

Assibilation and Palatalisation in Cornish

5.1. Old Cornish Assibilation

The assibilation of dental stops in Cornish is undoubtedly one of the most characteristic features of the phonology of the language that distinguishes it from Breton and Welsh. Both voiced and unvoiced stops underwent assibilation in certain positions at the end of the Old Cornish period; this process had been completed by the time of the earliest Middle Cornish. The beginnings of the sound change can be seen in the longest manuscript of Old Cornish glosses, *Vocabularium Cornicum*, which is considered to be a document of the early twelfth century.¹

In absolute final position, words like PrimC. **abrant* "eyebrow" (W. *amrant* B. *abrant*), **nant* "valley" (W. *nant* "stream" OB. *nant* ModB. *ant* "furrow"), **alt* "shore, cliff" (W. *(g)allt* "hillside, high place" OB. *alt* ModB. *aod*) and **solt* "shilling" < L. *solidus* (W. *swllt* OB. *solt* ModB. *saout* "cattle") became respectively OC. *abrans*, *nans*, *als* and *sols*.² The consonant groups *-nt*, **-lt* were written with assibilation *-ns*, *-ls* in fifteen words.³ In only two words is the earlier, conservative spelling found: *skient* "wisdom" < L. *scientia* (MIC. *skyans* LC. *skeeanz* B. *skiant*) and its derivative *diskient* "unwise" (B. *diskiant*); in addition, there are the probably unintegrated loanwords *firmament* "firmament" (L. *firmamentum*), *sand* "dish, meal" (AS. *sand*) and the unexplained

¹ BL Cott. MS. Vesp. A. xiv [Voc. Corn.]. Dating is discussed by Jackson, LHEB, chap. ii, pp. 60-61.

² *abrans* Voc. Corn 38, *nans* 722, *als* 736, *sols* 917.

³ Also *gols* Voc. Corn. 32 (W. *gwallt*), *dans* 45 (WB. *dant* MIC. *dans*), *sceuens* 57 (W. *ysgyfaint* B. *skevent*), *els* 142 (cf. MIW. *eldrewyn*), *cans* 210, 211 (OWB. *cant* W. *gan* B. *gant* MIC. *gans*), *argans* 226 (W. *arian* B. *arc'hant* MIC. *arghans*), *guins* 447 (W. *gwynt* MIC. *guyns*), *mols* 607 (W. *mollt* B. *maout* MIC. *mols*), *pons* 728 (WB. *pont* MIC. *pons*), *oliphans* 572 < OFr. *olifant* < L. *eliphantus* (B. *olifant*). If *kefals* Voc. Corn. 81 is correctly derived from Brit. **com-* + L. *artus*, irregular /rt/ > /lt/ must have preceded /lt/ > /ls/ here; but *mans* 385 < L. *mancus* and *ors* 573 < L. *ursus* always had /-s/.

tairnant glossed L. *malagma* AS. *cliða*.⁴ The two reliable examples may have been influenced by the adjective *skientoc* "wise" (MIC. *skyansek* B. *skiantek*) – particularly *diskient*, which is the next gloss.⁵

That this began to spread to other positions is shown by five words *briansen* "throat" < PrimC. **brianten* (OB. *brehant* W. *breuant* "windpipe"), *elses* "step-daughter" < PrimC. **eltes* (cf. MIW. *elldrewyn* "step-mother"), *camhinsic* "wrongly-led, erring" < PrimC. **camhintic* (WCB. *cam* "wrong", W. *hynt* B. *hent* "way", Brit. suffix **-ig*), *eunhinsic* "rightly-led, righteous" < PrimC. **eunhintic* (MIC. *ewn*, B. *eeun* W. *iawn*, otherwise as the previous example) and *denshoc dour* "pike-fish" < PrimC. **dentoc dour* (WCB. *dant* "tooth", Brit. suffix **-og*, MIC. *dowr* W. *dw(f)r* B. *dour* "water").⁶ The fact that only *skientoc* given above does not show *-nt-* > *-ns-*, although it later had *-ns-* in MIC. *skyansek*, implies a strong likelihood that this change was also complete.

Assibilation presumably spread by analogy from words like *els* "step-son" to *elses* "step-daughter" given above (the next but one gloss) and may have been most common before the plural ending *-ou*, *-eu*, although unfortunately the four instances of this ending in Voc. Corn. do not happen to include any examples.⁷ Perhaps *nans* "valley" or **hins* "way" might already have influenced plurals such as **nantou* > **nansou* (MIC. *nanssow* B. *antou*) and **hintou* > **hinsou* (B. *hentou*).⁸ This had

⁴ *skient* Voc. Corn 391 (*skyans* OM 167; *skeeanz* CWBF, p. 16, line 10 [NB]), *diskient* 417, *firmament* 8, *sand* 899, *tairnant* 290. See LHEB, § 110, pp. 507-8. The similarity of OC. **skiens* < *skient* to L. *sciens* is purely coincidental, since the attested *skient* must be borrowed from the noun *scientia* rather than the present participle.

⁵ *skientoc* Voc. Corn. 416 (*skyansek* BM 377). So LHEB, § 110, p. 507.

⁶ *briansen* Voc. Corn. 50 (see LHEB, § 75 (7), p. 443 n. 3), *elses* 144, *camhinsic* 308, *eunhinsic* 404, *denshoc dour* 558. The word *sinsiat* Voc. Corn. 411 probably did not have earlier /nt/, see § 5.8.3.

⁷ *erieu* 36 Voc. Corn, *pobel tiogou* 185, *hosaneu* 820, *esgidieu* 821. It is odd that the pl. ending is *-eu* in *erieu*, *hosaneu*, *esgidieu* since Brit. **-owes* gave *-ou* in CB., not *-eu* as in W. and HautV., see P. Schrijver, *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology*, pp. 331-2. Nance suggested that *enniou* Voc. Corn. 828 be emended to *en uriou* "the seams" WB. *gwri*, NCED, Appendix i, p. 190. A few Welsh words in Voc. Corn. may show that the scribe was Welsh, perhaps explaining *-eu* and the failure to write assibilation consistently, see J. Loth, RC 14, pp. 301-4 and LHEB, p. 61.

⁸ *nans* Voc. Corn. 722 (*nanssow* PA 170b). It is likely that *-ou* > *-ow* replaced older forms with i-affection, cf. MIW. *neint* ModW. *nentydd*. It seems that OC. **hint* > **hins* was generally replaced by

clearly happened by the Middle Cornish period; the fact that all five words listed above are compounded with a suffix suggests that it was quite possibly the case by the end of the Old Cornish period as well, although there is no conclusive evidence.

Only two examples appear to show that final /-d/ was also assibilated by the time of these glosses: Voc. Corn. *bros* "sting, prick" (glossed L. *aculeus* AS. *sticels*, cf. B. *broud*) and Voc. Corn. *diures* "exile" (glossed L. *exul* AS. *ûtlaga*, cf. B. *divroad* MIW. *difro*).⁹ These would seem to be beyond dispute, although it is certainly odd that several hundred examples have final -t and final -d occurs in another seven. The latter show, as Jackson pointed out, that the sound in question was [d], even though -t was still the usual OC. spelling for final /-d/.¹⁰ These words are *ruid* "net" (LC. *rûz* W. *rhwyd* B. *roued*), *snod* "ribbon" (AS. *loan*), *scod* "shadow" (MIC. *schus* /skœz/ W. *ysgawd* B. *skeud*), *yd* "corn" (LC. **is*, pl. *ision* W. *yd* B. *ed*), *rid* "ford" (W. *rhyd* OB. *rit*, *ret*), *lad* "liquid, liquor" (W. *llad*) and *bregaud* "bragget" (W. *bragawd*).¹¹ The only instance with the plural ending -(i)ou, -(i)eu is *esgidieu* "shoes" (LC. *esgiz*, *eskas* pl. MIC. *skyggyow* LC. *esgizoû* W. *esgidiau*).¹²

The word *chespar* "spouse" is quoted by Jackson as a loose compound of OC. **cet* "joint" (W. *cyd*) and *par* "equal, mate" (CB. *par*); in contrast to *chetua* "assembly, meeting" (OC. **cet* + **ma* "place" < CC. **magos* "plain, field") without assibilation, which he calls "an old fixed compound".¹³ It might be plausible to argue that assibilation occurred in the first of these words in the order /-d + C-/ > /-tC-/ > /-sC-/, that is to

OC. *ford* (Voc. Corn. 711) > MIC. *forth* (PA 7d) borrowed from OE. *ford*, cf. W. *fordd* for rarer *hynt*. This did not happen in B. *hent*, pl. -où < OB. *hint*, see CPNE, pp. 99, 131-2.

⁹ *bros* Voc. Corn. 349, *diures* 303.

¹⁰ LHEB, § 52, p. 397. See further at § 5.6 below.

¹¹ *ruid* Voc. Corn. 236 (*rûz* AB 28a, 140b), *snod* 334, *scod* 494 (*schus* BM 3233), *yd* 725 (*ision* AB 111b), *rid* 729 (*rit*, *ret* in L. Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des Gloses en Vieux Breton*, pp. 295, 297), *lad* 883.

¹² *esgiz* AB 28a, 45b, 285c, 291a, *eskas* 230c; *skyggyow* OM 1406; TH 8.10; *esgizoû* AB 250a.

¹³ LHEB, § 52, p. 398. *chespar* Voc. Corn. 120 (*par* BM 186), *chetua* 187.

say that /-d/ was first de-voiced to /-t/ before unvoiced /p-/ when the compound **chetpar* /ke.tpar/ was formed and then assibilation /t/ > /s/ later gave *chespar* /ke.spar/. It would then be a unique case of internal /-t-/ > /-s-/, although of course few examples might be expected since original internal /t/ had everywhere become /d/ and therefore new /t/ could only arise by provection in this way. Jackson's analysis, however, proposes assibilation /-d/ > /-z/ in **ced* /ke:d/ > **ces* /ke:z/, W. *cyd* "a joining". Upon formation of the compound, /z/ would have been de-voiced to /s/ by sandhi before voiceless /p-/. This explanation is simpler and entirely regular; it would then follow that the compound was formed after the date of assibilation. It might be added that MIC. *kes-* "co-" (ModW. *cyd-*) probably remained a productive prefix in any case.

The example of *chetua* /ke.dva/ is more uncertain. It could be an older compound, as Jackson suggests. However, the scribal practice of using *t* for /d/ was itself conservative. There is nothing to suggest that the medial sound was de-voiced, since a few hundred words like *gulat* "country" (MIC. *gwlas* W. *gwlad* B. *glad*), *frot* "stream" (LC. *frôz* W. *ffrwd* B. *froud*) and *diot* "drink" (MIC. *dewas* W. *diod* B. *died*) can be compared to the seven words spelt with *-d* given above.¹⁴ Moreover, the following /v/ was also a voiced sound, unlike the following /p/ in *chespar*, so de-voicing of /d/ > /t/ would be much less probable.¹⁵ As the examples of final *-t* /d/ can also be compared to *bros* "sting, prick" and *diures* "exile" with assibilation, it may easily be that all of these words would have shown /d/ > /z/ in spoken Old Cornish at this time. Only the fact that the element **ma* was probably obsolete as an independent word in later neo-Brythonic may suggest that the compound was formed before assibilation. Nonetheless it remained a productive suffix *-va*; in any case

¹⁴ *gulat* Voc. Corn. 718 (*gwlas* BK 187f), *frot* 737 (*frôz* AB 42a), *diot* 882 (*dewas* PA 42a).

¹⁵ For the question of whether /v/ was still partly nasalised, see LHEB, §94-101, pp. 480-94.

medial /-d-/ could probably still undergo assibilation, if only through analogy with the phoneme in final position. One might compare *denshoc dour* and *elses* with medial /-ns-/ < /-nt-/ and /-ls-/ < /-lt-/. The relative dating of the two compounds may therefore be different, although this is not certain, but the inconsistency of the scribe in his use of graphs may mean that any phonetic difference could equally well be illusory. It would be reasonable to expect a Middle Cornish form **kesva* /ke.zva/ in any event, so it seems difficult to give a definitive account of the discrepancy based only upon the evidence of these two words.

It has been assumed in the foregoing discussion that the reflex of assibilated /d/ was /z/ and the reflex of /nt/ was certainly /ns/.¹⁶ In fact, the precise phonetic realisations of the sibilant phonemes so produced is difficult to prove with absolute certainty. The Breton situation may be informative here, although it is important to note that its new sibilants were reflexes not of /d/ and /t/, but of /ð/ and /θ/ instead. According to Jackson, these first became the infra-dental dorsal spirants /β/ and /δ/ with supra-dental articulation (at a date unknown), then later the infra-dental dorsal spirants /σ/ and /ζ/ with dento-alveolar articulation (by the early 11th century).¹⁷ Although various types of medial voicing and other changes then occurred, varying for dialect, the phonemes (where they remained) became /s/ and /z/ by perhaps the 17th and 18th centuries.¹⁸

It may be the case that the products of Cornish assibilation of /d/ and /t/ were /ζ/ and /σ/ respectively, as occurred in Breton. It will be seen, however, that occasional instances of historical /s/, albeit rarely, are palatalised when voiced like the reflex of assibilated /d/. I suggest that the main reason that this did not occur more generally is that medial voicing

¹⁶ For convenience, /nt/ > /ns/ may be taken to include the rarer /lt/ > /ls/, where not otherwise stated, but for the remainder of this section /t/ > /s/ is clearer for the purposes of comparison with Breton.

¹⁷ HPB §§ 955-6, pp. 669-70

¹⁸ HPB § 974, pp. 636-7. A summary of all the changes is to be found at § 975, pp. 687-8, but the precise details of the Breton dialects need not detain us further here.

of /s/ did not occur consistently. Moreover, the evidence of *s/th* confusions suggests that /ç/ could also be confused with these phonemes where such voicing occurred. For the moment, then, it is unsound methodology to propose more phonemes than are strictly defensible.

The new Breton sibilants /ç/ and /σ/ were a reflex of the previous inter-dental spirant phonemes /ð/ and /θ/, but with a relatively retracted place of articulation. As already noted, they were not the reflex of the alveolar-dental plosives /d/ and /t/, as in Cornish. Consequently the idea that any infra-dental quality should be ascribed to the Cornish phonemes seems unsound, since their predecessors /d/ and /t/ had no such quality. It seems far more natural to assume /z/ and /s/, which have a place of articulation closer to their unassibilated counterparts. To propose at the outset that Middle Cornish possessed three unvoiced and two voiced sibilants purely on the basis of the Breton parallel is unwarranted. Though the situation in Breton is extremely illuminating, such theoretical considerations suggest it was likely to have been a very different realisation of the same, pre-existing, inherited tendencies.

5.2. Exceptions to Assibilation of /-nt-/, /-lt-/ and /-d-/

The exceptions to the application of assibilation in Middle Cornish were first discussed by Loth and later by Lewis and Pedersen.¹⁹ Both of these discussions were superseded by the analysis given by George, who demonstrated that assibilation in internal positions occurs in all cases except (1) where a vowel and then a liquid follow, i.e. /-dVr/ or /-dVl/ (2) where a vowel and then a nasal follow, i.e. /-dVn/ (there are no examples with /-m/, since original /m/ was lenited and /mm/ does not

¹⁹ J. Loth, "Études Corniques - Assibilation de l'Explosion Dentale", RC 18 (1897), pp. 401-422; CCCG § 263(2), pp. 155-6.

occur in this position) and (3) where the word has final /-dw/.²⁰ This formulation is not in itself an explanation for the failure of assibilation, but it accounts much more neatly than previous accounts for the examples found and seems to be a complete summary of the exceptions.²¹

This removes the necessity for Loth's numerous categories based on various suffixed endings and explains his categories of isolated words in which the exception was observed. George's categories listed above may be illustrated as follows. In the first group are Voc. Corn *lader* "thief" (MIC. *lader* W. *lleidr* MIB. *lazr* ModB. *laer*), *piscadur* "fisherman" (MIC. *puscador* W. *pysgodwr* B. *pesketour*, *pesketaer*), *scudel* "dish" (LC. *skûdel*, *skidal*, *skydel* B. *skudell*).²² In the second could be cited *reden* "fern" (LC. *redanen* W. *rhedyn* B. *raden*), *corden* "string, cord" (MIC. pl. *kerdyn* W. *cordyn* B. *kordenn*), *henlidan* "plantain" (lit. "broad way", W. *henllydan* MIC. *leden* "wide").²³ The only example of the third group in Voc. Corn. is the supposed collective **bed(e)w* (W. *bedw* B. *bezv*) of the attested singulative *bedewen* "birch tree", which does not occur for certain in later Cornish, since Lhuyd's identical form *bedewen* may have been taken from Voc. Corn. and Pryce's forms may stem from B. *bezv*.²⁴ It is almost certainly the same element found in the place-name *Penburthen*, with medial /ð/ < /d/.²⁵

The objection that /w/ is not final in *bedewen* and the contrasting example of MIC. *peswar* "four" < PrimC. **pedwar* (W. *pedwar* OB.

²⁰ PHC, § 13.2.4, p. 298. The phonemic transcription /mm/ may be justified despite the loss of contrast with /m/ > /μ/, for the reasons set out at § 2.2 above.

²¹ The additional exception cited by Williams that no assibilation occurred before *a* and *o* is illusory, as all exx. fall within George's three categories, N.J.A. Williams, "A Problem in Cornish Phonology", *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 68 (1990), ed. M. Ball, J. Fife, E. Poppe and J. Rowland, p. 243.

²² *lader* Voc. Corn. 301 (*lader* BM 679), *piscadur* 235 (*puscador* TH 45a.12), *scudel* 847 (*skûdel* AB 33a, 114b *skidal* 46c, 241a, *skydel* 55a). Note also that *hudol* "magician" Voc. Corn 315 (MIC. *huder* OM 565; RD 1831) and *midil* "reaper" 341 (LC. *midzhar* AB 13c) seem to have /l/ for expected /r/, which might be compared to /rt/ > /lt/ > /ls/ in *kefals* noted above, § 5.1.

²³ *reden* Voc. Corn. 669 (*redanen* AB 240c.), *corden* 250 (*kerdyn* PA 131b), *henlidan* 654 (*leden* PA 237b). Assimilation of /nt+l/ > /nl/ occurred in OC. *henlidan* W. *henllydan* < Brit. **hynt+*lydan*.

²⁴ *bedewen* Voc. Corn. 696 (copied AB 241c); see § 1.2.3 above.

²⁵ See CPNE, p. 18; also PHC § 13.3.3, p. 309.

petguar ModB. *pevar*) may perhaps be explained by the fact that the collective **bed(e)w* was the simplex noun and that *bedewen* could have been analogically re-modelled to resemble it.²⁶ Presumably assibilation was blocked by the following /w/ and the later CB. change /-dw/ > /-ðw/ was then possible (cf. B. **bedw-en* > **beðw-en* > *bezv-enn*). The form *bedewen* could alternatively represent /beðəwen/, where *d* was merely orthographic; this would avoid assibilation and give an identical result. On the other hand, one might then expect ***pethwar* with /-ðw-/ instead of MIC. *peswar*.²⁷ It seems likely that assibilation came first and prevented this, since /w/ is not final in OC. **pedwar* > MIC. *peswar* and would not apparently have hindered the change. The fact that the form *bedewen* in Voc. Corn shows an epenthetic vowel need not be a problem, as may be seen from the Middle Cornish words quoted by Loth, for example *casadow* "hateful, hated one" (WCB. *cas* + MIC. suffix *-adow* W. *-adwy*), *caradow* "beloved" (WCB. *car* + ditto), *plygadow* "inclination" (orig. an adj., W. *plyg* B. *pleg* + ditto).²⁸

George showed that the same rules hold for medial /-nt-/ in MIC. *fenten* "fountain" < OC. *funten* (W. *ffynnon* B. *feunteun*), MIC. *hanter* "half" (W. *hanner* B. *hanter*), /-lt-/ in MIC. *alter* "altar" < OC. *altor* (W. *allor* B. *aoter*) and rarer groups such as in MIC. *clamdera* "to swoon" (with /-mdVr, see note) and LateC. *ardar* "plough" < OC. *aradar* (with epenthesis of earlier /dr/ > /dər/ and unusual syncope, W. *aradr* MIB. *arazr* ModB. *arar*, *alar*).²⁹ In a few nouns formed from adjectives

²⁶ *peswar* PA 190b etc.

²⁷ See HPB, § 717, pp. 501-2 for the reflex of CB. **pedwar* in Breton.

²⁸ *casadow* OM 892; *caradow* PA 45d; *plygadow* BM 14.

²⁹ PHC § 13.2.4, p. 298. *fenten* OM 771 (cf. *funten* Voc. Corn. 740), *hanter* 956, *alter* 1170 (cf. *altor* Voc. Corn. 750); *clamdera* TH 7.3; *ardar* AB 43b (cf. *aradar* Voc. Corn. 344). If MIC *clamder* (PC 2593) were Brit. **clam* > MIC. *claf* (W. *claf* B. *klañv*) + suffix *-der* (see NCED, p. 23), the failure to lenite /md/ would be unique. Jackson does not consider it separately, LHEB § 94, p. 481, but compare the survival of /mb/ after lenition (with subsequent assimilation /mb/ > /mm/), LHEB § 112 (1), pp. 509-11. Otherwise, compare B. *komz* V. *konz* MIC. *cows* "to speak", in which [ōs] usually occurs in V.

with the suffix *-der*, the groups /-nd-/ and /-ld-/ occur by sandhi and behave in the same way. George cited MIC. *gwander* "weakness" (*gwan* "weak" WCB. *gwan*), *vghelder* "height" (*vghel(l)* "high" W. *uchel* B. *uhel*) and *melder* "sweetness" (*mel* "honey", perhaps also **melys* "sweet" W. *melys* B. *milis*).³⁰ The examples OC. *prounder* "priest" (MIC. *pronter* Medieval L. *provendarius*) and OC. *bounder* "lane" (LC. *Vounder* Pembrokeshire W. *meid(i)r*, *moydir* Ir. *bóthar*) happen to be similar and would have followed the same pattern.³¹

The major problem with George's analysis is that it defined the sound change as palatalisation rather than assibilation, even though there is no evidence of palatalisation in Old Cornish. His argument therefore rested on Middle Cornish examples with palatal spellings. This theory posits parallel changes /d/ > /d'/ and /nt/ > /nt'/, /lt/ > /lt'/, but a further stage /-z/ and /-ns/, /-ls/ in final position only. George subsequently withdrew this explanation in the light of arguments put forward by Williams, but it is argued at § 5.6 below that no satisfactory solution has yet been found that explains the distribution of assibilation and palatalisation in Middle Cornish.³² Nonetheless, the rules given by George for exceptions to the assibilation of /-d-/ and /-nt-/, /-lt-/ are far

but [õms] elsewhere in B., perhaps for SWBr. **kous*. See PHC § 1135 (note 5). If /m/ was instead epenthetic in [õ(m)s], homorganic /n/ might be expected before /s/, not /m/.

³⁰ *gwander* PA 68c (*gwan* 53b), *vghelder* 5b (*vghell* 16a, *vghel* 207d) [forms with <u> in fact unattested]; *melder* RD 457 (*mel* OM 1430).

³¹ *prounder* Voc. Corn. 107 (*pronter* TH 42a.8), *bounder* 727 (*Vounder* [mut. sic], W. Borlase, *Antiquities Historical and Monumental of the County of Cornwall*, p. 461). See NCED, pp. 135, 14 and CPNE, pp. 194, 27-8. No explanation has been offered for /-nt-/ in MIC. *pronter* (BM 785), pl. *-yon* (PA 89a), *prontereth* "priesthood" (TH 38a.6): it does not seem that OC. *-nd-* could have represented /-nt-/. Unless blending has occurred with a Cornish cognate of MIW. *prifder* < OW. *primter*, *premtter* with medial devoicing /-v + d-/ > /-ft-/ by provection, sound substitution seems to be an inadequate explanation, given that medial /-nd-/ in this position is perfectly acceptable in the other examples.

³² N.J.A. Williams, "A Problem in Cornish Phonology", *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 68 (1990), pp. 241-74. George has not resolved the matter, *Cornish for the Twenty-First Century*, pp. 68-75, but he conceded the point in his revivalist orthography "Kernewek Kemmyn" by removing his graphs *dj* /d'/ and *tj* /t'/, restoring Nance's vacillation in Unified Cornish between *s* /z/ and *j* /dʒ/. The latter replaced *g* to avoid confusion with /g/, although consonantal *j* usually meant /dʒ/ in MIC., e.g. *an jawl* OM 2527 (its variant *i* could mean /dʒ/, e.g. *an ioull* PA6c, or more rarely /j/, e.g. *sparie* OM 946, a usage which is more common in BM, BK, CW & TH than in the earlier texts, e.g. *trylia* BK 50g.)

simpler and more comprehensible than the categories set out by Loth and should be accepted as the standard summary of its results.

George did not consider the phonetic reasons why assibilation was prevented if a vowel with a liquid, nasal or else /w/ followed the affected dental stop. Toorians pointed out that "... when a number of such alveolar consonants follow one another within a phrase the tongue will move not [sic] or hardly moves from its alveolar position and all the consonants will come out neatly (an intermediate vowel does not affect this...)... If on the other hand no such consonant follows the tongue will tend to leave its alveolar position to move into a more neutral position... this is likely to result in a more lax articulation so that the stream of air is not fully blocked any more and the phonemes become assibilated..."³³

Toorians' analysis accounts principally for the fact that the groups /-dVr/, /-dVl/ and /-dVn/ remained unchanged, but this is because /r/, /l/ and /n/ shared the alveolar quality of the preceding /d/.³⁴ Two additional conclusions may be drawn from this. Firstly, even if */-dVm/ had been possible in Cornish after lenition, or indeed in a later loan word, there seems to be no reason why assibilation should have been blocked before the labial /m/ in the same way as before alveolar /r/, /l/ and /n/. One would expect the tongue to fall into a lax position after /d/, since the following /m/ is not alveolar: consequently assibilation could presumably have occurred. Secondly, the phoneme /r/ probably had an alveolar pronunciation at the time of assibilation. It is sometimes suggested that Cornish possessed a retroflex /r/ [ɻ].³⁵ This suggestion appears to be based

³³ L. Toorians, *The Middle Cornish Charter Endorsement*, Appendix B, pp. 94-5.

³⁴ Whether /d/, /n/ and /l/ were generally alveolar or dental cannot be reconstructed and is of small significance here (but /r/, at least, must have been alveolar). There is a tendency in Northern Welsh towards a dental pronunciation of these sounds, while in most parts of Wales the consonants are alveolar. The difference is not phonemic, however, in any dialect.

³⁵ NCED, introduction [no page], "Pronunciation". Also see N.J.A. Williams, *Cornish Today*, glossary, p. 285; also his *English-Cornish Dictionary Gerlyver Sawsnek-Kernowek*, xxviii. While *Cornish Today* supports a retroflex /r/, Williams' dictionary undermines this opinion.

on the modern pronunciation of English in Cornwall, along with most of south-west Britain.³⁶ The precise phonetic realisation of /r/ in Middle Cornish cannot be reconstructed with certainty, but an apical sound is most probable.³⁷ Since retroflex [ɻ] involves lowering the blade of the tongue and moving the tip of the tongue backwards, away from the alveolus and towards the hard palate, it is possible that such a sound would not have blocked assibilation. However, this is not precisely the same as the conditions for assibilation described above, since the tip of the tongue nonetheless remains in a tense position to articulate a retroflex sound. It can be concluded only that [r] or [R] is more likely to have blocked assibilation than [ɻ] since these were articulated closer to /n/ [n] or [nn] and /l/ [l] or [ll], but the point cannot be put beyond doubt.

In contrast, it is interesting to note that in the words MIC. *trynsys* "Trinity" (W. *tryndod* B. *treinded*), *densys* "humankind" (W. *dyndod*), MIC. *duses* "Godhead" (W. *duwdod*) the group /-(n)dVd/ > /-(n)zVz/ never has assibilation of the first /d/ blocked by the second, even though this is a similar sequence of alveolar sounds.³⁸ In the phrase *ow fysadow* "my prayer" < OC. **pedadou*, the second /d/ survives in the group /-dw/ according to George's rules (see § 5.8-8 below) but it does not prevent assibilation of the preceding /d/.³⁹ However, this case was almost certainly affected by analogy on the basis of the stem **pes-* in the verb *pesy* "to pray" (B. *pediñ*) and can be discounted here.⁴⁰ In cases like *densys*, *trynsys* it seems that the lax articulation and assibilation of the second /d/ to /z/ afforded no protection to the previous /d/. The tongue does not make contact with the alveolus in the sibilant /z/ as it does in /d/,

³⁶ However, retroflex [ɻ] does occur rarely in modern spoken Breton, especially in parts of Treger. On the varieties of /r/ in Breton, see Pêr Denez et al., *Geriadur Brezhoneg*, xv.

³⁷ See PHC § 18.3.1, p. 428.

³⁸ *an drensyes* BM 994; *densys* RD 2621, *duses* 2515.

³⁹ *ow fysadow* OM 1830.

⁴⁰ *pesy* BM 404 (passim).

/l/ and /n/. This tends also to support the idea of an apical /r/. Finally, the frequent word *kerense*, *kerensa* < **kerenseth* (B. *karentez* W. *carenydd*) shows that a final dental affricate was no block to assibilation, suggesting that *bolungeth* (B. *boluntez*) with identical /-ntVð/ could equally have occurred in the unattested form **bolunseth*.⁴¹

This ignores only the phoneme /w/ in absolute final position, which also prevents assibilation of a preceding dental stop, as seen in OC. *bedew-en* and MIC. *plygadow*, *caradow* above. The insertion of an epenthetic vowel seems to do nothing to affect this, perhaps because it may have happened after the date of assibilation but moreover because it would not have altered the articulatory position of the tongue. The labial [w] is a semi-vowel whose articulation can resemble that of a vowel in the respect that the position of the tongue may be determined by whatever consonant precedes it. That is to say that [dw] is articulated with the tongue in the alveolar position, while for example [kw] requires a velar closure just as does simple [k] but allows the blade and tip of the tongue to fall into a much more lax position than is true for [dw].

In the words **bed(e)w*, *plygadow* and *caradow*, the tongue remained in the alveolar position for the sound /w/ after /d/ had already been articulated. Toorians' analysis required exactly this failure to alter the position of the tongue after /d/ in order to avoid assibilation. An epenthetic vowel (and presumably any vowel at all) would behave in the same way in this regard. This accounts for words with /-d(V)w/. It is apparent that the tongue would similarly remain in the alveolar position for the articulation of the labial in groups such as /nt(V)w/ and /lt(V)w/ and would not effect the lax articulation and consequent assibilation of the dental described by Toorians. In fact, there happen to be no examples with intact /-nt(V)w/ and /-lt(V)w/, apparently because this group was

⁴¹ *kerense* PC 549; *kerensa* BM 123; *bolungeth* OM 873.

rare except in plural forms that were re-modelled by analogy with the singular noun. These plurals are therefore later formations.⁴²

The fact that *peswar* discussed above is not protected from assibilation may appear to contradict Toorians' analysis, but /w/ is not in final position here. The protection that would have been afforded by the alveolar quality of final /r/ is apparently rendered invalid in this sequence because the tongue moves into a more lax position to articulate the group /-wa-/ in the middle of this word. Here /w/ does *not* behave like a vowel but in fact interrupts the neat articulation of successive alveolar sounds, so that the tongue falls into a lax position for the vowel. In this instance /w/ should be understood as a semi-consonant rather than a semi-vowel. With this should be contrasted the feminine numeral *pedar* "four" (MIW. *pedeir* ModW. *pedair* B. *peder*) which does not contain the labial and consequently avoids assibilation of /d/ before /-Vr/ according to the rule.⁴³ It is also worth pointing out that Toorians fails to draw the inevitable conclusion that George's theory linking palatalisation and assibilation implies a more tense articulation of the affected phonemes, rather than a more lax one, and would appear to contradict his own analysis in its basic assumptions.⁴⁴

5.3. Analogical Changes in Plurals and Suffixed Words

It should be added for the sake of completeness, as has already been briefly remarked, that these exceptions occasionally fail to apply in

⁴² See § 5.3 below.

⁴³ *pedar* PA 190a. It is interesting that Nance did not compare this word with *rag ov keusel y theder* "for they are talking, it is being said" OM 2794 and *may theder worth the vlamye* "when one is blaming you, when you are being blamed" OM 2797 when he stated that "the archaic *d* for *s* of *eder* itself suggests that these forms were rarely used", NCED, Appendix VIII, pp. 202-3, since ***eser* and ***pesar* would equally have been in violation of the rules governing assibilation.

⁴⁴ This criticism was levelled at George by N.J.A. Williams, "A Problem in Cornish Phonology", *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* 68 (1990), p. 245. See further at § 5.6 below.

the case of suffixed words that are derived from other common words, notably where plural and singulative endings are added to singular and collective nouns respectively. This analogical re-modelling has precisely the opposite effect to that seen in *bedewen* based on **bed(e)w* above, in which the change seen in *peswar* < **pedwar* should otherwise have occurred. The assibilated consonant occurs by analogy in LC. *guinzal* "winnowing fan", formed from OC. *guins* "wind" (W. *gwynt*) and the Brit. suffix *-el(l)*.⁴⁵ The form *briansen* "throat" has been mentioned above (cf. OB. *brehant* W. *breuant*), as has OC. *nans* "valley" MIC. pl. *nanssow*, which demonstrates by and large why examples of /-ntVw/ without assibilation are missing, since the majority would almost certainly have been plurals of this type. The example of **kensow* "recently" B. *kentaou* seen in *agensow*, *degen[s]ow* (of the same meaning) and the derived verb-noun *degensywe* "to draw near" shows that any remaining words were probably also re-modelled by further analogy with these plurals.⁴⁶ It may be observed that the ending *-ow* is the single most common plural marker and this would account for its potency in analogical levelling.

There seem to be no cases of /-dVr/ > /-zVr/ and /-dVI/ > /-zVI/ by analogy, perhaps partly due to the relative rarity of the suffixes *-(y)or*, *-(y)er* and *-el(l)*. Such compounds as OC. *piscadur* "fisherman" (MIC. *puscador* OC. *pisc* "fish", pl. MIC. *puscas*) and *darador* "doorman" (OC. *darat* "door" MIC. *daras*) may have been common before assibilation and regarded as sufficiently independent words to avoid analogical re-modelling.⁴⁷ The suffix *-el(l)* is rare. The OC. *logoden* "mouse" > MIC. *logosan* seems to have been affected by the col. pl. MIC. **logas*

⁴⁵ *guinzal* AB 60a (*guins* Voc. Corn. 447).

⁴⁶ *agensow* OM 796, *degenow* RD 2561 [with <s> omitted]; *ow tegensywe* OM 1079 [with propective mutation after the particle, from prep. (*w*)*orth* "against" with loss of /r/ and /θ + d-/ > /t-/].

⁴⁷ *piscadur* Voc. Corn. 235 (*puscador* TH 45a.12; *pisc* Voc. Corn. 542; *puscas* TH 2.15), *darador* 767 (*darat* Voc. Corn. 766; *daras* CW 780).

LC. *logaz* "mice".⁴⁸ The analogical change /-dVw/ > /-zVw/ is certainly the most common in the pl. suffix *-ow*, for which may be cited amongst many examples OC. *tat* "father" (WCB. *tad*) > MIC. *tas* pl. *tassow*.⁴⁹

5.4. The Dating of Assibilation

By the time of the short, early Middle Cornish text discovered by Henry Jenner on the back of a charter in the British Museum (now known as the Charter Fragment), it is apparent that assibilation was already complete in all positions in which it would be expected in later Cornish.⁵⁰ The charter itself is dated 1340, but the date of the endorsement containing this brief drama is almost certainly some years later, probably between around 1350 and 1400.⁵¹ If assibilation was a relatively recent phenomenon in ca. 1100 when Voc. Corn. was composed, it must have been consolidated during the early part of this two and a half century lacuna in the documentary record.

It appears that assibilation had not yet occurred at the time of the Bodmin Manumissions, a collection of the names of manumitted slaves and their manumitters added to the beginning and end of a tenth century manuscript of the gospels belonging to St. Petroc's Priory of Black Canons at Bodmin.⁵² These names have been dated from the middle of the tenth century through to the twelfth century, the majority belonging to the second half of the tenth century.⁵³ However, it would seem that

⁴⁸ *logoden* Voc. Corn. 583; *logosan* CW 407; *logaz* AB 19b.

⁴⁹ *tat* Voc. Corn. 127, *tas* BM 2373; *tassow* TH 59a.18.

⁵⁰ L. Toorians, *The Middle Cornish Charter Endorsement*. It should be noted that Toorians prefers the term "Charter Endorsement" as he discusses, pp. 18-22; however, the term "Charter Fragment" is now generally accepted and the distinction is of little consequence here.

⁵¹ *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9 and Appendix A (containing a paleological description by Dr. J.P.M. Jansen).

⁵² BL Add. MS. 9381 (formerly Add. MS. 9067), ed. W. Stokes, "The Manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels", RC 1 (1870-2), pp. 332-45 and by M. Förster, "Die Freilassungsurkunden des Bodmin-Evangeliars" in *A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen*, pp. 77-99.

⁵³ See LHEB, chap. ii, pp. 59-60.

assibilation had occurred, at least in some positions, by the time of Voc. Corn. at the beginning of the twelfth century, so either there must have been at least a short interval between the two documents or else it may be mere chance that the latest of the manumissions do not happen to show assibilation. This is not an insuperable problem, however, since assibilation is not found as standard in Voc. Corn. and orthographic conservatism could account for the discrepancy. In any case, there are only around 150 Celtic names, of which very few would be affected.⁵⁴

An instance of Old Cornish assibilation *-nt* > *-ns* occurs in John of Cornwall's translation into Latin in 1153-4 of an earlier, lost manuscript of the so-called Prophecy of Merlin, surviving in a single copy in the Vatican library.⁵⁵ This includes some partly Old Cornish glosses, which appear to have been based upon or adapted from Brythonic, or perhaps from Old Welsh, although the date and provenance of the earlier manuscript is conjectural. The phrase *pepliden Warnungens hahanter* "twenty-five and a half years" (for **pe[m]p [b]liden warn ugens hahanter*) shows assibilation in *ugens* "twenty".⁵⁶ If the phrase occurred in the original, it must have had final *-nt*, since this is seen in the gloss *guent dehil* "wind + ?", which may be either unmodified Brythonic (not necessarily South West Brythonic), Old Welsh, or Old Cornish without assibilation.⁵⁷ It is interesting that /I/ is spelt <e> in *guent*, although it appears to be too early, even if it is Old Cornish, to show any sound change.⁵⁸ In addition, toponyms in both Wales and Cornwall occur, along

⁵⁴ It is not clear from the editions if any names that might have been susceptible to assibilation can in fact be dated securely to the twelfth century, but the majority of names are dated much earlier.

⁵⁵ M.J. Curley, *Speculum* 57 (1982), pp. 217-49 [on dating, see pp. 217, 222-3]. See also: P. Flobert, *ÉC* 14 (1974-5), pp. 31-41; L. Fleuriot, *ÉC* 14 (1974-5), pp. 43-56. Curley suggests, p. 229-30, that a scribe who knew no Cornish or Welsh later distorted the Brythonic vocabulary by miscopying.

⁵⁶ The graph <d> for /ð/ in *bliden* "year" is also a characteristic OC spelling.

⁵⁷ Fleuriot, p. 48, interprets the latter word as "égrainement" (extraction of grain), relating it to B. *dishilh* Cornouaillais *dihilha* and V. *dihiliein*. This plausibly translates L. *venti excussio*. Note that Curley mistakes the Cornouaillais form for Cornish, and that no such word is attested. The phrase *awel garu* "harsh wind, breeze" is interesting: *guent* and *awel* presumably meant different types of wind.

⁵⁸ cf. *guins* Voc. Corn. 447.

with three which are difficult to identify, and some corrupt items that are not unequivocally either Old Cornish or Old Welsh.⁵⁹

Although it is open to considerable doubt that much of the material provided by these glosses is originally South West Brythonic, let alone Old Cornish (as it could easily be Old Welsh), it can nonetheless be considered as evidence here. The translator evidently tried to revise what he understood, excepting perhaps the place-names and the material that is now corrupt. The remainder, although it amounts only to a few scraps, can be treated cautiously as Old Cornish, albeit potentially with a residual Brythonic or Old Welsh veneer. It can be said with some certainty, at least, that the entire phrase **pe[m]p [b]liden warn ugens ha hanter* is Old Cornish in its present form. It cannot be Old Welsh because of the /n/ in *warn* before *ugens*, and it shows Old Cornish assibilation.

In any case, only the forms *ugens* and *guent* have any relevance to the matter of assibilation. The latter is also found in Voc. Corn. *guins*, with assibilation written. Since both words are attested in Cornish, the exact provenance of the original from which John of Cornwall was translating (if these were not his own additions anyway) does not especially matter here. He would have understood both words perfectly well as Cornish. Considering that he was writing in the mid twelfth century, around fifty years after the date of Voc. Corn., the assibilation in *ugens* seems highly likely to be his own emendation or addition. Since the pan-Brythonic nature of the list of names points to an earlier period, it seems reasonable to assume he neglected to amend *guent* in the same way. Even if *guent* is due to Old Cornish scribal conservatism, the slight evidence of these two words is wholly in keeping with the date of that

⁵⁹ The toponyms are *Treruf*, *Dindaiol* "Tintagel" (see § 5.2 below), *Periron* "Peryddon" (?), *Armon* "Arfon", *Mon* "Anglesey", *goen bren* "Fowey-moor, Bodmin Moor", *Kair Belli* [= *Caer Beli* ? i.e. *Beli ap Mynogan* ? *Beli Mawr* ? *Beli ab Elffin* ?] and *Castel uchel coed*. The item *cusfic* or *culfic* may be a copying error from Latin, according to Curley, p. 247, n. 197, while *culemo* (Fleuriot, p. 46) is obscure and *michtien luchd mal igaset* (Fleuriot, p. 59; Curley, pp. 230-1) is apparently partly corrupt.

seen in Voc. Corn. above. It might be added in passing that /nt/ in *hanter* avoids assibilation before /r/ according to the expected rules.⁶⁰

The only method for more accurately dating the sound change that has been attempted is the analysis of place-name evidence by Dr. O. J. Padel.⁶¹ There are few names whose history can be traced consistently from an early date, although Padel shows that some, for example *Seynt Gerent* 1376 (but *Seynt Gerens* 1386), retained orthographic *-nt* even in the late fourteenth century. A casual glance at a map of Cornwall reveals that some modern names also show forms without assibilation, but many of these have reverted to earlier spellings or else may be in eastern areas where Cornish died out early. In some areas this may have been before the date of assibilation. Orthographic conservatism may sometimes have been a factor in the official spellings of place-names, as the example *Seynt Gerent* may show.

Without fuller access to Dr. Padel's findings and an analysis of the distribution and dating of a significant number of place-names, the most useful examples remain the earliest ones that show assibilation. This dating evidence has been examined at some length and is included here for the sake of completeness. Padel gives *Penpons* in 1232-33 (*Penpont* ca. 1214, now Penponds in Camborne parish).⁶² George cites *Risleston* from the Domesday Book 1086 (now *Rillaton* in Linkinhorne parish, apparently *C. rid* > *ris* "ford" + **legh* "flat rock, slab" + Eng. *-ton*).⁶³ He also gives the example *Cofer-fros*, perhaps "copper-stream", which was originally noted by Förster in an AS. document dated 960.⁶⁴ It is even possible that this might be a later copy of an earlier document, although

⁶⁰ See § 5.2 above. That /nt/ remains in *hanter* is a SWBr. feature, LHEB § 108, pp. 505-6.

⁶¹ O.J. Padel, "Cornish Language Notes 1: The Assibilation of Dental Stops", *Cornish Studies* 1 (1973), series 1, pp. 57-59.

⁶² *ibid.*, p. 57.

⁶³ PHC, § 13.2.6 (3), p. 303 [Padel: acknowledged PHC, § 13.12.7, p. 305]; CPNE, pp. 146, 198, 302.

⁶⁴ PHC, § 13.2.6 (3), p. 303. See note in LHEB § 52, p. 398 n. 1; also CPNE, p. 101.

there is no evidence either way. In any case, Jackson considered that this was almost certainly too early and therefore agreed that it contained some element other than OC. *frot* "stream".⁶⁵ The earliest example given by him is Förster's *Bos Carn* 1291.

It appears from the rather meagre early evidence that Jackson's dating of assibilation was broadly correct and that George's use of Förster's rejected example *Cofer-fros* from 960 must be mistaken as an indicator of the beginning of the sound change.⁶⁶ If the date of ca. 1100 given by Förster and Jackson for Voc. Corn. is also correct, some 140 years later, the level of scribal conservatism in the orthography of these glosses would have to be staggering.⁶⁷ Since the changes /-nt/ > /-ns/ and /-lt/ > /-ls/ appear almost as standard, yet there is only a trace of /-d/ > /-z/, it seems unlikely that at least the latter change was old when they were written, even considering a certain level of archaism in their composition. The exceptions *skient*, *diskient* and *skientoc* tend to suggest that even the former sound change was also sufficiently young for the scribe to occasionally hypercorrect to the older spelling. At the earliest, the Cornish glosses cannot have come into existence before the monk Ælfric produced the original Anglo-Saxon glosses upon which they were based, normally dated to ca. 1000. If the date 960 were correct for the beginning of the change /d/ > /z/, it would already be difficult to explain why it is so infrequently written in the Cornish versions, since the AS. exemplar would need to be at least forty or fifty years old at the bare minimum. Moreover, the complete lack of assibilation in the Bodmin Manumissions strongly suggests that it could not have occurred until the latter half of the eleventh century at the earliest. In short, there is no reason to doubt that Jackson's date of ca. 1100 for Voc. Corn. is correct.

⁶⁵ *frot* Voc. Corn. 737.

⁶⁶ LHEB § 52, p. 398. The dating of internal *d* > *s* (and/or *d* > *g*) is addressed separately below, § 5.6.

Nonetheless it is certainly odd that the associated /-lt/ > /-ls/ and /-nt/ > /-ns/ are written almost without exception while /-d/ > /-z/ occurs only in two glosses. Jackson's solution was to date the former to the second half of the eleventh century and the latter slightly later to ca. 1100, but evidently neither he nor Förster were aware of *Risleston* 1086 with apparent /d/ > /z/.⁶⁸ This may mean that both changes should be assigned tentatively to the same period in the latter half of the eleventh century. It is a far more natural assumption that assibilation of the voiced phoneme and unvoiced phonemes happened at the same time. The latter were confined to groups such as /lt/ and /nt/ because in all other environments medial and final /t/ had been voiced to /d/ at the time of lenition. George gives the most exhaustive discussion, although the place-name *Kiniavots* ca. 1190 and 1212 is unlikely to represent palatalisation as he suggested.⁶⁹ The name *Lanzian* 1284 probably contains the French graph <z> for /ts/ as he pointed out, but this is only because /nant+sixan/ "valley of a dry place" inevitably gives /ts/ by sandhi, not because the name necessarily contains a palatalised phoneme /tʃ/.⁷⁰ The available evidence tends to support a date for assibilation at around the end of the eleventh century but nowhere implies palatalisation as the motivation for it.

5.5. The Problem of Assibilation and Palatalisation

The immediate cause of assibilation in Cornish has therefore remained the subject of debate: the whole issue was summarised by Padel as "... the vexed problem of the assibilation of dental stops – the

⁶⁷ LHEB, ii, pp. 60-1.

⁶⁸ LHEB, § 54, p. 401; § 110, pp. 507-8; § 53, pp. 399-400.

⁶⁹ PHC, §13.2.6-7, pp. 300-5. It is likely that *Kiniavots* indicates a middle stage /-d/ > /-dz/ > /-z/. This agrees in part with N.J.A. Williams' model for assibilation, on which see § 5.6 below.

