'BEG' AND 'BELIEVE' Two Cornish verbs

Dr Ken George

Cornish Language Board¹

ABSTRACT

Four different forms of the verbal nouns meaning 'to beg' and 'to believe' are found in traditional Cornish. The reasons for this, and the accompanying verbal paradigms, are examined in detail. The significance for the revived language is considered.

1. **INTRODUCTION**

The verbs 'to believe' and 'to beg' are of interest because four different forms of the verbal nouns are found in Middle Cornish:

'to believe' cregy cresy crygy crysy

'to beg' *pegy pesy pygy pysy*

Why should this be? Are they merely orthographic variants, or do they have phonological significance?

In this paper, the reason why there are four forms is examined, along with the paradigms of both verbs.

2. THE VERBAL NOUNS

2.1 Historical development

The etymology and cognates of the verbs are shown in Table 1.

Table 1'to beg' and 'to believe in Brittonic

Etymology	Middle Cornish	Breton		Modern
		Middle	Modern	Welsh
CLat <i>petō</i>	pysy, pygy, pesy, pegy	pidiff	pediñ	
Celt. *kred-d-	crysy, crygy, cresy, cresy	cridiff	krediñ	credu

We now trace the historical development of the verbal nouns, from their supposed forms in Brittonic to their supposed forms in Old Cornish, following the ideas of Jackson (1953, 1967) and Schrijver (1995).

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The view expressed in this paper are those of the author, rather than the corporate views of the Board.

Phase	Sound-change	Date	'to beg'	'to believe'
British			*pedīmā	*kredīmā
	Lenition	<i>c</i> .475	/m	$/ > /\mu/$
			*pedīµā	*kredīµā
	Loss of final syllables	<i>c</i> .525	/-ā/	$>/-\nabla/$
Primitive Cornish			/pɛdiµ/	/krɛdiµ/
	Internal i-affection	<i>c</i> .700	/ɛ/ > /I/	
			/pɪdiµ/	/krɪdiµ/
	Loss of final consonant		/-µ/ > /-/	
Old Cornish			/pɪdi/	/krɪdi/

Table 2Development of verbal nouns

No date is given for the loss of the final consonant / μ /, but if these verbal nouns behaved like *dybri* 'to eat', OldC *diberi* (VC.839) suggests that it was lost early, certainly earlier than in the case of the 1st sg. pres. ind. ending, which appeared as -af in Middle Cornish.

The major phonological innovation which affected these words subsequently was the one which most clearly separates Cornish from Welsh and Breton, viz. the development of /-d-/ to /-z-/ (assibilation) and to /-dʒ/ (palatalization). Williams (1990) proposed a two-step process: affrication to [-dz-], followed by a split, to [-z-] in an eastern dialect, and [-dʒ-] in a western dialect. More detailed work by George (2015) suggested that any dialectal split was more likely to be north-south, with [-z-] predominating in Powder hundred and [-dʒ-] in Pydar. The continuing development then looks like this:

Table 3Further development of verbal nouns

	Assib	oilation		Palatalization		
Old Cornish	/pɪdi/	/krɪdi/		/pɪdi/ /krɪdi/		
Affrication	/d/ > /dz/			/d/ > /dz/		
	/pɪdzi/	/krɪdzi/		/pɪdzi/	/krɪdzi/	
Assibilation	/dz / > /z /		Palatalization	/dz/ > /dʒ/		
Middle Cornish	/pızi/ pysy	/krızi/ <i>crysy</i>		/pɪʤi/ pygy	/krɪʤi/ crygy	

The other two observed forms (*pesy / cresy* and *pegy / cregy*) could be explained by a failure of internal *i*-affection, but it is more likely that they represent a further development, part of the well-known lowering of /I/ to / ϵ /. This sound-change also occurred in Breton, where it was complete by c.1100 (Jackson 1967). In Cornish, the change in stressed monosyllables was by lexical diffusion (George 2018), and it is likely that the same applied to the mid-length vowels in the verbal nouns.

2.2 The verbal nouns in Middle Cornish

We now examine the spelling of the verbal noun in the texts (Table 4) in Middle Cornish.

	Name	Author	Date of	Date of	Material
			composition	text	
PC	Passio Christi	unknown	c.1400	c.1400	
RD	Resurrexio Domini	unknown	c.1400	c.1400	copy of religious play
OM	Origo Mundi	unknown	c.1400	c.1425	
PA	Pascon agan Arluth	unknown	c.1375	c.1475	copy of religious poem
BMa	Beunans Meriasek	Rad Ton	1504 ?	1504	saint's life
BMb		unknown	1504 ?	c. 1540	copy of first 10 pages
BK	Bewnans Ke	unknown	<i>c</i> . 1535	c. 1565	copy of saint's life
TH	Tregear Homilies	J. Tregear	<i>c</i> . 1558	c. 1558	translation
SA	Sacrament of the Altar	T. Stephyn	<i>c</i> . 1576	c. 1576	translation
CW	Creacon of the World	W. Jordan	c. 1555 ²	1611	religious play

Table 4Texts in Middle Cornish

Table 5 gives the number of occurrences of each form of the verbal noun in the texts in Middle Cornish. The curly brackets indicate spelling-types: e.g. {pysy} includes *pysy*, *pysi*, and also mutated forms such as *bysy* and *fysy*. I follow Bruch and Bock (2012) in supposing that where the texts are copied, the copyists re-spelled their exemplar so as to reflect their own speech; this is represented by the forms which are most frequent (highlighted in green in the table). The forms in curly brackets in row 2 of the table indicate spelling-types, based on the Middle Cornish spellings.

