

6. The Verb

Form

1. The Middle Cornish verb has three moods: indicative, subjunctive (also called conditional) and imperative. In the indicative, four tenses are distinguished: present, imperfect, preterite and pluperfect. In the subjunctive, only present and past are distinguished, while the imperative has a present tense only.

In each of these moods and tenses there are three singular and three plural persons, except in the imperative, which lacks the first person singular. In the indicative and subjunctive moods, each tense also has an impersonal or passive form, though not all these forms are attested in the available texts.

The formal distinction between all these different forms consists of verbal endings only, some of them causing vowel affection in the stem of the verb.

2. Verb stems

The stem of a verb is identical with the form the verb takes in the 2sg. imperative. It is this form to which endings are added and in which vowel change may take place.

In a large number of verbs a semi-vocalic /y/ is placed between the stem and the ending. This linking element is never syllabic and does not cause vowel change. The origin of this /y/ is not very clear. A number of stems end in /y/ etymologically, and perhaps the element spread from these forms by analogy. In loanwords this element seems to have become a necessity to allow Cornish endings to be used (though exceptions to this rule occur; e.g. /faste/ 'to fasten'). Of other verbs sometimes forms with and without /y/ exist side by side.

3. Paradigm of **the regular verb**

Most verbs in Middle Cornish are regular and take the following endings. Vowel affection is indicated by a superscript V preceding the ending. A superscript H indicates that devoicing or unvoicing of the final consonant of the stem is caused by the ending, which is a regular feature of the endings of the subjunctive.

Indicative

Present		Imperfect	
1sg.	/-a(v)/	1sg.	/-en/, / ^V -yn/
2	/ ^V -ydh/	2	/-es/
3	/-/ , / ^V -/	3	/-e/, / ^V -i/
1pl.	/-yn/, / ^V -yn/	1pl.	
2	/-ewgh/, / ^V -owgh/	2	
3	/-ons/, / ^V -ons/	3	/ ^V -ens/
impers.	/ ^V -yr/	impers.	

Preterite	Pluperfect
1sg. / ^V -ys/	1sg. /-sen/
2 /-sys/	2 /-ses/
3 /-as/, ¹ /-ys/, / ^V -ys/	3 /-se/
1pl. / ^V -syn/	1pl.
2 / ^V -sowgh/	2 /-sewgh/
3 /-sons/	3 /-sens/
impers.	impers.

Subjunctive

Present	Past
1sg. / ^V -Hyv/	1sg. /- ^H en/
2 / ^V -Hi/	2 /- ^H es/
3 /- ^H o/	3 /- ^H e/
1pl. / ^V -Hyn/	1pl. /- ^H en/
2 / ^V -Hewgh/, /- ^H owgh/	2
3 /- ^H ons/	3 /- ^H ens/
impers. /-er/	impers.

Imperative

2sg. /-/
3 /-es/, /-ens/, / ^V -yns/
1pl. / ^V -yn/
2 /-ewgh/, / ^V -ewgh/, / ^V -ywgh/, /-owgh/, / ^V -owgh/
3 /-es/, / ^V -es/, /-ens/

Note (1) One verb, */pe/ 'to pay', forms the 3sg.pt.ind. by adding an /-s/ only: <pes> P.105b. The metre does not allow to read a disyllabic */pe-as/ or */pe-ys/.

The verb /kemerer/ 'to take, accept' has, besides the normal and far more frequent 3sg.pt.ind. form /kemerer/, also a form <kemert> P.3b.² Lewis (LICC.51 N.(4)) compares this to the endings in *-t in the irregular verbs /eth/ 'he is gone' and /deuth/ 'he has come'. These forms seem to be the only surviving t-preterite in Middle Cornish (see also GMW.133(b) and L&P.463). It is remarkable that this final /-t/ of /kemert/ has not changed into /-s/ in MC.

Note (2) In an earlier stage of development of the Cornish language the subjunctive may still have been regularly marked by an /h/ in between the stem and the ending, as can still be seen in Middle Welsh and Middle Breton. This /h/ resulted from an earlier British *s, which marked the so-called s-subjunctive and originally caused provection of the preceding consonant (cf. L&P.453).

A survival of this /h/ might be seen in 3sg.past subj. <a vynha prest predery> 'who would ever consider' P.139a, and in 2sg.present subj. <del|ymhy>, which was written by a second hand instead of <del ymmy> 'as you kiss' O.1764.

The form <a veughe> for /a vewe/ 'who lives' P.72b may be due to some sort of hypercorrection by which the /w/ was expected to undergo a change before a subjunctive ending.

Note (3) The verb /eve/ 'to drink' has an irregular 2sg.imp. form, showing vowel change: <yyf> O.1916.

4. Vowel affection

Due to the irregular spelling it is not always easy to decide whether the 'change' shown

¹ If a separate ending /-es/ existed besides /-as/ (cf. LICC.51 N.4), both must have fallen together early. Orthographies with <-es> are fairly rare and are listed with the examples of /-as/ below.

² In P.225c the Ms. has <alskemar>, which might be a misspelling for <alskemert> (cf. Herniman, p.127, giving <askemert>).

is merely orthographic, or a real instance of change of the stem vowel. Because of this difficulty to interpret single forms, all clear instances of change of stem vowel are given below. From these forms the following changes can be listed:

- /a/ > /e/
- /a/ > /y/ (probably an enhanced result of the former)
- /e/ > /y/ (and enhanced > /i/)
- /o/ > /y/
- /ow/ > /ew/

In verbal nouns (see below, 6) a change /o/ > /e/ occurs also. (For comparison, see the very similar list for Middle Breton in HMB.123.)

Under each ending the examples are listed according to their stem:

Indicative, present:

- sg.2 /^v-ydh/: /argh-/ 'command': <|erhyth> O.1846,
 /kaf-/ 'get': <kefy3>, <kefyth> CE.35, O.333, 1138, 2435,
 /kar-/ 'love': <a geryth> O.1279,
 /kows-/ 'speak, talk': <na gewsyth>, <a geusyth> P.120b, O.1513,
 /gall-/ 'be able': <na yllyth> P.20c,
 /gwel-/ 'see': <na wyl|ta> (from */na wylydh-ta/ 'do you not see') P.120c,
 /gwesk-/ 'strike': <gwysketh> P.82d,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <leuereth> O.2533,
 /sens-/ 'hold': <synsyth> O.1442,
 /sorr-/ 'anger': <serryth> O.1224,
- 3 /^v-/: /kaf-/ 'get': <kyff>, <kef>, <kyf> P.37c, 256c, O.1060, 1103, 1131, etc.,
 /kolm-/ 'bind, tie': <kelm> O.1361,
 /kemmynn-/ 'commend, bequeath': <a gymyn> P.204d,
 /kergh-/ 'fetch': <kyrgh> O.887,
 /koll-/ 'lose': <kyl>, <keyl> O.242, 319,
 /kows-/ 'speak': <a gevs> O.1368,
 /krej-/ 'believe, trust': <a gris>, <a grys>, <a greys>, <a gres> P.63b, 126a, 197c, etc., O.757, 930, 1098, etc.,
 /krog-/ 'hang': <a greg> O.2813,
 /egor-/ 'open': <vger> O.1666,
 /gall-/ 'be able': <a yl>, <a yll>, <mara kyll>, <ny yl> P.12c, 21b, 22d, etc., O.157, 162, 475, etc.,
 /galw-/ 'call, shout': <a elow> O.1864,
 /gas-/ 'leave': <y hys|ta> P.201c,³
 /hanw-/ 'name': <henow> O.114,
 /haval-/ 'appear, seem': <yth|evel>, <heuel>, <hevel> O.19, 1511, 1605, etc.,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <leuer> O.305, 736, 935, etc.,
 /marw-/ 'die': <merow> O.1803, 2737,
 /pej-/ 'pray': <pes>, <pys>, <peys> CE.19, P.1a, 126b, 170b, tc., O.326, 375, 461, etc.,
 /porth-/ 'carry, bear': <pyrth> O.1082,
 /prov-/ 'prove': <pref> O.2161,
 /sav-/ 'stand': <sef> O.2091,
 /sew(y)-/ 'follow': <syw> P.226c,⁴

³ In P this is the only instance of the 2sg.pr.ind. of this verb with vowel change, while two instances occur without this change: <na as> P.46d, 116b.

- /tev-/ 'grow': <a dyff>, <ny dyf> P.259c, 0.712,
 /torr-/ 'break': <a der> 0.2184,
 /trogh-/ 'cut': <tregh> 0.2533, 2537,
 pl.1 /^v-yn/: /gall-/ 'be able': <ny yllen>, <pan yllyn> 0.1538, 1858,
 2 /^v-owgh/: /gas-/ 'leave': <gesough> 0.2036,
 3 /^v-ons/: /gall-/ 'be able': <ny yllons> 0.1420, 1544,
 impers. /^v-yr/: /kaf-/ 'get': <na gefyr> 0.2503,
 /gall-/ 'be able': <y hyller>, <ny yllyr> P.201, 0.1852,
 /galw-/ 'call': <gylwyr> 0.1,
- Imperfect:
- sg.1 /^v-yn/:
 The only example with this ending in P is <ny welyn> (/gwel-/ 'see') P.220c, where the orthography does not show vowel change. No examples occur in O.
- 3 /^v-i/: /argh-/ 'command, bid': <yrgy> P.201d,
 /kaf-/ 'get': <keffy> P.187d,
 /kows-/ 'speak, talk': <ny gewsy>, <a gewsy> P.28a, 114b, 194a, etc.,
 /dyskorn-/ 'grin, snarl' (from */dy-askorn-i/): <a theskerny> P.96c,
 /dys(k)wedh-/ 'show': <del dyswy3y> P.65d,
 /gall-/ 'be able': <na ylly>, <may hylly> P.3d, 13a, 20d, etc.,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <leuery> P.96d, 146a, 197a,
 /pregowth/ 'preach': <a bregewthy> 0.229,
 /sav-/ 'stand, rise': <sevy>, <seuy> P.238d, 240b,
 /sens-/ 'hold': <ym-sensy> 'held himself' 0.2222,
 /toll-/ 'pierce, make a hole': <a delly> P.159c,
 /trogh-/ 'cut': <trehy> 0.2515,
- pl.3 /^v-ens/: /kows-/ 'speak, talk': <kewsens> P.137a,
 /gall-/ 'be able': <ny yllens>, <na yllens> P.243d, 248d,
 /gwesk-/ 'strike': <pan wyskens> P.131d,
- Preterite:
- sg.1 /^v-ys/: /argh-/ 'command': <yrhys> 0.1956,
 /kerdh-/ 'walk': <kyrthys> 0.713,
 /gwel-/ 'see': <a wyls>, <ny welys> 0.766, 1730,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <leuerys> 0.1471,
 /pej-/ 'pray': <pysys> 0.860,
- 2 /^v-sys/:⁵
 /danvon-/ 'send': <danfensys> 0.1670,
 /gwel-/ 'see': <²wyls|ta>, <a wylsys> 0.765, 795, 809,
 /sens-/ 'hold': <synsys> 0.2518,
- 3 /^v-ys/: /argh-/ 'command, bid': <yrgyys>, <erghys> P.28a, 72a, 147d, etc., 0.442, 448, 645, etc.,
 /kows-/ 'speak, talk': <kewsys>, <re gewsys> P.6c, 14a, 34c, etc.,
 /debr-/ 'eat': <dybrys> 0.762, 824,
 /galw-/ 'call, shout': <I helwys>, <y hylwys>, <a ylwys> P.30a, 43b, 121c, etc.,
 /gwesk-/ 'strike': <gwyskis> P.182b, 219b, 224a,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <leuerys>, <leueris>, <leveris>, <re|leuerys> P.11b, 15a, 17a, etc., 0.289, 844,

⁴ The rhymes show this form to be for /siw/.

⁵ When followed by an emphatic personal pronoun this ending may be shortened to /-s/.

/pej-/ 'pray': <pygys> 0.739,
 /preder-/ 'think, consider': <re bredyrys> 0.487,
 /sav-/ 'stand, rise': <sevys> P.81a, 166a, 245a, etc.,
 /towl-/ 'cast (a plan)': <tewlys>, <a|s|tewlys> P.15c, 103c,
 pl.1 /^v-syn/: /mynn-/ 'will, wish': <del vynsyn> 0.16 (#no VC),
 2 /^v-sowgh/: /lavar/ 'say': <leuersough> P.50d,

Subjunctive, present:

sg.1 /^v-Hyv/: /klew-/ 'hear, sense': <pan clewfyf> 0.1351#,
 /gall-/ 'be able': <may hyllyf> 0.202, 2128,
 2 /^v-Hi/:⁶ /amm-/ 'kiss': <yummy> 0.1764,
 /kar-/ 'love': <kyrry>, <kerry> 0.537, 890, 1370, etc.,
 /koll-/ 'lose': <kylly> 0.63,
 /gall-/ 'be able': <na ylly>, <may hylly> P.20d, 0.62, 1335, 1667,
 /gwel-/ 'see': <kyn wyly>, <²wylly> 0.717, 745, 801,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <leuerry> 0.1528,
 pl.1 /^v-Hyn/: /kaf-/ 'get': <kefyn> 0.2493,
 /gall-/ 'be able': <may hyllyn>, <ny yllyn> 0.1171, 1648, 1678,
 /marw-/ 'die': <namna vyrwyn> P.362,
 2 /^v-Hewgh/: /kar-/ 'love': <kyrreugh> 0.543,⁷

Imperative:

sg.3 /^v-yns/: /gwerth-/ 'sell': <gwyr3yns> P.51b,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <leuyrys> 0.2624,#
 pl.1 /^v-yn/: /drehav-/ 'build, raise': <drehevyn> 0.2539,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <leueryn> P.247b, 247c,
 /pej-/ 'pray': <pysyn>, <pesyn> 0.235, 1973, 2368,
 2 /^v-ewgh/: /tenn-/ 'draw': <tynneugh> 0.2691,
 /^v-ywgh/: /amm-/ 'kiss': <yummyug> CE.23,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <leuereugh> 0.2031, 2775,
 /porth-/ 'carry, bear': <na bertheugh> 0.729,
 /sens-/ 'hold': <synseugh> 0.2348,
 /^v-owgh/: /krej-/ 'believe': <na thyscryssough> 'do not disbelieve' 0.1657,
 /gas-/ 'leave': <gesough> 0.1662,
 /gwredh(y)-/ 'root': <gurythyoug> 0.1894,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <leuerough>, <leuereugh> P.95a, 113c, 125d, etc., 0.2492,
 /tev-/ 'grow': <tyvoug> 0.1894,
 3 /^v-es/: /galw-/ 'call': <gylwes> 0.2774,

Form these examples, and from the verbal nouns showing vowel change, a list can be compiled of verbs which seem regularly to take the endings causing vowel change in the stem. These are the following, listed according to their verbal nouns:

/amme/ 'to kiss'
 /kafoos/ 'to get'

⁶ In CE.32 we find <hedyr vywy> 'as long as you may live', from /bew-/ 'live'. Another example, <hedre vywy>, occurs in O.243. Since there are, however, no other examples of the verb /bewe/ showing vowel change this may either be just an instance of orthographic variation, or the whole may have been a fixed expression in which the irregular vowel change had become the standard. Since there is more than one example in different texts the latter seems possible.

