyavl [LI:15]

and in that of time length calends winter PART ought-PRES-3SG be-VN **in** stag twelve joints legal

*And during that [span] of time until the winter calends there ought to be twelve legal joints [of meat] **in** a stag*

3.3.1.1.4 Part of a Semantic Frame

A less prototypical type of part-whole relationship occurs when the "whole" is a complex semantic frame and the "part" is a component of that frame–either an event or entity participating in it. There are relatively few of these examples, and they are marked with either AR or YN. There is no clear distinction between the situations in which the two prepositions occur, and there is even a nearly parallel pair with both.

(463) Ef a dele guyravt o pop guled {gueld B} e bo med [8v] **arney**. [LI:18]
he PART ought-PRES-3SG drink from every feast PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG mead **on-3SF**
*He is entitled to a drink from every feast [where] there is mead **on it** [i.e. that has mead]*

(464) Ef a dele dven guyravt **en** e bo med. [LI:27]
he PART ought-PRES-3SG bear-VN drink **in** REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG mead
*He ought to carry drinks **in** [contexts] where there is mead.*

The use of AR appears to relate most closely to the use of this preposition to relate certain types of attributes with the bearer of those attributes. The apparent example with YN falls in the type of construction that Evans (1964, see also Ford 2000) believes to derive from an archaic form of the definite article used as a temporal relative marker (i.e. "... when there is mead"), however I find these examples consistent with the use of the preposition YN to identify time extents (in this case, an extent identified metonymically by a property of the event defining it). In neither case does this follow the prototypical pattern for part-whole relationships, although YN follows a minor

pattern seen for certain special cases. The most reasonable conclusion, however, is that the components of a complex frame are not understood as participating in a part-whole relationship, but are understood via other models.

3.3.1.2 Part-Part Relationships

It is not surprising to find part-whole relationships conceived of in terms of contents or removable subsets, but we would not necessarily expect part-part relationships–i.e. relationships between entities that are associated via some larger semantic frame–to be treated in the same fashion. The relationships of this type found in my data fall into four general categories: genetic and social relationships between people, relationships of possession, whether based on legal principles or on pragmatic access, the relationship of a spatial region to some reference point used in defining that region, and a loose assortment of relationships that share some properties of attributes, while manifesting as separate entities.

The "whole" in these relationships is the schematic semantic frame that defines the relationships of the parts to each other, e.g. a "family" frame that identifies the roles of father, mother, son, daughter, etc. in terms of their relationships to each other, such that the relationships between these components may be thought of as "part-part" relationships.

3.3.1.2.1 Genetic Social Relationships

Genetic familial relationships are one prototypical type of "inalienable" social connection, and provide a reference point for understanding how other types of human relationships are perceived.

In one small group of examples, a generic kinship relationship is being dynamically "created" in the sense of being legally established, using the verbal formula DWYN CERENNYDD (to lead or bring into kinship), with the landmark individual(s) marked with AC.

(465) Ac esef mal e kennull enteu keynnyauc paladyr ar e deneon a gaffo o'e kenedel ny vyppo dvyn e kerennyd **ac** vynt, [LI:106]

and thus like PART collect-PRES-3SG he-EMPH penny spear on the people PART get-PRES-SUBJ-3SG of his kindred NEG know-PRES-SUBJ-3SG bear-VN the kinship **with** them

*And this is how he collects the spear-penny from the people he finds of his kindred [who] he doesn't know [how they] bear kinship **to** him.*

This use derives fairly clearly from an ordinary conjunction of the two entities whose relationship is being established, as seen in the following example.

(466) A llyna e lle e tal e tat er alanas ac nys tal e mab; a llyna er achaus, cany ellyr duen kerennyd e mab ar e lIourud, ket galler duyn kerennyd y tat **ac** ef. [LI:107]

and behold the place PART pay-PRES-3SG the father the murder-fine and NEG-it pay-PRES-3SG the son; and behold the cause, since-NEG be-able-PRES-IMPERS bear-VN kinship the son on the murderer, though be-able-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS bear-VN kinship the father **with/and** him

*And behold the situation where the father pays the murder-fine and the son doesn't pay it; and behold the reason, since one can't connect the son's kinship to the murderer, although one can connect the father's kinship **to** him [or: connect the kinship [of] the father and him].*

There does appear to be some leeway for other prepositional markers to add nuance to the relationship, as also seen in the preceding example where kinship with a murderer might be intepreted alternately as a negative or harmful state (marked with AR–see section 3.3.2.1.6).

In only one case is a genetic relationship identified with the preposition GAN, and it is probably signifcant that the entities involved are non-human. The use of GAN here could either be interpreted purely as spatial co-location, emphasizing the physical presence of the puppies rather than the relationship (see section 3.1.2.1) or as representing more of a possessive relationship (see section 3.3.1.2.3).

(467) "Gellast yssyd yma, "heb hi, "a chanawon **genti**. [PPD:20:16]

bitch be-PRES-REL-3SG here, say-PRET-3SG she, with/and puppies **with-3SF**

*"There is a bitch here," she said, "with puppies **with her**."*

Other that the above situations, genetic relationships are universally identified with the preposition I, whether for generic kin to an individual, father to son, grandchild to grandfather, uncle to nephew, cousin to cousin, child or heir of either gender to a parent

of either gender, or sibling to sibling.

(468) Ay yuelly y gwnaethant wy am uorwyn kystal a honno, ac yn chwaer **y** minheu, y rodi heb uyghanyat i? [BFL:31:26]

INTERROG thus PART do-PRET-3PL they about maiden as-good with/and that and PART sister **to** me-EMPH, her give-VN beside my-permission my

*Is it thus they have done with a maiden as good as that, and a sister **to** me: giving her [in marriage] without my permission?*

(469) "Y mab hwnn, mab **y ti** yw," heb ef. [MFM:78:24]

the boy this son **to-2SG** be-PRES-3SG, say-PRET-3SG he

*"This boy is a son **to you** [i.e. is your son]," he said.*

For the most part, relationships of this type are associated with the verb BOD "to be" or with no verb, however the verb GENI "to be born" also identifies the parent in this fashion.

(470) A guedy treulaw yr amseroyd dylyedus, mab a anet **idi**. [BFL:37:16]

and after spend-VN the times appropriate, son PART be-born-PRET-IMPERS **to-3SF**

*And after spending the appropriate time, a son was born **to her**.*

When specifically considering a parent-landmark, there may be considered to be a hypothetical ambiguity between the statement of relationship, and the parent as a metaphoric goal of the birth process (BEING BORN IS COMING HERE$_P$), and possibly with the parent as a beneficiary of the birth process to the extent that the acquisition of children is considered a benefit. The possibility of a beneficiary sense is stronger in a set of examples where a fictive parent-child relationship is established, for the mutual benefit

of the two parties. (This properly belongs under the non-genetic social relationships discussed below, but provides evidence for the idea of parent-child relationships as conferring benefit.)

(471) O deruyd na bo mab **ydau** sauet er arglued en lle mab **ydau** a thalet trostau neu wadet, ac os guadu a uen, guadet mal e guattey e gur yd aeth en uab **ydau** er e da. [LI:64]

if happen-PRES-3SG NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG son **to-3SM** stand-IMPER-3SG the lord in place son **to-3SM** and pay-IMPER-3SG over-3SM or deny-IMPER-3SG, and if deny-VN PART wish-PRES-3SG, deny-IMPER-3SG like deny-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG the man PART go-PRET-3SG PART son **to-3SM** for his goods

*If it happens [that] there is no son **to him**, let the lord stand in place of a son **to him** and let him pay for him or deny, and if he wishes to deny, let him deny as the man would deny **to whom** he goes [i.e. acts] as a son for the sake of his goods.*

Because the overwhelmingly typical marker for both of these functions (kinship, beneficiary) is the same, it is impossible to tell whether this overlapping ambiguity reinforces the preposition choice, or whether one factor is decisive and the other irrelevant. Another way to view the question, however, is to ask whether it is entirely coincidental that senses that tend to fall together in this fashion have the same preposition as their default marker. Certain aspects of this question are discussed in detail under beneficiaries (see sections 3.5.2.1 and 4.1.2.2). In the larger picture, however, the use of I to mark family relationships seems clearly independent of either of these alternate motivations. (In fact, given that the use of I with beneficiaries is much more likely to derive from fictive object-transfer, the overlap of beneficiary and relationship marking may be a coincidental fallout from Goal origins for both types of meaning.)

3.3.1.2.2 Non-Genetic Social Relationships

Non-genetic relationships may either be familial (e.g. spouses), long-term parts of the social or political structure (e.g. vassals, household officers), short-term ad hoc legal relationships (e.g. witnesses), or entirely informal relationships (e.g. friends). As with genetic relationships, the default marker by an overwhelming margin is the preposition I.

(472) A hi a uu un wreic **idaw** tra uu vyw. [CO:1242]
and she PART be-PRET-3SG one wife **to-3SM** beyond be-PRET-3SG alive
*And she was the only wife **to him** [i.e. his only wife] while he lived.*

(473) yd oed hagen gyt ac ef deudec brenhin ar hugeint o vrenhined corona6c yn wyr **ida6** yna. [BM:179:7]
PART be-IMPERF-3SG moreover with him twelve king on twenty of kings crowned PART men **to-3SM** then
*Moreover there were with him thirty two kings, of the crowned kings [that were] vassels **to him** then.*

(474) bot yn gedymdeith **udunt** ual y bum ynneu. [BR:5:30]
be-VN PART companion **to-3PL** like PART be-PRET-1SG I-EMPH
[*to] be a companion **to them**, as I have been.*

Even more than for genetic relationships, we find a great deal of ambiguous overlap with the function of beneficiary, no doubt because it is the intent of benefit that leads people to establish such created relationships.

(475) A-r g6yr hynny yn gyfarwyd **6dunt**. [BM:186:24]
and the men those PART guide **to-3PL**
*and those men were guides **for him***

(476) "Ie," heb y Math, "keisswn ninheu, ui a thi, oc an hut a'n lledrith, hudaw gwreic **idaw** ynteu o'r blodeu," [MFM:83:19]

well, say-PRET-3SG Math, seek-IMPER-1PL we-EMPH, I and you-SG, from our magic and our enchantment, enchant-VN wife **to-3SM** him-EMPH from the flowers

*"Well," said Math, "let us–I and you–by our magic and enchantment, conjure a wife **for him** from the flowers."*

We also find this dual sense occurring when the landmark is a goal of spatial motion, particularly when the ceremony creating the relationship involves the physical co-location of the participants. This is particularly common in descriptions of the giving (RHODDI) of a woman to a man as wife, where even the verb participates in the fictive object-transfer.

(477) Val hen e deleyr kemryt mab eg kenedel: e tat ehun a eyll e kemryt guedy as dycco e uam **ydau** en keureythyaul; [LI:103]

like this PART ought-PRES-IMPERS take-VN son in kindred: the father himself PART be-able-PRES-3SG him take-VN after PART-it bear-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the mother **to-3SM** PART legally

*This is how one ought to accept a boy into the kindred: the father himself can accept him after the mother has brought him [the son] **to him** [the father] legally.*

(478) "Arglwydes," heb ef Pryderi, "mi a'th roessum yn wreic **y** Uanawydan uab Llyr." [MFL:50:21]

lady, say-PRET-3SG he Pryderi, I PART you-SG give-PRET-1SG PART wife **to** Manawyddan son Llyr

*"Lady," said he, Pryderi, "I have given you as wife **to** Manawyddan son of Llyr."*

It may also happen that the creation of a relationship involves oaths or other verbal actions, in which case the roles of speaker and hearer may also be overlaid on the participants, as well as that of benefitter and beneficiary.

(479) A doro dy urenhinaeth yn y ewyllus, a gwra **idaw**. [BFL:42:1]
and give-IMPER-2SG your-SG kingship in his control, and do-homage-IMPER-2SG **to-3SM**
*And give your kingship into his control and do homage **to him**.*

Again, the conjunction of roles that would typically be marked with the same preposition makes it difficult to tell to what extent they are reinforcing each other. (While a hearer may be marked by other prepositions, the default when there is no quoted speech and when the verb is not DWEUD "to say" is I.) While simple expressions of relationship show no particular trends in directionality (e.g. parents and children are equally likely to be the trajector and landmark of an expression), the directionality of the speaker-hearer relationship determines which participant is the landmark, just as asymmetries in the benefitter-beneficiary relationship will affect this.

In a very small number of examples, we find non-genetic relationships marked with a different preposition, all cases where some other sense is also present. In two, social relationships that also imply co-location are marked with GAN rather than I.

(480) ac yn ouyn ni yw na byd it etiued o'r wreic yssyd **gennyt**. [PPD:19:22]
and our fear our be-PRES-3SG NEG be-PRES-3SG to-2SG heir of the wife be-PRES-REL-3SG **with-2SG**
*and our fear is there will not be an heir to you from the wife who is **with you** [i.e. you have].*

(481) A hynny y urodyr maeth, a'r gwyr nessaf **gantaw**, yn lliwaw idaw hynny, a heb y gelu. [BFL:37:22]

and that his brothers foster, and the men nearest **with-3SM** PART reproach-VN to-3SM that, and beside it conceal-VN

*Then his foster brothers and the men nearest **to** him reproached him [with] that, and without concealing it.*

In the first case (the wife), it is possible that the use of GAN in this specific context is meant to focus on the potentially temporary nature of the relationship, or possibly intended to reframe the wife as a possession rather than a social tie. In the second, although there is ambiguity between "the closest men" implying close social relationships rather than simply co-location (with the first supported by pairing them with foster-brothers, who have a very close social relationship), the use of GAN may be emphasizing the physical proximity.

The other anomalous example uses AR to mark the relationship between a guide and the person guided, where we might expect I both as a relationship-marker and as a beneficiary-marker.

(482) a mi a uydaf hebryngyat **arnat**. [PPD:3:26]

and I PART be-FUT-1SG guide **on-2SG**

*and I will be a guide **for you**.*

compare:

(483) Miui hagen a uydaf gyfarwyd **ywch**, kanys kennadeu Arthur ywch, hyt lle y mae aniueil gynt a rithwys Duw no mi. [CO:868]

I-EMPH moreover PART be-PRES-1SG guide **to-2PL**, since messengers Arthur be-PRES-2PL, length place PART be-PRES-3SG animal earlier PART shape-PRET-3SG God than me

*Moreover, I will be a guide **to you [i.e. your guide]**, since you are Arthur's messengers, to the place where there is an animal God made before me.*

It is possible that HEBRWNG necessarily brings a sense of control over the landmark (which would motivate AR) which CYFARWYDD does not. But see also the use of AR to mark the beneficiary of personal service in section 3.5.2.1.2. The distinction betwen AR and I in the above examples may simply be alternate resolutions of the relationship/beneficiary-of-service conflict.

3.3.1.2.3 Legal and Pragmatic Possession

In addition to possession indicated by genitive constructions (whether genitive forms of pronouns or the genitive syntactic construction–see section 2.1.2), the sources of possessive language derive primarily from the framing of the possessed object as co-located with the possessor (whether in terms of static location or as a goal of motion), or framing the possessor as a beneficiary of the possession (the two are not clearly distinguishable). It can also be difficult to distinguish the Goal/Beneficiary motivation from a Distinct Subset motivation. We only seem to find the possessor marked as a source of motion when there is a change of possession and we are identifying the former possessor (who may be a literal source of motion if the possession is portable).

Co-location as possession is marked by the preposition GAN. This may occur when physical control is relevant to the legal right to possession.

(484) a guedy as damdygho dywedet enteu y uot **ganthau** ae uythnos ae mys ae tymhaur en huy nogyt **gan** e llall [LI:114]

and after PART-it swear-VN say-IMPER-3SG he-EMPH him be-VN **with-3SM** either week either month either season PART longer than **with** the other

*And after he swears it, let him say it was **with him** [i.e. he had it] either a week or a month or a season longer than **with** the other [i.e. longer than the other had it]*

But several of the examples involve the possession of land, where the immediate presence of the possessor is not necessarily a given.

(485) Ny dele nep attal gardeu **ganthau** herwyd breynt e teyl namen un uluyden, canys pob bluyden e deleyr eu teylau. [LI:88]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG anyone keep-VN gardens **with-3SM** by status it manure-PRES-3SG except one year, since each year PART ought-PRES-IMPERS them manure-VN

*No one is entitled to keep gardens **with him** [i.e. continue to own gardens] by right of manuring them except for a single year, since they ought to be manured every year.*

The use of GAN is a minor, although not vanishingly rare, option for possession. The other situation in which it occurs in in the source-marking compound Y GAN identifying the former possessor in a change of ownership.

(486) a henny yu e uechteyrn delyet enteu e urenhyn Llundeyn pan gymero y tyr **y ganthau** [LI:110]

and that be-PRES-3SG his overlord tribute his-EMPH to king London when take-PRES-SUBJ-3SG his land **from-with-3SM**;

and that is his sovereign tribute to the king [of] London when he receives land ***from*** *him*

There are also rare examples of O compounds similarly marking a former possessor.

(487) ac onys tal byt guassanaethwyr er argluyd y[44r]gyt ac ef en duen guystyl **o'e lau** neu uach. [LI:106]

and if-NEG pay-PRES-3SG be-IMPER-3SG servants the lord together with him PART bear-VN pledge **from his hand** or surety

and if he$_2$ *doesn't pay it, let the lord's servants together with him*$_1$ *take a pledge* ***from his***$_2$ ***hand*** *or a surety [for it].*

Overwhelmingly, however, a current possessor is marked with I, whether abstract legal possession is involved:

(488) A frynhawngueith yd oed yn Hardlech yn Ardudwy, yn llys **idaw**. [BFL:29:3]

and morning-time PART be-IMPERF-3SG in Harlech in Ardudwy PART court **to-3SM**

And one morning he was in Harlech in Ardudwy, a court ***of his.***

(489) Try chorn kyweythas esyd **e**'r brenhyn [LI:42]

three horn companionship be-PRES-REL-3SG **to** the king

There are three close-kept horns ***to*** *the king [i.e. the king has ...]*

or whether there is a clear additional sense of the possessor being a goal of motion (with the possibility that actual motion is involved), usually in the context of a change of

ownership:

(490) e moch {mo B} **e**'r gur a'r deueyt **e**'r wreyc [LI:44]

the pigs **to** the man and the sheep **to** the woman

*[on divorce] the pigs [go/belong] **to** the man and the sheep **to** the woman*

or there is a clear sense that the possessor is also a beneficiary:

(491) A-g6neuthur teir prif gaer **idi** hitheu yn-y tri lle a-dewissei yn ynys prydein. [BM:187:19]

and make-VN three chief castle **to-3S**F her-EMPH in the three place REL choose-IMPERF-3SG in island Britain

*And [he] made three chief castles **for her** in the three places she chose in the Island of Britain.*

(492) Dos titheu ar Arthur y diwyn dy wallt, ac erchych hynny idaw yn gyuarws **it**. [CO:58]

go-IMPER-2SG you-SG on {go-IMPER-2SG to} Arthur to trim-VN your-SG hair, and ask-IMPER-2SG that to-3SM PART gift **to-2SG**

*Go you to Arthur to trim your hair, and ask that of him as a gift **to you**.*

(493) namyn o byd e ryu eru honno endau e rannu o'r maer a'r kyghellaur en kyffredyn **y** paub kystal a'e gylyd [LI:83]

except if be-PRES-3SG the sort acre that in-3SM PART share-VN of the maer and the cynghellor PART common **to** every as-good with/and his fellow

*rather if there is that sort of acre in it, the maer and the cynghellor share [it] **to** everyone as good as the next*

The usual markers for possessors are overridden when the immediate context emphasizes the co-possession of two or more people. Then, as in many other cases emphasizing co-action, we find the possessors marked with RHWNG. The sense of

possession, in this case, would derive entirely from context.

(494) Pvybynnac a uo peth eg kyt **eregthav** a'r brenhyn, na'r penkenyd nac arall uo, hunnv a dele rannu, a'r brenhyn dewys. [LI:15]

whoever PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG thing in together **between-3SM** and the king, NEG the chief-huntsman NEG other be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG, that PART ought-PRES-3SG share VN, and the king choose-VN

*Whoever [has] something in common **between him** and the king, whether the chief huntsman or another, that [one] ought to divide [it] and the king choose.*

3.3.1.2.4 Associated Regions

Another large group of part-part relationships associates a physical region with a landmark (both in the technical sense and in the sense of a reference point) relative to which the region is defined, marking the landmark with the preposition I. The region (the trajector) is often identified by a generic term such as *parth* (part, region) or *tu* (side), or when the landmark is a person, by *llaw* (hand, i.e., by metonymy, side region). See section 2.3.2.3.3.2 for a discussion of how this operates as a part of certain complex compound prepositions.

(495) Beth oed yr eskeir aruchel a'r llynn o bop **parth y**'r eskeir? [BFL:40:11]

what be-IMPERF-3SG the ridge very-high and the lake of each **part to** the ridge

*What was the very high ridge and the lake on each **side of** the ridge?*

(496) A milltir y wrth y Ryt o pob **tu y**'r fford y gwelynt y lluesteu a'r pebylleu, a dygyfor o lu mawr. [BR:6:7]

and mile from-with the ford of each **side to** the road PART see-PRET-3PL the tents and the pavilions

*And a mile from the ford, on each **side of** the road, they saw the tents and pavilions*

(497) Kegaus er haulur a'e lau assue ar e ford, a'r haulur en nessaf ydau en e perued, a'e kanllau ar e **llau** arall **ydau**; [LI:73]

"cyngaws" the claimant with/and his hand left on/to the road, and the claimant PART nearest to-3SM in the middle, and the "canllaw" on/to the **hand** other **to-3SM**

*The claimant's "cyngaws" [lawyer] with his left hand to the road, and the claimant nearest to him in the middle, with the "canllaw" [lawyer] on the other **hand of him**.*

The relationship of the trajector region and landmark may be further specified by an adjective indicating relative distance:

(498) Pan debygynt vy eu bot yn **gyuagos y**'r gaer nyt oydynt nes no chynt. [CO:414]

when suppose-IMPERF-3PL them their be-VN PART **equal-near to** the castle NEG be-IMPERF-3PL nearer than before

*When they supposed they would be **near to** the castle, they were no nearer than before.*

or otherwise indicating position relative to the landmark:

(499) a'e wan ynteu yn aual y lygat hyt pan aeth **y**'r gwegil **allan**. [CO:551]

and it thrust-VN he-EMPH in apple the eye length when go-PRET-3SG **to** the nape **out**

*and thrust it [i.e. the spear] into his eyeball until it went **out of** the nape of his neck.*

This last example emphasizes that I indicates relationship and not a spatial goal, since the two senses would have opposite meanings here (i.e. "outside relative to" versus "outside with a goal of").

3.3.1.2.5 Other Relationships

The remaining part-part relationships are a mixed bag of inanimate objects associated via a frame, often with a beneficiary sense:

(500) A chledyf eurdwrn ar y glun, a gwein o gordwal newyd **idaw** [BR:4:6]
and sword gold-hilt on his hip, and scabbard of cordovan new **to-3SM**
*And a gold-hilted sword on his hip, with a scabbard of new cordovan **to it***

or specific locations associated with an individual:

(501) Enteu Uath a gyrchwys e ystauell, ac a beris kyweiraw lle **idaw** y benelinyaw [MFM:74:4]
he-EMPH Math PART make-for-PRET-3SG his chamber, and PART cause-PRET-3SG prepare-VN place **to-3SM** to recline-VN
*He, Math, went [to] his chamber, and he caused a place to be prepared **for him** to lie down*

or inanimate concepts characterized as possessions (somewhat ambiguous when used with attributes):

(502) Ac y rof i a Duw," heb ef, "yd oed neges **idi** wrth rei o'r maes hwnn [PPD:11:10]
and for-1SG and God, say-PRET-3SG he, PART be-IMPERF-3SG errand **to-3SF** with some of the field this
*"And for me and God," said he, "There is an errand **to her** [i.e. she has an errand] with some [one] of this field*

(503) A'r anyan a uo y'r moch coet, bit **y chitheu**. [MFM:75:23]
and the nature REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG to the pig wood, be-IMPER-3SG **to-2PL**
*And the nature that is to the wild pig [i.e. that the wild pig has], let it be **to you** [i.e. let you have it].*

All of these have used I to mark the more important or salient member of the association. There is also a small group using O to identify a landmark that is the more prominent entity associated with, and either the cause or the evidentiary basis for the trajector.

(504) Ac ny deleyr enteu talu tyr ambreynnyaul en lle tyr a breynt **ohonau**, megys kyghelloryaeth neu uaerony neu redyt. [LI:77]

and NEG ought-PRES-3SG he pay-VN land un-status in place land with/and status **of-3SM**, like cynghellor-ship or maer-ship or freedom

*And he ought not to pay land without status in place of land with status **from it**, such as an office of cynghellor or office of maer or a freedom.*

(505) Ny dele kyttyryauc talu y'u gyllyd tyr ny bo suyd **ohonau** en lle tyr y bo suyd **ohonau**, onyt ehun a'e men; ac os kymer collet e ureynt. [LI:78]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG together-landholder pay-VN to his fellow land NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG office **of-3SM** in place land PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG office **of-3SM** if-NEG himself PART it wish-PRES-3SG; and if take-VN lose-IMPER-3G his status

*A co-landholder ought not pay to his fellow land [that] doesn't have an office **from it** [i.e. an office associated with it] in place of land [that] has an office **from it**, unless he himself wishes it; and if he takes [it] let him lose his status.*

In these particular examples, the choice of O seems to be motivated by a causal sense (see section 3.4.1).

There are two numerically common groups of inanimate part-part relationships that occur in legal formulas and occur primarily in the law tracts. The first relates the primary part of a gift or payment to an accompanying addition, using GAN to mark the accompaniment. While the motivation clearly comes from the co-locational sense of GAN (see section 3.1.1.10), many of the examples involve hypothetical legal values and

not actual co-located objects. This may, instead, be viewed as a mathematical function (see section 3.3.2.3.3).

(506) Mi a rodaf it honno, a medyant y seith cantref **genthi**. [MFL:49:19]
I PART give-PRES-1SG to-2SG that, and control the seven cantref **with-3SF**
*I will give that [woman] to you, and control of the seven cantrefs **with her.***

(507) E sarhaet yv chue buv a chue ugeynt o aryant; e werth yv chue buv a chue ugeyn muv, **gan** e ardyrchauael. [LI:15]
his insult-prise be-PRES-3SG six cattle and six twenty of silver; his value be-PRES-3SG six cattle and six score cattle **with** his augmentation
*His insult-price is six cattle and six-score [pieces] of silver; his [legal] value is six cattle and six score cattle, **with** his augmentation.*

The second group concerns an asymmetric association of a trajector of lesser importance with a landmark of more central importance to a frame incorporating both. The trajector is characterized as being a necessary or at least appropriate accompaniment to the landmark. Most typically, this scenario occurs with the verb PERTHYN "to pertain" and the landmark marked with AR.

(508) Vchof retraethassam ny o'r suydogyon a perthyn **ar** e llys [LI:42]
above PART-treat-PLUP-1PL we of the officers REL pertain-VN **on/to** the court
*Above we have dealt with the officers that belong **to** the court*

In a small number of examples–all with a third person singular feminine pronoun as landmark–we find this construction with the preposition AT instead.

(509) eythyr guyscoed er egluys a'e thlysseu ac a perthyno **attey**. [LI:83]

except clothes the church and her treasures and REL pertain-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **to-3SF**

*except the church's vestments and the treasures that belong **to it**.*

Given the fairly restricted non-spatial uses of AT (see section 2.3.1.2.3), and given the parallels between this usage and the use of AR to identify a trajector as an attribute of a landmark, it seems likely that this small set of examples with AT is a hypercorrection from the more usual AR.

Given that the verb PERTHYN "to pertain" is clearly a borrowing from Latin, one possibility that must be considered is whether the construction PERTHYN + AR is simply a calque of *pertineo ad*, the conventional expression in Latin (see section 2.3.1.3.1). While most of the examples with this type of sense revolve around the verb PERTHYN, we also find it with other verbs of obligation:

(510) ac ny dele maruty **arnau** ket boet maru en henne o amser, namen bot en eydau y tat e da oll [a uo yn y warchadu, E, a vo eny ardelv C] canes y tat en henne o amser a dele attep trostau am pob peth. [LI:98]

and NEG ought-PRES-3SG death-house **on-3SM** though be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG dead in that of time, except be-VN PART his the father his goods all since the father in that of time PART ought-PRES-3SG answer-VN over-3SM about every thing

*And there should not be a dead-house [i.e. potential for escheat] **for him** although he dies in that [space] of time, rather all his goods [should] be possessions [of] the father, since the father during that [space] of time is required to answer for him for everything.*

as well as with verbs that inherently specify the nature of the trajector:

(511) Ny dely er escop persony nep **ar** sapeleu y brenhyn namyn er effeyryat teylu, onyt can kyghor e brenhyn. [LI:7]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG the bishop appoint-parson-VN anyone **on/to** chapels the king except the priest household, if-NEG with advice the king

*The bishop is not entitled to appoint parsons **to** the king's chapels except for the household priest, except by the king's advice.*

Given the asymmetry of the participants, this use may be influenced by the use of AR to mark a trajector as a property of a landmark, a similarly inherently asymmetric relationship.

3.3.1.3 Summary

Overall, we find two major strategies to relate entities. When the distinction of an entity (or set of entities) from a larger homogeneous group or whole is being profiled, then we find source-marking language, most typically O, motivated by the general metaphor SUBCATEGORIES ARE OBJECTS REMOVED FROM A CONTAINER OR BOUNDED REGION, or perhaps an even more general DISTINCTION IS SEPARATION. When, instead, it is an association between heterogeneous entities or parts that is being profiled, we find goal-marking language, either symmetrically between equal participants (e.g. social or genetic relationships) or identifying the controlling, defining, or simply more important entity as the landmark (fictive goal), and I is overwhelmingly the typical marker. This use tends to overlap significantly with other functions (e.g. spatial goal, beneficiary) that reinforce (or directly motivate) the use of I. Associations of entities of a more temporary or alienable nature tend instead to use the language of spatial co-location (especially GAN). Here we

see the other side of the image schema transformation that converts locational language to goal-marking language. The use of I appears (via complexly ambiguous examples) to be motivated at least in part by the resulting co-location with the goal, thus goal-marking language is motivated because it is considered equivalent to the resulting co-location. The association of Location expressions (such as GAN) with physical or temporary possession, and Goal expressions (such as I) with more permanent or inalienable possession precisely follow the cross-linguistic patterns noted by Heine (1997). See also section 4.1.2.1 for cross-linguistic considerations, especially within the Celtic language family.

3.3.2 Properties of Entities

Properties can be considered to include any modifiying, descriptive, or specifying feature of an entity, but here I make a distinction from those features that are understood to define the nature, essence, or quality of that entity, which I am classifying here as "properties", and those features that define the relationship of that entity to other entities (considered in section 3.3.1). So, for example, "the bowl of gold" will be considered here, but "the bowl of David" would fall in section 3.3.1. This is a broad and somewhat subjective definition, but I hope to show that it is a useful one to consider. These features may be permanent and inherent, long-term but not inherent, or short-term; they may involve physical characteristics or appearance, intangible mental or emotional characteristics, or characteristics defined by social or legal contexts; they may take the

form of states or may manifest as dynamic actions shading into the class of "experiences". The properties covered in the first group here (section 3.3.2.1) highlight relatively long-term (although not necessarily permanent) properties, or properties that are somehow defining. Section 3.3.2.2 following, in contrast, highlights short-term, transitory properties that are perceived more as something experienced by the bearer than as something defining, describing, or specifying its nature. Some types of properties tend to appear in only one function or the other. For example, physical shape or appearance are long-term characteristics except in very special circumstances. Similarly, properties involving dynamic action tend to fall under short-term experiences. But at the detail level of my analysis system I have focused on how a property is functioning in the immediate context rather than providing an absolute classification for all contexts. So, for example, anger may be characterized either as a property of the angry entity or as a state that that entity is experiencing depending on context ("the angry man" versus "the man became angry"). Similarly an event may be used to describe or define one of the participants, or may be framed as something that participant is experiencing ("the running man" versus "the man is running"–note that these examples are not meant to parallel Medieval Welsh usage directly, but are simply meant to show why I am trying to distinguish the functions).

3.3.2.1 Characteristics

Characteristics and the entities bearing them may function syntactically either as trajectors or landmarks.

(512) Er amser y bu hitheu **yn** y dewred, ny bu wreic delediwach no hi [MFL:50:8]

the time PART be-PRET-3SG she **in** her strength, NEG be-PRET-3SG woman more-beautiful than she

*The time she was **in** her heyday, there was no woman more beautiful than she.*

(513) a diamheu yw gennym na welsam eiroet uilwraeth **yn** un wreic kymeint ac **ynot** ti [PPD:20:25]

and certain be-PRES-3SG with-1PL NEG see-PRET-1PL ever valor **in** one woman so-much and **yn-2SG** you-SG

*and certainty is with us [i.e. we are certain] we never saw so much valor **in** a single woman as **in** you*

Some of the methods of marking these roles form complementary pairs, for example, when a characteristic is framed as a controlling influence over the bearer, it may be described as "on" (AR) the bearer and the bearer as "under" (TAN) the characteristic.

(514) O deruyd rody gureyc y vr **adan** e haguedy, [LI:54]

if happen-PRES-3SG give-VN woman to man **under** her dowry

*If it happens [that] a woman is given to a man **under** [i.e. subject to the conditions of] her dowry*

(515) Eisted kyfrwg deu o'r milwyr, a didan gerd ragot a breint edling **arnat** byhyt bynnac y bych yma. [CO:148]

sit-VN equal-between two of the soldiers, with/and amusement song before-2SG and status king's-heir **on-2SG** length whatever PART be-PRES-SUBJ-2SG here

*[You will] sit between two of the soldiers, with amusing songs before you and the honor due a king's heir **to you** however long you are here.*

Similarly, when the characteristic and bearer are presented as co-located, we find an inherent asymmetry of the relationship reflected in the choice of different co-location markers, the characteristic being "with" (GAN) the bearer, and the bearer being "with" (AC) the characteristic. (This asymmetry of reference for these two elements is dicussed more generally in sections 2.3.1.4.3-4.) When both types of marking are used in the same phrase, AC is often better interpreted simply as the conjunction.

(516) Yn dyuot o'r pebyll y gwelynt vackwy **a** gwallt pybyruelyn ar y benn [BR:13:30]

PART come-VN from the pavilion PART see-IMPERF-3PL squire **with/and** hair bright-yellow on his head

*Coming from the pavilion they saw a squire **with** bright yellow hair on his head*

(517) Ansawd Pwyll hyspys oed **gantaw** ef, canys gwr uuassei idaw kynn no hynny. [PPD:24:18]

appearance Pwyll familiar be-IMPERF-3SG **with-3SM** him, since man be-PLUP-3SG to-3SM earlier than that

*Pwyll's appearance was familiar **to him**, since he had been a vassal to him before that.*

In other cases, there is no such symmetry found: both characteristics and their bearers can be characterized as containers or regions using YN (i.e. the bearer is "in" the characteristic, but the characteristic can also be "in" the bearer), but we find no reciprocal construction marking the trajector as containing the landmark for either arrangement of roles. (See the examples above.)

A particular difficulty occurs in interpreting the syntactic constructions used to identify properties. When the text uses *yn*, there are some ambiguous contexts in which

the element could theoretically be either the predicative/adverbial particle or the preposition, or even the progressive particle, although these are less commonly ambiguous. (See section 2.3.1.6.1 for an extensive discussion of this.) I have tended to err on the inclusive side, when there is any basis for believing an example could involve the preposition.

3.3.2.1.1 Material, Content, and Topic

A set of meanings that partake somewhat of both "characteristics of entities" and "frame-based relationships between entities", and that behave in connected ways across the physical and non-physical realms are Material, Contents, and Topic. In the tangible, physical realm we have only Material (i.e. the landmark-substance of which a trajector-entity is composed) and Contents (i.e. the nature of the landmark-entities that constitute a trajector-sample). Although there is no objective reason that a non-physical entity could not be characterized as metaphorically being composed of a particular material, my data did not include any examples that I interpreted in this way. Non-physical samples do, however, frequently have their contents specified, and only non-physical entities can be associated with a topic, that is, a concept or entity as the landmark that metonymically defines our understanding or identification of the specific trajector.

These distinctions and their connections can best be understood by example. In the physical world, we may have a box (trajector) of wood (material-landmark) or of apples (content-landmark). In the non-physical world, we may have a utterance

(trajector) of poetry (content-landmark) or about a beautiful girl (topic-landmark).

Overall, Material and Content are identified with a relatively few constructions, with relatively few factors overriding the default. Topics are more distinct, more variable, and more prone to being overridden by particular semantic, morphological, or lexical circumstances.

3.3.2.1.1.1 Material/Contents as Source

The primary language for both material and contents is that of spatial sources, using O. In both cases, there is a similar motivation for this in the experience of removing a portion of a raw material from a larger available set in order to process it, or of removing a subset from a larger number of the same item in order to use or focus on it. Thus we see RAW MATERIALS ARE SOURCES and SAMPLES/CONTENTS ARE SUBSETS REMOVED FROM A SOURCE. This construction is found for material in the physical realm (the only context in which I found "material" constructions), whether the relationship is static or dynamic:

(518) A ractal **o** rudeur am y phen. [BM:181:36]
and circlet **of** red-gold about her head
*And a circlet **of** red gold around her head.*

(519) Y rei hynny a rithassei ef **o**'r madalch. [MFM:70:22]
the some those PART shape-PLUP-3SG he **from** the mushrooms
*Those he had conjured **from** mushrooms.*

This is also the most common and general construction for contents, whether physical or non-physical. The non-physical contexts in which Content examples

occurred included: speech, written text, mental experiences and processes, emotional experiences, time, attributes, and socio-legal experiences.

(520) pun march **o**'r blaut goreu a tyuo ar e tyr, [LI:96]

load horse **of** the flour best REL grow-PRES-SUBJ-3SG on the land

*A horse-load **of** the best flour that grows on the land.*

(521) O byd negyd enteu **o** wneythur un o henne rodet e mach e vystel e'r haulur. [LI:66]

if be-PRES-3SG refusal he-EMPH **of** do-VN one of those give-IMPER-3SG the surety his pledge to the claimant

*If he refuses **to** do one of those [things] let the surety give the pledge to the claimant.*

(522) Nyt oed hagen **o**-lythyr namyn; o deuy ti ac o deuy di byth y rufein. [BM:188:20]

NEG be-IMPERF-3S however **of** letter except: if come-PRES-2SG you-SG and if come-PRES-2SG you-SG ever to Rome

*There was nothing **in** the letter except: "If you come, and if you ever come to Rome."*

(523) Ef ny allwys ymgelu **o**'e uot yn y charu, a'e uenegi idi a wnaeth. [MFM:85:10]

he NEG be-able-PRET-3SG MUTUAL-conceal-VN **of** him be-VN PART her love-VN, and it tell-VN to-3SF PART do-PRET-3SG

*He was not able to conceal **that** he loved her, and he told it to her.*

(524) ac yr awr yd edrych, nit oed gyueir arnei hi ny bei yn llawn **o**'e garyat ef. [MFM:85:7]

and the hour PART look-VN, NEG be-IMPERF-3SG region on-3SF her NEG be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG PART full **of** him loving him

*and [at] the hour she looked, there was no part of her that was not full **of** love [for] him.*

(525) A gwedy llithraw talym **o** amser, teir gormes a dygwydwys yn Ynys Prydein [LL:30]

and after pass-VN piece **of** time, three oppression PART happen-PRET-3SG in Island Britain

*And after a bit **of** time had passed, three oppressions happened to the Island of Britain*

(526) "Ie," heb ef, "ac atuyd y mae arnat **o** anryded ual nas dylyei." [PPD:2:9]

well, say-PRET-3SG, and perhaps PART be-PRES-3SG on-2SG **of** rank as NEG-it ought-IMPERF-3SG

*"Well," said he, "and perhaps there is on you [such] **of** rank so that you ought not [do] it."*

(527) a digawn yw hynny **o** gosp arnaw." [PPD:17:22]

and enough be-PRES-3SG that **of** penalty on-3SM

*and that will be enough **of** a penalty on him."*

In this sense, we also find a few examples of the near-obsolete source-marking preposition A. The contexts tend to be highly formulaic with an adjectival trajector.

(528) "Dioer," heb y Riannon, "ys drwc **a** gedymdeith uuosti, ac ys da **a** gedymdeith a golleisti." [MFL:56:26]

God knows, say-PRET-3SG Rhiannon, be-PRES-REL-3SG bad **of** companion be-PRET-2SG and be-PRES-REL-3SG good **of** companion PART lose-PRET-2SG

*"God knows!" said Rhiannon, "It's a bad [one] **of** a companion that you have been and it's a good [one] **of** a companion that you have lost."*

Cutting across these various semantic contexts, we see this construction when the sample is indicated by a number or generic indication of quantity, or in variants of an existential construction with BE.

(529) Ony byd penkenedel, un gur ar ugeynt **o** oreugwyr e kenedel a'e guatta. [LI:102]

if-NEG be-PRES-3SG head-kindred, one man on twenty **of** best-men the kindred PART him deny-PRES-3SG

*If there is no head [of] kindred, [it requires] twenty one men **of** the best men of the kindred [to] deny it.*

(530) Ar hynny nachaf y clywynt twryf oed vwy **o** lawer no'r twrwf gynt. [BR:5:16]

on that behold PART hear-IMPERF-3PL tumult be-IMPERF-3SG more **of** much than the tumult former

*And at that, behold, they heard a tumult that was greater **of** amount than the former tumult.*

(531) E gur a dele er escubaur ac a uo uvch daear ac ys daear **o** yt. [LI:44]

the man PART ought-PRES-3SG the barn and REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG above earth and under earth **of** grain

*The man is entitled to the barn and what is above the earth and below the earth **of** grain.*

Although the content construction with O is found most generally, over a variety of semantic fields, it may alternate with, or be pre-empted by, other prepositions in specific semantic contexts, and may in some cases be a minority option compared to these.

3.3.2.1.1.2 Non-Contents, Lack of Contents

In the concrete, physical realm, the only override found in the data is for "non-contents, lack of expected contents", marked with HEB.

(532) Mel a uo chwechach naw mod no mel kynteit **heb** wchi **heb** wenyn y vragodi y wled. [CO:610]

honey PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG sweeter nine manner than honey first-swarm **beside** drones **beside** bees to supply mead-VN the feast

*Honey that is nine times sweeter than the honey of a first-year swarm, **without** drones and **without** bees, to make mead for the feast.*

As we have seen in section 2.3.1.7.3, the use of this preposition across functions and semantic fields to mark absence, exclusion, non-occurrence, etc. can be understood as deriving from a relatively abstract understanding of STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_p$, ABSENCE OF A STATE IS ABSENCE FROM A LOCATION (and corresponding metaphors for contents, characteristics, experiences, etc.). In the particular case of contents, we might see a parallel between CONTENTS ARE SOURCES and NON-CONTENTS ARE LOCATION OUTSIDE THAT SOURCE, but it is likely to be a mistake to look for a non-contents metaphor directly related to the contents metaphor, rather than a motivation stemming from more general negation and absence metaphors.

3.3.2.1.1.3 Temporal Contents

As seen above (section 3.3.2.1.1.1), in the temporal realm, the contents of units of time normally follow the default pattern with O. The exception is in a construction with the verb TREULO, when the contents of the unit of time is an activity marked with TRWY rather than a time expression.

(533) Treulaw y dyd a wnaethant **drwy** ymdidan, a cherd, a chyuedach. [MFM:86:6]

spend-VN the day PART do-PRET-3PL **through** conversation, and song, and revelry

*They spent the day **in** conversation and song and revelry.*

As we see in other uses for TRWY (section 2.3.1.8.2), this appears to partake more of a manner or means sense than a contents sense. That is, the unit of time is filled with unspecified contents by *means* of the activity. This understanding of the relationship between the time-period and the activity would not seem to be predictable or obvious from other treatments of time, and may be best understood as an idiomatic expression specifically associating TREULO and TRWY (see section 4.2.1.2).

3.3.2.1.1.4 Contents of Mental and Emotional Experiences

Mental and emotional experiences rarely involve expressions of content, with occasional exceptions where the content is expressed in the explicit language of physical amounts (e.g., "He felt full of love.").

(534) ac yr awr yd edrych, nit oed gyueir arnei hi ny bei yn llawn **o**'e garyat ef. [MFM:85:7]

and the hour PART look-VN, NEG be-IMPERF-3SG region on-3SF her NEG be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG PART full **of** him loving him

*and [at] the hour she looked, there was no part of her that was not full **of** love [for] him.*

Much more typically, mental and emotional experiences focus on a topic, i.e. the stimulus for the thought or feeling rather than the substance of that thought or feeling

itself. One exception is the act of mental decision or choice, where the most common accompanying role is that of the content of the decision or choice.

(535) Ny dele nep kemryt mach kennogen canes deu ardelu ent ae na cheyff enteu namen dewys e ardelu: os **o** uechny e dewys nyt oes kynnogen; os **o** kennogen e dewys nyt oes uach; ac urth henne ny eyll un den seuyll en uach kennogen. [LI:63]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG anyone take-VN surety principal-debtor since two pleas be-PRES-3PL either NEG get-PRES-3SG he-EMPH except choice his plea: if **of** suretyship PART choose-PRES-3SG NEG be-PRES-3SG principal-debtor, if **of** principal-debtor PART choose-PRES-3SG NEG be-PRES-3SG surety, and with that NEG be-able-PRES-3SG one person stand-VN PART surety principal-debtor

*No one ought to take a debtor-surety since they are two [different] pleas, rather he does not take but a choice [of] his plea: if **of** suretyship he chooses there is no principal debtor, if **of** debtorship he chooses there is no surety; and because of that one man cannot stand as a debtor-surety.*

(536) Os tey a uyd, e braut eyl yeuhaf a dele rannu e tedenneu canys dylerbren uyd enteu yna, a'r hynaf dewyssau **ar** e tedenneu [LI:82]

if houses PART be-PRES-3SG, the brother second youngest PART ought-PRES-3SG share-VN the tofts since bottom-rung be-PRES-3SG he-EMPH then, and the oldest choose-VN **on** the tofts

*If there are houses [in the inheritance] the second youngest brother ought to divide the tofts, since he is the "bottom rung" then [i.e. the person of lowest status involved in the division], and the oldest chooses **from** the tofts*

Here we see two different strategies, both borrowed from a physical scenario of selecting one of multiple entities by physical manipulation. The use of O profiles the selected entity as being chosen from a source choice-group (as in the more general use of O for contents) while the use of AR profiles the controlling and manipulating aspect of the event (see e.g. section 3.3.2.2.1.3 for this general pattern for AR).

Topics of mental and emotional experiences will be discussed below in section

3.3.2.1.1.7, after dealing with contents and topics of speech and text.

3.3.2.1.1.5 Contents of Speech and Text

By the contents of a speech or text I mean either a quotation or gloss of the actual words, or a label indicating the specific contents (e.g. the title of a poem or song) or genre (e.g. "a poem"). As for other types of contents, marking with O is the default for this function, found in a variety of contexts. Once we find AM identifying the genre of the speech, quite possibly influenced by the normal use of AM in the (far more common) marking of speech topics (see section 3.3.2.1.1.6). This appears to be an anomaly, rather than a regular productive use.

(537) ny dele bot en negyd **o** wneythur un o try pheth [LI:66]
NEG ought-PRES-3SG be-VN PART refusal **of** do-VN one of three thing
*he is not entitled to refuse **to** do one of three things*

(538) Guedy daruot y bwyta, ymdidan a wnaeth hi a Guydyon **am** chwedleu a chyuarwydyt. [MFM:82:1]
after happen-VN the eat-VN, MUTUAL-converse PART do-PRET-3SG she with/and Gwydion **about** news and stories
*After the eating finished, she conversed with Gwydion [or: she and Gwydion conversed] **about** news and stories.*

For the most part, when the bearer of a property is the landmark, I have discussed examples in section 3.3.2.1.6 below, but I will consider language-related examples here. Two variants of the same passage involving a written text mark the bearer of the content with YN and O. While we will see that YN is common in this general function, O is not

(in fact, we will see that I is a more typical alternative). Both are consistent with portraying the text (or perhaps the physical letter) as a container for the language, with YN indicating static location and O suggesting extraction of the language from the text. These are both elements of the CONDUIT METAPHOR (see section 4.2.2).

(539) Nyt oed **yn**-y llythyr h6nn6 heuyt namyn ot af inheu y rufein ac ot af. [BM:188:27]

NEG be-IMPERF-3SG **in** the letter that however except if go-PRES-1SG I-EMPH to Rome and if go-PRES-1SG

*There was nothing **in** that letter however except: "If I go to Rome, and if I go."*

(540) Nyt oed hagen **o**-lythyr namyn; o deuy ti ac o deuy di byth y rufein. [BM:188:20]

NEG be-IMPERF-3S however **of** letter except: if come-PRES-2SG you-SG and if come-PRES-2SG you-SG ever to Rome

*There was nothing **in** the letter except: "If you come, and if you ever come to Rome."*

In general, a Container metaphor for language seems to be foreign to Medieval Welsh, and given that the majority of examples of YN appear in the law texts, it is possible there may be some influence from Latin (an influence that might reasonably be stronger in language about written texts than about spoken texts). The choice of Medieval Welsh texts that are unlikely to be translations from Latin was an attempt to avoid superficial examples of this type of influence that occur as artifacts of translation, but this example may demonstrate the beginning of changes in Welsh usage itself .

There is also an example of written text where the content is charcterized as a controlled object accompanying the text. This, too, is discussed in greater detail in section

4.2.2.2.

(541) Ac hyt yg kaer llion y doeth y llythyr h6nn6 ar vaxen **a**-r chwedleu. [BM:188:22]
and length in Caerllion PART come-PRET-3SG the letter that to Maxen **with** the news
*And to Caerllion came that letter, to Maxen, **with** the news.*

When the content of speech is expressed with an indirect quote the content expression may be introduced by HYD. The most plausible connection with other senses of HYD lies in its use to mark extent or result (of an event or process), however the extension is far from obvious. (Given that the examples of this usage are all from the law text, it may be another candidate for a Latin calque.)

(542) O deruyd y den caffael yscrybyl ar yt a bot amrysson **hyt** na chaffat, gatter en llw e deyllyat. [LI:156]
if happen-PRES-3SG to person get-VN animals on grain and be-VN dispute **length** NEG get-PRET-IMPERS, allow-IMPER-IMPERS in oath the catcher
*If it happens to a person [that he] finds livestock on a grain-field and there is a dispute **that** [they] were not found, leave it to the oath of the catcher.*

3.3.2.1.1.6 Topics of Speech and Text

There is a wide range of markers used to identify the topic of speech or text, conditioned by various semantic circumstances. The most common and apparently least marked construction uses AM, which we will see is the commonest topic marker across semantic fields.

(543) Sef ymdidan a uu gan Teirnon, menegi y holl gyfranc **am** y gassec ac **am** y mab [PPD:25:26]

thus conversation PART be-PRET-3SG with Teirnon, tell-VN the whole story **about** the mare and **about** the boy

*This conversation was with Teirnon [i.e. Teirnon had]: telling the whole tale **about** the mare and **about** the boy*

(544) A llyna ual y teruyna y geing honn o'r Mabinyogi ... **am** y ginyaw yn Hardlech seith mlyned; ac **am** Ganyat Adar Riannon; ac **am** Yspydaut Benn pedwarugeint mlyned. [BFL:48:12]

and behold as PART end-PRES-3SG the branch this of the Mabinogi ... **about** the dinner in Harlech seven years; and **about** singing birds Rhiannon; and **about** guest-hall head four-score years

*And behold how this branch of the Mabinogi ends ... **about** the dinner in Harlech for seven years; and **about** the singing of the birds of Rhiannon; and **about** the Feast-hall of the Head [for] four-score years.*

In its spatial senses, AM focuses on two situations, either a matching relationship between trajector and landmark, or the trajector as surroundings for the landmark. The asymmetric relationship of entity and surroundings seems a likelier motivation for the relationship between speech/text and its topic, suggesting a metaphor TOPICS ARE SURROUNDINGS/CONTEXT. However consider also the use of AM to relate an entity and its value. The topic use may derive from a more general abstract "matching" function, rather than directly from TOPICS ARE SURROUNDINGS.

(545) E mysc hynny wynt a glywssont chwedlydyaeth y wrth Riannon ac **am** y phoen. [PPD:24:9]

in mixture that they PART hear-PRET-3PL news from-with Rhiannon and **about** her punishment

*Among that, they heard the news about Rhiannon and **about** her punishment.*

Topics of speech may also be marked with AR , which occurs most commonly when the topic is validated or endorsed by the speech, e.g. legal oaths or testimony, or assertions of truth or fact regarding the topic. (Most of the examples occur in the law text.) This context suggests the "control over" sense of AR as motivation.

(546) O deruyd guelet gureyc yn deuot o'r parth hun e'r llven a gur o'r tu arall, neu en dyuot o wacty, neu adan un uantell, os e wadu a wnant, llv deg wraged a deugeynt **ar** e wreyc, a'r kymeynt o wyr **ar** e gur. [LI:52]

if happen-PRES-3SG see-VN woman PART come-VN from the part this to the grove and man from the side other, or PART come-VN from empty-house, or under one mantle, if it deny-VN PART do-PRES-3PL, oath ten women and two-twenty **on** the woman, and the same of men **on** the man

If it happens that a woman is seen coming from this part of a grove and a man from the other side, or coming from an empty house, or under the same mantle, if they deny it, [the responsibility for] the oath of fifty women [is] ***on*** *the woman, and the same [number] of men* ***on*** *the man.*

The oppositional sense of RHAG motivates a few examples where it marks a topic of contrary or hostile speech–the examples both involving CWYNO "to complain". (See section 3.3.2.2.4.2 for similar language for hearers of these types of speech.)

(547) Hwynteu a doethant at Math uab Mathonwy, a chwynaw yn luttaf yn y byt **rac** Aranrot a wnaethant [MFM:83:17]

they-EMPH PART come-PRET-3PL to Math son Mathonwy, and complain-VN PART most-persistant in the world **before** Aranrhod PART do-PRET-3PL

They came to Math son of Mathonwy, and they complained the most persistantly in the world ***against*** *Aranrhod*

There is a single example of Y WRTH marking a topic of speech. This is more commonly found marking the topic of knowledge, information, or news, but especially

when that information might be expected to be communicated by verbal means. See section 3.3.2.1.1.7 for further discussion.

(548) Pa ymouyn bynnac a uei ganthunt wy **y wrth** y uorwyn, y chwedleu ereill ytrossei ynteu. [PPD:13:13]

what question ever REL be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG with-3PL them **from-with** the maiden, to news other PART turn-IMPERF-3SG he-EMPH

Whatever question would be with them [i.e. they would have] ***about*** *the maiden, he turned it to another tale.*

In three examples, the topic of a legalistic speech act (e.g. swearing to something in court) is marked with TROS.

(549) Ef a dele tygu **tros** tyr e llys. [LI:33]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG swear-VN **over** land the court

He ought [to] swear [oaths] ***concerning*** *the court's land.*

This seems best explained as a specific formulaic association between the verb TYNGU (to swear) and the preposition TROS, deriving from the common use of TROS to mark the expected agent of TYNGU when a substitute agent is present (see section 3.5.1.1.2.2), and then generalized to mark any minor role involved in the Oath Frame (where the primary roles are that of the speaker, the hearer, and the verbal expression of the oath itself). In theory, there is a potential for confusion if an expression involving oath-taking contains both a substitute agent and a reference to the topic of the oath, however the present data contains no examples of this type.

A variety of speech and text topics are marked with O, but unlike for speech and

text contents, this appears to be a narrowly specialized option rather than an unmarked default. The textual examples all involve the verb TRAETHU and are all taken from the law text, suggesting the possibility that they derive from a Latin calque involving *de*. The majority of speech topics marked with O also come from the law text, but involve very specific semantics, either marking the topic of an answer to a legal summons, or the topic of a ceremonially performed song.

(550) Val hyn e traethun ny **o**'r sarhaedeu: en gyntaf **o** sarhaet brenhyn Aberfrau. [LI:110]

like this PART treat-PRES-1PL we **of** the insults: PART first **of** insult king Aberffraw

*This is how we treat **concerning** insults: first **concerning** the king of Aberfraw's insult-price.*

(551) Pan venher canu kerd, e bard kadeyryavc a dechreu; en kentaf **o** Duv, a'r eyl **o**'r brenhyn byeyffo e llys [LI:13]

when wish-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS sing-VN song, the bard chaired PART begin-PRES-3SG; PART first **of** God, and the second **of** the king own-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the court

*When a song is desired to be sung, the chaired bard begins; first **about** God, and secondly **about** the king who owns the court*

The non-legal examples primarily involve the verb CLYBOD "to hear", but where the topic of the speech being heard is not expected to be the speaker. This patterns with the similar use of Y WRTH seen above, and so will be discussed with it in the next section.

(552) Yr hynny hyt hediw ny chiglef i dim **o**'r gwr a ouynnwch chwi. [CO:879]

for that length today NEG hear-PRET-1SG I anything **of** the man REL ask-PRES-2PL you-PL

*Since then to today I have not heard anything **of** the man you ask about.*

The variability of preposition choice within the same semantic field can be seen dramatically in examples of verbal prohibition or refusal, where the topic can be marked with AM, AC, or O:

(553) Er egluys a'r brenhyn a dele kemell bruduu, canys Duu a kemeeruet en lle mach, ac urth henne er eglues byeu e wahard **am** uruduu a'r brenhyn e kemhell. [LI:68]

the church and the king PART ought-PRES-3SG compel-VN briduw-oath, since God PART take-PRET-IMPERS in place surety, and with that the church own-PRES-3SG it's prohibition **about** briduw-oath and the king it compel-VN

*The church and the king ought to enforce a "briduw" oath, since God was taken in place of a surety, and because of that the church owns [i.e. is responsible for] forbidding him **regarding** a "briduw" oath, and the king enforces it.*

(554) "Taw, eneit, **a**'th ucheneidaw," heb ef [MFM:68:10]

be-silent-IMPER-2SG friend, **with** your-SG moan-VN

*"Be silent, friend, **with** your moaning," he said*

(555) Sef ual y gallaf, na dyro im y moch heno, ac na nacaha ui **ohonunt**. [MFM:69:26]

thus as PART be-able-PRES-1SG, NEG give-IMPER-2SG to-1SG the pigs tonight, and NEG refuse-IMPER-2SG me **of-3PL**

*This is how I can do [it]: do not give the pigs to me tonight, and do not refuse me **concerning them**.*

What we see in general for topics of speech and text is a strong tendency for the specific semantics or a specific lexical construction to override the general topic-marking function. While there is a relatively unmarked option in AM, the various topic-marking strategies in this section do not share a single metaphoric understanding of the

relationship between language and its topic.

3.3.2.1.1.7 Topics of Mental and Emotional Experiences

Topics of mental and emotional experiences (e.g., feelings, knowledge, belief, decisions) show a similar range of markers as topics of speech and text based on a similar range of competing motivations, although there is more semantic overlap and relatively few examples from which to analyze patterns. One can be disposed of easily: morphology motivates the use of AC to mark the topic of CYDSYNNIO "to agree".

(556) Er eyl yu kytsynnyau **a**'e losky. [LI:116]
the second be-PRES-3SG together-decide-VN **with/and** it burn-VN
*The second [abetment of arson] is agreeing **on** burning it.*

As with verbs with the prefix YM- (see section 4.2.1.1) that have shifted from a sense of mutual action, one might expect the construction CYDSYNNIO+AC originally to have had a landmark identifying the entity with whom the agent agrees, but it has shifted to identify the topic of the agreement.

Otherwise, while there are some clear semantic patterns to preposition choice, they are not absolute, and in some cases they focus on lexical motivations rather than underlying meaning. For example, the topic of knowledge may be marked by AM, O, or Y WRTH. This last occurs when the topic of the knowledge is human (or at least animate) or when the knowledge is expressed in terms of spoken information.

(557) A-thristau a-oruc yr amhera6dyr yna o-tebygu na chaffei byth chwedleu **y 6rth** y wreic u6yhaf a-garei. [BM:184:3]

and become-sad-VN PART do-PRET-3SG the emperor then from suppose-VN NEG get-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG ever news **from-with** the woman most PART love-IMPERF-3SG

*And the emperor became sad then from supposing that he would never get news **about** the woman he loved most.*

The motivation for this derives from the realm of speech, where speakers may be marked with Y WRTH, especially when interim transmission of the speech is involved. (See sections 3.3.2.2.4.2 and 4.2.2.2.) In the current examples, Y WRTH is used especially when knowledge is framed in terms of spoken information, and when the topic of that knowledge is animate and so, typically, a potential speaker. In all these examples, however, the topic is never the actual source or potential source of the information–that is, we have no bridging examples where the provider of spoken information is also the topic of that information. In spite of this lack, this seems the obvious path of evolution for the construction.

When the topic of the knowledge is not animate, it can be marked by AM or O, but neither is particularly common. The first example shows Y WRTH and AM being used in the same phrase to identify animate and non-animate topics.

(558) E mysc hynny wynt a glywssont chwedlydyaeth **y wrth** Riannon ac **am** y phoen. [PPD:24:9]

in mixture that they PART hear-PRET-3PL news **from-with** Rhiannon and **about** her punishment

*Among that, they heard the news **about** Rhiannon and **about** her punishment.*

(559) O dervyd daly lledrat kan dyn, ac entev en dewedwyt y vot en wyryon **o**'r lledrat [LI:114]

if happen-PRES-3SG hold-VN theft with person, and he-EMPH PART say-VN him be-VN PART innocent **of** the theft

*If it happens that stolen property is caught with a person, and he says he is innocent **of** the theft*

As with topics of speech, AM behaves in some ways as an unmarked default, and may be seen as having the same motivations for this use. Possible motivations for the use of O can be seen in the section on causes and reasons (section 3.4.1 generally)–it is also seen for the topic of emotion, which could also be interpreted as a metonymic cause or reason.

(560) Nyd oes oueneic imi **o** hwnn mwy noc **o**'r rei ereill. [CO:473]

NEG be-PRES-3SG hope to1SG **of** this more than **of** the things other

*It is not more hopeful to me [i.e. I am not more hopeful] **concerning** this [one] than **concerning** the others.*

But the use of O for a topic of knowledge may also be a coincidental collection of the anomalous (or innovative?) law text use of O for topics seen in the previous section, and the use of O in partative constructions (*dim o hynny* "anything of that" above, and *peth o'r hynn* "a bit of the thing" in the only other example).

Y WRTH (in the eroded form WRTH) is also found marking a topic of memory. The likeliest explanation for this isolated example is by analogy from the use of Y WRTH to mark topics of knowledge, as above.

(561) Canys guell uyghof i **wrth** ymoglyt no'r teu di. [MFM:86:16]
because better my-memory my **with** avoid-VN than the yours-SG
*Because my memory is better **about** avoiding [things] than yours is.*

Topics of memory may also be marked by AM (following the default pattern) or I. Notice that these three memory examples all involve the root COF (either as a noun or a verb), and so the difference in preposition choice is neither semantically nor lexically conditioned. The first two have motivations in other topic-marking contexts, but I is not a common topic-marker. The other context in which it is found is for topics of belief. One possible motivation to consider is a broad correlation between the use of I and functions commonly associated with the dative (see section 4.1.2.4).

(562) sef yu henne, na del cof e'r egnat e uraut **amdanau**; [LI:81]
thus be-PRES-3SG that, NEG come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG memory to the judge his judgement **about-3SM**
*This is that [situation]: if memory doesn't come to the judge [of] [i.e. he doesn't remember] his judgement **about it.***

(563) Iawn yw idaw coffau **y mi** ac **y'r wreic** honno a wnaethom yrdaw ef. [PPD:17:18]
right be-PRES-3SG to-3SM remember-VN **to-1SG** and **to the woman** that REL do-PRET-1PL for-3SM him
*It is right for him to remember **me** and that **woman** [we] who did [this] for him.*

(564) Ereyll o'r keureythyeu a uyn gadu guat ydau er gyrr e argluyd ual er gyrr perchennauc arall, a henne uuyhaf y coyllya guyr Guyned **ydau**. [LI:113]
other of the laws PART wish-PRES-3SG leave-VN denial to-3SM for drive the lord like for drive owner other, and that most PART believe-PRES-3SG men Gwynedd **to-3SM**
*Other of the laws wish [to] allow denial to him regarding the lord like regarding another owner, and that [is what] the men of Gwynedd mostly believe **in**.*

After AM, the most generally used preposition for marking mental or emotional topics is AR. Unlike the examples of speech topics with this marker, there is no signficant correlation with control-type contexts (e.g., decisions, choices), although some of these do occur.

(565) Rybud a doeth udunt wynteu; a chlybot y gwyr ac y bryt **ar** eu dienydyaw. [MFL:53:24]

warning PART come-PRET-3SG to-3PL them; and hear-VN the men and their thought **on** their destroy-VN

*A warning came to them; and [they] heard the men and their decision **to** destroy them.*

but compare

(566) Ac yn y lle y vrawt a gytsynhywys ac ef ac a uu da ganthaw y gyghor **ar** hynny. [LL:21]

and in the place his brother PART agree-PRET-3SG with him and PART be-PRET-3SG good with-3SM his advice **on** that

*And immediately his brother agreed with him and his advice **about** that was pleasing to him.*

Unfortunately, there are too few examples in this category to be able to propose any motivation other than analogy from the control-related topics.

Two constructions for the topic of subjective experience show very fixed formulas. In expressions of need using the construction BOD + RHAID (be + need), the topic (nature) of the need is marked with WRTH. Similarly in expressions of interest or concern using the verb SYNNIO (be concerned, attentive), the topic of the concern is

marked with WRTH.

(567) Reit oed itt **wrth** gyghor. [BR:8:7]
necessary be-IMPERF-3SG to-2SG **with** advice
*There is a need with you **for** advice. [i.e. You need advice.]*

(568) Ef a dele synnyav **vrth** e deodreven ac **vrth** da e brenhyn [LI:14]
he PART ought-PRES-3SG care-VN **with** the equipment and **with** goods the king
*He ought to care **for** the equipment and **for** the king's goods*

These pattern more clearly with the role of "stimulus of emotion" (see section 3.4.1.4), deriving from a more concrete usage of WRTH for "surroundings, circumstances + directed attention" (see section 2.3.1.4.5).

In summary, as with topics of speech and text, mental and emotional topics are marked by a number of strategies, some motivated by very specific circumstances (e.g. morphological or lexical motivations) but others in relatively free variation among multiple options with unrelated motivations.

3.3.2.1.1.8 Topics of Actions and Events

When a role is present that indicates the topic of an action or event, there is a significant amount of overlap and ambiguity with roles indicating more specific types of event-circumstances: e.g. reasons, causes, motivations, stimuli, and purposes. This is largely pragmatic–the topic or context of an event will primarily be of interest when it is relevant to why the event is occurring at all. But a selection of examples don't fall easily into these more specific circumstances (which are discussed in section 3.4 generally) and

so are detailed here.

Two major groups indicate the topic of a formal legal event, either the topic of a surety relationship marked with AR (see section 3.6.1 for an explanation of this somewhat complicated semantic frame and the motivations for this particular marker), or the topic of a legal action marked with AM, following the default pattern (such as it is) for marking topics, or in the specific case where the legal action is a fine or payment, motivated by the use of AM in marking legal value (see section 3.3.2.1.4).

(569) O deruyd e den rody mach e arall **ar** beth, yaun yu ydau rydhau e mach. [LI:58]
if happen-PRES-3SG to person give-VN surety to other **on** something, right be-PRES-3SG to-3SM free-VN the surety
If it happens to a person [that he] gives a surety to another [person] ***for*** *something, it is appropriate for him [to] release the surety.*

(570) O deruyd ydau keyssyau oet **am** e llv, ne dele oet namyn hyt trannoeth. [LI:100]
if happen-PRES-3SG to-3SM seek-VN time **about** his oath, NEG ought-PRES-3SG time except length beyond-night
If it happens to him [that he] seeks an appointment ***for*** *his oath, he is not entitled [to] an appointment except until the next day.*

(571) Or gwnaeth hitheu gam, kymeret y phenyt **amdanaw**. [PPD:21:17]
if do-PRET-3SG she-EMPH wrong accept-IMPER-3SG her penance **about-3SM**
If she did wrong, let her accept her penance ***for it.***

Another set of examples described here by default involves the description of a generic action, for example using GWNEUTHUR (to do, make) or YMYRRU (to concern oneself or busy oneself), where the landmark of the preposition would better be understood as a patient of the unspecified action, had it been expressed. These patient-

topics may be marked variously: GWNEUTHUR followed by AC, AM, or O;

YMYRRU followed by AR or YN.

(572) Ac os anyueyl blyth neu ych a ardho ryuryvs, roder y'u perchennauc keuryu kestal ac ef e wneythur keuryu uuenyant ac a wnelhey **a**'r eydau ehun. [LI:57]

and if animal milk or ox REL plough-PRES-SUBJ-3SG hurt-PRET-3SG give-IMPER-IMPERS to the owner same-type as-good with/and him to do-VN same-type use with/and REL do-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG **with/and** the his his-own

*And if [he] hurt a milk animal or plough ox let the owner be given the same sort, as good as it, to do the same sort of use [with it] as he would do **with** his own property.*

(573) E dodeis inheu ar gynghor uy gwlat beth a wneit **amdanunt**. [BFL:36:4]

PART place-PRET-1SG I-EMPH on advice my land what PART do-IMPERF-IMPERS **about-3PL**

*I placed myself on the advice of my land [i.e. I took the advice ...] what do to **about them**.*

(574) O deruyd e'r dyn rybryuassey gurthot er anyueyl maru, gunaet e perchennauc e ewyllys **ohonau**, ac egyt a henne kubyl o kyureyth a geyff. [LI:57]

if happen-PRES-3SG to the person PART-hurt-PLUP-3SG refuse-VN the animal dead, do-IMPER-3SG the ownder his will **of-3SM** and together with that whole of law PART get-PRES-3SG

*If it happens to the person who had hurt [the animal] [that he] refuses the dead animal, let the owner do his will **with it,** and along with that he gets the whole of the law [i.e. the legal value].*

(575) A phei gwnelut iawn, nyt ymyrrut **yn** y pryf, namyn y ellwng e ymdeith. [MFL:61:4]

and if do-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG right, NEG MUTUAL-concern-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG **in** the creature, except it release-VN away

*And if you would do right, you would not concern yourself **with** the creature, but rather release it away.*

(576) ac nit ymyrrwn **ar** gyweiraw lledyr, namyn y brynu yn barawt, a gwneuthur yn gueith ohonaw. [MFL:54:9]

and NEG MUTUAL-concern-IMPER-1PL **on** prepare-VN leather, except it buy-VN PART prepared, and do-VN our work of-3SM

*and let us not concern ourselves **with** preparing leather, rather [we will] buy it prepared, and make our work from it.*

As seen in other circumstances above, motivations can be found for each of the various choices, but the variability itself argues against a coherent and overriding concept of "topic". The YMYRRU + AR construction occurs with landmarks indicating the specific nature of the activity, deriving from the use of AR in ACTIONS ARE LOCATIONS$_P$ expressions (see section 3.3.2.2.6). The YMYRRU + YN construction is less obvious (and both are somewhat surprising, since the prefix YM- on the verb would normally call for secondary roles marked with AC, no matter what the specific semantics), but may be related to the use of YN with patients (see section 3.3.2.2.1.3). The use of AM and O with GWNEUTHUR follow our most widespread topic-marking pattern as discussed above, while the use of AC seems most likely to derive from an instrumental construction (see section 3.4.2.1).

One last set of examples falls at the most "patient-like" end of the scale, using verbs of personal service and AR to mark the specific objects being presented as part of that service (typically food or drink). Here we see the power of pragmatic interpretation over ambiguous marking because, as is discussed in the section on beneficiaries (section 3.5.2.1), AR is also used in this type of frame to mark the beneficiary of the service (i.e. the recipient of the items being served).

(577) Ef a dele guassanaethu **ar** e urenhynes **ar** wyt a llyn. [LI:22]
he PART ought-PRES-3SG serve-VN **on** the queen **on** food and drink
*He ought to serve **to** the queen **with** food and drink.*

The motivation for using AR to mark the transferred food-objects, deriving from control/manipulation senses (see section 3.3.2.2.1.3) is fairly transparent. This use of AR with a food patient is more general than the specific frame of service, and is also found with verbs of consumption.

(578) a llithyaw y erchwys e hunan **ar** y carw. [PPD:1:24]
and feed-VN his pack his own **on** the stag
*and [he] fed his own pack **on** the stag.*

This use may be extended to non-food scenarios where some resource is being "consumed" in the course of the activity or as a definition of the activity.

(579) A'r nos honno, didanu y llys a wnaeth **ar** ymdidaneu digrif a chyuarwydyt [MFM:69:13]
and the night that, amuse-VN the court PART do-PRET-3SG **on** conversations pleasant and stories
*And that night, he amused the court **with** pleasant conversations and stories*

3.3.2.1.1.9 Summary of Material, Content, and Topic

In summary, the concepts of material and contents behave very similarly, and tend to be uniform across semantic fields, being overwhelmingly marked with O. Exceptions

are the treatment of non-contents (which draws from a more general strategy for marking exceptions and omissions), and the field of language (whether spoken or written texts) which will be considered in more detail in section 4.2.2.2.

The concept of "topic", on the other hand, is not treated as a coherent, unitary concept in Medieval Welsh. While there is a clear default topic marker (AM), it is commonly overridden by strategies reflecting the more specific semantics of a context or even idiomatic verb + preposition associations with less transparent motivations.

3.3.2.1.2 Physical Characteristics

As noted in the introduction to the topic of characteristics in general, the roles of characteristic and bearer of a characteristic can be paired with those of trajector and landmark in either combination. Sometimes the way these roles are matched will be determined by inherent asymmetries in the basic senses of the preposition (e.g. the focal asymmetry found for GAN and AC). In other cases both combinations may be possible, but with different motivations. The following sections discuss characteristics as landmarks, while the appearance of characteristics as trajectors will be discussed in section 3.3.2.1.6.

Physical characteristics are objective, concrete attributes of the entity (although they may be described in subjective ways, as with physical appearance) or attributes consisting of the nature or manner of a physical action the entity is engaging in. There are clear distinctions in the use of prepositions to mark various kinds of physical

characteristics. Visible appearance, physical posture, and physical ability are marked as landmarks with AC, framing them very weakly as an accompaniment to the trajector. Note that these characteristics do not seem to be being framed as possessions, for which we would expect the co-locational GAN or WRTH. Indeed, only the semantic asymmetry suggests interpreting AC as a preposition here rather than as a conjunction.

(580) E le yv **a**'y lav assv ar drvs y neuad. [LI:6]
his place be-PRES-3SG **with/and** his hand left on/to door the hall
*His place is **with** his left hand to the door [of] the hall.*

The use of AC to mark characteristics of physical ability can be overridden when disability is involved. Here we find the (dis)ability marked with TAN, deriving from the general metaphor CONTROL IS $\text{UP}_{\text{P,M}}$, where here the bearer is "under" the state of disability. (In this particular situation, consider also DIFFICULTIES ARE $\text{BURDENS}_{\text{P}}$.)

(581) **Adan** try heynt e deleyr bot am teythy march: rac er ehegyr, try gulyth; rac eskeueynt, teyr lloer; rac llynmeyrch, bluyden, ac **adan** y luyc hyt ene uarchoccer eg gyrrua deneon a meyrch endy truy eu plyth. [LI:123]
under three ailments PART ought-PRES-IMPERS be-VN about properties horse: before the staggers three dew-fall; before strangles, three moon; before glanders, year, and **under** the restiveness length until ride-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS in crowd people and horses in-3SF through their midst
***Under** [liability for] three ailments [a seller] ought to be regarding the properties of a horse: against staggers for three dew-falls, against strangles for three months, against glanders for a year; and **under** [liability for] restiveness until it is ridden in a crowd of people and horses, in it [and] through their midst.*

It is unsurprising to find characteristics of location marked with YN. These are

distinguished from purely spatial expressions (compare YN GWYDD) by the sense that it is not physical co-location being expressed, but rather an abstract state motivated by (but not physically dependent on) the presence or absence of the landmark.

(582) Petweryd yu mynet **en** e keweythas ac arweyn e buyllur. [LI:111]
Fourth be-PRES-3SG go-VN **in** his company and lead-VN the provisions
*The fourth [abetment of theft] is going **in** his [i.e. the thief's] company and carrying the provisions.*

(583) Ef a dele bot em pob lle tros e penguastravt **en** y absent. [LI:31]
he PART ought-PRES-3SG be-VN in every place over the head-groom **in** his absence
*He ought to be [i.e. act] in every situation on behalf of the chief groom **in** his absence.*

When characteristics of activity occur as landmarks with the preposition YNthe question arises whether they should be interpreted as progressive *yn* with a verbal-noun (see section 2.3.1.6.1). Syntactically, these are clear examples of prepositional constructions. (See e.g. the use of the definite noun phrase *y gueith hwnnw* "that work" as a landmark.) Furthermore, there is wider evidence for a general metaphor ACTIONS ARE LOCATIONS$_P$, PERFORMING AN ACTION IS BEING LOCATED IN A REGION. The use of goal-marking language to indictate future action or purpose supports this reading. However the possibility of analogic influences from the progressive, or simply manuscript errors based on ambiguity, can't be entirely eliminated.

(584) "Arglwyd," heb ynteu "rac guelet gwr kyuurd a thidi **yn** y gueith hwnnw, punt a geueis i o gardotta, mi a'e rodaf it, a gellwng y pryf hwnnw e ymdeith." [MFL:62:9]

lord, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH, before see-VN man so-noble as you-SG **in** the work that, pound PART get-PRET-1SG I of beg-VN, I PART it give-PRES-1SG to-2SG, and release-VN the creature that away

*"Lord," he said, "rather than see a man as noble as you **at** that work, I got a pound from begging–I will give it to you, [if you] release that creature away."*

The other physical characteristic marked with YN is age, and here the prepositional reading is buttressed by alternation with the compound HYD YN, normally marking a spatial goal or a temporal end-point. It is this latter sense that has likely been adapted for identifying age-states (i.e. identifying a span of time as a locational property of entities "in" it), so that we can understand age as a characteristic as deriving from general time-space metaphors.

(585) Ef a dele traean er ebolyon **hyt en** dve wlvyd o'r anreyth, a'r deuparth e penguastravt e brenhyn. [LI:24]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG third the foals **length-in** two years of the spoils and the two-part the chief-groom the king

*He is entitled to a third of the foals **up to** two years [old] from the spoils, with two [thirds] [to] the king's chief groom.*

(586) Ac ar henne y tryc **en** e teledyuruyd ene uo chuechet weyth, ac o henne allan damdug. [LI:128]

and on that PART dwell-PRES-3SG **in** his prime until be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG sixth work, and from that out appraisal

*And then [the ox] remains **in** his prime until his sixth work [season], and from then on [his value is determined by] appraisal.*

Also compare:

(587) A breisc oed **yn** yr oet oed **arnaw**. [MFM:76:4]

and large be-IMPERF-3SG **in** the age be-IMPERF-3SG **on-3SM**

*And he was large **in** the age that was **on him** [i.e. he was large for the age he had].*

Here we see the types of asymmetry that can occur when the roles of characteristic and bearer are switched.

The manner of physical action, seen as a characteristic, is marked with AR in the compounds AR GWAITH or AR GWEDD, but this appears to be a general grammatical construction for creating adverbs from nouns, and not directly motivated by the particular semantic context (see section 2.3.2.6.3).

(588) A dechreu a wnaeth ef Uanawydan llunyaw corueu, ac eu lliwaw **ar y wed** y guelsei gan Lassar Llaes Gygnwyt [MFL:52:21]

and begin-VN PART do-PRET-3SG he Manawyddan shape-VN pommels and them color-VN **on the shape** PART see-PLUP-3SG with Llassar Llaes Gygnwyd

*And he, Manawyddan, began [to] shape pommels, and color them **in the manner** he had seen [done] by Llassar Llaes Gygnwyd*

(589) Dechreu gwneuthur gueith y taryaneu, eu llunyaw **ar weith** taryaneu da welsynt, a dodi y lliw a dodyssynt ar y kyfrwyeu arnunt. [MFL:53:17]

begin-VN do-VN work the shields them shape-VN **on work** shields good see-PLUP-3PL, and place-VN the color REL place-PLUP-3PL on the saddles on-3PL

*They began doing work [on] the shields, shaping them **in the manner** of good shields they had seen, and putting the color they had put on the saddles on them.*

Physical appearance, when altered magically or falsified in some other manner, is treated differently from ordinary appearance. Here we find the characteristic marked by

the compound YN RHITH, and this compound is only used when some sort of falsified or deceptive impression is being created. In terms of the form of the words, this expression is ambiguous between predicative/adverbial and prepositional *yn*, however the examples strike me as being parallel with clearly prepositional uses. A magically created appearance may more rarely be marked with AR. (See below for other examples of the very rare use of AR to mark a characteristic as a landmark.)

(590) Mynet a oruc Gwrhyr **yn rith** ederyn, a disgynnv a wnaeth vch benn y wal ef a'e seithlydyn moch. [CO:1078]

go-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Gwrhyr **in shape** bird, and descend-VN PART do-PRE-3SG above head his lair his and his seven young pigs

*Gwrhyr went **into the form** of a bird [i.e. took on the form...] and descended onto the lair of him and his seven piglets.*

(591) "Pryf," heb ynteu "**ar ansawd** llygoden" [MFL:62:22]

creature, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH **on appearance** mouse

*"A creature," he said, "**in the form [of]** a mouse"*

3.3.2.1.3 Socio-Legal Characteristics

In the socio-legal realm, characteristics that involve relationships to other entities can be marked with AC, similarly to attributes of physical appearance and posture. Again, this seems to be very closely related to the conjunctive sense, with the relationship between the two supplied pragmatically.

(592) O cheyff teyr nos o pen e seythuet ulvedyn, rannu deu hanner a hy megys a gureyc **a** rodyeyt arney. [LI:48]

if get-PRES-3SG three night of head the seventh year, share-VN two half with/and her like with/and woman **with/and** givers on-3SF

*And if he gets three nights from the end of the seventh year [i.e. if three nights are lacking ...], [let him] share [in] two halves with her, as with a woman **with** bestowers on her [i.e. who has bestowers].*

But characteristics of social status or legal state are not indicated in this way, instead we find them as landmarks marked with YN or AR, framing the characteristics as a location or container for the bearer. (Recall that a very common spatial use for AR involves simple location, although it may derive from the "on, above" relationship ordinarily accompanying this context.)

(593) O deruyd maru e tat e uluyden gyntaf e ganer e mab, ehun a a **em** breynt y tat. [LI:98]

if happen-PRES-3SG dead the father the year first PART be-born-PRES-IMPER the son, himself PART go-PRES-3SG **in** status the father

*If it happens [that] the father dies the first year [when] the boy is born, he himself goes **into** [i.e. acquires] his father's status.*

(594) Ny thryc gureyc, nac o rod nac o lathlut, **ar** ureynt e haguedy namen seyth mlened, ac nat aguedyaul hythey o pen e seyth blened allan; urth henne rannent deu hanner. [LI:48]

NEG dwell-PRES-3SG woman, NEG of gift NEG of theft **on** status her dowry except seven years, and NEG dowry-ish her from head the seven years out; with that share-IMPER-3PL two half

*A wife–neither by gift nor by abduction–does not remain **on** [i.e. continue to have] the status of her dowry except for seven years, and she is not "dowry-ish" [i.e. subject to the conditions of her dowry] from the end of seven yars on; in that [situation] let them share in two halves.*

Rarely, a specific social status may be marked with TAN, when it is identified as

AGWEDDI (dowry). In addition to indicating relative vertical location, TAN appears to have a non-specific locational sense available (see section 2.3.1.3.4) so there is not necessarily any control/power element involved here, however there may be an idiomatic lexical association involved here rather than a general strategy.

(595) o deruyd e wreyc bot rodyeyt arney, **adan** e haguedy e dele bot hyt em pen e seyth mlyned [LI:44]

if happen-PRES-3SG to woman be-VN givers on-3SF **under** her dowry PART ought-PRES-3SG be-VN length in head the seven year

*if it happens to a woman [that there] are bestowers on her [i.e. she has ...] she ought to be **under** [i.e. subject to the conditions of] her dowry until the end of the seventh year*

When more specific sub-categories of these general fields are examined, we find clear preferences between these options. Characteristics indicating some particular responsibility that the bearer is subject to are marked specifically with YN. Similarly, characteristics involving legal value are marked specifically with AR. There may also be influence from the basic meaning of the particular verbs involved in these expressions. The combination SEFYLL + YN (literally "stand in", but in context "remain/continue as") is common, and the combination MYNED YN ("go in", but in context "become, take on") also appears regularly. (See section 4.2.2.1 for issues related to fictive motion in general.)

(596) Ereyll a deweyt panyv hyn yv y navd: o'r pan dechreuho seuyll **en** y svyd eny el e dyn dywethaf e kyscu, dven e den en dyogel. [LI:8]

Others PART say-PRES-3SG that this be-PRES-3SG his protection: from the when begin-PRES-SUBH-3SG stand-VN **in** his office until go-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the person last to sleep-VN, bear-VN the person in safe

*Others say that this is his protection: from when he begins [to] stand **in** his office [i.e. to do the duties of his office] until the last person goes to sleep, [to] take the person to safety.*

(597) ac gwedy lladho llygot, pedeyr keynnyavc kyvreythyavl, ac **ar** henny e tryc vyth. [LI:131]

and after kill-PRES-SUBJ-3SG mice, four penny legal, and **on** that PART dwell-PRES-3SG ever

*And after [a cat] kills mice, [its value is] four legal pence, and **at** that [level] it remains forever.*

Expressions specifying the manner in which a socio-legal characteristic manifests follow the pattern for manner in physical characteristics, using compounds of AR. While both groups may use AR GWAITH, it seems that AR GWEDD is associated specifically with physical characteristics, while another compound, AR LLUN, occurs only with socio-legal characteristics. (As mentioned above, the use of AR in these constructions appears to be grammatical rather than directly semantically motivated.)

