

How to spell Cornish

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CHAPTER 1

Preliminary Observations

1.1 The Prosodic Shift

In the Introduction to his *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol* [Handbook of Middle Cornish] Henry Lewis has a note:

Bras amcan yn unig a ellir ei roi o werth y seiniau Cernyweg. Cymerai lawer o amser a gofod i lwyr wyntyllu y pwnc. Gellir cyfeirio at un neu ddau beth i ddangos yr anawsterau sydd ar y ffordd i ddisgrifio'r rhain yn fanwl. Yr oedd y deuseiniad *ew*, *ow* ac *yw* yn ymgymysgu. Er enghraifft ceir *dev* 'Duw' yn odli â *lyfryw* 'llyfrau' ac â *gv* 'gwayw', ffurf amrywiol ar *gv* *yw* *guy* sy'n odli â *tu* = Cym. *tu*, *ihesu* a *tru* = Cym. *tru*, a cheir hefyd y ffurf *gev*. Yn myyl *dev* ceir y ffurf *dv* yn odli â *ihesv*, a digwydd y ffurfiau lluosog *dvow* a *duwow*. Eto ceir *dev* a *jhesu* yn odli â *vertu* 'virtue', Ffr *vertu*, *dev* yn odli â *plu* 'plwyf', a *virtu* yn odli ag *yw* 'yw' *lyw* 'lliw' a *gyw* 'gwiw'. Dyma *ev ow yw uv* ac *u* felly i gyd yn dynodi'r un sain!

[One can give only a rough idea of the value of Cornish sounds. It would take much time and effort to sift the matter thoroughly. One can point at one or two things to demonstrate the difficulties which are in the way of describing such matters in detail. The diphthongs *ew*, *ow* and *yw* are confused. For example one finds *dev* 'God' rhyming with *lyfryw* 'books' and with *gv* 'spear', a variant form of *gv* is *guy* which rhymes with *tu* = Welsh *tu* ['side'], *ihesu* and *tru* = Welsh *tru* ['wretched']; the form *gev* is also found. Beside *dev* one finds the form *dv* rhyming with *ihesv*, and the plural forms *dvow* and *duwow* are attested. Furthermore *dev* and *jhesu* are found rhyming with *vertu* 'virtue', French *vertu*, *dev* rhyming with *plu* 'parish', and *virtu* rhyming with *yw* 'is', *lyw* 'colour' and *gyw* 'worthy'. Thus *ev ow yw uv* and *u* all represent the same sound!] (LICC: 7)

Lewis admits that he has not taken either the time or the effort to unravel the secrets of Cornish phonology and orthography. He probably assumed that the phonology of Cornish was similar to Welsh and Breton. In fact, however, Cornish is very different indeed from both, although Lewis had not studied the questions sufficiently to realise how different. In consequence the peculiarities of Cornish orthography perplexed him.

The reasons for the great difference between Welsh and Breton on the one hand and Cornish on the other can be attributed to the unique nature of the history of Cornwall. During most of the tenth and eleventh centuries Cornwall was dominated by the West Saxons; it seems from the Bodmin Manumissions that West Saxons were masters in Cornwall and the native Cornish were seen as an inferior class. As a result the native Cornish would have been under pressure to learn and to speak the language of their masters. With the coming of the Normans in 1066 the West Saxons lost their hegemony in Cornwall. Moreover many Bretons settled in Cornwall, re-establishing links between the two Brythonic-speaking areas. In the generations following the Norman Conquest it is likely that many hitherto Anglophone Cornishmen began again to use the Celtic language of Cornwall. The first evidence for this revival of interest in Cornish is probably the Old Cornish Vocabulary, a Latin - Celtic glossary, compiled, one surmises, to assist Cornish speakers relearn the Celtic language they had forgotten, or at least, had allowed to become rusty. When the Cornish started using their ancestral language again, however, they introduced into it English speech habits, which had not been present in the language previously. This change in Cornish after the Norman Conquest I refer to as the Prosodic Shift.

1.2 Features of the Prosodic Shift

The relearned Cornish of the post-Conquest era exhibited distinctively English features. Half-long syllables were shortened but were pronounced with increased vigour. Simultaneously unstressed vowels weakened and tended to fall together as the neutral vowel, schwa. In this respect Middle Cornish resembled Middle English becoming very unlike either Welsh or Breton, where unstressed vowels remained distinct. Among further features in Middle Cornish as a result of the Prosodic Shift one might include the following:

- 1) Long [i:] in final position diphthongized to [əi] or [ei]. Thus Cornish *kei* 'dog' corresponds to Welsh *ci* and Breton *ki*
- 2) Final *-d* and intervocalic *-d* are assibilated to [z] written <s>; e.g. Cornish *tas* 'father' but Welsh *tad* and Breton *tad*. In some cases assibilated [d] via the stage [dz], is palatalized to [dʒ] (written <g>, <i> or <j>). Similarly the group *-nt* is assibilated to [nz] or [ndʒ], e.g. Cornish *dans* 'tooth', Welsh and Breton *dant*, Cornish *kerense* or *kerenge* 'love' but Breton *carantez*.

- 3) After a stressed short vowel historic *mn* and *m* are preoccluded to [ʰn] and [ʰm]— a phenomenon unknown in either Breton or Welsh, e.g. Welsh *pen* ‘head’, Breton *penn* ‘head’ but Cornish *pedn*, Welsh *cam* ‘bent’, Breton *kamm* ‘bent’ but Cornish *cabn*.
- 4) Welsh and Breton both tolerate [x] at the beginning of a syllable; Middle English did not however, allowing [h] only in syllable initial. Cornish after the Shift followed English in this matter: *yagh* ‘healthy’ but *yehes* ‘health’ as against Welsh *iach* ‘healthy’ but *iechyd* ‘health’; Cornish *golgh!* ‘wash!’ but *golhy* ‘to wash’ as against Welsh *golch!* and *golchi*, Breton *gwalc’h!* and *gwalc’hiñ*.

Most of the effects of the Prosodic Shift, however, are to be seen in the unique development of vowel phonology in Cornish, and it is to the Cornish vocalic system that we now turn. It should be pointed out, however, that the following pages are not intended to be a full and schematic description of the vocalism of Middle Cornish and Late Cornish. The discussion below concentrates on certain significant features only, particularly those aspects of the vocalic system of Cornish that have a bearing on how the revived language might best be spelt.

In the latter part of the book I outline the emendations necessary to bring the Standard Written Form nearer to the practice of the scribes of Cornish texts and thus closer to the sound system of the traditional language. I also describe how and why Kernowek Standard (KS) fulfills those criteria.

CHAPTER 2

The Brythonic accent shift

2.1 The Brythonic accent shift

British, the language ancestral to Welsh, Cornish and Breton, almost certainly had penultimate stress. When final syllables were lost, however, in the transition from British to Primitive Welsh, Cornish and Breton, the stressed penultimate became the stressed final syllable. Thus, for example, the British name **Caratacos* /karata:kos/ with a long penultimate by the new quantity system became Primitive Welsh **Caradawg*, where the long /a:/ gave *aw*. Later the accent shifted from the final syllable to the new penultimate syllable and the long but now unstressed final syllable was shortened to give *o* in *Caradog*.

The accent shift occurred in all the Brythonic languages except in the south-eastern part of the Breton speech-area. Jackson has dated the accent shift to the eleventh century (LHEB: 699) but it may well be older than that. Since it occurs throughout the Brythonic world, it is likely to have happened when Welsh, Cornish and Breton were a cultural unity.

2.2 The Cornish alternation $y \sim e$

In the transition from British to Primitive Welsh the reflex of both British /u/ and /i/ was reduced to /ə/ (schwa) immediately before the accent. Thus British **litanos* ‘broad’ in Primitive Welsh became **litanos* > *l̥ə’dan*. Later, when the accent shifted to the new penultimate syllable, the schwa received the stress and appears in Modern Welsh spelt as <y> but is pronounced /ə/: *llydan* ‘broad.’

In stressed position the reflex of British /i/ appears in Welsh as /i:/ or /i/ according to whether it occurred in a historically open or closed syllable. The vowels of open syllables were lengthened in Late British. In either case it is in Modern Welsh orthography spelt as <y>. Thus Welsh has *bydd* ‘will be’ (3rd person singular) /bi:ð/ from British stressed /i/ in an open syllable, but *byddaf* ‘I will be’ /‘bəðav/ from an originally unstressed /i/ that was reduced to /ə/ (schwa), before receiving the stress again when the accent shifted.

The position is similar in originally closed syllables. Welsh *mynnal* ‘I wish’ for example has /ə/ from a historically short /i/ that remained short in a closed syllable but was reduced to /ə/ before the accent, only to receive stress again after the accent shift. On the other hand the third singular *myn* ‘wishes, will wish’ has short /i/ the reflex of short /i/ in a closed syllable.

The alternation of $y \sim e$ also occurs in Cornish. In Cornish, however, the result of British stressed *i* is either /i/ or /i:/, whereas the unstressed vowel /ə/ gives Middle Cornish /e/, for example, in *Iedan* ‘broad’, *tevy* ‘grow’ (Welsh *tyfu*), *eva* ‘drink’ (Welsh *yfedh*), *enys* ‘island’ (Welsh *ynys*). The comparable position of Cornish *e* with Welsh *y* in such cases had been noticed by Lhuyd as early as 1707 (AB: 19a). In Cornish therefore the Welsh alternation <y ~ y> appears as <y ~ e> where *y* is either long or short. It is long, for example in *byth* ‘will be’ as against short *e* in *bethaf* ‘I will be’ and *gwyth* ‘trees’ as against *gwethen* ‘tree.’ It is short in both *miennaf* ‘I wish’ and *myn* ‘he wishes.’ In Middle Cornish long *y* /i:/ has a tendency to become long /e:/ in certain circumstances and in such cases the alternation ultimately disappears.

2.3 **Bywnans* and **clywes* are alien to traditional Cornish

It is noteworthy that the alternation also occurs in diphthongs, for example, *yw* in monosyllables alternates with *ew* in disyllables. Thus one finds *byw* ‘alive’ at RD 904, 1383, 1657 and 1662, but *bewe* ‘to live’ at RD 210, 600 and 1121. It is also important to remember that *bewnans* with /e/ is attested over fifty times but there are no examples at all of **bywnans*. Moreover in the later language the diphthong /ew/ is rounded in this word to /ow/. Rowe writes *bownaz* ‘life’ < *bewnans* five times. Had the vowel been */iw/ the rounding to /ow/ could not have occurred, since such a diphthong would have been rounded to */uɔw/, i.e. **buwans*.

The word for ‘hears’ in Welsh is *chlyw* and ‘to hear’ is *chlywed*, where the orthography disguises the difference of the vowel between the monosyllable and the disyllable. In Cornish there are no examples of **chlyw*. Disyllabic forms exhibit *ew*; *pan glewas* ‘when he heard’, for example, is attested seven times. The later rounded form *clowas* ‘to hear’ < *clewas* is attested 19 times in the Cornish texts. **clywes*, **klywes* is wholly alien to traditional Cornish.

2.4 *dyglon* ‘despair’

In *Beunans Meriasek* the Blessed Virgin says to the young man in prison: *in nos na gymer dyglon me ath dylerrff an preson* ‘do not despair; during the night I will free you from prison’ BM 3674-75. The expression *kemeres dyglon* clearly means ‘to suffer despair, to despair,’ though it is not attested elsewhere. *Dyglon* itself is a compound of *dy* privative *dy-* and *colon* ‘heart’ and means ‘lack of heart, lack of courage.’ We can assume that the compound dates from a period when the stress was on the ultimate syllable. This would have given (using Middle Cornish

orthography) **dyglón*. The interior syllable because it was weakly stressed was lost between *g* and *l*, giving **dyglón*. When the accent shifted to the penultimate syllable, since the original penultimate had been lost, it shifted to the first syllable, which was also the penultimate. The result was *dyglon*, the attested form.

There is also a verb **dyglonny* 'to lose heart, to despair' which is attested once in the 2nd singular imperative *na thyglon* 'do not despair' BK 2070. This verb is clearly based on the noun *dyglon*.

2.5 *campoll* ~ *compla* 'mention' ~ 'to mention'

The stem *campol-* is well attested in the traditional texts:

Vn ger na campoll a gryst 'mention not a word of Christ' BM 903; *ha meryasek benytha inna purguir campollys* 'and Meriasek forever mentioned in them' BM 2203-04; *na gampol crist theragovy* 'don't mention Christ in front of me!' BM 2439-40; *meryasek pan gampollys an pap a ruk y presia* 'when I mentioned Meriasek the pope praised him' BM 2791-92; *Na vanna heb the dolla, rag henna na gampolh a* 'I do not [wish to] without deceiving you, therefore do not mention it' BK 2143-44; *Ef ew an bolta mab den a gampoller gans ganow* 'He is the boldest human being that is mentioned by word of mouth' BK 2319-20; *Na gampoll a!* 'Do not mention it!' BK 2954.

Nance assumed that the verbal noun of this verb was **campolla* 'to mention.' The only attested example however is given by James Jenkins who in his poem beginning *Cowzow do ve che dean mor ffeer* 'Speak to me you great wise man' says *Ha me rig clowaz an poble compla* 'and I heard the people mentioning' ACB: F f 3.

For the verbal noun we start with a hypothetical pre-form **kan-poll-âma*. The root is presumably **poll* 'sense', seen for example in the Old Cornish compound *gurbulloc* 'insane.' The original shape of the Cornish root *poll*, Welsh *pyll* 'sense', Irish *ciall* 'sense' would have been **kwesla* 'mind', a derivative of the Celtic root **kwis-* 'to see'. The semantic development was probably 'to see, to notice' > 'to mention'; compare 'to observe' in English which can mean both 'to notice' and 'to remark, to say.'

By the period of Primitive Cornish **kan-poll-âma* has been reduced to **cəmpōlla* with the stress on the final syllable. The weak unstressed internal syllable was lost, giving **cəmp'lla*. At this point the first syllable was rounded by the following nasal, which by assimilation before *p* had become *m*. When the accent is shifted to the initial syllable, now the penultimate, the word appears as *compla*, its historical form. The rounding of unstressed vowels before *m* and *n* is discussed at 8.7-8 and 9.3 below. The imperative second singular of the same verb would have been **kan-poll-a*. This would have developed to Primitive Cornish **canipoll* > '*campoll* 'mention!', from which stem the finite forms derive.

CHAPTER 3

The long high front vowels /i:/ and /e:/

3.1 The alternation in *dyth* ~ *deth* ‘day’

In the alternation *y* ~ *e* the *y* in its earliest Old Cornish form probably represented a long open *i*/t:/. If so, then Old Cornish had three long high front vowels, /i: t: e:/. This is a very crowded and unstable series, unknown in either of the other Brythonic languages. It is highly likely that the long open *i*/t:/ soon fell together with the tenser closed *i*/i:/, e.g. in OC *guin* ‘wine’, *chic* ‘flesh’, etc. well before the Middle Cornish period. This would have meant that the threefold series /i: t: e:/ was already in Old Cornish a twofold one: /i: e:/. We can be quite sure that Middle Cornish never possessed a long untense /t:/.

It appears, moreover, that in some forms of Cornish as a consequence of the overall shortening of long vowels by the Prosodic Shift, earlier /i:/ first diphthongized then eventually fell together with /e:/. I would suggest that the development was as follows. Following the Shift an earlier trimoric /i:/, phonetically *[iːi] where the nucleus was bimoric, lost a mora to become [i], that is to say, the nucleus shortened and in so doing untensed and lowered. In this way an originally trimoric vowel of even quality [i:] split into a short lowered nucleus and a higher coda. The two parts moved further apart to give a diphthong *[ei] or [e]. This diphthong may be what is intended with such spellings as *beys* ‘world’ OM 5, 32, PC 304, 430, RD 2499, 2611, BM 326, 591, etc.; *eys* ‘corn’ OM 1058, 1559, TH 57a, CW 1064; *feyth* ‘faith’ PC 529; and *preys* ‘time’ PC 1096, BM 1261, 1872, CW 1973.

Thereafter the coda in the diphthong was in many cases lost and the remaining vowel fell together with /e:/ from other sources. The loss of the furtive coda does not seem to have been an isolated occurrence, since a similar loss seems to have occurred in the development of OC /ui/ to MC /oy > o:/ (see 4.1 below). As far as the reflexes of OC [i:] are concerned, two separate forms are attested in the Cornish texts, one with /i:/ and the other with /e:/. Here are some examples of differing treatments of the vowel in the same etymon (note that I cite only token references; the texts exhibit many more examples):

<i>bis</i> ‘finger’ OCV	<i>bez</i> ‘finger’ AB: 54c, 292b
<i>brys</i> ‘mind’ OM 90, BK 897	<i>bres</i> ‘mind’ PC 2504
<i>bys</i> ‘world’ PA 2b, 4d, PC 815	<i>bez</i> ‘world’ BF: 44
<i>cryff</i> ‘strong’ PA 105d	<i>cref</i> ‘strong’ OM 1490
<i>dyth</i> ‘day’ PA 10c, OM 17	<i>deth</i> ‘day’ PA 259b, PC 722
<i>gwyth</i> ‘trees’ TH 9	<i>gweth</i> ‘trees’ PA 16b
<i>gwrys</i> ‘made’ OM 9, BM 17, TH 4a	<i>gwres</i> ‘made’ SA 59
<i>prif</i> ‘reptile, worm’ OCV	<i>prév</i> ‘reptile’ AB: 172a
<i>prys</i> ‘time’ PA 61b, OM 338	<i>pres</i> ‘time’ PA 20c, BF: 43
<i>rys</i> ‘given’ TH 52	<i>res</i> ‘given’ TH 40a
<i>vyth</i> ‘at all’ BM 1112	<i>veth</i> ‘at all’ BK 2297
<i>ty a vyth</i> ‘thou wilt be’ OM 568, BM 141	<i>ty a veth</i> ‘thou wilt be’ RD 70, BM 417
<i>whys</i> ‘sweat’ PC 2512; <i>wysce</i> ‘sweat’ TH 6	<i>huêz</i> ‘sweat’ AB: 157c.

It is apparent that the alternation *y* ~ *e* is not entirely a chronological one, but that reflexes with either vowel occur in texts of any period. It should be stressed therefore that the alternation *y* ~ *e* is an important question for any orthography of revived Cornish seeking to accommodate forms with either vowel.

3.2 The diphthongization of long /i:/

In the later Cornish texts historic long /i:/ in absolute final position is not infrequently written as a diphthong. Here are some examples (the list is not exhaustive):

chy ‘house’: *tshei* BF: 16 x 2, 17 x 4, 18 x 3, *tshei* BF: 19; *tzhei* BF: 18 x 2; *tshyi* BF: 18; *chei* BF: 15 x 2, 16; *choy* BF: 16, 27; *tshyi pobaz* ‘bakehouse’ AB: 121a; *tzhyi vorn* ‘bakehouse’ AB: 121a
cry ‘cry’: *krei* BF: 17 x 2, 18
dry ‘to bring’: *drey* PA 21d, 41a, OM 1860; *dho drei* AB: 125b
hy ‘she’: *hei* BF: 17, 19; *hyi* BF: 19; *hai* AB: 244b
ky ‘dog’: *kei* AB: 16b, 46a, 291a
ny ‘we’: *nei* BF: 17 x 3, 18 x 4, 19 x 2; *Nei* AB: 100a, 244b
ry ‘to give’: *the rey* PC 537, 2472; *dho rei* AB: 55b, 125b

try ‘three’: *trei* BF:16, 17; *trei kanz* AB: 244a; *tray* Borde
why ‘you’: *why* TH 33a; *huei* BF: 16, 17 x 2, 18, 19 x 2, 55 x 2; *Huei* AB: 244b

Diphthongal spellings do not appear for the most part appear until the Late Cornish period. It is apparent nonetheless from rhymes in the earlier texts that long /i:/ written <y> had already been diphthongized. One of the earliest and best examples occurs in *Pascon agan Arluth*:

Del yw scrifys prest yma
adro 3ynny gans otry
mara kyll 3eworth an da
3e we3yll drok agan dry
folle yn ta y whela
ys del wra lyon y bray
drey den yn peyn a calla
neffre ny vnasa moy ioy

[As it is written he is always
around us with a violent attack,
to try if he can lead us
from the good to do evil.
Much more wildly than
a lion its prey, does he seek to bring man
to pain. If he were able
never would he desire more joy.] (PA 21)

In that stanza *dry* with original long /i:/ rhymes with *otray* ‘outrage’ spelt <otry>, *bray* < pray ‘prey’ and *ioy* ‘joy’. It is apparent therefore that already by the time of the composition of *Pascon agan Arluth* in the fourteenth century long /i:/ in absolute final had diphthongized.

There are many other examples in the Middle Cornish texts of historic long /i:/ rhyming with a diphthong, for example:

ny ‘we’ OM 555 rhyming with *ioy* ‘joy’ OM 558; *na moy* ‘no more’ OM 946 rhyming with *marnas ty* ‘except thee’ OM 948; *ha moy* ‘and more’ PC 536 rhyming with *the rey* ‘to give’ PC: 537 (this spelling has been cited already); *dry* ‘to bring’ PC 1993 rhyming with *fey* ‘faith’ PC 1996; *thy* ‘thither’ RD 185 rhyming with *ioy* ‘joy’ RD 186; *na moy* ‘no more’ RD 560 rhyming with *gureny ny* ‘let us’ (emphatic) RD 561; *asse yllyn ny* ‘how we can’ RD 1201 rhyming with *mur ioy* ‘much joy’ RD 1202; *mur ioy* ‘much joy’ RD 1285 rhyming with *genough why* ‘with you’ RD 1286; *fout a ioy* ‘lack of joy’ RD 1561 rhyming with *pry* ‘earth’ RD 1563; *na moy* ‘any more’ RD 2036 rhyming with *the thythyow the gy* ‘thy days’ (emphatic) RD 2037; *gruegh ry* ‘do give’ BM 497 rhyming with *dadder moy* ‘more goodness’ BM 499; *ham banneth vy* ‘and my blessing’ (emphatic) BM 507 rhyming with *the vay* ‘thy kiss’ BM 508; *in agen mesk ny* ‘in our midst’ BM 1874 rhyming with *kuntel moy* ‘collect more’ BM 1877; *the fay* ‘thy faith’ BM 2460 rhyming with *thynmo vy* ‘to me’ (emphatic) BM 2461; *an fay* ‘the faith’ BM 3515 rhyming with *ahanes gy* ‘from thee’ BM and *ma hy* ‘she is’ BM 4071 rhyming with *ha moy* ‘and more’ BM 4072.

It is apparent that the diphthongization of long /i:/ in final position is common in both Middle Cornish and the later language. It is to be explained as follows. Original long /i:/ was a trimoric vowel before the Prosodic Shift. Thereafter it was reduced in length to a dimoric vowel: *[i:] > [ii]. The reduced nucleus as it shortened untensed and lowered. This would have given *[i], where nucleus and coda were now at different heights. The two portions of the vowel separated further to give *[ei]. In absolute final position however the coda did not disappear, since there was no following consonant into which it could be absorbed. Rather the coda remained and the resulting diphthong was *[ei]. There was probably a variant also in which the nucleus was differentiated still further from the coda and was closer to schwa: [øi]. This variant was probably meant by such spellings as <choy> and Lhuyd’s <tshyi>.

3.3 *Tyr* ‘three’ (feminine)

The feminine numeral ‘three’ in Cornish is written <tyr> in the medieval texts: *tyr marya* ‘three Marys’ PA 230d, 252b; *an tyr marya* ‘the three Marys’ PA 253a; *tyr gvethen* ‘three trees’ OM 828; *tyr guelen* ‘three rods’; OM 1945. In *Origo Mundi*, however, the word is often written <tyyr> as though the scribe knew that the vowel was not a simple /i:/: *tyyr sprus* ‘three pips’ OM 824; *tyyr guelen* ‘three rods’ OM 1725; *an thyyr guelen* ‘the three rods’ OM 2656. In *Passio Christi* the word is written <teyr> once: *heil feror lowene thy’s vs teyr spik vras genes gury’s* ‘hail, smith, joy to thee; have you ready made three large spikes?’ PC 2669-70.

In ‘three’ (feminine) in *The Creation of the World* the vocalic element is always spelt with the digraph <ay>: *attomma tayre sprusan* ‘here are three pips’ CW1845; *attomma tayr sprusan dryes mes a baradice thewhy* ‘here are three pips brought to you from paradise’ CW 1923-34; *an dayer sprusan yw gorrys in y anow hay fregowe* ‘the three pips have been put in his mouth and nostrils’ CW 2087-88. Lhuyd s.v. *Tres* ‘three’ gives Cornish *Tre m.* and *tair f.* AB: 166b; furthermore he tells us that *Trei* ‘three’ in the feminine is *Tair*, and he cites *Tair delkian* ‘three leaves’ and *Tair bledhen* ‘three years’ AB: 243c.

From this it would seem that the Cornish feminine numeral ‘three’ was *teyr*; *tayr* [teir] but in the early period it was usually written <tyr>. The Cornish scribes knew that in stressed monosyllables <y> was frequently written for [ei], e.g. in *chy*, *dry*, *ky*, *ry*, *why*, etc. They therefore by hypercorrection wrote <tyr> for [teir], and this hypercorrect spelling appears to have become a convention.

For the spirantization of the initial segment in the word *teyr* ‘three’ see 11.1 below.

3.4 *Gweyth* ‘work, working day’

The word for ‘work, working day’ occurs in *Beunans Meriasek*: *Yma oma in penwyth nebes a weyst a carnebre vn pronter ov cuthel guyth* ‘There is here in Penwith a little to the west of Carnbrea a priest doing work’ BM 783-85; *han sacrements vij kefris gol ha guyth menystrys wose helma* ‘and the seven sacraments both on holy day and working day administered hereafter’ BM 997-99. In the second quotation *guyth* rhymes with *sacrements vij*, i.e. *sacrements seyth*. The vowel of *guyth* is clearly [ei]. The same etymon appears in OCV as *gucid* ‘opus [work]’. The diphthong is written <ey> in *na nyl the weyth na the sul* ‘neither on a working day nor Sunday’ RD 1833. On the other hand the vowel is written with *y* in *Resurrexio Domini* also: *na nyl the wyth na the sul* RD 2250. Lhuyd s.v. *Opus* gives Cornish *Huél* and † *guaith*. The obelus indicates that the word was extinct by Lhuyd’s day. It would seem, however, that the scribe of *Beunans Meriasek* wrote <guyth> but pronounced it [gweiθ] or [gwaiθ]. The scribe of *Resurrexio Domini* on the other hand wrote both *weyth* and *wyth*. The spellings <guyth>, <wyth> are by hypercorrection. The scribes knew that monosyllabic long <y> was often pronounced as a diphthong, and thus when they came to a historic diphthong, they wrote it as a simple <y>.

3.5 *Blyth* ‘wolf’

The same graph <y> is written in the Cornish word for ‘wolf’: *blyth brays in for na defry purguir yma* ‘verily there is a great wolf that way indeed’ BM 1104-05; *perhaps blygh so mot I go an lathas polys alema* ‘perhaps a wolf as I may live has killed him a short way off’ CW 1049-50. The plural is written twice by Tregear: *So yth yns y in golan ramping blythes* ‘but they at heart are rampaging wolves’ TH 19a; *yma agan Savyoure worth aga gylwall y blythes* ‘our Saviour calls them wolves’ TH 19a. On the other hand Lhuyd s.v. *Lupus* ‘wolf’ gives Cornish *blaidh* AB: 82b, 294b and he writes *Blaidh*, *A wolf* AB: 241b. Again it would seem that the spelling <blyth> was a Middle Cornish convention and a hypercorrection for *<bleyth>.

The two spellings of *tyr* ‘three’ and *blyth* ‘wolf’ appear to be conventional spellings. Since neither was phonetic but conventional only, this would seem to indicate that Middle Cornish had a strong scribal tradition.

3.6 *Keyn* ‘back’

The Cornish for ‘back’ is *keyn*. The attestations in the texts are as follows:

keyn at OM 1298, 1593, 1618, 2570, PC 321, 2057, 2273, 2586, 2729; *war geyn* OM 895, BM 1884, 3411; *y geyn* PC 2086, RD 404; *war the geyn* PC 2616.

On occasion it appears as *kyn*:

Ota saw bos war ov kyn ‘Here is a load of fodder on my back’ OM 1053; *me a henrosas ha war ow kyn a n clewas* ‘I dreamt and at my back I heard him’ RD 516-17.

The two examples of *kyn* are by hypercorrection. The scribe knew that *y* in a long syllable was often diphthongized, so he wrote <kyn> believing that was the original and correct form.

3.7 *Feya* ‘to flee’, *creya* ‘to cry, to call’

The verb *fye*, *fya* ‘to run away, to flee’ is well attested: *parhap y wrussen fye* ‘perhaps I would flee’ OM 1352; *alema fye uskys me a vyn* ‘I will flee hence speedily BM 2108-09; *ha parugy the fya* ‘and prepare to flee’ BM 26; *fya - run away* CS9. The second singular imperative and the third singular present-future would be **fy* [fi:]. This form would naturally diphthongize to **fei*, just like *chy*, *ky*, etc. It seems that the diphthongized stem became the basis of a reshaped verbal noun *feya* ‘to flee’ attested in Beunans Meriasek: *gesugh thym spath alema quik rag feya* ‘allow me space to flee hence quickly’ BM 942-23; *ran in kerth re ruk feya* ‘some have fled away’ BM 2156; *reys yv feya boneyl marov on oma* ‘we must flee otherwise we are dead here’ BM 3537-38.

We have seen above that the noun *cry* ‘a cry’ has become *krei* in ‘Jowan Chy an Hordh’ (BF: 17 x 2, 18). The verbal noun *crye* ‘to call, to cry’ occurs at OM 1418, PC 2062, 2242, 2249, 2475, 3127, RD 1769, 2304. Spelt *crya* it occurs at TH 9a, 40a, BK 25, CW 1270, 1795, TWG: 26, 34 x 2. The diphthongized form seen in *krei*, however, seems to have provided the basis for a form *creya*:

mar creya war crist ‘if he call upon Christ’ BM 617; *creyaff warnogh ladron drues* ‘I call upon you, wicked thieves’ BM 1047; *ny russugh agen creya* ‘you did not call us’ BM 1531; *mercy war crist y creya* ‘I cry to Christ for mercy’ BM 1816; *Penys purguir yv ov luyst ha creya pur vr war crist* ‘Fasting indeed is my desire and to cry at all times upon Christ’ BM 1824-25; *na ve creya warnogh why* ‘had it not been for crying upon you’ BM 2169; *am creya vy fors ny reyth* ‘you take no heed of my calling’ BM 3620; *en Tellar creiez chei a Horr* ‘in a place called the House of the Ram’ BF: 15 ; *en teller kreiez Tshei an hōr* ‘in a place called the House of the Ram’ BF: 16; *ez kreiez Plēth Maria* ‘which is called Lady’s Tresses’ AB: 245a.

3.8 *Trelye*, *trelyya* ‘to turn’

The English verb ‘to trill’ is archaic and dialectal and means ‘to turn a thing round, to cause to rotate.’ The verb was apparently borrowed in its Middle English form *trile*, *trille*, *tryle*, *trylle* into Middle Cornish with the sense ‘to turn.’ When the verb was borrowed into Cornish the verbal noun would have been *trylye*, *trylya*. This is attested at PA 109d, PC 578. The bare stem would have appeared in the third singular present-future and in the second singular imperative, i.e. as *tryl*. Before a single *l* the vowel would have been long, compare for instance, the long vowels in *pel* ‘ball’, *cul* ‘narrow’ and *ol* ‘will weep’, that all have long vowels. As we have seen long [i:] written <y> was diphthongized in absolute auslaut. It also seems that the long vowel in *tryl* diphthongized to [ei] as though it were in absolute final position. The second part of this new diphthong may have been absorbed into the final sonant and this may be the origin of the form *trelyya*. A variant with [ei] or [ai] is found, however, in later Cornish. The attestations of the word are as follows:

tryl

Tryl BK 290; *te a dryl* BK 20.

tryle

tryle PA 15d, 40a, 107d, PC 1293.

trylye, *trylya*, etc.

y trylyas PA 55c, 87a, 232c; *trylye* PA 109d, PC 578; *hy a drylyas* PA 177c; *y a drylyas* PA 257a; *re trylyas* PC 1995; *the drylya* BK 215a, 345a, 272a; *ow trylya* SA 64a.

trylys

trylys PA 19d, 226a, 258c; *trylys* SA 66a.

treyl

treyl OM 66; *a dreyll* OM 64, 1817; *a dreyll* CW 350; *a dreyle* CW 573.

treyle

treyle OM 1536, 1632, PC 558, 1593, 1809, 2424.

trelye, *treyla*, etc.

na dreyle PC 885; *pan dreyle ef* PC 1853; *may trelyo* PC 1070; *na dreylogh* BM 2163, 2752; *trelyes* CW 2085.

treyls

treyls OM 1400, RD 1464, BM 2084, 2516, 2915, TH 4, 47, 58, CW 926; *treyles* CW 951.

trell

—
trele, trela

—
trelye, trelya

trelya TH 6, 18, 18a, 36a, 49a, 51, 56; *treyla* BM 1953; *a drelyyas* TH 46a; *a drelya* TH 50a; *a drelya* BK 885

trelys

trelys SA 62

trail

y trayle CW 289; *ha trayle* CW 352; *a drayle* CW 739

traila

—
trailya

tha traylyah TWG: 20; *che ra traylyah* TWG: 20; *tralya* TWG: 20; *Dho trailia* AB: 140b, 172c; *a trailia* BF: 17 ; *Ha trailiaz* BF:18; *a trailiaz* BF 18.

trailys

—

Spellings with <y> in both monosyllabic and disyllabic forms are attested early in PA, but they persist as far as BK and SA. It is probable that the spellings <tryl>, <tryle>, <trylye>, etc., conceal a diphthong. The diphthongal pronunciation, as in the case of *feya* and *creya*, has presumably been generalized from monosyllabic *treyl*, written *tryl* by hypercorrection. It is noteworthy that SA exhibits the verbal adjective as both *trelys* with <e> and *trylys* with <y>. I think we must assume that the scribe pronounced the word with [e] or [ei], but on occasion wrote <y> by hypercorrection. If this is so, it would be further evidence that Middle Cornish had a strong scribal tradition, which survived into the latter half of the sixteenth century. This view is corroborated by the practice in BK which has *tryl*, *te a dryl*, *trylya*, *the drylya*, where the stressed vowel is either [e] or more probably [ei]. The manuscript of BK dates from the later sixteenth century.

The commonest forms seem to be *treyl*, *trelyla* and in the later period *trayl*, *traylya*. The spelling of the verb in the revived language should reflect this position and spell ‘to turn’ as *trelyla* or *trailya*.

3.9 The spelling <yy>

In *Pascon agan Arluth* the plural of ‘stone’ after the article is *an veyn* PA 11c, 209d. In *Origo Mundi* on the other hand the plural appears as *myyn*: *gans myyn gureugh hy knoukye* ‘with stones strike her’ OM 2694 *fos a vyyyn bryntyn* ‘a wall of fine stones’ OM 2281; *gans myyn grow* ‘with granite stones’ OM 2756. The spelling with <yy> in *Origo Mundi* represents the diphthongal pronunciation here, where it is to be expected. The same <yy> is used in *olow ov thryys* ‘the prints of my feet’ OM 710, where it is also to be expected. <yy> is also used however, where, the vowel is historically /i:/ in *lyys* ‘mud’ OM 1070. This is perhaps further evidence of the diphthongization of historic long /i:/.

3.9 *Pascon agan Arluth* stanza 54

Stanza 54 of *Pascon agan Arluth* reads as follows:

Mab marya meur a beyn
a wo3evy yn vr na
rag ef a wo3ya yn feyn
han kyg ny vynna henna
mes y3ewsys o mar feyn
pup vr 3e3a an trylya
may3 eth war ben y3ewleyn
ha pesy yn ketelma

[The son of Mary was suffering
much pain at that time,
for he knew full well
and the flesh did not wish it,

but his godhead was so fine,
continually turned him to it,
so that he went down on his knees
and prayed in this way]

It is not clear exactly whether the rhymes in this stanza are perfect or merely approximate. In standardized orthography the rhyming words in the odd lines would be *a bain, yn fen, mar fin, y dhewlin*. It certainly appears that *fin* ‘fine’ and *dewlin* ‘knees’ are considered adequate rhymes for *pain* and *yn fen*. This can only be true if the long [i:] in *fin* and *dewlin* is understood as having diphthongized.

3.11 The Cornish for ‘week’

The Cornish word for ‘week’ is a reflex of Latin *septimania* although it appears in Cornish to have been influenced by the native word for ‘seven.’ In OCV it appears as *seithun*. Furthermore Lhuyd writes *zeithan* AB: 33a, 148c, 249a, 250c. In the Middle and later Cornish texts, however no diphthong is written:

‘week’ in Cornish

sythyn OM 1026, RD 30, BM 3222; *sythen* BM 595, 1820, 4568, LAM: 244 (Bodinar); *sithen* Bilbao x4.

Since the OC form was *seithun* and Lhuyd’s quasi-phonetic form is *zeithan*, we must assume that the Cornish word always contained a diphthong [əi] or [ei]. The spellings *sythyn*, *sythen* and *sithen* are likely therefore to conceal a diphthong. Bodinar’s *sythen* is odd, given that he tells us he has never seen a Cornish book and is therefore apparently unaware of any traditional spelling. His *sythen* therefore and Gwavas’s *sithen* in the Bilbao manuscript are probably by analogy with English spelling in words like *scythe*, *tithe* and *withe*.

3.12 The alternation in spelling between <i> and <y>

In revived Cornish orthographies <i> and <y> are used to distinguish /i:/ from /i/. There is little evidence in Middle Cornish orthography for this distinctive use of the two symbols. Perhaps the only example comes from Old Cornish. In OCV Latin *uinum* ‘wine’ is glossed in Cornish as *guin* with /i:/, whereas *albus* ‘white’ is given as *guyn* with /i/. Speakers of Cornish generally recognize that <y> in writing represents a short vowel and <i> a long one.

Towards the end of the last century an orthography for Cornish was devised which assumed that Middle Cornish had three long high vowel /i: t e:/ written <i, y, e> as well as their short equivalents /i t e/. This in itself was an impossible series. Not only were the three vowels, both long and short, far too close to each other to have survived as distinct phonemes, but such a cluttered series was found nowhere else in the Brythonic languages, neither in Welsh nor in Breton. North Welsh does exhibit three long vowels /i: i: e:/ where the middle member is not a high front vowel but a high centralized one. The middle member of the series was centralized precisely in order to make the high front position less crowded.

The new orthography was itself based on a mistaken phonology. The intended phonology was never adopted, not even by those who were apparently most in its favour. The adoption of the new spelling of Cornish, however, had the most unfortunate results. Learners did not understand that <y> in the new spelling could be either long or short. Instead they assumed that <i> was to be pronounced long and <y> short. As a result a whole generation students who learnt this orthography can be heard pronouncing, *dydh da* ‘good day’ for example as *[dɪð da:] rather than the intended [di:ð da:]. Similarly they incorrectly pronounce *pryv* ‘reptile’ to rhyme with English ‘give’ rather than with ‘grieve’. Such mispronunciations are among the many unfortunate legacies of the orthography in question.

CHAPTER 4 Old Cornish /ui/ in Middle Cornish

4.1 The development of Old Cornish /ui/

The diphthong /ui/ occurred in a number of Old Cornish words, e.g. *buit* ‘food’, *cuit* ‘wood’, *guit* ‘blood’, **luit* ‘grey’, **uit* ‘age’, *ruit* ‘net’, *scuid* ‘shoulder’, **scuit* ‘shield’ and *truit* ‘foot’. In these items the diphthong first lowered to /oi/ and then the coda of the diphthong was absorbed into the final consonant. If the final segment was [d] (written <t>) it was assibilated to [z] (written <s>). The above items therefore developed first as *boys*, *coys*, *goys*, *oys*, *roys*, *scoyth*, *scoys* and *troys*. The vowel then simplified to /o:/ giving *bos* ‘food’, *cos* ‘wood’, *gos* ‘blood’, **os* ‘age’, **ros* ‘net’, *scoth* ‘shoulder’, *scos* ‘shield’ and *tros* ‘foot’.

The stage -oy- in the development from /ui/ > /o:/ is amply guaranteed not only by spellings in the texts containing <oy> or <oi>, but also in many historic place-names, e.g. *Coyseglase*, *Coysynchase*, *Coyskentueles*, *Coyspenhilek*, *Coysfala* and *Coysbesek* (see CPNE: 67).

The spellings with <oy> appear to have persisted after the simplification of the diphthong to /o:/. As a result the scribes of Middle Cornish sometimes used the graphs <oy> and <oi> to represent a long /o:/ in words that had never contained a diphthong, for example, in the words *bos* ‘to be’, *ros* ‘gave’ and *colli* ‘old’:

pronter boys me a garse ‘I should like to be a priest’ BM 522; *agen tassens an barth north re roys thynny purguir y venedyccomm* ‘our holy father of the North has given us his blessing’ BM 3427-29; *in dan an la han testament coith* ‘under the law and the Old Testament’ TH 27.

4.2 ui > /u:/ <ou>

It should also be noted that in some forms of Cornish the diphthong /ui/ did not lower to /oi/ before simplifying, but that the nucleus remained a high back vowel. Already in the *Ordinalia* some words with /ui/ in Old Cornish exhibit Middle Cornish forms with /u:/ rather than /o:/, e.g.

war ow scouth by my laute me a vyn y thon the dre ‘on my shoulder by my honour I will carry it home’ PC 658-59; *dro hy thy’nmo war ow scouth* ‘put it for me on my shoulder’ PC 2623; *bynnytha na thepro bous me a’n kelm auel pusorn* ‘I will tied him up like a bundle, that he may never eat food’ RD 541-42.

Judging by later Cornish forms like *Kûz* ‘Wood’, and *Lûz* ‘grey’, it is likely that those dialects which maintained /ui/ before simplifying were the more westerly ones. It seems also that before the coda of the diphthong /ui/ or /oi/ was absorbed into the following consonant, it palatalized the following assibilated consonant at the stage /dz/ to give /dʒ/. This accounts for Lhuyd’s *lûdzh* ‘grey’ AB: 10c, 46a, 231a and *gûdzh* ‘blood’ AB: 10c, 52c, 120a, 144a, 231a, 297a. The same palatalization has also occurred with the lowered diphthong /oi/ in *oydge* ‘age’ CW 2101. Curiously for ‘age’ Lhuyd gives *ûz* only AB: 42a, 147b, 244b.

The dialectal variant seen in *kûz* can also explain place-names like *Cusgarne* and *Cusvey*, where an earlier **cous* has been shortened in English in the compound name. The dialectal form, which is largely western, can also to some degree explain place-names like *Coosebean* and *Coosehecca*. It would also explain place-names containing the elements -*coose* and -*goose*, e.g. *Chycoose*, *Melancoose*, *Mellingoose*, *Berrangoose*, etc. Names ending in -*goose*, however, may well have been influenced by the English word *goose*.

4.3 The diphthong /ui/ in final position

Before a following consonant the second element in the diphthong is lost: *cuit* > *coys* > *cos*, *kûz*. In absolute auslaut the coda remains. We thus have *oy* ‘egg’ < *uy* in OCV and *moy* ‘more’ Breton *muï*, Welsh *mwy*. An exception here is the word for ‘spoon’, *loe* ‘ligula [spoon]’ in OCV; Welsh *llwy*. Lhuyd gives as *lo* ‘cochleare’ [spoon] AB: 48c, and compare also the dog’s name *lonk-y-lo* ‘swallows-his-spoon’ BM 3226. One would perhaps expect a Middle Cornish form **loy*. It is likely, however, that the plural **loyow* has by false division (*loy-ow* > *lo-yow*) given a singular *lo*.

The different development of /oi/ > /o:/ medially but /oi/ finally can be seen in the two related items: *moy* ‘more’ and the verb *moghhe* ‘to increase’ (Welsh *mwy* and *mwyhau* respectively):

moy ‘more’

moy PA 21d, 34d, 51d, 72d, 104d, 116d, etc., OM 134, 170, 219, 391, 399, etc.

***moghhe* 'to increase'**

may mohghaho hy huth hy 'that her pain may increase' OM 297; *moghheys* 'increased' BM 313, 3306; *moghheen* 'let us increase' BM 1265; *me ren moghheys* 'I have increased it' BM 2402.

It should also be noted that alongside *moyha* 'most', which is probably an analogical formation on the basis of *moy* 'more', one also finds *moghya* 'most' PC 513, 777, 792, 798, BM 1544. This latter is probably the original formation.

4.4 *moy* ~ *muy* 'more', *oy* ~ *uy* 'egg',

The probably dialectal difference between *cos* and *kûz*, *gos* and *gûdzh* is probably also visible in two monosyllables where the diphthong occurs in auslaut. We thus find variants of both etyma with *uy* rather than *oy*:

mouy Souseuack 'more English' BF: 25; *ry thotha mouy* 'to give it more' BF: 29; *muy dale moaz* 'more must go' LAM 226; *hedna muy, po le* 'that more or less' LAM 242; *Holan muy* 'More salt' BF: 44.

The only example known to me of the word for 'egg' with a high rounded vowel is *in agen meske ov scumbla avel wy mark attahy* 'excreting in our midst like an egg; look at her!' BM 3952-53. Nonetheless we have good evidence for two dialectal forms *muy* and *uy* rather than *moy* and *oy*.

CHAPTER 5 Diphthongs in /w/

5.1 The diphthongs /aw/ ~ /ow/

It is generally assumed that the two diphthongs /aw/ and /ow/ in Cornish were pronounced differently, i.e. [au] and [ou] respectively. Judging, however, by the spellings in the texts, it seems that the two diphthongs were not always kept separate:

cawas ‘to get’ BM 85, 255, CW 959
an jawl OM 2527; *Dzhiaul* ‘devil’ AB: 54c, 55b, 292a
fautes ‘faults’ TH 22a
S Pawle TH 4a, 7a, 8, 9, 14, 29a, 33
Sausen BF: 25, 29
Zawznak, *Sawsneck* ACB: B b 4 verso.

e gowis ‘to get it’ SA 60
an iowl BM 782; *An Jowl* BK 120;
fowt ‘fault’ TH 4 x 2, 4a, BK 1951
S Powle TH 4a x 2, 7, 33a, 34
Sousen BF: 31; *pou an Zouzn* AB: 42c
Sousenack BF: 25, 29, 31; *Zouznak*
 AB: 23c, 42c.