⁷ According to Harris. Lewis (LLCC.51) seems to take this form as 2pl.pr.ind.

/kare/ 'to love'⁸
 */kelmi/ 'to bind, to tie'
 /kemmynne/ 'to commend, bequeath'
 /kerghas/ 'to fetch'
 /kewsel/ 'to speak'
 /kylli/ 'to lose'⁹
 /kregi/ 'to hang'
 */kryji/ 'to believe'
 /danvon/ 'to send'
 /dybri/ 'to eat'
 /dygylmi/ 'to untie'
 */dyskerni/ 'to grin, snarl'
 /drehevel/ 'to build, to raise'¹⁰
 /egeri/ 'to open'¹¹
 */erghi/ 'to command, bid'
 */galle/ 'to be able'
 /gase/ 'to leave'¹²
 /gelwel/ 'to call; to shout'
 /godhevel/ 'to suffer'¹³
 /gwerthe/ 'to sell'
 */gweskel/ 'to strike'
 */gwredhye/ 'to root'
 /henwel/ 'to name'
 */heveli/ 'to appear, to seem'
 /leverel/ 'to say'
 /merwel/ 'to die'
 /(om)gregi/ 'to hang (oneself)'
 /pedri/ 'to rot, decay'
 /perthi/ 'to carry, to bear; to endure'
 /pyji/ 'to pray'
 /prederi/ 'think, consider'¹⁴
 */pryvi/ 'to prove'
 /sevel/ 'to stand, rise'
 /sew(y)e/ 'to follow'
 /synsi/ 'to maintain, hold'
 /telli/ 'to pierce, bore'
 /tenne/ 'to draw, to pull'
 /terri/ 'to break'

⁸ No vowel change in 3sg.pr.ind., e.g. <my ald car> 'I love you' O.2154.

⁹ As the 3sg.pt. of this verb is found as /kollas/ it obviously does not take endings causing vowel change regularly.

¹⁰ In /drehevel/ the vowel change (cf. W *dyrchafael*) seems to have become permanent and part of the verb itself.

¹¹ Since in O.1677 <vger> appears as 2sg.imp. it is possible that the stem of this verb in MC was /eger-/ instead of the etymologically more correct /egor-/.

¹² The 3sg.pr.ind. of this verb shows no vowel change, cf. <my alth as> 'I leave you' O.75, <nalm gas> 'it will not let me' O.372, <my a as> 'I will allow' O.1027.

¹³ This verb has a verbal noun /godhav/ also, without vowel change.

¹⁴ Spellings of verb forms of this verb showing vowel change are rare, but do occur. In MB the verbal noun is found as *pridiry*, so the possibility must be considered that the verbal noun in MC may have been /predyri/, even though no spellings indicating this occur.

*/tewel/ 'to be silent'
 */tewlel/ 'to cast, plan'
 /tylli/ 'to be worth, deserve'
 */tyvi/ 'to grow'
 /treghi/ 'to cut'

5. Examples of the orthography of other verbal endings are:

Indicative, present:

sg.1 /-a(v)/: /dampn(y)-/ 'condemn': <dampnyaf> P.34d,
 /gall-/ 'be able': <ny allaff>, <²allaf>, <mar callaf>, <ny alla> P.156d,
 O.159, 194, 374, etc.,
 /hanw-/ 'name': <yth|anwaf>, <hanwaf> O.123, 129,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <lauara>, <lauaraff>, <lavare>, <lauaraf>, <leuaraf> CE.14,
 P.8a, 170c, O.7, 180, 490, etc.,
 /pej-/ 'pray': <pysaf>,¹⁵ <pesaf> O.1390, 1566, 2255, etc.,
 3 /-/: /bew-/ 'live': <a vew>, <ny vew> O.72, 829,
 /kar-/ 'love': <a gar> P.24a,
 /mynn-/ 'will, wish': <myn>, <y|fyn>, <myn|> P.32c, 34b, 37a, etc., O.11,
 41, 56, etc.,
 pl.1 /-yn/: /hedh-/ 'cease': <hethyn> O.2697,
 /mynn-/ 'will, wish': <ny venyn> P.148d,
 /red(y)-/ 'read': <redyn> P.204c, 206b,
 2 /-ewgh/: /orden-/ 'appoint': <ordeyneugh> O.2037,
 /hwel-/ 'seek, search': <wheleugh>, <weleugh> P.68b, 69b,
 3 /-ons/: /chons(y)-/ 'venture, try': <chungsyons> P.26d,
 /gall-/ 'be able': <na allons> O.1496, 1825, 1835,
 /mynn-/ 'will, wish': <ny vynnons> O.1435,

Imperfect:

sg.1 /-en/: /kows-/ 'speak, talk': <ny gowsyn> P.79d,
 2 /-es/: /debr-/ 'eat': <a|ttebres> O.175,
 3 /-e/: /kar-/ 'love': <²gare>, <²gara> P.109b, 110b, 164d, etc.,
 /mynn-/ 'will, wish': <²vynne>, <²vynna>, <⁵fenne> P.7c, 5d, 2b, etc.,
 /pew-/ 'possess': <a bewe> O.2393,

Preterite:

sg.2 /-sys/:¹⁶ /klew-/ 'listen': <clowsys>, <clevs|ta> O.224, 2642,
 /dysk-/ 'teach':¹⁷ <re 3yssys> P.78b,
 /gordh(y)-/ 'honour': <na worsys> O.1867,
 /mynn-/ 'will, wish': <may fynsys> O.734,
 3 /-as/: /kaf-/ 'get': <re gafes> O.1143,
 /kemer-/ 'take':¹⁸ <kemeres>, <a gemeras>, <|kemeras>, <kemeras>,
 <|kemeres> P.70a, 103b, 164b, etc.,
 /gwel-/ 'see': <pan welas>, <a welas>, <re weles> P.13a, 26a, 83a, etc.,

¹⁵ The vowel change in this form is irregular.

¹⁶ It is possible that <a glowsys> is a writing error for /a glewsys/, in which case this ending occurs with vowel change only and should not appear here. When followed by an emphatic personal pronoun this ending may be shortened, as in <Aban golsite> 'because you have give credit' O.269, where */golsys-te/ appears as /gols-te/. Another example is <tolsite-sy> 'you have deceived' O.302.

¹⁷ The loss of /k/ in this word when it is followed by an ending which begins with /s/ seems to be regular.

¹⁸ This is the only verb in P with which this ending is also found as <-es>. In both occurrences (P.70a, 221d) the rhyme shows this spelling to be for /-as/.

- 0.804, 782, 835, etc.,¹⁹
 /ladh-/ 'kill': <lathes>, <lathas> O.611, 2226,
 /myynn-/ 'will, wish': <²vynnas>, <⁵fynnas>, <⁵fennas> P.3d, 4c, 11d, etc.,
 O.432, 1153, 1745, etc.,
 /pegh-/ 'sin': <pehas> P.104b, 145c, O.249, 759, 1863,
 /-ys/: /kows-/ 'speak, talk': <a gowsys> P.50d, 188a,
 /dalleth-/ 'begin': <dallethys> O.50,
 /danvon-/ 'send': <danvansys> P.93b,
 /godhev-/ 'suffer': <gotheuys>, <go3evys> P.6a, 92d, 172d, etc.,
 pl.3 /-sons/: /lavar-/ 'say': <lavarsons>, <lauarsons> P.98c, 154d, 257c,
 /myynn-/ 'will, wish': <ny vynsans> P.190c,
 Pluperfect:
 sg.1 /-sen/: /lavar-/ 'say': <lauarsen> P.183a,
 2 /-ses/: /hwardh-/ 'laugh': <wharthes> O.153,²⁰
 3 /-se/: /kar-/ 'love': <ny garse> O.738,
 /gal-/ 'be able': <ny also> O.1178,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <lauarsa>, <lavarsa> P.56b, 112a,
 /myynn-/ 'will, wish': <a vynsse>, <a vynse>, <y fense>, <a vynsa> P.125a,
 127b, 188c, O.2140, 2224,
 /torr-/ 'break': <torse> O.2174,
 pl.2 /-sewgh/: /klew-/ 'hear, sense': <ny glewsyugh> O.1990,
 3 /-sens/: /fast-/ 'fasten': <fastsens> P.76a,
 /gwel-/ 'see': <re welsens> P.254d,
 Subjunctive, present:
 sg.3 /-^Ho/: /bedh-/ 'dare, venture': <na ve3o> CE.27,
 /debr-/ 'eat': <a theppro>, <may tebro> O.187, 200,
 /gall-/ 'be able, can': <gallo> CE.30, P.19d, 32d, 109c, etc., O.228, 545, 566,
 etc.,
 /myynn-/ 'will, wish': <a vynno> P.2a, 12d, O.1848,
 /prov-/ 'prove': <profo> O.2164,
 /tev-/ 'grow': <may tefo>, <may teffo> O.28, 2104,
 pl.2 /-^Howgh/: /gall-/ 'be able, can': <may hallough> P.63d,
 3 /-^Hons/: /kaf-/ 'get': <caffons> P.114d, 154b,
 /gall-/ 'be able': <na allons>, <may hallons> O.1496, 2833,
 imp. /-er/: /gall-/ 'be able': <may haller> O.1924, 2102, 2473, etc.,
 Past:
 sg.1 /-^Hen/: /gall-/ 'be able': <na allan>, <a callen> O.1348, 2117,
 /gorr-/ 'put': <gorren> O.1490,
 /gwel-/ 'see': <a quellen>, <ha quellen> O.685, 1013,
 /myynn-/ 'will, wish': <mynnen> P.72d,
 /torr-/ 'break': <torren> O.218,
 2 /-^Hes/: /dyskwedh-/ 'teach, reveal': <a thysquethes> O.261,
 3 /-^He/: /gall-/ 'be able, can': <⁴calle>, <may halle> P.21d, 38b, 53c, etc.,
 /ladr-/ 'steal': <ladtre> O.2232,

¹⁹ In O.2107 we find <my ny welys>.

²⁰ Harris gives this form in her glossary as 2sg.imf., but since the related forms in the context are in the pluperfect (<russe> O.152, and <grusses> O.156) it seems more sensible to take this form as pluperfect as well. ECCE gives *whar'sa* as 3sg.ppf. which would seem to indicate an earlier form of the 2sg.ppf. will have been */hwardhes/. The occurring form should probably be interpreted phonologically as /hwardhes/.

- /mynn-/ 'will, wish': <a vynha>, <a vynne> P.139a, 228a,
 /tremen-/ 'pass': <pan dremenna> O.875,
 pl.1 /-^Hen/: /kaf-/ 'get': <caffan>, <caffen> P.67c, 240c, O.2576,
 2 /-^Hens/: /fal-/ 'fail': <fallens> P.49a,
 /gwydh-/ 'keep, guard': <gwe3ens> P.242d,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <lavarrans> P.250b,²¹
- Imperative:
 sg.2 /-/: /kemmer-/ 'take': <kymmer|>, <kemer>, <kemer|>, <kemmer>,
 <kymmer>, <kemmyr>, <kymer> CE.10, O.70, 179, 331, etc.,
 /dy-yskynn-/ 'descend': <dyyskyn>, <dijskyn> CE.3, P.14d,
 /ladh-/ 'kill': <la3|e la3|e>, <lath>, <lath|e> P.142b, O.972, 2132,
 /lavar-/ 'say': <lauar>, <lavar>, <lauer> CE.28, 29, P.78a, 93a, 100d, etc.,
 O.209, 571, 677, etc.,
 /sav-/ 'stand, rise': <saf> O.65, 97,
 /taw-/ 'be silent': <taw> O.229, 2751,
- 3 /-es/: /sew-/ 'follow': <sewes> O.1917,
 /-ens/: /pern-/ 'buy, redeem': <pernans> P.51b,
 pl.2 /-owgh/: /ev-/ 'drink': <evough> P.45b,
 /fystyn(y)-/ 'hasten': <fystynyug> CE.24,
 /gols(ow)-/ 'listen': <Golsoug> CE.1,
 /myr-/ 'behold, consider': <merough>, <myrough>, <myrugh> P.125c,
 141d, 203c,
- /-ewgh/: /gorr-/ 'carry': <gorreugh> O.914,
 /sakrifi-/ 'sacrifice': <sacryfyeugh> O.438,
 /hwel-/ 'seek, search': <wheleugh> P.168d,
- 3 /-es/: /dy-eskynn-/ 'descend': <dyyskynnes> O.2029,
 /-ens/: /bew-/ 'live': <bewens> O.48,
 /eskynn/ 'ascend, mount': <yskynnens> O.2001,
 /golsow-/ 'listen': <golsowens> P.2a,
 /hedh-/ 'cease': <hethens> O.2677,

6. The verbal noun

The endings of the verbal noun are:

(1) /-e/. Since the pronunciation of word final /e/ was reduced to **schwa** by the time the Mss. were produced the orthography could be either <e> or <a> (cf. I.3 and I.6-7).