In blocks Lh (Lhuyd's works) and VLC (Vernacular Late Cornish), obvious copies from Middle Cornish have been excluded. Because these Late texts use a different orthography, it is not always clear to which of the four spelling-types a given attestation belongs.

Except for the 7% which is rewritten from Origo Mundi.

	/-	ızi/	/-]	ıdzi/	/-	-ɛzi/	/-	edzi/
	{pysy}	{crysy}	{pygy}	{crygy}	{pesy}	{cregy}	{pegy}	{cregy}
PC	pysy 1	crysy 1	pygy 4 pigy 2	crygy 4				
RD		grysy 2	pygy 7	crygy 24 grygy 3				
OM	pysy 3 bysy 1	crysy 2			besy 1	cresy б		
PA					pesy 6 besy 2			
BMa					pesy 29 besy 3 fesy 1	cresy 4 cresyae ³ 1		
BMb	bysy 1							
BK	fysy 1				besy 1		pegy 2 begy 2 pege 1	gregy 1
TH	crysy 2				pesy 2 besy 1	cresy 17		cregy 1 crege 1
SA							pege 1	cregy 1
CW							pegy 1	cregy 1

kridzhi 4

kridzhe 1

creege 1

Table 5 Numbers of spelling-types of the verbal nouns

The distribution is obviously text-dependent. With the exception of OM, which is indeterminate, each text may be assigned to one of the four forms of the verbal noun, as shown in Table 6.

pesy 1

cresy 1

cregye 1 gregye 1

kredzhi 1

credzhi 1

kredzha 1

credgi 1

crege 1

credia 2

Table 6

Lh

VLC

pizi 1

piza 1

bisy 1

pidzyi 1

Correlation between spelling-types and texts

	definite	probable	possible
{-egy}	SA, CW		
{-esy}	PA, BMa	TH	
{-ygy}		PC, RD, Lh	VLC
{-ysy}	BMb		

pydzhi 1

pidzhy 1

pidzha 3

pidzhi 2

peege 2

pidgee 1

pidzha 1

criedzy 1

It is not often that Cornish material produces such a clear result. Admittedly, text BMb has only one example, but as shown by Bruch and Bock (2012), the scribe who copied the first ten pages of BM had no hesitation in changing the spelling of Rad Ton; there are other examples of BMb using <y> in words where Ton wrote <e>. We next need to explore how these four different variants of the verbal nouns may have arisen.

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This extraordinary spelling (BM.1865) is used to force an eye-rhyme.

3. THE VERBAL PARADIGMS

The endings in early Middle Cornish for paradigms of verbs with an infinitive in /-i/ are given in Table 7 (George 2009: 520). They may be divided into three groups, so far as the vowels are concerned:

- (a) suffixes with High front vowels /i/ or /I/, labelled H;
- (b) suffixes with Other vowels, labelled O;
- (c) suffix-less, labelled M for Monosyllable (the absent suffix is labelled $-\nabla$)

Tense	\rightarrow	Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
			indi	icative		subju	nctive	imperative
		present	imperfect	preterite	conditional	present	imperfect	
singular S	1	O $-af(f)$	H -yn	H -ys	O -sen	H -yf	O -en	
	2	H -yth	H -ys	H -sys	O -ses	Н -у	O -es	М -∇
	3	М -∇	Н -у	H -ys	O -se	0 -0	0 -е	O $-es^4$
plural P	1	H -yn	H -yn	H -syn	O -sen	H -yn	0 -en	Н -уп
	2	O -ough	O -eugh	O -sough	O -seugh	O -ough	O -eugh	O -eugh
	3	O -ons	O -ens	O -sons	O -sens	O -ons	O -ens	O -ens
impersonal I		H -yr		H -ys		O -er		

Table 7 Different groups of endings in the verbal paradigms in Middle Cornish

3.1 Verbal endings with high front vowels (type H)

The data in Table 5 may be augmented by including other parts of the paradigms labelled H; this is done in Table 8 using the same format.

	/-1	zi/	/-10	dzi/	/-8	ezi/	/-ε	dzi/
	{pysy-}	{crysy-}	{pygy-}	{crygy-}	{pesy-}	{cresy-}	{pegy-}	{cregy-}
PC	1	1	10	4		1		
RD		2	8	28		2		1
OM	5	3	1		3	8		
PA					14	1		
BMa					34	5		
BMb	1							
BK	1				1		7	1
TH		3			4	19	1	2
SA							1	1
CW							1	7
Lh	4	2	7	5	2			3
VLC			4	1		1		4

Table 8Numbers of spelling-types for cases labelled H

It makes no difference to the result.

