Britta Irslinger

10 The functions and semantics of Middle Welsh *X hun(an)*: A quantitative study

1 Introduction

The different types of reflexive markers are a much-discussed areal feature of the languages of Western Europe. While the markers of most European languages, like e.g. German *sich*, French *se* or Italian *si* are based on the PIE reflexive pronoun **s(u)e-*,¹ English and the neighbouring Insular Celtic languages Welsh and Irish² employ different markers originating from intensifiers. As a result, reflexive markers and intensifiers are different in the first group of languages, but not in the second. German expresses reflexivity with the pronouns *mich*, *dich*, *sich*, etc., as in (1a) and (1b), while uninflected *selbst* ‘self’ is used as an intensifier, adnominally in (1c) and adverbally in (1d), English uses *my-*, *your-*, *himself*, etc. in both cases.

- (1) a. German: *Ich sehe mich im Spiegel.*
I see_{1SG.PRES} me_{ACC} in.the_{DAT.SG.MASC} mirror
English: *I see myself in the mirror.*
- b. German: *Er spricht ständig mit sich.*
he speaks_{3SG.PRES} continuously with REFL
English: *‘He keeps talking to himself.’*
- c. German: *Der Präsident selbst wird der Feier beiwohnen.*
the_{NOM.SG.MASC} president self will_{3SG.PRES} the_{DAT.SG.FEM}
ceremony attend_{INF}
English: *The President himself will attend the ceremony.*
- d. German: *Der Präsident schrieb seine Rede selbst.*
the_{NOM.SG.MASC} president write_{3SG.PRET} his_{ACC.FEM.SG.} speech
self
English: *The President wrote his speech himself.*

¹ Haspelmath (2001: 1501), König and Siemund (2000: 44–51).

² See Irslinger (2014b: 161–164) on Modern Irish and (2014b: 179–182) on Old Irish.

A formal similarity of intensifiers / reflexives is to be observed especially between English and Welsh. Both languages have complex markers consisting of a pronoun inflected according to person, number and gender coupled with a second element, which is *self* in English, *hun* in North Welsh and *hunan* in South Welsh (Table 1). In addition, both markers originate from intensifiers and are in use with such function.

Table 1: Paradigms of intensifiers/reflexives in Modern Welsh and English.

		Modern Welsh		Modern English
		North	South	
Sg.	1	<i>fy hun</i>	<i>fy hunan</i>	<i>myself</i>
	2	<i>dy hun</i>	<i>dy hunan</i>	<i>yourself</i>
	3 _{MASC.}	<i>ei hun</i>	<i>ei hunan</i>	<i>himself</i>
	3 _{FEM.}	<i>ei hun</i>	<i>ei hunan</i>	<i>herself</i>
Pl.	1	<i>ein hun</i>	<i>ein hunain</i>	<i>ourselves</i>
	2	<i>eich hun</i>	<i>eich hunain</i>	<i>yourselves</i>
	3	<i>eu hun</i>	<i>eu hunain</i>	<i>themselves</i>

Because English differs from the other Germanic languages, which have reflexives based on PIE **se-*,³ and displays a marker structurally similar to the Welsh one, the hypothesis of a celticism in English or at least of convergent developments has widely been discussed as a possible explanation.⁴

For both languages the double function of intensifier / reflexive is not yet to be found in the earliest documents, i.e. in Old English or Old Welsh.⁵ Both

³ Cf. Gothic dat. *sis*, acc. *sik*, Old Norse *ser*, *sik*, Old Saxon *sik*, Old High German *sih* < Proto-Germanic **siz*, **sike* ‘himself, herself’ (Kroonen 2013: 437).

⁴ See the different treatments e.g. in Preusler (1938: 187), Tristram (1999: 24), Vezzosi (2005: 228–240), Filppula, Klemola, and Paulasto (2008: 95–97), Miller (2012: 37) and Vennemann (2013: 122). According to Poppe (2009: 253–258) the hypothesis remains unproven, albeit attractive. Lange (2007: 186) is sceptical and suggests conducting further research first. Contrary to this, van Gelderen (2019: 225) rejects any influence from Irish or Welsh on the Old English Lindisfarne Glosses.

⁵ Old Welsh is fragmentarily attested in onomastics, glosses and a few short texts, some of which are difficult to understand. This material contains two clear examples of intensifying *X hun(an)*. In addition, there is one reflexive construction, containing a verb with the prefix *im-*

English *X-self* and Welsh *X hun(an)* were first employed as intensifiers and only much later as reflexive anaphors. This means that whatever conclusion can be reached with regard to contact influence in the case of the intensifiers cannot be relevant for the reflexives, as separate processes brought about their emergence in the two languages.

In Old English, co-reference was expressed by the ordinary personal pronouns, which were ambiguous in the third persons, cf. (2) and (3). Disambiguation could be obtained by adding an intensifier like in (4) (König and Siemund 2000: 44–46).

- (2) *hine he bewerað mid wæpnum*
 he_{ACC} he_{NOM} defend_{3SG.PRES} with weapons_{DAT.PL}
 ‘He defended himself with weapons.’ (Zupitza 1966 [Ælfric, *Grammar* 96. 11–12]; late 10th–early 11th century;)
- (3) *ða behydde Adam hine & his wif eac swa dyde*
 and hide_{3SG.PRET} Adam_{NOM} he_{ACC} and his wife_{NOM} also so do_{3SG.PRET}
 ‘and Adam hid himself and his wife did the same’ (Crawford 1922 [Ælfric, *Genesis* 3.8]; late 10th–early 11th century)
- (4) *Hannibal . . . hine selfne mid atre acwealde.*
 Hannibal_{NOM} hide_{3SG.PRET} self_{ACC.SG.MASC} with poison_{DAT} kill_{3SG.PRET}
 ‘Hannibal killed himself with poison.’ (Sweet 1883; [Orosius IV.11]; late 9th century)

For English the expansion of the functional scope of the intensifier and its use as a reflexive marker can be dated precisely. While the earliest examples can be found around 1150, the replacement of the simple pronoun strategy by *X-self* was complete as late as the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, *X-self* was used as a reflexive in the majority of cases already by the end of the fifteenth century. Examples (5) and (6) illustrate the old and new strategies respectively in different editions of the Bible (Peitsara 1997: 288; König and Siemund 2000: 49; Keenan 2002: 333–350; Lange 2007: 173–177).

(Old Welsh for Middle Welsh *ym-*) and possibly an infixed pronoun. Although the analysis of the latter is controversial (see the discussion in Irslinger 2014b: 183, 191–193), its analysis as a plain pronoun expressing co-reference is probable in view of Middle Welsh (see below, section 4.2). Overall, there is not enough evidence to draw any firm conclusions regarding the expression of reflexivity in Old Welsh.

- (5) *Adam and his wijf **hidden hem** fro the face of the Lord God*
 ‘Adam and his wife hid themselves from the face of the Lord God.’
 (Peitsara 1997: 321 [Wycliffe, *The Old Testament*, Genesis 3.8, 1380])
- (6) *And Adam **hyd hymselfe** and his wyfe also from the face of the LORDe God.*
 (Peitsara 1997: 322 [Wycliffe, *The Old Testament*, Genesis 3.8, 1380])

Unfortunately, such detailed information is not available for Middle Welsh *X hun(an)*, making it challenging to compare the development of the two languages.

The present chapter makes a first attempt to carry out such a comparison with the help of a quantitative study. The paper is organised as follows: section 2 summarises the relevant typological and diachronic research on intensifiers developing into reflexive markers. Section 3 examines the number of occurrences of *X hun(an)* in the *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg* corpus, their function and their distribution according to text types. Section 4 will then analyse the function of *X hun(an)* as a part of constructions coding reflexive events as well as the semantics and syntax of the verbs with which it occurs considering also the material contained in the *Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif* corpus. Finally, the instances of *X hun(an)* as a reflexive marker will be discussed in detail with regard to date, distribution and possible triggers of the change.

2 Typological and diachronic aspects

An intensifier can be adjoined to each constituent of a clause, referring to the entity expressed by this very constituent. Examples (7a) and (7b) from König (2001: 748) illustrate this use for two different constituents. In (7a) the intensifier is adjoined to the NP coding the agent and refers to it (adnominal use). In (7b), the intensifier is adjoined to the VP (adverbial use). Because a verbal action presupposes the presence of an agent, the intensifier refers not only to the action itself, but also, and even predominantly, to the agent who performs it intentionally. Gast and Siemund (2006: 366) thus propose the term “actor-oriented” instead of “adverbial” for the type in (7b), which will be adopted here.⁶

⁶ Gast and Siemund (2006: 366, 371) describe the function of an ‘actor-oriented’ intensifier as ‘role disambiguation’. The intensifier blocks middle readings of polyfunctional verbal or pronominal middle markers, stating who is the intentional agent.

- (7) a. **The President himself** will attend the ceremony. (adnominal use)
 b. The President **wrote** his speech **himself**. (adverbial/actor-oriented use)
 (König 2001: 748; Gast and Siemund 2006: 349)

The basic function of intensifiers is to evoke alternatives to the referent of their focus. In doing so, they structure the set of referents belonging to a certain situation into a centre expressed by the intensified constituent and a periphery (König 2001: 749).

Intensifiers thus express co-reference with their head like reflexives, but their function is pragmatic instead of syntactic. In combination with reflexives they have a disambiguating function, i.e. adnominal intensifiers are used for referential disambiguation and actor-oriented intensifiers are used for role disambiguation (Gast and Siemund 2006: 363, 370).

Intensifiers are thus often adjoined to “full reflexives”, i.e. transitive events in which the agent performs an action on him- or herself (8b), which he or she normally performs on a patient (8a). The self-direction of the action is unexpected and thus semantically marked, especially in the case of negative actions. The optional intensifier in (8c) from German is actor-oriented and emphasises that the actor intentionally performed this act. English does not allow an equivalent differentiation, because the reflexive and the intensifier are identical and the sequence **himself himself* is ungrammatical (Kemmer 1993: 52; König 2001: 758; Gast and Siemund 2006: 366).

- (8) a. English: *He kills his neighbour.*
 b. English: *He kills himself.*
 c. German: *Er tötet sich selbst.*
 he kill_{3SG.PRES} REFL self
 ‘He kills himself.’

Because of this functional and semantic overlap, intensifiers have the potential to develop into reflexives, and, undergoing grammaticalisation, intensifiers share a first functional expansion as markers of “full reflexives”.

2.1 Grammaticalisation pathway of intensifiers/reflexives

Figure 1 illustrates the grammaticalisation path for Proto-Indo-European (PIE) **s(y)e-*, which probably was originally an intensifier. In the Romance, Germanic, Baltic and Slavic languages, it is the root of reflexive pronouns and of reflexive verbal endings, which prototypically express co-reference of the agent and the

Figure 1: The functional development of of PIE *s(u)e from PIE to Romance.

patient of a transitive verb. From there, their scope spread to further domains of detransitive voice, such as middle voice, reciprocal, anticausative, impersonal or passive. Although the individual languages have reached different stages of grammaticalisation, the development of their functional extensions follow the same unidirectional grammaticalisation path (Haspelmath 2003: 235 with Figure 8.18).⁷

On the other hand, English *X-self* and Welsh *X hun(an)* cover mainly the first stages of the grammaticalization path. Both markers originate from intensifiers and are still used for this function (Figure 2).