On the other hand *pow* ‘country’, for example, always has /ow/ and *maw* ‘boy’ always has /aw/. Moreover *ow* from earlier *ew* does not alternate with *aw*. This might suggest that the diphthong in *Pawl/Powl*, *Sawson/Sowson* was not the same as that in *cowse*l ‘to speak’ or *towle*l ‘to throw.’

I suggested some years ago that the shift from /ow/ to /aw/ might have been the result of the Prosodic Shift, where the diphthong untensed and thus lowered slightly. This is not correct, I think, because *saw* ‘but’ clearly predates Tregear’s *sow* (see next section). It is more likely that the two diphthongs /aw/ and /ow/ were sufficiently close that they had a tendency on occasion to be confused in speech. It is possible, however, that the weakening final unstressed *-ow* lowered to *-aw* in the later language. See next section.

5.2 Final *-aw* for *-ow* in unstressed syllables

In BK the scribe frequently writes final unstressed *-ow* as *-aw*:

arhadaw ‘command’ BK 551; *arghadaw* ‘command’ BK 726; *caradaw* ‘beloved’ BK 650; *cansaw* ‘hundreds’ BK 1329; *casadaw* ‘hated one’ BK 728; *duwaw* ‘gods’ BK 223; *eraw* ‘acre’ BK 823; *fasaw* ‘boastful’ BK 534, 1453; *galaraw*, *gallaraw* ‘afflictions’ BK 2392, 3288; *garaw* ‘rough’ BK 971, 1267, 1977, 1985, 2264, 2422, 3296; *gwlasaw* ‘kingdoms’ BK 1973, 2707; *grasaw* ‘thanks’ BK 1235, 2532, 2708; *hanaw* ‘name’ BK 57, 3104; *lagasaw* ‘eyes’ BK 1975; *lavaraw* ‘utterances’ BK 973, 3089; *maraw* ‘dead’ BK 302, 523, 580, 955, 1850, 1978, 1986, 2395, 2434, 2965, 3149, 3251, 3285, 3299; *paraw* ‘equals’ BK 1135, 1269, 2406; *pejadaw* ‘prayer’ BK 763; *plegadaw* ‘pleasant’ BK 2409; *prasaw* ‘meadows’ BK 1159.

This development would seem to date from the later sixteenth century onwards; it is found in other texts from that period and thereafter. Here are some examples:

abranzaw ‘eyelids’ CS9: 97; *ankaw* ‘death’ CW 1967; *benaw* ‘female’ CW 2271, 2414, 2416; *bohaw* ‘cheeks’ CS9: 97; *brodnaw* ‘breasts’ CS9: 97; *canhasawe* ‘messengers’ CW 29; *caradaw* ‘dear’ CS9: 97; *crabanaw* ‘scratching fingers’ CS9: 97; *freegaw* ‘nostrils’ CS9: 97; *ganaw* ‘mouth’ CS9: 97, CW 932, TWG: 30; *gorrawe*, *gorawe* ‘male’ CW 2414, 2416; *gwelwaw* ‘lips’ CS9: 97; *gyrriyaw* ‘words’ 638; *hanaw* ‘name’ TWG: 20; *lagasaw* ‘eyes’ CS9: 97; *levyaw* ‘floods’ CW 2164; *maraw* ‘dead’ TWG: 28; *tavosaw* ‘tongues’ CS9: 97.

5.3 *Saw* ‘but’

The word *saw* ‘safe’ is widely used to mean ‘but’. Indeed it appears overall to be more frequent in traditional Cornish than *mes* (later *buz*). Here are a very few examples:

saw pedyr crist a holyas abell ‘but Peter followed Christ afar’ PA 77b; *saw war thu y a vynne dre envy leuerell gow* ‘but they wished to slander God through envy’ PA 90c; *War paradys my a’th as saw gvræa vn dra a’m govys* ‘I leave you in paradise but do one thing for me’ OM 75-6; *saw a’n frut ny fyth kynmyas* ‘but there will not be permission for the fruit’ OM 79; *saw na bygh y war nep cor* ‘but do not oppress them at all’ OM 122; *saw kyns ys mos ov thas whek ro thy’m the vanneth* ‘but before I go, my dear father, give me your blessing’ OM 451-52; *saw the face my ny welaf* ‘but thy face I do not see’ OM 588; *saw vn marrek a’n lathas* ‘but a mounted soldier killed him’ OM 2226; *saw the arluth dev a’n*

nef y coth thy's y worthye ef 'but your Lord God of heaven you must worship him' PC 104-05; *saw me a's segh gans ow blew* 'but I will dry them with my hair' PC 484; *saw gueytyens pup may tokco ganso lorgh py clethe da* 'but let every one take care to carry with him a staff or goodly sword' PC 942-43; *sau barabas ny a pys* 'but Barabbas we request' PC 2041; *sau kyn fens y morthelek* 'but though they be hammered' PC 2731; *na scrif myghtern yethewen sau scryf ynno an bylen the leuerol y vos ef myghtern yethewen* 'do not write king of the Jews but write in it that the scoundrel said he was king of the Jews' PC 2797-800; *saw an corf-na byw a pe an emperour ef sawse* 'but if that body were alive he would heal the emperor' RD 1657-58; *nyns us arluth war an beys saw ty pur wyr me a greys* 'there is not lord upon the earth but thee indeed I believe very truly' RD 1719-20; *Sau ol theso me a n gaf* 'But I forgive thee everything' BK 1097; *sau guel avys arag Arthur pan deffa* 'but a better course before Arthur when he comes' BK 1872-73; *Saw vn kynda a frut an tas du a chargias mabden na rella myllya na tuchia worta* 'But one kind of fruit God the Father charged man that he should not meddle with or touch' TH 2; *Saw an dra ma ew straying the ran an bobyll* 'But this matter is strange to some people' TH 13a; *saw a pony dewyow gwryes* 'but if we were to become gods' CW 812; *nynng es dean orthe ow seruya len ha gwyrrian sure pub pryas saw noye in oll an bys ma* 'there is no one serving me loyally and truly at all times but Noah only in all this world' CW 2224-46.

Saw however not infrequently appears as *sow*:

sow in creacion a vabden an tas a vsias solemptyty bras 'but in the creation of man God used great ceremony' TH 1; *No ny reugh merwell, sow du a wore peskytter may tepprow anythy why a vith kepar ha du* 'No you will not die, but God knows as soon as you eat of it you will be like God' TH 3a; *Sow innove only yma gweras confort ha succure* 'But in me only is help, comfort and succour' TH 11a; *kepar hag onyn ahanan ny, sow pegh only theworth eff exceptys* 'like one of us, but only sin excepted from him' TH 15' *Sow an keth adam yw gwryes* 'But this same Adam has been created' CW 461; *sowe Eva manaf saya* 'but I will try Eve' CW 471; *sow pur wyre thymo ve creš* 'but very truly believe me' CW 943; *sow yth ota gy gockye* 'but you are foolish' CW 2324.

Tregear does not seem to use *mes* 'but' at all, but *saw* only. He spells this *saw* on occasion, but more often it appears as *sow*. His most frequent spelling, however, is *so*. Here are a very few examples:

fatell vs iii person in drynsys so whath nynng ew mas vn du 'that there are three persons in the Trinity but yet there is only one God' TH 1a; *So in mer ver dell ew an stat na kyllys* 'But in as much as that state has been lost' TH 3; *So yma ran ahanowgh a vynsa mertesyn gothfas pelha* 'But some of you would like perhaps to know further' TH 3; *so whath an debry an kyth sam avall na in kyth case na, o disobediens bras* 'but however the eating of that same apple in that same case was a great disobedience' TH 4a; *So nyns ew an Spuris sans mar dyligens in travith* 'But the Holy Spirit is not as diligent in anything' TH 6; *so nyns o ef methek the confessia y pehosow* 'but he was not ashamed to confess his sins' TH 8a.

The alternation between *saw* and *sow* is similar to that of *aw* ~ *ow* in *Pawl/Powl*, *Saws*, *Sows*, etc. It appears, however, that in the word *sow*, which would have been in low sentence stress, the diphthong [ow] was reduced to [o:] written <o>.

5.4 *ew* > *ow* in disyllables

In Cornish the stressed diphthong *ew* in disyllables has a tendency to develop as *ow*. This appears to be as a result of the rounding effect of the rounded coda *w*. The first instances occur in *Pascon agan Arluth* in the words *dewthek* > *dowthek* 'twelve' and *dewlyn* > *dowlyn* 'knees':

a leueris 3en dowzek 'said to the twelve' PA 47a; *3en dowzek y leuerys* 'to the twelve he said' PA 61a; *war ben dowlyn* 'on his knees' PA 171c; *3y ben dowlyn y cozas* 'he fell upon his knees' PA 220b.

Examples of *ow* for earlier *ew* are rare in the Ordinalia, but note *yn doves* in deity 'RD 2454. In *Beunans Meriasek* (AD 1504) the forms of the verb *clawas* 'to hear' regularly exhibit *ow*:

clowugh BM 1890; *a glowys* BM 2120; *Clowys* BM 2224; *ny glowys* BM 2238; *del glowough* BM 2244; *prag; na glowys* BM 2251; *me a glowes* BM 2394; *na yl clowas* BM 2636; *ny a clov* BM 2662; *del glowys* BM 2875.

Similarly forms of *keusel* ‘to speak’ also show *ow*:

ny govvy BM 2239; *ha why covsugh* BM 2534; *kyn covseff* BM 2555; *bethens covsys* BM 2914.

The verbal adjective of *tewlel* ‘to throw, to intend’ is attested in the earliest texts with *ew*, *eu* or *ev*. From the time of TH onwards, however, the diphthong has been rounded to *ow*. This can be seen from the following:

***tewlys* ‘thrown, planned’**

tewlys PA 7c, 22d, 41a, 152b, 179a, 190d, 214c; *teuly*s RD 1286, 2166, 2333; *teuly*s BM 137.

***towl*ys ‘thrown, planned’**

*towl*ys TH 10, 34, 40a, BK 3198, CW 937; *towles* CW 329, 789, 1139, 1484, 1501; *towlis* TH 34; *towlaz* TWG: 32.

Although the development *towl*ys for *tewlys* is later to appear in writing than the shift of *clewys* > *clowys*, it is an example of the same phenomenon.

5.5 The Cornish for ‘return, requital’

A Middle Cornish word for ‘return, requital’ is *pewas*, which appears in *Pascon agan Arluth*:

yn meth pylat worth an myns
an pegh peuas ris yv ry
‘said Pilate, according to the extent
of the sin must requital be given’ PA 117c.

The same word with a rather more positive sense ‘reward’ is attested in the memorial for Captain Stephen Hutchens:

Bounas heb dueth Eu poes karens wei
tha Pobl Bohodzhal Paull han Egles nei
[Life without end is the reward of your friends,
to the poor people of Paul and our Church] BF: 57.

The shift from *pewas*, written <peuas> to *powas*, written <poes> is clearly that seen in *dewthek* > *dowthek*, *clewes* > *clowes*, *tewlys* > *towl*ys, etc. Some varieties of Cornish write the word **piwas*, a spelling for which there is no evidence.

5.6 The Cornish for ‘Cornish’

Nance wrote the word for ‘Cornish’ as *Kernewek*, a form which appears first in his English-Cornish dictionary of 1934. The *e* in the second syllable was apparently in imitation of the form cited by Robert Williams in his *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* of 1865. In his idiosyncratic orthography Williams writes *Cernewec*. It must be admitted, however, that both *Kernewek* and *Cernewec* are inventions, neither of which occurs in traditional Cornish.

The proto-form was probably **Kernowika* ‘language of the Cornovii’, which with *i*-affection of the second syllable and *a*-affection of the third syllable, would have given **Kernewek*. By the time, however, that the word was actually attested the *-ew-* had been rounded to *-ow-*. The following are the attested forms:

Cornowok LAM: 268 (Exeter Consistory Court 1572)
Carnoack BF: 25 x2
Curnooack BF: 25 x3, 27 x2, 29 x2, 31
Curnoack BF: 31
Curnoack LAM: 238
cornoack LAM: 244 (Bodinar) x 4
Kernuack LAM: 238
Kernûak AB: 222-24 *passim*
Kernuack ACB F f verso

Kernuak BF: 46
kernuak BF: 46 x2
Kornooack BF: 48.

It is apparent from all these examples that the traditional form of the word for ‘Cornish’ had either *o* or *û* in the second syllable. *Kernewek* is a fiction of the early revival. Henry Jenner, the first revivalist, spelt the word *Kernuak* or *Kernûak*. If we combine the spelling of 1572, *Cornowok*, with *Kernuak* of Lhuyd, Price and John Boson, we get *Cornowak*. Since, however, in revived Cornish the names of languages end in *-ek* and since it would be wise not to deviate greatly from the form *Kernewek* with which people are familiar, I suggest that the spelling *Kernowek* be used by revivalists.

5.7 Historic long /y:/ in final position

The word for ‘black’ in Cornish is *du*. This is identical in origin with Welsh *du* ‘black’ and Breton *du* ‘black’ both from **dubo-*; compare OIr *dub* ‘black’. In Cornish *du* would originally have been pronounced [dy:], where the vowel was trimoric (remember that [y:] represents the vowel of French *lune* ‘moon’ or German *grün* ‘green’). As a result of the Prosodic Shift after the Norman Conquest trimoric /dy:/ [dyyy] would have shortened to [dyy], but because the vowel was reduced in length the onset untensed, lowered > * [döy]. The two parts of the vowel continued to diverge, the nucleus unrounded and the coda unfronted; the end result was [diu]. That *du* ‘black’ was so pronounced can be seen from a stanza in *Resurexio Domini*. Because Pilate was responsible for the death of Christ, the earth will not accept the dead governor’s body when it is buried. In a slapstick passage the gaoler’s servant says of Pilate’s corpse, which they are attempting to bury for the second time:

pur harth dun thotho wharre
gorryn ef yn beth arte
du *yw y lyw*
me a grys ymo y sef
mars yw abarth dev a nef
bo ken deaul yw

[let’s go quickly to him very bravely;
let’s put him in the grave again.
Black is his hue.
I believe he will stay in it
if he is on the side of God of heaven,
otherwise he is a demon] RD 2099-104.

It is quite clear that to heighten the comic effect the line *du yw y lyw*, though only four syllables, has been given a double internal rhyme, where *du* ‘black’ rhymes with both *yw* ‘is’ and *lyw* ‘hue, colour.’ That Cornish *du* ‘black’ is pronounced [diu] can also be seen from Lhuyd, who cites the following:

Moran diu ‘A Blackberry’ AB: 44b; *Kranag diu* ‘A Toad’ AB: 45a; *Gôv diu* ‘A blacksmith’ AB: 58a;
Teual, diu ‘Brown, tawny, a dun or dark colour, dusky’ AB: 62b; *Diu* ‘Black, purple, dark’ AB: 99a;
Miz diu ‘November’ AB: 100b; *Spennan diu* ‘*prunus sylv.* [wild plum, sloe]’ AB: 131b; *pedn diu* ‘A frog, a paddock’ [*pedn du* = tadpole] AB: 136b; *îz diu* ‘a billberry’ AB: 168c.

5.8 ‘God, god’ in the texts

Du ‘black’ is pronounced as though *dyw*. This, however, could also mean ‘God’. As a result *du* was frequently used in Middle Cornish for ‘God’. There are too many examples of the word for ‘God’ in the Cornish texts for me to cite them all. Here, therefore, I give all the instances I can find from *Pascon agan Arluth* and the three plays of the Ordinalia.

dev

dev OM 73, 105, 110, 115, 140, 219, 232, 255, 290, 325, 413, 476, 480, 493, 519, 535, 538, 622, 644, 650, 654, 668, 673, 684, 695, 731, 753, 809, 821, 843, 857, 937, 1009, 1077, 1125, 1148, 1153, 1169, 1188, 1190, 1193, 1196, 1198, 1200, 1201, 1260, 1294, 1304, 1319, 1326, 1338, 1342, 1358, 1359, 1375, 1409, 1439, 1445, 1480, 1485, 1491, 1513, 1523, 1536, 1546, 1554, 1558, 1562, 1597, 1616, 1625, 1657, 1663, 1675, 1702, 1737, 1774, 1783, 1796, 1831, 1858, 1862, 1865, 1890, 1895,

1919, 1974, 1986, 1992, 2002, 2015, 2026, 2075, 2265, 2274, 2283, 2351, 2356, 2359, 2539, 2564, 2636, 2646, 2826; PC 60, 104, 117, 140, 157, 169, 197, 234, 237, 241, 254, 275, 288, 293, 316, 425, 667, 1127, 1322, 1328, 1379, 1383, 1411, 1442, 1460, 1486, 1491, 1577, 1637, 1651, 1657, 1694, 1726, 1730, 1741, 1911, 1914, 1951, 2173, 2353, 2405, 2419, 2704, 2865, 2867, 2889, 2891, 2898, 2935, 3082, 3157, 3179; RD 9, 271, 331, 927, 934, 942, 974, 1110, 1254, 1546, 1619, 1732, 1751, 2103, 2199, 2287, 2477, 2580, 2612.

a thew RD 1665

dew

dew OM 502, 505, 509, 592, 803, 873, 1851, 2136; PC 49.

dyw

gyrthyw RD 1018, 1618

du

du PA 6d, 8b, 11c, 12d, 14d, 24a, 30b, 42b, 44a, 45d, 55b, 57a, 122a, 129c, 163d, 197d, 208c, 210d;
du RD 1248.

the thu PA 15a; *3e 3u* PA 17b, 27d

a thu PC 333; RD 615

duv RD 1602.

The scribe of *Bewnans Meriasek* writes ‘God’ as <du>, though there is one example of <dev> in the play. Tregear writes <du> except in <the thew> ‘to God’ TH 1. SA writes <dew>. BK has both <dew> and <du>, CW writes <dew>.

It can be clearly seen from the above that ‘God’ in Cornish could be written <du>, <dev>, <dew> and that such spellings represented [diw] or [dew]. Furthermore the words for ‘God’ and for ‘black’ were homophones. Let us not forget that the spellings of this word were perplexing for Henry Lewis (see 1.1 above).

In *Origo Mundi* and *Bewnans Ke* there are no examples of the word for ‘God’ written with a stressed <u>. The plural form however appears with <u> in *fals duwow* ‘false gods’ OM 882; *ha’m duwow mas* ‘and my good gods’ BK 991; *ha th fals duwaw* ‘and your false gods’ BK 223. Such spellings may represent a rounded pronunciation of the high front vowel in the presence of two consecutive bilabial approximants.

5.9 The Cornish for ‘who?’

As mentioned above, the Cornish for ‘who?’ is *pyw*, *pew*. Here are as many attested forms as I have been able to find in the traditional texts (I ignore capitalization):

pyv

PA 190d, OM 1874, PC 771, 798, 1116, 1380, 1384, 2853, RD 262, 1640, 2383, 2467, 2511, 2547, BM 307, 775, 1791, 1977, 2691, 2708, 2714, 2869, 3301, 3463, 3678, 3719, 4039

pyw

OM 261, 1368, 2339, PC 320, 1109, RD 196, 410, 589, 2499, CW 872

pew

TH 7, 11, 28a x2, 36, 43a x2, 57, SA 59 x2, BK 100, 209, 214, 1998, 2068, CW 548, 1462, 1593, 2346, ACB: F f 4 verso.

pu

PA 81d, 160c, 253d, RC 23: 179.

The spelling <pu> found in both PA and Rowe (RC 23: 179) is comparable with <du> ‘god, God.’ The only Cornish forms with <i> are found in Lhuyd in his semi-phonetic spelling. He writes *piu a uor?* ‘who knows?’ and *piu a ryg an bad-ober?* ‘who committed the crime?’ but he also writes *peu a ryg an bad-ober?* Nowhere in the traditional texts, however, do we find a spelling **piw*, although Joseph Loth in a footnote to the form *pu* in RC 23 from Genesis 3.11 has a note: *Pu = piw*. Loth’s spelling *piw* is based on Breton *piv* and is unwarranted for Cornish. An authentic orthography for Cornish will write ‘who?’ as *pyw* or *pew*.

5.10 The feminine numeral ‘two’

The feminine form of the numeral ‘two’ is not common in the texts outside the dual form of the word for ‘hand’. I have collected the following examples of the latter:

dule PC 583, 1216, 2163, 2499, 2516, 2677; RD 2202, BM 1315, 2991, 3035
dula BM 502, 2603, BF: 31
dyulef PC 2375
dyvlef PC 2937
dyvluelf PC 3174
dywluelf OM 1346
dywle RD 2590
dewleff PA 156c, TH 15a, 21a
dewle PA 48d, 130d, 131a
dewla CW 1531
dowla SA 60, 60a, 61 x2, 62
doola TWG: 30.

It will be seen that there are no examples containing **iw* or *iu* in the traditional texts. There are good arguments for spelling the word *dywla*, *dewla* or *dowla* in an authentic revived orthography. There is no reason to spell the word **diwla*.

5.11 The Cornish for ‘end’

The attested spelling of the Cornish word for ‘end’ from the traditional texts are as follows:

dyweth OM 328, 516, 671, 742, 1272, 1728, PC 5, 34, 849, 2947, 2948, RD 101, 348, 838, BM 3069, 3375, 3664, 3783, 4075, 4100, 4416, TH 5; *hager thyweth* PC 2895; *hep thyweth* RD 50, 1030, 1421; *drok thyweyeth* RD 2056.
dywith TH 4
deweth PA 40d, 236d, TH 2a, 10, 10a, 11, 12, 13a, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20 x 2, 26, 30 x2, 34, 35, 54a, SA 66a; *y theweth* RD 41.
dywath BK 2197, 2783, ACB: E e 2 x2
dewath SA 63, 63a, 66, BK 2966, CW 940, 958, 1850, 1929; *a throg thewath* BK 473
dewathe CW 2246, 2307
diweth TH 18a
duath BF: 31
dua LAM: 226 x2
duah TWG: 20.

It is clear from all these examples that *dyweth* or *deweth* is the commonest spelling in the texts. One or other of them should be the default forms in any orthography for the revived language.

5.12 The Cornish for ‘last’

The word *dewetha* in Cornish is a superlative adjective meaning ‘last, latest.’ It is not found as a comparative adjective with the sense ‘later.’ It is never used as an adverb. In Cornish if one wishes, for example, to say ‘he came later’, one says *ev a dheuth warlergh hedna*.

These are the attestations of the word *dewetha* in the traditional texts:

in dewetha Sermon ha Homelye ‘in the last sermon and homily’ TH 35a; *in dew|e|tha blethan a reign an cruell Emperour Nero* ‘in the last year of the reign of the cruel emperor Nero’ TH 47; *eff a wethas y stall pemp blethan warnegans bys in dewetha bletha(n) honna o an xiiii-as a reign Nero* ‘he retained his position twenty five years until the last year, that was the fourteenth of Nero’s reign’ TH 47; *Evyn an dewetha nois a rug eff bos in company gans y aposteleth* ‘Even the last night that he was in company with his apostles’ TH 51a-52; *the signifia thynny fatell o an bois na defferis bys in dewetha deth a ve agan Sovyour conuersaunt gans y appostlis* ‘to indicate to us that that food was deferred until the last day that our Saviour was present with his apostles’ TH 52; *an kynsa part why a clowas in dewetha homelie* ‘the first part you heard in the last homily’ TH 55; *pan vo an dewetha*

gyryow clowis a onen a vo in y gwely marnance ‘when the last words have been heard of someone who is on his deathbed’ SA 59; *me a vedn gweel Duath an Skreef ma durth an dewetha reem vez a n Kensa Caon Horace* ‘I will end this essay from the first stanza from the first ode of Horace’ BF: 31.

Of all our sources Lhuyd, because he uses his own semi-phonetic orthography, is furthest from the spelling of traditional Cornish; s.v. *Ultimus* [‘last’], however, he gives *dyuetha* AB: 175c, a spelling which is very close to that of Tregear, SA and Nicholas Boson.

Some forms of revived Cornish write this word **diwettha*, in inauthentic spelling for which there is no warrant. It is clear from all the examples given that the traditional spelling in the Cornish texts is *dewetha* and the word should be so spelt in any revived orthography.

5.13 The Cornish for ‘colour’

The spellings of this word in the texts are as follows:

lyw PA 68b, 226d, PC 2992, 3083, 3123, RD 2101, 2534
lew CW 1051.

If an orthography for the revived language is intended to be as authentic as possible it will spell this word as *lyw* or *lew*. There is no argument in favour of a spelling with <iw>.

The Cornish for ‘worthy’

From the time of *Beunans Meriasek* onwards the ordinary word for ‘worthy’ is *worthy*, borrowed from English. In earlier texts the usual word is *gyw*. The attested spellings of the word are as follows.

gwyw PC 829
guyu BK 1150
guyv PC 284, 712, 1590, 2358, 2683
guyw OM 2608, 2776, RD 1005, 2317, BK 929, 1493, 1494, 1629, 2017
gyyw RD 840
gwef CW 1833
gweff PA 95b
giew BK 204, 835, 893, 1320, 2205, 2208, 3227.

In PA the word is occasionally spelt *gyw*:

yn trevyth y nying ens gyw ‘in nothing were they worthy’ PA 68d; *3e vos cregis te yw gyw* ‘to be hanged you are worthy’ PA 129b; *3e vos gor3ijs hy yw gyw* ‘she is worthy to be adored’ PA 226b.

This form seems to have arisen by dissimilation. In the sequence *gwyw* the consonant cluster *gw* was reduced to *g* before the following *w*. Overall it should be noted that there is no evidence for a spelling in <iw>. The revived language should spell this word *gyw*.

5.14 The Cornish for ‘woe’

The word for ‘woe’ in Cornish appears as *gu*. The Middle Breton congener is *goa* and the Welsh is *gwae*. The Indo-European preform was probably **wai*. This would have developed in Cornish as **goi* and **gui* which then metathesized to *giu*, often written <gu> but also <gew>. With the two forms **goi* and **gui* compare *moy* and *muy*, *mouy* ‘more’. Before personal pronouns the form **goi*, *gui* remained unmetathesized but the diphthong itself lost its coda to give the prefixed form *go-* seen in *govy* ‘alas for me’ OM 621, *goef* ‘alas for him’ PA 259d, *gony* ‘alas for us’ PA 246a, etc.

The attested forms of the simplex are as follows:

gu ‘woe’
saw the face my ny wclaf sur er ov geww ‘but your face I do not see to my woe’ OM 588-89; *pur wyr ef a’n gevyth gw* ‘truly he will have woe’ PC 963; *yn guetha prys er y gw* ‘unfortunately for his woe’ PC 1130; *my an knouk ef er y wev* ‘I will hit him to his woe’ PC 2085; *Mars yw the dowl bos heb gew* ‘If your

aim is to be without woe' BK 234; *Te a with gu* 'You will suffer woe' BK 326; *na ny geu galar na gu* 'nor will he suffer sickness nor woe' BK 511; *Elhas ha gu!* 'Alas and woe!' BK 522; *Ylhas ha gu!* 'Alas and woe!' BK 1015; *saw rag own gu na gowsyn ny a henna* 'but for fear of woe let us not speak of that' BK 2088-89; *Blethanhon on (gew!) hep cuntall* 'We have been years (woe!) without collecting' BK 2108-09; *Re n gefla gu!* 'May he have woe!' BK 2516; *Saw betegens an gu del wor Christ pen an syns, re bo socker* 'But however, as he knows the woe may Christ, chief of the saints, be a succour!' BK 2879-82; *elhas ha gu!* 'alas and woe!' BK 2963; *Me a wel henna prevys gans Gwynnewer, er hy gu* 'I see that proven by Guinevere to her woe' BK 2999-3000; *Elhas, elhas, elhas ha gu!* 'Alas, alas, alas and woe!' BK 3199; *hellys on a paradise than noerveys er agen gew* 'we have been chased out of paradise into the world to our woe' CW 1041-42; *saw tha face me ny wellaf sure er ow gew* 'but I do not see your face indeed to my woe' CW 1167-68.

5.15 The Cornish for 'spear'

The Old Cornish form is seen in the compound *hochwuyu* 'boar-spear' OCV §238. The earlier uncompounded form was probably **guoyu*, **guuyu*, cf. Welsh *gwayw*, *gwaew* 'spear' from an earlier **gwoew* < Proto-Celtic **wogaisu-*. It seems that **guuyu* developed into Middle Cornish as *gyw*, a form which could also be spelt <gu>.

The attestations in the traditional texts are as follows:

gyw

ha ryp an gyw a resas 'and ran beside the spear' PA 219b; *herdya an gyw pan welas* 'when she saw the spear thrust' PA 221a; *tan syns y'th dorn an giu-na* 'here, hold in your hand that spear' PC 3010.

gew

en gew lym ef a bechye 'he was stabbing the sharp spear' PA 218c; *me an gweall prest gans gew parys thom gwana pub tew* 'I see him indeed ready to stab me with a spear on all sides' CW 1970-71.

gu

a wruk an gu ha'n kentrow the kyc precius dafole 'did the spear and the nails deform your precious flesh?' RD 490-91; *gans gu lym y a'n guanas* 'with a sharp spear they pierced him' RD 1117; *pan wyls gorre an gu yn golon dre'n tenewen* 'when I saw the spear put into the heart through the side' RD 1245-46; *yn golon dre'n tenewen the restye syngys ow gu* 'I held my spear to be twisted through the side into the heart' RD 2585-86; *gans gu guenys ha marow* 'pierced by a spear and dead' RD 2603; *gans gu lym in tenewon del russions y y guana* 'with a sharp spear as they stabbed him in the side' BM 2604-05; *gueskis gu in y golon* 'struck with a spear in his side' BM 2992; *me an gorthyb gans reson ha mara myn mellya certyn a wysk gu in y golon* 'I will answer him rationally and if he wishes indeed to meddle, will strike a spear into his heart' BM 3458-60; *hag a dretha gans ow gu* 'and will go through them with my spear' BK 1480; *an gwelha corf a thug gu* 'the best fellow who bore a spear' BK 1603, 1611; *Me, Sertory, myghtern Lyby, a res dretho gans ow gu* 'I, Sertorius, the king of Lybia will run through him with my spear' BK 2588-89.

Although the two items *gew*, *gu* 'woe' and *gyw*, *gu* 'spear' have completely different origins, the evidence of the texts would suggest that in Middle Cornish they were homophones and were pronounced [giw]. A sensible orthography for the revived language would write *guw* 'spear' and *gu* 'woe'.

5.16 *tu* 'side'

The Cornish word for 'side' yw *tu*, the same word in origin as Welsh *tu* 'side' and Breton *tu* 'side'. As is the case with *du* 'black' the long vowel in *tu* 'side' as a result of the Prosodic Shift diphthongized to [iw] spelt <ew>. The examples of a diphthongized spelling come from the *Creation of the World*:

war bub tewe 'on all sides' CW 49; *yn tew ma* 'on this side' CW 56; *war bub tew* CW 138 (rhyming with *dew* 'God'); *neb tew* 'any side' CW 1045 (rhyming with *bew* 'alive'); *pub tew* 'every side' CW 1256 (rhyming with *bew* 'alive'); *pub tew* 'every side' CW 1971; *war bub tew* CW 2142; *war tew a thella[rg]* 'at the back' CW 2266.

In the revived language this word should be written *tu*.

5.17 *tru* ‘woe, alas!’

The Cornish word *tru* is in origin the same word as Welsh *tru* ‘wretched’ and Breton *tru* ‘pitiful’. In Cornish, however, it appears to be used only as an interjection ‘woe!, alas!’ As in *du* ‘black’ and *tu* ‘side’ the long final vowel has been diphthongized to [iɥ]. I have collected the following examples

tru

tru PA 246b, OM 861, PC 1417, 1434, 2089

tru tru OM 1777, PC 2627, , 2931, RD 732

trew PC 150, CW 852, 1118, 1773.

At BK 1018 the manuscript reads *trv treva thew* which we understood as *Tru, tru, trew!* It is perhaps as likely to be for *Tru, trev, a Thew* ‘Alas, alas, alas, O God!, even though such a reading would give a syllable too many.

In the revived language this word should be written *tru*.

Final -*u* in weakly stressed syllables

Final -*u* in weakly stressed syllables also rhymes with -*ew*, -*yw* and the diphthongal reflex of -*u*. This can be clearly seen from the following rhymes:

virtu ‘virtue’ ~ *yw* ‘is’ ~ *lyw* ‘colour’ ~ *gyw* ‘worthy’ PA 68

Ihesu ‘Jesus’ ~ *gyw* ‘worthy’ ~ *du* ‘God’ ~ *yw* ‘is’ PA 129

Ihesus ‘Jesus’ ~ *tu* ‘side’ ~ *lu* ‘host’ ~ *du* ‘God’ PA 163

jhesu ‘Jesus’ ~ *vertu* ‘virtue’ OM 2635 & 2636

ihesu ‘Jesus’ ~ *dev* ‘God’ PC 1693 & 1694

tru ‘alas’ ~ *ihesu* ‘Jesus’ ~ *vertu* ‘virtue’ ~ *tu* ‘side’ PC 2931-38

ihesu ‘Jesus’ ~ *hythev* ‘today’ ~ *tu* ‘side’ ~ *fvu* ‘view’ RD 463-469

vertew ‘virtue’ ~ *dew* ‘God’ CW 8 & 11.

In the items *virtu* and *Jesu* the final syllable bears a secondary stress rather than being entirely unstressed. At any rate the second syllable in the items bore a secondary stress sufficient to diphthongize the vowel in the same way that the stressed monosyllables *tu* and *tru* have diphthongized.

5.19 *Du, dew, de* in the names of days and festivals

The prefix in the names of days and festivals is an oblique form of the word for ‘day.’. The nominative form gave *dyth*, but the oblique form did not develop a dental continuant and is etymologically speaking identical with the second syllable in *hythyw, hethew* ‘today.’ This can be compared with the second element in Irish *indiu* ‘today’. The Welsh congener of the prefix is variously spelt *dyw, duw* or *diw*. In Welsh one finds, for example *dyw Awst* ‘the first of August’, *dyw Calan Gaeaf* ‘All Saint Day’, *dyw Gwener* ‘Friday’, *dyw Ystwyll* ‘Twelfth Night,’ etc. In none of these is there a final dental consonant, since the word was used in an oblique case, that is in a case other than in the nominative. The proto-Celtic nominative was probably **diyêus*. This developed regularly as Welsh *dydd*, Cornish *dyth, deth* and Breton *deizh*. The ablauting oblique stem (genitive and dative) would have been **diywo-*, which developed in Welsh as *dyw* and Cornish as *dew, du*. The element *du* was originally an oblique case of the word and it meant ‘on the day’. Thus *du Sul* in Cornish means in ‘on Sunday’ rather than just ‘Sunday’; compare Irish *Dé Domhnaigh* ‘on Sunday’.

I have collected the following instances of the prefix from all Cornish sources:

dew

Dewsull blegyow ‘Palm Sunday’ PA 27a; *Deu halan guâv* ‘All Saints’ day’ AB: 45c; *Deu nadelik* ‘Christmas day’ AB: 97a

du

dugol myhal ‘Michaelmas’ BM 2076, 2201; *duyow hamlos* ‘Maundy Thursday’ PC 654; *du pask vyttyn* ‘Easter morning’ RD 1108; *du gwener* ‘Friday’ BM 120; *dumerher the nos* ‘Wednesday night’ BM 2254; *Du guener* ‘Friday’ BM 4316, 4318, 4321; *du guener vetten* ‘Friday morning’ BM 4420; *du fencost myttyn* ‘Pentecost morning’ TH 44a.

de

deyow habblys 'Maundy Thursday' PA 41c; *deyow* 'Thursday' BM 3159; *deow habblys* 'Maundy Thursday' SA 66; *De Merh* 'Tuesday' AB: 14c, 54c; *De guenar* 'Friday' AB: 54c; *De Ieu* 'Thursday' AB: 54c; *De lín* 'Monday' AB: 54c; *De marhar* 'Wednesday' AB: 54c; *De Zadarn* 'Saturday' AB: 54c; *Dezil* 'Sunday' AB: 54c; *De gl stîl* 'Epiphany' AB: 57a; *De'Zil* BF: 55.

deth

deth yov 'Thursday' BM 1472.

It is apparent from the above, that a prefix **dy* to introduce the names of days and festivals is unknown in Cornish. The form *deth yov* is by hypercorrection, the scribe knowing that a day was involved and thus wrote out *deth* 'day' in full. His *deth yov*, however, is contradicted by his *deyow* at BM 3159. John Boson's *De'Zil* at BF: 55 is clearly taken from Lhuyd's *Dezil* at AB: 54c. As with *deth yov* in BM, Boson mistakenly believed that *-th/-dh* had been omitted in the word, hence his apostrophe of omission..

Among native speakers of traditional Cornish (and John Boson was certainly not one of those) the prefix is either *du-*, *dew-* or *de-*. In an authentic orthography for the revived language the prefix should be written either as <du>, to be pronounced like *du* 'black' as [diw], or as <de> [de]. There is no need for an apostrophe, because nothing has been omitted.

CHAPTER 6

Short /i/ and short /e/ in free variation

6.1 <y> and <e> in free variation

Short /i/ written <y> and short /e/ written <e> appear in open syllables to be in free variation. This can be seen from the following spellings:

bylen ~ *belen* ‘wicked; wicked person’

bylen PC 41, 571, 2624, 1798; *pur vylen* PA 112c, *an thew vylen* PC 2827

belen BM 449; *belan* BM 458, 2295, 4147; *mar velen* PA 183b, BM 1240; *yn felen* OM 2653.

gwytha ~ *gwetha* ‘to keep’

gythe OM 2040; *guitha* AB: 71a; *gwitha* BF: 55; *omguytha* ‘to keep oneself’ BM 1339

gwetha TH 19, 23a x3, 30a, 37 x2, 45a, 49 x3, SA 59; *guetha* BF: 41; *the wetha* TH 21a, 45, 49,

CW 686; *tha wetha* CW 683; *y wetha* TH 25a, 16, 27, 27a x3; 29, CW 90, 314, BF: 31;

omgwetha ‘to keep oneself’ CW 1519; *omwetha* ‘to keep oneself’ CW 1047.

kenyver ~ *kenever* ‘each’

kynyver OM 1215, Keigwin; *kenyuer* PA 208b, OM 1029, PC 3062, RD 2055

kenever BM 4427, SA 60, BK 3046; *keneuer* PA 228c, TH 32a; *kinever* BF: 58; *canevar* SA 60.

pryveth ~ *prevethi* ‘private; privately’

pryveth PC 598, RD 34, 1092; *priveth* TH 18, 34a

preveth TH 28; *prevath* TH 18, 18a, BK 1900, 3135, TWG: 24; *prevathe* CW 504; *pur brevath* CW 588

pynys ~ *penys* ‘fasting’

pynys BM 125, 164; *ow fynys* PC 45

penys PA 10c, PC 43, 116, BM 1819, 1824, 3895, BK425, 428, 508.

lysky ~ *lesky* ‘to burn’

lysky RD 2175, TH 56a, CW 1088; *lyskye* CW 1073

lesky OM 307, 430, 442, 474, 484, 498, 514, 1324, 1386, 1398, RD 170, 281, 293, 297, 1322, 1431,

1457, BM 2098, 2105, 3815, CW 1084, 1719; *leskye* CW 1092, 1129.

scryfa ‘to write’; *scryfys* ‘written’ ~ *screfa*, *screfys*

scryfa SA 66; *scryffa* TH 38, 45a; *scryfys* PA 17a, PC 78, 95, 101, 138, 435, 748, RD 65, TH 46a,

SA 66a; *scryffys* OM 2646, TH 37a, 44a, 46a; *scrifys* PA 14b, 21a, 22b, 73b, 183a, 186d, 206b,

PC 1157; *skryffes* TH 6, CW 2178

screfa TH 48, BF: x2 00; *screffa* TH 27a, 49, LAM x3; *dho skrepha* AB: 146c; *screfys* BM 2766,

Keigwin; *screffes* TH 43a; *screffez* TWG: 30 x3.

tryga ~ *trega* ‘to dwell, to remain’

tryga OM 1599, 1604, TH 23a

trega OM 2190, 2665, BM 4348, TH 2, 30, 39a, SA 61, 66, BK 155, CW 980, 1722, 2017.

whylas ~ *whelas* ‘to seek’

whylas RD 551, 560, 857, 1646, TH 5a, CW 1525, 1742

whelas PA 257b, 257d, OM 1139, TH 3a, 8a, 18a, 22a, 30a, 36a, SA 64a, BK 3231, CW 427,

454, 1370, 1691, 1787, ACB F f 1 x4; *the weles gueres* ‘to seek help’ BM 3106; *weles*

‘sought’ TH 27a; *Karenza Whelas Karenza* ‘Love seeking love’ ACB: E e 4 verso.

Notice that in the word *lysky/lesky* there is variation between *y* and *e* in the stressed vowel. This seems to imply that as far as syllabification is concerned the cluster *-sk-* is treated as one consonant and the preceding vowel is therefore in an open syllable.

6.2 ‘book’ and ‘place’

The Cornish for ‘book’ in the singular either *lyver* or *lever*. The following are the attested forms:

lyver ~ **lever** ‘book’

lyver TH 6a, 42, 45a, 47a, 49a, SA 60; *lyfer* TH 45; *lyffer* TH 18a; *lyvyr* PC 95

lever TH 1, 46a x2, 47a x2, SA 61a, 62a, 63a, BF: 29 x2, 31 x2, LAM: 244 (Bodinar); *levar* PA 135d, SA 59, AB: 246a, 250b; *lefer* BM 1418, 1499.

Here are the attested forms of the word for ‘place’:

tyller ~ **teller** ‘place’

tyller PA 18a, 33a, 65a, 176a, 250b, OM 1551, 1992, 2045, PC 86, 105, 980, 1103, 1837, 2597, RD 270, TH 16, 42a, 43, 45, 47 x 3, BK 149; *tyllar* TH 6, 18, 29a, 42, 42a, 53a; *tillar* SA 65a, 66

teller PA 206d, OM 579, 939, 1095, 1823, 1909, 2275, 2795, PC 501, BM 629, 677, 1145, 2922, TH 2, 44; *tellar* BF: 25 x3, 29; *tellar* CW 866, 871, BF: 52.

It is sometimes claimed that *lyver* and *tyller* are Middle Cornish forms, while *lever* and *teller* are their Late Cornish equivalents. The evidence of the texts indicates quite clearly that *lyver* ~ *lever* and *tyller* ~ *tellar* are simply alternating pairs in the language at any period. To claim that one Middle Cornish and the other Late Cornish is mistaken.

6.3 The Cornish for ‘spirit’

The alternation between *y* and *e* is apparent in the forms of the word for ‘spirit’ in Cornish, namely *spyrys* and *sperys*. There is, however, a third form with <u> as the stressed vowel. Here are the attestations in the Middle Cornish texts (I ignore capitalization):

spyrys ‘spirit’

spyrys PA 222d, OM 4, 13, 85, 925, 985, 1090, 1897, PC 1060, 1749, 2986, 3122, RD 1175, 1578, 2372, 2610, BM 148, 212, CW 1958; *spiryys* PC 1732, RD 1161.

sperys ‘spirit’

sperys PA 3c, 18a, OM 62, 2664, BM 857, 1250, 1262, 1292, 1317, 1893, 2643, 2657, 2739, 3762, BK 248, 2155, 2831, CW 348, 1164, 2219, 2457; *speris* PA 1a, BM 2632.

spuryys ‘spirit’

spuryys BK 5, 173, 269, 2653; *spuris* TH 1, 1a, 3 x2, 5a, 6 x2, 8, 9, 11a, 16, 16a x3, 17 x2, 18, 20, 30, 31, 32 x3, 44, 53.

The forms *spuryys* and *spuris* are found only in BK and TH. Just as consonant cluster *br* has rounded and raised long *a* in *bras* ‘great’ > [brɔːz], so the combination of the labial *p* before the short [i] in *spyrys* and the *r* after it has rounded the vowel to *u*. The vowel *u* here presumably represents [y] rather than [u].

6.4 Exceptions to the *y* ~ *e* alternation

The glottal phoneme /h/ appears to have had a lowering effect on a preceding vowel. As a result in open syllables the alternation *y* ~ *e* does not occur; in traditional Cornish only *e*-forms appear in such disyllables. This can be seen from the following example:

flehes ‘children’

flehes OM 932, 1036, 1258, PC 2643, 2647, BM 2014, TH 7a, 22, 22a, 28, 28a, 42, 54a, Bilbao MS; *flehas* OM 975, 1031, 1159, 1168, BM 1680, 1699, 1782, 3153, TH 10a; *flehaz* TGW:26, 28; *fleghe* PC 239, RD 162; *fleghe* PC 1924, 2503; *flehys* PA 149d, 168c, OM 1623, BM 41, 94, 116, 1119, 1321, 1507, 1589, 1593, 1604, 1634, 1667, 1674, 1676, 1692, 1705, 1778, 1837, 2676, 3149, 3192, 4323, 4542, TH 9, BK 1552, CW 653, 1035, 1039, 1061, 1614, 1979, 2210, 2227, 2252, 2311, 2374, 2436, 2476, 2540; *fleghe* PA 169a, 246c, OM 1553, 1575, 1588, 1611,

2834, PC 307, 432, 437, 1939, 1945, 1950, 1964, 2201, TH 41, Keigwin; *flehys* TH 23a x 2, 24, 26, 37, 37a, 41, 59, CW 1385.

pehas ‘sin’

pehas BM 1825, 2749, CW 2146, 2335; *peghes* PA 3d; *pehes* OM 1796

sehes ‘thirst’

seghes PC 2974, 2978, 2979

trehy ‘to cut’

trehy OM 1010, 2445, 2502, 2515, 2519, PC 2561, BM 1620; *the drehy* OM 380, 1988, 2505

yehes ‘health’

yehes PC 1150, BM 701, 2013, 2537; *yeheys* BM 1835; *yehas* TH 2a, 46, BK 2677, 3111; *yeghes* RD 1716; *ʒehas* BM 1781, 1686, 1694, 1703, 2645; *eghas* TH 30a; *ehas* TH 51a; *eghas* TH 30a; *haz* AB: 242a, ACB: F f v, LAM: 242 x2.

