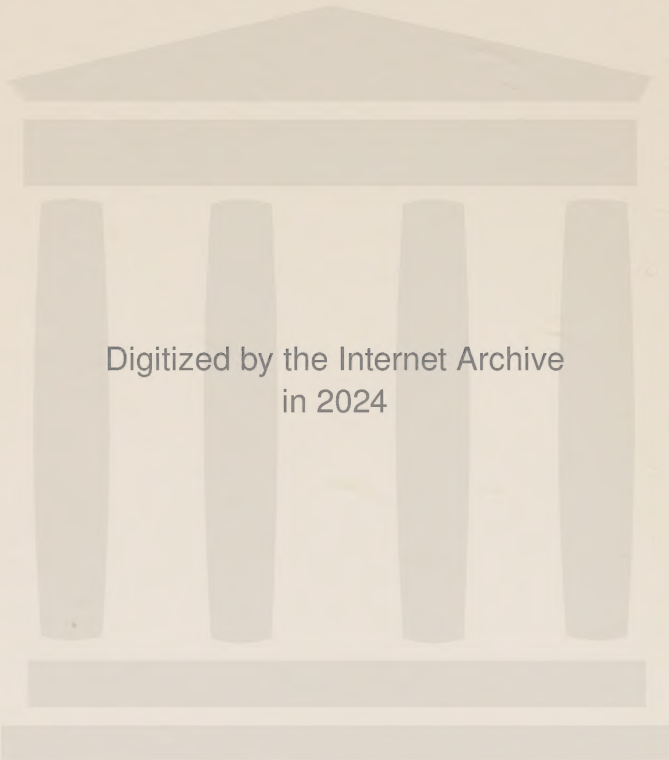


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LANGUAGE AND HISTORY IN EARLY BRITAIN

*a chronological survey of the
Brittonic Languages
1st to 12th c. A.D.*



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PREFACE

THE main outlines and most of the details of the way in which the Celtic group of languages developed, as regards its sound-system, from the parent Indo-European, and subsequently grew into the mediaeval and modern Gaelic, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, are by now fairly well understood and defined. Without entering into bibliographical details, these things may be found set out in Holger Pedersen's great *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (Göttingen, 1909-13), and in the English translation and modernisation brought out by himself and Henry Lewis as *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (Göttingen, 1937). Other books which between them cover the historical phonology of the early Celtic languages are R. Thurneysen's *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin, 1946); Sir John Morris Jones' *A Welsh Grammar* (Oxford, 1913); and J. Baudiš' *Grammar of Early Welsh*, Part I (Oxford, the Philological Society, 1924). In all these works the question of what phonetic changes took place, and how they took place, has been thoroughly canvassed; but what the authors have omitted to do in any very detailed and systematic way is to investigate *when* they took place. The purpose of the present volume is to attempt just that, for the group of the Celtic languages commonly known as Brythonic or Brittonic (namely Welsh, Cornish, and Breton), from the period of our earliest written sources for the parent British, which mostly date from and after the Roman occupation of Britain in the first century, down to the time when the separate mediaeval languages of Middle Welsh, Middle Cornish, and Middle Breton were established, and written material begins to become ample, in or about the twelfth century. That is to say, this is a chronological history of the sound-system of the British language and its descendants during the Roman period and the subsequent Dark Ages, until the influences of later mediaeval

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Continental culture began to make themselves strongly felt, through English and French contacts, in many aspects of what had hitherto been a rather isolated Celtic civilisation.

The book is confined to the subject of phonology, of sound-changes, and does not deal with grammatical forms (morphology). It is possible, by a comparison of Middle (and to some extent Old) Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, to arrive at some conclusions about the development of British morphology at the period when those languages were separating; but these conclusions are meagre, the nature of the evidence allows no real dating, and it is not easy to make any significant links to the history of the British people on this basis (as I hope to show may be done with the phonology). Hence this aspect of the question is left to others. In Part II of this book the major and most of the minor sound-changes which occurred within our period will be discussed, but there is no attempt at completeness (for this the works referred to, particularly Pedersen's, must be consulted); the intention is to deal chiefly with those changes which can be approximately dated, and to show what their dates may be, not to set out in full what the changes were or how they happened. Of course it is usually necessary to do the latter briefly, but as there is, for the most part, no controversy about it, there is no need to elaborate. Only in comparatively few cases have I entered into detailed discussion of the nature of sound-changes, those which it seems to me have not been correctly explained or fully understood in the past.

In the course of working out these problems, a number of questions of a historical nature entered in, and are examined here for the information they give on the development of the British language. A certain amount of light appears to the writer to be reflected back into some of the darker corners of early British history. For instance, the *lingua franca* of the Roman Empire, Vulgar Latin, was widely spoken in the Roman province of Britain; some conclusions are offered here about the special character of Vulgar Latin in Britain, of a kind ignored by previous writers, and about the extent of the spoken Latin language there, and the people who used it. It

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is sometimes said that but for the Anglo-Saxon invasion we should have been speaking a Romance language in England now ; how far this is true is considered here. Then, the loan-words which were borrowed from Britain, mainly from British Latin, into Irish in the two centuries after the end of Roman rule are explored for what we can learn from them about British and spoken Latin—and, incidentally, about the Irish language at this period. In Chapter V the Latin inscriptions of western Britain in the Dark Ages are dealt with, and it is shown that they tell us something not only of the language but also of the history of native Britons and Irish settlers in the west in the fifth to seventh centuries. The great migrations which set up the British colonies in Brittany are an important landmark for the development of Primitive Cornish and Primitive Breton, and the relation of both of these to Primitive Welsh ; in discussing this matter, certain conclusions are drawn concerning the date and character of the Breton emigrations. Lastly, the Anglo-Saxon invaders, gradually spreading over a large part of Britain, conquered and absorbed or drove out the native population, and in doing so borrowed many place-names and some personal names from the Britons ; the history of the conquest is sketched here, and the evidence of these borrowed names examined for what can be deduced about the nature of the occupation and the relations of Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the fifth to eighth centuries. Part II, where the individual sound-changes are described and so far as possible dated, is intended to supply the answer to the question what form a British word would probably have taken at a given date. This is a matter of the utmost importance to students of English place-names, and indeed until these things are settled much of their work when dealing with British sources must be doubtful in detail, particularly since none of those who have written extensively on English place-names have been primarily Celtic scholars.

As has been already remarked, no minute and thorough-going exposition of all these matters has ever been published. Discussions of the probable date of various British sound-changes are of course to be found in the works already referred

to, and also in articles scattered through learned journals and elsewhere. A good many of these were the work of Joseph Loth ; in particular, the introduction to his *Vocabulaire vieux-breton* (Paris, 1884) ; his *Chrestomathie bretonne* (Paris, 1890), pp. 32 ff., especially pp. 50-77 ; and his *Remarques à l'Historia Brittonum dite de Nennius*, § B, in *Revue Celtique*, li (1934), pp. 1 ff. But many of Loth's results are vitiated by his ignoring part of the evidence (for instance the inscriptions, and English place-names), and by his tendency to take written forms absolutely *au pied de la lettre* ; not to mention his self-contradictions over the years. Loth did much valuable work in this as in all other fields of Brittonic philology, but his handling of our problem, so far as it goes, was not adequate, and his detailed opinions on dating in *Revue Celtique*, li, are largely worthless. A much more systematic and far better thought-out treatment was envisaged by Sir Ifor Williams in his important lecture "When did British become Welsh?" in the *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club* for 1939, pp. 27 ff., but naturally he had space there to deal with only a few points. The fact is that little can be done unless the evidence of English place-names is thoroughly scrutinised. Eilert Ekwall was the first to do this, chiefly in his introduction to *English River Names* (Oxford, 1928), pp. lxii-lxxix. This little study is of the utmost value as the pioneer work on the subject ; but again, consisting of seventeen pages it is necessarily limited ; moreover, in some points it is controversial and unsatisfactory, and his terminology (e.g. the "Old Welsh" used of the language of the settlement period) is confusing. Since Ekwall, the only, and by far the most thorough, serious work on British linguistic chronology from the Anglo-Saxon standpoint has been Max Förster's monumental *Der Flussname Themse und seine Sippe, Studien zur Anglisierung keltischer Eigennamen und zur Lautchronologie des Altbritischen* (Munich, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, Jahrgang 1941 ; published in 1942). When I began writing the present work, in 1944, I knew of Förster's book only by the first six words of its title, which told very little.

PREFACE

The circumstances of the war prevented any copies from reaching scholars in England and America at that time and for some years. It was not until 1946 that I even learned of the sub-title, when I realised at once that this must be a study on the chronology of the British sound-changes which might make my book superfluous; and it was 1947 before I was able to see a copy, through the kindness of Miss Dorothy Whitelock. By this time my own researches were far advanced and my preliminary conclusions formulated. On reading Förster's volume, however, I soon realised that far from rendering my views obsolete, it made it the more desirable that they should be expressed. True, in some matters Förster had anticipated my own results; but we disagreed fundamentally over others, and still others had not been touched upon by him at all. Moreover, the scope of my work is, to a considerable extent, different from that of Förster's; he deals primarily with the relations of British and Anglo-Saxon, and makes little or no use of some of the other classes of information drawn upon here. If I have had to differ from the opinions of the great Anglist rather often, this is because, as a Celticist, I believe the evidence demands it, and because his arguments in these cases cannot simply be passed over in silence.

Indeed there has been too great a tendency on the part of some writers to make assertions about various matters of Brittonic philology without carefully considering, stating, and adequately disproving the theories of other scholars of standing. In a work like the present one, which breaks a good deal of new ground and puts forward a number of new ideas, it seems to me that it is the duty of a scholar to register the views of other authorities, unless they are trivial or worthless, and, where necessary, to refute them. This principle has involved here what may appear to some a rather disproportionate degree of controversy; and in apologising for this I wish to say that I have felt myself obliged to enter into the discussions in question out of a sense of duty. Those from whom I have ventured to differ will, I am sure, prefer this to the insulting alternative of being ignored. I am fully aware that various of my own theories and proposals put forward here may seem

doubtful to some, and, if so, I would ask them similarly to consider carefully, before rejecting them, the character of the facts advanced and whether any other hypothesis can be found which will explain them better; remembering that in offering a date for any given linguistic change different from the one proposed here it is necessary to examine how this ties in with a number of other phenomena whose position may be indirectly affected by it, and not merely the evidence bearing directly on the case.

I should point out that the present book was sent to press at the beginning of 1950, and that owing to the unavoidable post-war difficulties of the printing trade it has not been possible for it to appear till now. This means that a small number of articles, and one or two books, bearing on the problems discussed here, have appeared too late to be dealt with in the text; however, it has been possible in all cases to add footnotes (distinguished by square brackets) in which I hope they are adequately treated.

I wish to thank very warmly in the first place Professor Max Förster for his continual kindness in presenting me with his book and with offprints of publications which have greatly facilitated the writing of the present volume; and for discussing certain points with me by letter. Then, my thanks are due to Mr. V. Nash Williams for examining with me various questions about the dating of the early inscriptions of Wales, and for his generous aid. Also to my colleague, Professor Angus McIntosh, and to Professor F. P. Magoun, Jr., of Harvard, for their ready help with certain matters in the phonology of Primitive Anglo-Saxon and the forms of some early English names; and to Mr. Peter Hunter Blair, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, for reading part of Chapter VI in typescript and giving some valuable hints and suggestions in connection with the Anglo-Saxon Conquest.

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- AC. The *Annales Cambriae* ; see p. 56.
- ACL. Wh. Stokes and K. Meyer, *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie* (Halle, 1900-7).
- ACSpZ. A. Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* (Leipzig, 1896-1913).
- AI. The Antonine Itinerary ; see p. 32.
- Amal. The OB. glosses in the Corpus Christi College MS. of Amalarius ; see p. 65.
- AMCA. *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Wales and Monmouthshire*, vol. viii, *Anglesey* (London, Stationery Office, 1937).
- Arch.Camb. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*.
- AS. Anglo-Saxon.
- ASC. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle ; ed. C. Plummer and J. Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles* (Oxford, 1892-9).
- ASE. F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1943).
- Asser. The Life of King Alfred, by Bishop Asser ; see p. 53.
- AStNSp. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*.
- B. Breton ; in quoting forms this usually means Modern Breton unless otherwise specified.
- BBC. The Black Book of Carmarthen ; ed. J. G. Evans (Pwllheli, 1907).
- BBCS. *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*.
- Bed. Bedfordshire.
- Beitr.G.D.Sp.Litt. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Litteratur*.
- Berk. Berkshire.
- Berne. The OB. glosses on the Berne Virgil ; see p. 63.
- Bodm. The Bodmin Manumissions ; see p. 59.
- Brit. British ; see p. 4.
- Britt. Brittonic ; see p. 4.
- BSLP. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*.
- BSRC. I. A. Richmond and O. G. S. Crawford, *The British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography* (Oxford, 1949).
- BT. The Book of Taliesin ; ed. J. G. Evans, *The Text of the Book of Taliesin* (Llanbedrog, 1910).
- Buck. Buckinghamshire.
- C. Cornish ; in quoting forms this usually means Modern Cornish unless otherwise specified.

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- CA. Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin* (Cardiff, 1938).
- Cam. Cambridgeshire.
- Cart.Land. The Cartulary of Landevennec ; see p. 66.
- Cart.Red. The Cartulary of Redon ; see p. 66.
- CB. Cornish and Breton.
- CC. Common Celtic ; see p. 3.
- Ch. Cheshire.
- Chad 1. The *Ostenditur hic* entry ; see pp. 42 f.
- Chad 2. The *Surexit*-memorandum ; see pp. 42 ff.
- Chad 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. See pp. 46 f.
- Chr.B. J. Loth, *Chrestomathie bretonne* (Paris, 1890).
- CIIC. R. A. S. Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* (Dublin, 1945, 1949).
- CIL. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1863 ff.).
- CLH. Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen* (Cardiff, 1935).
- Cod.Leid.Voss. The OB. glosses in the Codex Leidensis Vossianus ; see pp. 64-5.
- Coll.Pap. H. Bradshaw, *Collected Papers* ; see p. 42, n. 1.
- Comp. The Computus fragment ; see p. 54.
- Corn. Cornwall.
- Corp.CC. The OB. glosses in the Corpus Christi College Collatio Canonum ; see p. 64.
- Cott.CC. The OB. glosses in the Cotton Collatio Canonum ; see p. 65.
- CPF. Elise Richter, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Romanismen*, i ; *Chronologische Phonetik des Französischen bis zum Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts* (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 82 ; Halle, 1934).
- CPNS. W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926).
- Cum. Cumberland.
- Cumb. Cumbric ; see p. 6.
- Cyf.Ll.Ll. Ifor Williams, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llevelys* (Bangor, 1922).
- Cymm. Y Cymmrodor.
- Cymm. Trans. *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*.
- DB. Domesday Book.
- DEB. The *De Excidio Britanniae* of Gildas ; see p. 40.
- Derb. Derbyshire.
- Dev. Devon.
- Dict. E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names* (third edition, Oxford, 1947).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- DLV. The Durham Liber Vitae ; see p. 59.
- Dor. Dorset.
- Du. County Durham.
- EB. J. Loth, *L'Émigration bretonne en Armorique du V^e au VII^e siècle de notre ère* (Paris, 1883).
- ECMW. V. E. Nash Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950).
- ECNE. Sir Cyril Fox and B. Dickins (editors), *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe* (Cambridge, 1950).
- EEW. T. H. Parry-Williams, *The English Element in Welsh ; Cymmrodorion Record Series*, no. X (London, 1923).
- EIHM. T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946).
- EL. Henry Lewis, *Yr Elfen Ladin yn yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Cardiff, 1943).
- En.Af. R. J. Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru*, i (Cardiff, 1938).
- Eng.St. *Englische Studien*.
- En.Ll. Ifor Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd* (Cyfres Pobun, no. V ; Liverpool, 1945).
- Eph.Ep. *Ephemeris Epigraphica* ; see p. 36.
- EPNS. The volumes of the English Place-Name Society's publications ; ed. A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton (Cambridge, 1924 ff.).
- ERY. The East Riding of Yorkshire.
- Ét.Celt. *Études celtiques*.
- Eutyech. The OB. glosses on the Grammar of Eutychius ; see p. 63.
- EWS. W. M. Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* ; see p. 42, n. 1.
- Ex. Essex.
- FT. Max Förster, *Der Flussname Themse* ; see p. viii.
- Gall.-Britt. Gallo-Brittonic ; see p. 4.
- Gaul. Gaulish ; see p. 4.
- Gen. The Old Welsh genealogies ; see p. 56.
- Gl. Gloucestershire.
- Gotha. The OB. Gotha glosses ; see p. 62.
- Gr. J. Baudiš, *Grammar of Early Welsh*, Part i ; Philologica II, Supplement (Oxford, The Philological Society, 1924).
- Gr.OI. R. Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin, 1946).
- Ha. Hampshire.
- HAS. R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1935).
- Hatt.CC. The OB. glosses in the Hatton Collatio Canonum ; see p. 64.
- HB. The *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius ; see p. 47.
- Hdb. R. Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Altirischen* (Heidelberg, 1909).

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- HE. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* ; see p. 40.
 Heref. Herefordshire.
 Hert. Hertfordshire.
 HGES. K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1914 and 1940).
 Hunt. Huntingdonshire.
 HW. Sir J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (third edition, London, 1939).
 IBCh. E. Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae* (Berlin, 1876).
 IChG. E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule* (Paris, 1856).
 IE. Indo-European.
 IF. *Indogermanische Forschungen*.
 IF.Anz. *Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde*.
 Ir. Irish.
 IVL. C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston, 1907).
 JCS. *The Journal of Celtic Studies*.
 JRS. *The Journal of Roman Studies*.
 Juv.3. The three Juvenius englynion ; see p. 52.
 Juv.9. The nine Juvenius englynion ; see p. 52.
 Juven. The OW. glosses in the Cambridge Juvenius ; see p. 49.
 K. Kent.
 KBr. *Kuhn's Beiträge*.
 KW. Max Förster, *Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen*, in *Texte und Forschungen zur englischen Kulturgeschichte, Festgabe für Felix Liebermann* (Halle, 1921).
 KZ. *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*.
 Lan. Lancashire.
 Lap.W. J. O. Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliae* (Oxford, 1876-9).
 Late SW.Brit. Late South-West British ; see p. 5.
 Late W.Brit. Late West British ; see p. 5.
 Lautl. A. Pogatscher, *Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen, und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen* (Strassburg, 1888).
 LCC. Henry Lewis, *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol* (second edition, Cardiff, 1946).
 Leic. Leicestershire.
 Leid.Leech. The OB. glosses in the Leiden Leechbook ; see p. 62.
 Li. Lincolnshire.
 Litteraturbl. *Litteraturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*.
 Lland. The Book of Llandaff ; see p. 58.
 LLC. Henry Lewis, *Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol* (second edition, Cardiff, 1935).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- LP. H. Lewis and H. Pedersen, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (Göttingen, 1937).
- LSS. The Life of St. Samson ; see p. 40.
- Lux. The OB. glosses in the Luxemburg folios ; see p. 63.
- LWP. 2. J. Rhys, *Lectures on Welsh Philology* (second edition, Oxford, 1879).
- MB. Middle Breton ; see p. 6.
- MC. Middle Cornish ; see p. 6.
- M.Cap. The OW. glosses on Martianus Capella ; see p. 53.
- MCB. Middle Cornish and Middle Breton.
- ME. Middle English.
- Mers. The OB. glosses on the Merseburg Alcuin ; see p. 62.
- MI. Middle Irish ; see p. 7.
- ML. J. Loth, *Les Mots latins dans les langues brittoniques* (Paris, 1892).
- MLR. *The Modern Language Review*.
- Mod.B. Modern Breton ; see p. 6.
- Mod.C. Modern Cornish ; see p. 6.
- Mod.I. Modern Irish ; see p. 7.
- Mod.W. Modern Welsh ; see p. 6.
- Mod.WCB. Modern Welsh, Modern Cornish, and Modern Breton.
- Monm. Monmouthshire.
- MP. The OW. glosses on the De Mensuris et Ponderibus ; see p. 47.
- MSLP. *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*.
- MW. Middle Welsh ; see p. 6.
- MWCB. Middle Welsh, Middle Cornish, and Middle Breton.
- Mx. Middlesex.
- Nb. Northumberland.
- ND. The Notitia Dignitatum ; see p. 33.
- Norf. Norfolk.
- Nott. Nottinghamshire.
- NR.Y. The North Riding of Yorkshire.
- NT. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*.
- Nthants. Northamptonshire.
- OB. Old Breton ; see p. 5.
- OC. Old Cornish ; see p. 5.
- OCB. Old Cornish and Old Breton.
- OFr. Old French.
- OI. Old Irish ; see p. 7.
- Orl.CC. The OB. glosses in the Orleans Collatio Canonum ; see p. 65.

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- Ovid. The OW. glosses on Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* ; see p. 54.
- OW. Old Welsh ; see p. 5.
- OWCB. Old Welsh, Old Cornish, and Old Breton.
- Ox.1. The Oxoniensis Prior MS. ; see p. 47.
- Ox.2. The Oxoniensis Posterior MS. ; see p. 54.
- Oxf. Oxfordshire.
- Paris Comp. The OB. glosses in the Paris Computus ; see p. 62.
- Paris 3182 CC. The OB. glosses in the Paris 3182 *Collatio Canonum* see p. 65.
- Paris 12021 CC. The OB. glosses in the Paris 12021 *Collatio Canonum* see p. 63.
- Paris Hisp. The OB. glosses in the Paris *Hisperics* ; see p. 62.
- Peut. The Peutinger Table ; see p. 33.
- PhGCL. C. C. Rice, *The Phonology of Gallic Clerical Latin after the Sixth Century* (Moscow, Idaho, 1909 ; Harvard thesis, 1902).
- Phon.WB. T. H. Parry-Williams, *Some Points of Similarity in the Phonology of Welsh and Breton* (Paris, 1913).
- PKM. Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (Cardiff, 1930).
- PMLA. *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America*.
- Pr.AS. Primitive Anglo-Saxon.
- Pr.B. Primitive Breton ; see p. 5.
- Pr.C. Primitive Cornish ; see p. 5.
- Pr.CB. Primitive Cornish and Primitive Breton.
- Pr.Cumb. Primitive Cumbric ; see p. 6.
- Pr.I. Primitive Irish ; see p. 6.
- PRIA. *The Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*.
- Pr.W. Primitive Welsh ; see p. 5.
- Pr.WCB. Primitive Welsh, Primitive Cornish, and Primitive Breton.
- Ptol. Ptolemy the Geographer ; see p. 31.
- Rav. The Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna ; see p. 33.
- RBB. J. Rhys and J. G. Evans, *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1890).
- RBES. R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (second edition, Oxford, 1937).
- RC. *Revue Celtique*.
- Reliq. Max Förster, *Zur Geschichte des Reliquienkultus in Altengland ; Sitzungsab. d. Bayerischen Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Abt., 1943, no. 8* (Munich, 1943).
- Rev.d.Ét.Anc. *Revue des Études anciennes*.
- RKS. R. E. Zachrisson, *Romans, Kelts, and Saxons in Ancient Britain ; Skrifter Utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala*, vol. 24 (Uppsala, 1927), no. 12.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- RN. E. Ekwall, *English River Names* (Oxford, 1928).
 Rom.-Brit. Romano-British ; see p. 5.
 ScG. Scottish Gaelic.
 Sc.G.St. *Scottish Gaelic Studies*.
 Sedul. The OB. glosses on Sedulius ; see p. 62.
 Shr. Shropshire.
 Smaragd. The OC. glosses on Smaragdus ; see p. 59.
 So. Somerset.
 Staf. Staffordshire.
 St. Omer. The OB. glosses on the St. Omer Hisperics ; see p. 64.
 Suf. Suffolk.
 Sur. Surrey.
 SW.Brit. South-West British ; see p. 5.
 SW.Britt. South-West Brittonic.
 Sx. Sussex.
 TAAS. *The Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club*.
 Thes.Pal. Wh. Stokes and J. Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (Cambridge, 1901-3).
 TPhS. *The Transactions of the Philological Society*.
 Urg. J. Pokorny, *Zur Urgeschichte der Kelten und Illyrier* (Halle, 1938) ; reprint from ZCP. xx-xxi.
 Vat.Reg. 296 Oros. The OB. glosses in the Vatican MS. Reg. 296 ; see p. 65.
 Ven.Oros. The OB. glosses in the Venice Orosius ; see p. 62.
 VKG. H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (Göttingen, 1909-13).
 VL. Vulgar Latin.
 Voc.C. The Vocabularium Cornicum ; see p. 60.
 VSB. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944) ; see p. 57.
 VVB. J. Loth, *Vocabulaire vieux-breton* (Paris, 1884) ; see p. 42, n. 1.
 W. Welsh ; in quoting forms generally means Modern Welsh unless otherwise specified.
 Wa. Warwickshire.
 WB. Welsh and Breton.
 WBM. J. G. Evans, *The White Book Mabinogion* (Pwllheli, 1907).
 WBR. The White Book of Rhydderch.
 W.Brit. West British ; see p. 5.
 W.Britt. West Brittonic.
 WC. Welsh and Cornish.
 WCB. Welsh, Cornish, and Breton.

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Wes. Westmorland.

WG. J. Morris Jones, *A Welsh Grammar* (Oxford, 1913).

Wi. Wiltshire.

Wo. Worcestershire.

WRY. The West Riding of Yorkshire.

ZCP. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*.

ZfRPh. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*.

PART I

CHAPTER I

THE BRITTONIC LANGUAGES, AND THE BRETON MIGRATIONS

UNTIL fairly recently, the term *Brythonic*, coined by Rhys, was regularly used to describe the language brought to Britain by the bearers of that variety of primitive Celtic speech known as *P-Celtic*, spoken there all through the Roman period, and subsequently divided into the Welsh, Cornish, and Breton of mediaeval and modern times. Of late there has been an increasing tendency to use *Brittonic* instead. It is not a matter of any consequence, the one term is as good as the other; *Brittonic* will be employed in this book. Since this is primarily a discussion of linguistic history, it is essential to deal in precise terms to describe languages and their chronological periods. This has not been done in any detailed way in the past (though of course the general divisions are familiar), for the reason that chronology has not been a matter of great importance in the researches of most writers. Some, for instance, speak of *Old Welsh* or *Early Welsh*, others of *Celtisch*, *Britisch*, *Urbritisch*, and *Altbritisch*, in an inconsistent and imprecise manner. To start with, then, we must define a set of terms. Most of them are not new, and are well known to philologists, but some are either proposed here for the first time or are given a more limited meaning than they have hitherto borne. The abbreviations for them are added in brackets.

Indo-European (IE.), the hypothetical ancestor of a large family of languages, including the Celtic, has its normal sense. *Common Celtic* (CC.), rather than the more usual "Old Celtic",¹ refers to the time when Celtic had come into existence as an

¹ This is an objectionable name, for the reasons given on Old British below. Besides, *Common Celtic* stresses the fact that it is a linguistic stage from which all the Celtic tongues derive their common characteristics.

IE. sub-group but was not yet differentiated into the separate Celtic languages; the stage when IE. \bar{e} became CC. \bar{i} , \bar{o} became \bar{a} , p was lost or changed to a spirant, and so on. CC. later divided into *Q-Celtic* and *P-Celtic*, in which IE. q^u was respectively preserved or changed to p ; from Q-Celtic is descended *Goedelic*, the parent of Irish, Scottish, and Manx Gaelic, and from P-Celtic comes *Gallo-Brittonic* (Gall.-Britt.). This last describes the group of P-Celtic languages spoken on the Continent, presumably in the Iron Age, by widely scattered Celtic tribes, some of whom invaded Britain and brought with them the variety known as the *Brittonic* (Britt.) speech (and probably the Iron Age culture) as defined above, while others remained on the Continent. Those who did remain were called by the Romans *Galli*, the Gauls, and they spoke *Gaulish* (Gaul.), a language or group of dialects extending widely across Europe in the last few centuries B.C. and the first few centuries A.D. In practice Gaul. applies here chiefly to the Celtic language of France, the Low Countries, the Rhineland, Spain, and Northern Italy at this time, since much less is known about it farther East. Our information on Brittonic begins with the first contacts of the Greeks and Romans with this island, and becomes much fuller during the Roman domination here from the first to fifth century A.D. In this book *British* (Brit.)¹ is used as a general term for the Brittonic language from the time of the oldest Greek information about it (derived from Pytheas of Marseilles, c. 325 B.C.) down to the sub-Roman period in the fifth century and on into the sixth. Where it is necessary to be more precise, a distinction is made between *Early British*, during the Roman occupation and as far as the coming of the Saxons in the middle of the fifth century, and *Late British* (Late Brit.), from that time until and including the earlier half of the sixth century. As we shall see, the earlier period of British coincides with the oldest dateable Brittonic sound-changes, beginning in the first century B.C.

¹ Some writers employ *Old British*, and in German *Altbritisch*, but this is meaningless, because in linguistic usage *Old* implies a *Middle* and *Modern*, and there is no such thing as Middle and Modern British. The adjective is unnecessary and is therefore omitted here, in accordance with the usual practice.

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and the first to second century A.D., and consisting mainly of certain modifications of vowels and diphthongs; and Late British covers a number of important transitional phonetic developments, from lenition through final vowel affection down to the loss of final and unstressed internal syllables. Since some of the special features of the separate modern languages reach right back into the British period, it is necessary to postulate a *West British* dialect, that of Wales and the Midlands (and *Late West British*, Late W.Brit.), and a *South-West British* (and *Late South-West British*, Late SW.Brit.), that spoken in the peninsula of Devon and Cornwall. *Romano-British* (Rom.-Brit.) is confined to forms of the language reported by Roman writers in Latinised spelling; and the term is stretched to include those given by Greek authors, chiefly derived from Latin sources, in Greek spelling, e.g. by Ptolemy. *British Latin* on the other hand is something quite different, the variety of Vulgar Latin spoken in Britain during and for some time after the Roman occupation.

With the drastic changes which occurred during the Late British period we reach an entirely new stage; the *ancient* language, with its final syllables, its case terminations, and the rest, gave place to what is really a *mediaeval* one, and to the rise of what will be called here the *Neo-Brittonic* tongues, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. From the middle of the sixth century we can begin to speak of these as separating languages, and from the end of the century as separate. In this period, and down to the time of their earliest written records (other than inscriptions and a few names in sixth- to eighth-century Latin sources), the new terms *Primitive Welsh* (Pr.W.), *Primitive Cornish* (Pr.C.), and *Primitive Breton* (Pr.B.) are used here. With these written records we enter upon the stage of *Old Welsh* (OW.), beginning with the later eighth century, *Old Cornish* (OC.), from the late ninth century, and *Old Breton* (OB.), from the early part or middle of the ninth century.¹ It is important to make clear the boundary of the Primitive and Old periods, particularly since previous writers

¹ Except for a few charters in the Cartulary of Redon, which are late copies of documents belonging to the end of the eighth century.

have treated it rather vaguely. "Primitive Welsh", etc., has not been used before, and the period has either been left undefined, or called "British" or "Archaic Welsh", etc., or even "Old Welsh", etc. Details of the sources for OWCB. and their dates will be given below, pp. 42 ff. In addition to the above names, we shall occasionally employ *Primitive Cumbric* (Pr.Cum.) for the Brittonic dialect of Cumberland, Westmorland, northern Lancashire, and south-west Scotland from the end of the Late Brit. period and as long as that dialect lasted. "Old Cumbric" does not occur, because, except for the three legal terms mentioned below, there are no contemporary written records; and to call it Pr.W. would be inaccurate. *Middle Welsh* (MW.) will be taken to begin with the second half of the twelfth century, the oldest sources being the Black Book of Carmarthen and other MSS. belonging to about 1200; so that the Book of Llandaff (c. 1135-40), which is really transitional, comes under the heading of Old Welsh. MW. lasts until the fourteenth to fifteenth century, when *Modern Welsh* (Mod.W.) begins. *Middle Cornish* (MC.) is usually reckoned as covering the miracle plays of the fourteenth to sixteenth century, which means that the Vocabulary Cornicum, compiled about 1100, is counted as Old Cornish, though in certain respects it corresponds rather to early Middle Welsh in its stage of development. *Modern Cornish* (Mod.C.) is the language of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at the end of which time it became extinct. *Middle Breton* (MB.) extends from the eleventh or twelfth century to the sixteenth or seventeenth, and Modern Breton (Mod.B.) from the seventeenth to the present day.

For the Goedelic branch of Celtic, reference to which will frequently be made, *Goedelic* itself is used here as the generic name for the whole group at all periods, and *Primitive Irish* (Pr.I.) for the time of the oldest written source (Ptolemy, second century A.D.) down to and including the "Ogam" inscriptions of the fourth or fifth to early seventh century; forms actually occurring in these inscriptions are referred to as *Ogam Irish*. *Archaic Irish* is the language of the oldest MS. material, from the seventh to the first quarter of the eighth

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century ; *Old Irish* (OI.) from then to the middle of the tenth century ; *Middle Irish* (MI.) from the latter part of the tenth to the thirteenth century ; and *Modern Irish* (Mod.I.) from the later thirteenth century to the present day. *Scottish Gaelic* (Sc.G.) is not divided chronologically because it all belongs to Modern times, from the fifteenth century on ; and *Manx* from the seventeenth century to the present (it is now practically extinct).

Hypothetical linguistic forms, not actually occurring in any document, are marked with an asterisk ; > means “ developing into ”, < “ derived from ” ; and : means “ related to ”. Phonetic transcriptions are enclosed in square brackets. The special phonetic symbols used are as follows : [æ] = the *a* in “ hat ”. [ö] = German *ö*, French *eu*. [œ] = French *oeu*. [ø], a reduced variety of [ö], see p. 660. [ü] = *u* in French *une*, but retracted. [i̠] = a retracted [i]. [ɪ], a lowered and reduced variety of the same, see p. 666. [ə] = the *e* in “ hammer ”. [ɪ̞] means an open vowel, [ɪ̥] a close one. The other vowel symbols, as [a], [i], have their Latin or Italian values, not their English. [ʊ̞] = a semi-vowel *u*, a light *w*. [ɪ̞] = a semi-vowel *i*, like *y* in lightly stressed “ yes ”. [j] = *y* in emphatically stressed “ yes ”. [θ] = *th* in “ thin ”. [χ] = *ch* in Scots *loch*, German *doch* ; [χʰ] = *ch* in German *nicht* ; on [X^s] see p. 538. [ʒ] is the spirant *g* in German *lage*. [b] = bilabial *v*, German *w*. [v] = English *v*. [d̪] = *th* in “ then ”. [μ] = a strongly nasal [b], and [ṽ] a weakly nasal one ; see §§ 94 ff. [λ] = the Welsh *ll*, see § 91. [r̪] = the Welsh *rh*, see § 92. [ŋ] = the *ng* in “ singer ”. [ʃ] = *sh* in “ shoe ”. [ʒ̣] = *z* in “ azure ”. Σ is a variety of *s*, see p. 517. [t̪ʃ] = *ch* in “ church ”. [v̥] under a consonant means that it is voiceless ; [o̥] under a consonant, that it is syllabic ; [ʰ] after a consonant, that it is palatalised. [||] marks syllabic division (or between vowels, hiatus).

The British language was spoken throughout the island of Britain, with the probable exception of parts or all of Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, a problem which need not be entered into here. Over so large an area it is natural to suppose that there must have been some degree of dialect

differentiation. If so, we have no direct contemporary evidence for it in Roman times, nor does the nature of our sources allow any real inferences for the eastern parts of Britain in the succeeding period; we cannot know what the Late British of, for instance, Kent was like in anything but the broadest terms, since the only remains are place-names. In considering Brittonic etymologies for place-names in widely separate parts of the country, we must always bear in mind, then, the possibility that there were local dialects, and that linguistic changes deduced from Welsh, Cornish, and Breton may not necessarily have occurred at all in the East or North, or at any rate not at the same time as in the West and South-West.¹ We need not go so far as Förster does² when he proposes that some apparent differences in the Anglo-Saxon treatment of Brittonic intervocal *m* in the fifth to seventh century A.D. may depend on the distinction between the Britons of the Iron Age A culture, who invaded the country about 450 B.C., and those of the Iron Age B, who came in the third century B.C. As a matter of fact, the information to be gained from place-names about the Brittonic speech of the parts of Britain settled by the English up to the seventh century gives little warrant for inferring the existence of dialects and suspecting dialect forms. It is convenient to suppose, as a practical working measure and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that Late British did in fact develop in much the same way and at much the same rate in the eastern parts of the island as in the western as long as it continued to be spoken; but when a single place-name from somewhere in the East seems to point to a date for a given sound-change inconsistent with that established by the accumulation of evidence from the West, it would be wrong to strain the facts to reconcile the two, and the reason may be simply a question of dialect.

For the West, however, it was a different story. The

¹ So Förster remarks (FT. p. 680) that denasalisation of [v̥] was probably not simultaneous over the whole Brittonic area.

² FT. p. 136. This is not mentioned again in his lengthy treatment of the subject in *op. cit.* pp. 632 ff., and is indeed in contradiction to the thesis there developed.

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English conquerors during the Dark Ages spread their occupation gradually westwards, eventually reaching the Irish Sea, as described in detail in Chapter VI; but for a long time three Brittonic areas preserved their independence and their language—namely Cumbria, Wales, and Cornwall.

Cumbria is the northernmost of these regions. Early in the seventh century it comprised Scotland south of the Firth of Clyde and west of the central Southern Uplands, and England west of the Pennines and north of the Ribble. The most northerly section was Strathclyde, the valley of the Clyde, with its capital at Dumbarton; south of that in Scotland, and probably reaching into England far up the Eden valley, was the kingdom celebrated as *Reget* (Mod.W. *Rheged*) in the oldest Welsh poetry. In the course of the seventh century the Northumbrians conquered the whole of the English half of Cumbria and most of Rheged, but Strathclyde remained independent, and for several centuries of rather obscure history Englishmen and Strathclyde Britons disputed their boundaries; indeed the latter re-established themselves for nearly two hundred years in Rheged and the north of Cumberland, until they were driven back and the present Border was fixed in the year 1092. Just how long these people continued to speak Cumbric is unknown, but perhaps as long as Strathclyde was a separate kingdom, that is, until the early part of the eleventh century, when it was finally merged in the kingdom of Scotland.¹ At any rate, the language was in use comparatively late, and some signs of this lateness will be noted below. All the same, we know very little indeed about Cumbric. There are three words, three legal terms, preserved in the *Leges inter Brettos et Scotos*² perhaps drawn up in the early part of the eleventh century; namely *galnes* or *galnys*, *mercheta*, and *kelchyn*. The first is the Cumbric for the MW. *galanas*, “blood-fine”; the second is a derivative of the stem

¹ Cf. Loth, RC. xlvii, 388-9, 400; Watson, CPNS. p. 132. Compare Förster's note on the place-name Glendue in Northumberland, just over the border from northern Cumberland (FT. pp. 27-9); he shows reason to think it was borrowed from speakers of Cumbric in the eleventh century. See also pp. 218-19; and cf. Glen Dhu in Eskdale (Cum.), CPNS. xx, 61.

² See Loth, RC. xlvii, 389 ff.

seen in *W. merch*, "daughter"; and the third is related to *W. cylch*, "circuit". These tell us nothing of any Cumbric dialect peculiarities except that *galnes* or *galnys* seems to have syncope of the Pr.Cum. unstressed syllable, whereas Welsh lacks it. These words are no proof that Cumbric was still a spoken language in the first half of the twelfth century, as Watson thought,¹ since they may easily be archaic fixed terms surviving in a legal context, as many Norman-French legal phrases still survive in English law. The only real information we can gather on the Cumbric dialect is to be found in the place-names borrowed into English; and even this is meagre. Cumbric seems to have agreed closely with Welsh, even over peculiarities like the development of the voiceless *ll* (see p. 479). On the other hand, there is some reason to think that the assimilation of *mb* to *mm* happened later in Cumbria than farther south, if at all (see p. 511); and the name Tallentire appears to contain the Brittonic definite article in the form *en*, agreeing with Cornish and Breton as against the OW. *ir*.²

East of Strathclyde, in the Lothians, Brittonic survived no doubt at least as late as the conquest by the Bernician Angles in the early part of the seventh century. One of the oldest of all Welsh texts, the *Gododdin* poem, which dates perhaps ultimately from about A.D. 600,³ tells of the Britons of Edinburgh and the Lothians at this time in such a way that it has all the appearance of having been originally composed by one who lived there and knew the people concerned. Whether it was in Pr.W. from the beginning, or whether it was first composed in the Brittonic speech of the Lothians and later "translated" into OW., one cannot tell; if the latter, however, this northern dialect cannot have been so fundamentally different from Pr.W. that the metre of the poem would be destroyed in the process unless indeed the "translation" were a very free adaptation to Welsh.

¹ *Loc. cit.*; and so evidently H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949), p. 52, and Förster, *FT.* p. 112; but cf. Loth, *loc. cit.*

² See Ekwall, *Dict.* p. 438. But in Pennersax in Dumfriesshire we seem to have the form in *r*; cf. p. 539, and see also Watson, *CPNS.* pp. 358 ff. So also with Triermain in Cumberland, = *W. tre'r maen*, see *EPNS.* xx, 116.

³ See *Antiquity*, 1939, pp. 25 ff.

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Coming to the South, there is no reason to suppose that the Brittonic spoken in the west Midlands until the English settlement there differed at all from the contemporary Pr.W. But south of that, in the border areas of Gloucestershire, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, the problem is more difficult. *A priori*, on geographical grounds, one would be inclined to think that at least in Somerset, Dorset, and Devon the Brittonic speech of the fifth to seventh century would have gone with that of Cornwall rather than with that of Wales. For Gloucestershire and Somerset I know no certain evidence.¹ We shall see (§ 5. 1) that for Dorset the AS. form of the name Dorchester does indeed support this view.² On the other hand, in the matter of reduction of pretonic *i* and *u* the Brittonic of Dorset seems to have agreed with Pr.W. rather than Pr.C. For Devon, considering the history of the Breton migrations as set out below, no one would be ready to doubt that its language was substantially the same as that of Cornwall, and there is some slight positive support for this in the matter of original *u* in inscriptions (p. 274, n. 2). But the reduction of pretonic *i* and *u* mentioned above may possibly have penetrated even into Devon, and is seen in that very name itself (cf. p. 681). We may conclude then, quite tentatively, that Dorset was a border district where we may expect to find characteristics of Pr.W. side by side with those of Pr.C.; and possibly that the same is true of parts of Devon, though there the likeness to Pr.C. is certain to have been far greater.

The relationship of Cornish and Breton is one of these problems on which we are by far the best informed; it is also by far the most interesting of them, though a little baffling too. There are numerous ways, both in phonology and morphology, in which Cornish and Breton agree closely with one another

¹ Förster tries to show that south-west Gloucestershire belonged to the Cornish type (FT. p. 702), but the evidence is quite inconclusive.

² Asser's *Durngueir*, c. 49, is OW., not OC., and so is his *Frauu* for the Frome and *Coit Maur* for Selwood, as Förster notes, FT. pp. 700-1; but the reason is, as Förster points out, not so much that the language of Dorset was Pr.W. as that Asser the Welshman used the OW. equivalent for the local forms—in fact, translated.

and differ from Welsh. Indeed, whereas Mod.W. and Mod.B. are not mutually intelligible,¹ there is little doubt that a Cornishman and a Breton could have understood one another without great difficulty as long as Cornish was a living language.² This means, of course, that Cornish and Breton are especially closely connected together and less closely connected with Welsh; but whether we can put the situation so simply as to say that they are sister languages whereas Welsh is only their cousin, is another matter. The reason for this close relationship is held to be that the great mass of British emigrants who crossed to Brittany came from Cornwall, Devon, and perhaps south-western England in general, rather than from Wales and the Midlands. Very important elements among them must unquestionably have come from Cornwall and Devon, because the names of two of the three early tribal divisions of Brittany, those of the Domnonii and Cornovii, are identical with the British tribe-names Dumnonii and Cornovii from which come our modern *Devon* and *Corn-wall*.³ There are some grounds for believing that the numbers of those who left from Devon were so great that when the English arrived there they found the country sparsely populated (see p. 206).

What can we know about these emigrations to Brittany, and in particular what evidence is there about the dates? In the first place, historical evidence. This was summarised by J. Loth in his *L'Émigration bretonne en Armorique du V^e au VII^e siècle de notre ère*⁴ (Paris, 1883; abbreviated EB.). What seems to be chronologically the first traceable movement is described by Gildas in his *De Excidio Britanniae* (c. A.D. 540), chapter 25. In a highly rhetorical passage he tells how in the

¹ In spite of the popular belief among Welshmen and Bretons who have never tried it. Cf. also W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1886), i, 199, n. 54.

² Compare Giraldus Cambrensis, *Description of Wales*, i, 6, who treats Cornish and Breton as identical in his day.

³ Cf. Loth, EB. p. 186; Lewis, LLC. p. 1. The British name for Cornwall and the Cornish does not occur in Classical sources, but they must have been Late Brit. **Cornouja* and **Cornouii* (see § 47. 2 A). Whether these could have been an offshoot from the British Cornovii of the Welsh Marches, as Loth supposed (*op. cit.* p. 148), seems doubtful. Cf. Cymm. xi, 88 f.

⁴ See also A. de La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, i (Paris, 1896), pp. 227 ff.

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first shock of the Saxon invasions some of the Britons were killed, others enslaved, others fled to the mountains, the forests, and the coasts, and others "sought lands beyond the seas with great lamentation, as if singing under the bellying sails, instead of a chanty, as follows: *Thou hast given us like sheep appointed for eating and amongst the gentiles hast thou scattered us*". Gildas does not say where these refugees went, but it could be nowhere else than Brittany. He treats this as having taken place before the victories of the Romano-British chief Ambrosius Aurelianus over the Saxons, which Myres dates very tentatively at about A.D. 470 to 480.¹ The presence of a British bishop, Mansuetus, at the Council of Tours in 461² is perhaps a direct result of this movement; ³ it is significant that Brittany was in the Archbishopric of Tours, which would make it probable that Mansuetus was a Breton rather than a Briton.⁴ The first Continental author who describes anything like an immigration of a body of Bretons as such is Jordanes,⁵ who, writing in the year 551, says that the Emperor Anthemius asked the help of the Britons against the Visigoths, and that their king Riotimus came with 12,000 men by sea and established himself in the province of Berry, but was defeated and fled to Burgundy.⁶ This occurred about A.D. 470. It does not seem clear whether this means that Anthemius sent to Britain for help, or to an already strongly established colony in Brittany. Loth believed the latter,⁷ and that the reference to ships means that he sailed from the coast of Brittany and up the Loire.⁸ But 12,000 fighting men would be a large number for the young colony to raise, and would leave it dangerously

¹ RBES. p. 319.

² Cf. Loth, *op. cit.* p. 153.

³ De La Borderie, *Annales de Bretagne*, iv, 312-13, notes that the emigrations must therefore have begun at least the year before.

⁴ The two words are not distinguished by mediaeval Latin writers.

⁵ See Loth, *op. cit.* p. 154.

⁶ *Getica*, c. 45. See edition by Th. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auct. Antiquiss.* v, i, p. 118. He prints *Riotimus*, with variant *Riothimus*.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 155. But in ML. p. 21 he implies that they had come from Britain, "and had doubtless already touched land in Brittany, never to return there".

⁸ This was also the view of de La Borderie, *op. cit.* pp. 252-3.

depopulated. On the whole, the probability is rather that they were one of the mass migrations of Britons, who must have been seeking their fortunes across the seas at this time, and would be eager to take mercenary employment with the Continental rulers, rather than that they were recruited from the settlement in Brittany.¹ We need not suppose, however, that they were actually summoned from Britain, but simply that they were a body of transients, perhaps a turbulent nuisance to the Romans in Gaul unless employed by them in warfare. Sidonius Apollinaris, who died c. A.D. 489, mentions Britons settled on the Loire (*Epistles* i, 7, *Britannos super Ligerim sitos*), and calls their chief Riothamus² (*op. cit.* iii, 9); this would seem to refer to the same company at the time of their arrival in Berry.

So far, then, we have clear evidence for the first movements of emigrants from Britain to Brittany as having taken place roughly between 450 and 470. By the next generation we may suppose that the Breton colony was already established. Soon after the death of Clovis in 511 one Riwalus came from Britain with a large fleet and occupied Brittany, according to the compiler of the Life of St. Winnoc.³ This seems to represent the foundation of Domnonia. A letter from the bishops of Tours, Angers, and Rennes, written between 509 and 521, and threatening to excommunicate the Breton priests Lovocatus and Catihernus,⁴ seems to imply the presence of enough Bretons in the Domnonian province at this time for their religious practices to be a matter of grave concern to the Gallic ecclesiastical authorities. Loth notes (EB. p. 159) that

¹ De La Borderie's objection to this, *loc. cit.*, is not to be taken seriously.

² The name was really Late Brit. **Ri3odaμos*, on which see p. 457. This would be spelt normally in fifth- or sixth-century Latin as *Rigotamus* or *Riotamus* (see *ibid.*). The *th* is simply a Merovingian spelling of the letter *t*; and *Riot(h)imus* a corruption by scribal error. There is absolutely no ground for regarding the *th* as a form of Gaulish (!) lenition, as Gray does, *Language*, xx, 225.

³ See EB. p. 159.

⁴ Printed by A. Jülicher, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xvi, 665, and by Duchesne in *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée*, 1885, pp. 6-7; on the date see *op. cit.* p. 9. The letter clearly shows that the heresy was regarded as a foreign importation by the priests' compatriots. It was of a distinctly Celtic type, see L. Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques* (Paris, 1911), p. 95.

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the chief British missionary saints to Brittany, as Samson, Paul Aurelien, Tudwal, Maglorius, and Brieuc, arrived there in the first years of the sixth century; being missionaries, there must have been colonies of Bretons for them to work among. According to Loth (*op. cit.* p. 158), the Bretons were settled on the Continent in large numbers from the middle of the sixth century. The Waroc who founded the third great Breton state, Bro Werec, was active there in the last quarter of the sixth century, as may be seen from the *Historia Francorum* of his contemporary Gregory of Tours, v, 16, 26, ix, 18. His uncle, Conomor, joined forces with Chramne, the revolted son of Clotaire, and fought against Clotaire in 560.¹ The fullest extent of the Breton colonisation seems to have been reached with the establishment of Bro Werec. Gregory of Tours does not refer to the country and its people as Armorica and the Armorici, the old Gallo-Roman name of the land, but as Britannia and Britanni; though at the Second Council of Tours in 567 the Bretons and Gallo-Romans of Armorica were still distinguished.² The last insular British saint who came as a missionary to Brittany was Yvi, at the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century.³

Thus the historical evidence seems to show that the Breton migrations began in the middle and third quarter of the fifth century and had probably reached their climax by the middle or second half of the sixth, although prolonged into the beginning of the seventh.⁴ We may regard the settlements as virtually complete by the first half of the seventh century.⁵ As for the superior limit, Collingwood appears to wish to place them earlier than the testimony quoted above would allow. He says the Britons were beginning to pour into Armorica about the time of Germanus' missions, i.e. 429-49, and that "the movement went strongly forward between 450 and 550, but it began earlier";⁶ and he speaks of the British exodus

¹ Cf. Loth, ML. p. 22; Gregory of Tours, iv, 4.

² EB. p. 158.

³ EB. p. 160.

⁴ Cf. EB. p. 158.

⁵ Lewis, LLC. p. 1, says that there were two great migrations, one about 450 and the other in the last half of the sixth century and in the seventh. But he quotes no support for these statements.

⁶ RBES. p. 312.

as a "mass migration" in the time of Vortigern in the middle of the fifth century.¹ But he gives no proof that the emigrations began any earlier than, say, about 450, nor is there the slightest solid evidence in support of it; and in fact the discussion above seems to indicate that one cannot talk of "mass migrations", or at any rate mass settlement, before the late fifth century.

One of the most difficult problems concerning the history of the Breton emigrants is the question why they abandoned Britain. If they had come from south-eastern Britain it would be easy to understand why they began to leave when they did, for the Saxons were settling in those parts in force in the second half of the fifth century, and Gildas' picture of the British refugees would fit this excellently. But the linguistic and other evidence already mentioned would appear to show that they must have come from the Devon-Cornwall peninsula, if not also from the neighbouring districts to the east. If so, it can hardly have been as the result of Saxon occupation of their territory, for the Saxons did not settle in Devon till the end of the seventh century and in Cornwall till the beginning of the ninth (see pp. 205-6). The early English kingdom of Wessex, established at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century, hardly expanded into the West Country before the battle of Dyrham in 577 and the occupation of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. Hence Collingwood is forced to regard the Breton emigrations as not caused by the Saxons at all,² but he omits to explain what he thinks the cause was.³

Now such "mass migrations" do not take place without a reason, but it is probably a mistake to suppose too narrowly that an exodus only occurs when a territory is occupied or

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 315.

² *Op. cit.* p. 312, "certainly not due to Saxon pressure in Britain".

³ F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, xi (Paris, 1933), col. 962 (following F. Lot), the enemy were Irish raiders, not the Anglo-Saxons. But the period of the Irish raids was over by the time the Breton migrations began. The purpose of this Irish theory is to explain why there should have been an exodus from Devon and Cornwall when the invaders were so far away; but it does not account, for instance, for the much later movement led by Riwalus, when the English were little nearer. Cabrol's own account of the migrations is unreliable.

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about to be occupied and not before. Gildas' words make it clear, if they can be trusted, that the earliest emigrants, apparently in the third quarter of the fifth century, were in fact fleeing from the Saxons; and calling the first invaders a "fire of vengeance", he describes it as blazing from sea to sea, devastating all the neighbouring cities and lands, and not quenched until, having burned almost all the island, it reached the western ocean. These are rhetorical words, of course, but they serve to remind us that at any given stage the invaders may easily have raided far outside the areas which they had permanently conquered and settled. It is surely not at all impossible that thousands of Britons from what was to become Wessex may have fled directly across the seas before the occasional raids and before the fear rather than the actuality of permanent conquest by the Saxons, in the middle of the fifth century; and many far-sighted people even in the West Country, Devon, and Cornwall may have foreseen a time when the Saxons would seize their lands too, though for the moment there was apparently no danger, and may have decided to settle abroad while they still could. Such organised mass movements are indicated by the story of Riotimus. As we shall see (pp. 199, 201 ff.), there seems to have been half a century of peace in southern England after the nucleus of the Saxon kingdom of Wessex was established, between the end of the fifth century and the middle of the sixth. Then the Saxons began the western expansion which carried them to the Bristol Channel, and it is very likely that this would set off fresh waves of emigration out of the West Country, from the battle of Old Sarum in 552 to the battle of Dyrham in 577, when the Saxons seized southern Gloucestershire and reached the borders of Somerset and Dorset. Hence we may perhaps envisage the Breton emigrations as beginning with a panic flight from a wide area of southern England before the invading Saxons in the third quarter of the fifth century; then for the next two or three generations taking the form of bodies of emigrants going over to join their relatives in the new colony. The exodus of what must have been a large section of the Dumnonii under their chief Riwalus soon after 511 may

represent the alarm which must have been felt in the West Country in the period immediately preceding the battle of Mount Badon (see pp. 199, 202), assuming that it was later than that date ; or if the migration occurred after the battle, men may not yet have realised its temporarily decisive nature. This was followed possibly by a comparative calm, and then by a renewed and perhaps larger stampede when the men of Wessex broke the fifty years' peace and began to push aggressively towards the West Country and the Bristol Channel, doubtless accelerated by the British defeat at Dyrham, and finally tapering off at the end of the sixth century and in the first half of the seventh when the expansion of Wessex had been halted for the time being at the forest of Selwood.

How does this reconstruction of the historical evidence suit what we know of the linguistic ? As a general principle when dealing with the separation of sister languages one from the other, it is clear that changes common to all of them should have occurred before the separation, and changes peculiar to the individual languages should have taken place after it. Obviously, from the linguistic standpoint, it would make a neat and tidy picture if we could show that there was a definite dateable period when Late West British and Late South-West British existed side by side as independent dialects, during which time the peculiarities which distinguish Welsh from Cornish and Breton were in process of formation ; and after that a clean break when the Bretons all at once in a single mass emigrated from Devon and Cornwall, from which point Cornish and Breton became distinct languages. For instance, if the Breton migration took place during the second half of the sixth century, that would be our turning-point, and the West British versus South-West British dichotomy could be taken to have existed during the previous century or couple of centuries as might seem most likely.

Unfortunately, such a simple scheme suits neither the historical nor the linguistic evidence. For the historical, the Britons of the West and South-West were not cut off from contact with each other by land until the campaign of Dyrham in 577 ; and until they were thus cut off, the formation of two

utterly distinct dialects would be improbable, since one would suppose that as long as the two areas were linked by land through the west Midlands and western Wessex, linguistic innovations in the one could spread easily to the other. But in that case there might seem to be very little time left at all for the consolidation of the south-western dialect before the Breton migrations came to an end. Besides, the Breton exodus had begun more than a century before the battle of Dyrham. As to the linguistic side, the evidence for the dating of the sound-changes mentioned here is presented in Part II of this book; those whose dates are quite doubtful are omitted here, and only those are listed the dates of which can be corroborated by information other than the mere fact that this or that change must have taken place before or after the Bretons left for Brittany, so that no argument in a circle is involved. The points of significance for the present purpose may be summarised as follows:

I. One or two indications of a possible dialect division between West and South-West Brittonic go back far into the British period:

- (a) Certain variations in the history of *st* and *s* have their roots in the first century A.D. or before; see § 122.
- (b) Rarely, Brit. *ȝ* did not become *ð* in South-West Brittonic, though normally it did so. This is probably older than the fourth to early fifth century; cf. § 38 A 1, 3.

Nevertheless, there is no real accumulation of divergences between West and South-West Brittonic until the sixth century.

II. West and South-West Brittonic both innovate, but in different ways:

- (a) Vowel affection of *o* by final *ī* differs very slightly in the two; late fifth to early sixth century; p. 586, n. 3.
- (b) Brit. *īā* > *aiā* gives Pr.W. *aia* but Pr.CB. *oia*, perhaps in the second half of the sixth century; cf. p. 359.

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- (c) Late Brit. \bar{o} gives W. *au* when stressed, in the eighth century, § 11, > \bar{o} when subsequently unstressed, late eleventh century, § 12; but CB. \bar{o} when stressed (C. second half of the tenth century, B. tenth to eleventh), > *e* when subsequently unstressed, later eleventh century; § 13.

III. West Brittonic innovates, South-West Brittonic preserves :

- (a) *o, e* > *u, i* before certain consonants in W. only, first half of the sixth century; §§ 4. 1; 6. 2.
 (b) Pretonic *u, i* are reduced to \varnothing , ι in W. only, mid or later sixth century; p. 680.
 (c) *lt* > *ll* in W. only, eighth century; § 54. 1.
 (d) *ou* > *öü*, eighth century, > *ëü* by the later tenth century, in W. only; § 46. 2.
 (e) *mp, nt, nc* > *mh, nh, ηh* in W. only, eighth to early ninth century; § 108.
 (f) Prosthetic *a* began in the ninth century and was fully established in the eleventh, in W. only; § 119.
 (g) *r-, l-* became completely set up as the strong voiceless varieties, in W. only, by the tenth century; § 93.
 (h) Internal *r₃, l₃* give *r₂, l₂* in W. only, twelfth century; § 88.

IV. South-West Brittonic innovates, West Brittonic preserves :

- (a) *u* > *u* or *o*, *i* > *i* or *e*, in CB. only, first half of the sixth century; §§ 5. 1; 7. 2.
 (b) Final nasals cause gemination of stops in external sandhi, in CB. only, first half of the sixth century; §§ 187, 189.
 (c) *r₃, l₃* begin to develop towards *rch, lch* apparently in the first half of the sixth century, in CB. only; § 88.

V. Welsh and Cornish innovate, but not Breton :

- (a) Svarabhakti is fully established in OC., and is beginning in OW., but never takes place in B.; § 33.

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- (b) \tilde{v} loses nasality in W. and C. but not in B., by the early twelfth century ; § 100.

VI. Welsh and Breton innovate, but not Cornish : apparently no instances.

VII. Cornish alone innovates :

- (a) $-nt, -lt > -ns, -ls$, second half of the eleventh century ; § 110.
(b) $-t > -s$, beginning about 1100 ; § 52. 1.

VIII. Breton alone innovates :

- (a) Secondary vowel affection by i, \dot{i} , tenth to eleventh century ; § 176.
(b) $\mathfrak{z} > ch-$, beginning with MB. ; p. 435.
(c) $th > s$, eleventh century ; fully voiced to z , twelfth century ; § 53.
(d) $\bar{d} > z$, early twelfth century ; § 68.

IX. For the other side of the question, there are the changes which are found in all three languages, from the middle of the fifth century (earlier ones may be ignored here as irrelevant), as follows :

- (a) Lenition, second half of the fifth century ; § 142.
(b) $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$, later fifth and early sixth centuries ; § 9.
(c) Final i -affection, later fifth and early sixth centuries ; § 169.
(d) $mb, nd > mm, nn$, end of fifth to end of sixth century ; § 112.
(e) $\mathfrak{z} > \mathfrak{u}$ in certain circumstances, beginning of sixth century ; § 75. 8.
(f) Final consonants cause gemination of stops, first half of the sixth century ; § 185.
(g) \bar{u} ($<$ older oi, \bar{o} , Latin \bar{u}) $> \bar{u}$, probably in the first half or middle of the sixth century ; § 22. 3.
(h) Loss of final syllables complete by the middle of the sixth century ; § 182.
(i) Syncope of composition vowels, mid sixth century, and of other vowels, middle or second half of the sixth century ; §§ 195, 197.

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- (j) $\Sigma > h$, middle or second half of the sixth century ; §§ 115, 116.
- (k) Double *tenués*, and *tenués* after *l, r*, become voiceless spirants, middle or second half of the sixth century ; §§ 147, 149.
- (l) ɜ before *l, r, n* is vocalised, second half of the sixth century ; § 86.
- (m) Internal *i*-affection, seventh to eighth century ; § 176.
- (n) Loss of intervocal and final ɜ in various positions at varying dates ; § 89.
- (o) ɥ - fully $> gw$ -, in Wales already by the late eighth century, in Cornwall in the tenth century, in Brittany in the ninth ; § 49.
- (p) Unstressed $\text{ɨ} \ddot{u} > i$, later tenth century in Wales, early eleventh in Cornwall and Brittany ; § 36. 2.
- (q) The accent shift, eleventh century ; § 207.

A glance at these dates will show that they are very far from supplying a chronology which will fit neatly and conveniently into a scheme which postulates an instantaneous and complete break at the time of the first Breton migrations. It is obvious that we cannot say that Primitive Breton as a separate language begins when the Britons started to flee overseas about A.D. 450. The categories listed above must be interpreted with care in trying to reconcile them with the historical evidence, to arrive at some precise picture of the situation. Section I tells us that a few of the dialect distinctions between West and South-West Brittonic go back a long way ; II, and especially III and IV, show an acceleration of new divergences beginning in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Nevertheless, we cannot simply say that West and South-West Brittonic split permanently apart at any of these periods, because, on the other hand, IX gives clear proof that all through this time and later other changes were occurring which were shared equally by the two, being plentiful throughout the sixth century. The last five listed date from the seventh to eighth century on, and are probably on a different footing from the rest, since on no historical theory is the

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rupture between West and South-West Brittonic likely to be quite so late as this. They are probably either late and independent expressions of tendencies inherited in common, or coincidences due to the like nature of the premise. So the oldest of them, IX (m), is clearly the result of a nuance or tendency which goes back to the sixth century but did not work itself out until much later, and significantly at dates which differ somewhat in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. IX (o) is quite certainly another case, since there is reason to think that initial *u-* was developing some degree of velarisation as early as the sixth century (cf. p. 390), though it was not usually observed by the speakers of the three languages until much later, and again at rather different dates. IX (n), loss of intervocal *-z-*, varies a good deal, and is evidently on the whole a coincidence due to the inherent instability of the sound in Pr.WCB. IX (p) is another coincidence arising out of a natural development from a common basis; IX (q) must be so too, and it is noteworthy that it never happened at all in the Breton dialect of Vannes.

That independent but identical developments do take place among sister languages, based upon faint tendencies already beginning or phonetic situations already existing in the parent language, is well known. It is seen, for instance, in early West Germanic, where though Anglo-Saxon and Old Frisian must have separated not later than the time of the English invasion of Britain, yet both developed some centuries afterwards a similar *i*-umlaut because the inherent possibility and favourable background for this existed already in the common ancestor. Or to choose parallels from nearer home, we shall see (§ 132) that the lenition which occurred both in Goedelic and in Brittonic in the fifth century A.D. probably grew out of an ancient nuance inherited from Common Celtic; and as cases where independent coincidental developments of common phonetic situations are the cause rather than common pre-existing nuances, one may point to the way in which short vowels before certain liquid and nasal groups became diphthongs, and long [ē] became [ia], in Southern Irish and Northern Scottish Gaelic when no contemporary causing factor

shared by both is at all probable.¹ Finally, an even more apt illustration is the fact that identical or closely similar sound-changes continued to grow up both in Welsh and in Breton many centuries after the period under discussion here.²

From VII and VIII it is plain that no clear and accurately dateable differentiations took place in South-West Brittonic as between Cornish and Breton until the tenth and eleventh centuries. The fact that Pr.CB. δ became \bar{o} in both about that time, and then e when unstressed after the accent shift (II c), must be another coincidence. It is significant that there are no new evolutions common to Welsh and Breton from which Cornish is excluded; the migrations, once they were completed, effectively cut Brittany off from Welsh linguistic influence, and vice versa, though not necessarily from Cornish. In theory, after the Breton movement was over, one might think it possible that innovations in Wales might spread to Cornwall and others from Cornwall to Wales, in spite of the fact that the connection between the two by land was severed; and that these would therefore appear in Welsh and Cornish but not in Breton. Group V might constitute examples of this, especially V (a), which looks as though it began in Cornwall and spread to Wales, but this is by no means necessarily so. It may be a coincidence, as V (b) very probably is.

Looking, then, at this analysis of the linguistic situation, it seems that in a certain few respects West and South-West Brittonic were diverging into two dialects as early as the first century A.D., and that this increased considerably in the late fifth and sixth centuries; but that in spite of this they remained in many ways one language unit, over which new developments could spread everywhere, until at least the

¹ See T. F. O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present* (Dublin, 1932), pp. 49 ff. and 194.

² As T. H. Parry-Williams has shown in his *Some Points of Similarity in the Phonology of Welsh and Breton* (Paris, 1913), e.g. pp. 39 ff., etc. Compare O'Rahilly's words in his *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946), p. 354, about "the parallel developments that occurred in Breton and Welsh after these two British dialects had ceased to have any contact with each other".

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latter part of the sixth century. After that time the probability is that any new changes common to Welsh on the one hand and to Cornish and Breton on the other are independent though not ultimately unconnected phenomena.¹ It is clear, therefore, that on the one hand the period of the language when we can speak of a common Brittonic tongue as existing comes to an end roughly about A.D. 600, while on the other hand a division into West and South-West Brittonic sub-dialects, faintly beginning very early indeed, was going on at an increasing rate from the late fifth century. After that, no definitely dateable distinction proving the existence of separate Cornish and Breton languages is to be found before the tenth and eleventh centuries; there may or may not be some reason to see a few new changes of common origin affecting both Welsh and Cornish but not Breton about that time.

Then how is this reconciled with the historical picture as it has already been described? First, with regard to the division of western Britain into the West and the South-West, the divergences between W.Britt. and SW.Britt. in the fifth and sixth centuries show that it had indeed begun in earnest not long after the first Saxon settlements, and went on at an increasing rate; but the continued common innovations until the later part of the sixth century indicate on the other hand, as we should expect, that there was no actual break between the two until the campaign of Dyrham in 577 and the subsequent Saxon occupation which destroyed the Brittonic continuity by land. This was the final rupture in the history of the evolution of Welsh on the one hand and Cornish and Breton on the other, and is to be dated in the generation immediately following 577, so that *c.* 600 may be given as the terminus. Secondly, there is the bearing of this on the Breton emigrations and the origin of the separate Cornish and Breton languages. We have seen that the Bretons began to leave, probably from wide parts of southern England, in the

¹ In theory, of course, if these changes are independent, so might some or all of the earlier ones be; but there is such a mass of identical innovations shared by WCB. in the sixth century that this is not probable or credible; the later ones are by contrast very few, and some have demonstrably a common origin in the sixth century.

middle and third quarter of the fifth century, to be followed by other waves from Devon and Cornwall in the next two generations. But our linguistic data make it perfectly clear that we cannot speak of Breton and Cornish as beginning their separate careers from 450 on ; on the contrary, they were certainly one language until the end of the sixth century at least. But if so many emigrants left a century and more before, how can that be ? Why did they not set the pattern of the Breton language from that point forward ? The answer must be that whatever may or may not have happened in the comparatively archaic Brittonic speech of the overseas settlements in the century from about 450 to 550, that of the last emigrations of the second half and end of the sixth century swamped it ; the variety of Brittonic they brought with them, with all its new developments since the older emigrants had left, must have become the universal form of the language in Brittany. This should surely mean that these late migrations were crowded, equal to or more numerous than the previous ones put together ; and that it may therefore be correct to envisage two wave-crests in the Breton flight, one in the second half of the fifth century and another in the second half of the sixth (especially in the generation after the battle of Dyrham), the latter being the greater.¹ As the Saxons were now drawing uncomfortably near to Devon towards the end of the sixth century, that is what might be expected. Moreover, this will explain why it is that though the first emigrations must surely have come from much farther east than Devon and Cornwall, yet the language of Brittany is so very closely related to that of Cornwall. It was not the first-comers who established the character of the future Breton speech, but the converse, the pattern for Breton as we know it was set by the latest emigrants, who certainly came from Devon and Cornwall. This does away with the necessity for any hypothesis that the movement in the fifth century was caused by the Irish, not the Anglo-Saxons. The theory was supposed to explain the South-West Brittonic character of Breton at so early a date ; but now it appears that nothing whatever is known of the language of

¹ Compare p. 15, n. 5.

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the fifth-century emigrants, who may therefore very possibly have come from Eastern England or anywhere in the South. In any case, the definitely South-West Brittonic character of the migrations was no doubt already established at least as early as the important colony led from Devon by Riwalus shortly after 511.

In the period following the fading away of the overseas movement in the seventh century, the speech of Brittany and Cornwall seems to have remained without any real changes until the tenth to eleventh century, when the inevitable tendency to drift apart begins to manifest itself. Naturally it could have begun earlier, from the seventh century, and may indeed have done so; but there is no definite evidence for this. It is likely that continued intercourse by sea between Cornwall and Brittany may have helped to preserve the unity of the Cornish and Breton varieties of SW.Britt., at any rate until the Saxon conquest of Cornwall in the ninth century;¹ and the presence in Brittany of missionaries from Britain as late as Yvi at the beginning of the eighth century shows that such intercourse did still exist for a considerable time. A colonial language need not begin to diverge the moment the last emigrants have left. In a similar way, early Irish colonists brought the Irish Goedelic language to Scotland at the end of the fifth century A.D., but (as I have shown elsewhere)² the Gaelic of Ireland and that of Scotland did not begin to separate at all until the tenth century, and cannot be regarded as reaching the stage of distinct languages until the twelfth and thirteenth; this is evidently due to the fact that all this time Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland formed a single unified culture province, with continual intercourse across the sea. And this is a much more extreme instance

¹ Cf. Loth, RC. xxxix, 304, "l'Armorique était une simple province du Celtisme, en rapports continuels et intimes, à tout point de vue, avec les pays celtiques d'outre-mer". He is referring to the middle of the seventh century and even a century later. The same, RC. xxxv, 272, "du V^e au IX^e-X^e siècles, l'Armorique est une dépendance du Cornwall", etc.; *ibid.* p. 273, "les relations par mer entre le sud-ouest de l'île, et de l'Armorique ont été, on peut le dire, journalières jusqu'à la fin du moyen-âge".

² "Common Gaelic"; the British Academy *Rhys Lecture* for 1951.

than the case of Cornish and Breton. Here is the reason, then, why early Old Cornish and Old Breton are so very much alike, and why it is so difficult to decide solely on linguistic evidence whether a document like the Smaragdus glosses (see p. 59), of the late ninth or early tenth century, is to be regarded as Old Breton or Old Cornish. Nevertheless, considering the historical situation, we may reasonably speak of the separate Cornish and Breton languages as going back to the seventh century, even though, linguistically speaking, we cannot point to any definite and dateable distinction before the tenth.

(*N.B.*—Förster dates the Breton migrations 450 to 550 (FT. p. 157, probably following Collingwood; cf. FT. p. 424), and *consequently* puts the vowel-lengthening common to all Brittonic back into the fifth century; which, as we have seen, by no means necessarily follows (this, by leading to a number of other datings, seriously vitiates his whole chronology; see p. 343). On the other hand, since the diphthongisation of \bar{e} , likewise common to Brittonic, is on other grounds clearly later than the fifth century, he is forced to make it not before the migration *began* but before it *ended* (as he implies) in about A.D. 550 (FT. p. 160), and therefore dates it sixth century (*ibid.* p. 174). But if vowel lengthening must be older than the *beginning* of the migrations *because* it is common Brittonic, so should diphthongisation of \bar{e} be. Elsewhere Förster allows that some sound-changes common to W., C., and B. may have arisen independently out of common causes (*op. cit.* pp. vi, 170-71), and treats the question less rigidly (and inconsistently with his opinions as just described); he even goes so far as to put the final separation of W., C., and B. as *c.* 700 (p. 178). This is too late, depending on sound-changes which should be dated earlier.)

[The publication of F. Falc'hun's *L'Histoire de la langue bretonne d'après la géographie linguistique* (Rennes, 1950-1951) unfortunately came too late for it to be used in writing the present work, except for the addition of

some footnotes. Falc'hun has made a thorough study of the Breton dialects as they appear at the present day, and decides that they began to differentiate themselves as soon as the Britons settled in Brittany, thus disagreeing markedly with the conclusion above, and with Loth's that this did not happen until the sixteenth-seventeenth century. In the course of a number of subtle arguments Falc'hun shows brilliantly the development of the four great Breton dialects, but as to their absolute dating the evidence for the early period is inferential. It consists of (a) some supposed Gallo-Romance features in southern Breton borrowed from the Armorican natives at the time of the invasions, and (b) of a theory about the date of what Falc'hun has shown to be the Cornouaille colonisation of Belle-Ile and effect on its dialect. In approaching the problem chiefly from the point of view of the modern dialects and working backwards, the author pays comparatively little attention to the solid evidence of the earliest written Breton, of the Glosses and Cartularies, which however sometimes conflicts with his conclusions, as will appear below ; and still less attention to that of Pr.W. and Pr.C. The degree of Gallo-Romance influence seems to have been exaggerated (the statistics on the distribution of place-names are rather misleading), and one would like to see the nature and history of the neighbouring mediaeval French dialects explored as a preferable explanation for possible Romance features in the Breton dialects. A fuller enquiry into the history of Gallo-Romance would probably show that some of them cannot be as early as the fifth century in Breton. One or two characteristics, such as south Breton palatalisation, may be very old and perhaps due to the Armorican substratum, but this class of evidence for early date strikes one as overestimated. As for the Cornouaille influence on Belle-Ile, which is made a cardinal point in Falc'hun's chronology, the proof that it took place in the early eleventh century (p. 51) is so

slender as to be illusory ; the most that can be said is that it happened between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. The attempt to demonstrate that the Breton dialects are as old as the migration period, or significantly older than, say, the eleventh to twelfth century, cannot therefore be said to succeed. On the other hand, the treatment of the later history of Breton, which constitutes nine-tenths of the book, is of the very greatest value, and will stand as a vigorous and most important contribution to Celtic studies, marked throughout by a keen historical sense. The above remarks concern only a small part of it, where it impinges on the present work.]

CHAPTER II

WRITTEN SOURCES

THE remaining chapters of Part I will deal, among other things, with the sources from which we derive our knowledge about Brittonic at the whole period under discussion. Much of it is the result of inference, the rest comes from actual documents containing Brittonic words and names. Except for the post-Roman inscriptions of the West, which must have a chapter to themselves, this documentary evidence will be dealt with in the present chapter.

Apart from the coins of some of the pre-Roman kings,¹ with their brief inscriptions in Latin letters, direct information on the language during the *Early British* period is confined entirely to Classical sources. These begin early, with the story of the voyage of Pytheas of Marseilles (c. 325 B.C.), whose lost account of his travels is quoted by later writers;² and continue with references to place and personal names in the writings of Caesar, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Tacitus, Dio Cassius, Ammianus, and others. In addition to these, there are several specifically geographical works which demand particular notice.

First, the Geography of Ptolemy (Ptol.), composed in Greek about A.D. 150.³ The standard edition is that by Otto Cuntz, *Die Geographie des Ptolemäus* (Berlin, 1923); but Cuntz did not include the section on Britain, and for our purposes we have to rely on the less satisfactory edition by C. Müller, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia* (Paris, 1883). The oldest MS., which was not used by Müller, was written about 1200, and

¹ See Sir John Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (London, 1864–90), and numerous articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* between 1891 and 1908.

² See W. Dinan, *Monumenta Historica Celtica*, i (London, 1911), pp. 52 ff.

³ For a careful discussion of the text of Ptolemy see Förster, FT. pp. 228 ff.

the many other MSS. date from the thirteenth to sixteenth century, so that over a thousand years passed between the composition of the work and the earliest extant MSS., during which time many gross corruptions crept into the text. Ptolemy himself says¹ that his chief source was the lost material gathered by Marinus of Tyre about A.D. 100, and that he corrected and enlarged this from accurate maps and from the information of travellers. Hence, as some of Ptolemy's matter is older than his time, the forms of British names which he gives need not be those of the middle of the second century, but may be older, though hardly before the Roman conquest of Britain in A.D. 43, and probably not much before the end of the first century.² G. Macdonald has shown³ that Ptolemy did not know of the existence of Hadrian's Wall, constructed in A.D. 122, and therefore that his information at least for northern Britain would be older than that time. The maps mentioned were probably attached to Roman itineraries; and the travellers must have been merchants and Roman soldiers and officials, who learned the names from the Britons and told them to Ptolemy, so that oral corruption has to be taken into account. In fact, Ptolemy's sources for Britain are in general Roman rather than Greek, and in a number of cases this is directly apparent. So there are some place-names which he gives ending in *-ουμ*, obviously really the Latin *-um*, as well as others like *Οὐικτορία* = *Victoria*, or translations from Latin like *Πτερωντὸν Στρατόπεδον* = *Pinnata Castra*.⁴

After Ptolemy, the next geographical work, and a very important one for the map of Roman Britain, is that known as the Antonine Itinerary⁵ (AI.), a gazetteer of the cities and towns along the chief Roman roads, with the mileage between them; obviously derived from official Roman sources. Its

¹ On Ptolemy's sources see Cuntz, *op. cit.* pp. 110-36, and P. Schnabel, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1930), *Phil.-Hist. Kl.* pp. 214 ff.

² Cf. Förster, FT. p. 210.

³ JRS. ix, 137.

⁴ Ptolemy's Greek rendering of British names is printed in this book always without accents, since they are quite fanciful, have no bearing on the British, and would be liable to cause confusion; cf. Förster, FT. p. 247.

⁵ Edited by O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana*, i (Leipzig, 1929).

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date is about A.D. 300.¹ Then there is the Peutinger Table (Peut.),² a pictorial map of the Roman Empire with place-names, dated by its editor, Miller, as derived from a source of about A.D. 365. This again comes from Roman official documents. Unfortunately it includes only a small part of Britain, in the South-East. Next is the material given by the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, or Ravennas as he is called (Rav.),³ a list of British place-names jumbled together and preserved in an exceedingly corrupt form. This was compiled about the year 670, but the British section goes back, like the Peutinger map, to a source of the fourth century, showing no trace of post-Roman influence; not an itinerary but a full description of the land, according to Miller, *op. cit.* pp. xxvi ff., but Richmond and Crawford, *op. cit.*, have made it seem probable that it was mainly an itinerary. Finally, there is the Notitia Dignitatum (ND.),⁴ an official list of the disposition of the Roman forces in Britain at the beginning of the fifth century.⁵

With all these authorities the question of the text is, of course, a fundamental one. These Continental compilers were dealing mostly not with names which were familiar household ones to them, but with those of a remote half-barbaric island about which they probably knew very little. Some of the forms may have been incorrect in their original sources, and certainly in the subsequent history of the MS. tradition all sorts of corruptions crept in. Frequently these can be controlled by our knowledge of the Brittonic languages, but this control often fails us; and moreover, though the etymology of a name may be known, the most essential point for the present study, namely what stage a given sound development

¹ Collingwood says (RBES. p. 241) "generally ascribed to the early third century"; but this is probably incorrect, and it belongs to the time of Diocletian, see K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart, 1916), p. liv. So Förster dates it c. 300, KW. p. 230 and FT. pp. 210, 228.

² Edited by K. Miller, *op. cit.*

³ Edited by J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana*, ii (Leipzig, 1940), see his pp. 105 ff.; and by I. A. Richmond and O. G. S. Crawford, *The British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography* (Oxford, 1949).

⁴ Edited by O. Seeck, Berlin, 1876.

⁵ Collingwood dates it in the year 428 (RBES. p. 289); Förster in 426 (FT. p. 210); Miller, *op. cit.* p. lxxvi, as c. 400.

had reached at a given period, may still elude us. The most corrupt of the above documents is the Ravenna Geography, with Ptolemy a close second; the least so is the Antonine Itinerary, which was evidently compiled on the spot.

The character of the MS. tradition of Ptolemy's Geography, and the nature of the textual variations, have been the subject of an analysis by Max Förster, *FT.* pp. 228 ff. The archetype must have been an uncial MS., and Förster shows how in consequence there are confusions of ι with τ , τ with γ , δ with γ , δ with λ , κ with τ , μ with κ , \omicron with σ , γ with σ , and so on. Further, most of the errors are due not so much to carelessness in writing as to late Greek popular pronunciations which deceived the scribes, who were writing from dictation. In Ptolemy's own time η , ι , $\epsilon\iota$, υ , and $\omicron\iota$ were not yet confused, but later they all came to be pronounced $\bar{\iota}$, and so one of the commonest mistakes in the MSS. of Ptolemy is the wrong use of some one of these letters, as e.g. in $\text{'}\Omega\tau\alpha\delta\eta\nu\omicron\iota$ for $\text{'}\Omega\tau\alpha\delta\iota\nu\omicron\iota$, or $\text{Ε}\bar{\iota}\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and $\text{'}\text{Ι}\tau\nu\omicron\varsigma$, which are both spellings for $\text{'}\text{Ι}\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$. Similarly, confusions of vowel quantity set in in later Greek speech, so that η and ϵ , ω and \omicron could be substituted for each other in writing; examples are $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ for $\Delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, $\text{'}\Omega\tau\alpha\delta\iota\nu\omicron\iota$ for $\text{'}\Omega\tau\alpha\delta\iota\nu\omicron\iota$. Since short $\bar{\upsilon}$ was written $\omicron\upsilon$ in Hellenistic times as well as long $\bar{\upsilon}$, an $\omicron\upsilon$ in Ptolemy need not mean a long vowel; e.g. in $\text{'}\text{Ι}\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha$ it is certainly short. Dialectically α became \omicron ; and \omicron was often pronounced $\bar{\upsilon}$, particularly in unstressed syllables, with the result that $\omicron\upsilon$ was often written for \omicron , and vice versa. Hence errors like $\Delta\eta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha$, $\text{Μ}\alpha\rho\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ for $\Delta\eta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha$, $\text{Μ}\omicron\rho\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\omicron\nu$; and $\text{'}\text{Ε}\beta\omicron\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$ for $\text{'}\text{Ε}\beta\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$. In Ptolemy's time $\alpha\iota$ was still a diphthong, but soon afterwards it became an open \bar{e} , and so British \bar{e} is often written $\alpha\iota$, as in $\text{Α}\bar{\iota}\beta\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota$ for $\text{'}\text{Ε}\beta\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota$, and compare the variants $\text{Κ}\alpha\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\text{Κ}\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and others. The Celtic diphthong [ou] presents a difficulty; Greek $\omicron\upsilon$ meant $\bar{\upsilon}$ or $\bar{\upsilon}$, but the Celtic sound may be rendered with $\omicron\upsilon$ in Ptolemy's Greek (though one would expect $\omicron\omicron\upsilon$). In the same way, Greek $\omicron\upsilon$ is used to spell [u], and for [ou] $\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ is used; but the first \omicron could easily be dropped, as in $\text{'}\text{Ο}\rho\delta\omicron\upsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ for $\text{'}\text{Ο}\rho\delta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$. The Greek β had become a bilabial [b] in pronunciation before

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Ptolemy's day, and consequently the Celtic [u̇], a similar though not identical sound, is often spelt with β, as in Βερουβιονυμ = Verubium, Κορναβιοι for Cornavii. In Ἀλυνων for Albion the reverse error is found.

As already remarked, the accents on the names in Ptolemy mean nothing. They were put in according to the fancy of the scribe or dictator, and are quite capricious. A circumflex accent, therefore, does not mean that a vowel is long, nor does an acute mean that it was short. An accent is often put absurdly on ου when it means [u̇], as in Δηοῦα, which is *Dēva*, not *Dēūa*. In this book Ptolemy's accents are therefore omitted. Nor are the genders which Ptolemy ascribes to British names to be taken as a safe guide to their real ones.¹

As to corruptions in the Latin sources, these are of the usual scribal kind, such as *n* for *u*, and vice versa, *ni* for *m*, and the rest; but again, since the scribes were dealing not with well-known Latin words, but with unfamiliar barbaric names, it was very much easier for mistakes depending on Vulgar Latinisms to enter in than it was in the case of ordinary Latin words the traditional classical spelling of which they well knew. The late Latin confusion of written *i* and *e*, *u* and *o*, must be taken into account.² One common error is the use of *c* for *g*, and vice versa, which is a familiar one in Latin MSS. and Vulgar Latin.³ Hence we have *Clevum* for *Glevum*, *Galleva* as a variant of *Calleva*, in the Antonine Itinerary; *Galgacus* as a variant of *Calgacus* in the MSS. of Tacitus' *Agricola*; the place called *Clanoventa* in AI. is *Glannibanta* in ND., and the correct form is probably *Glanoventa* or *Glannaventa*. Another very common mistake is the confusion of *b* and *v*, arising from the fact that in Vulgar Latin *v* in all positions, and internal *b*, had both come to be pronounced [b], the bilabial *v*; see p. 88. Examples are fairly frequent, especially in Ravennas, who has, for instance, *Bindogladia* for the *Vindogladia* or *Vindocladia* of AI., and the opposite error *Avalana* for *Aballava*; while ND. reads *Aballaba*. In certain positions an *x* became *s* in Vulgar Latin,⁴ and consequently *s* was sometimes spelt *x* or *xs* or *sx*

¹ Cf. Förster, FT. p. 321.

² See Grandgent, IVL. pp. 84, 87.

³ See Grandgent, *op. cit.* p. 107.

⁴ Cf. Grandgent, *op. cit.* p. 108.

(for examples of this see p. 192). Since the Latin documents in question had gone through a process of copying in comparatively late times, even late VL. sound-changes may need to be reckoned with, such as the voicing of intervocal *t* (fifth or sixth century, Grandgent, *op. cit.* p. 121), which is probably responsible for the second *d* in the *Anderidos* of ND., a variant of the more correct *Anderitos* (cf. p. 549, n. 1).

Apart from the manuscript authorities described, we have another type of information about the British language at this time, namely the Latin inscriptions belonging to the Romano-British period in the Imperial province. Those known up to 1873 were edited by E. Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae* (Berlin, 1873), volume vii in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1863 and following; abbreviated CIL.). Since then further discoveries have been published in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (Eph.Ep.), volumes iii, iv, vii, ix; in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (JRS.), and the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* (BBCS.) and elsewhere. A new edition of the inscriptions is badly needed. However, they do not tell us as much as they might about the British language. British place-names are very rare in them, and personal names are not nearly so common as might be expected. Moreover, many of them are Latin, and others, though Celtic, are by no means necessarily British. Some are those of Gaulish immigrants, like the Bruscus and Carssouna of CIL. vii, no. 191, who came of the Senones of Gaul. Others are the titles of Continental Celtic gods whose cults were introduced into Britain under Gallo-Roman influence. Still others are names on pottery and other objects of Continental manufacture, such as the so-called "Samian" ware which was imported from France. Linguistic theories about British drawn from such sources are, of course, misconceived; and indeed except in the case of names on artefacts of a type known to have been made in Britain, and dedications to gods whose cults are certainly native, it is usually impossible to be sure that a Celtic name in a Romano-British inscription is really British rather than Gaulish. Further, these inscriptions are not found evenly distributed in place or time. Most of those on stone

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belong to the Roman military areas of the North, and the vast majority date from the second century, becoming very rare by the middle of the third.¹

Greek and Roman writers and Latin inscriptions between them supply us with some picture of what the language was like in the Early British period. As it happens, however, though sound-changes were certainly occurring at this time (see the chronological table, p. 694), some of them were of such a nature as not to be noted in the spelling; e.g. $s > \Sigma$, $i > j$, $\chi s > X^s$, so that we do not find much in the way of a definite progression from earlier to later material. Besides, it is necessary to bear in mind that an apparent sound-change in a British name may be simply a question of the variant Greek and Latin spellings described on pp. 34-6; e.g. the spellings *Ixarninus*, *Isxarninus* are not to be taken as evidence of any change in the *s* of *Isarninus* as Morris Jones believed they were (see p. 522, n. 1). Then, too, the value of some of these sources is difficult to assess when dealing with a given form; for instance, we do not know when Ptolemy was copying from Marinus of Tyre and when he was quoting a contemporary traveller. The Antonine Itinerary, presumably going back to a road-book made up on the spot, is probably the most useful in this respect, as well as being textually the best preserved, but even here we cannot be sure that the compilers did not use (particularly for very well-known and important places) forms of town names as they had been taken into official government Latin early in the history of the Roman administration, and not the contemporary pronunciation of the British natives. It is likely enough, *a priori*, that they sometimes did the former, and indeed since the Latin authorities quoted, as well as Ptolemy in part, all derive from official Roman documents, this would tend to be true of all of them. This is probably the reason why late sources like Ravennas may still, for instance, distinguish *au*, *ou*, and *eu* (as *Alauna*, *Croucingo*, *Leuca*) when these diphthongs had probably already fallen together in \bar{o} in the late first century and \bar{o} had become \bar{u} by the end of the third; cf. *Clōta* in Tacitus and Ptolemy,

¹ Cf. Collingwood, RBES. p. 262.

Pennocrūcium in AI. (see §§ 18; 22. 1). Consequently, providing that it appears to be textually sound, an early occurrence of a changed form in these Roman documents is of more value for dating than a late occurrence of an unchanged form.¹

Names appearing in Greek and Roman writers were always given Greek and Latin terminations, so that it would be correct to speak of them as Graeco-British and Romano-British. For instance, British masculines in *-os*, feminines in *-ā*, neuters in *-on*, plurals in *-ī* and *-es*, appear as Greek *-os*, *-a*, *-ov*, *-oi*, *-es*, Latin *-us*, *-a*, *-um*, *-i*, *-es*. Some Latin documents, particularly AI. and Rav., use the ablative, really a locative, for some place-names, both singular and plural; in the plural, this is probably because the British name was itself plural, as is fairly certainly the case with *Dubris* (AI., Peut., ND., Rav.) for a British nom.pl. **Dubrās* or **Dubrā* (see pp. 243, 577, 629). A certain number of British town names are apparently derived from those of the rivers beside which they were built. Thus Rom.-Brit. *Conovium* (AI.), the Roman fort at Caerhun, is taken from the British name **Conouiā*, the Conway River,² W. *Conwy*; Rom.-Brit. *Leucarum* (AI.) is probably from **Leucarā*, the river on which it stands, as this is an obvious river name and one known elsewhere.³ Similarly Ekwall thinks that Brit. **Isurion* (Ptol. Ἰσουριον, AI. *Isurium*), Aldborough in Yorkshire, comes from the Brit. name of the river Ure, which he believes must have been **Isura* (see RN. pp. lxxxii, 428).⁴ Then, too, town names and district names

¹ Note also that even a source so corrupt and so very late as the final composition of *Ravennas* (c. 670) may preserve very old forms, older even than those in AI.

² Cf. R. J. Thomas, *BBCS*. vii, 132. The name is perhaps rather **Cānouiā*, see Williams, *En.Ll.* p. 37.

³ It consists of **leuc-* "bright" and the *-ar-ā* suffix seen in the names of some Gaulish rivers, as *Samara*, *Isara*, etc. The Ayrshire river Lugar is probably from **Leucarā* (see Watson, *CPNS*. p. 433, who gives the later form **Loucarā*).

⁴ Förster is of the opinion that names derived from rivers are due to the Romans so calling towns built by themselves, and not to a Celtic habit at all (*FT*. pp. 5 ff.). This may or may not be so; it is true that it was an ancient Italic custom to make feminine or neuter town names from river names; but, in any case, this makes no difference to the facts discussed here.

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may go back to those of the tribe to which they belong, as *Cantium* very likely from the *Cantii* (see JRS. xxxviii, 55); R. J. Thomas notes the Welsh town of *Degannwy*, probably Brit. **Decantoujon* (called *Arx Decantorum* in AC. 812), as coming from a local tribe whose name is preserved in *Decantorum* and in the MW. *Dygant*, and compare the *Δεκανται* of Scotland in Ptolemy (see BCS. vii, 119). Another type of name is very common in Gaul, though rare in Britain, namely those with a suffix in *-ācon, Latinised -ācum, which is added to a personal name to designate an estate belonging to the man in question.¹ An example is the Gallo-Roman *Juliacum*, whence French *Juillac*, *Juillé*, etc., meaning "estate of Julius". The Romano-British *Eburacum* (AI., Rav.), York, may be such a form, meaning "estate of Eburos".² The Celtic adjectival and derivative suffix *-iō- is used in Gaulish in a similar way;³ this is probably to be seen in Britain in *Branogenium* (Rav.; Ptolemy has *Βρανογενιον* and *Βραυνογενιον*, the latter being accepted by Müller but less correct). This looks like a place-name derived from Brit. **Branogenos*, "Born of the Raven (-God)", a common type of Celtic name. So too with Rom.-Brit. *Luguvalium* (AI.; var. *Luguvallum*; Rav. *Lagubalium*), Carlisle, which, as I have shown elsewhere,⁴ is probably from a personal name Brit. **Luguualos*, "He whose strength is like (the god) Lugus", or "Strong in (the god) Lugus".

The main written source for the three centuries immediately after the end of the Roman occupation is the inscriptions which will be discussed in Chapter V. Apart from these, our information in the shape of direct written material is meagre, consisting of a few Latin works which contain Brittonic names, and were either actually composed during the fifth to eighth centuries or derive some of their contents, including names, from documents of that date. These are now no longer itineraries and other such geographical works, but religious

¹ See Arbois de Jubainville, *Recherches sur l'origine de la propriété foncière et des noms de lieu en France*; RC. viii, 96, 302; ix, 36, 208, 301.

² Cf., however, Bertoldi, *Wörter und Sachen*, xi, 149; Williams, BSRC. p. 33.

³ See Arbois de Jubainville, RC. x, 153 ff.

⁴ See JRS. xxxviii, 57.

and historical compositions, chiefly lives of the saints of the early British church. To begin with, there is the *De Excidio Britanniae* (DEB.) of Gildas,¹ composed about 540, a diatribe on the wickedness of the Britons which brought on the Anglo-Saxon invasions and subsequent oppression. This gives a few Latinised names in the Late British of Gildas' own time. Next is the Life of St. Samson (LSS.),² the Welsh saint who played such an important part in the early Christian world of Brittany. Samson died probably in the year 566,³ and the compiler, a monk of Dol in Brittany, says that he used information given him by an octogenarian who was a nephew of Samson's cousin, Henoc; the latter had written a life of Samson which the old man read to him. Hence our Life of Samson was presumably put together in the first quarter or first half of the seventh century.⁴ An important source is the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (HE.) of the Venerable Bede,⁵ who died in A.D. 735; it was completed in 731, and the oldest extant MS. was written in 737. The Brittonic names in HE. are sometimes obviously taken from older Latin writers, such as Orosius, who themselves used regular Romano-British forms as given in official Roman documents of the kind described above; Bede was trying whenever possible to give the old "Latin" name of a place, though his forms naturally tend to be more corrupt than those preserved in such authorities as the Antonine Itinerary. Thus the *Rutupiae* of Ptolemy is *Rutupi portus* in Orosius and *Rutubi portus* in Bede.⁶ But in the majority of cases Bede gives Brittonic place and personal names as they had been borrowed into Anglo-Saxon and were

¹ Ed. Hugh Williams, *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, no. 3 (London, 1899).

² Ed. R. Fawtier, *La Vie de S. Samson* (Paris, 1912); see criticisms by Loth, RC. xxxv, 269 ff.; xxxix, 301 ff.; xl, 1 ff.

³ See Loth, RC. xl, 15.

⁴ According to Hugh Williams (*op. cit.* ii, 317), mid-seventh century, which seems rather late; according to Gray (*The Review of Religion*, November 1942, p. 14), about A.D. 610-15.

⁵ Edited by C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica* (Oxford, 1896).

⁶ As Förster notes, the *b* in Bede's form is due to the VL. pronunciation of a copyist of Orosius, whose MS. Bede must have used (FT. p. 285); cf. p. 394, n. 1 below.

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pronounced in his own day, thus providing us with our oldest direct testimony on the treatment of Britt. names in AS. Sometimes these appear together with the "Latin" forms, as in HE. I, i, where Bede says *Rutubi portus* was corrupted by the English into *Repta-cæstir*. In such cases Bede would, of course, give the AS. form of his time, but with older personal names he sometimes appears to draw on lost Latin documents of English origin which contained Britt. names rendered roughly as an Englishman would have pronounced them at that date. For instance, the *Dinoot*, abbot of Bangor, of HE. II, ii, who met Augustine in A.D. 603, would have been **Dūnōd* in Pr.W., and *Dinoot* is an attempt to spell the sound as heard by English ears. There is reason to think that Bede must have got it from a written source of that period rather than from an oral one of his own day (cf. § 11).

After this come a number of lives of saints composed in Brittany. First Maclovius (St. Malo), a sixth-century Welsh monk who worked in Brittany. His Life, put together about 869 or 870 by one Bili, a Breton, was edited by F. Lot, *Mélanges d'histoire bretonne* (Paris, 1907), pp. 340 ff. The Life of St. Winwaloe (St. Guenolé)¹ was written by Wrdisten, another Breton, about 880; he lived in the fifth or sixth century. The Life of Paul Aurelien (St. Pol de Leon),² a Briton who worked in Brittany in the sixth century, was composed by Wrmonoc, a Breton, in 884. The last important sources of this type are the Ruys Life of Gildas,³ an eleventh-century Breton production which was perhaps a remodelling of a ninth-century original;⁴ and the Life of St. Brieuc,⁵ a Welshman who lived c. 440–530 and laboured in Brittany, the Life being a composition of the eleventh century. Though these Lives of Saints are of late date, they all appear to have used much older written material, some of it probably dating from living memory of the saints in question, and hence more or less contemporary with the Life of St. Samson. It is not

¹ Edited by C. de Smedt, *Analecta Bollandiana*, vii, 167 ff.

² Edited by Ch. Cuissard, RC. v, 413 ff.

³ Edited by H. Williams, *op. cit.* ii, 322 ff.

⁴ See Williams, *op. cit.* ii, 319–20.

⁵ Edited by Fr. Plaine, *Analecta Bollandiana*, ii, 161 ff.

surprising, therefore, to find in them forms of names which clearly belong to the sixth century, such as *Maglus Conomagli filius* in the Life of St. Winwaloe, *Tigernmaglus* in the Life of Paul Aurelien, and *Arecluta regio* in the Life of Gildas. Such things are of equal value with the *De Excidio Britanniae* and the Life of St. Samson, as they can only come from contemporary manuscripts.

The last period of Brittonic dealt with in this book is that when written documents in the vernaculars begin, the period of Old Welsh, Old Cornish, and Old Breton, from the eighth and ninth centuries to the eleventh and twelfth. Actual continuous texts are, however, very rare in OW., and in OC. entirely and in OB. almost entirely non-existent. For the most part our sources consist either of Latin documents with Britt. names, or of Britt. glosses on Latin texts, these being single words in the vast majority of cases. There follows here a bibliography of the MS. sources for OWCB.

Beginning with OW.,¹ the oldest text we have is the so-called *Surexit*-memorandum, and somewhat later the *Ostenditur hic* entry, both in the Book of St. Chad (and abbreviated respectively Chad 2 and Chad 1), a MS. of the Gospels now in the Cathedral Library at Lichfield, probably written in Wales in the eighth or at the end of the seventh century.² Both documents, which are on p. 141 of the MS., are edited by J. Rhys and J. G. Evans, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav*

¹ The two chief authorities for the script and dating of OW. MSS. are (i) Henry Bradshaw, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, 1889), pp. 281 ff. (a few notes, dated 1871), and pp. 453 ff. (on OWCB. MSS., written 1877 and corrected 1882); abbreviated here Coll.Pap. (ii) W. M. Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* (Oxford, 1912); abbreviated EWS. The *Vocabulaire vieux-breton* of J. Loth (Paris, 1884; abbreviated VVB.) is a kind of dictionary of OW. and OB. words, with a few OC., but is untrustworthy and entirely out of date.

² Dated eighth century by the best and most recent modern authority, E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Pt. II (Oxford, 1935), p. 12, no. 159. Lindsay, *op. cit.* p. 3, quotes without disapproval the opinion that it was c. 700. Morris Jones, *Cymm.* xxviii, 277-8, thinks mid-seventh century, but is trying to make it seem as early as may be; p. 268, he says Lindsay does not absolutely exclude the possibility of its being referred to Teilo's time (*d.* 580), but actually Lindsay gives no such opinion. For a bibliography of the MS. see J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, i (New York, 1929), p. 639, and Lowe, *op. cit.* pp. 47-8.

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(Oxford, 1893), pp. xliii-xliv ; by Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*, p. 46 ; and by Morris Jones in *Y Cymmrodor*, xxviii (1918), 269 ff. All three give photographic facsimilies. Chad 1 is a short note in Latin, with OW. names, written at the top of the page, recording the presentation of the Gospels to the church of Llandaff by one Gelhi son of Arihtiud, signed by him and by one Cincenn son of Gripiud. Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, p. 460, dates the script early ninth century, and on p. 457 says that it and that of the A scribe of Juvenus are the nearest to the Liber Commonei (written in 820, see below). Morris Jones (*op. cit.* p. 274) very properly rejects Evans' absurd attempt (*op. cit.* p. xlv) to date it as being earlier than 814 on the ground that the death of a man Griphiud son of Cincenn is recorded in 814. Lindsay mentions the identification without disapproval on palaeographical grounds (*op. cit.* p. 2), so that he cannot have objected to the approximate date for the script ; and on p. 45 he calls Chad 1 an entry of the ninth century.¹ Lowe apparently puts the writing in the early ninth century (*Codices Latini, loc. cit.*), and as such it will be regarded in this book. Chad 1 has been treated first here, not because it is older than Chad 2, but because the discussion which follows requires it.

Immediately below Chad 1 comes Chad 2, the *Surexit*-memorandum, a short text in OW. and Latin telling of a lawsuit between Tutbulc son of Liuit and Elcu son of Gelhig, and purporting to be signed by St. Teilo himself. Bradshaw took it for granted that since this came below the other it was later, and dated it tenth century (*op. cit.* pp. 460, 484). Lindsay considered it older than Chad 1 on palaeographical grounds, and thought it a very early copy of a document of Teilo's time, but gave no definite date (*op. cit.* pp. 2-3). His language ("a relic of the earliest Welsh script", etc.) makes it quite clear that he regarded it as very appreciably older than Chad 1. On p. 45, in giving the titles of two facsimile pages, he speaks of them, however, as containing "entries of the ninth century" (including Chad 2), but this must be for the sake of brevity, as

¹ Förster is mistaken in saying that Lindsay actually *dates* the document 817 (*sic* ; FT. p. 854).

it is evident that he really thought Chad 2 older than this. Morris Jones, who was anxious to make the text out as ancient as possible, takes up Lindsay's theory and shows pretty conclusively that the position on the page and other features prove that Chad 2 was written in before Chad 1 (*op. cit.* pp. 268 ff.). He admits that the MS. itself is later than Teilo's time (mid-seventh century, he thinks), and hence Chad 2 cannot be the very document to which Teilo himself put his name; but he takes it to be an early and faithful copy of an original really signed by Teilo, and therefore to represent the language of the sixth century (*op. cit.* pp. 277 ff.). In spite of all this, Loth (who was no palaeographer) later described Chad 2 as "sûrement du IX^e siècle", without comment or explanation (RC. xl, 1923, p. 25). Henry Lewis says that it was written at the end of the eighth century but is a copy of a text of the sixth; *Datblygiad yr Iaith Cymraeg* (Cardiff, 1931), p. 98. The most valuable opinion on palaeographical grounds is that of E. A. Lowe, whose words imply that he puts the writing in the eighth century (*op. cit.* p. 12). It should be remarked here, because evidence drawn from Chad 2 forms an important element in his chronology, that Förster's date varies considerably in various parts of FT. On p. 610 he gives it as c. 850 and on p. 624 as c. 910, but in neither case with any discussion of the reasons; on p. 623 he mentions Lindsay and says he put it at about 810, which Lindsay nowhere does. Before he wrote his Corrigenda Förster subsequently came upon Morris Jones' article, but he seems to have read it hastily, because in FT. p. 854 he declares that Lindsay dates Chad 1 about 817 (which is not the case) and Chad 2 before it, and that Morris Jones also gives a ninth-century date (the implication being apparently that Morris Jones does so for *both* documents); *agreeing* with this, Förster *accordingly* (*danach*) himself dates Chad 2 about 810. He seems not to have seen that at least Morris Jones put Chad 2 not merely before Chad 1 but a good while before. In FT. p. 177 the date 810 is given in the footnote, which is evidently a late alteration in proof as a consequence of the change of opinion made on p. 854; and on p. 629 the same 810 is actually in the text, although

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the footnote there and that on p. 643 will only make sense if we assume that 810 is a change from some tenth-century date (probably 910) carried out in proof while he forgot to alter the footnotes. That on p. 629, incidentally, says that Lindsay dates it before 850, which is again untrue and misleading.

In view of all the palaeographical evidence, especially the opinion of E. A. Lowe, we may accept that the *Surexit*-memorandum was written into the Book of St. Chad in the eighth century. But how about the language? The real basis for thinking that it is a faithful copy of a sixth-century document is as follows: (1) As Morris Jones has shown, there is some slight reason, deduced from the nature of the set-out, to think that it is a *copy*. (2) It purports to be signed by St. Teilo. (3) It would be a fine thing if we *could* have a sixth-century Welsh text, and one which would prove that Welsh, as distinct from British, already existed. For (1), if it is a copy, it may easily be one of a contemporary document nevertheless. (3) is, of course, not worth discussing. As to (2), it all turns on the significance of Teilo's name at the head of the list of witnesses. Morris Jones examines the view that this means only a pious invocation to the long-dead founder and patron saint of Llandaff that he should witness an important document which indirectly concerned his church. Loth quotes parallels where other documents are witnessed by *Deus omnipotens testis* (RC. xv, 1894, p. 369), but Morris Jones refuses to take these seriously, and regards it as "not inherently probable" that Teilo's witness means "the saint long at rest". He has to admit that the Book of Llandaff also contains (Latin) deeds witnessed by Teilo (which are, of course, copies), but asserts that these are likewise from originals of Teilo's day; the objection that in these Teilo is called *sanctus* or *archiepiscopus* (which he never became) is waved aside. Incidentally Morris Jones believed that Chad 1 itself was a copy too (to explain how Chad 2 could have been written at Llandaff before Chad 1 which records the presentation to Llandaff), and of an original deed older than the writing of Chad 2. But he makes no attempt to claim archaic forms for the names in Chad 1, which means that if Morris Jones is

right this is an entirely modernised copy. Yet if this, and the names in the documents in the Book of Llandaff referred to, are completely modernised, why should not the *Surexit*-memorandum itself be too? Morris Jones' arguments are an instance of special pleading, arising really from (3) above. It is certain that his case is unproven and improbable in itself, and that the considerations raised by *Deus omnipotens testis* and by *Teilo sanctus* and *archiepiscopus* cannot be disregarded. To go on to say that the language of Chad 2 cannot possibly be so old as the sixth century would be, at this stage, an argument in a circle; but we shall see in Part II of this book that it is utterly out of the question. Certainly, it seems a little older than that of the ninth-century glosses, but not very much older, the differences consisting in a few preservations of *ȝ* and absences of internal vowel affection in rather greater concentration than later sources can show. Indeed the affection in *guetig* (three times) is actually later in form than the lack of it in *quotig* in the *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* written in 820. If this were really the language of the sixth century, the word *lau* would have to be at least *lom*, if not *loma*. In short, if we allow that it *may* be a copy of a document actually signed by Teilo, we must nevertheless say that the text was entirely modernised by the eighth-century copyist. We shall date it, therefore, eighth century; and, as will appear in Part II, internal considerations of language suggest that it was rather late in that century, which does not conflict with the palaeographical evidence. This question has been dwelt on at length because it is obviously of the very first importance to the chronology of early Welsh. The *Surexit*-memorandum is our oldest OW. text.

There are other entries in the Book of St. Chad, edited by Rhys and Evans, *op. cit.* pp. xlv-xlvii. Chad 3 and 4 are two charters in mixed Latin and OW. recording grants made by one Ris; and Chad 5 tells, in Latin with Welsh names, about the manumission of a slave called Bleidiud, and is written by a scribe Sulgen. According to Bradshaw, 3 and 4 are written by one man, and in a hand closely similar to that of Sulgen (Coll. Pap. p. 460). The names of some of the witnesses show

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that all three are more or less contemporary. Bradshaw dates them all mid-ninth century. Lindsay notes (EWS. p. 5) that Chad 3 and 4 must be prior to 5 because Nobis is a *clericus* in the first two but *episcopus Teiliau* in the last. He doubts Evans' attempt to identify this Nobis with the one who became bishop of St. David's in 840 (cf. J. E. Lloyd, HW. i, 215), but appears not to disapprove of Bradshaw's date. Chad 6 gives in Latin and OW. the boundaries of a manor near Llandybie; see Sir Ifor Williams, BBCS. vii, 369-70. Bradshaw dated this tenth century, *op. cit.* pp. 460, 483; but Evans says end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth, *op. cit.* p. xlvi. The spelling *retinoc* makes the late eighth century probable, see p. 293 below. Chad 7 is a single line in OW. and Latin; Bradshaw and Evans give the same dates as they do for Chad 6. Chad 8 is the title given to a considerable number of names scattered through the margins of the book, often in pairs (sometimes with the Latin gen. sg. endings masc. -i and fem. -e added). Bradshaw dates these ninth to tenth century, *op. cit.* p. 484, and Evans end of eighth to beginning of ninth, *op. cit.* p. xlvi.

Next we have the OW. material in the Liber Commonei, part of the MS. known to Celticists as Oxoniensis Prior (Ox.1), really Bodleian MS. Auct. F. 4. 32. This was a miscellany put together in A.D. 820 for the use of one Commoneus, and consisting of (1) the Alphabet of Nemnivus, a Latin text giving invented Welsh names for the letters of the alphabet; (2) calculations on the moon, and a nineteen-year cycle calendar in Latin only; and (3) various Latin notes dealing with weights and measures, known as *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* (abbr. MP.). This last is glossed in Old Welsh. The latest and best edition and discussion of MP., with a facsimile, is that by Sir Ifor Williams in BBCS. v, 226 ff.; other bibliographical references will be found there. For the Alphabet of Nemnivus and the Calendar see Williams in BBCS. vii, 380 ff., where he establishes the date 820 for the whole Liber Commonei.

Almost contemporary is the *Historia Brittonum* (HB.) of "Nennius". This is a Latin history of Britain, the oldest

traceable recension of which was composed probably in the year 826, 829, or 819,¹ but drawing in part on older written material the kernel of which may be as old as the end of the seventh century. The standard edition is that of Th. Mommsen in *Chronica Minora Saeculi IV, V, VI, VII*, iii, 111 ff. (Berlin, 1898), being volume xiii of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auct. Antiquiss.* The best text is that of the so-called Harleian recension, the one made by Nennius himself, but the two MSS. of it (Mommsen's H and K) are both late, the former, Harleian 3859, which contains also the *Genealogies* and *Annales Cambriae* described below, having been written about 1100. Other MSS. go back to other recensions; two of these appear to have been later compilations by Nennius himself, the MSS. being of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and inferior to H and K. A third, the Vatican recension, was apparently compiled in 944; the two MSS., Mommsen's M and N, are respectively of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For full details see Mommsen's introduction; Thurneysen, ZCP. i, 157 ff. and xx, 97 ff.; Sir Ifor Williams, BBCS. vii, 383 ff., xi, 43 ff.; and the other authorities there mentioned. The OW. in HB. consists of place and personal names and one or two common-nouns. The fact that the MSS. are so late would theoretically throw some doubt on the reliability of the forms. It is true that certain minor latenesses of spelling, such as the use of *y* in diphthongs for *i*, do appear in them, but this does not render them of doubtful value by any means; a comparison with OW. sources actually of contemporary ninth-century date shows clearly that Nennius' names are mostly correct representatives of the language of his time, and makes it easy to detect divergences. Moreover, in the section immediately following the "Saxon Genealogies", which deals with sixth- to seventh-century Northumbrian history and is believed to date from the end of the seventh century (chapters 62-5), some of the spellings might be even older, though there is little actual reason to think that they are.² Some have held

¹ See Thurneysen, ZCP. xx, 106-7; Williams, BBCS. vii, 383 ff.

² *Atbret Iudeu*, c. 65, "The Restoration of Inchkeith", apparently contains Mod.W. *edfryd*, with *e* for *i* as sometimes in OW.; see p. 283, n. 2. If

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that the section on the Twenty-Eight Cities of Britain contains early forms, but again this is not based on anything certain. Loth tried to show in his article on Nennius in RC. li, 1 ff. that the language belonged to the eighth century (e.g. *op. cit.* p. 8), but his discussions of the linguistic evidence are inadequate, as will appear in Part II. In fact, we may say in general that the OW. forms and spellings in Nennius are those of his own time, in the first third of the ninth century, except for a few minor and easily detectable changes due to the late scribes, and possibly for rare older forms derived from his sources.¹

The Juvençus MS., Cambridge University Library, Ff. 4. 42, is another matter which needs discussion. This is a copy of Juvençus' poetical version of the Gospels, written by a scribe whose OW. colophon is *araut di Nuadu*, "a prayer for Nuadu". Because this name is Irish, and because there are some Irish glosses,² Nuadu has been taken to have been a Welsh-speaking Irishman writing in a Welsh monastery. Bradshaw dates his hand ninth century (*op. cit.* p. 484), and says that the nearest approach to it is the script of the Liber Commonei (A.D. 820, as we have seen) and that of Chad 1 (*op. cit.* p. 457). Apart from this main text the MS. contains various short Latin articles, two OW. poems, and a number of OW. glosses, in various hands. First, the glosses (abbr. Juvenc.). These were

so, it lacks internal vowel affection, and might even be contemporary with the event, A.D. 655, though this is by no means necessary, see §§ 172, 175. Loth invents a form which would give Mod.W. **adfred* (RC. li, 9), where there would be no affection, but this is not plausible. The nickname *Flesaur* (c. 57) for Æthelfrith (d. 617) has the air of a contemporary one, but the word is in the dress of Nennius' day. About 600 it would have been **Flesor*, if not something like **Flexor*.

¹ Hence Förster's doubts about the value of Nennius, expressed in various places in FT. (e.g. p. 162), are unwarranted.

² Ed. by W. Stokes and J. Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ii (Cambridge, 1903), p. 44; see also Thurneysen, RC. xi (1890), 91 ff., and Parry-Williams in BBCS. i, 120 ff. Thurneysen thinks that apart from the definitely Irish glosses, others may be a sort of hybrid Welsh-Irish, but admits the uncertainty of this, and it cannot be proved. Parry-Williams accepts this thesis and proposes other examples, but, in fact, most of these can pass perfectly well as Welsh, and no really decisive case can be made for any of them.

edited by Stokes in TPhS. 1860-61, pp. 204 ff., with corrections pp. 288 ff.; and in KBr. iv (1865), pp. 385 ff., with further corrections in vol. vii (1873), pp. 411 ff. Individual glosses are discussed by Sir Ifor Williams, BBCS. vi, 115 ff. In TPhS. p. 204 and KBr. iv, 384, Stokes dates the MS. as a whole eighth or ninth century, and Loth follows him in VVB. p. viii and elsewhere; but in KBr. iv, 390 Stokes mentions three hands among the glosses (not described), and says that none are later than the tenth century. Bradshaw attempts to distinguish palaeographically a number of hands,¹ though his account is not very clear. He does not credit Nuadu with any of the glosses, not even the Irish ones, but unfortunately he was writing before the fact of their Irish character had been noted. Unfortunately also Thurneysen, who first pointed out the Irish nature of some of the glosses, does not seem to have known Bradshaw's work, which was published the year before, and consequently assumes that the whole was written by the Irishman Nuadu. According to Bradshaw, *op. cit.* p. 484, the scribes who wrote the glosses are as follows: (1) his B, ninth century, wrote seven (unspecified) glosses on ff. 3a-4a. An examination of the MS. shows that he must have meant *arta*, *dificuou*, *scamnhegint*, *nou inn guotricusegeticion*, *istlinnit*, *glanstlinnim*, and *strutiu*, which are in a paler ink than the rest; of these, *arta* is Irish. (2) his E, tenth century, the writer of thirteen glosses on ff. 2a-6b and 15a (including, therefore, all the other glosses on ff. 3a-4a). Of these, *aul .i. mur bethlem*, and *funid*, are Irish. (3) his F, wrote eight unspecified glosses on ff. 24a-42b, in a rough clumsy hand which he dates tenth century and considers Breton or Cornish rather than Welsh. Which these are is unclear to me, after examining the MS., except that *roenhol* is probably one of them, and perhaps *o discl* and *gulip*; there is no linguistic reason to suspect that any glosses on these folios are OC. or OB., as Bradshaw thought on palaeographical grounds. (4) his G, tenth to eleventh century, wrote 120 Welsh glosses from f. 8b to f. 54b. Nine of these are Irish—*lobur* twice, *ar*,

¹ Compare his words on his careful study of the MS. and familiarity with the hands, *op. cit.* pp. 454-5.

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archinn, *fodeud*, *fodeut*, *ur*, *lar ur*, and *fodiud*. If Bradshaw's treatment of the hands is correct, it follows that apart from Nuadu himself we must suppose that three Welsh-speaking Irishmen wrote Welsh and Irish glosses in this MS. at dates varying from the ninth to eleventh century; which must have taken place in some monastery in Wales where Irish influence existed over a long period. That there was such Irish influence on the early Welsh church, especially at St. David's, is well known.

Lindsay is much more cautious about the Juvencus MS. than Bradshaw, though he admits the existence of different hands and says they show that Welsh minuscules were capable of great variation of type (*op. cit.* p. 16). He does not himself discuss the supposed Breton or Cornish character of F; and his only personal opinion on the details of the glosses seems to be that the main body recalls the hand of the scribe of Chad 5 (which, however, belongs to the middle of the ninth century). Lindsay then gives Bradshaw's list, ascribed to him by name; and one would suppose that he agreed with Bradshaw's opinions, since otherwise he would hardly have quoted them without comment. It is odd, however, that in comparing the main body of the glosses to Chad 5 he did not mention the discrepancy with the date given from Bradshaw, tenth to eleventh century. On p. 45 he describes ff. 7v and 1r as of "the ninth and tenth centuries", which is very vague in view of the fact that 1r consists of the Juvencus text and of glosses by the chief glossator, and 7v in part of the Nine verses discussed below. Which parts are ascribed to which dates is unclear. Since that time no one seems to have dealt with the date of the Juvencus glosses. Förster speaks of them as being tenth to eleventh century in FT. p. 624, but, strangely enough, elsewhere in his book he takes there to be a complete blank in OW. material between c. 950 and c. 1150.¹ In the present volume Bradshaw's (and apparently Lindsay's?)

¹ E.g. FT. pp. 676-7, "Leider besitzen wir nun für die Zeit von 950-1150 keinerlei Denkmäler fürs Kymrische". The inaccuracy of this will appear below. Moreover, Förster himself dates the Life of St. Cadog as c. 1075; FT. p. 376.

opinions on the hands and dates will be accepted as the last definite word on the subject of the Juvencus glosses up to the present; and they will be quoted as *Juvenc.*, followed by Bradshaw's date of the hand in which the gloss in question is written.

Apart from this, the Juvencus MS. contains two poems in OW., one consisting of three verses (abbr. Juv.3) and one of nine (abbr. Juv.9). The former was edited by Stokes, TPhS. 1860-61, pp. 228 ff. (and see p. 292), and KBr. iv, 416, vii, 414; also by Rhys, Cymm. xviii, 103-4; and best by Ifor Williams, BBCS. vi, 101 ff., with a facsimile. The other poem was edited by Stokes in TPhS. 1860-61, pp. 204 ff., with corrections p. 288, and in KBr. iv, 385 ff., and vii, 410, with better readings derived from Bradshaw. Lindsay gives a facsimile in EWS. plate VII, and on p. 52 prints Bradshaw's text as published by Stokes. The latest and best edition is Ifor Williams', BBCS. vi, 205 ff. Stokes included these poems in his general date of eighth to ninth century for the whole MS., followed by Loth as noted above. Bradshaw, however, dated the script of both poems (his hand C) as ninth century, *op. cit.* p. 484; on p. 284 he said that they are in a hand which cannot well be later than the second half of the ninth century. Lindsay, purporting to quote Bradshaw, gives him as dating Juv.3 ninth century; and as taking Juv.9 to be in the same hand as that of the writer of the thirteen glosses on ff. 2a-6b and 15a (Bradshaw's E), all tenth century (*op. cit.* p. 16). The reason for this curious unacknowledged discrepancy from Bradshaw's own published opinions is not stated. If these are Lindsay's personal views, he does not admit them to be such, but merely ascribes them to Bradshaw. He does not mention his source, and it is not known to me; whether Bradshaw ever really said this seems questionable. Lindsay's words on "the neat, compact script of fol. 1r and of fol. 55v col. i" sound as if he himself regarded the two poems as written by the same hand. Williams took Lindsay's arrangement without question to mean that Bradshaw dated Juv.9 tenth century (BBCS. vi, 205); and himself says that he cannot see much difference in the forms of the letters between

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Juv.3 and Juv.9, though he accepts the tenth-century date for the second. However, in his *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* (Dublin, 1944), p. 28, Williams seems to have changed his mind, and dates Juv.3 as first half of the ninth century, and describes Juv.9 as being in a "similar" hand, apparently regarding it as of the same period. Juv.9 will be dated here ninth or tenth century, the former being taken as a good deal more likely than the latter.

The OW. glosses in the Corpus Christi College (Cambridge) MS. of the *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella (abbr. M.Cap.) were edited by Stokes in KBr. vii (1873), pp. 385 ff.; see also some notes by Henry Lewis, BBCS. vi, 110 ff. Stokes dated the glosses eighth century, apparently following the unpublished opinion of Bradshaw. Bradshaw had thought them at first eighth century because they were similar to certain glosses in the Book of Cerne, which he put at that time; then he changed his mind about the Book of Cerne, taking it to be not older than the ninth century, but still thought the bulk of the M.Cap. glosses as old as any known Welsh remains (*op. cit.* pp. 453-4). On p. 484 he changed again, distinguishing a hand A, the text and most of the glosses, belonging to the ninth century, and a hand B which wrote a few unspecified glosses in the tenth century. Lindsay believed there were a number of scribes (EWS. p. 19), and assigned Bradshaw's A to the *end* of the ninth century (p. 22). Williams, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry*, p. 30, says that the glosses may belong to the same period as Ox.1 (A.D. 820) or even earlier, but he gives no support for this. They will be regarded here as ninth century, without attempting to be more precise. It should be noted that in this MS. internal and final OW. *p*, *t*, *c*, and *s* are often written double, apparently without reason (but see LP. p. 149).

The Latin Life of King Alfred composed by the Welshman Asser, bishop of Sherbourne, about A.D. 890, has some OW. names in it. It is edited by W. H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Oxford, 1904); abbreviated here Asser.

Another part of the "Oxoniensis Prior" MS. already mentioned, really a separate MS. bound together with the rest, is

a copy of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, Book I, with OW. glosses (abbr. Ovid). These were edited by Stokes, TPhS. 1860-61, pp. 234 ff., with corrections p. 292. Rhys printed some comments in KBr. vii, 230 ff. In KBr. viii, 374 n., Ebel published three more glosses discovered by Bradshaw. The latter says that the hand of the text is later than that of the *Liber Commonei*, and that most of the glosses are of the same time, a few later, but that nothing can have been added after it passed, as he thinks, into English possession in the second half of the tenth century (*op. cit.* p. 457). Later (p. 484) he was more definite, and put the text and most of the glosses in the ninth to tenth century, and a few other glosses in the tenth. Lindsay remarks that there is no clue to its date except that it is prior to the time when St. Dunstan (*d.* 988) acquired it (EWS. p. 8). Förster gives it as *c.* 850 (FT. p. 628), but without mentioning any authority for this. The date ninth to tenth century is accepted here.

The next important text is the longest continuous piece of OW., the so-called *Computus Fragment* (Comp.), in the Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 4543. This is a piece of twenty-three lines on the calendar, entirely in OW. It was edited by Quiggin in ZCP. viii, 407-10; Lindsay in EWS. p. 53; and best by Sir Ifor Williams in BBCS. iii, 245 ff. The first two give facsimile photographs. Lindsay describes the hand as not later than the beginning of the tenth century, *op. cit.* p. 45; Williams hints at a date about 920.

The MS. often called *Oxonienensis Posterior* (abbr. Ox.2), really Bodleian MS. 572, includes a section which is a series of Latin conversations and other such material entitled *De Raris Fabulis*. The glosses in it were edited by Stokes, TPhS. 1860-61, pp. 238 ff., with corrections p. 293; and additions in KBr. iv, 422-3, and further corrections vii, 415. There are notes by Rhys in KBr. vii, 235 ff. and 466. Some improvements in the readings of the glosses were printed by Craster in RC. xl, 135-6. The whole was edited by W. H. Stevenson, *Early Scholastic Colloquies* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 1 ff. Notes on the glosses by Sir Ifor Williams are to be found in BBCS. v, 1 ff. This is evidently a Brittonic composition, since some of the

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glosses are an integral part of the text, though others are interlinear; moreover, the anti-Saxon feeling in the account of the battle, ff. 45b-46a, shows this. The use of *non difficile* in the answers to questions is not necessarily Irish, as Lindsay thought; cf. *nit abruid*, "not difficult", in Comp. Bradshaw calls the script thoroughly Continental, while some of the glosses have distinctively (Hiberno-)Saxon letters (*op. cit.* p. 470); he thinks the hand Cornish or Breton rather than Welsh; and (p. 486) describes the glosses as Cornish and dates the whole tenth century. Thus Bradshaw is responsible for the theory that the Ox.2 glosses are Cornish. Lindsay thinks all the hands of Ox.2 fairly contemporaneous, tenth century (EWS. p. 26); and says that the script is mostly Continental or mixed (p. 27), the *De Raris Fabulis* being in a Continental hand (p. 28). It must have come from a scriptorium where this was beginning to replace the insular type. In his introduction to Stevenson's edition, p. ix, Lindsay quotes Craster as saying that the glosses are in the same hand as the MS., tenth century. Craster himself notes that a *secunda manus* has scratched with a dry stylus some AS. glosses and two Brittonic ones on ff. 42a and b, in a hand of the early tenth century, nearly contemporary with the MS. (RC. xl, 136). There seems no doubt, then, that the glosses are of the tenth century, and apparently early. As to the language, Loth has made it clear that it is not Old Cornish (RC. xiv, 70), though his arguments drawn from the presence of vowel affection are worthless (cf. § 165).¹

We must admit that there are peculiarities about these glosses. The language is evidently Old Welsh, but many of them are unknown or very obscure, and some of the spellings are more like OC. than OW. So *laiðper* is characteristically Cornish in orthography (cf. p. 68); *iot* and *iotum* agree better with OC. *iot*, Mod.B. *iod*, than with Mod.W. *iwd*; the svarabhakti in *e* in *tarater* and *torcigel* is more OC. than OW.; and *e* is used for [ə], *b d g* for lenited *p t c*, and *d* for *th*, more

¹ Pedersen gives further points of a Welsh character not noted by Loth, in VKG. i, 13; and to these we may add *brachaut*, *bracaut*, *dinaut*, *laubael*, and *guillihim* as being definitely W. and not C.

often than is normal in OW.¹ On the curious spellings *hloimol* and *iehnlinn* see p. 479; they prove nothing. Loth did not note these points (*loc. cit.*), but tried to solve the palaeographical problem by the theory that the MS. was written in a border district linguistically close to Wales but not identical with it, such as Gloucestershire or Somerset. A border district of some sort might indeed seem indicated because of the Anglo-Saxon glosses mentioned by Craster, which Loth did not know. But Loth did not stop to consider that in the tenth century there were no such "border districts" where Brittonic was spoken; the boundaries of Wales and Cornwall by then were much as they are now. The following solution may be proposed. There are features such as the script, aspects of the spelling, and the presence of AS. glosses, which are more typical of Cornwall than of Wales. Is it not, therefore, most probable that the text and glosses were written by a Cornishman in Wales or a Welshman in Cornwall? We have seen something similar with the Irish scribes of the Juvencus, and shall see it again in the *Vocabularium Cornicum*. Since the script is Continental it is more likely to have been written in Cornwall, where the Continental hand was already in use in the early tenth century; cf. p. 60. In either event, the glosses are fundamentally Welsh, though they may seem to have a Cornish veneer in some cases.

The *Annales Cambriae* (abbr. AC.) and the Old Welsh Genealogies (abbr. Gen.) were written as an accompaniment to the copy of Nennius in the Harleian MS. 3859, about 1100. They are edited by E. Phillimore, *Cymm.* ix, 141 ff. Phillimore shows that both documents were probably put together in A.D. 954 or 955, perhaps at St. David's. The spelling is of the same type, i.e. with a few late features like *y*, as in the Harleian Nennius written in the MS. by the same scribe, but essentially the forms are perfectly consistent with a date in the middle of the tenth century.

The eleventh century is barren of OW. material, except, as we have seen, for the main glossator F of Juvenc., tenth to

¹ The gloss once read *stirenn* and taken for OC. is really *scirenn* and not necessarily C. at all.

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eleventh century, and for the following small items: (1) a single gloss (*curbanam* gl. *tuic*) in Bodleian MS. 865, f. 93, edited by Quiggin in RC. xxxviii, 15, and dated by him eleventh century; (2) some verses in the Corpus Christi College Augustine *De Trinitate*; (3) the earliest Lives of the Welsh Saints; and (4) certain inscriptions (see p. 58). The *De Trinitate* is in Corpus Christi College (Cambridge) MS. 199, one of two or three written or illustrated by Ricemarch, Iohannes, and Ithael, the sons of Sulgen, of the school of St. David's.¹ This one was written by Iohannes, apparently at Llanbadarn in Cardiganshire between 1085 and 1091 (see EWS. pp. 32-3). It mentions *Rycymarch sapiens*. On f. 11a there are some obscure OW. verses, mutilated by the binder; these were edited by Silvan Evans, from a copy sent him by Bradshaw, in Arch.Camb. 1874, p. 340.² A better and fuller text is given by M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College* (Cambridge, 1909-12), i, p. 482. Ifor Williams has printed a facsimile, and added an edition, translation, and full discussion, in *The National Library of Wales Journal*, ii (1941-1942), 69 ff.

The Lives of the Welsh Saints were edited very badly by W. J. Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints* (London, 1853), and better by A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944; abbr. VSB.). They are in Latin with Welsh names generally having Latin terminations. The most important of them for our purpose are (1) the Life of St. David, written by Ricemarch at St. David's; about 1090, Wade-Evans; (2) the Life of St. Cadog, dated c. 1100 by Wade-Evans, but using older material; (3) the two Lives of St. Carannog, the first being the earlier, but both of the

¹ Others are the Ricemarch Psalter, Trinity College (Dublin), MS. A. iv, 20, written by Ithael between 1064 and 1082, with letters painted by Iohannes, and mentioning *Ricemarch Sulgeni genitus*; and British Museum Cotton Faustina C, i, ff. 66-93, Macrobius *In Somnium Scipionis*, preceded by a poem called "The Lament of Ricemarch". Lindsay, who describes these MSS., notes in EWS. p. 32 that Sulgen was bishop of St. David's 1072-78 and 1080-85, and died in 1091.

² The version given by Evans in *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav*, p. xxv, is apparently copied from this.

beginning of the twelfth century. Other Lives belong to the first half of the twelfth century.

The last source for OW. is the Book of Llandaff (abbr. Lland.), edited by J. Rhys and J. G. Evans, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav* (Oxford, 1893). The bulk of it seems to have been written between 1135 and 1140 (cf. I. Williams, PKM, p. xvi), though there are later additions. This is a great collection of Latin charters and other documents connected with the church of Llandaff, with Welsh names, and in many cases land boundaries given in Welsh. Some of them purport to be of very early date, but if this is true the Welsh must be entirely modernised. Loth discussed this question in RC. li, pp. 23 ff., and was of the opinion that the OW. parts were redacted in the tenth to eleventh century (also RC. xlviii, 308 ; but RC. xl, 31 he said eleventh to twelfth century). He remarked that there is no noticeable difference between the charters on pp. 182, 188, which are ostensibly of the eighth century, and those on pp. 268, 272, which are supposed to be of the end of the tenth (*leg.* eleventh). The papal bulls, three of which are dated respectively 1119, 1128, and 1129, are particularly important, as there is no doubt about the late date of the Welsh in these. There do not seem to be any satisfactory grounds for asserting the existence of early forms in the Book of Llandaff, in spite of efforts in that direction on the part of Loth ; and comparing the Lives of the Saints (and the unquestionably late documents in Lland. just mentioned), there is no good reason to think that any are much older than the beginning of the twelfth century, while some are certainly later.

A body of written OW. which must finally be mentioned is the Latin inscriptions with Welsh names set up from the eighth to twelfth century. References to their publication will be found on pp. 149-50, where books and articles which include both these and the Late British and Primitive Welsh and Cornish inscriptions are listed. Those relevant here are engraved in just the same kind of script and spelling as is used in the handwriting of the MSS., and may be considered conveniently for present purposes as part of the written sources

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for OW. As it happens, very few contain material of importance for the grammatical part of this book, but it should be noted that a number of them belong to the otherwise rather blank period of the eleventh century. They are referred to throughout by their numbers in Macalister's *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*.

In addition, OW. names are found in contemporary AS. documents such as charters, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and so on. One of the most interesting of these is the list of names of Welsh monks at Lindisfarne recorded in the Durham Liber Vitae, about A.D. 840 (abbr. DLV.; see Förster, KW. pp. 176-7). They were clearly written down for the most part by an English scribe as he heard them pronounced, and not by the owners of the names themselves as they would have spelt them. For instance, *Cundigeorn* is a (partly Anglicised) pronunciation spelling of the name which in OW. would be written regularly **Cintigern*.

This concludes the sources for OW.¹ The earliest known body of Old Cornish is the sixteen glosses on Smaragdus' commentary on Donatus (abbr. Smarag.) in the Paris MS. Lat. 13029 (Bibliothèque Nationale), edited by Arbois de Jubainville in RC. xxvii (1906), pp. 151-4. Arbois stated that the MS. is ninth century, and believing that Smaragdus, who was abbot of St. Mihiel near Verdun, himself wrote it, thought the glosses Breton. Loth, however, showed that they are Old Cornish, and quoted A. Thomas that the MS. is late ninth or early tenth century and was written at Corbie; and that the glosses are contemporary with the MS., though it is not quite certain that they are in the same hand (ACL. iii (1907), 249 ff.).

Next, Part II of Ox.² (see p. 54 above) contains a Latin text of the Book of Tobit with three OC. glosses; it was written in the tenth century, according to Bradshaw, Coll. Pap. p. 486, and Lindsay, EWS. p. 26. The glosses are printed by Stokes in his *Old Breton Glosses* (Calcutta, 1879), p. 21, and by Loth, VVB. pp. 68-9, 113, 129.

The Bodmin Gospels (abbr. Bodm.), also called the Bodmin

¹ On the Munich Sortilegia see p. 67.

Manumissions or the Gospels of St. Petroc, is a Latin MS. of the Gospels (British Museum Add. 9381) written in the Frankish minuscule at Bodmin at the beginning of the tenth century. It contains a number of Latin and some AS. marginal notes, belonging to the tenth to twelfth century, the great majority to the second half of the tenth century, of which the oldest are 941-6. These notes record the manumissions of slaves; their names, and those of the clerical witnesses, are mostly Cornish, whereas those of the manumittors and the lay witnesses are mostly Anglo-Saxon. Since Cornwall was by this time in the hands of the English ruling class, this is what would be expected. It is noteworthy that in the AS. texts the scribe sometimes tried to render OC. names phonetically in AS. spelling, but in Latin texts the proper OC. form is kept, subject to the use of certain AS. letters. The manumissions have been printed several times; Stokes' edition in RC. i, 332 ff., is still worth consulting, but it is outdated by Förster's "Die Freilassungsurkunden des Bodmin-Evangeliars" in *A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen* (Copenhagen, 1930), pp. 77 ff. The references to sections and their dates given in the present book are those of Förster's edition.

The largest OC. document is the Vocabularium Cornicum (abbr. Voc.C.) or Old Cornish Vocabulary. About the year 1000 an English monk at Cerne called Ælfric drew up a Latin-AS. glossary (edited by J. Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar* (Berlin, 1880), pp. 297 ff.). Voc.C. is a version of this in which the AS. glosses are substituted by Cornish ones, at a stage of the language which is really transitional between OC. and MC., though usually counted as OC. The Cornish glosses are much influenced by the AS., even to the extent of being led astray on the meaning of the Latin, and they include a number of English and a few Anglo-Norman loanwords; see Schuchardt, ZfRPh. xxxiii, 643 ff.; Förster, AStNSp. cxxxv (1916), 285 ff.; Jackson, JCS. i, 73 ff. The only MS. is British Museum Cotton Vespasian A, xiv, ff. 7a-10a, dated by Evans end of the twelfth century (see Williams, BBCS. xi, 1), but this is generally regarded as being a copy from an older

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source. According to Förster, *op. cit.* p. 289, Ælfric's language would hardly have been understood much later than the beginning of the twelfth century, and (p. 286) the several Anglo-Norman loanwords suggest a date not before the end of the eleventh century. He concludes that it is wisest to regard the Cornish version of Ælfric as having been made at the beginning of the twelfth century. Later, in *Reliq.* p. 134, he speaks of the archetype as already existing in the eleventh century.¹ We shall not be far wrong if we give the date c. 1100 for Voc.C. Apart from the edition in Zeuss' *Grammatica Celtica*, it was edited by E. Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama*, ii (Oxford, 1859), pp. 311 ff., who printed the glosses in alphabetical order and made use of Zeuss' opinions. The only subsequent publication is that in Ebel's second edition of Zeuss' *Grammatica Celtica* (Berlin, 1871), pp. 1065 ff. Loth pointed out in *RC.* xiv, 301-4, that a few of the words in Voc.C. are not Cornish at all but Welsh. Others are noted by Pedersen, *VKG.* i, 17; by Sir Ifor Williams, *BBCS.* xi, 99-100; and by K. H. Jackson, *JCS.* i, p. 73. The most satisfactory explanation of this is that the scribe of the Cotton MS. was a Welshman, who occasionally substituted or added² his own forms in copying the OC. words. In *FT.* p. 57 Förster quotes the opinion of Robin Flower that the MS. was written at Brecon Priory in Wales, though no reason is given; presumably this is based on the fact that it contains an account of Brecon. Discussions of individual words will be found in the articles by Schuchardt, Förster, Williams, and the present writer, already referred to; as well as, of course, in Zeuss-Ebel and Norris, Pedersen's *VKG.*, and elsewhere. It should be noted that the spelling is chronologically more advanced than that of any other OC. document.

As in Wales, so in Cornwall, there are some inscriptions belonging to this period, though they are few and happen to

¹ Förster's theory (*loc. cit.*) of a MC. intermediary between this archetype and the Cott. Vesp. text depends upon his interpretation of *lefiste*; but Williams has shown independently that this is a ghost word (*BBCS.* xi, 11-12), so that Förster's hypothesis falls to the ground.

² E.g. *frater* gl. *broder* l. *braud*, or *caseus* gl. *cos* l. *caus*, where the first gloss in each case is C. and the second W.

contain almost nothing of importance to the present work. For bibliographical references to their publication see pp. 149-50.

This small list represents the whole of our knowledge of Old Cornish, apart from a few names in Anglo-Saxon charters and in Domesday Book. For Old Breton we are better informed. To begin with the Venice Orosius (Ven.Oros.), this MS. of Orosius' *Historia Adversus Paganos* at Venice (Marciana Zan. Lat. 349) belongs to the middle of the ninth century, and has twenty-seven OB. glosses in various hands. They are edited by Sir Ifor Williams in ZCP. xxi, 292 ff.; he thinks they may have been copied from an older exemplar.

Other glossed manuscripts belong to the ninth century, but seem to be less closely dated in it than the preceding one. The Paris Hisperics (abbr. Paris Hisp.) in the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Lat. 11411 contain three leaves in a hand of the ninth century with eight OB. glosses, edited by Loth in RC. v, 469-70. The Sedulius glosses (abbr. Sedul.) are in Orleans MS. 302 (255), nine OB. glosses on Sedulius; both these and the MS. are in the same hand, a ninth-century one. They are printed with a facsimile by Loth in RC. xxxiii, 417 ff. The manuscript at Gotha, Herzogl. Bibl. Mbr. i, 147 (abbr. Gotha), a text of Isidore's *Etymologies*, has three OB. glosses in a ninth-century hand, which are edited by Williams in ZCP. xxi, 305-6. The Paris Computus (abbr. Paris Comp.), Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 1616, is a ninth-century MS. with OB. glosses. They have never been properly edited, but three are quoted by L. Delisle, with notes by Arbois de Jubainville, in the former's *Catalogue des Manuscrits des Fonds Libri et Barrois* (Paris, 1888), pp. 76-7. The Leiden Leechbook (abbr. Leid.Leech.) is four pages of a Latin medical treatise forming part of the Cod. Vossianus Lat. in Folio no. 96, in a ninth-century hand. On p. 2 there are about seventy OB. names of plants and trees, etc., not glosses but part of the text; they were edited by Stokes in ZCP. i, 17 ff. These glosses regularly spell *e* as *æ*, but this is purely scribal, with no linguistic significance. The Merseburg Alcuin (abbr. Mers.) is a text of Alcuin's grammar, at Merseburg, MS. i, 204, probably

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written at the end of the ninth century. The five OB. glosses are edited by Gerhardt, with comments by Thurneysen, ZCP. xxi, 346 ff.

Other OB. sources belong to the ninth or tenth century, the dates being less certain than with the preceding. The first section of the Oxoniensis Prior MS. (see p. 47 above) is a text of Eutychius' grammar (abbr. Eutyech.) in Carolingian minuscules with Breton glosses, dated ninth or ninth to tenth century by Bradshaw, Coll.Pap. p. 457 (p. 487, ninth to tenth century), but ninth century by Lindsay, EWS. p. 7. The glosses were edited by Stokes, TPhS. 1860-61, pp. 232 ff., with corrections p. 292, and further notes in KBr. iv, 421 ff. In KBr. viii, 374 n., Ebel published three more glosses discovered by Bradshaw. Rhys printed some comments on the Eutychius in KBr. vii, 228-30; and Ifor Williams in BBCS. v, 1 ff. Loth includes the Eutychius among the Welsh glosses of the ninth century, RC. li, p. 27, but this must be a slip, as they are certainly Breton. The Paris 12021 *Collatio Canonum* (abbr. Paris 12021 CC.), Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 12021, is a text of a body of monastic ordinances drawn up by two eighth-century Irish monks. Several MSS. of it, of which this is one, contain OB. glosses. The Paris copy is dated ninth or ninth to tenth century by Bradshaw (Coll.Pap. p. 473), and was written by a Breton, Arbedoc, for his abbot Haelhucar. There are eleven OB. glosses, edited by Stokes in his *Old Breton Glosses* (Calcutta, 1879), and in RC. iv, 327-8. The Luxemburg Folios (Lux.), MS. 89 in the Luxemburg Ducal Library, contain portions of the well-known Latin "*Hisperica Famina*" and Latin glosses derived from it, with Breton glosses as well. They are dated ninth to tenth century by Bradshaw, Coll.Pap. p. 488; and edited by Rhys, RC. i, 346 ff., with some additions in RC. ii, 119-20, and corrections in RC. xiii, 248-51. Rhys thought the glosses were copied from an older MS. See also Bradshaw in RC. xi, 219-20. The Berne Virgil (Berne), codex 167, is a MS. of scholia on Virgil with OB. glosses belonging to the ninth to tenth century. They were edited by Stokes, *Old Breton Glosses*, and RC. iv, 327. The Harleian Nonius, British Museum Harl. 2719, a manuscript of the ninth or

tenth century, has a single OB. gloss ; see Lindsay, ZCP. i, 26. The Corpus Christi Collatio Canonum (Corp.CC.), Corpus Christi College (Cambridge) Parker MS. 279, written in a Continental hand of the ninth or tenth century with Irish glosses, has one Brittonic gloss ; see Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ii (Cambridge, 1903), p. xi. In view of the nature of the hand, and of the popularity of the Collatio Canonum in Brittany, this is probably Breton, though it might be Cornish. The Hatton Collatio Canonum (Hatt.CC.), Bodleian MS. Hatton 42, has OB. glosses dated ninth to tenth century by Bradshaw, Coll.Pap. p. 487, and edited by Stokes, *Old Breton Glosses*, and in RC. iv, 328. The Leiden and Berne Logical Fragments, as they are called by Lindsay (EWS. p. 22), respectively part of Boethius' translation of Porphyrius' *Isagoge* and part of Augustine's *Categoriae*, have each one OB. gloss. According to Lindsay they belonged originally to the same MS. (p. 23) ; he compares the Ox.1 Ovid and less closely the Sulgen entries in Chad (p. 26), which would suggest the tenth or ninth century. The MS. seems to have come from Fleury, which makes a Breton origin likely.

Glossed manuscripts which belong probably to the tenth century are as follows : The Vatican Reginensis 49 Homily on the Evangelists. Loth dates the MS. in the last part of the tenth century, and quotes Lindsay that the characters are the Continental minuscule used also in Britain in that century (RC. xxxvi, 411). In RC. i, 357-8, Loth prints a letter from Wilmart in which the latter puts the MS. in the tenth or at earliest the end of the ninth century, and says it is a copy of a source belonging probably to the eighth ; written in Cornwall or Wales, or at Fleury, or most likely in Brittany. There are three glosses, edited by Loth, *loc. cit.*, and it is doubtful whether these are OB. or OC. ; Henry Lewis, in LCC. p. 2, says the gloss *guorcher* may be Cornish, but does not mention the other two. The St. Omer Hisperics (St. Omer), MS. 666, written in the tenth century, is a Latin alphabet poem of the "Hisperic" type ; there are a dozen glosses, edited by Thurneysen, RC. xi, 86 ff., apparently OB. The Codex

Leidensis Vossianus Lat. in Folio no. 24, of the tenth century (abbr. Cod.Leid.Voss.), has nine OB. glosses in the text and margins, edited by Thurneysen in ZCP. ii, 83-5. The Vatican MS. Reg. 296 of Orosius (Vat.Reg. 296 Oros.), a tenth-century copy of Orosius' *History*, contains twenty-five OB. glosses edited by Stokes in the *Academy*, January 1890, p. 46. The Corpus Amalarius (Amal.), Corpus Christi College (Cambridge) MS. 192, an Amalarius *De Divinis Officiis*, was written in 952 at Landevennec; cf. Bradshaw, Coll.Pap. p. 472. There are four glosses, edited by Stokes, *Old Breton Glosses*, and in RC. iv, 327.

The greatest body of Old Breton glosses, three hundred and twenty of them, is that in the MS. of the Collatio Canonum at Orleans (Orl.CC.). These were printed by Stokes in *The Breton Glosses at Orleans* (Calcutta, 1880); in KZ. xxvi (1883), pp. 425 ff.; and again, and much better, in TPhS. 1885-87, pp. 539 ff. Loth published an article on them in RC. v (1883), pp. 104 ff., and gave some corrections and suggestions in RC. viii (1887), pp. 492 ff.; see also Ernault in RC. viii, 504 ff. Stokes quotes Bradshaw as dating the MS. tenth or eleventh century, KZ. xxvi, 425 and TPhS. 1885-87, p. 540; but Loth gives it as end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth, without naming his authority, in RC. xxxiii, 419. In RC. v, 113, he dates the main body of glosses at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, but on grounds of orthography, not palaeography; he thinks the secunda manus glosses at least a century later.¹ Many are abbreviated, and there is an extraordinarily high proportion of doubtful or unintelligible ones. The later tenth or early eleventh century seems a probable date for the prima manus glosses. The Cotton Collatio Canonum (Cott.CC.), in the British Museum Cotton Otho E XIII, a manuscript dated by Bradshaw tenth to eleventh century (Coll.Pap. pp. 476, 487), contains nineteen OB. glosses edited by Stokes in *Old Breton Glosses*, and in RC. iv, 328. The Paris 3182 Collatio Canonum (Paris 3182 CC.),

¹ RC. v, 106. According to Loth these are *adi*, *aimseudeticad*, *ampar*, *arga*, *corn*, *diuenoc*, *eleuc*, *enneuidteruo*, *erdirh*, *frec*, *guirhter*, *gupar*, *guparol*, *gurclut*, *huisicou*, *imfer*, *liusiu*, *pis*, *pus*, *rod*, *soeul*, *testoner*, and *troncaissent*.

Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Lat. 3182, is dated by Bradshaw as eleventh century, Coll.Pap. p. 473. There are three OB. glosses, edited by Stokes, *Old Breton Glosses*, and RC. iv, 328. The Vatican Reg. 691 Orosius is a copy of Orosius' *History* belonging to the twelfth century; the three OB. glosses are edited by Stokes, *Academy*, January 1890, p. 46. They may have been transcribed from an older MS.

