
Remarks on pragmatic fronting and poetic overdetermination in Middle Cornish

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ABSTRACT: As a verb-second language, one expects Middle Cornish to allow only a single argument/complement to appear in the left periphery of affirmative root clauses. Object personal pronouns never occur in the left periphery, but a full non-adjunct XP and subject personal pronoun do, in fact, coöccur in 329 clauses in our corpus—in that order, in all but a single token—, presumably owing to poetic overdetermination, which alters the morphosyntax and surface configuration in order to enable the required syllable-count or end-rhyme in the verse line. George 1990 & 1991, based upon an analysis of *Beunans Meriasek*, finds five tokens of full object DP and subject personal pronoun which coöccur in the left periphery, which, he states, are not motivated by poetic overdetermination. He concludes, on that basis, that the construction is generated by the grammar. In this paper, we collect all of the tokens of this construction in the verse corpus of Middle Cornish and propose that they are all, ultimately, motivated by poetic overdetermination, not only in order to enable the required syllable-count or end-rhyme, but sometimes also to encode pragmatic information.¹

KEYWORDS: Middle Cornish, cartography, relaxed verb-second configuration, left periphery, metrical constraints, poetic overdetermination

¹ We should like to thank Paul Russell and the anonymous referees for their very helpful comments. All usual disclaimers apply.

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Relaxed verb-second in Middle Cornish

§1. It is now well established that the configuration of affirmative root clauses in the ‘Middle’ periods of all of the Brittonic languages was verb-second (V2); see Willis 1998: 50–101 for Middle Welsh and Borsley, Tallerman, & Willis 2007: 290–291 for parallel data from Middle Breton. The latter also state that ‘the “abnormal” pattern is the dominant main-clause order in all medieval Brythonic languages, and its properties are virtually identical in all three’ (290). Tokens from Middle Cornish are:²

- (1) a. Subject-initial (PA³ 8 §18.1^a = 137):⁴

[*an ioul*] *a trylyas sperys*
 DEF devil AFF turn.3.SG.PRET spirit
 ‘[The devil] changed (his) mind’.

- b. Object-initial (RD 72.909):⁵

[*guyr*] *a gousaf thomas*
 truth AFF speak.1.SG.PRES Thomas
 ‘I speak [truth], Thomas’.

- c. Adverb(ial)-initial (PA 32 §104.3^a = 829):

[*da*] *y won y vos a ras*
 good AFF know.1.SG.PRES 3.SG.M.POSS be.VN of grace
 ‘I know [well] that he is of grace’.

² Quotations from Cornish sources follow the orthographies of the cited editions with the following modifications, all of which are made silently: (a) in a few cases in which the published edition does not agree with our reading of the manuscript source, we emend the text to reflect the form in the manuscript; (b) all contractions and suspensions have been expanded; (c) we have modified the use of word divisions, apostrophes, hyphenation, and capitalisation so that the the same system is employed for all texts. Clitic particles and pronominals are written separately from their host words, save for some cases in which a verbal particle or a portion thereof is conjoined to a form of *bos* ‘be’, e.g., *y thoma* ‘I am’ < *yth o(f) ma*, or when an enclitic pronoun can be interpreted as part of a personal ending of a conjugated verb or preposition, e.g., *thynny* ‘to us’, *y thoma* ‘I am’. Apostrophes are inserted to indicate the internal structure of contracted forms, e.g., *y’n* for the prep. *yn* ‘in’ + definite article, or to indicate the elision of the object agreement morpheme in 2. sg. ‘you have’, *ty a ’fyth* < **ty a’th fyth*. All characters have been printed in lower case, since there is little consistency in capitalisation practice amongst the texts. Hyphens supplied by previous editors have been removed or replaced by spaces or apostrophes as appropriate.

We sometimes provide analyses of the Cornish text that differ from those in our source editions, and translations by editors are altered for clarity as we see fit.

³ Stokes 1860–1861, the edition of *Pascon agan Arluth* that we employ, prints the text in stanzas of four lines, each of which represents two lines of the poem. We cite the text by stanza number, line in Stokes’ edition, and suprascript ^a or ^b to indicate the first or second half of Stokes’ line; thus §173.1^{ab} represents both halves of l. 1 in stanza 173. We also cite the line numbers were the text arranged in eight-line stanzas.

⁴ N. B. that the affirmative particle appears as *a* when the fronted XP is a subject or direct object, as *y(th)* when it is an adverb(ial), in earlier texts. George 1991: 235–236 describes a change to this system in *Beunans Meriasek*. For etymological discussion of these particles, see Schrijver 1997: 159–165.

⁵ N. B. that when an object or adverb(ial) is fronted and the subject is pronominal, the verb is conjugated so as to agree with the pronoun.

An important diagnostic for the V2 status of a language is subject-verb inversion, whereby the subject appears in post-verbal position when the fronted XP is an object or adverb(ial), as illustrated in (2b–c) and (3c).

§2. We note, however, that a post-verbal full subject DP is essentially non-existent in our corpus. There is no clear such token with a fronted object, and the only potential token with a fronted adverbial is very doubtful.⁶ This is probably due to the fact that our corpus is almost entirely in verse of quadrisyllabic or heptasyllabic lines⁷ and that end-rhyme is required.⁸ It, furthermore, is composed mostly of dramatic texts in which speakers usually employ pronominal subjects.

§3. What does establish the V2 status of Middle Cornish is the presence of the affirmative particle and its identical distribution to that in Middle Welsh and Middle Breton, e.g.g.:

(2) Middle Welsh

a. Subject-initial (PKM 54.2):

[Caswallon] a glywei hynny
 Caswallon AFF hear.3.SG.IMPF DIST
 ‘Caswallon would hear that . . .’

b. Object-initial (BR 1.18):

A [chyngor] a gymerth Madawc
 & counsel AFF take.3.SG.PRET Madog
 ‘And Madog took counsel . . .’

c. Adverb(ial)-initial (PKM 78.17):

[Yna] y magwyt y mab yn y llys
 then AFF raise.PRET.IMPS DEF boy in DEF court
 ‘Then the boy was raised in the court . . .’

(3) Middle Breton

a. Subject-initial (BSN 242.45):

[Me] a ia breman dre an bro
 1.SG AFF go.3.SG.PRES now through DEF land
 ‘I go now through the world’.

⁶ The text is garbled. For the manuscript reading *maraw rys gvylyfth ytter* at BK 314.3149, Thomas & Williams 2006 reconstruct:

(a) [maraw] y 's gvylyfth hy thy
 dead AFF 3.SG.F.OB see. 3.SG.FUT3.SG.F.POSS land
 ‘. . . her country will see her dead.’

We have considerable doubts about this reconstruction and note that George 2006: 218 does not attempt to translate any of this line save for *maraw* ‘dead’.

⁷ The exception is the 36/41 lines of the *Charter endorsement*.

⁸ We note that stress has no role to play in Middle Cornish syllabic verse and that stressed and unstressed syllables may rhyme with each other; see Bruch 2009: 60–86 for a detailed discussion of rhyme and metre in Middle Cornish verse.

b. Object-initial (BSG 90.783):

[*an trous*]a *clevaf* *spes*
 DEF noise AFF hear.1.SG.PRES clearly
 ‘I hear the noise clearly’.

c. Adverb(ial)-initial (BSC 84 §13):

hac [*en continant*] *ez aparissas an eal dezy*
 & immediately AFF appear.3.SG.PRET DEF angel to.3.SG.F
 ‘... and the angel immediately appeared to her’.

§4. We adopt the cartographic approach to syntax and follow the current communis opinio, e.g., Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010: 320–321, in understanding the hierarchical architecture of the left periphery of the root clause to be:

$$(4) \quad [_{\text{FrameP}} [_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{AbTopP}} [_{\text{ContrTopP}} [_{\text{FocP}} [_{\text{FamTopP}} [_{\text{FinP}} \dots]]]]]]]]$$

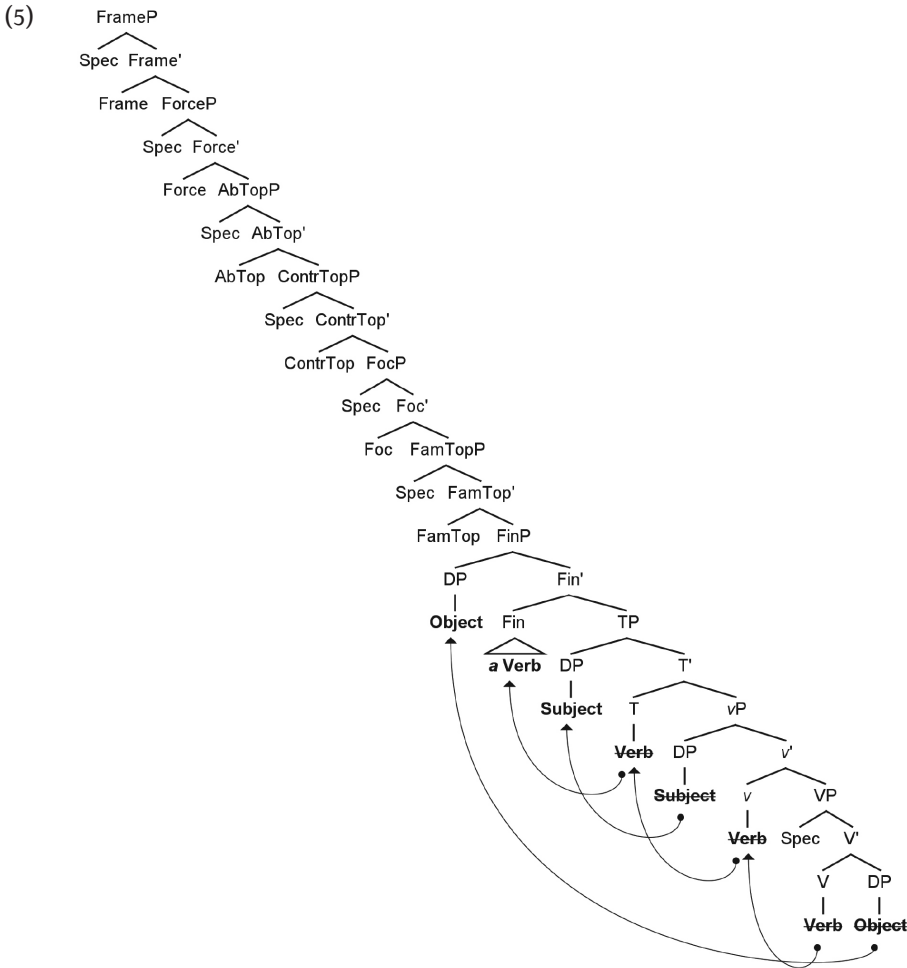
Within this framework, FrameP is the locus of scene-setting locative and temporal adverb(ial)s and hanging topics; ForceP is the locus of markers of illocutionary force and clause-typing; AbTopP (Aboutness Topic) is the locus of topical XPs that are ‘newly introduced, newly changed or newly returned to’ (Givón 1983: 8; see also Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007: esp. 88); ContrTopP (Contrastive Topic) is the locus of XPs ‘that [induce] alternatives which have no impact on the focus value and create oppositional pairs with respect to other topics’ (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007: 88; see also Kuno 1976; Büring 1999); FocP (Focus) is the locus of XPs that indicate contrastive or new information focus; FamTopP (Familiar Topic) is the locus of ‘a given or accessible (cf. Chafe 1987) constituent, which is typically destressed and realised in a pronominal form (Pesetsky 1987)’ (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007: 88); and FinP (Finite) expresses the finiteness or non-finiteness of the clause.

§5. The V2 phenomenon is triggered by an uninterpretable feature located in Fin which draws the verb to that node in order to be checked.⁹ The feature in Fin also bears an Edge Feature, which requires SpecFinP to be lexicalised, though not necessarily by a subject (e.g., Mohr 2009; Holmberg 2015);¹⁰ thus an argument or complement of the finite verb appears to the left of the verb, e.g., with fronting of the direct object:¹¹

⁹ We follow Borsley, Tallerman, & Willis 2007: 291 in assuming that the verb raises into the left periphery and adjoins to the affirmative particle. We take this position to be Fin.

¹⁰ For the view that the V2 phenomenon is driven by phonological requirements, see Richards 2016: 127–138 & 285–289.

¹¹ Holmberg 2015: 347 proposes that the Edge Feature is only satisfied by movement into SpecFinP (though he does allow for exceptions at 351). Wolfe 2020: 351⁵ says that this is not ‘self-evident’ for medieval Romance. This may be the case in medieval Brittonic, as well.



§6. Willis 1998: 190–193 demonstrates that the presence of the affirmative particle in Fin with an XP to its left provides evidence to language acquirers that the XP is in the left periphery of the clause, thus allowing for a V2 grammar to be constructed. The loss of the particle, however, removes evidence for language acquirers that the language is V2, and they may construct a grammar with a different clausal configuration. Willis argues that this loss also causes the Edge Feature requirement to be dropped, thus allowing for the verb-initial order of Modern Welsh to be constructed by language acquirers. The presence of the affirmative particle, then, provides good evidence for the analysis of Middle Cornish as V2.¹²

¹² The evidence is very slight, but we suggest that the loss of the affirmative particle in Late Cornish may have allowed the language to start moving towards SVO configuration under the influence of English

§7. Familiar V2 languages such as contemporary Dutch and German are ‘strict’. Within syntactic cartography, the verb and Left Edge XP move out of FinP to ForceP in such languages (e.g., Poletto 2002; Roberts 2010; Biberauer & Roberts 2015), thus severely limiting the number of constituents which can appear to the left of the verb:

- (6) $[_{\text{FrameP}} [_{\text{ForceP}} \text{XP} [_{\text{Force}} \text{V}] [_{\text{AbTopP}} [_{\text{ContrTopP}} [_{\text{FocP}} [_{\text{FamTopP}} [_{\text{FinP}} \text{XP} [_{\text{Fin}} \text{V}] \dots]]]]]]]]]]]$

Other V2 languages are ‘relaxed’. In such languages, which include the ‘Middle’ Brittonic languages, the verb and Left Edge XP do not move to ForceP; thus numerous positions in the left periphery are available for various adverb(ial) adjuncts to occupy:¹³

- (7) $[_{\text{FrameP}} [_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{AbTopP}} [_{\text{ContrTopP}} [_{\text{FocP}} [_{\text{FamTopP}} [_{\text{FinP}} \text{XP} [_{\text{Fin}} \text{V}] \dots]]]]]]]]]]]$

A token, thus, with surface verb-fourth in Middle Cornish is:

- (8) OM 102.1361:
 [lemyn] [yn haste] [me] a 'th kelm fast
 now in haste 1.SG AFF 2.SG.OBJ bind.3.SG.PRES fast
 ‘Now, in haste, I shall bind you fast’.

In the surface configuration, then, the verb need not be in second position. For tokens of the verb in as late as sixth position in prose texts in Middle Welsh, see Eska 2020: 38–39.¹⁴

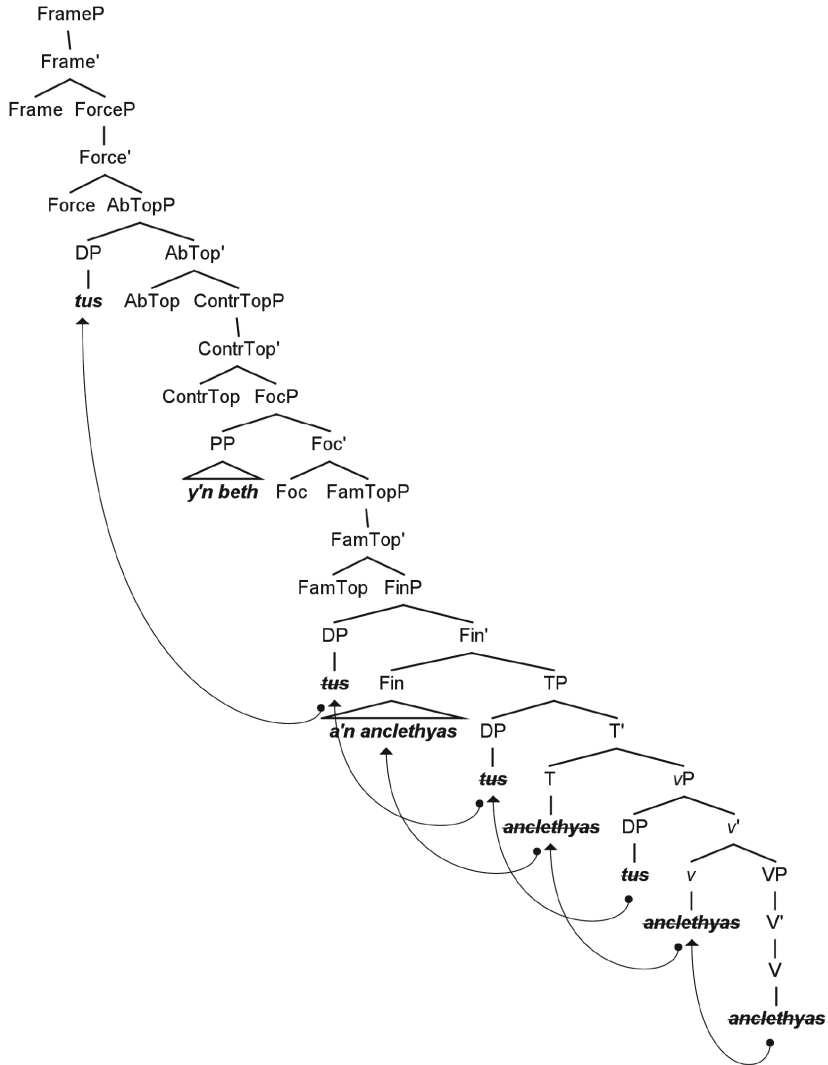
§8. Once the Edge Feature requirement has been satisfied by movement of an argument/complement to SpecFinP, it may be drawn higher into the left periphery to get a specific pragmatic reading (as outlined in §4), thus appearing to the left of an adverb(ial) adjunct base-generated in the left periphery, e.g.:

- (9) RD 96.1269:
 [tus] [y 'n beth] a 'n anclethyas
 people in DEF tomb AFF 3.SG.M.OBJ bury.3.SG.PRET
 ‘People buried him in the tomb’.