BMb	{ysy}
PC, RD, Lh, VLC	{ygy}
PA, BMa, TH	{esy}
BK, SA, CW	{egy}

⁴ The original ending *-es* for VII S 3 is rarely found in Cornish verbs; the P 3 ending *-ens* was substituted for it.

3.2 Verbal endings with vowels other than high front vowels (typeO)

3.2.1 **Vowels**

We take, as representative of type-O endings, the 1st singular present indicative (henceforth abbreviated to I S 1). Of course not all of the changes in Table 2 are applicable here; in particular, internal *i*-affection and palatalization do not apply. Table 9 illustrates the changes involved.

Phase	Sound-change	Date		
			*pedami	*kredami
	Lenition	<i>c</i> . 475	/m/	> /µ/
			*pedaµi	*kredaµi
	Loss of final syllables	<i>c</i> . 525	/-i/ > /-∇/	
Primitive Cornish			/pɛdaµ/	/krɛdaµ/
	Denasalization	?	/-µ/	>/-v/
Old Cornish			/pɛdav/	/krɛdav/
	Affrication		/d/ >	> /dz/
		c.1325	/pɛdzav/	/krɛdzav/
	Assibilation		/dz / > /z /	
Middle Cornish			/pɛzav/	/krɛzav/
			pesaf	cresaf

<u>Table 9</u>	Development of the 1st singular present indicative	

The suffix-less endings labelled ∇ originally had a suffix, which was lost in the early sixth century. As shown in Table 10, it is believed to be *-it.

Table 10Development of the 3rd pres. ind. and 2nd sg. impv.

Phase	Sound-change	Date		
			*pedīt	*kredīt
	Final i-affection	<i>c</i> . 500	/ɛ/	>/I/
			*pĭdīt	*krĭdīt
	Loss of final syllables	<i>c</i> . 525	/-it/ > /-∇/	
Primitive and Old Cornish			/pɪd/	/krɪd/
	Affrication		/d/ 1	> /dz/
		c.1275	/pɪdz/	/krɪdz/
	Assibilation		/dz/ > /z/	
Middle Cornish (some texts)			/piz/ pys	/kriz/ crys
	Lowering of /I/	variable	$ I > \epsilon $	
Middle Cornish (other texts)			/pɛz/ pes	/krɛz/ cres

3.2.2 **Consonants**

Palatalization (if it does occur) usually applies when followed by a high front vowel (category-H), and only rarely (by analogy) in front of another vowel. Thus we expect category-O endings to contain <-es->. Also to be noted is

(i) the effect of [-s-] in many endings: OldC /-d s-/>[-ts-]>[-ss-]

(ii) the effect of [-h-] in the subjunctive: OldC /-d h-/ > [-tt-] > [-ss-]

A result of this is that for these two verbs (but not for other verbs such as *gweles* 'to see'), the paradigms for the conditional and the imperfect subjunctive tenses are identical.

Table 11 summarizes the effects of the changes on the different groups of verbal endings.

	Н	0	∇
final <i>i</i> -affection	no	no	yes
internal <i>i</i> -affection	yes	no	no
palatalization or assibilation	both	assibilation	assibilation
lowering	in some texts	no	in some texts

 Table 11
 Application of processes to different groups of verbal endings

Table 12 presents all expected forms in the paradigms. Some cases, such as the verbal noun, have four different forms (highlighted in pink); some have two (highlighted in yellow), and some have just one (left white).

		Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Verbal	S 1	pesaf	pysyn	pysys	pessen	pyssyf	pessen	
noun			pygyn	pygys				
pysy			pesyn	pesys		pessyf		
руду			pegyn	pegys				
pesy	S 2	pysyth	pysys	pyssys	pesses	pyssi	pesses	pys
pegy		pygyth	pygys					
		pesyth	pesys	pessys		pessi		
		pegyth	pegys					
	S 3	pys	pysy	pysys	pesse	pesso	pesse	peses
			руду	pygys				
Past			pesy	pesys				
ptcpl.			pegy	pegys				
pysys	P 1	pysyn	pysyn	pyssyn	pessen	pyssyn	pessen	pysyn
pygys		pygyn	pygyn					pygyn
pesys		pesyn	pesyn	pessyn		pessyn		pesyn
pegys		pegyn	pegyn					pegyn
	P 2	pesough	peseugh	pessough	pesseugh	pessough	pesseugh	peseugh
	P 3	pesons	pesens	pessons	pessens	pessons	pessens	pesens
	Ι	pydyr		pyssys		petter		
		pedyr		pessys				

Table 12Composite paradigms

3.2 **Theoretical paradigms based on the four different forms of the verbal noun**

We now apply the historical developments described above to obtain separate paradigms of the verbs for the four different verbal nouns. Most of the entries (the starred cases in light type) are not attested in the texts, so the tables are largely theoretical. The spelling in the paradigms is a normalized Middle Cornish spelling, so actual attestations may not correspond exactly; e.g. *pygyn* is included as an attested spelling-type, even though the attested spelling is *pygin*.

