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## COORDINATION AND VERBAL NOUNS IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN EARLY MODERN WELSH BIBLICAL TEXTS\*

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**ABSTRACT** This paper focusses on uses of finite and nonfinite verb forms in Early Modern Welsh subordinate clauses in which two or more verbal events are coordinated. In such clauses, three different constructions are already attested in Middle Welsh; one of these was described as the norm in the language of sixteenth-century Welsh Biblical texts by a nineteenth-century grammarian, Thomas Jones Hughes. On the basis of a micro-study of data from these texts, the paper will review his claim and survey the distribution of the relevant syntactic patterns, thereby assessing the potential of the coordination of verbal events in subordinate clauses as a promising area of research in historical syntax and typological linguistics. Based on a comparison of Welsh, Hebrew, and Greek parallel passages, it argues that translational equivalents can be seen to exist specifically between a Welsh construction with a nonfinite form in the second coordinand and formally different constructions in the Hebrew and Greek source texts.

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

This paper explores uses of finite and nonfinite verb forms in the expression of coordinated verbal events in subordinate clauses in Early Modern Welsh. Its first two sections provide background information on the relevant non-finite form, the verbal noun, on its uses in place of a finite verb, and on the three patterns of coordination of verbal events with finite and nonfinite verbal forms respectively in subordinate clauses attested in the texts transmitted in the Middle Welsh manuscript *Llyfr yr Ancr* (*Book of the Anchorite*, 1346). The next two sections summarize previous discussions of the formation of subordinate clauses with coordinated verbal events and introduce the paper's focus, corpus, and methodology. The four core sections present the results of the analysis of the patterns of coordination in adverbial clauses introduced by *pan* 'when' and *os* 'if (it is)' in the Five Books of Moses and in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the Welsh translation of the Bible of 1588, complemented and supported by comparisons with the parallel passages in the translations of 1567 and 1620 respectively and in the Hebrew and Greek source texts. A summary and a brief discussion of the possible interest of the use of non-finite forms in main and subordinate clauses for models of clause chaining and for theories of coordination and subordination conclude the paper.

## 2 THE WELSH VERBAL NOUN AND ITS USES IN PLACE OF A FINITE VERB

In the Insular Celtic languages, a special nonfinite form, conventionally called 'verbal noun', is formed from verbs, for example Welsh *canu* 'singing' to *canaf* 'I sing', Breton *kanañ* to *kanan* 'I sing', and Irish *canadh* 'singing' to *canaim* 'I sing'.<sup>1</sup> These verbal nouns can be used in a variety of syntactic contexts (for brief surveys, see, for example, [Russell 1995](#): 260–271, [2015](#): 1232–1236). The following oft-quoted examples show that in Middle Welsh it can be modified, for instance, by an article and an adjective:

- (1) *y gossot kyntaf*  
 ART attacking.VN first.ADJ  
 'the first attack'

<sup>1</sup> Compare, all with further references, [Russell \(1995: 258–277, 2015\)](#), for verbal nouns in the Insular Celtic languages, and [Borsley, Tallerman & Willis \(2007: 68–103\)](#) and [Scherschel, Widmer & Poppe \(2018\)](#), for Welsh verbal nouns. The latter use the term 'event noun'. For an in-depth analysis of Middle Welsh 'flagged' verbal nouns, i.e. in combination with prepositions or the particle *yn*, in adnominal, complementative, and adjunct subordination, see [Scherschel \(2020\)](#), who uses the term 'event nominalization'; see also Raphael Sackmann's contribution to this volume.

thus exhibiting nominal features. On the other hand, it can be modified by an adverb:

- (2) *cerdet yn bryssur*  
 walking.VN PRT quick  
 ‘to walk / walking quickly’

or by the perfective marker *ry*:

- (3) *guedy eu ry lad*  
 after their PERF killing.VN  
 ‘after they had been killed’

thus exhibiting verbal features. The use of the possessive pronoun *eu* ‘their’ to mark the patient of the verbal event is, however, a nominal feature and thus highlights ‘the difficulties of separating nominal and verbal usage’ (Russell 1995: 271). The ratio of the verbal noun’s verbal and nominal features remains contested in the linguistic literature. Russell (2015: 1239) notes ‘an interesting split in the scholarship where linguists who come at this problem from a historical perspective tend to emphasise the nominal features while those with a synchronic perspective tend to highlight their verbal characteristics’.

This paper will concentrate on a specific syntactic use of the Welsh verbal noun which, as observed by Russell (2015: 1236), reflects ‘[o]ne of the most verbal characteristics of Middle Welsh verbal nouns’: ‘their use in a string following a fully marked finite verb’. Such strings occur in two contexts. The first is the description in narrative of events in the past in what would amount to main clauses; the second is the use of a verbal noun in coordination with a preceding finite verb in subordinate clauses. An example for the first context is seen in (4). Here, the verbal noun *llosgi* ‘burning’ follows the finite form *doeth* ‘came’ (PRET.3S), and the two phrases are linked by the conjunctive coordinator *a* ‘and’ – ‘coordinator’ is Haspelmath’s (2004: 50) ‘non-traditional term for what has more often been called *coordinating conjunction*’ and will be used in the following.<sup>2</sup> The agent of the verbal event ‘burning’ remains unexpressed and corresponds to the subject of *doeth*, i.e. *tan* ‘fire’:

- (4) *Ac yn diannot y doeth tan or nef*  
 and at once PRT come.PRET.3SG fire from.the heaven  
*a llosgi yr holl adeiladeu hyt y llaŕ*  
 and.CCOOR burn.VN the all buildings to the ground

<sup>2</sup> Haspelmath’s ‘coordinator’ is complemented by ‘subordinator’ for traditional ‘subordinating conjunction’; this term will be used in the following, as well as ‘coordinand’ ‘for the units that are combined in a coordinate construction’ (Haspelmath 2004: 50).

‘And at once a fire came from heaven and burned all the buildings to the ground.’ (LLA, *Dewi*, 97r)

Evans (1964: 161) points out that verbal nouns for finite verbs may also be used ‘[w]ith no finite verb preceding’; in these instances they often follow on direct speech and remain anchored in the overall narrative situation. Meelen (2016: 120) introduces the term ‘bare verbal noun’ for this usage ‘in declarative main clauses instead of a finite verb’; I have suggested ‘narrative verbal noun’ in Poppe (1995: 145). The default interpretation of bare or narrative verbal nouns is past, indicative, and asserted. Their textual distribution and the pragmatic nuances they convey require further research. Hemon (1975: 266) notes that, in Breton narrative, the verbal noun may be used ‘as a substitute for the preterite’; it thus parallels Middle Welsh usage. According to Russell (1995: 271), a comparable pattern ‘does not occur in early Irish where the unmarked verb form was a narrative present rather than the verbal noun’.

In Middle Welsh, the construction seen in (4) may overlap in complex ways with the *gwneuthur*-periphrasis (underlined), in which a verbal noun, here *dechreu*, precedes a typically (3sg./pl.) preterite form of the auxiliary verb *gwneuthur* ‘to do’, here (*g*)*wnaeth*, since, in this pattern, further verbal nouns, here *peri*, *euraw*, *synnyaw*, may follow the finite construction, as seen in (5).

- (5) A dechreu a wnaeth ymgedymdeithassu a ‘r  
 And begin.VN PRT do.PRET.3SG associate.VN with the  
*eurych* *goreu yn y dref*, a *pheri* *guaegeu y*  
 goldsmith best in the town CCOOR cause.VN buckles for  
 ‘r *eskidyau*, ac *euraw y* *guaegeu*, a *synnyaw e*  
 the shoes CCOOR gild.VN their buckles CCOOR look.VN  
*hun ar hynny yny gwybu*  
 himself on that until know.PRET.3SG  
 ‘and he began to associate with the best goldsmith in the town, and  
 had buckles made for the shoes, and the buckles gilded, and he  
 looked on that himself until he had learnt it’ (PKM 54.15–17, transl.  
 Jones & Jones [2000]: 41)

Mac Cana explains that this passage shows that subsequent verbal nouns in such strings may become semantically independent narrative verbal nouns:

From a purely structural point of view one would regard all the subsequent vnn [i.e. *peri*, *euraw*, *synnyaw*] as dependent on *dechreu*, the object of *a wnaeth*, [resulting in a translation ‘he began [...] to have buckles made’] but the semantics are against

this and the Joneses are doubtless correct in taking *dechreu* [...] *ymgedymdeithassu* as being coordinate in sense with the remaining vnn. (Mac Cana 1997: 192)<sup>3</sup>

This paper will analyse some data for the second context in which verbal nouns replace finite verbs, as mentioned above, namely in subordinate clauses which describe two (or more) coordinated verbal events of which the first is expressed by a finite verb and the others are realized as bare verbal nouns, as seen in (6).

- (6) A      *phann*      *gymeront*      *ev*      *corfforoed*      *a*  
 CCOOR   when.SUB   take.PRS.SBJV.3PL   their   bodies   CCOOR  
*dyuot*   *pa6b*      *ygyt.*      *yna*   *y*   *kymerant*      *ev*  
 come.VN   everyone   together   then   PRT   take.PRS.3PL   their  
*kyfula6n*   *le6enyd*  
 full      joy  
 ‘And when they [will] receive their bodies and all [will] come  
 together, then they will receive their full joy.’ (LIA, *Lucidar*, LIA52r)

Middle Welsh examples of this pattern have not received much attention in the grammatical literature so far, in contrast to the first pattern, which is a prominent feature of many Middle Welsh narrative texts (see the statistics supplied by Meelen 2016: 129–133). The Welsh construction in (6) has parallels in Breton: Hemon (1975: 266) quotes Breton examples for the verbal noun ‘sometimes used instead of a finite verb in a series of coordinate statements, with a finite verb preceding’, and some of his examples occur in subordinate clauses, as seen in (7).

- (7) *ha*      *mar*      *chomont*      *e-m*      *sy*      *ha*      *besan*      *tut*  
 CCOOR   if.SUB   stay.PRS.SBJV.3PL   in-my   house   CCOOR   be.VN   men  
*Vaillant*  
 valiant  
 ‘And if they stay in my house and are valiant men’

<sup>3</sup> See further Mac Cana (1997: 193): ‘one or more coordinate vnn, normally but not always preceded by a finite verb, may themselves be used with the force of finite verbs. The origins and development of this usage is unfortunately obscured by the lack of documentation on earlier Welsh narrative prose, but, by the MW period, there is a certain overlap between such vnn coordinated with a preceding finite verb and vnn following the periphrasis of vn + *gwneuthur*. In the former case, the vnn were fully verbalized – *a fortiori* when they were not preceded by a finite verb; in the latter they were historically coordinate with the preverbal vn object in periphrasis, but, as we have observed, in MS their role may have been more ambivalent’, as, for example, seen in (5).

- (8) *Sant Dominic [...] a lavaras d' an oll na*  
 Saint Dominic PRT say.PRET.3SG to the all COMP.NEG  
*spentsent quet, ha sevel*  
 fear.IMPERF.SBJV.3PL NEG CCOOR rise.VN  
 'Saint Dominic [...] said to them all that they should not be afraid  
 and that they should rise'

Functionally, the Welsh narrative verbal noun in main clauses and the bare verbal noun in subordinate clauses appear to be associated with contexts of narrative continuity. A closer look at these constructions may not only be interesting for Welsh syntax and its history, but also for linguistic theory and typology more generally, for example with regard to the possible implications of the use of such verbal nouns for models of clause chaining or for theories of coordination and subordination.<sup>4</sup> In this paper's final section, I will briefly address some of these issues.

