

## II. Initial Mutations

1. Like the other Celtic languages, MC had a system of so-called ‘initial mutations’ through which the initial consonants of words were changed. Though originally a result of sandhi and hence a phonetic phenomenon, in later stages of the language, when the original phonetic conditions had disappeared, these mutations remained and became conditioned by morphological and syntactical rules.

The system operating in MC is most akin to the one seen in MB (for which see HMB. §§1-17; and HPB. §§435-520 for a historical description). A problem in studying these mutations in MC is that the existing MC texts – with (to a certain degree) the exception of *Pascon agan Arluth* – do not always reflect the mutations in the orthography. The frequency with which initial mutations are actually written are (George (1993), Table 9.12):

	<i>Pascon</i>	ORD	BM
mutation not written	21	519 (18%)	324 (23%)
mutation written	774 (96%)	2161 (77%)	1076 (75%)
other spellings	10	130	38

The following mutations occur in MC: *lenition*, *spirantisation*, *provection* and a *mixed mutation*.<sup>1</sup> The change called lenition is phonetically a combination of voicing of the voiceless stops and of spirantisation of the voiced stops and /m/. The spirant mutation affects the voiceless stops only. Provection is limited to the voiced stops, which it unvoices. The mixed mutation consists historically of lenition followed by provection. It affects the voiced fricatives which were themselves the result of prior lenition. As a rule it unvoices them, except for /dh/ (i.e. lenited /d/), which is changed into /t/ instead of the expected /th/ (for an explanation of this see LHEB. §143).

The changes involved can be tabulated phonemically as follows:

radical	len.	spir.	prov.	mixed
p	b	f		
t	d	th		
k	k	gh		
b	v		p	f
d	dh		t	t
g	∅, w		k	gh, hw
m	v			f

<sup>1</sup> In grammars of RevC these mutations are respectively called ‘soft’, ‘breathed’, ‘hard’ and ‘mixed’. They are often referred to by the numbers 2 to 5, number 1 being reserved for the radical (or unmutated) form.

**Note (1)** The orthography of the mutations of initial /g/ is rather complex. Phonemically the result of lenition of /g/ is zero, but when a rounded vowel (especially /o/ and /oe/) follows, the scribes nearly always begin the mutated word with <w>, probably to indicate the rounding of the following /o/. Examples are <the wos> ‘your blood’ from /goes/ ‘blood’, and <hep wow> ‘truly’ from /gow/ ‘false, untrue’. Sometimes a liquid may stand between the lenited /g/ and the vowel, as in <ha|n wlos> ‘and the pain’ from /gloes/, and <Re wronte> ‘may he give’ from /gronte/.

The lenition of /gw/ resulted regularly in /w/ as well. Provection of /gw/ resulted in /kw/, which is often written <qu> in the manuscripts.

**Note (2)** Sometimes the orthography also shows lenition of /ch/ is /j/, as e.g. in <dre geryte> ‘out of charity’ (/cheryte/) P.38a, <y a gangyes lyw> ‘they changed colour’ (/changye/) P.68c. This change is, however, better understood as the result of sandhi and not as a grammatical mutation. The opposite, i.e. provection of /j/ > /ch/, occurs in <y chugsyons> ‘the decided’ (/jujyons/; < ME *iugen* ‘to judge, decide’) P.26d.<sup>2</sup>

**Note (3)** The change <s> > <z>, mentioned by Lewis (LICC. §8 N.(1)) occurs only once in ACD and is due to a mistake by Norris (O.2358). Cf. PHC.14.1.1 and Nance & Smith, ‘Comment on LICC.’, s.v. *synsy*, both suggesting <yensen> for Norris’ <zensen>.

## 2. Lenition takes place

### in nominal forms:

(1) when they are singular feminine, after the articles /an/ ‘the’ and /unn/ ‘a’, and after the numeral /unn/ ‘one’ (of the latter no examples occur in CE and P; see also Len.(4)).

/p/ <a|n barth> ‘of the part’ P.93c, 186a, 191a, etc., D.2025, 2522; <an bows> ‘the coat’ P.161d, 190d; <|n bobyl>, <an bobyl> ‘the people’ O.1803, D.447;

/t/ <an dus>, <|n dus>, <en dus> ‘the people’ P.4a, 97b, 125c, etc., O.814, 1254, D.1854; <3e|n dre>, <|n dre>, <an dre> ‘the town’ P.27b, 29a, 30c, etc., O.2282, 2298, 2300,

D.242, 363, 617; <an dresnes> ‘the Trinity’ D.68; <vn dra> ‘one thing’ O.76, 151, 1395;

/k/ <en grey3> /kres/02,4 ‘by the belief’ CE.16; <y|n golon>, <an golon> ‘(in) the heart’ P.26d, 37a, 216d, etc., D.2376; <3e|n gas> ‘to the battle’ P.64b; <en grows>, <an grous>,

<|n grous> /krows/ ‘the cross’ P.151c, 152c, 153a, etc., D.2557, 2616, 2661, etc.; <an golom> ‘the dove’ O.1109; <ha|n garrak> ‘and the rock’ O.2464; <an guryng> ‘the crown’ D.2137;

<vn golmen> ‘one knot’ D.177;

/b/ <an venyn>, <an venen> ‘the woman’ P.33b, D.516; <an vro> ‘the land’ P.250b; <y|n vryongen> ‘by the throat’ D.1007;

<vn venyn>, <vn venen> ‘a woman’ P.84a, 177a, O.419, 620, 919; <vn vatel> ‘a battle’ O.2177;

/d/ <bys-y|n 3ewen> ‘up to the jaws’ P.242b;

/g/ <|n wlas>, <an wlas> ‘the country’ P.13d, 56d, 89a, etc., O.343, 754, 977, etc., D.1705, 2559, 2724; <ha|n wlos> ‘and the anguish’ (/gls/) P.171d; <an welen> ‘the rod’ O.1447, 1459, 1461; <an wlascor> ‘the kingdom’ D.1594;

<vn wethen> ‘a tree’ O.837; <y vn wrek> ‘his one wife’ O.2245; <vn wyth> ‘once’ D.2996, 3202;

/m/ <en foys> ‘the table’ P.45a, <|n vaner|>, <|n vaner>, <an vaner> ‘the manner’ P.185b, 232b, O.1900, D.653, 1678; <an voren> ‘the girl’ O.2741, 2746, 2758; <an vorvoran> ‘the mermaid’ D.2403;

<sup>2</sup> Stokes and Nance both read <chungsyons>. Probably the abbreviation stroke is a scribal error here.

**Note (1)** <a|n vynk> ‘from the stand’ D.2868 may either be for lenited /b/ or lenited /m/. The etymology of the word is not certain. It might be cognate with B *menk* ‘(stone) platform outside a building, approached by steps’, W *mainc* ‘bench’, or be a loan from ME *bynk* ‘bench’ (cf. W *bainc*; so Nance, CED.114).

**Note (2)** The numeral ‘three’ occurs after the article with both <th> and <d>. The phonological meaning of this is not clear: <an thyr guelen> ‘the three rods’ O.1732, 1763; <an dyr guelen-ma> ‘these three rods’ O.1888; <ha|n thyr> ‘and the three’ O.2085;

For the orthography see I.38, footnote. (But cf. <the thron> for /dhe dron/ ‘your throne’ O.2582.)

In D.2490 the first scribe wrote <ol an try> ‘all the three’. Scribe B changed this into <ol an dry>. This is the only example of lenition in the numeral /tri/ after the article in D.

(2) sometimes, in plural masculine nouns following the article. Apart from /men/ ‘stone’, all nouns showing this mutation denote persons.

/k/ <an gowe3e>, <an gowethe> ‘the friends’ P.150b, D.783;

/b/ <a[n] vreder> ‘the brothers’ D.692;

/d/ <an thewolow> ‘the devils’ D.3057;

/g/ <an wonesugy> ‘the workmen’ O.2326;

/m/ <a|n veyn ma>, <en veyn> ‘(of) the(se) stones’ P.11c, 209d; <En varogyon>, <3e|n vorogyon> ‘(to) the soldiers’ (/marrogyon/) P.243a, 250a, 251a;

(3) in the numeral /dew/ (m.), /diw/ (f.) ‘two’ after the article. (No examples in O.) <ha|n 3ew|na> ‘and those two’ P.132a; <an thew-ma> ‘these two’ D.1734; <an thev cam> ‘the two rogues’ D.2248;

(4) after the numerals /dew/ (m.), /diw/ (f.) ‘two’ (see also Len.(10)) and /mil/ ‘thousand’, and after the numeral /unn/ when it means ‘only, sole’ (see also Len.(1)). In CE and P examples are found only after the numeral ‘two’.