Figure 2: The functional scope of Engl. *X-self* and Welsh *X hun(an)*.

The Modern English and Modern Welsh markers are used as full reflexives. In addition, they can also be found with verbs belonging to various middle situation types, but on the whole marking is much rarer than with corresponding verbs in

⁷ See Irslinger (2014b: 166–168) with an overview of recent studies on PIE *s(u)e and its developments in different languages. See also Harbert (2007: 327) on Germanic, Stéfanini (1962: 114) on Romance.

languages like German or French. In Figure 2, this expansion is therefore represented by broken lines. The fact that the same expression is employed for intensifiers and reflexive anaphors prevents their use as markers of derived intransitivity to a certain extent (König and Siemund 2000: 65), e.g. in verb pairs belonging to the inchoative / causative alternation.⁸ In German or French, an unmarked transitive can be clearly distinguished from its intransitive counterpart, which is marked by *sich* or *se* respectively, in (9a) and (9b). On the other hand, English and Welsh possess a considerable number of “labile” verbs that can be constructed transitively or intransitively, where no additional marker is needed in the second case, as in (9c) and (9d) (Poppe 2009: 262–264).

9. a. German: *Sie öffnet die Tür.*
 she open_{3SG.PRES} the_{ACC.SG.FEM} door
 ‘She opens the door.’
 versus *Die Tür öffnet sich.*
 the_{NOM.SG.FEM} door opens_{3SG.PRES} REFL
 ‘The door opens.’
 b. French: *Elle ouvre la porte.*
 she opens_{3SG.PRES} the_{SG.FEM} door
 ‘She opens the door.’
 versus *La porte s’ouvre.*
 the_{SG.FEM} door REFL opens_{3SG.PRES}
 ‘The door opens.’
 c. English: *She opens the door.*
 versus *The door opens.*
 d. Welsh: *Mae hi ‘n agor y drws.*
 be_{3SG.PRES} she PRED open_{VN} DEF door
 ‘She opens the door.’
 versus *Mae ‘r drws yn agor.*
 be_{3SG.PRES} DEF door PRED open_{VN}
 ‘The door opens.’

However, this parallelism between English and Welsh can be found only in the modern period. In Middle Welsh, the verbal prefix *ym-* is productively employed to transform transitive verbs into intransitive ones, expressing a broad range of middle functions. The marker, which originates from the Proto-Celtic

⁸ Nevertheless, such verbs are not absent from English and the number of lexicalised reflexive verbs, motion middles and anticausatives has been increasing since the Middle English period, cf. Siemund (2010, 2014).

preposition **ambi*- ‘about, at all sides’ is predominantly used as a marker of reciprocity. However, it occurs also with verbs denoting the other middle situation types established by Kemmer (1993: 16–20), such as body care, body motion, change of body position, benefactive middle, cognition middle and spontaneous events (anticausatives) (Irslinger 2017c: 116–123). Occasionally, *ym*-verbs can also act as full reflexives. Given that a full reflexive function is the first step an intensifier goes through when expanding its scope by grammaticalization, an analysis of such a function is crucial to understanding when and how the intensifier *X hun(an)* developed into a reflexive marker.

2.2 Middle Welsh *X hun(an)* in previous research

Evans (1964: 89, §98) introduces *X hun(an)* as the Middle Welsh “reflexive pronoun” in the standard handbook *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*, adducing a great number of examples that illustrate its use. However, he does not make a distinction between the functions of reflexive marker and intensifier, and most of the examples actually contain intensifying *X hun*, like in (10) through (13). When translating Middle Welsh into Modern English, Evans renders Middle Welsh *X hun(an)* in most cases as English *X-self*. The difference becomes apparent only in languages in which reflexives and intensifiers are not identical, like e.g. German.⁹ For the sake of clarity, German translations have been added to Evans’ English ones.

- (10) *e ’r amherauder e hun*
 to DEF emperor 3SG_{MASC.INTS}
 ‘to the emperor himself / zum Kaiser selbst’ (Jones 1939: 336.33 [*Gwyrtheu Mair*])
- (11) *neu ’r diffetheist du hun*
 PTC PERF destroy_{2SG.PRET} 2SG_{INTS}
 ‘thou thyself hast destroyed / du selbst hast zerstört’ (Williams 1951: 20.29 [*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*])
- (12) *yr a gewssynt e hun*
 DEF PTC get_{3PL.PRET} 3PL_{INTS}
 ‘what they themselves had got / was sie selbst bekommen hatten’ (Williams 1951: 46.27 [*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*])

⁹ König (2001: 751–752), Haspelmath (2001: 1501).

- (13) *dy anwybot dy hun*
 2SG_{POSS} ignorance 2SG_{INTS}
 ‘thy own ignorance / dein eigenes Unwissen’ (Williams 1951: 2.12–13
 [*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*])

Only in three examples – (14), (15) and perhaps in (57) below – does *X hun(an)* function as a reflexive marker. In German, this is rendered as the reflexive pronoun *dich*¹⁰ followed by the intensifier *selbst*.

- (14) *na chapla dy hun*
 NEG reprove_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{REFL}
 do not reprove thyself / tadle dich nicht selbst’ (Lewis 1925: 23.28 [*Cynghorau Catwn*])

- (15) *ony ledy dy hun*
 unless kill_{2SG.PRES} 2SG_{REFL}
 ‘unless thou dost kill thyself / außer wenn du dich (selbst) tötest’ (Jones 1941: 24.25 [*Cynghorau Catwn*])

This construction co-occurs with the one in (16), in which the verb *hoffi* ‘to praise’ is turned into the prefixed *ym·hoffi* ‘praise oneself’. Here *X hun* functions as an intensifier.

- (16) *nac ym·hoffa vyth dy hun*
 NEG PV·praise_{2SG.IMPV} ever 2SG_{INTS}
 ‘do not ever praise thyself / lobe dich niemals selbst’ (Lewis 1925: 29.37
 [*Cynghorau Catwn*])

Parina (2007) criticises this analysis, arguing that the instances of *X hun* contained in the Middle Welsh text *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (PKM, ca. 26,000 words) are to be considered as intensifiers corresponding to the different types established by typological research (by König 2001 and others). Parina also maintains that this text contains no instances of full reflexives coded with *X hun(an)*.

The examination of the *ym*-verbs contained in PKM by Irslinger (2017c) yielded no examples of full reflexives like in (16) either. Instead, all *ym*-verbs in said text were found to belong to the group of middle situation types. This

¹⁰ The special reflexive pronoun *sich* only figures in the third person. In all other persons, the respective personal pronoun in dative or accusative case is used, cf. Irslinger (2014b: 171–172).

clearly shows that the corpus of PKM is too small to contain all possible expressions of reflexivity in Middle Welsh.

3 The corpus-based study

3.1 The corpora: *Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif* and *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425*

The following study is based on the corpora *Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif: Fersiwn 2.0* (Isaac et al. 2013) and *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg* (Luft, Thomas and Smith 2013),¹¹ covering together the whole period of Middle Welsh.

Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif contains nearly half a million words from 27 texts preserved in 17 manuscripts. The main textual genres represented are history and law, which together, in approximately equal parts, make up about 90 percent of the corpus.¹² The remaining 10 percent includes mostly short or fragmentary texts belonging to the Mabinogion, natural history, religion, romance, and wisdom literature.

Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425 contains some 2.8 million words from over 100 texts belonging to different genres and preserved in 54 manuscripts. The corpus contains texts belonging to all medieval genres, namely genealogy, geography, grammar, history, law, Mabinogion, medicine, natural history, religion, romance and wisdom literature.¹³

¹¹ Texts, titles and manuscripts pages/folios are cited according to *Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif* and *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg / Welsh Prose 1300–1425* unless stated otherwise. Translations are my own, unless another author is indicated.

¹² The history section consists of three versions of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* from NLW MS. Peniarth 44, Llanstephan 1 and the Dingestow Court manuscript (NLW MS. 5266). Although these texts are independent translations from Latin, they are nevertheless very similar. Occasional passages with identical wordings are due to coincidence (Sims-Williams 2016: 55). The law texts from British Library Cotton Caligula A.iii, NLW MS. Peniarth 29, NLW MS. Peniarth 30, British Library Cotton Titus D.ii and British Library Additional 14931 all belong to the Iorwerth redaction. Due to the special character of this textual genre, they contain many passages with identical readings, which are also preserved in the later versions of *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425*.

¹³ Lange (2007: 81–82) states that in Old English the occurrence of intensifiers is genre-sensitive. They are found more frequently in texts closer to oral registers and directly addressing the reader, while they are rarer in scientific and formal registers. This seems to be the case in Middle Welsh as well, but it is not possible to test this hypothesis at the time being. *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg* gives separate word counts only for the manuscripts, which mostly contain texts belonging to different genres, but not for the texts themselves.

3.2 Quantitative and functional analysis of *X hun(an)*

The analysis in the present section is based on *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425* alone, which is more representative and balanced because of its size and textual variation. The results will therefore describe the language of the second half of the Middle Welsh period. Nevertheless, they are also valid for the earlier period covered by *Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif*, as all functional types are also found there in roughly similar proportions. In addition, the *Bruts* and especially the law texts contain passages, which have identical or very similar counterparts in the later versions. *Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif* will be considered in detail in section 4.

With the help of the wordlist, the *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425* has been searched for all occurrences of *hun*, *hunan* and *hunein* in different spellings, including misspellings. The following homographs were then excluded: *hun*, *hvn* ‘sleep’, *hun*, *hvn* ‘one, only’ (including *hun* used attributively and *yr hun* introducing a relative clause), *hvn* as an unusual spelling of the demonstratives *hwn*, *hynn* and a handful of unclear instances. The corpus yielded 4,091 instances of *X hun*¹⁴ (Table 2).

Table 2: Instances of *X hun* in *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425* sorted by genre.

	Instances	
	All	Different
Genealogy	–	–
Geography	21	18
Grammar	24	18
History	1548	546
Law	677	316
Mabinogion	228	128

¹⁴ In the rest of the chapter, *X hun* will be used in place of all graphic and grammatical variants, i.e. *X hun(an)*, *X hvn(an)* and plural *X hunein*, *X hvnein*, *X huneyn*, *X hvneyn*.

Table 2 (continued)

	Instances	
	All	Different
Medicine	34	26
Natural History	4	4
Religion	792	328
Romance	631	408
Wisdom	132	116
Total	4091	1908

In medieval corpora, popular texts are typically preserved in multiple copies that are more or less identical. The *Brut y Brenhinoedd* or the *Ystoria Carolo Magno: Chronicl Turpin* for example occur in fifteen manuscripts. While similar, albeit different, wordings show the range of possible expressions for a certain concept, identical passages are duplicates that would distort the results of a quantitative analysis. These duplicates have thus been eliminated from the corpus, reducing the data by more than half.

Table 3 lists all constructions with *X hun* in the corpus. Duplicates were identified according to the following criteria: If the same construction is involved or if the same constituent is intensified, passages are considered as duplicates even if they were lexically different. In (17) and (18), *e hun* follows a personal pronoun as an adnominal intensifier. Although different pronouns are involved, i.e. *ynteu* and *efo*, the passage was counted only once.

