

## THE TWO FORMS OF THE CORNISH WORD FOR ‘TWO’

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### ABSTRACT

*An examination is made of all attestations of the words for ‘two’ in the corpus of traditional Cornish. This confirms that there were two forms in Middle Cornish, masculine and feminine, that the two forms remained separate in Late Cornish, and that they should be kept in the revived language.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In Breton and in Welsh, there are two forms of the word for ‘two’, one used with masculine nouns and one with feminine. These are B *daou* (m.), *div* (f.) and W *dau* (m.), *dwy* (f.). For Cornish, Pryce (1790) included in a list of numerals the form “Deau, *two*.” Norris (1859) quoted three examples from the Ordinalia: “*deu*, D [i.e. PC] 2577. *dyw*, O[M]1690. *dew* R[D] 315”, without indicating which were masculine or feminine. Lewis (1945) stated: “gwr. [i.e. masc.] *dew dev dow*, ben. [i.e. fem.] *dyw, dew*”, without giving any examples showing that these were the masculine and feminine forms. Most subsequent scholars and revivalists have preserved a distinction between the two forms; in George (1993) the masculine and feminine forms are written *dew* and *diw* respectively. The purpose of this paper is to examine the evidence for the two forms.

### 2. EXPLANATION OF THE TABLES OF EXAMPLES

Whereas in previous investigations of Cornish phonology (e.g. George 1997), I have tended to give statistical tables of spelling-types (orthographic profiles), in this paper I give the actual examples from the texts. In the tables below are laid out all<sup>1</sup> instances of the words for ‘two’ which could be found in the texts in traditional Cornish. The first column gives the source, using the following abbreviations:

PA.	<i>Pascon agan Arluth</i>	IK	<i>Introduction to Knowledge</i>
OM.	<i>Origo Mundi</i>	CL	King Charles’ Letter
PC.	<i>Passio Christi</i>	NG	N.Boson, <i>Nebbaz Gerriau</i>
RD.	<i>Resurrexio Domini</i>	AB	Lhuyd, <i>Archaeologia Britannica</i>
BM.	<i>Beunans Meriasek</i>	JCH	John of Chyannor
BK.	<i>Bewnans Ke</i>	PV	Pryce’s Vocabulary
TH.	Tregear Homilies		
SA.	<i>Sacrament of the Altar</i>		

<sup>1</sup> excluding cases where the numeral was written as *ii*.

It is helpful to divide the examples into two different classes, and to examine them separately:

- (a) the word was used as a numeral; if it was followed by a noun (e.g. *dew then* ‘two men’), it was unstressed; otherwise (e.g. *an thew* ‘both’) it may have been stressed.
- (b) the word was used as the first element of a dual noun, e.g. *dew lagas* ‘eyes’, *dywscoth* ‘shoulders’. In Breton and in Welsh, the number receives the stress in such compounds, e.g. Welsh *dwylo* ‘hands’ compared with *llaw* ‘hand’. It is likely that the same stress pattern applied in Cornish.

### 3. ‘TWO’ AS A NUMERAL

#### 3.1 Cases in *Pascon agan Arluth*, the Ordinalia and *Beunans Meriasek*

All cases are laid out in Table 1 (masculine forms) and Table 2 (feminine forms).

*Table 1* *dew* as a numeral ‘two (m.)’ in *PA.*, the Ordinalia and *BM.*

Source	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
PA.010	[d]evguans	40	For <guans> read <ugans>
PA.042	<b>dew</b> zen	2 men	
PA.051	<b>dew</b>	2 (swords)	
PA.091	<b>dew</b>	2 (men)	
PA.132	han <b>zew</b> na	and those 2	
PA.163	<b>dew</b> lader	2 thieves	
PA.209	<b>dew</b>	2 (pieces)	
OM.0333	<b>dew</b> then	2 men	
OM.0387	<b>dew</b> hys	2 lengths	
OM.0543	ages <b>dew</b>	you 2 (both)	
OM.0657	<b>dew</b> cans	200	No mutation written, either here or at BM.1193
OM.0978	<b>dew</b>	2 (species)	
OM.0980	<b>dew</b> worre	2 males (?)	
OM.1027	<b>dew</b> vgens	40	
OM.1499	a <b>thev</b> v adla	0 2 outlaws	<vv> used for <w>
OM.1504	<b>dew</b> lorel	2 rogues	
OM.2461	<b>dew</b> vodi	2 bodies	
OM.2536	yntre <b>dew</b>	between 2	
PC.0045b	<b>dev</b> vgens	40	
PC.0173	<b>dev</b>	2 (disciples)	
PC.0351	<b>dev</b> vgens	40	
PC.0502	<b>dev</b> kendoner	2 debtors	
PC.0925	<b>dev</b> clethe	2 swords	
PC.1633	<b>dev</b> doctour	2 doctors	
PC.1655	agan <b>dev</b>	we 2 (men)	
PC.1730	<b>dev</b> dra	2 things	Although <i>an dra</i> ‘the thing’ (many examples) and the lenition of following adjectives (many examples) suggest that <i>tra</i> ‘thing’ is fem., here and at TH34v ( <i>an dry tra ma</i> ‘these three things’) it appears to be preceded by masc. numbers.
PC.1734	an <b>thew</b> ma	both	
PC.1867	agas <b>dew</b>	you 2 (men)	
PC.2248	an <b>thev</b> cam	the 2 criminals	

