Outline of the Standard Written Form (SWF) for Cornish
Responses to a draft sent out by Albert Bock and Benjamin Bruch
Michael Everson and Nicholas Williams
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The following are comments to the draft sent out on 29 January 2008. The remarks below have been discussed between us both and the text below reflects our agreed position on the items discussed. The text of the outline is given in italic type. Our comments are given in roman.

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Albert Bock
Benjamin Bruch

1. The Role of the Standard Written Form

We think it is a bit peculiar for Single Written Form to have been changed by fiat to Standard Written Form.

The Standard Written Form for Cornish, as agreed on 15 December 2007 by the Ad-Hoc group, comprising users of Cornish nominated by the language groups, represents a common ground for users of all existing orthographies and 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.

If it were universally acceptable, there would be no Main Form vs Side Form. That alone is exclusive and non-neutral.

The SWF 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. The SWF follows a combination of phonetic and phonemic principles in spelling rather than a strict morpho-phonemic approach. The two principal effects are a closer relationship between sound and spelling and a stronger resemblance to orthographic systems designed by native speakers of their respective languages, like the orthography of Modern Welsh.

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 those users who do not wish to use the SWF actively should find it relatively easy to read.

This document does not represent a complete specification of the SWF. It is rather an explanation of the agreement reached by the AHG. A few details are still open and will be settled after discussions with the linguistic advisors, at which point a full specification will be distributed by the Partnership. This will include more detailed explanations of specific issues, rules for converting from other orthographies to the SWF, a basic wordlist, and paradigms of prepositions and common verbs.

This paragraph carries with it a number of assumptions. While the Partnership has had authority over orthography; is it now assuming authority over vocabulary and grammar? Wordlists must be drawn up by people with experience in lexicography. Will the "full specification" referred to here be devised by a group of linguistic experts, or once again by Albert and Ben alone? Specifically, will Nicholas Williams, Neil Kennedy, Michael Everson, and Dan Prohaska be part of the team preparing this specification?

2. Principles; linguistic, political and practical considerations
The Standard Written Form largely follows the principles for a common orthography first set out in the draft for Kernewek
Dasunys. These are:

  a) Inclusivity – Users of all varieties of Revived Cornish should be able to write as they speak.
  b) Accessibility – The SWF should be easy for speakers, learners, and teachers to learn and use.
  c) Accuracy – The SWF should reflect the pronunciation of both traditional and Revived Cornish.
  d) Authenticity – The SWF should not look "foreign" to present-day speakers of Cornish.

We do not believe that this is the specific text which was discussed at the AHG meetings regarding "Authenticity". It differs from Andrew's report, and indeed it differs from any position Agan Tavas has ever taken. "Foreign" has a whiff of xenophobia about it. "The SWF should, as far as possible, make use of traditional orthographic forms" is what we prefer.

A fifth principle has been added to these, based on the statement of the Cornish Language Commission:

  e) Continuity – The SWF should, as much as possible, involve the smallest possible number of changes for the largest
    possible number of speakers, i. e. minimise the distance to travel for users of all orthographies.

As you know, the insertion of a fifth principle has been criticized by a number of people. Specifically, the wording here implies—whether you think it does or not—favouritism toward KK orthography. This contentious paragraph should be deleted or revised. We two understand what "Continuity" means, but that isn't what is said here to the general public.

3. Main Forms, Variant Forms, and Side Forms
In order to be inclusive of all varieties of Revived Cornish, the SWF will allow a small number of variants in spelling.

The phrase "allow a number of variants in spelling" would be more accurate.

To reduce the burden on teachers and learners, the number of permitted variants will be kept to a minimum. Most of the variation between Middle and Late Cornish forms is bridged using umbrella graphs (on which see below). The remaining variant spellings can be grouped according to their status as either Variant Forms or Main Forms and Side Forms.

A lot of this—particularly "will be kept to a minimum"—sounds like Albert and Ben's agenda than what was actually agreed, which is to use a single linguistic framework with a number of orthographic variants where strong preferences are held. We two question whether "most" of the variation between RMC and RLC (terms which are better than MC and LC by the way) is in fact handled with umbrella graphs.