(598) Os o cadu kyn coll e dewys e ardelu, gadet e'r gur damdug **ar** e **gueyth** rydywedassam ny uchot, [LI:114]

if from keep-VN before loss PART choose-VN his plea, allow-IMPER-3SG to the man swear-VN **on** the **work** PART-say-PLUP-1PL we above

*If he chooses his plea as keeping before loss, let the man swear **in the manner** we said above.*

(599) "a doet y ymwelet a mi," heb ef, "a mi a wnaf y dangneued **ar** y **llun** y mynho e hun." [BFL:33:24]

and come-IMPER-3SG to MUTUAL-see-VN with/and me, say-PRET-3SG he, and I PART do-PRES-1SG the peace **on** the **shape** PART wish-PRES-SUBJ-3SG he himself

*"and let him come to visit with me," he said, "and I will make peace **in** the **fashion** he himself would wish."*

3.3.2.1.4 Mental and Emotional Characteristics

Mental or emotional states are often transient, and so less likely to lend themselves to interpretation as characteristics rather than experiences. They can be marked with AR, but only one example occurs, making general interpretation difficult.

(600) "Taw hyt y mynnych," heb y Riannon, "ny bu uuscrellach gwr **ar** y ssynwyr e hun nog ry uuost ti." [PPD:14:13]

be-silent-IMPER-2SG length PART wish-PRES-SUBJ-2SG, say-PRET-3SG Rhiannon, NEG be-PRET-3SG more-stupid man **on** his senses his-own than PART be-PRET-2SG you-SG

*"Be silent as long as you wish," said Rhiannon, "There has not been a stupider man **in** his senses than you were."*

3.3.2.1.5 Other Characteristics

Attributes specifying a state of physical activity behave like other physical characteristics, marked with AC. This is even more clearly based on the conjunctive use, where the landmark is a descriptive clause modifying or specifying the trajector.

(601) E keureyth a dyweyt am vynwyr gulat arall **ac** a traeanhoent ac eu hargluyd ehun, e deleyr eu bot en lladron guerth ac o lledyr deleu galanas amdanadunt. [LI:115]

the law PART say-PRES-3SG about marauders land other **with/and** PART share-PRES-SUBJ-3PL with/and their lord their-own, PART ought-VN them be-VN PART thieves value and if kill-PRES-IMPERS ought-PRES-3SG murder-fine about-3PL

*The law says concerning marauders [from] another country **with** [the attribute that] they share with their own lord in thirds, they ought to be "sale thieves" [i.e. redeemable by purchase] and if they are killed, a murder-fine is appropriate for them.*

When the relevant characteristic involves absence rather than presence, the usual markers are overridden. The default marker in this case is HEB, whether the characteristic is physical, mental, or socio-legal.

(602) was melyngoch ieuanc **heb** varyf a heb [559] drawsswch arnaw [BR:5:17]

lad yellow-red young **beside** beard and **beside** moustache on-3SM

*a yellow-red [haired] young lad, **without** a beard and **without** a moustache on him*

(603) "Oy a Duw Hollgyuoethawc, guae ui," heb ef, "nyt oes neb **heb** le idaw heno namyn mi." [MFL:49:7]

o VOCATIVE God all-powerful, woe me, say-PRET-3SG he, NEG be-IMPERF-3SG anyone **beside** place to-3SM tonight except me

*"O almighty God, woe [is] me," he said, "there is nobody **without** a place for himself tonight except me."*

(604) eu kedymdeithon e hun wedy eu colli, **heb** wybot dim y wrthunt, onyt wyll pedwar. [MFL:51:25]

their companions their own after them lose-VN, **beside** know-VN anything from-with-3PL except those four

*their own companions after losing them [i.e. having been lost], **without** knowing anything about them except they four.*

While it would be possible to connect this use with the abovementioned

container/regional metaphors for characteristics, it seems likelier that the established, generalized sense of "absence" is the immediate motivation, given the lack of variety in the constructions used (see section 3.5.3). When the relevant characteristic is not simply absent but is being actively prevented, the marker is drawn from the field of physical confrontation and prevention, using RHAG.

(605) Teythu dauat yu blyth, ac oen y uot genthy, a'y goruot hyt kalan Mey **rac** er auat, eny gaffo e theyr guale o'r tauaul newyd. [LI:130]

properties sheep be-PRES-3SG milk and lamb PART be-VN with-3SF, and her overcome-VN length calends May **before** the fluke, until get-PRES-SUBJ-3SG her three fill of the dock new

*The properties of a sheep are milk, and having a lamb with her, and warranting her **against** liver-fluke until the May calends, until she gets her third fill of new dock-leaves.*

Other specific conditions many also override the patterns seen above. An characteristic associated with an YM-prefixed verb will be marked with AC (see section 4.2.1.1).

(606) Eydyon guedy yd emadawo **a**'e teledyuruyd, dam. [LI:140]

bullock after PART MUTUAL-leave-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **with/and** his prime, appraisal

*A bullock after he departs **from** his prime [is valued by] appraisal.*

An established characteristic to which an addition is specified will be indicated with Y GYD AC.

(607) Sef achaus e geyll ef gouyn henne, urth na eyll alltut bot en vybedyat ar Kemro tref tadauc, ac na eyll gureyc ar vr, ac **egyt a** henne ny eyll llawer o deneon bot en guybydyeyt [LI:77]

thus cause PART be-able-PRES-3SG he ask-VN that, with NEG be-able-PRES-3SG foreigner be-VN PART knower on Welshman town patrimonial, and NEG be-able-PRES-3SG woman on man, and **together with** that NEG be-able-PRES-3SG many of people be-VN PART knower

*This is the reason he can ask that, because a foreigner is not able to be a knower regarding a patrimonial Welshman, nor a woman regarding a man, and **along with** that many people can not be knowers*

3.3.2.1.6 Bearers of Characteristics

As mentioned above (section 3.3.2.1.2), when the landmark is the bearer of a characteristic-trajector, the relationship may sometimes be expressed with language symmetrical to that used for characteristic-landmarks and bearer-trajectors. This can be seen in some rather restricted uses of TAN to mark a determining social position and AR to mark the bearer of this position, although there are no directly parallel examples. More commonly (and with clearly parallel examples) we find characteristics marked with YN paired with bearers of characteristics marked with AR. Some physical attributes, abilities, and attributive activities are marked with AC while the bearer of these characteristics is marked with GAN, indicating different focus in co-location. Commonly, we see an expression using both AC and GAN demonstrating both relationships.

(608) a breint edling **arnat** byhyt bynnac y bych yma. [CO:148]

and status king's-heir **on-2SG** length whatever PART be-PRES-SUBJ-2SG here

*and the status due a king's heir **to you** however long you are here.*

(609) Guedy yd el enteu **em** breynt e tat, ef a'e tal. [LI:98]

after PART go-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **in** status his father, he PART it pay-PRES-3SG

*After he would go **into** his father's status [i.e acquires his father's status], he pays it.*

(610) Pryderi a uydei **ac** yrd porth uy llys i am y uynwgyl, a Riannon a uydei **a** mynweireu yr essynn, wedy bydyn yn kywein gueir, am y mynwgyl hitheu. [MFL:65:18]

Pryderi PART be-PAST-3SG **with/and** hammers gate my court my about his neck, and Rhiannon PART be-PAST 3SG **with/and** collars the asses after be-PAST-3PL PART harvest-VN hay, about her neck her

*Pryderi was **with** [i.e. had] the gate-hammers of my court about his neck, and Rhiannon was **with** [i.e. had] collars of the asses, after they had been harvesting hay, about her neck.*

(611) "Arglwyd," heb ef, "nyt oes allu **gan** y march amgen noc a weleist i." [PPD:11:7]

lord, say-PRET-3SG he NEG be-IMPERF-3SG ability **with** the horse other than REL see-PRET-2SG

*"Lord," said he, "There is no ability **with** the horse [i.e. the horse has no ability] other than what you saw."*

(612) Ac ef a gymerth y mab y rwng y dwylaw ac a gyrchwys y dref ac ef, lle y gwydat bot gwreic **a** bronneu **genti**. [MFM:78:8]

and he PART take-PRET-3SG the boy between his two-hand and PART make-for-PRET-3SG the town with him, place PART know-IMPERF-3SG be-VN woman **with** breasts **with-2SG**

*And he took the boy between his hands and made for the town with him [i.e. took him to the town], where he knew there was a woman **with** breasts **with her** [i.e. a wet-nurse].*

In general, however, this sort of symmetry is not prevalent. And in particular, we don't see symmetry in container imagery: characteristics may be containers for the bearer and rarely bearers of characteristics may be containers for the characteristic, but neither is marked prepositionally as contents and the two groups fall in different semantic fields.

There are three general strategies marking bearers of characteristics. The most

widespread, over various semantic fields, marks the bearer with AR, most literally implying location below and in surface contact with the characteristic, but also invoking CONTROL IS $UP_{M, P}$ to frame the bearer as subject to, in the control of, or influenced by the characteristic.

(613) Sef lliw oed **arnunt**, claerwyn llathreit ac eu clusteu yn gochyon. [PPD:1:21]

thus color be-IMPERF-3SG **on-3PL**, bright-white shining with/and their ears PART red

*This is the color that was **on them**: bright shining white, with red ears.*

(614) Teir kynedyf a oed **ar** y trywvr hynny [CO:235]

three property PART be-IMPERF-3SG **on** the three-men those

*Three properties were **on** those three men [i.e. those three men had].*

(615) "Arglwydes," heb y Pendaran Duyet, "da yd enweist dy uab, Pryderi, a goreu y gueda **arnaw** Pryderi uab Pwyll Penn Annwn." [PPD:26:10]

lady, say-PRET-3SG Pendaran Dyfed, good PART name-PRET-2SG your-SG son, Pryderi, and best PART suit-PRES-3SG **on-3SM** Pryderi son Pwyll Pen Annwn

*"Lady," said Pendaran Dyfed, "You have named your son well: Pryderi; and it suits best **to him**: Pryderi son of Pwyll Pen Annwn."*

(616) "Dioer," heb ef, "nit oes **arnaw** un enw etwa." [MFM:79:2]

God-knows, say-PRET-3SG he, NEG be-IMPERF-3SG **on-3SM** one name yet

*"God knows," he said, "there is not a single name **on him** yet [i.e. he doesn't have a single name yet]."*

(617) a breint edling **arnat** byhyt bynnac y bych yma. [CO:148]

and status king's-heir **on-2SG** length whatever PART be-PRES-SUBJ-2SG here

*and the status of a king's heir **to** you however long you are here.*

(618) Pob alltut mab ucheluur, hanner sarhaet alltut brenhyn a hanner e werth ysyd **arnau**. [LI:110]

every foreigner son nobleman, half insult-price foreigner king and half his value be-PRES-REL-3SG **on-3SM**

*Every nobleman's foreigner–half the insult-price of a king's foreigner, and half his [legal] value is **on him** [i.e. he has].*

(619) Pa ansyberwyt, unben, a weleist ti **arnaf** i? [PPD:2:13]

what discourtesy lord PART see-PRET-2SG you-SG **on-1SG me**

*What discourtesy, lord, did you see **on me** [i.e. did you see me doing]?*

(620) Ac o cheyff un dyd o'r eyl uluydyn, pedeyr ar ugeynt ereyll **arnau**, eny uo uyth a deugeynt **arnau**, ac yuelly hyt e tryded uluyden e tryc. [LI:121]

and if get-PRES-3SG one day from the second year, four on twenty others **on-3SM**, until be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG eight and two-twenty **on-3SM**, and thus length the third year PART remain-PRES-3SG

*And if it [i.e. the horse] gets one day of its second year, [there is a value of] another twenty four **on it** [i.e. it has ...], until there would be [a value of] forty eight [pence] **on it**, and thus it remains until the third year.*

In parallel with this, someone experiencing the loss of a characteristic may have it marked with the corresponding source-marking form Y AR (and using a verb of motion).

(621) Ac odyno yd aeth Arthur y ymeneinaw ac y uwrw y ludet **y arnaw** hyt yg Kelli Wic yg Kernyw. [CO:1203]

and from-there PART go-PRET-3SG Arthur to REFLEXIVE-bathe-VN and to throw-VN his tiredness **from-on-3SM** length in Celliwig in Cornwall

*And from there Arthur went to Celliwig in Cornwall, to bathe and to cast **off** his tiredness.*

The bearer of a characteristic is also commonly framed as a goal of motion for the characteristic, most commonly using the generic I, but in one example using AT. As with AR, this construction is found across a variety of semantic fields. The most obvious

temptation is to relate this use to the similar use of goal-marking for possessors and other part-part relationships (see section 3.3.1.2.3), however an examination of the verbs suggests a heterogeneous origin. Examples with BOD + I match the predicative possession construction, but others such as RHODDI "to give" imply an overt metaphor CHARACTERISTICS ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS (cf. ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS$_P$), while other non-motion verbs (e.g. GWEDDA "to suit, be suitable") suggest the cluster of abstract dative-like functions (see sectin 4.1.2.4).

(622) A hynny nyt oed hawd **y** neb edrych arnaw [BR:10:29]

and that NEG be-IMPERF-3SG easy **to** anyone look-VN on-3SMs

*And that [thing] it was not easy **for** anyone to look on it*

(623) Yna y rodes Arawn y furuf a'y drych e hun **y** Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet, ac y kymerth ynteu y furuf e hyn a'y drych. [PPD:6:23]

then PART give-PRET-3SG Arawn his form and his appearance his-own **to** Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed, and take-PRET-3SG he-EMPH his form his-own and his appearance

*Then Arawn gave his own form and his appearance [back] **to** Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed, and he took his own form and his appearance.*

(624) Run uab Maelgwn Gwyned, gwr y mae o vreint **idaw** dyuot pawp y ymgyghor ac ef. [BR:20:7]

Rhun son Maelgwn Gwynedd man PART be-PRES-3SG of strength **to-3SM** come-VN everyone to MUTUAL-advise-VN with him

*Rhun son of Maelgwn Gwynedd, a man, there is [such] of power **to him**, [that] everyone comes to take counsel with him.*

(625) kyureythyaul yu **ydau** ef kyuran pob amser [LI:78]

legal be-PRES-3SG **to-3SM** him share-VN each time

*Sharing [land] is legal **for him** [at] all times*

(626) Y ran a weda **ymi** y rodi mi a'e rodaf [BR:5:30]

the part REL be-suitable-PRES-3SG **to-1SG** it give-VN I PART it give-PRES-1SG

*The share that is suitable **for me** to give, I will give it*

(627) Ac yna y gelwis ef y hut a'y allu **attaw**. [MFM:82:6]

and then PART call-PRET-3SG he his magic and his ability **to-3SM**

*And then he called his magic and his power **to him.***

More rarely, the bearer is presented as a container for the characteristic, using YN. This is restricted nearly exclusively to physical characteristics: appearance, physical ability, and temperature.

(628) Osit rann imi o'th uab ti, {oth uab di} uorwyn, oer uyth uyd y galon, ac ny byd gwres **yn** y **dwylaw**. [CO:266]

if-there-is part to-1SG of your-SG son your-SG, maiden, cold every be-PRES-3SG his heard, and NEG be-PRES-3SG warmth **in his two-hand**

*If there is a part of me in your son, maiden, his heart will be cold, and there will be no warmth **in his hands.***

(629) a diamheu yw gennym na welsam eiroet uilwraeth **yn** un wreic kymeint ac **ynot** ti [PPD:20:25]

and certain be-PRES-3SG with-1PL NEG see-PRET-1PL ever valor **in** one woman so-much and **in-2SG** you-SG

*and certainty is with us [i.e. we are certain] we never saw so much valor **in** a single woman as **in** you*

(630) Cledyf eurdwrn ar y glun a racllauyn eur itaw, ac ays {a chroes} eurcrwydyr arnaw, a lliw lluchet nef **yndi**, a lloring {llugorn} elifeint yndi. [CO:67]

sword gold-hilt on his thigh with blade gold to-3SM, and shield gold-wander on-3SM with/and color lightning heaven **in-3SF** and boss elephant in-3SF

*A gold-hilted sword on his thigh with a gold blade to it, and a gold-chased shield on him, with the color of heaven's lightning **in** it, and an ivory boss on it.*

This pattern of use for AR and YN contrasts interestingly with the use of their cognates in Modern Irish (Grady ms.) where the cognate of YN is found much more generally when the characteristic if considered more inherent and long-term, while the cognate of AR is associated with more temporary, superficial characteristics, but also with inherent characteristics associated with a physical surface.

Both YN and AR can be found marking both "directions" of this type of relationship. However the motivations for the two directions appear to be different. When the characteristic is the landmark, the closest parallels seem to be static location in a defined region (STATES/CHARACTERISTICS ARE LOCATIONS$_P$). When the bearer of the characteristic is the landmark, pragmatic interpretation suggests a container metaphor for YN (CHARACTERISTICS ARE CONTENTS OF THE BEARER) and an influence/control metaphor for AR (CHARACTERISTICS ARE CONTROLLING FORCES) discussed at greater length in section 4.2.1.4, or a spatial-based metaphor CHARACTERISTICS ARE SURFACE FEATURES.

(631) a breint edling **arnat** byhyt bynnac y bych yma. [CO:148]
and status king's-heir on-2SG length whatever PART be-PRES-SUBJ-2SG here
*and the status of a king's heir **to you** however long you are here.*

(632) canes colles hy e breynt, byt hytheu **ar** e breynt hunnu hyt em pen e seyth mlyned. [LI:48]
since lose-PRET-3SG she her status, be-IMPER-3SG she **on** the status that length in head the seven years
*since she lost her status, let her be **on** that status [i.e. have that status] until the end of the seventh year.*

(633) Er amser y bu hitheu **yn** y dewred, ny bu wreic delediwach no hi [MFL:50:8]

the time PART be-PRET-3SG she **in** her strength, NEG be-PRET-3SG woman more beautiful than she

*The time she was **in** her heyday, there was no woman more beautiful than she*

(634) Ynteu yna a meint gwr **yndaw** ac yn delediwhaf guas a welas dyn eiroet. [MFM:83:21]

he-EMPH then with/and size man **in-3SM** and PART handsomest lad PART see-PRET-3SG person ever

*He, then, with the size of a man **in him** [i.e. he had the size of a man], and the fairest lad that anyone had ever seen.*

3.3.2.1.7 Summary of Characteristics and Their Bearers

Physical characteristics of appearance and ability are the least specific in how bearers are marked, taking all four groups that have been discussed (bearer as goal, as co-located entity, and as location or container). Of the physical characteristics in my data, only temperature appears to be more specific than this, using only the container model, but there are only two temperature examples which makes generalization difficult.

The bearers/agents of attributive activities (whether physical or non-physical) draw from only two models: bearer as underlying surface (or patient of control) and bearer as accompaniment. However activities are relatively rare (and rarely unambiguous) in this sense, and may be more profitably considered in the discussion of experiences (section 3.3.2.2 generally).

Socio-legal characteristics similarly draw from two models, in this case the bearer as underlying surface (or patient of control) and as goal of motion (or possessor). The latter is more common with characteristics of lesser stability (status, highly evaluative

qualities, assessments of suitability) while more stable characteristics such as names and legal values are found only with AR and not the goal-marking I.

Ability, in any domain, may be treated as a accompaniment or temporary possession (using GAN to mark the bearer), or as a goal or more permanent possession (using I to mark the bearer). But, in general, I occurs when some other schema prevails, e.g. the coming into existence of a characteristic treated as object-transfer with the bearer marked as a goal of motion. For more static scenarios, bearers of characteristics are most typically marked as a substrate for the property (or as a controlled entity) using AR, and the characteristic of ability may use this strategy as well.

Characteristics involving absence may partake of two models, a more grammatical one that focuses on the absence as a characteristic, and treats it as if it were a positive characteristic marking the bearer with the most general marker AR; and a model that retains the metaphoric scenario, in these cases one of characteristics and bearers being co-located, and marks the bearer as a source of motion for the characteristic using (Y) GAN. In all of these cases, the characteristic involved is one that, in its presence, marks the bearer with GAN.

(635) O deruyd bot amrysson erug deu kyuaruur am tyr guyd ac arall faeth, a'r neyll en mynnu eredyc e guyd a'r llall hep y uennu, onyt amot a'e dwc **y ganthau**, yaun uy ydau eredyc e'r llall e tyr a uo ganthau. [LI:151]

if be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG be-VN dispute between two co-tillers about land wooded and other friable, and the one PART wish-VN plow-VN the wooded and the other beside it wish-VN, if-NEG agreement PART it bear-PRET-3SG **from-with-3SM**, right be-PRES 3SG to-3SM plow-VN to the other the land PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG with-3SM

*If there is a dispute between two co-tillers about wooded land and another friable [land], and the one wishes to plow the wooded, and the other without wishing it [i.e. does not wish it], unless an agreement takes it **from him**, it is right for him to plow for the other the land that would be with him [i.e. that he would have].*

(636) A'r kennadeu a doethant a'r gennadwri honno **gantunt** at Uendigeiduran; ac ynteu a gymerth gynghor.[BFL:42:4]

and the messengers PART come-PRET-3PL with/and the embassy that **with-3PL** to Bendigeidfran; and he-EMPH PART take-PRET-3SG advice

*And the messengers came with that embassy **with them** to Bendigeidfran; and he took counsel.*

(637) a dwyn y lyueryd **y gantaw** hyt na allei dywedut un geir. [MFL:56:16]

and bear-VN the speech **from-with-3SG** length NEG be-able-IMPERF-3SG speak-VN one word

*and the [power of] speech was taken **from him** so that he couldn't speak a word.*

(638) Yr holl ieithoed yssyd **gennyt**, a chyfyeith wyt a'r rei o'r adar a'r anniueileit. [CO:842]

the all languages be-PRES-REL-3SG **with-2SG**, and same-language be-PRES-2SG with/and the some of the birds and the animals

*All the languages are **with you** [i.e. you know all languages], and you are of the same language as some of the birds and animals.*

While the above examples involve a dynamic loss of a characteristic, the static equivalent uses HEB to mark an absent characteristic (in theory, marking the characteristic as a region or location to which the non-bearer is external, but see section

3.5.3 for the broader pattern), and RHAG to mark a prevented characteristic (see section 4.2.1.4).

Three types of overriding situations are found in marking bearers of characteristics. When there is mutual sharing of the characteristic between two or more entities, then RHWNG is found.

(639) hawssaf yn y byt oed hynny by na bei ammot **y rof** a'm gwlat amdanunt [MFM:69:21]

easiest in the world be-IMPERF-3SG that if NEG be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG contract **between-1SG** and my land about-3PL

*it would be the easiest thing in the world if there were not a contract **between me** and my land concerning them*

Partaking of the scenario in which the bearer is a goal of motion of the characteristic, when focus is placed on the reversal or removal of a characteristic, the bearer may be marked with TRA CEFN, metaphorically indicating the return of the trajector (i.e. characteristic) to its origin relative to the landmark (which was an interim goal and then source).

(640) O deruyd rody Kemraes e alltut, urth ureynt er alltut ed a e sarhaet ene uo maru er alltut, a guedy bo maru er alltut ene uenho gur arall, canyt emchuel y breynt **tracheuen** ar e chenedel. [LI:53]

if happen-PRES-3SG give-VN Welshwoman to foreigner, with status the foreigner PART go-PRES-3SG her insult-price until be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG dead the foreigner, and after be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG dead the foreigner until wish-PRES-SUBJ-3SG man other, since-NEG return-VN her status **beyond-back** on her kindred

*If it happens that a Welshwoman is given [in marriage] to a foreigner, she goes with the status of the foreigner until the foreigner is dead, and after the foreigner is dead until she desires another man, since her status does not return **back** to her kindred.*

A large group of examples involving legal value as a characteristic mark the bearer of that value with AM. To a certain degree, this may be influenced by the use of AM in relating entities of balanced equivalence (see section 2.3.1.7.4), however this group goes beyond the simple implication of equivalence and all involve actual or implied exchange of the value for the bearer of the value. That is, although the value is understood as a characteristic of the bearer, in examples marking the bearer with AM, the primary focus is on the actual exchange of an instantiation of that value for the bearer. (See section 3.3.2.3.2 for a discussion of AM in exchanges.)

(641) Guerth guallt bonwyn keynnyauc **am** pob bys o'r a el endau y'u gnythyau a duy **am** y uaut. [LI:147]

value hair white-base, penny **about** every finger of REL PART go-PRES-SUBJ-3SG in-3SM to them pluck-VN and two **about** the thumb

*The value of rooted hair [is] a penny **for** every finger of those that go into it to pluck it [out] and two **for** the thumb.*

3.3.2.2 Experiences, Patients, and Experiencers

As discussed in the general introduction to this section (3.3.2), there is a certain amount of overlap between this category and the one I have grouped as "characteristics" (section 3.3.2.1), depending on whether an event is present for the purpose of specifying or describing an entity in the context of some other event, or whether the action of the event itself is the primary focus. So, for example, I have grouped examples of the type "she grabbed **onto** the book" in the current category, but "the grabbed-**onto** book fell to the floor" in the category of characteristics. This distinction was not chosen because I expected there to be linguistic differences between the two uses, but because I have tried to devise a relatively consistent semantic organization for my analysis, and that system will necessarily align with certain patterns of prepositional usage and cut across others.

That said, the majority of expressions concerning the patient or experiencer of an event will fall in the current category. But it is important to emphasize one other aspect: this analysis focuses only on semantic and grammatical roles marked with prepositions–the same semantic or grammatical functions may also be indicated by syntactic structure or other linguistic tools such as mutation. In the case of patients and experiencers, the primary strategy in the language as a whole is for such roles to be the direct object of the verb, marked by sentence position, and in certain contexts by lenition (for nouns) or special forms and constructions (for pronouns).

3.3.2.2.1 Patients of Physical Actions

The majority of patients of physical action that are marked with prepositions involve some sort of hostile or controlling action, or circumstances such as co-participation that are typically indicated with prepositions regardless of the semantic context. Patients of more neutral actions are normally found as direct objects of the verb. This may give a false impression of the relative proportions of types of actions present in my texts. (A study comparing prepositional versus non-prepositional strategies for marking roles or functions would greatly complicate and expand the present work.)

3.3.2.2.1.1 Hostile Actions

Both the largest group numerically and the semantic group represented by the widest variety of prepositional markers are patients of hostile physical action. A number of the prepositional options are tied to particular scenarios or particular lexical items, as discussed below. The more general markers distinguish between those associated with verbs of motion (using AM PEN, TAN) and those not associated with verbs of motion (using AR). The verbs of motion in this context are generally not overtly hostile, and it is often the preposition which supplies the overt (as opposed to contextual) indication of violent action in the immediate phrase, although this is typically reinforced by the surrounding language. (The use of PEN to invoke situations of physical vulnerability is mentioned in section 2.3.2.3.1.1. The use of TAN in contexts not involving verticality is discussed in section 2.3.1.3.4.)

(642) Dyuot Caswallawn **am eu pen**, a llad y chwegwyr [BFL:46:2]

come-VN Caswallon **about their head** and kill-VN the six-men

*Caswallon came **about their heads** [i.e. attacked them] and killed the six men*

(643) "Ny chymerwn ninheu y gan y tayogeu hynny. Awn **adanunt** a lladwn." [MFL:53:28]

NEG take-IMPER-1PL we-EMPH from-with the churls those. go-IMPER-1PL **under 3PL** and kill-IMPER-1PL

*Let us not take [this] from those churls. Let us go **at them** and kill [them].*

AR may mark a patient of violence either when the verb overtly indicates violent action, or with a generic verb such as GWNEUTHUR "to do, make" with an accompanying noun supplying the hostile action, or when the violence is entirely contextual.

(644) "Gwr yssyd gyuerbyn y gyuoeth a'm kyuoeth inheu yssyd yn ryuelu **arnaf** yn wastat. [PPD:2:28]

man be-PRES-REL-3SG with-against his realm and my realm my-EMPH be-PRES-REL 3SG PART make-war-VN **on-1SG** PART constant

*A man, whose realm is opposite mine, who is constantly making war **on me**.*

(645) Nyd athoed kyweithyd hebdaw eiroet ny wnelei ae anaf ae adoet **arnei**. [CO:421]

NEG happen-IMPERF-3SG troop beside-3SM ever NEG do-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG either hurt either harm **on-3SF**

*No troop ever happened past him **on which** he did neither hurt nor harm.*

(646) ac ymchoelut a oruc hitheu **ar** Kacamwri, ac eu dygaboli yll deu ac eu diaruu, a'e gyrru allan dan eu hub ac eu hob. [CO:1213]

and return PART do-PRET-3SG her-EMPH **on** Cacamwri, and them beat-soundly-VN those two and them disarm-VN, and them drive VN out under their "hub" and their "hob"

*and she turned **on** Cacamwri and struck both of them and disarmed them and drove them out while they screeched and squalled.*

This is part of the larger pattern we see of AR being used in hostile and controlling scenarios (see section 4.2.5), motivated by metaphors such as CONTROL IS $UP_{P,M}$.

We also find I used to mark patients of violence in conjunction with a variety of verbs, however it occurs primarily to mark fictive goals of motion (e.g. with RHODDI "to give" when the violent action is characterized as a transferred object) or with GWNEUTHUR "to do, make" which shows a preference (although certainly not a strict pattern) for using I to mark its second object regardless of the contextual semantics. (See the discussion of this verb in section 4.2.1.2.)

In addition to the above, several prepositions occur to mark patients of hostile action in specific and limited contexts. GYD AC occurs to mark an additional co-patient (see section 2.3.1.4.2). AC occurs with verbs containing the YM- prefix (see section 4.2.1.1). YN occurs when literal penetration of the interior of the patient is indicated.

(647) hyny doethant am y pen a-e lad a llawer **y gyt ac** ef. [BM:189:39]

until come-PRET-3PL about his head and him kill-VN and many **with** him

*before they came about his head [i.e. attacked hiim] and killed him, and many [others] **together with** him.*

(648) Ac yna yd edrychassant 6y ar wyr rufein yn ymlad **a**-r gaer. [BM:189:16]

and then PART look-PRET-3PL they on men Rome PART MUTUAL-fight-VN **with/and** the castle

*And then they looked at the men of Rome fighting **with** [or: attacking] the castle.*

(649) ac angheuawl dyrnawt **yndaw** ynteu. [PPD:5:20]

and deadly blow **in-3SM** him-EMPH

*and it was a deadly blow **in him**.*

Less obvious in motivation is the use of the compound Y AR to mark patients when the noun TRAIS ("violence", sometimes more specifically "rape") is present, although TRAIS may also be accompanied simply by AR. Y AR does not appear to be invoking a sense of source here, and even used spatially it commonly marks static location identically to AR. In the current context, there seems to be a conventional association between TRAIS and Y AR of unclear motivation. Compare the current examples with those below where Y AR specifically indicates the patient of removed or discontinued action.

(650) O deruyd e uorven dyweduet ar ur duen **treys y arney** a'r gur en guadu, a dyweduet o'r uoruen ony duc ef **treys e arney** hy e bot en uoruen, e kyureyth a dyweyt bot en yaun prouy ae moruen ae nyt moruen, canes e bot en uoruen yu e hardelu. [LI:54]

if happen-PRES-3SG to maiden say-VN on man bear-VN **violence from-on-3SF** and the man PART deny-VN, and say-VN of the maiden if-NEG bear-PRES-3SG he **violence from-on-3SF** her PART be-VN PART maiden, the law PART say-PRES-3SG be-VN PART right test-VN either maiden either NEG maiden, since PART be-VN PART maiden be-PRES-3SG her plea

*If it happens to a maiden [that she] says on a man [i.e. accuses a man of] bringing **violence on her** [i.e. raping her], and the man denies [it], and the maiden says, if he did not bring **violence on her**, she is a maiden, the law says it is right [to] test whether [she is] a maiden or not a maiden, since being a maiden is her plea.*

Compare:

(651) O deruyd e wreyc dyweduet ar ur dven treys **arney**, a guadu o'r gur, rodet llv deg wyr a deugeynt, hep alltudeon, hep wyr not. [LI:50]

if happen-PRES-3SG to woman say-VN on man bear-VN violence **on-3SF**, and deny-VN of the man, give-IMPER-3SG oath ten men and two-twenty, beside foreigners beside men designated

*If it happens to a woman [that she] says on a man [i.e. accuses a man of] bringing violence **on her** [i.e. raping her], and the man denies [it], let him give the oath of fifty men, without foreigners, without designated men.*

The absence or cessation of violence may either be specified by the verb and accompanied by Y AR, marking the (non)-patient as a source of fictive motion, or the absence may be indicated by HEB (see section 3.5.3) and the (non)-patient marked with I (compare the use of I generally for dative-like functions, such as beneficiaries–see section 3.5.2.1).

(652) Ac uelly y gwaredawd Llud y teir gormes **y ar** Ynys Prydein,[LL:168]

and thus PART remove-PRET-3SG Lludd the three oppressions **from-on** Island Britain,

*And thus Lludd removed the three oppressions **from** the Island of Britain,*

(653) Gwiawn Llygat Cath - a ladei ongyl ar lygat y gwydbedyn **heb** argywed **y**'r llygat. [CO:351]

Gwiawn eye cat - REL strike-IMPERF-3SG corner on eye the gnat **beside** harm **to** the eye

*Gwiawn Cat's-eye–he could strike the corner of the eye of a gnat **without** harm **to** the eye.*

3.3.2.2.1.2 Opposition and Hindrence

When the physical action is that of opposition or hindrance to the landmark, but more with a focus on resistance to the actions of the landmark than on one-sided actions taken against the landmark, the typical marker is YN ERBYN (which is not found for direct hostile action).

(654) Ac ar nys mynno bit **yn erbyn** Arthur hyt yn oet y gygreir". [BR:21:3]
and REL NEG desire-PRES-SUBJ-3SG be-PRES-3SG **in-against** Arthur length-in time the truce
*And who does not wish [to do it], let him be **confronting** [i.e. let him meet] Arthur during the time of the truce.*

(655) ac onyt ard **en erbyn** y kytwedauc, xxx. pob bluydyn yu e teythy. [LI:128]
and if-NEG plough-VN **in-against** his with-yoked, 30 each year be-PRES-3SG his properties
*and if [the ox] doesn't plough **contrary to** his yoke-fellow, his properties are [valued at] thirty [pence] every year.*

This use is part of the general complex of uses of YN ERBYN for a sense of opposition or contradiction, motivated by the physical scenario of face-to-face positioning in physical struggles (see section 2.3.2.3.1.1).

A single example using RHAG is ambiguous with spatial location in front, and is most likely motivated by the spatial sense, although RHAG, like YN ERBYN, also has general uses for prevention and opposition.

(656) Dilesteir uyd dy hynt, ac ny russya dim **ragot**, [PPD:3:26]
unhindered be-PRES-3SG your-SG path, and NEG hinder anything **before-2SG**
*Unhindered be your path, and may nothing hinder **before you** [i.e. hinder you]*

3.3.2.2.1.3 Control and Manipulation

After hostile action, the largest group of patients of physical action marked with prepositions involve physical control or manipulation. Several prepositional markers occur in roughly equal numbers, but with some clear contextual motivations for choice.

AC occurs with verbs with YM- or CYM- prefixes (see section 4.2.1.1), even when the action is clearly asymmetric rather than mutual. AC is also found with GWNEUTHUR. (In some ways, this use with GWNEUTHUR is reminiscent of instrumental uses. This is discussed further in section 4.2.1.2.)

(657) Ac ymauael **a**'r cawc y gyt ac ef. [MFL:57:7]
and MUTUAL-grasp **with/and** the bowl together with him
*And he grasped **onto** the bowl together with him.*

(658) Sef a wnai ynteu yr un guare **a** fawb ohonunt [BFL:42:23]
thus PART do-IMPERF-3SG he-EMPH the one trick **with/and** each of-3PL
*This is what he did: the same trick **with** each of them*

AR occurs with a variety of verbs but, as in the case of hostile action, not with verbs indicating motion.

(659) Nyt oes yn y byt gynllyuan a dalhyo **arnaw**, namyn kynllyuan Cors {cwrs W, kwrs R} Cant Ewin. [CO:675]

NEG be-IMPERF-3SF in the world leash REl hold-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **on-3SM**, except leash Cors Cant Ewin

*There is no leash in the world that would hold **onto him**, except the leash of Cors Cant Ewin.*

One set of examples that are not particularly common, but provide a context for understanding certain extended uses, use AR to mark food or a source of nourishment. In addition to a "manipulation" motivation, there is probably co-motivation in the typical spatial relationships involved in eating. (This use is an important linking-context for the use of AR with metaphoric "nourishment" or "consumables", as well as with the suppliers of provisions–see sections 3.5.2.2 and 3.5.2.3.)

(660) Ac ar hynny at y cwn y doeth ef, a gyrru yr erchwys a ladyssei y carw e ymdeith, a llithyaw y erchwys e hunan **ar** y carw. [PPD:1:24]

and on that to the dogs PART come-PRET-3SG he, and drive-VN the pack REL kill PLUP-3SG the stag to away and feed-VN his pack his own **on** the stag

*And then he came to the dogs and drove the pack that had killed the stag away, and fed his own pack **on** the stag.*

(661) Ef a dele bvytta **ar** un dyskyl a'r brenhyn, a'e keven ar e tan. [LI:32]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG eat-VN **on** one dish with/and the king, with/and his back on/to the fire

*He is entitled to eat **from** the same dish as the king, with his back to the fire.*

Marking the patient with I is a relatively more common option for control scenarios than for hostile action scenarios, and the controlling action is often expressed more generically (e.g. "compel", "cause") or passively (e.g. "loose, release").

(662) a hwnnw tew yw y hut a'e leturith a beir **y bawp** kyscu. [LL:111]

and that thick be-PRES-3SG his magic and his enchantment PART cause-PRES-3SG to **everybody** sleep-VN

*and that [one] (strong is his magic and enchantment) causes **everyone** to sleep.*

The use of YN to mark patients of control appears to emphasize direct hand-manipulation, and this sense overrides the morphological motivation for YMAFAEL ("to grasp") which otherwise takes AC due to the YM- prefix.

(663) Ac ymauael yn gyntaf **yn y traet**, a'e gleicaw ohonunt yn Hafren [CO:1182]

and MUTUAL-grasp-VN PART first **in his feet**, and him immerse-VN of-3PL in Hafren

*And [they] first grabbed **onto his feet,** and they immersed him in the Hafren [river]*

YN may also occur when the controlling event is expressed overtly with a novel metaphor. In this case, being caused (magically) to sleep is expressed as sleep entering into the eyes. The motivation here is not the general semantic context, but a particular imaginative metaphor (see section 4.2.1.7).

(664) Ac yn gytneit ac yd aeth hun **yn** y lygeit y rodet drych idaw [BR:3:25]

and PART co-leap with PART go-PRET-3SG sleep **in** his eyes PART give-PRET IMPERS vision to-3SM

*And simultaneously with sleep going **into** his eyes, a vision was given to him*

Compare this with the same semantic and lexical context where the more typical control-marker AR is used.

(665) ny adei ef hun uyth **ar** legat dyn tra uei yndi. [CO:274]

NEG allow-IMPERF-3SG he sleep ever **on** eye person beyond be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG in-3SF

*he would never allow sleep **onto** the eyes of anyone while he was in [the town].*

3.3.2.2.1.4 Alteration

When the manipulation of an object results in physical alteration, the language patterns similarly to that of ordinary manipulation or control, using AR to identify the patient. However, there may be more immediate motivations for this choice in the particular examples present in the data. Two also involve direct surface contact as the means of alteration (see section 3.1.1.3), and two involve the verb DODI "to put, place" which shows a strong association with AR to mark closely associated roles, regardless of the contextual semantics (see section 4.2.1.2).

(666) "Pwy well genhyt **arnaw**, ae guynseit ae grwmseit?" "Yr hwnn a uo da genhyt ti, malpei teu uei, gwna **arnaw**." [CO:791]

how better with-2SG **on-3SM**, either white-blade either dark-blade? the this REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG good with-2SG you-SG, as-if yours-SG be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG, do-IMPER-2SG **on-3SM**

*"How [would the work be] better **on it** for you, the white blade or the dark blade?" "The one that would be good with you if it were yours–do that **on it**."*

(667) A'r neb a dodes hut **ar** y wlat, a beris bot y gaer yma. [MFL:56:4]

and the anyone REL place-PRET-3SG magic **on** the land, PART cause-PRET-3SG be-VN the castle here

*And the person who put the enchantment **on** the land caused the castle to be here.*

We also find the reverse of this last scenario where the patient of removed

control/alteration is marked with Y AR, using a verb of caused motion (GWARED "to remove").

(668) Guaret yr hut a'r lledrith **y ar** seith cantref Dyuet. [MFL:63:28]
remove-VN the magic and the enchantment **from-on** seven cantref Dyfed
*Removing the magic and the enchantment **from** the seven cantrefs of Dyfed.*

Very rarely, we may find O marking a patient of alteration in a sense that appears to be connected to its use with topics (see section 3.3.2.1.1.6). In a loose sense, a patient could be considered a "topic" of the action, but this sense is much more commonly displaced by more specific expressions.

(669) eysted e brenhyn, neu e gur a uo en y le, a'e keuen ar er heul neu ar er hyn, rac aulonedu o'r hyn **o**'y vynep; [LI:73]
sit-VN the king, or the man REL be-PRES SUBJ-3SG in his place, with/and his back on/to the sun or on/to the weather, before disturb-VN of the weather **of** his face
*the king sits–or the man who is in his place–with his back to the sun or to the weather, against the spoiling by the weather **of** his face.*

3.3.2.2.1.5 Co-Patients and Co-Agents

When an entity occurs as a co-patient with some other entity, whether the primary patient is marked in one of the above manners or occurring as a direct object, we find the usual co-occurrence marker Y GYD AC.

(670) Nyt oes kyulauan a wnel tan den ar gnaut dyn arall, hep weythret e den **ygyt ac** ef, a dywyccer. [LI:119]

NEG be-PRES-3SG damage REL do-PRES-SUBJ-3SG fire person on flesh person other, beside deed the person **together with** him, and compensate-IMPER-IMPERS

*There is no damage that a person's fire does on the flesh of another person without the act of the person **along with** it, and that is compensated.*

It is also unsurprising to find the co-patient of a verb of mutual action (and therefore also a co-agent) marked with AC. (The examples all involve verbs with the mutual prefix YM-.)

(671) Y trydyd dyd yd ymladawd Arthur e hun **ac** ef, naw nos a naw nieu. [CO:1072]

the third day PART MUTUAL-fight-PRET-3SG Arthur him self **with/and** him, nine night and nine days

*The third day, Arthur himself fought **with** him [or: Arthur himself **and** he fought], nine nights and nine days.*

One significant group of examples uses GAN in a similar context. These all involve sexual activity, often expressed euphemistically using the verb CYSGU (to sleep), but sometimes simply with an expression of co-location.

(672) A'r nos honno y kyscwys Kulhwch **gan** Olwen. [CO:1242]

and the night that PART sleep-PRET-3SG Culhwch **with** Olwen

*And that night, Culhwch slept **with** Olwen.*

(673) o cheyff hytheu wreyc **gan** e gur, sarhaet yu ydy hytheu [LI:110]

if get-PRES-3SG she-EMPH woman **with** her husband, insult be-PRES-3SG to-3SF her-EMPH

*if she catches a woman **with** her husband, it is insult to her*

Given the nature of the activity, co-location is always literally present, and the use of GAN primarily serves to emphasize this aspect. The context, however, always implies a transitive action, not simply a description of the spatial context of the participants, and this is emphasized by passive-like impersonal constructions where only the patient is overtly present.

(674) A threis arnaf a orugant a chywilyd y titheu, a chyscu a wnaethpwyt **genhyf**, a hynny i'th ystauell ac i'th wely. [MFM:74:12]

and violence/rape on-1SG PART do-PRET-3PL and shame to-2SG-EMPH and sleep-VN PART do-PRET-IMPERS **with-1SG**, and that in your-SG chamber and in your-SG bed

*And rape was done to me, and shame to you, and one slept **with me [i.e. I was slept with]**, and that in your chamber and in your bed.*

As a side note, the asymmetry of the grammatical construction does not involve a gender-based asymmetric understanding of the activity itself. Examples with male patients, although less common than those with female patients, use exactly the same structures. (That is, the transitivity does not align with a traditional "active-passive" framing of sexual activity.)

(675) Mi a uynnaf uwytta o honno y nos y kysco vy merch **genhyt**. [CO:620]

I PART wish-PRES-1SG eat-VN of that the night PART sleep-PRES-SUBJ-3SG my daughter **with-2SG**

*I wish to eat of that the night my daughter would sleep **with you.***

3.3.2.2.1.6 Other

As noted above, examples of prepositionally marked patients of physical action are rare in circumstances other than those of the general hostile/control group or roles specially marked for grammatical reasons. There are a small number, however, where the action is either neutral, positive, or unspecified as to nature and the patient is still marked prepositionally. Among these, the patient is marked with I, based on a variety of motivations. The action may be characterized as a transferred object, with I marking the patient as a goal.

(676) Sef mal e kemeryr, kemryt o'r penkenedel due lau e mab erug e due lau enteu a rody kussan **ydau**, canys aruyd kerennyd yu kussan, [LI:103]

thus like PART take-PRES-IMPERS, take-VN of the head-kindred two hand the boy between his two hand his-EMPH and give-VN kiss **to-3SM**, since sign kinship be-PRES-3SG kiss

*This is how he is accepted [into the kindred]: the head [of the] kindred takes the boy's hands between his hands and gives a kiss **to him**, since a kiss is a sign of kinship.*

Somewhat in parallel with the preceding, we find GWNEUTHUR "to do, make" with a syntactic direct object that is the specific action, and a patient that takes some other marking. As we have seen above, both I and AC are used with GWNEUTHUR for this purpose.

(677) Puybynnac a locco march, ket boet maru y march ganthau, nyt a arnau namyn y lu ehun rywneythur **ydau** kystal ac **y**'u uarch ehun, a thalu y loc. [LI:124]

whoever REL hire-PRES-SUBJ-3SG horse, though be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG dead the horse with-3SM, NEG go-PRES-3SG on-3SM except his oath his-own PART-do-VN **to-3SM** as-good with/and **to** his horse his-own, and pay-VN the hiring

*Whoever hires a horse, although the horse dies with him [i.e. in his possession], no [liability] goes onto him except his own oath [that] he did **to it** as well as [he would] **to** his own horse, and [let him] pay [for] the hire.*

(678) Sef a wnai ynteu yr un guare **a** fawb ohonunt, hyt nat edewis ef wr byw o'r hollwyr o'r deu cannwr eithyr un. [BFL:42:23]

thus PART do-IMPERF-3SG he-EMPH the one trick **with/and** each of-3PL

*This is what he did: the same trick **with** each of them*

This same motivation holds for other relatively generic verbs that take a noun identifying the specific action as a direct object, such as DARFOD "to happen, occur".

(679) "Pa derw **yti**," heb ef, "ac a wyt iach di?" [MFM:86:10]

what happen-PRES-3SG **to-2SG**, say-PRET-3SG he, and INTERROGATIVE be-PRES-2SG well you

*"What has happened **to you**," he said, "and are you well?"*

There may also be a motivation for I influenced by its use to mark beneficiaries, enabling it to be used for an entity benefitting from the action, even when also the physical patient of the action.

(680) Ef a dele medegynyaeth rat **e**'r a uo en e llys ac **e**'r teylu [LI:17]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG treat-VN free **to** the REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG in the court and **to** the household

*He ought to do [medical] treatment freely **for** those who are in the court and **for** the household*

3.3.2.2.2 Socio-Legal Experiences

As a general pattern, prepositionally marked patients of socio-legal actions follow similar patterns to those of physical actions. The category is primarily represented by hostility, control, or constraint. Marking with AR is common, not surprisingly, however there are also significant patterns presenting socio-legal experiences as fictive object-transfer, with the patient marked as either a goal of motion or a possessor.

3.3.2.2.2.1 Hostile Socio-Legal Actions

Hostile socio-legal actions may involve harmful speech, indirectly harmful physical actions such as theft, the imposition of social or legal penalties, or the creation of states implying socio-legal harm, such as shame or insult. The most common marker for patients in this general category is AR, deriving from the general use of this preposition with harmful actions.

(681) "Ie," heb ynteu, "a lleidyr uu hi **arnaf** i." [MFL63:13]
well, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH, and thief be-PRET-3SG she **on-1SG** me
*"Well," he said, "she was a thief **on me** [i.e. she stole from me]."*

(682) A phwy bynnac a dywot geu **arnat**, cam a wnaeth. [PPD:26:3]
and who ever REL say-PRED-3SG lie **on-2SG**, wrong PART do-PRET-3SG.
*And whoever said a lie **against you** did wrong.*

(683) A chan doethauch chwitheu y'm ewyllus inheu, mi a dechreuaf boen **arnawch**. [MFM:74:27]

and since come-PRET-2PL you-PL in-my will my, I PART begin-PRES-1SG punishment **on-2PL**

*And since you have come into my power, I will begin the punishment **on you.***

In the specific context of the creation of negative social states, however, the experiencer is typically marked with I, or more rarely with GAN. Most commonly, the specific nature of the state is supplied by a noun in combination with the verb BOD (to be, exist), most consistent with a possession scenario (see section 3.3.1.2.3), however examples with GWNEUTHUR (to do, make) also bring implications of a beneficiary motivation (see section 3.5.2.1). (These are not inconsistent, since one of the strongest motivations for I marking beneficiaries is fictive object-transfer.)

(684) A chyt bo gwradwyd **gennyt** ti hynny, mwy yw **gan** Uendigeituran no **chenyt** ti, y tremic hwnnw a'r guare. [BFL:33:5]

and though be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG insult **with-2SG** you-SG that, more be-PRES-3SG **with** Bendigeidfran than **with-2SG** you-SG, the insult that and the trick

*And though that is insult t**o you**, it is more **to** Bendigeidfran than **to you**–that insult and the trick.*

(685) "Meuyl **y mi**," heb ef, "ony wylaf i heno. [MFL:59:24]

shame **to-1SG**, say-PRET-3SG he, if-not keep-watch-PRES-1SG I tonight

*"Shame **upon me**," he said, "if I don't keep watch tonight."*

(686) nat sarhaet e nep namen un o try peth en enwedyc: guneythur guaratwyd **ydau** am e wreyc, neu lad e gennat, neu torry e naud. [LI:110]

NEG insult to anyone except one of three thing PART especial: do-VN shame **to-3SM** about his wife, or kill-VN his messenger, or break-VN his protection

*there is no insult for anyone except [for] one of three particular things: doing shame **to him** concerning his wife, or killing his messenger, or breaking his protection.*

The characterization of these social states as concrete entities is emphasized in one, more poetic, example where a reputation can be "carried away".

(687) Mynet a wnaf i, a'th wyneb di a dygaf i **genhyf**. [CO:380]

go-VN PART do-PRES-1SG I, and your-SG face your-SG PART bear-PRES-1SG I **with-1SG**

*I will go, but I will take your face [i.e. reputation] **with me**.*

Both the pattern with AR and the "possession" pattern may be overridden by the usual contexts, such as the presence of an YM-prefixed verb calling for AC to mark the patient instead.

(688) Hynny," hep ef, "ansyberwyt oed, a chyn nyt ymdialwyf **a** thi, y rof i a Duw," hep ef, "mi a wnaf o anglot itt guerth can carw." [PPD:2:16]

that, say-PRET-3SG he discourtesy be-IMPERF-3SG, and though NEG MUTUAL-avenge-PRES-1SG **with/and** you-SG, for-1SG and God, say-PRET-3SG he, I PART do-PRES-1SG of un-fame to-2SG value hundred stag

*"That," he said, "was discourtesy, and though I will not take revenge **on** you, for my sake and God's," he said, "I will make infamy for you the value of a hundred stags."*

3.3.2.2.2.2 Formal Legal Actions

The *Llyfr Iorwerth* data is naturally very much concerned with formal legal actions, processes and consequences. (See also sections 3.6.1-2 for specific legal topics.) Actions involving the establishment of a lawsuit, typically framed as a verbal accusation or claim against the defendant, normally mark that defendant/patient with AR, emphasizing either the potentially harmful nature of the action or the inherently constraining nature of a lawsuit.

(689) O deruyd na keffroho haul **arnau** ef, hebregent venteu euo hyt e lle e delehoent e hebrug. [LI:71]

if happen-PRES-3SG NEG rise-PRES-SUBJ-3SG claim **on-3SM** him, bring-IMPER-3PL they him length the place PART ought-PRES-SUBJ-3PL him bring-VN

*If it happens that no claim is raised **against him**, let them take him to the place [to which] they are entitled to bring him.*

(690) Os gurthtug a uyd **arnau** enteu, galwet enteu am uraut. [LI:68]

if counter-oath PART be-PRES-3SG **on-3SM** him, call-IMPER-3SG he-EMPH about judgement

*If there is counterswearing **against him**, let him call for judgement.*

A legal defendant may also be construed in terms of a goal of spatial pursuit, marked with YN OL, although it isn't entirely clear that the examples do *not* involve literal spatial pursuit.

(691) Pvybynnac e dotter llourudyaeth er alanas arnau, byt e kenedel **en e ol**. [LI:105]

whoever PART put-PRES-SUBJ-3SG offence the murder on-3SM, be-IMPER-3SG the kindred **in his track**

*Whoever has an offence [of] murder put on him [i.e. charged against him], let the kindred be **after him** [i.e. pursue him].*

When legal action has proceeded, in part or in whole, and official judgements have been made that affect the participants, these judgements are most typically framed as transferred objects, not simply based on the use of I to mark the patient of the judgement, but by the common presence of verbs taken from the frame of object transfer, such as RHODDI (to give) and YSTYNNU (to offer, extend) alongside verbs referring to the legal process itself, such as BARNU (to judge, adjudge). Grouped with these are other situations where a legal authority presents a decision or judgement, outside of a formal law case.

(692) Guedy barner tyr a dayar **e** den ny ellyr lludyas kyuran ydau o henne allan pan uenho, na chaedyc uo er amser nac ef ny bo. [LI:78]

after judge-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS land and earth **to** person NEG be-able-PRES-IMPERS hinder-VN share to-3SM from then out when wish-PRES-SUBJ-3SG, NEG closed be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the time NEG he NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

*After land and earth have been judged [i.e. awarded by judgement] **to** a person, one may not prevent a share to him from then on if he wishes [it], neither if the time is closed [to legal action] nor if it is not.*

(693) O dywedant eu bot en un kemhut ac [29r] vynt, roder oet try dyeu **udunt**. [LI:76]

if say-PRES-3PL they be-VN in one commote with/and them, give-IMPER-IMPERS time three days **to-3PL**

*If they$_1$ say they$_2$ are in the same commote with them$_1$, let an appointment in three days be given **to them$_1$**.*

The major exception to the use of I here is in the context of the legal assignment of responsibility (usually for a fine or payment) to one or more individuals. Although the language is typically of motion, even caused motion, the bearer of responsibility is overwhelmingly marked with AR, presumably profiling the constraining nature of the judgement. (Much more rarely, we find I used here as well.)

(694) Tredyd yu o rodyr Kemraes e alltut a bot mab ydy o'r alltut, a llad dyn o hunnu, deuparth er alanas a dau **ar** kenedel e uam a'r traean **ar** e llourud, a henne urth nat oes kenedel tat a'e talho. [LI:101]

third be-PRES-3SG if give-PRES-IMPERS Welshwoman to foreigner and be-VN son to-3SF from the foreigner, and kill-VN person of that, two-part the murder-fine PART come-PRES-3SG **on** kindred the mother and the third **on** the murderer, and that with NEG be-PRES-3SG kindred father PART it pay-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

*The third [situation] is if a Welshwoman is given to a foreigner and there is a son to her from that foreigner [i.e. she has a son by him], and that one [i.e. the son] kills a person, two parts of the murder-fine come **onto** the mother's kindred [i.e. they are responsible for ...] and the third part **onto** the murderer, and that [is] because there is no paternal kindred to pay it.*

3.3.2.2.2.3 Social Control and Rule

In a more neutral context, the patient of rule, or of less formal types of social control or influence is most typically marked with AR, as might be expected.

(695) Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet a oed yn arglwyd **ar** seith cantref Dyuet. [PPD:1:1]

Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed PART be-IMPERF-3SG PART lord **on** seven cantref Dyfed

*Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed was lord **over** the seven cantrefs of Dyfed.*

(696) Ni chymellaf inheu **ar** neb uynet e ymlad [MFM:73:2]
NEG force-PRES-1SG I-EMPH **on** anyone go-VN to MUTUAL-fight-VN
*I will not force **on** anyone going to fight [i.e. force anyone to go fight]*

The exceptions to this choice result from some of our typical overriding conditions, such as the use of AC with YM-prefixed verbs, and the use of I with verbs with a generic causative sense, such as GWNEUTHUR (to do, make) and PERI (to cause). (See section 4.1.2.4 for a general consideration of I as a "dative" marker in situations like this.)

(697) Canys ywch yn rwymedigaeth, mi a wnaf **ywch** gerdet y gyt [MFM:75:4]
since be-PRES-2PL PART bound, I PART do-PRES-1SG **to-2PL** travel-VN together
*Since you are allied, I will cause **you** to travel together*

(698) A minheu a baraf **idaw ef** uynet y sseghi y bwyt yn y got. [PPD:15:11]
and I-EMPH PART cause-PRES-1SG **to-3SM him** go-VN to tread-down-VN the food in the bag
*And I will cause **him** to go to tread down the food in the bag.*

I is also commonly used in situations of verbal influence, even in some cases where AR might as easily be expected (see also section 3.3.2.2.4.2). The conflict most likely arises from the use of I as the default marker for a hearer of speech.

(699) Tyghaf tyghet **it** na latho dy ystlys vrth wreic hyt pan geffych Olwen merch Yspadaden Penkawr. [CO:50]

swear-PRES-1SG destiny **to-2SG** NEG strike-PRES-SUBJ-3SG your-SG side with woman length when get-PRES-SUBJ-2SG Olwen daughter Ysbaddaden Pencawr

*I swear a destiny **on you**: your side will not meet a woman until when you get Olwen daughter of Ysbaddaden Pencawr.*

When the socio-legal control is specifically in the form of refusal, opposition, or contradiction, we also commonly find YN ERBYN motivated by its use for conflict and contradiction scenarios.

(700) O gueles enteu negydyaeth **en erbyn** er haulur kyn no henne, enteu a eyll rody guestel kyureythyaul e gan e kynnogen e'r haulur en e absent. [LI:62]

if see-PRET-3SG he-EMPH refusal **in-against** the claimant before/earlier than that, he-EMPH PART be-able-PRES-3SG give-VN pledge legal from-with the principal-debtor to the claimant in his absence

*If he has seen a refusal **against** the claimant before that, he is able to give a legal pledge from the principal debtor to the claimant in his [i.e. the debtor's] absence.*

The dissolution of a state of rule or control is less commonly found. Here the patient may be marked by I, suggesting that the general use of I in this context is not directly motivated by object transfer, but leans more towards an abstract beneficiary type of sense, or even simply a dative type of sense.

(701) "Arglwyd," heb ef, "llyma rydit **yti** am y geir a dywedeist neithwyr am y moch, nas rodut ac nas guerthut. [MFM:70:16]

lord, say-PRET-3SG he, behold freedom **to-2SG** about the word REL say-PRET-2SG last-night about the pigs, NEG-it give-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG and NEG-it sell-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG

*"Lord," he said, "behold the freedom **for you** regarding the promise you said last night about the pigs: [that] you would not give them and you would not sell them."*

Interestingly, in the same passage, nearly the same language can be found where the (former) patient of control occurs as the direct object, and the (former) controlling condition is marked with O, rather than topic-marking AM in the above example. (There are other examples of O used similarly as well.)

(702) "Arglwyd," heb ynteu, "minheu a allaf dy rydhau ditheu **o**'r geireu hynny. [MFM:69:24]

lord, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH, I-EMPH PART be-able-PRES-1SG you free-VN you-EMPH **from** the words that

*"Lord," he said, "I can free you **from** those words [i.e. that promise]."*

It isn't clear whether this use of O directly implies a spatial metaphor (CONTROLLING) STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_P$, REMOVAL OF A STATE IS MOTION FROM A LOCATION, or derives less directly from a topic-marking use of O (see section 3.3.2.1.1).

Explicit language of object transfer is also found, however, and the example is particularly interesting since it uses Y GAN rather than Y AR, suggested a desired (or at least neutral) possession rather than an imposed burden, and this precisely in a context where the governing relationship is being put in a positive light. (That is, the subtext is "deprive us of your beneficial rule" rather than "free us from your oppressive rule".)

(703) A'r arglwydiaeth a gaussam ninheu y ulwydyn honno, nys attygy **y gennym**, ot gwnn. [PPD:8:15]

and the lordship REL get-PRET-1PL we the year that, NEG-it remove-PRES-2SG **from-with-1PL** if know-PRES-1SG

*And the lordship we got that year, you won't take it **away from us**, if I know [anything].*

3.3.2.2.2.4 Other Socio-Legal Experiencers

Co-patients of socio-legal action, as well as mutual agent/patients are, as usual, marked with RHWNG regardless of the immediate semantics.

(704) "Blwydyn," heb ef, "y heno y mae oet **y rof** i ac ef ar y ryt. [PPD:3:16]

year, say-PRET-3SG he, to/from tonight PART be-PRES-3SG appointment **between-1SG** and him on the ford

*"A year," he said, "from tonight there is an appointment **between me** and him at the ford."*

(705) ef a barei tangneued **y rwg** y deu lu, ban uydynt lidyawcaf [BFL:29:11]

he PART cause-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG peace **between** the two army when be-IMPERF-3PL angriest

*he would cause peace **between** two armies when they were angriest*

When the socio-legal event is an errand or embassy, the patient (or topic) of the errand takes its marking from the physical scenario of human interaction in space, being marked as a human goal of a human trajector using AT or WRTH, even though the overt trajector is the abstract "errand" itself. (These examples all have an actual spatial component to the scenario as well.) See also the discussion in section 4.2.2.2.

(706) Ac **attat** titheu y mae y neges ef". [BR:12:20]

and **to-2SG** you-SG-EMPH PART be-PRES-3SG his errand his

*And **with you** is his errand.*

(707) "Arglwyd," heb ef, "**wrthyt** ti y mae uy neges i, ac y erchi it y dodwyf." [PPD:14:3]

lord, say-PRET-3SG he, **with-2SG** you-SG PART be-PRES-3SG my errand my, and to ask-VN to-2SG PART come-PERF-1SG

*"Lord", said he, "my errand is **to** you, and I have come to ask you [something]."*

3.3.2.2.3 Mental and Emotional Experiences

Subjective personal experiences such as mental processes or emotions tend to be characterized as contents (using YN) or as transferred or possessed objects (using a variety of language). In addition, negative emotions may be presented in the language of other negative or hostile experiences using AR to mark the experiencer.

In addition to language motivated by the particular semantics of this section, we find the usual overrides, specifically the use of Y GYD AC and RHWNG to mark co-experiencers and mutual agent/experiencers respectively. (Specific examples of these will not necessarily be given in all categories where they occur.)

(708) Ac yna y rodet mab y Pendaran Dyuet, ac yd ymyrrwys gwyrda y wlat **y gyt ac** ef. [PPD:27:5]

and then PART give-PRET-IMPERS to Pendaran Dyfed, and PART MUTUAL-concern-oneself-PRET-3SG noblemen the land **together-with** him

*And then the boy was given to Pendaran Dyfed, and the noblemen of the land allied **with** him.*

(709) Hueil y ewythyr a'e gwant, ac am hynny y bu gas **rwg** Arthur a Hueil am yr archoll. [CO:259]

Huail his uncle PART him stab-PRET-3SG, and about that PART be-PRET-3SG hatred **between** Arthur and Huail about the wound

*Huail, his uncle, stabbed him, and because of that there was hatred **between** Arthur and Huail because of the wound.*

3.3.2.2.3.1 Knowledge

Knowledge is a field that could easily fall in either my "characteristics" group or my "experiences" group. The majority of examples, however, fall here, given that they involve specific focused events rather than broad concepts of "being knowledgeable". The experiencer of knowledge (or intellectual ability in general) may be marked prepositionally with either I or YN, and most commonly using verbs of motion, suggesting an object-transfer metaphor. These two scenarios are not contradictory–the transferred mental object could subsequently be internalized–however the distinction is largely one between externally supplied knowledge (using object-transfer) and knowledge acquired or made accessible without external aid (using containment either as static location or as a goal).

(710) Pan dyuu y thymp idi, ef a dyuu y iawn bwyll **iti**. [CO:6]

when come-PRET-3SG her time to-3SF, he PART come-PRET-3SG her right mind **to-3SF**

*When her [birth] time came to her, her right mind came **to her**.*

(711) Ac ynteu a synywys arnei hitheu; a'r un medwl a doeth **yndaw** ef ac a doeth **yndi** hitheu. [MFM:85:9]

and he-EMPH PART notice-PRET-3SG on-3SF her-EMPH, and the one thought PART come-PRET-3SG **in-3SM** him with/and PART come-PRET-3SG **in-3SF** her-EMPH

*And he took notice of her, and the same thought came **to him** as came **to her.***

When knowing is expressed specifically in terms of the mind (rather than the person) as the experiencer, a container metaphor is the rule.

(712) A threigylgweith yd oed yn Arberth, prif lys idaw, a dyuot **yn** y uryt ac **yn** y uedwl uynet y hela. [PPD:1:2]

and turn-time PART be-IMPERF-3SG in Arberth chief court to-3SM and come-VN **in** his mind and **in** his thought go-VN to hunt-VN

*And one day he was in Arberth, a chief court of his, and [it] came **into** his mind and **into** his thoughts [to] go to hunt.*

In contrast, when the knowledge is expressed causatively, especially in terms of information gained from another's speech, the experiencer is marked as a goal using I (and often using verbs of caused motion).

(713) A rodwch **im** kynghor pa uorwyn a geisswyf. [MFM:77:5]

and give-IMPER-2PL **to-1SG** advice what maiden REL seek-PRES-SUBJ-1SG

*And give advice **to me** [about] what maiden I should seek.*

3.3.2.2.3.2 Memory

Experience of memory is expressed in terms of object movement, using the formula DYFOD COF I ("memory comes to"), even when the memory is not externally

stimulated.

(714) Yn oet y nos honno, kystal y doi y gof **y**'r dyn eithaf yn yr holl gyuoeth yr oet ac **idaw** ynteu. [PPD:5:8]

in time the night that, as-good PART come-IMPERF-3SG the memory **to** the person farthest in the whole realm the appointment with **to-3SM** he-EMPH

*At the time that night, the memory of that appointment came as well **to** the farthest person in the realm as **to him**.*

Similar language is found for images experienced as part of a dream, although here the dream is personified as the provider of those images.

(715) Ac yn gytneit ac yd aeth hun yn y lygeit y rodet drych **idaw** [BR:3:25]

and PART co-leap with PART go-PRET-3SG sleep in his eyes PART give-PRET IMPERS vision **to-3SM**

*And simultaneously with sleep going into his eyes, a vision was given **to him***

(See also section 3.3.2.2.7 for dreams as a state or context in which other events occur.)

3.3.2.2.3.3 Emotion

Identifying a role "experiencer of emotion" is complex because there are two roles that might fit that label, as well as variable focus on the volitionality and causation associated with each (see e.g. Croft 1993). In general, when there is a relatively complex semantic frame as background for particular prepositional uses, I have presented a description of the frame separately in section 3.6.3. However, in order for the

terminology I am using to make sense, I provide a condensed version of it here. The frame of emotional experience as described in Medieval Welsh can be thought of as involving the following components. There is a stimulus (an entity or event) that induces an entity (the primary experiencer) to feel an emotion; that emotion may then induce certain characteristic behavior in the primary experiencer (the expression of the emotion) that is directed towards or perceivable by other entities (the patient of expressed emotion). Very typically, the patient of expressed emotion is identical with, or directly connected in some way with, the stimulus. We then have two "experiencer" type roles, the primary experiencer and the patient of expressed emotion. The experiences of these two parties may be symmetric, as in a prototypical "love" scenario: person A is the stimulus for person B feeling love; person B then acts in ways that express that love to person A who is then stimulated to feel love for B. In other situations, the experiences may be asymmetric, as in the case of fear: person A is the stimulus for person B feeling fear; person B expresses that fear to B; person B is not expected, on that basis, to feel fear.

The stimulus of emotion is typically marked as surroundings or as a co-located entity (animate, rather than a possession), using WRTH or YN ERBYN, both of which tend to imply a sense of "directed attention" when used spatially. Although YN ERBYN most typically carries a sense of conflict or hostility in other circumstances, here there is no such correlation, rather it is used when there is also a spatial component, when the stimulus and primary experiencer come into mutual proximity.

(716) ac y bu lawen yr amhera6dyr **6rthunt**. [BM:189:11]
and PART be-PRET-3SG happy the emperor **with-3PL**
*and the emperor was happy **with [or: because of; or: towards] them.***

(717) Y llys a gyrchyssant, a diruawr llywenyd a uu **yn y herbyn**. [PPD:25:18]
the court PART approach-PRET-3PL and very-great joy PART be-PRET-3SG **in-their-against**
*They approached the court, and there was great happiness **before them** [i.e. at their arrival].*

This "stimulus + patient of expressed emotion" role is most commonly found for positive emotions, but there are occasional negative examples as well.

(718) "Ny buum drwc i etwa **wrthyt** ti," heb ef. [MFM:81:4]
NEG be-PRET-1SG bad I yet **with-2SG** you-SG, say-PRET-3SG he
*"I haven't yet been nasty **to** [or: **because of**] **you**," he said.*

It is rare for only the sense of a patient of expressed emotion to be emphasized (without focus on any role as stimulus), but it is marked with AR, I, or in the case of negative emotions also with RHAG. Verbs of caused motion (RHODDI "to give", DWYN "to carry, bear", DODI "to put, place") are commonly found in this context, suggesting that the expressed emotion is being characterized as a transferred object, although the evidence is too scanty for a clear pattern.

(719) Ac o achaws y serch, a'r caryat, a dodassei pob un o honunt **ar** y gilyd [MFM:85:12]

and from cause the passion and the love REL place-PLUP-3SG each one of-3PL **on** his fellow

*And because of the passion and the love that each one of them placed **on** the other [i.e. expressed to the other]*

(720) Ha wreic, pei mi ry wascut uelly, ny oruydei ar arall uyth rodi serch **im**. [CO:464]

o woman, if I PART squeeze-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG thus, NEG overcome-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG on other ever give-VN passion **to-1SG**

*O woman, if you had embraced me thus, there would be no need on anyone ever [to] give love **to me**.*

(721) Kyflym oed y gueith wynteu, a diuessur a wneynt ac yuelly y buant yny dygywys yw kytdrefwyr **racdunt**, ac yny duunyssant ar geissaw eu llad. [MFL:53:22]

swift be-IMPERF-3SG their work their-EMPH, and immeasurable PART do-IMPERF-3PL and thus PART be-PRET-3PL until grow-angry-PRET-3SG to-their fellow-townsmen **before-3PL**, and until agree-PRET-3PL on seek-VN them kill-VN

*Their work was swift, and they worked ceaselessly, and so they were until their fellow townsmen grew angry **against them**, and until they agreed [to] seek [to] kill them.*

In rare cases where thought or memory is accompanied by a similar set of roles (i.e. stimulus/patient versus experiencer of the process itself), we find I and AR similarly marking the stimulus/patient of this process.

(722) ac ynteu Giluaethwy uab Don a dodes y uryt **ar** y uorwyn, a'y charu hyt na wydat beth a wnay ymdanei. [MFM:67:15]

and he-EMPH Gilfaethwy son Don PART place-PRET-3SG his mind **on** the maiden, and her love-VN length NEG know-IMPERF-3SG what PART do-IMPERF-3SG about-3SF

*and he, Gilfaethwy son of Don, set his mind **on** the maiden, and he loved her so that he didn't know what to do about her.*

(723) Iawn yw idaw coffau **y** mi ac **y**'r wreic honno a wnaethom yrdaw ef. [PPD:26:24]

right be-PRES-3SG to-3SM remember-VN **to-1SG** and **to the woman that** REL do PRET-1PL for-3SM him

*It is right for him to remember **me** and **that woman** [we] who did [this] for him.*

There is even more variation in how the primary experiencer of emotion is characterized prepositionally. The emotion may be marked as internalized contents of the experiencer, using YN or TRWY and typically in combination with a verb of motion. That is, not only do we find EMOTIONS ARE CONTENTS OF THE EXPERIENCER but explicitly EXPERIENCING EMOTION IS INTERNALIZING CONTENTS.

(724) Hitheu a gymerth diruawr lywenyd **yndi**. [MFM:85:12]

she-EMPH PART take-PRET-3SG very-great joy **in-3SF**

*She took great joy **inside herself.***

(725) diaspat a dodit pob nos Kalan Mei vch bob aelwyt yn Ynys Prydein, a honno a aei **trwy** gallonneu y dynyon ac a'e hofnockaei [LL:35]

cry PART put-IMPERF-IMPERS each night calends May above each hearth in Island Britain, and that PART go-IMPERF-3SG **through** hearts the people and PART them frighten-IMPERF-3SG

*a shout is given each night of the May calends over every hearth in the Island of Britain, and that goes **through** the hearts of the people and frightens them*

Positive emotions may appear with an experiencer marked with GAN or I which, in combination with the verb BOD "to be" indicates possession (whether of a concrete object, or in an abstract sense–see section 3.3.1.2.3). Compare this with the same constructions for evaluative experiences (section 3.3.2.2.5.3).

(726) "Arglwyd," heb hi, "digrifwch a didanwch oed **gennyf** i bei mynnut ti. [PPD:23:10]

lord, say-PRET-3SG she, enjoyment and entertainment be-IMPERF-3SG **with-1SG** me if wish-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG you

*"Lord," she said, "[It would be] enjoyment and entertainment **to me**, if you wish [it]."*

(727) E lety yv y ty mvyhaf en e tref a chymeruedhaf, ac ygyt ac ef er rey a vynho o'r teylu, a'r lleyll en y gylch, ual y bo prytuerth **ydav** ef eu caffael hvy vrth y reyt. [LI:6]

his lodging be-PRES-3SG the house most in the village and with-middle-most, and together with him the ones REL wish-PRES-SUBJ-3SG of the warband, and the others in his circle, like PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG pleasant **to-3SM** him them get-VN them with his need.

*His lodging is the largest and most central house in the village, and with him those of the warband that he wishes, and the others around him so that it is pleasing **to him** [to] get them for his needs.*

By far, the most common strategy for negative emotions is to mark the primary experiencer with AR, suggesting affinity with the sense of a hostile or controlling force. Verbs of motion are not uncommon in this context (as with negative physical and socio-legal experiences) but are not in the majority.

(728) Ac os ouyn yssyd **arnawch** i, ym kyffes y Duw, mi a'ch differaf. [PPD:21:3]

and if fear be-PRES-REL-3SG **on-2PL** by confession to God, I PART you-PL protect-PRES-1SG

*And if it is fear **on you** [i.e. you are afraid], I confess to God, I will protect you.*

3.3.2.2.4 Sensory Experiences

3.3.2.2.4.1 Visual Experiences

It is extremely rare for the experiencer of vision to occur in any context other than as the agent of a verb. The one exception is in the case of caused or directed vision using the verb DANGOS (to show, indicate), where the viewer is marked with I. There is no clear context in these examples to suggest the specific motivation for this choice, however it is consistent with a general beneficiary sense, or a relatively grammaticalized object-transfer origin.

(729) Ac a dangossy di **ymi** pa furu y sauut ti ar emyl y gerwyn a'r bwch, o faraf uinheu yr enneint?[MFM:87:10]

and INTERROGATIVE show-PRES-2SG you-SG **to-1SG** what form PART stand-IMPERF-2SG you-SG on edge the tub and the goat, if cause-PRES-1SG I-EMPH the bath

*And will you show **to me** how you could stand on the edge of the tub and the goat, if I arrange [for] the bath?*

3.3.2.2.4.2 Aural Experiences

It is far more common for the experiencer of sound to be marked prepositionally, largely due to the significance of speech in this category, where it is far more typical for the speaker to appear as the grammatical agent. The alternation of prepositions in this context is a useful example of the interplay between various types of factors, and a more in-depth discussion of this will be found in section 4.2.2.2, where language about speech is used as a context for analyzing these alternations.

There are a number of specific contexts that select for a particular preposition marking the hearer, with a clear default choice of I that occurs when those contexts do not apply, as well as being available as a dispreferred option when they do apply.

The usual morphological overrides appear, such as the use of AC to mark roles associated with a verb prefixed with YM-.

(730) a dechreu ymouyn **a** gwyrda y wlat beth a uuassei y arglwydiaeth ef arnunt hwy y ulwydyn honno y wrth ry uuassei kynn no hynny. [PPD:8:4]

and begin-VN MUTUAL-ask-VN **with/and** noblemen the land what PART be-PLUP-3SG his lordship his on-3PL them the year that from-with PART be-PLUP-3SG earlier than that

*and [he] began to ask **of** the noblemen of the land what his lordship had been over them that [previous] year compared to what it had been before that.*

Semantic influences appear in several contexts. When the speech produces social harm, or indicates social or legal control or influence over the hearer (such as commands or influencing advice), then AR typically appears to mark the hearer.

(731) A-llyna yr acha6s a-r cabyl yssyd **arnat**. [BM:183:16]

and behold the cause and the complain be-PRES-REL-IMPERS **on-2SG**

*And behold the cause of the complaint there is **against you.***

(732) **Arnadunt** oll y hasswynwys Kulwch mab Kilid {y hasswynwynwys Kulhwch mab Kilyd} y gyuarws. [CO:373]

on-3PL all PART invoke-PRET-3SG Culhwch son Cilydd his gift

*Culhwch son of Cilydd invoked **them** all [to demand] his gift.*

In all variants of this category, I can be found marking hearers in parallel with AR, but typically with a slightly different set of verbs. So, for example, with socially harmful

speech, I is extremely rare and occurs with only two verbs (EIRYCHU "to charge, impute" and LLIWO "to reproach", which are not found with AR). With hearers of commands or requests, I occurs when the item is framed as a question (using ERCHI "to ask" or GOFYNNU "to ask") rather than with verbs directly indicating commands (e.g. GALW "to call upon", ASSWYNO "to entreat").

(733) Pa arch bynnac a erchych di **y** mi, hyt y gallwyf y gaffael, itti y byd. [PPD:14:5]
what request whatever PART ask-PRES-SUBJ-2SG you-SG **to** me, length PART be-able-PRES-SUBJ-1SG it get-VN, to-2SG PART be-PRES-3SG
*Whatever request you would ask **of** me, as far as I am able to get it, it will be to you [i.e. it will be yours].*

Hearers of formal legal speech are more likely to be marked with I in conjunction with particular verbs (such as TYNGU "to swear") or when the legal action is the establishment of a relationship (e.g. GWRHAU "to become the man of, to do homage") rather than legal speech in the context of a lawsuit.

(734) ac yna e dele enteu gurhau **e**'r argluyd a bot urth ureynt e argluyd, [LI:98]
and then PART ought-PRES-3SG do-homage-VN **to** the lord and be-VN with status the lord
*And then he ought to do homage **to** the lord, and be according to [i.e. follow] the lord's status.*

The hearer is marked as a goal of motion using AT only when the speech is described overtly with the language of spatial motion, e.g. with ANFON (to send), DYFOD (to come) etc.

(735) Yr atteb hwnnw a aeth **ataw** ef. [BFL:30:23]
the answer that PART go-PRET-3SG **to-3SM** him
*That answer went **to him**.*

The above alternations have made no reference to what format the speech itself is presented in. However when the context of the speech does not involve any of the above circumstances, the strongest influence on the choice of preposition is whether the speech itself is presented as a direct quotation, in which case the hearer is marked with WRTH, or is presented indirectly or by reference only to the genre of speech (whether via the verb or with a noun), in which case the hearer is typically marked with I. The verbs HEB "to say" and AMCAWDD "to say" occur only with quoted speech and take only WRTH.

(736) Amkawd Arthur **vrthaw**, "Chwedleu porth genhyt?" [CO:114]
say-PRET-3SG Arthur **with-3SM,** news gate with-2SG?
*Arthur said **to him**, "[Is there] news of the gate with you [i.e. do you have ...]?"*

(737) Heb y Bedwyr yna **wrth** Gei, "A'e hatwaenost di ef?" [CO:961]
say-PRET-3SG Bedwyr then **with** Cei, INTERROGATIVE recognize-PRES-2SG you-SG him
*Bedwyr said **to** Cei, "Do you recognize him?"*

DWEUD (to say, speak) is a more common and more general verb of speech and is unmarked as to content, as well as being used with all strategies for indicating the nature of the speech. When used with quoted speech, it virtually always marks the hearer with WRTH.

(738) Dywawt Kulhwch **vrthi**, "Ha uorwyn, ti a gereis. [CO:500]
say-PRET-3SG Culhwch **with-3SF**, o maiden you-SG PART love-PRET-1SG
*Culhwch said **to** her, "O maiden, I have loved you."*

When the content of the speech is given in specific terms, but indirectly, DWEUD typically takes I, although both prepositions are found.

(739) Dywedwch **idaw**, nit a ymi un o'r esgidyeu hynn [MFM:80:8]
say-IMPER-2PL **to-2SM** NEG go-PRES-3SG to-1SG one of the shoes these
*Say **to him**, not one of these shoes goes to me [i.e. fits me]*

(740) Ac yna y dywedassant 6ynteu **6rth** yr amhera6dyr [indirect content] [BM:190:22]
and then PART say-PRET-3PL they **with** the emperor [indirect content]
*And then they said **to** the emperor [indirect content]*

In all other circumstances with DWEUD, when the content of the speech is indicated only generically, or not at all, WRTH and I are equally common.

(741) "Pa achaws," heb ynteu, "na dywedy di **wrthyf** i?" [PPD:7:13]
what cause, say-PRET-3SG he, NEG speak-PRES-2SG you-SG **with-1SG** me
*"Why," he said, "won't you speak **to** me?"*

(742) Mi a dywedaf peth atteb **iwch**. [CO:519]
I PART say-PRES-1SG thing answer **to-2PL**
*I will tell something of an answer **to you.***

Rarely, WRTH may mark hearers in other contexts. The most common of these overlaps with an emotion scenario, where the hearer is also the stimulus of emotion in the

speaker and the patient of the speaker's expression of that emotion (see section 3.3.2.2.3.3).

(743) "Crassaw **wrthyt** y gennyf i," heb ef. [PPD:12:15]

welcome-VN **with-2SG** from-with me, say-PRET-3SG he

*"Welcome **to** you from me", he said.*

(744) Ac yna y peris ef dyuot llwyr wys pedeir degwlat a seithugeint hyt attaw, ac e hun cwynaw **wrth** hynny, bot y poen a oed ar y chwaer. [BFL:38:21]

and then PART cause-PRET-3SG he come-VN complete levy four ten-country and seven-score length to-3SM and he himself complain-VN **with** those, be-VN the punishment REL be-IMEPRF-3SG on his sister

*And then he caused to come to him a complete levy of seven-score and fourteen regions, and he himself complained **to** them [that there should] be the punishment that was on his sister*.

Very rarely, WRTH may be used when the speech is indicated indirectly with verbs other than DWEUD.

(745) Pan adeuo mach **urth** er egnat e uot en uach, yaun yu e'r haulur testu e adef ohonau, rac kylyau ohonau eylweyth. [LI:60]

when admit-PRES-SUBJ-3SG surety **with** the judge him be-VN PART surety, right be-PRES-3SG to the claimant testify-VN PART admit-VN of-3SM, before retreat-VN from-3SM second-time

*When a surety admits **to** the judge [that] he is a surety, it is right for the claimaint to testify [that] he admitted [it], lest he withdraw again.*

In all circumstances not covered in specific above, hearers are marked with I. While particular examples may suggest a relatively concrete motivation for this (as when the speech is indicated with the verb RHODDI, characterizing the hearer as a recipient of a transferred object), the range of circumstances in which this marker is the rule suggests

that these various individual motivations have been generalized.

3.3.2.2.4.3 Experience of Temperature

The experience of temperature, based on a relatively few examples, patterns similarly to the experience of emotion–that is, the experience may either be characterized as contents of the experiencer (using YN) or as a hostile/controlling/influencing force over the experiencer (using AR).

(746) Osit rann imi o'th uab ti, uorwyn, oer uyth uyd y galon, ac ny byd gwres **yn** y dwylaw. [CO:266]

if-there-is part to-1SG of your-SG son your-SG, maiden, cold every be-PRES-3SG his heard, and NEG be-PRES-3SG warmth **in** his two-hand

*If there is a part of me in your son, maiden, his heard will be cold, and there will be no warmth **in** his hands.*

(747) a ffan uei uwyaf y **anwyd ar** y gydymdeithon, dyskymon vydei hynny utunt y gynneu tan. [CO:390]

and when be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG most the **cold on** his companions, fuel be-PAST-3SG that to-3PL to kindle-VN fire

*and when the **cold** would be worst **for** his companions, that would be fuel for them to kindle fire.*

3.3.2.2.5 Misc. Experiences

The section covers several types of abstract experiences that don't fit clearly with previously covered categories.

3.3.2.2.5.1 Time

The experience of time, when the focus is on the person experiencing it, characterizes time-points as possessions, and ones that can be transferred as objects (TIMES ARE OBJECTS$_p$). We find them used with explicit motion verbs, or with constructions with BOD "to be" used for possession.

(748) ys **ethyw gennyf** deuparth vy oet a deuparth y teu ditheu. [CO:116]

be-PRES-REL-3SG **go-PERF-3SG with-1SG** two-part my life and two-part the yours-SG yours-SG-EMPH

*It is **gone from** me [or: with me] two parts of my life and two parts of your own.*

(749) Amser a doeth **udunt** e uynet e gyscu, ac y gyscu yd aethant, ef a'r urenhines. [PPD:4:26]

time PART come-PRET-3SG **to-3PL** to go-VN to sleep-VN, PART go-PRET-3PL, he and the queen

*The time came **for them** to go to sleep, and they went to sleep, he and the queen.*

(750) Nyt oet **y mi** etwa wreicca. [CO:49]

NEG time **to-1SG** yet take-wife-VN

*It is not yet time **for me** to take a wife.*

3.3.2.2.5.2 Fate

A related group of examples form a sort of periphrastic construction, using verbs that have a sense of "to happen, to occur", and in particular the verb DARFOD. By far the most common use of this construction is with a subjunctive sense (although either an indicative or subjunctive grammatical form may be used). The construction may also occur with DARFOD in the indicative, sometimes perhaps conveying a sense of distance

from agency, sometimes to avoid having to indicate a more specific event, but in other cases with DARFOD appearing to function simply as an auxilliary for periphrasis. In all cases, the experiencer (the notional agent) is marked with I. As there is no overt language of motion or constructions consistent with possession, this suggests a grouping with experiencers of more neutral physical and socio-legal actions. (As will be discussed in section 4.1.2.4, the best interpretation for this type of use of I may simply be as a dative equivalent.)