One problem which arises is the lowering of /1/ to ϵ /; this did not necessarily occur at the same time for the vowels in stressed monosyllables (I S 3 and VII S 2 in the tables), in stressed polysyllables before a single consonant (e.g. the verbal nouns), and in stressed polysyllables before a double consonant (e.g. the conditional tense). For the purposes of constructing the paradigms, it is assumed that /1/ remained in stressed monosyllables when it had already been lowered otherwise; this produces a difference in vowels (e.g. between *pesi* 'to beg' and *pys* 'begs) known as vocalic alternation.

The same highlighting is used as in Table 12.

pysy/crysy		Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	S 1	pesaf	*pysyn	*pysys	pessen	*pyssyf	*pessen	
		cresaf	*crysyn	*crysys	cressen	*cryssyf	*cressen	
Verbal noun	S 2	*pysyth	*pysys	*pyssys	pesses	*pyssy	*pesses	pys
		*crysyth	*crysys	*cryssys	cresses	*cryssy	*cresses	crys
pysy	S 3	pys	*pysy	pysys	pesse	*pesso	*pesse	*peses
crysy		crys	*crysy	*crysys	cresse	cresso	*cresse	*creses
	P 1	*pysyn	*pysyn	*pyssyn	pessen	*pyssyn	*pessen	pysyn
		*crysyn	*crysyn	*cryssyn	cressen	*cryssyn	*cressen	*crysyn
Past participle	P 2	*pesough	*peseugh	*pessough	pesseugh	*pessough	*pesseugh	peseugh
i ast participit		cresough	*creseugh	*cressough	cresseugh	*cressough	cresseugh	creseugh
pysys	P 3	*pesons	*pesens	*pessons	pessens	*pessons	*pessens	*pesens
crysys		cresons	*cresens	*cressons	cressens	*cressons	*cressens	*cresens
	Ι	*pydyr		*pyssys		*petter		
		*crydyr		*cryssys		*cretter		

Table 13Paradigm based on pysy/crysy as the verbal nouns

Table 14	D 1 1	1 /	as the verbal nouns
Ianie 14	Paraalom hasea	i on nvov/crvov	as the vernal nations
	i araarsin basea		

pygy/crygy		Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	S 1	pesaf	*pygyn	*pygys	*pessen	*pyssyf	*pessen	
		cresaf	*crygyn	*crygys	*cressen	*cryssyf	cressen	
Verbal noun	S 2	*pygyth	*pygys	*pyssys	*pesses	*pyssy	*pesses	pys
		crygyth	*crygys	*cryssys	*cresses	*cryssy	*cresses	crys
руду	S 3	pys	*руду	pygys	pesse	*pesso	*pesse	*peses
crygy		crys	*crygy	*crygys	*cresse	cresso	*cresse	*creses
	P 1	pygyn	*pygyn	*pyssyn	*pessen	*pyssyn	*pessen	pygyn
		*crygyn	*crygyn	*cryssyn	*cressen	*cryssyn	*cressen	*crygyn
Past participle	P 2	*pesough	*peseugh	*pessough	*pesseugh	*pessough	*pesseugh	peseugh
F		cresough	*creseugh	*cressough	*cresseugh	*cressough	cresseugh	creseugh
*pygys	P 3	*pesons	*pesens	*pessons	*pessens	*pessons	*pessens	*pesens
*crygys		cresons	*cresens	*cressons	*cressens	*cressons	*cressens	*cresens
	Ι	*pydyr		*pyssys		*petter		
		*crydyr		*cryssys		*cretter		

<i>Table 15</i>	Paradigm based on pesy/cresy as the verbal nouns

pesy/cresy		Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	S 1	pesaf	*pesyn	*pesys	*pessen	*pessyf	*pessen	
		cresaf	cresyn	cresys	*cressen	*cressyf	*cressen	
Verbal noun	S 2	*pesyth	*pesys	*pessys	*pesses	*pessy	*pesses	pys
		cresyth	*cresys	*cressys	*cresses	*cressy	*cresses	crys
pesy	S 3	pys	pesy	pesys	pesse	*pesso	*pesse	*peses
cresy		crys	*cresy	*cresys	*cresse	cresso	*cresse	*creses
	P 1	*pesyn	*pesyn	*pessyn	*pessen	*pessyn	*pessen	pesyn
		cresyn	*cresyn	*cressyn	*cressen	*cressyn	*cressen	*cresyn
Past participle	P 2	*pesough	*peseugh	*pessough	*pesseugh	*pessough	*pesseugh	peseugh
r use pur des pre		cresough	*creseugh	*cressough	*cresseugh	*cressough	cresseugh	creseugh
*pesys	P 3	*pesons	pesens	*pessons	*pessens	*pessons	*pessens	*pesens
cresys		cresons	cresens	*cressons	*cressens	*cressons	*cressens	*cresens
	Ι	*pedyr		*pessys		*petter		
		*credyr		*cressys		*cretter		

