

Anapaestoid Meter in Welsh Poetry

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1 Pitch Accentuation and Alliteration in Cyghanedd Poetry

As demonstrated at a previous meeting of CSANA,¹ the basic accentuation rule of *cyghanedd* ('correspondence') poetry is properly based upon the pitch accent of the ultima and not, as traditionally believed, upon the stress accent which usually occurs in the penult of di- and polysyllabic words.

When we follow the bardic tradition and count alliterations back through the line from the stress accent of the last emphasized word of the half-line, we must construction a complicated and contradictory set of accentuation rules. As summarized in Rowlands' *Poems of the Cywyddwyr*.² These rules are as follows:³

Emphasis and consonantal correspondence: the line is divided into two parts, each ending in an emphasized word (and it should be noted that words not normally stressed, such as prepositions, can be emphasized for this metrical purpose at the end of the first part of the line). Consonants correspond absolutely, in order, in each of the two parts of the line, before the accented vowel of the emphasized word. If the word has more than one syllable, and is accented on the penultimate syllable, the consonant(s) between the accented penult and the unaccented last vowel must be taken into account. Words in Welsh are either (1) monosyllables or polysyllables with the last syllable accented or (2) polysyllables with the penultimate syllable accented. It follows, therefore, that there are four possible classes of consonant correspondence: with both emphasized words similarly accented (*cytbwys*) or differently accented (*anghytbwys*), and the last emphasized word in the line ending in an accented syllable (*acennog*) or in an unaccented syllable (*diacen*).

1. *cytbwys acennog* ' '
2. *cytbwys diacen* '' ''
3. *anghytbwys acennog* ' ''
4. *anghytbwys diacen* '' '

In 1, 2, 3, 4, the consonants correspond in front of the accent. In 2, 3, 4, the consonants also correspond after the accent. In 1 the consonants do not correspond after the accent, as this would mean that the two emphasized words would end in identical consonants. This might not be wrong in all cases, but rhyme (*odl*) must be avoided as must *proest* (half-rhyme, where the consonants are identical and the vocalic elements belong to the same class). It is a general rule that *odl* and *proest* must be avoided between the emphasized words in a line of *cynghanedd*.

These four rules necessitate exceptions as well as exceptions to the exceptions. In the end, however, they are allowed to be violated by a prescribed “fault.” The complexities and the problems inherent in them derive from correspondences occurring between consonants before the accented syllable in one half-line and after the accented syllable in the other.

All of these problems are resolved, however, if we posit the correspondences before the pitch accent. When we do this, the complex rules above are reduced to the one simple, invariant rule:

Consonants correspond absolutely, in order, in each of the two parts of the line, before the pitch-accented vowel of the emphasized word.

Moreover, the evidence for a pitch-accent based rule is also corroborated by rhyme. Welsh maintains what appears to be a very curious pattern of masculine rhyme in which a stress-accented ultima corresponds with a nonstress-accented ultima. This is tantamount to rhyming English *ring* with *going*. The following are examples of this rhyme pattern:⁴

a'i llyw main yn tyllu môr
 a'i dengwart ai' dau angor
 a'i hywylbren hi fal bronhau
 a'i naw bwned yn bennau.

In the first couplet, a monosyllable with both stress accent and pitch accent rhymes with a disyllable with the stress accent on the penult and the pitch accent on the rhyming ultima. In the second couplet, a disyllable with both stress accent and pitch accent on the ultima rhymes with a disyllable with the stress accent on the penult and the pitch accent on the rhyming ultima.

If we establish the pitch accent as the primary accent for poetry, however, the problem abruptly ceases to exist: In all of the instances above, pitch-accented syllables are rhyming with pitch-accented syllables.

This new theory might be seen as quite radical because it contradicts centuries of tradition built upon the bardic grammars. Nonetheless, the application of the pitch-based rule in *cynghanedd* poetry eliminates all of the irregularities in alliteration and brings the rhyme scheme out of the realm of the exotic and into a credible role as a simple, direct, and rhythmical mnemonic device.