(751) O deruyd **y** tat rody da er meythryn mab ny dele e wadu o henne allan, canys tredyd kymeryat yu ar uab rody da er e ueythryn. [LI:102]

if happen-PRES-3SG **to** father give-VN goods for nourish-VN son NEG ought-PRES-3SG him deny-VN from that out, since third acceptance be-PRES-3SG on son give-VN goods for him nourish-VN

*If it happens **to** a father [that he] gives goods for raising a son he is not entitled to deny him from then on, since [one of the] three acceptances of a son is giving goods for raising him.*

(752) Neur daroed **idaw** diffeithaw traean Iwerdon. [CO:1028]

PART happen-IMPERF-3SG **to-3SM** destroy-VN third Ireland

*It happened **to him** [that he had] destroyed a third of Ireland.*

(753) "Pa daruu," heb wynteu, "**y** Gradawc uab Bran, a'r seithwyr a edewit y gyt ac ef yn yr ynys honn?" [BFL:45:27]

what happen-PRET-3SG say-PRET-3SG they **to** Caradog son Bran and the seven-men REL leave-IMPERF-IMPERS together with him in the island this

*"What happened," they said, "**to** Caradog son of Bran and the seven men who were left together with him in this island?"*

(754) A phan daruu **udunt** y bwyd, Pwyll a dywot, "Mae yr yniuer y buom ni doe ac echtoe ym penn yr orssed?" [PPD:11:16]

and when happen-PRET-3SG **to-3P**L the food, Pwyll PART say-PRET-3SG, be-PRES 3SG the retinue PART be-PRET-1PL we yesterday and day-before-yesterday in head the mound

*And when the feast was finished **for them**, Pwyll said, "[Where] is the retinue we were yesterday and the day before on top of the mound?"*

The verb DAMWEINIO (to happen, occur) is also found in a similar range of uses, but much more rarely.

(755) O damweynnya **e** deu den bot keureyth erygthunt [LI:67]

if happen-PRES-3SG **to** two people be-VN law between-3PL

*If it happens **to** two people [that] there is [a] law [suit] between them*

The only exception to the use of I to mark the experiencer of fate occurs with the verb CYFARFOD "to meet, to happen upon" where the prefix CYF- motivates the use of AC to mark the role.

(756) Ac ena tristav er ampera6der o debygu na chyvarvydei **ac ef** tyghetven caffael e wreic uwyaf a garei en-e vywyt. [BM:92b:14]

And then become-sad the emperor from suppose-VN NEG MUTUAL-meet-IMPERF-3SG **with/and him** fate get-VN the woman most PART love-IMPERF-3SG in his life

*And then the emperor became sad because of supposing that the fate would never meet **him** to get the woman he most loved in his life.*

3.3.2.2.5.3 Evaluation

Another hard-to-categorize group of experiences involve the experiencer of a

dynamic subjective judgement regarding some event or entity, where the evaluation is presented as a description of the event or entity (typically using a copula construction) and the evaluator is introduced via a prepositional phrase using either GAN or I.

(757) gwahard dy wyr os da **gennyt** [BR:13:22]
forbid-IMPER-2SG your-SG men if good **with-2SG**
*Forbid your men, if it is good **for you** [i.e. if it pleases you].*

(758) "Ponyt oed da **i ti**, arglwyd," heb hi, "peri y hywedu, a'y rodi y'r mab? [PPD:23:27]
NEG-INTERROGATIVE be-IMPERF-3SG good **to-2SG** lord, say-PRET-3SG she, cause-VN it train-VN, and it give-VN to the boy
*"Wouldn't it be well **for you**, lord," she said, "[to] arrange for its [i.e. the horse's] training, and [to] give it to the boy?"*

The use of I in this context is reminiscent of its use for beneficiaries, but the alternation of both markers more strongly suggests possession as a model. The two markers do not alternate randomly, however. I broke down evaluative experiences into the contrasting pairs good/bad, pleasant/unpleasant, certainty/surprise (or disbelief), as well as non-paired categories of necessity and evaluation of magnitude. Within these, there may be very common and relatively generic expressions of the evaluation (for example, forms of DA "good" and DRWG "bad") or more specific but less common expressions.

In general, GAN is the more common marker in every category and there is strong overlap in the evaluative lexical items the two prepositions occur with. In addition to the examples with DA "good" above, we find the following parallels. (Note: these have been

specially picked to show the parallel use of the two prepositions and may not be the most representative of the group.)

(759) ac ny bu waeth **gan** Arthur no chynt.[BR:13:15]

and NEG be-PRET-3SG worse **with** Arthur than previously

*but it was no worse **for** Arthur [i.e. Arthur was no more upset] than previously.*

(760) Ny bo gwaeth **y**'r gwaelawt ty noc **y**'r gwarthaf dy. [CO:143]

NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG worse **to** the depth house than **to** the top house

*May it be no worse **to** the lower house than **to** the upper house.*

(761) Y'r llys y doethant, a threulaw y nos honno a orugant drwy gerdeu a chyuedach, ual y bu llonyd **ganthunt**. [PPD:11:13]

to the court PART come-PRET-3PL and spend-VN the night that PART do-PRET-3PL through songs and partying, as PART be-PRET-3SG pleasing **with-3PL**

*They came to the court and they spent that night with songs and partying as was pleasing **to them**.*

(762) A nachaf y dygyuor yn Iwerdon hyt nat oed lonyd **idaw** ony chaei dial y sarahet. [BFL:37:24]

and behold the uprising in Ireland length NEG be-IMPERF-3SG peace **to-3SM** except get-IMPERF-3SG vengeance the insult

*And behold an uprising in Ireland so there would be no peace **for him** unless he got vengeance [for] the insult.*

(763) "Y gwyr goreu", heb yr Idawc, "a dewraf, a hackraf **gantunt** golledu Arthur o dim [BR:18:27]

the men best, said Iddog and bravest and most-hateful **with**-3PL lose-VN Arthur of anything,

*"The best men," said Iddog, "and bravest, and the most hateful **to** them [that] Arthur lose anything*

(764) Hagyr yw **idaw** adaw y teyrnas, ac ny daw uyth yma. [CO:720]

hateful be-PRES-3SG **to-3SM** leave-VN his realm and NEG come-PRES-3SG ever here

*It is hateful **to him** [to] leave his realm and he will never come here.*

A number of categories or lexical items break this general pattern. Evaluations of certainty/surprise only occur with GAN.

(765) Ac eres **gynhyf** i ony wdosti dim y wrth hynny. [BFL:35:9]

and wonder **with-1SG** me if-not know-PRET-2SG anything from-with that

*And it is a wonder **to me** if you don't know anything about that.*

(766) "Nyt oes neb," heb y pawb, "ny bo **diheu gantaw** hynny." [PPD:26:8]

NEG be-PRES-3SG anyone, say-PRET-3SG everyone, NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **certain with-3SM** that

*"There is nobody," said everyone, "[for whom] that is not **certain for them** [i.e. who is not certain of that]."*

Expressions of necessity only occur with I (and always in combination with RHAID "need, necessity").

(767) briwedic wyf i a chymriw mawr a geueis, ac ennein yssyd reit **y mi** [PPD:18:9]

bruised be-PRES-1SG I and wound big PART get-PRET-1SG and bath be-PRES-3SG necessary **to-1sg**

I am bruised and have gotten a great wound, and a bath is necessary for me [i.e. I need a bath]

Among evaluations of "good", GAN occurs only with the generic DA ("good") and its comparative forms, while other expressions take I.

(768) Ryuedawt, hagen, da oed **gennyf** pei ys guelwn. [PPD:9:9]

wonder however good be-IMPERF-3SG **with-1SG** if it see-IMPERF-1SG

*A wonder, however, it would be good **with me** [i.e. I would be glad] if I saw it.*

(769) "Ponyt oed da **i** ti, arglwyd," heb hi, "peri y hywedu, a'y rodi y'r mab? [PPD:23:27]

NEG-INTERROGATIVE be-IMPERF-3SG good **to-2SG** lord, say-PRET-3SG she, cause-VN it train-VN, and it give-VN to the boy

*"Wouldn't it be well **for you**, lord," she said, "[to] arrange for its [i.e. the horse's] training, and [to] give it to the boy?"*

(770) A phan welsant uot yn llessach **udunt** uynet y guscu noc eisted a wei hwy, y gyscu yd aethant. [BFL:37:2]

and when see-PRET-3PL be-VN PART more-beneficial **to-3PL** go-VN to sleep-VN than sit-VN PART be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG more, to sleep-VN PART go-PRET-3PL

*And when they saw it would be better **for them** [to] go to sleep than to sit any more, to sleep they went.*

And in particular, IAWN ("right, appropriate"), which is extremely common in legal language, always takes I.

(771) Ac yna y mae yaun **e**'r haulur dechreu holy. [LI:74]

and then PART be-PRES-3SG right **to** the claimant begin-VN ask-VN

*And then it is right **for** the claimant to begin questioning.*

Both markers appear in highly formulaic constructions–there is no consistent pattern for one to be preferred in the more grammaticalized expressions.

3.3.2.2.6 Experiences and Activities as Landmarks

The preceding sections deal with the experience or event as the notional trajector

and the patient or experiencer as the landmark. We might expect the prepositional markers to be symmetric when those roles are reversed, for example, if hostile or controlling action is "on" (AR) a patient, then that patient might be expected to be "under" (TAN) the action. In general (and, in fact, as we saw for characteristics and their bearers), we don't find this sort of expected symmetry. A trajector-patient is normally presented as being "in" (YN) a controlling state or event, whether the control is physical or socio-legal. This is one variation of STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_{P}$, rather than the more specific metaphor found with patient-landmarks based on POWER/CONTROL IS UP$_{M, P}$.

(772) A chan doethauch chwitheu **y**'m ewyllus inheu, mi a dechreuaf boen arnawch. [MFM:74:27]

and since come-PRET-2PL you-PL **in**-my will my, I PART begin-PRES-1SG punishment on-2PL

*And since you have come **into** my power, I will begin the punishment on you.*

The one concession to CONTROL IS UP$_{M,P}$ that we find in this context, is that while there is a wider range of locational constructions for states in general, including AR, we never find a patient being "on" a controlling state, only "in" it. For more neutral states and activities, we find YN and AR in roughly equal proportions. While AR may be understood in a purely locational sense here, these constructions typically focus on the agency of the person accomplishing the activity or entering the state, and so AR may convey this sense of power and agency with respect to the event (hence its absence in "under control" states).

(773) Ac o hynny hyt y Nodolic bynt **ar** eu cylch {E}]. [LI:15]

and from that length the Nativity be-IMPER-3PL **on** their circle

*And from then until the Nativity, let them be **on** their circuit.*

(774) Sef a wneuthum inheu, mi a'm holl garant, mynet **yg gwrys** wrthaw y geissaw y diuetha. [CO:894]

thus PART do-PRET-1SG I-EMPH, I and my all kinsmen, go-VN **in battle** with-3SM to seek-VN him destroy

*This is what I did–I and all my kinsmen: [we] went **into battle** against him to seek his destruction.*

(775) O deruyd e den guneythur cam kywerthyd keynnyauc e ar e nodua a keffroy haul arnau ef am er agkeureyth redygones e ar e nodua, ny dele e amdyffyn o'r naud e gunaeth cam **arnau** onys adnewydha o naud arall. [LI:71]

if happen-PRES-3SG to person do-VN wrong same-value penny from-on the sanctuary and raise-VN claim on-3SM him about the illegality PART-accomplish-PRET-3SG from-on the sanctuary, NEG ought-PRES-3SG the defense of the protection PART do-PRET-3SG wrong **on-3SM** if-NEG renew-PRES-3SG of protection other

*If it happens to a person [that he] does wrong the worth of a penny in sanctuary, and a claim is raised against him regarding the illegality he did in the sanctuary, he is not entitled [to be] defended by the protection **in which** he did wrong, unless he renews it with another protection.*

(776) na dos **en** llv kam. [LI:59]

NEG go-IMPER-2SG **in** oath wrong

*do not go **into** a false oath [i.e. do not give ...]*

More rarely, we find an activity marked with WRTH. This seems more likely to be motivated specifically by the "co-location with attention" sense of WRTH rather than a general locational sense.

(777) "Pa geluydyt yd awni **wrthi**?" heb y Manawydan. [MFL:54:5]

what craft PART go-PRES-1PL **with-3SF** say-PRET-3SG Manawyddan

*"What craft shall we go **with** [i.e. take on]?" said Manawyddan.*

(778) "Kerdet **wrth** uy negesseu," heb hi, "a da yw gennyf dy welet ti."[PPD:12:14]

travel-VN **with** my errands, say-PRET-3SG she, and good be-PRES-3SG with-1SG you see-VN you

*"I travel **on** my errands," she said, "and it is good with me [i.e. I am glad] to see you."*

Even more rarely, we find O indicating a state, presumably motivated by its rare use indicating static location.

(779) Ny dele eysted en er estauell namen guassanaethu **o**'e seuyll. [LI:27]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG sit-VN in the chamber except serve-VN **from** his stand-VN

*He is not entitled to sit in the chamber, rather he serves **from** standing [i.e. while standing].*

There are parallels for both motivations in marking former states or activities. In both cases, the state/activity is marked as a spatial source, either with the relatively generic O, or with Y WRTH.

(780) diolwch ac elwissen o ellwg Riannon **o**'r poen y mae yndaw [PPD:24:28]

thanks and gratitude from release-VN Rhiannon **from** the penance PART be-PRES-3SG in-3SM

*thanks and gratitude for releasing Rhiannon **from** the penance she was in*

(781) Ac ot amheuyr huenteu yaun yu eu kreyrhau; a'r nep a gylyo onadunt **y urth** e llu kollet e tyr. [LI:77]

and if doubt-PRES-IMPERS them right be-PRES-3SG them put-to-relics-VN; and the anyone REL retreat-VN of-3PL **from-with** his oath lose-IMPER-3SG the land

*And if they are doubted it is right to put them to the relics [i.e. have them swear by relics]; and the one who retreats **from** his oath, let him lose the land.*

In the case of mental and emotional events, the role of "experience" is tangled up enough with varieties of patients that it made more sense to deal with the range of roles as a group in section 3.3.2.2.3.3. In the case of sensory experiences (specifically, hearing and vision), the roles are less entwined but the marking is quite similar. The content of the sensory experience (the thing heard or thing seen), when it does not occur simply as a direct object, is normally marked with AR. As contrasted with the physical and socio-legal experiences/states/activities discussed above, the absence of YN from these constructions suggests more of a control/manipulation scenario, that is, SENSING A THING IS OBJECT MANIPULATION (cf. VISION IS PHYSICAL CONTACT$_F$).

(782) O deruyd e den dyuot e warandau **arnadunt** huenteu, ef a dele talu teyr buu camluru e'r brenhyn [LI:76]

if happen-PRES-3SG to person come-VN to hear-VN **on-3PL** them-EMPH, he PART ought-PRES-3SG pay-VN three cow fine to the king

*If it happens to a person [that he] comes to listen **to them** [i.e. to illegally overhear them], he ought [to] pay a fine [of] three cattle to the king*

(783) "Edrych i'th gylch **ar** y wlat," heb ef [MFL65:12]

look-IMPER-2SG in-your-SG circle **on** the land, say-PRET-3SG he

*"Look around you **at** the land," he said*

Exceptions to this marker are the usual overrides: AC in combination with YM-

prefixed verbs, and Y GYD AC to mark co-instantiation of the role.

(784) Ac yr pan dathoedynt dros uor Iwerdon, nyt ymwelsei **ac** wynt hyt yna. [CO:1142]

and for when come-PLUP-3PL over sea Ireland, NEG MUTUAL-see-PLUP-3SG **with/and them** length then

*And since when they had come across the Irish Sea, he had not seen **them** until then.*

(785) Ynteu a gyuodes allan, a phan daw, llyma y guelei bleid, a bleidast, a chrubothon cryf **y gyt ac** wynt. [MFM:76:15]

he-EMPH PART rise-PRET-3SG out, and when come-PRES-3SG, behold, PART see-IMPERF-3SG wolf and wolf-bitch, and wolf-cub strong **together with** them

*He rose [to go] outside, and when he came, behold, he saw a wolf, and a she-wolf, and a strong wolf-cub **together with** them.*

Overall, experiences appear to be marked as locations, using the language of geographic location (YN and AR for realized experiences, O for former or non-realized experiences) or of co-located entities (WRTH for realized experiences, Y WRTH for non-realized ones). As we have seen above, this is not symmetric with the prepositional marking of experiencers, which draws more on the language of object transfer (or possession) and the "control" senses covered by AR. One example, however, follows the pattern more typically found for attributes (i.e. the activity is treated as an attribute of the agent) using AR, and in this particular semantic frame it may be contrasted with an ACTIVITIES ARE LOCATIONS$_p$ example.

(786) "Pa geluydyt," heb y Pryderi, "a gymerwn ni **arnam**?" [MFL53:14]
what craft, say-PRET-3SG Pryderi, PART take-PRES-1PL we **on-1PL**
*"What craft," say Pryderi, "shall we take **on us**?"*

(787) "Pa geluydyt yd awni **wrthi**?" heb y Manawydan. [MFL:54:5]
what craft PART go-PRES-1PL **with-3SF** say-PRET-3SG Manawyddan
*"What craft shall we go **with** [i.e. take on]?" said Manawyddan.*

3.3.2.2.7 Context or Circumstance as Landmark

Related to an understanding of experiences and states as a property of a trajector-experiencer, we also find examples when an activity, a state, or a set of physical surroundings are given as the context in which some other event occurs. As I shall discuss in section 3.4, prepositions marking various aspects of EVENT STRUCTURE often appear to be pragmatic reanalyses of elements indicating neutral context. But purely descriptive passages of neutral context are rare in my data–when the context of an event is described, it is normally because that context is highly salient in some way to the event itself, and therefore it will be understood in function according to the nature of that salience (e.g. as a reason or purpose).

One of the few exceptions to this is the description of some dream-event occurring in the context of sleep, however the focus of the language here is on sleep (i.e. the dream) as the means by which the event is accomplished. The state is marked with the typical language of means (TRWY–see section 3.4.2.2).

(788) llyman heb 6ynt y tir a-welas an hargl6yd ni **tr6y** y hun. [BM:185:13]
behold say-PRET-3SG they the land REL see-PRET-3SG our lord our **through** his dream
*"Behold," they said, "the land our lord saw **through [i.e. in]** his dream.*

In addition to the few elements found marking neutral contexts, elements that occur for multiple significantly different aspects of EVENT STRUCTURE are reasonable candidates for elements whose underlying function there is as generic context markers. (This ignores elements found across several EVENT STRUCTURE functions from entirely unrelated motivations, such as the use of RHWNG with dual roles.) This tentatively leads to considering AM, ER, GAN, O, WRTH, and YN as context markers. As I shall discuss in section 3.4. generally, I am inclined to view AM as being motivated most strongly by its use as a topic marker and in contexts involving exchange, throughout its use in marking various parts of EVENT STRUCTURE. There are no examples of AM indicating context in the absence of these functions (except for purely spatial context in its sense "around, surrounding"), although one could certainly view its use with topics as being a specialized type of context.

The argument for ER as a general context marker derives entirely from the contrast of its use for both reasons and purposes (see sections 3.4.1.2 and 3.4.3). In some of these, it seems motivated by a sense of exchange (see section 3.3.2.3.2) but this is not generally the case. The sense most reasonably likely to motivate both these uses would be that of a general context, reanalyzed into specific applications from the situations it commonly occurs in. Other senses that seem likely to derive directly from a general

context sense are its use as a concessive and contradictory conjunction (see section 3.5.3). But there are no examples in my data that appear to have only a neutral context sense with no other implications or accompanying functions.

(789) Puybynnac a dalyo lleyder a lledrat en y lau a'e ellug, ae **er** kerennyd ae **er** guerth, os adef, talet seyth punt [LI:112]

whoever PART hold-PRES-SUBJ-3SG thief with/and theft in his hand and him release-VN either **for** kinship either **for** value, if admit-PRES-3SG pay-IMPER-3SG seven pound

*Whoever catches a thief with the theft in his hand and releases him, either **for** kinship or **for** value, if he admits [it], let him pay seven pounds*

(790) Paham y treweist ti vy march i, ae **yr** amarch y mi ae **yr** kyghor arnaf? [BR:8:6]

why PART strike-PRET-2SG you-SG my horse my, either **for** dishonor to-1SG either **for** advice on-1SG

*Why did you strike my horse; either **as** dishonor to me or **as** advice to me?*

(791) O deruyd e'r mach rody peth maur eg guestel peth bychan, keureyth yu e'r haulur kemryt er hen a roder ydau **er** e ueynt eg guestel [LI:62]

if happen-PRES-3SG to the surety give-VN thing big in pledge thing small, law be-PRES-3SG to the claimaint take-VN the this REL give-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS to-3SM **for** his amount in pledge

*If it happens to a surety [that he] gives a big thing as pledge [for] a small thing, the law is for the claimant to accept that which is given to him, **despite** its amount, as a pledge*

The consideration of O here is similarly based only on its appearance for a variety of EVENT STRUCTURE roles. Here, however, the roles it is found marking all fall on the "preparatory" side of the event (cause, reason–following the location version of the EVENT STRUCTURE$_P$ metaphor). It is occasionally found marking a state (presumably derived from its variant spatial use for static location–see section 3.3.2.2.6) and this is the only

use that seems interpretable as a context marker.

(792) Ny dele eysted en er estauell namen guassanaethu **o**'e seuyll. [LI:27]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG sit-VN in the chamber except serve-VN **from** his stand-VN

*He is not entitled to sit in the chamber, rather he serves **from** standing [i.e. while standing].*

GAN is quite restricted in the possible data for a context sense. It occurs a very few times indicating an object or action that not only is the context in which an event occurs, but that is directly related to that event (rather than an inherently unrelated object or event that gains relevance only from the immediate context). In EVENT STRUCTURE, GAN is only found regularly for causes. If we understand contextual GAN as narrowly indicating "a pre-existing inherent connection with something that is now relevant or provides context for a particular situation" we've created a definition that could be broad enough even to encompass the use of GAN for possession. In fact, it may be more reasonable to view this association from the opposite direction: that the occasional use of GAN to mark an inherently related contextual entity or event is an extension of the "inherent connection" aspect of possession, i.e. CONTEXTS/CIRCUMSTANCES ARE POSSESSIONS.

(793) Ny deleyr dym am dyskennu, canys yaun yv dysgynnv **can** esgynhuyt. [LI:124]
NEG ought-PRES-IMPERS anything about dismount-VN since right be-PRES-3SG dismount-VN **with** mount-PRET-3SG
*[A person who takes a horse without permission pays a fine for mounting it.] Nothing is required for dismounting, since dismounting is appropriate **with** mounting.*

Like ER, WRTH can mark a wide variety of apparently contradictory aspects of EVENT STRUCTURE: cause, reason, topic, and purpose. As I will discuss in section 3.4, some of this breadth of use seems to be motivated by specific semantic associations of WRTH, e.g. with speech scenarios. But there also appears to be a general sense of "surroundings to which the conscious attention of the trajector is directed" which is particularly conducive to being used for the "meaningful circumstances" function in EVENT STRUCTURE. There are also several examples using WRTH to indicate the specific context of an action with little or no suggestion of the more specific EVENT STRUCTURE senses, however in all but one example, the context involved is NEGES "errand, business" and as we see elsewhere (section 3.3.2.2.2.4), nouns or verbs with the root NEGES are closely associated with roles marked with WRTH when that role is the topic/goal/patient of the errand. So its use in the current context may represent a generalization of this association, rather than an independent motivation. Even so, there seems a reasonable basis for considering WRTH to have a general context-marking sense available.

(794) "Peth a ellir **wrth** hynny?" heb hi. [PPD:22:9]
what PART be-able-PRES-IMPERS **with** that, say-PRET-3SG she
*"What can be done **about** that?" she said.*

(795) Ac **wrth** ulingyaw yr hyd, a llithyaw y gwn, ef a uu yny wascawd y nos arnaw. [MFM:84:22]

and **with** become-tired-VN the stag, and feed-VN the dogs, he PART be-PRET-3SG until close-VN the night on-3SM

*And **with** the tiring of the stag, and the feeding of the dogs, he was [there] until the night closed on him.*

(796) Ac **wrth** hynny Llud vrenhin a gymerth pryder mawr a goual yndaw [LL:48]

and **with** that Lludd king PART take-PRET-3SG anxiety and care in-3SM

*And **with** that, King Lludd took great anxiety and care into himself*

(797) "Kerdet **wrth** uy negesseu," heb hi, "a da yw gennyf dy welet ti." [PPD:12:14]

travel-VN **with** my errands, say-PRET-3SG she, and good be-PRES-3SG with-1SG you see-VN you

"*I travel **on** my errands," she said, "and it is good with me [i.e. I am glad] to see you."*

(798) yd oed neges idi **wrth** rei o'r maes hwnn [PPD:11:10]

PART be-IMPERF-3SG errand to-3SF **with** some of the field this

*There is an errand to her [i.e. she has an errand] **with** some [one] of this field*

(799) Reit yw ym estynnu vym blew **wrth** eillaw ym. [CO:651]

necessary be-PRES-3SG to-1SG stiffen-VN my hair **with** shave to-1SG

*It is necessary to me [for] my hair to be stiffened **for** shaving me.*

The preposition most clearly occurring to mark neutral contexts and circumstances is YN. This is the only preposition found in significant numbers when no other more specific reading of the context is implied. Three major circumstances occur: where the landmark is a larger event in which the trajector event occurs, when a mental state is the context in which the event occurs (e.g. "in a dream" or "in his mind"), and when the context is a particular linguistic form (e.g. "in Welsh" or "in the law [texts]").

(800) ac wynteu a dylyant hynny, kanys **ym** pob reit y deuant yn y vlaen ac yn y ol". [BR:7:15]

and they PART ought-PRES-3PL that, since **in** every need PART come-PRES-3PL in his front and in his track

*And they are entitled to that, since **in** every necessity they come before him and behind him.*

(801) y dywot **yn** y uedwl, "Oy a Duw," [BFL:44:12]

PART say-PAST-3SG **in** his thought, alas PART God

*he said **in** his thoughts, "Alas God!"*

(802) Val hyn e guedyr lledrat **eg** keureyth Hywel [LI:111]

like this PART deny-PRES-IMPERS theft **in** law Hywel

*This is how theft is denied **in** Hywel's law*

As usual, the use of YN with state and event landmarks can potentially be ambiguous with both the progressive *yn* and the predicative/adverbial *yn*. This sense also covers examples that Evans (1964) considers to be a temporal relative marker derived from the definite article (see section 2.3.1.6.1).

Overall, elements used as (or traceable to) generic context markers are–not entirely surprisingly–drawn from the set of elements most commonly used for relatively generic spatial co-location, i.e. they instantiate CONTEXTS/CIRCUMSTANCES ARE LOCATIONS. This holds for YN, GAN, and WRTH (with trends in context marking that reflect distinctions in their spatial or other uses), as well as for O to the extent that it can be considered a context or spatial location marker at all. ER is difficult to interpret because it has lost its spatial senses in Medieval Welsh. A general sense of "co-location with interaction/attention" seems to be implied by a number of its senses, however.

3.3.2.3 Mathematical Properties

Mathematical constructions can range from extremely abstract relationships, such as those marking the comparand in an equative or comparative expression, or the formula used to express complex numbers, to more concrete relationships, such as identifying a one-to-one match between elements in two sets, or describing the basis for determining a measurement or quantity. Relationships of this latter type are also prone to being extended from assessments of quantity to those of quality or specific nature. It should not be surprising that the more abstract and more grammatical constructions are more limited in how they are expressed. In contrast, relationships such as one-to-one matching or equivalence may be expressed not only by a variety of markers, but using a variety of underlying metaphors. Lakoff and Núñez (2000) demonstrate several metaphoric bases for the expression and understanding of basic mathematical concepts. Some basic principles on which these understandings rest are: STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_{W,P}$, CATEGORIES ARE CONTAINERS (CATEGORY MEMBERS ARE OBJECTS INSIDE BOUNDED REGIONS)$_{W}$, NUMBERS ARE THINGS$_{W}$. In particular, for the simple arithmetic relationships found in the following examples, we find the metaphors: ARITHMETIC IS OBJECT COLLECTION$_{W}$, ARITHMETIC IS OBJECT CONSTRUCTION$_{W}$, THE MEASURING STICK METAPHOR$_{W}$, and ARITHMETIC IS MOTION ALONG A PATH$_{W}$.

3.3.2.3.1 Adjectival Comparison

3.3.2.3.1.1 Equative

The equative is expressed primarily by two formats based on the element CYN. This element may either be prefixed to the adjective (with significant phototactic effects) or may be placed before an adjective suffixed with -ED. Jones (1913) discusses this CYN at length and, while many of the details are not relevant here, he traces both the prefix and the independent element, by slightly different routes, from the prepositional co-location element CYM- (see section 2.3.1.4.1). This would bring this use of AC in line with the use of AC with verbs prefixed with CYM-, as deriving from a coordinated noun phrase, e.g. "X is equally ADJ and/with Y" equates to "X and/with Y are equally ADJ".

(803) **kyhyt** e dele bot e dyllat **a** chvlem e lavder; [LI:34]
same-length PART ought-PRES-3SG be-VN his clothes **with/and** knot his breeches
*His clothes ought to be **as long as** the knot of his breeches.*

(804) yr hynn a oed ar y ben o wallt, **kyuelynet** oed **a**'r eur. [PPD:23:16]
the this REL be-IMPERF-3SG on his head of hair, **as-yellow** be-IMPERF-3SG **with/and** the gold
*that which was on his head of hair was **as yellow as** gold.*

An alternate construction which later becomes the default uses MOR (as) before an unaltered adjective.

(805) a Duw a dalo y'r gwr yssyd yn rodi i minheu y gedymdeithas **mor difleis a** hynny. [MFL50:23]

and God PART pay-PRES-SUBJ-3SG to the man be-PRES-REL-3SG PART give-VN to me-EMPH the companionship **as faithful with/and** that

*and may God repay to the man who gives to me companionship **as faithful as** that.*

Several common adjectives have irregular equatives, such as CYSTAL (for DA "good").

(806) "A wr," heb y Bendigeiduran, "nit wyt **gystal** ymdidanwr heno **ac** un nos." [BFL:34:13]

o man, say-PRET-3SG Bendigeidfran, NEG be-PRES-2SG **as-good** conversationalist tonight **with/and** one night

*"O man," said Bendigeidfran, "You are not **as good** a conversationalist tonight **as** the other night."*

Another equative-like construction uses UN ("one", but in this context "same, identical") followed by a noun, but used as a modifier. UN may also be prefixed to the noun.

(807) Ac o'r a welsei ef o helgwn y byt, ny welsei cwn **unlliw ac** wynt. [PPD:1:20]

and of REL PART see-PLUP-3SG he of hunting-dogs the world, NEG see-PLUP-3SG dogs **same-color with/and** them

*And of what he had seen of hunting dogs in the world, he had never seen dogs the **same color as** them.*

All of these mark the comparand with AC functioning, as discussed above, in its more conjunction-like sense.

3.3.2.3.1.2 Comparative

The normal construction for the comparative is either an adjective suffixed with -ACH, or an irregular comparative adjective, with the comparand marked with the conjunction NOC. (I had originally included NOC in my data, due to its use in this context in parallel with prepositional elements, however it has no preposition-like functions other than this one so I have omitted it from the general discussions.) While regular forms of the equative (including prefixed forms) are considerably more common than irregular equatives, the irregular comparatives are far more common.

(808) Ac yr a uyrit yndi ny bydei **lawnach no** chynt.[PPD:16:20]
and for PART throw-IMPERF-IMPERS in-3SF NEG be-IMPERF-3SG **fuller than** before
*And despite what was thrown into it, it was no **fuller than** before.*

(809) Aniueileit bychein, **guell** eu kic **no** chic eidon. [MFM:68:19]
animals small, **better** their flesh **than** flesh beef
*Small animals–their flesh [is] **better than** beef.*

There are two sets of exceptions to the use of NOC to mark a comparative comparand. The first is a metonymic temporal override, where a present circumstance is compared to a previous circumstance marked with GWEDY. There is no specific comparative adjective present–the comparison is implicit in the juxtaposition. Grammatically, GWEDY simply marks the temporal sequence of evaluations here, rather than participating directly in the comparison.

(810) nyt chwerthin a wnaf, namyn truanet gennyf vot dynyon ky vawhet a hynny yn gwarchadw yr ynys honn **gwedy** gwyr kystal ac a'e gwarchetwis gynt. [BR:6:28]

NEG laugh-VN PART do-PRES-1SG, except wretchedness with-1SG be-VN as dirty with that PART keep-VN the island this **after** men as-good with REL it keep-PRET-3SG formerly

*I don't laugh, rather [there is] wretchedness with me [there] being men so dirty as these keeping this island **after** men as good as [those that] kept it formerly.*

A small group of examples with an explicit comparison, but not using a comparative adjective, use Y WRTH to mark the comparand.

(811) Ac yna medylyaw a wnaeth bot yn **diuwyn** ganthaw pryt a welsei eiroet o uorwyn a gwreic **y wrth** y ffryt hi. [PPD:12:16]

and then think-VN PART do-PRET-3SG be-VN PART **unpleasing** with-3SM face REL see-PLUP-3SG ever of maiden and woman **from-with** her face her

*And then he thought to be **displeasing** to him [every] face he had ever seen of a maiden or woman **next to** her face.*

This use relates to WRTH used to mark context or circumstances in general (see section 3.3.2.2.7). The absence of any sense of metaphoric motion suggests that this use may derive from Y WRTH indicating static separation rather than source (see section3.1.1.9). That is, A COMPARAND IS PHYSICAL CIRCUMSTANCES, FOCUS IS SEPARATION FROM THE CONTEXT. But compare also the use of WRTH to mark the determining factor in a measurement (section 3.3.2.3.4).

3.3.2.3.1.3 Superlative

In most cases, there is no explicit comparand for a superlative expression (the

implicit one being "all other instances of this category"). In a few examples, however, a comparison set is specified, either for rhetorical emphasis, or when the specific context of the comparison is ambiguous.

The most formulaic example of this is the use of the expressions O YR BYD "of the world" and YN YR BYD "in the world" to emphasize the universal scope of the superlative evaluation. (While the semantic function of these two expressions appears to be identical, there are clear differences in distribution. This superlative comparand is the major use of the construction O YR BYD, and it occurs primarily in the two "Dream" texts and Lludd and Llefelys. But use with the superlative is a minority of the emphatic uses of YN YR BYD, and the superlative uses occur only in the Four Branches and Culhwch and Olwen.)

(812) Ac ual y byd am hanner nos yuelly, nachaf twryf **mwyhaf yn y byt** [MFL:60:3]
and as PART be-PRES-3SG about half night thus, behold tumult **greatest in the world**
*And as it is thus around midnight, behold, the **greatest** tumult **in the world***

(813) llyghes **u6yhaf o-r byt** a welynt yn aber yr auon. [BM:184:39]
fleet **biggest of the world** PART see-IMPERF-3PL in estuary the river
*They saw the **largest** fleet **in the world** in the estuary of the river.*

There is a single example of an aquatic parallel to this construction, using YN Y MOR "in the sea".

(814) Ac yn y lle, y gyt ac y doeth y'r mor, annyan y mor a gauas, a chystal y nouyei a'r pysc **goreu yn y mor** [MFM:77:24]

and in the place, together with PART come-PRET-3SG to the sea, nature the sea PART take-PRET-3SG, and as-good PART swim-IMPERF-3SG with/and the fish **best in the se**a

*And immediately with his coming to the sea, he took the nature of the sea, and he swam as well as the **best** fish **in the sea***

These expressions that indicate the scope or context of the evaluation overlap in function with the general notion of "context, circumstances" (see section 3.3.2.2.7) and while the formulaic use of YN YR BYD may be understood as too broad in scope to have any real semantic function, and YN YR MOR might be understood as a self-conscious parallel formula, we also find more meaningful expressions of similar structure that clearly provide a narrowed scope for the superlative.

(815) "A thidy," heb ef wrth vn o'y uakwyueit, "dwg gennyt y march **kyntaf** a wypych **yn** y mays." [PPD:10:16]

and you-EMPH-2SG, say-PRET-3SG he with one of his squires, bear-IMPER-3SG with-2SG the horse **first** REL know-PRES-SUBJ-2SG **in** the field

*"And you," he said to one of his squires, "take with you the **best** horse you know **in** the field."*

There are also more ambiguous examples that may have similar intent. WRTH is found when the contextual scope is the art of conversation, and might reasonably either indicate "by means of conversing with her, he evaluated her as best" or "in the specific field of conversation, he evaluated her as best". The use of WRTH may be motivated specifically by the context of speech (see section 3.3.2.2.4.2), but there is also a general use of WRTH to mark the circumstances of an event (usually in a more specific sense as

cause or purpose–see section 3.3.2.2.7).

(816) Ac o'r a welsei eiryoet **wrth** ymdidan a hi, **dissymlaf** gwreic a **bonedigeidaf** i hannwyt a'y hymdidan oed. [PPD:4:23]

and of REL PART see-PLUP-3SG ever **with** MUTUAL-talk-VN with/and her, **most-unaffected** woman and **most-noble** her disposition and her speech be-IMPERF-3SG

*And of what he had ever seen **from** conversing with her, [she] was the **most unaffected** woman and the **most noble** [in] her disposition and her speech.*

There are a couple of examples using AR to mark a superlative comparand, deriving from the metaphor MORE IS $UP_{M,P}$. (Note that this construction alternates with O YR BYD in two variants of the same text.)

(817) Kerdet a orugant wy y dyd hwnnw educher, hyny vyd kaer uaen gymrwt a welasit, **uwyhaf ar** keyryd y byt.[CO:759]

travel-VN PART do-PRET-3PL they the day that until-evening, until be-PRES-3SG castle stone mortar PART see-PLUP-IMPERS, **most on** castles the world

*They traveled that day until evening, until there was a mortared stone castle, [of] what had been seen [it was] **largest over** the castles of the world.*

We also find GWEDY in this context, but supplying a sense of abstract hierarchy (via sequence–see also section 3.3.2.3.5) rather than literal temporal marking. It also is marking a different type of comparison than the preceding: it indicates the (more superlative) exception to the scope of the superlative evaluation. That is, what GWEDY actually marks here is the "lesser" position of the focus entity with respect to the landmark, when that focus is otherwise superlative. The underlying metaphor, in any case, is EVALUATIVE HIERARCHY IS TEMPORAL SEQUENCE, EARLIER IS MORE, FIRST IS MOST.

These relate in turn to the general mathematical metaphor ARITHMETIC IS MOTION ALONG A PATH_W.

(818) Ef a dele guarchadv e llys en **penhaf guedy** er estywart llys. [LI:33]
he PART ought-PRES-3SG keep-VN the court PART **chief-most after** the steward court
*He should supervise the court **foremost after** the court steward.*

3.3.2.3.2 Matching, Equivalence, Substitution, and Instantiation

The identification of one set of elements as occurring in a one-to-one correspondence with another set of elements can be understood as a type of mathematical function, although this is not a matter of matching numbers with counted objects, but of creating pairings between two sets, i.e. "an X for every Y". In general, this matching function occurs in the context of a particular purpose or action, and that strongly influences the language used to describe the function. So, for example, when a set of trajectors are matched with a set of landmarks with which they are going to be exchanged, they are marked with AM, using the language of exchange (see section 3.6.2).

(819) **Am** pob kyu, escup geyrch neu fyrdlyg eny eskynno [LI:132]
about every chick, sheaf oats or farthing until ascent-PRES-SUBJ-3SG
***For** every chick, [the value is] a sheaf of oats or a farthing until it flies*

However, this exchange sense of AM derives from a more basic sense of binary equivalence (see section 2.3.1.7.4), so it is unsurprising to see AM also used for matches

in a non-exchange scenario.

(820) Ac ni wydyat ef uot un keleuyn yno ny bei lygoden **am** pob un. [MFL:60:10]

and NEG know-IMPERF-3SG he be-VN one stalk there NEG be-IMPERF-3SG mouse **about** each one

*And he didn't know there to be a single stalk there that didn't have a mouse **for** each one.*

When the one-to-one matching derives from a sampling scenario–that is, where the trajector is a subset of, or an object physically removed from, the landmark (i.e. "an X from every Y"), we find the source-marker O used to indicate the relationship.

(821) Ef a dele **o** pob ty e del ar negesseu e brenhyn ydav torth a'e henllyn. [LI:34]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG **from** every house REL come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG on errands the king to-3SM loaf and its relish

*He is entitled, **from** each house to which he comes on the king's errands, [to] a loaf and its relish.*

(822) Ef a dele bot en ryghyll en e uaertref ac a dele pedeyr keynnyavc **o** pob amober a del ohoney. [LI:35]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG be-VN PART serjeant in the maerdref and PART ought-PRES-3SG four penny **from** every maiden-fee REL come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG from-3SF

*He is entitled to be serjeant in the "maerdref", and is entitled to four pence **from** each maiden-fee that comes from it.*

This is also commonly extended to legal situations where the landmark is some entity or action standing metonymically for a legal fee or fine, and the trajector is a subset of that monetary amount. This group then overlaps ambiguously with a sense of cause (i.e. the metonymic cause of the payment) or topic (see sections 3.4.1 generally, and

3.3.2.1.1.8).

(823) O deruyd na chaffer kyunyueruch a henne ar yt o uoch, herwyd rey o'r egneyt, iiii. keynnyauc **o**'r pymp llyden moch; [LI:154]

if happen-PRES-3SG NEG get-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS same-number with/and that on grain of pigs, by some of the judges, 4 penny **of** the five animal pig

*[If pigs are caught on grain, one in fifteen is forfeit.] If it happens that such a number as that of pigs aren't caught in the grainfield, according to some of the judges, [the fine is] four pence **for** every five pigs.*

This overlap with cause or topic is even stronger in examples where the landmark is matched with a particular fee or fine but does not itself represent a monetary amount. It might also be unsurprising to see AM in this context, purely for the matching function, so the causative sense is in some way being profiled by this choice.

(824) Ef adele pedeyr keynnyavc **o** pob ynseyl agoret a rodho e urenhynes. [LI:23]

he PART-ought-PRES-3SG four penny **from** every seal open REL give-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the queen

*He is entitled to four pence **for** every patent seal that the queen gives.*

WRTH is used to indicate matching relationships when no other accompanying semantics is present. It suggests a sense of mathematical matching conceptualized as close physical co-location, perhaps from the image of grouping matched pairs in space.

(825) Sarhaet brenhyn Aberfrav ual hyn y telyr: can muw **vrth** pob kantref a uo ydav, a tharv gvyn eskyuarllennyc **vrth** pob can muv onadunt [LI:3]

insult-price king Aberffraw like this PART pay-PRES-IMPERS: hundred cow **with** every cantref REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG to-3SM, and bull white red-eared **with** every hundred cow of-3PL

*The king [of] Aberffraw's insult-price is paid like this: a hundred cattle **for** every cantref there is to him [i.e. that he has], and a white, red-eared bull **for** every hundred cows of them*

There may also be influence here from the "attachment" sense of WRTH, perhaps in a sense of ONE TO ONE MATCHES ARE BOUND PAIRS. Compare the following where the superficial reading is one of physical attachment, but the situation allows for a re-analysis as a one-to-one matching.

(826) Llenn borfor pedeir ael ymdanaw, ac aual rudeur **vrth** pob ael iti. [CO:76]

cloak purple four corner about-3SM, with/and apple red-gold **with** each corner to-3SF

*A four-cornered purple cloak about him, with a red-gold apple **on** each corner to it.*

When the context of identifying a one-to-one matching is the substitution of one set for the other, we primarily find the marker YN LLE. In contrast with the previous examples, this usually focuses on a specific matching pair, rather than the matching of entire sets of generic entities, although both types occur.

(827) ac os kymer a'e kolly ohonau en keureythyaul ny deleyr y ennyll ydau, can kemyrth anylys **en lle** dylys. [LI:78]

and if take-PRES-3SG and it lose-VN of-3SM PART legal NEG ought-PRES-IMPERS it gain-VN to-3SM, with take-PRES-3SG invalid **in place** valid

*and if he takes [contested land] and loses it legally, no one ought to gain it for him, since he took the invalid **in place** of the valid.*

(828) O deruyd na bo mab ydau sauet er arglued **en lle** mab ydau a thalet trostau neu wadet, ac os guadu a uen, guadet mal e guattey e gur yd aeth en uab ydau er e da. [LI:64]

if happen-PRES-3SG NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG son to-3SM stand-IMPER-3SG the lord **in place** son to-3SM and pay-IMPER-3SG over-3SM or deny-IMPER-3SG

*If it happens [that] there is no son to him, let the lord stand **in place of** a son to him and let him pay for him or deny*

When the substitution has a sense of fraud or deceit, we may instead find YN RHITH, which is associated with this type of context (see section 3.2.1.2).

(829) Sef yv anodev, pob peth a dyccer **en ryth** peth arall [LI:115]

thus be-PRES-3SG misapprehension, every thing REL bear-PRES-IMPERS **in form** thing other

*This is misapprehention [of goods]: every thing that is take **in the guise of** [i.e. in mistake for] another thing.*

When there is a sense of equivalence for the purpose of substitution, and especially for the benefit of the one doing the substitution, the marker ER is used (which we see independently in situations marking benefit and purpose, see sections 3.4.3 generally, and 3.5.2.1). Here the emphasis is only on the functional equivalence via exchange of the trajector and landmark, and not on any sense of matching sets of entities.

(830) Sarhaet caeth, deudec keynnyauc: chuech **er** peys a theyr **er** llauder ac un **er** raff ac un **er** gudyf ac un **er** kuaraneu. [LI:110]

insult-price slave, twelve penny: six **for** tunic and three **for** trousers and one **for** rope and one **for** bill-hook and one **for** shoes

*The insult-price [of] a slave [is] twelve pence: six **for** his tunic and three **for** his trousers and one **for** his rope and one **for** his bill-hook and one **for** his shoes.*

(831) Oes obeith gennyt ti ar gaffel dy ellwng ae **yr** eur ae **yr** aryant ae **yr** golut presennawl, ae **yr** catwent ac ymlad? [CO:916]

be-PRES-3SG hope with-2SG you-SG on get-VN your-SG release-VN either **for** gold either **for** silver either **for** wealth worldly either **for** battle and MUTUAL-fight-VN

*Is there hope with you [i.e. do you have hope] of getting your release either **for** gold or **for** silver or **for** worldly wealth or **by** battle and fighting?*

There is a small but highly consistent set of examples where the landmark is a list specified in apposition to the trajector and marked with Y AM. (When the context is not clear, this use may be ambiguous with the use of Y AM to mark additions to a trajector, as discussed in the following section.) The motivation for this is not entirely clear to me.

(832) Pob tlus brenhyn, **y am** y fyoleu a'y uodruyeu, punt yu eu guerth, cany dele damdug. [LI:140]

every treasure king, **from-about** his cups and his rings, pound be-PRES-3SG their value, since-NEG ought-PRES-3SG appraise-VN

*Every king's treasure, **including** his cups and his rings, their value is a pound, because it isn't appropriate [for him] to appraise [them].*

Another type of equivalence function occurs when the trajector is identified as the last ordinal member of an enumerated set, marked with AR. (The intent of the construction is simply to enumerate the set and identify the trajector as a member–there seems to be no actual internal hierarchy to the set members.)

(833) ymgueiraw a oruc Teirnon **ar** y drydyd marchawc, a'r mab yn petwyryd y gyt ac wynt [PPD:25:5]

equip-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Teirnon **on** the third rider and the boy PART fourth together-with them

*Teirnon equiped himself **as** the third rider, and the boy as a fourth together with them*

The motivation for this construction is unclear. If the trajector were being specified in addition to, rather than as a subset of, the landmark, then this use would fall together with addition constructions in the next section. But in these examples, AR seems to have its alternate goal-marking sense, simply indicating the end-point of an extent.

3.3.2.3.3 Addition and Subtraction

Several basic metaphors for addition and subtraction motivate preposition choice in Medieval Welsh, whether the context is overtly mathematical or not. The most grammaticalized construction is the use of AR in formulas for complex numbers, deriving clearly from the metaphors ADDITION IS STACKING OBJECTS (the vertical version of ARITHMETIC IS OBJECT COLLECTION$_{W}$), MORE IS UP$_{M,P}$.

(834) Ac yna y kerdassant try wyr **ar**-dec yn kenhadeu yr amhera6dyr. [BM:184:17]

and then PART travel-PRET-3PL three men **on** ten PART messengers the emperor

*And then they traveled–three men **and** ten–as messengers of the emperor.*

Outside of this formula, however, the most common motivation appears to be co-location (the general case of ARITHMETIC IS OBJECT COLLECTION$_W$). GAN is the most common marker, and typically indicates that the trajector is the basic, starting amount or object, and the landmark is the addition. (This usage contradicts the usual focus on the importance of the landmark indicated by GAN.)

(835) E werth yv chue buv a chue ugeyn muv **gan** y ardyrchauael. [LI:9]
his value be-PRES-3SG six cow and six twenty cow **with** his augmentation
*His [legal] value is six cows and six-score cows **with** its augmentation.*

The more abstractly mathematical examples overlap with those where there is more of a sense of a collection of heterogeneous entities.

(836) Mi a rodaf it honno, a medyant y seith cantref **genthi**. [MFL:49:19]
I PART give-PRES-1SG to-2SG that, and control the seven cantref **with-3SF**
*I will give that [woman] to you, and control of the seven cantrefs **with her**.*

Rarely, other constructions present a sense of addition, although not in an abstractly mathematical sense. We see the co-location metaphor again with Y GYD AC.

(837) Ac yna os duc e tyst e'r dygen a'e tygu, gurthtyget enteu arnau ef retygu anudon ohanau, "ac **ygyt a** henne nyt geyr dy geyr ty arnaf uy". [LI:79]

and then if bear-PRES-3SG the witness to the end and it swear-VN, counter-swear-IMPER-3SG he-EMPH on-3SM him PART-swear-VN perjury of-3SM, "and **together with** that NEG word your-SG word your-SG on-1SG me"

*And then if the witness takes it to the end, let him counter-swear against him [that] he swore perjury, "and **along with** that [or: because of that] your word is not a word against me [i.e. is not valid against me]".*

TROS operates within the metaphor ARITHMETIC IS MOTION ALONG A PATH_{W}, where excess or addition is motion to a goal beyond the landmark.

(838) Ac ena e mae yaun e'r egneyt kemryt tystyolaeth e kentaf rydodet en e pen urth e uuenhau, a gouyn ydau ae guyr a dyweyt er haulur ae nyt guyr, a rody naud Duu racdau na dywetto cam tystyolaeth: a dyweduet ohonau enteu **tros** henne bot en wyr ed oed er haulur en e dyweduyt. [LI:79]

and then PART be-PRES-3SG to the judge take-VN testimony the first PART-place-PRET-3SG in his head with them enjoy-VN, and ask-VN to-3SM either true REL say-PRES-3SG the claimant either NEG true, and give-VN protection God before-3SM NEG say-PRES-SUBJ-3SG wrong testimony: and say-VN of-3SM him-EMPH **over** that be-VN PART true PART be-IMPERF-3SG the claimant PART it say-VN

*And then it is right for the judge to take the testimony of the first in whose mouth it [i.e. the testimony] was put for enjoying it [i.e. having benefit of it], and [to] ask of him whether the claimaint spoke truth or not truth, and [to] give God's protection to him [that] he not speak false testimony: and he says **beyond** that [that] it is true, what the claimant said.*

The use of Y AM to indicate additional entities is difficult to interpret. As mentioned above in section 3.3.2.3.2, this construction is also used when the landmark is a list specifying the contents of the trajector, and the two uses can be ambiguous if the context is not clear. There is no sense of an origin in source-marking language, however

the use of Y AM to mark a static binary oppositional location seems the most relevant, although more so for the appositional sense.

(839) Sef ual yd eistedyssont, Heueyd Hen ar neill law pwyll, a Riannon o'r parth arall idaw; **y am** hynny pawb ual y bei y enryded. [PPD:13:21]

thus as PART sit-PRET-3PL Hefaidd Hen on one hand Pwyll and Rhiannon of the part other to-3SM **from-about** that everyone as PART be-IMPERF-3SG his status

*This is how they sat: Hefaidd Hen on the one side of Pwyll, and Rhiannon on the other side of him; **beyond** that, everyone according to his status.*

My data did not include any abstractly mathematical presentations of subtraction, although many of the uses of O to mark the physical removal of a subset of objects (see e.g. section 3.3.1.1.1) can be viewed as a concrete representation of the concept.

3.3.2.3.4 Specification or Measurement of Quantity or Quality

The least directly arithmetic function I am including here is constructions in which the landmark supplies the basis for the magnitude, amount, or other physical proportions of the trajector. The landmark may directly indicate this magnitude, for example, supplying the pattern to which an object is to be made.

(840) Ynteu a lunywys yr esgidyeu, ac nit **wrth** y messur, namyn yn uwy. [MFM:80:3]

he-EMPH PART shape-PRET-3SG the shoes, and NEG **with** the measure, except PART more

*He made the shoes, but not **by** measure, rather larger.*

The magnitude may also be indicated indirectly, as when a legal valuation is specified by a particular social rank.

(841) O serheyr hythey talher e sarhaet **urth** ureynt e braut. [LI:55]

if insult-PRES-IMPERS her-EMPH pay-IMPER-IMPERS her insult-price **with** status her brother

*If she is insulted, let her insult-price be paid **according to** her brother's status*

One more step removed, the landmark may indicate some general constraint on the magnitude of the trajector, rather than specifying a particular amount.

(842) ac vynt a deleant anrydedu e brenhyn pan uo en e llys **herwyd** eu **gallu**, ae en deueyt ae en vyn ae en uenneu, ae ar emenyn ae ar kaus ae ar llaeth. [LI:94]

and they PART ought-PRES-3PL honor-VN the king when be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG in the court **by** their **be-able-VN**, either in sheep either in lambs either in kids, either on butter either on cheese either on milk

*And they are obliged to honor the king when he is in the court **according to** their **ability**, whether with sheep or with lambs or with kids, or with butter or with cheese or with milk.*

This general concept of specification of measurement may be extended to cases where it is the qualitative nature of the trajector, rather than the quantitative nature, that is being specified.

(843) Mwys Gwydneu Garanhir: pob tri nawyr pei delhei y byt oduchti, bwyt a uynho pawb **wrth** y uryt a geiff yndi. [CO:618]

hamper Gwyddno Garanhir: every three nine-men if come-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG the world from-above-3SF, food REL wish-PRES-SUBJ-3SG everyone **with** his mind PART get-PRET-3SG in-3SF

*The hamper of Gwyddno Garanhir: if there came every [set of] thrice-nine men in the world onto it, everyone would find in it the food they liked **according to** their mind.*

The two principal markers of this type of specifier are HERWYD and WRTH, as seen in the examples above. They occur in roughly equal numbers and in extremely similar contexts even in the same source text. The only observable distinction is that when the landmark specifying the nature of the trajector is identified as advice, then WRTH is always used, doubtless influenced by the use of WRTH in contexts involving speech (see section 3.3.2.2.4.2). However, considering acts of physical measurement against a physical standard, the aspects of WRTH indicating co-location, physical contact, and directed attention invoke the image of placing the trajector physically against the standard of measurement, and this seems a stronger general motivation for the use.

The use of HERWYD in the present sense relates closely to its use to indicate the evidentiary basis of a legal action (see section 3.4.1.3). That is, what it marks here is the evidentiary basis for an event occurring in a particular quantifiable amount. Note that WRTH also occurs in other evidentiary contexts, but again primarily when the landmark involves speech or actual physical contact . In the case of WRTH, the physical comparison seems likelier to be the original sense, but as I suggest in section 2.3.1.5.2.4, the evidentiary use of HERWYDD seems likely to derive from a "following, imitating"

sense (similar to that for YN OL), in which case the physical measurement sense is likely to be secondary. In addition to the two above prepositions, YN OL occurs specifically in conjunction with the verb BARNU (to judge), when the landmark provides the basis for the nature of the judgement, but specifically when the deciding basis that is in focus is the specific evidence or testimony in court, rather than the general legal statute or principle.

(844) Os o uot en well e tystyon e dewys, muynhaer e rey goreu, ac **en ol** e rey goreu barner. [LI:79]

if from be-VN PART better the testifiers PART chose-VN, enjoy-IMPER-IMPERS the ones best, and **in track** the ones best judge-IMPER-IMPERS

*If he chooses [to rely] on the testifiers being better, let the best ones be enjoyed [i.e. prevail], and let [the case] be judged **according to** the best ones.*

3.3.2.3.5 Sequences

The organization or description of entities, events, or concepts as a sequence derives from the language of paths, using source and goal language (see section 3.1.4), although the direct motivation may in some cases derive from temporal extents (see section 3.2.3 generally). The two motivations overlap where a temporal sequence involving a sequence of movements through space occur in the same event–and these examples would be classified as spatial or temporal rather than abstractly sequential. While the general mathematical metaphor these relate to is ARITHMETIC IS MOTION ALONG A PATH_{W}, many of these examples strike me as being closer to the pragmatic grounding of the metaphor rather than being generated from it.

(845) Ac yuelly e geyll e lledrat kerdet **o** lau **y lau hyt** tra gaffo en e maes nep a'e kemerho e ganthau. [LI:114]

and thus PART be-able-PRES-3SG the theft travel-VN **from** hand **to** hand **length** beyond get-PRES-SUBJ-3SG in the field anyone REL it take-PRES-SUBJ-3SG from-with-3SM

*And so [the responsibility for] the stolen property is able to travel **from** hand **to** hand **while** he could find in the field [i.e. on the spot] someone who would take it from him.*

But this same language is used when the sequencing involves a hierarchy of priority or a listing organized by some abstract degree (e.g. of relationship). Often, this is accompanied explicitly by verbs of motion, highlighting a "path" reading of the event.

(846) Ony byd tey, e mab yeuaf a dele rannu er holl tref tat a'r hynaf dewyssau, ac **o** hynaf **e** henaf euelly **hyt en oet** e'r yeuhaf. [LI:82]

if-NEG be-PRES-3SG houses, the son youngest PART ought-PRES-3SG share-VN the all town father and the oldest choose-VN, and **from** oldest **to** oldest thus **length in time** to the youngest

*If there are no houses [in the inheritance], the youngest son ought to divide the entire patrimony, and the oldest chooses, and **from** oldest **to** [next] oldest, thus **all the way** to the youngest.*

(847) O'r hun a drycco en e guely hep uynet ar e kenedloed, aet duy keynnyauc at e braut ac un ar e chuaer; ac yuelly e kerda galanas **o** traean **e** traean **hyt en** ney uab gorchau. [LI:107]

of the this REL dwell-PRES-SUBJ-3SG in the "gwely" beside go-VN on/to the kindred, go-IMPER-3SG two penny to the brother and one on/to the sister; and thus PART travel-PRES-SUBJ-3SG murder-fine **of** third **to** third **length-in** nephew son fifth-cousin

*And of what remains in the "gwely" [kin-group] without going to the kindred, let two pence go to the brother and one to the sister, and so the murder-fine travels **from** third **to** third **to** a nephew, son of a fifth cousin.*

In other cases, a temporal model may be highlighted, e.g. by the use of ALLAN to indicated an unbounded extent (a use that appears much more typically for temporal extents than spatial ones).

(848) Ac esef e telyr ydau, **o**'r seythuet dyn **allan**; ac esef yu e seyth dyn henne, braut a keuenderu a keuerderu a keyuyn a gorcheyuen a gorchau a ney uab gorchau. A chany ellyr ryuau kerennyd **o** henne **allan**, talent ydau keynnyauc palader. [LI:106]

and thus PART pay-PRES-IMPER to-3SM from the seventh person out; and thus be-PRES-3SG the seven person that, brother and first-cousin and second-cousin and third-cousin and fourth-cousin and fifth-cousin and nephew son fifth-cousin. and since-NEG be-able-PRES-IMPERS count-VN kinship from that out, pay-IMPER-3PL to-3SM penny spear

*And this is how it is paid to him, **from** the seventh man **on**; and this is that seventh man: a brother and a first cousin and a second cousin and a third cousin and a fourth cousin and a fifth cousin and the nephew-son of a fifth cousin. And since kinship cannot be counted **from** there **on**, let them pay to him a spear-penny.*

The concept of sequence or extent is even more abstract when we are not dealing with countable entities or events, but rather a general notion of a range of possibility with identifiable boundaries which can be defined by those boundaries.

(849) "Pa arch bynnac a erchych di y mi, **hyt** y gallwyf y gaffael, itti y byd." [PPD:14:5]

what request whatever PART ask-PRES-SUBJ-2SG you-SG to me, **length** PART be able-PRES-SUBJ-1SG it get-VN, to-2SG PART be-PRES-3SG

*Whatever request you would ask of me, **as far as** I am able to get it, it will be to you [i.e. it will be yours].*

There are rare examples of GWEDY indicating relative position in an abstract

sequence, where that sequence is linked metaphorically in some way to temporal sequencing. In this particular example, we see a sequence based on HIGHER STATUS IS EARLIER, possibly via the intermediate mappings HIGHER STATUS IS IN FRONT, IN FRONT IS EARLIER.

(850) Ef a dele guarchadv e llys en penhaf **guedy** er estywart llys. [LI:33]
he PART ought-PRES-3SG keep-VN the court PART chief-most **after** the steward court
*He should supervise the court foremost **after** the court steward.*

3.4 EVENT STRUCTURE

As discussed in section 1.2.7, some semantic functions, while still affected by the particular semantic frame involved, revolve around the general structure of events, including such things as causes, changes, purposes, and means. The current section explores the prepositional marking of four concept groups in EVENT STRUCTURE: Causes (and cause-like functions), Means or Manner, Purpose, and Result.

3.4.1 Cause-like Functions

Studies of metaphors for causation (Lakoff and Johnson 1999) have mapped out a number of submodels. In a Location version of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, CAUSES ARE FORCES$_P$ and CAUSATION IS FORCED MOVEMENT$_P$, and thus by implication CAUSES ARE SOURCES (OF FORCED MOVEMENT)$_P$. In a corresponding Object-based EVENT STRUCTURE

metaphor, CAUSATION IS THE TRANSFER OF POSSESSIONS$_P$ (i.e. effects). A variation of this Object model involves CAUSATION IS LINKAGE$_P$ (i.e. "possession" of a cause linked to an effect implies possession of the effect). A probabilistic model produces CAUSATION IS CORRELATION$_P$ seen in a spatial version as CAUSATION IS CO-LOCATION, and a temporal model produces CAUSAL PRECEDENCE IS TEMPORAL PRECEDENCE$_P$ (that is, *post hoc ergo propter hoc*). Various of these metaphors are expressed prepositionally in Medieval Welsh, although the specific choice may be influenced by the semantic context in either broad or narrow terms.

It has been a general principle in my semantic encoding to work with a more finely grained analysis than I believed would be reflected in my eventual conclusions in order to make sure those conclusions would reflect an appropriate level of specificity. Examining the general field of causation and causation-like circumstances shows the validity of this approach.

The natural groupings that emerged (in addition to reflecting occasional overrides, such as the presence of particular verbs or particular verbal morphology) depend both on the nature of the "cause" and of the resulting event or state. The cause-like role can be a direct physical action where the resulting event is relatively involuntary (hencefore simply "Cause"); a physical or social event with indirect influence on a volitional agent–not an event that has the result as an automatic physical consequence, but one that strongly influences the agent to perform the resulting event or to perform it in a particular

form (henceforth "Reason"); an entity or state that forms the basis for a particular result or for the validity of a particular event by abstract legal or social convention ("Legal Evidence" or "Evidence"); or an emotional or sensory stimulus which results in some event or state, typically perceived to be involuntary ("Stimulus") but not involving literal physical force dynamics. Furthermore, the cause-like role may be identified by direct description ("He died because of being hit with a sword."); by metonymic reference to the cause-like event ("He died because of the sword."); or by reference to a topic of the cause-like event ("He died because of [the fight about] the boy."). The result may itself be a physical action or a physical state; a subjective mental or emotional experience; or a social or legal transaction or change in social or legal properties. Further, it may be significant that the result is the prevention or non-occurrence of one of these options.

(One apologetic note on terminology: my category for "(legal) evidence" is only tangentially related to the grammatical concept of "evidentiary" in the sense of a grammatical marking that indicates a speaker's knowledge-base for a statement. Welsh does not have a grammatical evidentiary function, and any references in the present work to "evidence" or "evidentiary" meaning are to be understood in the sense "set of conditions specified by law or social convention that authorize or require a particular event or a particular form of an event". Avoiding the use of these words would have been unnecessarily awkward.)

3.4.1.1 Physical Cause

Under physical causes I have included any situation where a physical action (or object standing metonymically for an action) precipitates an event or state, whether through the direct application of force or not. By far the most common marker for this group is O "from", occurring when the result of the cause is itself a physical action or state, or a social or legal state. This is a straightforward application of CAUSES ARE SOURCES_{P}.

(851) Marw uydaf i **o**'r cleuyt hwnn, a gwreic arall a uynny ditheu. [CO:16]

dead be-PRES-1SG I **from** the disease this, and woman other PART wish-PRES-2SG you-SG

*I will be dead **from** this disease, and you will want another wife.*

(852) O deruyd kloffy march em benfyc neu wneythur bryu arall **o** damweyn arnau [LI:124]

if happen-PRES-3SG lame-VN horse in borrowing or do-VN wound other **of** accident on-3SM

*If it happens that a horse is lamed while borrowed or another injury is done to it **because of an** accident*

The spatial source language may be explicitly tied to the language of causation with the compound O ACHOS "from + cause, because of".

(853) O deruyd e den kemryt mach ar da a guedy henne dyhol e kennogen, ae **o achaus** galanas ae **o achaus** lledrat ae o agkyureythyeu ne deleho ef bot en e wlat [LI:64]

if happen-PRES-3SG to person take-VN surety on goods and after that exile the principal-debtor, either **from cause** murder either **from cause** theft either from illegalities NEG ought-PRES-SUBJ-3SG he be-VN in the land

*If it happens to a man [that he] takes a surety for goods and after that the principal debtor is exiled, either **because of** murder or **because of** theft or from illegalities [so that] he may not remain in the country*

The next most common cause-marker is GAN, which occurs with no specific pattern to the type of result. Because there is no consistent distinction in Medieval Welsh between location-marking GAN and GAN as an eroded form of source-marking Y GAN (see sections 2.3.1.4.4 and 2.3.2.2.1.1.2), this could in theory be motivated either by CAUSES ARE SOURCES$_p$ (as for O) or via CONTEXTS ARE SURROUNDINGS by CAUSATION IS CORRELATION$_p$.

(854) "Dioer," heb hi, "ni chawn welet llyw y weilgi **gan** pob llong ar torr y gilyd. [MFM:82:14]

God-knows, say-PRET-3SG she, NEG get-IMPERF-1SG see-VN color the sea **with** each ship on side his fellow

*"God knows," she said, "I could not get a sight of the color of the sea **with** each ship on the side of the next."*

When the cause is expressed metonymically by reference to the topic of the causing event, then the topic-marker AM is used. The question arises whether AM in these contexts also carries a cause-marking sense (perhaps via the same location-circumstances-correlation chain as proposed for GAN), or whether the understanding of the landmark as a cause comes entirely from pragmatic context. (Consider that we see

this reliance on context in even more extreme form with AC and RHWNG.)

(855) Ac ef a allei llawer mab colli y eneit **am** y dygyuor a bereisti yn y cantref hwnn hediw. [MFM:83:10]

and he PART be-able-IMPERF-3SG many boy lose-VN his soul **about** the mustering REL cause-PRET-2SG in the cantref this today

*And many boys could have lost their lives **for** the mustering you caused in this cantref today.*

GWEDY is used to mark a cause primarily when the result is an aspect of physical appearance or, less commonly, a social or legal state. While it could be understood as deriving from CAUSAL PRIORITY IS TEMPORAL PRIORITY$_P$, the examples all involve a periphrastic perfective verbal construction used to form attributive clauses and the sense of causation is almost incidental.

(856) A gwrysc kelyn yn amyl ar y llawr, **gwedy** ry yssu o'r gwarthec eu bric. [BR:2:16]

and twigs holly PART plentiful on the ground, **after** PART eat-VN of the cattle their tips

*And holly twigs plentifully on the ground, **after** the eating of their tips by the cattle [i.e. the cattle having eaten their tips]*

RHAG occurs when there is some element of negation or conflict in the scenario: either the cause is a hostile or negative action, or the result is the prevention of some expected act or condition. Similarly to GWEDY and AM, rather than being a specifically cause-marking function, this seems to arise from a more general use of RHAG in scenarios of prevention or resistance, with the Cause sense supplied by context (see section

4.2.1.4).

(857) Nyt oes yn y byt crib a guelleu y galler gwrteith vyg uallt ac wy, **rac** y rynhet, namyn y grib a'r guelleu yssyd kyfrwg deu yskyuarn Twrch Trwyth mab Tared Wledic. CO:667]

NEG be-PRES-3SG in the world comb and scissors PART be-able-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS dress-VN my hair with/and they, **before** its stiffness, except the comb and the scissors be-PRES-REL-3SG between two ear Twrch Trwyth son Tared Wledig.

*There is no comb and scissors in the world that one can dress my hair with, **because** of its stiffness, except the comb and the scissors that are between the two ears of Twrch Trwyth son of Tared Wledig.*

A variety of markers occur only occasionally for causes. WRTH is found in two examples with no other obvious readings. It is more common in marking Reasons (under which the motivation will be discussed–see section 3.4.1.2) and its use for more direct causation may simply reflect the fuzzy boundary between the two concepts. (Both examples are also somewhat marginal for the Cause group–in the one presented here, one is expected to accept certain implicit laws of magic to understand this as Cause and natural result.)

(858) a chynedyf a oed ar y gyllell: yr pan deuth ymma ny thrigwys carn arnei uyth, ac **vrth** hynny y tyuwys heint yndaw a nychdawt hyt tra uu uyw, ac o hynny y bu uarw. [CO:247]

and property PART be-IMPERF-3SG on the knife: for when come-PRET-3SG here NEG remain-PRET-3SG haft on-3SF ever, and **with** that PART grow-PRET-3SG disease in-3SM and languor length beyond be-PRET-3SG living, and of that PART be-PRET 3SM dead

*And a property was on the knife: since when it came here, no haft would ever remain on it, and **because of** that sickness grew in him and languor for while he*

was alive, and because of that he died.

One example with AR could be read either as a cause marker or a temporal marker (i.e. "because of that" versus "then"), but the overall pattern of usage suggests the latter as more likely.

(859) A dodi ucheneit uawr, a thorri y chalon **ar** hynny. [BFL:45:18]

and place-VN sigh big, and break-VN her heart **on** that

*And [she] gave a great sigh and broke her heart **because of** that [or: at that = then].*

Similarly, an example with Y GAN is ambiguous between a spatial source and a cause, but in the absence of other support for it as a cause marker, the spatial sense should probably be understood. (If there were other less ambiguous examples with Y GAN, it would support reading GAN as an eroded form of the same preposition in Cause-marking functions.)

(860) Puybynnac a uo llugyr maur ar y yt a chaffael yscrybyl arnau, a mennu ohanau **e gan** er yscrybyl henne dyuuyn kubyl, nys dele namen talu ydau urth lw perchennauc yr yscrybyl a'y llygrus, na maur na bychan uo. [LI:160]

whoever PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG damage big on his grain and get-VN animals on-3SM, and wish-VN of-3SM **from-with** the animals those damage whole NEG-it ought-PRES-3SG except pay-VN to-3SM with oath owner the animals REL it damage-PRET-3SG, NEG big NEG small be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

*Whoever has great damage to his grain and catches animals on it, and he wishes [to recoup] the whole damage **from** those animals, he is not entitled [to], rather [it] is paid to him according to the oath [of] the owner [of] the animals that damaged it, whether it was great or small.*

3.4.1.2 Motivating Reason

In some circumstances, there is an event or state that is clearly understood in context to be a consequence of some other event or state, but the connection between that event and the result is mediated by the action or mental process of some animate entity, and so is better understood as a Reason. Previously studied metaphors for reasoning are closely tied to causal metaphor, to an extent that may be summarized as REASONS ARE CAUSES$_P$, with the various submodels carrying over (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). In Medieval Welsh, source-marking language is far less common in this group. There are relatively few examples marked with O although the compound O ACHOS is somewhat more common. Here we see REASONS ARE CAUSES$_P$ in operation.

(861) "A thri phet, arglwyd," heb hi "a gaffwn **o** hynny: diolwch ac elwissen **o** ellwg Riannon o'r poen y mae yndaw, a diollwch gan Pwyll am ueithryn y mab a'e eturyt idaw; a'r trydyd peth, os gwr mwyn uyd y mab, mabmaeth ynni uyd, a goreu a allo uyth a wna inni." [PPD:24:28]

and three thing lord, say-PRET-3SG she PART get-PRES-1PL **from** that: thanks and gratitude **from** release-VN Rhiannon from the penance PART be-PRES-3SG in-3SM, and thanks with Pwyll about raising the boy and him restore to-3SM; and the third thing, if man gentle be-PRES-3SG the boy, foster-son to-1PL be-PRES-3SG, and best PART be-able-PRES-SUBJ-3SG ever PART do-PRES-3SG to-1PL

*And three things, lord she said, "we will get **from** [i.e. because of] that: thanks and gratitude **for** [i.e. because of] releasing Rhiannon from the penance she was in, and thanks from Pwyll for raising the boy and restoring him to him; and the third thing, if the boy will be a noble man, he will be a foster-son to us, and the best he is able, he will do for us."*

(862) Ac **o achaws** e dremynt a welsant ar y weilgi, wy a doethant at Matholwch. [BFL:39:16]

and **from cause** the sight REL see-PRET-3PL on the sea, they PART come-PRET-3PL to Matholwch

*And **because of** the sight they saw on the sea, they came to Matholwch.*

This marker is also found when some mental or emotional experience motivates a physical action.

(863) ac **o** vrawdoryawl garyat pob vn a ressawawd y gilyd onadunt. [LL:64]

and **of** brotherly love each one PART greet-PART-3SG his fellow of-3PL

*and **from** brotherly love each one of them greeted the other.*

Reasons marked with WRTH are proportionately much more common, and this is the most common marker in this group. As discussed in section 3.3.2.2.7, and the introductory material above (sections 3.4. and 3.4.1), one source of language for various parts of EVENT STRUCTURE derives from prepositions correlating the event with the general context or circumstances of the event, typically via the language of spatial co-location. And of the available co-locational language, those markers that imply conscious attention to the landmark (WRTH and the various "front" markers) are likely to be the best candidates for the purpose.

(864) ny dele gureyc bot en uach, **urth** na eyll guraged guadu mach, ac na dele hythey reythwyr y'u guadu hy. [LI:65]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG woman be-VN PART surety, **with** NEG be-able-PRES-3SG women deny-VN surety, and NEG ought-PRES-3SG she-EMPH compurgators to her deny-VN her

*a woman ought not [to] be a surety, **because** women are not able to deny a surety, and she is not entitled [to] compurgators for her denial.*

ER is less common, but still present in significant numbers. In several cases, there is a sense that the result is somehow an exchange or balance for the reason, but the majority of cases lack this.

(865) "A druein," heb hitheu, "ny chewch un drwc **yr** dywedut y wirioned." [PPD:21:6]

o wretches say-PRET-3SG she NEG get-PRES-2PL one harm **for** speak-VN the truth

*"O wretches," she said, "you will not get a single harm **from** speaking the truth."*

As in the "cause" group, when the motivating event or state is identified metonymically via a topic, it takes topic-marking language, using AM (or, very rarely, Y AM which, as discussed in section 2.3.2.2.1.1.1, often functions as a free alternative to AM). There are also examples using AM that refer directly to the motivating event or state which may suggest that AM has generalized from the pragmatic topic-as-reason sense to an independent reason-marking sense.

(866) Dyro inn dy uerch. ac onys rody ti a geffy dy angheu **ymdeni**. [CO:561]

give-IMPER-2SG to-1PL your-SG daughter. and if-not give-VN you-SG PART get-PRES-2SG your-SG death **about-3SF**

Give us your daughter, and if you don't give [her] you will get your death ***because of her****.*

As with Causes, when the landmark is some condition influencing the prevention or hindrance of the trajector, it is uniformly marked with RHAG, working from its abstract sense of opposition or contradiction (see section 4.2.1.4), rather than operating within the same motivational system as the positive Reason markers.

(867) m6y noc yd oed ha6d disc6yl ar yr heul pan uyd teccaf: nyt oed ha6s disg6yl arnei hi **rac** y theccet. [BM:181:28]

more than PART be-IMPERF-3SG easy look-VN on the sun when be-PRES-3SG fairest: NEG be-IMPERF-3SG easier look-VN on-3SF her **before** her beauty

More than it would be easy to look on the sun when it was brightest, it would not be easier to look on her ***because of*** *her beauty.*

In the particular case of an act of naming, phrases indicating the reason for the specific nature of the name reflect the above pattern in miniature and are an interesting comparison, given that the general scenario of use is the same throughout. Most commonly we find the reason marked with O ACHOS, followed by WRTH, and less commonly O, Y WRTH, and AM, following the general patterns of Source, Correlation and Topic. In fact, more than one of these may be used in combination, one being used with the pronoun HYNNY (that), the other specifying the particular circumstances.

(868) Sef y kyrchyssant y dref uchaf o Arllechwoed, ac yno gwneuthur creu y'r moch, ac **o'r achaws hwnnw** y dodet Creuwryon ar y dref. [MFM:71:14]

thus PART make-for-PRET-3PL the town highest from/of Arllechwedd, and there make VN sty to the pigs and **of the cause that** PART place-PRET-IMPERS Creuwrion on the town

*This is where they made for: the highest town of [or: from?] Arllechwedd, and there they made a sty for the pigs, and **for that reason** [the nickname] "Creuwrion" was placed on the town.*

(869) Ac odyna y kerdyssant racdunt, a'r nos honno yd aethant hyt yg kymwt ym Powys, a elwir **o'r ystyr hwnnw** heuyt Mochnant, ac yno y buant y nos hono. [MFM:71:7]

and from-there PART travel-PRET-3PL before-3PL and the night that PART go-PRET-3PL length-in commote in Powys, REL call-PRES-IMPERS **of the meaning that** also Mochnant, and there PART be-PRET-3PL the night that

*Thence they travelled forth, and that night they went to a commote in Powys which is also called **for that reason** "Mochnant", and there they were that night.*

(870) Ac **o-acha6s** hynny y gelwir ffyrd elen luyda6c **6rth** y hanuot hi o-ynys prydein. [BM;188:4]

and **from cause** that PART call-PRES-IMPERS roads Elen Lwyddog **with** PART originate-VN she from island Britain

*And **because of** that [they] are called "the roads of Elen Lwyddog", **because** she came from the Island of Britain.*

(871) Ac **wrth** hynny y gelwir etwa Calch Llassar, **am** y wneuthur o Lassar Llaes Gygnwyt. [MFL:52:25]

and **with** that PART call-PRES-IMPERS yet "Calch Llassar", **about** it make-VN of Llassar Llaes Gygnwyd

*And **because of** that, it is still called "Calch Llassar", **because** it was made by Llassar Llaes Gygnwyd.*

(872) "Yawnhaf yw hynny," heb y Pwyll, "kymryt enw y mab **y wrth** y geir a dywot y uam pann gauas llawenchwedyl y wrthaw." [PPD:26:17]

most-well be-PRES-3SG that, say-PRET-3SG Pwyll, take-VN name the boy **from-with** the word REL say-VN his mother when get-PRET-3SG happy-news from-with-3SM

*"That is best," said Pwyll, "[to] take the name of the boy **from** the word that his mother said when she got happy news of him."*

The appearance of Y WRTH in this context raises the question whether the use of WRTH as a Reason-marker might represent an eroded form of Y WRTH and thus should group with O in representing the metaphor REASONS ARE SOURCES$_p$. But WRTH and Y WRTH show significantly less interchangeability of forms and senses than, for example, (Y) GAN does. Furthermore, the uses of WRTH and Y WRTH in identifying naming reasons are distinct in that Y WRTH is used with an utterance as the landmark. This seems to connect it more with the use of Y WRTH to mark speakers and topics/sources of verbal information. (Y WRTH is not found with reasons that do not involve speech events.)

3.4.1.3 Legal Evidentiary Basis

Given the significant amount of legal text in my data, another special type of non-physical "reason" worth considering is the legal basis for an official legal action, e.g. the infraction over which a lawsuit is held, or the action resulting in legal insult or social injury or the characteristics of an event that call for a particular form of penalty. The distribution of the most common Legal Evidence markers turns out to be more similar to that of physical Cause markers than that of Reason markers, with O by far the most common, as well as a smaller number of O ACHOS, with markers deriving from locative language, such as WRTH and GAN, much less common. This group features a small but significant group marked with HERWYDD, which is not found for other cause-like

senses. Given this pattern, the majority of Evidence-markers can be considered to be motivated by a metaphor LEGAL PROCESSES ARE PHYSICALLY CAUSED EVENTS. As noted above, O is the most common marker for this function.

(873) **O** un o try achaus e byd ryd mach: ae **o** talu trostau ae **o** uystlau ae **o** wadu mach. [LI:58]

from one of three cause PART be-PRES-3SG free surety: either **from** pay-VN over-3SM either **from** pledge-VN either **from** deny-VN surety

From *one of three causes, a surety will be free [of his responsibilities]: either* ***because of*** *paying on his behalf, or* ***because of*** *pledging [property], or* ***because of*** *denying the surety.*

This use is independent of the source language of the larger context. For example, the Legal Evidence may also be characterized as a Path (MEANS ARE PATHS_{P}) in the same phrase, suggesting that O marking cause-like functions has begun a dissociation from the active metaphor and is simply grammaticalized in this function.

(874) **O** teyr **ford** e serheyr pob den en e byt: **o** tarau a gossot, a duen treys e arnau, ac os gur uyd, **o** bedyr gan e wreyc, sarhaet yu ydau; [LI:110]

from three **road** PART insult-PRES-IMPERS every person in the world: **from** strike-VN and blow, and bear-VN violence from-on-3SM, and if man be-PRES-3SG **from** corrupt-VN with his wife, insult be-PRES-3SG to-3SM

In *three* ***ways*** *every person in the world can be insulted:* ***by*** *striking and blows, and bringing violence on him, and if it is a man,* ***by*** *sleeping with his wife, that is insult to him.*

Source-marking language for Legal Evidence may also be found as the compound O ACHOS (also seen for other cause-like functions).

(875) Os e gur hytheu a uyd klauur neu anadel drewedyc neu na allho kyt a'e wreyc, os **o achaus** un o'r try pheth henne ed edeu hy e gur, kubel o'r eydy a dele y gaffael. [LI:45]

if her husband her PART be-PRES-3SG leprous or breath stinking or NEG be-able-PRES-SUBJ-3SG copulate-VN with his wife, if **from cause** one of the three thing those PART leave-PRES-3SG she her husband, complete of the goods PART ought-PRES-3SG them get-VN

*If her husband is leprous or [has] stinking breath, or is not able to copulate with his wife, if **because of** one of these three things she leaves her husband, she is entitled to get the entirety of her goods.*

But one example of O LLAW is also found, in a context where the Legal Evidence involves a person with control over property (see section 2.3.2.3.1.2 for the use of LLAW "hand" to invoke a sense of legal or physical control).

(876) Herwyd guyr Guyned ny dele gureyc caffael tref tat, cany dele deu ureynt **o un llau**: sef yu henne, tref tat e gur a'r eydy ehun. [LI:86]

by men Gwynedd NEG ought-PRES-3SG woman get-VN town father, since-NEG two status **from one hand**: thus be-PRES-3SG that, town father her husband and the hers her-own

*According to the men [of] Gwynedd, a woman is not entitled [to] get patrimony, because two statuses may not come **from one hand**: this is that [situation], the patrimony of her husband and her own.*

Because the legal basis for an event may often serve as the topic of the event, it is somewhat surprising not to find AM more commonly in this function. Instead, it occurs primarily when the landmark of AM is the topic of a more elaborate event that itself serves as the Legal Evidence, rather than simply when the landmark could be understood as a topic of the trajector event directly. For example, in the following text, the proposed legal basis for execution is not the simple existence of "the boy", but the larger

(previously described) scenario involving the defendant's failure to prevent the boy from being killed.

(877) "Ie," heb arall, "bychan a dial oed yn lloski ni, neu yn dienydyaw **am** y mab." [put to death] [PPD:20:12]

well, say-PRET-3SG other, small of vengeance be-IMPERF-3SG our burn-VN our, or our execute-VN **about** the boy

*"Well," said another, "It would be a small [amount] of vengeance to burn us or execute us **because of** [losing] the boy."*

WRTH is the most commonly used "location" language for Legal Evidence.

(878) Pvybennac a vystlo guestel a tebygu ohanau **urth** nat oes uach arnau bot e guestel en anylys, e keureyth a dyweyt e dyguyd e guestel hunnu a'e uot en dylys. [LI:62]

whoever PART pledge-PRES-SUBJ-3SG pledge and suppose-VN of-3SM **with** NEG be-PRES-3SG surety on-3SM be-VN the pledge PART invalid, the law PART say-PRES-3SG PART fall-PRES-3SG the pledge that and it be-VN PART valid

*Whoever pledges a pledge and he supposes [that] **because** there is no surety for it, the pledge is invalid, the law says that pledge falls [forfeit] and it is valid.*

Unlike the examples where WRTH is used for a general Reason, however, a significant proportion the examples where it is used for Legal Evidence appear to be co-motivated by the use of WRTH with speech. As we see in section 3.3.2.2.4.2, WRTH is used to mark the hearer of quoted speech. In the present circumstance, we find it used to mark a legal basis when that basis is in the form of a verbal oath, that is, to mark a speaker. So while the specific function of WRTH here is to indicate Evidence, it is unlikely that the association with speech is coincidental.

