## 5. The Pronouns

### Personal pronouns

1. The personal pronouns of Middle Cornish can be divided into six groups, the first of which may be termed <u>independent</u>, whereas the other five could collectively be called dependent because they can only be used in close relationship to a noun or a verb. These five groups are made up of the <u>possessive</u>, <u>infixed possessive</u>, <u>infixed object</u>, <u>suffixed single</u> and <u>suffixed double</u> pronouns.

In the following description the paradigms are given in phonemic transcription first, followed by a survey of the various orthographic variants and examples illustrating the various uses of the pronouns.[1]

2. <u>Independent</u> pronouns are most frequently used as subject in a verbal clause. They may however also occur as object (especially with imperatives) or as a purely independent element in a sentence.

|          |      |       |        |     |        |
|----------|------|-------|--------|-----|--------|
| singular | 1    | /my/  | plural | 1   | /ni/   |
|          | 2    | /ty/  |        | 2   | /hwi/  |
|          | 3m.  | /ev/  |        | 3   | /i/    |
|          | 3f.  | /hi/  |        |     |        |

Orthography and examples:

1sg. /my/ is written <my> always in CE (three instances: CE.15, 16, 19) and <me> always in P. In ORD the most frequent spelling is <my> (*ca.* 85% in O), but <me> occurs also. In BM both spellings occur side by side. Twice in O it is linked orthographically to another word: <ha|mmy> 'and I' O.971, and <my|a yrvyr> 'I command' O.1219.
<my o|s re> 'give her [to] me' CE.15; <war en grey3 my|a|n|te> 'on the faith I swear it' CE.16; <my a|d pes> 'I beg you' CE.19; <me a|d wra arluth bras> 'I will make you a great lord' P.16d; <neb a wheleug[h] why me yw> 'the one you seek am I' P.68b; <Iowan 3e vab me a wra> 'I make John your son' P.198c; <my a vyn mones> 'I will go' O.730; <kyns me the treyle> 'before I return' O.1632;

2sg. /ty/ shows the same variation of spelling through the various texts: <ty> in CE (lines 1 and 12) and nearly always in ORD (always in O), <te> always in P, and both <ty> and <te> in BM.
<Golsoug ty cowe3> 'Listen. You, friend' CE.1; <ty a vy3 hy> 'you shall have her' CE.12; <te ny wo3as> 'you know not' P.46b; <te pylat la3|e la3|e> 'you Pilate, kill him, kill him!' P.142b; <pub er te 3en gura lewte> 'at all times, you man, do justice' P.175c; <ty a tharyvas> 'you did tell me' O.1105; <ty amalac ha gebal> 'you Amalek and Gebal' O.2812;

3sg.m. /ev/ may be written either <ef> (*ca.* 90% of all occurrences in CE and P) or <eff>.

[1] For the etymology of the personal pronouns, and their relation to the personal pronouns in Breton and Welsh see the articles by Hamp, 'Morphological correspondences in Cornish and Breton', *Journal of Celtic Studies* 2 (1953) 5-24, and 'Middle Welsh, Cornish, and Breton personal pronominal forms', EC.7 (1958) 394-401. A discussion in a wider context can be found in Peter Schrijver, *Studies in the History of Celtic Pronouns and Particles*. Maynooth Studies in Celtic Linguistics 2. Maynooth 1997.

In O only <ef> is found.

<ef emsetty|e wor3es|y> 'he sets himself against you' CE.26; <eff o crist> 'he was Christ' P.8d; <ef a clewas en colyek> 'he heard the cock' P.86a; <dremas yw ef leun a ras> 'a holy man he is, full of grace' P.103d; <eff nyn-i|o hard 3e notya> 'he dared not make it known' P.234b; <ef a ruk agan dyfen> 'he did forbid us' O.182; <ef a glew> 'he will hear' O.1658;

3sg.f. /hi/ is written <hy> in all instances.

<hy a vy3 gwreg ty da> 'she shall be a good (house)wife' CE.13; <ag ol 3e vo3 hy a wra> 'and she shall do all your will' CE.20; <hy a|n guelas ow co3e> 'she saw him fall' P.171c; <Fest yn tyn hy a wole> 'right bitterly she was weeping' P.222a; <3e vos gor3ijs hy yw gyw> 'to be worshipped she is worthy' P.226b; <hy leuerys> 'she said' O.289; <hy holon hy a torse> 'her heart, she would break [it]' O.2174;

1pl. /ni/ is always written <ny>.

<ny a yl gwelas> 'we can see' P.60a; <ny a|d cusyll na as> 'we counsel you, do not leave' P.116b; <an bewnans ny re gollas> 'life we have forfeited' P.246c; <kepar ha ny> 'like us' O.555; <ny a dreha> 'we will build' O.1715;

2pl. /hwi/ appears as <wy> (11 times in P) or <why> (5 times in P). In O only the spelling <why> is found.

<wy a|bys a levn golon> 'you that pray fulheartedly' P.1a; <why a theth 3ym yn arvow> 'you have come to me in armour' P.74a; <wy a glewyth> 'you shall hear' P.132d; <why re sorras an tas> 'you have angered the father' O.347; <why carpenters gentyl> 'you, good carpenters' O.2557;

3pl. /i/ is written <y> in all instances. For this grapheme the capital <I> is used, which in P.147d and P.162c appears in the middle of a line. Once, in P.29b, the pronoun is linked immediately to the verb: <y|eth> 'they went'.

<y a gowsys yn-tre3e> 'they said among themselves' P.50d; <I a wyskis cryst gans gwyn> 'they clad Christ in white' P.114a; <kemeas 3e Iosep y a rontyas> 'permission they granted to Joseph' P.230b; <y a nyg quyc hag vskys> 'they fly quickly and readily' O.1068; <y a dynagh> 'they will reject' O.1839;

**Note** 1. In case of an abstract referent ('it') the feminine form /hi/ is used: <hy yv the wel> 'it is the better' O.1628; <kyns hy bos nos> 'before it is night' O.2769;

**Note** 2. Normally, /ty/ is used always when a single person is the referent without this being familiar. On one occasion, however, God is referred to with the plural form /why/: <thymmo vy why a ros gvrek> 'to me you gave a wife' O.265.

**Note** 3. For the 3sg.f. a double form /hihi/ seems to occur once in P: <na byth moy mam neffre es hyhy te na whela> 'nor seek you not ever any more mother than her' P.198d. Nance analysed this construction as *essy-hy*, taking it as a conjugated form of /es/ 'than' with an additional suffixed pronoun (cf. Hooper's edition of Nance's text of P). Lewis took <hyhy> as a reduplicated independent pronoun (LlCC. 24(1) note, and L&P.351) and since Old Breton and Old Welsh appear to have similar forms as well (cf. DVGB. s.v. *hehi* (including a reference to Old Welsh *hihi* and HMB.51 Note 2), this may very well be correct. Middle Welsh contains a cmplete set of reduplicated independent pronouns (GMW.54(b)).

3. <u>Possessive</u> pronouns are used before nouns or verbal nouns.[2] Lenition is caused by the 2sg. and 3sg.m. forms, spirantisation by the 1sg., 3sg.f. and 3pl. forms (cf. II.2(5) and II.3).

| singular | 1 | /ow/ | plural | 1 /agan/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2 | /dhe/ | | 2 /agas/, /as/ |
| | 3m. | /y/ | | 3 /aga/ |
| | 3f. | /(h)y/ | | |

1sg. /ow/ is written <ow> or (rarely) <ov> in P. In O both spellings occur as well, but here <ov> is the most frequent form (*ca.* 86%). In P it is once linked to the preposition /dhe/ 'to' and once to the conjunction /ha/ 'and': <fatel dons th|ov hemeres> 'how they come to take me' P.61d; <ow lahys ha|w lauarow> ' my laws and my words' P.79b.[3] <pesough ow 3as> 'pray [you] to my father' P.52c; <e3ow … a beghas orth ov 3rayta> 'a Jew (…) who sinned in betraying me' P.145c; <ow eneff me a gymyn arluth un-tre 3e 3ewle> 'my soul I commend, lord, into your hands' P.204d; <ow bos mar veyll ow pewe> 'that I was living so vilely' (lit. 'my being living so vilely'; the second <ow> in this sentence is a verbal particle, cf. III.6.#) P.220c; <bethens formyys orth ov brys> 'be they created according to my judgement' O.8; <ov messyger, kyrgh ov courser> 'my messenger, bring my courser' O.1959;

2sg. /dhe/ is written <3e> in the majority of cases in P, though <the> does sometimes occur as well. In ORD, where the grapheme <3> is not used, the orthography is always <the>. In one instance, it is linked to the following noun: <yn the|fe> 'in your service' O.2434.
<mar co3es 3e les> 'if you know your advantage' CE.5; <the vestry a vyth le3ys> 'your power shall be diminished' P.17d; <3e voth may fo colenwys> 'your wish may be performed' P.48b; <Iowan 3e vab me a wra> 'I make John your son' P.198c; <the vap ysac yw the ioy> 'your son Isaac, [who] is your joy' O.1374;

3sg.m. /y/ is always written <y> (or as <I> when a capital is used).
<en tebell el a vynnas (…) y demptya> 'the evil angel wished (…) to tempt him' (lit. '(…) wished his temptation') P.13b; <I vam whek marya wyn> 'his sweet mother, blessed Mary' P.171a; <Ha spycis (…) ef a worras yn y veth 3e gryst a bub tenewen (…) worth a dreys ha worth y ben ha war ol y gorf yn-weth> 'and (…) spices he placed in his grave, on each side of Christ (…) at his feet and at his head and over all his body too' P.236a-c; <kafus y thege> 'to have his tithe' O.497; <na wrello y voth> 'who does not do his will' O.2093;

3sg.f. /(h)y/ appears in CE and P as <y> only (or as <I> when a capital is used). In O the spelling is always <hy>.
<nag vs y far> 'there is not her equal' CE.17; <ha gaffy 3e gafus y bo3> 'and forgive her to get her will' CE.22; <y don symon a sconys> 'Simon refused to carry it' (lit. 'her carrying', i.e. of the cross) P.174c; <Dre y holon y-3|eth seth y mab syndis pan welse> 'through her heart went an arrow when she saw her son injured' P.223a; <I feynys o bras ha creff>

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[2] Where a clear differentiation from the next group (the infixed possessive pronouns) is required the term prefixed possessive pronouns might be used for the group discussed here.
[3] Lewis, *LlLlC* §26 Nod (1) gives this form as an example of the infixed possessive pronoun, where we would expect /ow lahys ha'm lavarow/. If this interpretation is correct we should suppose a scribal error in which the copiist may have been influenced by the plural ending of the following word.