Examples are:

<ese3a>, <ese3e>, <yssethe> 'to sit' P.13c, 28c, O.916; <naghe>, <nagha>, <nahe> 'to deny' P.85a, 86d, 87b, O.2129, 2654; <bewe>, <bywe>, <bewa> 'to live' P.204a, 207b, 220c, etc., O.62, 344, 475, etc.;

(2) /^V-i/. Especially in P many verbal nouns with this ending do not show vowel change in their orthography, but since especially <e> may represent both /e/ and /y/ it cannot be concluded from this that no vowel change occurred. Examples are:

<synsy|>, <synsy>, <sensy> 'to maintain, to hold' (/sens-/) CE.13, P.62c, 75b, 105d, etc., O.23, 1444; <pesy>, <pesy> 'to pray' P.53c, 56a, 154c, etc., O.1607, 1820, 2140, etc.;

²¹ In P.250b we find the phrase <may lavarrans haldolos yn pub tyller> 'that they might tell and lament in every place' (Herniman's translation; cf. his note on p.278. Nance translated <dolos> as 'proclaim'). The syntax of this phrase would make one expect that <dolos> is a past subjunctive, just as <lavarrans>, which is however incompatible with the ending. The word rhymes with <ros> '(he) gave' in P.250a, a 3sg.pt. of the partly irregular verb /ro/ 'to give'. Since both the exact meaning and the etymology of the word are in doubt a solution cannot be offered.

<predery>, <predry> ‘to consider’ P.139a, 182c, 193b, etc., O.193, 2035; <pedry> ‘to rot, decay’ (from /podr-/) P.235b, O.2707;

(3) /-es/: <batayles> ‘to fight a battle’ P.51a; <kemeres>, <kymmeres> ‘to take’ (occurs also with /-e/) P.61d, O.104, 128, 1123, etc.; <kerthes> ‘to walk, go’ O.204, 374, 1667, etc.;

(4) /-as/. Since after the reduction of vowels in closed final syllables this ending merged with the previous one, the orthography is not a very good guide to keep both endings apart. Examples with etymologically correct /-as/ are:

<golyas> ‘to keep watch, vigil’ (/gl-/; cf. MW *gwylat*) P.55d, 173a; <kyrhas>, <kerhas> ‘to bring, fetch’ (cf. B *kerc’at*) O.1956, 2371, 2565; <palas>, <pales> ‘to dig’ (cf. B *palat*) O.345, 370, 414, etc.;

(5) /^v-el/: <leuerell>, <leuerel> ‘to say’ (/lavar-/) P.27c, 59c, 90c, etc., O.499, 595, 702, etc.; <merwel>, <merwell>, <myrwel> ‘to die’ (/marw-/) P.70d, 89c, 121b, O.377, 1230; <drehevell>, <drehevel>, <dreheuel> ‘to build (up); arise’ P.203c, O.1710, 2320, 2340, etc.;

(6) no ending: <cafus>, <cafos>, <caffos>, <cafes>, <cafys>, <kafus>, <caffus> ‘to get’ CE.22, P.38b, 39b, 121b, etc., O.388, 391, 432, etc.; <go3aff>, <gothaf> ‘to experience, suffer’ (occurs also with /^v-el/: /godhevel/) P.3d, 60b, 60c, etc., O.617, 633, 1595, etc.; <wher3yn> ‘to laugh’ P.222a;

Note (1) Of these endings /-e/ seems to have become productive and seems to have replaced other endings in many places in MC. It is also the ending used with all loan-words (except for <batayles> ‘to fight a battle’ P.51a).

The reduction of wordfinal /e/, and its later change into /a/ (cf. I.6) caused it to be written <a> very frequently (it should be considered that even our oldest manuscript of P dates from the late fifteenth century).

Note (2) Some verbs appear to have more than one verbal noun. The most prominent of these is ‘to speak’ with the forms /kewsel/ and /kows/. Such forms seem to have been used indifferently, probably to fit the requirements of the metre.

7. The verbal adjective

There is only one ending to mark verbal adjectives or past participles: /^v-ys/. The vowel change caused by this ending seems to be limited to the change of /a/ to /e/ (and sometimes /y/; cf. <rynnys> ‘divided’ P.190a, besides the vn. /ranne/ ‘to share’) and /e/ to /y/. As a rule, this vowel change does not occur in loanwords (but cf. <chechys> ‘caught, seized’ P.48d, from ME *cacchen*, *chcen* or OF *cachier*, *chacier*).

In the orthography the ending occurs either as <-ys> or <-is>.²² With stems ending in the semi-vowel /y/ the most frequent spelling is <-ijs>, though one instance of <-yys> does occur in P also (<gwarnyys> ‘warned, informed’ P.86d).

8. Paradigms of the irregular verbs

Only very few verbs are conjugated irregularly in Middle Cornish. These are the verbs ‘to be’ and some verbs formed as compounds with it (including the phrase conveying the meaning ‘to have’), ‘to come’, ‘to go’ and ‘to do’.

9. ‘To be’

This verb, and its compounds, are exceptional by having an extra mode, the habitual,

²² The high frequency of forms in <-is> is explained by the fact that in the Ms. this ending is very frequently abbreviated and represented by the abbreviature for <is>. <is> does however also occur written in full, twice in verbal adjectives in P: <cregis> ‘hanged’ P.192b, and <keris> ‘loved’ P.215c.

with both a present and a past time.

Another exception to the general pattern is that for the present and imperfect indicative there are both short forms and two sets of long forms. Etymologically, these long forms contain either the verbal particle **ed*, cognate with MB *ed* and MW *yd* (cf. L&P.478 (p.319), Hemon, Celtica, 2.217-228, and WG.189.iii(1)) or the verbal particle **as*, cognate with MW *as, ys* (cf. GMW.193).²³

The paradigm of 'to be' is:

Indicative

<p>Present</p> <p>sg.1 /ov/, /asov/ 2 /os/, /asos/ 3 /iw/, /asiw/, /eji/ /yma/ /eus/ pl.1 /on/ 2 /owgh/ 3 /yns/ /ymons/ impers. /eder/</p> <p>Preterite</p> <p>sg.1 /beuv/ 2 /beus/ 3 /beu/ pl.1 /beun/ 2 3 /bons/ impers.</p>	<p>Imperfect</p> <p>sg.1 /en/, /ejen/ 2 /ejes/ 3 /o/, /eje/ pl.1 2 3 /ens/, /ejens/ impers.</p> <p>Pluperfect</p> <p>sg.1 /bien/ 2 3 /bie/, /asevie/ pl.1 2 /biewgh/ 3 impers.</p>
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Habitual

<p>Present</p> <p>sg.1 /bedhav/ 2 /bydhydh/ 3 /bydh/ pl.1 /bydhyn/ 2 3 /bedhons/ impers. /bedher/</p>	<p>Past</p> <p>sg.1 2 3 /bedhe/ pl.1 /bedhen/²⁴ 2 3 impers.</p>
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²³ The identification of this particle **as* with MW *yt* as given in L&P.240 Note 2 cannot be correct as this would suppose an earlier Cornish form **ad*, which would have given rise to /aj-/ in MC. No MC orthographies with <g> are found, however, and the intervocalic spellings of <ss> clearly indicate the unvoiced sibilant. (The reference in L&P to LICC.p.80 is to the first edition of the *Llawlyfr*, in the second edition this same remark has been replaced to 46. The correct identification of the particle is given in 54 Note.)

²⁴ The interpretation of the sentence in which this form occurs is in doubt. It runs <ef a yrhys thym kyrhas (...) gueel a ras maln bethen drethe sylwans> 'he ordered me to bring (...) the rods of grace, that from them we may have salvation' O.1956-58. Norris transcribed *ma'm vethen*, considering the verb to be related to W *meddu* 'to possess'. L&P.352 takes the whole (*ma-m vethen*) as 1sg.past subj. of 'to be', but not without stating "for: *ma-m bethe*". In LICC.54 *bethen* is listed as 1sg.imf.habit., and does not give the form a place in the paradigm of the verb 'to be'. According to Nance and Harris the Ms. has <man bethen>, which should be considered 1pl.imf.subj. Though in the context both 1sg. and 1pl. are possible, the latter seems more logical.

Subjunctive

Present		Past	
sg.1		sg.1	/ben/
2	/bi/	2	/bes/
3	/bo/	3	/be/
pl.1	/been/ ²⁵	pl.1	/ben/
2	/bewgh/	2	
3	/bons/, /byns/	3	/bens/
impers.		impers.	

Imperative

sg.2	/bydh/
3	/bedhens/
pl.1	
2	/bedhowgh/
3	/bedhens/

Verbal noun: /bos/, /bones/²⁶

A verbal adjective for 'to be' is not attested.

10. The orthographic forms in which these forms occur are:

Indicative, present:

sg.1

/ov/: <|off>, <off>, <of>, <|of>, <o|ma> P.8a, 149b, O.73, 193, 593, etc.,

/assov/: <asso|ma> O.684, 1009,

2 /os/: <|os>, <os>, <os|> P.11c, 14d, 93b, etc., O.106, 110, 436, etc.,

The form <mar-s|og|e> in P.197b probably stands for /mars oji/ 'if you are', containing a suffixed pronoun (see also 5.6#).

/asos/: <assos> O.173, 2153,

3 /iw/: <yw>, <yv>, <yw|>, <|yv>, <|yw>, <yu>, <|yv>, <|yw|>, <yv|> CE.21, 34, P.7b, 8d, 14c, etc., O.9, 15, 49, etc.; <|ew>, <ev>, <ew> P.14b, 55a, 61b, etc., O.191, 360, 384, etc.,

With the exception of <ris|yv|ry> 'it is needful to give' P.117c, the <y>-spellings occur only independently or with a suffixed pronoun, while the <e>-spellings are always orthographically linked to a preceding particle or conjunction or the like.

/asiw/: <assyw> O.2074,

/yma/: <yma> P.21a, 43a, 51c, etc., O.90, 91, 410, etc.,

One instance of <y-ma> occurs in P.172b, while after the interrogative /ple/ 'where' the first syllable is dropped: <ple|ma>, <ple me|ve>, <ple ma> P.78a, 147c, O.571, 1316, 2561 (cf. 5.17(b)#). A form <ma> occurs at the beginning of a line in O.2181 and O.2633. Probably this form had, like *W y mae*, the stress on the final syllable. In O.1040 a spelling <ymma> is found.

/eus/: <vs>, <|us> CE.17, P.16c, 24a, 24b, etc., O.20, 22, 54, etc.; <|es>, <es> CE.23, P.32c, 32d, 34c, etc., O.1100, 1236, 2468,

/eji/: <vgy>, <|vgy>, <|vsy>, <|ugy>, <vsy> P.53d, 102a, O.573, 1398, 1616, etc.,

²⁵ In P the metre requires this form to be disyllabic, in O all spellings show double vowels, but there the forms seem to have been counted as one syllable only.

²⁶ This long form is explained by Fleuriot as a contamination of certain forms of the verb 'to be' with forms of 'to go', of which a long form of the verbal noun is /devones/ (DGVB, s.v. *diminet*).

pl.1 /on/: <on>, <on|>, <|on> O.3, 12, 57, etc.,
2 /owgh/: <|ough>, <ough> P.47b, O.1504, 1621, 2461, etc.,
3

/yns/: <|yns>, <yms> P.78c, O.761, 777, 1691, etc.,

/ymons/: <y-mons>, <ymons>, <ymons> P.185d, O.1418, 1612, 1636, etc.,

Like the 3sg. form /yma/, and like *Wy maent*, this form was probably stressed on the final syllable. In O.2091 we find the form <may mons>.

imp. /eder/: <y-th|eder> O.2794, 2797,

Imperfect:

sg.1

/en/: <en> P.220c, O.2611,

/ejen/: <esen> P.75a, O.213,

2 /ejes/: <eses> O.900,

3

/o/: <o>, <|o>, <|o|>, <o|> CE.33, P.4a, 5c, 6d, etc., O.112, 185, 212, etc.,

Once, in P.146b, this form is written <e>: <ny 3|e> /ny'dh o/ 'you are not'.

/eje/: <ese>, <|ese>, <esa>, <|esa>, <ege> P.5b, 13d, 27a, etc., O.779, 796, 1089, etc.,

pl.3 /ens/: <ens>, <|ens> P.33b, 41b, 68d, etc., O.1560, 2472,

/ejens/: <|esens>, <esons> P.137d, 140d, 164a,

Preterite:

sg.1 /beuv/: <²vef>, <py vr fuf> P.49c, O.576, 616, 706, etc.,

2 /beus/: <re ves>, <del ves>, <pe fes|te> P.101b, 192a, O.467,

3 /beu/: <be>, <|be>, <bue>, <bu|>, <be|> P.2b, 2d, 3c, etc., O.291, 816, 864, etc.,

pl.1 /beun/: <ben>, <re ben>, <buen> P.153d, 246a, 246b, O.709,

3 /bons/: <²vons>, <⁵fons> P.6b, 33c, 39c, etc.,

Pluperfect:

sg.1 /bien/: <y fyen> O.2120,

3 /bie/: <|bea>, <|bye>, <|bee>, <bya>, <bye> P.34a, 36c, 38c, etc., O.219, 1174, 1804, etc.,

Once, in P.203d, a lenited form (after the verbal particle /a/; cf. II.2(20)) is found with <f> instead of <v>: <a|fye> 'had been'.