Although the simplex *sygh* ‘dry; dry ground’ is attested at OM 761, 1131 and BK 1433, disyllabic **syhes* is unknown in the traditional language. Forms like **syhes*, **syghes* are therefore inauthentic.

6.5 The alternation of *e* ~ *y* in monosyllables in *-ns*

It is noteworthy also that the alternation of *e* ~ *y* occurs in monosyllable in *-ns*. We thus find the following variants (I give only a representative sample):

dens ‘teeth’ SA 60, F f 2

kens ‘before’ PA 254b, OM 2294, BM 264

mens ‘amount’ OM 1592, BM 1920, BK 1087

prence ‘prince’ BM 516, 924, 3473

sens ‘saints’ RD 461, BM 4097

dyns PA 96b, PC 1218, BM 2257, BK 493,

kyns PA 59d, OM 245, PC 358, BM 129

myns OM 22, PC 1301, BM 40, TH 20a, BK 232

pryns*, *prince PC 554, BK 1670; BM 3899, TH 47a

syns BM 2597, BK 552, 3157.

It would seem from the above that [e] and [i] were allophonic variants in monosyllables before *-ns*.

6.7 The Cornish word for ‘pound’ (money)

The Cornish word for ‘pound’ is attested as both *puns* and *pens*:

puns ‘pound’

me a vynse a talfens myl pvn̄s thotho a our da ‘I should wish that they were worth to him a thousand pounds of pure gold’ PC 211-12; *cans puns ha henna yv mur* ‘a hundred pounds and that is much’ PC 3144; *Tan at onma thys x puns* ‘Here take for yourself ten pounds’ BM1464; *guel vya gene the wyr prest gueles es x puns tyr* ‘I would rather see it certainly indeed than ten pounds of the country’ BM 2591-92; *iiij cans puns gyllyth speyna in blethen* ‘you can spend four hundred pounds a year’ BM 2820-21; *py lues puns a yl bos anethy grueys* ‘how many pounds can be made from it’ BM 2829-30; *Awos myl bun̄s ny vyusen the welas* ‘For a thousand pounds I would not want to see you’ BK 1211-12.

pens ‘pound’

PENZ ... ‘a pound in money’ ACB U 3 verso; *Ry tha stêner deck pens en blethan* ‘Give a tinner ten pounds a year’ ACB F f verso.

The word for ‘pound’ was borrowed by Welsh and Cornish from Old English *pund* ‘pound’. In Welsh the word appears as *punt*. In Old Cornish the word would also have been **punt*. By the time the word is first attested in Cornish the final consonant cluster has assibilated to *-ns*, i.e. *puns*. The vowel in Cornish is short and it tended to unround to [i]. This development can be seen in: *eve a drayle theʒo tha leas moy eas myllyow a bynsow* ‘it will turn out to your advantage more than thousands of pounds’ CW 739-40 and in: ***Pynz***, ‘a Pound’; ***pynthag Pynz*** ‘fifteen Pounds’ Borlase. After the unrounding the word *pyns* < *puns* becomes a member of that group of words listed at 6.5 above in which *y* and *e* alternate freely. As a result ‘pound’ in Cornish is either *puns*, *pyns* or *pens*.

Some commentators, noticing the alternation between *puns* and *pens* in traditional Cornish, falsely concluded that the word was originally **peuns*, where the putative vowel */œ:/ was either written <u> or was unrounded to /e:/. This was a misconception. The Cornish word for ‘pound’ never contained /œ:/. The erroneous spelling *<peuns> and the incorrect pronunciation *[pœ:ns] are serious mistakes which disfigure the revived language. The spelling *<peuns> should be replaced by <puns> or <pens>. The forms rhyme with either English *mince* or English *fence*.

CHAPTER 7

Short unstressed vowels in final syllables

7.1 Final -o > -a

The original form of the Cornish word for ‘Welshman’ was *Kembro*. This is attested from AD 1302 and is found in the contemporary place-names *Chykembro* and *Hayle Kimbro Pool* (CPNE: 48). As a result of the Prosodic Shift, however, unprotected final -o in Middle Cornish was reduced to schwa, written <a>. Thus Borlase gives *Kembra* ‘a Britan’ [sic]; *Chi an Kembra* ‘the House of a Britan’ [sic]. The reduction of final -o > [ə], written <a> had widespread repercussions on the accidence and syntax of Middle Cornish.

In the first place the third singular forms *ganso* ‘with him,’ *ynno* ‘in him,’ *ragtho* ‘for him,’ for example, became indistinguishable from the third plural equivalents *gansa* ‘with them,’ *ynna* ‘in them,’ and *ragtha* ‘for them,’ etc. As a result from the mid-sixteenth century onwards the plural forms were recharacterized with the verbal desinence -ans. The earliest written examples are *gansans* ‘with them’ TH 22a, 49a; *ynnans* ‘in them’ TH 6a; *ynans y’* in them’ TH 14; *innans* TH 38a; *inansy* ‘in them’ SA 59a; *thethans* ‘to them’ TH 3a, 23, 36a, 43a, 44a, 64, SA 65a; *ragthans y’* for them’ TH 23 x 2 and *thewortans* ‘from them’ TH 23. It is likely, however, that such forms existed in speech much earlier.

In the second place the third person singular present subjunctive in -o, e.g. *deffo*, *gwrello*, etc. became indistinguishable from the third person singular past subjunctive in -a or -e, *deffa*, *gwrella*, etc. As a result from the time of *Beunans Meriasek* (AD 1504) onwards the two tenses tended to fall together as past subjunctive. The confusion began with the third person singular. It was, however, analogically extended to the other persons. Examples of the third singular past subjunctive for present subjunctive in *Beunans Meriasek* include:

dysky dader may halla ‘that he may learn virtue’ BM 13; *in neff thywhy ren tala* ‘may he repay you for it in heaven’ BM 755; *yehes dywy re grontya* ‘may he grant you health’ BM 701 (*grontya* there rhymes with *an keth tus ma* ‘these same men’, *ragtha* ‘for him’; *gena* ‘with me’ for *genef*, and *omma* ‘here’); *tevder mes ay skyans a pan glowe y vos scappys* ‘Teudar will go out of his mind when he hears that he has escaped’ BM 1029-30; *Du ren tala dhyugh tus vays* ‘May God repay you for it, good sirs’ BM 1097.

The first person past subjunctive is also used for the first person present subjunctive, for example, in:

kepar ha del ven ave an purra lader yn pow ‘as though I were the most thorough robber in the land’ PA 74d; *mar myn ov descans servya genogh pan ven apposjys* ‘if my learning will suffice, when I am examined by you’ BM 524-25; *rag pan deffen ha moys fol an iovle a thue mes ay dol* ‘for when I happen to go mad, the devil will come out of his hole’ BM 906-07; *Me a vyn moys then gnylfoys ena ermet purguir boys may hallen gorthya ov du na ven temptis gans tus an beys hedre ven byv* ‘I will go to the wilderness there indeed to be a hermit that I may worship my God, so that I be not tempted by men of the world as long as I live’ BM 1132-37; *may hallen dendyl gluas neff* ‘that I may deserve the kingdom of heaven’ BM 2003.

The jussive phrase *re bo* with the present subjunctive survives into the late period, however. Here are some examples from *Beunans Meriasek* and later texts:

The ihesu re bo grasseys ‘Jesus be thanked’ BM 1066; *Arluth neff re bo gorthys* ‘May the Lord of heaven be worshipped’ BM 1751; *Gallus ha confort an tas re bo genes pup termen* ‘May the power and comfort of the Father be with you always’ BM 2735-56; *Jesu re bo the vethak a n leper cref anhethek* ‘May Jesus be your physician from the cruel relentless leprosy’ BK 805-06; *Jovyn re bo the weras!* ‘May Jove be thy assistance’ BK 902; *Marya re bo gurthys* ‘May Mary be worshipped’ BK 1391; *The voth re bo collenwys* ‘Thy will be fulfilled’ ACB: E e 4 verso.

Since *bo* was a monosyllable, its vowel was not reduced to schwa and thus the phrase *re bo* was able to survive. In the verb *bos*, however, the first person the present subjunctive *byf* was frequently replaced by the past subjunctive *ben*, as is apparent from the quotations cited above.

7.2 Final -y > -a

The Welsh for ‘Welshmen’ is *Cymry*, presumably from an earlier form **Kombrogī* ‘fellow-countrymen.’ In Modern Welsh orthography *Cymry* ‘Welshmen’ and *Cymru* ‘Wales’ are distinguished in spelling but are in

origin the same word. The Cornish equivalent would have been **Kembry*, which is not attested. In Cornish, however, a form *Kembre* ‘Wales’ is attested in the fourteenth-century names *Richard Kembre* and *John Kembre* (CPNE: 48). The final segment at this period may have been [ɛ], though it is perhaps more likely that it was schwa. This latter is the more probable, since ‘Wales’ in Cornish subsequently developed as *Kembra* BK 1164, 1292, AB: 222 x 2; *Kimbra* AB: 222. In order to avoid confusion between *Kembra* ‘Welshman’ < *Kembro* and *Kembra* (< **Kembry*) ‘Wales, Welshmen’ the sense ‘Welshmen’ in Cornish was recharacterized as *Kembrion* AB: 242c. This is further evidence that final unstressed -y could develop as -a, i.e. as schwa.

7.3 -y written as <e> [ə]

In the later language final -y is not infrequently written as <e>, for example in the following:

browe ‘to wound’ TWG: 30; *creege* ‘to believe’ BF: 31; *crege* ‘to believe’ BF: 41; *debre* ‘to eat’ TWG 14 x 6, 16 X 4, 18 x 3, LAM 226; *dibre* AB: 244c, ACB: E e 4 verso, LAM: 242; *deske* ‘to learn, to teach’ Gwavas MS x 4, TWG: 36; *gwarre* ‘play’ LAM 224; *do gware* ‘to play’ BF: 12; *do guare* ‘to play’ BF: 12; *gwille* ‘bed’ Gwavas MS x 4; *guille* ‘bed’ GMS; *tha kelme* ‘to bind’ ACB: F f 2; *leske* ‘to burn’ BF: 10, 12; *tha medge* ‘to reap’ ACB; F f 2; *peege* ‘to pray’ LAM: 224, 226; *pedeere* ‘to think’ BF: 27, 31; *perthe* ‘to tolerate’ BF: 41; *tha trehe* ‘to cut’ ACB: F f 2 x 3.

It seems likely that -e in these items was a way of writing final schwa. Rowe writes *tha gorthe thotha* ‘to worship him’ TWG: 22 but *ha gortha thotha* ‘and worship him’ TWG: 24, where *gorthe* and *gortha* are variant spellings of the same word. The final segment there is undoubtedly schwa. Similarly ‘to learn’ is *deske* in TWG and in the Gwavas manuscripts, but Lhuyd cites the same etymon in *Dho desga* AB: 55a. Further verbs whose verbal nouns ended in -y in Middle Cornish but are attested in the later language with -a include:

Molletha ‘to curse’ AB: 84b (*y voleythy* PA 18b); *Dho preva* ‘to prove’ AB: 128c (*prevy* TH 34a. 36); *Dho pidzha* ‘to pray’ AB: 127c (*pygy* RD 444); *Dho teva* ‘to grow’ AB: 52b (*tevy* OM 275); *Dho sendzha* ‘to catch’ AB: 3a, *Dho sindzha* AB: 50a, 162a; *senzha* BF: 60 (*sengy* TH 19a, *syngy* TH 33; BK 2503).

It seems therefore that by the later Cornish period, if not before, final -y was in some cases pronounced as [ə]. This would also explain a further phenomenon noticeable in Late Cornish. In the later language -y was the suffix of the verbal noun in verbs that appear to have exhibited different formants in the Middle Cornish period, e.g. *Menni* ‘to will’ AB: 246b (*mennas* PC 378); *gally* ‘to be able’ AB: 124b (*gallos* ‘ability, power’ PC 44). In later Cornish there are several examples of verbal nouns ending in -a, which in Middle Cornish had terminated in -e; for example: *Dho leana* ‘to fill’ AB: 68c (contrast *lenal* BF: 52); *a toula* ‘intending’ BF: 29; *Dho toula* ‘to cast, to throw’ AB: 66c; *a towlah* ‘throwing’ TWG: 34 (cf. *Dho ymdoula* ‘to wrestle’ AB: 81c); *mee na vidua cowska sawzneck* ‘I will not speak English’ Carew. It seems likely that the verbs **lenwel*, *towel* and *cowsel* by analogy received a different suffix -y for the verbal noun (cf. *desky*, *perthy*, *cregy*, *cresy*, *debry*, etc.) and that the final segment in **towly* and **cowsy* in speech became *towla* and *cowsa* respectively.

Lhuyd gives a further example of this development with *Dho honua* ‘to call’ AB: [4]3a. At AB: 247a, however, he cites *henual* ‘to call’ six times. I assume that beside the literary form *henual* (cf. *henwel* OM 2724), there was a colloquial form in -y and without *i*-affection of the root vowel, i.e. **hanwy*. This developed regularly > **hanwa*, and then with rounding of *a* before *n* this became *honwa*, Lhuyd’s attested form.

7.4 Final <y> in verbal nouns

Final *y* has a tendency in the later language to be written <e> and <a> and has presumably been reduced to schwa. There are numerous verbal nouns which in Middle Cornish end in -y. For such verbal nouns Lhuyd prefers to write the final vowel as <i> and he says:

The Letter y differing so very little from i, especially in the Termination of words of more than one Syllable, may be in this Infinitive spar’d; and such words written constantly with an i: As Deski (not desky) To learn; Ageri, To open; Sinzhi, To hold; Gysenzhi, to buy; Gulhi, To wash; Leski, To burn; Terhi, To break; Huari, To play; Kelli, To loose; Prediri, To meditate or think upon; Tebri and Dibri, To eat; Gorthybi [and Gorthebi] To answer; Strihui, To sneez; Kylyui, To lighten (AB: 245b).

In that list Lhuyd mentions *Deski* as preferable to *desky*. Under *disco* ‘I learn’, however he gives †*desky*, *dho desga* (AB: 55a). The obelus before *desky* implies that the form is obsolete; *dho desga* appears to be the current spoken form heard by Lhuyd at the beginning of the eighteenth century. We can conclude therefore that final -

y in verbal nouns in Lhuyd's day was already schwa. This has several implications. In the first place Lhuyd's use of final <i> in verbal nouns is his own practice rather than that of contemporary writers of Cornish. Secondly there is no reason to write any verbal noun in -y with final <i>. Forms like *debri*, *deski*, *egeri*, *golhi*, *kelli*, *prederi*, etc. are inventions by Lhuyd. Verbal nouns of this sort in the traditional orthography were always written with final -y and should be so written now. This can be seen from the following handful of examples from the texts:

crysy, ***cresy*** 'to believe'

crysy OM 1435, 1508, PC 2883, TH 38, 54a; *crygy* PC 1482, 1597, 1771, 2963, RD 8, 284, 482, 990, 1016, 1057, 1068, 1078, 1088, 1106, 1114, 1126, 1275, 1345, 1423, 1456, 1462, 1468, 1507, 1514, 1529, 1566, 1709, 2469; *cresy* OM 233, 241, 1759, 1761, 1784, 2018, BM 834, 971, 4117, 4125, TH 1a, 9a, 19a, 20, 21, 34, 37a, 50, 53, 53a, 54a x2, 55, 57, 58 x2.

There are no instances of either **crysi* or *cresi*.

dybry 'to eat'

dybry OM 171, 231, 248, 264, 283, 386, 994, 2048, 2706, PC 625, 635, 671, 719, 812, 2632, TH 52a; *dybbry* PA 43c, 87c, 173a, OM 168, 183, PC 47, BM 134, TH 3a, 4, 4a, 5, 51a, 52a, BK 343, 365; *dibbry* TH 55, 55note, SA 64a, 66; *debry* TH 4a; *debbry* CW 1813

There are no instances of either **dybri* or **debri*

dysky 'to learn, to teach'

dysky PA 176c, OM 1554, PC 36, 256, 1250, BM 13, 33, 60, 97, 381, 3300, TH 8a, 9, 14a x2, 18a, 19 x2, 20, 24, 27, 34a x2, 35a, 38 x3, 39, 42; *disky* RD 1959, TH 10, 20 x2, 21a, 31, 31a, 32; *desky* BM 49, 367, 651, 3752, 4020.

There are no instances of either **dyski* or **deski*

egery 'to open'

ygery RD 317; *egery* OM 382, TH 18, 23, 31, 53 x2

There are no instances of either **ygeri* or **egeri*

golhy 'to wash'

golhy PC 518, 845, 862, 875, BM 744, 1600, 1716; *3e wolhy* PA 46a; *the wolhy* RD 22o2

There are no instances of **golhi*

gorthyby 'to answer'

gorthyby OM 301, PC 181, 821, 1317, 1484, 1660, 1674, 1739, 1820, 2273, BK 556; *gortheby* BM 3532, TH 23, BK 2293; *guryby* TH 44; *gweyby* CW 1145

There are no instances of **gorthybi*, **gorthebi*

kelly 'to lose'

kylly PA 241a, BM 3341, TH 17a; *the gylly* RD 354; *kelly* CW 840, 2029

There are no instances of **kylli*, **kelli*

predery 'to think, to consider'

predery PA 139a, 182c, 193b, OM 2035, BM 122, 2343, 2411, TH 1, 2a, 6, 7a, 8a, 9a, 24, 29 x3, 50, 57, BK 927, 1533, 2063, CW 157, 207; *prydyry* RD 772; *predyry* OM 193, PC 32, TH 24a; *the bredery* SA 60.

Nicholas Boson writes *pedeere* BF: 27, 31. He also writes *peverre* BF: 25, which is probably a misreading for **pederre*. James Jenkins has *penderi* ‘consider’ ACB: F f 3, which is a misreading for **pederi*. If *pederi* is correct it would be one instance of final -y written as -i. It can hardly be relied upon, however, especially since Nicholas Boson, Jenkins’s contemporary, regularly writes the final vowel as -e.

pysy, pesy ‘to pray’

pysy OM 1607, 2140, 2197, PC 37; *pygy* PC 1013, 1044, 1162, 2090, RD 285, 444, 448, 1338, 1575, 1649, 1932; *pesy* PA 53c, 54d, 62a, 65a, 72d, BM 404, 520, 537, 613, 707, 1470, 2138, 2141, 2174, 2339, 2420, 2506, 2556, 2725, 2998, 3186, 3359, 3440, 3475, 3638, 3800, 3845, 4128, 4276, 4288, 4425, 4461, 4554, 4561, TH 9a; *pegy* BK 133, 426, 2335, CW 2207.

There are no instances of either **pysi* or **pesi*.

synsy, sensy ‘to hold’

synsy PA 62c, 82c, 154a, 159d, 207c, OM 23, 1444, TH 40; *syngy* TH 33, BK 2503, 2613; *sensy* PA 75b, 105d, 156d, 166b, 206d, PC 1176, BM 1074, 2279, 2291, 2315, 2588, TH 49, SA 61; *sengy* TH 19a, BK 65.

There are no instances of either **synsi* or **sensi*.

tyby ‘to think’

teby OM 3250.

There is no instance of either **tybi* or **tebi*.

terry ‘to break, to cut’

tyrry OM 210, TH 4a, 10, 27 x6, 28, 28a, 29, 30 x2, 33a, 40, SA 65; *terry* PA 91b, 229c, OM 358, 372, PC 485, 1309, 1315, 2441, 2846, 3202, RD 317, 323, 1324, BM 854, 1911, 3598, TH 4, CW 659, 945, 963, 987, 1041, 1206, 2040, 2139; *tha derry* CW 771

Lhuyd writes *g'reu t̄erhi an dezen* ‘cut the cake’ AB: 252a and *dho terri an dezen* ‘to cut the cake’ AB: 253a. As we have seen above, *terhi* is Lhuyd’s preferred spelling for *terry*. Lhuyd wrote in a semi-phonetic script and was not schooled in traditional Cornish orthography. This means that we have no instances of **terri* from traditional writers of Cornish.

From the above it can be seen that final -y in verbal nouns is so written in traditional Cornish. The only exception I can find is *the vrusi* ‘to judge’ BM 4047. Forms ending in -i are Lhuyd’s preferred spellings but they are not usual in the traditional language. Any orthography which seeks to be authentic, should write *crysy/cresy*, *dybry/debry*, *dysky/desky*, *egery*, *golhy*, *gorthyby/gortheby*, *kylly/kelly*, *predery/predyry*, *pysy/pesy*, *tyby* and *tyrry/terry*. To spell such verbal nouns in Late Cornish with final -i is unwarranted, particularly since the final segment in such forms was almost certainly schwa by the time Nicholas Boson and Lhuyd were writing.

7.5 Plurals in -y

In the Cornish texts we find a number of plurals in -y, e.g. *arlythy* ‘lords’, *gwelyny* ‘rods’, *esely* ‘members’, *mestrysy* ‘masters’ and *mowysy* ‘girls’. There are also several plurals of agent nouns in -yas, e.g. *gonesugy* ‘workmen’, *gwehysy* ‘guardians’, *servygy* ‘servants’, *rewlysy* ‘rulers’ and *sewysy* ‘successors’. I have collected the following examples of plurals in -y:

arlythy ‘lords’

arlythy OM 2346, 2383, PC 786, 1558, 1821, 1900, 2213, 3163, RD 325, BM 273, 284, 434, 1226, 2278, 2405, 2434, 2574, 2762, 2782, 2808, 2811, 2865, 2962, 3045, 3123, 3172, 3465, 3943, 3974, 4362, 4478, 4524, BK 475, 1560, 1595, 1608, 1616, 2570, 2707, 2902, 3013; *arlithy* BM 2962

castylly ‘castles’

castylly BM 305, BK1796, 2309

esely ‘members’

esely PA 184d, 235a, 235c, OM 2735, BM 541, 3048, 3061, 3075, 3353, 4182, 4224, 4235, TH 35; *esyly* RD 998, TH 31a, 34, 58, BK 1121, 2508; *ysely* PA 173c; *ysyly* OM 1797, PC 1733, RD 2583.

gonesugy ‘workmen’

gonesugy OM 2438, 2447, 2489; *an wonesugy* OM 2326.

gwandresy ‘nomads, wanderers’

gwandresy TH 33.

gwelyny ‘rods’

gwelyny OM 1930, PC 1390, BM 3298; *gwelyny* OM 1747; *gwelyny* OM 1791

gwehysy ‘keepers, guardians’

gwehysy OM 2038; *gwehysy* OM 2397.

mestrysy ‘master,

mestrysy PC 1711, 1850; *mestrysy* OM 2468; *mestresy* BM 3313, 4469; *mestrygi* PC 2346.

mowysy ‘girls’

mowysy PC 944.

rewlysy ‘rulers’

rewlysy TH 24a

servysy ‘servants’

servysy OM 235, BM 3262, 3373, 3801; *servesy* 4275; *servysi* PC 172; *servygy* PC 279, BK 675.

sewysy ‘successors’

sewysy TH 49

trevygy ‘citizen’

trevygy BK 2302

trehysy ‘cutters’

trehysy meyn ‘stone cutters’ OM 2411.

In the Middle Cornish texts the only plurals in *-i* are *mestrygi* and *servysi* in *Passio Christi*. The plural of *mowes* ‘girl’ is written *muzi* in the ‘Strawberry Song’ (ACB: F f 4 verso) and John Boson’s *an hagar-musi* ‘the evil girls’ BF: 58. These have probably been influenced by Lhuyd’s *muzi* AB: 242b.

7.6 Final *-y* in the names of countries

In the texts the names of countries often end in *-ia*, *-ya*, e.g. *cappadocia* ‘Cappadocia’ TH 47; *asia* ‘Asia’ TH 47; *Syrya* ‘Syria’ TWG: 36. Sometimes such names end in *-y* or *i*, e.g. *araby* ‘Arabia’ OM 1929, 1943, *Araby* ‘Arabia’ BK 2717; *Boecy* ‘Boetia’ BK 2674; *iudi* ‘Judea’ PC 1594, 1607, *iudy* ‘Judea’ RD 10; *lumbardy* ‘Lombardy’ BM 1543; *Germany*, *germany* ‘Germany’ TH 32, 50, BK 3232; *Itury* ‘Iturea’ BK 2644; *Lyby* ‘Libya’ BK 2645; *Phrygy* ‘Phrygia’ BK 2684. Both endings are attested for the name of Bithynia: *bithinia* TH 47 and *Bitini* BK 2705.

A further group of names exhibit neither *-ia/ya* nor *-y/i*: *almayn* ‘Germany’ RD 2148; *spayn* ‘Spain’ RD 2147; *Spain* ‘Spain’ BK 2609, 2644; *Borgayn* ‘Burgundy’ BK 2449.

Because of the prevalence of names in *Bewnans Ke* which end in *-y* or *-i*, the language planners of the Academy Kernowek have adopted *-i* as the default ending for those geographical names which end in *-ia* in Latin, e.g. *Lybi* ‘Libya’, *Syri* ‘Syria’ and *Asi* ‘Asia’. It should be noted at this point that final *-i* in these cases derives from the *-ie* of Middle English and Old French, where *Arabie*, *Asie* and *Syrie* are attested. The blanket use of *-i* in such cases, however, has had some very unfortunate results (see next section).

7.7 The Cornish for ‘Poland’ and ‘Macedonia’

The Latin name used for Poland is *Polonia* and indeed *Polonia* is the form used in Modern Breton. The online dictionary of the Academy Kernowek, however, for ‘Poland’ gives **Poloni*. If geographical names ending in Latin *-ia*, are to be derived from the equivalent Middle English and French forms, then **Poloni* is without basis. The Middle English for ‘Poland’ is *Polaine* and the French is *Pologne*. If the Academy wish to follow French with this name, ‘Poland’ should be *Polayn*, with the same formation as *Borgayn*.

For ‘Macedonia’ the Modern Breton uses *Makedonia*. An Academy Kernowek, however, use **Makedoni*. This is an inexplicable hybrid. The *k* before *e* is suggestive of Greek, and of the Breton form based on it. The final *-i* rather than *-ia* or *-ya* on the other hand is suggestive of Middle English and French. In fact the Middle English for Macedonia is *Macedoyne* and the French is *Macedoine*. **Makedoni* is without any rationale at all. The Cornish for ‘Macedonia’ ought to be either *Macedônia* or *Macedoyn*.

7.8 Unstressed *-af*, *-ef* and *-eth* in final position.

We know from comparison with Welsh that the superlative desinence in Cornish was originally *-af*. Since the final segment followed an unstressed vowel it was voiceless; it was, however, lost in all cases. Here are a random sample of instances:

furra ‘wisest’ TH 1; *guella* ‘best’ PA 112d, OM 536, PC 1448; *guetha* ‘worst’ PC 1130; *haccra* ‘ugliest’ PA 151b; *hackra* ‘ugliest’ CW 478, 482; *tecka* ‘fairest’ PC 2559, BK 1205; *uhella* ‘highest’ BK 871, 1053.

The superlative suffix in all those cases was probably **-haf*, but the final segment has already been lost before the Middle Cornish period. A similar loss of final *-f* after an unstressed vowel occurs in Middle Cornish with the first person singular of prepositional pronouns. The Cornish for ‘with me’, for example, is *gynef*, *gynef*. The final segment is frequently lost, however, and we find the following:

gyne ‘with me’ PC 656, 1241, 1292, 1335, 1568, 2118, 2194, 2786, 2794, 2849, 3003, RD 38, 105, 112, 207, 1408, 2323, 2507, 2521.

gene ‘with me’ PA 166c, OM 934, 1057, 1305, 2501, PC 218, 576, 1122, 2155, RD 2565, BM 56, 860, 1573, 1886, 2591, 3630, 3839, 4065.

gena ‘with me’ BM 457, 531, 707, 768, 909, 1345, 1460, 1560, 1633, 1663, 1813, 1951, 2155, 2789, 3026, 3135, 3164, 3216, 3634, 3817, 3979, 4359; *gena*’ BK 75, 453, 563, 631, 797, 934, 1623, 2073, 2357, 2365, 2582, 2859, 2939, 3087.

When the final *f* is lost the form is recharacterized either as *genama* ‘with me’ PA 193d or as *genavy*, *genevy*. The latter forms are well attested in *Beunans Meriasek*:

genevy ‘with me’ BM 428, 572, 1245, 1741, 3184, 3367
genavy ‘with me’ BM 1549, 1659, 2568.

Genevy, *genavy* are to be segmented *gene-vy*, *gena-vy*. There is no evidence in traditional Cornish for **genev*. Since the final consonant in *genef* occurs after an unstressed vowel, it is [f] and later it is lost entirely. The voiceless nature of the final consonant in *genef*, *genaf* is indicated quite clearly in *hanter an elath genaffa assentyes yth yns sera* ‘half the angels are agreed with me, sir’ CW 271-272. *Genaffa* is to be understood as ‘*genaf* reinforced by the enclitic first person suffix *-ve*. This latter is reduced in the unstressed syllable to *-va* and is then regressively assimilated to the preceding voiceless consonant: *genef+ve* > *genef+va* > *genaffa*.

There is no evidence for final *v* in *genef*, *orthyf*, *warnaf*, etc. in traditional Cornish. Forms like **genev*, **orthyv* or **orthiv*, **warnav*, etc. are unwarranted.

7.9 Final *f* replaced through hypercorrection

The first distich of PA 213 reads:

Ena crist a thelyffras
a breson adam hag evel
 [Then Christ delivered

from prison Adam and Eve.]

As it stands the second line is hypermetric, having eight syllables. In order to reduce the syllable count to seven, the correct number, the last word should read *eve* 'Eve' as a monosyllable. This rhymes with *nef* 'heaven', *ef* 'he' and *creff* 'strong'. Presumably the final *-ef*, *-eff* in the rhyming lines led the scribe (who was clearly not the author) wrongly to emend *eve* to *evef*. He could have done so only because he knew that in final unstressed *-ef* the *f* was frequently not pronounced. This scribal error is good evidence therefore that final *f* after an unstressed vowel was often left unpronounced.

A similar addition of a final *f* can be seen in the phrase *ow bosaf* seen in the *Creation of the World*:

me a vyn may fo gwellys ow bosaf dew heb parow 'I wish that I should be seen as a peerless God' CW 78-9; *cresowh ow bosaf prince creif* 'believe that I am a mighty prince' CW 116; *why a wore yn ta henna ow bosaf gwell es an tase* 'you know that well, that I am better than the Father' CW 122-23; *splanna es an howle deverye why a yll warbarthe gwelas ow bosaf sertayn pub preyse* 'more brilliant than the sun indeed you can together see that I am certainly always' CW 131-33; *henna cresowhe om bosaf* 'believe that I am that' CW 225; *keffrys me ham cowetha der gletha a vyn trea ow bosaf moy worthy a agis an tase sure pub pryes* 'I and my companions by the sword will test that I am more worthy than the Father surely always' CW 316-19; *fensan ow bosaf marowe soweth bythqwathe bos formys* 'I should like to be dead; alas that I was ever created' CW 1264-65.

The expression *ow bosaf* is clearly to be identified with the similar phrase in:

my a leuerys thywhy ow bosa henna defry 'I told you that I am that man indeed' PC 1119-20; *ny gar den ry thym guely podrethek am esely drefen pur guir ov bosa* 'no man wants to give me a bed because I am putrid indeed as to my limbs' BM 3060-62; *ha leferel ov bosa omma cruel* 'and say here that I am cruel' BM 3748-49; *tovlel a rons warnavy bones an causer defry begyths rag ov bosa* 'they are reproaching me that I am the cause indeed because I am baptised' BM 4000-02.

It is likely therefore that the spelling *ow bosaf* in CW is by hypercorrection and that the final *f* was not pronounced.

7.10 *gwrugaf* 'I did'

The preterite first person singular of the verb *gul* 'to do' is *gwruk*, *gwrug*. With an affixed emphatic pronoun this appears as *gwruge*, *gwruga*:

govy pan wruge pehe gans corf a'n debel venen 'woe is me that I sinned with the body of the evil woman' OM 2250-51; *leuerough ow dyskyblon mara fyllys theugh trauyth pan wruge ages danvon hep lorgh na scryp nos na deyth* 'tell me, my disciples, if you lacked anything when I sent you without staff or satchel night or day' PC 911-14; *tru gouy pan y'n gruga* 'alas, woe is me that I did it!' PC 1424.

In *The Creation of the World*, however, this form appears as *gwrugaf*: *tha aswon me ny wotheyan na ny wrugaf tha wellas nang ew sure lyas blethan* 'I could not recognize you nor had I seen you indeed for many years now' CW 1661-63. We need not doubt that the final *f* here is graphemic only and that the *wrugaf* is to be pronounced as though it were *wruga*.

7.11 Final *-th* lost after an unstressed vowel

There are several nouns which end with *-a* in Cornish where an original final *-th* has been lost. Such items include *gormola* 'praise' AB: 77b; *kerense*, *kerensa* 'love' (< **kerenseth*) PA 146b, 167d; *hebasca* 'comfort' BM 3753 and *sewena*, *sowena* 'prosperity' ACB: Y 2.

The same phenomenon occurred at a later date, when final unstressed *-eth* becomes *-a*. Thus, for example, we find

beguleth devas 'shepherds' TH 42 but *bugula devas* 'shepherds' TH 33a; *menath horn* 'mountain of iron' BK 3220 but *dres mene* 'over mountain' BK 1161; *dewath* 'end' BK 2966, CW 940 but *dua* 'end' LAM: 226 x2.

7.12 *-ys* of the verbal adjective

In Cornish the verbal adjective ends in *-ys*. This ending must have contained a high front vowel because it caused *i*-affection in the preceding syllable, e.g. *lath* OM 598, *latha* 'to kill' BM 1183 but *lathys* 'killed' PA 255b, OM 596; *care* PA 26b, *cara* BM 4479 'to love' but *kerys* 'loved' BM 675, TH 26. Although the ending of the verbal adjective is most commonly written *-ys*, spellings in *-es* and *-as* become increasingly common. Indeed in some items *-as* for *-ys* occurs in the earliest texts.

verbal adjectives in *-es* in Middle Cornish

confethes 'perceived' CW 532; *cothes* 'fallen' TH 3; *cowses* 'spoken' TH 9; *kewses* 'spoken' TH 1; *kowses* 'spoken' TH 1; *creges* 'hanged' OM 2786; *gweskes* 'worn' CW 978; *gweskes* 'struck' CW 1565; *gwyskes* 'struck' CW 1555; *hynwes* 'named' OM 962; *scriffes* 'written' TH 2, 3, 44, 45, 51a, 55 x2; *screffes* 'written' TH 43a; *skryffes* 'written' TH 6, CW 2178; *springes* 'sprung' TH 48a; *towches* 'touched' CW 1183; *towles* 'thrown' CW 329, 789, 1139, 1484, 1501; *treages* BM 4338; *triges* 'living' TH 36a; *tulles* 'deceived' CW 1003, 1381; *wheles* 'sought' TH 27a.

verbal adjectives in *-es* in the later language (note that some forms end in *-ez* rather than *-es*)

clowez 'heard' TWG: 28; *cowsez* 'spoken' BF: 27, ACB: F f 3, TWG: 26 x2; 32 *comereze* 'taken' TWG: 20; *composez* 'fulfilled' TWG: 26 x2; *comfortyres* 'comforted' TWG: 28; *creages* 'hanged' BF: 41; *criez* 'called' TWG 34; *denethes* 'begotten' BF: 41, 56; *dereves* 'risen' TWG 34; *deskes* 'learned' BF: 48, 59; *deskez* 'learned' BF: 26 x2; *desyryes* 'desired' TWG: 14; *devethez* 'come' BF: 31, TWG: 22; *devethes* 'come' BF: 44, LAM: 242, ACB: F f 4; *devithes* 'come' BF: 43; *gelles* 'gone' BF: 58; *gellez* 'gone' TWG: 26; *gennes* 'born' BF: 41, ACB: F f 4; *gennez* 'born' TWG: 22 x2; *geres* 'opened' TWG: 14; *gerres* 'opened' TWG: 16; *gerres* 'left' ACB: F f 3; *gewarnes* 'warned' TWG: 24; *ginnez* 'born' BF: 25, 56; *gonvethes* 'perceived' ACB: E e 4v; *gurrez* 'put' BF: 31; *gwelles* 'seen' LAM: 226; *gwellez* 'seen' BF: 27, TWG: 22; *gwerhez* 'sold' BF: 27; *gwerres* 'sold' LAM: 238 x3; *henwez* 'named' BF: 27; *humbregez* 'led' TWG: 30; *kelles* 'lost' BF: 48, LAM: 226; *kellez* 'lost' BF: 27, 46; *kevez* 'found' BF: 25, 27; *kommeres* 'taken' ACB: F f 3; *krieiez* 'called' BF: 16; *laveres* 'uttered' LAM: 226; *nakeves* 'forgotten' LAM: 226; *neceaves* 'forgotten' LAM: 244; *onerez* 'honoured' BF: 39; *pideeres* 'thought' ACB: E e 4v; *plaises* 'pleased' LAM: 226; *salles* 'salted' BF: 43; *screffez* 'written' TWG: 22, 30 x2, 32; *skreefez* 'written' BF: 31; *skriffez* 'written' BF: 27; *talvez* 'valued' BF: 31; *temptez* 'tempted' TWG: 30; *thavethes* 'come' LAM: 224; *troublez* 'troubled' TWG: 22; *vnclithes* 'buried' BF: 41; *welcumbes* 'welcomed' LAM: 224; *wheles* 'sought' LAM: 226.

verbal adjectives in *-as*, *-az* in the later language

kavas 'found' BF: 46; *krylliaz* 'curled' AB: 47c, 52b; *boys enoras* 'to be honoured' BM 4508; *laverez* 'said' BF: 31; *ledhaz* 'killed' AB: 104c, 248b; *palgeaz* 'paralysed' TWG: 36; *towlaz* 'thrown' TWG: 32; *treegaz* 'dwelling' BF: 39.

Note that *enoras* 'honoured' is attested as early as *Beunans Meriasek*.

7.13 *benegas* and *malegas*

Generally speaking the verbal adjective in Middle Cornish continued to be written with final *-ys* because it was perceived as being part of a related verb and thus (with or without *i*-affection) had the same stem. Thus for example, *gweles* 'to see', *ankevy* 'to forget' and *leverel* 'to say' had verbal adjectives *gwelys* 'seen', *ankevys* 'forgotten' and *leverys* 'said' respectively.

There are, however, two common verbal adjectives, which seem to have developed differently from others. The first is *benegys* 'blessed' the verbal adjective of *benega* 'to bless'. The verbal adjective is attested as *bynigys* at OM 1979, PC 281, 424. More commonly, however, it appears with final *-es*:

beneges 'blessed'

benyges OM 821, 1033, BM 560, 672, 1261, 3873, 4062, 4111

byniges OM 674, 831, 938, PC 230, 253, 274, 283, 418, 420, 489, 769, 817, 1045, 1073, 1152, 2884, RD 152, 259, 455, 1264, 1557, 1743, 2069, 2607, 2619

byneges OM 1067, 1739

beneges OM 1745, BM 2942.

Outside the *Ordinalia*, however, the verbal adjective is usually written with final *-as*, as though it was no longer thought of as a verbal adjective at all:

***benegas* ‘blessed’**

benegas PA 24a, 30b, 244d, TH 3, 18, 18a, 32a, 44, 52, 54a; SA 59, 60, 61 x2, 61a, 65a; *benygas* BM 2739, 3406, BK 811, 834, CW 396; *benegas* BF: 8, 60; *benegaz* BF: 41; *benigas* BF: 55; *benigaz* AB: 12b; *beniggas* BF: 12; *venegauz* TWG: 30.

The verb *melegy* ‘to curse’ was largely replaced by *mollethy* ‘to curse’. The verbal adjective *mylygys* was rare, indeed it seems to occur once only: *ty sathnas deawl mylygys* ‘you Satan, accursed devil’ PC 137. Otherwise the verbal adjective is invariably written with a final *-as* as though it were not understood to be a verbal adjective:

***malegas* for *mylygys* ‘accursed’**

melygas BK 110, 843; *melegas* CW 283; *malegas* CW 901, 909, 935, 1004, 1007, 1158, 1160, 1345, 1716, 1751.

The development of *-ys* > *-as* when no longer seen as a verbal adjective is similar from the phonetic point of view to the treatment of *promys* ‘promise’:

***promys* ‘promise’**

promys TH 7a, 13, 17 x2, 40a, 51a, 52, 54; *promysse* TH 51a; *promyses* ‘promises’ TH 13a; *promysyow* ‘promises’ TH 13a, 37

***promas* ‘promise’**

promas CW 1379; *hay bromas* ‘and his promise’ CW 776, 780.

Benegys, *mylegys* and *promys* to *benegas*, *malegas* and *promas* respectively are further evidence that in Middle Cornish the vowel in *-ys* was reduced to schwa.

7.14 *-ek* in names of languages

The uncertain spelling of the final unstressed vowel before a consonant can be amply demonstrated in the attested names for languages.

-ek

Frenkek ‘French’ AB: 222; *Godhalek* ‘Irish’ AB: 222 x2; *Brethonek* ‘British’ AB: 222 x 3

-ok

Frenkcock ‘French’ BF: 29; *Cornowok* ‘Cornish’ LAM: 268

-ak

Vrinkak ‘French’ AB: 62c; *Carnoack* ‘Cornish’ BF: 25; *Kernûak* ‘Cornish’ AB: 222 x 5; *Kernuak* ‘Cornish’ BF: 46; *Kornooack* ‘Cornish’ BF:48; *Kernooak* ‘Cornish’ BF:48; *Gembrack* ‘Welsh’ LAM: 238; *Sausenack* ‘English’ BF: 25; *Sowsnack* ‘English’ LAM: 244; *Zouznak* ‘English’ AB: [4]2c.

7.15 The Cornish for ‘Christmas’

The Breton for ‘Christmas’ is *Nadeleg* and the Welsh is *Nadolig*. The Cornish forms show uncertainty concerning the final and unstressed vowel. The attested forms are:

Nadelik; *Deu nadelik* AB: 97a

Nadelik ACB

Nedelack Ustick.

The alternation between *Nadelik* and *Nedelack* is further evidence that short /i/ in unstressed syllables had been reduced to schwa.

7.16 *-ek* but *-og* in compounds

In the texts the suffix *-ek* often becomes *-og-* in plurals and derived words, e.g. *bohosek* ‘poor’ BM 438 but *bohosityon* ‘poor people’ BM 438, 2641, and *bohogogneth* ‘poverty’ BM 3002. This, however, is by no means a strict rule as can be seen from the following:

<i>bohosek</i> ‘poor’ BM 438	<i>the voghosegyon</i> ‘to poor people’ PC 538
<i>gowek</i> ‘lying’ RD 55	<i>gowegneth</i> ‘falsehood’ RD 906; <i>gowygyon</i> ‘liars’ RD 1478
<i>methek</i> ‘doctor’ RD 1648	<i>methegyeth</i> ‘medicine’ BM 1487; <i>mythygyeth</i> RD 1670
<i>othomek</i> ‘needy’ BM 4207	<i>othomegyon</i> ‘needy people’ PC 2636
<i>marreg</i> ‘knight’ PA 190b	<i>marregyon</i> ‘knights’ PC 1613
<i>tebel genesek</i> ‘ill-born man’	<i>genesegeth</i> ‘birth’ TH 7a, 26.

See further 13.8 below.

7.17 *orthyf*, *worthyf* ‘upon me’, *theworthyf* ‘from me’

The final consonant in these two prepositional pronouns follows an unstressed syllable, and thus is voiceless. The preceding vowel is usually written <y>, though not always. It has clearly become schwa already by the time of the Ordinalia and is written <e> or <a>. Here are some examples:

orthyf, *worthyf* ‘upon me’

orthef BM 905, 4143; *ortheff* BM 407, 918, 1356, 1363, 2542, 3126; *ortha ve* BK 1070; *orthaf vy* CW 232; *orthaf* CW 544, 547, 595, 823, 1432, 2143, 2526; *worthaf* CW 1619; *ortha vee* CW 193; *ortha vy* CW 214; *wartha ve* TH 35a.

theworthyf ‘from me’

theworthaf OM 617; *theworthef* OM 205, 2180, PC 1217; *3e orthef* BM 4143; *the ortheff vy* BM 2577, 2658; *thewortha ve* TH 22a

The various spellings with <e> <a> as the final vowel indicate that short /i/ had been reduced to schwa. The SWF writes these two prepositional pronouns *orthiv*, *worthiv* and *dhiworthiv*. There is no justification for either.

7.18 *theworthys* ‘from thee’

The prepositional pronoun *theworthys* is the second person singular equivalent of *theworthyf*. It is apparent from the attested forms that the final vowel has been reduced.

theworthys

the orthys BM 3686; *the orthys gy* ‘from thee’ (emphatic) BM 2971; *the worthas* SA 63; *thaworthys sche* ‘from thee’ (emphatic) CW 268; *3uwortes* CW 946.

The form *the worthas* in SA indicates that the unstressed final vowel had become schwa. The SWF spells this word **dhyworthis*. There is no justification for such a spelling.

7.19 Final unstressed *-yn* and *-en*

The following are the attestations of some instances of final unstressed *-yn* and *-en* in the traditional texts:

benen, *benyn* ‘woman’

benen OCV, OM 164, 256, 296, 316, 2108, 2837, PC 768, 1283, 1743, 2810, 2925, 3219, RD 191, 420, 1350, 1396, 1446, 1682, 1688, 1697, 2396, BM 847, 1550, 1559, BK 2817, Borde. *benyn* PA 35a, 198c, TH 2a, 14, 22a, CW 394, 450, 584, 614, 854, 895, 2440.

bowyn ‘beef’

bouin AB: 33a, 241a
bowyn BM 3224.

elyn ‘elbow’

elin ‘elbow, angle’ OCV
elyn PC 2310.

eythyn ‘furze

ithen ACB F f 2; *Park-an-Nithen* field name CPNE: 92; *Park an Ithan* field name CPNE: 92
eithin AB: 33c, 56a, 63a, 113c.

genen, genyn ‘with us’

genen PA43a, 192b, OM 553, 566, 568, 889, 897, 907, 1179, OM 2378, PC 193, RD 1489, 1794,
2154, 2158, 2345, BM 593, 1084, 1089, 1234, 1349, 2007, 2740, 2936, 2968, 3004, 3242, 3877,
4517, 4523, 4551; *gynen* PC; *genan* TH 30, 40, 55a, 59a, BK 1363, CW 1336, 2472
genyn TH 8, CW 1473, 2375.

goven, govyn ‘to ask’

goven BM 2085; *goofen* Scawen; *a woventa* PA 80a; *govena* ‘ask it’ CW 1194
govyn CF 16, PA 100c, 124d, OM 693, 698, 1212, PC 591, 1260, 1264, RD 1262, BM 2361, TH
24a, 36, 38, 43, 57 x3, BK 564, 2468, 2527.

kegen, kegyn ‘kitchen’

gegen BM 3928, CW 2012, AB: 242 x2
gegyn BM 3721.