That such a device should have played so important a role in the early development of the poetry in spite of the pronouncements of the bardic grammarians is not actually so surprising. After all, the grammarians were undoubtedly influenced by the importance of stress accent in Late Latin and English and may indeed have overlooked the rather more obvious role of pitch accent. Indeed, Thomas Parry even notes, “These codes and treatises are really accounts by various individuals of bardic practices as they saw them, or as they thought they should be. Even so, they rarely give a true account of the facts.”⁵

2. Rhymes and Anapaests in the “Ymddiddan”

If the pitch accent is indeed the primary accent at least in the early development of Welsh poetry, then it should surface in early works. Since *The Black Book of Carmarthen* provides us with the oldest manuscript,⁶ let us examine the first poem in that collection, “*Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*” — an exchange between Myrddin and Taliesin. The editions used in this study are Jarman’s *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* for the book as a whole and Jarman’s *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* for the first poem in particular.⁷

As noted by J. Gwenogvran Evans,⁸ what we find in the manuscript may be two poems that have been conflated by scribal error. Roughly the first half — 20 lines in five stanzas — is marked by consistent internal rhyme and follows one regular metrical pattern, while the second half has different, more varied patterns.

To determine the metrical pattern of the first half, let us begin by examining one fairly regular stanza spoken by Taliesin. Although irregularities abound in such poetry transmitted first in the oral tradition and later in the scribal, this selection is relatively regular and straightforward. In the following, the stressed syllables of the emphasized words are marked with an acute accent (´) in keeping with the traditional interpretation, and the rhymes are underlined:

Rys úndant oet rýchvant y tárian. 12

hid átt <u>ad</u> yd aeth rá <u>d</u> kývlau(<u>a</u>) <u>n</u> .	13
llas kýnd <u>ur</u> tra méss <u>ur</u> y kuý <u>nan</u> .	14
llas háel <u>on</u> o dí <u>non</u> tra ú <u>uan</u> .	15
Tryuir. nó <u>d</u> maur ei cló <u>d</u> . gan. élg <u>an</u> .	16

One rather obvious fact that we tend to forget in the rigors of our poetic analyses is that the rhymes in poetry coming down from the oral tradition are there for a mnemonic purpose — to help the reciter remember the lines. Consequently, an irregular and difficult rhyme scheme would be far less useful than a regular and direct one, while a rhyme occurring after a predictable number of syllables and maintaining a constant rhythm would help the reciter remember the lines while producing a pleasant rhythmic effect.

When we examine the selected stanza from within the traditional assumption of a stress-based rhyme scheme, however, we find a complicated situation in which the stressed syllable either precedes the rhyming syllable or cooccurs with it. This variation prompts Jarman (*Ymddiddan*, pp. 5-8) to posit different metrical patterns. The existence of different patterns would not be so problematic if they were predictable, but there is no pattern to the occurrence of any particular meter. For a mnemonic device, then, such a difference in metrical patterns is quite unhelpful. Indeed, the unpredictability of the variation in metrical pattern would make memorization all-the-more difficult.

What if, however, we were to start completely afresh and mark the rhymes with an “x” above the rhyming syllables? Certainly, this is how the poets and reciters must originally have viewed the lines, so that they could be easily remembered. When we do this, we find the following:

x x x	
Rys und <u>ant</u> oet rychv <u>ant</u> y tari <u>an</u> .	12
x x x	
hid att <u>ad</u> yd aeth rá <u>d</u> kyvlau[<u>a</u>] <u>n</u> .	13
x x x	
llas kynd <u>ur</u> tra mess <u>ur</u> y kuyn <u>an</u> .	14
x x x	
llas hael <u>on</u> o dí <u>non</u> tra u <u>uan</u> .	15

x x x
Tryuir. nod maur ei clod. gan. elgan. 16

In each and every rhyme — be it in a monosyllable or disyllable (or polysyllable) — the “x” turns out to be assigned to the pitch-accented syllable. Moreover, if we consider the rhymed syllables to have a phrase-culminative pitch⁹ and the other syllables to have relatively lower pitch, which is necessary for a regular rhythm, we end up with an astounding degree of regularity. Making use of traditional metrical notation (to be sure, established for quantitative accent rather than for pitch-based accent), if we represent the unaccented syllables with a micron (˘) and the accented syllables with a macron (¯), we can scan the stanza as follows:

˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	12
˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	13
˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	14
˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	15
˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	16

What we see here with extreme clarity are very regular, metrical anapaests. Internally, the rhyme falls on the pitch-accented syllable of succeeding anapaests; and externally, the rhyme falls on the pitch-accented syllable of the final anapaests in the line. Only in line 13 is there an irregularity in the manuscript, and Jarman (*Ymddiddan*, p. 57) has supplied the missing letter that corrects the meter. We should note for corroboration that he has supplied it from nonmetrical considerations, not from any evidence of pitch-based anapaests.

Certainly, this metrical pattern fulfills the requisite of rhyme in poetry: It is a simple, direct mnemonic device that aids in the recitation of the poem. Moreover, it supports a regular rhythm by the repetition of the same pattern throughout. If nothing else, the very regularity of the meter should show us that this pitch-accent based interpretation is compelling.

The anapaestic analysis of the first 20 lines (five stanzas) of the poem shows striking regularity. Indeed, when we incorporate the corrections made by Jarman (*Ymddiddan*, pp. 59-63) as well as the regular epenthetics and reductions, the regularity is quite phenomenal, given the age of the poem (and the expected number of transmissions):

Mor truan genhyf mor truan	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
A deryv am deduyv a chaduan,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Oed llachar kyulauar kyuflauan,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Oed yscuid o tryuruyd o tryuan.	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Oed maelgun a uelun in imuan,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	5
Y teulu rac troyuulu ny thauant.	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Rac deuur ineutur y tirran,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Rac errith a gurriith y ar welugan,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Mein wineu in diheu a dygan,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Moch guelher y niuer gan elgan.	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	10
Och ae leith maur a teith y deuthan.	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Rys undant oet ruchvant y tarian,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Hid attad yd aith rad kyulau[a]n,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Llas kyndur tra messur y kuynan,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Llas haelon o dinon tra uuan,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	15
Tryuir not maur eu clod gan elgan.	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Truy a thruï, ruy a ruy y doethan,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Trav a thrau im doth brau am elgan,	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Llat dyuel oe divet kyulauan	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	
Ab erbin ae uerin a wnaethant.	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘	20

The only metrical irregularity in these 20 lines is very obviously a missing syllable in the first line — one that should rhyme with *truan*. That we could so easily come to such a conclusion speaks to the regularity of the rhyme and meter. The only irregularity in rhyme is between *dyuel* and *divet* in line 19, which may well be the product of a scribe more intent on alliteration than on internal rhyme, as alliteration would have been more familiar to the scribe at a later date. Again, such a conclusion speaks for the regularity of the rhyme and meter.

3. Hyperanapaests

In all five poems that maintain consistent and patterned internal rhyme in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, an anapaestoid pattern is evident. Only the *Ymddiddan*,

however, has a nine-syllable line consisting of three traditional three-syllable anapaests. The others have what might be termed “hyperanapaests” — with three unaccented syllables before the tonic ultima. These are consistently organized into hyperanapaestic trimeter with twelve-syllable lines consisting of a sequence of three feet.

The four poems in the collection that utilize these hyperanapaests (following the Jarman edition) are (3) *Devs Ren Rymaw Y Awen*, (4) *Hervit Vrten Autyl Kyrridven*, (11) *Mawl I Dduw*, and (22) *I Hywell Ap Goronwy*. As all of these show a remarkable similarity of form, let us summarize the pattern in the first stanza of the first poem and in the final stanza of the final poem.