Apart from the glosses, there are two very important MSS. of Latin charters and other documents which contain many OB. names. These are the Cartulary of Redon (Cart.Red.) and the Cartulary of Landevennec (Cart.Land.). The former is edited by A. de Courson, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon* (Paris, 1863), with an Appendix of some other early charters not in that MS. It was written in the eleventh century, but consists of copies of older documents dating from the end of the eighth century on, though the great majority are of the ninth; some later additions were made in the twelfth century (see Loth, Chr.B. pp. 102 ff.). On p. 112, in a document dated 821, there are four lines of text which are mostly OB., giving an appearance very much like the OW. boundaries in the Latin charters in Lland., and constituting the only piece of what may be called continuous Old Breton in existence. Otherwise the only Breton in Cart.Red. is the very many place and personal names and a few technical terms. In regard to the dates of charters in Cart.Red. it must always be remembered that they are those of the *originals*, and that what we actually have are eleventh-century copies, capable of having been modernised in spelling. Cart.Land. is edited by Le Men and Ernault, *Cartulaire de Landevennec*, in the *Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de la France (Mélanges historiques)*, v, 535 ff., Paris, 1886; with a preface by Arbois de Jubainville. This is nothing like so large or important a text as Cart.Red. According to Loth it belongs to the eleventh century, and documents in it purporting to be older are largely spurious or rearranged (Chr.B. pp. 103 ff.); Bradshaw says eleventh to twelfth century, Coll.Pap. p. 487.¹

¹ The Cartulary of Quimperlé is not included here, since it belongs to the MB. period, not the OB., and so falls outside the scope of this book.

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The inscriptions of the Old Breton period from Brittany are negligible, and have not yet been properly edited; they are of no special importance to this book. They are briefly described by Loth, *Chr.B.* pp. 82 ff. The Lives of the Breton Saints have already been discussed, pp. 41 f. above.

Finally, there are a couple of sources (apart from those doubtfully reckoned as OB. above) which cannot be assigned with certainty to Welsh, Cornish, or Breton. These are the following. The Munich Sortilegia, Munich MS. 14846, edited by Thurneysen, *Sitzungsberichte der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1885, pp. 90 ff. The MS. appears to belong to the eleventh century. The last two bindings contain two collections of sortilegia, copied by a scribe who did not understand what he wrote; the second includes Old Irish and Brittonic glosses, which are much distorted by miscopying and misplacement. Thurneysen held that the Brittonic glosses were not OW. because of the form *galanasoc* instead of **galanasauc*, but in RC. xi, 90, he accepted Rhys' emendation of *or parocleo* to *or pard cled*, which he took to prove that they are Welsh. But *guolt* in *hi guolt uchel* is hardly Welsh, nor is *galanasoc*; and Rhys' emendation is not certain.

O. Schlutter has noted that British Museum MS. Harleian 2276, which is glossed in AS., has also a few Brittonic glosses (Anglia, xxxiii, 137). The language is doubtful, but the form *guohioc* is not OW., and the presence of AS. glosses would make it probable that the others are Cornish.

It is a significant fact that the system of spelling used in these Old Welsh, Old Cornish, and Old Breton sources is in all important respects identical; ¹ and it does not change in any radical way between the earliest documents in the eighth century and those of the end of the eleventh, so that it is practically impossible to date an OW., OC., or OB. text by its orthography. With very late material like the Book of

¹ Except, of course, where there is a linguistic difference; e.g. OW. has *au* in certain cases where OCB. have *o*. But this is not really a difference of spelling.

Llandaff, some of the charters in Cart.Red. and Cart.Land., and especially the Vocabularium Cornicum, we are on rather different ground, however, since here the Anglo-Norman, English, and French influences which commenced to affect the spelling in the late eleventh and particularly the twelfth century begin to show themselves. In Cornwall, English influence is older and fuller than in Wales, as is natural considering the history of Cornwall; so that we find as early as the tenth century the use of AS. letters such as *ð*, *þ*, and *ƿ*, which are very rare in OW. and lacking altogether in OB.¹ The Bodmin Gospels is an instructive MS. in respect of AS. influences in Cornwall.

The inference is that the spelling of OW., OC., and OB. goes back to a common insular British origin. Before this point can be explored, we must look into certain peculiarities of the orthography. The spelling of individual sounds will be dealt with in Part II where necessary, but there are some wider aspects of the matter which must be examined here. The letters are, of course, the usual Latin ones (except for the occasional AS. forms just noted), and their usage agrees apparently with Latin in most respects, really in almost all. The chief apparent difference is the fact that in OWCB., whereas *p*, *t*, *c*, *b*, *d*, *g*, and *m* at the beginnings of words mean as they do in Latin [*p*, *t*, *k*, *b*, *d*, *g*, *m*], internally and finally they frequently mean [*b*, *d*, *g*, *þ*, *ð*, *ʒ* (or *j*), *ǃ*]. So OW. *bleuporthetic*, *Catbodu*, *dometic*, *Cunedag*; OC. *Iudprost*, *Petroc*, *Arganbri*, *budin*, *Ungust*, *anam*; and OB. *motrep*, *atanocion*, *morgablou*, *etbinam* are spellings for what were pronounced respectively as [bleuborðedig, kadbodū, dovedig, kūnedaz, jūdbrost, pedrōg, arzanbri,² būdin, ünzust, anaǃ, modrēb, adanōgion, morzablou, edbinaǃ]. That is to say, the linguistic change known as lenition (see §§ 131 ff.) is apparently not

¹ The letters *þ* and *ƿ* were, of course, very liable to be confused with each other and with *p*, particularly by scribes who did not know the language. This is very apparent in Voc.C. Stokes attempted to make use of it to emend obscure OB. glosses in a number of cases, but the only one for which there is any colour of probability is *arlup* in Orl.CC., which is perhaps to be taken for *arluth*.

² Or rather [arzanbri], see § 87.

normally recognised in spelling. The exceptions are few, but are significant. Note in OW. *scribl* (MP., A.D. 820); *gubennid*, *hendat*, *modreped* (Ox.2, early tenth century); which have *b* and *d* for [b] and [d], the lenition of *p* and *t*. In OC. lenition is regularly shown internally in Voc.C., which in this respect agrees with the spelling of MW., but in older sources note among other examples the following: *Anaudat* (Bodm. § 45, second half of tenth century), *Wendeern* (§ 40, 959-93); *Catuutic* (§ 47, 959-75), *Wurfoðu* (§ 50, 959-75), *Wincuf* (§ 33, second half of tenth century), *Aeðan* (§ 50, 959-75). These have *d* for [d], *u* or *f* for [b], and *f* for [v]; *ð* for [d]; and *Wendeern* shows loss of [3]. *Gutdot* in Smarag. appears to have *td* as an attempt to indicate [d]. For OB., examples of lenition shown in the spelling are very rare in the glosses, except for the loss of [3], carried through everywhere and implying lenition. However, there are *caubal* (Berne), *mabcauuelou* (*ib.*), *blinder* (Amal.), *doodl*¹ (Cod.Leid.Voss.), *medot* (St. Omer), *rad* (Orl.CC.), and others with *d*; *cornigl* (Berne), *inues* (St. Omer). These have *b*, *d*, *g*, *u* for [b], [d], [g], [b], the lenitions of *p*, *t*, *c*, *b*.

In spite of these significant exceptions, grammarians used formerly to concentrate on the regular spellings, taking them literally, and to argue that lenition could therefore not yet have occurred, or at any rate not fully. There is no need to discuss that point here; there is no question that lenition had taken place, and completely, long before our OWCB. documents.² The explanation must therefore be different; and we ought to bear in mind that the scribes of those documents were not men endeavouring to spell Brittonic words for the first time by ear, like a phonetician transcribing Hottentot, but were trained in the use of an orthography with which they were thoroughly familiar. Indeed a common assumption at present seems to be that a spelling like *bleuporthetic* is entirely traditional, following rules of Brittonic spelling which were fixed before the time when lenition took place, and that afterwards no attempt was made to bring the orthography into line

¹ See JCS. i, 72.

² See §§ 133 ff., where this is shown at length.

with the pronunciation.¹ This might have some truth in it, but the objections are grave. As we shall see, lenition took place in the second half of the fifth century. The theory mentioned implies, therefore, that the spelling was already rigidly fixed, and presumably by being based on a considerable written practice, before the middle of the fifth century; but it is fairly certain that there was no real written language so early as that time other than Latin,² and the few British names in Latin inscriptions of this date would hardly represent such an extensive practice, though it might possibly have been enough to have played some small part. Besides, if the spelling of OWCB. depended on tradition alone, and not on a solid linguistic basis, there would be far more cases of pronunciation-spellings betraying lenition than the few which do exist. There must be some other explanation, and it is probably this. As we shall see,³ to the Britons of the fifth and sixth centuries, at least to the members of the clergy who were responsible for almost everything concerned with writing, Latin was a spoken oral language just as much as British was. When the loosening of articulation which was the cause of lenition began to affect internal consonants in the native British speech of these people, it inevitably affected also, and equally, their Latin pronunciation. This need not surprise us in this country, for many of us still remember the "unreformed" pronunciation of Latin once taught in our schools, which produced such monstrosities as [meitə, spairitjūai, oreifio^u] for *mater*, *spiritui*, and *oratio*. The reason for this was, of course, that in the mediaeval English schools Latin was pronounced like Middle English, and hence when the great sound-shifts which caused the diphthongisation of most long vowels took place in English, they took place also in spoken Latin. Similarly, the American who pronounces *duty* as [dudi] makes *catena* into [kadēnə]. The result was then that the Britons in the later fifth century came to pronounce *caper*, *socius*, *locus*, *medicus*, *platanus*, *ago*, *primus* as [kaber,

¹ E.g. H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, i (Cambridge, 1932), p. 487.

² Cf. pp. 117 ff.

³ *Ibid.*

sogius, logus, medigus, pladanus, azo, prius], though naturally they continued to spell them as before. By a coincidence, the pronunciation of Vulgar Latin on the Continent (though apparently not in Britain, see §§ 50, 52, 56, 64, 68, 73) was going through certain similar if by no means always identical changes, partly before and partly about this time and later ; so that a Gallo-Roman of the fifth or sixth century would also have pronounced for instance [kaber, logus, pladanus].¹ Hence to the Britons of the sixth and subsequent centuries the Latin letters *p, t, c, b, d, g, m* at the beginning of words meant [p, t, k, b, d, g, m] as before, but in certain positions in the interior of words they now meant [b, d, g, ɸ, ð, ʒ (or j), μ]. When they wanted to spell a native word such as for instance the one they pronounced [adanogion], they were therefore obliged to write *atanocion*, since *adanogion* would have meant [adanoʒion].² The few exceptions mentioned above, like *gubennid*, where lenition is shown, are easily explained as due to the influence of the pronunciation in initial non-lenited position. Whether or not these peculiarities in the spelling of OW., OC., OB. derive in part ultimately from a tradition handed down from a time before lenition, it is clear that they are firmly based on the pronunciation of spoken British-Latin in the sixth century ; and by that time, in so far as there was any contact between the British and the non-Brittonic Continental churches, and any influence by the latter on the former, the Continental Latin pronunciation would in

¹ But the pronunciation of Continental VL. differed considerably in important ways, e.g. *socius* was [sotsjʊs] or [sodzjʊs], and for further cases see p. 74 below. Hence the system of spelling discussed here, and the form of the second-group Latin loanwords in Irish described in Chapter IV, cannot arise from Continental VL. pronunciations but only from British ones.

² Compare Rice, PhGCL. p. 10, "the phonetic basis on which the Old French scribes used the letters of the alphabet was naturally their own pronunciation of Latin ; for since during the Middle Ages the vulgar tongue was not considered worthy of special study, reading and spelling were learned in Latin only. Thus it came about that the scribes . . . used the letters with the phonetic value which they had in Latin ; or, if the sound which they wished to represent had no exact equivalent in their Latin, they chose the letter which they pronounced in their Latin with the sound nearest to the vulgar sound to be indicated."

certain cases reinforce the British,¹ though in others it would disagree.

There is another sound-change which is reflected in the orthography and concerns the present problem. The geminates *pp*, *tt*, *cc* were evolving into the single voiceless spirants [f, θ, χ] in the second half of the sixth century (see §§ 145-7). These are normally spelt *f* (in OW. sometimes also *ph*), *th*, and *ch* in OWCB.; but rarely *pp* and *p* (these only in OW.), more commonly *t* (in all three), and occasionally *c* (in all three) may be found; see more fully § 150. These spellings may be traditional, going back to the early sixth century when [f], [θ], and [χ] had not yet arisen and the sounds were still stops.² In any case, [θ] and [χ] were not yet very firmly established in Latin at that time as pronunciations of the *th* and *ch* which occurred in loanwords from Greek, though the spellings were, of course, common, mostly pronounced [t] and [k] (see §§ 55, 62); so that a hesitation of this sort in Brittonic about the spelling would be natural.

Looking at all the above evidence, we may take it that the probability is that the orthography of Old Welsh, Old Cornish, and Old Breton is not to be regarded as based on a tradition going back to the earlier half of the fifth century or before, but on the spoken Latin of Britain as it was pronounced in the sixth century and later. Unlike the first of these views, the second does not imply the existence of an extensive practice of writing British before the end of the fifth century. We know that in the sixth century the problem of how to spell Brittonic names was being forced upon the attention of the learned to a greater degree than before. Up to this time it had

¹ Thurneysen puts forward a curious theory (Gr.OI. p. 566). He appears to believe that OWCB. are spelt as they are because the *Latin loanwords in Brittonic* retained their Classical spelling with internal *p*, *t*, *c*, etc., though pronounced (like the rest of the Brittonic vocabulary) with [b, d, g]. But this is to assign an altogether disproportionate importance to the relatively few Latin loanwords, which were in any case fully absorbed into British. Thurneysen misses the fact here, as elsewhere in this section of Gr.OI., that not merely Brittonic (including the Latin loanwords therein) but also the Latin language itself in Britain, was pronounced with these consonant changes. This matter will be discussed further in Chapter IV.

² Cf. Loth, ML. pp. 87-8.

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involved a few scattered inscriptions, perhaps at least in part the work of men with the tradition of monumental masons derived from Roman times; but now, as we can see from Gildas and the Life of St. Samson, clerics, a different class, were beginning to write large works in Latin dealing with Britain and Brittany, and consequently were having to try to spell many British names for which they had no Roman tradition. It is not probable that such works were composed in the dark age of the fifth century, they are the product of the awakening of the Celtic church in the sixth. Incidentally, it should be remarked here that there is absolutely no reason to suppose that literature in the vernacular was ever written down at this time, or indeed for a couple of centuries at soonest; considering the general character of the early Celtic literary tradition, it is not in the least probable that it was.

It appears likely, then, that the superior limit for the fixing of the regular OWCB. orthography is to be put in the sixth century. For the inferior limit, the following points are to be considered. It must have been well established by the time when frequent intercourse between the Celtic churches of the three Brittonic areas was greatly reduced, probably towards the end of the seventh century. Secondly, it is well known that the spelling of Old Irish derives from the orthographical ideas of the British monks whose relations with the early Irish church were of such importance in the sixth century.¹ The written tradition of Old Irish goes back certainly to the seventh century, quite possibly to the later sixth. Thurneysen thought at one time that the writing of early Irish was established one or two generations before the end of the seventh century (KZ. lix, 9), but later he came to think that it may have been as far back as the second half of the sixth (ZCP. xix, 193).

¹ Compare KZ. xxxii, 568, where Thurneysen says that the Irish *mediae* were spelt as *tenues* because the British missionaries brought the alphabet to Ireland and the British *tenues* were already *mediae*; cf. Gr.OI. p. 566. Förster in FT. p. 417 proposes that the spelling of Brittonic is derived from Irish, which is in contradiction not only to the probabilities and to the opinions of previous authorities like Thurneysen and Zimmer, but also to Förster himself, since he says in FT. p. 666 that the Britons learned their writing from the Romans.

Thirdly, Morris Jones has noted that the OW. orthography can be traced back to the (late) seventh century in the "Saxon Genealogies" in Nennius (Cymm. xxviii, 234); though we should add that it would hardly be safe to suppose that the early ninth-century recension made by Nennius really preserves the exact spellings of that time (cf. pp. 47-9). Lastly, the theory outlined above assumes that Latin was still being pronounced in Britain in the way described when the orthography was fixed, so that, for instance, British-Latin ¹ *ratio*, *Caesar*, *ancilla*, *plangere*, *viverra* were said as [radiō, kēsar, aŋkilla, plangere, vīuerra], and not as [ra'dzo, tsiesar, a'ntsella, plan'žere, vivierra] as they probably were in Gallo-Latin in the sixth century. The early Brittonic church for a time retained the pronunciation which it had inherited from the spoken British-Latin of the fifth century, no doubt all during the period when it was hostile to Continental ecclesiastical innovations coming from the Roman church through England, that is to say, up to the eighth century. Just when the Continental Latin pronunciation began to displace the native in Britain is hard to say, but it seems that it may have done so (presumably under the influence of the English church ²) by the eighth century. The reason for thinking so is this. Latin MSS. written in Wales from that time on, such as the Book of St. Chad, the Liber Commonei, the Oxoniensis Posterior, etc., as well as the Latin inscriptions of the ninth and subsequent centuries, sometimes show the typical Continental confusions of spelling between *v* and *b*, *i* and *e*, *u* and *o*, *ti* and *si*, and so on.³ Such confusions imply a basis in pronunciation. We may conclude from this that the characteristics of OWCB. spelling were firmly laid down before the eighth century.

Taking all the evidence together, it is a fair assumption that those characteristics were indeed established in the sixth and (probably early) seventh century, while the whole Brittonic

¹ Meaning by this the pronunciation of the Britons when speaking *Latin*, not the pronunciation of such of these words as had been taken into *British*.

² Because of the date, and because the contacts with Gallic Christianity through Brittany in the sixth and seventh centuries mentioned on pp. 163-5 had evidently not affected the British pronunciation of Latin.

³ See Lindsay, EWS. pp. 5, 10, 32, etc.

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church was still united ; and therefore that a tradition must have existed from that time, fortified by enough Latin documents with British place and personal names and perhaps glosses to keep the principles of Brittonic orthography settled, right down to the period of our oldest Old Welsh, Cornish, and Breton sources.

CHAPTER III

BRITONS AND ROMANS UNDER THE EMPIRE¹

DURING the time when Britain was a province of the Roman Empire, a large number of words were borrowed from the spoken Latin of the Romans into the Celtic language of the Britons.² Once borrowed and absorbed, they became British words and developed in exactly the same way as the native words did; but before they were adopted they formed part of the living language of the Romans in Britain, and it is possible to deduce from them something about what that language must have been like, as will appear below. Approximately eight hundred of these Latin words have survived among the three Brittonic languages;³ so that if a Romance language is one which has developed by the ordinary processes of linguistic growth from the colloquial Latin of a province of the Roman Empire, a small but not negligible part of the Brittonic vocabulary may be said to form a fragment of a Romance language; a fact which has been almost entirely ignored by Romance scholars.

The period during which these words were adopted is some-

¹ Part of this chapter is an expansion of the writer's article "On the Vulgar Latin of Roman Britain" in *Mediaeval Studies in Honor of J. D. M. Ford*, ed. U. T. Holmes and A. J. Denomy (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), pp. 83 ff.

² See J. Loth, *Les Mots latins dans les langues brittoniques* (Paris, 1892; abbr. ML.); H. Lewis, *Yr Elfen Ladin yn yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Cardiff, 1943; abbr. EL.); Pedersen, VKG. i, 189 ff., LP. pp. 56 ff. Also J. Lloyd-Jones' review of EL. in *Cymm. Trans.*, 1942, pp. 194 ff.

³ There are 925 listed by Loth, ML. pp. 233-43, though he himself gives the figure as 600 to 700, *op. cit.* p. 31. A fair number of these are wrong or doubtful, but others have been pointed out since. Lewis, EL. pp. 49-53, gives a list of 527 for Welsh alone, which is certainly incomplete; about 600 might be roughly the figure. A fairly generous estimate for additional words in CB. would be about 200, giving in round numbers some 800 Latin words borrowed into British. Williams, TAAS. 1939, p. 30, says 1000 in Welsh, but this is probably intended loosely.

times referred to by writers as the second to third century, or the third to fourth,¹ particularly when it suits their theories to make it seem a narrow one. Now the Roman occupation of Britain extended from A.D. 43 to 410 or perhaps about A.D. 425 (see p. 113, n. 1). Granting that the state of the country might probably prevent much in the way of linguistic interchange for a generation after the conquest, nevertheless by the close of the first century conditions existed which were perfectly suitable for such interchange. At the other end, there is no reason to push the final limit so far back as the fourth century; it is impossible to deny that loanwords may have been taken into British as long as the Roman organisation existed here in some form, that is to say, at least to the middle of the fifth century, and in the case of ecclesiastical words very likely even in the sixth century. For, as we shall see, there is good reason to think that at least some degree of Latin speaking continued in Britain through the fifth century and (especially in the church) as late as the sixth. However, since effective communication with the Continent was cut in the fifth century, it is not necessary to take much account of linguistic changes which took place in Continental Vulgar Latin after that time when dealing with that of Britain. Consequently we should be quite unjustified in describing the period of the main body of Latin loans in British in any terms narrower than "from the end of the first to the fifth century".

As would be expected, the Latin words borrowed are in many cases the names of objects or ideas belonging to the higher civilisation, for which the Britons could only use the foreign terms because they had none of their own. Such would be *abecedarium*, *grammatica*, *papyrus*, *calendae*, (*dies*) *Lunae*, and so on. In other instances, though the Britons probably had a similar object, the Latin word expressed a better or at least a different variety. So *pontem* drove out *briva*, perhaps because the Roman bridge was an impressive work of engineering whereas the Celtic one would be a rough affair, and all the main bridges on roads and in cities would

¹ E.g. Förster says principally second to third, FT. p. 159, but second to fourth, *op. cit.* p. 172.

be of Roman construction. Often, though, it is hard to see why the Latin name should have been borrowed at all, when the Britons had a perfectly good one already; why, for instance, *piscis* should have come to be the exclusive word for "fish" instead of the British one which was probably **ĕscos*.¹

Some idea of the general nature of the Latin loanwords in British may be obtained from the rough groupings which follow, containing a selection of the more striking examples which enter into each category. Those given are chiefly nouns, since adjectives and verbs, which are by no means lacking, are harder to classify. To avoid explanations which are unnecessary at this stage, they are usually given in their Classical forms if they have one.

Agriculture, trees, and plants: *brassicae, calamus, calcem, castanea, cippus, cultrum, faba, facta (terra), fagus, falcem, fenum, fossa, fructus, furca, fustis, gregem, laurus, lignum, linum, molina, oleum, pinus, pirus, praesepe, rasculus, saccus, scoparium, secale*.

Animals, birds, and fish: *admissus (equus), asinus, bestia, cattus, columba, draco, leo, mulus, ostrea, piscis, porcellus, serpens, vipera, viverra*.

Arts and crafts: *adorno, aurum, coctus, durus (steel), gemma, margarita, plumbum, stagnum*.

Building: *columna, cuneus, fenestra, maceria, murus, parietem, pontem, porta, postis, scala, stabellum, transtrum, vitrum*.

Calendar and time: *antetertiam, calendae, diurnata, hora, matutina, nona, occludo (of sunset), pullicantio, septimana, sera, tempus and temporis, vesperum; (dies) Solis, Lunae, Martis, Mercurii, Iovis, Veneris, Saturni; (mensis) Januarii, Februarii, Martis, Aprilis, Maii, Augusti*.

Clothing: *fibula, manica, pannus, pexa, serica*.

Daily life: *antecenium, baculum, beneficium (loan), capistrum, catena, cena, cera, cingula, corrigia, denarius, flamma, focus, fontana, flagellum, frenum, fucus, funis, gemellus, habena, hospes, humilis, latro, mercatus, monumenta, mutus, opera, palmatus, pensum, piscatus, pluma, postilena, prandium*,

¹ Cf. Ifor Williams, *En.Ll.* pp. 38-9.

purpura, puteus, rete, solidus (coin), spatium, (equos) sternere, stratura, taberna, tabula, venatio, venator.

Education and intellectual life : *abecedarium, astilla, auctor, capitulum, discipulus, disco, doctorem, doctus, grammatica, graphium, historia, intellectio, Latina, lectio, legendum, legere, liber, littera, magister, memoria, oratio, orator, papyrus, pugilares, schola, scribendum, scribo, versus.*

Household, kitchen, food, and furniture : *baiula, caesellum, calidaria, candela, caseus, cathedra, cavella, caulis, cisellus, cista, coagulum, confectio, coquina, coquus, culcita, cultellus, cupa, furnus, iuscellum, mensa, modius, pulsum, salsica, scamellum, scamnum, scopas, sextarius, spongia, torta, vinum.*

Military life : *arma, castellum, castra, fuga, imperator, legionem, lorica, miles, militaris, papilio, pedestris, pedites, sagitta, spoliū, strata, vagina, vigilia.*

Officialdom, administration, and communal life : *cancellarius, captivus, captivitas, carcerem, civitas, civitatem, extraneus, fur, maior (steward), medicus, pagus, plebem, populus, privatus (married), testis.*

Parts of the body : *barba, brachium, bucca, cubitus, palma.*

Personal names : *Agricola, Ambrosius, Antonius, Augustinus, Augustus, Caesar, Constantinus, Constantius, Donatus, Eternianus, Eternus, Germanus, Honorius, Laudentius, Marianus, Mauricius, Pascentius, Paternus, Patricius, Paulinus, Paulus, Romanus, Saturninus, Saturnus, Tacitus, Victorem, Victorinus, Vitalianus, Vitalinus, Vitalis.*

Religion : *abbatem, altare, angelus, apostolus, baptizati, baptizo, benedictio, caritatem, christianus, Christus, clericus, clerus, clocca, confessio, contrarius (the Devil), creator, crux, crucem, diabolus, diaconus, ecclesia, eleemosyna, episcopus, evangelium, excommunico, inferna, initium (Shrovetide), laicus, maledico, maledictio, martyrem, martyrium, monachus, Natalicia, offerenda, paeniteo, pax (kiss of peace), papa, paradisu, Pascha, peccatorem, peccatum, peregrinus, praedico, presbyterum, propheta, psalma, psalterium, quadragesima, sacramenta, sacrificium, sanctus, scriptura, spiritus, templum, Trinitas, Trinitatem.*

Religious and Biblical names : *Abel, Adam, Daniel, David,*

Iacobus, Iohannes, Iudas, Maria, Mattheus, Salomo, Samuel.
 Seafaring : *anchora, carenum, longa, oceanus, remus, vela.*

The number of Christian words is large, as would be expected; but so is the number of those connected with various aspects of secular life (the above lists are, of course, only a fraction of the whole), and it is quite plain that these were taken into British as part of the general Romanisation of life in the Imperial province. That the great mass, if not practically the whole, were borrowed from spoken Latin is a point which needs to be stressed. These are for the most part not "learned" loans from book Latin and written sources, but popular borrowings from the living Latin language used in Roman Britain. Consequently they have on them a number of the marks of colloquial Vulgar Latin as it is known in other parts of the Empire. The development of Vulgar Latin on the Continent has been thoroughly studied by Romance scholars,¹ but very little attention has been paid to what must have been the nature of the Latin of the British province; and on the other hand, Celticists have very largely ignored the facts of chronology in the living Latin tongue, and have tended to treat the sources of the loanwords as if they were the Classical language of Caesar's day. In the following pages an attempt will be made to point out the chief characteristic features of general Vulgar Latin which evidently existed also in Britain, with their approximate dates; and also to show how in other respects the Latin of Britain from which the loanwords come differed considerably from the Vulgar Latin of the Continent known to Romance scholars; and an explanation of the causes and historical circumstances will be offered.

On the whole, the phonetic and morphological systems of Latin and British were unusually similar to each other.

¹ Still the most convenient handbook is C. H. Grandgent's *Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston, 1907; abbr. IVL.); but this is out of date in some respects, and a more modern authority is E. Richter, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Romanismen*, i, *Chronologische Phonetik des Französischen bis zum Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts*, Halle, 1934 (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, no. 82); abbreviated CPF.

Consequently it was easy for the Britons to adopt Latin words into their speech with very little change. When two languages with widely differing sound-systems come into close contact, the one can only borrow from the other in one of two ways—either by learning to pronounce the strange sounds, or by substituting the nearest native ones. For example, the phonologies of English and French are extremely unlike, so that English people always have great difficulty in pronouncing French correctly, and sound-substitutions are frequent. Such are the [jū], which is commonly used for French [y] in words like *une*, too often mis-pronounced “*yoon*” by English speakers. In some cases the borrowing language actually possesses the sound in question, but not in the particular part of the word in which it occurs in the lending language; and, if so, there is quite often sound-substitution here too. It is regular, for instance, in British names borrowed by the Anglo-Saxons; see p. 195. This matter of sound-substitution is important, because the failure to understand its scope, and the too rigid application of ideas of direct borrowing, has led some astray in dealing with Celtic.

For the reasons stated, substitutions for Latin sounds are rare in British. The chief are as follows: (1) IE. *ō* in final syllables became CC. *ū*, and in British this was already *-ū(-)* by the time of the Latin borrowings (see §§ 14-15). Latin words with *-ō*, like *latro*, were treated by changing it to the native *-ū*, and this later developed regularly into *-i*. In a very similar way the Gauls turned Latin *-ō* by their CC. *-ū*, as in the name *Frontu*. (2) The pronunciation of VL. *au* was apparently not identical with any British sound; it was partly identified with Brit. *āu* and partly (probably later) with Brit. *au*. See § 25. (3) IE. *kt* became *χt* in CC., so that Latin *ct* was a foreign sound to all the Celtic peoples, and all used their *χt* for it, both in Gaulish and in insular Celtic. So *factus* was pronounced *faxtus* in Gaul and Britain. In reverse, Latin had no *χt*, and in British names it is normally spelled *ct* in Latin sources, e.g. *Vecta* in the Antonine Itinerary for Brit. **Uex̄ta*. (4) CC. had no *pt*, the nearest sound being the same *χt*, which was therefore substituted for Latin *pt*; hence in Gaul and

Britain, Latin *captivus* was treated as *caxtivus*, giving French *chétif*, Welsh *ceithiw*. (5) The accentual system of Brit., at any rate in its later stages, was to give a strong stress on the penultimate syllable (see § 1). Hence, for instance, Latin *episcopus* became accented *episcópus* in British. (6) By the end of the first century A.D. British no longer had any true single *s*, because the native *s* had recently become the sound written Σ in this book (see § 114). Now this was close enough to [s] for the Romans to render it by their *s* when they heard it, as in *Sabrina*, and so too did the English in their turn, when they called the same river *Sæfern*, the Severn. But for the Britons the similarity was not so evident; Latin *s* seemed to them quite different from Σ , and instead of substituting this they generally introduced the hissed [s] or [ss] which they had inherited from older *st*, *ns*, etc. So *saccus* was borrowed as *s(s)accus*, not Σ accus, and hence gave Welsh *sach*, not **hach*. (7) As an example of the Britons' having learned to pronounce a foreign sound, though not one which was in any way repugnant to the genius of their language, Latin *x*, which was χs or $\chi's$ in the VL. of Gaul, was taken into British as $\chi's$. The Britons had formerly had χs themselves, from IE. *ks* and *ps*, but by now it had become a sound which was felt by the natives as something quite different from the Latin one and hence was not substituted for it (see § 126). To the Romans, however, their own *x* seemed the nearest sound, and it was always used in spelling British names, e.g. *Uxellodunum*.

It has already been said that since Latin was a living spoken language in Britain under the Empire, a number of the characteristics of spoken everyday Imperial Latin, i.e. Vulgar Latin, as it is known in other parts of the Empire (and, of course, especially in Gaul, the nearest province), can be traced in the loanwords from Latin in British. The most noteworthy of these are as follows:

(1) Certain vowel harmonies are pointed out by Richter, CPF. pp. 98-9, as having taken place in VL. in the second to fourth century. Among these is *occasio* > **accasio*, whence OFr. *achoison*. The same happened in Britain, giving MW. *achaws*, OI. *accuis*. But in Britain other Latin words in *occ-*

must have become **acc-*, as in *occludo* > W. *achludd*, *occupo* > W. *achub*, B. *ac'hubi*, and vowel harmony will not explain these. Possibly Richter's alternative explanation for **accasio*, namely that *occasio* was popularly taken for **adcasio*, may apply also to *occludo* and *occupo* in Britain. *Monachus* > **manachus*, whence W. *manach*, B. *manac'h*, is a vowel harmony which seems limited to Britain, and even here there was also *monachus* > W. *mynach*, B. *monac'h*. Compare *ōrātio*, *ōrātor* > **ōrātio*, **ōrātor*, > W. *arawd*, *arawdr*; see p. 308.

(2) Latin *er* becomes *ar*, whether before a consonant or not, in certain cases in VL.; see § 6. 3. Richter treats these also as vowel harmonies, *loc. cit.*, but admits the significance of the fact that the *e* is in contact with *r*. Some of the British examples quoted below, *loc. cit.*, such as *sternere* > W. *ystarn*, *serpens* > W. *sarff*, suggest that the latter is the real explanation; and it may be that *er* > *ar* was more characteristic of the Latin of Britain than of the Continent.

(3) Latin post-consonantal *i* and *e* in hiatus lost their vocalic nature, giving *ï*, by the first or second century, cf. Grandgent, IVL. pp. 93-4, Richter, p. 76. This always occurred with *i*, and often with *e*, in Britain; so *spolium* > *spoliūm* > W. *ysbail*, *solea* > *solïa* > MW. *seil*, *cuneus* > *cuniūs* > W. *cyn*. But there was another treatment of *e*, peculiar to British Latin, see p. 366.

(4) After a consonant, *u* before stressed *a*, *o*, *e*, *i* was dropped in VL. in the first to second century, as in *Ianarius*, *Febrarius*; Richter, CPF. pp. 65-6. So in Britain, whence W. *Ionor*, *Chweffror*.

(5) Latin *ē* in initial syllables is often spelt *i* in Gallic inscriptions, and according to Grandgent (IVL. pp. 96-7) this may indicate a close pronunciation. There is some evidence to think that it existed in Britain, e.g. *cēn-are* > W. *cinio*; see § 28. A special case is VL. *di-* for *dē-*, which is common for instance in Gregory the Great; Grandgent thinks this may be due to the influence of *dis-*, *loc. cit.* Latin *dē-* regularly appears as *dī-* in British, e.g. *desertum* > W. *diserth*, *dēscendo* > W. *disgyn*, MC. *discynna*, B. *diskenn*. This must be a Vulgar Latinism, since Brit. *ē* does not give *ī* in Britt.; unless it is

due entirely to the analogy of Brit. **dī*-, as some (not considering the VL. evidence) think, see § 28.

(6) Latin *ī* in unstressed syllables might become *e* by dissimilation if there was stressed *ī* in the next syllable, Grandgent, IVL. p. 97; cf. Richter, CPF. p. 131, who dates it third to fifth century. Hence *dīvīnus* > **devīnus* > W. *dewin*; *dīvīso* > **devisō* > W. *dewis*. See § 17.

(7) Classical *ae* became an open short *ĕ* in VL. by the first to second century, and is borrowed in British, therefore, always as *ĕ*; see § 29. E.g. VL. *praesaepe* > W., B. *preseb*.

(8) In regular non-rustic Latin the Classical *au* probably became in VL. a diphthong with a back and somewhat rounded first element; cf. Richter, CPF. pp. 212-13. This seems to be the reason why in many cases it fell together with Brit. *ou* or *āu* (which had a similar kind of *a*) rather than with *au*; see § 25.

(9) In Vulgar Latin there was a constant tendency to syncopate unstressed internal syllables; see § 2. 1, 2. This is reflected in the Brit. borrowings, e.g. *populus* > **pop'lus* > W., B. *pobl*; *monumenta* > **mon'menta* > W. *mynwent*. Loanwords which lack syncope, such as W. *calaf* < *calamus*, are derived from a more careful pronunciation; contrast VL. **cal'mus* > OFr. *chaume*.

(10) Pretonic long vowels seem to have been shortened in VL. rather early, most of all with *ā*, less with *ē* and *ō*, and least with *ī* and *ū*, i.e. in accordance with the height and aperture of the vowels. The reasons for thinking so are based upon Latin loanwords in British and Germanic, and the matter seems to have been little discussed by Romance scholars, presumably because within Romance itself these shortenings are obscured by the nature of the evidence. See § 2. 3.

(11) On the common loss of Latin internal *v* in certain positions in VL. see § 44. This is seen in Brit. in *pavónem* > VL. **paōnem* > W., B. *paun*; but the word was also pronounced in Britain with the *v* preserved, whence MW. *pawin*, older **pawun*.

(12) Latin *qu* was early reduced to *q* in VL. before *u* and *o*, e.g. *coquus* > VL. **coqus* (spelt *cocus*). Later, in the second

to fourth century, the same happened before *a*, *e*, and *i*. So in British ; e.g. *quaestio* > VL. **gestio* > W. *gor-chest* ; **coqus* > W. *cog* ; *coquina* > VL. **coquina* > WCB. *cegin* ; *quadrāgēsima* > VL. **gar(r)āgēs'ma* > W. *carawys*. See § 56. There are, however, a few traces of Latin *qu* in Brit., as described below.

(13) In the VL. of Gaul, Latin *ct* and to some extent *pt* were sound-substituted by the native *χt*, as we have seen. This happened also in Britain. But Latin *ct* became *tt* in the VL. of Italy, and *pt* did the same in much of the western Empire. These changes to *tt* are reflected to some extent in the loanwords in British ; such words very likely reached Britain from the Continent already having *tt*, as this is not a natural Celtic treatment of *ct*, nor probably of *pt*. See §§ 50, 58. In upper class or ecclesiastical Latin in Britain *pt* may have remained ; see § 50.

(14) Latin *nct* became *nχt* in the VL. of Gaul, and evidently something similar in Britain. But in Italy it gave *nt* early, and this is found in at least one loanword in Britt., namely *sanctus* > VL. *santus* > W.B. *sant*, C. *sans*. The same word was also taken in with the regular Gallo-Latin and British Latin pronunciation **sanχtus* ; *santus* must have reached Britain through some connection with the church in Italy. See § 59.

(15) It has already been noted that Latin *x* became *χs* in Gaul, and that Latin words came to Britain with this Gallo-Romance variety of VL. pronunciation and were adopted with it as such. The subsequent development is closely parallel in Gaul and Britain ; with VL. **laχ'sare* > French *laisser* compare VL. **laχ'sus* > W. *llaes*. See §§ 125, 126. There was occasionally metathesis of *x* to *sc* in VL. ; Grandgent mentions, for instance, *axilla* > VL. *ascella* (IVL. p. 108), and this metathesis takes place in this very word in Britt., as W. *asgell*, C. *ascall*, B. *askell*. Before a consonant Latin *x* regularly gave VL. *s* by the second century (cf. Grandgent, *loc. cit.* ; Richter, CPF. p. 79), which was also the case in Britain ; e.g. *extraneus* > VL. **estranjus* > W. *estron*, C.B. *estren*.

(16) The simplification of the group *ns* to *s(s)*, with compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel, is one of the

earliest known features of Vulgar Latin, e.g. *consul* > *cōsul*. This was naturally the rule also in Britain, so that we have *transtrum*, *mensa*, *Constantinus* > VL. **trāstrum*, **mēsa*, **Cōstantinus* > W. *trawst*, C. *troster*, B. *treust*; W. *mwys*, C. *moys*; and W. *Custennin*. In native words *ns* also gave *s(s)*, but not with compensatory lengthening, so that it is the VL. development which is concerned in these and other such cases. See § 130.

(17) Latin *dr* gave VL. *rr* in the fourth to sixth century, see Richter, CPF. p. 160. So *quadraginta* > *quarranta* in a fourth-century inscription. W. *carawys*, B. *koraiz*, from Latin *quadragesima*, is clearly from a VL. intermediate **qar(r)āgēs'ma*; see § 71. 1.

(18) An analogous assimilation is that of Latin *dm* to VL. *mm*, and at the same period. This is evidently the reason why *admissus* (*equus*) gave W. *emys*, not **eddfys* as it would have if the word had entered British with the *dm* intact; cf. § 71. 4.

In marked contrast to the picture just presented, there are certain other ways in which the Latin loanwords in British show that the spoken Latin of Britain from which they were derived differed completely from that of the western Empire in general and of Gaul in particular. Some of the changes in the Vulgar Latin tongue well known from Continental sources appear not to have taken place in the Latin speech from which these words found their way into British. In the following list no attention is paid to developments which happened on the Continent significantly later than the early fifth century, or whose beginnings cannot be traced back to that time or before, since the virtual isolation of Britain during that century must have meant—in fact did mean—that later Vulgar Latinisms would not penetrate there to any noticeable extent.

(1) Short stressed Latin *i* and *u* became respectively *e* and *o* in VL. The former change began as early as the first century B.C. in rustic speech, though grammarians were trying much later to enforce the more elevated pronunciation; it was general in ordinary VL. by the third century. See p. 283. The second, *u* > *o*, goes back to the first century, though its spread was slow; it was regular at least as early as the fourth

century or before. See p. 274. In Britain, however, *i* and *u* evidently remained unaffected, hence e.g. *fides* > W. *ffydd*, *plumbum* > W. *plwm*. The only exception seems to be that there is some reason to think that *ig* became *eg* in British Latin before *i*, *l*, *n*, and *r*; see §§ 77 and 85.

(2) The normal history of *-eus*, *-ea*, *-eum* in VL. is that they became *-iūs*, *-iā*, *-iūm*, as already stated, and the same thing took place in British Latin. But in Britain another treatment was also to be found, whereby the endings remained disyllabic, and the hiatus was filled with a consonantal *u*; since British words were stressed paroxytone the *e* then took the accent. It was probably an open *ɛ*, like all stressed VL. *e*. The result was therefore *-éyus*, etc., as in *puteus*, *oleum* > **putéyus*, **oléyūm* > W. *pydew*, *olew*, B. *oleo*. See p. 366. It is clear that this feature is not of British origin, yet nothing of the kind is known in Continental Vulgar Latin, so that it must have been peculiar to the province of Britain. Since it must have arisen from a desire to preserve carefully the two syllables of the older Latin *-e|us*, etc., it would have come from the speech of an educated or conservative level of society.

(3) Hiatus-filling *u* occurred in other contexts too in British Latin, as in *u|i*, *u|é*, *ú|o*. Here, at least in *u|i*, *u|e*, it is not entirely without precedent in VL., but so far as the evidence goes it must have been much more prevalent in Britain than on the Continent. Moreover, in Britain when the *uu* was unstressed it appears to have become *au*, presumably through an intermediary *əu*, and this is to be regarded as a *Latin* development, not a British one. See p. 365. These insertions of *u* described here and in the preceding paragraph are evidently a peculiarity of British Vulgar Latin; the traces of a similar insertion in *ui*, *ue* in Continental VL. would suggest that there is nothing foreign to the genius of the language in such a glide, but again its frequency in Britain implies careful speech, since *u|i*, *u|é*, *u|ó* normally lost the *u* altogether in VL. in the first and second centuries,¹ and *┘ui* gave *┘ui*, *┘i*, or *┘u*,² at least in the ordinary colloquial tongue, though there

¹ E.g. *posuerunt* > *poseron*, see Richter, CPF, pp. 65-6.

² See Richter, *op. cit.* pp. 66, 70; Grandgent, IVL. pp. 93-4.

was a certain tendency among grammarians to try to preserve the syllabic *u*.¹

(4) The Classical Latin system of vowel quantity, whereby a vowel was long or short according to its inherent nature, was replaced in VL. by a different one through which the length of a stressed vowel depended upon the character of the syllable—long in open syllables and short in closed ones, all unstressed vowels being shortened. So *dīxī* > *dixī*, *vālēs* > *vālēs*. The process seems to have begun with unstressed syllables, as early as the second century, and to have become established there by the third or fourth; in stressed syllables it was general by the fourth and fifth centuries. The grammarians warned against such quantitative mistakes. There is no certain trace of any of this in British; with one or two possible exceptions, the loanwords show that the Classical quantity system was preserved, even with unstressed vowels, in the Latin of Roman Britain. See details, § 2. 4.

(5) It has been pointed out above that in accordance with general VL. usage *qu* was normally de-labialised in British Latin. But there are a few traces of the survival of the *u* among the Latin words in Britt.; see § 56.

(6) Initial groups of *s* plus consonant ("impure *s*") came to be felt as difficult in VL. and were made easier by prefixing an on-glide *i* or *e*. This is found from the second century on (e.g. *iscolasticus* in a second-century inscription), and was common by the third and later, though the grammarians ignored it until the seventh. The Latin loanwords in British show no sign of it. See § 119.

(7) One of the best-known characteristics of Vulgar Latin is the way in which the Classical Latin *v*, pronounced [v], gave way to the bilabial spirant [b], probably in the first century; and intervocal *b* became the same [b], beginning about the same time and being well established by the second century. Since the two were now the same sound, they were regularly confused in writing, e.g. *vibe*, *iuvente* for *vive*, *iubente*. Accord-

¹ Cf. Grandgent, p. 93; the cases of *ui*, *ue* > *ui*, *ue* quoted by Richter, *op. cit.* p. 70, are very likely attempts at elegance, though she admits they may be purely scribal.

ing to Sturtevant, we must assume the pronunciation [b] (possibly already labiodental [v]) for both letters by the third century even in standard as distinct from colloquial Latin, but the older use of [u] for *v* seems to have been known as late as the fifth century. See § 43. None of this is reflected in the loanwords in British, where Latin *v* and *b* were kept quite distinct. Hence they develop in Britt. exactly as native *u* and *b*, the former to *w* (later initially *gw*), e.g. *Veneris* > **wener* > W. *gwener*, *civitas* > W. *ciwed*. The latter did indeed become [b] > [v], but this was part of the regular lenition of all British intervocal *b* in the fifth century, both in native words and in Latin loanwords; see § 64. Hence *plebem* was borrowed with [b] and became later **plebem* (MW. *plwyv*), just as Brit. *abona* became **abona* (MW. *avon*).¹ As to Latin *v*, it might be supposed that the Brit. pronunciation [u] was a sound-substitution for what would be at that time the alien [b]; but if so, Latin intervocal *b*, being equally [b], should likewise have been substituted by [u], leading to a complete confusion of the two in British as in Vulgar Latin. But this did not take place; Latin *v* and intervocal *b* remained rigidly distinct in British, clearly because they were pronounced in Britain as [u] and [b] respectively.² It is significant that neither in the Latin inscriptions of Roman Britain³ nor in the later inscriptions of the Dark Ages described in Chapter V⁴ are there any

¹ For a few cases where Latin *b* gives W. *w* see § 65. This is, however, a late change affecting British words also, and has nothing to do with the nature of the *b* in VL.

² There appear to have been sporadic examples of initial Latin *v*- becoming the media [b] in VL., e.g. *Vesontio* > Besançon; it is common in inscriptions, but there it is probably mainly graphic, as a result of the confusion in the spelling internally. See Grandgent, IVL. p. 133, Richter, CPF. pp. 60-63. This is not found at all in loanwords in Brit. According to A. Mawer, *The Place Names of Northumberland and Durham* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 22, *Vinovia* became Binchester in this way; but the absence of any parallel to Latin *v*- giving Brit. *b*-, and the fact that in any case the phenomenon presupposes Latin *v*- first > [b]-, which did not happen in Britain, is strongly against it. Moreover, the name is, after all, Brit., not Latin, and initial Brit. *u*- never became *b*. Ekwall gives a quite different and perfectly satisfactory derivation for Binchester, Dict. p. 41. See, however, p. 260 below.

³ Cf. K. Sittl, *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache* (Erlangen, 1882), p. 51. But his comments on Celtic evidence for British Latin, pp. 51-2, are utterly worthless.

⁴ On CIIC. no. 355, see p. 364, n. 1.

examples of confusion of *v* and *b* ; nor does the traditional orthography of Old Welsh, Cornish, and Breton fail to keep them separate, derived as it is from the British Latin of the sixth to seventh century.¹ We can be reasonably sure, then, that *v* and intervocal *b* retained their earlier values in British Latin ; and it is to be noted that this seems to agree with the pronunciation of the more educated among the Continental speakers of VL. by contrast with that of the mass of the population.² Cf. p. 364.

(8) Aside from the history of *v* and *b*, the other most striking of all the phonetic developments of Continental Vulgar Latin is the way in which the stops in *tī*, *dī*, *cī*, *ce*, *ci*, *gī*, *ge*, and *gi* were palatalised and assibilated. Their history varied somewhat in different parts of the Empire ; the description which follows is that of the position in Gaul, as the most relevant to Britain. For *tī*, it began to be assibilated to *tsj* first when after a consonant, in the first to second century ; intervocally somewhat later, beginning in the first to third century and becoming full *tsj* by the fourth, voiced to *dzj* in the fourth to sixth century (so *ratio* became first *ratsjo*, later *radzjo*) ; see p. 396, n. 2. Such pronunciations were censured by Servius in the fourth century, but had become the rule in educated speech by the fifth. *Dī* gave some kind of [ž] in the first to third century initially and after certain consonants (>[dž] in the fifth to sixth century), but [j] elsewhere ; see p. 424, n. 2.

¹ The only real exceptions in OW. before the time of Lland. seem to be *Iacou* for *Iacob* in Chad 2 and *deruid* for **derbid* in Comp. *Eluodugi* in HB. p. 143 occurs only in MSS. later than the OW. period. *Iacou* and *deruid* are probably due to the influence of *Latin* writing in Wales, in which *b* and *v* were sometimes confused, see p. 74. On OW. *Deur* see § 67. 6. OW. *u* is, of course, never written *b* ; *Iob* in the Ovid glosses is clearly under Latin influence. In OC. the use of *u* and *f* for *b* (but never of *b* for *u*) came in earlier than in OW., owing to AS. spelling practice. In the OB. glosses the only case of *u* for *b* is *inues* (St. Omer).

² It is remarkable that early popular loans from Latin in Germanic also show [u], e.g. *vinum* > OHG., AS. *win*, *malva* > AS. *mealwe*, and only the later ones have [v]. Cf. Pogatscher, Lautl. p. 172 (whose quotations from British place-names are, however, irrelevant, because they are from Brit., not Latin). The same is true of Latin loans in Irish, e.g. *vinum* > Pr.I. **uīnon* > OI. *fīn*, not **bīn*. As most of these are, however, from Brit. Latin, this is simply further evidence for the nature of Latin *v* there.

BRITONS AND ROMANS UNDER THE EMPIRE

The history of g_i and the g in ge , gi was the same, so that they all fell together with d_i . The intervocal [j] resulting was lost in some circumstances. See p. 433, n. 1. Examples : *diurnus* > **žurnus*, *hordeum* > **horžum*, *radius* > **rajus*, *regione* > **rejone* > **reone*, *gingiva* > **žinživa*, *pagense* > **pajese* > **paese*. C_i , and the c in ce , ci were palatalised to [k'j] and then further advanced to [t'χ'j], beginning first with c_i in the second century and following with the others by the end of the third ; the full assibilation, *tsj*, was reached by the end of the fourth century, thus falling together with t_i at that stage and sharing its subsequent history ; see p. 402, n. 1. E.g. *uncia* > **ontsja*, *civitate* > **tsjivitate*, *radicem* > **raditsjem* > **radidzjem*. In educated speech the palatalised [k'j] stage remained, however, in the fourth century, but had given way to [tsj] by the fifth to sixth.

Though some of these changes were completed late, all had their beginnings, and some their full development, while Britain was still a part of the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, there is no certain evidence for any of them having occurred in Britain. On the contrary, the t and d in t_i , d_i , and the c in c_i , ce , ci , retained their characters as dental and guttural stops, without assibilation, though intervocally the t became d , the d became \tilde{d} , and the c became g through the British lenition in the fifth century. Thus *ratio*, *diurnata*, *radius*, *Patricius*, *cingula*, *necesse* gave W. *rhaid*, *diwrnod* (here, however, the i remained vocalic), *rhaidd*, *Padrig*, *cengl*, *neges* ; not **rhats*, **siwrnod*, etc., or the like. Welsh *tengl* may possibly stand for the t'χ'ji stage of ci (see p. 402, n. 1), but that is not certain, and it is in any case quite isolated. Nor is there any evidence for the $ž$ from g_i and from the g in ge , gi . As for [j] and its loss, the latter coincided in some cases with the natural development in British, as, for instance, where the g is completely gone in *pagenses* > W. *Powys* ; but this is more likely to be due to the regular Brittonic obliteration of g in such a position as the result of lenition ; see p. 433, n. 1. For a possible instance of VL. g_i > j in Britain, see pp. 449-50. Once more, then, we seem to have in the spoken Latin of Britain pronunciations which we know in some cases and can suspect

in others to have been those of the more educated level of society on the Continent, or at any rate to be more archaic than the ordinary contemporary VL. there.¹

(9) The Latin *tenuēs* *p*, *t*, *c* were voiced in VL. intervocally and before *l*, *r*, giving *b*, *d*, *g* (the two latter in those cases where they were not palatalised and assibilated as just described); *p* > *b*, *t* > *d* in the fourth to sixth century (see pp. 394, n. 1, 396, n. 2), and *c* > *g*, including *c* from older *qu*, at the same time, but later in *ca* than in *co*, *cu*. In *licu*, however, it was older, third to fifth century. Grandgent dates the voicing of *p*, *t*, *c* as fifth to sixth century, IVL. pp. 108, 121, 132. Pogatscher argues for full voicing as early as about 400, or at latest in the first half of the fifth century; Lautl. p. 196. Loth tries to prove that it did not occur in Gaul before the second half of the sixth century (ML. pp. 21 ff.), but his arguments are forced and unnecessary, see § 134. 2. There is almost no trace of this in the Latin loanwords in British, where Latin *p*, *t*, *c* were borrowed as [p, t, k], not as [b, d, g].² A probable exception is *stipula* > VL. **stup'la* > W. *sofl*, C. *zoul*, B. *soul*, which implies a VL. pronunciation **stubla*; see pp. 394, n. 1, 531. A possible one is *reliquus* > VL. **relicus* > W. *rhelyw*, through a stage **religus*, which would be reached in the third to fifth century; see § 56. These are likely to be late strays from Continental Latin or very colloquial pro-

¹ The same absence of assibilation is found in early popular loans in AS., e.g. *puteus*, *cista*, *ceresa*, VL. *acidum*, *uncia*, *pellicia*, *angelus*, *spongia* > AS. *pytt*, *cist*, *cires*, *eced*, *ynce*, *pilece*, *engel*, *spyngc*. These are old, since assibilation is found in the later *uncia* > *yntse*, which is itself older than AS. *i*-umlaut. See Luick, HGES. § 661; Pogatscher, Lautl. pp. 175, 184; and pp. 250 ff. below.

² Pogatscher, Eng.St. xix, pp. 339 ff., suggests that Brit. and Latin voicing of *p*, *t*, *c* was a continuing process contemporary in both, and the reason therefore why e.g. a Latin *t* which gave *d* was not borrowed in Brit. as *d* and then lenited to *ð* was that at each stage the same sounds in the two languages had reached just the same forms; so that e.g. Latin *t* > *d* followed exactly, step for step, the growth of Brit. *t* > *d*, and hence whenever borrowed would share its fate. This is ingenious, but puts a strain on one's credulity which is unnecessary in view of the history of Latin *b*, *d*, *g*, *m* in British and especially of *tj*, *cj*, *ce*, *ci*, where Latin never developed *d*, *g*, but Brit. did. It is quite clear that all these sounds were borrowed with their original pronunciations unaffected, and were subsequently lenited as part of the whole phenomenon of lenition in British.

nunciations in Britain. W. *awdur*, OI. *auctar* both appear to be very late loans from a VL. **augdorem*, see p. 323, n. 1. The Latin intervocal *p*, *t*, *c* were subsequently voiced to *b*, *d*, *g* in British, but this was as part of the general phenomenon of lenition, which affected equally both native words and Latin words borrowed into British. Hence *catena* became W. *cadwyn*; if it had been **cadena* in the VL. of Britain it would have given W. **caddwyn*. The explanation of the first group of British loanwords in Irish given in the next chapter again proves, if further proof were needed, that British lenition had not yet caused the voicing of intervocal *p*, *t*, *c* in the middle of the fifth century; but the fact that, for instance, *Patricius* was taken into Irish from Britain with *t* and *c* intact at that time shows nothing for the date of their voicing in Continental VL. (as Pogatscher thought it did), where indeed in any case the *c* would by now be [tsj], not [k] at all.¹

(10) Intervocal Latin *g* other than in *ge*, *gi* remained in VL. until the fifth to sixth century, when in *iga*, *ega*, *aga* it became [j]; and in *oga*, *uga*, and in *go*, *gu* after any vowel, it was lost. This applies not only to original *g* but also to the new *g* from *c* described in the last section. But in some cases of *gú* the dropping of *g* was much earlier, first to second century. It is difficult to say whether any of this existed in Britain, because the history of British *g* was so similar that the situation is obscured. However, the Latin loanwords with *g* in British are perfectly satisfactorily explained by assuming that they were borrowed with [g] and later developed together with native *g*; and indeed the late date of the above changes of VL. *g* would strongly support this. A case of the early disappearance of *g* in *gú* is no doubt present in *Augustus* > VL. *Agustus* > VL. *Austus* (both of which forms exist) > W. *Awst*, though even here it is perfectly possible phonologically, from the British standpoint, that the name entered British with the *g* intact. See p. 433, n. 1. Before *l*, *r*, Latin *g* (original or from older *c*) became *jl*, *jr* in the third to fifth century; and while the history of Latin *gl*, *gr*, *gn* in British is quite naturally

¹ Hence Pogatscher's arguments concerning the date of VL. voicing and assibilation, Lautl. pp. 184-5, 198, fall to the ground.

explained by supposing that the *g* was still a stop, there are two or three words in which a VL. *j*l, *j*r (and perhaps also *j*n) seem the probable reason for a development different from the normal British one ; see § 85.

(11) Latin *l*_i, *n*_i became palatalised *l'*, *n'* (*l*, *n* “ mouillé ”) in the third to fifth century ; they evidently did not do so in Britain. See §§ 91, 102.

(12) Latin *l* plus consonant gave *u* plus consonant about the same time, in Gallo-Latin ; e.g. *silvaticus* > **sauvatigus*. It did not do so in Britain. See § 91.

These two contrasted lists of the features of Vulgar Latin in Britain create a very strange impression. On the one hand, it seems, the language agreed closely with that of the western Empire in general, and Gaul in particular, during the first four or five centuries of our era ; which is just what we should expect. But on the other hand it appears to have differed very markedly over a good number of points of phonology, the accumulation of which gives a peculiar look to the picture of Vulgar Latin in Britain. Before attempting to account for this, and to explain its relation to the historical setting, it is necessary first to examine what that setting was, and to show what the nature and extent of the spoken Latin language in the British province may seem to have been.

Various opinions have been expressed on this matter in the past, but until fairly recent years there was not much real evidence. Sixty or seventy years ago little was known of the daily life and the economic circumstances of the population of Roman Britain. Since it was a Roman province, like the others, the natural tendency was to assume, *a priori*, that Latin was the regular language everywhere, except for a few remote half-barbarous peasants who may have clung to their Celtic tongue in the East and (because of the existence of Welsh and Cornish) admittedly must have done so in the West. This attitude was fortified by the then very general ignorance about Celtic linguistics and history, and by the prejudice rife among some English historians against everything Celtic. Later, the modern study of archaeology grew up, increasing rapidly and

of more recent years enormously our knowledge of this as of all other aspects of early British history. At first, as the extent of the Romanisation of Britain came to be understood, the belief in the widespread speaking of Latin appeared to be reinforced. The discovery of the fact that city potters and tilemakers could actually write Latin made Haverfield in 1906 take it as proven that the urban lower classes spoke Latin, not British (on this question see p. 99); but though Haverfield's treatment of these problems was on the whole very fair, his approach was coloured unconsciously and no doubt inevitably by the general prejudice against things Celtic, and it is clear in his writings how he tended to minimise these and underestimate their importance. A summary of this attitude towards the language of Roman Britain is to be seen in some words by Zachrisson (evidently deriving from Haverfield), published as late as 1927: ¹ "There is ample evidence that the Latin language was spoken by all classes of the population, not only in the towns but also in the rural country houses and the farms. Everybody who was able to write spoke Latin. . . . In spite of the lacking evidence, it is, however, probable that the Romanised Britons were to some extent bilingual—exactly as the well-to-do classes in Norman England about one thousand years later—and that Keltic was the only or chief language spoken by the poor inhabitants of the hutchings." Zachrisson did not detail the "ample evidence", and Haverfield himself was considerably less positive; the article from which this quotation is taken is throughout far from satisfactory from the Celtic standpoint since, like Haverfield, Zachrisson did not pay sufficient attention to the existence of the British language. Meanwhile, as the great surge of activity in archaeology since the First World War progressed, historians began to take more and more interest in the Celtic side of all questions. It is very significant that Ekwall, whose *English River Names* was published in 1928 and *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* in 1936, and Förster, whose *Der Flussname Themse* had been in preparation for many years before it appeared in 1942, hardly ever seem

¹ RKS. p. 25.

to consider seriously even the possibility that a place-name borrowed by the Anglo-Saxons might have reached them from the lips of speakers of Vulgar Latin rather than speakers of Brittonic; so much has the pendulum swung since the time when Zachrisson's ideas were formed. Possibly it has swung a little too far, as will be discussed later in this book.

In the following description of the background of Romano-British life and the relations of Britons and Romans, there is, of course, no occasion to enter in detail into archaeological and historical discussion. The reader may refer to a number of well-known books,¹ of which *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, by R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres (second edition, Oxford, 1937; abbr. RBES.), is still the best.

Historians and archaeologists of early Britain make frequent use of the concept that the island falls geographically into two great areas according to the configuration of the country, the altitude, the nature of the soil and climate, and so on, which in turn have been fundamental to the civilisations which have grown up in them.² The first of these areas is the Lowland Zone, roughly south and east of a line drawn from the Vale of York past the southern end of the Pennines and along the Welsh border to the fringes of the hilly country of Devon and Cornwall, including most of the comparatively low-lying, fertile, easily cultivated land, and wide open to invasion from the Continent. The other is the Highland Zone, to the north and west of the line described, consisting largely of mountain or infertile moorland country, poor, unsuitable for agriculture, supporting in early times populations less settled and less civilised than those in the Lowland Zone, and more easily able to hold out against invasion. This is a generalisation, and one which has sometimes been too loosely applied, but it works well as an explanation of some aspects of early British history.

¹ See bibliography in RBES. pp. 462 ff.

² This is one of Sir Cyril Fox's many brilliant contributions to British archaeology; for a convenient exposition see his *The Personality of Britain* (fourth edition, Cardiff, 1947).

In Roman Britain the Lowland Zone was comparatively thickly settled,¹ a country of peaceful agriculture and of the great rural estates of the well-to-do (the "villas"), of the poorer villages and hamlets of the peasantry, of cities and market towns, of civilian government and a considerable degree of Romanisation. The Highland Zone, on the other hand, was much less thickly inhabited, almost entirely lacking the large towns and great rural villas of the South; with a population of "natives" living to a large extent in their hilltop villages remote from the Roman centres, relatively little Romanised, themselves apt to be turbulent, open also to the raids and attacks of the barbarian peoples from outside the Province to the North and West, and hence under permanent occupation and control by units of the Roman army. The few towns were military headquarters rather than centres of peaceful Roman-British civilisation.

The following account of the probable situation in regard to the Latin and British languages and their mutual relations may now be proposed. The evidence is, of course, still largely of an *a priori* nature, but there is a good deal more to base conclusions on now than there used to be.

(1) Throughout the Province, Latin must have been the language of government and the administration of law, of the whole population of Roman officials, and especially of all those who were Romans or of recent Roman extraction. The native upper classes came to play a part in local self-government and official life, and were encouraged to do so; Emperor-worship, with its *concilium provinciae* for the wealthy provincials, was early instituted as an instrument of policy. Certain privileged towns had a constitution of Roman type, with a senate called the *ordo* controlling public affairs, whose members were ex-magistrates called *decuriones*; and the magistrates themselves were elected from the general citizen body. Even small non-privileged communities and towns had to some extent a similar constitution, with a body of councillors (*vicani*) and

¹ Particularly south-east of a line from the Fens to the mouth of the Severn; the West Midlands and Welsh Marches seem to have been more thinly inhabited, probably because they were densely forested.

elected magistrates, and enjoyed certain rights of self-government. Whatever may have been the daily language of these people, for official purposes they must have used Latin. Tacitus gives us a glimpse of them, and of their eagerness to acquire Roman civilisation, in a well-known passage in the *Agricola*, chapter 22: *Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent.*

(2) The same would be true of the administration of the army, itself an instrument of Roman government. The numerous Latin military inscriptions illustrate this. As regards the rank and file, Collingwood shows ¹ that in the first century the occupation brought to Britain some 40,000 foreign soldiers, recruited chiefly from Gaul, the Danubian provinces, and Spain; and that later reinforcements were almost exclusively from Germany and to a less extent from the upper Danubian provinces. There was a very considerable influx of German soldiers in the late second and early third centuries. Of the auxiliary regiments, over half came from northern Gaul and the Rhineland, a quarter from the Danubian provinces, and almost all the rest from Spain. Burgundians and Vandals from northern Germany were introduced in the third century, and Alemanni from the upper Rhine in the fourth. It is obvious that under such conditions the *lingua franca* of the great mass of the army must have been the general Vulgar Latin of the Empire, though very likely the German units would speak Germanic among themselves. We know from inscriptions that they continued to worship their own gods. As time went on, however, there appears some degree of modification. The troops settled down where they were quartered, and once settled, apart from the fresh drafts from various parts of the Empire they recruited themselves largely on the spot. There must have been a fair degree of inter-marriage with the British natives. The evidence seems to be that the predominantly Alpine physical characteristics of the central Europeans had little real influence on the native

¹ RBES. pp. 181 ff.

population ; and by the time that inhumation had become the regular method of burial, in the third century, the skeletons from the legionary cemetery at York show that the army had become assimilated to the general British physical type. In short, fresh Continental troops apart, the Roman army in Britain went native and gradually became part of the native population. What effect this had on the speech of both groups we cannot tell, but it is probable enough that through intermarriage and local recruitment the rank and file became not only British in blood but to some degree British in speech, particularly in the little-Romanised Highland Zone where the army was chiefly concentrated.

(3) The language of all large-scale trade and commerce would again be Latin, though it is likely that for purposes of petty huckstering with the low-class Britons the Roman merchants would have to learn some British. The evidence of inscriptions shows ¹ that the traders came chiefly from Italy, northern Gaul, and Greece ; and clearly Latin would be the common language used among these people. Collingwood estimates the numbers of traders, camp-followers, and all the other elements which arrived in the company of the invading army at over 100,000.

(4) In the Lowland Zone all education and writing, and such Roman literature as was composed, would be in Latin. But here a caution is necessary. As already remarked, Haverfield ² made much of the fact that graffiti scratched by tilemakers in the process of their work were written in Latin. Such are *Austalis dibus xiii vagatur sib(i) cotidim*, from London, or *fecit tubul(um) Clementinus* and *Pertacus perfidus Campester Lucilianus Campanus, conticuere omnes*, both from Silchester ; and so on. He concluded from this that the urban lower classes spoke Latin and not British. This may or may not have been the case, but the evidence in question will not prove it. It should always be borne in mind that British was

¹ RBES. p. 182.

² *The Romanisation of Roman Britain* (first edition, London, 1906), fourth edition revised by G. Macdonald, Oxford, 1923 ; see pp. 30, 32.

not a written language,¹ and that the *only* language of writing was Latin ; ² it would not occur to anyone to write in British, nor would they know how to do so. One tends to forget that to write down in an alphabet the sounds of a speech (even though it is one's own) which one has never been taught to write is a very considerable intellectual feat. In Roman Britain those who had enough education to know the alphabet had enough to know some Latin, and those who had none did not write at all. We, who learn to write almost as soon as we learn to speak, are so much penetrated with the idea of writing our spoken language that we cannot easily dissociate the two ; and are usually not aware of the fact that it is quite possible for one and the same man to speak a language which he cannot write and (when he has to) write a language which he cannot easily, or does not habitually, speak. This situation is quite familiar among the old people in the Gaelic-speaking districts of Ireland to-day. They were educated before Gaelic was systematically taught in the schools, and so they never learned to read and write their native language, but they did learn some English as a literary half-foreign language ; and now, if they have to write a letter, they do it in a rather stilted book English, although they may rarely speak, and are barely able to speak, a word of anything but Gaelic. Writing and English are synonymous terms for them ; a man who calls himself and is called by his proper Gaelic name *Seán Ó Catháin* would not, until fairly recent times, have thought of signing himself anything else but *John Kane*.

¹ From the beginning, of course, even before the occupation, Latin letters had been used for writing British *names* ; first on the coins of British kings like Cunobelinus, then occasionally in Latin inscriptions under the Empire, and in imperial documents like A.I. ; and finally quite often in the Latin inscriptions of the West in the Dark Ages. But names are an irreducible minimum, the context is always *Latin*, and they no more prove that British was a written language than the Red Indian names in early New England sources prove that the civilised Indians who learned to read and write a little English also wrote Algonquin.

² Compare J. Whatmough on the situation in Roman Gaul, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, lv (1944), p. 30 : " There was no common practice of writing before the Latin language was introduced, and with it the free use of the art. Hence, when people began to write at all, they did so, with hardly an exception, in Latin and in the Latin alphabet."

An analogous situation may well have obtained in Roman Britain, and hence Haverfield's evidence by no means necessarily proves that the lower urban classes did not speak British, nor does it even prove that they could speak much Latin, though at least one of the men whose scribbles are quoted above had learned a little grammar-school Virgil. Even Haverfield himself admitted, speaking of the Latin graffiti at Caerwent, that "This does not of course mean that only Latin was spoken, doubtless Celtic was often heard, and many were bilingual, as in parts of Wales to-day".¹

(5) The cities and towns of the Lowland Zone were always the stronghold of Romanisation. They were the centres of local government, the markets for the surrounding countryside, and the homes of the craftsmen and artisans who manufactured and supplied goods for the use of town and country alike. It is self-evident that the governing classes in the towns must have used Latin for official business, and doubtless also as their daily language; the purely Roman official element would certainly speak only Latin. Very likely the middle classes, the merchants and shopkeepers, used Latin too, as the foreign immigrant traders must have done; we may guess that the Britons among them were bilingual. The shopkeepers would probably have to be so, to be able to deal, if not with the townsfolk, at least with the country customers in from the hills for market, though perhaps like their counterparts in some western Irish towns to-day they may sometimes have affected not to understand the native language, which they despised as ignorant and low. Whether the industrial and other lower-class British population in the towns was really Latin-speaking is more problematical. In Collingwood's opinion,² no doubt based upon Haverfield's, even the poorest and humblest of the townspeople learned Latin. Perhaps they did, and indeed the evidence quoted by Haverfield shows that they must have known it to some extent, since they could write it; but, as we have seen, whether they made any great

¹ *The Roman Occupation of Britain*, revised by G. Macdonald (Oxford, 1924), p. 212.

² RBES. p. 194.

daily spoken use of it in preference to British is quite a different question, and in the nature of the case insoluble.

(6) The language of the western Church was everywhere Latin, and when Christianity became the state religion this made it part of the official life of the country. During the Empire, Christianity in Britain was chiefly an affair of the town centres, and it probably did not extend into the backward rural areas among the *pagani*, especially, of course, in the Highland Zone, in any very thorough way at this period. In so far as it did, the missionaries would have to use British, but nevertheless, the Christian religion was an urban and Romanising factor in British civilisation, and, as we have seen, an important source of Latin loanwords in the native language.

(7) Collingwood has shown that the great expansion of town life in the Flavian (and later in the Antonine) period had the effect of separating British society into two culturally distinct classes, a partly Romanised urban population and a very little Romanised rural one.¹ As a kind of cultural bridge between the two we may envisage the situation of the large rural landowners of the villas. In so far as these were people of foreign origin settled on the land, they would naturally speak Latin, but this was rare, and in most cases they were evidently British,² the native country aristocracy of the kind who must have sent their sons to Roman schools, as Tacitus tells us. These rich landowners would often be members of the *ordo*, magistrates and so on, and as such they would keep their town houses and remain in close connection with the Romanising influences of the towns. On the other hand, they were farmers, landlords or country gentlemen running their own estates, in close touch with the very much less Romanised peasantry, whence they must have drawn the house servants and farm labourers who lived and worked in the self-contained unit of the villa. The villa owners would be quite familiar with Latin, we may suppose, and would very likely speak a good deal of it among themselves, though it is probable that they would have to use British with their tenants and servants. It would seem that for these people spoken Latin was a language

¹ RBES. pp. 194-5.

² Cf. RBES. p. 18, n. 1, and p. 215.

which had to be acquired as a part of their school education, and was not picked up from infancy as a truly native tongue ; therefore, that the parents did not speak Latin with the young children. Such, at least, may be the inference from the story of St. Patrick, who was a member of a well-to-do rural upper class Romano-British family (his father was a *decurio*), and was stolen away as a boy of about sixteen years by a band of Irish robbers, at the beginning of the fifth century. In after life he felt it necessary to apologise for the badness of his Latinity, saying that he could not write it like those who had spoken it from earliest childhood ; and we may fairly conclude that Latin was not the regular home language at least for the children in his family, but had to be learned as part of a gentleman's education—which he partly lacked. One may compare the way in which in Czarist Russia the upper classes, whose native language was Russian, spoke nevertheless a good deal of French in the adult family but always Russian to their servants, and to some extent pretended to despise Russian as an uncultivated speech. Their children learned spoken French during the course of their education, and not usually as a second language from infancy on.

(8) Apart from the villas, the agriculture of the Lowland Zone was carried on by a peasant population living in scattered and rather remote villages of one-roomed circular huts clustered within some kind of embankment. The curious thing is that villa and village economy seem to have been almost mutually exclusive, as if depending on a fundamental difference of agricultural system or local tenure. In the Lowland Zone the inhabitants of these settlements, even the humblest, had undergone some degree of Romanisation ; for instance the villagers of Cranborne Chase bought articles of Roman manufacture such as furniture, glass, spoons, jewellery, and tools.¹ Yet though they may have visited the towns for the purposes of marketing, buying supplies, voting, and the rest, nevertheless their life and manners were not really Romanised, and they

¹ Cf. Hodgkin, HAS. i, p. 38. But the extent of Romanisation in the Cranborne Chase settlements is exceptional, see RBES. p. 222. Cf. *ibid.* pp. 179, 193.

were much less affected by Roman ways than even the lowest classes in the towns. For instance there is no trace of Roman influence on the plan and construction of their houses.¹ These people made up by far the largest body of the population of the Lowland Zone, even when the prosperity of town life was at its height, and with the decline of the towns in the middle of the third century the consequent movement to the country exaggerated the inequality. As regards the language of these peasants, Haverfield, speaking of some small settlements in Wessex, says, "These villages were obviously native. None the less the material life of the villagers was Roman. Perhaps they did not speak Latin fluently or often."² Collingwood puts it more cautiously:³ "That many of them spoke Latin is not certain; evidence that, even in the most prosperous villages, any one could read and write is singularly scanty". Collingwood was probably following Haverfield here. Having regard to what he says about the great cultural division between the towns and the countryside, the remoteness and lack of Romanisation of peasant life, it would be a more probable view of the situation to say that in most cases the peasants of the Lowland Zone hardly knew Latin at all, or at most only a smattering as the speech of a superior class useful for business dealings with tax-collectors, traders, and shopkeepers. One might compare the relative position of Gaelic and English in seventeenth- to eighteenth-century rural Ireland; and it is noteworthy that even in Gaul, which was Romanised so much earlier and more completely than Britain, and was always more under the influence of Rome, the Gaulish language lingered on in remote areas among the peasants until as late as the fifth century.⁴ On this point and the evidence of borrowings in Anglo-Saxon see further pp. 246 ff.

¹ Cf. RBES. *loc. cit.* According to Zachrisson, "More or less outside the pale of Roman civilisation was the poor peasantry, who lived in settlements on hilltops, or in other inaccessible places . . . aborigines whose relations with the Romans have been aptly characterised as similar to those between the Englishmen and the natives on the northern frontier of India" (RKS. p. 24). This is an exaggeration for the Lowland Zone, and would apply better to the Highland, but there is some truth in it.

² *Roman Occupation of Britain*, p. 218.

³ RBES. p. 225.

⁴ Cf. Whatmough, *op. cit.* pp. 70-73.

(9) Lastly, in the whole Highland Zone, where Roman life was confined almost entirely to the military encampments and garrison areas, it is fairly certain that the inhabitants knew and used practically no Latin, except what little was necessary for relations with the occupying army. As Myres says,¹ beyond Aldborough to the North, Roman culture made little impression on the natives "whose main contacts with southern civilisation lay through the blockhouses of an increasingly barbarised army". Hodgkin, too, notes² that the hilltop villages of Dartmoor and Cornwall have yielded so far no traces of Roman culture at all. According to Collingwood, the only thing which distinguishes the Romano-British villages of the Highland Zone from those of the prehistoric period is a few odd potsherds of recognisably Roman type. The highest and wildest parts, like the Lake District and the Pennines, were scarcely inhabited at all.³ We cannot suppose that such people would really know any significant amount of Latin. Later on, in the fifth and sixth centuries, there is good reason to think that a kind of Romanisation did penetrate the Highland Zone to an extent unknown before (see pp. 117 ff. below), but that is not relevant to the present discussion.

The linguistic situation in Britain during the Empire seems, then, to be somewhat as follows: Latin was the language of the governing classes, of civil administration and of the army, of trade, of the Christian religion, and very largely (but perhaps not entirely) of the people of the towns. The rural upper classes were bilingual; the peasantry of the Lowland Zone, who constituted the great bulk of the population, spoke British and probably knew little Latin; and the language of the Highland Zone (apart from the army and its native camp-followers) was to all intents and purposes exclusively British. Haverfield himself summed up in a way which is by and large acceptable so far as it goes:⁴ "The townsfolk of all ranks and the upper classes in the country may have spoken Latin, while the peasantry may have used Celtic. No actual evidence

¹ RBES. p. 413.² HAS. i, p. 40.³ RBES. pp. 222, 177.⁴ *The Romanisation of Roman Britain*, p. 34.

has been discovered to prove this.” Since he wrote, some evidence has accumulated to help us to understand the broad outlines of the situation in respect of the languages of Roman Britain, and Whatmough’s description¹ may reasonably be preferred to Haverfield’s: “There can be no doubt that the people of Roman Britain generally spoke not Latin but British. They did not write it down, however. In Britain the speaking of Latin, among the officials and perhaps as a second language—a polite tongue of the upper classes—coincided roughly with the ability to read and write.”

Now it can hardly be doubted that the very considerable number of Latin loanwords in British were borrowed chiefly in the setting of the Lowland rather than of the Highland Zone. One cannot imagine the natives of a remote wild Romano-Celtic mountain village like Tre ’r Ceiri in Wales, nor even the petty British chieftains of Cumberland or Strathclyde, having any very great opportunity for borrowing the Latin names of the days of the week or the months of the year, of education or administration; nor were their circumstances suitable for them to abandon many Celtic names of common household furnishings in favour of Latin ones. Anyone who looks at a list of the Latin loanwords in British must get a strong impression that they found their way there through a close intermingling between the two cultures, such as was surely to be found only in the Lowland Zone, both in town and country; although it would be as well to protest here against too rigid an application of these Zones, which are primarily a matter of archaeology, to questions of linguistics. If so, one would assume that the British of the Lowland Zone contained a far higher proportion of Latin words than that of the Highland, which may very well have been the case; most of those Latin words which exist in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton could easily have penetrated to them in the Highland area from the British of the Lowland Zone at various times during and after the Roman period, especially when the disasters of the fifth and sixth centuries drove so many of the Lowland population to the West (see p. 120 below).

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 30-31.

The problem of the peculiarities of British Vulgar Latin may now be seen in its historical perspective. Though it agreed in a number of more or less important ways with the spoken Latin of the Continent under the Empire, there are several striking points in the phonology over which it differed very definitely ; and the difference consists almost exclusively in this, that in these respects the sound-system of Latin in Britain was very archaic by ordinary Continental standards, still clinging in the fifth century to pronunciations which had gone out of colloquial use elsewhere as early in some cases as the first. One obvious explanation would be that Britain is an island, cut off from the mainland, and therefore particularly liable to foster an individual dialect. But British Latin did share many of the new developments, and on the other hand it betrays hardly any *fresh* ones of its own,¹ its peculiarity lying rather in its conservatism ; moreover, Britain was not really much more isolated culturally than, for instance, Spain. Besides, most authorities are agreed that dialects played a small part in the growth of Vulgar Latin in the Empire period ; various factors such as the frequent movements of troops, settlements of colonists, the constant coming and going of traders, and all the other causes which gave the Empire its cosmopolitan character, created a sort of *lingua franca* all over the Roman world at least during the first few centuries of our era. As Grandgent says, "The variations probably came to be no greater than those now to be found in the English of the British Empire".² We must consider what is

¹ The only important one is the use of hiatus-filling *u*.

² IVL. p. 3. K. Sittl, *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten* (see p. 89, n. 3), argued for the existence of dialects in the Empire, against the received opinion, but his evidence consists largely of native sound-substitutions rather than true locally-developed differences. We have already seen that there were such substitutions in Britain, but they were of small importance, and, besides, also existed in Gaul and the other Celtic parts of the western Empire. Sittl's treatment of the Celtic areas is made useless by the fact that he knew nothing about Celtic. He was refuted by Muller (*op. cit.* below), pp. 94 ff., who believed that VL. was more or less identical all over the western Empire until the eighth century. Muller was not speaking for Britain, however (the eighth century is too late ; some of the peculiarities of Gallo-Romance are certainly older).

really meant by "Vulgar Latin". It is the name given to the common ordinary everyday language of the Empire, the speech of the middle classes as it grew from the older Classical Latin of the Republic; it is not a low patois, a Cockney, nor yet the elegant speech encouraged by grammarians. In Grandgent's words, "It is distinct from the consciously polite utterance of cultivated society, from the brogue of the country, and from the slang of the lowest quarters of the city, though affected by all three".¹ Our information on it is drawn in the main from two sources—from unofficial private inscriptions, usually by no means in the purest Latin, and from inferences based on the Romance languages. The grammarians and rhetoricians, like Quintilian, Servius, Constantius, and others, sometimes comment on Vulgar pronunciations of their own day, and usually inculcate more archaic and Classical ones. In fact, it is now recognised that side by side with the ordinary *lingua franca* of the mass of the population which is regularly called Vulgar Latin, there existed another, a literary and conservatising one, spoken by the highly educated classes and those who educated them, namely the grammarians and rhetoricians of the legal and other schools.² This upper level of speech is of small importance for the history of the Romance languages, which grew up from the great middle or lower level of Vulgar Latin as the term is generally understood.

It is here, I think, that the clue lies. To the ordinary speaker of Vulgar Latin from the Continent, the language from which the loanwords in Brittonic were derived must have seemed stilted and pedantic, or perhaps upper-class and "haw-haw". In the list of British Latin peculiarities on pp. 86 ff. it is remarkable that time and again they tend to agree with the pronunciations recommended by the grammarians as distinct from those of ordinary colloquial Vulgar Latin. A. Dauzat, noting some similar conservatisms in Gaulish and Spanish Latin, says that in those provinces "Latin was still felt to be an acquired language, and one to be better acquired"; and that schoolmasters and grammarians succeeded in eradicating certain popular pronunciations and in

¹ IVL. p. 3.

² Cf. Richter, CPF, pp. 4-5.

enforcing certain archaisms¹—in other words, in making the vulgar tongue conform to some extent with the speech of the learned classes. Similarly, H. F. Muller considers that the more conservative and Latinising character of Italian and Spanish as contrasted with French is due to the greater influence on the vulgar speech of a Latin-speaking aristocracy in Italy and Spain in the ninth and subsequent centuries.² Here, of course, we are dealing with something much later, and the parallel with Dauzat's case is not exact, but it is significant. The stabilising, not to say petrifying, influence of the schoolmaster on a living language is a well-known fact.

What relevance has this to the situation in Roman Britain? What class of people would speak, or be anxious to learn, the semi-artificial Latin of the learned and upper classes and at the same time be in a position to transmit words in their pronunciation to the British language? Hardly the members of the army,³ nor the merchants, nor the middle and lower classes in the towns, all of whom no doubt spoke various types of the ordinary standard Vulgar Latin just as their counterparts did on the Continent. Surely it must have been the well-to-do landowners of the Lowland Zone, the native upper classes of town and country, who owned the villas and had their town houses too, who formed the *concilium provinciae*, gave members to the *ordo*, acted as magistrates, and the rest; the people described above under section (7) and partly under (1). To them, Latin would be "an acquired language, and one to be better acquired", in a way that it would not be to other sections of society. As Tacitus tells us, they sent their sons to Latin schools, where they would doubtless be taught, and insist on having, the best Latin available. This would, of course, be full of ordinary Vulgar Latinisms in such provincial schools, but it is likely enough that over a number of

¹ *Histoire de la langue française* (Paris, 1930), pp. 36-7.

² *A Chronology of Vulgar Latin*; Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, no. 78 (Halle, 1929), chapters 16-17.

³ Except, no doubt, the high Roman officers, but these would have little direct contact with the peasants.

specific points such as the distinction of *v* and internal *b*, or the non-assibilation of *t*₂, *c*₂, and the rest, the schoolmasters would impose the archaic pronunciations which their colleagues on the Continent also recommended. Are not these high-class schoolmasters and grammarians the very "rhetoricians" whose criticisms of his Latin style were so much feared by St. Patrick, whose knowledge of Latin had been little formed at their hands before he was carried off to Ireland? That the standard of Latin language, thought, and culture in Britain was capable of being a high one is clearly shown by a work like *Fastidius On the Christian Life*, composed here between 420 and 430; and if Gildas, about a century later, can be taken as some index of the level reached by educated Britons under the Empire, they were familiar with some of the Classical poets and especially with Virgil.

It has already been suggested that among this class of Britons, particularly in the country, the natural language was British, but that when they had learned it the adults made frequent use also of Latin; and that the situation may have been analogous to that of Russian and French among the upper classes of town and country in Czarist Russia. Surely it is probable, then, that the way in which so many Latin loanwords got into the native language in an educated pronunciation must have been through the agency of this class, rather than from the middle and lower urban classes, the rank and file of the army, or the other speakers of common Vulgar Latin? From them, many Latin words for objects of Roman manufacture and ideas of Roman thought would find their way into the speech of the rural lower classes, in the first instance through the house serfs and labourers of the villa. Though these probably spoke nothing but British, as their Russian counterparts spoke only Russian, yet many individual words might easily reach them. For instance, the steward who called his own rushlight in the servants' hall by some British name would learn that the family's wax tapers were known as *candela* (whence W. *cannwyll*, C. *cantal*, B. *kantol*); or the gardeners and labourers would have to tend new types of fruits, vegetables, and crops, such as what they were told

were *pira* (CB. *per*, "pears"). We must remember, after all, that the Latin element in British consists of a number of separate words, largely nouns, and is not a whole language learned *en masse*. Then, too, the pronunciation in which these words would be acquired by these people would be on the whole the educated semi-classical one of their masters, much as it is said that the correct educated English often met with among American negroes was learned in the days of slavery from the old Southern landowning gentry. When a peasantry learns a new language it does not follow that it must do so in a low-class pronunciation, it all depends on the source. Loth pointed out long ago ¹ that French words borrowed into Breton are spoken with a good Parisian pronunciation, not a vulgar provincial one, because they are learned through the schools; and for another Celtic parallel, the English of the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders of Scotland is often said to be more literary than that of the English-speaking Scots of the Lowlands, because the Highlanders got their English in school, whereas the Lowlanders have inherited colloquial dialects. These comparisons are relevant to the learning of Latin by the British upper classes as well as to the picking up of Latin words from them by their retainers. If Russian house serfs acquired any French words from their masters, it would inevitably be the French of Paris, not that of Provence or Gascony.

It is not easy to say why a good number of Latin words should not also have entered British from the normal Vulgar Latin speech of the towns, the army, and the rest. In one or two cases apparently they did so, or may have; see on VL. **stub'la* and **religus*, p. 92. But these are quite exceptional. For the army, the reason may be that in the Highland Zone there was not much intercourse between the half-barbarian hill-dwellers of villages like Tre 'r Ceiri and the Roman garrison at a fort like Segontium; and for the towns of the Lowland Zone, that the mass of the rural peasants who were the true storehouse of the British language passed most of their lives very much cut off from urban influence, whereas

¹ ML. p. 65.

their connections with the country gentry may have been closer, since the servants and labourers of the villas were recruited at least partly from them. However it is to be explained, the fact seems to be, at any rate, that the many Latin loanwords in Brittonic came ultimately from educated speakers of rather stilted school Latin, and not from the standard Vulgar Latin of the middle and lower classes in the Roman Empire.

In Chapter VI we shall consider the question of the contacts between the Anglo-Saxons and the British population of this island. Before doing so, it is necessary first to define what was the probable linguistic situation in Britain in the first half of the fifth century, at the very end of the Roman period and just before the Anglo-Saxon invasions began about the middle of that century.

One of the most striking facts about the later history of Roman Britain is the decline of town life. As Collingwood has shown,¹ the building of towns under the Flavians and Antonines was overdone, they became economically top-heavy, and by the middle of the third century they were falling into an irremediable decay and a bankruptcy which was partly the product of the inflation which affected the Empire at this time. Doubtless the whole process was aggravated by the barbarian raids to which the island was subjected in the fourth century, but the cause was much more internal than external. As a consequence the town population diminished markedly, and the rural population increased as men took refuge in an economy which was largely independent of trade and money. So by contrast we have a picture of country life and the villa economy flourishing and even expanding slowly in the third and fourth centuries. One may reasonably conclude that the decline of the towns, those centres of Romanisation, must have lessened the proportion of Latin to British spoken in the province by the end of the fourth century.

Coming to what is regarded as the end of Roman administration in Britain, generally taken as having occurred in the

¹ RBES. pp. 193 ff., especially pp. 198-9, 201-7.

year 410,¹ there is, of course, no need to pay any attention to the old notion that all that was Roman in the civilisation, including the Latin language, immediately vanished with the withdrawal of the legions, leaving a helpless mass of Celtic barbarians supine to the assaults of the invader. What happened was simply that the units of the Roman army were transferred to where they were badly needed on the Continent, and with them the higher Roman officials. According to Collingwood,² the Comes Britanniarum took with him his staff and some 5000 soldiers "much more barbarian than the upper classes, at least, in the country they had been protecting". The Vicarius also left, with his staff, and such of the provincial Praesides as still remained. "But", says Collingwood, "there was no general exodus of the Romanised people. . . . The 'Departure of the Romans' contributed very little to the cessation of Roman life in Britain." We know now that there was by no means an immediate or complete collapse of the Roman type of administration. True, the island was thrown on its own resources, but after centuries of a considerable measure of self-government this would not mean an utter chaos. When St. Germanus visited Britain in 429 he found indeed a state of disorganisation; but he met for instance at St. Alban's an official described as *vir tribuniciae potestatis*, probably the chief magistrate of the town, which therefore had some kind of responsible government. No doubt it was not unique in this.³ In 446 the *civitates* of Britain still had enough corporate existence to be able to despatch a joint appeal for help, as official bodies, to the consul Aetius; and, as Hodgkin remarks,⁴ when St. Patrick was writing about the middle of the century, it seems that the system of decurions was still a functioning one.

¹ But there is reason to think that the final rupture did not come in 410, but that reinforcements were sent to Britain about 417, and that these were not finally withdrawn until some time before 429. See RBES. pp. 292 ff., especially 301.

² RBES. p. 313.

³ Compare the "Maglus the magistrate" whose cousin died in North Wales about the end of the fifth century; see CHC. no 393.

⁴ HAS. i, p. 64.

As for the intellectual and religious life in Britain at the end of the fourth century and in the first half of the fifth, religious thought was active enough to foster one of the great early Christian heresiarchs, Pelagius, who left the country about 380. Later, between 420 and 430, Fastidius composed in Britain the work referred to above, *On the Christian Life*, addressed to a British woman. By the end of the fourth century Christianity, which had begun among the poorer town-dwellers, had, in fact, made considerable progress in all ranks of society ; even the upper classes were partly converted, as in the case of St. Patrick's father, who was a deacon. Every large town must have had its bishop. There was, no doubt, still a good deal of paganism in the early fifth century, but it flourished now chiefly among the country people ; and it is significant that a century later Gildas, for all his rhetorical castigations of the sins of the Britons, never once mentions heathenism amongst them. The visits of St. Germanus in 429 and about 447 for the purpose of putting down Pelagianism show that the Britons had enough organised Christianity to be alarmed at the existence of heresy among them. In 455 Pope Leo I made certain modifications in the system of calculating Easter as set up by the Council of Arles, and the new method was that which was practised by the Celtic church for more than two centuries, so that Britain must have been still sufficiently in contact with Rome to be able to learn and adopt innovations which came from there.

The conclusion is that the state of Britain in the first half of the fifth century was not one of complete breakdown of the Roman administration and religion, and of the Roman way of life. It was a period of decay, of a people cut off from close contact with its metropolis, though still in distant communication with it ; a people whose standard of material life was falling, whose towns were half-empty slums, who were subject to frequent raids by barbarian robbers (Picts, Irish, and Saxons) ; but a people who were still essentially Roman in their civilisation. We cannot doubt that Latin was still the official language of Britain at this time, as it had been before.

The true date for the beginning of the final collapse of

Roman Britain was not so much 410 as about 450, when the Saxon pirates turned from transitory raiding to organised settlement. Collingwood points out ¹ that from the middle of the century there were no more men like Pelagius and Fastidius ; and though the new Easter regulations of 455 duly came to Britain, subsequent reforms did not.² A new age begins now for Britain ; on the one hand with the increasing encroachments of the Saxons, which will be described in Chapter VI, and on the other with a great change in methods of administration in the still British parts of the island. " By 450 the system of government by which Roman Britain ruled itself as a loose federation of *civitates* with elected magistrates of the Roman municipal type was breaking down."³ What was replacing it was a Celtic organisation, that of tribal units under the rule of chieftains whom Gildas calls *tyranni* ; people such as Vortigern, the Celtic chief who was traditionally credited with having opened the gates to the Saxon invasion. " These men are drawn not altogether from the most romanized class of its population, but largely from the Celtic peoples of the less romanized fringe, in which case their political traditions are not those of the city but those of the tribe."⁴ What had really happened was that with the decay of Roman life and the impact of the barbarian raids, Britain had ceased to be a country of civilian government by a municipal and Imperial organisation, and had reverted to a state of military rule by the traditional barbarian type of hereditary king or chief, the pattern of which had existed in the petty head-men and chieftains of the Highland Zone under the Romans. Yet traces of Romanism remained. Gildas tells us of Ambrosius Aurelianus, " the last of the Romans ", evidently a man of good family,⁵ and no doubt a Lowlander, who organised apparently successful war against the Saxons about 470-80.⁶ He seems to represent a last effort to assert the true Roman

¹ RBES. p. 315.

² However, there was evidently still some degree of influence from the Christianity of Gaul on that of Britain, presumably through Brittany, as late as the seventh century ; see pp. 163-5.

³ RBES. p. 314.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ DEB. c. 25.

⁶ RBES. p. 319.

organisation, and it would appear that the "tyrants" were opposed to him, to judge from the traditions that he and Vortigern were enemies and that he quarrelled with Vortigern's kinsman, Guitolin (Vitalinus).¹ Somewhat later the struggle with the Saxons seems to have been carried on by the shadowy figure of Arthur, but whether he too was a leader of the official Roman kind, as some think, or whether he was only another "tyrant" like Vortigern, we cannot really know; and nothing useful can be said about him here.²

Can anything be learned of the language of the tyrants and of the new order of society? It is obvious that a man like Ambrosius Aurelianus would have spoken Latin, but what about Vortigern and his fellows? They stand for a recrudescence of all things Celtic in British life. It is very likely that their traditions were derived from the Highland Zone, and indeed we know that several of the Dark Age kingdoms of Wales were founded by a dynasty from southern Scotland which seems to have been moved there, under their chief Cunedda, as Roman *foederati*, at the end of the fourth century by a piece of deliberate Roman policy.³ Vortigern himself may have been a local Welsh king,⁴ and if so, this is another and a striking example of the Highland element in the new polity of Britain. We must consider, too, the way in which certain features of Celtic civilisation connected with the institution of chieftainship and tribal government had managed to survive four hundred years of Romanisation. It is beyond

¹ See HB. c. 42, and the Exordium of the *Annales Cambriae*, Cymm. ix, 152.

² See Collingwood, RBES. pp. 320 ff., who ably defends the former view.

³ Cf. RBES. pp. 289-90.

⁴ RBES. p. 314. But the evidence is not very good. Collingwood mentions none; clearly, however, he bases his statement on the fact that the later kings of the petty Welsh kingdom of Gwrtheyrnion traced their descent from him, and the name itself is derived from his. It must strike one as strange and suspicious that a little Highland chief of this sort should negotiate with the English and settle them in Kent, at a time when the whole of the Lowland Zone was still intact and still more or less a Roman country. One suspects that Vortigern was really a much more important person than this, and a Lowlander, and that his connection with Gwrtheyrnion is secondary, as indeed Nennius clearly shows. But this may be simply because of our ignorance of conditions in Britain in the middle of the fifth century. Cf. C. E. Stevens, *English Historical Review*, lvi, 366.

doubt that the whole literary tradition of mediaeval Welsh eulogistic poetry addressed to chiefs and princes goes back to ancient Celtic times; and the early laws and customs of Wales, and mediaeval Welsh social and political life, belong clearly to a native Celtic system very little affected by Roman influence. This whole tradition was of course not a written one, but was from the earliest times essentially oral, as the Celtic tradition everywhere was; and Roman culture had no part in it, not even to the extent of supplying it with the art of writing. How it had managed to be handed down unbroken through all those centuries of Roman rule seems not altogether clear. It could hardly have been in the Lowland Zone, where all such matters were purely Roman. In Scotland beyond the Wall of course it could flourish undisturbed; ¹ and we may suppose that further south in the Highland Zone the petty local chiefs who controlled the native mountaineers under the hand of the Roman military organisation must have kept alive the old customs. Probably, in spite of the squalor of their material life, each supported his family bard to keep his praises sung and his memory handed on in the British language and the traditional Celtic way, just as did the chiefs of mediaeval Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, whose material civilisation was often little better. Nearly a century after Vortigern's time we see one of the later generation of tyrants, Maelgwn the king of North Wales, eulogised by bards in the true Celtic manner.² It is fair to conclude from all this that with the rise of the tyrants and the vanishing of the old Roman aristocracy, the British language came into its own among the upper classes in the Lowland Zone, as it had always been among the lower.

It would be wrong, however, to go on to suppose that Latin was suddenly forgotten at this stage. Celtic though they were, the Highland chiefs at the end of the Roman period, or some of them, were nevertheless identified with Rome. If the story of Cunedda is correctly interpreted, most of North Wales

¹ Is this why the earliest extant Brittonic poetry, and most of the oldest historical traditions, belong to southern Scotland?

² Cf. DEB. c. 34 *ad fin.*

at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century was occupied by leaders moved there as allies of the Romans, who were therefore probably semi-Romanised people. There is some slight reason to think that the British kingdoms of southern Scotland in the Dark Ages had been founded by the Romans, under the rule of Romanised Britons, late in the fourth century, as a defence against the Picts and Scots.¹ It is probable that such Celtic chieftains and their descendants laid claim to inherit the power of the Roman Empire, and with it naturally the language of that Empire. As we shall see in Chapter V, the funerary monuments which were set up by the well-to-do of the Highland Zone, both in the West and in the North, in the fifth and sixth centuries, are invariably inscribed not in British but in Latin—often a rather barbaric Latin, but still Latin. One of them² is actually composed in rough hexameters. Another speaks of a *magistratus* in North Wales at the end of the fifth century, as already noted; and still another, belonging to the middle of the sixth century, applies to the man it commemorates the high Roman imperial title of *Protector*. One is even dated in the year 540 by a reference to the consulate of Justinus. Many of these people bore Roman names, such as Vitalianus, Turpilius, Eternus, Caelestis, and so on, though some of them were not even Britons at all but Irishmen or of Irish extraction, as will appear in Chapter V. Gildas, writing about 540, refers constantly to his compatriots as *cives*, and the same appears on a monument of the early sixth century in Anglesey;³ it is evident that the free Britons of the first half of the sixth century, even in the Highland Zone, still regarded themselves as Roman citizens. Moreover Gildas, who wrote in Latin,⁴ calls it *nostra lingua*; and since part of his work is a sermon reproving the vices of several of the chiefs of west and south-west Britain and intended for their ears, it would seem either

¹ See P. Hunter Blair, *Archaeologia Aeliana* (4th series), vol. xxv (1947), pp. 1 ff., particularly pp. 19 ff.; and H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949), chapter x.

² CIIC. no. 360, early or mid sixth century.

³ CIIC. no. 325.

⁴ It would not have occurred to him to use British, which was still not a written language.

that they could themselves read some Latin or, more probably, that they had men about them who could read and if necessary interpret it to them. Again, while Gildas' Latin is certainly not that of Cicero, it is not merely barbarous. He could write a good swinging style in the flowery taste of his age, very much superior to the clumsy manner of Nennius at the beginning of the ninth century. He knew something of the classical poets, and was indeed an inheritor in a small way of the direct Roman tradition of the time of Fastidius ; if he had been alive in St. Patrick's day the latter would have regarded him perhaps as one of the critical "rhetoricians". This was the period when Christianity, that expression of Roman culture, was winning its last battles in the Highland Zone, and the language of the church was Latin ; this, then, was one more way in which the Roman civilisation was increasing in that area in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is worth noting here that the Latin spoken by the clergy must have been of the same type as the old upper-class language of the Lowland Zone as already described, because the Christian loanwords in Brittonic, the great mass of which must have entered the language between the fourth and sixth centuries, mostly differ in no essential way from the secular ones. In its earliest period the Roman church on the Continent used the low-class Vulgar Latin of the common people whose religion it chiefly was.¹ That it did so also in Roman Britain would seem probable *a priori* ; but however that may be, as Christianity spread to the upper classes there towards the end of the fourth century, its language must have taken on the pronunciation and standards of the artistocracy—at least that seems how the facts are most simply interpreted.

It appears, then, that during the fifth and sixth centuries the upper classes and the rulers of the Highland Zone had some knowledge of Latin ; and were eager to make themselves out to be the inheritors of the Roman culture which had very largely broken down in the Lowland Zone (in spite of the fact that great parts of it were not yet occupied by the invaders) owing to the collapse of Roman government and the general

¹ Cf. Richter, CPF. p. 7.

unrest of the times. In fact it may be that the level of Roman civilisation was now higher in the Highland Zone than in the Lowland. The former, from having been the home of wild semi-barbarous hillmen kept in subjection by the Roman garrison, had now become the last refuge of Roman life in Britain, and the sphere of powerful half-Romanised Christian chiefs. Many of the inhabitants of the Lowlands had fled here, bringing with them no doubt some remnants of their Roman civilisation, and very likely now introducing to the West many of the Latin words borrowed centuries before into their British speech, so that in this way they survived into mediaeval Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. Their Latin was still the Latin of the old British educated classes, and was now also that of the British church; so that when the clergy, the leaders of the western Brittonic Roman culture in the Dark Ages, came at this time to fix a system of orthography for their language, it was based upon a Late British pronunciation of that same upper-class insular Vulgar Latin, as was shown in Chapter II. For all this, the life and background of the Highland Zone remained fundamentally Celtic; British (and, as we shall see, in some cases Irish) must have been the daily language of all classes except the clergy. The tyrants were Celtic chiefs of the old type, whose family bards sang their praises in British, and who carried on the tribal laws and customs of their remote ancestors. Indeed this Latin flowering in the Highland Zone, such as it was, did not last very long nor strike very deep, especially the secular side of it. The Welsh and Cornish princes of the later Dark Ages are not likely to have known any Latin, nor did the claim to be Roman citizens and the representatives of Roman rule long outlast the sixth century. Cadfan, king of North Wales, the *Catamanus rex sapientissimus opinatissimus omnium regum* of the Llangadwaladr inscription,¹ who died about 625, was the last of the princes of the Highland Zone to have a real Latin epitaph. Latin became the language of the church alone, and even there it ceased to be any longer a truly living language, and declined into a dead tongue taught and practised in monastic

¹ CHIC. no. 970.

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schools. We may assume this from the fact that at least as far back as the beginning of the ninth century, the monkish scribes or owners of Latin manuscripts felt it necessary to gloss many words, often quite simple ones, in their native Welsh. The same thing is to be inferred from the way in which Nennius wrote Latin at this time, not handling it like Gildas as a flexible living tongue, but laboriously thinking first in Welsh and then translating.¹

¹ Cf. Ifor Williams, *Cymm. Trans.*, 1946-7, pp. 55-6.

CHAPTER IV

THE BRITISH LATIN LOANWORDS IN IRISH

DURING the first few centuries after the conversion of Ireland to Christianity a considerable number of words were borrowed into Irish from Latin through the influence of the church, and therefore chiefly terms of a religious and ecclesiastical nature.¹ The history of the conversion shows that it is in general likely that these words came from the spoken Latin of the British church, since the beginning and early development of Irish Christianity was fostered mainly from Britain. There is some reason to think that small communities of Christians may have existed in parts of Ireland already by the beginning of the fifth century,² presumably founded by British missionaries ; but, if so, they were of little importance in a nation whose religion was still overwhelmingly pagan. The real conversion of Ireland began with the mission of St. Patrick in 432. Patrick was himself a Roman Briton, and it is likely that some of his companions were Britons too, but his religious education had been in Gaul, chiefly at Lérins and Auxerre, and he had visited Italy. One or two of his fellow workers seem to have been Gauls. After his death in 461, and especially in the sixth century, the connection between the British and Irish churches grew even closer and more important. The great monastic movement in sixth-century Britain was paralleled by and was largely the cause of a similar movement in Ireland at the same time ; and the presence of Irish scholars in British monasteries, more particularly at the " Menevian " school of St. David's during a large part of that century, was a significant factor.

¹ For a list of these loanwords see J. Vendryes, *De Hibernicis Vocabulis quae a Latina Lingua Originem Duxerunt* (Paris, 1902).

² See L. Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques* (Paris, 1911), pp. 36-7.

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A few early-looking Latin loanwords which are of an apparently secular nature, like *fin* from *vinum* or *ōr* from *aurum*, may quite possibly be older than the period of Christian influence, having reached Ireland through trade or from the British slaves captured by Irish robbers in the course of their raids on the Roman province in the fourth century ; or very likely also through the intermediary of the Irish colonists in western Britain at that time,¹ especially perhaps those who were driven back to Ireland by Cunedda about A.D. 400. But for the most part it is clear that the Latin borrowings are of ecclesiastical origin, and in a great many cases their phonology shows that they actually reached Ireland in a British pronunciation. It is important to note at the outset that even those loanwords which show British phonetic characteristics came in the main from spoken British Latin rather than from the Late British or Primitive Welsh and Cornish vernaculars, because it seems to be a common assumption that the mass of later borrowings, particularly those that have lost their final Latin syllables, reached Ireland through British rather than directly from Latin ; so that for instance Irish *scrīn* would come not from Latin *scrinium* but from the British borrowing of it, namely from Pr.W. **sgrīn* (W. *ysgrin*). The reason for this belief is that the nature of British Latin, and the relevance to our problems of Vulgar Latin in general, as already noted in the previous chapter, have not been duly considered. It was pointed out above that Latin was a living spoken language in Britain in the fifth century, and probably still in the sixth, especially among the clergy. The British missionaries and the Irish monks who in later times visited Britain in such numbers are not likely to have spoken British or Irish together to any great extent, but Latin—the common language of the Christian church both in early Ireland and

¹ So Pogatscher, Eng.St. xix. 344, but he over-estimated the importance of this source. Some words, incidentally, may have been brought at the beginning of the fifth century by those Gaulish rhetoricians, refugees in Ireland, of whom Zimmer and, following him, Meyer made so much. They seem to have dropped out of sight nowadays (Zimmer and Meyer probably exaggerated the case), but if there is anything in the theory they are a possible source. See K. Meyer, *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century* (Dublin, 1913).

early Britain, as throughout western Europe in the Middle Ages. In neither country were Christian writings composed in the vernaculars during the first few centuries of the church, but in Latin. We may start, then, with the general principle that these predominantly religious and learned Latin words probably came into Irish from Latin, not from British, though of course it could not be denied that some may have entered through the vernacular.¹ In fact it is possible actually to show in some cases that Latin and not British was the source.² But this too must be emphasised, that it was *British* Latin, that is, Latin pronounced (up to a point) as if it were British. This has already been explained, pp. 70 ff. One of the outstanding points about British Latin in the late fifth and sixth centuries must have been that intervocally *p*, *t*, *c*, *b*, *d*, *g*, *m* were pronounced [b, d, g, ɸ, ð, ʒ, μ], because this was so in British; and another, that Latin *ā* was now a back and rounded sound, ɔ̄, just as the older British *ā* was. But the influence of the written language, so strong in the case of Latin but non-existent in the case of British, operated to prevent the process from going too far, and so British Latin did not follow British in developing *ē* into *ui* or *ō* into *ū*,³ or *ct* (pronounced *cht* in British Latin) into *ith*. Hence the fact that in a loanword

¹ There are a fair number of Brittonic, i.e. not Latin, loans in Irish, on which see Pedersen, VKG. i, 22 ff. Some may be late; others, if O'Rahilly's theory is correct, are not British at all but derived from an old Britt. population in Ireland. Still, some may have come from Britain to Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries. Yet this would not prove that the *Latin* loans of this period got into Irish through British, because if they had, the proportion of Latin loans to purely Britt. ones in Irish would surely have been far smaller than it is.

² Ir. *scuab* "broom" must be from Brit. Lat. **scōba*, not Late Brit. **scūba* (see § 22. 2). OI. *precept* is from *precepta*, not from the VL. **precetta* which gave W. *pregeth*; see § 50. MI. *trindōid* has its palatalised *-d* from the Brit. Lat. oblique cases **trīnidōdem*, **trīnidōdis*, **trīnidōdi*, **trīnidōde*; the *-d* would not be palatalised in Brit., and this Irish feature shows the word is from a Brit. Lat. case with *-de(-)* or *-di(-)*. See § 158. MI. *orōid* must be from Brit. Lat. **orōdīō*, as the MW. *arawd* shows that the Late Brit. was **arōdīi*. But OI. *cathair* "chair" is taken not from Lat. *cathedra* but from Brit. **cateira*; cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 569; and OI. *sechtmon* is probably from Pr.W. **sextmon* rather than from *septimana*; see p. 395 below.

³ So Lat. *scōpa* gave Brit. Lat. **scōba*, whence Ir. *scuab*, but in Brit. it passed through **scūba* to **sgūb*, W. *ysgub*. On the other hand, Ir. *lūirech*, from *lōrica*, may imply a Brit. Lat. **lūrica*; see p. 315.

in Irish some form is preserved which developed further in Brittonic is no proof that the development had not already occurred in *Brittonic* at the time of the loan, at any rate provided that the change is a drastic one not likely to have been accepted in British *Latin*. For instance, if OI. *lacht* is a borrowing from Latin *lactem*, etc. (which is not certain), this does not of itself prove that the *Brittonic* form was not already **laith*, since the word came into Irish from Brit. Lat. **lachtem*, etc. It is not probable that the Britons ever pronounced the word in *Latin* as **laithem*, etc. In any case, the Irish learned their Latin in the main from the British clergy, and with it learned the British pronunciation of Latin, which would no doubt be overlaid with certain inevitable Hibernicisms such as the distinction of quality of consonants and so on.

This question of the pronunciation of British Latin has been emphasised here because most writers, with their eyes fixed on Classical Latin, have taken it for granted that the Latin loanwords in Irish which show British features must have come from British and not directly from Latin. Thurneysen so treats his "early" group (see p. 134, n. 2 below), Gr.OI. p. 565. MacNeill, however, realised the true situation: "The main body of loanwords which Old Irish derives from Latin shows the distinctive marks of the British pronunciation. . . . In many cases it is possible and likely that they passed direct from the Latin language into Irish, but from a Latin which the Irish had learned to pronounce after the British manner" (*Studies*, xx, 40-41). MacNeill's account makes it clear he saw that the factor was the British pronunciation of Latin, not the Continental Vulgar one; cf. p. 73 above. He says that it is demonstrable that the British type of Latin pronunciation was established in Ireland before the first manuscript Irish, and lasted till the fourteenth century in the Irish schools.¹

It was first pointed out in 1900 by Chr. Sarauw in his

¹ Unfortunately he neglects to demonstrate it. It may be noted, though, that rhymes in early Irish macaronic verse support it; so in Mael Isu's Hymn Latin *sit* is rhymed with Ir. *gribb*, i.e. was spoken as *síd*. According to O'Rahilly, *The Two Patricks* (see p. 144 below), p. 44, Latin was read as if it was Irish throughout the Old and Middle Irish periods—though he too fails to quote any evidence.

Irske Studier (Copenhagen; pp. 3-20) that a number of phonetic features seem to combine to separate the Latin loan-words into two groups. Bringing Sarauw's arguments up to date, in the first group are: (1) Words in which Latin *p* appears as *c* in Irish; *pascha* > *caisc*, *purpura* > *corcur*, *pluma* > *clūm*, *planta* > *cland*, *puteus* > *cuithē*, *pallium* > *caille*, *presbyter* > *cruimther*,¹ *Patricius* > *Cothriche*, VL. *panna* > *cann*, and *vesper* > *fescor*. (2) Those in which Latin intervocal -*t*- and -*c*- are rendered in Irish as -*th*- and -*ch*-, such as *cuithē*, *cruimther*, *Cothriche*,² and others. (3) Those in which VL. -*i*us, -*i*a, -*i*um and -*e*us, -*ea*, -*em* give Irish -*e*, and Latin -*iō* gives Irish -(*i*)*u*, as in *Cothriche*, *cuithē*, *caille*, and MI. *ortha* from OI. **orthu* from *oratio*. (4) Those in which Latin *nt*, *nc* were taken over as *nd*, *ng*, such as *planta* > *cland*, *uncia* > *ungae*. (5) Words in which Latin *ā* gives Irish *ā*, like *cāseus* > *cāise*. (6) A number of words where Latin *f*- is rendered in Irish as *s*-, namely *fenestra* > *senester*, *fustis* > *sūist*, *frenum* > *srian*, *furnus* > *sorn*, *flecto* > *slecht*-, *flagellum* > VL. *fragellum* > *srogell*, *fibula* > *sibāl*. In the second group are: (1) Words in which Latin *p* remains as *p* in Irish, as *pater* > *pader*, *spiritus* > *spirud*, *purgatorium* > *purgadōir*, *pācem* > *pōg*, *Patricius* > *Pādrig*. (2) Those in which Latin intervocal -*t*-, -*c*- (and -*p*-) give Irish -*d*-, -*g*- (and -*b*-; normally written with *t*, *c*, *p* in OI., see footnote); for example, *Pādrig*, *purgadōir*, *pader*, *spirud*, *pōg*, *scōpa* > *scuab*, *sacrificium* > *sagarbaig*. (3) Those in which VL. -*i*us and the other terminations mentioned above are simply dropped altogether, as in *Pādrig*, *purgadōir*, *sagarbaig*. (4) Those in which Latin *nt*, *nc* (and *mp*) are kept, as *gentes* > *gent(i)*, *templum* > *tempul*. (5) Those in which Latin *ā* is Irish *ō*, as *oratio* > *orōid*, *altāre* > *altōir*, etc. (6) Those in which Latin *f*- appears in Irish as *f*-, such as *figura* > *fizor*.³

¹ Probably through a British Latin form **premiter*.

² Sarauw gives *Cothrige*, which is a later form showing the regular development of palatalised *ch* to *ǵ* in an unstressed syllable; thus he misses the *c* > *ch* here.

³ The sounds [b, d, g] which are regularly written *p*, *t*, *c* in internal and final position in Old Irish are given here throughout as *b*, *d*, *g* in spelling to make their character clear and avoid confusion. Also long vowels are marked with the macron, to keep the acute accent for indicating stress. Thus OI. writes normally *pater*, *spirut*, *purgatōir*, *póc*, *scuap*, *Pátric(c)* for the above words.

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Sarauw's explanation of these facts is that the first group of words was borrowed chronologically earlier than the second group, the first before and the second after certain phonetic developments had taken place in Irish ; but he did not realise that changes had also happened in British (and therefore in British Latin) about the same time and are themselves reflected in the second group. So (1), as Sarauw rightly notes, the explanation of the Irish *c* for Latin *p* is that these words were borrowed at a time when the Irish as yet had no *p*, and were unable to pronounce it. Hence they substituted the nearest sound they had, the still strongly labialised Irish *qʷ*.¹ When later all Pr.I. *qʷ* developed into *c* (see p. 139 below), it did so likewise in the Latin loanwords. So *planta* was borrowed first as **qʷlanda*, whence OI. *cland*. Traces of the labial quality of the *qʷ* can be seen in the rounding of the neighbouring vowel in a few words ; hence *Patricius*, borrowed as **Qʷatricius*, became not **Cathriche* but *Cothriche*, passing first through **Qʷotricius*. This, of course, further demonstrates that these words were taken in before Irish *qʷ* had become *c* ; and the name *Cothriche* shows that the *qʷ* still existed in the time of St. Patrick. On the other hand, later the Irish learned to pronounce *p*,² and hence were now able to keep it in Latin loanwords, as in the later borrowing *Pádrig*.

(2) Pr.I. intervocal *-t-* and *-k-* became *-th-* and *-ch-* by lenition. Sarauw interpreted the appearance of Latin *-t-* and *-c-* in the form of *-th-* and *-ch-* in the first group of words as meaning that these words were assimilated before the period of lenition in Irish, and took part in it when it occurred ; and he was undoubtedly right. As for the second group, he was

¹ I.e. by unconscious sound-substitution. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 570, seems to prefer the older theory of Schuchardt, Güterbock, and Zimmer that this was a conscious analogical device ; that the Irish monks knew that many obviously identical Celtic words had *p* in British and *qʷ* in Irish, and so deliberately changed the foreign *p* to their *qʷ*. This is very much less probable than Sarauw's explanation. The Irish would naturally either try to say *p* and succeed, or, as happened, try and fail ; their try being the nearest they could get, namely *qʷ*.

² A native *p* arose secondarily by syncope bringing together *b* and *h* ; but they may well have mastered the *p* sound independently before that ; see p. 135 below.

confused by the OI. spelling of internal [b, d, g] as *p, t, c*, and so supposed that in words like the name written in OI. *Pátric* Latin *-t-* and *-c-* were preserved unchanged,¹ because Irish lenition was by now over. In point of fact, though Irish lenition was indeed complete by the time these words were borrowed, British lenition must also have taken place, turning British and British Latin intervocal *-p-, -t-, -c-* into *b, d, g*, and so they were adopted as *b, d*, and *g* in Irish, though spelled *p, t, c* exactly as in Britain (see pp. 70 ff.). Consequently *Patricius* was borrowed as *Pádrig* but spelled in OI. *Pátric*. It should be emphasised here, incidentally (though the point is not discussed by Sarauw), that in *both* groups of borrowings original Latin intervocal *-b-, -d-, and -g-* appear in Irish as *-b̄-, -d̄-, and -ǵ-* (so written here, though OI. *spells* them *b, d, g*). For example, the first-group loanword *faba* > *seib̄*, and the second-group loan *figura* > *fizor*. This happened because in the first group the Latin *-b-, -d-, and -g-* were lenited to *b̄, d̄, and ǵ* by and together with the subsequent general Irish lenition; and in the second group *-b-, -d-, and -g-* had now become *b̄, d̄, and ǵ* already in British Latin and were borrowed, therefore, in that form. Since OI. *spells* *b̄, d̄, and ǵ* as *b, d, and g*, exactly as Old Welsh, Cornish, and Breton do, this fact has escaped the attention of some writers, including Sarauw. As to Latin intervocal *-m-*, it was lenited in the first group borrowings in the same way, because Irish *-m-* was lenited; hence British Latin **premiter* gave Pr.I. **q̄remiter*, which by lenition and rounding became **q̄ropither*, subsequently OI. *cruipther*. Latin *-m-* is also the lenited *-μ-* in second-group loans, and we must conclude that through British lenition intervocal *-m-* was lenited in British Latin just like the rest.²

(3) Primitive Irish had case-endings and other terminations very similar to the Latin ones, including nominatives in *-as*,

¹ This is, of course, incorrect; see Thurneysen, Gr.OI. pp. 566-7.

² The fact that Latin *-m-* remains in a couple of instances in British may mean that the words in question are learned loans, borrowed after British lenition was complete. *Psalma* > W. *saln* may well be a purely book word, but this is less likely of *Germanus* > W. *Garmon*, since it shows the characteristic VL. *er* plus consonant > *ar*; see p. 281.

-ā, *-an*, *-is*, *-us*, *-ū*, and *-ias*, *-iā*, *-ian*, *-iū*. The terminations without *i* were later lost altogether, but those with *i* were preserved—the first three as *-e*, the last as *-(i)u*. Sarauw saw that the first-group borrowings were taken in early enough for their endings to fall together with the Irish ones before this loss, and that when it afterwards took place, Latin *-us*,¹ *-a*, *-um*, *-is*, and *-ō* vanished with the closely similar Irish endings ;² but Latin *-ius*, *-iā*, *-ium*, and *-iō* behaved like the Irish terminations with *i* and remained in the same form as they did. On the other hand, in the later group all Latin endings were lost, including those with *i*. This means that the Irish loss of final syllables was by now complete ; and the Irish, instead of keeping the superfluous Latin endings in their colloquial speech, where they would have no close pattern in the now almost terminationless language, simply dropped them off and so assimilated them to the native model.³ So British Latin **trīnidōdem* was treated in Irish as having no ending, whence *trīndōid*. Those who think of the second group of loanwords as coming exclusively from British (not directly from Latin), explain the lack of endings by the fact that British itself lost its terminations ; so Sarauw, *op. cit.* p. 8.

(4) Original Goedelic *nt* and *nc* became *dd* and *gg* at some time in the Pr.I. period (see p. 138). It must have happened before the first group of loans, and Sarauw reasonably explains the treatment of Latin *nt*, *nc* as *nd*, *ng* in these words as being due to the fact that Irish had no *nt*, *nc* at the time ; *nd* and *ng* were the nearest sounds and were therefore substituted. Later on the Irish learned to say *nt* and *nc*,⁴ and in the second group of loanwords the Latin sounds remain.

¹ The absence of *u*-quality, and the presence of *a/o*-affection, in these Irish borrowings from Latin words in *-us* shows that the termination was not pronounced with [u] in Irish Latin but with [ə] or [o] ; cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 104.

² Cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 568.

³ Cf. Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Altirischen* (Heidelberg, 1909), p. 517.

⁴ If not before, at any rate by the time when such groups arose secondarily through syncope. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 567, quotes *aiccend* and *argumind* beside *aiccent* and *argumint* as examples of *-nd* in late loans (he says "after syncope", but this applies only to *argumind*). There is nothing in the phonology of *aiccend* to show that it is late, and the existence of forms with *-nt* in both cannot be ignored.

(5) Sarauw saw that the treatment of Latin \bar{a} as \bar{o} in the second group was due to British influence;¹ but he did not realise that what must have happened was that the earlier words were borrowed while British (and therefore British Latin) \bar{a} was still \bar{a} , but the later after it had already developed to \bar{o} .² In some words apparently of the late type, such as *strāta* > *srāid*, \bar{a} is found nevertheless, which troubled Sarauw, but the reason may be quite simply because the various changes within the two groups need by no means have synchronised exactly; lenition in British is older than \bar{a} > \bar{o} , so that this Latin word was probably heard as (gen. sg.) *strāde*.

(6) The borrowing of Latin *f*- as *s*- is regarded by Sarauw as a thing apart, presumably because the evidence that the contrasting development is later is not so striking, and also because the date of the earlier treatment does not fit precisely with the other words in the group. Pr.I. had no *f* of its own until the time of lenition. The sound did not exist in original Goedelic; native *u*- did develop into *f*-, but this happened a good while after the period in question, and though the lenition of *p* ultimately appeared as *f*, it was probably a late analogy. The only *f*- in Pr.I. before this was the one which arose from the initial lenition of *su*-; so Pr.I. **suesur*, "sister", and **mou' syesur*, "my sister", became later *siur* and *mo fiur* respectively. Sarauw saw that when the Irish of this period heard a Latin word like *fenestra*, their natural unconscious reaction³ was to think of it as one having initial lenition, and so they made a form **senestra* for non-lenited position,⁴ whence OI. *senester*. It should be noted that this implies a period

¹ The Irish \bar{o} from Brit. \bar{p} must have been an open sound in early Ir., since otherwise it would have fallen together with Ir. (and Lat.) \bar{o} in *ua*—contrast *pācem* > **pōgem* > Ir. *pōg* with *scōpa* > **scōba* > Ir. **scōb* > *scuab*.

² See § 8.

³ He rightly preferred this to the older view that the substitution was a conscious analogy.

⁴ Or perhaps first **suenestra* if their *su*- had not already become *s*-; it may still have remained, cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 572, on *srogell*. But MW. also had *o* in this word, *ffrowyll*, and the form *ffrewyll* is later; cf. Lloyd-Jones, Cymm. Trans., 1942, p. 195; so that we may have to postulate a Brit. Lat. **frogellum*.

of borrowing somewhat later than other words in the early group, since it postulates the existence of lenition already, while the others were adopted before lenition. Sarauw did not discuss the later group, and, of course, it cannot be asserted that any given loanword with *f*-, like *figura* > *fízor*, must necessarily be later ; it might be an early loan in which the analogy simply failed to work, or the "lenited" form was generalised. But at any rate the *s*- forms are evidently comparatively speaking old ; see p. 135.

Such is Sarauw's interpretation of the evidence, with additions and modifications as indicated. Since he wrote, the dual grouping of the loanwords into earlier and later has become more or less accepted as a general proposition, along the lines he laid down,¹ though scholars have differed about the cause and explanation, as described below. An advance was made in an important article by Éoin MacNeill in *Studies*, xx (1931), pp. 39 ff., "The Beginnings of Latin Culture in Ireland". MacNeill added a number of further criteria to the two groups, and attempted a firm dating for both. As already said, he believed that British Latin, not British, was the chief source for the Latin loanwords at all periods ; and made the significant point that first-group words borrowed with British Latin intervocal *-t-*, *-c-* giving Irish *th*, *ch* meant that they were taken in before lenition occurred in British ; and second-group words having them as Irish *d*, *g* (and *p* as *b*) meant that British lenition had happened in the interval. He introduced the convenient custom of calling the first the Cothriche group and the second the Pádraig group. They will be so described here from this point on.

MacNeill's more valuable additional points are as follows, omitting a number of others which are uncertain or unimportant for one reason or another :

(1) Irish normally stressed all words on the first syllable. In the Cothriche group, Latin long vowels in syllables which became unstressed *when they were borrowed into Irish* were shortened, whereas in the Pádraig group they retained their length. For example, the Latin suffix *-ārius*, *-ārium*, the *ā*

¹ But on Thurneysen's views see p. 134, n. 2 below.

being unstressed in Irish, gave -(a)ire in Cothriche words ; but in Pádraig words, with the change of \bar{a} to \bar{o} and the total loss of the ending, it appears as -(e)oir.¹ So (marking the Irish stressed syllable by the acute accent) *ostiārius* > *áistire*, *tabellārius* > *táblaire*, but *candelārius* > *cáindleoir*. Other examples of preservation of length in unstressed syllables are *scriptūre* (gen. sg.) > *scriptūir*, *corōne* (gen. sg.) > *córōin*, *purgatōrium* > *púrgadōir*, *trīnitātem* > *trīndōid*. With *orātio* there is an interesting double borrowing. As a Cothriche word it was borrowed as *orātiō* in Latin pronunciation, giving Pr.I. **órāthiu* by lenition ; the \bar{a} was then first shortened, as described, whence **órāthiu*, and later syncopated, giving OI. **orthu*, MI. *ortha*. But it was borrowed again later as a Pádraig word, now pronounced *orōdiō* in Latin, and so appearing in OI. as *orōid*. MacNeill's conclusion is that Pr.I. shortening of unstressed long vowels took place between the two periods. This is evidently correct, but needs modification ; see pp. 135-7 below.

(2) In Pr.I., original *u* and *i* became *o* and *e* respectively when followed in the next syllable by *a* or *o* ; and original *o* and *e* gave respectively *u* and *i* when followed by *i* or *u* in the next syllable (subject to certain exceptions which need not concern us here). These phenomena are called *a/o*-affection and *i/u*-affection.² In early Latin borrowings these vowel affections are found, but in the later ones they are not. E.g. *furnus* > Pr.I. **s(y)urnas* > OI. *sorn*, *molina* > Pr.I. **mulina* > OI. *mulenn*, but (*hi*)*storia* > OI. *stoir*. Therefore stressed vowel affection occurred in Pr.I. between the time of the Cothriche and Pádraig groups.

(3) After its loss of final vowels, Pr.I. dropped the unstressed second syllable of words, and the fourth also if there was one, the third bearing a secondary stress marked here with the grave accent. For instance, **énconsàmaliĩ* > **éggossàmulĩ* dropped the unstressed *o* and second *a*, giving *égsapulĩ*, spelt in OI. *écsamli*. This is known as syncope. MacNeill finds that

¹ But -(a)ire became a productive suffix in Irish, and could be added to Pádraig group words, as in *píaire*, or to native ones, as in *rechtaire*.

² See Thurneysen, Gr.OI. pp. 46 ff.

Cothriche words syncopate and Pádraig words do not, as in the case of *oratio* giving *ortha* as an early loan and *orōid* as a late one; or *purgatorium* giving *purgadōir* in the Pádraig group. He inferred that syncope also happened between the two groups (but on this see pp. 136-7).

MacNeill's general conclusion is, then, that all the changes in Primitive Irish which affected the Cothriche words and not the Pádraig ones took place in the interval between the two periods of borrowing. He went on to the important corollary that the Cothriche group of loanwords was a direct consequence of the mission of St. Patrick, and is therefore to be dated in the middle of the fifth century; it is a small one because the development of the Irish church in Patrick's time was limited. The Pádraig words he believed to have been introduced in the sixth century, a result of the very close relations between the monasteries of Ireland and Britain during that century; and it was a larger group because the British influence was by now much fuller.¹ Both groups come from British Latin, but the characteristic Britticisms of the Pádraig group are lacking in the Cothriche because they had not yet occurred in British or British Latin. Hence the second half of the fifth century and early part of the sixth was the great period of linguistic change in both languages.

MacNeill also assumed a third and still later group of Latin loanwords in Irish, borrowed at a time when Latin was no longer a truly spoken language, and therefore taken primarily from books. These are of a learned nature, words used in ecclesiastical and grammatical treatises; they are often

¹ It has been objected to MacNeill that the Irish Christians were hardly likely to change the name of their national saint, and the words for common ideas in their religion, just because some Irish monks studied in Wales. But we should remember (a) that Irish Christianity was not widely and securely established until the sixth century, when it became so actually under the influence of the British church; and (b) that that church must have had immense prestige in Ireland as the true source of the new religion, so that, for instance, *Padrigius* would be accepted without question as "more correct" than *Cothriche*. Irish religious particularism of the seventh century was directed against the Roman church, and did not exist within the Celtic church in the sixth. Besides, Patrick was not at this time the national figure he later became.

shortened in an arbitrary manner like *adiectivum* > *adiecht*, *masculinus* > *mascul*, or show confusions of quantity.¹ These borrowings do not concern the present discussion.

Like so much of MacNeill's work, this article shows his brilliant capacity to co-ordinate a mass of evidence into a persuasive synthesis. For the present writer there is no doubt that MacNeill (and before him Sarauw) was fundamentally right,² and that the two bodies of loanwords correspond to these two periods of influence by the British church on the Irish. But there are one or two matters which need qualification, and indeed the whole structure seems to be capable of greater subdivision. Before attempting this, it should be remarked, however, that it would be a mistake to insist too rigidly on the exact boundaries of each type. In some cases it is not possible to say to which group a given word belongs, because of the absence of any characteristic criteria. In others the evidence is contradictory. This may sometimes be explained by the influence of analogy or by suffix substitution ;

¹ Cf. Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Altirischen*, pp. 516, 518. *Cārachtar* and *lēgaid*, which he quotes, are, however, not due to confusion, but to the quantity system of late Vulgar Latin, which was continued in the ecclesiastical Latin of the Carolingian renaissance. The same thing is found in late learned ecclesiastical loans in Anglo-Saxon. O'Rahilly, *The Two Patricks*, pp. 78-9, notes *equinoctium* > *ecenocht*, *grammatica* > *grammatic*, *metropolis* > *metrapoil*, *tabernaculum* > *tabernacul*. These are obviously entirely book words. But he points out that quite late loans are still sometimes found modelled on the Pádraig type, though direct British influence had long ceased, e.g. *nādúir* < *natura*.

² The theory of Sarauw and MacNeill has been undeservedly obscured by the unfortunate fact that Thurneysen paid little attention to Sarauw either in his *Handbuch* or in his *Grammar*, and apparently had not read MacNeill when he wrote the latter. He dealt with the loanwords in his *Handbuch*, pp. 516 ff., and his *Grammar*, pp. 565 ff., in an Appendix which is diffuse and unclear in its treatment of the evidence. He differentiated an "early" group, by which however he meant *all* those words which reached Ireland under British influence, whether of our Cothriche or Pádraig types ; and a "later", namely those "learned" words called by MacNeill the third group. Still he did allow that some words of his "early" group were older than others (i.e. the Cothriche type). For Thurneysen the "early" group was borrowed primarily from spoken *British*, not Latin, and the "later" directly from Latin. Thurneysen's authority has tended to confuse the situation over the years, though nevertheless Celtic scholars by and large have given general assent to Sarauw's theory. If Thurneysen had read MacNeill's article he might have modified his views.

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Sarauw himself so accounts for the *th* (*ḁ*) and the *ch*, instead of *d* and *g*, in the Pádraig words *peccatum* > *peccath*, *peccad*,¹ *meretricem* > *merdrech*, and *praedicare* > *predach*-. Another factor may well be that the various criteria do not exactly coincide chronologically. It must be remembered that in a period of rapid linguistic evolution, as this was, one cannot look for rigid consistency and clear-cut partition of linguistic changes in loanwords. They may have taken place at different rates in different parts of the country. For instance, the Irish very probably learned to accommodate their lips to the sound *p* during the Cothriche period, well before the Pádraig borrowings began and a long time before they acquired a *p* of Goedelic origin by the syncope of *b* plus vowel plus *h*. So one may account for Latin *paroecia* > *pairche*, which, as O'Rahilly points out,² conforms to the Cothriche type in everything except its *p*. This might also be the explanation of *peccath*, though the analogical substitution described above is equally probable. In the matter of *q** versus *p*, then, one may perhaps postulate a time before the end of the Cothriche period when the Irish, or some of them, had already learned to say *p*. One or two other possible intermediate factors must be pointed out before attempting a general chronological survey.

First, as stated above, the borrowing of Latin *f*- as *s*- means that Irish lenition had already taken place, which would date such words later than the Cothriche group; yet, on the evidence of *sorn*, they are earlier than *a/o*-affection, as is the Cothriche type as a whole. Presumably, therefore, they represent a late stage of the first group. Again, there are some words which do *not* preserve the Latin long vowels in Irish unstressed syllables but shorten them as the Cothriche type does, and yet appear from other aspects of their phonology to belong to the Pádraig type, either by dropping final *-ius*, etc., or by rendering Latin *p*, *t*, *c* by *b*, *d*, *g*. Such are VL. *eclēsia* > *eglais*, *Latīna* > *Laiden*, VL. **accāsio* > *accuis*, *ma(tu)tīna* >

¹ By the influence of all the verbal nouns like *molad*, etc. Cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 575, but contrast p. 566, which is inconsistent with it.

² *The Two Patricks*, p. 80. Sarauw's explanation of *pairche* is unsatisfactory.

maiden, *psaltērium* > *saltair*, *tribulatio* > *treblaid*, *consummatio* > *cosmaid*. The two last may easily be explained as having suffix substitution by the Irish ending *-(a)id*, but the others cannot be so disposed of.¹ They contrast noticeably with Pádraig words like *orōid* which preserve the Latin length. Now, after the time when long unstressed vowels were shortened, Primitive Irish for a while had no long vowels in such syllables. Later (presumably by the early sixth century, see p. 143) new long vowels arose from short ones in unstressed syllables by compensatory lengthening from the reduction of *c* or *g* in the groups *cr*, *cl*, *cn*, *gr*, *gl*, *gn*. For instance, Pr.I. **culēzn* (from older **colignos*) became *cuilēn*, **Dallāzn* became *Dallān*, and so on. It is likely, therefore, that words like *orōid* belong to a later stratum of the Pádraig type, after the development of these long vowels in Irish, and kept their unstressed long vowels because the Irish were now familiar with them in their own language. On the other hand, words like *eglais* < **eglēsia* < VL. *eclēsia* would belong to the earliest stratum of that group, borrowed before the time of compensatory lengthening, and in them the vowel is shortened by sound-substitution under the influence of the general fact that at that period the Irish had no long vowels in any but initial syllables. That words like *eglais* have lost their final *-ia* etc. entirely shows that they are later than the loss of Irish final syllables, like all Pádraig words. It would follow that the mere presence of shortened long vowels in the unstressed Irish syllables of Latin loanwords is not, after all, by itself a criterion of the Cothriche group, as MacNeill thought, but of the Cothriche group plus an early part of the Pádraig. Thirdly, the existence of syncope in a word is not proof that it belongs to the Cothriche type and not to the Pádraig. A number of words which are otherwise clearly of Pádraig type show syncope, and were therefore adopted before it took place, so that again MacNeill's definition would not be exact. Such are *candēlārius* > *caindleōir*, *Nātālicia* > British Latin **Nǫdōlīgia* (with *ō* reduced in the British pretonic syllable, see § 10) > OL.

¹ *Persōna* > *persan* might be another case of a possible early borrowing of *p*, as perhaps in *pairche* above; but it is more likely to belong here.

Nodl(a)ig.¹ The explanation is simply that syncope, one of the latest of the developments which changed Primitive into Archaic Irish, happened not before the beginning of the Pádraig period, as MacNeill thought, but during the course of it; some words of this group were borrowed before syncope, others after.

It remains now to try to settle, so far as possible, the all-important point of the absolute as well as the relative chronology of all these changes in Primitive Irish. As to the relative chronology, Pokorny, in an article in ZCP. xii, 415 ff., has discussed certain of them and has convincingly demonstrated that they took place in the following order: (1) *a/o* and *i/u*-affection in stressed syllables; (2) *a/o*-affection in unstressed syllables; (3) loss of final syllables; (4) compensatory lengthening with reduction of *cr*, *cl*, *cn*, *gr*, *gl*, *gn*; (5) syncope. To this it may be added that "infection" (the setting up of palatalised, velarised, and labiovelarised consonant quality) must have happened before the loss of final syllables; Vendryes has attempted to show that it was later than vowel affection, but the evidence is inconclusive.² Reduction of long unaccented vowels took place before *a/o*-affection in unstressed syllables, as Pokorny shows,³ and probably therefore before the same affection in stressed syllables, which cannot long have preceded the other. Since the Cothriche words exhibit all the above developments, one may reasonably conclude that they all took place after the first period of Latin borrowing.

The only documents contemporary with the Primitive Irish stage are the inscriptions written in the Ogam alphabet discussed in Chapter V. These inscriptions cannot be dated with any precision, but there is reason to think that the practice of setting them up was hardly older than the end of the fourth century (see pp. 152-3), and that the majority belong to the

¹ MW. *Nadolyč*, C. *Nadelik* come from a VL. form *Nātālicia*, with pretonic reduction of *ā* already in Vulgar Latin; see pp. 289-90.

² MSL. xiv, 402. The fact that words like OI. *miud*, etc., may be written *mid*, etc., is purely a matter of OI. orthography, and can have nothing to do with Primitive Irish.

³ Otherwise, e.g., **torimā* would not have been affected to OI. *tuirēm*.

fifth and sixth centuries. Those of the above changes which are capable of being shown in the Ogam spelling actually appear in the inscriptions, and it is possible, therefore, to some extent, to trace a linguistic progression in them; some inscriptions are more archaic in their forms, according to the table given below, than others, and hence are presumably older. Thus some preserve final syllables and some do not. This evidence is unfortunately made very indecisive by the fact that there is certainly some degree of archaisation to be reckoned with; the engravers practised a traditional craft, and their spellings were apt to be conservative, and to lag behind the rapid changes taking place in the spoken language at the time (on this matter see further p. 153). Nevertheless, it is possible to say within wide limits that if a given inscription is consistent in having very old linguistic forms, it is probably early, say fifth century; whereas one which betrays any late features is therefore certainly late, sixth or in some cases seventh century, and occasionally even later, regardless of whether it may also contain early-looking traits (which would be merely traditionalisms).¹

Now in the Ogam inscriptions the change of original *nt* and *nc* to Pr.I. *dd* and *gg*, described above, has already occurred, and *nt*, *nc* are not preserved anywhere in them. Indeed if Thurneysen (following Pokorny) is correct, Gr.OI. p. 127, the process was taking place in the first and second centuries. It had certainly happened before the Cothriche words were borrowed, as we have seen, and therefore before all the above changes just enumerated; and it may be put down as the oldest of the developments marking off Primitive Irish from the original Goedelic. Again, the Ogam alphabet had not and never developed any means of showing the Irish lenition, any way of distinguishing from their non-lenited forms the sounds *th*, *ch*, *b*,² *d*, *z*, and *μ*, which developed internally in Pr.I. from older *t*, *c*, *b*, *d*, *g*, and *m*. Since the alphabet was invented for the purpose of spelling the Irish language of its

¹ See ECNE. pp. 200 ff.

² Except that *V* was rarely and exceptionally used as an approximation for this; see *Études Celtiques*, v, pp. 105 ff.

day, it is surely clear that if lenition had existed at the time the inventor would have devised some means of spelling these sounds. Therefore lenition is later than the creation of the Ogam alphabet, which probably means that it is later than the fourth century.¹ Since, as we have seen, the Cothriche group of words is earlier than lenition, it appears that we may construct a beginning to Pokorny's list of changes in chronological order as follows: (a) *nt, nc > dd, gg*; (b) Cothriche group; (c) lenition; (d) *a/o* and *i/u*-affection of stressed syllables.

The early loanwords which render Latin *f*- by *s*- appear to be later than lenition and earlier than *a/o*-affection,² as has already been shown; and are to be regarded, therefore, as belonging between (c) and (d), and as constituting a late subgroup of the Cothriche type.

The Cothriche words were borrowed while Pr.I. still had a *qʷ* sound, and most of them before its speakers had acquired the capacity to sound a *p*. Now *qʷ* seems to have become *c* before back vowels in the first half of the sixth century.³ An example of this is seen in the Voteporix inscription, CIIC. no. 358, dated about A.D. 550, where the Ogam Irish equivalent (not borrowing) of the British VOTEPORIGIS is spelt VOTECORIGAS, from older **Uteqʷorigas*. Before front vowels the change, which may have begun earlier through the resolution of the *qʷ*, seems to have been completed later. By the phenomenon of "infection" already mentioned, consonants before front vowels became palatalised; for the Pr.I. **rātis*, "fort", > **rāthis* by lenition, became **rāth'is* by infection, and after final syllables were lost the resulting **rāth'*

¹ See ECNE, p. 203, and p. 156 below. Lenition is common to all the mediaeval Celtic languages, both Goedelic and Brittonic. Nevertheless, except as a nuance it cannot go back as such to Common Celtic (see § 132), and cannot be older than the fifth century, as is shown in this chapter for Goedelic and in §§ 133 ff. for Brittonic. Thurneysen does not appear to make a clear statement anywhere as to how he saw the date of Irish lenition, but he seems to have thought it ancient. There is no evidence for such a view.

² They are certainly older than syncope, since Irish developed an *f* of its own by syncope of the group *þ* plus vowel plus *h*.

³ O'Rahilly, *The Two Patricks*, p. 81, says *qʷ* became *c* some time in the sixth century, but gives no reasons.

developed a glide vowel, giving *rā'th'*, which is the Old Irish (written *ráith*). In the case of a word like Pr.I. **maq^uq^ui*, "of a son", common in Ogam, the palatalisation would destroy the velarised double *q^u* sound, no doubt breaking it up first into a double palatalised *c'* plus *u'*, so **mac'c'u'í*. With the loss of final syllables this would become **mac'c'u'*; and that is what we actually find in a number of Latin transliterations of Irish names in sixth-century bilingual inscriptions in Wales. The Pr.I. compound name *Maq^uq^uí-Decēddas* (gen. sg.; the nom. sg. is **Maq^uq^uas-Decēddas*) occurs in several Ogam inscriptions;¹ it became by lenition **Maq^uq^uí-Dechēddas*, by palatalisation **Mac'c'u'í-Dech'ēddas*, and by loss of final syllables **Mac'c'u'-Dech'edd*. This last is spelt in Latin letters in CIIC. no. 326, early to mid sixth century, as MACCVDECCE TI (with Latinising gen. sg. termination; the first element has nothing to do with OI. *moccu*, *maccu*);² which evidently points to an attempt to write the difficult group *-c'c'u'd'*, and shows that by this time Irish *q^uq^u* before front vowels had already become *c'c'u'*. On other Latin inscriptions with this name see pp. 181-2. Just the same thing happened with the Pr.I. name **Maq^uq^uas-Trēnī*, which occurs in the genitive, MAQ(Q)I-TRENI, in Ireland (CIIC. no. 86) and in Britain (no. 341, end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, and no. 428, early seventh century). The two last have also in Latin letters MAC(C)V-TRENI (which proves, incidentally, that MACCV is the equivalent of Ogam MAQQI, not MUCCOI); and add no. 425, early or mid sixth century, MACVTRE(NI) in Latin letters without an Ogam. Compare CIIC. no. 442, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century, Latin MACCVDICCL FILIVS CATICVVS with an illegible Ogam; the Irish name is unknown elsewhere, but is clearly another in **Maq^uq^uas*. The *c'c'u'* sound appears also in no. 433, early or mid sixth century, where the Latin FILI is spelt in Ogam MACV, with consonantal *u*, which means again *mac'c'u'*. In the Latin-letter inscriptions no. 364, mid-sixth century, QVENVENDANI, and no. 462, mid or later sixth century, QVENATAVCI, both of which are certainly

¹ CIIC. nos. 20, 66, 159, 184, 203.

² See ECNE. p. 211.

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Irish, the QV is probably an effort to write the sound $c'u'$.¹ As the former shows syncope, the final stage *ce-* there should be later than the time of syncope. Thus the evidence is that q^u became *c* before *o* (and no doubt *a*, *u*) by the first half of the sixth century, and that before *e* and *i* it developed first into $c'u'$ through infection by the early sixth century, and subsequently into *c*, perhaps in the late sixth century.²

With all this material it is possible now to try to construct a table of absolute datings. The latest important change dealt with is syncope. This is fairly certainly to be put in the sixth century, probably about the middle.³ Consequently the others will all be earlier (except $c'u' > c$ before *e* and *i*). The phenomenon of the loss of final syllables seems to belong to about the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries. We have already seen it in the first element of Irish compound names written MACCV- in Latin letters at about this time and later, and in MACCVDICCL the termination of the second element is likewise missing. The loss is actually found again in the Lewannick inscription (CIIC. no. 466), dating from the end of the fifth or early sixth century, where the Latin MEMORIA, borrowed in Irish (OI. *mebuir*), is rendered in the Ogam as MEMOR (i.e. *memor'*), meaning that like the Pádraig group of words it was borrowed after Irish had lost its final syllables ; cf. p. 183.

¹ The Ogam engravers continued to write MAQ(Q)I long after the loss of final syllables and the change of q^u to *c* (also MAQ after the latter); an intermediate form MAC(C)I is sometimes found. But these are simply archaisms, see p. 153, and ECNE. p. 201.

² Note that the forms VEQREQ, VECR(EC) in nos. 118, 227, for older **Uēq^uorigas* show complete confusion of q^u and *c* in Ogam writing. These inscriptions are post-syncope and clearly late ; MacNeill thinks the first late seventh century, PRIA. xxxix, c, 42.

³ Cf. Thurneysen, Beitr.G.D.Sp.Litt. lxi, 198, and ZCP. xix, 207 ; O'Rahilly, *Ériu*, xiii, 119. In EIH.M. p. 464 O'Rahilly thinks it may have continued later, but the evidence is inconclusive as the name *Catlon* may have been borrowed earlier than he assumes. No. 364 just quoted shows Irish syncope had occurred by the middle of the century. [O'Rahilly now quotes examples to suggest that syncope had not yet come into effect in the third quarter of the sixth century ; *Celtica*, i, 396. They are not very decisive. Bruide's father was a Pict, whose name can hardly be used as evidence of Irish sound-changes. The examples belong to sources from the North ; possibly syncope may have been slightly later there than elsewhere. It may be safer to say " middle or second half of sixth century ", for syncope.]

Compare also CIIC. no. 10, which has three Irish words without final syllables, and is generally supposed to belong to the early sixth century (see MacNeill, *PRIA.* xxvii, c, 332), though the evidence is not very good either for the identification of the person or for the date of his death.¹ In any event, loss of final syllables must be distinctly later than the first group of Latin borrowings.²

Turning to the beginning of the table below, apart from the change of *nt*, *nc* to *dd*, *gg*, the date of which is vague, the oldest item is the Cothriche loanwords. It is pretty clear, as MacNeill and others hold, that these belong to the period of the earliest important missionary activity in Ireland, namely to the efforts of St. Patrick and his fellows between 432 and 461. This gives a date for the beginning of the list in the second quarter or middle of the fifth century. Lenition, which is later than the Cothriche group and earlier than the loss of final syllables, can therefore be put in the second half of the fifth century; and since it is the earliest change after the Cothriche words, would be near the beginning of that half-century. That it had indeed happened by the end of the century is confirmed by the inscriptions CIIC. nos. 362 (late fifth century) and 432 (late fifth or early sixth century) and perhaps no. 399 (late fifth century); note also no. 431 (early to mid sixth century). On these inscriptions see pp. 180, 186.

Enough evidence has now been collected to draw up a tentative chronology of the main sound-changes which took place in the Primitive Irish period, through which the original Goedelic language was transformed into what is called Archaic Irish:

- (1) At some time between the first and early fifth centuries, the change *nt*, *nc* > *dd*, *gg*, with compensatory lengthening.
 (Late fourth or early fifth century, the oldest Ogam inscriptions.)
 (Mid fifth century, the main body of Cothriche loanwords.)

¹ Cf. *EIHM.* p. 398.

² The form *Cathbhotha* in AU. 456 may possibly come from a contemporary source with the final syllable preserved (OI. *Cathboth*); cf. *Celtica*, i, 396.]

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(2) Second half of the fifth century, in the following order :

(a) Lenition.

(*f* > *s*- sub-group of Cothriche loanwords.)

(b) Reduction of unstressed long vowels.

(c) *a/o* and *i/u*-affection of stressed syllables.

(d) *a/o*-affection of unstressed syllables.

(3) About 500, loss of final syllables.