Table 16 Paradigm based on pegy/cregy as the verbal nouns

pegy/cregy		Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	S 1	pesaf cresaf	*pegyn *cregyn	*pegys *cregys	*pessen *cressen	*pessyf *cressyf	*pessen *cressen	
Verbal noun	S 2	*pegyth cregyth	*pegys *cregys	*pessys *cressys	*pesses *cresses	*pessy *cressy	*pesses *cresses	pys crys
pegy cregy	S 3	pys crys	*pegy *cregy	pegys *cregys	pesse *cresse	*pesso cresso	*pesse *cresse	*peses *creses
	P 1	pegyn *cregyn	pegyn cregyn	*pessyn *cressyn	*pessen *cressen	*pessyn *cressyn	*pessen *cressen	*pegyn *cregyn
Past participle	P 2	*pesough cresough	peseugh creseugh	*pessough *cressough	*pesseugh *cresseugh	*pessough *cressough	*pesseugh cresseugh	peseugh creseugh
*pegys cregys	P 3	*pesons cresons	pesens cresens	*pessons *cressons	*pessens *cressens	*pessons *cressons	*pessens *cressens	*pesens *cresens
	Ι	*pedyr *credyr		*pessys *cressys		*petter *cretter		

Of the four paradigms, *pesy/cresy* has the most attested forms (23 out of a possible 92 =25%); pygy/crygy and pegy/cregy each have 19, and pysy/crysy has 17. As is shown in section 3.3, there are also attested forms which do not feature in the theoretical paradigms, notably in pys- where one would expect pes-.

3.3. Actual paradigms found in the Middle Cornish texts

We examine in turn the paradigms found in the texts. They are necessarily very incomplete. The following coding is used:

bold italic forms which agree with the relevant theoretical paradigm; forms which have been analogically remodelled on the verbal noun; blue highlighting yellow highlighting forms which do not fit the relevant theoretical paradigm; underlining monosyllables spelled $\langle e \rangle$, indicating $/I / > /\varepsilon/$.

Mutations have been removed; otherwise the spelling is that of the texts.

Table 17	Paradigm with pygy	y / crygy as the verbal noun

PC/RD		Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Verbal	S 1	pesaf / <mark>pysaf</mark> cresaf / <mark>crysaf</mark>						
noun		cresaf / <mark>crysaf</mark>						
	S 2							pys crys /creys
$pygy \times 13, pysy \times 1 crygy \times 31, crysy \times 2$	S 3	pys / peys crys /creys		pygys	pysse	pysso		
Past	P 1	pigyn						
ptcpl.	P 2							pesough / <mark>pysough</mark> cresough
	P 3							
	Ι							

The scribe who copied PC and RD said ['pr'dʒ'i] and ['krr'dʒi], so we would expect his use of the verbs to correspond to Table X. The cases in *bold italic* conform to this, but there is also a clear tendency to use the unlowered /I/ rather than the theoretical ϵ ; these are the cases highlighted in blue. Interestingly, this remodelling does not extend to substituting /dʒ/ for /z/.

<u>1 ubie 1</u>	0	<u>I dradigms with pesy</u> / cresy as the verbal noun							
PA		Ι	Π	III	IV	V	VI	VII	
Verbal	S 1								
noun	S 2								
pesy ×8	S 3	pys × 1, <u>pes</u> × 1		<i>pesys</i> \times 6					
		$crys \times 1$, $cris \times 4$							
Past	P 1	cresyn × 1							
ptcpl.	P 2							pesough $\times 2$	
	D 3								

Ι

Table 18	Paradigms with pesy	<i>cresy</i> as the verbal noun

BMa		Ι	Π	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Verbal noun	S 1	$peseff \times 6, pese \times 1, pesa \times 2$ $creseff \times 2, crese \times 5$						
	S 2							$\frac{peys \times 9}{cres} \times 3$
<i>pesy</i> × 33 <i>cresy</i> × 5	S 3	$\begin{array}{c} peys \times 6\\ creys \times 11 \end{array}$		pesys × 1	$pesse \times 3$			
Past ptcpl.	P 1 P 2							$pesugh \times 1$ cresugh × 3
	P 3 I							

The results from PA and BMa are entirely consistent with the theoretical paradigm for the verbal nouns *pesy/cresy*, except for one case of *pes* (I S 3) in PA and three cases of *cres* (VII S 2) in BMa, where one would have expected *pys* and *crys*.

TH		Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	S 1							
Verbal noun	S 2							
$pesy \times 3$	S 3			<i>pesys</i> \times 1				
				pegis × 1				
$\frac{cresy \times 13}{cregy \times 1}, \frac{crysy \times 1}{crege \times 1}$		$crys \times 1$, $creys \times 1$			<mark>crisse × 1</mark>	<mark>crisse × 1</mark>		
<pre>cregy × 1, crege × 1</pre>		crise × 1, cryge ×1						
	P 1							
	P 2							pesough $\times 1$
Past participle								
<i>cresys</i> $\times 2$	P 3							
<mark>cryses × 1</mark>								
	Ι							

TH is considered here, because in section 2 it had been identified as a text using *pesy / cresy* as the form of the verbal noun, but it is evident that in addition, there are elements from *pegy / cregy* and *crysy*. The table is not self-consistent. This is typical of Tregear; he often used different forms of words in his homilies, even though he was translating them and not copying the material. As priest of St Allen in mid-Cornwall (Frost 2007), he would have been aware of different ways of speaking Cornish (dialects?), and perhaps wished to include them in his translation.

