An Outline of the Standard Written Form of Cornish

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Foreword

This document marks a significant stepping-stone in the development of the Cornish Language and is the culmination of a long process that aimed to work with the Cornish language community to establish a written form of the language to be used in formal education and public life.

It was clear from the start of the Cornish Language Partnership that if the visions within the agreed Cornish Language Strategy were to be fully realised, there would need to be agreement on the form of spelling to be used for education and public life.

The Partnership developed a process designed to focus the debate within the language community. At the same time, expertise and experience from around the world was enlisted through the formation of an international Commission. Their task was to bring an independent view and bring experience from other languages to bear on the situation. In addition, a Linguistic Working Group was established which consisted of linguists with a substantial knowledge of Cornish and Cornish users, whose task was to consider areas of convergence and to advise the Commission. All those with an interest in Cornish Language were given the opportunity to take part in the debate and put forward their views. The Commission studied all the evidence and opinions put forward and recommended that a small group of experienced users be established to determine a consensus between existing forms rather than support a single form. The Partnership accepted that recommendation and agreed that Dr Trond Trosterud should be asked to act as arbiter on any points where a consensus could not be established.

There was rigorous debate, during which all groups travelled some distance in order to achieve a consensus and to ensure that Cornish Language has a strong foundation from which to grow. That an agreement has been reached is a testament to all who have taken part.

Now there is a need for stability, and therefore the Standard Written Form will not change for five years. In 2013 there will be a formal review. In the meantime there will be space for continuing research and debate. The Partnership will put in place a mechanism by which such research and debate can be conducted, collated and disseminated, along with arrangements for ongoing evaluation and monitoring.

My thanks go to all the Cornish Language users and supporters who have participated, to all the members and officers of the Cornish Language Partnership, to the Commission for their guidance, to the Linguistic group and to the ad-hoc group for all the hard work entailed in finding a consensus which can take Cornish forward.

Eric Brooke
Chair
The Cornish Language Partnership

1. The Standard Written Form

The Standard Written Form (SWF) for Cornish represents a common ground for users of all existing orthographies and for speakers of all varieties of Revived Cornish. The SWF is not meant to replace other spelling systems, but rather to provide public bodies and the educational system with a universally acceptable, inclusive, and neutral orthography. As such, it incorporates features drawn from a number of different Cornish orthographies, including Unified Cornish, Kernewek Kemmyn, Modern Cornish, Unified Cornish Revised, Kernowak Standard, and Kernewek Dasunys.

In order to accommodate the range of variation in the modern spoken language, the SWF is much more inclusive of variant forms than any previous Cornish orthography. Care has been taken to construct a system which speakers of all varieties of Revived Cornish can learn to use quickly and easily, in a manner which suits their linguistic and aesthetic preferences. Even users who have not had formal instruction in the SWF should find it relatively easy to read.

Although this document presents a complete description of the features and principles of the SWF, it is in many ways only a starting point. As the SWF is put to use in schools and in public life, it will be necessary to compile dictionaries and grammars, standardise terminology, and add new words to the lexicon. Committees will need to be set up to supervise and co-ordinate these activities. It is also likely that the SWF will be subject to periodic review, so that adjustments may be made to better serve the needs of the contemporary Cornish-speaking community. The authors of this specification have tried to provide as broad a base as possible for this future work, which is why a large number of variant forms — reflecting the usage of different groups of Cornish speakers — have been included.

1. 1. General Principles

The SWF largely follows the principles for a common orthography set out in the draft for Kernewek Dasunys. These are:

1. **Inclusivity** – Users of all varieties of Revived Cornish should be able to write as they speak.
2. **Accessibility** – The SWF should be as easy as possible for speakers, learners, and teachers to learn and use.
3. **Accuracy** – The SWF should reflect the pronunciation of both traditional and Revived Cornish.
4. **Authenticity** – The SWF should use spellings that reflect established traditions of Cornish orthography.

A fifth principle has been added to these, suggested by the Cornish Language Commission:

5. **Continuity** – Where practical, the SWF should produce the smallest possible number of changes for the largest possible number of speakers.

1. 2. Inclusivity

Spoken Revived Cornish has two main variants, one based on Middle and one on Late Cornish. The SWF recognises Revived Middle Cornish (RMC), Revived Late Cornish (RLC), and Tudor Cornish (TC) as variants of equal standing. The orthography as a whole leans toward a Middle Cornish base, since in many cases the correct RLC or TC pronunciation can be deduced from an RMC form, but not vice versa. For example, the words **deun** 'we come, let us go' and **den** 'man, person' are distinguished by RMC speakers, who pronounce the former as [dœːn] and the latter as [deːn]. For RLC speakers, both words are pronounced [deːn]. Spelling both words as **den** based on the RLC pronunciation would be confusing or misleading for RMC speakers, and so the SWF uses two different graphs. In some cases, where RLC makes distinctions that RMC does not, the SWF follows RLC practice. For example, the word for 'wood' is **koos {coos}** [kuːz], pl. **kosow {cosow}** [ˈkɔzɔʊ] in RLC; most varieties of RMC write the same vowel for the singular and the plural.

Although the orthography as a whole leans toward Middle Cornish forms, Late Cornish forms are accounted for:

1. **orthographically**, through the use of *variant graphs* and *umbrella graphs*;
2. **morphologically** and **syntactically**, through the recognition of Late Cornish forms and syntactic structures, which are deemed to be just as correct as their Middle Cornish counterparts; and
3. **lexically**, through the inclusion of Late Cornish lexical items in official dictionaries.

In order to keep the written representations of the dialects of Revived Cornish close enough to one another to ensure mutual comprehension, a number of variant pronunciations are bridged by *umbrella graphs* (see § 2.1 below). These umbrella graphs are typically based on MC spellings, because with a few exceptions, phonemic distinctions were lost rather than created during the evolution of LC from MC.

2. Orthographic Variation within the SWF

In order to be inclusive of all varieties of Revived Cornish, the SWF will allow a small number of variants in spelling. To reduce the burden on teachers and learners, the number of permitted variants will be kept to a minimum. Much of the variation between Middle and Late Cornish forms is bridged using *umbrella graphs*, as described in § 2.1 below. Other variations that reflect a difference in pronunciation between RMC and RLC are accommodated by alternating forms using *variant graphs*, as discussed in § 2.2. Finally, alternative *traditional graphs* are provided for writers who would like to use more traditional spellings to represent certain sounds. Unlike

umbrella graphs and variant graphs, traditional graphs will not be used in official publications or learning materials aimed at beginners, but they do form part of the SWF and spellings using them will be considered correct when used in official examinations or school assignments. The use of traditional graphs in the SWF is outlined in § 2.3 below.

2. 1. Umbrella Graphs

There are four *umbrella graphs* in the SWF, which consistently represent one sound for RMC speakers and another for RLC speakers:

Umbrella Graphs in the SWF

Graph	*RMC*	*RLC*	*Example*	*RMC*	*RLC*
<u>	[y(ː)]	[i(ː)]	**rudh**	[ryːð]	[riːð]
<eu>	[œ(ː)]	[e(ː)]	**keus**	[kœːz]	[keːz]
<oo>	[o(ː)]	[u(ː)]	**koos {coos}**	[koːz]	[kuːz]
<gh>	[x]	[h], [ʰ]	**flogh**	[flɔːx]	[floːh]

2. 2. Variant Graphs

In cases where differences in pronunciation between the varieties of Revived Cornish are too great to be bridged by an umbrella graph, the SWF recognises 'dialectal' spelling variants of equal status. These spellings reflect a linguistic difference between varieties of Cornish, and are referred to as *variant graphs*. Such variation in spelling makes the written representations of RMC and RLC visibly distinct from one another, while still keeping the variant forms similar enough to allow easy comprehension for all readers. Speakers of Tudor Cornish may choose the combination of RMC and RLC spellings that best reflects their pronunciation.

Variant Graphs in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Examples*			*Meaning*
<a>	~	<oa> [ɒː]	**bras**	~	**broas**	'big'
<ew>	~	<ow>	**tewlel**	~	**towlel**	'throw'
<-i>	~	<-ei> [-əɪ]	**chi**	~	**chei**	'house'
<mm>	~	<bm>	**tamm**	~	**tabm**	'piece'
<nn>	~	<dn>	**penn**	~	**pedn**	'head'
<s>	~	<j>	**kerensa**	~	**kerenja**	'love'
<y>	~	<e>	**bys**	~	**bes**	'world'

2. 3. Traditional Graphs

The SWF generally uses the letter <k> to represent the sound [k] and the digraph <hw> to represent the voiceless labial consonant [ʍ] (the sound sometimes found at the start of English '**wh**ich, **wh**at'). It also uses <-i> to represent final unstressed [i] or

[ɪ] in words like **gwari** 'play' and **terri** 'break'. However, many people prefer to use spellings that more closely reflect the practices of traditional Cornish writers. The SWF therefore recognises alternative spellings for these sounds, which are referred to as *traditional graphs*. Individuals may use traditional graphs whenever they wish, and words spelled with traditional graphs will be marked correct if used in schoolwork or official examinations. Unlike variant graphs, however, traditional graphs do not have equal status with their counterparts <k>, <hw>, and <-i>, and will not appear in elementary language textbooks or in official documents produced by public bodies. In this document, forms containing traditional graphs are given between curly brackets.

Traditional Graphs in the SWF

Graph		*Example*		*Meaning*	*Notes*
<hw>	{wh}	**hwegh**	**{whegh}**	'six'	
<-i>	{-y}	**kelli**	**{kelly}**	'lose'	Not used in stressed syllables
<k>	{c}	**koos**	**{coos}**	'wood'	Used before <a o u l r>
<ks>	{x}	**boks**	**{box}**	'box'	
<kw>	{qw}	**kwit**	**{qwit}**	'quite'	

Note that {-y} may only be substituted for an *unstressed* final <-i>, not a *stressed* final <-i> or <-ei> in words like **chi** ~ **chei** 'house' or **i** ~ **anjei** 'they'.

3. Vowels

3. 0. Vowel Graphs in the SWF

Monophthongs in the SWF

Graph	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*	*See*
<a> (~ <oa>)	[a(ː)]	[æ(ː)] ~ [ɒː]	§ 3.1
<e>	[ɛ(ː)]	[eː ɛ]	§ 3.2
<eu>	[œ(ː)]	[eː ɛ]	§ 3.3
<i> (~ <-ei>)	[i(ː)]	[i(ː) ɪ] ~ [-əɪ]	§ 3.4
<y>	[ɪ(ː)]	[iː ɪ eː ɛ]	§ 3.5
<o>	[ɔ(ː) ɤ]	[oː ɔ ɤ]	§ 3.6
<oo>	[oː uː]	[uː]	§ 3.7
<ou>	[u(ː)]	[uː ʊ]	§ 3.8
<u>	[y(ː)]	[i(ː) ɪ]	§ 3.9
<oa> (RLC only)	[aː]	[ɒː] (in a small group of words)	§ 3.1

General Rules for Monophthongs:

1. Vowel length is not marked on the vowel itself through the use of diacritical marks or distinctive graphs for long and short vowels. Instead, it is indicated by the nature and number of the following consonants (see § 3.17).

2. Stressed <y> in monosyllables often corresponds to stressed <e> in polysyllables, a relationship known as vocalic alternation (see § 3.18 for further discussion).
3. Similarly, long <oo> in monosyllables corresponds to <o> in unstressed syllables (see § 3.7).
4. Where RLC makes distinctions in vowel quality which RMC does not, RLC users may indicate these in writing. Two RLC-only digraphs are provided for this purpose: <oa>, which represents RLC [ɒː], and <ei>, which arepresents RLC [əɪ] (§§ 3.1, 3.4).
5. Likewise, monosyllabic words like **pysk** ~ **pesk** 'fish' which RMC speakers pronounce with [iː] or [ɪː] and RLC speakers pronounce with [eː] will be spelled <y> in RMC, and <e> in RLC (see § 3.5).
6. Unstressed <u> and <eu> are unrounded and pronounced the same as unstressed <y> [ɪ] and <e> [ɛ], respectively.
7. Etymological spellings are retained for unstressed vowels, since some RMC speakers distinguish these vowels from one another in speech. Speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish will therefore pronounce unstressed <a e o ou> as [ə].

Diphthongs in the SWF

Graph	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*	*See*
<aw>	[aʊ]	[æʊ]	§ 3.10
<ew>	[ɛʊ]	[ɛʊ]	§ 3.11
<iw>	[iʊ]	[ɪʊ]	§ 3.11
<yw>	[ɪʊ]	[ɛʊ]	§ 3.11
<ow>	[ɔʊ]	[ɔʊ] ~ [uː] (in hiatus)	§§ 3.11, 3.12
<uw>	[yʊ]	[ɪʊ]	§ 3.13
<ay>	[aɪ]	[əɪ]	§ 3.14
<ey>	[ɛɪ]	[əɪ]	§ 3.15
<oy>	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]	§ 3.16
<-ei> (RLC only)	[iː]	[-əɪ] (word-finally and in hiatus)	§ 3.4

3. 1. <a> and RLC Variant Graph <oa>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
a	[a(ː)]	[æ(ː)], ([ə])	[æ(ː)], ([ə])
~ **oa**	—	—	[ɒː]

The vowel phoneme /a/ is spelled <a>. This phoneme is normally realised as [a] or [aː] by speakers of Revived Middle Cornish and as fronted [æ(ː)] by speakers of Revived Late and Tudor Cornish. In a few words, particularly when adjacent to a labial consonant, /a/ is pronounced as a back rounded vowel [ɒ(ː)] by speakers of RLC. Variant spellings in <oa> are therefore provided for this small group of words.

Words with RMC <a> ~ RLC <oa> in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
bras	~	**broas**	'big'
gwav	~	**gwoav**	'winter'
gwavos	~	**gwoavos**	'winter abode'
gwlan	~	**gwloan**	'wool'
hav	~	**hoav**	'summer'
kan {can}	~	**koan {coan}**	'song'
klav {clav}	~	**kloav {cloav}**	'sick'
tal	~	**toal**	'front'

In all other cases, where the RLC prounciation of the vowel is [æ(ː)], the vowel is spelled <a> by both RMC and RLC speakers.

Examples of RMC <a> ~ RLC <a> in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
da	~	**da**	'good'
karr {carr}	~	**karr {carr}**	'car'
rann	~	**radn**	'part'
tan	~	**tan**	'fire'

Where <a> is unstressed, it may be pronounced as [ə]. This reduction of final unstressed vowels to schwa is a regular feature of Revived Late and Tudor Cornish.

3. 2. <e>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
e	[ɛ(ː)]	[eː], [ɛ], ([ə])	

The vowel phoneme /e/ is spelled <e>. It is realised as [ɛ(ː)] by speakers of KK and as [ɛ eː] by speakers of all other varieties of Revived Cornish.

Examples of <e> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
den	'person'
pell	'far'
medhow	'drunk'
mel	'honey'
pluven	'pen'

Where <e> is unstressed, it may be pronounced [ə]. This is a regular feature of Revived Late and Tudor Cornish.

3. 3. <eu>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
eu	[œː]	[eː]	

The Middle Cornish vowel phoneme /œ/ is spelled <eu>. It is realised as [œː] by speakers of RMC and as [e(ː)] by speakers of all other varieties of Revived Cornish.

Examples of <e> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
bleujen	'flower'	[ˈblœːʤɛn]	[ˈblɛʤən]
keus	'cheese'	[kœːz]	[keːz]
leun	'full'	[lœːn]	[leːn]
meur	'great'	[mœːr]	[meːɹ] ([miːɹ])

3. 4. <i> and RLC Variant Graph <ei>; the Traditional Graph {-y}

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
i {-y}	[i(ː)]	[iː], [ɪ]	[iː], [ɪ]
~ ei	—	—	[əɪ]

The vowel phoneme corresponding to MC /i/ is spelled <i>. It is realised as [i(ː)] by speakers of KK and as [ɪ iː] by speakers of all other varieties of Revived Cornish.

Examples of RMC <i> ~ RLC <i> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
glin	'knee'
mires	'look'
tir	'land'
gwari {gwary}	'play'

In stressed open syllables, RMC [iː] is often diphthongised to [əɪ] in Revived Late Cornish. This pronunciation is indicated by the variant graph <ei>.

Words with RMC Stressed <-i> ~ RLC Stressed <-ei> in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
chi	~	**chei**	'house'
ki	~	**kei**	'dog'
kria {cria}	~	**kreia {creia}**	'cry, call'
ni	~	**nei**	'we'

In final position in unstressed syllables, the traditional graph {-y} may be substituted for <-i> in words like **gweli {gwely}** 'bed' and **terri {terry}** 'break (vb.)'. Final stressed <-i> representing [iː] may not be written as {-y}, since this alternates with the variant graph <-ei>.

3. 5. <y>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
y	[ɪ(ː)]	[iː], [ɪ]	
~ **e**	—	[eː], [ɛ]	

The graph <y> is used for a vowel that is realised as [ɪ(ː) i(ː)] by speakers of RMC and as [ɛ eː] by speakers of Revived Late and Tudor Cornish. Many roots in <y> change this sound to <e> in their polysyllabic forms, due to vocalic alternation (see § 3.18 below). Speakers of RLC or Tudor Cornish who pronounce [eː] in the monosyllabic forms of these words may write them with <e> instead of <y>.

Words with RMC Stressed <y> ~ RLC Stressed <e> in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
pryv	~	**prev**	'worm'
preves	~	**preves**	'worms'
bys	~	**bes**	'world'
besyow	~	**besyow**	'worlds'

3. 6. <o>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
o	[ɔ(ː)], [ɤ]	[oː], [ɔ(ː)], [ɤ] ([ə])	

In the SWF, the vowel [ɔ(ː)] is spelled <o>.

Examples of <o> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
bos	'be'
hordh	'ram'
to	'roof'

The graph <o> is also used to represent short [ɤ] (the short counterpart of <oo>) in words like the following:

Examples of <o> for [ɤ] in the SWF	
RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
arlodh	'lord'
gallos	'be able to'
kavos {cavos}	'find'
tomm ~ tobm	'hot'

Where <o> is unstressed, it may be pronounced [ə]. This is a regular feature of Revived Late and Tudor Cornish.

3. 7. <oo>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
oo	[oː] ~ [uː]		[uː]

The SWF spells the sound represented by KK <oe> as <oo> where the vowel in question is long and RLC has [uː]. In all other cases, the graph <o> is used for KK <oe>. This means that some words which have long <oe> in KK will be spelled with <o> in the SWF, in cases where the evidence suggests they underwent a different phonological development from the **loor**, **goon** words, based on their spellings in LC. Words like the following will therefore be spelled with <o> (as in Unified Cornish): **kon {con}** 'dinner', **tron** 'nose', **on** 'lamb', **gor** 'knows', **hwor {whor}** 'sister', **kor {cor}** 'wax', **noth** 'naked'. In polysyllabic words based on roots in <oo>, this vowel will be spelled as <o>, reflecting the alternation between stressed [uː] in monosyllables and stressed [ɔ] in polysyllables seen in RLC.

Examples of Long <oo> Alternating with <o> in the SWF			
Long <oo> in Monosyllables	*Meaning*	*<o> in Polysyllables*	*Meaning*
koos {coos}	'wood'	**kosow {cosow}**	'woods'
loor	'moon'		
goon	'moor'	**gonyow**	'moors'
goodh	'wild'		
roos	'net'	**rosow**	'nets'

Where KK has intrinsically short <oe> (in unstressed position or when stressed before two or more consonants), the SWF defaults to the spelling <o> (see § 3.6 above).

3. 8. <ou>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
ou	[u(ː)]	[uː], [ʊ]	

In loanwords and in the native word **gour** 'man', the SWF spells the phoneme /u/ as <ou>.

Examples of <ou> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
kloud {cloud}	'cloud'
flour	'flower'
chambour	'bedroom'

3. 9. <u>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
u	[y(ː)], [ɪ]	[iː], [ɪ], [ɪʊ]	

The MC phoneme /y/ is spelled <u> in the SWF. Speakers of RMC will pronounce this sound as [y(ː)] (the vowel in French *lune* 'moon' or German *Tür* 'door') in stressed syllables, and as [ɪ] in unstressed syllables.

In Tudor and Revived Late Cornish, <u> is usually unrounded to [iː] or [ɪ]. When stressed in word-final position or before <gh>, <u> is changed to a diphthong [ɪʊ], and is pronounced identically to <yw> (see § 3.11 below).

Examples of <u> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
du	'black'	[dyɪ]	[dɪʊ]
kuv {cuv}	'nice'	[kyɪv]	[kiːv]
tus	'people'	[tyɪz]	[tiːz]
teylu	'family'	[ˈtɛɪlɪ]	[ˈtɛɪlɪ]

3. 10. <aw>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
aw	[aʊ]	[æʊ], [ɒ(ː)]	

The digraph <aw> represents the diphthong RMC [aʊ] ~ RLC [æʊ].

Examples of <aw> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
braw	'beautiful'	[braʊ]	[bɹæʊ]
glaw	'rain'	[ɡlaʊ]	[ɡlæʊ]
naw	'nine'	[naʊ]	[næʊ]

The spelling <aw> is also used in loanwords and toponyms like **Awstria** [aʊsˈtriːʲa], 'Austria'. Many of these are pronounced with [ɒ(ː)] by speakers of TC or RLC.

3. 11. <iw>, <yw>, and <ew>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
iw	[iʊ]	[ɪʊ]	
yw	[ɪʊ]		[ɛʊ]
ew	[ɛʊ]		

In general, the digraph <iw> is used where both RMC and RLC have [iʊ], [ɪʊ], as in the following words:

Examples of <iw> for RMC and RLC [iʊ], [ɪʊ]

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
diw	'two (f.)'	[diʊ]	[dɪʊ]
diwvron	'breasts'	[ˈdiʊvrɔn]	[ˈdɪʊvrən]
liw	'colour'	[liʊ]	[lɪʊ]
liwya	'dye'	[ˈliʊja]	[ˈlɪʊjə]
niwl	'fog'	[niʊl]	[nɪʊl]
piw	'who'	[piʊ]	[pɪʊ]

The digraph <yw> is used in cases where RMC [ɪʊ] corresponds to RLC [ɛʊ]. These words may also be written with <ew> by speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish to indicate the pronunciation [ɛʊ].

Examples of <yw> ~ <ew> for RMC [ɪʊ], RLC [ɪʊ ~ ɛʊ]

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
byw	~	**bew**	'alive'	[bɪʊ]	[bɪʊ ~ bɛʊ]
lyw	~	**lew**	'rudder'	[lɪʊ]	[lɪʊ ~ lɛʊ]
yw	~	**ew**	'is'	[ɪʊ]	[ɪʊ ~ ɛʊ]

Because of vocalic alternation (see § 3.18 below), <yw> can only occur in stressed monosyllables. In polysyllabic words, <yw> becomes <ew>, just as <y> often becomes <e>:

bewnans 'life'
lewya 'steer (v.)'

The digraph <ew> is used in words which are pronounced as [ɛʊ] by speakers of all varieties of Revived Cornish.

Examples of RMC <ew> ~ RLC <ew>

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*	*RMC, TC, RLC*
blew	'hair'	[blɛʊ]
dew	'two (m.)'	[dɛʊ]
ewn	'correct'	[ɛʊn]
lew	'lion'	[lɛʊ]
rew	'ice'	[rɛʊ]
tew	'fat'	[tɛʊ]
tewl	'dark'	[tɛʊl]

Speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish sometimes change <ew> to <ow> in stressed polysyllables, reflecting a difference in pronunciation.

Examples of RMC <ew> ~ RLC <ow> in Polysyllables

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
bewnans	~	**bownans**	'life'	[ˈbɛʊnans]	[ˈbɔʊnənz]
klewes	~	**klowes**	'hear'	[ˈklɛʊɛs]	[ˈklɔʊəz]
{clewes}	~	**{clowes}**			
tewlel	~	**towlel**	'throw'	[ˈtɛʊlɛl]	[ˈtɔʊləl]
dewdhek	~	**dowdhek**	'twelve'	[ˈdɛʊðɛk]	[ˈdɔʊðək]

3. 12. <ow>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
ow	[ɔʊ]		[ɔʊ], [uː]

The SWF uses the digraph <ow> to represent the diphthong [ɔʊ]. This diphthong is monophthongised to [uː] in hiatus in RLC, in words like **lowen** 'happy' and **Kernowek** 'Cornish'.

Examples of <ow> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
dowr	'water'	[dɔʊr]	[dɔʊr]
low	'lice'	[lɔʊ]	[lɔʊ]
lowen	'happy'	[ˈlɔʊɛn]	[ˈluːən]

<ow> is also used as an RLC variant graph which alternates with RMC <ew> in stressed syllables in polysyllabic words, as discussed in § 3.11 above.

3. 13. <uw>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
uw	[yʊ]	[ɪʊ]	

In addition, the SWF recognises the digraph <uw>. At present, there are two different suggestions as to what sound or sounds <uw> represents and what words in the SWF should be written with this digraph. There is unanimity as far as the words **Duw** 'God', **guw** 'spear', and **ruw** 'king' and their compounds are concerned, and so these words will be spelled with <uw> in the SWF. The spellings **buwgh** 'cow', **duwon** 'grief', **guw** 'woe', **suw** 'suet' have also been proposed, but as these have not been universally accepted, these words are currently spelled **bugh**, **dewon**, **gew**, and **syw** respectively.

Words with <uw> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
duw	'god'
duwes	'goddess'
guw	'spear
ruw	'king'
ruwvanes	'queen'
ruwvaneth	'kingdom'

3. 14. <ay>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
ay	[aɪ]	[əɪ], [ɛː]	

The digraph <ay> represents the RMC diphthong [aɪ] which usually falls together with <ey> as [əɪ] in some varieties of Revived Cornish. Many words containing <ay> are recognisable as loans from French or Middle English.

Examples of <ay> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
ayr	'air'
bay	'kiss'
chayn	'chain'
gwaynya	'gain'
may(th)	'so that'
rahay	'sneeze'

3. 15. <ey>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
ey	[ɛɪ]	[ɔɪ]	

The digraph <ey> represents the RMC diphthong [ɛɪ] which falls together with <ay> as [ɔɪ] in some varieties of Cornish. Whereas <ay> is very common in loanwords, many of the words with <ey> are derived from Celtic roots.

Examples of <ey> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
bleydh	'wolf'
eyl	'one of two'
gweyth	'occasion'
heyl	'estuary'
keyn	'back'
neyja	'fly'
neyth	'nest'
seyth	'seven'
teyr	'three (f.)'
treylya	'translate'
treys	'feet'
yeyn	'cold'

3. 16. <oy>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
oy	[ɔɪ] ([ʊɪ])		

In the SWF, the digraph <oy> is used to represent the diphthong [ɔɪ]. A few open monosyllables like **moy** 'more' and **oy** 'egg' may have kept a more conservative pronunciation [ʊɪ] through the later stages of the traditional language.

Examples of <oy> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
assoylya	'solve'
moy	'more'
koynt {coynt}	'strange'
noy	'nephew'
oy	'egg'
roy	'give!'

3. 17. Vowel Length

In the SWF, vowel length in monosyllables may be deduced from the nature of the following consonant or consonants. This system is very close to that of Welsh and to those of other Cornish orthographies which indicate vowel length.

Rules for Vowel Length in the SWF:

1. All unstressed vowels are short.
2. Vowels in stressed monosyllables are long:
   a. in final position, as in **ro** 'gift', **da** 'good', **bre** 'hill';
   b. before a single voiced consonant, as in **mab** 'son', **hir** 'long', **mil** 'thousand';
   c. before the voiceless stop <k> in words like **klok {clok}** 'cloak', since the digraphs <kk> or <ck> are used after a short vowel;
   d. before a fricative, as in **hav** 'summer', **nos** 'night', **kath {cath}** 'cat';
   e. before the cluster <st> as in **lost** 'tail', for speakers of Tudor or Late Cornish;
   f. before the clusters <sp st sk> for KK speakers in words like **Pask** 'Easter'.
3. Vowels in stressed monosyllables are short:
   a. before the voiceless stops <p t>, as in **hat** 'hat', **top** 'top';
   b. before a consonant written double <mm, nn, ll, rr, ff, ss...>, as **karr {carr}** 'car', **pell** 'far, long'.
   c. before a consonant cluster other than <st (sp sk)>, as in **park** 'field', **kans {cans}** 'hundred'.
4. Stressed vowels in polysyllabic words:
   a. are usually short for speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish;
   b. are long in open syllables before single consonants or the clusters <st (sp sk)> for speakers of Kernewek Kemmyn and conservative RMC;
   c. are short before double consonants and other consonant clusters for all speakers.

There are a few exceptions to these rules, generally involving loanwords.

Words with Unpredictably Long Vowels in the SWF

Word	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
grot	'groat'	[ɡrɔːt]	[ɡrot], [ɡrɔːt]
hond	'hound'	[hɔːnd]	[hɔːnd]
kop {cop}	'cope'	[kɔːp]	[kɔːp]
krap {crap}	'grip'	[kraːp]	[kræːp]
krop {crop}	'penetrates'	[krɔːp]	[krɔːp]
kwit {qwit}	'free'	[kwiːt]	[kwiːt]
pat	'pate'	[paːt]	[pæːt]
plat	'plate'	[plaːt]	[plæːt]
plit	'plight'	[pliːt]	[pliːt]
pot	'kicks'	[pɔːt]	[pɔːt]
shap	'shape'	[ʃaːp]	[ʃæːp]

Words with Unpredictably Long Vowels in the SWF

Word	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
skap {scap}	'escapes'	[skaːp]	[skæːp], [skæp]
skit	'squirt'	[skiːt]	[skiːt]
smat	'hardy'	[smaːt]	[smæːt], [smæt]
sop	'sups'	[sɔːp]	[sɔːp], [sɔp]
stat	'state'	[staːt]	[stæːt]
stop	'stoop'	[stɔːp]	[stɔːp]
stret	'street'	[stɛːt]	[streːt]
yet	'gate'	[jɛːt]	[jeːt], [jɛt]

3. 18. Vocalic Alternation

The SWF acknowledges vocalic alternation, a sound change whereby stressed <y> in monosyllables and unstressed <y> in final syllables often becomes <e> when a suffix is added. This change affects words in <yw> as well as words in <y>. Its distribution is lexical, so vocalic alternation does **not** affect all words in <y> or <yw>, particularly when an <i> or <y> appears in the following syllable. Common examples include the following words:

Stressed <y> in Root Becomes <e>

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*	*Polysyllabic Form*	*Meaning*
***blydh-**	~	***bledh-**	—	**bledhen**	'year'
bydh	~	**bedh**	'will be (3sg.)'	**bedhav**	'will be (1sg.)'
bydh	~	**bedh**	'be! (2sg.)'	**bedhewgh**	'be! (2pl.)'
bys	~	**bes**	'world'	**besyow**	'worlds'
dydh	~	**dedh**	'day'	**dedhyow**	'days'
gwydh	~	**gwedh**	'trees'	**gwedhen**	'tree'
pryv	~	**prev**	'worm'	**preves**	'worms'
prys	~	**pres**	'time'	**presyow**	'times'

This stressed <y> is pronounced [ɪː], [iː] by speakers of RMC. The monosyllables in question are pronounced with an [eː] by speakers of RLC, and may be spelled with the variant graph <e>, as in **bedh**, **bes**, **dedh** (see § 3.5 above).

Stressed <yw> in Root Becomes <ew>

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*	*Polysyllabic Form*	*Meaning*
byw	~	**bew**	'alive'	**bewnans**	'life'
				bewa	'live (v.)'
lyw	~	**lew**	'rudder'	**lewya**	'steer (v.)'
skyw	~	**skew**	'shelter (n.)'	**skewya**	'shelter (v.)'

This stressed <yw> is pronounced [ɪʊ] by speakers of RMC and [ɛʊ] by speakers of RLC. Some polysyllabic words with <ew> in RMC will use the variant graph <ow> in RLC (thus, RMC **bewnans** ~ RLC **bownans**; see § 3.11 above).

Unstressed <y> in Final Syllable of Root Becomes <e>			
Root	*Meaning*	*Polysyllabic Form*	*Meaning*
enys	'island'	**enesow**	'islands'
		enesek	'isolated'
benyn	'woman'	**benenes**	'women'
melyn	'yellow'	**melender**	'yellowness'
menydh	'mountain'	**menedhyow**	'mountains'
gorthyp	'answer'	**gorthebi {gortheby}**	'answer (v.)'
		gorthebow	'answers'

Stems in SWF <i> are not affected by vocalic alternation, according to the recommended pronunciation of KK, UC, and RLC. Thus, the SWF will write **tir**, pl. **tiryow** 'land'. Only UCR has vocalic alternation in some of these stems, such as **myr** (SWF **mir**) ~ **meras** (SWF **mires**), 'look'. Here, the SWF follows majority usage and does not show vocalic alternation in words like **mires**, **hwilas {whilas}**, and **skrifa {scrifa}**.

In order to determine which words show vocalic alternation, the SWF takes the forms in Nance's dictionary as a starting point, since in many cases Nance has generalised the most common spellings found in the traditional texts. Words which exhibit an alternation of <y> and <e> in UC are therefore candidates for VA in the SWF. Other evidence drawn from the traditional Cornish corpus should also be considered, and questionable cases may be reviewed by a future dictionary commission. The following general principles for spelling <i y e> in the SWF may be observed:

1. KK half-long <y> often becomes SWF <e>.
2. The graph <y> is preferred in cases where UC, UCR, and KK all have <y>.
3. The graph <i> is preferred in cases where RLC and KK have <i> and UC has <y>.

4. Consonants

4. 0. Consonant Graphs in the SWF

Although there is considerable variation between existing Cornish orthographies in the representation of vowel sounds, there is general consensus regarding the representation of most consonant sounds. The SWF builds on this consensus, following a number of principles:

General Principles for Consonants in the SWF:

1. The SWF accounts for all spoken varieties of Revived Cornish, supplying variant graphs in cases where the pronunciation differs greatly between RMC and RLC.
2. Double consonant graphs are used to indicate that the preceding vowel is short.

This applies to stressed syllables only, because in Cornish all unstressed vowels are short (see § 3.17 above).

3. For speakers of some varieties of RMC (including Kernewek Kemmyn), double consonant graphs also indicate where to pronounce geminate or long consonants.
4. Speakers of Revived Late and Tudor Cornish do not pronounce geminate consonants. Instead, the historical geminate sonorants <ll mm nn rr> are pronounced as short fortes [l^h ^{b}m ^{d}n r^h] in their varieties.
5. In Revived Late Cornish, historical final <-th -dh -f -v> are sometimes elided. Speakers of RLC may use an apostrophe in these cases to show their pronunciation of words like **for'** (RMC **fordh**) 'road'.