⁷⁰ PHC § 13.2.7, p. 305.

continuing great problem in Cornish phonology."⁷¹ In subsequent Middle and Late Cornish these phonemes sometimes show assibilation but at other times have apparent palatalisation, so that a limited range of words may appear with either spelling in the same document and within the space of a few lines. For example in OM, *moyses del oge den mas* "Moses, as thou art a good man" is followed within thirty lines by *del ose dev hep pehes* "as Thou art God without sin".⁷² In RD, *woge bos yn lowene* "after being in happiness" is followed by *wose try deyth ha hanter* "after three and a half days" twenty lines later.⁷³ The word *dewgys*, *dewsys* "godhead" occurs in both forms within six lines in BM.⁷⁴ This variation of *s* and *g* for earlier /d/ is mirrored by the variation of *ns* and *ng* for earlier /nt/ in words such as *kerense*, *kerenga* "love", so frequent that *s* and *g* occur in apparent free variation in this word.⁷⁵

The overlap between these two phenomena is considerable, since they affect the same phonemes. However, the fact that spellings indicating assibilation alone are everywhere more frequent than spellings showing palatalisation strongly suggests that the latter represents a subsequent sound change, especially given that the representation of palatalisation in the orthography is far more restricted in early Middle Cornish than in later texts. It is therefore necessary to re-examine the theory behind previous descriptions of palatalisation in Cornish, as well as the extant evidence as it is represented in the orthography of the Middle and Late periods of the language.

As a matter of methodology, it is difficult to assess from spellings the exact extent of palatalisation that a phoneme might have achieved at

⁷¹ O.J. Padel, "Notes on the New Edition of the Middle Cornish "Charter Endorsement", CMCS 30 (Winter 1995), pp. 123-127. As he points out, the best concise summary of the problem is given in Appendix B of Toorians' edition of the Charter Fragment, although no examples are given.

⁷² *moyses del oge den mas* OM 1767, *del ose dev hep pehes* 1796.

⁷³ *woge bos yn lowene* RD 206, *wose try deyth ha hanter* 226.

⁷⁴ *dewgys* BM 884, *dewsys* 889.

⁷⁵ *kerenge* PC 483, *kerense* 549; also *carenga* TH 20a.2, 20a.3, *kerensa* 20a.19 [passim.].

any given date. For instance, palatalised /z/ might be the fricative /ʒ/ or the more fully palatalised affricate /dʒ/, depending on the progression of the sound change, yet the same spelling might occur in both cases. The opposing model requires direct palatalisation /d/ > /dʒ/. On the basis that the place of articulation of /d/ or /d'/ is closer to /dʒ/ than to /ʒ/, being an affricate, it seems theoretically unlikely to propose that /d'/ could be palatalised to the fricative /ʒ/ rather than the affricate /dʒ/, although that may be a matter of opinion. It would seem that the tongue would have to pass through /dʒ/ on the way from /d/ or /d'/ to /ʒ/, which is unlikely. In the case of the unvoiced counterpart, the change seems to be /t/ > /tʃ/ in all instances, since it is theorised that no instances of the assibilated phonemes /ns/ and /ls/ were palatalised without first being voiced. This does not apparently conflict with the representation required by a theory of direct palatalisation /nt'/ > /ntʃ/ and /lt'/ > /ltʃ/.

As a result, where it is not possible to deduce the level of palatalisation, only one phonemic transcription will be used, assuming the final stage /dʒ/ (and /tʃ/). This seems to be the most reasonable approach if the opposing theory of direct palatalisation, without an intermediate assibilated stage /z/ (and /ns/, /ls/), is to be discussed fairly. On the other hand, this should not be taken to prejudice the discussions below in any way. The choice is necessary to minimise confusion, except in a case where it may be shown definitely that /ʒ/ or /dʒ/ is meant.

Another factor that has the potential to be a source of disagreement over the dating of palatalisation is the dating of individual texts, of which perhaps CW is the most obvious. More crucial is the relative dating of the two earliest Middle Cornish texts, PA and the Ordinalia. On these matters, I have followed Murdoch, whose gives the fullest and most up to

date discussion.⁷⁶ Since he considers that elements of the Ordinalia are based upon PA and draw from it, and that the latter is “certainly older than the Ordinalia”, they have been treated accordingly here.⁷⁷

5.6. Theories on Palatalisation of /-nt-/, /-lt-/ and /-d-/

The argument about the relationship between assibilation and palatalisation was apparently initiated by Pedersen, who believed that final *-t*, *-nt* and *-lt* were treated differently in final position than in internal position. He considered that the oldest changes were /-nt/ > /-ns/ and /-lt/ > /-ls/ in final position and that final /-t/ > /-s/ > /-z/ occurred later, having already become /-s/ by 1300.⁷⁸ Jackson noted that no evidence was offered for this date (presumably based on the fact that only three items out of several hundred show the change in Voc. Corn).⁷⁹ As has been mentioned at § 5.1 above, he also pointed out that the orthography of Old Cornish used *-t* for voiced final /-d/, rather than for a supposed /-t/.⁸⁰ Consequently, Pedersen's sequence of sound changes must be amended to /-d/ > /-z/.

However, Pedersen was also responsible for the idea that the same phonemes developed palatalisation rather than assibilation in internal position "... before every unaccented front vowel...", giving *pysy*, *pygy* "to pray" (B. *pediñ*), *cresy*, *crygy* "to believe" (W. *credu* B. *krediñ*), *wose*, *woge* "after" (MIW. *gvedi* ModW. *wedi* B. *goude*), *resek* "to run" (W. *rhedeg* B. *reddek*); he considered that it also occurred before / \bar{q} / > / \bar{o} / in

⁷⁶ See the references given above in § 1.2.2.

⁷⁷ B. Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*, p. 20. He dates PA from the earlier part of the 14th century. The medieval narrative style and more frequent use of the graph <ȝ> for /θ/ and /ð/ than in the Ordinalia support this, as does the infrequency of palatal spellings even compared to OM, as noted below.

⁷⁸ CCCG, § 263, pp. 154-156.

⁷⁹ LHEB, § 52, p. 398.

⁸⁰ LHEB, § 52, p. 397. This correction is acknowledged in *Supplement to a Concise Celtic Grammar*, H. Lewis & H. Pedersen, Göttingen, 1961, p. 8.

dewsys "Godhead" (W. *duwdod*) and *trenses*, *trenygys* "Trinity" (W. *trindod* B. *treinded*).⁸¹ These changes were given as /t/ > /t'/ > /č/ and /d/ > /d'/ > /ž/, apparently represented by both *s* and *g*.⁸² Jackson added that the change /ō/ > /ö/ meant that this must have been later than the eleventh century.⁸³ However, the final sibilant /z/ (and by implication /ns/, /ls/) was "... extended to medial positions... and also the /č/, /ž/... was extended analogically to finals and the position before back vowels."⁸⁴ In essence, this would lead to a very confused situation in which any *s* could be interpreted as being either a palatal or a sibilant. Not only did /z/ and /ž/ (here /dʒ/), /s/ and /č/ (here /tʃ/) presumably replace each other, but he claims that *d* /d/ (and by implication *t* /t/ likewise) was directly replaced by *s* by analogy in *pysaf* "I pray", *pysough* "ye pray", *nyn cresons* "they will not believe it", which should otherwise have remained /d/.⁸⁵

By this measure, it would be difficult to see how the distribution of *s* and *g* could be used to draw any conclusions about the order of the sound changes that occurred. Although such analogical changes might perhaps be an intelligible process in verbal paradigms, since for example the verbal stems *pys* and *crys* could have infected other inflected parts with /z/, or alternatively *pygy* and *crygy* (or other forms with a following

⁸¹ CCCG, § 263 (2), pp. 155-6; e.g. *pesy* BM 707 (**pysy* does not in fact occur in MIC.); *pygy* RD 1932; *crysy* PC 2883, *crygy* 2963; *wose* BM 999; *woge* PC 834; *resek* OM 773; *dewsys* BM 889; *drenses* PC 68 (for **trenses*); *drenygys* BK 268b (for **trenygys*).

⁸² It should be noted in passing that he did not cite any exx. of the change in the voiceless phoneme, since MIC. **trenses*, **trenygys* W. *trindod* B. *treinded* < L. *trinitātem* has earlier /nd/ by syncope, not /nt/. The ending -*sys* was abstracted from words with L. -*tātem* to form words such as *densys*. For the identical process in Welsh, see S. Zimmer, "Latin Suffixes in Welsh", *Britain 400-600: Language and History*, ed. A. Bammesberger & A. Wollmann, Heidelberg, 1990, § 4.2, pp. 266-7.

⁸³ LHEB, § 52, p. 398. But George and Toorians' explanation of the survival of internal /d/ in certain environments undermines much of the basis of Jackson's support for Pedersen's belief that assibilation occurred later in internal than in final position. The fact that *s* and *g* vary in medial position while *s* alone occurs in final position can be explained also as later palatalisation of medial sibilants, which is the core of the arguments set out in this chapter. The vowel change /ō:/ > /e:/ in *trenses*, *trenygys* does not therefore date internal assibilation if palatalisation can be shown to be a subsequent change.

⁸⁴ CCCG, § 263, pp. 154-5. In fact no example shows *g* for *s* before a back vowel unless subsequent lowering has occurred or else a common word seems to have been compounded with a suffix.

⁸⁵ CCCG § 263 (2), p. 155; *pysaf* OM 1390, *pysough* 828, *nyn cresons* 1440.

front vowel) could have infected them with /dʒ/, there would seem to be no natural motivation for analogical re-modelling of a word that was not compounded with an ending, e.g. **wode* > *woge* > *wose*.

This theory was in effect adopted by George, although he omitted the important modification that palatalisation should only have occurred before unaccented front vowels, thereby requiring every instance of medial *s* in Middle Cornish to be understood as /dʒ/ and every instance of medial *ns*, *ls* as /ntʃ/, /ltʃ/, or else as analogical /z/, /ns/ and /ls/ based on the sound change in final position.⁸⁶ He believed, however, that analogical re-formation was infrequent and "... in general the two reflexes remained distinct."⁸⁷ He also dispensed with Pedersen's idea that assibilation occurred in two distinct periods, considering that palatalisation /d/ > /dʃ/ and /nt/ > /ntʃ/, /lt/ > /ltʃ/ occurred in all positions as a single sound change but that in final position alone this subsequently produced /z/ and /ns/, /ls/. These departures from Pedersen's model avoided the difficulty that assibilation somehow failed to spread from final position to internal position by analogy until after palatalisation had blocked it before front vowels. In spite of these superficial disagreements, both theories work essentially by assuming that palatalisation was the earlier and principal change in internal position where both *s* and *g* occur.

George therefore believed that internal *s* and *ns*, *ls* were either graphs for /dʃ/ and /ntʃ/, /ltʃ/ or else that they occasionally stood for analogical /z/ and /ns/, /ls/. He added that the opposite analogical change is seen in final position in LC. *ny a peige* "we pray thee" for MIC. *ny a' th pys*.⁸⁸ In this sentence the infixed pronoun *th* "thee" has evidently been

⁸⁶ The fact that Pedersen, unlike George, allowed /z/ before back vowels is an important distinction that was ignored by Williams, "A Problem in Middle Cornish Phonology", *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* 68 (1990), p. 243. Although George has retracted this theory, it cannot be ignored here.

⁸⁷ PHC, p. 306. Unlike Pedersen, George did not believe that internal /d/ > /dʃ/ and /nt/ > /ntʃ/ became respectively /dʒ/ and /ntʃ/, but this is a relatively minor disagreement and is largely ignored hereafter.

⁸⁸ *ny a peige* CWBF, p. 42 [TB: "Deag Laver deu"]; *ny a' th pys* OM 2584 [my apostrophe above].

lost, leaving only non-mutation of the verb by provection to show the omission. It seems, however, that the verb was compounded with suffixed *ge* "thee", as is often seen in Middle Cornish for emphasis or reinforcement. It is likely that the sentence in fact stands for **ny a(th) pys-ge* in earlier Middle Cornish spelling and that the suffixed pronoun became obligatory when the infix was lost, in order to make sufficient distinction from what could otherwise be a mere mutation error. At the very least, as an example of final palatalisation, it is uncertain.

In fact, this would be one of a very few rare examples of final /dʒ/ (Pedersen's /ǰ/) in native words, unless a brilliant reconstruction of a sentence of spoken Late Cornish from Ludgvan that was orally recorded for over a hundred years is to be considered reliable evidence.⁸⁹ This runs curiously *Jee an jee wopen ha gessa boo catter*, corrected by Nance to *Ajy hens yu open ha geses ow bugh ater* "the road gap (i.e. gate in a Cornish stone hedge) is open and my cow let out". Not only would the word **aswy* "gap" have palatalisation as **(a)jy / (a)dʒi/*, but for this to be correct the word **hens* "way" (cf. OC. *camhinsic*) would have to show palatalised /dʒ/ or /ǰ/ in final position. In which case, perhaps **Ajy henj yw open...* would be a better rendering of the sentence.⁹⁰ It ought to be noted here that a front vowel follows the affected phoneme across word boundary, which seems to be appropriate conditions for the seeming palatalisation /z/ > /ǰ/ or /dʒ/. It is possible that this is an isolated effect, although it would still suggest /d/ > /z/ > /dʒ/ rather than /d/ > /dʰ/ > /dʒ/.

⁸⁹ R.M. Nance, "A New-Found Traditional Sentence of Cornish", JRIC 22/2 (1927), pp. 281-87. This sentence is thus described by Williams, *Cornish Today*, § 19.10, p. 196.

⁹⁰ For **aswy* see CPNE, p. 12 and for **hins* see p. 131-2. These renderings are based on Nance's revivalist "Unified Cornish" spelling system, in which <j> means /dʒ/.

As has been noted briefly above, Williams challenged George's model on a number of grounds.⁹¹ He doubted that the series of oppositions /t/-/tʰ/-/tʃ/ and /d/-/dʰ/-/dʒ/ was sustainable (the last of these series occurred in loanwords from English such as *chambour* [sic] "chambour", *tuchya* [sic] "to touch", *gentyl* "gentle" and *page* "page"), since the middle member of each series would be liable to reduction to /tʃ/ and /dʒ/.⁹² In the case of the first series, the lack of forms such as **kerenche* for *kerense*, *kerenge* and **gancho* for *ganso* suggest that this did not happen in Middle Cornish. George stated that /dʰ/ became /dʒ/ ca. 1625 and /ntʰ/ became /ndʒ/ ca. 1575.⁹³ He speculated that voicing of the latter may have been "... analogous to that of /f, s/...", which implies an intermediate stage /ndʰ/ or /ntʃ/.⁹⁴ Williams argued that the threefold series of very similar consonants would then have remained stable for around five centuries after they arose, an impossibly long period of time for no confusions to arise.⁹⁵

Williams also raised orthographical objections.⁹⁶ Since George maintained that /tʰ/ was written both as *s* and *g*, the word *chy* "house" ought to occur as **sy* and **gy*. A possible line of defence might be that *ch* occurred for /tʰ/ initially while *s* and *g* were written medially, but unfortunately *ch* means /tʃ/ and *g* means /dʒ/ in both initial and medial positions in the loanwords cited by Williams above. George also believed that /tʰ/ could be written *s* and *g* in *kerense*, *kerenge* while the same graphs meant /dʰ/ in *nyns yw*, *nyn gyw* "is not", an inherently implausible

⁹¹ See § 5.2 above; N.J.A. Williams, "A Problem in Cornish Phonology", *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* 68 (1990), pp. 241-74. For the sake of brevity, only the principal objections are addressed here.

⁹² *ibid.*, p. 244, e.g. *chambour* OM 2110 (**chambour* does not occur); *tuchia* TH 1.14 (**tuchya* does not occur); *gentyl* OM 1566; *page* PC 1866. Unaffected /t/ remained in initial position.

⁹³ Although both were dated ca. 1675 in PHC, § 13.2.5, p. 299, the latter was dated ca. 1575 in *The Pronunciation and Spelling of Revived Cornish*, 1986, p. 165.

⁹⁴ PHC, § 13.2.3, p. 296. The reference is to "New Lenition", see also PHC § 19.4.1, pp. 443-5.

⁹⁵ Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 246.

orthographical convention. Williams objected to the idea that medial /d'/ could occur as *s* and *ss* in place-names such as *Trelissick* < *tref* "town" + **guledic* "leader", since the nearest equivalent in English would be /d/.⁹⁷ Presumably place-names were largely recorded according to the orthographical conventions of English, as the dominant language.

The most serious theoretical objection given by Williams was that assibilation /d/ > /z/ represents a change from plosive articulation to greater continuance while palatalisation /d/ > /d'/ represents only a change in the place of articulation.⁹⁸ Since George accepted that assibilation occurred in final position, the dissimilarity of the two changes made it difficult to explain the phonetic motivation for two simultaneous changes. If assibilation occurred in final position, there is no phonological reason why it should not have occurred medially. It might be added that this would hold true whether /d/ > /z/ developed directly or through a stage /d'/, although Williams did not believe that the latter was phonetically plausible. He added that rhotacism in LC. *thera* "was" < MIC. *ythesa* would be unparalleled among European languages if *s* meant /d'/ rather than /z/.⁹⁹

The doubts expressed above about the theories of Pedersen and George on the origins of assibilation and palatalisation may be formulated as the following alternative theory: (1) that assibilation /d/ > /z/ was an earlier change than palatalisation of /z/ > /dʒ/ (with perhaps an intermediate stage /ʒ/), so that the complete sequence of changes /d/ > /z/ (> /ʒ/) > /dʒ/ could sometimes occur when the phoneme was in contact with a front vowel (2) that /nt/ > /ns/ and /lt/ > /ls/ likewise occurred during the Old Cornish period, but the changes /ns/ > /nz/ > /ndʒ/ and /ls/

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 250-1.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 245.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 248.

> /lz/ > /ldʒ/ tended to happen much later.¹⁰⁰ The reason for this is that the change could not happen until the phoneme had been voiced in “New Lenition”. According to this theory, the Middle Cornish distribution of *s* /z/ and *g* /dʒ/ is not the result of analogy but of later, sporadic, and ongoing palatalisation. The graph *s* would not need to be pressed into service to represent /dʒ/ or /dʒ/ from earlier /d/, which would seem to be at variance with the inherent probability that Cornish *s* for /z/ was borrowed from contemporary French and English orthography.

The strongest evidence for this is that early Middle Cornish shows a far more narrowly limited distribution of palatal spellings than later texts. In fact, only a small number of words were apparently affected in PA and even in OM, while the rest of the Ordinalia and subsequent texts have rather a greater incidence. It is curious to note also that the twelve homilies of JT (TH) contain a surprisingly large number of forms that seem to show only assibilation in the orthography, often within the more limited range of words written commonly with palatalisation even in the earliest Middle Cornish. For a document of 1555-8, a transitional period between Middle and Late Cornish, this is particularly significant. These points are illustrated more fully in the individual sections below.

5.7. The Comparison of Palatalisation in Breton

It appears from the distribution of spellings that palatalisation of the dental plosive and sibilant phonemes in Middle Cornish was probably not a consistent or homogenous affair. By way of comparison, even today the occurrence of palatalisation in Breton, for example, continues to be irregular and sporadic, in both dialect and, to some extent, even in the

¹⁰⁰ The voicing /s/ > /z/ in MIC. required by these changes is discussed in the following sections.

literary language.¹⁰¹ Palatalisation in Breton in initial and medial positions can affect much of the consonantal system and can affect the mutation system on a regional basis, but its realisation in the dialects is an extremely complicated and inconsistent matter. A few illustrative examples will suffice here: *alfe* < *alc'houez* “key” with /f/ < /xw/ (and generally with subsequent voicing) in parts of SW. and E. Cornouailles, *chetu* < *setu* “there is” (< *sellit-hu*) with /ʃ/ < /s/ in Vannetais and the border area with Cornouailles, *chelaou* < *selaou* with /ʃ/ < /s/ everywhere except Leon, and even *kig* [ketʃ] at Sarzeau.¹⁰² It is well known amongst speakers, for example, that the superficial phonetic changes that occur in Vannetais and parts of neighbouring Cornouailles can make their dialects almost unintelligible to speakers from other regions.¹⁰³ That is not to suggest, however, that palatalisation is by any means a purely southern phenomenon in Breton, as it is a quite piecemeal phenomenon.

A few important differences must be noted between the situation of palatalisation in Breton and that in Cornish. For one thing, no substantial evidence for widespread palatalisation beyond the dental plosives and their assibilated reflexes has yet been produced in the case of Cornish, a situation that is hardly likely to change. There is no such equivalent dialect map as the *Atlas Linguistique de Bretagne*, however out of date it has become for modern Breton.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, it is self-evident that no recordings can exist for an extinct medieval and early modern language such as Cornish. Nonetheless, some level of orthographical evidence might be expected if it had been widespread. Since it apparently does not, it may cautiously be supposed as a working hypothesis, until evidence to

¹⁰¹ HPB, § 521-65, pp. 375-403.

¹⁰² *alc'houez* HPB § 539, p. 389, *setu*, *selaou* § 543, p. 391, *kig* § 528, p. 381.

¹⁰³ HPB § 521, pp. 375-6.

¹⁰⁴ HPB §§ 9-10, p. 5-7. There is a useful map at HPB, p. xxx. The six parts date from 1924, 1927, 1937, 1943, 1953 and 1963. Given the terminal decline of Breton today, they are already out of date, but Jackson in any case notes the extreme caution with which one should use their limited data.

the contrary may be forthcoming, that no such palatalisation occurred outside the dental phonemes and their reflexes so described. At any rate, there is little choice but to admit this approach.

Jackson states that “There are no palatalised dental [plosive] phonemes in B., and ALBB does not even recognise them phonetically. They and their reflexes scarcely occur outside V.”¹⁰⁵ This is not necessarily true in Cornish, however, as the equivalents of many palatalised phonemes in Breton do not show any such evidence in MIC. orthography, and the reverse could equally be true, i.e. that phonemes showing little or no palatalisation in Breton might have been affected in Cornish. It is to be noted, for instance, that *chy* is exclusively palatalised in MIC., though no other initial /t-/ is so affected. If Jackson’s remark is correct, there is no parallel in Breton. Hence, in this case at the very least, palatalisation of a dental plosive was demonstrably possible in Cornish.

However, palatalisation of /s/, /ʃ/ < /ð/ and /σ/ > /θ/ does occur, modified by New Lenition (as are other consonants) where it arises in the dialect in question.¹⁰⁶ Although the latter two phonemes do not arise from the same sources as those participating in assibilation in Cornish, the broad comparison is nonetheless highly instructive. Importantly, Jackson points out that “The palatalisation of the sibilants referred to above has been described as ‘in contact with front vowels’. In fact, however, the examples are almost all cases of it taking place *before* front vowels or at least between them; I know scarcely any instances before back vowels after front vowels..., and in final position after front vowels it seems very rare also. ... It would probably be adequate to describe palatalisation of the sibilants as taking place essentially before front vowels only, allowing

¹⁰⁵ HPB § 522, p. 376. Note that the addition in square brackets is mine: the reference is to stops, not continuants, as is made clear by the paragraph title “Palatalisation of *t* and *d*”.

¹⁰⁶ HPB §§ 542-51, pp. 393-395.

for a few exceptions.”¹⁰⁷ Finally, on dating, he considers that the various types of palatalisations of all letters occurred no later than the 17th century and mostly by the 15th, with little evidence to date them before the 12th-13th centuries. It would be a mistake to apply these observations wholesale to Middle Cornish, since the phonemes affected are different and there is no rational reason for substantially related changes to occur at identical times in separate languages, irrespective of hypothesised language contact (although that is not to deny such contact a possible small role). However, it does appear that the same pre-existing tendencies in both languages led to similar results, at least in limited phonemes in Cornish, in more or less exactly the same historical period. Furthermore, Breton provides the excellent, if circumstantial, evidence that sibilant phonemes are indeed likely to be palatalised in circumstances such as those arising in Cornish. In this much, the parallel is a striking one.

5.8. Palatalisation in Early Middle Cornish

5.8.1. The Charter Fragment (CF)

It is worth pointing out first of all that the Charter Fragment shows no palatalisation at all except the word *chy* "house", which appears in Voc. Corn. twice as OC. *ti* and also in the compounds *clehti* "bell-house" and *cushti* "dormitory".¹⁰⁸ It is the standard form found frequently in Middle Cornish except in compounds like MIC. *gwreghty* "house-wife" and in occasional place-names such as *Laitey* < **lety* "dairy" (formed from *leth+ty*, lit. "milk-house").¹⁰⁹ In these cases the final consonant of

¹⁰⁷ HPB § 551, p. 395.

¹⁰⁸ *chy* CF 13; Voc. Corn. *ti* 744, 234, *clehti* 788, *cushti* 803. See Padel's comments on *chy* in "Notes on the New Edition of the Middle Cornish 'Charter Endorsement'", CMCS 30 (Winter 1995), p. 125.

¹⁰⁹ *gwreghty* CW 448; CPNE, pp. 148, 275.

the preceding element seems to have caused protraction and prevented the expected palatalisation. There are also some place-names containing **mon-dy* "mineral-house" and **meyn-dy* "stone-house" in which /d/ was apparently protected by the homorganic nasal preceding it.¹¹⁰

George assumes that the OC. phrase **in ti* [In ti] became [In t'í], for which he gives the meaning "in the house".¹¹¹ It might be noted that the definite article always appears as *en* (< CC. **sind-*) rather than *an* in Voc. Corn. and also occasionally in PA.¹¹² This might then just as easily mean simply "the house", if the vowel of the article were still occasionally sufficiently close at this time.¹¹³ In any case the archaic form occurs only once after the Old Cornish period and the change /t-/ > /tʃ-/ in this word otherwise appears to by-pass normal mutations.¹¹⁴ The only exception is in the compound word *agy* "in, inside" (from *a* "of" + *chy*).¹¹⁵ This is not necessarily mutated by analogy in this compound (Jackson's "New Lenition"), because OC. **a di* could easily have existed. If this is so, it is possible that the front vowel of OC. *ti* was sufficient to allow initial unvoiced /t-/ to be palatalised in this word alongside voiced /d-/ in the mutated form. Assibilation would not be expected in this position in any case, although this is not true in compounds such as MIC. *hensy* "ruin, ancient house".¹¹⁶ Most of Padel's examples have forms suggesting /dʒ/ or else unaffected /d/, but at least the example *Rinsey* (< **rynn* "promontory" + *ty*) seems to have /z/.¹¹⁷ Although the place-name *Clodgy* (*claf* "ill" + *ty*, "sick-house") is frequent with palatalisation, it is significant

¹¹⁰ CPNE, pp. 159, 168.

¹¹¹ PHC, § 13.2.3, p. 296.

¹¹² *en uogh* Voc. Corn. 37, *en lagat* 39; *en toll* PA 182a.

¹¹³ Since **in* "in" is from IE. **en* (see A. Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh*, p. 91) and *en* "the" is from CC. **sind-*, they are clearly both unstressed words containing the phoneme /i/. The elision of the preposition and article is normal from MIC. & MIB. onwards, so OC. may well also have had it.

¹¹⁴ *yn ow thy a piyadow* PC 334, discussed by N.J.A. Williams, "Four Textual Notes on the Middle Cornish Drama", *BBCS* 22 (1966-8), p. 237. See § 5.9.5 (ii) below.

¹¹⁵ *agy* OM 953.

¹¹⁶ *hensy* BM 1307. Stokes' reading in confirmed by Hawke 1975-98 [unpublished].

¹¹⁷ See the references in CPNE, p. 79.

that the plural *Clausiow* (Truro) also appears in 1607.¹¹⁸ Padel gave the change seen in these compounds as *-dy* > *-sy* (= /zi/ ?) > /dzi/.¹¹⁹ Since the word *chy* itself is irregular, it does not provide evidence that assibilation and palatalisation are linked: its compounds appear to suggest /d/ > /z/ > /dz/ rather than /d/ > /dʹ/ > /dʒ/, as Padel suggested, probably unrelated to the change /t/ > /tʃ/ in initial position.

Apart from this word, the Charter Fragment shows no palatalisation in any position, but it does show assibilation in all positions. The words *ʒys* "to thee" (W. *it, iti* B. *dit*), *genes* "with thee" (W. *gennyt* B. *ganit*), *pes* "pray" (B. *ped* 3s. pres-fut.), *vos* "to be" (W. *bod* V. *boud*) and *Ras* [sic] "grace, blessing" (W. *rhad*) occur with apparent assibilation /d/ > /z/ in final position and *bons* "bridge" (WCB. *pont*) seems to have corresponding final /nt/ > /ns/.¹²⁰ The example *gensy* "with her" (MIW. *genti* B. *ganti*) shows internal assibilation /nt/ > /ns/ while *worʒesy* "against thee" (W. *wrthyt ti* B. *ouzhit-te*) and *lauar ʒe sy* "say thou" (W. *llafar dydi*) show internal /d/ > /z/.¹²¹ The example *gaffy* given in Toorians' edition should be correctly read *gassy* "leave her, let her" according to Padel and is therefore *gas+hy* /ga:z hi/ > /ga:ssi/ (W. *gad hi* "leave her"). It would not therefore be the subject of dispute here.¹²²

The form *gensy* "with her", with apparent internal /ns/ (and possibly subsequent voicing to /nz/), might in particular be compared with later Middle Cornish. It is interesting that the inflected parts of the preposition *gans* "with" never show internal palatalisation in extant Middle Cornish examples, i.e. *ganso* "with him" (MIW. *gantaw* B. *gantañ*), *gensy* "with her" (as cited above), *gansa*, *gansans* "with them"

¹¹⁸ CPNE, pp. 60, 256.

¹¹⁹ CPNE, p. 77.

¹²⁰ *ʒys* CF 6, 13, 34, *genes* 8, *pes* 19, *vos* 31, *Ras* 33 [cap. sic], *bons* 18.

¹²¹ *gensy* 21, *worʒesy* 26, *lauar ʒe sy* 28 [for the latter, see Padel's comments in CMCS 30, p. 126].

¹²² *gassy* CF 22; Padel, *ibid.*, p. 125.

(MIW. *gantu(nt)*, B. *ganto*, *gante*).¹²³ These words are extremely common, especially because they are used to express possession. The only known exceptions to the usual spellings are in CW, where *ganza* "with it (him), them" appears twice and a variant *gonza* once.¹²⁴ This graph is never used to show the palatal sound in CW, for which *g*, *i*, *j* or *J* is used. Since these words are so frequent, it must be assumed that such graphs would have been used at least occasionally if George's proposed sequence of sound changes /nt/ > /nt'/ were correct. Pedersen's theory only posits palatalisation instead of assibilation before an unaccented front vowel, but the lack of forms such as **gengy* for *gensy* would then have to be explained by analogical levelling. This argument, however, has the potential to explain away every inconvenient example that does not fit theoretical predictions. It may be best therefore to use it sparingly.

5.8.2. Pascon Agan Arluth (PA)

It should be pointed out first of all that, although PA is a document of the early to mid fourteenth century, the manuscript may date from the mid fifteenth century.¹²⁵ The effects of transmission upon the written representation of the sound changes being examined here is difficult to establish, but as a whole the language and orthography do not seem to vary greatly. There seems little choice but to take the spellings as found at face value, whilst admitting a level of possible uncertainty.

In PA, palatalisation is restricted to a narrow range of words. The phrase *yn chy* "in the house" < OC. **in ti* occurs once, as predicted above.¹²⁶ The example *blegyow* "flowers" appears as a plural of OC.

¹²³ *ganso* OM 26, *gensy* PA 161c, *gansa* BM 114, *gansans* TH 22a.6.

¹²⁴ *ganza* CW 734, 1566, *gonza* 1583.

¹²⁵ See § 1.2.2 above. As noted, Murdoch points out that PA must be older than the Ordinalia.

¹²⁶ *yn chy* PA 159a. See George's reconstruction OC. **in ti*, § 7.1.

blodon (glossed L. *flos* AS. *blôstm*), in which the following vowel plus nasal would be expected to block assibilation according to the rules set out by George and Toorians.¹²⁷ The lack of yod in the singular is curious, since it seems to appear in LC. *bledzhan*, *bledzhiân* and might be compared to OC. *odion* "ox" (LC. *udzheon*, *odgan* B. *ejen*) with yod written.¹²⁸ Forms without yod occur in W. *blodyn* pl. *blodau* and B. *bleuñvenn*, which seem to be extended forms of WCB. **blōd* (MIW. *blawd* "bloom" B. *bleuñv* "flowers"); but it occurs in the alternative B. *bleunienn* pl. *bleuniou*, likewise from CB. **blōd(i)enn*, **blōd(i)ou*.¹²⁹ It is noteworthy that yod is not written in *blodon*, but in any case LC. *bledzhan*, *bledzhiân* and the plural MIC. *blegyow* suggest that a form with yod was ultimately selected in both singular and plural.

Assibilation might well have occurred in PrimC. **blōdiou* > OC. **blesiou* by analogy with a simplex OC. **ble(u)s*, so that *–yow* would behave like *–ow* in *tas* "father" pl. *tassow* at § 5.4 above.¹³⁰ Analogy could also have created **blesen* or on the contrary allowed **blediou* to retain regular */–dVw/* on the basis of *blodon* in spite of the potency of suffixed *–(y)ow* in analogical levelling. In the first case the sequence of changes would be */dj/* > */zj/* > */dʒ/* in both *bledzhan* and *blegyow* but in the latter assibilation would be avoided and the change would be */dj/* > */dʒ/*. However, analogy can be avoided entirely by assuming that palatalisation happened in both words before assibilation, thus preventing

¹²⁷ *blegyow* PA 27a, *blodon* Voc. Corn. 673. Nance notes "*blosan* Aelfric", NCED, p. 12, but this reading of Voc. Corn. is not borne out by Campanile and Graves. It is possible that this is Nance's misreading, or a copying error if he saw another MS. of Aelfric, from OE. *blōs(t)ma*, see J.R.R. Tolkien, *Middle English Vocabulary*, p. 2, and H. Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 238. It may be ignored here.

¹²⁸ *bledzhan* AB 240c, 60b, *bledzhiân* 10b; *odion* Voc. Corn. 601; *udzheon*, *odgan* Pryce, ACB sigs. K1r-Bb4v. The vowel <e> of Lhuyd's *bledzhan* shows that these are not modernised OC. forms.

¹²⁹ Since */ø:/* > */ō:/* was unrounded to */œ:/*, it would be difficult to determine whether i-affection was caused by the yod here, cf. C. *les* "plant" pl. *losow*, **lesyow* with long */ø:/* (see CPNE, p. 147).

¹³⁰ It does not seem possible that */–djVw/* in *blegyow* could behave like */–dwVr/* in *peswar* above in avoiding the normal exception to assibilation in groups showing */–dVw/* etc. because */j/* is articulated close to alveolar */d/*, unlike */w/*; moreover, simple analogy would accomplish this far more regularly.

it. If OC. *odion* contained a palatal /dʲ/ < /dj/, it seems that Old Cornish orthography would have possessed no unambiguous means to represent it, so *blodon* may show only a variant spelling based on earlier vacillation between singular and plural forms with yod and those without. There is no need to invoke further analogy by arguing that perhaps OC. **blediou* infected OC. *blodon* with /j/, giving MIC. **blegen* > LC. *bledzhan* with /d/ > /dʲ/. In any event, this would be the expected result.

The word *dyth* "day" (W. *dydd* B. *deiz*) is regularly found as *an g(e)yth* "the day" after the article (or the article compounded with other words, such as *yn* "in the", *han* "and the") with the same change.¹³¹ This does not happen if a word other than the article intervenes, for example *war dyth pasch* "on Easter day" and *yn tressa dyth* "on the third day", except in the case of *In keth gythna* "that same day".¹³² This seems to be by analogy, where the normal effect of the article on the noun is applied even though a word is inserted. The plural does not show the effect of the article in the example *en dezyow* "the days", perhaps because this was a less common phrase.¹³³ An identical change is seen in *an ioul(l)* "the devil" (W. *diawl*, *diafol* B. *diaoul*), which appears in the Ordinalia as *deawl* without the article.¹³⁴ These examples are interesting because they are apparently unconnected with assibilation and represent direct palatalisation of /d/ (> /dʲ/) > /dʒ/. The plural *dywolow*, *dewolow* occurs in PA without the article, consequently unaffected.¹³⁵

Two similar groups of words occur with comparable palatalisation across word boundary. The first of these are the various forms of the verb "to have, get". The third person singular of the verb "to be" and an infixed

¹³¹ *dyth* PA 91c, *yn geyth* 20c, *en gyth* 41c, *han gyth* 243a, *an gyth* 244a, *yn gythna* "that day" 259d.

¹³² *war dyth pasch* PA 124c, *yn tressa dyth* 238d, 259a, *In keth gythna* [sic] 252a.

¹³³ *en dezyow* PA 169b.

¹³⁴ *Han ioull* [sic] PA 11a, *An ioul* [sic] 14a, 18a, *An Ioul* 15c [sic], *an ioul* 16c (4 exx.), *en ioul* 62b, *deawl* PC 137. It may be noted in passing that W. *diawl* has /dʒ/ colloquially almost everywhere.

¹³⁵ *dywolow* PA 106c, *dewolow* 212b.

pronoun with dative meaning were used to convey this sense, corresponding to Breton *en deus* "he has" and Middle Welsh *nis dioes dayar* "they have no land".¹³⁶ When the masculine pronoun *n* preceded a form beginning with the verbal prefix **de-* < **di-*, palatalisation occurred in all cases in PA.¹³⁷ This occurs in various tenses as *nyn geuas* "he has not" (pres.), *an geue*, *an geve*, *yn geve* "he had", *man geve* "that he had", *manna geve* "that he had not" (pret.), *an gevo* "he had" (imperf.), *an geuyth* "he will have", *an geffo*, *manan geffo* "that he may not have", *man geffo* "that he may have" (pres. subj.), *an gyffe* "he had" (imperf. subj.).¹³⁸ In *manna geve* the first *n* contains a misplaced n-contraction and should read *manan geve*.¹³⁹ Every one of these 15 examples shows *g* for initial /d/ > /dʒ/. Palatalisation in this position appears to be unconnected with assibilation; possible evidence to the contrary in BM and TH is discussed at § 5.2-3 below.

The second group of words in which a similar feature seems to occur are forms of the verb "to be" that begin with a vowel following the negative particle *ny(ns)* (W *ni(d)* MIW. also *nit* B. *ne(d)* V. *ne(nd)*) and the "definite particle" *na(ns)*, **nev(ns)* (MIW. *neu(t)* Ir. *no*, *nu*), conveying the sense "now" or "ago, since".¹⁴⁰ The first of these appears in the present tense *nyn gyw*, *ny(n) gew* "it is not", *nyn iough* "ye are not", *nyn gens* "they are not", in the locative present *nyn gvgy* "there are not", in the imperfect *nyn io*, *nyngo*, *ny(n) go* "it was not", in the existential present *nyn ges* "there are not" and in the locative imperfect *nyn gese*, *nyn*

¹³⁶ I. Williams, *Armes Prydein*, line 29 & p. 23 n.

¹³⁷ The 3s. verb probably represents the otherwise unused verb CB. **do-but*, while the verb "to be" CB. **but* appears in all other persons. See R. Hémon, *A Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton*, § 140, n.2, p. 218.

¹³⁸ *nyn geuas* PA 12a, *an geue* 10d, *an geve* 59d (4 exx.), *yn geve* 59a, *man geve* 111b, *manna geve* 132b, *an gevo* 140a, *an geuyth* 44d, *an geffo* 51b, *manan geffo* 150b, *man geffo* 213b; *an gyffe* 190d.

¹³⁹ Pointed out to me by O.J. Padel.

¹⁴⁰ This term was used by Nance, NCED, Appendix vii, p. 196.

gesa "there were not".¹⁴¹ In total there are 26 examples. The graphs *g* and *i* are both used for the palatal, although the incorrect word division **nyn gyw* < **nyng yw* shows that it could be taken to be in initial rather than final position. These locutions may have been so common that word division was not crucial and the phoneme was effectively in internal position. This is seen in five examples after the particle *na(ns)*, **nev(ns)*, all in the imperfect tense. These are *navnio*, *navngo*, *Nevngo*, *Nango* and *Nanso*.¹⁴² The last is the only one to show assibilated /z/ in PA. It should be pointed out that one example of *ny go* has the graph *n* missing, but one may compare *ny[n] gyw*, which has an n-contraction written in the MS., which suggests strongly that the contraction has simply been omitted.¹⁴³

By contrast, the element /n/ does not seem to have developed in the perfective and optative particle *re(s)* (CC. **ro* OW. *rit* MIW. *ry* B *ra*), the only example of which in PA is *regeth* "has gone" with palatalisation written.¹⁴⁴ In all of these particles, the change seen is /d/ > /z/ > /dʒ/ according to the argument presented here.¹⁴⁵ By the theories of both Pedersen and George it would be /d/ > /z/ if the word division were **nyns yw*, **nans yw* but /d/ > /d'/ (and then /dʒ/ in Pedersen's case) if it were understood as **nyngyw*, **nangyw*.¹⁴⁶ Considering that all of these forms occur throughout Middle and Late Cornish (see further below), the evidence of these verbal forms alone does not in itself support or undermine either explanation.

¹⁴¹ *nyn gyw* PA 82d, *nyn gew* 166b, *ny[n] gew* 255d [with n-contraction], *nyn iough* 47b, *nyn gens y* 41b, *nyn gens* 68d, 252d, *nyn gvy* 102a, *nyn io* 6d (7 exx.), *nyngo* 154a, *nyn go* 206d, *ny go* 225a, *nyn ges* 32d (5 exx.), *nyn gese* 75b, *nyn gesa* 140b, 157b.

¹⁴² *navnio* PA 160b, *navngo* 176c, *Nevngo* [sic] 200a, *Nango* [sic] 209, *Nanso* [sic] 230a.

¹⁴³ Pointed out to me by O.J. Padel.

¹⁴⁴ *regeth* PA 115c. Compare MIC. *re seth* etc. below, with apparent /z/. In MIW. *ry* B. *ra*, the particle does not end in a consonantal element, but OW. *rit* appears to be a cognate of MIC. *res*. This seems to be a compound of OW. *ri+it*, see D.S. Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*, § 185 (note 1), p. 166.

¹⁴⁵ It is clear at least that *nyns* and *nans* did not contain the reflex of /nt/, since /n/ cannot be original.

¹⁴⁶ As noted at § 5.6, George's /d/ > /d'/ occurred in internal and final positions, but /z/ was the result in final position only. Pedersen's more limited palatalisation prevented assibilation before front vowels.

The remaining examples of palatalisation in PA are surprisingly few, given that the sound change is nearly universal in the examples given above. The form *nyn gvgy* "there is not" that has been mentioned above should also be compared to *vgy*, found once.¹⁴⁷ This also appears in other texts as MIC. *vsy*, *usy* without apparent palatalisation of the medial consonant.¹⁴⁸ The phrase *hy a begyas* "it lasted" may be compared to *rag trega in ioy a beys* "to live in lasting joy" in BM and to three occurrences of *ny bydgaf* "I will not endure" in CW.¹⁴⁹ The stem of this word seems to be **pesy-* /pe:zj-/ (B. *padout* with no yod), but the final /j/ was apparently lost when it stood in final as a non-syllabic semi-vowel. (This verb should not be confused with *pesy* "to pray", with stem *pes*, of which there are no palatal spellings in PA.¹⁵⁰) The presence of the yod is significant, although the example could also be made to serve the theory that internal /d/ was always palatalised rather than assibilated and that there was no analogical re-modelling in the forms of this verb. The same could be said of *cregyans* "belief" (W. *credu* B. *krediñ*, suffix MIC. *-yans* W. *-iad*), which might be compared to the example *mara cresyn ha bos vas* "if we believe and be good", which shows no internal palatalisation.¹⁵¹ Lastly there are the forms *otese*, *ota gy* "thou art", *mars oge* "if thou art" and the phrase *pan dra a wovente se* "what dost thou know?"¹⁵² These suffixed forms of **di* "thou" variously show assibilation and palatalisation, suggesting that the assibilated phoneme /d/ > /z/ could be later palatalised by the front vowel.

The rather self-evident point that was tacitly assumed by Nance, but later rejected by George, is that examples showing internal *s* and *ss*

¹⁴⁷ *vgy* PA 53d.

¹⁴⁸ *vsy* OM 2692; *usy* RD 1217.

¹⁴⁹ *hy a begyas* PA 201; *rag trega in ioy a beys* BM 4348; *ny bydgaf* CW 1364 (3 exx.).

¹⁵⁰ *pesy* PA 53c.

¹⁵¹ *cregyans* PA 44d, *mara cresyn ha bos vas* 258d.

¹⁵² *otese* PA 107b, *ota gy* 144a, *mars oge* 197b, *pan dra a wovente se* 80a.

are so frequent in PA for earlier /d/ that they must be taken to show /z/ by assibilation.¹⁵³ These could be quoted at length, but a few examples will suffice. The verb *urusy* "to judge" (W. *brawd*) and its past participle *bresys*, the words *ankensy* "grievous" (W. *angen* B. *anken*), *gerensa* "love" (W. *carenydd* B. *karentez*), *densys*, *zensys* "mankind" (W. *dyndod*), *zewsys* "godhead" (W. *duwdod*), *besadow* "prayer" (B. *pediñ*), *pesy* "to pray", *sensy*, *synsy* "to hold" (see § 5.8.3) and *tressa* "third" (W. *trydydd*, *trydedd* B. *trede*) all appear in later Cornish with palatal-type spellings (see § 5.1-4 below).¹⁵⁴

Unlike the final /z/ in *nyns*, *nans* seen above, in the word *mar(s)*, *mara(s)* "if" (B. *mar(d)*), no example of palatalisation is found. This includes *mars o* "if it was", *mar sos*, *mar sota* "if thou art", *Mara sew* "if it is", *mar sew* "if it is" and *mar syns* "if they are", a total of eight examples.¹⁵⁵ If internal /d/ became /dʒ/, then speakers would have to consider *nyn gyw* "it is not" as though it were a single word **nyngyw* even though it would be contrasted with the positive *y thew* < **yth yw*. At the same time, it would be necessary to divide *mar sew* as **mars yw* correctly so that /z/ would be in final position. It is apparent that this is not the usual division in the texts and it seems clear that the scribe's normal habit was the same in both *nyn gew* and *mar sew*. One significant difference is that *nyns* contains a front vowel while *mars* does not, probably going some way to explain the frequency of palatalisation in the former and its absence in the latter.

¹⁵³ NCED, "Pronunciation" [no page, in foreword]. See the remarks at § 5.2 on George's attempts, since withdrawn, to present a unified theory of assibilation and palatalisation. The graph <ss> is an occasional variant of <s> /z/ for earlier /d/ but can also appear for medial /s/.

¹⁵⁴ *urusy* PA 114d, *bresys* 88c, *ankynsy* 184, *gerensa* 58d, 70d, *densys* 10d, 258b, *zensys* 54c, *zewsys* 60c, *besadow* 61a, *pesy* 62a, *sensy* 75b, *synsy* 82c, *tressa* 57c (4 exx.).

¹⁵⁵ *mars o* PA 215d, *Mar sos* [sic] 11c, *mar sos* 14d, *mar sota* 129d, 191b, *Mara sew* [sic] 55a, *mar sew* 61b, *mar syns* 78c.

The fact that graphs indicating palatalisation are so uncommon in one of the earliest long texts of Cornish is a problem for the hypothesis that internal /d/ and /nt/, /lt/ were normally palatalised instead of assibilated. According to George's theory, the graphs *s* and *ss* for earlier /d/ in this huge number of examples actually stood for /d'/ and /nt'/, /lt'/.¹⁵⁶ This would seem to be absurd, given that the French graph *s* would have been the usual graph for /z/ at this time in both English and French as they were spoken in Cornwall. Loanwords and whole sentences from both languages appear in PA, the three plays of the Ordinalia and even in the sixteenth-century BM, so French conventions would certainly have been familiar to the Middle Cornish scribes.

Pedersen's theory would require *s* /z/ and *ns*, *ls* /ns/, /ls/ before back vowels but *s*, *g* /dʒ/ and *ns*, *ls* /ntʃ/, /ltʃ/ before front vowels in PA, since *ng* and *lg* do not occur. Even ignoring his allowance for the analogical spread of these palatals to other positions, this model explains the use of *s* for palatal phonemes no better than George's model. Moreover, there is no way to show whether any given *s* stood for a palatal or a sibilant. Both models ignore the fact that *g* and *ng*, *lg* are uncommon in PA but become frequent in later texts. The only way to reconcile these theories with the evidence of PA would be to argue that analogical extension generalised /z/ where the predicted sound change should have given /d'/ or /dʒ/. If this were true, it seems hard to understand why later texts have more extensive palatal spellings. In short, it seems that *s* probably indicated a sibilant in these phonemes, according to contemporary conventions.

¹⁵⁶ PHC, p. 294. Although he allowed for rare analogical *s* /z/, it would seem impossible if it was strictly a development of /d'/ in final position. Presumably *s* meant /d'/ by his theory anyway.