/p/ <myl blek> ‘a thousand-fold’ O.523;

/t/ <ij droys>, <|y thew dros> ‘(his) two feet’ P.159c, D.3254{B}; <ij dol> ‘two holes’

P.178b; <dev-thek> ‘twelve’ D.1164; <dev dra> ‘two things’ D.1730;

/k/ <en thyv grou>, <dyv grou> ‘(the) two crosses’ D.2576, 2820;

/b/ <ij venyn> ‘two women’ P.167a; <y 3ew ver> ‘his two legs’ P.173c; <dew vody> ‘two bodies’ O.2461; <the thyv-vregh>, <dywvregh> ‘both (your) arms’ D.1189, 3159;

<myl vlythen> ‘a thousand years’ D.3201;

/d/ <dew 3en> ‘two men’ P.42a; <dow3ek>, <dew3ek> ‘twelve’ P.47a, 61a, 72c;

/g/ <y 3ewleyn>, <dewlyn>, <dowlyn> ‘knees’ P.54d, 58a, 137a, etc.; <|e 3ewen>, <|n 3ewen> ‘his/the jaws’ (/gen/) P.138d, 242b;

<myl wyth> ‘a thousand times’ D.2926;

/m/ <dev vlyges> ‘two cursed ones’ D.2553;

<myl vap> ‘a thousand sons’ O.324;

<y vn vaaw eff>02,5 ‘his one son’ O.2662 (Harris here reads <vaabe>); <ihu crist the vn vap> ‘Jesus Christ your only son’ D.160; <vn vap dev a nef> ‘the only son of God of heaven’ D.1577;

(5) after the possessive pronouns /dhe/ ‘your’ and /y/ ‘his’, and after the infixed pronouns (possessive infixed object) /’dh/ ‘your/you’ and /’y/ ‘his/him’.

/p/ <the bryes> ‘your husband’ O.278, 294; <the baal>, <the bal> ‘your spade’ O.380,

392; <the bobil> ‘your people’ D.2004; <y basconn> ‘his passion’ P.1b; <y ben> ‘his head’ P.96a, 97a, 133b, etc., O.2443, D.2793; <y blas> ‘its place’ O.2528; <a|y ben>, <3|y ben>

‘from/on his head’ P.133c, 173c, 220b, etc.; <a|y beynys> ‘from his pains’ P.203c; <my th|y bysy> ‘I pray him’ O.701;

/t/ <3e droys> ‘your foot’ P.14c; <3e dus> ‘your people’ P.78b; <the das> ‘your father’ O.811, 824, 2379, D.1049; <the dron>, <the thron> ‘your throne’ O.2378B, 2582; <the dreys> ‘your feet’ D.483; <y das> ‘his father’ P.9a, 56b, 213b, O.2376, 2426, 2428; <y dreys>, <y droys> ‘his feet/foot’ P.46a, 135a, 178d, etc., D.2516; <y denwennow> ‘its sides’ O.2442; <3|y dreys> ‘to his feet’ P.242b; <th|y das (ha|y vam)> ‘to his father (and his mother)’ O.550, 2740; <pop a|y du> ‘on every of his sides’ (i.e. ‘all around him’) D.453; <ha|y dus> ‘and his people’ D.1211;

/k/ <rag 3e gerense>, <the gerense> ‘for the love of you/your love’ P.58d, 70d,<sup>3</sup> 139c, O.2122, 2139; <3e gle3e>, <the glethe> ‘your sword’ P.72a, O.292; <the gafus> ‘to get you’ D.1531; <the glok> ‘your cloak’ D.2682; <y gorf(f)> ‘his body’ P.9b, 132c, 135a, etc., O.863, 2367, 2817, D.861, 2818, 3178; <y golmennow> ‘his bonds’ P.212c; <y gyc> ‘his flesh’ O.812; <y gerghas> ‘to fetch it’ D.657; <y geyn> ‘his back’ D.2086; <3|y gomfortye> ‘to comfort him’ P.18c, 58b; <adro 3|y gorff> ‘around his body’ P.232c; <th|y gerhas>, <th|y gerghas>, <th|y gerhes> ‘to bring him’ O.2565, D.603, 2555; <th|y gemeres>, <th|y gymeres> ‘to take him’ D.597, 3141; <ha|y gowethe> ‘and his friends’ D.1288;

/b/ <3e vo3>, <3e voth>, <the voth> ‘your will’ CE.20, P.48b, 55a, etc., O.431, 640, 2285, etc., D.208, 457, 481, etc.; <3e vay> ‘your kiss’ P.66b; <the vroder> ‘your brother’ O.572, 578, 606, etc.; <the vregth> ‘your arm’ D.2753; <y voth> ‘his will’ P.9c, 28b, 116b, etc., O.483, 661, 1153, etc., D.111, 3168; <y vewnans>, <y vevnens> ‘his life’ P.12a, D.2445; <y vveys>, <y vrys> ‘his mind’ O.1154, 2827, D.1616, 2541; <ty ha|th vroder> ‘you and your brother’ O.1842; <the|th voth> ‘at your pleasure’ D.1868; <3|y voth>, <th|y voth> ‘to his will’ P.32b, 88c, 195d, etc., D.209; <a|y veth> ‘from his grave’ P.247c, 259a; <a|y vody>, <th|y vody> ‘of/to his body’ O.2079, 2242;

/d/ <3e thu>, <3e 3u>, <the thew> ‘your God’ P.15a, 17b, D.102; <3e 3ewle>, <the thewle>, <the thulef>, <the thule> ‘your hands’ P.204d, 217c, O.2362, D.2697, 2985; <the thev> ‘your God’ O.2728; <y 3estrewy>, <y thystrewy> ‘to destroy him’ P.26d, D.1972; <y thewleff>, <y 3ewle>, <y 3ewleff>, <y thule> ‘his two hands’ P.149a, 157a, 158b, etc., D.2733, 2922; <y thon> ‘to take it’, ‘to carry him’ O.508, 893; <the|th thyllyffrye> ‘to set you free’ D.2185; <|y 3yscyplys>, <|y thyskyblon> ‘his disciples’ P.52b, 55c, D.774, 1146; <a|y 3eweth>, <3|y 3eweth> ‘of/to his end’ (/dewedh/) P.186d, 200a; <yn-dyspyt-th|y thew-lagas> ‘in spite of his eyes’ O.2058; <ha|y thyskes> ‘and his teaching’ D.57;

/g/ <worth 3e wy3e>, <worth the wythe> ‘to guard you’ P.14b, D.96; <3e welas>, <the weles> ‘to see you’ P.172c, D.2944; <the wreke> ‘your wife’ O.322, 346, 975, etc.; <the worhemmyn>, <y worhemmyn> ‘your/his command’ O.353, 1256, 1941, etc.; <y welas>, <y weles> ‘to see him’ P.29b, 110b, 167d, D.83, 233, 1701; <y oys>, <y woys>, <y wos> ‘his blood’ (/gs/) P.133c, 135b, 207b, D.2370, 2460; <y worthye>, <y worthe> ‘the worshipping of him’ O.1260, 1318, 1775, etc., D.105, 236, 391, etc.; <3e|3 wreke> ‘as your wife’ CE.10; <a|d wra> ‘that makes you’ P.16d, 66d, O.59; <me a|d welas> ‘I have seen you’ P.84c; <y|th worhel>, <a|th worhel> ‘into/from your ark’ O.1017, 1158; <ny|th wolhaf> ‘I do not wash you’ D.857; <3|y wy3e>, <3|y we3e>, <th|y wythe> ‘to guard him’, ‘for his keeping’ P.203b, 241b, O.422; <th|y wleth> ‘to his banquet’ O.2370; <th|y wlas> ‘to his kingdom’ D.29;

/m/ <the vestry>, <3e vestry> ‘your power’ P.17a, 197c, D.143; <3e vynnas> ‘your wish’ P.55b; <the vap> ‘your son’ O.1279, 1374, 2341, D.1033; <the vysterdens> ‘your craftsmen’ O.2416, 2431; <I vam>, <y vam> ‘his mother’ P.10a, 43d, 161c, etc.; <y vynnas> ‘his wish’ P.68d, 243d; <dre y vernans> ‘through his death’ O.817; <y vusure>

<sup>3</sup> <geren3e> in P.70d might be a scribal error for *gerense*, it may also, however, be an archaism reflecting the OC \*-nt-; cf. I.38, footnote.

'its measuring' O.2568; <y vester> 'his master' D.2284; <ha|th vam> 'and your mother' O.715, 814; <y|th vercy> 'in your mercy' D.1439; <ha|th vaw> 'and your boy' D.2236; <ha|y vestry>, <na|y|y vestry>, <a|y vestry> 'and/nor/for his power' P.57b, O.2738, 2739; <ha|y vam>, <th|y das ha|y vam> '(to his father) and his mother' P.198b, 207c, O.2740;

**Note.** The infixed pronoun /'dh/ sometimes has a tendency to unvoice the result of the lenition it causes, thus causing provection. This provection following /'dh/ may reflect an earlier stage of the language where this was the normal mutation caused by this pronoun. Its cognate form Breton, 'z, causes provection regularly (HMB.12). Examples showing this 'irregular' mutation are:

<y|3 torn> 'in your hand' CE.15; <y re|t flamyas> 'they have blamed you' P.92b; <the|th whul> 'to make you' O.67; <y|th wholowys> 'in your lights' O.285 (cf. <y|th wolowys> 'in your light' O.325, 1831. It can, however, not be excluded that <w> is for /hw/ here also); <a|th tyskes> 'of your teaching' D.1249; <re|th fo> 'you may have' D.1267, 2132, 2247;

(6) after the prepositions /a/ 'from', /dre/, /der/ 'through', /dhe/ 'to', /heb/ 'without', /yn dan/ 'under', /re/ 'by' (used in oaths and curses), and /war/ 'on'. These prepositions also lenite following adjectives. According to George (1993, p. 438) /heb/ caused lenition in a few conventional phrases only.