'her pains were great and strong' P.226a; <rag hy bos gvethen a ras> 'because of her ('it') being a tree of grace' O.186; <an welen-ma yn hy kunda treylys arte> 'this rod, into its form turned again' O.1459-60;

1pl. /agan/ is always written <agan> in P, except for one instance of <gonn> in <rag bonas gonn pegh mar vur> 'because of our sin being so great' in P.8c where the shortening may be due to the metre. In O it occurs as <agan> only.
<may fynnas dijskynna (...) gans y gyk agan perna arluth du gwyn agan bys> 'that he wished to descend (...) with his flesh to redeem us (lit. 'our redemption'); Lord god, (how) blessed is our world!' P.4cd; <war agan flehys yn fras ha warnan> 'upon our children greatly, and upon us' P.149d; <pascon agan arluth ker> 'the passion of our dear lord' P.228b; <agan corfow noth gallas gans deyl agan cuthe gvren> 'our bodies are become naked; with leaves let us cover ourselves' (lit. '(...) let us our covering do') O.253-54;

2pl. /agas/ is in P always written <agis>, with the ending <is> abbreviated in all occurrences. The short form /as/ appears as <as>. It is always used in a strictly plural sense, never as a formal form of address as in e.g. Modern Welsh *chwi*, Modern Breton *c'hwi*, English *you*, French *vous* (see also Note 2 above). In O the normal spelling is <agas>, but <ages> occurs once in O.543.
<agis negis pyth yw|e> 'your business, what is it?' P.69b; <why a vyn (...) me 3|y la3e agis mygtern> 'you wish (...) me to slay him? - your king!' P.148ab; <Olough rag agis fleghys ha ragough agis honon> 'weep for your children and for your own selves' P.169a; <ny vynnaf na fella agas gothaf> 'no longer do I wish your suffering' (i.e. 'do I wish you to suffer') O.1594-95; <rag as lafur why a|s beth behethlan ha bosaneth> 'for your labour you shall have Bohelland and Bosanneth' O.2766-27;

3pl. /aga/ appears in P always as <aga>. In O this is the most frequent spelling also, but two instances of <age> do occur in O.1631 and 2473.
<a|n hombronkyas (...) bys yn aga fryns annas o vn Iucter bras> 'they led him (...) to their prince, Annas, who was a great justice' P.76cd; <y kewsens 3|e scornye hag a gamma aga meyn> /(...) aga min/ 'they spoke to mock him and grimaced' (lit. '(...) they writhed their faces') P.137ab; <an e3ewon (...) a rug may wrellons terry aga mor3osow whare hag a-lena aga dry> 'the Jews (...) caused that they should break their thighs at once and carry them away' (lit. '(...) and away their carrying') P.229cd; <ro thethe aga hynwyn> 'give them their names' O.120; <y a dynagh (...) aga dvow myleges> 'they will reject (...) their accursed gods' O.1839-40;

4. <u>Infixed possessive</u> pronouns are used as enclitics after the prepositions /a/ 'of, from', /dhe/ 'to', /yn/ 'in', /re/ 'by' (in oaths), and the conjunction /ha/ 'and'. Formally it would be more proper to call these pronouns suffixed, but the term 'infixed' is traditional in grammars of Celtic languages and safeguards us from confusion with the pronouns discussed under 6 and 7 below. For the few examples where the (prefixed) possessive pronouns are used with /dhe/ and /ha/ see 3 above (whith the 1sg. form). Like the prefixed possessive pronouns these infixed forms are used before nouns and verbal nouns.
        Lenition is caused by the 2sg. and 3sg.m. forms, spirantisation by the 3sg.f. and 3pl. forms (cf. II.2(5) and II.3).

|          |     |        |        |     |        |
|----------|-----|--------|--------|-----|--------|
| singular | 1   | /'m/   | plural | 1   | /'gan/ |
|          | 2   | /'dh/  |        | 2   | /'gas/ |
|          | 3m. | /'y/   |        | 3   | /'ga/  |
|          | 3f. | /'y/   |        |     |        |

In the orthography, all these infixed pronouns are added directly to the preposition or particle, and sometimes the whole cluster of preposition or particle + pronoun + (verbal) noun is written as one orthographic unit.

The following examples are grouped according to the preceding prepostion or conjunction.

1sg. /'m/ appears as <|m> and causes a change in the vowel of the preceding prepositions /dhe/, /yn/ and /re/ which is reflected in the orthography by <u, v> or <o>. This is reminiscent of the spellings of unstressed /oe/ (cf. I.9#).

#With the preposition /yn/ this pronoun may fall together with the final /n/ in a form which could – if we omit the phonetic vowel change (which in this case is represented in writing in P only) – be transcribed as /y'n/.#

/a'm/: <a|m scudel dybbry a wra> 'out of my dish does he eat' P.43c; <a|m bewnans>, <a|m bevnans> 'about my life' P.73b, O.1886; <Pan-dra a wovente se 3e-wor3aff ve ha|m lahys> 'what do you ask of me about my laws?' P.80a; <ascorn a|m kyk> 'bone of my flesh' O.112;

/dhe'm/: <vn pols golyas (...) 3u|m comfortye> 'one moment watch (...) to comfort me' P.55d; <why a theth 3y|m yn arvow ... tho|m kemeres 3o|m syndye 3o|m peynye bys-yn crow> 'you have come to me in arms (...) to take me, to injure me, to torture me to bloodshed' P.74a-c; <thu|m wolcumme> 'to welcome me' O.258; <tho|m gvrek> 'to my wife' O.1036;

/y'm/: <me a gris yn ta spedye o|m negis haneth yn nos> 'I trust to speed well in my business this night' P.63b; <clevas bras es o|m|dewleff deve3ys> 'leprosy is come on my hands> P.156c; <y|m colon> 'in my heart' O.511; <yma cleves y|m body> 'there is sickness in my body' O.2146;

/re'm/: <ru|m lewte>, <ru|m lowte>, <ru|m loute>, <ru|m laute>, <ru|m levte> 'by my loyalty!' P.116c (and cf. P.157c), O.611, 2124, 2502, etc.; <ru|m fey>, <ru|m fay> 'by my faith' O.473, 1730, 2041, etc.;

/ha'm/: <ha leuerough bos gevys ol ow sor (...) ha|m gallus y vos grontijs 3o3o 3e> 'and say that all my wrath is remitted (...) and that my authority is granted to him' P.113cd; <my ha|m gurek ha|m flehas> 'I and my wife and my children' O.1168;

**Note**. Probably the form <am> in <gans am car> 'with my father' P.93c may be interpreted as a full form of the 1sg. infixed possessive pronoun /'m/ after the preposition /gans/ 'with'. Perhaps this is also what we have in <a thev gorwyth am ene> 'O God, keep well my soul' O.1356. An alternative for this latter example would be to take <gorwyth> in this instance as a noun and to read /gorwith a'm ene/ '(...) keeper of my soul'.

2sg. /'dh/ is written <|3> in CE, where the grapheme <th> is never used. In P the normal spelling seems to be <|th> (occurring only three times), though <|t> occurs twice and <|d> once. In O the normal orthography is <|th>, with five instances of <|d> occur also.
/a'dh/: <preder a|d enef> 'think of your soul' O.479; <a|th wlascor yn meys> 'outside your country' O.1573;
/dhe'dh/: <kymmerr|y 3e|3 wrek> 'take her to your wife' CE.10;[4] <pan dyffy 3e|th pow

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[4] With provection of the /r/ caused by the /h/ of /hi/?

predery a-hanaff gura> 'when you come to your country, do think of me' P.193b; <bos the|th ly ha the|th kynyow> 'food for your breakfast and for your dinner' O.1140; /y'dh/: <y|3 torn my o|s re> 'in your hand I give her' CE.15; <bos vuell ha seruabyll y|th seruys> /bos uvel (...)/ 'to be humble and diligent in your service' P.19c; <y|t allos y vos gorrys> 'it is put in your power' (lit. 'in your power it's being put') P.22c; <me a veth (...) y|th seruys> 'I shall be (...) in your service' P.49a; <pu a woras y|t colon cows yn-delma worth iustis> 'who put into your heart to talk thus to a justice?' P.81d; <y|th whys lavur the thybry ty a wra bys y|th worfen> 'in your sweat of labor shall you eat, until in your ending' O.273-74;
/ha'dh/: <y|to venions ha|d la3e> 'vengeance will come, and your death' P.123d;[5] <my ha|th vam> 'I and your mother' O.715; <ty ha|th pobel ol> 'you and all your people' O.1668;

3sg.m. /'y/ is written almost always <|y>, except when used with the preposition /dhe/, with which it is contracted. In that case both <3|y> (51 instances in P) and <3|e> (5 instances in P) occur. In O only <|y> is found.
/a 'y/: <Tus crist 3e-ves a fyas pep a|y|du> 'Christ's people fled away, each his own way' (lit. '(...) each of his side') P.77a; <goys a|y ben ha|y ysely a 3roppye> 'blood was dripping of his head and his limbs' P.173c; <del yw scrifys a|y 3eweth> 'as is written of his end' P.186d; <a|y dregereth> 'of his compassion' O.705; <a|y cof ny|n gas> 'from his memory he leaves it not' O.1478;
/dh'y/: <In meth crist (...) 3|y abestely> 'said Christ (...) to his apostles' P.57a; <the gryst y tons 3|y syndye ha 3|e dry 3e|n dor> 'to Christ they came to crush him and to bring him down' (lit. '(...) to the bringing of him to the earth') P97d; <th|y settye th|y le> 'to set it in its place' O.2571;
/ha 'y/: <satnas gans y antell ha|y scherewneth ha|y goyntis> 'Satan with his snaring and his wickedness and his cunning' P.19a; <corff Ihesus ha|y esely> 'the body of Jesus and his limbs' P.235a; <ha|y wrek ha|y flehes> 'and his wife and his children' O.932;

3sg.f. /'y/ appears in P and O always as <|y> and can thus in this text only be distinguished from the 3sg.m. through the context or by the different mutations caused by both pronouns.
/a'y/: <a|n wethen hag a|y vertv a|y frut a wrello dybry> 'of the tree and its (lit. 'her') power, that who of its fruit would eat' O.230-31;
/dh'y/: <paris ens 3|y huhu3as> 'ready they were to accuse her' P.33b; <Th|y gour hy a 3anvonas> 'to her husband she sent a message' P.123a; <nefre gustyth th|y gorty> 'ever obedient to her husband' O.295;
/ha'y/: <ha|y dagrow e 3evere ha|y dew lagas (...) ha|y holon whek a ranne> 'and her tears were flowing from her eyes (...) and her sweet heart would have been broken' P.222bc; <oll y drok ha|y anken> 'all her crime and sorrow' P.237d; <a|n wethen ha|y avalow> 'of the tree and its (lit. 'her') apples' O.176; <ha|y brewy> 'and the breaking of her' O.2719;

1pl. /'gan/ is found in P only once. In O it occurs eight times as <|gan> and once as <|gen>. In the preposition /dhe/ the vowel changes tot <a> when followed by this

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[5] The translation given here is Herniman's (following Stokes); it should be understood as '(...) and your (being put to) death'. Nance (Hooper's edition) translated 'there would come vengeance from thy slaying' (taking <ha| as the preposition /a/). If this latter translation is the correct one it might be preferable to analyse the line as <y|to venions ha|d la3|e> with a suffixed pronoun referring to the object 'from your killing (of) him'.

pronoun.

/dhe'gan/: <war an pren frut degis may fe sur 3a|gan sawye> 'on the tree might be borne a fruit, surely, to our salvation' P.153c; <tha|gan arluth lucifer> 'to our lord Lucifer' O.560; <meth vyth ol da|gen ehen> 'shame ever to our kind' O.2066;

2pl. /'gas/: occurs only once in P also and is written <|gas>. It occurs in O once also. /ha'gas/ <salmon ov map koroneugh ha|gas myghtern ef synseugh> 'crown Solomon my son, and [as] your king esteem him' O.2347-48; ##O.1724, 2585 LlLlC p.27##
<an nanssow wy a bys ra[g]|gas cuthe> 'the valleys you will beseech to hide you' P.170b;
3pl. does not occur at all in CE or P. In O it occurs seven times as <(a)|ga>, once as <(a)|ge> and once as <(a)|gha>.
<tha|ga aspye bysy war peyn bras da|ge gvythe> 'to watch them diligently, to guard them under great penalty' O.2039-40;
<ha|ga pobel ol ganse> 'and all their people with them' O.1574; <ha|gha fleghys> 'and their children' O.2834;

5. <u>Infixed object</u> pronouns were probably originally distinguished only from the infixed possessive pronouns in the 3sg. and pl. This stage seems to be reflected in P.[6] They are used with transitive verbs to denote the object and occur after the verbal particles /a/, /y/, /re/, the negations /na/ and /ny/, and sometimes after a conjunction.