Following on from this brief survey of uses of verbal nouns in place of finite verbs in coordination, the next section will supply some data on the use of finite verbs and verbal nouns respectively in subordinate clauses expressing more than one verbal event in a Middle Welsh corpus, in order to provide some historical background for the Early Modern Welsh constructions and a framework for their classification.

### 3 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES WITH COORDINATED VERBAL EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE WELSH *LLYFR YR ANCR*

The structures of Middle Welsh subordinate clauses with coordinated verbal events have not received systematic attention so far. Research conducted by Elena Parina and myself on the religious–devotional texts contained in *Llyfr Ancr Llanddewibrefi* (LIA, *Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewi Brefi*, dated to 1346) leads us to suggest that the range of available syntactic patterns was more flexible than hitherto documented. The search for relevant examples was conducted on the basis of an annotated corpus consisting of all texts of *Llyfr yr Ancr* with added morphosyntactic information, which allowed the identification of instances of subordinate clauses introduced by subordinators which require a finite verb.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The terms 'coordination' and 'coordinated' in the body of this paper are therefore provisional.

<sup>5</sup> This corpus was created as part of the project 'Translations as language contact phenomena'. The files were added to the 'Parsed Historical Corpus of the Welsh Language' (PARSHCWL), available through <https://www.celticstudies.net/parshcwl/>; see Meelen (2020) and Meelen & Willis (2021) for further details. An annotated corpus of sixteenth-century texts to be added

The data from *Llyfr yr Ancr* shows that three patterns were available to form the second (or third etc.) member of adverbial subordinate clauses with coordinated verbal events:

- Pattern (i): The subordinator is repeated after the coordinator and followed by a finite verb:

(9) *pann tyghont anudonev neu pann*  
 when.SUB swear.PRS.SBJV.3PL false.oaths or.DCOOR when.SUB  
*letrataont y ch6ardant*  
 steal.PRS.SBJV.3PL PRT they laugh  
 ‘when they swear false oaths or when they steal, they laugh’  
 (L1A, *Lucidar*, 37v)

The Welsh construction here does not correspond to the structure of the Latin source, *cum perjurant aut sacrilegium perpetrant, cachinnant* (Lefèvre 1954: 428, ‘when they swear falsely or commit robbery, they laugh loudly’), in which the subordinator *cum* ‘when’ is not repeated after the disjunctive coordinator *aut* ‘or’.

- Pattern (ii): In the case of ‘composite conjunctions’ consisting of a preposition and a complementizer, the prepositional element may be omitted after the coordinator, which is then directly followed by the complementizer and a finite verb:<sup>6</sup>

(10) *Traethent yr bopyl val y crettont*  
 relate.IMP.3PL to.the people so that.SUB believe.PRS.SBJV.3PL  
*yn dy6 sul arbennic. Ac y gallont*  
 in day Sunday special and.CCOOR COMP able.PRS.SBJV.3PL  
*haeddv trugared nefabl*  
 merit.VN mercy heavenly  
 ‘Let them relate to the people so that they may believe in the special Sunday and be able to merit the mercy of heaven’ (L1A, *Epistol y Sul*, 134r)

- Pattern (iii): The coordinator is followed by a bare verbal noun in the second coordinand, the pattern in which I am particularly interested:

to PARSHCWL is currently being compiled as part of the project ‘The Welsh Contribution to the Early Modern Cultures of Translation’; see footnote \* above.

<sup>6</sup> In my Early Modern Welsh corpus, this pattern is also attested with ‘proper’ subordinators (see below, (25a), (37)), typically with negative complementizers; its attestation in Middle Welsh requires further research.



- (11) *Ac gbedy y gorchyuycco y elynyon.*  
 and after.SUB overcome.PRS.SBJV.3SG his enemies  
*a chymryt y wreic b6ys atta6 yd eisted*  
 and.CCOOR take.VN his bride to.3MSG PRT sit.PRS.3SG  
*ef yn y veddyant*  
 he in his might  
 ‘And after he will have overcome his enemies and taken his  
 bride to him, he will sit in his might’ (LLA, *Lucidar*, 56v)

The Welsh construction has no structural parallel in the Latin source, which contains two participle phrases, *devictis hostibus* ‘having overcome enemies’ and *sponsa ad se recepta* ‘having taken a bride to him’ (Lefèvre 1954: 458). The verbal noun in (11) inherits the tense–mood profile of the finite verb’s present subjunctive, the expression of futurity (cf. Lewis & Pedersen 1961: 273);<sup>7</sup> the construction in subordination contexts is therefore different from the one in narrative contexts, which is restricted to past contexts. Since, in this third pattern, no second subordinator or finite verb occurs, it may be appropriate to describe such adverbial clauses as expressing two coordinated verbal events.

In *Llyfr yr Ancr*, the following subordinators are attested in the third pattern: the ‘proper’ subordinators *o(t)* ‘if’, *pann* ‘when’, *pei* ‘if’, and *yny* ‘until’, as well as the ‘composite’ ones *gwedy y* ‘after’ and *megys y* ‘(according) as’ and the compound forms *megys o(t)* and *megys pei* ‘as if’. The coordinators employed are conjunctive *a(c)* ‘and’ and disjunctive *na(c)* ‘(n)or’ and *neu* ‘or’.

Verbal nouns for finite verbs are found in *Llyfr yr Ancr* not only in adverbial clauses expressing two verbal events, but also in relative clauses, as seen in (12), and negated complement clauses, as seen in (13).<sup>8</sup>

- (12) *Beth a dybedy di am y neb a gymero*  
 what PRT say.PRS.2SG you about the ones PRT take.PRS.SBJV.3SG  
*abit creuyd. ac odynd ymch6elut yr byt*  
 habit religious.order and.CCOOR then return.VN to.the world

<sup>7</sup> See also (6) above; here the Latin source uses two coordinated finite verbs governed by one subordinator: *Cum [...] receperint et [...] convenerint* (Lefèvre 1954: 451).

<sup>8</sup> The Latin parallel for (12) has finite verbs in the relative clauses and does not repeat the relative subordinator after its first occurrence, and it thus does not correspond to the structure of the Welsh version; see Lefèvre (1954: 407): *Quid dicis de his qui saeculum relinquunt, religionis habitum sumunt, transacto aliquo tempore rejiciunt et pejores quam prius fuerint fiunt?* A detailed survey and analysis of the data from *Llyfr yr Ancr* will be presented in the relevant chapter in Parina & Poppe (in prep.).



*dracheuen g6edy eu proffes.*  
backwards after their profession

‘What do you say about the ones who take the habit of a religious order and then return again to the world after their profession [of faith]?’ (LIA, *Lucidar*, 26v)

- (13) *yn y geir h6nn6 yd eirch du6 y dyn*  
in the phrase that PRT command.PRS.3SG God to man  
*na ladho ae la6 nac oe arch*  
COMP.NEG kill.PRS.SBJV.3SG with.his hand nor from.his command  
[...] *na rodi ehofynndra y amdyffynn lleidyat.*  
nor.DCOOR give.VN boldness to protecting murderer  
‘with that phrase God commands man that he shall not kill, either with his hand or by his command [...] nor enact boldness to protect a murderer.’ (LIA, *Pa ddelw*, 122v)

With the exception of *Ymborth yr Enaid*, all texts transmitted in *Llyfr yr Ancr* are translations of Latin sources. In spite of this, I take all three patterns attested in its texts which form subordinate clauses with two or more coordinated verbal events to be grammatically acceptable in the system of Middle Welsh syntax, on the premise that translators intended to produce grammatically acceptable sentences in order to communicate successfully with their audiences.<sup>9</sup> The translational norms which may have conditioned their translational choices require further research. It is perhaps relevant that, in both (11) and (12), in which the translators opted for the third pattern with a verbal noun, they did not replicate the Latin sources. In (11), no formal equivalent for the Latin constructions was easily available in Welsh, whereas, in (12), the replication of the source text’s structure would have been possible. This may perhaps indicate a preference for this pattern. With regard to the distribution of the three patterns in *Llyfr yr Ancr*, it is furthermore noticeable that, in the longest text in the manuscript, *Ystorya Lucidar*, the four *pan*-clauses and five *pei*-clauses in which two coordinated verbal events are expressed employ, with one exception, the third pattern, in which the second verbal event is realized as a bare verbal noun: subordinator + finite verb + coordinator + verbal noun. In the single exception, example (9) above, the first pattern is used: the two clauses are introduced by the subordinator *pan* and connected by the disjunctive coordinator *neu* ‘or’. A semantic explanation is likely: the two verbal events of swearing and stealing are perceived and presented as

<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, medieval Welsh translators hardly ever commented on their strategies; for a significant exception, Gruffudd Bola’s reflections on translating the Creed, see Poppe (2019). Gruffudd prioritizes successful communication and considers its linguistic challenges.

separate and independent of each other. The Latin source also employs a disjunctive ‘or’-coordinator, namely *aut*.

#### 4 PREVIOUS GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF COORDINATED VERBAL EVENTS IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Descriptions of the expression of coordinated verbal events in subordinate clauses, if it is mentioned at all, vary and disagree with one another. To the best of my knowledge, the earliest reference occurs in Thomas Jones Hughes’s prize-winning ‘Essay on the principles and laws of Welsh and English syntax’ of 1849, which was approvingly described just a few years later as ‘the first regular attempt to explain the principles of Welsh Syntax’ by the Welsh grammarian Thomas Rowland ([1876]: vi–vii). Hughes’s ‘Essay’ was based on the usage of the language of the Early Modern Welsh translations of the Bible,<sup>10</sup> for which the final revision of 1620 would have provided the normative model. Together with the version of 1588, it set the standard for the modern literary language and remained in use until 1988 (see Jones 2004: 225). Hughes codified the third pattern as the expected norm:

When two or more verbs are coupled together as dependent on the same conjunction, the first verb only will, in Welsh, be put in the conjunctive mood, and the *second* and following verbs will be used in their *radical* [i.e. verbal-noun] forms. (Hughes 1849: 198–199)

Hughes gives examples from the Old and New Testament with *pan* ‘when’, *tra* ‘while’, and *fel na* ‘so that, as not’.<sup>11</sup> He is quoted in his *Welsh grammar* by Thomas Rowland (1853: 145–146), who in later editions changed Hughes’s ‘conjunctive mood’ to ‘the indicative or the subjunctive mood’ (Rowland[1876]: 197).

In his 1938 article on the verbal noun, T. J. Morgan (1938: 201) refers to the first pattern, with the subordinator repeated and followed by a finite verb, and to the third pattern, with a verbal noun. He highlights that the employment of the verbal noun in this context is native and natural and that it allows the otherwise necessary repetition of the subordinator to be avoided. His examples for this pattern contain the subordinators *pan* ‘when’, *ymy* ‘until’, and

<sup>10</sup> Compare Hughes (1849: 144): ‘we feel confident, that the great majority of Welshmen will agree with us in adopting the text of the Welsh Bible, as the basis on which pure Welsh prose must be formed. It is for this reason that many of our illustrations will be taken from the text of Scripture’.