(879) Puybynnac a uo llugyr maur ar y yt a chaffael yscrybyl arnau, a mennu ohanau e gan er yscrybyl henne dyuuyn kubyl, nys dele namen talu ydau **urth** lw perchennauc yr yscrybyl a'y llygrus, na maur na bycha uo. [LI:160]

whoever PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG damage big on his grain and get-VN animals on 3SM, and wish-VN of-3SM from-with the animals those damage whole NEG-it ought PRES-3SG except pay-VN to-3SM **with** oath owner the animals REL it damage-PRET 3SG, NEG big NEB small be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

*Whoever has great damage to his grain and catches animals on it, and he wishes [to recoup] the whole damage from those animals, he is not entitled [to], rather [it] is paid to him **according to** the oath [of] the owner [of] the animals that damaged it, whether it was great or small.*

The other relatively unmarked locative prepositions in the present function, GAN and YN, are rare and somewhat ambiguous. The one example of GAN here may be the related conjunction, although still with a cause-like sense. (And, in fact, the existence of a set of cause-marking conjunctions derived from GAN supports interpreting it as having a clear cause-marking function on its own.)

(880) Myn Dyw, **can** wyt penn. [CO:431]

by God, **with** be-PRES-2SG head

*By God, **because** you are chief.*

YN, in this sense, occurs only with the landmark CYFRAITH "law", and may derive specifically from the understanding of the concept "law" as a bounded region, perhaps derived from the law understood as a physical text, but perhaps not.

(881) Ot edeu ynteu a uo dogyn **eg** keureyth, dygaun yu deu neu try, ket boet guell a uo muy. [LI:81]

if promise-PRES-3SG he-EMPH REL be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG sufficient **in** law, enough be-PRES-3SG two or three, though be-IMPER-3SG better PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG more

*If he promises what would be sufficient **by** law, two or three are enough, although more would be better.*

The use of AR to mark the evidentiary basis of an event involves a number of different motivating contexts which appear to be entirely unrelated–that is, there may be no general pattern of using AR to mark Evidence, rather that it happens that a number of expressions that use AR for other reasons are found presenting those expressions in context as evidence for some event. A clear example of this occurs in close combination with the verb DODI (to place, put) which, as we see in section 4.2.1.2 has a strong preference for marking one of its important roles with AR no matter what the target semantics may be.

(882) Ac esef y mae enteu en dody **ar** y keureyth, deleu dyuot en keureythyaul tracheuen y'r lle yr ryerruyt en agkeureythyaul ohanau. [LI:75]

and thus PART be-PRES-3SG he-EMPH PART place-VN **on** the law, ought-VN come-VN PART legally beyond-back to the place REL PART-drive-PRET-IMPERS PART illegally of-3SM

*And this is what he places **on** the law [i.e.claims in court] [that] he is entitled to come back legally to the place [from] which he was illegally driven.*

Similarly straightforward are examples where the semantic frame of the landmark conventionally involves control-relationships marked with AR, e.g. MACH (surety, contract—see section 3.6.1).

(883) Puybynnac a deleho yt, ay **ar** uach, ay am lvgyr yscrybyl y kynhayaf, ay o'y prynu, ac nas gouynno hyt kalan gayaf, nys dele o henne allan. [LI:158]

whoever PART ought-PRES-SUBJ-3SG grain, either **on** contract, either about damage animal the harvest, either from it buy-VN, and NEG-it ask-PRES-SUBJ-3SG length calends winter, NEG-it ought-PRES-3SG from that out

*Whoever is entitled to grain, either **by** contract, or because of animal damage [at] harvest, or because of purchase, and he doesn't ask [for] it by the winter calends, he is not entitled [to] it from then on.*

In other cases, the evidence comes in the form of someone's opinion or thought, although the more usual marker for the mind as an experiencer of thought is YN (see section 3.3.2.2.3.1).

(884) Kerdet araf guastat oed gan y march **ar** uryt y neb a'y guelei [PPD:9:15]

pace slow even be-IMPERF-3SG with the horse **on** mind the anyone REL it see-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG

*A slow, even pace was with the horse [i.e. the horse had ...] **in** the mind of anyone who saw it*

In contrast, the strongest candidate for the spatial use of AR in marking evidence would be the compound AR LLE "on the place, where". This is a highly questionable interpretation, however. There are no other examples of the compound AR LLE in my data, and the written form could as well be interpreted as the expected contraction of AC YR LLE "and [at] the place; and where". But compare the formula DWEUD AR TAFOD LLEFERYDD discussed in section 3.4.2.1, where the presence of the preposition is clear. Another motivation could be the understanding of LLE as being inherently geographic (even when extended to use as a relative pronoun) calling for either

AR or YN, with the resulting compound extended to other uses as a fixed construction.

(885) O seyf e keytweyt e'r due pleyt kyhyded yu: **ar lle** y bo kyhyded deu hanner uyd. [LI:77]

if stand-PRES-3SG the keepers to the two side equality be-PRES-3SG: **on place [or: and the place]** PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG equality two half be-PRES-3SG

*If the keepers for the two sides stand [i.e.maintain their legal position], there is equality: **at the place [or: and [at] the place]** where there is equality, [let it] be [shared] in two halves.*

In the discussion above of source language for Evidence, I mentioned examples where this is combined with non-prepositional language suggesting a path metaphor (MEANS ARE PATHS$_p$). And this latter metaphor is also present in the use of TRWY "through" to mark a legal basis. These examples tend to be ambiguous between an Evidence (as means) reading and a simple Means reading.

(886) Ac os guatta, byt sauedyc, onys gyrr er amdyffynnur arnau truy tystyon ereyll, onyt yr amdyffynnvr **truy** dystyon ereyll a brauw arnau y llys hunnv a'r testyon henne en e maes. [LI:79]

and if deny-PRES-3SM be-IMPER-3SG standing, if-NEG the defendant **through** testifiers other PART prove-PRES-3SG on-3SM the defect that and the testifiers those in the field

*And if he denies it, let it stand, unless the defendant, **through** other testifiers, proves against him that defect and those testifiers [are] in the field [i.e. in the court].*

HERWYDD marks evidence in several characteristic circumstances: when the evidentiary basis is a person of authority whose opinion or pronouncement creates the validity or supports the veracity of the trajector (compare with WRTH where a spoken

oath, constituting legal testimony, is the basis for the nature of a legal decision):

(887) amober merch pob pensuydauc **herwyd** rey, punt: **herwyd** ereyll, chue ugeynt [LI:51]

marriage-fee daughter every chief-officer **by** some, pound, **by** others, six twenty

*The marriage fee of the daughter of every chief officer **according to** some [is] a pound, **according to** others 120 [pence].*

or when "the law" in the sense of a codified body is invoked as the basis for the nature of a legal event:

(888) Teyr guraged e dele eu meybyon uamuys **herwyd** keureyth [LI:53]

three women PART ought-PRES-3SG their sons maternal-kin **by** law

*Three women whose sons are entitled to maternal-kindred **by** law*

or when legal status or condition constitutes the basis for the specific nature of the trajector event (but see section 3.3.2.3.4 for an overlapping sense where the landmark is the basis or standard of measurement for the trajector).

(889) Ny dele nep attal gardeu ganthau **herwyd** breynt e teyl namen un uluyden, canys pob bluyden e deleyr eu teylau. [LI:88]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG anyone keep-VN gardens with-3SM **by** status it manure-PRES 3SG except one year, since each year PART ought-PRES-IMPERS them manure-VN

*No one is entitled to keep gardens with him [i.e. continue to own gardens] **by** right of manuring them except for a single year, since they ought to be manured every year.*

As discussed briefly in section 2.3.1.5.2.4, the motivation behind the use of

HERWYDD in marking Evidentiary Basis is clouded because the senses of the word present in Medieval Welsh are all fairly distant extensions from its origins. As noted in section 2.3.1.5.2.4, the word derives originally from elements meaning FRONT/FACING + SEE (Evans 1964), suggesting that it may originally have had a spatial sense along the lines of "in front, within the field of vision", quite possibly with the same implication of "in front and given focused attention" found for the more recent compound YN GWYDD which shares the same SEE root (sections 2.3.2.3.1.3.4 and 2.3.2.6.2). One example from Medieval Cornish provides support for this co-location sense. (Williams 1865)

(890) Yn aga herwydh ydh ese un marreg Longis hynwys.
in their vicinity PART be-PRES-3SG one soldier Longius named
In their company [i.e. with them] there was a soldier named Longius.

Nothing directly corresponding to such a sense survives in Medieval Welsh. The only potentially spatial application has a sense of "point of physical contact and manipulation". Evans suggests that this may represent a general "manner" sense, but two things undermine this argument. The available Medieval Welsh uses of the word (including those listed in the GPC that do not appear in my data) do not show any general, non-physical manner sense, but only this sense of control by direct physical manipulation. Secondly, WRTH, with a similar spatial base-meaning of "facing, turned towards" evolved a sense of "contact with attachment" that may be seen as parallel to the "point of manipulation" sense of HERWYDD.

The other senses of HERWYDD are more clearly and closely related to each

other, ranging from "evidentiary basis" to "basis or standard of measurement". While the Cornish example of a cognate meaning "presence, company", as well as the similar use of WRTH, suggests a possible interpretation of the motivation here as EVIDENTIARY BASIS IS SURROUNDINGS (and the close connection of HERWYDD with verbal evidence is another parallel with WRTH), another possible semantic pathway for these senses is suggested by a similar collection of senses (experiencer of attention, basis of measurement) found for YN OL, evolving from a PATH + GOAL sense, i.e. "following in the track of". If the landmark is seen as some entity that the trajector "follows", then we see a metaphor along the lines of IMITATION/OBEDIENCE IS FOLLOWING A PATH. The Evidentiary Basis sense can then be understood as an extension along the lines of APPLYING A LEGAL INTERPRETATION IS IMITATING/OBEYING THE INTERPRETER. Alternately, the examples where the evidence-landmark is a person or persons whose opinion or practice determines the nature of the trajector event may be understood more directly as ACTING ACCORDING TO THE OPINION/PRACTICE OF A PERSON IS FOLLOWING THAT PERSON. (The presence of a similar metaphor in English can be seen in the difficulty of wording this without using the word "following" to describe the target domain.) This interpretation would then include the measurement use of HERWYDD along the lines of WORKING TO A STANDARD IS FOLLOWING THAT STANDARD.

There are also some examples of YN OL used in the context of legal Evidence, but they are not related to the above "following an authority" sense. Rather, we have a novel metaphor using a formula MYNED YN OL "to go after, to pursue", metaphorically

borrowing a scenario of legal pursuit of the offender by those enforcing the law, and characterizing the penalty as "chasing" the infraction (i.e. the reason for the penalty). These examples, therefore, do not constitute evidence for a general metaphor *LEGAL EVIDENCE IS A GOAL.

(891) Nyt a galanas **en ol** tan namen **en ol** gueythret y llau ehun a'e llosko. [LI:119]
NEG go-PRES-3SG murder-fine **in track** fire except **in track** deed his hand his-own REL it burn-PRES-SUBJ-3SG
*Murder-fine does not **follow** fire [but] rather **follows** the deed [of] his own hand [of the one] who burned it.*

3.4.1.4 Stimulus

Several other groups of cause-like circumstances fall outside the above groupings. The largest group involves a mental or emotional experience as the result-trajector, where the stimulus of this experience may be understood as cause-like. This Stimulus may be a physical event, a sensory experience, or even some other mental or emotional experience, but in all cases has indirect (although typically involuntary) effect. (That is, one of the distinctions I am making between Reason and Stimulus is whether there is an implied conscious aspect to the result, or whether the result is understood as largely involuntary.) The marker found here is O, except in the particular circumstances detailed below.

(892) A llidyaw a oruc Arthur **o** welet y deu was hayachen wedy eu llad [CO:1217]
and grow-angry-VN PART d-PRET-3SG Arthur **from** see-VN the two lad almost after their kill-VN
*And Arthur grew angry **from** seeing the two lads almost being killed*

In the specific circumstance when the (known) presence or existence of some person is the stimulus of an emotional experience, we instead find WRTH as a marker. This group of examples provides a useful bridge for the CAUSES ARE SURROUNDINGS metaphor, where the spatial co-location sense may be literally applicable, but the intent in context is to communicate causation. The specific use with human landmarks appears to be part of the general pattern of use for WRTH (see section 2.3.1.4.5), and the immediate use often overlaps with the expression of emotion toward the stimulus (see section 3.3.2.2.3.3).

(893) A llawen uu Pwyll **wrth** Teirnon, ac y eisted yd aethont. [PPD:25:22]
and happy be-PRET-3SG Pwyll **with** Teirnon, and to sit-VN PART go-PRET-3PL
*And Pwyll was happy **because** of [or: **towards**] Teirnon, and they went to sit.*

The language of co-location, especially interactive co-location of humans, is also used for an emotional stimulus in one example with YN ERBYN. Most typically, YN ERBYN is found in conflict scenarios (see section 2.3.2.2.3) but neutral uses are also found, as here.

(894) A diruawr lywenyd a uu **yn y erbyn** yno, a diolwch idaw hebrwng y wrogaeth idaw. [MFL:51:13]
and very-great joy PART be-PRET-3SG **in-his-against** there, and thanks to-3SM bring-VN his homage to-3SM
*And there was great joy there **before him$_1$** [i.e. to meet him], and thanks to him$_1$ [for] bringing his$_1$ homage to him$_2$.*

One type of cause-like circumstance that overrides other aspects in influencing preposition choice is the presence of some strongly negative factor in the relationship between trajector and landmark, where the marker RHAG is used. This negative factor may be that the trajector is prevented by the landmark, or that the trajector consists of an act of avoidance of the landmark.

(895) (Ba negesseu bennac a wnelit urtha6 ny cheffit atep amdanadunt **rac** y dristet a-e anhygaret. [BM:91b:35]

what errands whatever PART do-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS with-3SM NEG get-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS answer about-3PL **before** his sorrow and his unhappiness.

*Whatever errands one might have with him, one would not get an answer about them **because of** his sorrow and his unhappiness.*

(896) Ac **rac** diruawr wres, y kyrchwys y pleit a'e yscwyd a'y tharaw gantaw allan, ac yn y ol ynteu y wreic. [BFL:36:19]

and **before** very-great heat PART make-for-PRET-3SG the wall with his shoulder and it strike with-3SM out, and in his track his-EMPH his wife

*And **because of** [or: **to avoid**; or: **in the context of]** the very great heat, he made for the wall with his shoulder and struck it [i.e. his shoulder] out with him, and behind him, his wife.*

RHAG also occurs when the landmark stimulates a negative reaction or experience as the trajector:

(897) Ac yd aeth a'r niueroed hynny oll hyt yn Iwerdon, ac y bu ouyn mawr ac ergryn **racdaw** yn Iwerdon. [CO:1060]

and PART go-PRET-3SG with/and the retinues those all length-in Ireland, and PART be-PRET-3SG fear big and trembling **before-3SM** in Ireland

*And he went with all those retinues to Ireland, and there was great fear and trembling **before him** [i.e. **because of him**] in Ireland.*

or when the landmark is understood as an unpleasant sensory stimulus.

(898) Ac **rac** meint y kynnwrwf hwnnw deffroi a oruc Ronabwy. [BR:21:5]

and **before** amount the tumult that arise-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Rhonabwy

*And **because of** the amount of the tumult, Rhonabwy woke up.*

These uses correlate strongly with the general use of RHAG in situations of conflict (see section 4.2.1.4).

3.4.1.5 Enablement

An even more passive cause-like function may be best labelled "enablement", where some state or condition obtains that allows (or disallows) an event to happen, but does not otherwise affect the likelihood of its happening. The two most significant types of enablement found in my data are "permission" and "willingness", i.e. that some entity with the potential power to prevent (or at least affect the success of) some action either explicitly states an absence of opposition, or a positive interest in the event occurring. (Or, in the negative, explicitly states opposition or an interest in the event not occurring.) These two types of enablement are treated differently in the language. "Willingness" falls more into the Cause/Evidence pattern, using a conventional expression with O. Rather

than marking the positive and negative cases with different prepositions (as with O and RHAG for Cause), the distinction is made in the landmark, using BODD "will, desire" and ANFODD "un-will, un-desire".

(899) Nyd eynt wy **o'y bod**; nit oed reit udunt wynteu **oc eu hanuod**, herwyd ymlad, uynet. [BFL:36:5]

NEG go-IMPERF-3PL they **of their will**; NEG be-IMPERF-3SG necesary to-3PL them **of their un-will**, by MUTUAL-fight-VN, go-VN

*They would not go **of their own will**, and there was no need for them to go **against their will** due to [their] fighting.*

"Permission" may rarely follow this general pattern, using O.

(900) Ac onyt **o**'th **gennyat**, par y'r amherawdyr eu gwahard [BR:12:24]

and except **from** your-SG **permission**, cause-IMPER-2SG to the emperor them prohibit-VN

*And unless [it is done] **by** your **permission**, cause the emperor [to] prohibit them.*

But it is most typically marked with GAN in its existence, and HEB in its negation, suggesting that it is characterized as an object that may either be present or absent.

(901) A phan daruu y wled, "Arglwyd," heb y Pwyll wrth Heueyd, "mi a gychwynnaf, **gan** dy gannyat, parth a Dyuet auore." [PPD:19:3]

and when happen-PRET-3SG the feast, lord, say-PRET-3SG Pwyll with Hefaidd, I PART set-out-PRES-1SG **with** your-SG permission, part with Dyfed tomorrow

*And when the feast was finished, "Lord," said Pwyll to Hefaidd, "I will set out, **with** your permission, to Dyfed tomorrow."*

(902) Try peth ne dele taeauc y werthu **hep** ganhyat y arglued: amvs a mel a moch [LI:42]

three thing NEG ought-PRES-3SG villein it sell-VN **beside** permission his lord: horse and honey and pigs

*Three things a villein is not entitled to sell **without** his lord's permission: a horse and honey and pigs*

Patterning similarly is "advice", representing the verbal creation of an opportunity for, and an expression of interest in, an event occurring, with the advice treated prepositionally as a possessed object.

(903) Ef a dely bot em pob lle en eu blaen ac na wnelhoent dym namyn **can** e gyghor. [LI:6]

he PART be-PRES-3SG be-VN in every place in their front and NEG do-PRES-SUBJ-3PL anything except **with** his advice

*He ought to be in every place in front of them [i.e. the warband] and they should not do anything except **by** his advice.*

Perhaps relevant to the two patterns is the distinction between enablement via a public speech act (permission, advice) and an internal attitude (willingness).

Enablement may also be indicated in temporal terms using TRA "while", i.e. where the enabling landmark is a state or condition existing in a particular time-span, and an event occurring within that time-span is enabled (but not directly caused). This is not a very productive pattern and derives from a re-analysis of coincidental circumstances as directly meaningful, (related to CAUSATION IS CORRELATION$_p$).

(904) namyn **tra** uei coet, ar uric y coet y kerdei, a **thra** uei uynyd, ar ulaen y kawn y kerdei, ac yn hyt y oes ny flygwys konyn dan y draet, anoethach torri rac y yskafned. [CO:241]

except **beyond** be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG wood on top the trees PART travel-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG, and **beyond** be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG mountain, on front the reeds PART travel-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG, and in-length his age NEG bend-PRET-3SG reed under his feet, worse break-VN before his lightness

*Rather, **while** there was a wood, he would travel on the tops of the trees, and **while** there was a mountain, he would travel on top of the reeds, and in the length of his life, no reed [ever] bent beneath his feet, much less broke, because of his lightness.*

There are a few examples where a dual enablement phrase is used, and here the use of RHWNG "between" overrides the more specific Enablement markers.

(905) E wvreyc byeu kemeynt ac a allho e dven o ulaut **erug** nerth e dve lau a'e deu glyn o'r kell hyt e ty. [LI:44]

the woman own-PRES-3SG so-much with/and REL be-able-PRES-SUBJ-3SG it bear-VN of flour **between** strength her two hand and her two knee from the storeroom length the house

*[On divorce] the woman owns as much as she is able to carry of flour, **between** [i.e. using both] the strength of her hands and her legs, from the storeroom to the house.*

3.4.1.5 Summary

Looking at this group as a whole, we find two primary patterns: direct physical causation, marked primarily with O, indicating CAUSES ARE SOURCES$_P$; and indirect motivating reason, marked primarily by WRTH (secondarily by ER), indicating REASONS ARE CIRCUMSTANCES (compare CAUSES ARE CORRELATIONS$_P$). The categories of Legal

Evidence and Stimulus pattern similarly to Cause, suggesting that they are understood metaphorically as causes. Outside this broad pattern, we find the metaphor CAUSES ARE CIRCUMSTANCES/CORRELATIONS$_p$ primarily instantiated by GAN (and rare outside the realm of direct physical causation).

Otherwise, prepositions found in cause-like contexts appear to be motivated by non-causal circumstances, and the understanding of the resulting phrase as a Cause or Reason is primarily or entirely via pragmatic context. AM occurs when the cause/reason is indicated indirectly by topic (although rare exceptions suggest the possible beginnings of reanalysis as a Reason marker). GWEDY could be understood as participating in CAUSAL PRECEDENCE IS TEMPORAL PRECEDENCE$_p$, but the more immediate motivation when it appears here is as a perfective verb marker. RHAG occurs across the board in situations of prevention, avoidance, or hostile interaction. Except as a Reason marker, WRTH is motivated by a speech-related trajector or by overlap with a scenario of physical co-location. HERWYDD occurs only in the very narrow circumstance of reference to a legal authority via motivations unrelated to an abstract cause/reason scenario.

3.4.2 Means and Manner

While the circumstances categorized under cause-like functions actively influence an event or state to occur that might otherwise not have happened (or might have happened in another form), other circumstances either passively enable an event (while

not influencing its likelihood) or describe the particular means by which it happens.

3.4.2.1 Instrument

The most direct type of "means" for an event is an instrument used to accomplish it. In terms of EVENT STRUCTURE, an Instrument is part of the necessary initial conditions required for the start of the event. The most common markers for instruments are AC and GAN, both having spatial senses indicating co-location. While deriving an instrumental marker from such a sense would be a fairly straightforward pragmatic re-interpretation of physical tools (which must be co-located with the agent to be used), Lambert (1978) presents an alternative argument that the use of AC to mark instruments derives from a reanalyis of coordinated "agents", where an inanimate co-agent would be pragmatically understood to be an instrument. The first example shows the sort of syntactic construction that Lambert sees as a bridge to the instrumental use. The second shows an example that can only be interpreted as an instrument marker.

(906) kaffel dayar ohonaw ynteu **a**'e draet, ac o'r pan gauas y tir ny allwys na chi na dyn na march y ganhymdeith [CO:1187]

get-VN earth of-3SM him-EMPH **with/and** his feet, and from the when get-PRET-3SG the land NEG be-able-PRET-3SG NEG dog NEG person NEG horse his with-MUTUAL-overtake-VN

*he caught the ground **with** his feet [or: he and his feet caught the ground], and from when he got the ground, neither dog nor person nor horse was able to overtake him*

(907) Ac yna y gollwng hi, ac y trewis ynteu hi **a** hudlath, ac y datrithwys hi yn wreigyang deccaf a welsei neb. [MFL:65:10]

and then her release-VN her, and PART strike-PRET-3SG he-EMPH her **with/and** magic-wand, and PART transform-PRET-3SG her PART woman-young fairest REL see-PLUP-3SG anyone

*And then she was released, and he struck her **with** a magic wand, and he transformed her [back] to the fairest young woman anyone had seen.*

GAN appears less commonly to mark instruments, and correlates, at least to some extent, with less typical syntactic constructions (e.g. when the action is represented by a noun rather than a verb, or when the instrument is separated from the verb by a significant clause), or when the instrument is represented by a pronoun (possibly because this allows a personal form of the preposition to be used, as AC does not have personal forms), and most relevantly when the instrument behaves in a more agent-like fashion (e.g. when no overt agent is present, or when the "instrument" is not under the direct control of the notional agent). This last opens the possibility that GAN, like AC, may arrive at an instrumental function via its use in marking agents (see section 3.5.1), although a co-location motivation is certainly also possible.

(908) A chynnwryf mawr a uu yn yr awyr **gan** asgellwrych y brein gorawenus ac eu kogor, a chynnwryf mawr arall **gan** disgyryein y gwyr yn eu brathu ac yn eu hanauu ac yn llad ereill. [BR:15:4]

and tumult big PART be-PRET-3SG in the air **with** wings the ravens joyous and their croaking, and tumult big other **with** wails the men PART them stab-VN and PART them injure-VN and PART kill-VN others

*And there was a great tumult in the air [caused] **by** the wings of the joyful ravens, and their croaking, and another great tumult [caused] **by** the men's wails, and stabbing them, and injuring them, and killing others.*

Arguing on the side of the co-locational pathway is the use of HEB "without" to mark an absent instrument. (We frequently find GAN and HEB paired to indicate the presence and absence respectively of an entity treated as a possessed object–see section 3.3.1.2.3 for GAN and 3.5.3 for HEB.) However, the characterization of an absent instrument as an absent object does not automatically rule out an agent-like pathway for present instruments. As we see in section (3.5.3), the language of negation sometimes derives from a different metaphoric system than affirmative expressions. Also, there is no function of "marking an absent agent" for comparison.

(909) A llyma yr achaws na wyr neb y breidwyt, na bard na chyfarwyd, **heb** lyuyr [BR:21:10]

and behold the cause NEG know-PRES-3SG anyone the dream, NEG bard NEG storyteller, **beside** book

*And behold the reason nobody knows the dream–neither a bard nor a storyteller–**without** a book*

Separate from the preceding, there is an idiom DWEUD AR TAFOD LLEFERYDD (say + on + tongue + speech) meaning "give (evidence) verbally, by mouth" which, particularly given the legalistic context of use, should probably be grouped with the Legal Evidence examples of AR, that is, that the tongue stands (metonymically) for the validating nature of verbal testimony.

(910) Sef yu mab deolef, mab a **dywetto** gureyc **ar e thauaut leueryd** y uot en uab y ur ac nas dycco e'r dygyn. [LI:102]

thus be-PRES-3SG son clamor, son PART **say-PRES-SUBJ-3SG** woman **on her tongue speaking** him be-VN PART son to man and NEG-it bear-PRES-SUBJ-3SG to the extreme

*This is a "clamor" son: a boy that a woman **says verbally** [that] he is son to a man, and [she] doesn't take it to the extreme [end].*

The above examples all involve instruments that are distinct from the patient of the action, i.e. that act as intermediaries. The same common markers are found when the instrument is also the medium of the action.

(911) A pheis o bali melyn am y marchawc, wedy ry wniw **ac** adaued glas. [BR:4:4]

and tunic of brocade yellow about the knight, after PART sew-VN **with** threads green

*And a tunic of yellow brocade about the knight, sewn **with** green threads.*

(912) Gwaell paladyrlas hirtrwm yn y law, ac o'e dwrn y vynyd yn rudgoch penn y paladyr **gan** waet y brein ac eu pluf. [BR:16:3]

skewer spear-blue long-heavy in his hand, and of his fist to-mountain PART red-red head the spear **with** blood the ravens and their plumage

*A long, heavy blue-spear skewer [was] in his hand, and from his fist upwards the spear's head [was] red **with** the blood of the ravens, and their plumage.*

A limited set of instrument-like functions using O seem to derive from the use of this preposition to mark a content-like function (see section3.3.2.1.1.1). Here the "instrument" does not simply assist in the action, but defines the nature of the action.

(913) Bendigeiduran uab Llyr a oed urenhin coronawc ar yr ynys hon, ac ardyrchawc **o** goron Lundein. [BFL:29:1]

Bendigeidfran son Llyr PART be-IMPERF-3SG king crowned on the island this and invested **of** crown London

*Bendigeidfran son of llyr was the crowned king over this island, and invested **with** the crown of London.*

(914) Y marchawc a'e uarch yn aruawc **o** arueu brychuelynyon [BR:17:26]

the knight and his horse PART armed **of** arms speckled-yellow

*The knight and his horse were armed **with** speckled yellow arms*

3.4.2.2 Means

While the category of Instrument is reserved for objects or entities involved in the accomplishment of the action (often marking one of multiple options), non-physical entities or particular actions involved in the accomplishment of the action (especially when the focus is on one of multiple options) fall more in the category of Means. This semantic grouping is relatively heterogeneous in how it is marked, drawing from several strategies, often motivated by an overlap in semantics.

The largest group involves a means that is also the cause or evidentiary basis of the event (see sections 3.4.1.1 and 3.4.1.3), and is marked with O on this basis.

(915) Ac **o** nerth grym ac angerd, a hut a lledrith, Guydyon a oruu, a Phryderi a las . [MFM:73:14]

and **from** power strength and force, and magic and enchantment, Gwydion PART overcome-PRET-3SG, and Pryderi PART kill-PRET-3SG

*And **by** power of strength and force, and magic and enchantment, Gwydion conquered, and he killed Pryderi*

(916) **O** teyr ford e serheyr e urenhynes: **o** torry e naud, neu **o**'y tharau, neu **o** grybdeyllau peth o'y llau. [LI:110]

from three road PART insult-PRES-IMPERS the queen: **from** break-VN her protection, or **from** her strike, or **from** snatch-VN thing from her hand

***In** three ways the queen can be insulted: **by** breaking her protection, **by** striking her, or **by** snatching something from her hand.*

The second largest group, marked with AR, involves an overlap between Means and the spatial use of the word as "located above and in contact with", in the specific context of modes of transportation. The landmark here is either the mode of transportation (on foot, on horse, etc.) or the medium of transportation (on land, on sea). It isn't clear that these should be counted as having an abstract Means sense at all, although the potential exists for one to develop.

(917) Ac yn ol y cwn a'r kynydyon, bagat o wyr **ar** traet yn dyuot. [MFM:84:16]

and in track the dogs and the hunters host of men **on** feet PART come-VN

*And after the dogs and the hunters, a group of men came **on** foot.*

(918) Sef a oruc Arthur, gyrru ym Prytwenn y long **ar** uor, ac ereill **ar** y tir, y hela yr ast, a'e chylchynu uelly hi a'e deu geneu. [CO:938]

thus PART do-PRET-3SG Arthur, drive-VN in Prydwen his ship **on** sea, and others **on** the land, to hunt-VN the bitch and her surround-VN thus her and her two whelps

*This is what Arthur did: he went in Prydwen his ship **on** sea, and others **on** the land, to hunt the bitch and so [to] surround her and her two whelps.*

When neither of these semantic overlaps is present, the usual marker for means is TRWY, suggesting a path metaphor: MEANS ARE PATHS_{P}. (See also the use of the noun FFORDD "road" in the example above beginning *O teyr ford* "by three paths/means".)

There are occasional examples that are ambiguous between a spatial Path sense and a more abstract Means sense. Otherwise, the means may be an activity, a state, or an attribute.

(919) Ac yna y peris Lleuelis gwneuthur corn hir o euyd a **thrwy** y corn hwnnw ymdywedut, a phy ymadrawd bynnac a dywettei yr vn onadunt wrth y gilyd **trwy** y corn, ny dodei ar yr vn onadunt namyn ymadrawd go atcas gwrthwyneb. [LL:72]

and then PART cause-PRET-3SG Llefelys make-VG horn long of bronze and **through** the horn that MUTUAL-speak-VN, and what speech ever PART speak-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG the one of-3PL with his fellow **through** the horn, NEG put-IMPERF-3SG on the one of-3PL except speech very hateful contrary

*And then Llefelys had made a long horn of bronze, and [they] spoke **through** that horn, and whatever speech the one of them would say to the other **through** the horn, the one of them would not put to the other anything except very hateful, contrary speech.*

(920) Y gymeint ohonof i a gaffer, a geffir **drwy** ymlad. [CO:918]

the amount from-1SG me PART get-PRES-IMPERS **through** MUTUAL-fight-VN

*The amount that is gotten from me, is gotten **by** fighting.*

(921) llyman heb 6ynt y tir a-welas an hargl6yd ni **tr6y** y hun. [BM:185:13]

behold say-PRET-3SG they the land REL see-PRET-3SG our lord our **through** his dream

*Behold, they said, "the land our lord saw **through [i.e. in]** his dream."*

A relatively small number of non-physical Means functions are marked with language more typical of physical instruments, using GAN and AC, or O when the means defines the nature of the action (similarly to O used with instruments). This suggests a generalization from a specific type of means (a physical instrument) to the more abstract concept of Means or Method.

(922) a'r dyghetuen a welas damwheinaw y uudugolyaeth y Lud **gan** vwrw yr ormes y ryngtaw a'r daear. [LL:158]

and the fate PART see PRET-3SG happen-VN the victory to Lludd **with** throw-VN the oppressor between-3SM and the earth

*and fate saw that the victory happened to Llud **by** throwing the oppressor from him to the gound.*

(923) Dilit y gyuedach a wnaethant **ac** ymdidan. [BFL:31:13]

follow-VN the feast PART do-PRET-3PL **with/and** conversation

*They followed the feast **with** conversation.*

(924) Peri a wnaethont bedydyaw y mab **o**'r bedyd a wneit yna. [PPD:23:14]

cause-VN PART do-PRET-3PL baptize-VN the boy **of** the baptism REL do-IMPERF-IMPERS then

*And they caused the boy to be baptized **with** the baptism that was done then.*

Unrelated to any of the other Means markers is the special case when the action is the calling or invoking of some person and the means is a particular (specified) name. This is marked with ERBYN and seems to relate to the use of ERBYN for a sense of access or manipulation-point (see section 2.3.1.5.2.2). Some of the interesting peculiarities of language around the topic of names are discussed in section 3.6.4.

(925) A llyna yr achaus: pob dyn a holer y alanas a dylyir y enwy **erbyn** y henv, na gur uo na gwreyc, ac na ellyr enwy nep **erbyn** y henv yny uedydyer; ac urth henne e mae dyr e uot enteu ar ureynt e beychyogy ene uedydhyer. [LI:97]

and behold the cause: each person REL ask-PRES-IMPERS his murder-fee PART ought-PRES-IMPERS him name-VN **against** his name, NEG man be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG NEG woman, and NEG be-able-PRES-IMPERS name-VN anyone **against** his name until baptize-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS and with that PART be-PRES-3SG necessary him be-VN him-EMPH on status the birth until baptize-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS

*And behold the reason [there is no murder-fine for a fetus]: anyone whose murder-fee is demanded ought to be named **by** his name, whether it is a man or a woman, and one can't name anyone **by** his name until he is baptized; and because of that it is necessary for him to be at a fetus's status until baptized.*

3.4.2.3 Manner

A number of conventional expressions of manner occur as compounds with AR, O or YN–often more than one of these may combine with the same element with no clear semantic distinction between them. As we have seen in the discussion of compound prepositions (sections 2.3.2.5.3.3-4), there are a number of spatial and temporal compound prepositions which appear with all three of these elements in a relatively non-specific locational sense (the specificity being added by the second element of the compound). It is possible that the presence of prepositions in these manner expressions is purely grammatical, i.e. to create a prepositional phrase that may function adverbially. Relatively few of these expressions appear in my data, making it impossible to look at the question more deeply at this time. A more detailed discussion of this group can be found in section 2.3.2.6.3.

(926) O deruyd rody Kemraes e alltut a bot plant {plant meybyon A} udunt, e plant a dele tref tat o uamues, eyther na deleant ran o'r teden breynnyaul hyt e trededen (ony bey e uot en pennaeth alltut, a hunnu a dele e ran **o kvbyl** en dyannot). [LI:53]

if happen-PRES-3SG give-VN Welshwoman to foreigner and be-VN children to-3PL, the children PART ought-PRES-3SG patrimony from maternal-right, except NEG ought-PRES-3PL part of the toft status length the third-man (if-NEG be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG he be-VN PART chieftain foreigner, and that PART ought-PRES-3SG the part **of whole** PART immediate)

*If it happens that a Welshwoman is given to a foreigner and there are children to them [i.e. they have children], the children are entitled to patrimony via maternal right, except they are not entitled to a share of the "status toft" until the third generation (unless he was a foreign chieftain, and then they are entitled to a share **of the whole** immediately).*

(927) O byd maru mab o'e pedeyr bluyd ar dec allan ac na bo etyued ydau, er argluyd byeuuyd e da **en kubyl** ac a dele bot en lle mab ydau, a maruty uyd y ty. [LI:98]

if be-PRES-3SG dead son of the four year on ten out and NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG heir to-3SM, the lord own-PRET-3SG his goods **in whole** and PART ought-PRES-3SG be-VN in place son to-3SM, and dead-house be-PRES-3SG the house

*If the son dies from the fourteenth year on, and there is no heir to him [i.e. he has no heir], the lord owns his goods **entirely** and is entitled to be in place of a son to him, and his house will be a dead-house [i.e. will escheat].*

3.4.3 Purpose

Purpose clauses are strongly grammaticalized in their marking, although still showing significant connections with the pragmatic context from which that marking is drawn. The primary pattern for purpose clauses involves a verb of motion, accompanied by actual spatial motion, with the purposed event being associated with a location and marked as a goal of motion using I (roughly 60% of the whole). I remains the typical purpose marker even when no spatial motion is indicated, whether involving a motion verb (but with no actual motion occurring), a non-motion verb, or no verb (all together

accounting for roughly 25% of the whole). Four other purpose markers appear in much smaller numbers (cumulatively 15% of the whole) and where some other semantic function associated with that preposition is also present and overrides the purpose function.

3.4.3.1 PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONSP

The origins of purpose-marking I in a pragmatic association of intentionality with the achievement of a specific spatial location (Lakoff and Johnson 1999) can be seen in the strong association of purpose clauses with verbs of motion, and typically where actual motion (rather than fictive motion) is involved, and in the wide variety of types of specific motion indicated. (Over 20 different verbs of motion appear in this context, covering voluntary, constrained, or manipulated motion, as well as a variety of specific manners of motion.) Conversely, significant progress along the path of grammaticalization can be seen in the focus on a particular goal-marking preposition (rather than a range of markers motivated by the particular semantics of the goal), in the focus on the most generic motion verbs (over three-quarters of the examples involve MYNED "to go", DYFOD "to come", or RHODDI "to give") and in the extension of I to mark purpose in non-motion contexts. An even stronger pattern when I is used to mark purpose is for the purposed event to be represented by a verbal-noun (that is, the event is indicated by a phrase, but the immediate syntactic landmark of the preposition is a verbal-noun).

In analyzing the data, I initially distinguished a number of categories of purposed events (e.g. physical action, speech, vision, socio-legal events, etc.), but I observed no distinction in how the event was marked based on its nature. The distribution of types of purposed events, however, again points to the strong influence of spatial motion in the development of the purpose construction. The largest categories are those where the purposed event is strongly tied to a particular spatial location (location-tied action, speech with a particular individual, vision of a particular scene), while purposed events not tied to a location are uncommon (e.g. mental and emotional experiences). These less spatially bound purposes are also more likely to appear without verbs of motion. Motion verbs with more specific semantics occur most commonly with the largest purpose categories (physical action and speech), suggesting a random distribution with respect to the semantics of the purposed event.

Here follows a representative sample of purpose expressions using I.

(928) Dyuot y'r orssed a orugant **y** eisted. [PPD:11:23]
come-VN to the mound PART do-PRET-3PL **to** sit-VN
*They came to the mound **to** sit.*

(929) **E** wylat y grofd yd aeth. [MFL:60:3]
to keep-watch-VN the field PART go-PRET-3SG
*He went **to** guard the field.*

(930) Y dodym **y** erchi Olwen. [CO:477]
PART come-PERF-1PL **to** ask-VN Olwen
*We have come **to** request Olwen.*

(931) Pvybynnac a uenno guadu vrun o'r rey henne, rodet llw deg wyr a deugeynt **o**'y wadu; [LI:116]

whoever PART wish-PRES-SUBJ-3SG deny-VN the-one of the some those, give-IMPER-3SG oath ten men and two-twenty **to** him deny-VN

*Whoever wishes to deny any of those [charges], let him give the oath of fifty men **to** deny it.*

(932) "Aet un," heb ynteu, "yn y herbyn **y** wybot pwy yw." [PPD:9:18]

go-IMPER-3SG one, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH, in her against **to** know-VN who be-PRES-3SG

*"Let someone go," he said, "after her, **to** discover who [she] is."*

(933) ac yna y kychwynn6ys yr amhera6dyr **y** hela. ac y doeth hyt yg glan yr auon. [BM:184:11]

and then PART set-out-PRET-3SG the emperor **to** hunt-VN. and PART come-PRET-3SG length in bank the river

*And then the emperor set out **to** hunt, and he came to the river bank.*

(934) E wreyc a dele karr ac yeu **e** duen e deodreuen o'r ty. [LI:44]

the woman PART ought-PRES-3SG car and yoke **to** bear-VN her belongings from the house

*[On divorce] the woman is entitled to a car and yoke **to** take her belongings from the house.*

Note that even when no explicit verb of motion is present, motion is often clearly implied.

(935) in-traus **di**-girchu blain nant duuin [LD 77:29]

in-across **to** seek-VN source stream Duuin

*[the boundary goes] across **to** seek the source of Duuin Stream*

(936) yn Hardlech y bydwch seith mlyned ar ginyaw, ac Adar Riannon **y** canu ywch. [BFL:45:2]

in Harlech PART be-PRES-2PL seven years on dine-VN with/and birds Rhiannon **to** sing-VN to-2PL

*you will be in Harlech seven years feasting, with the birds of Rhiannon **to** sing to you.*

3.4.3.2 Other Purpose Markers

Five other prepositions occur in a context where they could be interpreted as purpose markers: ER, YN, WRTH, AM, and AR. In contrast with purposes marked with I, the landmarks in this group are primarily noun phrases (although verbal clauses also appear). As with the specialized Cause/Reason markers, their use in specialized contexts raises the question of whether they should be understood as "purpose markers" at all, or as markers of other functions occurring in a context where purpose may be pragmatically understood. The latter is clearly the case for examples when AM occurs identifying a purpose metonymically via its topic (see section 3.3.2.1.1), or when YN marks a particular instantiation as the purpose (see section 3.3.2.3.2). ER also is most likely motivated by other semantics, as it consistently occurs when the reason or purpose involves some sort of exchange or payment (see section 3.3.2.3.2).

A non-purpose origin is less clearly the case with WRTH, where we might understand its use with both reasons and purposes as part of a single continuum. There is a close pragmatic connection: the desire or aim to see an event accomplished is clearly a motivating reason for accomplishing it. On closer examination, there *is* a distinction in the

data between WRTH used with a reason and with a purpose. In the latter case, the prepositional phrase always follows the clause indicating the primary event (the notional trajector). In contrast, when WRTH indicates a reason, it comes before the primary event in most cases (about two-thirds), and in half the remaining cases, it is accompanied in some way by the word *achos* "cause, reason", marking its function unambiguously. Technically, this observation is outside the scope of my study (and I have not examined this type of context in any systematic way). However it demonstrates that an apparent lexical ambiguity may be disambiguated by other means. In this case, we may propose that the clause ordering is an iconic reflection of temporal sequence and manifests CAUSAL PRECEDENCE IS TEMPORAL PRECEDENCE$_P$, and a parallel metaphor for purposes.

ER occurs in contexts where purpose overlaps with either an exchange or benefit scenario, and occurring with a relatively high proportion of non-motion verbs (although motion verbs are still the majority). A good example of the first type is:

(937) O deruyd y tat rody da **er** meythryn mab ny dele e wadu o henne allan, canys tredyd kymeryat yu ar uab rody da **er** e ueythryn. [LI:102]

if happen-PRES-3SG to father give-VN goods **for** nourish-VN son NEG ought-PRES 3SG him deny-VN from that out, since third acceptance be-PRES-3SG on son give-VN goods **for** him nourish-VN

*If it happens to a father [that he] gives goods **for** raising a son he is not entitled to deny him from then on, since [one of the] three acceptances of a son is giving goods **for** raising him.*

The purpose of "giving goods" is the support of the child, but the goods can also be understood as payment (exchange) for that care. (See section 3.3.2.3.2 for a fuller

discussion.) An example of the second type is:

(938) Arthur a dywawt, "Nyt **yr** drwc itti y deuthum i yma namyn y geissaw y karcharawr yssyd gennyt," [CO:]835

Arthur PART say-PRET-3SG, NEG **for** evil to-2SG PART come-PRET-1SG I here except to seek-VN the prisoner be-PRES-REL-3SG with-2SG

*Arthur said, "I have not come here **for** [doing] wrong to you, rather to seek the prisoner that is with you [i.e. that you have]."*

The purpose is also a benefit (or negative benefit) provided by the agent of the primary event. (See section 3.5.2.1 for a fuller discussion.)

YN occurs primarily in non-motion contexts when the purpose is the instantiation of some role or function, i.e. with a sense of "for the purpose of being X" or "as an X". (See section 3.3.2.3.2 for a fuller discussion of this.) Once again, to demonstrate the difficulty of sorting out prepositional and predicative/adverbial *yn,* I give here three examples of parallel constructions: one showing the allomorphy characteristic of the preposition, one showing both this and the lenition characteristic of the predicative/adverbial particle in different phrases, and one where the two would be indistinguishable.

(939) O deruyd na bo y'r llourud dym a talho, yaun yu rody ydau keynnyauc palader **eg** kymorth. [LI:106]

if happen-PRES-3SG NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG to the murderer anything REL pay-PRES-SUBJ-3SG; right be-PRES-3SG give-VN to-3SM penny spear **in** aid

*If it happens [that] there is nothing to the murderer [i.e. the murderer has nothing] [to] pay, it is right [to] give to him a spear-penny **as** aid.*

(940) Pob pren a planher **en** wascautwyd, xxiiii. a tal, nac eg gardeu nac **eg**wascaut o'y ty e planno. [LI:138]

every tree REL plant-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS **PART** shelter-tree, 24 PART pay-PRES-3SG, NEG in garden NEG **in** shelter of his house PART plant-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

*Every tree that is planted **as** a shelter-tree is worth 24 [pence], whether he plants it in a garden or **as** shelter for his house.*

(941) Huarwar mab Halwn, a nodes y wala ar Arthur **yn** y **gyuarws**; [CO:312]

Huarwar son Halwn, PART specify-PRET-3SG his fill on Arthur **in** his **gift**

*Huarwar son of Halwn: he specified his fill from Arthur **as** his **gift**.*

WRTH is the most general of the less common purpose markers. It appears disproportionately when the purpose is a socio-legal event, but there are also examples from most of the common purpose categories. When a purpose marked by WRTH is a physical action, the landmark appears as a verbal-noun, however most commonly the landmark is a noun or a finite verb phrase. The emphasis on socio-legal purposes suggests a possible motivation in the use of WRTH to mark interpersonal interactions, however its use in marking situational contexts of various types (see section 3.3.2.2.7) is another logical motivation.

(942) Ef a dele kyweyryav march er egnat llys a'e dven ydav **vrth** eskennu arnav. [LI:31]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG prepare-VN horse the judge court and it bear-VN to-3SM **with** ascend-VN on-3SM

*He ought to prepare the court judge's horse and bring it to him **for** mounting on it.*

(943) O deruyd bot argluyd a chenedel en kymell galanas, a'r kenedel arall en galu am oet o keureyth, e keureyth a dyweyt deleu oet petheunos urth pob argluydyaeth e bo e genedel endy, **urth** kynnullau e kenedloed ygyt y rody attep ac y keweyryau er alanas. [LI:107]

if happen-PRES-3SG be-VN lord and kindred PART force-VN murder-fine, and the kindred other call-VN about date of law, the law PART say-PRES-3SG ought-VN date fortnight with every lordship PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG his kindred in-3SF, **with** collect-VN his kindred together to ask-VN answer and to prepare-VN the murder-fine

*If it happens [that] a lord and kindred enforce a murder-fine, and the other kindred calls by law for a delayed date, the law says [they] are entitled to a fortnight for every lordship in which the kindred is, **for the purpose of** gathering his kindred together to give an answer and to prepare the murder-fine.*

A significant subset (20%) use WRTH in conjunction with the trajector OED "time, appointment" in the sense "to make or set an appointment for the purpose of".

(944) Ny deleyr rody oet **urth** porth en haul uach a chynogen, canys dyannot e dele uot. [LI:67]

NEG ought-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS give-VN time **with** aid in claim surety and principal-debtor, since immediate PART ought-PRES-3SG be-VN

*One is not entitled to give a date **for** aid in a claim of surety and principal debtor, since it ought to be immediate.*

AM and AR occur very rarely in purpose contexts, always where the purpose is referred to indirectly via a topic. This is clearly drawn from the topic-marking function of these two prepositions, which is then allowed to override the sense of purpose, which may be understood pragmatically as we have seen for cause-like functions as well.

(945) Kei a Bedwyr, gobeith yw gennyf y neges yd eloch **ymdanei** y chaffel. Ewch im y'r neges honn. [CO:845]

Cei and Bedwyr, hope be-PRES-3SG with-1SG the errand PART go-PRES-SUBJ-2PL **about-3SF** it get-VN. go-IMPER-2PL to-1SG to the errand this

*Cei and Bedwyr, there is hope with me [i.e. I hope] you will get the errand you would go **concerning**. Go for me on this errand.*

(946) Ac ony bydant yn y maes byt sauedyc tystyon er haulur, cany deleyr oet y tyst **ar** tyst arall. [LI:79]

and if-NEG be-PRES-3PL in the field be-PRES-3SG standing testifiers the claimant, since-NEG ought-PRES-IMPERS time to testifier **on** testifier other

*And if they are not in the field [i.e. in court], let the claimaints testifiers stand [i.e. be accepted], since one is not entitled to an appointment for a testifier **against** another testifier.*

In summary, options other than I for marking purposes either derive from some overriding semantic context (e.g. topic, instantiation, exchange) or from an avoidance of I for use with non-verbal-noun landmarks, in which case WRTH appears to be the option of choice.

Interestingly, although Medieval Irish shows significant similarities in marking purpose, Disterheft (1985) argues that the cognate to the I + verbal noun construction is a relatively late innovation for marking purpose, supplementing an earlier purpose construction use *co* with a finite clause, and that the strong association of the I + VN cognate construction with motion scenarios is a narrowing of a more general use. If her chronology is correct, this would demonstrate the hazard of assuming that cognate constructions for the function imply a common inheritance.

3.4.4 Results

One might expect that results would be marked symmetrically to causes, as goals of motion, but while constructions indicating purpose derive primarily from the language of spatial goals, constructions indicating the perfective result of a process derive primarily from a temporal construction marking the later endpoint of an extent of time. That is, the event producing the result is characterized in terms of the period of time in which it occurs and the result of that event is identified metonymically by the point in time at which it is achieved (or the subsequent period of time in which a resulting state holds). This corresponds to the temporal metaphor for causation CAUSAL PRECEDENCE IS TEMPORAL PRECEDENCE$_P$, which is very much a minor strategy for marking causes.

Although the language derives from a temporal scenario in which the trajector is an extent of time, when used to mark results, no distinction is made between causing events that are characterized as occurring over an extent of time, and those that occur at a point in time. Section 3.2.3.1 discusses the constructions used to mark the endpoint of an extent of time, and the use of HYD and YNY as the primary markers for this function. Some of the distinction in use between them is driven by grammatical context. For example, when the landmark clause begins with a negative particle, YNY does not occur–quite probably because it derives originally from a compound ending in a negative particle itself (see section 2.3.1.9.3).

3.4.4.1 Positive Results

When the construction indicates a positively expressed result-landmark that procedes from the trajector event (or process), whether it is an intended consequence of the trajector or not, the most common marker is YNY. This result is typically expressed as a full sentence. (This would classify it formally as a conjunction in this use.)

(947) Emystynnu idaw ynteu yn y peir, **yny** dyrr y peir yn pedwar dryll, ac **yny** dyrr y galon ynteu. [BFL:44:19]

stretch-VN to-3SM he-EMPH in the cauldron **until** break-PRET-3SG the cauldron in four pieces and **until** break-PRET-3SG his heart his-EMPH

*He stretched himself in the cauldron **so that** he broke the cauldron into four pieces, and **so that** he broke his heart.*

(948) Ac yna y byrywyt y kalaned yn y peir, **yny** uei yn llawn [BFL:44:10]

and then PART throw-PRET-IMPERS the corpses in the cauldron **until** be-IMPERF 3SG PART full

*And then the corpses were thrown into the cauldron **until** it was full*

HYD is also used for this sense, although it is less common (except in one particular source–Culhwch and Olwen–suggesting either stylistic or dialectal variation), and particularly less common when the trajector occurs over an extent of time. HYD is typically, although not always, used in combination with PAN "when", emphasizing the temporal grounding of the construction.

(949) Onys caffaf, dwyn dy vyneb di a wnaf **hyt** y bu dy glot ym pedryal byt bellaf. [CO:154]

if-not-it get-PRES-1SG, bear-VN your-SG face your-SG PART do-PRES-1SG **length** PART be-PRET-3SG your-SG fame in four-corners world farthest

If I don't get it, I will take [away] your face [i.e. reputation] ***until*** *your [ill] repute is in the farthest four corners of the world.*

(950) Drycheuwch y fyrch y dan uyn deu amrant **hyt** pan welwyf defnyt uyn daw. [CO:517]

raise-IMPER-2PL the forks under my two eyelids **length** when see-PRES-SUBJ-1SG material my son-in-law

Raise the forks under my eyelids ***so that*** *I could see the nature of my son-in-law.*

The equivalence of these two markers in this particular context can be seen in their alternation in two different manuscript versions of the same sentence.

(951) Gwascu ohonei hitheu yr eiras **hyt** pan yttoed yn vden diednedic. [CO:463]

press-VN of-3SF her-EMPH the stake **length** when PART-be-IMPERF-3SG PART withe twisted

She squeezed the stake ***until*** *it was a twisted withe.*

(952) Gwascu ohonei hitheu yr eiras **yny** yttoed yn vden diednedic. [CO:463]

press-VN of-3SF her-EMPH the stake **until** when PART-be-IMPERF-3SG PART withe twisted

She squeezed the stake ***until*** *it was a twisted withe.*

3.4.4.2 Non-events and Prevented Events

When the result of the trajector event is a prevented or non-occurring event or state expressed negatively, then YNY does not occur, but HYD is common, used with a negated sentence as the landmark.

(953) A gwneuthur anfuryf ar y meirych yuelly, **hyd** nat oed rym a ellit a'r meirych. [BFL:32:5]

and do-VN disfigurement on the horses thus **length** NEG be-IMPERF-3SG use PART be-able-IMPERF-IMPERS with/and the horses

*And [he] performed disfigurement on the horses thus, **so that** there was no use one could [have] with them.*

(954) a dwyn y lyueryd y gantaw **hyt** na allei dywedut un geir. [MFL:56:16]

and bear-VN the speech from-with-3SG **length** NEG be-able-IMPERF-3SG speak-VN one word

*and the [power of] speech was taken from him **so that** he couldn't speak a word.*

But the results of acts of prevention or negation are much more commonly expressed with RHAG, where the landmark is supplied by a noun phrase or verbal-noun. See section 4.2.1.4 for a more general discussion of RHAG in marking prevention or hindrance.

(955) A guedy as datcanho aet er egneyt allan a'r effeyryeyt ygyt ac vynt, a'r ryghyll ygyt ac vynt y eu ca u **rac** dyuot deneon y warandau arnadunt. [LI:76]

and after PART-it declare-PRES-SUBJ-3SG go-IMPER-3SG the judges out with/and the priests together with them, with/and the serjeant together with them to them keep-VN **before** come-VN people to listen-VN on-3PL

*And after he would recite it [i.e. the pleading] let the judges go out, and the priests together with them, and the serjeant together with them to guard them **lest** people come to listen to them.*

(956) eysted e brenhyn, neu e gur a uo en y le, a'e keuen ar er heul neu ar er hyn, **rac** aulonedu o'r hyn o'y vynep; [LI:73]

sit-VN the king, or the man REL be-PRES SUBJ-3SG in his place, with/and his back on/to the sun or on/to the weather, **before** disturb-VN of the weather of his face

*the king sits–or the man who is in his place–with his back to the sun or to the weather, **against** the spoiling by the weather of his face.*

3.4.4.3 Semantic Overrides and Conventional Constructions

As with results of prevention, when a positive result is expressed with a noun phrase or verbal-noun, rather than a full clause, some marker other than HYD or YNY is used, most typically AR or YN. These tend to occur in a relatively restricted set of semantic circumstances, and those circumstances often favor one marker over another.

3.4.4.3.1 Physical Changes and Magical Transformations

The results of a physical alteration or manipulation, focusing on the actual physical result, are typically marked with YN.

(957) ac nyt oed yma goet namyn un o gollen derwen, ac y tyfwys honno **yn** dar can keing [CO:863]
and NEG be-IMPERF-3SG here wood except one of tree oak, and PART grow-PRET-3SG that **in** oak hundred branch
*and there was no wood here except a single oak tree, and that grew **into** a hundred-branched oak*

The majority of examples involve the physical division of some entity into multiple parts.

(958) ac y holldes y benn **yn** deu **hanner**. [CO:1017]
and PART split-PRET-3SG his head **in** two **half**
*and he split his head **into** two **halves**.*

And the vast majority of these involve the verb RHANNU (to divide, share).

(959) E deuparth etwa ranner **en** try thraean, a'r traean o'r deuparth hunnu aet ar kenedel e uam. [LI:108]

the two-part moreover share-PRES-IMPER-IMPERS **in** three thirds, and the third of the two-part that go-IMPER-3SG on/to kindred the mother

*The second part, moreover, is shared **in** three thirds, and one third of the second part goes to the mother's kindred.*

A special case of physical change, present in some of the literary tales, is the change of shape by magic (or divine action). Here, YN is also the most common marker for the result of that change.

(960) Ac eu **datrithaw** o Duw y Arthur **yn** eu **rith** e hunein. [CO:940]

and them **dis-enchant-VN** of God to Arthur **in** their **shape** their own

*And God **disenchanted** them for Arthur **into** their own **shapes**.*

Rare cases of YNY may also be found, when the result of change is expressed as a clause.

(961) Ac ar hynny eu taraw a'r hutlath, **yny** uydant bleid a bleidast. [MFM:76:10]

and on that them strike-VN with the magic-wand **until** be-PRES-3PL wolf and wolf-bitch

*And at that he struck them with the magic wand **so that** they became a wolf and a she-wolf.*

AR occurs in this situation only in combination with the verb GWNEUTHUR (to do, make), possibly influenced by the use of AR with GWNEUTHUR to mark the patient of physical manipulation in general, especially hostile action (see section 4.2.1.2).

(962) Sef atteb a rodes Grugyn, "Myn y gwr a'n gwnaeth ni **ar** y delw honn, ny wnawn, ac ny dywedwn dim yr Arthur." [CO:1085]

thus answer PART give-PRET-3SG Grugyn, by the man REL us make-PRET-3SG us **on** the shape this, NEG do-PRES-1PL and NEG say-PRES-1SG anything for Arthur

*This is the answer Grugyn gave, "By the man who made us **in** this shape, we will not do [it] and we will not say anything for Arthur's sake."*

There is a single example of AR with the product of a physical process (giving birth), where the result comes into being rather than being altered. Beyond possibly invoking the general "control" sense of AR, the motivation is unclear.

(963) Ac ual y byd dechreu noss, moi y gassec **ar** ebawl mawr telediw, ac yn seuyll yn y lle. [PPD:22:13]

and as PART be-PRES-3SG beginning night, give-birth-VN the mare **on** colt big perfect, and PART stand-VN in the place

*And as the night begins, the mare gave birth **to** a large, perfect colt, and it stood immediately.*

3.4.4.3.2 Changes of Socio-legal Status

While physical changes are typically described with a relatively specific verb taken from that semantic field, changes of socio-legal status are typically described with verbs of motion, suggesting a motivation in the metaphors CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS$_P$, STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_p$ and thus RESULTING CHANGES ARE GOALS$_p$. YN is more common than AR in marking these results, suggesting that socio-legal states may be understood more specifically as bounded regions. The AR seen here is presumably the goal-marking

AR.

(964) tryded yu gureyc a rodho e chenedel **eg** guystleyryaeth alltuded ac en e guestleyryaeth hunnu caffael mab ohoney o alltut: e mab hunnu a dele uamuys. [LI:86]

third be-PRES-3SG woman REL give-PRES-SUBJ-3SG her kindred **in** hostageship foreign and in the hostageship that get-VN son of-3SF from foreigner: the son that PART ought-PRES-3SG maternal-kin

*The third [situation] is a woman who her kindred give **into** foreign hostageship, and in that hostageship she gets a son by a foreigner: that son is entitled [to] maternal kinship.*

(965) ac o thrygant, emchuelent **ar** eu keythywet ual kynt. [LI:89]

and if dwell-PRES-3PL, return-IMPER-3PL **on/to** their bondage like previously

*and if they remain [rather than leaving], let them return **to** their bondage like before.*

3.4.4.3.3 Result of Mental Process

The results of mental processes (typically a decision or opinion) similarly draw on a spatial metaphor, primarily being marked with AR, and rarely with YN. While it is possible that this use could be motivated by the use of AR to mark topics of mental processes (see section 3.3.2.1.1.7), the prevalence of verbs of motion to describe the decision-making process (half of the examples) implies the same metaphors seen in the previous section. People "come" to an opinion, "descend" to a decision, and then "dwell" on it (not in the idiomatic English sense of "dwelling" on a mental topic, but in the sense of remaining fixed in position). The motivation then appears to be the same as for changes of status, but with less of a sense of definition or containment for the "location" invoked.

(966) Ac yn hynny, ymgynullaw y gyt o honunt, a duunaw **ar** y lad ef a'y gedymdeith. [MFL:53:4]

and in that, MUTUAL-gather-VN together of-3PL, and agree-VN **on** him kill-VN and his companion

*And at that, they gathered together and agreed **on** killing him and his companion.*

(967) A thrannoeth dyuot **ar** uedwl medi honno. [MFL:59:17]

and beyond-night come-VN **on** thought reap-VN that

*And the next day [he] came **to** the decision [to] reap that [field].*

YN occurs in a couple of examples where the result is an emotional state (madness). The combination MYNED YN "go + in" occurs regularly with the idiomatic meaning "become" (see section 4.2.2.1.1).

(968) Ac o'r awr y delis beichogi, yd aeth hitheu **ygwylldawc** [CO:5]

and from the hour PART hold-PRET-3SG pregnancy, PART go-PRET-3SG she-EMPH **in-wildness**

*And from the time she got pregnant, she went **into wildness** [i.e. became wild]*

We may see a distinction here where emotional states are characterized as bounded regions, while decisions and opinions are understood as a more point-like location. The use of verbs both of motion (MYNED) and static location (TRIGO) makes it more difficult to determine whether we are dealing with goal-marking AR, locative AR, or a combination of the two.

3.4.4.3.4 Other

Two isolated examples mark result-like roles with I and AM. If RESULTS ARE

GOALS, as the use of YN and AR suggests, then we should not be surprised to see I in this function–rather we should be surprised not to see more examples of it. (The general avoidance of I to mark results is rather surprising given the broad range of relatively grammatical functions for which it is found.) In this case, we have the particular context of a result proceding from a legal evidentiary basis, and the use of I may reflect a symmetry with the reverse focus, i.e. the use of O to mark that evidentiary basis (see section 3.4.1.3).

(969) Nyt oed achaws ganthunt wy **y** erchi y mi yscar a'm gwreic [PPD:21:14]
NEG be-IMPERF-3SG cause with-3PL them **to** ask-VN to me separate-VN with me and my wife
There is no cause for them [i.e. they have no cause] ***to*** *ask me to separate from my wife*

Although I am hesitant to dismiss data, the use of AM to mark a result in combination with the verb SYMUD (to move, change) appears likely to be a manuscript error for AR. There is a general pattern of using AR or compounds based on it to mark goal-like roles associated with SYMUD, and no other examples of AM used similarly with it.

(970) Eg keureyth Hewel e bu tal ac eyl tal am ledrat, ac odyna e symudus Bledyn uab Kenuyn **am** uot en dygaun talu e dyn y gollet urth y damdug. [LI:115]

in law Hywel PART be-PRET-3SG payment and second payment about theft, and thence PART move-PRET-3SG Bleddyn son Cynfyn **about** be-VN PART sufficient pay-VN to person his loss with his appraisal

*In Hywel's law there was payment and second payment for theft, and after that Bleddyn son of Cynfyn changed [it] **to** being sufficient [to] pay the person [for] his loss according to his sworn appraisal.*

3.5 Abstract Grammatical Functions

While my general strategy has been to analyze the data and group my discussions according to semantic functions (so, for example, I have discussed AC separately in each category where it marks a role accompanying an YM- prefixed verb), there are a few grammatical functions where the abstract function itself, rather than the semantics of the individual uses, so strongly motivates preposition choice that focusing on the specific frame-semantics of the role would be of questionable use. (In contrast, I took the individual frame-semantics approach for elements like AC and RHWNG because the strongly abstract pattern of usage was not as obvious when I began.) In these few cases, it has seemed more useful to focus the discussion on the more abstract grammatical function. The functions considered here are Agent, Beneficiary and associated roles, and a group of concepts involving negation, exclusion, or omission.

3.5.1 Agents

The use of prepositions to mark agents or notional agents illustrates the

interaction of several determining factors: syntactic construction, verbal morphology, verbal semantics, and idiosyncratic verb-preposition associations. Only rarely does a particular combination of factors absolutely determine the choice of preposition to mark the agent, although in all cases there is a clear pattern of preference. We are concerned here not with the syntactically unmarked case, where the agent is the subject of an inflected verb, but only with non-subject agents. These may occur with a non-finite form of the verb (e.g. a verbal-noun or verbal adjective), with actions expressed nominally, with agents expressed in addition to a primary subject-agent of an inflected verb, or in periphrastic constructions where the notional agent occurs in an experiencer-like function. (See also a cross-linguistic comparison of this material with other existing studies on agents in section 4.1.2.3.)

3.5.1.1 Agents of Verbal-nouns

The verbal-noun is the principal non-finite form of the verb. It may appear in finite periphrastic constructions (in which case, the agent appears as the subject of the inflected auxillary), but more relevantly to the immediate topic, it can be used alone in situations where tense and aspect must be inferred from context. The following example shows the use of a verbal-noun both with and without an explicit agent marked with O.

(971) Ac o achaws i drigiant ef y ulwydyn honno yn Annwuyn, a **gwledychu ohonaw** yno mor lwydannus, a **dwyn** y dwy dyrnas yn un drwy y dewred ef a'y uilwraeth, y diffygywys y enw ef ar Pwyll Pendeuic Duyet, ac y gelwit Pwyll Penn Annwuyn o hynny allan. [PPD:8:21]

and from cause his dwelling his the year that in Annwn, and **rule-VN of-3SM** there so successful, and **bear-VN** the two realm PART one through his strength his and his valor, PART fail-PRET-3SG his name his on Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed, and PART call-IMPERF-IMPERS Pwyll Pen Annwn from that out

*And because of his dwelling in Annwn that year, and **ruling by him** there so successfully, and **bringing** the two realms to unity through his strength and valor, his name ceased to be Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed, and he was called Pwyll Pen Annwn from then on.*

This is the most numerous type of non-subject agent, and one of the most consistent in how it is marked, with 95% being marked by O, and the rare exceptions usually having straightforward explanations. In particular, all verbal-nouns of speech or of sensory perception use only O to mark the agent. This is also the overwhelming preference for verbal-nouns of concrete physical action and socio-legal action.

(972) Ac yna, guedy yd eystethoent hue, y mae yaun y'r effeyryat guedyau Duv y dangos **o Duv** yr yaun udunt, a chanu **onadunt** huenteu eu pader. [LI:76]

and then, after PART sit-PRES-SUBJ-3PL they, PART be-PRES-3SG right to the judges pray-VN God to show-VN **of God** the right to-3PL, and sing-VN **of-3PL** them their Paternoster

*And then, after they have sat [in court], it is right for the judges [to] pray God [for] showing **by God** [i.e. that God show] the right to them, and singing **by them** [i.e. they sing] their Paternoster.*

(973) Ac ymchoelut **o**'r Iarll y'r pebyll.[BR:11:3]

and return-VN **of** the earl to the tent

And the earl returned to the tent.

One exception involves an ambiguous situation where the notional agent is also the

physical environment of the action. Here GAN is used and the ambiguous context makes it difficult to tell whether it is the GAN of static location (assuming the spatial aspect of the example prevails) or the eroded form of source-marking Y GAN (motivated by AGENTS ARE SOURCES, in parallel with O, and supported by the occurrence of Y GAN elsewhere for agents).

(974) dodet em pen keytweyt bot en eydau y uam a'e eny a'e ueythryn **ganthau** [LI:114]

place-IMPER-3SG in head keepers be-VN PART his the mother and it birth and it rearing **with-3SM**

*let it be placed in the heads of the keepers [i.e.take the testimony of the witnesses] that the mother was his, and it was born and raised **with [or: by] him***

In four examples of physical action, (Y) GAN occurs instead of O. Two occur (with GAN) in circumstances where the notional agent may be understood as being more a type of instrument (although other instrument-like agents here may take O). Outside of an agency context, while GAN may be used to mark instruments, it is much less common in this function than AC. The parallel with AC, however, suggests locational GAN as the underlying form.

(975) Ac rac diruawr wres, y kyrchwys y pleit a'e yscwyd a'y tharaw **gantaw** allan, ac yn y ol ynteu y wreic. [BFL:36:19]

and before very-great heat PART make-for-PRET-3SG the wall with his shoulder and it strike **with-3SM** out, and in his track his-EMPH his wife

*And because of [or: to avoid; or: in the context of] the very great heat, he made for the wall with his shoulder and struck it [i.e. his shoulder] out **with him**, and behind him, his wife.*

(976) ac wynt a welynt vwc mawr parth a'r deheu, ym pell y wrthunt heb drossi dim **gan** y gwynt. [CO:953]

and they PART see-IMPERF-3PL smoke big part-with the south, in far from with-3PL beside toss-VN anything **with** the wind

*and they saw a great smoke to the south, far from them, without being tossed **by** the wind.*

In two examples, Y GAN marks the agent of an explicit action (indicated by a verbal noun) which another individual is entitled to have performed for him. As we shall see below, Y GAN is part of the repertoire of agent-marking prepositions, but in the current examples, its ability to override the expected O seems to derive from a repeated conventional formula *Ef a dele e gan <person> <entitlement>* ("He is entitled to <entitlement> from <person>"), where the entitlement is most typically a physical object and Y GAN indicates the relationship "human source of a transferred object". So, while both O and Y GAN may present the agent as a "source" of the action, the preference for Y GAN in these particular examples appears to be motivated by repetition of a conventional formula characteristic of the genre of legal entitlements which prototypically involves the provision of physical objects rather than services.

(977) Ef a dele **e gan** e penguastravt dywallu e uarch o'r hoel gyntaf hyt y dywethaf a'e estarnu a'e dven ydav a'e estern arnav pan uarchocco. [LI:10]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG **from-with** the head-groom supply-VN his horse from the nail first length the last and it saddle-VN and it bear-VN to-3SM with/and his saddle on-3SM when ride-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

*He is entitled **from** the chief groom the supplying [of] his horse from the first nail to the last, and [to] saddle it and bring it to him with its saddle on it when he rides.*

(978) Ef a dele **e gan** e porthavr agory e porth mavr en dyuot e'r llys ac en mynet ohoney [LI:10]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG **from-with** the doorkeeper open-VN the door big PART come-VN to the court and PART go-VN from-3SF

*He is entitled [to have] **from** the porter the opening of the great gate [when] coming to the court and going from it*

3.5.1.2 Non-canonical Agents of Inflected Verbs

One general group of agents that entirely override the default use of O are secondary agents accompaning a primary subject-agent of an inflected verb. Here the prepositions do not directly indicate the agency of the landmark, but rather its relationship to the trajector (the primary agent).

3.5.1.2.1 Secondary Co-agents or Mutual Agents of aVerb

When a verb involves multiple agent phrases, whether required by the semantics of the verb (as in verbs of mutual action) or simply by the semantics of the context, the agents may occur as coordinated phrases. If forces operate to separate out one member of the coordinated pair (e.g. manifestation as a verbal inflection or fronting in a mixed order verbal construction) then the erstwhile conjunction can be viewed as marking a somewhat different relationship, in this case, the status of co-agent. (See section 2.3.1.4.3 for a similar process with instruments.) Secondary co-agents or mutual agents form a continuum from constructions that are indistinguishable from (and probably rightly identified as) the second part of a coordinate noun phrase, to those where such an

interpretation is awkward or impossible.

(979) Try agkyuarch gureyc yu e thry pryurey, a henne nys ran hythey **a**'e gur. [LI:55]
three unclaimable woman be-PRES-3SG her three privy-thing, and those NEG-it share-PRES-3SG **with/and** her man
*A woman's three unclaimables are her three privy things, and those she does not share **with** her husband.*

(980) ny dele enteu rannu urun o henne **a**'e wreyc. [LI:55]
NEG ought-PRES-3SG he-EMPH share-VN the one of those **with/and** his wife
*he is not required to share the one of them **with** his wife.*

The largest group of verbs involved here are those prefixed with YM-, giving the root either a reflexive or mutual sense. (The reflexive sense is not relevant here since it doesn't involve an overt second participant. Verbs with this prefix can also shift in meaning to having an asymmetric, transitive meaning, but those, too, are not immediately relevant.) Secondary co-agents can also occur with verbs of joint action prefixed with CYM- (or its phonetic variants), or CYD-, but also with any verb that happens–whether regularly or in the immediate context–to have multiple agents.

(981) "Nac ef," heb y Manawydan, "nyt ymladwn **ac** wynt [MFL:54:27]
NEG he, say-PRET-3SG Manawyddan, NEG MUTUAL-fight-PRES-1PL **with/and** them
*"Not so," said Manawyddan, "we will not fight **with** them [or: we and they will not fight]"*

The prepositional marker for this group is dictated by the underlying conjunction construction, calling for AC or the extended form (Y) GYD AC. (As noted in sections

2.3.1.4.2-3, the landmark of (Y) GYD AC typically refers back to the focal member of the pair, while AC is either neutral in focus or frames the trajector as the focus.)

(982) Trannoeth y bore ef a-gychwynn6ys **a**-e nifer. [BM:179:3]

over-night the morning he PART set-out-PRET-3SG **with/and** his retinue

*Overnight [in] the morning he set out **with** his retinue.*

(983) Ac yn niwed hynny, y kychwynnwys Matholwch, a Branuen **y gyt ac** ef, parth ac Iwerdon. [BFL:37:5]

and in end that PART set-out-PRET-3SG Matholwch and Branwen **together with** him part-with Ireland

*And at the end of that [event], Matholwch set out–and Branwen **with** him–towards Ireland.*

While these two are the overwhelming choice for marking the agent in this sense, we also find RHWNG in three types of situations. In one case of physical action, the multiple agents have been specified previously, and *rhyngddynt* ("between them"), while syntactically unnecessary, reinforces the cooperative nature of the action.

(984) a chogor brein yn dwyn y gwyr yn eu nyrth y'r awyr ac yn eu hyscoluaethu **rydunt**, ac yn eu gollwng yn drylleu y'r llawr.[BR:16:17]

and croaks ravens PART bear-VN the men in their strength to the air and PART them tear-VN **between-3PL**, and PART them release-VN PART pieces to the ground

*and ravens' croaking, carrying the men in their power into the air and tearing them **between them**, and releasing them in pieces to the ground.*

In the sphere of socio-legal action, we find RHWNG identifying the multiple agents of a verbal noun only in combination with the verb RHANNU ("to share, divide"). AC also occurs in this context with RHANNU, but in cases where the action is not fully

symmetric, i.e. when the first agent (the trajector of the conjunction) has more control over the act of sharing. When RHWNG is used, there is no implication that one participant has more control over the event than the other.

(985) Val hyn e dele brodyr rannu tyr **erygthunt**: pedeyr eru urth pob tedyn. [LI:82]
like this PART ought-PRES-3SG brothers share-VN land **between-3P**L: four acre with each toft
*This is how brothers should share land **between them**: four acres to each toft.*

Similarly, we find RHWNG used to mark a second or multiple agent with verbs of physical action when mutual action (i.e. each agent is the other's patient) is involved, rather than co-action in parallel.

(986) ac ymlad bob duw kalan Mei uyth hyt dyd brawt o'r dyd hwnnw allan **y rwng** Gwynn a Gwythyr [CO:1000]
and MUTUAL-fight-VN each day calends May ever length day judgement of the day that out **between** Gwyn and Gwythyr
*and [let there be] a fight every calends of May from that day on until the day of judgement **between** Gwyn and Gwythyr*

3.5.1.2.2 Substitute Agents

While the above constructions for secondary or co-agents derive from grammatical strategies for dealing with multiple entities, the standard construction for indicating a substitute agent–that is, one entity performing an action that would normally be expected

to be performed by a different entity, with the same functional results–is not as straightforward. Here the functional agent (the entity actually performing the action) appears as the grammatical subject, while the default or expected agent appears marked with TROS.

(987) "Dygaf y Duw uyg kyffes," [heb y Guydyon], "nat archaf i y wyr Gwyned ymlad **drossof** i, a minheu uy hun yn cael ymlad a Phryderi. [MFM:73:7]

bear-PRES-1SG to God my confession, say-PRET-3SG Gwydion, NEG ask-PRES-1SG I men Gwynedd MUTUAL-fight-VN **over-1SG** me, and I my self PART get-VN MUTUAL-fight-VN with/and Pryderi

*"I bring my confession to God," said Gwydion, "I will not ask the men of Gwynedd to fight **for me**, and I myself will get a fight with Pryderi."*

While TROS occurs in this sense primarily as above, where the action of which the TROS landmark is the expected agent appears as a finite verb, the same sense may occur when the nature of the action is only implied (see section 3.5.1.7 for the main discussion of this).

(988) "Y gymryt a wnaf," heb y Pwyll. "Keis ueicheu **drossot**." [PPD:17:28]

it take-VN PART do-PRES-1SG, say-PRET-3SG Pwyll, seek-IMPER-2SG sureties **over-2SG**

*"I will take [that]," said Pwyll. "Seek sureties **on your behalf** [i.e. to act for you]."*

In its spatial applications, TROS indicates a linear or path trajector either forming a chord through a substantial part of a bounded region as landmark, or perpendicularly intersecting a linear landmark, with a major extension including a sense of vertical

elevation required to accomplish this intersection. While there are some further non-spatial senses that can be derived from the "substitute agent" sense (see sections 3.3.2.1.1.6 and 3.3.2.3.2), there are no senses that provide a bridge or ambiguous overlap betwen these and the spatial use.

The relationship between the substitute agent and the expected agent bears significant parallels with that of benefitter and beneficiary (especially when the broadest understanding of "beneficiary" is used). One might expect that marking the expected agent as a beneficiary with I would be equally possible (see section 3.5.2.1). The general semantic categories of verbs found with TROS marking an expected agent provide the motivation for finding some other strategy (although without explaining the choice of this specific strategy). The majority of examples involve verbs of speech (where an associated role marked with I would most naturally be interepreted as a hearer, not an expected speaker), verbs of motion or object transfer (where an associated role marked with I would most naturally be interpreted as a goal of motion or recipient, not an expected agent), or verbs indicating actions where the most obvious potential beneficiary would be a patient or experiencer, rather than understanding the benefit as deriving from not having to perform the action personally.

3.5.1.3 Agents of a Verbal Adjective

This construction is functionally equivalent to the English past participle (Evans 1964), especially as used in English passive constructions (although the Welsh use is

clearly adjectival, and the passive is expressed by other means). There are relatively few examples of this type, and the agent is univerally marked with GAN. See the discussion in section 3.5.1.1 on possible motivations for this choice.

(989) A-g6edy bot hynny yn para6t **ganthunt**. [BM:189:25]
and after be-VN that PART prepared **with-3PL.**
*And after that was prepared **by them.***

(990) Ac y gwledychwys ynteu Pryderi seith cantref Dyuet yn llwydannus, **garedic gan** y gyuoeth a **chan** pawb yn y gylch. [PPD:27:17]
and PART rule-PRET-3SG he-EMPH Pryderi seven cantref Dyfed PART successful, beloved **with** his realm and **with** everyone in his circle
*And he, Pryderi, ruled the seven cantrefs of Dyfed successfully, beloved **by** his realm and **by** everyone around him.*

3.5.1.4 Agents of Impersonally Inflected verbs

Welsh has a set of finite forms of the verb called the "impersonal", which inflect for tense, aspect, and mood, but not for person or number. (The closest translation of these might use "one" as a subject, although they are sometimes interpreted as having a passive-like meaning.)

In theory, the purpose of using the impersonal inflection is to avoid the use of an overt agent. Rarely, an overt agent may be added via a prepositional phrase. But in this example, the use of GAN to mark the agent of COLLI ("to lose") most likely derives from the ambiguity of the agent also being the spatial source of movement for the thing lost (reinforced by the use elsewhere of GAN to mark agents).

(991) Deuawt oet arnaw ny **chollet** oen eiroet **ganthaw** anoethach lwdwn mawr. [CO:419]

practice be-IMPERF-3SG on-3SM NEG **lose-PRET-IMPERS** lamb ever **with-3SM** worse animal big

*The practice was on him [i.e. it was his habit] [that] no lamb was ever **lost by him** [or: **from him**] much less a grown animal.*

3.5.1.5 Agents of Action Expressed via DARFOD + I and Similar Constructions

In this case, the notional agent is treated as a patient or experiencer of a generic-action verb, most commonly DARFOD "to happen, to occur", where the syntactic subject is the primary event (expressed either with a verbal-noun clause or a noun phrase). That is, you have a construction of the form "<action> happened to <agent>". (See section 3.3.2.2.1.6 for this use of I with experiencers.) This construction both semantically and grammatically converts the notional agent into a passive experiencer of their own actions, and it is commonly used to imply a very mild sense of passivity. (The other major use is with hypothetical legal scenarios, where one might expect to find a subjunctive.)

(992) a dywedut daruot **y**'r brein lad y deulu a meibon gwyrda yr ynys honn [BR:18:9]

and say-VN happen-VN **to** the ravens kill-VN the warband and sons noblemen the island this

*and [he] said that it had happened **to** the ravens [that they were] killing the warband and the noblemen's sons of this island*

(993) Caswallawn a daroed **idaw** wiscaw llen hut amdanaw, ac ny welei neb ef yn llad y gwyr, namyn y cledyf. [BFL:46:5]

Caswallon PART happen-IMPERF-3SG **to-3SM** dress-VN cloak magic about-3SM and NEG see-IMPERF-3SG anyone him PART kill-VN the men except the sword

*It happened **to** Caswallon [that he] dressed a magic cloak around himself, and nobody saw him killing the men, but only the sword.*

The use of I in this context appears to depend on the notional agent falling directly after the inflected verb. When the agent is farther removed (or perhaps specifically when it falls directly after the verbal noun indicating the main action) it is marked with O following the pattern for agents of verbal nouns.

(994) O deruyd keyssyau **o**'r mach duen guestel hep e kennogen [LI:62]

if happen-PRES-3SG seek-VN **of** the surety bear-VN pledge beside the principal-debtor

*If there happens seeking **by** the surety [i.e. that the surety seeks] [to] take a pledge without the principal debtor*

The two strategies can also be contrasted in the same passage and with the same verbal nouns.

(995) O **deruyd y** ur **mennu** escar a gureyc a **mennu ohanau** gureyc arall, dylys eu e wreyc ed escaruyt a hy, cane dele un gur bot ydau due wraged. [LI:52]

if **happen-PRE-3SG to** man **wish-VN** separate-VN with/and woman and **wish-VN of-3SM** woman other, valid be-PRES-3SG the woman PART separate-PRET-IMPERS with/and her, since-NEG ought-PRES-3SG one man be-VN to-3SM two women

*If it **happens to** a man [that he] **wants** to separate from a wife, and **wanting by him** [i.e. he wants] another wife, validly [free] is the woman who was separated from, since no one man is entitled [for there to] be two wives to him [i.e. for him to have two wives].*

3.5.1.6 Agents of Action Expressed Nominally

When the action is supplied by a noun (other than a verbal-noun) the most common marker for the agent is (Y) GAN, with several less common alternatives. While GAN should probably be understood here as a variant of source-marking Y GAN, some preference for one or the other seems to correlate with the general semantics of the action: physical and socio-legal action prefers Y GAN, while speech and mental action have a slight preference for GAN.

(996) Ef a dely medegynyaeth rat **e gan** e medyc teylu [LI:6]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG medical-treatment free **from-with** the physician household

*He is entitled to free medical treatment **from** the household physician*

(997) O deruyd e den bot kreyryeu arnau a guneythur ohanau cam adan e kreyryeu, ne dele caffael naud nac amdyffyn **e gan** e kreyryeu henne canys haedus. [LI:71]

if happen-PRES-3SG to person be-VN relics on-3SM and do-VN of-3SM wrong under the relics, NEG ought-PRES-3SG get-VN protection nor defense **from-with** the relics those since-NEG merit

*If it happens to a person [that] there are relics on him and he does wrong under the relics [i.e. while wearing the relics], he is not entitled [to] get protection nor defense **from** those relics since [he is] not worthy.*

(998) Keny bo duun **gan** e due pleyt henne, neut edyu en dyd barnedyc y keureyth. [LI:76]

since-NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG agreement **with** the two party those, PART PART-be-PRES-3SG PART day judgement the law

*Although there is no agreement **with** those two sides [i.e. they don't agree], still it is the legal day of judgement.*

We also commonly find RHWNG marking co-agents or mutual agents of action expressed nominally.

(999) Ac o hynny allan, dechreu cadarnhau kedymdeityas **y ryngthunt**, [PPD:8:18]

and from that out, begin-VN strengthen-VN friendship **between-3PL**

*And from then on, [they] began strengthening the friendship **between them***

(1000) Ac yn gyn ebrwydet ac yd eistedyssant y bu duundeb **y rydunt**, ac yd ystynnwyt y urenhinaeth y'r mab. [BFL:43:10]

and PART as quickly as PART sit-PRET-3PL PART be-PRET-3SG agreement **between-3PL** and PART extend-PRET-IMPERS the kingship to the boy

*And as soon as they had sat, there was agreement **between them**, and the kingship was extended to the boy.*

There is one example of AR appearing in parallel with GAN in different manuscripts of the same text. In the absence of any other examples of AR in this sense, I am forced to suspect a scribal error, rather than an equivalent variant. (If AR is not an

error, then its use would seem to suggest that the action is being viewed as an attribute or characteristic of the agent–a use found with nouns suggesting a habitual action.)