     After the conjunctions /a-ban/ 'since', /del/ 'so, as', /kyn/ 'though' and /pan/ 'since' syllabic forms are found, in which case the vowel is always /y/. In P only such forms of the 3sg.m. are found after /pan/ (see below for examples).[7]

     In constructions where the object is an abstract, undefined 'it', the 3sg.m. form /'n/ is used.

     Rarely, the object is given twice, as in <Ihesus yw a|n caffan ny> 'it is Jesus whom we would take' (lit. 'Jesus it is, whom we would take him') P.67c; <a|n gruk ef thotho haual> 'made him like unto himself' O.878.

     The use of these object pronouns in the verbal construction representing the notion 'to have' is discussed in 6.14. Examples for that construction have been omitted here (except in some cases where no other examples were available).

| singular | 1 | /'m/ | plural | 1 /'gan/, /'n/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2 | /'dh/ | | 2 /'gas/ |
| | 3m. | /'n/ | | 3 /'s/ |
| | 3f. | /'s/ | | |

     Orthographically, these infixed pronouns form a unity with the preceding word, and sometimes the whole group of particle + infixed pronoun + verb is written together.

     The following examples are grouped per preceding particle.

1sg. is always written <|m> and causes a vowel change similar to the one caused by the infixed possessive pronouns. This change affects the particles /y/, which appears as <o|> (in P only), and /na/, which in this case is spelled <nv|>.[8]

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[6] For an exception – possibly due modernisation by a later copiist – see the sole example of the 2pl. form.

[7] P.104d <moy pegh a pan dyspresyas ys del|o pan yn guer3e> has generally been taken as an exception to this rule; the first <pan> being analysed as <pa|n> conjunction + inf.pronoun. So Herniman (p.262): '*pan yn dyspresyas* required really'. But a translation 'it was a greater sin when he undervalued, than when he was selling him', with only one reference to the object, seems to be possible and makes it unnecessary to take this sentence as an exception.

[8] In P this <nv|m> occurs only in the verbal construction denoting the meaning of 'to have' (P.37b and 104c).

<pedyr te a|m nagh tergweth> 'Peter, you shall deny me three times' P.49c; <wy a|m gwylvyth> 'you shall see me' P.93d; <gans y gorf a|m dynythys> 'who with his body begot me' O.863; <dev a|m danfonas> 'God has sent me' O.1480;

<prag o|m|gwysketh yn-delma> 'why do you strike me thus?' P.82d; <En tas a nef y|m gylwyr> 'The father of heaven I am called' O.1;

<ow 3as ro|m growntyas 3ewy> 'my father has granted me to you' P.75c; <ef ru|m sorras> 'he has angered me' O.424; <re|m gorre the gosoleth> 'may he put me to rest' O.858;

<an beys th|y terry na|m gas> 'the earth will not allow me to break it' O.372;

<ow thus 3ewy ny|m delyrfsens> 'my people would not have delivered me to you' P.102b; <ny|m gvelyth arte> 'you will not see me again' O.244; <ny|m pref den war gowardy> 'no man shall prove me of cowardice' O.2161;

<ma|m gasso> 'that it allow me' O.377;

<aban ym sawyas ef> 'since he has healed me' O.1774;

<del ym kyrry>, <del ym kerry> 'as you love me' O.537, 890, 1370, etc.;

2sg. is written <|d>, <|3>, <|th> or <|t>. The spelling <|d> is the most frequent one with 7 examples in CE and P, <|th> occurs 5 times in P and <|3> occurs twice in CE, where the grapheme <th> is not used, and once in P. <|t> occurs only once in P. In O only <|th> and <|d> are found.

<my a|d pes>, <my a|d peys>, <my a|d pys>, <me a|d peys> 'I beg you' CE.19, O.326, 723, 728, etc.; <mar a|3 herg> 'if he commands you' CE.27; <gans crist me a|d welas> 'with Christ I have seen you' P.84c; <ny a|d cusyll> 'we counsel you' P.116b; <me a|th kelm fast> 'I will bind you fast' O.1361;

<in-vrna y|3 sens 3e vos meystres> 'than, maintain (imp.) yourself to be mistress' CE.31; <y|th lathaf> 'I will kill you' O.1533; <y|th pysaf>, <y|th pesaf> 'I pray you' O.1566, 2255; <y re|t flamyas> 'they have blamed you' P.92b;[9] <herodes re|th tenyrghys> 'Herod has greeted you' P.115b; <an jawl re|th ewno th|y glas> 'may the devil adjust you to his belly' O.2527;

<yn bys den-vyth na|th latho> 'that no man in the world may slay you' O.603;

<me ny|th dampnyaf> 'I will not condemn you' P.34d; <ny|th nahaff> 'I will not deny you' P.49d;

<del yth pysaf> 'as I pray you' O.1390;

3sg.m. is always written <|n>. On two occasions in P the verbal particle before <|n> is written <e>. In the first of these (P.62b) it must stand for /a/, in the other (P.248b) for /y/.[10]

<war en grey3 my|a|n|te> 'on the faith I swear it' CE.16; <mar a|n kefy3 in danger> 'if you get him under control' CE.35; <gans mowys y a|n|scornyas> 'with grimaces they mocked him' P.95c; <pur vylen y a|n pyltye hag yn spytis a|n scornyas> 'right rudely they were harassing him, and mocking him spitefully' P.112c; <te a|n prenvyth> 'you shall pay for it' P.155b; <saw vn marrek a|n lathas ha the|n dor scon a|n gorras hag a|n hakyas the dymmyn> 'but a knight slew him and brought him quickly to the ground and hacked him to pieces' O.2226-28; <war benakyll y|n goras> 'on a pinnacle he set him' P.13c; <y|n sewyas en dus vas> 'the good folk followed him' P.213c; <ol y beyn

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[9] For /re'th vlamyas/? The mixed mutation here is irregular; but cf. the construction of the 2sg. forms of 'to have' where this infixed pronoun first causes lenition of /b/ and than merges with the resulting /v/ to leave /f/ as the final result (6.14).

[10] I.e. if Nance's interpretation is correct, for this passage seems to be corrupt in the manuscript. (Cf. Nance's remark in the original of his typescript copy as published in *Kernow* 1-14 (1933-35), Nance Bequest, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro. See also Herniman, p.278.) In P.62b the orthography may be influenced by the article <en> occurring at the start of the half-line <en ioul yv e|n hombronky> 'the devil it was that led him'.

y|n|tremense> 'all his pain had passed him' P.258c; <y|n guraf> 'I will do it' O.1275; <y pesys rag an keth re re|n crowse> 'he prayed for the same ones that had crucified him' P.185b; <ty re|n lathes> 'you have killed him' O.611; <re|n kyrho> 'may he take him' O.2370;

<ef a doys (...) bythqueth ef na|n guelse> 'he swore (...) that he had never seen him' P.85d; <na|n caffan ny> 'that we should not find him' P.240c;

<ny|n gor3yn> 'we do not worship him' P.148c; <me ny|n lauarsen> 'I should not have said it' P.183a; <ny|n gorthyaf> 'I do not worship' O.1790; <den yn bys ny|n musyr guel> 'no man in the world would measure it better' O.2514;

<ef may|n dampne> 'that he might condemn him' P.108c; <pan yn provas> 'when he tried it (i.e. the apple)' P.6d; <I vam pan yn drehevys> 'when his mother reared him' P.10a; <Pan yn caffsons> 'when they got him' P.142a; <pan yn kylly> 'when you lose it' O.63; <ellas vyth pan yn kyllys> 'alas that ever I lost him' O.614;

3sg.f. is always written <|s>. Once, in CE.15, the verbal particle /a/ is written <o> before it.

<my o|s re> 'I give her' CE.15; <pyteth mur a|s|kemeras> 'great pity took her' P.177b; <ha|y mab a|s gorth> 'and her son honours her' P.226d; <ha|n anken mur a|s|grevye (...) dre an golon a|s|tylly> 'and the great grief that oppressed her (...) pierced her through the heart' P.231cd; <my a|s henow vyrago> 'I name her Virago' O.114; <my a|s guysk> 'I will strike her' O.2709;

<y|s degy crist y-honon> 'Christ should bear it (i.e. the cross) himself' P.160d;

<na|s gwe3e an spyrys sans> 'had not the Holy Spririt protected her' P.222d;

<ny|s guelaf> 'I do not see her' O.1142; <ny|s buth dour certan neffre> 'certainly water will never drown them' O.1692;

<mar-a|s ladtre> 'if he stole it' O.2232;

<del ys brewaf> 'I will so beat her' O.2712;

1pl. occurs only once in P and is written <|gan>. In O it appears in this form once, and twice in the shortened form <|n>. In one instance in the construction meaning 'to have' it is unclear whether we have a syllabic form of this short form, or - more probable - a spelling with <yn> as the final syllable of /'gan/: <nag yn be|ny vylyny> 'so that we may have no villainy' O.1609.

<ihesus neb a|gan pernas> 'Jesus who redeemed us' P.5d; <hag a|n doro the anken> 'and will bring us to sorrow' O.225; <neb a|n gruk ny a bry> 'he who made us of clay' O.237; <re|n sawyo arluth huhel> 'may the lord on high preserve us' O.1088; <na|gan byth gobyr vyth> 'there will be no reward for us at all' O.2821;

2pl. occurs only once in P, and is written <|gis> there. This may be a modernisation by a copiist for an earlier <|gas> (or a misuse of the abbreviation sign?). In O it occurs two times as <|gys>, once as <|gis> (abbreviated), once as <|ges> and once as <|gas>. One short form <|s> occurs in O also.

<me a|gis pys oll> 'I pray you all' P.182c; <ow mebyon my a|gys peys> 'my sons, I pray you' O.1129; <my a|s gueres pup huny> 'I will help you, every one' O.2017;

<banneth an tas re ges bo> 'may you have the blessing of the father' O.2585;

<powes ny gys byth> 'you shall not have rest' O.1222;

<ma|gys byth luen edrege> 'so that you shall have full repentance' O.348;

3pl. is written <|s> like the 3sg.f. form, from which it can only be distinguished by the context.

<ef a|s|tewlys> 'he threw them' (i.e. referring to <an arghans> 'the money', taken as a collective) P.103c; <me a|s gura> 'I will make them' P.158c; <eth tus crist rag whelas hag a|s cafos more3ek> 'went to seek Christs folk and found them mournful' P.257b; <my a|s temptyas> 'I tempted them' O.308; <my a|s gor bys y|n gorhal> 'I will lead them into the

ark' O.1050;

<y|s guregh pur wyn> 'he made them right fair' P.45d; <y|s|cafas ol ow coske> 'he found them all asleep' P.55c; <worth mab den y|s go3evy> 'towards mankind he suffered them' (i.e. Christ his wounds) P.227d; <y|s gruk haual (...) thotho> 'he made them (...) like unto himself' O.2830-31;

<na|s gorren y the whyl cref> 'so that I put them not to hard labour' O.1490; <ny|s|tevyth man> 'they will have nothing' O.399; <ny|s goryth (...) the|n tyr a thythewadow> 'you shall not bring them (...) to the land of promise' O.1870-71;

6. <u>Suffixed single</u> pronouns are used with verbs in two ways. They may either refer to the object or the subject of the verb. The most common occurrence when referring to the object is with verbs in the imperative mood, but exceptions to this rule do occur (e.g. in P.182a). So on principle the context has to decide which of the two is intended.

Since there is no formal distinction between the two it is useless to make a distinction in two different groups of suffixed single pronouns, as Lewis does in LlCC. 28.