(4) First half of sixth century, reduction of *cr*, *cl*, *cn*, *gr*, *gl*, *gn*, with compensatory lengthening of short vowels.¹

(5) Mid sixth century, syncope.²

(Exact position in the table uncertain : (1) infection of consonants, which is older than loss of final syllables ; (2) *q^uo* > *co*, *q^ue*, *q^ui* > *c'ū'e*, *c'ū'i*, first half of sixth century ; the two last > *ce*, *ci* perhaps second half of sixth century.)

The Pádraig group of borrowings is larger, and evidently covered a longer stretch of time, than the Cothriche group. All seem to be later than the loss of final syllables in Irish, some being taken in before the lengthening of short vowels, (4) above, and therefore perhaps at the beginning of the sixth century, others after ; and some before and some after syncope. Consequently the Pádraig group may be dated throughout the greater part of the sixth century, the period when the intercourse between Irish and Welsh monasteries, above all at St. David's, and the influence of the British church on the Irish, were at their height. The result is to confirm MacNeill's hypothesis, with some modifications in certain respects and greater detail in others.

The matter might have been left at this point if it were

¹ O'Rahilly, *The Two Patricks*, p. 79, dates this (without giving any evidence) as "probably in the first half of the fifth century". The context seems to hint that this is a slip (perhaps for first half of the *sixth* ?), since the shortening of original long vowels which *preceded* it affected (as O'Rahilly himself says) *all* loanwords of the first group and some of those of the second.

[² Or perhaps middle to second half of the sixth century, at any rate in northern Ireland ; see page 141 note 3 above.]

not for a controversy which began in 1942 with the publication of O'Rahilly's *The Two Patricks* (Dublin, the Institute for Advanced Studies). It was O'Rahilly's thesis, based on historical arguments, that there was not one St. Patrick but two; and he proposed to support it with linguistic evidence drawn from the whole question of the two groups of loanwords. His older Patrick, known also as Palladius, did missionary work in Meath and Connaught between 431 and 461; and his younger Patrick arrived in 461, worked in Connaught and Ulster, founded Armagh, and died about 492. The historical side of this is argued with brilliance and learning; it is enough to say here that it is still *sub judice*, and that so far Irish historians appear to remain unconvinced.¹ As to the linguistic side, O'Rahilly accepts the existence of two groups of borrowings, and defines them in much the same terms as Sarauw,² but he thought the earlier loanwords were brought by his older Patrick in 431-61 and the later by his younger Patrick in 461-92. This means a quite different chronology, with the second group crushed right back into the fifth century on top of the first. That all the Irish sound-changes described above (including those not noted by O'Rahilly) should have taken place between the middle of the fifth and the middle of the sixth century, in a hundred years or three generations, is surprising enough in itself, though by no means impossible or without parallel;³ but that they should have occurred in the narrow space of a few years at most, round about the year 460, is scarcely credible. O'Rahilly did indeed put forward a novel theory, described below, which, if correct, would do away with the difficulty of supposing that not only Irish but also British lenition must have happened in the brief time between his two groups, and hence would relieve the pressure

¹ E.g. see J. Ryan, *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October 1942, pp. 241-52; and L. Bieler, *The Mission of Palladius*, *Traditio* vi (1948), 1-32.

² First group: *c, t > th, ch*; *-ius, etc. > -e, etc.*; *p* replaced by *qʷ*; shortening of unstressed long vowels. Second group: *p, t, c > b, d, g*; *-ius, etc.*, dropped; *p* retained; unstressed long vowels shortened earlier but not later. See *op. cit.* pp. 42-4, 79-80.

³ As O'Rahilly himself says, "the fifth and sixth centuries are known to have been a period of unusually rapid development in the Irish language" (EIHM. p. 495).

to that extent; but he gives no such explanation for the chronology of the other linguistic changes, and passes over in silence the perplexities which his hypothesis raises in this respect. He does not mention MacNeill's fundamental theory, and so there is no attempt made to refute it.¹ O'Rahilly's proposal is that the Cothriche words show intervocal Latin *t*, *c* pronounced [t], [k] because the older Patrick and his companions spoke Latin not with a British but with a pure Classical Latin accent, being educated Gauls and Italians;²

¹ We may remark that what was substantially the MacNeill enlargement of Sarauw, with the two periods of British influence, was being taught by no less an authority than Professor Bergin to his Old Irish classes in 1933-34, when the writer was his pupil.

² It must be pointed out that this is a hypothesis. Some of the earliest missionaries may have come from Gaul or Italy, but whether they predominated, or what their nationalities really were, we do not know. That the Patrick of this period was *not* a Briton depends, of course, on whether the theory of Two Patricks is correct. The argument about Classical pronunciation is designed to support it. But intervocal *t* and *c* were already becoming *d* and *g* in Gaul and northern Italy in the fourth to sixth century (see CPF. pp. 135, 155, 158); and *tj* was *tsj* by the fourth century, >*dzj* intervocally in the fifth and sixth (*op. cit.* pp. 114, 157); *cj* had become *t's'χ'j* in the third to fourth century, >*tsj* in the fourth to fifth (so *uncia* > **ontsjā*), intervocally >*dzj* at the same time (*op. cit.* pp. 116, 153, 157). In both *tj* and *cj* even the upper levels of educated society had *tsj* by the fifth century (*op. cit.* pp. 6, 153). Consequently, not to mention other cases of *-t-* and *-c-*, even O'Rahilly's educated missionaries must have pronounced *puteus*, *oratio*, *uncia*, and *Patricius* at least as *pulsjus*, *orātsjō*, *untsja*, and *Patritsjus*, if not more vulgarly with voicing to *dzj* in some cases; and hence OI. *cuithē*, **orthu*, *ungae*, and *Cothriche* cannot possibly have reached Ireland from such a source and must have got there from British Latin speakers, who preserved all internal Latin *t* and *c* intact at this time (until Brit. lenition turned them into *d* and *g*). In any case, that Christian priests from Gaul and Italy in the middle of the fifth century must have been members of the upper classes and must preserve educated Classical pronunciations is highly doubtful, and incapable of proof; on the contrary, in such early times the Continental church used everyday VL. (cf. CPF. p. 7), and Classical education was suspect to them for its tinge of paganism. If the story of St. Patrick's servant who reported his *deo gratias agamus* as *gratzacham* really goes back to Patrick's time, it might imply a pronunciation *gratsjas*; if so, this would have been picked up by Patrick during his sojourn in Gaul and Italy; but the missionaries who accompanied him cannot have spoken predominately like this, for the reason just given, and must have been Britons. This is on the supposition that *gratzacham* stands for *gratsi(as) agam(us)*, and that it is authentic; but it might just as well be for *grat(ia)s agam(us)*, assuming that it is genuine at all.

and that the younger Patrick and his associates, being Britons, used a Latin of British type, with *-t-*, *-c-* pronounced *d*, *g*. So far as this goes, the two missions could even have been contemporary, though O'Rahilly's theory does not quite demand that. The validity of it rests, in the first place, on the question whether the existence of two Patricks is to be accepted at all; in the second place, whether the supposed pure Classical speech of the first mission is plausible or not; and in the third place, whether it is conceivable that Irish lenition, reduction of unstressed long vowels, vowel affection, and loss of final syllables could all have happened in a few years around 460. None of these points has been proved. The first is not generally accepted; the second is dealt with in the footnote p. 145; and the third is intrinsically improbable, indeed impossible.

The controversy which arose on the publication of O'Rahilly's book included arguments drawn from linguistics, but no attempt was made by anyone to take the necessary preliminary step of refuting or vindicating MacNeill. In fact he was not mentioned, perhaps because O'Rahilly did not refer to him. This resulted, therefore, in a number of arguments which were really beside the point, or unnecessary, having been already dealt with actually or implicitly by MacNeill. For instance, it was objected to O'Rahilly that if the Irish borrowed a British Latin **scōba* (<*scōpa*) it would have become in Irish not **scōb*, *scuab* but **scōb̃*, **scuab̃* by Irish lenition.¹ But in point of fact MacNeill's theory implies that **scōba* was borrowed after Irish lenition was complete, and hence the *-b-* was not further affected. Similarly it is said that *tribulatio* could not give Irish *treblaid* as part of the second group loans, on the ground that here Latin *b* does become *b̃*, unlike the *b* in **scōba*. But of course it does, because just as Classical Latin *-p-* gave British Latin *-b-* (as in **scōba*), so Classical Latin *-b-* gave British Latin *-b̃-*, by British lenition,

¹ Actually O'Rahilly's words do not warrant this criticism. He said, *op. cit.* p. 43, that **scōba* was borrowed into Welsh as **scūb*; in fact *scōpa* was taken into British as *scōpa* and developed regularly into Late Brit. **scūba*, Pr.W. **scūb̃*.

in what was pronounced *tribulādīō or *tribulōdīō ; so that it is not a question of two British Latin *b*'s becoming the one *b* and the other *ḃ*. Cf. pp. 127-8 above. These and the other difficulties raised in the course of the controversy fall into place when seen in the light of MacNeill's hypothesis.

Father Ryan himself entered on the linguistic side of this question in the article referred to, pp. 246-7, with views of his own which were countered by Professor Murphy in *Studies*, xxxii, 305-6, and need not be detailed here. Father F. Shaw took up the matter in his "The Linguistic Argument for the Two Patricks", *Studies*, xxxii, 315 ff. Like the others, he accepts the existence of the two groups, one showing characteristic "British" features and the other not, and very properly objects that to try to date these loans within two successive periods of thirty years is "daring and not to be admitted without the strongest proofs". He appears to believe that the gap of time between the two was a comparatively long one ; and would seem willing to agree that by and large the older group is probably fifth century, certainly that the later is mainly sixth (*op. cit.* p. 317). In general, he points out a number of linguistic illogicalities involved in the theory of the Two Patricks, and makes some telling criticisms of the attempt to push the whole thing back into the fifth century ; but missing or ignoring MacNeill, some other arguments fail of their purpose. His belief that words of non-British Latin (i.e. Cothriche) type might, strictly speaking, have been borrowed into Irish quite late ("as late as 650 A.D.", *op. cit.* p. 315) is unexplained and is to the last degree unlikely, once the characteristic so-called "British" features of Latin pronunciation were established and had become the settled pronunciation in Ireland also (see pp. 124-5 above). There is no reason to think that the Latin sound-system of the Cothriche period in Ireland, belonging as it did to a time when the Christian church there was weak and struggling, had any vogue beyond the stage when the second and much more thorough-going wave of influence from Britain began in the sixth century. In fact Shaw's own theory would seem to support this, for he assumes that the older group of words was borrowed at a time

when the British hold was not particularly strong in Ireland, and the later when it was powerful and able to impose itself to the exclusion of the former treatment. The corollary, that in the earlier period Irish was independent enough to assert its own sound-system, while in the later the British influence was sufficiently weighty to force the acceptance of its phonetic pattern, depends on omitting to consider that the older pronunciation was just as British as the later, but British of an older time and of a kind which happened to coincide in a number of points with the Irish. Nor is it probable, if in the middle of the fifth century the Irish heard, for instance, the pronunciation *Padrigius*, that they would turn this into *Q^uotricius* or *Q^uothrichius* by making "the loans which it took from Latin conform vigorously to the exigencies of . . . the Irish phonetic system", when they already had in their language a perfectly good *d(d)* and *g(g)* (from older *nt* and *nc*) which could be substituted here.

It may be said in conclusion that the most satisfactory explanation of the evidence is MacNeill's application of Sarauw's theory, and that unless and until this has been seriously criticised and adequately refuted it is useless to propose new hypotheses which ignore it.

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS

A VERY valuable source of information about Late British and Primitive Welsh and Cornish is the Latin inscriptions of Celtic Britain dating from the fifth to seventh century, of the type known to epigraphers as *inscriptiones Christianae* because they belong to that period of the Roman world when Christianity was already the accepted religion, though it does not follow that all are necessarily memorials of Christians. The "early Christian" inscriptions of the Celtic parts of Britain have formed the subject of a good many publications. The first real *corpus* was E. Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae* (Berlin, 1876; abbreviated IBCh.), which comprises the whole of Britain. Hübner did not see the monuments himself, and relied chiefly on drawings sent him by Rhys and others; his illustrations are inaccurate and the readings sometimes badly mistaken. J. O. Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliae* (Oxford, 1876-79; abbreviated Lap.W.) was a considerable improvement, with careful drawings made by the author himself; but aside from the fact that it is limited only to Wales, it still leaves much to be desired. Sir John Rhys gave readings of many of the Welsh inscriptions in the Appendix to his *Lectures on Welsh Philology* (first edition, London, 1877; second edition, London, 1879, abbreviated LWP. 2); and again in 1905 in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xviii, with revisions. The inscriptions of Cornwall are dealt with by A. G. Langdon in the *Victoria History of the County of Cornwall*, vol. i (edited by W. Page, London, 1906), pp. 407 ff., and in his *Old Cornish Crosses* (Truro, 1896); and by H. O'N. Hencken in *The Archaeology of Cornwall and Scilly* (London, 1932). The Scottish inscriptions are described by J. R. Allen, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1903). A model

of epigraphic study is the treatment of the inscriptions of Anglesey by Raleigh Radford and Sir Ifor Williams in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Wales and Monmouthshire, entitled *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Wales and Monmouthshire*, vol. viii, Anglesey (London, 1937; abbreviated AMCA.). Finally R. A. S. Macalister, in his *Corpus Inscriptio-num Insularum Celticarum* (Dublin, two vols., 1945 and 1949; abbreviated CIIC.), has given readings, drawings, photographs, bibliographies, and other notes for all the Celtic inscriptions of the British Isles down to about 1200 and later. This is by far the most inclusive work on them, but is still by no means perfect; the readings, drawings, and opinions are to be accepted with caution.¹ Throughout the present book the British inscriptions are cited from Macalister's CIIC. by the numbers he gives them. Apart from the foregoing special works, there are numerous articles on individual inscriptions in various journals, chiefly *Archaeologia Cambrensis* and the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*; in particular the notes in those periodicals in the last fifteen years or so by V. Nash Williams,² Ifor Williams, and others.

The early Christian inscriptions of Britain are almost all cut on stone, often on large monoliths. Some of them have been gathered into museums, especially in the National Museum of Wales at Cardiff, with a few in the Carmarthen Museum, the University Museum at Bangor, and others. For the most part they are more widely scattered. Many are in the open country, probably in their original positions, in fields, beside roads, and on mountain-sides. A good number are in church-yards, and these, if the foundation is an ancient one, may in some cases very well be *in situ*. Others have been removed for safety into church porches or inside the building, or into

¹ Cf. the writer's reviews in *Speculum*, xxi, 521-3, and xxiv, 598-601.

² Especially *Arch.Camb.*, 1937, pp. 1 ff. (with Ifor Williams); 1938, pp. 31 ff.; and 1939, pp. 1 ff. The second of these contains some very valuable details on dating. [Since the present work went to press, Nash Williams' very important *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* has appeared (Cardiff, 1950), giving full details of each of the Welsh inscriptions. See further below, p. 160.]

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the parks and gardens of country houses. Some have actually been used for masonry, and are to be seen built into the inside or outside of church walls ; perhaps many more were so treated, but with the inscription facing inwards and consequently invisible.

In all there are in Britain close on two hundred Latin inscriptions of Celtic origin dating between the fifth and twelfth or thirteenth centuries, either actually now existing or recorded in the works of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century antiquaries. Of these a dozen belong to Scotland, chiefly to the British kingdoms of southern Scotland, whose possible Roman origin was noted on p. 117 ; one to Northumberland ; four to the Isle of Man ; two to Herefordshire ; four to Dorset (at Wareham) ; one to Somerset ; six to Devon ; forty-one to Cornwall ; and the rest to Wales. In addition to these Latin inscriptions there are in Britain a number of others in Primitive Irish, of a type well known in Ireland, belonging to the fifth to seventh century. They too are funerary, and on standing stones. Some are in Irish only, but in most of these cases in Britain (not in Ireland) an Irish and a Latin inscription occur side by side on the same stone, being almost always the one a rendering of the other.¹ The Irish inscriptions are written in the peculiar alphabet called the Ogam script, which consists of twenty letters made of straight grooves and notches carved at the angle of the face and the side of a stone slab. The twenty letters are divided into four groups of five ; the first of each five consists of one mark, the second of two, and so on. The first group is made up of grooves cut on the face of the slab up against the angle, the second of the same cut on the side in the same way, the third cut right across the angle and diagonally to it, and the fourth (the five vowels) is a series of mere notches on the angle itself.² The origin of this strange alphabet has been much disputed, as have many other aspects of the matter, but of recent years opinion has been settling down to the view that it is based upon the Latin alphabet as

¹ These are not counted among the Latin monuments enumerated above.

² For a fuller account of the Ogam alphabet see Thurneysen, *Gr.OI.* pp. 9-11 ; J. Pokorny, *A Historical Reader of Old Irish* (Halle, 1923), p. 21 ; Macalister, *CIIC.* i, pp. iv ff.

taught in the grammar schools of the later Roman Empire and as classified in the fourth century by Donatus.¹ The most satisfactory explanation of the system of grooves is that the inventor wished to adapt the Roman alphabet to the purpose of carving on short wooden message-sticks (for which Ogam was certainly used in ancient Ireland), and like the creator of the Runic script he knew that straight lines are carved on wood much more easily than curves. Whereas, however, the inventor of the Runes made the curved letters which he knew (probably some form of the North Italic alphabet) into straight-sided versions of the same, the Ogamist abandoned them altogether and based his new script on the very similar system of notches on wooden rods used in counting sheep, the well-known tally-sticks.² There are still obscurities in all this, in particular just what is the relation between the Ogams and the curiously parallel Germanic cryptic writings based on the Runic alphabet.³

The Ogam script and its various practical uses belong in the first place to ancient Ireland. There survive in Ireland to the present day a little over three hundred stone monuments with Ogam inscriptions, five-sixths of which are found in the three southern counties of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, with an extension (amounting to another thirty-odd inscriptions) through Cos. Kilkenny, Carlow, Wicklow, and Kildare. About half the total of these southern inscriptions is in Kerry alone. It would seem, therefore, that the custom of setting up Ogams of this kind belonged in the main to southern, and chiefly south-western, Ireland, whatever the reason may have been ;

¹ See W. Keller in *Beiblatt zu Anglia*, xlvii (1936), 33 ff., and *Beitr.G.D. Sp.Litt.* lxii (1938), 121 ff. ; Thurneysen, *Beitr.G.D.Sp.Litt.* lxi (1937), 188 ff. ; and Vendryes, *Études celtiques*, iv, 83 ff.

² This seems the most probable theory to explain the form of the Ogam letters ; cf. Vendryes, *op. cit.*

³ H. Arntz, *Beitr.G.D.Sp.Litt.* lix (1935), 321 ff., and, following him, Keller (*op. cit.*), tried to show with a wealth of unacceptably complicated detail that the Ogams are derived from the Runic cyphers, but entirely failed to make out a case, if only on chronological grounds, not to mention others. Arntz believed the Ogam inscriptions of Pictland (see p. 153, n. 2 below) were the intermediary, but these are among the latest of Ogams, as their form shows. If anything, the influence is likely on all counts to have been the other way ; cf. H. Meroney, *Speculum*, xxiv, pp. 19 ff.

but in addition to some few inscriptions, the ancient epic tales show us that this alphabet was current in the North too, both for funerary purposes and for messages on wooden rods and otherwise. It is not easy to date the Ogam of Ireland; the form of the letters makes any sort of palaeographical criteria impossible, and none of the people named in them has been satisfactorily identified. Moreover, though some are linguistically certainly later than others, they cannot be ranged in detailed chronological order, because it is clear that the engravers attempted sometimes, and to some extent, to preserve archaic forms and spellings which had become part of the traditions of their craft. Consequently some inscriptions show a peculiar mixture of late and early forms; and as for those others which appear to be entirely early, one cannot be quite sure that they are not merely more successful archaisations, though the blundering nature of most of the mixed ones makes this unlikely. In general, there is reason to think that the practice of erecting Ogam inscriptions in Ireland, at any rate as we now find them, belonged chiefly to the fifth and sixth centuries, though it may have begun in the fourth century and certainly continued into the seventh. A few, pedantic pieces of antiquarianism (especially the peculiar type called "scholastic Ogam"), are later still, agreeing in form with the Old Irish language of the eighth century and later. These things are confirmed by those Ogam inscriptions of Britain which, being bilingual, have their equivalents in Roman letters, the latter being capable of dating, and which can be shown to belong to the period between the mid fifth and early seventh centuries.¹

The distribution of the Ogam in Britain is as follows: two in Scotland in Argyllshire opposite north-eastern Ireland,² six in the Isle of Man, forty in Wales, six in Cornwall, two in

¹ For a more detailed discussion of the evidence for the opinions advanced in this paragraph see the writer's article *Notes on the Ogam Inscriptions of Southern Britain*, in ECNE. pp. 199-213.

² This is not counting the so-called "Pictish" Ogam of north-east Scotland, which are evidently not in Irish at all, and mostly are late, as their "scholastic" form shows. See Macalister's edition in *Essays and Studies Presented to Éoin MacNeill* (ed. J. Ryan, Dublin, 1940), pp. 184-226.

Devon, and a stray at Silchester in Hampshire; a total of fifty-seven, of which forty-four are accompanied by a Latin inscription on the same stone, in almost all cases the more or less close counterpart of the Ogam in so far as both are complete and legible. E.g. CIIC. no. 433, Ogam ANDAGELLI MACV CAVE(TI), Latin ANDAGELLI IACIT FILI CAVETI. Of the forty Ogams in Wales, three are in the North and the rest in the South, chiefly in the South-West, the great mass being in Pembrokeshire.

This distribution in Britain is significant. The presence of the two Irish Ogams in Argyll is, of course, due to the fact that that district was colonised from Ulster at the end of the fifth century.¹ Again, the Isle of Man must have been settled at an early period from Ireland or Scotland, and has been Goedelic in language from the time of our earliest records.² The Ogams in North and South Wales and the peninsula of Devon and Cornwall depend on the Irish colonies which, as is generally agreed nowadays, were established in those regions under the late Roman Empire, probably chiefly in the fourth century; the pirates and raiders who so much troubled Britain in that and the preceding century may have been settled down as *foederati*, colonists with a nominal allegiance to Rome, on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief, as a bulwark against further aggression.³ The distribution of the Ogams agrees closely with what is known about these colonies. There was a dynasty of Irish kings established in south-west Wales,

¹ Diack's attempt to show that they are the work of his non-Irish Goedels (Sc.G.St. i, 3 ff.) is a failure; the theory, which is in any case quite unnecessary, is without foundation.

² For the existence of some evidence for a Brittonic-speaking population in the Isle of Man in the Dark Ages see p. 173 below.

³ See Collingwood, RBES. pp. 282-3, 316; J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland* (New York, 1929), pp. 148-9; and pp. 169 ff. below. The older view (Rhys's) that the Goedelic element in Wales and Cornwall was not Irish but the remnant of Goedelic tribes who came from the Continent and settled in Britain, while others passed on to Ireland, has been abandoned. The theory of a Goedelic substratum in southern Britain has recently been revived in H. M. Chadwick's *Early Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949), chapter v; but even Chadwick thought that these people had become assimilated to the Britons, and ceased to speak Goedelic, by the beginning of the Roman period; see *op. cit.* pp. 76, 80.

where most of the Ogam inscriptions are concentrated,¹ apparently from the end of the third century ; they continued to rule there until the tenth, their pedigree being known from both Irish and Welsh sources. There is reason to think that they kept in touch with their homeland until at least the eighth century.² These settlers had come from the Irish petty kingdom of the Déisi of Co. Waterford,³ a branch of the people called the Érainn who were widely scattered across southern Ireland, in the counties of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, the very districts where the Ogam inscriptions are thickest.

Besides these, early Irish tradition has preserved a memory of Irish overlords in Cornwall and south-west England in the fourth and fifth centuries. We do not know much about these people from historical sources. A well-known passage in the Old Irish glossary of Cormac,⁴ who died in 908, tells how the Irish ruled over parts of Britain and mentions two of their places there : “ Dind Tradui ”, belonging to Crimthann the Great son of Fidach, “ king of Ireland and Britain as far as the English Channel ” ; and “ Dind Map Lethain in the lands of the Cornish Britons ”. Cormac regards the latter name, like the former, as British, and translates it into Irish as *Dun Mac* ⁵ *Liathain*, i.e. “ the fort of the sons of Liathan ”. Dind Tradui is generally identified with the *Din Draithov* in Cornwall mentioned in the Life of St. Carannog, and perhaps

¹ The extent of the Irish settlements in Britain is not, however, to be judged entirely from the distribution of Ogam inscriptions, see p. 171 below.

² Cf. K. Meyer, *Cymm. Trans.*, 1895-96, pp. 57 ff., and Cecile O’Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales* (London, 1924), p. 62.

³ Not from Meath, as Collingwood gives it, RBES. pp. 282-3, and as Meyer implies, *loc. cit.* Cf. T. F. O’Rahilly, *EIHM*. p. 64.

⁴ Ed. by K. Meyer, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* (Halle, 1912), iv, see p. 75. See *idem*, *Cymm. Trans.*, 1895-96, pp. 59 ff. ; C. O’Rahilly, *op. cit.* pp. 44 ff. ; Kenney, *op. cit.* pp. 149 ff.

⁵ Meyer prints *Maic*, “ of the son ”, but the MS. reading can mean equally *Mac*, “ of the sons ”, as the name demands (see below). *OWC. map* means “ son ”, but in *Pr.WC.* was very likely genitive plural too. Meyer was probably influenced by the *OW*. In *Pr.C.* the name was doubtless *Din Map Lētan*, which Cormac (who knew *OW*.) unconsciously partly Hibernicised (*OI. dind*, Archaic I. *Lēthain*) and then translated. One MS. has, in fact, *Letain*, and one *Letani*, and it is possible that we should read *Letan* or *Letain*, which would be nearer the *Pr.C.* It is significant in any case that Cormac seems to have had British sources of information here as well as Irish.

in Nennius' *Cities of Britain* section of HB. as *Cair Drait(h)ou*.¹ This passage bears good internal evidence of going back to a genuine tradition. Crimthann, though very likely himself a legendary person, is said by Irish tradition to have been king of Ireland in the fourth century. The "sons of Liathan" are presumably the same as the historical Irish *Ui Liathain*, who were a division of the Érainn² living in East Cork, neighbours of the Déisi; and hence probably formed part of the same eastward movement as that which brought the Déisi to Wales. Nennius mentions the *fili Liethan* as settlers in parts of South Wales.³ The Irish colony in North Wales is less well evidenced, and may very likely have been less numerous. If the tale of Cunedda⁴ is correctly interpreted by Collingwood⁵ and others, the Romans transported a British force from the Lothians at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century and settled them in North Wales as *foederati* to subdue the Irish there. Nennius tells us that Cunedda actually "expelled" them. The kings of North Wales in historical times traced their descent from him, and there is no good reason to reject the authenticity of the story.

In view of this situation, the following theory of the date and place of origin of the Ogam script may be proposed. An Irishman, a member of one of the colonies described and obviously a man of education, learned Latin and the Latin alphabet as taught in the Roman grammar schools of the later Empire, very likely at just such a school in Britain in the fourth century.⁶ He adapted the alphabet to the purpose of

¹ See T. F. O'Rahilly, EIHM. p. 497.

² T. F. O'Rahilly, *op. cit.* p. 81.

³ HB. c. 14.

⁴ HB. c. 62.

⁵ RBES. pp. 289-90.

⁶ Hardly before, because the Irish settlements were scarcely older, and also because the particular treatment of the Latin alphabet associated with Donatus, as postulated by Keller and Thurneysen, belongs to that time. Hardly later, because such schools would be dying out, and because some time must be allowed for the custom of setting up Ogam inscriptions to get established by the fifth century. The fact that Ogams are mentioned in the ancient Ulster epic tales, which some believe go back to the first century, is no refutation, since in the first place these may be interpolations, and in the second place so early a date for the tales is improbable and without any real basis in the historical evidence. They (the tales) may well be as late as the fourth century, as I hope to show elsewhere.

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carving on wooden rods by inventing a new one based on the system of tally-sticks. Owing to the connections still maintained between the settlers and their mother country, the invention was introduced into Ireland, perhaps first to the Déisi of County Waterford, from whom it had spread by the fifth century among the Érainn and other peoples of the south,¹ and thence all over the country; where, however, it had not become so firmly established for funerary purposes² as in the south, by the time (probably in the seventh century) when this barbaric method of writing Irish was finally outmoded by the ordinary Roman letters first introduced in the fifth century by the Christian missionaries. The use of Ogam letters reached even further; they were taken by Irish colonists to south-west Scotland and to the Isle of Man, and very likely their vogue in Wales and south-west Britain is due to a re-introduction from Ireland rather than to their having been first invented there. We may suppose this, since none of the British Ogams is likely to be older than the middle of the fifth century,³ and also because the use of Ogam inscriptions appears to be so much at home, so much more fully and widely adopted, in southern Ireland than in Britain. Indeed the theory described above by no means rules out the possibility that the actual creation of the Ogam alphabet took place in Ireland. The inventor might easily have learned his Latin in Britain and then returned to live in Ireland with his kindred, where he then composed this simplified script for the use of the unlettered Irish. In fact this is really more probable than the other, since those in Britain who wished to write belonged, however distantly, to a civilisation in which writing and Roman letters were synonymous, and widely taught.

The Latin *inscriptiones Christianae* of the fifth to seventh century, whether accompanied by Ogam inscriptions or not, are in Roman letters, written for the most part on rough stone slabs, either horizontally or perpendicularly. Almost all

¹ On further evidence for cultural influence by the colonists in Britain on the Irish see ECNE. p. 212.

² Setting up epitaphs on stone was in itself a Roman practice.

³ See ECNE. pp. 204-5.

are funerary, and the essential feature is the name of the dead man (rarely woman), usually followed by *filius* or *filia* and the name of the father, the *filius* or *filia* being sometimes omitted. *Hic iacit*¹ is often included, or occasionally simply *iacit*. There may also be various formulae such as *memoria*, *in pace*, *in hoc tumulo* or *hic in tumulo*, the chi-rho monogram, or a cross. Other details, such as *presbiter*, *sacerdos*, *medicus*, *faber*, *pronepos*, *nepos*, *et uxor eius*, *et sua sancta coniunx*, the age of the deceased, and so on, may sometimes be found, but further elaboration is very uncommon. Inscriptions of any length, such as CIIC. nos. 325, 360, 515, are extremely rare. The only monument bearing a date is no. 396, IN TE(M)P(ORE) IVST(INI) CON(SVLIS), which puts it in the year 540.² The inscriptions of the following period, eighth to twelfth century and later, referred to already (pp. 58, 61 f.), are not under discussion in this chapter. They represent a later stage of Brittonic language and civilisation, and are predominantly ecclesiastical, whereas the previous group is almost entirely secular. Moreover, they are by no means only funerary, but are of a more diverse nature. They are less important to the present book than the others, since they belong to a time (the Old Welsh and Old Cornish period) when we have a considerable body of manuscript evidence, of which they may be regarded as an extension, but the inscriptions of the first group are almost our only contemporary documents for the Late British and Primitive Welsh and Cornish languages.

So far no one has attempted to date the early inscriptions in a systematic way. Hübner, in IBCh. pp. xix ff., laid down some general and rather inaccurate principles, but most writers have avoided this difficult task. A foundation has been made in recent years by Raleigh Radford in AMCA. and by V. Nash Williams in Arch.Camb. (especially 1938, pp. 31 ff.), and a complete bibliography and corpus of the Welsh inscriptions, together with datings, is expected from Nash Williams, but up to the time of writing has not yet appeared.³ Hence, for the

¹ The correct *iacet* is very rare.

² Cf. Nash Williams, Arch.Camb., 1938, p. 36.

[³ Since going to press, this has now come out as his ECMW.]

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purposes of this book the author had to attempt the matter himself. In the summer of 1947, on a visit from America, the great majority of the early inscriptions were examined and their readings and the exact forms of the lettering were checked. The fundamental aid in the study of this question of chronology is the much better known and more easily dateable *inscriptiones Christianae* of Gaul,¹ which, belonging to the nearest province of the Empire, are obviously of the first significance for those of contemporary Britain. A further help was the discussions of individual monuments by Raleigh Radford, Nash Williams, and others, referred to above. In addition to the unique dated stone no. 396, a few others can be shown with some probability to be the memorials of known people.² But apart from these, the only way to date the rest of the British inscriptions is through the forms of their letters. In this respect they appear to fall into the following wide classifications: (1) Fifth to early sixth century, those written in more or less pure, if often rough and debased, Roman monumental capitals, with some vulgar and cursive forms.³ (2) Sixth century, those which show the continued use of capitals but with an increasing proportion of vulgar forms, and especially also with the appearance of certain uncial and half-uncial letters derived from Gallic epigraphy, becoming commoner as the century went on. (3) By the end of the sixth century and beginning of the seventh, those with fewer capitals and more of the uncials and half-uncials, but now also with a number of half-uncial letter forms evidently taken from manuscript writing; this continued in vogue to an undetermined date, possibly to the late seventh century. These three

¹ See edition by E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule* (Paris, 1856-65; abbreviated IChG.).

² See Nash Williams, *Arch.Camb.*, 1938, pp. 31 ff. But I cannot agree with him that there is enough evidence to identify the persons mentioned in CIIC. nos. 360 and 390.

[³ According to Nash Williams, the initial date for the development of the Welsh inscriptions in monumental capitals can hardly be later than c. 450, and may possibly go back as early as 400 (ECMW. p. 12). Perhaps so, but very few of the extant inscriptions are likely to be older than c. 450. As he notes, these inscriptions in pure capitals may occur as late as the middle of the sixth century, e.g. CIIC. nos. 358, 396.]

classes constitute the early group of British *inscriptiones Christianae* discussed in this chapter. (4) From the eighth to twelfth or thirteenth century, inscriptions of the later group referred to above, which are at first entirely in early manuscript uncials or half-uncials, and by the ninth century are in the full Hiberno-Saxon half-uncials, with various features (such as contractions) which properly belong to and were imitated from handwriting. Something very like this classification is proposed by Raleigh Radford, *AMCA*. pp. xciv-xcv.¹

After a careful study of the typology of the British inscriptions I have come to the conclusion that it is generally possible to define a narrower dating for any given monument than these wide limits. It is not easy to lay down any precise principles ; the dates assigned throughout this book have been reached, within the above broad framework, by comparing all of them one with another and constructing a relative typological sequence which makes it possible to say, for instance, roughly "late fifth century" or "mid-sixth century", etc., of any given monument. I believe that few epigraphers would be disposed to assert positively that in any one example these datings are inaccurate by more than half a century. This would seem to be about as much as can be hoped for in the present state of knowledge.

There is one key inscription over which I differ slightly from other writers, with consequences a little more important to the whole problem than the few years' discrepancy would suggest. The great Catamanus inscription at Llangadwaladr in Anglesey, CIIC. no. 970, commemorates the Cadfan, king of North Wales, who died about 625. Its lettering, almost pure MS. half-uncials, represents an epoch in the development of Insular Celtic epigraphy ; and it has been shown by Hughes ²

[¹ And by Nash Williams in his *ECMW.*, though he subdivides the fourth group into three, and fuses the first two into one, distinguishing them however. Since his *ECMW.* had not appeared when the present book went to press, I have not been able to make use of his datings as given there in the body of my work, but it has been possible to add some footnotes where necessary. I think it is the case that in almost every instance my dates fall within the limits proposed by Nash Williams ; if not, I have given reasons, etc., in the footnotes.]

² *Arch.Camb.*, 1924, pp. 39 ff.

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that this date agrees well with the development of the Continental book hand of the time. *Typologically* it is the latest of all the inscriptions of the early group. This has led Raleigh Radford to conclude that it is therefore also *chronologically* the latest,¹ which would mean that all the others are earlier—in effect that almost all must be pushed back into the sixth century. This leaves a complete gap between the early and late groups of over a hundred years, and makes the sixth century overcrowded with inscriptions whose typology must have evolved at a speed that is hardly credible. If it had not been for the Catamanus stone the typologically latest would certainly have been dated seventh century. Now Cadfan was a powerful king among the petty princes of Wales, and it is very possible that his heirs were rich enough to employ, perhaps to import, an engraver who knew the latest fashions in Continental book script. On the other hand, the poorer or more uncultured, or perhaps more conservative, chiefs of Wales and Cornwall and elsewhere may have been ignorant of or unable to afford such new-fangled modes, and continued well on into the seventh century the gradually evolving monumental scripts of British epigraphy in the sixth. Again, there exist two other inscriptions with lettering reminiscent of this one (CIIC. nos. 968, 971), and both are in Anglesey; possibly, then, this represents a local epigraphic development which had no effect on the rest of Britain. Finally, it may even be doubtful whether the Catamanus stone was actually erected on the death of Cadfan. The church where it stands was founded by his grandson, Cadwaladr, who died in 664; and it is quite conceivable that the memorial was raised at the same time, say about 650, as part of the ceremony.² This would suit the epigraphy perfectly well, and would allow a whole fifty years of the seventh century as elbow-room for the latest of the typologically earlier inscriptions, if we *must* suppose them of necessity earlier in time. But it is clear

¹ Of the Anglesey inscriptions, but he would appear to think the same of Wales as a whole; see AMCA. p. cvi.

² Sir J. E. Lloyd, HW. i, 182, makes this suggestion about the date of the monument.

that the Catamanus stone cannot be used thus categorically as an endpiece to the history of the early *inscriptiones Christianae*.

Do the Latin inscriptions of the early group in Britain represent a corrupt continuation of the monumental tradition of the Roman province, as might be *a priori* likely—all the more so since the “tyrants” of the fifth and sixth centuries seem to have wished to adopt an outward appearance as inheritors of the Roman power? It may well be so in the case of some inscriptions, especially the oldest; for example, the lead coffin, CIIC. no. 322, which is certainly fifth century and probably rather early in it. Such coffins are known in Britain dating from the Roman period, but not later, and the lettering of this is ordinary, if rough, Roman monumental capitals with a couple of cursive forms. The lettering of this and of some of the fifth-century stone inscriptions could very well derive directly from the debased Romano-British official type seen on the Ravenhill inscription from Yorkshire (IBCh. no. 185, p. 68), which appears to belong to the last days of the Empire at the beginning of the fifth century.¹ But though there is probably some degree of truth in this view, it is far from representing the whole story. We must remember that the mass of monuments of Roman Britain are official military ones, quite different in purpose and form, not to mention their handsome monumental capitals, from those of the Dark Ages; and also that the custom of erecting them had practically died out in Britain by the fourth century.² If we are to find a precedent in Roman Britain for the miserable and corrupt epigraphy of the almost entirely personal inscriptions of the fifth century, it would be rather to the *inscriptiones Christianae* of the fourth century that we should most naturally expect to look.³ But such are practically non-existent; the early Christians of Roman Britain apparently did not set up tombstones for their fellows.

¹ See Evans in Arch.Camb., 1888, p. 152.

² Cf. RBES. p. 262. [Nash Williams notes that the absence of post-Roman monuments from the Imperial Roman centres of settlement implies a cultural break (ECMW. p. 1).]

³ The lead coffin just mentioned is, in fact, a Christian monument.

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If parallels are wanted, we must turn to contemporary Gaul. All through the early period of the fifth to seventh century the British and Gaulish *inscriptiones Christianae* show certain close epigraphic similarities, though with a natural time-lag in Britain. For instance, the common use of vulgar and cursive forms in fifth-century British inscriptions agrees with the practice in the early Christian inscriptions of Gaul and the Rhineland rather than with the pagan monumental tradition of the Roman Empire,¹ and the appearance of epigraphic uncial letters in the sixth century, and of book letters by the late sixth and seventh, is a reflection of what happened in Gaul.² Further, the formulae which are found on the British tombstones are not those of pagan Roman Britain but of fifth- to sixth-century Christian Gaul. Thus the use of *hic iacet*, originating in Italy in the later fourth century, and specifically Christian, came into fashion in Gaul in the first half of the fifth century, particularly in the Lyon-Vienne area, and in the Rhineland above all at Trier.³ Again, *in hoc tumulo* is especially characteristic of Gallic Christianity in the fifth and following centuries, and so with *in pace*, mostly in southern Gaul. The chi-rho monogram of the earlier type with the X over the rho was largely replaced in southern Gaul at the end of the fifth century by the later type with a mere cross-bar, which is found there between about 400 and 540.⁴ The former type never occurs with post-Roman monumental inscriptions in Britain, whereas the latter is not rare. As a kind of negative parallel, Gallic inscriptions do not usually bear any date until the second half of the fifth century,⁵ though they then become common; and this agrees with the practically universal absence of dates in Britain. Now at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century the Christian church was in close contact with that of southern Gaul, especially with that primary home of Gallic Christianity

¹ Cf. Nash Williams, *Arch.Camb.*, 1939, p. 2.

² Cf. Ralegh Radford, *AMCA.* p. xciv.

³ See Nash Williams, *Arch.Camb.*, 1938, p. 34 (who thinks it reached Britain before 450), and Ralegh Radford, *AMCA.* p. cvi.

⁴ Cf. Le Blant, *ICHG.* i, p. xiv.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. iv.

the Lyon-Vienne area. St. Ninian, founder of Whithorn in the earlier part of the fifth century, may have been an imitator of St. Martin of Tours. St. Germanus of Auxerre twice visited Britain in the second quarter of the fifth century to strengthen the natives against heresy. St. Illtud, the disciple of Germanus, was the first of the great Christian teachers of Wales, from whom the others derived. St. Patrick, another pupil of Germanus and of St. Victor of Lérins, is a further notable link between the Christians of Britain and those of south Gaul at that time. As Collingwood says,¹ "when the empire was splitting up, the unity of the church was asserting itself with increasing vigour. The temporal isolation of Britain by no means implied a spiritual isolation." Everything points to the view that the epigraphy of the British *inscriptiones Christianae* derives in the main from that of Gaul in the first half of the fifth century, while this active interchange of Christian culture was going on. It is significant that none of the British examples is older than this time. Indeed, the fact that new Gallic fashions in lettering seem eventually to have found their way to Britain all through the sixth and even in the seventh century, not to mention the tombstone which dates itself at A.D. 540 by a reference to the consul Justinus, would seem to support Collingwood's words, and to show that the breakdown of imperial unity, and the interposition of a great bloc of pagan Saxons, did not completely destroy the influence of Gallic Christianity upon that of Britain, in spite of the grave impairment of relations mentioned on pp. 73-4, 114-15. There was always the sea route between Cornwall and Brittany open and constantly travelled by the clergy; presumably the chiefs of Celtic Britain must have been able still to import men skilled in the art of monumental engraving in the sixth century, and books written in Gallic scriptoria in the seventh penetrated there and helped to form the Celtic epigraphy and palaeography of the British Isles at this time. As long as British and Breton Christians remained in close contact, all through the sixth and most of the seventh century and even later,² the possibility

¹ RBES. p. 311.

² Cf. p. 73.

of Gallic influences reaching the former through the latter must be reckoned with.¹

If the question arises how it is that the setting up of monumental inscriptions in the fifth century is confined to the poorest and wildest parts of Celtic Britain, instead of being found in the still unravaged areas of the Lowland Zone such as Wiltshire, the Severn and Avon valleys, and so on, the answer is twofold, though ultimately really one. In the first place, it has been proposed above² that the standard of culture in the Highland Zone became temporarily superior to that of the unconquered parts of the Lowland Zone in the later fifth and sixth centuries. The Highland "tyrants," undisturbed in their mountains, aped the Roman, while civilised life all over the Lowland country was collapsing with the cutting of communications and before the threat, if not everywhere the reality, of barbarian occupation. So, for instance, the inscriptions of southern Scotland, like those of Wales, belong to a part of the island where the Saxons had not come, and moreover where there is some reason to think that the power of the chiefs was based upon dispositions organised by the Romans themselves near the end of the fourth century. But more important—and this is another argument for the theory that Gaul was the chief source for the epigraphy of the British inscriptions—these were the parts of Britain in which Christianity, specifically Gallic Christianity, was most active in the first half of the fifth century and later, and for the very reason that this was where the breakdown of orderly Roman life was least apparent. In many cases it cannot be proved that the people commemorated in the inscriptions were really Christians, not pagans, nor is there any reason to suppose that they always were; but wherever there is a cross,³

[¹ Compare Nash Williams, ECMW. p. 4, where he suggests that the distribution of the monuments points to influences reaching Wales from the western seas and passing inland by the Roman valley roads. He thinks this means evangelisation from Gaul directed to Wales as well as to Cornwall and Northumbria.]

² Pp. 117 ff.

³ Cf. *Speculum*, xxi, 522. [But Nash Williams seems now to have shown that, at any rate in some instances, crosses *were* added much later to monuments which previously bore only inscriptions of the fifth to sixth century (see ECMW. pp. 17 ff.). This is not true in all cases, however, e.g. no. 358.]

a chi-rho monogram, or a formula like *hic iacit* and the others, the assumption is that this was sq. CIIC. no. 515, at Yarrowkirk in south-east Scotland, stands in an early Christian cemetery (see *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, xxv (1947), p. 24), and nos. 516 to 520, sixth-century inscriptions, are associated with the foundations of St. Ninian. No. 420, of the beginning of the sixth century, has been read HOMO CHRISTIANVS FVIT, the last to do so being Macalister, and this has been regarded as meaning that for a dead man commemorated on a tombstone to be a Christian was rare enough to be worthy of remark. However that may be, the more probable reading is HOMO PLANVS FVIT.¹ In fact, though there were no doubt still many pagans in western Britain in the fifth century, it is not probable that they survived in large numbers, particularly among the ruling classes whose monuments these are, in the sixth, the great age of Christian expansion in Celtic Britain, when so many churches and monasteries were founded, missionaries sent to Brittany and Ireland, and students despatched thence to study in Britain. In any case, there seems no reason why a pagan chief should not imitate the funerary customs of his Christian contemporaries, who derived them from the admired civilisation of Rome.

There is more in this problem than would appear from what has been said so far. Certain features of these early inscriptions turn our attention again to the Irish element in Britain in the Dark Ages. Some remarkable coincidences are found. It is a constant characteristic of the Ogam inscriptions, whether in Britain or Ireland, that the name of the deceased is given in the genitive case, followed by MAQQI, the genitive of Pr.I. **maq^uq^uas*, "son", and the name of the father in the genitive. AVI, "of the grandson", is sometimes substituted for MAQQI, and the man's tribal affiliation is often given. These formulae vary very little, and there is never anything

¹ The only person who ever really claimed to have seen the X, apart from Macalister, was the antiquarian Vaughan. A careful examination of the stone has convinced me that there never was any X, that this supposed letter is simply a few stray pocks on the surface, not at all in the shape of an X, and that the true reading is PLANVS. Mr. Nash Williams tells me that he, too, sees only PLANVS there. [See now his ECMW. p. 174.]

of any length ; sometimes the whole consists of the dead man's name alone, always genitive. The nominative is practically non-existent in Ogam inscriptions. Examples : CIIC. no. 246, CORBAGNI MAQI BIVITI, " of Corbagnas son of Bivitas " ; no. 156, MAQQI-IARI KOI MAQQI MUCCOI DOVVINIAS, " of Maqqas-Iari here, descendant of the tribe of Dobinia " ; no. 252, DUMELI MAQI GLASICONAS NIOTTA COBRANOR(IGAS), " of Dumelas son of Glasicu, nephew of Cobranorix ". This regular use of the genitive in the first name clearly implies that some word is omitted on which it is dependent, meaning " (This is) the grave " or " epitaph ", or " (Here lies) the body ", of N. or M. In a few inscriptions the genitive is actually dependent on such a word, ANM, which means " name ", but in the special context is to be interpreted rather as " inscription ".¹ Now the use of the dead man's name in the genitive did exist in pagan Roman custom, where it is constructed with *Dis Manibus* expressed or understood,² but it is not found in Gallic Christian inscriptions ; whereas genitive plus FILI plus genitive (with or without HIC IACIT) is as characteristic of the British Latin inscriptions as genitive plus MAQQI plus genitive is of the Ogams.³ Again, both the Ogams and the British Latin monuments continually give the name of the dead man's father, occasionally also of other relatives. It is not probable that this is derived from the Gallic and Roman background, since the old pagan Latin custom of naming the deceased's parents went out of use in Christian inscriptions owing to the precept in Matthew xxiii, 9, " call no man your father ".⁴ On the

¹ In OI. *ainm n-oguim*, literally " Ogam name ", is the regular phrase for the Ogam inscription or epitaph set up over a grave in the epic tales, but is also used of messages which are not epitaphs at all. According to Macalister (CIIC. i, p. x), the use of ANM in inscriptions seems to be symptomatic of late date, but he gives no reasons. 'It is true that of the dozen Ogams with ANM which are complete enough to make discussion possible, some certainly have a late appearance, but most need be no later than the sixth century.

² Cf. the lost stone from Tomen y Mur described by Westwood, Lap.W. pp. 156-7, and Macalister CIIC. i, p. 397, D(IS) M(ANIBVS) BARRECTI CARANTI (*sic leg.*). Westwood's plate suggests the late fourth or early fifth century, but this is conjectural.

³ See further § 179.

⁴ Cf. Le Blant, IChG. p. viii ; Raleigh Radford, AMCA. p. cvi.

other hand, to define a man's name by adding his father's is a formula absolutely typical of all the Celtic languages at all periods, and when the Irish began the practice of raising funerary Ogam stones they would inevitably use it. Lastly, Ogam inscriptions are of necessity written perpendicularly up the side of the stone, usually up the left-hand edge, and if long enough over the top and down the right. Many of the Latin *inscriptiones Christianae* of Britain are also written perpendicularly,¹ sometimes apparently perforce because of the narrowness of the stone, which would suit an Ogam but not the traditional Roman epitaph, which required and used slabs wide enough for it to be written horizontally. When it was a Latin inscription there is no rational cause for choosing a narrow stone and carving it upright, but this arrangement is the only natural one for an Ogam.

Here, then, are three features typical of the Latin inscriptions of post-Roman Britain which do *not* agree with the epigraphic customs of the Christian Empire, and *do* seem to agree very markedly with those of early Ireland. The conclusion must surely be that in these respects the habits of the Irish colonists in Britain influenced and modified those of the natives, which were derived from Roman Britain and especially from Gallic Christianity.² Some authors³ have noted the fact that the areas in Wales where Ogams are found coincide more or less

¹ Some authorities, such as Hübner (IBCh. p. xx), take it for granted that the upright and horizontal arrangements of Latin inscriptions are a question of two different periods, and some regard the horizontal as the older because more Roman. No real evidence has been produced for this (though it is true that a number of early inscriptions like CIIC. nos. 421, 445, and 479 are horizontal; but others, as 354, are perpendicular, and many horizontal are late, e.g. 436). It is not a question of different dates but of different strands of epigraphic tradition.

² The Ogam ANM seems even to have been translated into Latin epigraphy in Britain in two early inscriptions; CIIC. nos. 416, mid to later sixth century, EQVESTRI NOMINE, and 448, fifth century, RINACI NOMENA. [Nash Williams, however, gives good reason to regard these as meaning "(the person) by the name of Equester", etc., while suggesting that *nomena* may mean rather "relics" (ECMW. pp. 10, 169); but he appears to accept the possibility that the word is an adaptation of ANM (*op. cit.* p. 205).]

³ E.g. Lloyd, HW. i, 115; Rhys, *Celtic Britain* (fourth edition, London, 1908), pp. 249 ff. Both are thinking in terms of Rhys's obsolete theory of pre-Brittonic Goedels and later Britons.

closely with those showing purely Latin inscriptions ; and also that those parts (the central mass of Wales) which are barren of early inscriptions of any kind are exactly those where the Irish are not known to have settled. The inference made is that the custom of setting up gravestones belonged to the Irish in Britain and not to the Britons at all. But this is far too sweeping. For one thing, British and Latin names are frequent on Roman-letter inscriptions. Then, the coincidence in area is by no means exact, even in Wales, and still less so in Devon and of course Galloway and the Lothians at this time. Unquestionably the post-Roman Britons of the Highland Zone often raised inscribed monuments without regard to Irish practices. The fact that central Wales is comparatively empty may be due partly to chance, and partly to the uninhabitable moorland which makes up much of this part of Wales. This supposed coincidence in distribution, and the indubitable Irish influences pointed out above, should not make one forget that the large Gallic element in British epigraphy is not an importation from Ireland.

All this raises the question of what were the relations between the Irish settlers in Britain and the native inhabitants, how the former felt about the Roman civilisation in which they had come to live, and how long they continued to speak Irish. The history of the Irish colonies has already been briefly sketched above. One of the Irish kings of south-west Wales is known to us from Gildas, DEB. c. 31, who abuses him in angry terms. He probably died about 550, and most scholars agree ¹ that in CIIC. no. 358 we have his very tombstone, which reads in Latin MEMORIA VOTEPORIGIS PROTICTORIS and in Ogam VOTECORIGAS (gen. sg.). The Latin inscription gives the British form of the name, nominative **Uoteporīx*, with the usual Brittonic *p* where Goedelic has *qʷ* ; and the Ogam shows us the change of older *qʷ* to *c* described on pp. 139-41, which was happening about this time (the nominative would have been earlier **Uoteqʷorīx*). This inscription seems to prove that in Britain when an Irish king's name was to be written in Latin the British equivalent

¹ See p. 625, n. 1.

for it was or might be used, and this implies the existence of speakers of British in the community, and that the Irish identified Britons and Romans.¹ It shows, too, that the Irish people themselves knew the correct Irish form of the name, and (as the change of *q*^h to *c* indicates) continued to speak their language as a living and evolving tongue in the middle of the sixth century. Since both forms are to some extent traditional spellings not exactly representing the spoken language of the time, it follows that neither can be taken as a mere "translation" of the other made on the spot; the names had been known each in its own tongue for some while, and a state of bilingualism is therefore implied. In the Old Welsh version of his pedigree this king's father was *Aircol*, which is the Latin *Agricola*—evidently his family was Romanised enough to adopt Roman names, like so many of their British neighbours and some of the Irish.² Examples of the last are the Turpillius (no. 327, early to mid sixth century), Martius (no. 404, seventh century), Pompeius (no. 409, early to mid sixth century), Eternus son of Victor (no. 430, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century), and Vitalianus (no. 445, fifth century), all of whom were Irish-speaking enough to have their epitaphs in Ogam as well as in Latin. In the case of Pompeius we see the Ogam engraver struggling, with conspicuous ill success, to render the foreign names in Ogam letters.

Further evidence for the persistence of the Irish language in south-west Wales is seen in CIIC. no. 364, mid sixth century, reading in Latin letters QVENVENDANI FILI BARCVNI, with what may be the same name in the practically illegible Ogam. This was certainly an Irishman, as the QV proves, and, moreover, he belonged to a society in which Irish was still living and spoken, since both names show the syncope of unstressed vowels which was happening in Irish about this time (see p. 141). In early fifth-century Irish the names would

¹ In the same way the ancient Germanic peoples failed to distinguish clearly the Romans from the Celts who formed so large a part of their empire, calling both by the name **Walhōz*.

² On all this see ECNE. p. 208.

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be, in the nominative, **Q^eennoⁱindagnas* and **Barrocunas*, "Little Whitehead" and "Doghead". A similar inference may be drawn from no. 449, early sixth century, where Latin SAGRANI beside Ogam SAGRAGNI shows the actual Irish pronunciation just developed (see p. 143), though the Ogam preserves the traditional spelling. Cf. p. 180. Special stress is laid here on such phonetic points as evidence for the living nature of the Irish language in Britain, since it might be argued that the mere existence of an Ogam inscription is not by itself proof that the people concerned spoke Irish, and that it might have lingered on as a ceremonial written language only, like the Latin still used in inscriptions to-day. This would mean that not only the regular MAQQI, "son", but also AVI, "grandson", the unique INIGENA, "daughter" (no. 362), and MOSAC, a common-noun of unknown meaning rendered in the Latin of no. 327 as PVVERI, were all parts of a dead language. Actually in the circumstances this is not at all probable of itself, but it would be possible if it were not for the evidence adduced above. In any case, we may regard it as certain that the colonists of south-west Wales continued to speak Irish into the second half of the sixth century, and very likely as late as the seventh.

As for Devon and Cornwall, there are eight Ogam inscriptions between the fifth and the beginning of the seventh century.¹ However, neither here nor elsewhere would it be right to judge the extent of the Irish colonies solely by the existence of Ogams, for Irish names in Latin letters only are also found, and are to be reckoned with. These are nos. 457, early sixth century, DVNOCATI and MESCAGNI (*sic leg.*); 462, mid to later sixth century, QVENATAVCI; 472, end of fifth century, VLCAGNI; and 492, late sixth or early seventh century, MACCODECHETI. All these inscriptions are concentrated in central and northern Cornwall and south-west Devon. Of the group without Ogams, Quenatauci, Dunocati,

¹ Nos. 466, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century; 467, fifth century; 470, late sixth century; 473, late fifth or early sixth century; 478, end of sixth or beginning of seventh century; 484, same date; 488, mid sixth century; 489, end of sixth century.

and Maccodecheti bear witness in their form to the persistence of spoken Irish.¹ Latin names in Ogam inscriptions, implying some Romanisation of these Irish speakers or intermarriage with the Britons, are seen in nos. 466, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century, INGENVI (Ogam IGENAVI); 470, late sixth century, LATINI; and 484, end of sixth or beginning of seventh century, IVSTI. Apparently, then, in the Dumnonian peninsula as in south-west Wales, the Irish settlers persisted as a separate entity, and kept up their language, in the sixth and perhaps as late as the seventh century.

Even less well known is the Irish colony in North Wales. The Ogams there amount only to three: no. 380, mid to later sixth century, in Carnarvonshire, and nos. 399, late fifth century, and 401, mid sixth century, both in Denbighshire. In addition, a couple of Irish names also occur in Latin inscriptions. No. 319, beginning of the sixth century, CVNOGVSI, is probably Irish rather than British and shows the Irish development of *st* to *ss* in this stem (see p. 531); no. 326, early to mid sixth century, MACCVDECCETI, is certainly Irish, a well-known name of pagan origin which, in the spelling here, shows the Irish loss of final syllables and a stage in the Irish evolution of *qʷ* to *c* which implies once more that the language was a spoken one.² Both these are in Anglesey. This meagre evidence for the Irish in North Wales may be a consequence of Cunedda's "expulsion" of them at the end of the fourth century;³ but it cannot have been at all complete, because their inscriptions show them still present, and still preserving their knowledge of Irish, in the sixth century.⁴

Just beyond North Wales is the Isle of Man. There are six

¹ If these names had been borrowed into British and represented a British context, we should probably have had *Penno-* substituted in the first, and *Dino-* in the second; on *Maccodecheti* see below.

² See p. 140, and ECNE. p. 211. MACCODECHETI above, and MACVDECETI in no. 440 (sixth century?) are the same name.

³ Lloyd, *op. cit.* i, p. 115, suggests that as in Ireland, the southern part of Wales was the stronghold of the new Ogam fashion when it was imported, and that the people of North Wales "did not take kindly to it".

⁴ If any reliance is to be placed in the mediaeval Welsh tradition contained in the Triad of the Three Shattered Households, Cunedda's grandson Cadwallon was still fighting the Irish in Anglesey.

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Ogam inscriptions there, testifying to the presence of Irishmen, or at any rate of Goedels of some sort under Irish influence. One of them, CIIC. no. 500, is bilingual, belonging to the end of the fifth century. It reads in Latin letters AMMECATI FILIVS ROCATI HIC IACIT, and in Ogam ()B()CATOS M(A)QI ROC(A)T(O)S. As I have shown elsewhere, the Ogam is probably to be emended as IMBICATOS.¹ This is an important inscription, because once again it bears witness to the existence of a bilingual population. **Imbicatus* and **Rocatus* are Goedelic names, the Irish *Imchadh* and *Rochadh*; the Gallo-Brittonic equivalent of the former is *Ambicatus*.² Now in Late British at this time -mb- was beginning to be assimilated to -mm-, but not in Primitive Irish at all; hence this is a parallel to *Voteporigis-Votecorigas*, except that the linguistic change in this case is in the British, not the Irish; and it is evidence that speakers of Irish and speakers of a living and evolving British lived side by side in the community which set up the inscription.³ Incidentally this suggests that the Goedelic population of the Isle of Man may not be very ancient, but probably goes back to an Irish colony among British speakers no older than the other colonies further south, destined, however, to absorb the indigenous population, whereas the others were absorbed. It shows too, again, that when the Irish wanted to write their names in Latin they used the British equivalent.⁴

It would appear from the foregoing sketch that the Irish who settled on the western coasts of Britain shortly before the end of Roman rule lived side by side with the British-speaking population on terms of close relationship. They kept their language alive until at least the later sixth century, probably into the seventh; but they also understood and doubtless

¹ ECNE. p. 209. [Or more probably AMBICATOS; a subsequent examination of the stone itself shows that there is hardly room for I, nor for Macalister's E. **Ambicatus* for **Imbicatus* would be influenced by the British form.] ² Cf. Holder, ACSpZ. i, col. 120.

³ For further reason to suspect a Brittonic-speaking population in the Isle of Man see ECNE. p. 210.

⁴ The Irish colony in Argyll, with its Ogams, is outside the scope of the present chapter, since we learn nothing from it about British and the Britons until later.

spoke British. They must have intermarried with the Britons. It is true that it is hard to demonstrate the existence of British names in their epitaphs, which would be proof of this, but that is partly because at this period the two *written* languages were closely similar. Still, the **Cunignos* of no. 362 (end of the fifth century) is British rather than Irish, becoming regularly *Cynin* in Welsh, whereas the Pr.I. name corresponding to it is **Cunagnas*, Old Irish *Conān*. Again, the name-stem *Maglocun-*, which appears both in Ogam and in Latin in no. 446, mid or later fifth century, is well known in Welsh (*Meilyg* and *Maelgwn*) but has no Irish equivalent.¹ Much better proof of the point is supplied by the Latin names already referred to as occurring in the Ogams, and also in genealogies like the Aircol mentioned above; these are unquestionably due to intermarriage or at least very close connections with the Romanised Britons. If one were to substitute "Norman-French" for "Irish", the situation would be not unlike that of Normans and Welsh in later mediaeval Wales.

Unlike their kinsmen in Ireland, the Irish who settled in Britain generally had their epitaphs written not only in Ogam but also in Latin. The reason is clear. These colonies of "barbarians" may have begun as settlements of raiders and robbers, but, like all the other barbarians who were shaking the Roman Empire at this time, they admired and imitated it as best they could for all that; the more so since these were actually living within the Empire, perhaps partly brought there with the honourable status of *foederati* by the Imperial authority itself. Such people would be anxious to prove themselves as civilised and as Romanised as their neighbours. Now Latin was the written tongue of Roman Britain, the official language of the administration and of the upper-class Britons, the language of civilisation; naturally, then, the Irish chiefs had their tombstones inscribed in Latin, to show how civilised they were.² The frequency of Latin names in

¹ On Bruide mac Maelchon or Mailcon see ECNE. p. 208.

² In Ireland this did not apply. There, Latin was a foreign language beginning to be known only very slowly as the speech of the missionaries of the new Christian religion in the fifth century, and in this stronghold of

the Ogams may also be an expression of this, not due to inter-marriage alone; compare the Rabinovitz who calls himself Robinson, and names his children Shirley and Mortimer, when he settles in New York. Doubtless the newcomers attempted to learn to speak some Latin too; indeed no. 466 (end of fifth to beginning of sixth century), which reads *INGENVI MEMORIA* in Latin and *IGENAVI MEMOR* in Ogam, not only shows the borrowing of a Latin word into Irish but also bears witness to the characteristic British provincial pronunciation of Latin *Źui* as *Źaui* (see p. 366), which means that Latin was known by these people as a spoken tongue. A further example of the desire to seem very Roman is offered by the *Voteporigis* inscription discussed above. This sixth-century petty Irish king of south-west Wales was called on his gravestone by the high imperial title of *Protector*, to which one would scarcely suppose he could have had any right. This is not the only tomb in the world which makes out a man to be more important than he really was, but the significant thing is that it took the direction of pretending to be a high-ranking Roman.¹ Further, *Voteporix* was a Christian of a sort, as we know from the cross on his gravestone and from Gildas' words about him. This too was an aspect of Romanisation, though by his time no doubt all his friends and peers were Christians. The Irish could hardly have been already converted when they came first to settle in Britain, but in the intervening period they must gradually have become so, thus

Celtic culture it had not the prestige it had in Britain; whereas the Ogam alphabet was already firmly established among the learned exponents of the traditions of pre-Christian Ireland, and was indeed probably invented in the first place precisely because the Irish did not know Latin and the use of Latin letters. Hence the Ogams of Ireland have no Latin equivalents. For C. O'Rahilly's different interpretation of the facts, and for the reasons against it, see ECNE. p. 207.

¹ The late Mr. M. P. Charlesworth pointed out to me that the Romans often gave allied barbarian kings some sort of title, status, and insignia, and suggested that the rank of *Protector* may have been bestowed on one of *Voteporix's* ancestors during the Empire, and that the family claimed it hereditarily thereafter [cf. now ECMW. p. 107]. This is very ingenious and plausible, and would explain the occurrence of it in Britain at so late a date; but the point remains that this family of remote Hiberno-British princelings wished to make clear its claim to Roman status.

being assimilated to the Roman civilisation in still another way.¹ In spite of all this, with true Irish respect for tradition the expatriates still clung to their native language and their alphabet, and continued to announce their names and family in Ogam letters side by side with the Latin ones. They probably retained this custom as long as they preserved any separate entity as Irishmen, right up to the seventh century, until at last they became merged in the native population.

The Latin and Irish inscriptions of post-Roman Celtic Britain are of especial importance as evidence for the chronological development of the Brittonic languages at a time when direct information of any other kind is almost entirely lacking. Moreover, as they are dateable within fairly close limits, what they tell us can be fitted roughly into its place and time. As with the written material in Old Welsh, Old Cornish, and Old Breton, it would be an error to take the form of these inscriptions simply at its face value, without considering what sounds the spellings are intended to represent. It has already been shown (pp. 70 ff.) that during the fifth and sixth centuries Latin in Britain, in so far as it remained a spoken language, changed to some extent with the linguistic changes which affected British; and that one of the most prominent of these developments was that not only British but also Latin intervocal *p, t, c, b, d, g, m* were lenited to *b, d, g, ð, ȝ, μ*. The consequences of this for the orthography of Old Welsh, etc., have already been described, and we have seen how and why the lenited sounds in OWCB. were written as if they were not lenited, so that for instance an internal [d] would be spelt *t* (see p. 71). Now lenition took place in British in the second half of the fifth century (see § 142), and therefore near the beginning of our early series of monuments. Its effects are no more apparent in the Latin inscriptions than they are in the later manuscripts, so that the former, just like the latter,

¹ There is no reason to suppose that there was anything about the Ogam script essentially repugnant to Christianity, and that an Ogam inscription means that the man commemorated must have been a pagan. Cf. *Speculum*, xxi, 522, and Lloyd, HW. i, 116.

use for example *t* for the internally lenited [d] in the sixth and seventh centuries,¹ though in the oldest inscriptions an internal *t* very likely means a still un-lenited [t]; and so *mutatis mutandis* with other letters. It is important to remember, then, that in a Latin inscription of the middle of the sixth century like VOTEPORIGIS PROTICTORIS the name was pronounced *Wodeb°ríz(ə)Σ* in spite of the spelling, just as when the sixth-century Gildas wrote *Maglocune* what he meant by it was *Mazlogune*. Other examples of the influence of British on spoken Latin, such as the change of *ā* to *ǫ*, have also been described; p. 124.

The bilingual inscriptions ought to provide us with a good deal of information on these points; the efforts to spell Latin and British names in Ogam and Irish names in Latin letters should be instructive. But here again a caution is needed, of the same kind as before. The Ogam spelling as it is regularly transliterated in modern books does not by any means necessarily represent contemporary pronunciation. The Ogam alphabet was invented before Irish lenition took place, and hence it had no resources within itself to indicate the new sounds when they arose. Primitive Irish intervocal *t*, *c*, *b*, *d*, *g*, *m* became now *th*, *ch*, *ḃ*, *ḋ*, *ḡ*, *ṁ*, but the Ogam engravers continued to write the symbols which we transliterate T, C, B, D, G, M because they had no others which they could use for the purpose,² and did not invent any; besides, as with the Latin alphabet, the letter B for instance had now come to *mean* [b] to them *intervocally*, and similarly with the other letters in question. In any case, Ogam was essentially a conservative script, and this practice went on as long as the Irish wrote funerary Ogams at all. The result is that in very early Ogam the name which we transliterate CATUBUTAS would mean exactly that; but later, though it is still rendered by us as CATUBUTAS because the Ogam letters are the same, it should

¹ Cf. MacNeill's comment in PRIA. xxvii, c, 340, that both the inscription no. 492, MACCODECHETI, and the OI. *Dechet* write *t* for [d]; the OI. does so, of course, because the Irish learned their spelling from the British; cf. p. 73.

² Rarely the Ogam letter V is used for [b]; see my article in *Études celtiques*, v, 105 ff., and p. 180 below.

now be read as *Cathubuthas*. This is to be borne in mind when dealing with the bilingual inscriptions of Britain. So, too, is the fact that in Ogam single internal consonants are freely written double, and double consonants single, without any apparent significance; so that **maq^uq^ui* may be spelt as MAQQI or MAQI and **ayi* as AVI or AVVI.

Still another factor must be taken into consideration. It is by no means necessary that the engravers spelt Irish names in Latin, or Latin and British names in Ogam, purely by ear. It may very well be that they used a table, or learned a system, equating the Latin and Ogam alphabets, one which did not distinguish between initial and internal consonants, but simply gave one mechanical equivalent for each; or else one which was handed down from before the period of lenition. So when he wanted to spell a Latin or British written *t* in Ogam the craftsman could look up his list and find the symbol for *t*; and would very likely fail to realise that if it was intervocal he ought to have used the symbol for *d* to give the correct sound. Consequently in such a case a name like *Donata* would be liable to appear in Ogam of the sixth century as DONATA instead of, as it should be, DONADA or DONODA.¹ A further complication which may be envisaged is the following: the Ogam craftsmen in the sixth century might be perfectly well aware that in general Celtic words, British intervocal *d* and *g*, the product of lenition of *t* and *c*, corresponded to *th* and *ch* in Irish, just as they unquestionably realised that the initial Irish *q^u* (or *c < q^u*) and intervocal *q^uh* (or *ch < q^uh*) were the equivalent of initial *p* and intervocal *b* in British. Thus they might know that Pr.I. **cathus*, later *cath*, was the same word as Late Brit. **cadus*, later *cad*. As a result, a British name written in Latin script MAGLOCVNOS and meaning [mazlogunəΣ] could be turned in Ogam by MAGLOCUNAS, meaning [mazloχunəs]. Finally, of course, there would be some British names which had well-known and obvious equivalents in Irish, which would naturally be

¹ The Pr.I. long *ō* was a close one, just like the Latin and British. Consequently, even when spelling by ear, an Ogamist might write A rather than O for the British and British Latin *ō* or *ā*.

substituted. In all these respects, then, the Ogam rendering of British or Latin names is liable to fail us as an adequate guide to their actual pronunciation, at least when the proof of change is negative. The obverse, the testimony of Latin-letter inscriptions on the pronunciation of Primitive Irish, is correspondingly unreliable in the same ways but vice versa.

Bearing in mind these qualifications, we may now examine the bilingual inscriptions of Britain name by name. They must be treated under several headings.

(1) *Irish names in Ogam and Latin letters*

CIIC. no. 467, fifth century, Ogam ULCAGNI, Latin (HI)C IACIT VLCAGNI. If older than lenition in Irish and British, it is to be taken as *Ulcagni* in both; if later, *Ulcagni* in both (perhaps *Ulcazni* in the British).

No. 341, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century, Ogam MAQITRENI SALICIDUNI, Latin MACCVTRENI SALIGIDVNI. Lenition is presumed to have occurred by this time certainly in Irish and probably in British. Hence the Ogam means *Mac'c'ṡ'ithrēni Salichidūni*, the *S* being a lenited one, i.e. presumably already more or less [h], and therefore close to the contemporary development of *s* in British. On the MACCV see p. 140. The engraver spelt the Ogam T = *th* as T in Latin, presumably by consulting his table of mechanical letter equivalents; and for the C = *ch* we should have expected, therefore, Latin C.¹ Perhaps the name existed in British as well as in Irish, in which case the sound would now be [g] in British, and the artisan may have spelt this (abnormally) as G under the influence of *g* in initial position. Possibly it is not an Irish name at all, but British (the second element can hardly be regarded as certainly Celtic **dūno-*, "fort"); and if so the Ogam C = *ch* was used on the principle of **cathus* : **cadus* as above, or by reversing the table of

¹ In any case, British had no [θ], [χ] of its own at this time, and in writing Latin letters for them an engraver would probably use T and C as the best phonetic approximation, as indeed continued to be done long after British developed its own voiceless dental and guttural spirants.

letters. But Macalister may be right that the G is a mere mistake for C (see CIIC. i, p. 326).¹

No. 449, early sixth century, Ogam SÀGRAGNI MAQI CUNATAMI, Latin SAGRANI FILI CVNOTAMI. As already shown, p. 136, Pr.I. *ʒr*, *ʒn* became *r*, *n* in the first half of the sixth century. Here the Ogam has GR, GN by traditional writing; the Latin equivalent shows loss of *ʒ* before *n* but not before *r*—possibly the *ʒ* was still audible in the latter case but not in the former, and the name was therefore **Sazrāni* at this stage in Pr.I. rather than **Sārāni*.

No. 432, late fifth or early sixth century, Ogam DOVAGNI, Latin TIGERNACI DOBAGNI. Here *gn* is still written in both; perhaps it is earlier than no. 449. The Latin B means lenited [b], and *b* is original in the word (stem **dubu-*); the Ogam V is an attempt at spelling lenited [b] instead of using B, which might be misunderstood as [b]. Exactly the same is found in no. 431, early to mid sixth century, Ogam DOVATACIS, Latin DOB(I)TVCI FILIVS EVOLENGI, and in some Ogams from Ireland with this stem; it is notable that the irregular use of V in Ogam is confined to this word.² In no. 431, Latin T and C are written as equivalents for Ogam T = *th* and C = *ch*, on the principle described above under no. 341.

No. 378, early sixth century, Ogam AVVI BODDI(BA)-BEVVE (in which the BA is apparently an error), Latin BIVADI AVI BODIBEVE.³ This inscription is interesting in

[¹ Nash Williams now reads and draws SALICIDVNI (ECMW. p. 81 and fig. 57), but his photograph (plate I) appears to show the mark read by Macalister as the tail of the G. Nash Williams' reading of the Ogams as MAQUTRENI is a mistake, as his own drawing and photograph show (read as MAQUITRENI in fig. 57, which is evidently intended for MAQITRENI).]

² See p. 177, n. 2.

[³ Nash Williams gives a different arrangement of the Ogams and a slightly different reading (ECMW. p. 118), apparently following the volume of the Ancient Monuments Commission for Carmarthenshire, p. 201; namely BIVVA[] AVVI BODDIB[], which is probably preferable. Whether he is right to fill the gaps as respectively [IDONA(s)] and [EVVA(s)] is, of course, conjectural. More important, he takes the Latin AVI as FILI, with conjoined FI. There are two serious objections to this. Pr.I. *ayū* does *not* mean *fili*, and it is not in the least likely that it would be mis-rendered so in an inscription. Secondly, the supposed conjoined FI is quite unlike any other cases of conjoined or ligatured FI in these inscriptions, and is exactly like a debased A.

that the engraver did not attempt to translate Pr.I. *ayī* (by *nepos* as elsewhere) but simply transliterated it. Remembering that Latin *v* was pronounced [u] in Britain (see § 43), we may take this as valuable proof of the character of the Pr.I. sound—that it was [u], not [b]. Also, the implication is that all the local readers of Latin knew Irish too, or at any rate enough to know what AVI meant. Here in both inscriptions the D's and internal B's mean [d] and [b]; the name in the nominative is Pr.I. **Boudibiyā*, later fifth-century **Bōdībeya*, OI. *Buaidbēo*.

No. 433, early or mid sixth century, Ogam ANDAGELLI MACV CAVE(TI), Latin ANDAGELLI IACIT FILI CAVETI. The first name is *Andazelli* in both, the second Irish *Caḡethi* with the *th* rendered T in the Latin as in nos. 341 and 431. On MACV see p. 140.

No. 488, mid sixth century, Ogam ENABARR, Latin DOBVNNI FABRI FILII ENABARRI. The B in both is [b], the name probably being Pr.I. nominative **Etnobarros*, "Birdhead", later (by this time) **Ēnabarr*.

No. 428, early seventh century, Ogam TRENAGUSU¹ MAQI MAQI-TRENI, Latin TRENAGVSSI FILI MACV-TRENI HIC IACIT. On the second name see on no. 341, p. 179. In the first, G in both languages means [ɣ].

An Irish name in Latin letters without any Ogam is the MACCVDECCETI of no. 326, early or mid sixth century; MACVDECETI in no. 440, perhaps mid sixth century; and MACCODECHETI in no. 492, late sixth or early seventh century. This is the Pr.I. **Maq^uq^uī-Decēddas* (older **-Decentos*), by this time really **Mac'c'ḡ'-d'ech'ed*, found in various spellings in Ogams in Ireland. On the first element see p. 140. As for the second, the intervocal D is [d] in Irish and is naturally therefore spelt D in Latin; the T represents Irish *d(d)* and is hence a phonetic spelling of the Irish sound, and valuable proof (if this were needed) that a Latin intervocal *t* meant [d].

Also the supposed L is more like a somewhat tilted V; cf. the last V in CIIC. no. 408, wrongly read by Macalister as L.]

¹ Or TRENAGUSI, according to Macalister, CIIC. i, 409; the reading is uncertain. [Nash Williams dates the inscription sixth century (ECMW. p. 184), but the high proportion of half-uncial letters suggests a somewhat later date].

Consequently it is on a different footing from the Latin T's in nos. 341, 431, and 433. The Irish *ch* had no exact equivalent in British by the time of no. 326, but the engraver used CC as the nearest representation because British *cc* was perhaps already on its way to the *ch* which it subsequently became ; in the later no. 492 there is actually CH, the sound having now developed in British. Thus Irish *ch* is treated here differently from the way in which it is in no. 431. This name seems to be spelt on a more purely phonetic basis than those which have been described before, as is natural since there was no Ogam to set a mechanical pattern.

(2) *British names in Latin and Ogam letters*

No. 446, mid to later fifth century, Latin MAGLOCVNI¹ FILI CLVTORI, Ogam MAGLICUNAS MAQI CLUTAR(). The first name is the British **Maglocū*, genitive **Maglocunos*, whence W. *Meilyg* and *Maelgwn* respectively ; not an Irish name (see p. 174). If the inscription is older than British lenition, both forms stand for **Maglocun-*. If later, the Latin is the natural spelling of **Mazlogun-*. The Ogam G then stands for [3], but in a phonetic spelling one might have expected Ogam G for the [g] too, since the alphabet had an intervocal G from *nc* ; once more, C here must be a mechanical transliteration, apart from the fact that the engraver probably recognised the Irish stem **cun-* in the British name. If before lenition, the second name (W. *Clodri*) had [t] in both ; if later, Ogam T for British [d] is the obverse of the British T for Irish [θ] in nos. 341, 431, and 433.

No. 362, end of the fifth century, British AVITORIA FILIA CVNIGNI, Ogam INIGENA CUNIGNI AVITTO-RIGES. Here Late British *Cunizni* (genitive ; not an Irish name, see p. 174) is spelt naturally in both alphabets with GN = *gn*. On the other name see below, p. 185.

No. 449, as above (p. 180), British CVNOTAMI, Ogam CUNATAMI. The Latin letters represent regularly Late Brit.

¹ *Sic leg.* ; the V and N are meant to be ligatured, wrongly read by Macalister as VV. [Nash Williams takes the VNI as non-ligatured VN with reversed N and no I (ECMW. p. 197), which is improbable.]

**Cunodapi* (W. *Cyndaf*), from Brit. *Cunotami*. The Ogam T is therefore not a phonetic rendering but a mechanical written one; cf. p. 178.

(3) *Latin names in Latin and Ogam letters*

No. 445, fifth century, Latin and Ogam VITALIANI. This inscription has every appearance of being rather early, and is probably therefore older than British lenition. Whether this is so or not, in either case its T is parallel to that in no. 446.

No. 466, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century, Latin INGENVI MEMORIA, Ogam IGENAVI MEMOR, meaning "the monument of Ingenuus". On the termination of the name see p. 366. The Ogam name must be a phonetic representation of spoken British Latin, except that the engraver omitted the symbol for *n*. MEMOR is the Latin word borrowed into Irish (cf. p. 141), and stands for Pr.I. **mepor*', the OI. *mebuir*; since it lacks the final syllable it is a second group loan, a Pádraig word, with palatalised *r*' in the same way as OI. *orōid* from Brit. Lat. *orōdīō* has palatalised *d*'; see p. 584, n. 2.¹ This suggests that the inscription belongs to the sixth century rather than to the fifth.

No. 430, of the same date, Latin ETTERNI FILI VICTOR, Ogam ETTERN(I MAQI VIC)TOR.² Since British lenition had occurred or was occurring something like a generation before this time, the name was already **Edernus* in British and British Latin, and the TT of the Latin is anomalous, seeming as it does to stress the pronunciation [t]. Possibly Eternus's family were conservatives who consciously clung to the pronunciations of their childhood, and deliberately stressed this by having TT written in both inscriptions! A more

¹ It might possibly be a loan from Late Brit. **miporia* (itself from the Latin), whence MW. *myfyr* in the sense of "monument" (cf. Lewis, EL. p. 43). This would not imply the loss of final syllables so early in Brit., since once Irish had lost its own it dropped those of loanwords whether British or Latin (cf. pp. 128-9). In any case, in the Ogam context the word is acclimatised *Irish*, not Latin or British.

² Macalister draws an I for the first Ogam letter in CIIC. i, 410, but reads an E on p. 411. On visiting the stone I found the letter so defaced that I could not decide between I and E.

probable explanation may be that the craftsman meant to write T (= [d]) in the Latin, but being an Ogamist and used to doubling consonants meaninglessly, he put TT even in the Latin form as well as in the Irish. In that case the Ogam TT (for T) would merely be the same T for Latin T = [d] as in no. 446. The Latin inscription seems to have nominative for genitive in the second name (see p. 620), and the Ogam mechanically copies; an example to show that the engravers could automatically transcribe Latin forms without consideration of grammar. The CT represents [χt] in both (§ 58).

No. 327, early or mid sixth century, Latin TVRPILLI IC IACIT PVVERI TRILVNI DVNOCATI, Ogam TURPILI MOSAC TRALLONI. Here *rp* had not yet become *rf* in British (cf. §§ 148-9), as the Ogam perhaps shows; though if it had, and if *rp* was still *written* in British Latin, the Ogam might be a mere transliteration. In any case, the engraver used the *forfid*, "additional symbol", which had been devised for *p* in Ogam, as a sound which did not exist in Primitive Irish, subsequently to the invention of the Ogam alphabet. Perhaps this letter was first used in Britain for the very purpose of writing British and Latin names. DVNOCATI is the genitive representing the Pr.I. name **Dūnocatus*, by this period **Dūnachath(us)*; the British cognate at this time would be **Dinogad(us)*, so that the first vowel proves that the name here is the Irish one. Here C and T are written for Irish *ch* and *th* out of the traditional habit of transliteration, since as there is no Ogam it is not a case of mechanical copying of that. In any event, there was as yet no *th* or *ch* in British, and the natural way to write them would be T, C or TT, CC (cf. on no. 326, pp. 181-2).

No. 470, late sixth century, Latin LATINI IC IACIT FILIUS MAGARI, Ogam LA()NI. Since the first name would now be pronounced *Ladini* in British Latin, the Ogam may have read LADINI; but LATINI would have been possible, with T for Latin T = [d] as perhaps in no. 446.

Finally, as a Latin name in Ogam *in Ireland*, no. 265 is interesting, reading AMADU (no Latin inscription, and therefore undateable). This is, of course, the name Amatus in its

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British Latin pronunciation (not "an adaptation of the Latin" as Macalister calls it, CIIC. i, 260), and is a good example of the phonetic transcription of the new Latin *-d- < -t-* as D in Ogam.

(4) *Names which are or may be both British and Irish, in Latin and Ogam letters*

Here the name is spelt in the British way in the Latin and in the Irish way in the Ogam. A striking example is no. 358, the Voteporix stone already discussed, where the Latin stands for [Wodeb°rīz(əΣ)] and the Ogam for [Wothexoriz(əs)].

No. 342, early sixth century, Latin CVNOCENNI FILIVS CVNOGENI HIC IACIT, Ogam CUNACENNIVILVVETO, which should, no doubt, be read CUNACENNI (A)VI ILVVETO.¹ The Celtic **Cunocennos* gave Late Brit. **Cunogennos*, MW. *Cyngen*, and late Pr.I. **Cunachennas*, OI. *Conchenn*. Here in the genitive the Latin stands for British **Cunogenni* and the Ogam for Irish **Cunachenni*.

Among these bilingual inscriptions a puzzle is provided by the Latin-letter AVITORIA, Ogam AVITTORIGES, in no. 362 discussed above. The former is nominative, and the latter is agreed to be genitive, though INIGENA, "daughter", in apposition, is apparently nominative. The name is not known in later British or Irish, though it does occur in the masculine form, genitive, in no. 396, AVITORI (A.D. 540). It is uncertain to which language it belongs and even what the name really is. In any case, the relation between the Latin T and the Ogam TT is the same as that in nos. 341 or 446, except that as often happens the consonant is doubled meaninglessly in the Ogam. Pokorny takes the name to be a Goedelic feminine *ī*-stem, nominative **Aq̃itorī*, Latinised as *Avitoria*; ² and Thurneysen

¹ Macalister [and Nash Williams, ECMW. p. 81] separates the Ogams as CVNACENNIVI ILVVETO (GIIC. i, 329; with V wrongly for U in the first syllable) without explaining the extraordinary termination which results. The emendation above, supposing the A-notch to have been omitted by error, is easy and obvious. The second name has been identified with *Elmet*, which is more than doubtful; Sir Ifor Williams temperately calls it "risky", and gives a different and convincing explanation, Cymm. Trans., 1943-44, p. 155.

² IF. xxxv, 174.

as a Goedelic $\dot{\imath}\bar{a}$ -stem, nominative **Auitor $\dot{\imath}\bar{a}$* .¹ Both explain the termination of the genitive here, -IGES, as possibly a spelling of *-*i $\dot{\imath}$ ēs* from *-*i $\dot{\imath}$ ēs*, though they have difficulty in reconciling this with what is known of the feminine nouns in Irish. If so, the Ogam G must be a spelling for [i]. By this time lenited and palatalised Irish *g* would certainly be a sound not very unlike [i]; but the use of G to express [i] in an Ogam inscription would be quite unparalleled, and is not very probable since I was always to hand. The history of post-consonantal -*i- in final syllables in Pr.I. is that it developed first to -*i $\dot{\imath}$ -*, and the -*i- was weakened and lost, leaving vocalic -*i-, which was affected to *e* before *a* (in -*i $\dot{\imath}$ ā*, -*i $\dot{\imath}$ as*, etc.). In an inscription as late as this one the -*i- would probably be lost already,² or, at any rate, is not likely to be confused with so strong a sound as [3'] or [j]. Perhaps we might get out of the difficulty by supposing that AVITORI in no. 396 is nominative and represents a British **Auitorix* (see p. 625), and that the name in no. 362 is a feminine derivative in *-*o-rīgā*. If so, the Latin would stand for [au̯idorīza] or [au̯idorija], with the lenited *z* or *j* lost or absorbed very early, or at least ignored, after the \bar{i} (cf. § 79. 3); and the Irish would be genitive, representing [au̯iθoriz̄ies]. This would still leave the -*i $\dot{\imath}$ es* termination unsolved, but that difficulty exists independently in any case. On the G in no. 380, mid or later sixth century, Latin ICORI FILIVS POTENTINI and Ogam ICORIGAS, see pp. 624-5; the case here is not parallel to the preceding. The C in both forms is the natural way of writing the Latin -*g*- and Irish -*ch*-.****

No. 399, late fifth century, Latin SIMILINI TOVISACI, Ogam S(I)B(I)L(I)NI³ (TO)VISACI. The second word is the

¹ Gr.OI. p. 188. Thurneysen rejects Pokorny's view as improbable; but how else would a Celtic **Auitorī* be assimilated to Latin (unless, perhaps, as *Avitoris*)?

² Indeed II never appears in Ogams, so that the I which is written probably represents the late stage of vocalic *i*, not *i*.

³ So read by Nash Williams and Ifor Williams, Arch.Camb., 1937, pp. 2-3, though they agree that the first space is rather narrow for the five notches of Ogam I. Macalister reads S(U)B(I)L(I)NI, CIIC. i, 376; Ogam U needs only space for three notches.

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genitive of CC. **toīssācos*, "prince"; as it existed both in British and Irish (OI. *toīsech*, W. *tywysog*), the C of the Latin probably means British *g* and that of the Ogam means Irish *ch*. On the Latin M versus Ogam B see p. 483; the name is probably British **Similinos* with μ , and the Ogamist wrote B = \bar{b} by mistake for the not very different sound μ , unless, indeed, it is a simple error of engraving.

No. 500 has already been examined, p. 173; the MM of the Latin shows a British phonetic development, whereas the Ogam (M)B is the Pr.I. form. The name **Rocatus* is either both British and Irish, in which case the C and T stand for *g*, *d*, and *ch*, *th* respectively; or it is Irish only, in which case the Latin C and T are spellings for *ch* and *th*.

The remainder of the bilingual inscriptions of Britain, eight in number, are not dealt with here, because the forms of the names are either too obscure or corrupt to make discussion profitable (nos. 353, 372, 450, 489¹), or too fragmentary (nos. 404, 409, 456); and in one case, no. 484, there is nothing to be said. Further comments on the phonology of these and the other early inscriptions will be found in the appropriate places in Part II.

For the morphology of the British and Irish names in the early inscriptions the following points are to be noted. In Latin inscriptions of the fifth to seventh century the Latin terminations are universally substituted, no matter what the British or Irish stem class may have been, sometimes coinciding with it and sometimes not; whereas in the Ogams the correct Goedelic termination of Irish names is kept. In the Latin, masculine nouns are regularly put into the second declension, hence nominative -VS and genitive -I. In many cases the word was an *o*-stem in British or Irish, and consequently had a genitive ending identical with the Latin, e.g. no. 467, where both the Latin and the Ogam are exactly correct for the Pr.I. genitive *Ulcagni*. The same was done with *u*-stems, so that in no. 500 the Pr.I. *Imbicatōs* and *Rocatōs*, genitives, though rightly represented in the Ogam, are made to end in -I in the

¹ See MacNeill, *Ériu*, xi, 133 ff.; and Thurneysen, ZCP. xii, 411-12.

Latin; and again in nos. 327 and 457, Pr.I. **Dūnocatōs* is turned with Latin -I. A much nearer equivalent could have been got in Latin by making these into fourth-declension genitives in -*ūs*, but this does not seem to have occurred to the engravers. The identical practice is mostly followed with Celtic consonant stems. So in no. 446 the name which appears in the Ogam as MAGLICUNAS, which contains Pr.I. **cūnos*, genitive of **cū*, is Latinised as MAGLOCVNI (*sic leg.*); and in the Latin *Maccudecceti* inscriptions Ogam -DECEDDAS from older Pr.I. **Decentos*, genitive of **Decens*, again has the termination substituted by the Latin -I. No. 318, ETTORIGI, does the same with what would have been Brit. **Ettorīgos*, genitive of **Ettorīx*, and so with others in -RIGI; cf. pp. 626 f. (on names in -RI, see pp. 624 ff.). Only in no. 358, VOTE-PORIGIS, have we something nearer the British, and even in this case it is probably under the influence of Latin *rēx* : *rēgis* (see p. 627). We might have expected MACCVDECCETIS and ETTORIGIS, etc., treating them as third-declension Latin names; but as with the names in *-*catōs*, the engravers were too lazy or ignorant to use anything but the convenient all-purposes Latin -ī.¹ Celtic feminines are handled always in Latin as first-declension nouns, consequently with nominative in -A and genitive in -E. So nos. 362, AVITORIA; 461, NONNITA; 346, ADIVNE; 401, CAVNE; 451, TVNCCETACE; 454, CVNIOVENDE; 479, CVNAIDE; 511, CONINIE.

It is not until the seventh century that one finds Celtic names without any termination in the Latin (see § 178), as in no. 971, VIRNIN FILIUS CUURIS CINI (*sic leg.*, see Raleigh Radford, AMCA. p. cvii), where all three names are Primitive Welsh without endings, the last two being MW. *Cyrys* and *Cyny*. From the eighth century on this is normal.

¹ Sir Ifor Williams takes VENEDOTIS in no. 394 as a British genitive of a *t*-stem **Ūnedos*, "one of the Gwynedd tribe", with the gen. ignorantly used for nom. (TAAS., 1939, p. 36). But there is no proof that British, as distinct from Latin, cases were ever so confused, and the gen. in question would be **Ūnedotos* anyway. It may surely be rather a British *i*-stem adjective, with the termination -*tis* as in Gaulish (cf. Vendryes, MSLP. xiii, 392-5), "Venedotian"; the context (*Venedotis cive fvit*) needs an adjective. The MW. derivative is *Gwyndot*, which would come equally from either the oblique cases of the noun or from the adjective.

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So CINGEN in no. 1033, seventh to eighth century ;¹ GURIAT in no. 1066, eighth to ninth century ; though Latinising -I does occur, as in CATUOCONI in no. 427, eighth century,² or GLIUSSI in no. 1023, about A.D. 1000. In all cases where a Latin termination appears in an inscription later than the time of the loss of British final syllables it is, of course, an addition, not a substitute ; and examples of the use of -I where -ūs or -is would have been better could easily be explained in this way, providing the inscription is late enough. On this question see p. 621.

A thorough examination of the inscriptions, and of the chronology of the sound-changes analysed in Part II, shows that there is no reason to think that the forms of names in Latin letters are significantly more archaic than those of the contemporary British language. In trying to prove that Primitive Welsh was older than was generally supposed at the time, Morris Jones advanced the theory that the name of the prince whom Gildas addressed in the middle of the sixth century as *Maglocune* (Latin vocative) was really already **Mailcun*,³ and he compared modern Latinisations in ceremonial inscriptions like *Henricus*, not *Henrius*, for *Henry* (Cymm. xxviii, 1918, pp. 28 ff.). But this is not quite how the situation is to be envisaged. Gildas was not using an archaic form, but was spelling as well as he could the name which was in his time something like **Mazlogun*($\alpha\Sigma$),⁴ for which *Maglocunus* was actually a very exact rendering, considering that internal Latin written *g* and *c* meant [ʒ] and [g] respectively. So it is with the inscriptions ; if the spellings are correctly interpreted, it is seen that they are pretty exact renderings of the contemporary Brittonic, granting the substitution or addition of Latin terminations as described above. A good

[¹ On the reading and date see now p. 668, n. 1.]

² On the date, see p. 291. ' "

³ *Sic* ; *leg.* **Mailgun*. This is an example of the confusions which arise from forgetting the true value of the consonants in Dark Age British sources. A Pr.W. **Mailcun* must have given MW. **Maelchwn*, not *Maelgwn*. Loth, who used to take the inscriptions at their face value, appears to have been convinced by Morris Jones, since he eventually allowed that those of the fifth to seventh century contain archaisations ; see RC. li, 4-5.

⁴ See pp. 624, 644.

example of a later inscription which closely represents the more evolved language of the seventh century is no. 490, DATUIDOCI CONHINOI, which stands for contemporary Primitive Cornish **Dadyidōg Conhinōg*, from British **Dateyidācī Cunosenācī*. This is clearly not an archaising inscription, but corresponds to *Henrius* and not to *Henricus*. Indeed it is doubtful whether Gildas and the engravers of the sixth and seventh centuries could readily have discovered what the British, pre-lenition, forms would be; we use *Henricus* because we have a firm literary tradition that this is the proper archaic Latinising form, but no such written tradition is likely to have existed in Britain at that time. The very fact that *Maglocune* represents a contemporary confusion of British cases (see p. 624) implies that it did not. The situation was not quite the same when it was a question of Latinising Irish names, since the Irish *had* a fixed tradition of how to write Celtic, in the shape of the Ogam, which were much more widely used than merely for epitaphs; and it is certain that in the sixth century the form of Ogam inscriptions was often more archaic than the spoken language of the day. So in no. 428, early seventh century, the names are written in Ogam TRENAGUSU and MAQI-TRENI, though by this time they were really pronounced *T'r'ēnzuso* and *Mac'c'-Th'r'ēn'*. In this case the Latin rendering, TRENEGVSSI and MACV-TRENI, in copying the Irish epigraphic pattern, becomes an archaisation too.

The Latin orthography of the early monuments shows certain features other than those already discussed which call for comment. In certain ways the Latin spelling conforms not with Classical Latin, nor with that of the official inscriptions of Roman Britain, but with that of the private and comparatively low-class *inscriptiones Christianae* of Gaul and elsewhere under the Empire and later. Considering the influence of Gallic epigraphy on Britain, as already described, and the probability that the British monuments derive principally from Gaul, this is what we should expect; though if only we had a body of third- to fourth-century *inscriptiones Christianae* in Britain, some at least of the same features

would probably be found there. The peculiarities in question are all part of the development of living Vulgar Latin; however, some coincide with that of British, while on the other hand others do not agree with what we know of the spoken Latin of Roman and post-Roman Britain, and are therefore probably spelling habits introduced from Gaul without having any real phonetic bearing on British Latin pronunciation. For example, Latin *i* and *u* are commonly written *e* and *o* in Continental Christian inscriptions, because the sounds had actually become *e* and *o*, though apparently it did not happen in Britain (see pp. 86-7). This appears very rarely in Britain. Examples are NOMENA for *nomina* in no. 448, EMERETO for *emeritus* in no. 445, R(O)STECE¹ for *Rusticae* in no. 421, all fifth century. On no. 394 see p. 193. The use of E for *i* is found early three or four times even in British names (where *i* never actually became *e*), under the influence of these Latin spellings; namely in no. 374, fifth century, CVNEGNI for *Cunigni* (which occurs in no. 362); no. 413, fifth century, MONEDORIGI, see p. 355; no. 352 A, late fifth or early sixth century, BRAVECCI for **Bravici*; ² and no. 493, mid to later sixth century, CONBEVI for **Conbivi*, cf. OW. *Conbiu*, *Conviu* in Lland. pp. 156, 178, 211. On the occasional appearance of *e* for *i* in OW. and in inscriptions of the OW. period, arising partly from the same causes, see p. 283, n. 2. Latin *ō* is commonly spelt V in Gallic inscriptions, and this is regarded as representing a local very close pronunciation of the VL. *ō*; ³ in British Latin such a pronunciation was apparently not regular but did occur (see pp. 314-15), though it is naturally explained there by the British development of *ō* > *ū* > *ũ*. We have the spelling V in Latin words in no. 520, beginning of the sixth century, NEPVS, and no. 360, early or mid sixth century, SERVATVR. There is the analogous use of I for *ē* in Gallic inscriptions, which is similarly thought to represent

¹ This seems a probable reading of the obscure letter; cf. Rhys, Cymm. xviii, 90. Macalister's A (CIIC. i, 399) seems to be less likely. [Nash Williams now reads (O), ECMW. p. 178.] Cf. the two sisters, *Rustica* and *Rusticula*, of a sixth-century inscription near Vienne, Le Blant, IChG. no. 460A.

² See Ifor Williams, Arch.Camb., 1943, p. 211.

³ Cf. Grandgent, IVL. pp. 85-6.

a very close \bar{e} locally ; the same thing may have taken place abnormally in British Latin (see § 28. 1), though it did not in British. An example is seen in no. 461, mid sixth century, TRIS for *trēs*. It has already been noted (p. 84) that Classical Latin *ae* became *e*, and that the two are regularly confused in Vulgar Latin writing. E for Classical *ae* is common in British inscriptions, e.g. in R(O)STECE, as above. In no. 360 both are found ; PATRIE for *patriae* and FIDAEI for *fidei*. Since Latin *x* before a consonant became *s* in VL. (see pp. 522, n. 1 ; 535, n. 2), confusions of spelling such as *mextum* for *maestum* are frequent in Continental inscriptions. The same error is seen in no. 413, fifth century, CAELEXTI for *Caelestis*. Intervocal *x* is often spelt *xs* in Gallic inscriptions, e.g. *vixsit*, *uxsor*, probably representing the characteristic Celtic [χs] ; so in Britain, no. 451, early or mid sixth century, VXSOR. On the other hand, the confusion between *b* and *v*, so common in Vulgar Latin (see pp. 88 ff.), never seems to occur in the inscriptions of Britain (on SILBANDVS, see p. 364, n. 1).

The Latin terminations were becoming increasingly weakened in spoken Vulgar Latin. Final *-s* was dropped early in some parts, and is commonly omitted in Continental monuments. It is true that it continued to be pronounced in Spain and Gaul, or perhaps was revived, but in any case second declension *-us* spelt *-u* and *-o* is by no means unknown in Gallic inscriptions.¹ Examples of this in Latin words in Britain are : no. 445, fifth century, EMERETO ; no. 394, end of the fifth century, (C)ONSOBRINO.² In the same way, for Latin *-is* there is *-I* in nos. 413, CAELEXTI (see above) ;

¹ Cf. Le Blant, IChG. p. cxvii.

² In the Celtic name ILVVETO, no. 342, early sixth century, and in the tribal adjective ELMETIACO, no. 381, fifth century, it is impossible to tell whether the absence of *-s* is due to the model of Latin epigraphy or to the weakening and loss of final *-s* which occurred in British perhaps in the later fifth century ; see p. 628. These and BRIGOMAGLOS in no. 498, late fifth century, might preserve the original Brit. termination vowel *-o-*, but as *-os* is sometimes written for *-us* in Gaul (e.g. IChG. nos. 380, 383), it is quite likely to be a Latin spelling. [It is certainly not the *archaic* Latin ending in *-os*, as now proposed by Nash Williams (ECMW. p. 13), either in Gaul or in Britain.]

320, MVLIERI, fifth century ; 515, LIBERALI, early or mid sixth century ; and 402, NOBILI, 408 ETERNALI, and 416 EQVESTRI, all mid or later sixth century (though in the last three, being genitives of names later than the probable time of the loss of British final syllables, the -I might represent the addition of Latin gen. sg. -i to British forms without terminations ; cf. p. 189). No. 394 (see above) has CIVE as well as (C)ONSOBRINO, showing not only loss of -s but also the writing of *e* for *i*.

Owing to the weakening of endings in Vulgar Latin, and to other causes, the Latin cases fell more or less together in late Vulgar Latin and in Romance ; cf. Grandgent, IVL. pp. 42 ff. Ignorant confusions of case and declension are common in Gallic inscriptions ; note Le Blant, IChG. no. 59, HOC IN TVMOLO IACET BONOM MEMORIOM RAPSO, etc. (for *bonae memoriae* or *bonememorius*) ; no. 378, HIC REQVIISCVNT MENBRA AD DVVS FRATRES GALLO ET FIDENCIO QVI FOERVNT FILI MAGNO, etc. ; no. 471, IN HOC TVMOLVM REQVIESCIT IN PACEM BONE MEMORIAE VRBICIVS, etc. Similarly in Britain ; CIIC. no. 393, end of the fifth century, IN HOC CONGERIES ; no. 391, early or mid sixth century, CVM MVLITITVDINEM. A mistake of declension is seen in no. 394, MAGISTRATI for *magistratūs*. In Britain much the commonest confusion of cases is the use of nominative for genitive, and vice versa, but this question is complicated by other factors ; see § 179.

CHAPTER VI

BRITONS AND SAXONS IN THE FIFTH TO EIGHTH CENTURIES

DURING the period of the conquest and settlement of England by the Anglo-Saxon invaders, a large number of place-names, some personal names, and a very few common-nouns, were borrowed by the newcomers from the speech of the subjected Britons.¹ These constitute a most important body of evidence for the sound-changes of Late British and Primitive Welsh and Cornish, but it is a type of evidence which needs interpreting with the greatest caution, and cannot be handled without adequate consideration of the historical development of Primitive and later Anglo-Saxon at the time. Unfortunately there is, if anything, less known about this,² at any rate in its Primitive period, than about that of Brittonic, so that it is sometimes a question of explaining *ignotum per ignotius*. Besides, in the majority of cases there are no very early AS. forms reported for the names, and often none till the Middle English period; even those which are ostensibly AS. may exist only in copies of a later date, the reliability of which may be doubtful. The etymology and meaning are sometimes uncertain, and consequently what the language was. It is well known that place-names, and particularly river names,

¹ The chief standard works on British and English place-names are (1) E. Ekwall, *English River Names* (Oxford, 1928; abbr. RN.); (2) the same, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (third edition, Oxford, 1947; abbr. Dict.); (3) the various county volumes of the English Place-Name Society (abbr. EPNS.); (4) for Scotland, W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926; abbr. CPNS.); (5) for Wales, Sir Ifor Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd* (Liverpool, 1945; abbr. En.Ll.), and R. J. Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru*, i (Cardiff, 1938; abbr. En.Af.). For personal names and common-nouns see M. Förster, *Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen* (abbr. KW.) in the *Festgabe für Felix Liebermann* (Halle, 1921).

² The best historical chronology is Luick's HGES.

tend to survive migrations of peoples, and that therefore they may sometimes belong to the language of an ancient population which has completely disappeared. That this may be true of some names in Britain seems certain, though the fact appears to have dropped out of sight in recent works on place-names. The result of this last is that writers on the subject, when faced with a name which has no obvious etymology in Germanic or Celtic, have struggled to discover some Indo-European root from which it may conceivably be derived; and then, because those writers have been chiefly Germanic scholars, not Celticists, and could not bring themselves to treat the name as Germanic (knowing that nothing like it existed there), they have confidently labelled it Celtic. In all such cases the Celticists might claim with equal justice that it must have been Germanic.¹

Apart from the obscurities in the history of both languages, the subject is fraught with other difficulties. It has already been noted that on the whole the phonological and phonemic systems of Latin and British were like each other, and hence that sound-substitution in loanwords is rare. But the phonemes of Anglo-Saxon and Brittonic are often very different indeed, and in borrowing place-names the English had resort to extensive sound-substitution. For instance, there was no intervocal single *g* in Anglo-Saxon, and where they met a Late British *-g-* of this kind, arising by lenition from British *-c-*, they would have had either to try to learn to say the sound or to substitute the nearest one of their own. They seem never to have gone to any trouble to acquire the British sounds, but always substituted; in the present instance normally either their own *-c-* or, in at least one case, their own double *-gg-*.²

¹ An example is the handling of the name *Stour* in RN. p. 381. There is no known stem remotely like it in the Celtic languages, and there is actually the very word in Norwegian, Dutch, and Low German; but because this happens to be lacking in Anglo-Saxon, Ekwall (who admits it might have belonged also to the early AS. vocabulary) rejects all these and invents a Celtic etymology for it. Pokorny's "Illyrian" hypothesis (Urg.) seems to have found little favour; yet we should not lose sight of the possibility that some names which have an IE. look and are not obviously either Germanic or Celtic may be due to non-Celtic Indo-European elements among the prehistoric immigrants to Britain.

² See § 137.

One of the most complicated points of all is the question of the *i*-affection of Brittonic and the *i*-umlaut of Primitive Anglo-Saxon. The two changes are very similar in their effects, and it is not always easy to decide which is involved in a given case, particularly as the date of the former has not previously been determined, and that of the latter covers rather a lengthy period. See §§ 168 and 174. Or again, had British lost its final syllables at the time of the Anglo-Saxon settlements? The evidence on the point to be gathered from place-names alone is contradictory and indecisive; see § 181. All in all, the Brittonic names in English are a very uncertain type of material, and the confident treatment they have received at the hands of some writers is unwarranted and deplorable.

The first serious attempt to relate the sound-changes of Brittonic to those of Anglo-Saxon through the information gathered from place-names was made by Ekwall in his *River Names*, pp. lxii-lxxix; this was an excellent beginning, though incomplete and not always altogether accurate. Much more material is to be found in the vast work of the great Anglist Max Förster, *Der Flussname Themse*;¹ in addition to a chronological table on pp. 172-8, the whole book consists of studies more or less closely connected with this theme. Unless he specifically disagrees, Förster generally follows Ekwall over the etymology of names. This is an indispensable work of the first importance.

In speaking of sound-changes happening before or after a name was taken into Anglo-Saxon, one must, of course, bear in mind that different names were borrowed at different times according to the date when the Anglo-Saxons came into contact with them. Before any of these linguistic questions can be discussed, therefore, it is essential to set out the bare outlines of the Anglo-Saxon invasion and occupation of Britain, particularly in regard to chronology. As a general rule it is obvious that the invaders must have taken over a given name when they first came into contact with the place and needed a name for it; hence, if we can fix roughly about the time

¹ For the full title see p. viii above.

when they reached that particular area we can give an approximate date for the loan, and base our linguistic deductions on this. There are, however, two important cautions to be made here. The first is that while what has just been said applies well enough to places of ordinary or minor significance, in the case of an important or well-known one it is very possible that the English knew of it, talked of it, and borrowed its name long before they reached that territory in their settlements.¹ Thus places like London, Kent, and the Thames were certainly known to the Anglo-Saxon pirates back in the fourth century, perhaps a hundred years before they settled in Kent ; and we must reckon with the possibility that such names in Anglo-Saxon may be very early loanwords. The second caveat is this : during the course of the conquest it sometimes happened, as we shall see, that enclaves of Britons might get left, in forests or moors, surrounded by the English settlements, and might continue to foster the British language long after the tide of conquest had swept far beyond them. Eventually they too became absorbed, and their place-names were borrowed, but both languages would by now have evolved further than was the case when the adjacent area was first occupied. So there are Celtic place-names in the wilds of the Pennines between Cumberland and Northumberland,² or in the Yorkshire Moor country,³ showing a linguistic stage which is later than that which appears in the names on either side of them. The explanation is that isolated communities of Britons must have existed in the Pennines and Yorkshire Moors, still speaking British, after the English had absorbed the lower lands around them. Nor is it essential, for such a linguistic situation to exist, that the Britons should have been remote and semi-independent ; where the Anglo-Saxon population, though widely scattered, was small (as perhaps in parts of Northumberland in early times) the subjected Britons may have preserved their language later than their fellows in the districts more thickly settled by the conquerors.

¹ Cf. Pogatscher, *Eng.St.* xix, 336-7.

² See Förster, *FT.* pp. 27-8.

³ See pp. 212, 238, 491, 680.

In the following pages an attempt is made to describe, as briefly as possible, the history of the Anglo-Saxon conquest as it is now understood, from the beginning up to its widest expansion, so as to supply the necessary historical background for linguistic chronology. No attention is paid to the question, irrelevant here, as to where on the Continent the various groups of settlers came from, nor what particular peoples of the Germanic race they belonged to. For greater detail the reader may be referred to the most recent standard works on the subject, all of which employ the more newly acquired evidence of archaeology and place-names side by side with the older evidence of history.¹

Leaving aside for the present the history of Britain in the darkest age of the earlier fifth century, after the withdrawal of Roman administration and before the first Saxon settlements,² we shall look first at Britain about the middle of the century. Here is a country in which the Roman rule has practically broken down, and the whole Roman civilisation and order of life is in decay and confusion. Instead of an orderly government based on the Roman civil service in the cities and the Roman army in the military areas, we find a number of "tyrants", petty native dictators and chiefs, warring amongst themselves and against the foreign barbarian raiders, the "Picts" (i.e. the inhabitants of Scotland), the "Scots" (i.e. the Irish), and the "Saxons" (i.e. the Germanic pirates who had been vexing the eastern and southern shores of Britain ever since the third century). Then, within a few years of the middle of the fifth century,³ the fatal step was taken. According to Gildas, one of the "tyrants" invited a band of Saxons in to help him against the enemies from the North. Bede names him as Vortigern and the leaders of the English as Hengist and Horsa, and says that they were given lands in the East. The tale, if genuine, may represent another example of the Roman practice of settling barbarian allies as *foederati*.

¹ See R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1935; abbr. HAS.); J. N. L. Myres in Collingwood and Myres' RBES.; and F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1943; abbr. ASE.).

² On this period see pp. 229 ff. below.

³ On the date see RBES. pp. 352 ff.

For this period and the subsequent half-century our chief historical source is Gildas,¹ who, writing less than a hundred years after the time of Vortigern, tells how the supposed allies turned invaders, carrying out wide and destructive raids even to the "western ocean"; how "after a certain interval of time" the Britons, under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurelianus, organised armed resistance;² and how sometimes the Britons were successful and sometimes the enemy, until the great battle of Mount Badon in the year of Gildas' own birth, which was a resounding victory over the Saxons, so much so that the land had peace ever since up to the time of writing, and the Britons grew idle and luxurious again. Gildas' account is full of rhetoric, but it seems reasonable to believe that the main outlines of the tale, dealing with a period well within living memory in his youth, are correct. Unfortunately his language leaves the date of Mount Badon ambiguous, and the point has been much disputed,³ but at any rate it was somewhere approximately around the year 500. The site of the battle is unknown, though Badbury Hill above the Vale of White Horse and Badbury near Swindon are possible candidates. In any case the enemy was evidently the Saxon settlers of the South-East;⁴ the British leader may or may not have been the King Arthur of later tradition. We gather then from Gildas that the first stage of the invasion, beginning about 450, consisted of widespread destructive raids by marauding bands who penetrated even to the far West, but returned again to their bases in the East, rather than of any extensive permanent settlement; and that after a period of British collapse, followed by resistance with varying fortune,

¹ DEB. c. 24 ff.

² Perhaps about 470-80; see RBES. p. 319.

³ See Myres, RBES. pp. 460-61.

⁴ According to Hodgkin, H.A.S. i, 122, the Britons were probably those of the Cirencester region and the Saxons the people of the Upper Thames valley whose settlement is described below. It has been more usual to suppose that it was the Saxons of southern Wessex, but these were probably non-existent at the time, see pp. 203-4. Myres seems to envisage them rather as the men of Kent and Sussex, perhaps under the command of Ælle, the first king of Sussex (RBES. pp. 379 ff.). This is supported by the fact (for what it is worth) that Nennius, who seems to make Arthur fight the "Saxons" of Kent, gives Badon as one of his victories over them, HB. c. 56.

the enemy were finally stopped about A.D. 500 for over forty years.

Looking next at archaeology, and the supporting evidence of English documents, we find a much fuller picture, though in many ways an incomplete one, which is not inconsistent with the account given by Gildas. The earliest permanent settlements, as distinct from transitory raids, were being founded in several different parts of eastern Britain in the latter part of the fifth century. These began for the most part in the form of scattered bands of colonists who established themselves on the coast or penetrated some way up the navigable rivers, there taking land, or pushing still further into the interior. They followed certain definite lines of access, and hence the settlements tended to fall together into certain geographical groups, but on the whole they seem not to have coalesced into anything like coherent kingdoms until towards the end of the century.

One of the earliest kingdoms is that of *Kent*. Beginning very possibly with the grant of land made by Vortigern to Hengist and Horsa in the middle of the century, by its end the Jutes had occupied first the open country of the east and central North Downs, and then the western downs of West Kent and East Surrey. They did not venture far into the Weald Forest at this time, but an early offshoot seems to have been those *Hæstingas* who occupied the district round Hastings, whose affiliations were with Kent rather than Sussex. Another early extension, by sea, was the Jutish colony in the Isle of Wight and southern Hampshire, as described below.

Somewhat later, in the last quarter of the fifth century, came the settlement of *Sussex*, traditionally under the leadership of Ælle, who landed, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, at Selsey in 477 and sacked the Roman fort of Pevensey in 491. Like the Jutes of Kent, the South Saxons seem to have left the Weald Forest alone in early times; and indeed the probability is that it was more or less uninhabited by anyone, since in the Roman period also it was largely a desert. There is no reason to suppose that there was any considerable British population surviving here in the fifth or

early sixth century, both for this reason and because of the absence of Celtic place-names.

Early in the sixth century, or at the very end of the fifth, Jutish colonists, probably originating from Kent, occupied the *Isle of Wight*, the New Forest, and the Meon district of south-east Hampshire (where they were known as the Meonware). A tradition of this movement seems to be preserved in the story of Stuf and Wihtgar in the Chronicle, mixed up with the tale of the occupation of Wessex.¹

About the same time Saxons were penetrating to the slopes of the North Downs and along river valleys like those of the Wey, in *Surrey*. They seem to have come there up the Thames, and to have affinities with some of the men of Kent; but there is good reason to think that in the sixth century Surrey formed a southern province of Middlesex.

The colony of the East Saxons in *Essex*² (and later in Hertfordshire), and that of the Middle Saxons in *Middlesex*, appear to have been established from early in the sixth century, though at first quite sparsely; the people were probably akin to those of Surrey and to the Saxon element in Kent. The first settlements were made chiefly on the coast and up some of the river valleys; occupation of the undrained heavily forested interior had not progressed far before the middle of the century. The woodlands of central and southern Essex between Colchester, St. Alban's, and London, which had been deserted in Roman times, were little disturbed by the Saxons at first, and in its beginnings Essex was a country of poor pioneers. With the revival of town life in London it gained in importance, and was a vigorous political unit by the beginning of the seventh century. Middlesex was dependent on Essex from the outset; it seems to have comprised the southern region of Surrey in the sixth century.

Meantime, the Saxons were pushing far up the middle and upper Thames valley. The settlement of the Oxford region goes back to the end of the fifth century, and was already considerable by the beginning of the sixth. The focus was round Dorchester, the earliest nucleus of the kingdom of

¹ Cf. RBES. pp. 365-6.

² See RBES. pp. 372 ff.

Wessex. The "deserts of Chiltern" to the east remained unoccupied, and may have continued to support a British population. An offshoot from here quite early in the sixth century was a colony around Bidford on the Warwickshire Avon below Stratford, which, together with the Angles coming down the river from Middle Anglia (see below), formed the first step towards the later province of the Hwicce. It may have been the Saxons of the Upper Thames valley who were defeated at Mount Badon; the great wall of Wansdyke, known to have been constructed during the fifth or sixth century, was perhaps a defence set up by the Britons of the South-West against them. This seems to make good sense when we try to reconcile Gildas' tale with the archaeological evidence. It is very possible that the westward advance in the Upper Thames and Kennet valleys, well under way late in the fifth century, might have been stopped about 500 by a great battle won over them by the Britons of the southern Cotswolds, perhaps at Badbury Hill above the Vale of White Horse; and was not resumed for another fifty years until the general western expansion of Wessex described below.

Among the very first colonists, beginning to arrive in the middle of the fifth century, were those who entered England through the Wash and up the chief rivers flowing into the Fens, the founders of the early kingdom of *Middle Anglia*. They came up the Little Ouse, the Lark, the Cam, the Ivel, and the Great Ouse, to central Bedfordshire; up the Nene through much of Northamptonshire, and the Welland into Rutland and Leicestershire; and probably over the watershed and down the Wreak and Soar towards the Trent, and down the upper Avon, where their further expansion was to some extent blocked by the Forest of Arden. To the North they came up the Witham and Slea to Sleaford, towards Ancaster and the south Lincoln Wolds. The colonisation of these lands around the Fens had already made much progress before the close of the fifth century.

By the end of that century the people of *East Anglia* were occupying the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk and following inland the river valleys such as those of the Yare, the Wensum,

and the Tas. The Devil's Dyke, between Cambridge and Newmarket, was probably their boundary against the Middle Angles in later times.

The history of *Wessex* begins with the colonies in the Upper Thames valley just described. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle preserves a tradition about the conquest of Hampshire and Wiltshire, and the foundation of the kingdom of Wessex there, at the beginning and during the first half of the sixth century, by the two chiefs Cerdic and Cynric who landed in Southampton Water and fought their way north. This tale conflicts with all the evidence of archaeology and early place-names, which show this part of Wessex practically a blank at the time, except for a few scattered individual burials in Salisbury Plain which may well be those of transient raiders. It seems clear that the country between the Jutes of southern Hampshire and the Saxons of the Thames was bare of permanent English settlement during the first half of the sixth century, and that this had made little progress before the end of the century. Indeed the whole tale of Cerdic and Cynric would make nonsense of the story of the peace after Mount Badon. Myres reconciles it with the other evidence by treating the supposed "battles" of these warriors as passing raids ("picturesque but not necessarily important incidents in the marauding careers of some professional bandits") carried out by members of a shadowy dynasty which became established subsequently as kings over the Saxons of the Thames valley.¹ The absence of early Saxon place-names has its counterpart in the presence of British ones in central Hampshire and Wiltshire, such as Micheldever, Candover, Andover, Salisbury, etc.

The second half of the sixth century was a period of great expansion in the power of Wessex. The story of the battles of Old Sarum in 552 and Barbury Castle near Swindon in 556 probably represent the beginning of the Saxon push into this area, though not necessarily any great degree of settlement. One of the Saxon chiefs at Barbury Castle was the Ceawlin who shortly afterwards became ruler of Wessex and built up a considerable kingdom round his base in the Upper Thames

¹ See RBES. pp. 397 ff.

valley. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle one of his family, Cuthwulf, won a victory over the Britons in 571 at "Bedcanford", possibly to be identified with Bedford, and captured the towns of Limbury, Aylesbury, Benson, and Eynsham. This story appears to represent a victory by the West Saxons of the Upper Thames over a British population which may well have survived down to this date in the "deserts of Chiltern",¹ perhaps mingled with some English settlers of the valleys of the Thame and Ivel. The country between the Thames and south Bedfordshire is bare of really early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and has a rather high proportion of Celtic place-names. The whole Saxon area north of the Chilterns and White Horse Hills remained under the kings of Wessex until it was conquered and absorbed by Mercia in the seventh century.

The new advance of Wessex to the West, begun at Old Sarum and Barbury, was soon pushed forward again by Ceawlin and Cuthwine with their victory of Dyrham near Bath in 577, and the conquest of the territories of Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester in the lower Severn valley and the southern Cotswolds. By this the bounds of Wessex were pushed up to the Severn along a broad front from northern Somerset to the country already occupied on the Warwickshire Avon; and the Severn was still apparently regarded as the boundary between English and Welsh at the time of Augustine's conference with the British bishops in 603. Thus practically the whole of Gloucestershire east of the Severn was now part of Wessex,² and the Welsh of Wales were divided by land from the Britons of the South-West.

Meanwhile, in 584 Ceawlin and Cutha fought a battle at a place called Fethanleag, which has now been identified with great probability as at Stoke Lyne in north-east Oxfordshire.³

¹ Cf. Myres, RBES. pp. 406, 408. For a different explanation of the battle see Stenton, ASE. p. 28.

² According to Förster the occupation of Gloucestershire took place at the beginning of the eighth century at earliest (FT. p. 682). This is contrary to the facts and to his own statement. *op. cit.* p. 382, that the settlement of Gloucestershire occurred about 600.

³ Stenton, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, xxii, 19-20.

The meaning of the battle is uncertain. Stenton thinks it was against the Angles of the uplands round the upper Ouse, and was a defeat for the West Saxons, foreshadowing the end of their power north of the Chilterns. Myres, who identified Fethanleag with a place near Stratford on Avon, took it as a victory representing the absorption by Wessex of the British and Saxon communities on the Warwickshire Avon.¹ Whatever the case may be, no doubt it was about this time that the territory of the Hwicce became organised in the lower Avon and Severn valleys, focused round Worcester, and reaching as far up as the Wyre Forest and the forests of Kinver and Morfe in northern Worcestershire. Wychwood in north Oxfordshire is thought to contain the name, and to mark the eastern boundary.

By the beginning of the seventh century the westward movement of Wessex had probably carried the Saxons over Salisbury Plain and up to the great forest of Selwood, on the borders of Wiltshire and Somerset, which was to remain a barrier to further expansion. It was half a century before this advance was resumed. In 652 Coenwalh won a victory at Bradford on Avon which was presumably the beginning, and in 658 at the battle of Penselwood he broke through the forest and drove the Britons in flight as far as the Parrett. The whole of Somerset up to the Parrett and perhaps the Blackdown Hills and the Vale of Taunton was now held by the English.² In 682 the Chronicle says that Centwine routed the Britons as far as the sea, which may mean the conquest of the rest of Somerset to the Quantocks,³ or perhaps the first stage in the attack on Devon. As to Dorset at this period the Chronicle tells nothing. There are no heathen cemeteries there, whereas Celtic place and river names are unusually frequent; it was probably not overrun any sooner than Somerset, and very likely about the same time or somewhat later.⁴ The lower

¹ RBES. p. 424.

² Cf. EPNS. viii, i, p. xvi; ASE. p. 63.

³ Cf. Hodgkin, HAS. i, p. 315.

⁴ Stenton thinks the seventh rather than the sixth century (ASE. p. 63), which seems certain. According to Förster there were remnants of a British-speaking population in Dorset at least as late as the beginning of the eighth century (FT. p. 697), but the evidence is speculative; cf. p. 239 below.

valleys of the Exe and Creedy in Devon seem to have been colonised when western Somerset was ; whether by land from the Vale of Taunton, as seems probable, or by sea as Hodgkin thinks,¹ is uncertain. It may well be that south-east Devon and west Dorset were still in British hands. At any rate, the Saxon St. Boniface, who was born about 675, perhaps at Crediton, was educated at Exeter in an obviously English context, which suggests that this district had been for some time in Saxon occupation ; possibly before the Exe valley had been opened up from Somerset by land. The great king of Wessex, Ine, who ruled 688-725, built the Saxon town of Taunton and in 705 founded the bishopric of Sherborne for Wessex west of Selwood. In 710 he fought with Gerent the British king of Devon and Cornwall, and this probably means the end of the independence of Devon, followed by a fairly quick occupation. The fact that there are so few Celtic place-names in Devon as compared with Cornwall, and that the former became rapidly English whereas the latter retained its Celtic language and character for centuries, is perhaps due to the emigrations from Devon to Brittany, which were possibly more extensive than those from Cornwall.² Stenton believes³ that the battle of Hayle against the Cornish in 722 represents the completion of the conquest of Devon, but this is hypothetical. At any rate the subjection of Cornwall began under Egbert in 815, culminating in the battle of Hingston Down in 838, after which English occupation apparently went forward,⁴ though the Cornish seem still to have retained some measure of independence, side by side with the English, in the time of Athelstan a century later.⁵

Consequently, between the middle of the seventh and the middle of the ninth century the kingdom of Wessex absorbed the whole of south-western England beyond Selwood, which continued to be regarded as a traditional boundary between eastern and western Wessex. It is very probable that in this area the occupation was little more than a scattered settlement

¹ HAS. i, p. 316.

² Cf. EPNS. VIII, i, pp. xix-xx.

³ ASE. p. 72.

⁴ ASE. p. 233 ; and see EPNS. VIII, i, p. xxi.

⁵ Cf. ASE. p. 337.

of Saxon masters among a population still fundamentally British. This was, of course, the case in Cornwall; ¹ but even in the Laws of Ine, which doubtless refer in this respect primarily to Somerset and Dorset, the existence of a considerable subjected population of Britons is clearly envisaged (cf. p. 239).

For the English occupation of the North, the great gateway by which the Angles penetrated into the north Midlands and Yorkshire was the estuary of the Humber. An old settlement, dating perhaps from the fifth century and shown by numerous place-names to go back to at least the earlier part of the sixth, ² was that which became the kingdom of *Lindsey* in the Lincoln Wolds and Lincoln Edge, bounded on the west by the Trent, on the north by the Humber, on the east by the sea, and on the south by the Witham and the Fens (the settlement of southern Lincolnshire, the districts of Kesteven and Holland, being due to the Middle Angles as already described). There is some very slight evidence that the royal family of Lindsey intermarried early with the Britons, ³ and that the immediate neighbourhood of Lincoln may have remained in British hands rather later than the area further north; ⁴ but it is going somewhat beyond the evidence to say that Lindsey was an independent British kingdom until the sixth century. ⁵

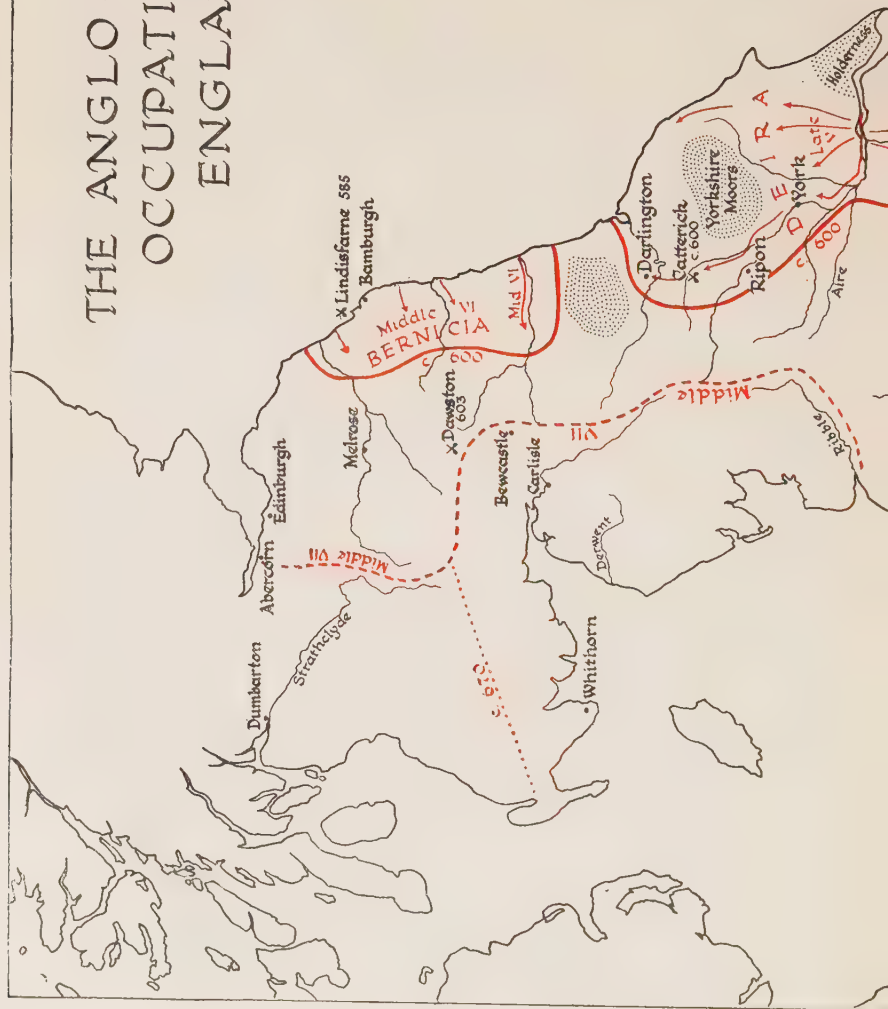
Much more important than Lindsey in English history was the kingdom of *Mercia*. Pushing up the Trent and its tributaries, the first Mercian colonists occupied the river basin from Newark to Burton and beyond, and thence to what became the focus of Mercia, round Lichfield and Tamworth. Since much of the Trent valley and the northern Midlands was covered with dense forest, the settlement was weak at first, politically dependent upon the Angles further north; in any case it was later and less thorough than the occupation of Middle Anglia, not much before the mid sixth century. It was not until the time of Penda, in the second quarter of the seventh century, that Mercia became a powerful kingdom.

¹ Nevertheless, all over Cornwall, even in the west, all the manors were held by men with English names at the time of Domesday Book; see EPNS. VIII, i, p. xxii. ² Cf. ASE. p. 48. ³ See p. 244, n. 3 below.

⁴ See RBES. pp. 414-15.

⁵ As Förster does, FT. p. 845.

THE ANGLO - SAXON OCCUPATION OF ENGLAND





The high land between Cannock Chase and the Forest of Arden, round the head waters of the Teme,¹ had been reached by the first half of the seventh century, as heathen place-names like Wednesbury and Wednesfield show; and the Mercians were moving down towards the Severn until they came up against the forests of Morfe and Kinver. To the north they did not settle in Derbyshire, the Peak District, until probably the middle or second half of the sixth century.²

Under Penda (*d.* 655) the power of Mercia was very greatly increased. He seems to have conquered Hwicce from the West Saxons in 628,³ and Wessex north of the Chilterns was seized in his time or that of his son Wulfhere. The western expansion of Mercia was now widespread and permanent. The district of the *Wreocensætan*, round the Wrekin and Shrewsbury, was absorbed at some time in the middle of the seventh century, beginning with a movement towards the plains of the Severn during Penda's life.⁴ The story of the conquest of this district is probably preserved for us in the Welsh elegy on Cynddylan, the British king who was killed and whose home was laid waste by the English about 650.⁵ The history of the Mercian spread into the Cheshire plain and southern Lancashire seems obscure. It is usually said that the English reached the sea in this neighbourhood, and cut off the Welsh by land from the Britons of the North, at the time of the battle of Chester in 613 or 616. But a successful battle is quite a different thing from a permanent occupation,⁶ and in any case Chester

¹ Perhaps the "boundary" implied in the name *Mercia*, as Stenton thinks, ASE. p. 40; but Myres suggests that it was the Trent, RBES. p. 410. Hunter Blair argues very convincingly that it refers to the boundary between Mercia and Northumbria, south-westward from the Humber; *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, xxvi (1948), p. 112.

² Cf. Myres, RBES. p. 454; Stenton, ASE. p. 41.

³ ASE. pp. 44-5.

⁴ Cf. ASE. p. 41.

⁵ See Ifor Williams, *The Poems of Llywarch Hen* (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, xviii), pp. 27 ff.

⁶ And cf. Hunter Blair, *op. cit.* p. 122, who thinks it perhaps "a successful raid into Welsh territory" rather than "a war of conquest which resulted in the addition of any substantial lands to Northumbria". We may add that there is no more reason to think the battle of Chester represents an English settlement of Lancashire than that Edwin's attacks on North Wales and the Isle of Man not long afterwards mean the same thing there.

was a Northumbrian victory ; there is really no solid evidence to show that the Mercians had penetrated as far as this in the heathen period.¹ It is not very probable that they could have reached there in great numbers before the time of Penda. Wat's Dyke, the boundary earthwork running from the Dee to the neighbourhood of Oswestry, and apparently made in the seventh or early eighth century, may very well mark the line of the English border of the middle of the seventh century. The last important movement of the Mercians towards Wales at this time was the establishment of the province of the *Magonsætan* beyond the land of the Hwicce, the plain of Hereford north of the Wye and the south Shropshire hills. This was probably being occupied in the second half of the seventh century ; the foundation of a monastery at Much Wenlock at its close indicates that fairly settled conditions existed there by that time. The boundary to the south was the Wye, which remained the demarcation of England and Wales till the Norman Conquest, leaving the districts of Ewyas and Ergyng or Archenfield in Herefordshire² to the west of the river, as well as all Monmouthshire, still in Welsh hands. The great boundary dyke raised by the Mercian king Offa between 784 and 796 probably did little more than establish definitely the situation which had existed along the whole Welsh border for over a hundred years.

The colonists who settled Lindsey and Mercia from the Humber turned south. Others made their way up its northern tributaries to found the kingdom of *Deira*. The historical origins of Deira are obscure, and the first well-authenticated king is Ælle, who reigned from 560 to 588 if the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle can be trusted. But archaeology takes us back a hundred years before this. Beginning as early as the fifth century, the first focus was the open country of the Yorkshire Wolds, especially in the neighbourhood of Driffield, whence the newcomers spread into Holderness and the Vale of Pickering. At the same time they settled at York itself, where the Anglo-

¹ Compare Myres' maps, RBES. facing p. 456.

² Ergyng, though held by the Welsh, had been disputed ground for some centuries ; cf. Stenton, ASE. pp. 336, 565.

Saxon cemetery is one of the earliest in the whole country. In both areas archaeological finds seem to indicate a more or less unbroken continuity of occupation between the late Roman and pagan Saxon periods.¹ The early name Ripon,² and scattered finds at Aldborough, Catterick, and Darlington, suggest a northerly movement up the Roman road, until the advance was held up by the wild hilly country in Durham beyond the Tees, which remained a barrier to early settlement. The story of the British heroic poem *Gododdin*, probably composed about 600, may very well represent a last effort on the part of the northern Britons to crush the advancing power of Deira, in a battle fought at Catterick at that time. The Yorkshire Moors, on the other hand, were left untouched at first, and a British enclave seems to have existed there for some time.³ Similarly in the Pennines to the west, behind the marshy barrier of the Plain of York, the British kingdom of Elmet remained unconquered until it was overwhelmed at the beginning of Edwin's reign (617-33).

The northernmost English kingdom was that of *Bernicia*, which ultimately included the whole country between the Forth and the Tees. It was the latest of all the English settlements, probably because this poor and backward part of the Highland Zone did not attract the Anglian farmers. Deriving from Deira, and going north by sea, the earliest colonists appear to have landed and occupied a few very scattered sites on the coast about the middle and second half of the sixth century; Bamburgh, their centre, founded according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in 547, began perhaps as little more than a pirate stronghold. There are hardly any

¹ In an ingenious article in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, xxv (1947), pp. 1-51, Hunter Blair has tried to show that these earliest settlements in Deira represent a deliberate piece of Roman policy in the first half of the fifth century, bringing in Saxon mercenaries and giving them land in and around York, the military centre of Roman Britain, as a bulwark against the raids of the Picts and Scots. Indeed he thinks that the story of Vortigern as told by Gildas and Bede applies better to early Deira than to Kent. But it has yet to be demonstrated that the archaeological material in question can be so old as this; cf. Stenton, ASE. p. 74.

² See ASE., *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. Myres, RBES. p. 454; and p. 197 above and pp. 238, 491, 680 below.

pagan cemeteries or other signs of early occupation, but what there is is taken by Myres to show two chief foci at the beginning; one in the valley of the Tyne, extending inland for some distance, and another on the coast between the Tweed and Coquet rivers, inland from Bamburgh and Lindisfarne. However, the archaeological evidence is so exiguous that little can be built on it. As already noted, the hills of Durham were probably still a wilderness at this time, separating Bernicia from Deira.¹ The story in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle about the foundation of Bamburgh is generally accepted as representing roughly the date and nature of the earliest settlement in Bernicia; and the passage in Nennius (HB. c. 63) telling how the British king Urien of Rheged besieged Theodric, son of Ida, in Lindisfarne as late as about 575, is taken as an index of the weakness and smallness of the colony towards the end of the century. The settlement of the inland parts cannot have begun much before the last quarter of the sixth century.² So, too, the fact that in the Gododdin story the British king of Edinburgh about 600 sent his armies not against Bernicia, which he ignored, but past it down the Roman road to Catterick against the much more dangerous realm of Deira, is a further indication of the same thing.

Yet almost immediately after this British defeat the power of the Bernicians underwent a spectacular expansion. Their king Æthelfrith (who ruled 593–617) married the daughter of the king of Deira and fused the two realms into the one greater one of *Northumbria*. In 603 he defeated the Scots of the Irish kingdom of Argyll under their king Aedan, apparently at Dawston Rig³ in Liddesdale. A few years later, in 613 or 616, Æthelfrith and the men of Northumbria made a great slaughter of the Welsh at Chester; what should have brought him so

¹ However, it was not completely uninhabited by the natives, as the survival of some Celtic place-names there shows. For the seventh to eighth century see P. Hunter Blair in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, xxvii, 50–51.

² Cf. Stenton, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, xxii, 21, who notes, however, that the place-names of Northumberland and Durham suggest a date somewhat earlier than the story in Nennius would imply.

³ The identification, latterly questioned, has been defended by Förster, FT. pp. 796 ff.

far to the South-West, against an enemy with whom his kingdom had no direct contact, is not known. His successor Edwin (617–33) continued the expansion of Northumbria, and under him it became a great kingdom with overlordship over the whole of England except Kent. It was probably in his time¹ or soon after that the south-eastern part of Scotland up to the Firth of Forth was overrun; the furthest point was apparently just beyond Abercorn, where a bishopric was founded in 680. A date so early, at any rate for the country as far north as the Lammermoors, seems demanded by the fact that St. Cuthbert was born somewhere in the Tweed valley or in the Lammermoors about 625,² and joined the monastery of Melrose in 651. It is likely that the whole of south-east Scotland from the Forth to the Cheviots east of the watershed between Clyde and Tweed, Liddel and Tyne, was in English possession by the middle of the century.³ The question when the occupation of the country west of the Pennines began is a difficult one. According to Ekwall, Lancashire south of the Ribble was settled by the Northumbrians at the time of the battle of Chester or before; was then taken by the Mercians under Penda between 633 and 655; and was won back again in or after 655 by Northumbria. Lancashire north of the Ribble he believes to have been conquered earlier, already in the sixth century.⁴ The reason for this dating is the presence of a few English place-names of early type which Ekwall thinks cannot be much later than about 600. Similar views are expressed by Stenton. In his opinion the separation of Wales from the British North had

¹ The derivation of Edinburgh from *Eadwines-burh* has been abandoned (cf. Watson, CPNS. pp. 340-41); though defended, unconvincingly, by Förster in *Anglia* lxiv (1940), pp. 106 ff.

² On the reasons for this date see W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii (Edinburgh, 1887), p. 205. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 5, gives the date as c. 634, but without satisfactory evidence. The Anonymous Life, i, 7 (Colgrave, p. 72), shows that Cuthbert was a soldier before he entered Melrose; if he was born c. 634 this would make him then seventeen at most, whereas if it was in 625 he could be as old as twenty-six.

³ Cf. Hodgkin's map, HAS. i, p. 275.

⁴ See E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), pp. 231-2.

certainly begun before the death of Æthelfrith and was not necessarily connected with the battle of Chester; and he bases this on the consideration that there are enough ancient place-names in Cumberland and Lancashire to suggest that these districts were in English hands, from the Solway to the Mersey, in Æthelfrith's time.¹ Elsewhere he says, rather less definitely, that the place-names of Cumberland are clearly later than those of Northumberland and Durham, but include a (small) number of forms in *-ing-* which cannot reasonably be put later than about 625; and that it is probable that the occupation of Cumberland was part of the English advance under Æthelfrith.²

For the present writer, the full settlement of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire so early as Æthelfrith's reign is quite incredible, and before that time even more so. Until the close of the sixth century Bernicia consisted of small and weak settlements on the east coast, no more; that they should have been strong enough to send colonists up the Tyne gap into Cumberland, as Stenton thinks, is very questionable. Once Bernicia was united with Deira, the power of the new Northumbria was, of course, much greater, but it is not probable that the English would have flooded through the Yorkshire Dales into Lancashire as long as the Pennine kingdom of Elmet barred the way; that is, till about 617. Indeed Stenton himself says³ that they cannot have begun to settle in the valleys of the Aire and Wharfe before the third decade of the seventh century. There is, in fact, no archaeological evidence whatever for English occupation of the country west of the Pennines in the pagan period,⁴ nor any place-names

¹ ASE. p. 78.

² *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, xxii, 21.

³ ASE. p. 74.

⁴ Cf. the Ordnance Survey *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages*, North Sheet, p. 18. The conversion of Northumbria was begun under Edwin in 627, but was interrupted by his death, and was not resumed till 635. Cf. Miss Dorothy Whitelock, *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th series, xxxi, 83, "a story in the *Life of St. Cuthbert* shows the populace of Northumbria hostile to Christianity about the middle of the seventh century, and Bede's letter to Archbishop Egbert in 734 makes one wonder if Christian teaching could have been so thorough in the remoter districts as to eradicate all heathen practices".

showing the existence of pagan worship.¹ It will be noticed that the theory of Ekwall and Stenton is entirely inferential, based solely upon a few names, of which Stenton actually says ² "although there are place-names which suggest that the Anglian occupation of these regions began in the sixth century, their rarity gives the impression that the settlers of this period can only have been few". True, the early types of *-ing* names are generally regarded as evidence of old settlement,³ and Stenton takes their presence in Cumberland as going back to a time not later than 625. But in the absence of historical and archaeological support, and in the presence of definite historical contra-indications, this is at best a subjective criterion, based chiefly on the consideration of names in the Lowland Zone. We cannot really know that such forms might not still have been used in the remote wilds of the North-West later than in the populous South, where conditions were quite different; and they are probably to be looked on as representing a stage of development in a given area rather than an identical chronological point all over the country. As Myres remarks,⁴ though the great majority of these names are contemporary with the use of pagan graveyards, a few may have been formed here and there as late as the second half of the seventh century. Of names in *-inga-* plus a suffix (like Hensingham in Cumberland) Stenton says ⁵ that this type probably continued to be formed for some generations after those in *-ing* had become obsolete. It is a fair conclusion then that the theory of the occupation of England west of the Pennines in Æthelfrith's time rests on nothing solid and is unproven.

Moreover, there is positive historical evidence of another

¹ Cf. the maps in RBES. facing p. 456; and the Ordnance Survey *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages*, North Sheet (Southampton, 1938), p. 18.

² ASE. p. 74.

³ For a discussion of this point see Stenton in the *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, EPNS. I, i, pp. 50-54.

⁴ RBES. p. 332.

⁵ EPNS. I, i, 53. Mr. P. Hunter Blair points out to me (by letter) that the form Coldingham (Berwickshire) did not come into existence until the eighth century at earliest, since the Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert has *Colodesbyrig*, Bede *Coludi urbem*, and Eddius *Colodæsburg*.

kind that this date is too early. Mr. Hunter Blair has drawn attention¹ to a passage in Eddius' *Life of Wilfrid*, which he interprets very persuasively as showing that northern Lancashire was conquered not long before 670, and that the western boundary of Deira was the Pennines until after the middle of the century. He thinks the Northumbrians made sporadic attacks across the Pennines early in the seventh century, but that they did not penetrate the Aire gap permanently until about 650–70. Allowing that the reasons for the precise date 670 are not absolutely decisive,² nevertheless the argument seems to show clearly that the conquest and settlement by the Northumbrians of the country west of the Pennines can hardly be dated as significantly before the middle of the seventh century. Further evidence that it can scarcely have been much later than 670 is supplied by the grant of king Ecgfrith (670–85) of land at Cartmell in Lancashire to St. Cuthbert, giving him *omnes Britannos cum eo*.³

As for Cumberland, Carlisle and therefore the whole Eden valley, if not the rest, must have been securely in English possession by Ecgfrith's reign, since Bede tells a story of how St. Cuthbert visited the sights in 685 while Ecgfrith's queen was staying there; and says that soon afterwards he ordained some priests in the city.⁴

It seems, therefore, that the whole district in question was English by the last quarter of the seventh century, and was probably in the process of occupation from about the middle of that century. Whether the movement across the Pennines had begun in the expansionist reign of Edwin, or whether in the time of Oswald or Oswy, is uncertain (perhaps most likely that of Oswy, 641–70); but the time of Æthelfrith

¹ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, xxvi (1948), pp. 123 ff.

² At the dedication of Ripon between 671 and 678, Wilfrid read a list of lands in north Lancashire taken from the Britons and presented, then or previously, to him; none of the presentations can be older than about 660. But it does not necessarily follow that these lands were not *conquered* until then, though the implication of the wording does seem to be that they had not been very long in English hands.

³ Cf. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, p. 224.

⁴ *Life of St. Cuthbert*, cc. xxvii–xxviii.

is surely too early.¹ How much further north the English rule extended at this period is not quite clear. In the second half of the sixth century the British kingdom of Strathclyde, namely the Clyde valley and neighbourhood with its capital at Dumbarton, and that of Rheged which seems to have included Galloway and Cumberland, were still independent and strong enough for their kings to wage war with the men of Bernicia even on the shores of the North Sea. But though Strathclyde (including probably Ayrshire) managed to remain free, the whole of the lands bordering the Solway on the north, comprising all Rheged, had evidently fallen to the English by Ecgfrith's time, no doubt as a continuation of the movement into Cumbria just described. Indeed it appears from Bede² that the hegemony claimed by Ecgfrith over parts of Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde was already established under Oswy. Thus England and southern Scotland, west of the Pennines, north of the Ribble, and all round the Solway estuary, may be regarded as having been absorbed by Northumbria roughly between about 650 and 670.

The history of the later relations between the Northumbrians and the Britons of Strathclyde is a matter of fluctuation. The lands north of the Solway remained English for a considerable time; the bishopric of Whithorn was established shortly before 731, and the Hoddum school of Anglian stone carving flourished in this area in the eighth century. Eadbert conquered most of Ayrshire from the Britons in 750, and attacked Dumbarton in 756; and they appear to have remained confined to the valley of the Clyde from then until the Viking period, when the Danish wars disrupted the whole of Northumbria.³ The Britons then reoccupied not only all south-west Scotland but also Cumberland as far as the Derwent and Penrith, probably

¹ Compare Hodgkin's opinion as set out in his maps, HAS. i, pp. 284 and 285.

² HE. ii, 5; iv, 3.

³ Whithorn seems still to have been in Northumbrian hands c. 880, when the relics of St. Cuthbert were brought there by Eardulf and Eadred; cf. Raleigh Radford, *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxvii, 96.

early in the tenth century ;¹ and Cumberland was not finally regained for England until 1092, and then only as far as the present Border. Hence, while the southern part of south-west Scotland was held by the English for something like two and a half centuries after its first conquest, during which time many Celtic place-names would be borrowed and English names given, yet we must always remember that for close on another two hundred years not only this district but also much of Cumberland was in the hands of the Strathclyde Britons, and that fresh Brittonic place-names might have arisen in this period from such Cumbric-speaking settlers as may have taken over there. Consequently the possibility of finding place-names in northern Cumberland showing quite late Brittonic features is to be reckoned with, although they are not likely to be many. Glen Dhu in Eskdale, and Glendue just over the Northumberland border, may be one of these.² How late the people of Strathclyde continued to speak Cumbric is unknown—possibly till the early eleventh century ;³ the history of the kingdom suggests there was a good deal of English and Gaelic in use in south-west Scotland by that time.⁴ The by no means inconsiderable Gaelic element in the place-names of Cumberland cannot all be due to Norwegian settlers from Ireland, and must come in part from the Gaelic speakers among the immigrants from Strathclyde in the tenth and eleventh centuries. As to the survival of Brittonic in the old Bernicia, where, of course, it died out much earlier, Myres remarks⁵ on the striking persistence of Celtic institutions there, together with peculiarities of the agricultural system, which suggest that the early English settlements consisted of a military aristocracy ruling tributary Britons and leaving much of the farming in their hands, rather than of an extensive English colonisation.

With this historical sketch, it is possible now to discuss the many Brittonic place-names which were borrowed into Anglo-

¹ Cf. Stenton, ASE. p. 328 ; and H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland* (Cambridge, 1946), p. 155.

² See p. 9, n. 1.