/p/ <a bub>, <a bop> 'of all, every' P.47b, 163b, 194b, etc., O.977, 979, 989, D.838; <a breson> 'from prison' P.213a; <a bry> 'of clay' O.55, 59, 237, etc.; <a brys> 'of worth' D.132; <a baly> 'of satin' D.1784; <dre beynys>, <dre baynys> 'through pains' P.9b, 70d; <dre bur envy> 'through pure malice' 126a; <3e berna>, <the brenne> 'to buy' P.42a, D.922; <3e bylat>, <3e belat> 'to Pilate' P.113b, 115a, 146a, etc.; <the balas>, <the bales> 'to dig' O.345, 414; <war ben> 'on top of' P.16a, 56b, 58a, etc., O.1196; <war bronteryon> 'over priests' P.89a; <war beyn> 'on pain of' O.2046, 2280, 2301, etc.; /t/ <a dus> 'of people' P.29a, 85a, 88d, etc., O.1212, D.1235; <a dor y vam>, <a dor ov mam> 'from his/my mother's womb' P.43d, O.1754; <gans mur a doth> 'with great speed' P.159a; <dre dreyson> 'by treachery' P.74b, 124b; <3e demptye> 'to tempt' P.20d; <3e dewolgow> 'to darkness' P.106d; <the dymmyn> 'to pieces' O.357, 2228; <the dre> 'to town' O.2565, 2571, D.659, 2584, 2860; <an-dan dava> 'keeping (just) in touch' (lit. 'under touching') D.1002;

/k/ <a gleth> 'of [the] left' P.97c, 236b, 242c; <a galvary> 'of Calvary' P.162a; <a gyk> 'of flesh' O.944; <a grygyans> 'from faith' D.1572; <dre govaytis> 'by covetousness' P.62d; <dre gle3e> 'by [the] sword' P.72b (twice); <3e gryst>, <the gryst> 'to Christ' P.14a, 81b, 83a, etc.; <3e gen le> 'to another place' P.255c; <the gyk ha the woys> 'to flesh and to blood' O.66; <the gerghes>, <the gerhas> 'to fetch' D.940, 961; <dos the gous> 'to come to speak' D.1634; <war gryst> 'against Christ' P.201d; <war geyn> 'on the back' O.895; <war garynnyas> 'upon carrion' O.1107;

/b/ <a vylyny> 'of ill-treatment' P.83a; <a vewnans> 'of the life' P.187a,<sup>4</sup> O.985, 1090; <a varthogyon> 'of marvels' O.2546; <a vysmer> 'of infamy' D.2968; <dre vraster bras> 'through great arrogance' P.26d; <dre volder> 'through boldness' P.163d; <3e vos>, <the vos>, <3e vonas>, <the vones> 'to be(ing)' CE.31, P.7d, 28d, 73d, etc., O.262, 554, 830, etc., D.15, 46, 448, etc.; <the vohosogyon>, <the voghesegyon>, <the vohosogyon> 'to the poor folk' P.36c, D.538, 3108; <heb velyny> 'without discourtesy' P.80d, 127b;

<sup>4</sup> Stokes and Nance (and all subsequent editions in Unified Cornish) have interpreted this as a scribal error for /a vernans krist acheson/ 'for the death of Christ a reason'. But cf. Herniman, p.269. In his private copy of his edition of P – now in the library of University College London – Stokes already withdrew this change and noted the translation 'of the life of X an accusation' which he found in one of the two manuscripts with translation he knew in the Bodleian Library (either Ms. Gough Cornwall 3, or Ms. Gough Cornwall 4 which includes Keigwin's translation).

/d/ <a 3yghow>, <a thyow> ‘of [the] right’ P.97c, 186b, 236b, etc., D.2519; <a thythwadow> ‘of promise’ O.1624; <a theray> ‘of disorder’ D.380; <dre 3ensys> ‘through manhood’ P.60b; <dre 3ewsys> ‘through Godhead’ P.60c; <dre thyal> ‘by vengeance’ O.1210; <dre thynnargh> ‘in greeting’ D.2195; <3e thu>, <3e 3u>, <the thev> ‘to God’ P.1d, 27d, O.1317, 1391, 1506, etc.; <3e 3arnow> ‘to pieces’ P.106c; <the thanvon> ‘to send’ D.634; <hep thanger> ‘without difficulty’ O.1615; <hep thout> ‘without doubt’ O.2668; <re thu> ‘by God’ D.1228; <war thu> ‘to(wards) God’ P.90c, D.38, 40, 357; <war thour> ‘over the water’ O.2804, 2811;

/g/ <a werhas>, <a wyrghas>, <a werghes> ‘of a virgin’ (/gwyrghes/) P.3b, O.2663, D.403; <a ras> ‘of grace’ P.3c, 9c, 11c, etc., O.74, 186, 803, etc., D.253, 297, 393, etc.; <a wlascor galile> ‘of the kingdom of Galilee’ D.329; <dre wor3yp> ‘through the answer’ (/gortheb/) P.12c; <dre ras> ‘through [the] grace’ P.219d; <dre|wyth benen> ‘by the act of a woman’ O.256; <dre weres> ‘by the aid’ O.535; <dre woth> ‘through pride’ D.381{B}; <dre wal> ‘by accident’ D.1180; <3e we3yll>, <3e wull>, <the wruthyl>, <the wul>, <the wuel>, <the wruthil> ‘to do’ (/gw(r)euthyl/, /geul/) P.21b, 27d, 68d, etc., O.194, 658, 1004, etc., D.52, 55, 91, etc.; <3e alyle> ‘to Galilee’ P.256b, 257a; <the wlascor nef> ‘to the kingdom of heaven’ D.273; <heb wow> ‘indeed’ (lit. ‘without a lie’; /gow/) P.76c, 174b, O.1179, 1224, 1410, etc., D.1899; <heb ras> ‘without grace’ O.251; <hep worfen> ‘without an end’ D.1562; <war anow> ‘by (word of) mouth’ (/ganow/) P.59c; <war woles> ‘on the bottom’ O.781; <myghtern of war wlas> ‘I am king over a kingdom’ D.2020;

/m/ <a vur brys>, <a vur byte>, <a vur ras(ow)> ‘of great worth/pity/grace(s)’ (/meur/) P.14d, 134d, 234d, O.2012; <a vone> ‘of money’ P.36a, 39d, D.486; <a vercy>, <a versy>, <a verci> ‘of mercy’ O.327, 703, 742, etc., D.170, 1379, 1492, etc.; <a vaghteth gulan>, <a vaghtyth glan> ‘of a pure virgin’ D.1727, 3027; <dyr vur cheryte> ‘out of great charity’ P.35a; <dre vestry> ‘through power’ P.91c, 188c, 240d; <dre vur stryff> ‘through great strife’ (/meur/) P.160d; <3e vab>, <the vap> ‘to [the] son’ P.5a, 135c, 198c, D.2780; <3e vetye 3e veth 3ys> ‘to meet [you] to put shame on you’ P.20b; <the vyras>, <the veras>, <the vyres>, <the vyras> ‘to look’ O.1399, 2325, 2437, D.2965; <the venteyne> ‘to maintain’ O.2602; <war veneth> ‘on a mountain’ O.1281;

**Note** (1) In O. the following instances of lenition after the preposition /bys/ ‘until, as far as’ are also found: <bys vycken> ‘forever more’ O.1239 (/byken/); <bys worfen> ‘until the end’ O.1220;

**Note** (2) The lenition of /mas/ ‘good’ in <vas the dravyth> ‘good for anything’ O.2497 and <ny vyth vas> ‘will be of no use’ D.2848 are explained by Nance (CED, p.177) as originating from a construction /a vas/ ‘of use’, ‘suitable’.

(7) when preceded by an adjective.