Furthermore, suffixed single pronouns occur after conjugated prepositions (see 8-13 below, and the examples given there) or after nouns preceded by a possessive pronoun as an auxiliary.[11]

| singular | 1 | /ve/, /vi/, /-ma/ | plural | 1 | /ni/ |
|----------|------|-------------------|--------|---|------|
|          | 2    | /ji/, /-ta/       |        | 2 | /hwi/ |
|          | 3m.  | /e(v)/            |        | 3 | /i/  |
|          | 3f.  | /(h)i/            |        |   |      |

In the orthography these pronouns are written separately from the verb in most instances. The rule seems to be that they are written separately when they consist of more than one grapheme, otherwise they are linked to the preceding word.

In the following examples of pronouns referring to the object of a verb are given first, followed by those referring to the subject of the verb, and finally those functioning as auxiliaries in possessive constructions. Examples with conjugated prepositions are given in 8-13 below.

1sg. /ve/ is written <ve> (5 times in P), and /vi/ appears as <vy> (2 times in P; occurrences as auxiliary after prepositions are included in these counts). The two different vowels are confirmed by the rhymes. In O <vy> is by far the most frequent orthography; <ve> occurs only once (O.503).

In two other instances the morpheme must have formed an early compound with the preceding verb or preposition, i.e. when these (still) ended in a consonant blocking the lenition of the suffixed pronoun. These are <o|ma> < *ov-ma (in <mygtern o|ma> 'king am I' P.102d) and <gena|ma> 'with me' P.193d < *genev-ma. Here too the vowel is confirmed by the rhyme. In one instance in O.698 <ma> is written seperate from the preceding verb.

obj.: <deugh (...) holyough ve> 'come (...) follow me!' P.53a, 63c; <du dylyr vy> 'God, deliver me!' P.57c; <fystyn (...) gueres vy> 'make haste (...) to help me' O.891; <son vy> 'bless me' O.2008;

subj.: <py vr fuf vy y wythes> 'when was I his keeper' O.576; <asso|ma squyth> 'how

[11] An interesting set of contrastive examples of the use of such pronouns is found in the two phrases <del leuaraf thyughwhy why> 'as I say *to you*' O.1653 and <del leuaraf vy thywhy> 'as *i* say to you' O.1660. The two lines are spoken by two persons (Caleb and Moses) in a discussion, and the intended difference of tone is obvious.

weary I am' O.684, 1009;

auxiliary to a possessive: <ovn a|m bus vy> 'fear is upon me' O.1452; <na|m by|ma peyn> 'lest I have torment' O.2254;

other: <go|vy> 'woe to me' O.621, 632, 861, etc.;

**Note**. The construction of <arluth pragh y hys|ta vy> 'lord, why have you left me!' P.201c is not very clear. More normal is its parallel <prag y|m gyssys> D.2957. A.S.D. Smith (note in Hooper's edition) thinks it might have been colloquial, but gives no further comment.

2sg. occurs in CE as <|sy>, <sy>, and in P once as <|[s]e>, once as <|ge>, and four times in the form <|ta> which is similar to the 1sg. form in /a/. It occurs twice in the presumably petrified compound /ota/ 'you are' (< *os-ta), once in <y hys|ta> 'you left' (see the Note sub 1sg., above), and once in <a na wyl|ta> 'do you not see' P.120c. In O the orthographic forms are <sy> (after conjugated prepositions only), <|se>, <gy>, <|ge>, <|te> and <|ta>.

It seems as if /ji/ is used mainly in interrogative and /ta/ mainly in declarative constructions. But whether this opposition is real, or just due to the scarcity of examples is not clear.

subj.: <ef emsetty|e wor3e|sy> 'he will set himself against you' CE.26; <lauar 3e sy> 'say to you(rself)' CE.28; <o[s]|se mab du> 'are you the son of God?' P.100d; <mar-s|o|ta mab den> 'if you are (hu)man' P.129c; <mar-s|o|ge crist> 'if you are Christ' P.197b; <Eua prag na thue|te nes> 'Eve, why do you not come near' O.149; <del o|ge den mas> 'as you are a good man' O.1767;

3sg.m. is either written <|e>, <|a> (once in P, thrice in O), or <ef>, <|ef> (once in P), or <eff> (once in P, following a preposition, once in O, in a later addition to the Ms.).

obj.: <sens|e fast> 'keep him tight!' CE.36; <why dampnowgh|a> 'you, condemn him!' P.99c; <te pylat la3|e la3|e> 'you, Pilat, kill him! kill him!' P.142b; <gorr|e the|n meneth tabor> 'take it to Mount Tabor' O.429; <byth ny|n cresons ef neffre> 'they will never believe it' O.1440

subj.: <ef emsetty|e> 'he will set himself' CE.26;[12] <yn me3|e> 'he said' P.103d, 198c,[13] 220b; <ma|na|n geffo ef sor bras> 'unless he should have great anger' P.150b; <bythqueth claff ny ve|e> 'a leper he never was' P.176d; <mara pe3|a degis> 'if he will be borne [off]' P.240c; <vmma nyn-g|ew ef tregis> 'here he does not abide' P.255d; <ny goth|e thys> 'it behooves you not' O.468; <pan vernans a|n geve ef> 'what death he had' O.2219;

auxiliary to a possessive: <y bous ef o mar dek guris> 'his coat was so beautifully made' P.190c; <ha|y vaw ef> 'and his servant' P.198b;[14] <y voth ef> 'his will' O.483, 661; <y voys ef> 'his voice' O.1487;

other: <gw|ef>, <go|ef> 'woe him!' P.43d, 259d, O.754, 1016, 1889, etc.;

3sg.f. is written either <|y>, <|hy> or <hy> in P. In O only examples of <|y> and <hy> are found.

obj.: <kymmerr|y 3e|3 wrek> 'take her as your wife!' CE.10;[15] <dre an nerth may

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[12] The verb itself is made reflexive by the prefix /om-/ and needs no object-pronoun. (Cf. <y|3 sens> 'maintain you(rself)' CE.31, where the verb is transitive and an infixed pronoun is used to express the object, and <sens|e> 'hold him' CE.36, where the suffixed pronoun refers to the object.)

[13] The Ms. has <me3|a> here, but the rhyme confirms this to be a scribal modernisation.

[14] The Ms. has <vam> here, which makes no sense in the context. Cf. Herniman, p.271.

[15] The doubling of the *r* here might be purely orthographic, but may in this case also represent provection caused by the /h/ of the pronoun, similar to the provection caused by e.g. the subjunctive endings of verbs (cf. 6.3N.(3)#).

tensons hy> 'by the force with which they dragged it' (lit. '(...) dragged her', i.e. Christ's hand) P.182a;

subj.: <yn me3|y> 'she said' P.34c; <na squard|hy> 'that it (i.e. Mary's heart) does not split' P.166c; <may clamderas hy> 'so that she fainted' P.171d; <bys may cothe hy the|n dor> 'until she fall to the ground' O.2718;

auxiliary to a possessive: <a|y frut hy nep a theppro> 'whoever eats of its (lit. 'her') fruit' O.187; <hy huth hy> 'her sorrow' O.297;

1pl. is written <ny> normally. On one occasion in P, where the preceding word ends in <n>, the scribe only wrote <y>. With the interjection /go/ 'woe', the pronoun is normally written as one word.

obj.: <neb a|n gruk ny a bry> 'he who made us of clay' O.237; <guyth ny y|th cur> 'keep us in your care' O.1620;

subj.:<Ihesus yw a|n caffan ny> 'it is Jesus whom we would take' P.67c; <del redyn ny y|n lyffrow> 'as we read in the Scriptures' P.206b; <Del o|ny onen ha try> 'as we are one and three' O.57; <dun ny the dre> 'let us go home' O.1392;

auxiliary to a possessive: <agan cregy ny yv mall> 'our hanging is fitting' (i.e. 'the hanging of us') P.192d; <agan pegh ny ow prenne> 'redeeming our sin' P.196d; <yn-mes agan temple ny> 'out of our temple' O.2693;

other: <go|ny> 'woe us!' P.246a, O.2216, 2365;

2pl. is written either <wy> or <why> in P. In O <why> and <|why> occur.

subj.: <hema yw goys evough why pur cheryta> 'this is [my] blood, drink you, out of love' P.45b; <neb a wheleugh why my yw> 'the one whom you seek, I am' P.68b; <ha leuerough wy 3e3e> 'and tell you to them' P.256a; <dovt na bertheugh why> 'bear no fear' O.729; <rag may fewg|why sostoneys> 'in order that you be supported' O.1163;

3pl. is written <y> or <|y>.

obj.: <mar-a mynnyth govynn|y> 'if you wish to ask them' (i.e. Christ's laws) P.80b; <na|s gorren y> 'lest I put them' O.1490; <yn glassygyon gesough y> 'in a green plot leave them' O.2036;

subj.: <ym me3ens y>, <yn me3ens y> 'they said' P.32d, 99d, 148c; <py gymmys y-mons y sur ow peghe> 'how much they are sinning surely' P.185d; <Pan de3ens y bys-yn beth> 'when they had come to the grave' P.242a; <may rollons y golow splan> 'that they may give shining light' O.40; <may fens|y dysehys> 'that they may be refreshed' O.1833;

**Note**. Special forms for the 3sg./pl. occur after the interjectory verb /otta/, /awotta/ 'look, behold':

|       |        |       |        |
|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| 3sg.m. | /-nje/ | 3pl.  | /-nji/ |
| 3f.    | /-nji/ |       |        |

In P such a form is found only once for the 3sg.m. in <a wottense ow kelwell hely> 'behold him calling Elias' P.203b. In O the only example is with the 3sg.f.: <Adam ottensy vmma> 'Adam, behold her here' O.102. In later texts forms with normal double suffixed pronouns occur also.

Since these special suffixed pronouns contain /nj/, which can not etymologically belong to the suffix, it seems likely that in an earlier stage the interjection itself contained /nd/ or /nt/ (cf. I.33 Note). This suggests an etymology for the word from the imperative of OF *atendre* 'to attend, to look for, to watch out for' (OC *attens, *attenj- > *atte > MC otte, wotte). This is not a regular development, but its being a strongly stressed interjection might explain the different path the word followed. The prefixed /a/ could be the vocative particle, the /w/ probably arose as a phonetic glide between /a/ and /o/.


7. <u>Suffixed double</u> pronouns are used like their single (suffixed) counterparts as auxiliary pronouns after verbs or in possessive constructions. Except when used with imperative verbs they are however used to refer to the subject of the verb only. In possessive constructions these double pronouns often seem to have an emphatic sense like English 'mine', 'thine', etc., or like 'my own', 'your own', etc.