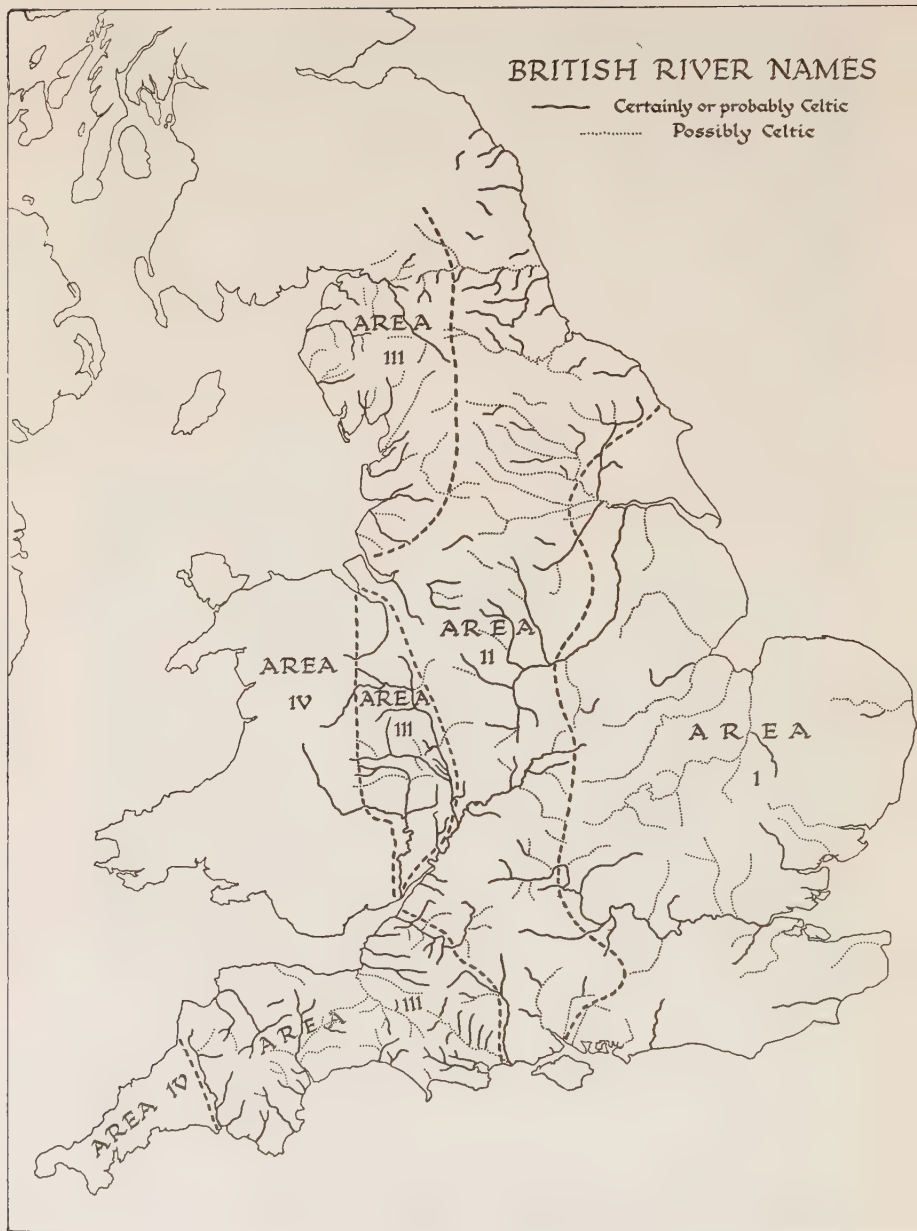
³ See p. 9 ; if Glen Dhu and Glendue are from Cumbric-speaking immigrants from Strathclyde, they support so late a date ; cf. p. 311.

⁴ Cf. Watson, CPNS. p. 180.

⁵ RBES. p. 422.

BRITISH RIVER NAMES

— Certainly or probably Celtic
- - - - - Possibly Celtic



Saxon during the settlement period. When they are examined, one finds that by and large there is a striking correlation between the frequency of Brittonic versus English names and the periods of the conquest. The material for a satisfactory distribution map does not yet exist, and will not until all the volumes of the English Place-Name Society's publications are complete.¹ One group, however, has been studied fairly thoroughly, the river names, which represent in any case the largest and one of the most significant classes. They have been worked out quite fully in Ekwall's *English River Names*.² A map marking on it the river names which are fairly certainly Brittonic, and those which are possibly so, or at any rate likely to be pre-English, gives a picture which is of obvious significance in relation to the Anglo-Saxon conquest. Other types of Brittonic name fit well enough into this distribution to show that when the material is complete the total result will not differ seriously from that based on the river names.

The map of Brittonic river names on p. 220 seems to offer the following rough division :

Area I, everything east of a line from the Yorkshire Wolds to Salisbury Plain and the New Forest, including the East Riding, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, eastern Berkshire, and southern Hampshire. Within this area Brittonic names are rare, and are confined almost exclusively to large and medium-sized rivers such as the Trent, the Thames, the Thame, and the Darent. Names whose Celtic origin is doubtful form the majority, including the Witham, the Soar, the Welland, the Ouses, the Granta, and the Stours.³ A comparison with the map on pp. 208-9 shows that this area corresponds fairly closely with the extent of primary English settlement down to about the first half of the

¹ Ekwall's *Dictionary* is hardly satisfactory for the purpose, as it represents only a selection.

² In the whole discussion of place-names which follows it is important to note that I confine myself almost exclusively to those whose Celtic etymology is reasonably certain (cf. pp. 194-5). Not only here but also in Part II I have avoided relying on material which is doubtful, unless it exists in some pre-English source.

³ These last are surely Germanic, see p. 195, n. 1.

sixth century ; and in the South, roughly to what may have been the line along which the Saxons were halted for fifty years about 500 by the battle of Mount Badon.

Area II is an intermediate central strip, west of the line described and east of one running approximately along the eastern borders of Cumberland and Lancashire to the Ribble, and thence south-west to the flat country round Wigan, and to the sea. It is taken up again near Chester, passes up the valley of the Dee and south to the Severn, which it follows to the Bristol Channel ; crossing which, it runs along the northern boundary of Somerset and down the eastern through Selwood to the south-west corner of Wiltshire, where it turns east down the Wiley valley, and thence along the division between Hampshire and Dorset. Here Brittonic river names are markedly commoner than in Area I, and the proportion of certainly Celtic ones is higher. They include more names of small rivers. It is noticeable that there seems to be a district specially thick in Brittonic names of rather small rivers between Tyne and Tees. Area II appears to agree pretty well with the movement of expansion of the Anglo-Saxon occupation which took place in the second half of the sixth century in the South and the first half of the seventh in the North. The hilly district between Tyne and Tees was probably one of the last parts of this Area to be settled by the Northumbrians (cf. the map, pp. 208-9 ; and Myres, RBES. p. 421), and should perhaps be included in Area III ; the concentration of Brittonic river names shows it cannot have been entirely empty of population.

Area III consists of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire to the west of the line described ; a strip between that line and the present Welsh border comprising most of Shropshire, western Worcestershire, all Herefordshire north and east of the Wye, and Gloucestershire west of the Severn ; and all south-west England between the same line and the Tamar. Here Brittonic river names are especially common, including often those of mere streams, and the proportion of certainly Celtic names is highest of all. The sections involved agree remarkably well with the third and final stage of the

Anglo-Saxon conquest ; in the middle and third quarter of the seventh century in the North, the middle and second half of the seventh century on the Welsh Marches, and the middle of the seventh to the earlier part of the eighth century in the South-West.

Area IV is Wales and Monmouthshire, with the corner of Herefordshire south-west of the Wye ; and Cornwall. Here, of course, the whole character of the nomenclature is overwhelmingly Celtic, since these lands all remained Brittonic in speech till at least the Norman Conquest ; most of Cornwall until the end of the Middle Ages and part of it till the eighteenth century ; and much of Wales till the present day. No rivers are marked here on the map, as this is unnecessary.

This division of Britain on the basis of names corresponds well enough with the opinions of previous writers, except that they have mostly not made an attempt to link it closely to the progress of the English conquest, no doubt because the material available for this is much fuller now than it used to be. In 1924 Ekwall, in the first volume of the English Place-Name Society's publications,¹ described certain districts which show a larger percentage of Celtic names than elsewhere, not only those of rivers but also of places. His account of them suits our *Area III*. Ekwall notes that Brittonic names are particularly common on the north-east border of Cumberland ; that in Yorkshire they are very rare except for rivers and hills ;² but that in Durham, and in Northumberland adjoining Cumberland, they are more frequent. He points out that in Lancashire they are a good deal more prominent than in Cheshire (where they are few), with clusters round Wigan and in Amounderness. The Brittonic element is not marked in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire except in their western parts. Ekwall comments on the group of stream names in south-west Wiltshire ; in Somerset, Dorset, and Devon Brittonic names are common.

¹ EPNS. I, i, pp. 27 ff.

² He attributes this to the subsequent considerable superimposed Scandinavian population ; but, if so, we should expect the same to apply to Cumberland.

Zachrisson discussed the question in 1927. He listed by counties¹ the names of certain natural features such as hills and woods, with particular reference to the "borderlands between the Welsh and English settlements in the sixth century", and found the Celtic element well represented in Lancashire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Dorset, and the counties to the west.² Except for the omission of Warwickshire and parts of Hampshire, this is very similar to our Areas I and II as far north as Yorkshire; Zachrisson seems not to have examined any of the northern counties but Lancashire. In addition he finds an intermediate area taking in Hampshire, most of Berkshire, south-east Buckinghamshire, most of north-east Bedfordshire, and probably some of Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire. This peculiar boundary and the area it encloses cannot be said to be very convincing (the evidence on which it rests is slight and quite inadequate), and from the point of view of the Saxon conquest the date is a good deal too late for most of it.³

Thirdly, the question has been taken up by Förster.⁴ He gives statistics of the numbers of British river names in England, county by county. Unfortunately, it is impossible to construct a rational map on this basis, as anyone who tries may see. Counties are an artificial starting-point, even more for rivers (which often belong to several counties at once) than for other types of name. It would only be of any use if the counties were all the same size, which they are far from being.⁵ Förster lists also figures for English and Scandinavian river names in each county, but as these represent only a random selection of the names of large rivers, they provide no means

¹ RKS. pp. 47 ff.

² *Op. cit.* p. 56.

³ The map by S. W. Wooldridge in H. C. Darby's *An Historical Geography of England before 1800* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 125, is of little value. It relies too heavily on Zachrisson, and the supposed early areas of Anglo-Saxon names lack proof.

⁴ FT. pp. 99 ff.

⁵ Because the largest number of Celtic river names of any county is found in Cumberland (with 39), and for instance Worcestershire (with 23) has less, we cannot draw any relative inferences whatsoever about the British and English populations, etc., from these figures, because Cumberland is much larger than Worcestershire.

of working out percentages (which Förster does not attempt). Thus he gives four Celtic river names in Huntingdonshire, three in Cambridgeshire, and *no* Germanic ones in either county, which would result in the absurdity of 100 per cent for the Celtic names of the two counties. There is no need to discuss these figures, nor Förster's description, based upon them, of the relative thickness of Brittonic river names in the various counties.¹

We are now in a position to examine the character of the Celtic names borrowed by the English, and to see what light they may throw on the Anglo-Saxon conquest. They can be divided into those of towns, villages, rivers and streams, and natural landmarks like hills and forests. Roughly, names of Romano-British towns, the larger rivers, and some hills and forests are found preserved in all parts of England, even in Area I. Area II differs in including not only these but also more and smaller rivers, and more hills and forests. To these Area III adds, as Ekwall shows in discussing his high-percentage districts,² the names of villages, homesteads, and even small brooks; and it is significant, as he points out, that it includes also what he calls "compounds of the later type". The toponymy of Britain as we know it in Roman times consists either of uncompounded names like *Eburacum* and *Londinium*, or of true compounds in which the defining element precedes the defined, as *Letocetum*, "Grey-Wood", or *Moridunum*, "Sea-Fort". Such have, of course, survived to the present time in Welsh, including the two examples quoted. But the mediaeval Brittonic languages make most of their place-names other than the old ones on a different pattern, in which the name is no longer strictly a compound at all, but a noun followed by a defining adjective or dependent noun, such as *Coed Mawr*, "Big Wood" (literally "Wood Big"), or *Penn*

¹ I fail to understand what is meant by saying (FT. p. 103) that Cheshire, Herefordshire, and large parts of Shropshire and Gloucestershire belonged to the Welsh language sphere (*Sprachgebiet*) throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. This is true only of south-west Herefordshire and a few small border patches in Shropshire and Cheshire. The rest was English by the second half of the seventh century at latest, and Offa's Dyke put the seal on the boundary at the end of the eighth century. This is a long way from 1066.

² *Loc. cit.*

Brynn, "Head of (the) Hill". The former, if it existed at all as a name in early times, would be British **Caiton Māron*, the latter **Pennos Brunnī*. These are not really compounds. The fact seems to be, at any rate so far as our evidence goes, that place-names of this sort were not given at all during the British period. On the other hand they must have become prominent by the time of the Breton emigrations, since they are as common in Brittany as in Wales and Cornwall. Ekwall shows that such names occur in Cumberland, as Blencarn, Carlisle, Cumrew, Powmaughan, and others ; ¹ on the Cumberland border of Northumberland, as Glendue ; in Lancashire, as Culcheth, Penketh, etc. ; ² Shropshire (but here the names of this sort, in Clun Forest and the Oswestry district, are quite obviously very much later, and due to late Welsh immigration, as Ekwall suggests, e.g. Pant y Lidan, Nant y Gollen, Nant Mawr, etc., which are purely Welsh) ; Herefordshire west of the Wye, such as Clodock, Coedmoor, Daffaluke, while west of the Dore we have again some purely Welsh and obviously late names like Maes Coed, Tre Wern, Ty Cradoc, etc. ; the border areas in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, as Lancaut, Penpole, Maisemore, Pensax ; and Devon, as Clovelly, Dunchideock, and others. Ekwall does not note the fact that in some cases these names in English still preserve the main stress on the second element, which is characteristic of Celtic, and is a sure sign of Celtic origin ; so in English Cumrēw, Blencárn, Glenderamáckin, Polthlédick in Cumberland ; Glendúe in Northumberland ; Lyvénnēt in Westmorland ; Tretíre in Herefordshire, Clovély in Devon, etc.³ It appears then that what Ekwall calls the compounds of the later type belong to our Area III,⁴ and need therefore be no earlier than the seventh century. The type in question is

¹ It must be remembered that some of these might be due to the British reoccupation of North Cumberland in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

² Ekwall does not specifically remark on it, but two of the Celtic names in Cheshire mentioned *op. cit.* p. 30, Landican and Liscard, are also of this type.

³ The stress Carlisle and Penrith is spurious, on the analogy of the regular Welsh and Cornish type of name. The natives call these Cárlisle, Pénrith.

⁴ Ekwall notes the *Beneficcan* of ASC. 913, the river Beane in Hertfordshire, as a possible exception, but is rightly cautious about it (*op. cit.* p. 27)

hardly likely to have come into existence later than the sixth century, however, considering the fact that such names are regular in Brittany.

The history of the town-names all over Roman Britain has been discussed by Zachrisson, *op. cit.* pp. 76 ff. He lists thirty-five, and says that "with very few exceptions, they have kept their old names to the present day".¹ Of villages, British names are on the whole very rare except in Area III or, as Ekwall says,² more precisely in Cumberland, Herefordshire, and to some extent Lancashire, Shropshire, Dorset, and Wiltshire. Many of the British village-names in England are not really such at all, but are those of rivers, hills, and woods which have become attached to villages, as Ekwall and Zachrisson remark.³ Such are Avon (Ha.), Winford (So.), Malvern (Wo.), Penge (Sur.). This is specially common in Dorset; cf. Ekwall, *op. cit.* p. 28. The name Eccles, either by itself or in compounds like Eccleston, is mostly derived from the British word for "church"⁴ (Pr.W. **eglēs*), and implies, therefore, the existence of some sort of British population-centre with organised Christian worship; though Ekwall admits that in some cases Eccles might represent an unrecorded AS. name **Eccel*.⁵ For Eccles in river names, however, he suggests a different etymology, from a Germanic stem.⁶

It used to be assumed that names in *wal(l)-*, especially Walton and Walcot, contained the AS. *Wealh*, "Briton", and were therefore evidence for a British population, though they would not, of course, themselves be British names nor even proof that their inhabitants still spoke Brittonic; nor would they necessarily mean that these villages went back to pre-Saxon times.⁷ However, already in 1924 Ekwall

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 60. Actually only 28 of them are really certain.

² Dict. p. xx.

³ EPNS. I, i, p. 26; and RKS. p. 54.

⁴ Cf. Ekwall, *op. cit.* p. 23.

⁵ See also Dict. p. 152, *s.v.* Eccles, Ecclesall, Ecclesfield, and p. 163, Exhall; Zachrisson, *op. cit.* p. 48; Förster, FT. pp. 582 ff.

⁶ Dict. p. 152 *s.v.* Ecchinswell.

⁷ Ekwall says that such names do not imply a large survival of Britons, rather the reverse, something exceptional (EPNS. I, i, p. 18). They seem to show that the Britons lived here separately from the English.

suggested¹ that some of them contained AS. *weald*, "forest", or *weall*, "wall", rather than *Wealh*. In 1927 Zachrisson analysed all the early *Wal*-names (*op. cit.* pp. 39 ff.), and concluded that the majority, if not all, of the places called Walton or Walcott contain AS. *weall*, not *Wealh* (*ibid.* p. 42); and he allowed only Walworth in Surrey and Walden in Hertfordshire to have *Wealh*. Schram accepts both *weald* and *weall*, and of eleven *Wal*-names in East Anglia sees *Wealh* only in Walpole in Suffolk and Walcott in Norfolk (*Aberystwyth Studies*, xi, pp. 36-7). See further Ekwall's Dictionary *s.v.* *wald*, *walk*, *wall*, and examples of names in *Wal(l)*-, pp. 468-72. The occurrence in the North of names in *Brett*-, as Bretby, is taken by Ekwall² to mean the existence of British communities still recognisable as such when the Scandinavians settled there, but Zachrisson thinks it points rather to Scandinavians of insular birth or origin (*op. cit.* p. 47).

Of river names, it has already been remarked how smaller rivers and streams with Brittonic names become increasingly prominent as we go west. In England as a whole most rivers and streams of some importance commonly have pre-English names, while smaller streams are chiefly English or Scandinavian; some counties, like Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk have very few old names.³

Lastly, natural features like hills and forests.⁴ Here the common elements involved are Pr.W. **barr* "top"; **penn* "head", "end", or "hill"; **carreg* "rock"; **creg'* "rock", **bre(3)* "hill"; **brynn* "hill"; **crūg* "ridge", **mēl* "bald hill"; **mānið* "mountain"; **ros* "moor"; and **cēd* "wood". In many cases these have become the names of villages. Examples are Berk-shire from **barrōg* "Hilly" (borrowed in AS. as *Bearruc*, the name of a forest); Penge (Sur.) from **Penn-gēd* "Chief Wood"; Penkridge (Staf.) from **Penn-grūg* "Chief Ridge", Rom.-Brit. *Pennocrucium*; Mellor (Lan.; Derb.), from **Mēl-bre(3)* "Bald Hill"; Malvern (Wo.) from **Mēl-brynn* "Bald Hill"; Chideock (Dor.) from

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² EPNS. I, i, p. 18.

³ See Ekwall, EPNS. I, i, pp. 23-5, and RN. p. lxxxvii.

⁴ See EPNS. I, i, pp. 25-6.

**cēdiōg* "Wooded (Place)"; Chetwode (Buck.) from **cēd* and AS. *wudu* "wood"; Ross (Heref.) from *ros* "moor". Zachrisson has analysed¹ the distribution of a number of names containing *penn*, *brez*, *crūg*, *mēl*, and *cēd*, but his results are not of any great significance, as noted above, owing partly to their rarity. It has already been remarked that such names are much commoner in the West than in the East.

The evidence of British place-names can tell us a certain amount about the relations between the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons in the different parts of England, though this must be controlled carefully by that of history and archaeology. A generation or two ago it used to be accepted without question that the Saxon invaders wiped out practically the whole of the British population, or such as did not flee for safety to the West or to Brittany.² This was an expression of the hostility towards the Celtic peoples and their languages, and the admiration for all things Germanic, which then prevailed; cf. pp. 94-5. The proponents of this view, who could not, of course, deny the existence of British place-names in modern England, must presumably have imagined the Saxons as capturing a Briton, demanding of him the name of a neighbouring river or hill, and then slaughtering him on the spot, while being careful to remember the form he told them. More recently opinion has swung the other way, and it is no longer necessary to defend the opinion that a British population survived the first rush of the occupation in some form, to a greater or lesser extent in the different parts of the island.³

The archaeological evidence shows⁴ that while some of the larger cities remained inhabited in the post-Roman period, with a very shrunken and de-Romanised population, others (such as Silchester) became entirely deserted; and complete abandonment is regular with the smaller towns. Gildas says that in his day the cities of Britain lay uninhabited, and though his knowledge was necessarily limited and this

¹ RKS. pp. 47 ff.

² Based primarily on Gildas, DEB. c. 24-5, and on Bede, HE. i, 15, who copied him. Gildas' words are, of course, grossly rhetorical.

³ Cf. Förster, FT. pp. 697-8; Myres, RBES. pp. 444 ff.

⁴ See Collingwood, RBES. pp. 317 ff.; Hodgkin, HAS. i, pp. 162 ff.

is in any case a highly-coloured passage, it cannot have been wholly untrue. As Myres points out,¹ both the early English historical sources and the British show us a state of affairs that was essentially non-urban. The decline and desertion of the towns had set in long before the coming of the Saxons, and it was by no means always due to them. The old picture of wild barbarians sacking Roman cities may be true in a few cases, as for instance in the story of Pevensey as told by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but certainly not in others. Some of them owed their existence solely to the Roman military garrisons, such as the forts of the Saxon Shore, and with the collapse of Roman organisation they would cease to exist. With others there is evidence for continuity of some sort of life from the Roman to the Saxon period, for instance at York or Cambridge, where the early Saxon cemeteries are in significant relation to the Roman centres; with still others, as London, no such association can be shown, though this does not, of course, of itself prove the absence of a sub-Roman population there. Apart from a few exceptions, such as Canterbury, the early bishoprics of the English church were based not on the great Roman towns, as in Gaul, but on royal villas and other places of later and entirely English significance; and this suggests that there was no flourishing survival of sub-Roman Christian life in the cities.² In certain instances, as at York or London (where Bede speaks of the obstinate heathenism of the inhabitants as preventing Augustine from establishing a bishopric there), the townspeople in the sixth century may have been small bodies of English squatters who kept a trickle of urban life going, largely in the form of markets; but by and large the Anglo-Saxons were not town-dwellers but farmers, true *pagani*, and they would take no great interest in occupying and keeping up the decayed and in

¹ RBES. p. 434.

² Cf. Myres, RBES. p. 437, "In Kent itself the disappearance of organised British Christianity and the ruinous churches which St. Augustine found to repair in Canterbury, may serve to remind us that even here, under the most favourable circumstances, the continuity of urban conditions was by the end of the sixth century more a matter of moribund tradition than of vital fact".

many instances already desolate Roman cities.¹ The *raison d'être* of London has always been primarily as a centre of foreign trade, and there can have been very little of that in the first half of the sixth century.² London in the second half of the fifth century and earlier part of the sixth must have been a shadow of itself.

Yet as we have seen, the names of a good many Roman towns and stations have lived on in the form in which the English borrowed them. For this reason, but in opposition to all the archaeological evidence, Zachrisson argues³ that there was a far greater vitality of urban life than what has been described above, and that continuity of a name means continuity of the city. It has been objected to this that the mere existence of a name is not enough to show that a given city is more likely to have outlasted the dark period than those whose names were lost; "Roman towns, whether inhabited or not, must have been conspicuous objects in the Anglo-Saxon landscape, and the survival or loss of their names was in general determined by the same principle, or lack of it, as that which led to the survival or loss of the names of other prominent features of that landscape".⁴ In other words, the name of the town may still have been well known to the Britons of the neighbourhood without there necessarily being any inhabitants in it, or its being anything but a ruin—certainly not a flourishing urban centre. Nevertheless it is hard not to agree with Zachrisson when he says, "When a Saxon town is built on the very site of its Roman predecessor it is difficult to believe that there was not some kind of continuity, especially when the old name of the town has survived to the present day";⁵ for instance in the case of York. Myres really admits this; "Where, as in Kent, there is other evidence [i.e. apart from the names] for an uncommon degree of native survival, it is certainly tempting and perhaps legitimate to regard the almost unaltered persistence of the names of several Roman walled sites . . . as evidence for an

¹ Cf. Myres, RBES. p. 436; Hodgkin, HAS. i, p. 162. On the evidence for a greater degree of survival of town life in Kent, see RBES. pp. 436-7.

² Cf. RBES. p. 438; ASE. pp. 55 ff.

³ RKS. pp. 59 ff.

⁴ RBES. p. 427.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 33.

unusually close contact between invader and invaded".¹ But he thinks the loss of the Roman name of Canterbury, the one city for which there is good reason of other kinds for accepting the existence of an unbroken life, is much more significant, and is a warning against basing theories of continuity on the mere persistence of a name. Myres' verdict on the survival of Roman towns as towns into the earliest Anglo-Saxon period is in the negative.² The question is apparently to some extent one of degree. We must agree that there was little place for town life in England in the later fifth and in the sixth century, for towns were out of step with the whole farming economy and self-sufficiency of the English settlers. It is clear that nowhere did the Roman cities carry on their life entirely unbroken and unabated; clear too that in many cases, such as Silchester, their sites were utterly deserted and never re-inhabited, their very names being forgotten. But surely it is not unreasonable to think that in some other instances the delapidated and almost deserted walls (deserted, it should be remembered, often before the Saxons came there) still protected some small broken remnants of a British population—after all, the ruined houses would at least supply some shelter; and that as at York or Cambridge, early Saxon settlers might choose to join in such poor advantages as could still be found. Even the most self-sufficient agricultural economy can use some kind of market centre;³ and people must occasionally have needed to travel, along the still-existing Roman roads, in which case the Roman sites were the obvious stopping-places, where inns would be required. It must all have been at a most minimal degree, yet enough to preserve the spot for the future greatness

¹ RBES. pp. 427-8.

² Cf. RBES. p. 438. Zachrisson evidently regarded Ceawlin's conquest of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath as evidence for their existence as towns (RKS. p. 31); but as Myres says (RBES. p. 434) this is unjustified, since the names may be used in the Chronicle merely as indications of territory.

³ The degree of Roman continuity in Kent is, of course, exceptionally high; here, the artificers of the wonderful metal work and jewellery of the pagan period must surely have lived in something approaching town conditions rather than in rural hamlets. And these men were not only English; the famous "hanging bowls", whose manufacture seems to have centred in Kent and the home counties, are clearly of Celtic workmanship.

of several modern English towns and cities when, as with London, the facts of economic geography reasserted themselves. Surely also it is not impossible that in such cases the names were handed on by the scanty inhabitants, though one may well agree that the existence of the name alone proves little more than that the ruins still stood as a conspicuous object remembered by British tradition. In any event, nothing like organised urban life can have existed in unbroken continuity from Roman to Saxon Britain.

Considering next the second of the great groups of population units in Roman Britain, the villas, archaeology shows here an utter blank. Without exception they went absolutely and completely out of occupation,¹ in a few instances violently destroyed, but mostly by simply decay. Scarcely an example is known of an early Anglo-Saxon object found in association with the site of a villa. The disappearance of the estate names of these villas is significant too.² Such names in Roman Gaul, very commonly adjectives in *-ācum* formed from the name of the original owner, have survived in their hundreds in the present nomenclature of the villages of France.³ This is not the case in Britain, and it would seem, therefore, that the villa system cannot have remained a fact of any significance in the agricultural organisation of Anglo-Saxon times. This is not a consequence of any process which had begun well before the end of the Roman period, as in the case of the decline of the cities. The villa economy was, if anything, gaining in strength in the course of the fourth century (cf. p. 112). The conclusion must be that the rural aristocracy, the country gentry, of Roman Britain was completely eliminated as a class in the course of the dark period after 450. Some would be killed off, and some would flee for refuge; in the main their disappearance is due to the fact that a different agricultural system was being set up in Britain, and under other masters.

The third population unit of Roman Britain was that of the villages and the peasantry. With the disappearance of town life and of the villa organisation, this was the chief native

¹ Collingwood, RBES. pp. 317-18.

² Cf. Myres, RBES. p. 440.

³ See p. 39.

element remaining during the course of the conquest—the barely Romanised country folk, and perhaps mixed among them some of the former inhabitants of cities and villas who had become reduced to their level. Here the evidence of archaeology points to a fair degree of desertion.¹ There is no continuity of agriculture in certain areas such as the hills of Wessex and Sussex, but a new distribution of villages and a new pattern of fields, which means a complete break. In Salisbury Plain the Saxons made their homes exactly where the Romans had not, and the Roman settlements went entirely out of occupation. Elsewhere there are examples of sites which were inhabited both in Roman and in Saxon times, particularly, it seems, where the Britons themselves already lived in the valleys, the favourite place for the villages of the Saxons. So, in quite a number of instances in the Upper Thames valley it is found that the Saxons buried their dead in pre-existing Romano-British cemeteries, side by side with the bodies of the conquered people. Such things are highly instructive, the more so when one considers that in a given area the lack of remains which can be definitely ascribed to a sub-Roman population is not necessarily proof that such people did not exist there, since this lack is, in general, almost as marked in those parts of the West where we know they survived as it is in the East. Their culture was so poor materially that they left little or no tangible evidence of themselves, but though their Roman civilisation (such as it was) disappeared, it does not follow that the people did so too.

From the evidence of place-names it is clear that in point of fact the British population was nowhere completely exterminated, though it certainly survived more fully in some areas than in others.² In eastern Britain, the parts described as

¹ See Collingwood, RBES. p. 318; Myres, *ibid.* p. 441.

² Cf. Ekwall, EPNS. I, i, p. 31; in RN. p. lxxxix he suggests that in the East the old theory of extermination or displacement may be fairly true of the parts first conquered. Zachrisson thinks one must assume that in the East the Britons were either largely exterminated or absorbed quite early (RKS. p. 59); Schram, that place-name evidence in East Anglia shows the British settlements there were almost completely destroyed and the Britons absorbed (*Aberystwyth Studies*, xi, p. 31). We may accept *destroyed* and *absorbed*, but hardly *exterminated*.

Area I, British names of natural features are relatively rare and confined chiefly to those of large rivers, which, it is well known, are always the most permanent of all place-names of an older stratum ; village names occur, but are not common. This district corresponds well enough to the greatest extent of the first period of the Anglo-Saxon conquest and occupation, between the middle of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century ; indeed in the South it is probable that the boundary had not changed between about 500 and 550, if the story of Badon is true, as it appears to be. We may suppose that the comparative rarity of Brittonic names in this Area is due to some feature of this stage of the conquest, some comparatively high degree of overthrow of the Romano-British peasant economy. Admittedly it may well be that in the hurly-burly and land-grabbing of those days many of the natives were killed and their hamlets destroyed ; but also it is likely that the Saxons, closely settling the available good cleared land, squeezed them out or forced them into their agricultural pattern by transferring them and reducing them to slavery.¹ British villages were small and scattered, of the "non-nucleated" type, which would not suit the English with their nucleated villages.² The fact that place-names in *Wealh-* are so rare shows that settlements which were definitely British ones were unusual ; indeed that such names were given at all implies that they were the exception. In these circumstances the surviving British peasants would quickly lose their national identity and with it also their language.

Within this general framework, enclaves of Britons probably survived the first flood of English settlers, chiefly in the less attractive lands, which were forest, swamp, bare hills, or otherwise not favoured by the English farmers, who preferred well-drained level or sloping ground in open valleys and rolling plains. Such undesirable land had mostly been desert in Roman times too, as unattractive then as it was to the Saxons ; the Weald of Sussex is an example of a country which never

¹ Cf. Hodgkin, HAS. i, pp. 135-6.

² Indeed they may hardly have recognised the dispersed British homesteads as constituting villages at all, and hence never learned their names.

became really cleared and populated until the later Anglo-Saxon period. Whether there was any considerable lurking population of Britons there in the dark period is doubtful ; but in other cases the evidence is fuller. One of these is the district to the north of the Thames between there and Luton, the “ deserts of Chiltern ” already referred to, where the archaeological map is a total blank for the really early Saxon period, and where, as we have seen, the story of the battle of Bedcanford in 571 seems to point to the survival of British inhabitants as late as the third quarter of the sixth century, strong enough to have prevented much settlement in central and northern Buckinghamshire. Early types of English place-name are rare here.¹ A similar enclave may perhaps have existed in the heath and forest country of West Suffolk and Essex,² where again the archaeological and place-name evidence for very old English occupation is comparatively meagre. It has long been thought that another existed in the Fens until a late period. This was a district of highly developed agriculture under the Romans, as we now know, but with the collapse of Roman organisation it reverted to marsh and swamp, and the early Saxon settlers avoided it. It would have made a good hiding-place for British refugees, as it did later for “ the last of the English ”, and there is some reason to believe that natives still speaking British were in fact to be found there as late as the beginning of the eighth century. The neighbourhood seems to have included some elements still recognisably British even in the tenth century, if we may so judge from the fact that the regulations for the Guild of Thanes at Cambridge, belonging to that period, specifically lay down the fine for the killing of a Briton as distinct from that of an Englishman.³ Not far from the Fens, Förster has

¹ Cf. RBES. p. 407.

² Cf. RBES. pp. 446, 453, and p. 520 below.

³ On the evidence for Britons in the Fens, from a passage in Felix's *Life of St. Guthlac*, written in the first quarter of the eighth century and referring to shortly after 700, see Grey in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, xv 45 ff. It is discounted by Schram, *op. cit.* p. 40, and is certainly not decisive ; but there is nothing inherently impossible about it, though the late date makes it rather improbable. True, as Schram notes, there

attempted to demonstrate¹ the presence of a compact mass of Britons in the forest country south-west of Peterborough in the sixth and seventh centuries ; but the evidence consists of a single river name, and is in itself by no means conclusive, nor is it historically probable ; see § 28. 2. For the Highland part of Area I, in the North, we have already seen that there is reason to assume a considerable survival of the native population in Bernicia, working the soil under English overlords (see p. 219). In Deira the English element must have been a good deal larger.

There is little to say of Area II in the South, except that it represents a gradual extension of the English settlements in the later part of the pagan period. In the chalk uplands of Hampshire and Salisbury Plain anything like real Saxon occupation probably did not begin until the resumption of the western advance about 550 ; until that time these hills were probably still inhabited by British peasants who had not been exterminated by the transitory raids of Cerdic and Cynric,² and some of their place-names survive. The result of the Saxon conquest was very likely that the villagers deserted the hills and came down to the new townships in the valleys. The same process was continued further west by the campaign of Dyrham. In the Midlands, on the other hand, the Saxon advance may have been a slow process of pushing into the forests and clearing them for farming ; the British population of these woodlands was perhaps not very large. In both cases it is likely that the English were not so numerous as in Area I. In the South great tracts fell to them at one stroke, and they could hardly occupy these very thoroughly ; in the Midlands the progress of forest clearing would not be rapid enough to allow of any close-packed settlement. Perhaps also, the first flush of conquest being over, the more scanty pioneers towards

are very few Celtic names in the Fens. On the Guild of Thanes see Grey, p. 51. Schram (p. 41) says it merely emphasises the scarcity of Celtic people in the area. Perhaps, but at least it proves their existence, though telling nothing of their language. Grey quotes other sources pointing to the presence of British marauders in the East Midlands quite late, but they are less impressive.

¹ FT. p. 161.

² Cf. Myres, RBES. p. 453.

the west did not kill off and expel the Britons to the same degree as their forefathers had done further east. At any rate, the greater survival of British place-names, not only of big rivers but also of smaller streams and more names of villages and natural features, suggests this. In the North it was a time of expansion as rapid as in Wessex, for it brought the English from the Yorkshire Wolds, the tributaries of the Ouse, and the coastal strip of Northumberland, to the top of the Pennines and to the sea in southern Lancashire. Considering the relative smallness of the original colonies of Deira and especially Bernicia, it is clear again that the English settlers of Area II in the North cannot have been very numerous,¹ though the Britons were probably not either, since so much of the country was uninhabitable moor and forest. As regards particular enclaves of Britons, pre-English river names are notable in the Yorkshire Moors,² and in the Pennines (where the kingdom of Elmet had been a barrier to the Saxon advance); and also between the valleys of the Tyne and Tees where early Saxon settlements are lacking and a British population may have survived till late.³ The country round the river Glen in northern Northumberland is one where, apart from the place-names, the hill terraces point to a British survival.⁴ Along the Northumberland-Cumberland border also Celtic names are prominent.

With Area III we are on quite different ground. This is the district specially picked out by Ekwall, who does not make any distinctions further east, as that showing a higher percentage of British names than the rest of England; and here they are not only those of towns and rivers but also of small streams, as well as of more villages, hills, and forests than in Area II. The reason can hardly be entirely a chronological one, for the occupation did not come so very much later than that of Area II; except for Devonshire, it had all fallen into English hands by the middle or later part of the seventh century. It must be rather a question of relative numerical

¹ For Bernicia cf. p. 219.

² Cf. also Myres, RBES. p. 454, and below, pp. 491, 680.

³ Cf. pp. 212, 213, 222.

⁴ See Hodgkin, HAS. i, p. 277.

strength. In the South-West, in the wide new lands of western Wessex conquered by Coenwalh and his successors, this was certainly the case. The Laws of Ine make constant reference to and provision for "Welshmen", who are an inferior but partly free and still important element in the population, capable of holding land;¹ and the Laws of Alfred continue these provisions two centuries later. It is not probable that these "Welshmen" are the inhabitants of the old, eastern, Wessex.² They must certainly still have been speaking Brittonic in Somerset and Dorset³ by the end of the seventh century; in fact, as Loth pointed out,⁴ an Anglo-Saxon charter of Centwine of the year 682 mentions a place south of the Tone in Somerset as *Britannica lingua Cructan, apud nos Crycbeorh*, which proves not only that the language was still alive here at the time but also that the English were adapting British place-names and that the two forms could exist side by side. Whether it continued far into the eighth century in Somerset and Dorset is uncertain. Förster thinks⁵ the ME. form *Frowe-mutha* for the mouth of the Frome proves that Brittonic must still have been living in Dorset at least as late as the beginning of the eighth century, which is surely possible historically, though the linguistic argument is inconclusive.⁶ Ekwall goes much further,⁷ and takes the fact that Asser in the late ninth century quotes certain Brittonic names in Wiltshire and Dorset in their Old Welsh form (*Guilou* = Wiley, *Durngueir* = Dorchester; add *Frauu* = Frome and *Coit Maur* = Selwood) as proof of the existence of a Brittonic-speaking population there as late as that time. This is scarcely credible, especially in Wiltshire, and it must be either that Asser was using older documents or else that these names were still known in Wales. After all, he gives, likewise in Old Welsh, names for certain other places where Brittonic must have ceased to be spoken centuries before, as *Ruim* = Thanet, *Cair Ceri(n)* = Cirencester, and *Tig Guocobauc* = Nottingham; the first two are probably taken from Nennius. Since Devon was

¹ See Myres, RBES. p. 447.² Cf. Zachrisson, RKS. p. 59, n.³ Cf. p. 11.⁴ See RC. xx, 340-42; and p. 310 below.⁵ FT. p. 697.⁶ See p. 488, n. 1.

EPNS. I, i, p. 28.

occupied later than Somerset and Dorset we should perhaps expect an even higher proportion of Brittonic names there, but in fact the reverse seems to be the case. The reason may be the depletion of the country by the emigrations to Brittany, and a rather full and rapid occupation by the English; ¹ and this shows again that relative chronology is not the sole clue to the matter.

The next part of Area III to the North is the border strip of Gloucestershire west of the Severn, Herefordshire north of the Wye, western Worcestershire,² and most of Shropshire. The southern portion was settled at some time in the second half of the seventh century, the northern about 650. British names are probably not so common here as in Somerset and Dorset (and in certain districts they represent late immigration from Wales), but still they are quite plentiful enough to suggest again that the English settlers were comparatively fewer than further east, and that the Britons survived the occupation in good sort.³ Finally there is the northern region, often referred to as Cumbria, within the boundaries of Area III as defined. The date of effective English settlement here is uncertain, but probably in the middle of the seventh century in the south and somewhat later in the north. Here again British names are not quite so numerous as in Somerset and Dorset, but are nevertheless marked, and there are several of the type Ekwall calls "late compounds". It is likely that here too the English formed a minority of the population, coming as they did from a colony whose beginnings were small and fairly recent; and that the Britons lived on in numbers

¹ Cf. EPNS. viii, i, p. xix; and p. 206 above.

² Ekwall points out (RN. pp. lviii-lix) that in Worcestershire west of the Severn there are a considerable number of small tributaries with Welsh names, whereas those on the east side are mostly English, and suggests that the Severn was once a boundary. Precisely; the boundary between Areas II and III, and (chronologically speaking) between the last quarter of the sixth century (after Dyrham) and the second half of the seventh.

³ Cf. Myres, RBES. pp. 454-5, "In Shropshire and Herefordshire, while the Saxons were eventually strong enough to impose three-field agriculture and many place-names of their own making, yet they could only do so within a society still largely organised on a Celtic basis of hamlets and isolated farms, and nucleated villages of normal Teutonic type are here uncommon".

under their English overlords,¹ especially in the remote glens which are characteristic of part of the area. The existence of such groups of Britons is indicated by Egfrith's grant of Cartmell and *omnes Britannos cum eo* already referred to. The wild country on the Northumberland border shows a special survival of British place-names. Indeed Förster, who has shown that the name Glendue may have been borrowed into English not before the end of the tenth century or in the eleventh, concludes² that a British-speaking population survived here until the late eleventh century. This is not probable, and, if the premises are sound, the explanation is more likely to be that this mountain valley was reoccupied by an overflow from the British re-conquest and occupation of northern Cumberland in the tenth century. Other late-looking Brittonic names in this district may be of the same origin.

Of Area III as a whole, then, it may be said that the somewhat higher proportion of Brittonic place-names there than in Area II is partly due to the fact that these were the last lands to be occupied by the English; but even more, that the new settlements did not form quite the solid Germanic mass that there was in the East, but represent a comparatively thin overlay over a larger population which lived on, racially little affected and fundamentally Celtic.³ Such people would keep their language longer than the outnumbered serfs of the East, and hence their place-names would have a better chance of survival.

This raises the question of the linguistic relations between the two peoples. It is, of course, obvious that the Brittonic

¹ Förster thinks the Britons of Cumbria must have kept their language unusually long, and that the incoming English must have lived with them on terms of friendly cultural and linguistic exchange (FT. p. 102).

² FT. pp. 27-8.

³ Myres, mentioning Worcestershire and Devon, gives the impression that the place-names of the West of England are little more preponderantly Celtic than in the East (RBES. pp. 427, 444-5). This is misleading, as a glance at the map on p. 220 will show. Worcestershire is part of Area II, and Devon is the least Brittonic section of Area III in its names. If Myres had picked Dorset or Cumberland, the result would have been rather different. But in any case the question is relative; the proportion of British to English names is not *high* anywhere; only in Area III is it significantly higher than elsewhere.

speech died out because it was abandoned by the natives in favour of Anglo-Saxon ; and there must have been a time, short or long as the case may be, when the Britons were bilingual. Now it is regularly assumed that Brittonic place-names came into English owing to the English having learned the names from the Britons and having borrowed them into their own tongue ; and, indeed, the frequent appearance of sound-substitution certainly suggests that the transference was made by those to whom the British sound-system was foreign. Yet at the same time since the Britons learned English it is *a priori* possible enough that at least in many cases it was they who passed their place-names from the one language to the other. As a rule, in the handing on of place-names it is the aboriginal population rather than the newcomers who are responsible for the loan and its sound form.¹ In so far as this applies to Britain, the fact that there is such extensive sound-substitution in Brittonic names adopted in English could only mean that the natives learned Anglo-Saxon thoroughly and accurately, so accurately that they had to mangle their own names to suit the new language rather than the new language to suit their own sound-system. Other considerations seem to show that this did indeed happen. It is impossible to point to any feature about Anglo-Saxon phonology which can be shown conclusively to be a modification due to the alien linguistic habits of the Britons ; in other words, assuming that they would have influenced the language at all, they must have learned the new phonology very completely.² Also, in spite of the probability of a bilingual period, they must have kept the two quite distinct, without blurring them together ; this is suggested by the well-known rarity of Brittonic common-

¹ Cf. FT. p. 843.

² Compare the way in which, while the sounds of a Welshman's English are notoriously modified by his Welsh speech, the language of Devon or Herefordshire or Shropshire, though dialect, is thoroughly English. That is to say, in Area III, as well as I and II, the Britons became English in speech and did not affect the tongue of the newcomers ; but in Area IV it is still a foreign language among a people whose linguistic traditions are overwhelmingly Brittonic, and among whom the English element in the population is negligible.

nouns ¹ as loanwords in Anglo-Saxon contrasted with the comparative frequency of Brittonic place-names. So, in the same way, in those parts of Wales where much English is spoken the number of Welsh words in the English is small, but the number of English words in the Welsh is very much larger. In those districts, such as Radnorshire and Monmouthshire, where Welsh has been abandoned for a fairly considerable time, although the place-names are all Welsh there are no more Welsh words in the English than elsewhere. So, too, the Roman Gauls adopted Latin thoroughly ; there are few Gaulish words in Romance, and these are largely peasant expressions, but of course Gaulish place-names exist in thousands. It is probably a question of which is felt to be the superior language, and which to need additions to its vocabulary.

As a matter of fact there is some positive reason to think that the transference of British place-names to Anglo-Saxon was made, at any rate in part, by the Britons during the bilingual period. In a few cases British names which are plurals are also plurals in Anglo-Saxon,² and, as the English are not likely to have learned much British,³ the presumption is that the bilingual Britons are responsible for it. Förster objects ⁴ to both views, but as his only ground appears to be that *beides begegnet einigen Zweifel*, the objection is unfounded. He thinks it more probable that both Romans and Saxons made use of the plural in these cases by coincidence in accordance with the linguistic patterns of their own speech, and

¹ Förster was unable to discover more than 14, and several of these are doubtful ; see KW. pp. 120 ff. Ekwall has added two more (see Eng.St. liv, 102 ff.), one of them ultimately a Latin word ; they are accepted by Förster, *ibid.* lvi, 204-5. Anglo-Saxon loanwords in Welsh are very much commoner ; cf. T. H. Parry-Williams, *The English Element in Welsh* (Cymmrodorion Record Series, no. 10 ; London, 1923), chap. ii. But it is probable that most of these were borrowed by intercourse between England and Wales long after the occupation of England was complete. The forms are those of historical, not Primitive, Anglo-Saxon ; and however many Pr.AS. words may have got into the British of, say, Somerset in the seventh century, it is not certain that many must have penetrated to Wales or Cornwall.

² See § 181.

³ Though Ekwall considers that it " implies a considerable familiarity with British on the part of the Anglo-Saxons who adopted the names " (RN. p. lxxxiii).

⁴ FT. pp. 78-9.

quite independently of the British form. This calls for no comment. Now no one would suggest that all British plural names need have been rendered as plurals in Anglo-Saxon, far from it ; but the fact that some apparently were is significant because it points to a state of bilingualism, probably on the part of the Britons. Further evidence for such bilingualism is seen in the occasional English names which are translated from the Brittonic, such as Bridstow from OW. *Lann San Bregit*, Bellimoor from OW. **Bolzros*,¹ Michaelchurch from OW. *Lann Mihacgel*, all in Herefordshire ; and others. But these, in the nature of the case, can only be proved to occur where Brittonic documents reach, and therefore only in Area III. Further, apart from the few Brittonic common-nouns borrowed into Anglo-Saxon, there are (as Förster has pointed out, KW. pp. 177 ff.)² a considerable number of personal names in Anglo-Saxon which are of British origin ; well-known examples are that of the "first English poet", Cædmon (seventh century), which is the Pr.W. **Cadμann*, and that of the seventh-century king of Wessex Cædwalla, which is the Pr.W. **Cadwallōn*. This suggests intermarriage and intimate fusion between the two races, which, in any case, must presumably have taken place on a considerable scale ; and therefore some degree of bilingualism. If not, at least these names are more likely to have got into Anglo-Saxon through English-speaking Britons than through non-Brittonic-speaking or even Brittonic-speaking Englishmen. Intermarriage is generally held to have been responsible for the traces of Brittonic names in the early genealogies of the royal families of Wessex and Lindsey,³ which shows that it happened at the highest social level.

It has often been remarked that a number of British names in English are really hybrids, in which the one part of the name

¹ Cf. Ekwall, EPNS. I, i, p. 29.

² Cf. Ekwall, *op. cit.* p. 20.

³ Cf. F. M. Stenton, in *Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (ed. H. W. C. Davis ; Oxford, 1927), p. 139 ; Myres, RBES. p. 446. On the name Cerdic see p. 613 below. Cædbæd in the Lindsey genealogy has a Celtic first element, but the second is on the face of it English, cf. Stenton, *loc. cit.*, who therefore calls it a hybrid. But possibly it is a partial Anglicisation of Pr.W. **Cadboðu*, Brit. **Catubodyos*.

is Brittonic and the other Anglo-Saxon. In some cases these again suggest bilingualism. So Carlatton, "Latton's Fort", and Carhullan, "Holand's Fort", in Cumberland have English personal names for their second elements. Ekwall believes¹ that the English names here were adopted by the Britons, and point to a later British influx superseding an English population (if so, presumably to the Cumbric reoccupation in the tenth and eleventh centuries); but it seems at least as likely that they were given by bilingual Britons to the dwellings of their English overlords. It is a curious thing that in a number of cases these hybrid compounds are tautological, the English part meaning the same as the Brittonic. Such are Cheetwood (Lan.), Penhill (NRY.), Penn Hall (Wo.), Pendle Hill (Lan.; here the *hill* has been added twice), Pendlebury and Pendleton (Lan.), Bredon (Wo.), Breedon (Leic.), Cricklewood (Mx.), and Crichel (Do.).² In such cases as these bilingualism seems rather unlikely; it looks very much as if the local Britons called, for instance, a certain wood **ir cēd*, "the wood", and the Anglo-Saxons, hearing but not understanding it, took it for a name and added "wood", making **Cēt-wudu*; and similarly added AS. *hyll* to Pr.W. *penn*, and so on. Bilingual Britons would hardly have coined such names.

Taking together all the evidence on the linguistic relations of Britons and Saxons, though it is of course impossible to generalise, we do seem to observe the following features: the Britons learned the language of their conquerors, and they acquired its sound-system and vocabulary very completely, their own phonetics having no discernible effect on the new language and their own vocabulary very little. There must have been at least some degree of close relationship and inter-marriage, through which British personal names were taken into Anglo-Saxon. All this suggests a bilingual stage, when the Britons knew both Anglo-Saxon and British, though it is not likely to have been a long one, especially in the East; and it is not probable that the conquerors learned much of the language of the conquered. Of the many British place-names which became English, some did so through the mouths of

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 31.

² On all these see Ekwall, *Dict. svv.*

the bilingual Britons, as apparently in the case of the plural or translated or some of the hybrid names discussed ; others were taken over by the uncomprehending monoglot Saxons, as perhaps with the tautological compounds just mentioned. The whole picture is, at any rate, totally incompatible with the old theory of the complete extermination of the British inhabitants. It is noteworthy that two of the plural names are on the coast of Kent, a district with extremely few British place-names, though it is now known to have had a rather high survival of Romano-British civilisation. The advocates of the old clean-sweep theory would probably have thought Kent as *Britenrein* as any part of the island.

There remains now one more linguistic question concerning the relation of Britons and Saxons, and a very interesting one. So far it has been assumed here without discussion that the place-names found their way into Anglo-Saxon through Brittonic. But could any of them have reached the English through the medium of Latin, and if so what does this imply about the spoken languages of Britain ? As already described in Chapter III, it was formerly believed that under the Empire southern England was almost entirely Latin in speech ; the corollary of this, that British place-names were handed on to the Anglo-Saxons in a Latin form and pronunciation, was taken for granted, and its implications may be seen as late as 1927 in Zachrisson's *Romans, Kelts, and Saxons* (cf. p. 95 above).

This question forms part of a wider one, that of the Latin words (other than names) thought to have been borrowed into Anglo-Saxon during the settlement period. This subject was treated fully by A. Pogatscher in his *Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen, und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen* (Strassburg, 1888 ; abbr. Lautl.). He divided the Latin loanwords into three groups : an ancient one consisting of those which had entered common West Germanic on the Continent during the Empire, up to about 450 ; a middle one, those words which came into Anglo-Saxon from spoken colloquial Latin in the pagan period in England, roughly 450-600, though the majority were early ; and a late

group consisting of learned loans from Continental ecclesiastical Latin from the time of Augustine's mission on. The second group might be thought to imply, as Pogatscher argued (*op. cit.* pp. 2 ff.), that Latin was actually spoken in Britain c. 450–600, or at any rate in the cities, as he specifically says (p. 7). He took the *inscriptiones Christianae* as proof that Latin actually lasted as a language of intercourse;¹ and assumed, for lack of any real evidence known to him, that British Latin was identical with contemporary Gallo-Latin. Pogatscher was countered by Loth in his *Les Mots latins dans les langues brittoniques* (Paris, 1892; abbr. ML.). Loth regarded Latin in Roman Britain as primarily the speech of the army, and strenuously denied that any Latin was spoken there after the "departure of the legions" in 410.² As a Celticist, he was aware that British place-names in Anglo-Saxon show some specifically late Brittonic features, such as the second *i* in Bede's *Lindocolina* (Lincoln), which cannot be Latin.³ He attempted to explain away⁴ Pogatscher's second group by supposing that some words were borrowed very late from Gallo-Romance through the connections of the kings of Kent with the Franks,⁵ or during the Conversion, and others not directly from Latin at all but through British; and in any case he minimised the numbers and importance of the Latin words taken into Anglo-Saxon in this period.⁶ He argued that since the various linguistic changes which affected general Vulgar Latin in the fifth century are not represented in the loanwords in British, Latin must have died out completely in Britain at the beginning of the fifth century. His conclusion was⁷ that the English met no speakers of Latin in Britain,

¹ This is much too sweeping an inference, and in any case is only relevant to the Highland Zone.

² Cf. *op. cit.* p. 30. This derives from the old idea of a ruling Roman class and an entirely separate, barbaric British under-stratum which was isolated when the Romans disappeared in 410; a view which was already becoming out of date, as Pogatscher himself had seen.

³ See *op. cit.* p. 18 n.; and p. 258 below.

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 26 ff.

⁵ On relations between Kent and the Franks see Stenton, ASE. pp. 58-9.

⁶ Loth seems not to have grasped fully the distinction between Pogatscher's second and third groups.

⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 31-2.

where it existed only as the language of the church. Pogatscher replied to Loth's criticisms in his *Anglesachsen und Romanen in Englische Studien* xix (1894), pp. 329 ff., and defended the view that at least some Latin was spoken in fifth- and sixth-century Britain, denying that it was limited to the army or that the Latin element disappeared when the army left. He could not believe that Latin would not have lived for a second or third generation after 410. However, it is significant that he now admitted the possibility that some words could have been borrowed from the Latin of Gaul at this period.¹

The controversy is, of course, out of date in many ways, and it has been summarised here by way of showing the nature of the problem as it then appeared. The probable character of the linguistic situation in Britain under the Empire and in the fifth and sixth centuries has been described above, pp. 97 ff. and 116 ff. It is clear that Latin was spoken in Roman Britain much more widely than merely among the army; but also that immediately before and during the course of the English invasion the Roman military and civil governments were disrupted, organised town life disappeared, the rural upper classes of the villa system ceased to exist; and, in short, that all those elements in the population of the Lowland Zone which were the strength of the Latin language melted away with the decay and eventually the collapse of the Roman way of life before the onset of the English, leaving little but a British-speaking peasantry behind. This is not to say that the invaders can have had no contact whatever with Latin speakers in the Lowland Zone; so rigid a hypothesis would be absurd. Very likely such miserable remnants of Roman urban society as did manage to maintain an existence in the fifth and early sixth centuries would have included some who used Latin. The skilled British craftsmen who manufactured the hanging bowls in Kent and elsewhere in the fifth century, no doubt at least in part for English patrons, may well have spoken some. There is little evidence for the survival of Christianity in the Lowland Zone, but any of the clergy who did persist among the sub-Roman Britons would presumably

¹ He had already envisaged this in Lautl. p. 12.

still keep up the Latin of the church. Further, there is some reason to think that very early in the invasion period there were intermarriages between the Saxon royal houses and the Britons, presumably with surviving members of the aristocracy who would, no doubt, speak Latin. Taking the legend of Vortigern and Rowena as typical, such people might well have learned some Latin from their British husbands or wives. In any case, we must not think of the Latin elements in fifth-century Britain as disappearing instantaneously at the first sight of the English, although it is true that since they seem to have been quickly dispossessed, pauperised, and reduced to the level of the peasantry, their language may not have survived for more than a generation at the outside. If a man like Ambrosius Aurelianus spoke Latin in the latter part of the fifth century, as he doubtless did, we must remember that he was "the last of the Romans". All the foregoing applies only to the Lowland Zone. In the Highland Zone conditions were different (see pp. 116 ff.), but here there was no intercourse between Saxons and Britons at the time and consequently the situation is irrelevant. The conclusion must be that during the period of Pogatscher's insular borrowings, c. 450-600, the possibility of contact between Latin-speaking Britons and the English cannot be excluded, though it is not likely to have been more than trifling. Whether any Latin words were, in fact, adopted by the English in this way is a different question, which must be considered next.

In the circumstances described, the controversy between Pogatscher and Loth is seen to be a sterile one. Most of the difficulties raised on both sides are ignored here, since they are dealt with by implication elsewhere in this book. Loth's argument that if Latin had been spoken in Britain in the fifth century it would have had the characteristics of general Vulgar Latin at the time is to some extent misplaced. We have seen in Chapter III that the superior British Latin from which the loanwords in Brittonic were derived was quite different in certain important respects from Continental Vulgar Latin. It is true that for all we know the uneducated among the Latin speakers in Roman Britain may have used the

ordinary Vulgar Latin, but if so their speech would be pretty well isolated from any real Continental influence by the middle of the fifth century, so that there is no reason why any Vulgar Latin developments later than that time should appear in Britain at all.¹

Before discussing whether any of the place-names of Britain can have been borrowed from Latin-speaking Britons, it would be as well to look briefly at the Latin words said to have been adopted into Anglo-Saxon in the pagan period, 450–600. The numerous Latin words in Anglo-Saxon² are divided by Luick into two main classes: popular oral borrowings from colloquial Vulgar Latin, which are early and almost all taken to belong to pre-Christian times; and learned loans, chiefly from ecclesiastical spoken and written Latin, which are late and subsequent to the Conversion. The latter class belongs to a time when Latin was ceasing or had ceased to be a genuine living speech. Luick's first main group itself falls into two: (1) those loanwords which were adopted on the Continent by the West Germanic peoples during the Empire, and hence inherited in Anglo-Saxon; these show early features; and (2) those which came into Anglo-Saxon after the invasion of England, therefore between c. 450 and the seventh century. Luick's second main group (Pogatscher's third) is again subdivided: (3) words showing evidences of the pronunciation of ecclesiastical Latin as spoken in the schools; and (4) those which are purely book words, not current in spoken Latin, and adopted by the English clergy from the written form as best they could. This last is of no importance here.

The period covering (1) was a long one, and the degree of

¹ Loth's chronology for the VL. sound-changes is often mistaken, and he did not realise that fourth-century British Latin already differed from fourth-century Gallic, so that his conclusions are inapplicable; e.g. on the absence of assibilation, which he thought proved Latin was dead in Britain by 410; ML. pp. 30-31. Pogatscher, who, of course, believed that Latin was still spoken there, explained the non-appearance of assibilation by saying that no new words were borrowed any more into British because the two languages were now on a cultural level and British needed nothing more. This is a desperate expedient. On the whole question see pp. 90-91 and 107 ff. above.

² See Pogatscher, Lautl.; and Luick, HGPS., especially §§ 208 ff. and 659 ff.

interinfluence between Latin and Germanic along the Rhineland frontier and through members of the Roman army was considerable. The loanwords are therefore many, of a very varied character, and show signs of borrowing at different periods. Their phonology is that of ordinary, or sometimes of rather high-class Vulgar Latin through this time; so most preserve Latin *ĩ* and *ũ*, render *v* by *w*, and do not voice intervocal *p*, *t*, and *c*; they keep the Classical quantity system and apparently do not show the VL. assibilation. Group (2) is, unfortunately, very ill-defined, and the history of the words obscure, as the controversy between Pogatscher and Loth of itself shows. That the opportunity may have existed for some words to have been borrowed into Anglo-Saxon from remnants of Latin-speaking Britons has already been suggested above, but whether their Latin was, in fact, identical with that of Gaul, as Pogatscher thought, is a very different question, and may depend on the type of people involved; cf. pp. 249-50.

The criteria of group (2) words are vague and unreliable. Pogatscher considered that words which show the VL. voicing of intervocal *p*, *t*, and *c* to *b*, *d*, and *g* belonged to this period (the *d* appearing in AS. as *d*, and the *b* and *g* respectively as *ḃ* and *ȝ* by sound-substitution); but since the VL. voicing took place in the fourth and fifth centuries,¹ it is clear that this criterion alone cannot mark a word as definitely later than group (1).² In the same way the appearance of *e*, *o* for Classical *i*, *u* is not to be regarded as proof of lateness, as Luick takes it, since the change of Classical *ĩ*, *ũ* to VL. *ě*, *ǫ* began as far back as the end of the Republican period,³ though it was by no

¹ Cf. Richter, CPF. pp. 135-7, 155-7, 158-60, 160-61.

² The intervocal Late Brit. and Pr.W. *g* arising by lenition of *c* is regularly sound-substituted in AS. by *c* (see § 137), not by *ȝ*. This suggests that those words which have *ȝ* in AS. for VL. *g* from *c* (as *cuculla* > AS. *cuzele*, *fenuc'lum* > AS. *finuzle*) had a pronunciation different from that of the new Brittonic [g]. Now the latter did not subsequently develop into *ȝ*, whereas the new VL. *g*, as well as original *g*, did so, in the fifth to sixth century, and was then lost. It is probable, then, that the reason why AS. substitutes the VL. *g* by *ȝ* not *c* is because the occlusion was already somewhat loosened at the time the words were borrowed, and this may make it likely that they are late and do belong to group (2). The analogy cannot be shown clearly to apply to *b*, since the AS. sound-substitution for Britt. *b* < *p* is uncertain; see § 135.

³ Cf. CPF. pp. 51-6.

means thoroughly carried out so early; hence borrowings with *e*, *o* were certainly possible in group (1). Consequently, e.g. *pira* > AS. *peru* could be Continental. The best criteria of group (2) words are those features which indicate that certain sound-changes of Primitive Anglo-Saxon had already taken place, such as the rise of a new *a* (as distinct from *æ*, *ǣ*), while others, such as the *i*-umlaut, had not. Both of these are implicit in *Latina* > AS. *Læden*, which is therefore a group (2) word. The characteristics of group (2) being so ill-defined, it is not possible in most cases to say positively which words do and which do not belong to it, but there seem to be about a couple of dozen which are apparently later than the Continental period and do not bear the marks of groups (3) and (4). Where they come from, however, is a very uncertain question. From Latin-speaking Britons? and, if so, from those using British Latin upper-class pronunciations or from those (if any) who spoke general Continental Vulgar Latin? The *d* in *Læden* could have arisen through British lenition, and if so the word came from the elevated British-Latin speech; but it could also be due to the ordinary VL. voicing of intervocal *t*, in which case it might have been borrowed either from low-class urban dwellers in Britain or from the Gallo-Latin of the Continent. Another probably insular loanword is AS. *ceaster*,¹ which is found in no other Germanic language, but though it is likely to have been borrowed from Latin speakers living in the Roman towns, for which it is the Anglo-Saxon word, it tells us nothing about the type of pronunciation they used. AS. *earfe* < *ervum* is certainly later than *mealwe* < *malva*, because

¹ Ekwall suggests that it came through British, EPNS. I, i, pp. 19-20; Dict. p. xxv. But it is very doubtful whether *castra* was borrowed into Brittonic at all, since W. *caer* can hardly be derived from it. Ekwall seems to have realised this difficulty, and he suggests that in some place-names it was taken from the Latin *name* in British mouths; but this would hardly explain its use as a common-noun. However, the other Latin words which Ekwall proposes were taken from British (*loc. citt.*), namely AS. *funta*, *foss*, *port*, may well be correct, though not necessarily so; his *wic* is not so probable, as the evidence for the existence of *gwig* in Britt. in the sense of "settlement" or "dwelling" is poor. He tended to stress this concept because he seems not to have taken seriously the idea that the English borrowed any words from Latin speakers in Britain.

the former shows the *b* pronunciation of Latin *v* and the latter the *u*. Nevertheless, *earfe* need not be a group (2) word on this count, since the *b* came into use in VL. so early (see p. 88). If it did belong to that group, as the development of the first syllable suggests, and if it really reached AS. in Britain, it would certainly seem to bear witness to the existence of a general Vulgar Latin pronunciation there (namely *b*) distinct from that type of British Latin which we know from Brittonic, and would very likely therefore have been borrowed from low-class urban Latin. But once again we cannot be sure that it did not come into AS. from the Latin of Gaul. The same applies to AS. *yntse* < *uncia*. This shows the VL. assibilation of *c*, which is regarded as not characteristic of group (1) loans and is indeed not normally found until group (3); the word contrasts with AS. *ynce*, also from *uncia*, which is clearly an earlier borrowing before the time of assibilation. Since *yntse* is older than *i*-umlaut, it is, however, not so late as the group (3) learned words. Once more however uncertainties arise. Full assibilation in VL. was in fact probably old enough ¹ for *yntse* to have been borrowed on the Continent with *ts* rather than *c'*; and even if not, there is no proof that it did not reach Anglo-Saxon from Gallo-Latin in the group (2) period. Such a word might have been introduced through trade with the Franks. If it did come from the Latin of Britain, it must have been from speakers who used the normal Vulgar Latin pronunciation, not that of upper-class British Latin, but there is no certainty that it did so. Analogous doubts apply to *cuzele* and *finuzle*, which apparently belong to group (2); they can hardly have come from educated late British Latin **cugulla*, **fēnug'lum*, however, or we should expect **cucele*, **finucle*; see p. 251, n. 2. Like *yntse*, these may have been introduced from the Continent through trade.

Pogatscher's belief that almost all the Latin loanwords of group (2) came from Britain seems to be based on the theory that the English had practically no intercourse with the Continent between about 450 and 600, and that with the

¹ See p. 90.

conversion to Christianity all new loanwords were adopted in the learned school pronunciation of group (3). But the first of these propositions is too rigid, and the second probably incorrect. Three of the chief marks of group (3) words are that they show the new Vulgar Latin quantity system described on p. 88 and in § 2. 4, which was used also in learned Latin ; that they again have *i* and *u* for Classical *i*, *u* where colloquial VL. had *e*, *o* ; and that they once more render intervocal Latin *p*, *t*, *c* by *p*, *t*, *c* instead of *b*, *d*, *g*. Examples are *coquus* > *cōcus* > AS. *cōc* ; *magister* > *māgister* > AS. *māzister*. Now the last two of these three characteristics are due, so far as Gaul is concerned, to a reform of Latin school pronunciation whereby the vulgarising treatment of *i*, *u* as *e*, *o*, and of intervocal *p*, *t*, *c*, as *b*, *d*, *g*, were abandoned in favour of the revived Classical ones ; and this reform is regarded as one of those instituted under the Carolingian Renaissance.¹ But this would mean that there was a considerable period after the Augustinian mission to Kent during which Latin words might still be borrowed (and now definitely from Gallic Christian sources) without necessarily showing any divergences from group (2) words—or to put it differently, some group (2) words could be adopted a good deal later than *c.* 600. Not all of them, by any means, have characteristics which prove that they cannot be as late as the seventh century. It is true that the members of Augustine's mission, and others of Roman origin, would not use the *b*, *d*, *g* pronunciation since this did not exist regularly in Central and Southern Italy ; but the conversion of the English would quite probably bring about some influx of words through contact with Gallic Christianity. A likely example is *abbod* < *abbatem*. Luick himself regards ² AS. *mæsse* as borrowed at the time of the Conversion of Kent, from VL. *messa* from *missa*. Even *yntse* might belong here, since *i*-umlaut is now realised to have been later and to have covered a longer period than Pogatscher thought ; cf. § 168. A striking case of a group (2) loan which is unquestionably late (Pogatscher says early seventh century, Lautl. pp. 119-20) and certainly

See C. C. Rice, PhGCL. pp. 9, 27-8, 49-50, 55, 61, 70.

² HGES. § 211.

from Gallo-Romance is *cumpæder*.¹ This was taken from a VL. **compædre(m) < compatrem*, which shows not only internal VL. *t > d* but also the lengthening of a stressed syllable and the specifically north Gallo-Romance change of *ā* to *æ*, which was taking place in the fifth to sixth century.² The AS. accentuation *cúmpæder* shows that it is a late loan comparable to group (3) words;³ yet the other features make it clear that it is not a "learned" one. From all this it is safe to conclude that some words which appear to fall into group (2) need not have been borrowed before the seventh century, and can have come from the spoken Latin of the Continent. This would account very well for a number of Christian words, such as *abbod*, which on Pogatscher's view were borrowed during the English pagan period; an improbability which he has difficulty in explaining.

The results of this enquiry into the Latin loanwords in Anglo-Saxon seem to be negative; in practice it is impossible to say positively in any given case that a group (2) word cannot have come from Continental rather than Insular Latin, though *ceaster*, for instance, is probably Insular and *Læden* may be. One or two, such as *earfe*, *if* of Insular origin, would seem to suggest that they were taken from a pronunciation which was the same as that of Continental Vulgar Latin, and distinct from what we have seen was the speech of the British upper classes from which the Latin loanwords in Brittonic are derived. If so, this would mean that among such speakers of Latin as the invading English may have met, some (very likely the urban lower classes) used the ordinary Continental Vulgar Latin pronunciation. But this is quite hypothetical, since these words may have come from the Continent. Hence the existence of the group (2) loanwords cannot be taken as positive proof that Latin was at all widely spoken in the Lowland Zone of Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries. The fact that there are more of them than there are borrowings from Brittonic in Anglo-Saxon has been used as an argument

¹ See Pogatscher, Lautl. *loc. cit.*; Luick § 331.

² See Richter, CPF. pp. 223-6.

³ Cf. Luick, HGES. § 218; Pogatscher, Lautl. pp. 39-40, 59-60.

for the theory that the Lowland Zone was Latin rather than Brittonic in speech; so Sir Ifor Williams says¹ "these . . . invaders learnt more Latin than British from their captives and slaves, if one may safely judge from the scarcity of British elements in English as compared with the number of early Latin borrowings". But even if all the group (2) loanwords were adopted in Britain (and it is possible that none or almost none of them were), it would still not be safe to come to any such conclusion, because we are dealing with such small figures on both sides—about eighteen Brittonic² versus a round two dozen Latin at most—that proportions are of little significance. Besides, assuming that the Latin words were taken over in Britain, some such relative number is only what would be expected, for Latin was the speech of an admired and superior culture, with expressions for ideas not existing in Germanic, whereas British was that of a low class of serfs and peasants whose vocabulary could have had little which the English (themselves a race of farmers) would need to borrow.

With these conclusions in mind, we come finally to the question whether any of the British place-names adopted by the English were learned from speakers of Latin and not from speakers of Brittonic. Only the Lowland Zone need be considered, since no one suggests that Latin was widely spoken in the Highland Zone. The *a priori* assumption, based on the history of the ordinary loanwords as just described, is not very favourable to Latin; but seeing that the one place where the Latin language is most likely to have lingered in the Lowland Zone is among the inhabitants (such as these were) of the decayed Roman cities, it might be expected that at least some town names would have been borrowed in this way, if no other kinds. When the evidence is examined, however, it is seen to be as elusive and unsatisfactory as for the group (2) loanwords. We should look for signs in the form of the place-names which point to Latin and not Brittonic pronunciations. Here we are baulked at the very start by the fact that at least the bilingual Britons pronounced Latin in most respects (though

¹ TAAS., 1939, p. 28.

² See p. 243, n. 1.

not all) as if it were British, and also that some of the changes which affected British took place by coincidence in Continental Vulgar Latin too; so that it is hard to tell the two apart. Probably large communities of monoglot Latin speakers in Britain, such as may have existed in the cities towards the end of the Empire, might not be influenced by developments in contemporary British pronunciation; and it is among these people, if anywhere in the Lowland Zone, that the ordinary colloquial Vulgar Latin of the western Empire was probably current in Britain. Hence we must look negatively for traces of pronunciations which cannot be British, and positively for such as are ordinary Vulgar Latin and not high-class British Latin. But these are almost impossible to discover. For instance when a name with original British *-t-* is borrowed into English with *-d-*, some would have said that this was due to the regular Vulgar Latin voicing of intervocal *t*; but since the same voicing took place in British this criterion is worthless.¹

Certain developments in British no doubt did not affect British Latin:

(1) The change of British Σ to *h* is not likely to have been reflected in Latin, where British Σ was treated like Latin *s*; therefore any names which show the *h* must have been taken from British. Thus English Trent is from the British pronunciation, not the Latin, which would have preserved the *s* of *Trisantona* (see pp. 524-5); and similarly with Hamps in Staffordshire, Hail in Huntingdonshire, and AS. *Hīl* in Essex, see p. 520. On the other hand the existence of *s* in a name in English is no proof of Latin pronunciation, since Σ lasted at least as late as the middle of the sixth century and was perceived by the English as an *s*, in names like Severn.

(2) British \bar{q} became first \bar{u} and later $\bar{ū}$; see §§ 18 ff. The \bar{u} is regularly treated in AS. by sound-substitution with \bar{i} or \bar{y} , sometimes also $\bar{ū}$, though in early loans this is simply the

¹ So Pogatscher regards AS. *Andred* beside Gaulish *Anderitum* as showing the VL. pronunciation, and sees this in the spelling *Anderidos* in ND. (Eng.St. xix, 350-51). But *Andred* can just as well come from a Late Brit. **Anderid-* with lenition of *t* from older **Anderit-*. The reading of ND. may or may not represent VL. pronunciation, but if it does it can be due to a late Continental copyist.

equivalent of Brit. \bar{u} (see § 20). These developments of \bar{o} apparently did not happen in British Latin, or at any rate not the \bar{u} stage (cf. pp. 314-15), so that for instance AS. *Lindcylene*, Bede's *Lindocolina* (Lincoln), which represents a Pr.AS. **Lind(o)colin-*, must come from Pr.W. **Lindgolūn* and not from the Latin.¹ Any cases where AS. has \bar{u} could perhaps, if early enough, represent a British Latin pronunciation with \bar{u} , or indeed a Continental VL. one since the VL. \bar{o} in Gaul seems to have been very close and liable to fall together with \bar{u} .² So AS. *Lūnden*, Rom.-Brit. *Lōndinium*, might derive its \bar{u} from Latin-speaking inhabitants, as Zachrisson apparently believes (RKS. p. 80).³ But it may just as well, or more likely, come from the British \bar{u} as from this rather hypothetical Latin one. In the same way the *u* in AS. **Lindcolum* might be of Latin origin, but it could as well represent an earlier adoption of the Brit. name in the stage **Lindogolūnia* (cf. § 20. 1, 2) or perhaps an alternative substitution for \bar{u} . Zachrisson sees Latin vocalism in Rom.-Brit. *Olicana* > AS. *Yllic-* (Ilkley), which he appears to regard as having been borrowed with *o*-giving *y*- in AS. (RKS. p. 79). According to him it cannot be British because a Brit. **Ōlic-* would give AS. **Īlic-* (he means, no doubt, with substitution of AS. \bar{i} for Late Brit. \bar{u}), and a Brit. **Ōlic-* would be **Ēlic-* in AS. (evidently thinking that it would have Pr.W. internal affection to *e*- before being borrowed). But all this is misconceived. **Ōlic-* in the Brit. \bar{u} stage would be borrowed, or in the \bar{u} stage sound-substituted, as Pr.AS. **Ūlic-* > **ȳlic-*; or the AS. \bar{y} could be direct sound-substitution for \bar{u} . Moreover, Brit. **Ōlic-* would not give AS. **Ēlic-* but Pr.AS. **Ōlic-* > **ȳlic-*, since internal affection would not have occurred so early. The supposed Latin pronunciation of *Olicana* rests on nothing at all, therefore; and, in any case, it is quite doubtful whether Ilkley is derived from *Olicana*, see Ekwall, Dict. p. 250.

(3) Pretonic British \bar{i} and \bar{u} were reduced in Pr.W. to

Cf. Pogatscher, Beitr.G.D.Sp.Litt. xviii, 470.

Cf. Grandgent, IVL. pp. 85-6.

³ He seems to think that it must have been from Latin speakers on the ground that if it was from British it must have had \bar{i} in English.

sounds which are rendered in AS. by *e*, *i*, or *y* (see § 204). This would doubtless not happen in spoken Latin. However, pretonic VL. *ĩ* did become *e*,¹ and *i* or *e* in AS.² could represent this if it took place among the hypothetical speakers of general VL. in Britain (it did not in upper-class British Latin). Zachrisson, deriving AS. *Repta* from the Rom.-Brit. form *Ritupiae* rather than from the better-attested *Rutupiae*, sees this Latin *e* here (RKS. p. 82); but the name is probably Brit. **Ro-tupĩ*-, see pp. 661-2.

(4) Short *ĩ* and *ũ* in a Brit. penultimate became *ě* and *ō* in Late Brit. if the following syllable was final and contained *ā* (see § 151); it is not likely to have affected British Latin. This explains the *o* in names like AS. *Dofras* (Dover), from Brit. **Dubrās* or **Dubrā* (see § 154); and, if Exe, Axe, and Esk are from *Īsca* (which is uncertain, see FT. pp. 822 ff.), the *e* in these. But Latin *ĩ* and *ũ* became *e* and *o* in VL.; and Zachrisson explains Dover as borrowed from Latin speakers with VL. *o* (RKS. p. 79). This is unnecessary. In the first place, the change to *e* and *o* emphatically did not occur in British Latin as we know it, though it could presumably have done so in the low-class VL. which may have been current in the cities; and secondly, the British change described accounts quite satisfactorily for the AS. vocalism without calling in the help of Latin. In the case of AS. *Dornwaraceaster* (Dorchester), Brit. *Durnovaria*, the *o* cannot be due to *ā*-affection, and once again Zachrisson sees VL. *o* here (RKS. p. 79); but it is perfectly well explained by the regular native SW.Brit. development of *o* from Brit. *u*, see § 5. 1. Rom.-Brit. *Durovernum* (AI., Canterbury) is *Doruver-nensis civitas* in Bede, and *Dorubernia* in Asser, as well as *Dorwitceaster* in ASC. 604, MS. E. Here again Zachrisson finds VL. *o* < *u* (*op. cit.* p. 77), and neither British vowel-affection nor SW.Brit. *u* > *o* will explain the *o* in these. Now the forms *Lactodoro* for **Lactoduro*, and *Sorbiodoni* which is a poor variant for the better *Sorvioduni*, both in the Antonine Itinerary, which are also quoted by Zachrisson,³ derive from Continental

¹ Cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 96.

² See Luick, HGES. § 217.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 77. His *Mancomo* appears to have no existence

Latin MSS. ; and in these the reflection of VL. *ē*, *ō* in the form of mistaken scribal copyings of Celtic names is common. Late Latin writings of Gaulish names in *duro-* regularly have *doro-*, *doru-*, and in the same way these two British names with *o* in the MSS. of AI. prove nothing about actual British pronunciation. For Bede's *Dorovernensis* and Asser's *Dorubernia*, they are clearly *written* forms, probably derived from similar Continental Latin sources, or Asser's very likely from Bede. AS. *Dorwitceaster* ¹ in ASC. is a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, and occurs only in the E text,² in which the forms of names are often unreliable, so that it is suspect for this reason as well as for its corrupt *t* for *c*. The AS. name for Canterbury was *Cantwara-burh*, and *Dorwitceaster* or **Dorwicceaster* looks like a spurious invention based on the *Dor-* spellings in late Latin sources like Bede.³

Positive evidence for any of the other well-known developments of Vulgar Latin not found in British Latin as we know it, such as the assibilation of *t* and *c*, the change of *u* to *b*, the new quantity system based on the nature of the syllable, and so on, is all equally lacking. So, for instance, the fact that *Pennocrucium* was taken over with the second *c* still a guttural, not *ts*, or that *Sorviodunum* ⁴ gave AS. *Searoburh*, not **Syrfeburh* with *b*, shows that the English did not hear these names from speakers of the Continental type of Vulgar Latin,⁵ but from Britons talking Brittonic—and not even British Latin either, because the AS. *Pencric* has sound-substitution for British, not British Latin, *ū* (cf. § 20. 2), and the vocalism of the first syllable of *Searoburh* points to a Pr.W. form **Serw*

¹ Presumably an error for **Dorwicceaster*; cf. J. P. Magoun, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, xviii, 81.

² And in a late interlinear interpolation in MS. A.

³ Note that the *u* in Gaul. and Brit. *duro-* was short, and the word has no connection with Ir. *dūr*, W. *dir* (wrongly related to it in BSRC. pp. 32-3, etc.). See E. Philippon, RC. xxx, 73-7; L. Weisgerber, *Die Sprache der Festlandkelten* (XXste Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, 1930), p. 200.

⁴ See JRS. xxxviii, 58.

⁵ Mawer's explanation of Binchester (see p. 89) would certainly predicate the *b* pronunciation, and subsequent confusion with *b-*; but it is not a probable one. Initial *V-* in names in Britain invariably appears as *W-* in English.

with Late British vowel-affection. It is only in the names of such Roman towns and cities that traces of the general Vulgar Latin pronunciation would be looked for, hardly in those of rivers, etc., nor in ordinary words, even in the Lowland Zone.

As we have now seen, in those cases where Zachrisson saw VL. phonetics in English names the assumption is unnecessary and unjustified, and the ordinary developments of Late British and Primitive Welsh and Cornish explain them as well or better. Zachrisson must have paid little attention to the study of British phonology,¹ and naturally approached the problem from the point of view of Vulgar Latin, since he believed that language was widely spoken in the Lowland Zone at the time of the English conquest. The result of the present enquiry shows that in fact in no single instance is there any positive and irrefutable evidence that an English name was taken from speakers of Latin, just as there is no really convincing proof that any Latin words in Anglo-Saxon must have been adopted in Britain from natives talking Latin, though a few may have been. Not only does the phonology of the British names in Anglo-Saxon show no indications of the normal British Latin sound-system as contrasted with British, but also it gives no support for the theory that any significant body of people survived at the time of the Conquest who used the ordinary Continental Vulgar Latin as distinct from the more archaic language of the Romano-British upper classes. Like Ekwall and Förster,² then, we shall proceed on the assumption that British names were taken into Anglo-Saxon from speakers of Brittonic; and though it does not prove anything for certain, the heavy accumulation of negative evidence does seem to suggest strongly that the English met very few people who talked any sort of Latin at all during the course of the occupation of Britain.

¹ Compare his words that the names of towns like Ilkley and London "exhibit no . . . traces of a Celtic pronunciation" (RKS. p. 63).

² On Pogatscher's theory that AS. *Liccid* was borrowed from the remnants of a Roman population round Lichfield, see Förster, FT. pp. 592-3. As Förster shows, Pogatscher's British phonology was at fault.

PART II

THE ACCENT

§ 1. The British Accent

The evidence is that the accent in Late British, before the loss of final syllables and the separation of Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, fell on the then penultimate syllable,¹ which became the ultimate shortly afterwards; and also that it was probably a strong stress accent, as is indicated by the reductions which attacked unaccented syllables.² Compound words, or at least compounds consisting of two nominal elements, very likely had a secondary stress, so that *Camboglanna*, for instance, would be stressed *Càmboglánna*,³ but with prepositions and other such prefixes there was probably little or no secondary accent; see § 156. How much older the penultimate stress was in British it is hard to say. Certainly the Latin words borrowed between the first and fifth centuries became accented in the same way, but this could be due either to assimilation to the native pattern or to a general later change affecting both native and Latin words. Evidence for an older, and different, accentual system is very uncertain and is to be treated in principle with the greatest reserve when offered as an explanation of linguistic changes.⁴ Nothing definite is known about the Common

¹ See the sections on the workings of the accent, §§ 198-205. Cf. Holmer, *Ét.Celt.* iii, 82.

² Loth believed at one time that the accent was a tonic one only, and did not become a stress until the thirteenth to fourteenth century (see RC. li, 3-4); but he had to admit that reductions of pretonic vowels had occurred before the eighth century. How he would explain these if *not* the result of a stress accent is not clear, nor is it clear why the accent should ever be regarded as a tonic one at all. Cf. § 206.

³ So Förster thinks that Pr.W. *Lêd-gêd* (*sic leg.*) was certainly spoken with two stresses; FT. p. 593.

⁴ It is well known that Morris Jones made use of arbitrary accentuations in his WG., on the theory that the British accent was a free one; usually with absolutely no basis, sometimes with the comparison of Greek or Sanskrit, which, however, are by no means necessarily relevant. Morris Jones' evidence (WG. p. 49) was rejected by Loth (RC. xxxvi, 335-6), and certainly

Celtic accent,¹ and there is no assurance that the Irish or Gaulish stress need have any relevance to the British. Hence throughout this book, which is concerned chiefly with the growth of Welsh, Cornish, and Breton from British, the Late British penultimate accent will be taken for granted in all cases and no speculations will be admitted about an earlier accent-system. It would be as well, therefore, to offer here and now what evidence there does seem to be that in earlier times the British accent may have been freer, or at any rate not necessarily penultimate. Thus W. *cawr* is derived from Brit. **cawaros* (Galatian *Cavaros*), older **coṽaros*; see Pokorny, IF. xxxviii, 191, Thurneysen, KZ. xlviii, 70. If so, it must have passed through **caw'ros*, which is presumably later than the development of original *au* to *ō* in Brit. (late first century, § 22. 1); such a form implies an accentuation **cávaros* or **cavarós*, and this after the late first century. Similarly with **sāueliōs* > W. *heul*, etc., if this is through **sāu'liōs*; cf. § 46. 6. If MW. *tei* is from **tegiā* < **tegesa*, as Pedersen thought (VKG. ii, 96), this needs the same position for the accent, after the time when -s- was lost (second half of first century, § 117); but see Holmer, *Language*, xxiii, 133. The *Tagea* of Ravennas may represent the stage **tegiā*, see BSRC. p. 46. For actual contemporary forms in the British period which seem to show syncope of the syllable which in Late British was the stressed one, note *Belismius* (at Caerleon, CIL. vii, no. 97), and contrast *Belisama* (Ptol., apparently the Mersey; cf. the Gaulish goddess *Belisama*, Holder, ACSpZ. i, col. 386), probably made with the superlative suffix *-samo-. Also *Cintusmus* three times in CIL. vii, no. 1336.316, and once in JRS. xxxvii, 178; some of

constitutes no proof. In Chr.B. pp. 56 ff. Loth followed an early opinion of Thurneysen's (RC. vi, 311) that the British accent was *initial*. Nevertheless he felt he had to allow some stress on the penult, and so gave it a secondary stress. This was all very well in quadrisyllables, but in trisyllables he had to suppose the unlikely accentuation *trinitas*. He then postulated a subsequent metathesis of accent weight, so *trinitas*, giving W. *trinét*, later *trinéd*. This was all unnecessarily complicated, and involved a number of contradictions such as unstressed *ā* > *ø* in the fifth century. Later, in RC. li, 3, he had changed his mind, and said that from the second to the fifth century the accent was or tended to be on the penultimate.

¹ Cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 256.

these may have been Gaulish manufacturers ;¹ compare Gaulish *Cintusmia*, *Cintusmus*, *Cintusma* (Holder, *op. cit.* i, col. 1024). These are taken by Pedersen to have the superlative suffix, : W. *cyntaf* < **cintusámos* (VKG. i, 87). These examples are all consistent with an earlier British antepenultimate accent, before it became fixed on the penultimate in Late British ; but whether they prove its existence is questionable.²

(N.B.—Ekwall derives Rochester from Rom.-Brit. *Durobrivae* as follows: **Durobrīu* > Pr.AS. **Rofri* > **Hrofri* (by assimilation to AS. *hrōf* “roof”), > *civitas Hrofi* in Bede (HE. ii, 6, etc.) by dissimilation of *r*, > AS. *Hrofesceaster* ; and comments that this means an accentuation *Duróbrivae*, which, as he says, is common in Gaulish, the unstressed initial syllable having been dropped by the English in the borrowing (Dict. 371). But if a form like **Duróbrīw* existed in Pr.W., it would surely be borrowed with English initial stress as Pr.AS. **Dúrobri* or the like, if the vowel of the first syllable was still intact, as it would certainly be if the compound had secondary stress, *Dùrobrivae*. One might suggest that the name was stressed locally *Durobrivae* without any secondary accent, perhaps a matter of dialect ; and that the consequent syncope of the first syllable is not English but British (compare perhaps *B'latucairo*), hence a Pr.W. **D'robriw* which had *already* lost its *u* when borrowed.)

§ 2. The Vulgar Latin Accent

The workings of the Latin accent in VL. are of special significance for the history of loanwords in British. Several conditions need to be distinguished :

¹ And for that matter *Belisarius* himself may easily have been a Continental, a member of the Roman forces or the like.

² *Blatucairo* (Eph.Ep. vii, p. 306, no. 953), if this is the correct reading beside the normal Brit. *Belatucadro*, is not opposed to a penultimate accent ; syncope of the first syllable is unexpected in Brittonic but not unparalleled, cf. § 208.

(1) *Syncope of the post-tonic penultimate syllable*.—There was a propensity from very early in the history of VL. to syncopate these syllables, (a) between any consonant and a liquid, as in *músculus* > *músc'lus*; (b) between a liquid and any consonant, as in *sólidus*, *cálidus*, *viridis*, *válide* > *sól'dus*, *cál'dus*, *vir'dis*, *vál'de*; (c) in certain other cases, as *décimus* > *déc'mus*, *vicésima* > *vicés'ma*. This was a tendency which went on repeating itself, occurring later with all kinds of consonants, especially in the VL. of Gaul. The treatment was inconsistent, differing in various parts of the Empire; and there was a discrepancy between cultivated and popular usage.¹ The reflection of the earlier types is clearly seen in British. So *discip'lus* > W. *disgybl*, OC. *discebel* (with later svarabhakti), MB. pl. *disciplet*; *pop'lus* > W. *pobl*, OC. *pobel* (as before), B. *pobl*; *sol'dus* > W. *swllt*, OC. *sols*, B. *saout*; *vir'dis* > W. *gwyrdd*; etc. etc. In those cases where the syncope did not occur in British Latin the vowel remained in Brittonic and took the stress; so Latin *cálamus* > Brit. **calámo-* > W. *calaf*.

(2) *Syncope of intertonic syllables in Vulgar Latin*.—Vowels following the secondary and preceding the primary stress in Vulgar Latin became indistinct and sometimes disappeared, but *a* was generally retained.² So *maledico* > *mal'dico*. Traces of this are probably found in British, though it may not be possible to say whether the dropping of the vowel is due to the Latin development or to the British syncope whose workings are described in § 196. So W. *benffyg*, *elfen*, *mynwent*, *taflod* < *ben'fícium*, *el'menta*, *mon'menta*, *tab'latum*; ³ but whether these words came into British with the intertonic vowel already dropped or whether it was subsequently syncopated in British cannot be determined. Occasionally, however, it may be shown that the syncope is British, as has been noted by Lloyd-Jones, ZCP. vii, 463. W. *awdurdod* < *auctoritatem*,

¹ See Grandgent, IVL. pp. 99 ff.; Richter, CPF. pp. 34 ff., 89 ff., 96-7, 144 ff.

² Cf. Grandgent, *op. cit.* p. 98; Richter, *op. cit.* pp. 89 ff.

³ Grandgent (*loc. cit.*) gives *civ'tatem* (whence W. *ciwdod*) as an example of the Latin syncope, but Richter treats loss of *i* in Latin *vit* as a separate special phenomenon, of the first to second century (CPF. p. 70). The same would apply to W. *ceudod* < *cav'tatem*.

cardod < *caritatem*, *pylgaint* < *pullicantio*, *trindod* < *trinitatem*, *melltith* < *maledictio*, are examples, since if these came into British without the intertonic vowel the results would be **awdurthod*, **carthod*, **pylchaint*, **trinod*, and **melltith*. Absence of this syncope in loanwords in British seems to be commoner than its presence; e.g. *dolorosus* > W. *dolurus*, *imperator* > MW. *ymherawdr*, *margarita* > W. *mererid*, *offerenda* > W. *offeren*, *paradisus* > W. *paradwys*.

(3) *Shortening of Vulgar Latin pretonic long vowels*.—There must have been a clear tendency in VL. to shorten long vowels before the accent, definitely *before* the time when the general recasting of the quantity system described in the next subsection set in. This does not seem to have received very clear recognition from Romance scholars, presumably because of the nature of the evidence to which they mostly confine themselves. Grandgent indeed remarks that the old quantity disappeared from unstressed syllables in the third or fourth century, and that confusion set in as early as the second (IVL. p. 75), but gives no examples of it in pretonic syllables. Yet the evidence of loanwords in British and Germanic shows a fairly clear picture. The British examples given below, pp. 289-90, 303, 304, 308, 331, indicate so far as they go that this happened very generally with *ā*, occasionally with *ō* and *ē*, very rarely with *ī*, and apparently not at all with *ū*. The fact that these shortened vowels are not syncopated in British is a coincidence; see pp. 653-4. Similarly the early Latin loanwords in Germanic have pretonic *ī* and *ū* retaining their quantity longer than the other pretonic Latin long vowels.¹ Full examples will be found on the pages referred to. The Germanic evidence seems to agree well with the British but to represent a somewhat more advanced stage. That the shortenings seen in British are due to the Latin and not to a native development is proved by the fact that they do not occur in native words. All this seems to suggest that shortening of pretonic long vowels in VL. was older than and independent of the changes described in the next section; that it happened at varying

¹ Cf. Pogatscher, Lautl. pp. 69, 58. On the Latin phenomenon as a whole see also Förster, FT. pp. 241-2.

rates and to varying extents according to the openness of the vowels ; and that it was not so early or so general as Grandgent's rather loose description would imply.

(4) *Re-organisation of the Latin quantity system.*—In the later VL. period the old Classical Latin system of quantity was replaced by a new one in which all unstressed vowels were short, and all stressed vowels in open syllables were long, in closed syllables short ; see Grandgent, IVL. pp. 75 ff., Richter, CPF. p. 127. So the old *vālēs*, *dīxī* became *vālēs*, *dīxī*. Before this, occasionally in stressed open syllables short vowels remained short and long vowels were shortened, but the following consonant was geminated ; e.g. *aqua* > *acqua*, Appendix Probi ; *cūpa* > *cūppa* ; or the long vowel remained but the following geminate was simplified, as *mīllia* > *mīlia*. See Richter, CPF. pp. 102-6, who dates this second to fourth century. According to Grandgent the older quantity disappeared first in unstressed syllables by the third to fourth century, but confusion was setting in by the second century. In stressed syllables sporadic examples of confusion are found as early as the second century, but the breakdown here was probably not general before the fourth and fifth centuries and not complete before the sixth. Grammarians warned against quantitative mistakes, for instance Servius in the fourth century (Grandgent, IVL. p. 75). Richter dates the new quantities third to fifth century (CPF. p. 127). There are no certain traces in British Latin of this whole important feature, even with unstressed vowels.¹ Apart from the shortenings mentioned in sub-section (3) above, which must be separate because they do not depend on syllable length, the Classical quantity system is preserved intact both in stressed and in unstressed syllables. It is true that a few examples can be quoted of Latin words in which the Classical stressed long vowel before two consonants appears in Brittonic as short ; but practically every one finds a natural explanation in some other way. Pedersen mentions some supposed cases (VKG. i,

¹ Grandgent, who notes this fact for unstressed vowels, suggests that perhaps their quantity was better kept in the provinces than in Italy (IVL. pp. 75-6).

THE SHORT VOWELS

204-5), of which *lāmina* > VL. *lām'na* > W. *llāfn*, B. *lāvnenn* is the most convincing; he regards this as of Romance provenance. In addition to this one may observe in Loth's index in ML. *lāxus* > **lāxus* > W. *llaes*; *disco* > **disco* > W. *dysg-* (but *disgybl* with *ī*), MC. *desca*; *fructus* > **fructus* > W. *ffrwyth*, B. *frouez*; *pūctum* > **pūctum* > **pūctum* > W. *pwyth*; *misceo* > **misceo* > W. *mysgu*; *pāscō* > **pāscō* > W. *pāsg-*, CB. *pāsc-*. However, Thurneysen denied (IF.Anz. iv, 45) that *disco*, *misceo*, *pasco* had long vowels, and rejected **puctum* (p. 46; cf. § 59 below). *Mysgu* is generally regarded as a native word, < IE. **misk-* (see LP. p. 19). The remaining *lām'na* and *lāxus* are not very convincing; it is true that Schuchardt accepted a VL. **lām'na* and took it and *misceo*, *disco* as early predecessors of the general later shortening of closed syllables (Litteraturbl., 1893, col. 103); but one should remember that in British also there was a very common tendency to shorten long vowels before consonant groups,¹ apparently at varying dates. Hence the short vowels in British in these words might be due to subsequent British shortening or sound-substitution to assimilate the loanword to an established pattern. One may say, then, that by and large the new quantity system of later VL. is only very doubtfully represented in Brittonic, if at all.

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§ 3. IE. *a*

British and Latin *a* regularly remain in WCB.; for examples see VKG. i, 31-2, 191 ff. On vowel affection of *a* see § 157; Brit. and Lat. *act* > *aeth*, § 58; Lat. *ax* > *aes*, § 125.

In *English names* it normally appears early with substitution of the common AS. short *a*-sound, namely *æ*; cf. Ekwall, RN. p. lxiii. So Brit. *Sabrina* > Pr.W. **Σabren* > AS. *Sæfern*, the Severn, see Förster, FT. pp. 245-6; Brit. **Tamīsā* > Pr.C. **Tavi* > AS. **Tæfi*, the Tavy (Dev.), see FT. pp. 398-9 (for a

¹ Cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 292, LP. p. 81; Morris Jones, WG. p. 97.

different view see Ekwall's explanation of these names, RN. pp. 360, 393); Brit. **Labarā* > Pr.W. **Laḅar* > AS. *Læfer*, the Laver (WRY.), see Ekwall, RN. pp. lxiii, 238. But before a back vowel in the next syllable the Pr.AS. short *a*-sound was *a*; so Brit. *Abonā* > Pr.W. **Aḅon* > Pr.AS. *Aḅon* > AS. *Afen*, the various rivers Avon; cf. RN. pp. lxiv, 20 ff. Later, Brit. *a* may appear in AS. as *a* in any circumstances, cf. Luick, HGES. § 214; so the Welsh names in DLV., c. 840, have always *a*, not *æ*. Before nasals the AS. *a*-sound was "dark" *a*, i.e. *ǣ*, written *a* or *o*. Brit. **Anderitā*¹ > AS. *Andred*, cf. Ekwall, Dict. p. 9; Brit. **Catumandos* > Pr.W. **Cadμann* > AS. *Cædmon*. Before *r* plus consonant and *h* plus *t*, AS. *a* > *ea*. This is found in place-names by sound-substitution, as Brit. **Carn-* > Pr.W. **Carn* > AS. *Cearn*, the rivers Cerne and Char (Dor.), Charn (Berk.), Cearn (So.); Ekwall, RN. pp. 72 ff.; Brit. **Catarractā*² > Pr.W. **Catraxt* > Pr.AS. **Cætreaht*, Bede *Cetreht* (HE. ii, 14), see Förster, FT. pp. 119-20. AS. palatalisation of *a* to *ea* after *ʒ'*, *sc'*, *c'* is seen, for instance, in *Ceadwalla* from Pr.W. **Cadwallōn*.

§ 4. IE. *o*

British and Latin *o* normally remain in WCB.; examples, see VKG. i, 32-3, 194 ff. On vowel affection of *o* see § 157. For Brit. and Lat. *oct* > *oeth* see § 58, Lat. *ox* > *oes* § 125.

(1) The most important exception to the preservation of *o* is that in Welsh before certain consonants or consonant groups, chiefly nasal plus stop, single nasal, or liquid plus stop, the *o* was generally raised to *u*, giving W. *w* in syllables stressed in Pr.W. and W. *y* in Pr.W. pretonic syllables (cf. § 201); see VKG. i, 33, LP. p. 2, WG. pp. 86 ff. This is peculiar to W., and is not found in C. or B.;³ cf. VKG. *loc. cit.*

According to Pedersen this change is older than *ā*-affection (VKG. i, 376; see § 151); he quotes W. *llong* beside *llynges*,

¹ See JRS. xxxviii, 54.

² See I. Williams, CA. pp. xxxii ff.

³ There may, however, be some very slight reason to think it might occur on occasion in Devon, just as in the case of the analogous *e* > *i* before single nasals (§ 6. 2); see on the AS. *mynet*, p. 676.

meaning that Brit. **longā* > **lungā* was *ā*-affected to **longā* again. But this is impossible, because *ā*-affection is common to WCB., whereas *o* > *u* is not, so that the former is the older; indeed, since *o* > *u* is Welsh only, it is later than the loss of final syllables and therefore of *-ā*, apart from the fact that *ā*-affection is to be dated in the first half or middle of the fifth century (see § 154). The vowel in W. *llong*, and also in *tonn*, “wave”, both feminine, can be explained in the same way as that in W. *crog* < *crucem*, on which see Lewis, EL. p. 35. Far from being early, the W. change of *o* to *u* must be comparatively late; since it is confined to W. (or almost entirely so), it is not likely to be older than the first half of the sixth century. The *o* is still present in MONEDORIGI, CIIC. no. 413, fifth century, which probably contains Late Brit. **monido-*, early Pr.W. **munid*, W. *mynydd*; but it has already become *u* in TVNCCETACE, no. 451, early or mid sixth century, which is from Brit. **Toncetācā* with Lat. gen. ending, and contains the stem which appears in W. *twng*. On the other hand, it is earlier than the reduction of pretonic *u* to *ø*, which is to be dated mid to later sixth century (see § 205). One may therefore date the raising of *o* to *u* in the above circumstances as first half of the sixth century.

(2) *In English names.*—Brit. *o* regularly remains; e.g. Pr.W. **coll* > AS. *Coll(e)*, the river Cole (Lan.), Ekwall, RN. p. 86. In the sequences *ō-i*, *ō-ī*, *ō-u*, and *ō* plus nasal plus consonant, IE. *ō* was *ū* in Pr.AS. (cf. Luick, HGES. § 77); and early Latin loanwords borrowed into English had *u* substituted in such circumstances (cf. *op. cit.* § 213). The same sound-substitution occurs in British names in AS.; e.g. Brit. Lat. *Lindocolonia* > Pr.W. **Lindgolūn* > Pr.AS. **Lindculīnu* > AS. *Lindcylene* with *i*-umlaut; cf. p. 258. Also Brit. **Uortigernos* > Pr.W. **Wortizern* > Pr.AS. **Wurtizern* > AS. *Wyrτζeorn* with *i*-umlaut; cf. Luick, HGES. §§ 77, 201. The *Uurtigernus* of Bede (HE. i, 14) perhaps represents the Pr.AS. form, and, if so, must be from an earlier written source. Andover (Ha.), AS. *Andeferas*, may be a compound of **onno-*, “ash”, and the stem **dubro-*, “water”; if so, it has Brit. *onn* substituted by AS. *ān*, since Pr.AS. had no real *o* before nasals; cf. Ekwall,

RN. pp. lxxxiii and 15-16, Förster, FT. p. 68, and p. 295, n. 1 below.

§ 5. IE. *u*

British and Latin *u* gave ordinarily OW. *u* (M., Mod.W. *w*), C. *o*, OB. *o* and *u* (Mod.B. *o* and *ou*). For examples see VKG. i, 35-6, 196-7. On affection of *u* see §§ 151, 157; Brit. and Lat. *uct* > *uith*, § 58; Lat. *ux* > *uis*, § 125; *u* in W. pretonic syllables, see §§ 201 ff.

VL. stressed *u* became *o*; probably in the fourth century or earlier, according to Grandgent, IVL. p. 87, but Richter shows examples in stressed syllables as early as the first century, though allowing that the change was slow¹ (CPF. pp. 53 ff.). This is not found in British, where Latin *u* behaved exactly as the native one; e.g. *furnus* > W. *ffurn*, CB. *forn*. On *crucem* and *crog* see Lewis, EL. p. 35; W. *torf* is from *turma*, with *ā*-affection of *u*, see *ibid.* p. 19. After a consonant, VL. *u* before stressed *a*, *o*, *e*, *i* was dropped, in the first to second century, see Richter, CPF. pp. 65-6; so, e.g., *Ianarius*, *Febrarius*. This is seen in Mod.W. *Ionor*, *Chwefror*, Mod.C. *Hwefral*, Mod.B. *C'hwevrer*.

(1) The development to *o* is common to C. and B., and was probably therefore beginning in the sixth century, perhaps early² (cf. Förster, FT. p. 648); but the fact that *u* is occasionally still written in OC.,³ and often in OB. even where Mod.B. has *o*, suggests that in the OC., OB. period the sound was still a close *o*, not far removed from *u* and not completely fallen together with original *o*. Cf. the CB. treatment of original *i*, § 7. 2. Brit. *Durnovaria* (AI.) was borrowed as AS.

¹ Förster dates VL. *u* > *o* as hardly before the fifth to sixth century, but without offering any evidence or attempting to confute Grandgent and Richter (FT. p. 427).

² There is sometimes O in the early inscriptions from Cornwall and Devon. So nos. 493, mid to later sixth century, CONBEVI (Dev.); 471, seventh century, CLOTUALI; 490, seventh century, CONHINOCI (Dev.); perhaps 477, seventh century, CONETOCI (Cornw.). For Brittany, note *Chonomorem* in Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* iv, 4, late sixth century.

³ E.g. *cugol*, *cuscadur*, Voc.C.

Dorn-waraceaster, Dorchester (Dor.), in the second half of the seventh century; this appears to have the same $o < u$,¹ and would show that this development occurred in the Brittonic of Dorset as well as further west; cf. Ekwall, Dict. p. 141, RN. p. lxxv. According to Förster, *Domnonia*, *Domnonii*, for *Dumnonia*, *Dumnonii* in Aldhelm, Asser, and Symeon of Durham, show the same $\ddot{u} > o$ (FT. p. 648); but this is more likely to be due to the common mediaeval Latin confusion of *u* and *o*, as they are probably book forms, not from contemporary spoken sources (cf. pp. 259-60 above).

(2) In certain cases Brit. \ddot{u} gave WCB. \ddot{u} before a labial. So Brit. **dubo-* or **dubu-*, "black", $>$ OW. *dub* (AC. 866; HB. c. 56, *Dub-glas*) $>$ M., Mod.W. *du*; OC. *duw* (Voc.C.), MC. *du*; OB. *du* (Berne, *du-glas*); M., Mod.B. *du*, but *duv* dialectically;² cf. OI. *dub*. Brit. **lub-* $>$ OW. *lu* (M.Cap. *lu-ird*), MW. *llu* in *lluarth*; OC. *luw* (Voc.C. *luw-orth*); OB. *lub*, *lu* (Leid. Leech.). According to Pedersen the final \bar{b} was lost and the \ddot{u} lengthened, falling together with original *oi* and Lat. \bar{u} in \bar{u} (VKG. i, 116). British had an \bar{u} from those and other sources between the late first century and the early sixth, when it became \bar{u} (see § 24), so that Pedersen's view would mean that the \bar{u} stage was reached in these two stems by the fifth century. But he seems to imply that the lengthening of \ddot{u} to \bar{u} here was by compensation for the loss of \bar{b} ; since, however, the \bar{b} is still written in the ninth and tenth century in OW. and the ninth in OB., this is a paradox. Moreover, Förster remarks that the theory is improbable on other grounds, namely, that in other cases of $\ddot{u}\bar{b} > \bar{u}$ with loss of \bar{b} and compensatory lengthening the \bar{u} remains $[\bar{u}]$ (e.g. Brit. **dubro-* $>$ **dǣbr* $>$ W. *dǣr*, B. *dour*; not *dūr*); FT. p. 168, but see § 67.8 below. Further, there is positive evidence that the stage *dǣb* still existed in Pr.W. The rivers Dove (Suf.; Derb.-Staf.; NRY.; WRY.; borrowed in the early sixth to early seventh century) are from Pr.W. **Dǣb*, not

¹ That *u* is original in this stem is proved by Gaul. *Durnomagus*, *Dagodurnus*, *Durnacos*, see Holder, ACSpZ. i, cols. 1382-3; hence Morris Jones was wrong to treat W. *dwrn* as having raising of original *o* before *rn*, WG. p. 87. The *o* in Ir. *dorn* is inconclusive.

² Cf. Loth, RC. xxxvi, 150.

**Dūb*, still less **Dū*, cf. Ekwall, RN. pp. 134-5; and the rivers Dawlish, Dowlish, Divelish, etc. (on which see § 204 B), as well as the OW. *Dibleis* (Lland. p. 191), MW. *Dyfleis* (*ibid.* p. 262) need **dūb-* in a pretonic syllable reduced to **dæb-*, later **dæb*,¹ which reduction probably took place in the mid or later sixth century, see § 205. Hence the word must still have had *ū* at that time; and in the case of the simplex as late as the early seventh century, as Dove in the West Riding shows. Now there is seen elsewhere what seems to be a tendency for Brit. Lat. *ū*, *ī* before a labial to become *ü* in WCB.; cf. WG. p. 96, Lewis, EL. p. 6. E.g. *cūbitus* > MW. *cufyt*; *occūpo* > MW. *achub*, B. *ac'hubi*; *hūmilis* > MW. *ufyl*, OC. *huvel*, MB. *uvel*; ² VL. *cūbic'lum* > MW. *cufygl*, *cuđygl*; *nūmerus* > OW. *nimer*, W. *nifer*, C. *nyver*, *never*, B. *niver*, probably through **nūmer*; ³ *fibula* > OW. *fual* ⁴ (Ox. 2; cf. Lewis, EL. p. 17); *īnferna* > VL. *īferna* > MW. *uffern*.⁵ But this is a fluctuating change, affecting only some words (contrast *cūpidus* > W. *cybydd*, *superbus* > W. *syberw*), or some of the languages (so *īferna* > C. *ifarn*, B. *ifern*). Developments of such a character are often to be regarded as late growths in the three languages, arising independently from the same common linguistic bases, and taking sometimes exactly the same course, sometimes not. It is true that apart from *dub* and *lub-* the examples seem confined to Latin words, which might suggest that *ü* goes back to Latin. But though *ū* and *ī* before labials did sometimes become *ü* in unstressed syllables in

¹ The W. rivers *Dulas*, *Dulais* with MW. *ü*, are probably secondarily influenced by the simplex; particularly since in the case of the Herefordshire *Dulas* an older W. *Dyfleis* is attested by the ME. *Dyueleis*; cf. Ekwall, RN. p. 132. On the river Douglas (Lan.) see § 204 B. 4.

² Förster derives these from VL. *hūmilis* (FT. p. 826), but this apparently comes from a misinterpretation of M. K. Pope's treatment of Fr. *humble*; cf. § 2. 4 above.

³ Morris Jones' Latin *nūmerus* (WG. p. 96) is not convincing; Oscan is irrelevant, and the *ü* in *maxumus* is in an unstressed syllable.

⁴ The phonetics of this word, MW. *hual*, are otherwise difficult, but there is no good reason to doubt that *fibula* is the source, as Loth did, ML. p. 178; cf. Lewis, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Loth treats *cufyt* and *cufygl* as "book words", ML. p. 107, and Baudiš takes *ufyl*, *cufygl*, and *achub* as "of learned origin" (Gr. p. 26); which explains nothing.

Latin (e.g. *quodlubet*), this did not occur in stressed syllables,¹ and was in any case largely abandoned by the VL. period. The fact that the majority of the examples are Latin is presumably then due only to chance. Some of them cannot be late, but must be at least as old as the earlier sixth century, since otherwise there would be W. *y* in a pretonic syllable; so *cubitus* must have become **cūbid* before the time when pretonic Late Brit. *ũ* gave Pr.W. *ø*. Others, however, may be later, as the divergence with *īferna* shows. It seems, then, not unreasonable to propose the following development for the two words in question: Brit. **dūbo-* or **dūbu-* became Pr.WCB. **dūb̥*, which in pretonic syllables gave Pr.W. **døb̥-* (later OW. **dæb̥-*); this was the situation in the sixth to seventh century when the place-names concerned were being borrowed. Later the *ũ* in the simplex became *ü* independently in W., C., and B., owing to the influence of the *ḃ*, which was itself subsequently dropped (on the date of this see § 66. 1). The history of **luḃ* would be analogous. Since forms without *-b* occur already in the ninth century in OW. and OB., the rise of *ü* may be dated between the seventh and ninth centuries.²

(3) *In English place-names.* *ũ* in Pr.W. stressed syllables remains; cf. the rivers Dove above. So Pr.W. **Turc* (from Brit. **torco-*, § 4. 1) > AS. *Turce*, the Turkdean (Gl.); see Ekwall, RN. p. 420. Dunwich (Suf.) is derived by Ekwall from AS. **Dumnuc-wic*, from the Celtic stem **dubno-*, "deep" (Dict. pp. 147-8). If so, these would come from Pr.W. **Dūmnōg* < Brit. **Dumnāc-*, borrowed (probably at the end of the fifth century) before the reduction of pretonic Pr.W. *ũ*. In itself this is likely enough, but the actual AS. forms raise difficulties; see Förster, FT. p. 425. Pr.C. *ũ* > *ø* appears in

¹ Cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 92. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (second edition; Philadelphia, 1940), p. 120, even doubts whether the sound was *ü* at all, and thinks rather that there may have been a genuine alternation between *ī* and *ũ*. Cf. Richter, CPF. p. 58.

² Loth proposed (an ablaut grade) **doubo-* to explain the WCB. *du*, as against OI. *dub* < **dubo-* (RC. xxxvi, 150), but he did not know the evidence for Pr.W. **dūb̥*, and ignores here the Gaul. names in *Dūb̥-*. Förster gives a like explanation, but admits there must have been also a Brit. **dūb̥-*; FT. p. 168. Loth's ablaut seems superfluous.

Dorchester, see above. On names showing the reduction of pretonic Pr.W. *ǣ* see § 204 B.

§ 6. IE. *e*

British and Latin *e* normally remain in WCB.¹ Latin *ens* had become *ēs* already in VL., and hence is treated as Brit. *ē*, q.v. On some confusions of *e* and *i* see WG. p. 16; Parry-Williams, Phon.WB. p. 8; Lewis, EL. p. 41. Brit. *eī* > *iī*, see § 37; vowel affection of *e*, §§ 157, 164; Brit. and Lat. *ect* > *eith*, § 58; Lat. *ex* > *eis*, § 125.

(1) The Brit. *e* could not have been very close, because it was distinct from the close *ē* arising by vowel affection (see § 164). But it cannot have been very open either, or at least it was probably closer than Lat. *e* (which was *ē* in VL., cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 84), since Brit. Lat. stressed *ē* in hiatus developed a glide-*u*, due to its open character, while the hiatus-glide with native *e* was, if anything, *ī* (see p. 367).

(2) IE. *e* before a nasal plus stop became *i* in CC., though there are a few apparent exceptions in Romano-British names, as *Venta* (Ptol., AI.); *Gabrosentum* (ND.), *Gabrocentio* (Rav.);² COVENTINA in a number of inscriptions beside one COVINTINA (see Eph.Ep. iii, pp. 314-17); DEO NVDENTE and DEVO NODENTI (CIL. vii, 139, 140). Further, *e* before single nasal became *ī* in Pr.W., but not in CB.,³ in a good many cases, at least in Pr.W. pretonic syllables; reduced to *ι* in those syllables (together with original *ī* and Brit. *ī* < *ē* before nasal plus stop), later > *ə* (see §§ 201 ff.); though there are exceptions, with *e* remaining. Cf. WG. p. 87. Examples of this *e* > *ī*: Brit. **Demet-* (Ptol. *Demetae*) > Pr.W. **Dīmed* > **Dīmed* > OW.

¹ Lat. *testis* gives W. *tyst*, OC. *tist*, MC. *test*, B. *test*, from Pr.WCB. **tīst*. This is unexplained; but it is suggested below that it is a case of vowel affection, p. 574, n. 1.

² Pokorny takes these two for "Illyrian" for this reason, Urg. p. 171. In *Venta* the *e* remained in W. *Gwent*, but Brit. **sentō-* gave W. *hynt*.

³ However, in place-names there is some slight evidence for its having penetrated into Devon, just as there is for the analogous *o* > *u* (§ 4. 1); see on the river name Nymet, p. 286.

Dimet (Gen. ii) = *Dǣved*, Mod.W. *Dyfed* ;¹ Brit. **nemetā* > Pr.W. **nīmed* > **nīmed* > OW. **nǣvēd* > MW. *nyfet* ; Lat. *memoria* > Pr.W. **mīμīr* > **mīμīr* > OW. **mǣvīr* > Mod.W. *myfyr* ; Brit. **senisamos* > OW. *hīnham* (Ox. 2) = *hǣnhaŵ*, > Mod.W. *hynaf* ; Lat. *tenerum* > Mod.W. *tyner*. The same may occur rarely before liquid plus stop, cf. WG. p. 87 ; the examples in this case are in Pr.W. stressed syllables, and hence there is no reduction of the *ī*.

On the date of this *e* > *i*, note CIIC. nos. 450, early sixth century, DEMETI ; 391, early to mid sixth century, SENACVS ; but 490, seventh century, CONHINOI, < **Cunosenācos*.² *Henocus* in LSS. (Prologue, § 2), early seventh century, < *Senācus*, probably shows the Breton preservation of *e* in this position. The raising of *e* here to *i* in W. is probably contemporary with the analogous raising of *o* to *u*, see § 4. 1 ; and in any case prior to the reduction of pretonic *ī* to *ι* in the middle or later part of the sixth century. As it does not occur in CB., it is presumably hardly earlier than the sixth century. Hence a date in the first half of the sixth century best suits all the evidence on *e* > *i* before single nasals ; the inscriptions DEMETI and SENACVS are doubtless older.

(3) Before *rn*, Brit. *e* normally remains. But there are also two other results. Occasionally *irn* is found, as in VL. *Eternus* > W. *Edyrn* beside *Edern* ; the stem **tegerno-*, "lord", and some of its derivatives in W. (apparently not CB.) in personal names became first **tegirno-*. So with the noun itself, W. *teyrn* (but OC. *Wen-deern*, OB. *mach-tiern*). In names, CIIC. no. 325, early sixth century,³ BIVATIGI(RNI) (*sic leg.*) ; no. 408, mid to later sixth century, CATOTIGIRNI ; OW. *Cattegirn* (Gen. xxii, xxiii, xxvii), *Categirn* (HB. c. 44, 48) ; OW. *Conthigirn(i)* (AC. 612), MW. *Kyndeyrn* (but *Kentegern* in

¹ The *Demet-* regularly written in Latin forms in, e.g., the Life of St. Samson, Nennius, Lland., etc., is a traditional book form, or has the common mediaeval Latin use of *e* for *i* (cf. p. 283, n. 2). The MSS. D and G of HB. cc. 14 and 47 use *Dimet(h)orum* for the *Demetorum* of other MSS. *Dimet* in Gen. ii is in a purely Welsh context.

² As this is in Devonshire, preservation of *e* might be expected ; but cf. p. 681.

³ On this date see p. 446.

the Life of that saint, ed. A. P. Forbes, Edinburgh, 1874; and *Cundizeorn* in DLV., KW. p. 176); *Guorthigirn(us)* (HB. *passim*; AC. preface), MW. *Gwrtheyrn* (but some late MSS. of HB. very rarely have *-ern*; and Bede, HE. i, 14, *Uurtigernus*, AS. Bede *Wyrteorn*; cf. OB. *Gurtiern*, A.D. 1160, Chr.B. p. 180). Pedersen takes the *i* in these cases as due to vowel affection, postulating Brit. **tegernios*: OI. *tigernae* (VKG. i, 377). But none of the British or Gaulish forms of the stem in names show any *-io-* suffix. Vendryes regards the original stem as being **tigerno-*, and takes the W. *tegrirn-teyrn* forms to have metathesis, the *tegern-teern* ones (see pp. 446-7 below) being merely wrong spellings (Rev.d.Ét.Anc. xlii, 682-5). This seems hardly very satisfactory. The development to *irn* is found apparently only in *Edyrn* and *teyrn*, etc., the etymology of W. *chwyrn* being doubtful; so that the implication in WG. p. 87 that it is regular is incorrect.

The other exceptional treatment of *ern* is that in a number of cases, apparently almost entirely limited to Latin loanwords, Brit. *ern* gives WCB. *arn*. The only native Brit. examples that I know are: (i) Mod.W. *llywarn*, MC. *lowarn*, Mod.B. *louarn*; beside Gaul. *Λοβερνιος* (Holder, ACSpZ. ii, col. 293), Brit. *Lovern-* in CIIC. no. 385, end of the fifth century, *LOVERNII*, and 379, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century, *LOVERNACI*; OW. *Louern* (Lland. p. 175), *Louguern* (*sic leg.*, *ibid.* p. 229); Mod.W. p.n. *Llywernog*; OC. *louuern* (Voc.C.); OB. *Louuernoc*, *Loern* (the latter eleventh century), see Chr.B. p. 147. This looks, therefore, like a late and independent development in the dialects. (ii) In OB. *tiarn* occurring by itself and in names side by side with older *tiern*, in Cart.Red.; cf. Chr.B. p. 167.

In Latin loanwords it is commoner, and is not limited to *ern* but occurs also before *r* by itself and before Latin *rm*, *rc*, and *rp*. So Lat. *taberna* > W. *tafarn*, B. *tavarn*; *Paternus* > W. *Padarn* (but OW. *Patern*, Gen. i, and B. *Padern*); *sternere* > W. *ystarn*; ¹ *carcer* > W. *carchar*, C. *carhar*, B. *karc'har*; *mercaturum* > C. *marghas*, B. *marc'had*; ² *serpens* > W. *sarff*, cf. OB.

¹ See Lloyd-Jones, Cymm. Trans., 1942, p. 195.

² These have the Brit. suffix **-at-* substituted for Lat. *-āt-*.

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Bot-Sarphin (Chr.B. p. 164); *Germanus* > *W. Garmon*. The probability is that *er* > *ar* in these words is not British but Vulgar Latin,¹ since it is a well-known VL. feature. So the Appendix Probi² gives *carcar*, *passar*, *ansar*, *cammara*, *novarca*; Fr. *marché* is from VL. *marcatum*. Hence *carchar*, *carhar*, *karc'har*, and *marghas*, *marc'had* certainly have *a* because the VL. forms had it; and in the case of *Garmon* compare Bede, who remarks that the Britons corruptly say *Garmani* for *Germani* (HE. v, 9), which may be explained to mean that the Welsh still preserved an old VL. colloquial form lost on the Continent and in the Latin of the English church derived from Continental tradition.³ The *a* in colloquial Mod.W. *yffarn*, MC. *yfarn*, beside regular M., Mod.W. *uffern*, B. *ifern*, < *inferna*, might be derived from a VL. **infarna*, but is perhaps more likely to be a separate and late development in the different languages, parallel to the *a* in *llywarn*, etc.

Possibly *er* > *ar* was specially characteristic of the VL. of Roman Britain; it is rare in regular VL., at least in that of Gaul, though commoner in southern Italy and Spain. The parallel of Modern English forms like *clerk*, *sergeant*, *varmint*, etc., is obvious. Richter treats VL. *marcator*, *cammara*, *ansar*, *passar*, *novarca* as merely cases of vowel harmony under the influence of the original *a* (CPF. pp. 98-9; cf. Lewis, EL. p. 3 on *tafarn*, *Padarn*), but admits the significance of the fact that these cases of VL. *e* > *a* are almost always in contact with *r*.

(4) In English names, *e* is ordinarily preserved. E.g. Brit. **Ueluo* > ME. *Welewe*, the rivers Wellow (Wi.-Ha.; So.), cf. Ekwall, RN. pp. 446-7; Brit. **Pebro* > Pr.W. **Pebr* > ME. *Pever*, the rivers Peover (Ch.) and Perry (Shr.); cf. *op. cit.* pp. 322-3. Ekwall sees *e* borrowed as *æ* in AS. *Æsce*, the Axe (So.), and explains it on the theory that the Britt. *e* was more

¹ So Förster, AStNSp. cxlvi, 131-2. Cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 199; Morris Jones, WG. p. 87; Lewis, EL. p. 3; Loth, RC. xxxvi, 145.

² Edited by W. A. Baehrens, *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur Vulgärlateinischen Appendix Probi* (Halle, 1922), pp. 5-8.

³ Ifor Williams denies the derivation of *Garmon* from *Germanus*, on the grounds that it should give **Gerfawn* (Cymm. Trans., 1946-7, p. 53). The above note answers the objection to the *a*; on the *m* cf. Lewis, EL. p. 19. Williams' objection seems unjustified.

open than the AS. one (*op. cit.* p. 155). Förster admits the possibility of this but rejects the example, FT. p. 838.

Before *m*, and before *m* or *n* plus consonant, Pr.AS. had no *e*, since original *e* in these positions had already become *i*. Hence it would substitute an *i* for Pr.W. *e*; cf. Ekwall, RN. p. lxiv. So Rom.-Brit. *Venta* > AS. *Uintan-cæstir* (Bede, HE. iii, 7), *Wintan-ceaster* (ASC. 744), Winchester; Brit. **bennā* > AS. *binn*, "manger", Förster KW. p. 124. Ekwall finds this in Lymn (Li.), Lympe (Sx.-K.), Leam (Nthants.-Wa.), Lem Brook (Wo.), Lemon (Dev.), etc., with AS. *Lim-*, < Brit. *Leman-*, RN. pp. 243-5; and so Förster, FT. 633-4 (cf. 352). But it must be remembered that in pretonic syllables in such cases Pr.W. would itself have had *iμ*, *in* by the early part of the sixth century (see § 6. 2), and *iμ*, *in* thereafter, so that in names borrowed at this time and later there is no need to suppose that the English substituted Britt. *e* by *i*; ¹ Lympe however is probably, and Lymn possibly, an earlier loan, so that substitution here is likely.

Before *h*, *r* plus consonant, *lh*, and *w* if no *i* followed, Pr.AS. had *e* > *eo* (cf. Luick, HGES. §§ 135 ff.). This *eo* appears in borrowings from British by sound-substitution. So Brit. **Uortigernos* > AS. *Wyrtzeorn*; OW. **Cændizern* > AS. *Cundizeorn* (DLV., see KW. p. 176); Brit. **Derxentiū* (Rom.-Brit. *Derventio*, AI., Rav., ND.; *Deruuentio* in Bede, HE. ii, 9, 13, iv, 29), Pr.W. **Derwen't'* > AS. *Deorwente*, the rivers Derwent, Darent, Darwen, Dart, etc., see RN. pp. 121-3, 113-15; Brit. **Uerb-* > AS. *Weorf*, the rivers Wharfe (WRY.) and Worf (Wi.), RN. pp. 454-5; Brit. **Uextā* (Rom.-Brit. *Vecta*, AI.; *Vectis*, Pliny, Ptol., Suetonius, Rav.) > AS. **Weoht*, regularly > *Wieht*, ASC. 534, see Förster, FT. p. 119.

§ 7. IE. *i*

This remained in British; see examples in Pedersen, VKG. i, 40-41. Before Brit. *ā*, Lat. *ā* in the following final syllable, it became *e* by vowel affection in Late Brit., see § 151. On

¹ Förster raises unnecessary doubts about the development *em* > *im* in Pr.W., though he admits the possibility in this stem; FT. p. 633.

hesitations between *i* and *e* see § 6; Brit. and Lat. *ict* > *īth*, § 58; Lat. *ix* > *īs*, § 125. Latin *ī* became VL. *e*; for stressed *ī*, this is dated by Grandgent "doubtless by the third century, and sporadically earlier" (IVL. p. 84), but Richter shows clearly that it was as old as the first century B.C. in rustic and low-class speech, and that considerably later the grammarians were still trying to preserve the more refined pronunciation with *i* (CPF. pp. 51 ff.).¹ There is no certain trace of Lat. *ī* > *e* in British (but see pp. 449-50, 462). Hence e.g. *cippus* > W. *cyff*, B. *keff*.

(1) The Brit. and Lat. *ī* developed into W. [i] in syllables stressed in Pr.W.—a retracted short *i*, written *y* in M. and Mod.W.² According to Pedersen it was a front vowel (i.e. [i]) early, because it caused vowel affection, which he thought the central vowel [i] would not do (VKG. i, 377). But this occurs only in internal affection, which is late (seventh to eighth century, see § 176), and *ī* must have become *ī* before then (see below). There is no real reason why [i] should not cause metaphony (which is all that is involved) of *a*, *o*, *u*, *e*. It must indeed have become *ī* before about 600, when the new type of vowel quantity came into existence (see § 35), because original long *ī* remained a front vowel, and if original *ī* in a word like Pr.W. **sicc* was not already *ī* it would have been lengthened to *ī* and would have given W. [i], not [ī] as it did, so that we should have had W. **sich*, not *sych*. Hence it must

¹ Förster surprisingly dates VL. *i* > *e* as hardly before the fifth to sixth century (FT. p. 427), but without giving any reasons. The examples quoted by Richter and Grandgent are sufficient refutation.

² In OW. and very early MW., written *i*, rarely *e*. The reason for *e* is partly that [i] did not exist in spoken Latin, and *e* could be used in the effort to spell this foreign sound. Partly also it is due to the fact that VL. short *ī* became a close *e*, and hence Merovingian writers sometimes confuse Lat. *i* and *e* in spelling; consequently the same confusion may be found in the early inscriptions and in OW., since both derive their spelling from Latin. Also even spoken W. itself had occasionally a hesitation between *ī* and *e*; see § 6. Examples of *e* for *ī* in OW. are *celmed* for *celmid* (Juv. 9); *cen*, "though", beside *cin* (Comp.). In inscriptions of the OW. period, CIIC. nos. 1025, ARTBEU = MW. *Arthfyw*; 1011, RES = MW. *Rys*, and SPERETUS, PATRES for *spiritus*, *patris*. On the early inscriptions see p. 191. The sound [i] has of course become a front [i] in South Wales, but this is secondary and comparatively late, and is ignored here as such.

have been **sǣcc* already before the rise of the new quantity system. It was, however, not yet *ī* when W. and CB. diverged over this matter, since Brit. *ī* gave *ī*, not *î*, in Pr.CB. perhaps in the first half or not later than the middle of the sixth century (see below). One may suggest, therefore, some time in the earlier part of the sixth century, or perhaps the middle, as the date for Brit. *ī* > *î* in Pr.W., remaining in stressed syllables (in unstressed syllables it became reduced to *ι*, in the middle or later part of the same century, see § 205). Förster puts it at about 400 (FT. p. 173), but this is because of his dating of the new quantity system as fifth century, which is too early, see pp. 343-4.

(2) In MC., MB., British and Latin *ī* has become *e*. It must have done so through an intermediate *î* or *ē*. In fact in the preceding period, in both OC. and OB., there is a considerable fluctuation of spelling between *i* and *e*, which is to be explained no doubt partly as a question of late Latin orthography as with the similar fluctuation in the spelling of OW., but largely because the sound must still have been half-way between Latin *i* and *e*. So in Bodm. the OC. sound is written almost universally *i* or *y*, though *e* is found rarely; in Voc.C. *e* is much commoner, but *i*, *y* still occur. In OB., *i* is still more frequent than *e*. The hesitation between *i* and *e* for the sound arising from Brit. *ī* is much more marked in OC. and OB. than in OW.; which is natural, since the new W. *ī* had become a distinct phoneme (felt as related most nearly to Latin *i* and hence chiefly written *i*), whereas the new CB. *î*, *ē* was felt as simply a variety of the *i*, *e* sound range. Nevertheless, it was definitely different from, and higher and closer than, the original *e* and the *e* arising by *ā*-affection of *i*, in CB.; this is proved by (a) the fact that it can cause vowel affection in CB., see §§ 166. 2, 170; (b) the fact that original *e* is normally written *e* in OC., OB., and only very rarely *i* (such *i* probably only by confusion with the hesitation between *i* and *e* in the spelling of *î* or *ē*), whereas the new sound is regularly spelt either way.

Compare the history and spelling of original *ǣ* > *ø* in CB., § 5. 1. The development *ī* > *î* or *ē* is likely enough to be con-

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temporary with that, though direct evidence is lacking here ; therefore first half of the sixth century. The sound eventually fell together completely with original *e*, but apparently not until the OCB. period was over.

(3) *In English names* Late Brit. and early Pr.W. *ī* in stressed syllables gives *i* in AS. For instance, **lisso-* (>W. *llys*, "court") > *Liss* (Ha.), Ekwall, Dict. p. 286, perhaps borrowed before *ī* had become *ï*. The later Pr.W. *ï*, once it arose, would cause no difficulty in AS. *unstressed* syllables (i.e. other than initial syllables), which in polysyllabic words would often be the stressed ones in Pr.W., for Pr.AS. had a like sound in such cases, giving later *e*.¹ I have no examples of this from original Brit. *ī* ; but as a case of *ï* in the Pr.W. tonic, AS. post-tonic, syllable, of a different origin, note the AS. names in *-defer* if, as seems probable, these are really from Pr.W. **dībr* < Brit. **dubri* (W. *dyfr*) with vowel affection of *u* to *ï*. So AS. *Andeferas*, Andover ; *Myceldefer*, Micheldever ; and *Cendefer*, Candover ; all in Hampshire. These may be taken to have Pr.W. **dībr*, Pr.AS. **↓dībr*, > AS. *↓def(e)r* ; cf. Förster, FT. pp. 79 ff., who, however, treats this vowel here as if stressed in AS. Any names with original Brit. *ī* in this position borrowed early enough to have still the older Late Brit. or Pr.W. *ī*, not yet *ï*, would have *ï* in an unstressed Pr.AS. syllable by sound-substitution, resulting equally in AS. *e* ; and the same substitution should be found for Pr.C. *ī* or *ē*.

In AS. *stressed*, i.e. initial, syllables two types must be distinguished. (a) When the syllable was stressed also in Pr.W., that is in Pr.W. monosyllables with the *ī* from older *ī*. (b) When the syllable was pretonic in Pr.W., i.e. in Pr.W. polysyllables, with *ι*, reduced from *ī*, cf. § 202. In either case AS. lacked an exactly equivalent sound in its stressed syllables, and consequently there is sound-substitution ; *i*, *y*, or *e* are found. For (a), note *Liscard* (Ch. ; Ekwall, Dict. p. 286), from the same **lisso-* as *Liss* above, but on geographical grounds presumably borrowed at the stage Pr.W. **liss* rather than **liss*. Also *Biss* (Wi.), which may be from Pr.W. **biss* = W. *bys*, see

¹ See Förster, *Anglia*, lxi, pp. 346-50, Luick, HGES. § 325 ; Förster dates *e* here about 750, Luick eighth century.

RN. p. 34; and Nidd (WRY.), perhaps < Pr.W. **Nīd* < Brit. **Nido*-, cf. RN. p. 303. With AS. *e*, Pr.W. **glinn* > AS. *glen*, FT. p. 28; and see the footnote below. Leece (Lan.), if from **līs(s)*, appears to show the vowel lengthening discussed in § 34, and see p. 343.

As to (b), this question is dealt with in § 204 A, and see examples there; there is the same substitution by AS. *i*, *y*, or *e*, for the reduced sound *ι* as for the unreduced *ī* of (a). In the SW. area, however, since Cornish and Breton kept the original *ī*, as their *î* or *ē*, and did not reduce it to *ι*, one might expect to find *i* or *e* in AS. Actually the examples show AS. *i* and *y*, where the reason for *y* is not clear¹ (cf. Ekwall, RN. p. lxiv; but see Luick, HGES. §§ 263, 287), unless indeed there was or could be the same *ι* in Dorset and parts of Devon as further north and east, cf. p. 681. Examples are Brit. **litano*- > AS. **Lydene* > Lidden or Lydden (Dor.) and Lodden (Dor.), RN. p. 242; Brit. **nemeto*- > **Nīmed* > AS. *Nymed* and *Nimed*, the two rivers Nymet (Dev.; on the *e* > *i* here see p. 278), RN. pp. 304-5; Pr.C. **Cridī* > AS. *Cridie* and *Crydie*, the Creedy (Dev.), RN. pp. 103-4.

In his *Der Flussname Themse* Förster treats the Pr.W. sound from *ī* throughout as *ī*, and does not distinguish stressed *ī* from pretonic *ι*, even in later OW. where the latter had certainly become *ə*; he does not take into account a Late Brit. or early Pr.W. *ī* (since he believes Brit. *ī* became *î* about 400). He gives substitution by AS. *i*, *y*, or *e* in all cases, apparently not considering Pr.W. stressed *ī* in non-initial syllables, where, as we have seen, Pr.AS. would not need to substitute as it had an *ī* of its own. His examples are mostly of *ī* in the Pr.W. pretonic syllable, i.e. our *ι*, which will be dealt with in § 204 A.

One may say, then, that whereas AS. *e* or *y* for the Brit. *i* imply Pr.W. *ī* (and *ι*), and AS. *e* and apparently *y* may imply also Pr.C. *î* (the former also *ē*), on the other hand AS. *i*, which may mean any of these, does not necessarily exclude also the

¹ There appears to be the same use of AS. *y* as a substitute, but in this case for OC. *î* in a *stressed* syllable, in OC. [β̥d] borrowed as AS. *Hryd* in a Cornish charter of A.D. 967 and as *Ryt* in one of 1059, beside *Hret* in one of 969; see Förster, Reliq. p. 95.

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Late Brit. or older Pr.W. *ī*. None of the AS. examples is incompatible with a date in the middle or later part of the sixth century for early Pr.W. *ī* > *ī* > *ι*, or in the first half of the sixth century for early Pr.C. *ī* > *ī*, *ē*.

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§ 8. IE. *ā*

British *ā* (<IE. *ā*, and IE. *ō* in non-final syllables) and Latin *ā* (except where this had already become *ǣ* in VL. pretonic syllables, see Note, p. 289) became in Late Brit. an open *ō*. This developed further as follows :

In Welsh : In Pr.W. stressed, i.e. final, syllables including accented monosyllables, *ō* remained and was diphthongised to *au* at the end of the Pr.W. period. Then in final syllables, when the stress shifted back to the penultimate, this *au* was reduced to *ō* at the end of the OW. period, though MW. continued for some time to write *aw* ; but in monosyllables *au* has remained, written *aw*, to the present day. In non-final syllables the Late Brit. *ō* was shortened to *ǫ* (or perhaps half-long *ō* : first ¹), giving OW., MW., Mod.W. *ō*.

In Cornish and Breton : In Pr.CB. stressed syllables (the same ones as in Pr.W.) the *ō* ² developed into *ō̄* independently

¹ Cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 279.

² Some supposed evidence for OC. *au* was hinted at by Rhys, LWP. 2, p. 247 ; and quoted for OC. and OB. *au*, Mod.B. *ao*, by Pedersen, VKG. i, 48. But the OC. instances, all in Voc.C., are unquestionably Welsh forms, due to the Welsh copyist, who introduced others into the Cornish exemplar ; cf. LP. p. 6 ; Förster, Reliq. pp. 134-5 and FT. pp. 382, 699 ; Loth, RC. xiv, 303 ; Pedersen, VKG. i, 17 ; Williams, BBBS. xi, 99-100 ; Jackson, JRS. i, 73 ff. As for the Breton, the OB. *laur* is a gloss on *solus*, "alone", not on *solum*, "floor", and does not contain Brit. *ā* ; see Williams, BBBS. v, 5-6, and note the true OB. word for "floor" is the expected *lor*, gl. *solum* in the Sedulius glosses. OB. *lau* is not the equivalent of OW. *lau*, "hand", but of MW. *llaw*, "small", from Brit. **lagu-* ; see Williams, *Y Beirniad*, vii, 187. OB. *annaor*, "since", is a scribal error ; Förster thinks the scribe forgot the punctum delens under the *a* in the Berne MS., and therefore the expected *annor* is to be read (FT. p. 699 ; but Förster's explanation, *ibid.*, of *laur*, *lau* as due to Welsh influence is to be rejected in view of Williams' notes, which Förster

in both at some time in the late OC., OB. period, written in OC. *o*, *u*, *ue*; in OB. *o*, *u*, *uu*, *eu*. In monosyllables the [ō] remained in MC., spelt *o*, *u*, *ue*, *eu*, *e*, and became *e* in Mod.C., written *e*. It has remained to the present day in Breton, spelt in early MB. (twelfth to thirteenth century) *o*, *u*, *ue*, later *o*, *eu*, *ue*, *oe*, and from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries *eu*; ¹ except that in the dialect of Vannes, as in Mod.C., it has become *e*. In final syllables the late OCB. [ō] was reduced when the accent shifted back to the penultimate, resulting in MC., MB. *e*, Mod.C. *a*, Mod.B. *e*. In non-final syllables in CB. the situation is unclear. One might perhaps have expected the same shortening of *ō* > *ǝ* or *ɔ* as in Pr.W.; and, in fact, Pedersen sees this in MC. *avorow* (add OC. *aurou*, Voc.C.), *marogyon*, *marrouggyon*, and Mod.C. *boregweth* and *gormola* (VKG. i, 279). To these we may perhaps add a Breton example, also in Cornish; OB. *motrep* (Orl.CC.), MB. *mozreb*, Mod.B. *moerep*, OC. *modereb* (Voc.C.), compare W. *mōdryb*, all from Brit. **mātrapī*, "aunt". Though *motrep* and *modereb* could theoretically have *o* as spelling of [ō], the *o* in *mozreb* must presumably be *ǝ*, since it gave *moerep* by vocalisation of the *z*,² and hence there must have been *ǝ* in the OB. and OC. But in general in Pr.CB. the vowel seems to have remained long, resulting in the same *ō* as in stressed syllables; hence, e.g., Mod.B. *meuli* but Mod.W. *mōli*, <Late Brit. **mōlīμā* < Brit. **mālīmā*; ³ MC. *breder* (= [brōdər], VKG. ii, 105), MB. *breuder*, but W. *brōdyr*, < Brit. **brāter*-.

had not seen). On the Mod.B. *araok*, *penaoz*, and a few others, Förster notes (*ibid.*) that no case of Mod.B. *ao* can be proved to have come from an OB. *au*, and considers these modern instances as late dialect developments. Hence the whole theory of Brit. *ā* > OC., OB. *au*, Mod.B. *ao*, which it would be very hard to explain, must be rejected.

¹ Cf. Loth, Chr.B. p. 183.

² Cf. Loth, ML. p. 69, though his "in closed syllables" seems a generalisation from this case. Pedersen (VKG. i, 48) explains the *oe* in *moerep* in a way which appears to imply that B. *ǝ* > *ō* did not take place until the Mod. period (which is a paradox) and was then prevented in this word by vocalisation of the *d* (rather, the *z*).

³ For some evidence that *ǝ* in pretonic syllables may have been occasionally reduced to *ǝ* see VKG. i, 290, 285, 82. Förster, Reliq. p. 134, proposes taking OC. *lefiste* to have the same *e*, : OC. *lof* = *lōv*; but *lefiste* is a ghost word, see Williams, BBCS. xi, 12.

(*N.B.*—When Latin \bar{a} was in the stressed syllable in Brit. and Pr.W., giving OW. *au*, it was treated the same way as the native sound when by derivation it came to stand in the Brit. pretonic syllable. So *peccātum* > OW. **pechaut*, but the Brit. plural **peccātōyes* > OW. **pechōtou*, Mod.W. *pechodau*; *Rōmānus* > OW. *Rumaun* (Gen. iii, xxxiii) but Brit. **Rōmāniāco* > OW. **Rumōniauc*. But normally a Latin \bar{a} standing immediately before the *Latin* (not necessarily the same as the British) accent appears in WCB. as \check{a} ; so *creātūra* > W. *creādur*, *peccātōrem* > W. *pechādur*, etc. etc. There is no doubt that this is due not to British phonetics but to the VL. shortening of pretonic long vowels mentioned above, § 2. 3, which took place before ever the words were borrowed into Brit. So W. *Sādurn*, C. *Sādarn*, B. *Sādorn* is from VL. (*dies*) *Sātūrnī*, not Classical *Sātūrnī* (cf. AS. *Sǣter-dæg*). This is not found at all in native words, which proves that pretonic \bar{a} > \check{a} is foreign to British phonology. Certain examples have been quoted to show the contrary, but they do not withstand criticism. *Parātoi* and *ceiliāgwydd* are disposed of by Pedersen, VKG. i, 204. Loth's doctrine was that in British the normal \check{o} from pretonic Brit. \bar{a} might be later "weakened" to \check{a} (RC. xxxvi, 136, etc.); but his examples are all Latin words except W. *rhag* < Brit. **rāc*', which is a quite different question, being a proclitic; see § 198. 2. Baudiš gives the same, but his instances are *paratoi*, *rhag*, and Latin words (Gr. p. 54).¹ No reason is advanced for this "weakening" of \check{o} < \bar{a} . Morris Jones says baldly that *British* \bar{a} was shortened when unaccented (WG. p. 97), but his examples are all Latin words except *paratoi* and *ceiliagwydd*. The whole theory of pretonic *British* \bar{a} > \check{a} is based on nothing; it is a *Latin* development. There are a couple of exceptions in which Latin \bar{a} gives \check{o} although it was

¹ *Paratoi* is, of course, a Latin stem too, but there would not be shortening of the \bar{a} in *Latin* here, since the suffix, and hence the pretonic character of the \bar{a} , is British; the *normal* development is *paratoi*, which also occurs.

pretonic in Latin, not merely in British by the addition of a British suffix as in the case of e.g. *pechodau*. Such are *Iānuārius* > Mod.W. *Ionor* not **Ianor*; *nātālicia* > MW. *Nodolyc*, OB. *Notolic* (Chr.B. p. 155; cf. Ir. *Nodlaig*) beside Mod.W. *Nādolig*, C. *Nādelik*; *strātūra* > W. *ystrodur* (contrast Ir. *sráthar*). Attempts to explain away *Nadolig*, etc., are made by Pedersen, VKG. i, 204, and Lewis, EL. p. 43, and *Ionawr* by Morris Jones, WG. p. 97; but these are probably unnecessary, since one may readily suppose that they represent borrowing from a higher and more educated level of Latin speech in which the pretonic VL. *ā* was not shortened. *Nodolyc* beside *Nādolig* could come from a higher class *Nātālicia* borrowed into Brit. beside a lower class *Nātālicia*.)

§ 9.

In the vast majority of cases, original Brit. *ā* is spelt *a* in Classical sources, as *Blātobulgium*, *Dānum* (both AI.); *Caratācus* (Tacitus); *Rātae* and *Eburācum* (both Ptol., AI., Rav., with minor variations), etc. A few apparent cases of *ō*, as perhaps BODVOC on early British coins (Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 134 ff.), beside Gaul. BODVACVS;¹ *Vindomora* in AI., VINDOMORVCI in CIL. vii, no. 948 (possibly containing **māro*-, "great"²); *Conovium* in AI. (if this is for *Cōnovium* beside *Cān*- in *Canubio*, Rav., and KANOVIO in Eph.Ep. vii, p. 336, as Williams thinks, En.Ll. p. 37); *Brovonacis*, AI., beside *Braboniacum* in ND. and *Bravonium* in AI. (the latter a different place); and others, do not amount to very much. In the following period, that of the *inscriptiones Christianae*, we have again mostly *ā*, but also *ō*. With *ā*, note CIIC. nos. 381, ELMETIACO; 445, VITALIANI; 449, RINACI; all fifth century. Nos. 514, CVPITIANI (Scotland), and 473, VITALI (Cornwall), both late fifth or early sixth century; 379, LOVERNACI, beginning

¹ But also *Bodvocus*, and there is no reason to suppose that *ā* became *ō* in Gaulish. Perhaps it is a question of two different suffixes.

² Hardly **mōri*, "sea", as Loth suggests, Chr.B. p. 37, since *Vindomora* is not near the sea (= Ebechester, Nb.).

of sixth century ; 344, DERVACI, and 392, VERACIVS, both early sixth century. Nos. 451, TVNCCETACE ; 515, LIBERALI (Scotland) ; 391, SENACVS ; all early or mid sixth century. Nos. 424, BRIACI, and 389, IOVENALI, both mid sixth century. Nos. 363, CARANTACVS ; 397, CVNACI ; 408, ETERNALI (but also BODVOCI) ; all mid or later sixth century. Nos. 334, CATACVS and TEGERNACVS ; and 404, TEGERNACVS ; both seventh century.¹ On the other hand, with *ō* : nos. 385, ANATEMORI, and 487, CVNOMORI (Cornwall ; if this contains **māro*-, "great", not **mori*-, "sea") ; both end of fifth century. Nos. 408, BODVOCI (but also ETERNALI), mid or later sixth century ; 490, DATUIDOCI CONHINOCI (Cornwall), early seventh century ; 477, CONETOCI (Cornwall), seventh century ; 427, CATU-CONI, eighth century.² Further examples of *ō* belonging to this period are : the Breton bishop *Mailoc* at the Council of Braga, A.D. 572 (Loth, ML. p. 87) ; *Henocus* in the Life of St. Samson, early seventh century (Prologue, § 2) ; *Chonomorem* in Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum* (late sixth century) iv, 4, and *Warocus*, *ibid.* v, 16, 26, ix, 18 (<**Verācius*) and *Winnochus*, *ibid.* v, 22, *Vennocus* viii, 34.

To understand all this evidence, which appears at first a little contradictory, we must set it beside the following facts : (a) the first group of British loanwords in Irish, borrowed in the middle of the fifth century, show that the British sound was still *ā*, whereas the second group, borrowed during the sixth century, show that it had by then become *ō* (moreover, the Irish must have pronounced this as *ō̃*, distinct from their native *ō*, because, unlike the latter, the borrowed sound never diphthongised to *ua*) ; cf. p. 130. And (b), there is no certain trace of any survival of *ā* in CB., which may be taken to show

¹ Nos. 399, TOVISACI, and 432, TIGERNACI, both late fifth or early sixth century, are probably Irish.

[² Nash Williams dates this early ninth century in ECMW. p. 182, but on p. 27 he quotes it as an example of an inscription *early* in his seventh to ninth-century group. The lettering is not likely to be later than the eighth century. (Nash Williams now writes, 30th November 1950 : "Epigraphically, this stone might easily go back into the eighth century. I dated it early ninth because the formula used is attested for that period. But it might have been in use earlier".)]

that it had become fully \bar{o} by the later part of the sixth century and no doubt before. We seem, then, to have a definite date for $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ on this evidence, namely the later fifth century, complete in the early sixth century. To reconcile this with the instances in Greek and Latin sources and the Christian inscriptions, we should note first, with regard to the Classical examples, that the British \bar{a} must certainly have been a back sound, as its subsequent development shows, and was possibly already slightly rounded; whereas the VL. \bar{a} , at any rate in Gaul, tended towards the forward variety (cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 82), so that to the Roman ear British \bar{a} may well have sounded occasionally more like an open \bar{o} than their own rather front variety of \bar{a} . Hence very likely the rare spellings at this time with o . For the Christian inscriptions, the first case of \bar{o} belongs to the end of the fifth century, which suits very well the date just suggested. On the other hand, a continues to be used into the seventh century, but this is not unnatural; the letter \bar{a} had now come to have the sound-value of \bar{o} , so that there is no reason why engravers should not sometimes use it when they meant \bar{o} , since to them Latin \bar{o} stood for a different sound, the close \bar{o} , and they had no other \bar{a} -sound which it would be necessary to keep distinct in writing. The whole history of the spelling of the early Brittonic dialects is full of examples of such orthographic conservatism. As to the Dark Age written sources of the sixth and seventh centuries quoted above, all have \bar{o} , with no cases of \bar{a} .

