# 'BEG' AND 'BELIEVE' <br> Two Cornish verbs 

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## 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 <br>  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  | Middle | Modern |  |
| CLat petō | 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).

[^0]Table 2 Development of verbal nouns

| Phase | Sound-change | Date | 'to beg' | 'to believe' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| British |  |  | *pedīmā | * kredīmā |
|  | Lenition | c. 475 | $/ \mathrm{m} />/ \mu /$ |  |
|  |  |  | *pedī $\mu \bar{a}$ | *kredī $\bar{a}$ |
|  | Loss of final syllables | c. 525 | /-ă/ > /- $\overline{\text { / }}$ |  |
| Primitive Cornish |  |  | /pedip/ | /kredip/ |
|  | Internal i-affection | c. 700 | / $\varepsilon />/ \mathrm{I} /$ |  |
|  |  |  | /pıdi ${ }^{\text {/ }}$ | /krıdi $\mu$ / |
|  | Loss of final consonant |  | $l-\mu />/-/$ |  |
| Old Cornish |  |  | /pidi/ | /krıdi/ |

No date is given for the loss of the final consonant / $\mu /$, 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 1 st sg. pres. ind. ending, which appeared as $-a f$ 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 /-ḑ/ (palatalization). Williams (1990) proposed a two-step process: affrication to [-dz-], followed by a split, to [-z-] in an eastern dialect, and [-d $3-]$ 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 [-dz-] in Pydar. The continuing development then looks like this:

## Table $3 \quad$ Further development of verbal nouns

|  | Assibilation |  |  | Palatalization |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Old Cornish | /pidi/ | /krıdi/ |  | /pidi/ | /krıdi/ |
| Affrication | /d/ > /dz/ |  |  | /d/ > /dz/ |  |
|  | /pidzi/ | /krıdzi/ |  | /pidzi/ | /krıdzi/ |
| Assibilation | /dz/ > /z/ |  | Palatalization | /dz/ > /dy/ |  |
| Middle Cornish | /pızi/ pysy | /krızi/ crysy |  | /pıḑi/ pygy | /krıḑi/ 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 $/ \mathrm{I} /$ to $/ \varepsilon /$. 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.

## Table $4 \quad$ Texts in Middle Cornish

|  | Name | Author | Date of <br> composition | Date of <br> text | Material |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PC | Passio Christi | unknown | $c .1400$ | $c .1400$ | copy of religious play |
| RD | Resurrexio Domini | unknown | $c .1400$ | $c .1400$ |  |
| 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 | $c .1535$ | $c .1565$ | copy of saint's life |
| TH | Tregear Homilies | J. Tregear | $c .1558$ | $c .1558$ | translation |
| SA | Sacrament of the Altar | T. Stephyn | $c .1576$ | $c .1576$ | translation |
| CW | Creacon of the World | W. Jordan | c. $1555^{2}$ | 1611 | religious play |

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.

Table 5 Numbers of spelling-types of the verbal nouns

|  | /-rzi/ |  | /-Irdi/ |  | /-ezi/ |  | /-edui/ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \{pysy $\}$ | \{crysy $\}$ | \{pygy \} | \{crygy | \{pesy\} | \{cregy\} | \{pegy | \{cregy\} |
| PC | pysy 1 | crysy 1 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pygy } 4 \\ & \text { pigy } 2 \end{aligned}$ | crygy 4 |  |  |  |  |
| RD |  | grysy 2 | pygy 7 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { crygy } 24 \\ & \text { grygy } 3 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |
| OM | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { pysy } 3 \\ & \text { bysy } 1 \end{aligned}$ | crysy 2 |  |  | besy 1 | cresy 6 |  |  |
| PA |  |  |  |  | pesy 6 <br> besy 2 |  |  |  |
| BMa |  |  |  |  | pesy 29 besy 3 fesy 1 | cresy 4 cresyae $^{3} 1$ |  |  |
| BMb | bysy 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| BK | fysy 1 |  |  |  | besy 1 |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pegy } 2 \\ & \text { begy } 2 \\ & \text { pege } 1 \end{aligned}$ | gregy 1 |
| TH | crysy 2 |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { pesy } 2 \\ & \text { besy } 1 \end{aligned}$ | cresy 17 |  | $\text { cregy } 1$ $\text { crege } 1$ |
| SA |  |  |  |  |  |  | pege 1 | cregy 1 |
| CW |  |  |  |  |  |  | pegy 1 | cregy 1 cregye 1 gregye 1 |
| Lh | pizi 1 <br> piza 1 <br> bisy 1 <br> pidzyi 1 | criedzy 1 | pydzhi 1 <br> pidzhy 1 <br> pidzha 3 <br> pidzhi 2 | kridzhi 4 <br> kridzhe 1 | pesy 1 |  |  | kredzhi 1 <br> credzhi 1 <br> kredzha 1 |
| VLC |  |  | peege 2 pidgee 1 pidzha 1 | creege 1 |  | cresy 1 |  | credgi 1 <br> crege 1 <br> credia 2 |