3. 1. Variant Forms
Variant Forms are equal in status to one another, and can be described as equivalent Main Forms. They are unambiguous in that there is a clear correspondence between pairs of variant graphs. The status of Variant Form generally is accorded to variant graphs which indicate a historical sound change: a difference in pronunciation between the varieties of spoken Cornish. In general, these correspond to sound changes which occurred between Middle and Late Cornish.

Examples of Variant Forms

MC		LC	examples			
<mm>	~	*<bm>*	*tamm*	~	*tabm*	*'piece'*
<nn>	~	*<dn>*	*penn*	~	*pedn*	*'head'*
<-i>	~	*<-ei>*	*chi*	~	*chei*	*'house'*
<ew>	~	*<ow>*	*klewes*	~	*klowes*	*'hear'*
<s>	~	*<j>*	*kerensa*	~	*kerenja*	*'love'*

3. 2. Main and Side Forms
Side Forms are not wholly equal in status to Main Forms. They generally reflect speakers' aesthetic preferences about spelling rather than an actual difference in pronunciation. In a few cases, forms which are historically attested but less commonly used in Revived Cornish have been included as Side Forms rather than Variant Forms, since they will not be presented to learners in introductory material.

The chauvinism here worries every non-KK user, because it is KK's adventitious forms which are "privileged" in the Main Form, and already our colleagues are complaining that this will lead to the "deprecation" of the Side Forms. We two, however, accept this, provided that we are granted the remaining Side Forms which are necessary to us to avoid inauthentic spellings. This is clearly in line with the Agan Tavas position.

Side Forms are officially recognised, and may be freely used in writing and publishing, including in officially funded publications. They will be considered correct by Cornish spell-checking software, and students may likewise use them in examinations and written work. Although the Main Forms will be given preference in textbooks and official documents, literary texts which use Side Forms are also admissible for use in schools. In order to respect the link between contemporary and historical forms of the Cornish language, the use of such literary texts in teaching advanced students is indeed encouraged. It is also likely that many place-names will be written in forms that reflect Side Form spellings using <c>, <q>, and <wh>.

This is a great relief.

The principal Side Forms in Cornish spelling involve the sounds written <k> and <hw> in the Main Forms. These may also be written more in accordance with attested historical practice, using the graphs <c>, <qu>, <x>, and <wh>. In traditional Cornish, the sounds /k/, /kw/, /ks/ and /ʍ/ (or /hw/) were written according to the same rules used in English, French and many other Western European languages. According to these rules, the sound /k/ is written <c> before the vowels <a, o, u> and the consonants <l, r, k>. The sequence /kw/ is written <qu>, and the sequence /ks/ (or /gz/) is written <x>. Elsewhere, the sound /k/ is written <k>. In this document, Side Forms are given in curly brackets:

kans	*{cans}*	*'hundred'*	*kwarter*	*{quarter}*	*'quarter'*
krev	*{crev}*	*'strong'*	*taksi*	*{taxi}*	*'taxi'*
hweg	*{wheg}*	*'sweet'*			

Note that <x> also represents /gz/ in words like ***exilys*** [ɛgˈziːlɪs]. Since <eksilys> is not a phonetic spelling, why does the "Main Form" not spell it <egzilys>?

Please note that the correct graph is <qw> not <qu>: *recte* ***qwarter*** above. At the Agan Tavas AGM a vote was taken and <qw> was approved as the preferred form.

4. Inclusivity: Accounting for Middle and Late Cornish Forms
Spoken Revived Cornish has two main variants, one based on Middle and one on Late Cornish. The SWF recognises Revived Late Cornish as a variant of equal standing.

We recommend the regular use of the terms "Revived Middle Cornish" (RMC) and "Revived Late Cornish" (RLC).

Even though the orthography on the whole leans much more towards Middle Cornish, Late Cornish variants are accounted for:

- *orthographically, through the use of Variant Forms and umbrella graphs;*
- *morphologically and syntactically, through the recognition of Late Cornish forms and syntactic structures as being equally correct as their Middle Cornish counterparts; and*
- *lexically, through the inclusion of Late Cornish lexical items in official dictionaries.*

Late Cornish forms will be spelt more or less phonemically in closed class words like auxiliary verbs and prepositions, where paradigms differ considerably between MC and LC in any case. In open class words, umbrella spellings (see below) will be given preference. Variant spellings like <bm>, <dn>, and <-ei> will be used in both classes.

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. 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.

This explanation is very good.

