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Festschrift für Heiner Eichner

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Im Auftrag der Wiener Sprachgesellschaft
herausgegeben von Heiner Eichner

unter Mitwirkung von
Hans Christian Luschützky,
Robert Nedoma,
Oskar E. Pfeiffer,
Klaus T. Schmidt
und Chlodwig H. Werba

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Henner Eichler

Vorwort

Am 10.9.2010 vollendet Heiner Eichner sein 68. Lebensjahr. Die vorliegende Festschrift erscheint aus Anlass seiner Emeritierung, und zwar als Jahrgangsband der Zeitschrift *Die Sprache*, der der Jubilar seit langem verbunden ist – zuerst als Beiträger und bibliographischer Referent, später auch als Herausgeber.

Heiner Eichner – in seinem Namen sind die Radikale der urindogermanischen Wurzel **h₂nr-* ‘Mann’ zweimal enthalten – wurde 1942 im oberfränkischen Kronach geboren. Das Denkmal für einen großen Linguisten aus dieser Stadt, Johann Kaspar Zeuß, den Begründer der Keltologie, machte tiefen Eindruck auf das Kind bzw. den Jugendlichen. Heiner Eichner schloss das 1962 in München begonnene Studium im Jahre 1974 in Erlangen mit einer Dissertation bei Karl Hoffmann ab, in der er die Deklination des Hethitischen untersuchte. Anschließend war er ein Jahrzehnt lang in Regensburg tätig, zunächst als Wissenschaftlicher Assistent von Helmut Rix und dann – nachdem er sich mit einer Arbeit über indogermanische Numeralia habilitiert hatte – als Akademischer Oberrat. Ab 1984 folgten fünf Jahre eines Wanderdaseins, in denen sich der Jubilar als Privatdozent in Basel und Eichstätt sowie als Lehrbeauftragter an weiteren Universitäten verdingte. 1989 nahm er schließlich einen Ruf als Ordinarius für Allgemeine und Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft am Institutsteil Indogermanistik des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft an der Universität Wien an und hat hier 42 Semester lang gewirkt. Ab 1995, nach dem Tod Jochem Schindlers, oblagen ihm die Leitung des Institutsteils Indogermanistik und für einige Jahre auch die der Kommission für Iranistik (nunmehr: Institut für Iranistik) der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Mit der wohlwollenden Unterstützung des Geehrten konnte seit der Jahrtausendwende auch das Fach Keltologie an der Universität Wien kräftig gedeihen. Ferner hat er auch sogenannte kleine indogermanische Sprachen wie etwa Albanisch, Kurdisch und Zazaki im universitären Bereich gefördert.

Wie wohl nur wenige Fachvertreter ist Heiner Eichner ein Allrounder, der sich einem Großteil der indogermanischen Sprachen und Kulturen in Forschung und Lehre widmet; es gibt kaum einen Zweig des Indogermanischen, zu dem der Geehrte keine substanziellen Beiträge geliefert hat. Seit jeher gilt dem anatolischen Sprachzweig sein besonderes Augenmerk, und er konnte

auch anhand von altanatolischem (hethitischem) Sprachmaterial jenes urindogermanische Lautgesetz entdecken, das nun seinen Namen trägt; in seiner Kernformulierung – in Nachbarschaft von h_2 bleibt (das Timbre von) \bar{e} erhalten –¹ sind übrigens die Initialen des Entdeckernamens enthalten. Über den Rahmen der Indogermanistik hinaus sind es schließlich das Etruskische und die Plansprachen, die sein spezielles Interesse gefunden haben. Eine beträchtliche Anzahl seiner Arbeiten hat epigraphisch bezeugtes Sprachmaterial oder ganze epigraphische Texte zum Gegenstand. Der Bogen spannt sich dabei von altanatolischen Quellen über etruskische, lateinische und norditalische Inschriften bis hin zu den runenepigraphischen Texten der älteren germanischen Sprachen; dabei hat Heiner Eichner immer wieder auch paläographische, metrische, texttheoretische und schriftgeschichtliche Aspekte in den Vordergrund gerückt. Einen besonderen Stellenwert nimmt seit vielen Jahren die Arbeit am lykischen Inschriftenkorpus ein, bei der sich die Teilnahme an Grabungen und die enge Zusammenarbeit mit Archäolog(inn)en als überaus ertragreich erwiesen hat. Wenn sich der Jubilar über all die Jahre mit der konsequenten sprachwissenschaftlichen Analyse ‘seiner’ epigraphischen Quellen intensiv beschäftigt hat, so bildete ein zweites Themenfeld, die Erforschung der urindogermanischen Akzent- und Ablauttypen, einen Forschungsschwerpunkt vor allem in der Erlanger und Regensburger Zeit; auf den Ergebnissen dieser früheren Arbeiten basieren dann weiterführende Überlegungen zum Wechselspiel von Flexion und Wortbildung bzw. zu Kollektiv und Komprehensiv als Numeri.