5.8.3. The Ordinalia (OM, PC & RD)

The three plays of the Ordinalia are considered to have been produced in the late fourteenth century, perhaps around half a century later than PA.¹⁵⁷ The earliest manuscript, however, dates perhaps from the mid fifteenth century and it is therefore possible that a certain amount of subsequent revision could have occurred in transmission. However, as in the case of PA, the extent of this does not seem to be considerable, since the language and orthography does not vary greatly. It remains nonetheless difficult to establish for certain how much of the material dates from the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁸ This should be borne in mind, although it seems impossible to analyse properly the effects upon the sound changes examined here. The best approach, as noted in the previous section, seems to be to take the material as found.

The Ordinalia, like PA, is also discussed here under the general term "Early Middle Cornish", but since the period covered by the extant Middle Cornish texts is between around 1400 (the Charter Fragment) and ca. 1570-1600 (SA), they in fact fall roughly between these dates and the distinction is comparatively trivial. The relative frequency of spellings indicating palatalisation instead of assibilation might perhaps be considered the only particularly striking indicator of any phonological change between the earlier and later halves of the Middle Cornish period. In this regard, it is apparent even from a cursory examination that spellings showing the palatal /dʒ/ are considerably less frequent in the first play *Origo Mundi* than in the longer second *Passio Christi* and the much shorter final play *Resurrectio Domini*. It is at least possible that this may show that the author (or else perhaps his scribe) was a different

¹⁵⁷ See Murdoch's dating, § 1.2.2 above. George's dating seems to be too late, PHC, § 2.4.3, p. 22-3, followed by Williams, *Cornish Today*, § 14.2, p. 125.

individual. The orthographic failure to show palatalisation may be simply a matter of scribal conservatism; but if so, it would be a further indicator that assibilation was an older sound change than palatalisation, even though the same phonemes were affected.

In environments where assibilation could not be expected as an alternative, spellings indicating palatalisation in the three plays occur in the same words in which they are seen in PA. The word *chy* "house" occurs as normal, whether or not it is preceded by the words *an* "the" or *yn* "in (the)".¹⁵⁹ It does not show mutation in *ov chy* "my house", *yth chy* "in thy house" and *y chy* "his house", although analogical mutation ("New Lenition") may have been present in speech after *yth* "in thy" and *y* "his".¹⁶⁰ There seems to have been occasional reluctance to write the graphs *g*, *i*, *j* and *J* initially as lenition products (no other native words begin with /tʃ/, although a few instances occur in loans. Henry Lewis cited, for example, *cheryta* "charity" but *dre geryte* "through (=out of) charity" and *a gangyes* "changed" (from *changya*), all from PA.¹⁶¹ To this may be compared *me re jangyas* "I have changed" in BK.¹⁶²

The word also appears in the compound *agy*, *agey* "inside".¹⁶³ The fact that mutation is seen in here but is missing in **y gy < y chy* could be because the compound was formed prior to palatalisation of lenited initial /d/ > /dʒ/ in OC. **a di > MIC. agy*. Thus OC. **a di* would have undergone palatalisation purely because of the high front vowel. There is nothing in principle to disallow **y gy* "his house". However, the fact that the initial

¹⁵⁸ J. Bakere, *The Cornish Ordinalia*, p. 1.

¹⁵⁹ *chy* OM 356 (6 exx.); *ov chy* PC 634 (17 exx.); *y chy* RD 1397 (5 exx.). The ex. *yn ow thy a piyadow* PC 344 is considered below, but did not in any case participate in palatalisation.

¹⁶⁰ *ov chy* OM 1961; *yth chy* PC 1802; *y chy* PC 649; RD 1631. Probably lenition (in this case voicing) would in any case have been negated by subsequent provection in the example *yth chy*. See the two similar examples in BK at § 5.9.1 below.

¹⁶¹ H. Lewis, *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol*, § 8, p. 9, n., exx. *cheryta* PA 45b, *dre cheryta* PA 38a, *a gangyes* PA 68a [cited incorrectly]. Compare *changya* BM 1906. These are instances of New Lenition.

¹⁶² *me re jangyas* Bk 412f.

¹⁶³ *agy* OM 764 (9 exx.); RD 115 (4 exx.); *agey* PC 627.

phoneme occurred in no other native word may have led it to be treated like the more frequent loanwords with initial /tʃ/. If New Lenition was not yet a consistent sound change at this date (and it may be noted that it is not complete even today in all dialects of Breton), this fact may account for the sporadic recognition of the initial mutation. The word would then no longer be recognised as a reflex of earlier initial /t/. The isolated instance of *yn ow thy a piyadow* must represent a fossilised, archaic phrase **ty a bysadow* "house of prayer".¹⁶⁴ Whether it was in common or literary use is uncertain, but the spirant mutation shows that it did not participate in palatalisation, so it may be ignored here.

The word *deth*, *deyth*, *dyth* "day" occurs frequently without palatalisation, never preceded by the article or *yn* "in (the)".¹⁶⁵ There are also apparent compounds *tryd(d)yth* "three days" and *whed dyth* "six days", although this may simply be incorrect word division.¹⁶⁶ The phrase *pup deyth* "every day" also occurs with provection as *pup tyth*.¹⁶⁷ More significantly there are three cases of *vn deyth* "one day" in which palatalisation fails to occur, compared to one of *un geyth*.¹⁶⁸ After the definite article *an* and the word *yn* "in (the)", forms such as *yn geyth*, *an gyth* "(in) the day", *yn geth hethev* "today" occur as normal.¹⁶⁹ A minor variation on this is the oath *ren geyth hythev* "by this day!" occurring in PC in three spellings.¹⁷⁰ This usage is identical to that seen in PA and had apparently become regular. The example in PC *hanter dogha geyth* "mid afternoon" appears to contain a contraction of **dyworth ewha an geyth*

¹⁶⁴ *yn ow thy a piyadow* PC 344, see N.J.A. Williams, "Four Textual Notes on the Middle Cornish Drama", BCS 22 (1966-8), p. 237. See also the note in the conclusions in § 5.9.5 (ii) below.

¹⁶⁵ OM 17 (11 exx.); PC (8 exx.); RD (14).

¹⁶⁶ *tryddyth* OM 829; *trydyth* PC 347; *triddyth* PC 347; *try-dyth* PC 1311, 1315; *whed dyth* OM 142.

¹⁶⁷ PC 2549; OM 831.

¹⁶⁸ *vn deyth* OM 1952; PC 268; RD 1187; *un geyth* OM 385. This is not an indefinite article, see § 2.3.

¹⁶⁹ *an gyth* OM 1013; *yn geth* PC 2269; *yn geyth* OM 1516; PC 1881; RD 1503, 2496; *yn geth hythyw* PC 831; *yn geth hythev* RD 729; *yn geyth hythew* RD 1233.

¹⁷⁰ *ren geth hethev* PC 1588; *ren geyth hythev* PC 2684; *ren geyth hythew* PC 3089.

"from the afternoon, late afternoon", to which may be compared *ewhe an geyth* in RD (W. *echwydd* B. *ec'hoaz*).¹⁷¹

Similarly, the word *dyowl*, *deawl* "devil" occurs in a variety of spellings without apparent palatalisation.¹⁷² None of these are preceded by the article. However, forms such as *an jawl*, *en ioul*, *an iaul* "the devil" show palatalisation of the initial /d/ > /d'/ > /dʒ/ in every example after the article.¹⁷³ Like the example *en dezyow* "the days" seen above in PA, the plural *an dewolow*, *an dywolow* "the devils" does not have palatalisation, perhaps because these were rarer collocations.¹⁷⁴

The additional syllable in these plurals would also have shifted the stress on to the following syllable. This meant that the syllable containing the affected phoneme was now unstressed. It is possible that the unstressed vowel tended to be lowered and that the conditions for palatalisation of the preceding consonant were not as favourable. Initial mutation in the instance *an thewolow* was apparently a block to palatalisation in any event.¹⁷⁵ Another word *an ievan*, *an gevan* "the devil, demon, fiend", *an fals ievan* "the false devil, fiend" appears with similar meaning, but **d(y)evan* (presumably from the Latin *daemon*) does not occur without the article.¹⁷⁶ Just as in PA, this sound change seems to have been regular in these few words where the nasal /n/ preceded and a front vowel followed, apparently always in a stressed syllable.

This is precisely the same phonetic environment described above in verb forms such as *an geves* "he has" formed from the masculine singular

¹⁷¹ *hanter dogha geyth* PC 2912 (see NCED, p. 41); *ewhe an geyth* RD 275.

¹⁷² *dyowl* OM 300; *deawl* PC 137; *dyaul* PC 1618, 3062; RD 132; *deaul* RD 2089 (5 exx.).

¹⁷³ *an jawl* OM 2526; *an ioul* OM 2700; RD 1564 (3 exx.); *en ioul* RD 2130; *an iaul* PC 1461, 2045; RD 80, 2641.

¹⁷⁴ *an dewolow* RD 97, 2345, 2277; *an dywolow* PC 77. In addition to the examples without the article in PA, note *dewolow* OM 569; RD 2299; 2302, *ow dewolow* 2307, *dywolow* RD 301.

¹⁷⁵ *an thewolow* PC 3057. Initial mutation in this plural is also found in CW (see below). Certain masculine plurals, as in Breton, have initial mutation, mostly human plurals. See H. Lewis, *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol*, § 9, p. 11. Presumably the devils are not felt to be people in the other instances.

infixed pronoun, the prefix **de-* and forms of the verb *bos, bones* "to be" in order to indicate possession. As seen above in PA, this occurs in a variety of tenses; in the Ordinalia, however, the initial /dʒ/ is represented by *i* or *j* as well as *g*. Examples include *an gefes, an ieves* "he has", *nyn ieves, nyn jeves, nyn gefes* "he has not", *nan geves, nan gefes* "that he has not", *mara ieves* "if he has" (present), *an geffo, yn geffo* "that he have", *nan geffo, nan gefo* "that he have not", *man geffo, man ieffo*, "that he have", *ren geffo* "may he have" (pres. subj.), *an geve, an gefe* "he had", *nyn gefe* "he had not" (pret.), *an geffe* "he had" (imperf. subj.), *nyn gyfye* "he had not" (pluperf.), *an gefydh, yn gevyth, an geuyth* "he will have", *nyn gevyth* "he will not have" (future), a total of 41 cases.¹⁷⁷

The only other word in the Ordinalis in which it is to be expected that palatalisation occurred first, and thus blocked any subsequent assibilation, is *nyge* "to fly, float, swim" (W. *neidio* "to jump" B. *nijal* "to fly") and a few other related forms.¹⁷⁸ Since Jackson traced the equivalent sound changes in Breton back to the 11th century at least, it is probable that palatalisation in this word pre-dated assibilation.¹⁷⁹ There is no need to speculate that the Cornish word was affected by Breton, since the word apparently had etymological /dj/ in both languages.¹⁸⁰ The changes in both languages may be seen as natural, parallel developments. In the phrases *y a nyg quyc hag vskys* "they fly quickly" and *ke nyg a vgh lues pow* "go fly thou over many countries" in OM, respectively the third

¹⁷⁶ *an ievan* RD 2282; *an gevan* PC 1338, *an fals ievan* PC 154. The third example is again by analogy, despite the insertion of a word.

¹⁷⁷ *an gefes* OM 1484; *an ieves* PC 1776, *nyn ieves* 66, *nyn jeves* 862, *nyn gefes* 1855, *nan geves* 1578; *nan gefes* RD 788, 912; *mara ieves* PC 47; *an geffo* OM 422; PC 919, *yn geffo* 986; *nan geffo* OM 551; RD 384, 2020, *nan gefo* 269; *man geffo* PC 2092; RD 1621, 2012, 2049, *man ieffo* 1973, *ren geffo* 2085; *an geve* OM 2219; PC 2975; *an gefe* RD 694, *nyn gefe* 1783; *an geffe* OM 2230; *nyn gyfye* RD 966; *an gefydh* OM 516; RD 1985; *an gevyth* OM 599; PC 963; 1882; RD 2345; *an geuyth* PC 1181; RD 2080; *yn gefydh* OM 2094; *yn gevyth* PC 670, *nyn geuyth* 1118; *nyn gevyth* RD 1561.

¹⁷⁸ *nyge* OM 1023; RD 552.

¹⁷⁹ See HPB § 412 (5), p. 302, § 580, pp. 412-3, § 584, pp. 414-5.

¹⁸⁰ Further references are given by R.W. Elsie, *The Position of Brittonic: A Synchronic and Diachronic Analysis of Genetic Relationships in the Basic Vocabulary of Brittonic Celtic*, p. 96. The derivation cited is Brit. **snatjā*, as given by Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, § 972.

person singular of the present-future and the second person singular of the imperative, this verb has the rare feature of final /dʒ/.¹⁸¹ It seems clear that ***nys* was not a possible form. The related verb *trenyge* "to overfly" occurs in *nys guelaf ov trenyge* "I see her not overflying" and the third person singular preterite of *nyge* occurs once in *agan gorhel re nygyas* "our ark hath floated" with a related meaning.¹⁸²

In verbs such as *pesy*, *pygy* "to pray" and *crysy*, *crygy* "to believe" given above, forms suggesting both /z/ and /dʒ/ appear in both medial and final positions but the bare stems *pys*, *crys* are written exclusively with *s* as though only /z/ were possible in final position. This might be compared with *rag trega in ioy a beys* "to live in lasting joy" in the earlier example cited from PA. A non-syllabic semi-vowel was apparently lost in final position from the stem **pesy-* /pezj-/, yet the form indicates assibilation rather than the palatalisation seen in *ny bydgaf* in CW. It seems that the sound change /z/ > /dʒ/ from earlier /d/ was avoided in final position after a vowel.¹⁸³

By contrast, there are no examples in which parts of the verb *nyge* occur with orthographic assibilation and the Breton form *nijal* suggests that /d/ > /dʒ/ was an earlier sound change. Since the form *nyg* is so highly unusual in showing apparent final /dʒ/, it seems that palatalisation /d/ > /dʲ/ > /dʒ/ was probably caused by the following yod and therefore prevented subsequent assibilation of the phoneme. It is not clear why this did not happen at this time equally in **pesy-* < **pedy-* unless it was perhaps because the preceding vowel was not as close. If these two examples show that palatalisation occurred in more than one period of

¹⁸¹ *y a nyg quyc hag vskys* OM 1068, *ke nyg a vgh lues pow*, 1136.

¹⁸² *nys guelaf ov trenyge* OM 1142, *agan gorhel re nygyas* 1087.

¹⁸³ As George notes in PHC § 12.1.3 (4), although no explanation is given. Although final /-Vdʒ/ does not occur in Middle Cornish, final /-ldʒ/ occurs in a few rare examples in BM (see below).

Cornish, this is further evidence that OC. /d/ was affected by several distinct sound changes and that the sequence and results of these depended on the precise phonetic environment in any given word.

In environments where either assibilation or palatalisation could be expected, the Ordinalia shows a slightly greater incidence of spellings indicating the latter than does PA. This is particularly true of the second and third plays. Even so, orthographic *s* is still far more common than *g* in all positions. It is broadly true to say, nonetheless, that palatalisation occurs sporadically in most cases where it is also found in PA.

A surprising exception to this is in parts of the verb *bos* "to be" with the negative particle *ny(ns)* or the temporal particle *nans* meaning "now, since", where it is oddly infrequent. The present tense occurs in the third person singular in various spellings of *nyn syv*, *nyns yw* "is not" on 28 occasions, none of which show palatalisation.¹⁸⁴ Seven variations on *nans yw*, *nannsyv* "now it is, since" occur with assibilation and no apparent palatalisation.¹⁸⁵ The same pattern occurs in other persons and tenses. In the present tense, the forms *nyns os*, *nyn sos*, *nynsos(e)* "thou art not", *nans on* "now we are", *nyns on* "we are not", *nynsough*, *nyn so(u)gh* "ye are not" occur.¹⁸⁶ The short imperfect tense is found once in *nans o* and twice in *nyns o* "it was not".¹⁸⁷ In the longer form of the present and imperfect tenses (either locative or used in a present participle construction) there are the forms *nynsugy* "it is not" and *nyngese* "it was not, there was not" that show palatalisation and two further spellings *nynsese* of the latter that do not.¹⁸⁸ The former shows palatalisation only

¹⁸⁴ *Nynsew* OM 93 [sic]; *nynsyw* OM 1546 (3 exx.); PC 86, 216; RD 613 (9 exx.); *nyn syw* PC 1894; RD 264; *nyns yw* RD 2105, 2234; *nyn syv* PC 800 (5 exx.); *nynsyv* PC 1678 (3 exx.); RD 406.

¹⁸⁵ *Nans yw* OM 656 [sic]; *Nansyw* OM 2321 [sic]; *nans yw* OM 1127; *nannsyv* OM 2454; *nans yv* OM 2758; PC 701, 2240; *nansyv* PC 2617.

¹⁸⁶ *nyn sos* PC 2220; *nyn sose* RD 1261; *nyns os* RD 1092; *nynsos* RD 1364, 1410; *nans on* OM 283; *nyns on* RD 2155; *nynsough* OM 1504; RD 1136; *nyn sough* PC 866; *nyn sogh* PC 791.

¹⁸⁷ *nans o* PC 3119; *nyns o* PC 1298; RD 1252.

¹⁸⁸ *nynsugy* OM 1398; RD 782; *nyngese* RD 650; *nynsese* OM 789; RD 1321.

of vgy "is", not the particle *nyns*. By far the most common example is the present existential *nynsus*, *nyn sus*, *nynses* "there is not".¹⁸⁹ There are a total of 32 occurrences, none of which have orthographic palatalisation.

To these cases might be added also the first word of the English phrase *Nans ye abel doway that* "Now ye, Abel, do that", the Cornish word replacing English "now".¹⁹⁰ Finally there are a few inflected parts of *mos*, *mones* "to go". The forms *nynsaf* "I go not", *nynsa*, *nyns a* "goes not" follow the same pattern as parts of *bos* following the particle.¹⁹¹ (This is the only other verb apart from *bos* before which the longer form of *ny(ns)* and the temporal particle *nans* are found in Cornish.) The particle *res* occurs with perfective meaning in three instances of *re seth* "has gone" and once with the optative subjunctive in the unique instance *re gymmy* "may thou kiss".¹⁹² This is the only example in Middle Cornish in which *res* occurs before a vowel in a verb other than *bos* and *mos*. In short, in some ninety examples only one of *nyngese* and one of *re gymmy* in RD show palatalisation in the entire Ordinalia. Considering that the sound change is written in twenty-nine out of thirty cases in PA, this is a strange reversal of the earlier situation and suggests that the feature had probably not become standard in these words.

A few inflected parts of the verb *bos* "to be" also occur showing palatalisation which is not connected with the negative or temporal particles. The form *nynsugy* has already been given above, to which may be added *mar asugy* "if it is".¹⁹³ Four other examples of vgy "is" have the

¹⁸⁹ *nynsus* OM 435 (16 exx.); PC 1336 (5 exx.); RD 420 (6 exx.); *nynses* OM 1236, 2468; *nyn sus* PC 1833 (3 exx.). The example *nynsa ioy* RD 760 is probably not a mistake for **nynses ioy* (which would require assimilation /z/+/dʒ/ > /dʒ/). It is probably *nyns a* "goes not", see Loth, RC 26 (1905), p. 257.

¹⁹⁰ *Nans ye abel doway that* OM 485

¹⁹¹ *nynsaf* RD 811, *nynsa* 1480, *nyns a* 760, 2214.

¹⁹² *re seth* PC 1027, 1246; RD 789, *re gymmy* 2355. Nance was not entirely convinced that *re gymmy* indicated that *res* rather than *re* was regular before vowels in verbs other than *bos* and *mos*, see NCED, Appendix vii, p. 197. The new examples discovered in 2002 (see § 5.9.1 below) all occur before forms of *mos* and do not prove the point, but there seems to be no reason to doubt *re gymmy* in any case.

¹⁹³ *mar asugy* RD 1636, 1758.

sound change and one of *vsy* does not.¹⁹⁴ Two further forms of *nagusy*, *nagvsy* "that it is not" also show only assibilation.¹⁹⁵ The longer form of the imperfect tense is found with the palatal written as (*yth*) *ege* "it was not, there was not", which may be compared to *nynsese*, *nyngese* seen above.¹⁹⁶ (The latter shows palatalisation of only the particle and not the verb.) Also without the change, there are four cases of *ese* and two of *ythese*.¹⁹⁷ In the second person singular there occur *ytheses* and *eses* "thou wast not".¹⁹⁸ In the long form of the present tense one case of *y thegen* "we are" shows a palatal compared to one of *ythesen* and one of *esen* without.¹⁹⁹ The number of examples with orthographic palatalisation is therefore roughly equal to those that have assibilation.

Two further groups of words preceding parts of the verbs *bos* "to be" and *mos*, *mones* "to go" are also worth considering here. Firstly it should be noted that, exactly as in PA, the conjunction *mar(s)*, *mara(s)* "if" < SWBr. **mard* B. *mar(d)* "if" is never written with palatalisation of the final sound, which always appears with assibilation. It should be noted that the full form *mar(a)s* only occurs before inflected parts of *bos* and *mos* that begin with a vowel, the final phoneme being elsewhere lost in any case.²⁰⁰ Of the 47 examples with parts of *bos* and the four examples with parts of *mos*, a few will suffice here. These include *mar(a) syw*, *mar syv* "if it is, if he/she is", *marsof vy* "if I am", *marsos* "if thou art", *mar syns* "if they are", *marsu(e)s* "if there are", *mar asugy* "if it is",

¹⁹⁴ *vgy* PC 962 (4 exx.); *vsy* OM 1616.

¹⁹⁵ *nagusy* OM 573; *nagvsy* RD 1217. This is for **nag usy* /*nag əzi*/, in which <g> means /g/. The use of this graph for both /g/ and dʒ/ is a potentially confusing feature of Middle Cornish orthography.

¹⁹⁶ *ege* OM 796; PC 502; RD 1095.

¹⁹⁷ *ese* OM 1089; RD 514 (3 exx.); *ythese* PC 1405; RD 140.

¹⁹⁸ *ytheses* PC 2259; *eses* OM 900.

¹⁹⁹ *y thegen* RD 2148; *yth esen* RD 1169, *esen* 2395.

²⁰⁰ There seems to be no limitation upon the form <mar(a)> according to tense as there was in MIB. and as is still the formal usage among some writers of ModB. The word is always compounded with the old particle <re> or <ro> (which was still used in MIC.), except before the negative <ny(ns)>, where the older simplex form <ma> is always found instead, perhaps since both particles could not be used.

marsevgh "if ye go", *mar a seth*, *mar seth*, *marseth* "if thou goest".²⁰¹ The word *mar(a)s* "if" is especially interesting in comparison to *kyns* "ere, before". This appears both before parts of the verbs "to be" and "to go" and also before *es*, *ys* "than" with the meaning "rather than". The former may be illustrated by the examples *kyns en* "before I was" and *kynseth* "before thou goest" with assibilation.²⁰² The other use may be seen in two cases of *kyns ys*, but also in five examples of *kyngys* and two of *kyn gys* that show palatalisation.²⁰³ Although it is not inflected parts of a verb that follow but a conjunction, it is nonetheless instructive to note that palatalisation is common in *kyns*, which has a high front vowel, but it never occurs at all in *mar(a)s*, which does not.

The suffixed pronoun *-sy*, *-gy* occurs far more frequently in the Ordinalia than in the few cases in PA given above. It is used after verbs and prepositional pronouns as well as to reinforce a prefixed possessive pronoun with either a noun or verb-noun. In the first of these four categories, the vast majority of examples follow parts of the verb *bos* "to be", particularly compounded with the second person singular *os* "thou art", with the same meaning or slightly emphasising the pronoun.²⁰⁴ The forms *oge*, *os gy*, *oge gy* (with an emphatic doubled pronoun), *ota gy* (with two pronouns *-ta* and *-gy*, both meaning "thou"), *asoge*, *a soge* "how thou art!", *hessoge* < **ha essoge* "and how thou art!" are written with palatalisation, a total of eight examples.²⁰⁵ The forms *ose*, *osa*, *osy*, *ythose* "thou art", *a nynsose* "art thou not?" and *assosa* "how thou art!"

²⁰¹ *mar syw* PC 222; *mara syw* RD 828; *mar syv* PC 742; *marsof vy* RD 1831, *marsos* 1699, *mar syns* 1699; *marsues* PC 3142; *mar sus* OM 1116; *mar asugy* RD 1758; *marsevgh* OM 2185; *mar a seth* RD 538, *mar seth* 701, *marseth* 2362. In <mar asugy>, the palatal is in the verb, not in *mara(s)* "if".

²⁰² *kyns en* RD 2580, *kynseth* 1013.

²⁰³ *kyns ys* RD 202, 925; *kyngys* PC 324 (4 exx.); *kyngys* RD 1728; *kyn gys* PC 1713, 1779.

²⁰⁴ *os* PC 420; RD 262 (passim).

²⁰⁵ *oge* OM 1767; *os gy* RD 1931; *oge gy* PC 1234; *ota gy* RD 463, *asoge* 971, *a soge* PC 2891; *hessoge* RD 983.

are found with assibilation only, numbering ten examples.²⁰⁶ There are too few forms to show any difference between the texts, although OM has only one apiece, but it seems that all three texts sometimes show palatalisation and sometimes do not.

The phrases *Eua prag y whruste sy* "Eve, why didst thou...?" and *prag y tolste sy* "Why didst thou deceive...?" occur with assibilation in OM.²⁰⁷ One example *may fy the gy offrynnys* "that thou be sacrificed" has palatalisation in the doubled pronoun.²⁰⁸ The remainder are found in RD, including *fatel thuthie gy* "How didst thou come...?", *rak na vy gy* "that thou be not" and *pan ylly gy* "when thou canst".²⁰⁹ The imperatives *na whyla gy* "seek thou not", *tau sy* "be thou quiet", *ha fasta sy* "and make fast" also occur in RD, only the first having palatalisation.²¹⁰ Beside these are the variants with doubled pronouns *tav the gy* "be thou quiet" and *faste the gy* "make fast", both with palatalisation.²¹¹ A double pronoun occurs in PC with palatalisation in *kerghy the gy* "fetch them thyself" as an independent emphatic pronoun rather than a true suffixed pronoun, since the object of the sentence separates it from the verb.²¹²

The suffixed pronoun *-sy*, *-gy* also occurs after prepositional pronouns in a few cases. These are *dyso gy*, *thyso gy* "to thee", *drethos the gy* "through thee" (emphatic), *genes gy* "with thee", *ahanas gy* "of thee" and *worthys gy* "to thee", all written with palatalisation.²¹³ In some cases it occurs after a noun or noun and adjective to reinforce a preceding possessive pronoun. This occurs in *the lynneth the sy* "thy lineage", *the*

²⁰⁶ *ose* OM 1796 & PC 1018 (3 exx. in PC); *osa* PC 332, *osy* 2179; *ythose* RD 2626; *a nynsose* PC 1290; *assoma* RD 1261; RD 953.

²⁰⁷ *Eua prag y whruste sy* OM 277, *prag y tolste sy* 301.

²⁰⁸ *may fy the gy offrynnys* OM 1327.

²⁰⁹ *fatel thuthie gy* RD 260, *rak na vy gy* 474, *pan ylly gy* 2452.

²¹⁰ *na whyla gy* RD 222, *tau sy* 405, *ha fasta sy* 1163.

²¹¹ *tav the gy* "be thou quiet" and *faste the gy* RD 1091, 2368.

²¹² *kerghy the gy* PC 2282. Better re-divided as *kergh y thegy* /kerɣ i ðədʒi/.

²¹³ *dyso gy* OM 842, *thyso gy* 1282 (4 exx.); PC 59 (3 exx.); RD 1740, 1830; *drethos the gy* PC 295; *genes gy* OM 1563; *ahanas gy* PC 2263; *worthys gy* RD 1728.

voth the gy "thy will", *the thythyow the gy* "thy days" and *the thev ploste gey* "thy dirty god", all of which have an emphatic doubled pronoun.²¹⁴ The first of these is the only example of such a doubled pronoun *the gy* /ðɛdʒi/ < *the sy* /ðɛzi/ < OC. **dedi* /dɪdi/ < PrimC. **didi* that show assibilation only. Only once in *the naghe gy* "to deny thee" is the second person singular suffixed pronoun used with a verb-noun.²¹⁵ It seems from these examples that the pronoun was written with only assibilation as often as it was written with palatalisation in all three plays, but that the doubled pronoun was usually spelt with a palatalised element. This may be because the affected segment in MIC. *ðe sy /ðɛzi/ PrimC. **didi* did not only precede a front vowel as usual but also followed one, albeit not as high, which perhaps reinforced any tendency towards palatalisation of the phoneme. If unstressed /ɛ/ tended to become /ə/ in this word, since it had unusual stress (cf. W. tydi), the preceding vowel is irrelevant.

Other than these various categories, the Ordinalia contains a much wider assortment of words with spellings indicating palatalisation of PrimC. /d/ than does PA, in which the phonemes in question are nearly always found with assibilation instead. Even so, spellings indicating assibilation are still so common even in the Ordinalia (especially in OM) that it is not possible to list them all here. It is however easy enough to demonstrate that a great many words showing palatalisation would have been equally likely to appear with assibilation only.

Amongst the most common, due to the religious nature of the Middle Cornish texts, are words related to the verb *crysy* "to believe", which itself appears also as *crygy* and with initial lenition as *grysy*,

²¹⁴ *the lynneth the sy* OM 315; *the voth the gy* PC 1039; *the thythyow the gy* RD 2037; *the thev ploste gey* OM 1809.

²¹⁵ *the naghe gy* RD 1156.

grygy.²¹⁶ The word *cregyans* "belief" seen above in PA appears once in OM, along with the more frequent variants *crygyans* (6 examples), *grygyans* (4 examples) and the related *dyscrygyans* "unbelief".²¹⁷ The word *dyscrygyk* "unbeliever" appears twice in RD, rhyming once with *dywysyk* "devout" and once with both *anfusyk* "unfortunate, disastrous" and *cuthygyk* "contrite, repentant".²¹⁸ In either case it is obvious enough that final /-zɪk/ and /-dʒɪk/ constitute a full rhyme and were equivalent in the mind of the scribe. The word also appears as *descrygyk* once in RD and twice in OM in the plural *dyscryggyon* "unbelievers".²¹⁹ The word *cuthygyk* is also made to rhyme with *anfugyk* once in PC, which on this occasion is written with palatalisation.²²⁰ The plural *anfesygyon* appears once without palatalisation in RD and the related noun *anfugy* "disaster, calamity" occurs with the sound change written in both OM and PC.²²¹ In all of these cases, either a yod or high front vowel follows the affected phoneme. These examples might be compared with the word *galogek* "powerful, mighty" with the palatal written for OC. *galluidoc*.²²² The vowel of the ending MIC. *-ek* < OC. *-oc* perhaps had a tendency to be raised, since there seems to be no other motivation for palatalisation.

Palatalisation is strangely uncommon in the inflected parts of this verb, seen only in *nan crygyth ef* "that thou believest it not" and *nyn cregyth* "thou believest not".²²³ The forms *ny grysaf*, *ny gressaf* "I believe not" (which rhymes with *pesaf* "I pray"), *ny gresough* "ye believe not" occur in the present tense and *y kresen* "we would believe" and *ny gresyn*

²¹⁶ *crysy* PC 2883; *grysy* RD 1130, 2461; *crygy* PC 1482 (4 exx.); RD 8 (23 exx.); *grygy* RD 1047, 1219, 2381.

²¹⁷ *cregyans* OM 1882; *crygyans* PC 1813 (3 exx.); RD 1174 (3 exx.); *grygyans* PC 1572; RD 1164 (3 exx.); *dyscrygyans* RD 1516.

²¹⁸ *dyscrygyk* RD 1369, 1519, *dywysyk* 1370, *anfusyk* 1520, *cuthygyk* 1521.

²¹⁹ *descrygyk* RD 1431; *dyscryggyon* OM 1855, 1869.

²²⁰ *cuthygyk* PC 1423, *anfugyk* 1424.

²²¹ *anfesygyon* RD 85: note that the graph <g> here means /g/, replacing de-voiced final /k/ in the singular; *anfugy* OM 2328; PC 1473, 2044.

²²² *galogek* RD 2376; *galluidoc* Voc. Corn. 247.

²²³ *nan crygyth ef* RD 1087; *nyn cregyth* 1385.

"I would not believe" appear in the imperfect.²²⁴ The related past participle *thyscryssys* "disbelieved" and the plural imperatives *creseugh* and *cresough why* "believe" also appear.²²⁵

More interesting are the forms of the present subjunctive *nan cresso* "that believe it not", *na gresso* "that believe not", *an cresso* "that believe it" and *a (len) gryssso* "that (truly) believe" in RD.²²⁶ Although the double graph <ss> is used as a rare alternative for <s> /z/, it is habitually used in the subjunctive forms. Since a form such as *cresso* would have developed from PrimC. **kred+ho*, it seems that this developed to MIC. **/krez+ho/ > /kresso/* by assibilation and provection. Either this rendered it immune from palatalisation or, in addition, it was always followed by a back vowel in this part of the verb and was not therefore likely to be palatalised. It may be noted that the present subjunctive is never written with palatalisation in Cornish. To fit with the George's theory that /d/ became /d'/ in internal position, it would be necessary to fall back on the idea that analogy re-shaped such paradigms, presumably based upon the stem and third person singular *res*, *cris*. Otherwise the present subjunctive would have been **/kred'+ho/ > */kret'o/* and <ss> would have fallen together with <ch> /t'/ in *chy* if it were perversely used for this sound. It seems far simpler and in keeping with the evidence that these phonemes were /ss/ as they were written.

Another common verb is *pygy*, *pigy* "to pray".²²⁷ The third person present-future appears in *my agis peys* "I pray ye" with the expected assibilation rather than palatalisation in final position. In the third person preterite the form *pygys* "prayed" is found twice and *pysys* once, this

²²⁴ *ny grysaf* RD 1056, *ny gressaf* 1353, *pesaf* 1356; *ny gresough* PC 2688, *y kresen* 2871; *ny gresyn* RD 1549. The forms of *y kresen* and *ny gresyn* do not show whether they are imperfect or pluperfect, but in the latter the graph <s> would stand for /s/ < /z+h/ rather than /z/. The context shows that the first is conditional and is probably imperfect, while the latter is certainly imperfect with medial /z/.

²²⁵ *thyscryssys* PC 1040; *creseugh* RD 1141, *cresough why* 1300.

²²⁶ *nan cresso* RD 1348, *na gresso* 2478, *an cresso* 1555, *a gryssso* 1707, *a len gryssso* 2466.

²²⁷ *pygy* PC 1013 (4 exx.); RD 285 (6 exx.); *pigy* PC 109, 357.

latter also appearing once as the form of the past participle.²²⁸ The related noun *pyiadow*, *piyadow* "prayer" is also left without palatalisation in *ow fysadow*.²²⁹ The present tense forms *pesaf* "I pray", *pygyth* "thou prayest", *pigyn*, *pygyn* "we pray" show palatalisation before a front vowel but not a back vowel.²³⁰ Two plural imperatives *pyseygh* and *pesough* "pray" show no palatalisation.²³¹ The form *pysse* occurs once as the conditional, probably the pluperfect conditional with /ss/ < /z+h/ instead of /z/ and once as the past subjunctive, which almost certainly contained /ss/.²³²

The verb *bryge*, *brugy* "to judge" appears also in the past participle *brugys* with apparently the same meaning but no palatal written.²³³ The verb *gase*, *gasse*, *ase* "to leave" is also found as *gage*, *age* and in the plural imperative *gesough*, *geseugh*, *gysseugh* "leave!".²³⁴ Other verbal forms with apparent palatalisation found in the Ordinalia include the past participle *vygythys* "baptised" (cf. *besythia* in TH), and *sallugy* "to salute".²³⁵ No example of **sallusy* occurs without palatalisation.

The common verb *sensy*, *syngy* "to seize, hold" shows a variation between forms with palatalisation and those without in the third person singular preterite *sengys*, *senges*, *syngys*, *synsys*, but has none in *pyv a synsow why mogha* "who do you take (as the) greatest?"²³⁶ The present tense *sensaf* "I seize, hold" has no palatalisation before the back vowel. The imperative occurs in the singular *syns y* "take her" and *syns yth dorn* "take in thy hand", in the plural *sensew e*, *senseugh ef* "seize him" and in

²²⁸ *pygys* OM 739; PC 2195; *pysys* PC 1095; *pysys* OM 860 [p.pt.].

²²⁹ *pyiadow* PC 24, 2651, *piyadow* 334; *ow fysadow* OM 1830.

²³⁰ *pesaf* RD 1356, *pygyth* 852; *pigyn* PC 199; *pygyn* RD 2394.

²³¹ *pyseygh* PC 2, *pesough* 1076.

²³² *pysse* PC 2906; RD 2378.

²³³ *bryge* PC 444, *brugy* 1668; RD 2199; *brugys* PC 2234.

²³⁴ *gase* PC 1808, 2159, *gasse* 2012, *ase* 2035, *gage* 1813, *age* 1987, *gesough* 2815, 3165, *geseugh* 2832; *gysseugh* RD 38.

²³⁵ *vygythys* RD 1143, *besythia* TH 36a.4 [JT], *sallugy*, 1009; RD 598; PC 972 & 2126.

²³⁶ *sensy* PC 1176, *syngy* 1883, *sengys* 510, *senges* 773, *syngys* 782 (2 exx.); RD 96 (2 exx.); *synsys* PC 1305, *pyv a synsow why mogha* 798.

the rare third person singular *syngyns* "let him take".²³⁷ These all follow the expected pattern, in that palatalisation would not normally be expected in final or before a lax vowel but it could occur before a close vowel as in the final example given here.

This verb is at least in part derived from L. *sentio*, as are its cognates MIB. *sentiff* B. *sentin* W. *synnwyr*, *synio*.²³⁸ The Welsh meaning is "to imagine, think, sense" according to the Latin, whereas the Breton (with the preposition *ouzh* "at, to, against") has come somehow to mean "to obey", either from the secondary Latin meaning "to judge, decide" or else perhaps through an intermediate sense such as "to esteem".²³⁹ This would account for the use of the verb with similar meanings in Middle Cornish, but not for the additional sense "to hold, seize".²⁴⁰ That this sense was already current in Old Cornish is shown by the word *sinsiat* "miser" (lit. "one who holds") with the suffix *-iat* (MIC. *-yas* WB. *-iad*).²⁴¹ Presumably the process of semantic change went through a series of meanings such as "to think" > "to esteem" > "to hold to" (a decision, authority or view) before it came to replace the root *dalgh-* "to hold" (physically). The alternative idea seems difficult, that the additional range of meaning might have been due to the influence Eng. *seize* < OFr. *seisir* < LL. *sacīre* < Gmc. **sakyan* (not directly from Anglo-Saxon, cf. OHG. *sazzan*).²⁴² This verb was borrowed separately as C. *sesya*, though it is not

²³⁷ *sensaf* OM 1430; PC 2265, 2268, *syms y* PC 2929, *syms yth dorn* 3010, *sensew e* 1086, *senseugh ef* 1374, *syngyns* 1801.

²³⁸ É. Ernault, *Dictionnaire étymologique du breton moyen*, printed in his edition of *Le mystère de Sainte Barbe*, p. 379; LHEB, § 17, p. 304, H. Lewis, *Yr Elfen Lladin yn yr Iaith Gymraeg*, pp. 2-3, 8, 20, 47; GPC, p. 3393 [headwords: *syniaf*, *syniaid*, *synied*, *synio*, *synnwyr*].

²³⁹ It is just possible that a further verb related to the adj. B. *sañset* "esteemed, considered, held (to be)" could have been merged with this in C. (not B.), derived from Fr. *censé* < L. *censere*. The verb may be obsolete in B., but probably only the adj. ever existed. Even if this is true, the verb is still cognate with the WB. forms. Any such merger would in any case be impossible without prior assibilation /nt/ > /ns/.

²⁴⁰ The native stem *dalgh-* (MIW. *daly* ModW. *dal(a)* B. *delc'her*, *derc'hel*, stem *dalgh*) occurs only in the derived *dalhen* "grip" (PC 1131), *dalhenne* "to grip, seize" (PC 1141).

²⁴¹ *sinsiat* Voc. Corn. 411.

²⁴² See *The Chambers Dictionary*, 1998, p. 1498 [headword "seize"].

impossible that such influence pre-dated the later loan.²⁴³ Whatever the reasons for the semantic change, the verb must contain /ns/ < /nt/.

Palatalisation in other words appears to be of limited scope in the Ordinalia. Various spellings of *bolungeth* "will" (B. *bolontez* L. *voluntatem*) appear, always with palatalisation.²⁴⁴ In *vryongen* and *bryangen* "throat" the palatalisation may be compared with the assibilation in *bryonsen* in BM.²⁴⁵ The reverse is seen in *martesen* "perhaps" with /z/, which appears once as *martegen* and once as *martesen* in BM.²⁴⁶ However, this word must contain /z/ < /s/, since the cognate B. *marteze* is evidently from *mar+teu+se* "if that comes".²⁴⁷ This is a telling orthographical possibility, albeit rare, that demonstrates clearly that /(d)ʒ/ could result from /z/ of whatever origin, including from voicing /s/.

The loan *hobersen* "habergeon" < MIFr. *haubergeon* is paralleled by B. *hobregon* with /ʒ/ from the same source.²⁴⁸ It is likely therefore that *s* means the fricative /ʒ/ < /z'/, or perhaps even the fully palatalised affricate /dʒ/. The fact that *s* is not a natural choice of graph for /dʒ/ may mitigate slightly against it. It may be a scribal hypercorrection, drawn from the awareness that *s* and *g* could vary in some words. In any case, this seems to be the same as saying that the difference between *s* and *g* was not important to him in some phonetic environments. That either the fricative or affricate should be written with *s* is remarkable. The most obvious and natural conclusion is that the change /z'/ > /dʒ/ was well advanced in relevant phonetic environments.

²⁴³ If allowed as a possibility, such similarity would depend upon OC. assibilation in the L. loanword.

²⁴⁴ *bolungeth* OM 873 (3 exx.); *bolenegeth* PC 1139; *volungeth* OM 1165, 1271; PC 2053; *volnogeth* OM 2352; *volnegeth* PC 957, 1072. The phoneme has been omitted *voluneth* OM 1292, no doubt by scribal error, so it is impossible to decide whether the example showed palatalisation or not.

²⁴⁵ *vryongen* PC 1007, *bryangen*, 1527; *bryonsen* BM 1620.

²⁴⁶ *martesen* PC 2870; *martegen* BM 61, *martesen* 3291.

²⁴⁷ See HPB, § 994, p. 703. Jackson's belief that the word contains *aze* "there" makes this clear. Also CCCG, § 263, n. 3, which states that the word contains old /s/.

²⁴⁸ *hobersen* RD 2536. See Piette, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton*, p. 130.

The word *treys* "feet" similarly rhymes with the re-spelt English loan *scryg* "screech" with final /tʃ/.²⁴⁹ This must mean that *treys* contained the affricate phoneme /dʒ/ (or could do for the sake of rhyme), realised as its de-voiced counterpart in final position. Together with the rhymes *dyscrygyk*, *dywysyk*, *anfussyk* and *cuthygyk* seen above, these spellings seem to show considerable sporadic confusion between /z/ and /dʒ/.

Palatalisation seems to have been common in abstract nouns ending in the group /-nz-/ plus a front vowel. Further examples are *fleyryngy* "odour, stink" (B. *flaer*) and *drenges*, *drynsys*, *drenses* "Trinity", although *denses*, *densys* "mankind" is unaffected.²⁵⁰ The most common is *kerenge* "love" (B. *karantez*), appearing ten times as such but only once as *kerense*.²⁵¹ Several plurals or compounds that ended in either -ys or -us in the singular show the sound change, including *aflythygyon* "ruffians" (cf. *avlethis* in CW), *deulugy*, *devlugy* "devilry" (perhaps from **deulus* "diabolical"), *govegyon*, *govygyon* "sorrow, care, regret" (W. *gofid*, -ion), *varthogyon*, *varthegyon* "marvels" < **marthus* "wonderful", *profugy* "prophets" < *profus* "prophet" and *terrygy*, *teroge* "ruin, downfall, destruction" < *terros* "ruin, disaster".²⁵² The alternative plural *marthusow* "wonders" has only assibilation, perhaps because /z/ is here followed by a lax vowel that would have been likely not to cause any palatal effect.²⁵³ A similar phonetic environment apparently caused the same effect in *meystrygy*, *mestrigi*, *mestrysy* "masters", *servygy*, *seruysy*, *seruygy* "servants" and *trewesy* "sad, serious, grave".²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ *scryg* RD 853, *treys* 854.

²⁵⁰ *fleyryngy* RD 2133, *drenges* 309; *drynsys* OM 1734, 2660; *drenses* PC 68; *denses* RD 2514 (3 exx.), *densys* 2621.

²⁵¹ *kerenge* OM 1207 (2 exx.); PC 483 (4 exx.); RD 453 (4 exx.); *kerense* PC 549.

²⁵² *aflythygyon* OM 2745; *avlethis* CW 1152; *deulugy* RD 2124, *devlugy* 2174; *govegyon* PC 1062; *govygyon* RD 1154, *varthogyon* OM 2546, *varthegyon* PC 770, *profugy* 1480, *profus* OM 1799, *terrygy* PC 102, *teroge* 2303 *terros* OM 360.

²⁵³ *marthusow* PC 86.

²⁵⁴ *meystrygy* PC 1711, 1850, *mestrigi* 1647, *mestrysy* "masters"; *servygy* OM 2468; PC 279, *seruysy* 713; RD 2470; *seruygy* PC 2708; RD 2460, *trewesy* PC 1269.

The curious place-name Carnsew appears in *carn suyow ha trehemby*s “rock” + “gods”, where the latter element should perhaps better be understood to mean “fairies”.²⁵⁵ It does not contain *C. du* as it may superficially appear, although another Carnsew does contain that element.²⁵⁶ Assibilation would not be expected (in either) unless the noun and adjective had been taken as a single word.

There are three place-names that show palatalisation of *du* “black”, *Lanjew* < **lyn du* “black pond”, *Lanyew* < **nans du* “black valley” or **lan du* “black enclosure” and *Opetjew* < **op(et) du* “black ope, alley”, although assibilation is also found in the two examples *Crubzu* < **cryb du* “black ridge” and *Polsue* < **Pol Du* “black pool”.²⁵⁷ The lax articulation of earlier /d/ might be expected to cause occasional assibilation in these environments according to Toorians' analysis described above, however irregular it may seem that they were apparently treated as single words rather than as nouns with adjectives. The rounded front vowel in *du* may have been enough to cause palatalisation, helped perhaps in *Lanjew* < **lyn du* by the preceding high front vowel and /n/ preceding the affected phoneme. If *Lanyew* is from *nans+du* then it seems to have required assimilation /z+/d/ as well as palatalisation, but the presence of /n/ could still be a factor. Presumably /y:/ was high enough to cause palatalisation, but if the front vowel were by this time diphthongised /dy:/ > /dɪw/, this could help motivate the change. It is worth noting that while *du* is an extremely common place-name element, there are only a handful of examples that show either sound change.

²⁵⁵ *carn suyow ha trehemby*s OM 2311; see also CPNE, pp. 82, 252 (Mabe).

²⁵⁶ CPNE, pp. 89-90, 252 (St. Erth).

²⁵⁷ CPNE, pp. 89-90. See pp. 143, 170 for the frequent confusion of *nans* and **lan* in place-names. In spite of the uncertain first elements, both *Lanyew* and *Opetjew* contain *du* “black”. If the former is **lan du* then it has missing lenition of the adj. after a fem. noun (as would *Crubzu*, since CB. *krib* is fem., although W. *crib* may be masc.). It is also considered uncertain, p. 174, that the latter contains **op*, since such a loan seems to require **opet*, perhaps an Eng. diminutive.