BK		Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	S 1	$cresaf \times 1$						
	S 2							$pys \times 2$
Verbal noun								<i>crys</i> \times 1, <i><u>cres</u> \times 1</i>
$pegy \times 5$	S 3	pys × 9		pegys × 1				
<mark>pesy × 1, pysy × 1</mark>								
$cregy \times 1$		<i>crys</i> ×11				<mark>cryssa × 1</mark>		
	P 1	pegyn × 1						
Past participle	P 2							$cresogh \times 1$
pysys × 1	P 3							
	Ι					crytter × 1		

Table 19	Paradigms with pegy /	cregy as the verbal noun

CW		Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	S 1	<i>cresaf</i> × 1						
	S 2							<i>creys</i> \times 5, <i>creis</i> \times 2
Verbal noun								
$pegy \times 1$	S 3							
$creg \overline{y} \times 1, creg ye \times 1,$		<i>pyese</i> \times 1, <i>peys</i> \times 2						
$creg \bar{y}e \times 1$		<i>cryes</i> \times 6, <i>crys</i> \times 1						
		<i>creys</i> \times 3, <i>creyse</i> \times 1						
	P 1							
Past participle	P 2							<i>cresowhe</i> \times 1, <i>cresowgh</i> \times 1
								creseugh imes 1
$cregys \times 4$	P 3							
	Ι							

Although the range of entries in paradigm for CW is small, they are entirely consistent with the theoretical paradigm for pegy / cregy. That for BK, on the other hand, is not self-consistent.

3.4 The two verbs in Late Cornish

All four forms of the verbal nouns are represented in Late Cornish (Table 20):

MidC	Lhuyd	Vernacular Late Cornish
pysy	bisy, pizi, pidzyi	
crysy	criedzy	creege (N.Boson)
руду	pidzhy, pidzhi, pydzhi	peege (T. Tonkin, J. Tonkin), pidgee (Gwavas)
crygy	kridzhi	
pesy	pesy ⁵	
cresy	cresy	cresy (N.Boson)
pegy		
cregy	credzhi, kredzhi	crege (T.Boson), credgi (Gwavas)

Table 20Forms of the verbal noun in Late Cornish

In addition, new forms arose by substituting the verbal noun ending <-a> for <-y>: *piza, pidzha* (Lhuyd), *credia* (J.Boson).

We find palatalization in I S 3: e.g. *Me a kridg yn Dew an Taz* 'I believe in God the Father', from John Keigwin's translation of the Creed, possibly re-spelled by Pryce. This is from analogical remodelling from the stem /kridʒ-/. A possible early example of this is found in TH16v:

*yma an scriptur ow affirmya in xvj chapter a mark, fatell vith an rena na lell cryge dampnys.*⁶ 'The Scripture affirms in the 16th chapter of Mark that those who do not truly believe will be damned.'

Lhuyd records *Krez dhebm* (AB242b) for 'believe me!', showing lowering of the long stressed vowel.

⁵ These forms are specifically stated by Lhuyd (in his Cornish Grammar) to come from the medieval texts, in comparison with the contemporary forms *pidzhi* and *krydzhi*.

⁶ Bonner's text, which Tregear was trying to translate, reads: *the scripture most manifestly affyrming in the .xvi. chapter of S Marke, that Whosoeuer doth not beleue shall be dampned.* Tregear's rendering of the first part is reasonable: *yma an scriptur ow affirmya in xvj chapter a mark,* but the second part: *fatell vith an rena lell cryge dampnys* is awkward. I would have translated it as **y fydh dampnys seul na grys.**

4. TREATMENT OF THE VERBS IN REVIVED CORNISH

Among dictionaries of Revived Cornish, only Nance's 1938 dictionary gives all four forms of each verbal noun. All subsequent dictionaries give only a subset, and favour forms with $\langle -s - \rangle$ (Table 21). The SWF dictionary labels forms with $\langle -j - \rangle$ as Late, but they are present in Middle Cornish (spelled with $\langle -g - \rangle$). In this paper, reasons are sought for these choices of forms.