Eine Würdigung wäre nicht vollständig ohne Verweis auf jene Einblicke, die „ohnehin jedem klar sind“ (O-Ton Jubilar), die man aber doch nur bei ihm in dieser Zahl und gleichsam frei Haus erhalten konnte. So ‘leben’ die An- und Einsichten des Geehrten, die seinem bemerkenswert großen fachlichen Horizont entspringen, nicht nur in seinen eigenen Publikationen – die Zahl von Referenzen des Typs „Heiner Eichner, mündlicher Hinweis“ in Arbeiten ihm Nahestehender ist Legende.

Die in thematischer wie auch methodischer Hinsicht breit gestreuten Beiträge in dieser Festschrift – aufgrund der großen Anzahl an Autor(inn)en musste es aus Umfangsgründen bei Miszellen bleiben – spiegeln die Vielfalt der Interessen und Aktivitäten Heiner Eichners wider. Die Herausgeber hoffen, dass der Jubilar in den hier versammelten Beiträgen von Weggefährter(inn)en, Kolleg(inn)en, Mitarbeiter(inne)n und Schüler(inne)n auch etliche Fa-

¹ Heiner Eichner, Die Etymologie von heth. *mehur*. In: MSS 31 (1973), 53–107: 72.

cetten seiner eigenen Forschungs- und Lehrtätigkeit wiederzufinden vermag. Alle Beteiligten wünschen Heiner Eichner von Herzen weiterhin ungebrochene Schaffenskraft und Schaffensfreude – *ad multos annos!*

Die Herausgeber danken Michael Janda, Eva Lettner und Corinna Salomon für ihre Unterstützung bei der Arbeit an dieser Festschrift.

ROBERT NEDOMA

DAVID STIFTER

Wien, im Juni 2010

Nucleus Length and Vocalic Alternation in Cornish Diphthongs

ALBERT BOCK and BENJAMIN BRUCH

Introduction

The term *vocalic alternation*, first used in this context by Williams 1995, describes a phenomenon in the vocalism of Middle Cornish whereby the stressed vowel in polysyllabic words derived from stems containing the reflexes of Brythonic *ī [i:] and *ī [ɪ] usually appears in writing as ⟨e⟩. This ⟨e⟩ ‘alternates’ with the vowel found in monosyllabic words formed from these stems, which is written as ⟨y⟩, ⟨ey⟩, ⟨e⟩, or ⟨ye⟩ in texts from the 15th and 16th centuries before being lowered to ⟨e⟩, ⟨ea⟩, or ⟨ê⟩ from the 17th century onwards. A comparable alternation is also seen in the reflexes of the Old Cornish diphthongs /iʊ/ and /ɪʊ/. In the 15th century, these diphthongs are represented by a mixture of ⟨yw⟩ and ⟨ew⟩ in monosyllables and mostly by ⟨ew⟩ in polysyllables, ⟨ew⟩ becoming generalised by ca. 1550. Edward Lhuyd’s transcriptions of Late Cornish show that the two reflexes were apparently still distinct from one another in 1700, however.