Consonant Graphs in the SWF

Sonorants (§ 4.1)

Graph	*RMC*	*RLC, TC*
l	[l]	[l]
ll	[lː]	[l^h]
m	[m]	[m]
mm ~ bm	[mː]	[^{b}m]
n	[n]	[n]
nn ~ dn	[nː]	[n^h ^{d}n]
r	[r]	[ɹ]
rr	[rː]	[r^h]

Affricates (§ 4.8)

Graph	*RMC*	*RLC,TC*
ch	[tʃ]	[tʃ]
j	[dʒ]	[dʒ]
ks {x}	[ks gz]	[ks gz]

Stops (§§ 4.2, 4.3)

Graph	*RMC*	*RLC, TC*
b	[b]	[b]
ck	[kː k]	[k]
d	[d]	[d]
g	[g]	[g]
k {c q}	[k]	[k]
kk	[kː]	[k]
p	[p]	[p]
pp	[pː]	[p]
t	[t]	[t]
tt	[tː]	[t]

Semivowels (§ 4.9)

Graph	*RMC*	*RLC,TC*
w	[w]	[w]
y	[j]	[j]

Fricatives (§§ 4.4 - 4.7)

Graph	*RMC*	*RLC, TC*
c	[s]	[s]
dh	[ð]	[ð]
f	[f]	[f v]
ff	[fː]	[f]
gh	[xː x]	[h]
h	[h]	[h]
hw {wh}	[ʍ]	[ʍ]
s	[s z]	[z s]
ss	[sː s]	[s]
sh	[ʃ]	[ʃ]
th	[θ]	[θ]
tth	[θː]	[θ]
z	[z]	[z]

4. 1 Sonorants: <m n l r> and <mm ~ bm, nn ~ dn, ll, rr>

In the SWF, the sonorant consonants <m n l r> may be written single or double.

Rules for Single and Double Sonorants:

1. Double <mm ~ bm, nn ~ dn, ll, rr> are written where the consonant is pronounced long in RMC or as a fortis in RLC.
2. Double consonants may only be written in stressed syllables, including initial elements in compound words like **pednseythen** 'week-end', which receive secondary stress.
3. Single <m n l r> are written where the consonant is pronounced as a short or lenis [m n l r].
4. Cornish speakers who pre-occlude may write <bm dn> instead of <mm nn>.

5. For speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish, <ll rr> represent the devoiced fortes [l^h $ɾ^h$].
6. For speakers of Tudor Cornish, <nn> represents the devoiced fortis [n^h].
7. In stressed monosyllables, vowels are long before single sonorants and short before double sonorants and pre-occluded <bm dn>.

The SWF indicates geminate or long liquids <nn ll rr> in writing where they are actually pronounced long in conservative RMC, or as fortis [n^h l^h $ɾ^h$] in RLC and Tudor Cornish. This principle is extended to the phoneme /m/ which is also spelled <mm> where it is historically intrinsically long (as it is in most native words). Sonorants are doubled in those places where pre-occlusion of [mː] and [nː] occurs in Late Cornish — namely, in stressed syllables. Therefore <mm ~ bm, nn ~ dn, ll, rr> will be written in monosyllabic words and their compounds as well as in the stressed syllables of polysyllabic words. Vowels that precede double sonorants or pre-occluded <bm dn> in such words are short.

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
mm ~ bm	[mː]	[m]	[^{b}m]
nn ~ dn	[nː]	[n^h], [n]	[^{d}n]
ll	[lː]	[l^h], [l]	[l^h]
rr	[rː]	[$ɾ^h$], [ɹ]	[$ɾ^h$]

Examples of RMC <mm, nn, ll, rr> ~ RLC <bm, dn, ll, rr> in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
tamm	~	**tabm**	'piece'
bronn	~	**brodn**	'breast'
pell	~	**pell**	'far, long'
berr	~	**berr**	'short'
lemmyn	~	**lebmyn**	'now'
ranna	~	**radna**	'divide'
challa	~	**challa**	'jaw'
gorra	~	**gorra**	'put'

In compound words, an initial element like **penn-** ~ **pedn-** or **kamm- {camm-}** ~ **kabm- {cabm-}** retains its double (or pre-occluded) consonant because of secondary stress. Therefore, the SWF writes <mm ~ bm, nn ~ dn, ll, rr> rather than <m n l r> in compounds like **pellgowser** 'telephone'. Double consonants are lost, however, in compounds like **diwar** '(pair of) legs' (from **diw** 'two' + **garr** 'leg'), since in such cases, the stress falls on the first syllable, and the final element does not receive a secondary stress.

Double Sonorants <mm ~ bm, nn ~ dn, ll, rr> in Compound Words

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
kammneves {cammneves}	~	**kammdhavas {cabmdhavas}**	'rainbow'
pennglin	~	**pednglin**	'kneecap'
pellgowser		**—**	'telephone'
korrdonner {corrdonner}		**—**	'microwave'

There is a small class of words which have RMC forms in <mm nn> but lack pre-occluded RLC variants in <bm dn>. Some of these words, like **jynn** 'engine', seem to have been borrowed from English after pre-occlusion occurred, while others like **gonn** 'knows', were replaced by alternative forms in LC and are therefore only attested in their non-pre-occluded MC forms. These words will also be spelled with <mm nn> in the SWF, however, since the double consonant is necessary to indicate that the preceding vowel is short.

RLC Words spelled with <mm, nn> in the SWF

RLC and RMC	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
gramm	'gramme'	[ɡramː]	[ɡræm]
gronn	'bundle'	[ɡrɔnː]	[ɡrɔn]
gwremm	'hem'	[ɡwrɛmː]	[ɡwrɛm]
jynn	'engine'	[dʒɪnː]	[dʒɪn]
kann {cann}	'very white'	[kanː]	[kæn]
namm	'fault'	[namː]	[næm]

There has been some argument about the RLC forms of the words for 'kid goat' and 'fish offal', which are sometimes said to have contained short vowels. According to Richard Gendall's latest dictionary, however, the monosyllabic forms of both have a long vowel, and this analysis has been followed here. The two words in question will therefore be spelled **min** (coll.), **minen** (sg.), 'kid goat' and **mon** 'fish offal' in the SWF, subject to further research by a dictionary commission. Note that Lhuyd renders the first of the two as *mynnan*, *mynan*, which indicates that the stressed vowel was short in the polysyllabic form but tells us nothing about the length of the vowel in the root.

In unstressed and pre-tonic syllables, and also in consonant clusters, the SWF writes single <m n l r>. This phonetic approach to spelling has several benefits: it ties the orthography more closely to the spoken language, and it indicates at first glance where pre-occlusion can and cannot occur.

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
m	[m]	[m]	[m]
n	[n]	[n]	[n]

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
l	[l]	[l]	[l]
r	[r]	[ɹ]	[ɹ], [ɾ]

Examples of Single Sonorants <m n l r> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
mos	'go'
blamya	'blame'
fram	'frame'
nos	'night'
hanow	'name'
den	'man, person'
lowen	'happy'
glas	'blue, green'
aval	'apple'
roos	'net'
bara	'bread'
hir	'long'

The SWF also spells singulatives like **pluven** with a single <-n> because phonetically the suffix has a single [n]. Double consonants are not necessary to indicate vowel length in the unstressed final syllables of words like **pluven** 'feather' or **gwedren** 'drinking glass', since all vowels in unstressed position are short by default. However, plural forms of singulatives like **pluvennow** ~ **pluvednow** 'feathers' are written with <nn> or <dn> to emphasise that the [nː] is a historically long or fortis consonant and that it is subject to pre-occlusion in Late Cornish. This double consonant is also necessary to indicate that the stressed vowel which precedes it is short, since speakers of some varieties of RMC distinguish short and long stressed vowels in polysyllabic words.

Examples of Single Sonorants <m n l r> in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*		
pluven	~	**pluven**	'feather'	*not*	***pluvedn**
gwedren	~	**gwedren**	'glass'	*not*	***gwedredn**
mynsa	~	**menja**	'would like'	*not*	***mednja**
tomder	~	**tomder**	'warmth'	*not*	***tobmder**

4. 2. Voiceless Stops: <p t k ck> and <-pp-, -tt-, -kk-, -ck->

Rules for Voiceless Stops:

1. The single voiceless stops [p t] are always written <p t>.
2. The single voiceless stop [k] is written as <k> in final position in words like **klok {clok}** 'cloak', where the [k] follows a long vowel in the root.

3. The single voiceless stop [k] is written as <ck> in final position in loanwords like **klock {clock}** 'clock', where the [k] follows a short vowel in the root.
4. The double voiceless stops <pp tt kk> are only written in medial position between two vowels or between a vowel and the consonant <y> [j] — places where the stops may be pronounced as geminate or long [pː tː kː].
5. The spelling <ck> is used instead of <kk> in loanwords, so **klockys {clockys}** 'clocks' is spelled with <ck> while **tekka** 'prettier' is spelled with <kk>.
6. In stressed monosyllables, vowels are normally short before a voiceless stop. A number of easily recongnisable loanwords do not follow this rule, and are listed in the table in § 3.17 above.

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
p	[p]		
t	[t]		
k {c q}	[k]		
ck	[k]		

In word-final position, the voiceless stops <p> and <t> are always written singly, and are commonly preceded by a short vowel. The SWF writes <k> after a long stressed vowel in words like **klok {clok}** 'cloak' and after a short unstressed vowel in words like **marhek** 'rider'. After a short stressed vowel, the digraph <ck> is used, as in the word **klock {clock}** 'clock'.

Examples of Voiceless Stops <p t k ck> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
pel	'ball'
modrep	'aunt'
tas	'father'
atal	'mine-waste, refuse'
hat	'hat'
Kernow	'Cornwall'
Kernewek	'Cornish'
klock {clock}	'clock'

The representation of the phoneme /k/ is one of the cases where the SWF recognises alternative spellings with traditional graphs. Almost all traditional Cornish texts represent the [k] sound using a combination of the graphs {c k q x}, distributed according to the nature of the following vowel, consonant, or semivowel. Writers who wish to use the traditional graphs for [k] should follow the following rules:

1. **{c}** is used for <k> before <a o u l r>, as in **{cath} kath** 'cat' and **{cres} kres** 'peace';
2. **{q}** replaces <k> before <w>, as in **{sqwith} skwith** 'tired';
3. **{x}** is used for the sequence <ks> in words like **{box} boks** 'box'; and
4. **<k>** is retained in all other cases.

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
pp	[pː]	[p]	
tt	[tː]	[t]	
kk, ck	[kː]	[k]	

Examples of Medial <-pp-, -tt-, -kk-, -ck-> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
klappya {clappya}	'talk'
hattys	'hats'
lakka	'worst'
klockys {clockys}	'clocks'

The SWF does not write <-pp -tt -kk> word-finally because this would suggest a physically impossible pronunciation, such as [hatː] for **hatt**. Therefore, in the SWF, vowels are always short before <p t k> apart from a few easily recognisable loanwords like **strok** 'stroke', **stret** 'street'. In medial position, <-pp- -tt- -kk-> are retained in words like **klappya {clappya}** 'chatter' and plurals like **hattys**, **hattow** 'hats', where the stop may be pronounced as a geminate**.** As with geminate or fortis sonorants, the SWF writes geminate stops only where they are pronounced (by those speakers who distinguish long and short consonants).

Monosyllabic loanwords which have final [-k] after a short vowel will be spelled with <-ck> rather than <-k> in the SWF. This enables the SWF to distinguish words like **klock {clock}** [klɔk] 'clock' which contain short vowels from words like **klok {clok}** [klɔːk] ~ [kloːk] 'cloak' which contain long vowels. Plural forms (**klockys {clockys}** 'clocks'; **klokys {clokys}** 'cloaks') and compounds containing these words will preserve the spelling <-ck> or <-k> found in the root.

Medial [kː] from historical /k + h/ in comparatives, superlatives, and subjunctives will be spelled <kk>, as in **tekka** 'prettier, prettiest' and **dokko** 'may carry'. The graph <ck> will be used medially in loanwords like **klockys {clockys}** 'clocks'. Both medial <-kk-> and <-ck-> may be pronounced as long or geminate [kː] by speakers who recognise distinctions in consonant length.

4. 3. Voiced Stops: <b, d, g>

Rules for Voiced Stops

1. The voiced sounds [b d ɡ] are always spelled <b d g>.
2. Voiced stops do not occur word-finally in unstressed syllables. In this position, <p t k> [p t k] are used in both spelling and pronunciation.
3. In stressed monosyllables, vowels are pronounced long before voiced stops.

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
b	[b]		
d	[d]		
g	[ɡ]		

Examples of <b, d, g> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
best	'beast'
abrans	'eyebrow'
neb	'any', 'some'
down	'deep'
broder	'brother'
bord	'board, table-top'
ger	'word'
maga	'nurture'
rag	'for'

Morpho-phonemic /-b -d -ɡ/ are pronounced and spelled [p t k] <-p -t -k> word-finally in unstressed syllables, as they are in UC, KK, and UCR. In all other positions, including at the end of monosyllabic words, the SWF writes <b d g> for /b d ɡ/. Because of this rule, words like **modrep** 'aunt' and **Kernewek** ~ **Kernowek** 'Cornish' whose roots end in an unstressed /-b -d -ɡ/ change this final <-p -t -k> to <-b- -d- -g-> when a suffix is added that places the morpheme-final /b d ɡ/ in medial position. Thus the plural of **modrep** is **modrebedh** 'aunts', and the word for 'Cornish speaker' is **Kerneweger** ~ **Kernoweger**.

4. 4. Labial and Dental Fricatives

Rules for Labial and Dental Fricatives:

1. Word-finally, the graphs <f v> and <th dh> are distributed etymologically in unstressed syllables. Speakers of Tudor Cornish pronounce all these consonants as voiceless in this position.
2. Speakers of RLC may mark the loss of final [f v θ ð] in a number of lexical items in their variant by replacing the dropped consonant with an apostrophe, as in RLC **for'** 'way, road' ~ RMC **fordh**.
3. In spoken RLC, <f> is often voiced to [v], especially morpheme-initially before vowels, but it is still spelled <f>.
4. Lenition of initial <f> to [v] is not indicated in writing.
5. In stressed monosyllables, vowels are long before all single fricatives.

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
f	[f]		[f], [v]
v	[v]		
hw {wh}	[ʍ]		

The table of labial fricatives contains one digraph, <hw>, for which there is a traditional graph {wh}.

Examples of <f v hw> {wh} in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
fenester	'window'
afia	'affirm'
hanaf ~ hanath	'cup'
viaj	'travel'
eva	'drink (v.)'
kuv {cuv}	'nice'
hweg {wheg}	'sweet'
alhwedh {alwhedh}	'key'

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
th	[θ]		
dh	[ð]		

Examples of <th dh> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
(ow) thas	'(my) father'
yethow	'languages'
kath {cath}	'cat'
dhywar	'down from'
edhen	'bird'
soodh	'work'

4. 5. Sibilants and Shibilants

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
c	[s]		
s	[s], [z]		
z	[z]		
sh	[ʃ]		

Rules for Sibilants and Shibilants:

1. Each variety of spoken Revived Cornish has its own rules for the distribution of [s] and [z] in initial, medial, and final positions, and the SWF defaults to the spelling <s> (the usual MC and RMC spelling) to represent both voiced [z] and voiceless [s] in most words.
2. The graph <s> represents [s] in the clusters <sp st sk> and <ps ts ks>.
3. In medial position, <s> is often pronounced as voiced [z] between vowels or between a sonorant and a vowel, as in **kasek {casek}** 'mare' and **kynsa** ~ **kensa** 'first'.
4. Root-final <s> is often pronounced as [z], except in a small number of loanwords like **plas** 'place' and **fas** 'face'.
5. In initial position, speakers of RLC will usually pronounce <s> as [z], except in some loanwords and in clusters like <sp st sk sl sn>.
6. Many RMC users pronounce initial <s> as [s].
7. Since the rules for lenition of initial <s> are different for speakers of each variety of Revived Cornish, and since the graph <s> can also represent voiced [z], the SWF does not show the lenition of <s> in writing. This is consistent with the practice in Unified Cornish.
8. The graphs <c> and <ss> always represent voiceless [s] or [sː] for speakers of both RMC and RLC.
9. The graph <z> is always pronounced as [z] for speakers of both RMC and RLC.
10. The digraph <sh> represents the sound [ʃ] and is found primarily in loanwords like **shap** 'shape'. In compounds like **les-hanow** 'nickname' where a final <s> comes together with an initial <h>, a hyphen may be inserted to show that the two letters represent separate sounds.

Examples of <s z sh> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
sten	'tin'
kasek {casek}	'mare'
bras	'big'
zebra	'zebra'
Zanzibar	'Zanzibar'
shap	'shape'
bushel	'bushel'
bush	'crowd'

In the SWF, loanwords from Norman French like **cita** will be spelled with initial and medial <c>. This reflects the idea that the sound represented by <c> was likely still an affricate at the time it was borrowed, and that it is usually pronounced as voiceless [s] in both RMC and RLC. In root-final position the SWF will write <s> in words like **dons** and **donsya** 'dance', since writing root-final <c> would likely lead learners to mispronounce it as [k], and since most existing orthographies have been writing these words with <s> for decades. Thus, the SWF writes:

The Consonants <c> and <s> in Loanwords in the SWF

Word	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
cita	'city'	[ˈsiːta]	[ˈsɪtə]
cider	'cider'	[ˈsiːdɛr]	[ˈsəɪdər]
donsya	'dance'	[ˈdɔnsja]	[ˈdɔnzjə]
plas	'place'	[plaːs]	[plæːs]
gras	'grace, thanks'	[ɡraːs]	[ɡræːs]
spas	'space'	[spaːs]	[spæːs]

Recent loans like **zebra**, **Zanzibar**, **Zimbabwe** will be spelled with initial, medial, and final <z> in the SWF.

4. 6. <gh> and <h>

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
gh	[x]		[h]
h	[h]		

RMC [x] in words like **sygh** 'dry' and **margh** 'horse' is written <gh> in the SWF, and is pronounced [h] by speakers of RLC. The phoneme /h/ is spelled <h>, and is pronounced [h] by speakers of all varieties of Revived Cornish.

Additionally, between vowels, or between <r, l> and a vowel, the spelling <h> will be used for /x/ in both the RMC and RLC variants. This reflects the suggested pronunciation of medial /x/ in most varieties of Revived Cornish more closely. The digraph <gh> therefore always represents the sound [x] for speakers of RMC and [h] for speakers of RLC, whereas <h> represents [h] for both.

Examples of <h> and of Final <gh> Becoming Medial <-h-> in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*	*Compound*	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC*
hal	~	**hal**	'moor'			[haːl]	[hæːl]
nahen	~	**nahen**	'not otherwise'			[naˈhɛːn]	[nəˈheːn]
sygh	~	**segh**	'dry'	**sehes**	'thirst'	[ˈsɛːhɛs]	[ˈzɛhəz]
flogh	~	**flogh**	'child'	**flehes**	'children'	[ˈflɛːhɛs]	[ˈflɛhɛs]
margh	~	**margh**	'horse'	**marhek**	'rider'	[ˈmarhɛk]	[ˈmærʰək]

Note that the word 'small' is **byhan** in RMC, but may be spelled **bian** by speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish who pronounce the word without a medial [h].

In comparatives, superlatives and subjunctives, medial <gh> is used where KK has <ggh> representing a long [xː]. Like word-final <gh>, this medial <gh> may also be pronounced [h] by speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish. KK speakers may

confidently assume that a <gh> between two vowels represents a long [xː] for them, because the SWF consistently uses the graph <h> for the reflex of single /x/ between two vowels in words like **sehes** 'thirst' (KK **syghes** [ˈsɪˑhɛs], UC **seghes**) and **flehes** (KK, UC **fleghes** [ˈflɛˑhɛs]).

Examples of Medial <-gh-> in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*	*RMC*	*RLC and TC*
yagha	~	**yagha**	'healthier, healthiest'	[ˈjaxːa]	[ˈjæhə]
sygha	~	**segha**	'drier, driest'	[ˈsɪxːa]	[ˈzɛhə]

4. 7. Geminate fricatives

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
ff	[fː]	[f]	
ss	[sː]	[s]	
tth	[θː]	[θ]	
-gh-	[xː]	[h]	

Examples of <ff ss tth> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
kreffa {creffa}	'strongest'
nessa	'next', 'second'
kottha {cottha}	'oldest'

Generally, double fricative spellings indicate that the preceding vowel is short and that the consonant itself is pronounced as a geminate in some varieties of RMC.

The SWF does not write <ggh>, <ssh>, or <cch> (the KK graphs used for [xː], [ʃː], [tʃː]) because:

1. KK <ssh> [ʃː] and <cch> [tʃː] represent marginal phonemes, and are only found in a few loanwords. In words like **passyon** 'passion', the historical trigraph <ssy> which suggests the pronunciation [ʃː] (< [sːj]), will be used instead.
2. In the SWF, the digraph <gh> in medial position is unambiguous. As discussed in § 4.6 above, a <gh> written between two vowels can only stand for the sound KK users pronounce as a geminate [xː]. The vowel which precedes such a medial <gh> will therefore be interpreted as short according to RMC rules about vowel length. Where a non-geminate /x/ phoneme occurs between vowels (in words like **laha** 'law', KK **lagha**), it is realised as [h], and is accordingly spelled <h> in the SWF.

However, the trigraph <tth> is used for geminate [θː] in comparatives, superlatives and subjunctives like **kottha {cottha}** 'oldest'. This graph is attested in the traditional

Cornish corpus, and is useful for speakers of some varieties of RMC, since it clearly marks the preceding vowel as short.

4. 8. Affricates

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
ch	[ʧ]		
j	[ʤ]		
ks {x}	[ks ɡz]		

The SWF recognizes two affricate phonemes [ʧ] and [ʤ], which are spelled <ch> and <j> respectively. Except for a handful of words like **chi** ~ **chei** 'house', **chy** ~ **che** 'thou, thee', and **jy** ~ **je** 'thou, thee', most words featuring <ch> and <j> are loans from English or French.

Examples of <ch> and <j> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
chymbla	'chimney'
tochya	'touch'
ertach	'heritage'
jorna	'day'
bleujen	'flower'
imaj	'image'

The cluster /ks/ (pronounced [ks] or [ɡz]) also occurs in some loanwords like **boks {box}** 'box' and **tekst {text}** 'text', and may be written <ks> in the SWF. Some writers may choose to use the traditional graph {x} instead of <ks> in these words.

4. 9. Semivowels

Graph	*RMC*	*TC*	*RLC*
w	[w]		
y	[j]		

Examples of <w> and <y> in the SWF

RMC and RLC	*Meaning*
war	'on'
awos ~ **'wos**	'because'
liw	'colour'
yar	'hen'
baya	'kiss'
oy	'egg'

The spelling of semivowels is straightforward and consistent with the existing practice of most current Cornish orthographies. It should be noted, however, that word-initial <ye-> tends to become <e-> in Revived Late and Tudor Cornish. Speakers who drop the initial <y-> in these words may indicate this by using an apostrophe.

Examples of RMC <ye> ~ RLC <'e> in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
Yedhewon	~	**'Edhewon**	'Jews'
yehes	~	**'ehes**	'health'
yeth	~	**'eth**	'language'

5. Special Cases

In addition to the general principles outlined above, which apply to whole classes of words, there are a few specific rules involving individual lexical items. In most cases, these changes in spelling reflect attestations in traditional Cornish texts which show a different phonological development from that predicted by regular sound change rules or by the etymology of the words in question. Other problematic cases may be referred to a future dictionary committee for further research.

5. 1. <dhyworth> 'from', <dhywar> 'down from'

The preposition 'from' is spelled **dhyworth** in the SWF, which reflects:

1. The generalisation of the soft mutation of initial **d-** in this word, which happened early on in Middle Cornish, possibly via the form **a-dhyworth** with subsequent loss of the element **a-**. (Compare the preposition **dhe** 'to' and the possessive pronoun **dha** 'thy', both of which also have an etymological **d-** which has become permanently lenited in MC.)
2. The reduction of the vowel in the first syllable of this word to [ɪ] or [ə], which contributed to the further contraction of this preposition to **dhort** in the Late Cornish period.

The preposition 'down from' which underwent a comparable development, will likewise be spelled **dhywar**.

5. 2. <nowyth> 'new'

Although the distribution of word-final <-dh -th> and <-f -v> in the SWF generally follows etymological criteria, the word **nowyth** is so spelled to reflect that it is found spelled with a <τ> (indicating [-θ]) in Lhuyd's *Archæologica Brittanica*. The spelling **nowyth** is also attested in Middle Cornish texts.

5. 3. <seythen> 'week'

The Cornish word for 'week' likely originally had [ɪ] in the final syllable, but there is strong evidence from the historical corpus that the word was re-interpreted a singulative in **-en**, resulting in written LC (and, in consequence, RLC) forms like *zeythan*. The SWF takes this into account and writes **seythen**.

Appendix A

Basic Wordlist

This wordlist, comprising about one thousand commonly used words drawn from Revived Middle Cornish, Tudor Cornish, and Revived Late Cornish, is intended as a basic introduction to the orthographic principles of the SWF. It should not be seen as an attempt to define core vocabulary for teaching purposes, nor is it recommended that all possible orthographic variants of a word listed here be presented simultaneously in language classes or instructional materials.

Where RMC, Tudor Cornish and RLC forms differ, the variants are listed as separate headwords, except when they would appear in adjacent positions in the list, in which case they are listed only once in 'chronological' order (RMC, TC, RLC). Words which may be spelled using the traditional graphs {c qw x -y} are listed immediately after their counterparts with <k hw ks -i> and are marked by curly brackets.

The main sources for this list are:

Gendall, Richard. *A Practical Cornish Dictionary.* 2007.
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Nance, R. Morton. *Gerlyver Noweth Kernewek-Sawsnek ha Sawsnek-Kernewek.* Dyllansow Truran, reprinted 1990.
Williams, Nicholas. *Gerlyver Kernowek-Sawsnek,* 2nd ed. Agan Tavas/Evertype, 2006.

Abbreviations

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
cjn.	conjunction
def. art.	definite article
f.	feminine
m.	masculine
num.	numeral
pl.	plural
place n.	place name
prn.	pronoun
prp.	preposition
phr.	phrase
ptl.	particle
rel.	relative
vb. pt.	verbal particle
vbn.	verbal noun
{ ... }	marks an alternative spelling using traditional graphs

· A ·

a (prp.) of, from.
a (vb.rel.pt.).
a (cnj.) if.
a-brys ~ **a-bres** (adv.), early, timely, on time, in good time.
a-dal (prp.), opposite, facing.
a-dar ~ **a-der** (prp.), without, outside, except.
a-ban , (cnj.) since.
a-barth (prp.), for the sake of, beside, in the name of, along with.
a-bell (adv.), afar.
a-berth (prp.), within.
a-bervedh (adv.), inside, indoors, aboard.
abm ~ **amm** (m.), **ammow** ~ **abmow** (pl.), kiss.
a-borpos (adv.), purposely, on purpose.
abrans (m.), **abransow** (pl.), **dewabrans** (dl.), eyebrow.
abusya (vbn.), abuse.
a-der ~ **a-dar** (prp.), without, outside, except.
a-dhann ~ **a-dhadn** (prep.), from under, from beneath.
a-dhelergh ~ **dhelergh**, (adv.), behind, aft, abaft, in arrears.
a-dherag ~ **dherag** (prp.), before, beforehand, in from of.
a-dhesempis (adv.), suddenly, immediately, forthwith.
a-dhia (prp.), from, since.
a-dhistowgh (adv.), immediately.
a-dhiwedhes (adj.), late, recent.
adhyskans {adhyscans} (m.), education.
adhyski {adhysky} (vbn.), educate.
a-dreus (adv.), across.
a-drev ~ **a-dryv** (adv.), behind.
a-dro ~ **'dro** (prp.), around.
a-dro dhe ~ **'dro dhe**, concerning, approximately, about.
a-droos (adv.), on foot, afoot.
a-dryv ~ **a-drev** (adv.), behind.
afia (vbn.), affirm.
aga ~ **'ga** (prn.), their.
agan ~ **'gan** (prn.), our.
agas ~ **'gas** (prn.), your.
ages (cnj.), than.
a-hes ~ **a-hys** (adv.), full length, outstretched, from end to end.
ahwer {awher} (m.), sorrow, distress, trouble;
a-hys ~ **a-hes** (adv.), full length, outstretched, from end to end.
a-ji dhe ~ **a-jei dhe** (prp.), inside, within.
ajon ~ **aswon** (vbn.), know (persons or places), recognize.
akordya {acordya} (vbn.), agree.
alargh (m.), **elergh** (pl.) swan.
alemma ~ **alebma** (adv.), hence, from here.
alena (adv.), thence, from there
a-les (adv.), abroad, apart, widely, outstretched.
alhwedh {alwhedh} (f.), **alhwedhow {alwhedhow}** (pl.), key.
alhwedha {alwhedha} (vbn.), lock.

als (f.) **alsyow** (pl.), cliff.
amal (m.), **emlow** (pl.), edge, border, side.
amanen (m.), **amanennow** ~ **amanednow** (pl.), butter.
amari {amary} (m.), **amaris** (pl.), cupboard, locker.
ambosa (vbn.), promise.
amendya (vbn.), make amends, alone, set right.
amm ~ **abm** (m.), **ammow** ~ **abmow** (pl.), kiss.
amontya (vbn.), count, compute, estimate.
amser (f.), **amseryow** (pl.), tense (of verb).
an (def. art.), the.
anal (f.), breath.
a-nans (prp.), below.
androw (m.), afternoon.
androweyth (m.), afternoon-time.
aneth (m.), **anethow** (pl.), marvel, wonder, adventure.
anewn (adj.), unfair.
anfeusik ~ **anfujik** (adj.), unfortunate, unlucky.
anjei ~ **i** (prn.), they, themselves.
ankevi {ankevy} (vbn.), forget, see nakevi.
annedh ~ **adnedh** (f.), **anedhow** (pl.), dwelling, habitation.
anos ~ **anwos** (m.), chill, cold.
anserhek (adj.), independent.
anserhogeth (f.), independence.
anwos ~ **anos** (m.), chill, cold.
apert (adj.), obvious, evident, open.
apposya (vbn.), examine (of knowledge), test by questions.
apposyans (m.), **apposyansow**, examination, test.
arader (m.), **ereder** (pl.) plough.
a-rag (prp.), before, in front of, in the presence of.
aral (adj.), **erel** (pl.) other, another.
arbennek ~ **arbednek** (adj.), special.
ardh (m.), **ardhow** (pl.), high place, height.
areth (f.), **arethyow** (pl.) oration, lecture, declamation, speech, address (talk).
arethor (m.), **arethoryon** (pl.), orator, lecturer, public speaker.
argemmyn ~ **argebmyn** (m.), **argemynnow** ~ **argemydnow** (pl.), advertisement, notice.
argerdh (m.), **argerdhow** (pl.), process.
argh (f.), **arhow** (pl.), coffer, chest, bin.
argol (m.), danger of loss, perdition.
arhans (m.), silver, money; see also: **mona**.
arhanti {arhanty} (m.), **arhantiow** (pl.), bank (for money).
arlodh (m.), **arlydhi {arlydhy}** (pl.), lord, master.
arlodhes, (f.) **arlodhesow** (pl.), lady, mistress.
arnowyth (adj.), modern.
art (m.), **artys**, **artow** (pl.), art.
arta (adv.), again, once more.
arv (f.), **arvow** (pl.), weapon, arm.
arveth (m.), hire, employment, wages.
arvor (m.), coastland, coast; see also: **kost {cost}**.
arwodh (f.), **arwodhyow** (pl.), sign, symbol, emblem, annorial device, symptom.
arwodha (vbn.), signal, signify, make a sign.
askel (f.), **eskelli {eskelly}** (pl.), wing, fin.

askel dro (f.), helicopter.
asklos {asclos} (coll.) (f.), **asklosen {asclosen}** (sg.), chips.
askorn {ascorn} (m.), **eskern** (pl.), bone.
ass, **assa** (int.), how.
assay (m.), **assays**, attempt, essay, rehearsal.
astel (m.), **astel ober**, strike (suspension of work).
aswon ~ **ajon** (vbn.), know (persons or places), recognize.
asyn (m.), **asynes** (pl.), donkey, ass.
atal (coll.), rubbish, mine-waste, garbage.
attes (adj.), comfortable, at ease.
a-ugh (prp.), above, over, aloft.
a-vadn, **a-vann** (adv.), aloft, above, overhead.
aval (m.), **avalow** (pl.), apple.
aval dor (m.), **avalow dor** (pl.), potato.
aval kerensa ~ **aval kerenja** (m.), **avalow k.** (pl.), tomato.
a-vann, **a-vadn** (adv.), aloft, above, overhead.
a-varr, (adv.), early.
avel ~ **'vel** (adv.), like, as.
a-ves (adj.), outside, away.
avon (f.), **avonyow** (pl.), river; see also **awon**.
a-vorow (adv.), tomorrow.
avoydya (vbn.), avoid, shun.
a-wartha, (adv.), above, aloft, on top.
awel (f.), **awelyow** (pl.), wind, gale, weather.
awgrym (m.), mathematics.
a-woles (adv.), below, lower, at the bottom.
awon (f.), **awonyow** (pl.), river.
awos ~ **'wos** (cnj.), because, though, for the sake of, in spite of.
ayr (m.), air.
ayrborth (m.), **ayrborthow** (pl.), airport.
aysel (m.), vinegar.
a'y wosa ~ **a'y woja** (phr.), afterwards.