3.a Devs Ren Rymaw Y Awen. In this poem (the third in the Jarman edition),¹⁰ we find that the hyperanapaestic trimeter characteristic of all five poems is quite regular, as shown in the following sample:

Devs ren rymaw y awen. amen fiat
 fynedic waud. fruythlaun traethaud. trybesttaud heid.
 Hervit urten autl dyrridven. ogyrven amhad.
 Amha[d] anav areith awyrlav. y cav keineid.
 Cuhelin bart. kymraec hart kidvwrthodiad. 5
 Kert kymuynas. ked kywatas. cas amtimeid.
 Cathyr. kywystraud. kyvan volaud cluttaud attad.
 Kywrgein genhid. cor a chiwid. kyhid kydneid.
 Kywyrghirn kyvle kywlaun flamde kywvire vad.
 Kenetyl woror. kywrisc woscord. kyg[or] hygneid. 10
 Kywolv. waur. kywarvs mavr. kir llavr eirccheid.
 Kerit vychod. kerenhit nod clod achvbiad.
 Clo kelvid. kant kalan kid. kynvllid greid.

From the first lines, it is evident that the pattern in which the first two feet rhyme internally and the third rhymes externally (as we found in the *Ymddiddan*) is maintained. With the longer feet, however, a further device is possible. It appears from lines 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, and 12 as though the pattern might actually consist of two hyperanapaests rhyming internally, followed by one iamb rhyming internally and one iamb rhyming externally. While such a meter might appear to be properly intricate and precise, it actually does not hold up (at least in the extant transmission). As we see from the other lines, the final internal rhyme is not restricted to an iamb, but may occur anywhere within the third hyperanapaest. Indeed, there are lines

elsewhere in the collection in which the final internal rhyme occurs within the word. Nonetheless, the more precise pattern may well have been an ideal toward which the poet would have striven; and at least some instances in which it is not achieved in the extant manuscript may be due to an error introduced in transmission.

In scanning these lines, we should first recognize that the total linear syllable-count of twelve must be maintained. In some cases, an apparent extra syllable is introduced by such devices as epenthetics, which are not counted as syllables in the meter.¹¹ In other cases, the apparent extra syllables are added by scribal error.

Once again removing such “extra” syllables and accounting for known scribal errors (those covered by the notes in Jarman *Llyfr Du*), we can scan the lines under study as follows:

∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	
∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	
∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -	-
∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	
∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	5
∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	
∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	
∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	
∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	10
∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	
∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	
∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	∪ ∪ ∪ -	

As before, the meter is remarkably regular considering the length of time between the composition and the extant manuscript and consequently the number of transmissions. Indeed, there are a few rather clear possibilities (such as the full definite article *y* in line 1) that might account for some of the irregularities. While this is still not perfect (and transmitted poetry rarely is), it nonetheless demonstrates a degree of pattern regularity that is quite convincing of the hyperanapaestic-trimmetrical structure of the poem; and, of course, the long lines would have to be justified in traditional analyses as well, for they do after all exceed the twelve-syllable limit.

3.b I Hywell Ap Goronwy. The final stanza of “*I Hywell Ap Goronwy*,” consisting of lines 35-49 of the twenty-second poem in the Jarman edition, is as follows:

Vy rypuched y colowin ked. clod pedrydant. 35
 Ryuel dywal vrien haval. arial vytheint.
 Gurisc gueilgi dowyn. kyvid hehowin colofyn milcant.
 Llugirn deudor. lluoet agor. gur. bangor breint.
 Prydus *perchen priodaur* ben. pen pop kinweint.
 Gorev breenhin or gollewin. hid in llundein. 40
 Haelaw lariau. levaf teccaf. o adaw plant.
 Gwerlig haelaw haeton gvaut veitiadon vaton vetveint.
 Goruir menic mur *gwerennic* guruhid gormant.
 Terruin am tir. ri reith kywir. o hil morgant.
 O morccanhvc o rieinvc radev rvytheint. 45
 O teernon kywrid leon. galon reibeint.
 Vn vid veneid y ellyspp bid. gelleist porthant.
 Hoethyl hir ac ew. a chein y atew trvi artuniant.
 Vrten arnav. rad ac anaw. a ffav a phlant.