/p/ <a vur brys> ‘of great worth’ P.14d; <hager bref> ‘ugly serpent’ (/pryv/) P.122c; <mur byte>, <a vur byte> ‘(of) great pity’ P.132c, 134d; <an debel bobel>, <an debel bobal> ‘the wicked people’ O.1815, 1843;

/t/ <cam dremene> ‘evil transgression’ O.337; <a ver|dermyn>, <a ver dermyn> ‘in a short time’ O.1601, 2381;

/k/ <vghel gry> ‘a loud cry’ P.207d; <pur gerense> ‘pure love’ P.227d; <hager gowes> ‘a fierce downpour’ O.1080; <evn greys> ‘the exact middle’ O.2530; <gans mur greys> ‘with much energy’ D.1220, 2238, 2808;

/b/ <kemys velyny> ‘so much ill-treatment’ P.166d; <mur vylyny> ‘great villainy’ P.216a; <drok venen> ‘wicked woman’ O.221; <drog vommennow> ‘heavy blows’ O.2324; <gvyn vys>, <guyn vys> ‘blessed world’ D.156, 2706; <guyr vres> ‘a true

decision' D.515;

/d/ <yn sur thu> 'as very God' P.93d; <drok 3en> 'an evil man' P.192a, 159d; <drok 3ewas> 'an evil drink' P.202a; <gvyr thege> 'a true tithe' O.440, 513, 515, etc.; <mar hager thyweth> 'so hideous an end' D.2895;

/g/ <levn golon>, <leun golon> 'full heart' P.1a, 25c, 30a, etc.; <tebel was> 'an evil fellow' P.38c; <a vur ras(ow)> 'of great grace(s)' P.234d, O.2012; <mur wolowys> 'great radiance' O.717; <leun ras> 'full grace' D.28; <tebel wesion> 'evil fellows' D.2605;

/m/ <y|n keth vaner ma>, <y|n keth vaner|ma> 'in this same manner' P.100c, 104a; <marow vernens> 'a lifeless death' O.84; <pan vernans> 'what death',<sup>5</sup> O.2214; <mur varthegyon> 'much wonder' D.770; <mur varth> 'a great wonder' D.1728;

(8) after the vocative particle /a/. This lenition also seems to occur sometimes when the vocative particle is not actually expressed.

/p/ <a bryes> 'O spouse' O.1037; <a bur fals dyscryggygon> 'O very false disbelievers' O.1855;

/t/ <A das>, <a das> 'O father' O.85, 111, 285, etc., D.3029; <a dyreyth> 'O earth' O.381; <a dus> 'O people' O.1672B;

/k/ <a gasadow> 'O wretch' D.1265;

/b/ <A venen> 'O woman' O.173; <a vroder> 'O brother' O.1826; <a vosteryon plos> 'O foul boasters' D.2109;

<ty venen> 'you, woman' O.209;

/d/ <a thu>, <a thev> 'O God' P.256b, O.465, 1379, 1389, etc., D.2624, 2989, 3193; <a thevv adla> 'O two outlaws' O.1499; <a thev harlot> 'O two rascals' D.2323;

<te 3en> 'you, man' (/ty, dhen/ P.144a, 175c;

/m/ <a vester> 'O master' P.65b, D.2331; <a vap> 'O son' O.853, 1336, D.2606, 3169; <Ty vaow>, <ty uaw> 'you, boy' O.2317, D.1883; <ty voren> 'you, girl' O.2649;

(9) when preceded by a feminine noun to which it serves as an adjective or to which it stands in a genitival relation.

<plu vuthek> 'the parish of Budock' O.2463; <fynten woys> 'fountains of blood' (/goes/) P.224b;

(10) in a noun, when second member of a compound, close or loose. The dual compounds listed above under Len.(4) may also be regarded as examples of this rule.

/t/ <pandra>, <pan dra> 'what (thing)' P.67b, O.157, 194, 257, etc.;

/b/ <an vargh-vran> 'the raven' O.1106; <the|n nor veys>, <an nor veis>, <i|n nor-vys-ma>, <an norveys> '(in/to) the/this earth' O.24, 313, 600, etc.;

/d/ <pym3ek> 'fifty' P.227c, 228a;

/g/ <coth-was> 'old fellow, gaffer' D.1695; <auel caught-was> 'like a dirty wretch' D.2103; <losel-was> 'good for nothing' D.2718;

/m/ <cans-vyl> 'hundred thousand' O.1614; <tra varth> 'a wondrous thing' O.2082; <pen vys> 'the end of the month' D.1646;

(11) in a noun or adjective, when used as a predicate after the copula. (No exx. in O.)

<kymmys y|n bys vs vas> 'as much in the world as is good' (/mas/) P.16c; <cusyll na-g|o vas> 'a plan that was not good' P.31c; <mar-a cresyn ha bos vas> 'if we believe and are good' (/mas/) P.258d; <reys yv vos guyr an awayl> 'of need is the being true of the Gospel' (i.e. 'the Gospel must needs be true') D.924;

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<sup>5</sup> The interrogative /pan/ acts as a pronominal adjective here.

(12) very rarely, in a noun, when it is object and immediately preceded by the verb.  
/b/ <na wre vry> 'he was making no account' (/bri/) P.26b; <ol na wra vry> 'take no account of it all' O.533; <awos henna nyns|us vry> 'there is no concern about that' O.2763; <my ny wraf vry> 'I will not take account' D.2244; <ny wrons vry> 'they do not heed' D.2249;

/d/ <may-th|ew theweth dyuythys> 'that the end is come' O.943;

/g/ <gor|wyth> 'take care' P.107b; <Otte voys mernans abel> 'behold the blood of the death of Abel' O.577; <re worro wyth> 'may it set guard' O.1978;

**Note.** In two instances the object is lenited after a verbal noun: <ny vyn dev gul vry> 'God wishes not to take account' O.519; <kyns ry vrues the vos dyswrys> 'before giving the death sentence' (lit. 'before the giving of the sentence is done') D.2494;

In adjectives (see also Len.(6), (9) and (11) above):

(13) when preceded by a feminine singular noun or (sometimes) a masculine plural noun.

/t/ <an e3ewon debel> 'the wicked Jews' P.141d; <Dew lader drevs>, <laddron dres> 'two) arrant thieves' P.163a, 192d (but cf. Len.(16) below);

/k/ <ov holon ger> 'my dear heart' O.2135; <y luef gleth> 'his left hand' D.2747;

/b/ <ran vras> 'a large share' P.38b; <gonlon vras> 'a great heart' P.126d; <madama vras> 'great lady' D.1935; <teyr spik vras> 'three large nails' D.2670;

<tus vev> 'living people' O.1152; <ha tus vyan ha tus vras> 'both small people and great' O.1438; <tus vras> 'great people' D.790;

/d/ <leff 3yghow>, <luf thyghyow> 'right hand' P.136d, O.921; <colen tha> 'good heart' O.423; <cv syl tha>, <cusyl tha> 'good advice' O.1567, 2802; <lovan tha> 'a good rope' D.2761;

/g/ <gwelen wyn> 'a white wand' P.136d; <marya wyn> 'blessed Mary' P.171a, 221a;

<fenten ras> 'a fountain of worth' O.836; <an lyf woth> 'the fierce flood' O.1093; <an gusyl wella> 'the best advice' D.555; <a|n barth wyr> 'on the true side' D.2025;

<en e3ewon woky> 'the foolish Jews' (/goki/) P.69a;

/m/ <scyle vas> 'a valid reason' P.116c, 142d; <ethen vas> 'a good bird' O.979; <tra varth> 'a wondrous thing' O.2082; <an vaner vas> 'the right manner' D.1678;

<tus ven> 'strong people' P.64b, 88b; <an dus vas>, <tus vas> '(the) good people' P.4a, 213c, O.814, 1672, 2825, D.2410, 3217; <branchys vas> 'good branches' D.249;

(14) after the article, when the noun it refers to is feminine singular, or in the plural.

/p/ <an debel bobel>, <an debel bobal> 'the wicked people' O.1815, 1843;

/t/ <An debel dus> 'the wicked people' P.143a;

/k/ <an gasadow> 'the hateful one' O.2691;

/b/ <an debel venen> 'the wicked woman' O.2251;

<flehes vyan> 'little children' D.2643;

/g/ <En debell wrekk> 'the wicked wife' P.159a;

(15) when it is preceded by the numeral /onan/ 'one' and refers to a feminine noun. (No exx. in P, O or D.)

<vnan dek> 'a pretty one' CE.7;

(16) sometimes after a dual noun. (No exx. in O.)

<Dew lader drevs> 'two arrant thieves' P.163a; <laddron dres> 'arrant thieves' (with the



numeral implied; but cf. Len.(13) above) P.192d;

(17) after the predicative particle /yn/ (but see also mixed mut.(1)).

/b/ <yn vras> 'greatly' O.1922;

/g/ <yn lan>, <yn wlan> 'cleanly' (/glan/) P.204b, D.2405;

/m/ <yn ven> 'strongly' (/men/) P.57b;<sup>6</sup>

(18) after the adverbs /mar/ 'as', /pur/ 'very', /re/ 'too', and after the adverbial particle /dhe/.