PC.2322	a <b>thev</b> harlot	<i>O 2 rogues</i>	
PC.2328	a <b>thev</b> pen cok	<i>O 2 empty heads</i>	
PC.2452	an keth <b>dev</b> ma	<i>these same 2 (precepts)</i>	
PC.2553	<b>dev</b> vylyges	<i>2 accursed (men)</i>	
PC.2561	yntre <b>dev</b>	<i>in 2 (pieces)</i>	
PC.2577	<b>dev</b> ladar	<i>2 thieves</i>	
PC.2783	an <b>dew</b> gam	<i>the 2 criminals</i>	
PC.2827	an <b>thew</b> vylen	<i>the 2 villains</i>	
RD.0082	an <b>thew</b> ma	<i>these 2 (men)</i>	
RD.0315a	ow <b>dew</b> el	<i>my 2 angels</i>	
RD.0429	<b>dev</b> lader	<i>2 thieves</i>	
RD.0642	then <b>thev</b> vaw	<i>to the 2 boys</i>	
RD.1495	<b>dew</b> adla	<i>2 outlaws</i>	
RD.2116	agan <b>deuv</b>	<i>we 2</i>	This unusual spelling is used because the rhyme with <i>yw</i> 'is' is a poor one.
RD.2271	<b>dew</b> grabel	<i>2 grapnels</i>	
RD.2437	<b>dev</b> hugens	<i>40</i>	
RD.2463	<b>dew</b> ha <b>dew</b>	<i>in pairs (men)</i>	
RD.2497	<b>dev</b> vgans	<i>40</i>	
BM.0693	<b>dev</b> then	<i>2 men</i>	
BM.1787	<b>dev</b> then	<i>2 men</i>	
BM.1800	<b>dev</b> thu	<i>2 gods</i>	different spelling for 'two' and 'god'
BM.4065	ov <b>dev</b> chaplen	<i>my 2 chaplains</i>	

Table 2 *diw* as a numeral 'two (f.)' in the Ordinalia and *BM*.

Source	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
OM.1690	<b>dyw</b> fos	<i>2 walls</i>	
PC.2576	<b>dyv</b> grous	<i>2 crosses</i>	
PC.2681	aga <b>ieyw</b>	<i>both (hands)</i>	The spelling <ieyw> is clear on the MS. Rhymed with <i>hythew</i> 'today'
PC.2784	<b>dyw</b> crous	<i>2 crosses</i>	
PC.2820	en <b>thyv</b> grous	<i>the 2 crosses</i>	
PC.3153	an <b>thyv</b>	<i>both (nails)</i>	
BM.1043	<b>dyv</b> ran	<i>two parts</i>	

It is clear from the spellings in Tables 1 and 2 that the two forms of 'two' as a numeral were separate in *PA.*, the Ordinalia and *BM*. The masculine form was spelled mainly as *deu*, *dev*, *dew* for the radical, and *theu*, *thev*, *thew* when soft mutation was written; all variants may be characterized by a spelling-type which will be denoted using curly brackets: {dew}. For the feminine form, we define a spelling-type {dyw}, which includes *dyv*, *dyw* and *thyv*.

### 3.2 Cases in *Creacon of the World*

Tables 3 and 4 show the ten cases in *CW*. Again, the data show a clear difference in spelling between the masculine and feminine forms of 'two', but the spellings used are not the same as in the earlier works. The masculine form was spelled *deaw* in five cases out of six, and the feminine form was spelled {dew} i.e. *dew* and *thew*.

Table 3 *dew* as a numeral ‘two (m.)’ in *CW*.