In the cases where the constructions were different or *X hun* occurred with another constituent, the passages were considered as different, even when the rest was identical. In contrast to (17) and (18), *e hun* following the verb *aeth* is an actor-oriented intensifier in (19). This passage was thus counted as a separate instance.

- (17) *ac ynteu e hun a aeth y gastell dimlyot*
and 3SG_{MASC} 3SG_{MASC.INTS} PTC went_{3SG.PRET} to castle Dimlyot
'and he himself went to Dimlyot Castle' (*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; Oxford Jesus College Manuscript 111, page 38^r (149): 29)

- (18) *ac efo e hun a aeth y gastel dimloec*
 and 3SG_{MASC} 3SG_{MASC.INTS} PTC went_{3SG.PRET} to castle Dimloec
 ‘and he himself went to Dimloec Castle’ (*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; NLW MS. 3035 (Mostyn 116), page 61^v: 13)

- (19) *ac ynteu a aeth e hun yg castell dimlot*
 and 3SG_{MASC} PTC went_{3SG.PRET} 3SG_{MASC.INTS} to castle Dimlot
 ‘and he went to Dimlot Castle himself’ (*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; NLW MS. Peniarth 46, page 254: 16)

There are no functional differences between the variants *X hun* and *X hunan* or between the use of singular and plural forms *e hun* and *e(u) hunein*. Accordingly, the passages containing these variants were considered as identical.

3.3 Constructions with *X hun*

The 1,908 instances of *X hun* contained in *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425* were analysed according to their function. The results are listed in Table 3. According to this analysis, *X hun* is employed mainly (i.e. in at least in 97.33% of the cases) as an intensifier in the different constructions illustrated in 3.2.1.

In 51 instances, *X hun* following a verb or verbal noun occurs in situations that comply with the definition of “full reflexives”. However, it would be mistaken to assume that *X hun* has the function of a reflexive marker in all these cases. Rather, these instances show a number of different constructions, which will be examined in detail in section 4 to determine the function of *X hun*.

3.3.1 Adnominal intensifiers

Adnominal intensifiers follow a NP or proper name (20), a NP preceded by a possessive adjective (21), a pronoun (22)¹⁵ or a prepositional pronoun (23) respectively. Both the simple NP and the construction POSS+NP may or may not be preceded by a preposition, e.g. *y henw e hvn* ‘his own name’, *o ’y henw e hvn*

¹⁵ The stressed possessive pronoun *eidaw* is used both predicatively and substantivised, cf. Evans (1964: 54–55) and *eGPC* (s.v. *eiddo*) for the respective constructions. The 17 instances of *e hun* following substantivised *eidaw* have been counted as POSS+NP in Table 3.

Table 3: Quantitative functional analysis of *X hun* in *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425*.

	n.c. ¹⁶		Intensifier adjoined to:						“full reflexive event”
			NP	POSS+NP	pron.	prepos. pron.	head	verb	
Genealogy	0								
Geography	18		1	4	2	4	4	2	1
Grammar	18		6			9	2	1	
History	546	1	75	213	70	88	11	79	9
Law	316		20	121	52	39	23	61	
Mabinogion	128		18	48	12	18	8	24	
Medical	26		3	7	1	12		3	
Natural Hist.	4		1	1	1	1			
Religious	328		66	98	26	63	10	49	16
Romance	408	1	86	113	41	64	15	74	14
Wisdom	116		6	42	6	24	4	23	11
Total	1908	2	282	647	211	322	77	316	51
Percentage ¹⁷	100.00		14.78	33.91	11.06	16.87	4.04	16.56	

‘from his own name’. In most genres, the POSS+NP type is significantly more frequent than all other types.

The examples are given within their contexts to illustrate the function of the intensifiers, i.e. structuring the respective situations according to the roles of the participants involved, which may be either central or peripheral.

- (20) [*Ac yny diwet hwn pypm kenedyl yssyd yny chyuanhedu nyd amgen. norma-
nyeit. bryttannyeit. saesson. fichtieit. ac ysgottieit.*]

ac o hynny oll nyd oed gynt yn y
and of PROX all NEG be_{3SG.IMPF} before in 3PL_{POSS}

16 n.c. = not classified: due to corruption of the manuscript, it was impossible to determine the context and thus the function of *X hun*.

17 Values were rounded off to the second decimal place.

medu o 'r mor pwy gilyd namyn bryttannieit
 possess_{VN} from DEF sea to another except Britons
eu hun.

3PL_{INTS}

['And today, there are five nations who inhabit it, namely the Normans, the Britons, the Saxons, the Picts, and the Scots] and of all these, in the past no one possessed it from sea to sea, but the Britons themselves.' (*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS B V part i, page 2^v: 7–9)

- (21) *ac y dodes ynteu ar y ran kymre*
 and PTCL put_{3SG.PRET} 3SG on 3SG_{MASC.POSS} part Cambria
o 'y henw e hvn.
 from 3SG_{MASC.POSS} name 3SG_{MASC.INTS}
 'and he called his part Cambria from his own name.' (Parry 1937: 24 [*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS B V part i, page 11^v: 3])

- (22) [*Sef y rodes y auarwy y nei. llundein ac yarllaeth keint. Ac a rodes y the-
 neuan y nei y llall yarllaeth kernyw.*]
Ac ynteu e hun yn vrenhin ar gwbyl.
 and 3SG_{MASC} 3SG_{MASC.INTS} in king on whole
 ['To Avarwy his nephew he gave London and the Earldom of Kent, and to Tenevan, his other nephew, he gave the Earldom of Cornwall,] and he himself was king over the whole.' (Parry 1937: 70 [*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS B V part i, page 34^v: 23])

- (23) [*a choffau na wnathoed y vrawd ydaw ef dim o'r cam.*]
namyn ef a wnathoed cam y 'v vrawd
 but 3SG_{MASC} PTCL do_{3SG.PLPF} wrong to 3SG_{MASC.POSS} brother
ac idaw e hvn.
 and to_{3SG.MASC} 3SG_{MASC.INTS}
 ['and to remember that his brother had done him no wrong,] but that he had done wrong to his brother and to himself' (Parry 1937: 50 [*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS B V part i, page 24^v: 15])

The characteristic morphology of Middle Welsh prepositional objects in (23) contrasts clearly with Old English, where intensifiers after prepositional objects are also frequent (van Gelderen 2000: 47). On the one hand, most Middle Welsh prepositions possess personalised forms originating mostly from their fusion with following personal pronouns, the so-called “prepositional pronouns” or

“inflected prepositions”; *idaw* ‘to him’, for example, is the third singular masculine of *y* ‘to’. On the other hand, the preposition and the following pronoun are separate units in Old English (example 24).

- (24) *heht hie bringan to him selfum*
 order_{3SG.PRET} her_{ACC} bring_{INF} to him_{DAT} self_{DAT}
 ‘ordered (them) to bring her to himself.’ (van Gelderen 2000: 47 [*Genesis* 2629])

3.3.2 Intensifiers as heads

Like English *X-self*, *X hun* can occur alone, without a preceding noun or pronoun, thus claiming the function of a pronoun for itself.¹⁸ This use is frequently found in comparisons after *no(c)* ‘than’, and after *kanys* ‘since’, *namyn* ‘but’ and *onyt* ‘except’, but also without any preceding word, as in (25). In all cases, the use of a personal pronoun or a personal pronoun + intensifier would be possible as well.

Almost without exception, *X hun* as a head codes the subject, but in a few cases it is found after uninflected prepositions.

- (25) [*Arglwydi heb ef pei barnewch wi oll ellwg hengyst.*]
Mu hunan *a ’e lladwn ef.*
 1SG_{INTS} PTCL 3SG_{MASC.INFX} kill_{1SG.IMPF.SUBJ} 3SG_{MASC}
 [‘Lords, said he, if you all would judge to release Hengist,] (I) myself would kill him.’ (lit.: ‘It’s myself, who would kill him.’) (*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; Cardiff MS. 1.362 [Hafod 1], page 63^v: 19)

3.3.3 Actor-oriented (adverbial) intensifiers

Actor-oriented intensifiers are further subdivided into two types: exclusive and inclusive. In the exclusive type (26a), the meaning of the intensifier corresponds roughly to *personally*, in the inclusive type (26b) the intensifier could be replaced by *too*, *also* (König 2001: 748).

¹⁸ Evans (1964: 89) calls these intensifiers “heads”, while Parina (2007: 394) labels the function “diskursiv [discursive]”.

- (26) a. *I have swept this court **myself**. Nobody helped me.*
 b. *I have **myself** swept this court. I know how difficult that is.*

Welsh uses identical markers for both types (Parina 2007: 393). Example (27) illustrates the actor-oriented exclusive use, which is the predominant one in the corpus.¹⁹

- (27) *ac y cladpwyf ef yn y gaer a*
 and PTCL bury_{PRET.IMPS} 3SG_{MASC} in DEF city PTCL
adeiliassei e hunan yn anrydedus.
 build_{3SG.PLPF} 3SG_{MASC.INTS} PTCL honourable
 ‘and he was buried honourably in the city which he had built himself.’
 (*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. B V part i, page 11^r: 21)

3.3.4 Additional resumptive pronouns

An additional pronoun can stand between the intensified constituent and the intensifier, cf. (28) with a prepositional pronoun and (29) with a possessive construction. This pronoun refers to the intensified constituent.

However, since the presence or absence of additional pronouns can be observed frequently in otherwise identical versions, the pragmatic effect does not seem to be very significant. The author of the Cotton Cleopatra version of the *Brut* has a strong preference for them. Overall, resumptive pronouns are relatively rare. They occur most frequently after finite verb forms, i.e. in 8.54% of all verbs followed by intensifiers.²⁰

- (28) [*A gorchymyn a oruc aganipus yr freinc ar eu heneit ac ev hanreith eu bod*
kyn vfydet y lyr ac yw verch.]
ac y bythynt idaw ef e hvn.
 and PTCL be_{3PL.HAB.} to_{3SG.MASC} 3SG_{MASC} 3SG_{MASC.INTS}
 [‘And Aganippus bade the French, on their lives and their possessions, to
 be as obedient to Lear and to his daughter] as they would be to himself’]

¹⁹ Out of 316 instances of actor-oriented intensifiers, only about 20 appear to be inclusive. In several cases, however, it was not immediately evident which use was intended. A more detailed examination would be necessary.

²⁰ NP + pronoun: 2 instances; possessive NP + pronoun: 29; pronoun + pronoun: 1; prepositional pronoun + pronoun: 20; verb + pronoun: 27. In Table 3, these numbers are contained in the counts of the respective groups.

(Parry 1937: 39–40 [*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. B V part i, page 19^v: 1])

- (29) [*ac yna y dodes corineus ar y ran ef . . .*]
o’ y henw ef e hun kerniw.
from 3SG_{MASC.POSS} name 3SG_{MASC} 3SG_{MASC.INTS} Cornwall
[‘And then Corineus named his part . . .] Cornwall after his own name’
(Parry 1937: 23 [*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. B V part i, page 11^r: 9])

4 Ym-verbs and simple verbs + X hun

4.1 Semantics

In Middle Welsh, both *ym*-verbs and simple verbs occur with *X hun*, coding “full reflexives” and similar situation types. The following section will thus give a semantic analysis of the two groups.

In this section, the nineteen examples found in *Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif* will be considered as well. In the following tables, the numbers in the first column refer to these nineteen examples. Those in the second to the attestations in *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425*.