/p/ <pur barys> 'very readily' P.72d; <yn pur brena> 'purely as expiation' P.234c;<sup>7</sup>

/t/ <mar dyn> 'so keenly' P.66b, 100b, 171d; <mar drewesy> 'so dolefully' P.225c; <pur dek> 'very fairly' P.66a, 232b; <pur debell> 'right wickedly' P.195b;

/k/ <mar greff> 'so strong' P.204a; <mar ger> 'so dear' O.612; <pur gewar> 'right accurately' P.138b; <pur gowal> 'quite completely' O.2783; <re got> 'too short' O.2540, 2549;

/b/ <mar vras> 'so great' P.31b, O.306, 2056, 2068; <mar vold> 'so boldly' P.78b; <mar vrevv> 'so bruised' O.1012; <pur vylen> 'right rudely' P.112c; <pur vusy> 'very hard' O.335, 2448;

/d/ <mar 3ynas> 'so unnaturally' P.87b; <mar 3a>, <mar tha> 'so good' P.251c, O.912, 1229, 2598, D.2725; <mar thyfflas> 'so shamefully' D.1418; <pur 3ewhans> 'right fast, immediately' P.222b; <yn pur thefry>, <pur theffry> 'most certainly' O.707, 1264; <pur tha> 'very good' O.1617, 1828, 2572; <pur thyfun> 'quite awake' D.2204;

/g/ <mar wan> 'so weak' P.6b, 166d; <mar wokky> 'so foolish' D.1290; <pur wyn> 'right fair' P.45d; <pur wyr> 'right truly' P.68a, 91b, 94a, etc., O.312, 433, 594, etc., D.286, 312, 413, etc.; <3e weth>, <the weyth>, <the weth> 'the worse' P.239d, D.734, 2732; <the wyr> 'truly' O.2102, 2343; <the ras> 'excellently' O.2455;

/m/ <mar vur>, <mar ver> 'so great' P.8c, 224c, O.945, D.1229, 1519, 2212, etc.; <mar venys> 'as small' O.2720; <pur voro3ek> 'right miserably' P.77a; <pur vostoys> 'much defiled' D.867;

**Note** (1) Sometimes /pur/ precedes a noun, which is then also lenited: <pur thoth bras> 'very great speed' O.542; <pur voren plos> 'very foul wench' O.2736; <pur wryyoneth> 'the very truth' D.1587;

**Note** (2) A few instances of lenition are also found after the adverbs /byth/ 'ever' and /namna/ 'almost' (which immediately precedes, and hence lenites, verbs): <byth wel> 'ever a better' O.2578, 2714; <nam na dorre> 'almost breaking' P.87a; <nam na grakye> 'almost broke' P.164b; <namna vyrwyn> 'we shall almost die' O.362;

(19) after the interrogative pronoun /pe/ (see also Prov.(5) below). (No exx. in O or D.)  
<py gymmys> 'how much' P.185d;

(20) sometimes after the conjunction /na(g)/ 'nor':  
<na gen> 'no other' O.744;

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<sup>6</sup> This instance might also be interpreted as /yn fen/, in which case this form would belong to the examples of the mixed mutation (1).

<sup>7</sup> The mutated word in this case is a verbal noun, taken here as /prena/ 'to buy, redeem, expiate'. Herniman translates 'in extreme testing' and takes it as a misspelling for \*<breaua> (ECCE s.v. *prevy*) 'to prove, test' (cf. Herniman, p.276).

### In verbal forms:

(21) after the verbal particle and relative pronoun /a/, the negative particles /ny/, /na/, and after the perfective verbal particle /re/.

/p/ <a brederys> 'he thought/considered' P.11a, 152a; <ny a bys>, <a bys>, <a beys> 'who prays' P.126b, 170b, O.461, 732, 1072, etc., D.428; <a blek> 'what pleases' O.2460; <a bref> 'who proves' D.1408, 1729;

<na bor3 me3> 'be not ashamed' (lit. '(do) not carry shame') CE.2; <na blek genas henna> 'that is not pleasing to you' P.82b; <gwy3e (...) na bossa y ben> 'to keep (...) his head from leaning' P.205ab; <na bertheugh> 'do not bear' O.729, 2508;

<del re|beghse> 'as he had sinned' P.86c; <re beghas>, <re behas> 'who has sinned' P.104b, O.249, 1863; <re bowesas> 'who has rested' O.2073; <me re bysys> 'I have prayed' D.884;

/t/ <Pedyr (...) a dennas cle3e hag a drohas> 'Peter (...) drew a sword and cut' P.71a; <a delly> 'who pierced' P.159c, 216d; <a dreyl> 'who turns' O.64, 1817; <a dal> 'which is worth' D.486; <me a dyl> 'I will bore' D.2749;

<ny dal> 'it is no use' O.321, 853, D.1280; <ny dorraf> 'who breaks not' O.1239; <na dreyle> 'that not turns' D.885;

<re drehevys> 'who has arisen' P.245; <re drecse> 'who had dwelt' P.47d; <re dorras> 'who has broken' O.250; <re drygas> 'he has stayed' D.805;

/k/ <a gewsys>, <a gowsys>, <a geusys> 'who spoke' P.14a, 34c, 66a, etc., D.1782; <a gris>, <a grys>, <a greys> 'who believes' (/krys/) P.63b, 126a, 197c, etc., O.757, 930, 1102, etc., D.74, 282, 286, etc.; <a glew> 'who hears' O.1658, 1783;

<ny gewsys> 'it was not spoken' P.90b, 92c; <ny gafe>, <ny gafa(f)>, <ny gaffe>, <ny gaffaf> '(I) find not' P.116c, 117d, 142d, D.249, 1797, 1857, etc.; <ny gemere>, <ny generaf> 'I will not take' O.1208, 1234; <ny gresaf> 'I do not believe' O.2752; <ny goth> 'it behooves not' D.102, 1540, 2419; <te (...) na gewsyth> 'you (...) do not speak' P.120b; <na guskens> 'they slept not' P.241c; <na glew> 'who hears not' O.2013; <na geusions> 'they do not speak' D.1212; <na gergho> 'so that he shall not fetch' D.3050; <re gwesys>, <re gevsys>, <re geusys> 'you have spoken' P.102d, D.1262, 1587; <re gollas> 'who has lost' P.246c, O.420, 920, D.2992; <re gyrhas> 'who has fetched' O.564;

/b/ <a vy3>, <a vyth>, <a veth>, <a vyt>, <a fyth>, <a veyth>, <a uyth> 'who shall/will be' CE.12, 13, P.17d, 49a, etc., O.2, 35, 53, etc., D.21, 143 310, etc.; <a ve>, <a|ve> 'who was/may be' P.4b, 8c, 9c, etc., O.336, 899, 2657; <a fe>, <a fue> 'has been' D.786, 1279, 1606, etc.;

<ny ve> 'was/were not' P.6a, 135d, 176d; <ny vean fethys> 'it should not be conquered' P.73a; <ny vyth>, <ny fyth> 'there will not be' O.189, 1514, D.2210, 2388, 2453, etc.; <ny vethyth>, <ny vythyth> 'you shall not be' O.597, 1465, D.858; <ef (...) na ve3o> 'he (...) will not be in power' CE.26; <na ve>, <na fe>, <na fe|> 'that it might not be' P.23d, 99b, 177d, etc., O.1373, 1517, 2710, D.17, 384, 752, etc.; <na vo>, <na fo> 'that may not be' P.46d, 182d, 248d, O.964, 986, 2052, etc., D.26, 860, 1037, etc.;

<re|vewse> 'which had lived' P.204b; <re vewas> 'who has lived' O.2345; <re vy> 'who may be' O.2786;

/d/ <eff o crist a theth> 'he was Christ, who came' P.8d; <Ihesus a 3e3oras> 'Jesus ascended' P.243b; <a thue>, <a the> 'which comes' O.121, 671, 854, etc., D.68, 268, 274, etc.; <why a thyerbyn> 'you will meet' D.628; <a theppro> 'who might eat' D.795, 800; <wy ny 3ecsyugh> 'you had not carried' P.50b; <ny 3owtyth du> 'you do not fear God' P.192b; <ny thewhel> 'will not return' O.1132; <ny thothe> 'did not come' O.1744; <mar|ny thyswe> 'if it does not appear' D.343; <ny thynagh> 'he does not deny' D.369; <Na thegough sor>, <na thegough sor> 'do not carry a grudge' P.37a, D.539; <prag na