<sup>11</sup> In his example with *fel na*, the coordinator employed is adversative *eithr* ‘but’.

*o(ni)* ‘if (not)’ and include two sentences from the Middle Welsh *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, with further examples being taken from the Early Modern Welsh Bible and other texts of the same period.

Melville Richards (1938: 161), in his *Cystrawen y frawddeg Gymraeg*, published in the same year as Morgan’s article, does not refer to the third pattern with a verbal noun. He only mentions the first pattern and the second, in which the second subordinator is omitted and replaced with a complementizer.

Peter Wynn Thomas (1996: 408), in his comprehensive and detailed grammar of Modern Literary Welsh, discusses the realization of a second coordinated verbal event in subordinate clauses as either with a verbal noun (pattern (iii)), characterized as the less formal option in neutral style (*‘arddull niwtral’*), or with a finite verb preceded by the subordinating complementizer (pattern (ii)).<sup>12</sup> His examples contain the subordinators *os* ‘if’ and *pan* ‘when’.

## 5 THE MICRO-STUDY AND ITS FOCUS AND APPROACH

So far, we have seen that, in Middle Welsh, three syntactic patterns were available to express two (or more) coordinated verbal events in subordinate clauses and that Thomas Jones Hughes considered one of these to be the norm in the language of the Early Modern Welsh translations of the Bible. For the purpose of an explorative and quantitative micro-study of a short phase in the history of these constructions, I considered it appropriate to revisit a subsection of the corpus which Hughes used to formulate his rule. I compiled a corpus consisting of subordinated constructions which express two (or more) coordinated verbal events and are introduced by the subordinators *pan* ‘when’ and *os* ‘if’ in the Five Books of Moses and in the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles of the 1588 Welsh Bible. This corpus was compiled on the basis of the text available through Early English Books Online on the ProQuest platform (accessible with institutional login). I searched for the lemmata *pan*, its aspirated variant *phan* (the form expected after the coordinator *a* ‘and’), and *os*, and then identified coordinated constructions expressing two or more verbal events. I excluded asyndetic structures in which no coordinator is employed to connect two clauses introduced by *pan* or *os*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Thomas (1996: 408) discusses in detail degrees of formality of constructions in which the second coordinand is realized either as a transitive verb or its verbal noun which shares a pronominal object with the first finite verb.

<sup>13</sup> The English translations accompanying the Welsh quotations are my own and attempt to be literal; they are informed by their English parallels.

In a further step, I compared the Welsh passages with the corresponding passages in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and in the Greek text of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles respectively, in the hope of identifying translation equivalents, possibly even regular ones, and thus to assess translators' specific strategies and the impact of the syntactic structures of the source texts. As it turned out, this procedure yielded insights into remarkably consistent syntactic patterns recurring in the translations. For a small-scale diachronic perspective, I finally compared the relevant passages identified in the 1588 version with the parallel verses in the revision of 1620 and with the parallel verses in Salesbury's translation of the New Testament in 1567, and noted (i) structural agreement; (ii) change to another one of the three patterns; or (iii) different syntax altogether.

The first Welsh translation of the Welsh New Testament and of the Psalms was published in 1567. The majority of the texts were translated by William Salesbury, who had already prepared Welsh versions of the epistles and gospels of the Prayer Book in 1551 and of the Book of Common Prayer in 1567, the latter complemented by a translation of the Psalms. In the 1567 New Testament, I Timothy, Hebrews, James, and I and II Peter were translated by Richard Davies, and the Revelation of John was translated by Thomas Huet.<sup>14</sup> This 1567 version was revised by William Morgan, who also translated the Old Testament and the Apocrypha and revised Salesbury's translation of the Psalms. This complete Welsh Bible was published in 1588,<sup>15</sup> and it has been described as 'the one publication now credited with having ensured the very survival of the Welsh language and its literature into modernity' (Price 2019: 184). It was revised by Richard Parry and (mostly, or completely) by John Davies; this version was published in 1620 and remained the 'final form of the Welsh Bible (at least until the latter half of the twentieth century)' (Thomas 1997: 172).<sup>16</sup>

Salesbury's translations have often been described as idiosyncratic, and the typology of changes and improvements implemented by Morgan in his revision of Salesbury's 1567 New Testament given by Williams (1997: 352–353) looks impressive, but needs to be balanced against Thomas' findings (1976: 321) that Morgan took over almost three-quarters of Salesbury's text

14 For a brief survey of the two earlier translations, see Thomas (1997: 161–165); for detailed discussions, see Thomas (1976: 70–125, 151–205) and Thomas (1988: 42–133). For the 1567 New Testament, see Thomas (1997: 165–167) and Thomas (1976: 206–301).

15 See Thomas (1997: 168–171), Thomas (1976: 302–355) and Thomas (1988: 134–254).

16 See Thomas (1997: 172–173), Thomas (1976: 368–420), and Thomas (1988: 255–298); on the translations of the Apocrypha in the versions of 1588 and 1620, see Thomas (1988: 299–343). For the revision of the Welsh Prayer Book by William Morgan and John Davies and published in 1599, see Thomas (1976: 346–367).

without change.<sup>17</sup> Thomas (1997: 173) summarizes the main direction of the revisions undertaken for the 1620 version as ‘a more rigorous application of Morgan’s principles to his own work’ and he stresses the revisers’ ‘emphasis on as literal a translation as possible’.<sup>18</sup> When revising Salesbury’s translation, Morgan himself had insisted that ‘a translation of the Scriptures should deviate as little as possible from the exact wording and syntax of the original’ (Thomas 1997: 171).<sup>19</sup> Salesbury had described his New Testament on the title page as ‘Gwedy ei dynnu, yd y gadei yr ancyfiaith, ‘air yn ei gylydd or Groec a’r Llatin’ (‘Drawn as far as idiom permitted, word for word from the Greek and Latin’, Thomas 1997: 165).<sup>20</sup> For my comparative argument developed below, the translators’ intention to follow their source texts literally is important.

As has been demonstrated in detail by Thomas, all translators made ample use of the Biblical scholarship available in their times, mainly in the form of translations into other languages, with a view to capture the meaning of the Biblical texts.<sup>21</sup> For his translation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, for example, Morgan’s main point of reference was the seventh volume of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, *Hebraicorum Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti Latina interpretatio*, which has a Latin word-for-word translation over the Hebrew text, without grammatical information, and he also referred to Latin and vernacular translations.<sup>22</sup>

17 For examples and a taxonomy of changes implemented by Morgan, see Thomas (1976: 312–315), and see Thomas (1976: 332, 442) for the numbers of instances in his corpus of test cases in which Morgan took over Salesbury’s text without change (11.5%), with orthographic changes (33.4%), with changes on the level of words without changing the meaning (22.5%), and from the marginal glosses of the 1567 version (6.4%).

18 See specifically Thomas (1976: 391) with reference to the 1620 New Testament: ‘A’r tebyg yw mai ffyddlondeb i’r Groeg sy’n gyfrifol am y mwyafrif o’r cyfieithiadau niferus sy’n arbennig i Parry a Davies’ (‘And it is likely that it is faithfulness to the Greek which is responsible for the majority of the numerous translations which are specific to Parry and Davies’). Thomas (1997: 173, 172) notes that ‘the revision has touched only about a third of the text (of the 1588 version)’ and that it is ‘in the main a revision of William Morgan’s version according to the 1611 English version’.

19 See also Thomas (1976: 343) for examples of Morgan’s translations that are more literal than the translations in the 1567 New Testament.

20 For some qualifications of Salesbury’s claim, see Thomas (1976: 251–256).

21 A reviewer pointed out that these translations may have influenced the language of the Welsh versions; this possibility has not been considered in the following.

22 For more detailed information on Morgan’s working methods and on the other works he consulted, see Thomas (1988: 200) and Thomas (1997: 168–169); see also example (17b) below. The Latin interlinear version is the translation of Sanctes Pagninus, ‘which aimed at a literal and grammatically correct translation’ of the Biblical texts, ‘which for this purpose was ‘revised a little to secure an exact correspondence with the Hebrew’ (Thomas 1988a: 21). John Selden (1584–1654) gives a lively description of how different translations of the Bible were consulted in the process of establishing the text of the English King James Bible (1611): ‘That

The Hebrew text of the Old Testament used here for comparative purposes is taken from <https://biblehub.com> (Hebrew).<sup>23</sup> This is the Masoretic one of the Westminster Leningrad Codex. The Masoretic text was the basis for translations of the Old Testament in early modern Protestant Bibles (see Thomas 1988: 42–43). The Greek text of the New Testament is taken from <https://biblehub.com> (Nestle 1904 GNT), which is based on Eberhard Nestle's 1904 text of the New Testament.<sup>24</sup>

In the next four sections, I will present the results of a micro-study of subordinate clauses which express two (or more) coordinated verbal events and are introduced by the subordinators *pan* 'when' and *os* 'if' in the Five Books of Moses of the Welsh Bibles of 1588 and 1620 and in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles of the Welsh Bibles of 1567, 1588, and 1620. The focus will be on the attestation and relative frequency of the three patterns described above for Middle Welsh and on an attempt to identify possible correspondences between syntactic patterns in the Welsh translations and in their Hebrew and Greek source texts; other issues briefly considered are the range of coordinators employed and some aspects of the internal structure of the subordinated constructions.

Beyond the immediate interest of the data analysed, this paper hopes to draw attention to the value of research in historical syntax which is based on (parallel) corpora and combines quantitative and interpretative philological approaches, as well as insights from translation studies.

## 6 PAN-CLAUSES WITH COORDINATED VERBAL EVENTS IN THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES

Table 1 summarizes the distribution of the three main patterns with the subordinator *pan* and of three minor, related patterns in the Five Books of Moses in the Welsh translation of 1588. The pattern in which a verbal noun is used to express the verbal event in the second coordinand is the most frequent one, occurring in 84% (41 / 49) of the three main patterns. At first sight, this seems to supply immediate support for Hughes's 'rule' within the system of Welsh. A comparison with the Hebrew text of the Old Testament shows, however,

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part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue [...] and then they met together, and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c. If they found any fault they spoke; if not, he read on' (quoted Hammond 1993: 33). This is taken by Rhodes, Kendal & Wilson (2013: 46) as an example of 'Bible translation, where hybridity of material is held to be a guarantee of the purity of the end product'.

<sup>23</sup> It follows the presentation of the text given in 'Hebrew Text Analysis'.