Source	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
CW.0965	<b>deaw</b> gweth	2 cloths	
CW.1054	<b>deaw</b> vabe	2 sons	
CW.1210	ter <b>deaw</b>	in 2 (pieces)	
CW.1232	agan <b>deaw</b> vabe	our 2 sons	
CW.2181	<b>deaw</b> pillar	2 pillars	
CW.2415	<b>dew</b> ha <b>dew</b>	2 by 2 (animals)	

Table 4 *diw* as a numeral ‘two (f.)’ in *CW*.

Source	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
CW.1452	<b>dew</b> wreag	2 wives	
CW.1707	inter <b>dew</b> ran	in 2 parts	
CW.1853	han <b>thew</b>	and the 2 (pips)	
CW.1932	han <b>thew</b>	and the 2 (pips)	

The interpretation of the evidence so far presented is shown in Table 5. It is that the sounds remained the same, but their orthographic representation changed.

Table 5 Interpretation of spellings for ‘two’ used as a numeral

	<i>PA.</i> + Ordinalia + <i>BM.</i>	<i>CW.</i>
<b>masculine</b>	{dew}	[’dɛu]
<b>feminine</b>	{dyw}	[’diu]
English	<i>sty ward</i>	[-’iw-]

The spelling of *CW.* is based on that of contemporary English. At that date (1611), the grapheme <ew> in early Modern English represented two different diphthongs, *ɛu* (as in *dew*) and *ɛu* (as in *new*) (Ekwall, 1975, p.33). There is no reason why the same did not apply in Cornish. Whereas in *PA.*, the Ordinalia and *BM.*, <ew> had usually meant [ɛu], and the closer diphthong [iu] was represented by {yw} and {u} types, by the time of *CW.*, <ew> more often meant [iu]. The English word *steward* illustrates this; it was earlier pronounced with [-’iw-] and written *sty ward*, which shows its etymology; later the spelling changed, but the medial sound did not change to [-’ɛw-]. In order to preserve the distinction between the two diphthongs in Cornish, a new grapheme had to be found to represent [ɛu], whence the <deaw>-type spelling. {dew} in *PA.*, the Ordinalia and *BM.* did not therefore represent the same sound as the {dew} in *CW.* In order to identify which of the two diphthongs {dew} was intended to represent, we can use the same convention as is often used for Middle English, viz. {dew} for [’diu] (f.) and {dew} for [’dɛu] (m.); this is done in Fig. 2 above..

The situations in *PA.* + Ordinalia + *BM.* and in *CW.* are each fairly clear, but one might expect that of the intervening texts to be more confusing, since they represent a transition period from an older spelling convention to a newer. Before examining these texts, however, it is worth investigating the situation in Late Cornish.

### 3.3. Cases in Late Cornish

There are two problems when dealing with data from Late Cornish:

- (i) there are many different authors, each with his own individual style;
- (ii) some of the entries in Lhuyd's and Pryce's work do not reflect the contemporary language, but rather that of earlier times, since they had access to the *Vocabularium Cornicum*, and to some of the Middle Cornish texts, and extracted words and phrases from them.

For these reasons, the authors have been named in Tables 6 and 7, and the forms clearly taken from earlier texts have been excluded.

Table 6 **dew** 'two (m.)' in later writings

Author	Text	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
Boorde	IK	<b>dow</b>	2	
Boorde	IK	<b>dow</b> war igons	22	
Symonds	War Diary	<b>deu</b>	2	
Rowe	Matthew num.	<b>en dadn deaw vloth</b>	<i>under 2 years of age</i>	
Rowe	Matthew 4	<b>deaw</b>	<i>2 (brothers)</i>	
Rowe	Matthew 4	<b>deaw</b>	<i>2 (brothers)</i>	
N. Boson	NG p.1	<b>deu</b> Codna	<i>2 necks</i>	
N. Boson	NG p.3	<b>deu</b>	<i>2 (people)</i>	
N. Boson	NG p.6	an <b>dew</b>	<i>the 2 (peoples)</i>	
Anon.	rhyme	ny <b>deaw</b>	<i>we 2 (people)</i>	
Lhuyd	AB056a	<b>Deau</b>	2	
Lhuyd	AB230c	<b>Deu</b> dhen	<i>2 people</i>	
Lhuyd	AB244a	<b>dêau</b> margh	<i>2 horses</i>	
Boson/Lhuyd	JCH40	an <b>dhêau</b>	<i>the 2 (people)</i>	
J. Boson	Genesis 1	<b>deau</b> gullou	<i>2 lights</i>	
Anon.	Phrases	<b>doy</b> [gans]	40	
Anon.	Phrases	<b>deus</b> [ens]	40	
Pryce	PV.6701	agan <b>deaw</b>	<i>we 2</i>	
Pryce	PV.8816	<b>Deau</b>	2	
Pryce	PV.9031	<b>Dewigans</b>	40	
Pryce	PV.9524	<b>du</b> iganz	40	
Pryce	PV.9526	<b>Dulo</b>	<i>Duloe (place)</i>	