A further unusual example is *prygwyth* "a while" < *prys* "time"+*gwyth* "occasion", in which following /w/ perhaps does not seem to give any protection from the palatal effect of the following high front vowel.²⁵⁸ It is more likely, however, that the major cause of palatalisation was the preceding front vowel. The word *skyggyow* "shoes" (W. *esgidiau*) is apparently regular, showing palatalisation presumably as an effect of the following yod.²⁵⁹ A strange graphemic variation of <ss> and <g> is seen in *trysse*, *tressa* and *trege*, *tryge* "third" W. *trydydd*, *trydedd* B. *trede*.²⁶⁰ The word is spelt with single <s> nowhere in Middle Cornish. It may indicate that a form with de-voiced /-ss-/ co-existed with one with /-z-/; possibly only the latter was liable to become a palatal if the original close vowel was retained in this word. Finally, the common word *wose* "after" (W. *wedi* MIW. *gwedi*, *wedi* B. *goude*) appears more frequently with a spelling *woge* indicating palatalisation than it does with assibilation.²⁶¹ The original close quality of the final vowel must have remained long enough to cause palatalisation as a common variant. The unique variant *wege*, apparently closer to the Welsh form but perhaps coincidental, is found once in OM.²⁶²

5.8.4 Summary of the Early Middle Cornish Evidence

In summary, it appears that palatalisation in the early part of the Middle Cornish period should be divided into two separate sound changes. The first of these affected dental stops in a limited range of environments where the phoneme in question did not undergo assibilation. It probably preceded that phenomenon and therefore does not

²⁵⁸ *prygwyth* PC 1055. Here it seems certain that <g> means /dʒ/, not /g/, with lenition /gw/ > /w/.

²⁵⁹ *skyggyow* OM 1406.

²⁶⁰ *trysse* OM 1130, *tressa* 25 (2 exx.); RD 5, *trege* 329 (3 exx.), *tryge* 452 (3 exx.).

²⁶¹ *wose* OM 1899; RD 226, 940; *woge* OM 1427; PC 1327 (6 exx.); RD 206 (7 exx.).

overlap with it. Palatalisation in these words was restricted to the voiced phoneme /d/ in all cases except the ubiquitous MIC. *chy* "house" < WCB. *ti*, which is the only known example where unvoiced /t/ was involved. As this may be a special case, this is discussed separately below. The second sound change accounts for a much larger number of words showing palatalisation and conversely *does* overlap with assibilation, so that both *s* and *g* may commonly be written for earlier /d/. It is important to distinguish between these two changes in order to properly account for palatalisation in the history of Cornish. The term "First Palatalisation" will be used hereafter to refer to the sequence /d/ > /d'/ > /dʒ/ and likewise the term "Second Palatalisation" will be used for /d/ > /z/ > /dʒ/ and for the sequence /ns/ > /nz/ > /nz'/ > /ndʒ/.

i. First Palatalisation /d/ > /d'/ > /dʒ/

The consistency of this sound change was so great that there are no attested words in PA or the Ordinalia in which it failed to occur when OC. /d/ occurred after /n/ with a following front vowel in the limited range of words described. This occurred across word boundary and affected the initial /d/ of the following word. Assibilation did not in any case occur in initial position because the initial sound of a word would be presumably unable to suffer the kind of lax articulation prescribed by Toorians. No overlap between the two sound changes would therefore be expected to arise in these circumstances, making it difficult to assess which might be the older of the two. Both assibilation and "First Palatalisation" have such a uniform application in Middle Cornish that they seem to have been well-established sound changes, unlike the

²⁶² *wege* OM 2828.

sporadic and unpredictable "Second Palatalisation". This fact alone should perhaps be enough to suggest strongly that the latter was a younger phenomenon than either assibilation or "First Palatalisation".

The change /d/ > /dʰ/ > /dʒ/ is seen regularly when the word *dyth*, *deth*, *deyth* "day" (B. *deiz* W. *dydd*) occurs after the article as *an g(e)yth* "the day" and when *deawl* "devil" (B. *diaoul* W. *diawl*, *diafol*) occurs similarly with the article as *an ioul(l)* "the Devil". This does not happen with the less frequent plural nouns. The main reason for this is that the syllable containing the affected phoneme was long in a monosyllable but was reduced to half-long in a polysyllable. The reduced tonic accent and shorter realisation apparently resulted in a relative tendency to lower the vowel.²⁶³ In the case of *an dewolow*, the stress accent was entirely removed from the affected syllable with the addition of a plural suffix, resulting in the lowering of the vowel, although word stress remains on the penult in *en dezyow* "the days". Nonetheless, the realisation of /ɪ:/ as half-long [ɪ.] in polysyllables is why it tended to be lowered to [e:], as these sounds are extremely close from an articulatory point of view.²⁶⁴

It might be argued that spellings such as *deth* indicate such a lowering of the vowel even in the singular, which has kept the long, stressed monosyllable. This is probably true, since the vacillation in spelling seems to keep the former diphthong /ei/ in *deyth* occasionally, but more often reduced it to either *dyth* with [ɪ:] or *deth* with [e:]. It is probably best to assume that the spelling indicating the diphthong is a result of scribal conservatism, so the representation of the phoneme is probably best written /ɪ:/ with allophones [ɪ:] and [e:].

²⁶³ Williams gives a rather different explanation of his "Vocalic Alternation", *Cornish Today*, § 5.1-9, pp. 36-41, but the observed phenomenon is sound, despite the unclear account of the quantity system.

²⁶⁴ It must be admitted that it is not certain whether half-length was distinguished properly at all, or at what dates that may have been so, so reduction to a fully short realisation is entirely possible.

All the same, such lowering of this phoneme in MIC. is likely to have occurred later and less consistently than in the plural *dezyow*, where it was shortened from long to half-long on a realisational level. If the palatalisation of /d/ > /d'/ happened early in *dyth* [dɪ:θ] > [d'ɪ:θ] but not in *dezyow* [dɪ.ðjow] > [de.ðjow], whatever lowering subsequently occurred would have made little difference to the outcome. If the tendency to palatalise is linked to high front vowels, according to the observations made so far, it is easy to see why it was frequent in the singular, whose front vowel was realised relatively higher than in the corresponding plural. Except in the earliest MIC., it does not seem likely that the vowel of MIC. *an* "the" < OC, MIC. *en* < PrimC. **in* < CC. **sind-* was still sufficiently high to be an additional factor, although this is uncertain. In any case, this would not be a factor distinguishing singular from plural, as it would be the same unstressed vowel in either case.

A further factor alluded to above is the fact that the singular of these words occurs substantially more frequently than the plurals, nearly always following the definite article *an* or elided preposition plus article *yn* "in the" (< *yn* "in" + *an* "the" B. *en* < *e(n)+an*). It has been noticed already that a preceding /n/ appears to contribute to palatalisation, no doubt because it is a nasal alveolar-dental that is articulated just in front of the hard palate. It is likely that the plural would occur less frequently with the article for two reasons: (1) quite possibly, from a natural semantic point of view, one would tend to refer to "the Devil" more often than "a devil" but conversely to "devils" more often than specifically to "the devils"; (2) moreover, less frequent words are inherently more likely to preserve conservative speech than more frequent ones.

In the Ordinalia a further noun **d(y)evan* (< L. *daemon*) is added to these examples in the form *an ievan* "the fiend, demon". This is more

difficult to account for, since L. /ae/ became short /ɛ/ in Brittonic.²⁶⁵ The spellings of this word are fairly consistent, and nowhere is there *e > y* that might indicate raising. It must be admitted that this would be a difficult representation, since all of the spellings show palatalisation and it would not be natural to write *y* after consonantal *i/j* in ***an iyvan* (where ***an jyvan* would be a mere orthographic variation, because the letters *i* and *j* were merely different forms of the same letter that showed different distributions according to position). However, **an gyvan* does not seem less likely than *an gevan*, yet the former does not occur. It is clear that the conditions for palatalisation existed in this word, but it is not at all clear why the words **d(y)evan* and *d(e)yth* were both apparently equally likely to show palatalisation, considering the relative height of the vowels.

The same change is seen across word boundary in all tenses of the third person singular verb *an ieves* "(he) has got", *an geffo* "that he may have" and so forth. Here again the phoneme /d/ was followed by the high front vowel of the prefix **di-* compounded with parts of the verb *bos* "to be". A further similarity with the examples above is that the nasal /n/ immediately precedes the palatalised /d/ > /dʲ/ > /dʒ/ across word boundary. It appears that the resulting group /nd/ plus front vowel or yod was particularly likely to undergo the sequence of changes /nd/ > /ndʲ/ > /ndʒ/ because [d] is likely to be articulated closer to the hard palate between unexploded [n] and a following front vowel. The articulation of /d/ in these circumstances apparently became so tense that it first became palatalised /dʲ/ and then a full affricate /dʒ/.

²⁶⁵ LHEB § 29, pp. 335-6.

ii. Apparent Irregular "First Palatalisation"

Two words occur in which it appears that early palatalisation in internal position may have prevented later assibilation. These are various parts of the verb *nyge* "to fly" and the plural noun *blegyow* "flowers". It should be remarked first of all that because these are isolated examples, it cannot be certain whether or not they are in fact linked with the "First Palatalisation" seen above. Moreover, there seem to be significant differences between the phonetic environments in question. The least significant of these is the fact that /d/ > /dʒ/ is in initial position in the examples given above, whereas the palatal in *nyge* and *blegyow* is internal. As has been noted, the sound change could occur across word boundary. A more important difference is that the nasal /n/ is no part of the process of palatalisation in these two words.

In the various forms *nyge* "to fly, float", 3s. pres.-fut. and 2s. imperative *nyg* "fly, flies", 3s. pret. *nygyas* "floated" and in *blegyow* "flowers", only a yod, not a front vowel follows the phoneme /d/, although especially in the parts of *nyge* it seems highly likely that the preceding front vowel also played a part. It is significant that palatalisation must have occurred in *nyge* before assibilation for the rare final /dʒ/ to be possible in verbal forms consisting of the bare stem, unlike in *beyys* "endures" in the verb **pesya*, **pegya* "to last, endure". This feature is therefore older even than Voc. Corn., since it pre-dates assibilation. It is not possible to tell from examples such as *an g(e)yth* whether palatalisation had already happened in such words when assibilation occurred elsewhere in Cornish, so it is not clear if *nyge* can be included in "First Palatalisation" or whether it was an isolated, earlier change. Nevertheless there seems no reason to doubt that /d/ > /dʒ/

occurred in these words at the same time, as soon a tendency developed to palatalise the phoneme in contact with a yod or front vowel. If so, "First Palatalisation" may have pre-dated assibilation.

The case of *blegyow* "flowers" in PA is more uncertain. It seems, on balance, that only two explanations of the palatal are possible: firstly that OC. *blodon* "flower" and **bledieu* "flowers" were re-modelled on the basis of **ble(u)s* "bloom, flower(s)" MIW. *blawd* B. *bleuñv* and therefore showed assibilation as MIC. **blesen*, **blesyow*, giving MIC. **blegen* (LC. *bledzhan*) and MIC. *blegyow*; secondly that the same results were achieved showing *g* /dʒ/ < /d/ without assibilation because palatalisation occurred first and prevented it. The first scenario indicates that the word shows "Second Palatalisation" and properly belongs in the following section, while the second requires that the separate sound change /d/ > /dʲ/ > /dʒ/ had occurred before assibilation and therefore that it was older than Voc. Corn., as in the case of *nyge* above.

It is impossible to choose categorically between these options, but it might be noted that PrimC. **blōdieu* always contained yod after the phoneme /d/ and by the end of the Old Cornish period, if not earlier, a front vowel also preceded the consonant. Since it seems likely that *nyge* contained a palatal before the date of assibilation, there is every reason to suppose that the yod in **bledieu* would have caused the change as soon as a tendency towards palatalisation arose. It would then be reasonable to link this with "First Palatalisation" in *an ge(y)th*, providing further evidence that the sound change pre-dated assibilation. The words *nyge* and *blegyow* may then demonstrate that front vowels could cause a tendency towards palatalisation before /d/ as well as following it, that a following yod could cause the same effect and that preceding /n/ was not necessary in every instance.

A further irregularity in early palatalisation, as previously mentioned, occurs in MIC. *chy* < OC. *ti*, which is the only word in which unvoiced /t/ became palatalised /t/ > /tʰ/ > /tʃ/. Except in compounds, which can show assibilation and may be ignored here, only one exceptional archaic form with /t/ occurs in the whole of the Middle and Late Cornish periods.²⁶⁶ The earliest textual example of *chy* with palatalisation is the late fourteenth century, since *ti* was apparently unpalatalised in OC. and the word happens to occur in CF, the earliest MIC. text. However, there exists place-name evidence to suggest that the change happened in the thirteenth century.²⁶⁷

The compound *agy* "inside" may suggest either that OC. **a di* existed prior to palatalisation, thus showing the associated /d/ > /dʰ/ > /dʒ/ in the voiced phoneme, or else may be a rare example in which the mutation *ch-* /tʃ/ > *g-* /dʒ/ is shown in the orthography. This may not have been a meaningful distinction in the mind of a speaker, who may at any period have been immediately aware of the semantic link between the two words. If so, the sound change may have developed in the voiced and unvoiced phonemes side by side, even though the latter sound change occurred only in this single word in extant Cornish. Contradicting this, however, is the failure to represent the initial mutation in *yn e chy*, where the phoneme, as an apparent isolate in this position, may have been considered along with more frequent loans such as *changya* as unmutatable. If New Lenition were not fully developed, then one would expect such initial mutation to be any more than sporadic.

It seems that "First Palatalisation" was older than the Charter Fragment. The indication from place-names that *ti* > *chy* occurred in the thirteenth century may narrow this down, if the voiced phoneme followed

²⁶⁶ *yn ow thy a piyadow* PC 334, discussed by N.J.A. Williams, "Four Textual Notes on the Middle Cornish Drama", BCS 22 (1966-8), p. 237. See § 5.9.5 (ii) below.

the same development as its unvoiced counterpart, to between the start of the twelfth century (Voc. Corn.) and the mid fourteenth (PA). It may be that Old Cornish orthography could not show palatal /t'/ because the graph *ch* was used in words like *chespar* for /k/; equally there was no available graph for /d'/ either. The sounds may or may not have reached the stage /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ at this time, but the stage /t'/ and /d'/ may have been tense enough to avoid the lax articulation involved in assibilation. In the case of /t'/, the phoneme never stood in intervocalic position because internal /t/ had everywhere become /d/ at the time of lenition. Since in any case there are no examples with /nt'/, palatalisation of this phoneme could not in any event conflict with assibilation.

iii. "Second Palatalisation /z/ > /z'/ > /dʒ/"

Unlike "First Palatalisation", it appears that this sound change affected the earlier phoneme /d/ only where it had previously become /z/ by assibilation. This was necessarily in internal position since assibilation did not occur in initial position and the extant evidence suggests that palatalisation was not generally tolerated in final position, so MIC. *pygy* "to pray" but MIC. *my ath pys* "I pray thee" were respectively written with *g* [dʒ] and *s* [z]. It is inherently probable that palatalisation of /z/ [z] went through an earlier stage [ʒ] before it became [dʒ], although the orthography would not have shown this. The phoneme was presumably in the process of falling together with the reflex of "First Palatalisation" /dʒ/ < /d'/ < /d/ (although it occurred in different positions) since there is no difference in Middle Cornish spelling conventions for these sounds.

²⁶⁷ CPNE, p. 77-78.

However, "Second Palatalisation" was not applied universally where it might be expected, unlike the earlier phenomenon. The common occurrence of forms such as *pesy* indicates that the tendency towards palatalisation before front vowels was probably incomplete and it is therefore arguable whether or not a general phonemic distinction between /dʒ/ plus front vowel (or perhaps yod) and /z/ plus back vowel had yet developed. In the earliest Middle Cornish both were apparently still /z/, but it is difficult to say with certainty if and when /z'/ and then perhaps /ʒ/ became universal before front vowels. The most conservative notation for all but the earliest Middle Cornish would require at least /z'/ (whatever degree of palatalisation was actually realised) in order to account for the tendency, compared to /z/ before back vowels. Even though these were effectively determined by position in relation to adjacent vowels, a less strict notation is justifiable because no narrow synchronic analysis of "Second Palatalisation" is possible on the basis of the orthography of a single text. It would be verging on the ridiculous to label *g* [dʒ] as /z'/ but *s* [z] or [dʒ] as either /z/ or /z'/ according to position throughout the Middle Cornish period. Since the study of this phoneme is necessarily diachronic, it seems appropriate to use /dʒ/ to show the ultimate realisation of the palatalised phoneme. Moreover, if the palatal treatment of /z'/ > /(d)ʒ/ tended to fall together with the results of /d/ > /d'/ > /dʒ/ from "First Palatalisation", as the representation of both sounds as *g* tends to suggest, it would have become increasingly distinct from /z/.

The continued variation of *s* and *g* before front vowels is alone enough to suggest that /dʒ/ was not yet generalised by the time of the Ordinalia, unless such spellings with *s* are always simply archaisms. This seems unlikely because of their high frequency and their continued appearance in later Cornish. To argue that that *s* was commonly restored

by analogy with words where the phoneme was followed by a back vowel would be to accept the theories of Pedersen and George despite the lack of evidence for large scale re-modelling, while positing the opposite sequence of sound changes. That would be to say that analogy frequently caused the palatalised phoneme /dʒ/ to revert to the earlier assibilated state /z/. This is no better supported than Pedersen and George's assertion that palatalisation prevented assibilation in some environments and that the distribution was then modified by analogy, except in so far that no earlier spellings indicating palatalisation are found in *Vocabularium Cornicum* or in the *Charter Fragment*. Outside verbal paradigms, there seems little reason to suppose that analogy could have been more than a minor force in "Second Palatalisation". Had this not been true, one would expect it to become suddenly regularised (either becoming general or being eliminated in certain identifiable environments), but this cannot be shown to have occurred in any period. The whole history of the sound change appears to be slow and irregular, which makes dating difficult.

The absence of written palatalisation in the *Charter Fragment*, the earliest extant Middle Cornish, is much better explained by the model presented here than by that of Pedersen and George precisely because it *does not* depend on large scale analogical re-modelling. Except where rhymes may occasionally show otherwise, for example *dyscrygyk/dywysyk* and *treys/scryg* in PA given above, it seems far better to accept written forms as a general guide to the phonology represented therein. It is impossible to be sure of the level of deliberate archaism or scribal conservatism in the orthography. Nevertheless the retention of two graphs for different stages of the same sound change in a single document is an indication that palatalisation was probably neither very regular nor very old at the time that it was written down.

"Second Palatalisation" by and large occurred only in a limited range of words in PA, with a few less predictable examples; this range of words grew somewhat wider in the Ordinalia, as did the number of words showing palatalisation outside these predictable groups. It is not inherently surprising that less commonly used words should have been slower to show phonological change than more common words, given that the sound change was by no means complete. This is borne out by the fact that even in PA the single most frequent incidence of *g* for earlier *s* occur in parts of the verb "to be" after the particles *ny(ns)* and *nans*. It appears that, as in "First Palatalisation", a preceding /n/ or a front vowel in a preceding syllable could contribute to the likelihood of a palatal spelling. Normally, however, it is significant that a front vowel nearly always follows the affected consonant.

One striking example to the contrary is MIC. *o* "was" (imperfect) ModB. *oa* V. *oé* W. *oedd* in MIC. *nevngo*, *nanso* "(then) it was" MIW. *neut oedd* and in MIC. *ny(n) go* "it was" W. *nid oedd*. The vowel in OC. **neu(n)d* was probably /œ/ and that in MIC. *o* < OC. **oi* was probably /ui/ > /o:/ > /ɔ:/. The palatal tendency may have begun when the surrounding vowels, especially following /o:/ < /ui/, still retained their rounding and therefore their height, even though full palatalisation may not have developed until much later. If it was only observed in the orthography when the vowels had already been lowered then it would show that /z'/ was certainly phonemically distinct from /z/ and that palatalisation did not rely solely upon the contemporary environment.

Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that surrounding front vowels would have had a similar effect in a later period as in an earlier period and therefore that /z/ could probably be palatalised at any time during much of the history of Middle Cornish. It should be noted that the

above examples are not cases of (/nt/ >) /ns/ > /nz/ > /ndz/ because /n/ is intrusive here, cf. B. *ne(n)d*, before earlier assibilated /z/ < /d/. They would nonetheless fall together with that change after voicing of the phoneme /ns/ > /nz/ (and probably a new palatal variant /ns´/ > /nz´/).

Curiously, the remainder of the spellings showing *g* for earlier /z/ in PA amount to a mere handful compared to the otherwise universal *s* spelling, which occurs even before front vowels. Apart from the single instance of *cregyans* "belief" these are all examples of MIC. *gy* "thou, thee" (more frequently *se*, *sy*). While the stem in *cregyans* is one of the most commonly found with palatal spellings in later texts, examples of *gy* may have been especially likely to show phonological change before less frequently used words, since it might be expected that these would retain a conservative phonology for longer. Spelling conventions would be expected to change more slowly still in less frequent words, perhaps explaining the small number of cases found.

The range of affected words is larger in the Ordinalia but most lexemes showing palatalisation continue to come from a restricted range of groups of words. Curiously the verb "to be" does not show palatal spellings in the Ordinalia as frequently as in PA, where it is nearly universal before front vowels, but otherwise there are far more words affected. As in PA, parts of "to be" do not cause palatalisation in the frequent word *mar(s)* "if" (B. *mar(d)*) but this may be contrasted with *kyns*, *kyng* "before, rather than" in the Ordinalia with a high front vowel and palatalisation. Cases of *gy* for *sy* are far more frequent. The roots **crys-* "believe", **pys-* "pray" are frequently palatalised, showing both *s* and *g* before front vowels but only *s* before back vowels; the ending *-yk* (and derived *-ygyon* and *-ygy*) is often found with preceding *g* /dz/ in, for example, the words *anfugy*, *cuthygyk*. The occurrence of *gage* for *gase*

"to leave" seems to indicate that a final front vowel was later lowered in this word but the wide range of other words showing *g* /dʒ/ seem regularly to have a following front vowel.

It is particularly telling that examples of *g* for *s* are almost entirely absent before a back vowel, showing that the role of analogical re-modelling was probably slight. The example *hobersen* "habergeon" may show analogical /z/ before a final syllable containing /ə/ for borrowed /dʒ/; it is likely, though not certain, that this is orthographic only, where *s* for /dʒ/ (or /ʒ/) would show that a general confusion between the two sounds had developed. The same seems to be shown by the rhyme of *treys* "feet" with the loan *scryg* "screech". It seems that such a confusion would arise out of the increasing uncertainty between the two sounds that would have grown as the tendency to palatalise was realised in increasing numbers of words with /z'/ from earlier /z/.

The very fact that both *s* and *g* (or *i/j*) varied in the same positions in otherwise identical words like *gase*, *gage* tends to invalidate the theory that palatalisation occurred instead of assibilation in internal position, even accepting Pedersen's restriction that this only happened where an unaccented front vowel followed. It seems illogical that scribal practice should use *s* as well as *g*, *j*, *i*, where *s* in words like *martesen* could so evidently mean /s/ (> /z/), especially where even this could be written as *martegen*, unless such a palatal (whether fricative or affricate) derived ultimately from the sibilant. The fact that the early texts are replete with examples of internal <*s*> for OC. /d/ would be far better explained as the results of assibilation than by a far-reaching process of analogy that was strangely reversed in later Cornish. Simply, such attempts to integrate two separate sound changes in the same phoneme appear unjustifiable.

iv. "Second Palatalisation" /ns/ > /nz/ > /nz'/ > /ndz/

The question of whether earlier /ns/ < /nt/ showed palatalisation shows a further interesting development in the Ordinalia. This phoneme occurs in PA in *nanssow* "valleys" and *gerensa* "love" but is never written with palatalisation. In the Ordinalia, however, *g* is a common spelling in examples such as *bolungeth* "will", *bryangen* "throat" and *kerenge* "love", all with earlier assibilation to /ns/ of original /nt/. In fact, the graph *ss* is a rare variant of *s* seen notably in *tressa* for *trege* "third". It seems possible that voicing /s/ > /z/ may not have occurred by the time of PA, making it impossible for /z/ > /dz/ to have occurred in these words.

Jackson believed that comparable voicing of /s/ occurred in Breton in the fifteenth century.²⁶⁸ It is significant that his "New Lenition" occurred in Cornish very much as it did in Breton, contrary to his belief.²⁶⁹ That is not to say that voicing /s/ > /z/ necessarily occurred at the same time as it did in Breton, although it seems that *ng* /ndz/ would not have been written for earlier /ns/ unless voicing /ns/ > /nz/ had previously occurred. Since the orthography also possessed *ch* /tʃ/ in such positions in loan words, e.g. *chechys* "caught", *plynchya* "to pinch", it seems from the spellings found that /ns/ did not become /ntʃ/.²⁷⁰

It must be noted first of all that the evidence of PA is slight concerning the series of changes /ns/ > /nz/ > /ndz/, especially since palatalisation occurs only in limited circumstances in PA anyway. Nevertheless there may be a connection with the curious fact that MIC. **tresa* (< OC. **tridi*) never occurs for the frequent *tressa* with the otherwise rarer spelling *ss*, although it does occur as *trege* with

²⁶⁸ HPB § 1079, p. 762.

²⁶⁹ See HPB § 506 n.2 and commentary by George, PHC § 19.4.1 (2). Jackson included medial voicing.

²⁷⁰ *chechys* PA 48d, *plynchya*, 130b.

palatalisation.²⁷¹ Possibly there may have been a by-form with unvoiced /s/, perhaps the result of analogy, which co-existed with the form showing a palatal.²⁷² (It is not clear why this should have been de-voiced if original /s/ was voiced elsewhere in Middle Cornish, so presumably the two events could not have been contemporary.) If so, it is possible that *nanssow* was spelt with *ss* in order to emphasise the distinction between /s/ and /z/ < /d/. On the other hand, *ss* does occur for /z/, albeit as a less frequent variant of *s*. The word *kerensa* "love" (passim) in PA only occurs in the Ordinalia once as *kerense* but ten times as *kerenge*. It is difficult to know whether /s/ > /z/ had happened by the time of PA since *s* and *ss* were always used for this phoneme in Middle Cornish because the graph *z* was unavailable, being an occasional alternative for *th* /ð/.

5.9. Palatalisation in Late Middle Cornish

The division of the conventional Middle Cornish period into "Early Middle Cornish" and "Late Middle Cornish" is essentially arbitrary: here it serves a purpose purely because palatalisation occurs in a wider range of words in the later texts than in the earlier texts. Another convenient division might be equally valid, since there is no sharp distinction between the orthography of the Ordinalia and the later saints lives in the way that there is, for example, between Old and Middle Cornish. It is not clear which of the plays *Bewnans Meriasek* ("The Life of Meriasek") and the newly discovered Life of St. Ke (hereafter BK for *Bewnans Ke*) is the

²⁷¹ *tressa* OM 2664; *trege* RD 339.

²⁷² PHC § 13.2.8 (3), p. 207. I am not convinced that an analogy was made with *nessa* "next", which is never found in Cornish with the meaning "second"; however, *secund* does occur (e.g. OM 16), perhaps replacing earlier C. *(e)yl B. & MIW. *eil*, ModW. *ail* "second". George suggests irregular /z/ > /ss/ in *tressa*, not the inherently more likely de-voicing /z/ > /s/, apparently inconsistent with the entirely conventional belief expressed at § 13.5.6 (c), p. 274, that the phonemes had fallen together.

older of the two.²⁷³ They apparently came from Cornwall to Wales together, since they are both glossed in a seventeenth century manuscript in the National Library of Wales and had presumably not been separated at that time.²⁷⁴ Many readings in BK are obscure or corrupt, probably because the present manuscript is an incomplete late sixteenth-century copy of an earlier manuscript.²⁷⁵ Since BM shows pre-occlusion (even though this may be by later alteration, see § 2 above) and BK does not, the latter will appear in the chronological sequence of this study as though it were slightly earlier. This may or may not be so, but this assumption is made purely for the sake of convenience until evidence to the contrary may be forthcoming.²⁷⁶

5.9.1 The Life of St. Ke (BK)

By and large, "First Palatalisation" is regular in BK. The tenses of the verb "to have" that appear in the text always show a palatal. The future tense happens to be by far the most common example: *an gevith*, *an gevyth*, *angeveth* "(he) will have", *nyn g[e]vyth*, *nyngevyth* "(he) will

²⁷³ NLW MS. 23849D. Forthcoming edition by Graham Thomas. The examples quoted here are from the interim internet text by O.J. Padel. Note that both plays are in fact untitled. The conventional name *Bewnans Meriasek* was taken by Stokes from *bevnans meryasek* BM 2500, 4550. The spelling *bewnans* occurs frequently in MIC. (e.g. OM 63) and *meriasek* is a frequent spelling of the saint's name. The title *Bewnans Ke* has been coined on the same model and is generally accepted.

²⁷⁴ NLW Bodewryd MS. 5E (2r.a33), ed. A. Hawke, "A rediscovered Cornish-English vocabulary", *Cornish Studies* 9 (2001), series 2, pp. 83-104. It was not clear when the original lecture was given in 2000 (see bibliography) that BK was the other play glossed in Bodewryd MS. 5E: Andrew Hawke pointed this out to me when the discovery of BK was made public in early 2003. Apart from these glosses, the MS. contains some further LC. vocabulary (see below).

²⁷⁵ See the foreword to Padel's interim edition, p.3. The fact that pages were already missing is actually pointed out in the marginal comments in Latin. Apart from words discussed or referred to separately, the following dubious items may or may not be relevant to palatalisation and have been omitted due to lack of evidence: *Arjaf* [sic] "I... (?)" BK 286a, *ny thesyk* 221c, 382d, *gregyrry* 278h, *ny a jarm* 354c, *then jowler gwyns* "to the... (?)" of the wind" 69e, *the govanscosow* (perh. "thy excuses"?) 59b, *paccasek* 50l, *me a bes ow askylly* "I will... (?)" my wings" 304c, *ow progy* 54i [rhymes with *mosogy* with /g/], *sulvegyns* (perh. "holy sabbath"?) 158f, *yselwyth* (perh. "humiliation"?) 66b. The 2pl. imperatives *syglowgh* BK 320d, *siglowough* 327b have /g/, not /dz/, perhaps **eks-kluu-* "listen, attend" (B. *selaou* V. *chleu*), cf. *goslow* OM 1365, *golsow* BK 32d etc., perhaps **g(w)o-eks-kluu*. Any suggestions about the meaning or etymology of new words would be most welcome, pending Thomas' edition.

²⁷⁶ But see § 4.2.4 on the dating of /ç/ in BK, although further evidence for dating needs to be found.

not have" (fut.), *nan gevas*, *nangevas* "that (he) had not, that (he) has not had" (pret.), *an geva* "(he) had" (imperf.), *yngveva* "(he) would have had" (pluperf. cond.), *ren geffa* "may (he) have" (opt.), *an geffa* "(he) may have" (pres. subj.).²⁷⁷ The unique phrase *me an darvith* "I'll get it" (cf. W. *darfod* B. *darvoud*) apparently contains an accusative, not dative, pronoun; irrespective of the morphological considerations, the lack of palatalisation before an etymological back vowel is likely to be regular, although it is without any direct parallels.²⁷⁸

The word *de(y)th* appears as expected without a palatal in the singular in the phrase *deith ha nos*, *dy(e)th ha nos* "day and night", *nos ha dyth* "night and day" and *in kensa deyth* "the first day"; likewise the plural occurs in *ha dythyow...* "and days...", *in neb dythyow* "some day" (lit. "some days"), *rum dythyow* "by my days!" and after the article in *an dythyow* "the days".²⁷⁹ The only example of a palatal is found after the numeral *vn* "one" in the example *vngyth a dhe* "one day coming", since the word does not happen to occur after the article.²⁸⁰ The word *dyawl*, *dyow[l]* "devil" follows the same pattern in *cans myl deawl* "a hundred thousand devils", *a thyawl cows* "speak (thou) of a devil!", *nagh dyawl...* "deny [the] devil...", after *ha* "and" and *ew* "is", as well as in the plural *dewolow* "devils" (no article); it has a palatal after the article in the instance *an Jowl*, *an jowl(e)* "the Devil".²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ *an gevith* BK 20h, 49e, 411d, 429a, *angevith* 52c, 343c, *an gevyth* 211g, 337f, 436e, *angevyth* 336f, 349e, *angeveth* 82g, *nyn g[e]vyth* 322f, *nyngvyth* 123e, *nan gevas* 410d, *nangevas* 203b, *an geva* 429d, *yngveva*.67d, *ren geffa* 301d, 330e, *an geffa* 173d. Note that all examples are used correctly for the 3s.m., unlike the widespread misuse of this form for other persons in TH and CW below.

²⁷⁸ *me an darvith* BK 300b. This is a rare verb, of which the only other inflected persons in MIC. are *numdarfa* BM 1477, 1868, *numdarfe* 3727 with a dative pronoun, correctly used. Apparently the fronted independent pronoun has allowed the dative infix to be interpreted as object, see § 5.9.3-4.

²⁷⁹ *deith ha nos* BK 63h, *dyth ha nos* 54i, *dyeth ha nos* 37d, *nos ha dyth* 424c, *in kensa deyth* 255b, *ha dythyow* 289h, *in neb dythyow* 295b, *rum dythyow* 365d, *an dythyow* 304g.

²⁸⁰ *vngyth a dhe* BK 335d.

²⁸¹ *cans myl deawl* BK 102f, *a thyawl cows* 88f, *nagh dyawl* 34h, *ha dyawl* 17i, *ew dyawl* 43f, 133d, 137b, *ew dyow[l]* 20b, *dewolow* 63g, *an Jowl* [sic] 7f, 144h, 211f, 301f, 378g, *an jowl* 46a, *An Jowl* [sic] 18c, 168f. The distinction between upper case *J* and lower case *j* in the MS. is not always clear and in this relatively trivial matter the exx. quoted do not always follow Padel's readings. The word *javall* BK 13a, *an javall* 47a, 419e is an unrelated MIE. loan, see *Middle English Dictionary*, p. 377.

The word *chy* "house" largely follows the expected pattern, except for one instance. While no mutation might in any case be expected in *in chy* "in the house", *yth chy* "in thy house" (with provection after /θ/ probably cancelling any lenition) and *thum chy* "to my house", the phrase *mes a gy* "outside" seems to show a mutation after *a* "of, from".²⁸² This is probably based on the antonym *a gy* "inside", but provides further possible evidence that the orthographical failure to mutate in *in e chy* "in his house" and in *the Chy an Govr heb paraw* "to the peerless man's house" may not have represented the spoken reality.²⁸³ It seems difficult to maintain that speakers would not have continued to analyse *mes a gy* as containing *mes a* "out of"+*chy* "house". The meaning "outside" and "outside the house" would be identical for most practical purposes and was in any case the basis for the phrase.

"Second Palatalisation" is regular in BK before front vowels, although it remains sporadic as in the earlier texts. The temporal particle *nans* only occurs in *nangev* "now it is, since", but the final consonant of the negative particle *nyns* is always palatalised before front vowels in the verb *bos* "to be": *nyn gew*, *nyngew*, *nyn gyw* "he, it is not", *nyngewa* "he is not" (< *nyns ew+ef*), *nyngyns* "they are not" (pres.), *ny[n] ges*, *nyn ges*, *nynges*, *nyngoes* "there is not" (pres. existential), *nyn gegas* "thou art not", *nyn gvge*, *nyn gewgy* "he, it is not" (pres. locative).²⁸⁴ Before a back vowel, *s* is universal: *nynsof* "I am not", *nynsos* "thou art not" (pres.), *nynso* "he, it was not" (imperf.).²⁸⁵ There is a clear distribution of palatals before front vowels and non-palatals before back vowels.

is used by Spenser and is apparently English, although the etymology is unknown, see *The Chambers Dictionary*, 1998, p. 861 (headword *javel*).

²⁸² *in chy* BK 188d, *yth chy* 221b, *thum chy* 314h, *mes a gy* 45g.

²⁸³ *a gy* BK 308h, *in e chy* 189f, 195f, *the Chy an Govr heb paraw* 183d.

²⁸⁴ *nangev* BK 419f, *Nyn gew* [sic] 302a, *nyn gew* 39f (7 exx.), *nyngew* 15c (7 exx.), *nyn gyw* 291c, *nyngewa* 64f, *nyngyns* 25f, *ny ges* 187f [the missing <n> is likely to be a scribal error], *nynges* 20c (10 exx.), *nyngoes* 130e, *nyn gegas* 24a, *nyn gvge* 45c, *nyngewgy* 58c.

²⁸⁵ *nynsof* BK 213i, *nynsos* 43a, *nynso* 21f, 23g.

The same pattern occurs in both the negative particle *nyns* and the perfective and optative particle *res* before parts of the verb *mos* "to go" that begin with a vowel. While *nynsa* "he goeth not, will not go" has *s* before a back vowel, the forms *nyngeth* "he, it went not" (pret./perf.), *regeth* "he, it has gone" (perf.), *reg elha* "may he, it go" and *regyllough* "may ye go" (pres. subj.) show palatal *g* before a front vowel.²⁸⁶ In fact, the particle *res* before vowels, unlike the shorter form *re* that occurs before consonants is quite poorly attested. Until the discovery of BK, the third person singular *regeth*, *re seth* "has gone" and the optative *re gymmy* "may thou kiss" were the only extant examples, so these additional instances may confirm the deduction that *res* could occur more widely before vowels in other preterite and subjunctive verbs.²⁸⁷

It may seem curious that PrimC. **rid* did not acquire the nasal element /n/ to become ***rens*, giving ***ren seth*, ***rengeth*, ***ren gymmy*, ***reng elha*, ***rengyllough* as did PrimC. **nid* > MIC. *nyns*, *nyn g-* and PrimC. **neud* > MIC. **nevng*, *nans*, *nan g-*.²⁸⁸ It also seems that the final dental element in MIC. *res*, unlike the shorter form MIC. *re* that was used before consonants, indicates that the word cannot be a direct cognate of CC. **ro* OIr. *ro* MIW. *ry/yr* B. *ra* but is instead related to OW. *rit* < *ri+it*.²⁸⁹ Two related pre-verbal particles probably became confused before the Middle Cornish period, so that any earlier difference in meaning between them in Old Cornish or earlier is unclear. It is likely that the vowel in MIC. *re* < PrimC. **rö* influenced the reflex of PrimC. **rid* so that it became MIC. *res* rather than ***ry(n)s*. In fact, the lack of a nasal element is probably the regular and expected development in

²⁸⁶ *nynsa* BK 276h, 282k, *nyngeth* 296c, *regeth* 336c, *reg elha* 148h, *regyllough* 102f. Also note the unrelated but similar *re govwan* "by (St.) John!" BK 196b with /dz/, cf. *re Jowan* 394a, 394d.

²⁸⁷ NCED, Appendix vii, p. 197. See discussion at § 5.8.3 above.

²⁸⁸ The same happened in some dialects of Breton, principally Vannetais. It is not clear whether this was a SWBr. sound change or a parallel development in both, but cf. North Welsh *yndi* < *ydy*.

²⁸⁹ D. Simon Evans, *A Middle Welsh Grammar*, § 185 (note 1), p. 166.

Cornish, whereas it may have arisen in *nyns* and **nevns*, *nans* by a process of reduplication of /n/ in the sequence /nVd/ > /nVnd/, motivated by the acoustic similarity of the following /d/ and exceptionally resulting in pre-nasalisation /d/ > /nd/.²⁹⁰ This could not happen in **rid* because it did not contain /n/. Since B. *nend* also occurs, the process may have happened sporadically during the SWBr. period.

Two forms of the verb-noun *bos* "to be" occur in a dependent clause construction: *ow bosa* "that I am" is (incorrectly) compounded with the first person singular ending *-af* and *e vosa* stands for *e vos ef* "that he is" with a suffixed pronoun.²⁹¹ Only the second of these could plausibly be expected to have a palatal before an etymological front vowel, as **e voga*, but no doubt the vowel of *ef* "he, him" was never sufficiently close for this to occur.

Locative tenses of the verb *bos* "to be" in BK show a largely regular distribution of *s* and *g*. In the present locative, *s* occurs before back vowels in *ethesaf*, *esave* "I am", *esos* "thou art", *esa*, *etheso* (for **ethesa*), "was", *ethesa ef* "he was", *efeugh* (a copying error for **eseugh*), *ethesough why* "ye were".²⁹² As well as *nyn gvge*, *nyngewgy* given above, *ugy*, *vge* "is" occur regularly with *g*, but a number of instances of *g* are also found before back vowels. With *nyn gegas* given above, these include *de[l] legys* (for **del egys*) "as thou art", *Ethegas*, *Ethegus* "thou art", *yth ege* "was", *pletheya ef* (for **plethega ef*) "where was he?" and *ethegam* (for **ethegan*) "we are".²⁹³ The variation between *esa* and *ega*, *ege* occurs throughout Middle Cornish and may depend upon whether or not the following vowel was lowered prior to palatalisation. Since *ethegam* may simply indicate that lowering occurred in the final syllable

²⁹⁰ An alternative explanation given by Pedersen is less convincing, CCCG § 478 (2), pp. 319-20.

²⁹¹ *ow bosa* BK 46h (cf. *ow bosaf* CW 78), *e vosa* 126e.

²⁹² *ethesaf* BK 5b (5 exx.), *esave* 106d, *esos* 61a, *esa* 67f, *etheso* 22c, *ethesa ef* 139b, *efeugh* 102c, *ethesough why* 294c.

²⁹³ *de[l] egys* BK 8f, *Ethegas* [sic] 79a, *Ethegus* [sic] 41a, *yth ege* 90b, *pletheya ef* 21c, *ethegam* 4f.

after **ethegen* regularly developed a palatal, this example is not especially irregular either. The examples *nyn gegas*, *Ethegas* and *ethegus* for **nyns esos*, **yth esos* may have come about after the reduction of the final syllable to schwa, but the motivation for palatalisation seems slight in these cases. It might be added that *nyn gegas*, *nyn gvge* and *nyngewgy* show a sequence of two successive palatals. As has been remarked, this is relatively rare in the corpus of Middle Cornish.²⁹⁴

As in the other texts, palatalisation of the final consonant of *mar(a)s* "if" does not occur before parts of *bos* "to be" and *mos* "to go", whether a front or back vowel follows. Examples include *marsos*, *ma[r]sos* "if thou art", *mar sew*, *marsew*, *marsue*, *marsyw* "if he, it is", *maresewhy*, *marsough* "if ye are" (pres.), *marsen* "if we were", *Marso* "if he was" (imperf.), *mar s(v)es* "if there is" (pres. loc.), *mar sa* "if he goes", *marseugh* "if ye go" (pres.-fut.).²⁹⁵

The third person plural of *bos* "to be" does not show the palatal treatment of *ns* > *ng* in BK. In final position, this would nor in any case be expected, e.g. *kynthyns* "although they are", *yns* "they are" (pres.), *kyn fens* "although they were" (imperf. subj.), *e movns* "they are" (pres. loc.).²⁹⁶ However, it does not occur with the reinforcing suffixed pronoun *y* "they" either, effectively in intervocal position: *yns y*, "they are" (pres.), *na vons e* "though they be not" (pres. subj.).²⁹⁷ The same occurs in the verb *gul* "to do": *ny rowns* "they do not", *na rowns* "that they do not" (pres.-fut.) in final position and *del russans y* "as they did" (pret.) in intervocalic position.²⁹⁸ It might be noted that the preceding *ss* in the last

²⁹⁴ It might loosely be termed "double palatalisation" if this did not tend to obscure the important distinction between "First Palatalisation" and "Second Palatalisation". It is therefore avoided here.

²⁹⁵ *marsos* BK 142g, *ma[r]sos* 131d, *mar sew* 270g, *marsew* 61e (4 exx.), *marsue* 138f, *marsyw* 32c, *marsewhy* 146h, *marsough* 320c, *marsen* 106g, *Marso* [sic] 29a, *mar ses* 263f, *marsves* 214c, 411b, *mar sa* 325f, *marseugh* 195c.

²⁹⁶ *kynthyns* BK 37f, *yns* 32g, 34d, *kyn fens* 216n [for pres. subj.], *e movns* 33b.

²⁹⁷ *yns y* BK 37g, 248h, *na vons e* 417c.

²⁹⁸ *ny rowns* BK 216d, *na rowns* 405c, *del russans y* 363c.

example is also found in *Te am grussa* "thou would make me" (pluperf. cond.) and appears to be assimilated /ss/ from /ks/, since the verb form is apparently a compound of the 3s. pret. **gwrug* plus the past marker *-s-* and the pluperfect and imperfect 3s. ending *-a*.²⁹⁹ It seems that /ss/ was immune from palatalisation, as discussed above.

The phoneme /ns/ < /nt/ also occurs in *myns* "amount" (W. *maint* B. *ment*), which occurs in effective intervocal position before parts of the verb *bos* "to be" and the relative particle *a*; it is noteworthy, however, that no instance occurs with *ng* that is comparable to *myng a rug du* in TH below. This is frequently found in such relative constructions meaning "those that, such that, all that", e.g. *myns a rug* "those that did" (pret.), *myns an geva* "what he had" (imperf.), *myns a vynhy*, *nyns a vynhe* "all that thou wouldst" (for **myns a vynhe*), *myns a wylly* "all that thou may see", *myns a geffa* "those that may get", *myns a gyffough* "as much as ye may get" (pres. subj.), *hammyns vs* "and those that are", *myns vs* "those that" (pres. loc.).³⁰⁰ The instance *myns del ens* "as many as they are" may be irrelevant since a following consonant would probably have rendered the affected phoneme immune from palatalisation.³⁰¹ A similar phonetic environment occurs in *dyns an churl* "the churl's teeth" (W. *deint* B. *dent*), again without a palatal spelling.³⁰² To this may be compared *sansolath* "holiness", in which palatalisation *ns* > *ng* would not be expected between back vowels.³⁰³ A compound of *myns* appears in *the gymmys a govy[th]* "to all those that...(?)" (W. *cymaint* B. *kement*).³⁰⁴ The unexplained loss of /n/ is nearly universal in this word in Middle Cornish

²⁹⁹ *Te am grussa* [sic] BK 47f.

³⁰⁰ *myns a rug* BK 32a, *myns an geva* 429d, *myns a vynhy* 235f, *nyns a vynhe* 58g, *myns a wylly* 167e, *myns a geffa* 428c, *myns a gyffough* 311h, *hammyns vs* 20f, *myns vs* 21b, 254h.

³⁰¹ *myns del ens* BK 408c.

³⁰² *dyns an churl* BK 100c.

³⁰³ *sansolath* 219a, 262a.

³⁰⁴ *the gymmys a govy[th]* BK 37c. The added letters are given by Padel, but it is not clear which verb or meaning is intended. This does not affect the discussion at hand, however.

but it is not clear whether or not /-ns/ > /-s/ was voiced to /z/ as a result, presumably a prerequisite for palatalisation /z/ > /dʒ/.³⁰⁵

With two possible exceptions, palatalisation is universal in the suffixed second person singular pronoun, whether as subject or object. After inflected verbs, it appears after *manafy ge* (< **ma na[th(?)]* *fy gy*) "so that you have/be not", *oge* (< **os+gy*) "thou art", *nagota ge* (< **nag os+ta+gy*) "that thou art not", *py fega* (**py+be+gy*) "where wast thou" (pret.), *may fyg[e]* (< **may+by+gy*) "that thou be", *Kyn fegy* (< **kyn+by+gy*) "although thou be", *refoga* (< **re'th+bo+gy*) "may thou have" (pres. subj.), *ke ge* "go thou", *ke thegy* "go thou" (imperat.).³⁰⁶ The last example has a reduplicated pronoun. An apparent exception is the imperative *Na gorsy* of uncertain meaning.³⁰⁷ In the context, it seems clear that Ke is addressing the ploughman in the singular, who has just been cursing King Teuthar.³⁰⁸ The most straightforward explanation is that this imperative represents a loanword **cors* from the English verb "to curse" plus the suffixed pronoun *sy* "thou", meaning "curse (thou) not". It may be a regular exception to palatalisation because **cors+sy* would have contained /s+z/ > /ss/ by sandhi.

The interjection *gogy* (**gew+gy*) "woe to thee" occurs five times containing suffixed *gy* "thou".³⁰⁹ The inflected prepositions *thege*, *the ge* "to thee" occur for **thys+ge* with an etymological front vowel

³⁰⁵ See *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol*, § 18, p. 21; the same is seen in B., HPB § 1133, pp. 794-5. For examples in place-names, see CPNE, pp. 38 [**car-bons*], 88 [**downans*], 170 [*nans*].

³⁰⁶ *manafy ge* BK 72g, *oge* 25c (3 exx.), *nagota ge* 160f, *py fega* 195b, *may fyg[e]* 72h, *Kyn fegy* [sic] 68a, *refoga* 180j, *ke ge* 166f, *ke thegy* 368a. In the ex. *manafy ge* the <f> implies a lost infix, which would require substitution of 2s. *by* for 3s. *bo* in the pres. subj., see similar exx. in TH below, § 5.9.3, the alternative being to read <f> as a spelling for /v/ without infix. Both readings give good sense.