<sup>24</sup> For some background to this edition, see <https://sites.google.com/site/nestle1904/faq>.

that the situation is more complex, or more straightforward, depending on one's perspective.

		no.
Pattern (i)	<i>pan</i> V ... <i>a phan</i> V ...	5
Pattern (ii)	<i>pan</i> V ... <i>a(c) y/na</i> V ...	3
Pattern (iii)	<i>pan</i> V ... <i>a(c) vN</i> ...	41
Pattern (i.1)	<i>pan</i> V ... <i>neu pan</i> V ...	2
Pattern (i.2)	<i>pan</i> V ... <i>na phan</i> V ...	2
Pattern (iii.1)	<i>pan</i> V ... <i>neu vN</i> ...	2

**Table 1** Distribution of patterns with *pan* in the 1588 translation of the Five Books of Moses

In the five examples of the first pattern in the books of Moses, the Hebrew text employs a structurally similar format with two parallel coordinated phrases – even though the corresponding slots are filled differently, preposition and nonfinite verbal form in Hebrew, subordinator and finite verbal form in Welsh.<sup>25</sup>

- (14) (a) *A hi a fydd am Aaron wrth weini: fel y*  
and it PRT be.FUT.3SG for Aaron at serving so that  
*clywer ei swm ef pan*  
hear.PRS.SBJV.IMPERS his sound he when.SUB  
*ddelo i 'r cyssegr, ger bron yr Arglwydd,*  
come.PRS.SBJV.3SG to the sanctuary before the Lord  
*a phan elo allan*  
and.CCOOR when.SUB go.PRS.SBJV.3SG out  
‘And it will be on Aaron to minister so that his sound will be  
heard when he goes to the sanctuary before the Lord and when  
he comes out’ (1588, Exodus 28:35)
- (b) *bəḇō’ōw [...]* *ūḇəṣṣētōw*  
in.PREP-go.INF and.CCOOR-in.PREP-exit.INF  
‘in going [...] and in exiting’

<sup>25</sup> For the sake of economy and readability, I provide only glossed fragments of the Hebrew text which are relevant for my argument. These correspond in most instances to the phrases highlighted in bold in the Welsh quotations. The glosses of the Hebrew text are simplified and focus on the tense categories and the position and function of *wa-* and its allomorphs.



In the two variants of this pattern, with the ‘or’-coordinators *neu* (i.1) and *na* (i.2), the Hebrew text similarly employs structurally parallel formats:

- (15) (a) *A byddant am Aaron, ac am ei feibion*  
 And be.FUT.3PL upon Aaron and upon his sons  
*pan ddelont i babell y cyfarfod,*  
 when.SUB come.PRS.SBJV.3PL to tabernacle the congregation  
*neu pan ddelont at yr Allor i*  
 or.DCOOR when.SUB come.PRS.SBJV.3PL to the altar to  
*weini yn y cyssegr*  
 serve.VN in the sanctuary  
 ‘And they will be around Aaron, and around his sons, when they come to the tabernacle of the congregation, or when they come to the altar to minister in the sanctuary’ (1588, Exodus 28:43)
- (b) *bəḇō’ām [...] ’ōw bəḡišṭām*  
 in.PREP-go.INF or.DCOOR in.PREP-approach.INF  
 ‘in going [...] or in approaching’
- (16) (a) *ac ni wybu efe pan orweddodd hi,*  
 and not know.PRET.3SG he when.SUB lie.down.PRET.3SG she  
*na phan gyfododd hi.*  
 nor.COOR when.SUB rise.PRET.3SG she  
 ‘and he did not perceive when she lay down, nor when she arose.’ (1588, Genesis 19:33)
- (b) *bəšīkḇāh ūbāqūmāh*  
 in.PREP-lie.down.INF and.CCOOR-in.PREP-rise up.INF  
 ‘in lying down and in rising up’

For the third pattern, the most frequent one in this part of my corpus and the one required by Hughes’s rule, a remarkable regularity emerges in the Welsh translation: in the overwhelming majority of instances (38/41 or 93%), the Welsh pattern corresponds to a construction in Hebrew in which the second (and third etc.) phrase is realized with a so-called ‘*waw*-consecutive’ (with *wa-* or its allomorphs *wə-* and *ū-*). This *waw*-consecutive is a characteristic feature of Biblical Hebrew and used in continuous narrative: ‘by *waw* consecutive an action is always represented as the direct, or at least temporal consequence of a preceding action’ (Gesenius & Kautsch 1910: 135). If the first verb is in the perfect, the following verb is in the imperfect with a prefixed *waw*; if the first verb is in the imperfect referring to the future, the following

verb is in the perfect with a prefixed *waw* (see Gesenius & Kautsch 1910: 132–133, Weingreen 1959: 90–91).<sup>26</sup> These two options are seen in (17) and (18), where the *waw*-consecutive is glossed ‘and.cons’.

- (17) (a) *Llefara wrth feibion Israel gan ddywedyd,*  
 speak.IMP.2SG to children Israel with say.VN  
*pan becho dyn mewn anwybod yn erbyn*  
 when.SUB sin.PRS.SBJV.3SG man in ignorance against  
*yr vn o orchymynnion yr Arglwydd a*  
 the one of commandments the Lord and.CCOOR  
*gwneuthur yn erbyn vn o honynt*  
 do.VN against one of.3PL  
 ‘Speak to the children of Israel saying: “When a man sins in ignorance against any of the commandments of the Lord and acts against one of them”’ (1588, Leviticus 4:2)
- (b) *kî tēḥēṭā [...] wə’āsāh*  
 if.SUB sin.IMPERF.3SG and.CONS-DO.PRF.3SG  
 ‘if he sins [...] and acts’<sup>27</sup>
- (18) (a) *A bu pan ddaethom i ‘r llettŷ,*  
 and be.PRET.3SG when.SUB come.PRET.1PL to the inn  
*ac agoryd ein sachau, yna wele arian*  
 and.CCOOR open.VN our sacks then behold money  
*pob vn ym mîn ei sach ef*  
 every one in mouth his sack he  
 ‘And it happened, when we came to the inn and opened our sacks, then behold, every man’s money was in the mouth of his sack.’ (1588, Genesis 43:21)
- (b) *wayhî kî bānū [...]*  
 and.CONS-happen.IMPERF.3SG<sup>28</sup> when.SUB come.PRF.1PL  
*wanniṭṭāḥāh*  
 and.CONS-open.IMPERF.1PL  
 ‘and it happened when we came [...] and we opened’

<sup>26</sup> Cook (2010: 10, 12) rejects the traditional labels, such as *waw*-consecutive, and instead suggests ‘past narrative conjugation’ (‘it is marked for “past” tense, and it is generally restricted to “narrative” discourse’) and ‘irreal perfect’; see Cook (2010), for a survey of the various terms used in scholarship and further discussion.

<sup>27</sup> The Latin glossing in the *Hebraicorum Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti Latina interpretatio*, p. 67, here provides, with the direction of script reverted, two finite verbs: *cum peccauerit [...] & fecerit*’.

The data in my corpus provides strong evidence for a close association in the translation process between Hebrew constructions with a *waw*-consecutive and Welsh constructions with a verbal noun in the second coordinand of a pair of subordinate clauses. There is no formal equivalence between the two constructions, with a finite verb in Hebrew and a nonfinite form in Welsh, but arguably a functional one, since Welsh bare verbal nouns instead of finite verbs appear to be used in contexts of continued narration of verbal events, similar to the contexts of *waw*-consecutives.

As noted earlier, Hughes observed that, in the pattern with a verbal noun, the subject of the finite verb may, or may not, be identical with the semantic subject of the following verbal noun(s). For obvious communicative reasons, the referent of a new subject is marked on the verbal noun if this referent can be, or needs to be, identified. More interesting perhaps, and in need of further research, is the variation which can be observed in the marking or non-marking of continued ‘semantic subjects’, as seen in the following two examples:

- (19) *Ac efe a ddywedodd, pan fyddoch fydwagedd i*  
 and he PRT say.PRET.3SG when.SUB be.PRS.SBJV.2PL midwives to  
*'r Hebraeesau, a gweled o honoch eu*  
 the Hebrew.women and.CCOOR see.VN from.2PL their  
*hescoredd-le*  
 place.for.giving.birth  
 ‘And he said: “When you are midwives for the Hebrew women and you see their place for giving birth”’ (1588, Exodus 1:16)

- (20) *Pan fedech dy gynhaiaf yn dy faes,*  
 when.SUB cut.PRS.SBJV.2SG your harvest in your field  
*ac anghofio yscub yn y maes, na*  
 and.CCOOR forget.VN sheaf in the field PRT.NEG  
*ddychwel iw chymmeryd*  
 turn.back.IMP.2SG to.her fetch.VN  
 ‘When you cut your harvest in your field and have forgotten a sheaf in the field, do not turn back to fetch it’ (1588, Deuteronomy 24:19)

In the Hebrew versions of both verses, the subject is contained in the verbal forms:

28 The consecutive imperfect here, *way-hî*, which opens a verse, is a special case, and, ‘rather than implying a continuation with what has preceded, has little more force than “now it happened”’ (Weingreen 1959: 92).

- (21) *ūrə'îten*  
and.CONs-see.PRF.2PL  
'and you saw'
- (22) *wəšākahtā*  
and.CONs-forget.PRF.2SG  
'and you forgot'

There is one example in my corpus of the marking of a 'new subject' with the preposition *i*:<sup>29</sup>

- (23) *A phan gyrhaeddo llaw dŷn dieithr*  
and when.SCONJ achieve.PRS.SBJV.3SG possession man foreign  
*neu alltud [gyfoeth] gyd a thi, ac i 'th frawd*  
or stranger wealth with you and.CCOOR to your brother  
*dlodi gyd a thi, ai werthu ei hun i 'r*  
become.poor.VN with you and.his sell.VN himself to the  
*dieithr*  
foreigner  
'And if a foreign man or stranger becomes rich [living] with you, and  
your brother becomes poor [living] with you and sells himself to the  
foreign man' (1588, Leviticus 25:47)

In the two instances in my corpus of the variant of the third pattern in which a verbal noun follows the disjunctive coordinator *neu* (iii.1), a disjunctive 'or'-coordinator and a nonfinite verbal form are used in the Hebrew text, as in (24), so that the two texts are structurally parallel:

- (24) (a) *Pan werthech ddim i 'th gymydog*  
when.SUB sell.PRS.SBJV.2SG anything to your neighbour  
*neu brynnu ar law dy gymydog, na*  
or.DCOOR buy.VN from your neighbour PRT.NEG  
*orthrymmwch bawb ei gilydd*  
oppress.IMPR.2PL anyone 3MSG companion  
'And if you sell anything to your neighbour or buy anything  
from your neighbour, do not oppress each other' (1588,  
Leviticus 25:14)
- (b) *'ōw qānōh*  
or.DCOOR buy.INF

<sup>29</sup> For a discussion of the marking of agents on verbal nouns in Early Modern Welsh, with further references, see Raphael Sackmann's contribution to this volume.

‘or buying’

In the first of the rare Welsh examples of pattern (ii), with a second finite verb preceded by a complementizer (25a), word order in the second coordinand differs from the one in the Hebrew version. In the latter, a *waw*-copulative (glossed ‘and.ccoor’) is used separated from the finite verb by a pronoun and a noun – the *waw*-consecutive, on the other hand, needs to precede the finite verb immediately. This Hebrew order cannot be replicated in Welsh. Both versions, however, have a finite verb in the second coordinand.