(Eska & Bruch 2020: 330–331).

¹³ For a contrastive study in the Romance languages between ‘strict’ V2 in later Old French and ‘relaxed’ V2 in Old Occitan, see Wolfe 2018. For a typologically-oriented study of V2 in the medieval Romance languages, see Wolfe 2020.

¹⁴ Owing to poetic overdetermination, the inflected verb can appear in as late as seventh position in the clause in Middle Cornish verse; cf. BM 42.720–722: [omma] [lemen] [fondya plays] / [dre voth ihesu a vercy] / [sur] [me] a vyn ‘Here, now, surely I will found a place through the will of Jesus of mercy’.



When this movement takes place, an unpronounced copy is left in SpecFinP,¹⁵ thus creating an intervention effect and blocking further arguments/complements from moving into the left periphery (e.g., Roberts 2004: 316–317; Haegeman 2012: 109–111; Wolfe 2019: 122–124).

¹⁵ Unpronounced copies are indicated by the strikethrough line, thus, ~~tus~~.

Poetic overdetermination in Middle Cornish verse

§9. Owing to the syllable-count and rhyming constraints of Middle Cornish verse—for the rules of which, see Bruch 2005 & 2009—, one finds that the configuration of the clause as generated by the syntax can be disturbed via poetic overdetermination, whereby the surface configuration is altered to result in structures that appear to be ungrammatical or, at least, uncalled for by the grammar. Examples include the distorted syntax of Old Norse skaldic verse (O’Neil 2001) and Old Saxon verse (Somers & Dubenion-Smith 2014) and the deviant behaviour of clitics in Serbian folk songs (Reindl & Franks 2000). In Insular Celtic, examples include the deployment of non-initial absolute verbal forms in Middle Welsh poetry (Manning 2001: 538–557), non-configurational word order in Old Irish poetry (e.g., Watkins 1995: 117–125), and the use of an initial copula in the Bergin’s Rule construction in Old Irish though the lexical verb appears at the end of the clause (e.g., Eska 2008: 47–48 and references cited therein).¹⁶ As Manning 2001: 556–557 notes, the results of poetic overdetermination are not ‘haphazard’, but are ‘organized and systematic deformations’ (similarly O’Neil 2001: 345–352).

§10. When both the subject and direct object are full DPs, they may occur in either order in pre-verbal position, e.g.:¹⁷

- (10) a. Subject followed by direct object (PA 4 §5.1^{ab} = 33–34):

[*ihesu crist*] [*mur gerense*] · *ze vab den a zyswezas*
 Jesus Christ great love to son man AFF show.3.SG.PRET
 ‘Jesus Christ showed great love to mankind’.

- b. Direct object followed by subject (PA 16 §42.1^{ab} = 329–330):

[*dew zen*] [*crist*] *a zanvonas ze berna boys ha dewas*
 2 man Christ AFF send.3.SG.PRET to buy.VN food & drink
 ‘Christ sent two men to buy food and drink’.

§11. When the subject is a personal pronoun, it is stressed and occurs in pre-verbal position in the left periphery of the clause; however, an object agreement marker¹⁸ appears as a clitic attached to the affirmative particle,¹⁹ e.g.:

¹⁶ One recalls here the ‘теорию организованного насилия поэтической формы над языком’ (theory of organised violence of poetic form over [natural] language) of Jakobson 1923: 16.

¹⁷ Such poetic lines are also attested in Middle Welsh and Middle Breton; see Eska 2020: 47–48 for examples.

¹⁸ The object agreement clitic continues an etymological genitive pronoun. For the present analysis employing Modern Welsh data, see Borsley, Tallerman, & Willis 2007: 70–75.

¹⁹ Cf. Harlos, Poppe, & Widmer 2014: 132, who note that, in Middle Welsh, since only stressed subject personal pronouns can appear in the left periphery of the clause, the possibility for ambiguity in determining their pragmatic role is eliminated. This constraint, likewise, holds for Middle Cornish.

- (11) BM 34.594:
 [ny] a ['th] wor the pen a 'n gluas
 1.PL AFF 2.SG.OBJ put.3.SG.PRES to end of DEF country
 'We shall bring you to Land's End'.

Personal pronouns that are direct objects are stressed when an argument of an affirmative imperative verb²⁰—which is generally agreed to appear high in the left periphery (e.g., Poletto & Zanuttini 2003: 191; we follow Rizzi 1997: 283, who places it in Force)—and follow the verb,²¹ e.g.:

- (12) OM 190.2505–2506:
 eugh th'y drehy hep lettye
 go.2.PL.IMPV to.3.SG.M.OBJ cut.VN without delay
 ha [musurough ef] yn len
 & measure.2.PL. IMPV 3.SG.M.OBJ ADV faithful
 'Go to cut it, without delay, and measure it faithfully!'

There are, however, tokens in which the direct object personal pronoun precedes an imperative verb owing to poetic overdetermination, e.g.:

- (13) OM 178.2348:
 ha 'gas myghtern [ef synseugh]
 & 2.PL.POSS king 3.SG.M.OBJ hold.2.PL.IMPV
 'and hold him (as) your king!'

An examination of the context in which this direct object personal pronoun occurs before the imperative verb (as also in l. 2350) demonstrates that it is motivated, like the line-final placement of the imperative verbs in ll. 2347, 2348, and 2350, by the need to enable an end-rhyme in *-eugh*:

²⁰ For the full range of contexts in which stressed direct object personal pronouns are employed in the 'Middle' Brittonic languages, see Evans 1964: 49–50 for Middle Welsh, Hemon 1975: 72–73 for Middle Breton, and Lewis 1946: 27–28 = 1990: 26–27 for Middle Cornish; cf. also Williams, Everson, & Kent 2020: 44–45 for Middle Cornish.

²¹ There is a much less common alternative in which the imperative verb follows an affirmative particle and a clitic object agreement marker is employed, e.g.:

- (b) OM 146.1933:
 a 's drens the ierusalem
 AFF 3.PL.OBJ bring.3.SG.IMPV to Jerusalem
 'Let him bring them to Jerusalem!'

Brown 2001: 53, writing of revived Cornish, labels this construction as 'a literary style'.

- (14) OM 178.2346–2352:
- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2346 | <i>arlythy my a'gas pys</i> | Lords, I pray you, |
| | <i>salmon ov map koroneugh</i> | crown my son Solomon, |
| 2348 | <i>ha'gas myghtern ef synseugh</i> | and hold him (as) your king |
| | <i>hedre vyugh byv y'n bys ma</i> | while you live in this world. |
| 2350 | <i>kepar ha my ef gorthyeugh</i> | Like me, honour him, |
| | <i>rag dev a'n dysquethas theugh</i> | for God declared him to you, |
| 2352 | <i>ha'y volnogeth yv henna</i> | and that is his will. |

§12. One also finds that subject personal pronouns and full non-adjunct XP arguments/complements can coöccur in pre-verbal position. In such instances, in all but a single token in our corpus—an exception that is discussed in §43—, the full non-adjunct XP precedes the subject personal pronoun, which always occurs immediately before the affirmative particle.

§13. One might initially suspect that it is the full non-adjunct XP which is displaced via poetic overdetermination from post-verbal position in order to enable the required syllable-count or end-rhyme, the subject personal pronoun having been drawn into the left periphery to satisfy the Left Edge requirement. We suggest, however, that it is usually the full non-adjunct XP that is drawn into the left periphery to satisfy the Edge Feature requirement, after which it is drawn higher into the left periphery in order to get a specific pragmatic reading. The composer then substitutes the sequence of affirmative particle + conjugated verb with the sequence of subject personal pronoun + affirmative particle + 3. sg. verb via poetic overdetermination.²² It is important to note that this is not simply a displacement, but, at least in the 1. and 2. persons and 3. person plural, a morphosyntactic alteration. Consider the clause in (15):

- (15) PC 236.206:
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| | [<i>the</i> | <i>worthyby</i>] | <i>me</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>wra</i> |
| | 2.SG.OBJ | answer.VN | 1.SG | AFF | do.3.SG.PRES |
| | 'I shall [answer you].' | | | | |

The V2 phenomenon, which allows only one argument/complement—which we understand to be the VP in this clause—to move into the left periphery to satisfy the Left Edge requirement, would have generated the clause in (16):

- (16) * [*the* *worthyby*] *a* *wraf* *vy*
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------|-----------|-----|--------------|------|
| | 2.SG.OBJ | answer.VN | AFF | do.1.SG.PRES | 1.SG |
| | 'I shall [answer you].' | | | | |

²² Cornish, like Breton, but unlike Welsh, never developed subject-verb agreement. This is a result of the origin of medieval Brittonic V2 from a cleft structure (Schrijver 1997: 165–172; Manning 2001; Willis 2010: 146–147; Currie 2015: 20; Meelen 2020; Eska 2020: 44–47).

The auxiliary verb is conjugated for the 1. singular and the postposed subject pronoun is added so as to yield a heptasyllabic line. We, thus, find the following morphosyntactic substitution:

(17) *a wraf vy* → *me a wra*

This substitution is made because *vy* does not enable the required end-rhyme in PC 236.206–208:

(18) 206 *the worthyby me a wra* I shall answer you,
 the'n arluth the wul yma the Lord has to do,
 208 *dre the voth ganse nebes* by your will, something with them.

§14. In Meelen's 2017 study of direct object-initial clauses in a set of Middle Welsh prose texts, she concludes that such clauses occur only when the direct object is a Familiar Topic or is under Focus. In such clauses, the direct object occupies SpecFamTopP or SpecFocP, respectively, in the clausal architecture. In the 'multiple pre-verbal arguments construction' (MPVAC),²³ which is the topic of this paper, the matter is not so straightforward owing to the fact that our corpus is entirely in verse.

Meelen 2017: 170 notes that a number of direct object-initial clauses in her corpus contain a demonstrative pronoun as the direct object, which continues the topic of the immediately preceding discourse. In a passage in YGuE 13.365–386, for example, Geraint is in a discussion about the land holdings of Earl Ynywl, at the end of which he says:

(19) *Ie . . . a uo yma o'r a dylyo uod yn vr y Ynywl, gwrhead itaw o'r lle.*

Good . . . all those here who should be vassals of Ynywl, let them pay him homage here and now. (trans. Davies 2007: 149)

The narration continues with:

(20) YGuE 13.386:
 A [*hynny*] a oruc y gwyr oll
 & DIST AFF do.3.SG.PRET DEF man.PL all
 'And all the men did [that]'.

The direct object is a Familiar Topic, and so occupies SpecFamTopP in the clausal architecture:

(21) [_{FrameP} [_{ForceP} [_{AbTopP} [_{ContrTopP} [_{FocP} [_{FamTopP} *hynny* [_{FinP} *hynny* [_{Fin} *a oruc*] [_{TP} *y gwyr oll . . .*]]]]]]]]

§15. Such constructions also occur in Middle Cornish. In a scene that occurs early in *Resurrexio Domini*, Joseph tells Pilate that Jesus' body has been placed in the tomb at

²³ As we will call it, noting that other complements that may move into the left periphery via the syntax are included.

RD 4.37–39, after which Pilate, noting that Jesus had claimed that his body would rise again at RD 4.43–48, demands to know whether it remains in the tomb. Joseph replies:

- (22) RD 6.49:
 [an corf] a worsyn y 'n beth
 DEF body AFF put.1.PL.PRET in DEF tomb
 'We put [the body] in the tomb'.
 [FrameP [ForceP [AbTopP [ContrTopP [FocP [FamTopP an corf [FinP an-corf [Fin a worsyn] . . . y'n beth]]]]]]]]]

In this clause, however, *beth* 'tomb' enables the required end-rhyme, so poetic overtermination has no role to play:

- (23) *an corf a worsyn y'n beth* We put the body in the tomb,
 50 *dre henna ioy hep thyweth* through that (there is) joy without end,
sur yn y was surely, in his country.

§16. There are numerous clauses similar to the Middle Welsh clause in (19) in the Middle Cornish verse corpus, but they can be superficially different. At BK 110.1064–1068, for example, St. Kea addresses Teudar as follows:

- (24) 1064 *pur wyer ny'th car neb lyes* Indeed, not many people love you
rag the debal vanerow because of your evil ways
 1066 *[henna] me re aspeas* [That] I have noticed.
mar debal los ny 'fyas You would not have such ill repute,
 1068 *a pe vas the oberow* if your deeds were good.

Under the view that the direct object *henna* has been drawn into the left periphery in l. 1066 to satisfy the Edge Feature requirement, this would have yielded the poetic line in (25), which, however, would not enable the required end-rhyme.

- (25) *[henna] re aspyys vy
 DIST PERF notice.1.SG.PRET 1.SG
 'I have noticed [that]'.

In order to remedy this deficit, the composer substituted *me re aspeas* for *re aspyys vy* via poetic overdetermination.

In clauses in which the direct object demonstrative pronoun can enable the end-rhyme, it is not necessarily fronted, despite being a Familiar Topic. At OM 44.577–586, God the Father makes the following speech after the murder of Abel by Cain:

- (26) *otte voys mernans abel* Behold the voice of the death of Abel,
 578 *the vroder prest ov kelwel* your brother, now calling
a'n dor warnaf pup teller from the ground to me everywhere.

580	<i>mylleges nefre re by hag ol an tyr a bywfy</i>	May you ever be cursed, and all the land that you may possess
582	<i>yv mylleges y'th ober ffrut da byner re thokko</i>	is cursed in your deed. May it never produce good fruit
584	<i>na glase bys gorfen beys ov molleth a rof thyso</i>	nor grow green until the end of the world. I give my curse to you,
586	<i>molleth ov eleth kefrys</i>	my angels' curse also.

Cain responds:

(27)	OM 44.587–592:	
	<i>the lef arluth a glewaf</i>	Your voice, Lord, I hear,
588	<i>saw the face my ny welaf</i>	but your face I do not see,
	<i>sur er ov gevww</i>	surely to my woe.
590	<i>ellas my a wor [henna]</i>	Alas! I know [that]:
	<i>bones ov fegh moy yn ta</i>	that my sin is much greater
592	<i>es mercy dew</i>	than the mercy of God.

In this passage, though *henna* is a Familiar Topic, it remains in its base-generated, clause-final position in order to enable the required end-rhyme in *-a*.²⁴ In this clause, the subject is drawn into the left periphery to satisfy the Edge Feature requirement:

(28)	<i>my a wor</i>	<i>[henna]</i>
	1.SG AFF know.3.SG.PRES	DIST
	'I know [that]'.	
	[_{FrameP} [_{ForceP} [_{AbTopP} [_{ContrTopP} [_{FocP} [_{FamTopP} <i>my</i> [_{FinP} <i>my</i> [_{Fin} <i>a wor</i>] . . . <i>henna</i>]]]]]]]]]	

This is not always the case, however. At PC 298.977–982, for example, Caiaphas addresses Prince Annas as follows:

(29)	<i>ha why annas ov def ker</i>	And you, Annas, my dear son-in-law,
978	<i>dyswethough bos pryns somper</i>	show yourself to be a prince without equal
	<i>rak dyswyl an cristenyon</i>	for destroying the Christians.
980	<i>dreugh bys omma thu'm tyller</i>	Bring here to my room
	<i>an harlot guas a leuer</i>	the knave fellow who says
982	<i>y vos myghter yuthewon</i>	he is king of the Jews.

Prince Annas immediately replies:

(30)	<i>hep dout [henna] my a wra</i>	Without a doubt, I shall do [that],
984	<i>rag thym yma tokyn da</i>	for I have a good token
	<i>rak y gafus</i>	for taking him.

²⁴Had *henna* been fronted, the resulting clause would have been *ellas henna a won vy*, which, of course, would not have enabled the required rhyme.

As in (24), the direct object *henna* is drawn into the left periphery to satisfy the Left Edge requirement, and the MPVAC has been employed by the composer because expected *hep dout henna a wraf vy* would not enable the required end-rhyme:

- (31) *hep* *dout* [*henna*] *my* *a* *wra*
 without doubt DIST 1.SG AFF do.3.SG.PRES
 ‘Without a doubt, I shall do [that].’

Yet, had *henna* not been drawn from its base-generated clause-final position, it would have enabled the end-rhyme in *-a*. We take this as evidence for our proposal that it is the full non-adjunct XP that typically is drawn into the left periphery to satisfy the Left Edge requirement.

§17. There are 11 sure—and three further potential—tokens of such a structure in our corpus. They are collected in §48. That our analysis is correct is confirmed by the at least 20 tokens of clauses in which a non-line-final XP is fronted into the left periphery in the MPVAC²⁵—hence, they are not motivated by metrical constraints—, and so can only be analysed as occurring for some other purpose, e.g.:

- (32) PC 300.393:
 [*henna*] *my* *a* *wra* *henna* *wharre*
 DIST 1.SG AFF do.3SG.PRES soon
 ‘I shall do [that] soon’.