Similarly with the British place-names in English. These invariably show AS. \bar{o} , never \bar{a} or $\bar{æ}$, in the early loans, e.g. Rom.-Brit. *Dānum* (AL.) > Pr.W. **Dōn* > AS. **Dōn*, the river Don (WRY.), cf. Ekwall, RN. pp. 126 ff.; borrowed not before the end of the fifth century. With shortening of the \bar{o} in AS. post-tonic syllables (see pp. 294-5), AS. *Domnoc* perhaps from Brit. **Dumnāco-*, see § 5. 3; adopted as early as the end of the fifth century. For further examples see § 11.

The conclusion is that the change of Brit. \bar{a} to \bar{o} is to be dated in the later fifth century, complete in the early sixth.¹

¹ Pedersen, perhaps from the fifth century (VKG. i, 47); Loth, Chr.B. p. 50, in the course of the fifth century; the same, RC. li, 15, since the fifth to

§ 10.

For the reduction of pretonic \bar{o} to \bar{o} in Welsh, the evidence on date is very meagre, though it must probably have occurred before stressed \bar{o} became *au*, since otherwise it would very likely have partaken in that change. On the other hand, it seems in most cases to have remained long in CB.; the few doubtful examples of \bar{o} in CB. noted above may imply that the shortening was only faintly beginning at the time of the migrations. This disagreement suggests that reduction of \bar{o} pretonically was not part of the new quantity system as described in § 34. The OI. *Nōtlaic* from Pr.W. **Nǫdǫlig* < *Nātālicia* belongs to the earlier part of the second group (Pádraig) loanwords, borrowed before the middle of the sixth century; so that pretonic $\bar{o} > \bar{o}$ in Pr.W. might be as early as the first half of the sixth century. It can hardly be older, in view of the date of $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$. It should be noted that $\bar{o} < \bar{o}$ is incapable of vowel affection, unlike original \bar{o} ; this might be regarded as evidence for a half-long quantity still lingering even as late as the time of internal affection.

§ 11.

The date of stressed Pr.W. $\bar{o} > OW. au$ is more easily fixed, as there is more ample testimony. Inscription no. 427, eighth century, CATUOCONI, still has \bar{o} . The latest example of \bar{o} that I know in a Welsh source is *retinoc* in Chad 6, dated by Evans late eighth or early ninth century; this is to be set beside *mainaur*, *maun*, and *guoilaut* in the same document, and beside the fact that Chad 2, later eighth century, has only *au* (*lau*, *braut*). Compare also the inscription CIIC. no. 986,

sixth century, in spite of *a* still appearing later in inscriptions; Förster, KW. p. 122, fifth century. But in FT. (p. 157) Förster has changed his mind and now dates it fourth century (p. 172, soon after 300; p. 381, beginning c. 300), on the ground that it is older than the new vowel quantity which he dates (erroneously, see pp. 343-4 below) fifth century, FT. p. 381. Förster notes *Dāno* in AI. as the latest case of \bar{a} he knows; contrast the numerous examples of later \bar{a} given above.

R(I)UALLAUN, probably eighth century.¹ These are the oldest cases of *au* known to me. Thereafter *au* is invariable in the ninth- and tenth-century glosses and other OW. sources.^{2,3}

As to relative dating, *au* must have arisen after the time of internal vowel affection (seventh to eighth century, see § 176), because OW. *au* < Brit. *ǣu* is affected but *au* < *ǫ* is not; therefore the latter was still *ǫ* and had not yet fallen together with the former, as it later did.

English place-names never show *au*, even the latest. Instead they have AS. *ō* in monosyllables and usually short *ō* in polysyllables, which means that *ǫ* lasted at least to the end of the seventh century.⁴ For monosyllables, the rivers Frome in Dor. and Heref., and two in Gl., are all from AS. *Frōm* < Pr.W. **Frōμ*, < Brit. **Frāmā* (OW. *Frauu*, Asser c. 49; Mod.W. *Ffraw*); cf. Ekwall, RN. pp. 166-8. These names would have been borrowed at various times in the second half of the seventh century, except the Gl. Fromes, which are no doubt earlier. On Don see above. In polysyllables the stressed Pr.W. *ǫ* became post-tonic when the name was borrowed into AS. and stressed on the first syllable, and hence it was shortened; which is due to the general shortening of long unstressed vowels which took place in AS. in the seventh century (Luick, HGES. § 312). The Brit. *-āco-* suffix, Pr.W. *-ōg*, consequently appears as *-oc* in AS., as in **Sabrināco* > Pr.W. **Σabrinōg* > AS. *Safernoc*, Savernake (Forest) in Wiltshire, a mid sixth-century loan; see Ekwall, RN. p. 360.

[¹ Dated seventh to ninth century in ECMW. p. 77. But Nash Williams now writes (30th November 1950): "A date in the eighth century is perfectly feasible for this. As you have noted, there is in fact a slight discrepancy in the case of this monument between its epigraphy, which is earlyish, and its formula which is known to have been in vogue as late as the ninth century."]

² Förster says that *Daun* in HB. and *Frauu* in Asser are the oldest cases of *au* he knows (FT. p. 382); he thus omits the above examples and all the evidence of the glosses, not to mention the numerous other instances of *au* in HB.

³ If *au* < *ǫ* were really found in CB. it would be an argument for an early date; but see p. 287, n. 2.

⁴ The situation in Devon and Cornwall is not relevant here, as there should not be *au* in the SW. in any case.

THE LONG VOWELS

Others are Brit. **Caitiāco*- > Pr.W. **Cēdiōg* > *Cidihoc*, DB., Chideock in Dorset, see Ekwall, Dict. p. 198, borrowed in the second half of the seventh century; **Cambāco*- > Pr.Cumb. **Cambōg* > ME. *Camboc*, the Cam Beck (Cum.), see RN. p. 65, borrowed mid seventh century; **Crumbāco*- > Pr.Cumb. **Crōmbōg* > ME. *Crumboc*, the Crummock Beck (Cum.), Crummock Water (Cum.), Crummack Dale (WRY), RN. p. 108, all mid seventh century.

The British *-āno*- suffix is treated in AS. as nom. *-a*, oblique cases *-an*, or nom. *-an*; this is the natural fate of a Pr.W. *ōn* in AS. post-tonic syllables, since AS. had no real *on* and substituted its own *ân*; cf. Ekwall, RN. p. 16.¹ The AS. *-an* would then tend to be regarded as the oblique form of a weak noun in *-a*. So we have Pr.W. **Cadwallōn* giving AS. *Ceadwalla* (ASC. 685, etc.); Pr.W. **funtōn* or **fəntōn* borrowed as AS. *funta*. In place-names, Maughanby and Powmaughan (Cum.), adopted in the second half of the seventh century, are taken by Ekwall to be from OW. *Merchiaun* (RN. p. 331); we should speak rather, at this date, of Pr.Cumb. **Merchiōn*.²

In the case of Bede's *Dinoot*, the Abbot of Bangor in 603 (HE. ii, 2), which is Pr.W. **Dūnōd* < Brit. Lat. *Dōnātus*, the *oo* appears to be meant to represent the long Brit. *ō*. If the name had been current in AS. and was written down by Bede from oral sources, the vowel should have shortened in the seventh century, as noted above. The probability is therefore that Bede got the form from a contemporary English document of 603 in which the Welsh **Dūnōd* was rendered by some English scribe by ear as *Dīnōōt*, and copied thence by Bede; compare Förster, FT. p. 57. It is not likely that Bede himself got the name from a Welshman in his own day. This is a valuable piece of evidence on the date of the source for the story of Augustine's Oak.

Everything points, then, to the development of *ō* > *au* in Welsh stressed syllables as having taken place in the course

¹ Note how Pr.W. **Mabon* (with original *ō*) similarly gave AS. *Maban* in Bede, HE. v, 20.

² Ekwall constantly fails to distinguish Old Welsh from Primitive Welsh.

of the eighth century, before the time of Chad 2, but perhaps not quite fully established at the time of Chad 6.^{1,2}

§ 12.

Subsequently, the OW. *au* in the final syllables of polysyllabic words was shortened to *ō*, though it remained in monosyllables. This is a direct consequence of the late OW. accent shift, on which see §§ 206, 207. 3. Independent evidence on its date is to be found, as follows: *au* is always written in OW. (except in *retinoc* above, which has the older *ō*) until the end of the eleventh century. In the Book of Llandaff there are already a number of cases of what is clearly the new *ō*, mostly no doubt due to the twelfth-century scribe. So *Merchion*, pp. 122, 162, 170, 180, 209, beside several *Merchiaun*; *Frioc*, pp. 148, 152, 155, but *Friauc*, p. 247; *Matoc*, pp. 203, 204, but *Matauc*, p. 76; etc. etc. The *ō* forms also occur in the Lives of the Saints. In the Life of St. Cadog, composed c. 1100 (MS. c. 1200), there is always *Cadocus*; also *Petrocus*. The First Life of St. Carannog (composed at the beginning of the twelfth century, same MS.) has always *Carantocus* and *Karantoc*, but also once *Guerit Carantauc*. In the Book of Llandaff some of the many cases of *o* might represent the old *ō*, and would therefore be due to faithful copying of very old sources; but in the main the spelling of Lland. is pretty thoroughly modernised as standard OW., archaic traits being strikingly absent, and it is more likely on the whole that these instances of *o*, which significantly are only found in polysyllables, never monosyllables,³ are due to the twelfth-century scribe or recent exemplars, and represent the new *ō* < *au*. In the Lives of the Saints the situation may be different. That

¹ Loth, not before the ninth century (BSLP. xxxi, 18); the same, before the ninth century the writing of *o* was regular (ACL. iii, 250); Förster, KW. p. 122, eighth century; FT. p. 176, eighth century; FT. p. 382, seventh to eighth century; FT. p. 416, seventh or eighth century; FT. p. 393, c. 700. The seventh century is too early.

² CHIC. no. 462, mid to later sixth century, QVENATAVCI, is not a case of this *au*. For one thing it is in Cornwall, where there never was *au*; also the *Qu-* shows clearly that it is Irish and therefore irrelevant.

³ Of course, if any occurred in monosyllables these could only be archaic.

these Lives were generally based upon some early written material, as well as oral, preserved in the monasteries, even if the written source consisted of little more than the Saint's name, is strongly suggested by the analogy of some of the ninth-century Breton saints' Lives, which occasionally contain very archaic forms of names. The *-ocus* here may therefore stand for the old *-ōg* rather than the new *-ōg*. It is significant that whereas *-ocus* is found always in the Latin context, when a contemporary Welsh place-name is quoted, like *Guerit Carantauc*, we find the true OW. form in *-auc*. It may be remarked that in early Welsh Latin documents there is a general tendency to keep a more archaic, sometimes a very ancient and Latin-looking, form in a Latin context; for instance, *Sabrina* is constantly written centuries after the name had become *Habren*, this being regarded as the *Latin* form. Compare, too, Lland. p. 278, *Caratocus rex . . . ; necnon Caratoci filii Grifud et Riderch filii Caratauc* (in a document of the early twelfth century), where the scribe seems to have felt that the Latin context called for *-ocus*, *-oci*, whereas in writing *filii Caratauc* he was thinking in purely Welsh terms, as if reciting a genealogy, and wrote therefore *Caratauc* as if from habit; the absence of termination proves that he felt this to be a *Welsh* form. Again, the titles of documents sometimes show an older spelling than the body of the text, as was noted by Loth (RC. li, 25), who actually specified *-oc* and *-auc*. There seems no doubt, then, that in the late eleventh and early twelfth century the Welsh scribes felt that it was proper to write *-ocus* etc. as more archaic and Latin-looking forms in Latin and formal contexts, side by side with *-auc* etc. as more modern and Welsh-looking forms; and that the tradition is derived from the eighth century or before, *-ocus* etc. representing *-ōg*. It does not follow, however, that in any given case of *-ocus* etc., even quite 'likely in the saints' Lives, the scribe was actually using an archaic document; for example, the *Caratocus* in Lland. p. 278 lived at the end of the eleventh century, so that his own name was certainly not the archaic *Caradōg*.

It seems, then, (1) that *-ocus* etc. in Latin contexts is an

old stereotyped conventional form derived ultimately from the archaic *-ōg*, and that when the scribes of the late eleventh and early twelfth century felt themselves to be writing Welsh they used *-auc*; but (2), the Book of Llandaff has many forms in *-o-* in ultimate syllables, without Latin suffixes, some of which at least, if not the great majority, must represent the new *ō* and not the old *ō*.

The evidence for the existence of *ō* so early as this has been almost entirely ignored by previous writers,¹ presumably because the scribes continued for some centuries to use *aw*, and hence grammarians have considered the rise of *o* as chiefly a late MW. feature. Examples of *o* occur very early in MW., already in the Black Book of Carmarthen (c. 1200) and other old MSS.; see WG. p. 95, Baudiš, Gr. p. 44.

Forms of Welsh names in English throw some light on the question. The bishop of Llandaff whose name is given in Lland. pp. 231 ff. as OW. *Cimeilliauc*, *Cimelliauc*, *Ciueilliauc*, is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the year 918 as *Cameleac*, var. *Camelzeac*. Similarly, in the Durham Liber Vitae (c. 840) the OW. name [Riwallaun] appears as *Riuwala*,² and in ASC. 1063 as *Rigwatlan*. ASC. 1097 gives the OW. [Cadwugaun] or [Cadugaun] as *Caduugaun*. *Cameleac* and *Rigwatlan* would appear to have OW. *[-aug]*, *[-aun]* shortened by sound-substitution of a short vowel in the English unstressed syllable; and *Riuwala* is the same with the same kind of analogical *n*-less nom. sg. as that mentioned above.³ *Caduugaun* is particularly significant, if it is not derived from an OW. written source, as it well may be, because if not it shows the sound still pronounced [au] in Welsh.

OW. *au* > *ō* in final syllables is the result of the accent shift, which took place in the eleventh century (§ 207). The

¹ Förster, however, dated *au* > *ō* tenth century on the ground that the two alternate in the Book of Llandaff and Geoffrey of Monmouth (KW. p. 121; no examples quoted); but as both these belong to the twelfth century the reason for the date is not apparent.

² KW. p. 177.

³ Substitution of *ā* for unstressed *au* is quite natural in English; cf. the Cockney [a] or [æ] for unstressed *how*. In *Rigwatlan* and *Riuwala* there could, of course, be *-ān* for W. *-on* so far as the AS. is concerned.

reduction to *ō* may have been gradual,¹ and a considerable time may have elapsed before a true short *o* was reached. This would account in part for the regular MW. use of *aw*, though it is doubtless also due to spelling tradition. Taking all the above evidence together, we should probably not be far wrong in dating the appearance of some sort of short *o*-sound from older *au* in the now unstressed final syllable as belonging to the late eleventh century, though the entirely short *ō* may not have been established for another century or more.

§ 13.

The next problem is the question when Pr.CB. *ǫ* became *ō*. It is regularly written *o* in both OC. and OB., but spellings suggestive of *ō* appear in OC. rarely from the later tenth century. Förster cites a document of 977 with *Cruc Mur* for older **Cruc Mor* (FT. pp. 384-5). One may add the spelling *Rumun* twice in Bodm. (§§ 2, 40) in the second half of the tenth century, for older **Rumon*; and the Voc.C. has, of course, *muer*. In OB. the only possible cases of such spellings in documents other than the Cartularies are apparently *guinuclou* in Berne, ninth to tenth century (if from *venāculum* with Loth, VVB. p. 139, but this is highly uncertain); and *eleuc* in the *secunda manus* of the Orl.CC. glosses, eleventh to twelfth century, the etymology and meaning of which are very doubtful. We are on clearer ground in the Cartularies. Cart.Red., written in the eleventh century, has mostly *o*; but note *mur* in a document copied from one of c. A.D. 931 (p. 257). Cart.Land., eleventh century, has *mur* (p. 576), *muur*, *meuur* (p. 565), and *Blehuc* (p. 566; = OB. *bleoc* in Orl.CC.; cf. Loth, Chr.B. p. 110), *Maeluc* (p. 566, beside *Maeloc*, p. 565).

¹ Cf. Lewis, EL. p. 15: "Unstressed *aw* > *o* was not a sudden change, and they continued to write *aw* in the last syllable . . . long after the sound itself had changed into *o* in speech, after the accent shift" (my translation). Anwyl suggests that *aw* and *o* may have existed side by side for a time, and mentions forms in MW. where *aw* is written for what had always been *ō*, as in *manachlawc* for *manachloc*, which prove that *aw* could be written where *ō* was pronounced (*Y Beirniad*, iii, 205).

Before attempting a date on this evidence, it is necessary to take up the related question at what time the new \bar{o} became e in final syllables. Like OW. *au* > \bar{o} , this is a consequence of the accent-shift in CB. from the ultimate to the penultimate, but as there is no independent evidence on the date of this it cannot be used to fix the time of \bar{o} > e . In OC., e occurs once in Voc.C. (composed c. 1100) in *funten*, beside regular o . In OB., *Bro-Uuerec* is found in Cart.Red. for older *Bro-Uueroc* in a text of the late eleventh century (p. 284); and in Cart.Land. (p. 569). *Bro-Uueroec* in Cart.Red. in a text of 846 (p. 105) looks suspicious; probably the original had *Bro-Uueroc* and the eleventh-century copyist began to write this and then changed his mind and wrote his own *-ec*. Hence we seem to be able to trace *-ec* back in OC. and OB. to the eleventh century, which gives a *terminus ante quem* for \bar{o} > \bar{o} . From what has been said, this appears to have occurred in OC. by the later tenth century, and the constant spelling with o in Bodm. and Voc.C. simply means that the Latin alphabet had no letter for this sound, except that occasionally the scribes had recourse to u and ue . Then, the new \bar{o} must have been shortened and unrounded in final syllables by the time of Voc.C., and therefore probably late in the eleventh century, as *funten* shows; the o is regularly still written, but this would only imply that the e was very new and the OC. orthographic tradition strong. For OB., *guinuclou* and *eleuc* cannot be taken very seriously, in view of the uncertainties about them; but we can at least say, on the evidence of the Cartularies, that \bar{o} > \bar{o} probably took place in the late tenth to early eleventh century,¹ and that it was beginning to be recognised in spelling (with u , uu , euu , perhaps eu) by the eleventh century, if not before, though as in Cornish, o frequently continued to be written. It is hardly likely to be earlier, since otherwise there would surely have been some definite traces of it in the OB. glosses of the period.² Then, as in C., the accent shifted

¹ Loth dated it about the eleventh century, ML. p. 69. Förster says not until the eleventh century, FT. p. 382; *ibid.* p. 176, from perhaps 1200, which is clearly too late. *Mur* in 931 might, of course, be due to the eleventh-century copyist.

² On the spellings of the sound in MB. see p. 288.

to the penultimate syllable, and the new \bar{o} in final syllables was reduced to e , in the eleventh century as just shown, presumably rather late. The spellings o , u , however, continued to be used; according to Loth, $-ec$ did not become universal until the sixteenth century (Chr.B. p. 58), so that spellings like *Blehuc*, *Maeluc* in Cart.Land., and the continued use of o , u even later, do not mean that the sound was not now e in these syllables.¹

The corollary is that in both languages the accent-shift took place during the eleventh century.

§ 14. IE. \bar{o}

In non-final syllables this became \bar{a} in CC., and developed in the same way as IE. \bar{a} , q.v. In final syllables, whether itself absolutely final or not, IE. \bar{o} gave CC. \bar{u} , Brit. \bar{u} , > Late Brit. \bar{i} causing vowel affection. E.g. IE. $*ku\bar{o}$ > Ir. $c\bar{u}$, W. ci (cf. LP. p. 7; Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 58, has an alternative explanation of this which is less satisfactory); $*nep\bar{o}ts$ > MW. nei ; $*pluk\bar{o}ts$ > Late Brit. $*lug\bar{i}s$ > W. $llyg$. The nominative singular of n -stems in CC. was $-\bar{u}$, $-\bar{i}\bar{u}$, from Proto-Celtic $-\bar{o}$, $-\bar{i}\bar{o}$, and was not CC., much less Brit., $-\bar{on}$, $-\bar{i}\bar{on}$ (cf. Latin *homo* : *hominis*),

¹ Loth mentions $-ec$ as occurring *dès le XIII^e, loc. cit.*, which is inaccurate. He takes the later survivals of $-uc$, $-euc$ in spelling too seriously, and hence dates the accent-shift eleventh to sixteenth century. But $-e-$ once having appeared, in the eleventh century, the later spellings in question must be ignored as traditional. Cf. how MW. continued to use aw long after it had become o , as just described. [In his *L'Histoire de la langue bretonne* (Rennes, 1950-51) chapter xi, Falc'hun has tried to show that $-oc$ > $-ec$ is independent of the accent-shift. He argues that the change to $-ec$ took place also in Vannetais, where however the final syllable is stressed, and did not always occur in Leon, where the penultimate is; and therefore that it is independent of considerations of stress. But he has omitted to consider that all OB. \bar{q} , whether in stressed syllables or not, became e in Vannetais, so that the evidence of Vannetais disproves no part of the above demonstration. On the other hand, the evidence of Leonais, with its stressed eu and unstressed e as described above, is decisive in its support. That $-oc$ remained in a few words in Leonais would simply mean that the reduction was not universally carried through; possibly some sub-dialect of Leonais resisted the change until after it was complete elsewhere, and a few of its forms were borrowed into general Leonais before this peculiarity became extinct in the sub-dialect under general Leonais influence. On the question of the history of the Vannetais stress see p. 683.]

see Pokorny, ZCP. xv, 194-5, and compare Thurneysen, Gr.OI. pp. 211, 212. The *British* form of these nominatives should be written *-u*, *-iu*, meaning *-ū*, *-iū*, and not *-o*, *-io*; ¹ so, for instance, **Cunetiu*, and it should be emphasised that *Cunetio* is the *Romano*-British form. This serves to remind us that we are dealing with *-ū*, later *-ī*, and not with *-ō*; as a result of ignoring this, a number of mistaken etymologies are to be found in the works of recent writers based on a supposed Late Brit. *-ō*, which did not exist, and even on Late Brit. *-ōn*, which never had any Celtic existence at all. For the history of the development of this *ō > ū > ī* see §§ 15, 23.

However, IE. *-ōm* seems to have been shortened to *-ōm* very early in CC., even before *ō* in final syllables had become *ū*.

Latin *ō* in internal syllables fell together with the new Brit. *ō* from older *au*, *eu*, *ou*, see § 19. In final syllables, however, Lat. *-ō(-)* was assimilated to the Brit. *-ū(-)* and developed in the same way, see below. This happened also in Gaul, where Latin names in *-ō* were treated on the general Celtic pattern of *-ū*; hence we find in Gaul Latin *Frontu*, *Malciu*, and so on (see LP. p. 7; Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 58).

§ 15. IE. *ū*

Like the CC. *ū* from *ō* in final syllables just described, this became in British first *ū* and later *ī*, giving WCB. *i*. E.g. W. *cil*, OC. *chil*, B. *kil*, : Ir. *cūl* : Latin *cūlus*.

Latin *ū*, which was a close *ū* in VL. (Grandgent, IVL. p. 86), was very rarely identified with Celtic *ū*, British *ū*. The only examples known to me are *cūpa > W.B. cib* (cf. Lewis, EL. p. 9); *cūpella > W. cibell*; and VL. *mūsc'lus > W. misgl* (cf. Loth, ML. p. 188). Normally, Latin *ū* gave British *ū*, WCB. *ū*, i.e. it fell together with British *ū < oi*, and ultimately both of these with the later Brit. *ū* from *ō* from *au*, *eu*, *ou*. So (*dies*) *Lūnae > W. (dydd) Llun*, C. (*de*) *Lun*, B. (*di*) *Lun*. For the interpretation of this dual treatment see § 23.

Latin *ō* in final syllables (a close *ō* in VL.) was perhaps pronounced more closely in Britain than it was in internal

¹ Of course, where a Brit. (or Gaul.) name is spelt in a Latin context with *-o*, *-io*, as they regularly are, this is simply Latinisation.

syllables, where the VL. \bar{o} was naturally assimilated to the new native \bar{o} from *au*, *eu*, *ou*. Finally, Brit. had no \bar{o} , and we have seen that even in Gaul final Latin \bar{o} was treated as the native \bar{u} . But by now British had not got even an \bar{u} in final syllables, as this had already become \bar{u} . Consequently, when Latin words were adopted in British the Latin \bar{o} in this position was handled like the native \bar{u} from older $\bar{u} < \text{IE. } \bar{o}$; and resulted in a Late Brit. \bar{i} which caused final affection. Hence just as **plukōts* gave CC. **lukūts* > Brit. **lukūss* > Late Brit. **lugīs* > W. *llyg*, so Latin *dracō* was adopted in Brit. as **dracū*, Late Brit. **dragī*, > MW. *dreic*.¹

On the questions of dating and chronological development involved, and on the reason for thinking that CC. $\bar{u} < \bar{o}$ was \bar{u} at the time of the Latin loans, see § 23.

In VL. pretonic syllables, where \bar{u} was apparently \bar{u} (cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 96), there seem to be no British examples of the shortening discussed in § 2. 3. So *ūnitas* > W. *uned*, not **yned*, etc.

In English names.—Culcheth (Lan.) and Culgaith (Cum.) are supposed by Ekwall to be compounds of W. *cil*, “corner”, and *coed*, “wood” (Dict. p. 129), i.e. of Brit. **cūlo-* (: Latin *cūlus*) and **cāito-*. But this is unlikely chronologically, see p. 320. In RN. p. 417 he sees Brit. **Trisantō* (leg. **Trisantū*) > **Trisantī* in Bede’s *Treenta*, with British vowel affection or AS. umlaut; on this see p. 524, n. 1. In FT. Förster speaks of supposed British forms like **Tūitōn* (p. 276, etc.), **Dagissōn* (p. 809), **Tamidōn* (p. 429), **Tamōn* (p. 371). But these are simply abstractions invented to account for the form of the supposed AS. derivatives. Actually if such names existed at all they would have $-\bar{u} > -\bar{u}$ in Brit., Late Brit. $-\bar{i}$, causing vowel affection, which would spoil the AS. equations.²

¹ Schuchardt refused to believe that Lat. $-\bar{o}$ would have fallen together with CC. $-\bar{u}$, on the very ground that this was now $-\bar{u}$ (if not already $-\bar{i}$, as he thought possible); and preferred to regard cases like *dreic* as the result of analogical plurals in $-\bar{i}$ (Litteraturbl., 1893, col. 102). But cf. Lewis, EL. p. 8. There need be no difficulty here; at that time in Brit. final syllables there was no other vowel within the $\bar{o}-\bar{u}$ range but \bar{u} ; hence sound-substitution of this for Latin \bar{o} was natural and inevitable.

² Förster has forgotten that Celtic had no n. sg. of n -stems in $-\bar{o}n$, and that the Celtic form instead was $-\bar{u}$; see pp. 301-2 above.

§ 16. IE. *ē*

It was raised to *ī* in CC., and behaved in exactly the same way as IE. *ī*, q.v.¹ E.g. W., B. *gwir* : Gaul *Co-virus* : Ir. *fīr* : Lat. *vērus*.

Latin *ē* was treated as the Brit. *ē* from IE. *eī* ; see § 28. 1.

§ 17. IE. *ī*

(1) IE. and Latin *ī* and CC. *ī* < IE. *ē* gave WCB. *i*, which is [i] and implies a Late Brit. *ī*, whereas the Late Brit. *ī* developed in WCB. differently, as already described. So W. *cig*, OC. *chic*, B. *kik* : *κίκυς* ; *vīnum* > WCB. *gwin*.

In a few cases Lat. *ī* behaves like Lat. *ē* ; e.g. *paradīsus* > W. *paradwys*, MB. *barazoes*, etc. ; *sentīre* > W. *synnwyr* ; *papīrus* > W. *pabwyr* beside MW. *pabir*. These are presumably cases where VL., at least in Britain, had *ē* ; cf. Schuchardt, *Litteraturbl.*, 1893, col. 99. On *fibula* > W. *fual*, *inferna* > VL. *īferna* > *uffern*, see p. 276.

In the immediately pretonic Latin syllable the quantity was apparently usually preserved in Britain. So *diluvium* > W. *dilyw* ; *trīnitatem* > W. *trindod*, MC. *trindas*, *trenses*, *trenngys*, etc. But the pretonic shortening described above, in § 2. 3, is also found at least once, in *scriptura* > VL. *scrittura* > W. *ysgrythur*. The history of W. *ysbryd*, C. *spyrys*, B. *spered*, OI. *spīrut* < *spīritus* < *spīritus* is not quite clear, since the *ī* was stressed in VL., and though it would be accented *spīritus* in Brit. there would be no cause for shortening there. Perhaps Loth's suggestion is the right one (ML. pp. 216-17), that Lat. *spīritui* (add *spīritibus*) might result in a *spīrit*- which was levelled throughout the declension, at any rate in Britain. On the French *esprit* < Carolingian Latin **spīritus*, see Richter, CPF. p. 28 ; this is too late to have been the source for the Brittonic development.

¹ There is some rather controversial evidence for the occasional retention of *ē* until historical times in the separate languages in certain cases, almost all in final syllables ; cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 51 ; Vendryes, RC. xxx, 206 ; Pokorny, IF. xxxv, 172 ff. ; O'Rahilly, Ériu, xiv, 26. This is of no significance for our purpose, however, since it does not appear in WCB. Loth thought he saw it in *Caledon*-, which he took for *Calēdon*-, giving later **Calidon*- (RC. xlvii, 3), but this is rightly rejected by Förster (FT. p. 240), whose own interpretation, however, is unacceptable.

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As Grandgent notes, Latin *ī* in unstressed syllables tended to become *e* in VL. by dissimilation if there was a stressed *ī* in the following syllable (IVL. p. 97); hence *divīnus* appears as *devīnus* in a fourth-century inscription. Cf. Richter, CPF. p. 131, who dates this third to fifth century. The British evidence shows that the VL. *e* was or could be short early, presumably by the reduction discussed in § 2. 3. Hence W. *dēwin* < **dēvīnus* < *dīvīnus*; *dēwis* < **dēvīso* < *dīvīso*; cf. Fr. *devin*, *devise*.

(2) In English names, *ī* remains. Note the river Lyme (Dev.-Dor.) < Pr.W. **Līμ* < Brit. **Līmā*: W. *llif*, "flood"; cf. Ekwall, RN. p. 274, Förster, FT. p. 647. The AS. river name *Hīl* (=the Roding, Ex.) is related to W. *hil*, "seed" < Brit. **sīl*- by Ekwall, RN. pp. 206-7; but his connection to OI. *silid*, "drops" (which he fails to note has short *i*; the Ir. cognate of *hil* is *sīl*), is highly problematic, and the semantics are therefore difficult—there is no trace of a meaning "drop, trickle" for this stem in WCB. Ekwall refers the word to Lat. *sileo*, but contrast LP. p. 7, where *hil* and *sīl* are compared much better with Lat. *sēvi*. For all these reasons, as well as for the fact that we do not know what would have been the pronunciation in Mod.E., it is best to reject this etymology of this shadowy name.

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§ 18. IE. *au*, *ou*, *eu*

These eventually fell together in the Celtic languages, but they did so independently in Goedelic, Gaulish, and Brittonic; the separate spellings are still clearly visible in Gaulish and British. In British *eu* was apparently merged first in *ou*, and then *au* and *ou* fell together in *ō*; which, together with Latin internal *ō*, became first *ū* and finally *ü*. This is written *u* in WCB. from the earliest sources to the present. The sound in OW., MW. was a central [ü], not a front one as with Fr. *u* or AS. *y*; this is shown by the fact that when it became

unrounded (in late M. and early Mod.W., see WG. p. 13) the result was the Mod.W. [i], not [i], though it has fallen together with [i] in S.Welsh.

On Latin *au*, *eu* see §§ 25, 26. On the history and chronology of these developments see § 22.

(1) With Brit. *au*. Note *Alaunos*, *Alauna* (Ptol., Rav.), later **Alōna* appearing in AI. in the Latin genitive as *Alone*; > MW. *Alun*. Cf. the Gaulish names in *Alaun-* in Holder, ACSpZ. i, cols. 76-7. *Caunus*, the father of Gildas in the Ruys Life (see H. Williams' edition of DEB., pt. ii, p. 322), has been compared to Gaulish names in *Caun-*, and *Counus* (Holder, *op. cit.* i, cols. 868, 1150), but original *au* could not have remained so late in British. The Life of St. Cadog calls him *Cau* (VSB. p. 152), and in Welsh tradition he is *Caw*, so that *Caunus* should no doubt be read in the Ruys Life. CAVNE in CIIC. no. 401, mid sixth century, may equally well be read CANNE.¹ On QVENATAVCI see p. 296, n. 2. The element -*uellaunos*, well attested in names in both British and Gaulish (also -*uallaunos*), appears to have original *au* (cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 54); but the mediaeval derivatives are OW. -*guallaun*, MW. -*wallon*, OB. -*uuallon*, as if from *-*uallānos*. Zupitza is probably right in regarding this as a case of suffix-substitution, ZCP. iii, 594; Loth in RC. li, 11 and 15-16, invented an *ad hoc* development of *au* > *ō*, which is without other foundation.

(2) With Brit. *ou*. *Boudica* (Tacitus) > W. *Buddug* (for **Buddyg*); *Λουνδινιον* (Ptol.), which is probably to be rendered *Loundinion*; *Croucingo* (Rav.), containing **crouco-*, "hill". With *ou* already > *ō*, *Lōndinium* (Tacitus, AI., Rav.); *Clōta* (Tacitus, Ptol.); NODONTI and NODENTI (CIL. vii, 139, 140). With *ō* > *ū*, *Lūndinium* (Ammianus, second half of fourth century, see Holder, *op. cit.* ii, col. 282); NVDETE (CIL. vii, 139); MARTI OLLVDIO in CIL. vii, no. 73, beside Gaul. OLLOVDIO (CIL. xii, no. 166); *Penno-crūcium* (AI.). In later sources: NVDI, CIIC. no. 515, early to mid sixth century; NV(D)INTI (?), no. 359, mid to later

[¹ Williams, following the reading CAVNE, regards this as the forerunner of **Cun*, = MW. *cun* "lord" (AC., 1949, p. 169); but the evidence discussed in § 22 below shows that this is impossible.]

sixth century ; *Areclūta*, Ruys Life of Gildas (Williams, *loc. cit.*) ; *Lūndonensis civitatis*, *Lūdoniae civitatis* in St. Gregory, A.D. 601 (Holder, *op. cit.* ii, cols. 282-3).

(3) With Brit. *eu*. *Leucarum* (AI.) ; *Leuca*, *Leucomago*, *Leugosena* (Rav.). With *ou* already, LOVCETIO MARTI, CIL. vii, no. 36 ; MARTI TOVTATI, *ibid.* no. 84. With *ō*, CORIONOTOTARVM, *ibid.* no. 481 ; OLLTOTIS, Eph.Ep. ix, p. 570. With *ū*, *Verlūcio* (AI.).¹ Later sources : ² *Eltutus*, LSS. i, § 7, etc. ; *Illutus* and *Eltutus*, Life of St. *Illtud* (VSB. pp. 194, 198, etc.).

§ 19. Latin internal *ō*

Latin internal *ō*, which was a close *ō*, fell together with the above at the *ō* stage, and shared its fate. So *scōpa* > W. *ysgub* ; *Rōmanus* > MW. *Rufawn* ; *fōrma* > W. *ffurf*, OC. *furf* ; *lōrica* > W. *llurig* ; *consilium* > VL. *cōsilium* > MW. *cusyl*, OC. *cusul*, MC. *cusyl*, Mod.B. *kuzul*.

In a few cases Latin *ō* seems to have been treated like Late Brit. *ō* < *ā*. *Nōna*, *hōra* gave W. *nawn*, *awr*, C. *ûr*, *êr* (= *ör*), B. *eur* ; probably *ōda* > W. *awdl* (cf. OB. *do-odl*, see JCS. i, p. 72) ; perhaps *Aarōn* > MW. *Arawn*, cf. Baudiš, Gr. p. 165. Lloyd-Jones adds W. *sawl* from *sōlus* (ZCP. vii, 472). These examples may not all be certain, but at least the first two are. The cause is not altogether clear, but they may be late learned borrowings, perhaps made at or after the time when the Carolingian reforms in Latin school pronunciation turned the older *ō* into *ō* ; cf. Loth, ML. p. 190 ; Zupitza, ZCP. iii, 594 ; Schuchardt, Litteraturbl., 1893, col. 101 ; Pedersen, VKG. i, 206 ; and Pogatscher, Lautl. p. 112, on AS. *nōn* from *nōna*. One would hardly expect *awr* and *nawn* to be so late as this, however, cf. Morris Jones, WG. p. 95 ; but with regard to his explanation it should be noted that *hora* was pronounced with *ō* in VL. (Grandgent, IVL. p. 79). Indeed, after the time when Brit. *ō* had become *ū* (early sixth century) even a close Latin *ō*

¹ Λυκοπιβια in Ptolemy is of doubtful etymology and is probably corrupt ; read perhaps Λουκοβια = *Loucoβiā < *Leucoβiā.

² TOTAVALI in CIIC. no. 375, mid or later sixth century, may very likely be Irish.

(and, of course, an open \bar{o}) might be identified rather with the native $\bar{o} < \bar{a}$ than with \bar{u} ; which is roughly what Schuchardt and Pedersen say; so that, for instance, *awr* might be from *hōra* with close \bar{o} and not later than the sixth century. It could hardly be earlier, though; and one would have expected it to be among the earliest loans.

In pretonic syllables immediately before the Latin stress the Latin long \bar{o} ordinarily kept its length in Britain; so *Dōnatus* > MW. *Dunawt*, *lōrica* > Mod.W. *llurig*, etc. But rarely it was shortened, already in VL., not British; see § 2. 3. E.g. *ōcēānus* > **ōcēānus* > W. *eigion*; *Iōhānnes* > **Iōānnes* > **Iōyānnes* (with hiatus-filling *y*) > W. *Ieuan* (cf. Lewis, EL. p. 12); *fōntāna* > **fōntāna* > Pr.W. **fəontōn* > OW. *finnaun*, var. *fontaun* (HB. c. 70) > MW. *ffynnaun*. In *ōrātio*, *ōrātor* > W. *arawd*, *arawdr*, there was first pretonic VL. shortening, and then the change of \bar{o} to \bar{a} seen also in *occāsio* > W. *achos*; see pp. 82-3. For similar VL. shortenings seen in Germanic, note *sōlārium*, *ōrāle*, *mōrātum* > **sōlārium*, **ōrāle*, **mōrātum* > AS. *solor*, *orel*, *morað*; see Luick, HGES. § 217.

§ 20. British *au*, *ou*, *eu* in Anglo-Saxon names

There is no trace of any distinction between the three, nor even any evidence for the subsequent \bar{o} . We have to start from the still later stage \bar{u} , and the ultimate \bar{u} . A threefold rendering is found in AS.; with \bar{u} , \bar{i} , and \bar{y} .

(1) *With AS. \bar{u} .* (Note that in this sub-section the Pr.W. sound is written for the present \bar{u} , begging no questions as to whether it was yet \bar{u} .) Rom.-Brit. *Lōndinium* > *Lūndinium* (Ammianus), = Brit. **Lūndonjon*, > AS. *Lūnden*; see Förster, KW. p. 230; *Altenglisches Lesebuch* (4th ed., Heidelberg, 1931), p. 67; FT. p. 165; Jackson, *Antiquity*, xii, 46.¹ Brit.

¹ That the older British must have been **Lōndonjon* is shown in these sources; the common derivation "Town of Lōndinos" (e.g. BSRC. p. 38), from **lōndo*-, "fierce" (better, in Brittonic, "merry" or "active", see CLH. p. 164), which goes back to Holder, ACSpZ. ii, col. 281, and Arbois de Jubainville, is therefore wrong. The *-onjon* instead of *-injon* must be assumed because of the absence of umlaut in AS., though it is difficult to reconcile this, except as a case of suffix-substitution, with the regular *-uion* and *-inium* of Classical authors. Cf. *Lundonensis*, *Lundonia*, p. 307 above.

**Colaunā* > Pr.W. **C'lūn* (see p. 688) > AS. **Clūn* > ME. *Cloun*, = Clun (Shr.) and Clowne (Derb.). Brit. **Crouco-* > Pr.W. **Crūg* > Crook (Dev. ; Dor.), Crewkerne (So.) ; see Ekwall, Dict. pp. 124, 125. OW. *Tuta* (Lland. p. 218), hypocoristic of some name like *Tudwal*, with Brit. **Teuto-*, borrowed in AS. as *Tūda* (DLV., c. 840 ; see KW. p. 177 and Reliq. p. 99).

With the usual shortening of post-tonic long vowels in AS. : **Colaunā* > Pr.W. **Colūn* > AS. **Colūn* > Colne (Hert.-Mx.-Berk. ; Ex.), from the oblique cases ; cf. Ekwall, RN. p. 89. Similarly *Alaunā* > Pr.W. **Alūn* > AS. **Alūn* > Aln (Nb.), Ayle Burn (Cum.-Nb.), Ellen (Cum.) ; see Ekwall, RN. pp. 5 ff. ; and Brit. Lat. **Lindocolōnia* (*Lindum Colonia*, Rav. ; cf. *Lindocolina*, Bede, HE. ii, 16, on which see below) > Late Brit. **Lindogolūnia* > AS. **Lindcolūn*, Lincoln. In Brit. **Leucoṡiā* > Pr.W. **Lūg(ui)* > AS. *Lucge*, the Lugg (Radnorsh.-Shr.-Heref.), = W. *Llugwy*, there is shortening before the AS. *gg*, itself a sound-substitution for Pr.W. -*g-*.

(2) *With AS. ī.* AS. had no *ū* of its own until it developed one (spelt *y*) by the umlaut of *ū* in the seventh and early eighth centuries (see § 168). Consequently to render the Pr.W. *ū*, once that had come into existence, sound-substitution was necessary in Pr.AS., either by *ī* or by *ū*. Some of the above cases of *ū* may be sound-substitutions for *ū*, as we shall see below ; the following instances of AS. *ī* unquestionably are : *Dōnatus* > Pr.W. **Dūnōd* > AS. *Dinoot*, Bede, HE. ii, 2, probably from an oral AS. source contemporary with the conference at Augustine's Oak in A.D. 603 ; see p. 295. Brit. **Lindocolōnia* > Late Brit. **Lindogolūnia* was apparently re-borrowed, as names sometimes are, from Brittonic speakers in the later form **Lindogolūnia* or **Lindgolūn* ; this was rendered in Pr.AS. **Lind(o)colīn*, whence with AS. umlaut the later AS. *Lindcylene* (which has no descendants in Mod.English) in the AS. Bede ; Bede's *Lindocolina* in HE. ii, 16 is simply a Latinisation of the Pr.AS. form. There is no umlaut in *Lincoln* because this was borrowed with Brit. *ū* > AS. *ū* (see above), not *ī*. Brit. **Pennocroucion*, Rom.-Brit. *Pennocrucium* (AI.) > Pr.W. **Pennggrūg* > AS. *Pencric*, Penkridge (Staf.), Ekwall, Dict. p. 345. Brit. **Cloutā* > Pr.W. **Clūd* > AS. **Clīd*,

the Clyde (cf. Pogatscher, Beitr.G.D.Sp.Litt. xviii, 470 ; Förster, FT. p. 27).

(3) *With AS. \bar{y} .* Finally, AS. developed its own \bar{u} -sound, namely \bar{y} (a front \bar{u} , different from the W. central sound, on which see p. 305), by the umlaut of \bar{u} , in the seventh and early eighth centuries. Consequently it now had a means of rendering the Welsh vowel rather closely, though not exactly. As would be expected, names taken into AS. with \bar{y} are comparatively late. Ekwall mentions AS. \bar{y} in names derived from Pr.W. **crūg* as implying borrowing after the time when Brit. \bar{u} had become Pr.W. \bar{u} (add, after AS. had acquired its own \bar{y}), see RN. p. lxvi. But unluckily there seem to be almost no contemporary examples of the expected AS. *crȳc*, and later forms like Creech (Dor.), DB. *Cric*, etc., Crich (Derb.), DB. *Crice*, etc., and Crick (Nthants), DB. *Crec*, etc. (all Dict. pp. 123-4), and others, have no AS. authority to prove that they were borrowed with \bar{y} not \bar{i} . However, in the case of Creechbarrow Hill (So.) the name does occur as *Crȳc* in AS., in a charter of 682 (see Dict. p. 123), where it is called *collem qui dicitur Britannica lingua Cructan, apud nos Crycbeorh*. This name is not likely to have been borrowed much earlier than that time, and the passage proves that the Britons of the neighbourhood still spoke their own language ; as we should expect, since this part of Somerset was not conquered until the second half of the seventh century. Of course, later AS. \bar{y} in British names may often have arisen by umlaut of AS. \bar{u} from Britt. \bar{u} or \bar{u} . This seems to be the case with AS. *Lȳze*, the Lea (Bed.-Hert.-Mx.-Ex.), if the name is really from **leug-* with a British \bar{i} or \bar{i} suffix or a Pr.AS. *-iōn*, as Ekwall thinks, RN. p. 241.¹

Again, in Boyd (Gl.), Kyre Brook (Wo.), AS. *Bȳd* and *Cȳr*, Ekwall finds Pr.W. **Būdī*, **Cūrī*, with AS. umlaut, although

¹ Förster appears to confuse the Brit. stems **lug-*, **loug-*, with **leuc-*, FT. p. 62 ; *Lyze* can hardly be from **leuc-*, since in that case we should have Pr.W. **lūg-*, and AS. would substitute the *g* by *c* or possibly *gg* (see § 137). If the name is from **loug-*, we have Pr.W. **lūz-* with AS. *z* for *z* as usual. Förster, who is thinking in terms of Brit. **lūg-*, rejects this on the ground that it would give Pr.W. **lou* ; but there is no reason to think that Late Brit. *z* became *u* after \bar{u} ; cf. **slougos* > Late Brit. **lūzos* > W. *llu*. We might start, therefore, with something like Brit. **Lougiā*. It is all very uncertain, however.

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he admits that the AS. \bar{y} could be a substitute for Pr.W. \bar{u} if borrowed when the *i*-umlaut had occurred ; see RN. pp. lxvi, 47, 233. Cory (Dev.) and Curry (So.), and other such names in Cornwall, being AS. **Curi*, are taken by Ekwall for loans from the same stem as in Kyre, in the form Pr.C. **Cūri* (with half-long \bar{u} in Pr.C. by the new quantity rules, see § 34, and cf. Kyle and Coly, § 21), borrowed after AS. umlaut and with \bar{u} substituted for \bar{u} ; RN. pp. 97-8. P. lxxvii, he suggests that Pr.W. $\bar{u} > \bar{u}$ was later in pretonic than in stressed syllables, and that at the time of the loan it was at an intermediary stage for which AS. substituted *u* when it was pretonic ; but this is purely an *ad hoc* guess. In fact, the case of all the names in this paragraph is highly uncertain, since their etymologies are very doubtful, if for no other reason.

Förster shows that Glendue (Nb.), from Cumbric **Glynn Dū*, has a still later treatment of \bar{u} , and that the English form requires that it should have been borrowed at the end of the tenth or in the eleventh century (FT. pp. 27 ff.). He tries to demonstrate the continued existence of Brittonic speakers in Northumberland as late as this time, which is exceedingly improbable for the county as a whole ; but Glendue is so close to the Cumberland border that it might well have been occupied by Cumbric-speaking Britons from Cumberland at this late period, immigrants from Strathclyde (see pp. 218-19).

It is worth noting that we have a quite definite example of a Brittonic personal name with \bar{u} substituted by AS. *y* in the Bodmin Gospels, § 30 (c. A.D. 960-1000), where the OC. name **Iudicael* = [jüdicail] (OB. *Iudicael* twenty times in Cart.Red.) is spelt in an AS. context *ȝyðiccael*, with the same pronunciation.

On the development and chronology of $\bar{u} > \bar{u}$ see below.

§ 21. IE. *oi*

This fell together with the Late Brit. $\bar{u} < \bar{o} < au, ou, eu$, giving \bar{u} .¹ So IE. **oinos* > WCB. *un* : Old Latin *oinos* >

¹ Baudiš seems to think that *oi* developed directly to \bar{u} (Gr. p. 26), which is improbable, as Ekwall says, RN. p. lxvi. See p. 314 below.

Classical *ūnus*. In unstressed final syllables, however, it became CC. *ī*, causing final affection in Late Brit.

There are no cases of *oi* in late sources. CIIC. no. 434, late sixth century, COIMAGNI, is unquestionably Irish, not British, as is shown by nos. 71, 166 (both Ogams, *in Ireland*) COIMAGNI, the common OI. name *Coemán*.¹ Certain examples of the *ū* or *ũ* stages are likewise lacking. CIIC. no. 377, fifth or sixth century, CIMESETLI, is difficult to explain, unless we could emend CVMESETLI (cf. no. 446, MAGLOCVVI for MAGLOCVNI), in which case it would consist of Brit. **coimo-*, Pr.W. **cū̃μ*, "dear", and Brit. **saitlo-*, Pr.W. **Σēdl*, "life".

In AS. names, again, examples are inadequate. Ekwall derives Kyle (NRY.), AS. **Cȳl*, with AS. umlaut, from a Pr.W. **Cū̃lī* < Brit. **Cū̃lō-* (from older Brit. **Coilōso-* or the like), meaning "narrow", : W. *cul*; RN. p. 232. He takes Coly (Dev.), AS. **Cū̃li* (rejecting the attested AS. *Culliz*), to be from Pr.W. **Cū̃li* with AS. substitution of *ǣ* for the new half-long *ū*, after the time of AS. umlaut; see RN. p. 91, and cf. on Kyre and Cory, Curry, pp. 310-11 above. Förster, however, accepts *Culliz* and takes it for Pr.W. **Cū̃lī*; FT. p. 352. The whole question is very uncertain. A really clear case, and one of late AS. *ū*-substitution, is *Unust* in DLV., c. 840 (KW. p. 177) = MW. *Unwst* < Brit. **Oinogustus*, : OI. *Oengus*.

§ 22. The History of Brit. *au*, *ou*, *eu*, *oi*, and Latin *ū* and Internal *ō*

The evidence having been set out, it is possible to attempt some interpretation of the facts. As we have seen, Brit. *au*, *ou*, *eu*, and Latin *ū* and *ō* in internal syllables all fell together in later *ū*, giving Pr.WCB. *ū̃* (except that there may be a very few cases of Latin internal *ū* > Pr.WCB. *ī*). *Au*, *ou*, *eu*, and Latin internal *ō* did so through *ō̃* first. On the other hand, British *ū* < IE. *ū* in internal and *ō* in final syllables, as well as Latin *ō* in final syllables, all joined in *ū̃*, giving Pr.WCB. *ī*.

¹ Ifor Williams takes no. 434 as British, having old *ē* on its way to *ui*, and so as the ancestor of the rare W. *Cwyfan* (Cymm. Trans., 1943-44, p. 154). This is intrinsically less probable than the above, and, moreover, *ē* could hardly have been diphthongised so early, cf. § 28. 3.

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(1) *Au, ou, eu*. These were still diphthongs at the time when intervocal -s- was lost in Brit. (second half of the first century, p. 522), because after the loss of that *s* they resulted in *au*, *ou*, *eu*, and not simply *ō* for all three. So Brit. **tause* > **taue* > W. *taw*, "be silent"; Brit. **reus* > W. *rhew* : Lat. *pruina* (cf. WG. pp. 103-4). This means also that *eu* was still distinct from *ou*. On the other hand, they must have become *ō* by the time of the Latin loanwords, at least those which survive, (a) because VL. internal *ō* fell together with them, and (b) because VL. *au*, *eu* did not do so. In the actual sources we find *au*, *ou* (e.g. *Alauna*, *Boudica*, *Loundinion*) in Tacitus and Ptolemy, first to second century, but also already *ō* (e.g. *Lōndinium*, *Clōta*). *Ū* is seen as early as AI. (e.g. *Penno-crūcium*, *Verlūcio*) about 300; and later as in Ammianus (*Lūndinium*), c. 363, and at the Lydney temple (NVDENTE), late fourth century. We may probably therefore make the following datings: *au*, *ou*, *eu* fell together in *ō* in the late first century, at least in part; they were fully *ō* by the time the known Latin loanwords entered the language. The *ō* then developed further to *ū* by the end of the third century. On its subsequent change to *ũ* see below. The fact that in Classical sources there are a number of examples of *au*, *ou*, *eu* later than the first century, and even as late as AI. (*Causennae*, *Clausentum*, *Leucarum*) and Ravennas (*Alauna*, *Leuca*, *Leucomago*, *Leugosena*, *Croucingo*); and of *ō* in AI. (*Alōne*, *Lōndinium*) and Ravennas (*Lōndinium*), as well as the Lydney temple (NODONTI, NODENTI), is no objection to the above dating. The *ō* might indeed have survived, perhaps locally, into the fourth century, but *au*, *ou*, *eu* could scarcely have done so, particularly as Latin *au* remained distinct from Brit. *au*. The explanation is, no doubt, that these are official forms stereotyped at a much earlier stage, and bearing no relation to the contemporary pronunciation; in other words, the man who copied AI. wrote *Causennae*, *Clausentum*, etc., because the official documents before him had spelt them so for the last couple of centuries, and he did not trouble to go and listen to the British man in the street and try to imitate his pronunciation. Cf. p. 37. That these two names in particular

are archaic is supported by their preservation of *-s-* ; cf. p. 523. The forms with \bar{o} in Tacitus and Ptolemy seem to prove that this stage must have been reached already by their time.

(2) Latin internal \bar{o} in loanwords evidently fell together with the new British \bar{o} in the second to third century, and became \bar{u} with it at the end of the third. This is perfectly natural. The sounds must have been identical, and there was at this period no other long \bar{o} -sound in British for it to associate with. But any Latin words with \bar{o} borrowed in or after the fourth century and before the end of the fifth would find no Brit. \bar{o} -sound ready for them at all. The simplest thing to do would be to substitute the Brit. \bar{u} , so that the result would be the same as if they had been borrowed earlier. After the fifth century, when Brittonic now had a full \bar{o} , any late loans would certainly have their \bar{o} treated as \bar{o} , especially if the Latin vowel was for some reason open ; cf. § 19.

Latin \bar{u} was, of course, quite distinct from \bar{o} in Latin, and at the time when the borrowing began British $\bar{u} < \bar{o}$ was still in the future ; whereas older Brit. \bar{u} was now already \bar{u} , as we shall see. Latin \bar{u} was not assimilated in the direction of \bar{u} (except perhaps in *cib*, *cibell*, and *misgl*, see below), and would probably not fall together with Brit. \bar{o} because it was phonemically distinct from \bar{o} in Latin. There remains one other possibility. British *oi* must already have become \bar{u} ,¹ so that British had after all a pure \bar{u} sound between the late first and the fourth century, in the borrowing period, and it was with this sound that the Latin \bar{u} was identified (cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 207). Thus we have the situation in the second to third century of a native $\bar{o} < au, ou, eu$, and a Latin internal \bar{o} which fell together with it ; and a native $\bar{u} < oi$, and a Latin \bar{u} which was identified with it. And then, by the end of the third century, the \bar{o} itself fell together with the \bar{u} .

There is this proviso to make, however. Though internal \bar{o}

¹ Loth supposes that it did so via \bar{o} (ML. p. 68), the idea being that if it had become directly \bar{u} it would have fallen together with *original* \bar{u} in later \bar{i} . But original \bar{u} was already \bar{u} at this time. There is no reason why *oi* should not have become simply \bar{u} ; it seems to have done so in Latin, and cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 207 ; and § 21 above.

in Latin words borrowed into Brit. became \bar{u} along with native \bar{o} by about 300, it must have retained more or less its proper quality in the spoken *Latin* of the country or at least in the ecclesiastical Latin of the fifth and sixth centuries, because loanwords in Irish borrowed from British Latin mostly keep the \bar{o} instead of having \bar{u} , diphthongising it later in certain circumstances ¹ to *ua*, as with native Pr.I. \bar{o} , and they keep Latin \bar{u} distinct. For instance, Ir. *scuab*, a second-group loan from sixth-century Brit. Lat. **scōba*, older *scōpa*. On the other hand, \bar{u} is sometimes found in Irish; so OI. *lūirech* from *lōrica*, : W. *llurig*, a first-group loan, and OI. *laubuir*, *lebuir*, from *labōrem*, : W. *llafur* (cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 569). In these latter cases the words could have been borrowed either from a more Britticising Latin than *scuab* was, or else direct from British in which Latin \bar{o} , once adopted, had now long been \bar{u} .

(3) The new \bar{u} from Brit. *au*, *ou*, *eu*, *oi*, and from Latin \bar{u} and internal \bar{o} developed at some subsequent period into $\bar{ū}$. As it is common to WCB. it is hardly likely to have happened later than the sixth century. Here the evidence of AS. names is crucial, but unfortunately not very easily interpreted. Certainly, one may reasonably say that AS. \bar{i} should mean a sound-substitution for \bar{u} before AS. had its own \bar{y} , and that AS. \bar{y} represents a more exact rendering of \bar{u} once AS. had now acquired the sound by umlaut; but AS. \bar{u} is not so clear a criterion, since it can represent either an exact rendering of the earlier Brit. \bar{u} or a sound-substitution for the later $\bar{ū}$. In *Crycbeorh* we have a definite example of \bar{y} by the year 682. Penkridge and Clyde, borrowed respectively in the late sixth and late seventh centuries, seem to show \bar{i} . Bede's *Dīnoot* also has \bar{i} , which shows that the Brittonic sound was certainly \bar{u} by Bede's day, and probably that this was already the case by 603. All these facts would suggest the sixth century. *Lindocolina*

¹ Loth says that Lat. words with \bar{o} in Irish have \bar{u} or a sound very close to it (ML. p. 68). This is vague and inaccurate; he was presumably thinking of *ua*, but *ua* is a development out of Pr.I. \bar{o} which did not take place till the end of the seventh century and early in the eighth. The contemporary Irish sound was \bar{o} . Loth is trying to get round the difficulty that Brit. shows \bar{u} for Latin \bar{o} while Irish shows \bar{o} .

and *Lindcylene*, however, beside **Lindcolun*, would seem to need a date rather early in that century; for Lindsey was beginning to be settled probably at the end of the fifth century, and speakers of British are not likely to have survived for more than a generation or so after its occupation (cf. p. 207). Let us say, then, the sixth century, and comparatively early in it, or hardly later than the middle, for the rise of Brittonic \bar{u} .¹ In this case there are a number of examples whose place in the scheme must be examined. First, spellings in native sources of the sixth and seventh centuries such as NVDI, NV(D)INTI, *Arecluta*, *Eltutus*. There is no difficulty here, since the Latin alphabet had no letter for \bar{u} , and could only write it with *u*, as was in fact done when the orthography of OWCB. was established. Then old loans with AS. \bar{u} , names borrowed in the fifth and early sixth centuries, like London, Lincoln, Colne, would simply render the British \bar{u} accurately, before it became \bar{u} . Later loans with AS. \bar{u} , up to the time of AS. umlaut in the seventh and early eighth centuries, would have the \bar{u} as a sound-substitution for Britt. \bar{u} , alternative to \bar{i} . Such would be Clun, Clowne, Ayle Burn, Ellen, Lugg; and Boyd, Kyre, and Kyle if these had AS. \bar{u} for Britt. \bar{u} . But we are faced then with the difficulty that there are a number of clear examples of AS. \bar{u} in names adopted after AS. had its own \bar{y} . Two definite cases are *Tūda* and *Ūnust* in DLV., c. 840. In view of *Crycbeorh* in Somerset, others may well be Crook in Dorset and Crewkerne in Somerset, and certainly Crook in Devon; also Curry in Somerset and Cory and Coly in Devon, if the originals of these really did contain Britt. \bar{u} . How are we to explain this AS. \bar{u} , *u* apparently for Britt. \bar{u} and \bar{u} , when AS. \bar{y} and *y* would be expected? The solution must lie in the fact that Britt. \bar{u} was a different sound from

¹ In FT., Förster says the beginning of the sixth century (p. 168), and c. 500 (p. 173), referring to KW. p. 230, where, however, no adequate evidence is given. He notes there $\Lambda\upsilon\delta\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ for London in the selections from Stephanos of Byzantium, c. 700; and therefore that $\bar{u} > \bar{u}$ must be seventh century at latest; but thinks it may have been the spelling of Stephanos himself, and therefore already in the fifth century. This is obviously quite uncertain, and $\Lambda\upsilon\delta\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ may be a scribal error, particularly since the same error is found in the variants in Ptol. Stephanos is not likely to have been in close touch with the latest phonetic developments in Britain.

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AS. \bar{y} , the former being a central and probably comparatively open vowel and the latter a front and rather close one. Hence \bar{u} could still sound alien to the English even when they had their own \bar{y} , and when a sound is alien substitution is required—not necessarily by what might seem to us phonetically the nearest vowel, \bar{y} . Actually Britt. \bar{u} , being a central sound, was more or less half-way between AS. \bar{y} and \bar{u} ; and it follows that just as AS. \bar{u} was a possible substitution for Britt. \bar{u} , side by side with AS. \bar{i} , in the previous period, so it might very well still be, side by side with AS. \bar{y} —so that, for instance, *Tūda* and *Ūnust* are simply renderings which might equally well have taken the form *Tȳda*, *ȳnust*, but hardly more necessarily so.

The result is, then, that we cannot assume a simple progression as follows: Late Brit. \bar{u} (=AS. \bar{u}) > Pr.W. \bar{u} (=early, AS. \bar{i} ; late, AS. \bar{y}). Instead, we must reckon also with AS. \bar{u} as a substitution for \bar{u} all through, even after AS. had acquired its \bar{y} .¹ In this connection it may be noted that the obverse is to be seen in AS. loans in Welsh. MW. *cusanu* has \bar{u} for the y of AS. *cysan* (see Parry-Williams, EEW. p. 28); whereas in MW. *Llundein*, *punt*, which are also borrowed from English,² there is \bar{u} (originally \bar{u}) for AS. \bar{u} , these latter being presumably taken in before Pr.W. developed any \bar{u} of its own, which it did at the end of the sixth century by lengthening of \bar{u} (see § 67. 8).

For a chronological table of the history of Brit. *au*, *eu*, *ou*, *oi*, and Latin \bar{u} and internal \bar{o} , see § 24.

§ 23. The History of WCB. *i* from Brit. \bar{u} < IE. \bar{u} and \bar{o} in Final Syllables, and < Latin \bar{o} in Final Syllables

(1) The fact that Latin \bar{u} did not normally fall together with the original British one, and that British *oi* > \bar{u} did not

¹ Ekwall seems to envisage substitution of \bar{u} by AS. \bar{u} or \bar{y} , but not by \bar{i} (RN. pp. lxvi-lxvii); and throughout RN. he fails to consider the possibility of \bar{i} . But \bar{i} is a necessary assumption in some cases, as shown; and cf. FT p. 27. There is no real basis for Ekwall's guess that Late Brit. \bar{u} became \bar{u} earlier in pretonic than in tonic syllables (RN. p. lxvii).

² Cf. Williams, Cyf.Ll.Ll. pp. 15-16; Schuchardt, Litteraturbl., 1893, col. 104.

do so at all, suggests that IE. \bar{u} was at least well on the way to \bar{u} in British already before the time when *oi* became \bar{u} , and when the Latin loanwords were beginning to enter the language in the late first century ;¹ cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 50. If *cib*, *cibell*, and *misgl* do represent early borrowings from Latin before $\bar{u} > \bar{u}$ and *oi* $> \bar{u}$, it may be that these slipped in early enough to share the fate of original \bar{u} (as Pedersen and Loth thought, VKG. i, 207 and ML. p. 67), and that \bar{u} did not become \bar{u} , nor *oi* become \bar{u} , until later. But since all the other evidence of Latin loans suggests that \bar{u} (as well as *oi* $> \bar{u}$, and *au*, *ou*, *eu* $> \bar{o}$) was established by the time they were borrowed, it may rather be that in these words we have the same tendency of \bar{i} to become \bar{u} in contact with a labial as in the examples discussed on p. 276 (cf. WG. p. 96). Too much weight should not be laid on these words, and the probability is that \bar{u} was already quite distinctly a central vowel by the end of the first century.

The same factors would naturally apply to British \bar{u} in final syllables from CC. \bar{u} from IE. \bar{o} ; and also (as already seen, § 15) Latin \bar{o} in final syllables, finding no other nearer sound to attach itself to, followed the native pattern and was substituted by \bar{u} . This does not necessarily mean that Latin \bar{o} was any closer in final syllables than internally in *Latin*. In Classical sources the Latin spelling *u* in, for instance, names in *-dunum* (W. *din*) in AI., Peut., Rav., and ND., tells us nothing, since it may stand either for \bar{u} or \bar{u} . The Greek *ov*, however, found in Ptolemy, would certainly seem at first sight to imply the pronunciation \bar{u} , not \bar{u} ; but this need cause no difficulty. From all over the Celtic world, the Greeks were perfectly familiar with the Celtic name element which they wrote regularly *δοῦνον*, and even if Ptolemy himself heard his

¹ It must in any case have given \bar{u} before Brit. \bar{o} etc. became \bar{u} at the end of the third century, and, of course, before final vowel affection and the loss of final syllables. Because Latin \bar{u} did not fall together with it, Loth thought it must already have been \bar{i} (ML. p. 68) ; but he always ignored the stage \bar{u} ; cf. Schuchardt, *op. cit.* cols. 101, 102. In fact it cannot have been \bar{i} so early, (a) because Lat. \bar{o} in final syllables could hardly be identified with it if it were, but would have established itself as \bar{o} with the support of Brit. \bar{o} in internal syllables ; and (b) we should perhaps not expect to find *-dunum* in Rom.-Brit. sources like AI. and ND. if it had long been Brit. **dīnon*.

informant say *dūnon*, he would almost inevitably have recognised the word and have written *δοῦνον*, correcting his pronunciation as it were. Actually, we cannot be at all certain that he heard anything of the sort; his source may very likely have been a written Latin one,¹ where the word would be spelt *dunum* and would, of course, be Hellenised as *δοῦνον*. Even if Ptolemy did get it from spoken Latin, a Roman would naturally substitute his own *ū* in speech for the foreign *ũ*. Hence we may date the completion of the change of original Brit. *ũ* to *ū* as late as the first century,² no doubt beginning earlier.

(2) The next question is, then, when the new *ū* became *ī*. It must have done so before the Late Brit. affection by *ī* in final syllables began towards the end of the fifth century (see § 169; and, of course, before the loss of final syllables in the mid sixth century, see § 182); and also before the final division of Late British into Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. Further, it must have been prior to the time when the new *ū* from *ō* etc. had become *ū* in the earlier part or middle of the sixth century. On the other hand, it would be later than the period of the Latin loanwords in British. Hence the middle of the fifth century seems a reasonable date.³

In that case, SALICIDUNI in CIIC. no. 341, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century, if it contains Celtic **dūno-*, is probably Irish, not British, and indeed the Ogams show that it must be. DVNOCATI in no. 457, early sixth century (Cornwall), is also likely to be Irish, in view of the associated MESCAGNI;⁴ it would be the forerunner of OI. *Dūnchad* rather than of MW. *Dingat*.

On the lack of affection by *-ī* from Latin *-ō* in C. *lader*, OB. *latr*, MB. *lazr*, beside MW. *lleidr*, etc., see § 165.

¹ Cf. Förster, FT. p. 247.

² Förster says second century (FT. p. 172), but is following Loth (ML. p. 67), whose treatment of the subject is unsatisfactory; in FT. p. 843 he says c. 200, which is clearly too late.

³ Förster, fifth century (KW. p. 122 and FT. p. 173); c. 400 (FT. p. 843); *-ū* > *-ī* fifth century (FT. p. 748). No evidence is offered for any of these dates.

⁴ Misread MERCAGNI in CIIC. i, p. 435. The name is a derivative of the stem seen in OI. *mescc*, "drunk".

As regards AS. names, if the date just given above for $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ is correct, the reflection of \bar{u} could hardly be looked for in English, still less, of course, that of \bar{u} . Dunchideock in Devon therefore cannot have been borrowed at the stage \bar{u} ,¹ and must have been influenced by AS. *dūn*, "hill",² if not actually a hybrid of this with Pr.C. **cēdiōg*. The expected \bar{i} is seen in Dinwiddie and others in Roxburgh (first half of the seventh century) and Dumfriesshire (second half); see Watson, CPNS. p. 372. Also in Dinmore and Dinedor near Hereford, the former in the part of that county probably settled in the second half of the seventh century. These have Pr.W. **dīn* < Brit. **dūno* < CC. **dūno*-. Compare Tintern on the Wye, OW. *Dindirn* (Lland. p. 209, etc.). Ekwall's derivation for Culcheth (Lan.) and Culgaith (Cum.), Dict. p. 129, as containing the words which in M. and Mod.W. are *cil*, "corner", and *coed*, "wood" (see § 15), would mean that in the later seventh century the sound was still \bar{u} , which will not fit. But it is quite simple to solve the difficulty by taking the first element to be Pr.Cumb. **cūl*, < Brit. **coilo*-, "narrow" (Mod.W. *cul*); hence **Cūlgēd*, "Narrow Wood", which would naturally give Pr.AS. **Cȳlcēt*, whence Culcheth and Culgaith. Dunbar in East Lothian is doubtless from Pr.Cumb. **din barr* (cf. Watson, CPNS. p. 141), and, like Dunchideock, may be influenced by AS. *dūn*, or perhaps by Gaelic *dūn*³ in later times. The form in Eddius' *Life of Wilfrid* (c. A.D. 710–20), chap. 38, *Dynbær*, var. *Dyumbær*, is difficult to account for on any hypothesis, since though we might possibly suppose that as a localism the \bar{u} had not become \bar{i} in the dialect of the Lothians when they were settled in the first half of the seventh century, AS. did not yet possess any \bar{y} so early, and substitution by \bar{u} would be looked for. Perhaps the name was not adopted (from a British enclave) until the end of the century, when AS. now had \bar{y} ,

¹ For Ekwall's "Co dun 'fort'," Dict. p. 146, read *din*.

² Compare now A. G. Turner, BBCS. xiv, 114–15, on the name Dommett in Somerset, ME. *Duun Meten*; in which, as he says, the spelling with *-uu* is due to the influence of AS. *dūn*.]

³ For Gaelic spoken at Dunbar, and appearing in place-names, see Watson, CPNS. p. 135, and for Gaelic *dūn* replacing *din* in names in Scotland, *ibid.* p. 372.

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and perhaps the Pr.Cumb. of the Lothians still had some traces of rounding in its pronunciation of $\bar{i} < \bar{u}$, enough to account for the AS. \bar{y} instead of \bar{i} . The influence by AS. or Gaelic $d\bar{u}n$ would then have happened later than Eddius' time.

§ 24. Table of Sounds treated in §§ 22-3

The following table of the probable development of all these Brittonic sounds will help to make it clearer. The third column represents the period of the first entry of Latin loanwords *en masse*.

<i>Pre-Roman</i>	<i>Late 1st cent.</i>	<i>End of 3rd cent.</i>	<i>Mid 5th cent.</i>	<i>Early to mid 6th cent.</i>
au, ou, eu	\bar{o}	\bar{o}	\bar{u}	\bar{u}
	Lat. $-\bar{o}-$	$-\bar{u}-^1$	$-\bar{u}-$	$-\bar{u}-$
oi	\bar{u}	\bar{u}	\bar{u}	\bar{u}
	Lat. \bar{u}	\bar{u}	\bar{u}	\bar{u}
$-\bar{u}-$	$-\bar{u}-$	$-\bar{u}-$	\bar{i}	\bar{i}
$-\bar{u}$	$-\bar{u}$	$-\bar{u}$	$-\bar{i}$	$-(i)$
	Lat. $-\bar{o} > -\bar{u}$	$-\bar{u}$	$-\bar{i}$	$-(i)$

§ 25. Latin *au*

This did not develop in British like the native *au*, no doubt because the latter was already \bar{o} . There are two treatments in Brittonic. One, perhaps the older, certainly the better attested, shows that it was pronounced in the Latin of the British province with the first element more or less rounded, some sort of $\bar{a}u$ or $\bar{o}u$, or else long, $\bar{a}u$ or $\bar{\bar{a}}u$; ² in any event it fell together ultimately with both Brit. ou and Brit. $\bar{a}u$, $\bar{a}u$, in Pr.W. *ou*, OW. $\ddot{o}u$, MW. *eu*; OC. *ou*, MC. *ow*; OB. *ou*, Mod.B. *aou* (and in Irish, \bar{o}). On the chronology of these developments see § 46, 2. Indeed, since British had an ou ,

¹ In spoken *Latin* the \bar{o} sound probably remained.

² Late in the Republican period Latin *au* had become \bar{o} in plebeian speech, as seen in the well-known story of *Clodius* (cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 89; Richter, CPF. p. 39); but this is not relevant to the present case. In regular VL. *au* was kept, but the first element had evidently become, under the influence of the *u*, a back and somewhat rounded \bar{a} fairly early, cf. Richter, CPF. pp. 212-13. Pedersen thought it was pronounced ou in Britain, VKG. i, 211; Thurneysen, that it was $\bar{a}u$, ZCP. ii, 84-5, IF.Anz. xxvi, 26.

ǣu, *āu*, and final *āu* during the Roman period, the Latin sound is hardly likely to have added still another to this series, and no doubt was assimilated immediately to one or other of them (except *ǣu*). Probably it was to *āu* or *āu*, since the Irish *ō* in these cases does not diphthongise to *ua*, and was therefore borrowed with an open sound. This seems to support Thurneysen's view rather than Pedersen's (see footnote 2, p. 321).

Examples: *aurum* > OW. *our*-¹ (Chad 8), MW. *eur*, MC. *our*, *ūr*, Mod.C. *owr*, OB. *our*- (Cod.Leid.Voss.), Mod.B. *aour* (OI. *ōr*). For further examples see VKG. i, 211, EL. p. 9.

The second development of Latin *au* is to OW. *au*, MW. *aw*, OC. *au*, OB. *au*, Mod.B. *ao*; that is to say, it developed like, and phonemically fell together with, British *ǣu* and the rare *au* from *au* in words like **cauros* < **cauros* (see § 1). Examples are fewer. The only ones known to me are: *auctorem* > W. *awdur* (OI. *auctar*); **concausa* > MW. *cyngaws*; *laurus* > W. *llawr-wydd*, OB. *laur* (Leid.Leech.); *Paulus* > OW. *Paul* (HB. c. 49), Mod.W. *Pawl*; ² *laudem* > W. *llawdd*; *Laudentius* > W. *Llawdden*; *caulis* > W. *cawl* (and its derivatives *cawlen*, *cawlai*), OC. *caul*, B. *kaol*; perhaps also the OW. *aur* noted already. With vowel affection, a British derivative **con-causiactā* gives W. *cyngheusaeth*.³

This handling implies a Latin pronunciation [au], without the rounding or lengthening noted in the previous treatment.⁴

¹ There is commonly said to be also OW. *aur*, which is supposed to represent the second treatment of Lat. *au*. Actually it occurs only in the Book of Aneirin, and only once, CA. l. 1248; the rhyme is in [au], and the meaning certainly seems to be "gold". There is no M. or Mod.W. descendant. Morris Jones believed MW. *eur* was a vowel affection of **awr*, < **aurjos* (WG. p. 106); but this is one of his own peculiar doctrines, and is rightly rejected by Loth, RC. xxxvi, 153.

² Beside the expected OW. *Poul*, MW. *Peul* (OI. *Pōl*).

³ Note that W. *cawg* is not an example, and is not derived from Lat. *caucus*. It is a native word, disyllabic in early W. (cf. CLH. p. 96), cognate with OI. *cūach*.

⁴ It cannot mean it was [ā] in Brit. Lat., developing like native *ā* to MW. *aw*, etc.; not only because of the CB. forms, which rule it out, but also because it is not reduced pretonically to *ō*; e.g. *awdur*, *cawlai*. Ir. *cāl* might suggest *ā*, at first sight, therefore **cālīs*, but apart from the fact that this would not explain the CB., it would give Ir. **cāil*. Possibly *cāl* is a late loan from OW. **caul*? Pedersen, *loc. cit.*, appears to imply that *ā* is regular in Ir. where W. has *aw* < Lat. *au*, but *cāl* is the only example.

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The majority of the examples have the look of late or learned loans,¹ whereas those of *au* > MW. *eu*, etc., have an air of antiquity, and the probability seems on balance that the latter type represents the old spoken British-Latin pronunciation, and the former is more artificial and bookish. True, *cynghusaeth* seems genuine, but this might equally well be a case of affection of Pr.W. **ou*, not **au* ; if so, *cynghaws* would be a re-borrowing of the stem, or an analogical formation from *cynghusaeth*.

(*N.B.*—The name *Paulinus* occurs a number of times in inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries (nos. 410, 435, 325, 360, 407, in probable chronological order). This is MW. *Peulin*, and presumably OW. **Poulin* ; and it would probably have reached the stage of having *ou* or *ōu* by this time, whatever the exact Brit.-Lat. pronunciation of *au* was ; cf. § 46. 2. The spelling is no objection, since to a fifth- to sixth-century British speaker of Latin the Latin letters *au* must have meant, or have been capable of meaning, *ou* or *ōu*, and *Paulinus* with *au* was the fixed Latin way of writing it.)

§ 26. Latin *eu*

In a very few words the Latin diphthong *eu* (pronounced *éu*, Grandgent, IVL. p. 90, i.e. [eu]) was borrowed in British. It did not fall together with original Brit. *eu*, because that was already monophthongised by this time, cf. § 22. 1. The result in Brittonic seems to be OW. *öü*, late OW. *ëü*, MW. *eu*, Mod.W. *eu*, *au*. So *Mattheus*, pronounced exceptionally with diphthong [eu] (see p. 366, n. 1), gave OW. **Mathou*, Mod.W. *Mathau*, cf. EL. p. 12 ; *Eleutherius* > late OW. *Eleuther* (Gen.

¹ *Llawdden* is suspicious in not having vowel affection of the *-en*. *Awdur* is certainly artificial or late, probably borrowed after the time of lenition and *ct* > *ith*, from late VL. **augdorem*, since otherwise we should expect something like **awthur* (or rather, **euthur* if early). The OI. *auctar* (= [augdər]) is also late and artificial ; in a natural early loan Lat. *ct* would become *cht* ; whereas *gd* would be expected to give *d(d)*, as it actually did later on in this word in Irish (Mod.I. *ūdar*).

xii) ; *Eugenius* > OW. *Ougein*, *Eugein* (cf. p. 370, n. 1), though with the loss of the *ɜ* the syllable division shifted, resulting in MW. *Ywein*.

§ 27. IE. *ai*

(1) This is found in Gaulish as *ai* (in Greek spellings), *ae* (in Latin spellings), and *ē*. In Brittonic *ai* in internal syllables ¹ is represented in OW. by *oi*, >M., Mod.W. *oe* ; in OC. by *oi*, *ui*, >MC. *oy*, Mod.C. *ô*, *û* ; in OB. by *oi*, *oe*, >MB., Mod.B. *oe*, *oa*. Thus in all three languages there was a rounding and a new diphthong. In Welsh the diphthong was an open one, and remained distinct from that arising from IE. *ei* (see § 28) ; in Breton they fell partly together, and in Cornish wholly so.

It has been barely recognised by Celtic scholars ² that *ai* passed through a stage of open *ē* on its way to *oi*, etc., perhaps because there is not very much direct evidence from British sources for the *ē*, though there is some ; there is more from the English side. That the *ē* was open, therefore *ē*, distinct from the close *ē* < IE. *ei*, is indicated not only by its origin in *ai* and its subsequent history, but also by the forms it takes in English and Irish (being borrowed in the latter as *ē* which does not give *ia*, and therefore more open than the native Irish *ē* < IE. *ei* which did give *ia*).

There are no certain examples of the *ai* stage in British, unless *Aesica* (ND.) is one, Ravennas *Esica*. This may contain the name of the god written *Esus* or *Aesus* in Gaul, but since the etymology is unknown it is impossible to say that the name is not *Ēsus*, with *ē* written *ae*, as frequently in VL. ; see p. 84. As regards date, even if the name had originally been **Aisica* in Brit., it would still have become *Ēsica*, for which *Aesica* in ND. could be a VL. spelling. In any case, the *s* may perhaps indicate that *Aesica* in ND. is a stereotyped form transcribed from a very early source, see p. 523. The

¹ In final syllables IE. *-ai* probably became CC. *-i* ; cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 59.

² But cf. Baudiš, Gr. p. 28 ; Loth, RC. li, 12.

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Romano-British inscription read by Haverfield apparently DEAE WIIADAE (Eph.Ep. ix, p. 593) but by Collingwood as DEAE SAIADAE taken for **Sattadae* (Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th ser., ii [1926], pp. 68-9), might really be for SAITADAE and contain the stem seen in W. *hoed*, "grief", as Collingwood later thought (RBES. p. 266); though, if so, one would expect the name to be **Saitadia* rather than *Saitada*.

On the other hand, the stage \bar{e} is better represented in Brit. In CIL. vii, no. 393 we have DEAE SETLOCENIAE, evidently a goddess of long life, containing **saitlo-*, "life", = W. *hoedl*, MB. *hoazl*, : Lat. *saeculum*; ¹ and perhaps the same **cēno-* which is seen in Ir. *cian*, "long". This **saitlo-* appears in CIIC. nos. 390, fifth (?) century, ² VENDESETLI; 376, fifth (?) century, VENNISETLI; which are the later W. *Gwynnhoedl*; and in 377, fifth (?) century, CIMESETLI (on the first element of which see § 21). Rom.-Brit. *Letocetum* (AI.; *sic leg.*) contains the Celtic **caito-*, "wood" (as in Gaul. *καίτοβριξ*, Ptol.), later *cēto-* (as in Gaul. *Cetobriga*, *Mons Vocetius*, etc., see Holder, ACSpZ. i, col. 1002); whence OW. *coit* (HB. c. 56; Asser c. 55), Mod.W. *coed*, OC. *cuit*, MC. *coys*, *côs*, Mod.C. *cûz*, OB. *coit*, *coet* (Chr.B. p. 119), Mod.B. *koat*. We can infer the \bar{e} stage of older **cailo-*, "omen", and **baisso-*, "manners" (W. *coel*, *moes*), from the OI. *cēl*, *bēs* (never **cial*, **bias*, and therefore borrowed with \bar{e} not \bar{e}); cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 56-7. Rom.-Brit. *Glevum*, Gloucester (AI. *Clevum*; CIL. vii, no. 54 COLONIAE GLEV[ENSIS]; Rav. *Glebon Colonia*) is OW. *Cair Gloiu* (HB. c. 49, *sic leg.*; c. 66a ³), MW. *Caer Loyw*, *Caer Loew*. This evidently has older *ai*, though its etymology

¹ Cf. Loth, RC. li, 12.

² Nash Williams dates this inscription sixth century in the belief that it is the tombstone of St. Gwynhoedl, patron saint of the parish of Llangwynadl some miles away (AC., 1938, p. 35). But such assumptions are extremely risky, especially since there is nothing in the epigraphy to date it later than the fifth century (cf. on no. 325, p. 446). At best it may have been a family name, but there is no need for any connection at all. [The date is repeated in ECMW. pp. 14, doubtfully, and 90. But in a letter dated 30th November 1950, Nash Williams now says: "I agree that, epigraphically, this stone might easily be of the fifth century A.D. Its identification with St. Gwynhoedl is very uncertain."]

³ Cf. BBCS. xi, 44.

and relation to W. *gloyw*, *gloew*, and Ir. *glē* are still obscure ; see WG. pp. 98, 130 ; Baudiš, Gr. p. 35 ; Pedersen, VKG. i, 67 ; Förster, FT. p. 577 ; Holmer, *Language*, xxiii, 134-5.

(2) In English borrowings we find the stage \bar{e} , rendered in various ways according to the long \bar{e} -sounds available at the time in the particular AS. dialect concerned. Förster has shown¹ that (a) the normal AS. equivalent was the sound which was \bar{e} , until in the Saxon area it became a medium \bar{e} about 700, and in the Anglian area a close \bar{e} about 500 ; but that (b) in Kent (where this original AS. \bar{e} also became \bar{e} c. 500) a different \bar{e} -sound was substituted, namely the Pr.AS. $\bar{æ}$ which became \bar{e} or \bar{e} in Anglian and Kentish about 500, and this substitution was made exceptionally also in the Anglian area.

Two elements containing Late Brit. and Pr.WC. \bar{e} are frequent in English place-names :

(A) Brit. **mailo-*, " bald ", i.e. " bare (hill) " ; Pr.W. *mēl*, W. *moel*. E.g. Fontmell (Dor.) < AS. *Funtamel* (RN. pp. 161-2 ; FT. p. 576) ; Melchet (Ha. ; see Dict. p. 305, FT. p. 576) ; Mellor (Lan. ; Derb.), M.E. *Malver*, *Meluer*, < AS. **Mēlfre* < Pr.W. **Mēlbre(3)*, : W. *moelfre*, " bare hill ", cf. Ekwall, Dict. p. 306, FT. p. 576 ; Melcombe (Dor.), FT. p. 576. All these show the regular treatment with (a) above, = Förster's 2 (see FT. p. 571). For the name Malvern (Wo.), DB. *Malferna*, < Pr.W. **Mēlbrinn* (W. *moelfrynn*, " bare hill "), Ekwall takes the *Mal-* as representing " some intermediate form between *mailo-* and *moel* " (Dict. p. 297) ; but Förster notes an AS. document with *Mālfarn* (FT. p. 771), and shows that this has *Mēl-*, written *Mæl-*, by the Anglian Mercians, the vowel becoming \bar{a} about 1100 ; i.e. it has exceptionally the (b) treatment above, = Förster's 1. Mallerstang (Wes.), ME. *Mal(v)restang*, is another case of the same ; Pr.W. **Mēlbre(3)*. Melrose, Roxburghshire, is *Mailros* in Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, cc. 6, 7, which seems at first sight to have the original *ai*. Förster gave a rather doubtful explanation of this in Eng.St. lvi, 224, but in FT. p. 378 he now proposes a better : Pr.W. **Mēlros*, " bare moor ", regularly gave Engl. *Melrose* (granting that the expected -ross has

¹ See FT. pp. 570 ff., particularly p. 575.

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been altered by popular etymology to *-rose*), but Bede's form is a Hibernicisation of the Pr.W., since Melrose Abbey was an Irish foundation; the Irish monks substituted their own, cognate, *maíl*, "bald", for Pr.W. **mēl*.

(B) Brit. **caito-*, "wood", later **cēto-*, Pr.W. **cēd*, W. *coed*. See Ekwall's article on this, in *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, xxxvi (1925), pp. 146 ff.; and Förster, FT. pp. 571, 576-7, etc. This was borrowed in the Saxon area with our *ē* (a), as **cēt*, becoming about 600 *cīet*, later *cīt*, *cýt*. Hence Chute (Wi.) < **Cýt*; and Chitterne (Wi.), Chittoe (Wi.), the AS. *Citware* (Ha.), and perhaps Chiddingly and Chithurst (Sx.), all from AS. **Cīt*. Also Chideock (Dor.) < AS. **Cīdioc* (DB. *Cidihoc*) < Pr.W. **Cēdiōg*. As second element in a compound, there is *-ē-*; thus Pansett (Wi.), Melchet (Ha.), Lytchett (Dor.), East Orchard (Dor., AS. *Archet*, Pr.W. **Argēd*), Watchet (So.), Morchard (Dev., DB. *Morchet*, < Pr.W. **Morgēd*), Datchet (Buck.). In the Kentish area our *ē* (b) was used; so Chatham, Chattendon, Penge (AS. *Penceat* < **Pencāet*), and AS. *Cāethærst*, all with original AS. *ā*. In the Anglian area, some *cēd* names developed Anglian *ē*, and then *ī*, e.g. Cheetham and Cheetwood (Lan.); cf. FT. p. 160. On the *cēd* in Lichfield (Staf.; see also p. 332), < Brit. **Lētocaiton*, Rom.-Brit. *Letocetum* (AI., *sic leg.*) > W. *Llwytgoed*, AS. *Lyccid* (Bede, HE. iv 3, v 23), see FT. pp. 161, 593-4.

The history of *ē* in Rom.-Brit. *Glevum*, English Glou-, is still not satisfactorily cleared up; cf. Pogatscher, Lautl. p. 123, Ekwall, Dict. p. 190, Förster, FT. p. 577. The wording of Förster's explanation, taken in conjunction with his table on p. 578, seems to imply that the name was borrowed from Pr.W. **Glēw* with our *ē* (b) about A.D. 900; which is not only historically impossible (Gloucester was occupied in 577) but also phonologically, since Pr.W. *ē* was already *oi* by at least the later part of the eighth century, because it appears so in the *Surexit*-memorandum (see below), as well as in this very name *Gloiu* in HB. early in the ninth century.

There appears to be no certain evidence for the stage *oi* in the AS. place-name borrowings outside Cornwall and the Herefordshire border, though examples have been proposed.

Ekwall considered that there was AS. *ǣ* in Meole Brook (Shr.), representing the *oi* (RN. p. 287), but Förster shows that the form was AS. **Mēl*, borrowed with our *ē* (a) from Pr.W. *ē* (FT. p. 576). Again, Ekwall seems to take DB. *Gloucestre* as being from a late AS. **Glouceaster*, itself from the Pr.W. stage **Gloiw* (Dict. p. 190), but Förster explains the *ow* of DB. as a secondary growth from older AS. *ēaw* (FT. p. 577). Ekwall considers that Glencoyne (Cum.) has AS. **cōn* substituted for Pr.W. **coin* < Brit. **caino*- (RN. p. 178); but this is very hazardous, since there is no such word known in British and the Brittonic dialects, and even the meaning of his hypothetical **caino*- is unknown. See also FT. p. 577. Leeds (WRY.) is *Loidis* in Bede, HE. iii, 24. Sir Ifor Williams derives this from W. *lloedd*, "dirty", as being in a valley (CA. p. 311). But the *oi* in Bede has been satisfactorily explained by Förster as a case of the epenthesis stage of the AS. umlaut of *o*, on its way to *æ*; see Eng.St. lvi, 225 ff. His derivation, from a **Lotissa*, is unacceptable, however, and a different one is proposed by the writer in *Antiquity*, xx, 209-10. This etymology need not be pressed; but in any case there is absolutely no necessity for a Pr.W. *oi* here.

There is no doubt that a Pr.C. **moil*, **muil* is the source of Mulfra Hill (1284, *Molvre*) and of Mulvera, perhaps also Mulberry, all in Cornwall, = W. *moelfre*; cf. Förster, FT. p. 576. In KW. p. 219 Förster derives the personal names Moul, Mould, Vowle, Voules, etc., from the monophthongised W. dialect form *mōl*, from older *moel*; but these, of course, could be quite late loans.

In the parts of Herefordshire on the fringes of Wales occupied about the time of the Norman Conquest (Ergyng and Ewyas) forms like Maes Coed and Pencoyd are found, but these are obviously purely Welsh, and of no significance for England as a whole.

(3) *The chronology of ai > ē > oi etc.*—The stage *ē* is seen already in *Letocetum*, c. 300, and SETLOCENIAE; and there are no certain cases of *ai* in Britain. Indeed, since VL. *măiḡōr*, *băiḡula* (cf. IVL. p. 73) developed quite differently in Brit., it is probable that the *ē* was reached already by the

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time of the Latin loanwords. There is no evidence whatever for *ai* in Dark-Age sources.¹ Hence we may guess that *ai* became \bar{e} by the late first century or before.²

There is still \bar{e} in the fifth-century inscriptions quoted, the loanwords in Irish, and the English place-names right up to the occupation of Dorset and Somerset in the second half of the seventh century, and in at least one case in Devon, early eighth century. The Cornish names which show *oi* would not be borrowed before the ninth century. On the other hand, there is no trace of \bar{e} in the earliest written Welsh, where we find *oi* already in Chad 2, later eighth century (*oid*, *ois*, *oisou*), and in MP., A.D. 820 (*hoid*, *ni choilam*, etc.). All this would suggest a date in the first half or middle of the eighth century for $\bar{e} > oi$. The difficulty here is that Cornish and Breton show the diphthongisation just as Welsh does, which would seem to put it back to the sixth century, though it developed slightly differently in all three. But a solution may be found. Förster proposes that $\bar{e} > oi$ passed through a stage \bar{e}^i (FT. p. 175), which is a natural inference. If one supposes that an intermediate \bar{e}^i was already reached in the sixth century, the development to Pr.W. *qi*, Pr.C. *oi*, and Pr.B. *oi* could be independent in all three, out of a common tendency well established before they separated; and \bar{e}^i would very likely not be distinguished by the English from simple \bar{e} .

The following datings may therefore be put forward: Brit. *ai* $> \bar{e}$ already by the late first century; $>$ Pr.WCB. \bar{e}^i by the sixth century; $>$ Pr.W. *qi* in the early or mid eighth

¹ The inscription MAILISI from Llanfaelog, Anglesey (see AMCA. pp. civ, cv, cxvii; Arch.Camb., 1908, suppl. p. 48), seems to depend only on the sketch made by Skinner in 1802, who, however, apparently interpreted his own sketch as MALIS. The lettering suggests fifth century. Williams relates OI. *mael* and quotes OW. *mail* gl. *mutilum* (M.Cap.), AMCA. p. cxvii. But *mail* must be either an error for *moil* or an Irish gloss. Possibly MAILISI, if this is the reading, is an Irish name; but in any case the suffix is difficult. The whole thing is too uncertain to take it as a case of original Brit. *ai* remaining. Williams rightly rejects the possibility that it is the W. *mael*, since we should have *magl-* if so, at this date. CVNAIDE, CHIC. no. 479, fifth century, Cornwall, looks like a Latin g. sg. f. of the Pr.I. **Cunaido-*, and not a Brit. name at all.

² Förster, FT. 172, before 300; p. 429, at latest third century; because of *Letocetum*.

century.¹ It is impossible to say when *oi* was reached in CB., except that it was between the sixth century and the end of the tenth in OC. (Bodm. § 9, *Gluiū-cen* = W. *gloew*), and between the sixth and the ninth centuries in OB. (Vat.Reg. 296 Oros., *guugoioiuou* : W. *gwaew* < **gwoew*). No doubt it was roughly contemporary with the Welsh.

§ 28. IE. *ei*

(1) This diphthong became long close \bar{e} ² in all the Celtic languages, no doubt therefore in CC.³ This appears in OW. as *ui* (sometimes spelt *oi*, which may be a traditional orthography handed down from an older *oi* stage); M. and Mod.W. *wy*; OC. *ui*, *oi*, MC. *oy*, Mod.C. *ô*, *û* (thus falling together with *oi* < \bar{e} < *ai*); OB. *oi*, sometimes written *oe*, rarely *ui* or *o*; M. and Mod.B. *oue* (= [ue]), *oe*, *oa* (so that it partly fell together with and was partly kept distinct from OB. *oi* < \bar{e} < *ai*⁴).

Latin \bar{e} , which was a close \bar{e} in VL., naturally developed in the same way, whence many words with W. *wy*, etc., like *rēte* > W. *rhwyd*, OC. *ruid*, Mod.C. *rûz*, OB. pl. *-roitou*, MB. *roet*, Mod.B. *roued*. Rarely, however, there is W. (and Ir.) *ī*, though the Brittonic examples are almost all doubtful or can be explained otherwise.⁵ The best, perhaps, is W. *cinio*, "dinner", < Lat. *cēn-*, but this must be set beside MW. *cwyn*, B. *koania*, "supper". OC. *dinair*, Mod.B. *diner*, < *dēnarius*, may be another. There is nothing surprising about this, since Gallo-Latin \bar{e} seems to have had an extremely close pro-

¹ Förster's discussions, FT. pp. 175, 161-2, 588, are not very clear. He has omitted to take into account the inference from the fact that the development happened in all three Britt. languages, and also that \bar{e} is found in Devon; p. 175, he appears to date the whole process \bar{e} > \bar{e}^i > *oi* as seventh century, which does not suit at all.

² Cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 318.

³ Attested in Brit. as early as Caesar's *Tamēsis*.

⁴ Förster treats OB. *oi* < \bar{e} as *oi*, and OB. *oi* < \bar{e} as *oi* (FT. p. 175), which is phonetically natural; but he does not seem to be aware of the MB., Mod.B. *oe*, *oa* beside *oue*.

⁵ So Förster derives W. *sirig*, Ir. *siric* from a VL. **sirica* (FT. p. 241), but Loth takes it from AS. *syric* (ML. p. 207); cf. Lloyd-Jones, Cymm. Trans., 1942, p. 195. Parry-Williams does not include it among the AS. loans in Welsh in EEW.

nunciation, virtually *i*,¹ and the reflection of this might well be found sometimes in Britain.

For the Latin prefix *dē*-, Brittonic has regularly *di*- < *dī*-, e.g. *dēsertum* > W. *diserth*; cf. Loth, ML. p. 114; Morris Jones, WG. pp. 265-6; Lloyd-Jones, Cymm. Trans., 1942, p. 197; and Förster, FT. p. 241.² All take this to be substitution of the native prefix *dī*- for the Latin. This is possible, of course, and may very well have helped the process; but *dē*- > *dī*- also happened commonly in VL., e.g. *divota* for *devota*,³ and it is very probable that in most cases the Britons heard Latin *dī*- here, not *dē*-.

Latin *ē* in unstressed syllables immediately before the Latin accent usually keeps its length in Brittonic, e.g. *vēsīca* > Mod.W. *gwysigen*, Mod.C. *gusigan*, Mod.B. *c'houesigen*, but it may be shortened (very rarely) by the VL. process described in § 2. 3. So *mēnsūra* > VL. **mēsūra* > **mēsūra* > W. *mēsür* (and OI. *mēsar*; Thurneysen's explanation of this, Gr.OI. p. 573, is unnecessary); *sēcūrus* > VL. **sēcūrus* > W. *sēgur*, Mod.C. *sēgyr*; *fēniculum* > VL. **fēnic'lum* > W. *ffñenigl*, OC. *fēnochel*. On *rēgula* > W. *rhēol* see Lewis, EL. p. 7. For the same thing in Germanic note *sēcūrus*, *dēnārius* > **sēcūrus*, *dēnārius* > AS. *sīcor*, *dīnor*; see Luick, HGES. § 217.

(2) *In AS. names.*—The Late Brit. and Pr.W., Pr.C. sound was still regularly an *ē* (or *ē*ⁱ, see p. 334). As with *ē*, the treatment in AS. depended on the dialect. In the southern area there was no *ē* in AS. in the fifth to seventh century, and consequently it was necessary to sound-substitute by using *i*; cf. Förster, FT. pp. 568, 578. For example, Brit. **Cunētiū* (Rom.-Brit. *Cunetio*, AI.; *Cunetzone*,⁴ Rav.) > Late Brit. **Cunēdī* (W. *Cynwyd*) was borrowed in Pr.AS. as **Cunīt*-, whence AS. *Cynete*, the Kennet (Wi.); see Ekwall, RN. p. 227, Förster, FT. p. 579. Similarly, Late Brit. **Tapēsa* was taken into Pr.AS. as **Tamīsw*, whence AS. *Temis*, later *Temes* and *Temese*, the Thames (see FT. pp. 568, 604, 471, 594, 464). Förster derives Thanet, AS. *Tenid*, from Brit. **Tannēton*, FT.

¹ See Grandgent, IVL. pp. 83-4.

² Förster's "normal" W. forms in *dy*- are ghost-words.

³ See p. 83.

⁴ The assibilation here is, of course, due to a Continental copyist; there are other instances in Rav.

p. 579. In the Anglian area, where Pr.AS. had an \bar{e} at this time, there was no need to substitute \bar{y} \bar{i} . So here Brit. **Cunētiū* > Pr.W. **Cunēd* (later **Cænēd*) was borrowed in Pr.AS. as **Cunēt*; whence Kennett (Suf.-Cam.), Kent (Wes.), and Cound Brook (Shr.). The Dee (Ch.), AS. *Dē*, older **Dēw*, is from Brit. *Dēuā* (Ptol., AI., Rav.; W. *Dyfr-Dwy*); cf. RN. p. 118, FT. pp. 233-4 n. Similarly, Brit. Lat. **Lindēses* (<**Lindenses*; Förster **Lindēssa*, FT. p. 166, which is less probable since the W. -*wys* suffix is a collective) > Pr.AS. **Lindēs* > AS. *Lindes*, *Lindesse* (cf. FT. p. 167); =OW. *Linnuis*, HB. c. 56. Förster derives the river Nene (Nthants., etc.) and the Neen (Shr.-Wo.) from a Brit. **Nēnā*, with the same development (FT. pp. 159-60), following Ekwall, RN. pp. 299-300. This may be so, but the etymology is not satisfactorily established, and there is no **nwyn*, etc., in Brittonic.

Traces of the stage Pr.W. *ui* are less certain. Förster notes that the AS. form of Nene is spelt five times in Peterborough documents as *Nyn*, and regards this as a re-borrowing, after Pr.W. **Nēn* had become **Nuin* (FT. p. 161). He is forced to fall back on a theory of a patch of British speakers surviving until the sixth to seventh century in the woods south-west of Peterborough, hardly a probable assumption when one considers that the Nene district was occupied about 500 or before. In any case, this spelling is only found in twelfth- and thirteenth-century copies; and Ekwall explains the *y* as an inverse spelling due to the East Anglian change of \bar{y} to \bar{e} (RN. p. 300), which is a much more convincing solution. A somewhat more serious example of the Pr.W. *ui* is the case of Rom.-Brit. *Letocetum*, Lichfield (Staf.). The second element of this word has already been discussed; the first consists of Brit. **lēto*-, W. *llwyd*, : Ir. *liath*, "grey". This would result in Pr.W. **Lēt̃gēd* (see § 144. 2), which gives OW. *Luitcoyt* (HB. c. 66a), Mod.W. *Llwytgoed*. The oldest AS. source is Bede's *Lyccid-felth*, var. *Liccid*-, HE. iv, 3, and *Lyccit-feldensis*, var. *Licid*-, *Licit*-, HE. v, 23; appearing in the AS. Bede, c. 890, as *Licced-feld*. There are also Lytchett Minster and Lytchett Matravers (Dor.), evidently of the same derivation (Ekwall, Dict. p. 295, Förster, FT. pp. 587-9). If *Liccid* were the

correct reading in Bede, we should have to suppose that there was Pr.W. \bar{e} here substituted by \bar{i} , which, though it is in the Anglian area, can hardly be said to be impossible; and this is what Ekwall appears to do, Dict. p. 283. But Förster has a different theory, hinted at in KW. p. 234, *Nachträge*, and more fully set out in FT. pp. 587 ff. *Lyccid-* is the reading of the oldest and best MS. of Bede, written c. 737 within a few years of his death, whereas all other old Bede MSS. and all AS. and ME. sources show *-i-*. Förster, who objects to *Lē- > Lī-* in the Anglian area, defends the reading with *-y-* with considerable ingenuity; and this and Lytchett in Dorset, the ME. forms of which imply an AS. **Lycced*, are explained persuasively as borrowed in the seventh century from a Pr.W. **Lwitgēd* (*sic leg.*), at a time when the AS. epenthesis stage of umlaut had resulted in the rise of the sound *ui*, which later became *y*. Here, then, Brit. *ui* would have been rendered exactly by this AS. *ui*. On the chronology involved see below.

(3) *The history of $\bar{e} > ui$.* The \bar{e} still occurs in the two fifth- and early sixth-century inscriptions quoted,¹ and also, of course, in the bulk of the AS. place-names, including those of places like Dee (early seventh century), Cound Brook and perhaps Neen (mid seventh century), and Kent (third quarter of the seventh century). On the other hand, the oldest OWCB. sources have already *ui*, *oi*; e.g. *Linnuis*, *Uisc*, *Luitcoyt* in HB.; *hunnoid*, *hinnoid* in MP., A.D. 820. Thus a preliminary date of, say, 675–800 might be given. If we accept Förster's theory about *Nyn* and *Lyccid* (and in spite of a very skilled argument even the latter is hardly to be taken as finally proved), we run into chronological difficulties. The English settled in the Nene valley about 500, and the neighbourhood of Lichfield about 600 at latest, and Förster himself admits that the latter name must have been borrowed soon after 600 (FT. p. 161).² Yet we find Pr.W. \bar{e} being adopted as \bar{e} still in Shropshire, once in what is probably the same

¹ On COIMAGNI, CIIC. no. 434, see § 21.

² In FT. p. 181 Förster dates the *ui* stage at about 650, but on the different and quite unsatisfactory grounds that *Lyccid* means that *ui* must have been reached in the boyhood of Bede, born 673.

name as Nene, about half a century later. Förster is forced again to suppose the existence of a nucleus of British-speaking natives surviving in the woods round Lichfield; and on p. 593 he considers, inconsistently, that the name may not have been taken over until Ceadda founded his church there between 669 and 672. We might well object to this that Ceadda was founding an ecclesiastical centre for the conversion of the pagan Mercians, and he would not be likely to do so, therefore, in a remote forest wilderness inhabited exclusively by semi-independent Britons. The English must have been settled in force around Lichfield for at least two generations before Ceadda built his church, and therefore borrowed the name thus much earlier, we might assume. Hence we must regard the whole case for **Lētgēd* > **Luitgēd* > AS. *Lyccid*, rather than **Lētgēd* > AS. *Liccid*, as unproven and the chronology as uncertain; but it would suit the other evidence well enough if we dated the development of *ui* about 675. Lytchett in Dorset, with *ui*, offers no difficulty, as this would not have been borrowed in any case before the latter part of the seventh century. The AS. *Nyn* forms may be ignored as quite indecisive.

This still leaves one more problem, namely, that as with *ē* > *oi*, the date for the diphthongisation is later than the time when the three Brittonic languages separated (though not quite so much later in this case), yet all show it. Förster saw this, and endeavoured to solve it by supposing that it was beginning in the sixth century (FT. pp. 160, 174). But the place-name evidence shows clearly that nothing like the *ui* stage can have been reached so early, and he makes the very acceptable suggestion (FT. pp. 174, 568) that the first stage of diphthongisation at this time was *ēⁱ* (cf. *ēⁱ*, § 27. 3); this would probably not be perceived by the English as phonemically distinct from *ē*, and yet would be enough to account for the (not altogether identical) further development in WCB. We may add that Schuchardt had already envisaged such a stage, *Litteraturbl.*, 1893, col. 101, and so had Meyer-Lübke, *ZCP.* i, 474; both regarding it as *eⁱ*, however.

To conclude, the history of Brit. *ē* seems to have been closely analogous to that of Brit. *ē*, though the development

was probably completed sooner. The dates may be given as follows : IE. *ei* > *ē*, Common Celtic ; *ē* > *ē̃* by the sixth century ; *ē̃* > Pr.W. *ui*, second half of the seventh century. There is no evidence on the OC. *ui*, *oi* and OB. *oi*, *oe*, *ui*, *o*, except that they are earlier than the oldest OC. and OB. sources ; therefore very likely more or less contemporary with Pr.W. *ui*.

§ 29. Latin *ae*

This appears in Brittonic and Irish as short *ě*. It has been shown elsewhere¹ that the Latin *ae* had become a *short* open *ě* already in the first to second centuries, and hence the Britons heard it as such and substituted it by their own medium-open short *e* (cf. § 6. 1). An example is *praecepta* > W. *prēgeth* (cf. OI. *precept*).

Two examples have been quoted to show that Latin *ae* gave W. *oe*,² thus apparently falling together with Brit. *ai* and implying a Latin pronunciation [ai], like that of the Republican period. But, as we have seen, the Brit. *ai* was probably already *ē̃* by the time the Latin loanwords began to make their way into British, and the VL. sound too was by now a monophthong. Besides, the examples, which are neither of them likely to be particularly early borrowings, are quite unconvincing. They are *blaesus* > W. *bloesg* and *Graeca* > W. *Groeg*. Lloyd-Jones thinks that *bloesg* is not derived from *blaesus* but cognate with it (Cymm. Trans., 1942, p. 194), which disposes of the problem. *Op. cit.* p. 197, he points out that the early W. of *Groeg* is *Gro|ec*, not *Groec*, and the contraction is later. Indeed, as Loth had said in ML. (p. 174), *Groeg* is from Latin **Grāica*, comparing *Hebrāica* > MW. *Efroec* (which was similarly *Efro|ec*, Lloyd-Jones, *loc. cit.* ; cf. Ernault, RC. xxviii, 178). The Ir. *Grēg*, and also *spēir* < *sphaera*, may be regarded as late loans from Latin after the new VL. quantity rules had arisen (see § 2. 4), when they would now be pronounced *Grēgus* and

¹ K. Jackson, "On the Vulgar Latin of Roman Britain", in *Mediaeval Studies in Honor of J. D. M. Ford* (ed. U. T. Holmes and A. J. Denomy ; Cambridge, Mass., 1948) ; see pp. 86-7.

² Förster proposes two cases of Latin *ae* > *ē̃* > *ī*, giving Brit. *ī* (FT. p. 847) ; if so, the *ī* stage is a VL. development, not a British one, but the examples are not very decisive.

spēra. It is not at all probable that *blaesus* would behave in British as if it were [blaisus], since in VL. the word was pronounced (exceptionally) with close ē, *blēsus*; see Richter, CPF. p. 40.

§ 30. Latin *oe*

This became a close ē in VL.; apparently by the first century A.D. Cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 90, and E. H. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1940), p. 133; Richter, CPF. pp. 57-8, appears to regard it as going back to the first century B.C. Hence the same development as that of native ē would be expected in Brittonic. The only certain example is *poena* > VL. *pēna* > MC. pl. *ponow* (sg. **pôn* < OC. **poin*, **puin*), Mod.B. *poan*; cf. OI. *pian*. The W. *poen* is irregular, instead of **pwyn*, as if the vowel fell together with Pr.W. ē instead of ē. Possibly the Latin spelling affected it. The C. and B. may also have this development, but not the Irish.

§ 31. The IE. Long Diphthongs

They were mostly shortened internally in the Celtic languages, or lost their second elements, cf. Bergin, Ériu, xiv, 148, Pedersen, VKG. i, 292; though the shortening took place in British apparently after the loss of internal *-s-*. Finally in monosyllables they were retained; so IE. **duōu* > CC. **duāu* > Brit. **dāu* developed like *āu*; > OW. *dou*, MW. *deu*, MC. *dow*, MB. *dou*, Mod.B. *daou*; cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 55, Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 182 (otherwise Morris Jones, WG. p. 108, unconvincingly).

THE IE. VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND NASALS

§ 32.

They became vowel plus consonant or consonant plus vowel, mostly in CC., partly in Gallo-Brittonic. Hence their development lies entirely outside the scope of the present book. See

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Pedersen, VKG. i, 42-7, 51-3. Zupitza apparently thought that W. *gwrth* < **urt* went through an intermediate **urt*, with the vocalic *r* becoming a consonant and the consonantal *u* giving a vowel (KZ. xxxv, 253); but **urt* would not account for the *g*-, and it is excessively improbable that the *r* could have remained vocalic until after the time when *u* became *gw*. It is much more likely that **urt* regularly gave CC. **urit* (= OI. *frith*-), which was metathesised to **uirt* in Brit., as Thurneysen suggests (Gr.OI. p. 515), and then developed to **uirt* just as Brit. **uiros* gave Pr.WCB. **uwr* > W. *gwr*.

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§ 33.

Both Welsh and Cornish, but not Breton, developed an epenthetic vowel in certain groups of final consonants in monosyllables; see Pedersen, VKG. i, pp. 331 ff., LP. pp. 93-4; Morris Jones, WG. pp. 17-18. This vowel was an [ə] in OW. and early MW., but in later MW. by vowel harmony it became identical with the preceding vowel or with the second element of the preceding diphthong. So OW. **cemn* or **cemin*, MW. *cefyn*, Mod.W. colloquial *cefen*. As svarabhakti was never admitted in the traditional metres of poetry, it has always been regarded as un-literary, and it is still not written in standard Welsh to-day.

For the date, it occurs already in OW., but is rare before the time of the Book of Llandaff. Note, however, HIROIDIL, CIIC. no. 994, first half of the ninth century; ¹ *cepister*, *cultir*, *tarater*, *torcigel*, Ox. 2; *guichir*, *lestir*, *lobur* (twice, but probably Irish), *reatir*, Juvenç.; *Teudubir*, HB. c. 49 (MS. H, but K reads *Teudubr*; ² and so AC. 750, Chad 8, Asser c. 80; *Teudebur* in Gen. v is presumably an error for *Teuduber*). As none of these sources is older than the ninth century, we may date

¹ Nash Williams' date, AC., 1938, p. 255.

² *Teudubr* is doubtless the original reading.

svarabhakti in Welsh as probably not before then. The vowel-harmony type occurs at least as early as the fourteenth century *Llyfr yr Angkr* (*budur*, p. 18) and *Red Book of Hergest* (col. 1028 ll. 17-19, *daraf*, *araf*, *coraf*). In Cornish the presence of svarabhakti is already much commoner than its absence, in the Bodmin manumissions of the tenth to twelfth century. I have noted over forty cases with it in Voc.C. as against three without. It is perhaps, therefore, about contemporary in Cornish and Welsh. The vowel in C. is almost invariably -e-.

In all three languages there are examples of a fugitive [ə] or [ɐ] in certain consonant groups internally or even initially, as well as in Breton finally; but this is not normally phonemic and is of no importance here. Internally it is found as early as OW., OC., OB. Occasionally a full fixed syllable developed out of it, as in OW. *tnou* > Mod.W. *tyno*; OB. **cnou* > Vannetais *keneu*. See Pedersen, VKG. i, 333, LP. p. 94; Morris Jones, WG. p. 17; Parry-Williams, Phon. WB. pp. 22-3.

THE NEW QUANTITY SYSTEM

§ 34.

In Late British at the end of the fifth century there were the short vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, *e*, *i*, and probably *æ* (see p. 660), and the long vowels *ǣ*, *ū*, *ē*, *ē*, *ī*. Their quantity was inherent in themselves, derived from the quantity in IE., and had nothing to do with the character of the syllable. In Mod.W., C., and B. we have a completely different system, whereby length depends on whether the vowel is in an open or closed syllable and in a monosyllable or polysyllable, and whether it is stressed or not. The analogy with the history of vowel length in Vulgar Latin as sketched in § 2. 4 is remarkably close; and as there (cf. Richter, CPF. p. 127), so here, the new quantity is evidently the result of a re-arrangement of the syllabic division. The rules in Mod.W. are, broadly speaking, as follows, not mentioning some minor local variations.

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(*N.B.*—The words *accent* and *stress* refer here to the M. and Mod.W. stressed syllable, *not* to the Pr.W. ; and for marking length according to the new rules the circumflex $\hat{}$ is used to distinguish it from the macron of the old system) :

Vowels are long : (A) in monosyllables when final or before single consonants, including *-ff*, *-th*, *-ch*, and *-s* (simplified early in final position from *-ss*¹), *except* in post-Roman loanwords (which includes all cases of *-p*, *-t*, *-c*). (B) in polysyllables in the stressed penultimate when followed by a syllabic vowel or *h*.

Vowels are half-long in polysyllables in the stressed penultimate before single consonants, as defined above except *-s*- (which represents unsimplified *-ss*-).

Vowels are short : (A) in monosyllables before consonant groups, including those originally double now written single (*-r*, *-n*, *-ng*, *-m*, but *not -s*), and *-l* from OW. *-l̥*. (B) in polysyllables in the stressed penultimate before consonant groups, including those simplified in spelling as above (*-r*-, *-n*-, *-ng*-, *-m*-, *-s*-) and *-l*- < OW. *-l̥*-, and *-ll*- ; and *-p*-, *-t*-, *-c*- from older *-bh*-, *-dh*-, *-gh*-. (C) in unstressed syllables.

For a more detailed account see Morris Jones, WG. pp. 65 ff. ; LP. pp. 83-4 ; Baudiš, Gr. pp. 2 ff. The rules for Cornish and Breton are essentially the same ; see LP. p. 85.²

Morris Jones thought that before the accent-shift took place the then stressed final syllables of polysyllables, if they fulfilled the conditions for the present long monosyllables, were themselves long (WG. p. 73). So just as *tán* is *tán*, the then **llədán* (< **litános*) would have been **llədán* ; and when the accent shifted, the *a*, being now unstressed, became short, whence the modern *llýdăn*. Assuming that these quantity rules came

¹ This simplification must have taken place *after* the loss of final syllables but *before* the new quantity rules grew up.

[² But there is the important difference that B., and apparently C., had no half-long quantity, the W. half-long vowels being represented by fully long ones. See now F. Falc'hun, *Le Système consonantique du Breton* (Rennes, 1951), part i. It is possible therefore that the W. half-length represents a secondary shortening, or perhaps the full length a secondary super-lengthening, foreign in either case to CB.]

into existence before the accent-shift (as we shall see they did), this is extremely likely, and must be correct. The half-long quantity of a syllable like the first in *llydan* must be a new development after the accent-shift, since the preceding reduction to *ə* presupposes not only lack of stress but also shortness.¹ Final geminate consonants in polysyllables were simplified when the stress moved back, e.g. OW. *sgribénn* (M.Cap. *scribenn*) > *əsgriven* = MW. *yscrifen*; but not when a termination was added, resulting in the stress returning to the former final syllable. So OW. pl. **sgribénnou* > *əsgrivénneu* = MW. *yscrifenneu*. This simplification is itself of course a shortening analogous to that in *llydan*. Stressed *-ân* and *-ënn* were both *long syllables*, the former by virtue of its long vowel, the latter of its long consonant, and the two syllables were therefore of equal *weight*. When they became unstressed both syllables were reduced, the former in respect of its long vowel, the latter of its long consonant. The tradition of final geminates in polysyllables lingered in poetry long after they had ceased to be a fact in speech. Cf. WG. pp. 73-4. The simplification can be demonstrated in the twelfth century; see pp. 476-7 below.

§ 35. The Chronology of the New Quantity System

(1) Since the same basic arrangement is found in all three Brittonic languages, it must have its roots in the period before the final dissolution of all contact between them; though the terms of reference here are fairly wide.

According to Morris Jones, it must be later than the change of quality in (i.e. chiefly diphthongisation of) long vowels,² because for instance original *ā* gives MW. *aw* but *ǣ* lengthened to *â* does not (WG. p. 73). So Förster says it was later than *ā* > *ǝ*, for the same reason (FT. p. 156). At any rate, we should note that up to a certain stage (say in the sixth century, cf. footnote) the lengthening need not have gone far enough to

[¹ See now p. 687, footnote.]

² According to our dating, Late Brit. *ā* > *ǝ* is late fifth to early sixth century; *ǣ* > *ē* by the sixth, and > *oi* in the early or mid eighth; *ē* > *ē* by the sixth century, and > *ui* by the second half of the seventh; *ū* > *ū* was not diphthongised, nor was *ī*.

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make confusion with the long vowels possible. Also that the old long vowels were in any case now qualitatively distinct from the new ones—*ō* was very open, whereas *ô* was fairly close (cf. FT. pp. 382-3); *ē* and *ē̄* would be *ēⁱ* and *ēⁱ* by now, and even if they had not yet reached the semi-diphthongal stage, *ê* was probably of medium opening, midway between the two; *ū* had no new counterpart; and the old *ī* was quite different in quality from the new lengthened original *ĩ*, which was now *î*.

An important dating point is indicated by the fact that the phenomenon is necessarily later than the development of *pp*, *tt*, *cc* to *f*, *th*, *ch* = [f, θ, χ], since these act as single consonants, not double, for the purposes of the quantity rules. *F*, *th*, *ch* are dated in the middle or second half of the sixth century, § 147. Hence as a preliminary date, the latter part of the sixth century seems indicated; hardly much later, because the quantities are shared by W., C., and B. The tendency may well have begun before, but it cannot have been more than a tendency, or the vowels would have remained short before *f*, *th*, and *ch*.

(2) The evidence of loans in AS. must be taken into account. Supposed examples in AS. of Pr.W. *ō*, *ū*, *ēⁱ*, *ēⁱ*, *ī* shortened as a result of being unstressed are unsatisfactory. The shortening of *ō* may have been independent and older in any case; see § 10. Then, *ēⁱ* and *ēⁱ* were not shortened at all, since their diphthongisation had already begun. This leaves only *ū* and *ī*. Ekwall proposes to derive Coly (Dev.) from Pr.C. **Cūli* from **Cūli*, RN. p. 91; and Curry (So.) and Cory (Dev.) from Pr.C. **Cūri* < **Cūri*, RN. p. 98; both words having half-long *ū*. But as we have already seen (§§ 20. 3; 21), the whole question of these names is very uncertain. However, Curry would have been borrowed in the second half of the seventh century, and Coly and Cory in the earlier eighth; whereas Boyd (Gl.) and Kyre Brook (Wo.), in which the Pr.W. *ū* seems still to have been long if they are from **Būdi* and **Cūri*,¹ must have been adopted near the end of the sixth century. For Brit. *ī*, note Wiley (Wi.), with AS. **Wīl*-, probably from Brit. **Ūlīsā* (see

¹ Rather than **Būdi*, **Cūri* with Ekwall (see § 20. 3), considering the probable date; if so, the *ū* would have been sound-substituted by *ū* in Pr.AS.

RN. p. 458, FT. pp. 287 ff.), Pr.W. **Wīl-* (=OW. *Guilou*, Asser c. 42; cf. W. *Gwili*), late sixth century.

Lengthening of originally short Pr.W., Pr.C. *a*, *o*, *u*, *e*, *i* is better attested in English sources. It appears only in monosyllables, however, since if the ultimates of polysyllables were lengthened, as suggested above, they would be shortened in any case in AS.; and half-lengthening of penultimates could not have arisen until after the accent-shift in the eleventh century.

With *ā*: The Tone (So.), AS. *Tān*, taken over in the later seventh century, must have been Pr.W. *Tān* < Brit. **Tān-*; cf. Förster, FT. p. 156. The Oare Water (So.) and Ayr (Ayrshire), AS. **Ār*, are derived from Pr.W. **Ār*, Brit. **Ārā*, by Ekwall, RN. pp. 305-6, Förster, FT. p. 156; but the etymology is uncertain.¹

With *ō*: Roose (Lan.), Roos (ERY.), are probably from AS. **Rōs* < Pr.W. **rōs* < Brit. **rōstā*, see Ekwall, RN. p. lxxi, Förster, FT. pp. 378-9. Förster explains Röss (Nb.) and Röss (Heref.) as from the same, but with shortening in ME.; but presumably if they had been adopted early enough they could have the Pr.W. *ō*.

With *ū*: the various rivers Ouse are derived by Ekwall from Pr.W. **Ūs* < **Ussō* < IE. **udso-*, RN. p. 317; Förster also implies **Ūs*, and derives it from Brit. **Ussōn* < IE. **ud-so-*, containing **ued-*, **ud-*, "water", FT. p. 379. This is an example of the practice mentioned on p. 195 above, of explaining a name which has no obvious Germanic origin by hunting for some possible IE. etymology, and then asserting the name to be Celtic regardless of the fact that no such name is known in any Celtic language. There is no Celtic **uss-*, "water", or anything like it. The name may very well be pre-Celtic, and in any case we can safely conclude nothing from it about Celtic phonetics when we do not know what the early form of the word was. For Förster's Brit. **Ussōn* read **Ussū*, Late Brit. **Ussī*, and as this would have had final vowel affection, it could not have given Pr.W. **Ūs* at all.

¹ The etymology of Soar (Leic.) is very doubtful, and a Brit. **Sāra*, Pr.W. **Sār*, is possible just as much as a Brit. **Sāra*, Pr.W. **Sār*, or a Brit. **Sōra*, Pr.W. **Sōr*. Hence nothing can be concluded from this about quantity.

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With *ê* : Tees, AS. **Tēs*, may be from Pr.W. **Tês* < Brit. **Tēss-*, related to W. *tês*, "heat", as Ekwall and Förster think (RN. p. 397, FT. pp. 156, 379), though this etymology is not very convincing. It would have been borrowed about 600. Preese (Lan.) and Prees (Shr.) are perhaps from Pr.W. **prēs*, "brushwood", cf. Ekwall, RN. p. lxxi, Dict. p. 355, and Förster, FT. p. 379; though it would be a curious name for a place, in that form. Both would have been adopted in the seventh century.

With *î* : Leece (Lan.), borrowed in the seventh century, is probably the equivalent of W. *llŷs*, as Förster thinks, FT. p. 379; if so, it shows that final geminate *-ss* was already simplified. Ekwall gives AS. *lēas*, "leas", for this (Dict. p. 280), which seems unlikely. Note, on the other hand, Liss (Ha.) : *llŷs*, Dict. p. 286; Nidd (WRY.) < **Nīdo-*, RN. p. 303; Biss (Wi.) : W. *bŷs*, RN. p. 34. These three were evidently borrowed while the *î* was still short in Pr.W.; respectively about mid sixth, late fifth or sixth century, and later sixth.

(3) The evidence of all these names falls in very well with the date late in the sixth century already proposed; we may say that roughly around 600 the new quantity system was sufficiently clearly established for it to be a perceptible reality and more than a mere tendency.

As regards previous opinions, Morris Jones believed it arose as a compensation for the loss of final syllables, and at the same time (WG. p. 73); if so, no later than the middle of the sixth century, according to our dating. This would suit well enough for the beginning of the tendency, but actually there is no need for any connection with the loss of final syllables, considering the analogous development in Vulgar Latin.

Förster's opinion is very much more divergent, and as the date he assigns is basic to a number of others of his datings postulated upon it,¹ it is necessary to discuss this. In the first place, noting that it must have happened before the migration of the Bretons, he puts this in FT. p. 157 (and elsewhere) at 450-550, and so dates the new quantity rules

¹ So his date of *ā > ē*, see p. 293, note; of lenition, see p. 561, n. 1; of loss of final *-ā*, see p. 632; etc.

fifth century. *Op. cit.* p. 382, rather more conservatively, he says it must have been before 550 for the same reason, but continues "let us say broadly in the course of the fifth century" (p. 380, he remarks that at least its beginnings existed at the time of the Breton migration); on the same page he gives $\delta > \delta$ as about 475. This whole matter of the significance of the Breton migration in dating sound-changes has been discussed above, pp. 18 ff., and there is no reason to modify our view of the time of the new quantities on these grounds. Secondly, Förster believes that it was before the sixth century because of the names borrowed into AS. in the sixth to eighth centuries which show it; but as we have now seen, there are no certain cases of this before about 600. Thus Förster's date has nothing to support it, but on the contrary it has one very decisive factor against it, which Förster has neglected to consider, in spite of the fact that it was clearly pointed out by Morris Jones in WG. p. 73; namely, that it must be later than *pp*, *tt*, *cc* > *f*, *th*, *ch* (which he himself dates seventh century, but is shown below to have been middle or second half of the sixth century; see § 147).¹ Hence our date about 600 stands.

THE SEMIVOWELS

§ 36. IE. *i*

Initially and at the beginning of the second element of compounds, IE. and Latin ² *i* remain. In the latter case it

¹ Förster's statement that lenition must have taken place before vowel-lengthening is a little difficult to follow (FT. p. 164); the cause given is that lengthening occurs before the new lenited consonants, which explains nothing. If it means that lengthening is not found before e.g. *p*, *t*, *c* in Mod.W., this is irrelevant, since single internal and final Mod.W. *p*, *t*, *c* are always of (comparatively) late foreign origin.

² Latin *i* at the beginning of a word, or of a syllable after some consonants, became *z* in VL. in the first to third century, > *dž* in the fifth to sixth, but in other positions remained. It thus fell together with Lat. *dž* and *gž*. See Richter, CPF. pp. 86, 189. There is no sign of this in British Latin.

does not form diphthongs with the composition vowel; on the significance of this see pp. 367, 436, 514, 579. It is not affected by lenition, which alone is a strong indication that the loss of internal intervocal *ȝ* described below is not part of the phenomenon of lenition.

(1) In AS. names, certain examples of *ȝ* in the positions defined above are very rare, but it seems to have been rendered by AS. *ȝ*'=[j], spelt either *g* or *i*, *e*. The best and most definite cases are in the AS. contexts in the Bodmin manumissions. So the OC. **Iudicael* is written *ȝyðiccael* in an AS. passage in § 30 (A.D. 960-1000); and *Iestin* is similarly spelt *ȝestin* in § 33 (second half of tenth century). But in Latin contexts in Bodmin, *i* is used, as in OWCB. In place-names, Ekwall derives Deverill (Wi.), AS. *Deferæġl*, *Defereal*, from Brit. **Dubroȝalon*, RN. p. 124; and Fonthill (Wi.), AS. *Funtȝeal(l)*, *Funtial*, *Funteal*, etc., from the same **-ȝalon*, RN. p. 161. This may be correct. Ight (Berk.-Oxf.), AS. *ȝeht*, : W. *ȝaith*, Brit. **ȝecti*-, RN. p. 209, is less persuasive. In the Durham Liber Vitae (KW. p. 176) some OW. *Iud*- name is rendered *Hiudu*, *Hiuddi* (i.e. *Iud*-) in AS. Loth quotes an AS. charter of 932 in which the OW. name *Gurȝiat* is spelt *Wrȝeat*, RC. xl, 31; and, though in this case it is originally post-consonantal, we may compare ASC. 918 *Cameleac*, var. *Camelȝeac*, for OW. *Cimeillȝauc*; cf. p. 298.

(2) The OW. **iud*=[jūd], "lord", had a peculiar history. The word by itself, and when it stood second in a nominal compound, i.e. when it was stressed, lost its *ȝ* by absorption in the following *ū* (which at this period was probably long in the second of these positions, cf. § 34, and of course in the first), giving the MW. common-noun *uđ*, "lord", and *-uđ* in names. On the other hand, when it formed the first element of a compound (when it would be unstressed and short) the *ȝū* resulted in vocalic *i*, hence MW. *Iđ*- in names. The *ū* seems to have been unrounded in the latter case, and the *ȝ* rounded in the former, as an intermediate step.¹ The same thing happened to the Latin words *Iūdas*, *Iūdaeus*, and *ȝūscellum*, all

¹ Similarly *ȝ* was absorbed in *i* in monosyllables and final syllables, as in **ȝȝrch* (pl. of *iwrch*) > *ȝrch*, and verbs in *-ȝynt* > *-ynt*; see WG. p. 40.

of which developed MW. *i-* from OW. *iü-*. On the significance of all this for the history of the accent see § 207. 4.

Examples : *Morgetiud* (AC. 795, Gen. xiii, xiv), *Margetiud* (AC. 811) > *Margetud* (Lland. pp. 125, 270), MW. *Maredud*. *Bleidiud*, *Bleydiud* (Chad 5, Gen. xvii) > *Bledud* (Lland. p. 204). *Braniud* (Chad 8, Lland. p. 236) > *Branud* (Lland. pp. 235 twice, 264). *Gripiud* (Chad 1, Gen. xv) > *Grifud* (Lland., numerous), MW. *Gryffud*. *Iudhail* (AC. 775, 848, Gen. xxviii, xxix ; several in Lland. ; cf. IUTHAHELO, CIIC. no. 1012) ¹ > *Ithail* (Lland. pp. 258, 259, 263), *Ithael* (scribe of TCD. A. iv, 20, A.D. 1064–82, see p. 57), MW. *Ithael*. *Iudgual* (AC. 943, Gen. iv), *Iutgual* (Gen. i) > *Idgual* (Lland. p. 253), MW. *Idwal*. *Iudcant* (Lland. pp. 212, 217) > *Idcant* (Lland. p. 239). *Iudnerth* (Chad 5, Gen. xxv, several in Lland.) > *Idnerth* (several in Lland.). *Iudguollaun* (AC. 842), *Iudguallaun* (several in Lland.) > *Idguallaun*, *Idguallon* (several in Lland.). It is clear, then, that forms in *-ud*, *Id-* do not occur before the time of the Book of Llandaff, except in TCD. MS. A. iv, 20 ; ² and that those in *-iud*, *Iud-* are still found in the Book of Llandaff. This change must be at least as old as 1064–82, and the appearance of *-iud*, *Iud-* side by side with *-ud*, *Id-* in Lland. in the middle of the next century is easily explained, partly as an example of orthographical conservatism and partly as due to the older documents copied. On the other hand, a form like *Iudgual* in 943, which was written down contemporaneously with the death of the man in question, no doubt represents the pronunciation in his lifetime ; in any case, AC. was probably compiled in 954. Hence we have roughly between the middle of the tenth century and the middle of the eleventh for the change ; unfortunately there are no OW. documents of the period which help us to a more precise dating. Since, as we shall see, the phenomenon is evidently older than the accent-shift, which is to be dated eleventh century (see § 207), it is likely to be early rather than late ; so the second half of the

[¹ Dated tenth to eleventh century by Nash Williams, ECMW. p. 144.]

² CIIC. no. 350 has been read [I]DNERT, on the authority of Lhuyd. But there is, in fact, room for two letters between the end of the preceding word and the D. There is no reasonable doubt that we should therefore read [IV]DNERT. The inscription belongs to the seventh century ; cf. p. 620.

tenth century is the most probable period for OW. *iud*, *-iud*, *Iud*->*ud*, *-ud*, *Id*-.¹

The same or a similar change took place in OC. and OB., though it must be independent in all three. In the Bodmin manumissions *iud* is retained; thus *Bleidiud*, § 36 (946-55); *Iudprost*, § 7 (959-93); *Ȝyðiccael*, § 30 (960-1000; see above); *Grifud*, §§ 17, 25, 32, 36 (all middle or third quarter of the tenth century); but *Ȝryfyið* in an AS. context, § 37 (beginning of twelfth century), seems to show some change, unless this is an error for *Ȝryfyið*. The new form is apparently established by Voc.C., where we have *iskel* (Mod.C. *isgal*) < *iussellum*. The change in Cornish seems, therefore, to belong to the eleventh century, and again early, because the accent-shift there is also eleventh century (p. 301).

In OB. *Iud*- names are common in Cart.Red., see Chr.B. pp. 142-3. There is also sometimes *Ied*-, however, even in documents of the ninth century (though this might be due to the eleventh-century copyist), which in MB. has become *Iez*- or *I*-; so OB. *Iudcant*, MB. *Ker Iezcant* and *Ker Icant*. Thus it may be as early as the ninth century in Breton; but, as in Cornish, not later than the early eleventh century, since the Breton accent-shift also belongs to that century (p. 301).

§ 37. Intervocal IE. *i*

That is to say, *i* in true internal position, not at the beginning of the second element of a compound. Since the history here seems to be closely paralleled by that of the hiatus in CC. arising from the loss of IE. *-p-*, and that in British caused by the loss of intervocal *-s-*,² these will be considered together; indeed those hiatuses may be regarded for the sake of the scheme as having been filled by a *-i-*, though there seems

[¹ The Carew inscription, MARGITEUT, CHIC. no. 1035, is now dated A.D. 1033-5 (see ECMW. p. 184), which would suggest a somewhat later time; but it may, of course, be a traditional spelling.]

² Holmer objects to Pedersen's treatment of *esa* as being the same as that of *iia* (*Language*, xxiii, 125); but this is simply a question of deciding which examples are regular and which exceptional. In the present writer's opinion the hiatus from loss of *s* behaved *regularly* exactly as if it had been filled by *i*. On whether internal *s* ever gave *h*, see pp. 361-2 and 521-2.

to be no actual evidence for such a \dot{i} in the case of the hiatus arising from loss of p . The history of the loss of p and s is treated elsewhere, §§ 50 and 117.

This is one of the knottiest problems in British phonology, and no satisfactory all-embracing solution has yet been found. The situation evidently depends to a large extent on the position in the word or, what is the same thing, whether the preceding or following syllable was stressed. In most cases the \dot{i} was lost without trace, with or without contraction (which took place already *in* British); but in a certain series (apparently only when the preceding vowel was accented) it was emphasised, becoming a strong [j], which developed later to a dental spirant. Before the \dot{i} , short e seems to have become i owing to the closing effect of the \dot{i} ,¹ the group thus falling together with original $i\dot{i}$; but this seems to have happened only when the e was immediately before the stressed syllable, and a case can be made out for the retention of e when it was accented.²

§ 38. When the Preceding Vowel was in the British Penultimate,
i.e. Stressed Syllable

(A)

In some cases the original \dot{i} , or $\dot{i} < s$, became a strong [j], giving OWCB. \dot{d} . An analogous development of IE. \dot{i} is to be seen in Gothic, where when the preceding vowel was accented the result was $-ddj-$; compare Luick, HGES. § 626, and Vendryes, RC. I, 323-4, who calls it a reinforcement of articulation. Just how this happened in British is not clear; whether

¹ Compare the tendency in Romance for VL. \dot{e} in hiatus to give i , as in *meus* > *mio*, probably owing to the existence of a hiatus-filling glide \dot{i} ; see PMLA. lxiii, 765 ff.

² "Accented" and "stressed" imply, of course, as throughout, "in Late Brit.". Nothing definite is known about the earlier Brit. accent, see § 1. Morris Jones, in his treatment of the matter of \dot{i} -, WG. pp. 99 ff., assumes a number of arbitrary accentuations; in most cases without any supporting evidence, in others with parallels from Sanskrit and Greek, the relevance of which to Celtic has yet to be demonstrated. Whether the puzzling difference between $\dot{i} > j$ and $\dot{i} >$ loss and contraction, when the \dot{i} stood between the penultimate and ultimate syllables, is due to some variation in the earlier British accent is too speculative to be discussed here.

the sound remained a continuant all the time, perhaps passing through \check{z} as Pedersen and Morris Jones believed (VKG. i, 242; WG. p. 153), or whether it became first stop d which was then lenited along with original d , as the Gothic parallel might suggest. The former seems more probable.

(1) The development to \check{d} seems to have occurred exclusively after IE. e and i . Pedersen and Förster, in saying that it did not happen after vowels other than i (VKG. i, 68; FT. p. 443), are presupposing the change of $e\check{i} > i\check{i}$ as having occurred before the Brit. period; which the analysis given below appears to indicate is unjustified. The strengthening of the i was presumably facilitated by the narrow mouth opening and the forward position of the previous vowel, as well as by the stress.

(N.B.—IE. $-\check{i}os$, $-\check{i}\check{a}$, $-\check{i}on$ remained in CC., and IE. $-\check{i}\check{o}(n)$ gave CC. $-\check{i}\check{u}$, Brit. $-\check{i}\check{u}$. The regular development of these in Late Brit. was loss of the whole syllable, with affection of the preceding (stressed) vowel, e.g. $*al\check{i}os > MW. eil$; cf. § 155. But in some cases the $-\check{i}$ in these terminations developed a glide i before it, which grew into a full vowel and consequently, being now a penultimate one, took the accent; hence $-\check{i}os$, etc., could become $-i\check{i}os$, etc., which was $-i\check{i}os$, etc. On the W. termination $-i$ see sub-section (2) below.)

The general result in MW. final syllables was twofold: $-oed\check{d}$, and $-y\check{d}$ or $-ed\check{d}$. The former seems to come, at least chiefly,¹ from $-\acute{e}\check{i}$ - in the penultimate, and the latter from $-\check{i}\check{i}$ - ($-ed\check{d}$ arises by vowel affection of this, in $-\check{i}\check{i}\check{a}$). How $-oed\check{d}$ developed from $-\acute{e}\check{i}$ - is not quite clear; but, remembering that W. oe comes from Brit. \bar{e} ($< ai$), it may be suggested that segmentation occurred, $-\acute{e}\check{i} > -\acute{e}j$ - perhaps becoming $-\acute{e}ij$ - (or $-\acute{e}\check{i} > -\acute{e}i\check{i} > -\acute{e}ij$ -; compare $i\check{i}\acute{a} > \check{a}i\check{i}\acute{a}$, § 39) $> -\acute{e}i\check{d}$ -; and that this fell together with $\bar{e}\check{d}$ or $\bar{e}^i\check{d}$ from aid ; that is to say, at

¹ Probably entirely. Supposed examples of $-oedd < -i\check{i}$ - have been quoted, as *moroedd* derived from $*mori\check{i}a$ by Pedersen, VKG. ii, 95, and Morris Jones, WG. p. 100 (the latter accentuates *móri\check{i}a*). But *moroedd* is very likely analogical, from the *-esa* pls. noted below; after all, the derivative of $*mori\check{i}a$ is *myr*, and a second pl. might easily be analogical.

some time between the fourth or early fifth century and the eighth.¹ This *éj* > at least *éij* should be older than the time of *ā*-affection (first half or middle of the fifth century, see § 154), as otherwise *-éjā* would be expected to fall together in *-ēd* with *-éjā* from vowel affection of *-iġā*. The *đ* does not normally appear in CB. plurals, which have different endings (but note, e.g., MB. *porthoeđ*, *porzoez*, pl. of *porth*, *porz*, § 54. 2), but at least once we have a CB. form without *-đ* which is the equivalent of W. *oedd*, namely, the 3rd sg. imperfect of the verb "to be", and it is what would be in W. **oe*. This seems to show that in SW.Brit. in this case the same segmentation occurred, but that the *j* never reached *đ*, and was lost; see just below, and p. 351.

Examples of *-oedd*: The nom. pl. of *i*-stems, e.g. W. *gwladoedd*, pl. of *gwlad*, < **ūlatéies*.² The nom. pl. of neuter *s*-stems, < *-éja* < *-esa*; e.g. *tiroedd*, *maoedd*, *llynnoedd* (Pedersen, VKG. ii, 95, 96); and *lleoedd* < **legésa*, as Holmer himself allows, *Language*, xxiii, 133 (on MW. *tei*, perhaps < **tegesa* but if so possibly an example of an older Brit. accentuation, **tégesa*, see Pedersen, VKG. ii, 96, Holmer, *loc. cit.*; and § 1 above). The word W. *oedd*, C. *o*, B. *oa*, "was", < **ésāt* (the CB. would be the equivalent of a W. **oe* without the *dd*, see just above).³

Examples of *-yđ*, *-ēđ*: W. *mynydd*, C. *meneth*, OB. *monid* (Chr.B. p. 152), Mod.B. *menez*, < **monġjo*-. OW. *nouid* (Chad 2), *neguid* (AC. 921), Mod.W. *newydd*; C. *nowyth*, *newyth*; OB. *nouuid*, *neuued* (Chr.B. p. 155), Mod.B. *nevez*, < Brit. **nouġjo* < IE. **neuiġo*-. W. *gwledydd*, alternative plural of *gwlad*, per-

¹ Holmer envisages *ej* as becoming first *aij* and then *oedd*, along with original *ai* > *oe* (*Language*, xxiii, 126), which is less probable. He is apparently not aware of the intermediate *ē* stage of *ai* > *oe* (his conclusions in this article are partly vitiated because he has not considered the chronology of the history of *s*). Loth derives W. *-oedd* from a *u*-stem collective suffix in *-iġā*, namely *-ouiġā*, extended to *i*-stems (RC. xxxvi, 151); but this does not cover the examples, and the phonetics are difficult.

² Pedersen's curious accentuation in VKG. i, 68, would seem to lack any basis, and to be suggested entirely *ad hoc*.

³ I am aware that this whole paragraph is controversial. The fact that the controversy is not fully set out is simply because there is no space here for it, and because after considering all the evidence my general conclusion is the one sketched above.

haps from the g. pl. of *i*-stems, Brit. **ǵlatijōn* < IE. **ǵlatiōm* ; cf. Pedersen, VKG. ii, 95 ; Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 193, is inclined to doubt it. MW. *keryð*, C. *keryth*, MB. *querez*, < -*ijī* < -*iei*, 2nd sg. pres. indicative ending of *ī*-verbs ; LP. p. 283.¹ W. *dydd*, MC. *deth*, *dyth*, B. *deiz*, < IE. **diēus* ; LP. p. 171. With *ā*-affection, the pl. of fem. *ī*-stems in -*eð* < -*ijās* < -*īās*, as in W. *celanedd*, *rhianedd*, *ynysedd*, *blynedd*, *nadredd* ; see LP. p. 170, Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 189. W. *llechwedd* < **lexouija* : Gaul. *Lexovii* ; cf. LP. p. 20.

With long -*ī* : Note Brit. **priēss* > W. *pridd*, : Ir. *crē* < **q^uriēts*. The MC. *pry*, Mod.C. *pri*, B. *pri* lack the *ð* ; perhaps in SW.Brit. the *ī* was absorbed into the *ē*, i.e. > **pri|ess*, before *j* developed. Cf. on C. *o*, B. *oa*, versus W. *oedd* above ; and on the -*i* suffix, pp. 353 and 359.

(N.B. *ð* appears in a few cases where the following syllable was stressed ; e.g. Brit. **bijāmi* > W. *byddaf*, C. *bethaf*, MB. *bezaff* ; Brit. *nijéumā* (cf. Pedersen, VKG. ii, 61) > W. *nyddu*, C. *nethe*, B. *neza* ; Brit. oblique stem **spiját* > W. *ysbyddad*, C. *spethes*, B. *spezed*. These can easily be explained, however, as due to the analogy of those cases where the stress was on the preceding vowel ; so 3rd sg. **bij-*, **nij-* (probably the commonest form), and n. sg. **spijass*.)

(2) A problem of considerable importance in toponymy arises here. There is a neo-Brittonic suffix -*i*, common in place-names, as W. *Llyfni*, *Gefenni*, *Ewenni*, *Derwenni*, *Brefi*, *Tywi*, *Gwili*, *Dyfi*, *Arwystli*, *Eryri*, etc., and numerous common-nouns, as well as in the pl. ending in -*i*. In the case of the first six of these names the Romano-British form is recorded, i.e. *Libnios* (Ptol., but in Ireland, not actually the Welsh *Llyfni*), *Gobannium* (AI.), *Aventio* (Rav.), *Derventio* (AI., Rav., ND.), *Bremia* (Rav.), and perhaps *Tobios* (Ptol., for **Touios*). Hence at first sight we seem to have the Brit. -*ios*, -*ion*, -*iū* suffixes. But, as already set out, these were either lost with vowel affection or developed into -*ij-*, giving W. -*yð*, -*eð*.

¹ Holmer's objections to this (*Language*, xxiii, 132) are not particularly convincing.

R. J. Thomas proposes to explain *-i* as from a stress *-i̇ó-* (En.Af. i, 128 ; his ideas on stress derive from Morris Jones), but this will not do, because there is no real evidence for such an accentuation in British. Stokes suggested *‘i̇o-* > *-i* or nil with vowel affection, and *—i̇ó-* > *-yǎ* (TPhS., 1885-7, pp. 131-2), which meets with the same objection. It is clear that we must start at any rate from a proximate Brit. *-ios*, *-iā*, *-ion*, *-iū*, since W. *i* is from Brit. *ī*, not *ǐ*. Such a suffix is unknown in IE., and must be a secondary development. Pedersen thought that if it was original at all it would be *-i̇ios*, *-i̇iā*, etc., but preferred to derive *-i* from Vulgar Latin, comparing Fr. *maladie*, *folie*, etc. (VKG. ii, 18). This last is excessively improbable in place-names at least ; and in any case it only shifts the problem, since normally VL. *-i̇us* etc. are lost with vowel affection in Brittonic, just like native *‘i̇os* etc. A proximate suffix *-i̇io-* etc. would be a probable explanation, and the *ī* could very early have become absorbed into the *ī*, leaving a hiatus, as just suggested for CB. *pri* < **pri̇iess*. Ekwall thought that this may have been the suffix, though he also suggested that *-i̇io-* etc. might “under certain conditions” (undefined and unsupported) give *-i* ; RN. p. lxxvii. The difficulty about IE. *-i̇io-* etc. has led others to think of an IE. *-s-* suffix. Rhys proposed *-iṡio-* for *Gobannium*, *Libnios*, etc., with the *-s-* already lost in Ptolemy’s time (LWP.2, p. 28) ; Quiggin thought *-i* arose in certain cases from *-iso-* (TPhS., 1911-14, p. 99) ; Pokorny derived *Dyfi*, *Gwili*, *Llyfni*, etc., as having *-īsā*, which he treated as “Illyrian” (Urg. pp. 46-7) ; Förster, quoting Pokorny, thinks it advisable to start provisionally from *-īsā* (FT. p. 398) ; O’Rahilly derives W. *Belī* from **Belīso-* (EIH.M. p. 474).

The whole matter turns, of course, on the question whether intervocal single *-s-* could have been lost so early as Ptolemy’s time. This is answered in the affirmative, p. 522 below. We may accept, then, that these Romano-British *-ius*, *-ia*, *-ium*, *-io* forms, and WCB. *-i*, represent Brit. *-ios*, *-iā*, *-ion*, *-iū*, which may be from older *-isos*, *-isā*, *-ison*, *-isū* (and *-iṡio-*, *-iso-*, *-i̇io-*, etc., could be rejected, but see next paragraph). On the other hand, the possibility that they came from an older suffix *-i̇io-*

etc. ought not to be lost sight of. One might have expected the hiatus from lost *-s-* to be filled with $i > j > \bar{d}$, but, as already suggested, i is apt to disappear after a Brit. long \bar{i} , as it must have done in *-iio-* etc. if they are the source.

The plural and abstract suffixes in *-i* are less satisfactorily explicable. Pedersen proposed that the former was the pl. of *i*-stems, *-eĭes*, not developing into *-oedd* but giving $e > i$ in hiatus instead (VKG. ii, 94).¹ But in that case we might expect W. *-y*, not *-i*. Is it possible that *-eĭes* gave on the one hand *-éjes > -oedd*, as already described, and on the other *-iĭes*, in which, by a shift of syllabic division, the i absorbed the i before it could become $j > \bar{d}$, and was lengthened, resulting in *-iĭes*? Cf. p. 352 and particularly p. 359. If so, this could account for the abstract and collective suffix *-i*, as from *-iio- < IE. -iō-*, being in this way an alternative of the *-yḍ* abstract in e.g. W. *llewenydd*; and it might offer still another explanation of the problem of proximate British *-iōs* etc. in place-names. That *-iś-* is not necessarily the final solution for all those cases seems suggested by Rom.-Brit. *Derwentio*. The existence of the $\angle i\bar{u} : -iĭ\bar{u}$ alternatives in this name seems proved by English Derwent, etc., from **Deruēntiĭū* (see Ekwall, RN. pp. 114, 123) as against OW. *Derguentid* (HB. c. 44), MW. *Derwennyḍ*, $< *Deruēntiĭj\bar{u}$. Yet W. *Derwenni* appears to indicate **Deruēntisā*. Quite possibly in this case at least, if not in others, we must assume not *-iśā* but *-iō > -iĭū > -iū* and *-iĭj\bar{u}*.