These double pronouns do not appear in CE and are rare in P, giving the impression that they were a rather late development in MC, arising when a certain number of compounds of verb + single suffixed pronoun were no longer felt to contain a pronoun but rather as normal verbal forms.

| singular | 1 | /-a-ve/ | plural | 1 /-ni-ni/ |
| | 2 | /-te-ji/ | | 2 |
| | 3m. | /-ve/, /-fe/, /-e-ev/ | | 3 |
| | 3f. | /-i-hi/ | | |

1sg. occurs in P once as <a ve> and once as <|a ve>. In O it is found as <evy> twice, and as <a vy> twice also.
<ow horf a-ve yw henma> 'this is my body' P.44b; <kepar-ha-del ven|a-ve an purra lader y|n pow> 'just as though I were the veriest thief in the country' P.74d; <ov voys a-vy> 'my voice' O.1436; <bersabe ov whek evy> 'Bathsheba, my sweet' O.2175;
2sg. is written <te se> twice in P, <|te|se> once and <|ta-gy> also once. The rhyme in all these four instances confirms the final vowel to be /i/. In O the following spellings are found: <|te sy>, <|the sy>, <|te gey>, <|the gy> and <the gy>.
<Pan-dra a woven|te-se 3e-wor3aff ve> 'what do you ask of me?' P.80a; <ytho mygtern o|te-se> 'then, you are king?' P.102c; <pylat Iustis o|te|se> 'Pilat, you are a magistrate' P.107b; <te 3en a|ble o|ta-gy> 'you, man, from where are you?' P.144a; <yntre the lynneth the-sy ha lynneth benen> 'between your own progeny and the progeny of the woman' O.315-16; <the thev plos|te-gey> 'that foul god of yours' O.1809;
3sg.m. occurs three times in P, two times written <|va>, and once as <|ve>. The forms occurring in O are: <|ve>, <|fe>, <|a ef> and <|e ef>.
<gw|ef vyth pan ve|va genys> 'woe to him that ever he was born' P.43d; <a-watta ef a gowsas agis mygtern ple me|ve> 'behold, he said, your king, where he is' P.147c; <be|va den yonk bo den coth> 'be he a young man or an old man' P.175c; <war the keyn dog|a-ef> 'on your back carry it' O.1298; <otteve musurys da> 'look at it, measured well' O.2513;
3sg.f. is not found in CE or P, and occurs only once in O in the form <|y hy>.
<trogh|y-hy gans the glethe> 'cut her down with your sword' O.292;
1pl. does not occur in CE or P. In O it is found once, written <ny ny>.
<lemyn saw ol on ny-ny> 'now we all are cured' O.2024;


**Conjugated prepositions**

8. Like the other Celtic languages Cornish has a number of prepositions which can be conjugated. Such conjugated prepositions arose from old compounds of preposition + personal pronoun. They may be divided into four groups according to the vowel occurring in the ending of the 1sg. The three different endings found for the 1sg. are (a) /-av/, (b) /-ov/ and (b) /-yv/. The fourth group contains only the preposition /dhe/ 'to', which is irregular.
In many instances a suffixed single pronoun (cf. 6 above) is used as an auxiliary after a conjugated preposition. For the 2sg. a special form of the suffixed single pronoun may have existed. It is written <se> like the normal single suffixed pronoun, but may phonologically have been /-se/ or /-si/ through assimilation to the final /s/ of the 2sg. ending of the pronoun. In P it occurs only once in the construction <ragos se> P.123b (see example below).

## 9. The first conjugation

/war/: 'on, upon':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | /warnav/ |
| | 2 | /warnas/ |
| | 3m. | /warnodho/ |
| | 3f. | /warnydhi/ |
| plural | 1 | /warnan/ |
| | 2 | /warnowgh/ |
| | 3 | /warnedhe/ |

Examples:

1sg.: <mestry vyth te ny vea war[n]aff ve> 'no power would you have had over me' P.145ab; <Otte voys mernans abel (...) prest ov kelwel a|n dor warnaf> 'behold the blood of the death of Abel (...) even now calling upon me from the earth' O.577-79;

2sg.:<rag warnas prest ny a bys> 'for to you ever we pray' O.1072;

3sg.m.: <ha|n meyn vmhelys (...) ha warno3o a yseth ell> 'and the stone overturned (...) and, seated upon it, an angel' P.244cd; <myshyf a goth warnotho> 'evil will fall upon him' O.1539;

3sg.f.: <an asen a ve kerghys war-ne3y rag ese3e> 'the ass was fetched for sitting on it' (lit. 'on her') P.28bc; <fenten (...) warnethy yma gvethen> 'a fountain (...), over it there is a tree' O.571-75;

1pl.: <war agan flehys (...) ha warnan> 'upon our children (...) and upon us' P.149d; <adam plos a thesefse warnan conquerrye neffre> 'foul Adam had desired to hold sway over us always' O.908-09;

2pl.: <3e|n meny3yow why a ergh warnough co3e> 'you will command the mountains to fall on you' P.170a; <out warnaugh a thevv adla> 'out upon you, O two outlaws' O.1499;

3pl.: <3e vos tus yrvys (...) warne3e> 'there were armed men (...) upon them' P.250c; <myns vs yn tyr hag yn mor warnethe kemer galloys> 'all that are in land an in sea, over them take power' O.69-70;

Conjugated like /war/ is:

/a/ 'out of, of, from':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | /ahana(v)/ |
| | 2 | /ahanas/ |
| | 3m. | /anodho/ |
| | 3f. | /anedhi/ |
| plural | 1 | /ahanan/ |
| | 2 | |
| | 3 | /anedhe/ |

## 10. The second conjugation

/rag/: 'for, because of':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | /ragov/ |
| | 2 | /ragos/, ?/ragas/[16] |
| | 3m. | /ragtho/ |
| | 3f. | /rygthi/, ?/ragthe/[17] |

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|        |     |           |
|--------|-----|-----------|
| plural | 1   | /ragon/   |
|        | 2   | /ragowgh/ |
|        | 3   | /ragdhe/  |

Examples:

1sg.: <ragoff na wheleugh ole> 'for me seek not to weep' P.168d; <pysk ragof ny wra skvsy> 'not a fish shall evade me' O.139;

2sg.: <nyn-g|ew ragos se la3e Cryst> 'it is not for you to kill Christ' P.123b; <drefen ov bos noeth (...) ragos yth yth the gvthe> 'because of my being naked (...) I went from you to hide' O.259-60;

3sg.m.: <An peynys a wotheuys ny ve ragtho y-honan> 'the pains that he suffered were not for himself' P.6a; <ha|y wul hyr ha doun ragtho> 'and make it long an deep for him' O.867;

3sg.f.: <Ha|n grous a ve drehevys (...) yn tol o tellys rygthy> 'and the cross was raised (...) into a hole that was made for it' (lit. 'for her') P.184ab;

1pl.: <hag eth arta 3e besy (...) ragon ny> 'and went again to pray (...) for us' P.56ab; <ef a embloth ragon ny> 'he will fight for us' O.1661;

2pl.: <ow horf a-ve yw henma (...) sur ragough wy> 'this is my body (...) surely for you' P.44b;

3pl.: <go|ny ragthe> 'woe to us, because of them' O.2216;

Conjugated like /rag/ is the following compound with /rag/:
/dhe-rag/ 'before':

|          |     |              |
|----------|-----|--------------|
| singular | 1   |              |
|          | 2   |              |
|          | 3m. |              |
|          | 3f. | /dhe-rygthi/ |
| plural   | 1   | /dhe-ragon/  |
|          | 2   |              |
|          | 3   | /dhe-ragdhe/[18] |

Also conjugated like /rag/ are the following prepositions:
/dre/, /dyr/ 'through, by (way of)':

|          |     |              |
|----------|-----|--------------|
| singular | 1   | /dredhov/    |
|          | 2   |              |
|          | 3m. | /dredho/     |
|          | 3f. | /drydhi/     |
| plural   | 1   |              |
|          | 2   | /dredhowgh/  |
|          | 3   | /dredhe/     |

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wish that Jesus be killed). Perhaps, this form - with an abstract antecedent 'it' - is to be taken as feminine, as is the normal rule in the other Brittonic languages (but cf. 5, where it is shown that the 3sg.m. infixed object-pronoun is used in MC). Another possibility is to take the form as 3pl. The ending in /e/ is confirmed by the rhyme.

[18] This occurs in <war an forth dyllas a les a ve gurris 3e ragthe> P.29c, which is always translated 'on the road clothes outspread was put before him'. Normally, however, 3sg.m. forms of prepositions end in /-o/ and in the given context it seems possible to read 'before them'.

/yn/: 'in(to), on (the cross)':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | |
| | 2 | /ynnos/ |
| | 3m. | /ynno/ |
| | 3f. | /ynni/[19] |
| plural | 1 | |
| | 2 | |
| | 3 | /ynne/ |

/yntre/, /ynter/ 'between, among':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | |
| | 2 | |
| | 3m. | |
| | 3f. | |
| plural | 1 | /yntredhon/ |
| | 2 | |
| | 3 | /yntredhe/ |

11. The third conjugation
/gans/: 'with, by':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | /geny(v)/[20] |
| | 2 | /genys/ |
| | 3m. | /ganso/ |
| | 3f. | /gynsi/ |
| plural | 1 | /genyn/ |
| | 2 | /genowgh/ |
| | 3 | /ganse/[21] |

This preposition is often used in possessive constructions of the form 'there is with me', etc. This possessive construction is then again also used with feelings and emotions.
Examples:
1sg.: <deugh geneff ha holyough ve> 'come with me and follow me' P.63c; <marth yw gene> 'I wonder' P.166c; <dus gene pols the wandre> 'come with me to wander a while' O.934; <Colom genef vy yma> 'I have a dove' O.1189;
2sg.: <genes mar-a plek> 'if it pleases you' (lit. 'with you if it pleases') CE.8; <ha na blek genas henna> 'and that is not pleasing to you' P.82b; <nyns|yw aga dev pleysys genes gy> 'their God is not pleased with you' O.1562-63;
3sg.m.: <Cas o ganso> 'he hated it' CE.33; <y doul ef o tewlys ganso y|n nef rag trege Ihesus ganso o keris> 'his intention was formed to abide with him in heaven - Jesus was loved by him' P.214cd; <My a wor prag o ganso> 'I know how it is with him' O.185;
3sg.f.: <rag flog yw ha gensy so3> 'for she is a child and has truthfulness' (lit. 'and with her truth') CE.21; <bos 3e 3u 3e wull gynsy> 'the dealing with her (i.e. 'the handling of her') to be for God' P.27d; <the welen ha|y kemeres ha guyskel an mor gynsy> 'to take your rod and to strike the sea with it' O.1664-65;
1pl.: <rag genen cregis neb es> 'for the one who is hung by us' P.192b; <genen ny yn

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[19] Orthographic forms <ynhy> and <yn-hy> are found once each in P (resp. P.182b and P.222d).
[20] A form <genaf> is found in O.672.
[21] A spelling <gansa> is found once in P.76c, where it is not in a rhyming position. It probably represents a copiist's modernisation of the text.

tewolgow> 'with us in darkness' O.889;
2pl.: <genough me nv|m byth trege> 'with you I shall not have an abiding' P.37b; <ny vyn dev ker (...) na fella my the vewe omma genough> 'dear God does not wish any longer me to live here' O.2359-61;
3pl.: <ha trygons moy ganse> 'and three score more with them' P.227c; <lath ny ganse mage ta> 'kill us with them as well' O.972;

Like /gans/ are conjugated:
/worth/, /orth/ 'against, at, to':

|       |     |          |
|-------|-----|----------|
| singular | 1 | /(w)orthyv/[22] |
|       | 2   | /(w)orthys/ |
|       | 3m. | /(w)orto/ |
|       | 3f. | /(w)orti/ |
| plural | 1  | /(w)orthyn/ |
|       | 2   |          |
|       | 3   | /(w)orte/ |

/dhe-worth/ 'from':

|       |     |          |
|-------|-----|----------|
| singular | 1 | /dhe-worthyv/ |
|       | 2   | /dhe-worthys/ |
|       | 3m. | /dhe-worto/ |
|       | 3f. |          |
| plural | 1  | /dhe-worthyn/ |
|       | 2   |          |
|       | 3   | /dhe-worthe/ |

12. The fourth conjugation: /dhe/: 'to'.
For the conjugation of /dhe/ there are two paradigms, one with long, and another with short forms. Of most of these forms spellings with initial <d> are found as well.[23] The long forms are:

|       |     |          |
|-------|-----|----------|
| singular | 1 | /dhymmo/ |
|       | 2   | /dheso/, /dhyso/ |
|       | 3m. | /dhodho/[24] |
|       | 3f. | /dhydhi/ |
| plural | 1  | /dhynni/ |
|       | 2   | /dhe(w)hwi/, /dhy(w)hwi/ |
|       | 3   | /dhedhe/ |

Of the 2sg. and 2pl. forms P gives spellings with internal <e> only, while in O forms with both <e> and <y> occur. This might indicate that the vowel change in these forms (and certainly for the 2sg. form, where no internal reason for this change exists) was a late development. Since <e> and <y> may both stand for /y/, the evidence is, however, not conclusive.