Table 4: Semantics and frequency of *ym*-verbs followed by *X hun*.

	Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif	
<i>am</i> - ‘about’	1	<i>ymdeith</i> ‘to walk about’
	1	? <i>ymogel</i> ‘to take care’ (< **‘to watch about’?)
reciprocal	1	<i>ymguro</i> ‘to beat (one another or oneself)’, here: reciprocal
body care	1	<i>ymwisc</i> ‘to dress’
	1	<i>amgreffinnaw</i> ‘to scratch oneself’
body movement	1	<i>ymdroi</i> ‘to turn (oneself)’
	1	<i>ymdyrchafel</i> ‘to raise (oneself)’
spontaneous event	1	<i>ymdangos</i> ‘to appear, to show oneself’
	2	<i>ymagor</i> ‘to open’ (of doors)
benefactive (prototypical)	1	<i>ymwledu</i> ‘to feast’ (or reciprocal?)
	1	<i>ymborth</i> ‘to feed, sustain (oneself)’

Table 4 (continued)

Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif			
benefactive (marked) / positive self-directed actions / reflexive	1	1	<i>emdiffryd</i> 'to defend oneself'
		2	<i>ymgyuoethogi</i> 'to enrich oneself'
	4	1	<i>ymdyrchauel</i> 'to raise oneself (to kingship)'
		1	<i>ymwneuthur yn vrenhin</i> 'to make oneself king'
		1	<i>ymwneuthur yn iach</i> 'to save oneself'
		1	<i>ymwassanaethu</i> 'to serve oneself'
	12	4	<i>ymrydhau</i> 'to free oneself'
		1	<i>ymroddi</i> 'to give oneself, to submit oneself'
			<i>ymostegu</i> 'to calm oneself, to maintain silence'
self-awareness		2	<i>ymadnabot</i> 'to know oneself'
self-improvement	1		<i>ymbrofi</i> 'to prove oneself'
self-love		3	<i>ymhoffi</i> 'to praise oneself'
		1	<i>ymuoli</i> 'to praise/admire oneself'
self-criticism		1	<i>ymddiheuraw</i> 'to excuse oneself'
		2	<i>ymgeryddu</i> 'to reproach oneself, to punish oneself'
		1	<i>oneself</i>
			<i>ymgyfyawnhau</i> 'to justify oneself'
negative self-directed actions		1	<i>ymdoddi</i> 'to consume oneself'
		1	<i>ymlycru</i> 'to corrupt oneself'
self-punishment	1	2	<i>emboeni</i> 'to punish oneself'
			<i>ymgosbi</i> 'to punish oneself'
suicide	1	1	<i>ymdihennidio</i> 'to execute oneself'
		2	<i>ymgrogi</i> 'to hang oneself'

I argued above (section 2.2) that in the combination *ym*-verb + *X hun* the prefix codes co-reference, while *X hun* functions as an actor-oriented intensifier added for role disambiguation. As stated by Gast and Siemund (2006: 365–367, 370), the intensifier blocks middle readings of polyfunctional verbal (or pronominal) middle markers, stating who is the intentional agent. This is confirmed by the fact that all instances found in the database are reflexive or belong to middle situation types, whereas reciprocal *ym*-verbs are almost absent. One example is *ym-guro* 'to beat (one another or oneself)' (*Ystoriau Saint Greal*, NLW MS. Peniarth 11, page 239^v: 9), which in the passage in question is clearly reciprocal.

Table 4 lists them according to the increasing markedness of co-reference, starting with typical middle situation types, covering a number of different

positive and negative self-directed actions and ending with the highly marked verbs denoting suicide. Of course, it is sometimes difficult to determine, for the verbs located in the middle of the table, where the benefactive middle ends and the full reflexive starts. While *ymdyrchafel* ‘to raise (oneself)’ belongs to the middle situation types when denoting a body movement, it is instead benefactive and self-directed when denoting a metaphorical movement such as a rise in rank (‘to raise oneself to kingship’). *Ymroddi* ‘to give oneself, to submit oneself’ is, with its 16 attestations across different genres, the most frequent verb.

The unprefixed verbs listed in Table 5 cover the same semantic fields, i.e. positive and negative self-directed actions, including even the more detailed semantics like self-awareness, self-punishment or suicide. As with the *ym*-verbs, synonymous or nearly synonymous verbs are available for several meanings, implying that the semantic scope of both groups is actually relatively small.

Table 5: Semantics and frequency of simple verbs + *X hun* in “reflexive” situations. PRON indicates that co-reference is expressed by an infixed pronoun or a possessive adjective, rather than by *X hun*.

Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif			
reflexive, “neutral”	1	1	PRON <i>bwrw X hun</i> ‘to throw oneself’ (to the ground) 1 PRON <i>ffustyaw X hun</i> ‘to beat oneself’ (of a bell) 1 PRON <i>kymunaw X hun</i> ‘to communicate oneself’ (religious) PRON <i>rhwymyo X hun</i> ‘to bind oneself’ (by contract)
benefactive / positive self-directed actions	5	8	PRON <i>amdiffyn X hun</i> ‘to defend oneself’ 1 PRON <i>cymorth X hun</i> ‘to help oneself’ 3 PRON <i>gwneuthur X hun yn iach</i> ‘to make oneself safe’ 1 PRON <i>nerthau X hun</i> ‘to help oneself’ 2 <i>gwneuthur X hun yn iach</i> ‘to make oneself safe’ 1 <i>amdiffyn X hun</i> ‘to defend oneself’ 2 <i>iachau X hun</i> ‘to save oneself’ 2 <i>gwneuthur X hun yn iach</i> ‘to make oneself safe’
self-awareness self-improvement	1		<i>adnabot X hun</i> ‘to know oneself’ 1 PRON <i>ymendio X hun</i> ‘to amend oneself’ ²¹ 1 <i>ardymheru X hun</i> ‘to moderate oneself’ 1 <i>kymedroli X hun</i> ‘to moderate oneself’

²¹ *Ymendáu* ‘to rectify, improve’, with its variants *amendio*, *emendio* and *mendio*, is not an *ym*-verb, but a borrowing from Old French *amender* ‘to correct’. It also constructed both transitively and intransitively.

Table 5 (continued)

Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif		
self-love	1	PRON <i>ganmawl X hun</i> ‘to praise oneself’
	2	<i>moli X hun</i> ‘to praise oneself’
self-criticism	1	PRON <i>angreiffto X hun</i> ‘to reproach oneself’
	1	PRON <i>angreitho X hun</i> ‘to reproach oneself’
	1	PRON <i>barnu ehun</i> ‘to judge oneself’
	1	PRON <i>galw X hun</i> ‘to call oneself (a wretch)’
	1	PRON <i>kymryt X hun</i> ‘to take oneself (for a fool)’
negative self-directed actions	1	PRON <i>gwatwaru X hun</i> ‘to ridicule oneself’
	1	PRON <i>gweled X hun</i> ‘to see / consider oneself (as ugly)’
	1	PRON <i>roddi X hun</i> ‘to give oneself (in danger)’
	1	PRON <i>taraw X hun</i> ‘to strike oneself’
	1	PRON <i>twyllaw X hun</i> ‘to cheat oneself’
	1	PRON <i>ymelldigo X hun</i> ‘to curse oneself’
	1	<i>cablu X hun</i> ‘to blame oneself’
self-punishment	1	<i>cnoi X hun</i> ‘to chew up oneself’
	2	PRON <i>poeni X hun</i> ‘to punish oneself’
suicide	2	3 PRON <i>brathu X hun</i> ‘to stab oneself’
	1	3 PRON <i>lladd X hun</i> ‘to kill oneself’
	1	PRON <i>bot X hun yn y lad</i> ‘to kill oneself’ (lit. ‘to be oneself at one’s killing’)
		<i>llad X hun</i> ‘to kill oneself’

Table 6: Light-verb constructions with *gwneuthur* ‘to do’.

Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif			
suicide	1	1	<i>gwneuthur X hun y leith</i> ‘to effect oneself one’s death’
		1	<i>gwneuthur y leith X hun</i> ‘id.’ or ‘effect one’s own death’
	1	1	<i>gwneuthur X hun y dihenyd</i> ‘to effect oneself one’s death’

Finally, both groups also contain light-verb constructions with *gwneuthur* ‘to do’ (Table 6). In these examples, co-reference is not marked on the verb or verb phrase, but in the possessive that precedes the associated noun – see below, (63) to (66).

There are almost no unprefixated reflexive verbs with “neutral” semantics, i.e. in which the effect of the verbal action on the agent is neither explicitly positive nor negative. This statement is however not based on their verbal semantics alone, but on the precise contexts in which the verbs occur. Thus *gweled X hun* ‘to see / consider oneself as sth.’ or *galw X hun* ‘to call oneself sth.’ are neutral in principle, but in their actual contexts they convey a negative judgement of the agent about himself. *Ffustyaw X hun* ‘to beat oneself’, on the other hand, would be a negative self-directed action in the case of a human agent, but in the only attestation found in the corpus it refers to a bell.

The verbs listed in (30) occur with and without *ym-*, as in (31) and (32). Their semantics are largely synonymous, as some of them occur in similar contexts or in parallel versions of the same text.

- (30) *ymadnabod* : *adnabot X hun* ‘to know oneself’
ymboeni : PRON *poeni X hun* ‘to punish oneself’
ymuoli : *moli X hun* ‘to praise oneself’
ymwneuthur yn iach : *gwneuthur X hun yn iach* ‘to make oneself safe’

- (31) *Na vawl dy hun yn ormod ac na chapla*
 NEG praise_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{REFL} too much and NEG reproach_{2SG.IMPV}
dy hun yn ormod.
 2SG_{REFL} too much
 ‘Do not praise yourself too much and do not reproach yourself too much.’
 (Cynghorau Catwn; NLW MS. Llanstephan 27, page 168^r: 16)

- (32) *Nac ym-uawl du hun ac nac ym-hoffa du hun.*
 NEG PV.praise_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{INTS} and NEG PV.admire_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{INTS}
 ‘Do not praise yourself and do not admire yourself.’ (Cynghorau Catwn;
 NLW MS. Peniarth 3 part ii, page 38: 11)

If over time one strategy of reflexive marking is replaced by another, it is to be expected that both variants co-occurred during a transitional period. It is thus not surprising that verbs can be found both with and without prefix. In contrast to this, some verbs, like those denoting different types of suicide, always occur either prefixed or unprefixated. Some of these even contradict the typological rule according to which, in languages with two different reflexive markers, the heavier marker is used for the more marked situations (Kemmer 1993: 62). In this sense, the *ym*-verbs *ymdihennidio* ‘to execute oneself’ and *ymgrogi* ‘to hang

oneself' are atypical. On the other hand, *brathu X hun* 'to stab oneself' and *lladd X hun* 'to kill oneself' always occur unprefixes.

The reason for this unexpected behaviour may be that the corresponding *ym*-verb is widely used as a reciprocal or has already been lexicalised with another meaning. The default reading of verbs denoting different kinds of killing or killing with various kinds of weapons or instruments is reciprocal (33).