- (25) (a) *aberth Pasc yw ef ir Arglwydd yr hwn*  
 sacrifice Passover be.PRS.3SG it to.the Lord the one  
*a bassiodd heb law tai meibion Israel yn yr*  
 PRT pass.PRET.3SG past houses children Israel in the  
*Aipht pan darawodd efe yr Aipht, ac*  
 Egypt when.SUB strike.PRET.3SG he the Egypt and.ccoor  
*yr achubodd efe ein tai ni*  
 COMP save.PRET.3SG he our houses us  
 ‘It is the sacrifice of Passover to the Lord, who passed over the  
 houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he struck the  
 Egyptians and saved our houses’ (1588, Exodus 12:27)
- (b) *bānāḡāpōw ’eṭ miṣ-ra-yim wə’eṭ*  
 in.PREP-strike.INF it Egypt and.ccoor-it  
*bāttēnū hiṣṣîl*  
 our.households deliver.PRF.3SG  
 ‘when he struck Egypt and delivered our households’

In the second example of this pattern, (26), the Welsh translation of the Hebrew text is loose:

- (26) (a) *Wrth dy gleddyf hefyd y byddi fyw, a ’th*  
 by your sword also PRT be.FUT.2SG alive and your  
*frawd a wasanaethi, onid bydd [amser]*  
 brother PRT serve.PRS.2SG until.SUB be.FUT.3SG time  
*pan feistrolech di, ac y*  
 when.SUB control.PRS.SBJV.2SG you and.ccoor PRT  
*torrech ei iau ef oddi am dy wddf.*  
 break.PRS.SBJV.2SG his yoke he from.around your neck  
 ‘You will live by your sword and will serve your brother, until it  
 will be the time when you will be in control and you will tear  
 his yoke from your neck.’ (1588, Genesis 27:40)

- (b) *ka'āšer* *tārîd*  
 according.to.PREP-when.PART be.restless.IMPERF.2SG  
*ūpāraqtā* *'ullōwh*  
 and.CONS-tear off.PRF.2PL his.yoke  
 'when you are restless and tear off his yoke'

In the Hebrew source, (27b), of the third Welsh example, with the negative complementizer *na*, (27a), a *waw*-copulative, and not a *waw*-consecutive, is used, since the negative adverb here precedes the finite verb.

- (27) (a) *A phan eloch tros y ffordd, ac*  
 and when.SUB go.PRS.SBJV.2PL over the way and.CCOOR  
*na wneloch orchymynion hyn*  
 COMP.NEG do.PRS.SBJV.2PL commandments these  
 'And when you have erred and have not observed these  
 commandments' (1588, Numbers 15:22)
- (b) *wəḵî tišgū wəlō*  
 and.CCOOR-if.SUB err.IMPERF.2PL and.CCOOR-not  
*ta'āšū*  
 observe.IMPERF.2PL  
 'and if you erred and did not observe'

The intermediate results of the comparison of *pan*-clauses describing two (or more) coordinated verbal events in the Five Books of Moses in the Welsh translation of 1588 with the parallel passages in the Hebrew version provide evidence for recurring translational correspondences, especially for the first and third Welsh patterns. For the third pattern, the nearly systematic equation in translation of Hebrew phrases containing *waw*-consecutives with Welsh phrases containing the coordinator *a(c)* and a bare verbal noun in the second (or third) coordinand furthermore allows important insights into Morgan's perception of the textual pragmatics of both the *waw*-consecutive and the bare verbal noun in coordination patterns as well as into his understanding of the functional similarities between the two constructions.

Finally, it should be noted that the instances of the third pattern in the translation of 1588 remained unchanged in its revision of 1620.

## 7 OS-CLAUSES WITH COORDINATED VERBAL EVENTS IN THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES

In order to perform a check on the preliminary results of the analysis of *pan*-clauses in the Five Books of Moses, I also examined constructions with the

subordinator *os* in the same texts. Syntactically and functionally, the situation with regard to *os* is more complex, since there are two homonyms, the ‘neutral’ subordinator *os* ‘if’, followed by a finite verb, as in (28a), and *os* ‘if (it is)’ followed by an element other than a finite verb, as in (28b) and (28c). Historically, *os* is a clefting device and represents the combination of the subordinator *o* ‘if’ with the third-singular present indicative of the verb ‘to be’ (Evans 1964: 241). This is seen in (28b), in which non-agreement between the second-singular antecedent and the third-singular verb marks the relative construction. In (28c), on the other hand, agreement between the first-singular antecedent and the first-singular verb signals a pragmatically neutral ‘abnormal’ (or verb-second) clause in which a constituent precedes the finite verb.<sup>30</sup> Already in Middle Welsh, *os* was sometimes used for *o* with a finite verb directly following (Evans 1964: 241–242).<sup>31</sup> For the purpose of this study, only instances of *os* followed by a finite verb are systematically explored (but see (31) below).

- (28) (a) *Ac efe a ddywedodd fy arglwydd, os cefais*  
 and he PRT say.PRET.3SG my Lord if.SUB find.PRET.1SG  
*yn awr ffafor yn dy olwg di, na ddos*  
 now favour in your sight you PRT.NEG go.IMP.2SG  
*heibio*  
 past  
 ‘And he said: “My Lord, if now I have found favour in your sight, pass not away”’ (1588, Genesis 18:3)
- (b) *Yna y byddi rydd oddi wrth fy melldith, os*  
 then PRT be.FUT.2SG free from my oath if.it.is  
*ti a ddaw at fy nhŷlwyth*  
 you PRT come.PRS.3SG to my kindred  
 ‘Then you shall be clear from my oath, when you come to my kindred’ (1588, Genesis 24:41; example from Richards 1938: 180)

30 The text in the Bible of 1588 has a different construction with the temporal subordinator *pan* and a verbal noun instead of a second finite verb, the third pattern: *A phan elwyf* [go.PRS.SBJV.1SG], *a pharatoi* [VN] *lle i chwi, mi a ddeuaf* (1588, John 14:3). The Greek text has two finite verbs in the subordinate clause depending on one subordinator, *kai ean poreuthō kai hetoimasō* [and.CCOOR if.SUB go.AOR.SBJV.1SG and.CCOOR prepare.AOR.SBJV.1SG]. The 1620 version of the Bible is closer to the Greek source than the 1588 Bible, in using a conditional clause (see Thomas 1976: 412) and two finite verbs. The use of ‘abnormal-order’ constructions with *os* in the 1620 Bible requires further research, but is beyond the scope of this paper.

31 For an in-depth historical analysis of the development of the realis conditional marker *os* in Welsh, see Willis (Forthcoming). I wish to thank David Willis for allowing me to read his paper before publication and to refer to it. I owe the reference to Williams (1980) to his paper.



- (c) *Ac os myfi a af, ac a*  
 and if.SUB I PRT go.PRS.1SG and.CCOOR PRT  
*barattoaf le i chwi, mi a ddeuaf*  
 prepare.PRS.1SG place to you, I PRT come.PRS.1SG  
*drachefn*  
 again  
 ‘And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again’  
 (1620, John 14:3; example from Williams 1980: 159)

Table 2 summarizes the distribution in the Five Books of Moses in the Welsh translation of 1588 of the three main patterns with the conjunction *os* followed by a finite verb and of a related minor pattern. Again, the third pattern with a verbal noun in the second (and third etc.) coordinand is the most frequent one, occurring in altogether 89% of examples. In the overwhelming majority of instances,  $29 / 32 = 91\%$ , pattern (iii) in the Welsh translation corresponds to a phrase with a *waw*-consecutive in the Hebrew source, as seen in (29b) and (29d). In the Welsh translation of the latter, seen in (29c), Morgan first reproduces the two coordinated subordinators followed by finite verbs, resulting in pattern (i), and then translates the final *waw*-consecutive with a verbal noun, as is his wont, resulting in pattern (iii).

		no.
Pattern (i)	<i>os V ... ac os V</i>	2
Pattern (ii)	<i>os V ... ac ni V</i>	2
Pattern (iii)	<i>os V ... a(c) vN</i>	32
Pattern (i.1)	<i>os V ... neu os V</i>	2

**Table 2** Distribution of patterns with *os* in the 1588 translation of the Five Books of Moses

- (29) (a) *Neu os dychwel y cîg byw a throi*  
 or if.SUB turn.PRS.3SG the flesh alive and.CCOOR turn.VN  
*'n wynn: yna deued at yr offeiriad*  
 PRT white then come.IMP.3SG to the priest  
 ‘Or if the raw flesh changes again and turns white, let him come to the priest.’ (1588, Leviticus 13:16)
- (b) *kî yāšūb habbāšār haḥay*  
 if.SUB turn.IMPERF.3SG the.flesh raw  
*wənehpak*  
 and.CONS-change.PRF.3SG

‘if the flesh turns raw and changes’

- (c) *Ond os gwyraist ti oddi wrth dy*  
 but if.SUB turn.aside.PRET.2SG you from your  
*ŵr, ac os halogwyd ti, a*  
 husband and.CCOOR if.SUB defile.PST.IMPERS you and.CCOOR  
*chydio o neb a thi, heb law dy*  
 copulate.VN from someone with you except your  
*ŵr dy hun*  
 husband your own  
 ‘But if you have turned aside from your husband, and you have  
 been defiled, and someone has copulated with you beside your  
 husband’ (1588, Numbers 5:20)
- (d) *kî sātīt [...] wākî*  
 if.CONJ turn.aside.PRF.2SG and.CCOOR-if.SUB  
*niṭmēt wayyittên ’iš*  
 become.unclean.PRF.2SG and.CONS-stretch.out.IMPERF.3SG man  
 ‘if you turned away [...] and if you became unclean and a man  
 stretched out’

In (30 a), Morgan translated a *waw*-consecutive with the coordinator ‘and’ and a verbal noun in the second coordinand, as expected, and then repeated the pattern with a verbal noun in the third coordinand, here, however, linked by the disjunctive coordinator *neu* ‘or’; in the Hebrew source, the disjunctive ‘or’-coordinator and the *waw*-consecutive necessarily exclude each other.

- (30) (a) *OS lledratta vn ŷch, neu ddafad ai*  
 if.SUB steal.PRS.3SG one ox or sheep and.CCOOR-its  
*ladd neu ei werthu taled bum ŷch am*  
 kill.VN or.DCOOR its sell.VN pay.IMP.3SG five oxen for  
*ŷch, a phedair dafad, am ddafad*  
 ox and four sheep for sheep  
 ‘If a man steals an ox or a sheep and kills it or sells it, he shall  
 pay five oxen for an ox and four sheep for a sheep.’ (1588,  
 Exodus 22:1)
- (b) *kî yiṣnōḇ [...] ūṭāḇāḥōw*  
 if.SUB steal.IMPERF.3SG and.CONS-slaughter.PRF.3SG  
*’ōw mākārōw*  
 or.DCOOR sell.PRF.3SG  
 ‘if he steals [...] and slaughters or sells’

As pointed out above, I ignore constructions with *os* followed by an element other than the finite verb in the first coordinand for the purposes of this study. I will, however, draw attention to two options available for the realization of the second coordinand, with either another coordinated finite verb, as seen in (31 a), or a coordinated verbal noun, as seen in (31 c). These constructions raise intriguing questions about their pragmatics and the extent to which they convey constituent focus or not (see above, 28 b/28 c), which will repay separate study. Note that both the finite form *scrifenna* in (31 a) and the verbal noun *gwneuthur* in (31 c) correspond to a Hebrew finite verb:<sup>32</sup>

- (31) (a) *Os ei gŵr diwethaf ai casâ hi, ac a scrifenna lythyr yscar iddi*  
 if.SUB-it.is her husband last PRT-3FSG hate.PRS.3SG she  
 and.CCOOR PRT write.PRS.3SG letter separation to.3FSG  
 ‘If (it’s) her last husband (who) hates her and writes a letter of separation to her’ (1588, Deuteronomy 24:3)
- (b) *wākātāb*  
 and.CONS-write.PRF.3SG  
 ‘and he wrote’
- (c) *Os gan wrando y gwrandewi ar ei lais ef, a gwneuthur cwbl a lefarwyf, mi a fyddaf elyn i ’th elynion*  
 if.SUB-it.is with listen.VN PRT listen.PRS.2SG to his voice  
 he and.CCOOR do.VN all PRT say.PRS.SBJV.1SG I PRT  
 be.FUT.1SG enemy to your enemies  
 ‘If you will listen with listening to his voice and do everything I say, I will be an enemy of your enemies’ (1588, Exodus 23:22)
- (d) *wā’āsītā*  
 and.CONS-do.PRF.2SG  
 ‘and you do’

In the case of patterns (i) and (ii), the structure of the Hebrew source is reproduced in the Welsh translation, as seen in the following two examples for (i.1) and (ii) respectively.<sup>33</sup> In (32 d), a *waw*-copulative, and not a *waw*-consecutive, is used, since the negative adverb here precedes the finite verb, as in (27 b) above.