/asevie/: <assevy> O.2115,

pl.2 /biewgh/: <y fyeugh> O.177,

Habitual, present:

sg.1 /bedhav/: <be3aff>, <bethaf> P.61d, 93c, O.596, 1349, 1910, etc.,

2 /bydhdyh/: <bethydh>, <be3ydh>, <bythydh> P.6d, 46c, O.311, 597, 1465, etc.,

3 /bydh/: <by3>, <byth>, <beth>, <y|fyth>, <a|vyth>, <byth>, <beyth> CE.13, P.17d, 44c, 48c, etc., O.2, 35, 53, etc.,

In P.240c we find <mara pe3|a> 'if he shall be', with a suffixed pronoun and intervocalic <3> for /dh/.

pl.3 /bydhyn/: <ny fythyn>, <²vethyn> O.1606, 1655,

3 /bedhons/: <y fethons>, <²vethons> O.342, 1515, 1589, etc.,

imp. /bedher/: <may fether> O.46,

Past:

sg.3 /bedhe/: <be3e>, <be3a>, <bethe> P.25d, 32b, 112d, etc., O.232, 290, 2531,

pl.1 /bedhen/: <bethen> O.1958,

Subjunctive, present:

sg.2 /bi/: <by>, <by|> P.22a, 139d, O.72, 107, 245, etc.,

In P.139d the vowel of this form is shown by the rhyme to be /i/.

3 /bo/: <bo>, <bo|> P.1d, 9b, 31c, etc., O.42, 78, 98, etc.,

In P.175c <be|> seems to be written for this form: <be|va den yonk bo den coth>
'be he a young man or an old man'.

pl.1 /been/: <bean>, <byyn>, <been>, <beyn> P.73a, O.235, 1973, 2035, etc.,

2 /bewgh/: <may fewg|why>, <hedre vyugh> O.1163, 2349,

3

/bons/: <may fons>, <²vons>, <kyn fons> P.18c, 89d, 211d, O.1838, 2033, 2044,

/byns/: <hedre vyns|y> O.1503,

Past:

sg.1 /ben/: <kyn fen>, <del ven|> P.49d, 74d, O.1331,

2 /bes/: <kyn|fes>, <may fes> P.22d, 144d,

3 /be/: <⁵fe>, <²ve>, <⁴pe> P.23c, 23d, 32a, etc., O.24, 144, 211, etc.,

pl.1 /ben/: <may fen>, <na ven|> P.191d, 245d, 246d,

3 /bens/: <py fens>, <may fens>, <kyn fens|y> P.151d, 159b, 163b, O.1237, 1833,

Imperative:

sg.2 /bydh/: <by³>, <byth>, <beth> CE.2, 19, O.1071, 1341, 1467,

3 /bedhens/: <be³ens>, <be³ans>, <bethens> P.24d, 36b, 55b, etc. O.954, 1297, 2560,

pl.2 /bedhowgh/: <na ve³ough> P.52d, 255a,

3 /bedhens/: <bethens> O.8, 21, 1434, etc.,

Verbal noun:

/bos/: <bos>, <boys> CE.31, P.2a, 4c, 7b, etc., O.19, 56, 74, etc.

/bones/: <bonas>, <bones> P.7b, 8c, 19d, etc., O.94, 141, 157, etc.

11. Compounds with the verb 'to be'

The verb 'to know' is conjugated as a compound of /bos/ in most of its paradigm. An extended meaning of this verb is 'to know how, to be able'.

The paradigm of 'to know':

Indicative

Present

sg.1 /gon/

2 /godhes/

3 /gor/

pl.1 /godhen/

2 /godhowgh/

3

impers. /godher/

Imperfect

sg.1

2

3 /godhye/

pl.1

2

3 /godhyens/

impers.

Preterite

sg.1

2

3

pl.1

2

3

impers.

Pluperfect

sg.1

2

3

pl.1

2

3

impers.

Habitual

Present	Past
sg.1	sg.1
2	2
3 /go(dh)vydh/	3
pl.1	pl.1
2	2
3	3
impers.	impers.

Subjunctive

Present	Past
sg.1	sg.1
2	2 /godhves/
3 /godhvo/	3 /godhve/
pl.1	pl.1
2	2
3	3
impers.	impers.

Imperative

sg.2
3
pl.1
2 /godhvedhowgh/
3

Verbal noun: /godhvov/

Verbal adj.: /godhvedhys/

The orthographic forms in which these forms occur are:

Indicative, present:

sg.1 /gon/: <²won>, <⁵won> (/hwon/), <⁵whon> P.8a, 75d, 104c, etc., O.151, 255, 355, etc.,

2 /godhes/: <mar co3es>, <ny wo3as> CE.5, P.46b, 144c,

3 /gor/: <a wor>, <ny wor> P.168d, 194c, O.185, 590, 1883, etc.,

pl.1 /godhen/: <ny wo3an>, <ny wothen> P.245c, O.363,

2 /godhowgh/: <ny wo3ough> P.50c,

imp. /godher/: <a wother> O.2332,

Imperfect:

sg.3 /godhye/: <²wo3ye>, <²wo3ya> P.36d, 47c, 54b, etc.,

The metre shows this form to be disyllabic.

pl.3 /godhyens/: <go3yens>, <go3yans> P.196b, 238c, 254c,

Habitual, present:

sg.3 /go(dh)vydh/: <a wovyth>, <a wothfyth> O.188, 1400,

Subjunctive, present:

sg.3 /gothvo/: <na wothfo>, <mar cothfo> O.190, 2119,

Past:

sg.2 /godhves/: <gothfes> O.151,

3 /godhve/: <a wothfe>, <re woffe> P.158d, O.530,

Imperative:

pl.2 /godhvedhowgh/: <gothve3ough> P.63c,

Verbal noun:

/godhvov/: <gothfos>, <gothvos> 0.751, 821, 2098,

A form <govos> occurs in 0.2102.

Verbal adjective:

/godhvedhys/: <gothvethys> 0.1520,

12. A number of other verbs may take forms of /bos/ as endings. Of one of them the verbal noun occurs in P: <asswonvos> 'to recognise' P.63d. In 0.1375 the form <aswon> appears, which according to the context is 3sg.pr.ind.

13. Other compounds with /bos/ are mainly 3sg. present habitual forms. We find: <gwylvyth>, <gwylfyth>, <gwelfyeth> (/gwelas/ 'to see') P.93d, 0.716, 790, 827, etc.; <prenvvyth> (/prene/ 'to buy, redeem') P.155b; <talvyth>, <taluyth> (/tylli/ 'to deserve, be worth') P.115d, 0.2387; <whyrvyth> (* /hwarvos/ 'to happen') 0.45; <clewvyth> (/klewes/ 'to hear') 0.2134;

Forms of the 3sg.perf.#ind. also occur as compounds with /bos/: <wharfe> (* /hwarvos/ 'to happen') P.132d;

A 2sg.pr.subj. is found in <a bywfy> (/pew/ 'to possess, to own') 0.581.

3sg.pr.subj. is <wharfo> (* /hwarvos/ 'to happen') 0.667, 1698, 1736, etc..

14. 'To have'

Originally the Celtic languages did not have a verb with the same meaning as English 'to have'. The idea in Middle Cornish is conveyed by a construction of infixed object pronoun + a 3sg. form of the verb 'to be'. This construction functions as a verb and will here be described as such. (For the corresponding construction in Breton see HMB.140; in Middle Welsh this construction existed also, but disappeared rather early, cf. GMW.61.)

In the 3sg.m. and 3pl. forms of this verb an element **de-* was placed between the infixed pronoun and the form of /bos/. After the masculine infixed pronoun /'n/ this developed into /je-/ , after the 3sg. feminine pronoun /'s/ and the 3pl. pronoun /'s/ it changed into /te-/ by provection. This element **de-* is also found in B. The /v/ occurring in between this element and forms of /bos/ beginning with a vowel may either have its origin as a glide filling the hiatus in e.g. **/a'n de-eus/* (3sg.m. pr.ind.) or by analogy from the other forms which have /v/ from lenited /bos/.

A /b-/ is inserted in the MC verb in the present and imperfect indicative forms with infixed pronouns for the 1sg., the 1pl. and the 2pl. This /b/ was probably introduced by analogy to the other forms of /bos/ occurring in the paradigm, all beginning with /b/.

After the 2sg. infixed pronoun /'dh/ a special change takes place in verb forms beginning with /b/. After regular lenition of the /b/ to /v/ (see II.2(5)) the resulting /'dh v-/ loses its dental articulation and changes into /f/ (cf. LICC.56 N.).

In the subjunctive forms provection takes place as if the "endings" were the regular subjunctive endings causing provection, and not the verbal forms /bo/ and /be/ of the verb 'to be'.

The paradigm of 'to have':

Indicative

Present		Imperfect	
sg.1	/a'm beus/	sg.1	
2		2	/a'dh fo/
3m.	/a'n jeves/	3m.	/a'n jevo/
3f.		3f.	
pl.1		pl.1	
2		2	
3		3	
Preterite		Pluperfect	
sg.1		sg.1	
2	/a feu/	2	
3m.	/a'n jeve/	3m.	
3f.	/a's teve/	3f.	
pl.1		pl.1	
2		2	
3	/a's teve/	3	

Habitual

Present		Past	
sg.1	/a'm bydh/	sg.1	
2	/a fydh/	2	
3m.	/a'n jevydh/	3m.	
3f.	/a's tevydh/	3f.	
pl.1	/a'gan bydh/	pl.1	
2	/a'gys bydh/ /a's bydh/	2	
3	/a's tevydh/	3	

Subjunctive

Present		Past	
sg.1	/a'm bo/	sg.1	/a'm be/
2	/a fo/	2	
3m.	/a'n jefo/	3m.	/a'n jefe/
3f.		3f.	
pl.1		pl.1	/a'gan be/
2	/a'gas bo/	2	
3	/a's tefo/	3	

The orthographic forms in which these forms occur are:

Indicative, present:

sg.1 /a'm beus/: <a|m bes>, <ny|m bes>, <ny|m|bus>, <a|m|bus>, <a|m bus>, <na|m bes> P.120a, O.171, 356, 371, etc.,

3m. /a'n jeves/: <ny|n geuas>, <a|n gefes> P.12a, O.1478,

Imperfect:

sg.2 /a'dh fo/: <na|th fo> O.263,

3 /a'n jevo/: <a|n gevo> P.140a,

Preterite:

sg.3m. /a'n jeve/: <a|n geve>, <y|n geve>, <ny|n geve>, <ma|n geve>, <ma|nna[-n] geve> P.10d, 40a, 59a, etc., O.2219,

The phrase <del iove> P.227b may also be for this construction (so Stokes in his translation, and Herniman, p.274; Nance translated 'as I have heard' from F *j'ai oui*).

3f. /a's teve/: <ny|s|teva> P.222a,

pl.3 /a's teve/: <ny|s teve> O.2597,

Habitual, present:

sg.1 /a'm bydh/: <nv|m byth>, <mar-a|m byth>, <ny|m byth>, <a|m byth>, <mar-a|m beth> P.37b, 104c, O.693, 1011, 1252, etc.,

2 /a fydh/: <a feth>, <a|fyth>, <ny fyth>, <y fyth>, <a fet>, <a fyth> P.16c, 136c, O.79, 718, 897, etc.,

The <a vy3> occurring in CE.12 probably is a misspelling for /a fydh/ (a correct <a vy3> occurs in the following line so the copist may just have looked a line ahead in his exemplar). On the other hand the grapheme <v> may simply stand for /f/ here.

3m. /a'n jevydh/: <a|n geuyth>, <a|n gefyth>, <a|n gevyth>, <y|n gefyth> P.44d, O.516, 599, 2094,

3f. /a's tevydh/: <ny|s tevyth>, <ny|s|tefyth>, <ny|s|tevyth> O.300, 1808, 1816,

pl.1 /a'gan bydh/: <ny agan beth>, <na|gan byth> O.1078, 2821,

2 /a'gys bydh/: <ny gys byth> O.1222,

/a's bydh/: <a|s byth>, <a|s beth> O.2324, 2586, 2766,

3 /a's tevydh/: <ny|s|tevyth>, <a|s tevyt> O.399, 2328,

Subjunctive, present:

sg.1 /a'm bo/: <ma|m bo|ma>, <y|m bo> O.2077, 2819,

2 /a fo/: <may fo>, <ry|th fo>, <re|th fo> O.276, 459, 2265, etc.,

3m. /a'n jefo/: <a|n geffo>, <ma|na|n geffo>, <ma|n geffo>, <na|n geffo> P.51b, 150b, 213b, O.422, 551,

pl.2 /a'gas bo/: <re ges bo> O.2585,

3 /a's tefo/: <re|s|teffo> P.216a,

Past:

sg.1 /a'm be/: <mar-a|m be>, <na|m by|ma> O.396, 2254,

A form <a|m been> occurs in O.2613,

3m. /a'n jefe/: <a|n gyffe>, <a|n geffe> P.190d, O.2230,

pl.1 /a'gan be/: <na|g-yn be|ny> O.1609,

15. 'To go'

The verbs 'to go' and 'to come' both have an extra past time in the indicative, the perfect. With the verb 'to go' a suppletive stem (or suppletive stems) is used for this time, for the pluperfect and for the subjunctive forms. (See also the Note below.)

In the imperative two different forms occur for the 2sg. and 3pl. The /a/ form probably was originally used for the singular form only. (Cf. Breton and Welsh, where the *a*-forms occur also. In Breton they are used in negative constructions only, while the form corresponding to /ke/ is used in positive statements; HMB.148(7); Kervella, 206 (Taolenn 10, N.(2).)

The paradigm of 'to go' is:

Indicative

Present

sg.1 /av/
2 /edh/
3 /a/
pl.1 /en/
2 /ewgh/
3
impers.

Imperfect

sg.1 /en/
2
3 /e/
pl.1
2
3 /ens/
impers.

Preterite

sg.1
2 /edhys/
3 /edh/
pl.1
2 /edhewgh/
3 /edhons/
impers.

Perfect

sg.1
2
3 /gallas/
pl.1
2
3
impers.

Pluperfect

sg.1 /gallsov/
2
3 /gallse/
pl.1
2
3

Subjunctive

Present

sg.1
2
3 /ello/
pl.1 /yllyn/
2 /yllewgh/
3
impers.

Past

sg.1 /ellen/
2
3 /elle/
pl.1
2
3
impers.

