

## Phonological History of Cornish: the vowels

### Sources:

- Kenneth J. George, *A Phonological History of Cornish*. Thèse de troisième cycle. Université de Bretagne Occidentale, Brest 1984 (2nd print, with slight amendments, March 1985). = PHC
- Ken George, *The Pronunciation and Spelling of Revived Cornish* (s.l. 1986). = PSR
- Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson, *A Historical Phonology of Breton* (Dublin 1967) = HPB

(Not used here, but important: Peter Schrijver, *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology*. Leiden Studies in Indo-European 5 (Amsterdam/Atlanta 1995); and Nicholas J.A. Williams, 'Middle and Late Cornish' in Elmar Ternes (ed.), *Brythonic Celtic / Britannisches Keltisch. From Medieval British to Modern Breton*. Münchner Forschungen zur historischen Sprachwissenschaft 11 (Bremen 2011) 237-357.)

Until ca. 1050 accent on the last syllable (PHC 7.5.5).

With the accent shift started the reduction of vowels in final syllables.

/i/ < PrimCo. \*i < LateBrit. \*ī < Brit. \*ī  
< Lat. ī

Pretonic /i:/ is shortened and lowered to /e/ (e.g. Brit. \*trī- > MCo. *tredden*)

(PHC 7.1.5).

< ME ī, ĭ

\_\_\_\_\_ MCo. -i < PrimCo. \*-Iy in some cases \_\_\_\_\_

MCo. -y < PrimCo. \*-Iy normally (PHC 7.2.5.; HPB 1008)

/y/ < PrimCo. \*I < LateBrit. \*ĭ < Brit.\*ĭ (I = /y/)  
< Lat. ĭ

< ME i (PHC 7.2.1: < ME e:

cf. PHC 7.3: *myns*: I < PrimCo. ε/I (?) < Brit. \*a/\_Ci

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/e/ < PrimCo. \*ε < Brit. \*e pretonic ε remained as a full vowel (PHC 7.4.6)  
< Lat. e pretonic ε > *schwa* ca. 1600 (PSR 11.3.3(c))

< PrimCo. \*e and \*/eu/, the results of final i-affection in LateBrit.

< eu < PrimCo. \*/o/ and \*u

< PrimCo. \*ω in unstressed closed final syllable (ca. 1550: > a; PHC 7.4.4)  
(e.g. in adjectives ending in <-ek>, PHC 7.8.2)

< OF e

< OE æ, ME ě, ē

< OCo. ai, and ai in early loan-words

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ca. 1475: /e/ in unstressed absolute final position > /a/: => not in Revived  
Cornish (PHC 7.2.6(2), 7.4.5)

ca. 1600: [ɛ:] > [e:] (PHC 7.4.2)

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/a/ < PrimCo. \*a < Brit. \*a  
< Lat. a  
< OE a  
< ME ā, ǣ < OE a  
< OF a  
< OCo. ε, and ME *schwa*, when unaccentuated in absolute final position or when  
between ca. 1050 and ca. 1475 the final consonant was lost (PHC 7.4.5)

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ca. 1050 /a/ in absolute final position changed into *schwa*, but not in  
-*ma*, -*na* + compounds  
superlative and comparative forms  
*bara* 'bread'  
(PSR Table 1141; PHC 7.5.5 for the change into /a/ ca. 1475)  
ca. 1575: /bras/ > /bros/  
mainly after 1650: (-)/war/(-) > (-)/wor/(-)  
(PHC 7.5.4)

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/o/ < PrimCo. /o/ < Brit. \*o  
< Brit.-Lat. o  
< PrimCo. \*u < Brit. \*u  
< Brit.-Lat. u  
PrimCo. \*u in unstressed closed final syllable > MCo. /u/  
MCo. <u> more often than <o>; hence [u] as allophone of /o/  
(PHC 7.7.4(2))

< PrimCo. \*ui, \*oi when unstressed, finally or before /a/  
< ME ö, õ, ü (<o> for ME ü may mean *schwa*; PHC 7.6.5.(2))

when long: < ME ū/\_nd (see PHC 7.6.6)  
< ME ãn < Norman French ã

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ca. 1525: > /a/ in unstressed absolute final position (occasionally earlier  
reduced to *schwa* before being lowered to /a/ (PHC 7.6.4)  
ca. 1575: > /a/ in unstressed closed final syllables  
In stressed position before nasals and resonant /o/ developed an  
unrounded allophone since ca. 1550, but this development was not  
completed until perhaps ca. 1750 (PHC 7.6.3).