Some manuscripts do not show vocalic alternation: it does not appear in the oldest parts of the Cornish *Ordinalia* (composed ca. 1400) or in any texts written after the last of the mystery plays, *Gwreans an Bys* (1611). Vocalic alternation is found in *Pascon Agan Arluth* (a poem composed at roughly the same time as the *Ordinalia*, but orthographically updated in the mid-15th century), *Sacrament an Aulter* (a prose text written in or shortly after 1576), and *Gwreans an Bys*, and is most strongly evident in the 15th-century drama *Bewnans Ke* (known from a manuscript of ca. 1575) and the *Tregear Homilies* (a prose text translated from English shortly after 1555).

Vocalic Alternation and the Prosodic Shift

While George insists that vocalic alternation in Cornish is a purely orthographic phenomenon,¹ Williams likens it to the alternation of [i:] and [ɪ] found in many Welsh cognates of the roots affected in Middle Cornish (e.g.

¹ Dunbar / George 1997, 108.

bydd [i:] : *byddaf* [ə] ‘will be’ alongside MCorn. *byth* : *bethaf*),² and believes that it is a result of the accent shift from the final to the penultimate syllable that took place towards the end of the Old Cornish era – that is, during the 11th century,³ with another massive change that he terms the Prosodic Shift occurring about a century later.⁴ Williams suspects that the three Brythonic languages may all have shared some kind of vocalic alternation as a parallel development. In Cornish, according to Williams, unstressed high front vowels in penultimate syllables were reduced to schwa in the Old Cornish period, and were eventually restored to full vowel status as /e/ when the accent shifted to the penultima. In Welsh, the schwa remained in the penultima, as reflected in the pronunciation of Modern Welsh *byddaf*. In Breton, all traces of such a development would have been cancelled out very early by the lowering of /i/ to /e/.⁵

This explanation suffers from one major defect, however: neither the *Old Cornish Vocabulary* nor the earliest Middle Cornish texts exhibit vocalic alternation in the way one would expect if the phenomenon were really that old. While it is true that vocalic alternation appears sporadically even in early Middle Cornish texts like the *Ordinalia*, it is far from widespread, and may only have affected a few words.⁶ Williams describes his model of the Prosodic Shift as the shortening of all long- and half-long vowels by one mora⁷ and dates this development to the early 13th century (Williams 1995, 17) or even in the 12th century (Williams 2006a, 29).

Diphthongs and the Prosodic Shift

Williams’ theory of the Prosodic Shift has important implications for diphthongs as well. He writes (Williams 1995, 42 / 2006, 35):

Nowhere has the loss of half-length had more impact than in the diphthongs of Cornish. Before the prosodic shift diphthongs either had a half-long or a short nucleus. The short-

² Williams 2006, 3; 2006a, 95.

³ Jackson 1986, 847 for Breton; the timing for Cornish is supposed to be more or less the same.

⁴ Williams 2006a, 29.

⁵ Williams 2006, 28.

⁶ The lowering of /i/ to /e/ in polysyllables may have happened gradually through a process of lexical diffusion, as suggested by George to account for the early apparent lowering of [i:] seen in MCorn. <cref> ‘strong’ (cf. Welsh *cryf*; Dunbar / George 1997, 41).

⁷ Williams 1995, 94; 2006, 5.

ening of half-long vowels meant that after the shift no Cornish diphthong had anything other than a short nucleus. The resulting nuclei were both less tense and less high than before the new prosodic system arose.

This interpretation does not withstand even a cursory glance at Edward Lhuyd's transcription of Late Cornish diphthongs, however, even though Lhuyd collected his material some five centuries after the alleged shortening of all nuclei would have taken place. While not as exact as modern IPA, Lhuyd's phonetic transcriptions are nonetheless the best available representation of the spoken traditional Cornish of any period. Lhuyd distinguishes clearly between heavy diphthongs in positions where vowel length was apparently still distinctive in Late Cornish and light ones where it was not:

LHUYD	IPA	MEANING	MCORN.	POSITION
<i>glâu</i>	[glæːʊ]	'rain'	<i>glaw</i>	stressed open monosyllable
<i>bêu</i>	[beːʊ]	'alive'	<i>byw, bew</i>	stressed open monosyllable
<i>dêau</i>	[dɛːʊ](?) ⁸	'two (m.)'	<i>dew</i>	stressed open monosyllable
<i>mûy</i>	[muːɪ]	'more'	<i>moy</i>	stressed open monosyllable
<i>namui</i> ⁹	[nəˈmuːɪ]	'no more'	<i>namoy</i>	stressed ultima
vs.				
<i>boūnaz</i>	[ˈbɔʊnəz]	'life'	<i>bewnans</i>	stressed penultima
<i>beua</i>	[ˈbɛwə]	'live'	<i>bywa, bewa</i>	— —, ambisyllabic
<i>klouaz, klyūaz</i>	[ˈklɔwəz]	'speak'	<i>clewes</i>	— —, ambisyllabic
<i>deaułagaz</i>	[dɛʊˈlagəz]	'eyes (du.)'	<i>dewlagas</i>	secondary stress

Note the marked differences between the two derivatives of the stem *byw-/bew-* in Middle and Late Cornish. 'Life' is spelled <bewnans>, <bevnans>, <bewnens>, <bewnes> throughout in Middle Cornish and <bownans>, <boūnaz> in Late Cornish. The nucleus in this word would have been short from the beginning and, given the tendency in Cornish to neutralise the advanced tongue root distinction in short vowels, untensed to [ɛʊC] early, as compared to the half-long, tense nucleus in MCorn. <bywa>, <bewa>, LCorn. <beua> ([ɛːwV] ca. 1500; see below). The stem seen in MCorn. <clewes>, <clowes>, LCorn. <klyūaz> 'listen', by contrast, likely contained [ɛːwV] in early Middle Cornish. This suggests, modulo lexical diffusion, that the longer a high front

⁸ In contrast to Williams and George but more or less in line with Kennedy 2010 we assume that Late Cornish still had both [e:] and [ɛ:]. The exact nature of their distribution in Late Cornish requires further research.

⁹ Although Lhuyd's transcription suggests a rising diphthong [wi:], all spellings of the word *mûy* 'more' by Lhuyd and native writers show a falling one as expected. In any case, Lhuyd does mark the diphthong as long.

vowel was realised in a given position, the more time its lowering would take and the longer it would resist the merger of /e/ and /ɛ/, if this took place at all. It also implies that the earlier loss of written distinction between original /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ (and /ɪʊ/ and /ɛʊ/) in polysyllables in late Middle Cornish might mark the neutralisation of vowel length in non-final syllables, which may have taken place in the first half of the 16th century.

Late Cornish Quantity Rules for Diphthongs

This analysis permits us to formulate a new set of quantity rules that would have been operational once the Brythonic quantity system as described by Jackson (1994, 338 ff.) had fallen out of use:

- (1) In monosyllables and stressed ultimae, nothing changed. Diphthongs still had a half-long nucleus and were thus heavy.
- (2) In stressed non-final syllables, nucleus length was neutralised. Such syllables could only contain light, i.e. bimoraic, diphthongs.
- (3) Nuclei in unstressed syllables remained short by default.

Vowel length in stressed non-final syllables was therefore neutralised by the time of late Middle Cornish in a development reminiscent of that seen in northern dialects of Modern Welsh.¹⁰

Consequences for Vocalic Alternation

The lowering of earlier [ɪ] to [e] seen in Lhuyd's <bêu> is unlikely to have resulted from a change in quantity, as the diphthong is still marked as heavy. This suggests that vowels in stressed monosyllables and stressed ultimae retained their length right up to the point the language died out in the late 18th century (*pace* Williams, who claims that these vowels were shortened by the Prosodic Shift and then "lengthened again" in Late Cornish).¹¹ There was thus no general shortening of all stressed vowels which would have triggered the untensing of all nuclei.

Vocalic alternation of <yw> and <ew> can more likely be attributed to the following factors:

- (1) The overall lowering of /ɪ/ to /e/ which took place between ca. 1400 and 1500,
- (2) Orthographic influence from English, where the vowel [e:] was raising to [i:] during this same period,

¹⁰ Awbery 2010, 362.