Table 7 **diw** 'two (f.)' in later writings

Author	Text	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
Harry	Rhyme	<b>deau</b> Enouz	<i>2 islands</i>	appears to be 'two (m.)'
Pender	Letter	<b>deux</b>	2	
Pryce	PV.9135	<b>Dieu</b>	2	
Pryce	PV.9135	an <b>dieu</b>	<i>both</i>	
Pryce	PV.9516	<b>Du</b>	2	

An analysis of the usable cases from Late Cornish by spelling type produces Table 8.

Table 8 Numbers of cases of usable data from Late Cornish

Type ->	{deaw}	{dew}	{dow}	{dyw}	{du}
Spellings	<i>deau, deaw dêau, dhêau</i>	<i>deu, dew deus</i>	<i>do, dow</i>	<i>dieu</i>	<i>du</i>
<b>masculine</b>	10	7	3	0	2
<b>feminine</b>	1	1	0	2	1

As in *CW.*, {*deaw*} was used for the masculine form. The only exception is *an deau Ennez* ‘the two islands’, in the first line of a poem by James Harry (c.1705); the word for ‘island’ is feminine, so one would not expect *deau* here. It may, however, be a breakdown in grammatical gender which is responsible for this anomaly rather than the conflation of the two forms of ‘two’, i.e. Harry may not have known that *Ennez* was feminine. {*dyw*} was restricted to feminine cases.

### 3.4 Cases in *Beunans Ke*, *Tregear Homilies* and *Sacrament of the Altar*

No example has been found of ‘two (f.)’ as a numeral in these texts. Those for ‘two (m.)’ are given in Table 9.

Table 9 *dew* ‘two (m.)’ as a numeral in *BK.*, *TH.* and *SA.*

Source	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
BK04.42	<b>dv</b>	2 ( <i>persons</i> )	Could mean ‘God’ and interpreted as such by Thomas and Williams
BK08.19	<b>deaw</b> hanter	2 <i>halves</i>	
BK25.34	<b>deaw</b> gopyl	2 <i>couples</i>	
TH04v	aga <b>dew</b>	<i>both (persons)</i>	
TH20v	<b>dew</b> ordyr	2 <i>orders</i>	
TH24v	han <b>thew</b>	<i>and the 2 (offices)</i>	
TH31v	<b>dew</b>	2 ( <i>persons</i> )	
TH56v	an <b>dew</b> tra	<i>the 2 things</i>	
SA60r	<b>deow</b> Helias	2 <i>Eliases</i>	

Excluding the first case in the table, it appears that *TH.* used the older convention of {*dew*} for the masculine form, and *BK.* and *SA.* used the later spelling {*deaw*}.

### 3.5 Summary

- The following texts generally used the older convention {*dew*} for the masculine form and {*dyw*} for the feminine form: *PA.*, *Ordinalia*, *BM.*, *TH.*
- *CW.* generally used the newer convention {*deaw*} for the masculine form and {*dew*} for the feminine form: *BK.* and *SA.* also used {*deaw*} for the masculine form.
- The situation in Late Cornish is less clear; for the masculine form, Nicholas Bosen used {*dew*} and William Rowe used {*deaw*}.

## 4. ‘TWO’ USED IN DUAL NOUNS

Cornish, like Breton (and to a limited extent, Welsh) has a class of nouns, sometimes termed “dual”, which are used to name parts of the body which occur in pairs. The numeral *dew-* or *diw-* is prefixed to the singular noun, according as its gender is masculine or feminine. Having established that there were two different conventions for spelling ‘two’ as a numeral, we now investigate whether these applied to ‘two’ as a prefix.

## 4.1 Cases in texts using the older convention {dew} v. {dyw}

Tables 10 and 11 list all cases.