<sup>32</sup> A preliminary analysis of the distribution of these constructions indicates that constructions with verbal nouns are more frequent than constructions with finite verbs.

<sup>33</sup> For the purpose of this paper, I ignore the potentially interesting question of the translational strategies resulting in negated verbal-noun phrases as seen in *heb gaeu* in (32 a); see also (37) below.

- (32) (a) *Ac os egyr gŵr bydew, neu os*  
 and if.SUB open.PRS.3SG man pit or.DCOOR if.SUB  
*cloddia vn bydew, ac heb gaeu arno*  
 dig.PRS.3SG one pit and without covering on.3MSG  
 ‘And if a man opens a pit, or if one digs a pit and does not cover it’ (1588, Exodus 21:33)
- (b) *wəḵî- yiptah [...] ’ōw kî*  
 and.CCOOR-if.SUB- open.IMPERF.3SG or.DCOOR if.SUB  
*yikreh*  
 dig.IMPERF.3SG  
 ‘if he opens [...] or if he digs’
- (c) *Ac os rhodiwch yng-wrthwyneb imi ac*  
 and if.SUB walk.PRS.2PL against to.1SG and.CCOOR  
*ni fynnwch wrando arnaf fi, yna*  
 COMP.NEG wish.PRS.2PL listen.VN on.1SG I then  
*chwanegaf bla saith mwy arnoch*  
 increase.PRS.1SG plague seven more on.2PL  
 ‘And if you walk against me, and do not wish to listen to me, I will bring seven times more plagues upon you’ (1588, Leviticus 26:21)
- (d) *wə’im- tēlakū ‘immî qerî*  
 and.CCOOR-if.SUB- walk.IMPERF.2PL to.me contrary  
*wəlō tōbū*  
 and.CCOOR-not be.willing.IMPERF.2PL  
 ‘and if you walk against me and are not willing’

All relevant constructions of the translation of 1588 remained unchanged in its revision of 1620.

The results of the analysis of subordinate clauses introduced by the ‘neutral’ subordinator *os* describing two (or more) coordinated verbal events in the Five Books of Moses in the Welsh translation of 1588 agree with the results of the analysis of *pan*-clauses: again, the pattern with a coordinator and a verbal noun in the second coordinand is the most frequent one, and again a nearly systematic correspondence in translation emerges between this Welsh pattern and a phrase with a *waw*-consecutive in the Hebrew source.

## 8 PAN-CLAUSES WITH COORDINATED VERBAL EVENTS IN THE GOSPELS AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

In the preceding two sections it was shown that in the Five Books of Moses a specific pattern in subordinate clauses describing two (or more) coordinated

		Gospels	Acts	total
Pattern (i)	<i>pan</i> V ... <i>a phan</i> V ...	1		1
Pattern (ii)	<i>pan</i> V ... <i>a(c) y/na</i> V ...	1	2	3
Pattern (iii)	<i>pan</i> V ... <i>a(c) vN</i> ...	16	10	26
Pattern (ii.1)	<i>pan na</i> V ... <i>eithr y</i> V ...	1		1

**Table 3** Distribution of the patterns with subordinator *pan* in the Gospels and Acts in the 1588 Bible

verbal events is remarkably frequent, namely the pattern in which the verbal event in the second (and following) coordinand is realized as a verbal noun. Furthermore, arguments were advanced for translational correspondences between the use of the verbal noun, which was codified by Hughes as the default option in the language of the early modern Welsh Bible, and a specific Hebrew syntactic construction, namely the *waw*-consecutive. Perhaps inevitably, this observation directs attention to the formation of such subordinate clauses in the New Testament, which is based on source texts in Greek.

Table 8 summarizes the distribution of the three main patterns with the subordinator *pan* and of a related minor pattern in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the 1588 Bible.<sup>34</sup> Pattern (iii), in which a verbal noun is used to express the verbal event in the second coordinand, is again the most frequent one, used in 84% (26 / 31) of all examples. Since the analysis of the Old Testament texts invited the hypothesis of translational correspondences between the use of the verbal noun and a specific Hebrew syntactic construction, it now needs to be tested if there exists a similar association in translation between this Welsh construction and a Greek one in the New Testament texts.

A characteristic context in the Greek source for the pattern with a verbal noun involves constructions with participles which are rendered with a subordinate temporal clause introduced by *pan*. In his discussion of changes that Morgan introduced during the revision of Salesbury's translation, Thomas (1976: 340–341) observes that Morgan tends to translate participles in the Greek text either with an adverbial subordinate clause (the example he gives features the subordinator *pan*) or with a verbal-noun phrase (the examples he

<sup>34</sup> The issue of the syntax of the corresponding sentences in the Welsh Bibles of 1567 and 1620 will be addressed below.

gives feature the preposition *wedi* ‘after’ in collocation with a verbal noun).<sup>35</sup> In my data, participles occur in 11 out of 16 Greek parallels (69%) in the Gospels and in all parallels in the Acts of the Apostles. For example, a Greek participle and a finite verb in a temporal clause correspond to a Welsh *pan*-clause of pattern (iii) in (33 a), as do two Greek participles in (33 c).<sup>36</sup>

- (33) (a) *Ac yr oedd y mab hynaf yn y maes,*  
and PRT be.IMPERF.3SG the son oldest in the field  
*a phan ddaeth efe a*  
and.CCOOR when.SUB came.PST.3SG he and.CCOOR  
*nesau at y tŷ, efe a glywodd gerdd*  
approach.VN to the house he PRT hear.PRET.3SG music  
‘And his oldest son was in the field, and when he came and  
approached the house, he heard music’ (1588, Luke 15:25)
- (b) *kai hōs erchomenos ēngisen tē*  
and.CCOOR while come.PTCP.PRS draw.near.AOR.3SG the  
*oikia*  
house  
‘and while coming [up] he drew near to the house’
- (c) *Yr hwn pan ddaeth, a gweled grâs*  
the one when.SUB come.PRET.3SG and.CCOOR see.VN grace  
*Duw, a fu lawen ganddo*  
God PRT be.PRET.3SG pleased with.3MSG  
‘The one, when he came and saw the grace of God, was glad’  
(1588, Acts 11:23)
- (d) *paragenomenos kai idōn*  
come.PTCP.AOR and.CCOOR see.PTCP.AOR  
‘having come and having seen’

In the case of (33 a), the same syntactic pattern is realized in both Salesbury’s translation of 1567 and in Davies’s and Parry’s translation of 1620. Such syntactic identity between the three translations occurs in 7 out of 26 instances of the pattern with a verbal noun in the second coordinand in Morgan’s translation. In the case of (33 c), on the other hand, the syntactic pattern agrees in the versions of 1588 and 1620, whereas 1567 is syntactically different, with two verbal nouns depending on the preposition *gweddy* ‘after’:

<sup>35</sup> Salesbury used coordinated main clauses in the instances quoted by Thomas, but this is not always the case, see below (34), (36b).

<sup>36</sup> For the sake of economy and clarity, I only provide glossed fragments of the Greek text which are relevant for my argument; these correspond in most instances to the phrases highlighted in bold in the Welsh quotations.

- (34) *Yr hwn gwedy ei ddyvot a' gwelet rrat Dew,*  
 the one after.PREP his come.VN and.CCOOR see.VN grace God  
*llawen vu ganthaw*  
 pleased be.PRET.3SG with.3MSG  
 'The one, having come and seen God's grace, was pleased' (1567,  
 Acts 11:23)

Translating a Greek participle with a subordinate temporal clause, as in (33c), is a strategy noted for Morgan by Thomas (1976: 341).<sup>37</sup> Syntactic agreement between the versions of 1588 and 1620 against the version of 1567 – that is, Morgan's revision of Salesbury's translation is taken over in 1620 – is found in altogether 6 instances (out of 26).

Syntactic agreement between the versions of 1567 and 1588, with a revision in the 1620 version, is rarer and appears in my corpus of *pan*-clauses in only two instances (out of 26), see (35).<sup>38</sup> Here, Salesbury and Morgan use a *pan*-clause with a finite verb followed by two verbal nouns to render a Greek temporal clause with three coordinated finite verbs; three coordinated finite verbs are also used in the 1620 version, arguably in order to provide a more literal translation.<sup>39</sup>

- (35) (a) *Gwyn eich byd pan eich cablo*  
 blessed your world when.SUB 2PL revile.PRS.SBJV.3SG  
*dynion a 'ch erlid, a dywedyd*  
 men and.CCOOR 2PL persecute.VN and.CCOOR say.VN  
*pob rhyw ddryg-air am danoch*  
 every kind bad-word about.2PL  
 'You are blessed when men revile you and persecute you and  
 speak all kinds of evil words about you' (1588, Matthew 5:11)
- (b) *Gwyn eich byt pan ich an-vria dynion,*  
 blessed your world when.SUB 2PL revile.PRS.3SG men  
*a 'ch erlit, a doedit pop ryw*  
 and.CCOOR 2PL persecute.VN and.CCOOR say.VN every kind  
*ddrwc am danoch*  
 evil about.2PL (1567, Matthew 5:11)

<sup>37</sup> See similarly Luke 22:45 with a main clause with two coordinated finite verbs in 1567 and with a subordinate temporal clause in 1588 and 1620.

<sup>38</sup> The other example is John 19:33.

<sup>39</sup> The same relation between 1588 (pattern (iii)) and 1620 (pattern (ii)) is found in the translations of Luke 6:22, Salesbury has the subordinator *pan* followed by finite verb in the second coordinand and then verbal nouns. This example is here classified as three different constructions in the three versions.



- (c) *Gwyn eich bŷd pan i'ch gwaradwyddant,*  
 blessed your world when.SUB 2PL defame.PRS.3PL  
*ac i 'ch erlidiant, ac y*  
 and.CCOOR COMP 2PL persecute.PRS.3PL and.CCOOR COMP  
*dywedant bob dryg-air yn eich erbyn*  
 say.PRS.3PL every bad-word against.you (1620, Matthew 5:11)
- (d) *hotan oneidisōsin hymas kai*  
 when.SUB insult.AOR.SBJV.3PL you and.CCOOR  
*diōxōsin kai eipōsin*  
 persecute.AOR.SBJV.3PL and.CCOOR say.AOR.SBJV.3PL  
 'when they shall insult you and shall persecute [you] and shall say'

For (36), both the texts of 1567 and 1620 disagree with the text of 1580 (as they do in altogether 11 instances out of 26), but in this case the texts of 1567 and 1620 agree with each other (as they do in altogether 7 instances).<sup>40</sup> The temporal subordinate clause in (36a) is another instance of Morgan's translational strategies for Greek participles, as noted by Thomas (1976: 341); the verbal-noun constructions in the texts of 1567 and 1620 could be considered to be closer to the Greek participles.