¹¹ Williams 2006, 101.

- (3) Differences in nucleus length between open and closed syllables, and
 (4) Early Middle Cornish scribal traditions carried over from the 15th century to the 16th.¹²

The tendency to write <ew> for earlier <yw> in polysyllables appears to be a few decades earlier in date than the comparable substitution of <e> for earlier <y> in monophthongs: it is not found in the *Old Cornish Vocabulary* and is not universally applied in the *Ordinalia*, but it is very pronounced in later Middle Cornish texts. The texts that exhibit vocalic alternation of diphthongs generally contain cases of <ew>-spellings in corresponding monosyllables as well. A list of attestations for some affected roots shows that a general pattern of <yw> in monosyllables and <ew> in polysyllables, as predicted by Williams' model of vocalic alternation, is not clearly established.

Stems containing early MCor. /ɪʊ/

MCor. *byw-/bew-* 'live, alive', *syw-/sew-* 'follow':

TEXT ¹³	MONOSYLLABIC	POLYSYLLABIC
<i>Passio Christi</i>	<i>byv, syv; bev, bew</i>	<i>sywe; sewys</i>
<i>Resurrexio Domini</i>	<i>byw, syw; bew</i>	<i>bywe, sywe; bewe</i>
<i>Origo Mundi</i>	<i>byv; bev, bew, sew</i>	<i>bywe, sywe, sywa; bewe, bewa, sewes</i>
<i>Pascon Agan Arluth</i>	<i>syw</i>	<i>sywye; bewe, sewye, sewyas, sewijs</i>
<i>Beunans Meriasek</i>	<i>byv; bev</i>	<i>sywa; bewe, bewa, sewa</i>
<i>Tregear Homilies</i>	<i>bew</i>	<i>bewa, sewya</i>
<i>Bewnans Ke</i>	<i>bew, sew</i>	<i>bewa</i>
<i>Sacrament an Aulter</i>	<i>bew</i>	—
<i>Gwreans an Bys</i>	<i>bew, bewe</i>	<i>bewa, sewyas, sewyes</i>
[cf. Lhuyd	<i>bêu</i>	<i>bêua</i>]

In both of these stems, spellings in <yw> and <ew> (or <yv> and <ev>) are attested in all texts up to the time of *Beunans Meriasek* (1504) in both monosyllabic and polysyllabic forms. The spelling <ew> is more common than <yw> in all texts, particularly in polysyllabic words.¹⁴ From the mid-16th century *Tregear Homilies* onwards, we find only <ew>, <êu>, <eu>. If vocalic alternation in diphthongs were as clear-cut as Williams suggests, we would ex-

¹² See Bock / Bruch (forthc.) for further discussion of these factors and their role in vocalic alternation.

¹³ Source texts are listed in order of last orthographic update, not composition; see Bock / Bruch (forthc.) for further discussion of this chronology.

¹⁴ Dunbar / George 1997, 121 f.

pect a much more significant distribution of <yw> in monosyllabic forms vs. <ew> in polysyllabic forms. As can be seen in the examples above, there is no clearly discernible time lag between the apparent lowering in polysyllables and that in monosyllables, making it even less likely that we are dealing with a phenomenon dating from the era of the Brythonic accent shift or Williams' 12th-century Prosodic Shift.

Two possible explanations for the observed behaviour of early MCorn. /ɪʊ/ present themselves:

- (1) The diphthong /ɪʊ/ had been lowered to /eʊ/ by the time of *Tregear Homilies*, and the spelling reflects this, or
- (2) sound changes in contemporary English had made <ew> (Modern English [ju:] or [juə]) the standard way to spell /ɪʊ/ even in Cornish, as suggested by George.¹⁵

Lhuyd's LC form <bêu> with its long <ê> suggests that (1) is the primary reason, although (2) may also have played a rôle.