- (33) *llad* 'to kill' : *ymladd* 'to fight' (< *'to kill each other')
saethu 'to shoot, to fire' : *ymsaethu* 'to fire at each other'
taraw 'to strike' : *ymdaraw* 'to strike one another'
gwan 'to stab, to kill' : *ymwan* 'to joust, to fight in single combat'
brathu 'to stab' : **ymvrathu* 'to stab one another'

If a hypothetical **ymvrathu* were derived from transitive *brathu* 'to stab', its most likely meaning would be 'to stab one another' and not 'to stab oneself'. This is not an issue in the case of *ymgrogī* 'to hang oneself' and *ymdihennidīo* 'to execute oneself', as mutual hanging or executing is not possible.²²

Another lexicalised *ym*-verb is *ymwelet* 'to meet each other', so that *PRON gwelet X hun* translates Latin *se uidens* (34).

- (34) *gwelet* 'to see' : *ymwelet* 'to meet each other'

In the following case, the situation is even more complex, as the adjective *iach* 'healthy, well, whole' is the basis of four different verbs, one of which is an *ym*-verb (35). Although the semantics of *ymiachau* 'to bid farewell' are reciprocal, they cannot be derived from the underlying adjective or the corresponding unprefixes verbs (36), because in that case the meaning should be 'to heal each other'. The meaning 'to bid farewell' is rather based on the concept of 'leaving

²² An interesting typological parallel can be found in Modern Greek verbs with the meaning 'to kill oneself, to commit suicide'. Besides the compound αυτοκτονώ (active) 'to commit suicide', in which co-reference is expressed by the first constituent αυτο- 'self-', there are a number of other verbs with 'middle morphology', i.e. their inflection as medio-passives signals that the agent performs the action on him- or herself. Several verbs have additional meanings typical for other middle situation types e.g. spontaneous events like 'to perish', or intransitive 'to smash': σκοτώνω (active) 'to kill': σκοτώνομαι (middle) 'to kill oneself; to die, to perish, to struggle', κρεμώ (active) 'to hang': κρεμύμαι (middle) 'to hang oneself', απαγχονίζω (active) 'to hang': απαγχονίζομαι (middle) 'to hang oneself', τσακίζω (active) 'to break, to squeeze': τσακίζομαι (middle) 'to smash, to struggle, to kill oneself'.

each other in a healthy condition’ or ‘wishing each other health’. The lexicalised semantics of *ymiachau* thus seem to prevent a reflexive interpretation. On the contrary, the reflexive *iachau X hun* ‘to save oneself’, based on the unprefixed verb, displays the expected semantics.

- (35) adjective *iach* ‘healthy, well, whole’
 transitive *iachaf, iachu* ‘to heal, cure’
 transitive & *iachâf, iachâu* ‘to make whole(some), heal, cure; save’
 intransitive
 reflexive *iachau X hun* ‘to save oneself’
 reciprocal *ymiachau* ‘to bid farewell’
- (36) *ac heb ohir kymryt y bererin ffonn ae*
 and without delay take_{3SG.PRET} DEF pilgrim staff and-3SG_{MASC.POSS}
balmidyden. a ymiachau ae dylvyth a
 palm.branch and bid.farewell_{VN} with-3SG_{MASC.POSS} family PTCL
oruc. ac yr mor yd aeth.
 do_{3SG.PRET} and DEF sea PTCL go_{3SG.PRET}
 ‘and without delay he took his pilgrim staff and his palm branch, and he bade farewell to his family, and went to the sea.’ (*Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn*; NLW MS. Peniarth 5, page 148^v)

In Middle Welsh, *ym*-verbs are usually either reflexive or reciprocal but rarely both at the same time. This is different in German and French, where *sich* and *se* often mark both categories. In Welsh, it was only as late as the sixteenth century that some reciprocal verbs started to be used also as reflexives. For instance, *ymddiddan* ‘to speak with each other, to converse’ acquired the additional meaning ‘to amuse oneself’ (Irslinger 2017c: 119). Another example is *ymadnabod* (reciprocal ‘to know each other’), which in *Cynghorau Catwn* occurs as the equivalent of *adnabot X hun* ‘to know oneself’ (37). In addition to this single reflexive use, there are several attestations of reciprocal *ymadnabot* ‘to know each other’.

- (37) PRON *adnabot X hun* ‘to know oneself’ = *ymadnabot* ‘to know oneself’
ymadnabot ‘to know each other’

4.2 Syntax

From the lists above it becomes clear that in most cases the equivalent of an intransitive *ym*-verb with reflexive function is not the unprefixed verb + *X hun*, but rather the construction “pronoun + unprefixed verb + *X hun*”, whereby the pronoun codes the direct object of the transitive verb.

The pronoun is ambiguous with regard to co-reference in the third person. Thus the reader or listener has to infer from the context that the third person plural pronoun *eu* is used co-referentially in (38) and (39), but not in (40). As a consequence, intensifiers are frequently added for reference disambiguation.

- (38) [A gwedy gwelet o antigonus . . . yr aerua honno. neilltuaw a oruc]

a' y oreugwyr gyd ac ef. y geisiaw
and 3SG_{MASC.POSS} best.men with 3SG_{MASC} to try_{VN}

ev hamdiffin.

3PL_{POSS} defend_{VN}

[‘And after Antigonus . . . had seen this slaughter, he drew aside,] and his leading men with him, to try to defend themselves.’ (Parry 1937: 12 [*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. B V part i, page 5^v: 27])

- (39) [A gwedy nachaffant hynny. wynt a ervynnassant cannyat y adeiliat caer onadunt ev hun. kyulet achroen ech.]

y geisiaw ev hamdiffin rac ev gelynnnon.
to try_{VN} 3PL_{POSS} defend_{VN} from 3PL_{POSS} enemies

[‘And when they did not / get that, they asked for permission to build a fortress of their own, as broad as an ox-hide,] to try to defend themselves from their enemies.’ (Parry 1937: 12 [*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. B V part i, page 55^v: 19])

- (40) [A gwedy eu bod tridieu yn ymlat ar keystyll o bop ryw vod. ar gwyr. y mewn yn ymlad ac wynt yn wraul ac yn llaurus.]

anvon a orugant ar brutus y erchi idaw dyuot eu
send_{VN} PTCL do_{3SG•PRET} to Brutus to ask_{VN} to_{3SG.MASC} come_{VN} 3PL_{POSS}

hamdiffyn.

defend_{VN}

[*cans ny ellynt wy ymderbynnit ac wynt rac meynt y nyueroed allan.*]

[‘And after they had fought against the castles for three days in every sort of way, and the men within had fought them bravely and laboriously,] they sent to Brutus to ask him to come to defend them, [for, because of

the great numbers outside, they could not resist them.’] (Parry 1937: 12 [Brut y Brenhinoedd; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. B V part i, page 6^r: 10–11])

Pronouns coding coreferential or non-coreferential direct objects occur in two different constructions, i.e. with a finite verb or with a verbal noun:

- an infixed pronoun denoting the object precedes a finite transitive verb (41) (Evans 1964: 55);
- a possessive adjective precedes a noun (42).

This second construction is identical to the one discussed above in (21), except that the noun is replaced by a verbal noun. Both variants, i.e. POSS+VN and POSS+NOUN, occur in the parallel versions of *Saith Doethion Rhufain*, (42) and (43). On the formal level, the intensifier following a POSS+VN construction is, of course, adnominal. Nevertheless, these constructions, which outnumber those with finite verbs by far, will be discussed together with reflexive finite verbs.

Both the infixed or independent pronoun and the possessive marker agree with the subject (which is co-referent with the object) and the intensifier with regard to person, number and gender.

- (41) *Yna ef a’ e trewis e hun*
 Then 3SG_{MASC} PTCL 3SG_{MASC.INFX} strike_{3SG.PRET} 3SG_{MASC.INTS}
a’ e yluin y dan benn y vronn.
 with 3SG_{MASC.POSS} beak under 3SG_{MASC.POSS} breast
 ‘Then it [a bird] struck (it) itself with its beak under its breast.’ (*Ystoriau Saint Greal*; NLW MS. Peniarth 11, page 63^v: 24)

- (42) [*a chyndrwc yd aeth arnaw ef hynny.*]
a’ e vrathu e hun a wnaeth y dan
 and 3SG_{MASC.POSS} stab_{VN} 3SG_{MASC.INTS} PTCL do_{3SG.PRES} under
y vron a’ e gyllell
 3SG_{MASC.POSS} breast with 3SG_{MASC.POSS} knife
 [*yny dygwyd yn varw y’r llawr.*]
 [‘And he took it so ill, that] he stabbed (him) himself under his breast with his knife, [until he fell dead to the ground.’] (*Saith Doethion Rhufain*; Oxford Jesus College MS. 111, page 131^r (541): 34)

- (43) *a' e vrath e hun a wnaeth am benn*
 and 3SG_{MASC.POSS} stabbing 3SG_{MASC.INTS} PTCL do_{3SG.PRET} around top
y vron
 3SG_{MASC.POSS} breast
 'and he stabbed (him) himself under his breast with his knife.' (*Saith Doethion Rhufain*; Oxford Jesus College MS. 20, page 56^{av}: 1)

The very same constructions code pronominal direct objects of transitive verbs, cf. (44) with infixed pronouns and finite verbs and (40) above with the POSS+VN construction.

- (44) [*Ac ewythyry ydaw ef ehvn adylyhei gwledychu gwedy custennyn: ac ef a ryuelawd a hwnnw.*]
ac a' y delhiis ac a' y
 and PTCL 3SG_{MASC.INFX} capture_{3SG.PRET} and PTCL 3SG_{MASC.INFX}
rodes yng karchar.
 put_{3SG.PRET} in prison
 ['And his uncle should have ruled after Constantine; and he fought with him] and captured him and put him in prison.' (Parry 1937: 104 [*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. B V part i, page 96^v: 22–23])

The use of ambiguous pronouns plus disambiguating intensifiers is thus essentially the same as in Old English, as in (2) to (4) above. This strategy is still the predominant one in Middle Welsh (Table 7).

Both constructions are found in Modern Welsh as variants, cf. (45a) and (46a) with additional co-referential pronouns versus (45b) and (46b) without them.²³ Contrary to the development in English, the older strategy has not yet completely vanished in Welsh. Despite this, the pronominal constructions do not figure in all grammars of Modern Welsh.

- (45) a. *Fe 'i gwelodd ei hunan yn y drych.*
 PTCL 3SG_{FEM.INFX} see_{PRET} 3SG_{FEM.INTS} in DEF mirror
 'She saw herself in the mirror.' (Thomas 1996: 269)
 b. *Gwelodd ei hunan yn y drych.*
 see_{PRET} 3SG_{FEM.REFL} in DEF mirror
 'She saw herself in the mirror.' (Thomas 1996: 269)

²³ See Thomas (1996: 269), Borsley, Tallerman, and Willis (2007: 222), Poppe (2009: 254, footnote 7).

- (46) a. *Rwy 'n gallu fy ngweld fy hun*
be_{1SG PRES} PREDcan_{INV} 1SG_{POSS} see_{VN} 1SG_{INTS}
yn y drych.
in DEF mirror
'I can see myself in the mirror.' (Poppe 2009: 254, footnote 7)
- b. *Rwy 'n gallu gweld fy hun yn y drych.*
be_{1SG PRES} PRED can_{INV} see_{VN} 1SG_{REFL} in DEF mirror
'I can see myself in the mirror.' (Poppe 2009: 254, footnote 7)

Table 7 gives the distribution of *ym*-verbs and simple verbs followed by *X hun* coding “full reflexive” events from both corpora (cf. Tables 4, 5 and 6 above).