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.

Table $6 \quad$ Correlation between spelling-types and texts

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

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 $\langle\mathrm{y}>$ 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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## 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 $/ \mathrm{i} /$ or $/ \mathrm{I}$, labelled H ;
(b) suffixes with Other vowels, labelled O;
(c) suffix-less, labelled M for Monosyllable (the absent suffix is labelled $-\nabla$ )

## Table $7 \quad$ Different groups of endings in the verbal paradigms in Middle Cornish

| Tense | $\rightarrow$ | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | indicative |  |  |  | subjunctive |  | 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 | H -y | O -es | M - - |
|  | 3 | M - - | H -y | H -ys | O -se | O -o | O -e | O -es ${ }^{4}$ |
| plural P | 1 | H -yn | H -yn | H -syn | O -sen | H -yn | O -en | H -yn |
|  | 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 |  |  |

### 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.

## Table $8 \quad$ Numbers of spelling-types for cases labelled H

|  | /-Izi/ |  | /-IdJi/ |  | /-ezi/ |  | /-عdji/ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \{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 |

It makes no difference to the result.

| BMb | $\{$ ysy $\}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| PC, RD, Lh, VLC | $\{$ ygy $\}$ |
| PA, BMa, TH | $\{$ esy $\}$ |
| BK, SA, CW | $\{$ egy $\}$ |

[^2]
### 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 IS 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.

## Table $9 \quad$ Development of the 1st singular present indicative

| Phase | Sound-change | Date |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | *pedami | *kredami |
|  | Lenition | c. 475 | $/ \mathrm{m} />/ \mu /$ |  |
|  |  |  | *pedaui | *kredapi |
|  | Loss of final syllables | c. 525 | /-i/ > /-V/ |  |
| Primitive Cornish |  |  | /peda $/$ | /kredau/ |
|  | Denasalization | ? | /- $\mu />/-\mathrm{v} /$ |  |
| Old Cornish |  |  | /pedav/ | /kredav/ |
|  | Affrication | c. 1325 | /d/ > /dz/ |  |
|  |  |  | /pedzav/ | /kredzav/ |
|  | Assibilation |  | /dz/ > /z/ |  |
| Middle Cornish |  |  | /pezav/ pesaf | /krezav/ cresaf |

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

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

| Phase | Sound-change | Date |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | *pedīt | *kredīt |
|  | Final i-affection | c. 500 | $\mid \varepsilon />/ \mathrm{I} /$ |  |
|  |  |  | *pĭdìt | *krídīt |
|  | Loss of final syllables | c. 525 | /-it/ >/-V/ |  |
| Primitive and Old Cornish |  |  | /pid/ | /krıd/ |
|  | Affrication | c. 1275 | /d/ > /dz/ |  |
|  |  |  | /pidz/ | /kridz/ |
|  | Assibilation |  | /dz/ > /z/ |  |
| Middle Cornish (some texts) |  |  | /pız/ pys | /kriz/ crys |
|  | Lowering of / $\mathbf{I} /$ | variable | /I/ > / $/$ / |  |
| Middle Cornish (other texts) |  |  | /pez/ pes | /krez/ 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 $/-\mathrm{d}$ s-/ $>[-\mathrm{ts}-]>[-\mathrm{ss}-]$
(ii) the effect of [-h-] in the subjunctive: OldC $/-\mathrm{d} \mathrm{h}-/>[-\mathrm{tt}-]>[-\mathrm{ss}-]$

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.

Table 11 Application of processes to different groups of verbal endings

|  | H | O | $\nabla$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| final $i$-affection | no | no | yes |
| internal $i$-affection | yes | no | no |
| palatalization or assibilation | both | assibilation | assibilation |
| lowering | in some texts | no | in some texts |

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).