Stems containing early MCorn. /eʊ/

That /e/ and /ɛ/ did not simply fall together in all positions during the 16th century can be seen from the behaviour of the stems *clew-/clow-* 'hear' and *dew* 'two (m.)':

MCorn. *clew-/clow-*¹⁶ 'hear', *dew-* 'two (m.)':

TEXT	MONOSYLLABIC	POLYSYLLABIC
<i>Passio Christi</i>	<i>clev, dev, dew</i>	<i>cleves, clewes, clewas, clewys, dev glyn, deulyn, dew glyn, dev tros, dew tros; clowys</i>
<i>Resurrexio Domini</i>	<i>clev, clew, dev, deuv, dew</i>	<i>clewas, clewys, clewaf; clowys</i>
<i>Origo Mundi</i>	<i>clew, dew, devv</i>	<i>clewas, clewaf; clowsys</i>
<i>Pascon Agan Arluth</i>	<i>dew</i>	<i>clewas, clewys, clewo, clewyth, dewlyn; dowlyn</i>
<i>Beunans Meriasek</i>	<i>dev; clov</i>	<i>clewugh, dev croyth; clowes, clowas, clowys, cloweys</i>
<i>Tregear Homilies</i>	<i>clew, dew; clow</i> ¹⁷	<i>clowes, clowas, clowys, clowith</i>

¹⁵ Dunbar / George 1997, 116; George 2007, 79.

¹⁶ This stem seems to have contained /eʊ/ in Middle Cornish rather than /ɪʊ/, and might also be treated as a case of abnormally early lowering by lexical diffusion, comparable to <cref> 'strong'; on this, see Dunbar / George 1997, 41. 124.

¹⁷ The form <dow> is attested twice in a Cornish phrase-book from 1547 (George 2007, 80).

TEXT	MONOSYLLABIC	POLYSYLLABIC
<i>Bewnans Ke</i>	<i>deaw; clow; dv</i> ¹⁸	<i>dew lyn; clowes, clowas, cloways, clowys, clowyns</i>
<i>Sacrament an Aulter</i>	<i>deow; clow</i>	<i>clowas, clowis</i>
<i>Gwreans an Bys</i>	<i>dew, deaw; clow</i>	<i>clewas, dew glyen; clowas</i>
[cf. Lhuyd]	<i>kleu, deu, deau, deau</i>	<i>kleuez; klouaz, klyuaz, klyuez</i>

The spelling <yw> is never used in these stems in Middle Cornish, which shows that they cannot have contained the same diphthong as *byw-/bew-* or *syw-/sew-*. In addition, a sound change of stressed /ɛʊ/ to /ɔʊ/ – found in polysyllables even in the earliest Middle Cornish texts – would seem to have taken these two diphthongs even further apart. Interestingly, this <ow> from earlier <ew> seems to remain distinct from the reflex of MCorn. /ɔʊ/ <ow> (which becomes <û> [u:] in polysyllables in Late Cornish as in MCorn. <lowen> > LCorn. <lûan>). Instead, Lhuyd's transcriptions of polysyllabic forms of *clew-/clow-* show the reflex of <ow> from earlier <ew> to be [əʊ], or rather [əw] in this case, in Late Cornish.

Stems containing early MCorn. /iʊ/

MCorn. *dyw* 'two (f.)', *lyw*- 'colour':

TEXT	MONOSYLLABIC	POLYSYLLABIC
<i>Passio Christi</i>	<i>dyv, lyv, lyw</i>	<i>dyvluef, dyulef, dyvlef, dywle, dywscoth, dywvregh, dywyth; dulef, dule, duscoth; devle</i>
<i>Resurrexio Domini</i>	<i>lyw</i>	<i>dyw thorn, dyvle, dywle; dule, duscouth</i>
<i>Origo Mundi</i>	<i>dyw</i>	<i>dyw luef, dywvregh, dywyth; dew luef, dewle, dewen, dewyith</i>
<i>Pascon Agan Arluth</i>	<i>lyw</i>	<i>dewleff, dewle, dewen, dew ver, defregh</i>
<i>Beunans Meriasek</i>	<i>dyv</i>	<i>dule, dula, duklyn</i>
<i>Tregear Homilies</i>	—	<i>dewleff, dewla</i>
<i>Bewnans Ke</i>	—	<i>duwath; dev thorn</i>
<i>Sacrament an Aulter</i>	—	<i>dowla</i>
<i>Gwreans an Bys</i>	<i>dew, lew</i>	<i>dyw frieg; dew freyge, dewla, devran</i>
[cf. Lhuyd]	<i>liu</i>	<i>diula, liuiar, liuyar, diskodh, dibreh; dula; deula, deuith; dyweth</i>

¹⁸ Thomas / Williams 2007 read <dv> at *Bewnans Ke*, l. 265 as the word for 'God', which historically did not contain the diphthong /ɛʊ/ (George 2007, 81).