X hun can only be analysed as a reflexive marker in as few as 14 cases, and even some of these are controversial. One example is contained in *Rhyddiaith y 13eg Ganrif*, the others are found in *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg*. Accordingly, these 13 cases of reflexive *X hun* constitute 0.68 % of the 1,908 instances of *X hun* found in this corpus. Although this number validates the dating of the beginning of the use of *X hun* as a reflexive marker in the second part of the Middle Welsh period, it is certainly insufficient to justify Evans’ (1964: 89) labelling of *X hun* as the Middle Welsh “reflexive pronoun”.

Table 7: Distribution of *ym*-verbs and simple verbs followed by *X hun* coding “full reflexive” events.

		light-verb	<i>ym</i> -verb		simple verb		
		co-ref. not marked on VP		pron. + finite verb	poss. + vn	finite verb	vn
Genre	Total	<i>X hun</i> = intensifier			<i>X hun</i> = reflexive marker		
Genealogy							
Geography	2		1			1	
Grammar							
History	34	3	17	2	13		
Law	9		9				
Mabinogion							

Table 7 (continued)

		light-verb	ym-verb	simple verb			
		co-ref. not marked on VP		pron. + finite verb	poss. + vn	finite verb	vn
Genre	Total		<i>X hun</i> = intensifier		<i>X hun</i> = reflexive marker		
Medicine							
Nat. Hist.	1		1				
Religion	34	2	12		14	4	2
Romance	20		6	3	9	2	
Wisdom	23		12	3	3	5	
				8	39	12	2
Total	123	5	57	47		14	
Percentage	100,00	4,07	46,34	38,21		11,38	

4.3 *X hun* as a reflexive marker in the corpora

Table 8 lists the 14 instances of *X hun* as a reflexive marker together with additional information on the manuscripts that contain them, their dates according to *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425*²⁴ based on Huws (2000: 58–64) and the forms in which they are attested.

4.3.1 Distribution and date

The attestations range from the beginning to the end of the Middle Welsh period and are found both in earlier and later manuscripts. Reflexive *X hun* is slightly more frequent in fourteenth and fifteenth-century manuscripts (mainly the *Red Book of Hergest* and the *Red Book of Talgarth*), but it does not seem that older textual versions were systematically modernised during the process of copying. It is of course possible that the conservative written registers preserve features that had already largely been abandoned in the spoken language.

24 See <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/manuscripts.php>

Table 8: Attestations of reflexive *X hun* according to manuscripts (N = negator, IMPV = imperative 2SG).

Text	Manuscript	Date	Form	Verb
Bown de Hamtwn	Pen. 5 Jesus 111	1350 c. 1375–1425	N- 1SG	<i>moli X hun</i> ‘to praise oneself’
Credo Athana-sius, Introduction	Pen. 5	1350	VN	<i>adeilat X hun</i> ‘to edify oneself’
Cronicl Turpin	Pen. 5 Pen. 9 Jesus 111	1350 1300–1350 c. 1375–1425	3SG	<i>amdifffyn X hun</i> ‘to defend oneself’
Cyngh. Catwn	Pen. 3 pg. ii	c. 1275–1325	IMPV	<i>kymedroli X hun</i> ‘to moderate oneself’
Cyngh. Catwn	Llanst. 27	c. 1375–1425	IMPV	<i>adnabot X hun</i> ‘to know oneself’
Cyngh. Catwn	Llanst. 27	c. 1375–1425	IMPV	<i>ardymheru X hun</i> ‘to moderate oneself’
Cyngh. Catwn	Llanst. 27	c. 1375–1425	N- IMPV	<i>cablu X hun</i> ‘to blame oneself’
Cyngh. Catwn	Llanst. 27	c. 1375–1425	IMPV	<i>moli X hun</i> ‘to praise oneself’
Delw’r Byd	Jesus 111	c. 1375–1425	3PL	<i>cnoi X hun</i> ‘to chew up oneself’
Gwyrtheu Mair	Pen. 14	1250–1300	N- 2SG	<i>llad X hun</i> ‘to kill oneself’
Y Groglith	Pen. 7	c. 1275–1325	N- 3SG	<i>gwneuthur X hun yn iach</i> ‘to make oneself safe’
Y Groglith	Shrewsb. 11	c. 1375–1425	IMPV	<i>gwneuthur X hun yn iach</i> ‘to make oneself safe’
Y Groglith	Pen. 5 Llanst. 27	1350 c. 1375–1425	IMPV	<i>iachau X hun</i> ‘to save oneself’
Y Groglith	Pen. 5	1350	VN	<i>iachau X hun</i> ‘to save oneself’

Only *Y Groglith* shows some variation on the same passage, which renders Matthew 27:42 in (47). In the light-verb construction *gwneuthur X hun yn iach* ‘to make oneself safe’, *X hun* is used with a reflexive function in the oldest manuscript, Peniarth 7, in (48). On the other hand, the two younger versions make use of pronouns, as in (49) and (50). Peniarth 5 uses the synonymous verb *iachau* with reflexive *X hun*, in (51). Lastly, *Efengyl Nicodemus* adds another sentence expressing the same content again with a light-verb construction + intensifier, featuring the prefixed verb *ymwneuthur* (52).

(47) [*alios salvos fecit*]

se ipsum non potest saluum facere

REFL_{ACC} INTS_{ACC.SG} NEG can_{3SG.PRES} safe_{ACC.SG} make_{INF}

‘He made others safe;] (him) himself he cannot make safe.’ (Weber 2007 [Matthew 27: 42; *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*])²⁵

(48) *ereill a wna ef yn yach ac ny*
others PTCL make_{3SG.PRES} 3SG_{MASC} PRED safe and NEG

wna e hvn

make_{3SG.PRES} 3SG_{MASC.REFL}

‘He makes safe others, and he doesn’t make himself (safe).’ (*Y Groglith*; NLW MS. Peniarth 7, page 58^v (215): 2)

(49) [*Ereill heb wy a wnaei ef yn iach.*]

ac ny dichawn y wneuthur e hun.

and NEG be.able_{3SG.PRES} 3SG_{MASC.POSS} make_{VN} 3SG_{MASC.INTS}

‘[Others, they said, he saved] and he is not able to save (him) himself.’ (*Y Groglith*; NLW MS. Llanstephan 27, page 105^v: 17)

(50) *Ereill a wna yn iach ac ny ’s*
others PTCL make_{3SG.PRES} PRED safe and NEG 3SG_{MASC.INF}

gwna e hun

make_{3SG.PRES} 3SG_{MASC.INTS}

‘He makes safe others, and he doesn’t make (him) himself (safe).’ (*Y Groglith*; Shrewsbury MS. 11, page 113: 16)

²⁵ See also <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/startseite/wissenschaftliche-bibelausgaben/vulgata/>

- (51) [
- Ereill a wna ef yn iach.*
-]

ac ny eill iachau e hun.

and NEG can_{3SG.PRES} save_{VN} 3SG_{MASC.REFL}

‘[He saves others], and cannot save himself.’ (*Y Grogolith*; NLW MS. Peniarth 5, page 7^v: 20)

- (52) [
- Ereill a wnaei ef yn iach ac ny dichawn y wneuthur e hun.*
-]

Ym-wnaet yn iach e hun.

PV-do_{3SG.IMPF} PTCL safe 3SG_{MASC.INTS}

‘[He made safe others, and he is not able make himself (safe)] He shall make himself safe.’ (*Efengyl Nicodemus*; NLW MS. Peniarth 5, page 32^r: 14)

Texts with reflexive *X hun* usually also contain instances of the pronominal constructions, unless they are very short and thus do not possess many reflexive verbs altogether. The only exception is *Cynghorau Catwn*, which is the text with the highest number of reflexive *X hun* in the corpus.

The earliest attestation is (53) from *Gwyrtheu Mair* in Peniarth 14, which Huws (2000: 58) dates to the second half of the thirteenth century. GPC gives 1250 as a date for the text, i.e. the beginning of this period. Evans (1964: 89) points out that the expected form with an infixed pronoun would be **onyth ledy du hun*.

The same text has two other reflexive constructions, one with the POSS+VN construction (54) and one with an *ym*-verb (55). The latter is replaced by a POSS+VN construction in the later version in Llanstephan 27 (56).

- (53) [
- na elly caffael yechyt am e pechaut ry wnaethost*
-]

ony ledy duhun

unless kill_{2SG.PRES} 3SG_{MASC.REFL}

‘[you cannot get redemption from the sin you have done,]’ ‘unless you kill yourself’ (*Gwyrtheu Mair*; NLW MS. Peniarth 14, Jones 1941: 24)

- (54) [
- Llawer hep ef a wnaeth o drwc*
-]

ac en diwethaf e lad e hun.

and in last 3SG_{MASC.POSS} kill_{VN} 3SG_{MASC.INTS}

‘[He did, said he, a lot of evil,]’ ‘and in the end he killed himself’ (Jones 1941: 25 [*Gwyrtheu Mair*; NLW MS. Peniarth 14])

- (55) *Ac ena e dechreuws e vicedonus em-boeni*
 and then PTCL begin_{3SG.PRET} DEF vicedominus PV-punish_{VN}
ehun
 3SG_{MASC.REFL}
 ‘and then the vicedominus started to punish himself’ (Jones 1939: 148
 [Gwyrtheu Mair; NLW MS. Peniarth 14])
- (56) *Ac yna o newyd y dechreuawd teophilus y*
 and then anew PTCL begin_{3SG.PRET} Teophilus 3SG_{MASC.POSS}
boeni e hun
 punish_{VN} 3SG_{MASC.INTS}
 ‘and then Teophilus began to punish himself anew’ (Gwyrtheu Mair; NLW
 MS. Llanstephan 27, page 176^f: 10)

This isolated example is followed by the instances contained in NLW MS. Peniarth 5 (*White Book of Rhydderch*). Of these, Evans (1964: 89) cites (57) from *Credo Athanasius* following Lewis’ analysis of the passage. According to Lewis (1930: 193), this text was translated in the second half of the 13th century. *Adeilat e hun* is found in the introduction, which was not part of the Latin text, but was drafted by the Welsh translator. While admitting that the omission of *y* could be a scribal mistake, Lewis prefers to consider *adeilat ehun* as an early example of the reflexive use of *X hun*. He argues that this use, which had become very common by 1615, had to have started long before then (Lewis 1930: 195).

On the contrary, GPC (s.v. *hun*², section b) considers it as a scribal mistake and lists the example as a POSS+VN construction (58).

- (57) *Pob cristaun weithonn a dily adeilat e hun*
 every Christian now PTCL must_{3SG.PRES} build_{VN} 3SG_{MASC.REFL}
 [truy weithredoed da yn temyl y Duv a hymny yn gyuuch ac y carhaedo truy
 gret a gobeith a charyat teyrnas gvlad nef.]
 ‘Every Christian now has to build himself’ [‘through good works into a
 temple to God and this so high that he will achieve through belief and
 hope and love the kingdom of heaven.’] (*Credo Athanasius* [Introduction];
 NLW MS. Peniarth 5, page 48^v: 13)
- (58) *Pob cristaun . . . a dily y [drll.]²⁶ adeilat ehun*
 (NLW MS. Peniarth 5, page 14g. B v. 196)

26 drll. = *darllener*, *darlleniad* ‘read(ing), version’.