## Table 12 Composite paradigms

|  |  | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Verbal | S 1 | pesaf | pysyn | pysys | pessen | pyssyf | pessen |  |
| noun |  |  | pygyn | pygys |  |  |  |  |
| pysy |  |  | pesyn | pesys |  | pessyf |  |  |
| pygy |  |  | 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 |
|  |  |  | pygy | pygys |  |  |  |  |
| Past ptcpl. |  |  | pesy | pesys |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | 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 |
|  | I | pydyr |  | pyssys |  | petter |  |  |
|  |  | pedyr |  | pessys |  |  |  |  |

### 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 $/ \mathrm{I} /$ to $/ \varepsilon /$; 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 $/ \mathrm{I} /$ 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.
Table 13 Paradigm based on pysy/crysy as the verbal nouns

| pysy/crysy |  | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Verbal noun | S 1 | pesaf cresaf | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pysyn } \\ & \text { *crysyn } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pysys } \\ & \text { *crysys } \end{aligned}$ | pessen cressen | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pyssyf } \\ & \text { *cryssyf } \end{aligned}$ | *pessen <br> *cressen |  |
|  | S 2 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pysyth } \\ & \text { *crysyth } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pysys } \\ & \text { *crysys } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pyssys } \\ & \text { *cryssys } \end{aligned}$ | pesses cresses | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pyssy } \\ & \text { *eryssy } \end{aligned}$ | *pesses *cresses | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pys } \\ & \text { crys } \end{aligned}$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { pysy } \\ & \text { crysy } \end{aligned}$ | S 3 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { pys } \\ & \text { crys } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pysy } \\ & \text { *crysy } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pysys } \\ & \text { ecrusu } \end{aligned}$ | pesse cresse | *pesso cresso | *pesse <br> *cresse | *peses <br> *creses |
| Past participle | P 1 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pysyn } \\ & \text { * crysyn }^{2} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pysyn } \\ & \text { *crysyn } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pyssyn } \\ & \text { *cryssyn } \end{aligned}$ | pessen cressen | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pyssyn } \\ & \text { *cryssyn } \end{aligned}$ | *pessen <br> * cressen | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pysyn } \\ & { }_{*}^{\text {crysyn }} \end{aligned}$ |
|  | P 2 | *pesough cresough | *peseugh <br> *creseugh | *pessough <br> *cressough | pesseugh cresseugh | *pessough <br> *cressough | *pesseugh cresseugh | peseugh creseugh |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { pysys } \\ & \text { crysys } \end{aligned}$ | P 3 | *pesons cresons | *pesens <br> *cresens | *pessons *cressons | pessens cressens | *pessons *cressons | *pessens <br> *cressens | *pesens *cresens |
|  | I | *pydyr *crydyr |  | *pyssys <br> *cryssys |  | *petter <br> *cretter |  |  |

Table 14 Paradigm based on pygy/crygy as the verbal nouns

| pygy/crygy |  | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Verbal noun | S 1 | pesaf cresaf | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pygyn } \\ & \text { *crygyn } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { *pygys } \\ \text { *crygys } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | *pessen <br> *cressen | *pyssyf <br> *cryssyf | *pessen cressen |  |
|  | S 2 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pygyth } \\ & \text { crygyth } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pygys } \\ & \text { *crvove } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pyssys } \\ & \text { *cryssys } \end{aligned}$ | *pesses <br> *cresses | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pyssy } \\ & \text { *cryssy } \end{aligned}$ | *pesses <br> * cresses | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pys } \\ & \text { crys } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { pygy } \\ & \text { crygy } \end{aligned}$ | S 3 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pys } \\ & \text { crys } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pygy } \\ & \text { *crygy } \end{aligned}$ |  | pesse <br> * cresse | *pesso cresso | *pesse <br> *cresse | *peses <br> *creses |
| Past participle | P 1 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pygyn } \\ & \text { *crygyn } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pygyn } \\ & \text { *crygyn } \end{aligned}$ | *pyssyn <br> *cryssyn | *pessen <br> *cressen | *pyssyn <br> *cryssyn | *pessen <br> * cressen | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pygyn } \\ & \text { *crygyn } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | P 2 | *pesough cresough | *peseugh <br> *creseugh | *pessough <br> *cressough | *pesseugh <br> *cresseugh | *pessough <br> *cressough | *pesseugh cresseugh | peseugh creseugh |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { *pygys } \\ \text { *crygys } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | P 3 | *pesons cresons | *pesens <br> *cresens | *pessons <br> *cressons | *pessens <br> *cressens | *pessons <br> * cressons | *pessens <br> * cressens | *pesens <br> *cresens |
|  | I | *pydyr <br> *crydyr |  | *pyssys <br> *cryssys |  | *petter <br> *cretter |  |  |