Umbrella graphs in the SWF

Umbrella graph	MC pronunciation	LC pronunciation	examples
<u>	[y(ː)]	[i(ː)]	rudh [ryːð], [riːð]
<eu>	[œ(ː)]	[e(ː)]	keus [kœːz], [keːz]
<y> when stressed	[ɪ(ː)], [i(ː)]	[e(ː)]	pryv [prɪːv], [preːv]

We reject the umbrella graph <y> for the *bys/bêz* words in favour of parallel forms. Agan Tavas has passed a resolution specifically regarding the *bys/bêz* words, stating that their acceptance of the SWF is contingent upon the SWF having "*Variant forms for <e> and <y> where UC/UCR/RLC/KK usage differs*". Note that "Variant forms" means "Main Form Variants".

We should however, add to this list the following:

<oo>	[oː]	[uː]	boos [boːz], [buːz]

5. Features of the SWF as agreed by the AHG
5. 1. Vowel Length
The AHG agreed that vowel length in monosyllables would be tied to 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.

Vowels in stressed monosyllables are long:

- *In final position: ro 'gift', da 'good', bre 'hill'*
- *Before a single voiced consonant: mab 'son', hir 'long', mil 'thousand'*
- *Before the clusters <st, sk>: lost 'tail', Pask 'Easter'*

This is incorrect. In our December contribution we showed that while the overwhelming majority of monosyllables in **-st** have long vowels rather than short, the opposite is true for words in **-sk**.

- *Before a fricative: hav 'summer', nos 'night', kath {cath} 'cat'*

Vowels in stressed monosyllables are short:

- *Before a voiceless stop: hat 'hat', top 'top'*

• *Before a consonant written double <mm, nn, ll, rr, ff, ss>: penn ~ pedn 'head', pell 'far, long'*
• *Before a consonant cluster other than <st, sk>: park 'field', kans {cans} 'hundred'*

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

5. 2. 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>. Common examples include the following:

Stressed <y> in root becomes <e>:

*blydh-	*-*	*bledhen*	*'year'*
bydh	*'will be (3sg.)'*	*bedhav*	*'will be (1sg.)'*

The forms should be **bydh/bedh** and **bedhaf**.

bydh	*'be! (2sg.)'*	*bedhewgh*	*'be! (2pl.)'*

The form should be **bydh/bedh** and **bedhowgh**.

bys	*'world'*	*besyow*	*'worlds'*

The forms should be **bys/bes** and **besow**.

dydh	*'day'*	*dedhyow*	*'days'*

The forms should be **dydh/dedh**.

gwydh	*'trees'*	*gwedhen*	*'tree'*

The forms should be **gwydh/gwedh**.

pryv	*'worm'*	*preves*	*'worms'*

The forms should be **pryv/prev**.

prys	*'time'*	*presyow*	*'times'*

The forms should be **prys/pres** and **presyow/prejyow**.

This stressed <y> is pronounced [ɪː], [iː] by speakers of MC and [eː] by speakers of LC.

Stressed <yw> becomes <ew>:

byw	*'alive'*	*bewnans*	*'life'*
		bewa	*'live'*
lyw	*'rudder'*	*lewya*	*'steer'*
skyw	*'shelter (n.)'*	*skewya*	*'shelter (v.)'*

We do not believe that this is correct. There should be no umbrella graph here. Just as **bys/bes** should be parallel forms, so should **byw/bew** be.

This stressed <yw> is pronounced [ɪʊ] by speakers of MC and [ɛʊ] by speakers of LC. Some polysyllabic words with <ew> in MC will use the Variant Form <ow> in LC. LC speakers would therefore write bownans rather than bewnans.

Again, we reject an umbrella graph here.

Unstressed final <y> in root becomes <e>:

enys	*'island'*	*enesow*	*'islands'*
		enesek	*'isolated'*
benyn	*'woman'*	*benenes*	*'women'*
melyn	*'yellow'*	*melender*	*'yellowness'*
menydh	*'mountain'*	*menedhyow*	*'mountains'*
gorthyp	*'answer'*	*gorthebi*	*'answer'*
		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'.

This is a bad idea. The pronunciation is [tiːr] ~ ['tɪrjoʊ], not [tiːr] ~ ['tiːrjoʊ]. The spelling you propose is morphophonemic, not phonetic. In the traditional texts the short vowel is definitely shown: *forsakyans byen ha muer* **teryov** *trefov an bysma* BM 384-85; *Oll the promes hath* **teryov** *guethy lemen avel kyns* BM 2594-95. The spelling should be **tir** ~ **tyryow**.