As is characteristic of the pitch-based hyperanapaestic trimeter, the first two feet rhyme internally, and the third foot contains a repetition of the internal rhyme and ends with the external rhyme. Remarkably, the scansion produced in this stanza is completely regular. Indeed, its very regularity tends to point out lines with scribal errors. This stanza can be scanned as follows, making the usual allowances and those described below:

~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	35
~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	
~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	
~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	
~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	
~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	40
~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	
~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	
~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	
~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	45
~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	
~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	~ ~ ~ -	

o o o - o o o - o o o -

Line 37 needs some special attention, as a cursory scansion shows far too many syllables. The apparent first syllable of the first word was likely seen as a nonsyllabic,¹² reducing the syllable-count by one; and the fact that the internal rhymes correspond with an epenthetic in the third foot indicate that they, too, were interpreted as epenthetics. Thus, a line that appears to be hopelessly overextended actually adheres quite neatly to the hyperanapaestic trimeter. Likewise, line 48 contains an epenthetic and an extra article already identified as such by Jarman (*Llyfr Du*, p. 107).

This leaves line 42 as the only problematic line in the stanza. As Jarman (*ibid.*) notes, however, the line is repeated in another place in the *Black Book* (BBC 133) as *Gwerlig haeton, gwaut veitadon, vaton vetweint*, which fits the meter exactly. This line is thus quite obviously and attestedly the product of scribal error.

When all of these matters are taken into account, the hyperanapaestic trimeter of the entire stanza is maintained without exception. This is indeed a remarkable finding — one that strongly supports the metrical structure.

4. Conclusion

As we see in these analyses, the poems in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* with internally rhyming correspondences maintain trimeters based upon anapaestoids — classical anapaests with three syllables and hyperanapaests with four. Moreover, these anapaestoids are not based upon quantity or stress, but upon the natural culminative pitch accent pattern of Welsh, which once again consists of rising pitch throughout the word with a culminative high-pitch accent on the ultima. This in fact requires the natural pattern of metrics to be anapaestoid, with pitch rising to the culminative accented syllable at the end of the word and the head of the phrase.

The facts that Welsh does have this anapaestoid accent pattern naturally in the language and that an anapaestoid interpretation of the early Welsh poetry reveals remarkable regularity should convince us of one crucial fact: The primary accent pattern in the development of Welsh poetics has been not stress, but pitch. While the primacy of the final tonal accent in Old Welsh has been well established in linguistic works,¹³ the implications of this accent for the poetic meter have not been recognized.

By freeing ourselves from the rules of the bardic grammarians, and by conducting poetic analysis afresh on the data themselves, we find a far more elegant system of anapaestic and hyperanapaestic trimeter occurring in tandem with the internal rhymes of some poetry composed during the transition from Old Welsh to Middle Welsh. It is altogether possible (if not probable) that such regular, anapaestoid meters

abounded in Old Welsh, only to be lost or altered by scribes who, following the bardic schools, strove toward consonant alliteration and stress accent patterning and thus failed to recognize the pitch-based metrical patterns.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the existence of a more extensive use of anapaestoid meters can be found in *Armes Prydein*.¹⁴ In a work in progress, this researcher has found that the *Armes* was evidently composed from different sources, at least one of which was regularly anapaestoid and at least one of which used the innovative *Cyhydedd Naw Ban*. Thus, it does appear that the anapaestoid meters may well have been the older, but not the only metrical pattern in Old Welsh.

NOTES

1. Toby D. Griffen, "A Single Accent Rule for *Cynghanedd*," joint meeting of the Celtic Studies Association of North America and the University of California Celtic Colloquium, May 1996, Los Angeles. A more extensive article on the subject can be found in "A Single Accent Rule for *Cynghanedd*," *Journal of Celtic Linguistics*, in press.