Stems in /i/ and /iʊ/ are written with a mixture of <e(w)> and <y(w)> in Middle Cornish,¹⁹ but seemingly have the old sound value restored in both monosyllabic and polysyllabic forms in Late Cornish. Were it not for Lhuyd, we might imagine that the nucleus of /iʊ/ was universally lowered in the 16th century like that of /iʊ/. George argues that Lhuyd's attestations demonstrate that the reflexes of /iʊ/ and /iʊ/ remained distinct in both Middle Cornish and Late Cornish,²⁰ and this does indeed seem plausible, although we believe that the latter diphthong had become /eʊ/ by ca. 1500. While many polysyllabic dual forms incorporating the prefix *dyw-* are also spelled <dew-> (particularly in *Origo Mundi*, *Pascon Agan Arluth*, *Tregear Homilies*, and *Gwreans an Bys*), the forms <diɹla> and <liɹiar> from Lhuyd show no clear sign of vowel lowering in stressed penultima in Late Cornish. A number of Middle Cornish dual forms (especially from *Passio Christi*, *Resurrexio Domini*, and *Beunans Meriasek*) also show the spelling <du-> for *dyw-*, which likewise supports the idea that /iʊ/ remained distinct from /iʊ/ in polysyllables, since the spelling <u> is not found as a reflex of /iʊ/.²¹

Conclusion

Vocalic alternation of diphthongs in Middle Cornish can be observed over a considerable period, but is only strongly apparent in texts written between ca. 1450 and 1504. It is characterised by the following phenomena:

- (1) The reflex of OCorn. /iʊ/ in monosyllables and polysyllables often appears as <yw> in the oldest Middle Cornish texts (*Passio Christi*, *Resurrexio Domini*).
- (2) The reflex of OCorn. /iʊ/ in polysyllables is usually written as <ew> or <u> in manuscripts produced from ca. 1450–1550.
- (3) The reflex of OCorn. /iʊ/ in polysyllables is represented by a combination of <ew> and <yw> in Middle Cornish manuscripts from the 15th century.
- (4) The reflex of OCorn. /iʊ/ in monosyllables is represented by a combination of <ew> and <yw> in Middle Cornish manuscripts up to and including *Beunans Meriasek* (1504).
- (5) The graph <yw> disappears in polysyllables in the early 16th century, around the time of *Beunans Meriasek*.
- (6) The graph <yw> disappears in monosyllables by the time of *Tregear Homilies* (ca. 1555).

¹⁹ Dunbar / George 1997, 107. 111.

²⁰ Dunbar / George 1997, 117 f.; George 2007 similarly shows how the reflexes of MCor. /iʊ/ and /eʊ/ remain distinct even in Late Cornish.

²¹ Williams sees this use of <u> as a sign that final [y:] had fallen together with this diphthong before the date of the earliest Middle Cornish texts (2006, 17; 2006a, 143).

These spelling practices may be explained as the result of a sound change within Middle Cornish and orthographic developments in both English and Cornish:

- (1) The lowering of /ɪ/ to /e/ in Cornish, beginning by ca. 1400 and probably complete by ca. 1500, and the concomitant lowering of /iʊ/ to /eʊ/.
- (2) Influence from contemporary English where [e:] had been raised to [i:], so that high front vowels could now be represented by <e>, leading to confusion between <y> and <e> (and <yw> and <ew>) for mid-16th-century bilingual scribes.
- (3) Differences in nucleus length and the neutralisation of nucleus length in non-final syllables by ca. 1555.

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