³⁰⁷ *Na gorsy* [sic] BK 119a.

³⁰⁸ Teuthar is evidently the same king as Teudar in BM. His name in BK shows an interesting sound change seen in a few words like **beð(e)wen* < *bedewen* "beech" in place-names such as *Penburthen*, see § 5.2 above. Although WCB. /d/ in **tudwur* would not normally avoid assibilation in /-dwVr/, cf. *peswar* (but *peder* with /-dVr/ > /-zVr/), the element *wur* /wu:r/ "man" probably become *-ur* /-u:r/ as a suffix. It would then be protected by /r/ regularly. It does not need to be explained as a W. loan in order to by-pass assibilation, though that is not to deny any literary link, see the note at § 2.7 above. That it subsequently shows /d/ > /ð/ could date the play to later than BM, where *Teudar* seems to have /d/.

³⁰⁹ *gogy* BK 11d (3 exx.), *Gogy* [sic] 134a, *gegy* [for *gogy*] 303e.

following.³¹⁰ These may be compared to the emphatic form *thyso*, *theso* "to thee" with a following back vowel and no palatal.³¹¹ The forms *the ga*, *thygo* and *thysa* evidently have the same meaning, but it is more difficult to assign them to one category or the other.³¹² It seems that *the ga* could stand for *the ge* (<**thys+gy*), as the spelling has been deliberately altered to half-rhyme with *araga* (<**aragaf*) "in front of me" with /g/ and this may represent lowering of the final vowel. On the other hand, *thygo* seems to break the expected pattern. It seems unlikely that it could be the only example of *thyso* to show a palatal, especially as the graphs *o* and *e* are difficult to distinguish in the manuscript. It is possible that the graph represents *o* as a result of a misreading by the copyist. The example *thysa* almost certainly represents *thyso* with lowering and may therefore be considered to be regular. The only other inflected preposition that shows a palatal in BK is *genegy* (<**genas+gy*) "with thee", in which palatalisation is also apparently regular.³¹³

The verbs *cregy*, *crese* "to believe" and *pegy*, *pesy* "to pray" largely follow the expected pattern. The verb-nouns appear as *gregy* and *pegy* with a palatal but also *besy*, *bese* with no indication of palatalisation.³¹⁴ In final position, *s* is universal, e.g. *crese*, *cryse* "believe (thou)" (imperat.), *pys* "pray (thou)", *hag an cryse* "that believe it", *me a gryse* "I believe", *te an cryse* "thou believest it", *me a byse* "I pray" *me agys pys* "I pray you", *me ath pys* "I pray thee".³¹⁵ The instance *pege* seems to stand for **pes+ef* with a following direct object.³¹⁶ The possibly related *mer gryse* "much vigour" may contain either etymological /s/ or /z/ < /d/, since the

³¹⁰ *thege* BK 344d, *the ge* 185c (3 exx.).

³¹¹ *thyso* BK 366e, *theso* 67g (13 exx.).

³¹² *the ga* BK 296d, *thygo* 332g, *thysa* 412c.

³¹³ *genegy* BK 342d.

³¹⁴ *gregy* BK 19e (4 exx.), *pegy* 19h, 306k, *besy* 108c, *bese* 145b.

³¹⁵ *crese* BK 72e, *cryse* 252i, *pys* 364g, 366c, *hag an cryse* 174a, *me a gryse* 22g (3 exx.), *te an cryse* 28g, *me a byse* 111d, *me agys pys* 177b, *me ath pys* 42a (7 exx.).

³¹⁶ *pege* 110b.

etymology is uncertain.³¹⁷ The nouns *crygyans* "belief" and *pejadaw*, *pyjadow*, *peiadow* "prayer" always have a palatal, although the latter is rare in BK with the spelling *j* or *i* rather than *g*.³¹⁸ It is possible that this may indicate a different treatment of the phoneme (see § 5.9.5 (iii) below). In inflected parts of these verbs, *s* appears before back vowels in *Ny gresaf* "I believe not" (pres.-fut.), *cresough* "believe (ye)!" (imperat.) but *g* is found before front vowels in *hag e pegyn* "and we (will) pray" (pres.-fut.) and *ef ath pegys* "he prayed thee" (pret.).³¹⁹ The present subjunctive forms *nan cryssa* "that believe not" and *nath gresso* "that believe thee not" apparently contain /ss/ as described above.³²⁰

The same three common words containing *-sys* (W. *-dod* B. *-ded*) occur in BK as in previous manuscripts, but spellings indicating a palatal are universal in medial position: *dowgys* "Godhead", *e thowges*, *e thowgys* "his Godhead" (glossed *ine thowges* "in his Godhead"), *dengys* "humankind", *an d[r]yngys* "the Trinity", *in Dryngys* "in the Trinity" and *run drengys* occur with *g*.³²¹ A dubious word *rengys* rhymes with *run drengys* and probably contains /dʒ/.³²²

Before the adjectival ending *-ek*, the phoneme /z/ from earlier /s/ as well as /d/ appears with palatalisation in a few words. The adjective in the phrase *dv rajak* "God of grace" is derived from MIC. *ras* W. *rhad* with /z/ < /d/, but it rhymes with *grajak* "grateful" from the loanword MIC. *gras* < OFr. *grace* with /s/.³²³ Lowering of the final front vowel must have occurred after palatalisation, since the observed back vowel would

³¹⁷ *mer grys* BK 185b.

³¹⁸ *Crygyans* [sic] BK 55 (gloss), *crygyans* 32h, *pejadaw* 105c, *pejadow* 100g, *pyjadow* 3g, *Pejadow* 171 (gloss), *peiadow* 359i. See further below.

³¹⁹ *Ny gresaf* [sic] BK 173a, *cresough* 139c, *hag e pegyn* 359k, *ef ath pegys* 317d.

³²⁰ *nan cryssa* BK 20h, *nath gresso* 112c. The same may occur in *ow thassans* "my holy father" 170f, *sperys sans* 34a, *spurrys sans* 346g, *spurryssans* 1e [gl. *spury*s mas "good spirit"] "holy spirit", if these collocations may be considered to have become compounded as the word division seems to show.

³²¹ *dowgys* BK 41e [a mistake for *dengys* "humankind"], *e thowges* 41f, *e thowgys* 22c (gl. *ine thowges*), *dengys* 23f, *gengys* [for *dengys*] 22f, *an d[r]yngys* 5d, *in Dryngys* 34c, 37g, *run drengys* 286b.

³²² *rengys* BK 286a [rhymes with *run drengys* 286b].

³²³ *rajak* BK 29a, 48a, *grajak* 48g.

presumably have been incapable of causing it. Also rhyming with this pair is *thekhyskajak* with apparently the same sound change, although the meaning is unclear.³²⁴ Since the graph *kh* is not common, it seems from the sense of the words that this may be from a miscopying of **then kvskajak* "to the sleepy one", containing MIC. *cuske* "to sleep".³²⁵ The double suffixed ending *-aj-ak* < **-es-ek* may be compounded from an earlier form of the verb-noun **cuskes* with an obsolete ending cognate with that seen in B. *kousket*, containing /z/ < /d/.

Palatalisation of /z/ < /d/ is also seen in *gallogak* "powerful" < OC. *galluidoc* but not in the spellings *gallasek*, *gal(l)osak*, *gallosek*; the palatal spelling is also found in *lagajak* "big-eyed" and apparently in *torgak*, an uncertain word rhyming with *gallasek*.³²⁶ Either the latter has orthographical *s* for /dʒ/ or else [zʲ] and [dʒ] rhyme because they were phonemically identical in this position. It seems that *torgak* may show metathesis in the penult, since *trosak* "(infantry) men" (lit. "footed (ones)") fits the sense.³²⁷ Palatalisation of /z/ does not apparently occur in *bohosek* (cf. *bohogogyon* below in BM), *casek* "warlike", *peswar trosek* "four-footed" and *a dasek* "oh spiritual father".³²⁸ Like *grajak* with /z/ < /s/ is *marthojek* "marvellous", retaining the front vowel.³²⁹ It is particularly noteworthy that *grajak*, *lagajak*, *thekhyskajak* and *marthojek* have the graph *j* rather than the usual *g* for the palatal. This may be compared to *an jowl* and *pejadaw* etc. above and the extension of the graph beyond these words may be merely a distinctive orthographical trait that is by and large confined to these variant spellings in BK.

³²⁴ *thekhyskajak* BK 48c.

³²⁵ *cuske* OM 2047.

³²⁶ *gallogak* BK 30c, *gallasek* 246b, *gallosak* 37h (5 exx.), *gallosek* 34a, *galosek* 202d, 269b, *lagajak* 29c, 48f, *torgak* 246d.

³²⁷ *trosak* BK 250d.

³²⁸ *bohosek* BK 106g, *casek* 266c, *peswar trosek* 202b, 269d, *a dasek* 266a.

³²⁹ *marthojek* BK 34c.

Likewise, a few words show palatal *g* before the adjectival ending *-yk*. There are no examples of *s* before *-yk*. While *anfugyk*, *anfvgyk* "unfortunate" (also a noun meaning "wretch", cf. *anfussyk* in RD), *dewygyk* "devout, zealous" (cf. *dywysyk* in RD) and *ponvogyk* "painful" (cf. *ponfosyk* in RD) are spelt as expected, *sethisgyk* "thirsty" (MIC. *seghe*s B. *sec'hed* W. *syched*) contains an unusual graph *sg* between front vowels that seems to represent a vacillation between a palatal and non-palatal representation of the phoneme.³³⁰ Since this rhymes with *dewygyk*, this may represent a correction of *s* to *g* after the scribe had already written *s*, in order to accord with the spelling in the previous line. If so, he probably intended [z] or [zʰ] in the first instance, although the other examples show that there was nothing to forbid a palatal realisation. At least in BK, this appears to show that /z/ and /dʒ/ were not distinguished synchronically and /zʰ/ could mean both [zʰ] and [dʒ].³³¹

The suffix *-usy* nearly always occurs with palatalisation, e.g. *anfugy* "misfortune" (cf. *anfussy* in BM below) and its rhyme *trefugy* (of uncertain meaning), *ankenvge* "grief", *ethowgy* written for **e thowlugy* "his devilry" with *g* but *cvthysve* "sorrow" with *s*.³³² A similar phonetic environment occurs in the verb-nouns *ombarvge* "to prepare oneself", *parugy* "to prepare", *ygy* "to wail, scream" and in the words *servugy* "servants" and *derrygy* "downfall, ruin".³³³ The example *ygy* may be compared to the spellings *ow huga* in TH and *ega* in CW below, indicating that the front vowel of the ending was sometimes lowered after palatalisation had already taken place. However, the vowel may have

³³⁰ *anfugyk* BK 28h (3 exx., cf. *anfussyk* RD 1370), *anfvgyk* 233b, *dewygyk* 426a (cf. *dywysyk* RD 1520, 1521), *ponvogyk* 18h (cf. *ponvosyk* RD 1256), *sethisgyk* 426b [note also internal /x/ > /θ/]. For a similar spelling with *sg*, see *crisgians* "belief" at § 5.9.3 below.

³³¹ For the sake of diachronic analysis, the distinction is observed nonetheless.

³³² *anfugy* BK 118d, 303a, *trefugy* 303c, *ankenvge* 145h, *ethowgy* 50f, *cvthysve* 351h.

³³³ *ombarvge* BK 272c, *parugy* 4e, *ygy* 419d, *servugy* 88c, *derrygy*[with initial mutation, but the cause is lost by lacuna]. Note that the spellings indicate that a number of front vowels may have fallen together in this position, although this is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

been altered for an eye rhyme with *gregy* "to hang" in the next line (with /g/) and **uge* may have been the normal spelling.

Palatalisation occurs in *gegys* "left" (p.pt.) but not in *gaysys* (p.pt.).³³⁴ The graph *s* also occurs in the identical 3s. pret. *am geysys* "left me"; this may incidentally be compared with *num gasas* "he has not left me" without i-affection, in which a palatal would not be expected before a back vowel.³³⁵ No palatal occurs in *gasa* "to leave" (cf. *gasa*, *gage* above and W. *gadael*) and would not be expected in *nyth gas* "he will not leave" (pres.-fut.), *gas* "leave (thou)!" and *gesow* "leave (ye)!" (imperat.), in final position and before a back vowel respectively.³³⁶ Similar to *gegys* is *gweregys* "cured" (p.pt.) with palatal *g* but *reth gwersa*, *Reth weresa* "may (he) cure thee" (pres. subj.) with /z+h/ > /ss/ in **gweres+ho* (W. *gwarded*).³³⁷ In the example *in gosyth* "thou shalt bloody him" (pres.-fut.), there is no palatal before a front vowel (W. *gwaed-u* B. *gwad-añ*) and in *a rosa* "that he gave" (pret.) < **a ros ef* it seems that a final front vowel has been lowered without prior palatalisation of the consonant.³³⁸ The verb-noun *kyfrangnya* appears to be a misreading or earlier miscopying of **kysrangnya* "to reign together" (MIC. *kes-* W. *cyd-*), in which palatalisation would not be expected before a consonant cluster.³³⁹

By comparison, the verb-noun *synge*, *syngy*, *sengy* "to hold, seize" from earlier *synsy* shows a palatal in the vast majority of instances: *nyth synge fuer* "I will not think thee wise" (lit. "hold thee"), *me a syns* "I hold", *an syns dv* "that hold him (to be) a god", *me ath syns* "I hold thee",

³³⁴ *gegys* BK 252a, *gaysys* 97e, 178h.

³³⁵ *am geysys* BK 415b, *num gasas* 119f.

³³⁶ *gasa* BK 143c, 204g, *nyth gas* 285i, *gas* 78b, *Gas* [sic] 291a, *gesow* 116g.

³³⁷ *gweregys* BK 131d, 252c, *reth gwersa* 110a [missing lenition after *-th*], *Reth weresa* [sic] 111e. It seems that *bersys* BK 293c and *kegyys* 118e (rhyming with *velygas* 118c) are past participles, but the meaning of these words is unclear. The word *kegyys* may contain *kes-* "co-" with palatalisation.

³³⁸ *in gosyth* BK 325f, *a rosa* 296d.

³³⁹ *kyfrangnya* BK 34c. Here *ngn* means /ŋ/ and is irrelevant to the present discussion. A similar example occurs in *ow qvrangny[a]* "ruling over" < **gorregnya* (Eng. *reign*) BK 251b.

mar synsough "if ye seize" (pres.-fut.), *syngys* "held" (p.pt.).³⁴⁰ The distribution of *g* before front vowels but *s* before back vowels and in final position is broken only by *nyth synge fuer* < **nyth synsaf fuer*, probably an isolated analogical spread of *g* to this form. It may have been graphemic only, based on the loss of final *f* and the superficial resemblance to the verb-noun *syng*e. Whatever the etymology of the verb (see §5.8.3 above), it must have contained /nz/, either through voicing of /ns/, borrowing or influence from Eng. *seize* or /ns/ < /nt/. It is clear from *ancombryngy* (Eng. *encumbrance*) that /ns/ could be palatalised from whatever origin, although it is curious that so few examples happen to occur in BK.³⁴¹ A similar example is *ankengy* "grievous", which may be compared to *ankynsy* in PA and *ankensy* in PC.³⁴²

Palatalisation of /nz/ < /ns/ < /nt/ occurs otherwise in BK only in *Der gerynga* "through love", although *e gerensa* "his love" and three instances of *kerensa* "love" occur with *s*.³⁴³ That the final front vowel has been lowered is clear from B. *karentez* W. *carennnydd* (see above). This may be compared with *hynsa* W. *hennydd* B. *hentez*, which rhymes with *Der gerynga* yet is written with *s*.³⁴⁴ This contained a final front vowel that was later lowered, so palatalisation might be expected here. In *kynsa* "first", by contrast, the final vowel had always been a back vowel, explaining why this word is never found with a palatal in Middle Cornish.³⁴⁵ This seems also to have been true in *gansa* "with them", although it is not clear which of the various endings seen in the cognates B. *ganto*, *gante* OB. *cantdo* W. *ganddynt* MIW. *gant(h)u*, *gant(h)unt* is

³⁴⁰ *sengy* BK 11b, *syng*e 253f, *syngy* 328h, 342d, *nyth syng*e fuer 71h, *me a syns* 158c, *an syns dv* 43h, *me ath syns* 8d, *mar synsough* 249j, *syngys* 51b. The ex. *fyns* 107c may not be a copying error for *syngys* (with /z/ or /dz/), as the stanza is obscure and it may be from *fynsya* "to finish" BM 3525. If so, /sj/ (or /l/) was voiced to /zj/ (or /z/), perhaps with subsequent affrication to /dz/.

³⁴¹ *ancombryngy* BK 11a.

³⁴² *ankengy* 208h (cf. *ankynsy* PA 184, *ankensy* PC 1360).

³⁴³ *Der gerynga* [sic] BK 379a, *e gerensa* 55f, *kerensa* 109b (3 exx.).

³⁴⁴ *hynsa* BK 379b

³⁴⁵ *kynsa* BK 255b, *yskynsa* (for **ys kynsa* "than (the) first") 245g.

seen in the Cornish form.³⁴⁶ While *genas* "with thee" has /z/ in final position as expected, the spelling *gansa* sometimes also stands for *ganso*, *gansso* "with him" with /o/ > /ə/.³⁴⁷ The lack of palatalisation in these forms is regular; the spelling *ss* in *gansso* is interesting and may perhaps show that /s/ was not voiced. It is not clear, however, why voicing /s/ > /z/ should have been so sporadic in /ns/.

A few examples demonstrate that *s* occurred rather than *g* before a consonant: *Calesvol* "Excalibur" (W. *Caledfwlch*), *peswar* "four", *tarosvan* "apparition" and *hay worsvan* "and its illusion" (?)³⁴⁸ This probably protected it from palatalisation. The place-name *Rosewa* appears four times without a palatal and once with /ew/ > /ow/ in *Rosowa* (W. *rhos* B. *roz*), but intervocal *s* may mean either /z/ < /s/ or unvoiced /s/, whether or not the following vowel was especially close.³⁴⁹ The word *martesyn* "perhaps" with etymological /s/ does not show the palatal seen in *martegen* in PC and BM above.³⁵⁰

Most of the many instances of intervocalic *s* /z/ < /d/ and *s* /z/ < /s/ (or perhaps still unvoiced /s/) occur in plurals before the ending *-ow*, *-aw*.³⁵¹ As these are extremely frequent, the significant examples for the purposes of this discussion are the rhymes between /z/ < /d/ and etymological /s/ respectively: *canhasow/grasaw* "messengers; thanks" (B. *kannadoù* W. *cenhadau*; OFr. *grace*), *ganhasow/grasow* (ditto), *cosow/fasaw* "battles; faces" (B. *kadoù* W. *cadau*; OFr. *face*),

³⁴⁶ *gansa* BK 119e, 163e. It was probably not the ending seen in B. *gante*, since palatalisation might be expected in Cornish before a front vowel, giving perhaps ***gange*, ***ganga*. Forms with *-nt* in Welsh are analogical, like *gansans* in TH. Unfortunately there are no OC. inflected prepositions attested.

³⁴⁷ *genas* BK 130b, *gansa* 65f (4 exx.), *ganso* 207b, *gansso* 206c.

³⁴⁸ *Calesvol* BK 432j, *peswar* 272g (3 exx.), *tarosvan* 63g, *hay worsvan* 75d [Padel emends this to **hay darosvan*, which fits the syllable count and gives good sense. The loss of the lenited initial is a puzzling feature, as there seems also to be metathesis, whether or not a scribal error is involved.

³⁴⁹ *Rosewa* 15f (4 exx.), *Rosowa* 80c. The etymology of the second element may be the personal name MIC. *Eua* W. *Efa* "Eve", although the place-name is not cited in CPNE. See BK, contents, p. 4.

³⁵⁰ *martesyn* BK 170e.

³⁵¹ The spelling *-aw* for *-ow* is a unique feature of BK, appearing otherwise only in glosses of words from BK in Bodewryd MS. 5E (see above). BK and BM must have been together at this time.

gwlasow/fasow "countries; faces" (B. *gladoù* W. *gwlad*), *gwlasaw/grasaw* "countries; thanks", *kenwesow/gwerhesow* "autumn dwellings; virgins" (W. *cynhaeaf*+**bod*, cf. *hafod*; B. *gwerch'hez* W. *gwyry*, *gwyryf*), *lagasow/fasow* (B. *lagadoù* W. *llygad*+*-au*), *rasaw/grasaw* "graces; thanks" (W. *rhad*), *tasow/fasow* "fathers; faces".³⁵² As half rhymes are common in Middle Cornish, these might seem insignificant except for the fact that no such rhymes occur in any other text. It appears to be a matter of deliberate policy on the part of the scribe to choose complete rhymes over half rhymes so frequently in BK. Although this evidence is not unequivocal, since these instances can still be taken as half rhymes only, it tends to suggest that /s/ had been voiced to /z/ and that this had fallen together with /z/ < /d/ in intervocalic position.³⁵³

It may be added that there are a few additional pairs of this sort in which one of the words either merely resembles a plural or is of uncertain meaning or derivation: *canhasow/fyanhasow* "messengers; anxiety", *gveresow/bersow* "cures, remedies; [uncertain word]" (W. *gward*), *kentresow/arluthesow* "[uncertain word]; ladies" (W. *arglwyddes*), *ysow/besow* "(types of) cereal, cereals; ring" (B. *edoù* W. *ydau*; B. *bizoù*).³⁵⁴ The etymology of *fyanhasow* (cf. RD *fyanasow*, *fyenasow*) is unknown, as is the meaning of *bersow* and *kentresow*, both hapaxes.³⁵⁵ It is clear that *besow* contains /z/ < /s/ while *ysow* contains /z/ < /d/. If *trosow* means "surf(s)" then it contains /s/ like its rhyme *fosow* "walls" and proves nothing here.³⁵⁶ The rhyme *brysyon/bleysyon* is probably misread for *brysyow/bleysyow* "mind, thoughts; pleasures" (W. *brydiau*;

³⁵² *canhasow* BK 333a, *grasaw* 333c, *ganhasow* 270f, *grasow* 270e, *cosow* 209c [for *casow*, cf. 196d], *fasow* 209a, *gwlasow* 344c, *fasow* 344f, *gwlasaw* 352a, *grasaw* 352b, *kenwesow* 188c, *gwerhesow* 188a, *lagasow* 306f, *fasow* 306g, *rasaw* 179b, *grasaw* 179d, *tasow* 264b, *fasow* 264d.

³⁵³ See § 4.2.3 above.

³⁵⁴ *canhasow* BK 308c, *fyanhasow* 308a, *gveresow* 438d, *bersow* 438e, *kentresow* 438a, *arluthesow* 438b, *ysow* 123f, *besow* 123d.

³⁵⁵ *fyansasow* RD 708, *fyenasow* 17.

³⁵⁶ *trosow* BK 168e, *fosow* 168d.

MIC. *plesya* "to please"), although the second word is uncertain.³⁵⁷ The words *bresyon* "great ones" (pl. of adj. *bras* "great"), *Gwysyon* "fellows" (pl. of *gwas*) and *nygysyow*, *negysyow* "messages" (pl. of *negys*) also have /s/ followed by yod without palatalisation.³⁵⁸

A unique example is *algow* "cliffs" with /ndʒ/, apparently showing that /nt/ > /ns/ must have been voiced to /nz/ before palatalisation would have been possible.³⁵⁹ It is difficult to believe that *lg* represents medial /ltʃ/ < /ltʰ/, as in examples such as *gerynga*, *kerensa* given above. Since both the preceding and following vowels must have always been back vowels in *algow*, the only cause for palatalisation must be the preceding /l/. The only direct parallels in BK are *cansaw* and its rhyme *skyansow*, both with /nt/ > /ns/ and probably voicing to /nz/.³⁶⁰ The word *corsow* (OFr. *course*) may be ignored here, since it has been shown that /rs/ in *mars* "if" was probably never palatalised.³⁶¹

It is clear that infixed –s– in verbal endings does not appear with palatalisation even before front vowels (see CW below) in Middle Cornish, but *galsaf*, *gallaf* (an error for *galsaf*) < *galsof* "I have gone, become" may not contain this.³⁶² It is probably a formation based on a defective verb 3s. *gallas*, *galles* "has gone", with inflected endings modelled largely on the verb *bos* "to be".³⁶³ It is possible that –as, –es is the preterite ending corresponding to MIW. –as B. –as but it may equally be an ending containing /d/ > /z/ since the verb has no known parallels and is highly irregular in taking no pre-verbal particles.

³⁵⁷ *brysyon* BK 105a, *bleysyon* 105b.

³⁵⁸ *bresyon* BK 184b, 245c, *Gwysyon* [sic] 91a, *nygysyow* 306b (3 exx.), *negysyow* 124d. Note that the latter is one of a few such plurals in which yod may or may not occur, e.g. *nygyssow* OM 1004. There is also an instance of a verb-noun *nygyssas* < **negesos* BK 256g (3 exx.), but this has no yod.

³⁵⁹ *algow* BK 378e.

³⁶⁰ *cansaw* BK 190h, *skyansow* 190e.

³⁶¹ *corsow* BK 256b.

³⁶² *galsaf* BK 18b (4 exx.), *gallaf* 414a; *galsof* OM 373.

³⁶³ *gallas* PA 245c, *galles* BM 479. Nance's **gal+esof* is unconvincing, NCED, Appendix viii, p. 207. For parallels in Welsh, see CCCG, § 460 (note 2), p. 298, although the first element is unexplained.

Possible evidence that /s/ sometimes remained unvoiced in intervocal position is seen in the form *wrusyl* < (g)*wruthyl* "to do", containing etymological /θ/ (W. *gwneuthur*) and rhyming with *cv syl* "counsel" (obs. W. *cusul* B. *kuzul*).³⁶⁴ It may have been an isolated sound change in order to force a rhyme.³⁶⁵ If /s/ had everywhere been voiced to /z/ in such positions, to create a new phoneme /s/ in intervocalic position for the sake of a single word might seem unlikely. On the other hand, /s/ in *cv syl* would also be expected to become /z/, so subsequent voicing in *wrusyl* by analogy would seem probable. The variation between *Moddras*, *Modres* "Modred" and *Moddreth*, *Mod(e)reth* is more interesting, since this is the only Middle Cornish word with etymological /z/ < /d/ in which the phoneme is confused with /θ/.³⁶⁶ For this confusion to happen, final de-voicing must have occurred; this is discussed further ar § 4.2.2 above. Nonetheless, the same caveat must be applied, since de-voicing of /z/ to /s/ in final position does not provide any evidence that internal /s/ had been voiced to /z/. Overall, only words such as *grajak* and *marthojek* above, which show /ç/ > /z/ > /dʒ/ and /s/ > /z/ > /dʒ/ respectively, show that internal /s/ (and /ç/) must have been voiced in some phonetic environments.

5.9.2 The Life of St. Meriasek (BM)

"First Palatalisation" occurs regularly in BM. Examples of the verb "to have" are spelt with palatal *g* /dʒ/ in the following tenses: *angeves*, *nangeves* (pres.), *angeveth*, *nyngeveth*, *nynsefeth* (fut.), *rengeffo*, *mengeffo*, *Kyn geffo* [sic], *nangeffo* (pres. subj.), *an geffa*, *nan geffa*

³⁶⁴ *wrusyl* BK 140h; *wruthyl* OM 194; *cv syl* BK 140g. See § 4.2.1 above.

³⁶⁵ See § 4.2 above.

³⁶⁶ *Moddras* BK 436b (rhymes with *arlothes* "lady" with /s/ 436a), *Modres* 420d (rhymes with *viternas* "queen" with /s/ 420e), *Moddreth* 427a, 430a, *Modreth* 213b (3 exx.), *Modereth* 394b.

(impf. subj.).³⁶⁷ Of these, the striking example is *nynsefeth*, which shows *s* for the phoneme that, according to the discussion so far, must be /dʒ/ < /dʹ/ < /d/ and should not ever have been /z/. The rarity of comparable examples is significant, found only in two cases in TH (both in JT, discussed below) in the same verb *nyn sevas* (pres.) "hath not" (cf. TH *an gevas*, *an Jevas*) and *nynsevith* (cf. TH *an gevith*, *an Jevith*).³⁶⁸ Since the homilies date from a transitional period between Middle and Late Cornish, almost certainly between 1555 and 1558, they are only half a century later than the date of the manuscript of BM, which is 1504.³⁶⁹

It is equally significant that earlier manuscripts never employ *s* for /dʹ/ in this verb, which of course occurs extremely frequently to denote possession. This seems to represent a confusion of /dʒ/ < /dʹ/ < /d/ with /dʒ/ < /zʹ/ < /z/ < /d/ in late Middle Cornish, limited exclusively to the third person singular masculine forms of the verb. Presumably the sound in question was [dʒ] /dʒ/ < /dʹ/ (comparable with the non-orthographic rhyme *scryg/treys* above) and the spelling *s* is a recognition that the results of "Second Palatalisation" were often [dʒ] by the time of BM. Possibly only the stage [ʒ] was commonly realised in the earlier texts for /zʹ/, unless it is a coincidence that no examples of orthographic *s* for the results of "First Palatalisation" occur. It seems from the lack of *s* for "First Palatalisation" in any other words that the spelling is merely a rare analogical form. It is not certain whether hypercorrect [z] was substituted

³⁶⁷ *angeves* BM 2838, *nangeves* 1937 (2 exx.), *angeveth* 1001 (3 exx.), *nyngeveth* 1124, *nynsefeth* 3890, *rengeffo* 1022 (2 exx.), *mengeffo* 1248, *Kyn geffo* [sic] 2270, *nangeffo* 4027, *an geffa* 20, *nan geffa* 159. On the counter examples *numdarfa* BM 1477, 1868, *numdarfe* 3727, see § 5.1 above.

³⁶⁸ *nyn sevas* TH 49.23-24 (in fact, an error for f. **nys tevas*, but this is not significant here: for further such substitutions, see § 5.3-4), cf. *an gevas* TH 8a.17, *an Jevas* 17.9 (total 12 exx.); *nynsevith* 40.7, cf. *an gevith* TH 26.15, 57.19, *an Jevith* 22a.6 (total 3 exx.). Note that an incorrect assertion that *nyn sevas* and *nynsevith* are unique was given by the present author, *A Description of the Middle Cornish Tregear Manuscript*, p. 42.

³⁶⁹ The homilies are best described as MIC. rather than LC., since its conservative and literary (but macaronic) Cornish resembles the earlier period. See T.Z. Chaudhri, *A Description of the Middle*

for [dʒ] in speech as well as spelling, but *nyn sevas* and *nynsevith* point to an attempt at elevated speech by the scribe of TH.³⁷⁰ This is borne out by the general style of his translation, which is replete with cornicised English and religious terminology. It does, however, demonstrate an awareness of "Second Palatalisation" /z'/ > /dʒ/ as a vernacular "corruption" that probably cannot have been established universally for it still to be open to hypercorrection of this kind.

"First Palatalisation" is otherwise regular in BM. The word *de(y)th* appears after the definite article as *in geth* "in the day", *in gethna* "that day" and after the numeral "one" as *vn geth* "one day".³⁷¹ The form *devle* "devil" pl. *dewolow*, *dewolov* is similarly unaffected but *an iovl(e)* occurs after the article.³⁷² The example *nygyogh* "fly (ye)" demonstrates that /d/ plus yod gave /dʒ/ in this word.³⁷³ The graph *gy* here means /dʒj/ and is not found for /dʒ/ without a following yod or front vowel.

Finally, BM has nine examples of *chy* "house" prefixed variously by words such as *ov* "my", *in* "in, inside", *vn* "one", *dis* "to thee" and occurring in the phrases *an keth chyna* "that self-same house", *in keth chyma* "in this very house".³⁷⁴ The word found as *ag(e)y* "in, inside" in PA and the Ordinalia is always spelt *achy* (4 exx.).³⁷⁵ This is an unusual spelling for intervocalic /dʒ/ and is presumably on the basis of the simplex *chy* with which it must have still been clearly linked in the mind of the scribe. Possibly it was seen as an initial mutation with the division

Cornish Tregear Manuscript, and D.H. Frost, *Cornish Studies* 11 (2003), series 2, pp. 291-307. The date 1504 on the colophon of the BM MS. may be later than the date of composition, see § 2.7 above.

³⁷⁰ H. Lewis' misunderstood *nynsefeth* in BM, *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol*, § 47, p. 49 (n.). Pointed out by A.S.D. Smith & R.M. Nance, ed. E.G.R. Hooper, "Cornish Studies No. 2: Comments on 'Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol'", *An Lef Kernewek*, 1968, p. 4., ignored by Lewis. They understood <s> as /dʒ/.

³⁷¹ *in geth* BM 4455, *in gethna* 2850, *vn geth* 4010.

³⁷² *devle* BM 1235, 2395, *an iovl* 159, 782, *an iovle* 775 (19 exx.), *dewolow* 145, *dewolov* 916. The form *devlugy* "devilry" BM 2096 shows 2nd, not 1st Palatalisation in the ending, so it is cited below.

³⁷³ *nygyogh* BM 4331.

³⁷⁴ *chy* [no particular prefixed element] BM 640 & 4293; *ov chy* 250 & 1150; *in chy* 275; *vn chy* 1396; *dis chy* 635; *an keth chyna* 645; *in keth chyma* 993.

**a chy* and he disliked writing *g* which meant /g/ (lenited *c*, *k* /k/) in that position, because only the medial graph *g* meant /dʒ/.

Incidentally, the derivative word *colgy* "college" cannot show regular "First Palatalisation" because assibilation would have occurred to block it, so it might be thought that it shows "Second Palatalisation" as in *hensy* "ruin" cited above.³⁷⁶ However, it was presumably adapted from Eng. *college* (Fr. *collège* < L. *colegium*) and may show unusual syncope, having been reinterpreted as containing lenited **gy* < **dy* "house".³⁷⁷ This shows that it must have been borrowed after "Second Palatalisation" was in place, at least when the phoneme /z'/ had reached the stage /ʒ/, if not /dʒ/. It is unnecessary to posit that the word was shaped by an awareness of Medieval Latin on the part of Cornish clergy, and it seems certain that it cannot be an early loan from Latin. Most likely is that it represents a contraction of compounded **coleg* /-(d)ʒ/ "college" + *gy* "house" [lenited] with syncope **colegy* > *colgy* based on unusual initial stress, to which may be compared LC. *ardar* "plough" < OC. *aradar*.³⁷⁸ This may be evidence that *colgy* was borrowed from English, where *college* is stressed on the first syllable, rather than from French. The word is thus not substantially different from any other example of *chy* "house".

The only other known case of apparent /dʒ/ < /g'/ occurs in the famous place-name *tyndagyel* "Tintagel", which happens to occur in

³⁷⁵ *achy* BM 1537, 1869, 2234, 2260.

³⁷⁶ *colgy* BM 2688, 2699, 4407. On *hensy*, see also § 5.8.1 above.

³⁷⁷ The word was probably acquired from English, although possibly directly from French at the same time as it was borrowed into English. For the cultural and linguistic influence of French in England and Cornwall at this time, see *Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. iii, pp. 368-71.

It may have been acquired through English, but owing to the dominance of French at the time of PA and even at the time of the Ordinalia, it is likely that it was a roughly contemporary loanword in both.

³⁷⁸ *arder* Pryce, ACB K1r-Bb4v; *aradar* Voc. Corn. 344 (copied by Lhuyd, AB 43b). The stress in this word was previously regular (cf. W. *aradr* B. *arar*, *alar*) until the second vowel arose by epenthesis. It appears the stress remained on the ante-penult. It was then regularised by syncope, although this could alternatively be analysed as a form of metathesis /-VdV-/ > /-dV(V)-/.

BM.³⁷⁹ That the second element ought to be **tagell* "constriction, neck" (WB. *tagell*) is apparent from the geography of the site in North Cornwall.³⁸⁰ The local pronunciation has long had /dʒ/ and seems well established.³⁸¹ It is probably due to the influence of the Arthurian tradition from outside Cornwall that has altered the local pronunciation, so this example is probably not a real instance of palatalisation.

"Second Palatalisation" occurs across an even wider range of lexemes in BM than it does in the Ordinalia, in the same way that a greater range of words are found with orthographical palatalisation in the Ordinalia than in PA. However, the change /z' / > /dʒ/ is by no means universally shown in the orthography of BM; considering that *s* and *g* occur in free variation in many words and that *s* is still slightly more common overall, it would seem that the change was probably still incomplete. This is at least true of the literary register of the language, if indeed that differed substantially from speech.

The principal exception to this state of affairs in BM is the verb *bos* "to be", notably after the negative particle *ny(ns)* W. *ni(d)* B. *ne(d)* V. *ne(d)*, *nen(d)* and the temporal particle *nans* meaning "now, ago" MIW. *neu(t)*. Whereas in PA "Second Palatalisation" is almost exclusively represented as *g* /dʒ/ in the orthography after these particles (with one exception among 31 examples), it was noted above that palatalisation in *nyns* is written in in only one case, *nyngeſe* "it was not, there was not" out of 88 examples in the Ordinalia, and in only instance, *nynsugy*, with palatalisation in the verb itself rather than in the particle.³⁸² This curious

³⁷⁹ *tyndagyel* BM 2214.

³⁸⁰ See CPNE, pp. 84, 214, 307.

³⁸¹ Padel dates instances with /dʒ/ from at least 1207, *A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names*, p. 163. This is supported by John of Cornwall's *Dindaiol*, probably ca. 1154, see Curley, *Speculum* 57 (1954), pp. 222-3, 239, 244. For the variation of Initial *t* and *d* in **dyn* "fort", see CPNE, pp. 84-5.

³⁸² See § 5.7.3 above.

reversal of the situation found in PA is continued in BM, where in fact none of the 51 examples are written with *g*. This is a surprising statistic.

In the present tense, examples occur with the negative particle in the forms *nynsos*, *nynsoys* "thou art not" (three examples), *nynsyv*, *Nynsyv* "he, she, it is not" (17 examples) and *nynsyns* "they are not" (one example).³⁸³ There are nine examples of *nansyv*, *Nansyv* "(now) it is".³⁸⁴ The present locative occurs once in *Nynsesos* "thou art not" and twice in *nynsusy* "he, she, it is not".³⁸⁵ The present existential occurs twelve times in the negative as *nynsus*, *nynsues* "there is not" and twice as *nansus* "(now) there is".³⁸⁶ In the imperfect tense the forms *nynsen vy* "I was not" and *nynso*, *Nynso* "he, she, it was not" (three examples) are found; a single example of the imperfect locative occurs in *nynsese* "there was not".³⁸⁷ Added to these, the negative particle occurs after two forms of the verb *mos* "to go" in the present tense, of which neither *nynseth* "thou goest not" (three examples) nor *nynsa* "goes not" (two examples) shows the change /z'/ > /dʒ/.³⁸⁸ There happen to be no examples of the particle *res* before a vowel in either verb.

This curious lack of orthographical palatalisation is also found in all other parts of the verb "to be" in BM. For the most part, the phoneme /z/ occurs in final position without a following enclitic pronoun: these examples are therefore not discussed here, since (with a very few exceptions, discussed below) "Second Palatalisation" is never normally observed in such positions in Middle Cornish. However, the remaining examples should be listed here, since palatalisation might otherwise have been reasonably expected to occur in these at least as often as it does in

³⁸³ *nynsos* BM 1996, 2016, *nynsoys* 2976, *nynsyv* 98 (16 exx.), *Nynsyv* [caps. sic] 2582, *nynsyns* 2046.

³⁸⁴ *nansyv* BM 682 (8 exx.), *Nansyv* [caps. sic] 1872.

³⁸⁵ *Nynsesos* [caps. sic] BM 848, *nynsusy* 1019, 1403.

³⁸⁶ *nynsus* BM 366 (11 exx.), *nynsues* 291, *nansus* 3949, *namsus* 1554 [a scribal error for <*nansus*> with extra minim: the correction is assumed here].

³⁸⁷ *nynsen vy* BM 3700, *nynso* 1532, 2495, *Nynso* BM 1801, *nynsese* 3586.

the parallel cases in PA. In the short present and short imperfect tenses, only *mar syns y* "if they are" (W. *ynt* B. *int-i*) and *ens y* "they were" (W. *oeddent* B. *oant* V. *oent*) occur respectively.³⁸⁹

All other instances occur in the locative tenses because these are etymologically compounds of the "short" tenses with the prefix *es-* and consequently contain /z/. This is apparently a former particle corresponding to W. *yd-* in *ydwyf* "I am" and B. *ed-* in the literary language and Leon dialect *edo* "there was". A corresponding "long" present tense also existed in Breton until the early modern period, although it is now obsolete.³⁹⁰ In Cornish, the consonant of the particle had evidently undergone universal assibilation /d/ > /z/ before the earliest attested Middle Cornish. This is represented in BM in the present tense in *ythesen*, *esen* "we are", *ythesogh*, *esogh*, *esough* "ye are", *vsons* "they are", *kynthusons* "though they are" and in the imperfect in *pan eses* "when thou wast", *kyn theses* "though thou wast", *ythese*, *ese* "he, she, it, there was" and *nynsese* "he, she, it, there was not".³⁹¹ In none of these cases is palatalisation written – again surprising for a late MIC. text.

The form of the third person plural forms *vsons* and *kynthusons* appear to have been influenced by the third person singular of the present locative, the only form which probably does not contain the reflex of the particle **yd*. The examples *vsy* "is, are" and *nynsusy* "is, are not"³⁹² seem to be equivalent to ModW. *y sy(dd)* OB. *isi* and may therefore contain /z/ < /s/.³⁹³ However, the use of these forms is so similar to MIB. *(a)edy* that

³⁸⁸ *nynseth* BM 2409, 2823, 3361, *nynsa* 657, 2347.

³⁸⁹ *mar syns y* BM 1806, *ens y* 1810.

³⁹⁰ R. Hémon, *A Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton*, § 139 (3 & notes), pp. 204-5.

³⁹¹ *ythesen* BM 3333, *esen* 3350, *ythesogh* 3346, *esogh* 4310, *esough* 956, *vsons* 1264, 1335, *kynthusons* 2366, *pan eses* 1051, *kyn theses* 3885, *ythese* 862, *ese* 2672, 3445, *nynsese* 3586 (this ex. also cited under discussion of particle *nyns* above).

³⁹² *vsy* BM 1714 (4 exx.), *nynsusy* 1019, 1403 (also discussed under *nyns* above). For these, in turn, to contain initial <u> for expected <y>, the influence of the present existential MIC. *us*, *eus* W. *oes* B. *eus* must presumably have altered all of the third person forms.

³⁹³ On the latter, see R. Hémon, *op. cit.*, § 139 (1), esp. n. 2, pp. 203-4.

it seems that the two forms may well have been blended.³⁹⁴ If so, this could only have happened when /s/ in OC. **isi* was later voiced. The forms *nyngvgy* in PA and *nynsugy* in the Ordinalia, given above, show that palatalisation in *vsy* > *vgy* had previously occurred despite the lack of examples in BM; this once again suggests that in some cases *s* /z/ was palatalised first to /z'/ and later *g* /dz/ irrespective of its origin.

Similarly, no palatalisation is found with forms of the verb *bos* "to be" after *mar(a)s* "if" B. *mar(d)*, even if a front vowel follows /z/. It should be recalled, however, that this exception was also universal in the earlier texts. Examples in BM include *mersyv* "if it is", *mar sewe*, *mara sywe* "if he is", *marsogh* "if ye are", *mar syns y* "if they are" and the existential *mara sus*, *mar sus*, *marsus* "if there is".³⁹⁵ The same pattern follows parts of *mos* "to go" in the cases *marsama*, *mar a saff* "if I go", in which no palatalisation would be expected between back vowels;³⁹⁶ as well as *marseth*, *mar seth* "if thou goest" and *mar segh* "if ye go", in which *g* does not in any case appear despite the following front vowel.³⁹⁷ There are no examples of *kyns* "before" with either verb in BM, but *kyns es*, *kyns ys* meaning "rather than" occurs without palatalisation (cf. *kyngys*, *kyn gys* cited above from the Ordinalia).³⁹⁸ It seems clear, at least, that the deciding factor must be the relatively lax quality of the preceding vowel of MIC. *mars* and its variant *maras*.³⁹⁹

In contrast to the lack of palatalisation in the previous examples, elsewhere in BM the feature is written much more widely than in the earlier texts. In one extremely common group of words, the second

³⁹⁴ *ibid.*, § 139 (3), pp. 204-5.

³⁹⁵ *mersyv* BM 14, *mar sewe* 1041, *mara sywe* 3732, 4352, *marsogh* 951, *mar syns y* 1806 (also cited above), *mara sus* 635, *mar sus* 1203, 2643, 3435, *marsus* 1373, 3319.

³⁹⁶ *marsama* BM 3288, *mar a saff* 1109.

³⁹⁷ *marseth* BM 3259, *mar seth* 4315, *mar segh* 588.

³⁹⁸ *kyns es* BM 259, *kyns ys* 2254.

³⁹⁹ The variant *maras* apparently contains an epenthetic vowel with the same quality as the preceding syllable: it is reasonable to suppose that the conditions for palatalisation would be unaltered by this.

person singular dependent pronoun, *g* occurs universally in this text. This is true both after conjugated prepositions such as *zyso gy*, *thysogy*, *thyso gy*, *dysogy*, *dyso gy* "to thee", *the orthys gy* "from thee", *ahanes gy* "of, from thee" and *genes theygy* "with thee"⁴⁰⁰ and after verbs such as *na ylta gy*, *ny elte gy*, *ny eltegy* "thou canst not", *a wylste gy* "that thou sawest", *nan guythte gy* "(that) thou keepest him not", *me ath wor gy* "I'll put thee", *mynny gy* "thou wilt" and *ressawhyagy* (< **re sawyo gy*) "heal thee".⁴⁰¹ Of these, *genes theygy* has a reduplicated pronoun *theygy* /ðədʒi/ < OC. **didi* with initial mutation; all but the last three verbal forms given above are compounded first with the enclitic pronoun *te* (cf. B. *ne c'hallez-te ket* "thou canst not") and then the reinforcing pronoun *gy* < OC. **di* seen in the other examples. The imperatives *kegy*, *kezegy* "go (thou)" show single and reduplicated pronouns respectively.⁴⁰² An interjection *gogy* "woe (to) thee" also occurs, apparently a compound of *gew* "woe" and *gy* "thee".⁴⁰³ The assibilated form *sy* /zi:/ seen in earlier texts is not found in BM, despite a large number of examples.

As in the earlier texts, the frequent occurrence of religious terms makes these a particularly good source of examples showing a variation between *g* and *s* for earlier /d/. As well as *venegycter* "blessedness" with *g* /dʒ/, there is *benesygter* "blessedness" with apparent *s* /z/.⁴⁰⁴ There is one example apiece of *beseth* and *vygeth* "baptises" [3s. pres.-fut.] (W. *bedydd* B. *badez*), while the verb-noun *begithia*, *vegethya*, *begythya* and the past-participle *begythys* show only forms with *g*.⁴⁰⁵ Further free

⁴⁰⁰ *zyso gy* BM 356, *thysogy* 356, 573, 3326, *thyso gy* 1120, *dysogy* 2661, *dyso gy* 3293, *the orthys gy* 2971, *ahanes gy* 3516, *genes theygy* 4035.

⁴⁰¹ *na ylta gy* BM 395, *ny elte gy* 430, *ny eltegy* 2570, *a wylste gy* 1017, *nan guythte gy* 1050, *me ath wor gy* 2377, *mynny gy* 2967, *ressawhyagy* 3844.

⁴⁰² *kegy* BM 35, 61, *kezegy* 58.

⁴⁰³ *gogy* BM 3576 (cf. *gew* CW 1043).

⁴⁰⁴ *venegycter* BM 203, *benesygter* 4495.

⁴⁰⁵ *beseth* BM 4154, *vygeth* 941, *begithia* 945, *vegethya* 1830, *begythya* 4151, *begythys* 1821, 4002, 4131.

variation of *g* and *s* is seen before front vowels in *devgys*, *devsys* "Godhead" (W. *duwdod*). In contrast, only *galosek*, *gallosek* "powerful" occur for *galogek* in the Ordinalia (OC. *galluidoc*) and only *drensis*, *drensys* "Trinity" W. *trindod* is found for *drenses*, *drynsys* (all with initial soft mutation) seen in the earlier texts.⁴⁰⁶

The word *cregyans* "belief" and its antonym *dyscregyans*, *thyscregyans* "disbelief, unbelief" always show *g* before yod, but the verb-noun *cresy* W. *credu* B. *krediñ* (and a variant *cresyae* created for a forced rhyme) has *s* despite the following front vowel.⁴⁰⁷ On the other hand, *s* always occurs in this verb before etymological back vowels in *del grese* "as I believe", *ny grese vy*, *ny grese* "I believe not", *creseff* "I believe" (< **cresaf* W. *credaf* B. *kredan*) and *cresugh* "believe (ye)" (imperative).⁴⁰⁸ The subjunctive *neb na cresse* "whoever believes not" < **cresso* seems to be derived from **cres+ho* with /ss/ < /z+h/;⁴⁰⁹ there are no subjunctive forms with *g* in Middle Cornish, so it may be presumed that /ss/ was exempt from palatalisation.