Table $15 \quad$ Paradigm based on pesy/cresy as the verbal nouns

| pesy/cresy |  | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Verbal noun | S 1 | pesaf cresaf | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pesyn } \\ & \text { cresyn } \end{aligned}$ | *pesys cresys | *pessen <br> *cressen | *pessyf <br> *cressyf | *pessen <br> *cressen |  |
|  | S 2 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pesyth } \\ & \text { crosyth } \end{aligned}$ cresyth | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pesys } \\ & \text { *cresys } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pessys } \\ & \text { *cressys } \end{aligned}$ | *pesses <br> *cresses | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pessy } \\ & \text { *cressy } \end{aligned}$ | *pesses *cresses | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pys } \\ & \text { crvs } \end{aligned}$ |
| $\begin{array}{\|l} \text { pesy } \\ \text { cresy } \end{array}$ | S 3 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pys } \\ & \text { crys } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pesy } \\ & { }^{*} \text { crresy } \end{aligned}$ | pesys <br> * cresys | pesse <br> *cresse | *pesso cresso | *pesse <br> *cresse | *peses <br> *creses |
| Past participle | P 1 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pesyn } \\ & \text { cresyn } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pesyn } \\ & \text { *cresyn } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pessyn } \\ & \text { *cressyn } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | *pessen <br> *cressen | *pessyn <br> *cressyn | *pessen <br> *cressen | pesyn <br> *cresyn |
|  | P 2 | *pesough cresough | *peseugh <br> *creseugh | *pessough <br> *cressough | *pesseugh <br> *cresseugh | *pessough <br> *cressough | *pesseugh cresseugh | peseugh creseugh |
| $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { *pesys } \\ & \text { cresys } \end{aligned}$ | P 3 | *pesons cresons | pesens cresens | *pessons <br> *cressons | *pessens <br> *cressens | *pessons $\qquad$ | *pessens <br> * cressens | *pesens <br> * cresens |
|  | I | *pedyr <br> *credyr |  | *pessys <br> *cressys |  | *petter <br> *cretter |  |  |

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

| pegy/cregy |  | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Verbal noun | S 1 | pesaf <br> cresaf | *pegyn <br> *cregyn | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pegys } \\ & \text { *cregys } \end{aligned}$ | *pessen <br> *cressen | *pessyf *cressyf | *pessen <br> *cressen |  |
|  | S 2 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pegyth } \\ & \text { cregyth } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | *pegys <br> *cregys | *pessys <br> *cressys | *pesses <br> * cresses | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pessy } \\ & \text { *cressy } \end{aligned}$ | *pesses <br> *cresses | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { pys } \\ & \text { crys } \end{aligned}$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { pegy } \\ & \text { cregy } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | S 3 | pys crys | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pegy } \\ & \text { * creop } \end{aligned}$ | pegys *cregys | pesse * cresse | *pesso cresso | *pesse <br> * cresse | *peses <br> * creses |
| Past participle | P 1 | $\begin{gathered} \text { pegyn } \\ \text { * cregyn } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | pegyn cregyn | *pessyn <br> * cressyn | *pessen <br> *cressen | *pessyn <br> *cressyn | *pessen <br> *cressen | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *pegyn } \\ & \text { *cregyn } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | P 2 | *pesough cresough | peseugh creseugh | *pessough <br> *cressough | *pesseugh <br> *cresseugh | *pessough <br> * cressough | *pesseugh cresseugh | peseugh creseugh |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { *pegys } \\ \text { cregys } \end{gathered}$ | P 3 | *pesons cresons | pesens cresens | *pessons <br> * cressons | *pessens <br> * cressens | *pessons | *pessens <br> * cressens | *pesens <br> *cresens |
|  | I | *pedyr *credyr |  | *pessys <br> *cressys |  | *petter <br> *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 blue highlighting yellow highlighting forms which agree with the relevant theoretical paradigm; forms which have been analogically remodelled on the verbal noun; forms which do not fit the relevant theoretical paradigm;
underlining monosyllables spelled $\langle\mathrm{e}\rangle$, indicating $/ \mathrm{I} />/ \varepsilon /$.
Mutations have been removed; otherwise the spelling is that of the texts.