Laten, Latyn ‘Latin’

laten BM 81; *Latten* BF: 29 x2
latyn TH 57a.

martesen, martesyn ‘perhaps’

martesen PC 2541, 2870, 3291; *metessen* BF: 29, 31; *marzezen* AB: 235a
martesyn TH 4, 25a, SA 62a, BK 1175.

Metheven, Methelvyn ‘June’

mis metheven BM 4303; *Miz ephan* AB: 74bc
Efin AB: 33a.

melen ‘yellow; yolk’

mellen ACB: F f 4v; *melen* AB: 243c
mellyn ACB F f 4v x 5; *melyn* OM 1964, BM 3227, AB: 136b, 175a, 243c.

melen, melyn ‘mill’

Vellenewson toponym CPNE: 160; *Vellanoweth* toponym CPNE: 160; *Mellanoweth* toponym
CPNE: 160
melin OCV; *an Velyn* BK 1197; *belin* AB: 92c; *Nancemellin* toponym CPNE: 160

mytten, myttyn ‘morning;

metten LAM: 268, AB: 33a, 251a, 252a, BF: 51, 52; ACB: F f, F f verso; *du guener vetten* BM 4420
myttyn PA 243a, OM 2074, 2279, 2307, 2424, PC 2680, TH 44a, BK 827, 2744; *mettyn* ACB F f;
mettin BF: 52 x3; *mittin a brees* ‘tomorrow early’ CS9.

termen, termyn ‘time’

termen BM 447, 513, 592, 1223, 1921, 2024, 2032, 2179, 2736, 2837, 4496, AB: 251a, 252a, 253a
x2, BF: 15, 25 x2, 52, TWG: 26, 34, LAM: 244 (Bodinar)
termyn PA 48c, 66d, 75c, OM 351, 686, 813, 1231, 1360, 1362, 1441, 1748, 2076, 2345, PC 703, 790,
819, 1040, 1053, 1539, 1654, 1690, 1940, 1963, 2200, 2311, 2420, RD 352, 706, 748, 1053,
1111, 1157, 1312, 1349, 1852, BM 141, 532, 1741, TH 2a, 5, 7, 19a, 33, 40a, 49a, BK 321, 826,
865, 2037, 3240, CW 88, 592, 1671, 1893, 1914, 2116, 2209, Keigwin x 2; *termin* TGW: 24.

Several things are immediately apparent from the above lists. In the first place it is clear that traditional scribes spelt the final syllable indifferently as either *-yn* or *-en* in all the above lexemes. The difference between *termyn* and *termen*, for example, was of no importance, since there was no difference in pronunciation. Secondly it seems that spellings with *-in* are very infrequent, if they occur at all.

The SWF writes *kegin* ‘kitchen’, *Latin* ‘Latin’, *melin* ‘mill’ and *myttin* ‘morning.’ As can be seen from the above lists spellings of this kind in *-in* are without warrant. Moreover by making a written distinction between *Latin*, *melin*, *myttin* on the one hand and *lemmyyn* ‘now’, *melyn* ‘yellow’, *termyn* *time* on the other introduces into the revived orthography a distinction without phonetic value. This arbitrary difference is as unnecessary as it is inauthentic.

7.20 *Lemmen*, *lemmyyn* ‘now’

The word for ‘now’ in Cornish, like the words cited in the previous section, exhibits forms in both *-yn* and *-en*. Interestingly enough there are also forms in *-an* at an early period, a sure indication that the vowel of the final syllable was already schwa. I have collected the following examples:

lemmyyn PA 12c, 51a, 60a, 61b, 69d, 78c, 92c, 125c, 182c, 191c, 194c, OM 656, 1306, 1310, 1323, 1341, 1349, 1396, 1654, PC 1243, 1369, 1377, 1382, 1413, 1445, 2280, 2307, 2418, 2705, 2718, 2772, 2825; 2845, 2852, 2877, 2886, 2945, 2960, 2983, 3018, 3196, 3204, 3207, 3213, RD 27, 86, 150, 179, 289, 361, 445, 453, 494, 501, 508, 756, 765, 777, 822, 874, 893, 951, 1091, 1129, 1156, 1202, 1207, 1221, 1272, 1295, 1297, 1345, 1418, 1476, 1513, 1534, 1571, 1741, 1749, 1770, 1793, 1834, 1901, 1920, 1941, 1992, 2021, 2247, 2295, 2300, 2351, 2433, 2620, 2639, BM 11, 138, 173, 212, 3990, TH 1a, SA 60, 60a, BK 18, 235, 477, 769, 783, 797, 880, 1150, 1223, 1818, 1870, 2787, 2985; *lemyn* PA 110d, 116b, 166b, 180d, OM 129, 263, 355, 465, 554, 593, 821, 883, 910, 941, 1017, 1073, 1119, 1240, 1361, 1366, 1442, 1463, 1524, 1565, 1638, 1654, 1721, 1773, 1785, 1791, 1883, 1920, 1993, 2001, 2024, 2027, 2029, 2185, 2343, 2768, 2525, 2540, 2590, 2599, 2684, 2716, 2793, PC 337, 385, 410, 787, 823, 856, 938, 952, 1038, 1038, 1082, 1259, 1722, 1735, 1778, 1850, 1883, 1912, 2082, 2151, 2582, RD 92, 730, 919, 1259, BM 530, 3214, 3811, 3962, CW 32, 115, 141, 217, 231, 337, 359, 367, 384, 423, 558, 810, 874, 1012, 1054, 1083, 1173, 1211, 1388, 1563, 1576, 1613, 1647, 1712, 1805, 1882, 2202, 2245, 2419, 2422, 2451; *lebmyyn* CW 70, 80, 2091, 2240, 2486; *lymmyyn* PC 1194.

lemmen PA 12b, 250d, PC 1913, BM 57, 703, 941, 1335, 1363, 1830, 2493, 2794, 2941, 3013, 3019, 3343, 3363, 3382, 4361, 4535, SA 62, BK 191, 521, 603; *lemen* CF 17, OM 2389, BM 277, 346, 554, 559, 571, 720, 737, 1084, 1089, 1092, 1264, 1321, 1346, 1456, 1558, 1638, 1689, 1752, 1819, 1834, 1860, 1967, 2102, 2126, 2185, 2209, 2248, 2354, 2386, 2561, 2595, 2624, 2703, 2807, 2835, 2997, 3016, 3040, 3177, 3203, 3277, 3320, 3398, 3419, 3426, 3522, 3572, 3627, 3645, 3681, 3692, 3808, 3835, 3923, 4017, 4076, 4155, 4158, 4238, 4242, 4273, 4504, 4510, 4525, 4531; *lebmen* AB: 251a, 252a x2, 253a x2.

leman PA 245d, PC 82, 307, 762, 919, 1304, 2144, RD 2451, BM 2297, 3542; *leman* PC 70, 691, 755, 955, 1093, 1296, BM 4119, 4143.

7.21 *the* ‘to’ and *the* ‘thy’

In PA both the preposition ‘to’ and the second person possessive adjective ‘thy’ appear as *3e*. In the Ordinalia both items are written as *the*. In *Beunans Meriasek* both items are written *the*, although both items very rarely appear as *de*. Tregear usually writes both ‘to’ and the second person possessive adjective as *the*. In *Sacrament an Alter* both ‘to’ and ‘thy’ appear as *tha*, although the preposition ‘to’ is also written *the*:

tha, *the* ‘to’ in SA

ha paris the verwall ‘and ready to die’ SA 59; *henna ew the leverall, gas ve the remembra* ‘that is to say, let me remember’ SA 59; *lowarth mamb wore e flehis the benenas erall the vaga* ‘many mothesr sends their infants to other women to be fed’ SA 59; *henna ew the leverall* ‘that is to say’ SA 59a; *neg ew lowr rag Christ the vos mab dene, ha the voese whippys* ‘it is not enough for Christ to be man and to be scourged’ SA 59a; *thagyn dry ny tha voese onyn gans ef* ‘to bring us to be one with him’ SA 59a; *openly the kenever a whelha ha vo o sevall rebta* ‘openly to everyone who sees and is standing near him’ SA 60; *henna ew the leverall* ‘that is to say’ SA 60; *rag Christ ew the vos touchis* ‘for Christ is to be touched’ SA 60a; *(h)enna ew tha leverall* ‘that is to say’ SA 60a; *why the bredery* ‘that you believe’ SA 62; *kyns an girreow an Sacramentys the vos cowsis* ‘before the words of the sacraments are uttered’ SA 62; *kyns an girreow Christ tha vos leveris* ‘before the words of Christ are said’ SA 62a; *tha gwiel pith nyn go dera(g) dorne* ‘to make something that was not previously’ SA 62; *pan ruga ry y corf tha vos dibbrys ha e gois the vos evys* ‘when he gave his body to be eaten’

and his blood to be drunk' SA 62a; *ema ef ow conys an prys **tha** redemya ny* 'he is attaining the price of redeeming us' SA 63; *ha appoyntis **tha** vois kigg ha gois agen saviour Jesus Christ* 'and appointed to be the flesh and blood of our saviour Jesus Christ' SA 63; ***tha** creffe agen corfow* 'to strengthen our bodies' SA 63a; *pana pask onn o Christ wensys **tha** thibbry gans e apostelath* 'which paschal lamb was Christ anxious to eat with his disciples?' SA 64a; *gans mynd hewwall **tha** thew* 'with a mind ?like God' SA 65a.

tha 'thy, your' in SA

*fatla or ve in ta **tha** honora* 'how I can well honour thee' SA 59; *why the bredery **tha** vos maga benegas agis an dean gwyrrian Elias* 'that you believe you are as blessed as the righteous man Elijah' SA 62; *Rag henna, **tha** orybe gee* 'Therefore your answer' SA 62.

In Tregear, *Sacrament an Alter* and the *Creation of the World*, however, the possessive adjective often appears as *theth* both before vowels and consonants. Here are some examples:

*nyns off worthy the vos gylwys **theth** vab* 'I am not worthy to be called your son' TH 9a; *ny a rug **theth** offendia ge, ny a rug **theth** naha ge* 'we offended thee', we denied thee' TH 10; *eff a putt then dore **theth** pen in dan y dros* 'he will crush your under under his foot' TH 13; *Te ara cara **theth** kyscristyan kepar ha te the honyn* 'You shall love your fellow Christian like yourself' TH 20a; *te a ra cara the cothman ha casa **theth** hyskar* 'thous shalt love thy friend and hate thy enemy' TH 21a-22; *ha gwra golhe **theth** enaff* 'wash your soul' SA 60a; *ef a yll der geare arta **theth** destrowhy* 'he can by a word destroy you again' CW 211-12; *pan wella hy **theth** fegure* 'when she sees your shape' CW 486-87; *ny vynsan **theth** cossylla* 'I would not advise you' CW 620; *ha henna **theth** pedn 3a gy than doer sure a wra croppya* 'and he will surely crush your head down' CW 916-17; *ha tha eva **theth** wrethye* 'and Eve your wife' CW 942; *ty a thebar in tha wheys **theth** vara* 'in your sweat you will eat your bread' CW 949-50; ***theth** voth rebo collenwys* 'thy will be done' CW 955; ***theth** wreag genas tha netha* 'your wife with you to spin' CW 976; ***theth** voice arluth a glowaf* 'thy voice, Lord, I hear' CW 1166; ***theth** owne vrodar yth ova* 'he was your own brother' CW 1300; ***theth** hays a wra incressya* 'your seed will increase' CW 1320; ***theth** vlonogath pur theffry rebo collenwys neffra* 'may thy will in very deed be fulfilled always' CW 1330-31; ***theth** vrodar te a lathas* 'your brother you killed' CW 1717; ***theth** vam ha tas* 'your mother and father' CW 1812; *ha **theth** charrdgya me a ra* 'and I will charge you' CW 1944; *rag henna gwra **theth** wana* 'therefore I will pierce you' CW 1997; *awoos **theth** gyrryan wastys* 'because of your wasted words' CW 2362.

Both *the* 'to' and *the* 'thy' by the later Tudor period, if not before, had been reduced from [ðe] to [ðə]. It seems that speakers found the second person possessive adjective [ðə] <tha> was rather too weak. They appear therefore to have strengthened it by add an final [θ]. This development probably began by analogy with places where the syntax is open to more than one analysis, e.g. *sensys ovy **theth** gorthya* 'I am bound to worship you' BM 3853, where the parsing of *theth* is somewhat unclear. A further two examples can be seen in *pan dra rug an sea postall a rome **theth** hurtya ge ... ha pan dra rug an sea postall a hierusalem **theth** hurtya ge* 'what did the apostolic see of Rome do to hurt you...and what did the apostolic see of Jerusalem do to hurt you?' TH 48. These clauses might be understood as meaning 'how did the apostolic see of Rome hurt you...how did the apostolic see of Jerusalem hurt you?' In which case *theth* might have been understood as a possessive adjective rather than a preposition + possessive adjective.

7.22 The prefix *dy-* in traditional Cornish

The following words are among those attested in the traditional texts which exhibit the prefix *dy-*:

dybenna 'to behead'

debenna BK 1515; *debynmys* 'beheaded' BM 1351, BK 3292; *dybynmys* BK 2117, 2272;

debennys 'beheaded' BK 2941; *me a theben* 'I will behead' BK 2430

dyberth, dybarth 'to depart, to separate'

dyberth BM 1060, 4255; *dybarth* OM 25, RD 925, 1728, 259, BM 3915, 4155

dyberthys 'separated'

deberthys BM 1413, 3130, TH 40; *debertheys* BM 3108; *deberthis* TH 22a, 25a;

dyblans 'distinct, separate; separately'

dyblans OM 87, 1955, BM 698, 1221, 1353, 1688, 2052, 2371, 3079, 3880, 3934, 4176, 4390;
dybblans CW 412; *dibblance* CW 1839; *pur thybblance* 'very clearly' CW 1932; *pur thibblans* 'very clearly' CW 1985
dyfen 'ban, prohibition; to prohibit'
dyfen OM 172, 182, 250, 304, 424, BK 2196; *dyfan* BK 3084; *dyfenn* 3206; *defen* OM 270, 922, BK 436, CW 2216; *deffen* CW 853; *defan* CW 882
dyfennys 'forbidden'
dyfynnys OM 212; *defennys* CW 751
dyfeth 'wilderness'
3e 3yveyth 'to a desolate place' PA 17c; *devyth* CW 1296; *defyth* CW 1481
dyfireth 'powerless, feeble'
dyfireth OM 593; *deffiryth* CW 1173
dyflam 'blameless'
deflam PA 32d
dyflas 'shameful, disgusting'
dyflas PC 2604
dyflasa 'to be ashamed of'
the thyflase 'to be ashamed of you' PC 901
dyfun 'awake'
pur thyfun 'completely awake' PC 2204
dyfuna 'to wake'
dyfuna 'to wake' BK 349; *dyfunough* 'wake up' PC 1075
dyfygya 'to fail'
na thyfyk 'that does not fail' OM 517, RD 1310, 1434, BK 1269; *na thyfyc* 'that does not fail' RD 78
dyclos 'joyless, hapless'
dyckles CW 1031
dyfeleby 'to deform'
defalebys 'deformed' CW 1603, 1664, 1665
dyglon 'discouragement; depressed'
dyglon BM 3674
dygnas 'monstrous, perverse; perversely'
dygnas PA 33a, 52d, PC 1098, BK 1786
dynatur 'unnatural'
denatar PA 139d
dyscrygyans 'unbelief'
dyscrygyans RD 1516
dyscrygyk 'unbelieving'
dyscrygk RD 1369, 1519; *dyscryggyvon* OM 1855; *dyscrygyon* OM 1869
dyscutha 'to disclose'
dyscuthe OM 1146; *descotha* CW 1369
dysquythyans 'demonstration'
dysquythyens OM 147; *dysquythyans* OM 1733
dysquethes 'to show'
dysquethes OM 1746; *dysquethas* OM 1439, TH 13, 23, 42; *desquethes* TH 26a, 44, 51; *desquethas* TH 26a, 34a, 39a; *desquethis* TH 21; *disquethaz* TWG 24; *dysque3as* PA 157; *thysquethas* TH 35; *dysquethas* 'showed' OM 2351; *thysquethes* 'showed' OM 261; *thysquethas* 'showed' SA 65a; *thysqwethas* 'showed' CW 872; *dysquethys* 'shown' BM 4451, TH 11; *dysquethis* 'shown' TH 12;
dyveth 'shameless'
dyveth PA 191a; *deveth* PA 242d
dyvotter 'want, starvation'
dyvotter OM 363
dyvynya 'to mince'
rag e thevenya 'to mince him' BK 2603; *dyvyn* 'will mince' BK 2510; *devenys* 'minced' BM 2390; *dufunys* 'minced' BM 3224.

In most cases the prefix is privative *dy-*. Moreover many of these items are spelt with <e> in the first syllable. The SWF for *dyfeleby* gives **dihevelebi*. No such form occurs.

CHAPTER 8

Long and Short *a*

8.1 The raising of long /a:/

The long vowel /a:/ is a low central vowel which has a tendency in many languages either to be raised and fronted to [æ:] or [ɛ:] or to be raised and retracted to [ɑ:] or [ɔ:]. Both phenomena are observed in Cornish. Jenner, Nance and Caradar all believed that Cornish long /a:/ in words like *tas* ‘father’, *fas* ‘face’, *gras* ‘thanks’, *haal* ‘moor’ was pronounced [æ:]. They were almost certainly correct in this assumption. There are several reasons for their belief:

- 1) spellings like *haal* ‘moor’ OM 2708; *graas* ‘thanks’ OM 422; *taan* ‘fire’ OM 1413; *taal* ‘forehead’ OM 2705; *glaan* ‘clean’ BM 1719; *da laaz* ‘thy maw’ Carew, all seem to point to a long vowel which is not simply [a:].
- 2) the spellings *feth* for *fas* ‘face’ PA 200c, 216c, PC 1240; *wheth* for *whath* ‘yet, still’ PA 115d, OM 427, 637, 789, 1130, 1877, 2109, 2802, PC 706, 848, 1075, 1326, 1987, 2177, 2316, RD 234, 792, 850, 1168, 1213, 1550, 1868, 2406, 2534 all appear to indicate that the long low vowel has been raised and is closer to [ɛ:] than to [a:].
- 3) *haal* ‘moor’ at OM 2708 has a plural *hellow* at BM 3411 rhyming with *mellov* ‘joints.’ Thus when the vowel is shortened in the plural, it does not appear as <a> but rather as <e>, suggesting that the long vowel was closer to [ɛ:] than to [a:].
- 4) the spellings of place-names in English orthography like *Polglaze*, *Penglaze*, *Chypraze*, *Penpraze* also point to a raised and fronted pronunciation as does the field name *Pollglese* (see CPNE: 104, 193).

It is sometimes asserted as a counter-argument that Lhuyd in his semi-phonetic spelling writes *glâz* for ‘blue, green’ and that this simple long <a> indicates an unraised vowel. It must be remembered, however, that Lhuyd was a native of Llanforda near Oswestry. Although actually in England this was a Celtophone area in Lhuyd’s day. Moreover that region in Mid-Wales (extending over the border into England) was distinguished by a raised and fronted pronunciation of long /a:/ in Welsh words like *tad* ‘father’, *tan* ‘fire’, etc. Lhuyd’s <a> is therefore does not exclude the possibility of a raised vowel in Cornish *tas*, *tan*, *glas*, etc.

8.2 Rounding of long /a:/ before /n/

Although long /a:/ is raised and fronted in some words, in others it is raised and rounded, becoming [ɑ:] or [ɔ:]. The most obvious position for this development is before *n*. As examples one can cite *Kensa Caon Horace* ‘the first ode (lit. ‘song’) of Horace’ BF: 31. The spelling *caon* is presumably Nicholas Boson’s way of writing a rounded /inverted a:/. Lhuyd writes *gluan* ‘wool’ at AB: 75c, 294a, a spelling which suggests a rounded pronunciation. James Jenkins writes *gen hye glân* ‘with her wool’ which may also suggest a raised and retracted pronunciation of the vowel.

8.3 Rounding long /a:/ before /l/

Although there is evidence that the vowel of *haal* ‘moor’ was raised and fronted, there is also evidence that long *a* before *l* could also be raised and rounded. The word for ‘forehead’ appears as *tale* at CW 1628 and in John Tonkin’s *ubba en tale gullas en beze* ‘here in the bottom end of the world’ (LAM: 224). In toponyms, however, it often appears as *Tol*, e.g. *Tolgarrick*, *Tolmennor*, *Tolvadden*, *Tolgragon*, *Tolgullow*, *Tolponds*, *Tolfrew*, *Tolpetherwin* and *Tolzethan* (CPNE: 214). In all these place-names the first element is short, but the original vowel of *Tal* in them must have been raised and rounded in order for the shortened vowel to appear as <o>.

The item *clodgy*- ‘lazar-house, hospital’ is attested in several toponyms, e.g. *Clodgy Point*, *Clodgy Moor* and *Clugea Lane* and the plural *Clausiow* (CPNE:60). The Cornish form from which all these derive must have been *clavjy* ‘lazar-house’; cf. Welsh *clafdy*. It would seem that the combined effect of the preceding [l] and the following [v] was enough to round *clav* ‘sick’ in these compounds. It should be remembered, however, that the simplex *claf* ‘sick person’ has a plural with the vowel *e*: *clevyon* OM 2796, BM 3125, 3230, 4483; *clevyen* BM 3114; *an glevyon* PA 25a; *an Glevyan* TWG: 36. This would seem to imply that *claf* could also have a fronted vowel.

8.4 Rounding of long /a:/ after /w/

In his version of the Ten Commandments William Rowe writes: *Tho ve an Arleth da Deew reg da dry meaze vez a pow Egypt ha veza Choy o Chee Gossel* ‘I am the Lord thy God who brought thee out of the land of Egypt

and out of the house where you were a bondman.’ *Gosse* is clearly a development of **gwas whel* ‘man of work’. It seems, therefore, that in this word after *gw-* Cornish long /a:/ is raised and rounded to [a:], which when shortened appears as [ɔ].

The words *gwaf* ‘winter’, *gwavas* ‘winter dwelling’, *gwartha* ‘summit’, *gwarthek* ‘cattle’ may all have been pronounced in places with a rounded vowel. The evidence is not decisive, however.

8.5 ‘Worthy’ and ‘to worship’ in the *Creation of the World*

The word for ‘worthy’ is usually spelt *worthy* in the texts, e.g. BM 82, 207, TH 4a, 10. At CW 263, however, it appears as *warthy*. Clearly the scribe believed that *w* rounded a following *a* and thus that *warthy* should be read as *worthy*.

There are further instances of *w* rounding the following short vowel in the *Creation of the World*. In the play the word for ‘to worship’ appears as *gworria* CW 49 and *gwerthya* CW 42, 1964; *gwerthyes* ‘worshipped’ CW 1097; *gwerthys* ‘worshipped’ CW 1417. In other texts the word is spelt *worthye*, *worthya*, e.g. OM 447, BM 716 < archaic English ‘to worthy.’ *Gworria*, like *gworthya* CW 139 has acquired an initial *g*, presumably by analogy with further borrowings from Middle English, e.g. *gwandra* ‘to wander’ CW 1219, *gwardya* ‘to guard’ BK 527, *gwarnya* ‘to warn’ TH 6, 32, 54. Notice also *gorthya* ‘to worship’ at CW 221. The spelling *gwerthya* is not attested elsewhere, but it does suggest that to the scribe of CW *gwerthya* might be a reasonable spelling for *gworthya*, i.e. that he believed *w* rounded a following vowel. Compare here *a n Worthyas Ker Marya* ‘of the Virgin Mary’ BK 159, for more usual *gwerhes*, e.g. *werhes flour maria* BM 631.

The same phenomenon is apparent in *gweryby* ‘to answer’ CW 1145 for more usual *gorthyby*, e.g. OM 302, PC 181.

8.6 Rounding of long /a:/ after /br/

There is excellent evidence that long /a:/ is usually rounded after *br* in the word *bras* ‘great’: *dean brose/brauze* ‘great man’ BF: 27; *Aulsen coth brose* ‘great old Ausonius’ BF: 29; *deskes brose dean* ‘a great learned man’ BF: 48; *gullow brôz* ‘great light’ BF: 52. Further when *bras* is used as a noun, the plural appears with <o> as the stressed vowel: *kefiys brosyen ha kemyn* ‘both nobles and common people’ BM 3215. Notice also *brossa mater* ‘greater matter’ SA 65; *gwraf broster athesempys* ‘immediately I shall make a firmament’ CW 81; *an brossa/brauzha ha an cotha Fratier* ‘the greatest and oldest scribe’ BF: 25; *an broza* ‘the greater’ BF: 52; *an brossa mine* ‘the largest stones’ ACB: F f 3.

It should also be pointed out, however, that alongside *brosylen ha kemyn* ‘both nobles and common people’ in *Beunans Meriasek*, we also find *bresyon ha kemyn* at BK 1275, where the plural of *bras* is *bresyon*, i.e. without rounding.

8.7 Rounding of short /a/ after /m/

Nance in his dictionary of 1938 cites *mantol* ‘balance, scales’ and gives both Welsh and the toponym *Tormentil* < **torn mantol* as his sources. In his manuscript Cornish vocabulary (GK: 105), however, Lhuyd gives ‘trutina [balance, scales]’. It would seem therefore that the word for ‘balance’ in Cornish was *montal* rather than **mantol*. In which case the rounding is to be ascribed to the preceding /m/.

A further example of the rounding of short *a* > *o* in the vicinity of /m/ can be seen in: *kepar ha flowren eff a clomder* ‘like a flower he droops’ TH 7. With *clomder* ‘droops, fails’ contrast *yn clamder* ‘in a faint’ PC 2594.

8.8 *Canfethes* ~ *convedhes*

In *Beunans Ke* we read:

Ema Arthur devethys
ha ny gansa canfethys
 [Arthur has come
 and we perceived by him.] BK 2794-95

Later we read:

Rag kueth, pan i n canfethis,
me re jangyas ow holor
 [For sorrow, when I perceived him

I changed my colour] BK 3129-30.

The two verbal forms here are the verbal adjective *canfethys* and the first person singular preterite *canfethis*. The verbal noun is probably **canfos*, **canvos* ‘to perceive, to grasp’, a compound of *can*+*bos* ‘to be’; cf. Welsh *canfod* ‘to perceive, to discover’, present tense *canfyddaf*. In Cornish a new verbal noun *convethes* has been created on the inflected stem **canfeth-*. This analogical formation is attested in CW and Pryce:

sera ny won convethas ages dewan in neb for ‘sir, I cannot grasp your anxiety at all’ CW 1232-33; *me ny allaf convethas y bosta ge ow hendas* ‘I cannot grasp that you are my forebear’ CW 1609-10; *gans dean pen vo convethys worthaf ve sertan ny dale bos mellyes* ‘when it is perceived by anyone it will not be wise to meddle with me indeed’ CW 1618-20; *henna yth ew convethys der an discans es thymma reis gans an tas es a vghan* ‘that has been perceived through the teaching granted to me by the Father who is above’ CW 2153-55; *Der taklow minniz ew brez teez gonvethes, avel an tacklow broaz* ‘By small things are men’s mind discerned as well as by great things’ ACB: E e 4 verso.

In all trisyllabic forms of this verb the initial syllable is unstressed. In CW and in Pryce therefore the inherited vowel of the initial syllable has been rounded from *a* to *o*, giving *convethes*. Incidentally, Nance used *convedhes* to mean ‘to understand.’ The only unambiguous word for ‘to understand’ in Middle Cornish, however, is *understondya*, *understandya*, which is attested 26 times.

CHAPTER 9

Further rounding of vowels

9.1 Rounding of short /a/ and /e/ before /l/

colon ‘heart’

There is very good evidence that in Cornish a following /l/ rounded short /a/ to /o/ already before the beginning of the Middle Cornish period. The Welsh for ‘heart’ is *calon*, and the Breton equivalent is *kalon*. In Cornish on the other hand ‘heart’ is invariably *colon* (e.g. *colon* OCV, PA 81d, 101a, etc., OM 511, 721, etc.). The rounding can be attributed to the effect of the following /l/. It is likely that the rounding to *colon* probably occurred in Cornish when the accent in the word was upon the second syllable. This would have made the rounding easier from the phonetic point of view.

holan ‘salt’

The Welsh for ‘salt’ is *halen* (Cf. Irish *salann* ‘salt’). The same word appears in OCV as *haloin*. Lhuyd gives *holan* ‘salt’ AB: 143b and John Boson in the pilchard song writes *Holan moy* ‘More salt’ BF: 43. Again it would seem that the following /l/ has raised the vowel > [ɔ]. It should be noted incidentally that a similar shift has occurred in Breton *holenn* ‘salt’.

holergh ‘late’

A following /l/ also appears to round /e/ > /o/. The word *holergh* ‘late’ is attested once: *Pan o pur holergh an gyth* ‘When the day was very late’ PA 244a. The adjective is clearly a compound of the prefix *he-* and *lergh*. *Lergh* is seen in *warlergh* ‘after’ and the prefix *he-* occurs in *hyblyth* ‘pliable’ PA 131c; *hydruk* ‘brittle’ (< **hedrogh*) Borlase; *hegar* ‘amiable’ PA 40d, BK 1137. Although one would perhaps have expected *helergh* (and indeed this is the headword in Nance’s 1938 dictionary) the following /l/ appears to have rounded the vowel to [o].

solabrys ‘already’, *solatheth* ‘long since’

There is a Breton adverb *seulabred* ‘already, soon’, on the basis of which the SWF spells the related Cornish adverb *solabrys* as **seulabrys*. It is clear, however, that whatever the earlier form of this adverb in Cornish may have been, the following /l/ has rounded the high front vowel of the first syllable to [o]. This can be clearly seen from the attested forms.

Solabrys ‘already’

Nans yw groundyys genef vy sol [a] brys gans horbenow ‘now for some time already I have given it foundations by means of hand-rammers’ OM 2321-22

ow tybbry gynef yma a’m tallyovr yn keth bos ma neb ru’m guerthas sollabreys ‘eating with me from my dish in this very food is he who has already sold me’ PC 744-46

Benedycite, pan wolov re bue oma sollabreys ‘Bless me, what light has been here already’ BM 1844-45

Na ve ow mayster, heb dowt me a thothy a solabrys ‘Had it not been for my master, without doubt I should have come already’ BK 380-81.

Solabrys kynth of cryys, the n turant ny vetha mos ‘Although I have already been called, I dare not go to the tyrant’ BK 445-46.

The same rounding can be seen in the related adverb *solatheth* ‘long since’:

Solatheth ‘long since’

yrverys en ru’m levte sol-a-thyth the avonsye ‘By my loyalty I was determined long ago to give thee preferment’ OM 2611-12

ny fue gollhys sol-theth byth nyns yw rages ru’m feyth ‘it has not been washed for a long time; it is never for you by my faith’ RD 1921-30

a phelyp lous os y’th fyth ha ty gynef sollathyth ‘O Philip, you are slack in your faith, and you with me long since’ RD 2379-80

omma avel bohosek solladeth ty re vewas ‘for a long time you have lived here like a pauper’ BM 2937-40
pan worshyp, er agys fith, a wothy a Arthor the ry rag an trubut solathyth a stoppyas ef? ‘what compensation by your faith could Arthur give for the tribute which he stopped long ago?’ BK2253-56.

There is clearly no justification for spelling either of these adverbs with <eu> in the initial syllable. They should be spelt *solabrys* and *soladhedh* in the revived language.

9.2 *Hogul* ‘credulous’

In *Origo Mundi* Adam laments his state since he first ate of the forbidden tree. He says:

Ellas vyth pan ruk cole
mar hogul worth ov eskar
 ‘Alas that I ever listened
 so credulously to my enemy!’ OM 626-27.

The adjective, used adverbially here, is *hogul* ‘credulous, naive’. The word is formed from the prefix *he-* ‘readily’ and *gol*, the mutated root of *cola* ‘to hearken’. We can assume that original **hegol* was metathesized to **hogel* and then the second syllable was rounded before / to [ɔ] or [ʊ] to give *hogul*.

9.3 Rounding of unstressed /e/ before /m/

There is evidence that stressed *a* is rounded after *m* in the words *montol* ‘balance, scales’ (see 8.7). It also appears that a following *m* rounded short *e* in low sentence stress to *o* or *u*. This shift is so very well attested, that I give here only a handful of examples:

the’m ‘to my’ > *tho’m*, *thu’m*

vn pols golyas ny yllough 3um comfortye ‘you cannot watch a while to comfort me’ PA 55d; *thom kemeres 3om syndye 3om peynye bys yn crow* ‘to seize me, to hurt me, to torment me to death’ PA 74c; *gallus nyng ese kemmen 3om cara na 3om sensy* ‘there was no power at all to shackle nor to arrest me’ PA 75b; *assos goky na gresyth thu’m lauarow* ‘how foolish you that you don’t believe my words’ OM 174; *rag y leuerel thu’m tas* ‘to tell it to my father’ OM 752; *my a vyn alemma mos tho’m gvrek ha’m flehes* ‘I will go hence to my wife and children’ OM 1035-36; *yn onor thu’m arluth whek* ‘in honour to my dear lord’ PC 259; *ragh kennmys hy tho’m care* ‘for she loved me so greatly’ PC 530; *onan ahanough haneth ru’m guerthas tho’m yskerens* ‘one of you tonight has betrayed me to my enemies’ PC 736-37; *dreugh bys omma thu’m tyller an harlot guas* ‘bring here to my place the scoundrel fellow’ PC 980-81; *ny glewaf yender thu’m trovs* ‘I cannot feel cold in my foot’ PC 1223; *ty a thue the nef thu’m tron* ‘you will come to heaven to my throne’ RD 462; *me a vyn mones thu’m gulas* ‘I will go to my kingdom’ RD 1580; *3um gothvas wosa lyfye me a 3ysk moy* ‘to my knowledge after lunch I will learn more’ BM 104-05; *Lowena 3um tas worthy* ‘Greetings to my worthy father’ BM 207; *y feth omma thum porpos* ‘it will be here for my purpose’ BM 725; *lovr yv henna thum parte vy* ‘that is enough for my part’ BM 1562; *Me a vyn moys thum guely* ‘I will go to my bed’ BM 1683; *eth esaf ynhe tho m plas* ‘I am closer to my destination’ BK 38; *Nyng ew repref tho m chan* ‘There is no reproof to my kindred’ BK 96; *place ryall thom trigva* ‘a royal place for my dwelling’ CW 15; *ha thom honor maga ta* ‘and for my honour also’ CW; *a vyth gorris thom service* ‘who will be put to my service’ CW 35; *omma nessa thom throne ve* ‘here nearest to my throne’ CW 37; *adro thom tyre* ‘around my land’ CW 89; *me a gwra thom plegadow* ‘I will make for my pleasure’ CW 109; *thom gworthya* ‘to worship me’ CW 139; *tha wythyll vn dean omma a thore ha sleme 3om servia* ‘to make a man here from earth and slime to serve me’ CW 238-39; *thom mayntayna in spyte thys* ‘to support me in spite of you’ CW 273.

A similar rounding has occurred with the preposition *re* ‘by’ in oaths. *Re’m* > *ru’m*, *ro’m* is the most frequent instance of rounding of unstressed *e* before *m*. I therefore give only a relatively few examples (I ignore capitalization):

re’m ‘by my’ > *ro’m*, *ru’m*

ru’m fay ‘by my faith’ OM 1730, PC 611, 1222, 1231, 1286, 1345, 1375, RD 289, BK 2462; *ru’m faye* ‘by my faith’ BK 601; *rum fay* BM 1475, BM 1873; *ru’m fey* ‘by my faith’ OM 473, 2041, 2495, PC 1453, 1549, 2253, 2754; *ru’m feyth* ‘by my faith’ PC 1117, RD 1930; *rum lewte* ‘by my probity’ PA 116c, 157c; *ru’m leute* ‘by my probity’ OM 2124, 3065; *ru’m levte* ‘by my probity’ OM 2611; *rum levte* ‘by my probity’ BM 102; *ru’m leaute* ‘by my probity’ PC 760, 1239, 1524, 1579, 1611,

2675, RD 1243; **ru'm** *leowta* BK 1050; **ro'm** *laute* 'by my probity' PC 94; **ram** *lowta* 'by my probity' CW 1025.

A similar rounding has occurred with the perfective particle *re* before *m*. Here are a very few examples.:

***re'm* > *ru'm*, *ro'm* where *re* is the perfective particle**

ow thas rom *growntyas 3ewy* 'my Father has granted me to you' PA 75c; *ty ru'm* *gruk pur havel thy's* 'you have created me very like you' OM 88; *ty ru'm* *tullas sur hep ken* 'you have deceived me without cause' OM 252; *fest yn tyn ef ru'm* *sorras* 'very bitterly has he angered me' OM 424; *ha'm* *pen ol hy ru'm* *vras* 'and all my head she has anointed' PC 526; *onan ahanough haneth ru'm* *guerthas tho'm yskerens* 'one of you tonight has betrayed me to my enemies' PC 736-37; *me re* *goskes pus ha ru'm* *kemeres drok glos* 'I have slept heavily and an evil pain has seized me' RD 512-13; *del ru m* *cuthys an traytor* 'as the traitor has afflicted me' BK 332; *An fals brybours dre bur tholowrs ru m* *grug muscog* 'the false scoundrels by very pain have maddened me' BK 747-49; *te ru m* *grug saw* 'you have healed me' BK 813; *Ow thraytor ru m* *gohelas* 'My traitor has escaped me' BK 3277.

It is difficult to say whether this rounding of unstressed *e* before *m* was of any particular significance, apart from indicating that the short vowel in weak sentence stress might be coloured by its surroundings. Both *re* 'by' in oaths, and the perfective *re* are marginal in the later language. It is also possible that a rounded pronunciation of *tho'm* 'to my' was prompted in part to keep the phrase separate in speech from *them* 'to me' (a variant of *thym* 'to me') attested at BM 3041, BK 9,43, 734, 1492, 2362, 2772, CW 29, 67.

Although it is not necessary to introduce rounding of short unstressed *e* before *m* into the orthography of the revived language, it is useful to remember how the following consonant can affect the preceding vowel.

CHAPTER 10

Vocalic Harmony

10.1 There are clear indications that vocalic harmony has operated in some aspects of the vocalic system of Cornish. The most obvious examples involve the alternation of /œ:/ in monosyllables with /y/ in polysyllables when a high front vowel follows. Here are some attested examples:

euth ‘terror’
euth RD 2128
uthyk ‘terrible’
uthyk PC 952, RD 531, 2340, BM 729; *vtheck* CW 290; *ithik* AB: 68a, 102a, 120c, 122b, 155c, 169a.

In *Passio Christi* we read *mar ethuk the weles* ‘so terrible to be seen’, where the vowels of the two syllable appear to have been metathesized. The original form behind *ethuk* therefore was **uthek*, a variant of *uthyk*. James Jenkins writes *Eithick gwreage dah* ‘A wonderfully good wife’ (ACB: F f 3), where the vocalism of *Eithick* is uncertain. In view of Lhuyd’s *ithik*, *eithick* is probably to be understood as a late variant of *uthyk* where *i* and *e* alternate in open syllable.

anfeus ‘misfortune, misery’
anfues PC 2940; *anfus* PC 1501 (rhyming with *y vrus* ‘his judgement’)
anfusy ‘calamity’
anfusy BM 2095, 3421, 3514,

breus ‘judgement’
brues PC 2494; *deth brues* PA 259b; *dyth brues* PC 814; *deyth brues* PC 1331, 2940, RD 234;
bytyth brues BK 1569, 1577, 1585
brusy ‘to judge’
brusy BM 4054; *3y vrvsy* PA 117d; *the vrusi* BM 4087.

It seems that in all the above cases the original vowel was [œ:], which before /i/ in the next syllable was both shortened and raised, and thus has given rise to the alternation /œ:/ ~ /y/. /y/ was regularly unrounded to [i]. The same alternation is seen in *eus* ‘is’ and *usy* ‘is’ (definite).

eus ‘is’
vs PA 16c, 24a, 24b, 53b, etc.; *us* PC 2477, BM 370, 380, 655, etc.; *eus* Borde x 4; *ues* BK 1496, 3121; *es* PA 32c, 120b, 121c, etc.
usy ‘is’ (definite)
usy BM 1019, 1403; *vsy* OM 2692, BM 1715, 3780, 4120, etc.

The definite form *usy* is related etymologically to *eus*. It has, however, been contaminated by the long forms of *bos* that have either *es-* or *eg-*, e.g. *esos* ‘thou art’ PC 931 contrasting with *egas* ‘thou art’ BK 168. As a result beside *usy* we find *vgy* PA 53d, OM 1616, and *vge* SA 59, 61 x2, 62. The alternation of forms between *eus* and *vgy* is the same as that between *eus* and *usy*.

The verb *buthy* ‘to drown’ occurs at OM 1049, CW 2330. The verbal adjective *bethys* CW 2315 may well be analogical and based on the unattested stem **beuth-*. Alternatively it may simply be a bad spelling for *buthys*. The verbal adjective as a spoken form is recorded by Lhuyd as *bidhis* AB: 250a.

10.2 *Ues, eus, us* ‘is’

There can be no doubt that the original vowel of this item was [œ:], since it unrounds to [e:], e.g. *nyng es* ‘there is not’ BK 194, 524, 828, 1122, 1244, 1305, 1310, 1314, 1336, 1966, 1991, 2483, 2540, 2792, 2870; *Nyn ges* BF: 12; *Nages* BF: 8. The same vowel was originally present in *mur*, *mvr*, *muer* ‘great, much’. The spelling of the word with *eo* in *Bretyn Veor* ‘Great Britain’ at BK 1424 indicates a vowel that is mid high like /o:/ but fronted like /e:/, i.e. that the vowel is [œ:]. Although it appears that [œ:] had been unrounded to [e:] by the time of the manuscript of BK, the spelling clearly persisted.

Nance believed that the vowel of *us*, *ues* ‘is’ was [y:] and was thus the same vowel as in *tus* ‘men’. He can perhaps be forgiven for making this assumption, since there is some evidence in the texts to support such a view.

For example the imperative *dus* [dœ:z] ‘come!’ is spelt *dys* at PC 1233 and BK 855, and the same form is spelt *dees* at BK 554. Moreover in SA we read: *mar ees mar ver gallus in geir agen arluth* ‘if there is such great power in the word of our Lord’ SA 62a, where *ees* for *us*, *ues* would seem to imply [i:z], i.e. the unrounded reflex of [y:].

10.3 ‘To him, to them’ in Cornish

The third person plural of the prepositional pronoun *thym*, *thys* ‘to me, to thee’, etc. was *thetha* ‘to them’ OM 2832, TH 4a, 14a, etc. When recharacterized with *-ans*, the third person plural verbal ending *thetha* appears as *thethans*, e.g. TH 16, 23, 36a, 43a, 44a, SA 64, 65a. It is likely that the third person singular of *thetha*, *thethans* was originally **thetho*; compare Middle Breton *dezaff*, *dezhan* ‘to him’. While the stress was still on the final syllable, however, the *-o* of the second syllable affected the first syllable to give *thotho*.

After the Prosodic Shift the final segment of *thotho* was reduced to schwa, written <a>, and the now stressed first syllable retained its *o*, to give *thotha* TH 4, 5a, 8a, 12, 14, etc. The form *thotha* was also the starting point for a new third plural variant *thothans* TH 55 note, CW 400, 972, 2430.

The initial consonant of *thotho* < **thetho* ‘to him’ and *thetha* ‘to them’ was probably *d* rather than *th* [ð]. It is likely that the replacement of initial *d* with *th* was triggered by *th* [ð] in the next syllable. It is noteworthy, however, that the replacement was by no means total and that *dotho*, *dotha* ‘to him’ and *detha*, *dothans* ‘to them’ are all well attested:

***dotho* ‘to him’**

dotho OM 741, 1094, 2238; PC 29, 248, 793, 1827, 2081, 2218, 2519, RD 605,1445, BM 485, 549, 715, 1454, 1506, 1694, 2130, 2136, 2269, 2530, 2535, 2796, 2850, 2871, 2914, 3105, 3268, 3324, 3876, 3879, 3958, 4177, 4335, 4396, 4430, 4500.

***dotha* ‘to him’**

dotha ‘to him’ BM 466, 1950, 2854, 3614, CW 1017, BF: 15, 25, 43, 48 x2, 59; LAM: 228.

***detha* ‘to them’**

detha BM 2954, 3307, 3534, 4555.

***dothans* ‘to them’**

dothans CW 967, BF: 41, 53, 55 x2.

No examples of **dethans* ‘to them’ are attested, however.

CHAPTER 11

Miscellaneous developments

11.1 Spirantization of *teyr* ‘three’

A curious feature of Middle Cornish numerals is seen in the spirantization of the feminine form *teyr* ‘three.’ *Try* ‘three’ (masc.) where possible is usually followed by spirant mutation. We thus, for example, find *try ferson* ‘three persons’ BK 288. When followed by a consonant that is not susceptible of being spirantized, the mutation cannot take place. It seems that speakers desired some kind of spirantization nonetheless, and in consequence they spirantized the numeral itself after the definite article. We thus find:

yn guyrder an thyr guelen yv dysquythyans ha token a’n try person yn drynsys ‘in truth the three rods are an demonstration and token of the three persons in the Trinity’ OM 1732-35; *rag an thyyr guelen defry a ve gans dauyd plynsys* ‘for the three rods indeed were planted by David’ OM 2656-57.

Notice incidentally in the first quotation that the initial of *try* is spirantized, but that the initial of *person* in *try person* is not.