2. Eurys I. Rowlands, *Poems of the Cywyddwyr: A Selection of Cywyddau c. 1375-1525*, (Dublin, 1976), p. xxviii-xxix.

3. For further discussions and insights into the poetry, see John Morris Jones, *Cerdd Dafod*, pp. 262-90; J.J. Evans, *Llawlyfr y Cynganeddion*, 2nd ed. (Cardiff, 1951), pp. 13-15; Alan Lloyd Roberts, *Anghenion y Gynghanedd* (, 1972), pp. 15-20.

4. Rowlands, *Poems of the Cywyddwyr*, p. 40. These lines are contiguous, from line 35 to line 38, in a *cywydd* by Lewys Glyn Cothi entitled "*Moliant Gruffudd ap Rhys ab Ieuan pan oedd ar y môr*." For further comment on this matter, see Griffen, "A Single Accent Rule for *Cynghanedd*."

5. Thomas Parry, *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse* (Oxford, 1962), p. x. For background on the bardic grammarians, see G.J. Williams and E.J. Jones, *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaidd* (Cardiff, 1934).

6. Meic Stephens (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales* (Oxford, 1986), p. 41.

7. A.O.H. Jarmon (ed.), *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, (Cardiff, 1982) and A.O.H. Jarman (ed.), *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin (O Lyfr Du Caerfyrddin)* (Cardiff, 1967), respectively. See also W.F. Skene (ed.), *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, (Edinburgh, 1868); J. Gwenogvryn Evans (ed.), *Black Book of Carmarthen*. (Evans, 1906); and Merion Pennar (ed. & trans.), *The Black Book of Carmarthen* (Felinfach, 1989).

8. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Black Book of Carmarthen*, p. 161. As pointed out in Jarman's *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* (pp. 3-5), this argument basically follows that of Eberton Phillimore.

9. The primary pitch accent, or intonation, of a phrase — compare Watkins *Ieithyddiaeth*, pp. 29-31.

10. Jarman (*Llyfr Du*, p. xli) identifies the meter as *rhupunt*, citing Morris Jones' *Cerdd Dafod* (pp. 312, 331-33). Morris Jones reconstructs the Old Welsh metrical equivalent without noting the anapaestoids, because, basing his analysis on stress accent, he also had to count other accented syllables within the (pitch-based) foot. He goes on to define the later development of the meter in stress-based terms.

11. The epenthetic is actually an “extended syllable,” which is why it has not counted as an “extra” syllable throughout the history of Welsh poetry. On syllable extension, see T.D. Griffen, “The Extended Syllable,” *Linguistic Studies in Honor of Bohdan Saciuk*, ed. by Robert M. Hammond and Marguerite G. MacDonald, pp. 277-84 (West Lafayette, IN, 1997).

12. Nonsyllabics are glides within a consonant cluster that, while they may superficially appear to be vocalic, are not. See T.D. Griffen, “Nonsyllabics in *Armes Prydein*,” *The Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 3 (1994), 74-93.

13. Of course, the entire controversy on the Old Welsh accent assumed that there was a pitch accent on the ultima, whether or not there was a stress accent as well – see, for example, T. Arwyn Watkins, “The Accent in Old Welsh — its Quality and Development,” *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 25 (1972), 1-11; also, Toby D. Griffen, “Epenthesis and the Old Welsh Accent Shift.” *Studia Celtica* 26/27 (1991/92), 163-74, which contains a review of the literature. The routine assumption of this accent can be found in such articles as Patrick Sims-Williams, “The Emergence of Old Welsh, Cornish and Breton Orthography, 600-800: The Evidence

of Archaic Welsh," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 38 (1991), 20-86.

14. Ifor Williams (ed.), *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain*, English Version by Rachel Bromwich (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1972).