Table 10 *dew* ‘two (m.)’ in dual nouns in texts using the older convention

Source	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
PA.054	y <b>zewleyn</b> <sup>2</sup>	<i>his knees</i>	
PA.058	<b>dewlyn</b>	<i>knees</i>	
PA.083	y <b>zewlagas</b>	<i>his eyes</i>	
PA.137	<b>dowlyn</b>	<i>knees</i>	
PA.171	<b>dowlyn</b>	<i>knees</i>	
PA.195	<b>dewlyn</b>	<i>knees</i>	
PA.196	<b>dewlyn</b>	<i>knees</i>	
PA.219	y <b>zewlagas</b>	<i>his eyes</i>	
PA.220	<b>dowlyn</b>	<i>knees</i>	
PA.222	hay <b>dew</b> lagas	<i>from his eyes</i>	
OM.2058	thy <b>thew</b> -lagas	<i>to his eyes</i>	
PC.0136	the <b>thew</b> glyn	<i>thy knees</i>	
PC.0247	y <b>dev</b> glyn	<i>his knees</i>	
PC.0396	ow <b>dew</b> lagas	<i>my eyes</i>	
PC.0410	ow <b>dev</b> lagas	<i>my eyes</i>	
PC.1066	agan <b>dew</b> lagas	<i>our eyes</i>	
PC.1193	theth <b>dev</b> -lagas	<i>to thine eyes</i>	
PC.1395	hay <b>dev</b> lagas	<i>and his eyes</i>	
PC.1400	y <b>theu</b> -lagas	<i>his eyes</i>	
PC.1891	y <b>theulyn</b>	<i>his knees</i>	
PC.2102	the <b>thev</b> -lagas	<i>thine eyes</i>	
PC.2781	the <b>dev</b> tros	<i>thy feet</i>	
PC.3154	ay <b>thew</b> tros	<i>from his feet</i>	
RD.0054	gans <b>dev</b> lagas	<i>with eyes</i>	
RD.0529	ow <b>dev</b> lagas	<i>my eyes</i>	
RD.0617	ow <b>dev</b> lagas	<i>my eyes</i>	
RD.0791	ow <b>dew</b> lagas	<i>my eyes</i>	
BM.4183	<b>dev</b> croyth	<i>pair of crutches</i>	here considered as a dual

Table 11 *diw* ‘two (f.)’ in dual nouns in texts using the older convention

Source	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
PA.048	yntre <b>dewle</b>	<i>between hands</i>	Almost all of the examples in <i>PA.</i> use <ew>. It may represent an early use of <ew> to represent [iw], i.e. the spelling-type denoted by {ew}. There was a measure of difference between the two forms in <i>PA.</i> , the masculine form being written with <ew> and <ow>, and the feminine form with <ew>.
PA.076	y <b>zefregh</b>	<i>his arms</i>	
PA.130	<b>dewle</b>	<i>hands</i>	
PA.131	yn <b>dewle</b>	<i>in the hands</i>	
PA.138	ze <b>zewen</b>	<i>to his cheeks</i>	
PA.149	y <b>thewleff</b>	<i>his hands</i>	
PA.156	om <b>dewleff</b>	<i>in my hands</i>	
PA.157	y <b>zewle</b>	<i>his hands</i>	
PA.158	y <b>zewle</b>	<i>his hands</i>	
PA.173	y <b>zew</b> ver	<i>his legs</i>	
PA.178	y <b>zewleff</b>	<i>his hands</i>	
PA.204	yntre ze <b>zewle</b>	<i>in thy hands</i>	
PA.217	y <b>zewle</b>	<i>his hands</i>	
PA.219	ze <b>zewle</b>	<i>to the hands</i>	
PA.232	hay <b>zefregh</b>	<i>and his arms</i>	
PA.242	yn <b>zewen</b>	<i>in the cheeks</i>	

<sup>2</sup> <z> is used for yogh.