11.2 *The* > *tha* ‘to’ in the later text

One should note that Lhuyd regularly spells the simplex ‘to’ as <dho>: AB: 43c, 44c, 49c, 50c, 55a x2, 71b, 72a, 78c x 3, 112a, 117b x 3, 140b, 146a, 250a, etc. Moreover in the later language *the* ‘to’ is frequently written <tha>:

tha vose ‘to be’ SA 60; *tha vos* ‘to be’ SA 62a x2, 66; *tha leverall* ‘to say’ SA 60a; *tha gwiel* ‘to make’ SA 62a; *tha redemya* ‘to redeem’ SA 63; *tha vois* ‘to be’ SA 63; *tha creffe* ‘to strengthen’ SA 63a; *tha thibbry* ‘to eat’ SA 64a; *hewwall tha thew* ‘like unto God’ SA 65a; *tha thybbry* ‘to eat’ SA 66a; *tha vlamya* ‘to be blamed’ CW 161; *tha vos* ‘to be’ CW 185; *tha bayne* ‘to torments’ CW 233; *tha wythyll* ‘to make’ CW 238; *tha opea* ‘to open’ CW 240; *tha baynes* ‘to torments’ CW 285; *tha hacter* ‘to ugliness’ CW 289; *tha effarn* ‘to hell’ CW 295, 322; *tha dewolgow* ‘to darkness’ CW 322; etc., etc.

The spelling <tha> for earlier <the> ‘to’ is probably simply an indication that the vowel has been reduced to schwa. It is possible, however, that the shift from *the* > *tha* may in part have been facilitated by the unfronted pronunciation of the in *thu’m*, *tho’m* ‘to my’. It should also be pointed out that the SWF does not appear to admit *dha* as an allowed variant of *dhe* ‘to’.

11.3 Shortening of the vowel in the word for ‘flesh’

The Cornish for ‘flesh’ is *kyg*. Examples include: *kyg* PA 3b, 54b, 256d; *kyk* OM 112, 659, PC 941, BM 2028, 3066, 3085, 4054, 4191, BK 364, 790, 127, 1289, ; *kyke* BM 162, CW 1473; *kyge* TH 3 x2, 9a, 15, 16a x4, 27a, 44, 51a, 52, 54, 56 x2, 57a. The spelling *kyge* in TH makes it likely that the vowel was originally [i:].

In Tregear’s homilies, however, one also finds the spelling *kygg* TH 13. In *Sacrament an Alter* the word appears as *kygg* SA 66a x 4; *kigg* SA 60a x 7, 61 x2, 63 x2, 63a x2, 64a x5, 65a, 66 x2 and *kigge* SA 59. The scribe also writes: *ema ef agyn maga gans e kegg e honyn* ‘he feeds us with his own flesh’ SA 59a. The doubled *g* in TH and throughout SA, together with the spelling *kegg* make it virtually certain that the vowel of *kyg* ‘flesh’ has been shortened to [ɪ]. The reason for the shortening is unclear, however.

11.4 Raising of vowels: the definite article *an* > *en*

The definite article *an* is sporadically raised to *en* before *t*-, *th*-, *k*- and *g*-. Here are the attested examples:

an > *en* before *t*-

En tas a nef ‘The Father of heaven’ OM 1; *en tas ha n map ha n spyrys* ‘the Father and the Son and the Spirit’ OM 5; *en tas dev luen a vercy* ‘God the Father full of mercy’ OM 1974; *en tas dev a wruk pup tra* ‘God the Father who made all things’ PC 197; *en tas dev roy thy’n bos gwyw the vos ker the resceue* ‘may God the Father grant us to be worthy to receive thy precious blood’ PC 829-30; *rag y gerensa eff Du en tas ew lene pacifies* ‘for his sake God the Father is fully appeased’ TH 10a; *molathe en tase* ‘the Father’s curse’ CW 1505; *en tebell el a vynnas yn ken maner y demptye* ‘the evil angel wished to tempt him in another way’ PA 13b; *Pan deth levff crist war en toll* ‘When

Christ's hand came upon the hole' PA 182a; *en trege deyth yv hythew* 'today is the third day' RD 691.

an > *en* before *th-*

en thyv grous erel 'the two other crosses' PC 2820

an > *en* before *k-*

mar a mynnyth govynny ordh en keth re as clewas 'if you wish ask them of the same ones who heard them' PA 80b; *en keth oynement a scollyas warnaf rak ow anclythyas* 'the same ointment she poured out on me for my burial' PC 547-48; *en keth guas-ma yth ese gaus ihesu worth y seruye* 'this same fellow was with Jesus serving him' PC 1405-06; *Christ a ruge ry then en keith kigge na a ruge ef kemeras vrth an werthis marya* 'Christ gave us that same flesh which he took from the Virgin Mary' SA 59.

an > *en* before *g-*

En gusyl o may fe dris 3erag crist pehadures 'the plan was to bring a sinful woman before Christ' PA 32a; *en goys yn mes may tar3as* 'so that the blood burst forth' PA 76b; *en grows whath nyn io parys* 'the cross was not yet ready' PA 151c; *An prynner a ve kerhys en grows scon dy3gtis may fe* 'The timbers were brought that the cross might soon be prepared' PA 153a; *bresell cref a ve sordijs en grows pu elle 3y don* 'a vigorous argument arose who might be able to carry it' PA 160c; *En golyas ha fowt dybbry a wo3evys Ihesus ker* 'The staying awake and the lack of food which beloved Jesus suffered' PA 173a; *hay yll leff a ve tackis ord en grows* 'and his other hand was nailed to the cross' PA 179b; *En lybell a ve tackis worth en grous* 'The charge sheet was nailed to the cross' PA 189a; *en gew lym ef a bechye pur ewn yn dan an asow* 'he was thrusting the sharp spear exactly under the ribs' PA 218c; *mar tue nep guas ha laddre en gueel theworthyn pryve* 'if some fellow happen to steal the rods from us surreptitiously' OM 2064-65; *mos the blause my a vyn en gueel gaus reoute vras* 'I will go to plant the rods with great solemnity' OM 2078-79; *laur en guyr thy'm certan* 'tell me the truth indeed' OM 2234; *fystyn dywhans gaus en ger* 'hurry immediately at the word' PC 1642.

an > *en* before *g-* [d3]

en gyth o deyow hablys 'the day was Maundy Thursday' PA 41c.

There is no need to introduce this sporadic raising into the orthography of the revived language.

11.5 Raising after *k-* and *g-*

There is evidence that occasionally vowels may be raised after *k-* and *g-*. For example *Kembra* 'Wales' is attested at BK 1164 and 1292. Lhuyd writes *Kembra* six times in his preface to his Cornish grammar (AB: 222-24) but he also writes *Tiz Kimbra* (AB: 222), where the stressed vowel has been raised. Similarly the English toponym 'Kent' appears as *Kint* at BK 3239. In Welsh Canterbury is rendered *Caergaint*. In the light of *Kint* in BK, 'Canterbury' in Cornish should perhaps be written *Kerynt*.

The Welsh for 'female dog, bitch' is *gast*, but Lhuyd cites the Cornish equivalent as *Gêst* AB: 14c, 46a, 291a and the plural *gesti* AB: 46a. In these three cases it appears that *k-* has raised /e/ to /i/ and *g-* has raised /a:/ > /e:/.

CHAPTER 12

Problems with the Standard Written Form – Consonants

12.1 The Standard Written Form

As it stands the Standard Written Form (SWF) is very unsatisfactory. This in itself is not astonishing, given that the elaboration of the SWF was entrusted to language enthusiasts while academic linguists were deliberately excluded. Not only does the SWF recommend two sets of graphs, it also makes a distinction between Middle and Late Cornish. As a result the SWF proposes four concurrent systems. In fact only two registers are necessary with no difference between them in essential orthography. In addition the SWF is itself very distant from the practice of the scribes of the traditional language, in part because its underlying phonology is defective. This latter feature was a direct result of the exclusion of linguists. The revivalists to whom the task of developing the SWF was entrusted, had little understanding of the phonological principles involved in what they were required to do. All they could bring to the discussions from which the SWF emerged was their knowledge of and experience with pre-existing spelling systems for revived Cornish. As I have explained in detail in *Towards Authentic Cornish* of 2006, the most widespread orthography at the time was based on a very defective understanding of the phonology of traditional Cornish.

In a more recent work, *The Cornish Consonantal System (CCS)* of 2016 I drew attention to some of the more obvious flaws in the SWF. I should like now, in the light of the analysis made in CCS and in the present work, to outline in detail the deficiencies in the SWF and to suggest how such deficiencies should be remedied. We can be certain that the SWF will never achieve general acceptance until it is seen to be as accurate, as authentic and as unambiguous as possible.

In the pages below I provide references both to the places in CCS and in this present work to the relevant discussion.

12.2 Main versus Traditional Forms

I have already pointed out how unfortunate was the decision to designate Main Forms and Traditional Forms in the SWF (CCS 18.2). Many of the advocates of the SWF prefer themselves to use the Main Forms but tolerate the Traditional Forms as variants. The terminology used in this matter is regrettable in itself. By declaring that the Main Forms are not Traditional Forms, the devisers of the SWF are acknowledging that their orthography prefers non-traditional forms to traditional ones. This is another way of saying that at the most basic level, the official and recommended spelling system for Cornish is artificial. Such a damaging admission plays into the hands of those who see no point in Cornish and are opposed to spending any public money on it—particularly now that Britain's finances are likely to be severely stretched. The solution, of course, is obvious. The distinction between Main Forms and Traditional Forms should be removed and Traditional Forms only should be allowed in the SWF.

12.3 The use of *k*

For the most part the scribes of traditional Cornish write <c> before *a*, *o*, *u*, *l* and *r*. Elsewhere, i.e. before *e*, *eu*, *i*, *ey* they write <k>. They also write *k* before *n*, e.g. *knava* 'knave' and *knoukya* 'to knock'. Thus the scribes would, for example, write *ascorn* 'bone' but *eskern* 'bones' and *escar* 'enemy' but *eskerens* 'enemies'. In traditional Cornish <c> before front vowels (*e* and *i*, *y*) represents [s], for example in *certain* 'certain', *Cesar* 'Caesar', *cyte* 'city', *mercy* 'mercy' and *Lucyfer* 'Lucifer'. The SWF Main Form writes <k> before back vowels (*a*, *o*, *u*) and front vowels (*e* and *i*, *y*) alike, and before *l* and *r*: as well, e.g. *kanm* 'bent', *kov* 'memory', *kuntel* 'to collect', *klav* 'sick', *krysi* 'to believe' and *knowa* 'to gather nuts'. It writes <c> before front vowels, when [s] is intended, e.g. *cita* 'city' and *certain* 'certain'.

This distribution of *k* and *c* in the SWF is inconsistent, in that it follows English and Cornish orthographic habits with respect to <c> before *e* and *i*, *y*, but it repudiates them with respect to <k>. Moreover the use of <k> before *a*, *o*, *u*, *l* and *r* is inauthentic. In CCS 16.1 I give a detailed analysis of the practice of the traditional scribes with respect to the sound [k] before back vowels and *l* and *r*. I demonstrate that in an overwhelming number of cases the traditional scribes use <c> rather than <k> before *a*, *o*, *u*, *l* and *r*: The scribes write *cam* 'bent', *cam* 'a step', *cara* 'to love', *caradow* 'lovable', *corf* 'body', *claw* 'hear!', *cref* 'strong', *cres* 'middle' and *Cryst*, *Crist* 'Christ'. Forms in *k*, i.e. *kam*, *kam*, *kara*, *karadow*, *korf*, *klew*, *kref*, and *kres* are very rare indeed. Moreover the spellings **kales* 'hard', **kotha* 'to fall', **kolon* 'heart', **koth* 'old', **kothman* 'friend', **klaf*, **klave* 'sick', **krye*, **krya* 'to cry' and **Krist*, **Kryst* 'Christ' are wholly absent from the traditional Cornish texts.

There is a slightly higher percentage of forms of the verb *cowsel* 'to speak' exhibiting initial <k>. This can be ascribed to the transition from the earlier form *kewsel* with <k>, the earlier spelling surviving the shift of *ew* > *ow*.

The only other exceptions are a sprinkling of spellings with a *k* in *cusul* ‘counsel’ and the more frequent spellings with *k* in *cuntel* ‘to collect’ and related words. Such spellings can be ascribed to the desire to avoid the misreading of minims, the short down strokes of medieval writing. If a scribe wrote *cusul* with initial *c*, the first two letters might be mistaken for *ai*. The danger of misreading would be even greater with a word like *cuntel*, where the three letters *cun* could easily be mistaken for *ain* or *ani*. To avoid such dangers in either case *cu* and *cun* were replaced by *ku* and *kun*. The confusion of minims is not a problem for modern writers or typesetters. Thus SWF therefore should write *cu* and *cun*, just as it should write *ca*, *co*, *cl* and *cr*. In so doing it would simply be returning to the conventions established for the revived language by Jenner and Nance.

Since the SWF is inauthentic in its use of <k>, the following items, among many others, should be respelt:

kales ‘hard’ > *cales*
kamm ‘bent; step’ > *camm*
kara ‘to love’ > *cara*
karadow ‘lovable’ > *caradow*
kodha ‘to fall’ > *codha*
korf ‘body’ > *corf*
kolon ‘heart’ > *colon*
koth ‘old’ > *coth*
kothman ‘friend’ > *cothman*
kov ‘memory’ > *cov*
kowsel ‘to speak’ > *cowsel*
klav ‘sick’ > *clav*
klew ‘hear’ > *clew* and *clow* ‘hear’ > *clow*
krev ‘strong’ > *crev*
kres ‘middle; peace’ > *cres*
kria ‘to cry, to call’ > *cria*
Krist ‘Christ’ > *Crist*
Kristyon ‘Christian’ > *Cristyon*
krysi ‘to believe’ > *crysy*.

All words related to any of the above should also be respelt, as should all other lexemes spelt at present with *ka*, *ko*, *ku*, *kl* or *kr*.

12.4 The use of *kw*

The SWF Main Form uses the combination <kw> for the sound written <qu> or <qw> in traditional Cornish. Thus the SWF (M) writes *bythkweth* ‘ever’, *diskwedhes* ‘to show’, *kwestyon* ‘question’, *kwit* ‘completely’, *rekwiryā* ‘to require’, *skwardya* ‘to tear’, *skwattyā* ‘to smash, to break’, *skwith* ‘tired’. In the traditional texts these words are all written with <qu> (or <qw> in *The Creation of the World*):

bythkweth ‘ever’

bythqueth PA 49c, 84d, 85d, 169c, 223d, OM 616, 1731, 1755, 1991, 2710, PC 384, 397, 522, 916, 1238, 1284, 1295, 1416, 1913, 2034, 2436, 2443, 3135, RD 1659, 1782, 2550, BM 204, 337, 364, 1593, 1868, 2625, 3468, 3596, 3727, 3968, 3973, 4492, TH 11, 15a, 17, 54a; *bythquath* BK 241, 853, 923, 931, 1208, 1256, 1265, 1682, 1915, 2095, CW 2149 2340; *bythqwath* CW 1289, 1393, 1454, 1472, 1739; *bythqwathe* CW 1265; *bysquath* BK 691.

There are no examples of **bythkweth* in traditional Cornish.

questyon ‘question’

question PC 1856, BM 968, TH 57; *questyon* TH 19, 24a, 29a x2, 57; *queston* BK 249, 1028; *questonow* ‘questions’ TH 4, 36a; *questons* ‘questions’ BK 2128.

There are no examples in traditional Cornish of **kwestyon*, **kwestion*.

quyt ‘completely’

quyt PC 149, 345, 1123, 1145, 2901, RD 130, TH 54a, BK 2339, CW 835; *quyte* CW 1573.

There are no examples in traditional Cornish of **kwyt*, **kwit*.

***requyrya* ‘to require’**

requyrye PC 2474; *requiria* TH 16, 27, 30, 51; *requiryra* TH 24a, 27; *requyrya* TH 25a, 26a, CW 2520; *requyrys* ‘required’ TH 16a, 28, 51a; *requyris* ‘required’ TH 28.

There are no examples in traditional Cornish of **rekwiryra*, **rekwyryra*.

***squerdya, swardya* ‘to tear’**

squerdye RD 490, 1283; *swardye* PA 195d; *squerdya* BM 3914; *swardyas* ‘tore’ PA 209c; *squerdyas* ‘tore’ PA 94b, 106c; *squerdys* ‘torn’ PC 2488, 3172, 3178, RD 1266, BM 4191; *squyrdys* ‘torn’ RD 1032; *swardijs* ‘torn’ PA 133c, 135b.

There are no examples in traditional Cornish of **skwerdya*, **skwardya*. The spelling *skuerdye* ‘to tear’ occurs at PC 2845, however.

***squattya* ‘to break’**

squatcha ‘to break’ BF: 43; *squatchia* ‘to break’ BF: 44; *squattis* ‘broken’ BM 3053; *squattys* ‘broken’ CW 1705; *squatyas* ‘broken’ CW 1707.

There are no examples in traditional Cornish of **skwattya*, **skwatya*. The spelling *skuat* ‘bang!’ occurs once, at PC 1286, however.

***squytha* ‘tired’**

squytha PA 132a, OM 684, 1009, 2049, 2824, 2509, RD 847, BM 1685, BK 1026, CW 1730, 1792; *squytheys* ‘exhausted’ OM 737; *squithter* ‘fatigue’ Keigwin.

There are no examples of **skwith*, **skwyth* in traditional Cornish.

There is only one example in all surviving traditional Cornish of the use of *-kw-*, namely: *pan fue an purpur war skwyth kychys the ves* ‘when the purple robe was removed with a jerk’ RD 2595-96. That and the two examples of *sku-* in *skuerdye* ‘to tear’ at PC 2845 and *skuat* ‘bang!’ at PC 1286 are the only instances where *qu-* is not used for [kw] in traditional Cornish.

The scribe of CW frequently uses <qw> rather than <qu>. The spelling <qw> is recommended for the traditional form of the SWF. In the interests of authenticity, spellings with <kw> should be replaced as follows:

bythkweth ‘ever’ > *bythqweth*
diskwedhes ‘to show’ > *dysqwedhes*
kwestyon ‘question’ > *qwestyon*
kwit ‘completely’ > *qwit*
rekwiryra ‘to require’ > *reqwiryra*
skwardya, skwerdya ‘to tear’ > *sqwardya, sqwerdya*
skwattya ‘to smash, to break’ > *sqwattya*
skwith ‘tired’ > *sqwith*.

All other example of *kw* in the SWF should be replaced by *qw*, e.g. *aqwytya* ‘to repay’, *qweth* ‘garment’, *qwyck* ‘quick’, *sqwier* ‘squire’, *sqwir* ‘ruler, standard’. The same consonant group should be used with mutated forms of verbs, e.g. *mar qwreta* ‘if you do’, *mar qwelaf* ‘if I see’, *ow qwertha* ‘selling’. ʉ

12.5 The use of *hw*

Voiceless *w* is the sound of *wh* in those dialects of English which distinguish in pronunciation *whales* from *Wales*, *wheel* from *weal* and *which* from *witch*. In traditional Cornish this sound [ʍ] is written <wh>, e.g. in *wharth* ‘laugh’, *wharfos*, *wharvos* ‘to happen’, *whath* ‘still, yet’, *whék*, *whég* ‘sweet’, *whelas*, *whylas* ‘to seek’ *whys* ‘sweat.’ The SWF Main Form, however, writes <hw> for traditional Cornish <wh>. This use of <hw> originates with Lhuyd’s representation of the sound as <hʉ>. This in turn was almost certainly provoked by Welsh orthography, where the equivalent of Cornish <wh> is <chw>, e.g. *chwarth* ‘laugh’, *chwys* ‘sweat’, *chwilio* ‘to seek’, that is to say where the pronunciation is [xw]. Cornish, as has been pointed out (CCS 12.1) does not tolerate [x] at the beginning of a syllable, using [h] instead. The element *h* before *w* in Cornish developed as voiceless *w*, i.e. a single sound, rather than a consonant group as in Welsh. This voiceless *w* the scribes of traditional Cornish wrote as <wh>.

Two things should be observed here. In the first place it is not uncommon in the traditional texts for *wh* to be voiced and thus written <w>, e.g. *wans* ‘desire’ BM 2473; *wensys* ‘desirous’ SA 64a; *wék* ‘sweet’ PA 132c, 193c, 257d, OM 166, BM 24, 53, 66, 87, 114, 286, 298, 329, etc.; *wath* ‘yet, still’ BM 337, 421, 499, 865, 905, 989, 1169, 1256, 2038, 2654, 2914, 3558, 3617, 3673, SA 63; *wese* ‘was sweating’ PA 58c; *a warfo* ‘might happen’ OM 2355; *ov wylas* ‘seeking’ PC 1121. Secondly, when listing words taken from Lhuyd in his *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* Robert Williams spells them with initial *hw*, e.g. *hwannen* ‘flea’ *hwans* ‘desire’, *hwec* ‘sweet’, etc. This is the only work published before the beginning of the revival in which <hw> was used for such items.

There are strong arguments against using <hw> for voiceless *w*. In the first place such a spelling may induce learners to pronounce the consonant group as [hw] or even [xw]. Secondly it divorces revived Cornish from the traditional language and gives the Cornish an artificial appearance. Thirdly it may lead to misunderstandings in compounds. For example one uses the SWF spelling, one must write the word for ‘boar spear’ (which is attested in Old Cornish) as *hoghhwuw*, with an unsightly and unnecessary gemination of <hh>. Moreover a compound like *droghwans* ‘evil desire’ can easily be misread as **drogh-wans*. The adoption of the digraph <hw, Hw> was a serious mistake and should be remedied. This will mean, *inter alia*, the following respellings:

hwans ‘desire’ > *whans*
hwansek ‘desirous’ > *whansek*
hwarth ‘laughter’ > *wharth*
hwarvedhyans ‘happening, event’ > *wharvedhyans*
hwarvos ‘to happen’ > *wharvos*
hwath ‘still, yet’ > *whath*
hwég ‘sweet’ > *whég*
hwedhel ‘story’ > *whedhel*
hwel ‘work’ > *whel*
whennen ‘weed’ > *whennen*
hwerthin ‘to laugh’ > *wherthin* (for the final vowel see 13.4)
hwesa ‘to perspire’ > *whesa*
hwes, *hwys* ‘sweat’ > *whes*, *whys*
hwetha ‘to blow’ > *whetha*
hwil ‘beetle’ > *whil*
hwilas > *whylas*, *whelas* (for the vowel see 13.12)
y hwrug ‘did’ > *y whrug*.

12.6 The rule of voicelessness after unstressed vowels

The SWF writes *karrek* ‘rock’, *gwarak* ‘arch’, *lostek* ‘fox’ on the one hand but *hwég* ‘sweet’, *teg* ‘beautiful’ and *gwag* ‘empty’ on the other. Evidently the SWF accepts that /g/ occurs after a stressed vowel but /k/ after an unstressed one. The SWF also writes *epskop* ‘bishop’, *modrep* ‘aunt’ and *presep* ‘manger’ but *mab* ‘son’, *glyb* ‘wet’ and *sab* ‘pine trees’. Again the SWF appears to accept that /b/ occurs after a stressed vowel and /p/ after an unstressed one. This alternation is not known in either Welsh or Breton, but is as a direct consequence of the Prosodic Shift. The consonant in both cases would have been a lenis. With the influence of English on the sound system of Cornish, as Cornish people relearned the language after the Norman Conquest, the lenis consonants were reshaped according to position. After a stressed vowel, which in itself was highly sonorous, the lenis was replaced by a voiced consonant; that is to say that the voiced nature of the vowel smeared into the lenis consonant to render it voiced. After an unstressed vowel on the other hand the lack of sonority of the preceding syllable meant that the lenis was replaced by a voiceless consonant.

What the devisers of the SWF do not seem to have realized is this: the alternation of stressed vowel + voiced consonant ~ unstressed vowel + voiceless consonant does not in Middle Cornish end with *g* ~ *k* and *b* ~ *p*. On the contrary it is the very essence of the consonantal system and operates with *v* ~ *f* and *dh* ~ *th* as well.

12.7 Two notable exceptions to the stressed ~ unstressed rule

Although, as we have seen, an unstressed final syllable usually ends in a voiceless stop, there are items that in the texts sometimes appear to violate the rule. They are *marrek* ‘knight, horseman’ and *gorthyp* ‘answer; answers; answer!’. The attestations are as follows:

marrek

marrek PA 241d, 242a, 244a, 245a, OM 2004, 2139, 2150, 2204, 2226, 2338, BM 350, 2444; *marrak* PA 240a, BK 1514, 1632, 1648; *marrack* BF: 27.

marreg

marreg PA 190b x2, 217a, 218b.

gorthyp

gorthyp PC 512, 1839; *gorthyp* ‘answer!’ PC 1722, 1735, 2008, RD 494, 1834; *gurryp* TH 29a; *yn y worthyp* ‘in his answer’ RD 1851; *me a worthyp* ‘I will answer’ PC 1751, 1973, 2803; *ny a’n gorthyp* ‘we will answer him’ RD 1228; *me a’th worthyp* ‘I will answer you’ PC 1237

gorryb

gorryb CW 1198, 1736, 1761; *gurryb* TH 13a; *gorrub* TH 24a; *the worthyb* ‘your answer’ BK 52, 604; *tha orybe gee* ‘your answer’ SA 62; *e worthyb* ‘his answer’ BK 2263; *a’th worthyb* ‘of your answer’ BK 3168; *ny worthyb ef* ‘he will not answer’ BK 1876; *me a worthyb* ‘I will answer’ BK 192, 2099; *te a worryb* ‘you will answer’ SA 61a; *me a wortheb* ‘I will answer’ ACB: E e 4 verso.

The reason for the failure to adhere to the rule is to be sought in the shape of the two apparently anomalous etyma. Both *marrek/marreg* and *gorthyp/gorryb* contain a medial *r* followed by original *-h-* or *-th-*. With *gorthyp/gorryb* the original *-th-* is still written in *Bewnans Ke*. This may be purely scribal, and the writer probably pronounced the *-th-* in *gorthyp* as *h*. In both cases we have *-r+h-* which was almost certainly pronounced as a voiceless *r* [rh]. I think it is fair to assume that in both words the voiceless medial [rh] had the effect of voicing the final stop by dissimilation. The speaker tolerated a final voiceless stop, but when the medial sonant was voiceless, the final consonant dissimilated to its voiced equivalent. As a result in both etyma the final segment is sometimes voiced.

12.8 The alternation *v* ~ *f* in Cornish

There is overwhelming evidence from the later Cornish texts that the historic labio-dental lenis was voiced after a stressed vowel. We thus in *The Creation of the World*, for example, find the following monosyllables *clave* ‘sick’ CW 1399, *gwave* ‘winter’ CW 1700, *have* ‘summer’ CW 1700; *neve* ‘heaven’ CW 23, *ove* ‘I am’ CW 1441. There can be little doubt that the final phonetic segment in all these was [v].

There is also excellent evidence that after an unstressed vowel the corresponding consonant was either lost or pronounced [f]. We thus find two realizations of the same historic entity, one with final [f] and the other with [0]. Among items exhibiting such a double treatment we can include the following (I give only a handful of examples):

ahanaff ‘of me’ PA 193b

caraff ‘I love’ TH 43

geneff ‘with me’ PA 64c, BM 492, 3901

ortheff ‘to me’ BM 407, 918; *orthaff* PA 175d

mannaff ‘I will’ BM 2863; *ny vannaff* PA 115d

pan welaff ‘when I see’ PA 166d

dewleff ‘hands’ PA 156c, TH 15a, 21a

ahana’ BK 1107

ny gara ‘I don’t love’ BM 81, 1271, 4134

gene PA 166c, OM 934; *gena* BM 547

ortha vee ‘to me’ CW 193

manna BM 3854; *ny vanna* BM 2365

ny wela ‘I do not see’ BM 4355

dewle PA 48d, 130d; *dewla* CW 1531.

That /f/ is the final consonant after an unstressed vowel is guaranteed by several further spellings. The word for ‘olive’ in Cornish occurs in *meneth olyff* ‘the Mount of Olives’ PA 53a; *branch olyf glas* ‘a branch of green olive’ OM 1122; *branchys olyf* ‘olive branches’ PC 244 and *branche olyf glase* ‘a branch of green olive’ CW 2462. The English form from which the Cornish was borrowed had a final /v/. In Cornish, however, in every case to judge by the spelling, /v/ has become /f/.

The Cornish for ‘Caleb’ occurs in *calef ha iosue* ‘Caleb and Joshua’ OM 1880. The name was borrowed from Latin as *Caleb*, but it seems that as a spoken form the final consonant had become a voiced fricative. In Cornish, however, the after the unstressed vowel, the voiced fricative lost its voicing, to give *Calef*, the attested form.

12.9 Final /v/ after an unstressed vowel in the SWF

The SWF allows /v/ after an unstressed vowel, for example, in **genev* ‘with me’, **dhyworthiv* ‘from me’, **gwelav* ‘I see’, **gallav* ‘I can’, etc. Such forms are incorrect. To be fair, in this matter the SWF merely follows Jenner, who writes **carav* ‘I love’, **mednav* ‘I will’, **ahanav* ‘from me’, **genev* ‘with me’, **dredhov* ‘through me’ and **ennov* ‘in me’. Jenner himself was merely following Lhuyd. A final unstressed syllable ending in /v/ is found nowhere in traditional Cornish. The only evidence for final unstressed *-ev*, *-av*, *-iv*, *-ov* comes from Lhuyd, for example *Mennav* AB: 246b, *Guelav* AB: 246c, *ahanav* AB: 244b, *Gallav* AB: 247b, *orthiv* AB: 244a, *Ezhov* AB: 247b, etc. It is quite apparent that Lhuyd here has been led astray by his native Welsh, which in the present first person singular of verbs has *-af* and *-wyf*, e.g. *canaf* ‘I sing’ and *ydwyf* ‘I am’, where <f> represents [v]. Similarly in the first person of the prepositional pronouns Welsh has, for example, *arnaf* ‘on me’, *gennyf* ‘with me’, *trosof* ‘over me’, *hebof* ‘without me’ and *ynof* ‘in me’, again where the final segment is pronounced [v].

It can be demonstrated, however, that Lhuyd’s reliance on Welsh here is mistaken. In *The Creation of the World* we read:

hanter an elath genaffa
assentyes ythyys sera
thom mayntaynya in spyte thys
 [half of the angels with me,
 they are agreed, sir,
 to support me in spite of you] CW 270-72.

The form *genaffa* ‘with me’ (emphatic) is stressed on the first syllable. It is to be understood as *genef*, *genaf* + the enclitic first person emphatic pronoun *-ve*, *-va*. The final consonant in *genef*, *genaf* was voiceless and when the enclitic was added, it was progressively assimilated to give a final unstressed *-affa*. This is excellent evidence that *genef*, *genaf* ended in a voiceless consonant.

A further example of a similar kind is again to be seen in *The Creation of the World*:

me a wore ny sewenaffa
nefra yn beyse
 [I know that I shall not prosper
 ever in the world] CW 1285-86.

Here *sewenaffa* is *sewenaf* ‘I prosper, I shall prosper’, the first person present-future of the verb *seweny* ‘to prosper’ with the added emphatic enclitic pronoun *-ve*, *-va* added. The whole is to be stressed on the the second syllable. As with *genaffa* the enclitic has been regressively assimilated to the preceding consonant: *sewenaf*+*ve* > *sewenaffa*. Again this is good evidence that the final consonant in *sewenaf* without the emphatic suffix was voiceless [f].

Lhuyd gives †*korev*, †*koruv* AB: 47b, 179b, 291b as the earlier form of *kor* ‘ale’. The obelus here is an indication that Lhuyd did not actually hear the word but rather rewrote *coref*, *coruf* ‘beer, ale’ from the Old Cornish Vocabulary as *korev*, *koruv*. He assumed that the final segment was /v/ because of his knowledge of the Welsh form *cwrwf* ‘beer, ale’, where <f> = [v]. It is quite apparent, however, that as long as the final consonant survived in Cornish, it was /f/ not /v/. In *Beunans Meriasek* we read:

corff bo gwyn a cafen vy
dour ny effsen eredy
 [were I to get ale or wine,
 I should not indeed drink water] BM 661-62.

Here the scribe of BM writes the word for ‘ale’ as though it were identical in pronunciation with *corff* ‘body’. This latter, coming as it does from Latin *corpus* ‘body’, ends with a voiceless consonant; cf. Welsh *corff* ‘body’ and Breton *korf* ‘corps’. The Middle Cornish word for ‘ale’ was disyllabic but the reduced vowel of the second syllable was treated in the quotation above as though it were simply anaptyctic schwa and therefore did not merit

being written as a vowel. The line has seven syllables if *corff* is treated as a monosyllable. The fact remains, however, that OC *coref* maintained the final voiceless /f/ into the Middle Cornish period. This again is evidence that after an unstressed vowel, the fricative was /f/ rather than /v/.

12.10 Necessary corrections of final /v/ in the SWF to /f/

It is clear that final /v/ after a stressed vowel alternates with final /f/ after an unstressed one. We have also noted at 7.8 above that in the traditional language final /f/ in the first person of verbs and of prepositional pronouns is frequently omitted, e.g. *gene* ‘with me’, *ahana* ‘of me’, etc., and *mar calla* ‘if I can’, *ny wela* ‘I do not see’, etc. The SWF writes <v> in all these cases, however. In order to render the SWF less inauthentic, **genev*, **ahanav*, *gallav* ‘I can’ and *gwelav* ‘I see’ should be emended to *genef*, *ahanaf*, *gallaf* and *gwelaf* respectively. There is no need, however, to write *gene’*, *ahana’*, *galla’* and *gwela’*, for example. There can be a simple rule that final unstressed *-ef* and *-af* can always be pronounced with the final segment elided.

12.11 Final /f/ in the colloquial register

The matter does not end there, however. In the traditional language the final syllable the first person of prepositional pronouns and of the present-future of verbs is frequently recharacterized by the addition of an enclitic *-ma*. Three things should be noted. First, the enclitic *-ma* may be added also to stressed syllables, e.g. *gwrana* ‘I do’ < *gwrav+ma*, *oma* ‘I am’ < *ov+ma* and *ama* ‘I go’ < *av+ma*. Second, that the stress does not move when the enclitic is added. *Genef* is stressed on the first syllable, but so is *genama*. Third, the final *-a* of the enclitic tends to be lost in the later language. There are not many examples. Here are those that I have been able to collect:

First person prepositional pronouns in *-ama*

genama ‘with me’ PA 193d; *gennam* BF: 53 x2; *thurtam* < **thewortama* ‘from me’ TWG: 32; *rebbam* ‘beside me’ BF: 29 < *ryboma*.

First person singular of verbs *-ama*, *-oma*

avoyddama ‘I am off’ CW 1292; *mar pethama* ‘if I will be, will have’ BF:29; *a orama* ‘that I know’ BF: 27; *thera ma* ‘I am’ BF: 27; *thera Ma* ‘I am’ BF: 29; *thera ma* ‘I am’ BF: 29; *therama* ‘I am’ BF: 29; *dr erama* ‘that I am’ BF: 31 x2; *na ellam* ‘I cannot’ BF: 29; *na ell am* ‘I cannot’ BF: 46; *dre vengama* ‘that I would’ BF: 31.

12.12 Corrections of /v/ > /f/ in the SWF

I list here some examples of the corrections necessary to render the phonology of the SWF less inauthentic. The C forms listed in parentheses are from the colloquial register. They can all be assumed but an asterisk implies that the form is not attested.

A First person singular of prepositional pronouns

ahanav ‘of me, from me’ > *ahanaf* (C **ahanama*, C **ahanam*)
a-ughov ‘above me’ > *a-uhof* (C **a-uham*)
dredhov ‘through me’ > *dredhof* (C **dredham*)
dresov ‘across me’ > *dresof* (C **dresam*)
dheragov ‘before me’ > *dheragof* (C **deragam*)
dhyworthiv ‘from me’ > *dhyworthyf* (C *dhortam*)
genev ‘with me’ > *genef* (C *genama*, *genam*)
hebov ‘without me’ > *hebof* (C **hebam*)
orthiv ‘against me’ > *orthyf* (C **ortam*)
ragov > *ragof* (C **ragam*)
yinnov ‘in me’ > *ynof* (C **ynam*)
yn dannov > *yn dannof* (C **dadnam*).

B First person singular of common verbs

carav ‘I love, I like’ > *caraf* (C **caram*)
esov ‘I am’ > *esof* (C *eram*)
gallav ‘I can’ > *gallaf* (C *gellam*, **gallam*).

There are very few of these in the Colloquial register, because most finite verbs in the later period are expressed periphrastically.

12.13 Evidence for /ð/ <dh> > /θ/ <th>

On theoretical grounds alone we expect that Cornish *-dh* after an unstressed vowel will appear as *-th*. This indeed is the case. The scribes of traditional Cornish do not differentiate between the two, writing both sounds as <th>. In this the traditional scribes follow English orthography which writes, for example, both the initial segment of *thick* and *thin* as <th> and of *this* and *that* as <th>, even though the continuant is voiceless in the first two cases and voiced in the second two. The only source we have which distinguishes the voiced consonant /ð/ <dh> from the voiceless one /θ/ <th> is Lhuyd. Although Lhuyd distinguishes the two sounds, he is continually led astray by his native Welsh. Because Welsh had not undergone the Prosodic Shift, it allows /ð/ after both stressed and unstressed syllables. As a result Lhuyd writes <dh> for /ð/ after an unstressed vowel, when in Cornish the segment was /θ/ <th>. Thus Lhuyd writes *diwadh an vledhan* ‘the end of the year’ AB: 251a, by analogy with Welsh *diwedd y flwyddyn* (where *dd* = /ð/). Indeed in his version of ‘Jowan Chy an Hordh’ Lhuyd writes the word for ‘end’ in a variety of ways: *diwadh*, *diuadh*, *diuedh* and *dûadh*. It is apparent that such spellings by Lhuyd are the result of interference from his native Welsh. In Comparative Vocabulary in AB however s.v. *Terminus* ‘end’ Lhuyd gives C[ornish] *Dîua* and he adds ‘*an rect. diuath*.’ [should this correctly be *diuath*] AB: 162c. *Dîua* is a variant of *diuath*, *dyweth* where the final voiceless *th* has been lost. It is significant that Lhuyd writes the full form as *diuath* with a voiceless final after the unstressed vowel. He also writes *uar an diuat* ‘in the end’ in ‘Jowan Chy an Horth’ § 12 (AB: 252a). He uses the symbol <τ> to represent /θ/. This form has not been influenced by Lhuyd’s native Welsh and is therefore likely to be genuine.

In his Comparative Vocabulary in AB: 108, s.v. *Novus* ‘new’ Lhuyd give C[ornish] *Neuydh*. Both the stressed vowel and the final segment have clearly been influenced by Welsh *newydd* ‘new’. In ‘Jowan Chy an Hordh’ however, Lhuyd writes the Cornish for ‘new’ as *noueth* §6 and *nouet* §16. In both cases the final segment is written as voiceless. The voiced final segment in *neuydh* can be ascribed to the influence of Welsh. The voiceless final segment in *noueth*, however, cannot be explained in any way other than to say that it was what Lhuyd heard. We can be sure therefore that the final segment was voiceless.

There are, moreover, occasions in Cornish where Lhuyd is not influenced by his native Welsh, quite simply because Cornish word in question is unknown in Welsh. A good example is the word *trueth* ‘pity, shame.’ This is well attested in Cornish (e.g. PC 2437, 3182, BM 345, 1608). It is the same word in origin as Breton *truez* ‘pitié’. It has, however, no immediate congener in Welsh. Lhuyd writes the word with final <th>: *Nag ez triuath veth do vi* ‘I do not at all pity’ AB: 244c and it seems that he believe the word to end in a voiceless consonant. On the other hand Lhuyd writes the adjective as *triuadhek* ‘merciful’ AB: 48b and *trauedhek* ‘sorrowful’ AB: 92c, 166c. Here, when uninfluenced by Welsh, Lhuyd writes the word and its derived adjective as one would expect in Cornish. His spellings correspond to the modern forms *trueth* but *truedhek*.

Lhuyd gives †*Guironedh* ‘Veracitas’ AB: 171c. In AB: 240c however, Lhuyd cites a series of abstract nouns *Skiantoleth* ‘Prudence’, *Folneth* ‘Folly’, *Myhterneth* ‘Sovereignty’, *Kyzaleth* ‘Peace’, *Bolenegeth* ‘The will’, *Gwyroneth* ‘Truth’ and *Gouegneth* ‘Fraud, deceit’. All these items end in *-eth* and *Gwyroneth* is one of them. †*Guironedh* may well have been influenced by Welsh *gwirionedd* ‘truth’. *Gwyroneth* on the other hand cannot be ascribed to contamination with Welsh. Lhuyd clearly believed when he wrote *gwyroneth*, that its final segment was voiceless.

12.14 Plurals in *-edh* that should end in *-eth*

Following Jenner the SWF has a number of plurals ending in *-edh*, e.g. *eledh* ‘angels’, *gwragedh* ‘wives’, *myghternedh* ‘kings’. The unstressed plural ending *-edh* derives ultimately from Lhuyd, but Lhuyd admits indirectly that *-edh* was not used in his day. He writes:

Fourth Plural *Termination formerly* (as still in the Welsh) *in edh*; as Brederedh, *Brothers*; Eledh, *Angels*; Abesteledh, *Apostles*. *Which pronunciation was more anciently express’d by t*; as *Guraget, Wives, for Guragedh*. *It as at present changed into es according to their writing; but into ez, according to their Pronunciation. So that it seems but a sort of French or modern English Plural*, as *Bestez, Beasts*; *Koles, Coals*; *Romes, Rooms*; *gules, Guls*; *Pysgez, Fish*; *Panez, Parsnips*; *Zilliez, Eels or Congers*; *Lahez, Laws*; *Benene, Women*; *Flehez, Children* (AB: 243a).

In the latter part of that paragraph Lhuyd is confusing various plurals of quite different origin. Moreover when he says that the earlier spelling *Guraget* meant *Guragedh* he is almost certainly mistaken. His main point is clear however. He erroneously believes that *eledh*, *gwragedh* and *abesteledh* contained a voiced final segment. He also

admits that he never heard such a pronunciation in Cornwall. We cannot therefore appeal to Lhuyd as evidence that *gwragedh*, *eledh*, *abesteledh*, etc. are correct spellings. Since in all three cases the final syllable is unstressed, *-edh* should be replaced by *-eth*.

12.15 Corrections to the SWF involving /dh/ > /th/

We have compelling theoretical evidence and empirical evidence from Lhuyd that final *dh* after an unstressed vowel should be emended to *th* in the SWF. Items which must be emended include the following:

brederedh ‘brotherhood’ > *bredereth*
a dhiskwedh ‘which shows’ > *a dhysqweth*
diwedh ‘end’ > *dyweth*
esedh ‘seat; sits’ > *eseth*
gorsedh ‘gorsedd’ > *gorseth*
gwragedh ‘wives’ > *gwrabeth*
gwiryonedh ‘truth’ > *gwiryoneth*
hweryth ‘sisters’ > *wheryth*
myghternedh ‘kings’ > *myghterneth*, *myterneth*
naswydh, *najedh* ‘needle’ < *naswyth*, *najeth*
nowydh ‘new’ > *nowyth*
omdhosedh ‘befits’ > *omdhoseth*
truedh ‘pity’ > *trueth*.

12.16 The Cornish for ‘need’

The Cornish for need appears as *ethom* and *othem* in the texts. I have collected the following instances:

ethom ‘need’

ethom PA 155c, OM 967, PC 182, 533, 862, 917, 1297, 1336, 1497, TH 13a, 40 x2, 49a; *e3om* PA 50c.

othem ‘need’

othem BM 354, 880, 4109; *otham* BK 454, 2358, CW 1132, 1948, ACB: E e 3 verso; *ethom* OM 1949, RD 596, TH 8, 8a, 44a, CW 2480.

It will be seen that forms with initial *eth-* and *oth-* are equally common.

The etymology of this word is not known. Jackson (HPB: 655-56) believes that the word might originally have contained medial /ð/ and he quotes Pedersen approvingly, who compares the word with Irish *adanna* ‘hunger’. The correct form of *adanna* however, is *adonnae* which is a compound of *ad-* + *onnae* ‘great fear’. The sense ‘famine, hunger’ is secondary (see DIL s.v.). *Adonnae* itself is a ghost-word. The Breton congener is written *ezhomm* by Hémon, which implies that the medial dental was originally /θ/. Dialectal forms in Breton are ambiguous; moreover, since we do not know the etymology of the word nor how it developed in Breton. To compare the Cornish forms of this item with its Breton congener is therefore unwise. In his Cornish Lexicon Robert Williams spells the word <odhom> and he cites <edhom> as a variant. He does not say why he believes that the intervocalic continuant is /ð/ rather than /θ/.

There is, however, evidence in Cornish itself to suggest that the medial segment in Cornish was /θ/. In his “Modern Cornish” version of the Ten Commandments Pryce gives *Na ra chee kymeraz hannow a’n Arleth de Dew heb otham, rag an Arleth na vedn sinzhy e dipêh, neb es komeres e hanno en gwag* ‘Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God without need [i.e. in vain], for the Lord will not hold him sinless who takes his name vainly’ ACB: E e 3 verso. In the version of the Ten Commandments by John Boson in the hand of William Gwavas we read: *Na re’au kamer Hanow guz Arleth Deiu an Ganow heb ortham, Rag na vedn an Arleth sendge’ e heb Pe, ra kamer’e hanow en ganow heb ortham* ‘Do not take the name of your Lord God into your mouth without need, For the Lord will not hold him sinless who takes his name into his mouth without need’ BF: 55. Here *ortham* is written for *otham*. Moreover the same form *ortham* occurs twice in another version of the Ten Commandments also in the hand of William Gwavas (RC 24 (1903): 5, 6). This means that we have four separate instances of the word *otham* ‘need’ written *ortham*. *Ortham* ‘need, necessity’ is unlikely to be a slip; more probably *ortham* for *otham* is a genuine form that has originated by popular etymology. Presumably the word *otham* has been assimilated to the form *ortham* < *orthama* ‘upon me’, on the understanding that need, necessity is something that ‘comes upon me.’ If, as seems likely, *ortham* is genuine, the original form was *otham*, *ethom* with a voiceless medial continuant. *Otham*, *ethom* is probably therefore more correct than **edhom*, **odhom*.