In this poetic line, the composer need not have employed the MPVAC, for *henna a wraf vy wharre* makes a good heptasyllabic line and the rhyming word remains unchanged. One can only conclude, then, that the MPVAC was employed by the composers of the Middle Cornish verse corpus for a reason aside from enabling end-rhymes. This matter is addressed in §22.

§18. One also finds fronted direct objects in the Middle Cornish verse corpus which are Aboutness Topics, e.g.:

- (34) PC 468.3107–3108:
 [*lyes torn da*] *y* *'n* *bys* *ma*
 many turn good in DEF world PROX
re wruk *the vohosugyon*
 PERF do.3.SG.PRET for poor.PL
 ‘He did [many good turns] in this world for poor people’.

[_{FrameP} [_{ForceP} [_{AbTopP} *lyes torn da* [_{ContrTopP} [_{FocusP} *y'n* *bys* *ma* [_{FamTopP} [_{FinP} *lyes torn da* [_{FinP} *re wruk*] . . . *the vohosugyon*]]]]]]]]

²⁵ The tokens in our corpus are collected in §57.

In a speech by Joseph at PC 468.3105–3110, similar to (23), *vohosugyon* enables the rhyme, so the expected V2 configuration with a single argument/complement in the left periphery occurs:

- (35)
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p><i>mars yw marow ihesu ker</i></p> <p>3106 <i>neffre the weth vyth ov cher</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><i>[lyes torn da] y'n bys ma</i></p> <p>3108 <i>re wruk the vohosugyon</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><i>sawye pup eghen clefyon</i></p> <p>3110 <i>a vewhe yn bewnans da</i></p> | <p>If dear Jesus is dead,</p> <p>ever the worse shall be my cheer.</p> <p>[Many good turns] in this world</p> <p>he did for poor people.</p> <p>He cured every kind of sick person</p> <p>who lived a good life.</p> |
|--|--|

§19. There are also fronted direct objects that are under Focus, e.g.:

- (36) RD 150.2007–2008:²⁶
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p><i>[ihesu . . .] a lathas</i></p> <p>Jesus AFF kill.3.SG.PRET</p> <p><i>thyn sylwader]</i></p> <p>to.1.PL Saviour</p> <p>'He killed [Jesus, . . . who was our Saviour]'</p> | <p><i>[. . . nep o</i></p> <p>REL be.3.SG.IMPF</p> <p><i>thyn sylwader]</i></p> |
|--|---|
- $$[_{\text{FrameP}} [_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{AbTopP}} [_{\text{ContrTopP}} [_{\text{FocP}} \textit{ihesu} \dots [_{\text{FamTopP}} [_{\text{FinP}} \textit{ihestu} [_{\text{Fin}} \textit{a lathas}] \dots \textit{ihestu} \textit{nep o thyn sylwader}]]]]]]]]]$$

This clause occurs in a speech by the Emperor to the Jailer in which the former reveals to the latter that Pilate condemned Jesus to death and instructs him to put Pilate in prison. Both lines enable a required rhyme, so the expected V2 configuration with a single argument/complement in the left periphery occurs:

- (37) RD 150.2001–2008:
- | | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>an keth guas ma gorreugh why</i></p> <p>2002 <i>yn drok pryson the peddry</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><i>golow na wella deffry</i></p> <p>2004 <i>ef yv huder</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><i>an haccre mernans a vo</i></p> <p>2006 <i>me a vyn ordyne thotho</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><i>[ihesu . . .] a lathas [. . . nep o</i></p> <p>2008 <i>thyn sylwader]</i></p> | <p>Put this same fellow</p> <p>into a foul prison to rot</p> <p>that he may not see light, indeed;</p> <p>he is a sorcerer.</p> <p>The cruelest death there is</p> <p>I shall ordain for him.</p> <p>He slew Jesus, who was</p> <p>our Saviour.</p> |
|---|---|

§20. There are also numerous tokens of clauses in which a full non-adjunct XP is drawn into the left periphery to satisfy the Left Edge requirement and then further into the left periphery to be encoded as an Aboutness Topic or as under Focus, but require

²⁶Fronted discontinuous XPs are not uncommon in the Middle Cornish verse corpus. See §35 for more on discontinuous XPs in the MPVAC.

that the composer employ the MPVAC in order to enable the required end-rhyme. A token that encodes Aboutness Topic is:

- (38) BK 308.3105–3108:
 [an lahys . . .] te a lel *syns*
 DEF law.PL 2.SG AFF loyal uphold.3.SG.PRES
 [. . . ha gvyer the ol the wostoyth
 & right for all 2.SG.POSS subjects
 gvyryw eglos myns del *ens*²⁷
 right.PL church as-many as be.3.PL.PRES
 ha statys] kepar ha *kyns*
 & estate.PL as before
 ‘You shall faithfully uphold [the laws . . . and right for all your subjects, the rights of the church, as many as they are, and the estates] as before’.

In this clause, had the composer not substituted *te a lel syns* for a *lel synsyth* via poetic overdetermination, the required end-rhyme in *-yns* would not have been enabled.

§21. A token in which the fronted full non-adjunct XP encodes Focus is:

- (39) GB 198.2465–2466:
does ny vydnas an vrane vras
 come.VN NEG want.3.SG.PRET DEF raven
 [neb caryn] *hy a gafas*
 some carrion 3.SG.F AFF find.3.SG.PRET
 ‘The raven did not want to come; it found [some carrion]’.

Once again, we see that had the composer not substituted *hy a gafas* for a *gafas hy* via poetic overdetermination, the required rhyme in *-as* would not have been enabled.

§22. The employment of the MPVAC in verse lines such as in (32) results in the introduction of a stressed pronoun. This recalls the use of overt subject pronouns in null-subject languages, which typically indicates switch reference, i.e., a change in subject, or contrastive focus, as, for example, in Spanish (Zagona 2002: 25). An inspection of the passages in which our 20 tokens occur indicates that the MPVAC can function in the same way.²⁸ The tokens in (70b, d–i, m–n, & p–t) are clear examples of switch reference, while the tokens in (70a, c, j–l, & o) are plausibly interpreted as examples of contrastive focus.²⁹ For example, the clause in (32) is the first line in a speech by the Second Execu-

²⁷ N. B. that *ens* rhymes with *syns* and *kyns*. It likely was written as <yns> at the time of the composition of *Bewnans Ke*, but orthographic practice had changed by the time that the manuscript was copied. The variation between orthographic <e> and <y> is common in Middle Cornish texts, e.g., *syns* and *kyns* are also attested as *sens* (e.g., CE 159.35) and *kens* (e.g., PA 76 §254.2^b = 2030), respectively.

²⁸ These include the five tokens of the MPVAC in *Beunans Meriasek* that George 1991: 216 notes ‘are [not] dependent on the rhyme’. On this basis, he regards it as a construction generated by the grammar, and, thus, an innovation of Middle Cornish (George 1990: 229–230 & 239–240).

²⁹ We note that the clause in (70a) is potentially corrupt.

tioner and, thus, represents a switch in reference, while the line in (40), which occurs in the speech by King David in (41), we believe is plausibly interpreted as under focus:

- (40) OM 154.2050:
 [powes] my a vyn powes defry
 rest.VN 1.SG AFF want.3.SG.PRES indeed
 ‘Indeed, I shall [rest].’
- (41)
- | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|--|
| 2042 <i>botler my a worhenmyn</i>
<i>ha'th cowyth guytheugh why y</i> | <i>ru'm fey hon yv cusyl fyn</i> | On my faith, that is fine advice:
Butler, I command you
and your companion, that you
guard them |
| 2044 <i>ma na vons yn nep maner</i>
<i>remmvys the gen tyller</i> | | that they not be, in any manner,
removed to another place |
| 2046 <i>war beyn tenne ha cregy</i> | | on pain of drawing and hanging. |
| 2048 <i>benytha kyns ys dybry</i>
<i>squyth of dre ver lafurye</i> | <i>Rag my a vyn pols cuske</i> | For I will sleep a little
ever before eating;
I am tired from much work. |
| 2050 <i>powes my a vyn defry</i> | | Indeed, I will rest. |

Our preliminary assessment is that the MPVAC, aside from being employed to enable a rhyme, could also be employed to indicate switch reference or contrastive focus.

Structures with the MPVAC

§23. We have examined the entirety of the Middle Cornish corpus with the exception of the *Tregear homilies* and *Sacrament an alter*. The *Tregear homilies* (ca. 1558) are a prose translation of Edmund Bonner’s *A profitable and necessary doctrine, with certayne homelyes adioyned therevnto* (1555), which we find to be poor, overly hasty, and unpolished, and which tend to preserve the clausal configurations of the English exemplar to the extent possible (Eska & Bruch 2020: 328–329 & 335–337).³⁰

We regard *Sacrament an alter*, a patristic catena translated by Thomas Stephyn from the 1576 edition of John Foxe’s *Actes and monuments* (Frost 2019: 3), as a text which avoids some of Tregear’s extensive use of English word order and lexis, as well as his frequent editorial additions and comments. Despite this, it is perhaps even more problematic as a source of information about Cornish syntax precisely because it is a more accurate—and, therefore, at times, a more literal, word-for-word or phrase-for-phrase—translation of an English text. One remarkable feature of Stephyn’s text is his frequent

³⁰ Only after we had completed our work did we find that Chaudhri 2000: 7–13 & 43–44 had come to similar conclusions. This opinion is not shared by all scholars: Williams 2011: 336 finds Tregear’s text to be written ‘in fairly colloquial prose’ and describes its morphology and syntax as ‘perfect’ (2011: 338).

retention of English clausal configuration in sentences with 3. sg. pres. *ema* ‘is’. This verb is unusual in Cornish in that it typically precedes its subject, but in several clauses, Stephyn places *ema* in second position after the subject, e.g., *Chrisostom ema o leverall, in e lyver 3 ha’n 3 chapter, de dignitate Sacerdotii* for ‘Chrysostom says, in his . . .’ (Frost 2019: 90 f. 60^r 12–13), translating ‘Chrysostome in his booke *de dignitate Sacerdotij lib. 3. cap. 3. sayth*’ from Foxe (Frost 2019: 91).

The texts that we have examined are:³¹

- (42) a. The *Charter endorsement* (second half of the fourteenth century), a poem of 36 or 41 lines offering marriage advice.³²
 b. *Pascon agan Arluth* (ca. 1400), a poem of 2,074 lines.
 c. The three verse mystery plays of the Ordinalia cycle (ca. 1400), *Origo mundi* (2,894 lines numbered OM 1–2,846), *Passio Christi* (3,316 lines numbered PC 1–3,242), and *Resurrexio Domini* (2,714 lines numbered RD 1–2,646).
 d. The two saints’ live in verse play form, *Bewnans Ke* (second half of the fifteenth century; 3,306 remaining lines) and *Beunans Meriasek* (manuscript dated to 1504; 4,572 lines).
 e. *Gwreans an bys* (manuscript dated to 1611, but the text likely represents a copy of older material, including over 100 lines that date back to the early fifteenth century or earlier, as they also occur in *Origo mundi*), a verse play of 2,553 lines.

§24. It is important to take note of the types of clauses that we count. But we first illustrate the types of clauses that we do not count as having two arguments/complements in the left periphery of the clause.

What we do not count

§25. We do not count clauses with a vocative DP in the left periphery, since we follow Slocum 2019 in the view that they are base-generated in SpecAddrP, which she places above FocP and below AbTopP,³³ e.g.:

³¹ Line number counts are after Bruch 2005: 464.

³² E.g., 36 lines according to Toorians 1991, 41 lines according to Williams, Everson, & Kent 2020: 156–159.

³³ Slocum’s view accounts for the fact that vocatives can occur in medial position in the clause, e.g.:

- (c) PC 230.113–114:

<i>ol</i>	<i>del</i>	<i>vynny</i>	[<i>arluth</i>	<i>ker</i>]		
all	a	wish.2.SG.PRES.SUBJ	lord	dear		
	<i>my</i>	<i>wra</i>	<i>yn</i>	<i>pup</i>	<i>tyller</i>	
	1.SG	AFF	do.3.SG.PRES	in	every	place

 ‘All as you wish, [dear Lord], I will do in every place’.

(43) OM 88.1157–1158:

[noe] my a worhemmyrn thys
 Noah 1.SG AFF command to.2.SG
 ke yn mes a 'th worhel scon
 go.2.SG.IMPV out of 2.SG.POSS ark immediately
 '[Noah], I command you, go out of your ark immediately!'

[_{FrameP} [_{ForceP} [_{AbTopP} [_{ContrTopP} [_{AddrP} noe [_{FocP} [_{FamTopP} my [_{FinP} my [_{Fin} a worhemmyrn] . . . thys]]]]]]]]]]

§26. We do not count clauses with hanging topics, whether as subjects or direct objects, which are base-generated in SpecFrameP and are resumed in the root clause by a subject personal pronoun or clitic object agreement marker, respectively, e.g.:

(44) a. Subject hanging topic (BK 152.1474–1475):

[penagel a 'm sorr gans cam]_i
 whosoever AFF 1.SG.OBJ anger.3.SG.PRES with wrong
 [ef]_i a 'n gevyth tebal lam
 3.SG.M AFF have.3.SG.FUT evil shock
 '[Whosoever angers me with a wrong]_i, [he]_i will have an evil shock'.

[_{FrameP} penagel a'm sorr gan cam [_{ForceP} [_{AbTopP} [_{ContrTopP} [_{FocP} [_{FamTopP} ef [_{FinP} ef [_{Fin} a'n gevyth] . . . tebal-lam]]]]]]]]]]

b. Direct object hanging topic (BM 136.1397–1398):

[duk kernov hag oll y dus]_i
 Duke Cornwall & all 3.SG.M.POSS people
 in dan ov threys me a [_s]_i glus
 under 1.SG.POSS foot.PL 1.SG AFF 3.PL.OBJ crush.3.SG.PRES
 '[The Duke of Cornwall and all his people]_i, I shall crush [them]_i under my feet'.

[_{FrameP} duk kernov hag oll y dus [_{ForceP} [_{AbTopP} [_{ContrTopP} [_{FocP} in dan ov threys [_{FamTopP} me [_{FinP} me [_{Fin} a's glus] . . .]]]]]]]]]]

§27. We do not count temporal or locative scene-setting clauses, which are base-generated in SpecFrameP, e.g.:

(45) RD 140.1847–1848:

[pan thueth yn rak an plosek]
 when come.3.SG.PRET forth DEF dirty-fellow
 ef a geusys lowenek
 3.SG AFF speak.3.SG.PRET cheerful
 '[When the dirty fellow came forth], he spoke cheerfully'.

[_{FrameP} pan thueth yn rak an plosek [_{ForceP} [_{AbTopP} [_{ContrTopP} [_{FocP} [_{FamTopP} ef [_{FinP} ef [_{Fin} a geusys] . . . lowenek]]]]]]]]]]

§28. We do not count adjunct PPs, AdvPs, or clauses, which are base-generated in the left periphery, e.gg.:

(46) a. Adjunct PP (RD 86.1117):

[*gans gu lym*] *y a 'n guanas*
with spear sharp 3.PL AFF 3.SG.M.OBJ pierce.3.SG.PRET
'They pierced him [with a sharp spear].'

[_{FrameP} [_{ForceP} [_{AbTopP} [_{ContrTopP} [_{FocP} *gans gu lym* [_{FamTopP} *y* [_{FinP} *y* [_{Fin} *a'n guanas*] . . .]]]]]]]]

b. Adjunct AdvP (PC 334.1402):

[*yn ta*] *ef re 'n dyndylas*
ADV good 3.SG.M PERF 3.SG.M.OBJ earn.3.SG.PRET
'He has [well] earned it.'

[_{FrameP} [_{ForceP} [_{AbTopP} [_{ContrTopP} [_{FocP} *yn ta* [_{FamTopP} *ef* [_{FinP} *ef* [_{Fin} *re'n dyndylas*] . . .]]]]]]]]

c. Adjunct clause (BK 308.3095–3096):

[*mar ny vethaf cvrvnys*]
if NEG be.1.SG.FUT crown.V-ADJ
in tan por dun te a lysk
in fire very deep 2.SG AFF burn.3.SG.PRES
'[If I shall not be crowned], you shall burn in very deep fire.'

[_{FrameP} [_{ForceP} [_{AbTopP} [_{ContrTopP} [_{FocP} *mar ny vethaf cvrvnys* [_{FamTopP} *te* [_{FinP} *te* [_{Fin} *a lysk*] . . .]]]]]]]]