OM.0688	ov <b>dyvvregh</b>	<i>my arms</i>	
OM.1346	ow <b>diwluef</b>	<i>my hands</i>	
OM.1534	am <b>dew</b> luef	<i>by my hands</i>	appears to use the masc. form
OM.1844	<b>dywyth</b>	<i>twice</i>	
OM.2362	the <b>thewle</b>	<i>thy hands</i>	appears to use the masc. form
OM.2569	<b>dewy</b> th	<i>twice</i>	appears to use the masc. form
OM.2651	an <b>thewen</b>	<i>the cheeks</i>	appears to use the masc. form
PC.0474	<b>devle</b>	<i>hands</i>	appears to use the masc. form
PC.0583	<b>dule</b>	<i>hands</i>	
PC.1179	y <b>thyw</b> -vreg	<i>his arms</i>	
PC.1189	the <b>thyv</b> -vreg	<i>thine arms</i>	
PC.1216	ham <b>dule</b>	<i>and my hands</i>	
PC.1368	an <b>dywen</b>	<i>the cheeks</i>	
PC.2163	<b>dule</b>	<i>hands</i>	
PC.2375	<b>dyulef</b>	<i>hands</i>	
PC.2496	<b>dywyth</b>	<i>twice</i>	
PC.2499	ow <b>dule</b>	<i>my hands</i>	
PC.2516	hay <b>dule</b>	<i>and his hands</i>	
PC.2583	war <b>duscoth</b>	<i>on the shoulders</i>	
PC.2677	ow <b>dule</b>	<i>my hands</i>	
PC.2697	the <b>thulef</b>	<i>thy hands</i>	
PC.2733	y <b>thule</b>	<i>his hands</i>	
PC.2740	thy <b>thule</b>	<i>for his hands</i>	
PC.2922	y <b>thule</b>	<i>his hands</i>	
PC.2937	<b>dyvle</b> f	<i>hands</i>	
PC.2985	the <b>thule</b>	<i>thy hands</i>	
PC.3068	agas <b>dywscoth</b>	<i>your shoulders</i>	
PC.3153	ay <b>thywle</b>	<i>from his hands</i>	
PC.3159	ow <b>dyvvregh</b>	<i>my arms</i>	
PC.3174	yth <b>dyvluef</b>	<i>in thy hands</i>	
RD.0854b	the <b>thyv</b> pleth	<i>thy plaits</i>	extension of dual form from body-parts to hair-style
RD.1265	ha <b>thyw</b> vreg	<i>and his arms</i>	
RD.1266	hay <b>thywle</b>	<i>his hands</i>	
RD.1542	yn <b>thyvle</b>	<i>in the hands</i>	
RD.2178	<b>dyw</b> dorn	<i>2 fists</i>	see note for RD.2596
RD.2202	ow <b>dule</b>	<i>my hands</i>	
RD.2500	<b>duscoth</b>	<i>shoulders</i>	
RD.2590	<b>dywle</b>	<i>hands</i>	
RD.2596	<b>dyw</b> thorn	<i>2 fists</i>	<b>dorn</b> was previously thought to be masc., as in Breton <i>dorn</i> and Welsh <i>dwrn</i> , but the calque <i>an thorne vghella</i> ‘the upper hand’ (TH34r) shows it to be fem.
BM.0502	inter <b>dula</b>	<i>in (the) hands</i>	
BM.1315	y <b>dule</b>	<i>his hands</i>	
BM.2603	<b>dula</b>	<i>hands</i>	
BM.2991	<b>dule</b>	<i>hands</i>	
BM.3035	<b>dule</b>	<i>hands</i>	
BM.3312	age <b>duklyn</b>	<i>their hips</i>	
TH08r	a <b>thewle</b> ff	<i>from (the) hands</i>	All of the examples in <i>TH.</i> are of the same word; all are spelled with <ew>
TH08v	a <b>thewle</b> ff	<i>by (the) hands</i>	
TH15v	<b>dewle</b> ff	<i>hands</i>	
TH21v	agan <b>dewle</b> ff	<i>our hands</i>	
TH46v	y <b>thewle</b> ff	<i>his hands</i>	
TH52r	y <b>thewla</b>	<i>his hands</i>	
TH55v	a <b>thewle</b> ff	<i>from (the) hands</i>	



Table 12 summarizes both masculine and feminine forms. It shows that:

- {dow} was used in addition to {dew} for the masculine.
- {du} was used in addition to {dyw} for the feminine.
- {dew} was used for both forms, even in the same text.

Table 12 Numbers of cases for early texts

	Type ->	{dew}	{dow}	{dyw}	{du}
<b>masculine</b>	PA.	7	3		
	OM.	1			
	PC.	12			
	RD.	4			
	BM.	1			
	TH.				
	<b>Total</b>		<b>25</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>feminine</b>	PA.	16			
	OM.	4		3	
	PC.	1		10	12
	RD.			7	2
	BM.				6
	TH.	7			
	<b>Total</b>		<b>28</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>20</b>

#### 4.2 Cases in texts using the newer convention {deaw} v. {dew}

Tables 13 and 14 list the cases in *Beunans Ke*, *Sacrament of the Altar* and *Creacion of the World*.