· B ·

baban (m.), **babanes** (pl.), baby, doll.
badh (m.), bath.
badhya (vbn.), bathe.
badna ~ **banna** (m.), **banahow** (pl.), drop, bit, jot.
bagas (m.), **bagasow** (pl.), group, bunch, troop.
bal (m.), **balyow** (pl.), mine, area of tin-working.
baner (m.), **baneryow** (pl.), flag, banner.
banna, **badna** (m.), **banahow** (pl.), drop, bit, jot.
bara (m.), bread.
baramanen (m.), sandwich.
bardh (m.), **berdh** (pl.), bard, poet.
bardhonek (m.), **bardhonogow** (pl.), poem.
bardhonieth (f.), poesy, poetry.
barv (m.), **barvow** (pl.), beard.
basket (m.), **baskettys** (pl.), basket, pannier.

bay (m.), **bayow** (pl.), kiss.
baya (vbn.), kiss.
bedh (m.), **bedhow** (pl.), grave, sepulchre, tomb.
begh (m.), **beghyow** (pl.), burden, load.
bejeth (f.), **bejethow** (pl.), face, surface.
belin ~ **melin** (f.), **belinyow** ~ **melinyow** (pl.), mill.
benyn (f.), **benenes** (pl.), woman, wife.
berr (adj.) short, brief.
bes ~ **bys** (m.), besow (pl.), world.
bes ~ **bys** (m.), besyes (pl.), finger, digit.
beudhi {beudhy} ~ **budhi {budhy}** (vbn.), drown.
bew ~ **byw** (adj.), alive, quick, active.
bewa (vbn.), live.
bewnans ~ **bownans** (m.), **bewnansow** ~ **bownansow** (pl.), life.
bian ~ **byhan** (adj.), **byhatna** ~ **byhanna** (comp.), small, little.
bisaj (f.) face.
blamya (vbn.), blame.
bledhen (f.), **bledhenyow** ~ **bledhednyow** (pl.), year.
bloodh (m.), year of age.
bodhar (adj.), deaf.
bohosek ~ **bohojek** (adj.), poor.
boks {box} (m.), **boksys {boxys}** (pl.), box (container).
bolonjedh (m.), will, wish.
bones, **bos** (vbn.), be.
boos (m.), food, meal, fodder.
bord (m.), board (timber), table-top.
bosti {bosty} (m.), **bostiow** (pl.), restaurant, eating-house.
botel (m.), **botellow** (pl.), bottle.
bownans ~ **bewnans** (m.), **bownansow** ~ **bewnansow** (pl.), life.
bramm ~ **brabm** (m.), **bremmyn** ~ **brebmyn** (pl.), fart.
bran (f.), **brini {briny}** (pl.), crow.
bras ~ **broas** (adj.), big, great, large, huge.
bre (f.), **breow** (pl.), hill.
bregh (f.), **brehow** (pl.), **diwvregh** (dl.), arm (limb).
breyn (adj.), rotten.
broas ~ **bras** (adj.), big, great, large, huge.
broder (m.), **breder** (pl.) brother.
bronn ~ **brodn** (f.), **bronnow** ~ **brodnow** (pl.), **diwvron** (dl.), breast.
budhi {budhy} ~ **beudhi {beudhy}** (vbn.), drown.
bugh (f.), **buhes** (pl.), cow.
byhan ~ **bian** (adj.), **byhanna** ~ **byhatna** (comp.) small, little.
bykken (adv.), ever, always.
bynari {bynary} (adv.), for ever.
bynitha (adv.), ever, for evermore.
bys (prp.), until, as far as, up to.
bys ~ **bes** (m.), **besyes** (pl.), finger, digit.
bys ~ **bes** (m.), **besow** (pl.), world.
bythkweyth {bythqweyth} ~ **byskath {byscath}** (adv.), ever (in the past), never (in the past; with neg.).
byttegyns (adv.), nevertheless, yet, however.
byw ~ **bew** (adj.), alive, quick, active.

· C ·

For words beginning in {ca-, co-, cu-, cl-, cr-}, see under **K**.

chambour (m.), **chambours**, **chambouryow** (pl.), chamber, bedroom.
chi ~ **chei** (m.), **chiow** (pl.), house.
chy ~ **che** (prn.), thou; see also **ty** ~ **te**.
chymbla (m.), **chymblow**, **chymblys** (pl.), chimney.

· D ·

da (adj.), good, wholesome.
dadhla (vbn.), argue.
'dadn ~ **yn-dann** (prp.), under.
dalleth (m.), start, commencement, origin.
dalleth (vbn.), begin, originate.
dama (f.), **damyow** (pl.), mother; see also **mamm**.
dama-wydn (f.), **damyow-gwydn** (pl.), grandmother; see also **mamm-wynn**.
danvon ~ **danon** (vbn.), send, dispatch, report.
daras (m.), **darasow**, **darajow** ~ **darjow** (pl.), door.
darn (m.), **darnow** (pl.), bit, piece, part, fragment.
de (adv.), yesterday.
de' ~ **dy'** (m.), day (abbr.).
dybri {dybry} (vbn.), eat.
dedh ~ **dydh** (m.), **dedhyow** (pl.), day, date.
deg (num.), **degow** (pl.), ten.
degea (vbn.), close, enclose, shut.
dehen (m.), **dehennow** (pl.), cream.
dei ~ **di** (adv.), thither, to that place; see also **dhi**.
del ~ **dr'** (adv.), as, so, since, how.
den (m.), **tus** (pl.), human being, man, person.
den vyth ~ **den veth** (m.), nobody, no-one.
der (prp.), through, by means of.
deskadores {descadores} ~ **dyskadores {dyscadores}** (f.), **deskadoresow {descadoresow}** ~ **dyskadoresow {dyscadoresow}** (pl.), teacher (f.).
deskajor {descajor} ~ **dyskador {dyscador}** (m.), **deskajoryon {descajoryon}** ~ **dyskadoryon {dyscadoryon}** (pl.), teacher (m.).
devnydhya (vbn.) **gul devnydh a**, use.
dew ~ **dow** (num.), two (m.).
dewlagas ~ **dowlagas** (dl.), eyes; see also **lagas**.
dha (prn.), thy.
dhana ~ **dhan** (cnj.), then.
dhe (prp.), to, for, at.
dhe les (phr.), useful, advantageous.
dherag (prp.) before
dhi (adv.), thither, to that place; see also **dei** ~ **di**.
dhywar (prp.) down from.
dhyworth ~ **dhort** (prp.), from.
di ~ **dei** (adv.), thither, to that place; see also **dhi**.
dien (adj.), complete, entire, whole; **yn tien** (adv.), completely.

difen (vbn.), forbid, ban, prohibit.
difuna (vbn.), awaken.
dillas (coll.), **dilasen** (f.), clothes, clothing, dress, raiment.
displegya (vbn.), unfold, develop, explain.
diwar (dl.), legs; see also **garr**.
diwedhes (adj.), late.
diwettha (adj.comp.), later, last.
diwleuv, **diwla** (dl.), hands; see also **leuv**.
diwotti {diwotty} (m.), **diwottiow** (pl.), public house, alehouse.
diwskovarn {diwscovarn} (dl.), ears.
diwvron (dl.), breast.
dohajydh ~ **dohajedh** (m.), afternoon, noon to sunset.
dons (m.), dance.
donsya (vbn.), dance.
dor (m.), ground, earth.
dos (vbn.), come, arrive.
dowr (m.), **dowrow** (pl.), water, urine, river, lake.
dr' ~ **del** (adv.), as, so, since, how.
drefen ~ **dreven** (cnj.), because, on account of.
'dro ~ **a-dro** (prp.), around.
dro dhe ~ **a-dro dhe**, concerning, approximately, about.
drog (adj.), bad, wicked, naughty.
du (adj.), black, sombre, dark.
Du (m.), November.
Duw (m.), God.
dy' ~ **de'** (m.), day (abbr.).
dybri {dybry} (vbn.), eat.
dydh ~ **dedh** (m.), **dedhyow** (pl.), day, date.
dyhow (adj.), right (opposite to left), right hand.
dyhow (m.), South.
dyllo (vbn.), publish, release.
dynnargh (m.), welcome.
dyowl (m.), **dywolow** (pl.), devil; **an jowl** (art.m.), the devil.
dyskador {dyscador} ~ **deskajor {descajor}** (m.), **dyskadoryon {dyscadoryon}** ~ **deskajoryon {descajoryon}** (pl.), teacher (m.).
dyskadores {dyscadores} ~ **deskadores {descadores}** (f.), **dyskadoresow {dyscadoresow}** ~ **deskadoresow {descadoresow}** (pl.), teacher (f.).
dyski {dysky} (vbn.), learn, teach.

· E ·

e' (prn.), him, it; see also **ev**.
ea ~ **ya** (int.), yes.
ebren (f.), sky.
Ebryl (m.), April.
edhen (f.), **edhyn**, **edhnow** (pl.), bird, wild fowl.
egeri {egery} (vbn.), open, disclose, explain.
eglos (f.), **eglosyow** (pl.), church.
egor (adj.) open.
en ~ **yn** (prp.), in, at, to, on; (adv.ptl.) -ly.

ena (adv.), there, then, at that place or time.
enev ~ **ene'** (f.), **enevow** (pl.), soul.
eneth ~ **unnweyth** (adv.), once, only.
enowi {enowy} (vbn.), light up.
erbynn, **warbynn** ~ **warbydn** (prp.), against, by the time that.
erel (pl.), others.
ergh (coll.), snow.
es (cnj.), than.
esel (m.), **eseli {esely}** (pl.), member, limb.
Est (m.), August.
Est (m.), East.
eth (num.), eight.
eur (f.), **euryow** hour, time, o'clock.
euthek ~ **uthik** (adj., adv.), terrible, horrible, dreadful, dreadfully.
ev ~ **e'** (prn.), he, him, it.
ewn (adj.), correct, just, straight, proper, fitting, appropriate.
eyl (adj.), (prn.), one of two.

· F ·

falladow (m.), failure.
fals (adj.), false, treacherous.
fas (m.), **fassow** (pl.), face, countenance, appearance.
fatell (adv.), how.
fatla (adv.), how: **fatla genes?** (phr.), how are you?
fest (adv.), very, extremely, indeed; **fest yn ta** (phr.), very well.
fin (f.), **finyow** (pl.), end.
fistena (vbn.), hasten, make haste, hurry.
flamm (m.), **flammow** (pl.), flame.
flogh (m.), **flehes** (pl.), child, young person.
fordh ~ **for'**, (f.), **fordhow** ~ **for'ow** (pl.), road, way, manner.
forn (f.), **fornow** (pl.), oven, kiln, stove.
fors (m.), force, strength; **na fors** (phr.), no matter.
freth (adj.), fluent, eloquent, eager.
frooth (coll.), **frothen** (f.), fruit.
frut (m. and coll.), **frutys** (pl.), fruit.
fug (adj.), sham, fake.
furv (f.), **furvow** (pl.), form, shape, figure.

· G ·

'ga ~ **aga** (prn.), their.
galojek ~ **galosek** (adj.), powerful, mighty, potent.
'gan ~ **agan** (prn.), our.
'gas ~ **agas** (prn.), your.
gallos (m.), power, ability, might.
gallos (vbn.), be able.
galosek ~ **galojek** (adj.), powerful, mighty, potent.
gan, **agan** (prn.), our.
ganow (m.), **ganowow** (pl.), mouth.

gans ~ **gen** (prp.), with, by.
garma (vbn.), shout, cry out.
garr (f.), **garrow** (pl.), **diwar** (dl.), leg.
garth (m.), **garthow** (pl.), enclosure, yard, garden.
gasa ~ **gara** (vbn.), leave, let, allow.
gast (f.), **gesti {gesty}** (pl.), bitch, whore.
gen ~ **gans** (prp.), with, by.
Genver ~ **Jenver** (m.), January.
ger (m.), **geryow** (pl.), word, saying, report.
gerlyver (m.), **gerlyvrow** (pl.), dictionary.
glas (adj.), blue, green (of plants), grey.
glaw (m.), rain.
gleb ~ **glyb** (adj.), wet.
glin (m.), **glinyow** (pl.), **dewlin** ~ **dowlin** (dl.), knee.
glyb ~ **gleb** (adj.), wet.
gober (m.), **gobrow** (pl.), reward, pay, salary.
gocki, **{gocky}** (adj.), stupid, silly.
godn ~ **gonn** (m.), **godnys** ~ **gonnys** (pl.), gun.
golhi {golhy} (vbn.), wash, bathe**.**
gonn ~ **godn** (m.), **gonnys** ~ **godnys** (pl.), gun.
goodh (adj.), wild, fierce, uncultivated.
goodh (f.), **godhow** (pl.), goose.
gool (m.), **golyow** (pl.), feast, fair.
gool (m.), **golyow** (pl.), sail, veil.
goon (f.), **gonyow** (pl.), downland, moor (upland).
goos (m.), blood.
gor- (prf.), over-.
gorebma ~ **gorhemmyn** (vbn.), command, order (command).
gorfenna ~ **gorfedna** (vbn.), finish, conclude, terminate.
gorhemmyn ~ **gorebma** (vbn.), command, order (command).
gorhemynadow (pl.), greetings, commandments.
gorra (vbn.), put, place, set.
gorsedh (f.), **gorsedhow** (pl.), meeting of bards; throne.
gorthebi {gortheby} (vbn.), answer.
gorthuher (m.), **gorthuherow** (pl.), evening.
gorthyp (m.), **gorthebow** (pl.), answer, reply, response.
gortos (vbn.), await, stay.
goslowes (vbn.), listen.
gov (m.), **govyon** (pl.), (black-) smith.
govyn ~ **govena** (vbn.), ask.
gow (m.), **gowyow** (pl.), lie.
gradh (m.), **gradhow** (pl.), step, grade, degree, stair.
gras (m.), **grassys** (pl.), **grassow** (pl.), thanks, grace.
gul ~ **gwul** (vbn.), do, make.
guw (m.), **guwow** (pl.), spear.
gwadn ~ **gwann** (adj.), weak.
gwag (adj.), empty, void, vacant.
gwann ~ **gwadn** (adj.), weak.
gwari {gwary} (m.), **gwariow** (pl.), play.
gwartha (adj.), upper, higher.
gwas (m.), **gwesyon** (pl.), man, servant.

gwav ~ **gwoav** (m.), **gwavow** (pl.), winter
gwaynya (vbn.), gain, win, profit, procure.
gwaytya (vbn.), take care, hope, expect.
gwedh ~ **gwydh** (coll.), **gwedhen** (pl.), trees.
gwedren (f.), **gwedrennow** ~ **gwedrednow** (pl.), drinking glass.
gweles (vbn.), see.
gweli {gwely} (m.), **gweliow** (pl.), bed.
gwell (adj.), better.
gwella (adj.), best.
gwenen (coll.), **gwenenen** (f.), bees.
gwer ~ **gwyrdh** (adj.), green.
gwerin (f.), common people.
gwertha (vbn.), sell.
gwerthji {gwerthjy} (m.), **gwerthjiow** (pl.), shop; see also **shoppa**.
gweyth (f.), **gweythyow** (pl.), occasion (time).
gweyth (m.), work.
gwiasva (f.), **gwiasvaow** (pl.), web-site.
gwin (m.), wine.
gwir (adj.), true, right.
gwir (m.), **gwiryow** (pl.), right, truth.
gwitha (vbn.), keep, retain.
gwlan ~ **gwloan** (coll.), wool.
gwlas (f.), **gwlasow** (pl.), country, land.
gwloan ~ **gwlan** (coll.), wool.
gwoav ~ **gwav** (m.), **gwavow** (pl.), winter.
gwreg (f.), **gwragedh** (pl.), wife, woman.
gwydh ~ **gwedh** (coll.), **gwedhen** (pl.), trees.
gwynn ~ **gwydn** (adj.), white.
Gwynngala ~ **Gwydngala** (m.), September.
gwyns (m.), **gwynsow** (pl.), wind.
gwyrdh ~ **gwer** (adj.), green.

· H ·

ha (cnj.), and (before consonants), while, then, and so.
hag (cnj.), and (before vowels).
hager (adj.), ugly, hideous, foul.
hanaf ~ **hanath** (m.), **hanafow** ~ **hanathow** (pl.), cup, beaker.
haneth (adv.), tonight, this evening.
hanow (m.), **henwyn** (pl.), name, noun.
hansel (m.), **hanselyow** (pl.), breakfast.
hanter (m.), half.
hanterkans {hantercans} (num.), fifty.
hav ~ **hoav** (m.), **havow** (pl.), summer.
haval (adj.), similar, resembling.
heb (prp.), without.
hebm ~ **helm** ~ **hemm** (prn.), this (m.).
hebma ~ **helma** ~ **hebma** (prn.), this one (m.).
hedhyw (adv.), today.
hedn ~ **henn** (prn.), that (m.).

hedna ~ **henna** (prn.), that one (m.).
Hedra (m.), October.
hei ~ **hi** (prn.), she, it, her (obj.).
hemm ~ **helm** ~ **hebm** (prn.), this (m.).
hemma ~ **helma** ~ **hebma** (prn.), this one (m.).
hen (adj.), old, long-standing.
hengovek (adj.), traditional.
henn ~ **hedn** (prn.), that (m.).
henna ~ **hedna** (prn.), that one (m.).
hens ~ **hyns** (m.), **hensyow** (pl.), road, way.
hes ~ **hys** (m.), length, extent.
hepken (adv.), only.
herwydh (prp.), according to.
hevelep (adj.), like, similar.
hevlena, **hevleni {hevleny}** (adv.), this year.
heyl (m.), **heylyow** (pl.), estuary, river-mouth.
hi ~ **hei** (prn.), she, it, her (obj.).
hir (adj.), long, tall, lengthy.
hireth (f.), longing, nostalgia, yearning.
hoav ~ **hav** (m.), **havow** (pl.), summer.
hobm ~ **holm** ~ **homm** (prn.), this (f.).
hobma ~ **holma** ~ **homma** (prn.), this one (f.), this woman.
hodn ~ **honn** (prn.), that (f.).
hodna ~ **honna** (prn.), that one (f.), that woman.
hogen (adv.), still, even, yet, perpetually.
hogen (f.), **hogennow** ~ **hogednow** (pl.), heap, pie, baked pastry.
hogh (m.), **hohes** (pl.), pig, swine, hog.
holan (m.), salt.
homm ~ **holm** ~ **hobm** (prn.), this (f.).
homma ~ **holma** ~ **hobma** (prn.), this one (f.), this woman.
honan (m.), self, own.
honn ~ **hodn** (prn.), that (f.).
honna ~ **hodna** (prn.), that one (f.), that woman.
howl (m.), sun, sunshine, sunlight.
huni {huny} (prn.), one.
hunros (m.), **hunrosow** (pl.), dream, vision.
hunrosa (vbn.), dream.
hunya (vbn.), sleep.
hwans {whans} (m.), **hwansow**, **{whansow}** (pl.), desire, longing, wish.
hwarthus {wharthus} (adj.), laughable, comic, ridiculous, funny.
hwarvos {wharvos} (m.), **hwarvosow**, **{wharvosow}** (pl.), happening, event.
hwarvos {wharvos} (vbn.), happen, befall, occur, take place, come to pass.
hwedhel {whedhel} (m.), **hwedhlow {whedhlow}** (pl.), story, tale, fabrication, false report.
hweg {wheg} (adj.), sweet, dear, pleasant, pleasing, kind, gentle, nice.
hwegh {whegh} (num.), six.
hwel {whel} (m.), **hwelyow {whelyow}** (pl.), work, mine-working.
hwerthin {wherthin} (vbn.), laugh.
hwetek {whetek} (num.), sixteen.
Hwevrer {Whevrer} ~ **Hwevrel {Whevrel}** (m.), February.
hwi {whi} ~ **hwei {whei}** (prn.), you (pl.), ye.
hwilas {whilas} (vbn.), seek, search for, try.

hwiogen, **{whiogen}** (f.), **hwiogennow {whiogennow}** (pl.), pasty.
hwithra, **{whithra}** (vbn.), examine, investigate.
hwor {whor} (f.), **hwerydh {wherydh}** (pl.), sister.
hy (prn.), her, its (f.).
hyns ~ **hens** (m.), **hensyow** (pl.), road, way.
hys ~ **hes** (m.), length, extent.

· I ·

i (prn.), they, them; see also **anjei**.
ilow (f.), music, tune, melody.
imaj (m.), **imajys** (pl.), image.
is (prp.), below, under.
isel (adj.), low, lowly, modest, vulgar, soft (of sound).
istori {istory} (m.), **istoriow** (pl.), history.

· J ·

jammes (adv.), never.
jentil (adj.), gentle, pleasing, well-born.
Jenver ~ **Genver** (m.), January.
jorna (m.), **jornyow** (pl.), day.
jowl (m.), devil.
jy (prn.), thee.
jydh ~ **jedh** (m.), day (after **an** or **unn** ~ **udn**).
jynn (m.), **jynnys**, **jynnow** (pl.), machine, engine.
jynn-amontya (m.), **jynnys-amontya**, **jynnow-amontya** (pl.) computer.
jynn-ebren (m.), **jynnys-ebren**, **jynnow-ebren** (pl.), aircraft, aeroplane.

· K ·

kablus {cablus} (adj.).
kabm {cabm} ~ **kamm {camm}** (adj.), wrong, bent, crooked.
kadnas {cadnas} ~ **kannas {cannas}** (f.), **kanajow {canajow}** ~ **kanasow {canasow}** (pl.), messenger, ambassador.
kador {cador} (f.), **kadoryow {cadoryow}** (pl.), chair, seat.
kales {cales} (adj.), hard, difficult, severe.
kaletter {caletter} (m.), hardness, difficulty.
kalgh {calgh}, **kal' {cal'}** (m.), **kalghyow {calghyow}** (pl.), penis.
kamm {camm} ~ **kabm {cabm}** (adj.), wrong, bent, crooked.
kan {can} ~ **koan {coan}** (f.), **kanow {canow}** (pl.), song, poem.
kana {cana} (vbn.), sing, sound (of an instrument).
kann {cann} (adj.), bright white.
kannas {cannas} ~ **kadnas {cadnas}** (f.), **kanasow {canasow}** ~ **kanajow {canajow}** (pl.), messenger, ambassador.
kans, **{cans}** (num.), **kansow {cansow}** (pl.), hundred.
kar {car} (m.), **kerens** (pl.), relative.
kara {cara} (vbn.), love, like.
karg {carg} (m.), **kargow {cargow}** (pl.), load, cargo, burden.
karga {carga} (vbn.), load.
karr {carr} (m.), **kerri {kerry}** car, cart, vehicle.

karten {carten} (f.), **kartennow {cartennow}** ~ **kartednow {cartednow}** (pl.), card.
karten gresys, **{carten gresys}** (f.), **kartennow kresys {cartennow cresys}** ~ **kartednow kresys {cartednow cresys}** (pl.) credit card.
karten vona, **{carten vona}** (f.), **kartennow mona**, **{cartennow-mona}** (pl.), cash card.
kas {cas} (f.), **kasow {casow}** (pl.), battle, war.
kas {cas} (m.), hate, misery.
kastel {castel} (m.), **kastylli {castylly}** (pl.), castle, fortress.
kath {cath} (f.), **kathes {cathes}** (pl.), cat.
kavos {cavos} ~ **kawas {cawas}** (vbn.), get, find, have.
kawgh {cawgh} (m.), excrement, shit, dung.
kebmyn ~ **kemmyn** (adj.), common, vulgar.
kebmys ~ **kemmys** (adj.), so much, so, as, as much as, as many as.
kedhow (m.), mustard.
kedn ~ **kenn** (m.), skin, hide, peel.
keffrys, **keffres** (adv.), also, likewise, moreover, too, as well.
kegin (f.), **keginow** (pl.), kitchen.
keginer (m.), **keginoryon** (pl.), cook.
kehaval (adj.), similar, equal, corresponding; (adv.) alike.
keheveli {kehevely} (vbn.), compare.
ki ~ **kei** (m.), **keun** (pl.), dog, hound.
kelli {kelly} (vbn.), lose, forfeit.
Keltek (adj.), Celtic.
kemeres (vbn.), take, receive.
kemmyn ~ **kebmyn** (adj.), common, vulgar.
kemmys ~ **kebmys** (adj.), so much, so, as, as much as, as many as.
kempenna (vbn.), tidy, set in order.
kemyska {kemysca} (vbn.), mix, mingle, blend.
ken (adj.), other, another, different, else; (adv.) otherwise
kenderow (m.), **kenderwi** (pl.), cousin (male).
kenedhel (f.), **kenedhlow** (pl.), nation.
keniver (adj.), as many, so many.
kenn ~ **kedn** (m.), skin, hide, peel.
kens ~ **kyns** (adj.), former, previous; (adv.), formerly, sooner, rather.
kensa ~ **kynsa** (adj.), first.
kepar ~ **pekar {pecar}** (adv.), in the same way, like, alike.
ker (adj.), dear, costly, expensive, cherished.
ker (f.), **keryow** (pl.), fort, camp (earthwork), hill-fort.
kerdhes (vbn.), walk.
kerensa ~ **kerenja** (f.), love, charity, friendship, affection.
Kernewek ~ **Kernowek** (m.), Cornish language.
Kernewes (f.), **Kernewesow** (pl.), Cornishwoman.
Kernow (f.), Cornwall
Kernow (m.), **Kernowyon** (pl.), Cornishman.
Kernowek ~ **Kernewek** (m.), Cornish language.
keskewsel ~ **keskowsel {kescowsel}** (vbn.), converse (speech).
keskows {kescows} (m.), **keskowsow {kescowsow}** (pl.), conversation.
keskowsel {kescowsel} ~ **keskewsel** (vbn.), converse (speech).
kesoberi, **{kesobery}** (vbn.), co-operate, collaborate.
kesva (f.), **kesvaow** (pl.), assembly, board (group of people).
keth ~ **kyth** (adj.), same, identical, actual.
kettep (adj.), each, every.

keus (m.), **keusyow** (pl.), cheese.
Kevardhu (m.), December.
kewsel ~ **kowsel {cowsel}** (vbn.), speak, talk.
keyn (m.), **keynow** (pl.), back, ridge, keel.
ki ~ **kei** (m.), **keun** (pl.), dog, hound.
kig (m.), **kigyow** (pl.), meat, flesh.
klappya {clappya} (vbn.), chatter, babble, jabber.
klass {class} (m.), **klassys {classys}** (pl.), class, category.
klav {clav} ~ **kloav {cloav}** (adj.), sick, ill, sore.
klavji {clavjy} ~ **kloa'ji {cloa'jy}** (m.), **klavjiow {clavjiow}** ~ **kloa'jiow {cloa'jiow}** (pl.), hospital.
kledh {cledh} (adj.), left (opposite of right).
kleves {cleves} (m.), **klevesow {clevesow}** (pl.), illness, sickness,.
klewes {clewes}, **klowes {clowes}** (vbn.), hear, feel.
kloav {cloav} ~ **klav {clav}** (adj.), sick, ill, sore.
kloa'ji {cloa'jy} ~ **klavji {clavjy}** (m.), **kloa'jiow {cloa'jiow}** ~ **klavjiow {clavjiow}** (pl.), hospital.
klock {clock} (m.), **klockys {clockys}**, **klockow {clockow}** (pl.), clock.
klogh {clogh} (m.), **klegh {clegh}** (pl.), bell.
klok {clok} (m.), **klokys {clokys}** (pl.), cloak.
know (coll.), **knowen** (f.), nuts.
kodha {codha} (vbn.), fall, happen, befall.
kok {cok} (m.), **kokow {cocow}** (pl.), fishing boat.
kollel {collel} (f.), **kellyl** (pl.), **kelylli {kelylly}** (pl.), knife.
kolon {colon} (f.), **kolonow {colonow}** (pl.), heart, courage.
kommol {commol} (coll.), **komolen {comolen}** (f.), cloud (as a mass).
komposter {composter} (m.), evenness, equilibrium, propriety.
konin {conin} (m.), **konines {conines}** (pl.), rabbit.
konna, **{conna}** ~ **kodna {codna}** (m.), **konaow {conaow}** (pl.), neck, narrow strip of land.
kons {cons} (f.), **konsow {consow}** vagina.
kons {cons} (m.), **konsow {consow}** (pl.), pavement.
koodh {coodh} (m.), fall.
koog {coog} (adj.), empty, worthless, vain.
koos {coos} (m.), **kosow {cosow}** (pl.), wood (as trees), forest.
korden {corden} (f.), **kerdyn** (pl.), string, cord.
korf {corf} (m.), **korfow {corfow}** (pl.), body, person.
korn {corn} (m.), **kern** (pl.), **dewgorn** (dl.), horn.
korn {corn} (m.), **kernow** (pl.), corner.
kosel {cosel} (adj.), quiet, tranquil.
koska {cosca} (vbn.), sleep, go mouldy, get dry rot.
kost {cost} (m.), **kostys {costys}** (pl.), cost, expense, charge.
koth {coth} (adj.), old, ancient, long untilled.
kothman {cothman} (m.), **kothmans {cothmans}** (pl.), comrade, friend.
kov {cov} (m.), **kovyow {covyow}** (pl.), memory, recollection.
koweth {coweth} (m.), **kowetha {cowetha}** (pl.), male companion, friend, mate, fellow, peer.
kowethas {cowethas} (m. or f.), **kowethasow {cowethasow}** (pl.), society, association, fellowship.
koynt {coynt} (adj.), strange, extraordinary, unusual odd (strange).
krei {crei} ~ **kri {cri}** (m.), **kriow {criow}** (pl.), cry, call, clamour.
kreia {creia} ~ **kria {cria}** (vbn.), cry.
kreslu {creslu} (m.), police.

krev {crev} adj.), strong, mighty, vigorous.
kri {cri} ~ **krei {crei}** (m.), **kriow {criow}** (pl.), cry, call.
kria {cria} ~ **kreia {creia}** (vbn.), cry, call.
krohen {crohen} (f.), **krehyn {crehyn}** (pl.), skin, hide.
kronek {cronek} (m.), **kronogow {cronogow}** (pl.), toad.
kroust {croust} (m.), **kroustyow {croustyow}** (pl.), picnic lunch, meal taken to work, snack.
krowji, **{crowjy}** (m.), **krowjiow {crowjiow}** (pl.), cottage, cabin.
krys, **{crys}** (m.), **krysyow {crysyow}** ~ **kryjyow {cryjyow}** (pl.), shirt.
krysi {crysy} ~ **kreji {crejy}** (vbn.), believe, have faith in.
kudha, **{cudha}** (vbn.), hide.
kudyn, **{cudyn}** (m.), **kudynnow {cudynnow}** ~ **kudydnow {cudydnow}** (pl.), lock of hair, problem.
kurun, **{curun}** (f.), **kurunyow {curunyow}** (pl.), crown.
kusul, **{cusul}** (f.), **kusulyow {cusulyow}** (pl.), advice, counsel, opinion.
kwyt, **{qwyt}** (adj.), free.
kyfeyth (m.), **kyfeythyow** (pl.), preserve, jam, confection.
kyns ~ **kens** (adj.), former, previous; (adv.), formerly, sooner, rather.
kynsa ~ **kensa** (adj.), first.
kytterin ~ **kyttrin** (m.), **kytterinyow** ~ **kyttrinyow** (pl.), bus.

· L ·

lader (m.), **ladron** (pl.), thief, robber.
ladha (vbn.), kill, murder; switch off.
ladn ~ **lann** (f.), **ladnow** ~ **lannow** (pl.), church-site, monastic close; see **lann**.
lagas (m.), **lagasow** (pl.), **dewlagas** (dl.), eye.
laha (f.), **lahys** (pl.), law, custom.
lakka (adj.), worse.
lann ~ **ladn** (f.), **lannow** ~ **ladnow** (pl.), church-site.
lavar (m.), **lavarow** (pl.), saying, speech, utterance.
le (adj., adv., prn.), less, lesser.
le (m.), **leow** (pl.), place, situation.
lebmel ~ **lemmel** (vbn.), leap, jump.
lebmyn ~ **lemmyn** (adv.), now, at present.
ledan (adj.), wide, broad.
lel (adj.), loyal, faithful, real, genuine.
lemmel ~ **lebmel** (vbn.), leap, jump.
lemmyn ~ **lebmyn** (adv.), now, at present.
lergh (m.), trace, track.
les (m.), profit, advantage, importance, interest, benefit.
lester (m.), **lestri {lestry}** (pl.), vessel (container or ship).
leth (m.), milk.
lettya (vbn.), hinder, stop, block.
leun (adj.), full, complete.
leur (m.), **leuryow** (pl.), base, basement, floor, ground.
leuv (f.), **leuvyow** (pl.), **diwleuv** ~ **diwla** (dl.), hand (in general).
leverel (vbn.), say, tell.
lien (m.), literature, learning.
lies (adj.), many, a lot of.; (prn.) many.
lieskweyth {liesqweyth} ~ **lies gweyth** (adv.), often, many times.

liw (m.), **liwyow** (pl.), colour, complexion, paint, dye.
lo (f.), **loyow** (pl.), spoon.
logos (coll.), **logosen** (pl.), mice.
loor (f.), **loryow** (pl.), moon.
losow (coll.), **losowen** (pl.), herbs.
lost (m.), **lostow** ~ **lostyow** (pl.), tail, queue.
lowarn (m.), **lewern** (pl.), fox.
lowen (adj.), joyful, happy, glad.
lowena (f.), joy, bliss, happiness.
lowender (m.), mirth, jollity.
lowr (adj.), enough; (adv.), sufficiently, amply, in plenty.
lyther (m.) **lytherow** (pl.), letter (epistle).
lyver (m.), **lyvrow** (pl.), book.