§29. As is well known, the Middle Cornish verse corpus is heavily strewn with chevilles, stock words or phrases that are inserted into a line in order to enable the required syllable-count or end-rhyme. Many of these are adverb(ial)s, e.gg.:

- (47) a. *eredy* 'indeed' (e.g., BK 62.609)
b. *heb falladow* 'without fail' (e.g., BK 54.550)
c. *heb lettya* 'without delay' (e.g., GB 140.1732)
d. *heb wov* 'without a lie' (e.g., BM 58.1038)
e. *pur theffry* 'very earnestly' (e.g., OM 96.1264)
f. *pur ylyn* 'very fairly' (e.g., BM 102.1808)
g. *scon* 'soon; immediately' (e.g., RD 158.2110)
h. (*yn*) *certain* 'certainly' (e.g., RD 166.2215)

There are, however, two common chevilles that are based upon the verbs *cregy/cresy*/*crysy* 'believe' and *pegy/pesy/pysy* 'pray, entreat, beg', e.gg.:

- (48) a. PC 474.3193–3195:
a thu guyn ov bys neffre O God! Happy (is) my lot for ever
 3194 *the gorf ker galles handle* to be able to touch your dear body,
rag map dev os [me a grys] for you are the Son of God, [I believe].
- b. BK 30.314–315:
 314 *na gows folneth [me a'th pys]* Don't talk folly, [I beg you],
heb bos the well without improving.

In both of these line-final tokens, the cheville is not grammatically necessary. Such tokens we do not count. We do, however, count tokens of these phrases in line-final position when they are fully integrated into the syntax of the clause, e.g.g.:

- (49) a. OM 96.1262–1264:
 1262 *ef yv arluth nef ha'n beys* He is Lord of heaven and earth,
ha henna sur [my a greys] and surely [I believe] that
 1264 *a luen colon pur theffry* with a full heart, very earnestly.
- b. PA §10.1^a-2^b = 73–76:
i vam pan yn drehevys · ha'y vos deuezis ze oys When his mother (had) reared him,
gull penans [ef a pesys] · henna ganso nyn io poys and he had come to age,
 [he prayed] to do penance—
 that was not grievous with him.

What we do count

§30. We count all tokens in which a non-adjunct XP that is not base-generated in the left periphery coöccurs in pre-verbal position with a subject personal pronoun. These include clauses with fronted full object DPs, e.g.g., in (50), but is not limited to them.

- (50) a. BM 232.4004:
 [_{DP} *an dragan*] *me a ra guan*
 DEF dragon 1.SG AFF make.3.SG.PRES weak
 'I shall make [the dragon] weak'.
- b. PA 30 §96.3^{ab} = 765–766:
avel brathken [_{DP} *aga dyns*] · *orto y a theskerny*
 like savage-dog.PL 3.PL.POSStooth.PL at.3.SG.M 3.PL AFF gnash.3.SG.PRES
 'Like savage dogs, they gnashed [their teeth] at him'.

§31. We also count fronted APs, e.g.g.:

- (51) a. OM 204.2702:

[*marrow cowl*] *ty a vyth*
 dead complete 2.SG AFF be.3.SG.FUT
 ‘You shall be [completely dead].’

- b. GB 152.1889:

[*pur lowan*] *me a vea*
 very happy 1.SG AFF be.3.SG.COND
 ‘I would be [very happy].’

§32. We count fronted VPs, which may be composed of a simple verbal noun, a verbal noun with a preceding object agreement clitic, a verbal noun with DP argument, a simple verbal adjective, a verbal adjective with PP complement, or an infinitival construction with complement, e.gg.:

- (52) a. Simple verbal noun (OM 154.2050):

[_{VP} *powes*] *my a vyn* *defry*
 rest.VN 1.SG AFF want.3.SG.PRES indeed
 ‘Indeed, I shall [rest].’

- b. Verbal noun with object agreement clitic (BM 62.1115):

[*ov sywa*] *eff a levays*
 1.SG.OBJ follow.VN 3.SG AFF venture.3.SG.PRES
 ‘He ventures [to follow me].’

- c. Verbal noun with DP argument (BK 92.884):

[*gul negsyow*] *me a gar*
 do.VN errand.PL 1.SG AFF love.3.SG.PRES
 ‘I love [to do errands].’

- d. Simple verbal adjective (PC 352.1644):

ha [*rewardys*] *ty a vyth*
 & reward.V-ADJ 2.SG AFF be.3.SG.FUT
 ‘And you shall be [rewarded].’

- e. Verbal adjective with PP complement (RD 196.2603–2604):

gans gu [*guenys ha marow*
 with spear pierce.V-ADJ & dead
dre an golon] *me a fue*
 through DEF heart 1.SG AFF be.3.SG.PRET
 ‘With a spear, I was [pierced through the heart and (made) dead].’

- f. Infinitival construction with complement (PA 64 §216.2
- ^a
- = 1725):

[*ze veras worth crist*] *y eth*³⁴
 to look.VN on Christ 3.PL go.3.SG.PRET
 ‘They went [to look on Christ].’

³⁴N. B. that the affirm. ptcl. *a* regularly does not appear before certain forms of *mos* ‘go’.

§33. We also count fronted argument clauses (ForceP), e.g.g.:

- (53) a. PA 12 §28.1^{ab} = 217–218:
 [del yrghys ihesus zeze] ·y a rug a zesympys
 as command.3.SG.PRET Jesus to.3.PL 3.PL AFF do.3.SG.PRET immediately
 ‘They did straightaway [as Jesus commanded them]’.
- b. PC 336.1420:
 [y ’n naghén] ef a ’m guarnyas
 AFF 3.SG.M.OBJ deny.1.SG.IMPF.SUBJ 3.SG.M AFF 1.SG.OBJ warn.3.SG.PRET
 ‘He warned me [that I should deny him]’.

§34. We note that the constituents within a fronted VP not infrequently appear in other than their normal sequence, e.g.g.³⁵

- (54) a. BM 64.1143:
 [chapel guthel] me a vyn
 chapel make.VN 1.SG AFF want.3.SG.PRES
 ‘I shall [make a chapel]’
- b. RD 108.1418–1419:
 lemmyn [pur lowenek fest
 now very joyful indeed
 bos] ty a yl
 be.VN 2.SG AFF be-able.3.SG.PRES
 ‘Now you may [be very joyful indeed]’.

§35. We also note that it is possible for only a portion of a fronted XP to appear in pre-verbal position, and hence be discontinuous, e.g.g.:

- (55) a. Discontinuous DP (PA 34 §110.4^{ab} = 879–880):
 y ’n vr na keskeweze . . .] ·y a ve [. . . ha specyall bras]
 in DEF time DIST comrade.PL 3.PL AFF be.3.SG.PRET & special great
 ‘Then they were [comrades . . . and especially great (ones)]’.
- b. Discontinuous VP (OM 74.991–992):
 [aga gora . . .] ty a wra
 3.PL.OBJ put.VN 2.SG AFF do.3.SG.PRES
 [. . . yn the worhel aberveth]
 in 2.SG.POSS ark inside
 ‘You shall [put them . . . inside your ark]’.
- c. Discontinuous argument clause (BM 136.2393–2394):
 [pagya merch es . . .] by my sowle
 lad horse.PL be.2.SG.IMPF by my soul

³⁵ Which normally would be *guthel chapel* in (54a) and *bos pur lowenek fest* in (54b).

me a glowes [. . . in ze pov]
 1.SG AFF hear.3.SG.PRET in 2.SG.POSS country
 ‘I have heard, by my soul, [that you were a stable boy . . . in your country].’

We regard such tokens, 44 of which occur in our corpus, as a type of synecdoche in which the fronted portion of the XP serves to provide a pragmatic reading for the entire XP.

§36. In (55a), *keskeweze* ‘comrades’ is a Familiar Topic that resumes Herod and Pilate from earlier in the stanza, and the discontinuity enables two end-rhymes:

- (56) PA 24 §110.1^a–4^b = 873–880:
the herodes y thesa · pur wyr worth pylat sor bras Herod had right truly anger against
y welas ef ny gara · na boys yn y gowežas Pilate; he did not love to see him, nor
zoʒo ihesus ʒ’y thampnye · pylat bys pan danvonas to be in his company, until Pilate sent
y’n vr na [keskeweze . . .] · y a ve [. . . ha specyall bras] Jesus to him to condemn him—then
 they were [comrades . . . and especially great (ones)].

§37. In (55b), *aga* ‘them’, construed with *gora* ‘put’, is a Familiar Topic that resumes *bub eghen a kunda* ‘every sort of species’ two lines previously, hence the pre-verbal position of *aga gora*, while enabling the rhyme in *-eth*:

- (57) OM 74.989–992:
a bub eghen a kunda Of every sort of species,
 990 *gorow ha benow ynweth* male and female also,
[aga gora . . .] ty a wra you shall [put them . . .
 992 *[. . . yn the worhel aberveth]* inside your ark].

§38. In (55c), *pagya mergh es* ‘you were a stable boy’ is an argument clause under Focus that follows a string of abusive statements that the Duke makes to Teudar, while the discontinuity enables the rhyme in *-ov*:

- (58) BM 136.2387–2394:
ny seff henna y’th galloys That does not stand in your power,
 2388 *ty falge ky omschumunys* you false, excommunicated hound!
kynse me a scoyl the goys Sooner shall I spill your blood,
 2390 *ha ty a veth devenys* and you shall be minced
avel losov like herbs,
 2392 *ru’m ena the guthel covle* by my soul, to make broth.
[pagya mergh es . . .] by my sowle [You were a stable boy . . .], by my soul,
 2394 *me a glowes [. . . in ze pov]* I have heard, [... in your country].

The matter of trivalent verbs

§39. There are a number of clauses with the trivalent verbs *keusel* ‘speak, talk’, *daryvas* ‘report, tell’, *dry* ‘bring’, *delyffre* ‘deliver’, *gorre* ‘put’, *grontya* ‘grant’, *kemynna* ‘commend’, *leverel* ‘say, tell’, *offrynne* ‘offer’, *ry* ‘give’, and *settye* ‘set’, among others, in which the indirect object is also an argument, in our corpus, so we look at whether any tokens of the MPVAC occur in which the indirect object alone cooccurs in the left periphery with a personal pronominal subject. In fact, there is but a single clear such token,³⁶ viz.:

- (59) OM 20.265:
 [thymmo vy] wy a ros gvrek
 to.1.SG 1.SG 2.PL AFF give.3.SG.PRET wife
 ‘You gave a wife [to me].’

§40. There are somewhat more tokens, however, in which both the direct object and indirect object, in either order, cooccur with a personal pronominal subject in the left periphery, e.g.:

- (60) a. PC 312.1150–1151:
 [the'th scoform] wharre [yehes]
 to.2.SG.POSS ear soon health
 sur me a re
 surely 1.SG AFF give.3.SG.PRES
 ‘I shall give, surely, [healing] [to your ear] soon’.
- b. PA 36 §117.2^{ab} = 931–932:
 rag [ihesus crist] [ze'n mernans] ·y a vynne porrys dry
 for Jesus Christ to DEF death 3.PL AFF want.3.SG.IMPF of-necessity bring.VN
 ‘For they would, of necessity, bring [Jesus Christ] [to death].’

The relative ordering of direct object and indirect object in these poetic lines appears to be a matter of enabling an end-rhyme. In (60a), *yehes* ‘health’ rhymes with *gockyes* ‘fools’ in the previous line, while in (60b), *mernans* ‘death’ rhymes with *setsans* ‘they set’ two lines previously—it being virtually impossible to make a rhyme with *crist* in Middle Cornish.

³⁶ We do not count BK 64.627–628 because the fronted indirect object moves as part of the VP:

- (d) ha [ry theso . . .] me a ra
 & give.VN to.2.SG 1.SG AFF do.3.SG.PRES
 [. . . the vnadou]
 2.SG.POSS wish.PL
 ‘And I shall [grant you] your wishes’.

Counts of the MPVAC across texts

§41. The MPVAC is not uncommon. It is attested in every Middle Cornish text, there being an attestation even in the 36/41 lines of the *Charter endorsement*. In Table 1, we count the tokens that occur across texts.

Table 1.

	DP	AP	PP	VP	FORCEP
CE	1	0	0	0	0
PA	30	1	0	8	3
OM	21	4	1	22	3
PC	21	0	0	21	4
RD	29	0	0	16	1
BK	15	1	0	12	0
BM	42	0	0	33	1
GB	21	4	0	13	0
Total	180	10	1	125	12

In the 21,465/21,470 lines of verse in our corpus, we find 328 tokens of the MPVAC, plus the single token in which the subject personal pronoun precedes its full direct object DP (see §43).

Some conclusions

§42. It is clear that the need to enable the syllable-count or an end-rhyme often motivated the use of the MPVAC in place of a conjugated verb. The 328 clausal tokens in which a full non-adjunct XP and a subject personal pronoun coöccur in our corpus are composed of 475 lines of text. Of these, 239 lines—50.3 per cent—end in the MPVAC. Among these, there are 61 which end in the auxiliary verb (*w*)*ra* ‘does’, 41 in the auxiliary verb *vyn* ‘wants’, 24 in 3. sg. pret. *-as*, and 19 in *fyth/vyth/byth* ‘be’, over 60 per cent of the total. This percentage suggests that the composers of the Middle Cornish verse texts employed the MPVAC as a method to substitute a 3. sg. verb that is easy to rhyme for a clitic subject personal pronoun or conjugated verb in order to help enable an end-rhyme. This view is supported by the 44 discontinuous tokens that are employed for precisely this purpose, as well. It is confirmed by the 11 (or possibly 14) tokens in which the fronted XP would have provided the required end-rhyme had it remained in its base-generated, clause-final position, but was drawn into the left periphery to satisfy the Left Edge requirement, and the 20 or more tokens in which the fronted XP

was not base-generated in line-final position and clearly was not displaced to enable an end-rhyme, but, instead, indicated switch reference or contrastive focus.

The single token of subject personal pronoun + full non-adjunct DP

§43. The only exception to the consistent relative ordering of the subject personal pronoun and full non-adjunct XP among the 329 tokens in our corpus occurs at BM 264.4532–4533:

- (61) *ha [me] [an benediccon]*
 & 1.SG DEF benediction
a ra oma pur dyson
 AFF do.3.SG.PRES here very immediately
 ‘And here I shall make the benediction forthwith’.

This clause is preceded by speeches by the Naked Man, at BM 262.4517–4522, and the Cripple, at BM 262.4523–4528, in which they explain that Meriasek’s grave is ready for interment. The Bishop of Cornwall then states:

- (62) BM 262.4529–4531:
both du nynsus offendia God’s will is not to be resisted.
 4530 *an corff i’n beth y wora* Put the body in the grave
gruegh lemen in hanov du now in God’s name.

At this point, the clause in (61) occurs. We find a switch in reference, but the MPVAC does not occur. A reviewer suggests that we should, indeed, expect to find the MPVAC, with *oma* ‘here’, as a scene-setting locatival adverb, high in the left periphery:

- (63) *oma an benediccon*
me a ra pur dyson

We agree, but this is not possible, however, because *me a ra pur dyson* is a hexasyllabic line and, therefore, deficient. Under the assumption that the composer intended to produce a clause of this structure, but was unable, it seems that he displaced *me* ‘I’ and *oma* ‘here’ via poetic overdetermination and introduced a connective in order to get two heptasyllabic lines. Note well, furthermore, that both *an benediccon* and *oma pur dyson* are pentasyllabic sequences and provide a rhyme in *-on*, hence the fact that we do not find *ha me oma pur dyson / a ra an benediccon* indicates that *an benediccon* was drawn into the left periphery to satisfy the Left Edge requirement.

Recapitulation

§44. In this paper, we demonstrate that, though only a single argument should occur in the left periphery of a V2 language such as Middle Cornish, there are 329 clauses in the Middle Cornish verse corpus in which a full object DP, complement AP, VP, or argument clause (ForceP) cooccurs in it with a subject personal pronoun. In all but one token, the XP precedes the subject personal pronoun, which appears immediately before the affirmative particle + 3. sg. verb.

We argue that, in the large majority of these clauses, it is the XP which is drawn into the left periphery in order to satisfy the Left Edge requirement. The replacement of the sequence of affirmative particle + conjugated verb with the sequence of subject personal pronoun + affirmative particle + 3. singular verb via poetic overdetermination often is employed to enable the required syllable-count or end-rhyme, but also occurs to indicate that the subject personal pronoun represents a switch in reference or is under focus. Our analysis is confirmed by the 11 (or possibly 14) tokens in which the XP moves into the left periphery though it would have provided the required end-rhyme had it remained in its base-generated, clause-final position, as well as by the 20 or more tokens in which the XP moves from its non-line-final, base-generated position into the left periphery, and so is not displaced for a metrical reason.

The one exception to the relative sequencing of the XP and the subject personal pronoun appears to be an instance in which the employment of the MPVAC did not allow the composer to make two heptasyllabic lines, which resulted in his then having to resort to displacement of two words and the addition of another in order to create acceptable verse lines.

Coda. What does Middle Breton do?

§45. Given the close relationship between Middle Cornish and Middle Breton, one naturally asks whether the MPVAC is common in the latter, as well. We have not canvassed the entire Middle Breton corpus, but have examined the following texts:³⁷

- (64)
- a. The saint's life *Buhez Santez Nonn* (ca. late fifteenth century) in verse play form, 1,956 remaining lines in the edition of Ernault 1887b.
 - b. The saint's life *Buhez an itron Sanctes Cahell* (one existing copy printed in 1576), a prose text of 319 lines in the edition of Ernault 1887a.
 - c. The saint's life *Buhez Sant Gwenôlé* (eighteenth-century copy possibly made after an edition of 1580), 1,278 lines in the edition of Widmer & Jørgensen 2011.

³⁷ Dates are given after Schrijver 2011: 360–364.

- d. The three poems *Tremenuan an ytron guerches Maria* (760 lines), *Pemzecz leuenez Maria* (144 lines), and *Buhez mab den* (362 lines) (earliest versions printed in 1530) in the edition of Hemon 1962.