Table 17 Paradigm with pygy / crygy as the verbal noun

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

The scribe who copied PC and RD said ['pr'dj'i] and ['krrdzi], 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 $/ \mathrm{I} /$ rather than the theoretical $/ \varepsilon /$; these are the cases highlighted in blue. Interestingly, this remodelling does not extend to substituting /dz/ for $/ \mathrm{z} /$.

Table 18 Paradigms with pesy/cresy as the verbal noun

| PA |  | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Verbal <br> noun | S 1 | S 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | S 3 | pys $\times 1$, pes $\times 1$ <br> crys $\times 1$, cris $\times 4$ |  | pesys $\times 6$ |  |  |  |  |
| Past <br> ptcpl. | P 1 | cresyn $\times 1$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | P 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | pesough $\times 2$ |
|  | P 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | I |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| BMa |  | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Verbal <br> noun | S 1 | peseff $\times 6$, pese $\times 1$, pes $\boldsymbol{c} \times 2$ <br> creseff $\times 2$, crese $\times 5$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | S 2 |  |  |  |  |  | peys $\times 9$ <br> cres $\times 3$ |  |
| pesy $\times 33$ <br> cresy $\times 5$ | S 3 | peys $\times 6$ <br> creys $\times 11$ |  | pesys $\times 1$ | pesse $\times 3$ |  |  |  |
| Past <br> ptcpl. | P 1 | P 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | pesugh $\times 1$ <br> cresugh $\times 3$ |  |
|  | 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 |  | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | S 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Verbal noun | S 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { pesy } \times 3 \\ & \text { cresy } \times 13, \text { crysy } \times 1 \\ & \text { creg } \times 1, \text { crege } \times 1 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | S 3 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { crys } \times 1, \text { creys } \times 1 \\ & \text { crise } \times 1, \text { cryge } \times 1 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\underset{\text { pesys } \times 1}{\text { pegis } \times 1}$ | $\text { crisse } \times 1$ | crisse $\times 1$ |  |  |
|  | P 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Past participle | P 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | pesough $\times 1$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { cresys } \times 2 \\ & \text { cryses } \times 1 \end{aligned}$ | P 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | I |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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.

Table 19 Paradigms with pegy / cregy as the verbal noun

| BK |  | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| $\begin{array}{l}\text { Verbal noun }\end{array}$ | S 1 | cresaf $\times 1$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | S 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{l}\text { pys } \times 2 \\ \text { crys } \times 1, \text { cres } \times 1\end{array}$ |
|  | S 3 | $\begin{array}{l}\text { pys } \times 9 \\ \text { crys } \times 11\end{array}$ |  |  | pegys $\times 1$ |  |  |  |
|  | P 1 | pegyn $\times 1$ |  |  |  | cryssa $\times 1$ |  |  |$)$


| CW |  | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Verbal noun | S 1 | cresaf $\times 1$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | S 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | creys $\times 5$, creis $\times 2$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & \operatorname{pegy} \times 1 \\ & \boldsymbol{\operatorname { c r e g }} \bar{y} \times 1, \text { cregye } \times 1, \\ & \boldsymbol{\operatorname { c r e g }} \overline{\bar{y}} \bar{e} \times 1 \end{aligned}$ | S 3 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pys } \times 6, \text { pyes } \times 2 \\ & \text { pyese } \times 1, \text { peys } \times 2 \\ & \text { cryes } \times 6, \text { crys } \times 1 \\ & \text { creys } \times 3, \text { creyse } \times 1 \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Past participle | P 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | P 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { cresowhe } \times 1 \text {, cresowgh } \times 1 \\ & \text { creseugh } \times 1 \end{aligned}$ |
| cregys $\times 4$ | P 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | I |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

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 selfconsistent.

### 3.4 The two verbs in Late Cornish

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

## Table 20 Forms of the verbal noun in Late Cornish

| MidC | Lhuyd | Vernacular Late Cornish |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| pysy | bisy, pizi, pidzyi |  |
| crysy | criedzy | creege (N.Boson) |
| pygy | 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) |

In addition, new forms arose by substituting the verbal noun ending $\langle-\mathrm{a}\rangle$ for $\langle-\mathrm{y}\rangle$ : 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 /krıdz-/. 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.