Another interesting case is that of *amddiffyn X hun*²⁷ in (59), which has exact parallels in NLW MS. Peniarth 9, page 1^v: 4 and Oxford Jesus College MS. 111, page 95^v (400): 9. The reflexive use of *e hun* in (59) is at variance with 13 instances of the POSS+VN construction as in (60) from *Brut y Brenhinoedd*, *Brut y Tywysogion*, *Ystoria Carolo Magno*: *Rhamant Otfel* and *Ystoriau Saint Greal*.

- (59) [*Canys rolond a dugassei gantaw trossawl troydic hir.*]

ac a hwnnw yd amddiffynnwys e hun educher.

and with DIST PTCL defend_{3SG+PRET} 3SG_{MASC.REFL} till evening

[‘for Rolond had brought with him a long twisted bar,] and with that he defended himself until the evening’ (Williams 1892: 463 [*Ystoria Carolo Magno*: *Chronicl Turpin*; NLW MS. Peniarth 5, page 74^r (63): 34])

- (60) *ym·rodi a wnaethant y eu hamdiffyn e hunein*

PV·submit_{VN} PTCL do_{3PL.PRET} to 3PL_{POSS} defend_{VN} 3PL_{INTS}

o hynny allan

from DIST on

‘they submitted themselves to defend themselves from then on’ (*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; Oxford Jesus College MS. 111, page 39^r (154): 27)

4.3.2 Change through linguistic convergence?

Strikingly, no instances of reflexive *X hun* are found in “native” texts like the *Mabinogion* or the laws, but all of them occur in translations or adaptations from Latin or Old French. One could speculate that the change in Middle Welsh was at least partly triggered by contact influence, but it is hard to find any evidence to sustain this claim. This may be due to the following reasons.

In some cases, both the Latin texts and the corresponding Welsh translations were extremely popular, so that it is impossible to determine which version underlies a translated text. Later versions may not necessarily rely on the Latin original, but rather on other translations.

But even in cases where the source is clear, the Welsh translators frequently rendered the content of a passage in their own words rather than producing verbatim translations.

²⁷ The *am-* in *amddiffyn* (sometimes *ymddiffyn*) retains the original prepositional meaning ‘about, at all sides’ (Vendryes 1927: 50). *Amdiffyn* is constructed mostly transitively and thus differs from *ym-*verbs containing the grammaticalised prefix, which are predominantly intransitive.

As the example of *Y Groglith* has shown, different versions use different constructions, all of which are well rooted in the language. The reflexive use of *X hun* does not seem to be triggered by the underlying Latin (or Greek) text.

The Cordeilla passage in the Cotton Cleopatra *Brut* is another example of the independence of the Welsh version (62), which contains two verbs denoting suicide that do not figure in the Latin text (61). Both of them use the POSS-VN construction.

- (61) [*Eam quoque ad ultimum captam in carcerem posuerunt*
ubi ob amissionem regni dolore obducta
 where by loss_{ACC} kingdom_{GEN} grief_{ABL} overwhelmed_{ABL.SG.FEM}
*sese interfecit.*²⁸
 REFL_{ACC} kill_{3SG.PRET}
 ‘[Finally they captured and imprisoned her] where overwhelmed by grief at the loss of her kingdom she killed herself.’ (Reeve and Wright 2007: 45 § 32 [Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae*])
- (62) [*A gwedy medyliaw ohoney am y hen deilyngdawd ry gollassei. ac nat oed obeith idi ymatkyuot ohynny.] o diruawr dolor hynny y gwnaeth hy hun y lleith. nyt amgen nogyd y brathu hy hun a chillell adan y bronn yny gollas y heneid. ac yna y barnwyd mae dybrytta agheu y dyn y llad e hun*
 ‘And after thinking over her former dignity which she had lost, and she had no hope of raising herself out of it, out of exceeding grief over it **she did / effected herself her death** – that is, **she stabbed herself** with a knife under the breast so that she lost her life. And at that time it was considered the most ignominious death for a person **to kill himself**.’ (Parry 1937: 41 [*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. B V part i, page 20^r: 14–16])²⁹

Latin *sese interfecit* has the reduplicated and thus emphatic reflexive marker *sese*, but no intensifier. The Welsh translator chose a light-verb construction, for which the analysis in (63) seems probable, especially in view of the similar light-verb constructions in (64) to (66).

²⁸ The First Variant Version (ed. Wright 1988: 27) has *sese interemit* ‘she killed herself’.

²⁹ Parry (1937: 41) reads *hun* ‘sleep’ and translates *y gwnaeth hy hun y lleith* ‘she slept the sleep of death’, assuming a metaphorical or euphemistic expression for committing suicide. Although *hun* ‘sleep’ is occasionally used this way in Middle Welsh, Parry’s analysis seems unconvincing in view of (64) and (65), which mention the instrument with which the act was carried out, and (66), which might be a POSS-NP construction.

Example (66) is most likely to be read as a POSS-NP construction ‘effecting his own dead’, but, as the object of a verb occasionally stands between the finite verb and the intensifier, it is not excluded that this passage corresponds to the others with a slightly modified syntax.

- (63) *y gwnaeth hy hun y lleith*
 PTCL do_{3SG.PRET} 3SG_{FEM.INTS} 3SG_{FEM.POSS} death
 ‘she effected personally her death’, lit. ‘she did herself her death’ (*Brut y Brenhinoedd*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. B V part i, page 20^r: 14–16)

- (64) [*A phan giglev pilatus hynny*]
y gwnaeth e hun y dihenyd a ’e gyllell.
 PTCL do_{3SG.PRET} 3SG_{MASC.INTS} 3SG_{MASC.POSS} death with 3SG_{MASC.POSS} knife
 [‘And when Pilatus heard this,] he effected his own death with his knife.’
 (*Ystoria Bilatus*; NLW MS. Peniarth 5, page 11^r: 14)

- (65) *y gorvc e hvn y leas a ’y gyllell*
 PTCL do_{3SG.PRET} 3SG_{MASC.INTS} 3SG_{MASC.POSS} death with 3SG_{MASC.POSS} knife
 ‘he effected his own death with his knife.’ (*Ystoria Bilatus*; NLW MS. Peniarth 7, page 63^v (236): 20)

- (66) [*Pan gigleu archelaus mab herot hynny; digallonni a oruc. a gossot y wayw yn y daear a mynet ar y vlaen*]
a gvneuthur y leith e hun.
 and do_{VN} 3SG_{MASC.POSS} death 3SG_{MASC.INTS}
 [‘When Archelaus the son of Herod heard this, he lost his heart and putting his lance on the ground and going on its point’] ‘effecting his own dead’ / ‘and effecting himself his death’ (*Ystoria Titus*; NLW MS. Peniarth 5, page 37^r: 48)³⁰

The Latin influence on *Gwyrtheu Mair* is more difficult to assess. The Latin text is transmitted in several slightly different versions. Example (68) expresses the order to kill oneself with the simple reflexive pronoun *te* followed by the intensifier *ipsum*. The emphatic pronoun *temet* in (67) is already present in Classical

³⁰ Cf. Ehrmann and Pleše (2011: 12.546) for the Latin text: *Herodes amputavit lanceam suam et fixit in terram et iactavit se super et mortuus est*. ‘Herod broke off his spear, fixed it in the ground, and threw himself over it and died.’

Latin. In Vulgar, Late and Middle Latin, pronouns enlarged by *-met* become increasingly frequent and were often fused together with the intensifier,³¹ like in the example.

Although the Welsh version is an independent renarration (69), the similarity of the Latin and Welsh verb phrases is striking, especially because the Welsh author was probably aware of the parallel structures of Latin *temet-ipse* and Middle Welsh *du-hun*. It is unlikely, however, that the Welsh author would choose to calque the Latin reflexive strategy after having significantly altered the whole passage.

- (67) [*Scias quum pro malis operibus quae gessisti. iam non potes salutem consequi nisi feceris quae dixero tibi. Abscide primum tua genitalia membra*]
et deinde interfice temetipsum.

and then kill_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{REFL}-2SG_{INTS}

['Know that for the bad deeds you have done, you cannot obtain redemption unless you will do what I will say to you. First, cut off your genitals] and then kill yourself.' (Neuhaus 1886: 38 [*The Pilgrim Girardus*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. C X])

- (68) *deinde interime te ipsum*

then kill_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{REFL} 2SG_{INTS}

'Then kill yourself!' (Neuhaus 1886: 38 [*The Pilgrim Girardus*; BL Arundel MS. 346])

- (69) [*na elly caffael yechyt am e pechaut ry wnaethost*]

ony **ledy** **duhun**

unless kill_{2SG.PRES} 2SG_{INTS}

['you cannot get redemption from the sin you have done,] unless you kill yourself' (Jones 1941: 24 [*Gwyrtheu Mair*; NLW MS. Peniarth 14])

A second instance of emphatic reflexive + intensifier in the Latin text has no correspondence in the Welsh version at all (70, 71). Later on, the Latin reflexive verb is rendered by the POSS-VN construction (72, 73).

31 Cf. Väänänen (1981: 123), Puddu (2005: 206–223).

- (70) [At ille putans ueraciter eum sanctum esse Jacobum qui talia iuberet. arrepto ferro membra uirilia abscidit. ac postea per guttur suum ferrum trahens.]

semetipsum ad mortem uulnerauit.

REFL_{ACC}-INTS_{ACC} to death_{ACC} wound_{3SG.PERF}

['And he [Girardus] believed, that it was Saint Jacob who ordered this, and, seizing a knife, cut off his genitals. And after this, drawing the knife against his throat,] he hurt himself deadly.' (Neuhaus 1886: 38 [*The Pilgrim Girardus*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. C X])

- (71) *Sef a oruc enteu o debygu en wir*
 this.is PTCL do_{3SG.PRET} 3SG_{MASC} of think_{VN} PRED true
panyv yago ebostol oed ef gwneithur a orchymynassei
 that.is Jacob apostle be_{3SG.IMPF} 3SG_{MASC} do_{VN} PTCL order_{3SG.PLPF}
a marw vu.

and dead be_{3SG.PRET}

'This is what he did, (as he was) really thinking that it was the apostle Jacob, he did what he had ordered and died.' (lit.: 'and he was dead.') (Jones 1941: 24 [*Gwyrtheu Mair*; NLW MS. Peniarth 14])

- (72) *et quod ad extremum se peremisset.*

and that at end_{ACC} REFL kill_{3SG.PERF}

'and finally he had killed himself.' (Neuhaus 1886: 39 [*The Pilgrim Girardus*; BL Cotton Cleopatra MS. C X])

- (73) *ac en diwethaf e lad e hun.*

and in last 3SG_{MASC.POSS} kill_{VN} 3SG_{MASC.INTS}

'and in the end he killed himself' (Jones 1941: 25 [*Gwyrtheu Mair*; NLW MS. Peniarth 14])

In the following case, the correspondence between the Old French source (74) and its Middle Welsh translation (75) is rather close. However, while the idiom 'to praise someone to the value of one glove' does not seem to occur elsewhere in Middle Welsh, the verb *moli X hun* 'to praise oneself' is found also in the Llanstephan version of the *Cynghorau Catwn* (ex. 78). Theoretically, the Old French pronoun *me* could have triggered a pronominal construction in Middle Welsh, but instead *fu hunan* is used with reflexive function.