- (36) (a) *A phan bregethâsant i 'r ddinas honno,*  
 and.CCOOR when.SUB preach.PRET.3PL to the city this  
*ac ennill llawer o ddiscybion, hwy a*  
 and.CCOOR win.VN many of disciples they PRT  
*ddyghwelâsant i Lystra*  
 return.PRET.3PL to Lystra  
 'And when they had preached to this city and won many  
 disciples, they returned to Lystra' (1588, Acts 14:21)
- (b) *Ac wedy yddwynt praecethy ir dinas hono,*  
 and.CCOOR after.PREP to.3P preach.VN to.the city this  
*a' dyscy llawer, wy ymchwelesôt i Lystra*  
 and.CCOOR teach.VN many, they return.PRET.3PL to Lystra  
 'and having preached to this city and taught many, they  
 returned to Lystra' (1567, Acts 14:21)

<sup>40</sup> Another such instance is the translation of John 12:41, the only instance of pattern (i) with two coordinated subordinators followed by a finite verb in the version of 1588. In both 1567 and 1620 this is translated with pattern (ii), with a subordinator followed by a finite verb in the first coordinand and a complementizer followed by a finite verb in the second coordinand. This syntax may have been perceived to be closer to the Greek source with one subordinator followed by two coordinated finite verbs. The insertion of the complementizer is required by the rules of Welsh syntax.

- (c) *Ac wedi iddynt bregethu yr Efengyl i 'r*  
 and.CCOOR after.PREP to.3PL preach.VN the gospel to the  
*ddinas honno, ac ennill llawer o ddiscybion,*  
 city this and.CCOOR win.VN many of disciples  
*hwy a ddychwelasant i Lystra*  
 they PRT return.PRET.3PL to Lystra  
 'and having preached the Gospel to that city and won many  
 disciples, they returned to Lystra' (1620, Acts 14:21)
- (d) *Euangelisamenoi te tēn polin ekeinēn kai*  
 evangelize.PTCP.AOR then the city that and.CCOOR  
*mathēteusantes hikanous hypostrepsan eis tēn*  
 win.as.disciple.PTCP.AOR many return.AOR.3PL to the  
*Lystran*  
 Lystra

Finally in this section I will briefly consider the three examples in the version of 1588 of a negative complementizer to introduce the second coordinand. In one of these, the negative complementizer was also used in 1567 (Acts 27:15), but changed in 1620 to a verbal-noun phrase with the preposition *heb* 'without', which marks negative polarity on verbal nouns. In the other two instances (John 8:10 (= 37 a), Acts 12:19), the construction with *heb* is found in both 1567 and 1620; furthermore, these two versions of John 8:10 use a verbal-noun phrase with *gwedy* / *wedi* 'after' instead of the subordinator *pan* plus finite verb in the first coordinand as in 1588 – the alternative construction with preposition plus verbal noun may well have been perceived to be closer to the Greek source with its two participles.

- (37) (a) *A phan yminiawnodd yr Iesu, ac*  
 and when.SUB stand.upright.PRET.3SG the Jesus and.CCOOR  
*na welodd efe, neb ond y wraig, efe a*  
 COMP.NEG see.PRET.3SG he anyone but the woman he PRT  
*ddywedodd wrthi hi*  
 say.PRET.3SG to.3FSG she  
 'And when Jesus stood up and he did not see anyone but the  
 woman, he said to her' (1588, John 8:10)
- (b) *Gwedy i 'r Iesu ymdderchafel, ac eb*  
 after.PREP to the Jesus rise.VN and.CCOOR without  
*iddo weled nep, namyn y wreic, ef a*  
 to.him see.VN anyone except the woman, he PRT  
*dyvawt wrthei*  
 say.PRET.3SG to.3FSG

‘After Jesus had risen and had not seen anyone, except the women, he said to her’ (1567, John 8:10)

- (c) *A ‘r Iesu wedi ymwnioni, ac*  
 and the Jesus after.PREP stand.upright.VN and.CCOOR  
*heb weled neb, ond y wraig, a ddywedodd*  
 without see.VN anyone but the woman PRT say.PRET.3SG  
*wrthi*  
 to.3FSG  
 ‘And Jesus, after having stood up and not seeing anybody,  
 except the woman, said to her’ (1620, John 8:10)
- (d) *anakypsas [...] kai theasameno*  
 lift.PTCP.AOR and.CCOOR see.PTCP.AOR  
 ‘having lifted up [...] and having seen’

In the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles of the 1588 New Testament, pattern (iii), a *pan*-clause with a coordinator and a verbal noun in the second coordinand, is the most frequent pattern to form a temporal subordinate clause expressing two verbal events. The translational correspondence between this pattern and a specific Greek construction is less systematic than is the correspondence between it and the Hebrew *waw*-consecutive in the Five Books of Moses. However, a trend can be observed for its association with the translation of Greek constructions involving participles.<sup>41</sup> Whereas there is no variation with regard to the use of pattern (iii) between the versions of 1588 and 1620 of the Five Books of Moses, there is variation between the versions of 1567, 1588, and 1620 of the Gospels and Acts: taking the version of 1588 as my point of orientation, pattern (iii) is not realized in 17 instances in 1567 and in 13 instances in 1620, which means that pattern (iii) is realized in 9 instances in 1567 and in 13 instances in 1620.

## 9 OS-CLAUSES WITH COORDINATED VERBAL EVENTS IN THE GOSPELS

Subordinate *os*-clauses expressing two (or) more verbal events are attested only in the Gospels in my 1588 New Testament corpus, and they are overall quite rare, as Table 4 shows.<sup>42</sup> Pattern (iii) with a verbal noun still makes up 66% (4 / 6) of all instances, and competes only with the variant of pattern (ii) in which the second coordinand is introduced by a negative complementizer.

<sup>41</sup> The range of strategies for the translation into Welsh of Greek participles is a different issue and beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>42</sup> Again, I will not consider instances in which *os* is not followed immediately by the finite verb, but note that the two relevant instances of such *os*-clauses have a verbal noun in the second coordinand.

In the two instances of this pattern in my corpus, the Greek model with a subordinator and two finite verbs, the second of which is preceded by negation, is replicated in the Welsh translation.<sup>43</sup>

		no.
Pattern (ii)	<i>os</i> V ... <i>ac ni</i> V	2
Pattern (iii)	<i>os</i> V ... <i>a(c)</i> VN	4

**Table 4** Distribution of patterns with subordinator *os* 'if' in the Gospels and Acts in the 1588 Bible

Pattern (iii) is used to render Greek 'if'-clauses with either two finite verbs, as seen in (38), or with one finite verb and a participle. In three instances, the texts in the Gospels of 1567, 1588, and 1620 agree; in one instance, 1567 and 1588 agree in their use of pattern (iii), whereas in 1620 the syntax is different, with a noun following the subordinator *os* in the first coordinand and a finite verb in the second coordinand (38b), and with two finite verbs, as in the Greek text (38c).

- (38) (a) *Felly, os cyfyd Satan ac ymrannu*  
 Thus if.SUB rise.PRS.3SG Satan and.CCOOR divide himself.VN  
*yn ei erbyn ei hun, ni all efe barhau*  
 against.3SG himself PRT.NEG be able.PRS.3SG he last.VN  
 'Thus, if Satan rises and divides himself against himself, he will not be able to last' (1588, Mark 3:26)
- (b) *Ac os Satan a gyfyd yn ei erbyn*  
 and.CCOOR if.SUB Satan PRT rise.PRS.3SG against.3SG  
*ei hun, ac a fydd wedi*  
 himself and.CCOOR PRT be.FUT.3SG after.PREP  
*ymrannu, ni all efe sefyll*  
 divide.himself.VN PRT.NEG be.able.PRS.3SG he stand.VN  
 'And if Satan rises against himself and has been divided, he will not be able to stand' (1620, Marc 3:26)
- (c) *kai ei ho Satanas anestē eph' heauton*  
 and.CCOOR if.SUB the Satan rise.AOR.3SG against himself  
*kai emeristhē ou dynatai stēnai*  
 and.CCOOR divide.AOR.PASS not able.PRS.3SG stand.INF

<sup>43</sup> In one of these (Luke 14:26), the syntax in Salesbury's translation of 1567 is different and the second coordinand contains a verbal noun preceded by the preposition *heb* 'without'. Otherwise, the three versions agree.

‘And if Satan has risen up against himself and has been divided,  
he is not able to stand’

## 10 SUMMARY AND OUTLOOK

My micro-study of the expression of coordinated verbal events in subordinate clauses in Early Modern Welsh Biblical texts was restricted to clauses introduced by one of two subordinators, *pan* ‘when’ and *os* ‘if’. The three patterns identified for their formation in the medieval *Llyfr yr Ancr* are all attested in the Early Modern Welsh Biblical texts. The third pattern with a verbal noun in the second coordinand preceded by a finite verb in the first coordinand is the most frequent one.

The two parts of the corpus under scrutiny here, the Welsh translations of the Five Books of Moses and the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, are ultimately based on sources in two different languages, Hebrew and Greek. In spite of this, the expression of a second (and third etc.) verbal event by a coordinator and a verbal noun in subordinate clauses introduced by *pan* and *os* is not only the dominant pattern in both subcorpora, but also emerged as being associated with specific, and formally different, constructions in them. In the Books of Moses, it typically corresponds to a Hebrew subordinate clause in which a second (and third etc.) verbal event is expressed by a construction with a *waw*-consecutive. In the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, on the other hand, the same Welsh construction is typically, albeit less consistently, used to render Greek phrases which involve participles. Thus, the comparison of the Welsh texts with their Hebrew and Greek sources allows the identification of translational regularities. The Hebrew and Greek structures in the sources differ from each other and from their outcome in Welsh. From the linguist’s perspective, the ease and frequency with which verbal nouns were used in the Welsh translation suggests that this is a syntactic device which was entrenched in the Welsh system of coordination, and that it was therefore possible to exploit it creatively and idiomatically in the translations of Biblical texts.

The data presented here provides evidence for the reality of Hughes’s ‘rule’ with regard to the use of verbal nouns in the second coordinand in subordinate clauses, and it is therefore not surprising that the high frequency and visibility of the third pattern influenced Hughes’s perception and formulation of his ‘rule’ for the standard language derived from the language of the Early Modern Welsh Bible. The data also shows that other patterns were used as well and that the three attested patterns were acceptable, on the premise that translators aimed to produce grammatically acceptable utterances. Furthermore, the comparison between source text and target text

and the translational regularities observed invite the interpretation that the translators attempted to provide literal translations. This attempt may be further reflected in a number of changes implemented by Parry and Davies in the revision of Morgan's translations of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles (see (35), (36), (37), (38)).