Dictionary	Orthography	'to believe'	'to beg'	Remarks
Nance (1938)	Unified	crysy, -jy (<i>cresy</i> , <i>jy</i>)	pysy, -jy (<i>pesy</i> , <i>-jy</i>)	
Nance (1952)	Cornish	crysy	pysy	
Nance (1955)	(UC)	crysy, cryjy	pysy	
George (1993)	Kernewek	krysi	pysi	
	Kemmyn (KK)			
Williams (2000)	UCR^7	cresy	pesy	
Akademi	SWF ⁸	krysi ^M , kreji ^L	pesi, pysi ^M , peji ^L	Superscript M means
Kernewek (2019)				Middle variant, L
				means Late variant
George (2020)	KK	<i>krysi</i> °	<i>pysi</i> °	Superscript o means
				that there is a variant
				with [dʒ]

 Table 21
 Spelling of verbal nouns in modern dictionaries

- 4.1 As shown above, <u>Nance</u> gave all four forms of the verbal nouns in his 1938 dictionary. In his English-Cornish dictionary (1952), however, he gave only *pysy* and *crysy* as the forms intended for use in Unified Cornish.
- 4.2 <u>Smith</u> (1972) gave the paradigms of 25 verbs, but the two in question are not among them. He just mentions that *pysy* and *crysy* have endings with -y- in the imperfect indicative (as opposed to -e-).
- 4.3 <u>Gendall</u> (1972) gave 3rd singular forms in all tenses⁹ except the imperative:

Verbal	Past	Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI
noun	ptcpl.						
pysy	pysys	pys	pysy	pysys	pyssa	pysso	pyssa
crysy	crysys	crys	crysy	crysas	cryssa	crysso	cryssa

⁷ Unified Cornish Revised

⁸ Standard Written Form

⁹ Gendall actually gave lenited forms; they have been delenited here.

Except for *crysas*, which appears to be a mistake, this is consistent with an analogically levelled paradigm based on *pysy* and *crysy*. Gendall then devised a system of revived Cornish based on Late Cornish and began to promulgate it, in competition with that based on Middle Cornish. For his lexicon, he used data from CW and all later texts¹⁰, and listed examples from the paradigms in a new dictionary (Gendall 1991). These included *bydgyaf* (CW.1362), which he thought was I S 1 of *pysi*; but it is much more likely to be from *pesya* 'to endure'.

- 4.4 <u>Williams</u> (1995) also broke away from Unified *pysy* and *crysy*. He listed attested forms in the paradigms, and indicated how he would spell them in his orthography, Unified Cornish Revised (UCR). In §19.22 he wrote (the numbering is added by the author):
 - 1. CREJY 'believe', PESY 'pray'.
 - 2. Etymologically both verbs have *e* not *y* in the root.
 - 3. *Pesaf* and *cresaf* are much commoner than forms with y and should be the regular forms.
 - 4. I also prefer /dʒ/ before /I/ in the verbal noun and the past participle of *crejy*.
 - 5. I should recommend a pres.-fut.paradigm *pesaf, pesydh, peys, pesyn, pesough, pesons*, where *peys* = /pe:z/ (cf. *peys* BM 296, 546, 667, 1436, 3135).

The following observations may be made to each of these points:

- 1. It is surprising to have different forms recommended for the two verbal nouns.
- 2. This is correct, but the effect of vowel affection needs to be taken into account.
- 3. Like Nance, Williams is here basing a decision on frequency alone, rather than investigating the phonological history.
- 4. How far should personal preference play a part in deciding how to spell?
- 5. This paradigm would apply only to the *pesy* form which Williams favours. George (2018) argued that the spelling *peys* in BM does not mean /pe:z/, but [pi:z], i.e. <ey> was a digraph used by Rad Ton to emphasize quantity rather than quality.

Williams (2006: 20) listed some of the four attested forms of the verbal noun *pesy*, *pysy*, *pygy*, *pegy* (along with several other words) and concluded:

It seems to me quite clear from the above examples that Middle Cornish scribes had a vigorous scribal tradition. Middle Cornish scribes from the period of PA to TH wrote according to a set of conventions which they had learnt when they began to write.

It seems to me that the four different forms of the verbal noun show the exact opposite; that the scribes wrote as they spoke, and paid scant regard to the spelling of their exemplars, changing it without compunction, as argued by Bock and Bruch (2012). Williams (2006: 34) listed attested forms from the paradigms of the two verbs, but linked them to his postulated prosodic shift, a set of sound-changes which allegedly took place in the twelfth century. There is no need to resort to a prosodic shift to explain the existence of four partly different paradigms for these verbs; it can all be explained by canonical received wisdom on the phonological history.

¹⁰ The extant lexicon of traditional Cornish is insufficient to meet the needs of the revived language. On ideological grounds, Gendall rejected words from texts earlier than CW (though paradoxically, CW contains words from much earlier times); he disliked neologisms for modern concepts, and made up the shortfall with words from the Cornish dialect of English. Even though the traditional lexicon needs augmentation, this is not the case with grammar and syntax. Taken as a whole, there is a superfluity of grammar in traditional Cornish. Nance's Unified Cornish is based primarily on that of the Ordinalia; to make a workable revived language he had no need of any later developments, and tended to disparage them as corruptions.

- 4.5 **Brown** (2001) has a section on verbs with vowel affection (§§189-193), but it does not include the verbs in question; instead, it discusses verbs with:
 - a stem in <-a-> affected to <-e-> •

•

e.g. tava 'to touch' a stem in <-o-> affected to <-e-> e.g. igeri 'to open'

The only mention of krysi and pysi is in §180(4b), to the effect that they have the 3rd sg. preterite in <-is>. Their absence from these works suggests that their paradigm was considered to be regular, with an invariant stem. This is confirmed in *Cornish verbs* (2010), where *krvsi* has *krvs-*¹¹ throughout, and *pysi* has *pys-* everywhere (Table 22).