Likewise, only *pesy*, *besy* "to pray" (cf. B. *pediñ*) and *thy fysy* "to pray (to) her" occur with *s* for the verb-noun, along with as *me reth pesys* "I have prayed thee": all before a front vowel where a spelling with *g* might be expected.⁴¹⁰ In the case of *peseff(f)*, *pesa*, *pese* "I pray" < **pesaf* B. *pedan*, the following back vowel would not be expected to cause palatalisation in any case.⁴¹¹ The forms *me a pysse*, *me a bysse* "I would pray" and *ny ages pesse* "we would pray you" (cf. MIB. *petse*) are probably examples of the pluperfect used as conditional, not the imperfect (MIB. *pede*), although it is only the double graph *ss* that suggests any

⁴⁰⁶ *galosek* BM 177 (4 exx.), *gallosek* 179, *drensis* 500, *drensys* 994, 4414.

⁴⁰⁷ *cregyans* BM 827 (7 exx.), *dyscregyans* 1764, *thyscregyans* 2369, 3499, *cresy* BM 834 (4 exx.), *cresyae* BM 1865.

⁴⁰⁸ *del grese* BM 1530, 4372, *ny grese vy* 4077, *ny grese* 4465, *creseff* 4415, *cresugh* 3153, 3170.

⁴⁰⁹ *neb na cresse* BM 1213.

⁴¹⁰ *pesy* BM 404 (28 exx.), *besy* 973, 3592, 3855, *thy fysy* 3589, *me reth pesys* 3615.

⁴¹¹ *peseff* BM 46, 211, *peseff* 323, 1007, 4286, *pesa* 2778, *pese* 4309.

difference between the forms.⁴¹² If this is not purely an orthographical feature, the group /ss/ < /z+s/ probably avoided palatalisation. It is not certain whether the final vowel would have been close enough to cause the change in parts of the imperfect with a following front vowel, which had only /z/; but this seems relatively unlikely.⁴¹³

The related noun *peyadov*, *peiadow* is perhaps the most interesting among this group of words.⁴¹⁴ It is the only example of "Second Palatalisation" that is written with internal *y* or *i* rather than *g*. The example *ow fysadow* "my prayers" in the Ordinalia shows that the phoneme had already undergone assibilation, although *piyadow*, *pyiadow* also occur. It is difficult to account for the unusual spelling with internal *y* or *i*, which is unparalleled in the other texts. However, *i* and *j* occur initially as well as *g*, as may be seen in the pairs *an gevan*, *an ievan* "the fiend, devil", *an ioul*, *an jawl* "the devil" and *an geves*, *nan geves*, *nyn jeves* "he has not" in the Ordinalia. Since vocalic *i* and *y* are used in free variation, it is doubtless only the spelling that is exceptional.

In fact, the word *vlonogeth*, *bolnogeth*, *volnogeth* "will" is also a curious example.⁴¹⁵ As in earlier texts, it is always written with palatal *g* in BM. In the Ordinalia, the older form *bolungeth* (cf. B. *bolontez* < L. *voluntatem*) occurs side by side with forms showing the metathesis that is seen here in BM. The examples found are *volnogeth*, *volnegeth* and *bolenogeth*, the latter with metathesis of the vowels of the penult and ultima as well as an epenthetic vowel between /n/ and the palatalised phoneme.⁴¹⁶ If the preceding /n/ was a contributory factor to the

⁴¹² *me a pysse* BM 544, *me a bysse* 1080, *ny ages pesse* 3111. The imperfect tense is only rarely used as a conditional in MIC.: the pluperfect is almost universally used instead.

⁴¹³ PHC, § 7.4.5, p. 136; H. Lewis, *Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol*, § 51, p. 55. It might be most likely in the impersonal of the imperf. and pres.-fut., 2s. & 1pl. pres.-fut. and 1s. & 1pl. pret., however.

⁴¹⁴ *peyadov* BM 128, *peyadov* [altered from *piadov*] 560, *peiadow* 132, *peiadov* 2189, 3624, 4015, *peyadow* 143.

⁴¹⁵ *vlonogeth* BM 136, *bolnogeth* 310, 321, 350, *volnogeth* 1740, 1909, 4340.

⁴¹⁶ See § 5.8.3 above.

conditions for palatalisation, as was discussed above, it is interesting that /n/ and /dʒ/ were subsequently separated by metathesis in this word. The form *bolenegoth* suggests various possible combinations of epenthesis and syncope, perhaps in combination with metathesis, as a valid alternative analysis, while *vlonogeth* seems to have a kind of double metathesis. Although there is no parallel case, nor any example of **bolunseth* with orthographical *s*, it seems clear that this must be a case of "Second Palatalisation" rather than "First Palatalisation". It would seem that assibilation must have previously occurred, just as it did in *owfysadow*. Since a following /d/ did not prevent assibilation in this example, according to Toorians' analysis, there is no reason to suppose that a following /θ/ could do so either.⁴¹⁷ There is no need to add further categories to those set out by George for exceptions to assibilation.

The range of words with spellings indicating palatalisation in BM is not, however, largely confined to commonly used words with religious meanings, as in the earlier texts. The word *bohosek*, *bothosek* "poor" < OC. *bochodoc* has *s*, but the plural *bohosogyon*, *bohogogyon* "poor ones, poor people" appears three times with *s* and twice with *g* (ignoring the second *g* in these examples, which means /g/ here) and the related *Bohogogneth* "poverty" also shows palatal *g*.⁴¹⁸ Despite the lack of examples of **bohogek*, it seems that palatalisation occurred first of all in the adjective because OC. *-oc* became MIC. *-ek* (see *galogek*, *galosek* < OC. *galluidoc* above). It appears that the vowel of the ending was close enough to cause palatalisation after it was unrounded /o/ > /œ/ > /ɛ/. The other forms may not be analogical, since /o/ might be close enough to be a contributing factor to a more palatal articulation, despite there being no

⁴¹⁷ See § 5.2 above.

⁴¹⁸ *bohosek* BM 348, 450 (cf. Voc. Corn.. 299), *bothosek* 2010 (with confusion of /θ/ for /h/); *bohosogyon* BM 3422, *bohosogyon* 3430, *vohogogyon* 3734, *bohogogyon* 4204, *vohosogyen* 4261, *Bohogogneth* [sic] 2010.

front vowel. The similar examples *lagasek* "keen-eyed, big-eyed" (cf. LC. *lagadzhek*, W. *llygad* B. *lagad*) and *skyansek* "clever" < OC. *scientoc* show assibilated *s* without palatalisation.⁴¹⁹ The adjective *genesek* "born" also has *s* in this position, but the derived nouns *genegyva* "(manner of) birth" and *genesygeth* "(occasion of) birth" respectively show *g* and *s*.⁴²⁰

In the example *clevegov* "diseases" (W. *clefydau*, B. *kleñvedoù*), the plural of *cleve(y)s* "disease" (W. *clevyd* B. *kleñved*), it seems difficult to see why there should be a palatal before the back vowel of the plural ending unless a form **clevesyow* with yod existed – but this does not occur in the WB. cognates.⁴²¹ Possibly this may be seen as an exception in which where the preceding front vowel had a sufficient palatalising effect. It is easier to see why *cowgegyow* "inward thoughts" (W. *ceudod* "hollow" B. *kev* "cave") should be written with a palatal, since there is yod written.⁴²² The latter example may be compared to *cowsys*, *cowgys* "spoken" (past participle, cf. B. *komzet*) with *s*.⁴²³ Since palatalisation is almost never observed in final position in Middle Cornish (with limited exceptions, as discussed below), ***cleve(y)g* and ***cowsyg*, ***cowgyg* are impossible forms. It may also be noted that *cowgegyow* is an example of "Double Palatalisation", containing two successive phonemes written with *g* for *s*. It also occurs in the early section of BM that was re-written at a later date.⁴²⁴ These examples may be compared with *dewysyow* "sheep" (cf. *devidgyow* in CW below) and *preggyow* (cf. *prys* "meal"), whose singular forms always have final *s* /z/, probably [s].⁴²⁵

The words *densis* "mankind" (W. *dyndod*), *gesys* "left" (cf. W. *gadael*) and *gueresys* "healed" have *s* where *g* would be possible, for

⁴¹⁹ *lagasek* BM 1018, 3813, *skyansek* 377 (cf. AB 105b).

⁴²⁰ *genesek* BM 2287, *genegyva* 850, *genesygeth* 4387.

⁴²¹ *clevegov* BM 1457, *cleves* 1374 (4 exx.), *cleveys* 4289.

⁴²² *cowgegyow* BM 149.

⁴²³ *cowsys* BM 178, 229, cf. *cowgys* TH 11.1.

⁴²⁴ See § 2.7 above.

⁴²⁵ *dewysyov* BM 2981 (cf. *devidgyow* CW 1070), *preggyow* 1972 (cf. *prys* PC 456).

example in *tanges* (WCB. *tan* "fire", MIC. *-sys* W. *-dod*) "blazing, conflagration" < **tansys*.⁴²⁶ As discussed above, the present subjunctive *regen guere* "may (he) heal us" presumably has /ss/ and could not therefore have appeared with *g*.⁴²⁷ On the other hand, *dewogys* "bled" occurs with expected *g*, while the verb-noun *dewosa*, *dewose* "to bleed" (W. *dy-*, *gwaedu* B. *diwadañ*) and the third person present-future *an dewoys* "bleed(s) him" retain earlier *s* before back vowels and in final position respectively.⁴²⁸ Forms such as *sengys* "held" seen above in the Ordinalia do not occur with *g* in BM. Inflected parts of the verb-noun *sensy* "to hold" occur frequently with *s*, for example *senses*, *sensys*, *sensis* "held" (p.pt. or 3s. pres.-fut.), *ny sense*, *Ny sensevy* "I hold not", *Senseff* "I hold" and *re sensa* "may (he) hold, keep" (pres.-subj.).⁴²⁹ The form *golvygyen* "radiance" shows the palatal: it appears to be a plural of MIC. *golowys* LC. *goloûas* (probably itself a plural of MIC. *golow* "light" W. *golau* B. *gouloù*).⁴³⁰ The ending in the word *lovrygyan* "leprosy" may be compared to B. *sklêrijenn*, *teñvalijenn* and seems to contain yod.⁴³¹ If this contains etymological /s/ voiced to /z/, as it seems, one may compare *varthegyon* "marvels" (< **marthus* "marvellous") in the Ordinalia.

The same variation between *s* and *g* is also found before other endings containing front vowels. The words *anfusy* "misfortune" (cf. obs. W. *anffodiad*) and *devlugy* "devilry" (cf. W. *diawl* B. *diaoul*, WCB *-us*) are made to rhyme, either as mere orthographical variants for the same palatal sound or else demonstrating some sort of awareness that the two realisations of the sound were interchangeable.⁴³² The verb-noun *brusy*,

⁴²⁶ *densis* BM 888, *gesys* 1254, *gueresys* 1700, *tanges* BM 2106.

⁴²⁷ *regen guere* BM 1758.

⁴²⁸ *dewogys* BM 1556, *dewosa* 1575, *dewose* 1584, 1619, *an dewoys* 1652.

⁴²⁹ *sensy* BM 1074 (5 exx.), *senses* 716, *sensys* 811 (12 exx.), *sensis* 2956, *ny sense* 1624, *Ny sensevy* [sic] 2406, *Senseff* [sic] 3480, *re sensa* 2675.

⁴³⁰ *golvygyen* BM 3681; *golowys* PA 248c; *goloûas* AB 62a; *golow* PA 64c.

⁴³¹ *lovrygyan* BM 1356; see Nance, NCED, pp. 100, 193.

⁴³² *anfusy* BM 2095, 3421, 3514, *devlugy* 2096.

vrusi "to judge" (cf. W. *brawd* B. *breud*) does not appear as *brugy* as it does in the Ordinalia.⁴³³ In *vestrigny*, *mestresy* "masters" (W. *meistr(i)aid* B. *mistri*) both *s* and *g* occur, but only *s* is found in *servysy*, *serveisy* "servants" (pl. of **servyas*, Eng. + WCB. *-iad*), *trewesy* "grievous" (cf. W. *trueni* B. *truez*) and *treysy* (pl. of OC. *troet*) "starlings".⁴³⁴

A number of examples in BM break the nearly universal rule in Middle Cornish that *g* never occurs for *s* in final position: these are *calge* "many", *falge* "false", *me an felge* "I will slit him" and *polge* "a while" (in which silent final *-e* is borrowed from English and French orthography).⁴³⁵ This development is not found in PA or the Ordinalia and seems to be strictly limited to the group *-lg* < *-ls* in these words. The cognates B. *kalz*, B. *fals* < OFr. *fals* (or perhaps directly from L. *falsus*⁴³⁶), B. *faout*, B. *poulzig* < OFr. *pouls* show that the origin of /z/ could be either voiced /s/ > /z/ or else assibilated /d/, with palatalisation possible in both cases. This is supported by the examples *martegen* and *martesen* in both BM and the Ordinalia, which are equivalent to B. *martese* < *mar+teu+se* "if that comes" and contain /z/ < /s/.⁴³⁷ It happens that *bryonsen* "throat" (see above) with /-nz-/ < /-ns-/ only occurs with *s* in BM for *bryangen* in the Ordinalia.⁴³⁸

Similarly, *kerensa*, *kerense* "love" (B. *karantez*) always has *s* in BM for *kerenge* in the Ordinalia.⁴³⁹ No palatalisation occurs in the frequent *wosa*, (*a*)*wose* "after" or the derived *aywosa* "after her,

⁴³³ *brusy* BM 4054, *vrusi* 4087.

⁴³⁴ *vestrigny* BM 198, *mestresy* 3313, *servysy* 3262, 3373, 3801, *serveisy* 4275, *trewesy* 975, *treysy* 2399, *troet* Voc. Corn. 516 glossed L. *turdus* AS. *staer*, cf. *trodzhan* Lhuyd AB 10b, 156b "stares", "Adar y Drydion, L. *sturnus*). Thus *treysy* in BM seems to mean "starlings", see Nance, NCED, p. 171, but it is stated that it "seems to refer to something that one crushes underfoot", p. 190. The text of BM 2397-9 reads *Duk kernov hag oll y dus / indan ov threys me as glus / poren kepar ha treysy* "Duke of Cornwall and all his folk / under my feet I will paste them / exactly as ... (?)", where C. *glus* may be compared to WB. *glud* "bird-lime" (noun), "sticky" (adj.), W. *gludio* "to stick" and B. *gludennek* "viscous". Stokes' tenuous **trehythy* "perhaps connected with W. *traeth* 'sand'", notes to BM, p. 274, may be rejected.

⁴³⁵ *calge* BM 2046, *falge* 777 (12 exx.), *me an felge* 1273, *polge* 659 (5 exx.).

⁴³⁶ See J.F.R. Piette, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton*, p. 118.

⁴³⁷ *martegen* BM 61, *martesen* 3291.

⁴³⁸ *vryonsen* BM 780, *bryonsen* 1620, *vreonsen* 1651.

notwithstanding", unlike *wosa*, *woge*, *wege* in the Ordinalia.⁴⁴⁰ It is perhaps also coincidence that *hensy* "old house, ruin" (WCB. *hen+ty*) occurs rather than **hengy* seen in place-name elements.⁴⁴¹ Likewise, *attense* "behold him" occurs rather than **attenge* and *pensevyk* "prince" (OC. *pendeuig* W. *pendefig*) for the unattested but perhaps possible **pengevyk*.⁴⁴² The words *densa* "good man" (W. *dyn* B. *den* WCB. *da*) and *tarosvan* "phantom" (OC. *taruutuan*) probably could not have shown palatalisation, no front vowels follow the relevant phoneme.⁴⁴³

Overall, it is curious that BM shows palatalisation in a wider range of words than is found in PA and the Ordinalia, yet spellings with *g* are perversely somewhat less common compared to those with *s* in the majority of groups of words affected. Palatal spellings are always associated with neighbouring front vowels, except in a very few words like *bohogogyon* where analogy is almost certainly responsible. It is difficult to explain the apparently improbable statistic that no palatal spellings occur in parts of the verb *bos*, where they should be common, yet *gy* "thou, thee" is universal in BM for earlier *sy*. The absence of palatalisation after *mar(a)s* "if" follows the pattern seen in the earlier texts, even where a front vowel follows /z/. Where expected according to the distribution found in PA and the Ordinalia, palatal spellings are still no more than sporadic and unpredictable in BM.

⁴³⁹ *kerensa* BM 123, 2629, *kerense* 403 (13 exx.), *gerense* 2997, 3040, *gerensa* 4325.

⁴⁴⁰ *wosa* BM 22, 104, 999, *wose* 1073 (4 exx.), *awose* 723, 1635, 3698, *a wose* 1129; *aywosa* 837.

⁴⁴¹ *hensy* BM 1307; see CPNE, p. 130.

⁴⁴² *attense* BM 3447 [the etymology is discussed in NCED, entry "otta", p. 123, but is doubtful], *pensevyk* 489, 3022, 3209 (cf. *pendeuig* Voc. Corn. 170).

⁴⁴³ *densa* BM 40 (6 exx.), *thensa* 2719, *Densa* [sic] 672, 2944, *tarosvan* 2566 (cf. *taruutvan* Voc. Corn. 493). But see *teroge*, § 5.8.3. above.

5.9.3 The Tregear Homilies (TH)

The extant twelve translations of the thirteen Catholic homilies by Edmund Bonner were all written by the same hand, who it has been presumed was John Tregear, while the rather longer catena that is added in place of the expected thirteenth homily was written in a different hand.⁴⁴⁴ Consequently the spelling conventions adopted by the second scribe sometimes differ from those of the first, although on a general level they are broadly similar and are both within the Middle Cornish orthographical tradition. It is, however, a potentially significant difference as regards the representation of any given phoneme, so a distinction is maintained where it is relevant between the twelve homilies by John Tregear [JT] and the catena *Sacrament an Aulter* [SA].

As in the case of the earlier texts, "First Palatalisation" is generally regular in TH. The verb "to have" is normally found in forms similar to those seen above, e.g. *an gevas*, *an gefas*, (*n*)*an Jevas* "hath (not)" (pres.), *an Jevith*, *an gevith* "shall have" (future), *an geffa*, *an Jeffa* "may have", *nan geffo* "(that) may have not" (pres. subj.); *an geva* "had" (imperf.), *an Jeva* "had" (pret.& imperf.)⁴⁴⁵ No forms of this verb happen to occur in SA, but there are a few slight irregularities in JT. As well as *nyn sevas* "hath not" and *nynsevith* "shall not have" compared above with the similar cases in BM, the form *dell gevas* "as hath" (pres.) might be amended to read **dell [an] gevas*.⁴⁴⁶ This may be attributed to a simple

⁴⁴⁴ T.Z. Chaudhri, *A Description of the Middle Cornish Tregear Manuscript*, pp.2-4. It is not certain whether either of these scribes was the translator: this was presumably Tregear himself in at least the first twelve homilies. D.H. Frost, *Cornish Studies* 11 (2003), series 2, pp. 291-307, believes that the author of the third was probably Thomas Stephyn.

⁴⁴⁵ *an gevas* TH 8a.17 (error for pl. **as tevas*), 17.7 (error for f. **as tevas*), 18.5, 51.2 (probably error for f.), *an gefas* 10a.12, 43.18, *nan Jevas* 16a.4, 18.13, *an Jevas* 17.9 (error for f.), 29a.16 (error for pl.), 30a.13, *an Jevith* 22a.6 (error for 1pl. **ny a[ge]n bith*), *an gevith* 26.15 (error for 1pl.), 57.19, *an geffa* 4a.1, 21a.12, *an Jeffa* 25.4 (error for pl. **as teffa*), *nan geffo* 20.15, *an geva* 4.2 (imperf., error for pl. **as teva*), *an Jeva* 28.12 (pret., error for 1pl. **ny a[ge]n be*), 30a.6 (pret., error for 2pl. **why a[ge]s be*), 34.6-7 (pret.), *an Jeva* 46.15-16 (imperf.).

⁴⁴⁶ *dell gevas* TH 51.2-3 (probably error for f. **dell as tevas*).

omission based upon the occurrence of a medial line break; the particle and infixed pronoun are in any case implied by the following *g*, so no meaning is lost in any event.⁴⁴⁷ The contractions found in the equivalent ModB. verb may be compared, e.g. *en deus* > *'neus* "he has", *he deus* > *'deus* "she has", *o deus* > *'deus* "they have".

It is possible, but unlikely, that a further irregular instance may be found in *ny nygefyn* "(we,) we will not have".⁴⁴⁸ This could be based by analogy on *ny(n)gefyth* "will not have", with the first person plural ending *-yn* substituted for a perceived third person singular ending. If so, it would also show loss of the infixed pronoun *n* /n/ before the palatalised consonant. Perhaps the writer lost sight of the dative infixed construction and declined the third person singular form instead of using the regular *ny gen byth*, **nyn byth* with *n* or *gan*, *gen* correctly infixed.⁴⁴⁹ Many of the preceding examples are in fact used for persons other than the third person singular masculine, especially when the subject precedes the verb. This is frequent in spoken Breton, so that *ni 'no plijadur* (< **ni en devo*) "we will have fun" occurs for the correct *ni hor bo plijadur*.

A further development is to add personal endings to the verb, which occurs in TH in the phrases *a vongy* "that they had" (pret.) and *del vouns y* "as they had", apparently abbreviated from **[as te]vongy* < *as teva*.⁴⁵⁰ These were evidently re-modelled on **bons*, **bons y* "they were", but they could equally have been meant for the grammatically masculine **[an ge]vonsy* < *an geva* with the plural ending compounded. A similar process happened in MIB. *a meump* (< 1s. *am eus*, 2pl. *-mp*),

⁴⁴⁷ This example should probably be feminine **as tevas* to agree with the implied singular of *gwlasow* "countries, nations", but the confusion may be due to the masculine *pow* "country" in the previous phrase. The opposite confusion occurs in *neb astevas* "who(ever) has" TH 30a.2 (pres.) for **neb angevas* and similarly *why as tevith* "ye shall have" 31a.8 (fut.) is used for **why a[ge]s bith*. These confusions do not occur in PA, the Ordinalia or BM but are found in CW (see further below).

⁴⁴⁸ *ny nygefyn* TH 10a.10.

⁴⁴⁹ *ny gen byth* PA 731; **nyn byth* unattested, but cf. *ny an bythe* "we shall have" CW 662.

⁴⁵⁰ *a vongy* TH 4.6, *del vouns y* 28.12 [the latter in fact badly translates "than they had"].

hon deus "we have" (cf. 3s. *en deus*) for regular MIB. *hon eus*.⁴⁵¹ It seems that the purpose was to make the distinctions clear between different persons of the verb after the use of the infixd dative pronouns had become confused. It is possible that *nygefyn* may represent an attempt at this in the future tense. On the other hand, in this context the same meaning could be expressed with the verb *cafos* "to get", so the example could equally be understood as correctly inflected * *ny ny gefyn /nI gevyn/* with /g/. There is no way to be absolutely sure which verb the scribe intended in this instance, but the latter remains most likely.

As in the previous texts, *in Jeth* "in the day" (lit. "per day"), *an Jeth* "the day", *hethew in Jeth* "today" occur regularly with a palatal alongside *pub dith*, *pup dith* "every day" and *an presont dith ma* "this present day" with expected /d/.⁴⁵² The form *vn dith* "one day" shows no palatal, which may be compared to the variation between *vn deyth*, *un geyth* in the Ordinalia and *vn geth* in BM seen above.⁴⁵³ On the other hand *in dith hethew*, *in dith hethow* "today" occur three times without the palatal, a failure that is found in no earlier text.⁴⁵⁴ The example *an dyth* seen in CW (at least ostensibly a later text: see below) may be influenced by [*a*]n *sythvas dyth* "the seventh day" in the previous line, with a word inserted.⁴⁵⁵ These are such rare exceptions to the expected palatalisation and *an g(e)yth* is so common in Middle Cornish that it seems certain that these two cases in TH are hypercorrections. It is highly unlikely that they represent a genuine variation unattested in the other texts since the sound change is almost entirely predictable within the small range of words in which it occurs.⁴⁵⁶ The word *dyowle* "devil" occurs only once without the

⁴⁵¹ R. Hémon, *A Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton*, § 140 (1), pp. 212-3.

⁴⁵² *in Jeth* TH 8.2, *an Jeth* 18.3-4, 47.18, *hethew in Jeth* 27a.1, 37.4, 48.15, *pub dith* 5.3, *pup dith* 39.5, *an presont dith ma* 34.4-5.

⁴⁵³ *vn dith* TH 41.4, 47.15 (twice).

⁴⁵⁴ *in dith hethew* TH 17.15-16, *in dith hethow* 41a.19, 48.2.

⁴⁵⁵ *an dyth* CW 416; *may fon sythvas dyth* "so that the seventh day may be" CW 415.

⁴⁵⁶ No examples of this type of regular "First Palatalisation" occur in SA.

article in BM; as in the Ordinalia, the plural *an dywollow* "the devils" does not show a palatal after the article.⁴⁵⁷

The irregular "First Palatalisation" seen in *chy* "house" occurs frequently in the twelve homilies of JT, as usual retaining the same form irrespective of the article or any other words preceding it.⁴⁵⁸ More interesting is the unique *wargy* "inwards", contrasted to *warves* "outwards".⁴⁵⁹ As in the case of *agy*, which could equally be from OC. **a di* or else represent an initial mutation of *chy*, it could be argued that **war di* existed alongside *chy* in all periods and therefore represents a more or less regular case of "First Palatalisation". The more common *agy* "within, inside" occurs frequently in JT but *achy* occurs once in SA in a form that occurs otherwise only in BM.⁴⁶⁰

Despite the fact that TH dates from a transitional period between Middle and Late Cornish, "Second Palatalisation" does not occur any more uniformly than before. There is no reason to suppose that the phonology of TH is particularly conservative, since the translation is of poor quality and yet the translators clearly had a good knowledge of both spoken and written Cornish. There was probably no sharp divide between these registers, which in part may account for the equal distribution of forms with *s* and *g*, but they are in such free variation in the majority of words that palatalisation must have still been incomplete. The suggestion that analogous restoration of /z/ for /dʒ/ could still be in operation up to three or four centuries after the original sound change is highly implausible. Yet this would have to be true in order to explain the high frequency of forms with *s* before front vowels in JT (TH) according to the

⁴⁵⁷ *dyowle* TH 34.13, *an dywollow* 28.8

⁴⁵⁸ *chy* [no significant element preceding] TH 21a.5, *in chy* "in the house" 17a.10, *an chi* 33.13, *an chy* 40.12, *han chy* "and the house" 40.10, *thean chy* "from the house", *in y chy* "in his house", *in the chy ge* "in thy house" 41.4-5. See § 5.9.5 (ii) below.

⁴⁵⁹ *wargy* TH 26a.20, *warves* 26a.18.

⁴⁶⁰ *agy* TH 36a.2 (5 exx.), *achy* 61a.27. It seems that *achy* is misused as a noun.

theories of Pedersen and George.⁴⁶¹ Since it is certain that JT could not have existed before its English exemplar published in 1555, it cannot possibly be a modernisation of earlier material. This charge could easily be levelled at any of the Middle Cornish plays, so the phonological evidence of TH is more unambiguous due to its narrow dating..

Forms indicating a palatal in the verb "to be" are about as frequent as those with orthographical assibilation. The temporal particle **nans* is strikingly rarer in TH than previously, occurring only twice in *nansew*, *nannsew* "now it is".⁴⁶² The perfective particle *res* occurs only once in the example *reseth* "has gone".⁴⁶³ The negative is much more frequent: the present tense occurs in JT *nynsoff* (1s.), *nynsew*, *nyn sew*, *nyngew*, *nyn gyw* (3s.), *ny gon(e)* (*ny*), *nynsone*, *nyngone ny* (1pl.), *nyn sowgh why*, *nynsowgh why* (2pl.), SA *negew*, *ne gew*, *nyn gew* (3s.), *ny gyns* (3pl.).⁴⁶⁴ The imperfect tense has JT *ny(n)go*, *nyn go*, *nynso*, *nyn so* (3s.), *ny sens y* (3pl.), SA *nyn go*.⁴⁶⁵ The locative present has JT *ny(n) gesan* (*ny*) (1pl.), *ny(n) sugy*, *ny gusy*, *ny gusy*, *ny susy* etc. (3s.), *nyn segow why* (2pl.), *ny gesans*, *ny gusans*, *nysugens y* (3pl.), SA *nyn gegy* (3s.), *ny geran*, *Ne geranny* [sic] (1pl.).⁴⁶⁶ The locative imperfect has JT *ny gesa*, *nyn sega*, *nyn sesa* (3s.), SA *ny gesa*.⁴⁶⁷ The existential present has JT *nynses*, *nyn sus*, *ny gues*, *ny gus* etc., SA *nyn gus*, *Nyn gvs* [sic], *ne gus*.⁴⁶⁸ In total, the particle *nyns* shows final *s* in 60 cases and *g* in 35 cases in JT but has *g* in

⁴⁶¹ Pedersen had not of course seen TH, since it was only discovered in 1949.

⁴⁶² *nansew* TH 45a.6, *nannsew* 49a.3.

⁴⁶³ *reseth* TH 21a.18.

⁴⁶⁴ *nynsoff* TH 59.10 *nyngew* 1a.15, 52a.3, *nyn gew* 55a.15, 56a.5, *nyn sew* 7.22-23 (6 exx.), *nynsew* 21a.6 (10 exx.), *Nyn sew* [sic] 24a.15, *Nensew* [sic] 48a.10, *ny gone* 7.4, 10.20, *ny ne gone* 10a.1, *ny gone ny* 27a.4-5, *ny gon* 10a.5, *nynsone* 7a.4, *nyngone ny* 24.4, *nyn sowgh why* 33.7, *nynsowgh why* 33.12, *negew* 59.10, *ne gew* 59a.10, 65.9, *nyn gyw* 59a.15 (7 exx.), *ny gyns* 59.20.

⁴⁶⁵ *nyngo* 2a.14, *nygo* 4.12, *nyn go* 12.20, *nynso* 4a.6 (11 exx., 13a.2 deleted), *nyn so* 13a.18, *ny sens y* 32.24-15, *nyn go* 61.16 (5 exx.).

⁴⁶⁶ *nyn gesan ny* TH 9a.5, *ny gesan ny* 9a.6 (5 exx.), *ny gesan* 22a.5, *ny sugy* 8.16, *ny gusy* 16.2, *ny gusy* 21.14 (3 exx.), *ny gesy* 22.9, *ny susy* 23a.6, *nynsugy* 16a.2, 34.13, *nyn sugy* 25.20, 29.2, *Nynsugy* 22.7 [sic], *nyn segow why* 16a.12, *ny gesans* 15.7, *ny gusans* 53.5, *nysugens y* 25.16, *nyn gegy* 65a.7, 66.20, *ny geran* 59.11, *Ne geranny* [sic] 63a.5.

⁴⁶⁷ *ny gesa* 2a.13, *nyn sega* 2a.15, *nyn sesa* 34.12 (3 exx.), *ny gesa*, 59a.7, 60a.2.

all 25 cases in SA, showing at least in this verb a greater tendency to palatalise in SA. The phoneme /n/ is lost on 30 occasions out of 95 in JT and 9 out of 25 in SA. Surprisingly, /n/ is frequently lost before orthographical *s* as well as *g*. The fact that palatalisation of *nyns* > *ny(n)g* often precedes a back vowel demonstrates that unusually the motivation for palatalisation appears to come from the preceding front vowel and /n/, whether or not the nasal is lost in the process.

The third person singular of the present locative **nyns usy* and imperfective locative **nyns esa* seem to show that speakers of Cornish may have been uncomfortable with palatalising both phonemes /z/ > /dʒ/ in the same word, since out of fourteen examples *ny gogy* occurs only once in JT and *nyn gegy* occurs twice in SA, while **ny gega* does not occur. Equally, only one example of *ny susy* and three of *nyn sesa* in JT show no apparent palatalisation of either phoneme, although the latter are out of a total of only five in JT and two in SA. The remaining examples are about equally divided between those that show palatalisation of the first or of the second /z/, except that SA has too few instances to give a useful statistic. Overall, it is noticeable that palatalisation is more frequent after the negative particle than in earlier texts, though still far from universal. The loss of /n/ in *nyns* (as it cannot be compared to the isolated scribal error in *ny go* for **nyn go* in PA), appears to be a significant later Middle Cornish sound change, amounting to roughly a third of the total examples.

The fact that the scribe of SA writes *ny geran*, *Ne geranny* "we are not", while JT or his scribe writes *ny gesan* and *ny(n) gesan ny*, is one of the many characteristic traits that distinguishes SA as the work of a different individual, since rhotacism /z/ > /r/ never in fact occurs in JT at

⁴⁶⁸ *nynses* TH 7a.9 (12 exx.), *Nyn ses* [sic] 9.15, *nyn sus* 10a.8, *nynsus* 18.5, *ny gevs* 7a.16, *ny ges* 10.11, 10.12, *ny gues* 53.3, *ny gus* 53a.6, 57a.18, *nyn gus* 61.29, *Nyn gvs*[sic] 64a.27, 65a.22.

all.⁴⁶⁹ The scribe of SA does not, however, write *r* consistently: *e thesan ny* "we are" may be compared to *erany* of the same meaning.⁴⁷⁰ The potentially confused pronunciation of /z/ and /r/ can only mean that /r/ was an apical, not a retroflex sound. It seems that rhotacism must constitute a direct sound change /z/ > /r/, since these two sounds are articulated close to the alveolus and do not have the palatal quality of /dz/. This sound change is not attested prior to the composition of the homilies in the sixteenth century, but it seems to demonstrate that unpalatalised /z/ sometimes survived in this position until at least this date. There is no evidence to show that rhotacism occurred more widely, but in these few words at least it must have prevented any subsequent palatalisation, even though it is otherwise common in that text.

Palatalisation occurs more rarely in the verb "to be" when it does not follow the negative or temporal particle. In the present tense *engy* "they are" occurs only once in JT for *ythyns*, *ens y*, *ensy* of the same meaning and *kyn thynsy* "although they are" (a total of six instances with *s*); there is one instance of *ens sy* in SA.⁴⁷¹ Only *ythyns* could not presumably show palatalisation, since the phoneme is final. In the imperfect tense *ens* "they were" has expected final *s* but *ens y*, *ons y* occur with internal *s*; the preterite *dell vonsy* "as they were" occurs once and the present subjunctive *vons y*, *vonsy* "that they may be" occurs 5 times in JT and twice in SA.⁴⁷² These examples might be compared to *mowns* "they

⁴⁶⁹ This is taken to be Thomas Stephyn by D.H. Frost, *Cornish Studies* 11 (2003), series 2, pp. 291-307, who signed his name with Tregear on several of the other homilies. It may be added that an individual's orthographical or speech habits could have changed over time, if parts of JT were contributed to by the author of SA. Discrepancies might be accounted for by a different scribe but the same translator. In any case, any such discrepancies remain useful for comparison.

⁴⁷⁰ *e thesan ny* 61.24-25, *erany* 65.9.

⁴⁷¹ *engy* TH 9a.3, *ythyns* 7a.10, 11, *ens y* 16a.13, 32a.16, *ensy* 50a.14, *kyn thynsy* 34.18, *ens sy* 59a.19.

⁴⁷² *ens* 7.22, *ens y* 14.15, 18.7, *ons y* 4a.8, *dell vonsy* 53a.8 (pret.), *vons y* 1.18, 25.1-2, 48.9, *vonsy* 52a.13, 61.13, 61.23, *kynfonny* "though they be" 36a.14 (error for imperf. subj.).

are" (W. *y maent* B. *emaint*) with expected final *s* but *y mowngy* in JT and *e mowns y* in SA showing a variation of *s* and *g* in medial position.⁴⁷³

In fact, the third person plural ending *-ns* with the suffixed pronoun *y* occurs in a range of other common verbs and inflected prepositions, but palatalisation is nonetheless curiously infrequent. As well as *a[s te]vongy*, *dell [as te]vouns y* given above, the following verbs could be cited: *nysugens y* "they are not" (cf. *ny gusans*), *vsans y* (cf. *vsans*), *y thesans y* "they are" (pres. loc.), *esans y*, *y thesans y* "they were" (imperf. loc., cf. *esans*, *y thesans*), *mar towns y* "if they come" (pres.-fut.), *ny rowng enioya* "they shall not enjoy", *rongy*, *ronsy*, *rons y*, *ronns y* "they do", *Ny rowns y* "they do not" (pres.-fut.), *rens y* "they would" (imperf.), *russens y* (cf. *mar crussens* "if they did"), *russans y* "they did" (pret.), *rellans y*, *rellens y* "they may" (pres. subj.), *vynsans y* "they would", *ny vensans y* "they could not" (pluperf. cond.), *Na illansy* "they cannot" (cf. *fattellellans* "how can they...?").⁴⁷⁴ Of these, only *a[s te]vongy*, *ny rowng enioya* and *rongy* have a written palatal. It is worth noting that *g* is superficially final in *ny rowng enioya* but of course is followed by a front vowel across word boundary and is not therefore especially irregular, despite appearances.

Prepositions inflected in the third person plural are an interesting group of words in this regard because forms in TH such as *gansans y* "with them" for earlier *gansa* appear to be a new formation with final *-ns*.⁴⁷⁵ It seems that these were re-modelled on the verbal endings in the above examples in order to avoid confusion with *ganso* "with him, it"

⁴⁷³ *mowns* TH 53.4, *y mowngy* 53.3, *e mowns y* 61.12.

⁴⁷⁴ *nysugens y* TH 25.16 (cf. *ny gusans* 53.5), *vsans y* 19a.16 (cf. *vsans* 34a.13 etc.), *ythesans y* 58.2 (error for *y mowns y* used correctly above), *esans y* 49a.15 (cf. *esans* 6a.9 etc.), *y thesans y* 14.13 (cf. *y thesans* 26a.12 etc.), *mar towns y* 25.18, *ny rowng enioya* 16a.17, *rongy* 18.13, *ronsy* 48a.3, *rons y* 19a.14, *ronns y* 24a.12, *Ny rowns y* [sic] 57.10, *rens y* 23.8, *russens y* 34.3, 55.19, 57.11 (cf. *mar crussens* 55.18), *russans y* 56a.11-12, *rellans y* 19.13, *rellens y* 32a.13, *vynsans y* 33.18, *ny vensans y* 36a.14, *Na illansy*[sic] 61.22 (cf. *fattellellans* 62a.22),.

⁴⁷⁵ *gansans y* TH 22a.6, 49a.19; *gansa* PA 76c; PC 1431; BM 114, 3528. The older forms also occur, however, see T.Z. Chaudhri, *A Description of the Middle Cornish Tregear Manuscript*, pp. 34-38.

when the final vowel was presumably unstressed and liable to be reduced to schwa.⁴⁷⁶ That these forms do not occur previously suggests that any such reductions had not begun seriously to threaten the distinctions between different persons by the time of the earlier texts, so the problem had not apparently needed to be addressed. Further examples in JT include *thethans y* "to them", *the wortans y* "from them" and *ragthans y*, but the only example in SA is *in an sy* "in them".⁴⁷⁷ It may be remarked that overall, very few verbs and inflected prepositions with the third person plural ending *-ns y* are written with *g*. In the light of previous evidence, one would expect that a preceding /n/ and a following front vowel would be an especially good environment for palatalisation. Since *g* is elsewhere written freely for /dʒ/ in TH, it seems impossible not to conclude that examples of *s* in these cases do indeed stand for /z/.

The locative and existential tenses of *bos* "to be" similarly show very little internal palatalisation. In the locative present, the principal exception is the third person singular *vgy*, *vsy* "is", occurring in these forms 26 times and 43 times respectively in JT.⁴⁷⁸ Variant forms occur in JT in *esy*, *vugy*, *vse*, *vsa* "is", *mar suga*, *mar sugy* "if he, it is", *may thusy* "that he, it is", *kynthusy* "although he, it is", *na gussy* "that is not" (in which *g* means /g/), *pan dresy* "what is...?" (contracted from **pandra usy*) and *y thusy* "it is".⁴⁷⁹ Added to the examples seen above in the second element of *ny(n) sugy*, *ny(n) gusy* etc., a total of 34 examples have *g* and 54 have *s* in JT. In SA, *vge* occurs twice, *vse* only once, *vgy* 6 times and *pandresy* and *pandregy* once each within three lines of the text.⁴⁸⁰ Added to *nyn gegy* given above, there are nine cases with *g* and two with *s* in

⁴⁷⁶ *ganso* PA 7c; OM 185; PC 631; RD 67; BM 477.

⁴⁷⁷ *thethans y* TH 23.6, 44a.6, *the wortans y* 22a.6, *ragthans y* 23.6, *in an sy* 59a.19.

⁴⁷⁸ *vgy* TH 1.14 (26 exx.), *vsy* 19a.9 (43 exx.)

⁴⁷⁹ *esy* TH 22.3, *vugy* 8.21, *vse* 12a.1, *vsa* 23a.5, 42.23, 54.11, *mar suga* 21.14, 23.18, 23a.3, *mar sugy* 53a.14, *may thusy* 21.7, *kynthusy* 23.20, 38a.15, *na gussy* 31a.12-13, *pan dresy* 32.12, *y thusy* 57.15.

⁴⁸⁰ *vge* TH 59.13, 64.14, *vse* 59.21, *vgy* 59.20 (6 exx.), *pandresy* 63.5, *pandregy* 65.3.

total. The most curious of these forms are *vse*, *vge*, *vsa*, *mar suga* with apparent lowering of the final vowel. The context shows that there is no doubt that these represent the same part of the verb, so it appears that lowering happened irrespective of whether the palatal was written. These forms are unique to TH, so it appears to have been a new departure from the standard forms. It seems therefore that palatalisation had already occurred sporadically before the front vowel before it was lowered.

In other persons of the locative, the prefix *es-* < **ed-* is rarely written with the palatal. Examples in the present tense include *ethesoff*, *ythesave* (probably with *-vy*), *y thesa ve* "I am", *y thesas* "thou art", *es(s)an ny*, *eson ny*, *esyn ny*, *y thesan (ny)* "we are", *ny(n) gesan (ny)* "we are not", *nyn segow why* "ye are not", *mar sesow* "if ye are", *ny gesans*, *ny gusans*, *na gusans*, *nysugens y* "they are not", *vsans (y)*, *y thesans y* "they are", *may thusans* "that they are" [JT], *e thesa (ve)*, *e thesa (vy)* "I am" and the four examples *ny geran*, *Ne geranny* [sic], *e thesan ny* and *erany* "we are (not)" given above [SA].⁴⁸¹ In total, 33 cases have *s* (and one has *ss*) in JT compared to just *nyn segow why* and *nysugens y* with *g*, while five have *s* in SA and the other three cases have rhotacism. In the imperfect locative (which also serves as an existential in the 3s.), there are also very few forms with *g*: in JT only one instance of *nyn sega* and two of *mars sega* show the palatal, while *y thes(s)a*, *ythesa*, *I thesa* [sic], *es(s)a* "there was, were", *may thesa* "that there was, were", *ny gesa*, *nyn sesa* "there was, were not", *po nagessa* "or there was, were not" and *pethesa* "what was...?" occur with *s* or *ss* in the third person singular; in SA *ny gesa* and *e thesa* are spelt with *s*.⁴⁸² In total, 38 examples in JT

⁴⁸¹ *ethesoff* TH 17.13, *ythesave* 33.4, *y thesa ve* 33.4-5, *y thesas* 14a.2 (5 exx.), *esan ny* 10a.5-6 (4 exx.), *eson ny* 11.13, *essan ny* 24a.14, *esyn ny* 50.20, *y thesan* 9.16, *y thesan ny* 11.15, *nyn gesan ny* 9a.5, *ny gesan ny* 9a.6 (5 exx.), *ny gesan* 22a.5, *nyn segow why* 16a.12, *mar sesow* 23a.7, *ny gesans* 15.7, *ny gusans* 53.5, *na gusans* 56.9, *nysugens y* 25.16, *vsans y* 19a.16, *vsans* 34a.13 (3 exx.), *y thesans y* 58.2, *may thusans* 24.10, *e thesa ve* 60.30, *y thesa vy* 64.23, *E thesa ve* [sic] 64a.21, *E thesa* [sic] 64a.23.

⁴⁸² *nyn sega* TH 2a.15, *mars sega* 43a.1, 55.18, *y thesa* 1a.10 (7 exx.), *y theas* 43.19 (error for *y thesa*), *y thessa* 56a.12, *ythesa* 4a.2, *I thesa* [sic] 7.6, *esa* 6a.12 (22 exx.), *essa* 12a.2 (4 exx.), *may thesa*

have *s* and six have *ss*, but only two have *g*; in SA all three instances have *s*. The plural occurs only in JT in the examples cited above *esans* (*y*), *y thesans* (*y*) and *may thesans*, again with *s* written for the phoneme.

It seems to be no coincidence that all nine instances in which the prefix *es-* is written with *g* in TH occur in a sequence of two such phonemes: in *nyn segow why*, *nysugens* and *nyn sega* the element occurs after the negative particle *nyns* W. *nid* B. *ned* V. *occ. nend* and in *mar suga*, *mar sugy*, *mars sega* it occurs after *mar(a)s* B. *mard*. Moreover in none of these is the first /z/ < /d/ apparently palatalised; since it seems that the final /z/ of *mar(a)s* is never written with *g* in Middle Cornish, it does not appear that that the first phoneme could have been palatalised and subsequently exchanged with the second by metathesis. This latter example may be contrasted with *mar sesow* given above with *s* in both phonemes, as well as *mar sewa* "if he is", *mar sesta* "if thou art", *mar sowhy* "if ye are" in JT and *mar sees* "if there is" in SA with regular *s*.⁴⁸³ Conversely, *ny geran* and *Ne geranny* show palatalisation of the first phoneme and rhotacism /z/ > /r/ of the second.

Although these examples are very few, it seems once again that speakers generally preferred one palatal /dʒ/ and one unpalatalised /z/ in a sequence of two such phonemes, although the order was not apparently important. In a few cases in SA, unpalatalised /z/ was rhotacised, at least when it stood second in such a sequence. The single instance of *erany* shows that this may have occasionally happened in other instances, at least in the speech of some individuals. Overall, the tendency to palatalise seems to have been very slight in these words in TH unless another /z/ preceded the affected phoneme. That it was nonetheless possible, despite

18a.16, 32.18, *ny gesa* 2a.13, *nyn sesa* 34.12 (3 exx.), *po nagessa* 55.18, *pethesa* 55.20, *ny gesa* 59a.7, 60a.2, *e thesa* 60.3-4.

⁴⁸³ *mar sewa* (< **mars yw ef*) TH 23.19, *mar sesta* (< **mars esos+ta*) 48.23, *mar sowhy* 16a.12, 49a.8, *mar sees* 62a.10. The contracted *mar sesta* is a locative but *st* < *s+st* could not be palatalised here.

the nearly universal occurrence of *s* in these examples, is clear from the unique *y thegen* for *ythesen* in the Ordinalia. In the intervening century or so, it seems that there was no substantial increase in the tendency to palatalise /z/ > /dʒ/ in parts of *bos* "to be" by the time of TH.