- (74) *jeo ne me preyse le vailant de un gant.*
 I NEG 1SG_{REFL} praise_{1SG.PRES} the_{MASC} worth of one glove
 ‘I do not praise myself to the value of one glove.’ (Stimming 1899: 68, l. 1797 [*Boeve de Haumtone*])
- (75) [*a ffan ymladom ony ladaf i dy benn di yr mawr a’m cledeu.*]
ny volaf fu hunan werth vn uanec.
 NEG praise_{1SG.PRES} 1SG_{REFL} worth one glove
 [‘and when we fight, if I do not cut off thy head, thou great fellow, with my sword,] I will not praise myself to the value of one glove.’ (Williams 1892: 539 [*Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn*; NLW MS. Peniarth 5, page 134^v (301): 22])

The following passage from *Imago mundi* by Honorius Augustodunensis contains a combination of the reflexive marker *se* and the intensifier *ipse* (76). To render the Latin *seipsos . . . corrodentes* ‘chewing up themselves’, the author of the Welsh translation *Delw y Byd* gives two apparently synonymous versions (77). Both verbs seem to occur only once and were thus most likely specifically created for this passage. Interestingly, the two verbs that the author decided to use (the *ym*-verb *ymdoddi* based on *toddi* ‘to melt’ and the transitive verb *chnoi* ‘to bite, to chew’) are both constructed reflexively. Even though these very verbs were custom-made to render the Latin version, both types of verbs already existed in Welsh. The *ym*-strategy was still productive at the time when the use of reflexive *X hun* started to spread.

- (76) [. . . *praesertim cum me non mihi soli, sed toti mundo genitum intelligam, omittens invidos tabescentes, non me*],
sed seipsos livido corde corrodentes
 but REFL_{ACC}-INTS_{ACC.PL} jealous_{ABL.SG.NEUT} heart_{ABL} chewing_{ACC.PL.MASC}
 [‘. . .above all, I understand not only my own birth, but the birth of the whole world, leaving aside grieving individuals, who are chewing up not me,] but themselves with a jealous heart. . .’ (Flint 1983: 48–49 [*Imago mundi*])
- (77) [*Ac yn bennaf oll pryt na dyallwyf i vyg geni y my hun. mwy noc y ’r holl vyt gan ysgaelussaw y dynyon kyghoruynnus.*]
ac a ym·dodant e hunein ac a gnoant e hunein
 and PTCL PV·melt_{3PL.PRES} 3PL_{INTS} and PTCL chew_{3PL.PRES} 3PL_{REFL}

o gallon gyghorunnvs
 of heart jealous

[‘And above all, since I do not only understand my own birth, but of the whole world, neglecting jealous people] who gnaw themselves and who chew themselves up with a jealous heart.’ (*Delw’r Byd*; Oxford Jesus College 111, page 243^r (976): 14)

In conclusion, it seems that for the translation of reflexives, Middle Welsh authors resorted to a repertoire of constructions also found in non-translated texts and did not try to imitate³² the Latin or Old French structures.³³

4.3.3 Formal aspects

In no less than six cases, reflexive *X hun* occurs with a second singular imperative verb, cf. (78) to (81). All instances come from two texts only: four from the *Cynghorau Catwn* and two from *Y Groglith*.

- (78) *Na vawl dy hun yn ormod ac na chapla*
 NEG praise_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{REFL} too much and NEG reproach_{2SG.IMPV}
dy hun yn much
 2SG_{REFL} too ormod.
 ‘Do neither praise nor reproach yourself too much.’ (*Cynghorau Catwn*; NLW MS. Llanstephan 27, page 168^r: 16)

- (79) [*Pan gymhellow dolor di yn irloned rac kared dy weissyon.*]³⁴
kymedrola dy hvn hyt pan ellych arbet y rei
 moderate_{2SG.IMPV.2SG} 2SG_{REFL} so that can_{2SG.SUBJ} forgive_{VN} DEF ones

³² Cf. Winford (2003: 63–65) on “structural convergence”, i.e. imitation of the syntactic structures of the contact language with the lexical means of one’s own language. A similar model is “replica grammaticalization”, developed by Heine and Kuteva (2003: 539).

³³ A different development took place in Breton, where the French influence was much stronger. The Breton prefix *em-* was equated with French *se* and became, combined with a pronoun, part of the preverbal reflexive and reciprocal marker Modern Breton *en em*, cf. Irslinger (2014b: 187, 199).

³⁴ Cf. Duff (1954: 602) for the Latin text: *Seruorum culpa cum te dolor urguet in iram, ipse tibi moderare, tuis ut parcere possis*. ‘If pain drives you in anger because of the fault of your servants, moderate yourself, so that you can forgive the ones belonging to you/your people’.

teu di.

2SG_{POSS} 2SG

[‘If pain drives you in anger because of the sin of your servants,] moderate yourself, so that you can forgive the ones belonging to you’ (*Cynghorau Catwn*; NLW MS. Peniarth 3 part ii, page 37:3)

- (80) *os crist wyt ti gwna di hunan yn iach*
 if Christ be_{2SG.PRES} 2SG do_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{REFL} PRED safe
 ‘if you are Christ, save yourself’ (lit. ‘make yourself safe’) (*Y Groglith*; Shrewsbury MS. 11, page 114:2)

- (81) [*Hwnn a distryw temyl duw. ac ympen y tridieu a ’e hadeila.*]
iachaa dy hun.
 save_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{REFL}
 [‘The one who destroyed the temple of God and rebuilt it after three days’]
save yourself.’ (*Y Groglith*; NLW MS. Peniarth 5, page 7^v: 18)

In (82) and (83) from the *Cynghorau Catwn*, the function of the pronoun *di* following the verb is unclear. Objects of imperative verbs are invariably expressed by independent pronouns, not by infixed pronouns (82). In addition, independent pronouns occasionally code the objects of other verb forms (83) (Evans 1964: 49–50). Postverbal *di* could thus be the object of the verb expressed by the independent pronoun, while the disambiguating intensifier indicates its co-reference with the subject coded in the verbal ending.

Nevertheless, it seems more likely for *di* to code the subject and thus refer to the person expressed by the verb. *Cynghorau Catwn* contains three instances of this use with a transitive non-reflexive verb, like in (84).

- (82) *Ardymhera di du hvn o ’r gwin.*
 moderate_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG 2SG_{REFL} from DEF wine
 ‘Moderate (you) yourself from wine.’ (*Cynghorau Catwn*; NLW MS. Llanstephan 27, page 31: 3)

- (83) *Kanys ot atnabydy di dy hun doeth wyt.*
 for if know_{2SG.HAB} 2SG 2SG_{REFL} wise be_{2SG.PRES}
 ‘For if you know (you) yourself, you are wise.’ (*Cynghorau Catwn*; NLW MS. Llanstephan 27, page 32: 20)

- (84) *na chappla di arall am y bei*
 NEG blame_{2SG.IMPV.2SG} 2SG another for DEF mistake
a vo arnat ti dy hun.
 PTCL be_{3SG.PRES.SUBJ} on_{2SG} 2SG 2SG_{INTS}
 ‘Do (you) not blame another for the mistake that is on yourself.’
 (Cynghorau Catwn; NLW MS. Llanstephan 27, page 165^v: 15)

4.3.4 Transition from one system to another

To move from the old Middle Welsh system of reflexive marking to the new one, two simultaneous steps are necessary:

- loss of the object pronoun or the prefixed *ym*-
- reanalysis of *X hun* as object of the verb

This development is illustrated in (85) for the different structural types:

- (85) PRON + finite verb *e_{REFL} trewis e hun_{INT}* → *trewis e hun_{REFL}*
 POSS-VN construction *y_{REFL} brathu hi hun_{INT}* → *brathu hi hun_{REFL}*
ym-verb *ym_{REFL} boeni e hun_{INT}* → *poeni e hun_{REFL}*

The reanalysis of Middle Welsh *X hun* seems thus natural enough, especially since Middle Welsh *X hun* already occurs as a head in a pronoun-like function coding the subject or after a preposition. It is however more difficult to explain why the preverbal pronouns and *ym*- prefixes were lost.

One context in which this could have happened, are the imperative constructions discussed in 4.3.3, where infixed pronouns preceding the verb are not possible. The hypothetical phrase in (86) contains an imperative verb followed by an emphasising subject pronoun and an object pronoun + intensifier. The sequence of two second person singular pronouns with different functions is not attested and seems to be ungrammatical like English *himself himself*, i.e. the sequence of reflexive and actor-oriented intensifier in (87) from Gast and Siemund (2006: 360). The Middle Welsh object pronoun was dropped then, leading to expressions that are actually attested, both with and without an emphasising subject pronoun (88, 89).

- (86) **ardymhera di ti du hvn*
 moderate_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{SUBJ} 2SG_{OBJ} 2SG_{INTS}
 ‘Moderate (*you) (*yourself_{REFL}) yourself_{INTS} / Mäßige du dich selbst!’

- (87) *He killed (*himself_{REFL}) himself_{INTS}*
 Er tötete sich selbst
- (88) *ardymhera di du hvn*
 moderate_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{SUBJ} 2SG_{REFL}
 ‘Moderate (*you) yourself / Mäßige du dich!’
- (89) *kymedrola dy hvn*
 moderate_{2SG.IMPV} 2SG_{REFL}
 ‘Moderate yourself / Mäßige dich!’

While this could be a starting point for the reanalysis of *X hun*, one wonders whether these pragmatically marked reflexive imperative clauses were frequent enough to trigger the change of system. This objection is reinforced by the fact that all instances contained in *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425* cluster in two single texts.

The small sample of 14 instances of reflexive *X hun* in the Middle Welsh corpora is thus not enough to formulate a strong hypothesis concerning the trigger of the change. More insights can probably be gained from the analysis of Early Modern texts, where the *X hun* reflexives become more frequent.

5 Conclusions

The quantitative study based on *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300–1425* showed that the alleged Middle Welsh ‘reflexive pronoun’ *X hun* functions, in fact, as an intensifier in 99.32 % of cases. Only as few as 14 instances from both corpora showed its use as a reflexive, which then became widespread in the modern language. In Middle Welsh, ‘full reflexive’ events are coded by the prefix *ym-* or by an infixed pronoun. Since both strategies are ambiguous, intensifiers are added for referent disambiguation and role disambiguation. The two strategies are about equally frequent and, to some degree, interchangeable. In some cases, a strategy may be blocked because of lexical or syntactic constraints.

Although Evans (1964: 89) was aware that the reflexive use of *X hun* was only at its initial stages in Middle Welsh, he probably would be surprised to find out that the entire Middle Welsh corpus does not provide many more instances than the three examples that he cited in his *Grammar of Middle Welsh*.

At present, it is impossible to determine what brought about such change in the Middle Welsh system, however, linguistic convergence with Latin or Old French can certainly be excluded in light of the instances discussed above.

Finally, hypotheses on linguistic convergence between Welsh and English regarding the expression of reflexivity will have to take into consideration the scarcity of reflexive *X hun* in the Welsh corpus before 1425.

Acknowledgement: This study was carried out within the project *Detransitivity in the Brittonic languages: Reflexivity, reciprocity and middle voice constructions* funded by the German Research Council.