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[22] This form occurs only once in P.175d in the orthography <or3aff>.

[23] This form occurs two times in P (18d and 67a), on both occasions preceded by a word ending in /th/. So the spelling with <d> might in this case represent phonetic dissimilation of what otherwise would be two alveolar fricatives. In O, however, no such distinction exists, while forms with <d> are more frequent there.

[24] A form <3e3a> is found once, in <pub vr an trelya 3e3a> P.54c, where the final /a/ is confirmed by the rhyme. If Nance's emendation of this line as given in the edition by Hooper is correct (it reads *pup ur dhodho a'n trelya*) than the scribe may have 'created' this form <3e3a> to reach an eye-rhyme in <a> when he realised he had forgotten the word earlier in the line. In this case this form is of no consequence here.

Examples:
1sg.: <ken|es mes 3ymmo> 'though it is a shame to me' CE.23; <Ha 3ymmo gras ha skyans> 'and to me grace and wisdom' P.1c; <thymmo vy why a ros gvrek> 'to me you gave a wife' O.265;
2sg.: <rys yw 3eso y 3amnye> 'it is necessary for you to condemn him' P.98d; <deso benyn (...) Iowan 3e vab me a wra> 'for you, woman (...) I make John your son' P.198c; <my a wra thyso parow> 'I make for you a mate' O.100;
3sg.m.: <lauar 3o3o> 'say to him' CE.29; <kymmys a theseryas 3o3o eff a ve grontis> 'as much as he desired, to him it was given' P.9d; <mvr a foly ew thotho an keth frut-ne mar-a|n gas> 'great folly it is to him if he renounces that same fruit' O.191-92;
3sg.f.: <comfort 3y3y y map a vynnas dygtye> 'comfort for her her son wished to provide' P.199d; <I feynys (...) yn ioy 3e3y trylys yw> 'here pains (...) are turned into joy for her' P.226a; <ry hanow thethy hy gvra> 'do give a name to her' O.103;
1pl.: <dylyver 3ynny barabas> 'deliver to us Barabas' P.126b; <Eua kymmer the gygel rag nethe thynny dyllas> 'Eve, take your distaff, to spin clothes for us' O.367-68;
2pl.: <In meth gurek an goff 3e3e kentrow 3ewy why ny fyll> 'said the smith's wife to them, "you shall not be lacking nails"' P.158a; <nefre ny fallaf theughwhy> 'never will I fail you' O.2406;
3pl.: <crist a leueris thethe> 'christ said to them' P.197d; <thethe me a worhemmyn encressyens ha bewens pel> 'to them I command that they increase and live long' O.47-48;

The short forms are:

| singular | 1 | /dhymm/ |
| | 2 | /dhys/ |
| | 3m. | /dhy/ |
| | 3f. | |
| plural | 1 | /dhynn/ |
| | 2 | /dhewgh/, /thywgh/ |
| | 3 | |

Examples:
1sg.: <pyth a vynnough why 3em|ry> 'what will you give to me?' P.39a; <te a ve 3ym danvenys> 'you have been sent to me' P.101c; <yth|evel thym bos da> 'it appears to me to be good' O.19;
2sg.: <lowene 3ys> 'joy to you' P.137c; <ty ru|m gruk pur havel thys> 'you have made me very like to you' O.88;
3sg.m.: <an|bobyll a 3eth dy> 'the people who came to him' P.67a; <my a thy a-tysempys> 'I will go to him at once' O.897
1pl.: <evn yw 3yn y voleythy> 'it is right for us to curse him' P.18b; <a ros thyn defennadow> 'he gave us an interdiction' O.238;
2pl.: <Re wronte 3eugh gras ha hwans 3e wolsowas basconn> 'may he grant to you grace and desire to hear his passion' P.1b; <why a geyl ov lowene a rys thyugh yn parathys> 'you shall lose my bliss which I gave you in Paradise' O.319-20;

**Note**. Apparently, the use of these long and short forms is fully arbitrary, which makes it easy to fit them into the metre. A clear example of this can be seen in O.1579, where the first scribe wrote <ov banneth thys conseler> 'my blessing to you counselor'. A later hand changed <thys> in this line into <thyso>, probably because <conseler> was pronounced /konsler/ (cf. Harris, note to line 1579).

Compound prepositions with /dhe/ are conjugated in the same way:
/a-dro dhe/ 'around, about':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | |
| | 2 | |
| | 3m. | /a-dro dhodho/ |
| | 3f. | /a-dra dhedhi/ |
| plural | 1 | |
| | 2 | |
| | 3 | |

*/bys dhe/ 'as far as, up to':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | |
| | 2 | /bys dheso/ |
| | 3m. | /bys dhy/, /bys dhodho/ |
| | 3f. | /bys dhedhi/ |
| plural | 1 | |
| | 2 | |
| | 3 | |

13. Some compound prepositions – consisting of preposition + noun may be conjugated as well. In such instances possessive pronouns are placed between the preposition and the noun. We find:
/erbyn/ 'against':[25]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | |
| | 2 | /er-dhe-byn/ |
| | 3m. | /er-y-byn/ |
| | 3f. | |
| plural | 1 | |
| | 2 | |
| | 3 | /er-aga-fyn/ |

/yn-herwydh/ 'in association with, together with':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | |
| | 2 | /yn-dhe-herwydh/ |
| | 3m. | |
| | 3f. | |
| plural | 1 | |
| | 2 | |
| | 3 | /yn-aga-herwydh/ |

/yn-mysk/ 'among(st), amid(st)':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | |
| | 2 | |
| | 3m. | |
| | 3f. | |
| plural | 1 | |
| | 2 | /yn-agys-mysk/ |
| | 3 | |

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[25] This preposition is derived from Br *are-penn- 'opposite of the head'; cf. OIr *ar chiunn* 'in front'. An etymologically incorrect form <war-y-ben> occurs once in P.171b. The scribe seems to have inferred here that the preposition /erbyn/ is a compound of the preposition /war/ 'on' and the noun /penn/ 'head', which is not the case. /war/ is from PIE *uper, while /ar-/ is from Br *are < PIE *par- (see also GMW.205N.)

/war-lergh/ 'after, following':

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| singular | 1 | |
| | 2 | /war-dhe-lergh/ |
| | 3m. | /war-y-lergh/ |
| | 3f. | |
| plural | 1 | |
| | 2 | |
| | 3 | /war-aga-lergh/ |

Relative pronouns

14. The relative pronoun is /a/ with positive clauses and /na/ or /nag/ with negative clauses. For practical purposes this pronoun is treated in more detail in III.6.# in relation with the verbal particles and the syntax of the verbal clause.

   An indefinite relative is /pennag/ 'whoever, whatever'. This form is derived from the dependent interrogative /pe/ + the negative particle /nag/ (cf. L&P.380), and a reduplicated form is found also: /pepennag/.[26] This pronoun does not occur in CE or P. Examples are:

/pennag/: <pynag vo|ue> 'whatever it may be' O.528; <pynag a wharfo an cas> 'whatever may befall in the matter' O.1698;

/pepennag/: <res yv sywe y voth ef pe-penag vo> 'it is needful to follow his will, whatever it may be' O.661-61; <gurens dev y voth ha|y vynnas py-penag vo yn y vreys> 'let God do his will and his pleasure, whatever may be in his mind' O.1153-54;

   This longer form /pepennag/ is often followed by /oll/ 'all':
<pe-penag ol a wylly> 'whatever at all you may see' O.745; <pe-pynag ol a wharfo> 'whatever at all may happen' O.1736; <my a|n talvyth thyugh (...) py-penag ol a sconyo> 'I will repay it to you (..), whoever at all may object' O.2387-88;

   As can be seen from the examples, /(pe)pennag/ in most cases replaces the verbal particle /a/, which is regularly used after /pepennag oll/. In O all verbs occur in the subjunctive after this pronoun.


**Interrogative pronouns**

15. The <u>independent</u> forms of the interrogative pronoun are /piw/ 'who' and /pyth/ 'what'.[27] The <u>dependent</u> form is /pe/.

16. (1) /piw/: <pyv>. For some odd reason in P this interrogative is spelled <pu>, <pv> five times, and <pyv> only once. The occurrences in P are: <pv a yl henna bonas> 'who can that be?' P.42d; <pv yw neb a weleugh why> 'who is it that you seek?' P.69b; <pu a woras y|t colon cows yn-delma worth iustis> 'who put into your heart to talk thus to a justice?' P.81d; <bresell cref a ve sordijs e|n grows pu elle 3|y don> 'a strong dispute was raised about the cross: who was going to carry it?' P.160c; <pren be tewlys oll an bows pyv a|n gyffe> 'a lot was cast: the whole coat, who should have it?' P.190d; <3e-worth an beth an meyn|ma 3ynny pu a|n ommelys> 'this stone, who has overturned

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[26] L&P (380) analyse this form as containing the pronominal form /peub/ 'all', but since in the orthography the first syllable occurs with both <e> and <y> an interpretation as /peub/ is rather unlikely. See also §17 below.

[27] The form /pyth/ is related to B *pezh* 'what' and W (*pa*) *beth* 'id.' and a MC form with /e/ would be expected. The orthography is however <pyth> in all instances, so that the phonemic form as given seems to be correct. The related noun 'thing' is spelled <pyth> consistently as well.

it for us from the grave' P.253d.

Examples from other texts are:
&lt;pyw a thysquethes thyso the vos noeth&gt; 'who revealed to you your being naked'
O.261-62; &lt;pyw a wra coul drehevel ol the chy&gt; 'who will finally build your house'
O.2339-40;
(2) /pyth/: &lt;pyth&gt;, &lt;pyt&gt; 'what (thing)': &lt;pyth a vynnough why 3em|ry&gt; 'what will you
give me' P.39a; &lt;agis negis pyth yw|e&gt; 'your business, what is it?' P.69b; &lt;pyth yw en
drok re|wrussys&gt; 'what is the crime you have committed?' P.101d; &lt;pyth yw an
gorthyans the dev&gt; 'what is the honour to God' O.476; &lt;pyth ev an othom&gt; 'what is the
need' O.967;
/pyth/: &lt;peth|&gt; 'where': &lt;ny won vyth peth|af lemyn&gt; 'I know not at all where I shall go
now' O.355;

17. /pe/: &lt;pe&gt;, &lt;py&gt;. May be used (a) before verbs as a sort of interrogative particle,
asking 'what' or 'where':
'what': &lt;py hanow y fyth gylwys&gt; 'what name shall he be called' O.676;
'where': &lt;pe|ma (...) neb a vyn 3e guhu3a&gt; 'where is (...) the one who will accuse you?'
P.34b; &lt;an prennyer py fens kefis&gt; 'the timbers, where they might be found' P.151d;
&lt;the crist y ben py sensy teller vyth nyn-g|o kefis&gt; 'for Christ, any place where to hold
his head was not found' P.206d; &lt;Abel pe fes|te mar bel&gt; 'Abel, where have you been so
long' O.467; &lt;py theth the vroder&gt; 'where is your brother gone' O.606;
Or (b) before other words to form interrogative expressions. In such cases /pe/ and the
following word are often forming a compound in which /pe/ is reduced to /p-/.