It is no surprise that the MPVAC does not occur in the prose *Buhez an itron Sanctes Cahell*,³⁸ but it occurs only twice in the over 4,000 lines in the verse texts, both in *Buhez Santez Nonn*, both tokens being VPs:

- (65) a. BSN 244.64:
 [monet] a pret me a preder
 go.VN immediately 1.SG AFF intend.3.SG.PRES
 ‘I intend to go straightaway’.
- b. BSN 256.244:
 [lesel an bet] me a preder
 leave.VN DEF world 1.SG AFF intend.3.SG.PRES
 ‘I intend to leave the world’.

Both tokens enable a rhyme in *-er*.³⁹ Our sample, of course, is not probative, but it does suggest the the MPVAC was not a common remedy employed by Middle Breton composers in order to write a metrically correct line of verse.

Appendix 1. Two problematic clauses

§46. At OM 46.602, we find the following line:

- (66) rag the verkye my a gura
 for 2.SG.POSS mark 1.SG AFF do.3.SG.PRES

It is defective in that the affirmative particle should trigger lenition upon the inflected verb. This appears to be a case in which the scribe failed to insert a suspension mark to indicate the presence of a nasal consonant. This line should be amended to *rag the verkye my a'n gura* ‘For [your marking], I shall do [it]’. It, therefore, includes a hanging topic, and is not included in our corpus.

§47. At GB 32.386–387, we find the following couplet:

- (67) ahanas tenaf ason
 from.2.SG take.1.SG.PRES rib
 me a vyn a 'th tenewan
 1.SG AFF want.3.SG.PRES from 2.SG.POSS side

³⁸ A small sample of prose, to be sure, as a reviewer points out.

³⁹ We are grateful to a reviewer for pointing out to us that *a pret* and *bet* also provide a required internal rhyme.

This clause is obviously defective, since it includes both the inflected auxiliary verb *vyn* ‘wants’ and conjugated 1. sg. pres. *tenaf* ‘I take’. Since *tenaf* is not preceded by an affirmative particle, we presume that it is a hypercorrection for the verbal noun *tema*. Since this solution is uncertain, we do not include this token in our corpus.

Appendix II. Tokens in which an XP moves despite providing a required end-rhyme

§48. We list here the 11 sure and three potential tokens in our corpus of lines in which an XP is fronted from its base-generated, line-final position despite the fact that it would provide the required end-rhyme. These provide evidence that the fronted XPs in the MPVAC were drawn into the left periphery to get a specific pragmatic reading and were not simply displaced for metrical requirements.

(68) a. OM 4.53:

[*gosteyth*] *thymo y a vyth*
‘They shall be [obedient] to me’.

b. OM 10.137:

ol thym [gustyth] y a vyth
‘They shall all be [obedient] to me’.

c. OM 12.143:⁴⁰

[*aga sona*] *ny a wra*
‘We shall [bless them]’.

d. OM 74.991–992:⁴⁰

[*aga gora . . .*] *ty a wra*
[. . . *yn the worhel aberveth*]
‘You shall [put them . . . inside your ark]’.

e. PC 298.983:

hep dout [henna] my a wra
‘Without a doubt, I shall do [that]’

f. PC 412.2380:

[*henna*] *yn scon ny a wra*
dre’n laha a’n pref yn ta
‘We shall presently do [that], through the law that proves it well.’

g. RD 150.2009:

arluth [henna] me a wra
‘Lord, I will do [that]’.

h. BM 56.978:

arluth [henna] ny a ra
‘Lord, we shall do [that]’.

⁴⁰ See §§49–50 for commentary on the phonology of the final vowel of the fronted verbal noun in this potential token.

- i. BM 142.2475:
 [cryst ha ty] me a thefy
 ‘I defy [Christ and you]’.
- j. BM 232.4004:⁴¹
 [an dragan] me a ra guan
 ‘I shall make [the dragon] weak’.
- k. GB 4.42:⁴²
 [owe gwerthya] oll why a wra
 ‘You shall all [worship me]’.
- l. GB 34.415:⁴³
 [aga sona] me a wra
 ‘I shall [bless them]’.
- m. GB 96.1144–1145:
 ny won arluth dyhogall
 [henna] te a wore yn ta
 ‘I do not know, Lord, certainly; you know [that] well’.
- n. GB 182.2258:⁴⁴
 [rowmys] y a vythe henwys
 ‘They shall be called [rooms]’.

Appendix III. Commentary on some forms in Appendix II

§49. Examples (68c–d) each involve a fronted verbal noun with proclitic object agreement marker that functions as the complement of an auxiliary verb, which is followed in the clause by the MPVAC. In both cases, the verbal noun—*sona* ‘bless’ and *gora* ‘put’—is written with a final -⟨a⟩, which matches the ending of the line-final 3. sg. aux. vb. *wra* ‘does’. This suggests that the movement of the verbal noun to the front of the clause was not necessary to enable end-rhyme with other lines in the stanza, since the verbal noun and the auxiliary verb both end in orthographic -⟨a⟩. However, while the final -⟨a⟩ of *wra* remains stable throughout the Middle and Late Cornish periods and probably represents a stressed -[a:], the unstressed final vowel of the verbal nouns underwent a shift in orthography between the date of the earliest texts—including the *Ordinalia*, of which *Origo mundi* forms a part—and the sixteenth-century manuscripts of *Beunans Meriasek* and *Bewnans Ke*—as well as the *Tregear homilies* and *Sacrament an alter*—, which almost certainly corresponds to a phonological change. In early Middle Cornish, this verbal noun suffix is most often spelt -⟨e⟩, and is commonly rhymed with other verbal nouns, 3. singular imperfect and conditional verbal forms, and 3. plural

⁴¹ See §§52–54 for commentary on the phonology of the vowel of the final syllable of the fronted noun in this token.

⁴² See §55 for commentary on the phonology of the final vowel of the fronted verbal noun in this token.

⁴³ See §51 for commentary on the phonology of the vowel of the final syllable of the fronted verbal noun in this token.

⁴⁴ See §56 for commentary on the phonology of the vowel of the final syllable of the fronted noun in this token.

forms of conjugated prepositions, all of which, likewise, end in an unstressed -<e>. While there are tokens of such verbal nouns being written with -<a> and/or being rhymed with stressed -[a:] in *Origo mundi*, this is not the usual practice. For example, at OM 90.1189–1194, an AABAAB stanza in which the A lines end in -<a>—representing stressed -[a:] or unstressed -[a]—and the B lines end in -<e>:

(69) SHEM

	<i>colom genef vy yma</i>	I have a dove.
1190	<i>yn onour dev my a wra</i>	In honour of God, I shall
	<i>war an alter hy gorre</i>	place it on the altar.

HIS WIFE

1192	<i>ffesont onan fat ha da</i>	A pheasant, a fat and good one,
	<i>the'n tas dev an nef quella</i>	to the excellent Father God of heaven,
1194	<i>my a offryn hep lettye</i>	I shall offer, without delay.

Note that the verbal noun *gorre* 'put' in l. 1191 is the same word that appears as *gora* in (68d), but here it is rhymed with another form in unstressed -<e>, *lettye* 'delay'. The A rhymes, which, due to the nature of the stanza form, are likely intended to feature a contrasting set of rhymes, are *yma* 'is', *wra* 'does', and *da* 'good', all of which end in stressed -[a:], and *quella* 'best', which ends in unstressed -[a]; see Dunbar & George 1997: 95–100 for further discussion of the principle that such cases represent intentional 'contrasts' in rhyme.

§50. By the time of Beunans Meriasek, verbal nouns such as *sona* and *gor(r)a* are frequently written with final -<a>, as are 3. singular imperfects and conditionals and 3. plural conjugated prepositions, and can be rhymed freely with words that in earlier Middle Cornish are spelt with final -<a>, such as *yma* 'is', *wra* 'does', and *da* 'good'. This likely represents the result of a sound change, possibly -[ɛ] > -[a], as well as shifting perceptions of the 'rules' governing rhyme on the part of Cornish poets.⁴⁵ While the change in pronunciation from -[ɛ] > -[ə] may have already been in progress at the time that *Origo mundi* was written, there is, however, ample evidence from this text and other early Middle Cornish works such as *Pascon agan Arluth*, *Passio Christi*, and *Resurrexio Domini* that shows that verbal nouns such as *sona* 'bless' and *gora/gorre* 'put' are more likely to be rhymed with words in -<e> than with words such as *wra* 'does' or *henna* 'that' that end in stressed -[a:] or unstressed -[a], which suggests that, despite orthographic <sona> at OM 12.143 and <gora> at OM 74.991, these verbal nouns may have been displaced partly to enable an end-rhyme—or, at least, to enable a 'better' or 'closer' end-rhyme—by ending the line with *wra*. The rhymes for (c) are *da* 'good', *bowesva* 'resting (place)', and *henna* 'that' at OM 10.141–12.147, all of which would have ended in stressed -[a:] or unstressed -[a]; the rhymes for (d) are *y'n bys ma* 'in this world' at OM 74.993 and *maga ta* 'as well' at OM 74.995, with unstressed -[a] and stressed -[a:], respectively, along with *kunda* 'kind, variety' at OM 74.989, which is a loanword from ME *kinde* and might have ended in unstressed -[a], -[ə], or (perhaps) -[ɛ]; it is spelt *kunda* and rhymed with *an welen ma* 'this rod' at OM 110.1459, which suggests -[a], but it appears as orthographic <kynde> at OM 74.979 between two other lines spelt with final -<e>—N. B. the different vowel in the first syllable—and <gvnde> at OM 146.1950.

§51. The token in (68l) continues OM 12.143 in (68c). As has been noted by many previous scholars, *Gwreans an bys* contains over 100 lines of verse which duplicate lines in *Origo mundi*, sug-

⁴⁵ Bruch intends to publish on this topic in the near future.

gesting that the composer of *Gwreans an bys* intentionally incorporated portions of the older text, likely reconstructing them from memory rather than copying them from a manuscript, as first proposed by Neuss 1983: xxxvii–xliv. As noted in §§49–50, the clause in (68c) may be problematic as a token of XP movement into the left periphery to satisfy the Left Edge requirement and not unmotivated by considerations of rhyme. It must be noted, however, that changes in phonology, orthography, and versification between the dates of *Origo mundi* and *Gwreans an bys* render (68l) a valid token of XP movement to satisfy the Edge Feature requirement, since verbal nouns were commonly spelt with final <a> in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and could be freely rhymed with stressed or unstressed (historical) /a/ in words such as *wra* ‘does’.

§52. In (68j), *an dragan* ‘the dragon’ shares the same orthographic ending as line-final *guan* ‘weak’, but, as with (68c–d), the shared orthography may well mask a significant difference in the phonology of the final-syllable vowels in *dragan* and *guan*. The word for ‘dragon’, attested numerous times in *Beunans Meriasek*, is, of course, borrowed from Engl. *dragon*, usually so spelt, including four tokens in which it appears in line-final position and, thus, participates in the end-rhyme scheme of the stanza. At BM 232.3997 and 234.4033, *dragan* is rhymed with *dyson* ‘forthwith’ at BM 232.3998 and 234.4036; at BM 238.4101, *dragan* is rhymed with *colon* ‘heart’ and *on* ‘lamb’ at BM 238.4102 and 238.4104, respectively. These tokens, as well as the prevalence of the form *dragan* elsewhere in the text, suggest that the final vowel was a rounded back vowel such as [ɔ]. However, at BM 236.4055, the form *dragan* is rhymed with *in ban* ‘above’ and *certain* ‘certainly’ at BM 236.4049 and BM 236.4050, respectively, the former of which is likely to have contained a stressed [-a]-, even if the latter had already shifted from [-a]- to [-ə]- due to the neutralisation of many unstressed vowels in final syllables that took place by the end of the fifteenth century and is alluded to in §50.

§53. Orthographic <dragan> is also attested at BM 240.4141, where it is rhymed with *avan* ‘above’ at BM 240.4137, *dregan* ‘harm’ at BM 240.4139, and *leman* ‘now’ at BM 240.4143. The end-rhyme scheme of this stanza appears to be continued in the following quatrain, which provides two more possible rhymes: *guan* ‘weak’ at BM 240.4145 and *belan* ‘villain’ at BM 240.4147. The evidence suggests that orthographic <dragan> has been used to provide an eye-rhyme with other words in the two stanzas, since they likely contained different vowels even at the time that *Beunans Meriasek* was written, and certainly derive from older forms that would have had contrasting rhymes. Even at the date of *Beunans Meriasek*, it is likely that the stressed vowels of *avan* and *guan* would have been realized as [-a]-, while the vowels of the other forms likely represented unstressed [-ə]- or [-ɪ]-. *Belan*, an English loanword with false delentation of /v/- to /b/-, is typically spelt *bylen* or *belen* in early Middle Cornish texts such as *Pascon agan Arluth*, *Origo mundi*, and *Passio Christi* and often rhymed with words containing <e> in the final syllable—including stressed [-e:]—, but can be written with <a> in *Beunans Meriasek* and *Gwreans an bys*, suggesting that it may have undergone a shift from [ɛ] > [ə] by the time of *Beunans Meriasek*, similar to the shift discussed in §50 with the verbal noun ending <e> > <a>. *Dregan* and *leman* seem both to have originally ended in <yn> (presumably [-ɪn]). Orthographic <dregyn> ‘harm’ is attested at CE 159.39 and at BM 62.1110 and 64.1124, the latter two tokens being rhymed with *me a worhem(m)yn* ‘I command’, suggesting that [-ɪn] was still its usual pronunciation. The word for ‘now’ is usually written as *lemmyn/lemyn/lymmyn* in other Middle Cornish texts, which also suggests that it could be pronounced with final [-ɪn] until the late sixteenth century or even into the early seventeenth century. As will be discussed by Bruch in a future publication, stanzas that employ orthographic changes to create eye-rhymes between unstressed vowels in final syllables—[-ɪ]- or [-ə]-, the latter often arising through the neutralisation of earlier unstressed [-ɛ]-, [-a]-, or [-ɔ]—and phonologically dissimilar stressed vowels such as

-[a]- are quite common in *Beunans Meriasek*, and reflect changes in the prosody and phonology of Cornish at or shortly before the time that *Beunans Meriasek* was composed.

§54. In (68j), then, while *an dragan* would likely not have been considered a ‘natural’ rhyme for *guan* ‘weak’ or *avan* ‘above’, the composer of *Beunans Meriasek* rhymes *dragon* or *dragan* with both *guan* and *avan* elsewhere in the play, which suggests that he would not have considered it necessary to displace the DP *an dragan* to the beginning of the line via poetic overdetermination simply to enable the end-rhyme.

§55. With regard to (68k), the rhymes in *Gwreans an bys* make it clear that by the time the play was written (or, to be more precise, at the time that the majority of the play was written, excluding the lines that are derived from *Origo mundi* or another late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century source), historical final unstressed *-e* and *-o* had fallen together with historical final unstressed *-a*, with all three vowels likely representing *-[ə]*. As a result, we consider it appropriate to treat this line as one in which the composer could have chosen to write *oll why a wra owe gwerthya* or *why oll a wra owe gwerthya*, as they would also provide the required rhyme with *nefra* ‘ever’ at the end of l. 43. For further discussion of the neutralisation of unstressed vowels in final syllables and its effect on rhyme in Middle Cornish verse, see Dunbar & George 1997: 97–100 and Bruch 2009: 82–83.

§56. The token in (68n) continues OM 72.952 *romes y a vyth gylwys* ‘they shall be called rooms’; however, orthographic <romes> in *Origo mundi* does not clearly indicate that the final syllable of the word could have been considered a rhyme for the vbl. adj. *gylwys* ‘called.’ Based upon the orthography of GB 182.2258, it is likely that the writer who assembled the text could have considered moving *rowmys* to the end of the line, as both *rowmys* and *henwys* ‘named’ end with final *-<ys>*, which likely contains unstressed *-[i]*. However, it is probable that the line in GB simply preserves the line as attested in *Origo mundi*.

Appendix IV. Tokens in which a full XP is fronted from a non-final base-generated position

§57. We list here the 20 tokens in our corpus of lines in which a full non-adjunct XP is fronted from its non-line-final, base-generated, position.⁴⁶ Since they have not moved into the left periphery in order to enable a rhyme, they provide indisputable evidence that such XPs in the multiple pre-verbal arguments construction were moved to get a specific pragmatic reading.

(70) a. PA 36 §118.2^a = 939:

[*reson[s]*]⁴⁷ *y a rey resons ragthe*

‘They were giving [reasons] for it’.

⁴⁶ We do not here collect cases in which simply reordering two lines would undo the multiple pre-verbal arguments construction. For example, we find the following lines at PC 230.113–114:

(e) [*ol del vynny*] *arluth ker*
my a wra yn pup tyller

[All as you wish], dear Lord,
I shall do, in every place.

The lines could be reordered, thus removing the MPVAC. That the composer choose the attested order suggests that he wished to provide a specific pragmatic reading to *ol del vynny* ‘all as you wish’.

⁴⁷ Plural *-s* is supplied by Stokes 1860–1861: 37.