(3) *The chronology of $i > \bar{d}$* . The strengthening of i to [j] must have happened after the loss of internal *-s-* in the second half of the first century (see p. 522), since the resulting hiatus was, or could be, filled with i - which itself was capable of giving j . As *-ijā* becomes *-eḍ*, by vowel affection, the change to \bar{d} must presumably have occurred before \bar{a} -affection in the first half or middle of the fifth century (see § 154), since otherwise the resulting *-éjā* should give *-oed*; unless the stage of original *-éiā > -éjā* had already reached *-éijā* or *-ējā*. Another argument for $j > \bar{d}$ being older than \bar{a} -affection is given by

¹ Morris Jones derives *-i* here from *-iĭes*, and even *tri* from **triĭes* from IE. **tréĭes* (WG. p. 100). Loth notes that this accentuation was invented to distinguish it from **-éĭes > -oedd* (RC. xxxvi, 118).

Förster, namely, that *-ijā* would in any case not become *-ejā* because the intervening *-j-* would prevent the lowering of the vowel (FT. p. 172). There is some force in this.

In Latin loanwords *ḷj-* does not result in *j > ḍ*. I know no examples of *-ēj-* or *-īj-*; but note *māior*, VL. *māiior* (IVL. p. 73) > MW. *maer*, OC. *mair*, OB. *mair*, Mod.B. *mear* (with loss of *-o-* in the final syllable, see § 177); and *Māius*, VL. *Māiūs* (IVL. p. 73; Lloyd-Jones, ZCP. vii, 464), or perhaps rather (*Mensis*) *Māiīi*, > MW. *Mei*, C. *Mê*, B. *Mae*, *Mē*.¹ Since, however, we do not know that Brit. *-āj-* or *-āiī-* must develop a *j*, and indeed the evidence is that it did not, nothing definite can be concluded from the lack of *ḍ* in Latin borrowings. According to LP. (p. 63), *j > ḍ* was practically complete before the period of the Latin loans, on these grounds; but apart from the objection just raised, another is relevant. The VL. intervocal *j* was not a particularly strong [j],² and there is no reason why it should have fallen together with native *j*, still less with *ž* if that existed; in fact, as we shall see, it is probable that in certain positions the older *j* still survived in British, later to be lost, and the Latin sound would be identified with this if anything. Besides, if the *ḍ* stage were really already reached by the beginning of the Roman period, we should surely find **Novidomagus* instead of *Noviomagus* in Ptolemy and AI., as well as perhaps **Derwentido* instead of *Derwentio*. On the other hand, the Romans would naturally render *j*, even *ž* if this existed, with their own letter *i*. Latin post-consonantal *j*, as in *-ius*, etc., did not develop into Brit. *-ij-*, but instead follows the other treatment of *ḷj-*, being lost with vowel affection. The reason may well be that native *ḷj-* was already *-ij-* by this time, in those cases where it happened. On Brit. *rj > rj > rḍ* see § 92; Latin *rj* does not give *rḍ*, but again this means nothing—simply the Latin *rj* as pronounced in Britain must have been distinct from native *rj* and fell together with the native *rj* which resulted in vowel affection.

Direct light on the subject is meagre. Of course *ḍ* was

¹ These words must have the short VL. *ā*, since *āj-* or *āiī-* could not give MW. *ae* or *ei*.

² Cf. Richter, CPF. pp. 125, 188.

reached by the OWCB. period, since it appears in all of them ; and presumably before the time of the separation of the three. We have noted one or two examples where \ddot{d} is lacking in CB., suggesting that in SW.Brit. in certain cases \ddot{i} did not give j , where it did in Western Brit. The inscription CIIC. no. 413, fifth century, MONEDORIGI, very probably contains Late Brit. **monido-*, "mountain", from older **monijo-* (the E being a mere VL. spelling for \ddot{i} , cf. pp. 191, 283, n. 2), and if so \ddot{d} had already arisen ; the name would mean "Mountain King". No early AS. place-names certainly show either j or \ddot{d} . O. Schram sees **monijo-* in Money Hill (Cam.) and Moneybury Hill (Hert.), and dates them as borrowed not later than the beginning of the sixth century on the ground that $j > \ddot{d}$ "has been dated c. 550" (no reference) ; *Aberystwyth Studies*, xi, 33. Actually these names would have been borrowed probably somewhat earlier, because of the date of the English settlement, but in any case the etymology can hardly be right, and no doubt they mean what they appear to mean, i.e. hills believed to contain treasure. Money Hill is a barrow, a burial tumulus (so that "mountain" is quite out of the question here) ; and it is a common piece of folklore that these have gold hidden in them. The Celtic **monjo-* is not likely to have been applied to any of the puny hills of the East Midlands, particularly as AS. place-names show so many other words more suited to express "hill" in use among the Britons of Eastern England. Ekwall finds the W. *mynydd* in Long Mynd (Shr. ; Dict. p. 289), Myndtown (Shr. ; Dict. p. 319), Minton (Shr. ; Dict. p. 312), Mynde (Heref. ; Dict. p. 319), all ME. *Muned* ; in Mindrum (Nb. ; Dict. p. 312) ; in Minehead (So. ; Dict. p. 312) ; and in *mynet* in a Devon charter of 938 (Dict. p. 344). Mindrum might have been borrowed in the early seventh century ; the others in the second half of the seventh century, and *mynet* in the eighth. Hence we appear to have some solid evidence for \ddot{d} from some time in the fifth century (MONEDORIGI), through place-names of the seventh century, to the OWCB. sources.

One may say that \ddot{i} probably became j after the loss of internal -s- in the second half of the first century, but before Latin loanwords began to enter the language in bulk, therefore

in the late first century ; and that *j* became *đ* (perhaps passing first through *ž*) later than *AI.* and the other Romano-British documents, but before *ā*-affection (first half or middle of the fifth century) and before the *MONEDORIGI* inscription ; therefore fourth or early fifth century.¹

(B)

In certain other cases when the preceding British vowel was penultimate, i.e. stressed, the *ʼi̇-* did not give *ʼj-* but instead was totally lost with contraction of the two syllables. The same development is found with hiatus arising from the CC. loss of *-p-* and the early Brit. loss of *-s-*. In these cases *é* apparently did not become *í* before *i̇* or in hiatus. Whether there was ever at first any *-i̇-* filling the hiatus after loss of *-p-* and *-s-* is unclear ; but in any event the original *-i̇-*, and the *-i̇-* in the older hiatus if such existed, must have been comparatively weak. The reason for the different treatment here from the type described under section (A) is not apparent. In both types the vowel before the *i̇* was in the original penultimate syllable ; whether one or the other type was formerly stressed, in early British, on the final syllable, is a matter for speculation which may be left open.² But since most of the examples are in fact cases of loss of *-p-* or *-s-* rather than of original *-i̇-*, it may be that the pattern is one of early contraction of pure hiatus, and the few cases of original *-i̇-* which follow it did so by analogy before the time when *ʼi̇- > ʼj-*.³ It is noteworthy that in the case of British trisyllables, which contracted to disyllables, the new final syllable, now a diphthong, was not lost at the time of the general loss of final syllables, though the contraction must be earlier than that time since otherwise it would not have occurred at all. So IE. **uporesu* (LP. p. 186) *>* W. *goreu*.⁴ Cf. Latin *Matthe|us*,

¹ Förster dates *j > đ* before 300, because he puts *ā*-affection about 300 (which is too early) ; FT. p. 172. He does not mention the fact that no Roman sources show *đ*.

² As before, Morris Jones proposed in WG. a number of strange accentuations for the problems in this section ; they are ignored here.

³ The same remark applies to this whole section as that in note 3, p. 350.

[⁴ But see now Binchy, JCS. i, 148 ff., who postulates **uorgouson*, which is possible.]

pronounced in Britain exceptionally as *Mattheus*, which gave Mod.W. *Mathau*.¹ This appears to show that in polysyllables Late Brit. final diphthongs existing at the time of the general loss were themselves immune; the older, IE. final diphthongs had, of course, already become monophthongs (cf. § 177). The new diphthongs would very likely carry the stress in British (e.g. **uporesu* > Brit. **uorésu* > **uoré|u* > Late Brit. **uoréu*), whereas no other final syllables would; and this would certainly help to preserve them.

Examples: With *-i-*. IE. **prijos* > Brit. **rijos* > **rios* > W. *rhwy*; cf. LP. p. 14, WG. pp. 100, 305. **Māiōs* > Brit. **māiūs* > **mā|ūs* > Late Brit. **māīs*; in which the diphthong fell together with *qi* < *ē* in early W. *moe*, whereas the regular MW. and only Mod.W. form is *mwy* (cf. LP. p. 322; BBCS. vii, 3); but see the Note below, and § 47. 2 D. A British name probably containing this stem, with the *i* still visible, is the *Maio* or *Maia* of Ravennas; see BSRC. p. 39.

With *-p-*. **Nepōts* > Brit. **ne|ūss* > MW. *nei*.

With *-s-*. **Uporesu* as above. Brit. **uīsos* or **uīsus* > **uīos* or **uīus* > W. *gwyw* (cf. LP. p. 67). Brit. **uīsus* > **uīus* > W. *gwiw*, B. *gwiou* (cf. LP. *ib.*). **Uogaiso-* > Late Brit. **uo3ēo-* > Pr.W. **wozoiw* (= OB. pl. *gurgoiuou*, Vat.Reg. 296 Oros.) > **gwoew* > W. *gwaew*: Ir. *fogha*; see Thurneysen, IF.Anz. xxvi, 25. IE. **esōm* > Brit. **esōn* > **e|on*, with contraction > *eo(n)* > OW. *ou* (Lland. p. 121) > W. *eu*, "their".²

(N.B.—The W. *chwaer*, OC. *huir*, MC. *hoer*, *hōr*, B. *c'hoar*,³ "sister", from IE. **suesōr*, has caused some difficulty.⁴ The following solution may be suggested tentatively. IE. **suesōr* > early Brit. **suesūr* > **Σueiūr*

¹ Lewis sees a Brit. Lat. **Mattheus* here (EL. p. 12); but this gave the other form, W. *Mathew* (cf. p. 367), and Brit. (as distinct from IE.) *-eu-* could not become anything but *-ew* in W., in the absence of vowel affection at any rate; cf. § 46. 4.

² LP. envisage a stage **eyo* > OW. *ou* (p. 217); but this would give W. **ew*, see previous note.

³ W. *chwaer* has unrounding after a labial (as in **gwoew* > *gwaew*, cf. VKG, i, 385, WG. p. 114), and is for older **chwoer*; OC. *huir* is for **hwuir*; we must start from a Pr.WCB. **χwoir*.

⁴ See, e.g., Pedersen, VKG. i, 67, 73; Baudiš, Gr. p. 128; Morris Jones, WG. p. 102; Holmer, *Language*, xxiii, 128.

developed the same segmentation of $e\grave{\iota} > ei\grave{\iota}$ as proposed for $ej > ej\grave{\iota} > oedd$, p. 349; but in this case the $\grave{\iota}$ did not become $j > \ddot{d}$. Hence $*\Sigma uei\grave{\iota}\ddot{u}r > \text{Late Brit. } * \Sigma ue\grave{\iota}(\ddot{i})r > \text{Pr.WCB. } * \chi w\ddot{e}r > *chwoir$.¹ When the stress followed the $-s-$ in this word, in the pl. $*s\grave{u}es\acute{o}res$, the development was quite different, giving first $-i\grave{\iota}o-$, see p. 360; but $e > i$ did not take place when the es was stressed. The history of W. *mw*y may have been similar, if we assume original $*m\grave{a}\ddot{i}\acute{o}s$ with LP. (p. 184), instead of $*m\grave{a}\ddot{i}\acute{o}s$. If so, $*m\grave{a}\ddot{i}\acute{o}s > *m\grave{a}\ddot{i}\acute{o}s > \text{Pr.W. } m\ddot{o}i$, whence MW. *moe*, etc., as above. Thus *chwaer*, and perhaps *mw*y and *gloew* (see footnote) would constitute still a third treatment of $\acute{e}s$.)

§ 39. When the Preceding Vowel was Unstressed and the Following Stressed

In this case, with the stressed vowel in the penultimate syllable as always, there was neither $\grave{\iota} > j$ nor total loss of $\grave{\iota}$ with contraction of the two syllables. Instead the $\grave{\iota}$ seems to have formed a diphthong or long vowel with the preceding vowel, if short. Here again intervocal $-s-$ was replaced by $\grave{\iota}$, definitely this time, and so apparently was $-p-$ when the hiatus resulting from its loss lasted into the British period.² In these cases a preceding e normally became i , unlike what happened when it was stressed. Hence $e\grave{\iota}_ \text{—}$, $i\grave{\iota}_ \text{—}$, $es_ \text{—}$, $is_ \text{—}$, and perhaps $ep_ \text{—}$, $ip_ \text{—}$ all fell together in $-i\grave{\iota}_ \text{—}$.³

When the result is $i\grave{\iota}\acute{a}$, there is diphthongisation of the first syllable, giving in MW. $ae|a$ (spelt in OW. *ae*, *ea*, rarely *aie*, *aia*, *ai*, *ay*, *eia*, *aa*, even *a*; ⁴ the pronunciation must have

¹ If W. *gloew* is really from $*gl\acute{e}sos$ (Holmer, *Language*, xxiii, 135) it may have had a similar development. If so, it can hardly be connected with Rom.-Brit. *Glēvum*, W. *Caer Loew*.

² Probably with earlier contraction note $*tepesm\grave{n} > \text{CC. } *te|esman > *t\acute{e}mman$, W. *twym* etc.; cf. LP. pp. 26-7.

³ Holmer thinks the case of *ehawc* is *regular* and the others *exceptional*, and therefore gives a different interpretation of the history of $es\text{—}$ (*Language*, xxiii, 128). I take the opposite view. *Ehawc* is discussed below, p. 362.

⁴ The only spellings in OW. sources other than the Book of Llandaff are *ae*, *ea*, and once *aie*.

been disyllabic); in OC. *oe*, *oy* (probably disyllabic, as it is distinct from OC. diphthong *oi*, *ui*), MC. *oe*, *oa*, *ô*; OB. *oia* (rarely, and late, *ia*, *ua*, *oa*), MB. *oa*, Mod.B. *oa*, *oua*. The W. *aea* has final *i*-affection to *y|ei*, *e|y*, later contracted, and internal affection to *ey|e*. After labials W. alone shows a different treatment, *wy|a*. What seems to have happened is some sort of segmentation of the *ĩ*, such as *æiǵá*, giving W. *aiá* but perhaps Pr.CB. (and after a labial also Pr.W.) *oiá*. If so, the *ai* did not fall together with original Brit. *ai* in *ē*, but this is natural, as the appearance of the *ai* is clearly much later than the time when CC. *ai* became Brit. *ē*, and it is apparently limited to Welsh. The *æi* stage, however, would be older and common to WCB. The history of the final affection, e.g. **riǵátri* > MW. *ryeidr*, *reydr*, as against that of the internal affection, e.g. **griǵanīno* > MW. *greyenin*, suggests that the former took place while it was still *iǵa* but the latter after it had become *aia*; that is to say, that *iǵa* > *æiǵa* began at some time after the late fifth century and reached *aia* by the seventh. If Ekwall's derivation of Aire is correct (see § 41), *aia* would have been in existence by the sixth century. The stage *æiǵa*, common to W., C., and B, may therefore be put in the first half of the sixth century. The fact that *-iǵó-* behaved quite differently from *-iǵá-*, and did not develop segmentation, is difficult to explain. Why the *á* should affect the previous syllable in this way and the *ó* should not (if this is what happened) is unclear.

In the case of *-iǵó-* from older *-eiǵó-*, *-iǵó-*, *-esó-*, *-isó-*, and apparently *-epó-*, the *ĩ* seems to have fused with the *ĩ*, resulting in lengthening of the vowel and a hiatus, *ĩ|o*; > Mod.W. *io*, Mod.B. *ie*. Although the accentuation is different, this might explain also some of the W. *-i* suffixes; see p. 353.

Examples: *Proximate iǵá*, < *iǵá*, *isá*, etc. Brit. **giǵámo* > OW. *gaem* (Chad 3), MW. *gaeaf*, OC. *goyf*, B. *goañv*, : Gaul. *Giamon-*, *Giamillus*. With rounding after a labial, Brit. **miǵár-* > W. *mwyar*, OC. *moyr*, Mod.C. *môr*, B. *mouar* (on *miaren*, *mieri*, see below); Brit. **clisáro-* > W. *claear*, C. *clor*, *clour*, B. *klouar*; cf. LP. p. 17.

Brit. **isarno-* (cf. LP. p. 17) > OW. *Tal-haern* (HB. c. 62),

and names in *-hearn*, *-haiarn*, *-haiern*, *-haarn*, *-harn*, and *Haern* in Lland. ; Mod.W. *haearn* ; OC. *hoern*, MC. *hörn* ; OB. *hoiarn*- (Leid. Leech.), *Hoiarn* and names in *-hoiarn* in Cart.Red. ; Mod.B. *houarn* ; : Gaul. *Isarnus*, *Ysarno* : OI. *i|arn* (on Pr.B. *Catihernus*, see p. 454 ; names in *Iarn*-, § 40 ; *Ixarninus*, *Isxarninus*, see p. 522, n. 1). With final affection, **isarnī* > MW. pl. *he|yrn*, Mod.B. *hern* < **he|ern*. On the *h*- in these words see p. 522.

Proximate *iǵó* < *iǵó*, *epó*, *esó*, etc. IE. **diǵeues* > Brit. **diǵeues* > OW. **diou* > Mod.W. *diau* (cf. LP. p. 171). IE. **nepotes* > Brit. **ne|ótes* > **niǵótes* > B. *nied*. In Mod.W. *chwiorydd*, pl. of *chwaer*, we seem to have the W. pl. termination *-ydd* (cf. Morris Jones, WG. pp. 101, 206 ; but see p. 361 below). Here **suesores* would appear, therefore, to have given Brit. **Σiǵiores* > Pr.W. **χwi|or*. As Lewis and Pedersen note, LP. p. 17, there is not W. *wy* here although after a labial. On MW. *ehawc* see p. 362 below.

I have no examples of proximate *iǵú*, *iǵé*, *iǵí*, but cf. on *ysgien* just below.

When the preceding vowel is long : the result of *iǵ_* is mere loss of the *i*, and hiatus ; cf. p. 351. So Brit. **sciǵénā* > W. *ysgi|en*, : OI. *sci|an* ; cf. LP. p. 15. Compare, however, O'Rahilly in *Ériu*, xiii, 120, where he derives the Irish from **skiǵenā* and regards *ysgien* as a loan from this. If **skiǵenā* is correct, as it probably is, *ysgien* might be the direct Brit. cognate, with *iǵé* > *i|e* just like *iǵó* > *i|o*. The name *Maiona* in Ravennas may be from the same stem as W. *mwyl*, etc., and *Maio* or *Maia* in Rav. ; see BSRC. p. 39, and § 38. B above. If so, the *i* was still present in the fourth century.

§ 40. When neither the Preceding nor the Following Vowel was Stressed

The next following syllable was penultimate and therefore stressed. In this case not only *iǵo* but also *iǵa* result in the same *i* with hiatus. After labials there may, however, be *wy* in W., as before.

Examples : With proximate *iǵa_*. Brit. **miǵarén-* > W.

mi|aren ; **mi|ari-* > W. *mi|eri* by internal affection. Brit. **uesantēno* > **ui̇iantēno* > OW. *guiannuin* (Ovid), OC. *guaintoin* (a metathesis for **guaintoin* according to Pedersen, VKG. i, 322). The MW. *gwaeanhwyn* is difficult to explain, unless there was a form **uesánt-* > Pr.W. **gwaeant* which influenced Pr.W. **gwiantuin*. In derivatives like *greyenyn* < **gri̇ianīno-*, *heyernin* < **isarnīno-*, the *ae|a* affected to *ey|e*, instead of *i|a* affected to *i|e*, is probably due to the analogy of *graean*, *haearn*.

In the first part of compound names, where the stem would be less strongly accented, if at all, it is significant that **isarno-* gives not *hoern*, *hoiarn*, etc., in OC., OB., but *iarn*. So Brit. **Isarnouallānos* > OC. *Iarnwallon* (Bodm. § 49, second half of tenth century), and many OB. names in *Iarn-* (see Chr.B. pp. 140-41). In fact, there are thirty-three OB. names in *-hoiarn* mentioned in Chr.B. (p. 139) when bearing the full stress, not counting the common-noun itself, and only seven in *Hoiarn-* ; but forty-odd in *Iarn-* and none in *-iarn*. Compare the OC. stressed *hoern* beside *Iarnwallon*. This makes it clear that fully stressed *isá* > *i̇á* developed a diphthongised first syllable, whereas when only secondarily stressed or not at all the *i̇a* became *i|a*. The seven OB. names in *Hoiarn-*, as well as the OW. names in *Haern-* etc., would be due to the influence of the common-noun. On *Trisantona* see pp. 524 ff.

With proximate i̇o_: I have no certain examples. Possibly *chwiorydd* is not to be regarded as a Pr.W. **chwior* plus *īđ*, but may go back to a Brit. g. pl. **suesorījōn* (cf. p. 351).

In one word, and apparently one alone, intervocal *-s-* developed into an *h* which still remained in the Mediaeval period. Since initial *s-* and *-s-* at the beginning of the second elements of compounds gave *h*, it has been supposed that absolute internal *-s-* did so too ; and that the preservation in the one case referred to is *regular*, and the total loss *irregular* in words like **uporesu*, **uisos*, **uisus*, **uogaiso-*, **esōm*, **suesōr*, **suesores*, **clisaro-*, **isarno-*, **uesantēno-*, etc. So Holmer, thinking that *es_* properly gave *eh-* (*Language*, xxiii, 128). Intervocal *-s-* may no doubt have passed through *-h-* before its loss with hiatus (cf. p. 522), but that its preservation into the Mediaeval period should be regarded as regular seems to

defy the facts ; the one example of *eh-* is surely to be explained otherwise. The word is the MW. *ehawc*, Mod.W. *eog*, OC. *ehoc*, MB. *ehoc* (Catholicon), Mod.B. *eok*, "salmon", from a proximate Brit. **esāco-*, : Gallo-Latin *esox*, "salmon". From this a MW. **aeawc* would have been expected according to the system set out above. The survival of *h* here recalls the treatment proper to *-s-* at the beginning of the second element of a compound (cf. § 113.2) ; can it be that the *es-* was confused by popular etymology with some proclitic element, possibly Brit. **ex-* ? A Brit. **exāco-* would result precisely, and regularly, in the WCB. forms given.

§ 41. Internal *i* in AS. Names

There are no very decisive examples. For proximate *iġá*, note Ekwall's derivation of Aire (WRY.) as from **Isara* > Pr.W. **Aiar*¹ (RN. p. 2) ; but this is not entirely satisfactory, particularly as it does not explain the only attested AS. form, *Yr*, see below.

Proximate iġó : Ekwall's explanation of Ure (WRY.) as from **Isura* (RN. p. 428) is tentatively accepted by Förster (FT. p. 73) ; both forget that a Late Brit. **Iġúrā* would give Pr.W. **I|or* by *ā*-affection, though this does not upset the etymology. It is by no means established, however.

Proximate iġú : Ekwall takes Weare (Du.), AS. *Wīur*, to be from **Ūisur-*, RN. p. 442 ; Förster (*Streitberg Festgabe* ; Leipzig, 1924 ; p. 65) from **Ūisuria*. **Ūisurā* would give Pr.W. **Wior* ; **Ūisuriā* a Pr.W. **Wiir* ; hence if we accept this at all, **Ūisuro-* or **Ūisuris* seem more likely. But Ptolemy's *Ūedrā* appears still not to be ruled out finally as a candidate.

Proximate iġé : AS. *Yr*, the Aire, is treated by Ekwall as

¹ As regards the rendering of Pr.W. *ai* in English, it is worth remarking here that in names called "compounds of the late type", where it had only a secondary stress, the Pr.WCCumb. **cair* (etymology uncertain) appears in comparatively late loans as *Car-*, in, e.g., Carwendy (Heref., in Ergyng), and in Cumberland Carlisle, Carlatton, Carwinley, Cardurnock, etc. Pr.WCCumb. **blain* (W. *blaen* < Brit. **blacno-*, cf. § 84), in compounds of the same kind, gives ME. *Blen-* in Blencarn, Blencogo, Blencow (Dict. p. 46), Blencathra, Blennerhasset, Blinderake (EPNS. xx, 253, 265, 266), all in Cumberland.

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a second borrowing, derived from **Isera*, side by side with AS. **Æzer* < Pr.W. **Aiar* < **Isara* for the same river (RN. pp. 2-3). **Isera* would presumably become Pr.W. **Ier*, whence AS. **Īr*, for which Ekwall thinks *Yr* is a spelling. Similarly he derives Wyre (Lan.) from AS. **Wīr* < **Uīsera* (RN. p. 476). All this is hazardous.

Proximate i̇o : Ock (Berk.), AS. *Ēoccen*, is brought by Ekwall from **Esocona* (RN. p. 307). Unless this behaved like the related **esāco*- it should give Pr.W. **Iogon*, which would be expected to appear as **Ēocen* in AS. ; cf. Ekwall, *loc. cit.*

§ 42. *i̇* after Consonants

It caused vowel affection where possible, see § 155 ; or might develop into *i̇i*, see § 38 A.1. On *gi̇* see § 77 ; on *ri̇*, § 92 ; on other consonants plus *i̇* see the individual sections. Latin post-consonantal *i*, as in *mulier*, *filius*, became *i̇* in VL. by the first to second century, so *mul̇ier*, *fil̇ius* ; cf. Grandgent, IVL. pp. 93-4, Richter, CPF. pp. 76 ff. It always behaves as *i̇* in British, and never became *i̇i* > *iđ* as the native *i̇* often did.

§ 43. IE. *u*

In British this was always [u̇], not the bilabial [b] or labiodental [v] ; and the *v* in Romano-British names means [u̇] (or actually, two kinds of [w], see pp. 389 ff.). This is shown, first by the development into [gw] in WCB., which came about by a strengthening of [u̇] ; compare the way in which IE. *u* following the stress became first *u̇u* and then *ggw* in Gothic and Old Norse. Second, by the fact that when it was *not* thus strengthened it gave WCB. *w*. Third, that it was not normally confused with Pr.WCB. *ō* or *ō̇*, except in certain special cases. Fourth, it is always rendered in AS. by *w*, though AS. had its own *ō*-sound.¹ Fifth, it is usually written *ov* in the Greek renderings in Ptolemy ; when *β* does appear there this is due to the late Greek development of *β* to [b], which was then often

¹ And hence AS. *Searobyrig*, ASC. 552, shows that the correct form of the Romano-British name of Salisbury is *Sorviodunum* not *Sorbiodunum* ; see JRS. xxxviii, 58.

used in Greek to spell Latin (and naturally therefore Romano-British) *v*; cf. Förster, FT. pp. 252-3.

Latin *v* is always treated as *u* in Brittonic. Now Latin *v* became bilabial [b], both medially and initially, in the ordinary colloquial language early in the Empire, probably in the first century (Grandgent, IVL. p. 135; cf. Förster, FT. p. 254);¹ and Latin intervocal *b* also became [b] in VL., beginning in the first century, well established in the second, and complete in the third (see Grandgent, IVL. p. 134, Richter, CPF. pp. 60 ff.). Hence Latin *v* and *b* were often confused in spelling at this time. Sturtevant says² that this confusion of *b* and *v* was so common by the third century that we must assume bilabial [b] or less probably labiodental [v] even in standard Latin by that time, though the older pronunciation [u] must have continued for some while and was known to Consentius in the fifth century, though he himself apparently preferred [b] or [v]. Förster speaks of the [u] pronunciation as lasting into the fourth century (FT. p. 254); and E. Seelman says that the better Latin popular speech kept *v* as [u] until the fourth or fifth century (*Die Aussprache des Lateins*; Heilbronn, 1885; p. 231). However this may be, Latin *v* in all positions in loanwords in Brittonic behaves exactly like the native *u*, and there is no trace of the pronunciations [b] or [v]. It cannot be argued that this is due to sound-substitution by the British of their [u] for a Latin [b], because in that case we should expect to find the same thing with original Latin *-b-*, which was by now equally [b] in the level of Latin society which pronounced *v* as [b].

It seems clear, then, that Latin *v* was still pronounced [u] in Roman Britain at the time of the Latin loans, and remained

¹ Occasionally initial *v-* gave *b-* in VL., and *rv*, *lv* gave *rb*, *lb*; see Richter, CPF. pp. 60 ff., 80-81. There is no trace of this in Latin loanwords in British; but CIIC. no. 355, beginning of the sixth century, SILBANDVS IACIT, might be for *Silvanus*, and, if so, would be an example—Richter, p. 80, actually notes *Silbanus* (with [lb] not [lb]) from an inscription. The *nd* could presumably be a reverse spelling, due to the fact that Brit. *nd* was now in process of becoming *nn* (see § 112). This inscription is not to be regarded as a case of written confusion of *b* and *v*; and it is quite uncertain that it stands for *Silvanus* at all.

² *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1940), p. 143.

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so throughout the Roman period ; in other words, that the pronunciation of the higher levels of society, which preserved [u̯] better than in ordinary colloquial Vulgar Latin, was the standard ; cf. pp. 88 ff. This is the reason why early British-Latin loanwords in Irish with *v-* are treated like the native *u̯-*=[u̯],¹ i.e. they gave OI. *f-*.

§ 44.

There are one or two other peculiarities in the behaviour of VL. *v* which should be noted here. Internally, it was frequently lost in certain positions, specially before *u* in popular speech towards the end of the Republican period, though it was often restored by analogy ; e.g. *novum* > *noum*, *flavus* > *flaus*, *pavonem* > **paonem*, *avunculus* > *aunculus*. Cf. Grandgent, IVL. pp. 136-7, Richter, CPF. pp. 36-9. This appears in Britt. in WCB. *paun* < **paōnem*, side by side with W. *pawin* < **pawun* < *pavōnem* ; but in general, Latin intervocal *u̯* is kept in Brittonic.

It is remarkable that the Latin loanwords show the existence in British Latin of a peculiar hiatus-filling *u̯* when one of the vowels in a Latin hiatus is *u* ; which is not found in native British² nor, except to a very small extent,³ in Vulgar Latin. It seems, therefore, to have been a special feature of the Vulgar Latin of Roman Britain. It occurs for instance in *struo* and *destruo*, which must have become **struūo* and **destruūo* on their way to W. *ystryw*, *distryw*, C. *destrewy*. We appear to have an example of this in CIIC. no. 327, early or mid sixth century, PVVERI, which presumably stands for *puyeri*. When a word containing *uū*, with this hiatus-filling *u̯*, was not stressed on the *u* in Latin, the result in W. is *aw*, which evidently means that the *u* was reduced to *ə* and then

¹ On this point see my article in *Études Celtiques*, v, 105 ff.

² On the contrary, as we have seen, when there is a hiatus in early British it was filled, if anything, by *ɨ*.

³ Richter (CPF. p. 70) notes its existence in VL. in *u - i*, quoting *instituit*, *instituerunt*, *posuit* in inscriptions ; but regards these as possibly only scribal. Note *rugidus* > **ruidus* > **ruvidus* by the late insertion of a glide, *op. cit.* p. 98.

became *a* ; this must have occurred in British *Latin*, as *æ* would hardly give *au* in British. Examples : *construenda* > **construenda* > **construēnda* > W. *cystrawen* ; *ruīna* > **ruuīna* > **rauīna* > Pr.W. **rawin*, by vowel affection W. *rhewin*. There is again a case of this among the Dark-Age inscriptions ; CIIC. no. 466, early sixth century, where the Latin *INGENVI* is rendered in the Ogam as *IGENAVI*. The engraver was doing his best to spell in Ogam letters what seemed to him the sound of the British Latin. This shows that the development to *au* was a British Latin one ; and in addition it must have been reached in a purely *Latin* context, because if **Ingenuuus*, **Ingenuui* had been taken into British or even perhaps into low-class British Latin, it would have been stressed **Ingenúuus*, **Ingenúui*, and no reduction of the *u* would have been possible. That the other inscription has *PVVERI* not *PAVERI* is, of course, due to the fact that in this word the *u* was stressed in Latin. The difference, therefore, between *ystryw* and *cystrawen*, *rhewin*, depends upon the VL. accent and not the British.

But there is in British Latin an occurrence of hiatus-filling *u* which is even more remarkable, because it is entirely opposed to what happened in the VL. of the rest of the Empire. Yet it, too, cannot be of native origin, because it is not found in native words. In ordinary VL. the unstressed disyllabic terminations *-eus*, *-ea*, *-eum* became monosyllabic *-iūs*, *-iā*, *-iūm* by the first century A.D. (see Grandgent, IVL. pp. 93-4), and the reflection of this is seen in loanwords in British, in which those endings developed like native *-ios*, *-iā*, *-ion*, being lost with final vowel affection ; e.g. *cuneus* > **cunīus* > W. *cyn*. This represents the ordinary standard everyday VL. speech. But there was also another treatment in Britain,¹ through which a glide *u* was inserted in the hiatus, giving *-euūs*, *-euūm* (there are no examples for *-ea*).² It is clear that this happened only in the case of those words in which the terminations had not yet become *-iūs*, *-iūm* but were still disyllabic, very likely in the

¹ A third, whereby disyllabic *-eus*, remaining in Latin, was contracted in Brit. as if it were from a native **-ē|us* < **-esus*, is seen in the development of Lat. *Mattheus* to Mod.W. *Mathau* discussed in § 26. This is very likely a reflection of the most upper-class Brit. Lat., being the most classical.

² Cf. Lewis, EL. p. 12.

speech of a higher social level (cf. p. 87). These words then became stressed on the *e*, the penultimate syllable, under the influence of the British accent. The same thing is seen with original stressed *e* in Latin *leō* > Brit. Lat. **leuō*. The VL. short stressed *e* was an open one, *e*, and the fact that the hiatus-filler here is *u* rather than *i* certainly suggests that it was so in Britain. It is worth noting that in a stressed Latin hiatus, as in *deus*, *meus*, and *dea*, *mea*, the general VL. tendency was for the *e* to close towards *i* in *ea*, but to remain open or to become more open in *eus*; cf. Richter, CPF. p. 125, and PMLA. lxiii, 780-82. This might explain why there are no cases of *-eyua* > *-ew* in Welsh etc.

Examples: *puteus* > **putéuus* > W. *pydew* (Ir. *cuithe* is from **putius*); *oleum* > **oléuūm* > W. *olew*, OC. *oleu*, B. *oleo*;¹ *Mattheus* > **Matthéuus* > W. *Mathew*; *leo* > **léuō* > W. *llew*, OB. *leu* (Chr.B. p. 144), Mod.B. *leo*.²

§ 45.

Initially the product of Brit. *u* in WCB. is *gw*-. This may alternate very rarely with *chw*- (cf. LP. p. 157), a tendency which goes back to the common Pr.WCB. period, and presumably arose from a confusion of [w] with [hw] < *su*, perhaps in external sandhi after *-s*. When *u*- was initially lenited it is M., Mod.WCB.³ *w*-.

Like *i*, *g*, *s*, Brit. *u* is treated differently at the beginning of the second element of compounds from its development in absolute internal position; cf. pp. 345, 436, 514, 579. Like *i*, it did not make a diphthong with the composition vowel, but instead retained its consonantal character, appearing in M., Mod.WCB. as *w*, exactly as with initial *u*- in lenited position. It is clear that *-u*- here was felt to be in quasi-initial position; cf. §§ 1, 156.

¹ Thurneysen takes *pydew* and *olew* to have Lat. *eu* (Gr.OI. p. 568); but this would have resulted in W. **pydau*, **olau*. Cf. Lewis, EL. p. 12; Lloyd-Jones, ZCP. vii, 464; cf. Loth, ML. pp. 200, 182.

² The *u* in Brit. Lat. is actually seen in this word, as late as the twelfth century, in CIIC. no. 1002, A LEVONE, see Williams, Arch.Camb., 1940, p. 5. His suggestions there to account for the V miss the point.

³ B. sometimes *chw*- by the analogy of the B. lenition of *g*-; see LP. p. 129.

After a consonant, *u* remained consonantal. So Brit. **petuāres* > W. *pedwar*, C. *peswar*, B. *pevar*.¹ But when after the loss of final syllables it came to stand at the end of a word, the development differed somewhat. In Welsh it remained consonantal until the Early Mod.W. period, but then in monosyllables¹ became vocalic; so Brit. **maruōs* > MW. monosyllabic *marw*, Mod.W. disyllabic *marw*, "dead". This can be traced back to the fifteenth century; see WG. p. 53. In Cornish, on the other hand, there was svarabhakti from the time of our earliest documents, spelt in Voc.C. -*eu*, -*uu*, -*ou*, in MC. -*ow*, e.g. *marow*, "dead". However, there are a few traces of its absence, e.g. *Wurfoðu* in Bodm. § 50 (959-75), and even in Voc.C. there is *erw* beside *ereu*. In Breton (except in Vannetais) it was vocalised as in W., but in MB. may still be consonantal. The regular Mod.B. spelling has been -*o* until recently, so *maro*, "dead", but the new reformed orthography now uses -*v*, pronounced *o*.

In absolute internal position the development of *u*, like that of *i*, varies according to its place in the word; there is sometimes a *u*-diphthong, sometimes consonantal *w*, the former usually when the preceding vowel is penultimate and stressed, the latter when the following vowel is.² It has already been noted (§ 22. 1) that an early Brit. *u*-diphthong plus *s* lost the *s*, and the diphthong then became vowel plus *u*. In certain cases original *oua* seems to have become *aua* in Gaulish and British; see Pokorny, IF. xxxviii, 190 ff., Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 247. Original IE. *eu* gave *ou* in all the Celtic languages; so IE. **neu̯ios* > Pr.I. **nou̯ios* > OI. *nuae*; Gaul. *Noviomagus*, etc. (beside NEVIOD[VNI], CIL. iii, no. 3919; NEVIOD[VNENSIVM], *ibid.* no. 3921, but both of these are in Pannonia); Brit. *Noviomagos* (Ptol.), *Noviomago* (AI.); OW. *nouid-* (Chad 2), MC. *nowyth*, OB. *nouuid* (Chr.B. p. 155). On the new British *eu* see § 46. 4.

¹ In polysyllables the -*w* was dropped or metathesised; see WG. p. 51, Phon.WB. p. 107.

² Morris Jones believed that original *au*, *eu*, *ou* and *uu* all fell together in *ou*, which then gave W. *aw* unless affected (WG. pp. 103-4). This intrinsically improbable development involves a series of jugglings with accentuation and affection which are mostly ignored here as unfounded.

§ 46. Intervocal *u* when the Preceding Vowel was Stressed

The result is a series of *u*-diphthongs. The fact that Latin *au* in its second treatment (§ 25), as well as the native *au* from *aua* in **cauuaros > *cauros* (§ 1), behaves in the same way as Brit. *au* shows that the syllabic division, at least in the case of Brit. *áu*, was *áu|-*. The probabilities suggest that it was the same with Brit. *óu* and the rest.

(1) *Brit. -áu-*. The result is OW. *-au*,¹ giving Mod.W. *-aw* = [au] in monosyllables, but in polysyllables *-o* ; ² OC. *-au*, MC. *-aw* ; OB. *-au*, Mod.B. *-ao*. E.g. IE. **neum* > CC. **nouun* > Gall.-Brit. **nauan* > W. *naw*, C. *naw*, B. *nao*. IE. **tause* > Brit. **táue* > W., C. *taw*, B. *tao*, "be silent".

With final *i*-affection the result is Pr.W. **-ou*, MW. *-eu*, e.g. Brit. **canauū* > Late Brit. **canáuī* > MW. *ceneu*, "whelp". Now the ordinary MW. product of final *i*-affection of *a* before a consonant is *ei* or *y* ; we must perhaps suppose that before *u* here the *a* was more of a back variety than before other consonants, and more so than in *au* in antepenultimate syllables, where *i*-affection gives the expected *ew*. Evidently in the syllabic division *-au|* the *a* was not only a back sound, but was also slightly rounded enough by the influence of the *u* so that when the raising action of the *i* took effect the result was not an *e* but an *o*.

The same is apparently found when there is *auī*- as the first element of a nominal compound, giving OW. *ou*-, MW. *eu*-. So the name in CIIC. no. 377, fifth century, AVICATI, became later *Eugad*, and Brit. **Auitamos* gave W. *Eudaf*, cf. Rhys, Arch.Camb., 1907, pp. 71-2 ; and R. J. Thomas on OW. *Oudocui*, MW. *Eudogwy*, and Gaul. *Avicantus* : W. *Eugan*, OB. *Eucant* etc. (BBCS. viii, 32). In these cases *au* appears to have final affection by the composition vowel *-ī*-, and secondary stress ; see § 156.

In AS. names : the *Taw* (Dev.), AS. *Tāw* from the same *Tava* as the Brit. name of the *Tay* (Ptol. ; Tacitus *Taum* for

¹ This OW. *au* fell together with OW. *au* < *ō*, but at the time of internal affection they were still distinct, the latter being still *ō*.

² That is to say, since it fell together with *au* < *ō* it shared its fate in this respect also (cf. § 8), and at the same time.

**Tavum* ; Rav. *Taba*) ; whether this does or does not go back to an older **Tausā*, " the Silent One ", has been disputed, but the result of the discussion on -s-, §§ 38 A. 2 and 117, is that it can. Cf. Ekwall, R.N. p. 394 ; Förster, F.T. pp. 731 ff. ; Watson, CPNS. pp. 50-51.

(2) *Late Brit.* -*ōu*-. This, coming from IE. -*ou*- and -*eu*- and Brit. Lat. -*ov*-, gives OW. -*ou*, late OW. -*eu*,¹ MW. -*eu*, Mod.W. -*au* ; OC. -*ou*, MC. -*ow* ; OB. -*ou* (= [ou]), MB. -*ou*, -*aou*, Mod.B. -*aou* (except in the plural termination, where it is Mod.B. -*ou* = [u]). The final OW. -*ou* might on occasion be reduced to -*o* ; see § 47. 2 B.

E.g. the plural termination Brit. *-*ōyes* > OW. -*ou*, MW. -*eu*, Mod.W. -*au*, OC. -*ou*, MC. -*ow*, OB. -*ou*, Mod.B. -*ou*. Latin (*dies*) *Iovis* > MW. *Ieu*, Mod.W. *Iau*, C. *yow*, Mod.B. *yaou*. The Latin diphthongs *eu* wholly and *au* partly fell together with this, see §§ 25, 26.

The history and development show that the Pr.WCB. was -*ou*, pronounced [ou] ; but the Mod.W. pronunciation makes it clear that the late OW. and the MW. *eu* represented a diphthong in which the second element was [ü]. The first element must have been an unrounded sound, probably a retracted and rather open [ĕ] (cf. § 207. 5). It would appear, therefore, that what was [ou] in Pr.W. final syllables became [ëü], MW. [ĕü], and evidently through an intermediary fronted stage [öü]. The *o*, later *ö*, must have been a vowel of at least medium height and opening, since it does not cause internal vowel affection ; whereas the *ou* > *eu* which arose by final *i*-affection of *ōu* and *áu*, and presumably was [ou], later [öü]

¹ Always *ou* in OW. in the Glosses etc., with a couple of cases of *uo*, *au*, which are presumably errors. But -*eu* occurs once at this period, in *guorennieu* in MP. Otherwise *eu* for *ou* is never found in a MS. older than c. 1100 ; there are a few in Harl. 3859 and the Lives of the Saints, and it is common in Lland. *Beulan* in HB. is found only in twelfth and thirteenth-century MSS. Examples are *Eugein* beside *Ougein* in Harl. 3859 (e.g. *Eugein*, Gen. i, iii, v ; *Ou(g)e(i)n*, AC. 736, 951, Gen. i, ii) ; *Eutigirn*, Lland. pp. 140, 143, 144, 245, beside *Outigir(n)*, Gen. x ; *Ceneu* in Gen. ix, xi, xii, xix, and *Riceneu*, *Gurceneu* in Lland. pp. 170, 151, 186 beside *Morcenou*, *Gurcenou* in Lland. pp. 144, 154. Baudiš wishes to distinguish names in *Eu*- from those in *Ou*-, but the evidence is not convincing (Gr. p. 48). The instances of *eu* are clearly only early examples of the *eu* regular in MW.

(see § 164), was quite distinct from it, being higher and closer, at the time of internal vowel affection, though this subsequently fell together with the more open variety. In the end the *eu* in final syllables, which is the inheritor both of [öü] and of [öü], became even more open, whence the Mod.W. *-au*. The opening, or at any rate the beginning of the tendency in that direction, appears to go back before the accent-shift took place in the eleventh century (see § 207. 5); so that the change of [ou] to [öü] and of [öü] to [ëü] must be still older, though the last is hardly much older, as it is not (with one doubtful exception) recognised in spelling until c. 1100.

Brit. *-ǣu-* fell together with *-óu-*, at any rate in part (see sub-section 6 below). It must have done so through a stage *-ǫu-*, which would arise with the ordinary change of *ā* to *ǫ* in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. The assimilation to *-óu-* is likely to have happened soon after this, since it is common to WCB., and in any event it must have been before the later eighth century, when Pr.W. *ǫ* became OW. *au*.

These data seem to provide us with the following chronological scheme: Late Brit. *-óu-* and *-ǫu-* (the latter arising by final vowel affection in the second half of the fifth century) > Pr.WCB. *-óu* and *-ǫu* with the loss of final syllables by the middle of the sixth century; Brit. *-ǣu-* > Pr.WCB. *-ǫu* fell together with *-óu* very likely in the later sixth century. This *-óu*, and *-ǫu* which was still distinct from it by the seventh to eighth century when internal affection took place, had fallen together with each other before the eleventh century, because both were already beginning a tendency to opening by that time. Probably, therefore, we may envisage [öü] and [öü] from Pr.W. *-ou* and *-ou* respectively as existing in the eighth century,¹ and both becoming identified in [öü], spelt in OW. as *ou*, by the ninth century. This must have been unrounded to [ëü] by the later tenth century,² and was already opening

¹ They are probably later than W. internal vowel affection (seventh century), because the effect of this on what had been Brit. *ou-* in antepenultimate syllables was *ew*, which seems to imply *ow-* at the time of affection; see § 48. 2.

² Hence the spelling *eu* does not appear in the mass of OW. sources, which are before that time; possibly *guorennieu* is a very early instance.

towards [ëü] (and in non-final syllables closing towards [ëü], see § 207. 5); it may be that the opening (and closing) was beginning before the unrounding. On the question of when [ëü] reached [äü] see *loc. cit.*; it seems to have been already during the MW. period.¹

In AS. place-names.—How the English heard and rendered *ou* and its descendants is uncertain. Ekwall thinks that *Sow* (Staf.) and *Sowe* (Wa.), AS. **Sow-* or **Sōw-*, are from a Brit. **Sovo-* (therefore Pr.W. **Σou*), RN. pp. 375-6; but the etymology is very doubtful. The most natural sound-substitution for Pr.W. *ou* would probably be AS. *ō*; and Ekwall sees this in *Cover* (NRY.), which he derives from Pr.W. **Cou-ber* (RN. p. 100); in *Codre* (Wo.) < **Cou-đubr* (p. 85); *Coforth* (Wo.) < **Cou-frud* (*ibid.*); and *Knorren Beck* (Cum.) < **Cnou-brinn* (p. 232).² This implies the existence of [ou], not yet [öü], as late as the middle of the seventh century, which our dating scheme above would suggest is by no means impossible. Förster, who believes that *öü* was reached earlier, says that the natural AS. substitution for the latter would be [oi] (FT. pp. 188-9); but there are no examples of this [oi], and no satisfactory reason to date [öü] so early as Förster does.

(3) *Late Brit. -úy-*. This, with Brit. Lat. *uv*, seems to have become *-ŷy-* by dissimilation, and hence fell together with (5) below; cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 61, 305. Examples are Brit. **druides* > W. *dryw*, **suyids* > W. *syw* (LP. p. 64); Lat. *dēstruo* > W. *distryw*, *struo* > W. *ystryw*. Lewis regards the *y* in *distryw* and *ystryw* as difficult, and explains the *yw* in *diluvium* > W. *dilyw* as due to vowel affection (EL. pp. 37, 48, 6). Affection, however, would not apply to *dryw* and *syw*, as well as *distryw* and *ystryw*; and it is not clear what he considers the regular development of *úy* to have been. Being stressed in Brit., *uv* would not become *av* in *struo* and *destruo*, cf. p. 365.

¹ Förster regards the stage *öü* as having been reached already c. 500, to explain his Pr.W. **Wilou* > Pr.AS. **Wilæu* (FT. p. 295); but his treatment of this name is too fine-spun to be convincing. The *öü* stage is not likely to be so early.

² Ekwall clearly regards *ou* in these cases as being substituted by AS. *ō*, not *ow*, RN. p. 100; Förster seems to have taken Ekwall to mean *ou* > AS. *ow* > *ō*, and rejects it (FT. p. 188), but this appears not to be what Ekwall says.

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(4) *Late Brit. -éu-*. This arose in various secondary ways. One source is Latin *ev*, and the Brit. Lat. *-éu-* already described ; others are IE. *-eus-*, see § 22. 1 ; and IE. *-egu-* and *-egū-*, see § 75. 4. From the *éu* come OW. *-eu*, M., Mod.W. *-ew*, OC. *-eu*, MC. *-ew*, OB. *-eu*, Mod.B. *-eo*. E.g. IE. **tegu-* (LP. p. 30) > WC. *tew*, B. *teo*.¹ The examples *pydew*, *olew*, *Mathew*, and *llew* have already been given, p. 367.

(5) *Late Brit. -iū-*. From this come W. *-yw*, C. *-yw*, *-ew*, B. *-eo*. E.g. CC. **biuos* > W. *byw*, C. *byw*, *bew*, B. *beo*. The inscription CIIC. no. 493, mid or later sixth century, CONBEVI (Devon), is evidently the same as W. *Cynfyw*, < **Cunobiuos* ; it may have E representing Pr.C. *i*, or very likely simply the VL. use of *e* for *i*, cf. p. 191. So in Wales, no. 1025, eighth or ninth century, ARTBEU, which is W. *Arthfyw*. Ekwall relates the river Brue (So.), AS. *Briuu*, to W. *bryw*, RN. pp. 55-6 ; and Chew (So.) to W. *cyw*, p. 77.

(6) *British -āu-*, *Late Brit. -ǣu-*. British *āg* largely fell together with this at the end of the Late Brit. period (cf. § 75. 7), and it will be convenient to treat both together here. It has already been noted that the Late Brit. *ǣu* allied itself with *ou* early in Pr.WCB., in the (probably late) sixth century, and developed in the same way.²

It seems quite clear that this is what happened. Examples are Brit. **clāu-* > OW. **clou* > W. *clo* (see § 47. 2 B), OB., MB. *clou*, Mod.B. *klao* ; Late Brit. **gǣu-* ³ > MW. *geu*, OC. *gou*, MC. *gow*, MB. *gou*, Mod.B. *gaou* ; Lat. *pāgus* > MW. *peu*, OC. *pou* (see BBCS. ix, 322-3), MC. *pow*, OB. *pou* ; Lat. *fāgus* > OB. *Fou-*, *-fou* (Cart.Red. pp. 36, 105, 106 ; Cart.Land. p. 565), Mod.B. *faou* ; on the name Fowey containing OC. **fou* see Förster, FT. pp. 812 ff.⁴ Compare Lat. *coāgulum*, VL. *cāg'lum* > MW. *ceul*, B. pl. *kaouled*. Similarly the long final stressed

¹ Cf. Pokorny's derivation of W. *dew* < IE. **dhenguos*, JCS. i, 133.

² Morris Jones believed that *āu* gave *ü* unless affected (WG. p. 105). This rests on nothing. His *bu* is not from **bebāue* (cf. Loth, RC. xxxvi, 152) but from **bou'* < **boue* ; cf. OI. *bo* < **bou'* beside *boī* < **boue*.

³ **Gǣuā*, according to Thurneysen, Hdb. p. 42, Gr.OI. p. 44, and Baudiš, Gr. p. 49 ; Pokorny proposes **ghǣuā* > **gǣuā* (ZCP. xi, 19), but his reasoning is not very convincing. Pedersen, however, derives from **gousos* (> **goṽos*), VKG. i, 55, which is accepted by Hessen, ZCP. x, 329.

⁴ For W. *ffawydd* < **ffaw-wydd*, OB. *fau*, Mod.B. *fao*, see § 75. 7.

diphthong CC. $\bar{a}u$ in $*d\bar{u}a\bar{u}$, "two", which remained, developed in the same way, as would be expected; OW. *dou*, MW. *deu*, C. *dow*, MB. *dou*, Mod.B. *daou*. For examples of $\bar{a}u$ giving the same in pretonic syllables see below, § 48. 4.

According to Pedersen, the development of Brit. $\bar{a}u$ was quite a different one in Breton and probably Cornish (VKG. i, 62). His view is that the \bar{o} remained and became \bar{o} as usual, resulting finally in an *e*. Unfortunately there are only two examples, neither very decisive, to set beside those just given. These are Brit. $*br\bar{a}u\bar{u}$, "quern", > OC. *brou*, B. *breo*; and OC. *heuul*, MC. *heul*, *houl*, B. *heol* (MW. *heul* has the regular development through *ou*), apparently from a proximate Late Brit. $*\Sigma\acute{a}u'l$ - whose exact original form is not quite clear, though $*s\bar{a}u\bar{e}l\bar{i}os$: $\eta\acute{\epsilon}λιος$ seems the most likely (if so, it must be a case of antepenultimate accent and early syncope, comparable to $*c\bar{a}u\bar{a}ros$ > $*cauros$, see § 1). But OC. *brou* cannot be quoted as an example, because there is nothing to prove that it does not mean the other development of $\bar{a}u$, i.e. *ou* > MC. *ow*. Thurneysen thought that the *eo* in *breo*, *heol* was due to vowel affection (IF.Anz. xxvii, 13); and certainly, in view of the examples of the other development quoted above, we must regard this *eo* as exceptional, and the falling together with *ou* in WCB. as the rule. If Late Brit. $\bar{o}u$ kept its length in exceptional cases, $\bar{o}u$ might result later in CB.; but that the cause of *eo* should be affection is unlikely, since it is doubtful whether $\bar{a}u$ was capable of final vowel affection. At the time of this affection the vowel must still have been long; and indeed Brit. \bar{a} , Late Brit. and PrW. \bar{o} , never was vowel-affected, nor even was the later \bar{o} arising from it by pretonic shortening. It is true that since *breo* and *heol* would be $*br\bar{o}u\bar{u}$ and (presumably) $*\Sigma\bar{o}u\bar{u}l\bar{i}\bar{a}\Sigma$ in Late Brit., their final syllables were such as would cause affection of a short vowel; yet not only is it inherently improbable that $\bar{o}u$ should be affectable, but also no convincing examples of it have been demonstrated. It may be that *breo*, *heol* developed as Pedersen suggested, but if so, they do not represent the usual treatment in CB., which normally agrees with that in Welsh.

(7) Late Brit. $-\bar{i}u$ -. The sources of this are IE. $\bar{i}u$, $\bar{e}u$, $\bar{u}u$,

and Latin *īv*, and the result was *-īu* throughout. So Brit. **líuō* > W. *lliw*, OC. *liu*, OB. *-liu*, Mod.B. *liou* : Lat. *līvor*. Ekwall relates the river Lew (Dev.) to W. *lliw*, comparing the Lliw in Glamorganshire, the final *-w* being preserved in English because it is a late borrowing ; RN. p. 253. Note, on the other hand, **Durobrīu-* > Pr.AS. **Hrofri* > *Hrofe-*, where the *u* is lost in an early loan ; see § 1.

(8) *Late Brit. -ēu-*, from IE. *-eiū-*. Note **dēuos*, “ god ”, > OW. *duiu-tit* (Juvenc.), MW. *dwyrw* (> **dyw* > Mod.W. *duw*) ; MC. *dew*, OB. *duiu*. Rom.-Brit. *Dēva*, Chester, was evidently really the name of the river applied to the town ; hence *Dēua* > Pr.W. **Dēw* > Pr.AS. **Dēw* > AS. *Dē* (with regular early loss of *-w*), the river Dee ; cf. Ekwall, RN. p. 118, Förster, FT. pp. 233-4 (*op. cit.* p. 389-90, an inconsistent treatment is given).

§ 47. Internal *u* before *i* when the Preceding Vowel was Stressed

As before, the vowel in question is, of course, that of the Brit. penultimate syllable. Here we should expect that the *u* would be palatalised, resulting in the affection of the preceding vowel, exactly as happened with other consonants, e.g. *áni* > *ein* and so on. Actually the results are very much less simple and the whole situation rather unclear. Certainly vowel affection seems to be quite exceptional. Morris Jones attempted to find explanations for all the variations in terms of the accent ; but we have already seen that one cannot fall back on an accent transferable at will to account for Pr.WCB. developments, since the Late Brit. accent was a fixed one. It is much more likely that the clue lies in differences of the division of the two syllables which, using *o* as type-vowel, consist of Late Brit. *-óuio-*.

(1) *Late Brit. -áuī-*. Really satisfactory examples are lacking, but such evidence as there is seems to show that there was not vowel affection and that the result was *-[au]*. The best case is OW. *Litau* (Ovid ; Life of Cadog, VSB. pp. 96, 118, *Lettau*), MW. *Llydaw* ; Ir. *Lethae*, < Brit. **Litāuīā* (cf. Williams, *Breuddwyd Macsen*, Bangor, 1927, p. 30 ; R. J. Thomas, En.Af. i, p. 216) ; the form *Letavia*, which occurs in the Appendix

to the Life of St. Samson, etc., has VL. *e* written for *i* (cf. Förster, AStNSp. cxlvi, 134). On **Litaviā* cf. LP. p. 11; Watson, CPNS. p. 16, implies *Letāvia*, but this is impossible. On *Mynyw*, St. David's, and the supposed derivation from *Menavi*, see p. 378. Whether MW. *Manaw* is from **Manǣwā* or **Manǣwā* is not clear, because the declension of the Irish cognate has been affected by analogy.¹ Watson believed that the W. for the river Tay is *Tawy*, and derived this from **Tawǣā* (CPNS. p. 51); Tay is certainly from **Tawǣā* (cf. FT. pp. 734 ff.; itself very likely from **Tausiā*, cf. § 46. 1), but this would not give *Tawy* in Welsh, and in fact there is no real evidence for any W. *Tawy* = Tay. The Welsh river *Tawy* is probably from **Tamowǣā*, cf. Thomas, BBCS. viii, 40; Förster, FT. p. 614.

If vowel affection ever did take place in -*ǣwǣ*-, one might perhaps expect MW. -*yw* (hardly -*eiw*); but that is merely speculative. MW. -*eu* is less likely, since -*ǣwǣ* > -*eu* appears to be due to metaphony rather than to palatalisation. The history of MW. *teneu* beside MC. *tanow*, MB. *tanau*, Mod.B. *tanao*, and their relation to OI. *tanae*, is obscure. Even if **tanǣwǣ*- would explain *teneu* and *tanae*, which is doubtful, it does not account for *tanow*, *tanau*, and *tanao*. Pokorny regards the word as CC. **tanowǣ*-, giving Ir. *tanae* by the subsequent influence of the *ǣ*-stems, and takes *tanau* (and *tanao*) as secondary (ZCP. xii, 430); but this does not help with *teneu* and *tanow*. Thurneysen derives *tanae* and *teneu* directly from **tanǣwǣ*- (Gr.OI. p. 125). See further Foy, ZCP. iii, 269; Pedersen, VKG. ii, 15; Loth, RC. xxxix, 153.

(2) *Late Brit.* -*ǣwǣ*-. The position here is very confused. There seem to be four different developments, one of them with vowel affection. The suffix is a not uncommon one in British place-names; cf. Thomas, BBCS. vii, 117 ff., viii, 27 ff. The four treatments are as follows:

(A) MW. -*yw*, in which the *ǣwǣ* behaved just like for instance *ǣwǣ* > -*yn*, and could cause subsequent internal affection. The best examples are the following. Brit. **Cornowǣā* > W. *Cernyw*, C. *Kernow*, B. *Kernò*, "Cornwall"; the *e* in the first

¹ Cf. O'Rahilly, EIH. p. 31.

syllable is due to internal affection in the Pr.WCB. **Cornñu* > **Cernñu* (on other forms derived from **Cornouñā* see below). Note also *Coed Kernew* in Glamorganshire between Newport and Cardiff, an Anglicising spelling for *Coed Cernyw*. A Rom.-Brit. **Cornovia* does not occur, but Ravennas has the West Midland tribe of *Cornovii* in the form *Utriconion Cornoviorum* now given in the most recent editions (Schnetz's and Richmond and Crawford's) where older editions had the corrupt *Cornoninorum* from other MSS. These and a tribe of the same name in Scotland appear in Ptolemy as *Kopvavioi*, which has led to some scholars taking *Cornavii* as the correct form, and treating the ending as *-āvia*, *-āvii*. So Watson, CPNS. p. 16; Morris Jones, WG. p. 107; Förster, AStNSp. cxlvi, 134. Others, however, have preferred *-ovia*, *-ovii*; so Loth, ML. p. 93 and RC. xxxvi, 154; Pedersen, VKG. i, 156; Baudiš, Gr. p. 47; and now Förster, FT. pp. 253, 294, who wants to emend Ptolemy to *Kopvoovioi*. The text of Ptolemy is notoriously unreliable; and in any case the matter has been put beyond dispute by the discovery of an inscription at Wroxeter, the chief town of the *Cornovii*, reading CIVITAS CORNOV(IORVM),¹ so that the correct form is now definitely established by an excellent type of evidence. On phonetic grounds, too, it is clear that *-ov-* must be right, since it is intrinsically unlikely that Late Brit. *ǫ̃u* < *āu* could undergo final affection, because the vowel is long and *ǫ̃* and *ō̃* < *ǫ̃* are never affected elsewhere. **Cornovia*, *Cornovii* will best suit all the derivatives discussed here and below. In the Latin of the Dark Ages the peninsula is called however *Cornubia*, which, as has often been noted, must stand for **Cornuvia*, with the usual VL. confusion in spelling between *v* and *b*² (see § 43). Holmer is influenced by this to take **Cornuñ* as the original name of the tribe (*Language*, xxiii, 131); but this form will not explain the other derivatives discussed below, and moreover it is obviously late and secondary. In fact, **Cornuvia* may very

¹ *Classical Review*, xxxviii, 146. The corrupt *Purocoronavis* of Rav. is of no significance, particularly in view of *Durocornovio* in AI.

² Not due here, of course, to any confusion in pronunciation; simply, the habit was well established in Dark-Age Latin, and even British and Breton scribes were eventually influenced by it; cf. p. 74.

likely be the direct Latinising of the Pr.WC. form something like **Cornūw* (sixth century) which would come between **Cornouīā* and **Cornūw* according to the theory set out in § 159. Hence we may start from Brit. **Cornōūīā*, Rom.-Brit. **Cornovia*. It is not likely that Ptolemy's form could mean **Cornāūīā* (cf. Richmond and Crawford, BSRC. p. 44), which might conceivably explain *Cernyw* (see § 47. 1) but hardly the *Cornwy* or *Corneu* discussed below.

Another fairly good example is *Mynyw*, St. David's. In OW. this is *Miniu* (AC. 810, 831, 840, 906, 944, 946), *Mineu* (HB., Mommsen's ed. p. 156 n.); and perhaps *Moniu* if the reading of AC. 601 *Moni Iudeorum* is to be emended with Loth (RC. xxxvii, 315) as *Moniu De(s)orum*. In mediaeval Latin sources (e.g. the Lives of the Saints) the place is regularly called *Menevia*; and the OI. is *Cell Muini*. We have a variety of forms to reconcile. Loth relates the stem to Ir. *muine*, "thicket". Our most likely basis is thus Brit. **Monouīā*. This should give Pr.W. and OW. *Mānīu*, later OW. *Māniū*. The name might be spelt *Moniu* until at least as late as the tenth century (cf. § 205); the more normal OW. spelling of *Māniū* would be the attested *Miniu*, but **Meniu*, **Meneu*, and *Mineu* (the last also actually occurring) would be other possible ways of writing it. *Menevia* is a natural late Latin spelling derived from the OW. **Meneu* form of putting *Māniū*. The theory of a stem *mon-* is not very certain, as it does not rest on any very firm basis; but in any case a suffix *-ouīā* would appear to suit. Thomas seems to favour *Menavii* as source (BBCS. viii, 38), but this is because he is following Morris Jones' views of the *u*- suffixes.

(B) OW. *-ou*, MW. *-eu*, etc., as for *ou* plus vowel; without consequent internal vowel affection (which means, therefore, *ou*, not *ou*). A fairly certain case is Lat. *fovea* > Brit. **fouīā* > MW. *ffeu*, C. *fow*. In the OW. *Cornou* in Lland. p. 172, *Brinn Cornou*, and in Lland. pp. 241, 242, *Cruc Cornou*, both in the neighbourhood of Abergavenny (not Cornwall!), we seem to have the same **Cornouīā* as above. In these examples the *u* apparently failed to act as a palatalisable consonant, and the *i* was lost without leaving any trace on the preceding syllable.

Occasionally final Pr.W. *-ou* seems to have been reduced to *-o*, presumably before the stage *-öü* was reached ; so W. *gro* beside OC. *grou*, MC. *grow* ; W. *glo* beside C. *glow*, MB. *glou*, Mod.B. *glaou* ; W. *clo* beside OB., MB. *clou*, Mod.B. *klao*. In W. *tyno* beside MB. *tnou*, *tnaou*, the unreduced form lasted in W. as late as Lland., where OW. *tnou*, *tonou* occur. None of these examples is necessarily from *-ou̯i-* (*clo* is evidently < **clāu̯is* or **clāu̯os*, cf. WG. p. 108, ZCP. iii, 273), but no doubt Pr.W. *-ou* of any origin was capable of becoming *-o*.

(C) OW. *-ui*, *-oi* ; M., Mod.W. *-wy*,¹ etc., as with Brit. *ē*. A fairly conclusive example is Brit. **Conou̯iā*,² the Conway river (=Rom.-Brit. *Conovium*, *Kanovium*, Conway), OW. *Conguoy* (AC. 880), W. *Conwy*. Also **Dānou̯ios*, *-iā*, > W. *Donwy* : Ir. *dānae* ; see Thurneysen, KZ. lix, 13 ff. (Gruffydd, BBCS. vii, 2, gives **Dānu̯iā*, but this will probably not do, cf. sub-section (5) below. Thurneysen explains the Latin *Danuvius*, the Danube, from **Dānou̯ios* rendered like the native Latin *flou̯ius* > *fluuius*, *op. cit.* p. 14). The same **Cornou̯iā* as above is supposed to have given W. *Cornwy* in *Llanfair yng nGhornwy* in Anglesey (though Thomas notes early forms showing *Cawrnwy*, which he relates to W. *cawr* ; BBCS. vii, 118. But if *Cawrnwy* is genuine, and really : *cawr*, it should not have become *Cornwy* ; cf. p. 322, n. 4). Other examples are more hypothetical because the British or Gaulish form is not known. A number are given by Thomas in the article mentioned in footnote 1 ; e.g. *Degannwy* < **Decantu̯io-*. Among these may be included the river Monnow, Mod.W. *Mynwy* ; OW. *Mingui*, *Myngui*, *Mynugui*, *Mynui* in the Book of Llandaff, spellings which represent what would be in the usual OW. orthography of the period of the Glosses *Minui* = [*Mənu̯i*].³ Ekwall attempts to relate this to C. *minow*, etc., “small”, RN. p. 296, which would imply a Brit. **Minu̯iā* ; Förster rejects this as phonologically impossible (which it is not), and prefers **Monou̯iā* < **mono-*, “neck”, FT. p. 50. The etymology of the stem may be left undecided here, but Thomas’s **Menavi̯i* (BBCS. viii, 38)

¹ See the article by R. J. Thomas on W. names with this ending, BBCS. vii, 117 ff., viii, 27 ff.

² Or more probably **Cānou̯iā*, see p. 290.

³ On the English forms of the name see sub-section (4) below.

certainly will not serve, as this would give either MW. **Mynaw* or more probably **Myneu*.

For forms other than names, LP. (p. 312) give a derivation for the Welsh verbal of necessity in *-dwy*, C. *-dow*, OB. *-toe*, which implies an ultimate **-touio-*; but cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 443. Pedersen derives Mod.W. *asswy* from **adseujo-* (VKG. ii, 16), which would imply Brit. **assouio-*; there is also MW. *assen*.

Final W. *-wy* of whatever origin is apt to be shortened to *-w*; so MW. *Gronw* (PKM. pp. 84, etc.), otherwise *Goronwy*; MW. *assw* beside *asswy*.

(D) There is some reason to take account of a W. *-oe*, apparently alternating with the *-wy* of (C) and even the *-eu* of (B); this would seem to have been capable of being reduced early to *-o*. Indeed according to Morris Jones all final W. *-oe* of whatever origin, except in the monosyllables *noe* and *doe*, became *-o* (WG. p. 113). Loth notes a similar reduction of Breton *-oe* dialectically to *-ou* or *-e*, RC. xxxvi, 155. The alternation of *-oe* and *-wy* in W. seems in some cases to be a comparatively late thing, as probably in early MW. *moe*, otherwise *mw* (see pp. 357-8); early MW. *oef* beside regular *wyf*, "I am" (see LP. p. 322); MW. 3rd sg. subjunctive ending *-wy* beside *-oe* and the usual *-o* (see BBCS. vii, 3); which, however, are none of them from *-ouio-*. Note also *Mochnwy* in BBC. p. 47, l. 3, beside the usual *Mochno*, the latter presumably from **Mochnoe*; MW. *Goronwy*, OW. *Guorgonui* (Lland. p. 222), *Guronui* (Lland. pp. 272, 273), beside OW. *Guorono*i (Lland. p. 241; but this may, of course, be merely a spelling of *Guoronui*). Baudiš (Gr. p. 37) gives in Lland. *Guorhaboe*, *Guraboi*, beside *Guorabui*, *Gurabui*, etc. (the ending here is probably from *-ogios*); *Guordocoe* beside *Guordocui*; *Oudocui* beside the Mod.W. *Llan Dogo*. Förster equates MW. *Cado* with OB. *Catoe* (Reliq. p. 118); these show a hypocoristic termination (*-ouios*?; but Förster derives it from *-āuios*, FT. p. 799), for some name in Brit. **Catu-*. Compare OB. names in *-aboe* = W. names in *-abwy* as above; and W. *-dwy*: OB. *-toe*, verbal of necessity. That any of the above are from *-ouio-* is by no means certain.

(3) The whole situation is complicated by the fact that MW. *-yw*, *-eu*, *-wy*, *-oe*, and *-o* can all be of various origins other than from *-óuᵢ̃-*, and that *-wy*, *-o(e)*, and even *-eu* (as in *asseu* beside *asswy*, etc.) are found to alternate. Nevertheless, the evidence for *-óuᵢ̃-* giving *-yw* with internal affection, and *-eu* (or *-o < OW. -ou*) and *-wy* without it, seems clear; whether *-oe* is ever from *-óuᵢ̃-* is by no means certain. Pedersen treats *-óuᵢ̃o-* as becoming regularly *-wy*, and regards *-eu* as being from *-óu-* plus vowel (VKG. ii, 16); Morris Jones takes the difference between *-wy* and *-eu* as one of "weakening" (WG. pp. 107 ff.), i.e. as secondary and not early. Cf. Thomas, BBCS. vii, 118. On the other hand, it has already been suggested that *-yw* with internal affection is the direct descendant of *-óuᵢ̃-* with the *u* palatalised by the *ᵢ̃* and consequently affecting the *o* to *ᵢ̃*, in the regular manner of *o* plus consonant plus *ᵢ̃*; and that *-eu* (and *-o* from OW. *-ou*) likewise is or can be old, but with the *u* having had too little of a consonantal character to allow of its palatalisation and an ensuing vowel affection—in fact, *-óuᵢ̃- > -óuᵢ̃- > -ou*. In the same way *-wy* and *-o(e)* might also be old. W. *wy* from Brit. *ē* comes from an intermediate Pr.W. *qi*, and W. *oe* from Brit. *ē* is from an intermediate Pr.W. *qi*. If we postulate, then, proximate Pr.W. *-oi*, of medium opening (as is natural with original *o* in *-óuᵢ̃-*), and envisage it as having arisen somewhat later than the already well-established *-qi* and *-qi*, it is not improbable that such a sound would be attracted towards either or both of *-qi* and *-qi*, and would hence result in MW. sometimes in *-wy*, sometimes in *-o(e)*, and sometimes in both. How the *-oi* could have arisen is not perfectly clear, but a syllabic division *-ouᵢ̃|-* in Late Brit. (after the time when IE. *ou > Brit. ō*), with the *u* purely vocalic, might result, when the final syllable was lost, in some sort of *-oi*; compare the history suggested for *-áuᵢ̃-* below. As with *-eu*, so here, the non-palatalisation of the *u* is shown not only by the development of the *o* but also by the fact that the preceding syllable is not vowel-affected. That is not to say, however, that the observed alternations between *-wy*, *-eu*, *-o(e)* may not in some instances be late and secondary.

(4) *-óuᵢ̃-* in AS. names. Monnow is explained by Ekwall

as either direct from *Mynwy* or from a shortened form **Mynw*, like *assw* (cf. p. 380) ; RN. pp. 296 and lxxviii. Förster wishes to derive it, however, from **Myno* from **Mynoe*, FT. p. 815 ; but it seems unnecessary to postulate the variant ending -*oe* here, which is without any authority, when Ekwall's explanation will serve. The AS. *Munuwi* shows an attempt to deal with the Welsh diphthong -*wy* ; cf. Förster, FT. p. 612, though, as he admits, we need not suppose that there was -*ui* not -*ui̇* in the Welsh here when the name was borrowed. According to Ekwall, -*wy* was usually dropped when a form was taken into English ; RN. p. lxxviii. A good case is W. *Llugwy* (<**Leucuīā* ?) but in English Lugg (Shr.-Heref.), AS. *Lucge*, see RN. pp. 268-9. Others are OW. *Guormui* (Lland. p. 43) but English Worm Brook (Heref.), RN. p. 471 ; and W. *Culunwy* but English Clun (Shr.), RN. pp. 88-9. Ekwall suggests that in these examples -*wy* was substituted by -*u* in Pr.AS., and this regularly syncopated, whereas names like Monnow may have been borrowed later and retained the vowel ; RN. p. lxxviii. Förster, however, notes a number of names like *Don* : *Donwy* where forms with the suffix -*wy* alternate with others without it actually in Welsh, FT. p. 819 ; it seems quite possible that names in -*oui̇*- may occasionally have had bye-forms lacking it, cf. § 208. Quiggin proposed that Lugg is Ravennas' *Leuca*, and that *Llugwy* comes from a later British formation with added suffix, TPhS., 1911-14, p. 99 ; which is much the same thing. However, there is no reason to suppose that *Leuca* is the Lugg, and the stem occurs elsewhere in English river names.

(5) *Late British* -*ui̇*-, -*ui̇*-, and -*ui̇*-. The first occurs in W. *llyw*, OC. *leu*, Mod.C. *lew* : OI. *lue*, "rudder", <*(*p*)*luuiō*-. This seems to have the same *ui̇* > *i̇* as in §§ 46. 3 ; 48. 3). On the other two there is nothing to say, for lack of satisfactory examples.

(6) *Brit.* -*ui̇*-. A fairly good case seems to be MW. *noe*, "vessel", <**nāuiā* (so Morris Jones, WG. p. 108 ; cf. OI. *nāu* <**nāuā*, and Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 44). There are a number of W. names in -*noe*, -*no*, which appear to be from -*gnāuiōs* (cf. Morris Jones, *loc. cit.*,¹ who accents, however,

¹ [Cf. now also O'Rahilly, *Celtica*, i, 407.]

-*gnāuīós*); such as OW. *Iudnoe* (Lland. pp. 176, 187) = MW. *Iudno*, OW. *Clidno* (Lland. p. 279) = MW. *Clydno*; MW. *Balchnoe*, *Beuno*. This suffix is supposed to contain the stem **gnā-* and to mean "familiar with", etc. But other names in *-no* can be shown to come from OW. *-(g)nou*; cf. Baudiš, Gr. p. 48, and Williams, En.Ll. p. 33. Such is OW. *Guidno* (Gen. v, *sic leg.*; MS. *Guipno*) beside MW. *Guitnev* (BBC. p. 98, l. 11); and note OW. *Iudnou* (Lland. p. 73 etc.) beside *Iudnoe* above. Here we seem to have the developments OW. *-ou* > *-o* and OW. **-oi* > *-oe* > *-o*, both from *-āuī-*. In both cases there is presumably Brit. *āu* > Late Brit. *ōu* > *ōy* as usual, see § 46. 6; in the former the *ōy* then proceeded as in § 47. 2 B above, in the latter as in § 47. 2 D. If so, *-āuī-* would be expected also to give *-wy*, though I know no certain examples, unless Morris Jones' Brit. **āuīon* > *wy*, "egg", is one (WG. p. 107). There should not, however, be *-yw* with internal affection, since, as already noted, *ō* < *ō̄* < *ā* seems incapable of affection at any stage; and this would make it seem certain that *Cernyw* : *Cornou* : *Cornwy* are therefore from **Cornouīā*, not **Cornāuīā*. Förster may well be right, then, that hypocoristics in *-o* like *Cado*, *Iolo*, *Gutto*, etc., are from older *-ou* from *-āuīós*, rather than from *-ouīós*; but the hypocoristic *Teilo*, OW. *Teliau*, formed from OW. *Eliud*, must have a suffix of different origin or development (*-auos*?).

§ 48. Intervocal *u* when the Stressed Vowel immediately followed

Here in general the syllabic division seems to have been such that the *u* was at the beginning of the second syllable and remained a consonant, giving WCB. *w* or B. *v*; but there is a considerable body of exceptions in which the *u* went rather with the preceding vowel, resulting in a *u*-diphthong.

(1) *Late Brit. -aū_*. The usual result is WC. *-aw-*, B. *-av-*; but Pokorny has shown that apparently in some instances *aū_* gave Pr.CB. *oū_*, developing as that did (IF. xxxviii, 192-3). With internal vowel affection the product is WC. *ew*, B. *ev*. Examples: Brit. **aūélā* > W. *awel*, OC. *auhel*, MC. *awel*, B. *avel*; Brit. **taūélo-* (< **tauselo-*) > W. *tawel*, OB. *taguel* (Eutyech.). With vowel affection, Brit. **taūīss-* (< **tausīss-*) >

W. *tewis*, OB. *guo-teguis* (Orl.CC.); Latin *uī* > *auī* in *ruina* > Brit. Lat. **raŷina* > W. *rhewin* (cf. p. 366).

(2) *Late Brit. -ou* $\underline{\text{L}}$. This includes CC. *ou* < IE. *eu*; and note that in certain instances Gallo-Britt. *oua* gave *aya*, cf. Pokorny, IF. xxxviii, 190. In some cases the *ou* became a Pr.WCB. *ou*-diphthong, and the result is W. *eu*-, C. *ow*-, B. *aou*- plus vowel; e.g. Brit. **ioŷanco* > W. *ieuanc*, OC. *iouenc*, MC. *yowyŋk*, B. *iaouank*; Brit. **cnoŷenā* > W. *cneuēn*, MB. *cnouenn*, Mod.B. *kraouenn*. With vowel affection, **ioŷancī* > MW. *ieueinc*. In other cases, however, there is *yw*- (*öw*-) plus vowel in Welsh, though C. and B. have the same *ow*-, *aou*- plus vowel as in the previous type. In Pr.W. there seems here to have been first *o|w* $\underline{\text{L}}$, and the *o* was subsequently advanced to *ö* (perhaps as part of the same tendency which produced *öü* from *ou* ¹), and then partially fell together with *æ* in *ə*. There is no W. phoneme *ow*, but there is a phoneme, of various origin, spelt in standard W. *yw*, dialectically and in late MSS. often *ow*, which varies between [əw] and [öw]. So Brit. **louerno* ² > Mod.W. *llywarn*, place-name *Llywernog*; OC. *louuern*, MC. *lowarn*, OB. *Louuernoc*, Mod.B. *louarn*. That we must reckon here with a stage Pr.W. *o|w* $\underline{\text{L}}$ seems proved by the development with internal vowel affection, where the result is *ew* $\underline{\text{L}}$, as is normal with *o* plus consonant plus *ī*. Hence the affected form of this word is Mod.W. *llewyrn* (OW. *Leuirn*, *Leuguirn*, Lland. p. 262; *Leuyrn*, p. 142), from Pr.W. **lo|wīrn* < Late Brit. **louernī*. So again Brit. **nouīnīo* > W. *newyn* (but C. *noun*, B. *naoun*): Ir. *nūna*; Brit. **cnoŷillo* > W. *cnewyll*. In IE. **neŷio* > Brit. **nouījo* > W. *newydd*, MC. *newyth*, B. *nevez* the same development is seen also in C. and B.

¹ Not by pretonic reduction, as this does not affect *o*; see § 201.

² The ultimate origin is not clear. Pedersen's **luern* > **luern* > **luern* (VKG. i, 92) will hardly do; for one thing it will not explain the affected *llewyrn*. The proximate Late Brit. at any rate, and probably the CC., must have been **louerno* (cf. OI. *lo|arn* < Pr.I. **louerno*; Gaul. *louernios* may stand for *Louernios*; and Mod.B. *louarn* must be secondary, in view of OB. *Louuernoc*); cf. CHC. nos. 385, end of fifth century, LOVERNII; 379, beginning of sixth century, LOVERNACI. The OW. *Louern* (Lland. p. 175) and *Louguern* (*ibid.* p. 229, *sic leg.*), in which the second at least clearly has [w], are to be taken as spellings of **lōuern* rather than of a **louern* > a MW. **lleuern*; cf. *touyssocion* (*ibid.* p. 120) = MW. *tywysogion*. Cf. WG. p. 32.

THE SEMIVOWELS

(3) *Late Brit. -ů—, -eů—, and -i̊—.* These give vowel plus *w* plus vowel; in the case of *ů* there was Pr.WCB. *ĩ̊* as with *ú̊*, *ú̊i*.¹ E.g. Brit. **clůét->W. clywed*, C. *clewas*, B. *klevet*. On Latin *uv—>av—* see p. 365. Brit.² **bĩuótũss>W. bywyd*. Late Brit. **te̊ádĩo->W. tewaidd*.

(4) *British -ā̊— (and -ā̊—).* They fell together with *ou—* just as *ā̊* did with *ó̊*, and no doubt in exactly the same way. But the *yw*- development of *ou—* is not found in W. in these cases, only the *eu*; which is to be expected, as there was probably never any stage *ō|u* in the case of *ā̊*; that is, Brit. *ā̊>ō̊* fell together with Brit. *ō̊* at the stage of diphthongal *ou*. The best example is Brit. **brā̊uan->W. breuan*.³ With original *ā̊*, Brit. **brā̊gant->W. breuant*; OI. *brā̊gat*.

(5) *British and Latin -i̊—.* Brit. **Ī̊erĩ̊ũ, *Ī̊erjónos>W. Iwerydd, Iwerddon*. Brit. Lat. *cĩ̊uítas>W. ciwed*. The *u* was lost before *ō* in *prĩ̊uátus>W. priod*, OC. *priot*, MC. *pries*, B. *pried*.

§ 49. The Meaning and Chronology of British *u*>WCB. *gw*

With the foregoing sketch of the development of *u* in various situations, this question can now be approached.

(1) First, the written evidence for dating *u*>*gw*. In early authors, note Gildas' *Vortipori*; and for Pr.B., *Warocus* in Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* (late sixth century) v, 16, 26, etc., and *Winnochus* v, 22, *Vennocus* viii, 34. In the inscriptions of the fifth to eighth century V or U are almost invariably used. CIIC. no. 406, beginning of the sixth century, is apparently to be read GVANI.⁴ The first name in no. 971, mid seventh century, is taken by Radford as (G)VIRNIN,⁵ but there is, as he admits, no trace of any G; the only basis for its existence is a mark in Skinner's drawing of 1802 which

¹ In CIIC. no. 389, mid sixth century, IOVENALI, and in OW. *Iouanaul* (Gen. xvii, Lland. pp. 174, 270), Latin *Iuvenalis* is evidently influenced by Brit. Lat. **Iovannes* (cf. EL. p. 12).

² A possible case of Late Brit. *-eů—<-egu—* is Pokorny's derivation of W. *dewaint*, see JCS. i, 133.

³ Cf. LP. p. 178; Baudiš, Gr. p. 50. Morris Jones, WG. p. 105, derives from **broui̊on—*, which is less satisfactory.

⁴ The reading of the beginning of the first word, given by Macalister as GVECTI, is quite uncertain.

⁵ AMCA. p. cvi.

may be the tip of a G, and the fact that the stone is so rubbed here that a letter *may* have been lost. This does not warrant *Guirnin* rather than *Uirnin*, if that is the correct reading of the rest of the name, which is uncertain. Late examples of V, U in inscriptions are CIIC. no. 1028, late sixth or seventh century, VENDVMAGLI; no. 1033, late seventh or early eighth century,¹ PETUAR; no. 995, seventh or eighth century, ENEVIRI; no. 427, eighth century,² CATUOCONI; and no. 986, probably eighth century, IORUERT R(I)UAL-LAUNQ(UE). On the other hand, GU is regularly written in the minuscule inscriptions of the OW. period initially, and sometimes internally, though U also occurs internally. E.g. no. 979, ninth century, GUADAN; no. 1000, ninth century, GUOILLAUC and GUARTHI; no. 1024, c. A.D. 1000, GLIGUIS; but no. 1023, the same date, GLIUISSI, and no. 1011, ninth century, HOUELT. In this the minuscule inscriptions are simply following the contemporary OW. manuscript practice, which is as follows:

(a) *Initially*, *gu-* is all but invariable.³ Already in Chad 2, the *Surexit*-memorandum, there is only *gu-* (*guir*, *guetig*, etc.); in MP. (A.D. 820) and the other ninth- and tenth-century Glosses, it is the same. In Nennius the very late MS. Q has *Uortegirinus* passim, *Uortemir* twice, and *Uorteneu* once; but this is clearly secondary, a peculiarity of the scribe who knew quite well that W. *gu-* = Lat. *u-*. The only real case of *u-*, and the only one in the Glosses, appears to be in Ox. 2, always apt

[¹ On the date see p. 668, n. 1. Williams' interpretation of GU in this inscription as an abbreviation for GUREIC (Arch.Camb., 1949, p. 164) would be another very early instance of initial *gw-*; but it is doubtful and hypothetical.]

² On the date see p. 291.

³ Loth used to insist (e.g. RC. xxxvi, 129, and elsewhere) that *uu-* was still spelt in the eighth century; but his only example was *Uurtigerno* in Bede, HE. i, 14. But in the first place this is not *Welsh* at all; it comes probably from some unknown older Latin document, perhaps through the Pr.AS. loan **Wurtizern*; and in the second place, at least there is only *uu-* here, not *uu-*, for the second *u* is, of course, vocalic. Actually there is no evidence that *u* was ever spelt *uu* at any period in *Welsh* before the introduction of the synonymous *w* in early MW. in late documents in Lland., late MSS. of Nennius, etc. Loth was thinking in terms of Old Breton. Other names with *uu-*, *u-* in Bede, like *Uuerolamium*, *Uenta*, etc., are again, of course, Rom.-Brit. Latin, not *Welsh*.

to be peculiar in its orthography, where the uncertain reading *uiidimm* is apparently for a normal **guidim*. In the Book of Llandaff (pp. 247-9) there is a document said to be copied from one *pre nimia vetustate tabefacta*, in which *Wurhinit*, *Wen ys Coyt*, *Went huc Coyt*, etc., occur ; but the whole spelling is very late in tone, and cannot be regarded as reliable.

(b) *Internally*, *-gu-* is less regular, and *-u-* may be written all through down to the Book of Llandaff ; but *-gu-* is always commoner. At the beginning of the second element of compounds, a situation always felt to be quasi-initial, *-gu-* is usual. In Chad 2 note *imguodant*, but *diued*, *nouidligi* ; MP. *eguin*, *petguar*, *petguared* ; Juv. 3 *leguenid*. The spellings *-ug-*, *-ugu-* appear for the first time in the Lives of the Saints and the Book of Llandaff ; also rarely *-w-* in late documents among them. But *g* spellings practically died out with Lland. (note *enguarc* in BBC. p. 66, l. 9), and thereafter in early MW. only *u*, *v*, and increasingly *w*, are found.

(c) *Finally after a consonant*, there is *-u*, *-gu*, *-ug*, *-g* ; as above, the *g* spellings die out with Lland., but there seems to be no evidence for them before c. 1100, or before the middle of the tenth century if they were in the original of the Genealogies and AC. copied by the scribe of Harleian 3859. Note *anu*, M.Cap. ; *caru*, Chad 6 ; *ceintiru*, Ovid ; *delu*, Juvenc., tenth to eleventh century. In Harleian 3859 (c. 1100), *Artbodgu* and *Bodgu* (Gen. xxvi), *Bodug* (Gen. xxiv), *Popdelgu* (Gen. xvii), *Elbodgu* (Gen. xxiii), *Elbodug(o)* (AC. 768), *Elbodg* (AC. 809). Also *Eluodug(i)* in late MSS. of Nennius.

In AS. names there is always *w*, apart from a few cases like Gweek, Gwinear, etc., in western Cornwall ; e.g. Rom.-Brit. *Venta* > Pr.W. **Went* > AS. *Wintanceaster*, Winchester ; Rom.-Brit. *Derwentio* > Derwent (Derb. ; NRY.-ERY. ; Du.-Nb. ; Cum.), Darwen (La.). Ekwall, RN. pp. 121-2 ; Brit. **ueluo-* (W. *gwelw*) > AS. *Wel(e)we*, the rivers Wellow (Wi.-Ha. ; So.), Ekwall, RN. pp. 446-7. There appears never to be any real evidence for *g* forms, except in Cornwall, until the personal name *Cwæspatrik* in 1254 (see RN. p. lxxv).¹ This is true

¹ Ekwall's Goyt and Gowy (Ch.), RN. p. 182, are both of such highly doubtful derivation that they may be ignored.

even of comparatively late loans like Wrekin (mid seventh century), Ekwall, *Dict.* p. 513; Wenlock (mid seventh century), *ibid.* p. 482. Even in DLV., c. 840, AS. still has *u*; as *Clyduini* (MW. *Clydwyn*), *Riuwala* (MW. *Riwallawn*), *Riuualch* (=MW. *ri* plus *-walch*); see KW. pp. 176-7. There is *g* in *Rigwatlan*, ASC. 1063 (MW. *Riwallawn*), but on this see p. 393, n. 1. The Cornish names are not likely to have been adopted before the tenth or eleventh century.

As a preliminary note, we may say thus much, that the spelling *gu*, at any rate initially and internally, was well established in *Old Welsh* by the end of the eighth century;¹ how much older the sound may be will be discussed below.

Old Cornish.—In the Cornish part of Ox. 2 there is only one case, written *w*, in *dowomisura*. The Bodmin manumissions have regularly *w*, *u*, sometimes *wu*, *gu*, apparently used indiscriminately. In Voc.C., *gu-* is much commoner initially than forms without *g-*, but internally the latter are more frequent, being spelt *þ*, *u*, *uu*, *v*, and *w*. The *þ* and *w* are, of course, due to the strong AS. influence in Cornwall. Evidently, then, *gu* had come into use in Cornwall at least by the middle of the tenth century, but even initially *w-* etc. were still current about 1100.

Old Breton.—Initially, Loth shows that there are 410 cases of *uu-* and *u-* in Cart.Red. down to 878, and only 40 of *gu-*, and that after this with one or two exceptions *uu-* and *u-* are not found (see VVB. p. 12). In RC. xxxix, 321, he notes the oldest case of *gu-* as being in a document of 833. Internally, the examples which he gives from Cart.Red. in RC. v, 113 show that *uu-* as the first letter of the second element of compounds lasted till 907, and *gu-* in the same situation began in 897 and lasted till 1051-69. Internal *-gu-* commenced to go out of use by the end of the eleventh century.

But Loth's examples are all drawn from the Cartularies, and it must be remembered that Cart.Red. is an eleventh-century copy of older documents of varying dates, therefore liable to

¹ Förster's note on this question in FT. p. 176 ignores the existence of Chad 2 and the Glosses. The doubts cast on *gu-* in Nennius are hardly justified, in view of the very large number of examples there and their entire consistency; not to mention the regular *gu-* in the contemporary Glosses.

contain modernisations, and also to represent the orthography of one single school. In point of fact the evidence of the OB. glosses is by no means precisely the same. Here we find initial *u-* and internal *-u-*, *-uu-* as late as the ninth and tenth centuries; and also initial *gu-* and internal *-gu-* already well developed in the oldest glosses, of the middle of the ninth century. In the Berne MS., ninth to tenth century, *uileou*, *ueruencou*, *cauell*, *mabcauuelou*; the Hatton Coll. Can., same date, *Uiinniau*; Euty chius glosses, same date, *nouitiou*. On the other hand, in the Venice Orosius, mid ninth century, *questhemisiou*, *gurpellhemion*; Paris Hisperics, ninth century, *quotan*; Leiden Leechbook, ninth century, *guaedgou*, *guern*, *gulæd*, *guoæd*, *gvodrot*, *guortha*, and *abranguænn*. So in the later glosses, as Euty chius *guerg*, *doguomisuram*, *taguelguiliat*, etc.; in the Orleans Coll. Can. (tenth to eleventh century) *gu-* and *-gu-* are all but invariable.

(2) The fact that *gu-* appears in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton would suggest at first sight that it goes back to the common Pr.WCB. period. But the vast majority of the early inscriptions of Wales and Cornwall show that no *g* was consciously perceived at this time in the way it was later; the OC. evidence indicates that it was still not so perceived until perhaps the tenth century, and the OB. probably not until the ninth. The OW. would seem to imply that it was not felt until the eighth century. At any rate, the *g* was not so distinct that its writing was inevitable. Moreover, the English, to whom *gw-* would be a quite foreign sound, appeared to hear only *w-* throughout the settlement period.

Now the rise of [gw], as in the Mod.W. pronunciation, from [w], comes about by the velarisation of the [w]; and the same thing is seen in the well-known Romance treatment of Germanic *w* as *gw*, in e.g. *Wilhelm* > *Guillaume*. The work of the Abbé Falc'hun has made it clear that in Late British the consonants in lenition position were articulated with approximately only half the length of those in non-lenition position (see § 132). Hence we may envisage a comparatively long and energetic *W*, and a comparatively weak and short *w*. The former gradually developed an exaggerated velarisation, passing through an

intermediary stage at which this was expressed as a weak velar spirant, therefore $\mathfrak{3}W$, and ending with its having become a full velar stop, therefore gw .¹ We may envisage the process as having been as follows. The British and British Latin u - = [w] was probably still a W - initially at the period of the separation of W., C., and B., but very likely the faint tendency towards velarisation had already begun. By a gradual strengthening in the now separate languages it reached a stage $\mathfrak{3}W$ -, and at last a full gw -. The $\mathfrak{3}W$ - would quite likely not be felt to differ phonemically from the Latin consonantal u , and hence even after it had arisen it would still naturally be written u ; but once gw - was arrived at the practice of writing gu - would become inevitable. The full gw - may have been reached at varying rates in the three dialects; in Welsh it was evidently so by the later eighth century, in Breton by the ninth, in Cornish by the tenth. Our evidence on C. and B. is insufficient to show whether it was even earlier, as it may have been. However, both C. and B., especially C., continued to write u - etc., by orthographic traditionalism, for some time; in C. right down to the end of the OC. period. In W. we have more evidence for the intermediary stage. GVANI may bear witness to the existence of some sort of weak velarisation very early; but it can only have been weak, because at least as late as the later seventh century the English still failed to detect any g sound, and continued to use their w . It is true, of course, that w would be a natural sound-substitution, since English had no gw ; but only up to a point, because as we see in *Cwæspatrik*, if a true [gw] existed it would most naturally be substituted by the native English [kw]. We may therefore date the faint beginnings of velarisation back even to the early part of the sixth century (GVANI), and so as being common to W., C., and B., as indeed must be the case. The $\mathfrak{3}W$ - stage in Pr.W. is

¹ Falc'hun's tests show that Breton initial gw - has the long g - (his gg -) just like non-lenited g - (see *Sav*, no. 31, 1944, p. 44), whereas simple gw - would be expected. But this may very easily be secondary, due to the influence of non-lenited g -. [The fact that the lenition of gwa - in the Leon dialect is $c'hwa$ -, i.e. [hwa] or [χwa], would be a similar analogical development; see now Falc'hun, *Le Système consonantique du breton* (Rennes, 1951), pp. 92-3.]

perhaps later sixth to seventh century ; and the full *gw*- probably fairly early in the eighth century, as its writing with *gu*- is so firmly established in OW. in the late eighth and the ninth century.

The position outlined in the preceding paragraph applies only to initial non-lenited *ɥ*-. The situation is more complicated when we consider initial lenited and intervocal *ɥ*-, including the now final *-ɥ* of Pr.WCB. Here Mod.W. has [w] (except for final *-ɥ*, formerly [w], now [u]), without any trace of velarisation ; yet all three languages, OW., OC., and OB., often write *gu*, though this is not done in the M. and Mod. periods. That *gu*- should be spelt in cases of initial lenition is natural, since OWCB. do not in any event recognise lenition at the beginning of words, so that the practice here would be merely graphic and due to the analogy of the non-lenited form. But in absolute internal position there were no alternating *-[gw]*- forms to set an analogy. Are we to suppose, contrary to what has been said above, that the writing *-gu*- means that *ɥ* once became [gw] everywhere, and that then with the rise of lenition this was lenited to [w] again, but the practice of spelling *gu* continued just as did that of spelling *t*, *b*, etc., for lenited *t*=*d*, *b*=*ḃ* ? That would imply that *ɥ*>full [gw] was firmly established before the time of lenition (second half of the fifth century), and this does not suit the very weighty evidence collected above which shows clearly that [gw] was not reached until much later. Besides, the comparison of *t*, *b*, etc., will not apply, because VL. never wrote *gu* for *ɥ* as it did *t* for [d] and *b* for [ḃ].¹ Can we say, then, that *ɥ* in all positions developed as far as [ɜw] in Pr.WCB., and that this came to be written *gu*- and *-gu*- ; but that alone in initial non-lenition it went further to a full *gw*, while elsewhere *ɜW* faded away into *w* again ? Now there is no velarity in Mod.W. and Mod.B., and the evidence of MW., MB. orthography shows pretty clearly that there was none as far back as the beginning of those periods. This would mean a stretch of about three or four centuries during which *-w*- was first strengthened to *-ɜW*-

¹ Pedersen's suggestion that there may have been first initial non-lenited *gw*- and lenited *ɜw*-, and that initial *w*- arose by the analogy of initial lenited *ɜ*->nil (VKG. i, 428), fails to meet the objection raised here.

and then shortly afterwards weakened again to *w*, without any apparent cause. It seems rather unlikely, at least as it is stated; and still more unlikely is the opinion of Morris Jones that the sound was \mathfrak{z}^u ¹ (WG. p. 188), and of Baudiš that it was $\mathfrak{z}w$ (Gr. p. 151), both implying a stronger degree of velarity even than $\mathfrak{z}W$.

(3) The following conclusions suggest themselves:

(a) The strengthening and velarisation of British *u* to *gw* took place only in absolute initial, where the sound was strong *W* in Late Brit. (b) Elsewhere it was lenited to a comparatively weak *w*. (c) In lenited initial position *gu-* was, nevertheless, written in OWCB., but this is in accordance with their regular practice of not recognising initial lenition. (d) In internal lenition position *-gu-* is sometimes written, though it is to be noticed that this is true most regularly at the beginning of the second elements of compounds, traditionally treated almost the same as lenited absolute initial; and that in absolute internal position *-u-* never ceases to be written all through the OWCB. period, side by side with *-gu-*. The explanation of (d) is surely simple. The analogy of *gu-*=initially lenited [w]-acted powerfully on the writing habits for [w] at the beginning of the second elements of compounds (particularly since in this place original *g*, now \mathfrak{z} , still existed as a sound at this time, and was spelt *g*), and less strongly on those of absolute internal position; so that the custom arose of writing *gu* for a mere [w] not *only* in initial lenition, where this was regular, but *also* internally.² The view that internal *u* never became $\mathfrak{z}W$ or $\mathfrak{z}w$,

¹ But in WG. p. 28 and Cymm. xxviii, 265, he seems inconsistently to regard *gu* as a mere conventional symbol for *w*.

² Very rarely *gu* is written in OW. where there was never any *u* at all, but only OW. [u]. So *Brangui*, Chad 6, presumably for **Branui* < **Branouio-* (BRANHUI occurs in a ninth-century inscription recently discovered in the Isle of Man and not yet published; now in the Manx Museum. This is no doubt the same name, with inorganic *h*); *Conguoy*, AC. 880, for **Conui* or **Conoi* < **Conouio-* or **Cānouio-*, etc.; cf. Förster, FT. p. 611. The reason is that the custom of writing *gu* for *u*=[w] might rarely be carried over to cases where *u*=[u]. There is no need to suppose, with Förster *loc. cit.*, that there was actually [wi] in these words, a change which never happened in W. *after consonants*; nor is there any cause for dating this c. 940 other than the fact that Förster, for reasons apparently not stated, puts Chad. 6 at c. 940. In *Breguoin*, HB. c. 56, we are probably on a different footing, as this may very likely stand for [Bre|wuin], see *Antiquity*, xxiii, 48-9.

and that *gu* internally is a mere orthographical convention, is supported by the fact that whereas Brit. *-rg-*, Pr.WCB. *-rɜ-*, gave *-rch-* in CB., Brit. *-rɹ-* never became *-rchw-*, but only *-rw-*, *-rv-*. It is strongly indicated also by the instances where *u* stands finally after a consonant. That OW. *Artbodgu*, for instance, should really represent or ever have represented [arθvɔd³w] or [arθvɔdɜw] is surely phonetically improbable, to say the least; and in fact, as we have already seen, the practice of writing *gu*, etc., in this position appears only very late in OW., shortly before *g* ceased to be written altogether. In other words, the use of *gu* for [w] spread last of all, and late, to post-consonantal *-w*. (e) At last the spelling *-gu-* for *-w-* died out in all three languages, for the same reason—because all three began early in their Middle periods to distinguish initial non-lenition from initial lenition; i.e. in this case, to write respectively *gu-*, *gw-* and *u-*, *w-*; and internal *-w-* naturally followed.

It is noteworthy that the AS. evidence supports at least the opinion that there was never full [gw] internally. The examples quoted from DLV., c. 840, all have *-u-*, *-uu-* in AS., at a time when initial *gw-* was fully established in Welsh. These could, of course, be substitutions for ³W, but there is naturally no reason to suppose that they must be; and doubtless they are not.¹ Again, AS. *-w-* is sometimes spelt *-gu-* in OW., as *Oswy* written *Osguid* in AC. 669, and AS. *Hereweald* appearing as *Hergualdus* in Lland. p. 279 and elsewhere in documents belonging to the eleventh century. Obviously *gu* is written here because for the Welsh scribes it was the right way, or one of the right ways, to spell internal [w]. We may add that the practice of writing *-ug-*, *-ugu-*, coming in at the

¹ *Rigullon* in the Irish *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 628, is clearly the same as Pr.W. **Rizwollōn*, **Rizwullōn*, later Pr.W. **Riwollōn*, **Riwullōn*, **Riwallōn*, OW. **Riwallaun*, in R(I)UALLAUN (CHC. no. 986, probably eighth century), *Riguo(llau)n* (Chad 5), MW. *Riwallaun*, < Late Brit. **Rizouollānos*, **Rizouallānos*. But here the OI. *g* (= [ɟ]) is doubtless the remains of the *ɜ* of Pr.W. **Riz-*. This explanation will not do for AS. *Rigwattan*, ASC. 1063, as the *ɜ* would have been long lost by then; cf. § 79. 3. The *gw* here might be merely a written form following W. spelling, but the interesting sound-substitutions *-tl-* and *-an* (see pp. 298, 479) suggest the whole is an oral borrowing. If so, the *g* is hard to explain.

end of the eleventh century, looks like an attempt to make *-gu-* seem less as if it had a [g] or [ʒ] in it.

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§ 50. IE., British, and Latin *p*

IE. *p* was lost in CC., leaving no traces except in a few instances ; the chief of these is the fact that before *t* and *s* it fell together with IE. *kt* and *ks* in CC. *χt* and *χs* ; see §§ 58, 121. As IE. *p* does not occur in British there is no need to discuss it here.

British *p* arose in the Gallo-Brittonic stage from IE. *qʷ* and *kʷ* (cf. § 63), and Latin *p* fell together with this.¹ Initially it remained ; in lenition position initially and internally it became Late Brit. (and therefore WCB.) *b*, see § 131. Examples of lenition : WCB. *heb* : Lat. *sequor* ; W., OC. *ebol*, B. *ebeul* : *equus* ; Latin *opera* > WCB. *ober* ; VL. *pop'lus* > W. *pobl*, OC. *pobel*, MC. *pobyl*, B. *pobl*.

Since British had no *pt*, Latin *pt* had to be adapted. It was treated in three different ways :

(a) It was substituted by the existing Brit. *χt* < IE. *kt*, *qʷt*, *pt*, and developed in the same way ; see § 58. Similarly in Gaul, Latin *-pt-* was borrowed into Gaulish with the native *χt*, in *captivus* > Gaul. **caχtīuos* > Fr. *chétif* ; cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 132, and p. 81 above. This substitution was evidently the natural method of dealing with foreign *-pt-* for the early Celtic peoples ; and is no doubt part of a speech habit established in proto-Celtic times, when IE. *pt* > *χt*, cf. Thurneysen, *Kelto-romanisches* (Halle, 1884), p. 16. This is likely to have been the early and normal adaptation in the British period. Examples : *increpitus* > MW. *anghvreith* ; *septimana* > OC. *seithun* (Voc.C., *sic leg.*), B. *sizun* ; *captivus* > W. *ceithiw*.

(b) In a few cases WCB. have *th*, which clearly arose from

¹ Latin *p* intervocally and before *l*, *r* was voiced to *b* in VL. in the fourth to sixth century, and the *b* later became *v*, which was lost before *o* and *u* ; see Richter, CPF. pp. 160, 200, 209. Nothing of this appears in Brit., except perhaps in VL. *stup'la* > W. *soft*, etc., see pp. 92 and 531.

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a previous *tt* (cf. § 53). This *tt* was probably not a British sound-substitution, but reached Britain in that form, for in some parts of the Empire (the West and centre, cf. Richter, who dates it first to third century, CPF. p. 89) Classical *-pt-* early became VL. *-tt-*.¹ So W. *pregeth*, C. *pregoth* are from VL. **prēcetta* < *praecepta*; W. *ysgruthur* < VL. *scrītтура* (which occurs; on the *ĩ* see § 17. 1) < *scrīptura*. In W. *bedydd* < **batidĩ* < VL. *baptidio* (which occurs, see IVL. pp. 140-41) < *baptizo* the *-tt-* must have been simplified, probably in VL.; cf. OI. *baithis* < **batizo*.

(c) In at least one case there is W. *fft*, namely *Aegyptus* > W. *Aifft*. It is to be noted that Latin *pt* was sound-substituted *ft* in AS., which also lacked a native *pt* (cf. Pogatscher, Lautl. p. 175); and it seems very likely that in this word we have a late loan, borrowed when Brit. no longer had any *χt* (i.e. after the sixth century), and *ft* was substituted as being now the nearest native sound.

(N.B.—Latin loanwords in OI. regularly keep *pt*, as in *precept*, *scriptūr*, *Aegept*, and *aiccept* < *accepta*. They were presumably therefore borrowed at a relatively high or learned level, where not only was there no substitution but even the VL. *tt* had not intruded. Very likely, indeed, the substitution of *χt* was not made at all in the better British-Latin but only in British and perhaps low British-Latin. So OI. *sechtmon* < *septimana* no doubt comes directly from Pr.W. **seχtμōn*.)

British *-rp-*, *-lp-* < IE. *-rqʷ-*, *-lqʷ-* and Latin *-rp-*, *-lp-* gave WCB. *rf*, *lf*; see § 148. E.g. W. *gorffen*, C. *gorfen*, MB. *gourffen*, : OI. *forcenn* < **uerqʷenno-*; Lat. *purpura* > W. *porffor*.

Latin *-rpt-* is supposed by Lloyd-Jones to have become W. *rth* in *carptum* > *carth*, *serptum* > *serth* (BBCS. ii, 297-8). These are not given by Lewis, EL.

On Brit. and Lat. *-mp-* see § 103.

¹ Grandgent says "in central and southern Italy", IVL. p. 132, but the examples given by Richter, *loc. cit.*, seem to show that it did so regularly in Gaul too, and that the treatment of *captivus* is exceptional. If so, *tt* in Gaul is very likely an importation from Italy, as it would perhaps not be a natural Celtic way of handling *pt*.

Brit. and Lat. *pp* gave WCB. *f*; e.g. *cippus* > W. *cyff*, B. *keff*; see § 145.

§ 51. Latin *ph*

Borrowed from Greek *φ*, this was regularly pronounced *p* in popular Latin; cf. Grandgent, IVL. pp. 138-9, Richter, CPF. p. 44. The more vulgar *f* was, however, coming in during the VL. period—according to Sturtevant,¹ *φ* was becoming a spirant, *f*, in Greek as early as the first century, at least in Italy, and was gradually spreading. Following the analogy of Latin *th* and *ch* (see §§ 55, 62), one would have expected Latin *ph* to have been pronounced *p* in British Latin, treated in the same way as other *p*. Actually the rare examples show *f*, which may be supposed to mean that they are late loans after the time when the *f*-pronunciation had reached Britain, whenever that may have been. Compare Pogatscher, Lautl. p. 184, that the early Latin borrowings in AS. treat Latin *ph* as *p*, the later as *f*. The only examples appear to be *propheta* > W. *proffwyd*, OC. *profuit*, MC. *profus*, MB. *prophoet*; *orthographia* > W. *orgraff*; and perhaps *antigraphum* > W. *engraifft* (with parasitic *-t*; but see BBOS. ii, 44—the objections raised there would be met by a form **antigraphium*). The two last are pretty certainly more or less late and learned (note the significant absence of final affection in *orgraff*), and *propheta* may well be so too, as Lloyd-Jones thinks (ZCP. vii, 465).

§ 52. IE. and Latin ² *t*

Initially these remain; in lenition position initially and internally they became Late Brit. (and hence WCB.) *d*, see § 131.

¹ *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1940), p. 85.

² Intervocal Lat. *t* became *d* in VL. in the fourth to sixth century (Richter, CPF. p. 155). VL. *tj*, however, was being assimilated to *tsj* in the first to third century, reaching this stage fully intervocally in the fourth, and later voiced to *dzj* along with the voicing of *t*. After a consonant the stage *tsj* was attained earlier, at least by the second century. Thus *tj* fell together with *cj* (see p. 402, n. 1) in the fourth to sixth century. In the speech of the educated, Servius in the fourth century objected to the assimilation, but it had become the rule by the fifth. See Richter, CPF. pp. 81, 88, 153, 162, 166. Nothing of all this appears in Brit., where Lat. *t* and *tj* were evidently unchanged, and behave in all respects exactly like native *t* and *tj*. Cf. pp. 90-92.

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In W. the *d* was unchanged ; in C. and B. its history was much more complicated.

(1) In OC. there was still *d*, written in Voc.C. internally *d*, very rarely *t*, but finally *t*, rarely *d* (the sound even finally must, of course, have been [d], not [t], as it arose through lenition exactly as the OC. internal *d* did, see § 134. 3). But internally before *i* and before unstressed front vowels the *d* was palatalised in MC. and resulted in [dž], spelt in MC. as *s*, *g*, *j*, and in Mod.C. as *dzh*, *dg* ; and this was often extended by analogy to *d* in other positions. E.g. OC. *odion* (= W. *eidion*), Mod.C. *udzheon*, *odgan*. Internal Pr.C. [dw] gave MC. [dzw] or [žw], written *sw*, Mod.C. [dž] ; e.g. MC. *peswar*, Mod.C. *padzhar*, : W. *pedwar*, < Brit. **petyuares*.

As regards the history of the sound in final position in Cornish, it is written MC. -*s*, Mod.C. -*z*. Pedersen thought that OC. pure tenuis -*t* became -*t*^h > -*ts* > -*s*, by c. 1300 (VKG. i, 499-500, LP. p. 154-5) ; Loth, that it was -*t* > -*t'* > -*ts* > -*s* (RC. xviii, 405-6). But Förster very properly objects that -*t* in OC. was really already [d] long before (FT. p. 187) ; however, he likewise (hesitatingly) takes the OC. -*t* as being voiceless, and regards it as a secondary development. All this is quite unnecessary ; it is solely a matter of orthography. British *t*, Late Brit. lenited *d*, was [d] both internally and finally in WCB., but it was usual in late OC. and in MW. to spell the final voiced stops as *p*, *t*, *c* (cf. p. 552, n. 2). That the sound *was* actually [d] in OC. is proved by the seven cases in Voc.C. where -*d* is written, quite apart from its history. What evidently happened is that OC. [d] became directly MC. [z], whence the Mod.C. spelling *z*. But how would [z] be spelt in the early Middle Ages, in a language in which it was a new sound, by scribes familiar with ME. and Anglo-Norman ? Obviously not by *z*, since that meant [ts] in Anglo-Norman and did not exist in native English words. How, then, other than by *s*, which *already meant* [z] in *Anglo-Norman*, and was always used for [z] in ME. ? The custom of writing *s* could continue long after English began to use *z* instead of *s* for [z],¹ eventually

¹ In fact, of course, English has never more than partly adopted *z* ; cf. *wise*, *rose*, etc. etc.

giving way to *z* with the radical spelling reforms of Modern Cornish. In the same way the MC. *sw* mentioned above is clearly voiced, though Pedersen treats it as [tsw]; and this is even more obvious with MC. -[dž]-, written *s* as well as *g* and *j*. Compare the history of OB. *đ* > *z*, written occasionally *s*, though it must always have been voiced; see § 68.

For the date of this assibilation of OC. *d*, Pedersen puts his *s* at 1300 (though no reasons are given), while noting *bros* already in Voc.C. (c. 1100). Förster notes *Bos Carn* in a document of 1291 (FT. p. 178). To these must be added *chespar* gl. *coniunx* in Voc.C., which has hitherto been missed, where OC. **cet*, "joint", is treated as in loose composition, by contrast with *chetua* gl. *conventus*, *conventio*, an old fixed compound; no doubt the *s* is under the influence of the separate adverb, MC. *cȳs*, and in fact in the prefix -*s* is actually found in MC., *kes*-. *Chespar* in Voc.C. is an early instance of this. Cf. my note in JCS. i, 77. In the absence of any documentary evidence to the contrary for the period between c. 1100 and the beginning of the written MC. sources, the examples given may surely be taken as proof that around 1100 the change of -[d] > -[z] was already beginning; the fact that -*s* is so rarely written would be due to the usual tendency to orthographic conservatism.¹

Pedersen takes the assibilation of internal -*d*- described above to be later than his -*t* > -*s*, because the result is different (VKG. i, 502). We may add that this is borne out by the fact that *d* is sometimes still spelt in the former cases in MC. but never in the latter; also that it occurs before the *e* arising from older *ō* (see § 8), as in MC. *trenses*, *trengys*: W. *trindod*, and is therefore later than the eleventh century.

On OC. -*lt*, -*nt* > -*ls*, -*ns*, see §§ 54. 1; 110. Initially before front vowels, *t*- could become [tʃ] in MC.; so OC. *ti*, "house" > MC., Mod.C. *chy* = [tʃai].

(2) In Breton, the internal and final Pr.B. *d* remained

¹ Förster quotes *Cofer-fros* in an AS. document of 960, but himself explains it away as having probably a different suffix, Brit. -*st*- (FT. p. 186). It is hardly likely to be a case of [d] > [z] so early, in view of the exclusive use of -*t* in Bodm. and almost exclusive of -*t*, -*d* in Voc.C. (this very word is *frot* in Voc.C.).

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spelt in OB. internally usually *t*, sometimes *d*; ¹ finally *-t*.² But before *ĭ* the *d* was palatalised in MB., to [ž], spelt *j*; e.g. Mod.B. *ijenn* : W. *eidion*, OC. *odion*, etc., as above. On OB. *lti*, *nti* see §§ 54. 1; 103.

(3) Internally before *r*, *l*, and *n* the OB. [d] from Brit. *t* gave *z* in MB. (presumably through *đ*), which was vocalised in Mod.B. So Latin *latro* > OB. *latr* (= [ladr]) > MB. *lazr* > Mod.B. *laer* : W. *lleidr*, OC., MC., *lader*. In OB. *dadl*, *dadlt(ig)* (Eutyeh.), *dadlou* (Cott.CC.), *dadluo* (Hatt. CC.), *condadlant* (Vat.Reg. 296 Oros.) we probably have *d* already = [đ]. On the possibility that Brit. *tl*, *tr*, *tn* may similarly have given W. *đl*, *đr*, *đn* in scattered cases, see Parry-Williams, Phon.WB. p. 85. There appears to be the same *đ* in C. with Brit. *tl*, *tn*, before svarabhakti took place; e.g. OC. *Onzynefel* (Bodm. § 30, A.D. 960–1000), *Wenceneđel* (*ibid.* § 17, 941–70); *banathel*, *kinethel*, *datheluur*, *enchinethel*, *hethen* (MC. *eđen*), Voc.C. Contrast, with Brit. *tr* > *dr* > *dər*, OC. *Gurheter* (Bodm. § 42, second half of tenth century), *Petroc* (Bodm. *passim*); *aradar* (Mod.C. *arder*), *modereb*, *nader* (MC. *nader*), Voc.C.

§ 53. British *tt* of Various Origin, and Latin *tt*

These became *th* in Pr.WCB.; on the development and date see §§ 145 ff. The *th* remained throughout in W. and C., but became first *s* and then *z* in B. (Vannetais *h*); except that before *ĭ* the result there was [ʃ], written *ch*. E.g. *littera* > MW. *llyther*, C. *lither*, B. *lizer*.

OB. spells it *th* (or *t*, *d* for *th*; cf. the occasional use of *d* for *th* in OW., OC.), but *s* is occasionally found in late charters in Cart.Red.; the Cartulary of Quimperlé (twelfth to thirteenth century) often has *th*, also *s*, rarely *z*; but *z* is regular from the end of the thirteenth century, see Loth, Chr.B. pp. 64, 183–4.

¹ Even as early as the ninth and tenth centuries. Note *quodrot* (Leid. Leech.), *guindroitou* (Berne). Loth indicates that *-d-* becomes practically regular in spelling from the middle of the eleventh century (RC. v, 111).

² There are two possible cases of *-d-* in the Glosses: *loed* and *rad* (Orl.CC.). Williams rejects a connection with W. *llwyd* for the former because it should have *-t* (ZCP. xxi, 293–4); Loth has scruples about *rad* < *ratum* for the same reason (VVB. p. 207). But we should remember that Orl.CC. is one of the latest bodies of glosses, tenth to eleventh century.

The change of *th* to *s* is presumably, therefore, as old as the eleventh century, though largely disguised for some time by the traditional spelling; the voicing of it to *z* seems to have come in the twelfth century. The *s*, however, could not have been the same as original OB. internal and final *s* (<Brit. *ss*), since the latter did not become *z* until later—the *Catholicon*, 1464, has almost invariably *s*, and it has not reached *z* in all words even in Mod.B. We must probably postulate that *s* < *th* was some kind of lisped sibilant, which may be written here, to distinguish it without further defining it, as *S*; very likely the resulting *z* was the corresponding voiced sound at first, written here *Z*, not becoming ordinary *z* until some later period which cannot now be determined. In a number of districts in Leon, Cornouailles, and the Vannetais area the voicing did not take place at all, the *S* is now ordinary [s], e.g. *ma sad* < OB. **mi that*, though this is not recognised in the grammars. Cf. F. Falc'hun, *Sav* no. 29, pp. 39-40. For the history of *S* < *th* and *Z* < *d* see further § 68.

§ 54. British *t* after Liquids

(1) *lt*. This became *ll* in W. internally but *-llt* finally; remained as *-lt-* in C. internally but *>-ls* finally (spreading thence by analogy to internal position); remained in OB., but was vocalised to *ut* in MB., except that in *-lti-* the result was [f], spelt *lch*.

The W. assimilation of *-lt-* to *-ll-*¹ is evidently later than the separation of W., C., and B., but before the ninth century OW. glosses, which have only *ll*. Williams regards CIMALTED² in CIIC. no. 1033 (late seventh or early eighth century) as containing Brit. **alt-*, "joint", : OI. *alt*, OC. *chefals*, "joint" (BBCS. xi, 92). If so, *-lt->-ll-* will be eighth century, which is likely enough; indeed its history and date may be analogous to that of Pr.W. *-nt->-nnh-*, see §§ 103, 106 ff. On *lt>llt* see §§ 91, 93.

¹ The Mod.W. *-llt-<-ld-<Pr.W. -l'd-, -l'd-* in, e.g., *ufylltod*, *melltith*, appears to be quite late, and *-ld-* lasted into the MW. period; cf. EL. p. 24.

² *Sic leg.* [On the date of the inscription see p. 668, n. 1.]

C. *-ls* < *-lt* is found invariably already in Voc.C., e.g. *mols*, W. *mollt*, MB. *mout*, Mod.B. *maout*. Since it is natural to regard it as contemporary with the analogous change of *-nt* > *-ns* (see § 110), it is probably to be dated second half of the eleventh century. The *-s* in this case is not [z], since it arises from [t], not [d].

The Breton *ut* is not found in OB., but occurs in the MB. *Catholicon* (fifteenth century), in the aforementioned *mout*, etc. Pr.B. *lti* remains in OB., e.g. *guiltiatou* (Lux.), but MB. *guilchat* (Catholicon). However, there is some slight evidence that the assibilation had already begun by the time of the Orl.CC. glosses, late tenth to eleventh century, in *guiliat* and *guoliat* for older **guiltiat* and **guoltiat*; see JCS. i, 72-3.

IE. and Brit. *ltr* developed in C. and B. as would be expected, but in W. (apparently only internally, and not exclusively even then) gave *thr*; cf. *ntr*, *ntl* > W. *thr*, *thl*, § 105. So W. *athro* but OC. *altrou*, Mod.C. *aultra*, MB. *autrou*, Mod.B. *aotrou*. Note, however, MW. pl. *alltrawon* beside *athrawon*, and the MW. feminine *elldrewyn*. This is presumably contemporary in Pr.W. with *ntr*, *ntl* > *thr*, *thl*; q.v.

(2) *rt*. Here we have Pr.WCB. *rth* (the date, see §§ 148-9), which remained in W. and C., and in OB., but in MB. gave *rz*, probably at the same time as *th* < *tt* became *z*. Note the spelling *rth* still in MB. in the twelfth century in the Cartulary of Quimperlé, p. 32, *torth* (< *torta*), Mod.B. *torz*; cf. Chr.B. p. 233. Compare also *portus* > W., C. *porth*, MB. pl. *porthoed* (1242), *porzoez* (1267); see Loth, ML. p. 197, Chr.B. p. 226. Here *th* is no doubt a traditional spelling; cf. on *th* < *tt*.

§ 55. Latin *th*

It occurs in Latin in words borrowed from Greek with *θ*. It was pronounced [t] in popular Latin, cf. Grandgent, IVL. pp. 138-9, Richter, CPF. p. 44;¹ hence in Britain its development was exactly the same as Brit. and Lat. *t*. E.g. *theca* > W. *twyg*;

¹ According to Sturtevant, the spirant pronunciation of *θ* in Greek as [θ] was beginning as early as the first century, at least in Italy, and gradually spreading; see *loc. cit.* p. 396, n. 1 above.

cathedra > OW. *cateir* (Lland. pp. 42, 134), MW. *cadeir*, Mod.C. *cadar*, MB. *cadoer*, Mod.B. *cador*.

§ 56. IE. Palatal and Velar *k*

These became simple *k* in CC., which it is usual to write *c*. It remained initially; initially and internally when lenited it gave Late Brit. (and consequently WCB.) *g*; *gi*, however, developed into [j] in MB., written *i*. On the history of lenited *c* see §§ 131 ff. Similarly with Latin *c*,¹ and VL. *c* from Classical *qu*. Latin *qu* was [kw] in VL., later [kv], but it was reduced to *c* before *u* and *o* by the first or second century or earlier; see Grandgent, IVL. p. 107, Richter, CPF. p. 49. Before other vowels it was regularly kept in most of the Empire until later, unless influenced by analogy, as in the case of *coci*, plural of *cocus* < *coquus*; *que*, *qui*, *qua* became *qe*, *qi*, *qa* (with velar *k*) in Gaul, in the second to fourth century according to Richter, CPF. p. 109. However, in SE. Italy and Sicily *que* and *qui* early gave *ce*, *ci*. Traces of Latin *qu* = [kw] are found in Britain, as follows: (a) *Quiesco* > W. *cwsg*, MC. *cuske*, *coske*,

¹ VL. *ce*, *ci* became *k'χ'je*, *k'χ'ji* or *t'χ'je*, *t'χ'ji* by the end of the third century, > *tsje*, *tsji* by the end of the fourth, falling together with *tsj* < *tj* (see p. 396, n. 2); this was voiced intervocally to *dzj* in the fourth to sixth century. Educated speech, however, still kept *k'j*- in the fourth century, but had *tsj* by the fifth to sixth. See Richter, CPF. pp. 94 ff., 116, 146, 157, 162 ff. VL *ci* began the same process earlier, reaching *k'χ'j* or *t'χ'j* in the second century, > *tsj* in the fourth to fifth, falling together with and developing in the same way as the above *tsj*. See *op. cit.* pp. 83 ff., 116, 153-4, 157, 163 ff. Intervocal VL. *c* before back vowels became *g* in the fourth to sixth century, earlier in *-co-*, *-cu-* than in *-ca-* (on *-icu-* see on *reliquiae* below); the *g* was lost in the fifth to sixth century except that in *iga*, *ega*, *aga* it gave *ž* and then *j* at that time; see *op. cit.* pp. 110, 135, 158, 170, 183, 186. Intervocal *cl*, *cr* > *gl*, *gr* in the third to fifth century, later > *jl*, *jr*, > *l'*, *ir*; *scl* > *sl* in the third to fifth century. See *op. cit.* pp. 121 ff., 134. None of these changes is apparent in Brit. (see p. 91), where all Latin *c* of whatever kind and origin is treated as [k], exactly the same as native *c*; so that the assibilated or voiced VL. sounds could hardly have been present in the Latin from which the loanwords were borrowed in Roman Britain. Examples are: *certus* > W. *certh*, MB. *querz*, Mod.B. *kers*; *placitum* > W. *plegyd*; *Natalicia* > W. *Nadolig*, C. *Nadelik*, *Nedelic*, OB. *Notolic*, MB. *Nedelec*, Mod.B. *Nedelek*. An apparent exception, see on *reliquiae* below. Another may be W. *tengl*, "girth", beside *cengl*, < *cingula* (Lewis, EL. p. 34), in which Schuchardt thought he saw the *t'χ'ji* stage of Latin *ci* (Litteraturbl., 1893, col. 104); but this might be a secondary development in Welsh.

Mod.B. *kousket* (Loth, ML. p. 155). This passed through VL. *quesco*, *quescit* (cf. Richter, CPF. pp. 49, 110), and the *que*-seems to have resulted in Brit. *cu*-. (b) *Quartarius* > MW. *chwarthawr*. This looks like a late loan, after the time when Pr.W. had developed *chw*- from Brit. Σu - (cf. EL. p. 17, where Lewis thinks it certainly late). If so, it must have come from a learned level of speech which preserved *qua*- and did not make it *qa*-. (c) In *quadragesima* > B. *koraiz* (and OI. *corgas*) the influence of the u seems to have rounded the following vowel; but W. *carawys* developed without the rounding. (d) In *reliquiae* > W. *rhelyw* the *q* might seem simply to have been dropped, leaving VL. **reliuie*; cf. Lloyd-Jones, ZCP. vii, 465. But another explanation seems possible. In the ending *licus*, *c* became *g* in VL. significantly earlier than *c* elsewhere, third to fifth century, so that e.g. VL. *selvátigus* < *silvaticus* was contemporary with *fócus* (see Richter, CPF. pp. 110-11). Ordinarily, of course, VL. *c* remained in Britain and was borrowed as *c*, but as *licus* had *c* > *g* comparatively early, a loan with VL. *g* might be possible. *Reliquus* would become first *rélicus*, as above, and then **religus*, in VL., and it might be borrowed in this form in Brit., giving later by lenition **relizus* and then **reliuus*, cf. § 75. It is conceivable that *rhelyw* comes from *reliquus*, -um, rather than *reliquiae*.

Otherwise Latin *qu* gave Brit. *c*, even in *que*, *qui*, *qua*, which implies the VL. development *qe*, *qi*, *qa* as well as *quu*, *quo* > *cu*, *co*. Examples: *quaestio* > VL. *questio* > W. *gor-chest* (cf. EL. p. 35); *torques* > W. *torch*; *coquus* > VL. *cocus* > W., OC., MC., *cog*, B. *kok-loa*; *coquina* > WCB. *cegin*; *quadragesima* > W. *carawys* as above.

§ 57. British and Latin *cc*

British *cc* is of various secondary origins (e.g. from *d* plus *k*; hypocoristic doubling, etc.), and also from Latin *cc*. It became *ch* = [χ] in Pr.WCB. (on the date see § 147), spelt W. *ch*, OC. generally *ch*, though *h* and *gh* occur; MC. *gh*, *h*; OB., MB. *ch*, Mod.B. *c'h*. The sound remained throughout, except that the MC., Mod.C. *gh*, *h* was softer than W. *ch* (cf. Lewis, LCC. p. 8).

and that OB. *-chi-* became [j], spelt *i*, in MB. except after a consonant. Example: *peccatum* > W. *pechod*, MC. *peahes*, *pehas*, B. *pec'hed*.

§ 58. IE. *kt*

IE. *kt* (including that from *-g* plus *t-*) and *qstt* became *χt* in CC.,¹ falling together with *χt* < *pt* (see § 50). This remained in Irish, and in British throughout the Roman period, so that Latin *pt* and *ct* were assimilated to it; but later, in the three Brittonic languages the *χ* was vocalised, and the result was *ιth*, the *ι* making *i*-diphthongs with the preceding vowels (long *ī* with preceding *ī*).

Latin *ct* was normally treated as *χt* in Britain, just as it was in Gaul² (cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 113; Richter, CPF. p. 122; Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, p. 15; Pedersen, VKG. i, 242). It has already been pointed out that the group *kt* is foreign to the genius of the Celtic languages; and it is worth remarking that in AS., which likewise lacked *kt*, Latin *ct* was rendered by the native *χt*, spelt *ht* (cf. Pogatscher, Lautl. p. 175). VL. *ct* became *tt*, however, in parts of Italy by the early fourth century, in the South even by the first (Grandgent, *loc. cit.*; Richter, p. 71, dates it first to second century, and extending over Italy and parts of Rhaetia). This could give simple *th* in WCB., if any loanwords reached Britain with *-tt-*; an example seems to be *plecta* > W.C. *pleth*, B. *plez*, evidently through VL. **pletta*.

Examples: Brit. **aχt-* > W. *aeth*, C. *êth*, MB. *aez*, Mod.B. *eaz*, "went"; with final *ī*-affection, MW. *eith-um*, MC. *yth*, B. *iz*, "I went". Brit. **noχto-* > W. *noeth*, MC. *noeth*, *noyth*,

¹ Cf. Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, p. 15, Gr.OI. p. 135; Pedersen, VKG. i, 242.

² The development of Gallo-Latin *χt* to *it'* is sometimes regarded as a close parallel to the Brit. *ιth*, and equally "Celtic"; cf. Richter, CPF. p. 123. According to Richter, p. 130, the development to *it'* is a consequence of the shifts of syllabic division which took place in VL, whereby *χ't* was divided *χ'|t*, and as the *χ'* now belonged closely to the previous vowel, it was voiced by it, giving first *jt*. She puts this in her stage third to fifth century, but evidently means it to be late in that period. In any case, Latin words were probably borrowed in British at the stage *χt* or *χ't*, as their development is identical with that of native *χt*.

nôth, B. *noaz*, "naked"; with final *i*-affection, Late Brit. **oxti* > W. *wyth*, Mod.C. *eath*, B. *eiz*, "eight"; with internal *i*-affection, Brit. **noxtiēr*- (see § 157) > W. *neithiwr*, Mod.C. *nehuer*, B. *neizeur*. Brit. **luxt*- > W. *llwyth*, OC. *leid*. Brit. **ext* gives O., MW. *eith*, Mod.W. *eith* but *aith* in final syllables; OC. *eith*, *eid*, MC. *eth*, *eyth*, *yth*; OB. *eith*, Mod.B. *eiz*, sometimes *ez*; but OB. *eithi* became [ef], spelt *ech*. Brit. **uxto*- > W. *gwaith*, OC. *gueid*, C. *gweith*, *gwyth*, Mod.B. *gwez*; Lat. *perfectus* > Mod.W. *perffaith*, MC. *perfeth*, *perfeyth*, *perfyth*, Mod.B. *pervez*; Lat. *defectus*¹ (> Brit. **dīfextos*, "uncultivated") > W. *diffaith*, OC. *difeid*, OB. (*Barb*-) *Difeith*. Brit. **ixt* gave **iith* > **īth*; Brit. **brixtos* > W. *brith*, B. *briz*. With long vowels, the vowel would be very liable to be shortened before the consonant group in British,² and this could apply to Latin loans by sound-substitution. However, such shortening appears not to be universal. So Lloyd-Jones (BBCS. ii, 290) and Lewis and Pedersen (LP. p. 42) regard W. *doeth*, C. *dueth*, MB. *deuz* as having Brit. **dāxt* > **dōxt*-; in this case the *i* of Pr.WCB. **dōiith* must have been lost after the long *ō* in CB., or never developed, whereas in Pr.W. the *ōi* was shortened to *ōi*. W. *traethu* < **trāxt*-: OI. *trāchtaim*, < Lat. *trācto*, is no doubt an example of shortening in British Latin.³ W. *ffrwyth*, OC. *fruit*, B. *frouez*, is similarly from Brit. **frūxtos* < Lat. *frūctus*, since if the vowel had been long we should have expected W. **ffruiyth*.⁴ Again, W. *llith* is from Late Brit. **līxti*, which has vowel affection from **lēxti* < Brit. **lēxtiū* < Lat. *lēctiō*; cf. p. 597. In *benedictio* > W. *bendith* there is nothing to show whether the *i* was shortened, since *īxt* and *ixt* would equally give W. *ith*.

¹ This etymology (Loth's, ML. p. 160) is rejected by implication by Lewis (EL. p. 37), and specifically by Lloyd-Jones, Cymm. Trans., 1942, p. 194, presumably on the score of semantics. But it is difficult to see any other source for the Britt. forms. Late Latin *facere* occurs in the sense of "to cultivate", and Lewis himself accepts that W. *ffaeth*, "cultivated", is from *factus* (EL. p. 22). Even if "uncultivated" is not found in the dictionaries for *defectus*, such a meaning, the privative of *factus*, may easily have existed in VL.

² Cf. Morris Jones, WG. p. 97; Lloyd-Jones, BBCS. ii, 290.

³ Not a learned loanword, as Pedersen thought, VKG. i, 229; he believed the *a* in the OI. was short, but Bergin shows it was long (*Ériu*, xii, 223).

⁴ Schuchardt did not realise this when he rejected Loth's *frūctus*, *Litteraturbl.*, 1893, col. 104; but there is no need to take the shortening here as having happened in VL.

Lloyd-Jones derives *W. tuth* from **toikto-* (BBCS. ii, 297), from the root **steigh-*; one would have expected rather **tuyth* if so, but the analogy of *dueth*, *deuz* would show that *tuth* is possible. *W. awdur* < Lat. *auctorem* is no doubt a very late loan, from late Latin **augdorem*; see p. 323, n. 1.

§ 59. IE. *nkt*

Here the *n* was lost, in Irish with compensatory lengthening, but without it in Brittonic, where the development was the same as for *kt*. The same thing is found with Latin *nct*, which must have been substituted by the native Brit. *χt*, the group [nkt] being foreign to Celtic ears; perhaps the preceding vowel was pronounced nasal.¹ Hence *sancti* > Brit. **saχtī* or **sāχtī*, > MW. *Seith* (cf. Lewis, EL. p. 22). CIIC. no. 384, early sixth century, is read SANCTINVS by Ifor Williams, Cymm. Trans., 1943-4, p. 156; he notes that this may be the source of the MW. name *Seithin*. Probably the dead man's contemporaries pronounced *Saχtinus* or *Sāχtinus*, though, of course, they knew the correct Latin spelling. Again, *pūctum* > Brit. **puχton* or **pūχton*, with shortening in British before the consonant group,² > *W. pwyth*.

But in VL., apart from the *nχt* just noted in Gaul (see footnote), *nct* became *nt* in some parts of the Empire,³ probably in the first century, and hence *defuntus*, *santus*, etc., are found in inscriptions (Grandgent, IVL. p. 113). This is reflected in Brittonic in *W. sant*, *C. sans*, *B. sant*, evidently from VL. *santus* in that form. Hence the dual treatment of the word in

¹ In Gaul, VL. *nct* became first *nχt*, with the *n* kept, according to Richter, CPF. p. 124; Grandgent gives *ηt* (IVL. p. 113), which is less probable from the Celtic standpoint. In any case the final result was *int*; e.g. *sanctus* > Fr. *saint*. This arose through *njt* > *n'jt* > *n't*, according to Richter, CPF. p. 131.

² Loth, who mentions a VL. **pūctum* as evidenced by Romance, derives *pwyth* from **pūctum* (ML. p. 200); but Thurneysen rejects this, IF. Anz. iv, 46. His own explanation is not quite clear, but he appears to mean much the same as what is given above. That the shortening is British would seem supported by the fact that short vowels were apparently lengthened in VL. before *nct* (cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 74, quoting *sāctus*). Hence in this word we probably have to start with VL. *sāctus* > Brit. **sāχtos*; and so with originally long Latin vowels before *nct*.

³ In Italy; see Richter, CPF. pp. 71-2, 124.

Brittonic, noted by Lewis in EL. p. 22, arises from the Latin sources and not from the Brittonic handling. Lloyd-Jones derives W. *pant*, "valley", from *panctum* (BBCS. ii, 298), but Förster rejects this on semantic grounds (FT. p. 94), and Lewis does not give it in EL.

§ 60. The History of British $\chi t > i h$

As already described, the stage χt from IE. *kt*, *nkt*, *pt*, etc., was Common Celtic. The group is occasionally spelt χt in Romano-British sources, as in APOLLINI ANEXTIOMARO (Eph.Ep. vii, p. 349, no. 1162, from South Shields), and CVRIA TEXTOVERDORVM (Eph.Ep. ix, p. 593). This is a Gallo-Latin spelling habit, the X being taken over from the Greek alphabet, and used to spell the Gallo-Latin and British Latin χ ; it occurs in Gaulish and Latin inscriptions in Gaul. But the British χt is regularly spelt *ct* in Latin sources, as is natural, the Romans substituting their own *ct* for the foreign χt ; the same *ct* is used also in the Latin inscriptions of Gaul (cf. Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, p. 15; Marstrander, NT. i, 113). So we have *Vectis* in Pliny, Ptolemy (Ὀὐήκτις), Suetonius, and Ravennas, and *Vecta* in AL., for Brit. **Ūexltā*; *Cataractone* in AL.; etc. The same use of *ct* in Latin authors persists into the Dark Ages, e.g. in Bede (as *Vecta*, HE. iv, 13, 16), who also regularly spells native AS. [χt] as *ct* (e.g. *Octa*, *Uictgils*, etc.; and cf. the same use of *ct* in early AS. sources like Cædmon's Hymn, the normal AS. spelling being *ht*); and this is, of course, not to be regarded as evidence that the British sound was still [kt].¹ In British inscriptions of the Dark Ages CT is always written, never XT; but this again is to be expected. XT was really a foreign spelling habit, and one belonging to the Empire period, in inscriptions only; in the Dark Ages the Britons spelt according to the only Latin orthography they knew, with the regular Latin *ct* which they themselves unquestionably pronounced [χt]. So CIIC. nos. 430, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century, VICTOR; 406, perhaps beginning of sixth century, ()VECTI; 510, early sixth century, VICTR()

¹ Cf. Förster, FT. p. 118.

(see CIIC. vol. ii, pp. 201-2); 339, mid or later sixth century, VICTORINI. On SANCTINVS see § 59.

Brittonic *th* arises from *tt* normally. On the theory of Common Celtic consonants set out in § 132, the *t* in the CC. group χt , which was protected from lenition, must have had long articulation, in effect geminate; so that *ct* in Romano-British and other Latin sources would mean not so much χt as χtt . This is Thurneysen's view, *Keltoromanisches*, p. 14, and Gr.OI. p. 135; he notes that *cht* is sometimes written *chtt* in OI., and thinks the doubling was common to Insular Celtic.¹

For the next stage compare the similar development of Latin *ct* in Gaul, where, becoming first χt (cf. p. 404), the χ was then palatalised to χ' by the character of the *t*, and then voiced to *j* by the shift in syllabic division described in n. 2, p. 404, resulting finally in *it*; cf. Richter, CPF. pp. 122 ff., 130, and 134-5. It is clear that in Britain χtt in both native and Latin words must have become first $\chi' tt$ (cf. Rhys, LWP. 2 pp. 64 ff.) and then similarly *itt*; moreover, the cause is likely to be the same, the shift in syllabic division which very probably took place in Britt. as a forerunner of the rise of the new quantity system about 600, as described in §§ 34-5.

When did $\chi' t$ (or $\chi' tt$) become *ith*? British loanwords in Irish always show OI. *cht*, which would suggest that it was not before the middle of the sixth century, if we could be sure that they are direct from British and not from British Latin. But as we have seen (Chapter IV), in most cases at least we must reckon with British *Latin*; and though the Britons unquestionably pronounced Latin *ct* as $\chi' t$ (or $\chi' tt$), it is very unlikely that they departed so far from the written word as to turn it into *ith* in spoken *Latin* contexts. The *ith* seems to

¹ Baudiš prefers to think in terms of $\chi t > \chi \theta$ (Gr. p. 121); and so Förster, who speaks of "partial progressive assimilation" (FT. p. 353). He mentions the view (for which he names no authority, but is evidently thinking of Ekwall, RN. p. 301) that χt gave directly *tt*, which was then palatalised and developed an *i* before it (presumably epenthesis is intended). Förster rejects this, quite rightly, for it offers no conceivable explanation of the supposed palatalisation, nor of why the supposed *tt* should have developed any differently from ordinary Brit. *tt*. But to reject this is not, therefore, to make necessary the acceptance of $\chi t > \chi \theta$ "by partial progressive assimilation," *>ith*, as Förster assumes; nor does he explain how in his view the *i* arose in this case.

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have been later than final *i*-affection (see p. 597), therefore than the second half of the fifth century; but earlier than internal *ī/ĭ*-affection (see pp. 609-10), therefore than the seventh to eighth century. Since *īth* is common to W., C., and B., it is not very likely to be subsequent to the late sixth century, at least in its earlier stages; the fact that **dāχt-* appears to have developed differently in Pr.W. and in Pr.CB. may show that at least the final stages were not yet reached at the time of the separation of W. and CB. On the theory that the change of *χ'* to *ĭ* is the result of the syllabic shifts which produced the new quantity system about 600, it is probable, then, that it was developing at about the same period. The Dark-Age inscriptions quoted above have CT down to the last of them, which is mid or later sixth century. On the other hand, *īth* is, of course, fully developed in the oldest OW., OC., and OB. sources, including the later eighth century OW. *Surexit*-memorandum (*luidt*).

Among AS. names, the following may be noted: Brit. **Uęxta* > Pr.AS. **Weoht* > *Wieht* > *Wiht*, the Isle of Wight; cf. FT. pp. 119, 234. This might be a very early loan, and in no case later than the beginning of the sixth century. Ekwall derives the AS. river name *Geht* (Buck.-Oxf.) from **ġekti-*: W. *iaith*, RN. p. 209; Förster from **ġextā*, FT. p. 119. This district was probably settled early in the sixth century. Brit. **Cataraxta* or **Catarraχta*,¹ Pr.W. **Catraχt*, appears in the AS. Bede as *Cetreht*, the modern Catterick (NR.Y.). The name must

¹ Ptolemy Κατουρακτωνιον, var. Κατουρρακτωνιον; AI. *Cataractone*, *Cataractoni*; Ravennas *Catabactonion*; Bede *Cataracta* (HE. ii, 14), *Cataractone* (iii, 14). On this name see Ifor Williams, CA. pp. xxxii ff., who thinks the name for the waterfall at Richmond was the Latin **Cataracta*, the river Swale thence derived as **Cataractona*, and the town **Cataractonion*; and that Ptolemy's *Κατορ-* is a mistaken assimilation to the numerous Celtic *Catu-* names. Cf. Förster, FT. pp. 249-50, 119. Williams notes that the W. *Catraeth* may need the Latin pronunciation *Catarraχta* (which, of course, occurs) rather than *Cataracta*; but also that W. *-tr-* is sometimes unexplainedly found where *-dr-* would be expected, and that *Catraeth* may be a case. He suggests that *Catraeth* might be a purely written form, for **Cadraeth*, but this will not suit the AS., which needs Pr.W. *-tr-*. That Late Brit. *d-rr* might prove to *t'r* appears to the present writer unproven, but possible if we can assume *d-řř* (see § 93). The unexplained parallels quoted by Williams, *petruso*, *petryal*, etc., may be the clue however.

have been known to the English at latest by the end of the sixth century, the time of the famous battle of Catraeth ; but as the AS. *-tr-* implies the pre-existence of syncope in Pr.W. (cf. § 144. 3), it was probably not taken over before the middle of the century. The neighbourhood of Catterick may well represent the furthest northward expansion of the Deiran settlement at this time, hence the reason for the battle there. Ekwall (Dict. p. 250) and Förster (FT. p. 844) both derive Ightenhill (Lan.) as from the Brit. ancestor of W. *eithin*, "furze", from **aktinā*. If so, this would imply the continued existence of *χt* in Lancashire in the seventh century, but the etymology of *eithin* is still not satisfactorily explained in view of OI. *aitten*, and Ekwall's **ektin* would mean that internal affection took place before vocalisation of *χ*, which seems not to be the case (see p. 609). Compare, moreover, the ME. *Lanrekaythin* in Cumberland (see Dickins, EPNS. xx, p. 72), which appears to be from **lannerch eithin*, showing *χt* already > *ith*. Another name with Pr.W. *χt* is AS. *Peohtas*, "Picts", < Pr.W. **Peχt*, : OI. *Pecht*, W. *Peith-wyr* ; Förster follows Pokorny in deriving this from **Peχtās* with *ā*-affection from older **Piχtās* (FT. p. 119) ; but see § 154. A case of *ith* already in the middle of the seventh century is seen in Linlithgow (West Lothian), if Watson's opinion that it contains the equivalent of Mod.W. *llaith*, "damp" (CPNS. p. 384), is correct ; *llaith* is from Brit. **lexto-*, cf. LP. p. 42.

In FT. p. 635, Förster notes the battle of *Nechtansmere* in Scotland, fought in the year 685 between Egfrith of Northumbria and the Picts ; the source is Symeon of Durham. He takes this as evidence that Brit. *χt* still remained at this time. But the spelling *cht* looks very much as if Symeon's ultimate source was an Irish(-Latin) one, in which, of course, *χt* would be preserved. On the other hand, Bede gives a variety of the same name, *Naiton*, in the letter of Ceolfrith to that king in 710 (HE. v, 21) ; this has been taken to have Brit. *ext* > *ait* or *aith* (cf. Loth, ML. pp. 84-5 ; Baudiš, Gr. p. 117 ; in any case, if so, it would be a misspelling for *eitt* or better *eith*). Förster gets rid of this objection to his theory (FT. p. 120) by assuming that the original letter of Ceolfrith (not Bede's) read *Nehnton*,

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which he says is what would regularly be expected ; but this is a hypothesis, and if Bede's *Naiton* is allowed to be the pronunciation of the time when the *Historia Ecclesiastica* was written, it might just as well be that of the period of the letter twenty years before. As a matter of fact this whole question is quite irrelevant, since *Naiton* was a Pict, not a Briton, and even if Pictish was, in part or wholly, a variety of Brittonic (this has been a much disputed point), the chronology of British can hardly be held to apply strictly to it.

The evidence of inscriptions and place-names shows then clearly that *χt* lasted until the second half of the sixth century ; but cannot be held to prove in any given case that it continued into the seventh century, though locally, of course, it might have done so. A strong reason for thinking that it did not is the fact that it developed in the same way in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, and must therefore have been at least well on its way to *īth* by the end of the sixth century, if not already complete.¹ We have already noted that it is older than the internal affection of the seventh to eighth century. In round terms the *late sixth century* may be given as the focal point of the change, without necessarily excluding the possibility that *χt* in some form may have lasted in certain areas into the seventh century.²

¹ It is a curious fact that there seem no very certain cases of *īth* in AS. names. Examples would be expected in the areas settled in the seventh and eighth centuries, and *Lanrekaythin* and *Linlithgow* noted above are probably instances. The rareness of *īth* may be mere coincidence ; after all, even the *χ* is uncommon in AS., and no certain instances of it belong to the seventh and eighth centuries.

² Förster believes that the change did not happen before the eighth century, and that Bede's *Uecta* and *Cataracta* prove this (FT. p. 120) ; but after all, Bede did not get these names from contemporary *spoken British* sources but from AS. and probably Latin ones. On p. 176 he dates it c. 800, and p. 120 ninth or tenth century, rejecting the evidence of Nennius' *Gueith*, "Wight", and *gueith*, "battle", as due to late copyists, on the ground that Nennius gives *Gueitha* for *Uecta* son of Woden, which F. appears to think means that Nennius' Welsh still kept *χt*. But *Gueitha* is merely a partial and imperfect written Brittonicisation of *Uecta* (and in any case why should Welsh turn this foreign name into **Gueitha* ?). Here, as elsewhere, Förster omits all the evidence of the ninth century OW. glosses, in which *ith* is universal, not to mention the eighth-century Chad 2 (on the supposed untrustworthiness of Nennius, see pp. 48-9). Moreover, he does not take into consideration the fact that *ith* is common to Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, and must therefore be much earlier than such late dates as he proposes.

§ 61. IE. *kl*, *kr*, etc.