3ons> ‘why have they not come’ P.78b; <na thyscryssough> ‘do not discredit’ O.1657; <na threthetho> ‘it will not reach’ D.2758; <an re (...) re|3ewesse> ‘those (...) that he had chosen’ P.41d; <y re 3yskas> ‘they have learned’ P.80c; <re thanvonno>, <re thanfono> ‘that he may send’ O.1187, D.2631; <re thyswrug> ‘has destroyed’ O.2336, 376; <my re thysyryas> ‘I have desired’ D.718; <re thanvonas>, <re thanfonas> ‘he has sent’ D.1686, 1843; /g/ <a wra>, <a ra> ‘who does’ (/gwra/) CE.20, P.39b, 43c, etc., O.100, 143, 203, etc., D.11, 15, 58, etc.; <a worthebys> ‘who has answered’ (/gorthebys/) P.11d, 36d, 43a, etc., O.2306; <a worhemmyn> ‘who commands’ O.1091, 1157, 2042, etc.; <me a wothvyth> ‘I shall know’ D.63; <ny wra> ‘that he does not’ CE.34, O.139, 521, 1462, D.385, 2111, 2444; <ny won> ‘who knows not’ P.75d, 121a, 128b, etc., O.355, 595, 699, etc., D.1910, 2536, 2597, etc.; <ny wo3yens> ‘they did not know’ P.238c, 254c; <na wra> ‘he does not’ CE.30, P.34d, O.394, 533, D.2277; <na ylly> ‘is not able’ P.3d, 13a, 20d, etc.; <na allons> ‘that they cannot’ O.1496, 1825, 1835; <na woslewys> ‘let him not listen’ D.454; <Re wronte> ‘may he grant’ P.1b; <an marthus re welsens> ‘the marvel they had seen’ P.254d; <re ruk>, <re rug>, <re wruk> ‘has done’ O.286, 288, 2243, etc., D.363, 380, 531, etc.; <ef re gotho> ‘let it fall’ D.2502; /m/ <a vynnas> ‘he wished’ P.13b, 35b, 164d, etc., O.1746; <a vyn>, <a fyn> ‘he will’ P.32c, 34b, 37a, O.11, 41, 56, etc., D.50, 87, 221, etc.; <a verow> ‘will die’ O.1803, 2737; <me a vynse> ‘I would’ D.211, 3125; <ny vek> ‘she will not show’ CE.11; <ny venna(f)>, <ny vannaff>, <ny vynna(f)>, <ny fynnaf> ‘I will not’ CE.28, P.155d, O.233, 486, 500, etc., D.594, 1612, 1677, etc.; <ny vynnyth> ‘you do not want to’ O.1523, 1597; <na vynno> ‘he will not’ D.1387; <na varwen> ‘if I would not die’ D.2246;

**Note (1)** In two instances in O. the lenition of /g/ in /gase/ ‘to leave, abandon’ after /ny/ is represented by <h>: <ny hassaf> ‘I shall not abandon’ O.1283; <ny has> ‘will not let go’ O.1359; It should also be noted that with this lenition spellings with <f> for lenited /b/ and /m/ are rather frequent. Examples are treated here as simple orthographic variants and are given above.

**Note (2)** In one instance in D.1754 we find (orthographic) provection of /d/ > <t> after the verbal particle /a/: <ef a tassergh> ‘he will rise’. Since there is no explanation for this mutation it most probably is to be considered a scribal error.

**Note (3)** In <y enclhythes vye da> ‘it would be well to bury him’ D.3102 the verbal particle /a/ may have been dropped because of the metre.

(22) after the interrogative particle /a/.

/k/ <a glewsyugh why> ‘have you heard’ O.2727; <a garses|ta> ‘would you like’ D.2838; /g/ <a wo3ye 3e honon> ‘did you know it yourself’ P.101b; <a wyls|ta> ‘did you see’ O.795; /m/ <a vynnegh ol> ‘will you all’ D.2037;

(23) after the conjunctions /a-ban/ ‘since’, /del/ ‘like, as’, /erna/ ‘except’, /fatel/ ‘how’, /hedre/ ‘while’, /ketel/ ‘when’ and /pan/ ‘when’.

/p/ (no exx. in CE, P, O or D.)

/t/ <del devys> ‘as he grew’ P.161d;

<pan dremenn|a> ‘when he has passed’ O.875; <pan denys bron> ‘when I sucked a breast’ O.1755; <pan dreyle ef> ‘when he perverted’ D.1853; <pan dorras> ‘when it was rent’ D.3088;

/k/ <del gresaf>, <del gresa> ‘as I believe’ O.492, D.216; <kepar-del goth>, <del goth> ‘as it behooves’ O.1261, D.120, 625, 2123;  
 <pan glewas> ‘when he heard’ P.11a, 108a, 143c, etc.; <pan gemert> ‘when he took’ P.3b; <pan gowsas> ‘when he spoke’ P.68a, 94b; <pan glew> ‘when he hears’ O.1776;  
 <pan glewaf> ‘when I hear’ O.2182; <pan glevfo> ‘when he hears’ D.372; <pan geusyth> ‘since you speak’ D.2030;  
 /b/ <aban vef genys> ‘since I was born’ O.1731; <aban fue> ‘since he was’ D.2954;  
 <aban vynnyth> ‘since you wish’ D.3132;  
 <del ve> ‘as he was’ P.2b, 8b, 55b, etc.; <kepar-del ves>, <kepar-del fus> ‘as you have been’ P.192a, D.1999; <del vyth>, <del veth> ‘as shall be’ O.2638, 2714; <kepar-del ve> ‘just as it was’ D.1154;  
 <fatell vye> ‘how it had been’ P.73b, 245b; <fatel ve> ‘how it might be’ P.170d; <fatel fue> ‘how he was’ D.3220;  
 <hedyr vywy>, <hedre vywy> ‘while you live’ CE.32, O.243; <hedre vons> ‘while they were’ P.33c; <hedre vyugh> ‘as long as you are’ O.2349; <hedre veyf> ‘as long as I will be’ D.847, 1020; <hedre vy|ma> ‘while I am’ D.1013;  
 <bys-pan ve> ‘until he was’ P.2d; <pan ven> ‘since we were’ P.246a; <pan vef> ‘when I was’ O.616, 706, 1753, etc.; <pan vo>, <pan fo> ‘when he will be’ O.813, 845, 988, etc., D.605, 694, 893, etc.; <pan veugh> ‘when you are’ D.627;  
 /d/ <aban thuthe> ‘since I came’ D.517;  
 <del thegouth> ‘as is fitting’ D.215; <del thyffyf> ‘as I come’ D.973;  
 <pan thybrys> ‘when it was eaten’ O.762; <pan theugh> ‘since you come’ D.1115;  
 /g/ <a-ban rug> ‘since I did’ P.50a;  
 <del wra> ‘how it does’ P.12d, 21c, D.71; <par del won>, <del won> ‘as I know’ P.8a, 158c, D.3025; <del russys> ‘as you did’ O.108;  
 <fetyll allo> ‘how he may’ O.228;  
 <pan welas> ‘when he saw’ P.13a, 26a, 103a, etc.; <pan welse> ‘when he had seen’ P.208b, 223a; <pan (w)russys> ‘since you did/made’ O.222, 283; <pan (w)ruk>, <pan wrugle> ‘that he did’ O.352, 353, 423, etc., D.913, 3033; <pan wofynnyf> ‘when I ask’ D.1855;  
 /m/ <aban vyn>, <aban vynn|e> ‘since he wishes’ O.498, 660, D.210; <aban vynnyth> ‘since you wish’ O.969, 2617; <aban vynsys> ‘since you were willing’ D.1510;  
 <del vynna> ‘as he desired’ P.25d, 45d, 78d; <del vynne> ‘as he might wish’ P.28b, 41a, 213c; <del vynny> ‘as you wish’ O.246, 1940, 2147, etc., D.113; <kepar-del vynny> ‘just as you wished’ O.965, 1046, 1133; <del vyn> ‘as he wishes’ D.371;  
 <pan vynnas> ‘since he was willing’ P.3d; <pan vyre> ‘when he looked’ P.187d, 231c;  
 <pan vyrys> ‘when I looked’ O.781; <pan varwo> ‘when he dies’ O.825; <pan vyrwyf> ‘when I die’ D.227; <pan vynnogh>, <pan vynnough> ‘when you wish’ D.545, 1972;

**Note.** Rarely, lenition is found after the conjunction /erna/ ‘until’: <er-na varwa> ‘until she be dead’ O.2678; <er-na wrello> ‘until she may do’ O.2695;

(24) in the copula, when preceded by the predicate.

<lader vye> ‘he had been a thief’ P.38c; <syndis ve> ‘ruined was he’ P.62d; <Hag a pe yn-della ve> ‘and if it were [that] thus it was’ P.73a; <res vye> ‘it has been needed’ O.2481; <clewys vyth agas desyr> ‘your desire shall be heard’ D.309; <myl wel vye>, <gwel vye>, <guel vye> ‘(a thousand times) better would it be’ D.751, 1592, 1863, etc.;

**Note** (1) A few <f> spellings for lenited /b/ occur with this lenition also: <py vr fuf vy> ‘when was I’ O.576; <ple fe> ‘where there might be’ O.1112;

**Note** (2) In one example the whole sentence may be taken predicatively, with the lenited copula standing at the very end of this sentence: <yn agan ethom pup tra pup vr parys thyn vethe> ‘at our need everything at all times was ready for us’ D.917-18;

(25) when preceded by an interrogative which takes the place of the object.