(1001) A dadleu mawr a uu **ar** y gwyr hynny allan. [CO:804]
and debate big PART be-PRET-3SG **on** the men those out.
*And there was a great debate **on** [i.e. **among**] those men outside.*

(1002) Dadleu mawr a uu **gan** y gwyr a oed allan [CO:804]
and debate big PART be-PRET-3SG **with** the men REL be-IMPERF-3SG out.
*And there was a great debate **with** [i.e. **among**] those men who were outside.*

In one example, we find Y GAN and WRTH being used in parallel in precisely identical contexts. The parallel usage argues for interpreting WRTH here as a variant of Y WRTH. A clue to the alternation may lie in the source semantics of the respective verbs. CAFFAEL ... Y GAN "get ... from" frames the action as a manipulated object, obtained by the notional experiencer from the notional agent. DYFOD ... (Y) WRTH "come ... from" frames the action as undergoing volitional motion from the notional agent to the notional experiencer. The preposition choice follows that of the prototypical spatial scenarios for these types of moving objects (see section 3.1.3.1).

(1003) Ot amheuyr e perchennauc o'r regaffael cam **y ganthau** ef o'r ych, kreyrhaer hyt na doeth y cam ef **urthau** ef, nac am e uuyt na am y wassanaeth [LI:149]

if suspect-PRES IMPERS the owner of REL PART-get-VN wrong **from-with-3SM** him of the ox, relic-swear-IMPER-IMPERS length NEG come-PRET-3SG his wrong his **with-3M** him, NEG about his food NEG about his service

*If the owner [of an ox that dies while ploughing] is suspected of the ox getting harm **from him** [i.e. being harmed by him], let him swear [by] relics that the harm didn't come **from him**, neither regarding his food nor regarding his service.*

3.5.1.7 Agents of an Implicit Action

The same types of agent senses seen with the above constructions may also occur when the event itself is only implied. The clearest example of this type is:

(1004) ac eu lliwaw ar y wed y guelsei **gan** Lassar Llaes Gygnwyt a chalch llassar [MFL:52:21]

and them color-VN on the shape PART see-PLUP-3SG **with** Llassar Llaes Gygnwyd with "calch llassar"

*and [he] colored them in the manner he had seen [done] **by** Llassar Llaes Gygnwyd with "calch llassar"*

The character Llassar is the agent of a past act of coloring, but there is no language that directly corresponds to that past event. A similar example appears with Y GAN, although technically the event of which Y GAN marks the agent is referred to by the fossilized infixed pronoun object *-s* in *nys*.

(1005) "Nyt byth," heb wynt, "y perhey di, a chyt kerych di uot y uelly, nys diodefwn **y gennyt**." [PPD:19:25]

NEG ever, say-PRET-3SG they, PART continue-PRES-2SG you-SG, and though love-PRES-2SG you-SG be-VN thus, NEG-it suffer-PRES-1PL **from-with-2SG**

*"Not forever," they said, "will you last, and though you are content to be thus, we will not suffer it **from you**."*

As discussed in section 3.5.1.6, agents of speech expressed nominally are marked with GAN or Y GAN, and we find the same when the speech is only implied and the explicit language concerns the result of that speech (i.e. knowledge).

(1006) "Nyt oes gynghor it," heb ef, "onyt un; keissaw **y ganthaw** gwybot pa furu y del y angheu, a hynny yn rith ymgeled amdanaw." [MFM:85:21]

NEG be-PRES-3SG advice to-2SG, say-PRET-3SG he, if-not one; seek-VN **from-with-3SM** know-VN what form PART come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG his death, and that in form concern about-3SM

*"There is no advice for you," he said, "except one: seek **from him** to know how his death could come, and that in the guise of concern about him."*

A relatively large number of examples indicate the implied agent of social control or rule with either TAN, corresponding symmetrically to the use of AR with patients of control or rule (see sections 3.3.2.2.1.3 and 3.3.2.2.2.3), or YN LLAW, accompanied by an even larger group of examples where this sense co-occurs with actual physical contact or manipulation by the hand. These supply the context for the evolution of the more abstract sense. There is also an example combining the two in TAN LLAW.

(1007) Ef a dele medu e bvet a'r llyn **adan** e dysteyn. [LI:14]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG control-VN the food and the drink **under** the steward

*He ought [to] control the food and the drink **under** the steward.*

(1008) A gwedy marw Beli a dygwydaw teyrnas Ynys Prydein **yn llaw** Llud, y vab yr hynaf, a'e llywyaw o Lud hi yn llwydyanhus, [LL:3]

and after death Beli PART happen-VN realm Island Britain **in hand** Lludd, his son the oldest, and it rule-VN of Lludd it PART successful,

*And after the death of Beli, the realm of the Island of Britain fell **into** the **hand** of Lludd, his oldest son, and Lludd ruled it successfully;*

(1009) Gwr kyuoethawc yw ac ny daw genhyt; sef yw yr achaws, **dan uy llaw** i y mae ef. [CO:731]

man wealthy be-PRES-3SG and NEG come-PRES-3SG with-2SG thus be-PRES-3SG the cause, **under my hand** my PART be-PRES-3SG he

*He is a wealthy man and will not come with you. This is the reason [for that]: he is **under my hand [i.e. control]**.*

3.5.1.8 Summary

In summary, agents–where not occurring as a grammatical subject–are marked using strategies that largely focus on relatively abstract grammatical contexts and only secondarily on the semantic contexts. Agents of verbal nouns are marked as sources using O (AGENTS ARE SOURCES), extremely rarely with (Y) GAN, and that primarily when a more concrete spatial scenario interferes or when the agent is better viewed as an instrument. When a regular subject-agent occurs with a finite verb, a secondary agent or agent-like role may be indicated by AC or Y GYD AC for co-agents or mutual agents, or by TROS for the expected agent for which the subject is a substitute. Across all methods

of indicating the event, co-agency may be emphasized with RHWNG. In periphrastic constructions with DARFOD "to happen" and similar verbs, the notional agent may be marked via an experiencer construction with I. If none of the above apply, and there are no special semantics (such as control), the agent is normally marked with GAN or Y GAN, whether the action is presented as a verbal adjective, an impersonal form of the verb, a noun, or only by implication. While there are some distributional patterns preferring GAN or Y GAN in particular contexts, the overall pattern suggests that we should understand Y GAN as the underlying form, and that we are seeing the same metaphorical structure as for O with verbal nouns: AGENTS ARE SOURCES, ACTIONS ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS. One expected corollary to this would be PATIENTS/EXPERIENCERS ARE GOALS/RECIPIENTS. As we saw in section 3.3.2.2, this is a pattern that does occur–especially in relatively neutral contexts–although it is commonly overridden by more specific semantics.

3.5.2 Benefit

(See also a cross-linguistic consideration of this material with existing work on the topic in section 4.1.2.2.)

The prototypical benefit frame involves an agent (the benefitter) who performs an action such that the performance of that action creates some effect (the benefit) relevant to another entity (the beneficiary) who has not done any direct action themself. Commonly, this benefit may result from access to an end product of the action, in which

case the beneficiary may also be a goal of object transfer:

(1010) I picked some flowers **for you.**

The benefit may accrue from the agent acting as a substitute for the beneficiary, with the beneficiary not having to perform the action personally:

(1011) I took the car to the shop **for you.**

The benefit may be some much more insubstantial "spiritual" benefit arising form the intent of the benefitter, where the beneficiary receives credit or praise because the action has occurred, in which case the beneficiary may also be thought of as a type of indirect stimulus or reason for the action:

(1012) I won the race **for you**.

The reverse of all these scenarios is also possible, with an "anti-beneficiary" receiving indirect harm from the actions of an agent. Such an anti-beneficiary may sometimes be expressed with a different construction than a positive or neutral beneficiary, as in the English construction using "on":

(1013) My car died **on me**.

3.5.2.1 Beneficiaries

3.5.2.1.1 Typical Constructions

If we examine the central case where the benefit accrues from access of the beneficiary to a concrete end-product of the action, we find two main prepositional beneficiary markers: I (extremely common) and ER (less common).

The scenarios in which indirect benefit is likely to occur produce a set of strongly overlapping motivations for the use of I. As previously noted, if the benefit is a concrete object to which the beneficiary has gained access, then the beneficiary is often also a goal of object transfer, hence potentially marked with I. (Other prepositions are theoretically possible, depending on the nature of the participants but, as noted in section 3.1.2.1, I is the most general in application.)

(1014) "Ie," heb ef, "ny lunyaf esgidyeu **idi** yny welhwyf y throet." [MFM:80:10]
well, say-PRET-3SG he, NEG shape-PRES-1SG shoes **to-3SF** until see-PRES-SUBJ-1SG her foot
*"Well," he said, "I will not shape shoes **for her** until I see her foot."*

Even when no concrete object is involved, the action producing the benefit may also be overtly characterized as metaphoric object transfer by the use of verbs such as RHODDI, YSTYNNU, or TALU.

(1015) "Ha, vnbenn, kan rodeist nawd **ynn**, a dywedy ynn pwy wyt?" heb y Ronabwy. [BR:4:27]

O nobleman, since give-PRET-2SG protection **to-1PL**, INTERROGATIVE say-PRES-2SG to-1PL who be-PRES-2SG, say-PRET-3SG Rhonabwy

*"O nobleman, since you have given protection **to us**, will you tell to us who you are?" said Rhonabwy.*

A significant subset of this group involves an unspecified benefit from God which is being requested (in the beneficiary's presence) for the beneficiary, usually as a form of conventional greeting.

(1016) "Duw a ro da **it**," heb ef, "a graessaw wrthyt." [MFM:70:15]

God PART give-PRES-SUBJ-3SG good **to-2SG**, say-PRET-3SG he, and welcome with-2SG

*"May God give good **to you**," he said, "and welcome to you."*

This subset also overlaps into another large category where the benefitting action involves speech and the benefit is an intangible content or consequence of the speech (thanks, blessings, knowledge or information, advice, good wishes) and the beneficiary is also a hearer of that speech.

(1017) "Arglwyd," heb wy, "nyt oes **it** gynghor namyn un." [BFL:41:25]

lord say-PRET-3SG they, NEG be-IMPERF-3SG **to-2SG** advice except one

*"Lord," they said, "there is no advice **for you** except one."*

As we have seen in section 3.3.2.2.4.2, except in certain specific contexts, I is the normal marker for a hearer which, in turn, derives from speech understood as object transfer. (See also the more detailed discussion in section 4.2.2.2.) This hearer-

beneficiary, where we have plentiful support from examples of simple hearers, contrasts with the viewer-beneficiary in examples where the benefitting action is the enablement of vision (whether by simply directing the viewer's attention or by actively removing barriers to vision).

(1018) Os rey er haulur a uyd en e maes, yaun yu eu dangos **e**'r egneyt ac eu neylltuau. [LI:79]

if some the claimant PART be-PRES-3SG in the field, right be-PRES-3SG them show-VN **to** the judge and them other-side-VN

*If those [i.e. the testifiers] of the claimant are in the field [i.e. in court], it is right to show them **to** the judge, and [to] set them apart.*

We do not have an established understanding of vision as object transfer, so the marking of a viewer-beneficiary with I presumably derives primarily from the beneficiary frame.

Another overlapping set of beneficiaries that motivate the use of I involve a beneficiary as the legal (but not physical) possesser of the benefit, as a participant in a familial or social relationship where that relationship is also beneficial, or in some other frame-based part-part relationship which, as we have seen in section 3.3.1.2, are most typically marked with I.

(1019) "Mae ymma mab **it**," heb ef, "os mynny, yr hwnn ny bu **yt** eiroet." [PPD:23:5]

be-PRES-3SG here son **to-2SG**, say-PRET-3SG he, if wish-PRES-2SG, the this NEG be-PRET-3SG **to-2SG** before

*"Here is a son **for** you," he said, "if you wish, what there never was **for** you [i.e. what you never had]."*

In addition, there are many other examples of beneficiaries where no more specific overlapping scenario motivates the use of I. However this strong pattern of benefit scenarios arising from and overlapping with scenarios involving concrete or metaphoric object transfer supports a metaphor PRODUCING AND EXPERIENCING BENEFIT IS OBJECT TRANSFER. But this is not the only benefit metaphor present in Medieval Welsh.

The other marker commonly (although much less frequently) found in Medieval Welsh for beneficiaries is ER. As we saw in section 2.3.1.5.2.1, this preposition derives from a word with a spatial sense indicating location of the trajector in the front region of the landmark. By the Medieval Welsh period, this word has lost any spatial sense in its simple form, but we see a very general pattern of "front" language used for interactional scenarios, where access and attention (or, conversely, opposition and hostility) occur in front of the experiencer.

(1020) "A wnaethost," heb ef, "**yrof** i, Duw a'y talo itt!" [PPD:6:21]

REL do-PRET-2SG, say-PRET-3SG he, **for-1SG** God PART it pay-PRES-SUBJ-3SG to-2SG

*"What you have done," he said, "**for me**, may God repay it to you."*

compare

(1021) os gwr mwyn uyd y mab, mabmaeth ynni uyd, a goreu a allo uyth a wna **inni**. [PPD:24:28]

if man gentle be-PRES-3SG the boy, foster-son to-1PL be-PRES-3SG, and best PART be-able-PRES-SUBJ-3SG ever PART do-PRES-3SG **to-1PL**

*if the boy will be [i.e. becomes] a noble man, he will be a foster-son to us, and the best he is able, he will do **for us**.*

When contrasted in this way, ER correlates with the more intangible or farther removed benefits. Extending this, ER also occurs to mark a beneficiary in the specific case where the benefit is unspecific and intangible credit, thanks, or praise (i.e. when the beneficiary is invoked as an abstract motivation for the performance of the action) and it is the only marker used in this specific sense. While the beneficiary in this scenario is most typically God, it may be some other entity. (See the end of this section for a special discussion of this example.)

(1022) A wney ditheu **yr** Duw ac **yrof** inheu, menegi ymi ba furu y galler dy lad ditheu? [MFM:86:15]

INTERROGATIVE do-PRES-2SG you-SG **for** God and **for-1SG** me-EMPH, tell-VN to-1SG what form PART be-able-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS you kill-VN you

*Will you do [this] **for** God and **for me**: tell to me how you can be killed?*

The marker may also occur in the formula ER MWYN "for the sake (of)" .

(1023) "A uorwyn," heb ef, "**yr mwyn** y gwr mwyhaf a gery, arho ui!" [PPD:12:7]

o maiden, say-PRET-3SG he, **for sake** the man most PART love-PRES-2SG, stop-IMPER-2SG me

*"O maiden," he said, "**for the sake of** the man you love most, wait [for] me!"*

If the use of ER to mark beneficiaries derives from an underlying metaphor ACCESS TO BENEFIT IS LOCATION IN FRONT (or perhaps more generally ACCESS TO BENEFIT IS PHYSICAL ACCESS), then we might expect to find other beneficiary constructions derived from this spatial sense. In fact, two other beneficiary markers of this type occur, both uncommon or of specialized use. There is only one example of YN ERBYN used in a circumstance where the landmark has a fairly clear beneficiary function.

(1024) Ac ef a doeth y'r llys, a llawen uuwyt wrthaw, a dygyuor a llewenyd ac arlwy mawr a oed **yn y erbyn** [PPD:13:17]

and he PART come-PRET-3SG to the court, and happy be-PRET-IMPERS with-3SM, and gathering and happiness and preparations big PART be-IMPERF-3SG **in-his-against**

*And he came to the court, and there was happiness because of [or: towards] him, and there were a gathering, and joy, and great preparations **to meet him** [or: for him]*

More typically, an action done YN ERBYN an approaching person would be of a defensive or hostile nature, but this clearly beneficial action shows how the evaluation of this hostile reading is largely pragmatic: actions taken in the face of an approaching person are more likley to be note-worthy when conflict is involved, and so that sense may come to be associated with the language of the general scenario.

A similar situation obtains with RHAG used to mark a beneficiary. The word

also has a spatial "front" sense, and it frequently and perhaps even typically can carry a sense of defensive, hostile, or obstructing action, but here it occurs in clearly beneficial scenarios. Strong patterns are hard to draw from the number of available examples, but they fall into two groups: one where the action is, in fact, being performed spatially in front of the beneficiary:

(1025) Ac y dyuu Glewlwyd y'r porth, ac agori y porth **racdaw**. [CO:139]
and PART come-PRET-3SG Glewlwyd to the gate, and open-VN the gate **before-3SM**
*And Glewlwyd came to the gate, and opened the gate **before him**.*

and in a relatively formulaic construction where the benefit is NAWDD (protection) and the benefitter is most typically God.

(1026) Ena mae yaun e'r egnat kemryt e kreyr en e lau a dyweduet, "Naud Duu **ragot** a naud Pab Ruueyn a naud de arglued na dos en llv kam." [LI:59]
then be-PRES-3SG right to the judge take-VN the relics in his hand and say-VN, "protection God **before-2SG** and protection Pope Rome and protection your-SG lord NEG go-IMPER-2SG in oath wrong
*Then it is right for the judge to take the relics in his hand and say, "God's protection **before you**, and the protection [of] the Roman Pope, and your lord's protection, do not go into a false oath."*

Note that common specialized uses of both RHAG and ER involve "spiritual" benefit. One can even contrast the use of NAWDD DUW RHAG (God's protection for) with the more immediate protection offered by worldly entities, where the beneficiary is more typically marked with I, as we saw previously.

(1027) "Ha, vnbenn, kan rodeist nawd **ynn**, a dywedy ynn pwy wyt?" heb y Ronabwy. [BR:4:27]

O nobleman, since give-PRET-2SG protection **to-1PL**, INTERROGATIVE say-PRES-2SG to-1PL who be-PRES-2SG, say-PRET-3SG Rhonabwy

*"O nobleman, since you have given protection **to us**, will you tell to us who you are?" said Rhonabwy.*

One of the things that this restricted, formulaic, and less concrete usage suggests is that the use of ER and RHAG to mark beneficiaries, while presumably deriving from a more general spatial metaphor, are in the process are fossilizing into idioms, or at least highly restricted usage, while the alternate benefit metaphor involving object transfer is the one being generalized into a grammatical beneficiary-marker.

The Case of *Erof a Duw*

The use of ER in the above scenario leads me to challenge the established interpretation of a common conventional expression in Medieval Welsh literature (Jones 2003). This is the interjection, *yrof a Duw* (also appearing as *erof a Duw*), which occurs only in the Four Branches in my data, and elsewhere also in literary texts. With one exception, grammarians who mention the construction specifically (Strachan 1909, Jones 1913–only Zeuss 1871 dissents) and translators who have attempted any sort of literalness (Ford 2000, Gantz 1985, Jones and Jones 1966, Thomson 1980, Williams 1982) uniformly interpret *yrof* in this expression as a variant personal form of RHWNG (1sg), rendering the expression intriguingly, but opaquely, as "between me and God". As

a relatively semantically empty interjection, the phrase in question provides no clear context for interpreting the form *erof/yrof* which, on morphological grounds, could be a 1sg form of either ER or RHWNG (see section 2.2.2). But two particular types of example lead me to dispute the interpretation as RHWNG in the case of the above phrase. Nearly half of the above examples of ER invoking (the intangible benefit to) an entity to influence an action have God as a landmark, i.e. "do this for the sake of God", and occur in semantic and rhetorical contexts extremely parallel to those found for the interjection. (When used in non-personal forms, ER and RHWNG are clearly distinguished.) And, most pertinently, two examples (only one of which occurs in my core data) invoke both God and the speaker (the latter as a potentially more tangible beneficiary) in the form y*r Duw ac yrof inheu*, "for the sake of God and for my sake". Here, *yrof* is clearly a personal form of ER–the syntactic context does not allow an interpretation of a personal form of RHWNG (due to the singular pronoun and the lack of any other co-landmark). Furthermore, placing the two components in the opposite order not only can, but must, produce the form *yrof a Duw*. (The phrase order in *yr Duw ac yrof inheu* may have been chosen in order to make the use of the emphatic conjunctive pronoun INNAU more felicitous.) This example makes it clear that a reading of *yrof a Duw* as "for the sake of me and God" is entirely reasonable. I would argue that this reading is immensely preferable, both in terms of the multiple examples of *yr Duw* "for God's sake" as parallel invocational interjections, and because it removes the need to excuse "Between me and God" as an opaque, fossilized expression. Even if one argues that RHWNG could be the

original basis of the expression, and that the form "yr Duw ac yrof inheu" is based on a mistaken reanalysis, we would then need to consider the multiple examples of simple *er Duw* "for God's sake" as being entirely unrelated.

3.5.2.1.2 Special Cases and Overrides

The general notion of benefit as access seems less likely to have motivated the one example of GAN to mark a beneficiary than the clear metaphoric framing of the benefit as a transferred object, by the use of the verb DWYN (carry, bear).

(1028) Dwc uendyth Duw a'r einym **gennyt** [CO:946]
bear-IMPER-2SG blessing God and the ours **with-2SG**
*Take God's blessing and our own **with you***

A more extensive set of specialized constructions for beneficiaries occurs when the benefit is personal service being performed by the benefitter, especially the provision of food or drink. These mark the beneficiary with AR but, as discussed in sections 3.3.2.1.1. and 3.3.2.2.1.3, the objects being served are also typically marked with AR, bringing in a certain potential for confusion.[1]

[1]I note, purely for amusement, that a linguistic ambiguity between benefit and beneficiary in the frame of food service is not unique to Medieval Welsh, cf. the classic *Twilight Zone* episode "To Serve Man".

(1029) Nyt oes dylyet y nep guassanaethvr **arnav** ef ac euo a dely cafael y wassanaeth yn ryd. [LI:4]

NEG be-PRES-3SG ought-VN to anyone servant **on-3SM** him and he PART ought-PRES-3SG get-VN his service PART free

There is no entitlement to any servant [i.e. no servant has any entitlement] ***from him*** *and he is entitled to get his service freely.*

While the motivation for using AR to mark the patient of food service (i.e. the food) derives fairly transparently from "control" senses, the motivation for beneficiaries of this service is less clear. One logically consistent origin would be the "to" version of AR (=AT), as opposed to the "on" version. The personal service frame presents a strong motivation for marking the beneficiary as a goal of motion of the server-benefitter. Any actual transferred objects in this construction may be marked with AR, as noted above, or more commonly with O, most likely identifying them as the metaphoric "content" of the service action (see section 3.3.2.1.1.1), so this differs from the beneficiaries marked with I where the function is ambiguous between that and a goal-of-motion for the benefit. If this analysis is correct, and the benefitter is the notional moving trajector for the beneficiary-goal-landmark, this could explain the choice of AR (= AT), which most typically identifies a human trajector and goal, compared with the more usual benefit construction where it is the (prototypically non-animate) benefit that is the trajector, a situation in which we would be more likely to expect I to mark the goal.

It is also possible that this "service AR" construction derives originally from ER in a spatial "front" sense (see the discussion of AR CYFAIR in section 2.3.2.3.3.1 for an example of ER appearing in Medieval Welsh as *ar*), and that the shrinking use of that

preposition for the function led to a reanalysis of the nature of the preposition. The continued use of ER for other beneficiaries argues against this interpretation, however. If ER were, at this time, as restricted in scope as RHAG is, there would be a stronger argument, but ER does still function broadly to mark a variety of types of beneficiaries and there seems no reason why one particular context would provoke reanalysis of the preposition.

Three other groups of examples show specific situational overrides of the type found broadly across a variety of semantic fields. When the benefit is a form of legal speech (e.g. oaths, testimony), and the beneficiary of the speech is also the topic of the speech, it is marked with AR (see section 3.3.2.1.1.6 for discussion of speech topics). When an additional or secondary beneficiary is being identified, it is marked with Y GYD AC (see section 2.3.1.4.2), while the primary beneficiary carries the more specific marking. Similarly, when multiple equal or mutual beneficiaries occur, they may be marked with RHWNG emphasizing the multiple nature of the event and entirely eclipsing the potential slot for a beneficiary-marker. Compare, for example, the identification of the anti-beneficiary of COLLED (loss) in the following two examples:

(1030) bot en yaun rannu e gollet **eregthunt** en deu hanner [LI:64]
be-VN PART right share-VN the loss **between-3PL** in two half
*it is right to share the loss **between them** in two halves*

(1031) "Pa wed", heb y brenhin, "y gallwn i rodi nawd ytti wedy y gyniuer collet a sarhaet ry wnaethost titheu **y** mi?" [LL:161]

"what manner," say-PRET-3SG the king, "PART be-able-IMPERF-1SG I give-VN protection to-2SG after the amount loss and insult PART do-PRET-2SG you-SG **to-1SG**?"

*"How," said the king, "could I give protection to you after the amount of loss and insult you have done **to me**?"*

3.5.2.1.3 Anti-Beneficiaries

As mentioned above, one may consider a special subset of beneficiaries in which the effect in question is harmful or damaging rather than being literal "benefit"–that is, where a passive participant is indirectly or intangibly harmed or hindered by the actions of an agent. The language used to mark anti-beneficiaries shows the conflict between a purely grammatical motivation (where both beneficiaries and anti-beneficiaries might expect to be treated identically) and a purely semantic motivation (where different interpretations of the underlying metaphors might be expected to produce different language).

The numerically most common marker for anti-beneficiaries is identical to that for beneficiaries: I. Many of these carry the same overlapping goal-marking motivations: anti-beneficiary as hearer of harmful speech, as acquirer of a negative or harmful attribute or as gaining access to a harmful object. If, however, the harm is expressed via an overt metaphor as the removal or prevention of a benefit, then we also find source-marking language using (Y) GAN. Here the preposition choice appears to derive from the overt metaphoric language of object transfer rather than from a general metaphor about anti-

beneficiaries.

(1032) Mynet a wnaf i, a'th **wyneb** di a dygaf i **genhyf**. [CO:380]

go-VN PART do-PRES-1SG I, and your-SG **face** your-SG PART bear-PRES-1SG I **with-1SG**

*I will go, but I will take your **face with me**.*

When the anti-benefit involves control over the actions of the anti-beneficiary, it is not at all surprising to find AR marking the latter, deriving from the general metaphor CONTROL IS UP_M, and again not really shifting to a general anti-beneficiary function.

It is also not surprising to find YN ERBYN in its more typically antagonistic role, deriving from a scenario identifying the anti-beneficiary as present in the hostile front vicinity of the benefit-trajector.

(1033) Pvybynnac a dywetto geyr anwar **en erbyn** brenhyn talet kamluru deudeblyc ydau. [LI:43]

whoever REL say-PRES-SUBJ-3SG word cruel **in-against** king pay-IMPER-3SG fine two-doubled to-3SM

*Whoever says a cruel word **against** a king, let him pay a two-fold fine to him.*

This marker is the only one that seems to have acquired a more general anti-beneficiary sense, and even so it is quite rare in this function (only three examples in all compared with roughly 50 using I). Overall, there appears to be very little systematic grammatical distinction made between beneficiaries and anti-beneficiaries.

3.5.2.2 Benefitter

The two other roles in a benefit frame–that of the benefitter (the agent of the action) and of the benefit (which may be an action, state, or object)–are much less commonly indicated by prepositional marking. The benefitter will much more typically appear as the grammatical subject with the benefit either implicit in the verb, or as a direct object. But these roles may be treated in other ways, especially in two general types of syntactic constructions: when the beneficiary occurs as the subject of the verb (typically with the benefit occurring as a direct object), and when the benefit occurs as the subject of BOD (to be).

In both situations, the benefit is characterized as a transferred object, with the benefitter marked as a spatial source of motion, overwhelmingly typically using (Y) GAN (but on one occasion using O, and see also below for O LLAW). When this occurs with a beneficiary-subject, the verbs are taken from the language of concrete object-transfer: CYMRYD (to take), CAFFAEL (to get), DWYN (to carry, to take). (Constructions of this type involving CAFFAEL eventually evolved into a passive-like function, but it is significantly different in form from the versions appearing in Medieval Welsh.)

(1034) Guerth mab ucheluur a phob den e bo suyd ydau **y gan** argluyd: chue buu a chue ugeyn muu, gan y ardyrchauael; eu sarhaet yu chue buu a chue ugeynt o aryant. [LI:110]

value son nobleman and every person PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG office to-3SM **from-with** lord: six cow and six twenty cow, with its augmentation; their insult-price be-PRES-3SG six cow and six twenty of silver

*The [legal] value of a nobleman's son and every person to whom there is an office **from** a lord [i.e. who has an office ...]: six cattle and six-score cattle with augmentation; their insult-price is six cattle and six-score of silver.*

(1035) Dewis argl6ydes a-geffy **y genhym** ni. Ae dyuot y gyt a-ninheu y-th wneuthur yn amherodres yn rufein. Ae dyuot yr amhera6dyr yma y-th gymryt yn wreic ida6. [BM:186:1]

choice lady PART get-PRES-2SG **from-with-1PL**. either come-VN with us to you-SG make-VN PART empress in Rome. either come-VN the emperor here to you-SG take-VN PART wife to-3SM

*A choice, lady, you will get **from** us: either come with us to be made empress in Rome, or the emperor [will] come here to take you as wife for him.*

In one large subset of these examples, the benefit is the provision of a "surety" (an individual appointed to ensure performance on the part of the provider, see section 3.6.1 for an explanation of this complicated semantic frame).

(1036) Pvebennac a rodho gureyc y vr, ef byeu talu e hamober neu enteu a kemerho meychyeu **e genthy** hy ar e talu ef [LI:48]

whoever PART give-PRES-SUBJ-3SG woman to man, he own-PRES-3SG pay-VN her marriage-fee or he PART take-PRES-SUBJ-3SG sureties **from-with-3SF** her on his pay-VN his

*Whoever gives a woman to a man [in marriage], his is the paying of her marriage fee, unless he takes sureties **from her** regarding paying it*

We also see some of the same semantic overlaps which reinforce the object-transfer scenario as in the beneficiary-marker examples, such as the above establishment

of relationships or the following beneficiary of speech.

(1037) "Ie," heb hi, "mi a dynghaf dyghet idaw, na chaffo enw yny caffo **y genhyf i.**" [MFM:79:2]

well, say-PRET-3SG she, I PART swear-PRES-1SG fate to-3SM, NEG get-PRES-SUBJ-3SG name until get-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **from-with-1SG**

"Well," she said, "I will swear a destiny on him: he will not get a name unless he gets [it] ***from me****."*

As with the beneficiary-markers, one significant anomalous group of examples involves the provision of food, especially in the context of personal service. Here the "benefitter" is the person directly providing the food, but typically this entity is constrained to do so by law or social roles, and it is this control aspect that is expressed in the benefitter marking, using AR, and the verb choice also focuses on the obligation rather than the provision and, in fact, the "benefitter" role is only implicit in the scenario.

(1038) Ef a dele kylch **ar** e byleynnyeyt un weyth en e wlveden. [LI:9]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG circuit **on** the villeins one time in the year

He is entitled [to make] a circuit ***of*** *the villeins one time in the year.*

Two other situations override the more typical language. When the identity of the benefitter is being particularly emphasized, we see the object-transfer language retained, but the compound preposition O LLAW is used instead.

(1039) ac onys tal byt guassanaethwyr er argluyd ygyt ac ef en duen guystyl **o'e lau** neu uach. [LI:106]

and if-NEG pay-PRES-3SG be-IMPER-3SG servants the lord together with him PART bear-VN pledge **from his hand** or surety

*and if he$_2$ doesn't pay it, let the lord's servants together with him$_1$ take a pledge **from his$_2$ hand** or a surety [for it].*

In a situation where one might normally expect a substitute for the benefitter, the specific identity of the benefitter may also be emphasized by using YN PERSON. Here the object-transfer language is not retained, and the emphasis on specific identity prevails.

(1040) Ac odyna par dodi kerwyneit o'r med goreu a aller y wneuthur y mywn y clad hwnnw a llenn o pali ar wyneb y gerwyn, ac odyna **y**'th **person** dy hunan byd yn gwylaw. [LL:98]

and thence **in** your-SG **person** your-SG self be-IMPER-2SG PART watch-VN

*and then you **personally** yourself keep watch.*

In summary, the default language for marking benefitters derives from the metaphoric characterization of benefit as object transfer, not only in the preposition marking the benefitter role specifically, but also in the general language of these examples. It appears uncommon, however, for these examples to involve relatively "pure" beneficiary scenarios that do not involve other semantics that motivate object-transfer language.

3.5.2.3 Benefit

Expressions that profile the benefit role with specific marking typically frame it as

an object accompanying the beneficiary, with the benefitter typically expressed as having some sort of genitive or genitive-like relationship to the benefit. That is, they participate in a more general characterization of benefit as a transferred object, specifically an object abstractly possessed by the benefitter but to which the beneficiary is given access. There are not a large number of examples, but enough to demonstrate several clear patterns. The largest subset here, and the one with the least potential interference from other semantics, involves the benefit "permission" or other similar socio-legal enablements for an event, where the benefit is marked with GAN.

(1041) ac y ymdeith yd af i, **gan** dy gannyat ti. [PPD:18:9]
and to away PART go-PRES-1SG I **with** your-SG permission your
*and I will go away, **with** your permisison.*

One example marked with AR may also derive from the characterization of benefit as an accessible object, where the choice of AR is dictated by the language of object-manipulation (motivated by the verb GAFAEL "to grasp") rather than transfer.

(1042) "I Duw y dygaf uyng kyffes," heb hitheu, "gauael gadarn a geueist **ar** gedymdeith yn herwyd ymlad a frouedigaeth y gorff, a chadw kywirdeb wrthyt titheu!" [PPD:7:27]
to God PART bear-PRES-1SG my confession, say-PRET-3SG she-EMPH, hold strong PART get-PRES-2SG **on** friendship PART by MUTUAL-fight-VN of temptation the body, and keep-VN truth with-2SG you-SG-EMPH
*"To God I bring my confession," she said, "a strong hold you get **on** friendship by the fighting of temptation of the body, and keeping truth with you."*

When the benefit is emphasized not only as the consequence of an event, but as

the purpose of that event, especially in the form of an exchange or payment for the event, then the benefit is marked with ER. Typically this consequence is benefitting the agent of the event, but not through direct action.

(1043) a Ffenpingyon a ymda ar y penn **yr** eiryach y draet [CO:86]
and Penpingion REL travel-PRES-3SG on his head **for** spare-VN his feet
*And Penpingion, who travels on his head **to** spare his feet.*

Although we saw above (section 3.5.2.1.1) that ER can be found marking beneficiaries, presumably arising from a metaphor of benefit as access, the use of ER here to mark benefit does not appear to be simply a symmetric reflection of this (in the way that the object-transfer language is consistent across the various roles). Instead it appears to derive from the functions of ER to mark equivalent entities in an exchange and to mark purposes or reasons for an event. (See sections 3.3.2.3.2, 3.4.3.2, and 3.4.1.2.)

As usual, we see preposition-choice overrides in certain special circumstances. When the benefit is under focus as the landmark of a secondary accompanying benefit, it is marked with Y GYD AC. When the benefit is a metaphoric source of supply or nourishment, AR is used to indicate this meaning (as seen in section 3.3.2.2.1.3), taking precedence over the more grammatical marker GAN.

(1044) Ny dele nep godro escrybyl blyth nac vn mwynyant **arnadvnt** ac vynt en dale, hep ganhyat e deyllyat [LI:160]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG milk-VN animal milk nor one enjoyment **on-3PL** with/and them PART hold-VN, beside permission the taker

*No one is entitled to milk dairy animals nor have a single enjoyment **from them** with them [being] distrained, without permission [of] the taker*

3.5.2.4 Summary

While more specific frames may intrude, benefit scenarios derive largely from two general metaphors which form a consistent whole: BENEFITS ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS and ACCESS TO BENEFIT IS ACCESS TO AN OBJECT. The benefitter may be marked as a source with Y GAN, the benefit as an accompanying object or possession with GAN, and the beneficiary as a goal or recipient with I, or as co-located with the benefit with ER. In addition to overrides drawn from very specific semantic frames (e.g. food service), the most common exceptions are the use of "hostile" language with anti-beneficiaries, or the marking of anti-beneficiaries as the source of a removed benefit.

3.5.3 Negation, Omission, Exclusion, Contrast, Concession

One group of contexts where the specific semantics of an event are strongly and consistently overridden in preposition choice is that of negation, exclusion, omission, contradiction, and similar situations where one possible version of an event is contrasted with another version. That is, for example, an excluded patient is marked for exclusion and not for patienthood, and is marked similarly to an excluded characteristic or

experience or content. Commonly, both trajector and landmark are indicated by clauses, while noun phrases and prepositional phrases are also found. This argues for a formal classification of this group of markers as conjunctions, at least in certain applications, but because the group includes elements of clearly prepositional origin I have considered the whole group together. (Evans (1964) seems to base his classification of conjunctions versus prepositions largely on clausal versus nominal landmarks, but since the semantic function is identical for my purposes I do not make this distinction.) In these constructions, the focus is typically on the grammatical landmark and it is not uncommon for the landmark phrase to be left-dislocated. The trajector may be a declarative statement of an actual (or potential, but expected) event with the landmark identifying some potential subset of that event or entity involved in the event that is excepted, omitted, or excluded from it, but that would otherwise be assumed to have been included.

(1045) Ac yny uei agos y guyr idaw, kyuarth a rodei y'r cwn, **heb** gilyaw yrdhunt [MFL:55:17]

and until be-IMPERF-3SG near the men to-3SM, stand PART give-IMPERF-3SG to the dogs **beside** retreat-VN for-3PL

*And until the men were near to him, he made a stand to the dogs, **without** retreating before them*

Similarly, the trajector event may be presented in negative form, where the landmark is excepted, omitted, or excluded from that negation, i.e. it is accomplished.

(1046) Ny dele na maer na chyghellaur bot en penkenedel, **namen** un o uchelwyr e wlat. [LI:91]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG NEG maer NEG canghellor be-VN PART chief-kindred **except** one of noblemen the country

*Neither a maer nor a canghellor ought to be a chief of kindred, **rather** [it should be] one of the noblemen [of] the land.*

This type of construction occurs commonly as a rhetorical device, with a universally negated scope statement as the trajector, and a landmark-exception that is the focal information being communicated. This is one of the commonest contexts where the phrase YN Y BYD "in the [whole] world" occurs to indicate universal scope.

(1047) Nyt oes torch yn y byt a dalhyo y gynllyuan, **namyn** torch Canhastyr Canllaw [CO:678]

NEG be-PRES-3SG collar in the world REL hold-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the leash, **except** collar Canhastyr Canllaw

*There is no collar in the world that could hold the leash **except** the collar of Canhastyr Canllaw.*

The trajector and landmark may be alternate possible events. The trajector may be an undesirable event which would be blocked or prevented by the accomplishment of the landmark.

(1048) "**Meuyl** y mi," heb ef, "**ony** wylaf i heno. [MFL:59:24]

shame to-1SG, say-PRET-3SG he, **if-not** keep-watch-PRES-1SG I tonight

*"**Shame** upon me," he said, "**unless** I keep watch tonight."*

If the trajector event is presented as negated, there is often an implication that the occurrence of the landmark-exception would enable the occurrence of the positive form of

the trajector.

(1049) **Onyt** ef a wyr peth o'r hynn a geisswch chwi, ny **wnn** i neb a'e gwypo. [CO:898]

if-not he PART know-PRES-3SG something of the this REL see-PRES-2PL you-PL, NEG **know-PRES-1SG** I anyone REL it know-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

Unless he *knows something of the thing you seek, I **know** nobody who would know it.*

The landmark may be a preferred alternative to the trajector:

(1050) O dervyd daly lledrat kan dyn, ac entev en dewedwyt y vot en wyryon o'r lledrat, **eythyr** y wurv o'y anvod attav o dyn arall, a'y daly en y law [LI:114]

if happen-PRES-3SG hold-VN theft with person, and he-EMPH PART say-VN him be VN PART innocent of the theft, **outside** him throw-VN of his un-will to-3SM of person other, and him hold-VN in his hand

*If it happens that stolen property is caught with a person, and he says he is innocent of the theft, **except** that it [i.e. the stolen property] was cast [to] him against his will by another person, and he held it in his hand*

or simply a preferred framing of the trajector:

(1051) Nyt yr drwc itti y deuthum i yma **namyn** y geissaw y karcharawr yssyd gennyt, [CO:835]

NEG for evil to-2SG PART come-PRET-1SG I here **except** to seek-VN the prisoner be-PRES-REL-3SG with-2SG

*I have not come here for [doing] wrong to you, **rather** to seek the prisoner that is with you [i.e. that you have].*

Or both events may be actual, but the landmark is contrasted with the trajector:

(1052) Ynteu a lunywys yr esgidyeu, ac nit wrth y messur, **namyn** yn uwy.
[MFM:80:3]

he-EMPH PART shape-PRET-3SG the shoes, and NEG with the measure, **except** PART more

*He made the shoes, but not by measure, **rather** larger.*

We are dealing with four elements here–some clearly prepositions, some clearly conjunctions, but showing an overlapping continuum of uses that supports discussing them as a group. The elements are HEB and EITHR (both clearly prepositional in origin and having spatial senses), NAMYN (identified as a preposition of verbal origin, but, in my data, having only the abstract senses discussed in this section), and ONYD (clearly of conjunctive origin deriving from a compound of O + NYD "if not").

Both HEB and EITHR, in their spatial senses, express a notion of exclusion or separation from the landmark. Thus, in the current use for exceptions or omissions they express a metaphor along the lines of INCLUSION IS LOCATION IN OR AT A REGION, EXCLUSION IS LOCATION OUTSIDE OR AWAY. (Compare CATEGORIES ARE CONTAINERS, CATEGORY MEMBERS ARE OBJECTS INSIDE BOUNDED REGIONS$_W$.) NAMYN derives from a dynamic scenario of "taking" or "seizing" (see section 2.3.2.6.2), suggesting a similar, but dynamic, version of the metaphor: EXCLUSION IS OBJECT REMOVAL. ONYD has no clearly metaphoric path of application, and its distribution and meaning can be understood compositionally from its etymology via a relatively formal-logic understanding of O "if", that is, the trajector event/state is realized in all cases when the landmark event/state does not occur. Given its derivation, it is not surprising that ONYD does not occur with

negated landmarks (since the word itself negates the landmark). It is found when the landmark is an exception or omission from either a positively or negatively expressed trajector and occurs with landmarks of all grammatical types but with a preference for verbal clauses. In some cases, it is used in an emphatic sense to contrast a realized landmark with a universally negated trajector (i.e. "there exists no X at all *except* for Y" as an emphatic form of "Y exists"), but much more typically it is an exception to a specific, narrow scenario.

(1053) A'r guraged a'r escolheygyon a'e tal, **ony** wadant na bo plant udunt byth [LI:106]

and the women and the scholars PART it pay-PRES-3SG, **if-NEG** deny-PRES-3PL NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG children to-3PL ever

*And the women and the scholars pay **unless** they deny there will ever be children to them [i.e. they will ever have children]*

(1054) Sef a deweyt e keureyth, **ony** urthtug arnau, bot en dygaun e lv ehun. [LI:68]

thus PART say-PRES-3SG the law, **if-NEG** counter-swearing on-3SM, be-VN PART sufficient his oath his-own

*This is what the law says: **unless** there is counter-swearing against him, his own oath is sufficient.*

(1055) **Onyt** ef a wyr peth o'r hynn a geisswch chwi, ny **wnn** i neb a'e gwypo. [CO:898]

if-not he PART know-PRES-3SG something of the this REL see-PRES-2PL you-PL, NEG **know-PRES-1SG** I anyone REL it know-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

***Unless** he knows something of the thing you seek, I **know** nobody who would know it.*

ONYD also occurs when the focus is on prevention or enablement, i.e. a desired trajector (presented in negated form) is enabled by the non-occurrence of the landmark, or an undesired trajector (presented in positive form) is prevented by the occurrence of the

landmark.

(1056) "Meuyl y mi," heb ef, "**ony** wylaf i heno. [MFL:59:24]

shame to-1SG, say-PRET-3SG he, **if-not** keep-watch-PRES-1SG I tonight

*"Shame upon me," he said, "**unless** I keep watch tonight."*

(1057) Ny dele e brenhyn mynet a'e lu o'r wlat **onyt** un weyth en e wlueden; vynteu a deleant menet en e kyuoeth ef ehun pan uenho. [LI:43]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG the king go-VN with his army from the land **if-NEG** one time in the year, they-EMPH PART come-PRES-3PL go-VN in his realm his own when wish-PERS-SUBJ-3SG

*The king is not entitled [to] go with his army [i.e. to take his army] from the land **except** once in the year, they are obliged [to] go in his own realm when he wishes.*

HEB has a similar distribution to ONYD but concentrates on scenarios where the landmark is an exception or omission to a positively stated trajector. Most typically, the landmark is some object or event that, by default, would be expected to occur as part of or in conjunction with the trajector. It occurs roughly equally with noun phrases and verb phrases as landmarks. HEB also occurs very rarely in the enablement function described for ONYD.

(1058) Y deuth y dy hen wrach a oed yn y dref **heb** dant yn y fenn. [CO:34]

PART come-PRET-3SG to house old hag REL be-IMPERF-3SG in the town **beside** tooth in her head

*She came to an old hag who was in the town, **without** a tooth in her head.*

(1059) Ny dely enteu rody dym o hynny **hep** ganhyat y brenhyn [LI:4]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG he-EMPH give-VN anything of that **beside** permission the king

*He [i.e. the heir] is not entitled to give any of that **without** the king's permission*

EITHR is confined to indicating exceptions or omissions. It occurs whether the trajector is in positive form or negated, and is the only marker found where the landmark is explicitly negated (remembering that, technically, all landmarks of ONYD are negated). It may be used for emphasis contrasted with a categorically negated trajector, but this is not the typical context of use. It is not found in enablement or prevention scenarios. EITHR occurs with all grammatical types of landmarks.

(1060) O kalan gayaf allan henlleu uydant, a xxiiii. a talant; **eythyr** asgellheyt nyt a en henlleu hyt kalan Mey, ac yna yd a, a xxiiii. a tal. [LI:135]

from calends winter out old-hive be-PRES-3PL, and 24 PART pay-PRES-3PL; **outside** wing-swarm NEG go-PRES-3SG in old-hive length calends May, and then PART go-PRES-3SG, and 24 PART pay-PRES-3SG

*From the calends [of] winter they [i.e. the bee-hive] will be an old hive, and they are worth 24 [pence]; **except** [that] a wing-swarm doesn't go into [i.e. doesn't become] an old hive until the calends [of] May, and then it goes, and it is worth 24 pence.*

(1061) Ef a dele guassanaethu ar e urenhynes **eythyr** e teyr gvel arbennyc ar wyt a llyn. [LI:25]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG serve-VN on the queen **outside** the three feast special on foot and drink

*He ought to serve to the queen, **except for** the three special feasts, with food and drink.*

(1062) Ac nyt oed dyn a adnapei y gerd honno, namyn Kadyrieith ehun, **eithyr** y uot yn uolyant y Arthur. [BR:20:14]

and NEG be-IMPERF-3SG person REL recognize-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG the song that, except Cadyriaeth himself, **except** it be-VN PART praise to Arthur

*And there was no one who could understand that song, except Cadyriaeth himself, **except** that it was praise of Arthur.*

(1063) Ac yna y byrywyt y kalaned yn y peir, yny uei yn llawn, ac y kyuodyn tranoeth y bore yn wyr ymlad kystal a chynt, **eithyr** na ellynt dywedut. [BFL:44:10]

and then PART throw-PRET-IMPERS the corpses in the cauldron until be-IMPERF 3SG PART full and PART rise-IMPERF-3PL over-night the morning PART men fighting as-good with/and before, **except** NEG be-able-IMPERF-3PL speak-VN

*And then the corpses were thrown into the cauldron until it was full, and they arose the next day in the morning as fighting men as good as before, **except** they were not able to speak.*

NAMYN has the broadest distribution of use and is found in a variety of contrastive rather than exclusionary, senses, for which the other elements are rarely or never found (i.e. indicating the landmark as an allowed, preferred, or simply contrasted alternative to the trajector). When NAMYN is used for exceptions to negated trajectors, it is always an emphatic contrast with a universal scope trajector. One common version of this use is with a negated trajector whose scope is specified as YN Y BYD "in the world", and where the landmark is always a noun phrase (and, in fact, NAMYN strongly prefers nominal landmarks). Very rarely, it marks an ordinary exception to a positively stated trajector with narrow scope.

(1064) A neb ni dieghis odyna **namyn** ef a'e wreic. [BFL:36:21]

and nobody NEG flee-VN from-there **except** he and his wife

*And nobody fled from there **except** him and his wife.*

(1065) Nyt oes yn y byt gynllyuan a dalhyo arnaw, **namyn** kynllyuan Cors Cant Ewin. [CO:675]

NEG be-IMPERF-3SF in the world leash REl hold-PRES-SUBJ-3SG on-3SM, **except** leash Cors Cant Ewin

*There is no leash in the world that would hold onto him, **except** the leash of Cors Cant Ewin.*

(1066) ni chynghoraf i adaw y dref, **namyn** llad y tayogeu racco. [MFL:53:8]

NEG advise-PRES-1SG I leave-VN the town, **except** kill-VN the churls yonder

*I will not advise leaving the town, **rather** [I advise] killing yonder churls.*

(1067) Ny dele vyllyav namyn o'r pan elher e kescu hyt e dyd; enteu a dele kescu e dyd ac na wnel dym **namen** er gobyr. [LI:36]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG watch-VN except from the when go-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS to sleep length the day; he-EMPH part ought-PRES-3SG sleep-VN the day and NEG do-PRES-SUBJ-3SG anything **except** for fee

*He [i.e. the watchman] is not obliged to keep watch except from when they go to sleep until the day; he is entitled to sleep [during] the day and doesn't do anything [else] **except** for a fee.*

(1068) Sef yu gueyrglaud, tyr dyuunnyant **namyn** y weyr, a chlaud en y gylch. [LI:157]

thus be-PRES-3SG meadow, land unuseful **except** to hay, with/and bank in its circle

*This is a meadow: land unuseful **except** for hay, with a bank around it.*

This collection of elements is interesting not only for the variety of origins found in the same function, but for the combination of overlapping uses that yet show distinct preferences. Some of these preferences occur across the different texts (e.g. for marking exceptions to negated trajectors, all texts prefer ONY to EITHR by at least two to one), but some are genre-specific (e.g. for marking exceptions to positively state trajectors, the law tracts somewhat prefer EITHR while the literary tales strongly prefer HEB).

The contrastive function found for NAMYN is also found with ER, which does not participate in omission or exclusion senses. Like many senses of ER, the path by which this sense has evolved has not left traces in Medieval Welsh usage, but it seems to fit with a group of uses for ER which focus on pragmatic interpretations of "context" (see section 3.3.2.2.7). The weak version of this sense is concessive "although, despite",

suggesting an origin as "in a context [which might pragmatically be expected to interfere]".

(1069) Ac **yr** a uyrit yndi ny bydei lawnach no chynt. [PPD:16:20]

and **for** PART throw-IMPERF-IMPERS in-3SF NEG be-IMPERF-3SG fuller than before

*And **despite** what was thrown into it, it was no fuller than before.*

In a stronger form, this concessive function can become contradiction–that is, the marked event might be supposed to negate or prevent the trajector event, but fails to do so.

(1070) Ac **yr** a welsynt o ouut yn y gwyd, ac **yr** a gewssynt e hun, ny doy gof udunt wy dim, nac o hynny nac o alar yn y byt. [BFL:46:26]

and **for** REL see-PLUP-3PL of grief in their presence, and **for** REL get-PLUP-3PL them-selves, NEG come-IMPERF-3SG memory to-3PL them NEG, nor of that nor of sorrow in the world

*And **despite** what they had seen of grief in their presence, and **despite** what they themselves had received, no memory came to them, neither of that nor of any sorrow in the world.*

3.6 Particular Semantic Frames and their Prepositions

There are several semantic frames that have come up a number of times in the preceding analyses that benefit from a focussed discussion, either because the relationships involved are complex and may not have been entirely clear when discussed one at a time, or because the presuppositions and events involved are peculiar enough to the Medieval Welsh context that they cannot be understood fully without more detailed explanation. In some cases, I have included topics here because they form a nexus for the

exploration of a variety of roles and relationships, and it is convenient to survey the data in a single location. See also the analysis of the metaphoric treatment of speech and language, and how it interacts with the motivational hierarchy for prepositions, as detailed in section 4.2.2.2.

3.6.1 Legal Sureties and Other Legal Fundamentals

The metaphoric structure of Medieval Welsh law could inspire an entire study of its own. Here I will confine myself to describing and defining a number of important features and assumptions of the system, and the particular institution of suretyship. In the next section I will cover issues related to legal valuation, and how it relates to fines, penalties, and economic transactions. (See Jenkins (1986) generally for further background.)

Status (BRAINT) is a key foundation of Medieval Welsh law and society, and a socio-legal hierarchy based on status underlies most legal activities. Status is partially inherited (based on the general social class into which one is born), partially dependent on family situation (e.g. gender, marital status, and whether one belongs to the oldest living generation of the kin-group, in whom ownership of shared family land is invested), and partially dependent on "occupation" in a loose sense (including certain semi-ceremonial positions associated with noble households). In general, status correlated with social power and resources, including not only economic resources but access to military power. Status is treated linguistically as a location (using YN and AR) when it appears as a

landmark, or as a characteristic (using AR) when it appears as a trajector. (It may also occur as a trajector with I marking the bearer-landmark, but this preposition occurs so widely that it is of little use in identifying specific metaphors for status.)

(1071) O deruyd maru e tat e uluyden gyntaf e ganer e mab, ehun a a **em breynt** y tat. [LI:98]

if happen-PRES-3SG dead the father the year first PART be-born-PRES-IMPER the son, himself PART go-PRES-3SG **in status** the father

*If it happens [that] the father dies the first year [when] the boy is born, he himself goes **into** [i.e. acquires] his father's **status**.*

(1072) Ny thryc gureyc, nac o rod nac o lathlut, **ar ureynt** e haguedy namen seyth mlened [LI:48]

NEG dwell-PRES-3SG woman, NEG of gift NEG of theft **on status** her dowry except seven years

*A wife–neither by gift nor by abduction–does not remain **on** the **status** of her dowry except for seven years*

(1073) a **breint** edling **arnat** byhyt bynnac y bych yma. [CO:148]

and **status** king's-heir **on-2SG** length whatever PART be-PRES-SUBJ-2SG here

*and the **status** of a king's heir **on you** [i.e. you will have...] however long you are here.*

(1074) "Run uab Maelgwn Gwyned, gwr y mae o **vreint idaw** dyuot pawp y ymgyghor ac ef". [BR:20:7]

Rhun son Maelgwn Gwynedd man PART be-PRES-3SG of **status to-3SM** come-VN everyone to MUTUAL-advise-VN with him

*Rhun son of Maelgwn Gwynedd, a man, there is [such] of **status to him**, [that] everyone comes to take counsel with him.*

Closely tied to status is the concept of honor or "face". (Here "face" is a literal translation of the Medieval Welsh terminology, not a borrowing of the English term, although the use is similar.) This represents the public presentation of one's dignity,

integrity, and maintenance of appropriate standards of behavior. A person's own actions can injure their "face" or one individual can damage another's face by violating their physical or social integrity. This sort of action is referred to as "insult" (SARHAED) and the same word is used for the fine due for such injury (covered further in the next section). What is most relevant in the current context is that injury to one's "face" can be a consequence of failing to accept or carry out certain obligations associated with one's status, and such an injury can result in a loss of status. That is, in order to maintain one's social rank, one is obligated to accept and perform certain social duties associated with it.

This is an essential underpinning to the system of suretyship and pledges that functioned to enforce both legal judgements and private contracts. With no overarching legal enforcement structure, people depended on the support and assistance of high status individuals (with their resources of personal influence and personnel) to enforce judgements and contracts. Those high status individuals were obliged to accept the responsibility on pain of losing their status, as well as to see it successfully carried out. This responsibility is espressed explicitly in passages such as:

(1075) Ny dele nep deweduet nat el en uach **tros** e gylyd, o byd keuryu ur **ac** e deleho menet en uach. [LI:66]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG anyone say-VN NEG go-PRES-SUBJ-3SG PART surety **over** his fellow, if be-PRES-3SG same-sort man **with/and** PART ought-PRES-SUBJ-3SG go PART surety

*Nobody is entitled to say [that] he will not become a surety **for** another if he is the sort of man **as** [one] who is entitled to become a surety.*

The high-status person chosen for this enforcement function is called a MACH

("surety") and related vocabulary includes MECHNIAETH ("suretyship, the state of being a surety"), MECHNI ("the obligation of a surety, a specific surety topic"). Each party to a contract or law case has their own surety, and the duty of the surety is to enforce the compliance of their *own* party, not of the other party. (Typically each party chooses their own surety, but the choice must be acceptable to the other side.)

The relationship of the MACH to the topic of the legal event (i.e. the payment or other event whose performance is being guaranteed) is marked with AR, reflecting the surety's position of power over the situation.

(1076) O dvc gur gureyc en llathlut a dyuot a hy e ty vrda e kescu genthy, ac na kemerho e gurda mach **ar** e hamober, talet ehun. [LI:48]

if bear-PRET-3SG man woman PART theft and come-VN with/and her to house nobleman to sleep-VN with-3SF, and NEG take-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the nobleman surety **on** her marriage-fee, pay-IMPER-3SG himself

*If a man takes a woman by abduction and comes with her [i.e. brings her] to a nobleman's house to sleep with her, and the nobleman does not take a surety **for** her marriage fee, let him pay it himself.*

However the relationship of the MACH to the two parties to the event is as a passive transferred object. A party appointing a MACH "gives" (RHODDI) him, and in accepting the other party's MACH "takes" (CYMRYD) him, with prepositional language to match.

(1077) Er eyl yu o deruyd e den rody mach **e** arall ar peth anylys en ryth dylys, [LI:65]

the second be-PRES-3SG if happen-PRES-3SG to person give-VN surety **to** other on thing invalid in shape valid

The second [vain suretyship] is if it happens to a person [that he] gives a surety **to** another for an invalid thing in place of a valid [one].

(1078) O deruyd e den kemryt mach **e gan** arall ar beth, [LI:64]

if happen-PRES-3SG to person take-VN surety **from-with** other on something

*If it happens to a person [that he] takes a surety **from** another for something*

The relationship of the MACH to their own party reflects the language of possession, marking the party as source with Y GAN or as possessor or member of a relationship with I.

(1079) "Kubelwat", hep e kynnogyn, "nat vyt uach ty **e gennyf** uy nac ar henne nac ar dym". [LI:58]

"whole-denial" say-PRET-3SG the principal-debtor, "NEG be-PRES-3SG surety you-SG **from-with-1SG** me NEG on that NEG on anything"

*"Complete denial," said the principal debtor, "You are not a surety **for me** neither for this nor for anything."*

(1080) Ny dele nep kemryt mach en un dydyauc, canes onys haul en e dyd hunnu neut edyu en amser nat oes uach **ydau**. [LI:63]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG anyone take-VN surety PART one daily, since if-NEG claim-PRES-3SG in the day that PART leave-PRES-3SG in time NEG be-PRES-3SG surety **to-3SM**

*No one ought to take a surety [for] one [particular] day, since if he doesn't claim [it] on that day, he is left in a time when there is no surety **to him** [i.e. he has no surety].*

But when the MACH acts, it is as a substitute agent, marking the expected agent with TROS.

(1081) "Y gymryt a wnaf," heb y Pwyll. "Keis ueicheu **drossot**." [PPD:17:28]

it take-VN PART do-PRES-1SG, say-PRET-3SG Pwyll, seek-IMPER-2SG sureties **over-2SG**

*"I will take [that]," said Pwyll. "Seek sureties **on your behalf**."*

In parallel with the function of the MACH, a legal contract (particularly one involving debt) may involve a pledge (GWYSTL) offered as security for future performance. (The same word can mean "hostage" when used of a person.) If the topic of the pledge is not performed, the pledge is forfeit just as, if the topic of a suretyship is not performed, the surety is responsible for taking over the performance and, in fact, the surety may play a role in confiscating a pledge and releasing it to the appropriate party after performance or non-performance by the appointed date. This pledge, being a physical object, is naturally described with the language of transferred objects, being given (RHODDI) by the one, but taken by other party more often using DWYN (to bear (away), to carry) as well as CYMRYD (to take, accept), and it may be taken *from* using either Y GAN as above, or Y AR, suggesting some unclear relationship between the pledge and the party giving it other than simple object-transfer. (Fictive motion involving Y AR to mark the source typically involves the cessation of negative states, which is hard to connect with this usage.)

(1082) O deruyd e'r mach rody peth maur eg guestel peth bychan, keureyth yu e'r haulur kemryt er hen a roder **ydau** er e ueynt eg guestel, a chet collo hunnu kyn no'r oet nyt atuer er haulur **tracheuen** namen e traean **e**'r mach a'e rodes **attav**. E mach hagen a'e dyuc e'r kennogen en kubyl, canys agkyureythyaul e duc. [LI:62]

if happen-PRES-3SG to the surety give-VN thing big in pledge thing small, law is-PRES 3SG to the claimaint take-VN the this REL give-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS **to-3SM** for his amount in pledge, and though lose-PRES-SUBJ-3SG that before/earlier than the time NEG return-VN the claimant **beyond-back** except the third **to** the surety REL-it give PRET-3SG **to-3SM**. the surety however PART-it compensate-PRES-3SG to the principal-debtor PART whole, since illegal it bear-PRET-3SG

*If it happens to a surety [that he] gives a big thing as pledge [for] a small thing, the law is for the claimant to accept that which is given **to him**, despite its amount, as a pledge, and though he should lose that before the [due] date the claimaint will not return [anything] **back** except a third **to** the surety who gave it **to him**. The surety, however, compensates it to the principal debtor completely, since he took it illegally.*

(1083) Ny dele mach duen guestel **y ar** e kennogen ae ef en negesseu e argluyd neu en e negesseu ehun neu en wan [LI:63]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG surety bear-VN pledge **from-on** the principal-debtor either he in errands his lord or in his errands his-own or PART sick

*A surety is not entitled to take a pledge **from** the principal debtor if he is on his lord's errands or on his own errands or [is] sick*

3.6.2 Legal Values, Payments, and Fines

Another cornerstone of Medieval Welsh law is the concept of established legal values for people, objects, and actions–values which are often affected by status. (So, for example, a dog has a higher legal value if owned by a king than the same dog would have if owned by a farmer.) Human beings have two related types of legal value: their GWERTH ("value") which may be thought of as a "life price", to be repaid to the family in the case of caused death, and the SARHAED (honor price) which must be paid to the

individual for insults to his honor or "face". (An alternate name for this is GWYNEBWERTH "face + value".) Non-human animals and inanimate objects have only GWERTH "value" which, as mentioned above, may be variable according to the status of the owner, but also according to their functionality (e.g. working animals have their highest value when in their prime and properly trained).

Value may be related to an entity by a genitive construction, or it may be expressed as a property of the thing valued, using AR to mark the latter. The bearer of value may also be indicated by AM, profiling the equivalence of the two and the potential for exchange (see the discussion in section 3.3.2.3.2 on the use of AM for matching and equivalence relationships). And, in fact, while AM may be used in neutral situations describing value, it is more commonly found in dynamic situations profiling the actual payment of the value, or in situations where the thing being valued is a legal infraction and so the focus is on re-payment rather than inherent "value" in the positive sense. (This context creates a strong overlap with "legal cause", where the infraction may also be interpreted as the driving basis of the act of payment.)

(1084) Guerth y llo yw iiii.k' hyt kalan gayaf, ac o henne allan un werth a phob un uyd; xvi. **ar** y llaeth a pedeyr keynnyauc **am** y llo. [LI:127]

value the calf be-PRES-3SG 4 penny length calends winter, and from then out one value with/and each one be-PRES-3SG; 16 **on** the milk and four penny **about** the calf

The calf's value is four pence until the winter calends, and from then on it is the same value as each one; sixteen [pence] ***for*** *the milk and four pence* ***for*** *the calf.*

(1085) croen dauat a gauyr a yurch ac yerchell, i.k' **ar** pob onadunt; [LI:137]

skin sheep and goat and roebuck and roe, one penny **on** each of-3PL

*The skin of a sheep and a goat and a roebuck and a roedeer [is worth] one penny **for** each of them.*

(1086) Pob alltut mab ucheluur, hanner sarhaet alltut brenhyn a hanner e werth ysyd **arnau**. [LI:110]

every foreigner son nobleman, half insult-price foreigner king and half his value be-PRES REL-3SG **on-3SM**

*Every nobleman's foreigner–half the insult-price of a king's foreigner, and half his [legal] value is **on him** [i.e. he has].*

(1087) **Am** yar, i.k' a tal [LI:132]

about hen, one penny PART pay-PRES-3SG

***For** a hen [a legal value of] one penny is paid.*

(1088) **Am** wneythur tull arney, xxiiii. [LI:138]

about make-VN hole on-3SF, 24

***For** making a hole in it [i.e. an oak tree], 24 [pence fine].*

In a few individual examples, value may be characterized in other ways. Once, it is described as contents of the thing valued, using YN. In another situation involving changes of value, the state of continuing at a particular value is described with TRIGO AR "to remain/dwell on", using the language of volitional motion in space.

(1089) Gwerth trychan mu o eur gwerthuawr a oed **yn** y archenat a'e warthafleu, o benn y glun hyt ym blayn y uvs. [CO:78]

value three-hundred cattle of gold valuable PART be-IMPERF-3SG **in** his footwear and his stirrups from head the knee length in front his toe

*The value of three hundred cattle in precious gold was **in** his footwear and his stirrups from the top of his knee to the tip of his toes.*

(1090) ac gwedy lladho llygot, pedeyr keynnyavc kyvreythyavl, ac **ar** henny e tryc vyth. [LI:131]

and after kill-PRES-SUBJ-3SG mice, four penny legal, and **on** that PART dwell-PRES 3SG ever

*And after [a cat] kills mice, [its value is] four legal pence, and **at** that [level] it remains forever.*

The language of value and payment is pervasive in legal language, and the fundamental maintenance of balance and equity (as presented in these texts) is based on this concept. In theory, non-monetary punishment or vengeance represents a failure of the legal system (which is not to say that such failures may not have been common). However, when non-monetary consequences of infractions are described, the consequences are still related to the infraction with AM, relating it to the language of equivalence and payment.

(1091) A hynny yw uym penyt **am** lad ohonaf uu hun uy mab a'e diuetha. [PPD:25:14]

and that be-PRES-3SG my penance **about** kill-VN of-1SG my self my son and him destroy-VN

*And that is my penance **for** [the] killing by me [of] my son, and destroying him.*

(1092) a chymer gedernit y ganthaw na bo ammouyn na dial uyth **amdanaw**, a digawn yw hynny o gosp arnaw. [PPD:17:22]

and take IMPER-2SG confirmation from-with-3SM NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG claim NEG vengeance ever **about-3SM**, and enough be-PRES-3SG that of penalty on-3SM

*and take confirmation from him there will be no claim or vengeance ever **about it [i.e. for it]**, and that will be enough of a penalty on him.*

In addition to AM, we find ER used to indicate a sense of "equivalent value", either in describing value neutrally, or in dynamic situations. While AM normally has the

value or payment as the trajector, and the thing valued or the infraction as the landmark, ER can be found with the roles in either position. Perhaps more commonly than AM, it is found in situations characterizing informal social interactions metaphorically as economic exchanges (while AM is more common for relatively formal interactions or ones where the economic metaphor is more overt).

(1093) Sarhaet caeth, deudec keynnyauc: chuech **er** peys a theyr **er** llauder ac un **er** raff ac un **er** gudyf ac un **er** kuaraneu. [LI:110]

insult-price slave, twelve penny: six **for** tunic and three **for** trousers and one **for** rope and one **for** bill-hook and one **for** shoes

*The insult-price [of] a slave [is] twelve pence: six **for** his tunic and three **for** his trousers and one **for** his rope and one **for** his bill-hook and one **for** his shoes.*

(1094) Oes obeith gennyt ti ar gaffel dy ellwng ae **yr** eur ae **yr** aryant ae **yr** golut presennawl, ae **yr** catwent ac ymlad? [CO:916]

be-PRES-3SG hope with-2SG you-SG on get-VN your-SG release-VN either **for** gold either **for** silver either **for** wealth worldly either **for** battle and MUTUAL-fight-VN

*Is there hope with you [i.e. do you have hope] of getting your release either **for** gold or **for** silver or **for** worldly wealth or **by** battle and fighting?*

(1095) Ac **yr** guaret gormes hwnnw y arnaf—a hynny a elly yn haut—y keffy uyg kerennyd. [PPD:3:3]

and **for** remove-VN oppression that from-on-1SG—and that PART be-able-PRES-2SG PART easy—PART get-PRES-2SG my friendship

*And **for** removing that oppression from me—and that you can do easily—you will get my friendship.*

Discussions of SARHAED, whether in terms of the property (honor price) or in terms of the offence for which it is due (insult) are rarely neutral in context. SARHAED, as a value, is related to the individual by a genitive construction. But as an action (i.e.

insulting [someone]) it is related to the injured party as an experience, using I, or as a negative or hostile action, using AR.

(1096) Sarhaet brenhyn Aberfrav ual hyn y telyr: [LI:3]

insult-price king Aberffraw like this PART pay-PRES-IMPERS

The king [of] Aberffraw's insult-price is paid like this

(1097) o cheyff hytheu wreyc gan e gur, sarhaet yu **ydy** hytheu [LI:110]

if get-PRES-3SG she-EMPH woman with her husband, insult be-PRES-3SG **to-3SF** her-EMPH

*if she catches a woman with her husband, it is insult **to her***

(1098) E sarhaet yv, herwyd rey, kemeynt a sarhaet perchennavc e tyr e sarhaer **arnav**, ac euelly e alanas; [LI:34]

his insult-price be-PRES-3SG, by some, same-amount with/and insult-price owner the land REL insult-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS **on-3SM**, and thus his murder-price

*His insult-price, according to some, is the same amount as the insult-price [of] the owner of the land **on which** he is insulted, and similarly his murder-price.*

There are fewer examples showing the linguistic treatment of GWYNEB (face), but one colorful example treats it as a possession that may be taken by another. This is not a situation where an antagonist is doing unmotivated social injury to the "owner" of the face, but where that owner has behaved in a socially unacceptable fashion towards the antagonist and the antagonist is threatening to carry through on the social consequences, i.e. to "make un-fame". This shows the close connection mentioned in the preceding section between face/honor and appropriate behavior: the antagonist is only threatening verbal action, but the social consequences would be tangible if this diminished "face", and hence the bearer's ability to gain financial compensation for infractions, were commonly

accepted.

(1099) Mynet a wnaf i, a'th wyneb di a dygaf i **genhyf**. [CO:380]

go-VN PART do-PRES-1SG I, and your-SG face your-SG PART bear-PRES-1SG I **with-1SG**

*I will go, but I will take your face **with me**.*

3.6.3 Emotional Interactions

Language about emotional interactions shows the broad range of metaphoric understandings of this topic, both conventional (or even grammaticalized) understandings regularly associated with particular scenarios, and freely variable understandings that may be used in preference to these. The basic structure of emotional interactions is discussed in section 3.3.2.2.3.3. A stimulus occurs and is experienced by the "primary experiencer". The stimulus induces a state of emotional response in the primary experiencer. This emotional response may motivate the primary experiencer to behave in certain ways (the expression of emotion), in particular, towards the original simulus (the patient/experiencer of expressed emotion). That behavior, in turn may be a stimulus for other events (particularly if the original stimulus involves a person). Emotional interactions may be categorized into those where the scenario is expected to be symmetric (i.e. two entities are each a stimulus for identical emotions in the other), such as love and hate, and those where the scenario is expected to be asymmetric, such as fear or desire.

The stimulus, when that role alone is profiled, may be marked with causal language using O, or with WRTH when the stimulus is a human being (but this role only

seems to occur in combination with "patient of expressed emotion"–see below), or with RHAG when the resulting emotion is negative (e.g. fear).

(1100) A-thristau a-oruc yr amhera6dyr yna **o**-tebygu na chaffei byth chwedleu y 6rth y wreic u6yhaf a-garei. [BM:184:3]

and become-sad-VN PART do-PRET-3SG the emperor then **from** suppose-VN NEG get IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG ever news from-with the woman most PART love-IMPERF-3SG

*And the emperor became sad then **from** supposing that he would never get news about the woman he loved most.*

(1101) Mae uyg kallon yn tirioni **vrthyt**. [CO:166]

be-PRES-3SG my heart PART become-tender-VN **with-2SG**

*My heart becomes tender **towards you** [or: **because of you**].*

(1102) Ac yd aeth a'r niueroed hynny oll hyt yn Iwerdon, ac y bu ouyn mawr ac ergryn **racdaw** yn Iwerdon. [CO:1060]

and PART go-PRET-3SG with/and the retinues those all length-in Ireland, and PART be PRET-3SG fear big and trembling **before-3SM** in Ireland

*And he went with all those retinues to Ireland, and there was great fear and trembling **before him** [i.e. **because of him**] in Ireland.*

The relationship of the emotion itself to the primary experiencer is even more variable. The instigation of the experience–whether positive or negative–may be characterized as object-internalization, using YN or TRWY. (EMOTIONS ARE CONTENTS OF THE EXPERIENCER, EXPERIENCING AN EMOTION IS INTERNALIZING IT.) Most typically, the action of the verb suggests voluntary internalization on the part of the experiencer (CYMRYD "to take", DALA "to take, to seize"), but verbs indicating independent motion suggest a more passive experience of the emotion. Using a richer version of this metaphor, the path of entry for the emotion may indicate the particular sensory path

involved in the simulus.

(1103) Hitheu a gymerth diruawr lywenyd **yndi**. [MFM:85:12]

she-EMPH PART take-PRET-3SG very-great joy **in-3SF**

*She took great joy **inside herself.***

(1104) Ac yn y dryded ulwydyn y dechreuis gwyr y wlat dala trymuryt **yndunt** o welet gwr kymeint a gerynt a'e harglwyd ac eu brawduaeth yn dietiued, a'e dyuynnu attunt a wnaethont. [PPD:19:18]

and in the third year PART begin-PRET-3SG men the country hold sad-mind **in-3PL** from see-VN man so-much PART love-PRES-3PL with/and their lord and their foster-brother PART un-heir, and him summon-VN to-3PL PART do-PRET-3PL

*And in the third year, the men of the land began to hold sadness **in them** [i.e. to become anxious] from seeing a man they loved so much as their lord and foster-brother being without an heir, and they summoned him to them.*

(1105) Scilti Yscawntroet, pan uei wyn hwyl kerdet **yndaw** vrth neges y arglwyd, ny cheisswys ford eiroet am gwypei py le yd elei; [CO:239]

Sgilti Ysgawntroed, when be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG desire travel-VN **in-3SM** with errange his lord, NEG seek-PRET-3SG road ever about know-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG what place PART go-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG

*Sgilti Ysgawntroed: when the mood [to] travel was **in him** on his lord's errand, he never sought a road, if he knew the way he would go.*

(1106) diaspat a dodit pob nos Kalan Mei vch bob aelwyt yn Ynys Prydein, a honno a aei **trwy** gallonneu y dynyon ac a'e hofnockaei [LL:35]

cry PART put-IMPERF-IMPERS each night calends May above each hearth in Island Britain, and that PART go-IMPERF-3SG **through** hearts the people and PART them frighten-IMPERF-3SG

*a shout is given each night of the May calends over every hearth in the Island of Britain, and that goes **through** the hearts of the people and frightens them*

(1107) Lliuaw a oruc y mab, a mynet a oruc serch y uorwyn **ym** pob aelawt itaw kyn nys rywelhei eiroet. [CO:52]

color-VN PART do-PRET-3SG the boy and go-VN PART do-PRET-3SF passion the maiden **in** each limb to-3SM though NEG-her PART-see-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG ever

*The boy colored and passion [for] the maiden went **into** every limb of his although he had never seen her.*

Once the experience of the emotion has been initiated, that experience as a static state may be characterized as contents, using YN as above, or as a possession (using GAN), or as a long-term but mutable property (using AR).

(1108) bron llech rud a oed **yndaw**. [CO:318]

breast fever red PART be-IMPERF-3SG **in-3SM**

*There was a red [hot] breast-fever **in him** [i.e. he had an unnatural thirst].*

(1109) "Arglwyd," heb hi, "digrifwch a didanwch oed **gennyf** i bei mynnut ti.[PPD:23:10]

lord, say-PRET-3SG she, enjoyment and entertainment be-IMPERF-3SG **with-1SG** me if wish-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG you

*"Lord," she said, "[It would be] enjoyment and entertainment t**o me**, if you wish [it]."*

(1110) Chwi a'e keffwch yn llawen, ac na vit ofyn **arnawch**. [BR:4:20]

you-PL PART it get-PRES-2PL PART happy, and NEG be-IMPER-3SG fear **on-2PL**

*You will get that gladly, and let there be no fear **on you** [i.e. don't be afraid].*

When the experience of emotion motivates the primary experiencer to behave in a particular manner towards the stimulus (and we are dealing here exculsively with human stimuli), a variety of strategies with individual motivations occur. Very typically, this behavior is simultaneously interpretable as a stimulus for emotion in the patient of the

behavior–or is ambiguous with an emotional state experienced by that patient—and the various senses can be difficult to disentangle. The object-transfer scenario may be invoked, marking the patient of this behavior as a goal (and typically using verbs of object-transfer such as RHODDI "to give").

(1111) Ha wreic, pei mi ry wascut uelly, y oruydei ar arall uyth rodi serch **im**. [CO:464]
o woman, if I PART squeeze-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG thus, NEG overcome-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG on other ever give-VN passion **to-1SG**
*O woman, if you had embraced me thus, there would be no need on anyone ever [to] give love **to me**.*

Although the connection between AR marking bearers of characteristics or experiencers of states is somewhat removed from the AR of spatial location, the use of AR to mark a patient of expressed emotion may be thought to have the same relationship to the AR marking the experiencer of emotion, as the spatial goal and location senses have to each other. In the example using DODI (to place), the metaphoric connection is explicit: person A "places" love on person B; that love is now located "on" person B, i.e. person B experiences it. (But note that DODI +AR is a conventional association that transcends the motivations of immediate context–see section 4.2.1.2.) When the roles of stimulus and patient of expression are thoroughly intertwined, the most common preposition used is WRTH, often profiling actual spatial co-location of the parties involved (and physical presence as a stimulus) in addition to drawing on the use of WRTH for salient circumstances or context (i.e. the "reason" sense of WRTH). But

WRTH can occur even when the emotional event is presented as unidirectional and asymmetric. Profiling the physical presence of the stimulus can also be done with YN ERBYN. (Note that the immediate example involves a positive emotion, in contrast to the more typical use of YN ERBYN in hostile scenarios.)

(1112) Ac o achaws y serch, a'r caryat, a dodassei pob un o honunt **ar** y gilyd [MFM:85:12]

and from cause the passion and the love REL place-PLUP-3SG each one of-3PL **on** his fellow

*And because of the passion and the love that each one of them placed **on** the other [i.e. expressed to the other]*

(1113) A glasressawu a wnaethant **ar y gwyr**. [BR:3:3]

and cold-welcome PART do-PRET-3PL **on the men**

*And they coldly welcomed **the men**.*

(1114) Llawen uu pob un **wrth** y gilid ohonunt. [PPD:6:17]

happy be-PRET-3SG each one **with** his fellow of-3PL

*Each one of them was happy **because of [or: toward]** each other.*

(1115) "Ny buum drwc i etwa **wrthyt** ti," heb ef. [MFM:81:4]

NEG be-PRET-1SG bad I yet **with-2SG** you-SG, say-PRET-3SG he

"*I haven't yet been nasty **to you"**, he said.*

(1116) Y llys a gyrchyssant, a diruawr llywenyd a uu **yn y herbyn**. [PPD:25:18]

the court PART approach-PRET-3PL and very-great joy PART be-PRET-3SG **in-their against**

*They approached the court, and there was great happiness **before them [i.e. at their arrival]**.*

The following example is interesting for contrasting specific aspects of the scenario as stimulus (conversation) and patient of expression (her).

(1117) Ac yna dechreu kydeisted ac ymdidan o Uanawydan a Riannon; ac **o**'r ymdidan tirioni a wnaeth y uryt a'y uedwl **wrthi**, [MFL:50:15]

and then begin-VN together-sit-VN and MUTUAL-converse-VN of Manawyddan and Rhiannon; and **of** the conversation become-tender-VN PART do-PRET-3SG his mind and his thoughts **with-3SF**,

And then Manawyddan and Rhiannon began to sit together and converse, and ***from*** *the conversation his mind and thoughts became tender* ***towards her****,*

Emotional interactions, and particularly symmetric ones, are also good candidates for the use of RHWNG to mark dual elements in a role.

(1118) Hueil y ewythyr a'e gwant, ac am hynny y bu gas **rwg** Arthur a Hueil am yr archoll. [CO:259]

Huail his uncle PART him stab-PRET-3SG, and about that PART be-PRET-3SG hatred **between** Arthur and Huail about the wound

Huail, his uncle, stabbed him, and because of that there was hatred ***between*** *Arthur and Huail because of the wound.*

So, in addition to the usual relatively grammaticalized markers (e.g. O for reasons, RHWNG for dual roles), and markers with broad abstract semantics (e.g. RHAG with hostile or negative scenarios), we see four metaphors for emotional experience:

- EMOTIONS ARE CONTENTS OF THE EXPERIENCER, INITIALIZING THE EXPERIENCE OF EMOTION IS INTERNALIZATION OF AN OBJECT, INVOLUNTARY EMOTIONS ARE INDEPENDENTLY MOVING OBJECTS, VOLUNTARY EMOTIONS ARE SELF-INTERNALIZED OBJECTS
- EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS, EXPERIENCING EMOTION IS POSSESSING AN OBJECT, EXPRESSING AN EMOTION IS TRANSFERRING AN OBJECT
- EMOTIONS ARE SEMI-STABLE CHARCTERISTICS (CHARACTERISTICS ARE CONTROLLING ENTITIES), RELIEF FROM AN EMOTION IS ABSENCE OF A CHARACTERISTIC (or, possibly cutting through several layers: RELIEF FROM AN EMOTION IS REMOVAL OF A CONTROLLING ENTITY)
- EMOTIONS ARE A NATURAL RESULT OF ENVIRONMENTAL SURROUNDINGS, EMOTIONS ARE STIMULATED BY AND EXPRESSED TOWARDS CO-LOCATED (HUMAN) ENTITIES

3.6.4 Names

Language around names and naming is interesting for its use as a focal point around which various usages and concepts emerge. Names, as an attribute, are "on" (AR) the person named, placing them in the same group as attributes such as color (and other visible surface features), age, pace or manner of motion, "special properties" (i.e. unusual, especially supernatural, characteristics that distinguish an entity from its natural class), social status, and legal value. On the other hand, this usage places it in a different category from strongly inalienable relationships such as with body parts or interpersonal relationships, as well as in a different category from easily transferrable possessions.

(1119) "Dioer," heb ef, "nit oes **arnaw** un enw etwa." [MFM:79:2]

God-knows, say-PRET-3SG he, NEG be-IMPERF-3SG **on-3SM** one name yet

*"God knows," he said, "there is not a single name **on him** yet [i.e. he doesn't have a single name yet]."*

Compare:

(1120) A gwaell eur yn y llenn ar yr ysgwyd deheu **idaw** kyn vrasset a garanvys milwr. [BR:14:1]

and pin gold in the cloak on the shoulder right **to-3SM** as thick with middle-finger soldier

*And a gold pin in the cloak on the right shoulder **of him**, as thick as the middle finger of a soldier.*

(1121) Nyt oes **gennyf** uy a talhuyf uy ychuy namen ue march, a hunnu nys talaf uy yuchuy ac nys guestlaf. [LI:62]

NEG be-PRES-3SG **with-1SG** me REL pay-PRES-SUBJ-1SG I to-2PL except my horse, and that NEG-it pay-PRES-1SG I to-2PL and NEG-it pledge-PRES-1SG

*There is nothing **with me** [i.e. I have nothing] that I could pay to you except my horse, and that I will not pay to you and I will not pledge [it].*

A name may be acquired by someone placing it on you (DODI AR), or more rarely by having it driven onto you (GYRRU AR, this expression seems to correlate with derogatory names). Or, if the act of naming is not profiled, the establishment of the name may be done by simply calling (GALW) the person the name (as a direct object).

(1122) Ac y bedydyaw o'r bydyd a wneynt yna, a dodi Blodeued **arnei**. [MFM:83:26]

and her baptize-VN of the baptism REL do-IMPERF-3PL then, and place-VN Blodeuwedd **on-3SF**

*And she was baptized with the baptism that was done then, and [the name] "Blodeuwedd" was placed **on her.***

(1123) Ac o hynny y gyrrwyt **arnaf** ynneu Idawc Cord Brydein. [BR:5:10]

and from that PART drive-PRET-IMPERS **on-1SG** me-EMPH Iddog Cordd Brydain

*And because of that, there was driven [i.e. forced] **onto me** [the nickname] "Iddog Cordd Brydain".*

(1124) ac o achaws hynny y gelwit Dylan Eil Ton. [MFM:77:24]

and from cause that PART call-IMPERF-IMPERS Dylan Eil Ton

and because of that, he was called "Dylan Eil Ton".

A change of name, like other changes of state, may be a change "into" (YN) the new form.

(1125) Tyr kyllydus hagen ny deleyr e rannu herwyd brodyr namen maer a chyghellaur a deleant e rannu, a rody e paub kystal a'e gylyd en e tref; ac urth henne e gelwyr **en** tyr kyuryf. [LI:83]

land rented however NEG ought-PRES-IMPERS it share-VN by brothers except maer and canghellor PART ought-PRES-3PL it share-VN and give-VN to everyone as-good with/and his fellow in the village; and with that PART call-PRES-IMPERS **in** land count

*Rentable land, however, ought not be shared by brothers, rather the maer and canghellor ought to divide it, and give to everyone as good as his fellow in the village; and because of that, one names it **as** "reckon land".*

If one is addressed by name, one may be called (GALW) it, or named (ENWI) by it. And if the name itself, as a form of address, is profiled, one may be addressed by means of (ERBYN) the name–using the same "access" expression as is used for taking someone *by* the hand, or grasping an object *by* the edge.