Table 13 *dew* ‘two (m.)’ in dual nouns in BK., SA., and CW.

Source	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
BK07.37	e <b>thew</b> lyn	<i>his knees</i>	
CW.0187	ow <b>dew</b> glyen	<i>my knees</i>	

Table 14 *diw* ‘two (f.)’ in dual nouns in BK., SA., and CW.

Source	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
BK38.27	<b>duwath</b>	<i>twice (?)</i>	Poorly written in the text, and read by Thomas and Williams as <i>vnwath</i>
BK39.48	a <b>dev</b> thorn	<i>of 2 fists</i>	
SA60r	ynty <b>dowla</b>	<i>in (the) hands</i>	All of the examples in SA. are of the same word; all are spelled with <ow>.
SA60v	<b>dowla</b>	<i>hands</i>	
SA61r	<b>dowla</b>	<i>hands</i>	
SA61r	<b>dowla</b>	<i>hands</i>	
SA65r	inter e <b>thowla</b>	<i>in his hands</i>	
SA66r	inter <b>dowla</b>	<i>in (the) hands</i>	
CW.1529	y owne <b>dewla</b>	<i>his own hands</i>	
CW.1646	en ath <b>dewlaga</b> [s]	<i>in thine eyes</i>	<i>dewlagas</i> ‘eyes’ seems more likely than <i>diwla jy</i> ‘hands’
CW.1837	y <b>devra</b> [n]	<i>her bosom</i>	
CW.1854	ye <b>thyw</b> fridg	<i>his nostrils</i>	There is no independent check on the gender of <i>frig</i> ; the spelling here suggests that it was fem., despite Breton <i>fri</i> ‘nose’ being masc.
CW.1933	tha <b>thew</b> freyge	<i>thy nostrils</i>	
CW.2522.	a <b>thewla</b>	<i>from (the) hands</i>	

There are relatively few cases (table 15), but they tend to confirm previous findings.

Table 15 Numbers of cases in BK, SA. and CW.

Type ->	{dew}	{dow}	{dyw}	{du}
<b>masculine</b>	BK.	1		
	SA.			
	CW.	1		
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>feminine</b>	BK.	1		
	SA.		6	
	CW.	5		1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>

The cases found in Late Cornish are set out in tables 16 and 17, with a numerical summary in table 18.

Table 16 dew ‘two (m.)’ in dual nouns in Late Cornish

Author	Text	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
Keigwin	CL	dewghans	40	
Rowe	Matthew 4	doganze	40	
Rowe	Matthew 4	dogans	40	
Lhuyd	AB133a	Duganz	40	
Lhuyd	AB242b	deau	2	for use with dual nouns
Lhuyd	AB242b	Deaulagaz	eyes	
Pryce	Mottoes	dowlin	knees	

Table 17 diw ‘two (f.)’ in dual nouns in Late Cornish

Author	Text	Phrase	Meaning	Remarks
Rowe	Matthew 4	doola	hands	
N. Boson	NG	dula	hands	
Lhuyd	AB086a	Dula	hands	
Lhuyd	AB230c	dha dhula	thy hands	
Lhuyd	AB230c	Deula	hands	
Lhuyd	AB230c	Dula	hands	
Lhuyd	AB232a	Dyweth	twice	
Lhuyd	AB232a	ðeweth	twice	
Lhuyd	AB242b	di	2	specifically stated to be used with dual nouns
Lhuyd	AB242b	diu	2	
Lhuyd	AB242b	Diskodh	shoulders	loss of [w] in diw, as in Breton
Lhuyd	AB242b	Dibreh	arms	
Lhuyd	AB242b	Diula	hands	
Lhuyd	AB248c	Deuyth	twice	
N. Boson	JCH10	duath	twice	
Boson/Lhuyd	JCH10	dhiueth	twice	
Boson/Lhuyd	JCH40	dhiueth	twice	
Pryce	PV.9244	Diueth	twice	
Pryce	PV18521	Deweth	twice	

Table 18 Numbers of cases in Late Cornish

Type ->	{deaw}	{dew}	{dow}	{dyw}	{du}
Variants ->	deau	dew, deu	dow, do	diu, di, dhiu, dyw	du, dhu
<b>masculine</b>	2	1	3	0	1
<b>feminine</b>	0	4	1	9	5

Again, {deaw} is associated with masculine forms and {dyw} with feminine forms.