IE. *-kl-*, *-kr-* and Latin *-cl-*, *-cr-* gave WC. *-gl-*, *-gr-* by lenition; also in OB., spelt *cl*, *cr*, but the *g* became *z* in MB. and was vocalised in Mod.B. So MB. *dazrou*, Mod.B. *daerou*, beside W. *dagrau*, C. *dagrow*, OB. *dacr*. Note VL. *eclēsia* (which occurs) > Pr.W. **eglēs* (> W. *eglwys*, C. *eglos*, OI. *eclais* = [eglij]) borrowed in Pr.AS. as **eclēs*, whence the name *Eccles* and its compounds in Lancashire and elsewhere; see p. 227. It does not come directly from *ecclēsia*; and Ekwall's "Brit. **eclēs*", Dict. p. 152, should read "Brit. **eclēsia*" or "Pr.W. **eglēs*". Cf. Förster, FT. pp. 582-3 (since by *altbritische* he generally means our Late British, his "abrit. **eclēs*" should read "abrit. **eglēsia*").

IE. *-ks-*, see § 125.

IE. *-kn-* fell together in British with *-gn-*, and developed as it did, to *in*; see §§ 84 ff. E.g. W. *ffroen*, OC. *fron*, MB. *froan*, < **srokno-*. IE. *-lk-*, *-rk-* and Latin *-lc-*, *-rc-* gave Brit. *-lc-*, *-rc-*, WCB. *lch*, *rch*. E.g. Lat *arca* > W. *arch*, MC. pl. *archow*, B. *arc'h*. On the history and chronology of this see §§ 148-9.

 § 62. Latin *ch*

It occurs in words taken from Greek with χ . In popular Latin it was pronounced [k] (Grandgent, IVL. pp. 138-9, Richter, CPF. p. 44), and is therefore treated in British in exactly the same way as Brit. and Latin *c*. The [χ] pronunciation of χ was beginning in Greek in the first century, at least in Italy, and gradually spread, according to Sturtevant (see p. 396, n. 1 above), but there is no evidence for this in Britain. E.g. *Christus* > W. *Crist*, B. *Krist*; *Christianus* > W. *Cristion*, MC. *Crystyon*, B. *Kristen*. In *monachus* > W. *mynach*, C. *manah*, B. *manac'h* the *ch* seems to be of learned origin, under the influence of the Latin spelling; cf. Loth, ML. p. 124. Lloyd-Jones regards *ch* in words like *mynach* as late and learned; ZCP. vii, 465.

§ 63. IE. *qʷ* and *kʷ*

As already described, in most cases these gave Gaulish and British *p*. There are, however, a few positions in which the guttural was de-labialised in CC., the result being Brit. *c*. One notable example is IE. **kʷō(n)* > CC. **kʷū* > **kū* > W. *ci*, MC. *ky*, B. *ki*, Ir. *cū*. Here the *qʷ* was lost before *ū*, and this shows that IE. *-ō* > CC. *-ū* is older than IE. *kʷ* > Gallo-Britt. *p*. Another instance is the IE. *qʷ* which came to stand at the end of words by the loss of a final syllable in CC., giving Gaul., Brit. *-c*. For these and further illustrations and details see LP. p. 44.

§ 64. IE. and Latin *b*

They remain initially; and in lenition position initially and internally became Late Brit. (and Pr.WCB.) *ḃ* at the time of general lenition, see §§ 131 ff.¹ The *ḃ* is spelt in OW. *b*, in late OW. also *u*, *f* (see p. 90, n. 1); in MW. *u*, *v*, *w*, *f*, rarely *fu*; Mod.W. *f*; OC. *b*, *u*, *f*, rarely *w*; MC. *v*, *u*, *w*, *f*; Mod.C. *v*; OB. *b*, late OB. also *u*, *f*; MB. *v*, *u*; Mod.B. *v*.

On *ḃ* in AS. names see § 138.

British *-bb-* gave simple unlenited *b*; so **ad-ber-* > **abber-* > W., OC., B. *aber*; see § 70. 1.

Subsequent modifications of ḃ. The *ḃ* < *b* and also the Pr.WCB. *μ*, the lenited form of *m*, which differed from *ḃ* only in being strongly nasal but was weakened later to a less nasal *ṽ* and finally to *v* in WC. (thus falling together wholly with *ḃ*, see §§ 95 ff.), both underwent the same modifications in certain circumstances. It will be convenient to treat *μ* together with *ḃ* here in these cases in the following sections.

¹ Latin intervocal *b* became *ḃ* in VL., beginning in the first century, well developed in the second, complete in the third, with consequent confusion with *v*, which was now also *ḃ* (cf. § 43); however, *br* did not become *ḃr* till the late sixth century; see Grandgent, IVL. p. 134, Richter, CPF. pp. 60 ff. Sometimes initial *b* > *ḃ*, and *rb*, *lb* > *rḃ*, *lḃ*, but this is rare in Gaul; see Richter, CPF. pp. 80-81. There is no certain trace of these changes in British, where VL. *b* behaves just the same as the native *b*; see pp. 88 ff.

§ 65. Confusions of *ḃ*, *μ*, with *w*

Being both bilabial, *ḃ* and *μ* were naturally close to *w* in sound; even the later labiodental *v* arising from *ḃ* and *μ* was not so very dissimilar. Hence these were sometimes replaced by *w*. It is notable that post-consonantally this is apparently almost entirely confined to the position after *l*, *r*, and *n*; compare how the reverse alternation took place in Pr.I., where *w* after *l*, *r*, *n* (and *ḃ*) became *ḃ*. The British *uo*-stem class of nouns and adjectives, ending in Pr.WCB. *-w*, may have influenced the sporadic and non-systematised words ending in post-consonantal *-ḃ* and *-μ*. Cf. Förster, FT. p. 673.

After consonants, note: MW. *Ogfanw* > *Ogwan*, the river Ogwen (see Williams, En.Ll. pp. 34-5). *Superbus* > Pr.W. **sæberḃ* > MW. *syberw*. *Turbo* > MW. *twrw* beside *twrf* (cf. Lewis, EL. p. 19). Brit. **curmi-* > MW. *cwrwf*, *cwruf* (= *cwrf*) > Early Mod.W. *cwrw* beside *cwrf*; OC. *coref*, *coruf*. *Monumenta* > Pr.W. **mænpent* > W. *mynwent*. The above are exclusive to Welsh, and some are late, never being totally adopted to the exclusion of the form with *v*. In one case, however, *w* is found in all three Brittonic languages, and is therefore presumably early. This is OW. *anu* (= W. *enw*, with analogical *e*), MC. *hanow*, B. *hano*: OI. *ainm*. It is evident that this was a tendency inherent in Welsh for much of its history, and it is impossible, therefore, to give any date for it. Nor can it be attributed solely to the bilabial character of *ḃ* and *μ*, since in some cases it seems to have happened long after these had become labiodental *v*.¹ A similar substitution of *w* for *ḃ*, *μ* is found rarely between vowels, but this alternates with the opposite substitution of *v* for *w*, and does not seem to be very early; ² cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 63, Morris Jones, WG. p. 28. **Lugubelinos* > *Llywelyn*, **Luguuālijon* > *Lliwelydd*, and **Lugumarcos* > *Llywarch* are special cases, with *ou|v* > *ə|u(u)*, cf. §§ 48. 2; 75. 3.

Before the W. diphthong *ŵy*, *ḃ* and *μ* tended in early W. to

¹ Which Förster dates c. 1100, FT. p. 672.

² The opposite change, with *w* > *v*, is evidently old in Brit. **taquāt-* > W. *tafod*, OC. *tauot*, Mod.C. *taves*, B. *teod*. Here the Brit. *u* is secondary, from older *-ngu-*, but that makes no difference at this stage.

become consonantal *w*, which was then lost ; when the *w* was post-vocalic this resulted in MW. vowel plus *ŵy*, which gave Mod.W. vowel plus *wy* (cf. Morris Jones, WG. p. 47). So *habena* > MW. *afwyn* > **awwyn* > Mod.W. *awen* (for **awyn*), see Lewis, EL. p. 18. Some interesting early cases are as follows : Brit.-Lat. *Samuēl* > Pr.W. **Samuēl* > OW. [saʔuil] (= *Samuil*, Gen. xix ; *Samuel* in HB. c. 10, in CIIC. no. 1013 of the tenth century, and in Lland. pp. 162, 175, 176, 182, 187 are influenced by the Latin spelling, cf. *Samuelis* in Lland. p. 161) > later OW. [sawuil] (*Sauuil*, Life of St. Cadog, VSB. p. 58 ; Lland. p. 191) > MW. *Saŵyl* > Mod.W. *Sawyl*. OW. *Cocboy* (HB. c. 65, AC. 644) = [kogbui], > MW. *Cogwy* (see CLH. p. 242). The river *Tawe* is evidently derived from Brit. **Tamouā* > OW. [taʔui] > MW. [tavui] and [tawui] (Lland. p. 42, *Tauī* ; p. 134, *Tauuy* ; BBC. p. 68 l. 11, *Tavue* ; p. 98 ll. 14, 15, *Tawue* ; p. 47 l. 14 and p. 98 l. 13, *Tawuy*) ; cf. Thomas, BBCS. viii, pp. 39-41, Förster, FT. p. 614. In the same way it has been suggested by the writer in *Antiquity* xxiii, pp. 48-9 that Nennius' *Breguoin*, var. *Breuoin* (HB. c. 56) is for [brewuin] < [breʔuin] < Pr.W. **Breμēn*, and is to be identified with Rom.-Brit. *Bremenium*, High Rochester.

§ 66. Loss of Final -*b*, -*μ*

In general terms, there has been a strong tendency in W. to lose final -*v*, sometimes very early but sometimes comparatively late, after any vowel, whether in a monosyllable or a polysyllable ; in Cornish only -*b* in monosyllables after *ū* ; in Breton in monosyllables after *o*, *ü*,¹ sometimes late ; and in C. and Mod.B. -*b* and -*μ* in polysyllables. Morris Jones notes that in W. final -*v*, whether in monosyllables or polysyllables, was frequently dropped after any vowel at least by the fourteenth century (WG. p. 180). The following examples of its earlier loss are of interest.

(1) In monosyllables after *ū* (cf. § 5. 2). Brit. **dubo-* or **dubu-* > Pr.WCB. **dūb* > **düb* > OW. *dub*, MW. *du*, OC. *duw*,

¹ I know no evidence for the *ō* given by Pedersen, VKG. i, 165 ; he was probably thinking of OB. *lau*, on which see p. 287, n. 2.

MC. *du*, OB. *du-glas*, MB., Mod.B. *du*; Brit. **lub*->Pr.WCB. **lūb*>OW. *lu-ird* (M.Cap.), OC. *luw-orth*, OB. -*lub*, -*lu*. With original Pr.WCB. *ū*; Brit. **toibo*->Pr.WCB. **tūb*>OW. *tu* (M.Cap. twice), MW. *tu*, MC. *tu*, Mod.B. *tu*. Brit. **coimo*->Pr.WCB. **cūμ*>MW., Mod.W. *cu*, MC. *cuf*, MB. *cuff*, Mod.B. *cuñ*. Lat. *plūma* > Pr.WCB. **plūμ* > W. *plu*, OC. *pluuen* (= *plūven*), MB. *pluff*, Mod.B. *pluñ*, *plu*. In the above examples, **toibo*->*tu* may or may not go back to the common Pr.WCB. period; the others are evidently later and separate in the three languages; in W. already by the ninth century in *luird*.

(2) In monosyllables after OW. *au*. Here the loss is universal. Examples: Brit. **lāmā*>Pr.W. **lōμ*>**lauṽ*¹>OW. *lau* (Chad 2, and Gen. i *Iauhir* leg. *Lauhir*), MW. *llaw*, beside OC. *lof*, MC. *lef*, *leyf*, *luef*; : OL. *lām*. Brit. **dāmo*->Pr.W. **dōμ*>**dauṽ*>OW. *dauu* (Ovid), MW. *dawf*, *daw*, Mod.W. *daw*; OC. *dof*, MC. *def*, *duf*; MB. *deuff*. Brit. **Frāmā*>Pr.W. **Frōμ*>**Frauṽ*>OW. *Frau* (Asser c. 49), MW. *Ffraw* in *Aberffraw*; borrowed in the stage **Frōṽ* with AS. *m* as AS. *Frōm*, the rivers Frome (Dor.; So.; Heref.; two in Gl.), but in the same stage with AS. *u* as what appears in DB. as *Frowecestre*, = Frocester in Gloucestershire (on the question of the dating of *μ*>*ṽ*>*v*, and the substitutions for *ṽ* involved in these names, see the detailed discussion in §§ 98 ff.). It is probable that the OW. *dauu* and *Frau* represent a stage when -*auṽ* had become -*auu* or -*āuu* because of the [u] preceding the [ṽ], and the resulting *u* was later dropped after [au]. It is not likely that OW. -*auu* would stand for -*auṽ*, which would certainly be spelt -*aum*; nor for -*au* (as in OW. *lau*), the MW. -*aw*, as this is nowhere written -*auu* in OW. (and Asser himself follows the regular OW. practice of spelling [au] as *au*, in *Coit Maur*, c. 55, and *Anaraut*, c. 80). Cf. Förster, FT. pp. 644, 672. It is clear from the above that the form **Frōṽ* existed at the time when the river names and the town name were borrowed in the

¹ Förster wishes to emend OW. *Lamnguīn* (HB. c. 64) to *Laumguīn*, and to translate "of the White Hand" (*Anglia*, lxii, 58). This would be an example of the *lauṽ* stage. But such an emendation is unwarranted, when the MS. reading can perfectly well be kept and translated "of the Bright Blade" (W. *llafn*<VL. **lam'na*).

seventh century ; **Frauŵ* would be reached when *ǫ* became *au* in the eighth century. The form *lau* in Chad 2, later eighth century, shows that the succeeding *-āuŵ* > *-au* could be arrived at very shortly afterwards ; but when we consider the very fluctuating history of final post-vocalic *-v* in the Brittonic languages, it is evident that there is no reason to doubt that the stage *-auŵ* or *-āuŵ* continued side by side with *-au* in some cases, to appear still in Asser's *Frauu* (c. 890) and in the *dauu* in the Ovid glosses (ninth to tenth century). This is the more reasonable when we remember that even the yet older stage *-auŵ* still survived, as *-auv*, in the MW. *dawf* alongside *daw*. (This account differs considerably in detail from that given by Förster ; he has attempted to weave too fine-spun a web, and moreover his dates for Chad 2 and Ovid, respectively c. 810 and c. 850, are inaccurate, see pp. 44, 54. The behaviour of *-v* in Brittonic makes it quite clear that no rigid universal dating system can be applied to its loss. Also I cannot agree with Förster on the general history of *m* > *μ* > *ŵ* > *v* ; see §§ 96 ff.).

(3) In polysyllables. The earliest case of loss of *-v* is after *ū* in OW. *igridu* (Chad 2), probably with older *-üð* from the Brit. dative pl. ending **-oibis*. Note also OW. *didu*, with the same termination, in Juv.9. A little later comes loss of *-v* in the verbal noun termination Brit. **-īmā* > Pr.WCB. *-īμ* > MW. *-i* ; it still remains in OW. *erchim* (Chad 2), *guorgnim* and *molim* (Juv.9), *glanstlinnim* (Juven., in a ninth-century gloss), but is lost in OW. *dirterni* (Comp., early tenth century), and is universally lacking in MW. Later still we have Brit. **coimo-* > OW. *-cum* in *Concum*, *Guincum* (Lland. p. 170), but *-cu* in *Bleidcu* (Lland. p. 155), *Cetcu* (*ibid.* p. 148), *Concu* (p. 168), *Cincu* (p. 74), *Elcu* (pp. 265, 277), etc. etc. ; OC. *-cum* in *Leucum* (Bodm. §§ 5, 20, 35, 41, 44, various dates in the second half of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century), *Onncum* (§ 16, A.D. 959–93), and *-cuf* in *Wincuf* (Bodm. § 33, second half of tenth century), *Bleyðcuf* (§ 37, beginning of twelfth century) ; OB. *-cum* (in names in Cart.Red., see Chr.B. p. 122), MB. *-cuu* (in *Gleucu* in a note of the twelfth or thirteenth century in Cart.Land. p. 566). In *-av*, there is

guartha in Lland. pp. 196, etc., for **guartham*; but we have an earlier instance in the AS. writing of OW. **Adaŵ* as *Adda* in DLV., c. 840; see KW. p. 176. Similarly for -*ov*, OW. *Iacob* in AC. 613, Gen. i, and Lland., but several cases of *Iaco* in the latter. The form *Iacou* in Chad 2 can hardly be intended for *Iacob*, since the writing of *b* as *u* would be unparalleled so early; it is perhaps rather a misspelling for *Iaco*, arising from those cases where the termination -*ou* fluctuates with -*o* (cf. § 47. 2 B). If so, as with *igridu* loss of -*v* can again be traced to the later eighth century. It is evident that once more forms with -*v* and forms without alternated over a considerable period in early W.—as indeed they still do to the present day, with -*v* preserved in literature and literary speech but dropped in colloquial Welsh; and that the earliest examples of loss may probably be traced to the beginning of the OW. period.

§ 67. Vocalisation of *b̃*, *μ* before *l*, *r*, *n*

In certain cases the *v* from *b̃* and *μ* was vocalised before *l*, *r*, and *n*, resulting in diphthongs or long vowels by contraction with the previous vowel. As before, this is found in all three languages, and seems to belong to quite varying dates.

(1) With *av*: *diabolus* > VL. *diab'lus* > W. *diawl*, C. *diawl*, *jawl*, B. *diaoul* (cf. EL. p. 37).

(2) With *ov*: Parry-Williams notes W. *cofl* colloquially > *cól* (Phon.WB. p. 101). This is seen also probably in the river Dore (Heref.), which is *Dour*, *Dowr*, *Dor* in Lland. We should take the first two as standing for *Dovr* and the third for *Dôr* (< Late Brit. **Dobra* < Brit. **Dubra*) rather than as having [ou], as Ekwall does, RN. p. 128; cf. FT. p. 174.

(3) With *uv*: there is again lengthening. E.g. Brit. **dubro*- > W. *dûr* beside *dwfr*; OC. *douer*, *dofer* (= [dovər]), *dour*, MC. *dour*; MB., Mod.B. *dour* (on the Cornish forms see FT. p. 86). OW. *Teudubr*, *Teudubir* (references, see § 33; the second has svarabhakti), but *Teudur* (Chad 8), *Teudor* (HB. c. 49, MSS. M and N). MC. *down*, B. *down*, "deep", < Brit. **dumno*- < CC. **dubno*-; W. *dwfn* however keeps the *v*. MW. *Annwryn*, Mod.W. *Annwfn*, *Annwn*, < Brit. **Andumno*- < **ṇ-dubno*-. In

AS. names *uv* > *û* is probably to be seen in river names compounded with **dubro-* in the following cases: Calder (WRY.; two in Lan.; Cum.; W. Lothian; three in Lanarkshire; Ayrshire), Calter (Cum.), Cawder Gill (WRY.); all derived by Ekwall as having Pr.W. **-dubr* > *-dûr*, RN. pp. 59-61; cf. Förster, FT. p. 174.

(4) With *ev*: MW. *cein*, OC. *chein*, MB. *queyn*, "back", but also MW. *cefyn*, Mod.W. *cefn*, < **cemno-*; cf. CLH. p. 100. With a different development, Mod.W. *cĕnlli*, older *cefnllif*; Mod.W. *dodrefn* colloquially *dodrĕn*; cf. Parry-Williams, Phon.WB. p. 101, Morris Jones, WG. p. 180.

(5) With *iv*: Parry-Williams, *loc. cit.*, gives W. *anoddu* as from *anoddyfn*; here the *u* is a spelling for *y*. Being in the Mod.W. unstressed syllable it is short; in a monosyllable there would be *ȳ*. Förster's derivation of Dean from **Dĭn* < **Dĭvn* (: W. *dyfn*) < **dubn-* (FT. pp. 174-5) might be correct (but see p. 423) if this were a river name, which (*pace* Förster) it does not appear to be; however, the place-name Dean, and the river name Dene (Wa.) are derived by Ekwall quite satisfactorily from AS. *denu*, "valley", Dict. p. 134 and RN. p. 119, and it is not necessary to look for a more *recherché* explanation.

(6) With *eiv*: Mod.W. *Yr Eifl* colloquially *Yr Eil*, Parry-Williams, *loc. cit.* Förster derives Bede's *Deira* from AS. **Deir* from "abrit. **Deira*" (*sic*), older **Deivra* (*sic*) < older **Dovriā* or **Duvriā* (*sic*), FT. p. 174; in the terminology of this book, assuming that this is correct, we should say rather Pr.W. **Deir* < Late Brit. **Deibra* < Brit. **Dovriā* or **Dubriā*. Again, he speaks of MW. *Deivr*, *Deivyr* as derived from an "alt-britischen Grundform **Dovriā*" (*sic*), "Wasserland" (FT. p. 83), rejecting **Duvriā* (inconsistently with the above) on the ground that this should have *i*-affection resulting in *-y-*; and he explains his **Dovriā* as derived from the (Late Brit.) plural with *ā*-affection, **dovrā* (*sic*). However, he wonders whether *u-i* might not after all give *ei*, but derives the obsolete plurals of W. *dufr*, namely *deifr* and *dyfr*, from **duvri* (*sic*), assuming then that *u-i* also could give *ei*. Förster follows Loth, RC. li, p. 13 (and p. 9) in taking Nennius' *Deur* (HB. cc. 61, 63) as standing for **Devr* = **Deivr*, with the *i*-epenthesis

in *ei* not written, as often in OW. ; and Nennius' Latinising *Deira* and Bede's *Deiri* as going back to a British form with loss of *v*.

There are various objections to this treatment of the matter. The creation of a place-name form with suffix *-iā* derived from a Late Brit. *ā*-affected plural is not possible ; a suffix would have to be added to the word stem, therefore Brit. **Dubriā* (and this could not become afterwards **Dobriā*, as the *-iā* suffix does not cause *ā*-affection, cf. § 152). There is no evidence that either *u - i* or *u - i* gave *ei* in final vowel affection ; on the contrary, it is phonologically highly unlikely that it could, see p. 586, n. 2. The *meichiad* quoted by Förster has internal, not final affection, and is therefore irrelevant ; moreover, it is a case of affection of *o*, not of *u*.¹ The obsolete pl. *deifr* is described by Morris Jones as a late and artificial form (WG. p. 92), and this objection is not answered by Förster with arguments other than those drawn from the *Deira-Deivr* series itself, which is a *petitio principii*. That Nennius' *Deur* should stand for **Devr*, whether as a spelling of *Deivr* or not, is most unlikely, since this would almost certainly have to be **Debr* or **Deibr* in OW. ; cf. p. 90, n. 1. We must take *Deur* as equivalent to MW. **Dewr*, for which the MW. *Deor* in the Book of Aneirin is simply a spelling (see Williams, CA. p. 340). The whole problem raised by all these forms is still not yet settled ; but it would seem best to cut clean away from the stem **dubro-*, which cannot be satisfactorily connected with MW. *Deivr*, and regard this, from a Pr.W. **Deibr*, as probably of some quite different origin. Nevertheless, Bede's *Deiri* (whence, no doubt, Nennius' "*Anglice Deira*") may very likely be a borrowing from a Pr.W. **Deir* which itself can be a bye-form of **Deibr* with vocalisation of the *ḃ* before *r*, compare *Yr Eifl* > *Yr Eil*.

Granting this, what can we infer about the date of the vocalisation ? Förster mentions the tradition that the Deiran royal house was as old as c. 500 (FT. p. 84), and says that if this is to be trusted the English may have borrowed the name

¹ Cf. LP. p. 109 ; Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 48 ; the stem is **mocc-*, and Ir. *mucc* is due to *u*-affection. The form *mychiad*, given by Pedersen (VKG. i, 376) and by Förster seems to be without authority, and is dropped by LP.

at that time, in its *v*-less form, in which case the loss of *v* would go back into the sixth century (read *fifth* ?). But on p. 174 he dates the loss of *v* before liquids and nasals as *c.* 600, saying that *Deira* implies that. In any case the Deiran royal house is hardly relevant. The point is that the English settlement of the Yorkshire plain and Wolds took place in the second half of the fifth century, and the tribal name is likely to have been borrowed at some time fairly soon after this ; and certainly before *c.* 600 if the *Gododdin* poem, in which *Deira* is called *Deivyr* and *Deor* and regarded as the name of the English kingdom, is really as old as that date, as it probably is.

(7) With [əv] : W. *yf*-, in syllables which were pretonic in OW., note *cyfnither* > *cynither*, in dialect, Parry-Williams, Phon.WB. p. 101 ; but *dyfroedd*, not **dyroedd*, pl. of *dwfr*, *dŵr*, WG. p. 179. The *y* in *cynither* is, of course, short, as it is unstressed. Förster's doctrine as set out in FT. p. 174 is unclear, but he seems to think that pretonic British *ubn*, *umn* could give OW. *ûn*, OC. and OB. *ôn*, apparently with original *ũ* not reduced but preserved, presumably with lengthening before pretonic reduction could take place ; and *în* (i.e. MW. *ȳn*) in the same circumstances but with *i*-affection or pretonic reduction before the lengthening occurred.

The examples quoted are MW. *Dwnwallawn* (source not given) < Brit. **Dubnouellaunos* ; Latinised OW. *Dūnuallus* (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. Reg. Brit.* II, xvii) and OB. *Dōnuual* (Cart.Red. 1066-82¹) ; OW. *Dūngarth* (AC. 558, *Dungart* ; AC. 875 *Dungarth* or *Dumgarth*²), OC. *Dōnierth* (recte *Doniert* ; CIIC. no. 1054), < **Dubnogartos*. For *în*, Förster sees this in Bede's *Denises-burna* and *rivus Denisi* (HE. iii, 1), which he takes to contain a Pr.W. **Dīnis* < **Dubnissos*. On his *Dīn* and *Dīvn* see below.

We may remark that the first two names appear in other early sources as follows : OW. *Dumnguallaun* in Gen. xxvi,

¹ This is apparently a mistake of Loth's, from whom Förster got it ; there is no *Donuual* in the Index of Cart.Red., and it is perhaps an error for the *Donuallonus* quoted below.

² But the first of these (*Dungart*, by the way, not *Dungarth*) was a Highland Scot (= OI. *Domangart*), and the second a Cornishman, so that the names are hardly strictly OW.

Dinguallaun in Lland. p. 251 ; OB. *Dumnouallon* in Cart.Red. p. 74 (ninth century), *Dumuuallon* p. 86 (844), *Donuallonus* p. 243 (1066–82), *Dunallon* p. 261 (1081–2). OW. *Dunnagual* (AC. 760), *Dumnagual* (Gen. v), *Dumngual* (*ibid.*), *Dumgual* or *Dungual* (*ibid.* and Gen. vii, x), *Dumgual* (Gen. vi) ; OB. *Dumual* (Cart.Red. p. 105, A.D. 846). There are a number of other OB. names in *Dumn-*, *Dum-*, *Dun-*, and *Don-* in Cart.Red. In later Welsh the above are *Dyfnwallawn* and *Dyfnwal*, *Dyfnal*, *Dŷnwal* ; and *Dinguallaun* in Lland. is evidently *Dŷnwallawn* just like *cŷnither*.

Now, in respect of Förster's treatment of this evidence, there is no proof that the vowel was long in any of these cases, and on the contrary modern instances like *cŷnither*, and the regular rule that an unstressed vowel is never long, would show it must have been short. The spelling with *u* and *o* in OC., OB. is, of course, regular for the sound from pretonic Brit. *u* in any case ; in OW. the development of pretonic Brit. *u* is *æ* (see § 202. 2). I see no reason whatever to doubt that these OW. names in *Dumn-*, *Dun-* (and *Don-*, if that is to be called OW.) have in fact the reduced vowel, and not original *ũ*, much less *û* ; in other words that the *u* and *o* are mere examples of spelling the regular OW. short [æ], later [ə], with *u* or *o*, see § 202. 2. The fact that *u* seems comparatively common in these names in OW., and *i* is rare, may be accidental and due to the fewness of the examples ; but the bilabial [ɸ] may easily have been responsible for keeping the OW. vowel more fully rounded in such forms than elsewhere. That is to say, *Dŷmnguallaun*, *Dŷnuallus*, *Dŷngarth*, *Dŷniert*, *Dŷnuallonus*, etc., are spellings respectively of [dæŷnwalaun] = the later *Dŷfnwallawn*, [dænwal] = the later *Dŷnwal*, [dæɲiarθ] (or if Cornish, [donɲarθ]), [donɲerθ], and [donwallon]. As for MW. *Dwnwallawn*, it would be time to discuss this when a genuine MW. source is quoted,¹ but if it exists it is evidently a secondary rounding of **Dynwallawn* under the influence of the following *w*.

¹ *Dwnwallawn* in the *Brut y Tywysogion* (ed. J. Rhys and J. G. Evans, *The Text of the Bruts* ; Oxford, 1890 ; p. 262, l. 20) was a tenth-century king of Strathclyde, and the form here is no doubt an imperfect modernisation of OW. *Dumnguallaun*.

For the supposed Pr.W. **Dīnis* < **Dīvnis* < Brit. **Dubnissos*, Förster does not say whether he envisages the *u* > *ī* as arising by pretonic reduction or vowel affection. If the former, this involves believing, with Förster, that pretonic *u* > *ə* passed through *ī*; that it did not do so, but through *æ*, is shown below, § 202. 2. It also involves the lengthening in a pretonic syllable which has already been rejected. If he assumes *ī* arose by vowel affection, this will not do either, since pretonic reduction is older; see § 163. Förster took the etymology **Dubnissos* for *Denisesburna* from Ekwall, R.N. p. 120, who appears himself, however, to envisage a **Devnis* > *Dēnis*. If we must suppose that **Dubnissos* is the source, and there is no very good reason why we should, it is surely possible that **Dubnissos* > **Dæbnis* should give **Dænis* (just like **Dubnoyalos* > *Dungual* = *Dynwal*), borrowed into AS. as *Denis*; cf. § 204 B. 1.

Förster's **Dīvn* and W. *dyfn*, supposedly giving **Dīn* > Dean (see sub-section 5 above), are said by him to have their vocalism influenced by pretonic position; i.e. that **dubno-* > W. *dwn* has a bye-form *dyfn* which arises by the analogy of pretonic *dyfn-*. This is hardly credible, and is without parallel; *dyfn* is clearly a form with vowel affection, < **dubnjo-*, and being in a monosyllable is therefore not relevant to W. *əv*.

(8) The date of vocalisation of *b̄*, *μ* before *l*, *r*, *n* is in some cases unquestionably early. The fact that it occurs in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton shows that the tendency at least is old, but we cannot baldly speak of loss of *b̄* and *μ* as belonging to the Pr.WCB. period, because it is expressed in such varying ways in the three languages, and often only in modern times; for instance, W. *gafr*, OC. *gavar*, Mod.C. *gaver*, *gavar*, OB. *gabr*, Mod.B. *gavr* beside Mod.C. *gour*, Mod.B. *gaor*, "goat". We must believe, rather, that it is a tendency which has its roots as far back as the Pr.WCB. period or even the Late British (say, therefore, the sixth or even fifth century), but was never consistently carried through, and indeed appears only very sporadically and at very varying times, side by side with forms without the vocalisation. There are certainly examples as ancient as the OW. period, e.g. *Teudur* in Chad 8. Calder and

Calter, Cawder may well be sixth or seventh century instances. So with Denis¹ if this is really from **Dubnissos*. If Deira actually belongs here it could be as old as the end of the fifth century. However, Förster points out (FT. p 168) that the fact that the lengthened *u* became \bar{u} not \tilde{u} means it is later than the time when old \bar{u} became \tilde{u} (dated sixth century by Förster and early or mid sixth century by myself). This may be so, but not necessarily; one could conceive of the old \bar{u} being now rather advanced, and a new \bar{u} entirely a back vowel, the two being therefore phonemically distinct, existing side by side in the late fifth century.

§ 68. IE. and Latin *d*²

They remain initially; in lenition position initially and internally they became Late Brit. \bar{d} , see §§ 131 ff. The \bar{d} was unchanged in W., written *d*, *t*, *th* in OW., normally *d* in MW., and *dd* in Mod.W.; and in C., written *d*, *ð*, *t*, *th*, \bar{p} , *dh* in OC., mostly *th* in MC. In OB. also it remained, written *d* in the Glosses, later also *t*, *th*; but in MB. it became the voiced sibilant *z*, and in Mod.B. is still *z* or is vocalised, though a couple of sub-dialects retain the OB. \bar{d} (see Le Roux, *Atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne*, map 115). Before \bar{i} there was palatalisation in MB., giving [ʃ], written *ch*. Loth says that the earliest case of *z* known to him is *Buzic* in 1119, and quotes several from 1245 on (VVB. p. 14). De Jubainville notes that *d* is still used in Cart.Land. (eleventh century), that *z* is not written before the twelfth century, and that it did not become frequent before the thirteenth (see Cart.Land. p. 543); he quotes *Barza* from Cart.Red. p. 325, A.D. 1114–39. In Chr.B. pp. 183–4, Loth remarks of the Cartulary of Quimperlé

¹ The battle of Denisesburna, A.D. 633, would mean that the latest possible date was the first third of the seventh century.

² Intervocal Lat. *d* remained in VL., and did not become \bar{d} until the eleventh century, according to Richter, CPF. p. 8. But *dī* fell together with *gī* and \bar{i} ; at the beginning of a word, or a syllable after a consonant, it became \bar{z} in the first to third century and $\bar{d}\bar{z}$ in the fifth to sixth, elsewhere simply *j*, in Gaul; *op. cit.* pp. 86, 87, 189. Nothing of this appears in Britain, where Latin *d* and *dī* remain and develop exactly as the native sounds.

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(twelfth to thirteenth century) that *z* is sometimes written there, and that from the second half of the thirteenth century *z* is more usual than *d*, and regular from the end of the century. F. Falc'hun, who notes *Coledoc* in the Cartulary of Quimperlé c. 1175 beside *Colezoc* c. 1218, and *Azenor* c. 1175 beside *Adenor* in a twelfth-century document in Cart.Red., shows that *d* continued to be written as late as the end of the sixteenth century, and that by confusion *d* is sometimes wrongly used at this time for *z* from *s*, evidently being pronounced *z*.¹ Förster dates *ḏ > z* twelfth century, probably even c. 1100 (Reliq. p. 92 n.), but apart from *Barza* his only twelfth-century example is *Blavez* in 1184. The late eleventh or early twelfth century appears to be the date of the change; in fact it is likely on general grounds to have been more or less contemporary with the change of *th* to *S* (see § 53), both being the result of a single tendency turning the dental spirants into sibilants. No doubt, on the analogy of *S*, it was at first *Z*, becoming ordinary *z* later, as with *Z < S*. The occasional use of *d* in writing after the time when the sound had become *Z* or *z* is a mere traditional convention, due (as Falc'hun has shown) to the fact that *d* was now taken as one of two possible ways of spelling the sound; perhaps also we may reckon in some cases with dialects in which the change to *Z* was slow. If so, the isolated *Iuscar* in Cart.Red. in A.D. 831, beside *Iudcar* in A.D. 797, noted by Loth in Chr.B. p. 68, must be due to the late copyist; it is not likely that *ḏ > Z* could be so old as the ninth century, or there would be a considerable number of early examples of *s*. On the significance of writing *s* for a sound that must always have been voiced cf. § 52. 1. The *S* and *Z* fell together in *z* in literary Breton, but in the Vannetais dialect they did not; internal and final *S* appear there as *h*, whereas internal and final *Z* are lost. This must mean that in Vannetais either *Z < ḏ* had disappeared before *S < th* gave *Z*, as otherwise the two would have fallen together; or else *S*

¹ *Les Noms bretons de Saint Yves* (Rennes, 1943), pp. 9-10; but his effort to show that *z < ḏ* existed as early as the OB. period is a failure—his oldest example belongs to the year 1220. Incidentally his derivation of *Eudon* from *Esugenos* (op. cit. p. 18) is impossible for other reasons.

never became a *z* at all in Vannetais but passed directly to *h*.¹

On *ḏ* in AS. names see § 139.

§ 69. Loss of *ḏ* in Welsh

As with *v < ḃ, μ*, the voiced spirant *ḏ* had a constant tendency to become dropped in certain positions all through the history of Welsh, from at least the OW. period on. Intervocally, MW. *mywn*, Mod.W. *mewn* : OI. *medōn* ; the OW. *meton* in Gen. v may be an earlier form of the Welsh word, showing that the loss is late (cf. Phillimore, Cymm. ix, 173), if the *t* is taken to be a spelling of *ḏ* ; Loth alters the *t* to a *d* without acknowledgment in RC. xxxvii, 56. Preconsonantly, MW. *gwydbet* > Mod.W. *gwybed*. Finally, there is good evidence for loss already in OW. So OW. *triti* beside *tritid* (Comp.), = Mod.W. *trydydd* ;

[¹ See now the discussion in F. Falc'hun's *L'Histoire de la langue bretonne* (Rennes, 1950-51), pp. 59 ff., where he deals with the history of *th* and *ḏ* in the B. dialects. His inferences are sometimes inaccurate, as he occasionally confuses *th*, *ḏ*, and *s* (e.g. for W. *diweddaf* read *diwethaf* ; B. *hennez* is OW. *hinnith*, Comp.) ; but allowing for this, and re-interpreting his evidence, it appears that there were four dialect areas to be considered ; a northern (the literary one) where *S* and *Z* both became *z* ; a central, where they became respectively *z* and nil ; a south-western, where they both became nil (very likely both giving *z* first, as in the north) ; and a south-eastern, i.e. Vannetais, where they became respectively *h* and nil. The central dialect, which may be regarded as a southern, and which however treated *S* as the northern did (doubtless under northern influence), must have weakened and lost *Z < ḏ* before its *S* gave *Z*. Subsequently, the influence of this central dialect spread north-east into Treguier and south-west to the coast of Cornouaille, taking with it to the north-east its treatment of *Z < ḏ* as nil (so that Treguier now has *z < th* and nil < *ḏ*) and to the south-west its treatment of *S < th* as *z* (so that southern Cornouaille now has *z < th* and nil < *ḏ*, like Treguier ; and only the extreme west of Cornouaille maintains the primitive south-western treatment of both *S* and *Z* as nil). The south-east, Vannetais, and the north-west, Leonais and the literary dialect, were not affected by this. In the south-west area there was rhotacism of *Z < ḏ* in a few words before the time when it became, in general, silent (since it did not affect *Z < th* this presumably occurred before *S > Z*), and the rhotacism in these words has been propagated widely in Brittany by subsequent developments. Since Quimperlé is in the heart of the district in which *Z* was (otherwise) lost, the fact that it was always written in the Cartulary of Quimperlé (as *d* or *z*) would show that this loss took place after the thirteenth century ; though Falc'hun, who has not considered this, and puts many Breton dialect developments far too early (see Note, p. 29), apparently regards it as much older.]

issi (*ibid.*) = MW. *yssy*, Mod.W. *sy*, beside MW. *yssyð*, Mod.W. *sydd*; Latin *David* > W. *Dewi*, in Asser (*Degui*, c. 79), the Life of St. David (*Dewi*, VSB. pp. 150 etc.), and the Book of Llandaff (*Deui*, *Degui*, p. 275; *Deugui*, p. 276). The MW. 2nd sg. present verb-ending *-y* is probably simply the MW. *-yð* minus its *-ð* (and both, therefore, from **-ijeī* instead of the former from the unsatisfactory **-isi* of LP. p. 283, cf. WG. p. 319; which would account for the fact that forms without *-ð* are lacking in CB.). This is found already in OW. in *ha chepi* (Comp.).

§ 70. Assimilations with *d*

(1) British *d* plus another voiced stop resulted in the assimilation of the *d* and the doubling of the second stop in the British period, which double consonant resisted lenition and was later simplified. There is no reason whatever to suppose with Morris Jones (WG. p. 132) that the double voiced stop was simplified to a single voiceless one early in British and subsequently lenited (e.g. **adbero* > **abbero* > **apero* > *lenited* > *aber*). Compare the development in Irish, as in Pr.I. **adbogi* > **abbogi* > Mod.I. *abaigh*; Pr.I. **adglādam* > **agglādam* > Mod.I. *agallamh*; cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 92. The OW. *aper*, OI. *apaig*, ac(c)*allam* have, of course, *p* = [b], *c(c)* = [g]. Examples: Brit. **adbero* > **abbero* > WCB. *aber*; Brit. **adgaruo* > **aggaruō* > W. *agarw*. There are no good instances of *dd* in such compounds, but the result would be WCB. *d*; Morris Jones' **ad-dī-bar* > *edifar* (WG. p. 132), if correct, would be a case, bating his intermediary Brit. stage *-t-*. However, W. *credu*, C. *cresy*, B. *kridi*, with IE. *-ddh-* (cf. LP. p. 37) must have preserved *dd* still in British, and developed in the same way. Morris Jones' theory that IE. *dd*, *ddh* gave W. *th* is entirely without foundation, as his examples are valueless. Lewis and Pedersen derive W. *adyn* from **atidonios* (LP. p. 125). But here we should have **adidōnios* by lenition and this should syncopate and provect to **attyn*, cf. **atidalg* > W. *attal*; so with their *edrych* < **atidrk-*. It is demonstrable, therefore, that *adyn*, *edrych* have Brit. **ad-d-*. Morris Jones proposes still another development,

that is that *d-d* coming together later in British was treated differently from his *dd > t* in earlier British, and gave *d*, which was lenited to *ḁ*. His examples are Latin *addisc- > W. addysg* and Brit. **ad-dem- > W. addef*. Why **ad-dem-* should be any "later" than **ad-dī-bar-* is not explained. Baudiš thinks *addef*, *addysg* and others have either a different particle or false analogy (Gr. p. 96); and **ad-dem-* is rejected by Loth, RC. xxxvi, 162. Morris Jones' three periods of treatment of *dd* as (1) *> W. th*, (2) *> W. d*, and (3) *> W. ḁ* are over-complicated and unnecessary.

The conclusion is therefore quite simply that Brit. *db*, *dd*, *dg* gave Brit. *bb*, *dd*, *gg*, simplified to *b*, *d*, *g* after lenition was complete; and that *credu* etc. had retained its IE. double voiced dental all through the Brit. period and was treated in the same manner. This all chimes in well with the behaviour of *dp*, *dt*, *dc* in British, where in exactly the same way the preceding stop was assimilated to the following, resulting in a geminate which was voiceless because the second stop was voiceless; in other words, in British *pp*, *tt*, *cc*, *> WCB. f*, *th*, *ch*. So **ad-treb- > *attreb- > W. athref* (LP. p. 123); **adcoilos > *accoilos > W. achul* (cf. *ibid.*). Once again the Irish is exactly parallel; e.g. **rud-k- > OI. ruccae* (where *cc* = [kk]), Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 92.

(2) This development of Brit. *db*, *dd*, *dg* is quite distinct from that found when two voiced stops came together in the Brittonic languages by syncope, because that is later, and their voicing is the result of the Late Brit. lenition of voiceless stops. Provection takes place in this case, e.g. Brit. *t-p > d-b* by lenition, syncopated to *d'b*, gives *tb* by provection; see more fully §§ 143, 144. In the case of *t-t*, as in **Catutigernos > *Cadudizernos > *Cad'dizern > W. Catteyrn*, there is not W. *td* but *tt*, where the unvoicing is carried throughout because the group is a homorganic one; this regularly happens with such Pr.W. homorganic groups. It does not by any means follow, as Morris Jones evidently supposed it did, that there must be unvoicing with a group of two homorganic voiced stops in British, any more than in Pr.Ir., as in his *db > bb > p*, *dd > t*. Since the development of these in British is exactly parallel

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throughout to that in Pr.I., namely that the first stop is assimilated in character and voicing to the second, it is probable that these voiced and voiceless geminates had arisen already in Common Celtic; cf. **Ad-trebates* > Gaul. *Atrebates* (for **Attrebates*): W. *athref* above.

§ 71. IE. and Latin *d* before Sonants

(1) *-dr-*. The history of this group is difficult and contradictory. The best attested development is that given by Pedersen, VKG. i, 112 and LP. p. 36, namely that the *d* was vocalised to *j*, resulting in the same diphthongs as with Brit. *gr* (see § 84). E.g. W. *gŵyr*, C. *gôr*, B. *goar* < **yeidr* (not **yidr*, with LP., as this would give WCB. **gwir*); Latin *cathedra* > OW. *cateir* (Lland. pp. 42, 134), Mod.W. *cadair*, Mod.C. *cadar*, MB. *cadoer*, Mod.B. *cador*; ¹ MW. *kreir*, B. pl. *kreirio*: Ir. *cretar*; and in a compound, **ad-rīm-* > W. *eirif* with vowel affection. According to Pedersen the *d* was lost without trace before the stress, quoting *quadragesima* > W. *carawys*, B. *koraiz*, : OI. *corgas* (VKG. i, 225 and LP. p. 60); Lewis thinks the development may have been **cair-* > *car-* with vowel harmony because the syllable was unstressed (EL. p. 19). As this is the only example, the rule is highly uncertain. Moreover, we must consider the Vulgar Latin; *quadraginta* gave a VL. *quarrainta*, and *quarranta* is found in an inscription of perhaps the fifth century (Grandgent, IVL. p. 160); Richter shows that VL. *dr* > *rr* took place in the fourth to sixth century (CPF. p. 160). It is surely likely then that the Celtic forms quoted are fairly late loans from a VL. **q(u)ar(r)agēs'ma*.

The chief difficulty is those forms where British or Latin *dr* is *preserved* in the separate languages. An important example is W. *cadr*, "handsome", OB. *cadr* (Lux., presumably with *d* = [d]), MB. *cazr*, Mod.B. *kaer*. Formally, these could be explained very simply as from a Brit. **catro-* (cf. § 52. 3), which would avoid the difficulty; and Pedersen actually does this,

¹ According to Förster *cadair* is from a VL. **cathegra* (FT. p. 231). But this is unnecessary, and F. ignores the other examples. In Gallo-Latin the *dr* in this word became directly *rr*, not via *gr* (cf. Richter, CPF. p. 160), and hence a *gr* stage is improbable in Brit. Lat.

VKG. i, 323. But it is hard to separate them from Brit. *Belatucadrus*, the name of a god, CIL. vii, no. 337, and Eph.Ep. iii, p. 125 (two examples). To solve the problem, Lloyd-Jones suggests ¹ *dr* > *īr* after a long vowel, as in **ūeidr* > *gŵyr*, but > *ḍr*, proved back to *dr* again, after a short vowel as in *cadr*. This does not seem probable, and appears to be purely *ad hoc*, ignoring, moreover, *kreir*, *cadair*, and *eirif*. Morris Jones proposed that after a back vowel *dr* gave *ḍr* which remained when *after* the accent and was proved back to *dr* again ² (so *cadr*), but disappeared *before* the accent (so **īudrós*—his accentuation—> W. *iōr*); but after a front vowel actually became *gr*, > *īr* (WG. p. 166). This depends partly on his ideas of the accent, and the examples are denied by Loth, RC. xxxvi, 182-3. As regards *Belatucadrus*, it must be noted that there actually do seem to be some traces of vocalisation of the *d* already in British; so BELATVCAIRO, CIL. vii, 746, Eph.Ep. ix, p. 567; BLATVCAIRO, Eph.Ep. vii, p. 306, no. 953.³ If these are really what they seem, we must suppose the name would have given Mod.W. **Belatgaer*; and it would then appear certain that *cadr* etc. are distinct, and come from **catro*-. But there is one other case of the seeming preservation of *dr*, namely MB. *coazrel* < Lat. *quadrellum*; in connection with Lewis' explanation of *carawys* above, it should be noted that here we have *adr* before the accent where the *d* did not become *ī*, much less was subsequently lost without trace.

On the whole the probability would seem to be that

¹ *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer*, ed. O. J. Bergin and C. Marstrander, Halle (1912), p. 202.

² This idea, that *dr* could be lenited to *ḍr* and then proved back to *dr*, ignores the whole character of the circumstances in which provection took place. Provection is an accommodation to each other by consonants which have been brought together in a secondary group, and arises because such a group as it stands is contrary to the phonemic system of the language. Hence, if *dr* was an impossibility in the language, it would never have arisen at all, and no provection could take place. The provection in a case like OW. *Iudris* > later *Idris* is one occurring in a secondary group which came into existence by syncope; which is something quite different from a primary group like the *dr* in **cadro*-.

³ (B)ALITICAVRO at Magnae (Eph.Ep. vii, p. 326) can hardly be a mere error for *-cairo*, since it seems to be confirmed by BELATVCAIRO at Hexham, JRS. xvii, 212.

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regardless of the quality, quantity, or stress of the preceding or following vowels, Brit. *dr* became regularly *ȳr* and then developed as did *ȳr* < *gr*; and that *cadr* etc. are really from **catro*-, either not connected with *Belatucadrus* or else an unexplained secondary development in Brit. from older **cadro*-. *Coazrel* may be a late loan after Brit. *-dr* > *-ȳr*-. *Carawys*, etc., have already been explained. As to the date, it is significant that Late Brit. **cateira* < *cathedra* was borrowed into Irish as OI. *cathair* (cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 569), and that this is a First Group loan as is proved by the dental being *th* in the Irish, not [d] spelt *t*; if so, one made *before* the time when lenition occurred in Late British, and dating before the middle of the fifth century along with the other First Group borrowings. The examples of *Belatucairo* quoted may again be early instances. This would seem to suggest that *dr* > *ȳr* happened comparatively early in British,¹ and that it is not connected with lenition, so that an intermediary *ȳr* need not be postulated at all, nor a falling together with *gr* as such. In that case *coazrel* < *quadrellum* need not be a particularly late loan, not later than the fifth century.

(2) *-dl-*. Here satisfactory instances are lacking, cf. Loth, RC. xxxviii, 49-50, whose examples are not very convincing. One would expect *ȳl*, as with *dr*, and so Loth thinks; and no doubt contemporary with it. Morris Jones gives the same complicated theory as for *dr*, but again fails to carry conviction; his provection of *ȳl* > *dl* in *bodlon* is once more a question of a secondary group.

(3) *-dn-*. A development parallel to that of *dr*, *dl* might be expected. Lewis derives W. *arwain*, *cywain* from **areȳedno*- and **coȳedno*-, the 1st sg. present being *arweddaſ*, *cyweddaſ*; and rejects Morris Jones' **uegh*- (*Hen Gerddi Crefyddol*, Cardiff (1931), p. 121). Cf. LP. p. 362. However, Pedersen states that *dn* before the accent gave simply *n* without *ȳ* (VKG. i, 113, LP. p. 37; cf. Lewis' views on *carawys* above, no doubt suggested by this); e.g. W. *blynedd* < Brit. **blidniȳas*; W. *eleni*, B. *hevlene*, W. *erllynedd*, B. *warlene*, containing Brit.

¹ But note the *Adron* of Ravennas, a river in northern Britain, equated with MW. *Aeron* by Ifor Williams, BSRC. p. 22.

**blidniȝai*. Morris Jones' W. *bôn* < **budnó-* depends on his own individual accentuation. If *dn* > *in* in *arwain*, *cywain* is correct, it is likely to be contemporary with *dr* > *ir* and presumably *dl* > *il*; *dn* > *n* in pretonic syllables must therefore be older.

(4) *-dm-*. This gives *ḍμ* by lenition, whence W. *ddf*; e.g. Brit. **admēno-* > MW. *aḍfwyn*. There is not *dm* > *mm* here like *db* > *bb*, because *m* is not a stop; nor *dm* > *im* or *iμ*, because the group is not homorganic. Latin *admissus* (*equus*) > W. *emys* looks at first sight irregular; it can hardly be parallel to *blynedd*, in view of *aḍfwyn*, and in any case **efys* would be expected if it were. But *dm* was assimilated to *mm* in VL., as in *die d'menica* > **diemmenca*, see Richter, CPF. p. 148, who dates this fourth to sixth century; and we must therefore postulate a VL. **ammissus* here.

§ 72. IE. and Latin *d* after Sonants

(1) IE. *ld* appears as *ll* in WCB., the Welsh *ll* being, of course, *λ* (see § 91). E.g. W. *coll*, OC. *collet*, B. *koll*: English *halt*. This had occurred already in British, as in *Calleva* (AI.; Ptol. *καληουα*; Rav. *Caleba*; with *all* < **ald* < **īd*): W. *celli*, OC. *kelli*, OB. *celli*: English *holt*. Gaulish, however, apparently keeps the *ld*; e.g. *Caldis*, *Caldeniacum*, Holder, ACSpZ. i, col. 690; *Maldua*, ii, col. 394. The DAGVALDA of an inscription at Housesteads was not a Briton, and the form is therefore irrelevant to British (CIL. vii, no. 692; see Eph.Ep. ix, p. 592).

Latin *ld* seems to have been treated partly as IE. *ld*, partly as IE. *lt*. The former is seen in VL. *cal'dus* > W. *call*, OC. *cal*; the latter in VL. *sol'dus* > W. *swllt*, OC. *sols*, B. *saout*, and VL. *cal'daria* > MW. *callawr*, OC. *caltor*, B. *kaoter* (§ 54. 1). One would suppose that *cal'dus* was borrowed before *ld* > *ll* in Brit., and the others after; but if so, it would have to be a very early loan, since *Calleva* occurs as early as Ptolemy. However, it is not impossible. One would hardly expect Latin *ld* to give *ll* in Brit. if Brit. had by now no *ld*; sound-substitution by the native *lt* would be more natural in that case, as clearly actually happened later.¹ Loth tries to solve the difficulty by postu-

¹ In fact *-lt-* occurs in British Latin, in Ox. 2, f. 44a: *da mihi cibum . . . et ego dabo tibi solum*; which is *solidus* > *sol'dus* > *soltus*.

lating a VL. **callus* < *cal'dus* (ML. pp. 142-3), but this is a guess.

When *l* - *d* came together in Pr.W. by syncope there was no assimilation ; Pr.W. *l* - *d* < Brit. *l* - *t* gave MW. *lld* or *llt*, and Pr.W. *l* - *ḍ* < Brit. *l* - *d* likewise. So *humilitatem* > MW. *ufylltawd*; *maledictio* > Pr.W. **maledixt* > Mod.W. *melltith* (p. 269).

(2) IE. and Latin *rd* became Pr.WCB. *rđ* by lenition, and this remains. E.g. W. *bardd*, OC. *barth*, B. *barz* : Gaul. *bardos*.

On *nd* see §§ 111 ff.

§ 73. IE. and Latin¹ *g*

The palatal and velar varieties of IE. *g* and their aspirate forms all became simple *g* in Common Celtic, and Latin *g* fell together with this in British. The history of the IE. labiovelars, both simple and aspirate, is unclear in some details, and need not be discussed here, since instances are treated under the separate sounds which developed from them in British—namely *b*, *g*, and *ɣ* according to circumstances (and see also § 90). On some apparent cases of initial *gw*-, both from the ordinary guttural and the labiovelar, see LP. pp. 28, 34.

(1) Initially, Brit. *g*- remained, except in lenition position. As to names in English, the exact history of initial antevocalic

¹ Intervocal VL. *ge*, *gi* became *je*, *ji* in the first to second century, the *j* being lost in the second to fourth before or after *e* or *i* ; initially and after a consonant, however, they gave *že*, *ži* in the first to second century, becoming *dže*, *dži* in the fifth to sixth ; see Richter, CPF. pp. 72, 97, 189. VL. *gī* became *j* internally in the first to second century, the *j* being lost after *a* and *e* before stressed *o* and *u* in the third to fifth century, but after a consonant it gave *ž* in the first to third century, > *dž* in the fifth to sixth. See CPF. pp. 65, 93, 125, 189. *G* in these cases thus fell together with *dī* and *ī*. Other intervocal Gallo-Lat. *g* remained in VL. until the fifth to sixth century, when in *iga*, *ega*, *aga* it became *ž* > *j*, and in *oga*, *uga* and all cases of *go*, *gu* it was lost. But in some cases of *gú* the *g* was dropped in the first to second century ; *op. cit.* pp. 79, 170, 183, 186-7. There is no trace in Brit. of the VL. *ž*, *dž*. For *j* and loss of *g*, these coincided in some cases with the results of Brit. lenition, so that it is not really possible to say whether a word was borrowed into Brit. with the VL. change or not, but of course the developments of the fifth to sixth centuries are not likely to be reflected in Brit. W. *Awst* may well be from VL. *Aústus*, which is known from the second century. For another possible exception see pp. 449-50. But it makes a more satisfactory hypothesis if we assume that not only some but all Lat. *g* was normally borrowed as [g] and fell together with the Brit. *g*.

AS. *g-* is not quite clear, though it is agreed that before back vowels the result is *g-*, and before front vowels *y-*, in Mod.Engl. It is written *ȝ* in AS., but the question is what phonetic values this represents. According to K. Bülbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 20, it was [ʒ] before back vowels and [j] before front ones. Compare also E. Kieckers, *Altenglische Grammatik* (Munich, 1935), pp. 59 ff. Förster holds that AS. had no initial antevocalic [g] until the eleventh century (see FT. pp. 190-91). J. Wright treats the sound as [j] before front vowels, but as [ʒ] before back vowels only in the oldest AS., and afterwards as [g] (*Old English Grammar*, Oxford, 3rd ed. 1925, p. 10). However, Luick offers an ingenious suggestion which solves a number of difficulties, including some concerning alliteration in AS. verse; briefly, he thinks that Pr.AS. had [g]- before back vowels and [gj]- before front vowels, both written *ȝ*, and that the [gj] became [j] in the tenth century but the [g] remained; HGES. § 633.

In British borrowings in English, *Y-* appears when the following vowel was a front one in AS.; so Rom.-Brit. *Gariennos* (Ptol.) or *Garianno* (ND.) > AS. **ȝerne* > *Yare* (Norf.), Ekwall, RN. p. 477; and possibly Pr.W. **Garw* > AS. **ȝearwe* > ME. *Yarwe* > *Yarrow* (Lan.), cf. *op. cit.* pp. 478-9. There is no very good evidence for Brit. *g-* before AS. back vowels, but Förster proposes such names as *Gannel* (Cornw.), *Garren* (Heref.), *Gowy* (Ches.), and *Gowan* (Wes.), which are all doubtful, since their etymologies, and therefore language, are uncertain. He takes the [g] in these as of necessity meaning that they were borrowed after the eleventh century, when AS. now had [g]- on his view; but this is out of the question on historical grounds for *Gowy* and *Gowan*.¹ He thinks that before that time initial [g]- had to be sound-substituted by [k], as it was internally, and sees this in *Cover* (WRY.), which he relates to W. *gofer*, C. *gover*, "stream" (therefore Pr.W. **Göber*); but this derivation is hazardous. Moreover, in that

¹ *Gannel* in Cornwall, and *Garren*, which is in *Ergyng*, might well be late; Förster's *Gelt* (Cum.) could theoretically be due to the influx of *Cumbrians* in the tenth to eleventh century.

case one would expect *Chare and *Charrow instead of Yare and Yarrow. The lack of any certain examples of [k] substitution initially, and—if we accept them—the appearance of [g] in Gowy and Gowan borrowed in the seventh century, suggest that Luick is right, and that AS. *ȝ* always represented [g] initially before back vowels, the British [g] in that position being borrowed as such. If so, Yare, Yarrow, and others would have been taken in with AS. [gj]-, later giving [j]. If not, we must suppose that the British *g*- was sound-substituted by [j] initially before front vowels, as in Yare, and by [ʒ] initially before back vowels, the latter afterwards becoming [g], as perhaps in Gowan. The situation with intervocal Pr.W. [g] is quite different, since AS. certainly had no [g] here, and had to substitute [k]; see § 137. Substitution by initial [k] is without any real foundation.

(2) In lenition position initial *g*- became Late Brit. *ȝ*-. This remained through the Pr.WCB. period, but was subsequently lost in Welsh and Cornish, and was unvoiced to [χ], written *c'h*, in Modern Breton; however, it is always written *g*- in OWCB. The fact that the *ȝ* was not lost in Breton shows that it still existed at the time of the separation of Pr.W., C., and B., and therefore in all three of them; in W. and C. it must have become softened and weakened until totally dropped; in Breton it gradually became voiceless,¹ but this can hardly

¹ Ernault describes Mod.B. *c'h*- here as “softer” than *c'h* < *cc*, and says that it might be written *gh*- (*Petite Grammaire bretonne*, p. 6). The examples in P. Le Roux, *Atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne* (Paris, 1924 ff.) show a weakly voiced [h] in most dialects beside [χ] in a few; e.g. maps 202, 216, 232, etc. It might seem, then, at least in some dialects, that *ȝ*- was never completely unvoiced. [It now appears from the work of the Abbé Falc'hun, see particularly his *Le Système consonantique du breton* (Rennes, 1951), pp. 39 ff., etc., that Le Roux's [h] is a voiced laryngeal *h* in some dialects and [ʒ] in others; and, though not enough details are given to make the situation perfectly clear, that this voiced sound is probably secondary, a re-voicing of older [χ] as an aspect of a general secondary voicing of voiceless spirants in many B. dialects in internal or external sandhi (including when they follow *l* or *r*), which has been demonstrated by Falc'hun. Thus *e c'har*, “his leg”, < *gar* has the laryngeal *h* in Leon, *op. cit.* p. 92; but so have *sec'ha*, “to dry”, : *W. sychu*, *op. cit.* p. 41, *e c'hoar*, “his sister”, < *c'hoar*, *ibid.*, and *he c'hi*, “her dog”, < *ki*, *op. cit.* pp. 86-7, none of which ever had *g*-. The Mod.B. *c'h* is thus often a misleading spelling, and some writers have tried to substitute *g'h* in these cases, *op. cit.* p. 42.] Cf. §§ 87-8 below.

have taken place during the OB. period as it is never so spelt. On the date of the loss of *ȝ*- see further p. 438.

(3) Internally in lenition position *-g-* also became *-ȝ-* first in Late Brit., but its further history is more complicated. Previous writers (except Baudiš) have treated the loss of *ȝ* as if it were one single simple phenomenon ; e.g. Förster states merely that intervocal *ȝ* was dropped about 700 (FT. p. 175), Loth that it was lost intervocally from the end of the eighth century while remaining till the end of the tenth in contact with a consonant (VVB. p. 15).¹ Actually several positions must be distinguished, as in the following sections.

§ 74. At the Beginning of the Second Element of Compounds

This is a privileged position, consonants being treated almost as if in absolute lenited initial ; cf. pp. 345, 367, 514, 579. This is true not only intervocally but also in the case of original *-gl-*, *-gr-*, *-gn-*, where the resulting *ȝ* behaves as if it were initial, and does not become *ȝ̃* and combine with the preceding (composition) vowel into a diphthong as it did in *-ȝl-*, *-ȝr-*, *-ȝn-* in absolute inlaut (cf. §§ 84 ff.). So, for instance, Brit. **Rōdoglannā* > Pr.W. **Rūdȝlann* (OW. *Rudglann*) > Mod.W. *Rhuddlan*, not **Rhuddoelan*.² On the *-ȝ-* when after Pr.WCB. *-l-*, *-r-*, *-n-*, *-d-*, *-đ-* see sub-section (3) below.

Consequently, the history of lenition *-ȝ-* here is much the same as that of lenition *ȝ-* at the beginning of words, as described just above ; however, it did not become *c'h* in Breton in this case, but was lost as in W. and C.

(1) The *-g-* = [ȝ] is still regularly written in OW. in these

¹ Loth regards AC. as more conservative than the Glosses in its preservation of *ȝ* (RC. li, 27) ; but this will not stand the test of inspection.

² The reason why there was no diphthongisation was evidently partly that the composition vowel was already lost by the time it could occur. Where the preceding vowel is not a mere composition one, and remained, diphthongisation *did* take place ; **so-gnīmo-* **ȝo-gnīmā* gave Pr.W. **hoiniμ*, **woiniμ*, which then became *heini*, *gweini* by internal vowel affection ; see §§ 157, 173. In Nennius' *Urbagen* (*sic leg.*) = *urba-ȝen*, there is in any case no question of diphthongisation, though the composition vowel exceptionally remains, because the *-ȝ-* is antevocalic (see further BBCS. vii, 388). On the history of *-ȝ-* at the beginning of the second element of compounds coming after *-r-*, *-l-*, *-n-*, *-d-* by loss of composition vowel see sub-section (3) below.

instances ; and this is true indifferently whether antevocal or in *-ʒl-*, *-ʒr-*, *-ʒn-*, and applies to verbal as well as nominal compounds. Examples : *di-gal*, AC. 880 ; *Arth-gen*, AC. 807, Gen. xxvi ; *Rud-glann*, AC. 795 ; *Arth-gal*, Gen. v ; *Art-gloys*, Gen. xxvi ; *am-gnaubot*, Ovid ; *Cat-gabail*, HB. c. 65 ; *Dub-glas*, var. *Du-glas*, HB. c. 56 ; *guird-glas*, M.Cap. ; *guor-gnim*, Juv. 9 ; *dir-gatisse*, M.Cap. ; *da-gatte*, M.Cap. ; *di-gatma* and *di-gatmaou*, Ovid ; etc. etc. The only certain case of *not* writing *g* in this position in OW. before the time of the Book of Llandaff seems to be *lu-ird*, M.Cap., for **lubgirth* = *lūbʒirth*, pl. of **lubgarth*. If *Buelt*¹ (HB. cc. 48, 49, 73 ; Mod.W. *Buell*) is from **bougelt-* (Loth, RC. li, 17), this would be another example ; if *Camlann*, AC. 537, is really from Rom.-Brit. *Camboglanna* (cf. *Modern Philology*, xliii, 56), here is another ; and if *trynit* (Augustine *De Trinitate* verses, A.D. 1085–91) does contain an OW. **gnit*, as Williams thinks it may (*National Library of Wales Journal*, ii, 73), it would be still another, but this is doubtful.

One must bear in mind that the writing of *g* in this position may be due to the consciousness of the simplex ; and the fact that it is missing in *luird*, where it might have been forgotten that the word is a compound, may be significant. *Camlann* could be explained as a pronunciation spelling, the scribe knowing it only orally, perhaps in a traditional poem. In other words, the constant writing of *g* is not absolute proof that *ʒ* still existed here. The suggestion put forward elsewhere that *Catgabail* is a play on *Catamail*,² if correct, would at least imply that the *ʒ* was not sufficiently strong in the middle of the seventh century to spoil a pun—for what that is worth. It is clear at any rate that *ʒ* lasted later than the dropping of the composition vowel (mid sixth century, see § 195), because *-nol-* syncopates here to *-n'l->-nll-*, whereas *-nogl->-nozl-* gave *-n'ʒl->-nl-*, the provection which caused syncope *-n'l-* to become *-nll-* having been prevented by the *ʒ* in the case of *-n'ʒl-* ; hence it must still have existed at that time. Moreover,

[¹ A. G. Turner's derivation of Polden (So.) from **Bouelt* < **boyogelt-* (BBS. xiv, 117) is hardly probable in view of the early forms of the names.]

² JCS. i, 69.

names borrowed in AS. show the preservation of γ . Examples : Pr.Cumb. **Dæ(ð)glas* > Douglas (Lan.), and **Glanzles*' > Glangles (Cum.), both seventh century ;¹ see Ekwall, RN. pp. 129-33, 173. On the other hand in Devil's Water (Nb.), possibly early seventh century ; Divelish, Devil's Brook (Dor.), Dowlish (So.), and Dowles Brook (Wo.-Shr.), all second half of the seventh century ; and in Dalch and Dawlish Water (Dev.), both eighth century ; the γ is missing. As Ekwall indicates, γ may have been lost early in these because it came in the crowded consonant group *-ðzl-* (RN. p. 132). It is notable, too, that in DLV. (c. 840) the Pr.W. **Unzustus* is written *Unust* (KW. p. 177), whereas the OI. *Denzus*, *Ferzus*, *Flaithzus* are spelt *Dengus*, *Fergus*, *Fladgus*—the OI. γ lasted much longer than the OW., and was no doubt a stronger sound.

The evidence for Pr.W. and OW. then appears to show that γ - of the beginning of the second element of a compound was certainly not lost in the sixth century ; that it may have been weakened as early as the seventh century (Divelish, etc., and *Catgabail* ; contrast Douglas and Glangles) ; and may have been lost, at any rate in certain circumstances, by the ninth (*luird*, *Unust*, perhaps *Buelt*) and tenth centuries (perhaps *Camlann*) ; but the almost constant writing of it all through the OW. period is a strong presumption that it was not normally completely dropped until the eleventh or twelfth century. Cf. p. 437. Since γ - in lenition position in absolute initial had a similar history, as we have seen, it would be reasonable to date its loss too at about this time.

(2) For Old Cornish the available evidence is inadequate. *Un-gust* in Bodm. § 19 (A.D. c. 1000) shows *-γ-* still written, and in the very name in which it was inaudible to the scribe of DLV. in its OW. form about 840. On the other hand in Voc.C. it is missing in *kyn-iaf* and *luw-orth* (the sg. of the same word as OW. *luird*). So far as this goes, it would be consistent with an eleventh-century date for the loss of γ at the beginning of the second element of compounds in Cornish.

Old Breton : note *ro-gotetic* (Sedul., ninth century) ; *di-glas* (Berne, ninth to tenth century) ; *guu-goiuou*, *mor-gablou* (Vat.

¹ On Rom.-Brit. *Regulbium* > AS. *Reculf* see § 140.

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Reg. 296 Oros., tenth century) ; *di-glo* (Orl.CC., late tenth to eleventh century) ; but *baran-res* (Eutyck., ninth to tenth century) ; *bu-orth* (Paris 3182 CC., eleventh century). As with Cornish, this is insufficient ; but seems to suggest the ninth to tenth century as the period of fading and the eleventh as that of total loss.

(3) When *ʒ-* at the beginning of the second element of a compound came to stand by syncope of the composition vowel immediately after *-l-*, *-r-*, *-n* (and *-nt* > *-nh*), *-d-*, or *-ḏ¹* in Pr.W., the result is (at least in some cases) W. *ḡ-*, whether the following vowel was a back or a front one. The same seems to have happened to some extent in CB. This is obviously connected with the similar development in W. of original *-lg-*, *-rg-* to *-lḡ-*, *-rḡ-*, on which see § 87 ² (not, of course, of Brit. *-ng-*, as this was [ŋ], nor of *-tg-* or *-dg-*, since these gave geminates early). Only, in CB. original *-lg-* and *-rg-* became *-lch-* and *-rch-* (see §§ 87, 88), not *-lḡ-*, *-rḡ-* ; the reason for the different treatment is presumably that when *ʒ-* was at the beginning of the second element of a compound it was less subject to the influence of the preceding sound than in an original group, and also that the development to *lch* and *rch* had begun before the time of syncope. The whole question needs further investigation.

Examples : Brit. **arigalo-* > W. *arial*. Brit. **Örbogenos* > OW. *Urbgen* (HB. c. 63) > **Urgen* > MW. *Urien*. Brit. **andegan-* > W. *anian*. Brit. **Pennogarto-* > W. *Peniarth*. Brit. **dantogalo-* > MW. *danhyal*. Brit. **atigan-* > MW. *adyan*. Brit. **Catugenos* > OW. *Catgen* (Lland. p. 276), MW. *Cadyen*. But note, e.g., **Oinogustus* > W. *Unwst*, not **Uniwst*. In OC., *Wurgent* in Bodm. § 22 (A.D. 1002-19), but *Gurient*, *ibid.* § 27 (950-70). In OB., names in both *-gen* and *-ien* are found in the Cartularies, see Chr.B. p. 132 ; so *Ritgen* and *Ritien*, *Dorgen* and *Dorien* (Chr.B. p. 125, these two in the same charter).

¹ Cf. Baudiš, Gr. p. 91 ; Morris Jones, WG. p. 163. The examples given by J. Lloyd-Jones in *Féilscríbhinn Tórna* (ed. S. Pender ; Cork, 1947), pp. 83 ff., suggest that these are not the only consonants ; note his *cipial*, *gremial*, *twial*, *rhwchial*, etc. Some at least of these, if not all, are, however, probably late secondary compounds.

² Note that here also there is some evidence for *-l-*, *-r-* in W. instead of *-lḡ-*, *-rḡ-*.

§ 75. Absolute Internal Intervocal British and Latin *g*

This became first *ɜ* by Late British lenition, see §§ 131 ff.

In certain cases the *ɜ* then became *u*, falling together with and sharing the history of British *u*. This seems to have happened certainly in *agu*, *ogu*, *ugu*, perhaps *egu* and *igu*, i.e. in those cases where the *g* was followed by *u*; possibly sometimes when preceded by *u*, but the examples of this are uncertain. It is presumably due to some degree of labiovelarisation of the *ɜ* caused by the *u*.¹ According to Pedersen *og-* before a retained vowel (i.e. in the British antepenultimate or further back) gave *ou-* in British, that is to say, without any following *u* being involved (VKG. i, 98, LP. p. 29), but the evidence offered is inadequate.² The same *u* from *ɜ* also occurs in Brit. *āg*, which became first *ōɜ* > *ōu*; but not in Brit. *ōg*.

(1) British *agu*. W. *llaw*, OB. *lau*, "small", : *ἐλαχύς*. See *Y Beirniad*, vii, 187. C. *maw*, B. *mao*, : Gaul. *Magu-*; cf. Loth, RC. xxxi, 143. The existence of a Pr.W. **maw* seems supported by the inscriptions CIIC. no. 408, mid to later sixth century, VEDOMAVI,³ and no. 365, end of the sixth century, MAVOHE(NI), the latter presumably from Brit. **Magusenos*. W. *ffaw* in *ffawydd*, OB. *fau*, from Latin *fāgus*, need an intermediary VL. **fāgus*, cf. sub-section (7) below; note that this suggests that Latin *-us* preserved its vocalic quality in this instance, presumably falling together with British *u*-stem *-us*

¹ Pedersen (VKG. i, 99) thought that Brit. **tegoslougo-* > W. *teulu* has *ɜ* > *u*, in contrast to OW. *telu*, OC. *teilu*, on which see *op. cit.* p. 522, and § 84 below. But W. *teulu* is a late form, with vowel harmony, from early MW. *teilu* (cf. LP. p. 23), and OW. *telu* is a spelling for *teilu*; cf. Baudiš, Gr. p. 95. Thus no *u* enters the case at all.

² The examples are OB. *rogedou* gl. *orgiis* (Lux.), : W. *rhewydd*, and W. *euod* < IE. **oghi-* < **oghui-*. The reading of the former is uncertain (cf. RC. xiii, 249), but if the MS. really has *rogedou*, and if this is the same as *rhewydd*, it must, of course, be an error for **roquedou* = [rowedou]; the *g* here cannot be original *g*, which became *u* (in those cases where this change did occur) much earlier, and is common WCB. In LP. Pedersen produces no evidence that the word had original *og*; in VKG. he suggested : Ir. *rog-* "ausdehnen" : Lat. *rogare*, but it seems highly doubtful and appears to have been dropped by LP. As for *euod*, it has IE. *ghu*, and like IE. *yū* this seems to have given *-u-* internally, so that a stage **oghi-* is unnecessary (cf. Baudiš, Gr. p. 50). Examples where Brit. *og-* certainly did not become *ou* are given below, p. 445.

³ *Sic leg.*, and read so by all authorities but Macalister.

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and not with *o*-stem *-os*, and cf. on *iugum* below. OW. *guragun* (Chad 2), MW. *gwnawn*, appears not to have *g > u*; but this is from an older **guragom*, and in any case the analogy of the many parts of the verb where the *g* was not before *u* would no doubt have preserved it.

(2) British *ogu*. C. *moves*, B. *maouez*, and W. *meu-dwy* appear to come from a stem **mogu-*, the bye-form of **magu-*; cf. LP. p. 29; ¹ the former from a Brit. **moguissā*, the latter from **mogus Dēuī*.

(3) British *ugu*. Here not only did the *ɜ* become *u*, but the *u* gave *o*, resulting in a falling together with Pr.WCB. *ou*; presumably, therefore, there was a stage *ouu*. MW. *Lleu* is certainly the cognate of Gaul. *Lugus*, Ir. *Lugh*, which is definitely a *u*-stem; it must have passed through **Louus*, since **Luyus* should give W. **Llyw*; cf. § 46. 3. Lewis and Pedersen give MW. *goleu*, C. *golow*, B. *goulou*; W. *lleuad*; B. *gwerelaouen*; OW. *louber*, W. *lleufer*; and W. *iau*, OC. *ieu*,² B. *ieo*; as examples to show that *ug* of itself became *ou*, i.e. regardless of whether *u* followed, though admitting that this did not happen in W. *llw*, B. *le*: Ir. *luighe* (LP. p. 29). But the derivation of *goleu* etc. and of *lleuad*, *gwerelaouen*, *louber* etc. is uncertain; cf. Pokorny (Urg. pp. 132-3), who takes the stem to be from IE. **ployo-*. If so, these are to be separated from the name *Lugus* and *Lleu*. As to *iau*, etc., the word is regarded by Pedersen as British, therefore **iugo-*, comparing Gaul. *Veriugodumnus*; cf. Morris Jones, WG. pp. 108-9. However, Thurneysen proposes that it is simply borrowed from Latin *iugum*³ (IF.Anz. xxvi, 26), and this would provide us with *ugu*; cf. on *fagus* above.

When the *ugu* was part of the first element of a compound the result in MW., Mod.W. is *yw-*, not *eu-*; cf. § 48. 2 on *ou > yw*.

¹ Baudiš thinks *meudwy* has *aw > eu* "in derivation" (Gr. p. 43); Pokorny takes *moves* and *maouez* as cases of his *ay > ou* in CB. (cf. § 48. 1), deriving them from Brit. *ma(g)u* (sic); IF. xxxviii, 193.

² In OC. **iou* would be expected; *ieu* is probably one of the (early M.)W. forms in Voc.C.; cf. JCS. i, 75-6. The *e* in B. *ieo* is difficult, but Vannetais has *iao*.

³ Foy's **iugā > *iog* (ZCP. iii, 272) will not do, because this would give W. **io*; cf. *fuga > W. ffo*.

So Brit. **Lugubelinos*, **Lugumarcos*, **Luguualijon*¹ give MW *Llywelyn*, *Llywarch*, *Lliwelyd* (with *i* for *y*, cf. Cymm. xxviii, 59). That this developed secondarily from an older *ou*, rather than directly as *ugu* > *uūu* > *yw*, seems proved by Late Brit. or Pr.B. *Lovocatus*, A.D. 509–21 (see p. 14), which is clearly for earlier **Lugucatus*. The *ou* form is seen in OW. *Loumarch* (Lland. pp. 222, 223, 240), and the *yw* in OW. *Leumarch* (Lland. p. 218, probably with *iu* spelt *eu*, see p. 283, n. 2), and OW. *Liuelin* (Lland. p. 278, second half of eleventh century).² See § 65.

(4) British *egu*. W. *tew*, C. *tew*, B. *teo*, : Ir. *tiugh* are to be derived from **tegu*- (cf. LP. p. 30), and are an example, therefore, of IE. *gu*, giving *u* in Brittonic; but as the Ir. *tiugh* is a *u*-stem possibly we should reckon rather with **teguus* > **tegu* > **teuus*.³ The stage *eu* must in any case be later than the time when IE. *eu* fell together with *ou* in Celtic; it is a *British* development. On *Regulbium* see § 140; the word is probably Brit. **Ro-gulbion*, and hence not relevant here.

(5) A possible example of British *igu* is W. *rhelyw*, see § 56.

(6) The evidence that *z* after *u* would become *u* just as it did before it is less satisfactory; some of it has been discussed just above. It certainly did not do so in Lat. *fuga* > Late Brit. **foza* > W. *ffo*, C. *fo*. The derivation of W. *llywy*, *llewy* from **lugisk*- (cf. WG. p. 109) is uncertain, and depends on the same factors as that of *goleu* etc. The best case seems to be Lat. *pugillāres* > MW. *peullawr*, which must have passed through **puxillōres* > **pou'llōr*; OI. *pōlaire*. On *ugi* see below.

(7) Apart from *gu* and *ug* the other situation in which Brit. *g* > *z* resulted in *u* is in *āg*. According to Pedersen, the Late Brit. *ōz* gave W. *aw*, CB. [ō] (i.e. it simply lost its *z* and behaved

¹ On this name see JRS. xxxviii, 57.

² Loth takes *Luguach* in Lland. p. 221 as for *Lugu(m)a(r)ch*, and regards it as very archaic (RC. xl, 25 n.). But this is impossible, since the development of *z* > *u* must be much older than this document (which is dated A.D. 955), not to mention the loss of composition vowel. In the same way he interprets *Lugobi* in Lland. p. 76 as being from **Lugouios*, giving MW. *Llywy* (Lland. *Liugui*, *Legui*, *Leui*); but this, too, is incredible, both because of the *g* and of the *b*. Pr.W. or OW. *u* could not be written *b*, still less could *u* be.

³ Cf. CC. *kyū* > CC. *kū*, § 63; and compare Loth, *Revue Archéologique*, xxiv, 4th ser. (1914), p. 208, though his accentuation is unnecessary and unexplained; and see Baudiš, Gr. pp. 44, 94.

Any other evidence for Pedersen's $\bar{a}g > \bar{o}z > W. aw$, etc., seems lacking, and on the contrary there are definite examples of $\bar{a}g > ou$ in the British penultimate as well as the antepenultimate. These are as follows: MW. *goreu*, "did", <IE. **upoproāge* (so Pedersen himself, VKG. ii, 545). Latin *pāgus* > W. *peu*, OC. *pou* (see BBCS. ix, 322-3), MC. *pow*, OB. *pou*; the CB. forms are clear cases where $\bar{o}u$ did not develop into *eu*, *eo* (see § 46. 6). Latin *fāgus* seems to have become first **fāgus*, as already remarked, sub-section (1) above, whence Late Brit. **fazus* > **fauus* in W. **ffaw* in *ffawydd* (for *ffaw-wydd*, VKG. i, 221²), OB. *fau* (Cart.Red. pp. 105, 136, 217), Mod.B. *fao*. There is, however, also OB. *fou*, Mod.B. *faou* (see § 46. 6), which need *fāgus* > Late Brit. **fōzus* > **fōuus*. Note that here too $\bar{o}u$ did not develop into B. *eo*.

¹ Baudiš treats *deuaf* as having *aw > eu* "in derivation" (Gr. p. 95) but *aw < ā* never gives *eu* in such cases.

³ OB. *Brehant*, OC. *briansen* are explained in LP. p. 31 as from **brgant-*, with reduced grade *r > ri*.

**pōwuis* > MW. *Powys* = *pōuis*; see §§ 48. 2; 65. Latin *quadrāgēsima* > W. *carawys* and *vāgīna* > *gwein* have pretonic shortening of VL. *ā*.

(8) On the date of *g* > *ɣ* in all these cases, the presumption is that it happened after *g* had been lenited to *ɣ* (cf. FT. p. 62). The forms *Luguvallum* in the Antonine Itinerary and *Lagubalium* in Ravennas show, in effect, that it had not yet occurred in the third and fourth centuries; and since Latin words undergo the change equally with British, it was subsequent to the borrowing period. *Fuga* > **foza* > W. *ffo*, C. *fo* indicates that it was after the time of final *ā*-affection (first half or middle of the fifth century, see § 154), as otherwise there would be MW. **ffeu*, C. **fow*. It is common to W., C., and B., and therefore not younger than the sixth century.¹ Actually the form *Lovocatus* referred to above shows its existence as early as 509–21; the inscriptions VEDOMAVI and MAVOHE(NI) seem to point to it in the later sixth century. The most probable conclusion is that the rise of *ɣ* took place at the beginning of the sixth century, shortly after lenition had turned *g* into *ɣ* and as a direct consequence of it.

(N.B.—The cult of the god **Mogunos*, **Moguns* (and pl. **Moguntes*), worshipped in northern England by units of the Roman army, was evidently introduced from the Rhineland, doubtless by the army. Cf. APOLLINI GRANNO MOGOVNO (CIL. xiii, pt. 2, no. 5315, near Colmar); MOVNO (*ibid.* pt. 3, no. 10012, 19, on pots; cf. Thurneysen, ZCP. xiv, 10); and the city *Moguntiacum*, Mainz. Hence the forms DEO MOVNO (CIL. vii, no. 997, Risingham), DEO MOVNTI (*ibid.* no. 321, Plumpton Wall), and DIS MOVNTIBVS (*ibid.* no. 1036, High Rochester), beside DEO MOGONTI (*ibid.* nos. 958, Netherby, and 996, Risingham), have no relevance to British phonetics; the loss of *g* here is either a Gaulish development or a VL. one; cf. p. 433, n. 1.)

¹ Förster says this means it must have been complete at latest in the fifth century (FT. p. 62), which is contrary to all the evidence about Pr.WCB., cf. pp. 18 ff. above.

§ 76.

In those more numerous cases when intervocal *ɝ* from British and Latin *g* did not become *ɹ* in Late British, it remained at first in WCB., and was subsequently lost, leaving a hiatus which might or might not be contracted. The date of the loss varies according to the nature of the surrounding sounds in the Pr. and O. stages of WCB., and these will be considered individually below. First, a few examples :

Brit. **dago-*, "good", > OW. *da* (HB. c. 49, see BBCS. xi, 44), WCB. *da* ; the *-ɝ* is still present in OW. *Cunedag*, HB. c. 62, but elsewhere there is only OW. *Cunedā* (HB. c. 14 ; Gen. i, iii, xvii, xviii, xxvi, xxxii). Brit. **drageno-* > W. *draen*, OC. *drain*, Mod.C. *drên*, Mod.B. *drean*, : Ir. *draighean*. Brit. **magestu-* > early MW. *ma|es*, later *maes* ; C. *mês*, B. *meaz*. Brit. **broga* > WCB. *bro*, : Gaul. *broga*. Lat. *fuga* > W. *ffo*, C. *fo*, see above. Brit. **troget-* > W. *troed*, OC. *truit*, MC. *troys*, Mod.B. *troad*, : *τρόχος*. The plural, W. *traed*, is from a proximate **traget-* ; compare **Combrogissā* > *Cymraes*, **Combrogicā* > *Cymraeg*. The change of *og* to *ag* in these cases has not been satisfactorily explained. Brit. **togatico-* > W. *to|edig*, still uncontracted (no doubt under the influence of the verb stem *to-*), OB. *hanter-to|etic* (Lux.). Brit. **trogīmā*, **togīmā*, **ɹologīmā* > W. *troi*, *toi*, *gloi* (with the expected affection lacking, see § 162), B. *trei*, *tei*, *golei* (with affection). OB. *guotroit* gl. *demulgitis* (Orl.CC.) < **ɹotrogite* ? It is noteworthy that in none of these cases does original *og-* "before a retained vowel" give Brit. *ou* ; contrast p. 440 and footnote 2 there. Brit. **brigā* > Late Brit. **breɝa* > WCB. *bre*. MW. *he|af* < **segami* : Lat. *seges*. OW. *cue|etic* (M.Cap.), MW. *gwe|edig*, < Brit. **ɹegatico-*. Rom.-Brit. *Segontium* (AI.) > OW. *Segeint* (HB. cc. 25, 66a) > MW. *Seint*. Brit. **legesa* > W. *lle|oedd*, : *λέχσα* (cf. Holmer, *Language*, xxiii, 133). Lat. *legendum* > MW. *lle|en*, Mod.W. *llên*, C. *lên*, *lyen*, B. *lenn*. CHC. no. 359, mid or later sixth century, (R)EGIN(I), OW. *Regin* (AC. 808, 814 ; Gen. ii, xiii, xiv), late OW. *Rein* (Life of Cadog, VSB. pp. 78, 80 ; Life of Padarn, VSB. p. 266 ; etc.).

According to Morris Jones (WG. p. 86) Brit. *e* before *g* plus vowel became *i*, which involves a good deal of struggling in

various parts of the book to explain cases like those quoted above (and regarded as regular) where the *e* remained; the theory is rejected as arbitrary by Loth, RC. xxxvi, 144. There are, however, a few instances where *eg* does seem to have become *ig*, for whatever reason, and some are old, even Common Celtic. So, whereas Brit. **lego-* gave W. *lle*, C. *le*, (: *λέχος*, cf. Gaul. *legasit*), the compound with **uo-* became W. *gwely*, OC. *gueli*, MC. *guely*, B. *gwele*, from a proximate **uoligo-*. Lewis and Pedersen appear to regard this as anomalous (LP. p. 30), and Baudiš thinks it cannot come from **legos* (Gr. p. 95). Another such is W. *hy* < Brit. **sego-*; cf. OW. GURHI in CIIC. no. 979, ninth century, < **Uirosegos*. Again, CC. **tegos*, "house", > OW. *tig* (Asser c. 30), *laith-ti* (Lland. p. 124), M. and Mod.W. *ty*, OC. *ti*, Mod.C. *chy*, OB. *bou-tig* (Eutych.), MB. *ti* (: OI. *tech* : *τέγος*), appear to need an intermediate **tigos*; cf. LP. p. 30.¹ The same thing is found in what is seemingly a derivative, CC. **tegernos*, "lord" (cf. VKG. i, 99); this appears to have had an early bye-form in **tig-*, seen in Gallo-Latin *Thigernum Castrum* (Thiers), OI. *tigernae*. So CIIC. no. 325, early sixth century, BIVATIGI(RNI) (see AMCA. p. cxi);² no. 408, mid to later sixth century, CATOTIGIRNI; no. 990, seventh century, probably reading TIGERN(I);³ *Tigernomalus*, var. *Tigerinomalus*, *Tegerinomalus* in LSS., Prologue § 1, early seventh century; *Uurtigernus*, Bede, HE. i, xiv (and the AS. loan *Wyrtegeorn* from older AS. **Wurtizern*); OW. *Guorthigirnus* (AC. Preface, HB. *passim*), *Outigir(n)*, Gen. x; *Ritigirn*, Gen. x; *Dutigirn*, HB. c. 62; *Eutigirn* (Lland. p. 245); *Conthigirni*, AC. 612 (= *Cundizeorn* in DLV.). Compare also OB. *Gurtiern*, *Gurdiern*, *Ritiern*, *Uuiutihern*, and the common-nouns *machtiern* (see Chr.B. p. 167) and *tiarn* (Cart.Red. p. 169,

¹ Holmer explains *ty* as < **tegi* < **tegei*^h < dat. sg. **teges* (*Language*, xxiii, 133), which is based on his own special (and by no means convincing) view of the development of Brit. **-es*.

[² I agree, more or less, with Radford's dating, AMCA. p. xciv. The only basis for Nash Williams' date in the middle or later part of the sixth century (ECMW. p. 63) is his identification of the Paulinus mentioned in it with the Paulinus who died c. 550; but such identifications are exceedingly hazardous and not to be pressed in the face of the epigraphic evidence. Cf. p. 325 on no. 390.]

³ Macalister reads TIGEIRN, but the second I is uncertain.

A.D. 834, *Riuualt tiarni*) ; cf. *Tiarnmael* (*ibid.* p. 174, A.D. 868), *Tiarnoc* (*ibid.* p. 102, A.D. 814). Side by side with all these, forms in **tegerno-* are also found ; so CIIC. nos. 404 and 334, both seventh century, *TEGERNACVS* ; 477, seventh century, *TEGERNOMALI* (Cornwall) ; OW. *Guorthegirnus* in the Vatican recension of Nennius *passim* (MSS. M and N) ; *Uortegirnus* in MS. Q *passim* ; *Cattegirn*, Gen. xxii, xxiii, xxvii ; *Categirn*, HB. cc. 44, 48 ; and the common-noun early MW. *te|yrn*, later *teyrn*, also in MW. names as *Cyndeyrn* (contrast OW. *Conthigirni*), *Gwrtheyrn* (<*Guorthegirn*). In OC., *Wende|ern* (Bodm. § 40, 959-93).

No satisfactory explanation of this alternation of **teger*n and **tigern* has been proposed. Morris Jones has to explain the form *te|yrn* as from **tȳȳrn* (*sic*) <**tigirn-*, with *ȳȳ* > *e|y* by dissimilation (WG. pp. 16, 162-3) ; but it is clear that the *teg-* form existed side by side with *tig-* all through the Pr. and OW. periods. Loth regards it as due to the -*z-*, RC. li, 9. Vendryes denies altogether any connection with IE. **teg-*, noting that *teg-* forms of the word actually occur only in Brittonic, and takes these as secondary. He relates it to Ir. *tiug-bás*, W. *gwedy*, translating **tigernos* as "he at the front end". W. *eyrn* he considers to have metathesis for **tyern* ; but he is unable to explain satisfactorily the *teger*n- forms, and apparently does not consider the question of **tegos* > *ty*. See his article, *Revue des Études Anciennes*, xlii, 682-4. Cf. also OW. *Ligion*, MW. *Llion*, p. 449.

Brit. **brīgantīnos* > MW. *bre|enhin*, contracted to *brenhin* ; C. *brentyn*, *bryntyn*, OB. pl. *brientinion* (Orl.CC.). Here the development is Pr.WCB. **brizantīn* > **brizentīn* by internal vowel affection, > **brientin* in the OB. ; the Pr.W. **brizentīn* would seem to have had vowel harmony > **brezentīn*. Compare Brit. **brīgantiā* > Pr.W. **brīzen't'* > *brezen't'* > MW. *bre|eint*, *breint*, side by side with late OW. *bryeint*, *breint* (Lland. p. 121) which appears to preserve the *ɜze* > *ə|e*. That this vowel harmony may have taken place even before the reduction of *ī* to *ɪ* may be indicated by AS. *Brezunt* (705), *Brezent* (781), = Brentford, and *Bræzente* (959), the river Brent (Hert.-Mx.), < Brit. **Brigantiā* (cf. Ekwall, RN. p. 51), presumably through Late

Brit. **Brīzen't'* - ; but here sound-substitution of AS. *e* for *ī* is possible, see p. 679, n. 1.¹ Compare also Brit. **dligeto*->MW. *dly|et*, *dyly|et*, but Mod.W. *dylêd*. W. *fry*, "up", probably from the dative of the **brigā* which gave W. *bre*, see above. Brit. **rīgantī*, "queen", >MW. *riein*; dual **rīg*->OW. *rīg* (HB. c. 68); **Tōtorīg*->OW. *Tutri* (Chad 2). Brit. **Brīgocatus* >OW. *Briacat* (HB. c. 49); BRIGOMAGLOS (CIIC. no. 498, late fifth or early sixth century)>OW. BRIAMAIL (CIIC. no. 978, tenth to eleventh century), MW. *Briafael* (on the composition vowel here see § 194). Brit. **Brīgācos*>W. **Briog* in *Llandyfriog*; OB. **Brioc* in the badly Latinised *Brioccus* (Life of St. Brieuc, *passim*; eleventh century), Mod.B. *Brieuc*. Brit. **uo-brīgaxo-* in OW. *guobriach* (Ovid), MW. *gofriach*. Brit. **slōgo*->W. *llu*, OC. *luu*, MC. *lu*, B. *lu*, : OI. *sluag*; Brit. **trōgo*->OW. *tru*, MWCB. *id.*, : OI. *truag*. Brit. **lēgā*>W. *llwy*, OC. *loe*, Mod.C. *lo*, Mod.B. *loa*, : OI. *liag*.

(N.B.—In W. *llyfon*, pl. of *llw*; *llefydd*, pl. of *lle*; and *gwyrŷf* beside *gwryr*, <*virgo*; we seem to have *ʒ*>[v], as noted by Parry-Williams, Phon.WB. p. 94. This is not parallel to, nor necessarily connected with, *ʒ*>*ʁ* as described above; simply the voiced spirant *v* has been substituted for the voiced spirant *ʒ*. One may compare e.g. MI. *bunadhas*=[bunəʒəs], >[bunəvəs]>[bunūs], the modern pronunciation; or MI. *guidhe*=[gu¹ʒ¹ə], >[gu¹v¹ə]>the modern Northern Irish [gwiv¹ə]. This change of W. *ʒ* to *v* must, of course, be older than the general loss of *ʒ*, but not necessarily much older).

§ 77.

Before *ī* the development of Brit. *g* is not entirely clear. According to O'Rahilly, *Ériu*, xiii, 154, -*gī*- became -*ī*- "in British at an early date, before vowel affection occurred". This is *a priori* not very probable, at least not for final vowel affection; and while some of the evidence may seem to bear it out, some does not. For example, the termination MW. -*eī*, CB. -*e* in MW. *cardotei*, "peddler", *gwestei*, "guest", OC.

¹ On the problems of the name *Bernicia* see Appendix.

idne gl. *auceps*, *eure* gl. *aurifex*, is apparently from *-(s)*agiōs* (cf. VKG. ii, 23 ; Baudiš, Gr. p. 40), with vowel affection by *i̇*. MW. *lei*, B. *lei* < Brit. **lagiūs* : *ἐλάττων* (cf. LP. p. 15, Baudiš, Gr. p. 40) are probably not really parallel, since these would be from Late Brit. **lazīis* > **lazīs*, with *i̇*-affection ; cf. Morris Jones, WG. p. 165. Other cases where vowel affection by *i̇* does seem to have taken place are OW. *degion* (Chad 2) > MW. *de|on*, < Brit. **dagiōnes* (and note that this has *internal* affection) ; B. *le* < Brit. **lugiō* : OI. *luige* (*N.B.* *g* after *u* here did not give *u*). MW. *tei* < Brit. **tegiā* (from older **tegesa*, according to LP. p. 30 ;¹ from original **tegiā* according to Holmer, *Language*, xxiii, 133 ; Morris Jones' account in WG. p. 165 presupposes his regular *eg* > *ig*, but also results in **tegiā* ; Baudiš is unclear, Gr. p. 40 ; see § 1 above). Further, Brit. Lat. **legiōnes* > OW. (*Cair*) *Legion* (HB. c. 66a), var. (*Cair*) *Ligion*, (*Cair*) *Lion* ; *Legion* (AC. 601), (*Cair*) *Legion* (AC. 613) ; MW. *Lle|on*, *Lli|on* (cf. Loth, RC. xxxvi, 180-81). OW. *Bregion* (HB. c. 56), MW. *bre|on*, < Brit. **bregiōnes*. Neither of these seems to show vowel affection, which would at first sight support O'Rahilly's theory ; i.e. **legiōnes*, **bregiōnes* > **leiōnes*, **breiōnes*, > *Lleon*, *breon* ; but the OW. *Legion*, *Bregion* clearly prove the existence of the *g*, and *Legion* seems to suggest that Lewis' **legiōnes* > **legones* > *lleon* (EL. p. 41) is not right. The forms *Ligion*, *Llion* appear to have the change of *eg* to *ig* noted above, but the *eg* has remained in the others side by side with them.

For *igi̇* one would expect WCB. *i̇* if the *g* was preserved, but if it was lost, > *i̇i̇*, there might perhaps result *i̇* with hiatus (cf. pp. 359-60) rather than *i̇*. Presumably this is what occurred in MW. *Llion*. The only example of original *igi̇* known to me is apparently anomalous. This is Lat. *corrigia*, which gives MW. *carrei* but also has an OW. bye-form *corruui* (Ox. 2), which would be MW. **corruiy*. According to Morris Jones (WG. p. 165) and Lewis (EL. pp. 5, 19) *carrei* is from **corregia*

¹ With this we may compare Williams' proposal (En.Ll. p. 32) that Mod.W. *fai* in place-names like *Myddfai* is from the gen. sg. or the pl. of *ma*, "field". This would mean Brit. **magesos*, **magesa*, since *ma* is from the Brit. *s*-stem **magos*. If this is correct, we may suggest that the MW. name *Gwalchmei* is from Brit. **Ualcos Magesos*, "The Hawk of the Plain".

with Brit. \bar{a} -affection. But that \bar{a} -affection can be caused by $i\bar{a}$ is unproven and unlikely (see § 152). The word *did*, of course, become **corregia* in VL., but this is due to the usual change of VL. *i* to *e*, which is not normally attested in British Latin (see p. 283). However, it will be seen below (§ 85) that there are some other cases where Latin *ig* (before consonants) seems to have been *eg* in Brit., and possibly we must assume that VL. *i* did become *e* in Britain before *g*, though not in other contexts—because even in Brit. Lat. the *g* may have been slightly loosened towards *j*, at least in these words, as it fully was in Continental Latin (cf. pp. 433, n. 1, 462)? If so, *carrei*, and e.g. *Nigrinus* > **Neirin* (§ 85), would have the regular Brit. development of *eg_i*, *egr*. As for **corrwy*, it is not impossible that this is a comparatively late loan from the lower level of VL. speakers (see p. 87) or from Continental VL., in which it was already fully **correja*, or better still the stage **correi|a* of the fifth to sixth century in Gaul (see Richter, CPF. p. 188). **Correi|a* would give Late Brit. **corrĕa*, whence regularly MW. **corrwy*. On a similar development with ante-consonantal *ig* see p. 462. We can hardly suppose, with Lewis (EL. p. 19), that Brit. *ig* simply gave *wy*; the case is surely more complicated.

According to LP. (p. 30) *āg_i* became British (rather, Brittonic) *ei*, comparing Mod.W. *beio* with OI. *bāgim* and Mod.W. *treio* with OI. *trāg*. It is evident that Brit. *āg* did not become *ōu* here, since if it did the result would fall together with Brit. *āu_i* (see § 47. 6) and could not give *ei*. The *g* must have remained as *ȝ* here, with vowel affection; but it cannot be affection of *āg* (Brit. \bar{a} is not liable to affection). If the proposed Irish cognates are correct, the British forms would appear to have a shortened vowel, *āg_i*, whatever the explanation may be.

The examples which may support O'Rahilly's theory are as follows: W. *cae* is derived by him from a Brit. **cag_iō-* which would be cognate with Gaul. *caio*; cf. OW. *caiauc* (Ovid), OB. pl. *caïou* (Lux.). If this had vowel affection the result would be MW. **cei*, but O'Rahilly believes **cag_iō-* > **caïō-* > *cae*. Morris Jones gives the same derivation (WG. p. 165), and also

dagionognīm*->W. *daeoni*; but Pedersen (VKG. i, 97) and Baudiš (Gr. p. 95) have a theory which implies that *cae* is from Pr.W. **caze*, which would have had some additional, final, syllable in Brit. (Pedersen, the pl. ending of *s*-stems; therefore Brit. **cagesa*?). This raises difficulties; **cagesa* should give **caoedd* (cf. § 38 A. 1), or if treated like **tegesa* according to Pedersen's theory of MW. *tei*, then MW. **cei*. Certainly if **cagīo*- did become **caīo*- it would doubtless result in W. *cae*; and **dagionognīm*->daionoznīm*- would produce W. *daeoni*; but Brit. **dagiones*>OW. *degiōn*, MW. *de|on* is different. O'Rahilly derives W. *to* from **togīo*-; and W. *llo* from **logīos*. But this can hardly be correct, since his intermediate **toīo*-, **loīo*- would surely give W. **toe*, **lloe* or **twy*, **llwy*, unless we believe with Morris Jones (WG. p. 165) that *to* and *llo* are secondary developments from **toe* and **lloe* (cf. § 47. 2 D). Lewis and Pedersen solve the problem more simply by relating *to* to Latin *toga* (LP. p. 29), which is quite probable in itself, i.e. Brit. **togā*. That -*ogīo*- could, in fact, give W. -*oe*, -*wy* is proved if we accept Ekwall's suggestion that -*abwy* in Welsh names like *Gwernabwy* is cognate with Gaul. *Adbogius* (RN. p. 454); if so, there must have been Late Brit. *-*abbozīos*, and this (if O'Rahilly's theory applies) would become *-*abboīos*, giving however not *-*abo* but -*aboe* and -*abwy*. The form -*aboe* is actually found, e.g. *Guorhaboe* in Lland. beside *Guorabui*, *Gurabui*, *Guorapui*. On the development of *-*oīos* to -*oe*, -*wy*, cf. § 47. 3.

For *ugīo*-, affection in **lugīo*->B. *le*, : OI. *luige*, has already been noted. The Welsh cognate *llw* may well be derived from **lugo*-, as Baudiš thinks (Gr. p. 94; not from his alternative **luga*, which would give **llo*); and it should be remarked that neither of these has *g*>*u* after *u*. However, O'Rahilly takes *llw* to be directly : *le* and *luige*, but without vowel affection, **lugīo*->**luīo*->*llw*. If there were a stage **luīo*- this is more likely to have given **llwy*; which is actually postulated by Morris Jones (*loc. cit.*), who thinks *llw* a mere derivative of **llwy* like his *to*<**toe*, etc. But **llwy*>*llw* is not probable. It hardly seems that O'Rahilly can be right in this instance, because there could scarcely be vowel affection in the Breton

if the *g* were already lost (with O'Rahilly) before the period of vowel affection, i.e. in Late Brit. More probably *llw* has a different suffix, **lugo-*; and this is supported by the plural *llyfon*, from **lugones* rather than **lugiones* (on the *f* see p. 448).

With *egî*, O'Rahilly derives W. *gwe* from **uegiō-*, directly : OI. *fige* and Gaul. *vegiadia*; and W. *lle* < **legiō-*, directly : OI. *lige*; that is, through intermediate **ueiō-* and **leiō-*. But again, the *î* here would probably not be simply dropped; there would be Pr.W. **-ei*, which might either fall together with *ē* or *ē* in W. *-wy* or *-oe*, or else remain as *-ei*. As with *to* and *llw*, it is simpler to take *gwe* and *lle* as coming from stems without *î*, namely **uego-* and **lego-*.

(*N.B.*—Baudiš wishes to explain OW. *Guoy*, W. *Gŵy*, AS. *Weaza*, the Wye, as having *-egiō-* or *-ogiō-* (Gr. p. 39); he doubtless bases the former on **corregia* > *corruui*, on which see pp. 449-50 above, and the latter apparently on *-abwy* names. Ekwall rejects *-egiō-* because of *legiō-* > *leon*, which is not necessarily decisive by any means, and suggests **Uogiō-* with vowel affection > **Uegiō-* (but how that would escape the objection he makes to original **Uegiō-* is not explained) > Pr.W. **Weg'* (RN. pp. 453-4). His **Weg'* would most certainly not give W. *Gwy*, nor anything but **Gwei*; he was confused by the proposed **-adbogios* > *-abwy*.)

Where intervocal *g* and *gi* did not result in Late Brit. *u* and *î* respectively, the *z* which arose by lenition was later lost, with subsequent contraction in many cases. The examples of this set out above can be divided, from the point of view of Pr.WCB. and OWCB. into certain distinct situations, the history and chronology of which will be discussed in the following sections.

§ 78. *z* between Front Vowels and after Front Vowels before *î* in OWCB.

In the early inscriptions the *z* is always written in names in **tigerno-*; also in the Life of St. Samson and in Bede's *Uurtigernus*, see p. 446. The last is perhaps from an earlier

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English written source, cf. § 4. 2. In place-names in AS., the *ȝ* was still distinctly heard when the Saxons reached Brentford and the Brent, in the early sixth century. It was also audible, evidently, much later in the *Cundizeorn* of DLV., c. 840, = OW. [kəondizern]. AS. *Wyrȝeorn*, however, having the AS. umlaut (and syncope) which *Cundizeorn* lacks, looks like an early loan fully acclimatised, whereas *Cundizeorn* is a contemporary effort to spell a Welsh name by ear.

The *g* is still often written in OW., in fact more often than not. Some examples have already been given above, § 76. Others are: *Egeniud* (Gen. xviii); *hegit* (MP.); *regenaul*, *guotricusegeticion*, *scamnhegint* (Juvenç.); *nouidligi* (Chad 2); *Lann San Bregit* (Lland. p. 43, A.D. 1129; p. 276, early twelfth century). In the Book of Taliesin, p. 45, l. 26, the form *tegyrned* is evidently copied from an OW. **tegrined*, "lords"; the ordinary MW. is *teyrned*. *Diguormechis* (MP.) is apparently a case of *ȝ* written as *ch*. The oldest examples of absence of *g* are in M.Cap., ninth century; *cueetic* and *dilein*. *Arcibrenou* gl. *sepulti* in Ovid (ninth to tenth century) is taken by Williams as the plural of what in MW. is *argyfrein*, and he regards the final element as being W. *rhain*, "stiff" (CA. p. 67). If so, *arcibrenou* not only has loss of *ȝ* in **reȝin* > **re|in*, but has gone a step further, having contraction to *rein*, and the diphthong *ei* spelt *e* (cf. § 160). Yet in the personal name *Regin*, which is the same word, the *g* is still written in the tenth century, though missing c. 1100; see p. 445. The Vatican recension of HB. (A.D. 944) adds *quae Bryttannicae* (i.e. in the vernacular) *Cair Lion dicitur* to the *in Urbe Legionis* of the other recensions of HB. c. 56 (see p. 449); in c. 66a it has both *Cair Ligion* and *Cair Lion*. The Life of St. Illtud (first half of the twelfth century, VSB. p. 194) gives *Rieingulid* for the name which earlier would be **Rigeingulid*, containing Brit. **Rigantī*. In the Book of Llandaff there occur, for instance, *Lann San Breit* (p. 263; the heading of a document of the first half of the eleventh century) beside the *L.S. Bregit* given above; *Lann San Freit* (p. 32, A.D. 1128); *Cair Lion* (p. 30); and in the late "Privilege of St. Teilo" *breennin*, *brennhin*, *brennin*, *breennhined* (p. 120).

All this seems to point to the ninth century as the date of the transition. The ʒ was clearly heard by the English in the sixth century, and apparently as late as *c.* 840 (*Cundizeorn*); *diguormechis* shows plainly the existence of a guttural spirant in 820. On the other hand, its absence is twice betrayed by OW. as early as the ninth century, and one ninth to tenth century instance may even have contraction. If so, the numerous cases of *g* still written in W. as late as the Book of Llandaff are merely archaic traditional spellings, where they are not copyings of early documents. But between front vowels and before ɨ the Late Brit. ʒ was very likely [$\text{ʒ}'$], [j], and was eventually lost through a weak [j], which must have been phonemically distinct from the ɨ spelt *i* in W.; the [j] may have existed as a kind of glide for a considerable period, capriciously written as *g* in OW. when it was noticed and omitted when it was not. The probability is, then, that [$\text{ʒ}'$] was becoming weakened to [j] in the ninth century.

For Old Cornish the evidence is inadequate. *Wendeern* in Bodm., A.D. 959–93, shows loss or at least [j] in the second half of the tenth century. Probably its history was not very different from what happened in Welsh.

Old Breton: the Late Brit.-Pr.B. name *Catihernus* (A.D. 509–21; see p. 14) is taken by Loth (Chr.B. p. 49) and Baudiš (Gr. pp. 33, 127) as containing Brit. **iserno-*; but apart from the fact that the stem is **isarno-* in Brit., we have seen (§ 39) that the *-s-* in such a position would long have been totally lost, and it was probably already **həiarno-* or the like. The OB. *Uuiutihern*, which is given by Loth himself as a **tigerno-* name (Chr.B. p. 167), suggests that *Catihernus* is from **Catutigernos* = OW. *Cattegirn*, *Categirn*, *Catigirn*, and that ʒ is [j] here, and is dropped in spelling according to the custom of the Merovingian scribes in writing VL. [j],¹ *-h-* being written as a purely scribal vowel separator instead.² I know no examples of *g* being written in this position in OB.; but always

¹ Cf. C. C. Rice, PhGCL. p. 71, *neclientia* = *negligentia*; and the reverse in *aligenare* = *alienare*, *redigens* = *rediens*. See on *Riothamus*, etc., below, p. 457.

² Cf. OB. *couhann* (Cod. Leid. Voss.) beside *couann* (Cott.CC.), where there is hiatus (there was never a *g* in this word); and *datolaham*, *mergidham*, see § 80, *Brehant* § 82.

e.g. *brientinion*, *-tiern* (and *-tihern*), etc. The one exception known to me is a Latinised form, *Elegium* in the Life of St. Winwaloe, ii, 12 (*Analecta Bollandiana*, vii, 227), written c. 880; which, like other names in the Lives of the Saints, may be copied from an early source. Hence for OB. it seems that *ɜ* must have become [j], if not totally lost, by the ninth century at least; *Catihernus* need mean only the [j] stage.

§ 79. Final -ɜ after Front Vowels in OWCB.

This includes -ɜ final in the first half of compounds. In -eɜ and perhaps -iɜ the *ɜ* was quite possibly velar [ɜ], not palatalised, at least when it had been followed by a back vowel in Brit.

(1) *After e*. Late Brit. **breza*, Pr.W. **breɜ*, "hill", appears as an element in several English place-names. So Pr.W. **Cwɔnbreɜ* is AS. *Cynibre* (charter of 736), *Cynefare* (charter of 964), = Kinver (Staf.), see Ekwall, Dict. p. 266; Pr.W. **Mēlbreɜ* is ME. *Melver* = Mellor (Derb.; Lan.), *op. cit.* p. 306. The uncompounded word appears in AS. *Briu-dun* (Bede, HE. v, 23), *Breo-dun* (AS. Bede, c. 890), = Breedon (Leic.), and in *Breo-dun* (A.D. 772, 841) = Bredon (Wo.); *op. cit.* p. 59; also in ME. *Bre-hull* = Brill (Buck.), *op. cit.* p. 62. These have the simple Pr.W. word prefixed to an AS. word of the same meaning. Ekwall's **Weg'* has already been dealt with, p. 452. In none of these cases of names borrowed from the middle of the sixth to the seventh century is there any apparent trace of the Pr.W. -ɜ. Morris Jones notes *cyfle* and *anaele* rhyming with -ew in BT. p. 70, ll. 10, 12, which he takes to mean that they still have -eɜ; he dates the poem sixth century (Cymm. xxviii, 208), but we must remember that verse may always be more archaic than ordinary speech. For OW., note *le* in Lland. (p. 79). This very slight evidence may suggest that *ɜ* in -eɜ was being lost in Pr.W. by the middle of the sixth century.

I know no examples for OC. For OB., note *anre* in Corp.CC., ninth or tenth century. On *tegran(n)* see below.

(2) *After i*. The -ɜ is still written in OW. in *Gelhig* and *guetig* (Chad 2, later eighth century), and in *guotig* (MP., A.D. 820). *Tigguocobauc* in Asser c. 30 (c. A.D. 890) may be correct,

therefore *Tiȝ Guocobauc* = MW. **Ty Gogofawc* ; but the variant reading is *Tiguocobauc*, i.e. *Ti Guocobauc*, and the two *g*'s in the text may be an error. Without -ȝ : *Gelhi* (Chad 1, twice ; early ninth century), GURHI in CIIC. no. 979 (ninth century) ; *gueti*, *guety*, Lland. pp. 120, 121. This evidence, such as it is, seems to show -ȝ on its way out in the ninth century.

OC., note *ti* twice, and *clehti*, *guiscti*, in Voc.C.

OB. *boutig* (Eutyech., ninth to tenth century) preserves -ȝ ; *ti-gutre*, *ti-guotroulou* in Orl.CC. (later tenth to eleventh century) have lost it. The common *tig-ran(n)*, *teg-ran(n)* in Cart.Red. is probably a stereotyped legal phrase ; cf. *tegran* in Orl.CC. Thus -ȝ in OB. -ȝȝ seems to have been dropped in the ninth to tenth century.

(3) *After i*. The ȝ is still present in the early inscriptions, where it is not yet final, whether it was or was not yet final in actual speech ; e.g. CIIC. no. 358, VOTEPORIGIS, c. A.D. 550. On AVITORIA see footnote. The Irish spelling *Rigullon* seems to show its persistence in the seventh century ; see p. 393, n. 1. In OW. note *dou rig*, HB. c. 68. Otherwise, by contrast with -ȝȝ, it is lacking in OW., even in the oldest sources : R(I)UALLAUN (CIIC. no. 986, probably eighth century), *Tutri* (Chad 2), *guobri* (Ovid), *Rotri* (AC. 754, 877, etc. ; Asser c. 80 ; Gen. i), *Clotri* (Gen. ii), *Bledri* (Chad 5, Lland. p. 247). This seems to show that -ȝ was lost in -ȝȝ earlier than in -ȝȝ (the *rig* of Nennius might be from some archaic source), at least as early as the late eighth century. Perhaps the ȝ in -ȝȝ was [j], and would be absorbed and lost after the front vowel more readily than after the retracted ; cf. Morris Jones, *Cymm.* xxviii, 273.¹

In Cornish, CIIC. no. 461 (mid sixth century), RICATI, is taken by Rhys as from **Rīgocatus* (*Cymm.* xviii, 20), though

¹ Williams regards CIIC. no. 318, beginning of the sixth century, ETTORIGI, as a "restoration" for *Ethri* (AMCA. p. cxvi), apparently assuming that final vowels were lost and final -ȝ gone at this date, not to mention syncope of the composition vowel and the development of *tt* to *th*. None of these things need have happened so early, and Nennius' *rig* makes it very unlikely that the name would really have lost its ȝ so soon. In CIIC. no. 362, end of fifth century, AVITORIA, if this does stand for AVITORIGA (which is very doubtful, see pp. 185-6), the absence of the G may be due to ignoring [j] after *i*, if that is what the sound was ; cf. on the Pr.B. forms below.

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this is quite uncertain (the correct reading may very likely be VIRICATI). If so, it would have syncope of the composition vowel, but the dropping of the *ɜ* might be due only to the following *g*, i.e. **Rīgocatus* > **Rīzogradus* > **Rīɜ'gad* with *ɜg* > *g*, spelt -C-. No. 468, early or mid sixth century, RIALOBRANI, might be for **Rīzolobrani*, but this again is doubtful. *Arganbri*, Bodm. § 32, 959-75, certainly shows loss of final -ɜ.

In Breton, there is at first sight apparently loss of *ɜ* very early. So *Riochatus* in Sidonius Apollinaris (d. c. 489; *Epistles*, ix, 9), from Brit. **Rīgocatus*; *Riothamus* (*op. cit.* iii, 9, referring to an event of c. A.D. 470; called *Riotimus* by Jordanes, *Getica* chap. 45, A.D. 551; see p. 13 above) < Brit. **Rīgotamos*, Late Brit. **Rīzodamos*. But as with *Catihernus*, these are probably examples of the Merovingian Latin spelling; compare Förster, FT. p. 162, who points to Gallo-Romance *Riocenus*, *Riomarus*, *Riomonus* (which are Gallo-Latin spellings of names containing the Gaulish cognate of Brit. **rīgo-*), and rightly rejects Loth's using the Brit. forms for evidence of loss of *ɜ* (RC. li, 5). In the same way *Briomaglus* in the Life of St. Brieuc, c. 2 (eleventh century; *Analecta Bollandiana*, ii, 163), from Brit. *Brīgomaglos*, no doubt lacks *ɜ* by scribal habit only, since the form is obviously ancient and very likely contemporary with the Saint (sixth century), and *ɜ* is still written in the second element of the name. However, if the *ɜ* was [j] after *ī* in all these forms it is possible that it might be already partially absorbed by the *ī* or at least seem so to a Gallo-Romance ear. For OB., the name *Ri-uallon* occurs twenty times in Cart.Red., and *Ri-quallon*, *Ri-quallun* once each (in these the *g-* is part of *gu* = [w]). It is difficult, therefore, to date the loss of *ɜ* in -īɜ in Breton; it would certainly seem to have disappeared by the ninth century, but the sixth century cases probably mean no more than [ij].

§ 80. *ɜ* between Back Vowels in OWCB.

Here the sound was no doubt velar [ɜ]. In OW., it is preserved in *guragun* (Chad 2), later eighth century; but lost

in *digatmaou*, *guaroimaou* (Ovid), ninth to tenth century. This inadequate evidence may suggest that *ʒ* lasted here into the ninth century ; at least as late as the late eighth.

For OC. I know no examples. In OB. there are no cases of *-g-* written. Not written, note *utdifidhaas* (Ven.Oros.), *airmaou* (Lux.), *comtoou* (*ibid.*), *broolion* (Berne), *etncoilhaam* (Eutyech.), *lemhaam* (*ibid.*), *inaatœ* (Orl.CC.), *straal* (*ibid.*), *meplaom* (*ibid.*). In *datolaham* and *mergidhaham* (Eutyech.) the *h* has no phonetic significance, and is simply a scribal hiatus-filler ; cf. on *couhann*, p. 454, n. 2, above. Hence the *ʒ* in this position would seem to have been lost in B. by the ninth century.

§ 81. Final *-ʒ* after Back Vowels in OWCB.

Here again the sound was no doubt velar [ʒ]. In this case the *-ʒ* was lost by the earliest OW. E.g. *Cinda* (Chad 2), *digatma* (Ovid), () *bracma* (Chad 4), *Gloiu da* (HB. c. 49), *Cunedæ* (HB. c. 14, Gen. i, iii, xvii, xviii, xxvi, xxxii), *telu* (Juv. 3), *mor tru* (Ovid). The only example of retention is *Cunedag* in HB. c. 62, in the "Saxon Genealogies", a section which is recognised to draw on late seventh-century material ; hence this is probably copied from a written source as old as that date ; cf. Morris Jones, *Cymm.* xxviii, 91. He notes also *Cunedæ* rhyming with *-af* in a probably sixth-century poem in the Book of Taliesin, and therefore having *-aʒ* ; *op. cit.* pp. 207-8. It appears, then, that final *-ʒ* after back vowels was lost in Welsh between the later seventh and the later eighth century. The name Pembroke is peculiar in this connection. Coming from a Brit. **Pennobrogā*, Pr.W. **Pennbroʒ* (Mod.W. *Penfro*), it cannot have been borrowed into English so early as the time when the *g* was still [g], and must go back only to the *ʒ* stage. But the English did not settle in or (one would suppose) have dealings with so remote a place as Pembrokeshire until long after the probable date of the loss of *-ʒ*. Possibly they learned the name from the other side of the Bristol Channel, in Devonshire, in the early eighth century ; or perhaps it came to them from the Scandinavians, who, however, are not likely to have heard it before the end of that century. That AS.

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should render Pr.W. [ʒ] by *c* is anomalous; and the substitution is probably not to be regarded as phonetic but as semantic—that *-broʒ* was identified with AS. *brōc*, “brook”, by popular etymology.

For Old Cornish, there is no sign of final *-ʒ* in Voc.C.; note *chetua*, *da*, *gerda*, *geriit-da*, *guillua*, *to*, *luu*. It may have been lost about the same time as in Welsh. Old Breton is in the same condition; note *airma* (*sic leg.*, Lux.), *guarima* (Cod. Leid. Voss.), *Bro-Uueroc(h)* throughout Cart.Red., the earliest instances being A.D. 826–34 and 830. Hence it was evidently lost by the ninth century or before.

§ 82. Intervocal *ʒ* after Front Vowels before Back Vowels in OWCB.

It was evidently audible in the sixth century, in Pr.W. **Līzor* and **Wīzor*, from Brit. **Līgora* and **Ūigora*, which appear in AS. as *Līzora-ceaster* (ASC. 942), *Līzera-ceaster* (ASC. 917), *Legorensis civitas* (charter of 803), Leicester (cf. Ekwall, Dict. p. 280); and AS. *Wīzor-*, *Weozor-* (*Weozorna civitas*, 692; *Wīzorna civitas*, 716), Worcester, see *op. cit.* p. 508, Förster, FT. p. 162. Both places were reached in the sixth century. I know no other evidence for *-īʒ-*; its history may be parallel to that of *-īʒ*. After *ī*, CIIC. no. 424, early or mid sixth century, BRIACI (but the reading is uncertain) is taken by Rhys as for **Brīgācī* (Arch.Camb., 1897, p. 134). If so, it is comparable to Pr.C. RICATI, RIALOBRANI above, and to Pr.B. *Riochatus*, etc.; i.e. it has *īʒ > īj* with the *j* not written. In OW., there is *guobriach* (Ovid), < Brit. **uobrīgaxo-*; and *Briacat* (HB. c. 49) < Pr.W. **Brīzagad* < Brit. **Brīgocatus*, which is included here rather than in § 79. 3 because the composition vowel was treated as a full internal vowel. The chronology of *īʒa*, *īʒo* in W. is thus very likely the same as that of *-īʒ*.

In OC., note *Riol* occurring ten times in Bodm. in the second half of the tenth century, presumably < Brit. **Rīgālis*; and *briansen* in Voc.C. from Late Brit. **brīzantina* (see p. 443, n. 3). Old Breton, *tiol* (Mers., end of ninth century) < Brit.

**tīgālis* ; *Brehant* <proximate **brīgant*-, Life of Paul Aurelien (see p. 443, n. 3), with hiatus filling *h*, on which see p. 454, n. 2 ; *Brioccius* (false Latinisation for OB. **Brioc*), Life of St. Brieuc, <Brit. **Brīgācos*. The history of -*īz*-, -*īz*- before back vowels in C. and B. is probably similar to that of -*īz* and -*īz*.

§ 83. Intervocal *z* after Back Vowels before Front Vowels in OWCB.

OW. *cimmaeticion* (M.Cap., ninth century) appears to be a case of loss of *z*, but the meaning of the word is obscure. On the other hand *agit*, *hegit* in MP. still preserve *z* at the beginning of the ninth century. *Mais* in Lland. p. 79, <Pr.W. **mazes*, seems by the spelling to have not only loss of *z* but also contraction already, though disyllabic *ma|es* still occurs in early Welsh poetry such as the *Armes Prydein Fawr* (c. A.D. 930).¹ The *Gogynfeirdd* of the second half of the twelfth century, whose poetry was of a conservative character, scanned *maes* as a monosyllable.² This evidence, exiguous though it is, suggests loss of *z* in such cases early in the ninth century, and contraction at some time between the middle of the tenth and about the beginning of the twelfth.

For OC. I know no examples. OB., *hantertoetic* (Lux., ninth or ninth to tenth century) and *guotroit* (Orl.CC., late tenth to eleventh century), have lost -*z*- ; there seem to be no instances of its preservation.

§ 84. British and Latin *g* before *l*, *r*, *n*

In these cases the *g* was vocalised to *ī*, presumably through *z*, and the *ī* formed with the preceding vowel a diphthong or long vowel. Original *kn* fell together with *gn*, but *kl*, *kr* did not

¹ Cf. Williams, PKM. p. xx, n. 2, and *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* (Dublin, 1944), p. 54.

² Williams, PKM. pp. xviii-xix. The evidence he quotes for *ma|es* in AC. is not conclusive, since *ae* is occasionally written in OW., including the Harleian 3859 MS., for the diphthong normally spelt *ai* which is not the result of contraction.

do so with *gl*, *gr*; *k* must first have been voiced to *g* before the *n*. The result is *ag* > MW. *ae*, *og* > *oe*,¹ *ug* > MW. *wy*, *eg* > MW. *ei* (and apparently in certain cases *wy*, see § 85), *ig* > Pr.W. *ī*, MW. *i*, *āg* > MW. *eu*. In CB. the development is the same as that of the other sounds which correspond to MW. *ae*, *oe*, *wy*, *ei*, *i*, *eu*.² On vowel affection of the diphthongs see §§ 157, 173. The diminutive suffix *-agno-*, which in Irish shared the history of *agn* in general, gives W. *-ān*, not *-aen* as would be expected. The explanation is difficult. Since the *ag* is stressed in Brit. and Pr.W. it cannot be anything to do with its being an unaccented syllable, as Lewis and Pedersen appear to imply, LP. p. 32. R. J. Thomas thinks it borrowed from the OI. *-ān* (En.Af. i, p. 34), and so does Pokorny quoted by Förster, FT. p. 856. This may be possible, if adopted after the time when Brit. *ā* > *ǣ* and Ir. *gn* > *n* had occurred, i.e. after the end of the fifth century; if so, Irish *-ān* would give Pr.W. *-ān*, which would be shortened when the accent shifted back (cf. § 34). But it is strange that a borrowed suffix should have affected *names*, as well as being in general use; one would not expect the natural development of e.g. Brit. **Cunagnos* to have been interfered with by a common-noun suffix, especially a foreign one, yet the result is e.g. *Cynan*, not e.g. **Cynaen*.

Examples: OW. *hair* (Ox. 2), MW. *aer*, OB. *air* (Orl.CC.), : *ἄγπα*. *Agricola* > OW. *Aircol* (Gen. ii). Proximate Brit. **ognos* > W. *oen*, OC. *oin*, MC. *oan*, *ôn*, Mod.B. *oan*, "lamb" (see LP. p. 35). Brit. **brugno-* > W. *brwyn*, "grief", : Ir. *brôn*. VL. **strig'la* > Late Brit. **stregla* by *ā*-affection, > OC. *streil*. Brit. **üegro-* > MW. *gweir*, : Ir. *fēr*; cf. Baudiš, Gr. p. 29. Brit. **üegno-* > MW. *gwein*; Ir. *fēn*. Brit. **Cunignos* (CIIC. no. 362, end of the fifth century, CVNIGNI) > MW. *Cynin*. Lat.

¹ On **uognīmā*, **sognīmo-* see § 173. In C. *gonys*, *gonēs*, B. *gounid* < Brit. **uogn-*, the *gn* is treated as the initial of the second element of a compound, see *ibid*.

² *ag* > OC. *ai*, *ae*, *ay*, MC. *é*; OB. *ai*, in the Cartularies sometimes *e*; MB. *ae*, Mod.B. *ea*, *ae*. Förster believes that the sound had become *ē* in pretonic syllables in CB. occasionally already in the ninth century, noting *Melchi*, *Melhouen*, and names in *Men-*, in Cart.Red. at that period (Reliq. p. 102). That such spellings do occur rarely in Cart.Red. is true, though *ai*, *ae* are much commoner, and *ae* continued to be written for centuries. But this proves nothing for Cornish, and there is no evidence that *ai* became *ē* in OC.

coāgulum > VL. **cāg'lum* > MW. *ceul*, Mod.B. pl. *kaouled* ; cf. Lewis, EL. p. 19. That the development is the same also in a secondary group is shown by Brit. **tegoslougo-* > Pr.W. **tez'lu* > OW. *telu* = **teilu*, etc. ; see p. 440, n. 1.

§ 85.

With *igl*, *igr*, *ign* there appear to be also MW. *eil*, *eir*, *ein* and *wyl*, *wyr*, *wyn* as well as *il*, *ir*, *in*. Examples are possibly VL. *Nigrinus* > W. **Neirin* (see Morris Jones, Cymm. xxviii, 230) ; VL. **vig'lia* > W. *gwyl*, C. *goil*, *gól*, B. *goel*, *gouel*, : Ir. *fēile* ; Brit. **colignos* > W. *colwyn*, OC. *coloin*, B. *kolen*, : Ir. *cuilēn* ; Brit. **morignā* > W. *morwyn*, OC. *moroin*, MC. *moren* ; Lat. *signum* > W. *swyn*, Ir. *sēn* ; perhaps *lignum* > W. *llwyn*.

The development here can hardly be *iz* > *i* > *ei*, *wy* as such, since this would not make sense phonetically. Rather, we must compare the apparent history of *corrigia* > W. *carrei* and **corrwy* (see pp. 449-50), and suppose that in the above cases *ig* became first *eg* and then developed in the two ways proposed for that word. As most of the examples are Latin (like *corrigia* too), there is no difficulty about the VL. change of *i* > *e*, if we assume that for some reason this happened in the VL. of Britain before *g* but not in other contexts, as already suggested. The theory that we must have an intermediate *eg* is supported by the Irish ; **vig'lia* could not give Ir. *fēile*, but **veg'lia* would.¹ It is noteworthy, too, as Pedersen remarks (VKG. i, 375), that the *i* did not cause internal vowel affection—so *colwyn* etc., not **celwyn* etc., which means that there was no *i* here at the time (incidentally the *wy* in these words is *ui*, not *ui*). *Nigrinus* > **Neirin* would then be through a VL. **Negrinus* ; Morris Jones' proposal (*loc. cit.*) that there is the same VL. dissimilation of *i-i* > *e-i* here as in *dewis*, *dewin* may be correct (although in these the first *i* as well as the second is long in Latin), cf. § 17. 1. If so, the *g* need have nothing to do with it. As for **vig'lia*, *signum*, *lignum*, the analogy of the history of *corruui* as set out above would suggest a borrowing from a

¹ *Signum* > *sēn*, **colignos* > *cuilēn* prove nothing, because in these there would in any case be Irish vowel affection of *i* to *e*.

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lower level of VL. speakers who pronounced *vejlja*, *sejnum*, *lejnum*, giving Brit. **uēlja*, **sēnon*, **lēnon*, whence regularly *gwyl*, *swyn*, *llwyn*. Lat. *gl* did, in fact, become *jl* in Continental VL. in the third to fifth century (cf. Richter, CPF. p. 126), so that this is very possible for *gwyl*; but *gn* seems to have given *n'* in Gaul (*op. cit.* pp. 62, 112). However, we do not know that it could *not* become *jn* in Britain. One difficulty here is that **morignā* and **colignos* are not Latin. The former, however, offers no trouble, since it would have *eg* in Late Brit. by vowel affection, and so **moregnā*.¹ *Colwyn* etc. alone remains unexplained. The whole problem has its obscurities, but the main outlines seem clear.

§ 86. The Date of the Vocalisation of *g* before *l*, *r*, *n*

It presumably took place through an intermediate $ɜ > j$, which would no doubt be the product of lenition and therefore not older than the second half of the fifth century. At any rate, since the developments are identical in W., C., and B. at least the stage $ɜ$ must have been reached before the end of the sixth century. The following data may be adduced:

The sound is still written as *g* in the early inscriptions. So with *gl*, CIIC. nos. 446, fifth century, MAGLOCVNI (*sic leg.*);² 394, end of the fifth century, MAGLI; 425, early or mid sixth century, CATOMAG(LI); 401, mid sixth century, BROHOMAGLI; 1028, late sixth or early seventh century, VENDVMAGLI. But no. 477, seventh century, TEGERNOMALI (Cornwall), is for older TEGERNOMAGLI. With *gn*, nos. 362, late fifth century, CVNIGNI; 478, mid sixth century (?), BROCAGNI.

In very early MS. sources the use of *g* is less unvarying. *Mæzla* in ASC. 501 is perhaps a British *Maglo*- name borrowed into English. Gildas gives *Maglocune* (vocative) in DEB. c. 33, but *Aureli Canine* (also vocative) in c. 30. The latter is

¹ The pl. *morynion* is from **morigñiones*. **Morinion* might have been expected, but see Thurneysen, ZCP. xii. 413.

² But this has also the Ogam MAGLICUNAS, and hence, though the name is a British rather than an Irish one, it is probably to be regarded in this context as Irish in language.

evidently the Brit. name **Cunignos* as in CIIC. no. 362 just above, W. *Cynin*. This means "whelp", and it would seem from the fact that Gildas calls him "lion-whelp", *catule leonine*, that he is punning on the Latin adjective *caninus*, "canine", and deliberately altering **Cunigne* to *Canine*. Loth quotes from the record of the Council of Braga in 572 the presence of *Mailoc Britoniensis ecclesiae episcopus* (Chr.B. p. 66), i.e. a Breton bishop, whose name was derived from the British **Maglācos*. ASC. 577 mentions two British chiefs, *Coinmail* and *Farinmail*, var. *Conmæzl* and *Farinmæzl*, *Coinmazil* and *Farinmazil*, whose names again contain **maglo-*. Gregory of Tours (late sixth century) mentions a Breton *Macliavus* (*Hist. Franc.* iv, 4, v, 16) and his younger contemporary *Vidimaclis* (*op. cit.* ix, 18), the latter in the year 587; Loth proposes that these should be read with *gl* for *cl* (Chr.B. p. 50 and RC. xxxv, 276), which is doubtless correct, the names showing the common Merovingian Latin confusion of *g* and *c*. The Life of St. Samson (early seventh century) gives *Tigernomalus*, Prologue § 1; compare inscription no. 477 above.¹ Bede has *Brocmail*, HE. ii, 2, and the Rhuys Life of Gildas, c. 2, *Mailocus*. On the other hand, in the Life of St. Winwaloe there is *Maglus Conomagli filius* (i, 18, second half of ninth century; *Analecta Bollandiana*, vii, 203); the Life of Paul Aurelien gives *Tigernmaglus* (A.D. 884; RC. v, 437); the Life of St. Briec *Briomaglus* (eleventh century; see § 79. 3).

In OWCB. there is invariably *il*, *ir*, *in*. For OW., note *Mailcun* (HB. c. 62, AC. 547, Gen. i); *Brocmail* (AC. 662, Gen. xxvii, xxix, xxx); *Brocmayl* (Gen. xxii, xxvii), *Brochmail* (Gen. xvii, xviii, Asser c. 80); BROHCMAIL, BROHCMAL (CIIC. no. 1000,² ninth century); *Artmail* (AC. 943, Gen. xxix);

¹ Because of the absence of the *g*, Loth thinks these are not from *Tigernomaglos* but from **tigernosamali-*: Ir. *tighearnamhail*, "lordly", and should be emended to *Tigernomalus* (RC. xxxix, 320-21). There are several OB. names in *-hamal* < **samalis*. But *Tigernomalus* would need to have *s* > *h* and loss of composition vowel, and this etymology can therefore not be regarded as at all certain, specially in view of the names in OW. in *-mal* clearly for *-mail*. It is no doubt the common name *Tigernomaglos*.

² As read by Lhuyd, see Cymm. xxi, 40.

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ARTMALI (CIIC. no. 1012, tenth to eleventh century); ARTHMAIL (CIIC. no. 1024, c. 1000); BRIAMAIL (no. 978, tenth to eleventh century); *Carantmail* (*sic leg.*; Gen. xxiv); *Docmail* (Gen. xxxii); *Fernmail* (HB. c. 49, AC. 775, Gen. xxviii, Asser c. 80); *Mormayl* (Gen. xxv); *Gartmailauc* (AC. 722); *Catgabail* (HB. c. 65); *Osmail* (Gen. xxxii); *Osmeliaun* (AC. 902); *telu* (Juv.3); *Aircol* (Gen. ii); *flairmaur* (M.Cap.); *hair* (Ox.2); *Neirin* (HB. c. 62); *guerclaud* (Ox.2); *Brecheiniauc* (Life of St. Cadog, VSB. p. 78), *Brecheniauc* (Asser c. 80; Life of St. Cadog, VSB. p. 48; Life of St. Illtud, VSB. p. 226); *Broceniauc* (AC. 848); *loinou* (Ovid); *Loyngarth* (HB. c. 71).

In OC. there is *Mæiloc* (Bodm. § 49, 959-75), where *æi*=*ai*; *Brenci* (Bodm. § 40, 959-93); and *streil*, *teilu*, *flair*, *oir*, *trein*, *croin*, *croinoc*, *oin*, *coloin*, *moroin*, and *brunnen* in Voc.C.

In OB., names in *Mael*, *Mel* in Cart.Red. (see Chr.B. pp. 148-9);¹ *air* (Orl.CC.), *airou* (Lux.), *airmaou* (Lux.), *fleriot* (Orl.CC.); *blein* (Paris Comp.) and *blein*, *blen* (Cart.Red., see Chr.B. p. 110); *cosoin* (Orl.CC.); *loin*, *loen* (Cart.Red.).

Examining all this evidence, we find that the *il*, *ir*, *in* stage must have been reached by or before the time of the oldest OWCB. documents; at least by the ninth century. In fact the latest cases of *gl* written are Maglocune c. 540, BROHOMAGLI in an inscription of the mid sixth century, *Vidimaclis* in 587, *Macliavus* in the late sixth century, and VENDVMAGLI in the late sixth or early seventh century;² and of *gn*, BROCAGNI in the mid sixth century (this may be Irish). The earliest instances of *il* are *Mailoc*, 572, *Coinmail* etc., 577 (beside *Conmæzl* and *Coinmazil* etc.), *Tigernomalus*, early seventh century, TEGERNOMALI, seventh century, and

¹ OB. *rigl* (Orl.CC.), *riglion* (Lux.) is taken by Förster to have Brit. *gl* (Reliq. p. 102). The meaning of the word is uncertain and hence it cannot be adduced; but in any case original *gl* is impossible so late. It is probably original *cl*; cf. *cornix gl. cornigl* (Berne), <Lat. *cornic'la*.

² It is obvious that *Maglus Conomagli filius* in the second half of the ninth century (he lived in the fifth to sixth century); *Tigernmaglus* in 884 (he lived sixth century), and *Briomaglus*, eleventh century (lived 440-530); are very early forms, no doubt from sources contemporary with or soon after the time of the originals.

Brocmail in Bede ; ¹ and of *in*, Gildas' *Canine* appears to suggest that the *g* was at least already sufficiently vocalised to allow of the pun on **Cuniznos* or **Cunijnos*.² All this seems to make it clear that Brit. internal *gl*, *gr*, *gn*, which presumably became *ʒl*, *ʒr*, *ʒn* at the time of lenition (the latter being regularly written as *gl*, *gr*, *gn*), was reaching the stage *īl*, *īr*, *īn* in the second half of the sixth century in Pr.WCB.³ This will fit Pedersen's explanation of *teilu* as from **teʒ'lu* from **tegoslougos* (VKG. i, 522), since the *ʒ'l* group came together by loss of composition vowel, a phenomenon which is dated below in the middle of the sixth century (see § 195).

§ 87. British and Latin *g* after *l* and *r*

The *-lg-*, *-rg-* became first *-lʒ-*, *-rʒ-* by lenition, and these gave MW., Mod.W. internal *-li-*, *-ri-*,⁴ before back vowels just as much as before front.⁵ In final position, however, there is MW. *-lʒ*, *-rʒ*, spelt *-ly*, *-ry* (or *-rw*), in which the *ʒ* was non-syllabic ; Mod.W. *-ly*, *-la*, or *-l* and *-ry*, *-ra*, *-rw*, or *-r*. The OW. spelling in both positions is *lg*, *rg*. The *ī* is lost before *i*, e.g. OW. *colginn* > Mod.W. *colyn* ; and sometimes before *e*, e.g. *margarita* > *mererid*, OW. *Morgettiud* > *Maredudd*.

In Cornish the *lʒ*, *rʒ* became *lch*, *rch* internally and finally ;

¹ Förster takes *Mæzla* in ASC. 501 to = [Maila], Eng.St. lvi, 225 ; but this is not necessarily so, for how would [Maʒla] be spelt in AS. if not *Mæzla* ?

² I know no evidence on *gr* earlier than the OWCB. period, but no doubt its history was the same.

³ Hence it is not at all probable that the name of the district in Heref. called *Magonsæt* by the English, occupied in the second half of the seventh century, can be connected with Rom.-Brit. *Magnis* in Heref. ; cf. BSRC. p. 39.

[⁴ But Binchy now points to *goralw* and *ymoralw* as cases of *-rg-* giving merely *-r-* ; and Lloyd-Jones quotes examples of *-l-* and *-ll-* as well as *-li-* from *-lg-*, concluding on this analogy that *-rg-* might give *-r-* and *-rr-* as well as *-ri-* ; see JCS. i, 149. But the examples quoted for *-l-* at any rate, all in the stems *dal-*, *attal-*, and *cynnal-*, can all be explained as secondary formations from cases like *dal*, *attal*, *cynnal* where the *lʒ* was final in Pr.W. In any event *ettelis*, *kynhalei*, and *kynheleis* are not relevant, since *ī* would normally disappear here, see just below.]

⁵ Presumably by the same sort of development through which OI. *Fergus* = [i'ɛrʒus] became Mod.I. [f'aris].

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OC. spells *lg*, *lh*, *rg*, *rch*, and MC. *lh*, *rgh*, *rh*. In Breton the same unvoicing of the *ʒ* occurred; OB. *rg* is written (no cases of *lg* are found), MB. *lch*, *rch*, Mod.B. *lc'h*, *rc'h*. The CB. *ʒ > ch* is parallel to the unvoicing of *ʒ*- in initial lenition position in B. (see § 73. 2). Like it, too, it is evidently comparatively late in its full development, but its beginnings seem early (see below).¹ The spellings in MC. suggest the same there. O'Rahilly proposes that Brit. *lg*, *rg* became first *lc*, *rc* and these gave *lch*, *rch* (EIH.M. p. 369). If the implication is that the *c*, *rc* were reached before original *lc*, *rc* gave *lch*, *rch*, and therefore fell together with them, this is not possible, since in that case there would have been *lch*, *rch* < *lg*, *rg* in all three Brittonic languages.

Examples: Brit. **selg*-, "hunt" (probably in the tribe-name *Selgovae*, Ptol.), with internal -*lʒ*-, in OW. *helgha ti gl. venare* (Ovid), and in *helcha gl. in venando* (M.Cap.);² MW. *helya* (CA. l. 1105), "act of hunting", Mod.W. *heliwr*, "hunter"; OC. *helhiat gl. persecutor*, *helhwur gl. venator* (both Voc.C.); MC. *helhys*, "hunted"; B. *di-elc'hat*, "to lose breath". With final -*lʒ*; MW. *hely*, Mod.W. *hel*, *hela*, "to hunt"; B. *em-olc'h*, "hunt". Brit. **arganton*, "silver", > OW. *argant* (MP.), MW. *ariant*; OC. *Arganbri* (Bodm. § 32, 959-75), *Arzanteilin* (§ 13, 941-6), *Arzantmoet* (§ 28, tenth century), *argans* (Voc.C.); MC. *arghans*, *arhans*; OB. *arga(nt)* (Orl.CC., *secunda manus*), *Argent*- and *-argant* names in Cart.Red. (Chr.B. p. 107) and Cart.Land. (p. 570, *Iunargant*, eleventh century); MB. *Guennargant* in Cart.Land. in a thirteenth-century note, p. 557. For *rg* in Mod.B. compare *argant* in a seventeenth-century text in Chr.B. p. 306, and in an eighteenth-century one, *ibid.* p. 337; whereas the normal

¹ In P. Le Roux's *Atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne* intervocal *lc'h*, *rc'h* < *lg*, *rg* are given as [lh], [rh] as well as [lχ], [rχ], [h] being a weak [ʒ]; e.g. maps 19, 148, 294. It is clear, however, that this does not represent the survival of primary [lʒ], [rʒ], but a secondary voicing of [lχ], [rχ], since it also applies to *lc'h*, *rc'h* < *lc*, *rc*, e.g. maps 142, 193, 232, 259, 286. The same is found in external sandhi -*r c'h*-, whether from older -*r g*- or -*r c*-, e.g. maps 114, 202, 216. [On this voicing, which occurs only when the group is intervocal, see now p. 435, n. 1.]

² Both of these have *helʒ* plus suffix -*ha*, which in the second example has fully unvoiced the -*ʒ*.

Mod.B. spelling is *arc'hant*.¹ Brit. **lorgo*-, "track", >W. *llwry*, *llwrw*; MC. *lergh*, *lyrgh*; Mod.B. *lerc'h*.

The behaviour of Brit. *l - g*, *r - g*, *n - g*, *t - g*, and *d - g* > Pr.W. *l'z*, *r'z*, *n'z*, *d'z*, and *ð'z* > W. *l_i*, *r_i*, *n_i*, *d_i*, *ð_i*, and the CB. analogies, have been noted above, see § 74. 3.

§ 88.

In discussing the date of the developments of British original *-lg-* and *-rg-*, the following facts are to be considered. The Pr.WCB. *-l_z(-)* and *-r_z(-)* arose by lenition. In Welsh, *l_z* and *r_z* would seem to have become internally first a strong *lj*, *rj*, the *j* belonging phonemically to the consonants, and hence being written regularly throughout OW. as *g*; subsequently, however, it was weakened to *i*, and is hence spelt *y*, *i* in MW. and *i* in Mod.W. In final position the *-z* gave a mere non-syllabic *-ə*, which in later MW. was either dropped, or vocalised as *-a* or (after *w* = [u] in the previous syllable) as *-w* = [u]. Since there is a sharp distinction in the treatment of Pr.W. internal and final *l_z*, *r_z*, the differentiation in W. into *lj*, *rj* and *l^o*, *r^o* must have taken place after the total loss of final syllables in the middle of the sixth century. There must still have been *l_z*, *r_z* (the *z* perhaps already partly voiceless in CB.) in both positions at the time of the divergence of W., C., and B., because only this can explain the history in CB. The stage *lj*, *rj* was presumably also later than the loss of composition vowels, since the same development is seen with secondary Pr.W. *l'z*, *r'z*, etc., as noted above. The last stage, that of internal *l_i*, *r_i*, must have been reached after the period of internal vowel affection (seventh to eighth century, § 176), because the *i* does not cause affection—so W. *arial* not **eirial*. Since original *i* is never spelt *g* in OW., and original *g* here always is (even as late as

[¹ F. Falc'hun, *L'Histoire de la langue bretonne*, pp. 124-5, notes that *argant*, with occlusive [g], is the form widely spread in southern Brittany at the present day. Whether any of the above B. spellings with *g* mean [g] rather than [z] or [χ] it is impossible to say. The explanation of this modern [g] is obscure, but it cannot, of course, be original as Falc'hun seems to think it; the historically original form in B. is naturally the northern *arc'hant* or *arhant*, which, however, F. surprisingly attempts to derive from a French dialect source.]

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Lland., e.g. *Arganhell*, pp. 75, 82, 173), it appears that the *j* must have lasted at least until more or less the end of the OW. period, though, of course, some late cases of *g* could well be traditional spellings. The only example of original *ȝ* written *g* known to me is *Telgesinus* = *Talȝesin* in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* (e.g. l. 733 ; c. A.D. 1150), a very late source and not strictly Welsh at all. This seems to show that to Geoffrey's ear the sound was now identical with original *ȝ*. The Black Book of Carmarthen, c. 1200, always has *i*.

One may say, then, that the Late Brit. stage *lȝ*, *rȝ* was reached with lenition in the second half of the fifth century ; W. *lj*, *rj* arose after the loss of composition vowels and the divergence of WCB., therefore at earliest in the late sixth or early seventh century ; and *li*, *ri* probably in the twelfth century. For final *-lʲ*, *-rʲ* the evidence is inadequate ; note, however, *Bolg-ros* in Lland., p. 161, with *-g* still written and therefore presumably still = *ȝ*. As *-g* is never used for it in MW., the change of *-ȝ* to *-ʲ* may be dated about the same time as that of *j* to *ȝ*.

For C. and B., the fact that Late Brit. *-lȝ-*, *-rȝ-* give *-lch-*, *-rch-*, but Pr.CB. *-l'ȝ-*, *-r'ȝ-* arising by syncope seem not to do so, would indicate that *lch*, *rch*, or at any rate a clear phonemic distinction along those lines, existed already before the period of syncope, therefore in the first half of the sixth century, and must be a feature of the Late SW. Brit. dialect. But since the sound is sometimes spelt with *g* in OC., OB., the CB. *ch*, if *ch* it was in the sixth century, can hardly have been identical with the strongly rasped voiceless *ch* = [χ] which resulted from Brit. *cc* ; and it may rather have been at first a soft partially voiceless *ȝ*.¹

§ 89. Summary of the History of *g*

To sum up the history of *g*, the following probable conclusions can be drawn, leaving certain aspects of the question undecided for lack of evidence :

(1) *g* > *ȝ* occurred with general lenition in the second half of the fifth century.

[¹ The voiced [h] or [ȝ] of some Mod.B. dialects is, however, probably a secondary development rather than an original survival ; cf. p. 435, n. 1.]

(2) $ʒ > \underset{u}{\underset{a}{z}}$, in those cases where this happened, about the beginning of the sixth century.

(3) At the beginning of the second element of compounds, $ʒ$ was perhaps becoming weakened in the seventh century, and was being lost in OW. in the ninth to tenth century, though not normally completely so until the eleventh to twelfth. In OB. it was fading in the tenth century and disappeared by the eleventh; in OC., possibly in the eleventh.