/k/ <pendra geusys> ‘what did he say’ D.1306;

/b/ <pe-penag vo>, <py-penag vo>, <pepenak vo>, <pepenag vo> ‘whatever it may be’ 0.662, 1154, D.1356, 2015; <pandra vyth grueys>, <pendra vyth guryys> ‘what shall be done’ D.568, 2372;

/g/ <ple russys tyrry> ‘where did you pluck [it]’ 0.210; <pen-dra wren> ‘what shall we do’ 0.1654; <pendra wraf> ‘what I do’ D.848; <pendra wre|ta> ‘what do you do’ D.1185;

/m/ <pen-dra vyn|ta> ‘what do you wish’ 0.1311;

**Note.** In D.2542 <ple fo> ‘where it may be’ occurs in which <f> might be for /v/ as is frequently the case with lenited /b/ or /m/. Nance, on the other hand, takes this <f> as /f/ and explains this construction as a ‘contraction of *py le y(th)*’ (CED, p.130). As we have another example of /ple/ causing lenition in a similar construction (cf. <ple russys> above), Nance’s explanation seems unnecessary.

(26) after the exclamative /as(sa)/ ‘how’.

<asse|vye plygadow> ‘how pleasurable it would be’ 0.2115;

(27) in compounds, close or loose.

/d/ <a|n coul-threha> ‘he shall finish building it’ 0.2342;

/g/ <re gamwruk> ‘who has done evil’ 0.281; <coul-

wreys>, <coul-wrys> ‘finally built’ 0.2412, 2454, 2581; <ty th|y gam-worthyby> ‘you have answered him rudely’ D.1268; <cam-worthybys> ‘he gave a saucy answer’ D.1403;

<a thyswra> ‘who will demolish’ D.1696;

**3. Spirantisation** occurs after the independent possessive pronouns /ow/ ‘my’, /(h)y/ ‘her’, /aga/ ‘their’, after the infixed possessive pronouns /y/ ‘her’, /ga/ ‘their’, and after the numeral /tri/ ‘three’.

/p/ <ow faynys>, <ov feynys> ‘my pains’ P.166b, 168d; <ov fryes> ‘my husband’ 0.411, 2187; <ov fegh(as)> ‘my sin(s)’ 0.591, 2257; <ow fynys> ‘my fast’ D.45; <ow fycher> ‘my pitcher’ D.656;

<y far> ‘her equal’ CE.17; <I feynys> ‘her pains’ P.226a; <y feghas> ‘her sins’ D.528;

<aga fryns> ‘their prince’ P.77d; <aga fen> ‘their head(s)’ P.195b;

<ha|y veynys> ‘and her pains’ P.225c;

/t/ <ow 3as>, <ow thas>, <ov thas> ‘my father’ P.52c, 55a, 72d, etc., 0.451, 472, 528, etc., D.27, 110, 169, etc.; <ow thraytor> ‘my betrayer’ P.61c; <ow thus>, <ov thus> ‘my people’ P.102b, D.1122; <ov thermyn> ‘my time’ 0.1885, 2344;

<hy thempte> ‘tempting her’ 0.303; <hy thyr> ‘its land’ 0.2464;

<aga threys> ‘their feet’ 0.760; <aga thyr> ‘the three of them’ 0.2037;

/k/ <th|ov hemeres> ‘to take me’ P.61d; <ow horf> ‘my body’ P.44b; <ow howethes> ‘my companion’ 0.113, 652; <ow holen>, <ow wholon>, <ov holon>, <ov wolon> ‘my heart’ 0.365, 527, 2135, etc.; <ow hamwyth> ‘my trespass’ D.3029;

<y holon>, <hy holon> ‘her heart’ P.122c, 164b, 223a, etc., 0.2748; <y hyll> ‘her back, nape’ P.165d; <hy huth hy> ‘her sorrow’ 0.297; <hy hynse> ‘her sex’ 0.2136; <war y heyn> ‘on her back’ D.220;

<aga husyll> ‘their counsel’ P.133b; <aga han> ‘their song’ 0.310;

<3|y huhu3as> 'to accuse her' P.33b; <ha|y holon> 'and her heart' P.222c;  
<trehans> 'three hundred' P.36a;

**Note** (1) The adverb /na/ 'any' causes spirantisation in a few words only: /ken/ 'other', /pella/ 'further':  
<na hen scyle> 'no other reason' P.175b; <na fella> 'nor any further' O.1404, 1595, 1604, etc.;

**Note** (2) An irregular instance of spirantisation is found in <cales feyn> 'hard pain' (/payn/) P.196d.

**Note** (3) A petrified form of old spirantisation is found in <deyow hablys> /de-yow ghablys/ 'Maundy Thursday' P.41c (< *dies Iovis Capitilavi* according to HPB.438; but cf. GPC. s.v. *cablyd*, where the Welsh word is said to derive from Low Latin *capillatio*). In D.654 the spelling is <duyow hamlos>, rhyming with <bos> /boes/ 'food'. The internal development might perhaps have been /kablys/ > \*/kamblys/ > /kamlys/. The odd rhyme remains inexplicable.

**Note** (4) Another relic of an earlier stage in the language is <ow thy> 'my house' D.334, which must have become a fixed expression before the word /ti/ 'house' was generally changed into /chi/ (see par.7# below; BBCS.22.237).

**Note** (5) Rare instances of lenition after /ow/ 'my' are found: <ov das> 'my father' O.833; <ow ras> 'my grace' D.857;

#### 4. **Provection** is found:

(1) in verbal nouns after the verbal particle /ow/, i.e. when forming a present participle.  
/b/ <ow pewe>, <ov pewe> 'living' P.220c, 223d, 256d, etc., O.622, 632, 1031;  
/d/ <ow tevones>, <ov tos>, <ov tevos>, <ow tos> 'coming' P.61c, 63a, 93d, O.714, 1651, 1741, D.231, 242, 266, etc.; <ow tysky>, <ov tesky> 'teaching' P.75a, 107d, D.1595; <ow tene> 'suckling' P.161c; <ow ton>, <ov toon>, <ov ton> 'bearing' O.30, 892, 2820, D.629, 662; <ov tewy>, <ow tewy> 'burning' O.2633, D.693;  
/g/ <ow cuthyll>, <ow ku3yll>, <ov kuthyl>, <ow cull>, <ov cul>, <ow kul>, <ov kul> 'doing' P.26a, 96b, 165b, O.2692, D.332, 359, 377, etc.; <ow co3evell>, <ow co3aff> 'suffering' P.134d, 211b; <ow kelwel(l)> 'calling' P.203b, O.2430, D.2959; <ov conys> 'working' O.2300, 2330; <ov crowethe> 'lying' O.2567, D.2544;

(2) In verbs, when preceded by the conjunctions /a/ 'if', and /mar(a)/ 'if'.  
/b/ <a pe>, <a pe|> 'if it were' P.73a, 102b, O.2356, D.2011, 3158, 3168, etc.;  
<mar pyth>, <mara pe3|>, <mara peth|>, <mar pyth|>, <mara pyth|>, <mar-a pyth|>, <mar-a peth|> 'if he shall be' P.95a, 211c, 240c, O.1520, D.1344, 1748, 1922, etc.; <mar pethaf>, <mara pethaf> 'if I am' O.1349, 2386; <mara pewaf> 'if I live' O.2396;  
/d/ <mar teffa> 'if he should come' P.27d; <mar te>, <mar-a te>, <mar tue>, <mar tve>, <mar-a tue|> 'if he comes' P.149c, 170c, 203c, O.399, 2064, D.1228, 2500, 3040, etc.;  
<Mar-a tybbryth> 'if you eat' O.81;  
/g/ <a calla>, <mar calle>, <mar-a calle> 'if he could' P.21d, 38b, 164c, D.1035; <mar callo> 'if he might' P.109c, 109d; <mar-a cresyn> 'if we believe' P.258d; <mar corthyaf> 'if I worship' O.140; <mar cothfo> 'if he knew' O.2119; <mara quelyn> 'if we see' D.733;

**Note** (1) One instance of lenition is found after /mar/: <mar derre> 'if I plucked [it]' O.289. This may probably be explained by assuming it to be for /mar y derre/.

**Note** (2) In the multiplicative numeral 'a hundred times' the final /s/ of /kans/ causes provection and is subsequently lost, so that the resulting form is /kankwyth/: <can-quyth> D.574;

**Note** (3) Another kind of provection, as a result of sandhi, is shown in writing in some instances also: <pup te3| oll>, <pup tyth> /pob dydh (oll)/ 'every day' P.228a, O.831; <map pron> /mab bron/ 'son of a breast' O.1162. 1983;

#### 5. The **mixed mutation** occurs in adjectives:

(1) when preceded by the adverbial particle /yn/.