· M ·

ma (cnj.), so that.
ma (prn.), me, I.
ma (prn.), this.
mab (m.), **mebyon** (pl.), son, male child, boy.
mab-wynn ~ **mab-wydn** (m.), **mebyon-wynn** ~ **mebyon-wydn** (pl.), grandson.
mabm ~ **mamm** (f.), **mammow** ~ **mabmow** (pl.), mother.
maga ~ **'ga** (cnj.), as.
maga (vbn.), feed, nourish, rear.
mamm ~ **mabm** (f.), **mammow** ~ **mabmow** (pl.), mother.
mamm-wynn (f.), **mammow-gwynn** (pl.), grandmother; see also **dama-wydn**.
maner (f.), **manerow**, **maners** (pl.), custom, way, manner.
mann (adv.), at all.
mann (m.), nothing, nil.
mann (num.), zero.
mar (adv.), so, as.
margh (m.), **mergh**, **marhes** (pl.), horse.
marhador (m.), **-es** (f.) **marhadoryon** (pl. m.), **marhadoresow** (pl. f.), marketeer, merchant.
marhas (f.), **marhasow** ~ **marhajow** (pl.), market.
marhek (m.), **marhogyon** (pl.), horseman, knight, rider.
marnas (cnj.), **ma's**, unless, except.
marow (adj.), dead.
marthys (adj.), wonderful, marvellous, amazing, astounding.
mater (m.), **maters** (pl.), matter, issue.
maw (m.), boy.
may (cnj.), so that.
mayth (cnj.), so that (before vowels).
Me (m.), May.
me ~ **my** (prn.) I.
medhek (m.), **medhygyon** (pl.), doctor, physician.
medhes (vbn.), speak, say.
medhow (adj.), drunk, intoxicated; soft, tender.
mednes ~ **mynnes** (vbn.), wish, want, will.
mel (m.), honey.
melin ~ **belin** (f.), **melinyow** ~ **belinyow** (pl.), mill.

melyn (adj.), yellow, fair.
men (m.), **meyn** (pl.), stone.
mene' ~ **menydh** (m.), **menedhyow** (pl.), mountain, hill.
mergh ~ **myrgh** (f.) **merhes** (pl.), girl.
Merher (m.), Wednesday, Mercury.
mes (adv.), out, outside; see **yn-mes**.
mes (m.), **mesyow** (pl.), open field, open country.
mes (cnj.), but.
meth (f.), shame, failure, shyness, indignity, humiliation.
Metheven (m.), June.
metya (vbn.), meet, encounter.
meur (adj.), great, large, many.
Meurth (m.), Tuesday, March, Mars.
meus (m.), thumb.
meusva (f.), **meusvedhi {meusvedhy}** (pl.), inch.
mil (m.), **milyow** (pl.), thousand.
milvil, **milyon** (m.) **milyonow** (pl.), million.
min (m.), **minyow**, **minow**, **minyon** (pl.), face, lip, mouth, edge, border.
mires (vbn.), look, behold, observe.
mis (m.), **misyow** (pl.), month.
mogh (pl.), pigs, swine (pl.).
molethi {molethy} (vbn.), curse.
mona (coll.), cash, money, change.
mool (adj.), bald, bare.
moon (adj.), slender, thin, slim.
moos (f.), **mosow** (pl.), table.
mor (m.), **moryow** (pl.), sea.
mos, **mones** (vbn.), go.
moy (adj.), more.
my (prn.), I.
myghtern ~ **mytern** (m.), **myghternedh** ~ **myternedh** (pl.), **myghternow** ~ **myternow** (pl.), king.
myghternes ~ **myternes** (f.), **myghternesow** ~ **myternesow** (pl.), queen.
mynnes ~ **mednes** (vbn.), wish, want, will.
myrgh ~ **mergh** (f.) **merhes** (pl.), girl.
mysk ~ **mesk** (m.), middle, midst.
myttin (m.), **mytinyow** ~ **myttidnow**, **mytinow** (pl.), morning; (adv.), in the morning.

· N ·

na (cnj.), that not (before consonants).
na (int.) no.
na (adv.), that, those.
nag (ptl.), that not (before vowels).
nagonan (prn.), no-one, not one.
naha (vbn.), deny, refuse, renounce, decline.
namna (adv.), almost (before consonants).
namnag (adv.), almost (before vowels).
namoy (adj.), any more.
namoy (adv.), again (with neg.).

naneyl (prn.), neither.
nans ~ **nanj** (ptl.), now (in phrase); **nans yw** ~ **nanj yw** (phr.), ago;.
naw (num.), nine.
neb (prn.), some.
nebes (adj.), few; (adv.), somewhat, a little,
nebonan (prn.), someone, anyone.
nei ~ **ni** (prn.), we, us.
nerth (m.), **nerthyow** (pl.), power, might, strength, force.
nessa (adj.), nearest, next, second.
neuvya (vbn.), swim.
neyja (vbn.), swim, float, fly.
ni ~ **nei** (prn.), we, us.
niver (m.), **niverow** (pl.), number.
niwl (m.), **niwlow** (pl.), mist, fog, haze.
niwlek (adj.), misty.
norvys (m.), earth.
nos (f.), **nosow** (pl.), night.
nosweyth (adv.), at night.
nown (m.), hunger, starvation.
nownsek ~ **nownjek** (num.), nineteen.
nowodhow (pl.), news.
nowyth (adj.), new, fresh, novel.
ny (ptl.) not; see also **na**.
nyhewer (adv.), last night, yesterday evening.
nyns ~ **nynj** (ptl.), not; see also **nag**.

· O ·

ober (m.), **oberow** (pl.), work, act, deed.
oberi {obery} (vbn.), work, do, perform, operate.
obma ~ **omma** (adv.), here.
oferen (f.), **oferennow** ~ **oferednow** (pl.), mass (church service), religious service, offering.
ogas (adj.), near, close, adjoining; (adv.), nearly, almost.
oll (adj.), all, every; (adv.), wholly, entirely.
ollgemmyn ~ **ollgebmyn** (adj.), general.
omma ~ **obma** (adv.), here.
ombrederi {ombredery} (vbn.), ponder, reflect, consider.
omdhalgh (m.), **omdalhow** (pl.), attitude.
omgavos ~ **omgawas** (vbn.), be situated, find oneself.
omlowenhe (vbn.), rejoice, enjoy oneself.
omwolhi {omwolhy} (vbn.), wash oneself.
on (m.), **en** (pl.), lamb.
onan (num.), **one.**
oos ~ **ooj** (m.), **osow** ~ **ojow** (pl.), age, period (of time).
ost (m.), **ostys** (pl.), innkeeper.
ostel (f.), **ostelyow** (pl.), lodging, hostel, hotel.
ottomma ~ **ottobma** (int.), look here.
otta (int.), behold, here is, there is.
oula (m.), **oulys** (pl.), owl.
our (m.), **ourys** (pl.), hour, duration of one hour.

ow ~ **o'** (poss.adj.), my.
ow ~ **o'** (ptl.), -ing (before consonants).
own (m.), fear.
owth (ptl.), -ing (before vowels).
oy (m.), **oyow** (pl.), egg.
oyl (m.), **oylys** (pl.), oil.

· P ·

padel (f.), **padellow** (pl.), pan.
pajar ~ **peswar** (num.) four (m.).
palores (f.), **paloresow** ~ **palorejow** (pl.), chough.
pan (cnj.), when.
pan (interrog.adj.), what.
pana (adj.), what.
pandra (prn.), what.
paper (m.), **paperyow** (pl.), paper.
par (adv.), as, just as.
pareusi {pareusy} ~ **paruji {parujy}** (vbn.), prepare, make ready, cook.
park (m.), **parkow {parcow}** (pl.), field, close, enclosure, park.
paruji {parujy} ~ **pareusi {pareusy}** (vbn.), prepare, make ready, cook.
Pask (m.), Easter.
payn (m.), **paynys** (pl.), pain, torment, torture.
pea (vbn.), pay, pay for.
peder (num.), four (f.).
pedn ~ **penn** (m.), **pednow** ~ **pennow** (pl.), head, end, summit, top, main.
pednglin ~ **pennglin**, (m.), **pedn dewlin** ~ **penn dewlin**, **pennglinyow** (pl.), knee cap.
pedren (f.), **pedrennow** ~ **pedrednow** (pl.), **diwbedren** (dl.), haunch, buttock, hind quarter.
pejya ~ **pesya** (vbn.), last, endure, continue.
pejyans ~ **pesyans** (m.), continuation.
pekar {pecar} ~ **kepar** (adv.), in the same way, like, alike.
pel (f.), **pelyow** (pl.), ball, sphere, globe, playing bowl.
pell (adj.), far, distant, long (in time or distance), remote, far away, a great deal.
pellgewsel ~ **pellgowsel** (vbn.), telephone.
pellgowser (m.), telephone.
pellwolok (f.), **pellwologow** (pl.), television.
penncita ~ **pedncita** (f.), capital city.
pennglin ~ **pednglin** (m.), **penglinyow**, **penn dewlin** ~ **pedn dewlin** (pl.), knee cap.
penn ~ **pedn** (m.), **pennow** ~ **pednow** (pl.), head, end, summit, top, main.
pennsevik ~ **pednsevik** (m.), **pennsevigyon** ~ **pednsevigyon** (pl.), prince.
pennseythen ~ **pednseythen** (f.), **pennseythennow** ~ **pednseythednow** (pl.), weekend.
pennskol {pennscol} (f.), **pennskolyow {pennscolyow}** (f.), university; see also **universita**.
perhenna ~ **perhedna** (vbn.), own, claim, possess, adopt, apropriate.
perthi {perthy} (vbn.), bear (endure), endure, tolerate.
pes (adv.), how many.
pesk ~ **pysk** (m.), **puskes** (pl.), fish.
peskajor {pescajor} ~ **pyskador {pyscador}** (m.), **peskajors {pescajors}** ~ **pyskadoryon {pyscadoryon}** (pl.), fisherman.
peswar ~ **pajar** (num.), four (m.).
pesya ~ **pejya** (vbn.), last, endure, continue.

pesyans ~ **pejyans** (m.), continuation.
peth ~ **pyth** (m.), **pethow** (pl.), thing, property, material, matter, stuff, possession, asset.
peth ~ **pyth** (prn.), what.
peub ~ **pob** (prn.), all, everyone, everybody.
peuns (m.), **peunsow** (pl.), pound, pound weight.
p'eur (adv.), when, at what time.
piw (prn.), who.
plas (m.), **plassow** (pl.), place, mansion, place at table.
plasen (f.), **plasennow** ~ **plasednow** (pl.), record, disc, recording (sound, etc.).
plat (m.), **platys** (pl.), plate, plate metal; (adj.), flat, smooth.
ple (adv.), where.
plegya (vbn.), bend, fold.
plomm ~ **plobm** (m.), lead (metal).
plos (adj.), dirty, filthy, foul.
pluv (coll.), **pluven** (pl.), feathers.
po (cnj.), or.
pob ~ **peub** (prn.), all, everyone, everybody.
pobel (f.), **poblow** (pl.), people, folk.
poblek (adj.), public.
poken (cnj.), or else, otherwise.
poll (m.), **pollow** (pl.), pool, pit, anchorage.
pols (m.), **polsyow** (pl.), moment, instant, pulse, short time, short distance.
pons (m.), **ponsyow** (pl.), bridge.
poos (adj.), heavy, important, weighty, close, serious, sad, close, sultry.
poos (m.), **posow** (pl.), weight, pressure, emphasis, reluctance.
pooth (adj.), scorching, extremely hot.
porpos (m.), purpose, design, intent.
porres (adv.), urgently, absolutely, of necessity.
porth (m.), **porthow** (pl.), cove, harbour, port; gateway, entrance, porch, gate.
pow (m.), **powyow** (pl.), country, province, region.
powes (m.), rest, truce, repose; (vbn.), rest, pause.
poynt (m.), **poyntys** (pl.), point, item.
prag (adv.), why, wherefore, what for, how come.
praga (adv.), why (m.), reason.
prederi {predery} (vbn.), consider, reflect, think, ponder.
prei ~ **pri** (m.), clay, earth, mould (for casting), soil, loam, mud.
prena ~ **perna** (vbn.), buy, purchase.
pres ~ **prys** (m.), **prejyow** ~ **presyow** (pl.), time, meal time, season.
prev ~ **pryv** (m.), **preves**, **prevyon** (pl.), snake, worm, caterpillar, grub, creeping creature.
pri ~ **prei** (m.), clay, earth, mould (for casting), soil, loam, mud.
pris (m.), **prisyow** (pl.), price, value, prize, reward, hire, reputation.
pronter (m.), **pronteryon** (pl.), priest, parson, clergyman, vicar.
prys ~ **pres** (m.), **presyow** ~ **prejyow** (pl.), time, meal time, season.
pryv ~ **prev** (m.), **preves**, **prevyon** (pl.), snake, worm, caterpillar, grub, creeping creature.
pub (adj.), each, every.
pur (adv.), very; (adj.), pure, clean, absolute.
py (prn.), which, what.
pygemmys ~ **pygebmys** (adv.), how much, how great.
pymp (num.), five.
pymthek (num.), fifteen.
pynagoll (prn.), whosoever, whatsoever.

pysi {pysy} ~ **pyji {pyjy}** (vbn.), pray, entreat, beg.
pysk ~ **pesk** (m.), **puskes** (pl.), fish.
pyskador {pyscador} ~ **peskajor {pescajor}** (m.), **pyskadoryon {pyscadoryon}** ~ **peskajors {pescajors}** (pl.), fisherman.
pyskessa ~ **pyskecha** (vbn.), fish, go fishing.
pyth ~ **peth** (m.), **pethow** (pl.), thing, property, material, matter, stuff, possession, asset.
pyth ~ **peth** (prn.), what.

· Q ·

For words beginning with {qw}, see **K**.

· R ·

radyo (m.), **radyos** (pl.), radio.
radn ~ **rann** (f.), **radnow** ~ **rannow** (pl.), part, division, share, portion, some.
radna ~ **ranna** (vbn.), part, divide, share, distribute.
rag (prp.), for, in order to, for the purpose of.
rahaya (vbn.), sneeze.
rannji {rannjy} ~ **radnji {radnjy}** (m.), **rannjiow** ~ **radnjiow** (pl.), apartment, flat.
rann ~ **radn** (f.), **rannow** ~ **radnow** (pl.), part, division, share, portion, some.
ranna ~ **radna** (vbn.), part, divide, share, distribute.
re (prp.), by (in oaths).
re (adv.), too, excessively.
re (m.), too much, too many.
re (prn.), some, persons, things, ones.
reb ~ **ryb** (prp.), beside, by, close to, hard by.
receva (vbn.), receive, accept, welcome, accommodate, adopt.
redya (vbn.), read.
redyer (m.), **redyoryon** (pl.), reader.
redyores (f.), **redyoresow** (pl.), reader.
rei ~ **ri** (vbn.), give, grant, render, present.
res (m.), need, necessity.
resek (vbn.), run.
rewlya (vbn.), rule (trans.), regulate, control.
reyth (adj.), right, regular.
ri ~ **rei** (vbn.), give, grant, render, present.
ris (coll.), rice.
ro (m.), **royow** (pl.), gift, present (offering), donation.
rol (f.), **rolyow** (pl.), roll, list.
roos (f.), **rosow** (pl.), net.
ros (f.), **rosow** (pl.), wheel, circle.
rudh (adj.), red, scarlet.
ruw (m.), ruler, king.
ruwvanes (f.), **ruwvanesow** (pl.), queen.
ryb ~ **reb** (prp.), beside, by, close to, hard by.
rych (adj.), rich, sumptuous.
rydh (adj.), free, open, clear.

· S ·

Sadorn (m.), Saturday, Saturn.
sagh (m.), **seghyer** (pl.), bag, sack.
salusi {salusy} ~ **saluji {salujy}** (vbn.), salute, greet, say hello, acknowledge.
sans (adj.), holy, sacred.
sarf (f.), **serf** (pl.), serpent, snake.
sav (m.), stand, stance, erect posture.
savonek (adj.), standard.
saw (adj.), safe, sound, whole.
saw (cnj.), except, unless.
segh ~ **sygh** (adj.), dry, waterless, withered, arid, parched, thirsty.
sehes (m.), thirst.
senedh (m.), **senedhow** (pl.), senate, parliament.
seni {seny} (vbn.), sound (of an instrument), play.
serri {serry} (vbn.), anger, annoy.
servya (vbn.), serve.
seth (adj.), direct, upright.
settya (vbn.), set, place, appoint.
settyans (m.), **settyansow** (pl.), setting (location).
seul (adv.prn.), so much; (prn.), whoever.
seulabrys (adv.), formerly, already.
sevel (vbn.), stand, rise, stay; raise up.
sevi {sevy} (coll.), **sevien** (f.), strawberries.
seytek (num.), seventeen.
seyth (num.), seven.
seythen (f.), **seythennow** ~ **seythednow** (pl.), week.
shoppa (m.), **shoppys** (pl.), shop, workshop; see also **gwerthji**.
shyndya (vbn.), hurt, ruin, harm, injure.
sin (m.), **sinys** (pl.), sign.
sina (vbn.), sign.
sira (m.), **sirys** (pl.), sire, father.
sira-wydn (m.), grandfather; see also **tas-gwynn**.
skant {scant} (adj.), scarce; (adv.), scarcely, hardly.
skath {scath} (f.), **skathow {scathow}** (pl.), boat.
skav {scav} (adj.), nimble, swift, light, quick, buoyant, flippant.
skeul (f.), **skeulyow** (pl.), ladder, scale.
skeus (m.), **skeusow** (pl.), shadow.
skeusen (f.), **skeusennow** ~ **skeusednow** (pl.), photograph.
skians (m.), **skiansow** (pl.), knowledge, sense, science.
skila (f.), **skilys** (pl.), reason, cause.
skith ~ **skwith {sqwith}** (adj.), tired, weary.
skodhya {scodhya} (vbn.), support, assist, shoulder, back.
skodhyans {scodhyans} (m.), support (abst.), backing.
skol {scol} (f.), **skolyow {scolyow}** (pl.), school.
skon {scon} (adv.), quickly, soon at once.
skoodh {scoodh} (f.), **skodhow {scodhow}** (pl.), **diwskodh {diwscodh}** (dl.), shoulder.
skovarn {scovarn} (f.), **skovornow {scovornow}** (pl.), **diwskovarn {diwscovarn}** (dl.), ear, handle.
skovarnek {scovarnek} (m.), **skovarnogyon {scovarnogyon}** (pl.), hare.

skrif {scrif} (m.), **skrifow {scrifow}** (pl.), writing, document, article.
skrifa {scrifa} (vbn.), write.
skrifen {scrifen} (f.), **skrifennow {scrifennow}** ~ **skrifednow {scrifednow}** (pl.), writing, article, document.
skrifer {scrifer} (m.), **skrifers {scrifers}**, **skriforyon {scriforyon}** (pl.), writer.
skudel {scudel} (f.), **skudellow {scudellow}** (pl.), dish (bowl), soup bowl.
skwardya {sqwardya} (vbn.), tear, rip.
skwith {sqwith} ~ **skith** (adj.), tired, weary.
skwithus {sqwithus} (adj.), tiring, boring.
snell (adj.), quick, active; (adv.), quickly, smartly.
sodhogel (adj.), official.
sodhva (f.), **sodhvaow** (pl.), office, workplace.
son (m.), **sonyow** (pl.), sound (noise), noise.
soodh (f.), **sodhow** (pl.), office (job), occupation.
Sowsnek (adj.), English.
Sowsnek (m.), English language.
spas (m.), space, opportunity, room.
splann ~ **spladn** (adj.), shining, bright, splendid.
spys (m.), period (of time).
staga (vbn.), tether, fix, attach.
steren (f.), **sterennow** ~ **sterednow** (pl.), **ster** (coll.), star.
stevel (f.), **stevellow** (pl.), room.
stret (m.), **stretys**, **stretow** (pl.), street.
studhya (vbn.), study.
studhyer (m.), **studhyoryon** (pl.), student.
Sul (m.), **Sulyow** (pl.), Sunday.
sur (adj.), sure; (adv.), surely.
sygh ~ **segh** (adj.), dry, parched, arid, waterless, withered.
synsi {synsy} ~ **synji {synjy}**, (vbn.), hold.

· T ·

tabm ~ **tamm** (m.), **tebmyn** ~ **temmyn** (pl.), piece, bit, fragment.
taklow {taclow} (pl.), material things; see also **tra**.
taksi {taxy} (m.), **taksis {taxis}**, **taksiow {taxiow}** (pl.), taxi.
tal ~ **toal** (m.), **talyow** (pl.), brow, forehead.
talvos (vbn.), value, be worth, be priced.
tamm ~ **tabm** (m.), **temmyn** ~ **tebmyn** (pl.), piece, bit, fragment.
tan (m.), **tanyow** (pl.), fire.
taran (f.), thunder, thunderclap.
tas (m.), **tasow** (pl.), father.
tas-gwynn ~ **tas-gwydn** (m.), **tasow- wynn** ~ **tasow-wydn** (pl.), grandfather; see also **sira-wydn**.
tavern (m.), **tavernyow** (pl.), tavern, pub.
taves (m.), **tavosow** (pl.), tongue, language; see also **yeth**.
taw (m.), silence, quiet.
te (m.), tea.
tebel (adj.), evil, wicked.
tedna ~ **tenna** (vbn.), pull, drag, shoot, fire (a weapon), draw.
teg (adj.), fine, beautiful, pretty; (adv.), quite, completely.

tegen (f.), **tegennow** ~ **tegednow** (pl.), trinket, jewel, pretty thing.
tekst {text} (m.), **tekstow {textow}** (pl.) text.
tenna ~ **tedna** (vbn.), pull, drag, shoot, fire (a weapon), draw.
termyn (m.), **termynyow** (pl.), time, term, period of time.
terri {terry} (vbn.), break, pick (e.g. flowers).
tes (m.), heat, warmth.
tesen (f.), **tesennow** ~ **tesednow** (pl.), cake.
teudha ~ **teudhi {teudhy}** (vbn.), melt, smelt, thaw.
tew (adj.) thick, fat, dense.
tewal (adj.), dark, gloomy, murky.
tewel (vbn.), be silent, cease speaking, hush.
tewyn (m.), **tewenyow**, **tewennow** (pl.), dune.
tewlel ~ **towlel** (vbn.), throw.
teylu (m.), **teyluyow** (pl.), family, household.
teyr (num.), three (f.).
tiek (m.), **tiogyon**, **tiogow** (pl.), farmer, householder.
tigen (f.), **tigennow** ~ **tigednow** (pl.), hand bag, wallet.
tir (m.), **tiryow** (pl.), land.
tira (vbn.), land, come ashore.
to (m.), **tohow** (pl.), roof.
toal ~ **tal** (m.), **talyow** (pl.), brow, forehead.
tobm ~ **tobm** (adj.), warm, ardent.
tochya (vbn.), touch on, touch upon, mention, concern.
tokyn (m.), **toknys** (pl.), ticket, symptom, token.
toll (m.), **tell** (pl.), hole, burrow.
tomm ~ **tobm** (adj.), warm, ardent.
top (m.), **toppys** (pl.), top, summit, peak.
tour (m.), **touryow** (pl.), tower, steeple.
towel (m.), **towellow** (pl.), towel.
towlel ~ **tewlel** (vbn.), throw.
tra (f.), **taklow {taclow}**, **traow** (pl.), thing, article (object); affair, fact.
tramor (adj.), overseas, abroad.
travyth ~ **traveth** (f.), nothing, anything (in neg. phrases).
traweythyow ~ **tarweythyow** (adv.), sometimes, occasionally.
tre, **trev** (f.), **trevow** (pl.), farmstead, village, town; home.
tredan (m.), electricity.
tredanek (adj.), electric.
trehi {trehy} (vbn.), cut, carve (of meat).
trei ~ **tri** (num.), three (m.).
tremen (m.), transit.
tremena (vbn.), pass, exceed, die.
tren (m.), **trenow** (pl.), railway train.
trenk (adj.), acid, sharp (of taste or smell) acrid.
treth (m.), **trethow** (pl.), beach, strand, shore.
treus (adj.), transverse, cross, wicked.
treusi {treusy} (vbn.), cross, pass over.
treveglos (f.), **treveglosyow** (pl.), churchtown, village.
treylya (vbn.), turn, twist, convert, translate.
treylyans (m.), **treylyansow** (pl.), turning, convertion, translation, mutation.
tri ~ **trei**, (num.), three (m.).
triga (vbn.), dwell, sojourn, abide, stay.

trigva (f.), **trigvaow** (pl.), address (place), abode, country seat.
trist (adj.), sad, mournful, gloomy.
tro (f.), **troyow** (pl.), turn, circuit, twist.
trogh (adj.), cut, wretched, cracked, broken.
trogh (m.), **trohow** (pl.), cut (incision).
tron (m.), **tronyow** (pl.), snout, nose, muzzle, point of land, hose pipe, trunk.
troos (m.), **treys** (pl.), **dewdros** (dl.), foot (anat.).
tros (m.), **trosyow** (pl.), noise, clamour, sound.
tu (m.), **tuyow** (pl.), direction, way, side.
tus (pl.), people, persons, men (human beings).
ty ~ **te** (prn.), thou; see also **chy** ~ **che**.
tybi {tyby} (vbn.), suppose, fancy, imagine, think, hold an opinion.
tybyans (m.), **tybyansow** (pl.), opinion, notion, thought, idea, imagination, anticipation.
tynn ~ **tydn** (adj.), tight, firm, intense, sharp.

· U ·

udn ~ **unn** (adj.), one, only, a certain.
udnek ~ **unnek** (num.), eleven; see **unnek**.
ugens (num.), twenty.
uhel (adj.), high.
uji {ujy} ~ **usi {usy}** (vbn.), is.
universita (f.), university; see also **pennskol {pennscol}**.
unn ~ **udn** (adj.), one, only, a certain.
unnek ~ **udnek** (num.), eleven.
unver (adj.), agreed, unanimous.
unnweyth ~ **eneth** (adv.), once, only, a propos, even, incidentally, even, just, at all.
unys (adj.), united, unified.
usadow (m.), usage, habit (adj.), usual.
usi {usy} ~ **uji {ujy}** (vbn.), is.
uskis (adj.), quick, nimble, fast; (adv.), quickly.
usya (vbn.), use.
uthik ~ **euthek** (adj., adv.), terrible, horrible, dreadful, dreadfully.

· V ·

vajya ~ **viajya** (vbn.), journey, travel, voyage.
ve ~ **vy** (prn.) me (encl. or obj.).
'vel ~ **avel** (adv.), like, as.
veth ~ **vyth** (adj.), any (in neg. expressions).
viaj (m.), journey, venture, expedition, voyage.
viajya ~ **vajya** (vbn.), journey, travel, voyage.
vy ~ **ve** (prn.) me (encl. or obj.).
vyth ~ **veth** (adj.), any (in neg. expressions).
vyth oll (adv.), at all.

· W ·

For words beginning with {wh}, see **H**.

war (prp.), on, upon.
war (adj.), aware, wary, cautious.
war-barth ~ **war-bar'** (adv.), together.
warbynn ~ **warbydn** (prp.), against, in readiness for, by the time that; see also **erbynn**.
warlena, **warleni {warleny}** (adv.), last year.
war-lergh ~ **war-ler'** (prp.), after, according to.
woja ~ **wosa** (prp.), after.
wolkomma {wolcomma} ~ **wolkobma {wolcobma}** (vbn.), welcome.
wor'tiwedh (adv.), in the end, finally.
'wos ~ **awos** (cnj.), because, though, for the sake of, in spite of.
wosa ~ **woja** (prp.), after**.**
wos'tiwedh (adv.), at last.

· Y ·

y (prn.), his, its.
y'madn, **y'man** ~ **yn-bann** (adv.), upward, upwards.
y'wedh ~ **ynwedh** (adv.), too, also, likewise, as well.
ya ~ **ea** (int.), yes.
yagh (adj.), healthy, sound, fit, well (not ill).
yar (f.), **yer** (pl.), hen.
yehes ~ **'ehes** (m.), health.
yeth, **'eth** (f.), **yethow** ~ **'ethow** (pl.), language, way of speaking.
yeyn (adj.), cold.
yeynder (m.), cold, chill.
yn (prp.), in, at, to, on; (adv. ptl.) -ly.
yn-bann ~ **y'madn**, **y'man** (adv.), upward, upwards.
yn-dann ~ **'dadn** (prp.), under.
yn-mes, **mes** (adv.), out, outside.
yndella (adv.), like that, similarly.
ynwedh ~ **y'wedh** (adv.), too, also, likewise, as well.
younk ~ **yowynk** (adj.), young.
Yow (m.), Thursday.
yowynk ~ **younk** (adj.), young.
yskynna ~ **yskydna** (vbn.), ascend, mount, climb.
ystynna ~ **ystydna** (vbn.), extend, put out, pass, hand.
ytho (cnj.), therefore, then, so, well then, in that case.

· Z ·

zebra (m.), **zebras** (pl.), zebra.

Appendix B

Paradigms

The following pages list sample paradigms for pronouns, verbs, and prepositions in the SWF. Because the SWF must account for the full range of linguistic and morphological variation found in Revived Cornish, there are many cases where two or more variant forms are provided for a given item. For example, the third person singular present/future indicative of **gul** ~ **gwul** 'do, make' is listed as follows:

RMC	*RLC*
gwra (ev), ***gwra va*** *(m.)*	***gra e'***, ***gra va*** *(m.)*
gwra (hi) *(f.)*	***gra hei*** *(f.)*

Although there are six entries given here, there are actually only two forms of the verb: **gwra**, which is the usual form for RMC, and **gra**, which is the usual form for RLC. Both forms may be used with the pronouns **ev** ~ **e'**, **va**, or **hi** ~ **hei**. The RMC and RLC forms have been kept as similar to one another as possible, to ensure the highest degree of mutual intelligibility between the variants.

While the forms presented below are grouped broadly under the headings 'RMC' and 'RLC', it is expected that users of the SWF will write using the forms that most closely reflect their own speech habits. Some RMC users may therefore occasionally write forms labelled here as 'RLC', and vice versa. Speakers of Tudor Cornish will find some familiar forms in both columns. All of the forms listed here conform to the basic principles of the SWF, and are therefore acceptable for use in official publications. However, it is recommended that teaching materials aimed at beginners restrict themselves to a single set of forms, rather than trying to present the full range of variation at one time.

For reasons of space, alternative spellings using traditional graphs have been omitted in the tables below. For more information on the use of traditional graphs in the SWF, see § 2.3 above.

Finally, it is important to note that the paradigms given below are simply intended as a reference list for writers using the SWF. Although a few remarks on grammar and usage have been provided for clarification, no attempt has been made to prescribe rules for correct usage. Everything which is considered grammatical in an existing variety of Revived Cornish is still acceptable when these varieties of Cornish are written using the SWF.

Personal pronouns

Note that the first and second person singular independent and suffixed pronouns allow for variation between forms in <y> (**my**, **vy**, **ty**, **chy**, **sy**, **jy**,) and <e> (**me**, **ve**, **te**, **che**, **se**, **je**).

Independent (Subject)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***my ~ me***	***ni***	***my ~ me***	***nei***
2	***ty ~ te***	***hwi***	***ty ~ te, chy ~ che***	***hwei***
3	***ev*** *(m.)*	***i***	***ev, e'*** *(m.)*	***anjei, jei***
	hi *(f.)*		***hei*** *(f.)*	

Suffixed

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***vy ~ ve, ma, a***	***ni***	***vy ~ ve, ma, a***	***nei***
2	***sy ~ se, jy ~ je, ta***	***hwi***	***chy ~ che, ta***	***hwei***
3	***ev, va, a*** *(m.)*	***i***	***ev, e', va, a, ava*** *(m.)*	***anjei***
	hi *(f.)*		***hei*** *(f.)*	

Suffixed (Emphatic)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***evy***	***nyni***	***evy***	—
2	***tejy***	***hwyhwi***	***tejy***	—
3	***eev*** *(m.)*	***ynsi***	—	—
	hyhi *(f.)*		—	

Infixed (Object)

These forms are not commonly used in RLC.

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***'m***	***'gan, 'n***	***'m***	***'gan, 'n***
2	***'th***^{M}	***'gas, 's***	***'th***^{M}	***'gas, 's***
3	***'n*** *(m.)*	***'s***	***'n*** *(m.)*	***'s***
	's *(f.)*		***'s*** *(f.)*	

(^{M} causes mixed mutation/5th state)

Prefixed (possessive)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***ow***^{A}, ***'m***	***agan***	***o'***^{A}, ***ma***^{A}, ***'m***^{A}	***'gan***
2	***dha***^{L}, ***'th***^{M}	***agas***	***dha***^{L}, ***'th***^{M}	***'gas***
3	***y***^{L} *(m.)*	***aga***^{A}	***y***^{L} *(m.)*	***'ga***^{A}
	hy^{A} *(f.)*		***hy***^{A} *(f.)*	

(^{L} lenites/causes 2nd state mutation; ^{A} aspirates/causes 3rd state mutation)

RLC often substitutes the suffixed for the prefixed pronoun in constructions with a possessive meaning, as in **sira vy** 'my father', which appears in William Bodinar's letter. Some speakers of RMC, Tudor Cornish, and RLC use both a preceding and a following pronoun, as **ow sira vy**.

Verbs

Verbal morphology differs considerably between RMC, Tudor Cornish, and RLC. The tables below attempt to represent the full range of forms found in Revived Cornish. For reasons of space, the pronouns **my**, **vy**, **ty**, and **chy** have been generalised here in the first and second person singular forms. However, the variant spellings with <e> (**me**, **ve**, **te**, and **che**) may also be used.

In the present/future indicative, the first person singular verb ending **-av** or its equivalent is listed in the RMC column, while the later form **-am** (when attested) is listed in the RLC column. The second person singular endings **-ydh** (early MC) and **-ys** (Tudor Cornish) are usually listed under RMC. Note that in RLC, there are usually two forms given for the third person plural of any tense: a synthetic form ending in **-ons** or **–ens**, and an analytic form consisting of the third person singular form of the verb and the pronoun **anjei**.

bos (bones) *'be'*

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) ***-vedhys*** (used in compounds only)

Present Participle ***ow pos ~ o' pos***

Many of the RLC forms below are shown preceded by the particle **th** ~ **y(th)**, but they can be used with other particles, like the negative particle **na(g)** ~ **ny(ns)**.

Present Indicative

Short form

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***ov, o'ma***	***on***	***th om, th o'ma, th o'vy***	***th on, th o'nei***
2	***os, os ta, o'ta***	***owgh***	***th os, th o'chy***	***th o', th o'hwei***
3	***yw (ev), yw a*** *(m.)*	***yns***	***th ew e'*** *(m.)*	***th ens, th en'jei***
	yw (hi) *(f.)*		***th ew hei*** *(f.)*	
0	***or***		**—**	

Long Form

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***esov***	***eson***	***th erom, th ero'ma, th ero'vy***	***th ero'nei***
2	***esos, es'ta***	***esowgh***	***th ero'chy, th es'ta***	***th ero'hwei***
3	***yma (ev), yma va*** *(m.)*	***ymons***	***ma e', ma va*** *(m.)*	***mons, mon'jei, ma jei***
	yma (hi) *(f.)*		***ma hei*** *(f.)*	
	eus	***esons***	***eus***	
	usi	***usons***	***uji***	***ujons, ujon'jei***
0	***eder***		**—**	

The forms **esons** and **usons** ~ **ujons** are equivalent, and may be used in the same contexts.