Place, with the noun /le/ 'place': /ple/ 'where'.
&lt;ple|ma 3e dus&gt; 'where is your folk?' P.78ab; &lt;te 3en a|ble ota gy&gt; 'you, man, from
where are you?' P.144a; &lt;gallas ny wo3an pele&gt; 'he has gone we know not where'
P.245c;[28] &lt;an frut ple russys tyrry&gt; 'where have you gathered the fruit' O.210; &lt;Caym
lauar ple ma abel&gt; 'Cain, speak, where is Abel' O.571;
Occasionally, the interrogative 'where' may also be constructed with /pe/ +
other nouns denoting place:
&lt;py tyller yma moyses ha py cost yma trygys&gt; 'in what place is Moses, and in what
region is he dwelling' O.1551-52;

Time, with the noun /eur/ 'hour, time': /peur/ 'when'.
&lt;tyr marya me a gris pur ylwys a|n gweresas&gt; 'the three Marys, I believe, when he
called they helped him' P.230d; &lt;py vr fuf vy y wythes&gt; 'when was I his keeper' O.576;

Cause, with the preposition /rag/ 'for, because of': /prag/ 'why, what for'.
&lt;reson prag y fe prynnys&gt; 'the reason why it (i.e. mankind) was redeemed' P.7a; &lt;prag
o|m|gwysketh yn-delma&gt; 'why do you strike me like this?' P.82d; &lt;arluth pragh y hys|ta
vy&gt;03,30 'lord, why have you forsaken me?' P.201c;[29] &lt;Eua prag na thue|te nes&gt; 'Eve,
why do you not come near' O.149; &lt;my ny won leuerel prak&gt; 'I cannot say why' O.595;
A longer form /praga/ 'wherefore, for which' is used before nouns:
&lt;a vewnans crist acheson praga dampnys re|bee&gt; 'of (i.e. 'out of', 'from') the life of
Christ a reason, for which he had been condemned' P.187a;

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[28] This 'full' form probably shows that the origin of this interrogative /ple/ was understood and that the form
could be lengthened to fit the metre. Another such form, &lt;py le&gt;, occurs in O.2032.
[29] The spelling &lt;pragh&gt; must probably be considered a scribal error.

This form may also be used independently, as a synonym of /reson/ 'reason': <ha reson yv ha prage> 'and the reason is, and the wherefore' O.927;

Case: /pan/ 'what':[30] <pan venyons ev an re-ma> 'what vengeance is this' O.619;[31] <pan pyn a gotho thotho> 'what punishment would be fitting for him' O.2233;

(c) occasionally /pe/ may also be used in its full form before other words than verbs: /penyll/, /pynyll/ (< */pe'n yll/) 'which (the) one (of two)': <lemmyn merough pe nyle a|n dus a|vyth delyffris (...) po cryst (...) po barabas> 'now look, which one of these people shall be set free (...) whether Christ (...) or Barabas?' P.125cd;[32]

/pe gemmys/ 'how much': <rag me ny won py gymmys y-mons y sur ow peghe> 'for I know not how much, surely, they are sinning' P.185d; <may haller govos (...) py gymmys hys may teffo> 'that it may be known (...) to what size it may grow' O.2102-04;

/pandra/ 'what (thing)', with a variant /pan a dra/ 'what of thing': <te ny wo3as (...) pan-dra raf 3ys> 'you know not (...) what I do to you' P.46b; <pandra yw a vynnough wy> 'what is it that you want?' P.67b; <pan a|dra a ynnyough wy warno3o> 'what thing do you urge against him?' P.99a; <pan-dra yl henna bones> 'what can that be' O.157; <lemyn pen-dra wren> 'now what shall we do' O.1654;
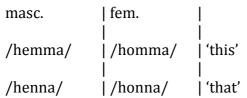        In O.519 <Pan dra> seems to have its literal meaning 'what a thing', and functions as in interjection: <Pan dra ny vyn dev gul vry ahanaf> 'What a thing! God wishes not to take account of me' O.519-20.
        When the following word begins with a vowel this interrogative may be shortened to /pandr'/: <pan drew henna 3ynny ny> /pandr'iw henna dhynni-ni/ 'what is that to us?' P.105a;


## Demonstrative pronouns

18. Two grades of proximity are distinguished by the demonstrative pronouns, as well as by the demonstrative adjectives related to them. Those indicating something near in time or place are marked by the internal consonant /mm/, those referring to something further away by /nn/.
        A second distinction is to the gender of the antecedent. Here the masculine forms are marked by /e/ as the first vowel, where the feminine forms have /o/. The paradigm is:

| masc. | fem. | |
|---|---|---|
| /hemma/ | /homma/ | 'this' |
| /henna/ | /honna/ | 'that' |

When followed by a word beginning with a vowel the final vowel of the demonstrative

[30] For /pan/ 'what' see also L&P.378 and GOI.460. The general idea seems to be that the etymology is < */pe an dra/ in which the element /an/ is related to OIr *an-* in the Class C adverbs of place (GOI.483). In a purely synchronic description MC /pan/ might be taken as an independent interrogative 'what'.

[31] This is the reading of the Ms. as altered by a later hand. The original scribe had <veschonns> for <venyons>.

[32] The spelling <pe nyle>, with final <-e> remains unexplained. In accordance with the syllable count of the line this <e> must be regarded syllabic.

pronoun is often dropped.

19. 'this'
Masc.: <hemma>, <hema>.
Examples: <yn meth crist hema yw goys> 'Christ said: "this is [my] blood"' P.45b; <hemma yw mygtern e3ewon> 'this is the king of the Jews' P.187d;[33] <hemma yw mab du yredy> 'this is God's son indeed' P.208d;[34] <bolungeth dew yv hemma> 'this is the will of God' O.873; <dew moyses a wruk hemma> 'the God of Moses has done this' O.1702;
Fem.: <homma> (No feminine forms of the demonstrative pronouns occur in CE or P.)
Examples: <dev tek a wel yw homma> 'God, what a beautiful sight is this' O.753;

20. 'that'
Masc.: <henna>, <hena>, <hen>, <henn|>, <hen|>.
Examples: <Ha|n ioull henna pan glewas> 'and when the devil heard that' P.11a; <arluth du yv me hena> 'lord God, am I that [one]?' P.43b; <pur wyr henn|o a|y anvoth> 'right truly that was against his will' P.175a; <hen yw dyth a bowesva> 'that is a day of rest' O.145; <yn ol an keth henna> 'in all that same' O.2645;
Fem.: <honna>, <hon>.
Examples: <honna a vyth tokyn da> 'that shall be a good token' O.1247; <hon yv cusyl fyn>, <hon yv cusyl da> 'this is fine/good advice' O.2041, 2267;
    Frequently, /henna/ is used together with the prepositions /rag/ 'for, because of' and /gans/ 'with' to form the adverbial expressions /rag henna/ 'therefore, because of that, so' and /gans henna/ 'therewith'. The latter expression is used in P always as an adverb of time, to be translated as 'upon that':
<rag henna an vuscogyon orto a bor3as avy> 'because of that the crazy ones bore malice against him' P.26c; <Gans henna ef a clewas en colyek> 'upon that he heard the cock' P.86a; <Rag henna y tanvonas crist 3o3o> 'therefore he (i.e. Pilate) sent Christ to him (i.e. Herod)' P.108c; <rag henna my a|s temptyas> 'because of this I tempted him' O.308; <rag henna ymden yn scon a-thyworto ef> 'therefore withdraw at once from him' O.1377-78;

21. If the referent is plural, /re/ 'some, those, others' is used. This form may be combined with the article to make it more explicit /an re/ 'these ones, those':
<y wreg 3e re a-ne3e mos> 'he caused some of them to go' P.27b; <may fenne ihesus sopye gans an re yn y seruys> 'when Jesus wished to sup with those in his service' P.41cd; <Re 3e gryst a leuery> 'some said to Christ' P.197a;
    This /re/ may be preceded by the adjective /keth/ 'the same' (cf. 3.5) to convey the meanings 'these same', those same':
<an keth re|na a spedyas> 'these same sped' P.42b; <mar-a mynnyth govynn|y ord en keth re a|s clewas> 'if you will ask [about] them of those same that heard them' P.80b; <y pesys rag an keth re re|n crowse> 'he prayed for those same that had crucified him' P.185b; <nyns a den-vyth (...) an keth re-na> 'not any man shall go, of these same' O.1878-79;

22. Demonstrative adjectives
The adjectival demonstratives are formed by placing the enclitics /-ma/ 'this' or /-na/

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[33] This line is one syllable too long and was probably read /hemm'iw myghtern edhewon/.
[34] Id.; /hemm'iw mab du yredi/.

'that' after the noun, which in such instances has to be preceded by the definite article. If the noun is preceded by /keth/ 'the same' (cf. 3.5) the article is placed before /keth/:

Examples: 'this': <a|n par3 ma> 'on this side' CE.18; <y|n keth vaner ma> 'in this same way' P.100c, 104a; <y|n vaner|ma> 'in this way' P.185b; <an meyn|ma> 'this stone' P.253d; <bones gorrys an spus-ma pan dremenna an bys-ma yn y anow bos gorrys> 'that these seeds be placed when he has passed from this world; into his mouth they are placed' O.873-75;
'that': <Ha|n 3ew|na> 'and those two' P.132a; <an lauarow-na> 'those words' P.147a; <I|n keth gyth|na> 'on that same day' P.252a; <an keth frut-ne mar-a|n gas> 'if he renounces that same fruit' O.192; <an guas-na> 'that fellow' O.2152;
          These forms can also be combined with /re/ 'some', to represent the substantivised plural 'these', 'those':
<an keth re|na> 'these same' P.42b; <be3ens gevys 3e|n re|ma aga nyscyte> 'let be forgiven these their ignorance' P.185c; <an re|na> 'those' P.67c, 69c, 80c, etc.; <an re-me ev guel a ras> 'these are rods of grace' O.1989; <an re-ma yv guel hep par> 'these are rods without peer' O.2028;


**Pronominalia**

23. Alternatives
To mark alternatives, 'the one ... the other', the first is denoted by /an eyll/,[35] or /yll/, the second by /y-ben/ or /y-gyle/.[36] In O no examples of /y-gyle/ are found.
<Heys crist y a gemeras a|n-n|eyll lef yn y-ben> 'the length of Christ they took, from the one hand up to the other' P.178a; <ha|y yll troys a ve gorris poran war ben y-gele> 'and his one foot was fastened right on top of the other' P.179c; <ty a theg a-neyl pen the dour cedron cachaf yben pur anwhek> 'you carry the one end to the water of Cedron, I will catch the other very firmly' O.2814-16;
          Often, the alternation is implied only, or no alternative is given or implied at all:
<Pedyr a|n-n|eyl tenewen yn-mes a dennas cle3e> 'Peter on the one side drew forth his sword' P.71a; <ha|y yll leff a ve tackis ord en grows> 'and his one hand was fastened on the cross' P.179b; <y wholhas y 3ewlagas gans y eyll leyff o gosys> 'he washed his eyes with his one hand that was made bloody' P.219c; <My (...) clewys a|n-n|yl tenewen vn el> 'I (...) heard at one side an angel' O.213-15; <yn fen kymmer a|n-yl pen> 'hold the one end firmly' O.2787;

24. 'One'
The meaning 'one, a one' is often conveyed by the indefinite article /unn/ (1.2) or by the independant form of the numeral 'one': /onan/ (4.1). The pronominal form used to represent this meaning is /huni/:
<syndis ve dre govaytis yn-della yw leas huny> 'he was ruined by covetousness; so is many a one' P.62d; <3e-rag leas huny> 'before many a one' (i.e. 'in the presence of

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[35] In the orthography this appears very often as <an neyl(l)>, showing the same confusion which led in Welsh to the formation of *y neill*. In fact the phonologisation used here may be too historical, in which case /an neyll/ would be more in accordance with MC scribal practice. Breton, on the other hand, never seems to have experienced this confusion and still writes *an eil*.

[36] The original meaning of /y-gyle/ was 'his companion'. Cf. W *ei gilydd* '(one) another' and MB *eguile* 'the other'. (See also GMW.105, referring to OIr *cle* 'companion'.) /y-ben/ may be compared with MB (*h*)*eben* (< 'her woman'); cf. HMB.108, DGVB.78.

many') P.240a;

In O this pronominal occurs only in combination with /peub/ 'every' (see 28# below).