See below for the question of **menyth** v. **menydh**. (**Menyth** is the correct form.)

Only UCR has Vocalic Alternation in some of these stems, e.g. myr (SWF mir) ~ meras, 'look'. Here, the SWF follows majority usage and does not show Vocalic Alternation in words like mires, hwilas, etc. Consideration can be given to including {meres, whelas} as Side Forms to reflect UCR usage and occasional LC attestations with [ɛ].

There is no simplex ***whil**; the stem is **whyla** (with a short vowel cf Lhuyd *hụillas*; cf **whelas** x 4 ACB F f 2; and Boson's version of JCH *ha reeg* **whelaz** *ena weale da weele*); or Rowe's *gworeugh* **whellaz** *seere rag an flo younk*, and *rag Herod vedn* **whelaz** *an flo yonk rag e latha*. **Whilas** is simply wrong.

The forms should follow pronunciation: **mir** ~ **myres** [miːr] ~ ['mɪrəs], not **mir** ~ ***mires** [miːr] ~ *['miːrəs]. The spelling you propose is morphophonemic, not phonetic. UCR and LC [ɛ] as you have it is really [ɪ]~[ɛ].

5. 3. Vowels: <oo> and <o>
The SWF spells the sound(s) represented by KK <oe> as <oo> when the vowel in question is long and <o> when it is short, as shown below:

Short		*Long*	
tomm ~ tobm	*'hot'*	*koos {coos}*	*'wood'*
gallos	*'be able to'*	*loor*	*'moon'*
kavos {cavos}	*'find'*	*goon*	*'moor'*

The vowel <oo> will be used in cases where KK has a long <oe>, with the exception of a small number of words which seem to have undergone 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>: kon {con} 'dinner', tron 'nose', on 'lamb', gor 'knows', hwor 'sister', kor {cor} 'wax', noth 'naked'.

The text here is incorrect. For "The vowel <oo> will be used in cases where KK has a long <oe>", please read "The vowel <oo> will be used in cases where KK has a long <oe> and where RLC has [uː]". It is only where RLC has [uː] that <oo> is admissible—otherwise it will introduce error into the speech of RLC speakers.

5. 4. Diphthongs
In general, <iw> is used where both RMC and RLC have [iʊ], [ɪʊ], while <yw> is used in cases where RMC [ɪʊ] corresponds to RLC [ɛʊ]. Examples include:

<iw> for MC and LC [iʊ], [ɪʊ]:

diw	*'two (f.)'*
diwvron	*'breasts'*
liw	*'colour'*
liwya	*'dye'*
niwl	*'fog'*
piw	*'who'*

<yw> for MC [ɪʊ], LC [ɛʊ]:

byw	*'alive'*
lyw	*'rudder'*
yw	*'is'*

The distinction made here is false. The proposal to implement an umbrella graph <yw> for *bys/bêz* words was not discussed in the AHG. It is unnecessary, and, since the umbrella graph <y> has not been accepted by Agan Tavas or by the Cussel, it is also wrong to maintain <yw> as an umbrella graph. The distinction between <iw> (which is unattested in Cornish and is justifiable only by Breton <iv>) and <yw> is a fiction.

Because of Vocalic Alternation, <yw> can only occur in stressed monosyllables. In polysyllabic words, <yw> will become <ew>, just as <y> often becomes <e>:

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

We do not believe that this is a correct interpretation of Vocalic Alternation.

Words that have [ɛʊ] in both MC and LC are spelled <ew>:

blew	*'hair'*
dew	*'two (m.)'*
ewn	*'correct'*
lew	*'lion'*
rew	*'ice'*
tew	*'fat'*
tewl	*'dark'*

Note that in LC, <ew> sometimes becomes <ow> in stressed polysyllables, producing Variant Forms like:

> *bewnans ~ bownans*   'life'
> *klewes ~ klowes*   'hear'
> {*clewes ~ clowes*}
> *tewlel ~ towlel*   'throw'
> *dewdhek ~ dowdhek*   'twelve'

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 spelled with <uw>. There is unanimity as far as the words Duw 'God', duwon 'misery', and ruw 'king' and their compounds are concerned. Other possible cases have been referred to the linguistic advisors and arbiter.