(1126) A llyna yr achaus: pob dyn a holer y alanas a dylyir y enwy **erbyn** y henv, na gur uo na gwreyc, ac na ellyr enwy nep **erbyn** y henv yny uedydyer ac urth henne e mae dyr e uot enteu ar ureynt e beychyogy ene uedydhyer. [LI:97]

and behold the cause: each person REL ask-PRES-IMPERS his murder-fee PART ought PRES-IMPERS him name-VN **against** his name, NEG man be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG NEG woman, and NEG be-able-PRES-IMPERS name-VN anyone **against** his name until baptize-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS and with that PART be-PRES-3SG necessary him be-VN him-EMPH on status the birth until baptize-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS

*And behold the reason [there is no murder-fine for a fetus]: anyone whose murder-fee is demanded ought to be named **by** his name, whether it is a man or a woman, and one can't name anyone **by** his name until his is baptized; and because of that it is necessary for him to be at a fetus's status until baptized.*

Compare:

(1127) a'e kemryt o hunnu **erbyn** e lau e deheu a'e rody en llau er eylgur hynaf, a rody o hunnu kussan heuyt ydau; [LI:103]

and him take-VN of that **against** his hand his right and it give-VN in hand the second-man oldest, and give-VN of that kiss also to-3SM

*And he takes him **by** the right hand and puts it into the hand of the second-oldest man, and that one gives a kiss to him also.*

The reason for a particular name may be marked with WRTH or Y WRTH, combining REASONS ARE SOURCES with the use of WRTH for language-related landmarks; or, in a less specific form, by O, O ACHOS, or AM. Although the data is too scanty for strong conclusions, Y WRTH occurs when the landmark is a specific linguistic reference, while WRTH occurs with more distanced explanations of the reason.

(1128) Ac o-acha6s hynny y gelwir ffyrd elen luyda6c **6rth** y hanuot hi o-ynys prydein. [BM:188:4]

and from cause that PART call-PRES-IMPERS roads Elen Lwyddog **with** PART originate VN she from island Britain

*And because of that [they] are called "the roads of Elen Lwyddog", **because** she came from the Island of Britain.*

(1129) A bydydaw y mab a orucpwyt, a gyrru Kulhwch arnaw **dy vrth** y gaffel yn retkyr hwch. [CO:9]

and baptize-VN the boy PART do-PRET-IMPERS and drive-VN Culhwch on-3SM **from-with** him get-VN in run pig

*And the boy was baptized, and [the name] Culhwch was driven onto him [i.e. given him] **from** his being found in a pig-run.*

(1130) Ac **o** hynny y gyrrwyt arnaf ynneu Idawc Cord Brydein. [BR:5:10]

and **from** that PART drive-PRET-IMPERS on-1SG me-EMPH Iddog Cordd Brydain

*And **because of** that, there was driven [i.e. forced] onto me [the nickname] "Iddog Cordd Brydain".*

(1131) ac **o'r achaws hwnnw** y dodet Creuwryon ar y dref. [MFM:71:14]

and **of the cause that** PART place-PRET-IMPERS Creuwrion on the town

*and **for that reason** [the nickname] "Creuwrion" was placed on the town.*

(1132) Ac wrth hynny y gelwir etwa Calch Llassar, **am** y wneuthur o Lassar Llaes Gygnwyt. [MFL:52:25]

and with that PART call-PRES-IMPERS yet Calch Llassar, **about** it make-VN of Llassar Llaes Gygnwyd

*And because of that, it is still called "Calch Llassar", **because** it was made by Llassar Llaes Gygnwyd.*

Overall, a name is a stable but mutable property of an entity–neither an inherent part of it nor a mere possession–a distinct entity by which the person may be accessed (and manipulated?), and one that is understood clearly as a linguistic entity. There is often a clear reason for the bestowal of a name of a particular form, and a name may be created simply by the act of speaking it, or by the fictive transfer by a separate agent (the namer) where the person named is a passive (or sometimes, perhaps, even an unwilling) participant.

4 Synthesis

In this final section, I apply the analysis in the preceding section to questions that cross specific semantic topics. First, I am interested in comparing the patterns of meaning change and grammaticalization seen in the Medieval Welsh data with larger patterns that have been identified. Second, I examine the various strategies influencing preposition choice and demonstrate how they play out against each other in selected semantic fields.

4.1 Cross-Linguistic Patterns in Grammaticalization

As discussed in section 1.4, grammaticalization is a process whereby elements with a more lexical function evolve into ones with a more grammatical function, often accompanied by shifts in grammatical category or phonological reduction (Heine 1997b, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Huumo 1996, Nikiforidou 1991, and Svorou 1986, 1994, among others). For example, nominal elements undergoing grammaticalization can take the following path:

1. Lexical nouns may develop into adverbs or be taken into genitive constructions (with the landmark).
2. These adverbs or genitive constructions may be reanalyzed as adpositions.
3. Adpositions that become sufficiently phonologically reduced may become clitics and, further, affixes.
4. These affixes, in a receptive grammatical environment, may develop into inflections.

As Svorou (1994) notes, the adverbial and genitive paths are related to typological features of the language. The first stage via the genitive can be seen in the development of

Welsh ERBYN, where the OIr and MCo forms represent the earlier stage with a loose compound equivalent to ER + PEN + genitive landmark (Hamp 1975a), while the second stage is seen in the Welsh forms where ERBYN has fused phonologically and been reanalyzed as an independent adposition. (Steps three and four are not found in my material.) The more dramatic shifts are confined in my study to the evolutionary pathways producing the prepositions themselves (see section 2.3). While we see some examples of phonological reduction of prepositions accompanying a shift to more abstract or grammatical meaning (e.g. the greater tendency to lose source-marking Y when compounds using it are used non-spatially), even the most strongly grammatical end-products still function syntactically as prepositions, rather than becoming affixes.

While particular grammaticalization changes cannot be predicted, there are clear patterns and restrictions when studied across many languages. The cross-linguistic comparison material here is taken from a wide variety of languages as described in Emanatian 1992, Fleischman (1982a, Romance), Genetti (1986, Bodic), Haspelmath (1989, Germanic), Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991, a large selection of African languages), Heine and Kuteva (2002, various languages), Heine and Reh (1984, a large selection of African languages), Huumo (1996, Finnish and Estonian), Lichtenberk (1991, Oceanic), Svorou (1986, various languages), Sweetser (1990, various Indo-European languages, primarily English), and Taub (1998, Uighur). Physical manipulation operates as a source for grammaticalization, but not as a result. Elements expressing location, direction, movement, and its sources or goals are by far the largest category of sources for

grammaticalization (producing elements with a wide variety of functions and meanings) but are considerably less likely to be a result of the process. Case-role markers (other than those covered under spatial relations) are more common as products of grammaticalization than sources (although these are not relevant to the Medieval Welsh material). DATIVE, BENEFACTIVE, and INSTRUMENTAL are the major three cases found as sources, but products include ACCUSATIVE, AGENT (of the passive), and GENITIVE. Possession, in particular, is produced from a wide variety of source-languages.

The following sections examine selected grammatical functions for which prepositions are used in Medieval Welsh (possessive/genitive, beneficiary, agent, and dative) and compare the semantic origins and relationships of those prepositions with the grammaticalization patterns found elsewhere.

4.1.1 Semantic Complexes

The interpretation of a preposition in a particular sentence as indicating a single distinct and unambiguous semantic or grammatical function is by no means the rule. In many cases, there are sections of broad overlap in meaning or function that clearly indicate the connectedness of senses and their grounding in more concrete uses and may give evidence for evolutionary paths of meaning. These chained nets of overlapping uses, which I have referred to as "semantic complexes", are the reflection in the data of the radial categories of meaning that the words represent. Taking GAN as an example, we can

find examples starting with co-location, combining that with a sense of control, strengthening the control to possession, and then possession appearing without co-location.

Co-location

(1133) Atref y doeth Arthur a Mabon **gantaw** yn ryd. [CO:927]
home PART come-PRET-3SG Arthur and Mabon **with-3SM** PART free
*Arthur came home and Mabon **with him**, free.*

Co-location with physical control

(1134) A llyma hi yn dyuot, a dwy uorwyn gyt a hi, ac arueu deu wr **gantunt**. [MFM:82:22]
and behold she PART come-VN, and two maiden together with her, and arms two men **with-3PL**
*And behold, she came, and two maidens with her, and two men's arms **with them**.*

Co-location with sense of abstract possession

(1135) Ac odyno y gyrrwys Menw mab Teirgwaed y edrych a uei y tlysseu y rwng deuglust Twrch Trwyth, rac salwen oed uynet y ymdaraw ac ef, ac ony bei y tlysseu **gantaw**. [CO:1024]

and from-there PART drive-PRET-3SG Menw son Teirgwaedd to see-VN REL be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG the treasures between two-ear Twrch Trwyth, before so-mean be-IMPERF-3SG go-VN to MUTUAL-strike-VN with/and him, and if-not be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG the treasures **with-3SM**

*And from there Menw son of Teirgwaedd went to see if the treasures were between the ears of Twrch Trwyth, because it would be so mean [a thing to] go to fight with him if the treasures were not **with him [i.e. if he did not have them]**.*

Abstract possession without co-location

(1136) yaun yu ydau eredyc e'r llall e tyr a uo **ganthau**. [LI:151]

right be-PRES-3SG to-3SM plow-VN to the other the land PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **with-3SM**

*it is right for him to plow for the other the land that would be **with him** [i.e. that he would have].*

Co-location with control also provides a pragmatic context for an instrument, and via an independent but non-volitional instrument to an agent. (Note, however, that the stronger connection of GAN with agents is as a reduced form of Y GAN via AGENTS ARE SOURCES.)

Co-located instrument

(1137) llyfnet y llawr **gan** vissweil gwarthec a'e trwnc. [BR:2:11]

slickness the ground **with** dung cattle and their urine

*the slickness of the floor **from** cattle dung and urine.*

Co-location with instrument or non-volitional agent

(1138) Nachaf gelein a welwn yn dyuot **gan** yr **ertrei** y mywn. [CO:447]

behold corpse PART see-IMPERF-1SG PART come-VN **with** the **surf** within

*Behold: I saw a corpse coming in **with** the **surf** [or: brought in **by** the **surf**].*

Co-location and agent

(1139) Os o eny a meythryn e keys y ardelu, gunaet ual hyn: dodet em pen keytweyt bot en eydau y uam a'e eny a'e ueythryn **ganthau**, ac nat aeth y ar e perchennogaeth a'e warchadu hyt hedyu. [LI:114]

if from birth and rearing PART seek-PRES-3SG it claim-VN, do-IMPER-3SG like this: place-IMPER-3SG in head keepers be-VN PART his the mother and it birth and it rearing **with-3SM**, and NEG go-PRET-3SG from-on the ownership and it care-VN length today

*And if he seeks to claim [the animal] because of birth and rearing, it is done like this: let it be placed in the heads of the keepers [i.e.take the testimony of the witnesses] that the mother was his, and it was born and raised **with** [or: **by**] **him**, and it did not go from his ownership and his keeping until today.*

Examples sharing interpretations of both co-location or possessor with an evaluative experiencer create a bridge to a more abstract experiencer. The experience of a physical attribute shades into bearers of attributes in general.

experiencer vs. co-location/possession

(1140) A'r penn a uyd kystal **gennwch** y gedymdeithas ac y bu oreu **gennwch**, ban uu arnaf i eiryoet. [BFL:45:4]

and the head PART be-PRES-3SG as-good **with-2PL** his companionshp with/and PART be-PRET-3SG best **with-2PL**, when be-PRET-3SG on-1SG me ever

*And the head will be as good **with you** [i.e. you will enjoy it as much] [in] it's companionship as when it was best **with you** [i.e. when you most enjoyed it], when it was ever on me.*

evaluative experiencer

(1141) Dilit ymdidan a wnaethant y nos honno, tra uu da **ganthunt**, a cherd a chyuedach. [BFL:37:1]

follow-VN conversation PART do-PRET-3PL the night that, beyond be-PRET-3SG good **with-3PL** with/and song and revelry

*They followed the conversation that night, while it was good **with them** [i.e. while it pleased them] with song and revelry.*

physical attribute/ability

(1142) "Arglwyd," heb ef, "nyt oes allu **gan** y march amgen noc a weleist i." [PPD:11:7]

lord, say-PRET-3SG he NEG be-IMPERF-3SG ability **with** the horse other than REL see-PRET-2SG

*"Lord," said he, "There is no ability **with** the horse [i.e. the horse has no ability] other than what you saw."*

non-physical attribute

(1143) Yr holl ieithoed yssyd **gennyt**, a chyfyeith wyt a'r rei o'r adar a'r anniueileit. [CO:842]

the all languages be-PRES-REL-3SG **with-2S**G, and same-language be-PRES-2SG with/and the some of the birds and the animals

*All the languages are **with you** [i.e. you know all languages], and you are of the same language as some of the birds and animals.*

Co-location is, by definition, context and so can be interpreted as relevant context, acquiring implications of causation, linking with unambiguous use to mark a cause.

Co-location and context

(1144) Ac ar hynny, gyt ac y bu nos, llyma dwryf arnunt, a chawat o nywl, a **chan** hynny difflannu y gaer [MFL:57:10]

and on that, together with PART be-PRET-3SG night, behold tumult on-3PL, and shower of fog, and **with** that disappear-VN the castle

*And at that, at the moment it was night, behold, a tumult on them, and a shower of fog, and **with** that the castle disappeared*

Context with implications of causation

(1145) a mab gureyc a vystler eg gulat agkyuyeyth, o cheyff beychyogy **gan** e guestlau hytheu o'e chenedel a'e hargluyd [LI:53]

and son woman REL give-hostage-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS in land foreign, if get-PRES-3SG be-pregnant-VN **with** her pledge-VN her-EMPH of her kindred and her lord

*and the son of a woman who is given as a hostage in a foreign land, if she gets pregnant **during** [or: **because of**] her being pledged by her kindred and her lord*

Co-location/context and cause

(1146) "Dioer," heb hi, "ni chawn welet llyw y weilgi **gan** pob llong ar torr y gilyd. [MFM:82:14]

God-knows, say-PRET-3SG she, NEG get-IMPERF-1SG see-VN color the sea **with** each ship on side his fellow

*"God knows," she said, "I could not get a sight of the color of the sea **with** each ship on the side of the next."*

Cause

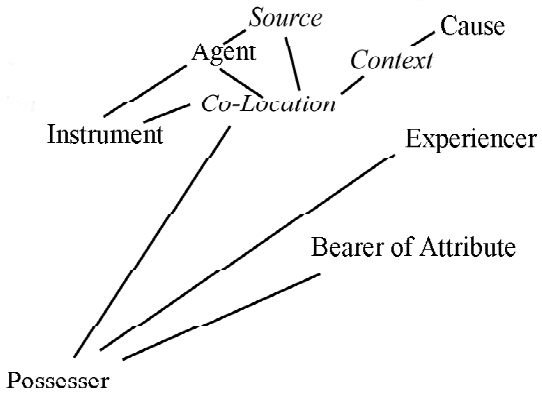
(1147) ac os kymer a'e kolly ohonau en keureythyaul ny deleyr y ennyll ydau, **can** kemyrth anylys en lle dylys. [LI:78]

and if take-PRES-3SG and it lose-VN of-3SM PART legal NEG ought-PRES-IMPERS it gain-VN to-3SM, **with** take-PRES-3SG invalid in place valid

*and if he takes [contended land] and loses it legally, no one ought to gain it for him, **since** he took the invalid in place of the valid.*

These connections are summarized in the diagram in Figure 1, with the major roles marked by the preposition in regular type and connecting senses in italics.

Figure 1: Semantic Complex of GAN



Setting aside the spatial senses and looking at the ways that meanings group across prepositions, the eight prepositions and 16 roles seen in Figures 2-5 demonstrate some of the more elaborate complexes. (These prepositions may mark other roles, and other prepositions may sometimes occur for these roles, but these are particularly common in the data.)

Figure 2: Semantic Complexes of Co-locational Prepositions: GAN, AC, WRTH

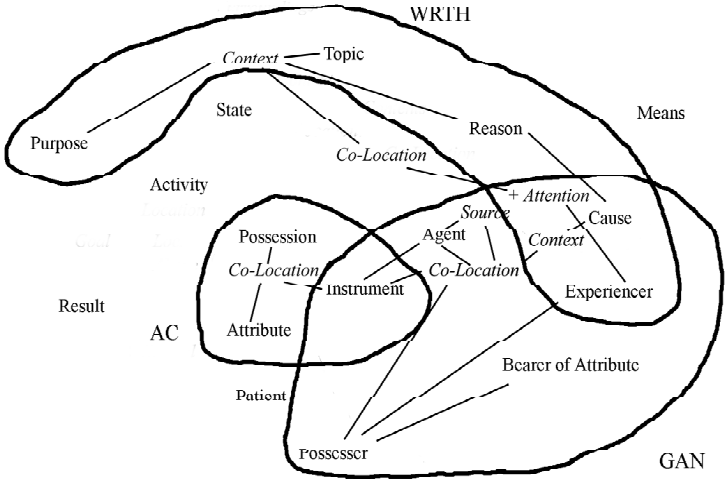


Figure 3: Semantic Complexes Showing Low-overlap Fuctions of Non-synonymous Prepositions: AM, GAN, YN

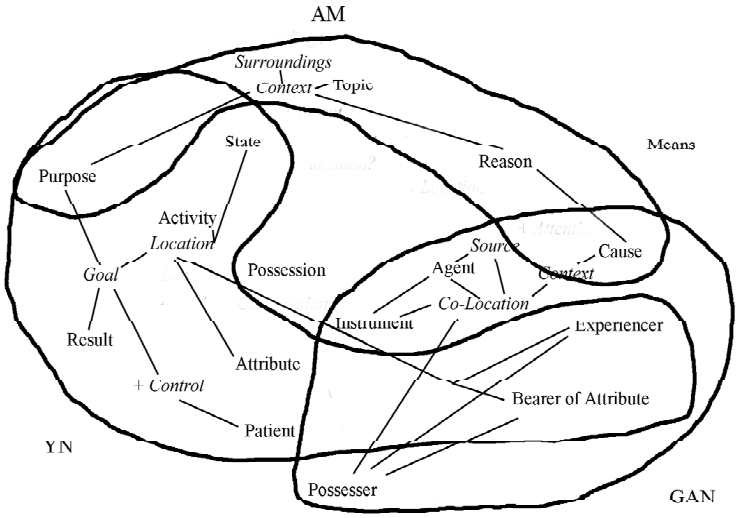


Figure 4: Semantic Complexes of Most Basic Source and Goal Prepositions: O, I

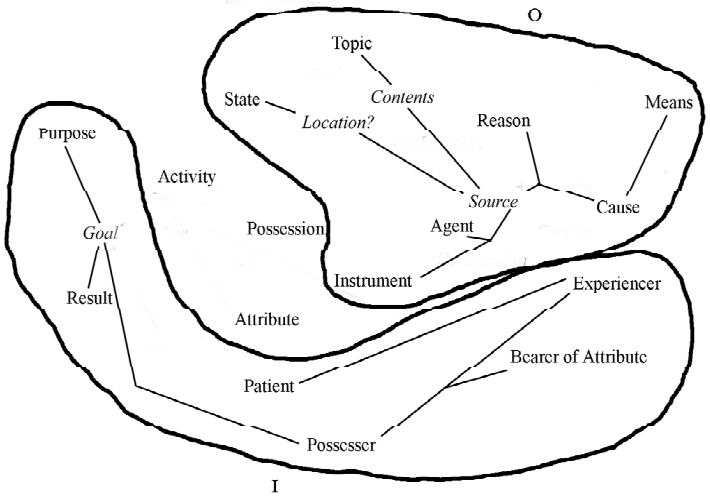
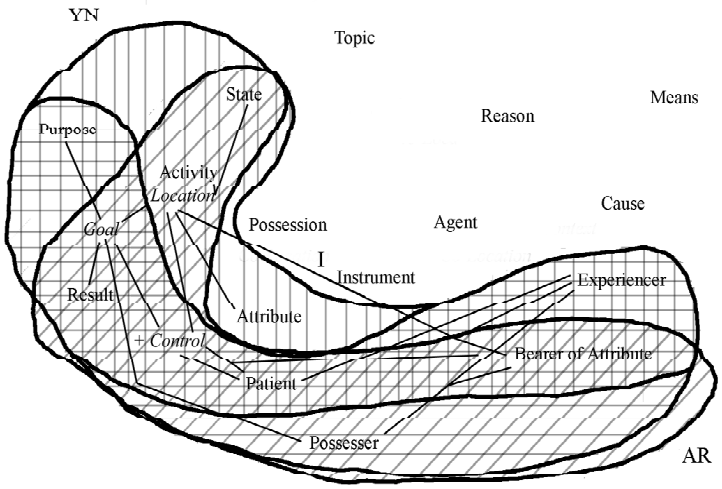


Figure 5: Semantic Complexes Showing High-overlap Functions of Non-synonymous Prepositions: I, YN, AR



Prepositions with similar basic spatial senses do not necessarily present semantic complexes of similar form–as with the co-locational prepositions GAN, AC, and WRTH (Figure 2) which overlap in relatively few roles. On the other hand, O and I with

precisely opposite spatial senses have entirely non-overlapping semantic complexes (Figure 4). In contrast, prespositions with significantly different spatial senses may show remarkable parallels in the pattern of extensions, especially in relatively grammatical functions–as with I, YN, and AR (Figure 5), where the similarity of semantic complexes appears to stem more from sharing a goal-marking potential than from their more specific semantics.

Using this organization of the data, we can see that Topic, Reason, and Cause tend to group consistently, and similarly that Possessor and Bearer of Attribute are commonly linked, while those prepositions marking Instrument have little else in common. Purpose is covered from two different angles: by prepositions largely extending goal-marking senses and by prepositions extending the Topic group of senses. This graphic approach makes it easier to see larger connections and patterns that may be missed when individual senses are examined.

4.1.2 The Expression of Grammatical Relations

These semantic complexes provide a context for considering the cross-linguistic expression of particular grammatical relations, and the place of Medieval Welsh in that context. The semantic complexes, as a whole, tend to mirror large-scale patterns of grammaticalization links, even when particular links are not used in Welsh. So, for example, the cluster of grammatical relations associated in Welsh with the preposition I tend to correlate very generally with grammatical relations commonly associated cross-

linguistically with the dative, even though the dative case itself is meaningless in a synchronic analysis of Medieval Welsh. This section explores cross-linguistic patterns in grammaticalizaton for certain common grammatical relations, focusing on how Welsh fits or does not fit those patterns.

4.1.2.1 Possession

In the comparative material specified in section 4.1, we see genitive or possessive meanings falling into three groups: attributive (profiling the nature of the trajector), predicative (profiling the possessor), and "have" possession. These general types can be illustrated by the following English expressions.

(1148) Attribute: *My book*
(1149) Predicative: *The book is mine.*
(1150) "Have": *I have a book.*

A goal-marker (subsumed by Heine and Kuteva's "dative") can be an origin for any of these types of possession. Attributive possession also commonly derives from source, beneficiary, and locative expressions, as well as several nominal sources. "Have" possession can derive from locative and comitative (co-location) expressions, as well as verbal sources such as BE and KEEP.

More specifically, Heine (1997a) brings together a wide range of evidence on possession and related topics. As he notes, the linguistic phenomenon of possession is not a single concept but a cluster of related concepts. The inherently abstract notion of

"possession" emerges from a variety of prototypical scenarios involving combinations of "possession notions" such as physical, temporary, permanent, inalienable, abstract, inanimate alienable, and inanimate inalienable possession. These possessive notions in turn are expressed with language drawn from a particular group of concrete domains: action (e.g. "take"), location (including location relative to specific body parts, such as "hand"), accompaniment, and existence expressions accompanied by markings for genitive, goal/dative/benefactive, topic, source, or equation. Cross-linguistically, there are statistical associations of particular linguistic strategies, as noted above, with particular sub-models of possession. Location expressions are associated with physical or temporary possession, and accompaniment expressions with these and also alienability. Existential expressions (with genitive, goal, or topic constructions) are associated with permanent or inalienable possession, and in contrast not associated with physical possession. A further contrast is made between expressions of predicative possession ("X has a Y") versus attributive possession ("X's Y"), where the most common linguistic strategies for the latter derive from location, accompaniment, topic and, less commonly, source expressions.

In addition to studying the origins of possessive expressions, Heine discusses how genitive forms are extended to other target concepts. In this context, we find the concept "possessor" extended to roles such as Patient, Experiencer, Holder of Attribute, and Whole (vs. Part), with the last further extended to notions such as Origin, Material, Cause, and Standard of Comparison. (While the association of these roles with

possession is useful in considering some of the semantic complexes covered by Medieval Welsh prepositions, when the possession is expressed prepositionally rather than with the genitive, the explanation often is more likely to be common extension from a third sense, rather than a direct extension from the possessive role to the other role.)

In my Medieval Welsh data, the major sources of possession language (other than genitive forms and constructions) are Goal (using I) and Accompaniment (using GAN). (Discussion of various topics falling under Possession occur throughout section 3.3.1.) For all types of possession, marking the possessor as a Goal is the most common strategy. (This would be even more strongly supported by the verb PERTHYN "belong, pertain", which takes both AT and I to mark the possessor, where AT is not otherwise used for genitive functions, except that this appears to be a calque from the Latin construction *pertineo ad*. Still, the acceptability of the calque is weak evidence for Goal-marked possessors.) Marking the possessor as an Accompaniment with GAN may occur as a secondary strategy for temporary or physical possession (although it is somewhat more common in predicative than attributive contexts, in contrast to the pattern described above).

Marking a Possessor as a Source (with O or Y GAN) occurs with temporary or physical possession when a former possessor is being identified, whether or not spatial object-transfer occurs. The other genitive context which draws on Source language is in identifying a landmark as a Whole of which the trajector is a Part. Here we see a dichotomy between a Part of a relatively homogeneous Whole (whether multiplex, mass,

or unitary) where the Whole is marked as a Source with O, and an asymmetrically distinct Part of a Whole (of any type) where the Whole is marked as a Goal with I. So, for example, enumerated subsets of a uniform group, or samples of a mass, are marked as trajectors taken from a Source. Inalienable, distinct sub-units of an object (e.g. body parts) relate to the Whole as a Goal.

Source language (using O) uniformly occurs to mark the Origin or Material of a trajector. So in contrast to Heine's discussion of extensions of the genitive, we don't appear to see possessive constructions generally extended via a Whole sense to Origin, Material, and Cause senses–rather, we see a Possessor-Goal group and an Origin-Source group which overlap in the abstract field of Part-Whole relations, but in practice are clearly distinguished depending on whether the Part is distinct in nature from the Whole. We can distinguish two metaphors: DISTINCTIVE SUBSETS ARE POSSESSIONS, NON-DISTINCTIVE SUBSETS ARE PORTIONS REMOVED FROM THE WHOLE.

While the preposition I displays a semantic complex that includes the functions of Possessor, Bearer of Attribute, Experiencer, and Patient, it isn't clear that we want to follow Heine's genitive extensions and derive these from the Possessor as a central model, as opposed to relating all of them back to an object-transfer scenario. (Note that Heine's discussion does not claim that these roles are always extensions of a Possessor role, simply that a Possessor role *may* be extended to them.) Similarly, while the dative is a common source of possession language, it isn't clear that we should consider the use of I in marking possessors to derive from a general dative function rather than directly from a

goal notion. (But see section 4.1.2.4 for further discussion.)

Cross-linguistic comparisons within the Celtic language family can only be made on a gross scale, as the fine distinctions of genitive usage are generally not made in the available literature. Only OIr, of the medieval Celtic languages, has a functional genitive case, although all have possessive pronouns. The Brythonic languages, however, can all supply a possessive sense by word order alone. All insular Celtic languages use cognates of I in a possessive function. This may be evidence for a common inheritance of usage, particularly given that the element is associated throughout with a cluster of dative-like functions, however this element is also a major goal-marking element across the board, and the other functions could derive in parallel from that use. The Brythonic languages all use cognates of GAN in possessive functions similar to that seen in Welsh. There is no OIr cognate for this word, but nearly identical possessive functions can be found for *la*, which shows numerous semantic parallels to GAN (see section 2.3.1.4.4). It would be useful to study how strict the parallels are between the Brythonic and Goedelic uses, and in particular whether the OIr genitive case corresponds only to the word-order genitive in Brythonic, or whether more overtly marked possession using one of the prepositional constructions is substituted.

4.1.2.2 Benefit

A beneficiary (or benefactive) role is a moderately abstract function arising from scenarios such as object transfer and prototypically involving an animate, volitional agent

performing an action that creates indirect benefit for a separate animate participant. The semantic complex around beneficiaries covers other functions such as recipients, goals, patients, and experiencers (Newman 1998). The prominence of the object transfer frame in the development of a beneficiary sense can be seen cross-linguistically in the derivation of beneficiary language from verb sources such as GET, GIVE, and COME TO as well as spatial goal markers (see the list of references in section 4.1). Beneficiaries can also be a source for dative markers.

Languages may distinguish sub-types of beneficiary, such as distinguishing benefit created by access to a state or object versus benefit created by acting as a substitute agent (which are habitually distinguished in MW but not, for example, in English), or distinguishing between positive benefit and indirect harm created in similar ways. The latter can be marked with RHAG in MW, and in some colloquial dialects of English may be indicated by *on* contrasted with the positive *for*. Compare the connotations of:

(1151) My assistant quit for me.
(1152) My assistant quit on me.

The focus on an object-transfer frame for beneficiaries makes it unsurprising that the overwhelming marker in Welsh is the most generalized goal-marker I, and the cognate of this element is also a typical beneficiary marker in OIr. In Welsh, other markers are possible in specialized contexts. WRTH is sometimes classified as marking a beneficiary in expressions of emotion (see section 3.6.3) although I have distinguished this role more specifically as Patient of Expressed Emotion. Medieval Breton and Cornish are also

noted as using cognates of WRTH for this sense, but it is unclear whether their beneficiary use is similarly specialized (Williams 1956). ER is used in Welsh in situations where the benefit is relatively unspecified (e.g. with the verb GWNEUTHUR "to do" when the specific action is left open) or is more of an abstract "for the sake of" (including in the more explicit compound ER MWYN "for + sake") or as more of an invocation of an entity not directly involved in the scenario (e.g. God) whose abstract benefit is a reason for the action. The most likely motivation for this sense would appear to be its use for equivalents and exchanges (see section 3.3.2.3.2), that is, THE CREATION OF ABSTRACT BENEFIT IS AN EXCHANGE. OIr rarely uses the cognate of ER for beneficiaries, and the specific uses do not appear to correspond to the "for the sake of" sense in Welsh (Williams 1969). Welsh marks a substitute-agent beneficiary (i.e. the benefitter acts in the place of the beneficiary) with TROS but I have not been able to determine whether there are parallel constructions elsewhere in Celtic. Similarly, I have not been able to determine whether there are parallels to the Welsh "anti-beneficiary" use of RHAG.

Of these options, only the generalized I follows the larger cross-linguistic pattern. WRTH, RHAG, ER, and TROS are motivated by elements in the scenario not directly related to the beneficiary sense, but reanalyzed pragmatically as beneficiary markers.

4.1.2.3 Agents

The role of agent, like that of possessor, can best be viewed as a cluster of prototypical features (including control, volition, and animacy) rather than a single

discrete concept (Delancey 1984). Agents also share some functional features with instruments, and this connection can appear in marking strategies, such as the ability in English passive sentences of instruments to take the agent marker "by" when no agent is present (Croft 1991, 1993, Fillmore 1968, 1987, Lakoff 1977, Langacker 1990, 1991b, Talmy 2000, Taub 2001).

Cross-linguistically (seen in the references listed in section 4.1) agent constructions can derive from source, locative, comitative, or instrument expressions, or from elements such as HAND or TAKE. (Comitative and instrument expressions are commonly associated cross-linguistically, see e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2002.) The prominence of source expressions in this context is also attested to by evidence from child language acquisition and signed languages (Johnson 1996, Taub 2001). Instrument constructions can derive from some of the same expressions, and especially from comitative (accompaniment) expressions.

In Medieval Welsh, the strategies for marking non-subject agents and instruments are determined strongly by the syntactic construction. Verbal-nouns have agents marked with O (if present at all), taken from the source strategy, while verbal adjectives or action expressed nominally uses GAN or Y GAN to mark the agent (if present). In the case of action expressed by a noun, it is often overtly framed as a transferred or possessed object. (GAN can either represent the simple preposition and so reflect the comitative origin, or in many cases is clearly a reduced form of the compound Y GAN and so reflects the source model.) Instruments are primarily marked with AC, more rarely (and possibly

with somewhat more animate instruments) GAN, both corresponding to the comitative model. (But see Lambert 1978 for a proposed grammatical, rather than semantic, origin for AC as an Instrument marker.)

My comparative material from other Celtic languages cannot be considered complete, due to deficiencies in the organization of the available publications. Medieval Cornish uses a cognate of Y GAN restricted to human agents, as well as a cognate of Y WRTH (specific context unknown), and Medieval Breton can mark agents with a cognate of GAN in passive constructions. Further study would be needed to determine how parallel the agent-marking systems are overall. A detailed study is available for OIr in Müller (1999) with distinctions made in similar detail to the current study. (Müller also presents an analysis of Medieval Welsh material, although from a slightly different angle to my own, with observations not significantly different from mine.) The agent of a verbal-noun in OIr may occur in the genitive case (with intransitive verbs, a situation paralleled in MW, although not included in my study), or in a prepositional phrase, most commonly using the cognate of I, more rarely and in ambiguous circumstances using the cognate of O or using *la* (which tends to function similarly to the unrelated GAN). With impersonal verbs an agent may be present with the same prepositional markers as the preceding as well as locative *oc*.

Instrument marking is fairly heterogenous across Celtic. Cornish, like Welsh, can use the cognate of GAN, but apparently doesn't use AC. Cornish can also use the TRWY cognate, presumably treating instruments as a subcategory of Means. Old Irish

uses a wide variety of instrument markers but they don't overlap the known Brythonic set, except in the aforementioned functional correspondence of *la* to GAN, but *la* is a rare option in this function.

Overall, the available evidence suggests that grammaticalization of prepositions to mark agents may be relatively recent in the medieval languages, hence the variety of strategies, and the use of unrelated elements with similar semantics in different languages. Although not even OIr retains an instrumental case, there is evidence of one in Gaulish (Lambert 1994), suggesting a time-frame for its loss that would correlate well with the diversity of instrumental strategies. The Welsh data corresponds fairly well to the larger cross-linguistic patterns, but the Irish constructions would be interesting to study in more detail.

4.1.2.4 Dative and Accusative

One of the questions I had at the beginning of this study was to what extent particular prepositional uses may have arisen in Welsh to replace the function of lost Brittonic noun cases. As suggested above, instrumental markers are one possible situation where this occurred. Another context where it seemed profitable to look for evidence of this is the contrastive use of the accusative and dative. Pinkster (1990) studies a similar question in the context of the transition from Latin to the Romance languages. Here there is plentiful data from the transition period and it can be demonstrated that the rise of prepositions to reinforce (and eventually replace) noun

cases predates the erosion of the phonological distinctiveness of the cases. However disambiguation is still the primary motivation for this reinforcement, with the case-marking prepositions appearing earliest where there are multiple uses of the same case for different purposes in close proximity, or in phrases with abstract nouns (where pragmatics is less likely to be helpful), as well as in situations where actual spatial relationships (or metaphoric spatial relationships) are also present.

There is evidence that Gaulish distinguished seven cases (nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, and instrumental), and that Brittonic like Old Irish distinguished five (the preceding except for locative and instrumental). Of these, Medieval Welsh leaves the nominative as the unmarked form, marks the vocative with a particle, and the genitive with the constructions discussed in section 4.1.2.1 (Evans 1964, Hamp 1975b, Koch 1983, Lambert 1994, Thurneysen 1947). (Locative and instrumental functions are indicated with prepositional constructions and at least in the former case were undoubtedly so marked in Brittonic as well.) As a direct object, an accusative-like function can be marked in Welsh by position in the sentence and some related effects (although this may be overridden by prepositional constructions in particular semantic contexts), but a direct/indirect object contrast is not the only presumed function of the accusative and dative in Brittonic.

In prepositional phrases with spatial reference in Old Irish there is a correlation (although it is far from a rule) between the dative marking static location and the accusative marking a goal (Thurneysen 1947). Mac Cana (1990) traces an "accusative of

destination" lingering in Medieval Welsh poetry (although evidently not in prose) as well as in Irish. In non-spatial contexts and in the absence of a prepositional construction, the OIr dative can mark a noun phrase in apposition to a pronoun (or subject of an inflected verb), an adverb formed from an adjective or noun (including expressions functioning as an instrument, circumstance, or contents), and in rare archaic cases can even mark purpose. In temporal expressions, there is a correlation between dative expressions of temporal location and accusative expressions of duration. (Thurneysen (1947) also lists a number of other functions for each case, but I am concerned here with ones I can reliably compare with my Welsh data.) More distantly, similar patterns can be found elsewhere in Indo-European contrasting prepositions with a motion sense taking the accusative and those with a static sense taking some other case (see e.g. Brugmann 1903).

The Medieval Welsh expressions for these meanings do not show any regular pattern of replacement across the board. Apposition is marked either by lenition or by AR in one type of what I refer to as "instantiation" expressions. Adverbs are formed from nouns and adjectives via the adverbial particle YN (see section 2.3.1.6.1). Purpose is marked with the preposition I, or in particular semantic contexts with WRTH. In spatial and temporal contexts, however, we do see a regular pattern: the use of compounds of HYD corresponding to the accusative (goals and temporal duration). This is a context where some disambiguation is particularly useful. Although simple location prepositions are generally able to take a goal-marking function as well, there is a strong preference for adding HYD to make the goal sense overt. We also know that HYD arose

as a prepositional element at roughly the same time that the Brythonic noun cases were being lost, and there is a strong temptation to see a cause and effect at least in this narrow application.

In contrast to the spatial association of the dative with static location, the cluster of abstract grammatical functions assocated cross-linguistically with the dative tend to invoke a moving object prototype with the dative marking the goal/recipient (beneficiary, recipient, possessor, experiencer) and among these there is an extremely strong pattern for MW to use I. But this is a poor candidate for dative *replacement* as we find the cognate preposition for the same functions in OIr (where it occurs in combination with the dative). Rather, this seems to be a set of functions where the loss of case information created no ambiguity (or at least no dative/accusative ambiguity).

4.2 Motivational Hierarchy in Preposition Choice

The question that originally began this study (see section 1) was: when a verb requires the presence of a preposition to complete its meaning, what determines the choice of a particular preposition? In addressing this question, I have considered all prepositions and prepositional functions, and not simply those associated with specific verbs or specific semantic frames. And in answering the original question, I will take a similarly broad scope, although with special focus on particular conventional verb-preposition associations.

What I have found is that there are a variety of classes of motivations for

preposition choice. None of them is absolute–any can be overridden by a shift in focus to some other aspect of the scenario, although this shift in focus may involve changing more than just the preposition. Even so, there is a hierarchy by which some classes of motivation have stronger influence than others The first part of this section (4.2.1 generally) will examine that hierarchy and discuss illustrative examples of each type of motivation. The second part (4.2.2 generally) will demonstrate the effects of this hierarchy in representative contexts and will discuss in greater detail how the various motivations interact in certain semantic frames.

4.2.1 Types of Motivations

The general classes of preposition-choice motivations that I have identified are as follows (in no particular order):

- Morphological: The morphology of the verb, once reflective of a particular semantic structure, triggers the use of a particular preposition even when that semantic structure is no longer relevant (e.g. the use of AC to mark the most salient role associated with a verb prefixed with YM-).
- Lexical: There is a conventional association between a verb and a particular preposition, typically motivated by some prototypical scenario associated with the verb, which is commonly used even when that scenario is not relevant to the immediate context (e.g. the association of AR with the verb DODI "to put, place").
- Structural: A relatively abstract aspect of the semantic structure of the context is associated with a particular preposition (e.g. the use of RHWNG with multiple participants).
- Broad Semantics: A diffuse but relatively concrete aspect of the semantics of the context is associated with a particular preposition (e.g. the use of AR with a sense of "control" or "hostility"). This is distinguished somewhat arbitrarily from the next class.

• Narrow Semantics: A relatively specific semantic function (but one found across a related group of verbs) is closely associated with a particular semantic function (e.g. the use of WRTH to mark "hearer of quoted speech").
• Generalized Metaphor: A metaphoric source domain with broad application (e.g. object-transfer) motivates particular prepositional choices across a range of verbs and across a range of target domains.
• *Ad Hoc* Metaphor: A non-conventional metaphor (i.e. one that does not underlie the typical expressions of a concept) motivates the choice of a preposition referring to relations in the source domain which would not normally occur for that target-domain role in the absence of the explicit metaphor.

4.2.1.1 Morphological Motivation

Case Study: YM-<verb> + AC

As noted repeatedly in section 3, regardless of the semantic structure of a frame, the most salient non-subject role of a verb prefixed with YM- (a prefix typically giving a verb a reflexive or mutual sense) will normally be marked with the preposition AC. Examining this use in the context of verbs that retain a mutual sense, the origins of the construction in a coordinating conjunction can easily be seen in contexts where the two parties occur in syntactic conjunction. Note that this reanalysis is enabled by the use of third person singular verb forms with all non-pronominal subjects, regardless of number.

(1153) Ac o'r diwed ymauael a oruc **Llud ac ef**, [LL:158]
and from the end YM-seize PART do-PRET-3SG **Lludd and/with him**
*And at last **Lludd** seized **him** [or: **Lludd and he** seized each other; but in context the action is clearly asymmetric]*

(1154) A dechreu ymdidan a wnaeth **ef a'r urenhines**.[PPD:4:19]

and begin-VN MUTUAL-converse-VN PART do-PRET-3SG **he with/and the queen**

*And **he and the queen** began to converse [or: **he** began to converse **with the queen**].*

However the reanalysis of this function as a preposition rather than a conjunction can be seen in otherwise parallel examples where the two are separated syntactically.

(1155) a **minheu** uy hun yn cael ymlad **a Phryderi**. [MFM:73:7]

and **I** my self PART get-VN MUTUAL-fight-VN **with/and Pryderi**

*and **I** myself will get a fight **with Pryderi.***

(1156) O deruyd e **den** emadau **ac arall** hep tystyon en e lle, nyt amuot hunnu, a chanyt amot, guadet o'e lw ehun. [LI:69]

if happen-PRES-3SG to **person** MUTUAL-promise-VN **with/and other** beside witnesses in the place, NEG contract that, and since-NEG contract, deny-VN of his oath his-own.

*If it happens to a **person** [that he] promises **to another** without witnesses at the place, that is not a contract, and since it is not a contract, he denies it by his own oath.*

The next step in the dissociation of the conjunctive function and the role-marking function can be seen when one participant in a mutual action is clearly profiled by being placed in subject position.

(1157) Sef a wnaeth **Teirnon**, ymdidan nosweith **a'y wreic**. [PPD:22:6]

thus PART do-PRET-3SG **Teirnon**, MUTUAL-converse-VN nightly **with/and his wife**

*This is what **Teirnon** did: talk that night **with his wife**.*

(1158) Ni byd o galhon gan **grydyon** nac ymlad **a ni** nac ymwarauun. [MFL:54:7]

NEG be-PRES-3SG of heart with **shoemakers** NEG MUTUAL-fight-VN **with/and us** NEG MUTUAL-hinder-VN

*There is not [enough] of heart with **shoemakers** [i.e. shoemakers do not have the heart], neither [to] fight **with us** nor hinder [us].*

A verb that has a mutual sense available may occur in a context where it is clear that the event is asymmetric, or an YM-prefixed verb may have shifted in usage to having only a transitive meaning, and yet the same role-marking is maintained.

(1159) O'r lle hwnnw yd aethant hyt yn Llwch Ewin, ac yd ymordiwedawd Arthur **ac** ef yno. [CO:1152]

from the place that PART go-PRET-3PL length-in Llwch Ewin, and PART MUTUAL-overtake-PRET-3SG Arthur **with/and him** there

*From that place, they went to Llwch Ewin, and Arthur overtook **him** there.*

(1160) Ac ual y byd yn ymwarandaw **a** llef yr erchwys, ef a glywei llef erchwys arall [PPD:1:11]

and as PART be-PRES-3SG PART MUTUAL-listen-VN **with/and** cry the pack, he PART hear-IMPERF-3SG cry pack other

*And as he listens **to** the cry of the pack, he heard the cry of another pack*

(1161) Nyt ymedewis ef **a hwnnw**, yny ladawd. [BFL:43:3]

NEG MUTUAL-leave-PRET-3SG he **with/and that** until kill-PRET-3SG

*He did not leave **that** one until he killed [him].*

This marking is retained when the meaning of the verb is extended to new uses.

(1162) Ef a dele e gan pob kerdavr guedy yd emadavho **a**'e dysc ef pedeyr ar ugeynt. [LI:40]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG from-with each musician after PART MUTUAL-leave-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **with/and** his teaching his four on twenty

*He is entitled, from each musician after he would leave **from** his instruction, twenty four [pence].*

(1163) Eydyon guedy yd emadawo **a**'e teledyuruyd, dam. [LI:140]

bullock after PART MUTUAL-leave-PRES-SUBJ-3SG **with/and** his prime, appraisal

*A bullock after he departs **from** his prime [is valued by] appraisal.*

Particularly notable is the use of AC in contexts where other prepositions would be strongly motivated by the semantics. For example, the use of AR to mark patients or experiencers of controlling or hostile action is an extremely strong pattern, however possible examples of it overriding the YM- + AC construction are vanishingly rare. (Most apparent examples involve a reflexive YM- verb rather than an originally mutual one.) I can find only one good candidate for this override, and it occurs with a verb found elsewhere with AC marking the same role.

(1164) "Llyna," heb ef, "a uynhaf, na bo ymdiala **ar** Pryderi a Riannon, nac arnaf inheu, uyth am hynn." [MFL:64:26]

behold, say-PRET-3SG he, REL wish-PRES-1SG, NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG MUTUAL-avenge-VN **on** Pryderi and Rhiannon, NEG on-1SG me-EMPH, ever about this

*"Behold," he said, "what I want: there will be no vengeance **on** Pryderi and Rhiannon, nor on me, ever because of this."*

Compare:

(1165) "... a chyn nyt ymdialwyf **a thi**, y rof i a Duw," hep ef, "mi a wnaf o anglot itt guerth can carw." [PPD:2:16]

and though NEG MUTUAL avenge-PRES-1SG **with/and you-S**G, for-1SG and God, say-PRET-3SG he, I PART do PRES-1SG of un-fame to-2SG value hundred stag

*"...and though I will not take revenge **on you**, for my sake and God's," he said, "I will make infamy for you the value of a hundred stags."*

The use of AC with these verbs is specifically restricted to a role closely tied to the particular semantics of the verb, and usually one where the origin in a coordinated phrase can be traced. So, for example, with YMORDDIWES "to overtake, catch", the role marked with AC is an animate entity that is overtaken not, for instance, the location where it occurs. YMDDIAL "to take revenge" marks the victim of the revenge with AC, not the reason for the revenge.

This same pattern of use is found with two other verbal prefixes, CYM- and CYD- (see sections 2.3.1.4.1-2), both deriving from co-locational elements and originally adding a sense of parallel or mutual action. These verbs most commonly retain a symmetric scenario, where AC keeps a strong connection with its conjunctive use.

(1166) keny delyo kytwytta **ac** ef, ef a dely kytyuet. [LI:8]

though-NEG with-eat-VN **with/and** him, he PART ought-PRES-3SG with-drink-VN

*although he is not entitled to co-eat **with** him, he is entitled to co-drink.*

(1167) A phan wybuwyt eu medwi wynteu, y dechreuwyt kymyscu y tan **a**'r glo am ben yr ystauell [BFL:36:13]

and when know-PRET-IMPERS their become-drunk-VN them, PART begin-PRET-IMPERS mix-VN the fire **with/and** the coals about head the chamber

*And when one knew they were drunk, one began [to] mix the fire **with** the coals on top of the chamber*

There are only very rare examples of these two prefixes where AC has shifted to identifying a key secondary role, rather than what is clearly a co-agent role.

(1168) Er eyl yu kytsynnyau **a**'e losky. [LI:116]

the second be-PRES-3SG together-decide-VN **with/and** it burn-VN

*The second [abetment of arson] is agreeing **on** burning it.*

Compare this topic-marking use with the more typical co-agent marking in the following.

(1169) Ac yn y lle y vrawt a gytsynhywys **ac** ef [LL:21]

and in the place his brother PART agree-PRET-3SG **with** him

*And immediately his brother agreed **with** him*

4.2.1.2 Lexical Motivation

This group constitutes the original inspiration for this study: conventional verb + preposition constructions that, while motivated by some prototypical scenario associated with the verb, are not predictable from general principles in any given scenario. By this narrow definition, there are relatively few verb + preposition pairs that clearly belong in this group–many of the examples that inspired my interest are covered by the broader

motivations discussed in other sections. Here follow selected examples.

Case Study: TREULIO + TRWY "to spend [time] doing"

(1170) A guedy **treulaw eu gwled ac eu darmerth** o honunt, dechreu a wnaethant ymborth ar kic hela, a physcawt, a bydaueu. [MFL:52:13]

and after **spend-VN their feast and their preparations** of-3PL, begin-VN PART do-PRET-3PL REFLEXIVE-support-VN on meat hunting and fish and bee-swarms

*And after **consuming their feast and their preparations** by them [i.e. after they consumed ...], they began to support themselves on hunted meat, and fish, and bee-swarms.*

(1171) Y'r llys y doethant, a **threulaw** y nos honno a orugant **drwy** gerdeu a chyuedach, ual y bu llonyd ganthunt. [PPD:11:13]

to the court PART come-PRET-3PL and **spend-VN** the night that PART do-PRET-3PL **through** songs and partying, as PART be-PRET-3SG pleasing with-3PL

*They came to the court and they **spent** that night **with** songs and partying as was pleasing to them.*

The verb TREULIO "to spend, expend, consume" occurs in the two types of constructions seen above. In the frame of consumption of concrete resources, those resources occur as a direct object of the verb, and there is no particular profiling of the consumption as a temporal process. (The verb may either indicate consumption or use of the resources by the agent of the verb, or the provision of those resources by the agent for the consumption or use of others.) The second type of construction includes a time-span as the direct object of the verb, and includes a prepositional phrase with TRWY, indicating one or more activities (indicated either by a noun or a verbal-noun phrase),

typically social activities such as conversation, singing, and CYFEDACH which is best translated as "partying". Often the termination of this time-period is profiled in a separate prepositional phrase using YNY or HYD.

Although the use with concrete resources does not (in my data) include a similar "means" phrase, the use of TRWY to indicate means is standard (see section 3.4.2.2) and the interest here comes from its formulaic presence with the TREULIO of time, rather than from the specific choice of preposition. This formula supplies evidence for an additional metaphor for time in Medieval Welsh: TIME IS A RESOURCE$_{M,P}$, ACTIVITIES ARE THE MEANS OF CONSUMING TIME.

Table 8: Mappings for ACTIVITIES ARE THE MEANS OF CONSUMING TIME.

Source Domain Target Domain	Grammatical Marking	
concrete resources, consumable provisions	time span	direct object
purpose for which resources are consumed	activity occurring in time span	landmark of TRWY
agent consuming (alternately: supplying) the resources	agent of activity	subject

Selected Entailments

Source: There is a specified or limited amount of the resource involved; Target: A specified or limited amount of time is involved.

Source: The actions of the agent result in the conversion of the resource to some other form (or result in the disappearance of the resource); Target: The agent's participation in the activity results in the passage of time.

Case Study: DISGYNNU + AR "to descend on", TRIGO + AR "to dwell on"

The verb DISGYNNU is a borrowing of Latin *descendo*, and in its most common use indicates downward motion in space. In spatial use, it is found with a wide variety of prepositions indicating the goal of motion, the two most common being YN and AR, but while YN is numerically more common, it correlates with landmarks that are containers or regions, or are the location within which the event happens rather than the specific goal of motion. AR is the default (and expected) choice when a goal of downward motion is indicated and no more specific resulting arrangement of trajector and landmark is indicated. (Unlike the case of PERTHYN AR discussed in section 4.1.2.1, the choice of AR with DISGYNNU does not appear to be a calque from Latin. The most typical Latin goal expression here uses *descendo in*.)

(1172) A diskynnu **ar** e yscwyd, a garwhau y phluf, yny arganuuwyt y llythyr, ac adnabot meithryn yr ederyn yg kyuanned. [BFL:38:15]

and descend-VN **on** his shoulder and roughen-VN her feathers until perceive-PRET-3SG the letter and recognize-VN rear-VN the bird in habitation

*And [the bird] descended **onto** his shoulder and fluffed its feathers so that he perceived the letter and recognized [that] the bird [was] raised in a house.*

However an established extended sense of DISGYNNU means "to decide", and this sense is always paired with AR marking the specific nature of the decision.

(1173) A disgynnu a wnaeth **ar** gymryt hynny. [BFL:33:29]
and descend-VN PART do-PRET-3SG **on** accept-VN that
*And he descended [i.e. decided] **on** accepting that.*

Another spatial verb extended to use with decision-making appears to participate in the same metaphor. TRIGO "to dwell, remain", like DISGYNNU occurs spatially with YN and AR, as would be expected from their use to indicate location in a region.. It has a number of non-spatial uses motivated generally by STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_P$, CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF A STATE IS REMAINING IN THE SAME LOCATION. In most cases, it is accompanied by a preposition motivated by the nature of the state or characteristic involved, thus physical appearance "dwells on" (TRIGO AR) the bearer of that appearance (see section 3.3.2.1.6), and entities "dwell in" (TRIGO YN) a temporal attribute (i.e. a particular age, see section 3.3.2.1.2) or "dwell on" (TRIGO AR) a legal value (section 3.3.2.1.4).

(1174) Ac yna y dywa6t kynan 6rth adeon y vra6t. beth a vynny ti heb ef ae **trigya6 yn**-y wlat hon. Ae mynet y-r wlat yd han6yt o honei. [BM:191:7]
and then PART say-PRET-3SG Cynan with Adeon his brother. what PART wish-PRES-2SG you-SG say-PRET-3SG he either **dwell-VN in** the land this. either go-VN to the land PART originate-PRET-2SG from-3SF
*And then Cynan said to his brother Adeon, "What do you wish," he said, "To **dwell in** this land or to go to the land you came from?"*

(1175) Ac ny **thrigyei** liw **arnei** vyth namyn y lliw ehun. [BR:11:22]
and NEG **dwell-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG** color **on-3SF** ever except its color itself
*And no color would **remain on it** ever except it's own color.*

Another conventional extension that occurs several times in the data uses TRIGO

AR to indicate the specific result of a decision-making process. This use differs from other uses of TRIGO (including spatial uses) in that it indicates the result of an active process rather than profiling a lack of change. That is, to "dwell on" (TRIGO AR) a decision is not to refuse to change the decision (as might be expected) but to make the decision in the first place (although the former is also implied).

(1176) Ac **ar** y kynghor hwnnw y **trigyassant**. [PPD:25:5]
and **on** the advice that PART **dwell-PRET-3PL**
*And they **dwelt** [i.e. decided] **on** that advice.*

Taken together, a motivation for the decision-making sense of both DISGYNNU and TRIGO suggests itself: CHOICES ARE LOCATIONS, MAKING A DECISION IS MOTION (DOWNWARDS?) TO AND REMAINING AT A PARTICULAR LOCATION. Reference back to the language of spatial location then provides the motivation for the use of AR rather than YN in this context. As we saw in section 3.1.1.10, when used for non-specific location in a region, YN is more likely to be used with clearly defined regions and when a notion of containment is profiled, while AR occurs more often with locations not clearly defined by boundaries and when interiority is not profiled. If a "decision" is understood as a point location in space, but not one profiled as a container or clearly defined region, then AR is more consistent with that understanding, whether or not specific downward motion is involved. The downward motion, however, may be entailed by the understanding that one may select one decision without needing to travel "through" another alternative to reach the desired one.

Table 9: Mappings for MAKING A DECISION IS MOTION (DOWNWARDS?) TO AND REMAINING AT A PARTICULAR LOCATION

Source Domain	Target Domain	Grammatical Marking
(Unbounded or Point) Locations	Possible Decisions	landmark of AR
Moving Entity	Decision-maker	Subject
Motion to Location	Choice of Decision	Verb
Existence at Location	Maintenence of Decision?	Verb

Selected Entailments

Source: One cannot be located at more than one place at a time; Target: One can only decide on one alternative at a time.

Source: Motion downwards to a location does not require motion through other locations to reach the destination; Target: One can decide on an alternative without first accepting related alternatives.

Source: To continue being located at a place, one must remain there; Target: To carry out a decision, one must "remain" at the decision.

Case Study: GWNEUTHUR + AC "to do <something> to <someone>" (also CHWARAE + AC "to play with <someone>")

(1177) A-**g6neuthur** teir prif gaer **idi** hitheu yn-y tri lle a-dewissei yn ynys prydein. [BM:187:19]

and **make-VN** three chief castle **to-3SF** her-EMPH in the three place REL choose-IMPERF-3SG in island Britain

And [he] ***made*** *three chief castles* ***for her*** *in the three places she chose in the Island of Britain.*

(1178) "Ie," heb ynteu, "pan delych dy hun i'th wlat, ti a wely a **wneuthum** i **yrot ti**." [PPD:6:19]

well, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH when come-PRES-SUBJ-2SG you-SG self to your-SG land, you-SG PART see-PRES-2SG REL **do-PRET-1SG I for-2SG you-SG**

*"Well," he said, "when you yourself come to your land, you will see what I have **done for you**."*

(1179) Puybynnac a locco march, ket boet maru y march ganthau, nyt a arnau namyn y lu ehun **rywneythur ydau** kystal ac **y**'u uarch ehun, a thalu y loc. [LI:124]

whoever REL hire-PRES-SUBJ-3SG horse, though be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG dead the horse with-3SM, NEG go-PRES-3SG on-3SM exept his oath his-own **PART-do-VN to-3SM** as-good with/and to his horse his-own, and pay-VN the hiring

*Whoever hires a horse, although the horse dies with him [i.e. in his possession], no [liability] goes onto him except his own oath [that] he **did to it** as well as [he would] to his own horse, and [let him] pay [for] the hire.*

(1180) kyn ny cheissych ditheu **wneuthur** cam **im**. [CO:833]

though NEG seek-PRES-SUBJ-2SG you-SG-EMPH **do-VN** wrong **to-1SG**

*though you would not seek to **do** harm **to me.***

(1181) A **gwneuthur** anfuryf **ar** y meirych yuelly, hyd nat oed rym a ellit a'r meirych. [BFL:32:5]

and **do-VN** disfigurement **on** the horses thus length NEG be-IMPERF-3SG use PART be able-IMPERF-IMPERS with/and the horses

*And [he] **performed** disfigurement **on** the horses thus, so that there was no use one could [have] with them.*

(1182) Yn lledratta y keueis ef, a chyfreith lleidyr a **wnaf** inheu **ac** ef, y grogi. [MFL:62:7]

PART thieve-VN PART take-PRET-1SG him, and law thieves PART **do-PRES-1SG** I-EMPH **with/and** him, him hang-VN

*I caught him thieving, and I will **carry out** the law of thieves **with** him: hanging him.*

(1183) ac ar Pryderi y dieleis i **guare** broch yghot **a** Guawl uab Clut [MFL:64:5]

and on Pryderi PART avenge-PRET-1SG I **play-VN** badger in bag **with/and** Gwawl son Clud

*and on Pryderi I avenged the **playing** of "badger in the bag" **with** Gwawl son of Clud*

GWNEUTHUR "to do, make" is a verb of generic action, and the breadth (or genericness) of its semantic coverage can be seen in its use as a verbal auxiliary. The most common roles accompanying GWNEUTHUR include a phrase indicating the specific nature of the action (typically appearing as the direct object–this role is filled by a verbal noun in the periphrastic construction), a Patient or Experiencer of that specific action (marked with a variety of prepositions, see below), a Beneficiary of the action (marked with I or ER–see section 3.5.2.1), and an Instrument by which the action is accomplished (marked with AC–see section 3.4.2.1).

The Patient or Experiencer of the action may be marked with AR when the action is hostile or involves physical alteration (see section 3.3.2.2.1 generally), or with I for Experiencers of relatively neutral socio-legal action or Patients of neutral action (see sections 3.3.2.2.1.6, 3.3.2.2.2.4). But separate from these predictable constructions, we find Patients of hostile action, especially hostile physical manipulation, marked with AC. As we have seen in section 4.2.1.1, this use of AC with Patients (as well as many other types of roles) is normal with verbs morphologically marked for mutual action, but outside that class, only two verbs mark a physical Patient with AC: GWNEUTHUR and CHWARAE "to play [games]". In both cases, the motivation comes from the common salience of instruments in the frames of these verbs. With CHWARAE, the Patient of

hostile action is, in essence, filling in for sports equipment as a passive Instrument of the action. And a similar extension of the role of passive Instrument can be understood in the examples with GWNEUTHUR. The key to the conventional use of AC in these contexts is the focus on the role of Instrument and the blocking of the option of marking a Patient as a direct object (by associating that slot with an indication of the specific nature of the action). In most cases of hostile action, particularly those where the nature of the action is inherent in an associated verb or noun, a specific Instrument may either be understood, or may be incompatible with a Patient role.

Case Study: GYRRU + AR "to drive [something] on [someone]"

Spatial examples (source and goal)

(1184) Sef dial a wnaethant, **gyrru** Branwen **o** un ystauell ac ef [BFL:37:26]

thus revenge PART do-PRET-3PL **drive-VN** Branwen **from** one chamber with/and him,

*This is the revenge they performed: **driving** Branwen **from** the same chamber with him*

(1185) **Gyrru** a oruc Arthur y wyr **y**'r erhyl [CO:1105]

drive-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Arthur his men **to** the hunt

*Arthur **drove** his men **to** the hunt*

Non-spatial examples

(1186) na **yrrwch** geu **arnaf**. Duw a wyr pob peth a wyr bot yn eu hynny **arnaf** i. [PPD:20:29]

NEG **drive-IMPER-2PL** lie **on-1SG**. God REL know-PRES-3SG every thing PART know-PRES-3SG be-VN PART lie that **on-1SG** me.

*Do not **drive** a lie **on me** [i.e. don't lie about me]. God who knows everything knows that to be a lie **on me**.*

(1187) Mi a **yrraf** lledrith **ar** y ki hyd na wnel argywed y neb. [CO:427]

I PART **drive-PRES-1SG** enchantment **on** the dog length NEG do-PRES-3SG harm to anyone

*I will **drive** an enchantment **on** the dog so that he does no harm to anyone.*

(1188) Ac o hynny y **gyrrwyt arnaf** ynneu Idawc Cord Brydein. [BR:5:10]

and from that PART **drive-PRET-IMPERS on-1SG** me-EMPH Iddog Cordd Brydain

*And because of that, there was **driven onto me** [the nickname] "Iddog Cordd Brydain".*

As a spatial verb, GYRRU indicates the forceful caused motion of an entity (prototypically, an entity capable of independent motion, where the "causation" is in the socio-legal realm rather than that of force-dynamics). The source of motion is profiled just as commonly as the goal (where goals are, in the larger context of motion, much more commonly profiled). No particular type of goal or goal-marker can be identified as typical in spatial contexts.

In non-spatial contexts, GYRRU invokes scenarios where a negative or harmful Experience or Attribute is characterized metaphorically as a transferred object, which is being applied to the Experiencer/Attribute-Bearer involuntarily. Examples involving negative speech are typical (uttering a lie, where the Hearer-Topic is marked with AR, the

application of a derogatory nickname, where the person named is marked with AR, etc.), but there are also examples involving magical actions. This association of GYRRU and AR could be seen as a collection of independent motivations. Names (whether positive, neutral, or derogatory) are normally described as being AR the bearer (see section 3.6.4) and GYRRU appears to supply the sense of an involuntary derogatory name (compare with DODI in section 4.2.1.6 for neutral cases), and harmful or controlling speech normally marks the Experiencer-Hearer with AR (see section 3.3.2.2.4.2), regardless of whether the event is expressed directly, or metaphorically as a transferred object using GYRRU. What would confirm GYRRU + AR more strongly as a member of this group would be examples with a similar sense of hostile causation where the patient would normally be marked with some other preposition, but AR is found instead.

4.2.1.3 Structural Motivation

Case Study: RHWNG

The abstract structural relationship of roles may motivate prepositional marking that cuts across both semantic and grammatical functions. The best example of this is the use of RHWNG to identify and highlight plural instantiation of a role. The specific semantic understanding of the roles is left to context, although it is often explicitly supplied in that context, i.e. the prepositional phrase with RHWNG may be overtly redundant and serve only to emphasize that multiple entities are involved. This applies even to spatial uses, where RHWNG indicates either location between a dual landmark, or

a path or extended object terminating in the dual landmarks.

(1189) E le yn y llys yw **yrvg yr osp a'r penhebogyd**, yn chuechet gvr ar seyc y brenhyn. [LI:4]

his place in the court be-PRES-3SG **between the host and the chief-falconer**, PART sixth man on dish the king

*His [i.e. the heir-apparent's] place in the court is **between the host and the chief falconer**, the sixth man on the king's dish [at meals].*

(1190) Ac ar a welei dyn o'e ardwrn **y rwng y venic a'e lewys**, gwynnach oed no'r alaw [BR:6:17]

and REL PART see-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG person of his wrist **between his glove and his sleeve**, whiter be-IMPERF-3SG than the lily

*And what a person could see of his wrist **between his glove and his sleeve**, was whiter than the lily*

(1191) Twrch Trwyth a aeth yna **y rwng Tawy ac Euyas**. [CO:1166]

Twrch Trwyth PART go-PRET-3SG then **between Tawy and Ewias**

*Twrch Trwyth went then **between Tawy and Ewias**.*

In all contexts, if one of the landmarks is expressed pronominally, the relevant personal form is used, coordinated with the other landmark.

(1192) Ac **y rygta6 a-r ynys** honno y g6elei ef g6lat a oed kyhyt y maestir a-e mor. kyhyt y-mynyd a-e choet. [BM:180:23]

and **between-3SM and the island** that PART see-IMPERF-3SG he land REL be-IMPERF-3SG equally long its plain and its sea. equally long its mountain and its woods

*And **between him and that island** he saw a land whose plains were as long as its sea [and] its mountains as long as its woods.*

RHWNG is commonly used to indicate co-agents of an event, either as the only overt mention of the agents (typically when the event is expressed nominally) or as a

redundant expression of the agents when they also appear as the grammatical subject.

(1193) **Y rwng y deu wrenhin** y mae yr oet hwnn, a hynny y rwng y deu gorff wylldeu. [PPD:5:14]

between the two king PART be-PRES-3SG the appointment this, and that between the two body those-two

Between the two kings *is this appointment, and that between their two bodies.*

(1194) Val hyn e dele **brodyr** rannu tyr **erygthunt**: pedeyr eru urth pob tedyn. [LI:82]

like this PART ought-PRES-3SG **brothers** share-VN land **between-3PL**: four acre with each toft

This is how ***brothers*** *should share land* ***between them****: four acres to each toft.*

Somewhat less commonly, we find RHWNG with co-possessors, co-beneficiaries, co-experiencers, and co-contexts. The range of use suggests that, in theory, it may be used in virtually any semantic context.

(1195) **Pvybynnac** a uo peth eg kyt **eregthav a'r brenhyn**, na'r penkenyd nac arall uo, hunnv a dele rannu, a'r brenhyn dewys. [LI:15]

whoever PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG thing in together **between-3SM and the king**, NEG the chief-huntsman NEG other be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG, that PART ought-PRES-3SG share-VN, and the king choose-VN

Whoever *[has] something in common* ***between him and the king****, whether the chief huntsman or another, that [one] ought to divide [it] and the king choose.*

(1196) ac yna y byd deu hanner y reyth **yrug e duy kenedel**, cany ellyr rannu petwar guyr en trayaneu. [LI:111]

and then part be-PRES-3SG two half the compurgation **between the two kindred** since-NEG be-able-PRES-IMPERS share-VN four men in thirds

and then the compurgation is [in] two halves ***between the two kindreds****, since one cannot divide four men in thirds.*

(1197) Hueil y ewythyr a'e gwant, ac am hynny y bu gas **rwg Arthur a Hueil** am yr archoll. [CO:259]

Huail his uncle PART him stab-PRET-3SG, and about that PART be-PRET-3SG hatred **between Arthur and Huail** about the wound

*Huail, his uncle, stabbed him, and because of that there was hatred **between Arthur and Huail** because of the wound.*

(1198) Ac yna **rwng dicter a llit**, taraw ymplith y llygot a wnaeth. [MFL:60:12]

and then **between anger and anger**, strike-VN in-midst the mice PART do-PRET-3SG

*And then [in] **both anger and wrath**, he struck among the mice.*

(1199) Ac **y r6g dyd a nos** y kerdassant y kennadeu trachefyn. [BM:186:12]

and **between day and night** PART travel-PRET-3PL the messengers beyond-back

*And **both day and night** the messengers traveled back.*

The metaphoric motivation for this use can be described in two steps: SHARING IS HAVING EQUAL PHYSICAL ACCESS and CO-PARTICIPANTS IN A ROLE SHARE THE CONTEXT OF THE ROLE. That is, the concept of two entities partaking equally in a resource is expressed in terms of equivalent spatial access to that resource. When transferred to the abstract realm, the mapping is not simply to target domains habitually characterized as resources, but rather any semantic or grammatical context may be characterized as a sharable object, and thus as an object "between" the co-participants. (Taub (2001) provides a parallel in American Sign Language where a normally directional sign moving from agent to patient may instead take a back-and-forth path when mutual action is involved.)

4.2.1.4 Broad Semantic Motivation

There are a number of patterns of prepositional use motivated by broad or

abstract semantic concepts that cut across a number of more specific semantic fields. This group can include the case-like functions discussed in section 4.1.2 generally, but there are other, somewhat more specific, functions that are distributed similarly across multiple fields. The most noteworthy of these are RHAG used in a sense of opposition, contradiction, or hindrance, and AR used in a sense of control, power, or violent action.

Case Study: RHAG

The underlying grounding for this entire pattern of use comes via various applications of the EVENT STRUCTURE$_P$ metaphor DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES$_P$. In spatial contexts, RHAG locates a trajector in front of a landmark with an inherent front-back orientation (or where a "front" location is mapped onto the portion of an entity adjacent to water). Applied to EVENT STRUCTURE, RHAG then indicates entities encountered on a metaphoric journey that are not the ultimate intended goal (i.e. the intended result of the event). Note that, technically speaking, RHAG specifies that the trajector is in front of the landmark and does not specify whether the trajector is oriented towards the landmark, whereas the Event Structure extensions usually take the point of view of the trajector and are concerned with "obstacles" that it encounters, not situations where it is encountered as an "obstacle" (although both scenarios exist). Here I think we must understand the prototypical underlying scenario to involve not simply location, but "confrontation" by two animate entities in an interactive sense, where front location in one direction implies it in the other as well. This front location then makes these entities salient as obstacles to

each other (but the focus on the trajector's point of view makes it more likely that extensions from this prototypical scenario will involve inanimate or abstract landmarks than inanimate or abstract trajectors). While the pattern of functions found here follows the pattern for those arising from a "context, surroundings" sense, front location specifically motivates an understanding as "obstacles" rather than neutral or assisting entities and conditions, which are more typically described in the language of generic co-location or as sources. (This same pragmatic interpretation of front-located entites as obstacles occurs with YN ERBYN, but with greater personification of the obstacle.) The exceptions to the use of RHAG implying scenarios of prevention, avoidance, or hostile action fall in two small groups: one where a spatial "front" component is also present ("open a gate *before* them"), and one involving a fixed formula *nawdd Duw rhag X* "the protection of God *before* X" (i.e. invoking God to protect someone's forward path).

(1200) Ac y dyuu Glewlwyd y'r porth, ac agori y porth **racdaw**. [CO:139]
and PART come-PRET-3SG Glewlwyd to the gate, and open-VN the gate **before-3SM**
And Glewlwyd came to the gate, and opened the gate ***before him***.

(1201) a rody naud Duu **racdau** na dywetto cam tystyolaeth [LI:79]
and give-VN protection God **before-3SM** NEG say-PRES-SUBJ-3SG wrong testimony
and [let the judge] give God's protection ***to him*** *[that] he not speak false testimony*

As mentioned above, the prevention/avoidance/hostility group shows a range of functions following the "context" group, with its specific instances falling in my categories of "stimulus" and "reason", or less commonly "cause" (see section 3.4.1

generally). There are significant clusters of examples in the fields of avoidance (i.e. awareness of the landmark stimulates the trajector to take steps to avoid interacting with the landmark) and prevention (i.e. awareness of the potential for the landmark stimulates the trajector to take steps to prevent the landmark from occurring). But these are simply high-occurrence uses, rather than special senses of the word–the range of uses covers all manner of cause-like landmarks where either the nature of the landmark is inherently negative, or its effect on the trajector is situationally negative.

The grounding of the uses via DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES$_P$ can be seen in a group where both spatial and non-spatial components are present, typically where the landmark is an entity encountered by the trajector that stimulates fear in the trajector and is a reason for physical flight from the presence of the landmark.

(1202) ae ffo a wna y llu **ragof**? [BR:10:15]
INTERROGATIVE flee-VN PART do-PRES-3SG the army **before-1SG**
*Does the army flee **from me**?*

But, in general, the abstract sense occurs without a spatial component, or rather, without a spatial component corresponding to the "front" sense.

(1203) A sef a-wnaeth y weisson sefyll kastellu taryaneu yn-y gylch ar peleidyr g6aywar **rac** yr heul. [BM:179:18]
and thus PART do-PRET-3SG the servants stand-VN fortify-VN shields in his circle on shafts spears **before** the sun
*This is what the servants did: setting up a fortification of shields around him on spear shafts [protecting] **against** the sun.*

The examples above involve a stimulus of avoidance behavior–either the trajector moves physically to avoid the stimulus, or some positive action is taken to avoid the stimulus. More commonly, a stronger version of this scenario occurs where some positive action is taken to prevent the stimulus event (either the potential for the event is the stimulus, and the event itself is prevented from occurring, or the event in progress stimulates action taken to stop it).

(1204) A rann arall onadunt yn kad6 y gaer **rac** dyuot neb o lu maxen idi [BM:190:6]

and part other of-3PL PART keep-VN the castle **before** come-VN anyone of army Maxen to-3SF

A*nd another part of them kept the castle against **anyone** coming to it from Maxen's army*

(1205) A chan derw yt dywedut y geir a dywedeist, dyro ui idaw **rac** anglot yt.[PPD:14:18]

and with happen-PERF-3SG to-2SG say-VN the word REL say-PRET-2SG, give-IMPER-2SG me to-3SM **before** un-fame to-2SG

*And since it has happened to you [that] you said the word you said, give me to him **against** [i.e. preventing] infamy to you.*

In the same context of preventive action, the general roles may be switched, with RHAG marking the landmark as an entity or event preventing the trajector, although this occurs much more rarely. This bi-directionality of the relationshps marked with RHAG highlight both the "general context" origins of the specific uses (if A is part of the context for B, then B is also part of the context for A), as well as demonstrating the abstraction of meaning that develops for RHAG, where the general prevention/avoidance sense is communicated, but the specific frame roles are supplied by context.

(1206) Ny welei ef y twrwf **rac** tywyllet y nos. [PPD:22:21]

NEG see-IMPERF-3SG he the tumult **before** darkness the night

*He didn't see the tumult **because of** the darkness of the night.*

Another example of the abstraction of the use of RHAG across a variety of roles can be seen in contexts where it marks the topic of preventive action rather than a specific prevented or preventing event. (Normally, prepositions associated with the role of topic tend to override more specific aspects of a scenario–see section 3.3.2.1.1 generally.)

(1207) Puybynnac a wertho dynawet y arall, yaun yu ydau y goruot arnau **rac** try chleuyt y guarthec, ac en ragor **rac** clauery, hyt guyl Padryc. [LI:128]

whoever PART sell-PRES-SUBJ-3SG yearling to other, right be-PRES-3SG to-3SM PART overcome-VN on-3SM **before** three sickness the cattle, and PART further **before** scab, length feast Patrick

*Whoever would sell a yearling [calf] to another, it is right for him [to have] liability on him **against** three diseases [of] cattle; and furthermore **against** scab until the feast of [Saint] Patrick.*

As mentioned above, while avoidance and prevention are the two largest semantic clusters for this general use, a variety of other negative or hostile scenarios use RHAG similarly. This is particularly the case where the landmark is an unpleasant or hostile stimulus that is the cause or reason for some event or, conversely, the cause or reason for some unpleasant or hostile event.

(1208) A gwr ieuanc drythyll oedwn i yna, ac **rac** vy chwannocket y vrwydyr y tervysgeis y rygtunt. [BR:4:31]

and man young wanton be-IMPERF-1SG I then, and **before** my eagerness the battle PART [cause]-trouble-PRET-1SG between-3PL

*And I was a wanton young man then, and **because of** my eagerness I incited the battle between them.*

(1209) Ba negesseu bennac a wnelit urtha6 ny cheffit atep amdanadunt **rac** y dristet ae anhygaret. Ac ena e doeth e gaer ruvein [BM:91b:35]

what errands whatever PART do-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS with-3SM NEG get-IMPERF SUBJ-IMPERS answer about-3PL **before** his sorrow and his unhappiness.

*Whatever errands one might have with him, one would not get an answer about them **because of** his sorrow and his unhappiness.*

(1210) ac yuelly y buant yny dygywys yw kytdrefwyr **racdunt**, ac yny duunyssant ar geissaw eu llad. [MFL:53:22]

and thus PART be-PRET-3PL until grow-angry-PRET-3SG to-their fellow townsmen **before-3PL**, and until agree-PRET-3PL on seek-VN them kill-VN

*and so they were until their fellow townsmen grew angry **against them**, and until they agreed [to] seek [to] kill them.*

(1211) A **rac** ouyn y moch enghi a oruc y urenhines. [CO:8]

and **before** fear the pig give-birth PART do-PRET-3SG the queen

*And **from** fear of the pig, the queen gave birth.*

(1212) **Rac** angerd y c6n 6rth eu kynllyfaneu. Ac ysc6ydeu urth y taryaneu yn ym gyfaruot y gyt. A pheleidyr y g6aewar ygyt yn kyflad. A-g6eryrat y meirch ac eu pestylat; Deffroi a-wnaeth yr amhera6dyr. [BM:182:12]

before violence the dogs with their leashes. and shoulders with the shields PART MUTUAL-meet-VN together. and shafts the spears together PART MUTUAL-strike VN. and neighing the horses and their stamping. awake-VN PART do-PRET-3SG the emperor.

***Because of** the violence of the dogs at their leashes, and shoulders on the shields meeting together, and shafts of the spears striking together, and the horses' neighing and their stamping, the emperor awoke.*

In summary, the breadth and abstraction of the use of RHAG with respect to

particular frame roles is motivated by the symmetry of the "context" scenario from which they derive, and hence from the underlying spatial-location sense of RHAG, even though the symmetry in this case is a pragmatic reanalysis of an originally asymmetric spatial relationship. In contrast, the narrowing of these context-motivated senses to scenarios of prevention, avoidance, hostility and the like is motivated by a pragmatic understanding that "confronting" entities are saliently important when they function as obstacles, and therefore derive from the specifics of the spatial scenario.

Case Study: AR

As we have seen throughout section 3, AR occurs across a wide variety of contexts marking a Patient or Experiencer of control, influence, hostility, or violence, whether physical, verbal, socio-legal, or subjective (e.g. emotions).

(1213) A gwedy goruot **arnaw** o rym ac angerd, erchi nawd a oruc idaw. [LL:160]
and after overcome-VN **on-3SM** of strength and force, ask-VN protection PART do-PRET-3SG to-3SM
And after overcoming ***him$_1$*** *by strength and force, he$_1$ asked him$_2$ for protection.*

(1214) "Lleidyr," heb ynteu, "a geueis yn lledratta **arnaf**." [MFL:60:21]
thief, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH, PART get-PRET-1SG PART thieve-VN **on-1SG**
"A thief," he said, "[that] I caught thieving ***from me****."*

(1215) A fob un ohonunt yssyd hawlwr **ar** y gilyd, a hynny am dir a dayar. [PPD:5:15]
and each one of-3PL be-PRES-REL-3SG claimant **on** his fellow, and that about land and earth
And each one of them is a claimaint ***against*** *the other, and that concerning land and earth.*

(1216) Ac os ouyn yssyd **arnawch** i, ym kyffes y Duw, mi a'ch differaf. [PPD:21:3]

and if fear be-PRES-REL-3SG **on-2PL** by confession to God, I PART you-PL protect PRES-1SG

*And if it is fear **on you** [i.e. you are afraid], I confess to God, I will protect you.*

(1217) Lladwn rei o'r canawon, ac irwn y hwyneb hitheu Riannon a'r gwaet, a'y dwylaw, a byrwn yr eskyrn gyr y bron, a thaerwn **arnei** e hun diuetha y mab. [PPD:20:17]

kill-IMPER-1PL some of the puppy and smear-IMPER-1PL her face her-EMPH Rhiannon with the blood and her two-hand and throw-IMPER-1PL the bones with-her-breast and assert **on-3SF** herself destroy the boy

*Let us kill some of the puppies and smear her (Rhiannon's) face with the blood, and her hands, and throw the bones in front of her, and assert **against her** [that] she herself destroyed the boy.*

The motivation would appear to be a conjunction of orientational metaphors such as CONTROL IS $UP_{M,P}$ grounded in basic physical experiences such as the typical greater strength of a larger person and the better logistical position of a person "on top" in a struggle.

The conventional use of AR to mark Bearers of Attributes seems to have a dual origin in the preceding plus a characterization of Attributes as surface (superficial) properties (see section 2.3.1.3.1) rather than internal ones. (Compare a similarly complex conjunction of factors in Modern Irish, where the cognate of AR is used with bearers of physical surface properties such as visual appearance or temporary or less in herent properties, while the cognate of YN is used with the bearer of more inherent, long-term properties, except when the physical surface is involved. (Grady ms.))

4.2.1.5 Narrow Semantic Motivation

Somewhat narrower in scope than the preceding group, a preposition may apply

to a particular role in a particular semantic frame, found across a range of verbs (in contrast to the examples in section 4.2.1.2) but associated with a specific frame-role (in contrast to the group in section 4.2.1.4, although the use may be motivated by one of these broad patterns). In addition to the examples in this section, an in-depth study of usage patterns in the semantic field of language, speech, and communication will be presented in section 4.2.2.2.

Case Study: Food Service and Consumption

In the context of the relatively formal dining events described in Medieval Welsh literature and law, the following roles, events, and relationships may be present.

The food event may be underwritten on an economic basis by a PATRON who voluntarily makes available the resources necessary for the event. The PATRON may collect or receive these resources from PRODUCERS over whom he has legal control. The ability and willingness to provide others with resources was an expected feature of high social status. As King Arthur is made to say:

(1218) Ydym wyrda hyt tra yn dygyrcher. Yd ytuo mwyhaf y kyuarws a rothom, mwyuwy uyd yn gwrdaaeth ninheu ac an cret ac an hetmic. [CO:136]

be-PRES-1PL noblemen length beyond PART-us seek-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS. PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG most the gift PART give-PRES-SUBJ-1PL, more be-PRES-3SG our nobility our-EMPH and our faith and our praise

We are noblemen while we are sought. The greater the gifts we give, the greater our nobility will be and our faith and our praise.

In smaller scale, a DISTRIBUTOR may have control over a particular resource,

and responsibility for apportioning it as required, without filling the role of economic PATRON. The PROVISIONS will then be prepared in a particular location by a particular person as appropriate to their type, e.g. in a kitchen by a cook. These roles may be labelled PREPARER and PREPARATION LOCATION. The PROVISIONS will then be taken by a SERVER from that location to a CONSUMPTION LOCATION, and made available to the CONSUMER.

The spatial motion of the PROVISIONS from the PREPARATION LOCATION to the CONSUMPTION LOCATION is indicated with the usual prepositions of sources and goals (in this case, indicating the return journey from CONSUMPTION LOCATION to PREPARATION LOCATION).

(1219) Ny dele eysted en er estauell namen guassanaethu **o**'r estauell **hyt** y kegyn. [LI:22]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG sit-VN in the chamber except serve-VN **from** the chamber **length** the kitchen

*He is not entitled to sit in the chamber, rather he serves **from** the chamber **to** the kitchen.*

Similarly, this frame may include the spatial relationship between the PROVISIONS and a container of some sort used to convey them. The only examples in my data involve liquid PROVISIONS and a container marked with YN.

(1220) Ef a dele lloneyt e llestry e guallouyer **endunt** o'r kvryf ac eu hanner [12r] o uragavt ac eu traean o ued. [LI:34]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG fill-VN the dishes REL serve-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS **in-3PL** of the beer and their half of braggot and their third of mead

*He ought to fill the dishes **in which** is served [a serving] of beer and half [of] them of braggot and a third [of] them of mead.*

Outside the realm of these spatial relations, the data primarily addresses the relationships of various participants in the frame to the PROVISIONS, with the notable exception of the relationship of the SERVER to the CONSUMER. Given that the PROVISIONS are a concrete entity, and that the interactions of the various animate participants with them prototypically correlate with events having particular spatial relationships, the description of these relationships in terms that are predictable from those spatial relationships is not surprising. For example, the verb DIWALLU "to supply" profiles a DISTRIBUTOR, the PROVISIONS, and optionally some sort of recipient, and we would expect the DISTRIBUTOR to be marked as an animate source of an inanimate trajector with Y GAN (see section 3.1.3.1), which is what we find in the following example.

(1221) Ef a dele e dywallu **e gan** e dysteyn o'e kyureydyeu en e kegyn. [LI:28]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG them fill-VN **from-with** the steward of his needs in the kitchen

*He is entitled to be supplied **by** the steward for his needs in the kitchen.*

While the PATRON is generally not the immediate spatial source of the PROVISIONS, the relationship between the two treats him as a metaphoric Source, using

Y GAN.