Future (Habitual Present)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***bedhav***	***bedhyn***	***bedham, bedha'ma, bedha'vy***	***bedhyn (nei)***
2	***bedhydh, bedhys***	***bedhowgh***	***bedhys, bedhys ta***	***bedho'(hwei)***
3	***bydh***	***bedhons***	***bedh e', bedha*** *(m.)*	***bedhons, bedh anjei***
			bedh hei *(f.)*	
0	***bedher***		**—**	

Imperfect Indicative

Short form

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***en***	***en***	***th om, th o'ma, th o'vy,***	***th o'nei***
2	***es***	***ewgh***	***th os, th o'chy***	***th o'hwei***
3	***o (ev), o va*** *(m.)*	***ens***	***th o e', th o va*** *(m.)*	***th o'njei, th o anjei***
	o (hi) *(f.)*		***th o hei*** *(f.)*	
0	***os***		**—**	

The RLC short forms for the imperfect tense are often identical to those used in the present tense. In the long forms, many imperfect and present tense forms in RLC may be distinguished in writing (because the SWF retains the etymological **-o-** in the present tense and **-e-** in the imperfect), but they are often pronounced identically.

Long Form

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***esen***	***esen***	***th ere'vy***	***th ere'nei***
2	***eses***	***esewgh***	***th es'ta***	***th ere'hwei***
3	***esa (ev), esa va*** *(m.)*	***esens***	***th era e', th era va*** *(m.)*	***th eren'jei, th era anjei***
	esa (hi) *(f.)*		***th era hei*** *(f.)*	
0	***eses***		**—**	

Habitual Past

In *Tavas a Ragadazow*, Gendall recommends using only the third person singular form of this verb in nominal sentences like **nei a vedha**.

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***bedhen***	***bedhen***	**—**	**—**
2	***bedhes***	***bedhewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***bedha***	***bedhens***	***bedha***	**—**
0	***bedhes***		**—**	

Preterite

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***beuv, beu'ma***	***beun***	***beu'vy***	***beu'nei***
2	***beus, beus ta***	***bewgh***	***beus ta, beu'chy***	***bew', be'hwei***
3	***beu (ev), beu va*** *(m.)*	***bons***	***beu va*** *(m.)*	***bon'jei, beu anjei***
	beu (hi) *(f.)*		***beu hei*** *(f.)*	
0	***beus***		**—**	

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***bien***	***bien***	***biem, bie'vy***	***bien, bie'nei***
2	***bies***	***biewgh***	***bies, bie'chy***	***biew', bie'hwei***
3	***bia***	***biens***	***bia (e' / hei)***	***biens, bia anjei***
0	***bies***		**—**	

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***biv***	***byn***	***bon, bo'ma, bo'vy***	***bon, bo'nei***
2	***bi***	***bowgh***	***bos, bo'ta, bo'chy***	***bo', bo'hwei***
3	***bo (ev), bo va*** *(m.)*	***bons***	***bo e', bo va*** *(m.)*	***bons, bo anjei***
	bo (hi) *(f.)*		***bo hei*** *(f.)*	
0	***ber***		**—**	

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***ben***	***ben***	***be'ma, be'vy***	***ben, be'nei***
2	***bes***	***bewgh***	***bes, bes ta***	***bew', bew'hwei***
3	***be (ev), be va*** *(m.)*	***bens***	***be va*** *(m.)*	***bens, be anjei***
	be (hi) *(f.)*		***be hei*** *(f.)*	
0	***bes***		**—**	

Imperative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	**—**	***bedhyn***	**—**	***bedhyn***
2	***bydh***	***bedhewgh***	***bedh***	***bedhew'***
3	***bedhes, bedhens***	***bedhens***	***bedhes, bedhens***	***bedhens***

y'm beus ~ kawas *'get, have'*

This verb is primarily used in RMC. Most speakers of RLC and many speakers of RMC prefer to express 'to have' using the verb **bos** with the preposition **dhe**, as in **Ma chei dhe vy ~ Yma chi dhymm** 'I have a house'. In the later traditional language, forms like **y'm beus**

and **y'n jeves** were gradually replaced by a construction Richard Gendall calls the 'idiomatic possessive,' in which the verb **bos** itself acquired a possessive sense, as in **My a veu own bras** 'I was very anxious'.

In the paradigms below, only the 'regular' conjugated forms of **y'm beus ~ kawas** (those in which the verb form corresponds to the third person singular form of **bos** and the infixed pronoun agrees in person and number with the subject) are given. Speakers of Tudor Cornish or RLC who use forms like **ni a'n jeves** or **y'gan bedhyn** are free to write such forms in the SWF, however.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) **—**

Present Participle ***ow kawas ~ o' kawas***

The RMC forms below are shown preceded by the affirmative particle **y**, but they may also be used with other particles, like the negative particles **ny(ns)** or **na(g)** and the relative particle **a**.

Present Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***y'm beus***	***y'gan beus, y'n beus***	**—**	**—**
2	***y'th eus***	***y'gas beus, y's beus***	**—**	**—**
3	***y'n jeves*** *(m.)*	***y's teves***	***y'n jeves***	**—**
	y's teves *(f.)*		**—**	

Gendall suggests that the third person singular form ***a'n jeves*** may be used for any person and number in RLC: **my ~ me a'n jeves**, **nei an jeves**, **hwei a'n jeves**, etc.

Imperfect Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***y'm bo***	***y'gan bo, y'n bo***	**—**	**—**
2	***y'th o***	***y'gas bo, y's bo***	**—**	**—**
3	***y'n jevo*** *(m.)*	***y's tevo***	**—**	**—**
	y's tevo *(f.)*		**—**	

Preterite

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***y'm beu***	***y'gan beu, y'n beu***	**—**	**—**
2	***y' feu***	***y'gas beu, y's beu***	**—**	**—**
3	***y'n jeva*** *(m.)*	***y's teva***	**—**	**—**
	y's teva *(f.)*		**—**	

Future (Habitual Present)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***y'm bydh***	***y'gan bydh, y'n bydh***	—	—
2	***y' fydh***	***y'gas bydh, y's bydh***	—	—
3	***y'n jevydh*** *(m.)*	***y's tevydh***	—	—
	y's tevydh *(f.)*		—	

Habitual Past

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***y'm bedha***	***y'gan bedha, y'n bedha***	—	—
2	***y' fedha***	***y'gas bedha, y's bedha***	—	—
3	***y'n jevedha*** *(m.)*	***y's tevedha***	—	—
	y's tevedha *(f.)*		—	

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***y'm bedha***	***y'gan bedha, y'n bedha***	—	—
2	***y' fedha***	***y'gas bedha, y's bedha***	—	—
3	***y'n jevedha*** *(m.)*	***y's tevedha***	—	—
	y's tevedha *(f.)*		—	

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***y'm bo***	***y'gan bo, y'n bo***	***y'm bo***	***y'n bo***
2	***y' fo***	***y'gas bo, y's bo***	***y' fo***	***y's bo***
3	***y'n jeffo*** *(m.)*	***y's teffo***	***y'n jeffo*** *(m.)*	***y's teffo***
	y's teffo *(f.)*		***y's teffo*** *(f.)*	

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***y'm be***	***y'gan be, y'n be***	—	—
2	***y' fe***	***y'gas be, y's be***	—	—
3	***y'n jeffa*** *(m.)*	***y's teffa***	—	—
	y's teffa *(f.)*		—	

Imperative (not used)

gul ~ gwul (gwruthyl, gruthyl, guthyl) *'do, make'*

The principal difference between the RMC and RLC paradigms for **gul** ~ **gwul** is that the RMC forms all begin with **gwr-** (lenited to **wr-**), while most RLC forms begin with **gr-** (lenited to **r-**). In the conditional and subjunctive tenses, RLC and RMC use different stems.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) ***gwrys ~ gwres***

Present Participle ***ow kul ~ o' kul***

Present/Future Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gwrav, gwra'ma***	***gwren***	***gra'ma, gra'vy***	***gren, gre'nei***
2	***gwredh, gwres, gwre'ta***	***gwrewgh***	***gras, gres, gre'ta***	***grew', grew'hwei***
3	***gwra (ev), gwra va*** *(m.)*	***gwrons***	***gra e', gra va*** *(m.)*	***grons, gron'jei***
	gwra (hi) *(f.)*		***gra hei*** *(f.)*	
0	***gwrer***		**—**	

Imperfect Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gwren***	***gwren***	***gren (vy)***	***gren (nei)***
2	***gwres***	***gwrewgh***	***gres (chy)***	***grew' grew'hwei***
3	***gwre (ev), gwre va*** *(m.)*	***gwrens***	***gre e', gre va***	***grens***
	gwre (hi) *(f.)*		***gre hei***	
0	***gwres***		**—**	

Preterite

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gwrug***	***gwrussyn***	***grug, grugam, gruga'va***	***grussyn (nei)***
2	***gwrussys***	***gwrussowgh***	***gruss'ta, gruss'tejy***	***grugo'(hwei)***
3	***gwrug (ev, a)*** *(m.)*	***gwrussons***	***grug e', grug a, grug ava*** *(m.)*	***grugons, grug anjei***
	gwrug (hi) *(f.)*		***grug hei*** *(f.)*	
			gwras	
0	***gwrug***		**—**	

The RLC form **gwras** is used in nominal sentences like **nei a wras** 'we did, we made' when the meaning is 'did' or 'made'. When the verb **gwul** ~ **gul** is used as an auxiliary, the form **grug** is used instead (as in **nei a rug gweles** 'we saw'). RLC speakers may also use the forms **gress'ta** and **gressyn** for the 2sg. and 1pl., respectively, although the first of these can also represent the 2sg. conditional form of **gwul** ~ **gul** (see below).

Conditional (Pluperfect)

In the conditional, the stem for RMC is **gwruss-**, while the stem for RLC is **gress-**.

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gwrussen***	***gwrussen***	***gressen, gresse'vy***	***gressen (nei)***
2	***gwrusses***	***gwrussewgh***	***gress'ta, gress'tejy***	***gressew', gresse'hwei***
3	***gwrussa (ev, va)*** *(m.)*	***gwrussens***	***gressa e', gressa va***	***gressens, gressa anjei***
	gwrussa (hi) *(f.)*		***gressa hei***	
0	***gwrussys***		**—**	

Present/Future Subjunctive

In the present/future subjunctive, the stem for RMC is **gwrell-** or **gwryll-**, while the stem for RLC has been altered to **greff-** by analogy with **deff-** from **dos** (see below). The RLC forms listed for the present/future and imperfect subjunctive below are based on those in Richard Gendall's latest RLC dictionary. Each shows features found in RMC in both the present/future and imperfect subjunctive paradigms.

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gwrylliv***	***gwryllyn***	***greffam, greffa'vy***	***greffen (nei)***
2	***gwrylli***	***gwryllowgh***	***greffes, greffes ta***	***greffo'(hwei)***
3	***gwrello***	***gwrellons***	***greffa e' / hei***	***greffons, greffa anjei***
0	***gwreller***		**—**	

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gwrellen***	***gwrellen***	***grellen, grellen vy***	***grellen (nei)***
2	***gwrelles***	***gwrellewgh***	***grylli, grylli chi***	***grellew', grelle'hwei***
3	***gwrella***	***gwrellens***	***grella e' / hei***	***grellens, grella anjei***
0	***gwrellys***		**—**	

Imperative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	**—**	***gwren***	**—**	***gwren***
2	***gwra***	***gwrewgh***	***gwra, gwras***	***grew'***
3	***gwres, gwrens***	***gwrens***	***gwrens (e' / hei)***	***gwrens (anjei)***

mynnes ~ mednes *'want, will'*

The RMC forms of this common auxiliary verb are based on the stem **mynn-**, while the RLC forms are based on the stem **medn-** or **men-**.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) ***mynnys*** (if used)

Present Participle ***ow mynnes ~ o' menna*** (if used)

Present/Future Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***mynnav***	***mynnyn***	***mydna'vy***	***mednen,medn'nei***
	mannav		***madnam, madna'vy***	
2	***mynnydh, mynnys, myn'ta***	***mynnowgh***	***mednes, men'ta, men'tejy***	***medno'hwei***
3	***mynn***	***mynnons***	***medn e' / hei***	***mednons, medn anjei***
0	***mynnir***		**—**	

Imperfect Indicative

To express the imperfect indicative of **mednes** ~ **mynnes**, RLC uses the conditional forms (see below).

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***mynnen***	***mynnen***	**—**	**—**
2	***mynnes***	***mynnewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***mynna***	***mynnens***	**—**	**—**
0	***mynnes***		**—**	

Preterite

In the preterite and the conditional of **mynnes** ~ **mednes**, the double consonant **-nn-** reduces to a single **-n-** when followed by an **s** or **j**.

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***mynnis***	***mynsyn***	**—**	**—**
2	***mynsys***	***mynsowgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***mynnas***	***mynsons***	**—**	**—**
0	***mynnas***		**—**	

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***mynsen***	***mynsen***	***menjem, menje'ma***	***menjen, menje'nei***
2	***mynses***	***mynsewgh***	***menjes, menjes ta***	***menjew', menje'hwei***
3	***mynsa***	***mynsens***	***menja va / hei***	***menjens, menja anjei***
0	***mynses***		**—**	

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***mynniv***	***mynnyn***	**—**	**—**
2	***mynni***	***mynnowgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***mynno***	***mynnons***	**—**	**—**
0	***mynner***		**—**	

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***mynnen***	***mynnen***	—	—
2	***mynnes***	***mynnewgh***	—	—
3	***mynna***	***mynnens***	—	—
0	***mynnys***		—	

Imperative (not used)

gallos *'can, be able'*

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) (not used)

Present Participle (not used)

Present/Future Indicative

Many of the forms of the present/future indicative are built on the stem **gyll-** for RMC and **gell-** or **gall-** for RLC.

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gallav***	***gyllyn***	***gellam, gella'ma, gella'vy***	***gellyn, gellyn nei***
2	***gyllydh, gyllys, gyll'ta***	***gyllowgh***	***gellys ta***	***gello', gello'hwei***
3	***gyll***	***gyllons***	***gell e' / hei***	***gallons, gell anjei***
0	***gyllir***		—	

Imperfect Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gyllyn***	***gyllyn***	—	—
2	***gyllys***	***gyllewgh***	—	—
3	***gylli***	***gyllens***	—	—
0	***gylles***		—	

Preterite

In the preterite and the conditional of **gallos**, the double consonant **-ll-** reduces to a single **-l-** when followed by an **s** or **j**.

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gyllis***	***gylsyn***	—	—
2	***gylsys***	***gylsowgh***	—	—
3	***gallas***	***gylsons***	—	—
0	***gallas***		—	

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***galsen***	***galsen***	***galjem, galje'ma, galje'vy***	***galjen, galje'nei***
2	***galses***	***galsewgh***	***galjes ta, galje'chy***	***galjew', galje'hwei***
3	***galsa (ev)*** *(m.)*	***galsens***	***galja e', galja va*** *(m.)*	***galjens, galja anjei***
3	***galsa (hi)*** *(f.)*		***galja hei*** *(f.)*	
0	***galses ~ galser***		**–**	

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gylliv***	***gyllyn***	**–**	**–**
2	***gylli***	***gyllowgh***	**–**	**–**
3	***gallo***	***gallons***	**–**	**–**
0	***galler***		**–**	

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gallen***	***gallen***	**–**	**–**
2	***galles***	***gallewgh***	**–**	**–**
3	***galla***	***gallens***	**–**	**–**
0	***galles***		**–**	

In RLC, the present and the past subjunctive of **gallos** have coalesced, drawing mainly from the paradigm of the RMC past subjunctive, and are used exclusively after **may** (which is reduced to **m'**) in final clauses. The forms of this verb which are actually heard in speech are therefore: **m'alle'vy** (from **may** + **galle'vy**), **m'alle'chy** (from **may** + **galle'chy**), etc.

Imperative (not used)

dos (dones, devos, devones) *'come'*

This verb is a common auxiliary verb in RLC and Tudor Cornish, but only some tenses of **dos** are so employed. In the other tenses, only the third person singular form is given in the RLC paradigms, since in RLC these tenses are normally only used in nominal sentences like **hwei a dho** 'you used to come'.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) ***devedhys***

Present Participle ***ow tos ~ o' tos***

Present/Future Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***deuv, dov, deu'ma***	***deun***	***deu'ma, de'ma***	***deun nei, de'nei***
2	***deudh, deu'ta***	***dewgh***	***deu'chy, de'chy***	***dew' hwei, de'hwei***
3	***deu (ev), deu va*** *(m.)*	***dons***	***deu ev de'va*** *(m.)*	***dons, dens, deu anjei***
	deu (hi) *(f.)*		***deu hei*** *(f.)*	
0	***deer***		**—**	

Imperfect Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***den***	***den***	**—**	**—**
2	***des***	***dewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***do***	***dens***	***do***	**—**
0	***des***		**—**	

Preterite

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***deuth***	***deuthen***	**—**	**—**
2	***deuthys***	***deuthewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***deuth***	***deuthons***	***deuth***	**—**
0	***deuthes***		**—**	

Perfect

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***deuvev***	***deuven***	**—**	**—**
2	***deuves***	***deuvewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***deuva***	***deuvons***	**—**	**—**
0	***deuves***		**—**	

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***dothyen***	***dothyen***	**—**	**—**
2	***dothyes***	***dothyewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***dothya***	***dothyens***	**—**	**—**
0	***dothyes***		**—**	

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***dyffiv***	***dyffyn***	**—**	**—**
2	***dyffi***	***dyffowgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***deffo***	***deffons***	**—**	**—**
0	***deffer***		**—**	

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***deffen***	***deffen***	***deffen (vy), deffe'vy***	***deffen, deffen nei***
2	***deffes***	***deffewgh***	***deffes, deffe'chy***	***deffew', deffe'hwei***
3	***deffa***	***deffens***	***deffa e' / hei***	***deffens, deffa anjei***
0	***deffes***		**—**	

Imperative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	**—**	***deun***	**—**	***deun***
2	***deus***	***dewgh***	***deus***	***dew'***
3	***des, dens***	***dens***	***dens***	***dens***

mos (mones) *'go'*

RLC speakers generally use **mos** only in nominal sentences or periphrastic constructions using the auxiliary verb **gwul ~ gul** like **hi a wra mos** 'she will go'. For this reason, only the third person singular forms are listed for most tenses in RLC, since these may be used in affirmative sentences like **my ~ me a geth** 'I went'.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) ***gyllys***

Present Participle ***ow mos ~ o' mos***

Present/Future Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***av, a'ma***	***en***	**—**	**—**
2	***edh, es, es ta, e'ta***	***ewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***a***	***ons***	***a***	**—**
0	***er***		**—**	

Imperfect Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***en***	***en***	**—**	**—**
2	***es***	***ewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***e***	***ens***	***e***	**—**
0	***es ~ os***		**—**	

Preterite

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***yth ~ eth***	***ethen***	**—**	**—**
2	***ethys***	***ethewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***eth***	***ethons***	***eth, geth***	**—**
0	***es***		**—**	

Perfect

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***galsov***	***galson***	**—**	**—**
2	***galsos***	***galsowgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***gallas***	***galsons***	***gallas***	**—**
0	**—**		**—**	

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gylsen***	***gylsen***	**—**	**—**
2	***gylses***	***gylsewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***galsa***	***gylsens***	**—**	**—**
0	**—**		**—**	

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***ylliv***	***yllyn***	**—**	**—**
2	***ylli***	***yllowgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***ello***	***ellons***	**—**	**—**
0	***eller***		**—**	

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***ellen***	***ellen***	**—**	**—**
2	***elles***	***ellewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***ella***	***ellens***	**—**	**—**
0	***elles***		**—**	

Imperative

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	**—**	***deun***	**—**	***deun***
2	***ke, a***	***kewgh, ewgh***	***ke***	***kew', ew'***
3	***es, ens***	***ens***	**—**	**—**

godhvos *'know, know how to'*

Some speakers pronounce the sequence **-dhv-** as [fː]. In a few cases, RLC forms use a stem spelled **goff-** to reflect this pronunciation.

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) ***godhvedhys***

Present Participle ***ow kodhvos ~ o' kodhvos***

Present Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***gonn, gorav, gora'ma***	***godhon***	***goram, gora'ma, gora'vy***	***goryn, goryn nei***
2	***godhes, godhes ta***	***godhowgh***	***gos ta***	***goro', goro'hwei***
3	***gor (ev)*** *(m.)*	***godhons***	***gor e', gor ava*** *(m.)*	***gorans, gor anjei***
	gor (hi) *(f.)*		***gor hei*** *(f.)*	
0	***godhor***		**—**	

Future (Habitual Present)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***godhvedhav***	***godhvedhyn***	**—**	**—**
2	***godhvedhydh***	***godhvedhowgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***godhvydh***	***godhvedhons***	**—**	**—**
0	***godhvedher***		**—**	

Imperfect Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***godhyen***	***godhyen***	***goyen (vy)***	***goyen (nei)***
2	***godhyes***	***godhyewgh***	***goyes (chy)***	***goyew'(hwei)***
3	***godhya***	***godhyens***	***goya (e' / hei)***	***goyens, goya anjei***
0	***godhyes***		**—**	

Preterite

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***godhvev***	***godhven***	**—**	**—**
2	***godhves***	***godhvewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***godhva***	***godhvons***	***godhas***	**—**
0	***godhves***		**—**	

The preterite of ***godhvos*** is not attested in MC, but is sometimes used in RMC.

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***godhvien***	***godhvien***	**—**	**—**
2	***godhvies***	***godhviewgh***	**—**	**—**
3	***godhvia***	***godhviens***	***goffia***	**—**
0	***godhvies***		**—**	

Present/Future Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***godhviv***	***godhvyn***	—	—
2	***godhvi***	***godhvowgh***	—	—
3	***godhvo***	***godhvons***	—	—
0	***godher***		—	

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***godhven***	***godhven***	***goffen (vy)***	***goffen (nei)***
2	***godhves***	***godhvewgh***	***goffes (chy)***	***goffew'(hwei)***
3	***godhva***	***godhvens***	***goffa e' / hei***	***goffens, goffa anjei***
0	***godhves***		—	

Imperative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	—	***godhvedhyn***	—	—
2	***godhvydh, gor***	***godhvedhewgh***	***go'ya***	***godhvedhew'***
3	***godhvedhes, -ens***	***godhvedhens***	—	—

Regular Verbs

Many Cornish speakers avoid conjugating most verbs in everyday conversation, preferring to use constructions involving auxiliaries like **bos**, **gul**, and **mynnes**. In the paradigms below, RLC forms are only given in the third person singular in some tenses (present/future indicative, imperfect indicative, and preterite), since most RLC speakers only use these verbs in nominal sentences like **chy ~ che a worras** 'you put'. A few other forms are given, notably the first person singular present/future indicative ending **-am**, which is found in Tudor Cornish and RLC, and the impersonal forms of the present/future indicative and subjunctive, which are described in the appendix to Gendall's 2007 dictionary.

gorra *'put, place'*

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) gorr***ys***

Present Participle ***ow*** korr***a*** ~ ***o'*** korr***a***

Present/Future Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gorr***av***	gorr***yn***	gorr***am***, gorr***a'ma***	—
2	gorr***ydh***, gorr***ys***	gorr***owgh***	—	—
3	gorr	gorr***ons***	gorr	—
0	gorr***ir***		gorr***ir***	

Imperfect Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gorr***en***	gorr***en***	—	—
2	gorr***es***	gorr***ewgh***	—	—
3	gorr***a***	gorr***ens***	gorr***a***	—
0	gorr***ys***		—	

Preterite

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gorr***is***	gorr***syn***	—	—
2	gorr***sys***	gorr***sowgh***	—	—
3	gorr***as***	gorr***sons***	gorr***as***	—
0	gorr***as***		—	

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gorr***sen***	gorr***sen***	—	—
2	gorr***ses***	gorr***sewgh***	—	—
3	gorr***sa***	gorr***sens***	—	—
0	gorr***sys***		—	

RLC uses **mynja** (the conditional of **mednes**) as an auxiliary to express the conditional of most verbs, as in **My a vynja gorra** 'I would put'.

Present/Future Subjunctive

In RLC, **gallos**, **bos**, and **gul** are used as auxiliaries to express the subjunctive of other verbs, as in **Hei a sav war an ke m'alla hei gweles**, 'She stands on the hedge so that she can see.' When discussing past actions, the conditional is used, as in **Hei a savas war an ke m'alja hei gweles**, 'She stood on the hedge so that she could see'.

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gorr***iv***	gorr***yn***	—	—
2	gorr***i***	gorr***owgh***	—	—
3	gorr***o***	gorr***ons***	—	—
0	gorr***er***		gorr***er***	

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gorr***en***	gorr***en***	—	—
2	gorr***es***	gorr***ewgh***	—	—
3	gorr***a***	gorr***ens***	—	—
0	gorr***ys***		—	

Imperative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	—	gorr***yn***	—	—
2	gorr	gorr***ewgh***	gorr	gorr***ew'***
3	gorr***es***, gorr***ens***	gorr***ens***	—	—

gweles *'see'*

Past Participle (Verbal Adjective) gwel***ys***

Present Participle ***ow*** kwel***es*** ~ ***o'*** kwel***es***

Present/Future Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gwel***av***	gwel***yn***	gwel***am***, gwel***a'ma***	—
2	gwel***ydh***	gwel***owgh***	—	—
3	gwel	gwel***ons***	gwel	—
0	gwel***ir***		gwel***ir***	

Imperfect Indicative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gwel***yn***	gwel***yn***	—	—
2	gwel***ys***	gwel***ewgh***	—	—
3	gwel***i***	gwel***ens***	gwel***i***	—
0	gwel***ys***		—	

Preterite

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gwel***is***	gwels***yn***	—	—
2	gwels***ys***	gwels***owgh***	—	—
3	gwel***as***	gwels***ons***	gwel***as***	—
0	gwel***as***		—	

Conditional (Pluperfect)

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gwels***en***	gwels***en***	—	—
2	gwels***es***	gwels***ewgh***	—	—
3	gwels***a***	gwels***ens***	—	—
0	gwels***ys***		—	

Present/Future Subjunctive

Verbs whose roots end in a single consonant generally double this consonant (and devoice it, if possible) before adding the subjunctive endings.

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gwell***iv***	gwell***yn***	—	—
2	gwell***i***	gwell***owgh***	—	—
3	gwell***o***	gwell***ons***	—	—
0	gwell***er***		gwel***er***	

Imperfect Subjunctive

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	gwell***en***	gwell***en***	—	—
2	gwell***es***	gwell***ewgh***	—	—
3	gwell***a***	gwell***ens***	—	—
0	gwell***ys***		—	

Imperative

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	—	gwel***yn***	—	—
2	gwel	gwel***ewgh***	gwel	gwel***ew'***
3	gwel***es***, gwel***ens***	gwel***ens***	—	—

Prepositions

Only some of the following prepositions are regularly conjugated in RLC. Full RLC paradigms have been given for these prepositions. In other cases, the first person singular endings **-am** and **-a'ma** and the third person plural ending **-ans** are listed in the RLC column, as these are often used by speakers of Tudor Cornish.

a *'of, from'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***ahanav***	***ahanan***	***ahanam, ahana'vy***	***ahanan (nei)***
2	***ahanas***	***ahanowgh***	***ahanas (ta)***	***ahano'(hwei)***
3	***anodho*** *(m.)*	***anedha***	***anodho*** *(m.)*	***anedhans, anedh'anjei***
	anedhi *(f.)*		***anedhi*** *(f.)*	

a-dhann ~ a-dhadn *'from under'*
See ***yn-dann***.

a-dherag *'before, in front of'*
See ***rag***.

a-dhywar *'down from'*
See ***war***.

a-dhyworth ~ a-dhort *'from'*
See ***dhyworth***.

ages *'than'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***agesov***	***ageson***	—	—
2	***agesos***	***agesowgh***	—	—
3	***agesso*** *(m.)*	***agessa***	—	***agessans***
	agessi *(f.)*		—	

a-rag *'before, in front of'*
See ***rag***.

a-ugh *'above'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***a-uhov***	***a-uhon***	—	—
2	***a-uhos***	***a-uhowgh***	—	—
3	***a-ughto***, ***a-uho*** *(m.)*	***a-ughta***, ***a-uha***	—	***a-ughtans***, ***a-uhans***
	a-ughti, ***a-uhi*** *(f.)*		—	

avel *'like, as'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***avelov***	***avelon***	—	—
2	***avelos***	***avelowgh***	—	—
3	***avello*** *(m.)*	***avella***	—	***avellans***
	avelli *(f.)*		—	

dhe *'to'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***dhymm, dhymmo***	***dhyn***	***dhebm(o), dhe vy***	***dhen, dhe nei***
2	***dhis, dhiso***	***dhywgh***	***dhes(o), dhe jy***	***dhew', dhe hwei***
3	***dhodho*** *(m.)*	***dhedha***	***dhodho, dhe ev*** *(m.)*	***dhodhans, dhe anjei***
	dhedhi *(f.)*		***dhedhi*** *(f.)*	

dherag *'in front of'*
See ***rag***.

dhywar *'down from'*
See ***war***.

dhyworth ~ dhort *'from'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***dhyworthiv***	***dhyworthyn***	***dhortam***	***dhortyn (nei)***
2	***dhyworthis***	***dhyworthowgh***	***dhortis (chy)***	***dhorto', dhort hwei***
3	***dhyworto*** *(m.)*	***dhyworta***	***dhorto*** *(m.)*	***dhortans, dhort anjei***
	dhyworti *(f.)*		***dhorti*** *(f.)*	

dre ~ der *'through, by'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***dredhov***	***dredhon***	***dredham***	—
2	***dredhos***	***dredhowgh***	—	—
3	***dredho*** *(m.)*	***dredha***	—	***dredhans***
	dredhi *(f.)*		—	

dres *'over, beyond'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***dresov***	***dreson***	—	—
2	***dresos***	***dresowgh***	—	—
3	***dresto*** *(m.)*	***dresta***	—	***drestans***
	dresti *(f.)*		—	

es *'than'*

See ***ages***.

gans ~ gen *'with, by'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***genev***	***genen***	***genam, gena'ma, gena vy***	***genen (nei), gena nei***
2	***genes***	***genowgh***	***genes, gena chy***	***geno'(hwei), gena hwei***
3	***ganso*** *(m.)*	***gansa***	***ganjo, gens ev*** *(m.)*	***ganjans, gens anjei***
	gensi *(f.)*		***gensi, gens hei*** *(f.)*	

heb *'without'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***hebov***	***hebon***	***hebam***	—
2	***hebos***	***hebowgh***	—	—
3	***hebdho*** *(m.)*	***hebdha***	—	***hebdhans***
	hebdhi *(f.)*		—	

orth* ~ *ort *'at'*

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***orthiv***	***orthyn***	***ortam, orta'vy, ort vy***	***ortyn (nei), ort nei***
2	***orthis***	***orthowgh***	***ortis (chy), ort chy***	***ortho'(hwei), ort hei***
3	***orto*** *(m.)*	***orta***	***orto, ort ev*** *(m.)*	***ortans, ort anjei***
	orti *(f.)*		***orti, ort hei*** *(f.)*	

The preposition **orth** and its conjugated forms may also be spelled with initial **w-** (**worth**, **worthiv**, **worthis**, etc.)

rag *'for'*

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***ragov***	***ragon***	***ragam, rag vy***	***ragon (nei)***
2	***ragos***	***ragowgh***	***ragos, rag chy***	***rago'(hwei), rag hwei***
3	***ragdho*** *(m.)*	***ragdha***	***ragto, rag ev*** *(m.)*	***ragdhans, ragt'anjei,***
	rygdhi *(f.)*		***rygdhi, rag hei*** *(f.)*	***rag anjei***

ryb *'by, near'*

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***rybov***	***rybon***	***rybam***	—
2	***rybos***	***rybowgh***	—	—
3	***rybdho*** *(m.)*	***rybdha***	—	***rybdhans***
	rybdhi *(f.)*		—	

war *'on, upon, above, over'*

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***warnav***	***warnan***	***warnam, wara vy***	***warnan (nei), wara nei***
2	***warnas***	***warnowgh***	***warnas (chy), wara chy***	***warno'(hwei), wara hwei***
3	***warnodho*** *(m.)*	***warnedha***	***warnodho, war ev*** *(m.)*	***warnedhans, war anjei***
	warnedhi *(f.)*		***warnedhi, war hei*** *(f.)*	

yn *'in'*

	RMC		RLC	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***ynnov***	***ynnon***	***ynnam***	***ynnon (nei)***
2	***ynnos***	***ynnowgh***	***ynnos (chy)***	***ynno'(hwei)***
3	***ynno*** *(m.)*	***ynna***	***ynno, ytno, etto*** *(m.)*	***ynnans, ettans***
	ynni *(f.)*		***ynni, ydni*** *(f.)*	

RLC also uses the form **et** for 'in' before vowels.

yn-dann ~'dadn *'under'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***yn-dannov***	***yn-dannon***	—	—
2	***yn-dannos***	***yn-dannowgh***	—	—
3	***yn-danno*** *(m.)*	***yn-danna***	—	***y'dadnans***
	yn-danni *(f.)*		—	

Speakers who pre-occlude may write the forms given in the RMC column as **yn-dadnov**, **yn-dadnos**, etc.

yntra, ynter *'between'*

	RMC		*RLC*	
	Sg.	*Pl.*	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
1	***yntredhov***	***yntredhon***	***yntredham***	—
2	***yntredhos***	***yntredhowgh***	—	—
3	***yntredho*** *(m.)*	***yntredha***	—	***yntredhans***
	yntredhi *(f.)*		—	

Appendix C

Introducing the SWF: A Guide for Speakers of Kernewek Kemmyn

The Single Written Form for Cornish (SWF) aims at representing all currently spoken varieties of Cornish clearly and consistently. Because the SWF has to bridge the gap between the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Cornish used by speakers of Revived Middle Cornish (RMC) and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cornish used by speakers of Revived Late or Modern Cornish (RLC), speakers of all variants will have to make some distinctions in writing which they themselves do not regularly make in speech. For example, where Kernewek Kemmyn has **koes**, pl. **koesow** 'wood', the SWF will write **koos**, pl. **kosow** 'wood', which reflects the distinction between long <oo> and short <o> made by speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish (TC), but absent in Kernewek Kemmyn. Other departures from current KK usage include vocalic alternation, a feature of traditional Cornish texts by which <y> in monosyllables often becomes <e> in polysyllables, and the introduction of phonetic rather than morpho-phonemic spelling in words whose roots contain geminate <mm nn ll rr>.

Umbrella Graphs

Graphs like <u> and <eu>, which have different recommended pronunciations for speakers of different variants, are known as *umbrella graphs*. The table below lists the umbrella graphs used in the SWF, along with their recommended pronunciations for KK speakers. The graphs <u>, <eu>, and <gh> represent the same sounds in the SWF as they do in KK; the digraph <oo> may be pronounced like long <oe> in KK.