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/oe/ = long or half-long [o]  
orthographic <o>, <oy>  
< PrimCo. \*oi and \*ui (= OCo. <ui>) (PHC 8.3.2)  
first half 14th c. / ca. 1350: > /oe/ in closed, stressed final syllables  
(PHC 8.3.3-5)  
> /o/ in unstressed open syllables (=> /oe/  
does not occur finally) (PHC 8.3.6-7)

< OCo. œ  
< (?) ME ō

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when short (unstressed): unrounded (PHC 8.3.5) = orthographic <u>

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/ou/ < ME ū, ũ (nearly all with ME -ūt) (PHC 7.7.3, 7.12.2)

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ca. 1525: shared in (English) Great Vowel Shift => unrounding and diphthongisation (PHC 10.3.1(3)); cf. ME *mūs* > ModE *mouse*

PrimCo. \*u > MCo. /o/ (see above),  
with the exception of MCo. *gour* 'man' (but *gor-*)

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/eu/ PrimCo. \*ω < Brit. \*ā (cf. B *eu*, W *aw*)  
> OCo. <o> = [œ]  
ca. 1075 in unstressed syllables > ε => /eu/ in MCo. in stressed  
syllables only

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ca. 1525 /eu/ > /e/ in all positions

**N.B.** In 'Unified Spelling' this sound was not recognised and was written either with *u* or *e*. Variants of the same word do occur.

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/u/ < PrimCo. \*ü < Brit. \*ū < \*ō  
< Lat. ō and ū  
< ME ū in a few words, notably *sur* 'sure'

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ca. 1425: onrounding in unstressed position > /y/  
=> /u/ occurs only as a stressed vowel

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*schwa* (PHC 7.11)  
< front vowels in absolute final position (/y/, /e/, /a/)  
< ME *schwa*

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ca. 1425: lowering to /a/

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/ey/ < PrimCo. \*ei (HPB 227.8)  
< PrimCo. \*I (PHC 7.2.3)

In LateCo. <i>. In 'Unified Spelling' mainly <ey>, but <ŷ>, <ē> when not recognised.

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/ay/ = MCo. [æi] (<ay>, <ey> indiscriminately)  
< ME ai (ca. 1300 < ei, ai

**N.B.** Mind the contractions *ay* /a'y/ 'of his/her', and *hay* /ha'y/ 'and his/her'  
(with different etymology).

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/oy/ < PrimCo. \*ōi (HPB 329)  
< ME ōi (< OF oi)

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/iw/ < PrimCo. \*iw < Brit. \*īw  
< possible metathesis of PrimCo. ui  
< OF iu

MCo. orthography <yw>, <ew>. In 'Unified Spelling' sometimes wrongly <ew>.

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/yw/ < PrimCo. \*Iw < Brit. \*iw, \*uw  
< PrimCo. \*-iw in unstressed final syllables

MCo. orthography <ew>, <yw>. Not recognised in 'Unified Spelling'.

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/ew/ < OCo. \*ēw < PrimCo. \*ēw < Brit. \*ew(o)  
< Lat. eo  
< PrimCo. \*ēγu < Brit. \*eg(u)  
< Lat. eg(u)  
< PrimCo. \*ew  
< PrimCo. \*eβ  
< ME, OF absolute final eu

by analogical i-affection in /kewsel/ 'to talk' < OF *causer*  
in the 2sg. ending /-ewgh/ < \*eχ (PHC 7.4.4.(1)) (Unified Spelling <-eugh>)  
/dew/ 'two' (masc.) << PrimCo. /dow/ (Unified Spelling <deu>)

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/aw/ < PrimCo. \*-aw < Brit. and Brit.-Lat. \*-aw-, \*-agu-  
< PrimCo. \*aū in a few words (otherwise > /ow/)

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/ow/ when stressed:  
< PrimCo. \*/ow/ < Brit. \*ou  
< Lat. au  
< early MCo. /ow/ < OCo. \*/ov/ < PrimCo. \*oμ  
< OCo. \*/oew/ < PrimCo. \*uβ  
< PrimCo. \*uμ  
< OCo. \*/ew/ < PrimCo. \*ēu  
< PrimCo. \*ōu

< early MCo. /aw/ < OCo. \*/ow/ < PrimCo. \*ui irregularly in /krows/ 'cross'  
< OCo. \*/aw/ < PrimCo. \*au  
< OCo. \*/av < PrimCo. \*aβ  
< NorF au < OF au

when unstressed:

< PrimCo. \*/ow/  
< -Cow << (svarabhakti) \*-Cw  
< early MCo. /ow/ < OCo. \*εw < PrimCo. \*εw  
< PrimCo. \*æw  
< OCo. \*aw < PrimCo. \*aw

In 'Unified Spelling' the orthography is <ow>, except in the 2pl. ending <-ough>.