Imperative

sg.2 /ke/, /a/
3 /ens/
pl.1
2 /ewgh/
3 /a/

Verbal noun: /mones/, /mos/

Verbal adj.: /gyllys/

Note. A tentative “explanation” for the stem suppletion in this paradigm is given by Brown, 203(2) (following Nance; Brown also refers to L&P.460 N.(2) (incorrectly referred to as 460(d)), where very briefly and not very convincing a similar explanation is given). The idea is that the suppletive stem is *gals-* (or *gal-* with the *-s-* marking the preterite) for which no further meaning or origin is given. In fact /*gall-*/ seems to be only used as a stem in the indicative, while the subjunctive forms use a stem /*ell-*/ (subject to vowel change).

The endings these forms take seem to be from the present and imperfect indicative of ‘to be’ for the indicative forms (except for the 3sg.perf., which seems to take the ending of the 3sg.pt. of the regular forms), and of the subjunctive of ‘to be’ for the subjunctive.

The orthographic forms in which these forms occur are:

Indicative, present:

sg.1 /av/: <y-th|af>, <peth|af>, <yth|af> O.339, 355, 999, etc.,

2 /edh/: <yth|eth> O.2295, 2652,

3 /a/: <a> O.83, 369, 450, etc.,

pl.1 /en/: <pyth|een> O.364,

2 /ewgh/: <mars|evgh> O.2185,

Imperfect:

sg.1 /en/: <may-th|en> P.79c,

3 /e/: <may-th|e>, <y-3|e> <ee> P.25a, 195a, 196a,

pl.3 /ens/: <ens>, <|ens> P.64b, 137a, 251d,

Preterite:

sg.2 /edhys/: <e3ys> P.157d,

3 /edh/: <eth>, <|eth>, <yth>, <eth|> P.18a, 29b, 52a, etc., O.260, 2795,

pl.2 /edhewgh/: <etheugh> O.2086,

3 /edhons/: <e3ons>, <|e3ons> P.34a, 154c, 257c,

Perfect:

sg.3 /gallas/: <gallas> P.245c, 255c, O.1097, 1627, 2764,

Pluperfect:

sg.1 /gallsov/: <galsof> O.373, 855,

3 /gallse/: <galse> P.207b,

Subjunctive, present:

sg.3 /ello/: <alla>, <may-3|ello> P.172d, 178c,

pl.1 /yllyn/: <|yllyn> O.1972,

2 /yllewgh/: <|ylleugh> O.1587,

Past:

sg.1 /ellen/: <mars|ellen> O.2173,

3 /elle/: <may-3|elle>, <elle> P.131d, P.150d, 160c,

Imperative:

sg.2 /ke/: <ke>, <kee> P.14d, 17c, 48b, O.96, 204, 343, etc.,

/a/: <a> O.1479,

A spelling <ha> occurs once in P.34d.

3 /ens/: <ens> O.1095, 2842,

pl.2 /ewgh/: <eug>, <eugh> CE.24, P.113a, 256a, O.318, 438, 542, etc.,

3 /a/:

A spelling <ha> occurs once in P.99c.

Verbal noun:

/mones/: <monas>, <mones> P.30d, 162a, 241b, etc., O.264, 469, 474, etc.,

/mos/: <mos> P.10a, 27b, 52c, O.184, 451, 554, etc.,

Verbal adjective:

/gyllys/: <gyllys> 0.1512, 1636, 1682,

16. 'To come'

The paradigm of 'to come' is:

Indicative

Present

sg.1 /dov/
2 /deuth/
3 /deu/

pl.1

2
3 /dons/
impers.

Imperfect

sg.1
2
3 /do/

pl.1

2
3 /dens/
impers.

Preterite

sg.1
2
3 /deuth/
pl.1
2
3 /deuthons/
impers.

Perfect

sg.1
2
3 /deuve/
pl.1
2
3
impers.

Pluperfect

sg.1
2
3 /dothye/
pl.1
2
3 /dothyens/

Subjunctive

Present

sg.1
2 /dyfi/
3 /defo/
pl.1
2
3 /dyfons/
impers.

Past

sg.1
2
3 /defe/
pl.1
2
3 /defens/
impers.

Imperative

sg.2 /deus/
3
pl.1 /deun/
2 /dewgh/
3

Verbal noun: /devones/, /dones/, /devos/, /dos/

Verbal adj.: /devedhys/, /dyvydhys/#

The orthographic forms in which these forms occur are:

Indicative, present:

sg.1 /dov/: <ny thof> O.2151,

2 /deuth/: <na theth> O.258,

3 /deu/: <de>, <due>, <due|> P.12b, 30b, 37b, etc., O.121, 149, 199, etc.,

pl.3 /dons/: <dons> P.61d, 78b,

Imperfect:

sg.3 /do/: <yto, <y|to> P.87d, 122d, 123d,

pl.3 /dens/:

This form seems to occur in P.97d, but is written <y tons> there (as if 3pl.pr.). All other verbs in this stanza are in the imperfect indicative, so that it seems acceptable to take this one as such too (<e> and <o> in the Ms. often are very much alike), especially while changes of time like this are not normal in the style of *Pascon agan Arluth*. Herniman is the only translator of the text taking the Ms. literal and translates 'they come'.

Preterite:

sg.3 /deuth/: <deth>, <dueth>, <deth|> P.8d, 67a, 107c, etc., O.165, 606, 607,

pl.3 /deuthons/: <de3ons> P.258a,

Perfect:

sg.3 /deuve/: <re deve>, <deve> P.48c, 75c,

Pluperfect:

sg.3 /dothye/: <dethye>, <do3ye>, <re|do3ye>, <ny thothe> P.33a, 63a, 90d, O.1744,

pl.3 /dothyens/: <do3yans> P.65a, 176b, 180a,

In P.242a a form <de3ens>, without /-y-/ , occurs.

Subjunctive, present:

sg.2 /dyfi/: <dyffy> P.193b,

3 /defo/: <a theffo>, <na theffo> O.406, 1076, 1577, etc.,

pl.3 /dyfons/: <may tyffons>, <may teffons> O.2279, 2408,

Past:

sg.3 /defe/: <mar teffa>, <may teffe> P.27d, 162d, 249d,

pl.3 /defens/: <may teffens> O.2417,

Imperative:

sg.2 /deus/: <dus>, <des>, <dues> CE.4, P.197b, O.179, 203, 652, etc.,

pl.1 /deun/: <dun> P.247b, O.446, 525, 559, etc.,

2 /dewgh/: <deugh>, <devg> P.53a, 63c, O.1961, 2683, 2841,

Verbal noun:

/devones/: <ow tevones> P.61c, 93d,

/dones/: <dones>, <donas> O.791, 1400,

/devos/: <ov tevos> O.1741,

/dos/: <doys>, <dos> P.85c, 106a, 171b, etc., O.714, 734, 1230, etc.,

Verbal adjective:

/devedhys/: <deue3is>, <deve3ys>, <deuethys>, <devethys> P.10a, 152d, 156c, etc., O.2212, 2344,

/dyvydhys/: <dyuythys>, <deuythys> O.763, 813, 855, etc.,

17. 'To do'

The phonological forms of this verb are very difficult to reconstruct with any confidence from the attested orthographies. The reconstructions given here are therefore tentative only.

The paradigm of 'to do, to make' is:

Indicative

Present		Imperfect	
sg.1	/gwrav/	sg.1	
2	/gwreudh/(?)	2	/gwreus/
3	/gwra/	3	/gwre/
pl.1	/gwren/	pl.1	
2	/gwrewgh/	2	
3	/gwrons/	3	/gwrens/
impers.	/gwrer/	impers.	
Preterite		Pluperfect	
sg.1		sg.1	/gwreussen/
2	/gwreussys/	2	/gwreusses/
3	/gwreug/	3	/gwreusse/
pl.1		pl.1	
2		2	/gwreussywgh/
3	/gwreussons/	3	/gwreussens/
impers.		impers.	

Subjunctive

Present		Past	
sg.1	/gwryllyv/	sg.1	/gwrellyn/(?)
2	/gwrylli/	2	
3	/gwrello/	3	/gwrelle/
pl.1		pl.1	/gwrellen/
2	/gwreallowgh/	2	
3	/gwrellons/	3	
impers.		impers.	

Imperative

sg.2	/gwra/
3	/gwrens/
pl.1	/gwren/
2	/gwrewgh/
3	

Verbal noun: /gw(r)euthyl/, /geul/

Verbal adj.: /gwryys/, /oberys/

The orthographic forms in which these forms occur are:

Indicative, present:

sg.1 /gwrav/: <graf>, <gwraff>, <gvraf>, <gwraf>, <pandra wra|ma>, <guraf> P.46b, 155a, 0.25, 271, 402, etc.,

2 /gwreudh/: <²wreth>, <mar qureth>, <mara qureth> P.146c, O.257, 490, 507, etc.,
In P.155b a compound form <omwreyth> 'you pretend' (lit. 'make yourself')
occurs. The meaning of this spelling is not clear.

3 /gwra/: <gwra>, <gura>, <gra>, <gvra> CE.29, 30, 34, P.11c, 12d, 16d, etc., O.59, 76,
100, etc.,

A compound <omwra> 'he pretends' occurs in P.143b.

pl.1 /gwren/: <mar quren>, <²wren> O.390, 1008, 1654, etc.,

2 /gwrewgh/: <²wreugh> O.317, 350, 912, etc.,

3 /gwrons/: <y wrons>, <may wrons> O.400, 2034,

imp. /gwrer/: <y wrer> O.1936,

Imperfect:

sg.2 /gwreus/: <y whrus|te-sy> O.277,

3 /gwre/: <²wre> P.23a, 26b, 112d, etc.,

pl.3 /gwrens/: <²wrens> P.39d, 175b, 202d, etc.,

Preterite:

sg.2 /gwreussys/: <re|wrussys>, <²wrussys>, <²russys> P.101d, 115d, O.108, 210, 222,
etc.,

A compound form <omwressys> 'you pretended' occurs in P.191c.

3 /gwreug/: <grug>, <gruk>, <gwruk>, <gwruk|> P.7d, 28a, 30d, etc., O.51, 88, 181, etc.,

Alternative spellings are <y wreg> P.27b and <guregh> P.45d. Compounds are
found as <a gam-wruk> 'has done wrong' O.1646, <re thyswruk> 'has destroyed'
O.2336.

pl.3 /gwreussons/: <grussons>, <gwrussons> P.31c, 186b, O.337,

Pluperfect:

sg.1 /gwreussen/: <ny wrussen>, <a wrussen>, <y wrussen> O.163, 421, 921, etc.,

2 /gwreusses/: <grusses> O.156,

3 /gwreusse/: <pan wresse>, <a|wresse>, <a wressa>, <re wresse>, <a russe> P.48a,
119d, 213b, etc., O.152,

pl.2 /gwreussywgh/: <a wrussyugh> O.2792,

3 /gwreussens/: <re wrussens> P.180d,

Subjunctive, present:

sg.1 /gwryllyv/: <pan wryllyf> O.531,

2 /gwrylli/: <may wrylly> O.1784,

3 /gwrello/: <gwrello>, <gvrello> P.225b, O.231, 605, 1092, etc.,

A compound form is <omwrello> 'he might pretend' P.121d, 146d.

pl.2 /gwrellowgh/: <na rellough> P.63c,

3 /gwrellons/: <may wrellons> /may hwrellons/ P.229c,

Past:

sg.1 /gwrellyn/: <a wrellyn> O.445,²⁷

3 /gwrelle/: <gurelle>, <gwrella>, <grella> P.158d, O.1424, O.2240,

pl.1 /gwrellen/: <na wrellen> O.183, 239, 1048,

Imperative:

sg.2 /gwra/: <gura> O.949, 987, 1110, etc.,

3 /gwrens/: <gurens> O.1093, 1153,

pl.1 /gwren/: <gvren>, <guren> O.254, 1146, 1170,

2 /gwrewgh/: <gureugh>, <na wreugh> P.69d, O.1659, 1674, 2179, etc.,

²⁷ This is the interpretation given to this form by both Norris and Harris. The expected ending would have been /-en/ and it is possible that we actually have a 1pl.pr.subj. here. In that instance, which would fit the context well, <thym> in line 444 would be a misspelling for <thyn>.

Verbal noun:

/gw(r)euþyl/: <gu3yll>, <guthyll>, <²we3yll>, <²wu3ell>, <gruthyl>, <²wrythul> P.15d, 20d, 21b, etc., O.18, 194, 270, etc.,

/geul/: <gul>, <gull> CE.27, P.3d, 10b, 27d, etc., O.67, 298, 444, etc.,

Verbal adjective:

/gwrys/: <guris>, <gurys>, <gures>, <gres>, <gvrys>, <gwrys>, <gvreys>, <gvres>, <gureys> P.3c, 6d, 8c, etc., O.2, 9, 20, etc.,

/oberys/: <oberys> O.15,

18. Other irregular verbs

Some verbs are more or less irregular. Most of them have a monosyllabic stem ending in a vowel and their irregularity is mainly due to this fact which gave rise to specific phonological developments.

