

## SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

Subordinating conjunctions must be followed directly by an inflected verb; the only exceptions are **marnas** ‘unless’ and the late borrowing **lès** ‘lest’. As a general principle this verb may however itself be preceded by particle **y** to support an infixed pronoun or by general negative particle **na** to negate (with or without infixed pronoun). But note the following specific rules:

- (1) **fatell** (likewise its various abbreviated and modified forms) is not attested with any following particle at all;
- (2) **dell na** (likewise its various modified forms) is unattested, therefore best confined to ironic expression;
- (3) **may** is usually clipped back to **ma** before adding any infixed pronoun;
- (4) **a, mara, na, erna, hedre** support infixed pronouns without a particle;
- (5) **mar** too may support infixed pronouns without a particle, but particle **y** can optionally be employed;
- (6) **mara** is always replaced by **mar** before negative particles; the correct negative particle after **mar** for *realis* is negative statement particle **ny**, not general negative particle **na**, and optionally (frequently) it is also **ny** for *irrealis*.

### PÀN

Meaning ‘when’ of time or circumstance. In the latter sense, depending on context, it may draw close to either ‘because’ or ‘if’. Second State of following verb, but **d > dh** is regularly suppressed in authentic Cornish. Future reference requires subjunctive verb; also *irrealis* when the sense is close to ‘if’. Origin: Proto-Indo European \*k<sup>w</sup>o-, compare Latin *quando*, English *when*. Phrasal conjunctions **bys pàn** ‘until’, **bÿth pàn** ‘whenever’, **kepar ha pàn** ‘as if’ are common.

### ABÀN

Derivative of **pàn**. Meaning ‘since’ of time or circumstance. In the latter sense it draws close to ‘because’. Second State of following verb, but **d > dh** is regularly suppressed in authentic Cornish. Origin: Preposition **a** ‘from’ + **pàn**. So stress is on second syllable.

### A

Meaning ‘if’. Only used in *irrealis*, and not before auxiliary **dos**. In *realis* it has been wholly replaced by strengthened form **mara**, very frequently shortened to **mar** (which is always the form before auxiliary **dos**). Fourth State of following

verb. Origin: Proto-Celtic \*a 'if', compare first element in Welsh compound conjunction *os*.

### **MARA**

Meaning 'if'. Used in both *realis* and *irrealis*. Fourth State of following verb. Origin: noun **mar** 'doubt' (as in **heb mar**) + a 'if'.

### **MARAS**

Meaning 'if'. Replaces **mara** before verb beginning with vowel. Origin: noun **mar** 'doubt' + a 'if' + s < \*d, compare **nyns** < Proto-Cornish \*nid (with slightly different development due to nasal environment of latter word).

### **MAR**

Abbreviated form of **mara**, very common. Fourth State of following verb retained, notwithstanding loss of original 'interface'.

### **MARS**

Abbreviated form of **maras**, very common.

### **KYN**

Meaning 'though' or 'although'. Fifth State of following verb. *Irrealis* ('even if, even though') requires subjunctive verb. Origin: perhaps Proto-Celtic \*kina 'other', compare **ken**; it is *not* likely related to **kyns** 'previously, before' < Proto-Celtic \*kint-.

### **KYNTH**

Replaces **kyn** before verb beginning with a vowel or original h.

### **DELL**

Meaning 'as'. Second State of following verb. Meaning often extended according to context, becoming 'when', 'because', 'that' (indirect statement). Origin: Brythonic noun \*delw 'form', compare **indelha** 'in that manner, thus'.

### **DER**

Modified form of **dell**, colloquial. Second State of following verb.

### **DRE**

Metathesized form of **der** < **dell**, colloquial. Second State of following verb, but somewhat theoretical because convention employs **dre** 'that' only as **dr** before verbs beginning with a vowel.

## **FATELL**

Meaning 'that' (indirect statement). Second State of following verb. Origin: interrogative adverb **fatell** 'how' redeployed as conjunction, from Proto-Cornish \*pa delw 'what form'. KS spells geminate at end to indicate primary stress falls on second syllable, in accordance with etymology and tendency to clip (see below).

## **TELL**

Clipped form of **fatell** meaning 'that' (indirect statement), common. Second State of following verb.

## **TER**

Modified clipped form of **fatell** meaning 'that' (indirect statement), colloquial. Second State of following verb.