Coordination of verbal events in subordinate clauses is an underresearched syntactic area in all stages of the history of Welsh, and it merits, and will repay, further synchronic as well as diachronic study – and such studies can greatly benefit from parsed corpora which will allow quicker scrutiny of larger sets of data. Promising research questions include:

- the actual attestation and relative frequency of the competing patterns, both synchronically within original and translated texts and diachronically over texts and genres;
- the range of attested subordinators;
- the range of attested coordinators and the influence of different types of coordinators (e.g. conjunctive versus disjunctive) on the form of subordinated clauses expressing coordinated verbal events;
- the internal structure of such subordinated clauses with regard to syntactic features, for example subject / agent (non-)identity between the coordinands;
- the range of possible tense–mood profiles the verbal noun may inherit from the preceding finite verb;
- in the case of translated texts, the structural relations between source text and target text.<sup>44</sup>

It may finally be worthwhile testing the hypothesis that composite subordinators consisting of preposition plus complementizer, such as *val y* 'like, as', may have provided a springboard for the use of coordinator plus complementizer in the second coordinand in subordinate clauses introduced by subordinators such as *pan*:

- (i) *val y V<sub>fin</sub> ... a val y V<sub>fin</sub> ...* > (ii) *val y V<sub>fin</sub> ... ac \_\_\_ y V<sub>fin</sub> ...* >  
 (iii) *pan V<sub>fin</sub> ... ac y V<sub>fin</sub> ....*

<sup>44</sup> Jongeling (2000: 131–132) refers very briefly, and supported with only one Old Testament example (Jeremiah 32:44 in the translation of 1988), to parallel uses of the verbal noun instead of a finite verb in Welsh and of an infinitive in Hebrew – the early-modern translations use a string of finite verbs; for the Hebrew infinitive absolute, see, for example, Gesenius & Kautsch (1910: 339–347). These constructions require further investigation.

Stages (i) and (ii) are attested in the Middle Welsh texts in *Llyfr yr Ancr*, but stage (iii) is not.

I will conclude the paper with brief remarks on the possible interest of the use of verbal nouns in the second coordinand of subordinate clauses for typological models of clause chaining and for theories of coordination. It was hypothesized above that the equivalents observed in the Welsh translation of the Five Books of Moses between verbal nouns in a second coordinand and *waw*-consecutives may be due to Morgan having perceived functional correspondences between the two constructions, and this invites their further consideration in a crosslinguistic perspective. Welsh verbal nouns in place of finite verbs in main and subordinate clauses are functionally associated with narrative continuation, and the use of such forms resembles that of medial verbs in clause chaining, as described by Haspelmath:

Medial verbs are verb forms which cannot be used in isolated independent sentences but have to be used together with another verb (the controlling verb) on which they depend in that they share (at least) the mood and tense of the controlling verb, and in that the reference of their subject is often determined by the controlling verb. (Haspelmath 1995: 20)

In clause chaining, '[m]edial verbs can generally be combined into longer sequences in which each medial verb depends on the verb that follows it immediately and which contain only one fully finite final verb' (Haspelmath 1995: 21), here with specific reference to Papuan languages with typically verb-final basic word order.

Haspelmath supplies an example from Swahili of what he calls 'posterior clause chaining', seen in (39), 'where the initial clause contains an independent verb and all following verbs are medial verbs' (Haspelmath 1995: 22). This sequence is associated with VO order (Haspelmath 1995: 23). In Swahili, the marker of a sequential medial-verb form is *-ka-*, whose characteristics are described by Haspelmath as follows:

[-*ka-*] is similar to a typical Papuan medial verb in that

- i. it cannot be used in an isolated sentence but must occur together with a controller verb;
- ii. it does not express (absolute) tense and mood, having the same tense and mood interpretation as the controlling verb;



- iii. chains consisting of an initial fully finite verb and following *-ka* forms can be quite long, much longer than a normal sentence in a European language. (Haspelmath 1995: 22)

- (39) *Hata siku ya kwanza ya juma Mariamu Magdalene alikwenda*  
 until day of first of week Mary Magdalene go.PST.3SG  
*kaburi-ni alfajiri, kungali giza bado akaliona lile*  
 grave-LOC before.dawn ? darkness still see.SEQ.3SG DEM  
*jiwe limeondolewa kaburi-ni Basi akaenda mbio*  
 stone remove.PRF.PASS grave-LOC PRT go.SEQ.3SG running  
*akafika kwa Simoni Petro*  
 arrive.SEQ.3SG to Simon Peter  
 ‘The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalena early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre. Then she runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter’  
 (John 20:1–2, Haspelmath 1995: 22)<sup>45</sup>

In contrast to the Swahili forms with *-ka-*, Welsh verbal nouns are non-finite. They can be used without a finite form preceding, and are in this case linked to the larger narrative context. They are not used in absolute text-initial position. When a clause with a finite verb precedes, the verbal-noun phrase is connected to it with a coordinator. These features make Welsh verbal nouns, when used in place of a finite verb in strings, different from medial verbs proper as defined by Haspelmath, and their place in a typology of clause chaining needs to be further explored.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Haspelmath’s glosses simplified and adapted. In the Welsh translation, a string of finite verbs is used in the translations of 1567, 1588, and 1620; the second verse begins with a sentence-initial verb:

- (i) *A ‘R dydd cyntaf o ‘r Sabboth, Mair Magdalen a ddaeth*  
 And the day first of the Sabbath, Mary Magdalena PRT come.PRET.3SG  
*y boreu, ac hi eto yn dywyll at y bedd, ac a*  
 the morning and.CCOOR it still PRT dark to the grave and.CCOOR PRT  
*weles y maen wedi ei dreiglo oddi ar y bedd. Yna*  
 see.PRET.3SG the stone after.PREP its turn.VN from the grave then  
*rhedodd hi, ac a ddaeth at Simon Petr*  
 run.PRET.3SG she and.CCOOR PRT come.PRET.3SG to Simon Peter

(1588, John 20:1–2)

<sup>46</sup> Disterheft (1981: 119) and Poppe (1995: 145–147) tentatively suggested parallels between the Welsh narrative verbal noun in main clauses and the Latin *infinitivus historicus*, but Rosén (1995: 562) points out that the latter ‘cannot be equated to the superficially comparable absolutes or gerunds in other Indo-European languages [...]; nor can it be equated to postposed structures containing a predicating verbal noun and coordinated to a finite-verb statement, as

Formally much closer to Welsh verbal nouns in place of a finite verb are Swahili constructions which [Riedel & de Vos \(2017: 266\)](#) call ‘&Inf constructions’, in which a tensed verb and an infinitive, marked by *ku-*, are coordinated, with consistent reference time between the two conjuncts, as in (40).

- (40) *Alisoma vitabu na kuandika barua.*  
 read.PST.3SG book and.CCOOR write.INF letter  
 ‘She/he read books and wrote letters.’

[Riedel & de Vos \(2017: 283\)](#) characterize the &Inf construction ‘as being used to introduce two closely pragmatically connected events where the first event serves to ‘set the scene’ or ‘establish the context’ (especially with respect to the location and event time) which the second event shares’.<sup>47</sup> They also contrast the use of forms with *-ka-*, which they call the ‘subsecutive tense’, and &Inf constructions:

The subsecutive tense is typically used to encode that events took place in an ordered sequence, especially for events that took place in the past. In many instances *-ka-* and the &Inf are in complementary distribution (the *ka*-tense with sequentially ordered events and &Inf with non-ordered events) but they can also be combined. In this case the event marked with the *ka*-tense and the event marked with the &Inf sequentially follow a prior event. ([Riedel & de Vos 2017: 282](#))

With regard to the issue of coordination versus subordination, medial verbs are considered by [Haspelmath \(1995: 23\)](#) to be ‘cosubordinate’, based on the observations that in Papuan OV languages (1) ‘medial clauses cannot appear in clause-internal position, i.e. in between immediate constituents of the main clause’; (2) ‘medial clauses cannot be extrapolated into clause-final position after the controlling verb’ (or into clause-initial position before the controlling verb, for languages like Swahili); and (3) ‘medial clauses cannot contain cataphoric pronouns’ ([Haspelmath 1995: 24–25](#)).<sup>48</sup> Haspelmath’s

in Semitic and Celtic – on account of their semantic and syntactic subordination to the preceding sentence’, highlighting the issue of subordination vs. coordination.

<sup>47</sup> For further discussion and examples, see [Riedel & de Vos \(2017: 282–284\)](#).

<sup>48</sup> See further [Haspelmath \(2004: 46–48\)](#) and [Haspelmath \(1995: 25–26\)](#): ‘Cosubordination is like subordination in that it is structurally asymmetric: there is an independent clause and a cosubordinate clause. The cosubordinate clause cannot stand alone as an independent clause and may depend on the independent clause for its tense, mood, and subject reference. Thus, both cosubordinate and subordinate clause are dependent. However, cosubordination is like coordination in that there is no embedding of one clause into the other clause. The cosubordinate clause is not part of the independent clause’.

criteria (1) and (2) also apply to Welsh verbal-noun phrases expressing the second (and third etc.) verbal event in narrative strings. Riedel & de Vos (2017: 270) suggest that the &Inf construction in Swahili ‘utilizes a syntactically/categorially true coordinator in order to achieve a subordinative *function*’. Their phrasing is strikingly reminiscent of Mac Cana’s (1999: 163–164) description of Middle Welsh ‘absolute phrases’, as seen in (41), as ‘nominal phrases formally coordinated but functionally subordinated and normally embodying an anaphoric reference’:<sup>49</sup>

- (41) *Gwelem* [...] *mynydd mawr gyr llaw y coet,*  
 see.IMPERF.1PL mountain huge beside the forest  
*a hwnnw ar gerdet.*  
 and.CCOOR that on.PREP walk.VN  
 ‘We could see a huge mountain beside the forest, and it moving.’  
 (PKM 39.24)

The functional and typological similarities between such absolute phrases and Welsh verbal noun phrases expressing the second (and third etc.) verbal event in narrative strings as well as the ratio of coordination and subordination in the two constructions require further and more detailed research.

## GLOSSES

Glossing follows Leipzig Glossing Rules. Additional glosses are listed in the table below.

<sup>49</sup> For further discussion of Welsh absolute phrases, see Scherschel (2020: 15–17). The typological affiliations of such Welsh absolute phrases with the narrative (or historical) infinitive in French and other Romance languages require further research. According to Stage (2006: 83), the narrative infinitive in Modern French has the following canonical elements, ‘[conjunction] – [groupe nominal] – [connecteur temporel] – [*de* + infinitif]’, for example: *et Pierre de compléter* ‘and Pierre rounding off’ (Stage 2006: 83). For a helpful presentation of the main syntactic and textual features of the French construction, see Stage (2006); for examples from earlier periods of French and other Romance languages, see, for example, Lombard (1936). For a theory-driven approach with further references, see Alboiu & Hill (2019). The obligatory presence of a marker makes the French construction different from the Welsh narrative verbal noun and links it with the Welsh absolute phrase.

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AOR	aurist
CCOOR	conjunctive coordinator
CONS	consecutive
COOR	coordinator
DCOOR	disjunctive coordinator
IMPERF	imperfect
IMPERS	impersonal
PERFP	perfect particle
PREP	preposition
PRET	preterite
PRT	particle
SEQ	sequential
SUB	subordinator
VN	verbal noun

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