12.17 The voiced ~ voiceless rule with *s/z*

There can be little doubt that the alternation between the voiced and unvoiced consonant operated originally in Cornish with *z* ~ *s*. Thus we find, for example, Late Cornish *bee*z ‘world’, *moze* ‘to go’, *teez* ‘men’ with *z* after a stressed vowel but *benegas* ‘blessed’, *arlothas* ‘lady’ and *kibmias* with *s* after an unstressed vowel. It seems, however, that the very large influx of Middle English words, in particular plurals in *-es* or *-ys* (pronounced [əz]) disturbed this pattern. See CCS 5.1 for further details. Since in the revived language final /z/ and final /s/ are both written <s> the question of the historic distributions is to a degree academic only.

12.18 The voiced ~ voiceless rule in compounds

Compounds are words (nouns, adjectives, verbs) that consist of two elements. In Cornish some compounds are formed by a root preceded by a prefix. The prefix is old and usually has equivalents in the other Brythonic languages. Here we can include *das-*, *dy-*, *go-*, *gor-*. These prefixes are themselves stressed, thus leaving unstressed the second (monosyllabic) part of the compound unstressed. In such cases the compound follows the voiced ~ voiceless rule. The word *cov* ‘memory’ is stressed and thus the final segment is voiced. In *dygof* ‘forgetful, amnesiac’ the second syllable is unstressed after *dy-* in the first syllable and so the final segment is voiceless. The word *sav* ‘standing’ similarly has a voiced final segment. In *gorsaf* ‘station’, however, the prefix is stressed and in consequence the second element is unstressed and thus is *-saf*. The unattested root of the verb ‘to sit’ is **sedh*. In the compound *gorseth* ‘assembly of bards’, however the element is unstressed and as a result the final segment is voiceless. *Gorseth* is correct; **gorsedh* is mistaken.

In more recent compounds the word consists of two fully stressed items juxtaposed in order to create the compound. For example *poos* ‘heavy’ and *lev* ‘voice’ are combined to give *pooslev*. Here both elements are stressed and in consequence the second element retains its voiced final.

12.19 Medial *-gh-* in the SWF

The three voiceless consonants /p/, /t/ and /k/ differ from one another in traditional Cornish. Whereas the first two when spirantized become /f/ and /θ/ respectively, that is to say that the voiceless stop becomes a voiceless fricative. This can be seen, for example, in *pen* ‘head’ but *ow fen* ‘my head’ RD 2581 and *tas* ‘father’ but *ow thas* ‘my father’ RD 1031. The /k/ phoneme, however, written <c> or <k> by the traditional scribes, does not when spirantized become /x/, the corresponding voiceless fricative. Instead it becomes /h/. In this respect Cornish is quite distinct from both Welsh and Breton. In Welsh ‘heart’ is *calon* and ‘her heart’ is *ei chalon*; similarly the Breton for ‘heart’ is *kalon* and ‘her heart’ is *e c’halon*. In both cases the mutated segment is /x/. In Cornish on the other hand ‘her heart’ is *hy holon* PA 224b, where Cornish /h/ corresponds to Welsh and Breton /x/.

It is clear that Cornish differs from Welsh and Breton in this matter. Indeed it is a rule of Cornish that the language does not tolerate /x/ at the beginning of a syllable. In this respect it agrees with Middle English rather than its Brythonic relatives. Cornish does, however, allow /x/ at the end of a syllable, e.g. in *yagh* ‘healthy’, *trog*h ‘broken’, *flog*h ‘child’, and before *t*, e.g. *myghtern* ‘king’ but not in syllable initial position. Here Cornish follows Middle English, which tolerates /x/ finally, e.g. *plough* /plu:x/, before /t/, e.g. *brog*hte ‘brought’ /‘bro:xtə/, but not at the beginning of a syllable.

In Cornish /x/ at the beginning of a syllable is impossible. The texts give many examples to corroborate this statement, for example in the alternation seen in *flog*h ‘child’ but *fle*hes ‘children’, *yagh* ‘healthy’ but *ye*hes ‘health’, *trog*h ‘cut, broken’ but *tre*hy ‘to cut’. In CCS 12.3 I cite examples from the texts of all three pairs of etyma. Here is a further pair: *pegh* ‘sin’ (noun) and *peha* ‘to sin’.

pegh ‘sin’ ~ *peha* ‘to sin’, *pehas* ‘sinning, sinfulness’

pegh ‘sin’ PA 8c, 9b, 20d, 104d, 117c, 196d, OM 264, 758, 945, PC 55, 1533, RD 187, 1102, 2461, 2572, BM 882, 975, 1186, 1496, 1841, 2163, 2748, 2752, 3433, 3633, TH 3 x 6; 3a x2, 4a x2, 6, 7a, 8a, 11 x 2, 12, 12a, 13a, 14 x3, 15, 15a x 3, 16 x2, 23a, 25, 29, 44, 50a, SA 65a, CW 1000, 2042

peha TH 3, 5a, 8, 9a, 10 x2, 15a; *pehas* ‘sinned’ OM 759, TH 9a, 15a; *pehas* sinning (noun) BM 1828, 2749, CW 2196, 2335.

Notice also *pehadur* ‘sinner’ PA 8b, 38a; *pehadure* ‘sinner’ TH 9a, 38a; *pehadoryon* ‘sinners’ PA 5c, TH 7a; *pehadorryan* ‘sinners’ TH 4a; *pehadoryan* ‘sinners’ TH 8, 9; *pehadures* ‘sinful woman’ PA 32a.

Although there are some examples disyllabic *naghe*, *naghe* ‘to deny’, generally the same alternation can be seen in *nagh* ‘deny; will deny’ and *naha* ‘to deny’:

nagh ‘deny; will deny; denial’

te am nagh ‘you will deny me’ PA 49c; *ny’m nagh* ‘he will not deny me’ PC 1166; *ty a nagh the fay* ‘you will deny your faith’ BM 2460; *hag a nagh pelle y fay* ‘and moreover will deny his faith’ BM 3552; *mar nyns eth ay nagh* ‘if you do not deny it’ BM 3561; *mar ny nagh crist* ‘if he does not deny Christ’ BM 3565; *y a nagh in vr na tebel wythreys* ‘they will deny evil doing’ BM 4122-23; *ha nagh Astrot ha Jovyn* ‘and deny Astrot and Jove’ BK 222; *Nagh dyawlgy ha serv A!* ‘Deny devilry and serve Him!’ BK 255; *ha nagh Jovyn* ‘and deny Jove!’ BK 291; *ha nagh Christ, an casadow* ‘and deny Christ, the hateful one!’ BK 576.

naha ‘to deny’

rag y arluth leun a ras mar zynas ef 3y naha ‘for he denied so gracelessly his Lord full of grace’ PA 87b; *my ny allaf the naha* ‘I cannot deny you’ OM 2129; *Pan othem vs thyso gy a naha roweth an beys* ‘what need is there for you to deny worldly status?’ BM 354-55; *me a comond der ov gluas naha dewov nag yv vas* ‘I command throughout my kingdom to deny worthless gods’ BM 2518-19; *sufficient cawse ha ground then ny the renowncya ha naha pehosow* ‘sufficient cause and ground for us to renounce and to deny sins’ TH 3; *ny a rug theth naha ge, arluth* ‘we denied thee, Lord’ TH 10; *hag abhorrya ha naha penagull dra a vo pregowthis thetha* ‘and to abhor and to deny whatever is preached to them’ TH 19a; *may rug lyas onyn seperatya aga honyn the warty hay naha* ‘so that many separated themselves from her and denied her’ TH 30a; *neb a rug seperatya aga honyn ha naha an catholyk egglos* ‘who separated themselves and denied the catholic Church’ TH 32a; *So mar tewhy ha chauncya the naha agys mam egglos catholik* ‘But if you happen to and chance to deny your mother, the catholic Church’ TH 38; *ow husyll mar gwreth naha genas nyg of contentys* ‘if you deny my advice I am not pleased with you’ CW 667-68; *ny wothyan tabm y naha* ‘I could not deny him at all’ CW 775; *ha carnall ioye in bys ma ny a vyn warbarth naha* ‘and sexual pleasure in this world we will deny together’ CW 1315-16.

There is little doubt from all these instances that the scribes preferred to write *-gh* finally and *-h-* medially.

12.20 *-gh-* ~ *-h-* after a sonant

Here are some further examples in which final /x/ in the monosyllable occurs after a sonant, but in the disyllable *-h-* is written at the beginning of the second syllable.

golgh

my a woulgh ol agas trys ‘I will wash the feet of you all’ PC 835; *me a’s goulgh* ‘I will wash you’ PC 843; *me a wolgh scon ow dule* ‘I will immediately wash my hands’ PC 2499; *eff ath wolgh pur lan kyn moys* ‘he will wash you quite clean before going’ BM 1795

golhy

ytho mar kruge golhy agas treys ‘thus if I washed your feet’ PC 875-56; *gans dour y raff the golhy* ‘I will wash you with water’ BM 744; *eff a ra prest the golhy* ‘he will certainly wash you’ BM 1716; *ha gwra golhe theth enaff the worth oll mvstethas a pehosow* ‘and wash thy soul from all filth of sin’ SA 60a.

kergh ‘fetch!; will fetch’

kergh thy’s ov ene gans el ‘fetch to thyself my soul by an angel’ PC 429; *kergh annas an pryns* ‘fetch Annas the prince’ PC 553; *kergh a’n fenten thy’m dour cler* ‘fetch from te spring clear water for me’ PC 650; *me a gergh dour thy’s wharre* ‘I will fetch you water straight away’ PC 655; *kergh thocho athysemypys may geffo sur vn mowes* ‘fetch for him immediately a girl that he may get her’ PC 1874-76; *rak ef a gergh thyworthy’n kenmys na worthyo iouyn* ‘for he will fetch from us all those that do not worship Jove’ PC 1916-17; *kergh y yn mes mos alemma ma hyllyn* ‘fetch them out so we can leave’ PC 2290-91; *me a gergh onan dek thy’s* ‘I will fetch you a nice one’ PC 2840; *ny a kergh vritel in chy* ‘we will fetch victuals into the house’ BM 275; *kergh thym an epscop omma* ‘fetch the bishop here to me’ BM 1379; *me as kergh uskis theth tour* ‘I will fetch them quickly to your tower’ BM 1392; *kergh selvester thym uskys* ‘fetch Silvester to me quickly’ BM 1734; *ha kergh uskys sylvester the covs gena* ‘and quickly fetch Silvester to talk to me’ BM 3978; *Me a n kergh thys pur theffry* ‘I will fetch him to you in very truth’ BK 1038; *Me a gergh erba rasaw* ‘I will fetch herb of grace’ BK 1159.

kerhes ‘to fetch’

dun th'y gerhes cowethe 'let's go to fetch it, comrades' PC 2555; *reys yv polge da alema mones certen thy gerhes* 'one has to go a fair distance hend indeed to fetch it' BM 659-60; *ens tus then guelfos the kerhes dyn meryasek* 'let men go to the wilderness to fetch us Meriasek' 2794-95; *ha mar tuff thagis kerheys arta sur why a far guel* 'and if I happen to fetch you again surely you will fare better' BM 3365-66; *nygogh then nor the kerhes thymo pur clour oma eneff meryasek* 'fly to the earth to fetch me very gently here the soul of Meriasek' BM 4331-33.

In all the pairs *flogh* ~ *flehes*, *yagh* ~ *yehes*, *troggh* ~ *trehy*, *pegh* ~ *peha*, *nagh* ~ *naha*, *golgh* ~ *golhy* and *kergh* ~ *kerhes* we are not dealing merely with a question of spelling. The difference is one of pronunciation. In all the lexemes listed *-gh* is to be pronounced [x] and *-h-* as [h]. Although in some text the commoner *-gh* forms have influenced the spelling of the *-h-*, that as a result exhibit <gh> for expected <h>, we can be sure that there was a difference in pronunciation. The difference in pronunciation should be shown in the SWF. That means, for example, emending *fleghe's* 'children' to *flehes*, *yeghe's* 'health' to *yehes* and *denagha* 'to deny' to *denaha*.

The verbal noun of *dasserhy* 'to rise again' is spelt *datherys* at RD 567. This is for *daserhys* and it appears that the /h/ has been lost after *r*. It may simply have devoiced the preceding *r* to give [rh]. It is also possible that the prefix *dath-* or more usual *das-* has caused dissimilation. The voiceless pronunciation has shifted to the first syllable and the *r* of *datherys* is still voiced. Compare also *y thethyrrians* 'his resurrection' TH 49; Against this one might quote *e tathorhas* 'he rose again' BK 311, where the prefix is *dath-* and yet *-rh-* is still written. Notice also that *daserrys* occurs at BM 791.

From the point of view of chronology, there was a tendency in the later language in particular to weaken final [x] to zero. This can be seen in *whe* 'six' OM 351, *yn whea dythi* 'in six days' CW 413; *whe sithen* 'six weeks' Bilbao; *sawe* 'load' (for **sawgh*) TH 24, 27a x2, 28, J.Jenkins and *an flo younk* 'the young child' Rowe *passim*. The same weakening is also as noticeable with *-h-*, e.g. *fleaz* 'children' J.Jenkins; *boadjack* 'poor' Bodinar. No attempt therefore should ever be made in any orthography for the revived language to replace medial *-h-* with *-gh-*.

12.21 'Small' in Cornish

The Cornish congener of Welsh *bychan* 'small' is variously spelt in the texts:

Cornish 'small'

beghan PA 53c, 166c

behan BK 1312

byhan OM 397, 810, 1269, PC 91

bihan AB: 113c

byan OM 1653, 1695, 2682, PC 2082, 2250, 2348, 3004, RD 1635, BM 257, 267

byen OM 806, BM 384, 1346, 1550, 1692, 2092, 2898, 2928, 3629, 3955, 4117

bean TH 4, 5, 19, 28a x2, 32, CW 117, 2481

bïan AB: 12a, 19a, 45b, 57b, 63c, 78b, 113c, 243b, 245a.

One would not expect *-gh-* between vowels in this word, and in this respect the two spellings <beghan> in PA are anomalous, although the text do on occasion write *-gh-* intervocally where *-h-* might be expected. The comparative/superlative forms are *behathna* TWG: 22 and *behatna* BF: 52, where the intervocalic consonant is clearly *-h-*.

It should be noticed incidentally that the items *beghan*, *behan* and *behatna* listed above are the expected forms. Just as Cornish *ledan* 'wide' is parallel with Welsh *llydan*, so as a congener of Welsh *bychan* 'small' one would expect *beghan*. In all these cases the Welsh *y*[ə] and Cornish <e> have arisen from an originally unstressed syllable. The Cornish forms with <i> or <y> in the first syllable have probably come about by analogy with the archaic related monosyllable **bich* 'small', seen, for example, in Denby (Bodmin) < **dyn bich*.

Whether the vowel represented in the spelling <bean> represents [i:] (cf. English *bean*) or [eə] is impossible to say.

Nance for Unified Cornish adopted a spelling **byghan*, which not attested in the texts (though it does occur in place-names) and is phonetically questionable. For this word the SWF offers two forms *byghan* (Middle Cornish) and *bïan* (Late Cornish). *Byghan* does not conform to the rule that Middle Cornish prefers *-h-* at the beginning of a syllable. *Bïan*, the so-called Late form offered by the SWF, is attested in *Origo Mundi*, *Passio Christi*, *Resurrexio Domini* and *Beunans Meriasek* where it is spelt *byan*, *byen*. It can hardly therefore be described as Late Cornish. The Middle and Late distinction in the SWF should be discontinued in this word and 'small' in the revived language could usefully be spelt <bïan> everywhere.

12.22 The Cornish for ‘later, latest, last’

The SWF for the adjectives ‘later, latest, last’ suggests **diwettha*. There is no warrant for either *di-* in the first syllable, or for *-ttha* finally. As I have shown above (5.12) in traditional Cornish the word for ‘later, last’ is invariably *dewetha*. This should be the spelling in the SWF. **diwettha* should be replaced by *dewetha*.

12.23 The Cornish words for ‘language’, ‘yearning’, ‘cold’ and ‘Jew’

The online SWF dictionary of the Academy Kernowek has two entries for the word for ‘language’. The first is *yeth*, which is followed by a superscript M to indicate that the word is Middle Cornish. The second is *eth*, which is followed by a superscript L to indicate that it is a Late Cornish form. This entry is incorrect. The word *yeth/eth* is attested only in Tregear’s homilies where it appears *eyth*. The following are the attested examples of this word in traditional Cornish:

henna ew the leverall in agan eyth ny ‘that is to say in our language’ TH 1; *Mar teffa den with ha pregoth thyn kythsame barbarus nacions ma in aga eyth y aga honyn* ‘If someone were to preach to these same barbarous nations in their own language’ TH 19; *in agan eyth ny hag im agan comyn talke* ‘in our language and in our common speech’ TH 21; *Hemma ew in agan eyth ny* ‘This is in our language’ TH 40; *kyn rellyn ny signifia bara gwrys a eys in agan commyn eyth* ‘though we were to mean bread made of grain in our common language’ TH 57a

Since the above five instances are the only examples of the word in traditional Cornish, since they are all found in Tregear’s homilies and since no attestation has initial *y-*, the distinction made in the online SWF dictionary between Middle Cornish *yeth* and Late Cornish *eth* is without foundation.

The compilers of the dictionary make the same mistake with the word for ‘health’, for they assume *yeghes* (better *yehes*) is Middle Cornish and *eghes* (better *ehes*) is Late Cornish. This distinction is not borne out by the texts. We find *yehes* at PC 1150, BM 701, 2013, 2537 and *yehas* at TH 2a, 46, BK 2677 and 3111. We also, however, find *ehas* ‘health’ at TH 51a and *eghas* at TH 30a. Since Tregear writes both *yehas* and *ehas* the distinction between them is clearly not a chronological one.

The dictionary also cites *yewnadow* ‘craving, longing.’ The vowel of the first syllable is problematic. One wonders whether the dictionary really intends it to be [œ], which is what is implied by the spelling with <eu>. Sure it would be better to spell the word *yewnadow*. What the compilers of the dictionary do not mention, however, is that a form without initial *y-* is found in the following:

gothvos ynweth decernya omma ynter drok ha da yv ov ewnadow pup vr ‘to be able also to distinguish between evil and good is my desire always’ BM 28-30; *cres i n du pur a yl gul e unadow* ‘believe in the pure god who can do his desire’ BK 573-34; *ha ry theso me a ra the unadow* ‘and I will give you your desire’ BK 627-28; *Henna o e unadow* ‘That was his desire’ BK 730; *te bew an bys the th unadow* ‘you possess the world at your desire’ BK 1718-19; *Parys on the th unadow* ‘We are ready for your desire’ BK 2036; *Ow unadow, a garadow, ew mos genas* ‘My desire, O beloved, is to go with you’ BK 2947-49; *vnadow* ‘command, good word’ CS9.

Yewnadow/ewnadow is an abstract noun based on the verb *yewny* ‘to wish, to desire’. The earliest attestation of which is in *neffre ny vnsa moy ioy* ‘never would he desire more joy’ PA 21d. The verbal noun is written *uny* and is well attested in BK:

Laver an pyth a vynhy, gans the golan the uny ‘Tell what you wish to desire with your heart’ BK 1075-76; *Colan den lel ny yl uny moy ryelder* ‘The heart of a loyal man cannot desire any more splendour’ BK 1702-04; *Why a m soccker in pub cas hag a m confort, the Thew gras, kepar del vynnaf uny* ‘You succour me in every case and comfort me, thanks be to God, as I will desire’ BK 2573-75; *Der voth Du i n uhelder the th yskar gwren yselder, kepar del vynnyth uny* ‘By the will of God on high let us bring humiliation upon your enemy, just as you will desire’ BK 2670-72.

The SWF dictionary cites *yeyn* ‘cold’, but the compilers do not seem aware that a variant without initial *y-* is attested in *Pascon agan Arluth* and in *Beunans Meriasek*:

hay eneff eth ano3o gans garm eyn hag vghel gry ‘and his soul went from him with a bitter wail and a loud cry PA 207d; *meyn eyn sur o y wely* ‘cold stones indeed were his bed’ PA 235d; *chapel guthel me a vyn rag gorthya maria wyn kynth yv teller guyls ha yne* ‘I will build a chapel to revere holy Mary, though it is a wild and cold place’ BM 1143-45.

The SWF could usefully add the variant *eyn* without suggesting that it is a Late variant.

Curiously the SWF dictionary cites *Yedhow* ‘Jew’ and *Edhow* ‘Jew’ as different words and does not suggest that the first is Middle Cornish and the second Late Cornish. This is presumably because forms without initial *y-* are found in *Pascon agan Arluth*:

In scorgijs prenyer esa yn dewle an ij ethow ‘In the whips in the hands of the two Jews there were sticks’ PA 131a; *byth moy ys e3ow yn ta a beghas orth ov 3rayta* ‘any more than a Jew indeed who sinned when he betrayed me’ PA 145c; *Vn ethow a brederys hag a leuerys the3e* ‘A Jew considered and said to them’ PA 152a; *vn ethow avell pyth foll a wyskis kenter ynhy* ‘a Jew like a mad thing struck a nail into it’ PA 182b; *vn e3ow 3o3o yn freth yn delma a leuerys* ‘a Jew impetuously said to him thus’ PA 239b.

The simplest explanation for the variation between *ye-* and *e-* is dialectal rather than chronological. *Y* [j] before the high front vowel has a tendency to be lost at any period of the language, and that tendency is reflected in the spelling of the traditional texts.

12.24 The Cornish for ‘Jesus’

Caradar believed that the name for Jesus in the New Testament should be spelt <Yesu>. He believed so partly because the Welsh equivalent in *Iesu*, where the initial *I* is pronounced [j], the sound in English *yes*. He was also swayed by the place-name *Pontyesu* ‘Pantersbridge’ in St Neots from 1241. The spelling *yesu* in this toponym is a fossilized form in which the name *Iesu* was inherited directly from Latin. There are no other instances in Cornish.

The Cornish for ‘Jesus’ is variously spelt *ihesu*, *jhesu*, *ihesus*, *iesu*. As we have seen above, before *e* initial *y-* is lost in *eyth* ‘language’, *unadow* ‘desire’, *eyn* ‘cold’ and *ethow* ‘Jew.’ If the initial segment of the name for Jesus had really been [j], we might expect that the very common name *iesu* would on occasion appear as **esu* or **Esu*. No such form is attested.

There are further reasons for believing that the *Jesus* in Cornish was pronounced with [dʒ] rather than [j]. For example the scribe of *Beunans Meriasek* writes *iesu* ‘Jesus’ at 144, 146. This means that he spells the name with the same initial consonant as *ioy* ‘joy’ BM 4284, 4412, *ienkyn* ‘Jenkin’ BM 1417, 1449, *sen iowan* ‘St John’ BM 2878, *sen iowen* ‘St John’ BM 4450 and *iubyter* ‘Jupiter’ BM 2327, where the initial *i* clearly has the same value as English initial *J*. Lhuyd *s.v.* the Latin name *Jesus* AB: 67b gives *Dzeziu*. *Dzeziu* looks like a misprint for *Dzheziu*, where the initial consonant is <dzh>, i.e. [dʒ].

In his translation of Matthew 2 and 4 William Rowe writes the name as *Jesus*. He also writes *Jerman* ‘Jeremiah’, *Jerusalem* ‘Jerusalem’, *Jordan* ‘Jordan’, *Joseph* ‘Joseph’, *Jowan* ‘John’ and *Judah* ‘Judah’. For him clearly all these names begin with [dʒ]. There is no reason to believe that Rowe’s pronunciation of the name *Jesus* was significantly different from that of the scribe of BM or of any of the other Middle Cornish texts.

In the matter of initial *J* in biblical names the practice of writers of revived Cornish has been very inconsistent. In his translation of St Mark’s Gospel (1960) Caradar writes *Yesu* ‘Jesus’ and *Yowan* ‘John’ on the one hand but *Jamys* ‘James’, *Jerusalem* ‘Jerusalem’, *Jordan* ‘Jordan’, *Judea* ‘Judea’ and *Judas* ‘Judas’ on the other. D.R. Evans in his translation of St Matthew’s Gospel (1975) writes *Jesus* ‘Jesus’, *Jamys* ‘James’, *Jerusalem* ‘Jerusalem’, *Josef* ‘Joseph’, *Juda* ‘Judah’, *Judea* ‘Judea’ and *Judas* ‘Judas’, where all the names begin with *J*. Similarly John Page in his translation of St John’s Gospel (1985) writes *Jesus* ‘Jesus’, *Jacob* ‘Jacob’, *Jerusalem* ‘Jerusalem’, *Jona* ‘Jonah’, *Jordan* ‘Jordan’, *Josef* ‘Joseph’, *Jowan* ‘John’ and *Judaea* ‘Judea’. E.G.R. Hooper in his version of the Gospel of St Luke (1989) writes *Yesu* ‘Jesus’, *Yago* ‘James’, *Yerusalem* ‘Jerusalem’, *Yoanna* ‘Joanna’, *Yose* ‘Joseph’, *Yuda* ‘Juda’ and *Yudas* ‘Judas’ but ‘Jericho’ he leaves as *Jericho*.

It is my view that all the above names should be written with initial *J*, and I spell them all thus in *An Beybel Sans* (2011) and in *An Testament Nowyth* (2020). In the Foreword to this latter work I cite with references all the Neotestamentary names found in traditional Cornish together with the preferred spelling in Kernowek Standard.

12.15 Pre-occlusion

Pre-occlusion is a phonetic development which is unique to Cornish among the Brythonic languages. It does incidentally also occur in Manx Gaelic. Pre-occlusion is first attested in the texts in *Beunans Meriasek*. The occurrences of pre-occlusion have been set out in chronological order by Rod Lyon (CDMC 3.27), from *Beunans Meriasek* (AD 1504) to Wella Rowe (ca 1680).

Pre-occlusion means that a short stressed vowel before *n* or *m* inserts a furtive unexploded *d* or *b* before the final segment, e.g. *pen* 'head' > *pedn*, *cam* 'bent' > *cabm*. In disyllables the pre-occlusion occurs but does not delete the sonant. In the later language, however, the sonant is entirely swamped by the stop arising by pre-occlusion: e.g. *henna* 'that' > *hedna* > *hedda* and *omma* 'here' > *obma* > *obba*.

The SWF allows pre-occlusion, but it is not apparent from SWF spelling whether pre-occlusion is permitted or not. For example in the SWF *brom* 'breast', *gomm* 'gun' and *lomm* 'bullock' may be pre-occluded; *gomm* 'I know' on the other hand, may not. In the SWF *glann* 'bank', *gwann* 'weak' and *splann* 'bright' may be pre-occluded but *mann* 'zero' is not to be pre-occluded. In the SWF *gwynn* 'white', *lynn* 'lake' and *tynn* 'sharp, painful' may be pre-occluded, but *jynn* 'engine, device' is not to be pre-occluded. In the SWF *kamm* 'bent', *lanm* 'jump' and *tamm* 'scrap' may all be pre-occluded. The word *nanm* 'spot, stain' on the other hand may be pre-occluded according to the dictionary. A pre-occluded form **nabm*, however, is not attested.

Clearly this uncertainty in the SWF with respect to pre-occlusion is a serious deficiency. It is discussed at 16.1 B 2, below where a solution is suggested.

CHAPTER 13

Problems with the Standard Written Form – Vowels

13.1 Final *-i* in the SWF in verbal nouns

I point out at 7.4 above that the practice of writing final *-i* in verbal nouns began with Lhuyd. Such a spelling is almost entirely unknown in the traditional language. The only instance of final *-i* I can find in the traditional texts is *the vrusi* ‘to judge’ at BM 4047. Everywhere else in the traditional texts the final of such verbal nouns is *-y*. In the interest of authenticity therefore the *-i* of verbal nouns in the SWF should be emended to *-y*. Among spellings that will need to be emended we can include the following:

<i>dybri, debri</i> ‘to eat’	> <i>dybry, debry</i>
<i>dyski, deski</i> ‘to learn; to teach’	> <i>dysky, desky</i>
<i>ygeri, egeri</i> ‘to open’	> <i>ygery, egery</i>
<i>golghi</i> ‘to wash, to bathe’	> <i>golhy</i>
<i>gorthebi</i> ‘to answer’	> <i>gortheby</i>
<i>kelli</i> ‘to lose’	> <i>kelly</i>
<i>prederi</i> ‘to consider’	> <i>predery</i>
<i>synsi, sensy</i> ‘to hold’	> <i>synsy, sensy</i>
<i>terri</i> ‘to break’	> <i>terry</i>
<i>tybi</i> ‘to think’	> <i>tyby</i> .

13.2 Noun plurals in *-i* in the SWF

We have seen at 7.5 above that the plural suffix in the traditional language is *-y*. There are two examples only of plurals in *-i* in the traditional texts. Otherwise *-i* plurals are confined to Lhuyd and in the word *muzi, musy* ‘girls’ to writers influenced by him. In the interests of authenticity, therefore, all plurals in *-i* in the SWF should be replaced by plurals in *-y*. This will mean, for example, the following emendations:

<i>arlydhi</i> ‘lords’	> <i>arlydhy</i>
<i>kastylli</i> ‘castles’	> <i>castylly</i>
<i>denledhysi</i> ‘murderers’	> <i>denledhysy</i>
<i>eseli</i> ‘members’	> <i>esely</i>
<i>gwandresi</i> ‘nomad’	> <i>gwandresy</i>
<i>gwelynni</i> ‘rods’	> <i>gwelyny</i>
<i>Godhyli</i> ‘Irishmen’	> <i>Gwydhyly</i>
<i>gwithysi</i> ‘guardians’	> <i>gwythysy, gwithysy</i>
<i>kernysi</i> ‘horn-player’	> <i>kernysy</i>
<i>mestrysi</i> ‘masters’	> <i>mestrysy, mestryjy</i>
<i>mowysi</i> ‘girls’	> <i>mowysy</i>
<i>porghelli</i> ‘pigs’	> <i>porhelly</i>
<i>rewlysi</i> ‘rulers’	> <i>rewlysy</i>
<i>servysi</i> ‘servants’	> <i>servysy, servyjy</i>
<i>treghysi</i> ‘cutters’	> <i>trehysy</i> .

Notice that the distinction made in the SWF between Middle Cornish *mestrysi* and Late Cornish *mestryji* is unjustified. Forms with *-j* <g> occur in *Passio Christi*. Similarly the distinction made in the SWF between Middle Cornish *servysi* and Late Cornish *servyji* is also unwarranted. *Servygy*, where <g> = *j* is attested in both *Passio Christi* and *Bewnans Ke*.

13.3 ‘Is’ with a definite subject in the SWF

In the SWF the third person singular of the long form of *bos* ‘to be’ appears as **usi* or **uji*. Neither of these forms is found in the traditional language. The attested forms are as follows:

usy

v_{SY} OM 2692, BM 1714, 3780, 4120, TH 19a x2, 20 x2, 22 x2, 23a x3, 25 x2, 25a x2, 26, 26a x2, 27 x2, 27a, 30, 31a, 32a x2, 35a, 36, 37a, 38 x2, 39a, 42, 43a, 45, 46a, 47a, 48, 49a, 50, 52a x2, 53, 53a, 54a, 56 x2; *nyns usy* BM 1019, 1403.

ugy

vgy PA 53d, OM 1616, 2728, PC 962, 1044, 2042, RD 2160, BM 2103, TH1, 7 x3, 7a, 10, 10a, 11a x2, 14a x5, 15, 16a, 17a x2, 18, 19, 19a, 20a x2, 22, 23a, 24, SA 59 x2, 59a, 60 x2, 62a, 63a, 64; uge BK 1668; vge SA 59, 61 x2, 62a, 64, 65a; *nyng uge* BK 340.

There are no instances in the traditional texts of either *usi* or *ugi*. The forms *usi* and *uji* in the SWF therefore should be replaced with *usy* and *ujy*.

13.4 Final *-in* in the SWF

We have seen at 7.19 above that final unstressed *-en*, *-yn* and *-in* are not kept separate in the traditional language. Moreover spellings in *-in* are marginal and are vastly outnumbered by forms in *-en* and *-yn*. Consequently we must conclude that spellings in *-in* are unjustified for the revived language and should be replaced by forms in *-yn*. Among necessary emendations to the SWF we can include the following:

<i>bewin, bowin</i> ‘beef’	> <i>bowyn</i>
<i>elin</i> ‘elbow, angle’	> <i>elyn</i>
<i>eythin</i> ‘gorse, furze’	> <i>eythyn</i>
<i>kegin</i> ‘kitchen’	> <i>kegyn</i>
<i>Latin</i> ‘Latin’	> <i>Latyn</i>
<i>melin</i> ‘mill’	> <i>melyn</i>
<i>myttin, mettin</i> ‘morning’	> <i>mytyn, mettyn</i>

The SWF distinguishes between Middle Cornish *myttin* and Late Cornish *mettin*. This difference in the stressed vowel is questionable. The earliest example of *metten* is from 1572 and the Bodewryd glossary of the late seventeenth century has *mitin*. It is thus difficult to maintain the distinction between Middle Cornish *mytyn* and Late Cornish *mettyn*.

13.5 The first and second person of prepositional pronouns in *-iv* and *-is*.

We have seen at 7.17 above that *orthyf, worthyf* ‘upon me’ is variously spelt in the Middle Cornish texts. Among the variant spellings listed above are *orthef, ortheff, orthaf, orthaf, ortha ve, ortha vy* and *worthaf*. It is therefore difficult to maintain *orthiv, worthiv* are authentic spellings. *Orthiv, worthiv* in the SWF therefore ought to be emended to *orthyf, worthyf*.

Similarly the first person singular of *thyworth* may be spelt *theworthaf, theworthef, 3e orthef, the ortheff vy* and *the wortha ve*. In the light of these spellings the SWF form *dhyworthiv* is indefensible and should be emended to *dhyworthyf*.

‘From thee’ in the traditional texts can appear as *the orthys, the orthys gy* (emphatic), *the worthas, thaworthys sche* (emphatic) and *3uwortes* CW 946. The SWF spelling of *dhyworthis* is similarly indefensible. ‘From thee’ in the revived language should be spelt *dhyworthys*.

-ik, -yk in the SWF

It can be assumed that in the SWF final *-ik* has a short unstressed vowel. It is certain also that an unstressed *-yk* would be phonetically identical with *-ik*. The suffix *-ik* appears in the SWF among others in the following items:

A) words ending in *-ik*

anfeusik
arbennik
bagasik
brennik
cigarik
flegnik
folennik
genesik
Katholik
meppik
musik
Nadelik
pelennik
pennsevik

pystik
temmik

On the other hand the suffix *-yk* appears, among others, in the SWF in the following

B) words ending in *-yk*

difyk
diskryjyk
dismyk
divysyk
euthyk
kryjyk
statystyk.

It is difficult to see why the items in B) are not spelt with *-ik* in the SWF. The sensible solution and the more authentic one would be to spell all the items in A) with *-yk*.

13.7 Adjectival neologisms in the SWF

The SWF is fairly consistent in its use of the adjectival suffix *-ek* when creating neologisms. Thus in the SWF we have:

alkoholek ‘alcoholic’
arktek ‘arctic’
demokratek ‘democratic’
ekstatek ‘ecstatic’
ethnek ‘ethnic’
hidrolek ‘hydraulic’
klassek ‘classic’
plastek ‘plastic’
politek ‘political’
tropek ‘tropical’.

The consistency is not complete, however, because we also find:

antibiotyk ‘antibiotic’
statystyk ‘statistic’.

We even find:

diabetik ‘diabetic’.

Also remarkable in the SWF are *euthik* ‘terrible’ but *euthektek* ‘terror’.

The distinctions that one meets in the SWF are often difficult to fathom. Some sort of consistency would be advisable.

13.8 The suffix *-ek* in the SWF

We have seen above that *-ek* is the default adjectival suffix in the SWF. Moreover the SWF appears to operate a rule by which *-ek* when in compounds becomes *-og*. We thus have *alkoholek* ‘an alcoholic man’ but *alkohologes* ‘an alcoholic woman’; *lostek* ‘fox’ but *lostoges* ‘vixen’; *boghosek* ‘poor; poor man’ but *boghosogyon* ‘poor people’. This rule, which is widely applied, in particular to modern coinages, gives a false impression of the traditional language. In the first place the plural of *bohosek* is not always *bohosogyon*: the *voghesegyon yn beys* ‘for the poor in the world’ PC 538. Note also the following: *marreg* (SWF *marghék*) ‘horseman’ is attested at PA 190b x2, 217a, 218b and the plural *marrogyon* is attested at BM 221, BK 1946, 2381, as *marrogyan* at BK 2252, as *marogyon* at BM 294, 815, 4359, BK 3286 and CW 1876 and as *marogyen* at BM 1742. On the other hand we find the plural form *marregyon* at PC 1613, 2347 and 657, as *marregyon* at RD 361 and as *marregion* RD 607. This means that the texts do not always follow the *-ek > -og* rule of the SWF.

The same failure to adhere to the SWF rule is apparent in traditional Cornish in the plural of *othomek* ‘needy person’ (SWF *odhommek*). The following are the attestations in the texts:

the socra othomogyon ‘to succour needy people’ BM 2553
orth age greff an othomogyan guerays ‘in their misery help the needy’ BM 3136-37
ha ty ov kul kenmys da pup vr the othomegyon ‘since you did so much good always to the needy’ PC
 2635-36.

On occasion the SWF *-ek > -og̃* rule is not even applied in the SWF itself. We thus find SWF *medhek* ‘doctor’, plural *medhogyon* but SWF *medhegneth* ‘medicine’ and SWF *medhegieth* ‘medical science.’ This is inconsistent, given that the SWF has *boghosek* ‘poor’ but *boghosogneth*.

The SWF seems to ignore its own *-ek > -og̃* rule in the word for ‘liar’. This is *gowek* but the plural is *gowygyon*, not the expected **gowogyon*. Curiously in view of SWF *gowygyon* and *gowegneth* at RD 906, the SWF feminine form of *gowek* is *gowoges* ‘liar’.

The rule in the SWF that *-ek* becomes *-og̃* in compounds is clearly in need of revision.

13.9 ‘Culture’ in Cornish

In his *Cornish-English Dictionary* of 1938 Nance coined the word *gonesegeth* ‘agriculture, culture, service’ on the basis of Welsh *gweinidogaeth* ‘service, administration’; and Breton *gounidegezh* ‘culture, agriculture’. In his *English-Cornish Dictionary* of 1952 s.v. ‘culture’ he gives *gonesygeth*. Notice that the Breton formation ends in the abstract suffix *-egezh*. The SWF, however, has arbitrarily applied the *-ek > -og̃* rule to this word to give *gonisogeth*. We have seen in the previous section that the *-ek > -og̃* rule is not obligatory in traditional Cornish, nor is it applied consistently by the SWF. In which case Nance’s coinages can stand. The Cornish for ‘culture, agriculture’ should be *gonesegeth* or *gonesygeth*.

13.10 Final long /i:/

The SWF distinguishes Middle Cornish forms from Late Cornish forms in many words. Thus, for example they spell the Cornish for ‘house’, ‘dog’ and ‘three’ (masc.) as *chi/chei*, *ki/kei* and *tri/trei* (the forms after the stroke are the Late Cornish ones). The distinction made here is most unfortunate for several reasons. As we have noticed above (3.2), final long /i:/ is already diphthongized in the earliest Middle Cornish texts. This can be deduced from rhymes, although the diphthongization is not shown in writing. Since the graph <i> in final position can only mean [i:], we cannot interpret <chi>, <ki> and <tri> as containing a diphthongized vowel, even though diphthongization is a phonetic possibility in the earliest period. Moreover spellings with <i> of these three etyma in Middle Cornish are marginal at best, as can be seen from their occurrence:

chy ~ *chi* ‘house’

chy PA 159a, OM 356, 1716, 1737, 1961, 2333, 2340, 2481, PC 316, 517, 524, 582, 631, 633, 670, 674, 682, 683, 1247, 1803, 2419, 3052, 3059, RD 323, 662, 1359, 1451, 1631, BM 250, 275, 640, 1150, 1396, 4293, TH 17a, 21a, 40 x2, 40a, 41 x2, BK 823, 1269, 1311, 1321, 1360, 1555, 2403.
chi TH 33.

ky ~ *ki* ‘dog’

ky PC 2242, 2026, BM 812, 2250, 2259, 2388, 3227, 3228, 3501, BK 116, 327, 2435, CW 407.

There are no instances of *ki* in the Middle Cornish texts. *ki* occurs once in the Old Cornish Vocabulary.

try ~ *tri* ‘three’

try PA 21a, 112b, 225a, OM 3, 12, 57, 110, 392, 396, 870, 1734, 1771, 2660, 2665, PC 388, 536, 1015, 1021, 1311, 1746, 1760, 1765, 2442, 2490, 2763, 2489, 2863, RD 45, 52, 226, 374, 958, 1277, 2258, 2555, BM 623, 915, 1350, 1537, TH 34a, 43, BK 253, 271, 278, 288, 1366, 2103, CW 6, 10, 38, 52, 343, 1960, 2102, 2260.

tri PC 366, 383.

The SWF recommends *trei* as the spelling for ‘three’ in its Late Cornish variant. In this context it is worth noting the following spellings from the Late Cornish sources (I do not include here examples in Lhuyd semi-phonetic orthography):

‘three’ in Late Cornish

Tri Kanz Hern ‘three hundred pilchards’ BF: 44; *Zelio Tri* ‘three Sundays’ ACB F f 2 verso

Try Cans Hern ‘three hundred pilchards’ BF: 43; *deu po try* ‘two or three’ BF: 27; *try egance a pemp* ‘three score and five’ LAM: 244
trei penz ‘three pounds’ BF: 15 x3, 16; *trei vertshans* ‘three merchants’ BF: 16.

It can be seen that the native writers of Late Cornish did not exclusively use *trei* as a spelling for ‘three’. They also wrote *try* and *tri*. In the SWF *tri*, however, is an exclusively Middle Cornish spelling.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the above evidence. In the first place *chi*, *ki*, *tri* are hardly attested at all in Middle Cornish. Secondly the distinction made by the SWF between, for example *tri* and *trei* is not corroborated by the texts. Thirdly the spellings *chi*, *ki*, *tri* imply a final long /i:/, when we know from rhymes that the vowel may be diphthongized in Middle Cornish.

The obvious solution is to spell ‘house’, ‘dog’ and ‘three’ in the revived language as *chy*, *ky* and *try*, and to state the rule that when in final position in these and similar etyma the <y> may be pronounced as a diphthong [əi] or [ei].

Notice that in the above discussion I have not dealt with the pronominal forms *hy* ‘she’, *ny* ‘we’ or *why* ‘you’ (plural). This is because such forms are sometimes in low sentence stress, which seems to lessen the likelihood of their vowel’s being diphthongized. This is a question which merits further investigation. In the meantime, it seems wise to spell such pronouns as they appear in the Middle Cornish texts, i.e. as *hy*, *ny* and *why* respectively.

13.11 The spelling *-iw in the SWF

At 5.9, 5.10 and 5.13 I discuss the spellings for ‘who’, ‘two hands’, ‘colour’ and ‘worthy’ as they are attested in the texts. I also cite all the known instances of the word for ‘end’ and the adjective ‘last’. In none of the Cornish forms of any of these etyma does the diphthong <iw> occur, except for the one outlier *diweth* ‘end’ at TH 18a. Tregear usually writes *deweth*. It appears that the graph <iw> is otherwise unknown in the traditional language. The use of <iw> in the SWF on the other hand is widespread, and one can conclude that such non-traditional spelling was introduced into revived Cornish on the basis of the Modern Breton diphthong <iv>. In order to render the SWF less inauthentic it would be wise to replace the diphthong <iw> with more traditional spellings. This will entail the following emendations:

<i>diw</i> ‘two’ (feminine)	> <i>dyw</i>
<i>diwleuv</i> , <i>diwla</i> ‘two hands, hands’	> <i>dewleff</i> , <i>dewla</i>
<i>diweth</i> ‘end’	> <i>dyweth</i>
<i>diwetha</i> ‘last’	> <i>dewetha</i>
<i>gwiw</i> ‘worthy’	> <i>gwyw</i> , <i>gwew</i>
<i>liw</i> ‘colour’	> <i>lyw</i>
<i>piw</i> ‘who?’	> <i>pyw</i> , <i>pew</i>

It should be noted that to spell ‘two’ (fem.), ‘worthy’, ‘colour’ and ‘who?’ as *dyw/dew*, *gwyw/gwew*, *lyw* and *pyw* respectively will mean writing these words with the same diphthong as in *yw/ew* ‘is’, *byw/bew* ‘alive’ and *gew* ‘woe’—all spellings recommended already in the SWF.

13.12 ‘To seek, to search, to try’ in the SWF

The SWF spells the verbal noun of ‘to seek, to search, to try’ as *hwilas*. This is indeed a perplexing choice for the word, since it is without basis in the traditional language. I have collected the following examples of the verbal noun and of the third person singular preterite as follows.

whylas RD 551, 560, 857, 1646, TH 5a, CW 1525, 1742; *a whylas* ‘sought’ RD 1646, 2068, 2261
whelas PA 257b, 257d, OM 1139, TH 3a, 8a, 18a, 30a, 36a, SA 64a, BK 3231, CW 427, 454, 1370, 1691, 1787, ACB F f 2 x4.; *whelaz* TWG: 26; *whellaz* TWG: 24; *welas* PA 94a; *a whelas* ‘who sought’ PA 90a, 145d, 156b, TH 22a.

The spelling *whilas* is not attested.

There are no examples of spellings with medial <i> in the traditional texts. Lhuyd, however, in his semi-phonetic orthography gives *Do huila*, *dho mira rag* ‘to seek’ AB: 69c and in §2 of ‘Jowan Chy an Hordh’ Lhuyd gives *dha huillaz huel* ‘to seek work’. Nicholas Boson in his version writes *Da whelaz wheal*. As we have seen at 12.5 above, the graph <hw> is alien to the native Cornish scribal tradition. The vowel in the word for ‘to seek, to search, to

try' in native texts is always *y* or *e*: *whylas*, *whelas* or *whelaz*. In the revived language 'to seek, to search, to try' should be written *whylas* or *whelas*. **Hwilas* is without warrant in traditional Cornish and should be revised.