Umbrella Graphs in the SWF

Graph	*Example*	*Meaning*	*Recommended KK Pronunciation*
<u>	**Lun**	'Monday'	[yː] as in French <t**u**>, German <k**ü**hl>
<eu>	**keus**	'cheese'	[œː] as in French <bl**eu**>, German <**Ö**l>
<oo>	**goon**	'moor'	[oː] as in French <b**eau**>, German <M**oo**s>
<gh>	**mogh**	'pig'	[x] as in Gaelic or German <a**ch**>

The vowels <oo> and <o>

The SWF writes <oo> where KK has long <oe> and RLC has <û> representing [uː]. In all other cases where KK has <oe>, the SWF defaults to <o>.

Examples of <oo> and <o> in the SWF

1. Long <oo>
Recommended pronunciation for KK users: [oː] as in French <**eau**>, German <M**oo**s>

SWF	*Meaning*	*KK*
goon	'moor'	**goen**
pooth	'hot'	**poeth**
skoodh	'shoulder'	**skoedh**

Examples of <oo> and <o> in the SWF

2. Short and Unstressed <o>
Recommended pronunciation for KK users: [ɤ], similar to English <c**u**p>, or
[ɔ], similar to English <m**o**re>

SWF	*Meaning*	*KK*
tomm ~ tobm	'warm'	**toemm**
arlodh	'lord'	**arloedh**
porth	'port'	**porth**

3. Long <o>
Recommended pronunciation for KK users: [ɔː], similar to English <m**o**re>

SWF	*Meaning*	*KK*
rol	'list'	**rol**
son	'sound'	**son**

The Consonants <gh> and <h>

In order to reflect the suggested pronunciation of all varieties of Revived Cornish more closely, the SWF writes <h> instead of KK <gh> between vowels or between <r l> and a vowel, precisely those places where the recommended KK pronunciation is [h] (the consonant in English <a**h**a!>). In all other positions, where KK <gh> represents Middle Cornish [x] (the sound in German <Ba**ch**>), including in comparatives, superlatives, and subjunctives like **yagha** 'healthier', the SWF will continue to write <gh>.

Examples of <gh> and <h> in the SWF

Final <gh>	*Meaning*	*Medial <h>*	*Meaning*
flogh	'child'	**flehes**	'children'
yagh	'healthy'	**yehes**	'health'
margh	'horse'	**marhek**	'rider'

The Consonants <s>, <ss>, <c>, and <z>

Another difference between the SWF and KK involves the introduction of the letters <c> and <z> alongside the familiar <s> and <ss>. The letter <c> is always pronounced as a voiceless [s], and is used in loanwords like **cider** 'cider', **cita** 'city', and **polici** 'policy'. The letter <z> always represents the voiced [z] sound, and is used in loanwords like **zebra** 'zebra', **Zimbabwe** 'Zimbabwe', and **Zanzibar** 'Zanzibar.' In all other words, the distinction between <s> and <ss> and the recommended pronunciation of these graphs is exactly the same as in KK. It should be noted, however, that in many words where KK users will prefer to write <s> (as in the words **kerensa** 'love', **usi** 'is', and **wosa** 'after'), speakers of other varieties of Cornish may write <j> to reflect their pronunciation of this sound as [ʤ].

Variant Graphs

In cases where differences in pronunciation between the varieties of Revived Cornish are too great to be bridged by an umbrella graph, the SWF recognises 'dialectal' spelling variants of equal status. Probably the most salient of these is the use of pre-occluded <bm> and <dn> by RLC speakers in words like **tabm** 'piece' and **pedn** 'head', which speakers of RMC will continue to write and pronounce as **tamm**, **penn**.

Spellings like <mm ~ bm> or <nn ~ dn> which show a linguistic difference between varieties of Cornish are referred to as *variant graphs*. Their introduction means that while KK users will be able to continue to spell most words in ways that are familiar to them, they may encounter variant graphs in texts written by speakers of other varieties of Cornish.

Variant Graphs in the SWF

Graph		*Example*			*Meaning*	*Recommended KK Pronunciation*
RMC	*RLC*	*RMC*		*RLC*		
<a>	<oa>	**bras**	~	**broas**	'big'	[aː], similar to English <f**a**ther>
<ew>	<ow>	**ewna**	~	**owna**	'correct'	[ɛw], as in Welsh <ll**ew**>
<-i>	<-ei>	**ni**	~	**nei**	'we'	[iː], as in English <mach**i**ne>
<y>	<e>	**bys**	~	**bes**	'world'	[ɪː], as in English <b**i**d>
<mm>	<bm>	**tomm**	~	**tobm**	'warm'	[mː], as in English <hu**m** **M**ozart>
<nn>	<dn>	**rann**	~	**radn**	'part'	[nː], as in English <te**n** **n**ests>
<s>	<j>	**oos**	~	**ooj**	'age'	[z], as in English <ha**s**>

The Vowels <e>, <i>, and <y>

For KK users, there is little change in the distribution of the vowel graphs <e>, <i>, and <y> in monosyllabic words. However, the SWF recognises RLC variants in <e> for many words which have stressed <y> in KK. In these cases, both spellings are allowed, so while KK users may continue to write **pryv** 'worm' and **bys** 'world', they may encounter forms like **prev** and **bes** in texts written by speakers of RLC or Tudor Cornish. This variation between <y> and <e> is largely confined to long vowels in stressed monosyllables, and also affects the diphthong <yw>, which some RLC and Tudor Cornish speakers may choose to write as <ew> in monosyllabic words like **byw** ~ **bew** 'alive'.

Because the SWF recognises vocalic alternation — a sound change in some varieties of RMC which lowers <y> to <e> when a suffix is added to a monosyllabic root — polysyllabic words like **preves** 'worms', **besyow** 'worlds', and **bedhowgh** 'will be (2pl.)' will be spelled with stressed <e> in both the RLC and RMC variants. This represents a change from KK usage.

Words Spelled with RMC <y> ~ RLC <e> in the SWF

RMC		*RLC and TC*	*Meaning*	*Notes*
my	~	**me**	'I'	
pryv	~	**prev**	'worm'	
preves	~	**preves**	'worms'	Spelled identically in both forms
bys	~	**bes**	'world'	
besyow	~	**besyow**	'worlds'	Spelled identically in both forms
byw	~	**bew**	'alive'	
yw	~	**ew**	'is'	

Double Consonants and Pre-occlusion

In contrast to KK, the SWF writes geminate consonants only where they are actually pronounced. This means that <mm nn ll rr> will be restricted to stressed syllables, resulting in alternations like:

bleujen, pl. **bleujennow**	'flower(s)'
dyllans, pl. **dylansow**	'emission'

In compounds, <mm nn ll rr> will be written in syllables carrying secondary stress, like the initial syllable of **pellgowser** 'telephone', but not in word-final position in words like **diwar** '(pair of) legs'.

While this approach may seem tedious at first to people who are used to morphemic spellings, it has a major advantage as well: it tells learners exactly how to pronounce the consonants in question. If they are written double, then they should be pronounced long. In the case of the examples given above, the forms **bleujennow** and **dyllans** have long consonants, while the forms **bleujen** and **dylansow** do not. The SWF therefore supports correct KK pronunciation of these words.

The Digraphs <mm ~ bm>, <nn ~ dn>, <ll>, and <rr> in the SWF

1.These forms will be written in syllables with primary stress:

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
kamm	~	**kabm**	'crooked'
kemmer	~	**kebmer**	'take'
rann	~	**radn**	'part'
ranna	~	**radna**	'divide'
pell	~	**pell**	'far'
gallos	~	**gallos**	'be able to '
garr	~	**garr**	'leg'
terri	~	**terri**	'break'

The Digraphs <mm ~ bm>, <nn ~ dn>, <ll>, and <rr> in the SWF

2. They will also be written in compound words, in syllables with secondary stress:

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
kammneves	~	**kabmdhavas**	'rainbow'
pennglin	~	**pednglin**	'kneecap'
pellgowser		**—**	'telephone'
korrdonner		**—**	'microwave'

3. They will *not* be used in unstressed syllables:

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
kemeres	~	**kemeres**	'take'
diwvron	~	**diwvron**	'breasts'
galosek	~	**galojek**	'powerful'
diwar	~	**diwar**	'legs'

This third rule will prevent mispronunciations like ***kebmeres** or ***diwvrodn**.

For comparable reasons, word-final <-pp -tt -kk> do not appear in the SWF because voiceless stops can only be pronounced long in medial position. The SWF thus writes **hat** 'hat' and **top** 'top'. In order to distinguish words like **klok** 'cloak' (which has a long vowel) and **klock** 'clock' (which has a short vowel), <-ck> will be used to represent the sound [k] after short vowels in monosyllablic English loanwords and their compounds. Medial <-pp-, -tt-, -kk-> will occur between vowels, or between a vowel and the consonant <y> in words like **klappya** 'chatter', **hattow** 'hats', and **lakka** 'worse'. Medial <-ck-> will be used instead of <-kk-> in loanwords like **klockow** 'clocks'.

Of the other KK geminates <ggh tth ssh cch>, the SWF writes only <tth>, in comparative, superlative, and subjunctive forms like **kottha** 'older, oldest' or **hettho** 'may stop'. The forms <ssh> and <cch>, which are only found in a few loanwords, are replaced by <sh> and <ch>; the word **passhyon** will be respelled as **passyon**, but may still be pronounced as in KK. The sequence <ggh> is replaced by medial <gh> in the SWF. Since the SWF writes <h> rather than <gh> for the medial consonant sound in words like **laha** (KK **lagha**) 'law', a <gh> written between two vowels (as in **sygha** ~ **segha** 'drier, driest') unambiguously represents a geminate [xː].

Traditional Graphs

Writers who so wish may use traditional representations for the sounds [k], [ʍ], and word-final [ɪ], and spell them {c k qw x}, {wh}, and {-y}, respectively. These *traditional graphs* do not have equal status to their counterparts <k>, <hw>, and <-i>, and will not appear in elementary language textbooks or in official documents produced by public bodies.

Vowel Length

The SWF does not use diacritical marks (like the macrons used in Unified Cornish **tān** or the circumflex accent found in RLC **tân** 'fire') to indicate vowel length. Rather, the length of a vowel may be determined by the nature and number of the following consonants and the number of syllables in the word, much as in KK. For speakers of KK, the rules for vowel length in the SWF are as follows:

1. Vowels in unstressed syllables are always short.
2. Vowels in stressed syllables are short:
   a. before double consonants like <ll>, <rr>, and <ss>;
   b. before consonant clusters like <rgh>, <rdh>, and <ls>;
   c. before the voiceless stops <p>, <t>, and <ck>. This is the only difference from current KK practice.
3. Vowels in stressed syllables are long:
   a. before the voiced stops <b>, <d>, <g>;
   b. before the voiceless stop <k>;
   c. before fricatives like <f>, <v>, <th>, <dh>, <s>, and <gh>;
   d. before other single consonants like <l>, <m>, <n>, and <r>;
   e. in absolute final position.

Note that digraphs like <th>, <dh>, and <gh> which represent a single sound count as single consonants, even though they are written with two letters. The [k] sound is written <ck> or <kk> when it follows a short vowel, and <k> when it follows a long vowel. The vowels <u> and <ou> are always long in monosyllabic words, no matter what consonant or consonants follow them.

Only a small number of words do not conform to these rules, in that they have irregularly long vowels. Many are easily recognisable as loanwords:

Words with Unpredictably Long Vowels in the SWF

Word	*Meaning*	*Recommended KK Pronunciation*
grot	'groat'	[ɡrɔːt]
hond	'hound'	[hɔːnd]
kop	'cope'	[kɔːp]
krap	'grip'	[kraːp]
krop	'penetrates'	[krɔːp]
kwit	'free'	[kwiːt]
met	'meets'	[mɛːt]
pat	'pate'	[paːt]
plat	'plate'	[plaːt]
plit	'plight'	[pliːt]
pot	'kicks'	[pɔːt]
shap	'shape'	[ʃaːp]
skap	'escapes'	[skaːp]
skit	'squirts'	[skiːt]

Words with Unpredictably Long Vowels in the SWF

Word	*Meaning*	*Recommended KK Pronunciation*
smat	'hardy'	[smaːt]
sop	'sups'	[sɔːp]
spit	'spite'	[spiːt]
stat	'state'	[staːt]
stop	'stoops'	[stɔːp]
stret	'street'	[strɛːt]
yet	'gate'	[jɛːt]

Morphology: Verbs and Prepositions

The morphology of Kernewek Kemmyn is fully recognised within the SWF, and many common endings for verbs and prepositions like **-av** (1sg.) and **-ydh** (2sg.) are identical in KK and the SWF. Some common nominal suffixes that end in double consonants in KK will be respelled with single consonants, since they occur word-finally in unstressed syllables. The SWF therefore writes the singulative ending as **-en** rather than **-enn** in words like **logosen** ~ **logojen** 'mouse', and writes the suffix meaning 'tool' as **-el** rather than **-ell** in words like **yeynel** 'refrigerator'.

The other noticeable change for KK speakers involves the introduction of vocalic alternation, which means that <y> in many roots will become <e> in plurals, singulatives, and conjugated forms. Thus, the SWF writes **benyn** 'woman', **gwydh** 'trees', and **bydh** 'will be (3sg.)', but **benenes** 'women', **gwedhen** 'tree', and **bedhewgh** 'will be (2pl.)'.

Texts written by RLC speakers may also contain Late Cornish forms like **dhodhans** 'to them' and **na veu anjei** 'they were not' which will be unfamiliar to users of KK and other forms of RMC. The table below gives some examples of conjugated verbs and prepositions in RMC and their RLC equivalents. Full paradigms of common verbs and prepositions may be found in **Appendix B**.

Examples of Conjugated Verbs and Prepositions in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*	*Notes*
yth ov vy	~	**th o'ma**	'I am'	RMC **yth** ~ RLC **th**
yw	~	**ew**	'is'	RMC **y** ~ RLC **e**
yth esov vy	~	**th ero'vy**	'I am'	RMC **es...** ~ RLC **er...**
yma	~	**ma**	'is'	RLC omits RMC **y**
eus	~	**eus**	'is'	RLC **eu** pronounced as [eː]
usi	~	**uji**	'is'	RMC **s** ~ RLC **j**
ny vydh ev	~	**na vedh e'**	'he will not be'	RMC **ny(ns)** ~ RLC **na(g)**
nyns en ni	~	**nag o'nei**	'we were not'	RMC **i** ~ RLC **ei**
na vons i	~	**na veu anjei**	'they were not'	RMC **i** ~ RLC **anjei**

Examples of Conjugated Verbs and Prepositions in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*	*Notes*
hi a wra	~	**hei ra**	'she does'	RLC omits RMC **a**
my a wrug mos	~	**me rug mos**	'I did go, I went'	RMC **wr...** ~ RLC **r...**
dhymm	~	**dhebm**	'to me'	RMC **mm** ~ RLC **bm**
dhodho	~	**dhodho**	'to him'	RLC unstressed **-o** as [ə]
dhedha	~	**dhodhans**	'to them'	RMC **-a** ~ RLC **-ans**

A Sample Text in the SWF

Below is a short text in the SWF, taken from Benjamin Bruch's short story *Solempnyta*:

Solempnyta

Wel, ottavy wos'tiwedh.

Dohajydh yw, ha'n bush res eth, ow tehweles dhe Loundres rag golyow an gorthuher ha'n tanweythyow a-ugh an Tour.

Kosel yw arta war an hengaslan; nyns eus saw an diwettha tremenysi ow rosya ha kemeres skeusennow kyns mos tre dh'aga ostelyow. Hag a'n re na, nyns eus den vyth omma, dherag an menhir ma, saw my. Nyns yw an bedh ma le meurgerys gans an havysi.

Martesen y talvia dhymm styrya prag re dheuth vy dhe'n le ma, dhe'n jydh ma. Nyns esov omma, kepar ha'n re erel ma, rag mires orth daswrians an keskerdh dhe Loundres a Vihal Yosep an Gov ha'y lu yn 1497. Dhymmo vy, nyns yw henna skila rag omlowenhe. Yth esov omma rag solempnyta fest dyffrans: rag kovhe mernans an yeth a garav, ha gonisogeth ogas ankevys ow hendasow. Ha del gresav, yth esa omma, nans yw pymp kansbledhen, may kodhas an strok vernans.

Appendix D

Introducing the SWF: A Guide for Users of Unified Cornish

The Single Written Form for Cornish (SWF) aims at representing all currently spoken varieties of Cornish unambiguously. Because the SWF has to bridge the gap between the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Cornish used by speakers of Revived Middle Cornish (RMC) and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cornish used by speakers of Revived Late or Modern Cornish (RLC), speakers of all variants will have to make some distinctions in writing which they themselves do not regularly make in speech. For example, where Kernewek Kemmyn has **koes**, pl. **koesow** 'wood', the SWF will write **koos {coos}**, pl. **kosow {cosow}** 'wood', which reflects the distinction between long <oo> and short <o> made by speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish (TC), but absent in Kernewek Kemmyn.

Probably the most noticeable systematic change for speakers of Unified Cornish involves the distribution of the vowels <i> and <y> in the SWF. This distribution generally reflects the etymology of the words involved, but it also helps to predict where TC and RLC lower a stressed <y> to <e> in monosyllabic words like **bes** ~ **bys** 'world' and **dydh** ~ **dedh** 'day'. The RMC versions of these words contain a <y> which speakers of Tudor Cornish and RLC will spell and pronounce as <e>. Many of these words have a long <ē> in UC, or show variation betwen <ē> and <ȳ>, and UC users will be able to continue their current practice in many cases. The spelling <i> is used to represent a stable long [iː] (the vowel in English <mach**i**ne>) which is pronounced identically in all varieties of Revived Cornish, and corresponds to UC <ȳ> in stressed monosyllables. See **The Vowels <e>, <y>, and <i>** below for further discussion of this point and a short list of examples.

Umbrella Graphs

Graphs like <u> and <eu>, which have different recommended pronunciations for speakers of different variants, are known as *umbrella graphs***.** The table below lists the umbrella graphs used in the SWF, along with their recommended pronunciations for UC speakers. It should be noted that in some cases, speakers of UC have the choice between more 'conservative' and more 'modern' pronunciations of the umbrella graphs.

Umbrella Graphs in the SWF

Graph	*Example*	*Meaning*	*Recommended Pronunciations*
<u>	**Lun**	'Monday'	[yː] as in German <T**ü**r>; [uː] like English <ch**oo**se>
<eu>	**keus**	'cheese'	[œː] as in French <c**oeu**r>; [eː] as in French <all**ez**>
<oo>	**goon**	'meadow'	[oː] as in French <b**eau**>
<gh>	**mogh**	'pig'	[h] as in English <a**h**ead>; at the end of a word, like the [x] in Scots <lo**ch**>

Some words with <u> are obvious loans from either French or Middle English, and these are pronounced with [uː] in UC **frut** 'fruit'. These words are often written with <ū> in UC and UCR, while the rest correspond to words spelled with <ü>.

The Rounded Vowel <eu> in RMC

Some cases in which the SWF diverges from UC spelling practice are necessary to account for a more 'conservative' RMC pronunciation. The most important example involves the umbrella graph <eu>, which stands for a phoneme that Nance did not recognise in his dictionaries: the rounded Middle Cornish vowel [œː], which is pronounced as in French <c**oeu**r> 'heart' by some speakers of KK and UCR and as in French <all**e**z> by speakers of Tudor Cornish and RLC. This vowel occurs mainly in stressed syllables, and corresponds to <ü>, <ē>, or (more rarely) <ō> in UC. Words which are listed in Nance's dictionary and other UC reference books with alternative spellings like **bē** ~ **bü** 'was (3sg.)', and cases where verbal paradigms alternate between forms in <ē>, <ō>, and <ü> like the present tense of **dos** 'come' (UC **dōf**, **düth**, **dē**, **dün**, **deugh**, **dons**) are often spelled with <eu> in the SWF. The SWF consistently writes <eu> in places where UCR has <ue> and KK has <eu>.

Examples of <eu> in the SWF

SWF	*Meaning*	*UC*	*UCR*	*KK*
meur	'great'	**mür**	**muer**	**meur**
deuv	'I come'	**dōf**	**duef**	**deuv**
keus	'cheese'	**kēs, cüs**	**cues**	**keus**

The Vowels <oo> and <o>

The SWF also distinguishes between the vowel graphs <oo> and <o>. The former is used for a long back vowel which is pronounced as a long [oː] (as in French <b**eau**>) by speakers of RMC and as a long [uː] (as in English <r**oo**t>) by speakers of RLC. For both its short counterpart [ɤ] (like the sound in English <c**u**p>) and the vowel sound [ɔ(ː)] (as in English RP <p**o**rt>), the letter <o> is used. The UC counterparts of these graphs are <u> and <o>, although the distribution of these graphs differs from that of the SWF in a number of cases.

Examples of <oo> and <o> in the SWF

1. Long <oo>

Recommended pronunciations for UC users: [oː] as in French <b**eau**>, or
[uː], similar to English <ch**oo**se>

SWF	*Meaning*	*UC*
goon	'moor'	**gūn**
pooth	'hot'	**pōth**
skoodh {scoodh}	'shoulder'	**scōth**

Examples of <oo> and <o> in the SWF

2. Short and Unstressed <o>
Recommended pronunciations for UC users: [ɤ], similar to English <c**u**p>, or
[ɔ], similar to English <m**o**re>

SWF	*Meaning*	*UC*
tomm ~ tobm	'warm'	**tom**
arlodh	'lord'	**arluth**
porth	'port'	**porth**

3. Long <o>
Recommended pronunciation for UC users: [oː] as in French <b**eau**>

SWF	*Meaning*	*UC*
rol	'list'	**rōl**
son	'sound'	**sōn**

The Unstressed Vowel Schwa [ə]

In order to achieve a common orthography which can represent all spoken varieties, the SWF spells unstressed vowels etymologically, since some RMC speakers pronounce these vowels as [a], [ɛ], [ɪ], [ɔ], etc., according to the quality of the original sound. UC tends to reduce many of these unstressed vowels to schwa [ə] and spells some of them as <a> in cases where the etymology suggests <e>. The SWF therefore writes **tiek** 'farmer' for UC **tȳak** and **taves** 'tongue, language' for UC **tavas**. In many instances, speakers of UC will therefore want to pronounce unstressed <a>, <e>, and <o> as schwa (the vowel found in the first syllable of English <**a**bout>).

Word-final <th>, <f>, <dh>, and <v>

Whereas UC tends to spell all word-final fricatives as voiceless <f> and <th>, the SWF follows an etymological approach and spells these sounds as <f> or <v>, <th> or <dh>, based on the history of each word. Thus, the SWF writes **kov {cov}** 'smith' (UC, UCR **cōf**) but **hanaf** 'cup'; **rudh** 'red' (UC **rüth**, UCR **rüdh**) but **yeth** 'language'. In some cases, particularly in stressed monosyllables and 1sg. verb forms like **gwelav** 'I see', this reflects the recommended pronunciation of UC and UCR.

Medial <h> and Final <gh>

In order to better reflect the recommended pronunciation of all varieties of Cornish, the SWF writes <h> in most cases where UC has <gh> between two vowels or between a vowel and <r l>, precisely those places where the recommended pronunciation is [h] and where UCR writes <h>. In other positions, especially at the end of words, and medially in comparatives, superlatives, and subjunctives like **yagha** 'healthier', <gh> is retained.

Examples of <gh> and <h> in the SWF

Final <gh>	*Meaning*	*Medial <h>*	*Meaning*
flogh	'child'	**flehes**	'children'
yagh	'healthy'	**yehes**	'health'
margh	'horse'	**marhek**	'rider'

The Consonants <s>, <ss>, <c>, and <z>

A common feature of the SWF and Middle Cornish-based orthographies like UC, UCR, and KK is the use of <s> to represent both voiced [z] and unvoiced [s]. However, the rules for pronouncing <s> and other sibilant sounds are very systematic, and UC users may continue their current practices in this respect:

1. <s> is pronounced [s], as in English <**s**ay>, <be**s**t>:
   a. word-initially
   b. in the clusters <sp st sk>;
   c. in the clusters <ps ts ks>;
   d. word-finally in some words like **nos** 'night';
2. <s> is pronounced [z], as in English <po**s**e>, <doe**s**> in most other cases:
   a. when initial <s> is lenited (see **Lenition of <f> and <s>** below);
   b. in the middle of a word, as in **kasek {casek}** 'mare' and **tasow** 'fathers';
   c. at the end of a word, as in **tus** 'people', **peuns** 'pound'.
3. <ss> is always pronounced [s], as in English <cla**ss**>, <me**ss**y>.
4. <c> is always pronounced [s], as in English <**c**ity>, <pla**c**e>, except:
   a. when it is part of the digraph <ck> [kk] in words like **klock {clock}** 'clock';
   b. when <c> is used as a traditional graph for the [k] sound (see **Traditional Graphs** below).
5. <z> is always pronounced [z], as in English <**z**ebra>, <ma**z**e>.

The table below gives some further examples of spellings which indicate voiceless [s] and voiced [z] in the SWF:

The Sounds [s] and [z] in the SWF

Position	*Voiceless [s] as in <see, best>*		*Voiced [z] as in <has, pose>*	
	Example	*Meaning*	*Example*	*Meaning*
Word-initially	**cita**	'city'	**zebra**	'zebra'
	sagh	'bag'	—	
	splann ~ spladn	'bright, shining'	—	
Medially	**polici {policy}**	'policy'	**gasa ~ gara**	'leave'
	nessa	'next'	—	
(before <p t k>)	**pesk ~ pysk**	'fish'	—	
(after <p t k>)	**boksuji {boxujy}**	'box'	—	
Finally	**klass {class}**	'class'	**tas**	'father'
(after <p t k>)	**boks {box}**	'box tree'	—	
(loanword)	**plas**	'place'	—	

Finally, it should be noted that in many places where RLC writes <j> (the [ʤ] sound of English <**j**oke>), RMC speakers will write <s>. Speakers of UC are free to choose either, depending on their own pronunciation. See **The Consonants <s> and <j>** below for further discussion of this alternation.

Lenition of <f> and <s>

Since the rules for lenition of initial <f> and <s> are different for speakers of each variety of Revived Cornish, and since the graphs <f> and <s> can also represent voiced [v] and [z], the SWF (like UC and UCR) does not show the lenition of <f> and <s> in writing. Thus, the SWF writes **pennseythen** (RLC **pednseythen**) for 'week-end' and **pennfenten** (RLC **pednfenten**) for 'source', although some UC speakers pronounce these words as [pɛnˈzɔɪθən], [pɛnˈvɛntən].

Variant Graphs

In cases where differences in pronunciation between the varieties of Revived Cornish are too great to be bridged by an umbrella graph, or where the use of an umbrella graph might be misleading, the SWF recognises 'dialectal' spelling variants of equal status. Probably the most noticeable variant spelling is the use of pre-occluded <bm> and <dn> in RLC forms of words like **tabm** 'piece' and **pedn** 'head', where RMC writes (and pronounces) **tamm**, **penn**. Users of UC who pre-occlude are free to represent this in writing. Likewise, those who do not may use the RMC spellings <mm> and <nn>. This principle applies to all recognised spelling variants in the SWF, although in many cases the UC preference for one of them is quite strong; see below for a full list. The main difference between the SWF and UC in this respect is that UC does not write <nn> or <mm> in word-final position.

Spellings like <mm ~ bm> or <nn ~ dn> which show a linguistic difference between varieties of Cornish are referred to as *variant graphs*. Such variation in spelling makes the written representations of the variants visibly distinct, while still keeping the variant forms similar enough to allow easy comprehension for all readers.

Variant Graphs in the SWF

Graph		*Example*			*Meaning*	*Suggested UC Pronunciation*
RMC	*RLC*	*RMC*		*RLC*		
<a>	<oa>	**bras**	~	**broas**	'big'	[æː] as in English <h**a**d>
<ew>	<ow>	**tewlel**	~	**towlel**	'throw'	[ɔʊ], similar to English <l**ow**>
<-i>	<-ei>	**ni**	~	**nei**	'we'	[iː], similar to in English <s**ee**>
<y>	<e>	**bys**	~	**bes**	'world'	[eː] as in French <all**e**z>
<mm>	<bm>	**tomm**	~	**tobm**	'warm'	[m], as in English <ha**m**>
<nn>	<dn>	**rann**	~	**radn**	'part'	[n], as in English <ma**n**>
<s>	<j>	**oos**	~	**ooj**	'age'	[z] as in English <loo**s**e>

The Vowels <e>, <y>, and <i>

The SWF writes <i> where both RMC and RLC have /i/ (the sound in English <mach**i**ne>) and <e> where both have /e/ (the sound in French <all**e**z>). In cases where RMC and RLC do not agree, the SWF often uses the spelling <e> for speakers who pronounce the words in question with an /e/ but provides a variant form <y> for speakers who pronounce these words with an i-type vowel: /i/ or /ɪ/. To UC users, this means that, with the exception of the roots in <i>, they may continue spelling stressed <e> and <y> as they already do. In some cases, this will match the form given in the 'SWF/RMC' column below, and in other cases, it will match the form given in the 'SWF/RLC' column. Users of UCR should be aware that a few words like **triga** 'dwell', which are spelled with <e> in UCR but with <y> in UC will be spelled with <i> in the SWF to reflect the UC and RLC pronunciation.

Examples of <e>, <y>, and <i> in the SWF

1. Words Spelled with <i>

SWF/RMC		*SWF/RLC*	*Meaning*	*UC*	*UCR*
mir	~	**mir**	'look!'	**mȳr**	**mȳr**
diw	~	**diw**	'two (f.)'	**dyw**	**dyw**
triga	~	**triga**	'dwell'	**tryga**	**trega**

2. Words Spelled with <e>

SWF/RMC		*SWF/RLC*	*Meaning*	*UC*	*UCR*
den	~	**den**	'man'	**dēn**	**dēn**
krev {crev}	~	**krev {crev}**	'strong'	**crēf**	**crēf**
benyn	~	**benyn**	'woman'	**benen**	**benen**

3. Words Spelled with <y> ~ <e>

SWF/RMC		*SWF/RLC*	*Meaning*	*UC*	*UCR*
sygh	~	**segh**	'dry'	**sēgh**	**sēgh**
pryv	~	**prev**	'worm'	**prȳf**	**prēf**
kynsa	~	**kensa**	'first'	**kensa**	**kensa**

Note that this variation between <e> and <y> is largely confined to stressed monosyllables. Because the SWF recognises vocalic alternation — a sound change in RMC which lowers <y> to <e> when a suffix is added — polysyllabic words like **preves** 'worms', **besyow** 'worlds', and **bedhowgh** 'be (pl.)' are spelled the same in all variants. Vocalic alternation in the SWF is basically identical to that found in UC. This means that the SWF will write **enys** 'island' and **benenes** 'women'.

Words Spelled with RMC <y> ~ RLC <e> in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*	*Notes*
my	~	**me**	'I'	
pryv	~	**prev**	'worm'	
preves	~	**preves**	'worms'	Spelled identically in both forms

Words Spelled with RMC <y> ~ RLC <e> in the SWF

bys	~	**bes**	'world'	
besyow	~	**besyow**	'worlds'	Spelled identically in both forms
byw	~	**bew**	'alive'	
yw	~	**ew**	'is'	

Some words like **gwydn** ~ **gwynn** 'white' are spelled with <y> in all variants. Here, the <y> represents a short [ɪ] sound, like the vowel in English <b**i**t>, <p**i**n>.

Pre-occlusion and Double Consonants

Since pre-occlusion only occurs in stressed syllables in RLC, the digraphs <mm ~ bm> and <nn ~ dn> will likewise be restricted to syllables carrying primary or (in the case of compound words like **pennseythen** ~ **pednseythen** 'week-end') secondary stress. Although there are a few exceptions like **jynn** 'engine', which is not pre-occluded by speakers of RLC, there is generally a one-to-one correspondence between an RMC form in <mm> or <nn> and an RLC form in <bm> or <dn>.

The same rules that affect <mm ~ bm> and <nn ~ dn> apply to the digraphs <ll> and <rr>, which will be used to write all varieties of Revived Cornish. In unstressed syllables, only single <m n l r> will be written, since these consonants are never pre-occluded or pronounced long in unstressed syllables. This is summarised in the table below:

The Digraphs <mm ~ nm>, <nn ~ dn>, <ll>, and <rr> in the SWF

1. These forms will be written in syllables with primary stress:

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
kamm {camm}	~	**kabm {cabm}**	'crooked'
kemmer	~	**kebmer**	'take'
rann	~	**radn**	'part'
ranna	~	**radna**	'divide'
pell	~	**pell**	'far'
gallos	~	**gallos**	'be able to '
garr	~	**garr**	'leg'
terri	~	**terri**	'break'

2. They will also be written in compound words, in syllables with secondary stress:

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
kammneves {cammneves}	~	**kabmdhavas {cabmdhavas}**	'rainbow'
pennglin	~	**pednglin**	'kneecap'
pellgowser		**—**	'telephone'
korrdonner {corrdonner}		**—**	'microwave'

The Digraphs <mm ~ nm>, <nn ~ dn>, <ll>, and <rr> in the SWF

3. They will *not* be used in unstressed syllables:

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
kemeres	~	**kemeres**	'take'
diwvron	~	**diwvron**	'breasts'
galosek	~	**galojek**	'powerful'
diwar	~	**diwar**	'legs'

This third rule will prevent mispronunciations like ***kebmeres** or ***diwvrodn**.

As noted above, there are a few words like **jynn** 'engine' which in all forms will be spelled with <mm> and <nn>, since although they contain a short vowel (see **Vowel Length** for a discussion of how the SWF indicates vowel length), they are not attested with pre-occlusion in traditional Cornish.

RLC Words Spelled with <mm>, <nn> in the SWF

RLC and RMC	*Meaning*	*Recommended UC Pronunciation*
gramm	'gramme'	[ɡræm]
gronn	'bundle'	[ɡrɔn]
gwremm	'hem'	[ɡwrɛm]
jynn	'engine'	[dʒɪn]
kann {cann}	'very white'	[kæn]
mann	'nothing, zero'	[mæn]
namm	'fault'	[næm]

Another word which might be added to this list is RMC and TC **gonn** 'I know', which does not show pre-occlusion in traditional Cornish. However, most speakers who pre-occlude are likely to prefer the later forms **gora'vy** or **gora'ma** instead.

The Consonants <s> and <j>

In the SWF, speakers will write the letter <j> wherever they pronounce the sound [ʤ] as in English <**j**am>. For RLC and TC, this sometimes corresponds to a [z] or [s] sound in RMC, and many UC users will therefore write these same words with <s>. Speakers of Tudor Cornish may choose the spelling that best reflects their pronunciation of the words in question. This alternation between <s> and <j> is already reflected in the UC and UCR spellings for many of these words.