- b. PA 64 §215.3^b = 1720:
 [grontis] *ef a ve grontis 3030*
 'It was [granted] to him'.
- c. OM 154.2050:
 [powes] *my a vyn powes defry*
 I shall [rest], indeed.
- d. PC 300.993:
 [henna] *my a wra henna wharre*
 'I shall do [that] soon'.
- e. PC 352.1635:
 [henna] *me a wra henna hep let*
 'I shall do [that], without delay'.
- f. PC 386.2067:
 [henna] *me a wra henna ru'm tros*
 'I shall do [that], by my foot!'
- g. PC 434.2695:
 [nep hus] *ef re wruk nep-hus thotho*
 'He has done [some trickery] to him'.
- h. PC 452.2919:
 [henna] *me a wra henna ru'm soul*
 'I shall do [that], by my soul'.
- i. RD 90.1168:
 [henna] *me a leuer henna wheth*
 'I shall say [that] still'.
- j. BK 142.1378:
 [wylcum] *ny a vyth wylcum ena*
 'We shall be [welcome] there'.
- k. BM 102.1807–1808:
ha thyso [age hanov]
me a leuer age-hanov pur ylyn
 'And I shall tell you their names very fairly'.
- l. BM 108.1888–1889:
ha [the borse mes a'th hascra . . .]
me a'm beth the-borse-mes-a'th-hascra ha'th margh uskis
 'And I shall have your purse from out of your bosom, and your swift horse'.
- m. BM 108.1903:
 [pronter] *ef a hevel pronter suyr*
 'He seems (to be) [a priest], surely'.
- n. BM 160.2784:
 [den grascyes] *ef a veth den-grascyes lel*
 'He shall be [a saintly man], truly'.

- o. BM 186.3224–3225:
 [v lon bowyn dufunys]
 y a depse v-lon-bowyn-dufunys in ij deth
 ‘They would eat five minced beef steers in two days’.
- p. BM 232.4004:
 [an dragan] me a ra an dragan guan
 ‘I shall make [the dragon] weak’.
- q. BM 252.4340–4342:
 [the volnogeth]
 par del deleth
 ny a ra the volnogeth snell
 ‘We shall do your will, as is fitting, swiftly’.
- r. BM 262.4515–4516:
 [dadder the lues huny]
 eff a ruk dadder-the-lues-huny ze ihesu gras
 ‘He did good to many a one, thanks (be) to Jesus’.
- s. GB 14.177:
 [morath] why a’s byth morath ragtha
 ‘You shall have [grief] for it’.
- t. GB 96.1145:
 [henna] te a wore henna yn ta
 ‘You know [that] well’.

Appendix v. Corpus of tokens

§58. This appendix gathers all tokens of the multiple pre-verbal arguments construction that we have collected. Tokens are coded for the type of constituent drawn into SpecFinP to satisfy the Edge Feature, which then moves higher into the left periphery to get a specific pragmatic reading:

§59. Charter endorsement (CE)

6.21–22:

my a’d pes werty by3 da
 ag [_{DP} ol ze vo3] hy a wra

I beg you: be good to her and she will do [all your will].

§60. Pascon agan arluth (PA)

6 §10.2^a = 75:

[_{VP} gull penans] ef a pesys

He prayed [to do penance].

12 §28.1^{ab} = 217–218:

[_{ForceF} del yrghys ihesus ze3e] · y a rug a zesympys

They did [as Jesus commanded them] straight away.

14 §36.4^b = 288:[_{DP}y gowsys] *ef a wozye*

He knew [his mind].

16 §45.1^{ab} = 353–354:*ha* [_{DP}'n gwyn esa war en foy] · *ef a rannas yntreza*

And he divided [the wine that was on the table] among them.

16 §47.3^{ab} = 373–374:[_{ForceP} bos iudas . . .] *ef a wozye* · [. . . *pur hager ha molozek*]

He knew [that Judas was . . . very ugly and accursed].

20 §60.4^b = 480:*hag* [_{DP}ol myns vs] *ef a ra*

And he makes [all that there is].

22 §66.1^b–2^b = 521–524:*iudas* [_{VP}ow ry . . .] *te a vyn dre ze vay a reyth mar whek* · [. . . *ze neb a'm torment mar dyn*]

Judas, you shall [give me . . . to (those) who shall torment me so keenly] by your kiss, which you give so sweetly.

30 §95.4^{ab} = 759–760:[_{ForceP} te yv mab du leun a ras] · *yn ges y a leuerys*

In jeer they said, ['you are God's son full of grace'].

30 §96.3^{ab} = 765–766:*avel brathken* [_{DP}aga dyn] · *orto y a theskerny*

Like savage dogs they gnashed [their teeth] at him.

34 §110.4^{ab} = 879–880:*y'n vr na* [_{DP}keskeweze . . .] · *y a ve* [. . . *ha specyall bras*]

Then they were [comrades . . . and especially great (ones)].

36 §117.2^{ab} = 931–932:*rag* [_{DP}ihesus crist] *ze'n mernans* · *y a vynne porrys dry*

For they would of necessity bring [Jesus Christ] to death.

36 §118.2^a = 939:[_{DP}reson[s]]⁴⁸ *y a rey ragthe*

They were giving [reasons] for it.

40 §126.2^{ab} = 1003–1004:*dyllyver zyn ny barabas* · *ha* [_{DP}henna] *ol ny a bys*

Deliver Barabbas to us, and [that] we all pray!

40 §132.4^a = 1055:*ha whath* [_{DP}moy] *wy a glewyth*

And yet [more] shall you hear.

42 §136.3^a = 1085:[_{DP}mur a onour] *te a 'fyth*

You shall have [great honour].

⁴⁸ Plural -s is supplied by Stokes 1860–1861: 37.

44 §143.2^b = 1140:

rag [_{DP} *mab du*] *ef a omwra*

For he makes himself (out to be) [God's son].

46 §147.2^{ab} = 1171–1172:

[_{DP} *ihesus*] *ef a zyswezas · pur evn yn cres yntreze*

He revealed [Jesus] exactly in the middle among them.

48 §156.2^a = 1243:

[_{DP} *kavanskis*] *ef a whelas*

He sought [an evasion].

48 §159.3^{ab} = 1269–1270:

[_{DP} *ij droys ihesus caradow · ha'y ij leyff*] *y a delly*

They pierced [dear Jesus' feet and his hands].

50 §162.1^{ab} = 1289–1290:

oll [_{VP} *monas . . .*] *y a vynne · [. . . bys y'n mont a galvary]*

They all would [go . . . to the Mount of Calvary].

50 §162.3^{ab} 1293–1294:

[_{DP} *an grows*] *i a rug gorre · war scoth ihesus z'y don zy*

They put [the cross] on Jesus' shoulder to bear it thither.

50 §164.4^a = 1311:

[_{VP} *i wortos*] *hy a vynnas*

She wished [to wait for him].

50 §167.4^b = 1336:

[_{VP} *y welas*] *y a vynne*

They wished [to see him].

52 §170.2^{ab} = 1355–1356:

yn ketella [_{DP} *an nanssow*] *· wy a bys rag'as cuthe*

Likewise, you shall pray [for the valleys] to cover you.

54 §177.3^{ab} = 1413–1414:

[_{DP} *vn queth tek*] *hy a drylyas · a dro zo3o desympys*

She wrapt [a fair cloth] around him immediately.

54 §178.1^{ab} = 1417–1418:

[_{DP} *heys crist*] *y a gemeras · a'n neyll lef bys yn y ben*

They took [Christ's length] from one hand to the other.

56 §183.2^{ab} 1459–1460:

[_{DP} *corff ihesus ha'y asely*] *· y ze denna mar velen*

They pulled [Jesus' body and his limbs] so cruelly.

58 §195.2^a = 1555:

[_{DP} *aga fen*] *y a sackye*

They shook [their heads].

60 §198.3^b = 1582:

[_{DP} *iowan ze vab*] *me a wra*

I shall make [John (into) your son].

- 62 §204.4^{ab} = 1631–1632:
 [_{DP}ow eneff] *me a gymyn · arluth yntre ze zewle* 'I commend [my soul], Lord, between your two hands.
- 64 §215.3^b = 1720:
 [_{VP}grontis . . .] *ef a ve [. . . zo3o]* It was [granted . . . to him].
- 64 §216.2^a = 1725:
 [_{VP}ze veras worth crist] *y eth*⁴⁹ They went [to look on Christ].
- 66 §218.3^{ab} = 1743–1744:
yn corf ihesus caradow · [_{DP}en gew lym] ef a bechye He stabbed [the sharp spear] into Jesus' beloved body.
- 68 §229.2^b = 1830:
 [_{DP}dyth vghel] *y a sensy* They held (it to be) [a high day].
- 68 §230.2^{ab} = 1837–1838:
y'n er na yn weth [_{DP}kemeas] · ze iosep y a rontyas Then also they granted [permission] to Joseph.
- 70 §233.4^{ab} = 1865–1866:
hag [_{VP}a heys ze wrowezē] · ynno ef a ve gesys And it was left therein [to lie at length].
- 70 §236.1^{ab} = 1883–1884:
ha [_{DP}spycis leas ehen] · ef a worras yn y veth And he put [many kinds of spices] into his tomb.
- 72 §238.2^{ab} = 1901–1902:
 [_{DP}lauarow tyn hag vghel] · *fest yn foll y a gewsy* They spoke [sharp and loud words] very wildly.
- 74 §251.4^a = 2009:
 [_{DP}both pylat] *y a notyas* They made known [Pilate's will].
- 76 §258.1^b = 2060:
 [_{DP}ihesus crist] *y a welas* They saw [Jesus Christ].
- 78 §259.3^b = 2072:
y'n er na [_{AB}rych] ef a vyth Then he shall be [rich].

§61. Origo mundi (OM)

- 4.53:
 [_{AP}gosteyth] *thymo y a vyth* They shall be [obedient] to me.
- 10.137:
ol thym [_{AP}gustyth] y a vyth They shall all be [obedient] to me.

⁴⁹N. B. that the affirmative particle regularly does not appear before certain forms of *mos* 'go'.

12.143:

[_{VP} *aga sona*] *ny a wra*

We shall [bless them].

20.265:

[_{PP} *thymmo vy*] *why a ros gvrek*

You gave a wife [to me].

22.273–274:

y'th whys [_{VP} *lavur the thybry . . .*]
ty a wra [. . . *bys y'th worfen*]

In your sweat, you shall [labour to
eat, . . . until your end].

22.295–296:

[_{AP} *nefre gustyth*] *th'y gorty*
me a orden bos benen

I ordain woman to be [ever obedient] to her
husband.

28.385–386:

[_{DP} *myns a defynno vn geyth*]
my ha'm gvrek a wra dybry

I and my wife shall eat [all that may grow in it (in)
one day].

32.415–416:

gans kegel a thesemyps
[_{VP} *nethe dyllas*] *my a wra*

With distaff, at once, I shall [spin (yarn for)
clothes].

32.433:

pur wyr [_{VP} *leskys*] *ef a vyth*

Truly, it shall be [burnt].

48.640:

arluth [_{DP} *the voth*] *my a wra*

Lord, I shall do [your will].

52.681–682:

[_{VP} *mos the balas . . .*] *my a vyn*
[. . . *rag sustone beunans thyn*]

I shall [go to dig . . . to sustain our life].

54.731–732:

[_{DP} *dev a'n nef*] *dre y versy*
me a bys d'agan gueres

I pray [the God of heaven], through his mercy, to
help us.

60.790:

hag [_{DP} *ol ken*] *ty a welfyeth*

And you shall see [everything else].

72.952:

[_{DP} *romes*] *y a vyth gylwys*

They shall be called [rooms].

72.961–962:

war tu dylarg [_{DP} *daras yn*]
ty a wra yv port hynwes

On the after side, you shall make [a narrow door]
which is called a port.

72.963:

[_{DP} *tresters*] *dretho ty a pyn*
a drus rag na vo degees

You shall nail [beams] across through it, that it
may not be opened.

74.981: rag [_{DP} lyf bras] my a thoro	For I shall bring [a great flood].
74.991–992: [_{VP} aga gora . . .] ty a wra [. . . yn the worhel aberveth]	You shall [put them . . . inside your ark].
74.993–996: [_{DP} pup maner bos y'n bys ma vs the dybry may telet rag den ha best maga ta] yn the lester ty a 'fet	You shall have [all manner of food in this world that there is, which is fit for man, and beast, as well], in your ship.
78.1034: [_{DP} the arhadow] me a wra	I shall do [your commands].
84.1105: [_{DP} guyr] thym ty a tharyvas	You have told me [truth].
84.1117: [_{VP} hy delyfre] my a wra	I shall [release it].
84.1123–1124: [_{VP} hy kemeres . . .] my a wra [. . . a gy the'n gorhyl toth bras]	I shall [take her . . . inside the ark (with) great speed].
88.1165–1166: [_{DP} the volungeth] yn pup le arluth vhel my a wra	I shall do [your will], high Lord, in every place.
90.1181–1183: [_{DP} dege ol agan ethyn bestes ynweth maga ta] warnythy my a offryn	I shall offer [a tithe of all our birds, beasts also, as well], upon it.
90.1185–1186: [_{VP} bugh offrynne . . .] my a vyn [. . . whare war an alter na]	I shall [offer a cow . . . forthwith upon that altar].
90.1192–1194: [_{DP} ffesont onan fat ha da] the'n tas dev a'n nef guella my a offryn hep lettye	I shall offer [a pheasant, a fat and good one], to the excellent Father God of heaven, without delay.
90.1195: [_{DP} goth dek] scon my a offryn	I shall offer [a fair goose] forthwith.
92.1219: [_{ForceP} na dybreug] my a yrvyr	I command [that you not eat].

94.1257: [_{VP} <i>mos the wonys</i>] <i>my a wra</i>	I shall [go to work].
96.1263: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>sur my a greys</i>	And I surely believe [that].
102.1363–1364: <i>gans ov clethe sur</i> [_{VP} <i>the lathe</i>] <i>scon me a vyn</i>	With my sword, soon I shall surely [kill you].
110.1472: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>grath</i>] <i>thyso my a re</i>	And I give [grace] to you.
114.1521: <i>yn scon</i> [_{VP} <i>dyswreys</i>] <i>ef a vyth</i>	Soon he shall be [destroyed].
132.1750–1752: [_{VP} <i>aga malye . . .</i>] <i>my a vyn</i> [. . . <i>gans mur a reoute bras</i> <i>yn cendel hag yn ourlyn</i>]	I shall [wrap them . . . with very great care, in fine linen and in silk].
142.1877: <i>wheth ol</i> [_{VP} <i>bywe</i>] <i>y a wra</i>	Yet they all do [live].
142.1887–1888: [_{VP} <i>mos the blanse . . .</i>] <i>my a vyn</i> [. . . <i>y'n dor an dyr guelen ma</i>]	I shall [go to plant . . . these three rods in the ground].
154.2050: [_{VP} <i>powes . . .</i>] <i>my a vyn</i> [. . . <i>defry</i>]	I shall [rest . . . , indeed].
156.2078–2080: [_{VP} <i>mos the blanse . . .</i>] <i>my a vyn</i> [. . . <i>en gueel gans reoute bras</i> <i>yn nep plath tek hag ylyn</i>]	I shall [go to plant . . . the rods, with great care, in some fair and bright place].
162.2147–2148: <i>syr arluth ker</i> [_{FORCEP} <i>del vyny</i>] <i>my a wra prest hep yyny</i>	Dear Sir Lord, I shall do [as you wish] at once, without refusal.
172.2269–2270: [_{DP} <i>ol</i>] <i>war lerg</i> <i>the gussullyow</i> <i>bys venytha my a wra</i>	I shall do [everything] after your counsels for ever.
172.2285: <i>arluth</i> [_{DP} <i>the voth</i>] <i>my a wra</i>	Lord, I shall do [your will].
174.2310: [_{VP} <i>the rewardye</i>] <i>my a wra</i>	I shall [reward you].

178.2353: arluth [_{DP} <i>the voth</i>] <i>my a wra</i>	Lord, I shall do [your will].
184.2437–2438: [_{VP} <i>mos the vyres . . .</i>] <i>my a vyn</i> [. . . <i>ov gonesugy whare</i>]	I shall [go to see . . . my workmen soon].
196.2584: [_{DP} <i>agan gobyr</i>] <i>ny a'th pys</i>	We ask you [for our wages].
198.2604: [_{VP} <i>y sacra scon</i>] <i>my a wra</i>	I shall [consecrate him forthwith].
198.2618–2619: [_{VP} <i>y resseve . . .</i>] <i>my a wra</i> [. . . <i>yn gorthyans the'n tas a'n nef</i>]	I shall [receive it . . . in worship to the Father of heaven].
200.2624–2625: [_{Forcep} <i>leuyrys pup gollohas . . .</i>] <i>my a worhenmyn</i> [. . . <i>yn scon</i>]	I command [that all praise be spoken . . . forthwith].
204.2702: [_{AP} <i>marrow cawal</i>] <i>ty a vyth</i>	You shall be [completely dead].
208.2755: [_{VP} <i>ry whaf thethy</i>] <i>my a wra</i>	I shall [give a blow to her].
§62. Passio Christi (PC)	
226.74: [_{Forcep} <i>del leueryth</i>] <i>my a grys</i>	I believe [as you say].
230.113–114: [_{DP} <i>ol del vynny</i>] <i>arluth ker</i> <i>my a wra yn pup tyller</i>	I shall do [all as you wish], dear Lord, in every place.
230.128: [_{DP} <i>ol an bys ma</i>] <i>ty a 'fyth</i>	You shall have [all this world].
234.158–159: [_{DP} <i>the gorhemynnadow</i>] <i>prest</i> <i>sur ny a wra</i>	We shall surely do [your commands], always.
236.206: [_{VP} <i>the worthyby</i>] <i>me a wra</i>	I shall [answer you].
238.221: [_{DP} <i>dyllas</i>] <i>me a vyn lese</i>	I shall spread [clothes].
244.304–305: <i>ty yw sylwador an beys</i> <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>sur me a greys</i>	You are the saviour of the world and I surely believe [that].