(1222) Ef a dele corneyt llyn **e gan** e brenhyn ac arall **e gan** e urenhynes a'r tredyd **e gan** e dysteyn, a'r reyn henne a deleant bot ar e ancvyn, a seyc o wet. [LI:11]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG hornful drink **from-with** the king and other **from-with** the queen and the third **from-with** the steward, and the ones those PART ought-PRES-3PL be-VN on his livery, with/and dish of food

*He is entitled [to] a hornful [of] drink **from** the king, and another **from** the queen, and a third **from** the steward, and those should be his livery, with a dish of food.*

In contrast, verbs that profile the SERVER and the CONSUMER (and optionally the PROVISIONS) would be expected to mark the CONSUMER as the goal of a passive trajector with I, and instead we find AR. As we saw in section 3.1.2 generally, the use of AR with goals usually includes one or more of the attributes associated with the "on" version of this word, i.e. above, in contact with or attached to, or broad surfaces, none of which are relevant to the current scenario. We also saw AR used with an animate trajector moving voluntarily towards an animate goal, best explained as a variant of AT (i.e. the "to" sense of AR), and this sense *could* motivate the current use, suggesting that the SERVER and CONSUMER are the primary roles being profiled. This use of AR, however, occurs as a random free variant of AT, not as a variant occurring in particular contexts, and in the current food-service frame we find only AR, not a regular pattern of AT occasionally varied by AR, so this explanation also seems inadequate. (There also appears to be at least tangential support from OIr for interpreting it as the "on" variant of AR.) Outside this alternation with AT, the use of AR to mark spatial goals is associated with location Goals, not humans.

Having eliminated AR as a neutral goal-marker here, the use of this preposition to relate a Server-trajector and a Consumer-landmark appears anomalous. The Server is not enacting situational control or hostility on the Consumer and, indeed, is prototypically of lower status and power. Neither the Server nor the act of Serving seem reasonably interpretable as an Attribute of the Consumer. This lack of a larger context motivating the choice of AR, combined with the extreme consistency of the choice, leaves us in the situation of simply arbitrarily associating this preposition with the Consumer role.

Common verbs in the food-service group include GWALLO "to pour (for), to serve with drink", and GWASANAETHU "to serve" (also used in non-food contexts). Other verbs with a similar scenario may have the CONSUMER as a direct object (see, for example, ANRHHYDEDDU below, although it is not, in origin, a food-service verb).

(1223) E a dele **guallav ar** e brenhyn en wastat eythyr e teyr gvyl arbennyc. [LI:12]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG **serve-VN on** the king PART constant outside the three feast special

*He ought to **serve to** the king constantly except for the three special feasts.*

(1224) a pheri **guassanaethu** yn diwall o uwyt a llyn **arnunt**, **ar** y wreic, a'y gwr, a'y phlant. [BFL:36:7]

and cause-VN **serve-VN** PART abundance of food and drink **on-3PL on** the woman and the man, and the children

*and cause an abundance of food and drink to be **served to them**–**to** the woman and the man and the children.*

Scenarios that profile the relationship of the SERVER to the PROVISIONS have a spatial grounding in co-location with contact and control. From this, given the nature of the participants (see section 3.1.1.10), we would expect the options to be WRTH, AC,

and less strongly AR. But as with the SERVER-CONSUMER scenarios above, we don't find the relationship marked with a proportionately random selection of the spatially motivated prepositions, but uniformly with only one preposition, AR, which is not particularly typical for the spatial scenario. Where AR *is* highly typical, is in a broad range of contexts marking controlled or manipulated landmarks (see section 4.2.1.4) and, unlike the consumer role, this marking on the PROVISIONS role is consistent with the broader pattern of use. So what we see in the food-service frame is that the SERVER-PROVISIONS relationship appears to strongly profile the physical control and manipulation by the SERVER, and not simply that the SERVER is the means by which the PROVISIONS are moved.

(1225) Vynt a deleant rody pynueyrch e'r brenhyn en e luedeu, ac a deleant anrededu er argluydes un weyth pob blueden **ar** uuyt a llyn [LI:93]

they PART ought-PRES-3PL give-VN pack-horses to the king in his hostings, and PART ought-PRES-3PL honor-VN the lady one time every year **on** food and drink

*They [i.e. the villeins] are obliged to give pack-horses to the king for his hostings, and they ought [to] honor the lady once every year **with** food and drink*

One example from the law texts supplies an interesting, if not entirely informative, contrast between PROVISIONS consisting of (presumably living) animals, marked with the use of YN that I'm calling "instantiation" (see section 3.3.2.3.2), and inanimate foodstuffs marked with AR.

(1226) ac vynt a deleant anrydedu e brenhyn pan uo en e llys herwyd eu gallu, ae **en** deueyt ae **en** vyn ae **en** uenneu, ae **ar** emenyn ae **ar** kaus ae **ar** llaeth. [LI:94]

and they PART ought-PRES-3PL honor-VN the king when be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG in the court by their be-able-VN, either **in** sheep either **in** lambs either **in** kids, either **on** butter either **on** cheese either **on** milk

*And they are obliged to honor the king when he is in the court according to their ability, whether **with** sheep or **with** lambs or **with** kids, or **with** butter or **with** cheese or **with** milk.*

We even find examples where both the CONSUMER and PROVISIONS roles are present and marked with AR, where pragmatics disambiguates.

(1227) Ef a dele guassanaethu **ar** e urenhynes **ar** wyt a llyn. [LI:22]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG serve-VN **on** the queen **on** food and drink

*He ought to serve **to** the queen **with** food and drink.*

The food service and consumption frame may be expanded to other types of personal service. In the following example, entertainment in the form of conversation and storytelling is being supplied by a speaker filling both the PATRON and SERVER roles, with the type of activity indicated as the PROVISIONS using AR, and in this case with the CONSUMERS supplied by the direct object of the verb DIDDANU "to amuse".

(1228) A'r nos honno, didanu y llys a wnaeth **ar** ymdidaneu digrif a chyuarwydyt [MFM:69:13]

and the night that, amuse-VN the court PART do-PRET-3SG **on** conversations pleasant and stories

*And that night, he amused the court **with** pleasant conversations and stories*

4.2.1.6 Generalized Metaphoric Motivation

Certain source domains are common across a number of semantic fields and may be invoked by a variety of verbs. Here we may see patterns of preposition use that are motivated by the source domain (i.e. they are not influenced or overridden by particular target domains) and that are associated with the general source scenario rather than by a particular verb (i.e. the preposition is the typical one you would expect to find in the source domain). In contexts where a particular source domain is common in identifying a particular grammatical function or semantic role, this type of motivation will guide the prepositional marking even when a metaphoric source domain is not otherwise invoked. (See Lakoff 1993b for the more general case of this pattern of grammatical marking.)

Case Study: Object Transfer

Perhaps the most widespread metaphoric source domain of this type is object transfer, i.e. a frame where an animate, volitional (prototypically human) agent causes the motion of a passive entity (unspecified for animacy) from a source location to a target location by means of direct physical manipulation. (Metaphoric extensions of this frame will be explored in greater detail in section 4.2.2.1 generally.) Particularly common verbs involved in this frame are RHODDI (to give), DODI (to place, put), DWYN (to carry, bear), and CAFFAEL (to get, obtain). Verbs may profile specific elements of the frame, e.g. the source or goal location, and may associate the agent with one of these as the default situation. For example, CAFFAEL defaults to the agent as goal and profiles the

moving object and the source location, while RHODDI defaults to the agent as source and profiles the object and goal location.

The transferred object typically occurs as the direct object of the verb, with the source and goal supplied by prepositional phrases. These source and goal markers may supply a greater or lesser amount of information about the nature of the participants. Rich information may be given as seen in the following table. (Remember that this table shows characteristic patterns, not fixed rules.)

Table 10: Summary of Spatial Movement Markers

Landmark	Human	Thing	Region
Source			
Human trajector	Y GAN, Y WRTH	O	O
Thing trajector	Y GAN	O	O
Goal			
Human trajector	AT	I	I, YN, AR
Thing trajector	I	I	(no clear pattern)

(In purely spatial contexts, PARTH AC is also common for a human trajector and a region landmark, but since it is not extended to metaphoric motion I have left it out of the table.)

Rich information may alternatively provide specifics of the spatial relationship

between the object and the source or goal. Less rich information is supplied by generalizing the less marked items: I for all types of goal, O for all types of source, regardless of the nature of the moving object. (Alternately, one can see the "less rich" framing as profiling the essential passivity of the transferred object, and thus its "thing"-ness.)

So, for example, CAFFAEL (to get, obtain) defaults to the agent as the goal of motion, and profiles the object and the source. The object is prototypically inanimate. (I have no unambiguous examples of a human trajector in purely spatial examples of this verb, although there are some where a spatial origin sense is potentially available when the entity is more clearly a parent or family.) The source is prototypically animate, although not necessarily a willing supplier.

(1229) "Ie," heb ynteu, "ba furuf y keffir wy **y gantaw** ef?" [MFM:68:26]

well, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH, what form PART get-PRES-IMPERS them **from-with-3SM** him

"Well," he said, "how may one get them [i.e. the pigs] ***from him****?"*

(1230) Tra geffit **gantaw** ef, nac eskit, na hossan, ny phrynit dim gan gryd yn yr holl dref. [MFL:54:19]

beyond get-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS **with-3SM** him, NEG shoe, NEG hose, NEG buy-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS anything with shoemaker in the all town

While one could get it ***from*** *him, neither shoe nor hose would be bought from [any] shoemaker in the whole town.*

When the Agent and Goal roles are distinct, the usual characteristics of the scenario would predict marking the Goal with I, which is what we find. Note that this variant of the scenario is excellent grounding for a beneficiary concept: the obtaining of an

object by one person to be given to a different person (the Beneficiary-Goal).

(1231) Llefrith a wennych rei; nyt aruaeth kaffel lleurith **y** bawb nes kaffel botheu Rinnon Rin Bauawc. [CO:662]

milk PART desire-PRES-3SG some; NEG manner get-VN milk **to** everyone unless get-VN bottles Rhinnon Rhin Barfog.

*Some will want milk:[there is] no way [to] get milk **for** everyone unless [you] get the bottles of Rhinnon Rhin Barfog.*

These same patterns of preposition use are found when CAFFAEL is used metaphorically. Verbal interactions are often framed as a hearer "obtaining" speech from the other participant.

(1232) Ac attep ny chauas ef **genthi** hi yn hynny. [PPD:7:12]

and answer NEG get-PRET-3SG he **with-3SF** her in that

*But he didn't get an answer **from her** then.*

Physical actions may also be framed metaphorically as obtained objects with the patient of the action appearing as the grammatical agent. The profiling of a volitional agent in the source domain creates an implication in the metaphoric applications that the notional patient (grammatical agent) is not simply complicit in the event, but can be seen as the entity responsible for its occurrence.

(1233) titheu a gey y gedymdeithas a uynych **y genhyf** i [MFL:57:23]

you-SG-EMPH PART get-PRES-2SG the friendship REL wish-PRES-SUBJ-2SG **from-with-1SG** me

*you will get the friendship you wish **from me***

(1234) O deruyd e den bot kreyryeu arnau a guneythur ohanau cam adan e kreyryeu, ne dele caffael naud nac amdyffyn **e gan** e kreyryeu henne canys haedus. [LI:71]

if happen-PRES-3SG to person be-VN relics on-3SM and do-VN of-3SM wrong under the relics, NEG ought-PRES-3SG get-VN protection nor defense **from-with** the relics those since-NEG merit

*If it happens to a person [that] there are relics on him and he does wrong under the relics [i.e. while wearing the relics], he is not entitled [to] get protection nor defense **from** those relics since [he is] not worthy.*

DWYN profiles the agent that supplies the motive force but typically is neither Source nor Goal of motion. Either the Source or Goal of motion, or both, or neither may be supplied. In purely spatial scenarios, Goals are indicated roughly twice as often as Sources. Among Sources, humans are slightly more common than inanimate entities, while among Goals, the inanimate ones are slightly more common. The nature of the moved object is similarly balanced between animate and inanimate entities. Based on context, an animate transferred object may be either unwilling or neutral about the event, although an animate Source may typically be understood to be deprived by it and an animate Goal benefitted by it. In all, the verb seems fairly neutral regarding the specific circumstances of the caused motion, but a relatively rich semantic marking of those circumstances is available.

(1235) A wdost di dim y wrth Vabon uab Modron a **ducpwyt** yn teir nossic **y wrth** y uam? [CO:872]

INTERROGATIVE know-PRET-2SG you-SG anything from-with Mabon son Modron REL **bear-PRET-IMPERS** PART three night **from-with** his mother

*Did you know anything about Mabon son of Modron who was **taken** at three nights [old] **from** his mother?*

(1236) ac y **duc** y gwelleu **y gantaw**. [CO:1184]

and PART **bear-PRET-3SG** the scissors **from-with-3SM**

*and he **took** the scissors **from him.***

(1237) Mi a uum gynt yn ymlad deu Ynyr pan **ducpwyt** y deudec gwystyl **o** Lychlyn. [CO:118]

I PART be-PRET-1SG formerly in MUTUAL-fight-VN two Ynyr when **bear-PRET-IMPERS** the twelve hostage **from** Llychlyn

*I was formerly in the battle of the two Ynyrs when the twelve hostages were **brought from** Llychlyn.*

(1238) Em pen e petwared uluyden ar dec e dele e tat **duen** e uab **ar** er argluyd a'e orchemyn ydau, [LI:98]

in head the fourth year on ten PART ought-PRES-3SG the father **bear-VN** his son **on/to** the lord and him commend-VN to-3SM

*And at the end of the fourteenth year the father ought to **take** his son **to** the lord and commend him to him.*

(1239) Sef riuedi o wraged a **ducpwyt y**'r **ystauell**, chwech wraged. [PPD:20:6]

thus number of women PART **bear-PRET-IMPERS to the chamber,** six women

*This is the number of women **brought to the chamber:** six women.*

(1240) pwy oed y gwr a **duc** y cledyf **y** Arthur? [BR:11:4]

who be-IMPERF-3SG the man PART **bear-PRET-3SG** the sword **to** Arthur

*Who was the man who **brought** the sword **to** Arthur?*

When extended metaphorically, the expected spatial marking of the participants is frequently overridden by the semantics of the target domain (e.g. an animate notional goal being marked with AR when the "moving object" is a hostile act) and in general it is the notion of external causation that is most strongly mapped from the source domain. Examples where the predicted spatial markers are preserved include communication (where a third party mediates between speaker and hearer) and a caused change in attributes, but this class is fairly small.

(1241) Mi a af y dywedut hynny y Vrnach Gawr, ac a dygaf atteb **yt**. [CO:776]

I PART go-PRES-1SG to say-VN that to Wrnach Gawr, and PART bear-PRES-1SG answer **to-2SG**

*I will go to say that to Wrnach Gawr, and will bring an answer **to you**.*

(1242) a dwyn y lyueryd **y gantaw** hyt na allei dywedut un geir. [MFL:56:16]

and bear-VN the speech **from-with-3SG** length NEG be-able-IMPERF-3SG speak-VN one word

*and the [power of] speech was taken **from him** so that he couldn't speak a word.*

RHODDI (to give) defaults to an agent that is also the Source of motion and profiles a moving object and a Goal normally marked with I even when the former is animate. The goals are overwhelmingly human and expected to benefit from the event, suggesting that the semantic frame of the verb includes this as a prototypical feature.

(1243) Mi a rodaf y carcharawr **itti** [CO:837]

I PART give-PRES-1SG the prisoner **to-2SG**

*I will give the prisoner **to you***

(1244) Mi a rodaf **yt** peir. [BFL:34:18]

I PART give-PRES-1SG **to-2SG** cauldron

*I will give **to you** a cauldron*

In contrast to DWYN, metaphoric extensions of the spatial use of RHODDI are fairly common and the prepositional marking is rarely overridden by the semantics of the target domain (or those semantics are compatible with the relatively unspecified spatial semantics of I). The features of the source domain that are entailed most strongly are the control of the agent over the occurrence and nature of the event and the effect of the

metaphoric transfer on the "goal" of the motion. Typical examples involve a "transferred object" that is an Action, State, or Communication with the metaphoric goal being respectively a Patient, Experiencer, or Hearer respectively.

(1245) "A byd di i'm rith yno," heb ef, "ac un dyrnaut a rodych di **idaw** ef; ny byd byw ef o hwnnw. [PPD:3:17]

and be-IMPER-2SG you-SG in my shape there, say-PRET-3SG he, and one blow PART give-IMPER-2SG you-SG **to-3SM** him; NEG be-PRES-3SG live-VN he from that

*"And be you there in my shape," he said, "and give **to him** one blow; he will not be alive because of that."*

(1246) Ac y rodes ynteu nawd **udunt** hwy, ac y rodassant wynteu eu bendyth **idaw** ef. [CO:1063]

and PART give-PRET-3SG he-EMPH protection **to-3PL** them, and PART give-PRET-3PL they their blessing **to-3SM** him

*And he gave protection **to them**, and they gave their blessing **to him**.*

(1247) A rodwch **im** kynghor pa uorwyn a geisswyf. [MFM:77:5]

and give-IMPER-2PL **to-1SG** advice what maiden REL seek-PRES-SUBJ-1SG

*And give advice **to me** [about] what maiden I should seek.*

DODI (to put, place) is schematically similar to RHODDI in that it profiles the goal of a passive entity manipulated by an animate volitional agent. Unlike RHODDI, the source location is not assumed to be co-location with the agent, but remains unspecified. While RHODDI makes little distinction in types of goal, DODI profiles the specific nature of the resulting location relative to the goal and occurs with a wide variety of prepositions indicating fine distinctions of arrangement and, in particular, location within or in contact with the goal, using YN and AR if no more specific relationship is given. In

contrast to RHODDI, human beings are rarely present as goals except as specific body parts.

(1248) Ef a dely **dodi** y telyn **en llav** y bard teylu en e teyr gvyl arbennyc. [LI:6]
he PART ought-PRES-3SG **put-VN** the harp **in hand** the bard household in the three feast special
*He ought to **put** the harp **in** the household bard's **hand** during the three special feasts.*

(1249) a **dodi** ohonof uinheu y neill troet **ar** geuyn y bwch [MFM:86:28]
and **place-VN** of 1SG I-EMPH the one foot **on** back the goat
*and **placing** by me [i.e. I will place] the one foot **on** the goat's back*

While there are many possible metaphoric extensions of the spatial use of DODI, what we find in the data focuses on a caused juxtaposition of elements, where the moved object of the source domain maps to such things as a State or Attribute in the target domain and the Goal of the source to an Experiencer or Bearer of the Attribute in the target. In contrast with the spatial use, the "goal" in these is typically human. That is, we find the verb used with the Object Verison of EVENT STRUCTURE$_P$ (see section 1.2.7) demonstrating mappings such as:

Attributes (including States) are Possessions (Objects)
Change is Object Transfer (Motion of Possessions)
Causes are Forces (on the Transfered Objects)

Of the wide variety of prepositions found in spatial examples, AR is the one abstracted for general metaphoric use with a consistency that extends beyond the common use of AR for many of the relationships found in these target domains (e.g.

State/Experiencer, Attribute/Bearer). This demonstrates one way by which the idiomatic verb-preposition relationship discussed in section 4.2.1.2 can arise: the intersection between a common option in the source domain and a common option among the target domains is generalized to the metaphoric use of the verb in general.

(1250) a mi a **dodeis** yr hut **ar** seith cantref Dyuet [MFL:64:5]
and I PART **put-PRET-1SG** the magic **on** seven cantref Dyfed
*and I **placed** the enchantment **on** the seven cantrefs of Dyfed*

(1251) Ac ena, guedy dangosser e guystlon, erchy e'r ryghyll **dody** gostec **ar** e maes. [LI:77]
and then, after show-PRES-SUBJ-IMPERS the pledges, ask-VN to the serjeant **place-VN** silence **on** the field
*And then, after the pledges are shown, ask of the serjeant [that he] **place** silence **on** the field [i.e. that he silence the court].*

(1252) Sef enw a **dodet arnaw**, Hydwn. [MFM:75:21]
thus name PART **place-PRET-IMPERS on-3SM**, Hyddwn
*This is the name **placed on him**: Hyddwn.*

(A second pattern of metaphoric extension using the same language involves a perceptual aspect of the agent, e.g. "mind", as the moving object and a Topic as goal.)

The strongly grammaticalized use of prepositions to mark syntactic rather than semantic roles also fits in this category, where the metaphoric motivation is supplied implicitly by Event Structure rather than explicitly by a verb of motion. So, as we saw in section 4.1.2, we see similar metaphors as above—Agents are Sources, Experiencers are Recipients—but the choice is dictated by the larger syntactic structure. An excellent

example of how these forces play out can be seen in the following text. The notional agent of MYNNU (to desire) is marked first as a Goal by I, dictated by the irrealis construction with DARFOD (to happen, occur) where it is framed more immediately as an experiencer, and secondly as a Source by O, dictated by the use of the verbal-noun form of MYNNU.

(1253) O **deruyd y** ur **mennu** escar a gureyc a **mennu ohanau** gureyc arall, dylys eu e wreyc ed escaruyt a hy, cane dele un gur bot ydau due wraged. [LI:52]

if **happen-PRE-3SG to** man **wish-VN** separate-VN with/and woman and **wish-VN of-3SM** woman other, valid be-PRES-3SG the woman PART separate-PRET-IMPERS with/and her, since-NEG ought-PRES-3SG one man be-VN to-3SM two women

*If it **happens to** a man [that he] **wants** to separate from a wife, and **wanting by him** [i.e. he wants] another wife, validly [free] is the woman who was separated from, since no one man is entitled [for there to] be two wives to him [i.e. for him to have two wives].*

4.2.1.7 *Ad Hoc* Metaphor

While particular semantic roles or grammatical functions may have a conventional or even grammaticalized metaphoric grounding for preposition choice, these may always be supplanted by a novel metaphor. In contrast to the conventional marking strategies, these appear in relatively rich form, with several aspects of the source domain given explicitly.

Case Study: "Bear your face away"

The social property of "face" or "status" (see section 3.6.1) is conventionally

expressed as a state (via STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_{M,P}$) or as physical attribute (unsurprising in the extension of "face" from a physical to a social characteristic). But as a scalar property that may be increased or decreased, it is unsurprising that changes in status may be expressed metaphorically in terms of object-transfer. In this example, the complete diminution of the social property is expressed as the carrying away of the "face" by the person whose actions would provoke this change in status. The spatial grounding of the source domain is emphasized by the introductory phrase "I will go" in reference to actual spatial motion, while in the specific context of the social action the motion is expressed via the construction DWYN <controlled object> GAN <controller> "to carry/bear <object> away with oneself". The use of the novel metaphor here appears to be intended to demonstrate the speaker's verbal cleverness and wit–that is, the transition from, and juxtaposition of "I will go" and "but I'll take your reputation with me" is a deliberate and self-conscious play on words, and not simply the use of an available, but non-conventional, metaphor for an abstract social event.

(1254) Mynet a wnaf i, a'th **wyneb** di a dygaf i **genhyf**. [CO:380]
go-VN PART do-PRES-1SG I, and your-SG **face** your-SG PART bear-PRES-1SG I **with-1SG**
*I will go, but I will take your **face with me**.*

Case Study: Death is Departure

As discussed in Lakoff and Turner (1989), one of the metaphors for life and death is LIFE IS BEING PRESENT HERE, DEATH IS DEPARTURE. This metaphor appears in a passing

reference in the law texts.

(1255) Ac ysef achaus e dele ef talu y'r colledyc, urth na dele adau arnau un delyet **tra'y keuen**. [LI:115]

and thus cause PART ought-PRES-3SG he pay-VN to the loser, with NEG ought-PRES-3SG leave-VN on-3SM one debt **beyond his back**

*And this is the reason he [i.e. a condemned thief] ought to pay [the value of the theft] to the loser [of the goods], because he ought not to leave **behind him** any debt [that is] on him [i.e. that he is responsible for].*

It isn't clear that the metaphor is being used conceptually rather than descriptively–that is, that the legal logic is derived from the metaphor. It is certainly possible that there was a legal precedent that a person changing physical residence should not "leave debts behind" in his former location, but there is no explicit reference to such a precedent, so it can be nothing more than speculation.

Case Study: Calling Magic

(1256) Ac yna y gelwis ef y hut a'y allu **attaw**. [MFM:82:6]

and then PART call-PRET-3SG he his magic and his ability **to-3SM**

*And then he called his magic and his power **to him.***

The notion of "summoning one's resources" is inherently metaphoric. In the target domain, potential abilities exist in a constant state regardless of one's decision to use them. However the subjective experience of the conscious focusing on an ability resulting in a perceived greater access to that ability motivates a variety of metaphoric understandings of this experience. The verb GALW operates in the domain of verbal

social interactions and indicates an oral demand (typically backed by legal or social standing for enforcement) for the self-propelled motion of the hearer, to the location of the speaker indicated reflexively with AT, although a different location may be specified instead. The hearer typically appears as the gramatical direct object. (A variant of this scenario may leave the commanded action unspecified, but with motion to the speaker's location implied, in which case the hearer is normally marked with AR, motivated by its "control" sense.) Compare the following spatial examples.

(1257) **E gan** Uanawydan y gelwis Nyssyen uab Eurosswyd y mab **attaw**. [BFL:43:16]
from-with Manawyddan PART call-PRET-3SG Nissien son Euroswydd the boy **to-3SM**
From *Manawyddan, Nissien son of Euroswydd called the boy* ***to him***.

(1258) A galw **attaw** a oruc holl wyrda y gyuoeth [LL:50]
and call-VN **to-3SM** PART do-PRET-3SG all noblemen the realm
And he called ***to him*** *all the noblemen of the realm*

The metaphor therefore frames the magical ability as a volitional entity, located at some distance from the agent (and therefore inaccessible) which, when summoned, approaches the agent (and therefore becomes accessible). An implicit metaphor is PROXIMITY IS ACCESSIBILITY, supporting the explicit metaphor ABILITIES/PROPERTIES ARE PERSONS. We may see an echo here of a MULTIPLE SELVES metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1999), with a person's abilities understood as separate persons who may be interacted with.

Case Study: The Containing Oath

(1259) "Arglwyd," heb ynteu, "minheu a allaf dy rydhau ditheu **o**'r geireu hynny. [MFM:69:24]

lord, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH, I-EMPH PART be-able-PRES-1SG you free-VN you EMPH **from** the words that

*"Lord," he said, "I can free you **from** those words [i.e. that promise]."*

Compare:

(1260) "Arglwyd," heb ef, "llyma rydit yti **am** y geir a dywedeist neithwyr am y moch, nacs rodut ac nas guerthut. [MFM:70:16]

lord, say-PRET-3SG he, behold freedom to-2SG **about** the word REL say-PRET-2SG last-night about the pigs, NEG-it give-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG and NEG-it sell-IMPERF SUBJ-2SG

*"Lord," he said, "behold the freedom for you **regarding** the promise you said last night about the pigs: [that] you would not give them and you would not sell them."*

The verb RHYDDHAU "to free" normally indicates the caused release or removal of a human prisoner from a prison or physical restraint.

(1261) Ac ena e dele e brenhyn rydhau e guystlon **oc** eu carchar. [LI:77]

and then PART ought-PRES-3SG the king free-VN the hostages **from** their prison

*And then the king should free the hostages **from** their prison.*

An oath to refrain from taking a particular action creates a social impediment to that action. Thus the oath can be understood metaphorically as a physical barrier or container, via FREEDOM OF ACTION IS LACK OF IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION$_p$. (The "container" image seems more common in non-metaphoric uses of RHYDDHAU, e.g. in reference to

prisons.) If the social impediment can be nullified, this can then be understood either as the removal or destruction of the barrier/container, or as the removal of the potential actor from the constraining location. Here we have the second case, where the discovery of a way to circumvent the oath is framed as "freeing" the potential actor from a confining location. In the first example, the oath is overtly mapped as the "prison" impeding action. In the second, the oath is framed as a topic or context for the constraint, but no overt mapping for the prison is given in the target domain.

Case Study: Sleepy Eyes

The bearer of a physical state or attribute is typically marked with AR (see section 3.3.2.1.6), most likely reflecting an understanding of control or influence. The physical experience of sleep most commonly occurs in the data in purpose constructions as a relatively neutral event. (It seems to be mentioned primarily as a time-sequencing event.) In a few situations, however, sleep becomes a more salient event and is referred to in more variable ways. In the story *Lludd a Llefelys* (Roberts 1975), a magical curse causes involuntary sleep so that a theft can occur. Here the language of violent action is used (including an expression normally used for rape) with with the verbal-noun CYSGU "to sleep" serving as the notional agent and the sleeper as the patient of the action.

(1262) Ac wrth hynny y mae reit y titheu y'th persson dy hun gwylaw dy wledeu a'th arlwyeu, ac rac **goruot** o'e gyscu ef **arnat**, bit gerwynet o dwfyr oer geyr dy law, a phan vo kysgu yn **treissaw arnat** dos y mywn y gerwyn. [LL:113]

and with that PART be-PRES-3SG necessary to you-SG-EMPH in your-SG person your-SG own watch-VN your-SG feasts and your-SG provisions and before **overcome-VN** of his sleep his **on-2SG**, be-IMPER-3SG tubful of water cold with your-SG hand, and when be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG sleep PART **do-violence-VN on-2SG** come-IMPER-2SG within the tub.

*And at that it will be necessary for you, in your own person, to watch your feasts and your provisions and lest his [magical] sleep **overcome you**, let there be a tubful of cold water at your side, and when sleep is **attacking you,** go into the tub.*

Even in a less hostile context, sleep may be framed as a volitional agent with the sleeper as a passive experiencer.

(1263) A-chyscu a **doeth arna6.** [BM:179:1]

and sleep-VN PART come-PRET-3SG **on-3SM**

*And sleep came **upon him**.*

While the use of AR to mark the experiencer can be accounted for by the typical language of states, the less conventional metaphors here include STATES ARE VOLITIONAL ENTITIES, EXPERIENCE OF A STATE IS CO-LOCATION WITH THE STATE. (Note that this last is the more general case of STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_{P,M}$ but also covers a static Experiencer and moving State.) An additional element can be added to this metaphor by having the eyes stand metonymically for the sleeper. While there are a number of potentially salient physical effects of sleep, the eyes are one natural focus. In the first example, the eyes are simply substituted for the sleeper in a construction marked with AR. In the second, the eyes are framed as a container into which sleep enters: STATES ARE CONTENTS,

EXPERIENCING A STATE IS INTERNALIZING CONTENTS. Experiencers of States and Bearers of Attributes are only rarely marked as containers with YN, although there are enough examples to establish it as a minor pattern. In the current case (as in some others), subjective perception of the physical experience may be a key factor, either perception of the eyes as a closable container (via the eyelids), or the association of physical discomfort within the eye sockets with sleepiness.

(1264) or bei eisseu dim arnaw ny **adei ef hun uyth ar legat** dyn tra uei yndi. [CO:274]
if be-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG need anything on-3SM NEG **allow-IMPERF-3SG he sleep ever on ey**e person beyond be IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG in-3SF
*if there were a need for anything on him, he would never **allow sleep onto the eyes** of anyone while he was in [the town].*

(1265) Ac yn gytneit ac yd **aeth hun yn y lygeit** y rodet drych idaw [BR:3:25]
and PART co-leap with PART **go-PRET-3SG sleep in his eyes** PART give-PRET IMPERS vision to-3SM
*And simultaneously with **sleep going into his eyes**, a vision was given to him*

4.2.2 Application of the Motivation Hierarchy

The competing motivations for preposition choice play out in systematic patterns, some more influential than others, but all potentially breakable at least in certain contexts. Given the tools and terminology discussed above, we can now examine the results of the potential competition between them and develop something like a hierarchy describing their comparative "strength". This will be easiest to do when we can identify contexts that can be treated as a "controlled environment", where complicating factors can be kept to a minimum or kept as simliar as possible.

4.2.2.1 Self-Propelled and Caused Motion

An initial look at the interplay can be simplified by choosing verbs whose basic semantic frame is spatial. For this section, I have selected verbs whose basic meaning indicates either self-propelled motion or caused motion, but where the manner of the motion is relatively unspecified. Within this scope, there is still immense variation in what elements of the basic frame are profiled or implicitly assumed. The verbs considered here, with their primary characteristics are as follow. Typical examples of spatial usage are included. (For discussions of fictive motion in a variety of contexts, see e.g. Langacker 1987, 1991b, Talmy 2000, Taub 2001.)

Identifying self-propelled motion, MYNED (to go) and DYFOD (to come) may profile either the source or goal of motion, although goals are significantly more common (largely because sources are more readily supplied by pre-existing context). Sources are slightly more common for MYNED. More rarely, paths may be profiled, or an accompanying (controlled) object. Both are extended to a wide variety of non-spatial uses, DYFOD more so than MYNED. CERDDED (to walk, travel) most commonly profiles the context of motion (e.g. location, path, or accompanying object) rather than a source or goal, although both of these can also occur. It is much less commonly extended to non-spatial uses.

(1266) Ac **odyna** yd **aeth hyt yg** Keredigyawn, ac Eli a Thrachmyr **gantaw**, a lliaws **gyt ac** wynt heuyt. [CO:1158]

and **from-there** PART go-PRET-3SG **length-in** Ceredigion, and Eli and Trachmyr **with-3SM**, and many **together with** them also

*And **from** there he went **to** Ceredigion, and Eli and Trachmyr **with** him, and many **together with** them also.*

(1267) "E **doeth im**," heb ef, "**y gan** wr a uu y'th wlat ti." [BFL:35:3]

PART **come-PRET-3SG to-1SG**, say-PRET-3SG he, **from-with** man REL be-PRET-3SG to [or: in] your-SG land your-SG

*"It **came to me**," he said, "**from** a man who was of [or: in] your land."*

(1268) ac **ar hyt** y pont y tebygei y vot yn-kerdet y-r llog. [BM:180:11]

and **on length** the bridge PART suppose-IMPERF-3SG him be-VN PART travel-VN to the ship

*And **along** the bridge he supposed himself to be walking to the ship.*

A number of other verbs of self-propelled motion strongly profile either the source or goal of motion but are rarely, if ever, extended to non-spatial uses. NESSAU (to near) and CYFARFOD (to meet) profile the goal of motion. A goal with hostile interaction is profiled by GORDDIWES (to overtake), YMORDDIWES (to overtake), and YMGAEL (to reach). The source of motion is profiled for YMFADDAU (to leave), and a hostile source for CILIO (to retreat), FFOI (to flee), DIANC (to flee), and YMDDIANC (to flee). ENCILIO (to retreat), in contrast, overtly profiles the goal of motion, but includes an implicit hostile source. Of this group, CYFARFOD and CILIO occur in non-spatial extensions.

(1269) Ac yna yd aeth Llwytawc hyt yn Ystrat Yw, ac yno y **kyuaruu** gwyr Llydaw **ac** ef [CO:1162]

and then PART go-PRET-3SG Llwydog length-in Ystrad Yw, and there PART **WITH-meet-PRET-3SG** men Llydaw **with/and** him

*And then Llwydog went to Ystrad Yw, and there the men of Llydaw **met with** him*

(1270) Sef a wnaeth ynteu, adaw y berth, a **chilyaw** dalym **y wrth** y guyr. [MFL:55:16]

thus PART do-PRET-3SG he-EMPH, leave-VN the thicket, and **retreat-VN** bit **from-with** the men

*This is what he did: left the thicket and **retreated** a bit **from** the men.*

Related to the verbs of self-propelled motion (especially in the types of meanings to which they are extended) are verbs of volitional absence of motion, i.e. where an unexpected lack of motion (and the location at which it occurs) is profiled. These include AROS (to stop, stay) and TRIGO (to remain, dwell), of which only the latter occurs in non-spatial extensions.

(1271) beth a vynny ti heb ef ae **trigya6 yn**-y wlat hon. Ae mynet y-r wlat yd han6yt o honei. [BM:191:7]

what PART wish-PRES 2SG you-SG say-PRET-3SG he either **dwell-VN in** the land this. either go-VN to the land PART originate-PRET-2SG from-3SF

*"What do you wish," he said, "To **dwell in** this land or to go to the land you came from?"*

Caused motion introduces another participant. Here the Agent provides the motive force for the event and the moving trajector is largely passive (although particular verbs may imply that the trajector resists the motion). In addition to the possible profiling of the Source or Goal of motion, one of these roles may also be the default location for the Agent.

For DODI (to put, place), RHODDI (to give), and TALU (to (re)pay), the Goal is profiled although the Agent may not always correspond to the Source. These verbs are distinguished in use by other features: TALU operates solely in an economic frame or in metaphoric economies (such as social or moral economy, compare e.g. Lakoff 1996). The agent is normally the Source and the Goal is a prototypically human recipient and, using the terminology of Fillmore's (1982) Commercial Transation Frame, the trajector may be either the PAYMENT (where the Goal is the SELLER) or the GOODS (where the Goal is the BUYER). DODI commonly profiles motion against resistance (either of the trajector or the Goal) where the Goal is a highly specific location (e.g. not simply a person but a particular body part) and the precise resulting spatial relationship is profiled. There is no particular expectation that the Agent is the Source of DODI. RHODDI defaults to having the Source at the Agent and Goals are overwhelmingly human but otherwise non-specific. This distinction motivates the use of DODI when resulting contact or highly specific subset-Goals are desired, but RHODDI when non-specific co-location with the Goal is called for. DODI and RHODDI both have extensive non-spatial applications, while TALU is restricted to economic-based metaphors.

(1272) Pa ryw leidyr, Arglwyd, a allut ti y **dodi y**'th **uanec**? [MFL:60:22]
what type thief, lord, PART be-able-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG you-2SG it **put-VN in** your-SG **glove**
*What sort of thief, lord, would you be able to **put in** your **glove**?*

(1273) Mal y kyuyt, **rodi** modrwy eur a oruc Culhuch **itaw**. [CO:441]

as rise-PRES-3SG, **give-VN** ring gold PART do-PRET-3SG Culhwch **to-3SM**

*As he rose, Culhwch **gave** a gold ring **to him.***

(1274) A chany ellyr ryuau kerennyd o henne allan, **talent ydau** keynnyauc palader. [LI:106]

and since-NEG be-able-PRES-IMPERS count-VN kinship from that out, **pay-IMPER 3PL to-3SM** penny spear

*And since kinship cannot be counted from there on, **let them pay to him** a spear-penny.*

Among the caused-motion verbs profiling the source of motion, only CAFFAEL (to get, obtain) and CYMRYD (to take, receive) appear commonly in non-spatial extensions. For both, the Goal of motion defaults to the Agent, which may be marked reflexively with AT for CYMRYD in spatial uses (and by prepositions motivated by the target domain in non-spatial uses). CAFFAEL profiles active acquisition while CYMRYD covers a more passive receipt or acceptance (that is, although the Goal is the Agent of the verb, this entity does not necessarily provide the causing force for the motion). If the Goal and Agent roles are distinct, then the Goal is a Beneficiary and is marked with I.

(1275) Brathu amws o Uabon uab Modron o'r neil[l]parth, a **chael** yr ellyn **y gantaw** [CO:1184]

spur-VN steed of Mabon son Modron of the one-part, and **get-VN** the razor **from-with 3SM**

*Mabon son of Modron spurred his steed from the one side, and **took** the razor **from him***

(1276) Sef a gaussant yn y kynghor, rodi y moch e Wydyon, a **chymryt** y meirch a'r cwn a'r taryaneu **y gantaw** ynteu. [MFM:70:24]

thus PART get-PRET-3PL in the council, give-VN the pigs to Gwydion, and **take-VN** the horses and the dogs and the shields **from-with-3SM** him-EMPH

*This is what they got in the council: to give the pigs to Gwydion and **take** the horses and the dogs and the shields **from** him.*

Verbs with similar source-profiling semantics that are not normally found in non-spatial extensions include HOL (to fetch), GWAREDU (to remove), and ERBYNIO (to receive). DYLU (to be entitled/obliged) creates the implied expectation of motion and otherwise patterns similarly to CYMRYD.

BWRW (to throw, cast), GYRRU (to drive), and ANFON (to send) may profile either source or goal, and there is no particular assumption that the agent will coincide with either role. BWRW and GYRRU profile forceful movement of an animate (GYRRU) or inanimate (BWRW) trajector, while ANFON is much more accepting of cooperative animate trajectors than other caused-motion verbs. All are rare in non-spatial extensions. DWYN (to bear, carry) is similarly neutral with regard to profiling a source or goal and combines aspects of volitional and caused motion, profiling a passive trajector carried by a self-propelled agent. It appears in a number of non-spatial extensions.

(1277) Ac yna y **byrywyt** y kalaned **yn** y peir, yny uei yn llawn [BFL:44:10]

and then PART **throw-PRET-IMPERS** the corpses **in** the cauldron until be-IMPERF 3SG PART full

*And then the corpses were **thrown into** the cauldron until it was full*

(1278) "Ie, Arglwyd," heb wy, "**anuon** etwa genhadeu **yn y ol**." [BFL:33:14]

well, lord, say-PRET-3SG they **send-VN** again messengers **in-his-track**

*"Well, lord," they said, "**send** messengers again **after him**."*

(1279) E wreyc a dele karr ac yeu e **duen** e deodreuen **o**'r ty. [LI:44]

the woman PART ought-PRES-3SG car and yoke to **bear-VN** her belongings **from** the house

*[On divorce] the woman is entitled to a car and yoke to **carry** her belongings **from** the house.*

Similarly to the verbs of volitional non-motion, there are several verbs relating to caused lack of motion or prevention of motion. DALA (to hold) indicates restraint by the agent on an animate trajector otherwise prone to motion. The location to which the trajector is constrained is commonly profiled (and behaves linguistically as a Goal). Both GADAEL (to leave, allow) and GOLLWNG (to release) profile the cessation of caused absence of motion–i.e. a volitional removal of restraint. GADAEL profiles the Goal attained after this removal of restraint, while GOLLWNG may profile either the Goal or the Source (i.e. the location of prior restraint). All three of these may occur in non-spatial extensions.

(1280) kymerer y gassec o'r lle y bo a dyccer y'r ty: a **dalhyer** er ebaul **en** e ty [LI:156]

take-IMPER-IMPERS the mare from the place PART be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG and bear-IMPER-IMPERS to the house: and **hold-IMPER-IMPERS** the foal **in** the house

*let the mare be taken from the place where she is and let her be taken to the house; and let the foal be **held in** the house*

(1281) ac a del yma o Gymry, carchara wynt ac na **at trachefyn**, rac gwybot hynn. [BFL:38:2]

and REL come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG here from Wales, imprison-VN them and NEG **allow-IMPER-2SG beyond-back**, before know-VN this

*and [those] who would come here from Wales, imprison them, and don't **allow** them [to go] **back**, lest they know this.*

(1282) Ac ar hynny y **gollyngwyt** ef **o**'r got, ac y rydhawyt y oreugwyr. [PPD:18:2]

and on that PART **release-PRET-IMPERS** him **from** the bag, and PART free-PRET-IMPERS to-his best-men

*And at that, he was **released from** the bag and freed to his chief men.*

As discussed in section 4.2.1.6, the prepositional marking of Source and Goal may indicate the general nature of the participants (animate vs. inanimate, discrete entity vs. region) or may indicate a fairly rich array of specific spatial relationships. To recapitulate, the basic marking is as seen in the following table.

Table 11: Summary of Spatial Movement Markers

Landmark	Human	Thing	Region
Source			
Human trajector	Y GAN, Y WRTH	O	O
Thing trajector	Y GAN	O	O
Goal			
Human trajector	AT	I	I, YN, AR
Thing trajector	I	I	(no clear pattern)

4.2.2.1.1 Roles Not Closely Related to the Semantic Frame

The most consistent prepositional marking accompanying verbs of motion is for roles that occur across most semantic frames and are not closely related to any particular frame, or those roles associated with relatively abstract grammatical functions. Unsurprisingly, this means that, when used with verbs of motion, these roles are marked consistently whether actual spatial motion is indicated or whether the motion is metaphoric. Examples in this category include the strongly grammaticalized use of O to mark the agent of a verbal-noun (see section 3.5.1.1).

(1283) Ac yna **dyuot o Idawc** ac wynteu ygyt ac ef hyt rac bronn Arthur, a chyfarch gwell idaw. [BR:6:20]
and then **come-VN of Iddog** with them with him length-before-breast Arthur
*And then **Iddog came** with [i.e. brought] them with him to [be] before Arthur*

(1284) a **rody o hunnu** kussan ydau [LI:103]
and **give-VN of that** kiss also to-3SM
*and **giving by that one** [i.e. that one gives] a kiss to him also*

Other roles in this group include the use of TROS and YN LLE respectively to mark the expected agent or other expected entity when a substitute takes its place in the event (see section 3.5.1.2), TRWY to mark a means (see section 3.4.2.2), and the conjunction-like uses of HEB, ONY, and NAMYN to describe the context of an event (see section 3.5.3). Also in this group are the most general purpose markers, where the

alternation is motivated by the syntactic context rather than semantics: e.g. I marking a purpose represented by a verbal-noun with WRTH preferred to mark purposes identified by a noun or finite verb phrase (see section 3.4.3).

Somewhat more variable are the marking of roles that occur across a wide variety of semantic frames but where the nature of the frame influences the choice of prepositions to mark the role. In this group we can include the use of RHAG to mark a variety of roles associated with hostile or negative interactions (see section 4.2.1.4) and the use of O, ER, and HERWYDD to mark various cause-like functions (see section 3.4.1).

4.2.2.1.2 Marking of Important Roles in the Semantic Frame

The major goal of this study has been to understand the marking of roles specifically and closely associated with particular verbs or particular semantic frames, and this is the realm where competing motivations produce the most variability in preposition choice. But here we need to consider not only the roles associated with spatial motion (Moving Entity, Source, Goal, Path) or with caused motion (the preceding plus the Causer) but also the roles to which these correspond in systematic metaphoric mappings from spatial motion.

The majority of these metaphoric extensions fall into a relatively few categories:

- Agents, Patients, and Physical Actions (including Causation)
- Speakers, Hearers, and Speech (a special case of the preceding)
- Attributes and their Bearers
- Experiencers of States
- Experiencers of Mental or Emotional Processes and their Topics or Results

• Possessors and Possessions

In the prototypical scenarios by which these frames are understood, there are patterns of greater and lesser animacy and volitionality that correlate with certain marking strategies. From this, we can sort the data into two general groups: those where the metaphoric Moving Entity is animate (e.g. an Experiencer or Bearer of Attributes) and the metaphoric Goal is inanimate (e.g. a State or Attribute); and those where the Moving Entity is inanimate and the animate role is framed as a metaphoric Goal or Source. The various sub-types and markings associated with them are discussed in section 4.2.2.1.2.3 below. These groups correspond to Lakoff and Johnson's (1999) "location" and "object" versions of EVENT STRUCTURE metaphors. My analyses tend to operate on a more specific and detailed level so I present Lakoff and Johnson's general version here for reference (taken from Lakoff and Johnson 1999 p.179, 198).

Location Version of EVENT STRUCTURE

• STATES ARE LOCATIONS (INTERIORS OF BOUNDED REGIONS IN SPACE)
• CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS (INTO OR OUT OF BOUNDED REGIONS)
• CAUSES ARE FORCES
• CAUSATION IS FORCED MOVEMENT (FROM ONE LOCATION TO ANOTHER)
• ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS
• PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS
• MEANS ARE PATHS (TO DESTINATIONS)
• DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION
• FREEDOM OF ACTION IS THE LACK OF IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION
• EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE, MOVING OBJECTS (THAT EXERT FORCE)
• LONG-TERM, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

Object Version of EVENT STRUCTURE

- ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS
- CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS (ACQUISITIONS OR LOSSES)
- CAUSATION IS TRANSFER OF POSSESSIONS (GIVING OR TAKING)
- PURPOSES ARE DESIRED OBJECTS
- ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS ACQUIRING A DESIRED OBJECT

As we shall see, certain elements of these metaphor groups are less apparent (or not present) in the Welsh data. For example, the metaphor ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS does not seem to occur in the sense discussed in Lakoff and Johnson (i.e. that the ongoing process of an action maps to self-propelled motion through space), but instead when we see actions characterized as self-propelled entities, it appears to be more the potentiality for the action with arrival at the Goal mapping to the initiation/accomplishment of the action.

4.2.2.1.2.1 Morphological and Structural Motivation

The marking of roles closely associated with the semantic frame of the verb is regularly overridden by the types of morphological and structural motivation discussed in sections 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.1.3. Motion verbs with a mutual or co-locational prefix, such as YM- or CYM- will mark the most prominent role after the agent with AC rather than any preposition motivated by the specific semantics.

(1285) (Ac ena tristav er ampera6der o debygu na **chyvarvydei ac ef** tyghetven caffael e wreic uwyaf a garei en-e vywyt.) [BM:92b:14]

And then become-sad the emperor from suppose-VN NEG **MUTUAL-meet-IMPERF-3SG with/and him** fate get-VN the woman most PART love-IMPERF-3SG in his life

*And then the emperor became sad because of supposing that the fate would never **meet him** to get the woman he most loved in his life.*

(1286) Eydyon guedy yd **emadawo a**'e teledyuruyd, dam. [LI:140]

bullock after PART **MUTUAL-leave-PRES-SUBJ-3SG with/and** his prime, appraisal

*A bullock after he **departs from** his prime [is valued by] appraisal.*

Similarly, when a prominent role is filled by a dual entity, it is marked with RHWNG, rather than a preposition reflecting more specific semantics.

(1287) gyrru kennadeu o Pryderi y erchi guahard y deulu, ac erchi **gadu y ryngtaw** ef a Guydyon uab Don [MFM:72:22]

drive-VN messengers of Pryderi to ask-VN prohibit-VN his warband, and ask-VN **leave-VN between-3SM** him and Gwydion son Don

*Pryderi sent messengers to ask a prohibition [against] the warband, and ask [to] **leave [it] between** him and Gwydion son of Don*

4.2.2.1.2.2 Broad and Narrow Semantic Motivation

The foregoing motivations tend to be overriding–they determine the preposition choice regardless of other factors. (Although, in fact, every pattern has at least a few exceptions.) The prepositional patterns that will be discussed in section 4.2.2.1.2.3 occur in fairly specific circumstances and are tendencies or options rather than rules. In between, we find the current group, which occur across a variety of specific contexts, and

yet are motivated by the semantics of the context, and which may compete fairly equally with the more specific markers, often alternating with them even in extremely similar contexts. Case studies of this group can be found in sections 4.2.1.4 and 4.2.1.5. The most common examples found with verbs of motion include AR marking patients of control, GAN or Y GYD AC marking the more volitional or controlling of two co-located entities, and WRTH indicating an interaction with a high level of active attention. (AR, GAN, and WRTH may also occur in the source-marking variants Y AR, Y GAN, and Y WRTH in corresponding senses.)

(1288) Argl6yd heb 6ynteu kanys **arnam** ni y **byryeisti** dy gyghor. ni a-th gyghor6n ti. [BM:183:2]

lord say-PRET-3SG they since **on-1PL** us PART **throw-PRES-2SG** you-SG advise-VN. we PART you-SG advise-PRES-1PL you-SG

*"Lord," they said, "since you have **thrown** [the responsibility for] advising you **on us**, we will advise you."*

(1289) Ac odyno yd aeth Arthur y ymeneinaw ac y **uwrw** y ludet **y arnaw** hyt yg Kelli Wic yg Kernyw. [CO:1203]

and from-there PART go-PRET-3SG Arthur to REFLEXIVE-bathe-VN and to **throw-VN** his tiredness **from-on-3SM** length in Celliwig in Cornwall

*And from there Arthur went to Celliwig in Cornwall, to bathe and to **cast off** his tiredness.*

The more narrow semantic motivations include the use of WRTH in speech contexts (see section 4.2.2.2 for a more detailed examination of this).

(1290) Ac ot amheuyr huenteu yaun yu eu kreyrhau; a'r nep a **gylyo** onadunt **y urth** e llu kollet e tyr. [LI:77]

and if doubt-PRES-IMPERS them right be-PRES-3SG them put-to-relics-VN; and the anyone REL **retreat-VN** of-3PL **from-with** his oath lose-IMPER-3SG the land

*And if they are doubted it is right to put them to the relics [i.e. have them swear by relics]; and the one who **retreats from** his oath, let him lose the land.*

4.2.2.1.2.3 Metaphoric Extensions of the Moving-Object Frame

When self-propelled or caused motion is the source domain for metaphor, the prepositional marking of important roles may be motivated by the specific semantics of the source domain (i.e. the particular prepositional language used for the spatial scenario that is being extended) or of the target domain (i.e. the particular prepositional language associated with the semantic frame of the scenario being described, which may in turn be motivated by other metaphors). So, for example, if a caused attribute is characterized metaphorically as an object transferred to the bearer, the Bearer may be marked as the spatial Goal of an inanimate object (using I) or with the language typically used for Bearers of Attributes (using AR). The discussions below are grouped according to the general source domain scenario and role being profiled, following the general extension patterns mentioned in section 4.2.2.1.2.

4.2.2.1.2.3.1 The "Accompanying Object" Role

In spatial scenarios, a self-propelled entity may be accompanied by a controlled (e.g. carried) object. The accompanying object may be marked with AC, or there may be

a double marking of the form" <self-propelled entity> AC <accompanying object> GAN/Y GYD AC <pronoun referring to self-propelled entity>". (If it were not for the constructions using AC alone, the use of AC in the latter would more reasonably be interpreted as simply representing the conjunction.)

In the relatively rare non-spatial extensions of this role, this "accompanying object" is profiled only with the self-propelled motion verbs MYNED and DYFOD where actual spatial motion is involved. That is, the motion is literal, but the accompaniment is metaphoric. Both are used with the metaphor ATTRIBUTES ARE ACCOMPANYING OBJECTS (OR POSSESSIONS).

(1291) kany rywelsei eiroet y **uynet** a'e **eneit ganthaw** a delhei y erchi y neges honno. [CO:454]

since-NEG PART-see-IMPERF-3SG ever him **go-VN** with his **soul with-3SM** REL come-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG to ask-VN the errand that

because she had never seen [anyone] ***leave*** *with his* ***life with him*** *who had come to ask that errand.*

(1292) Ac hyt yg kaer llion y **doeth** y llythyr h6nn6 ar vaxen **a**-r chwedleu. [BM:188:22]

and length in Caerllion PART **come-PRET-3SG** the letter that to Maxen **with** the news

And to Caerllion ***came*** *that letter, to Maxen,* ***with*** *the news.*

There is also an example deriving from the metaphor (TRANSMITTED) SPEECH IS AN ACCOMPANYING OBJECT, that is, a verbal message is "carried" by the messenger, just as a physical one would be.

(1293) A **dyuot** o gennat Arthur a **nac genthi** o Iwerdon. [CO:1039]
and **come-VN** of messenger Arthur with/and **no with-3SF** from Ireland
*And Arthur's messenger **came** with a **"no" with him** from Ireland.*

4.2.2.1.2.3.2 "More Animate" Trajector (Location Version)

As discussed above, the scenarios described metaphorically in terms of motion behave in patterned ways relevant to the relative animacy of the roles being mapped. Thus we can examine as a group examples where the metaphoric moving object is, for example, an Agent, Experiencer, or Bearer of Attributes, and the motion is described relative to an Action, State, or Attribute. Verbs of self-propelled, rather than caused, action are more common in this group, perhaps not surprising given the animacy (and potential volitionality) of the moving object. Verbs of caused motion (or lack of motion) correspond to metaphoric scenarios that similarly involve causation.

The less animate role in this group is, in general, marked with the language used for regional landmarks (rather than discrete objects or animate entities), using AR or YN for metaphoric goals and O for sources. The greatest variety of verbs participate in the metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_P$, where a Source maps to a former state, a Goal to a new state, and the motion of the Experiencer to the changing of state. The volitional or caused absence of motion maps to an (unexpected) constancy of state and caused motion to a caused change of state. The full set of mappings are as follows:

• STATES ARE LOCATIONSP
• EXPERIENCERS ARE MOVING ENTITITES
• EXPERIENCING A STATE IS MOVING TO A LOCATION
• CEASING TO EXPERIENCE A STATE IS MOVING FROM A LOCATION
• LACK OF CHANGE OF STATE IS ABSENCE OF MOTION
• CAUSED CHANGE OF STATE IS CAUSED MOTION (cf. CAUSATION IS FORCED MOVEMENT OF AN AFFECTED ENTITY TO A NEW LOCATIONP)

(1294) Os e nauuet den a dau y ouyn tyr, dyffodedyc yu e pryodolder, a hunnu a dyt dyaspat am e uot en **mynet o** pryodaur **en** ampryodaur. [LI:85]

if the ninth person PART come-PRES-3SG to ask-VN land, extinguished be-PRES-3SG his proprietorship, and that PART put-PRES-3SG shriek about him be-VN PART **go-VN from** proprietor **in** non-proprietor

*If the ninth [generation] person comes to request land, his proprietorship is extinguished, and that [one] gives a shriek because he is **going from** proprietor **to** non-proprietor.*

(1295) A **rodi** y mab a orucpwyd **ar** ueithrin. [CO:12]

and **give-VN** the boy PART do-PRET-IMPERS **on** nurse-VN

*And the boy was **given** [out] **for** nursing.*

(1296) tryded yu gureyc a **rodho** e chenedel **eg** guystleyryaeth alltuded ac en e guestleyryaeth hunnu caffael mab ohoney o alltut: e mab hunnu a dele uamuys. [LI:86]

third be-PRES-3SG woman REL **give-PRES-SUBJ-3SG** her kindred **in** hostageship foreign and in the hostageship that get-VN son of-3SF from foreigner: the son that PART ought-PRES-3SG maternal-kin

*The third [situation] is a woman who her kindred **give into** foreign hostageship, and in that hostageship she gets a son by a foreigner: that son is entitled [to] maternal kinship.*

Bearers of Attributes occur in this scenario only with TRIGO, indicating a metaphor ATTRIBUTES ARE LOCATIONS, HAVING AN ATTRIBUTE IS REMAINING IN A LOCATION.

(1297) Ac ar henne y **tryc en** e teledyuruyd ene uo chuechet weyth, ac o henne allan damdug. [LI:128]

and on that PART **dwell-PRES-3SG in** his prime until be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG sixth work, and from that out appraisal

*And then [the ox] **remains in** his prime until his sixth work [season], and from then on [his value is determined by] appraisal.*

(1298) ac gwedy lladho llygot, pedeyr keynnyavc kyvreythyavl, ac **ar** henny e **tryc** vyth. [LI:131]

and after kill-PRES-SUBJ-3SG mice, four penny legal, and **on** that PART **dwell-PRES 3SG** ever

*And after [a cat] kills mice, [its value is] four legal pence, and **at** that [level] it **remains** forever.*

The initiation of an action may be presented as motion to a location (ACTIONS ARE LOCATIONS$_p$, INITIATING AN ACTION IS MOVING TO A LOCATION) using MYNED. (Note that this contrasts with the metaphor ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS$_p$, where the performance of the action maps to the path rather than to location at the goal.) This general scenario is, of course, also the motivation for the use of goal-marking I in purpose constructions with verbs of motion (see section 3.4.3.1), but this latter is better understood as a fully grammaticalized function in Medieval Welsh, rather than as actively arising from a moving object metaphor. (This is evidenced by the use of the construction with non-motion verbs, and the strong correlation of preposition choice with the grammatical category of the landmark.)

(1299) Merch guedy bedydhyer ene uo seyth mluyd ny dele **menet en** llu. [LI:99]

daughter after baptize-PRES-IMPERS until be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG seven years NEG ought-PRES-3SG **go-VN in** oath

*A daughter, after she is baptized until she is seven years, is not entitled to **enter into** an oath.*

(Note that this could be interpreted as "the state of being under oath" as found in other examples, but the current case seems better interpreted as "the act of taking an oath".)

(1300) Ac yna yd **aeth** ef **yn** y geluydodeu, ac y dechreuawt dangos y hut. [MFM:70:7]

and then PART **go-PRET-3SG** he **in** his crafts and PART begin-PRET-3SG show-VN his magic

*And then he **went into** his crafts and began to show his magic*

Diverging from the typical marking of the metaphoric goal as a region, we also find WRTH used here (in almost direct parallel to the preceding example). Here we see competing motivation from the target domain of the metaphor: the use of WRTH to mark topics of particularly focused attention or interaction. This might reasonably be the case for any action, but more typically the source-domain marking (i.e. as a spatial region) prevails.

(1301) "Pa geluydyt yd **awni wrthi**?" heb y Manawydan. [MFL:54:5]

what craft PART **go-PRES-1PL with-3SF** say-PRET-3SG Manawyddan

*"What craft shall we **go with** [i.e. take on]?" said Manawyddan.*

Another variant of the above metaphor occurs with the verb CILIO (to retreat),

suggesting REFUSING TO PERFORM AN ACTION IS MOVING FROM A LOCATION. In this example, the source is given as *e llu* "his oath", standing metonymically for the performance of what has been sworn to. The use of Y WRTH to mark this metaphoric source may be intended to frame it as a human participant, but it seems more likely that the choice is more directly influenced by the verbal nature of the event, i.e. the oath (see section 4.2.2.2).

(1302) Ac ot amheuyr huenteu yaun yu eu kreyrhau; a'r nep a **gylyo** onadunt **y urth** e llu kollet e tyr. [LI:77]

and if doubt-PRES-IMPERS them right be-PRES-3SG them put-to-relics-VN; and the anyone REL **retreat-VN** of-3PL **from-with** his oath lose-IMPER-3SG the land

*And if they are doubted it is right to put them to the relics [i.e. have them swear by relics]; and the one who **retreats from** his oath, let him lose the land.*

One specialized semantic frame found only in this configuration (among motion verbs) is decision-making (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Sweetser 1992), using a metaphor akin to:

- REASONING IS FOLLOWING A PATH (cf. THOUGHT IS MOTION$_P$)
- DECISIONS ARE GOALS

(1303) A thrannoeth **dyuot ar** uedwl medi honno. [MFL:59:17]

and beyond-night **come-VN on** thought reap-VN that

*And the next day [he] **came to** the decision [to] reap that [field].*

(1304) Ac **ar** y kynghor y **doethant** wynteu. [MFM:72:8]

and **on** the advice PART **come-PRET-3PL** they-EMPH

*And **onto** that advice they **came** [i.e. they decided].*

(1305) Y meicheu a **aeth ar** yr ammot hwnnw. [PPD:18:9]
the sureties PART **go-PRET-3SG on** the agreement that
*The sureties **went onto** [i.e. agreed on] that agreement.*

(1306) Ac **ar** y kynghor hwnnw y **trigyassant**. [PPD:25:5]
and **on** the advice that PART **dwell-PRET-3PL**
*And they **dwellt** [i.e. decided] **on** that advice.*

4.2.2.1.2.3.3 "Less Animate" Trajector (Object Version): Source Profiled

There appears to be a wider variety of contexts and verbs that present the less animate participant as the moving object, most commonly undergoing caused motion, but in some circumstances framed as a self-propelled entity. In the first group of these, the source of motion is profiled and only caused motion is present, indicated by the verbs CAFFAEL (to get) and CYMRYD (to accept) (much less commonly by GYRRU "to drive"). The agent of the action is also the Goal, unless another Goal is specified, and this conjunction of roles may be emphasized by a prepositional phrase as well. While the agent of the verb is presented as the motive force, this group is typically associated with events where the Source is also a volitional actor. Speech is well represented, following the metaphor SPEECH IS A TRANSFERRED OBJECT, SPEAKERS ARE SOURCES, HEARERS ARE GOALS, but the particular verbs profile the hearer's efforts to bring the communication about (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Reddy 1979, Sweetser 1992).

(1307) O hyn hyt ban del amgen, ny **cheffwch y genhyf** i attep. [BFL:41:16]

from this length when come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG otherwise, NEG **get-PRES-2PL from-with-1SG** me answer

*From now until when [something] different would come, you will not **get** an answer **from me**.*

(1308) Ef a dele **kemryt** tyllued **e gan** e genedel am archolledyc o byd marv o'r uedegynyaeth a wnel ef, ac onys kymer gvrthepet tros y weythret. [LI:17]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG **take-VN** assurance **from-with** his kindred about wounded if be-PRES-3SG dead from the medical-treatment REL do-PRES-SUBJ-3SG he, and if-NEG-it take-PRES-3SG answer-IMPER-3SG over his deed

*He [i.e. the doctor] should **take** an assurance **from** his kindred for a wounded [man] in case he dies from the treatment he does, and if he doesn't take it, he should answer for his deed.*

A similar situation obtains when the moving object is an action that the agent of CAFFAEL/CYMRYD induces the Source to perform, i.e. the Source is the Agent of the trajector-action, while the Goal is the Agent of the causation (or, more typically in this case, the Agent of non-interference) as well as being the Patient of the trajector-action. The general metaphors here are: ACTIONS ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS, AGENTS ARE SOURCES, PATIENTS ARE GOALS (Lakoff 1993b, Taub 2001). These constructions thus create the implication that the Patient is in some way responsible for what happens to them. (A similar construction with CAFFAEL later evolved a passive-like function, since the syntactic structure presents the Patient as subject and the Agent in an optional prepositional phrase.)

(1309) Ny **chymerwn** ninheu **y gan** y tayogeu hynny. Awn adanunt a lladwn. [MFL:53:28]

NEG **take-IMPER-1PL** we-EMPH **from-with** the churls those. go-IMPER-1PL under 3PL and kill-IMPER-1PL

*Let us not **take** [this] **from** those churls. Let us go at them and kill [them].*

(1310) A thrannoeth yd ymladawd teulu Arthur ac ef; namyn a **gawssant** o **drwc y gantaw**, ny chawssant dim o da. [CO:1070]

and beyond-night PART MUTUAL-fight-PRET-3SG warband Arthur with/and him, except PART **get-PRET-3PL** of **bad from-with-3SM**, NEG get-PRET-3PL anything of good

*And the next day Arthur's warband fought with him; and except what they **got** of **bad** [things] **from him**, they got nothing of good.*

Related to this, the Source may be an entity with the potential to control or enable an event, and the moving object is that event, while the notional goal (and agent of CAFFAEL) is benefitted by the event.

(1311) Dewis argl6ydes a-**geffy y genhym** ni. Ae dyuot y gyt a-ninheu y-th wneuthur yn amherodres yn rufein. Ae dyuot yr amhera6dyr yma y-th gymryt yn wreic ida6. [BM:186:1]

choice lady PART **get-PRES-2SG from-with-1PL**. either come-VN with us to you-SG make-VN PART empress in Rome. either come-VN the emperor here to you-SG take-VN PART wife to-3SM

*A choice, lady, you will **get from us**: either come with us to be made empress in Rome, or the emperor [will] come here to take you as wife for himself.*

In all the preceding, the Source has been marked with Y GAN which frames it as a discrete entity (rather than a region or location) of unspecified animacy (although typically it is not merely metaphorically human in the source domain, but also human in the metaphoric target domain). There are also examples operating in the domains of

language and verbal information that mark the Source with Y WRTH, framing it specifically as human although, in this case, the corresponding target domain role may not be. (See section 4.2.2.2 for further exploration of this theme.) In one group using CYMRYD, the moving object is a name, and the source is the reason or lexical context from which the specific nature of the name is derived.

(1312) "Yawnhaf yw hynny," heb y Pwyll, "**kymryt** enw y mab **y wrth** y geir a dywot y uam pann gauas llawenchwedyl y wrthaw."[PPD:26:17]

most-well be-PRES-3SG that, say-PRET-3SG Pwyll, **take-VN** name the boy **from-with** the word REL say-VN his mother when get-PRET-3SG happy-news from-with-3SM

"That is best," said Pwyll, "[to] ***take*** *the name of the boy* ***from*** *the word that his mother said when she got happy news of him."*

In another group using CAFFAEL, the moving object is (verbal) information and the Source is the topic of that information (not a person providing the information, who would fit more with the speaker-source group above).

(1313) ac ympenn y vlwydyn y doeth kennadeu arthur drachevyn heb **gaffel** na chwedyl na chyuarwydyt **y wrth** olwen mwy nor dyd kyntaf [CO:376]

and in-head the year PART come-PRET-3SG messengers Arthur beyond-back beside **get-VN** NEG news NEG story **from-with** Olwen more than the day first

And at the end of the year, Arthur's messengers came back without ***getting*** *either news or story* ***about*** *Olwen more than the first day.*

Although these verbs typically profile the source of motion, two other groups occur that not only omit any overt Source, but emphasize the Agent as Goal (and Experiencer) with a separate prepositional phrase. In both groups, the preposition is

motivated not by the spatial source domain, but by concepts associated with the target domain. In the first group, that of the experience of emotion, this marking depends on a further metaphor, EXPERIENCING EMOTION IS INTERNALIZING IT, as well as the moving object metaphor, EXPERIENCES ARE MOVING OBJECTS, EXPERIENCERS ARE GOALS. These Experiencers are marked with YN whether the emotion is positive or negative (where we might otherwise expect experiencers of negative emotions to be marked with AR, see section 3.3.2.2.3.3).

(1314) Hitheu a **gymerth** diruawr lywenyd **yndi**. [MFM:85:12]

she-EMPH PART **take-PRET-3SG** very-great joy **in-3SF**

*She **took** great joy **inside herself.***

(1315) A hwnnw a **gymerth** goueileint mawr **yndaw** a thristwch o welet yr enryded a'r medyant a oed y vrawt ac ynteu heb dim. [BR:1:6]

and that PART **take-PRET-3SG** pain big **in-3SM** and sadness from see-VN the honor and the power REL be-IMPERF-3SG to-his brother and he-EMPH beside anything

*And that one **took** great pain **inside him** and sadness from seeing the honor and power that were to his brother [i.e. that his brother had] and he without anything.*

A related metaphor about internalized emotion is seen with DALA, a verb of caused non-motion, where the implied entailment seems to be that emotions would naturally tend to spontaneously dissipate, and that continued experience of them requires forceful containment.

(1316) Ac yn ol hynny, goueileint a **dellis yndaw**, o gamhet idaw attal y mab ganthaw, ac ef yn gwybot y uot yn uab y wr arall. [PPD:24:20]

and in-track that, anxiety PART **hold-PRET-3SG in-3SM** from so-wrong to-3SM hold-VN the boy with-3SM, and he PART know-VN him be-VN PART son to man other

*And after that, he **held anxiety in him** [i.e. remained anxious] from such a wrong to him, holding the boy with him, and him knowing that he was son to another man.*

The second group involves a moving object that is a job or responsibility that is being voluntarily assumed. (I have classified these as "states" as it is not the performance of a specific instance of a job but rather the assumption of a profession generally that is implied.) Here the Goal-Experiencer is marked with AR as is typical for states.

(1317) "Pa geluydyt," heb y Pryderi, "a **gymerwn** ni **arnam**?" [MFL:53:14]

what craft, say-PRET-3SG Pryderi, PART **take-PRES-1PL** we **on-1PL**

*"What craft," say Pryderi, "shall we **take on us**?"*

(1318) Y **kymereis** inheu wyntwy **arnaf**, y'u gossymdeithaw: y buant ulwydyn gyt a mi. [BFL:35:23]

PART **take-PRET-1SG** I-EMPH them-EMPH **on-1SG**, to-them maintain-VN; PART be-PRET-3PL year together with me

*I **took** them **on myself** to maintain them; they were a year with me.*

The one other example of an overt Goal in this type of scenario involves a conversational frame, where the Agent-Hearers are marked with I. This marking can be interpreted as framing the moving object as non-human (or rather, as failing to frame it as human), but see section 4.2.2.2 for general patterns of marking hearers with I.

(1319) "Vyng gwyrda innheu," heb y gwr a oed yn lle Arawn, "**kymerwch ych** kyuarwyd, a gwybydwch pwy a dylyo bot yn wyr y mi." [PPD:6:5]

my noblemen my-EMPH, say-PRET-3SG the man REL be-IMPERF-3SG in place Arawn, **take-IMPER-2PL to-2PL** advice, and know-IMPER-2PL who PART ought-PRES-SUBJ-3SG be-VN PART men to-1SG

*"My noblemen," said the man who was in Arawn's place, "**take** counsel **to yourselves** and discover who ought to be vassals to me."*

4.2.2.1.2.3.4 "Less Animate" Trajector (Object Version): Goal Profiled

A slightly different range of events are covered by verbs profiling the goal of motion. These will be considered in three groups: verbs of caused motion, verbs of allowed motion (i.e. volitional absence of restraint), and verbs of self-propelled motion.

Among the verbs of caused motion, we may see the same semantic frames as for source-profiling verbs but with different aspects of the event emphasized due to the shift in agency. The major verbs found in this group are DODI (to put), RHODDI (to give), and DWYN (to carry). As briefly described in section 4.2.2.1, RHODDI defaults to the Agent as Source while DODI and DWYN do not; DODI suggests precise control and placement of the trajector at the Goal, with available implications of action against resistance or the passive non-involvement of the Goal, while RHODDI is more likely to be used in beneficial transfer with a willing or even active recipient. DWYN implies the direct continuous control of the trajector by the Agent during motion. In addition to these, we find a few examples of BWRW (to throw), focusing on difficult or agressive forceful motion, and GYRRU (to drive), focusing on prototypically hostile or negative effects on the Goal.

Among other groups of motion verbs, the use of AR to mark a Goal correlates either with a Goal understood metaphorically as a location or with the broad semantic roles of Patient of Control or Bearer of Attributes, but among the goal-profiling, caused-motion verbs, the pattern is much more clearly lexical: DODI takes AR to mark the Goal and RHODDI takes I. (DWYN is variable.) As discussed in section 4.2.1.6, in spatial contexts, DODI takes a variety of goal markers motivated by the specific semantics of the resulting scenario, but when DODI is extended metaphorically to non-spatial scenarios, the motivation shifts to the lexical type (see section 4.2.1.2). The strong preference of RHODDI for I in extended senses may also be viewed as lexically motivated, however this preposition would also be the expected goal marker for a prototypically human goal and a prototypically inanimate (or passive) trajector. So we could, instead, view this preference as the triumph of the metaphoric source domain over competing target-domain motivations.

The greatest similarities with source-profiling verbs occur in a conversation frame, where we still see the metaphor group SPEECH IS A TRANSFERRED OBJECT, SPEAKERS ARE SOURCES, HEARERS ARE GOALS, but now the agency of the speaker in controlling the event is emphasized.

(1320) A **rodwch im** kynghor pa uorwyn a geisswyf. [MFM:77:5]
and **give-IMPER-2PL to-1SG** advice what maiden REL seek-PRES-SUBJ-1SG
*And **give** advice **to me** [about] what maiden I should seek.*

(1321) ny **dodei ar** yr vn onadunt namyn ymadrawd go atcas gwrthwyneb. [LL:72]

NEG **put-IMPERF-3SG on** the one of 3PL except speech very hateful contrary

*the one of them would not **put to** the other anything except very hateful, contrary speech.*

(1322) "**Y** Duw y **dygaf** uyg kyffes," heb ynteu yn y uedwl [BFL:43:21]

to God PART bear-PRES-1SG my confession, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH in his thought

*"**To** God I **bring** my confession," he said in this thoughts*

(DWYN, in this sense, occurs only in the conventional expression DWYN CYFFES I DUW "bring [a] confession to God".)

Similarly, while we also have naming events in this group, the focus is on the recipient of the name (a specialized Bearer of Caused Attributes) rather than on the motivation for the form of the name.

(1323) Sef enw a **dodet arnaw**, Hydwn. [MFM:75:21]

thus name PART **place-PRET-IMPERS on-3SM**, Hyddwn

*This is the name **placed on him**: Hyddwn.*

When the moving object is an action, the Goal is the Patient of that action, just as for source-profiling verbs, but now there is no implication that the Patient has brought about the event in any way. Rather the Goal-Patient can be understood as entirely passive.

(1324) ac un dyrnaut a **rodych** di **idaw** ef [PPD:3:17]

and one blow PART **give-IMPER-2SG** you-SG **to-3SM** him

*and **give to him** one blow*

(1325) O deruyd e wreyc dyweduet ar ur **dven** treys **arney**, a guadu o'r gur, rodet llv deg wyr a deugeynt, hep alltudeon, hep wyr not. [LI:50]

if happen-PRES-3SG to woman say-VN on man **bear-VN** violence **on-3SF**, and deny-VN of the man, give-IMPER-3SG oath ten men and two-twenty, beside foreigners beside men designated

If it happens to a woman [that she] says on a man [i.e. accuses a man of] ***bringing*** *violence* ***on her*** *[i.e. raping her], and the man denies [it], let him give the oath of fifty men, without foreigners, without designated men.*

(More typical than the preceding example is the formula DWYN TRAIS Y AR <patient> "bring violence onto <patient>", where the use of Y AR rather than the expected AR is baffling, but apparently associated only with this formula involving TRAIS "violence, esp. rape".)

In one variant of this, the goal is an instrument of the action, but what is being profiled is the patienthood of that instrument (i.e. its being acted on) rather than the resulting event produced through it.

(1326) A bit corn canu da am dy uynwgyl, a phan uo ef yn rwymedic yn y got, **dot** titheu lef **ar** dy gorn, a bit hynny yn arwyd y rot a'th uarchogyon. [PPD:15:14]

and be-IMPER-3SG horn sing-VN good about your-SG neck and when be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG he PART tied in the bag, **place-IMPER-2SG** you-SG-EMPH cry **on** your-SG horn, and be-IMPER-3SG that PART sign between-2SG and your-SG knights

And let there be a good musical horn around your neck, and when he is tied in the bag, you ***put*** *a cry* ***on*** *your horn [i.e. sound your horn] and let that be a signal between you and your knights.*

In the frame of emotion, rather than mapping the primary experiencer to the Goal (see section 3.6.3 for an explanation of the role labels), we focus on the expression of

emotion with the Goal being the Patient of that expression (EXPRESSING EMOTION IS TRANSFERRING IT TO THE TOPIC). An extremely similar pattern is seen for an expression of attention or interest and the topic of that interest.

(1327) Ha wreic, pei mi ry wascut uelly, ny oruydei ar arall uyth **rodi** serch **im**. [CO:464]

o woman, if I PART squeeze-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG thus, NEG overcome-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG on other ever **give-VN** passion **to-1SG**

O woman, if you had embraced me thus, there would be no need for anyone ever [to] ***give*** *love* ***to me****.*

(1328) Ac o achaws y serch, a'r caryat, a **dodassei** pob un o honunt **ar** y gilyd [MFM:85:12]

and from cause the passion and the love REL **place-PLUP-3SG** each one of-3PL **on** his fellow

And because of the passion and the love that each one of them ***placed on*** *the other [i.e. expressed to the other]*

States are treated similarly here to the source-profiling verbs with the Experiencer mapped to the Goal (and note that among the source-profiling verbs, a State frame will suppress the expression of the Source and encourage expession of the Goal). Among the verbs where the Source does not default to the Agent-Causer, an overt Source will be a former Experiencer of a removed State. That is (Lakoff and Johnson 1999):

- STATES ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS
- CAUSING A STATE IS MOVING AN OBJECT (cf. CAUSATION IS TRANSFER OF POSSESSIONSP)
- EXPERIENCING A STATE IS RECEIVING AN OBJECT
- CEASING TO EXPERIENCE A STATE IS REMOVAL OF AN OBJECT

(1329) A'r neb a **dodes** hut **ar** y wlat, a beris bot y gaer yma. [MFL:56:4]

and the anyone REL **place-PRET-3SG** magic **on** the land, PART cause-PRET-3SG be-VN the castle here

*And the person who **put** the enchantment **on** the land caused the castle to be here.*

(1330) Ac y **rodes** ynteu nawd **udunt** hwy, ac y rodassant wynteu eu bendyth idaw ef. [CO:1063]

and PART **give-PRET-3SG** he-EMPH protection **to-3PL** them, and PART give-PRET 3PL they their blessing to-3SM him

*And he **gave** protection **to them**, and they gave their blessing to him.*

(1331) a **dwyn** y lyueryd **y gantaw** hyt na allei dywedut un geir. [MFL:56:16]

and **bear-VN** the speech **from-with-3SG** length NEG be-able-IMPERF-3SG speak-VN one word

*and the [power of] speech was **taken from** him so that he couldn't speak a word.*

(1332) Ac ual y dyrchefit y kyuodant wynteu y'r awyr yn llidiawc angerdawl orawenus y ellwng gwynt yn eu hadaned ac y **vwrw** y lludet **yarnunt**. [BR:14:26]

and while PART raise-IMPERF-IMPERS PART rise-PRES-3PL they-EMPH to the air PART angry violent joyous to release-VN wind in their wings and to **throw-VN** the tiredness **from-on-3PL**

*And as [the banner] was raised, they rise into the air, angry, violent, and joyous, to release the wind in their wings and to **cast off** their tiredness.*

With the exception of names, the attribute frame was not found for source-profiling verbs, but it is common among the goal-profiling ones. A caused attribute has the Bearer as Goal, and an overt Source, if present, will be a former Bearer. Thus we have a metaphor group directly parallel to that seen above for states:

- ATTRIBUTES ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS (cf. ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS$_P$)
- CAUSING AN ATTRIBUTE IS MOVING AN OBJECT (cf. CAUSATION IS TRANSFER OF POSSESSIONS$_P$)
- BEARING AN ATTRIBUTE IS RECEIVING AN OBJECT
- CEASING TO BEAR AN ATTRIBUTE IS REMOVAL OF AN OBJECT

(It is interesting that some of the best examples of "caused change of attributes" involve magical causation.)

(1333) Pan wybu ynteu y arganuot o'r gaer, dwyn eu heilyw e hun a oruc, a **dodi** eilyw arall **arnunt**, ual nat adnepit. [MFM:79:21]

when know-PRET-3SG he-EMPH him perceive-VN from the castle, bear-VN their appearance their own PART do-PRET-3SG, and **place-VN** appearance other **on-3PL**, as NEG recognize-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS

*When he knew [that] they were seen from the castle, he took [away] their own appearance and **placed** another appearance **on** them, so that they would not be recognized.*

(1334) Yna y **rodes** Arawn y furuf a'y drych e hun **y** Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet, ac y kymerth ynteu y furuf e hyn a'y drych. [PPD:6:23]

then PART **give-PRET-3SG** Arawn his form and his appearance his-own **to** Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed, and take-PRET-3SG he-EMPH his form his-own and his appearance

*Then Arawn **gave** his own form and his appearance [back] **to** Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed, and he took his own form and his appearance.*

(1335) Mynet a wnaf i, a'th **wyneb** di a **dygaf** i **genhyf**. [CO:380]

go-VN PART do-PRES-1SG I, and your-SG **face** your-SG PART **bear-PRES-1SG** I **with-1SG**

*I will go, but I will **take** your **face with me.***

(1336) Onys agory, mi a **dygaf** anglot **y**'th arglwyd a drygeir y titheu. [CO:103]

if-NEG open-VN, I PART **bear-PRES-1SG** un-fame **to** your-SG lord and bad-word to you-SG-EMPH

*If [you] do not open [the door], I will **bring** ill-fame **to** your lord, and slander to you.*

Among goal-profiling verbs, only RHODDI is found describing a transfer of abstract legal possession, and this may best be understood as a direct extension from the concept of physical possession (see section 4.1.2.1). The connection with physical

possession is made even stronger by the common use of YN LLAW to mark the Goal-Possessor.

- CHANGE OF POSSESSOR IS MOVEMENT OF THE POSSESSION (cf. CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONSP)
- FORMER POSSESSORS ARE SOURCES
- NEW POSSESSORS ARE GOALS
- POSSESSION IS HOLDING

(1337) "Ie," heb y Math, "mi a **rodaf idaw** yr un cantref goreu y was ieuanc y gael." [MFM:84:3]

well, say-PRET-3SG Math, I PART **give-PRES-1SG to-3SM** the one cantref best to lad young it get-VN

*"Well," said Math, "I will **give to him** the one best cantref for a young man to get."*

(1338) ac a **rodaf** uedyant uyg kyuoeth **i**'th **law** ditheu. [MFM:74:16]

and PART **give-PRES-1SG** rule my realm **in** your-SG **hand** your-SG

*and I will **give** the rule of my realm **into** your **hands**.*

The verb of allowed motion, GADAEL, covers most of the general semantic categories found for caused motion and, in general, indicates a shift from active causation to volitional non-interference in an otherwise spontaneous event. This can be seen in the frames of possession and experience of states.

(1339) Guedy buynt pryodoryon huenteu eu tydynneu a **edyr udunt** herwyd e delehoent, ac eu tyr amyn henne en tyr such a chulltyr erygthunt. [LI:89]

after be-PRES-SUBJ-3PL proprietors them-EMPH their tofts PART **allow-PRES-IMPERS to-3PL** by PART ought-PRES-SUBJ-3PL, and their land except that PART land plough and coulter between-3PL

*And after they become proprietors, their tofts are **allowed to them** according to what they are entitled [to], and [also] their land, except that [which is] land [of] plough and coulter between them.*

(1340) Ef a dely dven llester e'r llys e dody y wyravt endav, cany dely ef namyn torry y sychet; sef achavs yv henny rac **gadael** guall **ar** e adar. [LI:9]

he PART ought-PRES-3SG dish to the court to put-VN his drink in-3SM, since-NEG ought-PRES-3SG he except break-VN his thirst; thus cause be-PRES-3SG that before **allow-VN** want **on** his birds

He ought to take a dish to the court to put his drink in it, since he is not entitled [to drink] except to break his thirst; this is the reason [for] that: lest [he] ***allow*** *neglect* ***onto*** *his birds [i.e. allow his birds to be neglected].*

In the frame of actions, the sense of permission or allowance indicated by these verbs makes it less felicitous for the Agent of the allowance to coincide with the Agent of the action itself, and what we find is that it is the metaphoric Goal that becomes the Agent of the trajector-action, following a metaphor along the lines of:

- ACTIONS ARE MOVING OJECTS
- BECOMING AN AGENT OF AN ACTION IS BEING THE GOAL OF THAT ACTION
- PREVENTING AN ACTION IS PREVENTING MOTION OF THE ACTION TO THE AGENT (cf. in the corresponding Location Version, PREVENTED ACTION IS FORCED STOPPAGE OF MOTION TO A LOCATIONP)

(1341) "Nyt af i yn erbyn hynny," heb y Teirnon. "Mi a **adaf y ti** y rodi idaw." [PPD:24:1]

NEG go-PRES-1SG in-against that, say-PRET-3SG Teirnon, I PART **allow-PRES-1SG to-2SG** it give-VN to-3SM

"I will not go against that," said Teirnon, "I will ***allow to you*** *[i.e. let you] giving it to him."*

Verbs of self-propelled motion (or volitional non-motion) mark their notional goals with language typically drawn from their metaphoric source-domain of spatial motion, although aspects of control and the role of Bearer of Attributes can override these with AR. Many of the target scenarios in this group do involve causation, but the causing

entity is either implicit or irrelevant to the immediate context, and so the "controlled" moving object has been upgraded to a self-propelled entity with the Causer, if present, marked as the Source of motion. We can express this general pattern as CAUSED EVENTS ARE SELF-PROPELLED ENTITIES, CAUSES ARE SOURCES_{P}. (See section 3.4.1 for the more general use of CAUSES ARE SOURCES_{P}.)