The second person singular dependent pronoun is nearly always written with a palatal in TH, but unlike in BM there are occasional forms that retain *s*. It occurs as a reinforcing pronoun or object after inflected prepositions, verbs, nouns and verb-nouns in the possessive construction (in the latter as the object of the verb), as well as in one instance as the object of an imperative. Examples of the single pronoun are *warthebyn ge* "against thee", *theso ge*, *thege* (< **thys+ge*) "to thee", *theth offendia ge* "to offend thee", *theth naha ge* "to deny thee", *the sight ge* "thy sight", *gwra ge* "do thou...!", *in the chy ge* "in thy house", *fatell caraff ve ge* "how I love thee", *fatell ra ve the cara ge* "how I do love thee", *theth hurtya ge* "to hurt thee" [JT], *these* (< **thys se*), *the gee* (< **thys ge*) "to thee", *the orybe gee* "beside thee", *genas ge* "with thee" and *osa* (< **os+se*) "thou art" [SA].⁴⁸⁴ A few instances of reduplicated pronouns occur in *esta ge*, *esta se* (< **esos+ta+se*) and *ostage* (< **os+ta+se*) in JT.⁴⁸⁵ In total, only one in nineteen examples in JT and two in five examples in SA are written with *s*. The examples *thege*, *these*, *the gee* and *osa* are interesting in that two successive phonemes /z+z/ apparently gave /z/ or /dʒ/ by assimilation rather than /ss/ by sandhi. It is probable that *genas ge* could not have been pronounced with [-z dʒ-] except in careful speech and is therefore merely a written form of **genage* with /dʒ/.

⁴⁸⁴ *warthebyn ge* TH 9a.20, *theso ge* 10.1, 10.4, 44.3-4, *thege* 13.20, *theth offendia ge* 10.6, *theth naha ge* 10.7, *the sight ge* 10a.9, *gwra ge* 18a.13, *in the chy ge* 41.4-5, *fatell caraff ve ge* (for **fatell [y'th] caraff ve ge*) 43.9-10, *fatell ra ve the cara ge* (for **fatell [w]ra[f] ve the gara ge* with lenition of the verb-noun missing) 43.12, *theth hurtya ge* 48.17, 48.19, *these* 60.30, *the gee* 62.31, *tha orybe gee* 62.29, *genas ge* 63.1, *osa* 61a.25, 62.30.

⁴⁸⁵ *esta ge* TH 7.15, 43.8, 43.15, *esta se* 48.16, *ostage* 44.2. It is probable that *-ta* (usually limited to the verb "to be") is merely an unstressed form in which provection after *s* prevented assibilation.

Religious vocabulary again makes up one of the most significant groups of words showing palatalisation, although this is by no means universal. The noun *blonogath* occurs once in SA but 19 times so spelt in JT, once as *blonegath* and a further 9 times as *blonogeth*.⁴⁸⁶ It is never spelt with *s* in Middle Cornish, although it has been argued above that this was probably possible. All of these examples show metathesis of /Vn/ > /nV/ before the palatalised segment of earlier *bolungeth* in PA (cf. *bolnogeth* in BM), apparently in order to separate the group /ndz/, then further metathesis of /bol-/ > /blo-/ (cf. *vlonogeth* in BM) to separate /ln/ created by the first metathesis. Since this is the only MIC. word to show metathesis as well as palatalisation (no doubt subsequently), it is not clear whether the two phenomena are related, although there may be a related phenomenon in *kerengeak*, cited below, which appears in syncopated forms such as *kerngeek*. Possibly the unusual sequence of alveolar consonants in these words was liable to simplification. It seems safest to regard these changes as subsequent, unusual developments.

Unlike in BM, only *g* occurs for /z/ < /d/ in *benegitter*, *benegyttar*, *benegytter* in JT and *benegicter* in SA.⁴⁸⁷ The noun *begeth*, *beseth* "baptism" occurs in JT with both graphs and the derived *besythia* "to baptise" and *besitthis* "baptised" (p.pt.) both have *s*.⁴⁸⁸ While *crowsyys* "crucified" occurs once in JT with *s*, variation of *s* and *g* is seen in *dewses*, *dugys*, *dusys*, *thugys* "Godhead", *omskemenegy*, *omskumenesa* "to excommunicate", *spyrygian* "spirits" (cf. *spurissans* "holy spirit" < *spyrys+sans* with /z+s/ > /ss/) and *drynsys*, *drinsis*, *dringys*, *dryngys*,

⁴⁸⁶ *blonogath* TH 1a.11 (17 exx.), 60.15, *vlonogath* 13a.17, 50a.13 [with initial mutation], *blonegath* 23a.5, *blonogeth* 1.12 (9 exx.).

⁴⁸⁷ *benegitter* TH 9.7, 31.12, *benegyttar* 41.8, *benegytter* 42.6, 47a.2, *benegicter* 66a.17. Note that /kt/ is assimilated to /tt/ in JT but not in SA (from *benesyk* "blessed" + *-ter*, not original L. *benedictio*).

⁴⁸⁸ *begeth* TH 20.8, *beseth* 37.20, *besythia* 36a.4, *besitthis* 37a.1.

dringis "Trinity".⁴⁸⁹ The example *omskemenegy*, *omskumenesa* must show /z/ > /dz/ despite /g/ in the cognate B. *eskumunugañ* < Med.L. *excommunicare*.⁴⁹⁰ This verb appears to be a new formation based upon various spellings of the past participles *[om]skemynys* in BM and *[om]schumunys* in CW, since a verb *skemyna* "to make accursed" seems to be a back-formation from **omskemuna* "to excommunicate" (W. *ysgymuno*).⁴⁹¹ It may be that palatalisation occurred in *omskemenegy* but not in *omskumenesa* due to a variation of verbal endings selected by the scribe, only the first of which contained a front vowel. On the other hand, similar variation occurs in *vsy*, *vsa*, *vge* by the lowering of an unstressed vowel and so it seems clear only that *s* and *g* were both possible.

The verb *creesy*, *crysy* "to believe" is far more common with *s* than with *g* in JT, a total of 19 occurrences compared to one each of *cregy*, *crege*.⁴⁹² In SA, *cregy* appears twice.⁴⁹³ On the other hand, various spellings of *crygyans*, *cregians*, *crygeans* "belief" (11 examples) and *discregyans*, *discrigians*, *thiscrygyans* "unbelief" (3 examples) are found only with *g* in JT; similarly, one example each of *criggyans*, *thiscrigians* occurs in SA.⁴⁹⁴ The most interesting of these is *crisgians*, in which the graph *sg* is almost unique for this phoneme.⁴⁹⁵ Either it must be an error based upon vacillation between the two sounds or else an attempt to represent a partly assibilated sound /z'/, perhaps [ʒ]. Even so, as the only exception from regular *g*, it seems that palatalisation was nearly universal

⁴⁸⁹ *crowssys* TH 47.11, *dewses* 1a.9, *dugys* 12a.9, *dusys* 12a.16, 15.8, *thugys* 15.3 [with initial mutation], *omskemenegy* 39.9, *omskumenesa* 39.13, *spyrygian* 35a.9, *spurissans* 36.10 (8 exx.), *drynsys* 1a.14, 1a.15, *drinsis* 1a.16, *dringys* 5a.5 (3 exx.), *dryngys* 12a.4 (3 exx.), *dringis* 30.15 [all exx. of *drynsys* etc. show initial mutation after the article or compounded in "in the".]

⁴⁹⁰ The parasitic /m/ in the Cornish is by analogy with the reflexive prefix *om-*. See NCED, p. 52.

⁴⁹¹ *skemynys* CW 212, *omskemynes* 1207, 1253, 1511, *omskem[i]nys* 1213, *omskemunys* 1266, *vmskemynes* 1596, *omskemynys* 1646, *skemyna* 1214; *omschumunys* BM 1250, 2388, *schumunys* 2430.

⁴⁹² *creesy* TH 1a.8 (17 exx.), *crysy* 38.12, 54a.16, *cregy* 16a.20, *crege* 19.14.

⁴⁹³ *cregy* TH 59.11, 65a.16.

⁴⁹⁴ *crygyans* TH 16a.4 (7 exx.), *cregyans* 18.17, *crisgians* 42.8, *cregians* 55.5, *crygeans* 54a.11, *discregyans* 7a.18, *thiscrygyans* 57.7, *discrigians* 57.17, *criggyans* 60a.19, *thiscrigians* 66a.5.

⁴⁹⁵ See § 5.9.1 for the similar spelling *sethisgyk* "thirsty".

before yod in the ending. The past participle occurs with *s* in JT as *cryses*, *cresys* "believed" and a related adjective *discrysik* "unbelieving" also has *s*, despite the following high front vowel in these instances.⁴⁹⁶ In *me a gryys* "I believe" it seems that /z/ occurs as expected; similarly the present subjunctive *a crissa*, *a crisse*, *na grise* "may (not) believe" (< **cryss*o < **cry*s+*ho*) would not be expected to show a palatal.⁴⁹⁷ There is a case of the past participle *cryge* with a palatal in final position.⁴⁹⁸ The similar verb-noun *pesy* "to pray" appears twice in JT and once as *pege* in SA.⁴⁹⁹ In SA, expected final *s* occurs in *me agis pys*, compared to one apiece of *eff a pegis* and *eff a pesys* "he prayed" (pret.) with internal *g* and *s* respectively.⁵⁰⁰ The related *pesadow* "prayer" appears in both JT and SA, but the latter also has *peiadow*.⁵⁰¹ Surprisingly, given that the homilies are a religious text, this is not a common word in TH.

Apart from religious vocabulary, the single most common word with variation of *s* and *g* is *kerensa* "love", occurring 28 times; it also occurs once with *s* as *garensa* and twice with *g* as *carenga*.⁵⁰² More significant is the derived word *kerengeak* "loving", which also appears in the various spellings *kerngeek*, *kyrngeak*, *kernsyak*, *kerengyek* and *kerengyak*.⁵⁰³ Of these, only a single instance of *kernsyak* has *s*. The word *kerensa* seems to have lost final /ð/ (W. *carennnydd* B. *karantez*), so the adjective is probably from **kerenseth*ek with medial *th* /ð/. The loss of this sound in internal position seems to be irregular, perhaps by analogy with **kerenseth* > *kerensa*. It is possible that the affricate quality of the sound was lost, initially giving yod and ultimately raising the previous

⁴⁹⁶ *cryses* TH 20.15, *crysys* 34a.12, 54.8, *discrysik* 24.9.

⁴⁹⁷ *me a gryys* TH 39.5, *a crissa* 19a.13, *a crisse* 53.17, *na grise* 20.11.

⁴⁹⁸ *cryge* TH 16a.6.

⁴⁹⁹ *pesy* TH 9a.8, 35.5, *pege* 66.13. The latter is probably a verb-noun rather than an imperative.

⁵⁰⁰ *me agis pys* TH 59.8, *eff a pegis* 22a.12, *eff a pesys* 23.11.

⁵⁰¹ *pesadow* TH 6a.2, 39a.13, 63.27, *peiadow* 62.15.

⁵⁰² *kerensa* TH 1.24 (25 exx.), *gerensa* 24a.5 (4 exx. with initial mutation), *carenga* 20a.2, 20a.3.

⁵⁰³ *kerengeak* TH 2a.19 (3 exx.), *kerngeek* 3.7, *kyrngeak* 4a.18, *kernsyak* 41.16, *kerengyek* 10a.14, *kerengyak* 30a.16, 30a.18.

vowel. This would seem to be a good explanation for the nearly universal palatal in this word, which is not as common in *kerensa*, *carenga* in this text. Oddly, it seems from the examples above that the syllables following the palatalised phoneme were not contracted; instead, three out of nine show syncope of the previous syllable. It has been suggested that, as in *bolungeth*, the sequence of alveolar consonants in **kerensethek* was awkward and liable to simplification.

The word *marthug(g)ian*, *marthussyan* "marvels" occurs once with *g*, once with *gg* and twice with *ss* in JT.⁵⁰⁴ In SA the forms *ma[r]vgian* and *marvgion* occur within three lines of each other, so the missing <r> in the former is almost certainly a mere scribal error.⁵⁰⁵ Here the loss of internal /θ/ is interesting but probably unrelated to palatalisation, since a vowel intervenes before /dʒ/. This may be compared to *spyrygian* cited above. The example is interesting because *ss* occurs despite a following yod. The verb *plansa* "to plant" is also found with *g* before front vowels as *blanges* "plants" (3s. pres.-fut.) and *plynges*, *plyngys* "planted" (p.pt.).⁵⁰⁶ The phrase *fatell rowng enioya* cited above may be compared with *myng a rug du* "those that God made" in JT, where the preceding front vowel and /n/ seem to be responsible for palatalisation; otherwise *myns a* with the relative particle shows *s* three times and *myns ew* "those that are" occurs once.⁵⁰⁷ The verb-noun *sensy* "to hold" occurs once in JT and once in SA with *s*, but also in JT as *sengy*, *syngy*, *singy* with *g*.⁵⁰⁸ This may contain voiced /s/ > /z/ rather than /d/ > /z/ > /dʒ/, as discussed above. The phoneme /z/ < /z/ must also occur in *cowgys* "spoken" (p. pt.) B. *komzet*.⁵⁰⁹ The word *negegath* in SA must be cognate with W.

⁵⁰⁴ *marthugian* TH 2a.2, *marthuggian* 37a.19, *marthussyan* 38a.17, 49a.14.

⁵⁰⁵ *mavgian* TH 63a.24, *marvgion* 63a.26.

⁵⁰⁶ *plansa* TH 40.13, *blanges* 5.10, *plynges* 6.4, *plyngys* 32.10.

⁵⁰⁷ *myng a rug du* TH 2.5, *myns a* 7.22 (3 exx.), *myns ew* 20a.1.

⁵⁰⁸ *sensy* TH 49.19, 61.14, *sengy* 19a.5, *syngy* 33.4, *singy* 33.5.

⁵⁰⁹ *cowgys* TH 11.1.

negesydd "messenger", although "message" or "messengers" would seem to give better sense in the translation.⁵¹⁰ In any case, these are clear examples in which original /s/ must first have been voiced to /z/, thus falling together with assibilated /z/ < /d/. It was evidently then palatalised to give *g* /dz/ in *negegath*, although the unstressed vowel in the ending seems later to have been lowered. In JT, there occurs a similar word *genesegeth*, *genesegath* "birth" W. *genedigaeth* B. *ganedigezh*, but *s* is written for /z/ (here < /d/) instead.⁵¹¹

There are also many individual words in which it seems that *s* or *g* could have been equally possible: *behosek* "poor" (see above in BM), *beransen* "throat" (cf. *bryangen* in the Ordinalia), *dehesy* "to cast, throw", *dynsys*, *densys* "mankind", *thisplesians* "displeasure", *gwandresy* "foreigners, wanderers", *(na) alsans* "they could (not)", *golosek*, *galosek*, *golosak* "powerful" (cf. *galogek* in RD), *an welsan* "the blade of grass", *kynsa* "first", *vynsans y*, *vensans y* "they would" (pluperf. cond.), *nownsag* "nineteen", *plesya* "to please", *resak* "to run", *rewlysy* "rulers" (for "magistrates"), *skyggyow* "shoes", *sewysy* "successors", *trosek* in *peswar trosek* "four-footed", *ow huga* "screaming, roaring", *wo(o)sa*, *wose*, *whosa*, *a wose* etc. "after" [JT], *golosak* "powerful" and *Na esyn(n)y* "let us not...!" [SA].⁵¹² Of these, only *skyggyow* and *ow huga* have a palatal written.⁵¹³ Palatalisation was probably impossible in *besow* "ring", *hendasow*, *hyndasow* "forefathers" and *lusew*, *le(w)sew* "ashes"

⁵¹⁰ *negegath* TH 61a.21.

⁵¹¹ *genesegeth* TH 6a.16, 26.10, *genesegath* 8.6. Note that *g* means /g/ here.

⁵¹² *behosek* TH 6a.17, *beransen* 7a.12, *dehesy* 6a.7, *dynsys* 12a.16, 13a.3, *densys* 15.8, 56.5, *thisplesians* 7a.22, *gwandresy* 33.13, *alsans* 55.19, *na alsans* 55.19, *golosek* 5.6 (3 exx.), *galosek* 12a.2 (4 exx.), *golosak* 30a.1, 31a.1, *an welsan* 7.3, *kynsa* 2a.3, 2a.4, *vynsans y* 33.18, *vensans y* 36.14, *nownsag* 1.1, *plesya* 40.14, *resak* 30a.22, *rewlysy* 24a.11, *skyggyow* 8.10, *sewysy* 49.16, *trosek* 2.8, *ow huga* [with unetymological *h* before **usa*, perhaps from lost /θ/ of the particle < prep. *orth*], *wosa* 5.2 (19 exx.), *a wose* 13a.1, 13a.16, *awosa* 16.8 (3 exx.), *a wosa* 47a.13, *A wosa* [sic] 47.5, 51a.1, *whosa* 13a.10, *woosa* 28a.13, *golosak* 60a.25, *Na esyn(n)y* 65a.15.

⁵¹³ The final unstressed vowel of *ow huga* has almost certainly been lowered, so this is quite regular.

with a following back vowel.⁵¹⁴ The word *fals* "false" does not show the unusual final palatalisation of /-lz/ > /-ldʒ/ seen in *falge* in BM, nor does *gwels* "grass".⁵¹⁵ The words *martesyn*, *mertesyn* "perhaps" and *tryssa*, *tressa*, *trissa* "third" do not recall *martegen* in BM and *tryge*, *trege* in RD.⁵¹⁶ It is also worth mentioning *peswar* "four" and *peswora* "fourth".⁵¹⁷ While the numeral never has palatalisation in Middle Cornish, Lhuyd gives *padzhar*, *pesûar* (masc.) and *pedyr* (fem.) as well as *padzhûera*, *pazûera* for the ordinal and *pazûardhak* "fourteen", which seem to represent both /z/ and /dʒ/.⁵¹⁸ Possibly this could not happen until /w/ was lost, in which case *padzhûera* is an attempt to hypercorrect from *padzhar* and *pazûera*.

5.9.4. The Creation of the World (CW)

The Creation of the World is a relatively short play, apparently because it was intended to be the first part of a cycle of plays recalling the Ordinalia: certainly it borrows heavily in places from OM, occasionally verbatim.⁵¹⁹ It is described here for convenience as Late Middle Cornish, but the reality seems to be more complex.⁵²⁰ Although the manuscript

⁵¹⁴ *besow* TH 49a.18, *hendasow* 3a.17 (4 exx.), *hyndasow* 6.5, *lusew* 6a.4, 6a.8, *lewsew* 6a.11, *lesew* 6a.14, 9.12.

⁵¹⁵ *fals* TH 19a.10 (6 exx.), *gwels* 7.1, 7.4, 7.5.

⁵¹⁶ *martesyn* TH 4.1, 25a.6, 62a.22, 63.16, *mertesyn* 3.18, *trissa* 1.17 (6 exx.), *tryssa* 3.20 (15 exx.), *tiusa* 4.20 (probably scribal error for *trissa*), *tressa* 18a.12 (3 exx.), *in ytryssa* "in his third" 47a.5.

⁵¹⁷ *peswar* TH 1.1 (4 exx.), *peswora* 45a.14 (3 exx.).

⁵¹⁸ *padzhar* AB 15c, 105b, 231a, 134, *pesûera* 231a, *pedyr* 231a, *padzhûera* 134b, *pazûera* 243b. It is possible that *pesûera* and *pedyr* are taken from MIC., but the others seem to be genuine.

⁵¹⁹ The last four stanzas of the play (lines 2531-48) consist of a brief summary of the first day of the drama and invite the audience to return the next day, which would describe redemption through God's mercy: presumably the Passion. Stokes' edition notes the use of material from OM, p. 4 (foreword); for a detailed discussion, see P. Neuss, *The Creacion of the World*, xxvii-xlix.

⁵²⁰ George considers CW to be Late Cornish, PHC § 1.2.4, p. 10, although it was "... written in the tradition of MidC, and is a special case..." He accepts that it was written in only (my italics) "... a partly modernised orthography...", § 3.5.1, p. 40. His speculative date of ca. 1475 for the original composition seems to be rather too early: he also cites Nance's date ca. 1530-40, which he cites from R.M. Nance, *Gwryans an bys* [unpublished: no date]. Nonetheless, George's date is chosen in order to place the date of composition chronologically between the Ordinalia and BM, as he admits.

concludes with a signature containing the claim that a certain William Jordan wrote the play, dated 1611, it appears that he was the transcriber of an older drama. This suggestion was made by Stokes, who commented that the occurrence of certain forms in the English stage directions “seems to indicate a date prior to 1611”, and that the “mention of limbo... may tend to shew that the play was composed before the Reformation.”⁵²¹ In mitigation, it must be added that the fact that the stage directions are in English at all, whereas in BM and BK they are in Latin, might reasonably be suggested as a post-Reformation characteristic, or at the very least that the manuscript was composed rather later than these other two plays, when the use of the vernacular was growing under protestant influence.

In addition, Stokes listed a range of orthographical and phonological differences between the Ordinalia and CW.⁵²² The most striking consonantal features are the large number of instances of pre-occlusion (see the chapter "Pre-occlusion") and the frequent appearance of the graphs *dg*, *j*, *sch*, *sh* for /dʒ/ in addition to the variation of *s* and *g*.⁵²³ In terms of morphology and orthography, the language varies between a level of archaism comparable to the Ordinalia and forms corresponding to Late Cornish.⁵²⁴ There seems little doubt that an essentially early to mid sixteenth century play was modernised and partly re-written at the beginning of the Late Cornish period, probably by Jordan. It appears that parts of it had been previously adapted and expanded from a version of OM, conventionally dated to ca. 1450.⁵²⁵ It may be safe to suppose that the original form of CW was composed ca.

⁵²¹ CW, p. 4 (foreword).

⁵²² *ibid.* Note that BM was still undiscovered when Stokes edited CW in 1862. The widespread use of final silent *-e* to mark a long vowel is also of particular note in CW, a rare feature in the other texts.

⁵²³ The graph *sh* is also commonly used to mean /ʃ/ in loanwords (see the following discussion).

⁵²⁴ See N.J.A. Williams, *Cornish Today*, § 14.4, pp. 129-30.

⁵²⁵ PHC § 2.4.3, p. 22-3. Williams, *ibid.*, § 14.2, pp. 125-6.

1530–1550, as did Murdoch.⁵²⁶ However, in the light of Stokes' comments, the preference shown by Nance for a date before 1540 seems highly reasonable. Further precision than this does not seem possible.

Although a large proportion of the orthography remains unmodernised, it is difficult to distinguish between the veneer of Late Cornish re-spellings of Middle Cornish and any genuine Late Cornish forms that may have been added by Jordan. Since it appears that he did not compose the play, it seems best for practical purposes to consider the extant version of CW as later than TH on the grounds of orthography, even though it was almost certainly composed rather earlier. While sound changes such as pre-occlusion are evidently Late Cornish, it should be borne in mind that palatalisation may date from either the Middle or Late Cornish periods in any given instance. Since this is impossible to resolve, it seems that there is little choice but to analyse CW at face value.

"First Palatalisation" in CW is almost entirely regular, as in the earlier texts. The verb "to have", however, is remarkably infrequent: only *nagevas* "that hath not" (pres.), *an gevyth* "will have" (fut.), *an geffa* "may have" (pres. subj.) and *an geva* "had" (pret.) are attested.⁵²⁷ Of these, *ny an gevyth* "we shall have" and *me an gevyth* "I shall have" are used incorrectly for **ny a[ga]n byth* and **me am byth*, showing that the dative infixed pronoun was no longer meaningful, at least if the independent subject pronoun was fronted on the analogy of such a construction with the accusative infixed pronoun before other verbs, e.g. *te an crys* "you (will) believe it".⁵²⁸ This may have been a factor in the loss of /n/ in *nagevas*, since infixed *-n-* was no longer a necessary semantic element and there was no barrier to its assimilation.

⁵²⁶ B. Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*, p. 75, accepted by N.J.A. Williams, *Cornish Today*, § 16.2, p. 169.

⁵²⁷ *nagevas* CW 257, *an gevyth* 806, 809, 911, 1180, *an geffa* 681, *an geva* 2043.

⁵²⁸ *te an crys* BK 28g. Note also *ef astevyth* CW 1378 for **ef an gevyth*, with the 3s.f. or 3pl. verb.

As expected, *dyth* "day" appears with no palatal after a range of words such as the ordinals *tryssa* "third", *peswera* "fourth", *pempas* "fifth", *sythvas* "seventh" and in the phrases *yn whea dyth* "in six days" and *nos ha dyth* "night and day".⁵²⁹ One irregular instance *an dyth* has the definite article without palatalisation, although this immediately follows *sythvas dyth* in the previous line and seems to be a hypercorrection.⁵³⁰ Otherwise, *an gyth han noos* "the day and the night", *in gyth ha noos* "day and night" and *in geth hythew* "today" regularly have a palatal, in keeping with the pattern of all of the other texts.⁵³¹

The examples *an Jowle*, *an iowle* "the Devil", *than Jowle* "to the Devil" and *ren iowle* "by the Devil" are regular, but the phrase *par dell osta jowle* "as thou art a devil" shows a palatal despite the lack of a phonetic cause.⁵³² This may be an isolated analogical instance or alternatively an indicator that earlier *dyawl* had been entirely replaced by the palatalised form, but the evidence of one instance is too slight. As in one isolated case cited above from the Ordinalia, the plural *an thewollow*, *an thevollow* "the devils" shows initial mutation of the masculine plural after the article.⁵³³ The mutation would apparently render these cases immune from palatalisation, but it is interesting that it only occurs otherwise in PC. Possibly the composer of CW had reference to a copy of the entire Ordinalia, not merely OM.⁵³⁴

The word *chy* "house" is only found in CW with the force of an adjective in the phrase *der a[n] planatis mes [h]a chy* "by the outer and inner planets" (my emendations), but this is probably a reduced form of

⁵²⁹ *an tryssa dyth* CW 92, *in peswera dyth* 100, *in pypmas dyth* 106, *in sythvas dyth* 415, *yn whea dyth* 413, *nos ha dyth* 1669, 1731.

⁵³⁰ *an dyth* CW 416.

⁵³¹ *an gyth han noos* CW 85, *in gyth ha noos* 1281, *in geth hythew* 2104.

⁵³² *an Jowle* CW 1003, *an iowle* 1462, 1768, *than Jowle* 1027, *ren iowle* 2065, *par dell osta jowle* 512.

⁵³³ *an thewollow* CW 481, 2021, *an thevollow* 2010. See the note on the Ordinalia above.

⁵³⁴ Whether the subsequent two days are missing from the cycle of which CW forms the first, or whether they were never composed as intended, the lack of general evidence for plagiarism of PC and RD is most likely explained because the author would have used this material for the missing days.

the adverb which appears also as *agy(e)* "within, inside", used here as an adjective.⁵³⁵ This must be to reduce the syllable count, which is eight even as it stands, but should be seven to fit the stanza.⁵³⁶ To fit the meaning it would have to read **der a[n] planatis mes [hag] a chy*. It is likely that de-lenited initial /tʃ/ is intended in *chy*, which would seem to show that initial /tʃ/ was lenited to /dʒ/ and that the semantic link between *chy* "house" and *agy* "inside" remained meaningful to speakers after the irregular "First Palatalisation" in this word. The archaic **ty* occurs in *gwreghty* "wife", *theth wrehty* "to thy wife" and in *gorty* "husband", probably old compounds that pre-dated the change /t/ > /tʃ/ > /tʃ/ in the simplex OC. *ty* > MIC. *chy*.⁵³⁷

Finally there is one instance of the second person singular imperative *nyedge* "fly (thou)".⁵³⁸ This appears to be merely a Late Cornish re-spelling of MIC. *nyg* cited above from OM, in which orthographical final *-e* is written to show a long vowel.⁵³⁹

"Second Palatalisation" is extremely frequent in CW, as noted by Stokes.⁵⁴⁰ Nonetheless, spellings indicating a palatal before a front vowel are by no means universal and *s* also appears here, while it remains the normal graph in final position as it is in the earlier texts. However, the palatal is very frequently spelt *dg* instead of *g*.⁵⁴¹ Since *dg* is less common than *g*, it seems probable that the Late Cornish transcriber simply re-wrote *g* (and possibly sometimes *s*) as he saw fit in Late Cornish orthography. If so, it is quite likely that most of the examples of *g* are

⁵³⁵ *der a planatis mes a chy* CW 1409, *agye* 522 (3 exx.), *agy* 1801 (4 exx.).

⁵³⁶ This does not indicate that the line was necessarily copied from another source, since the syllable count is frequently wrong in MIC. texts; no similar line is known elsewhere in any case.

⁵³⁷ *gwreghty* CW 448, *theth wrehty* 942, *gorty* 894. The first two examples cannot show the common confusion of /θ/ and /x/, as *gwreg+ty* should not contain a medial spirant (cf. CF 13 *gwreg ty*). The trigraphs *ght* and *tht* seem to mean /g+t/ > /kt/ and the subsequent assimilation /kt/ > /tt/ respectively.

⁵³⁸ *nyedge* CW 2451.

⁵³⁹ See § 5.8.3 above.

⁵⁴⁰ CW, p. 4 (foreword).

⁵⁴¹ The graphs *sch*, *sh* and *j* also occur, but these are limited only to certain words, discussed below.

Middle Cornish graphs copied from the earlier exemplar and that palatalisation in CW by and large represents a Middle Cornish sound change, even in the later re-spellings.

There are only a few examples of the verb "to be" after the temporal particle *nans* "now, since" and the negative particle *nyns*. The form *nangew* "now it is, since" occurs 9 times in the 3s. of the present tense.⁵⁴² The negative particle is more frequent: *ny[n]gof*, *nyngof* "I am not", *nynew*, *nynsew*, *nyngew* "is not", *nyngens* "they are not" (pres.), *nyngeza*, *nyngessa* "there was not" (imperf.), *nynges*, *ny[n]ges*, *nyngeis*, *ny[n]geas* "there is not" (pres. existential).⁵⁴³ There are 29 instances, of which one is spelt with *j* rather than *g*, and *s* is written in only one. Otherwise, these results seem to be similar to those seen in PA, the earliest substantial text, as well as those from BK. The change of *nyns* > **nyn g*–, it may be recalled, is oddly infrequent in the Ordinalia and BM, although palatalisation is considerably more frequent otherwise in these texts than in PA. This also appears to be the case in CW.

In other parts of the verb "to be", the palatal occurs surprisingly rarely. The verb forms *ythyns i* "they are" (pres.) and *na vans y* "that they be not" (pres. subj.) have no palatal written; likewise the locative present appears in the verb forms *ythesaf*, *y thesaf*, *yethesaf* "I am".⁵⁴⁴ Only the imperfect locative forms *ega*, *eza*, *ythesa* "there was" and the same forms in the second elements of *nyngeza* and *nyngessa* "there was not" cited above show any obvious tendency towards palatalisation.⁵⁴⁵ In fact, only *ega* can be taken with any certainty to contain /dʒ/. It is reasonable to

⁵⁴² *nangew* CW 1334 (9 exx.).

⁵⁴³ *nygof* CW 615, 668, *nyngof* 1148, *nynew* 263, *nynsew* 1048, *nyngew* 1094 (6 exx.), *nyngens* 1456, *nyngeza* 2426, *nyngessa* 2429, *nynges* 425 (12 exx.), *nyges* 482, *nyngeis* 1132, *nygeas* 1972. The four exx. *nygof* (2 exx.), *nygeas* and *nyges* are missing the n-contraction (eds. Stokes, Neuss & Hawke), but this is so infrequent, as in the other texts, that it is almost certainly through scribal error.

⁵⁴⁴ *ythyns i* CW 2354, *na vans y* 2179, *ythesaf* 327 (4 exx.), *y thesaf* 1450, *yethesaf* 1696.

⁵⁴⁵ *ega* CW 827, *eza* 2456, *ythesa* 1048 (3 exx.).

assume that **essa* in *nyngessa* is written with double *ss* to make it clear that /z/ is meant.⁵⁴⁶ This is probably because the previous /z/ in *nyns* had been palatalised to /dʒ/: it has been remarked above that it seems possible that Cornish speakers felt uncomfortable with a sequence of two such sounds, which are correspondingly rare. In *ythesa* there is every reason to assume that /z/ is meant; the graph *ʒ* in *nyngəʒa*, *eʒa* is ambiguous.

It is worth remarking that the graph *ʒ* means /ð/ or /θ/ in CF, that *ʒ* is used interchangeably with *th* for both sounds in PA and can also mean /s/, that it can occasionally mean /j-/ in PA, the Ordinalia and in BM and also that there are a handful of instances for /ð/ in BM.⁵⁴⁷ It does not occur in BK. By contrast, the graph *z* is almost unknown: the place-name *nazare*, *nazareth* "Nazareth" in PC is the only frequent instance, added to *bez* "until" and *gwrez* "done" (p.pt.) in CW.⁵⁴⁸ The graph *ʒ* can mean /ð/ in CW, but it can also occur where /z/ or /dʒ/ might be expected. There is no reason to suppose that it necessarily represents a palatal rather than a sibilant in these instances, except that medial [j] and [dʒ] could be considered to be close sounds. Moreover, there is a general probability that, being a kind of modified *z* with a tail, the graph would be likely to be used for /z/. Given that it appears that the use of *ʒ* was in decline throughout the Middle Cornish period, all of the instances in CW may represent scattered unmodernised elements of the earlier orthography.

As in previous texts, no forms of the verb "to be" cause palatalisation in the final segment of *mar(a)s* "if" before a front vowel in CW. These include *marsew* "if it is", *mara sewa* "if he is" < **mars yw ef*, *marsewhy* "if ye are" < **mars ough why* (pres.) and *marsses*, *marses* "if

⁵⁴⁶ It is difficult to see how /ss/ or /s/ could be intended, despite the discussion of *tryssa* above.

⁵⁴⁷ PHC tables 410 (p. 278), 514 (p. 334), 612 (p. 369), 614 (p. 371), 622 (p. 373), 632 (p. 377), 634 (p. 378), 635 (p. 379), 642 (p. 381), 644 (p. 382).

⁵⁴⁸ *nazare* PC 1111 (11 exx.), *nazareth* 1117; *bez* CW 1495, *gwrez* 2189.

there is" (pres. existential).⁵⁴⁹ In the case of *kyns es* "before" and the identical *kyns es* "rather than", no instances have a palatal written (cf. *kyngys*, *kyn gys* "rather than" in the Ordinalia).⁵⁵⁰ There is no change in the phonetically similar *myns es* "as much as", which may be compared to *myng a rug du* "those that God made" cited from TH above.⁵⁵¹ However in CW, *myns a golla ortha vy* "those that may listen to me", *ha myns assentyas genas* "and those that agreed with thee" and *myns a ve* "those that were" show no comparable change before the relative particle.⁵⁵²

The second person singular dependent pronoun *gy* "thou, thee" is never found as earlier MIC. *sy* in CW.⁵⁵³ Roughly two thirds of the instances are spelt as *gy*, *gye* and *ge*, but curiously nine cases have been apparently re-spelt as *sche*, *she*. Whereas the former group virtually always appear after a vowel or a consonant other than *s*, conversely the latter are found almost exclusively after *s*. Following inflected prepositions, this distribution is demonstrated in *zeso gy*, *thezo gye*, *theso gy*, *thag(y)e* (< *thys+ge*) "to thee" but *drethas sche* "through thee", *genas s(c)he* "with thee", *ganas she* "by thee", *vnas sche* "in thee", *ragas she* "for thee"; the exception *tha worthis ge* "from thee" also occurs as *tha worthys sche*.⁵⁵⁴ It might incidentally be remarked that while *z* can stand for /ð/, it almost certainly means medial /z/ before a back vowel in *thezo gy*, *theso gy*. The examples *thysa*, *thyza*, *thezo*, *theso* (with no suffixed

⁵⁴⁹ *marsew* CW 731 (6 exx.), *mara sewa* 742, *marsewhy* 2166, *marsses* 1193, *marses* 1594.

⁵⁵⁰ *kyns es* "before" CW 508 (3 exx.), *kyns es* "rather than" 616 (4 exx.).

⁵⁵¹ *myns es* CW 281

⁵⁵² *myns a golla ortha vy* CW 193, *ha myns assentyas genas* 247, *myns a ve* 2483. The word also occurs with *s* before consonants at CW 281, 311, 1726 and in *a vyns tra* "of as many things" at CW 2174.

⁵⁵³ To fit the syllable count, the two instances of *ythose* (CW 396, 568) have final silent *-e* and seem to represent **yth os* without any suffixed pronoun. The lack of any other examples confirms this.

⁵⁵⁴ *zeso gy* CW 50, *thezo gye* 2253, *theso gy* 2363, *thage* 805, *thagye* 2349, *drethas sche* 243, *genas sche* 248, *genas she* 2296, *ganas she* 1645, *vnas sche* 529, *ragas she* 817, *tha worthis ge* 810, *tha worthys sche* 268. Note that Stokes reading *tha ganas she* is probably in error (not noted in the corrigenda or notes), as *tha* "to" occurs below in the next line. Neuss gives *genas she*. Consequently, it should be noted that no equivalent of B. *digant* MIW. *y gan* is attested in Cornish.

pronoun) show the same variation of *z* and *s*.⁵⁵⁵ The graph *g* does not occur in *thyso*, *theso* (an emphatic form) in Middle Cornish, which is clearly distinguished from *thag(y)e* < **thys ge* above.

Only *gy(e)*, *ge* rather than *s(c)he* is generally found after inflected verbs, both as subject and object: *vynta gy*, *vynta ge* "wilt thou", *del welta ge* "as thou seest", *me a wra gy dean a bry* "I (will) make thee a man of clay", *yhosta ge*, *ythota gy* "thou art" (pres.), *prag y wresta gye* "why didst thou", *pew athe wrug ge progowther* "who made thee a preacher?" (pret.), *kooll ge thym* "trust me", *tast gy* "taste (thou)", *trust gy*, *trestge* "trust (thou)", *perth ge cove* "remember, bear (thou) remembrance", *clow ge ow leaf* "hear (thou) my voice" (imper.).⁵⁵⁶ The example *cuske tha ge* "sleep (thou)" (imper.) contains a reduplicated pronoun representing earlier *thesy*, *theyy*.⁵⁵⁷ Only the instance *pew ostashe* "who art thou?" < **pew os+ta+se* has *sh* after a vowel.⁵⁵⁸ None of these verbal forms end in *-s*. The same distribution of *s(c)he* after *-s* but *gy(e)*, *ge* after vowels and other consonants also occurs in the possessive construction with a suffixed reinforcing pronoun. This is true before both nouns and verb-nouns: *hath place she* "and thy place", *tha folly gye* "thy folly", *tha chardge ge* "to charge thee" and *y bosta ge* "that thou art"; the reduplicated pronoun appears in *theth pedn za gy* < earlier MIC. *theyy*.⁵⁵⁹ The instance *hath place she* is not an exception because *place* is merely a re-spelling of earlier MIC. *plas* and final *-e* is merely graphemic.

Excluding the two reduplicated forms (which simply follow the conventions of the earlier texts), *gy(e)*, *ge* has not been re-spelt as *sche*,

⁵⁵⁵ *thysa* CW 485, *thyza* 1163, *thezo* 739 (3 exx.), *theso* 1697.

⁵⁵⁶ *vynta gy* CW 254, *vynta ge* 2319, *del welta ge* 274, *me a wra gy dean a bry* 345, *yhosta ge* 822, *ythota gy* 2324, *prag y wresta gye* 885, *pew athe wrug ge progowther* 2346, *kooll ge thym* 650, *tast gy* 831, *trust gy* 896, *trestge* 2505, *perth ge cove* 1215, *clow ge ow leaf* 1426.

⁵⁵⁷ *cuske tha ge* CW 384.

⁵⁵⁸ *pew ostashe* CW 548.

⁵⁵⁹ *hath place she* CW 240, *tha folly gye* 1013, *tha chardge ge* 1065, *y bosta ge* (a late corruption of **the vos ge* with the verbal particle replacing **the* "thy" and *-ta* added before *ge*), *theth pedn za ge* 916.

she except after final *s*. Among 32 such examples of the simple dependent pronoun, only *tha worthis ge* and *pew ostashe* break this pattern. The former may be ignored as a mere failure to re-spell, since it follows the orthographical conventions of the other texts. The latter occurs only 19 lines after *vnas sche*, which may have been an analogical influence; it might equally be explained as an error based on a simpler form **osche* < *os gy* without the first suffixed pronoun *-ta*.⁵⁶⁰ In any case, the distribution seems to be otherwise so clear that it is likely to be significant. The most simple explanation is that the sandhi group /-z+dʒ-/ became unvoiced to /-s+tʃ-/. From a phonetic point of view, it seems inherently likely that this would be further simplified to /-s+ʃ-/ or merely /-ʃ-/. There is no automatic reason to suppose that this did not happen in earlier Middle Cornish, although the orthography did not represent such sandhi effects and no firm conclusions can be drawn.

On the other hand, the word *thag(y)e* (TH *these, thege, the gee* cited above) instead shows assimilation /-z+dʒ-/ > /-dʒ-/ without devoicing. The fact that this word is extremely common does not seem sufficient to explain the different phonetic treatment in external sandhi. The discrepancy can be explained by the fact that the simplex *thys* is the only such inflected preposition that consists of a stressed monosyllable prior to final /z/, whereas the unstressed ultima preceded it in words such as *genas* and *tha worthys* because the stress fell on the penult. It seems quite possible that devoicing in final position began in unstressed syllables and later spread to stressed syllables. This would imply that the final /z/ of *thys* was generally less likely to be unvoiced in Middle Cornish, although it does not preclude the possibility in absolute final. In

⁵⁶⁰ *os gy* PC 417.

any event, this would go a long way to explain why palatalisation /z/ > /dʒ/ does not generally occur in final position in Middle Cornish.

When the reinforcing pronoun was added in *genas she, tha worthys sche*, there may have been a tendency, at least by the time of CW, not to restore final /z/ in these words. As a result, devoicing could occur in /-s+dʒ-/ > /-s+tʃ-/ > /-s+ʃ-/ (probably becoming /-ʃ-/ in speech), which was spelt as *-s sche, -s she*. In support of this, it may be noted that *sch, sh* does not occur for /dʒ/ in other words in CW, since this sandhi group would not otherwise generally occur. The example *hath place she* is an interesting example because MIC. *plas* is a borrowing from Fr. *place*, in which final /ç/ may or may not by then have become /s/.⁵⁶¹ It must be assumed that MIC. *fas* "face", *gras* "grace" < Fr. *face, grace* could cause the same phonetic effect;⁵⁶² there are no examples of final /θ/ before /dʒ/ in CW, but it seems likely that devoicing could happen. The corollary of this theory is that *ostashe* "thou art" cannot be an error based on *os gy*, as speculated above. It is likely that *os* "art" would behave like *thys* in this regard, being a stressed monsyllable with final /z/. There is no option but to regard this as an isolated analogical case.

As in other texts, religious vocabulary provides a large amount of evidence for palatalisation. The word *blonogath, vlonogath, vlanogathe* "will" always occurs with the double metathesis of /-Vndʒ-/ > /-nVdʒ-/ and /bVln-/ > /bIVn-/ seen above in the sequence *bolungeth > bolnogeth > blonogath* from early MIC. **bolonseth*.⁵⁶³ The words *dewges, devges* "Godhead" and *drengys, drenges, drengis* "Trinity" occur only with the

⁵⁶¹ See § 4 above.

⁵⁶² Presumably Fr. *plas, fas* and *grace* were borrowed into Cornish at the same time as they were borrowed into English, which may then have influenced the retention of /s/, unless voicing of final /s/ had already occurred in Cornish. The whole issue of voicing and de-voicing is complex and variable.

⁵⁶³ *blonogath* CW 96, *vlonogath* 1330, 2123, *vlanogathe* 2243.

palatal spelling.⁵⁶⁴ By contrast, *ow fehasowe* "my sins" seems to have /z/ regularly before a back vowel.⁵⁶⁵ As in the other texts, the verbs *cregy(e)*, *gregye* "to believe" and *pegy* "to pray" provide the largest number of examples.⁵⁶⁶ In final position and before a back vowel, only *s* occurs in inflected parts of the verb: *my ny gresaf* "I believe not", *me an creys(e)* "I believe it", *me a gr(e)ys*, *me a gryes* "I believe", *hag a leall gryes* "that loyally believe", *a greys* "that believes", *me ath(e) py(e)s(e)*, *me ath peys* "I pray thee", *me a b(e)ys* "I pray" (pres.), *creys*, *creis* "believe (thou)", *cresow(g)h(e)*, *creseugh* "believe (ye)" (imper.).⁵⁶⁷ In the phrases *in gregyans na* "in that faith" and *an grydgyan[s]na*, the palatal is written *g* and *dg* respectively before yod; the past participle *cregys* also shows a palatal before a front vowel.⁵⁶⁸ This is exactly the expected distribution of *s* and *g* based upon earlier texts; moreover, apart from the wider use of final silent *-e*, only *an grydgyan[s]na* contains a graph that could not be expected in earlier Middle Cornish texts.

There are a few examples of *sengys* "held" (p.pt.) and *ny syngys* "he held not" (pret.).⁵⁶⁹ Palatalisation also occurs commonly in a wider range of vocabulary in CW, including items such as *enfugy*, *anfugye* "harm, misfortune", *canhagowe*, *canhasawe* "messengers" (sing. *cannas*), *tha garenga* "thy love", *ow harenga* "my love", *an garenga*, *an garensa* "the love", *in oydge* "in age", *sallugye*, *salugy* "to salute" and *ega* "to

⁵⁶⁴ *dewges* CW 6, *devges* 24, *drengys* 126 (3 exx.), *drenges* 154 (3 exx.), *drengis* 709 (3 exx.).

⁵⁶⁵ *ow fehasowe* CW 1170.

⁵⁶⁶ *cregy* CW 574 (BL MS. only), 638, *cregye* 1602, 2359, *gregye* 1026, *pegy* 2207.

⁵⁶⁷ *my ny gresaf* CW 2379, *me an creys* 152, 829, *me an creyse* 167, *me a grys* 215, *me a greys* 534, *me a gryes* 749 (5 exx.), *hag a leall gryes* 2127, *a greys* 2328, *me ath pys* 172 (4 exx.), *me athe pyese* 617, *me ath peys* 746, *me athe pyes* 2333, *me ath peys* 1389, *me a bys* 1399, *me a beys* 2105, *creys* 172 (4 exx.), *creis* 279, 943, *cresowh* 116, *cresowhe* 225, *cresowgh* 1434, *creseugh* 2166.

⁵⁶⁸ *in gregyans na* CW 176, *an grydgyan[s]na* 2317, *cregys* 526 (3 exx.).

⁵⁶⁹ *sengys* CW 1438, 2237, *ny syngys* 2051.

wail".⁵⁷⁰ These nearly all seem to contain minor irregularities, which should be mentioned here for the sake of completeness.

Like *cregye*, *thagye* and *agye* given above, *anfugye* and *sallugye* are written with final *-e* after a vowel. This graph often means that the preceding syllable is long in CW (and occasionally in BM and BK), but is itself silent like final *-e* in English and French (evidently the origin of the graph in Cornish).⁵⁷¹ However, in *anfugye* (cf. *anfusy* in BM) and *sallugye* (also *salugy*) it does not show length, so it is possible that these spellings indicate that unstressed final /-ɪ/ had been lowered to /-jɛ/ (or schwa /-jə/), but that the palatal quality of the vowel was preserved by developing semi-consonantal /j/. This may also be seen in the monosyllable *yees* "corn" with apparent /i:/ > /je:/.⁵⁷²

The word *ega* (W. *udo* B. *yudal*) has a final back vowel that does not seem to be the result of lowering. The previous vowel shows the Late Cornish sound change /y:/ > /ɛ:/ and subsequent lowering, probably representing /e:/ [e.], so this word can be shown to be phonologically part of the LC. corpus of CW, revised by Jordan in 1611. That is not to say whether or not the unrevised form was originally represented with a palatal spelling (that is, whether, say **uga* or **usa* was written), a point that can obviously not be reconstructed. More importantly, the only observable cause for palatalisation seems to be the preceding rounded front vowel, since the phoneme is followed by a back vowel.

The example in *oydge* MIC. *oys* (W. *oed* B. *oad* V. *oed*) is one of the rare cases of final /d/ > /z/ > /dz/ in the Middle Cornish plays where the palatal is written in final position (compare *cryge* in TH above). A

⁵⁷⁰ *enfugy* CW 510, *anfugye* 576, 1027, *canhagowe* 67, *canhasawe* 29, *cannas* 986, *tha garenga* 359, *ow harenga* 754, 847, *an garenga* 835, *an garensa* 840, *in oydge* 2101, *sallugye* 721, *salugy* 1777, *ega* 1309. Note that *canhagowe*, *canhasawe* unusually represent /nn/ as <nh> here.

⁵⁷¹ G. Price, *The French Language: present and past*, § 4.12.3, p. 76. This was complete even in the speech of educated, conservative French speakers French, according to Price, by the early 16th century.