250.360:

[_{VP} *dyswel en fer*] *ef a vyn*

He shall [spoil the fair].

254.413:

pur *wyr* [_{DP} *henna*] *me* [_a]⁵⁰ *greys*
gans ol ow nel

Very truly, I believe [this] with all my strength.

262.526:

ha [_{DP} *'m pen ol*] *hy ru'm vras*

And she has anointed [all my head].

268.599–600:

sur [_{DP} *ol the wovynnadow*]
*ty a fyth yn guyr hep gow*Surely you shall have [all your demands], truly,
without a lie.

270.612:

[_{VP} *the rewardye*] *my a wra*

I shall [reward you].

274.671–672:

ragh yn nos haneth [_{VP} *dybry*]
bos pask omma] *ef a vyn*For in this night, he shall [eat the Passover meal
here].

298.972:

[_{VP} *y salugy*] *my a wra*

I shall [salute him].

298.983

hep dout [_{DP} *henna*] *my a wra*

Without doubt, I shall do [that].

300.993:

[_{DP} *henna*] *my a wra wharre*

I shall do [that] soon.

308.1105–1108:

a gothman da · prak a wreta
thymmo amme
[_{VP} *thym the amme . . .*] · *ty re duth sur*
[. . . *rag ow guerthe · the'n traytors pur*]O good friend, why did you kiss me? You have
come, surely, [to kiss me . . . in order to sell me to
the pure traitors].

312.1150–1151:

the'th scoforn wharre [_{DP} *yehes*]
sur my a re

I shall give, surely, [healing] to your ear soon.

330.1349:

[_{DP} *mur dyspyt*] *theugh my a wra*

I shall do [great spite] to you.

332.1376:

[_{VP} *y cuthe scon*] *me a wra*

I shall presently [blindfold him].

336.1420:

[_{ForceP} *y'n naghan*] *ef a'm guarnyas*

He warned me [that I should deny him].

⁵⁰ The line as written is metrically deficient. We restore the affirm. ptcl. *a* to yield a heptasyllabic line.

344.1537: [_{DP} <i>en arhans</i>] <i>me a gymer</i>	I shall take [the money].
352.1635: [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>me a wra hep let</i>	I shall do [that], without delay.
352.1644: <i>ha</i> [_{VP} <i>rewardys</i>] <i>ty a vyth</i>	And you shall be [rewarded].
358.1696: [_{DP} <i>an temple</i>] <i>ef a thyswra</i>	He shall destroy [the temple].
358.1701: [_{VP} <i>y weles</i>] <i>my re yevnys</i>	I have wished [to see him].
360.1723: [_{ForceP} <i>y vos</i>] <i>ef re leuerys</i>	He has said [that he is so].
360.1739: [_{VP} <i>y gorthyby</i>] <i>me a wra</i>	I shall [answer him].
380.2009: [_{VP} <i>the worthyby</i>] <i>me a wra</i>	I shall [answer you].
384.2059: [_{VP} <i>y gelmy fast</i>] <i>why a wra</i>	You shall [bind him fast].
386.2067: [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>me a wra ru'm tros</i>	I shall do [that], by my foot!
392.2152: [_{VP} <i>the thylyfrye</i>] <i>me a wra</i> <i>mara callaf yredy</i>	I shall [free you] if I can, verily.
394.2176: [_{VP} <i>y examnye</i>] <i>my a wra</i>	I shall [examine him].
398.2207–2208: <i>yv syre war ow ene</i> <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>why a whylyfyt</i>	It is, sir, on my soul, and you shall see [that].
402.2261: [_{VP} <i>gul the seruys</i>] <i>ty a wra</i>	You shall [do your service].
406.2308–2309: <i>rak</i> [_{VP} <i>the saye . . .</i>] <i>me a vyn</i> [. . . <i>py par mav os y'n tor ma</i>]	For I shall [test you] . . . what sort of lad you are at this time.
412.2380–2381: [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>yn scon ny a wra</i> <i>dre'n laha a'n pref yn ta</i>	We shall presently do [that], through the law that proves it well.

416.2450: rag [_{VP} ymsywe] y a wra	For they [follow each other].
426.2570: [_{VP} y delly] scon me a wra	I shall soon [bore it].
434.2695: [_{DP} nep hus] ef re wruk thotho	He has done [some trickery] to him.
436.2703–2705: a ihesu re by gorthys [_{VP} the vos dev ha den keffrys] lemmyn me a wor yn ta	O Jesus, may you be worshipped! Now I know well [that you are God and man, as well].
450.2883–2884: [_{VP} crysy thotho . . .] ny a wra [. . . y vos profus bynyges]	We shall [believe him . . . to be a blessed prophet].
452.2919: [_{DP} henna] me a wra ru'm soul	I shall do [that], by my soul.
460.3009: [_{DP} nebes seruys] ty a wra	You shall do [a little service].
474.3195: rag [_{Forcep} map dev os] me a grys	For I believe [that you are the Son of God].
474.3211: [_{VP} ewne an men] me a wra	I shall [adjust the stone].
§63. Resurrexio Domini (RD)	
4.48: [_{VP} fast prisonys] why a vyth	You shall be [fast imprisoned].
6.61: [_{VP} dassergthy] sur ef a wra	Surely he shall [rise again].
12.143: [_{DP} an luef a'm gruk] me a wel	I see [the hand that made me].
16.183–184: y'n vr na [_{VP} cafus gynef re] me a vyn	At that time, I shall [have some with me].
30.376: [_{DP} gobar da] why a'gas byth	You shall have [a good reward].
32.394: [_{VP} y weles] me a garse	I would like [to see him].

32.397: [_{DP} y pen] <i>crak me a torse</i>	I would break [his head]—crack!
32.399: [_{DP} an beth] <i>me re auysyas</i>	I have taken note [(of) the tomb].
36.435: [_{VP} y weles] <i>me a garse</i>	I would like [to see him].
38.482: [_{VP} y luen crygy] <i>me a wra</i>	I [fully believe it].
42.527–528: <i>ganso</i> [_{DP} crous worth y baner] <i>wharre ef a thyspleytyas</i>	Soon he displayed with him [a cross on his banner].
46.576–577: [_{ForceP} a'n beth <i>ef the thasserhy</i>] <i>me a leuer</i>	I shall say [that from the tomb he is risen].
46.583–584: [_{VP} assentye <i>ol the henna</i>] <i>sur me a vyn</i>	Surely I shall [assent to all that].
50.635–636: <i>ha mar ny wreth</i> [_{DP} the ancow] <i>me a vyth by god ys pes</i>	And if you do not, I shall be [your death], by God's peace.
52.663: [_{DP} henna] <i>ny a vyn notye</i>	We shall note [that].
54.685–686: [_{VP} mos <i>the vyres . . .</i>] <i>me a vyn</i> [. . . <i>an corf a'm prynnes yn tyn</i>]	I shall [go to see . . . the body (of him) who painfully redeemed me].
58.744: [_{VP} cous <i>ganso</i>] <i>me a garse</i>	I would like [to speak with him].
78.1008: [_{DP} y seruont] <i>me a vye</i>	I would be [his servant].
80.1032–1033: [_{DP} y golon <i>squyrdys a les</i>] <i>me a welas</i>	I saw [his heart torn into pieces].
88.1148: [_{DP} luen <i>tregereth</i>] <i>me a pys</i>	I pray for [full mercy].
88.1159: <i>pedar</i> [_{DP} gyffyens] <i>ty a 'fyth</i>	Peter, you shall have [forgiveness].

90.1168: [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>me a leuer wheth</i>	I shall say [that] still.
98.1279: [_{VP} <i>dasserhy</i>] <i>sur ef a wruk</i>	Surely he did [rise].
108.1418–1419: <i>lemmyn</i> [_{VP} <i>pur lowenek fest</i> <i>bos</i>] <i>ty a yl</i>	Now you may [be very joyful indeed].
114.1490–1491: <i>a thyragon</i> [_{DP} <i>torth vara</i>] <i>ef a torras</i>	Before us, he broke [a loaf of bread].
114.1492–1494: [_{DP} <i>a les ol y wolyow</i>] <i>ny a welas</i>	We saw [all his wounds on display].
118.1556: [_{DP} <i>ow len benneth</i>] <i>me a pys</i>	I beseech [my full blessing].
126.1673: <i>lowen</i> [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>me a vyn</i>	Joyfully, I wish (for) [that].
130.1712: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>sawys</i>] <i>sur ty a 'fyth</i>	And surely you shall have [healing].
138.1839–1840: [_{DP} <i>an corf hepar</i>] <i>renothas</i> <i>ef re thuswruk</i>	He has destroyed, by my Father, [the body without equal].
144.1921–1922: [_{VP} <i>cafus an bovs na hep gvry</i> <i>vs y'th kerghyn</i>] <i>me a vyn</i>	I shall [take that seamless robe which is about you].
146.1932: [_{VP} <i>the pygy</i>] <i>me a vynse</i>	I would [pray you].
148.1966: [_{DP} <i>ihesu</i>] <i>ty a thyallas</i>	You have executed [Jesus].
150.2005–2006: [_{DP} <i>an haccre mernans a vo</i>] <i>me a vyn ordyne thotho</i>	I shall ordain [the most cruel death that may be] for him.
150.2009: <i>arluth</i> [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>me a wra</i>	Lord, I shall do [that].
152.2042–2043: <i>rak</i> [_{DP} <i>ow colon ow honan</i>] <i>gans ov hollan me a wan</i>	For I shall pierce [my own heart] with my knife.

160.2142–2143: [_{DP} vn gusyl da ha perfeyth] thym ty a ros	You have given [a good and perfect counsel] to me.
170.2260–2261: [_{DP} mur venions ha calas ran] ef a whylas	He sought [great vengeance and a hard lot].
172.2284: [_{DP} an corf] yn schath ny a set	We shall put [the body] into a boat.
174.2321: ha [_{DP} myl den] ef [a] ⁵¹ wruk due	And it did end [1,000 men].
176.2344–2345: [_{DP} skrynva vras an dewolow] ef a'n gevyth genen ny	He shall have [the devils' great outcries] with us.
182.2412: [_{VP} gortos y thos] ny a wra	We shall [await his coming].
186.2475: arluth [_{VP} pregoth] ny a wra	Lord, we shall [preach].
194.2574: [_{DP} porth yfarn] me a torras	I have broken [the gate of hell].
196.2603–2604: gans gu [_{VP} guenyas ha marow dre an golon] me a fue	With a spear, I was [pierced through the heart and (made) dead].
196.2622: [_{DP} map den] my re wruk prene	I have redeemed [mankind].
§64. Bewnans Ke (BK)	
18.167: rag [_{VP} y brevy] te a fyl	For you shall fail [to prove it].
50.491: [_{VP} mos th'e warnya] me a vyn	I shall [go to warn him].
64.627–628: ha [_{VP} ry theso . . .] me a ra [. . . the vnadow]	And I shall [grant you . . . your wishes].
68.670: [_{VP} gul afrvthow] ny a vyn	We shall [make a ?deformation?]. ⁵²

⁵¹ The line as written is metrically deficient. We restore the affirm. ptcl. *a* to yield a heptasyllabic line.

⁵² This translation is that of Thomas & Williams 2007: 69. The form *afrvthow* is not otherwise attested in Middle Cornish. The part of the manuscript in which it occurs was copied from a damaged exem-

92.884: [_{VP} <i>gul negysyow</i>] <i>me a gar</i>	I love [to do errands].
92.894: <i>ha</i> [_{VP} <i>gul e voth</i>] <i>me a vyn</i>	And I shall [do his will].
96.913: [_{VP} <i>gorthya jovyn</i>] <i>te a ra</i>	You shall [worship Jovyn].
96.916–917: <i>hag</i> [_{VP} <i>amyndya . . .</i>] <i>ef a ra</i> [. . . <i>y'th kevar del vo reson</i>]	And he shall [treat . . . you better as may be reasonable].
110.1066: [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>me re aspeas</i>	I have noticed [that].
110.1071: <i>rag</i> [_{VP} <i>gule the voth</i>] <i>me a vyn</i>	For I shall [do your will].
112.1087–1089: [_{DP} <i>an mens tyrath a barkys</i> <i>hedre ven ow cul tronkys</i>] <i>me a ro thys perpetual</i>	I shall give [the amount of land that you would enclose while I be taking a bath] to you as a perpetual (gift).
112.1091–1092: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>moy ha pas</i>] <i>te a 'vith dihogal</i>	And you shall certainly have [(no) more than a pace (of land)].
124.1201: [_{DP} <i>lorth</i>] <i>war e lerg h ef a thray</i>	He drags [a staff] behind him.
142.1378: [_{AP} <i>wylcum</i>] <i>ny a vyth ena</i>	We shall be [welcome] there.
148.1442: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>'y yskerans</i>] <i>me a vras</i>	And I shall ambush [his enemies].
152.1477: [_{DP} <i>ow yskerans</i>] <i>me a feth</i>	I shall defeat [my enemies].
154.1489: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>'y yskerans</i>] <i>ef a feth</i>	And he shall defeat [his enemies].
154.1500: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>why a wilwyth</i>	And you shall see [that].

plar, thus making it difficult to determine its semantics. George 2006: 57 translates *gul afrvthow* as 'do violence'.

172.1687–1689: [_{DP} <i>trybut ryal</i> <i>a lyas gwlas</i>] <i>why a'gys byth</i>	You shall have [royal tribute from many lands].
254.2548: [_{DP} <i>the yskerans</i>] <i>ny a glowt</i>	We shall clout [your enemies].
270.2726: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>why a wylwyth</i>	And you shall see [that].
272.2742: [_{VP} <i>mos the'n batal</i>] <i>me a vyn</i>	I shall [go to the battle].
300.3035: [_{VP} <i>danfenys theugh</i>] <i>me re be</i>	I have been [sent to you].
306.3075–3076: [_{VP} <i>bos cvrvnis . . .</i>] <i>me a vyn</i> [. . . <i>myghtern in bretayn iwys</i>]	I wish [to be crowned . . . king in Britain, indeed].
308.3103: [_{DP} <i>cvryn bretayn</i>] <i>me a set</i> <i>war the ben in hanaw paul</i>	I shall set [the crown of Britain] upon your head in the name of Paul.
308.3105–3108: [_{DP} <i>an lahys . . .</i>] <i>te a lel syns</i> [. . . <i>ha gvyer the ol the wostoyth</i> <i>gvyryow eglos myns del ens</i> <i>ha statys</i>]	You shall faithfully uphold [the laws . . . and right for all your subjects, the rights of the church, as many as they are, and the estates].
320.3210: [_{DP} <i>an governans</i>] <i>te a 'vith</i>	You shall have [the government].
322.3228: <i>whath</i> [_{DP} <i>ow forpos</i>] <i>me a syns</i>	Still, I shall hold [(to) my purpose].
§65. Beunans Meriasek (BM)	
2.10–11: [_{VP} <i>ze scole lemmyr y worra</i>] <i>me a vyn heb falladow</i>	I shall [send him to school now] without fail.
4.43–44: [_{VP} <i>an forth dalleth yredy . . .</i>] <i>ny a vyn</i> [. . . <i>ha pur vskys</i>]	We shall [set out on way readily . . . and very quickly].
8.128: [_{VP} <i>gul peyadov</i>] <i>my a vyn</i>	I shall [make prayers].

10.140–141:

[_{VP} *myns may hyllen sur esyes . . .*]
ty a vyth [. . . yn pup termyn]

You shall be [eased, surely, as much as we
 can (manage) . . . at all times].

10.170–171:

ha [_{DP} *'n gvlascor*] *pur yredy*
me a bev ol yn tyan

And I possess [the kingdom] very readily,
 altogether.

20.265:

[_{PP} *thymmo vy*] *wy a ros gvrek*

You gave a wife [to me].

20.352–355:

[_{VP} *bones sacris marrek du*
a'n order mur thym a plek
benitha hedre ven byv]
me a garse lowenek

I would like, gladly, [to be consecrated a knight of
 God of the order that pleases me greatly as long
 as ever I may be alive].

30.522:

[_{VP} *pronter boys*] *me a garsa*

I would like [to be a priest].

30.529:

[_{VP} *ry dys ordyrs*] *me a vyn*

I shall [give (holy) orders to you].

36.627:

[_{VP} *kerthes i'n tyr*] *me a vyn*

I shall [walk in the land].

38.652–654:

hag omma [_{VP} *gul . . .*] *me a vyn*
 [. . . *ryb chapel maria wyn*
thym oratry]

And here I shall [make . . . , by blessed Mary's
 chapel, an oratory for me].

40.712:

[_{VP} *kerthes heb greff*] *me a yll*

I can [walk without trouble].

42.720–722:

omma lemen [_{VP} *fondya plays*
dre voth ihesu a vercy]
sur me a vyn

Here, now, surely I shall [found a place through
 the will of Jesus of mercy].

44.759:

[_{DP} *tevdar*] *me a veth gelwys*

I am called [Teudar].

46.804:

[_{DP} *tus dal*] *eff a ra sawya*

He heals [blind people].