Examples of RMC <s> ~ RLC <j> in the SWF

RMC, TC		*RLC, TC*	*Meaning*
kerensa	~	**kerenja**	'love'
mynsa	~	**menja**	'would like to'
galsa	~	**galja**	'could'

Examples of RMC <s> ~ RLC <j> in the SWF

RMC, TC		*RLC, TC*	*Meaning*
usi {usy}	~	**uji {ujy}**	'is'
krysi {crysy}	~	**kryji {cryjy}**	'believe'
pysi {pysy}	~	**pyji {pyjy}**	'pray'
oos	~	**ooj**	'age'
goos	~	**gooj**	'blood'
logosen	~	**logojen**	'mouse'
hanasa	~	**hanaja**	'sigh'

Traditional Graphs

The SWF generally uses the letter <k> to represent the sound [k] and the digraph <hw> to represent the voiceless labial consonant [ʍ] (the sound some people use at the start of English '**wh**ich, **wh**at'). It also uses <-i> to represent final unstressed [i] or [ɪ] in words like **gwari {gwary}** 'play' and **terri {terry}** 'break'. However, many people prefer to use spellings that more closely reflect the practices of traditional Cornish writers. The SWF therefore recognises alternative spellings for these sounds, which are referred to as *traditional graphs*. Individuals may use traditional graphs whenever they wish, and words spelled with traditional graphs will be marked correct if used in schoolwork or official examinations. Unlike variant graphs, however, traditional graphs do not have equal status with their counterparts <k>, <hw>, and <-i>, and will not appear in elementary language textbooks or in official documents produced by public bodies.

Traditional Graphs in the SWF

Graph		*Example*		*Meaning*	*Notes*
<hw>	{wh}	**hwegh**	**{whegh}**	'six'	
<-i>	{-y}	**kelli**	**{kelly}**	'lose'	Not used in stressed syllables
<k>	{c}	**koos**	**{coos}**	'wood'	Used before <a o u l r>
<ks>	{x}	**boks**	**{box}**	'box'	
<kw>	{qw}	**kwit**	**{qwit}**	'quite'	

Note that {-y} may only be substituted for an *unstressed* final <-i>, not a *stressed* final <-ei> or <-i> in words like **chi** ~ **chei** 'house' or **anji** ~ **anjei** 'they'.

Vowel Length

The SWF does not use diacritical marks to indicate vowel length, as is the practice in UC dictionaries and learning materials. Rather, the length of a vowel may be determined by the number of following consonants and the number of syllables in the word. For users of UC, the rules for vowel length are as follows:

1. Vowels in unstressed syllables are always short.
2. Vowels in stressed syllables are short:

   a. before an unstressed syllable (that is, in polysyllabic words like **lagas** 'eye');
   b. before double consonants like <ll>, <rr>, and <ss>;
   c. before consonant clusters like <ls>, <rth>, and <ns>, with the exception of <st>;
   d. before the voiceless stops <p>, <t>, and <ck>.
3. Vowels in stressed syllables are long:
   a. before the voiced stops <b>, <d>, <g>;
   b. before the voiceless stop <k>;
   c. before fricatives like <f>, <v>, <th>, <dh>, <s>, and <gh>;
   d. before other single consonants like <l>, <m>, <n>, and <r>;
   e. before the consonant cluster <st>;
   f. in absolute final position.

Note that digraphs like <th>, <dh>, and <gh> which represent a single sound count as single consonants, even though they are written with two letters. The [k] sound is written <ck> or <kk> when it follows a short vowel, and as <k> when it follows a long vowel.

Only a few easily recognisable loan-words do not conform to these rules, in that they have irregularly long vowels.

Common Words with Unpredictably Long Vowels in the SWF

Word	*Meaning*	*Suggested Pronunciation for UC users*
frut	'fruit'	[fruːt]
grot	'groat'	[gɹoːt]
hond	'hound'	[hoːnd]
kop {cop}	'cope'	[koːp]
kot {cot}	'coat'	[koːt]
krap {crap}	'grip'	[kɹaːp]
krop {crop}	'penetrates'	[kɹoːp]
kwit {qwit}	'free'	[kwiːt]
met	'meets'	[meːt]
pat	'pate'	[pæːt]
plat	'plate'	[plæːt]
plit	'plight'	[pliːt]
pot	'kick'	[poːt]
shap	'shape'	[ʃæːp]
skap {scap}	'escapes'	[skæːp], [skæp]
skit	'squirt'	[skiːt]
smat	'hardy'	[smæːt], [smæt]
sop	'sups'	[soːp], [sɔp]
spit	'spite'	[spiːt]
stat	'state'	[stæːt]
stop	'stoops'	[stoːp]
stret	'street'	[stɹeːt]
yet	'gate'	[jeːt], [jɛt]

Morphology: Verbs and Prepositions

The morphology of both RMC and RLC is fully recognised within the SWF. Because the SWF aims to represent all spoken forms of Revived Cornish, unstressed vowels are usually written using an etymological spelling. This may require some adjustment for readers accustomed to UC or UCR spellings which do not make as many distinctions between unstressed vowels, but it is necessary in order to accommodate the needs of all users. Some suffixes like **-is** for the 1sg. and 3sg. preterite and **-ik** for diminutives are spelled with <i> rather than <y> in the SWF. The 2pl. ending of verbs and prespositions is written **-wgh** in the SWF rather than **-ugh** as in UC and UCR. Because of the rules regarding final consonants, the 1sg. endings of many verbs and prepositions will be written with a <-v> in RMC forms like **-iv**, **-ev**, **-av**, and the conservative RMC 2sg. present/future ending will be written as **-ydh** rather than **-yth**. UCR users are also free to use the later Cornish forms **-am** or **-a'ma** in the 1sg. and **-ys** rather than **-ydh** in the 2sg. present/future indicative. The 3pl. ending of conjugated prepositions may be realised as either **-a** (as in UC) or **-ans** (as in UCR). Many other endings, such as **-en** for singulatives like **pluven** 'pen' and **-ys** for past participles like **gwelys** 'seen' are written just as they are in UC and UCR.

Texts written by RLC speakers may contain Late Cornish forms like **dhodhans** 'to them' and **na veu anjei** 'they were not', which may be unfamiliar to some UC users. The table below gives some examples of conjugated verbs and prepositions in RMC and their RLC equivalents. Full paradigms of common verbs and prepositions may be found in **Appendix B**.

Examples of Conjugated Verbs and Prepositions in the SWF

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*	*Notes*
yth os ta	~	**th os ta**	'you are'	RMC **yth** ~ RLC **th**
yw	~	**ew**	'is'	RMC **y** ~ RLC **e**
yth eson ni	~	**th ero'nei**	'we are'	RMC **es...** ~ RLC **er...**
yma	~	**ma**	'is'	RLC omits RMC **y**
eus	~	**eus**	'is'	RLC **eu** pronounced as [eː]
usi {usy}	~	**uji {ujy}**	'is'	RMC **s** ~ RLC **j**
ny vydh ev	~	**na vedh e'**	'he will not be'	RMC **ny(ns)** ~ RLC **na(g)**
nyns en ni	~	**nag o'nei**	'we were not'	RMC **i** ~ RLC **ei**
na vons i	~	**na veu anjei**	'they were not'	RMC **i** ~ RLC **anjei**
hi a wra	~	**hei ra**	'she does'	RLC omits RMC **a**
ny vyn'ta	~	**na ven'ta**	'you won't'	RMC **men-** ~ RMC **myn-**
my a wrug mos	~	**me rug mos**	'I did go, I went'	RMC **wr...** ~ RLC **r...**
dhymm	~	**dhebm**	'to me'	RMC **mm** ~ RLC **bm**
dhodho	~	**dhodho**	'to him'	RLC unstressed **-o** as [ə]
dhedha	~	**dhodhans**	'to them'	RMC **-a** ~ RLC **-ans**

A Sample Text in the SWF

Here is the text of *Bro Goth agan Tasow* as it might be written in the SWF:

Bro Goth agan Tasow

Bro Goth agan Tasow, dha flehes a'th kar,
Gwlas ker an Howlsedhes, pan vro yw dha bar?
War oll an norvys 'th on ni skollys a-les,
Mes agan kerensa yw dhis.

Kernow! Kernow, y keryn Kernow;
An mor hedra vo yn fos dhis a-dro
'Th on onan hag oll rag Kernow!

Gwlaskor Myghtern Arthur, an Sens kens, ha'n Gral
Moy kerys genen nyns yw tiredh aral,
Ynnos sy pub karn, nans, menydh ha chi
A gews yn Kernewek dhyn ni.

Yn tewlder an bal ha war donnow an mor,
Pan esen ow kwandra dre diryow tramor
Yn pub le pynag, hag yn keniver bro
Y treylyn kolonnow dhiso.

Here is the same text, using the traditional graphs {c} and {qw} in place of <k> and <kw> :

Bro Goth agan Tasow

Bro Goth agan Tasow, dha flehes a'th car,
Gwlas ker an Howlsedhes, pan vro yw dha bar?
War oll an norvys 'th on ni scollys a-les,
Mes agan kerensa yw dhis.

Kernow! Kernow, y keryn Kernow;
An mor hedra vo yn fos dhis a-dro
'Th on onan hag oll rag Kernow!

Gwlascor Myghtern Arthur, an Sens kens, ha'n Gral
Moy kerys genen nyns yw tiredh aral,
Ynnos sy pub carn, nans, menydh ha chi
A gews yn Kernewek dhyn ni.

Yn tewlder an bal ha war donnow an mor,
Pan esen ow qwandra dre diryow tramor
Yn pub le pynag, hag yn keniver bro
Y treylyn colonnow dhiso.

Appendix E

Introducing the SWF: A Guide for Speakers of Tudor Cornish

The Single Written Form for Cornish (SWF) aims at representing all currently spoken varieties of Cornish unambiguously. Because the SWF has to bridge the gap between the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Cornish used by speakers of Revived Middle Cornish (RMC) and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cornish used by speakers of Revived Late or Modern Cornish (RLC), speakers of all variants will have to make some distinctions in writing which they themselves do not regularly make in speech. For example, where Kernewek Kemmyn has **koes**, pl. **koesow** 'wood', the SWF will write **koos {coos}**, pl. **kosow {cosow}** 'wood', which reflects the distinction between long <oo> and short <o> made by speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish (TC), but absent in Kernewek Kemmyn.

Speakers of Tudor Cornish, the variety based on the intermediate period between Classical Middle Cornish and Late Cornish, will find familiar forms among both the RMC and the RLC variants. Since the SWF does not prescribe a single standard phonology for Revived Cornish, Tudor Cornish speakers may write using the forms and spellings which best reflect the pronunciation and grammar they currently use. In a number of cases, speakers of TC will probably choose to write the RMC forms, which are closer to UCR spellings, but speakers who pre-occlude may prefer to use RLC forms for words like **pedn** ~ **penn** 'head'.

Probably the most noticeable systematic change for speakers of Tudor Cornish involves the distribution of the vowels <i> and <y> in the SWF. This distribution generally reflects the etymology of the words involved, but it also helps to predict where TC and RLC lower a stressed <y> to <e> in monosyllabic words like **bes** ~ **bys** 'world' and **dydh** ~ **dedh** 'day'. The RMC versions of these words contain a <y> which speakers of Tudor Cornish and RLC will spell and pronounce as <e>. Most of these words have a long <ē> in UCR, or show variation betwen <ē> and <ȳ>, and UCR users will be able to continue their current practice in many cases. The spelling <i> is used to represent a stable long [iː] (the vowel in English <mach**i**ne>) which is pronounced identically in all varieties of Revived Cornish, and corresponds to UCR <ȳ> in stressed monosyllables. See **The Vowels <e>, <y>, and <i>** below for further discussion of this point and a short list of examples.

Umbrella Graphs

Graphs like <u> and <eu>, which have different recommended pronunciations for speakers of different variants, are known as *umbrella graphs***.** The table below lists the umbrella graphs used in the SWF, along with their recommended pronunciations in Tudor Cornish.

Umbrella Graphs in the SWF

Graph	*Example*	*Meaning*	*Most Common TC Pronunciation*
<u>	**Lun**	'Monday'	[iː] like English <tr**ee**>; [uː] like English <ch**oo**se>
<eu>	**keus**	'cheese'	[eː] as in French <all**e**z>
<oo>	**goon**	'meadow'	[oː] as in French <b**eau**>
<gh>	**mogh**	'pig'	[h] as in English <a**h**ead>; at the end of a word, like the [x] in Scots <lo**ch**>

Umbrella Graphs and TC Pronunciation

Some words with <u> in the SWF are obvious loans from either French or Middle English, and these are pronounced with [uː] in UC **frut** 'fruit'. Most of the remaining words with <u> correspond to words spelled with <ü> in UC and UCR. The SWF uses the spelling <eu> in words like **leun** 'full' where UCR writes <ue>.

Because of the use of umbrella graphs, there are two vowel sounds in Tudor Cornish which can correspond to different spellings in the SWF:

Umbrella Graphs and TC Pronunciation

TC Vowel Sound	*SWF*	*Example*	*Meaning*
[iː] as in English <tr**ee**>	<i>	**mis**	'month'
	<u>	**tus**	'people'
[eː] as in French <all**e**z>	<e>	**den**	'man, person'
	<eu>	**meur**	'great'

In both cases, the distinction in spelling reflects the word's etymology. Words spelled with <u> and <eu> had a rounded vowel in MC which became unrounded in LC. As a similar orthographic distinction is also made in UCR, this type of alternation will be familiar to many speakers of TC.

The Vowels <oo> and <o>

The SWF distinguishes between the vowel graphs <oo> and <o>. The former is used for a long back vowel which is pronounced as a long [oː] (as in French <b**eau**>) by speakers of RMC and as a long [uː] (as in English <r**oo**t>) by speakers of RLC. For both its short counterpart [ʉ] (like the sound in English <c**u**p>) and the vowel sound [ɔ(ː)] (as in English RP <p**o**rt>), the letter <o> is used. The UCR counterparts of these graphs are <u> and <o>, although the distribution of these graphs differs from that of the SWF a number of cases.

Examples of <oo> and <o> in the SWF

1. Long <oo>
Recommended pronunciations for TC users: [oː] as in French <b**eau**>, or
[uː], similar to English <ch**oo**se>

SWF	*Meaning*	*UCR*
goon	'moor'	**gūn**
pooth	'hot'	**pōth**
skoodh {scoodh}	'shoulder'	**scōdh**

2. Short and Unstressed <o>
Recommended pronunciations for TC users: [ɤ], similar to English <c**u**p>, or
[ɔ], similar to English <m**o**re>

SWF	*Meaning*	*UCR*
tomm ~ tobm	'warm'	**tom**
arlodh	'lord'	**arluth**
porth	'port'	**porth**

3. Long <o>
Recommended pronunciation for TC users: [oː] as in French <b**eau**>

SWF	*Meaning*	*UCR*
rol	'list'	**rōl**
son	'sound'	**sōn**

The Unstressed Vowel Schwa [ə]

In order to achieve a common orthography which can represent TC, RMC, and RLC, the SWF spells unstressed vowels etymologically, since some RMC speakers pronounce these vowels as [a], [ɛ], [ɪ], [ɔ], etc., according to the quality of the original sound. TC tends to reduce many of these unstressed vowels to schwa [ə] and spells some of them as <a> in cases where the etymology suggests <e>. The SWF therefore writes **tiek** 'farmer' for UCR **tȳak** and **taves** 'tongue, language' for UCR **tavas**. In many instances, speakers of Tudor Cornish will therefore want to pronounce unstressed <a>, <e>, and <o> as schwa (the vowel found in the first syllable of English <**a**bout>).

Word-final <th>, <f>, <dh>, and <v>

Whereas UC and UCR often spell word-final fricatives as <f> and <th>, the SWF follows an etymological approach and spells these sounds as <f> or <v>, <th> or <dh> based on the history of each word. Thus, the SWF writes **kov {cov}** 'smith' (UC, UCR **cōf**) but **hanaf** 'cup', **rudh** 'red' (UC **rüth**; UCR **rüdh**) but **yeth** 'language'. In some cases, particularly in stressed monosyllables and 1sg. verb forms like **gwelav** 'I see', this reflects the recommended pronunciation of UC and UCR.

The Consonants <s>, <ss>, <c>, and <z>

A common feature of the SWF and Middle Cornish-based orthographies like UC, UCR, and KK is the use of <s> to represent both voiced [z] and unvoiced [s]. However, the rules for pronouncing <s> and other sibilant sounds are very systematic, and UCR users may continue their current practices in this respect:

1. <s> is pronounced [s], as in English <**s**ay>, <be**s**t>:
   a. word-initially
   b. in the clusters <sp st sk>;
   c. in the clusters <ps ts ks>;
   d. word-finally in some words like **nos** 'night';
2. <s> is pronounced [z], as in English <po**s**e>, <doe**s**> in most other cases:
   a. when initial <s> is lenited (see **Lenition of <f> and <s>** below);
   b. in the middle of a word, as in **kasek {casek}** 'mare' and **tasow** 'fathers';
   c. at the end of a word, as in **tus** 'people', **peuns** 'pound'.
3. <ss> is always pronounced [s], as in English <cla**ss**>, <me**ss**y>.
4. <c> is always pronounced [s], as in English <**c**ity>, <pla**c**e>, except:
   a. when it is part of the digraph <ck> [kk] in words like **klock {clock}** 'clock';
   b. when <c> is used as a traditional graph for the [k] sound (see **Traditional Graphs** below).
5. <z> is always pronounced [z], as in English <**z**ebra>, <ma**z**e>.

The table below gives some further examples of spellings which indicate voiceless [s] and voiced [z] in the SWF:

The Sounds [s] and [z] in the SWF

Position	*Voiceless [s] as in <see, best>*		*Voiced [z] as in <has, pose>*	
	Example	*Meaning*	*Example*	*Meaning*
Word-initially	**cita**	'city'	**zebra**	'zebra'
	sagh	'bag'	—	
	splann ~ spladn	'bright, shining'	—	
Medially	**polici {policy}**	'policy'	**gasa ~ gara**	'leave'
	nessa	'next'	—	
(before <p t k>)	**pesk ~ pysk**	'fish'	—	
(after <p t k>)	**boksuji {boxujy}**	'box'	—	
Finally	**klass {class}**	'class'	**tas**	'father'
(after <p t k>)	**boks {box}**	'box tree'	—	
(loanword)	**plas**	'place'	—	

Finally, it should be noted that in many places where RLC writes <j> (the [ʤ] sound of English <**j**oke>), RMC speakers will write <s>. Speakers of TC are free to choose either, depending on their own pronunciation. See **The Consonants <s> and <j>** below for further discussion of this alternation.

Lenition of <f> and <s>

Since the rules for lenition of initial <f> and <s> are different for speakers of each variety of Revived Cornish, and since the graphs <f> and <s> can also represent voiced [v] and [z], the SWF (like UC and UCR) does not show the lenition of <f> and <s> in writing. Thus, the SWF writes **pennseythen** (RLC **pednseythen**) for 'week-end' and **pennfenten** (RLC **pednfenten**) for 'source', although TC speakers as well as some RMC speakers pronounce these words as [pɛnˈzəɪθən], [pɛnˈvɛntən].

Variant Graphs

In cases where differences in pronunciation between the varieties of Revived Cornish are too great to be bridged by an umbrella graph, or where the use of an umbrella graph might be misleading, the SWF recognises 'dialectal' spelling variants of equal status. Probably the most noticeable variant spelling is the use of pre-occluded <bm> and <dn> in RLC forms of words like **tabm** 'piece' and **pedn** 'head', where RMC writes (and pronounces) **tamm**, **penn**. Speakers of TC who pre-occlude are free to represent this in writing. Likewise, those who do not may use the RMC spellings <mm> and <nn>. This principle applies to all recognised spelling variants in the SWF although in some cases the TC preference for one of them is quite strong; see below for a full list. The main difference between the SWF and UCR in this respect is that UCR does not write <nn> or <mm> in word-final position.

Spellings like <mm ~ bm> or <nn ~ dn> which show a linguistic difference between varieties of Cornish are referred to as *variant graphs*. Such variation in spelling makes the written representations of the variants visibly distinct, while still keeping the variant forms similar enough to allow easy comprehension for all readers.

Variant Graphs in the SWF

Graph		*Example*			*Meaning*	*Most Common TC Pronunciation*
RMC	*RLC*	*RMC*		*RLC*		
<a>	<oa>	**bras**	~	**broas**	'big'	[ɒː] as in English <br**oa**d>
<ew>	<ow>	**tewlel**	~	**towlel**	'throw'	[ɔʊ], similar to English <l**ow**>
<-i>	<-ei>	**ni**	~	**nei**	'we'	[iː], similar to in English <s**ee**>
<y>	<e>	**bys**	~	**bes**	'world'	[eː] as in French <all**e**z>
<mm>	<bm>	**tomm**	~	**tobm**	'warm'	either [m] or [b+m]
<nn>	<dn>	**rann**	~	**radn**	'part'	either [n] or [d+n]
<s>	<j>	**oos**	~	**ooj**	'age'	[z] as in English <loo**s**e>

The Vowels <a> and <oa>

All speakers of RLC and some speakers of TC distinguish two qualities, or flavours, of the <a> sound. In most words, like **da** 'good', **hanow** 'name', and **splann** ~ **spladn** 'bright, shining', the <a> is fronted and raised to [æ], a vowel like that of English <c**a**t>. In these cases, the spelling <a> will be used for RMC, TC, and RLC.

In some other cases, however, a word which has <a> in RMC is pronounced in RLC and by some speakers of TC with a back, somewhat rounded vowel [ɒ], similar to the vowel sounds in English <c**au**ght> or <br**oa**d>. TC speakers who use this pronunciation may indicate this by spelling the words with <oa>, while speakers who pronounce these words with [æ] or [a] will write and pronounce them with <a>. Only a small number of words are subject to this variation.

Words Spelled with RMC <a> ~ RMC <oa> in the SWF

RMC, TC		*RLC, TC*	*Meaning*
bras	~	**broas**	'big'
gwav	~	**gwoav**	'winter'
gwavos	~	**gwoavos**	'winter abode'
gwlan	~	**gwloan**	'wool'
hav	~	**hoav**	'summer'
klav {clav}	~	**kloav {cloav}**	'ill'
tal	~	**toal**	'forehead'

Note: In UCR, the letter <a> is used to represent the neutral vowel schwa [ə] in some unstressed syllables. In the SWF, unstressed vowels will be spelled etymologically as <a>, <e>, <o>, etc. Speakers of TC and RLC are free to continue pronouncing these vowels as schwa, however. See **The Unstressed Vowel Schwa [ə]** above for further discussion.

The Diphthongs <ew> and <ow>

In some polysyllabic words, TC and RLC have a diphthong [ɔʊ] (like the sound some English speakers use in the word <l**ow**>) where RMC has [ɛʊ] or [ɪʊ]. This difference in pronunciation is represented in the SWF by the variant graphs <ow> (for TC and RLC) and <ew> (for RMC). Some affected words include:

Words with TC, RLC <ow> ~ RMC <ew> in the SWF

TC and RLC		*RMC*	*Meaning*
bownans	~	**bewnans**	'life'
dowdhek	~	**dewdhek**	'twelve'
Kernowek	~	**Kernewek**	'Cornish'
klowes {clowes}	~	**klewes {clewes}**	'hear'
owna	~	**ewna**	'correct'
towlel	~	**tewlel**	'throw'

Stressed <-i> and <-ei>

In RLC, many common words contain the diphthong [əɪ], a sound similar to that found in English <t**ie**>, which is spelled <ei> in the SWF. Most words featuring the <ei> sound are stressed monosyllables like **chei** 'house', **hei** 'she', **trei** 'three', but it also occurs in a few polysyllabic words like **anjei** 'they' and **kreia {creia}** 'call'. It is

only found in stressed syllables. A few speakers of TC may use this pronunciation and the associated spelling, but most users of TC and RMC will spell (and pronounce) these words with <-i>, the [iː] sound of English <mach**i**ne>.

In most cases, the correspondence between RLC <-ei> and RMC <-i> is completely regular. Speakers of RLC reading a text written in RMC will pronounce final <-i> as <-ei> in stressed syllables only. Words like **gwari {gwary}** 'play' and **terri {terry}** 'break' where the final <-i> represents an unstressed [i] or [ɪ] like the sound at the end of English <car**ry**> will be spelled identically in RMC, TC, and RLC. There are only a few RLC words like **kreia {creia}** 'call' (RMC and TC **kria {cria}**) where <ei> appears before a vowel rather than in final position. These can be easily identified, since they are usually derived from monosyllabic roots that end in <-ei> (here, **krei {crei}** 'cry').

The Vowels <e>, <y>, and <i>

The SWF writes <i> where both RMC and RLC have /i/ (the sound in English <mach**i**ne>) and <e> where both have /e/ (the sound in French <all**e**z>). In cases where RMC and RLC do not agree, the SWF often uses the spelling <e> for speakers who pronounce the words in question with an /e/ but provides a variant form <y> for speakers who pronounce these words with an i-type vowel: /i/ or /ɪ/. To UCR users, this means that, with the exception of the roots in <i>, they may continue spelling stressed <e> and <y> as they already do. In some cases, this will match the form given in the 'SWF/RMC' column below, and in other cases, it will match the form given in the 'SWF/RLC' column. Users of UCR should be aware that a few words like **triga** 'dwell', which are spelled with <e> in UCR but with <y> in UC, will be spelled with <i> in the SWF to reflect the UC and RLC pronunciation.

Examples of <e>, <y>, and <i> in the SWF

1. Words Spelled with <i>

SWF/RMC		*SWF/RLC*	*Meaning*	*UC*	*UCR*
mir	~	**mir**	'look!'	**mȳr**	**mȳr**
diw	~	**diw**	'two (f.)'	**dyw**	**dyw**
triga	~	**triga**	'dwell'	**tryga**	**trega**

2. Words Spelled with <e>

SWF/RMC		*SWF/RLC*	*Meaning*	*UC*	*UCR*
den	~	**den**	'man'	**dēn**	**dēn**
krev {crev}	~	**krev {crev}**	'strong'	**crēf**	**crēf**
benyn	~	**benyn**	'woman'	**benen**	**benen**

3. Words Spelled with <y> ~ <e>

SWF/RMC		*SWF/RLC*	*Meaning*	*UC*	*UCR*
sygh	~	**segh**	'dry'	**sēgh**	**sēgh**
pryv	~	**prev**	'worm'	**prȳf**	**prēf**
kynsa	~	**kensa**	'first'	**kensa**	**kensa**

Note that this variation between <e> and <y> is largely confined to stressed monosyllables. Because the SWF recognises vocalic alternation — a sound change in RMC which lowers <y> to <e> when a suffix is added — polysyllabic words like **preves** 'worms', **besyow** 'worlds', and **bedhowgh** 'be (pl.)' are spelled the same in all variants. Vocalic alternation in the SWF is basically identical to that found in UC, and differs only slightly from that found in UCR. This means that the SWF will write **enys** 'island' and **benenes** 'women'.

Words Spelled with TC, RLC <e> ~ RMC <y> in the SWF

TC and RLC		*RMC*	*Meaning*	*Notes*
me	~	**my**	'I'	
prev	~	**pryv**	'worm'	
preves	~	**preves**	'worms'	Spelled identically in both forms
bes	~	**bys**	'world'	
besyow	~	**besyow**	'worlds'	Spelled identically in both forms
bew	~	**byw**	'alive'	
ew	~	**yw**	'is'	

Some words like **gwydn** ~ **gwynn** 'white' are spelled with <y> in all variants. Here, the <y> represents a short [ɪ] sound, like the vowel in English <b**i**t>, <p**i**n>.

Pre-occlusion and Double Consonants

Since pre-occlusion only occurs in stressed syllables in RLC, the digraphs <mm ~ bm> and <nn ~ dn> will likewise be restricted to syllables carrying primary or (in the case of compound words like **pennseythen** ~ **pednseythen** 'week-end') secondary stress. Although there are a few exceptions like **jynn** 'engine', which is not pre-occluded by speakers of RLC, there is generally a one-to-one correspondence between an RMC form in <mm> or <nn> and an RLC form in <bm> or <dn>. TC users who pre-occlude may therefore show this by writing <bm> and <dn>.

The same rules that affect <bm ~ mm> and <dn ~ nn> apply to the digraphs <ll> and <rr>, which will be used to write all varieties of Revived Cornish. In unstressed syllables, only single <m n l r> will be written, since these consonants are never pre-occluded or pronounced long in unstressed syllables. This is summarised in the table below:

The Digraphs <mm ~ nm>, <nn ~ dn>, <ll>, and <rr> in the SWF

1. These forms will be written in syllables with primary stress:

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
kamm {camm}	~	**kabm {cabm}**	'crooked'
kemmer	~	**kebmer**	'take'
rann	~	**radn**	'part'
ranna	~	**radna**	'divide'

The Digraphs <mm ~ nm>, <nn ~ dn>, <ll>, and <rr> in the SWF

1. These forms will be written in syllables with primary stress:

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
pell	~	**pell**	'far'
gallos	~	**gallos**	'be able to '
garr	~	**garr**	'leg'
terri	~	**terri**	'break'

2. They will also be written in compound words, in syllables with secondary stress:

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
kammneves {cammneves}	~	**kabmdhavas {cabmdhavas}**	'rainbow'
pennglin	~	**pednglin**	'kneecap'
pellgowser		**—**	'telephone'
korrdonner {corrdonner}		**—**	'microwave'

3. They will *not* be used in unstressed syllables:

RMC		*RLC*	*Meaning*
kemeres	~	**kemeres**	'take'
diwvron	~	**diwvron**	'breasts'
galosek	~	**galojek**	'powerful'
diwar	~	**diwar**	'legs'

This third rule will prevent mispronunciations like ***kebmeres** or ***diwvrodn**.

As noted above, there are a few words like **jynn** 'engine' which in all forms will be spelled with <mm> and <nn>, since although they contain a short vowel (see **Vowel Length** below for a discussion of how the SWF indicates vowel length), they are not attested with pre-occlusion in traditional Cornish.

Words Spelled with <mm>, <nn> in all Variants in the SWF

TC, RMC, RLC	*Meaning*	*Recommended TC Pronunciation*
gramm	'gramme'	[ɡræm]
gronn	'bundle'	[ɡrɔn]
gwremm	'hem'	[ɡwrɛm]
jynn	'engine'	[dʒɪn]
kann {cann}	'very white'	[kæn]
mann	'nothing, zero'	[mæn]
namm	'fault'	[næm]

Another word which might be added to this list is TC, RMC **gonn** 'I know', which does not show pre-occlusion in traditional Cornish. However, most speakers who pre-occlude are likely to prefer the later forms **gora'vy** or **gora'ma** instead.

The Consonants <s> and <j>

In the SWF, speakers will write the letter <j> wherever they pronounce the sound [dʒ] as in English <**j**am>. For RLC and TC, this sometimes corresponds to a [z] or [s] sound in RMC, and RMC speakers will therefore write these same words with <s>. Speakers of Tudor Cornish may choose the spelling that best reflects their pronunciation of the words in question. This alternation between <s> and <j> is already reflected in the UC and UCR spellings for many of these words.

Examples of RMC <s> ~ RLC <j> in the SWF

RMC, TC		*RLC, TC*	*Meaning*
kerensa	~	**kerenja**	'love'
mynsa	~	**menja**	'would like to'
galsa	~	**galja**	'could'
usi {usy}	~	**uji {ujy}**	'is'
krysi {crysy}	~	**kryji {cryjy}**	'believe'
pysi {pysy}	~	**pyji {pyjy}**	'pray'
oos	~	**ooj**	'age'
goos	~	**gooj**	'blood'
logosen	~	**logojen**	'mouse'
hanasa	~	**hanaja**	'sigh'

Loss of Initial <y> in TC and RLC

An apostrophe may be used to indicate the loss of original initial <y-> in words like **'ehes** (RMC **yehes**) 'health' and **'Edhow** (RMC **Yedhow**) 'Jew'.

Traditional Graphs

The SWF generally uses the letter <k> to represent the sound [k] and the digraph <hw> to represent the voiceless labial consonant [ʍ] (the sound some people use at the start of English '**wh**ich, **wh**at'). It also uses <-i> to represent final unstressed [i] or [ɪ] in words like **gwari {gwary}** 'play' and **terri {terry}** 'break'. However, many people prefer to use spellings that more closely reflect the practices of traditional Cornish writers. The SWF therefore recognises alternative spellings for these sounds, which are referred to as *traditional graphs*. Individuals may use traditional graphs whenever they wish, and words spelled with traditional graphs will be marked correct if used in schoolwork or official examinations. Unlike variant graphs, however, traditional graphs do not have equal status with their counterparts <k>, <hw>, and <-i>, and will not appear in elementary language textbooks or in official documents produced by public bodies.

Traditional Graphs in the SWF

Graph		*Example*		*Meaning*	*Notes*
<hw>	{wh}	**hwegh**	**{whegh}**	'six'	
<-i>	{-y}	**kelli**	**{kelly}**	'lose'	Not used in stressed syllables
<k>	{c}	**koos**	**{coos}**	'wood'	Used before <a o u l r>
<ks>	{x}	**boks**	**{box}**	'box'	
<kw>	{qw}	**kwit**	**{qwit}**	'quite'	

Note that {-y} may only be substituted for an *unstressed* final <-i>, not a *stressed* final <-ei> or <-i> in words like **chei** ~ **chi** 'house' or **anjei** ~ **anji** 'they'.

Vowel Length

The SWF does not use diacritical marks to indicate vowel length, as is the practice in UCR dictionaries and learning materials. Rather, the length of a vowel may be determined by the number of following consonants and the number of syllables in the word. For speakers of TC, the rules for vowel length are as follows:

1. Vowels in unstressed syllables are always short.
2. Vowels in stressed syllables are short:
   a. before an unstressed syllable (that is, in polysyllabic words like **lagas** 'eye');
   b. before double consonants like <ll>, <rr>, and <ss>;
   c. before consonant clusters like <ls>, <rth>, and <nk>, with the exception of <st>;
   d. before the voiceless stops <p>, <t>, and <ck>.
3. Vowels in stressed syllables are long:
   a. before the voiced stops <b>, <d>, <g>;
   b. before the voiceless stop <k>;
   c. before fricatives like <f>, <v>, <th>, <dh>, <s>, and <gh>;
   d. before other single consonants like <l>, <m>, <n>, and <r>;
   e. before the consonant cluster <st>;
   f. in absolute final position.