We have proposed **Duw**, **duwon**, **ruw**, **guw**, **buwgh** (if not **buwgh/bugh**). The vowel is [iʊ]; Bailey's "phoneme" [yʊ] is fantasy.

5. 5. Sonorants: <mm ~ bm, nn ~ dn, ll, rr> and <m, n, l, r>
The SWF indicates geminate or long liquids <ll, rr> in writing where they are actually pronounced long in conservative Middle Cornish or as fortes in later forms of the language. The positions where this happens are those where pre-occlusion of [m:] and [n:] occurs, which is to say in stressed syllables only.

Since geminates are not used in RC, if these geminates [m:] and [n:] are to be listed, some sort of historic context should be given.

Therefore <mm/bm, nn/dn, ll, rr> will be used in monosyllabic words and their compounds as well as in the stressed syllables of polysyllabic words.

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

In unstressed and pre-tonic syllables, and also in consonant clusters, the SWF writes single <l, r, m, n>, except in compounds where the initial element retains its double (or pre-occluded) consonant because of secondary stress. This approach 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. This can be illustrated by the following examples, where pre-occlusion is lacking in LC. In such cases, it should be noted, the MC and LC spellings are often identical, since there is no need for a Variant Form in <bm, dn>:

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

The last item is incorrect. Borlase gives Borlase gives *tombder* which normalized is **tobmder**.

The SWF spells 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 or gwedren, since all vowels in unstressed position are short by default.

> *pluvennow ~ pluvednow 'feathers'*

The plural form pluvennow ~ pluvednow is written with <nn> or <dn> to emphasise that the [n:] is historically long/fortis and that it is pre-occluded in Late Cornish. This double consonant also clearly indicates that the stressed vowel which precedes it is short.

In compound words, pre-occlusion occurs in syllables which bear secondary stress, indicating that these syllables were longer than unstressed ones and could contain geminate sonorants as well as long vowels.

Therefore, the SWF writes <ll, rr, mm, nn> rather than <l, r, m, n> in this position:

> *kammneves ~ kabmdhavas 'rainbow'*
> *{cammneves ~ cabmdhavas}*
> *pellgowser 'telephone'*

There is a small class of MC words which lack pre-occluded Variant Forms. Some of these seem to have been borrowed from English after pre-occlusion occurred, e.g. jynn 'engine'; others like gonn 'knows', were replaced by alternatives in LC and thus are only attested in their non-pre-occluded MC variants.

The forms **jynn** and **gonn** cannot be admitted to the SWF. These would alternate with ***jydn** and ***godn** which do not occur. Anomalous vowel length is already a feature of the SWF, however (though ambiguity can be overcome with the optional use of diacritics), so **jyn** and **gon** (~**gòn**) should be the forms of these words.

5. 6. Voiceless stops: <-pp-, -tt-, -kk-> and <-p, -t, -k>
The SWF does not write <-pp -tt -kk> word-finally because this would suggest a physically impossible pronunciation, such as [hat:] for hatt. It is impossible to pronounce geminates not followed by a vowel unless they are ejectives (a class of sounds which does not exist in Cornish). Therefore, in the SWF, vowels are always short before <p t k> apart from a few exceptional, easily recognisable loanwords like strok, stret. Word-internally, <-pp- -tt- -kk-> are retained in words like klappya {clappya} and plurals like hattow, hattys, where the stop may be pronounced as a geminate. In short, this represents a move towards a more phonetic, 'spell-as-you-speak' approach.

5. 7. Fricatives: <gh> and <h>
MC /x/ in words like sygh 'dry' and margh 'horse' is written <gh> in the SWF. Between vowels, or between <r, l> and a vowel, the spelling <h> will be used in both MC and LC variants:

> *sygh 'dry' sehes 'thirst'*
> *flogh 'child' flehes 'children'*
> *margh 'horse' marhek 'knight'*

One exception is the word 'small,' which is byhan in MC but bian in LC.

We do not understand what you are talking about here. In Middle Cornish *byan* and *bean* are far more frequently attested than *byhan*. *Byan* is attested 14 times altogether in OM, PC, RD, and BM. *Bean* is attested 12 times in TH, CW, and BK. *Byhan* on the other hand is attested only four times in all Middle Cornish (three times in OM and once in PC). There is no reason to allow the variants **byhan** and

bian. **Bian** should be the only form. Note incidentally that Nance's ***byghan*** (followed by KK) is unattested anywhere in Cornish; though *beghan* occurs twice in the Passion Poem (PA 53c, 166b).