[^3]
## 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 <-s-> (Table 21). The SWF dictionary labels forms with <-j-> as Late, but they are present in Middle Cornish (spelled with <-g->). In this paper, reasons are sought for these choices of forms.

## Table 21 Spelling of verbal nouns in modern dictionaries

| Dictionary | Orthography | 'to believe' | 'to beg' | Remarks |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Nance (1938) | Unified |  |  |  |
| Cornish |  |  |  |  |$\quad$ crysy, -jy (cresy, jy) | pysy, -jy (pesy, -jy) |
| :--- |

4.1 As shown above, Nance 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 Smith (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 Gendall (1972) gave 3rd singular forms in all tenses ${ }^{9}$ except the imperative:

| Verbal <br> noun | Past <br> ptcpl. | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| pysy | pysys | pys | pysy | pysys | pyssa | pysso | pyssa |
| crysy | crysys | crys | crysy | crysas | cryssa | crysso | cryssa |

[^4]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 texts ${ }^{10}$, 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 Williams (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 $\S 19.22$ he wrote (the numbering is added by the author):

```
CREJY 'believe', PESY 'pray'.
Etymologically both verbs have e not y in the root.
Pesaf and cresaf are much commoner than forms with y and should be the regular forms.
I also prefer/dg/ before /I/ in the verbal noun and the past participle of crejy.
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 [pizz], 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 $\S 180(4 \mathrm{~b})$, to the effect that they have the 3 rd 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 $\boldsymbol{k r y s i}$ has $\boldsymbol{k r y s}-{ }^{11}$ throughout, and pysi has pys- everywhere (Table 22).

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

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

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/. The forms highlighted in orange are extensions; i.e. they are not found in the texts.
4.6 The SWF on-line dictionary gives three of the four forms for 'to beg': pesi, peji ${ }^{L}$, pysi ${ }^{M}$, but only two for 'to believe': $k r y s i^{M}$, $k r e j i i^{L}$. 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).

[^5]
### 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 <z> for [z].

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

| pezi/krezi |  | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Verbal noun pezi krezi | S 1 | pezav krezav | pezyn <br> krezyn | pezys krezys | pessen <br> kressen | pessiv kressiv | pessen <br> kressen |  |
|  | S 2 | pezydh krezydh | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pezys } \\ & \text { krezys } \end{aligned}$ | pessys kressys | pesses kresses | pessi kressi | pesses kresses | $\begin{aligned} & \begin{array}{l} p y z \\ \text { kryz } \end{array} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
|  | S 3 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { pyz } \\ & \text { kryz } \end{aligned}$ | pezi krezi | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { pezys } \\ \text { krezys } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | pessa kressa | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pesso } \\ & \text { kresso } \end{aligned}$ | pessa kressa | pezes <br> krezes |
| Past participle pezys krezys | P 1 | pezyn <br> krezyn | pezyn <br> krezyn | pessyn <br> kressyn | pessen <br> kressen | pessyn <br> kressyn | pessen <br> kressen | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l\|l\|} \hline \text { pezyn } \\ \text { krezyn } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
|  | P 2 | pezowgh krezowgh | pezewgh krezewgh | pessowgh kressowgh | pessewgh kressewgh | pessowgh kressowgh | pessewgh <br> kressewgh | pezewgh krezewgh |
|  | P 3 | pezons krezons | pezens krezens | pessons <br> kressons | pessens kressens | pessons kressons | pessens kressens | pezens krezens |
|  | I | pedir <br> kredir |  | pessys <br> kressys |  | petter <br> kretter |  |  |

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 <e> in the verbal nouns pezi and krezi, although representing a lowering of $/ \mathrm{I} /$, also coincidentally corresponds to the vowel in Primitive Cornish /pedi $\mu /$ and $/ \mathrm{kredi} \mu /$, and to the cognates in Welsh and Breton.

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[^0]:    1
    The view expressed in this paper are those of the author, rather than the corporate views of the Board.

[^1]:    3 This extraordinary spelling (BM.1865) is used to force an eye-rhyme.

[^2]:    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]:    $5 \quad$ 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 $\boldsymbol{y}$ fydh dampnys seul na grys.

[^4]:    7 Unified Cornish Revised
    Unified Cornish Revised
    Gendall actually gave lenited forms; they have been delenited here.

[^5]:    11 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.