13.13 'Tuesday' and 'March' in Cornish

The attested forms of the Cornish for 'Tuesday' are not many. I have collected the following:

De Merh 'Tuesday' AB: 14c; *De* [or *Dedh*] *Merh* 'Tuesday' AB: 28c; *de Merh* 'tuesday' AB: 54c; *De Merh* 'Tuesday' ACB: N verso; *Demer* 'Tuesday' Borlase.

The Cornish for 'March', the month of the year is slightly better attested. I have collected the following examples:

Miz merh AB: 28c, 86c; *Merh* 'March' ACB T 3; *Mis-Merh* 'March' ACB: F f 2 verso; *Flô vye gennes en Miz-merh* 'A child was born in the month of March' ACB: F f 4.

Borlase gives *Mis Meurz* (alias *Merh*) 'March'. The final *z* in *Meurz* makes it clear that the word is Breton, not Cornish. His *Merh* on the other hand is Cornish.

The SWF writes *dy'Meurth* 'Tuesday' and *Meurth* 'March'. There is no evidence for the vowel *eu* in either of these etyma. They should be emended to *de Merth* and *Merth*, *mis Merth*.

Dy' before the names of days of the week is a solecism. See 5.19, 13.23.

13.14 'To bury' in Cornish

I have collected the following instances of the verbal noun of the Cornish verb 'to bury'

anclethyas OM 869, PC 1564, 3140, 3147, BM 4512; *anclethyes* RD 439, BM 4471; *enclethyes* PC 3103, 3161; *anclethias* BM 1323; *anclythyas* PC 548, CW 2079.

The following are the instances of the verbal adjective 'buried' to be found in the texts:

anclethys PC 3115, 3134, BM 4050; *anclethys* RD 1, BM 4082; *inclithis* SA 61a; *anclythys* CW 1851; *ynclythys* ACB : E e 3; *inclythys* ACB: E e 3.

The SWF writes the verbal noun as *ynkleudhyas* and the verbal adjective as *ynkleudhys*. There is no warrant in the traditional language for these spellings. 'To bury' in the revived language should be written *ancedhyas* or *encledhyas* and the verbal adjective should be written *encledhys*.

13.15 'Cornish' in the SWF

We saw at 5.6 above that the only attested forms of the Cornish for 'Cornish' have *o* or *û* in the second syllable. The earliest attestation is *Cornowok* from 1572, i.e. within the Middle Cornish period. In fact 1572 is roughly contemporaneous with *Sacrament an Alter*, probably also with the manuscript of *Beunans Ke* and is earlier than the *Creation of the World*. We also saw that the form **Kernewek* is unattested anywhere in the Cornish of any period. Such a form appears in print for the first time in 1865 in *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* of Robert Williams, who spells the word *Cernewec* in his Cynricized orthography. *Kernewek* was Nance's respelling for Unified Cornish of *Cernewec*. We also saw at 5.4 that the rounding of *ew* > *ow* in *dewthek* 'twelve' > *dowthek* and *dewlyn* 'knees' > *dowlyn* is attested as early as *Pascon agan Arluth*. By the time of *Beunans Meriasek* (1504) 'to hear' and 'to speak' are regularly *clowes* < *clewes* and *cowsel* < *kewsel* respectively. We can be sure that if we had attestations of the word for Cornish from the period of *Beunans Meriasek* (1504), it would appear as *Kernowek*.

The SWF posits *Kernewek* for Middle Cornish and *Kernowek* for Late Cornish. This is an arbitrary distinction made without any evidence. *Kernewek* is not attested anywhere in traditional Cornish. *Kernowek* written <Cornowok> dates from 1572 and all subsequent attestations have *o* or *û* in the second syllable. *Kernowek* is the only legitimate form of the word for 'Cornish'. *Kernewek* in the SWF should be emended to *Kernowek* and the fictional difference between Middle Cornish *Kernewek* and Late Cornish *Kernowek* will then disappear.

13.16 Vocalic harmony and the SWF

We have seen at 10.1 above that in the traditional language there is a variation between the monosyllable with the vowel *eu* and *u* in the disyllable when *y* occurs in the second syllable. This variation is present in the SWF with *eus* but *usi*, *uji* (recte *usy*, *ujy*) but not elsewhere. The following therefore will need to be emended:

<i>anfeus</i> ‘misfortune’ ~ <i>anfeusik</i>	> <i>anfeus</i> ~ <i>anfusyik</i>
<i>breus</i> ‘judgement’ ~ <i>breusi</i> ‘to judge’	> <i>breus</i> ~ <i>brusy</i>
<i>euth</i> ‘horror’ ~ <i>euthik</i> ‘horrible’	> <i>euth</i> ~ <i>uthyk</i>
<i>beudh</i> ‘drown!’ ~ <i>beudhi</i> ‘to drown’	> <i>beudh</i> > <i>budhy</i> .

13.17 The Cornish for ‘pound’

The SWF mistakenly assumes that the Cornish for the noun ‘pound’ is **peuns*. The Cornish for ‘pound’ was borrowed (like Welsh *punt* ‘pound’) from Old English. There never was a vowel *eu* in this word. The vowel was originally [y:] (the vowel in French *lune* ‘moon’) which then shortened to [y]. This later unrounded to [i]. At which point the word was included among the alternating pairs *syns* ~ *sens* ‘saints’, *dyns* ~ *dens* ‘teeth’, *kyns* ~ *kens* ‘before’, etc.; see 6.7 above for details. The form **peuns* is a mistake and suggests that the proponents of the revived language do not know the etymology of this word. **Peuns* should be revised immediately as *puns* and *pens*.

13.18 Rounding before /l/ ignored in the SWF

We saw at 9.1 above that in some words a vowel before /l/ is rounded from *e* > *o* and *a* > *o*. A good example of the shift *e* > *o* before /l/ occurs in the word *holergh* ‘late’. This is attested once only at PA 244a. The SWF seems unaware that ‘late’ in the traditional language is *holergh* and in consequence spells the word etymologically as **helergh*. It should be remembered that the shift *helergh* > *holergh* almost certainly occurred while the stress was on the final syllable. The round from a phonetic point of view was probably therefore from [hə'lerx]. At all events there is no warrant at all for **helergh*. The word is found once only and appears as *holergh*; **helergh* in the SWF should be emended to *holergh*.

The SWF writes **seulabrys* ‘already’ and **seuladhedh* ‘long ago’. The vowel *eu* in the initial syllable of both words was probably suggested by Breton in *seulabred* ‘déjà.’ There is, however, no warrant for *eu* in either etymon. As pointed out above the attested forms are:

‘already’

sol [a] *brys* OM 2322; *sollabreys* PC 746; *sollabreys* BM 1845; *solabrys* BK 381, 445.

‘long since’

sol-a-thyth OM 2612; *sol-a-theth* RD 1929; *sollathyth* RD 2380; *solladeth* BM 2940; *solathyth* BK 2255.

The initial syllable may well at one time have contained *eu* > *e*. *Solabrys* and *solatheth* therefore would appear to be further examples of the rounding of a short vowel immediately before /l/.

Since there is no warrant anywhere in Cornish for anything other than /o/ in the initial syllable of these two adverbs, they should in the SWF be emended to *solabrys* ‘already’ and *soladhedh* ‘long ago’.

The prefix *dy-* in the SWF.

At 7.22 above I gave a list of items spelt in the texts with initial *dy-*. Regrettably the SWF for reasons that are not apparent spells them all with *dɨ-*. In order to render the SWF less inauthentic in this respect the following will need to be emended:

<i>dibenna</i> ‘to behead’	> <i>dybenna</i>
<i>diblans</i> ‘distinct, separate; separately’	> <i>dyblans</i>
<i>difen</i> ‘prohibition’	> <i>dyfen</i>
<i>difennys</i> ‘forbidden’	> <i>dyfennys</i>
<i>difreth</i> ‘feeble’	> <i>dyfreth</i>
<i>diflam</i> ‘blameless’	> <i>dyflam</i>
<i>divlas</i> ‘disgusting’	> <i>dyflas</i>
<i>divlasa</i> ‘to be ashamed of’	> <i>dyflasa</i>
<i>difun</i> ‘awake’	> <i>dyfun</i>
<i>difuna</i> ‘to wake’	> <i>dyfuna</i>
<i>difygya</i> ‘to fail’	> <i>dyfygya</i>

<i>diklos</i> ‘hapless’	> <i>dyclos</i>
<i>diglon</i> ‘discouraged; depression’	> <i>dyglon</i>
<i>dignas</i> ‘monstrous; perversely’	> <i>dygnas</i>
<i>dinatur</i> ‘unnatural’	> <i>dynatur</i>
<i>diskryjyans</i> ‘unbelief’	> <i>dyscryjyans</i>
<i>diskryjyk</i> ‘unbelieving’	> <i>dyscryjyk</i>
<i>diskudha</i> ‘to disclose’	> <i>dyscudha</i>
<i>diveth</i> ‘shameless’	> <i>dyveth</i>
<i>divotter</i> ‘starvation’	> <i>dyvotter</i>
<i>divynya</i> ‘to mince’	> <i>dyvynya</i> .

In all modern coinages with privative *dy-* the prefix should be so written, e.g. *dydhysk* ‘unlearned’, *dygusk* ‘sleepless’, etc. The prefix *dy-* should of course be written *dī-* when it forms part of a diphthong, e.g. *dien* ‘whole’, *diek* ‘lazy’, *diena* ‘to gasp’.

13.20 *Dysquethes* ‘to show’, *dysquethyans* ‘demonstration’

Dysquethes ‘to show’ and its derivative *dysquedhyans* ‘demonstration’ do not really belong with the words in *dy-* because the prefix is *dys-* < earlier **dīs* (compare Breton *diskouezet* ‘to show’). The pre-Celtic form was probably **de-eks-com-wed-* where the root **wed-* ‘relate’ is probably the same as in Irish *ad-fét* tells. The attested forms display *dys-*, *dis-* and *des-* as the prefix (although *dis-* in some cases may have originated from a scribal suspension). Moreover the consonant cluster *-squ-* is not infrequently simplified to *-sw-*. I have collected the following attested forms of *dysquedhes*:

dysquethes

dysquethes OM 1746; *dysquethas* OM1439, TH 13, 23, 42; *dysquezas* PA 157a; *ow dysquethas* TH 13; *disquethas* BK 2068; *dysquethas* ‘showed’ OM 2351; *a thysquethes* ‘showed’ OM 261; *y tysquezas* ‘showed’ PA 11b; *y tysquethas* ‘showed’ PA 16b, RD 2637; *dysque* ‘show!’ OM 2106, PC 82, 3229; *a thysque* ‘will show’ PC 126; *ymthysquethas* ‘show oneself, appear’ RD 1496; *dysquethys* ‘shown’ BM 4551, TH 11; *dysqwethis* ‘shown’ TH 12; *a thysquethaf* ‘I show’ OM 1281, RD 1692.

disquethes

disquethas TH 45a, SA 60 x2, SA62, BF: 41; *disquethys* ‘shown’ BM 2501; *disquethis* ‘shown’ TH 2, 5, 20, SA 60; *disquethas* ‘shown’ SA 63; *disquethaz* TWG: 24, 32

desquethes

desquethes TH 26a, 44, 51; *desquethas* TH 26a, 34a, 39a; *ow tesquethas* ‘showing’ TH 7a; *desquethis* TH 21; *desquethis* ‘shown’ TH 11a x2, 14, 15a, 16, 30a, 47a x3, 54a; *desquethaz* ‘showed’ TWG: 26

dyswethes

dyswethi ‘show!’ PC 2682, RD 1723; *dyswe* ‘show’ RD 627; *dyswethough* ‘show!’ PC 978; *a thyswe* ‘will show’ PC 343, 637, 673, RD 628; *a thyswethas* ‘showed’ RD 1051

deswethes

deswethys ‘shown’ TH 12.

These are the attestations of *dysquethyans* ‘demonstration, revelation’ that I have been able to find:

dysquethyans

desquethyans CW 418; *disquethyans* Keigwin; *dyswythyans* TH 13a.

Although the spelling of the suffix varies in the texts, *dysqu-* is commoner than any of the others. In the interests of authenticity ‘to show’ and ‘demonstration’ should be spelt with initial *dysqu/dysqw-*

13.21 The adjectival suffix *-el* in the SWF

Some speakers of revived Cornish use the suffix *-el* to create adjectives, e.g. *denel* ‘human’, *fysege* ‘physical’, *gonisogethel* ‘cultural’, *kerghynedhel* ‘environmental’, *kymygiethel* ‘chemical’, *mammel* ‘maternal’, etc. The suffix *-el* is presumably by analogy with adjectival *-el* in Breton and is therefore related to the common adjectival suffix *-ol* in Welsh. The first thing to be noticed about this suffix *-el* is that it is not attested anywhere in traditional Cornish. This observation bears repeating: the adjectival suffix *-el* is entirely unknown in traditional Cornish. The nearest we have to the suffix **-el* is the adjectival suffix *-yl*. This suffix *-yl*, however, is attested only in the adjective *skentyl* ‘wise, intelligent’. Yet in this one example we can see why the Cornish were apparently reluctant to use *-yl*.

The word *skentyl* is a derivative of the word *skyans* ‘knowledge, wisdom.’ The derived noun is attested as *skentoleth* at BM 1774 and as *skyantoleth* at TH 6a. It seems that in the Old Cornish period, before the assibilation of Cornish *-nt-* > *-ns-* the consonant *l* in the next syllable strengthened the *t* in *nt* so that it did not assibilate. Thus in Middle Cornish we find *skyans* PA 1c, 3b, OM 167, BM 213, 366, 1008, etc., but *skentyl* (*skentyll* PA 8a, *skyntyll* PA 216a, *skyentall* BK 322) and *skyantoleth*, *skentoleth*. The same absence of assibilation of *-nt-* before *l* can be seen in *antell* ‘snare’ PA 19a, *kantyll* ‘candle’ TH 17a and *kuntel* ‘to collect’ BM 1508, 1515, 1544. It is apparent that *l* in the next syllable strengthened a preceding consonant elsewhere. Thus we have *drog* ‘evil’ but *drocoleth* ‘wickedness’ PC 1864, *drokoleth* PC 2904, TH 39, *drockoleth* TH 5a, 9a, where the *-l* has prevented the lenition of the preceding *-k-*. The effect of a following *l* can also be seen in *capel* ‘cable’ BM 467 for expected **cabel* and the dialect word *fackle* ‘inflammation’; cf. Welsh *ffagl*.

Given that the suffix *-el* was likely to cause phonetic disturbance in word-building, it appears that native speakers of Cornish preferred the adjectival suffix *-ek*. Thus instead of *skentyl* we find *skyansek* at BM 377. Here there is no *-l* after the *-nt-* > *-ns-* and the connection between the noun *skyans* and the adjective *skyansek* is not therefore lost.

The implications of the above are fourfold: 1) since the adjectival suffix *-el* is not attested in traditional Cornish, it should not be used; 2) the suffix *-yl* is attested, albeit in only one word, *skentyl*; *-yl* can be used but very sparingly indeed; 3) the adjectival suffix of choice should be *-ek* (or *-ak*); 4) in order to render the SWF less inauthentic than it is at present a whole series of neologisms in *-el* will need to be replaced.

13.22 The nominal suffix *-ell* in the SWF

In the revived language the suffix *-ell* is sometimes used to create new words as names for gadgets or devices, e.g. *gwariell* ‘toy’, *kemmyskell* ‘mixer’, *pompell* ‘pump’, *skwyhell* ‘switch’ and *yeynell* ‘refrigerator.’ In theory there is nothing wrong with using the suffix *-ell* for such a purpose. It should be remembered, however, that the suffix *-el* or *-ell* is not actually attested in this form. The only item containing such an agent suffix is Lhuyd’s *Guinzal* ‘Flabellum [winnowing fan]’ AB: 60a. Moreover the only reason for believing that *guinzal* is feminine is that its Welsh congener *gwyntyll* ‘winnowing fan’ is feminine. *Gwyntyll* looks as though it is a derivative of *gwynt* ‘wind’ + a suffix *-yll*. This is not so, however, since the *gwyntyll* and *guinzal* were both borrowed from Middle English *windel*, *windille* ‘winder.’ Though useful, the Cornish suffix *-ell* is imaginary.

13.23 The prefix for ‘day’ in the SWF

I have set out at 5.19 above both the development in Cornish of the prefix *dew*, *du*, *de* in names of days of the week and of festivals; I have also cited all the instances of the prefix attested in traditional Cornish. For ‘Sunday’, for example, the SWF writes Middle Cornish *dy’Sul* and Late Cornish *de’Sul*. Both forms demonstrate that the origin of the prefix has not been understood. No apostrophe is necessary, since nothing has been omitted. The prefix *dew*, *du*, *de* never at any time ended in a dental continuant, and to write the apostrophe in the SWF merely draws attention to the misunderstanding implicit in the spelling of this word. The prefix for days of the week and for feast days should be written *de* or *du*, as in traditional Cornish. Both *dy’* and *de’* are mistaken and should be corrected.

CHAPTER 14

Problems with the SWF: *y* ~ *e* alternation

14.1 The alternation *y* ~ *e* in the SWF in monosyllables

We have seen above that *y* sometimes alternates with *e* in monosyllables, e.g. *brys* ~ *bres* ‘mind’, *prys* ~ *pres* ‘time, occasion’, *dyth* ~ *deth* ‘day’, etc. Curiously the SWF online dictionary believes that the *y*-forms are Middle Cornish and the *e*-forms are Late Cornish. The following items in the dictionary are followed by a small superscript M to indicate that they are to be understood as Middle Cornish only: *a-dryv* ‘behind’, *brys* ‘mind’, *brys* ‘womb’, *bys* ‘world’, *dydh* ‘day’, *gwydh* ‘trees’, *hwys* ‘sweat’, *prys* ‘time’ and *pryv* ‘worm, reptile’. Their variants with *e* on the other hand, i.e. *a-drev*, *bres*, *bres*, *bes*, *dedh*, *gvedh*, *hwes*, *pres* and *prev* are all followed by a superscript L to indicate that they are exclusively Late Cornish forms. Let us look at these etyma one by one to see how the evidence bears out the distinction made by the SWF dictionary.

a-dryv

This preposition is attested only once in *ny gowsyn yn tewolgow adryff tus yn vn hanas* ‘I did not speak in the dark whispering behind people’ PA 79d.

* *Adrev* is nowhere attested and indeed seems to have been replaced by *adhelergh dhe: fatell vea ha na rella an appostles gasa scryffa vith athillar thethe* ‘how would it have been if the apostles had not left any writing behind them?’ TH 19. There is no evidence for a chronological alternation *a-dryv* ~ * *a-drev*.

brys ‘mind, heart, intention’

orth ov brys ‘at my intention’ OM 8; *yma loer orth both ow brys* ‘there is enough at the desire of my heart’ OM 90; *rag colenwel both ov brys* ‘to fulfil the desire of my heart’ OM 2273; *Leverough both ages brys* ‘Speak the wish of your mind’ BK 392; *Ages negys a vyth gwrys in scon orth both agys brys* ‘Your business will be soon done according to the wish of your heart’ BK 890-97; *Marrak lym, orth both ow brys, uhal-worthyys of i n bys* ‘I am a keen knight highly revered in the world to the contentment of my heart’ BK 1648-49; *rag guthyl both agys brys* ‘to perform the wish of your heart’ BK 3068; *both the vris* ‘the wish of your heart’ BK 2583.

bres ‘mind, heart, intention’

gul erbyn both e vres ‘to go against the wish of his heart’ BK 1497; *gurens dev y voth ha’y vynnas pypenag vo yn y vveys* ‘let God do his wish and his desire, whatever is in his intention’ OM 1153-54; *rak collenwel both ov breys* ‘to fulfil the wish of my heart’ OM 1267; *an sacryfys a vyth guryr orth both the vveys* ‘the sacrifice will be made according to the wish of your heart’ OM 1285-86; *Arluth ker guella the vveys* ‘Dear lord, lift your heart’ OM 2081; *mester lauar dysempys yn scon dy’mmo hep lettye an dra vs sur war the vveys* ‘master tell me immediately without hesitating the thing indeed that is on your mind’ PC 497-99; *arluth lauar dyssempys thy’my mars yv both the vveys* ‘lord, tell us immediately if it is the wish of your heart’ PC 1137-38; *the ken forthov sur ov breys yma syttis credy* ‘to other ways indeed my intention has been set indeed’ BM 342-43; *grua the desyr ha both the vveys* ‘do your desire and the wish of you heart’ BM 3657-58; *bréz* ‘mind’ AB: 20a, 43a, 88c.

The instances of *brys*, *breys* and *bres* cited above are from Middle Cornish texts. There only example known to me from a Late Cornish source is *bréz* from Lhuyd. All the other examples of *bres* or *breys* are from Middle Cornish sources. The distinction between Middle Cornish *brys* ‘mind’ and Late Cornish *bres* is not borne out by the evidence.

brys ‘womb’

creator a brys benen ‘creature from a woman’s womb’ RD 191; *goef termyn a theffo deuones a brys benen* ‘alas for him in the future that he came from a woman’s womb’ RD 1349-50; *goef genys y vonas a brys benen* ‘alas for him that he was born from a woman’s womb’ RD 2419-20.

bres ‘womb’

erbyn reson yv in beys heb hays gorryth thymo creys bones flogh vyth concevys in breys benen ‘it is contrary to reason in the world, believe me, that any child could be conceived in a woman’s womb without male seed’ BM 844-47; *benegas in breis y vani* ‘blessed in his mother’s womb’ TH.

There are no examples from Late Cornish sources. Since both forms, *brys* and *breys* are from Middle Cornish sources, the distinction between Middle Cornish and Late Cornish in this word is without foundation.

bys ‘world’

bys PA 2b, 4d, 5b, 6b, 16c, 24a, 31b, 36c, 41d, 60d, 191d, 200b, 225d, OM 11, 71, 532, 603, 605, 643, 712, 750, 767, 792, 818, 821, 834, 850, 851, 875, 993, 1007, 1030, 1042, 1249, 1742, 1886, 1935, 2052, 2114, 2121, 2315, 2349, 2514, 2535, 2610, 2643, PC 4, 115, 120, 128, 131, 154, 284, 289, 386, 441, 470, 752, 815, 872, 1020, 1343, 1578, 1589, 1683, 1860, 2010, 2021, 2429, 2708, 2904, 2915, 2988, 3107, 3193, 3215, 3232, RD 62, 178, 203, 480, 740, 833, 860, 900, 929, 938, 946, 1124, 1145, 1487, 1587, 1601, 1652, 1711, 1758, 2036, 2079, 2228, 2314, BM 142, 291, TH 6a x2, 7 x3, 7a, 9a, 11 x2, 12a x2, 13, 13a, 14, 16, 16a x2, 17, 20, 21, 21a, 26a, 28 x2, 31, 34a, 35, 36, 36a x3, 41, 41a x2, 42, 43a, 44 x3, 46, 47, 47a, 48, 49a, 50a, 51a x2, 52, 52a, 55, SA 66, BK 36, 74, 140, 205, 379, 438, 481, 583, 596, 608, 624, 656, 820, 899, 986, 1030, 1189, 1265, 1285, 1311, 1328, 1411, 1431, 1444, 1457, 1495, 1528, 1530, 1536, 1544, 1613, 1631, 1649, 1678, 1718, 1744, 1857, 1935, 1943, 1967, 1976, 1984, 1998, 2040, 2210, 2555, 2580, 2850, 2978, 3052, 3175, CW 497, 502, 564, 579, 909, 940, 958, 974, 1785, 1988, 2004, 2378, JKeigwin; *byes* CW 87, 956, 991, 1174, 1250, 1260, 1359, 1384, 1425, 2146, 2163, 2220, 2229, 2244, 2512; *byese* CW 2372; *byse* CW 2535; *bees* BF: 8; *beez* BF: 12.

bes BK 1733, BF: 13; *beys* OM 6, 34, 131, 155, 328, 372, 409, 411, 435, 459, 465, 584, 594, 926, 931, 941, 983, 1100, 1161, 1262, 1295, 1340, 1466, 1541, 1577, 1773, 2752, 2832, PC 304, 412, 430, 449, 501, 538, 730, 747, 780, 930, 1041, 1169, 1287, 1334, 1425, 1704, 2114, 2160, 2168, 2186, 2362, 2411, 2436, 2481, 2547, 2650, 2920, 2948, 3026, 3062, 3124, 3221, RD 210, 222, 240, 244, 250, 277, 287, 424, 454, 976, 1151, 1185, 1454, 1464, 1719, 1820, 2040, 2055, 2071, 2414, 2426, 2466, 2471, 2486, 2499, 2524, 2611, 2615, 2621, BM 161, 326, 340, 355, 396, 427, 429, 445, 686, 700, 754, 788, 844, 851, 1043, 1136, 1211, 1291, 1297, 1303, 1367, 1414, 1559, 1718, 1988, 2018, 2029, 2042, 2097, 2252, 2514, 2523, 2563, 2569, 2483, 2648, 3211, 3587, 3712, 3869, 4213, 4335, 4402, 4441, BK 3172, CW 1400, 1407, 1507, 1682, 2320, 2381; *beise* CW 2330; *beyse* CW 2335, 2378, 2421.

Since there are so many instances of this word in the texts, I cite only the place where each occurs. The exact phonetic nature of *bees* and *beez* from Nicholas Boson is uncertain. It can be clearly seen, however, that the forms *bes* and *beys* are well attested in Middle Cornish sources. The view, therefore, that *y*-forms are Middle Cornish and *e*-forms Late Cornish is not supported by the evidence.

dyth ‘day’

dyth PA 10c, 91c, 124c, 201a, 209a, 229b, 239d, 240b, 259a, OM 17, 20, 25, 41, 49, 142, 144, 145, 1027, PC 366, 383, 388, 814, 1311, 1315, 1760, 2863, RD 958, BK 426, 3207, CW 92, 100, 106, 414, 416, 1669, 1731, ACB: E e 2 verso, E e 3, E e 3 verso x3, BF: 44; *dyeth* BK 276; *dith* TH 5, 17, 34, 39, 41 x3, 41a, 47 x2, 48, 53 x2; *an gyth* PA 41c, 244a, OM 1013, CW85; *han gyth* PA 343a; *yn gyth na* PA 259d; *in gyth* CW 1281; *un gyth* BK 2549.

dedh

deth PA 259b, PC 722, 724, 1496, 1669, 1746, 3231, RD 5, 52, 390, 452, 465, 2140, 2605, BM 682, 724, 1472, 1758, 1772, 1923, 1925, 1930, 1959, 2070, 2075, 2194, 2197, 2307, 2452, 3225, 4051, 4053, 4083, 4086, 4444, 4489, TH 52, SA 60, BF: 52, 52; *dêth* ACB: E e 3 verso; *death* BF: 43; *deyth* OM 742, 1272, 1555, 1951, PC 268, 914, 1331, 1765, 2549, 2940, RD 45, 57, 202, 226, 234, 246, 339, 374, 416, 681, 691, 1187, 1277, 2437, BK 1881; *yn geyth* PA 20c, OM 39, 458, 1516, PC 1881, RD 1233, 1503, 2496; *a'n geyth* RD 275; *vn geyth* OM 385; *re'n geyth* PC 2684, 3089; *in jeth* TH 8, 27a, 37, 48; *an jeth* TH 18, 47.

It is apparent from the above instances that *dyth* is not confined to Middle Cornish sources; *deth*, *deyth*, *an geyth*, *an jeth*, etc. on the other hand, are by no means confined to Late Cornish texts. In particular it should be noted that in his “Modern Cornish” version of the Lord’s Prayer, The Creed and the Ten Commandments (ACB: E e 2 verso - E e 4) Pryce writes *dyth* ‘day’ five times and *dêth* once. Similarly in Tregear’s homilies we regularly find *dith* ‘day’ but *an jeth* ‘the day’ and *in jeth* ‘in the day’. The assertion implicit in the SWF dictionary that *dyth* is exclusively a Middle Cornish form and *dedh* a Late Cornish one, cannot be sustained.

gwydh ‘trees’

ny ew gwyth crabbys ‘we are crab apple trees’ TH 9; *an tryssa dyth me a wra than gwyth sefall yn ban* ‘on the third day I will make the trees arise’ CW 92-3

gwedh

owr hag arghans gwels ha gweh ‘gold and silver, grass and tree’ PA 16b; *hag yn tyr gorhemmennaf may tefo gveyth ha losow* ‘and on the land I command that trees and herbs may grow’ OM 26-27

Gwydh/gwedh is a collective plural. I can find no Late Cornish instances. The only examples are *gwyth* from Tregear and the *Creation of the World*, *gweh* from *Pascon agan Arluth* and *gveyth* from *Origo Mundi*. That is to say we have two examples with *y* from Middle Cornish and two examples with *e* also from Middle Cornish. It would seem that the distinction made by the SWF that *gwydh* is Middle Cornish and *gwedh* Late Cornish is not supported by the evidence.

hwys ‘sweat’

y’th whys lavur the thybry ty a wra bys y’th worfen ‘in your sweat of labour you will eat until your end’ OM 273-74; *del esof ov tyene ha whys pup goth ol ha lyth* ‘as I am panting and every vein and limb is sweat’ PC 2511-12; *yn lafur whys hag anken ha deyth ha nos* ‘in toil, sweat and misery both day and night’ RD 245-46; *fas ihesu gynef yma yn hyuelep gurys a’y whys* ‘I have the face of Jesus in an image made of his perspiration’ RD 1704-05; *[n] wysce ath face te a thebbyr the rara* ‘In the sweat of your countenance you will eat your bread’ TH

hwes

dowr ha goys yn kemyskys weys crist rag ze gerense ‘water and blood mixed, Christ’s sweat for thy sake’ PA 58d; *Huêz* ‘Sudor; sweat’ AB: 157c.

Here *whys* is the Middle Cornish form and *huêz* was heard by Lhuyd and is thus a Late Cornish variant. Unfortunately *weys* ‘sweat’ is attested in *Pascon agan Arluth*, the earliest long text in Middle Cornish. The supposed distinction therefore between Middle Cornish *hwys/whys* and Late Cornish *hwes/whes* is difficult to sustain.

prys ‘time’

prys PA 61b, 76c, 200a, 230a, 230c, OM 86, 338, 674, 911, 1213, 1414, 1979, 2125, PC 15, 40, 222, 224, 308, 456, 696, 710, 938, 1130, 1572, 1755, 2024, 2336, 2471, 2784, 2831, RD 152, 282, 455, 802, 821, 877, 1149, 1740, 1775, 2149, TH 12, SA 63, BK 479, 1148, 2513, 3065; *pryes* CW 44, 297, 319, 372, 1334, 1518, 1648, 1659, 1701, 1864, 1978, 2225, 2472, 2518; *pris* BM 121, BK 3192b.

pres

pres PA 20c, BF: 43; *prez* BF: 44; *preys* OM 316, 1104, 1232, PC 1096, BM 899, 1261, 1739, 1843, 1872, 1925, 2681, 2709, 3199, 3757, 4062, 4269, CW 91, 1098, 1267, 1279, 1973; *preyse* CW 21, 69, 133, 184, 459, 1954; *preis* CW 911.

It will be seen from the above that the *e*-forms of this word, i.e. *pres* and *preys* are very well attested in Middle Cornish. It cannot legitimately be argued that such forms are exclusively or even largely Late Cornish.

pryv ‘reptile, worm’

yth ew an very pryf na ‘it that very serpent’ CW 1517; *Ellas orthan prif cola* ‘Alas that I listened to the serpent’ CW 1055; *Lebben an hagar-breeve o moy foulze* ‘Now the serpent was more subtle’ TWG: 13; *Ha an vennen a lavarraz tha an hagar-breeve* ‘And the woman said to the serpent’ TWG: 13; *Ha an hagar-breeve a lavarraz tha an vennen* ‘And the serpent said to the woman’ TWG: 13; *an hagar-breeve a thullas ve* ‘the serpent tempted me’ TWG: 16; *Ha an Arleth Diew a lavarraz tha an hagar-breeve* ‘And the Lord God said to the serpent’ TWG: 18.

prev

an falge dragon tebel preff ‘the deceitful dragon, an evil reptile’ BM 4133; *ha ny ol guythys dyblans orth an dragon preff an pla* ‘and we all protected from the dragon, the devil’s reptile’ BM 4172-73; *Gallas Lucifer droke preve mes an nef tha dewolgowe* ‘Lucifer, an evil worm, has gone to

darkness out of heaven' CW 335-36; *an tas a rug der entent in myske oll prevas in bys formya preve henwis serpent* 'the Father deliberately among all reptiles in the world created a reptile called serpent' CW 495-98; *a vghe beast na preaf in bys* 'above beast or reptile in the world' CW 502; *prev nor* 'earthworm' AB: 82b; *malegas es dres pub tra ha dreis preif ha beast in bys* 'you are accursed above everything and above any reptile and animal in the world' CW 908-09; *te preif a wra cruppya* 'you, serpent, will crawl' CW 912; *henna o drog preyf heb nami* 'that was the evil serpent without doubt' CW 1919; *prêv* 'worm' AB: 18c, 172a.

Under *Vermis* 'worm' Lhuyd also gives †*prîv*. This he is quoting from OCV *prif* 'uermis' [worm]. The only attested form for 'worm, serpent' in BM is *preff*. Moreover in CW we find both *pryf* and *prif* on the one hand and *preve*, *preaf*, *preif*, *preyf* on the other. The idea that *pryv* is Middle Cornish and *prev* Late Cornish is difficult to sustain.

14.2 The variation of *y* and *e* in *lyver* 'book' and *tyller* 'place'

The SWF distinguishes Middle Cornish *lyver* 'book' from Late Cornish *lever* 'book'. It also distinguishes between Middle Cornish *tyller* 'place' and Late Cornish *teller* 'place'. In neither case is the distinction justified. I have already quoted above the attestations of these two etyma (6.2). I will cite them again here:

lyver ~ *lever* 'book'

lyver TH 6a, 42, 45a, 47a, 49a, SA 60; *lyfer* TH 45; *lyffer* TH 18a; *lyvyr* PC 95
lever TH 1, 46a x2, 47a x2, SA 61a, 62a, 63a, BF: 29 x2, 31 x2, LAM: 244 (Bodinar); *levar* PA 135d, SA 59, AB: 246a, 250b; *lefer* BM 1418, 1499.

tyller ~ *teller* 'place'

tyller PA 18a, 33a, 65a, 176a, 250b, OM 1551, 1992, 2045, PC 86, 105, 980, 1103, 1837, 2597, RD 270, TH 16, 42a, 43, 45, 47 x 3, BK 149; *tyllar* TH 6, 18, 29a, 42, 42a, 53a; *tillar* SA 65a, 66
teller PA 206d, OM 579, 939, 1095, 1823, 1909, 2275, 2795, PC 501, BM 629, 677, 1145, 2922, TH 2, 44; *pana deller* 'where' TH 47; *telhar* BF:25 x3, 29; *tellar* CW 866, 871, BF: 52.

It will be noticed that forms with *e*, i.e. *lever*, *levar*, *lefer* already occur in PA, BM, TH and SA. Further that *teller*, *tellar*, *telhar* 'place' is attested in PA, OM, PC, BM, TH and CW. There is no justification for the assertion that the *y*-forms are Middle Cornish and the *e*-forms belong exclusively to the later language.

14.3 Further alleged variations between Middle and Late Cornish forms

In the online SWF dictionary of the Academy Kernowek the verbal noun *krysi* 'to believe' is followed by a superscript M to signify that such a form is Middle Cornish. On the other hand the form *krejî* is followed by a superscript L to indicate that such a form is Late Cornish. The attestations of the traditional texts, however, do not bear out this schematized picture presented by the compilers of the SWF dictionary:

14.4 *Crysy*, *crejy*, etc. 'to believe'

crysy OM 1435, 1508, PC 2883, TH 38, 54a
crygy PC 1482, 1597, 1771, 2963, RD 7, 284, 482, 990, 1016, 1057, 1068, 1078, 1088, 1106, 1114, 1126, 1275, 1345, 1423, 1456, 1462, 1468, 1507, 1514, 1529, 1566, 1709, 2469; *kridzhi* AB: 48c, 52a, 231a.
cresy OM 233, 241, 1759, 1761, 1784, 2018, BM 834, 971, 4117, 4125, TH 1a, 9a, 19a, 20 x2, 21, 34, 37a, 50, 53, 53a, 54a x2, 55, 57, 58 x2; †*kresy* AB: 231a.
cregy TH 16a, SA 59, 65a, CW 638; *cregye* CW 1602, 2359; *the gregy* BK 130; *credzhi* AB: 52a.

It will be seen from the above that *crysy* is less common in the Middle Cornish texts than *crygy* (SWF **kryjî*). *Kridzhi* with *i* rather than *e* is Lhuyd's commonest form. Moreover *cresy* (SWF **kresî*) is also common in Middle Cornish. Most fatal of all for the SWF classification is that *cregy*, *cregye* (SWF *krejî*) are attested in TH, BK and CW, all texts that are generally considered Middle Cornish.

In order that the SWF dictionary should not give learners a false impression of the distribution of the word for 'to believe', the Middle and Late designation ought to be removed and all four forms *cresy*, *crysy*, *cryjy* and *crejy* allowed as legitimate variants.

14.5 *Dybry, debry* ‘to eat’

The Cornish for ‘to eat’ is attested as follows:

dybry OM 171, 231, 248, 264, 283, 386, 994, 2048, 2706, PC 625, 635, 671, 719, 812, 2632, TH 52a;
dybbry PA 43c, 87c, 173a, OM 168, 183, PC 47, BM 134, TH 3a, 4, 4a, 5, 51a, 52a, BK 343, 365;
dibbry TH 55, 55note, SA 64a, 66; *the thybbry* TH 3a, SA 64a; *the thybbry* SA 64a; *the thibbry*
SA 64a; *tha thybbry* SA 66a, CW 883; *3a thybbry* CW 2275; *ow tybbry* SA 65a; *dibre* ACB: E e 4
verso.
debry TH 4a; *debbry* CW 1813; *the thebbry* TH 2; *y thebbry* CW 836; *ye thebbrye* CW 845; *debre*
TWG: 15 x2, 16 x3, 20 x2; *dho debri* AB: 85a.

First of all it should be mentioned that *dybry* and *debry* are variants in the texts and as such resemble *lyver/lever*, *tyller/teller* and *crysy/cresy*. Since *y* and *e* alternate in disyllables when the stressed vowel is in an open syllable, we can assume with some confidence that the cluster *-br-* functions as a single consonant, and that the syllabification is *dy-bry/de-bry*.

The online SWF dictionary appears to believe that *dybri* (our *dybry*) is a Middle Cornish form, while *debri* (our *debry*) is exclusively Late Cornish. The attestations from the traditional language cited above show clearly that the distinction made by the SWF dictionary is without foundation. It is true that Lhuyd cites *dho debri* as the Cornish for ‘to eat’ but we also have to take into account the following Late Cornish examples:

Ne e le ge dibre ‘He cannot eat them’ AB: 244c; *Dibre morgi en mîz Mea, rag dho geil maw* ‘Eat a dog-fish in the month of May to make a boy’ ACB: E e 4 verso; *Dibre tabm dah hag eva badna* ‘To eat a good morsel and drink a drop’ LAM: 242.

The SWF dictionary needs to be corrected. *Dybri* and *debri* (better *dybry* and *debry*) can stand, but they cannot be described as Middle and Late Cornish respectively. They should both be allowed but simply as variants.

14.6 *Dysky, desky* ‘to learn, to teach’

The verbal noun is attested as follows:

dysky PA 176c, OM 1554, PC 36, 256, 1250, BM 13, 33, 60, 97, 381, 3300, TH 8a, 9, 14a x2, 18a,
19 x2, 20, 24, 27, 34a x2, 35a, 38 x3, 39, 42; *disky* RD 1959, TH 10, 20 x2, 21a, 31, 31a, 32; *the*
thisky TH 20; *the thisky* TH 11a., 17.
desky BM 49, 367, 651, 3752, 4020; *de thesky* BM 499; *deske* TWG: 36; *Deske tha vos daa* ACB: E
e 4 verso; *dho desga* AB: 55a; *deskey* LAM: 244 (Bodinar).

First it should be noted that there is clear evidence of alternation of *y* ~ *e* in the forms cited. This implies that the first syllable is open, i.e. that the cluster *-sk-* operates as a single consonant for the purposes of syllabification.

In the SWF online dictionary *dyski* is followed by superscript M to signify that it is a Middle Cornish variant; *deski* on the other hand is given a superscript L to indicate that it is a Late variant. Since, however *dysky* and *desky* both occur in *Beunans Meriasek*, this is an unwarranted assertion. *Dysky* and *desky* should both be allowed in the revived language, but as permitted variants, rather than chronologically conditioned.

14.7 *Pysy, pygy* ~ *pesy, pegy* ‘to pray’

There are four attested forms of this verbal noun:

pysy OM 1607, 2140, 2197, PC 37;
pygy PC 1013, 1044, PC 1162, 2090, RD 285, 444, 448, 1337, 1576, 1649, 1932; *dho pidzhy* AB:
231a; *dho pidzha* AB: 127c; *pidzha* AB: 270c.
pesy PA 53c, 54d, 62a, 65a, 72d, BM 404, 520, 537, 613, 707, 1470, 2138, 2141, 2174, 2339, 2420,
2506, 2556, 2725, 2998, 3186, 3359, 3440, 3475, 3638, 3800, 3845, 4128, 4276, 4288, 4425, 4461,
4554, 4561, TH 9a, 35;
pegy BK 133, 426, 2335, CW 2207

In the online SWF dictionary *pysi*, *pyji* are marked as Middle Cornish, while *pesi*, *peji* are marked as Late variants. This distinction is clearly false, given that *pesy* is the only form of the verbal noun in *Pascon agan Arluth*, the earliest long text in Middle Cornish. Further Lhuyd gives *pidzha* with late reduction of final *-y* to schwa, but

with *i/y* as the root vowel. The SWF dictionary is in need of revision here. *Pysy, pyjy,* and *pesy, pejy* are legitimate variants but no chronological distinction can be made among them.

14.8 The *y* ~ *e* variation ignored by the SWF

At 6.1, 6.2 above I point out with examples from the texts that in open syllables in disyllabic word *y* and *e* appear to be in free variation. The online SWF dictionary, as has been shown in the previous section, is usually very quick to draw a distinction of Middle Cornish versus Late Cornish in items in which *y* alternates with *e* as the stem vowel. Among the etyma that I cite with examples of both *y* and *e* in the root vowel one may cite: *bylen* ~ *belen* ‘wicked; wicked person’; *gwytha* ~ *gwetha* ‘to keep’; *scryfa, scryfys* ~ *screfa, screfys* ‘to write, written’; *spyrys* ~ *sperys* ‘spirit’; *tryga* ~ *trega* ‘to dwell’; *whylas* ~ *whelas* ‘to seek, to try’. Curiously, although the alternation of *y* with *e* in all these items is apparent in the texts, the online SWF dictionary ignores any such variation. Indeed it spells them all with *i* only in the root vowel. This gives an erroneous view of such etyma as they were written in traditional Cornish. In consequence the SWF dictionary will need to be emended as follows:

<i>bilen</i> ‘wicked; wicked person’	> <i>bylen, belen</i>
<i>gwytha</i> ‘to keep’	> <i>gwytha, gwetha</i>
<i>skryfa, skryfys</i> ‘to write; written’	> <i>scryfa, scryfys, screfa, screfys</i>
<i>tryga</i> ‘to dwell’	> <i>tryga, trega</i>
<i>hwilas</i> ‘to seek, to try’	> <i>whylas, whelas.</i>

The dictionary also gives *spyrys* ‘spirit’ only but does not mention *sperys*, although it is attested in PA, OM, BM, BK and CW. The dictionary should perhaps be emended on this point.

CHAPTER 15

An Authentic Orthography for Revived Cornish

15.1 Kernowek Standard – an Authentic Orthography

The Standard Written Form (SWF) was intended as an orthography to which all users of Cornish could subscribe and which would end the arguments since the 1980s concerning the spelling of the revived language. Unfortunately the SWF was designed without any contribution either from linguists or experts of writing systems. Indeed scholars were deliberately excluded from the process. As a result the SWF was devised by language enthusiasts and bears all the signs of having being produced without adequate knowledge either of the traditional language or of the problems involved in orthographical design. Five years after its publication the SWF was revised and the ensuing revisions rendered the system even less satisfactory than previously. As it stands the SWF is very flawed and is unlikely to gain universal acceptance. Thus instead of resolving problem of Cornish orthography, the SWF has merely served to postpone its resolution.

In my previous work, the *Cornish Consonantal System* (CCS) and in this work I have outlined ways in which the SWF is unsatisfactory. These flaws must be corrected if the SWF is ever to become the universal orthography for revived Cornish. At present fifteen years after the publication of the SWF many fluent Cornish speakers are refusing to use the SWF, not through animus or prejudice, but simply because they cannot in good faith use a system they know to be severely mistaken.

I prefer to use the orthography known as Standard Cornish (KS). This spelling system is recognizably similar to the SWF but it differs from it in a number of ways. It corrects the mistakes of the SWF outlined above. It attempts to be wholly phonetic, that is to say that the pronunciation of any word in KS is immediately apparent from the spelling of the word itself. KS also attempts as far as possible to use the orthographical conventions of the traditional Cornish texts themselves. Following Lhuyd, Jenner and Nance, KS, like the SWF, uses the graph *dh* to represent the voiced dental fricative in *dhodho* ‘to him’, *bedhaf* ‘I will be’, and *bledhen* ‘year’. Like Jenner, Nance and the SWF, KS uses *j* to represent the sound [dʒ] in *woja* ‘after’, *ujy* ‘is’, *kerejdedhek* ‘loving’, etc. Unlike the SWF, however, KS also uses diacritics to distinguish what would otherwise be ambiguous spellings. An observer outside the Cornish revival has written: ‘Kernowek Standard is well researched and possibly the best attempt at standardizing the conventions of the traditional corpus.’

It should not be thought that KS users are a tiny minority. Much more Cornish has been published in KS than in any other orthography, including the Holy Bible and wide range of other translations. KS versions of children’s books: *Pystrior Marthys Pow Öz* and *Pinocchio* respectively won the Gorseth’s Holyer an Gof awards in 2018 and 2019. The most comprehensive text book for learners *Desky Kernowek* is written in KS. This book was described by one reader as ‘the best grammar book that has ever been produced for the Cornish Language’. KS is also the orthography used in Jackson’s two learner’s dictionaries, *Gerlyver Kescows* and *Kescows Nebes Moy* and is the spelling system used on the comprehensive learners’ website skeulantavas.com.