The digraph <gh> thus always represents [x] for speakers of MC and [h] for speakers of LC, whereas <h> represents [h] for both.

5. 8. Fricatives: Word-final <-dh>, <-v> vs. <-th>, <-f>
It has been agreed that word-final fricatives should be spelt in a way which reflects their status of voicedness / voicelessness. Thus, the SWF writes bodh 'will', klav {clav} 'sick', but eth 'eight', dalleth 'begin', hanaf (~ hanath) 'cup', etc. Where evidence from the traditional Cornish corpus is ambiguous, Breton and Welsh cognates will be examined.

This is problematic, because the text says two things. On the one hand it says that voicing and voicelessness will be used, but on the other hand it says that where the traditional corpus is ambiguous (which it will be for <th>) then two other languages will be "examined". But voicing and voicelessness in the other languages is *not* relevant to Cornish. Voicelessness in unstressed final syllables is common and contrasts with voicing in stressed final syllables *throughout the system*:

ma*b*	'son'	**methewne*p***	'drunkenness'
ne*b*	'some'	**hevele*p***	'likeness'
whe*g*	'sweet'	**carre*k***	'rock'
mo*g*	'smoke'	**gallose*k***	'powerful'
do*v*	'tame'	**warna*f***	'on me'
ne*v*	'heaven'	**ene*f***	'soul'
o*v*	'I am'	**eso*f***	'I am'
gra*dh*	'step, grade'	**nowe*th***	'new'
ba*dh*	'boar'	**gelwy*th***	'you call' (literary register)

Recognition of this facet of Cornish phonology makes spelling easier for learners. ***-dh*** and ***-v*** should be used in final stressed syllables, and ***-th*** and ***-f*** in final unstressed syllables.

5. 9. Sibilants: <c> and <z>
Loanwords from Norman French like cita will be spelt with initial and medial <c>. This reflects the idea that the sound represented by <c> was probably still an affricate at the time of borrowing, and that it was pronounced as voiceless [s] in both MC and LC. This is necessary to distinguish it from voiced initial and medial /s/ in LC, which is spelt <s>. This principle is not extended to final position where the SWF will write <s> in words like plas, since writing word-final <c> would likely lead learners to mispronounce it as [k].

The reason for retaining <c> is not some "probable" affricate, but simply that these do not get voiced in LC and RLC.

Thus, the SWF writes:

cita	'city'	*['siːta, 'sɪtə]*
cider	'cider'	*['siːdɛr, 'səɪdər]*
plas	'place'	*[plaːs]*
gras	'grace, thanks'	*[graːs]*

These last two have a voiceless final consonant and should be spelt ***plass*** and ***grass*** normally. The words can be added to the list of loan words with anomalous vowel length, or can be optionally marked ***plâss*** and ***grâss***. Note BM 247: *yn keth **plass**ma pur certan* 'in this same place very certainly'.

The possibility of introducing <z> for [z] in certain contexts has been referred to the linguistic advisors and the arbiter for ruling.

5. 10. <dhyworth>
The preposition 'from' is spelt dhyworth in the SWF, in order to reflect

- *that the soft mutation of the initial consonant (< a-dhyworth) became generalised early on and*
- *that the first syllable was syncopated in LC dhort, indicating early reduction of the unstressed vowel.*

6. Graphs used in the Standard Written Form
The table on the following page lists the graphs used in the SWF, along with an IPA transcription which reflects their pronunciation in all varieties of spoken Revived Cornish. This list is primarily descriptive, not prescriptive, although it excludes a few features like diphthongised long [eː] > [eɪ] and [oː] > [ɔʊ] which are often heard in the speech of learners. This should not be misunderstood as an approach of complete laissez-faire. However, the political question of a prescribed standard pronunciation for the two main variants (MC and LC) is not one which the SWF itself should attempt to solve.

For a discussion of Variant and Side Forms, see above.