The verbs in question are /ri/ 'to give', */to/ 'to swear', /dri/ 'to bring' and /don/ 'to carry' (the latter with the stem /deg-/). The forms found are:

Indicative, present:

sg.1 /rov/: <rof> CE.6, O.135, 585, 1463, etc.,

2 /redh/: <reyth>, <reth> P.66b, O.1814,

3 /re/: <re>, <ry>, <re|> CE.15, O.376, 1472, 1809, etc.,

/te/: <te> CE.16, O.1811, 2124, 2159,

/doro/: <doro> O.225, 981,

/deg/: <dek>, <deg> P.174b, O.903, 2814,

pl.1 /ren/: <ren> O.2739,

3 /drens/: <drens> O.1933,

Imperfect:

sg.3 /rey/ (or /re/?): <rey> P.118b (the form is shown to be monosyllabic by the metre),

/degi/ <degy> P.160d,

Preterite:

sg.1 /rys/: <rys> O.320,

2 /rysys/: <ressys> O.574,

3 /ros/: <ros> P.81b, 250a, O.238, 265, 493, etc.,

/tos/: <a doys> P.85c,

/dros/: <droys>, <dros> P.119a, O.111, 282,

/dug/: <duk>, <dug> P.64c, 91a, 160a, etc., O.268, 2244,

Pluperfect:

pl.1 /drossen/: <drossen> P.99b,

2 /degsewgh/: <ny 3ecseugh> P.50b,

Subjunctive, present:

sg.3 /doko/: <re|thokko> O.583,

/rollo/: <rollo> P.32b, O.1823, 2163, 2711,

/roy/: <roy> O.680,

pl.3 /rollons/: <rollons> O.40,

Past:

sg.3 /rolle/: <rolle>, <rolla> P.98b, 145b,

Imperative:

sg.2 /ro/: <ro>, <roy> P.22a, O.120, 444, 452, etc.,

/ri/: <ry> O.1567,

/dog/: <dok>, <dog|a-ef> P.82b, O.1298, 1945,

/dro/: <dro|>, <doro> O.247, 1904, 1947, etc.,

3 /degyns/: <degyns> O.32, 1052, 1054, etc.,

pl.2 /degowgh/: <na thegough> P.37a,

/degewgh/: <degeugh> O.2810,

/drewgh/: <dreugh> O.1066,

Verbal noun:

/ri/: <ry> P.39a, 39d, 66a, etc., O.103, 464, 1801, etc.,

/dri/: <dry>, <drey> P.21b, 27c, 97d, etc., O.71, 1647, 1860,

/don/: <don>, <doyn>, <doun>, <down>, <doon> P.111c, 160c, 162c, etc., O.30, 508, 892, etc.,

A compound /emdhon/ 'to conceive' appears in P.169c as <em3on>.

Verbal adjective:

/rys/: <roys>, <reys> P.23d, O.1625 (the form is shown to be monosyllabic by the metre, the origin of the <o> in the form occurring in P is unclear),

/drys/: <dris> P.32a,

/degys/: <degys>, <degis>, <degēs> P.23d, 29d, 153c, etc., O.2785,

19. Defective verbs

Though the scarcity of the material makes it as good as impossible to make any paradigm complete, there seem to be some verbs which are defective in the real sense of the word. The most important and most frequent of these is the verb marking speech. It consists of two forms, for the 3sg. and pl. imperfect indicative only: /yn medh/ 'he/she said' and /yn medhens/ 'they said'.

The orthographic forms in which these are found are for the singular <yn meth>, <yn me3|>, <yn|meth>, <In meth> P.16c, 34b, 34c, etc. And for the plural <yn me3ens>, <ym me3ens> P.32d, 99d, 148c, etc. A verbal noun <methes> is found once in O.159.

Another verb appearing in the 3sg. form only is /koth/ 'to behave, be suitable'. It occurs as <coth>, <ny goth|e> P.15a, 17b, 148c, O.468, 1148, 1261, etc.. In O.641 it appears as <degoth>, with a presumably intensifying prefix /dy-/. The same meaning is conveyed by the 3sg. form /deledh/, which appears as <may telet>, <y teleth> in O.994, 1775 and which appears to be defective as well.

A verb of which only imperative forms seem to appear is /tann/ 'take', of which the 2sg. form appears in CE.9 as <tan>. The syntax of the phrase in which this form appears is not very clear, and Stokes took the form to be /tanna/.²⁸ Other occurrences of <tan> are O.206, 503, 540. A 2pl. form appears in BMer.960 as <tannegh>.

Note. Other words which appear in Nance's dictionary (and in most translations of the texts) as defective verbs are /res/ 'needs' and /skyle/ 'causes' as found in P.94d, O.360, 391, 649, etc. <reys>, <res> and P.211c <scyle>. These forms appear in other contexts as nouns, and it is most likely that they should be taken as such in these two contexts also. The translation of P.94d <ny reys 3ynny 3e welas> would then be 'no need for us to seek'. The lack of a finite verb in this whole sentence is ungrammatical, but might be caused by the fact that the whole is an exclamation by an angered Caiaphas. P.211c <natur scyle> is translated 'a cause of nature' by Herniman (and, in a note on p.273 of his thesis, "more properly" as 'a natural cause'), which poses no problem at all.

²⁸ Stokes also takes the form as a 2sg.imp. (cf. RC.4.261). In the Ms. the whole line reads <a tan ha y>; for a completely different interpretation see Campanile's edition of this text in *Studi e Saggi Linguistici* III (1963), (suppl. to *L'Italia Dialettale* XXVI (NS. III), p.60-80, where, unfortunately, this word is missing in the glossary.

Function

20. Here I will limit myself to a brief description of the general function of each mood and tense. The author's choice of when exactly to use which mood or tense seems to some extent a matter of style, which may be highly personal and should more properly be studied in connection with the literary background of the texts.

It should be kept in mind that P differs fundamentally from the other MC texts as far as style is concerned. Except for P all texts are dramatic, and consist as such of direct speech only. The action is set in the present. P, on the other hand, is a narrative of things which occurred in the past and in which direct and indirect speech are used. As a result of this difference it is sometimes difficult to compare the use of verbal moods and tenses in P with their use in the other texts.

21. The indicative mood is used to indicate factual actions or situations in real time. The subjunctive (or conditional) indicates actions or situations which are fictional and hence not taking place in real time. Verbs in the subjunctive can either express a wish or hypothesis ('may he be ...', 'if he were ...'), or a condition which is unfulfilled or of which the outcome is (still) unknown ('if/when he is ...'). The imperative mood is used in much the same way as in English.

22. In the indicative mood there are four tenses, of which three are in one way or other referring to the past. The present tense is used both for reference to the present and to the future. The only exception to this rule is with the few irregular verbs which also have an habitual tense (for which see 25 below).

The imperfect indicative is used like the simple past tense in English. In two examples in P where it occurs in direct speech it seems to serve as a past habitual tense: <y|n le may-th|en y|n trevow (...) ny gowsyn yn tewolgow> 'wherever I went in the towns (...) I was not wont to speak in the dark' P.79cd; <dall en ny welyn yn fas> 'I was blind, I could not see properly' P.220c;

The preterite indicative is by far the most frequent tense in P and seems to be the 'normal' past tense used in narrative. In translating it is often hard to distinguish it from the imperfect and the main difference between the two seems best to be expressed as progressive imperfect versus non-progressive preterite. This difference is best illustrated by contrasting occurrences of the same verb in both tenses, for which the verb /leverel/ 'to say' offers most examples:

Imf.: <cris vn ger ny leuery> 'Christ said not a word' (i.e. during his questioning by Caiaphas) P.96d; <Ha|n e3ewon oll a-dro 3e belat a leuery kerense sesar (...)> 'and the Jews all about said to Pilate: "The friendship of Caesar (...)"' P.146ab; <Re 3e gryst a leuery a-berth yn crows pan ese mar-s|oge crist (...) des a|n grows> 'some said to Christ when he was crucified: "If you are Christ (...) come from the cross"' P.197ab;

Pret.: <y tysque3as cals meyn ha|y leuerys (...)> 'he showed a heap of stones and said: ("...")' P.11b; <lhesus crist a leueris (...)> 'Jesus Crist said: ("...")' P.15a, 17a; <ludas fals a leuerys (...)> 'False Judas said: ("...")' P.36a; etc.

Though in both cases the translations (from Hooper's edition in all these examples) give 'said', it is clear from the context that the imperfect indicative forms are progressive and might have been translated 'was/were saying (during the time/action described)', while the preterite forms are simple pasts, carrying the action within the narrative.

The pluperfect indicative on the other hand is clearly non-progressive and refers to a past which is closed and beyond the past in which the narrative is situated.

Apart from this 'etymological' function of the ppf. ind., this tense is also used in situations where the context gives reason to translate with 'would ...' or 'should ...'. Apparently, this function is more frequent in ORD than in P.

23. In the subjunctive the difference between present and past is often obscure and seems to be less a matter of time than of certainty. Take for instance the following examples from P with the verbs /galle/ 'to be able' and /mynne/ 'to will, wish':
Present: /galle/: <besy yw 3ys bos vuell (...) ma|nno allo an tebell ogas 3ys bonas trylys> 'it is important for you to be humble (...) so that the evil one may not be turned near to you' P.19cd; <ef a gara crist gwelas (...) ganso mar callo clewas whelth nowyth a vo coyntis mar callo trylye 3e hes lauar crist pan vo clewys> 'he (Herod) liked seeing Christ (... for) he might be able to hear from him a new tale that was a fabrication, that haply he might reverse at length Christ's speech when it was heard' P.109b-d;
/mynne/: <Suel a vynno bos sylwys golsowens ow lauarow> 'whosoever wishes to be saved, let him hear my words' P.2a; <ny a yll gwelas lauar du maga del wra neb a vynno y glewas> 'we can see how God's word does feed whomsoever may be willing to hear it' P.12cd;
Past: /galle/: <a calla neffre ny vnsa moy ioy> 'if he (the devil) could (bring man into woe), never would he desire more joy' P.21d; <rag cafos ran vras a|n pencon mar-a calle> 'in order to get a large share of the proceeds, if he could' P.38b; <3e-worte vn lam beghan y-3|eth pesy may halle 3|y 3as> 'from them a little pace he went, that he might pray to his father' P.53cd; etc.
/mynne/: <Colon den a yll crakye a vynha prest predery an paynys bras a|n geve> 'one's heart may break, who would ever consider the great pains he (Jesus) had' P.139ab; <Pup te3|oll neb a vynne leuerel pym3ek pater> 'whoever would, every day, say fifteen paternosters' P.228a;

From these examples it might be inferred that the present subjunctive functions as an indicator of a possible or likely action in the narrative future, while the past subjunctive acts more as a conditional, a sense which is often strengthened by conjunctions like /a/ 'if', /mara/ 'if', /may(dh)/ 'that, so that, when', etc.

Unfortunately, in O no 3sg. past forms of these verbs occur, while the present forms (only /gallo/ is frequent) seems to be used in both ways (i.e. as a future tense and as a conditional).

Note. Possibly the 'new' function of the ppf.ind., together with the function and use of the subjunctive tenses, represents a shift in the use of moods and tenses similar to the one which took place in B, where the etymological subj.pr. changed its function into a normal future tense of the indicative, after which the subj. past came to be used as subj. present and the ppf.ind. took the place of the subj. past.

24. The imperative mood is used to express commands, invitations, wishes, etc. It is not differentiated as to time and is always directed towards others than the speaker himself, hence there is no form for the first person singular in this mood.

Normally the 2pl.imp. is used as a real plural only, but once king David is addressed by his counselor using two 2pl. forms: <eugh growetheugh ov arlut> 'go, lie down, my lord' O.1923. Just a few lines earlier the butler spoke a line in French to the king, and influence from French usage may be inferred here as well.

25. The present habitual tense which occurs with the verb 'to be' and its compounds (cf. 9-14) is used to indicate actions or situations taking place habitually, at regular intervals or continually and thus form a specific progressive tense. With these verbs the

habitual present is regularly used as a future tense.

A habitual past occurs only with the verb 'to be' itself and is very rare. In P only four instances of the 3sg. form occur, which from their contexts can be understood to refer to a future within the narrative, i.e. future in relation to the point of time at which the narrative is situated, but past to the listener or reader. In O. this form occurs three times in which it refers to the result of a possible or future action, while a 1pl. form occurs once with the same meaning.

26. The verbs 'to go' (15#) and 'to come' (16#) both have a perfect indicative. For both verbs in P only 3sg. forms occur (two for each verb), translated as 'has gone' and 'has come' respectively. All examples occur in direct speech, where reference is made to a recent, but closed, past, whereas the pluperfect forms (translated with 'had gone/come') are used by the narrator to refer to actions or situations before the point of time at which the narrative is situated. In O only two examples of the 3sg.pf. are found, which refer to a point of time in the recent past, while of the ppf. only two 1sg. forms occur which refer to a process which took place over a certain stretch of time but which has stopped before the narrative present.

Syntax

27. Finite verbs and the verbal clause

The main verb in a Middle Cornish sentence can be treated in two different ways. It may appear in the form of a verbal noun with a finite form of the verb 'to do'. This very common construction will be further discussed below in connection with the syntax of the verbal noun. The main verb can also appear as a finite verb, in which case again a differentiation into two types of verbal clauses is possible. For positive statements the patterns are:

(1) The verb is sentence-initial and agrees in number with its subject, which often remains unexpressed because it may be inferred from the ending of the verb. The verb itself is generally preceded by the affirmative particle /y(dh)/ (/y/ before consonants, /ydh/ before vowels) which causes mixed mutation (II.5.(3)#). In practice the verb in this construction is often preceded by an adverb or adverbial clause.

(2) The verb is preceded by its subject, in which case the verb is always in the 3sg. and immediately preceded by the relative particle /a/, which causes lenition (II.2(20)#). The result is in fact a cleft-sentence when compared to the structure of verb initial sentences as described under (1). In practice, this is the most frequent construction found in Middle Cornish and it seems to have lost all of the emphatic connotation normally associated with this sort of clefting in Breton or Welsh (though it seems to be the normal, unmarked, word order in most MW prose; cf. HMB.174 and 215, GMW.146 and 198-199).

In both syntactical constructions the object is always either the last constituent in the sentence, or – when it is denoted by an infixed pronoun (cf. 5.5#) – infixed between the verbal particle and the verb.

These two syntactical patterns can be tabulated as follows:

(1) (ADV) + /y(dh)/ + V^S + (S) + (O)

(2) S + /a/ + V^{3sg.} + (O)

(Constituents in round brackets are optional; ADV = adverb; V^S = the finite verb in concord with its subject; V^{3sg.} = the verb in the 3sg.; S = subject; O = object.)

Sometimes the whole verbal clause is written as one word in the manuscripts,

indicating that it formed a strong unity with probably a single stress. The group in its fullest form consists of a personal pronoun (subject; 5.2#) or adverb + verbal particle + infixed pronoun (object; 5.5#) + verb. A suffixed pronoun (single or double; subject or object, cf. 5.6-7#) may be added but this is always written as a separate word. Especially in the *Charter Endorsement* this orthographic clustering is very frequent.