In the pages below I list the many flaws in the SWF and suggest how they can be remedied. I also explain how KS avoids such mistakes.

15.2 Problems with the SWF

The problems with the SWF can be listed under six separate headings:

- 1) The SWF uses spelling conventions that are alien to the traditional language
- 2) The SWF spells in ways that do not agree with the phonology of Cornish
- 3) The SWF writes the same sound in different ways in different words
- 4) The SWF makes false distinctions between Middle and Late Cornish for which there is no evidence
- 5) The SWF fails to allow variant spellings when such variation is well attested in the traditional language
- 6) The SWF spells in ways that are ambiguous and do not give the reader sufficient evidence to pronounce words correctly.

Next we can examine these headings in order and observe how KS deals with any problems.

Inauthentic spelling conventions in the SWF

15.2 The use of <k>

We have seen at 12.3 above that the SWF (Main Form) writes *k* before back vowels, e.g. *kath* ‘cat’, *koth* ‘old’ and *kuv* ‘kind.’ The SWF (Main Form) also uses *k* before *l* and *r*, e.g. *klav* ‘sick’ and *krev* ‘strong.’ These are

'Main Form' spellings only. The traditional forms use *c* in all the above cases. Because KS is designed to be an authentic and traditional spelling system, it too uses *c* before back vowels, *l* and *r*: KS therefore writes *cath* 'cat', *coth* 'old', *cuv* 'kind', *clāv* and *crev*. For the diacritic in *clāv* see 16.1 C 3 below.

15.4 The use of <kw>

We have seen at 12.4 above that there is only one example of *kw* in the entire corpus of traditional Cornish where it occurs after *s* in *skwych* 'jerk' PC 2595. There are also two examples of *sku-* in the corpus, *skuerdye* PC 2845 and *skuat* PC 1286. Otherwise the initial in the Cornish for 'question' for example, is always written *qu* in the texts. Similarly the the word for 'tired' is written *sqyuth* in the texts, where it occurs 11 times. Since, however, in the collocation *qu* the second element is a semi-vowel rather than a vowel, KS adopts the graph <qw>. This is common in CW where it occurs in *mar qwra* 'if he does', *mar qwrêta* 'if you do', *dysqwethes* 'to show', *bythqwath* 'ever', *sqwyth* 'tired', and *qwyck* 'quick'. Notice incidentally that Lhuyd also writes *sqwattyow goz dillaz* 'rend your garments' (ACB: G g 4).

Thus KS rejects the non-traditional graph *kw* and *skw* and instead uses *qw* and *sqw*, for example in *bythqweth* 'ever', *qweth* 'cloth', *mar qwra* 'if he does', *mar qwrêta* 'if thou dost', *qwestyon* 'question', *reqwÿya* 'to require', *sqwattya* 'to hit', *sqwerdya* 'to tear', *sqwith* 'tired' and *sqwych* 'jerk'.

15.5 The use of <hw>

We have seen at 12.5 above that <hw> is alien to the Cornish scribal tradition. Lhuyd wrote <hu> for initial voiceless w [w upside down] and Robert Williams used <hw> for a few words from Lhuyd in his lexicon of 1865. The SWF itself recognizes that <hw> is not traditional, because <hw> is written only the Main Form. The Traditional Form, following the Cornish scribes, Jenner and Nance, writes the traditional <wh>. Naturally because it is based on the Cornish scribal tradition, Kernowek Standard also writes *wh-*, for example in *whaus* 'desire', *wharth* 'laugh', *wherthyn* 'to laugh', *wharvos* 'to happen', *wharvedhyans* 'happening, event', *whath* 'still, yet', *whedhel* 'story', *whel* 'work', *whesa* 'to perspire', *whës*, *whÿs* 'sweat', *whetha* 'to blow', *whylas*, *whelas* 'to seek', etc. These spellings are in harmony with the vast majority of works written in revived Cornish as well as being a link with the texts themselves from *Pascon agan Arluth* to the *Creation of the World* and thereafter.

15.6 The use of *o* for *u*.

In the SWF spelling <u> can mean either [u] or [y] and there is no way to decide which is which. KS on the other hand distinguishes the two sounds by means of diacritics (see 16.1 B 3 below). Frequently in the traditional texts short *u* alternates with short *o*, for example: *cuske* 'to sleep' OM 2047 ~ *cosca* BM 4189; *puscas* 'fish' TH 34 ~ *poscas* LAM: 244 (Bodinar); *tulla* 'to deceive' CW 886, 893 ~ *tolla* BM 3248, BK 2955. On occasion the SWF uses *o* in words of this kind to avoid ambiguity; thus the SWF writes *koska* 'to sleep', *tolla* 'to deceive'. It writes *u* however in *puskes* 'fish', a spelling which is phonetically ambiguous. Is it [pɔskəs] or [piskəs]?

There are also occasions when the SWF uses *o* to avoid ambiguity when such a spelling is illegitimate. The form *convethes* in the texts is confined to the *Creation of the World* and ACB. Nance used it for 'to understand.' Its actual sense, however, corroborated by the forms *canfethys* and *canfethis* in BK 2795, 329 is 'to perceive' rather than 'to understand'. Lhuyd under *Intelligo* [I understand] suggests *adzhan*, a late form of *aswon* 'to know, to recognize'. The only unambiguous word for 'to understand' in traditional Cornish is the English borrowing *understondya*. The attested forms of this word and its derivatives are:

'to understand', etc.

vnderstondia 'to understand' TH 1a x4, 10 x2, 11a, 12, 13a, 17a x2, 24a, 28a x 2, 30a, 32a, 33a, 36, 45a, 51, 53a; *vnderstondya* TH 8a, 34a, 36; *vnderstandya* SA 65a; *vnderstondys* 'understood' TH 14; *wondyrstondia* 'to understand'; *vnderstondiis* 'understood' TH 18; *vnderstandis* 'understood' SA 64, 65; *camvnderstondia* 'to misunderstand' TH 18; *understanding* 'understanding' TH 37; *vnderstonding* 'understanding' TH 1a, 3, 5 x2, 12 x2, 13a, 14 x2, 17, 18, 18a, 26a, 29a, 30a, 32, 36, 36a, 51a, 53; *vnderstandyng* 'understanding' SA 64;

The initial <v> in the above forms is presumably to avoid the confusion of minims that would occur with *under-*. Two things are to be noted here. First that the words *understondya*, *understandya* and *understondyng*, *understandyng* are by no means marginal in TH and SA. On the contrary they are an essential part of the vocabulary of both texts. Their importance lies in the fact that there was no native word that really conveyed adequately the senses 'to understand' and 'understanding'. The second point to notice is this: apart from the curious *wondyrstondia* at TH 1, which seems to have been contaminated by the English word *wonder*, none of the attested forms has *o* in the initial syllable. The SWF, however, spells this word **onderstondya*, a form without

warrant in the traditional texts. It should be spelt *understondya* in the revived language and a method devised to make such a spelling unambiguous (see below).

The Cornish word *cussya* ‘to cuss’ has been borrowed from English *cuss*, itself a colloquial variant of *curse*. In traditional Cornish the word is attested only with *u* as its stressed vowel:

lene a wherewder ha paris the cussia ha ty ‘full of bitterness and read to curse and to swear’ TH 7a; *me a yll cussya henna* ‘I may curse that’ CW 788; *cushez yw an nore rãg tha crengah* ‘cursed is the earth because of you’ TWG: 18.

Because it does not want this word to be pronounced with [y] or [i] as the stressed vowel, the SWF spells it as *kossya*, a form without warrant in traditional Cornish.

SWF spellings that misrepresent the sounds of Cornish

15.7 Final *-v* in the SWF

We have seen above that when following an unstressed vowel final *v* should not be written, but rather *f*. This means that at the moment the SWF recommends spellings that do not adequately represent the sound system of the language. The SWF, therefore, needs to be emended as follows:

- 1) the first person singular of prepositional pronouns should end in *-f* rather than *-v*, e.g. *ahanav* > *ahanaf*, *a-ughov* > *a-uhof*, *dredhov* > *dredhof*, *dresov* > *dresof*, *dheragov* > *dheragof*, *dhyworthiv* > *dhyworthyf*, *genev* > *genef*, *hebov* > *hebof*, *orthiv* > *orthyf*, *ragov* > *ragof*, *orthiv* > *orthyf* and *yn dannov* > *yn dannof*.
- 2) the first person singular of the present-future of verbs should end in *-f* rather than *-v*, e.g. *bedhav* > *bedhaf*, *esov* > *esof*, *carav* > *caraf*, *clewav* > *clewaf*, *danvonav* > *danvonaf*, *gallav* > *gallaf*, *golghav* > *golghaf*, *lavarav* > *lavaraf*, *skrivav* > *scryfaf*, etc.
- 3) since the prefix *gor-* is stressed *gorsav* should be respelt *gorsaf*.
- 4) the word *oliv* ‘olive’ should be spelt *olyf*. See 12.8 above. Similarly *korev* ‘ale’ should be emended to *coref*.

15.8 Final *-dh* in the SWF

When following an unstressed vowel final *dh* should not be written, but rather *th*. At present the SWF spells in ways that do not accurately reflect the phonology of Cornish. The SWF therefore needs to be emended as follows:

- 1) plurals and abstract nouns in *-edh*, *-ydh* should be respelt as follows: *abosteledh* > *abosteletth*, *bugeledh* > *bugeletth*, *brederedh* > *bredereth*, *eledh* > *eleth*, *gwagedh* > *gwageth*, *myghternedh* > *myghterneth*, *myternedh*, *wherydh* > *wheryth*
- 2) since the dual prefix is stressed, *diwscodh* should become *dywscoth*.
- 3) since the prefix *gor-* is stressed, *gorsedh* should be written and pronounced *gorseth*.

15.9 Medial *-gh-* in the SWF

We saw at 12.19 that the writers of traditional Cornish preferred to write *gh* at the end of a syllable but *h* at the beginning. KS follows them in this matter. The SWF like Unified Cornish is unaware of the distinction. The SWF should therefore be emended and thus write: *flogh* ‘child’ but *flehes* ‘children’; *yagh* ‘healthy’ but *yehes* ‘health’; *pegh* ‘sin’ but *peha* ‘to sin’; *troggh* ‘cut’ but *trehy* ‘to cut’, *nagh* ‘denial’ but *naha* ‘to deny’. The SWF should also be careful to write *golhy* ‘to wash’ but *golgh* ‘washes; wash!’ and *kerthes* ‘to fetch’ but *kergh* ‘fetches; fetch!’

15.10 *ks* in the SWF

The SWF writes *eksamnya* ‘to examine’, *eksilya* ‘to exile’ and *eksistya* ‘to exist’. All three etyma have been borrowed from English and in all three the main stress occurs in the syllable following *eks-*. In English in the verbs *examine* and *exist*, because the syllable *ex-* occurs before the stress, the *x* is not pronounced [ks] but rather [gz]. We can be quite sure that Cornish speakers will imitate their native English in this matter and pronounce both Cornish verbs with [gz] rather than [ks]. Unfortunately the SWF spelling implies a pronunciation with [ks]. This means that the SWF spelling fails to represent the pronunciation accurately. Traditional Cornish uses <x> both before the stress and after it, i.e. the graph <x> can represent both [ks] and [gz]. Here are some examples of *x* before the stress:

boxow blows 'PA 120d; *vexijs* vexed 'BM 2630; *agys vexia* to vex you 'TH 22; *an Saxens* the Saxons 'BK 3230.

Here are some examples from the texts where <x> is written after the stress and is therefore to be pronounced [gz]. The list is not exhaustive.

exaltya to exalt'

y karsen y exaltya I should like to exalt him 'BM 15; *Arluth henna yv gwrys da y exaltye yredy* 'Lord, that is well done, to exalt him indeed 'BM 17-9; *del ma guelheven an pov orth y exaltya purdek* 'as the governors of the land exalting him very nicely 'BM 2797-98; *ny re duth oma adre in govenek exaltye meryasek* 'we have come here from home in the hope of exalting Meriasek 'BM 2899-901; *lemmen der the welder exaltijs the reelder ty yv* 'now through your humility you have been exalted to nobility 'BM 2941-43; *eff a rug exaltia y mester crist* he exalted his master Christ 'TH 8; *ha the exaltia, glorifia, presia, ha honora Du vth pub tra* 'and to exalt, glorify, praise and honour God above all things 'TH 10; *ty a ve exaltys breyf* 'you were finely exalted 'CW 229 *a thorn dew y festa gwryes ynweth ganso exaltys* 'you were made by God's hand; also exalted by him 'CW 309-10; *yth of grevys y wellas eve exaltys* I am grieved to see him exalted 'CW 445-46; *mar mynta bos exaltys* if you wish to be exalted 'CW 651; *ny vynsan awos neb tra yn ban tha vos exaltys* I should not like for anything that you should be exalted 'CW 700-01.

examnya to examine'

me a vyn y examyne I will examine him 'PC 389; *me a vyn y examne* I will examine him 'PC 1210; *dun warbarth th y examnye* let's go together to examine him 'PC 1451; *me a vyn yn pryueh whet vnwyth y examnye* I will yet examine him once privately 'PC 1466-67; *me a fyn y examnye* I will examine him 'PC 2149; *y examnye my a wra* I will examine him 'PC 2176; *whath na rens ef examnya den vith arell* yet let him not examine anyone else 'TH 23a; *rag examyna ha trya agan honyn* to examine and test ourselves 'TH 54; *ty chet gwraf tha examnya* you, fellow, I will examine you 'CW 302.

exortya to exhort'

ow exortya oll an bobyll exhorting all the people 'TH 1; *hemma ew pelha inweth thegys exortya* why 'this also is to exhort you further 'TH 5; *finally helma ew rag agys exortya why* finally this is to exhort you 'TH 5; *why a well fatel rug pedyr exortya pub den oll* 'you see that St Peter exhorted everybody 'TH 18; *yma ynweth S paull ow scriffa the timothe hay exortya eff* 'St Paul writes to Timothy and exhorts him 'TH 18a; *ow exortya y yskerens ha ow rebukya aga fautes* 'exhorting his enemies and rebuking their faults 'TH 22a; *Eff a commondias Tite the exortya ha rebukya* 'He commanded Titus to exhort and rebuke 'TH 33; *Ima omma ow exortia ha ow commondya* 'He is here exhorting and commanding 'TH 37; *Me a vyn agys exortya why the remembra* I will exhort you to remember 'TH 46; *hemma ew thegys exortia why* this is to exhort you 'TH 51.

exampyl example

dre exampyll a henna 'by example of this 'TH 5; *Dre an kyth exampil ma* 'By this same example 'TH 6; *merkyow an exampill ma in ta* 'note well this example 'TH 6a; *warlerth an exemplys a dus tha* 'following the examples of virtuous men 'TH 10; *an very gyyrow ha exampill agan Savioure Jhesu crist* 'TH 21; *dre an examples a crist y honyn* 'through the examples of Christ himself 'TH 23; *dre aga teball exemplis ha gwrythyans* 'by their evil examples and behaviour 'TH 25; *dre an exampill ma* 'by mean of this example 'TH 39; *Ha mar sowhy desyrus the gafus exampill in matyr ma* 'and if you wish to get an example in this matter 'TH 49a; *In oll an kith examples* 'in all the same examples 'TH 56a; *Na esyn vsya argumentys mas vsya exampels Christ* 'Let us not use examples but use the examples of Christ 'SA 61a.

Alexander Alexander'

Hymmenyus ha Alexander 'Hymenius and Alexander 'TH 39

There are no examples in the texts of **eksaltya*, **eksamnya*, **eksortya*, **eksampyl* or **Aleksander*. An authentic orthography and one that represented the phonology accurately, would spell all these items with *x*. Such a spelling would allow a voiced pronunciation.

15.11 ‘Silver’ in Cornish

The SWF dictionary incorrectly tells us that *arghans* means ‘silver, money’. The word is syllabified *ar-hans* and *h* is at the beginning of a syllable; in which case it should be written *arhans*. The spelling *arghans* is certainly attested three times, but *arhans* is twice as common. Moreover the spellings *arans* OM 2100 and *arrance* BF: 38 are indications that from an early period the segment after *r* was absorbed into the *r* to give a voiceless [rh]. Such a pronunciation can be derived from the spelling <arhans>. Furthermore it should be noted that *arhans* in the traditional texts does not mean ‘money’; *arhans* means ‘silver’ only. Thus the SWF entry *arghans* ‘silver, money’ should be emended to *arhans* ‘silver’.

15.12 ‘Small’ in the SWF

In the SWF the default word for ‘small’ is **byghan*. This form is not attested anywhere in the traditional texts. At 12.21 above I cite all the attested forms of this word in the Cornish texts. **Byghan* is not one of them, although *beghan* occurs twice in PA. The SWF gives *bian* as a Late form of the word. It can hardly be described as ‘Late’ given that it occurs as *byan* and *byen* in *Origo Mundi*, *Passio Christi*, *Resurrexio Domini* and *Beunans Meriasek*. <*bian*> should be the preferred form of this word for both varieties of Cornish.

15.13 ‘Need’ in Cornish

In the texts ‘need’ is *ethom* or *othem*, *otham*. Its Breton congener is written *ezhomm* by Hémon which implies that the Cornish word had medial /θ/ rather than /ð/. The evidence of the Breton dialects is uncertain. Pedersen, as we have seen at 12.16 above compared the word with Irish *adamna* ‘hunger.’ *Adamna*, however, is a ghost-word. There is strong evidence in Cornish, however, that the medial consonant in this word was indeed /θ/. In the version of the Ten Commandments which William Gwavas got from John Boson we find *heb ortham* ‘needlessly, in vain’ written twice (BF: 51). *Ortham* is attested twice again in the Gwavas Manuscript, folio 106r. *Ortham* does not seem to be a mistake or misprint. It is a rather a variant of *otham* reshaped by popular etymology. *Ortham* itself means ‘upon me’ <*orthaf-na*. Although *orthama*, *ortham* is not attested, its equivalent *ortha vee*, *ortha vy* occurs at CW 193 and 214. Presumably need was understood as something which comes ‘upon me’ and *otham* was thus reshaped as *ortham*. The preposition *orth* and its pronominal forms all have /rθ/. If the form *ortham* ‘need’ is an analogical variant of *otham* on the basis of *orthama* ‘on me’, then *otham* itself must have contained the voiceless fricative /θ/, otherwise the analogical form *ortham* would not have suggested itself. This means quite simply that the Cornish for ‘need’ was *othem*, *otham* or *ethom*. SWF has *edhom*, *odhom*. This should be emended to *ethom*, *othom*. *Ethom*, *othom* are the forms used by Nance in Unified Cornish.

15.14 The Cornish for ‘John’

Some proponents of the SWF use the form **Yowan* for ‘John.’ It should be pointed out that **Yowan* is a spurious form attested nowhere in traditional Cornish. The nearest we have is in *Golowan* ‘Midsummer, the Feast of St John’ <*Golowan*. In this one word we have a survival of the name taken directly from Latin *Iohannis*. Elsewhere the name is *Jowan*, *Johan*, *Jooan*, *Dzhûan* all with an initial *J* [dʒ]. This was borrowed into Cornish after the Norman Conquest from the French *Jouen* ‘John’, a variant of *Jean*. The first bearer of the name John in the Scriptures is John the Baptist and his name is well attested in the Cornish texts:

Havel o ov corthy[a] crist prest orth sen iowen baptyst ‘He was in worshipping Christ indeed like St John the Baptist’ BM 4449-500; *S. Johan baptist a ve benegas in breis y van* ‘St John the Baptist was blessed in his mother’s womb’ TH 8; *in mar ver dell rug S. Johan baptist gyllwall an scribis han pharases in iii-a chapter a mathew, An broud a neddras* ‘in as much as St John the Baptist called the scribes and the pharisees in the third chapter of Matthew, the brood of vipers’ TH 29a; *Ha y a leveris, Ran, Jowan baptist, ran helyas, ran Jheremyas, po onyn an prophetes* ‘And they said, Some John the Baptist, some Elijah, some Jeremiah or one of the prophets’ TH44.

* *Yowan* is a form that was never part of the Cornish lexicon. ‘John’ is *Jowan* in Cornish.

Problems with *eu* in the SWF

15.15 **seulabrys*, **seuladhydh*

The SWF has a tendency to use the graph <eu> on etymological grounds, when there is no evidence at all for it in the traditional texts. We have seen at 9.1 that the SWF spells ‘already’ as **seulabrys*, **seulabres*. We have also seen that the following /rounded the preceding vowel to *o* and that the only attestations of this word in the texts are *solabrys*, *solabres*. ‘Already’ in Cornish should be spelt *solabrys* or *solabres*. The same revision should also be made with the adverb *seuladhydh*, *seuladhedh* ‘long since’. Since no attested form exhibits *eu* in the first syllable, but *o* only, the word would be more authentic if it were spelt *soladhydh*, *soladhedh*.

15.16 ‘Tuesday’ and ‘March’ in the SWF

In the SWF ‘Tuesday’ is spelt **Meurth*, **dy’Meurth*. We have seen at 13.13 above that there is no evidence anywhere for *eu* in this word. The stressed vowel is always *e*. An authentic spelling for ‘Tuesday’ therefore would be *Merth*, *de Merth* (for the inauthentic prefix **dy’* in the names of days of the week, see 5.19).

‘March’, the month, is **Meurth*, *mis Meurth* in the SWF. As we have seen at 13.13 above, the form **Meurth* with *eu* is nowhere attested. The attested vowel is always *e*. The month of ‘March’ in Cornish should be written *Merth* or *mis Merth*.

15.17 ‘To bury’ in Cornish

We have seen at 13.14 above that the attested forms of the verb ‘to bury’ are *anclthyas*, *anclthyes*, *enclthyes* and *anclthias*. The second stressed syllable is always *e* in the texts. Oddly the SWF spells this word *ynkleudhyas* with *eu* as the stressed vowel. The SWF should be emended in this matter and spell ‘to bury’ as *yncledyas* or *encledyas*.

15.18 ‘Pound’ in Cornish

The SWF writes the word for ‘pound’ as **peuns*. This is serious mistake. As we saw at 13.17 above there never was *eu* in this word. ‘Pound’ in traditional Cornish is *puns* or *pens*. It should be written <puns> or <pens> in the SWF.

15.19 Adjectival *-el* in the SWF

We have seen above that the SWF dictionary contains numerous neologisms ending in the alleged adjectival ending *-el*, e.g. *denel* ‘human’, *fysegel* ‘physical’, *gonisogethel* ‘cultural’, *kerghynedhel* ‘environmental’, *kymygiethel* ‘chemical’ and *mammel* ‘maternal’. None of these coinages is really satisfactory since the suffix *-el* is unknown in traditional Cornish. The suffix *-yl* does occur in traditional Cornish, but only in *skentyl* ‘wise’. *Skentyl* itself is a compound of *skians* ‘knowledge, wisdom’ and *-yl* but the *l* in the suffix strengthened the cluster *-nt-* so that it was not assimilated. There is an argument for using *-yl* very sparingly in the revived language. There is no reason to use *-el*.

Different spellings for the same sound in the SWF

15.20 Final unstressed *-in* in the SWF

The Cornish for ‘Latin’ is attested in traditional Cornish as *laten*, *Latten* and *latyn* (7.19). This the SWF spells as *Latin*. The Cornish for ‘morning’ is attested as *mytyn*, *metyn*, *metten* and *mettin*. This the SWF spells *myttin*. The word for ‘time’ is spelt *termyn*, *termen* and *termin* in the texts (see 7.19). The SWF spells the word *termyn*. It is difficult to see what criteria are used in the SWF to determine whether a word should have final *-yn* or *-in*. The matter is all the more perplexing when it is clear that the SWF considers unstressed *-in* and *-yn* to be identical in pronunciation. Thus ‘we see’ is *gwelyn* in the SWF, which is a perfect rhyme for *melin* ‘mill’.

Since final unstressed *-yn* and *-in* are identical in pronunciation, they should be spelt in the same way. SWF forms like *Latin* and *myttin* should be emended to *Latyn* and *mytyn*. Not only are *Latyn* and *mytyn* attested forms, they have long been used in Unified Cornish.

15.21 Final unstressed *-iv* in the SWF

We have seen that the final segment in the SWF word *oliv* ‘olive’ would be more authentic if it were spelt with a final *-l*. The preceding vowel *i* <i> is also problematic, since it is from the phonetic point of view identical with *y*. The same can be said for such SWF spellings as *dhyworthiv* ‘from me’ and *orthiv* ‘against me’. Not only is the final consonant mistaken, but the preceding vowel is written as *i* when it is identical in

pronunciation with *y*. The SWF should be emended at this point and *dhyworthiv* and *orthiv* should be emended to *dhyworthyf* and *orthyf* respectively. Both forms are familiar to Cornish students from Unified Cornish.

15.22 Final *-i* in verbal nouns and plurals

At 7.4 above I discuss the origin of final *-i* in verbal nouns. I show that final *-i* in verbal nouns began with Lhuyd and is not a phenomenon noted in the traditional texts of Middle Cornish. Moreover by the Late Cornish period final *-y* has been reduced to schwa and appears as *-e* or *-a*. There is therefore no justification for such spellings as *dybri/debri*, *dyski/deski*, *ygeri*, *golghi*, *gorthebi*, *kelli*, *prederi*, *synsi*, *terri* and *tybi*. A more authentic orthography would spell them as they are attested in the texts, i.e. as *dybry/debry*, *dysky*, *desky*, *ygery*, *golghy*, *gortheby*, *kelly*, *predery*, *synsy*, *terry* and *tyby*. Apart from *ygery* these are the spellings used in KS. With the exception of *golghy*, they are already familiar to users of Unified Cornish.

At 7.5 above I point out that the plural suffix in the Middle Cornish texts is *-y* rather than *-i*. There are two Middle Cornish plurals in *-i* (*mestrygi*, *servysi* in *Passio Christi*). Otherwise the authentic spellings invariably have final *-y*. This should be imitated by the SWF, in which case the following spellings, for example, should be adopted: *arlydhy*, *castylly*, *denledhysy*, *esely*, *gwandresy*, *gwelyny*, *Gwydhyly*, *gwythysy/gwethysy*, *kernysy*, *mestrysy/mestryjy*, *mowysy*, *porhelly*, *rewlysy*, *servysy/servyjy* and *trehysy*.

15.22 The prefix *dy-* in the SWF

At 7.22 above I list the attestations of the prefix *dy-* in the texts. In some the prefix is stressed, e.g. *dyfen*, *dyflam*, *dyflas*, *dyfretth*, *dygnas*, etc. In others the prefix is before the stress, e.g. *dybenna*, *dyfennys*, *dyflasa*, *dyfuna*, etc. In the traditional texts the prefix is mostly *dy-*. In some cases, however, the prefix appears as *de-*, e.g. *debynnys*, *defen*, *defennys*, *deflam*, *denatar*, *desquethes*. Quite clearly the vowel of *dy-*, *de-* is short and the alternation *y* ~ *e* is one that we have noticed elsewhere. Since the prefix is spelt *dy-* alternating with *de-* and since it is almost always spelt either *dy-* or *de-* in the traditional texts, there can be no reason for writing *di-*. The following forms are to be recommended for the SWF: *dybenna*, *dyblans*, *dyfen*, *dyfennys*, *dyfeth*, *dyfretth*, *dyflam*, *dyflas*, *dyflasa*, *dyfun*, *dyfuna*, *dyfygya*, *dyclos*, *dyglon*, *dygnas*, *dynatur*, *dyscryjans*, *dyscryjyk*, *dyscudha*, *dysqwedhyans*, *dysqwedhes*, *dyveth*, *dyvotter* and *dyvynya*.

False distinctions made between Middle and Late forms in the SWF

15.23 Monosyllables in *y* and *e*

We have seen above (12.23) that the compilers of the online SWF dictionary are aware of the alternation *y* ~ *e* in monosyllables. We have also seen that they assert the *y*-forms are Middle Cornish and the *e*-forms are Late Cornish. By examining the attestation of such items in the traditional texts, we have seen that the SWF dictionary's claims are false. The alternation pairs examined above are *brys* ~ *bres* 'mind, intention', *brys* ~ *bres* 'womb', *bys* ~ *bes* 'world', *dydh* ~ *dedh* 'day', *gwydh* ~ *gwedh* 'trees', *hwys* (*whys*) ~ *hwes* (*whes*) 'sweat', *prys* ~ *pres* 'time, occasion' and *pryv* ~ *prev* 'worm, reptile'. The distribution of these differing forms in the traditional language indicates quite clearly that they cannot be classified as chronological variants.

It follows that the SWF dictionary should be emended and the claim that *y*-forms are Middle Cornish and *e*-forms Late Cornish must be revised; *e*-forms are attested in Middle Cornish.

It might also be wise to mark such monosyllables in such a way that readers and speakers realize that either pronunciation is possible. Standard Cornish does just this by the use of diacritics (see 16.1 A below).

15.24 'Language' in Cornish

We have seen above (12.23) that the online SWF dictionary distinguished between *yeth* 'language', which it designates Middle Cornish, and the Late Cornish variant *eth*. This distinction is invalid. The etymon in question is attested only in Tregear's homilies where it appears five times and is invariably spelt *eyth*. The putative distinction between *yeth* and *eth* cannot be allowed to stand.

The same unjustified distinction is drawn by the SWF dictionary between Middle Cornish *yeghes* and Late Cornish *eghes*. As mentioned above at 12.23 *yeghes* would be a better spelling for this word.

KS deals with *yeth* and *yeghes* by means of diacritics (see 16.1 C 4 below).

12.25 'Book' and 'place' in the SWF

Handbooks of the SWF assert that *lyver* 'book' is a Middle Cornish form and *lever* a Late Cornish one. This claim is demonstrably false, since forms with *e* (*lever*, *levar*, *lefer*) are more common in the Middle Cornish

sources than forms with *y* (see 6.2). Similarly advocates of the SWF assert that *tyller* ‘place’ is Middle Cornish while *teller* is Late Cornish. Again the claim is difficult to sustain. The two forms, *tyller* and *teller*, are both found in *Pascon agan Arluth*, *Origo Mundi*, *Passio Christi*, *Beunans Meriasek* and Tregear’s homilies. Clearly the variants were used concurrently in the Middle Cornish period. The distinction made by the proponents of the SWF and repeated in the online SWF dictionary should be revised.

12.26 Verbs designated as chronological variants in the SWF dictionary

The online SWF dictionary asserts that *krysi/kryji* ‘to believe’ are Middle Cornish forms whereas *kresi/kreji* are Late Cornish. The evidence of the texts does not support this contention (see 14.4 above). The online dictionary further claims that *pysi/pyji* ‘to pray’ are Middle Cornish forms while *pesi/peji* are Late Cornish. Again the evidence of the texts renders this claim untenable. The same distinction is made in the online SWF dictionary between *dybri* ‘to eat’ and *debri*, and between *dyski* ‘to learn, to teach’ and *deski*. In neither case does the evidence of the texts support the distinction.

As we have seen above initial *krysi/kryji* and *kresi/kreji* are inauthentic spellings. It would be better to spell these verbs *crysy/cryji* and *cresy/creji*. The *y*-forms and *e*-forms are contemporaneous variants and ought to be described as such. So also *pysy/pyji* and *pesy/peji* should be described as allowable but contemporaneous variants. The same can also be said for *dybry/debry* and *dysky/desky*.

15.27 ‘Cornish’ in Cornish

The online SWF dictionary gives both *Kernewek* and *Kernowek* for ‘Cornish language’. According to the dictionary, *Kernewek* is the Middle Cornish form whereas *Kernowek* is Late Cornish. There is no evidence at all for any such distinction. We have seen at 5.6 above the earliest attested form is *Cornowok* from 1572. All the attested forms thereafter have either *-o-* or *-u-* in the second syllable. Jenner wrote *Kernûak*. The form **Kernewek* is not attested in traditional Cornish. It was first so spelt by Nance on the basis of **Cernewec*, a spelling invented by Robert Williams for his *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* of 1865. Although **Kernewek* has been widely used since the publication of Nance’s *Cornish for All* in 1929, it is unjustified and should really be discontinued. At the very least the SWF dictionary should remove the references to Middle and Late Cornish and should make the reader aware that **Kernewek* is a hypothetical and unattested form.

Variations in the texts that are ignored by the SWF dictionary

15.28 The alternation *y* ~ *e* ignored in the SWF

We have seen that the online SWF dictionary without much evidence distinguishes as chronological variants *y*-forms from *e*-forms in *lyver/lever*, *tyller/teller*, *krysi/kresy*, *pysi/pesi*, *dybri/debri* and *dyski/debri*. Curiously, the SWF spells the word *spyrys*, but the online dictionary makes no mention of the form *sperys*, *speris*, although it is attested in *Pascon agan Arluth*, *Origo Mundi*, *Beunans Meriasek*, *Bewnans Ke* and the *Creation of the World*. This is a remarkable omission.

Even more curious is the failure of the dictionary to mention that the Cornish verbs ‘to seek’, ‘to dwell’, ‘to keep’ and ‘to write’ are attested in the texts with both *y*-forms and *e*-forms (for the attestations see 6.1 above). The dictionary gives only *hwilas*, *triga*, *gwitha* and *skrifā*, even though the evidence of the traditional Cornish texts indicates that a more authentic spelling for these verbal nouns would be *whylas/whelas*, *tryga/trega*, *gwytha/gwetha* and *scryfā/screfā*. Furthermore the dictionary fails to notice that there are attested forms *bylen* and *belen* ‘wicked; wicked person,’ since the dictionary cites *bilen* only, a form that is unattested.

15.29 Initial *ye-* ~ *e-* ignored in the SWF dictionary

The online SWF dictionary gives *yeyn* ‘cold’ of course. It does not seem aware, however, that a variant without initial <y> is attested as *eyn* twice in *Pascon agan Arluth* and as *yne* once in *Beunans Meriasek* (see 12.25 above). The dictionary should be emended here to include the *eyn* variant.

The online SWF dictionary gives both *yeunadow* ‘craving, yearning’ and *yeuni* ‘to yearn’. The stressed vowel here is problematic, since the digraph *eu* represent [œ], but the required diphthong is [ew]. Oddly enough the dictionary is not apparently aware that variants *ewnadow* and *ewny* without initial *y-* are also attested. In *Beunans Meriasek* we read:

gothvos ynweth decernya
omma ynter drok ha da
yv ov ewnadow pur vr
 ‘to be able also to discern

here between evil and good
is my yearning at all times 'BM 28-d30

Unadow 'yearning, desire' is also attested no fewer than six times in *Bewnans Ke* and the verbal noun *ewny*, written <*uny*> occurs four times in the same play (see 12.23 above).

15.30 The Cornish for 'Jew'

As mentioned above the online SWF dictionary distinguishes between Middle Cornish *yeth* 'language' and *yeghes* 'health' and Late Cornish *eth* and *eghes*. The distinction made by the dictionary is not supported by the texts. The dictionary on the other hand gives both *Yedhow* and *Edhow* 'Jew.' It does not suggest that *Edhow* is a Late Cornish form, presumably because the compilers are aware that *Edhow*, in the form *e3ow* is already attested five times in *Pascon agan Arluth*. A form with initial *y*, *yethow* on the other hand occurs at PC 2003 and 2027. This presents us with something of a conundrum. If the compilers of the SWF dictionary are aware that the phonetic variation *Yedhow/Edhow* is already present in Middle Cornish, it is odd that they believe that the identical variation in *yeth/eth* and *yeghes/eghes* is a difference between Middle and Late Cornish. It is even more curious that they are apparently unaware of the *yeyn/eyn* variation nor do they seem to be aware that **yeunadow* appears as *ewnadow* in *Beunans Meriasek* and *unadow* in *Bewnans Ke*.

15.31 Preocclusion

We have seen at 12.15 above that SWF is ambiguous with respect to pre-occlusion. The SWF allows pre-occlusion. For example the SWF writes *penn* as a Middle Cornish form and *pedn* as a Late Cornish one. From this one would be forgiven for concluding that when the SWF writes a double *-nn* after a stressed vowel, that there is a pre-occluded equivalent with *-dn*. Unfortunately this is not so. The SWF, for instance writes the following:

A

bronn 'breast': pre-occluded form *brodn*

gonn 'gun': pre-occluded form *godn*

lonn 'bullock' pre-occluded form *lodn*

gonn 'I know': a pre-occluded form does not occur.

B

glann 'bank': pre-occluded form *gladn*

gwann 'weak': pre-occluded form *gwadn*

splann 'bright': pre-occluded form *spladn*

mann 'nothing, zero': a pre-occluded form does not occur.

C

gwynn 'white': pre-occluded form *gwydn*

lynn 'lake': pre-occluded form *lydn*

tynn 'sharp, painful': occluded form *tydn*

jynn 'engine, device': a pre-occluded form does not occur.

D

kamm 'bent': pre-occluded form *kabm*

lamm 'jump, leap': pre-occluded form *labm*

tamm 'fragment, morsel': pre-occluded form *tabm*

namm 'spot, blemish': the SWF gives **nabm* but no such form is attested in Cornish.

Clearly the spelling conventions of the SWF with respect to pre-occlusion fail to follow the traditional language. For this question see 16.1 B 2 below.

15.32 The value of the letter *u* is ambiguous in the SWF

The SWF has no way of distinguishing the different values of the letter *u*. In SWF *u* may represent the sound [y] or [i] when short or [y:] or [i:] when long. It may also represent the sound [ʊ], the vowel in English *pull*, or [u:] when long, i.e. the vowel in English *food*. Thus the SWF writes *mus* ‘mad’ and *tus* ‘men’, where the vowel is either [y:] or [i:]; but it also writes *us* ‘use’, where the vowel is [u:]. Note further that the stressed vowel in SWF *kuryek* ‘pimple’ is [ʊ], but in *kulyek* ‘cockerel’ it is [y].

There are words moreover in which the first vowel is [ʊ] but the second is [y] or [i], e.g. *kurun* ‘crown’, *dustuni* ‘witness’, *kussul* ‘advice’ and *kuhudha* ‘to accuse’. The SWF is intended as an orthography for general use. It is a pity then that it has been devised with apparent indifference to the difficulties confronting its users.

15.33 Diacritics

Diacritics are accents or other marks over letters that alter the way the letter is to be pronounced. Diacritics therefore can be used to indicate that a letter has a different value from its unmarked variant. The advantage of diacritics is that they can expand the phonetic value of the alphabetic signs used, without altering the shape of the word.

Diacritics have long been used for Cornish. Lhuyd in *Archæologia Britannica* used several different diacritics. The commonest was the circumflex which Lhuyd used to show length, for example in *klāv* ‘sick’, *glân* ‘wool’, *gurêg* ‘wife’, *prêz* ‘time’, *guîn* ‘wine’, *guîr* ‘true’, *pîb* ‘pipe’, *flôh* ‘child’, *kôth* ‘old’, *gûn* ‘moor’, *lûz* ‘grey’. Less common was the grave accent used by Lhuyd to indicate that a vowel was short: *am`ân* ‘up’, *pèl* ‘far’, *òl* ‘short’, *vòr* ‘road’. Lhuyd also uses a dot above a letter to indicate a rounded or centralized pronunciation *bÿk* ‘buck’, *dÿweth* ‘end’, *gÿlvan* ‘sparrow’, *sÿweth* ‘alas’, *tshÿi* ‘house’. Lhuyd inserts a dot under *u* as well to indicate that the letter is to be pronounced [w]: *aÿan* ‘river’, *beÿa* ‘to live’, *bleÿak* ‘shaggy’, *dagrou* ‘tears’, *deÿaz* ‘drink’, *gÿdhuÿhar* ‘evening’, *louÿenak* ‘happy’ and *ouÿn* ‘fear’. Lhuyd’s use of diacritics is extensive, but it is neither consistent nor systematic.

Jenner made wide use of diacritics in his orthography for revived Cornish. He used a circumflex on all the vowels to indicate length, e.g. *tâs* ‘father’, *dên* ‘man’, *bîan* ‘small’, *fôs* ‘wall’, *lûhas* ‘lightning’ and *kÿ* ‘dog’. Jenner does not need any diacritic, however, to distinguish the two values of *u*, i.e. [ʊ(:)] and [y(:)], because he spells the [y] variant as in Late Cornish as either *i* or *î*. Thus Jenner writes *gwrîg* ‘did’, *bigel* ‘shepherd’, *kif* ‘beloved’ for what in Unified Cornish would be *gwruk*, *bugel* and *cuf*. Apart from the circumflex Jenner used a breve over *o* to show that the vowel was a short and centralized, e.g. *bŏk* ‘he-goat’, *bŏnkyer* ‘cooper’, *gŏnnador* ‘sower’, *hŏmbrŏnkyas* ‘leader’, *mŏgilder* ‘warmth’, *ŏmdowlar* ‘wrestler’ and *tŏmder* ‘heat’.

Nance used diacritics in his dictionaries, but only to show the quality of the vowel. The enclitics were not to be used elsewhere. Nance’s diacritics included the diaeresis, for example, in *tîs* ‘men’, *ûgans* ‘twenty’; and the macron to indicate length, e.g. *bōs* ‘to be’, *gūn* ‘moor’, *gwÿn* ‘wine’, *gwĕk* ‘wife’, *ŷak* ‘farmer.’ Nance also used the acute accent to indicate anomalous stress: *duhé* ‘to blacken’, *avân* ‘above’, *awós* ‘because of’, *gwethhé* ‘to impair’.

The SWF does not use diacritics and as a result it is frequently ambiguous. KS on the other hand, does use diacritics and there is in consequence no ambiguity in the orthography.

CHAPTER 16

Diacritics in Kernowek Standard

16.1 Kernowek Standard uses three separate diacritics, A) the diaeresis, e.g. *dëdh*, *dÿdh*; B) the grave, e.g. *in bàn*, *wâr*; C) the circumflex, e.g. *yêth*, *brâs*; and The various uses of these three diacritics are explained below.

A) The diaeresis in Standard Cornish orthography

It cannot be claimed on the evidence of the traditional texts that doublets like *bys/bes'* world', *dydh/dedh'* day', *gwydh/gwedh'* trees 'are chronological variants. Traditional Cornish does not support the notion that the *y*-forms are Middle Cornish and the *e*-forms Late Cornish. In consequence the two members of the doublets must be allowed in any form of the revived language. KS therefore uses the diaeresis with both *ÿ* and *ë* to indicate that any word spelt with one variant may also be pronounced as though it contained the vowel of the other. Thus KS *bÿdh'* be; will be 'may also be pronounced as though it were *bëdh*; per contra *bëdh* may be pronounced as though it were *bÿdh*. The commonest doublets are perhaps the following: *bÿdh/bëdh* 'be!; will be', *brÿs/brës* 'mind, heart', *brÿs/brës* womb', *bÿs/bës* world', *dÿdh/dëdh'* day', *gwydh/gwedh'* trees', *prÿs/prës* time, meal', *vÿth/vëth'* any'. The advantage of this use of the diaeresis is to accommodate two different pronunciations without creating two collateral systems.

B) The grave in Standard Cornish orthography

The grave is used in three contexts.

- 1) The grave is used in KS to indicate that two words that are spelt in the same way have different senses. Thus *war'* aware 'but *wâr'* upon'.
- 2) The grave is used to indicate that the vowel is short when it would otherwise be long by position, e.g. *pòr'* very', *gòñ'* I know', *nàm'* blemish'. Notice that this use enables us to show that the vowels in *gòñ*, *màn* and *nàm* are short, without having to double the final segment and thus run the risk of the words in question being pre-occluded.
- 3) The graph *ù* is pronounced without fronting, i.e. as [u]. This means that KS writes *cùrun*, *dùstuny*, *cùssul*, *cùhudha* where it is apparent that the first and second syllables have different pronunciations. It also means that KS writes *ùnderstondya* and *cùssya* with the historic vowel; inauthentic forms like **onderstondya* and **cosnya* are thus avoided.

C) The circumflex in Standard Cornish orthography

The circumflex in KS orthography has several separate uses.

- 1) The circumflex is used to distinguish two words that are pronounced identically. For example, *eth* 'eight 'but *êth'* went'; *da'* to '(dialectal) but *dâ'* good'.
- 2) The circumflex is used to indicate length in words that would otherwise have a short vowel. For example *clòk'* cloak', *hòk'* hawk', *fâss'* face', *a wrêta'* dost thou?'
- 3) The circumflex is used to indicate a rounded pronunciation of *a*, e.g. *brâs'* great', *gwâv'* winter', *gwlan* 'wool', *clâvj'* hospital'.
- 4) The circumflex is used to allow a differing pronunciation in words beginning with *ye*:- thus *yêhes* can be pronounced as either [jehəz] and [ehəz], and *yêth* can be either [je:θ] or [e:θ].
- 5) The circumflex over *u* is used to indicate it is to be pronounced long as [u:], i.e. with the vowel of English *food*, *spook*, e.g. *Lûk'* Luke', *gûn'* moor.'

The distribution of *i* and *y* in Standard Cornish

Unified Cornish did not use <i> at all preferring *y* for both long and short *i*. The resulting text would often look rather quaint. KS uses both letters as follows:

- 1) *i* is used at the beginning of a word and *y* at the end
- 2) *i* is used for long *i* [i:] in monosyllables and for words derived from them, e.g. *tir* and *tireth*, *gwir* and *gwiryoneth*.
- 3) *y* is used for short *i* [ɪ] in monosyllables and polysyllables. This means that *jyn* in KS has a short vowel and there is no need to double the final *n*. This avoids the risk of its being pre-occluded.
- 4) when long *i* is required in polysyllables *î* is used, e.g. *spîkys'* spikes'.

There are a few exceptions to the above rules. *Yma* and *ymowns* (also *ma* and *mowns*) are written with <y> which is pronounced as schwa. The preverbal particle *y* or *yth* is spelt with *y* and is pronounced [ə] or [əθ]. The adverbial particle is written *yn*, e.g. *yn frâs* 'greatly'. The preposition meaning 'in' is written *in*. In the phrase *in gwir* 'truly' is literally 'in truth' and the first element is therefore spelt with *i*. On the other hand *yn tã* 'well' contains the adverbial particle and is thus written with *y*.