Graphs used in the SWF and their pronunciation in spoken revived Cornish

Consonants ~ Variant Forms {Side Forms}		IPA
b		*[b]*
d		*[d]*
dh		*[ð]*
f		*[f v]*

Under what conditions is <f> [v]? Unstressed final position?

ff		*[fː f]*

We prefer the transcription [f].

g		*[g]*
gh		*[x xː h]*

We prefer the transcription [x h].

h		*[h]*
hw	*{wh}*	*[ʍ hw]*

We prefer the transcription [ʍ].

j		*[dʒ]*
k	*{c, q}*	*[k]*
l		*[l]*
ll		*[lː l]*

We prefer the transcription [l] for <ll>. However, the graph <lh> is missing. Intervocalic <lh> writes a sequence [lh] or a relatively tense geminate [lː], which occurs for instance in the comparative and superlative of adjectives ending in -**ll** (such as **pell**

'far', **gwell** 'better') which are formed by adding -**ha**, e.g. **pelha** ['pɛlhə], ['pɛlːə] 'further, furthest', **gwelha** ['ɡwɛlhə], ['ɡwɛlːə] 'best'.

m		*[mː m]*

We prefer the transcription [m].

mm ~ bm		*[mː bm m]*

We prefer the transcription [m ᵇm].

n		*[n]*
nn ~ dn		*[nː dn n]*

We prefer the transcription [n ᵈn].

p		*[p]*
r		*[r ɾ ɹ]*
rr		*[rː ɹ]*

We prefer the transcription [r ɾ ɹ].

s		*[s z]*
ss		*[sː s]*

We prefer the transcription [s].

sh		*[ʃ]*
t		*[t]*
th		*[θ]*
tth		*[θː θ]*

We prefer the transcription [s].

What is this geminate graph doing here?

v		*[v]*
w		*[w]*

y [j]
z (? - advisors & arbiter) [z]

Vowels IPA
~ Variant Forms {Side Forms}
a [a(:) æ(:) ɒ(:)]
e [e(:) ɛ(:)]

We prefer the transcription [e: ɛ].

eu [œ(:) ø: e: ɛ]

We prefer the transcription [ø: œ e: ɛ].

i ~ -ei (stressed, final) [i(:) ɪ] ~ [-əɪ]
y [ɪ(:) i: e: ɛ]

We prefer the following:

i (initial in stressed monosyllables) [iː]
i (initial unstressed) [ɪ]
y (initial unstressed) [ɪ ə]
i (medial)* [iː]
y (medial)* [ɪ]
i (final in stressed monosyllables) [iː]
y (final in stressed monosyllables) [iː]
-ei (final in stressed monosyllables)* [-əɪ]
i (final unstressed) [i]
y (final unstressed) [i]

* This may look complicated but in practice would not be difficult at all for English-speaking learners, who would only have to concentrate on medial i, medial y, and -ei.

o [ɔ(:) o: ɚ]

The graph <au> for [ɔ] in loanwords is missing. Examples: ***Australya***, ***Austrya***, ***avauncya***, ***chauncya, chaunjya***, ***chauns***, ***dauncya***, ***dauns***, ***launcya***, and also in the toponym ***Austol***.

oo [o: ʊ: u:]

What is [ʊ:]? We prefer the transcription [o: u:].

ou [u(:) ʊ]

This is an error. <ou> can only be a long [u:]. Short [ʊ] is written <u> (optionally marked <ù> by UC, RLC, and UCR users; KK users evidently do not distinguish this from [y] in writing.

u [y(:) i(:) ʏ ɪ]

We prefer the following:

u (generally) [y: i: ʏ ɪ]
u (in (mostly) loanwords) [u: ʊ]
u (finally) [y: iʊ]

Diphthongs IPA
aw [aʊ æʊ]
ew [ɛʊ]

We prefer the transcription [eʊ].

iw [iʊ ɪʊ]
yw [ɪʊ ɛʊ]

We prefer the following:

iw [iʊ]
yw [iʊ]

ow [ɔʊ] ~ [u:]

We prefer the transcription [oʊ u:].

uw [yɥ ɪʊ]

We prefer the transcription [iʊ].

ay [aɪ æɪ]

We prefer the transcription [ai, æi].

ey [ɛɪ]

We prefer the transcription [əi ei e:].

oy [ɔɪ]

We prefer the transcription [ɔi].

We recommend the addition of the following:

ia ['iːə]
ie ['iːɛ]
io ['iːɔ]
ya [jə]
ye [jɛ]
yo [jɔ]