50.870:

[_{DP} *mernans tyn*] *eff a porthas*

He endured [a painful death].

50.894: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>the cothmen</i>] <i>me a veth</i>	And I shall be [your friend].
50.896: [_{DP} <i>epscop worthy</i>] <i>me a'th ra</i>	I shall make you [a worthy bishop].
56.978: <i>arluth</i> [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>ny a ra</i>	Lord, we shall do [that].
62.1115: [_{VP} <i>ov sywa</i>] <i>eff a levays</i>	He has ventured [to follow me].
62.1118: [_{DP} <i>lues den</i>] <i>eff re lathays</i>	He has killed [many men].
64.1143: [_{VP} <i>chapel guthel</i>] <i>me a vyn</i>	I shall [make a chapel].
72.1262–1263: <i>ihesu dyso</i> [_{DP} <i>ov sperys</i>] <i>me a gemen dyogel</i>	Jesus, I commend to you [my spirit], certainly.
72.1286: [_{VP} <i>gase farwel</i>] <i>me a vyn</i>	I shall [leave a farewell].
76.1342–1343: [_{VP} <i>the'n meneth a seraptyn mones</i>] <i>purguir ny a vyn</i>	Right truly, we shall [go to the mountain of Soracte].
82.1437: [_{DP} <i>ov cleves</i>] <i>prest wy a weyl</i>	You shall see [my disease] at once.
86.1504–1505: [_{VP} <i>othommek . . .</i>] <i>me a vya</i> [. . . <i>del welogh the voys sawys</i>]	I would be [in need . . . of being healed, as you see].
88.1565: [_{DP} <i>wegenov . . .</i>] <i>ny a ra</i> [. . . <i>moy</i>]	We shall make [more . . . sweetlings].
90.1583: [_{DP} <i>vijj cans</i>] <i>sur me re gavas</i>	Surely I have found [800 (children)].
90.1586–1587: [_{DP} <i>xj cans flogh . . .</i>] <i>the'th enour</i> [. . . <i>ha moy</i>] <i>me re ruk kuntel</i>	I have gathered [1,100 children . . . and more] for your honour.
92.1610–1611: <i>ha lowen certen</i> [_{DP} <i>zeheys thu'm corff</i>] <i>me a gemersa</i>	And gladly, certainly, I would get [health for my body].

96.1695: <i>arluth</i> [_{DP} <i>the voth</i>] <i>ny a ra</i>	Lord, we shall do [your will].
102.1807–1808: <i>ha thyso</i> [_{DP} <i>age hanov</i>] <i>me a leuer pur ylyn</i>	And to you I shall tell [their names] very fairly.
104.1821–1822: <i>war lerg henna</i> [_{VP} <i>begythys . . .</i>] <i>ty a veth sur</i> [. . . <i>ha golhys</i>]	After that, you surely shall be [baptised . . . and washed].
104.1846–1847: [_{DP} <i>ihesu crist pen elyov</i>] <i>pur thefry me re weleys</i>	Very certainly, I have seen [Jesus Christ, chief of cures].
108.1888–1889: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>the borse mes a'th hascra . . .</i>] <i>me a'm beth</i> [. . . <i>ha'th margh uskis</i>]	And I shall have [your purse from out of your bosom . . . and your swift horse].
108.1903: [_{DP} <i>pronter</i>] <i>ef a hevel suyr</i>	He seems (to be) [a priest], surely.
110.1918–1919: <i>bo annyl</i> [_{VP} <i>the quartrona . . .</i>] <i>oma me a ra</i> [. . . <i>heb let</i>]	Or else I shall here [quarter you . . .] here, [. . . without delay].
116.2029: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>'n beys</i>] <i>eff a ra gasa</i>	And it shall leave [the world].
120.2101: [_{DP} <i>an golovder</i>] <i>me a wor</i>	I know [the light].
120.2117–2118: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>the servont</i>] <i>in certan</i> <i>me a veth bys venary</i>	And I shall be [your servant], certainly, for ever.
122.2136: [_{VP} <i>mones dotho</i>] <i>ny a vyn</i>	We shall [go to him].
128.2265: [_{DP} <i>mur a throk</i>] <i>prest eff re ruk</i>	He has always done [much evil].
134.2333: ⁵³ <i>tevdar</i> [_{DP} <i>drok lor</i>] <i>eff a ra</i>	Teudar, he shall do [evil enough].
136.2393–2394: [_{ForceP} <i>pagya mergh es . . .</i>] <i>by my sowle</i> <i>me a glowes</i> [. . . <i>in ze pov</i>]	I heard, by my soul, [that you were a stable boy. . . in your country].

⁵³ N. B. that *tevdar* is a hanging topic.

138.2424: [_{DP} <i>drok</i>] <i>thymo ty a russa</i>	You would do [ill] to me.
142.2475: [_{DP} <i>cryst ha ty</i>] <i>me a thefy</i>	I defy [Christ and you].
146.2556: <i>kyn covseff orthys der reff</i> [_{VP} <i>the pesy</i>] <i>me a vynsa</i>	Though I speak to you presumptuously, I would [beseech you].
150.2614: [_{VP} <i>guereses</i>] <i>ty a vye</i>	You would be [cured].
150.2615–2616: [_{DP} <i>oll a'th rychyth</i>] <i>me a syns</i> <i>nebes a'n fa</i>	I hold [all of your riches] (at the value of) a few beans.
160.2784: [_{DP} <i>den grascyes</i>] <i>ef a veth lel</i>	He shall be [a saintly man], truly.
168.2909: [_{DP} <i>epscop</i>] <i>eff a veth sacrys</i>	He shall be consecrated [bishop].
168.2926: [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>ol ny a assent</i>	We all assent to [that].
168.2930: [_{DP} <i>agen attent</i>] <i>why a clov</i>	You shall hear [our attempt].
172.2998–2999: [_{VP} <i>agys pesy . . .</i>] <i>me a vyen</i> [. . . <i>epscop benytha na ven</i>]	I shall [beseech you . . . that I never be a bishop].
184.3181: [_{VP} <i>guel plesijs</i>] <i>me a vya</i>	I would be [better pleased].
186.3213: [_{VP} <i>moys the[n]⁵⁴ guelfos</i>] <i>me a vyn</i>	I shall [go to the wilderness].
186.3224–3225: [_{DP} <i>v lon bowyn dufunys</i>] <i>y a depse in ij deth</i>	They would eat [five minced beef steers] in two days.
192.3317–3318: <i>by my fay y feth wagis</i> <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>wy a clowyth</i>	By my faith, there shall be wages, and you shall feel [that].
196.3391–3392: <i>omma</i> [_{VP} <i>pen tarov schylwyn</i>] <i>offrynnya</i>] <i>sur me a vyn</i>	Here I surely shall [offer a whitish bull's head].

⁵⁴ The suspension stroke is missing in the manuscript.

202.3488–3490:

[_{VP} *the aqyttya . . .*]
kyn moys lema
me a ra [. . . *gans lendury*]

Before going hence, I shall [repay you . . .
 scrupulously].

210.3646:

[_{VP} *moys the powes*] *me a vyn*

I shall [go to rest].

214.3686–3687:

the orthys [_{DP} *an carharov*]
prest me a den

At once, I shall pull [the fetters] off of you.

218.3784:

[_{DP} *y flogh*] *me a gemerays*

I took [her child].

218.3789–3790:

[_{DP} *an flogh*] *the'n ymach dyson*
me a vyn don eredy

I shall carry [the child] at once to the image
 readily.

226.3898–3900:

the helghya heb feladov
the prince par del yv dufer
 [_{VP} *moys*] *me a vyn*

As it is a duty for a prince to hunt, without fail, I
 shall [go].

232.4004:

[_{DP} *an dragan*] *me a ra guan*

I shall make [the dragon] weak.

234.4025:

arluth [_{DP} *the voth*] *me a ra*

Lord, I shall do [your will].

240.4115–4117:

[_{DP} *cavs*] *thynny eff a vya*
in ihesu map marya
the cresy byen ha brays

It would be [cause] for us, small and great, to
 believe in Jesus, son of Mary.

246.4237–4238:

[_{VP} *kerthes . . .*] *me a yl*
 [. . . *lemen heb peryl*]

I can [walk . . . now without danger].

246.4253–4254:

[_{DP} *corff ov arluth*] *del deleth*
hythyv me re recevas

Today, I have received [my Lord's body], as is
 fitting.

250.4326:

[_{VP} *amma thyugh ol*] *me a vyn*

I shall [kiss you all].

252.4340–4342:

[_{DP} *the volnogeth*]
par del deleth
ny a ra snell

We shall do [your will], as is fitting, swiftly.

252.4351: [_{VP} <i>moys ʒ'y veres</i>] <i>me a vyn</i>	I shall [go to visit him].
258.4461–4462: [_{VP} <i>neffre'v pesy bo redya</i> <i>i'n eglos</i>] <i>eff a vetha</i>	He would be [praying or reading in the church always].
260.4470: [_{VP} <i>mones d'eglos</i>] <i>ny a vyn</i>	We shall [go to church].
262.4515–4516: [_{DP} <i>dadder</i>] <i>the lues huny</i> <i>eff a ruk ʒe ihesu gras</i>	He did [good] to many a one, thanks (be) to Jesus.
264.4532–4533: <i>ha me</i> [_{DP} <i>an benediccon</i>] <i>a ra oma pur dyson</i>	'And here I shall make [the benediction] forthwith'.
§66. Gwreans an bys (GB)	
4.39–40: <i>cherubyn</i> [_{DP} <i>an vghella</i>] <i>ty a vyth</i>	Cherubin, you shall be [the highest].
4.42: [_{VP} <i>owe gwerthya</i>] <i>oll why a wra</i>	You shall all [worship me].
6.76–77: <i>hag</i> [_{VP} <i>ow both gwethill ena</i>] <i>me a vyn</i>	And I shall [do my will there].
12.153–154: [_{VP} <i>theth honora . . .</i>] <i>me a vyn</i> [. . . <i>vhan drenges</i>]	I shall [honour you . . . above the Trinity].
14.177: [_{DP} <i>morath</i>] <i>why a's byth ragtha</i>	You shall have [grief] for it.
20.267–268: [_{DP} <i>an place</i>] <i>sure lowre ʒa warta</i> <i>me a vyth whath ro'm lowta</i>	I shall keep [the place], sure enough, from him yet, by my faith.
30.380–381: <i>ha</i> [_{AP} <i>subiect ankowe</i>] <i>dretha</i> <i>te a vyth predar henna</i>	And you shall be [subject (to) death] thereby, think (on) that.
32.394: [_{DP} <i>benyn</i>] <i>hy a vyth henwys</i>	She shall be named [woman].

34.415: [_{VP} <i>aga sona</i>] <i>me a wra</i>	I shall [bless them].
50.597 & 52.622 & 643: [_{AP} <i>maga fure</i>] <i>te a vea</i>	You would be [as wise].
52.627–629: [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>me a levar theis</i>	I tell [that] to you.
60.721–722: [_{VP} <i>tha adam kerras pur greyf . . .</i>] <i>me a vyn</i> [. . . <i>th'e sallugye</i>]	I shall [walk boldly to Adam . . . to greet him].
68.831–832: <i>tast gy part a'n avallowe</i> <i>po</i> [_{DP} <i>ow harenga</i>] <i>ty a gyll</i>	Taste a part of the apples, or you shall lose [my love].
70.846–847: <i>drevon bew</i> [_{DP} <i>ow harenga</i>] <i>ty a 'vyth bys venarye</i>	As long as I live, you shall have [my love] for ever.
74.882–883: <i>in wheys</i> [_{VP} <i>lavyr tha thymbry . . .</i>] <i>ty a wra</i> [. . . <i>bys y'th worffan</i>]	In sweat, you shall [labour to eat . . . until your end].
74.893–894: [_{AP} <i>nefra gostyth</i>] <i>th'y gorty</i> <i>me a ordayne bos benyn</i>	I ordain that woman shall be [ever obedient] to her husband.
90.1080: [_{VP} <i>mos the'n menythe</i>] <i>me a vyn</i>	I shall [go to the mountain].
96.1144–1145: ⁵⁵ <i>ny won arluth e dyhogall</i> [_{DP} <i>henna</i>] <i>te a wore yn ta</i>	I do not know, Lord, certainly; you know [that] well.
98.1179: [_{DP} <i>token</i>] <i>warnas me a wra</i>	I shall make [a sign] upon you.
100.1200–1202: <i>ow molath theis rag henna</i> <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>molath tha vabm</i>] <i>ganso</i> <i>te a 'vith sure maga ta</i>	My curse upon you for that, and you shall surely have [the curse of your mother] with it, as well.
106.1277–1279: <i>ow molath thezo pub preys</i> <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>molath tha dase</i>] <i>keffrys</i> <i>te a 'vyth i'n gyth ha noos</i>	My curse upon you always, and you shall have [the curse of your father], too, in the day and night.

⁵⁵ We understand *henna* to be the object of *wore* rather than *won*, against Stokes 1863: 92, but with Neuss 1983: 96, since enjambment is rare in Middle Cornish verse.

106.1285–1286: <i>rag henna</i> [_{VP} <i>mos a lemma</i>] <i>me a vyn ny won py lea</i>	Therefore, I shall [go hence], I do not know where.
108.1313–1314: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>carnall joye</i>] <i>i'n bys ma</i> <i>ny a vyn warbarthe naha</i>	And we shall together deny [carnal joy] in this world.
116.1405–1407: <i>ny vyth seans vyth i'n beys</i> <i>mes</i> [_{VP} <i>y aswon . . .</i>] <i>ev a wra</i> [. . . <i>der an planantis meas a chy</i>]	There shall not be any learning in the world, but that he shall [know it . . . by means of the planets, inside and out].
122.1498: [_{DP} <i>cayne</i>] <i>me a vyth henwys</i>	I am named [Cain].
140.1735–1736: <i>na thowt</i> [_{DP} <i>gorryb</i>] <i>ty a 'vyth</i> <i>oll a'th negys</i>	Do not doubt (it), you shall have [an answer] for all your errand.
152.1889: [_{AP} <i>pur lowan</i>] <i>me a vea</i>	I would be [very happy].
156.1945–1946: <i>ha</i> [_{VP} <i>theth chardgya . . .</i>] <i>me a ra</i> [. . . <i>in dan ow bannethe pur leall</i>]	And I [charge you . . . very faithfully, under my blessing].
160.1985–1987: <i>ny weth</i> [_{DP} <i>dewthak warnugans</i>] <i>a virhas in pur thibblans</i> <i>ny a'n be heb tull na gyll</i>	We have had, also, [32 daughters exactly], without deceit or guile.
182.2258: [_{DP} <i>rowmys</i>] <i>y a vythe henwys</i>	They shall be called [rooms].
182.2263–2264: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>hantercans kevellen</i>] <i>inweth te a wra yn leas</i>	And also you shall make (it) [50 cubits] in breadth.
182.2265–2266: <i>ha</i> [_{DP} <i>'n vheldar</i>] <i>me a vyn</i> <i>deag warnygans may fo gwryes</i>	And I want [the height] to be made 30 (cubits).
182.2269: [_{DP} <i>jystes</i>] <i>dretha ty a pyn</i>	You shall pin [joists] through it.
184.2273–2274: ⁵⁶ [_{VP} <i>aga gorra . . .</i>] <i>ty a wra</i> [. . . <i>in tha lester a bervathe</i>]	You shall [put them . . . inside your ship].

⁵⁶ This is another line that continues a line in *Origo mundi* (OM 74.991). As with GB 182.2258, it is likely that the line is preserved in the form that it takes in *Origo mundi*.

184.2279–2280:

arluthe kref [_{DP} *tha arhadowe*]
me a ra

Mighty Lord, I shall do [your command].

198.2466:

[_{DP} *neb caryn*] *hy a gafas*

It found [some carrion].

200.2486:

[_{VP} *gwethill alter*] *me a vydn*

I shall [make an altar].

202.2504–2505:

[_{VP} *remembra ahanaw why*]
me a wra bys venarye

I shall [remember you] for ever.

GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AddrP = Address Phrase; ADV = adverbial particle; AdvP = Adverb Phrase; AFF = affirmative particle; AP = Adjective Phrase; COND = conditional; DEF = definite; DIST = distal; DP = Determiner Phrase; F = feminine; FUT = future; IMPF = imperfect; IMPS = impersonal; IMPV = imperative; M = masculine; MPVAC = multiple prev-verbal arguments construction; NEG = negator; OBJ = object; OPT = optative particle; PERF = perfective particle; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PP = Prepositional Phrase; PRES = present; PRET = preterite; PROX = proximate; REL = relative; SG = singular; SUBJ = subjunctive; TP = Tense Phrase; V-ADJ = verbal adjective; VN = verbal noun; VP = Verb Phrase; XP = any Phrase; & = connective.

TEXTUAL ABBREVIATIONS

BK	=	Thomas & Williams 2007
BM	=	Stokes 1872
BR	=	Richards 1948
BSC	=	Ernault 1887a
BSG	=	Widmer & Jørgensen 2011
BSN	=	Ernault 1887b
CE	=	Williams, Everson, & Kent 2020: 156–159 (apparatus)
GB	=	Neuss 1983
OM	=	Norris 1859: i 1–219
PA	=	Stokes 1860–1861
PC	=	Norris 1859: i 221–479
PKM	=	Williams 1951
RD	=	Norris 1859: ii 1–201
YGuE	=	Thomson 1997

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