Examples of construction (1) are:

<3ys y rof mowes> 'to you I will give a girl' CE.6; <in-vrna y|3 sens> 'at that moment you will hold yourself' CE.31; <war penakyll y|n goras> 'on a pinnacle he placed him' P.13c; <y hawlsons gans golon vras> 'they cried with great heart' P.126d; <ganso drys nos y-3|olyas (...) neb o len> 'with him watched through the night one who was faithful (...)' P.237c; <rag yth|evel thym bos da yn kynsa dyth myns vs gvrys> 'for it appears to me to be good, as much as is made on the first day' O.19-20; <y rof hynwyn the|n puskes porpus sowmens syllyes> 'I give names to the fishes: porpoises, salmons, eels' O.135-36;

Examples of construction (2):

<hy a vy3 gwreg ty da> 'she will be a good wife' CE.13; <my|a|n|te> 'I swear it' CE.16; <mar a|3 herg> /mar a'dh ergh/ 'if he commands you' CE.27; <An dus vas a 3eserya> 'the good folk desired' P.4a; <Herodes a wovynnys orth lhesus crist leas tra> 'Herod asked Jesus Christ many things' P.111a; <Vn den da crist a gara> 'a good man loved Christ' P.234a; <thymmo vy why a ros gvrek> 'to me you gave a wife' O.265; <pyw os a gevs mar huhel> 'who are you that speaks so loftily' O.1368;

In P.24ab two type (2) constructions are linked together, with only one subject: <Benegas yw neb a gar du dris pub tra vs y|n bys hag a wo3affo yn whar 3o3o kymmys vs ordnys> 'blessed is the one who loves God beyond all there is in the world and who suffers meekly as much as is ordained for him'. Another way to link type (2) constructions can be seen in O.319-20, where the object of the first part of the sentence acts as the subject of the second part: <why a geyl ov lowene a rys thyugh yn parathys> 'you shall lose my bliss which I gave to you in Paradise'. A type (2) phrase may also be completely embedded into a larger sentence following the same construction, as e.g. in <lyf bras my a thoro a gutho ol an nor beys> 'a large flood, which I will bring, will cover the whole earth' O.981-82.

28. Before forms of 'to be' or 'to go' beginning with a vowel the verbal particle may be left out:

<eff o crist> 'he was Christ' P.8d; <rys yw 3eso y 3amnye> 'you must condemn him' (lit. 'there is a need for you to condemn him') P.98d; <I eth bys-yn herodes> 'they went to Herod' P.109a; <ef eth 3e|n corff o marow> 'he went to the body that was dead' P.234c; <vn dev os ha persons try> 'one God you are, and persons three' O.110; <my a genes> 'I go with you' O.450;

For a regular exception to this rule see 38(a)# below.

29. Another verbal particle which is fairly frequent is /re/. This particle generally adds an optative or perfective sense to the verb it precedes. It is used instead of, never in combination with any of the other verbal particles. With a perfective meaning it occurs with verbs in the preterite, perfect or pluperfect indicative, with an optative meaning it occurs with verbs in the present subjunctive. /re/ causes lenition in the verb (II.2.(20)#). Examples with perfective /re/ are:

<ancombrys y re|bea> 'they had been embarrassed' P.34a; <maga tek del re|bye> 'as fair as he had been' P.71d; <y eneff gwyn bythqueth yn lan re|vewse> 'his spotless soul that had always lived cleanly' P.204b; <ty ru|m gruk pur havel thys> 'you have made me very like to you' O.88; <my re behas ha re dorras an dyfen> 'I have sinned and have broken

the prohibition' O.249-50;

Examples with optative /re/:

<Re wronte 3eugh> 'may he grant you' P.1b; <re|s|teffo mur vylyny> 'may they get much harm' P.216a; <ha myns vs yn beys ry|th fo> 'and may all that is on earth be yours' O.459; <re|n-sawyo arluth> 'may the lord preserve us' O.1088;

When preceding the 3sg.pt.ind. of 'to go' /eth/ this particle takes the form /rej/.

Examples of this are extremely rare:

<yn y golon fast reg|eth mur a gerense wor3ys> 'into his heart there has firmly gone much love towards you' P.115c;

Whether this form would also occur before other verb-forms beginning with a vowel can (at least on the evidence from P and O) not be established.

30. A rare emphatic particle is /nawnj/, which corresponds to MW *neu(t)* and OIr *no, nu* (cf. GMW.188; perhaps the MdB particle *na(g)* is also cognate to this form, cf. HMB.46).

It occurs before forms of the verb 'to be' beginning with a vowel only. Its original meaning – as in MW – seems to be 'now'. The particle occurs five times in P:

<crows lhesus navny|o paris> 'Jesus' cross was now ready' P.160b; <pows lhesus a ve dyskis / y dysky mur a|n grevyte worto fast navng|o glenys> 'Jesus' coat was taken off; its removal hurt him greatly, it was now stuck fast to him' P.176bc; <Nevng|o deuethys an prys may-3|o ogas 3|y 3eweth> 'now the time was come when he was near to his end' P.200a; <Nang|o hanter dyth> 'it was now midday' P.209a; <nans|o prys gwespar> 'it was eventide' (lit. 'the time of vesper') P.230a;

Other examples are:

<Nans yw lemmyn tremenes nep dew-cans a vlethynnow> 'now there are passed by some two hundred years' O.656-57; <nans yw an lyfow barseys> 'now the floods are abated' O.1127;

If <ye> in O.485 should be taken as the English pronoun 'thee', than at least in this line <nans> is a simple adverb meaning 'now': <Nans ye abel doway that> 'now, you Abel, do away with that'.

Note. In RevC it has become accepted to translate this particle with 'now'. It is supposed "to mark the nearer limit of a period of time" (Brown, 266). As can be seen in the examples the particle is virtually without meaning in MC (as in MW).

31. In negative statements the verbal particles are replaced by their negative counterparts, i.e. /ny/ in construction (1) and /na(g)/ in construction (2) (/na/ before consonants, /nag/ before vowels). Both particles cause lenition (II.2(20)#). In negative sentences of construction (2) the verb is either (a) in agreement with the number of its subject or (b) in the 3sg., in which latter case the negative particle is preceded by the proper personal pronoun denoting the subject. This construction is rare in P. (The latter of these constructions may be taken as corresponding to the negative sentence in the Welsh 'abnormal order'; cf. GMW.199).

Very frequently the object is placed before the negative particle, instead of after the verb. This occurs in both syntactical structures and seems to be the rule rather than the exception. A good example of the apparent indistinctness of both word orders is <gu3yll pegh neb na ylle> 'one who could not commit sin' P.20d versus <neb na yllly gull peghes> P.3d with the same meaning. A clear example of construction (1) with the subject following the verb is <ny wrens y> 'they did not' P.175b.

In tabulated form the basic patterns for negative sentences are:

(1)(ADV) + (S) + /ny/ + V^s + ((S)) + (O)

(2a)(S) + /na(g)/ + V^s + (O)

(2b)((O)) + PN + /na(g)/ + V^{3sg.} + (O)

(Constituents in double round brackets may occur only when their counterparts in single brackets are absent; PN = pronoun.)

Examples of these negative constructions are:

(1) <by3 ny venna> ‘never will I’ CE.28; <dregyn ny wra> ‘he does no harm’ (lit. ‘harm he does not’) CE.34; <me ny gafe> ‘I found not’ P.116c;²⁹ <te ny sconyth> ‘you do not object’ P.120d; <me ny won> ‘I know not’ P.121a, 128b, 141b, etc.; <ny|n gor3yn> ‘we do not honour him’ P.148c; <y ny yllens> ‘they could not’ P.243d; <ny goth|e thys bones hel ov mones the|n sacrefys> ‘it behooves you not to be tardy, going to the sacrifice’ O.468-69; <ny vynnaf orta bones na pel ena yn dyses> ‘I do not wish them to be any longer in misery there’ O.1431-32;

(2a) <nag vs y far> ‘there is not her equal’ CE.17; <Kyn na-g|off den skenty| pur> ‘though I am not a right learned man’ P.8a; <torrow [FN(...)] na allas em3on ha|n benenas (...) na ve 3e3e denys bron> ‘wombs (...) that could not conceive, and the women (...) who have not had a breast sucked’ P.169cd; <na|n caffan ny> ‘(so) that we should not find him’ P.240c; <fals dyscryggygyon (...) na gresough (...) bos an tas dev hep parow> ‘false disbelievers (...), you do not believe (...) that the father God is without equal’ O.1855-58; <the den bothar na glew veth> ‘to a deaf man who hears nothing’ O.2013;

(2b) <bythqueth ef na vye gwell> ‘it had never been better’ P.91d; <gonys ef na yll> ‘(so) that he could not work’ P.158b; <hy na he3e> ‘she did not reach’ P.180b; <te na whela> ‘(so) that you should not seek’ (3sg.past subj.) P.198d;

No examples of type (2b) are found in O.

Variants of type (2a) negative clauses with a pronoun expressing the subject preceding the particle do occur also. In such sentences the pronoun seems to be stressed with the verbal phrase in apposition to it: <te na yllyth omwe3e> ‘you, that can not keep yourself (from ...)’ P.20c;

This construction also occurs with the verb ‘to have’: <me nv|m byth>, <my ny|m byth> ‘I do not have’ P.37b, 104c, O.1011;

With forms of the verb ‘to be’ beginning with a vowel /ny/ is lengthened to /nynj/ (this form corresponds with MB *nend* (HMB.181)):

<ganso nyn-i|o poys> ‘he had no reluctance’ (lit. ‘with him there was no reluctance’) P.10b;

<forth nyn-g|es> ‘there is no way’ P.32d;

<nyn-g|ew ow faynys beghan> ‘my pains are not small’ P.166b;

<Nyns|yw da (...) bones vn den y-honan> ‘it is not good (...) that a man should be alone’ O.93-94;

<nyns|us den ort ov seruye (...) sav noe> ‘there is not a man serving me (...) but Noah’ O.929-31;

32. An interrogative particle /a/ does occur in some instances:

<a na wyl|ta> ‘do you not see?’ P.120c; <a ny wo3as> ‘do you not know?’ P.144c; <A

wyls|ta ken y|n tor-ma ys del ege agensow> ‘did you see, this time, other than there was

just now?’ O.795-96; <a glewsyugh why cowethe del vgy an vyl hore ov-t|henwel> ‘have

you heard, comrades, how the vile strumpet is calling?’ O.2727-29;

33. Imperative verb forms are never preceded by a verbal particle. Imperatives of intransitive verbs come at the beginning of a sentence in most instances, in which case they may be preceded only by the negation /na/ or an adverb:

²⁹ Nance (ed. Hooper) rewrote this phrase *my ny gafaf*, translating ‘I do not find’, both in this instance and in P.117d, where the Ms. has <me ny gafa>. P.142d <me ny gaffe> ‘I could not find’ (3sg.past subj.) makes clear that this change is not correct.

<dyyskyn ha powes> 'descend and rest' CE.3; <dijskyn ha 3e|n dor ke> 'descend and to the ground go' P.14d; <na ve3ens clewys> 'let it not be heard' P.148b; <na ve3ough dysconfortis> 'be not discomforted' P.255a; <lemyn ke aspy in-ta mar-s|us tyr segh> 'now go, spy out well whether there is dry land' O.1119-20; <na thyscryssough dev a nef> 'do not discredit the God of heaven' O.1657;

Imperatives of transitive verbs may be preceded by their subject and are followed by their object:

<kymmerr|y 3e|3 wrekk> 'take her as your wife' CE.10; <lauar 3o3o> 'say to him' CE.29; <sens|e fast> 'hold him firm' CE.36; <a|n aval te kemer tam> 'of the apple, you take a piece' P.6c; <du dylyr vy> 'God deliver me' P.57c; <dylyver 3ynny barabas> 'deliver to us Barabas' P.126b; <te pylat la3|e la3|e> 'you, Pilate kill him, kill him' P.142b; <ha saw te> 'and save yourself' P.191d; <toul an welen (...) the|n dor> 'cast the rod (...) to the ground' O.1447-48; <gortheb thym> 'answer me' O.2229;

34. The syntax of the verbal noun

Properly speaking the verbal noun is a noun, and is used just like other nouns. It may be preceded by an article. Examples of this are, however, fairly rare (none are found in O):

<yn vn fystene> 'in a hurry' P.48b, 158c, 176a, etc.; <En golyas> 'the watching' P.173a; <In vn stevya> 'in a rush' P.239a;

It may also be preceded by a possessive pronoun:

<y demptye>, <y demptya> 'his tempting' (i.e. 'to tempt him') P.11a, 13b, 14a; <3e wy3e> 'your guarding' ('the guarding of you') P.14b; <ow honore> 'my honouring' ('the honouring of me') P.16d; <ov sona> 'my blessing' ('the blessing of me') O.723; <hy delyfre> 'to release her' O.1110, 1113, 1117;

It may be followed by an adjective:

<bos vuell> /bos uvel/ 'to be humble' P.19c; <bos deflam guris> 'to be made blameless' P.32d; <the wothaf drok> 'to suffer evil' O.617; <th|aga aspye bysy> 'to watch them diligently' O.2039;

Also syntactically the verbal noun may be used just as any other noun, for which see 2.9. Furthermore it is to be noted that all verbal nouns are masculine and that no plural forms of verbal nouns are found.