We see this clearly in a speech frame, where the usual set of metaphors remains constant–SPEECH IS A MOVING OBJECT, SPEAKERS ARE SOURCES, HEARERS ARE GOALS–but the speech is framed as an independent volitional agent. (See section 4.2.2.2 for a more detailed exploration of this motif.)

(1342) **Y**'r wlat yd **aeth** y chwedyl, a phawb o'r guyrda a'e kigleu. [PPD:21:11]

to the land PART **go-PRET-3S** the news and everyone of the noblemen PART it hear-PRET-3SG

*The news **went to** the land, and everyone of the noblemen heard it.*

(1343) Ny warandawei dim o'r attep a **aeth y genhym** ni **attaw** ef. [BFL:41:23]

NEG listen-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG anything of the answer REL **go-PRET-3SG from-with-1PL** us **to-3SM** him

*He would not hear anything of the answer that **went from us to him**.*

(1344) E chwedyl a **doeth at** Uatholwch. [BFL:32:7]

the news PART **come-PRET-3SG to** Matholwch

*The news **came to** Matholwch.*

The same pattern can be seen for actions, following the usual metaphoric mappings:

• ACTIONS ARE MOVING OBJECTS
• AGENTS ARE SOURCES
• PATIENTS ARE GOALS

(1345) "Bei na metrut hynny," heb ef, "ef a **doy am** dy **benn** cwbyl o'r gouut." [MFL:64:28]

if NEG consider-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG that, say-PRET-3SG he, he PART **come-IMPERF-3SG about** your-SG **head** entirety of the trouble

"If you had not considered that," he said, "the entirety of the trouble would have ***come onto*** *your* ***head*** *[i.e. would have rebounded on you]."*

(1346) yny **aeth** guahard **udunt** ar y bwyt a'y llyn. [MFM:74:19]

until **go-PRET-3SG** prohibition **to-3PL** on their food and their drink

until a prohibition ***went to them*** *on their food and drink.*

If there is no clear sense of causation, the profiling of an event as a self-propelled entity may be used to indicate this lack of causation. Thus spontaneous states may be self-propelled entities with their Experiencers as the Goal. (But states also fall in the previous group where the Causer is simply de-emphasized by this construction.)

(1347) Ac yn gytneit ac yd **aeth** hun **yn** y lygeit y rodet drych idaw [BR:3:25]

and PART co-leap with PART **go-PRET-3SG** sleep **in** his eyes PART give-PRET IMPERS vision to-3SM

And simultaneously with sleep ***going into*** *his eyes, a vision was given to him*

(1348) Puybynnac a locco march, ket boet maru y march ganthau, nyt **a arnau** namyn y lu ehun rywneythur ydau kystal ac y'u uarch ehun, a thalu y loc. [LI:124]

whoever REL hire-PRES-SUBJ-3SG horse, though be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG dead the horse with-3SM, NEG **go-PRES-3SG on-3SM** except his oath his-own PART-do-VN to-3SM as-good with/and to his horse his-own, and pay-VN the hiring

Whoever hires a horse, although the horse dies with him [i.e. in his possession], no [liability] ***goes onto him*** *except his own oath [that] he did to it as well as [he would] to his own horse, and [let him] pay [for] the hire.*

(1349) Pan **dyuu** y thymp **idi**, ef a dyuu y iawn bwyll iti. [CO:6]

when **come-PRET-3SG** her time **to-3SF**, he PART come-PRET-3SG her right mind to 3SF

*When her [birth] time **came to her**, her right mind came to her.*

(1350) Gwyr oed drwc ganthunt **dyuot** collet **y** Owein, kytunbynn idaw a chedymdeithon [BR:18:20]

men be-IMPERF-3SG bad with-3PL **come-VN** loss **to** Owein, fellow-nobles to-3SM and companions

*Men [for whom it] was bad with them [i.e. they didn't like] loss to **come to** Owein–fellow nobles of his and companions*

(1351) A reuedawt **rygyueryw a** mi. [BFL:32:24]

and marvel **PART-meet-PERF-3SG with/and** me

*And a marvel **met with** me [i.e. I experienced a marvel].*

Similarly, spontaneously occurring Attributes may be self-propelled or, in this case, volitionally non-moving from the Bearer.

(1352) Ac ny **thrigyei** liw **arnei** vyth namyn y lliw ehun. [BR:11:22]

and NEG **dwell-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG** color **on-3SF** ever except its color itself

*And no color would **remain on it** ever except its own color.*

As we have seen, when emotions are described with source-profiling verbs of caused motion the role of Source-Causer is discarded in favor of the Goal-Experiencer. This makes it unsurprising that emotions may also be framed as self-propelled entities with the Experiencer as a Goal. In contrast to the examples with CYMRYD + YN, which frame the experiencer as a deliberate participant, the current examples can frame the experiencer as passive, sometimes even unwilling, and can mark the role with AR focusing on the control/aggression sense of this preposition as well as with YN motivated by the

(1353) A drwc yd **aeth ar** Owein gyuarch gwell idaw, ac ny bu waeth gan Arthur no chynt. [BR:13:15]

and bad PART **go-PRET-3SG on** Owein greet-VN well to-3SM

And bad [feelings] ***went on*** *Owein [at having] greetings to him [i.e. and not to Arthur]*

(1354) Lliuaw a oruc y mab, a **mynet** a oruc **serch** y uorwyn **ym** pob **aelawt** itaw kyn nys rywelhei eiroet. [CO:52]

color-VN PART do-PRET-3SG the boy and **go-VN** PART do-PRET-3SF **passion** the maiden **in** each **limb** to-3SM though NEG-her PART-see-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG ever

The boy colored and ***passion*** *[for] the maiden* ***went into*** *every* ***limb*** *of his although he had never seen her.*

This framing of emotion as what might even be characterized as an "attacking" entity contrasts interestingly with parallel constructions for the experience of thought and memory. Thought–that is, the realization of an understanding or development of a plan through mental processes–has the interior of the experiencer as a goal, and often specifically the interior of the mind, using YN. The thoughts are external moving entities that become accessible to the thinker by entering the thinker's mind, in contrast to the emotions described with CYMRYD which are internalized by action of the experiencer. Memory, however, takes the experiencer as a simple goal using I, with no implication of internalization. The verb DYFOD is common to all the self-propelled scenarios, and all involve a human Goal-Experiencer, so this distinction cannot be attributed to either lexical or metaphoric source-domain (i.e. spatial motion) motivations. The use of AR with emotions can be attributed to its association with the broad semantic concept of control

or negative influence (cf. EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES$_p$), but the distinction between the experience of thought and memory can only be explained by the existence of distinct metaphoric conceptions of these two experiences.

(1355) a'r un medwl a **doeth yndaw** ef ac a **doeth yndi** hitheu. [MFM:85:9]

and the one thought PART **come-PRET-3SG in-3SM** him with/and PART **come-PRET-3SG in-3SF** her-EMPH

*and the same thought **came to** him as **came to** her.*

(1356) Ac ar y kynnyd hwnnw y bu ef, Pryderi uab Pwyll Penn Annwn, yny **doeth yn** y uryt wreika. [PPD:27:22]

and on the conquest that PART be-PRET-3SG he, Pryderi son Pwyll Pen Annwn, until **come-PRET-3SG in** his mind seek-wife-VN

*And he, Pryderi son of Pwyll Pen Annwn, was on that conquest until it **came into** his mind to seek a wife.*

(1357) A **dyuot** cof **idaw** adaw y drws y agoret, ac ymhwelut a wnaeth. [PPD:22:24]

and **come-VN** memory **to-3SM** leave-VN the door PART open, and MUTUAL-turn-VN PART do-PRET-3SG

*And memory **came to him** [i.e. he remembered] leaving the door open, and he returned.*

4.2.2.1.2.4 Other Contributing Metaphors

As we have seen above, a number of metaphor groups are based directly on the source domain of either self-propelled or caused motion, and further, that most occur in two complementary versions, a Location version (where the less animate role is the goal of motion) and an Object version (where the less animate role is the moving object). These metaphor groups may include other mappings that complete the parallel patterns, but I include here only those expressed in the data.

Location Version

States

Self-Propelled Motion

- STATES ARE LOCATIONS$_P$
- EXPERIENCERS ARE MOVING ENTITITES
- EXPERIENCING A STATE IS MOVING TO A LOCATION
- CEASING TO EXPERIENCE A STATE IS MOVING FROM A LOCATION
- LACK OF CHANGE OF STATE IS ABSENCE OF MOTION

Caused Motion

- CAUSED CHANGE OF STATE IS CAUSED MOTION

Attributes

Self-Propelled Motion

- ATTRIBUTES ARE LOCATIONS
- HAVING AN ATTRIBUTE IS REMAINING IN A LOCATION

Object Version

Self-Propelled Motion

- SPONTANEOUS STATES ARE SELF-PROPELLED ENTITIES
- EXPERIENCERS ARE GOALS

Caused Motion

- STATES ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS
- EXPERIENCERS ARE GOALS
- CAUSING A STATE IS MOVING AN OBJECT
- EXPERIENCING A STATE IS RECEIVING AN OBJECT
- CEASING TO EXPERIENCE A STATE IS REMOVAL OF AN OBJECT

Self-Propelled Motion

- SPONTANEOUS ATTRIBUTES ARE SELF-PROPELLED ENTITIES
- BEARERS ARE GOALS

Caused Motion

- ATTRIBUTES ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS
- CAUSING AN ATTRIBUTE IS MOVING AN OBJECT
- BEARING AN ATTRIBUTE IS RECEIVING AN OBJECT
- CEASING TO BEAR AN ATTRIBUTE IS REMOVAL OF AN OBJECT

Actions

Self-Propelled Motion

- ACTIONS ARE LOCATIONSp
- PERFORMING AN ACTION IS MOVING TO A LOCATION
- REFUSING TO PERFORM AN ACTION IS MOVING FROM A LOCATION

Self-Propelled Motion

- ACTIONS ARE MOVING OBJECTS
- AGENTS ARE SOURCES
- PATIENTS ARE GOALS

Caused Motion

- ACTIONS ARE TRANSFERRED OBJECTS
- AGENTS ARE SOURCES
- PATIENTS ARE GOALS
- alternately: INSTRUMENTS ARE GOALS

Caused Motion (alternate)

- ACTIONS ARE MOVING OJECTS
- BECOMING AN AGENT OF AN ACTION IS BEING THE GOAL
- PREVENTING AN ACTION IS PREVENTING MOTION OF THE ACTION
- FREEDOM OF ACTION IS LACK OF RESTRAINT ON THE ACTION

Thought, Memory

Self-Propelled Motion

- REASONING IS FOLLOWING A PATH
- DECISIONS ARE GOALS

Self-Propelled Motion

- THOUGHT IS A SELF-PROPELLED ENTITY
- THINKERS ARE GOALS

Caused Motion

- EXPRESSING INTEREST IS TRANSFERRING IT TO THE TOPIC

Self-Propelled Motion

- MEMORY IS A SELF-PROPELLED ENTITY
- REMEMBERERS ARE GOALS

Emotion

Self-Propelled Motion
- EMOTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED ENTITIES
- EXPERIENCERS ARE GOALS

Caused Motion
- EMOTION IS A TRANSFERRED OBJECT
- EXPERIENCERS ARE GOALS
- EXPRESSING EMOTION IS TRANSFERRING IT TO THE TOPIC

Speech

Self-Propelled Motion
- SPEECH IS A SELF-PROPELLED ENTITY
- SPEAKERS ARE SOURCES
- HEARERS ARE GOALS

Caused Motion
- SPEECH IS A TRANSFERRED OBJECT
- SPEAKERS ARE SOURCES
- HEARERS ARE GOALS
- (TRANSMITTED) SPEECH IS AN ACCOMPANYING OBJECT
- TOPICS OF VERBAL INFORMATION ARE (HUMAN) SOURCES

Possession

Caused Motion
- POSSESSION IS CO-LOCATION
- POSSESSION IS HOLDING
- CHANGE OF POSSESSOR IS MOVEMENT OF THE POSSESSION
- FORMER POSSESSORS ARE SOURCES
- NEW POSSESSORS ARE GOALS

The above mappings represent only the spatial motion component of the

metaphors in which these verbs appear, i.e. Source, Moving Object, Goal, and Causer of Motion. These may be elaborated by more specific spatial source domains, for example, the internalization metaphors found for thought and emotion.

• EXPERIENCING THOUGHT IS INTERNALIZING IT
• EXPERIENCING EMOTION IS (SELF-)INTERNALIZING IT

Similarly, the basic motion source domain may be elaborated by a more specific conceptualization of one or more of the participants.

• UNDESIRABLE EMOTIONS ARE CONTROLING ENTITIES
• SPEECH IS AN ANIMATE (OR HUMAN) ENTITY

And the more general mappings associated with the Location and Object versions of these metaphors, i.e. that Goals in the Location version *are* "locations" in the sense of a fixed bounded region, but that Goals in the Object version are treated as discrete, non-fixed entities.

Other metaphors are involved in some of the frames here, but have not been discussed explicitly as they do not participate directly in the moving object aspects, such as SOCIAL CONTROL IS PHYSICAL CONTROL and a MORAL OR SOCIAL ECONOMY METAPHOR whereby social interactions are framed in terms of financial transactions, primarily with the verb TALU. (Lakoff 1996 summarizes existing work on metaphors of moral accounting.)

4.2.2.1.3 Summary

We are now in a position to set up a hierarchy of motivations for preposition choice with motion verbs, starting with the strongest. While many of these also apply to the spatial uses of these verbs, this hierarchy is intended to describe only the metaphoric examples.

4.2.2.1.3.1 Structural: e.g. RHWNG with a Dual or Multiple Role

This function appears able to trump nearly any other marker, although it seems to do so primarily when the equality of the participants in the role is being emphasized. So, for example, it *can* override O to mark the agents of a verbal-noun, but does not *always* do so.

(1358) ac ymlad bob duw kalan Mei uyth hyt dyd brawt o'r dyd hwnnw allan **y rwng** Gwynn a Gwythyr [CO:1000]

and MUTUAL-fight-VN each day calends May ever length day judgement of the day that out **between** Gwyn and Gwythyr

*and a fight every calends of May from that day on until the day of judgement **between** Gwyn and Gwythyr*

(1359) sef a wyl e keureyth ena, bot en yaun **rannu** e gollet **eregthunt** en deu hanner [LI:64]

thus PART see-PRES-3SG the law there, be-VN PART right **share-VN** the loss **between-3PL** in two half

*this is what the law sees there: it is right to **share** the loss **between them** in two halves*

But consider also:

(1360) namyn o byd e ryu eru honno endau e **rannu** o'r maer a'r kyghellaur en kyffredyn **y** paub kystal a'e gylyd [LI:83]

except if be-PRES-3SG the sort acre that in-3SM PART **share-VN** of the maer and the cynghellor PART common **to** every as-good with/and his fellow

*rather if there is that sort of acre in it, the maer and the cynghellor **share** [it] **to** everyone as good as the next*

The position of structural motivation at the top of the hierarchy is tentative, largely due to the restricted scope of the available examples. There is a wider range of evidence for the next category.

4.2.2.1.3.2 Grammatical: e.g. O with the Agent of Verbal-nouns

The priority of this strategy over other motivations can be seen by comparing the marking of agents when the action is indicated by other grammatical categories. Directly parallel examples are not easy to come by, but consider the different treatment of agents of the noun RHODD "gift" and the verbal-noun RHODDI "to give".

(1361) A'r datanhudyeu henne ne deleyr eu barnu ony byd rod ac estyn **y gan** argluyd ydau gynt ar e tyr. [LI:84]

and the uncovering that NEG ought-PRES-IMPERS them judge-VN if-NEG be-PRES-3SG gift and offerring **from-with** lord to-3SM previously on the land

*And that hearth-uncovering ought not [to be] adjudged unless there has previously been gift and offerring of the land to him **from** a lord.*

(1362) a rody **o** hunnu kussan heuyt ydau [LI:103]

and give-VN **of** that kiss also to-3SM

*and giving **by** that one [i.e. that one gives] a kiss to him also.*

Other than Agents, roles in the "grammatical" group tend not to compete with the other strategies for marking important verb-frame roles, which we will now consider.

4.2.2.1.3.3 Morphological: e.g. AC with YM-prefixed Verbs

This association is extremely strong and the nature of the role that AC marks is determined by the roles profiled by the verb. So, for example, when a goal-profiling verb like GORDDIWES (to overtake) adds the prefix YM-, it will be the Goal marked with AC. (Note that in both this and the following examples, the profiled role of Goal or Source is the direct object in the non-prefixed example.)

(1363) O'r lle hwnnw yd aethant hyt yn Llwch Ewin, ac yd **ymordiwedawd** Arthur **ac ef** yno. [CO:1152]
from the place that PART go-PRET-3PL length-in Llwch Ewin, and PART **MUTUAL overtake-PRET-3SG** Arthur **with/and him** there
*From that place, they went to Llwch Ewin, and Arthur **overtook him** there.*

compare

(1364) Ac ar Auon Gynnwael **gordiwes yr hyd** a'y lad. [MFM:84:21]
and on Afon Gynnwael **overtake-PRET-3SG the stag** and it kill
*And at Afon Gynnwael he **overtook the stag** and killed it.*

In contrast, when a source-profiling verb like MADDAU "to leave, abandon" takes the prefix YM- it is the Source that is marked with AC.

(1365) O hynny allan y dygyuores uyg kyuoeth am ym pen y erchi im **ymuadeu ac wynt**, [BFL:36:2]

from that out PART uprise-PRET-3SG my realm about my head to ask-VN to-1SG **MUTUAL-part-VN with/and them**

From then on, my realm rose up against me to ask of me [to] ***part with them***

compare

(1366) "Dioer," heb y Pryderi, "ny **madeuaf** i **uyg kwn**." [MFL:56:6]

God-knows, say-PRET-3SG Pryderi, NEG **leave-PRES-1SG** I **my dogs**

"God knows," said Pryderi, "I will not ***abandon my dogs****."*

But note that despite the overall strength of this motivation group, occasional exceptions occur, such as the following example of source-profiling YMDDIANC "to flee" marking the Source with Y GAN. Compare with DIANC + O for the unprefixed case. (Here the difference between marking the source with Y GAN versus O is based on the semantic class of the source, animate entity versus inanimate container.)

(1367) hyt pann uu abreid im **ymdianc y gantaw**. [CO:890]

length when be-PRET-3SG scarcely to-1SG **flee-VN from-with-3SM**

so that it was difficult for me [to] ***escape from him****.*

(1368) A neb ni **dieghis odyna** namyn ef a'e wreic. [BFL:36:21]

and nobody NEG **flee-VN from-there** except he and his wife

And nobody ***fled from there*** *except him and his wife.*

4.2.2.1.3.4 *Ad Hoc* Metaphor

There are relatively few examples of motion verbs that can be identified as

isolated, *ad hoc* uses of novel metaphors, rather than being tied in to broader patterns of conventional metaphor, and those that do occur may not motivate different prepositions than those typically associated with the target domain. One example using DODI suggests the prioritization of this group over the next one: "DODI <expression> YN PEN <speaker>", literally "to place <expression> in the speaker's head", that is, "to assign responsibility for a legal speech act (e.g. testimony or judgement)". The expression is not truly *ad hoc*, since it occurs several times and is clearly a conventional formula, however it does not appear to participate in a more general speech or legal metaphor.

(1369) Ac yna e mae yaun y'r haulur dody **em pen** er egneyt panyu euo a edewys en kentaf e testyon a'e keytweyt, a deleu ohonau enteu eu muynhau hue en kyntaf. [LI:77]

and then PART be-PRES-3SG right to the claimaint put-VN **in head** the judge when-be-PRES-3SG he REL promise-PRET-3SG PART first his witnesses and his maintainers, and ought-VN of-3SM he their enjoy-VN them PART first

*And then it is right for the claimaint to put **in the mouth** of the judge [i.e. to have the judge proclaim] that he promised first his witnesses and his maintainers, and he ought [to] enjoy them first.*

(1370) Ena e mae yaun e'r egnat gouen e'r guybydyeyt a sauant hue en er hyn ed edys en y dody **en eu pen** huy. [LI:77]

then PART be-PRES-3SG right to the judge ask-VN to the knowers PART stand-PRES-3PL they in the this PART be-PRES-3SG PART it put-VN **in their head** their

*Then it is right for the judge to ask of the knowers [if] they stand in that [i.e.continue to maintain that] which is put **in their mouths**.*

The metaphoric context is complex. The head stands metonymically as the locus of speech. The manipulated motion indicated by DODI is not, in this case, causation but something more like Responsibility is a Possession, Assignment of Responsibility is

Transfer of Possession. We see a similar use of DODI with the assignment of responsibility for decision making with the more conventional marking of AR on the responsible party.

(1371) E dodeis inheu **ar** gynghor uy gwlat beth a wneit amdanunt. [BFL:36:4]

PART place-PRET-1SG I-EMPH **on** advice my land what PART do-IMPERF-IMPERS about-3PL

*I placed myself **on** the advice of my land [i.e. I took the advice ...] what do to about them.*

4.2.2.1.3.5 Lexical: e.g. AR with DODI

Conventional lexical associations between verb and preposition would be difficult to notice if they did not override at least some other types of expected marking. They tend to be most clearly seen in extended senses of the verb, while spatial uses are more likely to use a wider variety of markers based on the specific semantics of the context. The most obvious contexts for distinguishing a lexical motivation are closely parallel constructions with DODI and RHODDI.

(1372) Ac o achaws y serch, a'r caryat, a **dodassei** pob un o honunt **ar** y gilyd [MFM:85:12]

and from cause the passion and the love REL **place-PLUP-3SG** each one of-3PL **on** his fellow

*And because of the passion and the love that each one of them **placed on** the other [i.e. expressed to the other]*

(1373) Ha wreic, pei mi ry wascut uelly, ny oruydei ar arall uyth rodi serch **im**. [CO:464]
o woman, if I PART squeeze-IMPERF-SUBJ-2SG thus, NEG overcome-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG on other ever give-VN passion **to-1SG**
*O woman, if you had embraced me thus, there would be no need for anyone ever [to] give love **to me**.*

4.2.2.1.3.6 Broad Semantic Motivation: e.g. AR with Controlled Entities and Bearers of Attributes

The distinction I am making between "broad semantic motivation" and "broad metaphoric motivation" is largely between patterns driven by the target domain and the source domain respectively. In the case of AR used to mark the patient of control or the bearer of an attribute, the pattern of use is associated with the target meaning, regardless of whether that meaning is expressed in the context of a particular metaphor. So, for example, attributes are related to the bearer with AR whether expressed via a motion metaphor or as a predicate.

(1374) Ac ny thrigyei liw **arnei** vyth namyn y lliw ehun. [BR:11:22]
and NEG dwell-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG color **on-3SF** ever except its color itself
*And no color would remain **on it** ever except its own color.*
(1375) Lliw enryued a oed **ar** y uarch [BR:15:12]
color wonderful PART be-IMPERF-3SG **on** his horse
*A wonderful color was **on** his horse*

4.2.2.1.3.7 Broad Metaphoric Motivation

In contrast, broad metaphoric patterns of preposition use derive from the source

domain of general metaphors such as the marking of Goals in the Location version of EVENT STRUCTURE as bounded spatial regions, and in the Object version as discrete movable entities. (Although I haven't included GALW "to call, summon" in my discussion of verbs of caused motion above, it demonstrates the contrast particularly well in this example.)

(1376) Ac yna yd aeth ef **yn** y geluydodeu, ac y dechreuawt dangos y hut [MFM:70:7]
and then PART go-PRET-3SG he **in** his crafts and PART begin-PRET-3SG show-VN his magic
*And then he went **into** his crafts and began to show his magic*

(1377) Ac yna y gelwis ef y hut a'y allu **attaw**. [MFM:82:6]
and then PART call-PRET-3SG he his magic and his ability **to-3SM**
*And then he called his magic and his power **to him.***

4.2.2.1.3.8 Narrow Motivations

At the weakest level of the hierarchy, the motivations that are most likely to appear as occasional options rather than strong patterns are those driven by fairly specific scenarios in either the source or target domain. For example, when an event is metaphorically conceived of as a face-to-face human conversation, the source-domain marking of speakers with Y WRTH and hearers with WRTH may occur, but is typically not the rule. So, for example, the lexical context that determines the form of a name can be framed metaphorically as a human interlocutor, using Y WRTH, but may also be marked as a general cause using O (in both cases, corresponding to CAUSES ARE SOURCES$_p$ but

providing different levels of specificity for the nature of the source).

(1378) Ac **o** hynny y gyrrwyt arnaf ynneu Idawc Cord Brydein. [BR:5:10]

and **from** that PART drive-PRET-IMPERS on-1SG me-EMPH Iddog Cordd Brydain

*And **because of** that, there was driven onto me [the nickname] "Iddog Cordd Brydain".*

(1379) A bydydaw y mab a orucpwyt,{wnaethpwyt} a gyrru Kulhwch arnaw **dy vrth** y gaffel yn retkyr hwch. [CO:9]

and baptize-VN the boy PART do-PRET-IMPERS and drive-VN Culhwch on-3SM **from-with** him get-VN in run pig

*And the boy was baptized, and [the name] Culhwch was driven onto him [i.e. given him] **from** his being found in a pig-run.*

Similarly, a specific understanding of the target domain may motivate a particular prepositional option. The experience of emotion is a good example of this, although it must be kept in mind that the "target domain language" here is, itself, metaphoric, but derived from a separate metaphor than that taken from the Moving Object frame. Within the domain of emotion, the metaphor EXPERIENCING EMOTION IS INTERNALIZING IT motivates marking Experiencers with YN–a marking at odds with the typical goal-markers used in the Object Version, and not found for other types of experiences in this context.

(1380) A hwnnw a gymerth goueileint mawr **yndaw** a thristwch [BR:1:6]

and that PART take-PRET-3SG pain big **in-3SM** and sadness

*And that one took great pain **inside him** and sadness*

(1381) Ny dele nep kymryt amaethyaeth **arnau** ar ny vyppo guneythur e guyd [LI:153]

NEG ought-PRES-3SG anyone take-VN ploughing **on-3SM** REL NEG know-PRES-SUBJ-3SG make-VN the plough

*Nobody should take [the job of] ploughing **on him** who doesn't know [how to] make the plough*

4.2.2.2 Speech and Language

In the previous section, the motivational hierarchy for prepositions was examined from the point of view of a particular source domain: spatial motion, whether volitional or caused. It is equally interesting to examine this hierarchy in the context of a particular target domain, and that of speech and language is particularly well represented in my data.

The semantic frame of speech can be separated into two parts. First there is the frame of language consisting of linguistic forms (prototypically spoken forms, but also available as written forms), the content or meaning of those forms (i.e. the specific nature of the utterance), and the topic of the utterance (the key context to which it is relevant). There is a relationship between the linguistic forms and the meaning/content and a relationship between the utterance as a whole and its topic. An utterance may be referred to in a text by means of quotation (either direct or indirect), or by words or phrases that refer to utterances via a genre label either by form (such as "word", "speech", "poem", or "story") or by function (such as "greeting", "message", "question", or "command").

The second part of the speech frame is that of conversation. Here a Speaker produces an audible Speech with the intent that a Hearer perceive, understand, and in many cases act on the content of that utterance. This event is commonly indicated by a verb of speech where the agent is the default Speaker and most typically the Speech (if overtly present) appears as a direct object, while the Hearer (if overtly present) is marked

prepositionally. More rarely, a verb of hearing may be used with the Hearer as agent and the Speaker (if overtly present) marked prepositionally.

Expressions using these speech-related words provide some understanding of the metaphoric conceptualization of speech by, for example, marking Speakers using Source language and Hearers using Goal language, and sometimes selecting prepositions that imply a human trajector. Similarly, speech may be described using overtly metaphoric language as we have seen in the section on verbs of motion, where an utterance is presented as a self-propelled or transferred entity.

The metaphors underlying descriptions of speech occur on several levels of detail and specificity, from language that indicates only a general idea of directional movement:

(1382) Ac yna menegi y holl gyfranc a wnaeth **idi**. [no quoted speech follows] [PPD:7:26]
and then tell-VN the whole tale PART do-PRET-3SG **to-3SF**
And then he told the whole tale ***to her.***

to language that characterizes speech explicitly as an animate and even human participant in communication:

(1383) A hynny a dyweit y kyuarwydyd hwnn. [BFL 47:25]
and that PART say-PRES-3SG the story this
And that is what this story says.

as well as on several levels of formality, from elaborate ad hoc poetic conventions:

(1384) A dilyt **y gantaw** pa ford y gallei dyuot y angheu. [MFM;86:4]
and follow-VN **from-with-3SM** what way PART be-able-IMPERF-3SG come-VN his death
*And pursue **from** him how his death could come.*

to obligatory role-markers associated with particular verbs of speaking.

(1385) "Arglwyd," **heb** y wyrda **wrth** Uatholwch [BFL:40:17]
lord, **say-PRET-3SG** the noblemen **with** Matholwch
*"Lord," **said** the noblemen **to** Matholwch*

Much of the application of the prepositional motivation hierarchy to speech will be similar to that for motion verbs, particularly for those roles not closely dependent on the semantic frame. Therefore there is little need to rehearse the evidence for Grammatical, Morphological, and Structural motivations. The two frames differ conceptually in that motion language has a concrete basis, while the key roles in speech are normally understood and described through at least some level of metaphor. Therefore it will be more practical to use an examination of the motivational hierarchy in the context of an exploration of the metaphoric understanding of speech in Medieval Welsh, rather than focusing primarily on the hierarchy itself.

4..2.2.2.1 Metaphors of Speech and Language in English and Medieval Welsh

Previous explorations of metaphors for language, speech, and communication based primarily on English have uncovered a number of motifs, several of which operate together in a complex which Reddy (1979) proposed as the CONDUIT METAPHOR. When

exploring the metaphoric basis of language about speech in Medieval Welsh, this forms a useful basis for comparison and contrast. As further explored by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Sweetser (1987, 1992), this metaphor complex contains three components:

- IDEAS/MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS
- LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS
- COMMUNICATION IS SENDING OR EXCHANGING OBJECTS

Grady (1997) suggests a different presentation for the first two of these, with the concepts broken down into more basic components:

- ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS
- INFORMATION IS CONTENTS ("meaning" can be treated as either of these)
- KNOWLEDGE IS PHYSICAL CONTENTS OF THE HEAD
- ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS ACQUIRING A DESIRED OBJECT

Examples of these various components as used in English can be seen in the following:

(1386) I gave him the news yesterday. (object transfer)

(1387) His speech was full of BS. (meaning as contents)

(1388) I had to pry the answer out of her. (knowledge contained within the speaker, acquiring knowledge is acquiring an object)

(1389) That poem carries a lot of meaning for me. (meaning as possession)

In addition, there are processes such as personification that may be combined with these (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). For example, the personification of speech combined with object-movement appears in:

(1390) Bad news travels quickly.

These existing studies of metaphors for speech and language provide an outline for exploring the Welsh data. The following sections will examine these questions:

- What is the metaphoric relationship between linguistic form and the meaning or topic of an utterance?
- What is the metaphoric treatment of the key roles of Speaker, Speech, and Hearer?
- What is the metaphoric understanding of communication?
- How is language used to present the larger social context of speech, especially as it influences other events?

Since metaphors have been observed that treat the meaning of language as contents, as a property, or as a possession–either of the language itself or of the speaker/hearer–we should review how these concepts are expressed in Medieval Welsh.

Physical containment (see section 3.1.1.8), whether in a two-dimensional or three-dimensional space, is most typically indicated with the preposition YN, which can indicate either static location or a goal of motion. In my data, there are several examples of a form/meaning relationship expressed with YN.

(1391) Nyt oed **yn**-y llythyr h6nn6 heuyt namyn ot af inheu y rufein ac ot af. [BM:188:27]
NEG be-IMPERF-3SG **in** the letter that however except if go-PRES-1SG I-EMPH to Rome and if go-PRES-1SG
*There was nothing **in** that letter however except: "If I go to Rome, and if I go."*

(1392) Val hyn e guedyr lledrat **eg** keureyth Hywel [LI:111]
like this PART deny-PRES-IMPERS theft **in** law Hywel
*This is how theft is denied **in** Hywel's law*

However it is not clear that these represent a metaphor about speech, rather than

written texts. It is possible that a written text might be treatable as a container under circumstances where verbal speech is not.

Possession of physical objects (see section 3.3.1.2.3) may be indicated in Medieval Welsh by the use of possessive pronouns, by possessive syntactic constructions, or by using constructions that present the possession as a trajector and mark the possessor-landmark with I, or less commonly with GAN (particularly for temporary or attributive possession–see section 4.1.2.1). I found no examples of meaning being treated as a possession of speech. There are, however, examples of speech (or information that will be presented in spoken form) being treated as a possession of the speaker, typically when an intermediary (i.e. messenger) is involved.

(1393) Amkawd Arthur vrthaw, "**Chwedleu** porth **genhyt**?" [CO:114]
say-PRET-3SG Arthur with-3SM, **news** gate **with-2SG**?
*Arthur said to him, "[Is there] **news** of the gate **with you** [i.e. do you have ...]?"*

(1394) "Kynghor yw hynny **gennym** ni," heb wynt. [PPD:17:27]
advice be-PRES-3SG that **with-1PL** us, say-PRET-3SG they
*"That is [good] advice **for us,**" they said.*

The possessive use of GAN is also relevant in interpreting the use of Y GAN in the section on sources of motion below. While it is not used to indicate abstract possession, AC is found to mark an object in physical control, a common precursor to possession constructions, and also in one example to mark the contents of a written text. (But see also the discussion below about attributes.)

(1395) Ac hyt yg kaer llion y doeth y llythyr h6nn6 ar vaxen **a**-r chwedleu. [BM:188:22]

and length in Caerllion PART come-PRET-3SG the letter that to Maxen **with** the news

*And to Caerllion came that letter, to Maxen, **with** the news.*

compare:

(1396) O dvc gur gureyc en llathlut a dyuot **a** hy e ty vrda {uab uchelwr E} e kescu genthy, ac na kemerho e gurda mach ar e hamober, talet ehun. [LI:48]

if bear-PRET-3SG man woman PART theft and come-VN **with/and** her to house nobleman to sleep-VN with-3SF, and NEG take-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the nobleman surety on her marriage-fee, pay-IMPER-3SG himself

*If a man takes a woman by abduction and comes **with** her [i.e. brings her] to a nobleman's house to sleep with her, and the nobleman does not take a surety for her marriage fee, let him pay it himself.*

In summary, speech (or information) can be treated as a possession of the speaker (possibly of the hearer as well, but there is no data on this point) using the preposition GAN, but there is no evidence regarding meaning or information being treated as a possession of speech.

Physical attributes are related to the object with a variety of prepositions, but the most general marks the bearer of the attributre with AR (see section 3.3.2.1.6). GAN may also be used in the same function, most likely derived from a possessive sense (see section 3.3.2.1).

(1397) Sef lliw oed **arnunt**, claerwyn llathreit ac eu clusteu yn gochyon. [PPD:1:21]

thus color be-IMPERF-3SG on-3PL, bright-white shining with/and their ears PART red

*This is the color that was **on them**: bright shining white, with red ears.*

(1398) Ansawd Pwyll hyspys oed **gantaw** ef, canys gwr uuassei idaw kynn no hynny.

[PPD:24:18]

appearance Pwyll familiar be-IMPERF-3SG **with-3SM him**, since man be-PLUP-3SG to-3SM earlier than that

*Pwyll's appearance was familiar **to him**, since he had been a vassal to him before that.*

When the attribute is the landmark, it may be marked as an accompanying object with AC, much more rarely as a location with YN or AR (see section 3.3.2.1.2). There is one example of the contents of a text being treated as an accompanying object, marked with AC. (Examples profiling the linguistic form/content relationship are quite rare in the data overall.) However there seems no reason to treat this example as characterizing the contents as an attribute (or, as proposed above, as a possession) rather than directly via a metaphor LINGUISTIC CONTENT/MEANING IS AN OBJECT ACCOMPANYING THE LINGUISTIC FORM.

(1399) Ac hyt yg kaer llion y doeth y llythyr h6nn6 ar vaxen **a**-r chwedleu. [BM:188:22]

and length in Caerllion PART come-PRET-3SG the letter that to Maxen **with** the news

*And to Caerllion came that letter, to Maxen, **with** the news.*

compare

(1400) Pryderi a uydei **ac** yrd porth uy llys i am y uynwgyl, a Riannon a uydei **a** mynweireu yr essynn, wedy bydyn yn kywein gueir, am y mynwgyl hitheu. [MFL:65:18]

Pryderi PART be-PAST-3SG **with/and** hammers gate my court my about his neck, and Rhiannon PART be-PAST 3SG **with/and** collars the asses after be-PAST-3PL PART harvest-VN hay, about her neck her

*Pryderi was **with** [i.e. had] the gate-hammers of my court about his neck, and Rhiannon was **with** [i.e. had] collars of the asses, after they had been harvesting hay, about her neck.*

The best (and only) candidates for speech treated as an attribute of the speaker occur with the verbs of hearing CLYBOD and GWRANDO, where the speaker is marked with AR. These correspond well to the use of AR with verbs of vision to mark the bearer of visible characteristics.

(1401) Ny ffoes yr amherawdyr Arthur eiryoet, a phei clywit **arnat** yr ymadrawd hwnn gwr diuetha vydut.[BR:10:16]

NEG flee-PRET-3SG the emperor Arthur ever, and if hear-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS **on-2SG** the speech this man destroy-VN be-PAST-2SG

*The emperor Arthur has never fled, and if this speech were heard **from you**, you would be a destroyed man.*

compare:

(1402) Ac ny welei amgen liw nac **ar** varch nac **ar** wr o'r vydin honno namyn eu bot yn ky gochet a'r gwaet. [BR:7:16]

and NEG see-IMPERF-3SG other color nor **on** horse nor **on** man of the army that except they be-VN PART as red with the blood

*And he saw no other color neither **on** a horse nor **on** a man of that army than [that] they were as red as blood.*

In summary, meaning may be treated as a physical accompaniment to speech or as the contents of a written text, although this is based on relatively little evidence.

Similarly, speech may be treated as an attribute of the speaker, when the sensory experience of speech from the point of view of the hearer is profiled. But note that in Welsh, attributes are treated metaphorically as external appurtenances using AR "on" to mark the relationship, rather than as internal contents or possessions of an object as they are in English, using "in" or any of the possible possessive constructions of English. So in comparisons with the CONDUIT METAPHOR in English, it may be useful to separate several conflated concepts. Grady's ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS metaphor does occur in Welsh (using GAN to mark the possessor), but is not applied to speech. Similarly, there is no support here for the Welsh use of the metaphor INFORMATION IS CONTENTS. If, however, the latter were restated in two parts, INFORMATION/MEANING IS AN ATTRIBUTE OF A LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION and ATTRIBUTES ARE CONTENTS (with its corollary OBJECTS HAVING ATTRIBUTES ARE CONTAINERS), then the divergence between the English and Medieval Welsh treatment of speech meaning could be identified as originating from the differences in the general treatment of attributes, rather than from the speech-meaning relationship itself. In special circumstances, speech may be treated as a possession of the speaker, which will be considered further in the next section.

4.2.2.2.2 Motion and Object Transfer

As is shown clearly in the section on motion verbs (4.2.2.1), speech can be characterized as a transferred or self-propelled object. There are two different metaphoric dynamics which appear in all possible combinations: the Speech may be a self-propelled

entity or it may be a transferred object; and the Speaker and Hearer may be co-located, or they may be separated in space such that an intermediary (whether overt or implicit) is required for communication. In only an extremely small number of examples is a physical message involved–these intermediaries are normally conveying verbal messages.

To review, the following table shows the normal marking of Sources and Goals in spatial motion, depending on the general semantic category of the participants.

Table 12: Summary of Spatial Movement Markers

Landmark	Human	Thing	Region
Source			
Human trajector	Y GAN, Y WRTH	O	O
Thing trajector	Y GAN	O	O
Goal			
Human trajector	AT	I	I, YN, AR
Thing trajector	I	I	(no clear pattern)

Speech framed as a self-propelled entity occurs with verbs of motion such as DYFOD or MYNED.

(1403) Rybud a **doeth udunt** wynteu; a chlybot y gwyr ac y bryt ar eu dienydyaw. [MFL:53:24]

warning PART **come-PRET-3SG to-3PL** them; and hear-VN the men and their thought on their destroy-VN

*A warning **came to them**; and [they] heard the men and their decision to destroy them.*

(1404) E chwedyl a doeth **at** Uendigeituran bot Matholwch yn adaw y llys, heb ouyn, heb ganhyat. [BFL:32:17]

the news PART come-PRET-3SG **to** Bendigeidfran be-VN Matholwch PART leave-VN the court, beside ask-VN, beside permission

*The news came **to** Bendigeidfran that Matholwch had left the court, without asking, without permission.*

(1405) Ny warandawei dim o'r attep a aeth **y genhym** ni attaw ef. [BFL:41:23]

NEG listen-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG anything of the answer REL go-PRET-3SG **from-with** 1PL us to-3SM him

*He would not hear anything of the answer that went **from us** to him.*

(1406) A dilyt **y gantaw** pa ford y gallei dyuot y angheu. [MFM:86:4]

and follow-VN **from-with-3SM** what way PART be-able-IMPERF-3SG come-VN his death

*And pursue **from him** how his death could come.*

Although the data is limited, we see a clear pattern that Speakers are marked as Sources using Y GAN, which specifies only that the source is human (consistent with a literal human speaker) but says nothing about the nature of the trajector, while Hearers are marked as Goals using AT, which specifies that both trajector and landmark are human (or at least animate), or I (which can occur with any combination of trajector and landmark). The prepositional characterization of Speech as animate in these examples is not at all surprising given the context of volitional motion. The underlying metaphor can be stated as follows.

- SPEECH IS A SELF-PROPELLED ENTITY
- COMMUNICATION IS MOTION
- SPEAKERS ARE SOURCES
- HEARERS ARE GOALS

The personification of speech as a human participant also occurs in another context when the Speech (identified by a genre label) "speaks" its content to the Hearer.

(1407) A hynny a **dyweit** y kyuarwydyd hwnn. [BFL:47:25]

and that PART **say-PRES-3SG** the story this

*And that is what this tale **says**.*

(1408) Rey a deweyt panyu e'r kenedel e dau er aryant a dywedassam ny uchot; e keureyth a **dyweyt** panyu e'r argluyd yd ant [LI:104]

some PART say-PRES-3SG that to the kindred PART come-PRES-3SG the money REL say-PLUP-1PL we above; the law PART **say-PRES-3SG** that to the lord PART go-PRES-3PL

*Some say that the money we mentioned above comes to the kindred; the law **says** that they go to the lord*

When the speech undergoes caused motion, and the Speaker and Hearer are co-located, either the agency of the Speaker or the agency of the Hearer in inducing communication may be profiled. When the Hearer's agency is profiled, we find the verbs of object-acquisition that were discussed in section 4.2.2.1.2.3.3: CYMRYD, CAFFAEL, and DYLU. The speaker is marked with Y GAN, which implies nothing beyond the animacy of the Speaker-Source and the mobility of the Speech.

(1409) O hyn hyt ban del amgen, ny **cheffwch y genhyf** i attep. [BFL:41:16]

from this length when come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG otherwise, NEG **get-PRES-2PL from-with 1SG** me answer

*From now until when [something] different would come, you will not **get** an answer **from me**.*

(1410) a **chymer** gedernit **y ganthaw** na bo ammouyn na dial uyth amdanaw, a digawn yw hynny o gosp arnaw. [PPD:17:22]

and **take** IMPER-2SG confirmation **from-with-3SM** NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG claim NEG vengeance ever about-3SM, and enough be-PRES-3SG that of penalty on-3SM

*and **take** confirmation **from** him there will be no claim or vengeance ever about it, and that will be enough of a penalty on him.*

(1411) Ef a **dely** kerd **e gan** e bard teylu pan vynho. [LI:6]

he PART **ought-PRES-3SG** song **from-with** the bard household when wish-PRES-SUBJ-3SG

*He is **entitled** to a song **from** the household bard when he wishes.*

In general, there is a correlation between the use of Y GAN with overt metaphoric motion of speech and GAN in the absence of metaphoric motion, representing SPEECH IS A POSSESSION OF THE SPEAKER (see section 4.2.2.2.2). CAFFAEL, however, seems equally comfortable with either marker and this alternation is also found with CAFFAEL in clearly spatial senses, so there is no need to treat the speech examples as involving anything other than the phonologically reduced form of souce-marking Y GAN.

(1412) O hyn hyt ban del amgen, ny **cheffwch y genhyf** i attep. [BFL:41:16]

from this length when come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG otherwise, NEG **get-PRES-2PL from-with 1SG** me answer

*From now until when [something] different would come, you will not **get** an answer **from me**.*

(1413) Ac attep ny **chauas** ef **genthi** hi yn hynny. [PPD:7:12]

and answer NEG **get-PRET-3SG** he **with-3SF** her in that

*But he didn't **get** an answer **from** her then.*

compare:

(1414) A thra **geffit y gantaw**, nac eskit, na hossan, ni phrynit y gan ereill dim. [MFL:58:14]

and beyond **get-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS from-with-3SM**, NEG shoe, NEG hose, NEG buy-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS from-with other anything

*And while it could be **gotten from** him, neither shoe nor hose–nothing would be bought from anyone else.*

(1415) Tra **geffit gantaw** ef, nac eskit, na hossan, ny phrynit dim gan gryd yn yr holl dref. [MFL:54:19]

beyond **get-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS with-3SM** him, NEG shoe, NEG hose, NEG buy IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS anything with shoemaker in the all town

*While one could **get** it **from him**, neither shoe nor hose would be bought from [any] shoemaker in the whole town.*

More typically, the agency of the Speaker is profiled, and the Hearer is marked as a neutral goal, either with AT or I. The examples with AT tend to be ambiguous between whether the Speech or the Messenger is the trajector, but the second, in context, seems clearly to indicate the speech as trajector.

(1416) Hitheu a anuones **at** Gronw, ac a erchis idaw bot yg kyscawt y brynn a elwir weithon Brynn Kyuergyr; yglan Auon Kynuael oed hynny. [MFM:87:14]

she-EMPH PART send-PRET-3SG **to** Gronw, and PART ask-PRET-3SG to-3SM be-VN in shadow the hill REL call-PRES-IMPERS yet Bryn Cyfergyr

*She sent **to** Gronw and asked of him [that he] be in the shadow of the hill that is still called Bryn Cyfergyr*

(1417) A hynny a anuonet **at** Pryderi. [MFM:73:11]

and that PART send-PRET-IMPERS to Pryderi

*[Gwydion gives instructions to a messenger.] And that was sent **to** Pryderi.*

Marking the Hearer with I is somewhat more common here than for self-propelled motion, and in a caused motion scenario we are free to understand the Speech as a passively transferred object of irrelevant animacy.

(1418) **I** Duw y dygaf uyng kyffes [PPD:7:27]

to God PART bear-PRES-1SG my confession

***To** God I bring my confession*

(1419) a minheu a af y hebrwng uy gwrogaeth **y** Gaswallawn uab Beli [MFL:50:27]
and I-EMPH PART go-PRES-1SG to bring-VN my homage **to** Caswallon son Beli
*and I will go to bring my homage **to** Caswallon son of Beli*

When the Speech involves a context of control or harm, the usual goal-markers may be overridden by AR. Note that in spatial uses AR may indicate either a static relationship or a goal, so the use of AR to mark Hearer-Patients in contexts of an overt caused-motion metaphor need not be interpreted as overriding the *motion* aspect, simply the default relationship of a moving trajector to a Hearer-Goal.

(1420) na yrrwch geu **arnaf** [PPD:20:29]
NEG drive-IMPER-2PL lie **on-1SG**
*do not drive a lie **on me** [i.e. don't lie about me]*

Compare DWEUD WRTH and DODI AR in the following.

(1421) a phy ymadrawd bynnac a **dywettei** yr vn onadunt **wrth** y gilyd trwy y corn, ny **dodei ar** yr vn onadunt namyn ymadrawd go atcas gwrthwyneb. [LL:72]
and what speech ever PART **speak-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG** the one of-3PL **with** his fellow through the horn, NEG **put-IMPERF-3SG on** the one of 3PL except speech very hateful contrary
*and whatever speech the one of them would **say to** the other through the horn, the one of them would not **put to** the other anything except very hateful, contrary speech.*

As we see above, ANFON is one verb used to indicate separation between the Speaker and Hearer and the implication of an intermediary. When an intermediary is explicit, the Speech is marked as an accompanying controlled object, using AC.

(1422) E gwyr hynny a ymchwelwys **a'r atteb hwnnw** [BFL:33:10]
the men that PART return-PRET-3SG **with the answer that**
*Those men returned **with that answer***

(1423) A dyuot o gennat Arthur a **nac genthi** o Iwerdon. [CO:1039]
and come-VN of messenger Arthur with/and **no with-3SF** from Ireland
*And Arthur's messenger came with a "**no**" **with him** from Ireland.*

Another element of the spatial understanding of communication is the overt characterization of the Speech as tracing a path. This may be implied by the choice of verb, as in the unconventional use of DILYN "to pursue" to describe the (presumably verbal) means of eliciting information.

(1424) A **dilyt y gantaw** pa ford y gallei dyuot y angheu. [MFM;86:4]
and **follow-VN from-with-3SM** what way PART be-able-IMPERF-3SG come-VN his death
*And **pursue from him** how his death could come.*

Another example uses a similarly novel metaphor, describing the use of a "speaking horn" through which the Speech passes in order to keep it from being overheard.[1]

[1]Both the purpose of the contrivance and the difficulties the characters have in getting it to work properly remind me absurdly of the "cone of silence" in the TV program "Get Smart".

(1425) Ac yna y peris Lleuelis gwneuthur corn hir o euyd a **thrwy** y corn hwnnw ymdywedut, a phy ymadrawd bynnac a dywettei yr vn onadunt wrth y gilyd **trwy** y corn, ny dodei ar yr vn onadunt namyn ymadrawd go atcas gwrthwyneb. [LL:72]

and then PART cause-PRET-3SG Llefelys make-VG horn long of bronze and **through** the horn that MUTUAL-speak-VN, and what speech ever PART speak-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG the one of-3PL with his fellow **through** the horn, NEG put-IMPERF-3SG on the one of 3PL except speech very hateful contrary

*And then Llefelys had made a long horn of bronze, and [they] spoke **through** that horn, and whatever speech the one of them would say to the other **through** the horn, the one of them would not put to the other anything except very hateful, contrary speech.*

In summary, when speech is characterized overtly in terms of metaphoric motion, we find two general scenarios. Either the Speech is characterized as a human agent, moving from the Speaker (marked with Y GAN) to the Hearer (marked with AT), or the Speech is characterized as a passive transferred object (which may, occasionally, be marked as human) from the Speaker (marked with (Y) GAN) to the Hearer (marked with I or AT). An overt human messenger has the Speech as a carried object or possession (marked with AC or GAN), but more commonly, even when a messenger is overtly present in the scene, the speech is presented in terms of self-propelled motion.

4.2.2.2.3 Verbs of Speech and the Motivation Hierarchy

Now that we understand how speech is characterized in overt motion scenarios, we have a context for considering how it is treated with verbs of speaking (and hearing) when the Speaker and Hearer are understood to be co-located and communicating directly (or via an overt messenger).

Speakers are marked prepositionally when accompanying verbs of hearing (e.g.

CLYBOD, GWRANDO, YMWARANDO), when the speech is indicated by a noun or a non-finite verb, or when mutual speech is profiled. Mutual speech is most typically indicated by a verb with mutual morphological marking (e.g. the prefixes YM-, CYD-, CYM-) where one participant occurs as the agent and the other is marked with AC, or where both occur as a plural agent (see section 4.2.1.1). Alternately, the verb may indicate a multi-agent event (e.g. agreement, using DUUNO, DYGYMOD) using the same types of marking.

(1426) A dechreu **ymdidan** a wnaeth ef **a**'r urenhines. [PPD:4:19]

and begin-VN **MUTUAL-converse-VN** PART do-PRET-3SG he **with/and** the queen

*And he **and** the queen began to **converse** [or: he began to **converse with** the queen].*

(1427) Ys glut a beth yd **ymdidanyssam ni**. [PPD 7:16]

be-PRES-REL-3SG continual of what PART **MUTUAL-converse-PRET-1PL we**

*Continually **we conversed**.*

(1428) "Myui a **duunaf a** thi, yn llawen," heb ef, "am hynny." [PPD:23:13]

I-EMPH PART **agree-PRES-1SG with/and you-SG** PART happy, say-PRET-3SG he, about that

*"I will **agree with you** gladly," he said, "about that."*

(1429) ac yuelly y buant yny dygywys yw kytdrefwyr racdunt, ac yny duunyssant **ar** geissaw eu llad. [MFL:53:22]

and thus PART be-PRET-3PL until grow-angry-PRET-3SG to-their fellow townsmen before-3PL, and until agree-PRET-3PL **on** seek-VN them kill-VN

*and so they were until their fellow townsmen grew angry against them, and until they agreed **on** seeking [to] kill them.*

(The preceding indicate mutual hearers as well as mutual speakers, of course.)

The primary context in which speech is indicated by a non-finite verb concerns the agent of a verbal noun, marked with O following the standard grammatical motivation

(see section 3.5.1.1). O is also found marking a Speaker when the Speech is indicated by a quote but no verb is present.

(1430) Henpych gwell, Yspadaden Penkawr, **o** Duw ac **o** dyn. [CO:513]
hail, Ysbaddaden Pencawr, **from** God and **from** man
*Hail, Ysbaddaden Pencawr, **from** God and **from** man.*

As noted above in section 4.2.2.2.2, verbs of hearing appear to mark the Speech as an attribute of the Speaker, using AR. The exception derives from a morphological override with the verb YMWARANDO, which marks the Speaker with AC even when the event is clearly not mutual.

(1431) "Mi a debygaf na **werendeweist** eiryoet **ar** ymdidanwreic well no hi. [MFL:50:7]
I PART suppose-PRES-1SG NEG **listen-PRET-2S**G ever **on** conversation-woman better than she
*I suppose that you have never **listened to** a better conversationalist than her.*

(1432) ac o ben yr orssed edrych a wnaethant, ac **ymwarandaw a**'r cwn. [MFL:55:23]
and from head the mound look-VN PART do-PRET-3PL and **MUTUAL-listen-VN with/and** the dogs
*and from the top of the mound they looked and **listened for** the dogs.*

Much more typically, a Speaker is prepositionally marked when an intermediary is present and the original Speaker is being identified, or when the Speech is indicated by a noun rather than a verb. Here the Speaker is marked with (Y) GAN, indicating a human Source (or possibly, in the case of GAN, as a Possessor).

(1433) llyma gennadeu Matholwch yn dyuot attaw ef, ac yn kyuarch guell idaw, ac yn y annerch **y gan** Uatholwch y gyuathrachwr [BFL:41:5]

behold messengers Matholwch PART come-VN to-3SM him and PART greet well to-3SM, and PART him greet **from-with** Matholwch his kinsman

*behold, Matholwch's messengers came to him, and saluted him and greeted him **from** Matholwch his kinsman*

(1434) a diollwch **gan** Pwyll am ueithryn y mab a'e eturyt idaw [PPD:24:28]

and thanks **with** Pwyll about raising the boy and him restore to-3SM

*and thanks **from** Pwyll for raising the boy and restoring him to him*

Verbs of speaking are by far more common than verbs of hearing, and may indicate a wide variety of types and contexts of speech. A brief survey of these will be a useful introduction. (Verbs for which Hearers are overt and marked prepositionally are in boldface.) Numerically the most common are verbs that are neutral and unmarked with respect to the particular genre or context of speech. The five most common verbs of speech represent the major functions: DWEUD (quoted speech), GOFYN (requests for information), ERCHI (requests for objects or actions), CYFARCH (greetings), and MENEGI (non-quoted speech).

Primarily quotative:

AMCAWDD "to say"
DWEUD "to say"
HEB "to say"

General conversation:

DATGANU "to recite"
LLAFARU "to say"
MENEGI "to tell"
TRAETHU "to discuss"
YMDDWEUD "to talk"

Mutual conversation:

CYFRWCH "to talk"

YMADRODD "speech" (as a noun)

YMDDIDDAN "to converse"

Requests for information or objects:

EINGIAU "to ask (for more), complain"

ERCHI "to ask"

GOFYN "to ask"

HOLI "to ask"

YMOFYN "to ask (for)"

Requests for action:

ASWYNO "to beseech"

CEISIO "to ask, seek"

GALW "to call (on)"

NODI "to specify"

UNO "to wish (for)"

YMADOLWYN "to beseech"

YMOBRAU "to bargain"

Requests (content unspecified):

YMBILIO "to entreat"

GWEDDIO "to pray (to)"

Summons (request for movement):

DYFYNNU "to summon"

GWYSIO "to summon"

Command (for action):

ADOLYGU "to command"

GORCHYMYN "to command"

Responses:

ATEB "to answer"

GWARAFUN "to refuse, begrudge"

GWRTHEBU "to answer (negatively), object"

GWRTHOD "to refuse"

NACAU "to refuse"

Greetings:

ANNERCH "to greet"

CROESO "to welcome"

CYFARCH "to greet"

GLASRESAWU "to welcome coldly"

Complaints:

CWYNO "to complain"
CABLU "to complain"
LLIWO "to reproach"
DRYGYFERTHU "to lament"
DIASBAD "to shout, cry out"

Negative socio-legal speech:

ADDEF "to confess"
AMAU "to deny, dispute"
EIRYCHU "to charge, impute"
ENLLIBIO "to slander"
GWADU "to deny"
GWRTHTYNGU "to counterswear, swear against"
TAERU "to insist, maintain"

Positive or neutral socio-legal speech:

ADDO "to promise"
CREIRHAU "to swear by relics"
DAMDWNG "to swear, testify"
DIOLWCH "to thank"
DUUNO "to agree"
DYGYMOD "to agree (with), put up with"
GWRHAU "to swear homage"
MOLI "to praise"
TYNGU "to swear"
TYSTIO "to testify"
YMADDO "to (mutually) promise"

Misc. specialized speech types:

CYNGHORI "to advise"
YMGYNGHORI "to consult, take counsel"
CANU "to sing"
DIARHEBU "to make into a proverb, speak a proverb"
DYSGU "to teach"
ENWI "to name, call by name"
MEINHOLI "to specify, indicate an amount"
RHIFO "to enumerate"
TEWI "to be silent"
YSGRIFENNU "to write"

In analyzing speech scenarios, I initially coded my data according to five types of

content (illustrated below primarily by DWEUD, the only verb found with all five):

Quoted speech: i.e. an exact rendering of what the Speaker said.

(1435) Dywawt Kulhwch **vrthi**, "Ha uorwyn, ti a gereis. [CO:500]
say-PRET-3SG Culhwch **with-3SF**, o maiden you-SG PART love-PRET-1SG
*Culhwch said **to her,** "O maiden, I have loved you."*

Indirect speech: i.e. the words of the Speaker described by a second party.

(1436) Ac yna y dywedassant 6ynteu **6rth** yr amhera6dyr nat oed weithret y neb y gaffel y gaer nac y-6 rodi ida6 ynteu namyn y wyr ynys prydein. [BM:190:22]
and then PART say-PRET-3PL they **with** the emperor NEG be-IMPERF-3SG deed to anyone to get-VN the castle NEG to it give-VN to-3SM him-EMPH except the men island Britain
*And then they said **to** the emperor it was not a deed for anyone to get the castle or to give it to him except for the men of the Island of Britain.*

Genre label: i.e. the general purpose or context of the Speech, indicated by a label, but not the specific words.

(1437) Mi a dywedaf peth atteb **iwch**. [CO:519]
I PART say-PRES-1SG thing answer **to-2PL**
*I will tell something of an answer **to you.***

Content of request: i.e. when the speech is used to request or demand some performance from the Hearer, the nature of that request may be used to represent the Speech.

(1438) A phan y gordiwedawd erchi nawd a orugant **idaw**. [BR:4:19]
and when PART overtake-PRET-3SG ask-VN protection PART do-PRET-3PL **to-3SM**
*And when he overtook [them], they asked protection **of him.***

None: i.e. there is no overt reference to the role of Speech.

(1439) "Pa achaws," heb ynteu, "na dywedy di **wrthyf** i?" [PPD:7:13]
what cause, say-PRET-3SG he, NEG speak-PRES-2SG you-SG **with-1SG** me
*"Why," he said, "won't you speak **to me**?"*

In addition, I kept track of whether the speech created a social or legal obligation on the hearer, or could be understood metaphorically as a hostile or damaging act.

(1440) A phwy bynnac a dywot geu **arnat**, cam a wnaeth. [PPD:26:3]
and who ever REL say-PRED-3SG lie **on-2SG**, wrong PART do-PRET-3SG
*And whoever said a lie **against you** did wrong.*

What fell out on analysis was that only the categories of quoted speech and hostile/controlling speech affect preposition choice, as well as the choice being influenced by morphological and lexical motivations.

Just as Speakers may be marked with grammatically motivated O when verbs of speech occur as verbal nouns, so Hearers may be grammatically marked with O when verbs of hearing occur as verbal nouns, and this overrides all other competing considerations.

(1441) Clybot **oheni** hitheu eu trwst yn dyuot. [CO:459]
hear-VN **of-3SF** her-EMPH their noise PART come-VN
*Hearing **of her** [i.e. she heard] their noise coming.*

As discussed above, in situations of mutual speech (whether morphologically marked or not) or with verbs that have a morphological mutual prefix (even when used in a non-mutual scenario), the first participant occurs as the agent and the second is marked with AC. This overrides marking motivated by the broad semantics of control/hostility. (There are, unfortunately, no examples of this group with quoted speech, so the relative strength of these motivations cannot be tested.)

(1442) A chyt archo ef y ti rodi yr eil, na dyro, yr a ymbilio **a** thi. [PPD:3:19]
and though ask-PRES-SUBJ-3SG he to-3SM give-VN the second, NEG give-IMPER-2SG, for PART MUTUAL-beg-VN **with/and** you-SG
*And though he would ask of you [to] give the second [blow], do not give [it], though he beg **of** you.*

The broad semantic association of AR with hostile speech is very strong. In particular, note its use with DWEUD (which otherwise has a strong lexical preference for WRTH as discussed below).

(1443) A phwy bynnac a dywot geu **arnat**, cam a wnaeth. [PPD:26:3]
and who ever REL say-PRED-3SG lie **on-2SG**, wrong PART do-PRET-3SG
*And whoever said a lie **against you** did wrong.*

There are very rare exceptions to this use of AR.

(1444) A hynny y urodyr maeth, a'r gwyr nessaf gantaw, yn lliwaw **idaw** hynny, a heb y

gelu. [BFL:37:22]

and that his brothers foster, and the men nearest with-3SM PART reproach-VN **to-3SM** that, and beside it conceal-VN

*Then his foster brothers and the men nearest to him reproached **him** [with] that, and without concealing it.*

AR is also a common option, but a less obligatory one, in scenes of verbal control and influence.

(1445) Galw a oruc Arthur **ar** Uedwyr [CO:393]

call-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Arthur **on** Bedwyr

*Arthur called **on** Bedwyr*

but compare

(1446) Pwyll ynteu Penn Annwn a doeth y'r berllan ar y ganuet marchawc, ual y gorchymynnassei Riannon **idaw**, a'r got ganthaw. [PPD:16:3]

Pwyll he-EMPH Pen Annwn PART come-PRET-3SG to the orchard on the hundredth knight, as PART command-PLUP-3SG Rhiannon **to-3SM** and the bag with-3SM

*He, Pwyll Pen Annwn, came to the orchard as the hundredth knight, as Rhiannon had commanded **to him** [i.e. commanded him], and the bag with him.*

Note that there is a relatively systematic difference in the framing of requests/demands between Medieval Welsh and English. In English, verbs of requesting/demanding typically profile the motion (spatial or metaphorical) of the requested/demanded object, thus focusing on the hearer as a source of the object's motion. In Medieval Welsh, verbs in this group typically profile the speech interaction, focusing on the hearer as a Hearer of Speech, and so either as a "goal" of the speech or a patient of verbal control. Compare the following, when the translation is phrased to express the

hearer/target of request with a prepositional phrase.

(1447) erchi nawd a oruc **idaw**. [LL:160]
ask-VN protection PART do-PRET 3SG **to-3SM**
he$_1$ asked **to him$_2$** (i.e. asked him) [for] protection.
(1448) He asked-for/requested protection **from him**.

When none of the above contexts are present, the major influence on preposition choice is the presence of quoted speech or the verbs strongly associated with quoted speech. Only five verbs occur in combination with quoted speech: HEB, AMCAWDD, DWEUD, GOFYN, and TYNGU. The first two appear only in this context (HEB is a defective verb found only in speech tags). DWEUD is the most common and least marked verb of speech and occurs in the broadest variety of contexts but is strongly associated with quoted speech (roughly 40% of its occurrences). GOFYN is the most common verb of questioning and is similarly broad in distribution across types of speech while TYNGU is restricted to formal oaths (either in a legal or magical context). The distribution of hearer markers for these verbs (all markers in all contexts) is shown in the following table.

Table 13: Hearer-marking for Verbs Found with Quoted Speech

verb	type of speech	WRTH	I	AR
DWEUD "say"	quoted	32	1	
	indirect	3	14	3
	label	8	11	1
	content			4
	(not overt)	8	1	
HEB "say"	quoted	13		
AMCAWD "say"	quoted	6		
GOFYN "ask"	quoted	1	7	
	indirect		22	
	label		22	
	content		7	
TYNGU "swear"	quoted		4	
	indirect		8	
	label		4	

(1449) Y gwyr a **dywawt wrth** Arthur, "Arglwyd, dos di adref." [CO:839]

the men PART **say-PRET-3SG with** Arthur, lord, go-IMPER-2SG you-SG home

*The men **said to** Arthur, "Lord, go home."*

(1450) **Heb** y Bedwyr yna **wrth** Gei, "A'e hatwaenost di ef?" [CO:961]

say-PRET-3SG Bedwyr then **with** Cei, INTERROGATIVE recognize-PRES-2SG you-SG him

*Bedwyr **said to** Cei, "Do you recognize him?"*

(1451) **Amkeudant wrthaw**, "Pan doy ti, wr?" [CO:762]

say-PRET-3PL with-3SM, when come-PRES-2SG you-SG man

*They **said to him**, "[From] where come you, man?"*

(1452) a **gofyn** a oruc **wrthaw**, "A glyweist ti y wrthi hi yma?" [CO:932]

and **ask-VN** PART do-PRET-3SG **with-3SM**, INTERROGATIVE hear-PRET-2SG you-SG from-with-3SF her here?

and [he] ***asked of him****, "Have you heard of her here?"*

but compare the more usual

(1453) ena mae yaun e'r egnat **gouyn e**'r mach, "A vyt uach ty?". [LI:58]

then be-PRES-3SG right to the judge **ask-VN to** the surety, "INTERROGATIVE be-PRES-2SG surety you-SG"

Then it is appropriate for the judge to ***ask of*** *the surety, "Are you a surety?"*

(1454) ac euelly **tegu y** Duu en e blaen ac **e**'r allaur honno ac **e**'r kreyryeu da esyd arney ac **y** uedyd y mab [LI:100]

and thus **swear-VN to** God in the front and **to** the altar that and **to** the relics good be PRES-REL-3SG on-3SF and **to** baptism the boy

And so [she] ***swears to*** *God first and* ***to*** *that altar and* ***to*** *the good relics [that] are on it and* ***to*** *the boy's baptism*

What we see is that the verbs of neutral quoted speech have a strong preference for marking Hearers with WRTH in this context while verbs with more specific semantics lack this preference (although it is at least an option). DWEUD shows almost universal use of WRTH in the presence of quoted speech, and it remains a common option in other contexts–a fact that is not as striking until you know that, outside the context of quoted speech, WRTH occurs to mark Hearers in extremely restricted situations. It is found with only seven verbs of speech: the four discussed above, CROESO (where it is more likely motivated by the use of WRTH to mark the patient of expressed emotion–see section 3.6.3), and one example each (and the only examples) of CWYNO and ADDEF, both with the Speech indicated indirectly (as compared to roughly 240 examples of I marking Hearers). This is shown in the following table and examples.

Table 14: Hearer-marking for Verbs Found with WRTH

verb	type of speech	WRTH	I	AR
HEB "say"	quote	13		
AMCAWDD "say"	quote	6		
DWEUD "say"	quote	32	1	
	indirect	3	14	3
	label	8	11	1
	content			4
	(not overt)	8	1	
CWYNO "complain"	indirect	1		
ADDEF "confess"	indirect	1		
CROESO "welcome"	(not overt)	7		
GOFYN "ask"	quote	1	7	
	indirect		22	
	label		22	
	content		7	

(1455) "**Crassaw wrthyt** y gennyf i," heb ef. [PPD:12:15]

welcome-VN with-2SG from-with me, say-PRET-3SG he

Welcome to you *from me, he said.*

(1456) Pan **adeuo** mach **urth** er egnat e uot en uach, yaun yu e'r haulur testu e adef ohonau, rac kylyau ohonau eylweyth. [LI:60]

when **admit-PRES-SUBJ-3SG** surety **with** the judge him be-VN PART surety, right be PRES-3SG to the claimant testify-VN PART admit-VN of-3SM, before retreat-VN from 3SM second-time

*When a surety **admits to** the judge [that] he is a surety, it is right for the claimaint to testify [that] he admitted [it], lest he withdraw again.*

(1457) ac e hun **cwynaw wrth** hynny, bot y poen a oed ar y chwaer. [BFL:38:21]

and he himself **complain-VN with** those, be-VN the punishment REL be-IMPERF-3SG on his sister

*and he himself **complained to** them [that there should] be the punishment that was on his sister.*

Thus we see that the connection between Hearers marked with WRTH and the use of quoted speech is two-way: the presence of quoted speech strongly motivates the use of WRTH (even with verbs like GOFYN which otherwise avoid it), and WRTH is extremely uncommon to mark Hearers outside contexts of quoted speech (except for its apparently lexical association with DWEUD).

Other than the situations discussed above, the default marker for Hearers is I, found across all types of speech representation and across all genres of speaking as seen in the following examples.

(1458) Ac yna **menegi** y holl gyfranc a wnaeth **idi**. [PPD:7:26]

and then **tell-VN** the whole tale PART do-PRET-3SG **to-3SF**

*And then he **told** the whole tale **to her.***

(1459) "Ie," heb y Pryderi, "nit **archaf** inheu **y** neb gouyn uy iawn namyn my hun." [MFM;73:11]

well, say-PRET-3SG Pryderi, NEG **ask-PRES-1SG** I-EMPH **to** anyone ask-VN my right except myself

*"Well," said Pryderi, "I will not **ask of** anyone [to] seek my rights except myself."*

(1460) Ef a'e **kyfarchwys y minheu** gynneu. [BR:12:19]

he PART it **greet-PRET-3SG to-1SG-EMPH** earlier

*He **greeted me** earlier.*

(1461) **Adaw** a oruc ynteu hynny **idi**. [CO:20]

promise-VN PART do-PRET-3SG he-EMPH that **to-3SF**

*He **promised** that **to her**.*

(1462) O deruyd e'r urenhynes mennu kerd, aet e bard teylu e **canu ydy** en dyuessur, a henny en araf, mal nat aulonedo e neuad ganthav. [LI:13]

if happen-PRES-3SG to the queen wish-VN song, go-IMPER-3SG the bard household to **sing-VN to-3SF** PART un-measured, and that PART slow like NEG disturb-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the hall with-3SM

*If it happens to the queen [that she] wishes a song, let the household bard go to **sing to her** unrestrictedly, and that slowly so that the hall is not disturbed by him.*

In summary, verbs of speech follow a hierarchy for marking Hearers roughly similar to that seen for the extended senses of motion verbs:

- Grammatical Motivation (e.g. verbal-noun of hearing verbs + O)
- Morphological and Structural Motivation (e.g. YM-prefixed verbs + AC)
- *Ad hoc* Metaphoric Motivation (e.g. Speech as a self-propelled entity + AT)
- Broad Semantic Motivation (e.g. hostile speech + AR)
- Lexical Motivation (e.g. DWEUD + WRTH)
- Narrow Semantic Motivation (e.g. quoted speech + WRTH)
- Broad Metaphoric Motivation (e.g. Hearers are Goals, using I)

The two hierarchies (for metaphoric motion and speech) differ only in switching the positions of "Broad Semantic" and "Lexical" and of "Narrow Semantic" and "Broad Metaphoric". In the motion hierarchy, I placed "Structural" above "Grammatical" due to the appearance of RHWNG for certain otherwise grammatically motivated roles. That may also be true in the current context, but there were no examples that could fall in both categories. Similar explorations of other semantic fields could further refine our understanding of the hierarchy, however it is likely that only in extremely common semantic fields will statistical patterns be clear between motivations that are trends rather than rules.

Before considering the metaphoric implications of this data, we need to examine

another speech-related context: that of the Topic of speech, especially of verbal information (news, stories, etc.). By far the most common marker for Topics in the speech frame, as in other semantic frames, is AM (see sections 3.3.2.1.1.6-9). When a partative formula presents the Topic, such as "anything about <topic>" then the partative marker O occurs instead (see section 3.3.1.1). RHAG may be found rarely with negative Topics, motivated by the broad semantics of the context (see section 4.2.1.4) and AR may be found in legal contexts when the Speaker has legal responsibility for the Topic (following the narrow semantic motivations discussed in section 3.6.1). But one Topic-marker is restricted not only to speech contexts, but to circumstances where the Topic is animate (and prototypically human). The best illustration of this contrast is seen in the following example where a human Topic marked with Y WRTH is contrasted with an abstract Topic marked with AM.

(1463) E mysc hynny wynt a glywssont chwedlydyaeth **y wrth** Riannon ac **am** y phoen. [PPD:24:9]
in mixture that they PART hear-PRET-3PL news **from-with** Rhiannon and **about** her punishment
*Among that, they heard the news **about** Rhiannon and **about** her punishment.*

This marking seems particularly associated with metaphoric motion of the Speech, but note that the metaphoric Source is not implied to be a Speaker of the information, although the animacy of the Topic makes that interpretation potentially available. In fact, on reviewing our metaphoric motion scenarios, it is interesting that Y WRTH is never found marking Speakers.

(1464) "Arglwyd," heb y Guydyon, "ny orffwyssaf uyth, yny gaffwyf chwedleu **y wrth** uy nei." [MFM;88:18]

lord, say-PRET-3SG Gwydion, NEG rest-PRES-1SG ever, until get-PRES-SUBJ-1SG **from-with** my nephew

*"Lord," said Gwydion, "I will not rest until I get news **of** my newphew."*

(1465) mi a af y'r gaer, y geissaw chwedleu **y wrth** y cwn. [MFL:55:28]

I PART go-PRES-1SG to the castle to seek-VN news **from-with** the dogs

*I will go to the castle to seek news **of** the dogs.*

(When the Topic is a non-human animal, one can still assume that a vocalization would constitute " verbal information/news" in a general sense.)

As discussed in section 2.3.1.4.5, the spatial senses of WRTH focus on co-location and especially contact or attachment, but in extended senses there is a general theme of directed or focused attention, a sense suggested by its etymological origin in a root meaning "turn". This suggests a motivation for the use of WRTH to mark Hearers in a focus on the interactive attention directed by interlocutors at each other. That is, the use of WRTH for Hearers is not metaphoric but simply strongly profiles the prototypical spatial context in which speech takes place: two humans in close proximity, facing each other, and giving attention to each other. (Williams (1956) notes the similar use of cognates of WRTH throughout Insular Celtic, although his analysis does not address the question of quoted versus non-quoted speech. He also points out a peculiar usage in Gaulish Latin that he suggests may be a calque of a parallel Gaulish construction: the use of *loqui apud* "speak near" rather than the more usual *loqui cum* "speak with".)

From this, we would expect Y WRTH, in a speech context, to mark one

interlocutor as the source of motion for the other interlocutor. As we have seen, when the Speech itself is characterized as a human trajector, moving volitionally from the Speaker to the Hearer, the use of Y WRTH to mark the Speaker is not a part of this characterization. If the two uses of (Y) WRTH are part of the same general metaphor (which is not a certain assumption) we may be seeing a distinction between the profiling of the Speech-trajector as a *moving* entity and as a *speaking* entity. When the actual words of the Speaker are transmitted to the Hearer, the Speech may move, but it appears not to speak; when instead the *information* provided by the Speaker-Topic is what is being communicated, the Speech is profiled as a speaking entity, moving from conversation with the Speaker-Topic to conversation with the Hearer. Compare with the occasional examples in which a text is framed as speaking its own contents to the Hearer.

(1466) A hynny a **dyweit** y kyuarwydyd hwnn. [BFL:47:25]
and that PART **say-PRES-3SG** the tale this
*And that is what this tale **says**.*

(1467) Rey a deweyt panyu e'r kenedel e dau er aryant a dywedassam ny uchot; e keureyth a **dyweyt** panyu e'r argluyd yd ant [LI:104]
some PART say-PRES-3SG that to the kindred PART come-PRES-3SG the money REL say-PLUP-1PL we above; the law PART **say-PRES-3SG** that to the lord PART go-PRES 3PL
*Some say that the money we mentioned above comes to the kindred; the law **says** that they go to the lord*

In this context, also compare the use of Y WRTH to mark the lexical source of a name (see section 3.6.4) and WRTH to mark the evidentiary basis (reason) for an event when that basis is a speech act (e.g. LLW "oath", see section 3.4.1.3).

4.2.2.2.4 Metaphors of Speech in Medieval Welsh and the CONDUIT METAPHOR

Recall that the metaphors for speech analyzed in English as part of the CONDUIT METAPHOR are (in its expanded version):

- IDEAS/MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS
- LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS
- INFORMATION IS CONTENTS
  - expanded to:
    - INFORMATION IS AN ATTRIBUTE
    - ATTRIBUTES ARE CONTENTS
- ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS
- KNOWLEDGE IS PHYSICAL CONTENTS OF THE HEAD
- ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS ACQUIRING A DESIRED OBJECT
- COMMUNICATION IS SENDING OR EXCHANGING OBJECTS

When we look at the Medieval Welsh data, we find only marginal support for IDEAS/MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS and INFORMATION IS CONTENTS, and that only for written texts. However we do find MEANING/INFORMATION IS AN ATTRIBUTE and ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS (as well as ATTRIBUTES ARE SURFACE FEATURES as indicated by the use of AR, which has no correspondence in English). Once we acount for linguistic differences between how Welsh and English treat attributes, the apparent conflicts resolve to the absence of ATTRIBUTES ARE CONTENTS in a speech context in Welsh (and, indeed, it is rare generally in Welsh).

Looking at the frame of communication, linguistic expressions in Welsh may not be *containers*, but they are objects, and we do find plentiful support for COMMUNICATION

IS SENDING OR EXCHANGING OBJECTS, as well as the personified:

• LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED ENTITIES
• COMMUNICATION IS MOTION
• SPEAKERS ARE SOURCES
• HEARERS ARE GOALS

And further, we have the speaking version of this:

• VERBAL INFORMATION IS A SPEAKING SELF-PROPELLED ENTITY
• THE (ANIMATE) TOPIC OF INFORMATION IS AN INTERLOCUTOR-SOURCE
• THE RECIPIENT OF INFORMATION IS AN INTERLOCUTOR-GOAL

When an overt messenger is present, we also see MESSAGES ARE POSSESSIONS OF THE MESSENGER, which is metaphoric only when we are assuming an oral rather than a written message (as appears to be the default in these texts). When the focus is on the Hearer's observation of Speech as a sensory experience, we also find SPEECH IS A PERCEIVABLE ATTRIBUTE OF THE SPEAKER.

Above, we noted that Medieval Welsh does not use a metaphor KNOWLEDGE IS CONTENTS OF THE HEAD in the context of hearing speech–that is, Hearers are never marked as a container-goal–however we have seen a similar metaphor for non-verbal thinking.

(1468) A threigylgweith yd oed yn Arberth, prif lys idaw, a dyuot **yn** y uryt ac **yn** y uedwl uynet y hela. [PPD:1:2]

and turn-time PART be-IMPERF-3SG in Arberth chief court to-3SM and come-VN **in** his mind and **in** his thought go-VN to hunt-VN

*And one day he was in Arberth, a chief court of his, and [it] came **into** his mind and **into** his thoughts [to] go to hunt.*

Further, we see an *ad hoc* metaphor THINKING IS SPEAKING INSIDE THE HEAD, but here Speech is the source domain, not the target domain, and the interiority most likely derives from the latter.

(1469) y dywot **yn** y uedwl, "Oy a Duw," [BFL:44:12]

PART say-PAST-3SG **in** his thought, alas PART God

*he said **in** his thoughts, "Alas God!"*

(1470) "Y Duw y dygaf uyg kyffes," heb ynteu **yn** y uedwl [BFL:43:21]

to God PART bear-PRES-1SG my confession, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH **in** his thought

*"To God I bring my confession," he said **in** his thoughts*

While similar metaphoric treatments of speech are present in English and Medieval Welsh, the emphases are different. Welsh has a focus on the orientation of the speaker and hearer which English largely disprefers, and the treatment of speech as a human participant is a creative option in English but not the highly conventionalized one seen in Welsh. The treatment of speech as a transferred object is common in both and highly conventionalized in English with an additional option of treating speakers and hearers as potential containers of speech. Similarly, while both languages treat the meaning of speech as an attribute of an object, the language used for this is drawn from different domains of concrete experience due to different metaphoric approaches to the

nature of attributes. That is, while English prefers to treat attributes as internal contents of an object, Medieval Welsh normally treats them as an external property of to the object.

The differences between English and Medieval Welsh in the language about speech lie not so much in a different repertoire of metaphors for speech, *per se*, but in different emphases within that repertoire, and differences in auxilliary metaphors (such as those concerning the nature of attributes) that are not directly related to speech.

Thus the collection of metaphors known as the CONDUIT METAPHOR, which plays a major part in the metaphoric treatment of speech in English, fails to appear as a major force in the Medieval Welsh treatment of speech because certain aspects are absent (e.g. attributes as contents) and others are de-emphasized. This suggests that the CONDUIT METAPHOR may not be a particularly universal approach to the treatment of speech, but may instead arise secondarily out of the simpler component metaphors that English chooses to emphasize. These results are in line with Grady's proposal that, in many cases, what appear to be complex metaphor systems may instead be motivated by the conjunction of one or more relatively simple "primitive" metaphors. Put together, the English and Medieval Welsh data support as universal metaphors SPEECH IS AN OBJECT (which may be posessed or transferred) and MEANING IS AN ATTRIBUTE, but do not support the entire CONDUIT METAPHOR complex as universal.

4.2.2.2.5 A Poetic Example: The Love-messenger

Although poetry has been excluded from my systematic data for both practical and theoretical reasons, there is a fascinating poetic convention that plays with many of the metaphoric images discussed above. The metaphor SPEECH IS A SELF-PROPELLED, SPEAKING (I.E. HUMAN) ENTITY, combined with the lack of container images, produces the interesting image of language-production as the appearance of a human (or at least verbal) entity in the near vicinity of the speaker who travels to the intended hearer and repeats the speech. This very image appears in the elaborate poetic convention of the *llatai* or "love-messenger", as particularly prominent in the works of the 14th century writer Dafydd ap Gwilym (see e.g. Bromwich 1982).

The poems using this motif follow a fairly standard formula in which the poet–speaking in first person in the poem–addresses the messenger (often with elaborate description and praise), and requests that the messenger convey and speak his sentiments to the object of his affections. In some poems, the *llatai* is described as an actual human agent (including one parody of the convention in which the *llatai* is accused of trying to steal the girl). More often, the messenger is presented as an animal or even inanimate entity, such as the wind or a star–one that cannot literally bear a message. But within the context of the poem, it is taken for granted that the *llatai* will be able to serve as messenger. And, just as the Topic of verbal information is characterized prepositionally as an interlocutor with the Information-trajector, the *llatai* participates in a conversation with the poet and so receives the information and requests that it is meant to convey.

In the poem, the *llatai* is to convey the poet's sentiments, but in actuality, if the sentiments are conveyed at all, it is the poem itself that does so when read or recited. This parallels the examples discussed above where a text is characterized as speaking its own contents. The *llatai* motif emerges as a blending of a scenario with an actual human messenger, and the scenario in which the poet composes a poem and an audience receives it. The correspondences are shown in the following table.

Table 15: Correspondences in the *Llatai* Scenario

'Real World'	*Llatai* script	Messenger script
roles		
poet	poet	original speaker of message
poem	*llatai*	messenger
poet's beloved	poet's beloved	intended hearer of message
actions		
poet expresses meaning in poem	poet speaks message to *llatai*	speaker speaks message to messenger
poem has meaning	*llatai* knows message	messenger knows message
poet's beloved hears/reads poem	*llatai* speaks message	messenger speaks to hearer
poet's beloved knows meaning	poet's beloved knows meaning	hearer knows message

In the messenger script, the source speaks the content of the message to the

messenger; the messenger now knows the content and travels to the intended hearer; the messenger speaks the content to the hearer; now the hearer knows the content. In the real world, the poet expresses the content in a poem; the content is now associated with the poem; the poem is heard or read by the poet's beloved; and thus the poet's beloved achieves knowledge of the content. However within the structure of the poem itself, we find the blending of these two in the *llatai* script: the poet speaks the content to the *llatai*; the *llatai* travels to the poet's beloved and repeats the content of the message; and so the poet's beloved achieves knowledge of the content. Thus the actual poem (the "speech") is mapped onto the *llatai* (the animate messenger speaking its own content) or, in a reversal of the old adage, the message is the messenger.

4.3 In Closing

Several questions prompted this study:

- What system underlies the apparently idiosyncratic use of prepositions to "complete the meaning" of certain verbs in Medieval Welsh?
- What system underlies the use of prepositions to mark grammatical roles?
- To what extent do these grammatical uses mimic (or replace) the function of noun cases?

The results of my study turned out to be more systematic and less arbitrary than at first impression, with motivations based on broad, cross-linguistic patterns of metaphor and grammaticalization. And yet, within those systems there were more distinctly identifiable types of motivation than I had expected, and their interactions were often surprising: the triumph of context over semantics found with RHWNG; the

complex interplay of wildly different motivations with verbs of speech. While the exploration of the metaphoric underpinnings of this system is interesting enough in its own right in the study of Medieval Welsh, I hope that it will have even greater value in helping build a base of knowledge for the cross-linguistic analysis of metaphor and its role in the development of grammar.

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