Separate evidence that the two forms of ‘two’ were still in use in Late Cornish comes from Lhuyd (AB242b); he made the following comment on dual nouns:

*"The Dual, as in the Armoric, serves only to express some parts of an Animal that are pairs, and is made by prefixing di, diu, or deau [two] to the Singular, and uniting them : As †La, laù, and lâv, A hand; Diùla and †diùlev, Hands; Lagaz, An eye ; Deaulagaz, The eyes; Skodh, A shoulder; Diskodh, The shoulders; Brêh, An arm; Dibreh, The arms.."*

Lhuyd marked historical forms by a dagger †; w□may pr□s□m□that those forms not so marked were in use when he visited Cornwall in 1701. They include the feminine forms *di* and *diu*, contrasting with the masculine form *deau*.

## 7. Phonological inferences

The form of the word for ‘hands’ without a final [-v], *dywle* in *RD.*, was spelled *dowla* in *SA.* and *doola* in Rowe’s translation of Matthew chapter 4 verse 6. This is interpreted as a evolution in sounds [‘diule] > [‘du.la]. This throws light on the change from Middle Cornish *bewnans* ‘life’ to Late Cornish *bounas*. The <ew> in *bewnans* was {ew}, here representing the diphthong [‘iu], which was later reduced to [‘u].

An alternative reduction of the feminine dual prefix [‘diu] was the loss of [u]; this is shown by Middle Cornish *dywvregh* ‘arms’, *dywscoth* ‘shoulders’ > Late Cornish *Dibreh*, *Diskodh*.

## 8. Implications for revived Cornish

In his Unified Cornish, Nance (1929) used the spellings *deu* (m.) and *dyw* (f.). In the revision of Unified known as *Kernewek Kemmyn*, *dew* (m.) and *diw* (f.) are used. Gendall (1992, p.9), in his form of revived Cornish based on the Late phase, preserves the difference in the spellings **deaw** (m.) and **dew** (f.), which is consistent with the evidence from *CW*.

Williams, however, has written (2006, p.249), in respect of ‘two’ in dual nouns:

*"It is likely that the masculine form dew and the feminine dyw were once distinguished in Cornish. By the period of the Middle Cornish texts, however, .... dew and dyw ..... were no longer kept separate."*

The entry for ‘two’ in his dictionary (Williams 2000, p. 395) gives only the masculine form *dew*, with the note:

*"The Middle Cornish texts do not distinguish between a feminine form dyw and a masculine form dew."*

The tables given above show that this view is unsustainable, and that a distinction was made between masculine and feminine forms in Middle Cornish, and survived at least to 1700.

Table 19 shows that the formation of dual nouns is active in Cornish today.

Table 19 *Dual nouns from twentieth-century Cornish*

Cornish	Gender	English	Breton	Source	Recorded	Remarks
<i>dewgorn</i>	m	horns	-----	Edwards	CE93	
<i>dewufern</i>	m	ankles	<i>daouufern</i>	Nance	CE38	
<i>dewweder</i>	m	spectacles	-----	Holmes	CE93	
<i>diwabrans</i>	f	eyebrows	<i>divabrant</i>	Nance	CE38	Nance took <i>abrans</i> to be masc.
<i>diwarr</i>	f	legs	<i>divhar</i>	Nance	CE38	
<i>diwbedrenn</i>	f	buttocks	-----	Nance	EC52	
<i>diwgell</i>	f	testicles	<i>divgell</i>	Nance	EC52	
<i>diwloneth</i>	f	kidneys	-----	George	GK00	
<i>diwskovarn</i>	f	ears	<i>divskouarn</i>	Nance	CE38	
<i>diwvogh</i>	f	cheeks	<i>divoc'h</i>	Nance	EC52	
<i>diwvordhos</i>	f	thighs	<i>divorzhed</i>	Nance	EC52	
<i>diwweus</i>	f	lips	<i>diweuz</i>	Nance	CE38	

## 9. Summary

- Lhuyd showed clearly that the masculine and feminine forms of ‘two’ existed in Late Cornish.
- As numbers, they were pronounced respectively [‘diu] and [‘deu] throughout the Middle and Late phases.
- Their spelling varied, however; {dew} for the masculine form was joined by {deaw}; for the feminine form, {du} was used throughout as a prefix, and {dyw} was displaced by {dew}.
- It may be this change of spelling which influenced Williams to state erroneously that there was no difference between the masculine and feminine forms of ‘two’.
- When used as a prefix, the feminine form [‘diu-] was sometimes simplified, to both [‘di-] and [‘du-].
- Both *dew* and *diw* are potentially active prefixes in Cornish today.

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