## **TRE**

Metathesized form of **ter**, colloquial. Second State of following verb, but somewhat theoretical because convention employs **tre** 'that' only as **tr** before verbs beginning with a vowel.

## **KETTEL**

Meaning 'as soon as'. Second State of following verb. Future reference requires subjunctive verb. Origin: prefix **ket-** 'together' (usual ket > kes development blocked by following coronal) + **dell** < Proto-Cornish \*delw (see above). KS spells single consonant at end to indicate primary stress falls on first syllable in accordance with usual rule for prefixes.

## **MA**

Origin: Celtic element **ma** 'place', compare use as relative meaning 'where', suffix **-va**, and **obma**, **yma**. As subordinating conjunction the meaning is 'that' introducing truly adverbial clauses (not indirect statement; typically result marked by indicative verb, purpose marked by subjunctive verb, or oblique -ever type clause marked by subjunctive verb though here direct relative particle **a** often replaces it). When clause is affirmative, particle **y** (**yth** before a vowel or original h) is added to produce compound **may** (**mayth**), and **may** then regularly takes Fifth State of following verb. Colloquially **may** can be clipped back to **ma**, but Fifth State remains. Common to substitute **rag may** for simple **may** involving purpose, since subjunctive verb is capable of other interpretations. Further phrasal conjunctions are **bys may** 'until' and **peskytter may** (also **pescotter may**) 'as soon as' (future reference only, with subjunctive verb: Nance's proposed

etymology < **gweyth** ‘occasion’ does not reflect Tregear’s sense, so could be derived from **uskytter** ‘speed’); **pesqweyth may** ‘whenever’.

## NA

Origin: general negative marker **na**. Second State of following verb. This is interpreted as a particle in subordinate clauses where there is already a subordinating conjunction. Otherwise in subordinate clauses it may be interpreted, loosely at least, as being itself a conjunction. Meanings: with indicative verb – ‘that ... not’ (indirect statement); with subjunctive verb either ‘so that ... not’ (purpose) or ‘if ... not’ *irrealis* (as though negative of a ‘if’, by analogy). Common to substitute **rag na** for simple **na** involving purpose, to remove ambiguity. We generally express result by **ma na**, likewise to avoid ambiguity. Another common phrasal conjunction is **bys na** ‘until ... not’

## NAG

Replaces **na** before form of **bos** or **mos** beginning with vowel. Origin: general negative marker **na** + **g** < \*k, compare Welsh *nac* (pronounced ‘nag’). But unattested in sense ‘if ... not’ *irrealis*, so should not be so used.

## ERNA

Meaning ‘until’. Second State of following verb. Future reference requires subjunctive verb. Origin: preposition **er** < Proto-Indo European \*peri (all initial p lost in transition to Proto-Celtic), with old sense ‘around, through’, compare Classical Greek *peri*, Latin *per*.

## ERNAG

Replaces **erna** before form of **bos** or **mos** beginning with vowel. Origin: general negative marker **na** + **g** < \*k, compare Welsh *nac* (pronounced ‘nag’).

## HEDRE

Meaning ‘so long as’ (time, not condition or proviso). Second State of following verb. Only attested with subjunctives of **bos** and **bêwa**, future reference, so should not be used otherwise. Origin: prefix **he-** ‘easily able’ < Proto-Celtic \*su (compare Greek *eu* < \*esu) + uncertain second element, perhaps **dre** ‘through’. Final e (as opposed to final a representing schwa) indicates at least a secondary stress on second syllable, in line with other words built with **he-**.

## MARNAS

Meaning ‘unless’. Origin: **mar** ‘doubt’ + **na** ‘if not’ + **s** seen also in **maras** / **mars**). It is used with a subjunctive verb. The verb is either in nominal construction or

an adverbial is fronted and followed by particle **y** + verb (with or without infixed pronoun). **Marnas** is common as a preposition meaning 'except', often abbreviated to **ma's**, which is also the basis for coordinating conjunction **mès** 'but'. As a *subordinating conjunction* **marnas** is comparatively rare in revived Cornish, which tends to prefer **mar na** (with subjunctive) or **mar ny** (with either indicative or subjunctive).

## **LÈS**

Meaning 'lest, in case'. Origin: English 'lest'. The Cornish word is used with an indicative verb in nominal construction.