The negative 'not one, none' is conveyed by the negative /nag/ + the independant numeral /unan/, resulting in the compound /nagonon/:
<dal na bo3ar ny ase nag omlauar na-g|onon> 'blind nor deaf he left not, nor dumb, not a single person' P.25b; <scyle nyn-i|o na-g|onon> 'there was no cause at all' P.187c; <nagonon ef ny asas heb vre a|y esely> (<vre> = /ure/ 'oil' 'not one did he leave without oil (i.e. 'unanointed') of his limbs' P.235c; (No examples in O)

25. 'Self'
The reflexive pronouns are formed by adding /honan/, /honon/ 'self' to the prefixed pronouns.[37]
Examples:
2sg.: <te a wo3ye 3e-honon> 'you knew it yourself' P.101b; <lauar 3ymme 3e-honon> 'tell me yourself' P.101d; <gothaf the vrus the-honan> 'suffer your judgement yourself' O.2248; <a wra dev thys the-honan> 'that will make a god for you yourself' O.2650;
3sg.: <An peynys a wotheuys ny ve ragtho y-honan> 'the pains that he suffered were not for himself' P.6a; <ha|y bowys yhonon> /ha'y bows y-honan/ 'and his own coat' (lit. 'and his coat [of] himself) P.161b; <a|n scrifas y-honon> 'he wrote it himself' P.187b; <Nyns|yw da (...) bones vn den y-honan> 'it is not good (...) for a man to be alone' (lit. '(on) himself') O.93-94;
1pl.: <del vynsyn agan-honan> 'as we ourselves willed' O.16;
2pl.: <pan vynnough agis-honon wy a yll gull da 3e3e> 'when you yourselves desire you can do good to them' P.37d; <Olough rag agis fleghys ha ragough agis-honon> 'weep for your children and for your own selves' P.169a;

26. 'Other'
The notion 'other', 'the other (one)' is expressed by /arall/, which has a plural form /erell/. In P it occurs only twice as a substantival, pronominal form, once in the singular and once in the plural form with /re/:
<War aga dewlyn y-3|e 3e-rag Ihesus re erell> 'upon their knees there went before Jesus some others' P.195a; <Pan de3ens y bys-yn beth y-3|eth vn marrek 3|y ben hag arall 3|y dreys> 'When they came to the grave there went one soldier to his head and another to his feet' P.242ab; <my a offryn scon aral> 'I will at once offer another' O.1205; <onan yw an tas a neff arall crist> 'one is the father of heaven, another Christ' O.2663;

More commonly it is used adjectivally, in which case it is used as a normal adjective and follows the noun it qualifies:
<gurek arall a leueris> 'another woman said' P.84c; <gul tol arall> 'to make another hole' P.180c; <ha|n pen arall> 'and the other end' P.223c; <Jafet degyns saw aral> 'let Japhet carry another load' O.1054;

The sense of 'each other, mutually' is probably conveyed by /y-gyle/ (see also 23 above). The sole example for this in P is, however, not very clear:
<War-lyrgh crist enef 3e ry pub onan oll 3|y-gele Iowan y vam a sensy marya crist del arse> 'after Christ's giving the soul of each one to the other, John held Mary his mother, as Christ had commanded' P.199ab;[38]

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[37] The form /honan/ occurs only once in P, but both forms are confirmed by rhymes. In O only the form /honan/ occurs, though one irregular spelling <honyn> is found as well (O.345).
[38] The translation given here is Herniman's. The whole passage is not very clear and as Herniman states in a note

27. 'Any'

(a) The pronominal form with the meaning 'anyone, the one (unspecified person)' is /neb/:

<Benegas yw neb a gar du dris pub tra y|n bys> 'blessed is the one who loves God beyond every thing in the world' P.24a; <neb a wheleugh why me yw> 'the one whom you seek, I am' P.68b; <Pub te3|oll neb a vynne leuerel pym3ek pater> 'anyone who would say fifteen paternosters every day' P.228a; <Neb a|m gruk vy ha|m gorty> 'the one who made me and my husband' O.181; <go|ef nep a worth jovyn> 'woe to the one who worships Jove' O.1889;

(b) The adjectival 'any' is expressed by /vyth/, the lenited form of the adverb /byth/ 'ever, any'. It may either be written as a separate word (<vyth>) or linked directly to the noun it qualifies (<|vyth>). It is so frequently used in negative sentences that in fact examples in positive sentences are extremely rare:

<eff|a sawye an glevyon dal na bo3ar ny ase (...) na claff vyth ow crowethe> 'he healed the sick, blind nor deaf he left not (...) nor any sick one lying down' P.25a-c; <daver-vyth wy ny 3ecsyugh 3e worre trevyth ynne> 'you had carried not any receptacles to put anything in(to) them' P.50b; <3e 3envyth a-wos plegye> 'because of [his] submitting to anyone' P.123c;[39] <Awos den|fyth war an beys> 'for any man in the world' O.1340; <yn neb fos vyth> 'in any wall at all' O.2458;

In O /neb/ may also be used adjectivally, in which case it precedes the noun it qualifies. In nearly all instances of this use, /neb/ is preceded by the adverbial particle /yn/ and the whole construction of /yn/ + /neb/ + noun forms an adverbial phrase:

<yn nep pow>, <yn nep|pow> 'in any land' O.1116, 1177; <war nep cor> 'in any manner' O.2512;

The unspecified 'anything' is formed exactly as in English: /tra/ 'thing' + /vyth/ 'any'. In P this word had become /trevyth/, probably through irregular i-affection. In CE also one instance of /neb tra/ 'any-thing, some-thing' is found:

<mar a|3 herg gul nep tra> 'if he commands you to do any thing' (or perhaps rather 'whatever he commands you to do') CE.27;

Examples of /travyth/, /trevyth/ are: <awos a gallo na wra travy3> 'though he is able to, he will not do anything' CE.30; <daver vyth wy ny 3ecsyugh 3e worre trevyth ynne> 'you had not carried any receptacles to put anything in(to them)' P.50b; <Herodes a wovynnys orth Ihesus crist leas tra ha trevyth ny wor3ebys> 'Herod asked Jesus Christ many things and he did not answer anything' P.111ab; <ny yllen travyth> 'we cannot do anything' O.1538; <awos travyth a warfo> 'despite anything that may happen' O.2355;

/neb-pyth/ occurs with the meaning 'anything, something' in O.327.

When the reference is to an unspecified plural, meaning 'such as', 'whoever', 'whatever' the pronominal form /seul/ is used. In P this is consequently written <suel>:

<Suel a vynno bos sylwys> 'whosoever wishes to be saved' P.2a; <ow lahys ha|w lauarow suel a vynna y clewas> 'my laws and my sayings, whoever wished heard them' P.79b; <treytour pur y vos keffys hag ol drok suel a|wresse> 'a real traitor he was found

(p.271) the translation 'giving up the ghost' for <enef 3e ry> (as given by Stokes and Nance) is preferable, though it makes the link with the rest of the sentence less clear.

[39] This is the only example in P where the sentence, or even the context, in which /vyth/ is used is *not* negative.

and wholly bad whatever he had done' P.119cd;

28. 'Every'
The pronominal meaning 'everyone' is /peub/. For its relation to the adjectival /pob/ 'each, every', the various spellings, and a full list of occurrences, see Padel, SC.14.233-237 (see also I.11). Examples are:
<y doull ganso o tewlys (...) 3e bob dy3gthtya forth a rug the vos sylwys> 'his plan by him was determined (...) he prepared a way for everyone to be saved' P.7cd; <3e-ves a fyas pep a|y|du> 'out they fled, everyone his way' P.77a; <En lybell a ve tackis worth en grous (...) a-vgh pen crist (...) may hylly peb y redye> 'the charge was nailed to the cross (...) above Christ's head so that everyone could read it' P.189ab; <gul dyel (...) war pep ol> 'to do vengeance (...) on all' O.947-48; <leuyrys pup gollohas> 'let everyone speak adoration' O.2624;

     Sometimes, when more emphasis is wished, the adjectival /pob/ 'every' is used with the independent numeral /onan/ 'one' (for the syntax see 3.5):
<pub onan ol a ylwys arluth du yv me hena> 'each one of all cried: "Lord God, am I that one"' P.43b; <hag y kewsens 3|e scornye hag a gamma aga meyn pub onon reg y eysye> 'and they spoke to mock him and grimaced, each one [of them], to jeer him' P.137ab;

     In O this combination does not occur. Instead, /pob huni/ is used with the meaning 'every one':
<may-th|ew theweth dyuythys (...) a gyk pup-huny> 'that the end is come for everyone of flesh (...)' O.943-44; <aban vynnyth pup-huny lathe> 'since you wish to kill every one' O.969-70;

A compound of /ketep/ 'all' + /onan/ 'one' gave rise to the pronominal form /keteponan/ 'everyone':[40]
 <gothve3ough keteponon del yw an den|ma dy3gtis> 'mind, everyone, how this man is treated' P.141c;[41] <y iunctis keteponon oll warbarth may-3|ens squardis> 'his joints, every one, were altogether broken' P.181d; <y fethons (...) parys ketep-onen> 'they will be (...) ready, every one' O.2307-08; <deugh yn rag ketep-onan> 'come forward every one' O.2683;

     Other combinations than with the numeral /onan/ occur also:
<ketep map pron> 'every son of the breast' (i.e. 'every man') O.1162, 1983; <kettep pen>, <yn ketep pen> 'every one' O.1655, 2428; <ketep-p|ol> 'every one' O.2298; <yn ketep chet> 'every fellow' O.2486; <ketep tam> 'every bit' O.2743;

     Perhaps through contamination with /pob onan/, these phrases may have been reanalised, after which they gave rise to the pronominal /ketep/ 'everyone, all': <kettep dyner> 'every penny' D.1514;

29. 'All'
The notion 'all, the whole of' is conveyed by the form /oll/ which is written either <ol>

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[40] For the possible relation of this form with B *gwitibunan* see HMB.101N.2. Ernault (RC.20.246) analysed both forms as originating from *ket-heb-unan 'all without one', hence 'all, completely'. The pronominal form *ket '(at) all' contained in this formation is not otherwise attested in Cornish and must have been replaced by /ketep/ at a fairly early date. (Though it is not found in CE or P.) L&P.384 relate the first element of /ketep/ to W *cyd, i gyd* 'all together', and the second to Ir. *sechi-, sech*, an indefinite relative. Comparison with the B forms, and the appearance of first /ketep onan/ and only later /ketep/ in the MC texts seem to support Ernault's explanation of the form.
[41] The orthography of this last word – for <dygtys> (cf. P.165a and 177b) – remains unexplained. It occurs four more times, in P.133a, 153a, 163a and 219d.

or <oll>. It may be used as a substantive, as well as adjectivally (see also 3.5, where examples are given) or adverbially. Examples of the pronominal use are:
<pan e3ons oll 3e-wary> 'when they all went away' P.34a; <oll a wrens> 'all did' P.202d; <oll monas> 'all going' P.250d; <Rag bones ol tek ha da> 'because of all being fair and good' O.141; <sygh yns ol> 'they are all dry' O.761;
        In some instances, /oll/ is used to emphasise a plural personal pronoun:
<ol ny a bys> 'we all pray' P.126b; <dre aga husyll ol> 'by the counsel of them all' P.133b; <oll y eth> 'they all went' P.239a;

30. 'Many'
/lies/ (disyllabic and written <leas>, <luas> or <luhas> in P; in O only the spelling <lues> is found) may be used pronominally or adjectivally. In the latter case it is placed before the noun it qualifies (cf. 3.5 where examples are given). In O no examples of the pronominal use of /lies/ occur.
Examples of the pronominal use are:
<leas ganso ov tryle> 'turning many with him' P.107d; <gans leas y|fe redijs> 'by many it was read' P.189d; <gans luas y fons gwelys> 'by many they were seen' P.210c;