⁵⁷² *yees* CW 1189.

further case is *falge* in BM, although this shows a slightly different sequence of changes /lt/ > /ls/ > /lz/ > /ldz/. The instance in BM occurs in the line *in oydge me ew in orma* "in age I am now..." and appears to be exceptional. It seems reasonable to suppose that this is a Late Cornish form and that it may indicate that palatalisation could commonly occur in final position in Late Cornish, which is discussed further below.

The words *garenga*, *garensa* "love" and *canhagowe*, *canhasawe* "messengers" show the variation of *s* and *g* seen in the earlier texts. The former example conforms entirely to the usual Middle Cornish orthography. The form *canhagowe*, however, is unexpected. It may not be significant that it rhymes with *aradowe* "commands" < **arghadow*, since half-rhymes are common in Cornish verse. However, there is no trace of *yod* or a former front vowel following the palatal. As well as *ow fahasowe* cited above (W. *pechod* B. *pec'hed*), this may be compared with *cosow*, *cossove* "woods" (W. *coed* B. *koed*), *esowe* "(types of) corn, corns" (sing. *yees* W. *ŷd* B. *ed*), *lagasowe* "eyes" (W. *llygad* B. *lagad*) with the same plural ending.⁵⁷³ It is nonetheless the only such exception and must be considered suspect as a genuine Middle Cornish example.

A number of instances of *s* occur before etymological front vowels, *gollousacke* "powerful" < earlier *galosek* above, *logosan* "mouse" < **logosen* (W. *llygoden* B. *logodenn*), *pensevicke* "prince" (OC. *pendeuig* W. *pendefig* B. *piñvidik*), *whansack* "wishful" < **whansek* (W. *chwant* B. *c'hoant*).⁵⁷⁴ Two instances of *tryssa* "third" (W. *trydydd*, *trydedd* B. *trede*) have the usual MIC. graph *ss* (cf. *trege* in RD above, the only exception). This should represent /z/ but may have been devoiced to /s/, as discussed above – although the reason is unknown.

⁵⁷³ *cosow* CW 1362, 1495, *cossove* 1520, *esowe* 1130, *yees* 1189, *lagasowe* 694.

⁵⁷⁴ *gollousacke* CW 13 (here final *-e* does not indicate a long vowel and is meaningless), *logosan* 407, *pensevicke* 120, *whansack* 1794.

The graph *ss* also occurs in *ganssy* "with her", also *gansy*, *gensy* (W. *ganddi* MIW. *gent(h)i* B. *ganti*), which may show a failure to voice /ns/ > /nz/ because of the perception that the form was *gans+hy* "with+her" with /z+h/ > /ss/.⁵⁷⁵ This word never has a palatal in Middle Cornish, despite the following front vowel. No palatal would be expected in any case before a back vowel in *ganso*, *gansa*, *ganza*, *gonsa*, *gonza* "with him", again demonstrating that the graph *z* probably meant /z/.⁵⁷⁶

The verb-noun *gasa* "to leave" (MIC. *gasa*, *gage*, *gase* W. *gadael* MIW. *gadu*) occurs with medial *s* and *me a ase* (with silent final *-e*, for the metre) has expected *s* in final position.⁵⁷⁷ The fact that *gage* is found in PC may indicate that the vowel of the verbal ending was lowered from an earlier front vowel. This is similar to *wosa*, *woza* "after" for earlier *wose*, *wosa*, *woge*, *wege* (W. *wedi* MIW. *gwedi* B. *goude*).⁵⁷⁸ It is likely from the use of *z* elsewhere in CW that *woza* had /z/, although in this instance there is no way to be certain that it did not indicate a palatal. The word *kensa*, *kynsa* (W. *cyntaf* B. *kentañ*) has /z/ after a nasal element and a preceding front vowel. It may be the following back vowel that apparently protected it from palatalisation in all of the extant texts.

Where the affected phoneme occurs before yod, the palatal is nearly always written: *devidgyow* "sheep" may be compared with *dewysyow* cited above [BM] and *mar(r)udgyan*, *marodgyan* "marvels" with *vartheygon* [OM] *vartheygon* [PC], *marthug(g)ian*, *marthussyan* [JT] and *ma[r]vgian*, *marvgion* [SA].⁵⁷⁹ Other than the fact that *dg* is written instead of *g*, the forms found in CW are entirely within the normal

⁵⁷⁵ *ganssy* CW 1338 (3 exx.), *gansy* 373, *gensy* 2462. This was not an unreasonable perception, although it is not historically accurate. Loss of i-affection is beginning to occur here.

⁵⁷⁶ *ganso* CW 294 (6 exx.), *gansa* 160, *ganza* 734, 1566, *gonsa* 604, *gonza* 1583. The first ex. is spelt as in most earlier texts, while the lowering /-o/ > /-ə/ and the metathesis of vowels in *gonsa*, *gonza* is paralleled in TH. See T.Z. Chaudhri, *A Description of the Middle Cornish Tregear Manuscript*, pp. 37-8.

⁵⁷⁷ *gasa* CW 1968, *me a ase* 370.

⁵⁷⁸ *wosa* CW 1936, *woza* 1271 (8 exx.).

orthography of Middle Cornish. The only other indicator that these are later spellings is the loss of /θ/ in *mar(r)udgyan*, *marodgyan* that also occurs in SA. The example *ny bydgyaf* "I will not endure" < **ny besyaf* has been mentioned above (cf. *hy a begyas* "it lasted" in PA).⁵⁸⁰ This can be shown to contain /dʒ/ < /z/ by *rag trega in ioy a beys* "to live in lasting joy" in BM, in which final yod is lost and palatalisation was apparently avoided. The example *me a sewsye* "I would follow" (pluperf. cond.) is not directly comparable because it does not contain /z/ < /d/.⁵⁸¹ The verb-noun *sewye* "to follow" and *ruth veyr a dus an sewyas* "a great throng of people followed him" in PA show that the stem is **sewy-*.⁵⁸² It is not clear whether the pluperfect marker *-s-* /s/ had been voiced to /z/ when CW was composed. It is also worth noting that yod follows *-s-* due to metathesis **sewyse* > *sewsye* motivated by the difficulty of articulating the cluster /-wjs-/. It may also have avoided palatalisation because *-s-* retained a morphophonemic value in distinguishing the pluperfect from the otherwise identical imperfect tense, i.e. **me an sewye*.

This probably also explains why the pluperfect conditional *ny vynsan* "I would not", *mensan*, (*y*) *fensan* "I would", *y fynses* "thou wouldst", *a vynsa* "he, she, it would" and *me a umsens* "I consider myself" do not show a palatal in CW.⁵⁸³ Likewise, the preterite is marked by *-s-* in the examples *neb a glowses* "whom thou heardst" and *na brederysys* "thinkest thou not" (MIB. *-sot* > ModB. *-jout*).⁵⁸⁴ The past participles *dowesys* "chosen" (earlier *dywysys*, verb-noun *dywys* W. *dewis*), *plesys* "pleased" (verb-noun *plesya* W. *plesio*) and the adjective

⁵⁷⁹ *marudgyan* CW 1765, *marrudgyan* 2124, *marodgyan* 1876, 1898.

⁵⁸⁰ *ny bydgyaf* CW 1364, 1509, 1670.

⁵⁸¹ *me a sewsye* CW 673.

⁵⁸² *sewye* PA 116b, *ruth veyr a dus an sewyas* 108d.

⁵⁸³ *ny vynsan* CW 670, 700, *mensan* 1110, *y fensan* 1127, *fensan* 1264 (particle missing), *y fynses* 216, *a vynsa* 1129, 2357, *me a umsens* (Neuss) *me a vinsens* (Stokes) 280. Stokes' reading of the latter gives poor sense. Although it can be difficult to distinguish *u* and *v*, his reading suggests MS. *vmsens*.

⁵⁸⁴ *neb a glowses* CW 770, *na brederysys* 308.

fals "false" also contain /s/.⁵⁸⁵ This latter always occurs as *falge* in BM, cited above. Given that /s/ > /z/ is occasionally found with palatalisation elsewhere, e.g. *martesen*, *marthussyan*. It is surprising that /s/ is not voiced to /z/ and palatalised in CW in any examples. The words with *s* for etymological /s/ are too few to conclude that CW was composed before /s/ was voiced to /z/. Moreover, examples such as *martegen* in PC above show that /s/ could be palatalised even in the early Middle Cornish period. It is possible that CW is conservative in this regard, but it may equally be coincidence that no sporadic instances occur.

From a Middle Cornish perspective, frequent silent final *-e*, the graph *z* /z/, the occasional LC. graph *dg* for /dʒ/ and pre-occlusion are the only especially abnormal features of the orthography of CW. It is highly likely that Jordan simply altered many instances of *g* to *dg* as he re-spelt words according to the phonology of Late Cornish. However, features such as the increasing tendency to lower front vowels, for instance, occurs in BM and BK. It is therefore difficult to say how much LC. content there may be in CW, since there is no absolute distinction between the two in many instances. By and large, however, it seems that these orthographical revisions have left a great deal of Middle Cornish in the text. As far as palatalisation is concerned, it is not markedly more common in CW than in the other plays, or in the homilies, leaving many words unaffected.

5.9.5 Summary of the Late Middle Cornish Evidence

The distribution of spellings indicating a palatal in the latter half of the Middle Cornish period clearly follows closely the pattern seen in the earlier documents, although in general such spellings are considerably

⁵⁸⁵ *dowesys* CW 1403 (cf. *dywysys* PC 228, *dywys* 2183), *plesys* 1782 (cf. *plesya* BM 166), *fals* 1704. It might be noted that *ny bleig thym* "it pleases me not" CW 747 and *mar pleag* "(if you) please" 755 are

more common overall even than is true of PC and RD in the Ordinalia, which have palatal spellings more often than in PA and OM. The same distinction between "First Palatalisation" and "Second Palatalisation" seems to be valid, although BM and TH show early signs of confusion in the use of orthographical *ns* for the results of the former change. This does not necessarily undermine the separate treatment of the two sound changes in this work. The examples *nynsefeth* (BM), *nynsevith* (TH) for *nyngevet* "will not have" and *nyn sevas* (TH) for *nyn gevas* "had not" are such rare and comparatively late instances of *s*, where only *g* should have been expected, that it seems certain that they are merely hypercorrections for /dʒ/, based on later confusion of the sounds. Had the words affected by "First Palatalisation" participated in "Second Palatalisation" instead, they would have been expected to show assibilation in the earlier texts instead. Considering that the reverse is true, it is unlikely therefore that this *s* in forms such as *nynsevith* represented phonetic [z], but on the contrary showed that *s* for earlier /z/ often represented [dʒ] as the reflex of "Second Palatalisation". To this may be compared *hobersen*.

The question of whether the results of "First Palatalisation" /d/ > /dʲ/ > /dʒ/ and "Second Palatalisation" /z/ > /zʲ/ > /dʒ/ fell together entirely in later Middle Cornish, at least in certain positions, essentially revolves around the phonetic value of *s* before front vowels. The fact that *j* and *i* are found for *s* rather than *g* only in certain positions is also an important problem, especially since this is a spelling mostly associated with "First Palatalisation" throughout the Middle Cornish period. In the phonemes /ns/ and /ls/, the continued rarity of palatalisation appears to be dependent on prior voicing to /nz/, /lz/ and is therefore related to the much more frequent instances of palatalisation of the phoneme /z/ < /s/ in

irrelevant here because they contain /g/, cf. *mar plek* BM 306 etc. with devoiced final /g/ > /k/.

the later Middle Cornish texts than in the Ordinalia above. It may be added that the palatalisation of final /lz/ (< /ls/) in BM is of particular significance because palatalisation is not otherwise a feature normally found in final position in Middle Cornish, with rare exceptions. These and other points of interest are summarised in the following sections.

i. First Palatalisation /d/ > /d'/ > /dʒ/

Apart from a few irregular exceptions that appear to confirm the rule, "First Palatalisation" /d/ > /d'/ > /dʒ/ occurs universally as expected in the verb "to have", the words *d(e)yth* "day" and *dyawl, deawl* "devil" after the definite article and in the stem of the verb *nyge* "to fly". There are apparently no significant phonological developments in words affected by this sound change in the late Middle Cornish texts that were not already found in PA and the Ordinalia. However, the various irregular instances are worth considering here, as well as the orthographical representation of /dʒ/ in late Middle Cornish.

The examples *nyn sefeth*, *nyn sevith* and *nyn sevas* have been mentioned above and may perhaps be considered as regular examples, from a phonological point of view, despite the use of hypercorrect orthographical *ns* for /dʒ/. More instructive is *me an darvith* in BK, which shows that "First Palatalisation" did not occur before back vowels. The normal graph before front vowels is *g* in examples such as *nyn gevas*, *ren geffo*, although *J* occurs in a few cases such as *an Jeffa*, *(n)an Jevas* and *an Jevith* in TH just as it does in the Ordinalia. That this graph was abandoned in all but a handful of cases in the later texts probably indicates that it does not indicate a special, rare treatment /d'/ > /j/ but is merely an alternative graph for /dʒ/. If the fricative quality of the sound

had occasionally been lost, this would be expected to be a subsequent development, yet it is apparently an early spelling convention that seems to have increasingly fallen into disuse in this verb.

The use of initial *J* likewise does not occur in examples of the word *d(e)yth* with palatalisation in BK, BM or CW, although there are only seven examples with *g*, of which *vn gyth* in BK and *vn geth* in BM follow the numeral "one" and the remainder follow the definite article or the preposition *in* "in" compounded with it. There are six examples with *J* in TH, while *g* does not occur in this word. The three examples *in dith hethew*, *in dith hethow* "today" are irregular in their failure to show a palatal and may be compared to *yn deyth dyweth* "in the last day" and *an dyth* "the day" in CW. The former has been explained as the result of alliteration and the latter as due to the influence of *an sythvas dyth* "the seventh day" in the preceding line, so these instances in TH seem also to be rare hypercorrections. The three instances of *vn dyth* "one day" in TH may be compared with the three of *vn deyth* in the Ordinalia and apparently represent a genuine variation with *vn ge(y)th*. It is probable that the palatal did not originally occur after *vn* "one" but sometimes occurred by analogy with the instances following the definite article.

Conversely, the word *deawl*, *dyawl* "devil" occurs with *J* and *j* after the definite article in BK, *i* in BM and *J*, *i* and *j* in CW (it does not occur after the article in TH). However, instances such as *an Jowle* occur here where capitalisation is conventional in English "the Devil" and French "le Diable". This is effectively a proper noun after the definite article (cf. *W. yr Iesu* "Jesus") in these languages and the retention of the graph *J* and its variants reflects a growing tendency in the later texts towards the modern use of capitalisation. The Ordinalia, by comparison, uses initial *j*, *i* and *g* interchangeably in perceived initial position in words affected by "First Palatalisation". It is evident that /dʒ/ did not lose its fricative quality to

become /j/ in these instances, since such a sound change would have had to have been reversed in order for *g* to predominate in the later texts. The spelling *J* is rare even in TH and is evidently a mere alternative orthographical practice to that of BK, BM and CW.

It appears from *an dythyow* in BK (cf. *an dezyow* in the Ordinalia) and *an dywolow* in TH (cf. *an dewolow*, *an dywolow* in the Ordinalia) that these plurals never had a palatal in Middle Cornish and were not affected by analogy with the singular noun in either case. It has been noted that the stress in *dewolow* was on the syllable following /dV-/ and that consequently the vowel may have been relatively lax compared to the vowel in the singular word. It may be added that the plural seems to be a development of unattested **an dyawlow* with metathesis (and consequent rounding /a/ > /o/ after /w/) /-awl-/ > /-wol-/. The singular is monosyllabic in Middle Cornish according to the syllable count in examples such as *ty dyowl gvra ow gorthyby* "thou devil answer me" in the Ordinalia, but OC. *diauol* (W. *diafol*, *diawl* B. *diaoul*) was probably three syllables.⁵⁸⁶ The yod in *dyowl* was apparently earlier a half-long vowel /i:/ and was reduced to short /ɪ/ (or perhaps *realised* as short [ɪ]) in the plural *dywolow*, *dewolow*, perhaps later /ɛ/. The plural never therefore had yod after /d/ as did the singular. By contrast, the stress fell on the syllable /dV-/ in *an dythyow*, probably containing /ei/ > /i:/ in the singular and shortened to /ɪ/ in the plural (hence the spelling *an dezyow* in the Ordinalia).⁵⁸⁷ This lowering seems to have been enough to avoid palatalisation, perhaps assisted by the rarity of the phrase.

Lastly, the imperative *nyedge* "fly (thou)" in CW is an apparently regular, albeit rare, example of "First Palatalisation" /d/ > /dʲ/ > /dʒ/ in

⁵⁸⁶ *ty dyowl gvra ow gortheby* OM 301, *diauol* Voc. Corn. 390.

⁵⁸⁷ For the PrimC. or early OC. diphthongisation of /i:/ > /ei/ before /th/ (cf. B. *deiz* "day", *neiz* "nest" etc.), see PHC § 7.2.3, p. 124. It seems that MIC. /ei/ was sporadically monophthongised again.

final position before earlier yod. It has been argued above (§ 5.8.4 ii.) that this is not in fact an irregular instance, even though "First Palatalisation" does not normally occur in final position. On the basis of the cognates W. *neidio* B. *nijal* there is every reason to suppose that the word was /nɪ:dj/ in Old Cornish and that consequently early palatalisation did occur.

ii. First Palatalisation /t/ > /tʰ/ > /tʃ/ in *chy* "house"

The palatal *ch* /tʃ/ is entirely regular and occurs virtually universally in the simplex noun MIC. *chy* < OC. *ti* in BK, BM, TH and CW just as in the earlier texts.⁵⁸⁸ The form *-ty* is limited to the compounds *gwreghty* "wife" and *gorty* "husband" in CW. The curious form *colgy* "college" ostensibly contains *-gy* on the pattern of *-sy*, *-gy* in place-names ("Second Palatalisation") but was evidently adapted from Fr. *collège*, perhaps through Middle English. It is not clear from the orthography whether *ch* /tʃ/ was lenited to /dʒ/ in examples such as *in e chy* "in his house" or *the Chy an Govr heb paraw* "to the peerless man's house".⁵⁸⁹ That lenition was indeed possible is suggested by *a gy*, *agy(e)* and the variant *achy* in BM and TH (SA), as well as *wargy* "inwards" in TH (JT). Additional evidence occurs in the extended *mes a gy* "outside" (lit. "out of the house") in BK. This probably shows that *mes a chy* has the identical meaning in CW, although *mes [h]a chy* "inner and outer" is formally possible and would explain the lack of written mutation. This is not a problem, however, since *achy* for *agy* must have had /dʒ/ even though it was not spelt accordingly. Overall, this evidence seems enough to link OC. **a di* > MIC. *agy*, *achy* (and OC. **war di* > MIC. *wargy*)

⁵⁸⁸ See the archaic *yn ow thy a piyadow* PC 334, discussed by N.J.A. Williams, "Four Textual Notes on the Middle Cornish Drama", BCS 22 (1966-8), p. 237. As a unique exception, it proves the rule.

⁵⁸⁹ The spirant mutation was no doubt rendered impossible by palatalisation.

showing "First Palatalisation" /d/ > /d'/ > /dʒ/ with the parallel change /t/ > /t'/ > /tʃ/ in the voiceless phoneme, despite the fact that the latter only occurs in OC. *ti* > MIC. *chy*. It is reasonable to deduce that *chy* is a regular example and that the two sound changes were contemporary, as speculated at § 5.8.4 ii. It is probable then that *in e chy* meant /ɪn ə dʒi:/ and that the initial lenition of /t/–/d/ in this word in Old Cornish developed to /t'/–/d'/ and thence to /tʃ/–/dʒ/.

iii. Second Palatalisation /z/ > /z'/ > /dʒ/

The change /z/ > /z'/ > /dʒ/ occurs in an even wider range of words in the later texts than it does in the Ordinalia. The spelling *g* is almost always found in place of *s* within the context of a front vowel or yod. The variant spellings *i* and *j* for the palatal are dealt with separately below and comments about *g* should in the meantime be taken to include these spellings (and *dg* in CW) in the following discussion. The distribution of palatal spellings before yod is also slightly different from that found before front vowels and will also be addressed separately.

The extent of palatalisation before front vowels, however, varies somewhat between these four texts: in BK, *g* is considerably more common than *s*, although not universal; in BM, the distribution of *g* and *s* is roughly equal; in the twelve homilies of TH (JT), palatals are written noticeably less frequently, while in the catena (SA) that replaces the expected thirteenth homily, *g* is the usual graph; in CW, *g* (and the LC. re-spelling *dg*) again predominates over *s*. However, there is no text in which *s* is entirely unknown before front vowels. It seems that the distribution of *g* rather than *s* does not increase steadily in the chronological sequence of the texts but was instead somewhat variable

according to the habits of individual scribes. This may represent different levels of orthographical conservatism, or else it may equally show a variation in the level to which palatalisation was realised in the speech of different individuals. These two tendencies may both have occurred to varying degrees, so the best available method would seem to be to take spellings at face value as written, whilst accepting that they may not always be an unequivocal guide.

Conversely, the general absence of graphs indicating a palatal before back vowels, except in words like *ega* where other factors towards palatalisation can be deduced, is only to be expected. It is no defence to say that *g* was unavailable because it meant /g/ in such positions, for three reasons: (1) the graph *g* could mean /g/ before front vowels too, in addition to /dʒ/, but its use for the latter was not a difficulty, because the scribes were native speakers and understood better than modern scholars can which sounds were to be represented; (2) moreover, even if *g* were felt to be unavailable, both *i* and *j* were clearly available for palatal sounds from the earliest period of palatalisation (e.g. *nyn io* in PA) until the fifteenth century (e.g. *grajak* in BK); (3) the fact that *nyn go* appears proves that the graph was indeed available for a palatal before back vowels. It does not matter in the slightest that two of the examples above are actually of “First Palatalisation”, since the important point is that the graph *g* could demonstrably mean a palatal before a back vowel. If “Second Palatalisation” was as early and as complete as “First Palatalisation”, one would expect to see it used for the palatal sounds far more frequently. It is telling that this is not the case.

An exception to this distribution in BM but not in BK, TH and CW is that palatal spellings appear to be inexplicably rare in the verb “to be” before front vowels, especially in the final /z/ of the particles *nyns* and *nans*. In this regard, BM is similar to the Ordinalia, while such forms in

PA nearly always have *g* despite the rarity of palatal spellings elsewhere in that text. The reason for this exception being limited to the Ordinalia and BM is unclear. It may be due to deliberate archaism on the part of the two scribes, although why this should be limited in this way is also somewhat mysterious. There is very little else in the orthography to link these two documents that would not also be in common with BK and the unmodernised parts of CW. Neither is it obvious why a spelling that is so common in the verb “to be” in PA should only re-surface much later.

The absence of palatal spellings of the final /z/ in *mars* "if" before front vowels is a feature of the entire Middle Cornish period and seems to be a systematic exception to palatalisation that has not been remarked upon previously in any study. This is made clear by the absence of forms such as ***marg*, ***mar g*— even in the later texts. It so happens that /rz/ < /rd/ must have been extremely uncommon in Middle Cornish and that there are no instances of *rg* for *rs*.⁵⁹⁰ This is largely because Brit. /rt/ was never voiced to /rd/ but was later spirantised to /rθ/.⁵⁹¹ The group /rd/ in OC. **mard* > MIC. *mars* (B. *mard*) apparently came about by contraction of SWBr. **ma* "if" plus the perfective particle **ro* plus the verbal particle **it*.⁵⁹² It is nonetheless odd that instances such as *marsyw* always have *s* while *nangev*, *nangew* have *g*.⁵⁹³ Although *hobersen* "haubergeon" in RD and *Na gorsy* "curse (thou) not" in BK have been explained respectively as a hypercorrection and an instance of /s+z/ > /ss/, it is possible that

⁵⁹⁰ This remarks ignores loanwords that appear to contain /-rdz-/ and /-rz-/, e.g. *scorgye* "to scourge" (PA 130c) and *boclars* "bucklers" respectively, since these are not from /rd/. Note that /rz/ < /rs/ is never palatalised, but palatalisation of /z/ < /s/ is relatively rare and is dealt with separately below.

⁵⁹¹ A. Harvey, "Aspects of Lenition and Spirantisation", *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 8 (Winter 1984), p.p. 87-100; also P. Russell, "A Footnote to Spirantization", *CMCS* 10 (Winter 1985), pp. 53-6. On the order of these changes, see also P. Sims-Williams, "Dating the Transition to Neo-Brittonic: Phonology and History, 400-600" in *Britain 400-600: Language and History*, ed. Alfred Bammesberger & Alfred Wollmann, pp. 232-3.

⁵⁹² The origin of CB. *mar(d)* is obscure, see Roparz Hemon, "A Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton", Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975, § 198, notes 1 & 2, pp. 296-7. The etymology given here is derived from Hemon's but it seems clear that PrimC. **rit* is present in *mars* (see § 5.8.2).

⁵⁹³ The fact that *g* may occur before back vowels in *nango* etc. in PA (see § 5.8.2) is dealt with above separately, but the evidence is clear that *nans* may show a palatal while *mars* apparently may not.

palatalisation of /z/ was blocked after /r/ and that these loanwords may show this failure by analogy. This is an especially difficult question because there is no evidence other than *mars* in native words from which to draw any conclusions.

It has been suggested above that preceding /n/ before /z/ is a contributing factor towards palatalisation in words such as *kerense*, *kerenga* "love" and *bolungeth* "will". While /n/ and /l/ may be palatal [n^h] and [l^h] in such environments, the question of whether /r/ may have been palatalised depends upon its phonetic realisation. While retroflex [ɻ] could perhaps have a palatal counterpart [ɻ^h], it is difficult to see from a phonetic point of view how an alveolar tap [r] or trill [R] could be articulated with the blade of the tongue close to the hard palate because this would render it impossible for the tip of the tongue to tap or trill against the alveolus. It seems likely therefore that /r/, if realised as an apical sound of this sort, would tend to make palatalisation of a following /z/ difficult or impossible. It would then follow that *hobersen* contained /z/ because speakers found it difficult to pronounce a palatal after /r/, not because *s* meant /dʒ/. The meaning of *Na gorsy* is questionable, but it could represent a unique failure in BK to write *gy* "thou, thee", rather than the earlier form *sy*, as a result of the preceding /r/. An alternative possibility is described at § 5.9.1. It may be added, nonetheless, that this theory tends to reinforce the remarks made about the probable apical quality of /r/ made at § 5.2 above, although there is no absolute evidence. In any event, the complete lack of palatalisation in *mars* before front vowels, in stark contrast to the treatment of *nyns*, *nans* and *res*, seems to be so exceptional that it demands a phonetic explanation.

Whether /z/ and /dʒ/ fell together entirely in later Middle Cornish is unlikely because (1) if "Second Palatalisation" did not generally occur in

contact with back vowels then /z/ remained distinct at least in certain positions (2) even in contact with front vowels, the spelling *s* is still so common, especially in BM and TH, that it seems unlikely that it merely a spelling for /dʒ/ in all instances (3) if speakers remained aware that *s* meant /z/ before back vowels, the free variation of *s* and *g* before etymological front vowels in words such as *devgys*, *devsys* and *crege*, *creesy* within the space of a few lines presumably means that varying degrees of palatalisation were in practice applied by different speakers or even by the same speaker on different occasions.⁵⁹⁴ This seems inherently likely because the level of phonetic motivation for palatalisation would not have been identical in all words but must have depended on the surrounding sounds. The final vowel in *anfusy* > *anfugy* was probably more likely to cause "Second Palatalisation" than the less close vowel in *gase* > *gage*. Ignoring occasional orthographical confusion of *e* with *y* and *i*, this is generally borne out by the more frequent occurrence of *s* before *e* than before *y*. For example, words in BK with earlier /z/ plus the suffix *-yk* have *g* in six cases and the compromise graph *sg* once but never have *s*, yet the suffix *-ek*, *-ak* is preceded by *g* twice and its variant *j* seven times compared to *s* fifteen times. Since a phoneme may represent a range of close sounds that are not meaningfully different for a speaker, slight variations in articulation could determine whether the phoneme was realised as [z], [ʒ] or [dʒ] in any given instance and consequently whether *s* or *g* seemed to be the most appropriate graph on that occasion. It is difficult to say exactly how high a front vowel needed to be in order to cause palatalisation, as this was evidently highly variable. However, it may be remarked that the higher the vowel, the closer it would be to

⁵⁹⁴ *devgys* BM 884, *devsys* 889, *crege* TH 19.14, *creesy* 19a.16

alveolar-palatal articulation. Equally, back vowels are not articulated near the hard palate, so would not participate.

This conclusion might reasonably be open to doubt in the light of the acknowledgement given above that the level of orthographical conservatism may also have been variable. This could even have been true within a single document if a scribe had generally conservative inclinations in spelling but occasionally forgot himself, or conversely if he generally represented contemporary speech as he heard it but sometimes used traditional spellings. It is impossible to find evidence that could not be potentially coloured by such considerations. It is therefore highly significant that differential distributions of *g* and *s*, such as the example of *-yk* and *-ek* given above, tend to show that there was a phonological rather than a purely orthographical motivation behind the spellings that the Middle Cornish scribes selected.

This is seen most clearly in the distribution of *g* and *s* for /z'/ < /z/ < /d/ before yod. The word *cregyans*, *crygyans* "belief" and its derivatives *dyscregyans*, *dyscrygyans* "unbelief" are found in a bewildering array of spellings in Middle Cornish, but nevertheless the only example that does not have *g* is *crisgians* in TH (JT) with an intermediate graph (comparable only to *sethisgyk* in BK above). It may be a testament to the sporadic nature of palatalisation that the only exception dates from the very end of the Middle Cornish period rather than an early text, although this may equally represent an attempted hypercorrection like *nyn sevith* above. That both *s* and *g* occurred in the related *creesy*, *crygy* makes it likely that a form **creesyans* existed before palatalisation, that is to say "Second Palatalisation /zj/ > /dʒj/. It is unlikely (although formally possible) that this represents "First Palatalisation" /dj/ > /dʒj/ in a form OC. ***credias*, since the verbal stem must presumably have been the

simplex form and a sibilant often occurs even before a front vowel in *cresty*, *crysty* "to believe". The same comments apply to the early Middle Cornish example *dyscryggyon* "unbelievers" in the Ordinalia.

Other examples of *g* before yod are less open to the doubt that prior assibilation had not taken place. Late Middle Cornish examples cited above at § 5.9.1-4 include *clevegow* "diseases" (sing. *cleveys* W. *clefyd* B. *kleñved*), *cowgegyow* "inner thoughts" (W. *ceudod*), *golvygyen* "lights" (sing. *golowys* W. *golau* B. *goulou*) and *preggyow* "meals" (sing. *prys* W. *pryd* B. *pred*) in BM and *skyggyow* "shoes" (LC. *esgizoû* W. *esgidiau*) and *spyrygian* "spirits" (sing. *spyrys* W. *ysbryd* B. *spered*) in TH (JT).⁵⁹⁵ The word *dewysyov* "sheep" (W. *defaid* B. *deñved*) in BM has *s* but occurs again as *devidgyow* with the palatal spelling *dg* in CW. It is possible that *canhagow* "messengers" (sing. *cannas* W. *cennad* B. *kannad*) in CW is merely a variant of *canhasawe* in the same text, but had *-yow* with yod rather than *-ow*. The word *marthug(g)ian*, *marthussyan* [JT] and *ma[r]vgian*, *marvgion* [SA] "wonders" in TH, also *marodgyan*, *mar(r)udgyan* in CW, is one of only two words with /dʒ/ from /z/ < /s/ to show a palatal before yod in Middle Cornish, as demonstrated by the alternative plural *marthusow* (MIW. *marth* B. *marzhus*), although *varthogyon*, *vartheygon* in the Ordinalia show that this was not an especially late development. The same seems to have occurred in *aflythygyon* in the Ordinalia (cf. *avlethis* in CW), which apparently had earlier /z/ < /s/. Other early Middle Cornish examples *hy a begyas* in PA (cf. *rag trega in ioy a beys* in BM) and *govegyon*, *govygyon* "sorrow, care, regret" in the Ordinalia (W. *gofid*) have been cited at § 5.8.2-4 above. Only two of the instances have *s* before yod, yet almost all of the instances with *g* (or *gg*) can be shown to be derived from singular or other

⁵⁹⁵ The exx. *kerengyek*, *kernsyak* etc. in TH cited at § 5.9.3 are not included because it is likely from the spellings listed above that the word remained trisyllabic (<**kerensethek*) and did not have yod.

simplex forms that also occur with final *s* /z/ < /d/. The phoneme /s/ must have been voiced early to /z/ in *marthussyan*, *marthug(g)ian* and *aflythygyon* for the forms with *g* and *gg* to have appeared throughout the Middle Cornish period. This may indicate that "New Lenition" happened sporadically throughout much of the history of the language on a word by word basis. The important point is that a phonetic cause can be shown to be responsible for the distribution of palatal and sibilant spellings, not mere orthographical conservatism. If this lesson is applied to the variation between *s* and *g* before front vowels as well as yod, the idea that *s* was no more than an archaic spelling in such positions seems to be flawed.

The spellings *i* and *j* for the palatal sound are normally features of "First Palatalisation" rather than "Second Palatalisation" in Middle Cornish. It has been noted at § 5.9.5 i. above that there is no reason to believe that this represents a phonological development rather than merely an orthographical practice. However, these graphs are found as occasional variants of *g* in instances of "Second Palatalisation". The practice of writing *nyn iough* "ye are not", *nyn io* "was not" in PA for *nyn sough* and *nyn so*, *nyn go* does not occur subsequently except perhaps in the lone example *nynjew* for *nyngew*, *nynsew* in CW, although this is more likely to be a Late Cornish re-spelling that happens to coincide with the practice in PA. The idea that *g* /dʒ/ lost its fricative quality to become *i* /j/, only for this to be later reversed and *g* restored, has been rejected under the comments on "First Palatalisation" and need not be reiterated here. This tends to suggest that *i* and *j* were always mere orthographical variants of *g* /dʒ/ rather than a separate sound change.

This idea seems to be undermined, however, by the fact that *i* and *j* by and large occur for *s* and *g* in only a very limited and distinct

distribution of words.⁵⁹⁶ The examples *besadow* in [PA], *pyiadow*, *piyadow* "prayer" and *ow fysadow* "my prayer" [Ordinalia] have been noted as the only cases in the early texts of Middle Cornish (§ 5.7.2-3 above). Despite the frequent occurrence of *g* in inflected parts of *pesy*, *pegy* "to pray", this pattern continues in the spellings *pejadaw*, *pejadow*, *pyjadow*, *peiadow* in BK, *peyadov* (once corrected from *piiadov*), *peyadow*, *peiadow*, *peiadov* in BM and *pesadow* [JT & SA], *peiadow* [SA] in TH (§ 5.8.1-3 above). There are no spellings of this word with *g*. The form with *s* is a mere occasional variant, although it is found throughout the Middle Cornish period. The other seven instances of *j* for *g* and *s* occur in BK before the ending *-ak* < *-ek*. The words *rajak* "of grace" (twice), *grajak* "grateful", *lagajak* "big-eyed" (twice), *thekhyskajak* [possibly for **then kvskajak* "to the sleepy one"] and *marthojek* "marvellous" have been cited at § 5.8.1 above. The graph *g* occurs in *gallogak* "powerful" and *torgak* "anyone" (lit. "a footed one") and *s* occurs in fifteen examples. Of these, *grajak* and *marthojek* must show /s/ > /z/ > /dʒ/ while the remainder derive regularly from the previously assibilated phoneme /d/ > /z/ > /dʒ/.

It is initially difficult to see why **pegadow* should not have occurred, since the graph *g* is allowed before an orthographic back vowel in *ega* "was", *ow huga* "screaming" and *carenga* "love". It may be observed that this is rare in the early texts and only occurs in the later texts when *-a(-)* in the final syllable resulted from the lowering of the vowel or its reduction to schwa. This, however, is not the case in *peiadow*, *pejadaw*, in which medial /a/ occurs in the stressed syllable. The very fact that there is no comparable instance tends to suggest that this was merely an orthographical feature rather than a change /dʒ/ > /j/.

⁵⁹⁶ It is likely that the example *pletheya ef* in BK (§ 5.8.1) is merely a miscopying of **plethega ef*.

Traditional orthography did not apparently tolerate *g* for the palatal before a back vowel. This is probably the reason for *nyn iough*, *nyn io* in PA, although this restriction was entirely abandoned in the verb "to be" by the time of the Ordinalia, allowing the spelling *nyn go* as an exception to the normal rule. This was already an alternative spelling in PA. The only remaining difficulty with *peiadow* is that there is no obvious cause for palatalisation, especially since *s* is not generally replaced by *g* by analogy in inflected forms of *pesy* "to pray" where /z/ stands before a back vowel. Perhaps *pesadow* represents a form without yod before the suffix *-adow*, while the more frequent forms with *i* and *j* represent a form with added yod.⁵⁹⁷ This would explain the high frequency of palatalisation which is characteristic after yod. Nonetheless, it seems likely that yod was analogical rather than original in this word.

These conclusions are supported by the fact that *rajak*, *grajak*, *lagajak* and *thekhyskajak* all show apparent lowering of the vowel in the ending *-ek* > *-ak*, although the spelling *marthojek* is exceptional. The forms *gallogak* and *torgak* also break the pattern, but in general it seems that the rule was abstracted in BK to apply occasionally to back vowels which were the result of lowering as well as original back vowels in words such as *pejadaw*. It seems that this was a feature limited to the scribal practice of BK, which otherwise conforms largely to the normal orthography of Middle Cornish.⁵⁹⁸ Again, the very fact that these spellings are rare and not repeated in other texts indicates that they are probably mere orthographical variants. In short, it does not seem that a sound change /dʒ/ > /j/ occurred.

⁵⁹⁷ This was probably a plural OC. **pedad-ou* that was taken to be singular and was then re-interpreted as containing *-adow* W. *-adwy*. Assibilation was presumably by analogy with the verbal stem *pes-*. See § 5.7.2 above.

⁵⁹⁸ The orthography is nonetheless distinctive in some ways, notably *-aw* for *-ow* in the plural.

Apart from *marthussyan*, *marthug(g)ian*, *grajak* and *marthojek* already mentioned, palatalisation of /z/ < /s/ in medial position occurs in a few instances in all of the late Middle Cornish texts. The infrequency of this is probably down to the fact that New Lenition (or medial voicing) was sporadic. If it did not occur, neither could the phoneme fall together allophonically with /z/ and undergo palatalisation. This was also the case in words with /ns/ and /ls/, such as *nanssow*. However, that it could occur, is shown by *falge* and *algow*, however they came to be palatalised.

Palatalisation of medial /z/ < /s/ is otherwise rare but occurs in all of the late Middle Cornish texts. Examples cited above at § 5.8.1-3 are *ancombryngy* "encumbrance, difficulty" [BK] < *an combrynsy* < MIE. *encombraunce*, *devlugy* "devilry" [BM] (apparently from **deulus* "diabolical"), *martegen*, *martesen* "perhaps" [BM] (B. *marteze*), *cowgys* "spoken" [TH: JT] and *negegath* "messengers" [TH: SA] (W. *negesydd*).⁵⁹⁹ The fact that *aflythygon* (sing. *avlethis* in CW) mentioned above and *deulugy*, *devlugy* occur in the Ordinalia indicates that this voicing also occurred occasionally in the earlier MIC. texts.

There are far too many instances of *s* for etymological /s/ before front vowels and yod to be cited here, but it is clear that these examples with *g* are extremely rare. Nonetheless, that they happen at all is highly significant. Since it shows that *s* /z/ < /s/ is palatalised in an identical fashion to *s* /z/ < /d/, and nobody would argue that the former spelling usually means /(d)ʒ/, the natural conclusion must be that *s* /z/ < /d/ does not generally mean /(d)ʒ/ either. To argue the opposite would be to say that two different phonemes /s/ and /(d)ʒ/, once unvoiced and the other voiced, would be conventionally represented in an otherwise identical phonetic environment by the same graph *s*. This would be particularly

⁵⁹⁹ *an combrynsy* OM 2517, 2542.

absurd, since they are different in (1) voice or lack thereof; and (2) place of articulation, the first being an alveolar-dental spirant and latter an alveolar-palatal affricate (if already /dʒ/) or fricative (if still /ʒ/).

An exceptional development occurred in *calge* "many", *falge* "false", *me an felge* "I will slit him" and *polge* "a while" in BM (§ 5.8.2 above), in which /ls/ was apparently voiced to /lz/ and later palatalised to /ldʒ/ in final position. These words always have *s* elsewhere, even in the chronologically later texts TH and CW. It is possible that final de-voicing sometimes prevented this, if the same rules applied to Cornish as are observed in Breton.⁶⁰⁰ Only *me an felge* has etymological /ls/ < /lt/ (B. *faout*), whereas the rest have original /ls/. The only possible comparison is with *in oydge* "in age" < **in oys* in CW (§ 5.8.4) with final palatalisation of /z/ < /d/, but it seems more likely that this unique instance is a Late Cornish alteration. No palatalised examples of final /nz/ < /ns/ are found, although this may well be coincidental since the examples cited here are so few. It is probable that this extension of the sound change from medial to final position is relatively late, perhaps at the turn of the sixteenth century when BM was written.

A number of conclusions may be drawn: (1) that it seems unlikely that /s/ was voiced only in the few words cited above and that it is therefore reasonable to conclude that /s/ was sporadically voiced throughout the Middle Cornish period, probably as an allophone; (2) that /s/ [z] fell together with /d/ > /z/ whenever this voicing occurred, which demonstrates the theory argued in this work that instances of "Second Palatalisation" with *g* and other palatal spellings had undergone assibilation at an earlier date; (3) that /s/ could be voiced in all medial positions, whether it was intervocalic or whether it was preceded by /n/ in

⁶⁰⁰ This seems likely, given the discussion at § 4.1 and § 4.3-4 above.

ancombrynsy (and presumably /l/) or by a semi-vowel such as /w/ in *cowgys*; (4) that this voicing could occur even in final position and was rarely palatalised in words such as *fals* > *falge*, although final de-voicing could probably have prevented this in most cases.

The difficulty that palatal spellings for /z/ < /s/ before front vowels and yod are rare is best accounted for by arguing that New Lenition was never any more than sporadic, as it remains today in Breton dialects. The palatalising tendency could happen at any time, given the right phonetic environment, so that /z/ could become /z'/ and then undergo various levels of palatalisation. This could also happen to the new /z/ voiced from /s/ in the same positions, when that occurred. It is also important that original /ns/ in *ancombryngy* would have fallen together with /ns/ < /nt/ and likewise original /ls/ in *fals* with /ls/ < /lt/. These must have been voiced to /nz/ and /lz/ in order for these phonemes to have been palatalised, according to this theory. It might be expected that, if /z/ < /s/ was palatalised far less often than /z' < /z/ < /d/ because the former could only happen after voicing had occurred, examples of *ng* /ndʒ/ and *lg* /ldʒ/ would also be less common than *ns* and *ls*, since palatalisation of /ns/ and /ls/ of whatever origin depended on prior voicing to /nz/ and /lz/. It is therefore inappropriate to treat the palatalisation of the assibilated phonemes /ns/ < /nt/ and /ls/ < /lt/ as a separate category from /z/ > /z' > /dʒ/, since the presence or absence of /n/ and /l/ before the affected phoneme became irrelevant once voicing /s/ > /z/ had occurred.

As predicted in the previous paragraph, examples with palatal spellings for earlier /ns/ < /nt/ and /ls/ < /lt/ are in fact relatively rare in the late Middle Cornish texts. Only the first twelve homilies (JT) of TH show *ng* of this origin in words other than the commonplace *carenga*, *gerynga* for *kerensa* "love" and *bolnogeth*, *blonogath* for **bolunseth*

"will".⁶⁰¹ The former has only *s* in BM and does not occur in SA; the latter occurs in a vast array of spellings with various combinations of metatheses, but does not occur in BK (see § 5.1-4 below). The only known examples of *lg* for original /lt/ are *algow* "cliffs" in BK and *me an felge* "I will slit him" in BM (§ 5.8.1-2).

Admittedly, a number of the instances in TH are merely various spellings of the derived adjective *kerengyek*, *kernsyak* "loving" < **kerensethek*, apparently either trisyllabic or disyllabic as a result of syncope. More importantly, the third person plural verbal ending *-ns* occurs with a palatal in *engy* "they are", *y mowngy* "they are", *a[s te] vongy* "that they had", *ny rowng enioya* "they shall not enjoy" and *dell rongy* "as they do" (§ 5.8.3). Forms with *ns*, however, remain more common than those with *ng* in these verbal forms. Comparable examples also occur in *myng a rug du* "those that God made" and the forms *plynges*, *plyngys* "planted" (p.pt.) and *blanges* "planted" (3s pres-fut.) from the verb *plansa* (B. *plantañ*).

These developments are not found either in texts earlier than TH or in CW, apparently a later text. It has been asserted above (§ 5.8.4) that the Middle Cornish original of CW was in fact written before TH, even though it has been treated as a later text in this study because of its extensive corpus of Late Cornish forms that have been added or altered from earlier spellings. If so, it might seem that these instances of *ng* in TH mark the beginning of the transition to Late Cornish. That this was not entirely a late development, however, is shown by a number of examples in the Ordinalia: in addition to various spellings of *bolungeth*, *bolenegoth* and *kerenge*, *kerensa*, the examples *vryongen*, *bryangen* "throat" < OC. *briansen* (OB. *brehant* W. *breuant*) and *kyngys*, *kyn gys*,

⁶⁰¹ The instance *ankengy* BK 208h (W. *angen* B. *anken*) is found as *ankensy* PA 184, PC 1360, but it is not clear whether the suffix contained /z/ < /s/ or /nz/ < /ns/ < /nt/. It has consequently been ignored.

kyns ys "rather than" (W. *cynt* B. *kent*) have *ng* perhaps a hundred years earlier (§ 5.7.3). The forms *bryonsen*, *vreonsen* [BM], *beransen* [TH: JT] and *kyns ys* [BM] occur in later Middle Cornish only with *s* (§ 5.8.2-3). The word *fleyryngy* "odour, stink" (B. *flaer*) in the Ordinalia may also contain earlier /nz/ < /ns/ < /nt/, although the derivation of this rare suffix is uncertain and it may represent earlier /z/ < /s/.

It is certain at least that palatalisation of /nz/ from the voicing of earlier /ns/ < /nt/ (and probably /lz/ from /ls < lt/) became generally more frequent during the Middle Cornish period, although it was still relatively rare even in TH. It is only about as common as palatalisation of /z/ < /s/, which includes some examples of /nz/ < /ns/ that were not the result of previous assibilation. There is no reason to divide these two phenomena into separate sound changes if assibilation is taken to have been completed well before Second Palatalisation. Moreover, for examples with *ng* to have occurred in the Ordinalia, voicing /s/ > /z/ must already have taken place. It is not certain whether this was true at the time of PA, which has only the instances *gerensa* "love" and *nanssow* "valleys" and shows a much more limited distribution of palatal spellings (§ 5.7.2).

In the light of these considerations, it seems that Middle Cornish "Second Palatalisation" always occurred in the sequence /z/ > /z'/ > /dʒ/, irrespective of the earlier origin of this /z/. It could be the result of assibilation of the voiced phoneme /d/ > /z/, simple voicing /s/ to /z/, or else the assibilation of the voiceless phonemes /nt/ > /ns/ or /lt/ > /ls/ followed by the same voicing /s/ > /z/.

The reason that First Palatalisation was able to happen much earlier was that the palatal phonemes involved must have come into existence before assibilation, so they were not affected by it. The dating of Second Palatalisation is much more difficult, since both it and New Lenition seem to have happened piecemeal between perhaps the early thirteenth

century and the seventeenth century, almost exactly the same dates as those proposed by Jackson for very similar phenomena in Breton. The place-name *Trevasec* (1284) also occurs as *Trevaieg* (1300) and *Trevagek* (1302), containing Brit. *tref+mad+-og* with /d/ > /z/. That is shows Second Palatalisation dates the sound change very precisely, in keeping with the evidence that has been cited from the texts.

This explanation has the merits that it is simple, relies very little upon analogy to account for exceptional forms and explains why palatalisation was able to affect phonemes of different origins that had fallen together in earlier sound changes. However, it follows that palatalisation in Middle Cornish was both untidy and sporadic, not to say incomplete even at the end of the period. This should not be a surprise, since it is not perhaps unreasonable to draw a general comparison with palatalisation in the dialects of Breton, a sporadic, incomplete tendency rather than a uniform sound change.