35. When preceded by the particle /ow(th)/ (/ow/ before consonants, /owth/ before vowels) the verbal noun takes the function of a present participle. This particle causes provection of the initial consonant of the verbal noun (II.5.1#):

<Pan welas an ethewon bos crist ow cuthyll meystry ow care e3omogyon> 'when the Jews saw Christ to be performing wondrous work, loving the needy' P.26a; <ow bos mar veyll ow pewe> 'my being so vilely alive' P.220c; <ov tos yma syr pharo> 'Sir Pharaoh is coming' O.1651; <the servonnth ov-th|afonsye nyns|us par thys> 'in advancing your servants there is no equal to you' O.2609-10;

When the verbal noun is preceded by a personal pronoun the preposition /(

<Hag y worth y dormontye> 'and they [were] tormenting him' P.97a; <orth 3e vlamye yn soweth> 'reviling you sadly' P.120c; <a beghas orth ov 3rayta> 'who sinned in betraying me' P.145c; <An avel orth y dyrry> 'plucking the apple' O.195; <yma hun orth ov gryvye> 'there is drowsiness pressing on me' O.1921;

36. The verbal noun may also take the place of a finite verb. In that case the subject is given first and the verbal noun is preceded by the particle /dhe/, causing lenition of the initial consonant (II.2.6#). In this construction, time and mood remain unexpressed and

must be inferred from the context:

<ha gaffy 3e gafus y bo3> 'and forgive her for being self-willed' (lit. 'for maintaining her will') CE.22; <Pylat yn ta a wo3ye y 3e gusel dre envy> 'Pilate knew well that they had spoken through malice' P.127a; <War-lyrgh crist enef 3e ry> 'after Christ's giving up the ghost' P.199a; <ef 3e sevell dre vestry> 'he has risen through supernatural power' P.240d; <Rag ty the gola wory> 'because you have listened to her' O.293; <rag y the vynnas gorthye fals duwow> 'for they would worship false gods' O.1881-82;

This construction should be kept well apart from the simple use of /dhe/ before a verbal noun in the same way as E *to* is used before infinitives in Modern English: <3e vos meystres> 'to be mistress' CE.31; <dyantell 3e ese3a> 'dangerous to sit (on)' P.13c; <tho|m kemeres 3o|m syndye 3o|m peynye bys yn crow> 'to take me, to injure me, to torture me to bloodshed' P.74c; <3e wher3yn ny|s|teva whan> 'to laugh she had no desire' P.222a; <frut na wrellen the thybry a|n wethen> 'that we should not eat the fruit of the tree' (lit. 'should not proceed to eat') O.239-40; <cummyes (...) the bales ha the wonys> 'permission (...) to dig and to cultivate' O.412-14;

This latter construction occurs frequently in P with the verbal noun /bos/ 'to be' followed by a verbal adjective:

<the vos sylwys> 'to be saved' P.7d; <3e vonas le3ys> 'to be killed' P.95b; <3e vos cregis> 'to be hanged' P.129b;

In O no examples of this latter construction are found.

37. Another way to use a verbal noun in a verbal phrase is to use an auxiliary verb to express time and mood. As auxiliaries we find */galle/ 'to be able', */gothvos/ 'to know how, to be able', /mynnas/ 'to wish, will' which all add to the meaning of the main verb, and the purely modal /gw(r)euthyl/, /geul/ 'to do':

<ny a yll gwelas> 'we can see' P.12c; <pregoth a wre> 'he preached' (lit. 'preaching he did') P.23a; <ny wo3yens y 3ystrowy> 'they could not destroy him' (lit. 'they did not know how to destroy him') P.238c; <ny vynnaf lettya pella> 'I will delay no longer' O.722; <an dour a vger a-les may hylly yn ta kerthes (...) drythy> 'the water will open wide, that you may easily walk (...) through it' O.1666-67;

Periphrastic imperatives with /gw(r)euthyl/ occur also, as in:

<dysempys gvra y thybry> 'at once do eat it' O.208; <gureugh why trestye in y gras> 'put your trust in his grace' O.1659;

38. The syntax of the verbal adjective

The verbal adjective can be used as any adjective, either independently or as a qualifier with a noun:

<Ragon menough rebekis ha dyspresijs yn harow> 'for us often reproached and despised cruelly' P.2c; <Ke 3e-ves omcumvnys> 'Go out, accursed one' P.17c; <dre breson presonys> 'by a prison imprisoned' P.24c; <vn den henwys sentury> 'a man named Centurion' P.208a; <ov thas ev coth ha squytheys> 'my father is old and wearied' O.737; <avel marrek fyn yrvys> 'as a knight well armed' O.2204;

As a verb form it serves as a past participle, most often used with forms of the verb 'to be':

<y|n growys gans kentrow fastis peynys bys pan ve marow> 'on the cross with nails fastened, tortured until he was dead' P.2d; <y vos scryfys y|n lyffrow> 'that it was written in the Scriptures' P.17a; <tewolgow bras a ve guris> 'a great darkness was made' P.200c; <mara pe a|n keth eghen o dyfynnys orthyn ny> 'in case it be of the same sort which was forbidden to us' O.211-12; <yn dor ymons ol gurythyys> 'into the earth all are rooted' O.2084;

39. The use of the different forms of 'to be'

In the present indicative the verb 'to be' has different forms for the 3sg: /iw/ and /eji/, /yma/, /eus/. These forms are used in syntactically different constructions.

(a) /iw/ follows either the predicate (noun, pronoun or adjective), or a conjunction, adverb or negative particle. In general it may be assumed that the word or words preceding /iw/ are emphasised, as is the case with similar constructions with *eo* in Breton and *yw* in Welsh. Examples with a preceding predicate are:

<rag flog yw> 'for a child she is' CE.21; <Curtes yw ha deboner> 'courteous he is, and gentle' CE.34; <ow horf a-ve yw henma> 'my body is this' P.44b; <hema yw goys> 'this is (my) blood' P.45b; <lucyfer kelmys yw whath> 'Lucifer is still bound' P.212c;

Examples with conjunctions, adverbs or negative particles are:

<del yw scryfys>, <del yw scryfis> 'as it is written' P.21a, 73b, 125b, etc.; <Mara-s|ew 3e voth> 'if it is your will' P.55a; <yn-della yw leas huny> 'so is many a one' P.62d; <nyn-g|ew ow faynys beghan> 'my pains are not small' P.166b;

When an adverbial phrase governed by a preposition precedes the verb, it is always preceded by the verbal particle /ydh/ (see also 28#):

<a-hanas y-th|ew scryfys> 'of you it is written' P.14b; <dre 3e gows y-3|ew prevys> 'by your speech it is proved' P.85b; <yn lyffrow y-3|ew scryfys> 'in the Scriptures it is written' P.206b; <the arluth nef yth|ough druyth> 'to the lord of heaven you are precious' O.1621;

The long form /eji/ occurs only twice in P:

<3|y 3as yn-weth vgy a-van> 'to his father, who is ever on high' P.53d; <nyn-g|vgy ow mesternges y|n bys|ma> 'my dominion is not in this world' P.102a;

(b) /yma/ occurs at the beginning of a sentence, but may be preceded by an adverb or conjunction. It occurs exclusively in positive statements. The main difference with the use of /iw/ after an adverb or conjunction seems to be that with the use of /yma/ no emphasis seems to be given to the sentence-initial element. So sentences containing /yma/ are neutral, positive statements, whereas sentences containing /iw/ contain a fronted topic or are negative statements. The occurrences in P are:

<prest yma adro 3ynny> 'he is ever about us' P.21a; <ow tybbry genen yma> 'eating with us he is' P.43a; <sur yma dew> 'surely there are two' P.51c; <3ynny sur yma laha> 'surely we have a law' P.143a; <ow holon y-ma genas> 'my heart is with you' P.172b; <del yma scryfis> 'as it is written' P.209a;

A fine contrastive example containing /iw/ and /yma/ is <dyuythys yv hag yma yn hy myyn branch olyf glas> 'it is come, and there is in its mouth a branch of green olive' O.1121-22.

(c) /eus/ is the suppletive counterpart of /yma/ which is used in negative, interrogative or conditional sentences. Examples are:

<nag vs y far> 'she has no equal' (lit. 'there is not her equal') CE.17; <ken|es mes 3ymmo> 'though it is a shame to me' CE.23; <reson 3|e la3e nyn-g|es kefys> 'a reason to kill him is not found' P.128d; <a-ban na-g|es> 'since there is not' P.158d; <ynno eff dyfout nyn-g|es> 'in him there is no defect' P.192c;

For the relative freedom of word order we may compare <forth nyn-g|es may hallo bos deflam guris> 'there is no way by which she can be made blameless' P.32d with <nyn-g|es forth 3e omwe3e> 'there is no way to protect ourselves' P.245d. How much the rhyme played a role in this free placement of the subject cannot be estimated.

More frequent, however, /eus/ is used as a relative form 'that is':

<kymmys y|n bys vs vas> 'as much in the world as is good' P.16c; <an lahys 3ynny es> 'the laws that we have' (lit. 'that are to us') P.32c; <clevas bras es o|m|dewleff> 'leprosy

there is on my hands' P.156c; <genen cregis neb es> the one that is hanged with us' P.192b;

Probably, this construction is derived from an earlier construction in which the sentence was headed by a copula, so that e.g. a sentence like <trystyns vs worth ow blu3ye> 'sadness is enervating me' P.53b might be taken to have meant 'it is sadness, that is enervating me'. So <tus vs 3ym ow tevones> 'there are men coming to me' P.61c should be taken as 'there are men that are coming to me'.

40. The long forms of 'to be' etymologically contain the affirmative particle **ed*. From their use in the texts it is however doubtful whether this was still realised during the MC period: in general the short forms are used in relative clauses (where one would expect the particle /a/), while the long forms are used in absolute clauses. This may be easily demonstrated by contrasting the long and short forms of the 3sg.imf.ind., which are both occurring very frequently:

/eje/: <pan ese yn-mysk y abestely> 'when he was amongst his apostles' P.27a; <3e wrekk pylat may-3|ese> 'to Pilate's wife, where she was' P.122b; <prenyer ese yn dewle an ij ethow> 'sticks were in the hands of the two Jews' P.131a;

/o/: <gulas nef o kyllys> 'the land of heaven, that was lost' P.4a; <Pehadoryon rag perna o desevijs dre satnas> 'to redeem sinners who were made to fall by Satan' P.5c; <y doull ganso o tewlys> 'his plan that was cast by him' P.7c;

There are numerous examples where long forms appear after a negation, or even after the verbal particle /ydh/:

<gallus nyn-g|ese kemmen> 'there was no power in any way' P.75b; <ene y-3|ese sethek> 'there there was a session' P.77c; <byth nyn-g|ese> 'there was none at all' P.157b; <A barth dyghow y-3|ese> 'on the right side there was' P.198a;

In at least one occurrence in P the long form is used in a relative clause: <hag a owleow ese yn corf Ihesus> 'and of wounds that were in Jesus' body' P.228d.

Examples of the short form used in a main clause are very numerous also, so that from a synchronic point of view it is impossible to speak of a clear syntactical distinction between the short and the long forms.

41. Idioms of verb plus preposition or adverb

A number of verbs take certain prepositions to convey specific meanings, as e.g. in English *to speak to*, *to read about*, etc. In general, the treatment of such idioms belongs in a dictionary, but since to date no dictionary of Middle Cornish is available the most important idioms may be listed here.

/akordye gans/ 'to accord with'

/blamye worth/ 'to blame, revile someone' (e.g. <orth 3e vlamye> 'to revile you' P.120c)

/bludhye worth/ 'to weaken, enervate someone' (e.g. <worth ow blu3ye> 'to enervate me' P.53b)

/kewsel a/ 'to speak/say about'

/kewsel dhe/ 'to speak to'

/kewsel worth/ 'to speak to'

/klewes a/ 'to hear about'

/kole worth/ 'to listen to'

/kowethye gans/ 'to associate with'

/kryji yn/ 'to believe in'

/kronkye war/ 'to strike on, to beat'

/kudhe gans/ 'to cover with'

/kudhe yn/ 'to cover in'

/danvon a/ 'to send from'
/delyfre dhe-ves/, /delyfre dhe-wari/ 'to let off, to set free'
/deryves dhe/ 'to declare to'
/devones a/ 'to come from (a place)'
/devones dhe-worth/ 'to come from (a cause)'
/devones yn/ 'come upon' (of a disease)
/dybri a/ 'to eat of (something)'
/dyskwedhas dhe/ 'to show to'
/drehevel yn-bann/ 'to erect; to rise up'
/erghi dhe/ 'to command (to)'
/fekle worth/ 'feign to'
/fie dhe-worth/ 'to flee from'
/gase war/ 'to appoint over'
/golsow (w)orth/ 'to listen to'
/gorhemmynn dhe/ 'to give order to'
/gorre yn/ 'to put into'
/govynn a/ 'to ask about'
/govynn dhe-worth/, /govynn (w)orth/ 'to ask of'
/gryvye (w)orth/ 'to press on (something)'
/grontye dhe/ 'to grant to'
/growedhe gans/ 'to lie with' (i.e. 'to have inter course with')
/growedhe war/ 'to lie down on'
/gweres (w)orth/ 'to help to (do something)'
/gwythe rag/ 'to preserve from'
/gw(r)euthyl dhe/ 'to cause (to)'
/gwyske gans/ 'to dress in'
/herdye yn/ 'to thrust into'
/ynnie war/ 'to urge against'
/leverel dhe/ 'to say to'
/leverel war/ 'say by (word of mouth); to say against'
/metye worth/ 'to meet someone' (e.g. <worth 3e vetye> 'to meet you' P.20b)
/myras yn/ 'to look into'
/myras war/, /myre (w)orth/ 'to look at'
/mones dhe/ 'to go to'
/mones dhe-ves/ 'to go out'
/mones erbyn/ 'to go to meet' (lit. 'to go against')
/mones yn-chy/ 'to go in(to a house)'
/mones yn-mes/ 'to go forth'
/omdenne dhe-ves/ 'to pull oneself out, to withdraw'
/omgamme worth/ 'to wrie/grimace at'
/pyji rag/ 'to pray for'
/pyji war/ 'to pray to'
/prederi a/ 'to think of/about'
/previ war/ 'to prove of (something)'
/rejeg ryb/ 'to run along'
/ro dhe/ 'to give to'
/sakre dhe/ 'to consecrate to (be)'
/skonye dhe/ 'to refuse (someone)'
/skwardye yntre/ 'to break into (pieces)'

/sensi war/ 'to seize someone' (e.g. <war ow sensy> 'to seize me' P.166b)
/serri (w)orth/ 'to be angry with'
/setye (w)orth/ 'to set against, to oppose'
/sevel yn-bann/ 'to rise up'
/temptye gans/ 'to tempt with' (/temptyys gans/ 'tempted by')
/tenne yn-mes/ 'to draw forth'
/to war/ 'to swear on'
/tochye worth/ 'to touch against'
/tolle worth/ 'deceive (someone) by'
/treghi a/ 'to cut off'
/trelya dhe/ 'to turn/change into'