/b/ <yn fras> 'greatly' P.149d, O.2798;

/d/ <yn ta>, <in ta> '(as) well' P.21c, 60a, 63b, etc., O.591, 747, 1119, etc., D.156, 683, 797, etc.; <yn tyen> 'entirely' (/dy-en/) P.71c, O.2589, 2836, D.3222; <yn teffry> 'certainly' O.1309, 1509, 1680, D.303;

/g/ <yn harow> 'cruelly' (/garw/) P.2c; <yn whar> 'meekly' P.24b, 93b;<sup>8</sup>

/m/ <yn feyn>, <yn fen> 'eagerly' P.54b, 113a, 167c, etc., O.1948, 2787; <yn fas> 'well, properly' P.64c, 156d, 220c, etc., O.374, 2010, 2327, D.1054, 1412, 2607, etc.;

**Note.** In P.232b a spelling <yn whas> occurs for /yn fas/ (cf. Stokes, *The Passion*, 98), and in O.1685 <ow fysky> is written for /ow hwyski/. With regard to these spellings it is interesting to note that in parts of Brittany there has been a regular sound change [hw] > [f] (cf. HPB.540).

(2) when following /maga/ 'as', i.e. in the equative degree.

/d/ <maga town> 'as deep as' P.85; <maga|ta>, <mage ta>, <maga ta> 'as well' P.198b, O.972, 1182, D.2443; <maga whyn auel an leth> 'as white as milk' D.3138;

#### In verbs:

(3) after the verbal particle /y/.

/b/ <y fe>, <y|fe> 'he/it was' P.7a, 18b, 18d, etc.; <y|fons>, <y fons> 'they were' P.39c, 132a, 179d, etc., D.521; <y|fyth>, <y fyth>, <y feth>, <y feyth> 'he shall be' P.72b, 128b, 259d, O.314, 676, 1321, etc., D.75, 295, 529, etc.; <y fynnas> 'he willed' O.2828;

/d/ <y tysque3as>, <y tysquethas> 'he showed' P.11b, 16b; <y tons> 'they came' P.97d; <y|ttaseffsons> 'they presumed' P.216d; <y tue> 'there is coming' O.1042, D.1921, 1937, 1949, etc.; <y teleth> 'behooves' O.1775, D.2553, 3208;

/g/ <y wreg>, <y wruk>, <y wrugh> (/y hwreug/) 'he made' P.27b, D.381, 2414, 2439, etc.; <y hylwys en e3ewon> 'the Jews cried' P.121c; <y welsons> /y hwelsons/ 'they saw' P.154c; <y won>, <y whon> 'I know' O.255, 2016; <y wreth> 'you do' D.1274;

/m/ <y fenne terry> 'that he would shatter' P.91b; <mygtern y|fyn bos> 'king he wishes to be' P.111d; <y fense bos> 'he had wanted to be' P.188c;

**Note.** In one instance in D.2651 the particle /y/ is left out, though the mutation is written: <y|n vr-na whreugh pyiadow> 'then you make supplication'. In D.2541 the particle is missing also, and the mutation written is <v> for /b/: <mar-tesen vyth yn y vrys> 'perhaps it occurs to his mind'.

(4) after the conjunctions /kyn/ 'though' and /may/ '(so) that, when, where'.

/b/ <kyn|fes> 'though you should be' P.22d; <kyn fo>, <ken fo>, <kyn|fo> 'though he be' O.2056, 2550, 2669, D.19, 776, 2027, etc.; <kyn fons> 'though they shall be' D.899, 2697; <may fo>, <ma fo> 'that it be' P.1d, 9b, 31c, etc., O.42, 276, 866, etc., D.44, 550, 620, etc.; <may fe> 'that he was/may be' P.3c, 9a, 23c, etc., O.24, 144, 309, etc., D.513, 1590, 1622; /d/ <may teth> 'whence came' P.153d; <may teffe> 'that might come' P.162d, 249d;

<sup>8</sup> Cf. MB *goar* 'mild, meek', W *gwr* 'tame, civilised'. But perhaps /hwar/ had become the normal unmutated form in MC, as in <cleyr ha hwar> 'pure and gentle' P.252b.

<may tebro> ‘so that he may eat’ O.200; <may tanvonno> ‘that he send’ O.669; <may tokco> ‘that he carries’ D.942; <may tyglyn> ‘that will shudder’ D.3047;  
 /g/ <kyn wylly> ‘though you see’ O.717;  
 <may hallough> ‘that you may’ P.52c, 63d; <may whane> ‘that it should pierce’ P.218b;  
 <may wrellons> /may hwrellons/ ‘that they should do’ P.229c; <may haller> ‘that one may’ O.1924, 2102, 2473, etc., D.2252; <may wothfen> ‘that I might recognise’ D.1287;  
 /m/ <may farwe> ‘that he should die’ P.151a, D.2827; <y fynner> ‘one wishes’ D.2600;

**Note.** Though the orthography of this mutation is not always clear, especially in the case of /g/ > /hw/, some forms following /may/ can only be interpreted as lenited: <may rug> ‘so that I made’ (/g(w)rug/) O.51; <may affo> ‘that he may forgive’ (/gafo/) O.1866; <may allyf vy> ‘so that I may’ D.83;

(5) when preceded by the interrogative pronoun /pe/ with the meaning ‘where’ (see also Len.(19) above).

/b/ <py fens kefis> ‘where [it] might be found’ P.151d; <pe fes|te> ‘where have you been’ O.467; <py fynny> ‘where you wish’ D.622;

/d/ <py theth> ‘where came’ O.606;

6. A **nasal mutation** occurs only in the word /dor/ ‘earth, ground’ when it is preceded by the article. It is remarkable that, though frequent in the *Ordinalia* and in *Bewnans Meriasek*, this mutation does not occur in *Pascon agan Arluth*, the text where the initial mutations are represented in writing most consistently of all texts. In P we find /dhe’n dor/ ‘to the earth’ in five instances (P.14d, 97d, 136b, 209c, 221c). In all later texts both <dor> and <nor> can be found after the article. In two cases <nor> appears without a preceding article and seems to have been taken as the radical or unmutated form. These are: (1) /nor ha nev/ ‘earth and heaven’ BM.3888, which might be explained by the more common construction /nev ha’n nor/, written <nef(f) ha nor> in O.2827 and BM.4219 (cf. <the norvys> for /dhe’n norvys/ ‘to the world’ R.200), and (2) /mor nor ha’n nev/ ‘sea, earth and heaven’ R.1976.<sup>9</sup>

Place names indicate that also the word /davas/ ‘sheep’ could be nasalised after the article, but the earliest evidence for this is from the eighteenth century (Padel, s.v. *davas*; C.10.281-2).

Examples of /an nor/ are: <|n nor-veys>, <an nor-veis>, <|n nor-vys>, <an nor-vys>, <an norveys>, <an nor-beys>, <|n nor-bys> ‘the earth’ O.24, 313, 600, 970, 982, 1150, 1212, D.1982; <the|n nor> ‘to the world’ D.1952;

7. A special change occurs after the article (which ends in /n/) where /t/ and /d/ may turn into affricates (see also I.32-33 and the note there). In the word for ‘house’ this led ultimately to the permanent mutation /chi/ from the earlier form /ti/. This word appears as <ty> in P.13 and as <y|n chy> ‘in(to) the house’ in P.159a. In all later texts <chy> is used as the normal, unmutated form of the word. Other words affected by this change are /dydh/ ‘day’, and /dyawl/ ‘devil’. Of the latter only two instances of the unmutated form appear in P: <dywolow> /dyawlow/ P.106c, <dewolow> P.212b.<sup>10</sup> The occurrence of the deictic adjective /keth/ ‘same’ between the article and one of these

<sup>9</sup> According to PHC.17.2.2 the co-existing forms /dor/ and /nor/ were semantically different, the second having the more specific meaning ‘the Earth, as a planet’.

<sup>10</sup> When read /dywolow/ the line in which this form occurs would be one syllable too long. Unfortunately, this does not work for the second occurrence of this plural, where the metre requires three syllables. The correct phonological form of this word therefore remains uncertain.



words does not check this mutation.

The occurrences are:

<|n geyth>, <en gyth>, <|n gyth|>, <|n gyth>, <an gyth>, <|n geth> /an jydh/ 'the day' P.20c, 41c, 243a, 244a, 259d, O.458, 1516, 1013, D.2269, 3089;

<an ioul(l)>, <|n ioull>, <an Ioul>, <|n ioul>, <an jawl>, <an iaul> /an jyawl/ '(and/to) the devil' P6c, 11a, 14a, 15c, 16c, 18a, 22a, 47d, 57b, 62b, 115a, O.2527, 2700, D.1461, 2045;

<I|n keth gyth|na> 'on that same day' P.152a,

The change occurs in singular forms only (cf. <en de3yow> 'the days' P.169b, <an thewolow> 'the devils' D.3057).

The same change occurs in the paradigm of the verb 'to have' and in the form of the negative used before the verb 'to be' beginning with a vowel (cf. MB *endevout* and MB *ne(n)d*, and the treatment of these forms below, III.6.14#).

**Note.** In D.2442 a form <geth> /jydh/ appears after the numeral 'three': <yn try geth y wul arta> 'in three days to make it again'. No explanation for this spelling seems available. In UC this has been changed into *yn treddeth*. The form <dogha-geyth> 'afternoon' D.2910 is probably derived from /dyworth eghwedh an jydh/, which explains the change /d/ > /j/ (cf. CED, p.41).