Note that digraphs like <th>, <dh>, and <gh> which represent a single sound count as single consonants, even though they are written with two letters. The [k] sound is written <ck> or <kk> when it follows a short vowel, and as <k> when it follows a long vowel.

Only a few easily recognisable loanwords do not conform to these rules, in that they have unpredictably long vowels.

Common Words with Unpredictably Long Vowels in the SWF

1. Monosyllables

Word	*Meaning*	*Suggested TC Pronunciation*
frut	'fruit'	[fruːt]
grot	'groat'	[gɹoːt]
hond	'hound'	[hoːnd]
kop {cop}	'cope'	[koːp]
kot {cot}	'coat'	[koːt]
krap {crap}	'grip'	[kɹæːp]
krop {crop}	'penetrates'	[kɹoːp]
kwit {qwit}	'free'	[kwiːt]
met	'meets'	[meːt]
pat	'pate'	[pæːt]
plat	'plate'	[plæːt]
plit	'plight'	[pliːt]
pot	'kick'	[poːt]
shap	'shape'	[ʃæːp]
skap {scap}	'escapes'	[skæːp], [skæp]
skit	'squirt'	[skiːt]
smat	'hardy'	[smæːt], [smæt]
sop	'sups'	[soːp], [sɔp]
spit	'spite'	[spiːt]
stat	'state'	[stæːt]
stop	'stoops'	[stoːp]
stret	'street'	[stɹeːt]
yet	'gate'	[jeːt], [jɛt]

2. Polysyllables

Word	*Meaning*	*Suggested TC Pronunciation*
bibel	'bible'	[ˈbiːbəl]
cider	'cider'	[ˈsiːdəɹ]
dama	'mother'	[ˈdæːmə]
kota {cota}	'coat'	[ˈkoːtə]
sira	'father, Sire'	[ˈsiːɹə]

Morphology: Verbs and Prepositions

The SWF recognises the morphology of all varieties of Cornish, and allows for the representation of Tudor Cornish forms as well as those used by speakers of RMC and RLC. Many word-forms may be identified as 'RMC' or 'RLC' based on the historical period from which they come, and when writing in the SWF, users of Tudor Cornish may choose a combination of 'RMC' and 'RLC' forms which best reflects their own speech habits. The lexicon of the SWF also contains a few specifically Tudor Cornish forms, like **helma** 'that' (RMC **hemma**, RLC **hebma**).

Because the SWF aims to represent all spoken forms of Revived Cornish, unstressed vowels are usually written using an etymological spelling. This may require some adjustment for readers accustomed to UC, UCR, or RLC spellings which do not make as many distinctions between unstressed vowels, but it is necessary in order to accommodate the needs of all users. Some suffixes like **-is** for the 1sg. and 3sg. preterite and **-ik** for diminutives are spelled with <i> rather than <y> in the SWF. The 2pl. ending of verbs and prespositions is written **-wgh** in the SWF rather than **-ugh** as in UC and UCR. Because of the rules regarding final consonants, the 1sg. endings of many verbs and prepositions will be written with a <-v> in RMC forms like **-iv**, **-ev**, **-av**, and the conservative RMC 2sg. present/future ending will be written as **-ydh** rather than **-yth**. Tudor Cornish users are also free to use the later Cornish forms **-am** or **-a'ma** in the 1sg. and **-ys** rather than **-ydh** in the 2sg. present/future indicative. The 3pl. ending of conjugated prepositions may be realised as either **-a** (as in UC) or **-ans** (as in UCR). Many other endings, such as **-en** for singulatives like **pluven** 'pen' and **-ys** for past participles like **gwelys** 'seen' are written just as they are in UC and UCR.

Here are some examples of typical RMC and RLC forms, with suggestions for Tudor Cornish users:

Examples of Conjugated Verbs and Prepositions in the SWF

RMC	*TC*	*RLC*	*Meaning*
yth ov vy	**yth o'ma**	**th o'ma**	'I am'
yw	**yw** (**yw a**, **yw hi**)	**ew**	'is'
yma	**yma**	**ma**	'is'
eus	**eus**	**eus**	'is'
usi {usy}	**usi {usy}**, **uji {ujy}**	**uji {ujy}**	'is'
ny vydh ev	**ny vydh ev**, **ny vedh ev**	**na vedh e'**	'he will not be'
nyns en ni	**nyns en ni**	**nag o'nei**	'we were not'
ny wredh	**ny wres**, **ny wre'ta**	**na res chy**	'you don't'
hi a wra	**hi a wra**	**hei ra**	'she does'
my a vynsa	**me a venja**	**me venja**	'I would like to'
ny wonn	**ny wonn**, **ny wora'ma**	**na woram**	'I would like to'
genev	**gena'ma**	**genam**	'with me'
orto	**worto**	**ort ev**	'at him'
dhyworta	**dhywortans**	**dhort anjei**	'to them'

A Tudor Cornish Sample Text in the SWF

Here is the opening of John Tregear's translation of Bonner's first homily, as it might be written in the SWF. In this sample, a few words of English origin like 'redeemer' and 'creator' have been presented in modern English spelling, although they could also be respelled phonetically in accordance with the SWF if treated as fully assimilated loans.

Pregothow Treger

Yma an profet David y'n peswar ugens ha nownsek psalm ow eksortya oll an bobel dhe ri prays hag honour dhe Dhuw ha dh'y servya yn lowender, ha gans perfekt kolonnow dhe rejoysya yn sight agan Creator ha Redeemer. Yma an profet David ow allejya helma kepar ha del ywa sufficient cause agan redemption. ***Scitote quoniam ipse est dominus. ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos***, henna yw dhe leverel yn agan 'eth ni, 'Godhvedhewgh fatel yw Duw agan Arlodh ni, hag Ev yw agan gwrier ni, rag ni ny wrussyn gul agan honan.' Rag indeed neb a wrella prederi a'n creation a vab-den ha pondra yn ta yn y remembrans a b'ehen o agan dalleth ny wor gul ken es ri honour, lawd, ha prays dhe Dhuw neb o y wrier ha creator. Rag yn creation a bob tra aral visible ny wrug Duw an Tas a Nev ma's komondya ha according dh'y vlonojedh oll creatures a veu gwrys gans an ger a Dhuw.

Below is the same text, written using traditional graphs:

Pregothow Treger

Yma an profet David y'n peswar ugens ha nownsek psalm ow exortya oll an bobel dhe ri prays hag honour dhe Dhuw ha dh'y servya yn lowender, ha gans perfect colonnow dhe rejoysya yn sight agan Creator ha Redeemer. Yma an profet David ow allejya helma kepar ha del ywa sufficient cause agan redemption. ***Scitote quoniam ipse est dominus. ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos***, henna yw dhe leverel yn agan 'eth ni, 'Godhvedhewgh fatel yw Duw agan Arlodh ni, hag Ev yw agan gwrier ni, rag ni ny wrussyn gul agan honan.' Rag indeed neb a wrella predery a'n creation a vab-den ha pondra yn ta yn y remembrans a b'ehen o agan dalleth ny wor gul ken es ri honour, lawd, ha prays dhe Dhuw neb o y wrier ha creator. Rag yn creation a bob tra aral visible ny wrug Duw an Tas a Nev ma's comondya ha according dh'y vlonojedh oll creatures a veu gwrys gans an ger a Dhuw.

Appendix F

Introducing the SWF: A Guide for Speakers of Revived Late Cornish

The Single Written Form for Cornish (SWF) aims at representing all currently spoken varieties of Cornish clearly and consistently. Because the SWF has to bridge the gap between the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Cornish used by speakers of Revived Middle Cornish (RMC) and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cornish used by speakers of Revived Late or Modern Cornish (RLC), speakers of all variants will have to make some distinctions in writing which they themselves do not regularly make in speech. For example, where Kernewek Kemmyn has **koes**, pl. **koesow** 'wood', the SWF will write **koos {coos}**, pl. **kosow {cosow}** 'wood', which reflects the distinction between long <oo> and short <o> made by speakers of RLC and Tudor Cornish (TC), but absent in Kernewek Kemmyn.

For speakers of RLC, the most noticeable new distinction involves the use of the graphs <u> and <eu>, which are pronounced as in French or Dutch by speakers of Kernewek Kemmyn and some other RMC variants, but which fall together with <i> and <e> in RLC. The SWF will therefore write **tus** 'people' and **keus** 'cheese'. This does not mean that speakers of RLC are expected to change their pronunciation, however. For RLC users and learners, the recommended pronunciation for the letters <u> and <eu> will be [iː] and [eː] (corresponding to RLC <î> and <ê>) respectively.

Umbrella Graphs

Graphs like <u> and <eu>, which have different recommended pronunciations for speakers of different variants, are known as *umbrella graphs*. The table below lists the umbrella graphs used in the SWF, along with their recommended pronunciations in RLC:

Umbrella Graphs in the SWF

Graph	*Example*	*Meaning*	*Recommended RLC Pronunciation*
<u>	**Lun**	'Monday'	[iː] as in English <tr**ee**>
<eu>	**keus**	'cheese'	[eː] as in French <all**ez**>
<oo>	**goon**	'meadow'	[uː] as in English <m**oo**se>
<gh>	**mogh**	'pig'	[h] as in English <a**h**ead>

Umbrella Graphs and RLC Pronunciation

Because of the use of umbrella graphs, there are three vowel sounds in RLC which can correspond to different spellings in the SWF:

Umbrella Graphs and RLC Pronunciation

RLC Vowel Sound	*SWF*	*Example*	*Meaning*
[iː] as in English <tr**ee**>	<i>	**mis**	'month'
	<u>	**tus**	'people'
[eː] as in French <all**e**z>	<e>	**den**	'man, person'
	<eu>	**meur**	'great'
[uː] as in English <m**oo**se>	<oo>	**boos**	'food'
	<ou>	**gour**	'husband, man'
	<ow>	**lowen**	'happy'

In all three cases, the distinction in spelling reflects the word's etymology. Words spelled with <u> and <eu> had a rounded vowel in MC. Most words in <oo> are of Celtic origin, while (with the exception of **gour** 'husband, man'), most words in <ou> are borrowings from French or English. The digraph <ow> is only pronounced like the [uː] in English <m**oo**se> when it precedes a vowel, in words like **lowen** 'happy' and **Kernowek** 'Cornish'; before a consonant, it is pronounced as a diphthong [ɔʊ], similar to the sound in English <l**ow**>.

The Unstressed Vowel Schwa [ə]

In order to achieve a common orthography which can represent both RMC and RLC, the SWF spells unstressed vowels etymologically, since some RMC speakers pronounce these vowels as [a], [ɛ], [ɪ], [ɔ], etc., according to the quality of the original sound. RLC tends to reduce many of these unstressed vowels to schwa [ə], and so speakers of RLC will want to pronounce most instances of unstressed <a>, <e>, and <o> as schwa (the vowel found in the first syllable of English <**a**bout>).

The Consonants <s>, <ss>, <c>, and <z>

One other important difference between the SWF and other RLC spelling systems is the use of <s> to represent the [z] sound in words like **sehes** 'thirst', **nosow** 'nights', and **tus** 'people'. However, the rules for pronouncing <s> and other sibilant sounds are very systematic:

1. <s> is pronounced [s], as in English <**s**ay>, <be**s**t>:
   a. in the clusters <sp st sk>;
   b. in the clusters <ps ts ks>;
   c. in the clusters <sl sm sn> when these appear at the beginning of a word;
   d. in a few other words, particularly loanwords like **fas** 'face', **gras**, 'grace', **plas** 'place', **spas** 'space'.
2. <s> is pronounced [z], as in English <po**s**e>, <doe**s**> in most other cases:
   a. when initial <s> is lenited (see **Lenition of <f> and <s>** below);
   b. at the beginning of most words, as in **seythen** 'week', **sehes** 'thirst', **Sul** 'Sunday';

   c. in the middle of a word, as in **kasek {casek}** 'mare' and **nosow** 'nights';
   d. at the end of a word, as in **tus** 'people', **peuns** 'pound'.
3. <ss> is always pronounced [s], as in English <cla**ss**>, <me**ss**y>.
4. <c> is always pronounced [s], as in English <**c**ity>, <pla**c**e>, except:
   a. when it is part of the digraph **ck** [kk] in words like **klock {clock}** 'clock';
   b. when <c> is used as a traditional graph for the [k] sound (see **Traditional Graphs** below).
5. <z> is always pronounced [z], as in English <**z**ebra>, <ma**z**e>.

The table on the following page gives some further examples of spellings which indicate voiceless [s] and voiced [z] in the SWF:

The Sounds [s] and [z] in the SWF

Position	*Voiceless [s] as in <**s**ee, be**s**t>*		*Voiced [z] as in <ha**s**, po**s**e>*	
	Example	*Meaning*	*Example*	*Meaning*
Word-initially	**cita**	'city'	**sagh**	'bag'
(before <l m n>)	**snell**	'quickly'	—	
(before <p t k>)	**spladn** ~ **splann**	'bright, shining'	—	
Medially	**polici**	'policy'	**nosow**	'nights'
	nessa	'next'	**tesen**	'cake'
(before <p t k>)	**pesk** ~ **pysk**	'fish'	—	
(after <p t k>)	**boksuji {boxujy}**	'box'	—	
Finally	**klass {class}**	'class'	**tas**	'father'
(after <p t k>)	**boks {box}**	'box tree'	—	
(loanword)	**gras**	'grace'	—	

Finally, it should be noted that in many places where RLC writes <j> (the [ʤ] sound of English <**j**oke>), RMC speakers will write <s>. See **The Consonants <j> and <s>** below for further discussion of this alternation.

The Consonants <f>, <ff>, and <v>

A similar set of rules applies to the consonants <f> and <v>. For RLC speakers, the graph <f> represents a voiced consonant [v] as in words like **for'** [vɔr] 'road, way' and **gorfen** [ˈɡɔrvən] 'end', but may be pronounced as [f] in other words, especially loanwords like **fas** 'face' and **flamm** 'flame'. In general:

1. <f> is pronounced [f], as in English <**f**ace>, <a**f**t>:
   a. in the cluster **ft**;
   b. at the beginning of some words, particularly loanwords like **fast** 'firm' and **fesont** 'pheasant';
   c. in medial position, in some loanwords like **konfort {confort}** 'comfort'.
2. <f> is pronounced [v], as in English <**v**at>, <sa**v**e> in most other cases:
   a. when initial <f> is lenited (see **Lenition of <f> and <s>** below);

b. at the beginning of many words, as in **fenten** 'spring', **for'** 'road, way';
c. in the middle of a word, as in **gorfen** 'end';

3. <ff> is always pronounced [f], as in English <sta**ff**>, <ba**ff**le>.
4. <v> is always pronounced [v], as in English <**v**at>, <sa**v**e>.

Lenition of <f> and <s>

Since the rules for lenition of initial <f> and <s> are different for speakers of each variety of Revived Cornish, and since the graphs <f> and <s> can also represent voiced [v] and [z], the SWF does not show the lenition of <f> and <s> in writing. Thus, the SWF writes **pednseythen** (RMC **pennseythen**) for 'week-end' and **pednfenten** (RMC **pennfenten**) for 'source', although RLC speakers and some TC speakers pronounce these words as [pɛdnˈzəɪθən], [pɛdnˈvɛntən].

Variant Graphs

In cases where differences in pronunciation between the varieties of Revived Cornish are too great to be bridged by an umbrella graph, the SWF recognises 'dialectal' spelling variants of equal status. Probably the most important variant spelling for RLC users is the use of pre-occluded <bm> and <dn> in words like **tabm** 'piece' and **pedn** 'head', where RMC writes (and pronounces) **tamm**, **penn**.

Spellings like <bm ~ mm> or <dn ~ nn> which show a linguistic difference between varieties of Cornish are referred to as *variant graphs*. Such variation in spelling makes the written representations of RMC and RLC visibly distinct, while still keeping the variant forms similar enough to allow easy comprehension for all readers.

Variant Graphs in the SWF

Graph		*Example*			*Meaning*	*Recommended RLC Pronunciation*
RLC	*RMC*	*RLC*		*RMC*		
<bm>	<mm>	**tobm**	~	**tomm**	'warm'	[b+m]
<dn>	<nn>	**radn**	~	**rann**	'part'	[d+n]
<-ei>	<-i>	**nei**	~	**ni**	'we'	[əɪ], similar to in English <r**i**ght>
<e>	<y>	**bes**	~	**bys**	'world'	[eː] as in French <all**e**z>
<j>	<s>	**ooj**	~	**oos**	'age'	[ʤ] as in English <**j**ournal>
<oa>	<a>	**broas**	~	**bras**	'big'	[ɒː] as in English <br**oa**d>
<ow>	<ew>	**towlel**	~	**tewlel**	'throw'	[ɔʊ], similar to English <l**ow**>

Pre-occlusion and Double Consonants

Since pre-occlusion in RLC only occurs in stressed syllables, the digraphs <bm ~ mm> and <dn ~ nn> will likewise be restricted to syllables carrying primary or (in the case of compound words like **pednseythen** 'week-end') secondary stress. Although there are a few exceptions like **jynn** 'engine', which is not pre-occluded in RLC, there is generally a one-to-one correspondence between an RLC form in <bm> or <dn> and an RMC form in <mm> or <nn>.

The same rules that affect <bm ~ mm> and <dn ~ nn> apply to the digraphs <ll> and <rr>, which will be used in both RLC and RMC variants. In unstressed syllables, only single <m, n, l, r> will be written, since these consonants are never pre-occluded or pronounced long in unstressed syllables. This is summarised in the table below:

The Digraphs <bm ~ mm>, <dh ~ nn>, <ll>, and <rr> in the SWF

1. These forms will be written in syllables with primary stress:

RLC		*RMC*	*Meaning*
kabm {cabm}	~	**kamm {camm}**	'crooked'
kebmer	~	**kemmer**	'take'
radn	~	**rann**	'part'
radna	~	**ranna**	'divide'
pell	~	**pell**	'far'
gallos	~	**gallos**	'be able to '
garr	~	**garr**	'leg'
terri	~	**terri**	'break'

2. They will also be written in compound words, in syllables with secondary stress:

RLC		*RMC*	*Meaning*
kabmdhavas {cabmdhavas}	~	**kammneves {cammneves}**	'rainbow'
pednglin	~	**pennglin**	'kneecap'
—		**pellgowser**	'telephone'
—		**korrdonner {corrdonner}**	'microwave'

3. They will *not* be used in unstressed syllables:

RLC		*RMC*	*Meaning*
kemeres	~	**kemeres**	'take'
diwvron	~	**diwvron**	'breasts'
galojek	~	**galosek**	'powerful'
diwar	~	**diwar**	'legs'

This third rule will prevent mispronunciations like ***kebmeres** or ***diwvrodn**.

As noted above, there are a few words like **jynn** 'engine' in which both the RLC and RMC forms will be spelled with <mm> and <nn>, since although they contain a short vowel (see **Vowel Length** below for a discussion of how the SWF indicates vowel length), they are not attested with pre-occlusion in traditional Cornish. Most of these are easily recognisable loanwords from English or French:

RLC Words Spelled with <mm>, <nn> in the SWF

RLC and RMC	*Meaning*	*Recommended RLC Pronunciation*
flamm	'flame'	[flæm]
gramm	'gramme'	[ɡræm]
gronn	'bundle'	[ɡrɔn]
gwremm	'hem'	[ɡwrɛm]
jammes	'never'	[ˈdʒæməs]
jynn	'engine'	[dʒɪn]
kann {cann}	'very white'	[kæn]
namm	'fault'	[næm]

Another word which might be added to this list is RMC **gonn** 'I know', which does not show pre-occlusion in traditional Cornish. However, RLC speakers are likely to prefer the later forms **gora'vy** or **gora'ma** instead.

Stressed <-ei> and <-i>

In RLC, many common words contain the diphthong [əɪ], a sound similar to that found in English <t**ie**>, which is spelled <ei> in the SWF. Most words featuring the <ei> sound are stressed monosyllables like **chei** 'house', **hei** 'she', **trei** 'three', but it also occurs in a few polysyllabic words like **anjei** 'they' and **kreia {creia}** 'call'. It is only found in stressed syllables. Speakers of RMC will spell (and pronounce) these words with <-i>, the [iː] sound of English <mach**i**ne>.

In most cases, the correspondence between RLC <-ei> and RMC <-i> is completely regular. Speakers of RLC reading a text written in RMC will pronounce final <-i> as <-ei> in stressed syllables only. Words like **gwari {gwary}** 'play' and **terri {terry}** 'break' where the final <-i> represents an unstressed [i] or [ɪ] like the sound at the end of English <carr**y**> will be spelled identically in RMC and RLC. There are only a few RLC words like **kreia {creia}** 'call' (RMC **kria {cria}**) where <ei> appears before a vowel rather than in final position. These can be easily identified, since they are usually derived from monosyllabic roots that end in <-ei> (here, **krei {crei}** 'cry').

The Vowels <e>, <y>, and <i>

The SWF writes <i> where both RMC and RLC have /i/ (the sound in English <mach**i**ne>) and <e> where both have /e/ (the sound in French <all**e**z>). In cases where RMC and RLC do not agree, the SWF often uses the spelling <e> for speakers of RLC and TC, but provides a variant form <y> for RMC speakers who pronounce these words with an i-type vowel: /i/ or /ɪ/.

Note that this variation between <e> and <y> is largely confined to stressed monosyllables. Because the SWF recognises vocalic alternation — a sound change in RMC which lowers <y> to <e> when a suffix is added — polysyllabic words like **preves** 'worms', **besyow** 'worlds', and **bedhowgh** 'be (pl.)' are spelled the same in both RLC and RMC variants.

Examples of RLC <e> ~ RMC <y> in the SWF

RLC and TC		*RMC*	*Meaning*	*Notes*
me	~	**my**	'I'	
prev	~	**pryv**	'worm'	
preves	~	**preves**	'worms'	Spelled identically in both forms
bes	~	**bys**	'world'	
besyow	~	**besyow**	'worlds'	Spelled identically in both forms
bew	~	**byw**	'alive'	
ew	~	**yw**	'is'	

Some words like **gwydn** ~ **gwynn** 'white' are spelled with <y> in both RLC and RMC variants. Here, the <y> represents a short [ɪ] sound, like the vowel in English <bit>, <pin>.

The Consonants <j> and <s>

In the SWF, RLC speakers will write the letter <j> wherever they pronounce the sound [ʤ] as in English <jam>. This usually corresponds to a [z] or [s] sound in RMC, and RMC speakers will therefore write these same words with <s>:

Examples of RLC <j> ~ RMC <s> in the SWF

RLC		*RMC*	*Meaning*
kerenja	~	**kerensa**	'love'
menja	~	**mynsa**	'would like to'
galja	~	**galsa**	'could'
uji {ujy}	~	**usi {usy}**	'is'
kryji {cryjy}	~	**krysi {crysy}**	'believe'
pyji {pyjy}	~	**pysi {pysy}**	'pray'
ooj	~	**oos**	'age'
gooj	~	**goos**	'blood'
logojen	~	**logosen**	'mouse'
hanaja	~	**hanasa**	'sigh'

In a few cases, RLC <j> corresponds to RMC <sw>:

Examples of RLC <j> ~ RMC <sw> in the SWF

RLC		*RMC*	*Meaning*
aja	~	**aswa**	'gap'
ajon	~	**aswon**	'know'
najydh	~	**naswydh**	'needle'
pajar	~	**peswar**	'four'

Finally, RLC <j> sometimes corresponds to RMC <d> in words that refer to professions or jobs. Examples include **peskajor {pescajor}** 'fisherman' and **deskajor {descajor}** 'teacher', which RMC speakers may write (and pronounce) as **pyskador {pyscador}**, **dyskador {dyscador}**.

The Vowels <oa> and <a>

Unlike other varieties of Cornish, RLC distinguishes two qualities, or flavours, of the <a> sound. In most words, like **da** 'good', **hanow** 'name', and **spladn** (RMC **splann**) 'bright, shining', the <a> is fronted and raised to [æ], a vowel like that of English <c**a**t>. In these cases, the spelling <a> will be used for both RLC and RMC.

In some other cases, however, a word which has <a> in RMC is pronounced in RLC with a back, somewhat rounded vowel [ɒ], similar to the vowel sounds in English <c**au**ght> or <br**oa**d>. These words and their compounds will be spelled with an <oa> in RLC to mark the difference in pronunciation, although speakers of RMC will write and pronounce them with <a>. Only a small number of words are affected.

Words Spelled with RLC<oa> ~ RMC <a> in the SWF

RLC		*RMC*	*Meaning*
broas	~	**bras**	'big'
gwoav	~	**gwav**	'winter'
gwoavos	~	**gwavos**	'winter abode'
gwloan	~	**gwlan**	'wool'
hoav	~	**hav**	'summer'
kloav {cloav}	~	**klav {clav}**	'ill'
toal	~	**tal**	'forehead'

Note: In many current RLC spelling systems, the letter <a> is used to represent the neutral vowel schwa [ə] in unstressed syllables. In the SWF, unstressed vowels will be spelled etymologically as <a>, <e>, <o>, etc. See **The Unstressed Vowel Schwa [ə]** above for further discussion of this point.

The Diphthongs <ow> and <ew>

In some polysyllabic words, RLC has a diphthong [ɔʊ] (like the sound some English speakers use in the word <l**ow**>) where RMC has [ɛʊ] or [ɪʊ]. This difference in pronunciation is represented in the SWF by the variant graphs <ow> (for RLC) and <ew> (for RMC). Some affected words include:

Words Spelled with RLC <ow> ~ RMC <ew> in the SWF

RLC		*RMC*	*Meaning*
bownans	~	**bewnans**	'life'
dowdhek	~	**dewdhek**	'twelve'
Kernowek	~	**Kernewek**	'Cornish'

Words Spelled with RLC <ow> ~ RMC <ew> in the SWF

RLC		*RMC*	*Meaning*
klowes {clowes}	~	**klewes {clewes}**	'hear'
owna	~	**ewna**	'correct'
towlel	~	**tewlel**	'throw'

Consonants Dropped in RLC

Word-final <dh>, <th>, <f>, and <v> were often dropped or reduced to [h] in later stages of Cornish, and this is reflected in RLC pronunciation. In the SWF, the loss of these final consonants may be shown by replacing the affected letters with an apostrophe in words like **ene'** 'soul' (RMC **enev**) and **hor'** (RMC **hordh**) 'ram'. Similarly, an apostrophe may be used to indicate the loss of original initial <y-> in words like **'ehes** (RMC **yehes**) 'health' and **'Edhow** (RMC **Yedhow**) 'Jew'.

Traditional Graphs

The SWF generally uses the letter <k> to represent the sound [k] and the digraph <hw> to represent the voiceless labial consonant [ʍ] (the sound some people use at the start of English '**wh**ich, **wh**at'). It also uses <-i> to represent final unstressed [i] or [ɪ] in words like **gwari** 'play' and **terri** 'break'. However, many people prefer to use spellings that more closely reflect the practices of traditional Cornish writers. The SWF therefore recognises alternative spellings for these sounds, which are referred to as *traditional graphs*. Individuals may use traditional graphs whenever they wish, and words spelled with traditional graphs will be marked correct if used in schoolwork or official examinations. Unlike variant graphs, however, traditional graphs do not have equal status with their counterparts <k>, <hw>, and <-i>, and will not appear in elementary language textbooks or in official documents produced by public bodies.

Traditional Graphs in the SWF

Graph		*Example*		*Meaning*	*Notes*
<hw>	{wh}	**hwegh**	**{whegh}**	'six'	
<-i>	{-y}	**kelli**	**{kelly}**	'lose'	Not used in stressed syllables
<k>	{c}	**koos**	**{coos}**	'wood'	Used before <a o u l r>
<ks>	{x}	**boks**	**{box}**	'box'	
<kw>	{qw}	**kwit**	**{qwit}**	'quite'	

Note that {-y} may only be substituted for an *unstressed* final <-i>, not a *stressed* final <-ei> or <-i> in words like **chei** ~ **chi** 'house' or **anjei** ~ **i** 'they'.

Vowel Length

The SWF does not use diacritical marks (like the circumflex accent found in RLC **tân** 'fire') to indicate vowel length. Rather, the length of a vowel may be determined by

the number of following consonants and the number of syllables in the word. For RLC, the rules for vowel length are as follows:

1. Vowels in unstressed syllables are always short.
2. Vowels in stressed syllables are short:
   a. before an unstressed syllable (that is, in polysyllabic words like **lagas** 'eye');
   b. before double consonants like <ll>, <rr>, and <ss>;
   c. before most consonant clusters, like <bm>, <dn>, and <rgh>;
   d. before the voiceless stops <p>, <t>, and <ck>.
3. Vowels in stressed syllables are long:
   a. before the voiced stops <b>, <d>, <g>;
   b. before the voiceless stop <k>;
   c. before fricatives like <f>, <v>, <th>, <dh>, <s>, and <gh>;
   d. before other single consonants like <l>, <m>, <n>, and <r>;
   e. in absolute final position.
   f. in a few polysyllabic loanwords like **bibel** 'bible' and **dama** 'mother'.

Note that digraphs like <th>, <dh>, and <gh> which represent a single sound count as single consonants, even though they are written with two letters. The [k] sound is written <ck> or <kk> when it follows a short vowel, and as <k> when it follows a long vowel.

Only a small number of words do not conform to these rules, in that they have irregularly long vowels. Many are easily recognisable as loanwords:

Words with Unpredictably Long Vowels in the SWF

1. Monosyllables

Word	*Meaning*	*Recommended RLC Pronunciation*
frut	'fruit'	[fruːt]
kop {cop}	'cope'	[kɔːp]
krap {crap}	'grip'	[kræːp]
krop {crop}	'penetrates'	[krɔːp]
kwit {qwit}	'free'	[kwiːt]
met	'meets'	[mɛːt]
pat	'pate'	[pæːt]
plat	'plate'	[plæːt]
plit	'plight'	[pliːt]
pot	'kicks'	[pɔːt]
shap	'shape'	[ʃæːp]
skap {scap}	'escapes'	[skæːp], [skæp]
skit	'squirts'	[skiːt]
smat	'hardy'	[smæːt], [smæt]
sop	'sups'	[sɔːp], [sɔp]
stat	'state'	[stæːt]

Words with Unpredictably Long Vowels in the SWF

Word	*Meaning*	*Recommended RLC Pronunciation*
stop	'stoops'	[stɔːp]
stret	'street'	[strɛːt]
yet	'gate'	[jɛːt], [jɛt]
2. Polysyllables		
bibel	'bible'	[ˈbiːbəl]
dama	'mother'	[ˈdæːmə]
kota {cota}	'coat'	[ˈkɔːtə]
sira	'father'	[siːrə]

Morphology: Verbs and Prepositions

The morphology of RLC is fully recognised within the SWF. Because the SWF aims to represent both RMC and RLC forms, however, unstressed vowels are usually written using an etymological spelling. This may require some adjustment for readers used to RLC spellings, but it is necessary in order to bring the variants close enough to one another to allow for mutual intelligibility. Users of RMC will also be learning to recognise unfamiliar RLC forms like **dhodhans** 'to them' and **th o'ma** 'I am'. Regardless, the SWF is capable of representing all RLC forms systematically and unambiguously. The table below gives some examples of conjugated verbs and prepositions in RLC and their RMC equivalents. Full paradigms of common verbs and prepositions may be found in **Appendix B**.

Examples of Conjugated Verbs and Prepositions in the SWF

RLC		*RMC*	*Meaning*	*Notes*
th o'ma	~	**yth ov vy**	'I am'	RLC **th** ~ RMC **yth**
ew	~	**yw**	'is'	RLC **e** ~ RMC **y**
th ero'vy	~	**yth esov vy**	'I am'	RLC **er...** ~ RMC **es...**
ma	~	**yma**	'is'	RLC omits RMC **y**
eus	~	**eus**	'is'	RLC **eu** pronounced as [eː]
uji {ujy}	~	**usi {usy}**	'is'	RLC **j** ~ RMC **s**
na vedh e'	~	**ny vydh ev**	'he will not be'	RLC **na(g)** ~ RMC **ny(ns)**
nag o'nei	~	**nyns en ni**	'we were not'	RLC **ei** ~ RMC **i**
na veu anjei	~	**na vons i**	'they were not'	RLC **anjei** ~ RMC **i**
hei ra	~	**hi a wra**	'she does'	RLC omits RMC **a**
me rug mos	~	**my a wrug mos**	'I did go, I went'	RLC **r...** ~ RMC **wr...**
dhebm	~	**dhymm**	'to me'	RLC **bm** ~ RMC **mm**
dhodho	~	**dhodho**	'to him'	RLC unstressed **-o** as [ə]
dhodhans	~	**dhedha**	'to them'	RLC **-ans** ~ RMC **-a**

A Sample Text in the SWF

Below is the text of William Bodinar's letter as it might be written using the SWF. Note that this version uses the spellings **my** and **vy** for the pronoun 'I' to represent Bodinar's *me*, *vee*. The variant forms **me** and **ve** could also be used.

Lyther Wella Bodinar

Bloodh vy ew trei ugens ha pymp. Th ero'vy den bohojek an puskes. My rug dyski Kernowek y'n termyn my veu maw. My veu dhe mor gen sira vy ha pymp den moy y'n kok. My rug skant lowr klowes udn ger Sowsnek kowsys y'n kok rag seythen warbar'. Na rug evy byskath gweles lyver Kernowek. My [rug] dyski Kernowek o' mos dhe mor gen tus koth. Nag eus moy 'vel pajar po pymp y'n drev nei 'ell klappya Kernowek lebmyn, pobel koth pajar ugens bloodh. Kernowek ew oll nakevys gen pobel younk.

Here is the same text, written using the traditional graph {c} in place of <k> before the letters <a, o, u, l, r> and {-y} for final unstressed <-i>:

Lyther Wella Bodinar

Bloodh vy ew trei ugens ha pymp. Th ero'vy den bohojek an puskes. My rug dysky Kernowek y'n termyn my veu maw. My veu dhe mor gen sira vy ha pymp den moy y'n cok. My rug scant lowr clowes udn ger Sowsnek cowsys y'n cok rag seythen warbar'. Na rug evy byscath gweles lyver Kernowek. My [rug] dysky Kernowek o' mos dhe mor gen tus coth. Nag eus moy 'vel pajar po pymp y'n drev nei 'ell clappya Kernowek lebmyn, pobel coth pajar ugens bloodh. Kernowek ew oll nakevys gen pobel younk.

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