Cornish Verbs		Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	S 1	pysav krysav	pysyn krysyn	pysis krysis	pyssen kryssen	pyssiv kryssiv	pyssen kryssen	
Verbal noun <i>pysi</i>	S 2	pysydh krysydh	pysys krysys	pryssys kryssys	pysses krysses	pyssi kryssi	pysses krysses	pys krys
krysi	S 3	pys krys	pysi krysi	pysis krysis	pyssa kryssa	pysso krysso	pyssa kryssa	pyses kryses
	P 1	pysyn krysyn	pysyn krysyn	pyssyn kryssyn	pyssen kryssen	pyssyn kryssyn	pyssen kryssen	pysyn krysyn
Past participle	P 2	pysowgh krysowgh	pysewgh krysewgh	pyssowgh kryssowgh	pyssewgh kryssewgh	pyssowgh kryssowgh	pyssewgh kryssewgh	pysewgh krysewgh
pysys krysys	P 3	pysons krysons	pysens krysens	pyssons kryssons	pyssens kryssens	pyssons kryssons	pyssens kryssens	pysens krysens
	Ι	pysir krysir	pysys krysys	pysis krysis	pyssys kryssys	pysser krysser	pyssys kryssys	

Paradigms of **pysi** and **krysi**, according to Cornish verbs (2010) Table 22

These paradigms comprise analogically levelled forms based on the roots pys- and krys-. They evidently represent a continuation of Nance's choice in Unified Cornish. On comparing them with the attested forms, they appear as an over-simplification; in particular, in the parts of the paradigm highlighted in blue, pys- and krys- have been substituted for theoretical pesand kres-. This may be justified by noting that a similar substitution took place in PC and RD. The impersonal forms need attention, however; the published paradigm incorrectly shows assibilation (highlighted in red), which would not have occurred before a consonant followed by r/r. The forms highlighted in orange are extensions; i.e. they are not found in the texts.

The **<u>SWF</u>** on-line dictionary gives three of the four forms for 'to beg': pesi, peji^L, 4.6 $pysi^{M}$, but only two for 'to believe': $krysi^{M}$, $kreji^{L}$. SWF (Standard Written Form) was designed as a political orthography to cater for all speakers of revived Cornish, including the 4% (Davies-Deacon 2017) who use a Late Cornish base.

Because there are significant differences between Middle and Late Cornish, two forms of some words are given in the dictionary to reflect this. Here pysi and krysi are "Middle variants", while *peji* and *kreji* are "Late variants"; unlabelled *pesi* is intended for use by all speakers. One wonders why kresi is not included. The use of the labels M and L has been criticized as perpetuating division between groups of speakers (Kennedy 2020).

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It even has krysser, wrongly, for the impersonal present subjunctive 'one might believe': the attested form (BK38.27) is crytter; because the second vowel is followed by a liquid consonant assibilation was blocked.

4.7 **Resolution**

How should one now proceed? Which (if any) of the four theoretical paradigms should be included in the core? The best one is arguably *pesy/cresy*, which is shown in Table 23, re-spelled in a modern guise including $\langle z \rangle$ for [z].

pezi/krezi		Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	S 1	pezav krezav	pezyn krezyn	pezys krezys	pessen kressen	pessiv kressiv	pessen kressen	
Verbal noun <i>pezi</i>	S 2	pezydh krezydh	pezys krezys	pessys kressys	pesses kresses	pessi kressi	pesses kresses	pyz kryz
krezi	S 3	pyz kryz	pezi krezi	pezys krezys	pessa kressa	pesso kresso	pessa kressa	pezes krezes
	P 1	pezyn krezyn	pezyn krezyn	pessyn kressyn	pessen kressen	pessyn kressyn	pessen kressen	pezyn krezyn
Past participle pezys	P 2	pezowgh krezowgh	pezewgh krezewgh	pessowgh kressowgh	pessewgh kressewgh	pessowgh kressowgh	pessewgh kressewgh	pezewgh krezewgh
krezys	P 3	pezons krezons	pezens krezens	pessons kressons	pessens kressens	pessons kressons	pessens kressens	pezens krezens
	Ι	pedir kredir		pessys kressys		petter kretter		

Table 23 Paradigm based on MidC pesy/cresy, re-spelled

These paradigms have the following attributes:

- (a) they have the most attested forms;
- (b) they are the easiest to learn, having <e> as the stressed vowel everywhere except for the M-forms (I S 3 and VII S 2);
- (c) they correspond to the paradigms in use in PA and BMa;
- (d) the $\langle e \rangle$ in the verbal nouns *pezi* and *krezi*, although representing a lowering of /1/, also coincidentally corresponds to the vowel in Primitive Cornish /pediµ/ and /krediµ/, and to the cognates in Welsh and Breton.

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