(4) Where $ʒ$ seems to have become [j] in Pr.WCB., i.e. (a) between front vowels, it was being lost in the ninth century in OW. and already by the ninth in OB.; (b) internally after \bar{i} before a , o and finally after \bar{i} , perhaps lost in OW. in the eighth century, and in OB. before the ninth. The evidence for OC. is poor, but not conflicting with this.

(5) Between vowels of different qualities $ʒ$ (whose own nature is uncertain) was again apparently lost in the ninth century, except after \bar{i} .

(6) Between back vowels and finally after a , o , and u , where $ʒ$ remained as [ʒ], it was probably being dropped in the eighth century in W. and very likely in B.; C. does not disagree.

(7) Finally after e , where $ʒ$ was probably [ʒ], it seems to have been dropping out in W. by the middle of the sixth century, though the evidence is not very adequate; finally after \bar{i} , not until the ninth century in W. and the ninth to tenth in B.

(8) Before l , r , n it was vocalised in the second half of the sixth century in Pr.WCB.

(9) After l , r it became j internally in the late sixth century or later in Pr.W., and this gave \dot{j} in the twelfth; finally perhaps $ʒ > \textcircled{e}$ in the twelfth. In CB., it must have been developing towards ch early in the sixth century, but perhaps did not reach a full ch till the MC., MB. period.

§ 90. IE. g^2

This became b in CC. initially except before u (no Brittonic examples for the latter); intervocally and preconsonantly, g ; post-consonantly, b . The group ng^2 gave CC. mb . The

aspirate *g^uh* apparently resulted in CC. *g-* initially, but may have become Brit. *b* internally (though *u* is possible); *ng^uh* seemingly > *ng*, *g^uhn* > CC. *gn*. All these developed in Brittonic in the same way as the sounds with which they fell together.

§ 91. IE. *l*

It resulted initially in W. [*λ*];¹ i.e. the famous W. *ll*, for a description of which see WG. p. 19; in CB., *l* (but see § 93). Intervocally, *l* remained everywhere. IE. *-lt-* became *-λ-* in W. when internal in Pr.W., but *-λt* in W. when final in Pr.W. (§ 54. 1). IE. *l* also gave *λ* secondarily in W. after *n*, *r*,² and before Pr.W. *d*, *ḍ*.³ In CB., *l* remains in all these cases (but see § 93), and the *t* in *lt* likewise except finally in MC., see § 54. 1.

British *ll* arising from simplification of IE. consonant groups (*ln*, *nl*, *ld*, *sl*, *ls*, perhaps *rl*) and from hypocoristic *ll*, as well as from Latin *ll*, all became *λλ* in W., but remain in CB. (often spelt single *l*).

In some cases Welsh final *-l* in polysyllables also gave *-λ*. The conditions under which this happened are not clear; see Pedersen, VKG. i, 148, LP. p. 50; Morris Jones, WG. pp. 181-2; Loth, RC. xxxvi, 393-4; Baudiš, Gr. p. 147; Lewis, EL. p. 24. Pedersen's rule that it took place when the *l* was before an *i* in the original (lost) final syllable will not cover all the instances, and, as some are certainly much later than the loss of final syllables (e.g. *humilis* > MW. *ufyl*, later *ufyll*; see EL. p. 24), it is not relevant to them. Cf. also Förster's demonstration in *Anglia*, lxi, 341 ff. that W. *rhidyll* is a loan, probably of the early sixth century, from AS. **hrīdīl*, where no lost final syllable is involved. On the other hand OW. *bahell*, beside *lau-bael* (Ox.2): Ir. *biail*, and *cannuill* (Ox.2), show that in some cases

¹ The MW., Mod.W. initial *λ-* is invariably spelt *l-* in OW., but medially and finally sometimes *ll*, sometimes *l*. Baudiš is wrong in implying that it is not spelt *l* in OW. medially and finally (Gr. p. 146).

² E.g. Brit. **uīnolandā* > W. *gwinllan*; and W. *y llaw*, where the lack of lenition after the feminine article is due to the original *-r* of the article, OW. *ir*. This does not occur with original *gl-*, see § 74. 1.

³ But the *ll* in the Mod.W. *-llt-* here seems to have been quite late; see § 54. 1.

it had happened at least by the ninth to tenth century. It is probable that the λ in the examples is of various origins ; but the question needs further investigation.

IE. $l̥$ gives Brittonic l with affection, and *not* the W. λ which Loth took as the explanation of the problematical cases just mentioned. E.g. Brit. **caliācos* > W. *ceiliog*, OC. *chelioc*, B. *kilhek*. There is no ground for accepting Morris Jones' contention that post-tonic $l̥$ gave $l̥d$ > ll (WG. p. 153) ; his examples are all unsatisfactory, and involve his own personal concept of the British accent. Latin $l̥$ became in VL. a purely palatalised l' (l -“mouillé”) in the third to fifth century (Richter, CPF. p. 112), but in British Latin it remained a consonant group, and the $i̇$ later caused vowel affection as with other consonants ; e.g. *solea* > **sol̥ia* > MW. *seil*. A VL. **sol'a* would probably not have affection in Britt., as the l' would no doubt have been sound-substituted by British l .

Latin l plus consonant became u plus consonant in VL. in Gaul about the same time, e.g. *silvaticus* > **sauvatigus*, *saltus* > **sauto*, see Richter, *op. cit.* p. 114. This does not appear in Britt., e.g. *palma* > W. *palf*.

On the date of l > λ see § 93.

§ 92. IE. r

Initially this gave W. ρ (=OW., MW. r , Mod.W. rh), a voiceless r ; and the same secondarily after n , r . Otherwise in W., and everywhere in CB. (but see § 93), there is ordinary r . An example of ρ arising after n is Brit. **pennorindo*- > Mod.W. *penrhyn* ; and so in external sandhi, where e.g. leniting yn does not affect words in rh - < original r -, as *yn rhad* not *yn rad*. After r , Mod.W. *y rhan* (OW. **ir rann*). Contrast original gr -, § 74. 1.

IE. $r̥$ became sometimes r with vowel affection, which is what would be expected ; e.g. MW. *peir*, OC. *per*, B. *per* : Ir. *coire* ; etc. But in some instances there is $r̥d$ without vowel affection ; e.g. Brit. **Īueriōn*- > Mod.W. *Iwerddon*, Mod.B. *Iwerzon*, “Ireland” ; Mod.W. *arddaf*, “I plough” ; Ir. *airim*, Gothic *arjan*. What happened here is evidently $i̇$ > j > \bar{d} (before the time of vowel affection) in the same way as in the instances

discussed in § 38 A. Morris Jones believed that this happened when the r_i was *after* the accent (WG. p. 153); but the weight of the examples would suggest the exact converse, and it is indeed intrinsically more likely that i after a consonant would be strengthened immediately before an accented vowel than when the stress preceded. So Lewis and Pedersen say it took place "before a retained vowel" (LP. p. 16), i.e. not in the British stressed syllable. There are no examples of this change in Latin words; which does not, however, prove that the stage $r\dot{d}$ was reached before the Roman period—on this point cf. § 38 A. 3. In fact, British names recorded in Roman sources show no certain visible trace of it, e.g. CORIONOTOTARVM (CIL. vii, no. 481), *Gariennos* (Ptol.), *Garianno* (ND.); and after the British stressed vowel, *Durnovaria*, *Calcaria*, *Burrium*, *Isurium* (all AI.), *Petuarium*, *Coria* (Ptol.). Whether the *Corda* of Ptolemy and Ravennas, another town in Scotland, can be regarded as an instance, beside *Coria*, is highly doubtful;¹ and it is significant that this would not be "before a retained vowel" in Welsh.

The phenomenon of $r_i > r\dot{d}$ is likely to be connected and co-aeval with that of intervocal $i > \dot{d}$. The fact that after no other consonant does i become \dot{d} may seem anomalous. It is noteworthy, however, that a palatalised r is acoustically not far from \dot{z} ; in some Gaelic dialects it became \dot{z} (Kilkenny) or \dot{d} (N. Hebrides), and cf. the Polish $rz = \dot{z}$. Possibly in Brit., r_i developed some \dot{z} glide which caused the i to go the same way as intervocal j .

§ 93. The Origin and Date of Welsh λ , ρ

According to Pedersen, W. λ and ρ are primary, arising from his strong non-lenited L, R; and l , r are lenitions of this (see VKG. i, 140, LP. p. 48). He proposes in this way to tie up the Welsh system with that of Irish non-lenited L, R (and N) versus lenited l , r (and n). Thurneysen, on the other hand, believes (for Irish) that it is the non-lenited L, R, N which have diverged from the norm, i.e. are secondary, and so

¹ Cf. Williams, BSRC. pp. 29-30.

explains the fact that the rules of lenition for these sounds are somewhat different from those for stops (Gr.OI. p. 85).¹ This is in line with the opinion of Morris Jones about the Welsh sounds, that *l* and *p̣* are secondary; he thought that they arose from *sl-*, *sr-*, and external sandhi *-s l-*, *-s r-*, *-n l-*, *-n r-* (WG. pp. 162, 177).

The Abbé Falc'hun has shown² that in Modern Breton all lenited sounds, such as *b* the lenition of *p*, whether initial or internal, are of relatively short duration, whereas non-lenited sounds like original *b* or *p* whether in absolute initial or after non-leniting particles or internal, are of relatively long duration (approximately double the others); and that this applies equally to *l*, *r*, *n* as well as to the consonants ordinarily regarded in Breton as lenitable. This is not recognised in the orthography, so that it had passed almost unnoticed³ until the fact was demonstrated scientifically by Falc'hun in the course of his work on experimental Breton phonetics. The history of British lenition is discussed more fully in §§ 131 ff. below, where it is shown that internally between vowels British seems to have had consonants with comparatively short articulation, including CC. intervocal *-l-*, *-r-*, *-n-*, and others with comparatively long articulation, including *-ll-*, *-rr-*, *-nn-*, which may be regarded as geminates. The distinction between them was etymological, going back to CC. or Latin; so, for instance, IE. *-sl-*, *-sr-* gave CC. *-ll-*, *-rr-*, §§ 127, 128. Again, in absolute initial the consonants were long, though probably hardly as long as true geminates, perhaps only half-long—written here for present purposes *b(b)-* etc.—but in a close speech-group after a proclitic ending in a vowel the initial consonant of a word was of the short variety. Then, when the subsequent slackening of articulation known as “lenition” took place in Late British, the short sounds became voiced, or spirants, or were otherwise

¹ Cf. Sarauw, KZ. xlii, 56-7.

² *Sav* no. 27 (1943), pp. 70-79, and no. 31 (1944), pp. 40-48. [See now his *Le Système consonantique du breton* (Rennes, 1951).]

³ But cf. the article in RC. xxxv, 468-70, where Loth showed from evidence supplied by Cuillandre for his dialect (Ile Molènes, Finistère), that in absolute initial and after particles originally geminating *l*, *r*, and *n* are strongly articulated and in lenition position weakly so.

weakened, while the long varieties remained unaffected. The long or half-long consonants in absolute initial are long to the present day in Breton, but in Welsh they were subsequently shortened.

Now, the best interpretation of the facts set out below seems to be that the Common Celtic *l*, *r*, and *n*, whether short or long, had a tense articulation which may be indicated by writing them *L*, *R*, and *N*, so that when double they would be *LL*, *RR*, and *NN*; in homorganic groups like *lt* and initial *sl-*, *sr-*, *sn-* they would be *Lt*, *sL-*, *sR-*, *sN-*; and in absolute initial *L(L)-*, *R(R)-*, *N(N)-*. When lenition occurred in Late British, single short intervocal *L*, *R*, and *N* were reduced to ordinary *l*, *r*, and *n*; but the long geminates and the sounds in homorganic groups remained tense and long, the perhaps half-long absolute initial sounds being subsequently reduced in Pr.W. to short tense non-lenited *L*, *R*, *N* but not to the new lenited *l*, *r*, *n*. In all three languages the non-lenited tense sounds developed still further. Non-lenited *N* and *NN* lost their tenseness in all three languages, becoming in Welsh merely single *n* (falling together with lenited *n*) and double *nn* respectively;¹ but the initial *N(N)-* which survived in Pr.B. fell together with *NN* in Mod.B. double *nn*. The non-lenited *L* and *LL*, *R* and *RR*, underwent ultimately the corresponding fates in Breton, and non-initial *R* and *RR* also in Welsh. However, Pr.W. non-lenited *L*, *LL*, and initial *R* (<*R(R)-*) had a quite different history. They are the immediate source of *λ* and *ρ*. This is not to say, however, that *λ* and *ρ* must themselves go back to Late British. It is obvious, indeed, that the fact that lenited Late Brit. *-l-*, *-r-* in words like **uīnolandā* > *gwinllan* and **pennorindo* > *penrhyn* regularly became *λ*, *ρ* after syncope had brought them into homorganic groups, is proof that these sounds need not have been original and could arise secondarily and late by a process of protraction, i.e. passing from *n-l*, *n-r* though *nL*, *nR*. The same thing is seen in external sandhi

¹ Some traces of *N* in a homorganic group seem visible in OW. in the occasional spelling *rnn* (e.g. *cilurnn*, Juvenc.; *Categirnn*, HB. cc. 44, 48, MS. K; *Saturnnguid*, Chad 3; *Gu(ort)girnn*, Chad 5; *Elharnn*, Lland. p. 73; *Laguernnuc*, *ibid.* p. 207; etc.). The development of original *NN* to *dn* in Mod.C. (see LP. p. 53) may indicate that *NN* survived in Cornish.

after the loss of final syllables, as in **sindā longā* > **ir Long* > W. *y(r) llong*, or in foreign loans in early Welsh like the Norse *jarl* > W. *iarll*, borrowed as *iarL*. We must regard λ and $\acute{\rho}$, then, as having come into being as a secondary feature out of non-lenited *L* and *R*, by being unvoiced though keeping their strong articulation. In the case of non-lenited *R* the unvoicing took place only in the Pr.W. initial, and in the secondary homorganic groups after *n* and *r*, as in *penrhyn*, *y(r) rhan* (fem.). Otherwise, as apparently everywhere with *N*, the *R* fell together with the lenited variety in *r*, including the geminate *RR* which became mere voiced *rr*, not $\acute{\rho}\acute{\rho}$. The $\lambda < L$ is not merely a voiceless [l̥], but a tenser and more energetic sound, as befits the derivative of *L*. The geminate *LL* gave $\lambda\lambda$, which, like *rr*, acts as a double consonant in the Mod.W. quantity system. In M. and Mod.W. (beginning already in BBC., c. 1200) the original single non-lenited Late Brit. *L* is written *ll*, e.g. *llas*, BBC. p. 3, l. 2, but in OW. it is remarkable that it is never written double though the original geminate *LL* usually is; so we have OW. *locell* (M.Cap.) for M., Mod.W. *llogell*, from Lat. *locellus*. The same is true in homorganic groups with single non-lenited Late Brit. *L*, whether in external sandhi or internally; thus M., Mod.W. *y(r) lloer*, *allt*, *Benlli*, but OW. *ir loyr* (Comp.), *alt* (AC. 870; VSB. p. 28), *Benli* (HB. c. 32), etc. This would appear to imply that at that time the original Brit. double *ll* was still a geminate everywhere, *LL* or $\lambda\lambda$, clearly distinct from single *L*- or λ - initially and in homorganic groups, or to put it differently that the OW. use of *ll* is meant to show the geminate character of the sound, not its voicelessness; but that by the late twelfth century they were not any longer consciously distinguished, and when it was desired to find a special symbol for single λ to distinguish it from lenited *l* they came to use *ll* for it. Mod.W. *ll* from the old geminate still acts as a double sound in the quantity system in stressed syllables, e.g. *pëll*, *cëlli*,¹ though in monosyllables this is true only in North Welsh, and in South Welsh vowels in that case are long as a rule, so *pëll*. It would seem then that it was the reduction of geminates

¹ Cf. WG. p. 71.

to single consonants in the new unstressed syllables, of $-\lambda\lambda$ to $-\lambda$, in cases like OW. *locell* = *logéλλ* giving late OW. *lógeλ*,¹ which made it possible to use *ll* to express the single initial λ , since in final position also the *ll* now meant single λ . Since OW. words were stressed on the ultimate until the accent-shift (eleventh century, § 207), it is no doubt the case that the stage *logéλ* was recent at the time when *ll-* began to be written in the late twelfth century. The not infrequent use of *l* in OW. for original double *ll* may be purely scribal, because it is found after the then stressed vowels (e.g. *nouél*, *patél*, Juv. 3; *Catéλ*, Gen. i, xxii, etc.; *Seissil*, Gen. xxvi) as well as the then unstressed (e.g. *caláur*, Juv. 3; *elín*, Ox. 2), and the analogous treatment occurs also with *rr*, *nn*, *mm*, and *ss*. Whether the long vowels before $-\lambda\lambda$ in monosyllables in South Welsh go back to the time when the new quantity system arose, c. 600, implying $-\lambda\lambda$ already $>-\lambda$, seems doubtful; it has the look of something quite late and secondary, perhaps due in some way to the influence of $-\lambda\lambda > -\lambda$ in the twelfth century in the new unstressed syllable. However, it may be analogous to the simplification of final $-\lambda\lambda$, as distinct from internal $-\lambda\lambda$, in the later sixth century (see p. 339), and might be much older than unstressed $-\lambda\lambda > -\lambda$ in general Welsh. The same problem does not arise with *r*, since original geminate *RR* did not become $\dot{r}\dot{r}$, and hence had no temptation to confusion with $\dot{r} < R$. The spelling *rh* for \dot{r} was not invented until the sixteenth century.

The question then arises, when the voiceless sounds λ and \dot{r} may be said to have come into being out of non-lenited *L* and *R*. There is nothing comparable to λ in Breton, but in the case of *R* a voiceless allophone may often occur as a free variant, as Falc'hun has shown.² This was noted long ago by Ernault for the dialect of Cornouailles,³ and a text in modern Vannetais printed by him actually writes *hr-* for non-lenited initial *r-* by contrast with *r-* for the lenited sound.⁴ In

¹ In such words when the *ll* stood in a (now) stressed syllable owing to the addition of a termination, it remained $\lambda\lambda$; so MW. pl. *logéλλeu*. Cf. p. 340 above.

² *Sav* no. 27, p. 75.

³ See RC. iii, 492.

⁴ RC. xi, 184-6; see his comment, p. 186.

Cornish, where no distinctions in *l* and *r* were recognised in the orthography, we lack the evidence of a living language. However, there is some trace of a voiceless initial *r*- (though, as in Breton, not so with *l*-), as has been pointed out by Förster in Reliq. pp. 95 ff., where he quotes *Hret Winiau*, "the Ford of Winiau" (Mod.W. *rhyd*, OC. *rid*) near Lamorran in Cornwall in an AS. document of 969, and *Hryd* in one of 960 and *Hryt* in another of 967, both in Cornwall. Since AS. *hr*- was voiceless in the tenth to eleventh century, Förster thinks that these spellings mean the sound was voiceless in Cornish too. It seems, then, that voiced initial *r*- varies facultatively with voiceless in B., and may have done so in C., so that this probably goes back at least to the period of Late SW.Brit., at any rate as a nuance. This being so, it is likely that the voiceless ρ arising from non-lenited *R* in Welsh in certain positions is a fuller and more regular expression of what appears in CB. as a fleeting variation; and therefore that the roots of this ρ -sound lie in the common Late British language—in other words, that non-lenited *R* already had a nuance of voicelessness there. Whether the same was true with non-lenited *L*, whether the voicelessness of W. λ is equally old in origin and completely lost later in B. (and C. ?), cannot be determined, but the *a priori* probability is that this was so.

Nevertheless, at this stage the voiceless variety would seem to have been a mere allophone, as it still is in Breton. When did this tendency grow into a fully fledged perceptible phonemic λ , ρ in Welsh? It is clear that the Greeks and Romans consciously observed no sounds which were so strongly different from [l], [r] that they felt the need to indicate them by any separate spelling—the Mod.W. λ is so distinctive, and so unlike an ordinary *l*-sound, that it would certainly have been noticed and distinguished from *l* if it had been in the language at the time. British names in *L*- borrowed into AS. are never rendered by anything other than AS. *l*-; the AS. *hl*- is never used. So Leadon (Heref.-Gl.-Wo.), AS. *Ledene*, <Pr.W. **Ludan*, see RN. pp. 241-2; Wenlock (Shr.), AS. *Wenloca* etc., <Pr.W. **WynnLog*, cf. Ekwall, Dict. p. 482; ASC. 918 *Cameleac*, var. *Camelzeac*, =OW. *Cimeilliauc*, <**comaltĩāco*-, see p. 298. The

characteristic sound-substitutions which English uses nowadays for W. λ , namely *thl*, *fl*, etc., do not appear till the eleventh century. The first known to me is *Rigwatlan* in ASC. 1063, = W. *Rhiwallon*, which looks like an oral rendering; contrast AS. *Riuwala* in DLV., c. 840 (KW. p. 177), which is for the same name, and *Ceadwalla* (ASC. 685-8) for Pr.W. **CadwaLLŷn*. Next, the Cumberland name which appears as *Polthledick* c. 1200, *Polthledith* in the thirteenth century, *Polhedich* in 1273, and may contain the Cumbric equivalent of W. *pwll* (see Ekwall, RN. pp. 329-30); but this is only a hypothesis, and it is quite uncertain what the second element is. Moreover, since this name belongs to the part of Cumberland which was in British (Strathclyde) hands in the tenth to eleventh century, it may be a very late loan. Contrast other names in Cumberland with merely *Pol-*, Ekwall, *loc. cit.*¹ There are several cases of *thl* or *lth* for λ in the late, post-1150, part of the Book of Llandaff, e.g. *Penthlyn* = *Penllyn*, p. 331, but these are all due to English or Anglo-Norman influence. Ekwall quotes *Penketlin* in 1275, *Penketly* in 1332, for *Pengethly* (Heref.) < W. *Pengelli* (Dict. p. 344), a late loan. Compare W. *Henllann* in Ergyng and *Gwynllwg* west of the Usk, taken into English late as *Hentland* and *Wentloog*, and contrast Wenlock, which is a much earlier borrowing. For ρ , note *Hris* = W. *Rhys* in ASC. 1052, and *æt Hrodene* in a charter of 975 quoted by Ekwall, RN. pp. 344-5, which is identified by him very doubtfully with the English river Roden (Shr.). Pr. W. non-lenited *R-* is otherwise rendered only by *r-* in English. Three instances of supposed attempts to spell λ (from *L* not *LL*) in OW. have been pointed to, namely *hloimol* and *iehnlinn*, both in Ox. 2, tenth century (cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 13; Rhys, LWP. 2 pp. 234-5, who wrongly calls them OC.); and *dluithrwim* in Juven. (tenth to eleventh century), see Stokes, TPhS., 1860-61, p. 226 and KBr. iv, 413; Loth, VVB. p. 107; Morris Jones, WG. p. 25. But the meaning and etymology of *hloimol* and *iehnlinn* are quite unknown, and hence their probable Brit. or Mod.W. forms, so that it is useless to quote them. *Dluith-* is equated

¹ If these spellings do contain substitutes for λ , it is noteworthy that Cumbric agreed with Welsh in the history of *ll*, not with CB.

by Stokes and Loth with *W. llwyth*, but it is not credible that a Welshman at any period should write λ as *dl*, which would be phonemically utterly distinct—the supposed parallels quoted are all English or Anglo-Norman spellings and therefore irrelevant, and besides they all have *thl*, not *dl*. Parry-Williams regards *dluithruim* as one of his dog-Welsh glosses by an Irishman, which may be possible (BBCS. i, 121). Hence these supposed examples are indecisive.

The conclusion appears to be as follows. In Late Brit., non-lenited *L*, *R*, and *-LL-*, *-RR-* stood side by side with lenited *l*, *r*. With *R* there was probably, and with *L* and *LL* possibly, already a facultative voiceless variety; with initial *R* this allophone has remained to the present in Breton, and in Cornish it appears to have survived at least into the later tenth century; in Pr.W., however, the voicelessness of both liquids must have become sharpened and increased to such an extent that it resulted finally in new phonemes, λ (with $\lambda\lambda$) and ρ . The process seems to have been a slow one, and neither λ nor ρ were sufficiently exaggerated to be noticed as peculiar sounds by the English during the settlement period, nor at all until the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Some supposed examples of attempts to spell λ in tenth-century Welsh are inconclusive, but *ll* had come to be used for it by the end of the twelfth. The evidence quoted above appears to show that λ must have existed before the accent-shift in the eleventh century. Probably we may regard λ and ρ as being fully established by the tenth century. This would explain why MW. *-nl-*, *-nr-* from Pr.W. *-n'zl-*, *-n'zr-* did not develop to *-n\lambda-*, *-n\rho-*, as Pr.W. *-n'l-*, *-n'r-* (= *-n'L-*, *-n'R-*) did; because the *z* was probably not fully lost until the eleventh or twelfth century (§ 74.1), after the growth of *L*, *R* to λ , ρ was complete.

§ 94. IE. and Latin *m*

Initial *m* remained, except in *ml-*, *mr-*, where it had become *b* already in the Gallo-Brittonic period. IE. *m_i* gave *n_i*, and *mu* gave *u*, in Common Celtic, except in late compounds. The name of the British goddess *Couentina* is regularly spelt

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Coventina or *Corventina* (see Eph.Ep. iii, pp. 314-17), but CONVENTINA occurs (see *ibid.*), perhaps out of etymological consciousness or perhaps by Latinising orthography, since Latin *-nv-* similarly became *-v-* in VL. and is often so written, e.g. *covenimus* (Grandgent, IVL. p. 131). In early compounds *m* plus *m* was simplified and treated as single *m*; but not in late ones, which give WCB. *m*. Latin *mm* also becomes WCB. *m*. On WCB. *m(m)* from Brit. *mb*, *sm* see §§ 111, 129.

Brit. *m* in initial lenition position, and intervocally alone and in the groups *ml*, *mr*, *mn*, *lm*, *rm*, *nm*, became through the Late Brit. lenition what is expressed in this book as μ , i.e. a spirant which was a strongly nasal bilabial \tilde{b} ; in the resulting $l\mu$, $r\mu$ sometimes, and in $n\mu$ apparently always, the μ is dissimilated to *v* (see § 65). Later the nasality of the μ was weakened, and the resulting sound is spelt here \tilde{v} (the *v* still at first probably bilabial). Still later, the \tilde{v} was denasalised in Welsh and Cornish, but in Breton the nasality remained, being transferred to the preceding vowel; in W. and C. it fell together with $v < \tilde{b} < b$, but in B. the preceding vowel is nasal to the present day.

On the loss of \tilde{v} internally see § 65; finally, § 66; pre-consonantly, § 67.

§ 95.

The history of μ is a complicated matter. It has been examined in great detail by Förster (FT. pp. 649 ff.), but his treatment is not satisfactory and it is necessary briefly to re-state the whole problem, and to advance a solution which may seem both simpler and better suited to the facts.¹

The date of $m > \mu$ causes no discussion, since it must already have taken place as part of the general lenition of intervocal sounds in the second half of the fifth century (see §§ 131 ff.). *B* and *m* are both voiced labial sounds, differing only in that *b* is an oral stop and *m* is a nasal continuant; the final product of the lenition of both in W. and C. was $\tilde{b} > v$. There is no reason to doubt, therefore, that *m* was lenited at

¹ The theory set out in the following pages was arrived at before I had seen Förster's book, and is therefore independent of his.

the same time as *b*, and that the resulting spirants were identical except for the matter of nasality. There are, then, two main questions of chronology : (1) when did μ become weakened to \tilde{v} , and (2) when was \tilde{v} denasalised to \tilde{b} , falling together with \tilde{b} from *b* ?

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The sound derived from the lenition of *m* is spelt *m* in the early inscriptions and written sources, and in OW. ; in MW., *u*, *f*, *v*, etc., exactly as for $v < \tilde{b} < b$; Mod.W. *f*. In early OC. there is *m*, later (Voc.C.) *f*, *u*, *v* ; MC. *v*, *ff* ;¹ Mod.C. *v*. OB. has *m* ; early MB. *u*, *v* ; regular MB. *f*, *ff*, sometimes *fu*, *ffu* ; Mod.B. $\tilde{m}v$, $o\tilde{m}$.

In the first place, if μ was a type of bilabial \tilde{b} , why was *m* ever written for it in Pr. and O. WCB. ? Now the Latin alphabet has no accurate means of expressing a nasal bilabial \tilde{b} ; it could provide only the choice of the letters *m* or V, *u*. But the sound μ must have been at first so strongly nasal that it was felt unconsciously to belong to the *m* range of sounds ; hence to write *m* was the natural course, an approximation, the best that could be made. Doubtless the fact that the sound had formerly been a true [m] may also have played its part, in so far as any link of tradition existed between the orthography of the fifth century and that of later times (cf. pp. 69-70). Further, the letter V, *u* could hardly have been used in any case, because, as we have seen, the consonantal *u* written V, *u* in the Latin alphabet was a [u] in British and British Latin, not a bilabial \tilde{b} , even though it had become a \tilde{b} in general Vulgar Latin pronunciation. Consequently, when the engraver of the inscription CIIC. no. 408 wrote VEDOMAVI,² in the mid or later sixth century, for the Pr.W. name which was now [wē¹d° μ au], he used M for μ because he knew no better way of spelling it ; he could not use V, because the sound which he wrote V at the beginning of the name was entirely distinct and not connected at all in his mind with μ .

¹ On this see Förster, FT. p. 658.

² See § 75. 1.

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Nevertheless, in spite of tradition, if μ and \bar{b} really fell together entirely in pronunciation at that time or later it would be inevitable that there would be constant confusion and interchange of M and B in inscriptions, and of m and b in OW., OC., indifferently; moreover, when the Continental Latin u for the sound [b] became known in Britain (cf. p. 74), this would also be written for either.¹ If these things did happen, and if we can date when they happened, we should have the answer to question (2).

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The evidence on this point is as follows: In the early inscriptions there is no case of V or U for μ . One supposed example of confusion between \bar{b} and μ has been suggested, namely CIIC. no. 399 (end of the fifth century), which reads SIMILINI in Latin letters but S(U)B(I)L(I)NI or S(I)B(I)L(I)NI in Ogam.² V. Nash Williams and Ifor Williams appear to take this name as being properly *Similinus*, doubtless correctly,³ and propose that the B may be evidence of denasalisation and confusion (Arch.Camb., 1937, p. 3). This last is hardly certain; as they note, the Ogamist may have made the simple error of writing the Ogam letter for B instead of the very similar one for M. In any case the question is not really relevant here, since whatever the mistake is it belongs rather to Pr.I. phonology than to Late Brit. It is not likely that Brit. μ would actually be weak in nasality so soon after the period of lenition. On supposed descendants of the name in OW. see below.

In OW., the spelling u is exceedingly rare for μ before c . 1100, though it is common in the Book of Llandaff. The only older example uncomplicated by other factors is *douid* in Juv.9, which is regarded by Ifor Williams as the ancestor of Mod.W.

¹ The use of u would not necessarily prove that the sound was no longer nasal (though it should mean that it was no longer sufficiently nasal to need to be written m , i.e. that it was \bar{v} rather than μ), because u , v , f , ff are written for it in MB., where it was certainly still nasal.

² See p. 186.

³ *Similinus* occurs in Gregory of Tours (ACSpZ. i, col. 1566), as well as a Pictish *Simul* in the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 724.

dofydd, <Pr.W. **dopuid* (BBCS. vi, 210). However, the reading is doubtful, and no weight can be laid on it. On OW. *dauu* and *Frauu* see § 66. 2. The spelling *f* seems not to occur before the Book of Llandaff. In any case one would not expect to find *u* or *f* before about 1100, because *u* meant [u] or [ü] in OW., and the only *v*-sound other than that from *m* was that from *b*, which was itself written always *b* until c. 1100.¹ As for the confusion of the letters *b* and *m* in OW., the only certain examples before the end of the eleventh century are: *abruid* (Juv.9 and Comp.); ()*bracma* (Chad 4; perhaps = Mod.W. **cyfrangfa*); and *amcibret* and *amcibfret* (MP., consisting of Brit. **ambi-com-sret*-, so that the *-br-* and *-bfr-* are for Pr.W. *-μfr-*).² In these cases of *b* instead of *m*, it is important to notice that there was not merely Pr.W. *μ* here, but *μr*, or in the last example *μfr*. It seems very probable therefore that *μ* was denasalised much earlier before *r* (or *fr*) than otherwise, and that here a spelling with *b* was possible in OW. even as early as MP. and Juv.9. For less certain instances,³ none of which is earlier than c. 1100, note *Barmbtruch* (Gen. xviii, from the Harleian MS. 3859 written about that time), which is for Mod.W. *Barfdruch*; there is

¹ The inscription CIIC. no. 1005, ninth century, was read by Macalister + BRANCU +, but is more probably + BRANCUF. The stone is broken off immediately after the F, and the full inscription must have been *Brancu fecit*, cf. nos. 979 and 1014. The name would be the older **Brancum*. [Nash Williams takes the name as *Brancuf* (ECMW. p. 130), which would be an unparalleled use of *f* for *m* so early, and is very improbable at this date.]

² Förster is therefore not right in saying that in all sources of the fifth to tenth century there is not a single case of confusion of *m* and *b* (FT. p. 628).

³ Williams suggests taking *inbann* or *dibann* (the reading is uncertain) in Juv. 9 as a spelling for **dimann* (BBCS. vi, 215); but this is made questionable by the doubtfulness of the reading. Nash Williams and Ifor Williams think that *Sibelini* in Chad 8, and *Hiubilin* in Lland. p. 175, are the OW. descendants of the *Similinus* discussed above, and stand for *Sivilin* and *Hivilin*, writing respectively *b* and *ub* for denasalised *v* from *μ*. This may easily be so in the case of *Hiubilin* in Lland., but is unexpected so early as Chad 8. If it is the same name at all, which is not certain, it may well (as the authors say) have been influenced by *Cunobelinos* > *Cinbelin*, which would account for the *b* and *e*. Loth regards the OW. names *Dumnagual* and *Dumnguallun*, from CC. **dubno*-, as further cases of confusion (RC. xlvi, 307); but this is an error, since the form **dumno*- goes right back to CC., occurring in Ir. and Gaul. as well as Brit. (e.g. Brit. *Dumna*, Ptol., Pliny), and having arisen through nasalisation of the whole group *bn* to *mn* very early, though **dubno*- also survived.

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hesitation here between the incorrect *m* and the correct *b*, but in any event the MS. is late and the original very likely had *Barbtruch*. Again, *Cyblim* in the Life of St. Illtud (VSB. p. 218), which was written in the first half of the twelfth century, may have an early denasalisation of μ before *l* similar to the example above before *r*; but however that may be, the source is in any case very late. *Cob*, "memory", for **com* = W. *cof*, in the Life of St. Cadog (VSB. p. 54) is a clear case of *b* for μ , but the Life was composed about 1100.

By the time of the Book of Llandaff, confusion between *m* and *b*, and the use of *u* and *f*, are becoming common; and in the Black Book of Carmarthen, c. 1200, the MW. practice is fully established. In Lland., note for instance *trem* for *treb*, pp. 43, 125, 222; *Cynmur*, p. 115, and *Conmor*, pp. 199, 203, apparently from Brit. **Cunoburros*; ¹ *Rubon*, p. 209, perhaps for *Rumaun*; *Ebrdil*, pp. 76, 79, 80, but *Emrdil*, p. 264, beside several spellings of the name with *Eu-*, *Ef-*; *Cimliuer*, p. 32, but *Cibliuer*, p. 44. The writing of *u* and *f* is too common in Lland. to make examples necessary.

From this evidence one is warranted in forming the preliminary opinion that the sound was totally denasalised during the eleventh century, except that before *r* (and *fr*) this happened much earlier, apparently by the beginning of the ninth century. If the complete denasalisation had been any older, we should have found constant confusion of *m* and *b* in OW. sources of the tenth century; which is not the case.

For Old Cornish, *m* is written in the Smaragdus glosses (late ninth or early tenth century; in *anam*) and in Ox.2 (tenth century; in *dowomisura*); also in the Bodmin manuscripts everywhere except in *Wincuf* (§ 33, second half of tenth century) and *Bleyðcuf* (§ 37, beginning of twelfth century) both in AS. contexts. In Voc.C., c. 1100, *f* and *u* are common, and *v* occurs once; of the four cases of *m* (*caurmarch*, *ermit*, *firmament*, and *parchemin*) the last three are probably loans from English or French, as other considerations show,² and

¹ Cf. Williams, AMCA. p. cxvii.

² Cf. § 110. Förster notes that the *m*'s in *firmament* show that it is probably borrowed from English, AStNSp. cxxxv (1916), p. 288.

therefore have [m]. Hence it would seem likely that the sound was denasalised about the eleventh century, as in Welsh; *Wincuf* would be due to the influence of AS. spelling habits, and *caurmarch* perhaps a traditional form, or using *m* by imitation of the simplex *march*. There is naturally no visible confusion of *m* and *b* in Voc.C., because both sounds were now written *f* or *u*.

Since Breton did not lose nasality, the only question is at what date it was passed to the preceding vowel. Förster is of the opinion that it happened at some time before the thirteenth century; see FT. p. 659. The MB. *u*, *v*, *f*, *ff* never appear in the Glosses, which have always *m*; Loth remarks that *m* is used in Cart.Red. until 1037 (RC. v, 111).

§ 98.

To come now to English place-names and the earlier history of lenited *m*, the process began with a strongly nasal sound, written here as μ , and continued through a weakly nasal one, spelt here \tilde{v} , until it became entirely denasalised. The direct evidence for this depends on the renderings of the sound in English place-names. Two treatments are found; English *m* and English *v*. As the whole question of date turns on the locality of the names, examples must be presented rather fully.

(1) *With English m.* Thames < Brit. **Tamēssa*, see FT. p. 600, RN. p. 404. Dunwich (Suf.) = Bede (HE. ii, 15) and ASC. 636 *Domnoc*, perhaps < Brit. **Dumnāco*-; see Ekwall, Dict. p. 148, Förster, FT. p. 425. Lympne (Sx.-K.), Lymn (Li.), Lymington (Ha.), Leam (Nthants.-Wa.), Lemington (Gl.), Lem Brook (Wo.), Lemon (Dev.), Loman (Dev.), all from Brit. **Lemanā*, see Ekwall, RN. pp. 243-6; or from **Lemonā*, **Lemenā*, Förster, FT. pp. 633-4. Lyme (Dev.-Dor.), AS. *Līm*, : W. *llif* < Brit. **lim*-, RN. p. 274, FT. p. 647. Hamps (Staf.) < Brit. **Samosispā*, see RN. p. 190, FT. pp. 646-7. Sem and Semington Brook (Wi.), perhaps from Brit. **Suminā*, RN. pp. 355-6, FT. p. 640. Elmet (WRY.) < Brit. **Elmet*-, Dict. p. 157, FT. p. 646. Mint (Wes.) < ME. *Mimed*, derived by

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Ekwall from Brit. **Mimeto-* or **Mimētion-*, RN. p. 294, and by Förster (FT. p. 648) from "abrit. **Mīmed*";¹ this is doubtful. Kemble (Gl.), <AS. *Cemele* < Brit. **Comel-* : W. *cyfyl*, Förster, FT. p. 642; but < Brit. **Camulos*, Ekwall, Dict. p. 258. Leeming (NRY.) < Brit. **Lēminā*, Förster, FT. p. 647; or from **Lēmanīā*, Morris Jones, Cymm. xxviii, 71 ff.² Teme (Shr.-Heref.-Wo.) < Brit. **Tametio-*, Ekwall, RN. p. 399, or **Tamidē*, Förster, FT. 442. Tame (Wa.-Staf.), Tamworth (Staf.), Tame (WRY.-Lan.-Ch.), Tame (NRY.), Thame (Buck.-Oxf.), Team (Du.), all from Brit. **Tamā*, RN. pp. 389 ff., FT. pp. 369 ff. Tamar (Corn.-Dev.) < Brit. **Tamara*, FT. p. 406, or *Tamaros*, RN. p. 389. Frome (two in Gl.; Wi.-So.; Heref.; Dor.) and town names derived from these, all from AS. *Frōm* (the Wi.-So. Frome = AS. *Frōm* in 701, RN. p. 166), from Brit. **Frāmā*, RN. p. 167, FT. pp. 56-7. AS. *Nīmed*, *Nymed*, *Nymet*, < Brit. **Nemeto-*, in various river-names in Gl. and Dev.; FT. p. 641. Hemyock (Dev.) < **Samiācā*, FT. p. 646, cf. Dict. p. 223. For other examples of *m* in Devon see FT. p. 650. In Cornwall, St. Erme near Truro, < Brit. **Ermin-* or **Armin-*, Förster, FT. pp. 642-3; and p. 650, he notes also Tamar, Tamerton, St. Germoe, Tremabyn, Tremabe, Nansmabyn, and implies the existence of others.³ Förster's theory (FT. p. 449) that *Tamedeberie* in Domesday Book, = Tenbury (Wo.), was actually taken by the visiting Norman officials from Welsh speakers on that occasion (and the nasal *b̥* perceived as *m*), rather than from the English who had been settled there and made it part of England for four centuries, is too far-fetched to need discussion.⁴

For personal names, note *Coinmazil*, *Farinmazil* and their variants, ASC. 577, from Pr.W. *-mazl* or *-mail*, see p. 464; *Brocmail* (at the battle of Chester, 613 or 616), Bede, HE. ii,

¹ Read Pr.W. **Mīmed*.

² But Ekwall derives from AS. *lēoma*, "gleam", RN. p. 247.

³ But on pp. 705-6 he forgets most of these, and gives only St. Erme, St. Germoe, and Tremabe.

⁴ Manchester, AS. *Mame-ceaster*, Rom.-Brit. *Mamucium* (AI.) is treated by Förster as another case of lenited *m* borrowed as *m* (FT. pp. 647, 669). But Ekwall's etymology (Dict. p. 298), which Förster does not mention and to which he offers no alternative, would demand Brit. *-mm-* and would therefore preclude lenition.

2, < Pr.W. **Brochpail*; AS. *Cædmon* < Pr.W. **Cadμann*, cf. FT. p. 664; *Cameleac* var. *Camelzeac*, ASC. 918, no doubt a contemporary oral borrowing, from OW. *Cimeilliauc*. In the same entry in ASC., to *Deomedum* (MS. D) or to *Deomodum* (MS. A), the men of Dyfed, < Brit. *Demetae* (Ptol.), Pr.W. **Dyfed*.

(2) *With English v.* Frocester (Gl.), DB. *Frowecestre*, from AS. **Frōu-*, and Henry of Huntingdon's ME. *Frowemutha* or *Froumutha*; both from Brit. **Frāmā*; ¹ cf. RN. p. 168, FT. pp. 57, 165. Tarvin (Ch.), ME. *Tervin*, perhaps: W. *terfyn* < *terminus*, cf. RN. p. 392. Morda (Shr. and Denbighsh. border), ME. *Mordaf*, A.D. 1295, < **Mārotam-*, cf. RN. p. 296, FT. pp. 392-4. Tavy (Dev.), AS. **Tæfi*, < Brit. **Tamīos*, RN. p. 393, or **Tamīsā*, FT. p. 398. Teviot (Roxburghsh.) < Brit. **Tamīatis*, cf. FT. p. 460. Seven (NRY.), perhaps from Brit. **Suminā*, RN. p. 358, FT. p. 640. Leven (ERY.; NRY.; Lan.), and Lyne (Cum.), with place-names derived from them, all from ME. *Levene*; and Lyvennet (Wes.) from Brit. **Leminetā* (Förster, FT. p. 682); Ekwall suggests that the stem might be **Leman-*, but prefers **Libnio-* or **Limnio-*: W. *Llyfni*, < Brit. **sleib-* (RN. pp. 250-52, 277). On these, and on three rivers Leven in Scotland (Dumbartonsh., Fife, Kinross-sh.), Förster thinks this possible but not necessary, and in any case rejects the *-bn-* form. He proposes **Lemonā*. See FT. pp. 633-40. Treville (Heref.), DB. *Triueline*, contains the lenition of Pr.W. **melin*, "mill"; cf. Dict. p. 458, FT. p. 648.² St. Briavel's (Gl.), < Brit. *Brīgomaglos*; cf. p. 448 above. Lanivet (Cornwall), with Brit. **nemeto-*; Dict. p. 274, Förster, FT. p. 641. There are, of course, many other names with *v* in Cornwall; see FT. p. 649. A tribal name is Devon, AS. pl. *Defnas* (ASC. 823, etc.), < Brit. *Dumnonii*.

¹ Förster takes *Frowemutha* as proof that British speakers survived in Dorset at least as late as the beginning of the eighth century (FT. p. 697); but this is an inference from his (unacceptable) date of 750 for names borrowed with *v*; see § 101. Actually the name was doubtless borrowed in the seventh century.

² Llanvair Waterdine (Shr.), cited by Förster (FT. p. 648), is right on the present Welsh border and west of Offa's Dyke; it is obviously purely Welsh, = *Llanfair*, and is therefore irrelevant in a discussion of British names borrowed into Anglo-Saxon.

§ 99.

How is this evidence from English place-names to be explained? The suggestion is made above that when *m* was lenited, in the second half of the fifth century, the result was a strongly nasal bilabial $\bar{b} = \mu$; and we have already seen that the sound was eventually entirely denasalised, and have provisionally dated this in the eleventh century. But why did the English borrow the sound sometimes as *m* and sometimes as *v*?

At first sight the natural inference from the many place-names with *m* would of course be that they were borrowed before the time of lenition. This might indeed be true with a few of the very earliest loans; for instance the Saxons doubtless knew, and quite possibly borrowed, the name of the Thames well before they began to settle in Britain. But for the great majority it will not do. It goes against everything we know about the date of lenition; for example the Tamar was reached in the eighth century, when no one would question that lenition was an accomplished fact. The only possible conclusion is that *m* in these instances is a sound-substitution.¹ The English at this time had no such sound as a nasal \bar{b} ; ² for sound-substitution they had available either *m* or \bar{b} (*v*); ³ and it is a natural conclusion that *m* was substituted in those cases where the nasality of the Pr.W. sound was perceived as the more striking feature, and \bar{b} in those where it was its character as a bilabial spirant. Since we have seen that the μ was eventually denasalised, it looks then very much as if the distinction were a chronological one; that is, that while the sound was still μ , strongly nasal, it was substituted by AS. *m*, and when it later became more weakly nasal (what is written here \tilde{v}) it was substituted by AS. \bar{b} or *v*; and that during the borrowing period the English never heard the Britt. sound in its totally denasalised form [b] at all, since that stage seems

¹ This was proposed at least as early as 1918 by Morris Jones, Cymm. xxviii, 234.

² They probably developed something like it in later times. Cf. Luick, HGES. § 681.

³ The AS. *v* (spelt *f*) was a bilabial \bar{b} at first, later a labiodental *v*.

not to have been reached until the eleventh century. Hence the occurrence of *v* in English names from Late Brit. lenited *m* does not mean that the sound was not nasal at the time of borrowing.

The question is, then, does this explanation suit the distribution of the names, and if so, can we roughly date the transition from μ to \tilde{v} ? The facts seem to be as follows. Cases of *m* occur as far west and north as Devon and Cornwall, the Welsh border, Lancashire, Cumberland, and southern Scotland. This would suggest at first sight that μ lasted right up to the end of the settlement period—the end of the seventh century, and in Devon the eighth, in Cornwall into the ninth century. On the other hand, there is *v* in English names in Tavy in the part of Devon probably settled not very early in the eighth century;¹ in the name Devon itself, no doubt adopted at the very latest in the second half of the seventh century or the early eighth;² Tarvin in Cheshire, borrowed at the beginning of the seventh century; Frocester in the part of Gloucestershire conquered in the campaign of 577; ME. *Frowemutha* in Dorset, mid or later seventh century; Teviot in the part of Scotland settled by the Anglians early in the seventh century. For the other names with *v*, they are either all younger, or have various objections which rule them out. The many names with *v* in Cornwall may have been borrowed quite late, since Cornish continued to be spoken. Similarly St. Briavel's, Treville, and Morda (not to mention Llanvair Waterdine) are in border areas which were Welsh in speech for centuries, as forms of other neighbouring place-names show. The Leven and Lyne group of names is very doubtful, and may well come from **Libn-* as Ekwall proposes; and the etymology of Seven is highly uncertain, and therefore whether

¹ Förster notes that the lack of AS. umlaut shows it was borrowed after 700; FT. p. 704.

² Förster thinks *Devon* is a late loan, about 800 (FT. pp. 706-7), but this seems to be for the sake of fitting the name into his chronological scheme. He says such a tribe name might easily have been borrowed later than place or river names. On the contrary, the English must have known the name of their enemies the men of Devon, whom they defeated in the campaigns of the end of the seventh century, long before they met the place and river names well inside their country.

it has *m* or *b*. Nevertheless, assuming that these names had British *m*, those of them which are in Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmorland would be borrowed in the middle and second half of the seventh century, and those in Scotland also in the seventh century if Förster is right, FT. pp. 635 ff. This leaves only a group of names in N. and E. Yorkshire. The settlement of the plain of York took place in the second half of the fifth century, but the Yorkshire Moors, where these names are found, were very likely not fully occupied for at least a century later; cf. pp. 197, 212, 238, 680.¹

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We are now in a position to attempt an interpretation of the entire evidence. In England as a whole, the discussion suggests that broadly speaking the change from sound-substitution of *m* to that of *v* took place in the seventh century; and that all during that century names with lenited *m* might be borrowed in any given area now with English *m*, now with *v*. For example, Frome beside Frocester in Gloucestershire (the latter need not have been adopted immediately after 577, and perhaps not for a generation), or Frome beside *Frowemutha* in Dorset. In north-east Yorkshire *v* seems somewhat earlier, though not necessarily more than a little; in any case this may very likely be a question of dialect. But, though the *v* forms are found in Devon from the late seventh (*Devon*) and mid eighth century (*Tavy*), there are *m* forms in a number of instances in Devon (late seventh to mid eighth century) and even in Cornwall (ninth century and later). There seems to be a contradiction here, since one would expect *v* by now to have gained the day entirely; a contradiction pointed up by the contrast between *Tamar*² on the western border of Devon as against *Devon*

¹ In FT. p. 682, Förster appears to say that north-east Yorks. was *settled* at earliest at the beginning of the eighth century; this can hardly be a mere misprint, as this is said also of other areas, such as Gloucestershire and south-east Yorks., none of which can have been occupied anything like so late.

² In FT. pp. 704-5, Förster suggests that it means denasalisation was later in Devon and Cornwall than elsewhere (which does not suit the evidence of *Devon* itself), but prefers to regard Tamar as a comparatively earlier loan adopted by sailors reaching there by sea—which is not very convincing.

learned on its eastern borders nearly a century earlier. If there had been any other parts of England occupied so late as this, other such apparent contradictions might have been found—the evidence from the rest of England, which warrants us in saying that *v*-substitution was coming in by the seventh century, does not necessarily warrant us in concluding that *m*-substitution was going out. But the contradiction becomes deeper when we come to personal names. *Coinmazil*, etc., are late sixth century, *Brocmail* beginning of the seventh, *Cædmon* late seventh, which is not inconsistent ; but *Cameleac*, A.D. 918, obviously an oral borrowing from OW. made on the actual occasion, is very late indeed, and *Deomedum* in the same annal is not likely to be an early loan.¹

It appears then that the Welsh and Cornish sound could still be perceived by the English as an *m* as late as the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, in spite of the fact that it could be heard as *v* so early as the seventh century, even the end of the sixth. This is to be set beside the conclusion already reached, that the Welsh sound was not totally denasalised before the eleventh century, except (a) after *au* (see § 66. 2), and (b) before *r*, *fr*, where Welsh non-nasal *v* is as old as the eighth to ninth century. The following reconstruction may now be offered :

(1) The Pr.WCB. sound from lenition of *m* was certainly still nasal at the time of the separation of W., C., and B. ; so Förster, FT. pp. 659-60.

(2) Up to about the beginning of the seventh century, and therefore in *all* place-names borrowed before that time, the sound was μ , so strongly nasal that English ears could perceive it only as an *m*.

¹ According to Pogatscher (Eng.St. xix, 341) it must have been borrowed before the AS. "o-umlaut", which he said took place in the second half of the seventh century, since it shows it ; *op. cit.* p. 342, he proposed that the English must have heard of the Demetae in the last quarter of the sixth century after the battle of Dyrham. The umlaut in question is, however, probably to be regarded as belonging to the early eighth century, cf. Luick, HGES. § 233, and there is no reason to suppose that the word is older in English than the occupation of Devon in the early eighth century, when they might come into contact with the men of Dyfed across the Bristol Channel.

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(3) In the course of the seventh century (in north-east Yorkshire perhaps dialectically somewhat earlier) the degree of nasality became considerably weaker, reaching the sound written here as *ǣ*, which was no longer necessarily heard as *m* by the English. It was now possible to deal with the sound by substituting *v*, which therefore appears in some place-names in the areas settled at this time, side by side with *m*. So Pr.W. **Frǣ* was now adopted with *m* in the river Frome, but with *v* in Frocester on that river, both in Gloucestershire.

(4) Nevertheless, the sound was still nasal, and the settlers could sometimes still perceive it as an *m* rather than as a *v*, both in the districts taken during the seventh century and in those occupied afterwards, at least to the tenth century (*Cameleac* ; names in Cornwall).

(5) The Welsh and Cornish likewise felt the sound to be nasal, and to belong to the range of *m*-sounds ; hence the Welsh wrote it with *m* right on through the eleventh century (except where it was denasalised after *au*,¹ probably in the eighth century, and before *r* and *fr* by the ninth century) ; and the Cornish down to the later tenth century and even beyond that.

(6) By the late eleventh or earlier twelfth century it is probable that both in Welsh and in Cornish *ǣ* had become entirely denasalised to *v* ; hence the confusions in the Book of Llandaff, 1135-40, and the regular writing with *u*, *f*, *v* in Voc.C., c. 1100.

This scheme seems to suit the facts, and to cover the situation adequately, without entering into elaborate and fine-spun arguments and dangerously exact dates which can only be made to suit the evidence by doing violence to it.

¹ Förster believes a final nasal *ǣ* could not be lost while it was nasal, and that if such a *ǣ* is lost it must have been already denasalised by passing its nasality to the preceding vowel. This seems methodologically quite unnecessary ; and note the early examples of loss of final *-v* other than in *lau*, on which see § 66. It is not true that *-v* was lost early only after *u*, as Förster asserts (FT. p. 677). The idea that *ǣ* cannot be labiodental in any Celtic language (FT. p. 664), and the conclusion drawn from it, is incorrect ; cf., e.g., T. de Bhaldraithe, *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge* (Dublin, 1945), §§ 154, 241.

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Förster's very complicated treatment of the history of lenited *m* (FT. pp. 649 ff.) needs some further mention. He gives a list of place-names with *m* and *v*, and admits that *v*-forms occur in districts apparently settled early (as Yorkshire), and that there are numerous *m*-forms in his *v*-areas. The latter he defines much too widely, identifying them with his "west-girdle" (see FT. pp. 102 ff.), and hence including *m*-names in e.g. Dorset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, which are beside the point as there are no *v*-names there. In fact the *v*-names are actually found in a very limited border strip only. Förster then goes on to construct an elaborate theory which is very briefly as follows (note that he uses *w* for bilabial *b*, and *v* for the labiodental; \simeq means a nasal vowel): *m* was \tilde{w} in the fourth century,¹ $\simeq\tilde{w}$ in the fifth to seventh, $\simeq w$ in the eighth or ninth to tenth (elsewhere defined as 750–950), and $-w$ from c. 950 or 1000; ² $-v$ from c. 1100 in W. and C.; Breton took $\simeq\tilde{w}$ over with it and developed it independently to $\simeq v$ as at present, some time before the thirteenth century. He believes in a definite chronological dividing line between names borrowed with *m* and those with *v*, and puts it about 750; ³ see FT. pp. 681 ff. The reasons for all this need not detain us. In a long and most unsatisfactory argument (pp. 685 ff.), depending partly upon inaccuracies over the periods of the English occupation, he attempts to explain away the unquestionable existence of *m* and *v* forms in certain areas side by side, as being respectively early and late loans from a native population still continuing to speak British for a long time,⁴

¹ Inconsistently, he speaks of OW. *Dimet* as still having unlenited *m*; FT. p. 235; and of a British (*sic*) **Frōmā* as having obtained from c. 300 to 600 (*sic*), pp. 56-7.

² This conflicts with Förster's own theory on *Tamedeberie*, see p. 487 above.

³ He fails to mention the much later *Cameleac* and *Deomedum*.

⁴ Though on p. 685 he admits the theoretical possibility, only to reject it, that the English might perceive *ð* sometimes as *m* and sometimes as *v*; which agrees exactly with our solution, and makes his own theory unnecessary. FT. p. 92, he actually says (inconsistently) that this really happened, à propos of Tarvin. P. 707, he forgets Tarvin in giving forms for Cheshire; since this area was settled in the first half of the seventh century, a *v* here does not suit his hypothesis.

though the presence of such a population is not and cannot be demonstrated. Part of the above doctrine is based on Förster's unacceptable treatment of *dauu*, *Frau*, and *lau*, on which see § 66. 2;¹ but aside from the fact that his dates for the sources of these are incorrect, and their significance is missed, they are in any event a special case, not a normal one, and cannot be used to date the normal development. As regards the question of the change of bilabial to labiodental *v*, this must indeed have happened; but I do not regard Förster's arguments for its period as of any weight, and think that there is not enough evidence to go on to attempt to date it.

§ 102. IE. and Latin *n*

They normally remain in WCB.² Initial groups of *tn-*, *cn-* have *n* > *r* with nasality in Mod.B. but not MB.; with *gn-*, however, it seems to have occurred already in OB.; see LP. p. 52. This is not found in W. or C., and is therefore a peculiarity of B. IE. *n̥* develops as would be expected, to *n* with vowel affection. Latin *n̥* became the simple palatalised *n'* (*n* "mouillé") in VL. in the third to fifth century, see Richter, CPF. p. 112; but this did not occur in Britain, where Latin *n̥* remained a group and developed as the native one; so *cuneus* > VL. **cun̥ius* > W. *cyn*. A VL. **cun'us* would probably be borrowed as **cunus* in British and would not have affection. IE. *ln* became *ll* in CC.; e.g. W. *all-*: OI. *all-*: Gaul. *allo-* < IE. **alno-*, see LP. p. 225, Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 309. On *ns* see § 130. VL. primary and secondary groups of *mn* became *mm* in Gaul in the first to second century; see Richter, CPF. pp. 69-70. This did not occur in other parts of the Empire, including evidently Britain; so *columna* > W. *colofn*, VL. **lam'na* > W. *llafn*. Latin *nf* was liable to become *f* in colloquial speech, as early as the Republican period, e.g. in *iferi* in

¹ One of the factors which help to vitiate Förster's datings is his belief that there are no OW. documents between about 950 and about 1150 (e.g. FT. pp. 676-7). On this see p. 51 above.

² In non-lenition position in B. the sound is the long one discussed above, § 93, and so with double *nn*; thus in *nadoz*, *gwen* there is long *n*, but in *kana* there is short *n*. Whether there was ever anything of the sort in OW., see n. 1, p. 475.

an inscription of that time; see CPF. pp. 40-41. This is seen in Brit. in *W. uffern*, MC. *yfarn*, B. *ifern*; also in *confessio* > *W. cyffes*, B. *coffes*, *confectio* > *W. cyffaith*, *confinium* > *W. cyffin*, B. *kefin*.

§ 103. British Groups of Nasal plus Stop

British *mp* (<IE. *nqʷ*, Latin *mp*), *nt*, *nc* were retained in the Brittonic languages as a whole. On final *-nt* in C. see § 110. In *-nti-* the *t_i* became [j] in MB., spelt *ch*. In Welsh, the stops were assimilated to the nasals in medial position, giving *m(m)h*, *n(n)h*, *ŷ(ŷ)h*. The *h* remains when immediately before the (MW., Mod.W.) stress, but was lost otherwise. However, where analogy entered in, as in *plentynt* < *plant*, *gwyntoedd* pl. of *gwynt*, *nentydd* pl. of *nant*, the stop may be unaffected. On the history and dating of these features, see below.

When *mp*, *nt*, *nc* were final in W. there was a tendency, becoming fixed in some cases but remaining only as an alternative in others, for them to be treated as internal if followed by another word in a close speech group, whether they were in a proclitic or followed by an enclitic. So Brit. **pempe*, "five", > MW. *pymp*, Mod.W. *pump*, but before a noun *pum*; the *h* is still seen in some cases when the noun begins with a stressed vowel, as Early Mod.W. *pum heryr*. Similarly OW. *cant*, "with" (MP.) > Mod.W. *gan*; M., Mod.W. *cant*, "hundred", > *can* before nouns (the *h* appears sometimes before a stressed vowel, as in MW. *can hwr*); Mod.W. preposition *cyn*, "before", but adverb *cynt*, "formerly", *cyn* being proclitic. So the 3rd person pl. verbal ending *-nt* became *-nh* before the suffixed pronoun MW. *wy*, whence the MW., Mod.W. *hwy* and the regular colloquial pronunciation *-n hw*. See further WG. p. 169.

Apart from this, and perhaps spreading from it, final *-nt* in W. polysyllables tended occasionally to become *-n*, either always or else as an alternative, irrespective of any closely connected following word. So Brit. **rīgantī* > OW. *riein* (*Rieingulid*, VSB. p. 194), Mod.W. *rhiain*; Latin *praesentem* > OW. *presen* (Juv.9), MW. *present* and *presen*; OW. *Morcant*

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(HB. c. 63, AC. 665, Gen. x, xxv, xxviii, xxix), MW. *Morgan* ; the 3rd person pl. verb ending *-n* in the modern spoken language even when not followed by the pronoun ; etc. etc. See further Baudiš, Gr. pp. 112, 159 ; Morris Jones, WG. p. 169 ; Parry-Williams, Phon.WB. p. 110. As regards the date, apart from the OW. examples quoted note also OW. *treidin*, 3rd pl., (Juv.9) = MW. *treithynt* ; and the constant 3rd pls. in *-an*, rhyming *an*, in the first poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen. These assimilations of *nt* are to be regarded as exceptional, though evidently having begun at least as early as the ninth century ; and even here in most cases forms with *-nt* survived side by side with *-n*. Normally, *-nt* in W. stressed polysyllables remains throughout when not followed by an enclitic.

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When the *mp*, *nt*, *nc* group stood at the end of the first element of a compound after the loss of composition vowels, or at the end of a word after the loss of final syllables, accommodations with the initial consonant of the second element might be involved. So Brit. **pempedecan* > W. *pymtheg* ; Lat. *ante tertiam* > W. *anterth* ; *antecenium* > W. *ancwyn* ; *Sancta Brigita* > MW. *Sanffreit*. According to Lewis, *ante tertiam* gave **anhederth* > **anh'derth* by syncope, > *anterth* ; *antecenium* > **anh'gwyn* > *ancwyn* (EL. p. 25) ; and **pempedecan* > **pymh'deg* > *pymtheg* (BBCS. v, 93) ; i.e. the stage *mh*, *nh* was reached before syncope of the composition vowel or loss of final syllables, the following consonant was then unvoiced by the *h* when syncope and loss occurred, and the *h* was absorbed. But this must be impossible, if only because internal *mp*, *nt*, *nc* could not have become *mh*, *nh*, *nh* in Welsh before the time of the loss of final syllables and syncope of composition vowels, since if they had done so they must necessarily have appeared in Cornish and Breton also (on this point see further below). The situation must be, rather, as follows : **pempedecan* > Late Brit. **pimpedegan* > **pimp'deg* > Pr.WCB. **pimtheg*, with the *d* unvoiced by *p*, which was then lost in the consonant group. Similarly *ante tertiam* > **antedertiam* > **ant'dert* > *anterth* (Ir.

anteirt must have been borrowed at the stage **ant'dert* in the second half of the sixth century); *antecēnium* > **antegēnium* > **ant'gēn* > *ancwyn* (cf. Loth, RC. xxxi, 156; Baudiš, Gr. p. 105); *Sancta Brigita* > **Santa Vrizida* > **Sant Vrezid* > **San Frezid* > MW. *Sanffreit* (in OW. *San Bregit*, Lland. p. 43, A.D. 1129; p. 276, early twelfth century; but *San Freit*, p. 32, A.D. 1128, see also p. 453 above; *B = v* is kept here by Latin and etymological influence). In *anterth*, *ancwyn* it is to be noted that **ant'dert*, **ant'gēn*, or rather a stage **anttert*, **anccēn*, must have been preserved until after original medial *nt*, *nc* > *nh*, *ɣh*, since otherwise there would be MW. **annherth*, **anghwyn*. Lat. *Anticristus* > W. *Anghrist* looks like an example of the opposite; but more probably a VL. **Ant'cristus* (which is quite a possible form, see Grandgent, IVL. pp. 98-9) was absorbed in British Latin already to **Ancristus*, whence regularly W. *Anghrist*, OI. *Ancrist*.

§ 105. IE. and Latin *-ntr-*, *-ntl-*

These give W. *thr*, *thl*, but remain as *ntr*, *ntl* in CB. E.g. OW. *ithr* (M.Cap.), C. *yntre*, B. *entre*, "between"; Brit. **auintros* (cf. LP. p. 9; Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 58, **aumontir* or **aumontrios*) > W. *ewythr*, B. *eontr*; Lat. *contrarius* > W. *cythrawl*, B. *kontrell*; *centrum* > W. *cethr*, C. *center*, B. *kentr*; Brit. **cantl-* > W. *cathl*, B. *kentel* (but OW. *centhiliat*, Juvenç., tenth century; *centhliat*, *ibid.*, tenth to eleventh century). (See Addenda.)

§ 106. The History of *mp*, *nt*, *nc* in Welsh

According to Pedersen they became first *mf*, *nθ*, *ɣχ*, and this already in *British*; in cases where the nasal was then lost, i.e. in the CB. equivalent of W. nasal mutation and in *ntr*, *ntl* > *thr*, *thl* in W., the voiceless spirant remained; but otherwise *mf*, *nθ*, *ɣχ* reverted everywhere to *mp*, *nt*, *nc*, except internally in W., where they gave *mh*, *n̄h*, *ɣh*.¹ Pedersen says that the spirants maintained themselves when the nasals were

¹ He evidently did not believe that the *-mf-*, *-nθ-*, *-ɣχ-* stage lasted as late as the ninth century in W.; see p. 505.

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lost, but otherwise became stops again (by provection) when they were preserved ; except that at this time internal *mf*, *nθ*, *ηχ* had already gone a stage further (he means in Welsh only) and were now *mh*, *nh*, *ηh* while the final was still *-mf*, *-nθ*, *-ηχ*, and hence the internal groups were not affected by the provection which turned final *-mf*, *-nθ*, *-ηχ* into *-mp*, *-nt*, *-nc* again (VKG. i, 149-50, LP. p. 51). Similarly in EL. p. 29 Lewis says that *mp*, *nt*, *nc* gave *mf*,¹ *nth*, *nch*, and then internally "in time" the spirants became *h* ; but that in final position, before the spirants were fully established, they returned to *-mp*, *-nt*, *-nc*.

This extraordinarily complicated theory was evidently devised by Pedersen to try to bring the history of *mp*, *nt*, *nc* in all the Celtic languages, including Irish, under one roof. His account of how Pr.I. *nt*, *nc* gave first *nθ*, *ηχ*, and then *dd*, *gg* need not be discussed here ; it has been rejected by Thurneysen (IF.Anz. xxvi, 26), and with it half the reason for Pedersen's theory vanishes. As for Brittonic, it is incredible that *mp*, *nt*, *nc* could first become *mf*, *nθ*, *ηχ*, and then much later return to *mp*, *nt*, *nc* (independently in all three languages) by provection on the ground that the spirants follow homorganic nasals. Provection arises when two or more consonants come together secondarily by some cause like syncope and need to make some mutual accommodation of articulation. But when an *original* consonant group undergoes a phonetic change, it is hardly probable that it will exactly reverse that change later on the grounds (from the grammarian's point of view) that the new consonant group does not suit the sound-laws of the language. If that is the case, the initial change would never have occurred—if *mf* was an impossible consonant combination, it would never have arisen at all, and clearly it is much more probable that it never did in fact arise, than that it did so and then reverted to its original *mp*.

In addition to the wish to cover the Irish developments, Pedersen's theory is also designed to explain the initial spirantisation of *p*-, *t*-, and *c*- in CB. where W. has nasal mutation. But a quite different solution for this is offered

¹ His *nff* is presumably a misprint for *mff* (i.e. *mf*).

below, § 187, and one which the writer ventures to think will suit the facts more adequately and more simply. Finally, Pedersen's explanation is intended to cover the change of *ntr*, *ntl* to *thr*, *thl* in Welsh. But it is at least equally likely that what happened here was that the *t* was geminated before the homorganic *r*, *l* (which, in the group of three dentals, may have been *R*, *L* till then) and the *n* reduced to a nasality which later disappeared, i.e. *ntr*, *ntl* > \simeq *ttr*, \simeq *ttl*, > *thr*, *thl*. This was Morris Jones' view, WG. p. 150. He attempted, however, to apply it to CB. too, and regarded it as Common Celtic, so as to link it with Irish phonetics; but his supposed CB. examples are unsatisfactory, and he did not understand the Irish treatment of *nt* and *nc*. Nor is it necessary to connect it with Irish, or to regard the phenomenon as very old. It might be Western, as distinct from South-Western British; or Pr.W. only. Indeed the spellings *centhiliat*, *centhliat* suggest that the vowel was still nasal, and therefore that the development was not an ancient one, though *tt* > *th* no doubt implies that at any rate it was as old as the sixth century. (See Addenda.)

The objection to Pedersen's theory, apart from its unwieldy nature in trying to explain too much, is chiefly that the phonetics of it are unnatural and unnecessary. Just as Brit. *mb*, *nd*, *ng* became, as will be discussed below, *mm*, *nn*, *ηη*, by the simple process of the nasalising of the voiced stops by the nasals, the nasalisation of *b*, *d*, and *g* being *m*, *n*, and *η* respectively; so in the same way in Welsh, and in Welsh only, the second consonant in *mp*, *nt*, *nc* was likewise nasalised by the first. Now a nasalised *p* is a voiceless [ṃ], a nasalised *t* is a voiceless [ṭ], and a nasalised *c* is a voiceless [ṇ]; hence the very exact MW. spellings *mmh*, *nnh* to express a geminate nasal the second part of which is voiceless.¹ The development is exactly analogous to that of *mb*, *nd*, *ng*, both in British and in Irish. There is a very interesting parallel to this in the phonetics of modern Scottish Gaelic, the relevance of which seems to have escaped the notice of Celtic grammarians. When a pretonic particle ending in *-n*, such as the definite article *an*, comes before a word beginning with *b-*, *d-*, *g-*, e.g. *bàrd*, *duine*,

¹ Cf. Lloyd-Jones, Cymm. Trans., 1942, p. 197.

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guth, the result in a certain group of Gaelic dialects¹ is a voiced nasal, i.e. *a' mard*, *a' nuine*, *a' guth*, which is, of course, almost exactly the same as initial nasalisation of *b-*, *d-*, and *g-*, and the internal treatment of ancient *mb*, *nd*, and *ng*, in both Irish and Welsh. But more; in these same dialects, when the particle comes before a word beginning with *p-*, *t-*, or *c-*, as *port*, *tarbh*, *cat*, the nasal affects the stop in a way which might be written *a' mhort*, *a' nharbh*, *a' nghat*. Phonetically speaking, the sounds are respectively [m̥h], [N̥h], [ŋh];² but it is important to notice that there is sometimes still a trace of the stop in the form of a faint glide; these cases may be written in phonetics [m̥^h], [N̥^h], [ŋ^kh] (see footnote). The remarkable likeness to the Welsh initial nasal mutation and to its treatment of internal British *mp*, *nt*, and *nc* is obvious.

One may therefore propose what seems to be a much simpler solution than Pedersen's; one which is close to that of Morris Jones, WG. pp. 169-70, who treats original *mp*, *nt*, *nc* as *remaining* except internally in Welsh, where the change to *mh*, *nh*, *ŋh* took place according to him during the OW. period. The history would be as follows:

(1) British internal *-mp-*, *-nt-*, *-nc-* were preserved everywhere at first in Pr.WCB.; and to the present day everywhere in CB.

(2) (a) At some stage in Pr. or O. Welsh yet to be determined, they developed by nasalisation into *m(m)h*, *n(n)h*, *ŋ(ŋ)h* when they were still internal; but (b) in the now final position, where the breath was cut off short by the final stop and the syllabic division was different, the nasal was not able to affect the following sound, so that the original *mp*, *nt*, *nc* remained here throughout.³

¹ Those of the northern Hebrides and the north-west mainland.

² Described by C. Borgström as [mh], [Nh], [ŋh], or [m̥^h], [N̥^h], [ŋ^kh] (*A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland*, ii, Oslo (1941), p. 124; cf. p. 13); by Fraser as [m̥mh], [n̥nh], [ŋ̥nh] (RC. xl, 141); and by Quiggin as [m̥h], [n̥h], [ŋh] (*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, lxxviii, 17).

³ Compare the history of the analogous assimilation in Pr.W. of *-Lt->-λt->-λλ-*, versus final *-Lt->-λt* remaining; § 54. Also how internal *-nt-* has become *-nn-* in colloquial American English (e.g. "twenny" for "twenty"), but final *-nt* has not.

(3) In external sandhi, the same thing happened in W., whence the "nasal mutation"; but in CB. the nasal at the end of the preceding word evolved in such a way that *p-*, *t-*, *c-* at the beginning of the next word were not nasalised but geminated, whence the spirant mutation in CB. corresponding to the nasal in W. (on this see § 187).

(4) The change of *ntr*, *ntl* to *thr*, *thl* is Welsh only, and is not connected with the other sections above, except that it has a close phonetic similarity to the origin of the spirant mutation of CB. in (3).

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Before trying to date the development of *mp*, *nt*, *nc* to *mh*, *nh*, *ηh*, we must first examine how they or their descendants are spelt in Late Brit., Pr.W., and OW. Here at once there emerges the fact that there is nothing whatever corresponding to Pedersen's *mf*, *nθ*, *ηχ* ever found at any time in this period in any of the languages, except one case of *mph* and three of *nth* which are differently explained below. In the early inscriptions I know no evidence on *mp*. As to *nt*, there are CIIC. nos. 394, end of fifth century, CANTIORI; 514, late fifth or early sixth century, CARANTORIVS; 363, mid or later sixth century, CARANTACVS; 380, same date, POTENTINI; 407, same date, CANTVSVS.¹ For *nc*, no. 451, early or mid sixth century, TVNCCETACE. In place-name loans in AS. I know no examples relevant to *mp*, *nc*. For *nt*, note Brit. **Derwentjū* > Pr.W. **Derwen't'* > Darent (K.), Derwent (Derb.; NRY.-ERY.; Du.-Nb.; Cum.), Darwen (Lan.; ME. *Derewente*, *Derwent*), see Ekwall, RN. pp. 113-15, 121-3; and Pr.W. **Brizen't'* > AS. *Brezunt*, *Brezent*, *Bræzente* > Brent (Hert.-Mx.), see p. 447. These preserve final *-nt*; Darent and the Yorkshire Derwent

¹ No. 356, end of sixth century, POTENINA, is regarded (no doubt rightly) by Ifor Williams and Nash Williams as an engraver's error for POTENTINA (Arch.Camb., 1936, p. 15). CINI in CIIC. no. 971, mid seventh century, is compared by Ifor Williams to Gaul. *Cintius*, *Cintia* as well as *Cinius*, *Cinia* (AMCA. p. cxiv). Williams thinks there are two different names here, and hence there is no reason to assume that CINI must be from **Cinti*.

would have been borrowed in the second half or at the end of the fifth century, Brent early in the sixth century, the Derb. and Du.-Nb. Derwent in the mid or later sixth century, and the Cum. Derwent in the later seventh century. Internally, Brit. *Trisantona* > Pr.W. **Trihanton* > Bede's *Treenta* etc. > Trent (Staf. etc. ; Gl.-Wo.), Tarrant (Sx. ; Dor.), see Ekwall, RN. pp. 415 ff.; and cf. OW. *Trahannon* (HB. c. 67), OB. *Treanton* (Cart.Red. p. 58), *Trehanton* (*ibid.* p. 285); see further pp. 524 ff. below. Also Nanny (Nb.), if correctly related to W. *nant* by Ekwall, RN. p. 298; this seems to have been borrowed between A.D. 700 and 800, cf. § 174. 2. On the question of **Brigantaccia* > AS. *Beornice* see Appendix.

In the OW. of the Glosses etc. before the time of the Book of Llandaff, the following types of spelling in internal position¹ are found :

(1) *n(n)t*, *nc* (*mp* does not occur). *Tantou* (M.Cap.); *comtantou* (*ibid.*); *Cair Guinntguic* (HB. c. 66a); *Derguentid* (HB. c. 44); *fontaun* (HB. c. 70, var. of *finnaun*); *antermetetic* (Juvenc., tenth to eleventh century); *guordiminntius* (Ovid.); *Decantorum* (AC. 812, with Latin termination); *Carantocus* (throughout the First Life of Carannog, VSB. pp. 142-6; with Latin termination); *Carantauc* (Second Life of Carannog, VSB. p. 148); *Karantoc* (*ibid.*). Note the form *cinteiluuat* = MW. *cynheilwat* in the Book of Aneirin, see CA. l. 520; and also in Lland., p. 184, *Cerentiri* with Latin termination. *Hancarate* (Chad 8) = Mod.W. *Angharad*, with Latin gen. sg. fem. termination; *Tancoystl* (Gen. ii); *partuncul* (Ox.2); note also *Strat Hancr* in Lland. p. 179.

(2) *mph*, *nth* (*nch* does not occur). *Pimphet* (MP.); *hanther* (*ibid.*); *Anthun* (Gen. iv); *Anthec* (*ibid.*).²

(3) *nn*, *n* (*m(m)*, *ng(ng)* do not occur). *Guiannuin* (Ovid);

¹ When final, there is only *-mp*, *-nt*, *-gc* (a spelling for *-nc*). The examples known to me are *rump* (Ox.2); *cant* "with" (MP.); *cant* "enclosure" (AC. 631); *argant* (MP.); *plant* (Ovid); *cuinhaunt* (Juvenc., tenth to eleventh century); *Custeint* (HB. c. 66a); *Pascent* (HB. cc. 48, 49, Gen. xxii, xxvii); *tagc* (Chad 2). None of this gives any support for thinking that the sounds were *-mf*, *-nθ*, *-ŋx* by this time at any rate.

² *Planthonnor* (Juvenc., tenth to eleventh century) consists of *plant-* plus a subjunctive *h*-suffix (cf. Thurneysen, KZ. lix, 16) and is therefore not a case of *nth* for original *nt*.

abalbrouannou (M.Cap.); *finnaun* (HB. c. 70; var. *fontaun* above); *Trahannon* (*ibid.* c. 67; see p. 524 below). Note also *finnaun* in Lland. pp. 157, 188, 241, 242; *Custhennin*, *ibid.* p. 276.

(4) *c*, *cg* = *nc*. () *bracma* (Chad 4); *nacgenei* (Comp.). *Cg* is common in Lland., e.g. *Acgarat*, p. 243; cf. *Estrat Ager*, p. 188.

The spellings with *h*, i.e. *mh*, *n(n)h*, *ngh*, etc., are not found at all before the Book of Llandaff, where *n(n)h* is the *normal* form and *cgh*, *gh* occur; so *Morcannhuc* passim; *Arganhell* pp. 75, 82, 173; *Custennhinn* p. 277; *Custenhinn* p. 72; *Custennhin* p. 276; *Cerennhir* pp. 200, 240; *Acghiti* p. 221; *Aghiti* pp. 200, 242. Note MW. *Taranhon* (BT. 77.15) for OW. *Trahannon*.

For Old Cornish and Old Breton all that need be said, without giving examples, is that they spell always respectively *mp*, *nt* (*ns*, see below, § 110; a few cases of *-n-* before a consonant), *nc* (the rare *-nch-* in Voc.C. is a function of the use of *ch* for *c* before front vowels); and *mp*, *nt* (one case of *-n-* before a consonant), *nc*; and that there is therefore no evidence here for internal or final *mf*, *nθ*, *ηχ* during the OC., OB. period.

These OW. spellings show apparently three main types of treatment. First, the unabsorbed *nt*, *nc*, which is found previously in the fifth to sixth century inscriptions. This occurs in ninth, tenth, tenth to eleventh, and early twelfth century sources, and even rarely in the Book of Llandaff. It is noteworthy, however, that in the later documents, i.e. the Life of Carannog and the Book of Llandaff, it is chiefly used in forms with Latin terminations, which are more likely to preserve archaic spellings; cf. the archaic *o* in the very name *Carantocus*, see pp. 296-7. Second, *mph*, *nth*. Rhys considered that these stood for what may be written here [mmp^h], [nnt^h], not for *mf*, *nθ* (LWP. 2, p. 49); Morris Jones, that they represent a transition in which as the *p* and *t* disappeared the *h* became more noticeable (WG. p. 170). Pedersen, however, thought it is probable that they mean *m(m)h*, *n(n)h* (VKG. i, 539, LP. p. 51); i.e. he did not hold that they represent his *mf*, *nθ*, and therefore could not have believed that that stage lasted as late as the ninth century. Third, we have a spelling designed to

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represent the full absorption of the stop, namely *nn* (and *n*, which is often written in OW. for *nn* of whatever origin). No means of showing the voicelessness of the sound was thought of till the twelfth century, when *n(n)h*, *ngh*, *gh*, etc., began to be written.¹

§ 108.

The evidence quoted on the date of *-mp-*, *-nt-*, *-nc->mh*, *nh*, *ηh* in W. may be analysed as follows. Pedersen's theory of an intermediate *mf*, *nθ*, *ηχ* has already been rejected, and it has been shown that at *no* period, from the fifth- to sixth-century inscriptions nor from the eighth- to twelfth-century written sources, not to mention the AS. place-names of the fifth to eighth century, is there any support for the existence of such intermediates. Since Pedersen's theory needs *mf*, *nθ*, *ηχ* in Pr.WCB. at the time of the separation, this would demand their existence in the sixth century. The earliest traces which we can find of the nasalisation of the voiceless stops are these : (1) Possibly the form Nanny, which *may* have Brit. *nt* and may have been borrowed in the seventh to eighth century ; but this is very uncertain. (2) The spellings *mph*, *nth* in *pimphet*, *hanther* in MP., A.D. 820. Here Rhys and Morris Jones are surely nearer the truth than Pedersen ; and they may be regarded as representing an intermediate *m^ph*, *n^th*, comparable to the Scottish Gaelic development described on p. 501. (3) Definitely the cases of *nn* in Nennius' HB., A.D. 829, and in Martianus Capella, ninth century. Thus we can say that we seem to see the *mh*, *nh*, *ηh* coming into existence through a transitional stage *m^ph*, *n^th*, *η^kh* perhaps already in the eighth century (Nanny ?) and certainly by the early ninth, though the *mph*, *nth* are probably really out of date and traditional by the early ninth century, as *nth* in the mid tenth century *Anthun* and *Anthec* certainly was ; and that the full

¹ The spellings *c* and *cg* cannot be exactly fitted into any of the above three categories. The regular MW. spelling is *gh*, which is merely graphic for *ngh* ; whether the one case of *c* means *ηc*, *ηch*, or *ηh* is not clear ; *cg* in the Computus is probably for *ηh*, as the same, and *gc*, *cgh*, no doubt are in Lland.

absorption to *mh*, *nh*, *ɣh* by the ninth century is proven. If so, how is it that *nt* and *nc* spellings lasted as late as the Book of Llandaff? In view of the absolute proof of the existence of nasalisation in the ninth century, the answer can only be the same as that just given for *Anthun* and *Anthec*, i.e. that these are traditional and archaising spellings, as we can see fairly certainly that they are in the Latinising contexts of the Life of St. Carannog and the Book of Llandaff.

The conclusion is, then, that British *mp*, *nt*, *nc* remained everywhere in the Brittonic languages right down into the OWCB. period, except that (1) in external sandhi a change had taken place already by the time of the separation, on which see further § 187; (2) *ntr*, *ntl* gave *thr*, *thl* in Pr.W. at some date undetermined, possibly in the sixth century, perhaps with nasality remaining into the tenth century; (3) internal Pr.Welsh *mp*, *nt*, *nc* became something like *m^ph*, *n^th*, *ɣ^kh* apparently in the eighth century, and *mh*, *nh*, *ɣh* by the early ninth.¹

§ 109.

After the coming into existence of *mh*, *nh*, *ɣh*, the *h* was lost at some stage in Welsh when the group stood anywhere except immediately before the MW., Mod.W. stress. So Brit. **brigantinos* > OW. *brennkin*, pl. *breennhined* (Lland. p. 120), but Mod.W. *brénin*, pl. *brenhinoedd*. This is obviously a function of the position of the Welsh accent (cf. WG. p. 64), and since the accent did not shift to its present position until the eleventh century, it follows that this alternation of *h*-less and *h*-forms cannot be earlier than that time. Morris Jones thought the loss of *h* could not be much after the date of the accent-shift, and that therefore MW. spellings like *brenkin*, *agheu* are traditional (*loc. cit.*). Baudiš takes the MW. usage as showing a transition to a new orthography, and thinks the

¹ Förster dates *mp*, *nt* > *mh*, *nh* as c. 700, at the same time as his date for *mb*, *nd* > *mm*, *nn* (FT. p. 176). But no discussion of *mp*, *nt* is given, and *nc* is not mentioned. It appears to be assumed that their history must be the same as that of *mb*, *nd*.

spelling with *h* is a conventional survival not representing pronunciation; he concludes, however, that this means the accent-shift was not complete till the end of the thirteenth century (Gr. p. 135).¹ There is no reason whatever why the loss of *h* should be a *sudden* consequence of the change of the position of the accent, and a form like *brén^hin* might have lingered on for a long time afterwards. Moreover, such spellings may also be matters of tradition. Cf. FT. p. 170, where Förster queries the value of the evidence, and thinks the inconsistencies in twelfth- to fourteenth-century spelling mean that the use of *h* is an archaism. See § 207. 2 below.

§ 110. Final *-nt* > *-ns* in Cornish

It remains to discuss the history of *nt* in Cornish, where it had a special development. Final OC. *-lt* (see § 54. 1) and *-nt* became *-ls* and *-ns*² in MC. On *-lt* the only evidence I know is the fact that it is always *ls* in Voc.C., c. 1100; however, it is no doubt contemporary in its development with that of *-nt*. For *-nt* the examples are fuller. In the Bodmin manumissions there are no cases of *-ns*; on the contrary there is *-nt* in *Gurient* (§ 27, 950–70), and in *Wurgent* (§ 22, c. 1002–19). Förster notes a *Nant Buord-tel* near St. Keverne in an AS. document of A.D. 1050 from Cornwall (FT. p. 29). Voc.C., however, has *-ns* (*abrans*, *argans*, *cans* twice, *dans*, *guins*, *nans*, *oliphans*, *pons*, *sceuens*). True, *-nt* does occur there in *scient* and the negative of it, *diskient*; and in *firmament*, *tairnant*, and *sant*. Lewis and Pedersen suggest that *scient* is “a remainder of earlier orthography” (LP. p. 155), i.e. traditional; but it might be owing to the influence of forms like *skientoc* (also in Voc.C.). *Firmament* has already been noted as probably a foreign borrowing, because of the *m*’s (p. 485), and the *-nt* is further support for this. The meaning of *tairnant* appears to be unexplained, so that it can hardly be used in evidence;

¹ There is no need to regard (with Baudiš) the *nn* in OW. *abalbrouannou*, *guiannuin*, etc., as early examples of loss of *h*; indeed, since they are older than the accent-shift they cannot be. The absence of *h* here has already been explained, p. 505.

² Since the *-t* was voiceless here after *l*, *n*, the *s* is [s] not [z]; cf. § 52. 1.

sant is the AS. *sand* (BBCS. xi, 10). Hence none of the cases of *-nt* in Voc.C. is conclusive. We may suppose that the second half of the eleventh century is a probable date for the change of *-nt* to *-ns*, and doubtless also therefore of *-lt* to *-ls* in Cornish.¹

Under the influence of the final *-ns* Cornish medial *-nt*-often became *-ns*-, especially in cases where declension or conjugation caused forms with final *-nt* to stand side by side with others with *-nt*- medial owing to the addition of a termination. This is seen already in Voc.C. in *briansen*, *camhinsic*, etc.

§ 111. British *mb*, *nd*, *ng*

British *mb*, *nd*, *ng* normally became assimilated to *m*(*m*), *nn*, *ŋ*(*ŋ*). In certain cases, however, Breton has *mb*, *mp*; cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 118, 170, LP. pp. 40, 55; Loth, Chr.B. p. 69.

Nd is irregularly preserved in W. *enderig*, "steer" (but *anner*, "heifer", MB. *annoer*), if this is really related to OI. *ainder*, cf. Parry-Williams, Phon.WB. p. 77; Pedersen, JCS. i, 4 ff.² So in OB. *andemecet* (Ven.Oros.) if: MW. *annifyget*, as proposed by Ifor Williams, ZCP. xxi, 294-5; but here the fact that *an-* is a prefix perhaps prevented the fusion; cf. OB. *condadlant* (Vat.Reg. 296 Oros.) beside W. *cynnadl*. *Landa* occurs as a common-noun in Latin texts in Cart.Red., as well as *lanna* (: W. *llann*), but only *Lan* in Breton place-names there. No doubt *-nd-* here may be an archaism preserved in semi-legal contexts.

¹ Loth quotes *pons*, *Gerans* from a charter of 943 as possible evidence that the date is earlier, though he admits there are doubts of its authenticity (RC. xviii, 407); Förster shows that it really belongs to the fourteenth century (FT. p. 177). Förster dates *-nt* > *-ns* 1060-1200 (FT. p. 29; but p. 177, 1050-1150) because the MS. of Voc.C. is c. 1200—but we have already seen that it was compiled c. 1100. He makes no use of the evidence of Bodm. He notes the place-names *Nan-cor*, *Nam-boll*, with *-t* dropped, as having therefore been borrowed before the twelfth century (read thirteenth, on his dating?), without noticing that the same loss occurs in Bodm., and quite early, in *Arganbri* (§ 32, 959-75; beside e.g. *Argantmoet*, § 28, tenth century) and *Cangueden* (§ 11, 941-6; beside *Cantgueithen*, § 38, end of tenth century); and also in Voc.C. *enlidan*, *pencanguer*.

² The explanation of the *nd* in *enderig* given by Ernault, ZCP. i, 41, is not very convincing.

In Latin *candēla* > OW. *cannuill* (Ox.2), W. *cannwyll*, pl. *canhwyllau*, OC. *cantuil*, MC. *cantal*, MB. *cantoell*, Mod.B. *kantol*, the *nh* in W. and *nt* in CB. cannot be directly from the *nd*; an intermediary *cantēla* is needed. This actually occurs in a British Latin context, in the *De Raris Fabulis* of Ox.2, written by a Welshman, where on f. 44b we have *incendite lichinum .i. cannuill, vel cantela vel teda vel paperium, ut sit lucida domus*.

Ng (and original IĒ. *ngʰh*) gave *ŋ*, which was sometimes lost in CB., as in Lat. *angelus* > W. *angel* but OC. *ail*, MC. *êl*, MB. *ael*. Sometimes, on the other hand, there is B. *ŋk*, evidently directly from the original *ŋg*; e.g. W. *ŋg* : B. *enk*.

§ 112. The History and Date of *mb*, *nd*, *ng* > *m(m)*, *nn*, *ŋ(ŋ)*

Latin words are affected equally with British, so that the change is later than the Roman period. The fact that Breton has traces of unassimilated *mb*, *nd*, *ng* (though in the first case these may be due to re-formation) suggests that it was not complete at the time of the parting of WCB.

(1) *mb*. In the early inscriptions there seem to be only two examples of this, both being *mm*; CIIC. no. 500, end of the fifth century, AMMECATI (Isle of Man), evidently the Brit. name **Ambicatus* (cf. p. 173); and, in Latin, no. 427, eighth century, AMMULANTIBUS = *ambulantibus*. The Irish name *Colmān* < *Columbanus*, recorded for the end of the sixth century, is explained by Thurneysen as having British *mb* > *mm*, since **Colbān* would be expected in Irish (ZCP. xix, 209, cf. Gr.OI. p. 94).

In English place-names *mb* is mostly preserved. So Cam Beck (Cum.) < ME. *Camboc*, 1169, < Brit. **Cambāco-*, RN. p. 65; Crummock Beck, Crummock Water (Cum.), Crummack Dale (WRY.) < ME. *Crombok*, 1189–90, < Brit. **Crumbāco-*, RN. p. 108; and with *mbr*, Cumberland < AS. *Cumbraland* (ASC. 945), but *Cumerland* (ASC. 1000), Dict. p. 130; cf. *Cumera 7 Scotta* in Ælfric's (955–1020) Life of St. Swithin, Plummer, ASC. ii, 152. Amber (Derb.) and Gamber (Heref.) are derived

from a Brit. **Ambrā* by Ekwall, RN. p. 12, and Förster, FT. p. 165, but this is very doubtful since a Celtic origin and etymology for the name is quite uncertain. Humber (Yorks.-Li.; Oxf.; Oxf.; Gl.); Humber Brook (Gl.; Heref.); and some possible cases of Humber in Bed., Hunt., Dor., and elsewhere, are hesitatingly derived by Ekwall from a very doubtful **Sumbro-* (RN. p. 205), for which no convincing Celtic etymology can be shown. Croome (Wo.) is in AS. both *Crombe* and *Cromme*, A.D. 969, and another in Wo. is AS. *Crome* in 972; derived from Brit. **Crumbā* by Ekwall, RN. p. 106. The Pr.W. **cumb*, from Brit. **cumbo-*, "narrow valley" (W. *cwm*), occurs in numerous place-names in *coombe*, and has become a common-noun in English; cf. Förster, KW. p. 128, Ekwall, Dict. p. 113. Förster mentions many such names, from Cum., Yorks., Lan., Staf., Gl., Heref., Wa., Oxf., Berk., Wi., Sx., and quotes Bannister to the effect that they are specially common in So., Dor., and Dev.; but remarks that the East seems entirely devoid of them. He notes that they must have been borrowed before the eighth to ninth century, because English vowel-lengthening before *mb* occurred then; but this goes without saying in any case, since except for Cornwall the English settlement was complete by that time. In FT. p. 165 he points out that c. 1300 ME. final *-mb* became *-m*, and in the North also internal *-mb-* > *-m-*. This may explain a number of cases of *m* in English names, e.g. Cam (Dor.),¹ Crummock; but, *pace* Förster, it will hardly do for the two Croomes (Wo.), since there is *m* already in AS., side by side with *mb*. Ekwall suggests a double borrowing to account for this, an earlier with *mb* and a later with *m* (RN. p. 106). So again Cam (Gl.) is *Camma* as early as Domesday Book, RN. p. 65. Ekwall derives Crimpe Beck (WRY.) as from Brit. **Crumbopull-* (> **Crumb'bull*) > **Crumpull*, with provection; RN. p. 105.

For OW., *mb* has everywhere become *mm* or *m*; this already in the oldest source, Chad 2, in *amgucant*, *amtanndi*, and *imguodant*. There are only two exceptions; *dattotimb* (M.Cap.), the meaning and etymology of which are unknown, so that it is

¹ Though Ekwall attributes the *-m* to the name's having been borrowed after *mb* > *mm*, RN. p. 65.

irrelevant; and in HB. c. 42, *Ambrosius vocor, id est Embreis Guletic*, where the *mb* may be due to the influence of the Latin form just before.

The above evidence is confusing and rather contradictory. AMMECATI suggests *mb* > *mm* already at the end of the fifth century, and *Colmān* by the end of the sixth century or before. On the other hand, if Ekwall's derivation of Crimble Beck is correct, the *b* must have been still preserved at the time of the loss of composition vowels (mid sixth century, § 195); cf. on *encilio*, p. 512. As already noted, the fact that *mb*, *mp* sometimes appear in Breton may indicate that *mb* > *mm* was not complete in the later sixth century. More difficult, the place-names seem to show *mb* still clearly lasting as late as the middle of the seventh century,¹ and on the other hand, no *certain* instances of WC. *mm*, though note the remarks above on Croome (Wo.) and Cam (Gl.; Dor.). Yet, rejecting Amber, Gamber, and Humber as of uncertain etymology and language, and *coombe* as having been possibly borrowed into AS. fairly early as a common-noun, there is no example of *mb* in a place-name later than about 600 except in Cumberland and the West Riding, where its later survival may be dialectal; and, on the contrary, we appear to have *m* in the two Croomes and in Cam (Gl.), borrowed towards the end of the sixth century.

Hence we may venture to conclude that the full assimilation of *mb* to *mm* was a rather long process, having begun by the end of the fifth century but not complete before the end of the sixth, and in the Cumbric area probably not before the second half of the seventh.²

(2) *nd*. The most important piece of relative evidence is the fact that *n'd* which came together secondarily by the

¹ According to Förster, *AS. cumb* occurs only in place-names, and its use as a common-noun is known only from the end of the sixteenth century (KW. p. 128). This may be so, but it does not prove that the word was not so used in AS.; cf. Ekwall, *Dict.* p. 113. Hence names in *Coombe* in Devon do not necessarily mean that Brit. *mb* still existed in the eighth century.

² Förster dates it c. 700, FT. p. 176, but he does not know of AMMECATI and *Colmān*, neglects to consider the fact that it is found also in C. and B., and overestimates the weight of the place-names.

syncope of composition vowels is preserved. So *trinitatem* > Late Brit. **trīnidōd-* > Pr.W. **trīn'dōd* kept its *nd* in W. *trindod*, etc.; and similarly with *n'd* provecuted to *nd*, as *benedictio* > Late Brit. **benedīxt-* > Pr.W. **ben'dīxt* > W. *bendith*. This implies that original *nd* had become *nn* before the time of syncope (mid sixth century); which is also indicated by Brit. **Uindosaitlos* > Pr.W. **Winn'hēdl* > W. *Gwynnhoedl*, since a Pr.W. **Wind'hēdl* would give W. **Gwyntoedl*. On the other hand, Baudiš derives W. *encilio* from Brit. **andecil-* (Gr. p. 105; cf. Loth, RC. xxxi, 156), which would mean Late Brit. **andegil-* > Pr.W. **and'gil-* > **antgil-* by provection (Baudiš **andecil-*, which is incorrect) > **ancil-*; cf. § 104. This would be parallel to **Crumbopull-* > **Crumb'bull* > **Crumpull*, p. 510. This example would seem to show that original *nd* was not *nn* at the time of syncope, but possibly in this word there was enough trace of the *d* left (say **ann^d'gil-*) to unvoice the *g*. It is to be noted again that *nd* > *nn* happened equally in W., C., and B., and with fewer traces of lack of assimilation than in the case of *mb*, *ng*; this argues for completion by the later sixth century.

For direct evidence, in the early inscriptions *-nd-* is preserved in CIIC. nos. 390, fifth century,¹ VENDESETLI; 328, fifth century, VENDONI (but this may be Irish; VENDOGNI, no. 422, certainly is); 454, end of the fifth century, CVNIO- VENDE; 368, end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, BARRIVENDI FILIVS VENDVBARI; 1028, late sixth or seventh century, VENDVMAGLI. On the other hand, there is *-nn-* in nos. 376, fifth century, VENNISETLI; 400, beginning of the sixth century, VINNEMAGLI; and 970, mid seventh century, CATAMANUS (for CATAMANNUS).

In AS. names there is *nd* in London < Brit. **Lōndonion* (see p. 308); AS. *Andred* (K.-Sx.) < Rom.-Brit. **Anderita* (see JRS. xxxviii, 54); Lindsey and Lindisfarne < Brit. Lat. **Lindenses* (see Förster, FT. pp. 166-7), and Lincoln < AS. **Lindcolun* (cf. AS. *Lindcylene*, and see § 22. 3) < Rom.-Brit. **Lindocolonia*. These names would all have been borrowed between the later fifth and the early sixth century. On the

¹ On the date see p. 325.

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other hand, King's Lynn (Norf.) < **lindo-* (Ekwall, Dict. p. 295);¹ and Alne (Wa.) < AS. **Alwinne*, if containing **windo-* (see RN. p. 8), both show *nd* > *nn*; the former perhaps as early as the late fifth century, though not necessarily, in view of its Fenland situation, the latter some time in the sixth century.

Except for *enderig*, the evidence seems to show that assimilation was beginning in the late fifth century and was probably finished by the end of the sixth century; it may have been completed somewhat earlier than *mb* > *mm* and *ng* > *ŋŋ*, since it is as fully carried out in CB. as in W.²

(3) *ng*. I know of no evidence on date other than the apparent partial preservation of the *g* in Breton referred to above, and the fact that it is commonly spelt *g*, *ncg*, *gng*, *c*, *cg*, etc., in OW., all of which imply *ŋ*. It may be contemporary with *mb* > *mm*.

§ 113. IE. and Latin *s*

IE. *s* remained in early British. With certain irregular exceptions, it survives in WCB. only when combined with other consonants; alone, it gives *h* or is lost. Latin *s*, on the other hand, is preserved initially almost without exception, and always internally.

(1) *Initial s-*. IE. *s-* gives regularly *h-* in WCB.; e.g. W. *haf*, C. *haf*, B. *hañv*, : Ir. *samh*, "summer", : Gaul. g. sg. *Samoni*, "June". The handful of chief cases in which *s-* remains initially are listed in LP. p. 17; to these add Rom.-Brit. *Segontium* = Brit. **Segontion* > OW. *Segeint* (HB. cc. 25, 66a), Mod.W. *Saint*,³ and Brit. **suuids* > W. *syw*, LP. p. 64.

Latin *s-*, e.g. *sagitta* > W. *saeth*, MC. *sêth*, Mod.B. *seaz*. The

¹ Schram denies this derivation because of *nd* in *Lindcylene* (*Aberystwyth Studies*, xi, 29); but, it is clearly possible in view of VENNISETLI above.

² Förster dates it about 700, on the evidence of place-names in *nd*, namely London, Lindsey, Lindisfarne, and Lincoln alone, which prove nothing of the kind; he does not mention those with *nn* (see FT. p. 165). This is perhaps done to bring *nd* into agreement with his date for *mb* > *mm*.

³ Williams considers that *Saint* must come from the Rom.-Brit. name, not from the British, because otherwise it should be **Haint* (BSRC. p. 45.) This may be so, but not necessarily.

most certain example of Latin *s* > *h*- is *sextarius* > OW. *hestaur* (MP.), MW. *hestaur*; *sērus* or *sēra* > W. *hwyr* is probable. Anwyl gives also *sacrum* > W. *hagr* (*Y Beirniad* iii, 204), and Baudiš *saliva* > W. *haliw* (Gr. p. 124). For a sceptical discussion of the apparent irregularities of IE. *s*- remaining and Latin *s*- giving *h*-, see Loth, RC. xiv, 293 ff.

(2) *British -s- at the beginning of the second element of a compound*, or in suffixes where the vowel plus *-s-* of the suffix was treated as composition vowel plus *-s-* at the beginning of the second element of a compound. As already noted (pp. 345, 367, 436), this is a conservatising position, where indeed sounds behave almost the same as in absolute lenited initial. Hence *s* here, though it follows the British composition vowel, was not treated as internal intervocal *-s-*, but remained as *-h-*. Compare the way in which *h* (from *s*) at the beginning of the second elements of compounds in Pr.I. was sometimes treated as in absolute initial, and preserved as late as the period of syncope, whereas in absolute internal position it had fully disappeared before that time; see Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 84. In Brittonic, after syncope of the composition vowel, the *h*- came together with the consonant at the end of the first element; if possible, it unvoiced this, being itself lost; if the consonant was already voiceless the *h* disappeared; otherwise it remained until the MW. period, when it fell under the same effects of the new accent as did *mh*, *nh*, *ngh* as described above, § 109. So from **parasag-* there is Mod.W. *pára* but *parháu*.

Examples: Brit. **drucosinā* > Pr.W. **drug'hin* > MW. *dryckin*; **dubrosento-* > Pr.W. **dubr'hint* > MW. *dyffrynt* (where the *r* did not prevent unvoicing of *b*); with suffix, Brit. **trummisitā* > Pr.W. **trum'héd* > MW. *trgmhet* > Mod.W. *trymed*; Brit. **māiisamo-* > Pr.W. **mqiháμ* > MW. *múyhaf* > Mod.W. *mwyaf*.

(3) *Brit. -s- in absolute internal position*. It has already been shown (§§ 37 ff.) that intervocal *s* was regularly entirely lost here, resulting in a hiatus which was apparently filled with *i̇*, hence falling together with original *i̇* in its development, except that after a *u*-diphthong the *s* was merely lost and a vowel plus *u* resulted. Examples are given above, *loc. cit.*, and it is

pointed out (§ 40) that there seems to be only one exception to the loss of intervocal *s*, apparently giving *h* (**esāco*->MW. *ehawc*, etc.), and that this may be due to some confusion in popular etymology.

Latin *s* in absolute inlaut remains without exception ; e.g. *asinus*>W. *asyn*, OC. *asen*, B. *asen*.

On final *-s* in British see pp. 636-7.

§ 114. The History and Dating of the Developments of *s*

Some have regarded the evolution of *s* to *h* as being originally simply a case of lenition, since it appeared to occur intervocally but not when protected in a consonant group, and since in Irish the alternation of *s* : *h* from original *s* is unquestionably due to lenition. One serious objection to this is that initially *h*- (or, in a few words, *s*-) is fixed, there is no alternation of *s*- in non-lenition with *h*- in lenition—no *sedd*, “seat”, and *ei hedd*, “his seat”, and so on.¹ Compare Loth, RC. xiv, 291 ff. This view of *s* : *h* was put forward for instance by Zimmer, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1893, col. 10; and is apparently that of Pedersen (VKG. i, 71, LP. p. 16), who considers that there was such a lenition alternation in British, but that “early in the Roman period ² the alternation *s*- : *h*- was given up, and *h*- predominated” (LP. p. 16), i.e. that in any given word one or other form (mostly *h*-) became fixed. This is an attempt to meet the objection mentioned, but it is not satisfactory, because with no other lenited consonant was there such a development—lenition versus non-lenition is a rigid part of the Brittonic morphophonological system, and such an anomaly would be unaccountable. Moreover, it implies that general lenition had occurred by the end of the first century, which is counter to everything else we know about it (cf. § 142). Morris Jones was therefore surely right to regard *s*>*h* as independent of, and

¹ *Sedd* is chosen here because it is one of the probable cases of original *s*-. Of course there are many Welsh words beginning with *s*-<*st*-, but in any event these would be incapable of lenition, as in Irish.

² This date is given to explain the fact that Latin loanwords are practically immune.

(since all other lenitable consonants in Latin loanwords undergo it) older than the Brittonic system of lenition (WG. p. 134); as he says, "the Ir. reduction of *s* is independent, and is included in the Ir. system of initial mutation". Those like Pedersen who take *s* > *h* in Brittonic as necessarily due to lenition are unduly influenced by the Irish, and by the desire to link together as many things as possible in Celtic phonetics. There is, in fact, no reason why *s* should not become *h* entirely independently of any such thing; it is a well-known phenomenon in other IE. languages, as, for instance, *s* > *h* in Greek, and *-s* > *-h* in external sandhi in Sanskrit. We may then discard the whole concept that *s* > *h* in Brittonic is an aspect of lenition.

That the process must have begun before the main body of Latin loanwords made their way into British is clear from the fact that so few words with Latin *s*- partake of it. Yet *s*-, *-s*-, not *h*-, *-h*-, are regularly found written in Greek and Latin records of British place and personal names, and in the Dark-Age inscriptions; and even so late a place-name as Severn, < Brit. *Sabrina*, was borrowed by the English with *s*- in the last quarter of the sixth century. To account for this, some have proposed that the British *s* which gave *h* must have become phonemically distinct from Latin *s* early in the Roman period, so that Latin *s* was not confused with it by British speakers. So Loth proposed that the British sound was now a "soft" one (in ML. p. 82 he says *z*), but remained a sibilant initially until the seventh century (*sic*) because of Severn, and internally until the fifth century, because of *Gabrosenti* in ND. (RC. xiv, 294-5). Schuchardt, reviewing Loth's ML. in *Litteraturbl.*, 1893, cols. 103-4, notes that Severn shows that the English heard the initial sound as their *s*, but that in *Trisantona* > Trent internal *s* > *h* must be older. Pedersen thinks a loosely articulated *s*, between true *s* and *h*, may have existed already in British, though still represented by *s* in writing (*locc. citt.*). Morris Jones envisages an *s* "pronounced loosely" already in the Roman period, later becoming *h* (*loc. cit.*).

The problem has hitherto been treated on too broad a basis, without going sufficiently into detail. The three positions

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described above must be distinguished, and investigated separately. It is perfectly clear that some intermediate stage in the growth of *s* to *h* must be postulated, as is done by the writers just mentioned. The process is certainly one of loosening or slackening of articulation, a kind of weak lisp. The exact phonetic character of the intermediate sound cannot be determined; but it must have been such that (a) for the Britons it was phonemically quite distinct from the sharply hissed Latin *s*; ¹ (b) by the Greeks, Romans, and (as long as it retained any sibilant character) the English this strange foreign sound was nevertheless perceived as and sound-substituted by *s*, since they had no other phoneme like it in their language. We shall use the symbol Σ here for this sound, without prejudice as to its exact phonetic nature.²

§ 115. Initial *s-* > *h-*

The fact that all but a very few Latin words have *s-* here must mean that the stage $\Sigma-$ was reached by the late first century, presumably in its second half. The few British words where IE. *s-* remains may have been influenced by analogy, probably by that of *s-* < *st-*, which must have been a strongly hissed *s* comparable to the Latin sound. Their history is very inconsistent (e.g. W. *sil*, "race", but *hil*, "seed"; : OL. *sīl*; W. *sedd*, "seat", but *hedd*, "peace"; : Lat. *sedeo*; W. *he-* but B. *se*, "this"; W. *hidl* but MB. *sizl*), of a nature which suggests the capricious workings of various analogies, perhaps different in different parts of the British area.

Initial *s-* is written in all Greek and Roman sources, e.g. *Sabrina* (Tacitus, Ptol.), and also in the Dark-Age inscriptions. Some of the latter are, no doubt, to be set aside as being Irish; those which probably have British *s-* are CIIC. nos. 400, beginning of the sixth century, SENEMAGLI; 391, early or mid

¹ Intervocal VL. *-s-* may have become voiced to *-z-* in some regions at the very end of the VL. period, Grandgent IVL. p. 125; but this would not affect Roman Britain. Richter doubtfully dates it fourth to sixth century, CPF. p. 158.

² Perhaps a strongly aspirate [ʃh] ?

sixth century, SENACVS.¹ There are no inscriptions showing *h-*.

Other early written sources : One of St. Patrick's names in Ireland was *Sucat*,² pronounced [sugad], which is no doubt British and represents a Pr.W.* Σ ogad, = W. *hygad*, "warlike" (cf. pp. 659, 663). The *c* and *t* = [g] and [d] show that this is a second group loan of the sixth century, like the Irish *Pádraig* itself. In the Life of St. Samson (beginning of seventh century), Samson's cousin, who wrote the Life of him used by the compiler, is called *Henocus* (Prologue, § 2) ; contrast SENACVS above, the earlier form of the same name. *Henocus* must have died in the second half of the sixth century. Again, the Bristol Channel is called *Habrinum mare* in the same source (i, § 45, var. *Abrinum*, *Sabrinum*), and the Severn *Abrinum flumen* (i, § 40, var. *Habrinum*, *Sabrinum*). Here *Abrinum* has lost its *H-* by the influence of Latin scribal habits, and *Sabrinum* very likely has *S-* as a traditionalism in a Latin context—the river is still called *Sabrina* in Latin sources as late as the Lives of the Saints and the Book of Llandaff. Lastly, it must be noted that, the few anomalous cases apart, *s->h-* took place equally in W., C., and B., and is therefore hardly later than the sixth century. On all the above evidence we should be justified in setting a date for $\Sigma->h-$ in the latter part of the sixth century.

It remains to see how this fits the testimony of British place-names borrowed into English. A number of examples in which British *S-* would appear as English *H-* are proposed by Ekwall, but almost all of them are very doubtful. The most likely is Hamps (Staf.), ME. *Hanespe*, from Brit. **Samo-sispā*, "summer-dry", RN. p. 190 ; and Ennick (Wo.), AS. *Hennuc*, : W. *hen* (cf. the W. river name *Nant Henog*), RN.

¹ The following are probably Irish, since they have Ogams with them : nos. 399, end of fifth century, SIMILINI, Ogam S(U)B(I)L(I)NI or S(I)B(I)L(I)NI ; 449, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century, SAGRANI, Ogam SAGRAGNI ; 341, same date, SALIGIDVNI, Ogam SALICIDUNI. No. 370, fifth century, SENOMAGLI, has no Ogam, but it is with VLCAGNVS, which is an Irish name (*Olcān*), and is therefore probably Irish. Latin *s-* is found in nos. 373, 384, 472, 492.

² See Thes. Pal. ii, 308, where the glossator calls the name Welsh and glosses it *deus belli vel fortis belli*.

p. 148, is probable. Others given are Hail (Hunt.; Gl.), supposedly from **Saliā* (the etymology is questionable), RN. p. 188; Hints (Shr.; Staf.), related to W. *hynt*, Dict. p. 230; Hodder (WRY.-Lan.), given as from “*Hoð-ðufr*”, RN. p. 198, which is uncertain; AS. *Hīl* (Ex.), compared to W. *hil*, “seed”, Ir. *silid*, “drops”, RN. p. 207. Humber, in various parts of the country (see pp. 510-11), is derived tentatively from **Sumbro-*, RN. pp. 204-5. Except probably for Hamps and Ennack, these derivations and etymologies are all quite uncertain; though Förster agrees on Hail, *Hīl*, and Humber (FT. p. 118), Ennack (p. 124), Hamps (pp. 646-7), and apparently Hodder (p. 725). Neither Ekwall nor Förster gives any consideration to the possibility that some at least of these names may not be Celtic at all, but pre-Celtic; cf. pp. 194-5 above.

On the other hand, there are other names in which British *S-* is certainly, probably, or possibly kept in English. The most satisfactory example is Severn (West Midlands; another in Bed.), AS. *Sæfern*, < Brit. *Sabrina*, but W. *Hafren*; see RN. pp. 358-60. Also Salisbury (Wi.), AS. *Searo-burh*, < Rom.-Brit. *Sorviodunum*.¹ Savernake (Wi.), AS. *Safernoc*, is probably from Brit. **Sabrināco-*, as Ekwall thinks, RN. p. 360. Much more doubtful are Sem (Wi.), AS. **Semene*; Semington Brook (Wi.), AS. **Semnet*; and Seven (NRY.); all derived from a stem **Sumin-*, related to Gaul. *Sumina* and W. *Syfynewy*, by Ekwall, RN. pp. 355-6, 358; cf. Förster, FT. p. 640. In any case, these are irrelevant to the present discussion if the connection with *Syfynewy* is correct, since the W. shows *S-* remaining, as in *sedd*, etc. Other uncertain instances which have been proposed are Soar (Wa.-Leic.-Nott.), ME. *Sora*, related to the *Saar* by Ekwall, RN. p. 375, and derived from **Sōra* by Förster, FT. pp. 355 ff.; Savick (Lan.), possibly < **Sabāco-*, RN. p. 354; and Sow (Staf.), Sowe (Wa.), derived very doubtfully by Ekwall from **Sōuo-*: Gaul. *Savus*, RN. pp. 375-6.

With respect to all these it should be pointed out, apart from the preceding general strictures, that if a convincing Welsh parallel with *H-* can be found, as in the case of *Severn*: *Hafren*, the proof is fairly certain. Otherwise, not even a definitely

¹ See JRS. xxxviii, 58.

Celtic etymology with single *s*- will settle anything, since Welsh may keep original *s*-, as possibly in the case of Sem, etc., : *Syfynewy* ; indeed, even where Welsh has *h*- the conclusion is not absolutely certain, since *s*- and *h*- might exist side by side as in W. *sedd* : *hedd*, *sil* : *hil*. As for an English name in *S*- where no British source or Welsh parallel can be quoted, nor certain etymology, it may easily have had original Celtic *st*-.

For what they are worth, the English place-names seem to present the following picture. The Severn was reached by English settlers in the Wessex campaign of A.D. 577. The name might conceivably not have been borrowed till slightly later ; or, since the Severn is the greatest river in Britain, it might easily have been known to the English by repute even earlier. It would be wise, therefore, to date its adoption loosely as "second half of the sixth century". All the other names with English *S*-, many of which are in any event doubtful, would have been borrowed earlier or not later than Severn,¹ except the quite uncertain Savick, mid seventh century. Of those supposed to exhibit Pr.W. *H*- in English, practically all are exceedingly uncertain. The only really probable cases are Hamps, borrowed in the later part of the sixth century or perhaps not until the beginning of the seventh, and Ennick about the same time. For the rest, Hail, in the hills between the Ouse and Nene valleys, might perhaps not have been adopted till the middle of the sixth century, and similarly with AS. *Hil* = the river Roding in the thick woodlands of Essex ;² all the others, too, are either certainly later than the middle of the sixth century or may be so, taking their situation into consideration. The only exception is the great Humber, which must surely have been borrowed by the late fifth century ; a strong argument against the proposed derivation. The fact that some in *H*- lie so very much farther East than some in *S*- need cause no surprise in the circumstances, especially as the subtle point where Σ - ceased to be perceived as *s*- and began to be perceived as *h*- is likely to have varied somewhat in different parts of the country.

¹ ME. Sechenent (Cum.), RN. p. 355, has Latin *S*-.

² Cf. RBES. p. 376, and p. 236 above.

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The information from place-names is not inconsistent, then, with the tentative conclusion already reached, p. 518 ; and we may say in broad terms that initial British Σ - became *h*- by the middle or second half of the sixth century.

§ 116. *s*- at the Beginning of the Second Elements of Compounds, and in Suffixes with Syncope of the Preceding Vowel

Since at the time of syncope (mid sixth century) the sound was already *h*, or enough of an *h* to behave as such rather than as *s*, it must have reached this stage by the middle of the sixth century. The *h* here is, of course, common to W., C., and B., which means again that it is doubtless not later than the sixth century. In Romano-British names there are *Camulosessa* and *Demerosesa* (Rav., fourth century original), with *sessa* < **sed-tā* (see BSRC. pp. 27 and 31); *Leugosena* (Rav., see *op. cit.* p. 37), with **seno*-, "old"; and *Gabrosenti* (ND.), early fifth century, with **sent*o-, "path", : W. *hynt*. For the inscriptions, CHIC. nos. 376, VENNISETLI, 390 VENDESETLI, 377 CIMESETLI, all fifth century,¹ have Brit. **saitlo*- in its later stage **sētl*o-, = W. *hoedl*, "life". Contrast nos. 365, end of the sixth century, MAVOHE(NI), probably from **Magusen*os, "Old Lad"; and 490, early seventh century, CONHINOCL, perhaps from **Cunosenacos*. No. 417, early or mid sixth century, CAVOSENARGII, is uncertain; = *Cavo(s) Seniargii* or *Cavoseni Argii*? The latter seems more probable, and if so it belongs here. The only apparent case in a place-name is Hamps, < **Samosispā* as mentioned above; cf. RN. p. 190, FT. pp. 646-7; later sixth century or perhaps early seventh.

The conclusion would seem to be that *s* in this position reached *h* in the first half, or at any rate the middle, of the sixth century, somewhat earlier than in absolute initial.

§ 117. *s* in Absolute Internal Position

Here the developments must have been very much more rapid than in the other two cases; indeed, as has been shown already, there is not much real evidence that such a stage as

¹ On the date of no. 390 see p. 325.

-*h*- existed here at all, between Σ and the total hiatus filled by *i*, though presumably it must have. The fact that **isarno*-¹ gives WCB. forms with *h*-, as W. *haearn*, etc. (see p. 360), may be taken to demonstrate this, since the *h*- is probably to be explained as arising by metathesis as follows: **isarno*->**iΣarno*->**iharno*->**hiġarno*-; but **iΣarno*->**Σiġarno*- would, of course, also be possible. It is doubtful whether MW. *ehawc* really has the *h*< Σ ; if so, it is quite exceptional, see p. 362. The preservation of internal -*s*- in Latin loanwords is not relevant to the present problem, since the British sound was in any case Σ , if not lost already, by the time they entered the language.

It has been pointed out above (§ 22. 1) that the diphthongs *au*, *eu*, and *ou* had not yet fallen together in \bar{o} at the time of the complete loss of - Σ -; and since \bar{o} evidently existed, at least in part, by the late first century (see *ibid.*), the loss of Σ is hardly likely to be more recent than the second half of the first century. Hence Tacitus's *Taum* (acc.; for **Tavum*; *Agricola*, c. 22), Ptolemy's *Tava*, Ravennas's *Taba*, the Tay, may possibly be from **Tausos*, **Tausā*, as Watson and Williams imply, CPNS. p. 51 and BSRC. p. 46; in spite of Pokorny, who excludes this on the ground that -*s*- still existed in the first century (Urg. p. 101), and Ekwall, who rejects the same derivation for Taw because "*s* would not have disappeared by the time of Tacitus" (RN. p. 394). However that may be, it

¹ Note the spelling IXARNINVS or ISXARNINVS on two vessels of Romano-British date from Icklingham, beside ISARNINVS on six others; CIL. vii, no. 1270. These are obviously the name *Isarninus*, derivative of **isarno*-. Morris Jones regards X, SX here as possibly spellings for a transitional stage between -*s*- and -*h*- (WG. p. 134). But this is certainly wrong; *x* and *xs* are well-known VL. spellings for *s*, having arisen from the fact that in certain positions in the word Latin *x* became VL. *s*; hence spellings like *extimare*, *senextra*, *mīlex*, etc.; see Grandgent, IVL. p. 108, Richter, CPF. pp. 42, 79, and pp. 535, 536 below. A good example of this Latin use of *x* for *s*, actually in a fourth-century Gaulish inscription, is IN ALIXIE (Holder, ACSpZ. i, col. 91), which is the familiar place-name *Alesia* or *Alisia*. The Icklingham vases are, in any case, probably imports from Gaul, and hence irrelevant to British phonetics. The spelling CAELEXTI in CIIC. no. 413, fifth century, is a good example in a British source of *x* written for Latin *s*, as the name is, of course, *Caelestis*. Cf. *mertum* written for *maestum*, Grandgent, IVL. p. 108.

would probably be safe to date the total loss of $-\Sigma-$ as somewhere in the second half of the first century.¹ If so, it is very likely that some of the names in Classical sources in *-ios*, *-ia* etc. which gave W. *-i* are from an older *-īsos*, *-īsā*, etc.; cf. § 38 A. 2. Williams' suggestion (BSRC. p. 46) that the *Tagea* of Ravennas is for **Tegea* < **tegesa*, and means "The Houses", may well be correct so far as this goes.

In that case, we must attempt to account for the apparent existence of *-s-* in a number of Romano-British place-names. Förster has shown that the Thames (Caesar *Tamesis*, Tacitus *Tamesa*, Ptolemy *Tamēsa*, *sic leg.*) had Brit. *-ss-* (FT. p. 600); and so it is not relevant. *Aesica* (ND.) or *Esica* (Rav.); *Causennae* and *Clausentum* (AI.); and *Toisobis*² (Ptol.), are all names whose etymologies and descendants, if any, are unknown, so that it is quite possible that they may all have original *st*, *ns*, etc., > Brit. *ss*, as with Thames.³ *Isurium* (Ptol., AI.), Aldborough near York, is regarded by Ekwall as a derivative of a river name **Isura*, which he takes as a bye-form of the *Isara* seen in various Continental rivers, as the Isar and the Isère (RN. p. 428). If so, it would have single *-s-*; and Ekwall's explanation of Ure, the river at Aldborough, from the same **Isura*, would also need this. However, various other etymologies have been proposed for Ure; so Zachrisson rejects the connection with *Isurium* and takes Ure as a back-formation from AS. *Eoferwic*, "York" (MLR. xxxi, 361-7); Förster hesitates between **Isura* and *Eofer(-ēa)*, FT. p. 73. Hence *Isurium* > Ure is doubtful, as is its connection with the Gaulish *Isara*; it, too, may have *ss*. Even if it had *s*, however, it is quite possible that the name was adopted into official Roman usage as *Isurium* very early, fairly soon after the conquest, while it was still Brit. **IΣurion*, and that Ptolemy and AI. derive here from this stereotyped form which continued in official Latin written use long after the natives had

¹ Förster dates internal *-s-* > *-h-* as second century, FT. p. 172.

² Förster's attempt to identify this with W. *Teiſt*, which means single *-s-* (FT. p. 762) carries no conviction.

³ Förster suggests that *Aesica* is a diminutive of the stem seen in the Gaulish river name *Aesis*; and relates *Causennae* to Gaul. *Causilia* (FT. p. 7). Richmond and Crawford also connect *Esica* with *Aesis*, BSRC. p. 34.

changed it to **Iurion* or **Iiurion*. The same is likely to apply especially to *Causennae* and *Clausentum* if they have single -s-, since (as noted on p. 313) the *au* in these names is also an archaic spelling.

The most interesting Romano-British name with an internal -s- is *Trisantonā*, the Trent (Tacitus, *Annals* xii, 31, *castris Antonam*, ingeniously emended by Bradley to *cis Trisantonam*); and what is evidently the same name in Ptolemy's Τρισαντωνος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί (var. Τρισαντωνος) in Sussex, probably = the Tarrant, the old name of the Arun. The name of the Trent occurs three times in Bede; HE. ii, 16, *in fluvio Treenta*, var. *Trenta*; iii, 24, *discreti fluvio Treanta*, var. *Treante*; and iv, 21, *iuxta fluvium Treanta*. Hence *Treanta* is the best attested form for Bede;¹ the AS. Bede has *Treonte*, i.e. the name had AS. -ānt-, spelt -ant- in Bede and -ont- in the AS. Bede. Ekwall discusses it, RN. pp. 417-18. He envisages a **Trihanton* which, with reduction of unstressed *i*, gave **Trhanton*, whence *Treonte*, *Treante*, with AS. substitution of *e* for *ə* (see § 204 A. 1). He notes the OB. personal name *Treanton*, A.D. 859-65; add *Trehanton*, eleventh century, and see p. 503 above. In the Tarrant, AS. *Tarente* (Sx.), and the Tarrant in Dorset, AS. *Terente*, Ekwall sees a form with early metathesis, **Tirhanton*,² reduced to **Tərhanton*; AS. *Terente* he takes to have the common substitution of *e* for *ə*; but in AS. *Tarente*, and MW. *Taranhon* (BT. p. 77, l. 15), Mod.W. *Tarannon* in Montgomeryshire (Saxton's map of 1578) he thinks *ə* gave W. *a* "before nasals", following Morris Jones, WG. p. 16.³ Nennius' *Trahannon* (HB. c. 67), the Trent, he considers to be directly from **Trəhanton* without metathesis, but with the same change of *ə* to *a*.

Putting this into the terminology used in this book, we

¹ The form *Treenta* in Bede is regarded by Ekwall as a separate one, showing either W. *i*-affection or AS. *i*-umlaut; and he derives it from **Trisantō* (the nominative of Ptolemy's form of the Sussex Tarrant) > **Trisanti*. But as Bede has also *Treanta*, from the recorded Brit. name of the Trent, and especially as *Treenta* occurs only once, this seems rather uncalled for. *Treenta* is very likely an incorrect form; there is no reason to envisage a **Trisantō* (better, **Triśantiū*) for the Trent, side by side with *Trisantonā*.

² For another such metathesis see p. 703.

³ Cf. RN. p. lxv.

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have Brit. *Trisantonā* > Pr.W. **Tṛihanton* borrowed into AS. as *Treānte* ; appearing in OB. as *Tre(h)anton* (< **Trisantonos*) with the usual B. change of *ī* > *e* ; and in OW. as *Trahannon* with vowel harmony of *ι* - *a* (or *ə* - *a*) > *a* - *a*.¹ A metathesised Pr.W. form **Tṛihanton* would explain AS. *Terente*, the Dorset Tarrant, with *e* substitution for *ι* ; and with vowel harmony **Tarhanton* would give AS. *Tarente*, the Sussex Tarrant, and MW. *Taranhon*, early Mod.W. *Tarannon*.

But if this name has simple internal -s-, why did it not become **Tri|anton* without *h*, according to the account of the history of -s- set forth above, § 40 ? Indeed such a form would suit *Treante*, *Treonte*, OB. *Treanton*, etc., but it would not do for OB. *Trehanton*, OW. *Trahannon*. An *h* is needed. The answer must be the one given by Ekwall, *loc. cit.*, that the word is a compound, *Tri-santona* ; though he did not propose this to explain the *h*, which had not troubled him, but to find an etymology. He suggests that the name is a compound of Brit. **trī-*, W. *try-*, OB. *tre-*, "through, across",² and a stem **santon-* as in the Gaulish tribe-name *Santones*. On the proposed meaning see RN. pp. 417-18 ; but compare Williams, BSRC. p. 45, who envisages the same **trī-* but a different second element. Hence, since the *s* was at the beginning of the second element of a compound, we should expect to find the *h* preserved, right down to the OW., OB. period (as in *Trahannon*, *Trehanton*), and indeed to the present day since it is immediately before the M. and Mod.W. stress. Hence *Trisantona* is not a case of original *s* remaining in the Romano-British period in absolute internal position, but of Σ preserved as the first consonant of the second part of a compound, on which see § 116.

§ 118. IE. *su*

Initially this gives W. *chw-* (S.Welsh *wh-*), C. *wh-*, B. *c'hw-* ; spelt in OW. as *hu*, OC. *hw*, *hu*, *w*, OB. *hu*, *u*. E.g. IE. **suesōr* >

¹ This is preferable to Ekwall's explanation, since the *ə* is not in contact with a nasal.

² Which is the proclitic reduction of **trē*, cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 534 ; LP. p. 131 ; and pp. 659, 663 below.

W. *chwaer*, OC. *huir*, Mod.C. *hoer*, *hôr*, B. *c'hoar*. This must have developed as part of the change of initial *s-* to Σ - to *h-*; it cannot in any case have happened later than the separation of WCB. The *ch-* in W. and B. appears to be comparatively late and independent, an exaggeration of the *h-*, not yet recognised in the OW. and OB. periods as needing to be spelt *ch*; in South Welsh and Cornish this probably never developed. For separate evidence on date, Wheelock (Ch.), borrowed in the early seventh century, is derived by Ekwall from **Syilāco-* (RN. pp. 455-6). Ir. *sant*, "desire", is a loan from the ancestor of W. *chwant* made while the Britt. sound was still *sy-*. The preservation of *nt* shows that it is hardly likely to be earlier than the sixth century. This slight evidence is consistent with dating *sy-* ($>\Sigma y$ -) $>hw-$ at the same time as *s-* ($>\Sigma$ -) $>h-$; i.e. by the middle or second half of the sixth century.

Medially, *-sy-* gave *-ch-* according to Pedersen (VKG. i, 74, LP. p. 18), but his only example is rather unsatisfactory. O'Rahilly thinks this improbable, and considers rather that it would give *w* or *v*, and so relates W. *ufel* to Mod.I. *aoibheal*, $<IE$. **oisuel-* (*Ériu* xiv, 6). The analogy of *-s-* in absolute internal position in Brit. suggests that it would disappear early entirely here too, without leaving any *h*, so that the result would fall together with original *y* in *w* (not *v*). A form like W. *dychwel*, with **syuel-*, is hardly significant, since the *-sy-* here is at the beginning of the second element of a compound and not in absolute internal position. Hence **oisuel-* should give W. **uwel*, from which *ufel* could be a secondary development in the same way as e.g. *cawod* $>$ *cafod*, etc., cf. WG. p. 28.¹ In VKG. ii, 356, Pedersen proposes a further case, the W. 2nd sg. subjunctive ending *-ych*, which he derives from an imperative form taken over into the subjunctive paradigm, *-isyo*, comparing the Sanskrit 2nd sg. middle imperative *bhavasva*; cf. Loth, RC. xv, 93, Baudiš, Gr. p. 117. But CB. have a different ending, *-y* (which Pedersen derives from *-ēsi*); and such a transference as Pedersen proposes, in itself improbable, would

¹ O'Rahilly's theory and example is rejected by Pokorny, JCS. i, 133-4, whose own explanation is not very convincing, however.

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surely be ancient and therefore to be expected in all three Brittonic languages. Morris Jones' theory that *-ych* is a late analogical re-formation, in Welsh only, from verbs where the *s* of the subjunctive was added directly to a guttural stem consonant (WG. p. 339) is much more probable.

§ 119. Initial Pr.WCB. Groups of *s-* plus Stop

Sp-, *st-*, *sc-* of whatever origin in Pr.WCB. developed a parasitic *ə-* before them in W., but not in CB. This *ə-* never appears in OW. before the time of the Book of Llandaff, with one exception, namely *istlinnit* in Juvenc., ninth century, which would give a MW. **ystlynnit*, from the stem *ystlwnn-* : Ir. *slond-*. Contrast, however, *glan-stlinnim*, same date and source. In Lland. *i-*, *e-*, and *y-* are written, though forms without the prosthetic vowel do still occur ; so *Istrat*, *Estrat* are common, but *Strat* is also found (e.g. p. 63, in a document of the early twelfth century). For *sp-*, note *ispidatenn* (Lland. p. 202), = MW. *ysbydaden*. In MW., *y-* is always written. Parry-Williams notes *esceilenn* and *istomid* as examples in OB., and one or two doubtful examples in MB. (Phon.WB. p. 7) ; and Lewis and Pedersen say that before *st-* " an inorganic vowel . . . appears in OBr. but did not prevail in that period ", but the only example given is *istomid* (LP. p. 20). But the *escei* in *esceilenn* gl. *cortina* (Berne) is of quite uncertain and unexplained etymology, and therefore cannot be used. As for *istomid*, it occurs in a charter printed in the Appendix to Cart.Red. p. 354, dated 833, in the passage *sedente super trifocalium, id est Istomid, in fronte ecclesiae*. Loth, who prints *istomid*, says that the meaning is unknown, as well as that of *trifocalium*, Chr.B. p. 142 ; but Lewis and Pedersen relate it to W. *safn*, " mouth ", MB. *staffn*, : *στόμα*, without explanation. If it is to be understood in the sense of the " mouth, opening, front " of the church, it is very likely a gloss on *in fronte* rather than *super trifocalium* (though LP. simply give it as glossing *trifocalium*) ; and if so, the *i* is no doubt the OB. preposition *i* " in ", e.g. *cassum* gl. *i hepcorim* (Berne), or *in fenosa* gl.

queltiocion (Lux.), etc. In any event, it is clear that the case for the existence of a prosthetic *a-* in either OB. or MB. is quite unproven.

A very similar prosthetic on-glide *i-* or *e-* is known in Vulgar Latin from the second century, occurs repeatedly in the third, and was very common in the fourth and fifth centuries, though it was not noticed by grammarians until the seventh ;¹ its descendants are characteristic of the Romance languages. This cannot have existed in British Latin, or not sufficiently to have been perceived and adopted by speakers of British, because the Britt. *a-* is limited to W. only and is found there equally in native and in Latin words (cf. Morris Jones, WG. p. 26).

The occurrence of *a-* in *istlinnit* in the ninth century must mean that prosthetic *a-* existed already ; besides, when the accent-shift took place (eleventh century) it was certainly there as a full vowel, because in original Pr.W. monosyllables the stress moved back on to the prosthetic vowel, e.g. OW. *strát* (AC. 894, 946) > **astrát* > *istrat* etc. (Lland.) = *óstrat*. How is it, then, that except for *istlinnit* the *a-* is ignored in OW. until the time of the Book of Llandaff ? The answer is probably indicated by the similar ignoring of prosthetic VL. *i-* by the Latin grammarians ; it was at first a mere vocalic on-glide for the purpose of helping with the initial consonant group, and as such would not be noticed as a real sound, nor would it merit the dignity of a letter at the hand of the scribes. Besides, they had no tradition of writing it, and conservatism would tend to delay its recognition. *Istlinnit* betrays its existence, but the general neglect of it until the twelfth century probably means that it had not attained the status of a full vowel until the period of the accent-shift in the eleventh century. According to Morris Jones (*loc. cit.*) it does not count as a syllable in the oldest verse, though Loth held that the contrary was true with a few exceptions (RC. xxxvi, 129) ; Ifor Williams shows that it was already sufficiently audible to count in Welsh poetry by at least A.D. 1100 (PKM. p. xvii).

¹ Grandgent, IVL. pp. 97-8 ; cf. Richter, CPF. pp. 78-9, who dates its beginning about A.D. 100.

§ 120. IE. *sp*

Initially this gives Brittonic *f*-; ¹ in Irish, *s*- but when lenited *f*-, exactly as with IE. *su*-. E.g. W. *fffer*, "ankle", OC. *fer*, : Ir. *seir* : Lat. *sperno*. It is likely that the *p* became first *f* in CC. (cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 140), and that in Goedelic *sf*- fell together with *su*-. There is no need to connect the British development immediately with the Goedelic; at all events it did not fall together with *su*- in British. Very possibly *sf*- remained in British until the time when *s*->Σ- resulted in *h*-; or it may have become *f*- directly from Σ*f*- cf. § 128 on *sr*->*fr*-. Compare also Foy, IF. vi, 319, ZCP. iii, 274.

Internally, *-sp*- was apparently metathesised very early to *-ps*-, before the CC. loss of *p*, and developed in the same way as original *ps*, see below. E.g. W. *ucher* : Lat. *vesper* (but see Pokorny, ZCP. xv, 377; Loewenthal, KZ. lv, 4-5).

On Latin *sp* see *sq*^u, § 124.

§ 121. IE. *ps*

IE. *ps*, and the *ps* from *sp* (see preceding section), developed perhaps first to *fs*, but in any case fell together with IE. *ks* in CC. χ*s* (spelt *x* in Gaulish and British, also *xs* in the former). Its later history is therefore the same as for IE. *ks*, i.e. W. *ch*, C. *gh*, *h*, B. *c'h*. Morris Jones' supposed examples of the development of *ps* to *f* are rejected by Loth, RC. xxxvi, 169.

Examples : W. *crych* : Gaul. *Crixus* : Lat. *Crispus*. Rom.-Brit. *Uxela* (Ptol.), W. *uchel*, OC. *huhel*, B. *uc'hel*, : ὑψηλός. Latin sources for British always spell *x*, e.g. *Uxacona* (AI.), *Uxelis* (Rav.).

§ 122. IE. *st*

The history of IE. *st*, and of CC. *st* from IE. *t-t* etc., in the Celtic languages, is complicated and uncertain. See Pedersen, VKG. i, 78 ff., 136; LP. pp. 20-21, 47; Marstrander, NT. i,

¹ Morris Jones' theories of the history of *sp*- (WG. p. 143) are too improbably involved to need considering. The idea that *sp*->*sq*^u->*sp*- is particularly unconvincing.

104 ff. ; Pokorny, *Urg.* pp. 42 ff. ; Thurneysen, *Gr.OI.* pp. 132-3.

(1) In Brittonic there are a few traces of initial *t-* (e.g. *W. taw* : *OI. -tāa* : *Lat. stare*), and as this applies also to the cognates in Irish it is no doubt very old, not found in Gaulish simply because those words do not happen to occur in the scanty remains of Gaulish. Otherwise the development in Brittonic is as follows :

(2) Initially *s-*, internally *-ss-*, written *-s-* in *Mod.W.* but acting for purposes of quantity as a geminate ; in final position simplified to *-s* in the second half of the sixth century (see p. 339). The initial *s-* being from proximate **ss-*, it did not become *h-* as original *s-* did ; and in the same way internal *-s(s)-* remains distinct from original single *-s-*. The intervocal and final *s* of Old Breton often becomes *z* in *M.* and *Mod.B.* ; and in *Mod.C.* and some *Mod.B.* dialects (see Le Roux, *Atlas linguistique* maps 46, 145, etc.) the initial *s* does so as well as the others. E.g. *W. sefyll*, *MC. sevel*, *B. sevel*, < * $\sqrt{sthā}$ - ; *W. rhos*, *MC. ros*, *MB. ros*, *Mod.B. roz*, : *OI. ross*, < **pro-sth-*.

(3) Initial and internal *st*. This initial *st* is uncommon, and is apparently limited (at any rate in neo-Brittonic) to Cornish and Breton, Welsh having *s-* in these cases. The internal *-st-* is found in all three languages. E.g. *W. ser*, *CB. steren*, : $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$; *W. safn*, *OC. stefenic*, *MB. staffn*, : $\sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{o}\mu\alpha$; *OW. -gust*, *W. -wst*, *OC. -gust*, *OB. -gost*, : *OI. -gus*, in names, < **-gustus* ; *W. llost*, “ tail ”, *B. lost*, “ tail ”, : *ON. lustr*, “ cudgel ”.

If the situation were all as simple as this, one could at first sight very well regard (2) and (3), as well as (1), as a distinction going back to the Common Celtic period, though one would still have to explain the *s-* in *W.* where *CB.* have *st-*. But apart from that, Gaulish varies in its treatment too, not necessarily in agreement with Brittonic, between *s-*, *-ss-*, *st-*, *-st-*, and the dental affricate or sibilant written *Ð-*, *-Ð-*, etc.¹ Still more, the three Brittonic languages do not always entirely

¹ On the problems raised by this sound and its spellings in Gaulish see Marstrander, *NT.* i, pp. 104 ff. The name *AÐÐEDOMAROS*, etc., on early British coins seems to be an example of the same phoneme in British ; compare a Gaulish inscription from Noricum, *INGIINVS ASSEDOMARI* (*CIL.* iii, 5291), and see Holder, *ACSpZ*, i, col. 39.

agree in their treatment of Celtic *st*¹ in any given case. So IE. **uid-to-* gives W. *gwŷs*, "it is known", MB. *gous* (OI. *-fess*); but contrast B. *daoust* (OI. *duus*), "to wit". Again, W. *gwest*, "feast" (OI. *feis*), but B. *ban-vez*, "feast", : ON. *uist*, "food". Two further points may be noted. CIIC. no. 319, beginning of the sixth century, CVNOGVSI, is obviously from **Cunogustus*, a *-gustus* name, the W. *Cynwst*, OI. *Congus*; yet here in Anglesey it appears with *-s* instead of the expected *-st*. Williams remarks that this looks as if it were Irish (AMCA. p. cxv); and in fact that is very probably the explanation, namely that it is one of the monuments set up by Irish speakers in an Irish area, though, as it happens, without Ogams (cf. p. 172). However, he notes *Conblus* beside *Conblust* in Lland., and the forms *Conws*, *Cwnws* actually in Anglesey pedigrees, so that these may be further examples of fluctuation of *-st* in Welsh. The river name given by Ptolemy as *Stuccia* appears to be the *Ystwyth*; if so, as Förster proposes (FT. p. 230), we should perhaps read *Stuctia*; but this would seem to conflict with the fact that in W. as distinct from CB. *st-* has always become *s-*. Williams disposes of this difficulty by emending to *Extuctia* or *Estuctia*, with *ex-*, see BSRC. p. 36. Lastly, there are a couple of possible examples of Latin *st-* giving Brittonic *s-*; namely *stimulus* > OW. *sumpl* (Ox.2), Mod.W. *swmbwl*, "goad", and *stipula*, VL. *stup'la*, > Mod.W. *sofl*, Mod.C. *zoul*, Mod.B. *soul*, "stubble".²

This would seem to add up to some fairly weighty reason for thinking that the differentiation of *st* into *s-*, *-ss-* and *st-*, *-st-* in Brittonic does not necessarily go back, at least in any given case, to Common Celtic; and that the situation as we see it in WCB. may not have crystallised finally until late in the British period. In fact the alternation of SW.Brit. *st-*

¹ In the following pages the immediate source of Brittonic *ss* and *st* is treated for convenience as proximate Celtic *st*, but it would probably be more correct to take it as *ts*, which arose from older *st*, *tt*, etc., and was itself differentiated later into *ss* and *st*. However, the exact position of *ð* in the scheme is hardly clear.

² Given by Loth, ML. p. 82, but ignored by Lewis in EL.; they would need VL. intermediaries **stum'blus* (<**stumilus*) and **stub'la*. The latter certainly occurred in Gaul, whence OFr. *estoble*, see Richter, CPF. pp. 161, 266.

versus W.Brit. *s-*, where W.Brit. is the innovator, is alone a strong argument for the relatively late development of initial *st->s-* at any rate in certain words, though in other words the change is common to all Brittonic. We must perhaps envisage, then, a state of considerable fluctuation between *st* and *s* in the British period, probably in part a matter of dialect, especially in the fact that *st->s-* seems to have been more fully carried out in W.Brit. than in SW.Brit. That the initial Brittonic *s-<st-* is not ancient might be suggested by the fact that it did not fall together with original *s-* in *h-*, whereas in one or two instances Latin *s-* did do so, as we have seen. On the other hand, the internal *-ss-* in Brit. **Tamēssa* is regarded by Förster as being from older **Tamēstā* (FT. pp. 603-4). If so, internal *-st->-ss-* had occurred, in this word at any rate, by the first century B.C., because it appears in Caesar as *Tamesis*. The same conclusion may be drawn from the name *Cassivellaunus*, king of the Catuvellauni in Caesar's time, if containing older **catti-*; cf. Holder, ACSpZ. i, col. 824; Marstrander, NT. i, pp. 106-7. In Ravennas (fourth century original) we have *Camulosessa* and *Demerosesa*, both in Scotland, with *sesa* < **sed-tā*, see BSRC. pp. 27, 31.¹ The first stage of *st->s-* would presumably be a very sharply hissed *ss-*, and if this had been reached before the Latin period it might have been more distinct from original Brit. *s-* than Latin *s-* was at the time when e.g. *sextarius* was borrowed. Since Latin *st-* almost always remains distinct, it would certainly seem that Brit. *st-*, in those cases where it did give *s-*, had already become *ss-* when the Latin loans began, or at least was no longer *st-*.

Perhaps we should envisage the following series of sounds as existing in British in the first to second century A.D. : (1) Σ -, $-\Sigma$ - from original *s-* and *-s-* at the beginning of the second element of compounds. (2) *ss*, both initial and internal, < *st* in some cases, the internal *ss* being identified with *ss* < *ns*. (3) *st*, remaining (or re-formed) in other cases; initially, only

¹ In view of this, *Mestevia* in Ravennas (Dev.) proves nothing, since the word might have been one of those which kept *-st-*. Williams relates it to WB. (and C.) *mes* (BSRC. p. 41), but if so perhaps *st* was preserved in the name while > *ss* in the common-noun.

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in SW.Brit. (except possibly as a freak in **Stuctia* > *Ystwyth*), and by no means always there. The mass of the Latin loan-words were arranged as follows: Latin *s-* fell together with Brit. *ss-*, except in one or two probably early loans like *sextarius* > *hestawr*, where it had been borrowed as *s-* and hence gave *h-*. Latin *st-* fell together with Brit. *st-* in dialects where that existed, and formed a new phoneme in those where it did not; but in a couple of possible cases (*sumbul*, *sofl*) it may have been assimilated to the native *ss-*, perhaps in dialects which had no *st-* (and might therefore occasionally sound-substitute instead of learning the new phoneme as they usually did), and then spread to those which had. The whole thing may have been subject to a good deal of fluctuation, particularly dialectal. Brit. *ss* may go back at least as far as the first century B.C., at any rate internally, if **Tamēstā* > **Tamēssā* and **cadi-* > *Cassi-(vellaunus)* are correct. Quite possibly, if we reject **cadi-* and **Tamēstā* (in favour of e.g. **Tamēnsā*), the *ss* stage might be later, though hardly as late as the Latin loans, since otherwise Latin *st* should regularly give *ss*. It would be safest, probably, to regard *st* > *ss* as being as old as the first century B.C. In any case, the differentiation of *s-* in W.Brit. versus *st-* in some words in SW.Brit. would be early, the oldest traceable dialect distinction between those two areas. Why *st* should remain internally in some words and not in others, and initially in some words in SW.Brit. and not in others, does not appear.

The state of affairs seen in WCB. was certainly fully reached by the OWCB. period. Evidence on the Pr.WCB. period, such as it is, is consistent with the chronological scheme given above. Apart from CVNOGVSI, there is VASSO in no. 325, early sixth century, = W. *gwas*, C. *guas*, B. *gwaz*, : Gaul. *vassus*, < **upo-stho-*. Gildas gives *Cuneglase* = MW. *Cynlas* (DEB. c. 32), containing W. *glas*, MC., Mod.B. *glas*, "blue, green, grey", : Gaul. *glastum*, "woad", < **glasto-*. For place-names, Ross (Heref.; Nb.), Roos (ERY.), Roose (Lan.), and Rossington (WRY.), related by Ekwall to W. *rhos* (Dict. p. 374), would be examples of *st* which had already become *s*. Clyst (Dev.) is unsatisfactory for lack of any WCB. equivalent, but if the

word postulated by Ekwall (see RN. p. 82) did exist in them it might well have had *-st*. (See now Addenda.)

IE. and Latin *str* remains everywhere, both initially and medially ; so with *stl*.

§ 123. IE. *sk'* and *sq*

The history of these sounds in Brittonic is rather unclear. Pedersen's view is that they gave (1) *sc* initially and medially, and (2) *chw* initially, *ch* medially ; see VKG. i, 75-6, LP. pp. 19-20. He regarded (2) as a case of metathesis, *sk* > *ks*, and as exceptional ; but the interpretation proposed for *chw* (that $\chi < ks$ "later became rounded") is unconvincing. Loth thought on the other hand that internal *sk* gave *ch*, and that where *sc* appears in a word in Britt. where it is clearly old, as W. *mysgu*, a consonant has been lost before it (RC. xv, 221). Foy likewise objected to the supposed examples of medial *sc* that they all have lost a preceding consonant (IF. vi, 323). Baudiš tried to explain away the examples of *chw*- as really containing IE. *sk'u*- (Gr. pp. 113-14). Morris Jones offered various solutions, of an extraordinarily complicated nature (WG. pp. 138, 140). It seems fairly clear at any rate that *sk'*, *sq* gave British *sc*-initially and χs - (by metathesis) internally ; that it ever became *-sc*- medially seems to be unproven except when another consonant preceded it. Initial *chw*- from *sk'*, *sq* is not satisfactorily established. That *sq* developed differently from *sk'*, as Morris Jones thought, is also not proven ; the two probably fell together in CC., exactly as *k'* and *q* by themselves did. Brit. *sc*- is evidently Common Celtic ; Brittonic *-ch*- from χs < *ks* from *sk* (= *sk'* and *sq*) must have fallen together with χs from original *ks* and shared its development (see below), therefore presumably at least before the separation of WCB. Since Latin *sc*, *squ* give Britt. *sc* (e.g. *disco* > W. *dysgu*, C. *desca*, MB. *disquiff*) the metathesis was probably older than the Roman period.

§ 124. IE. *sq'u*, *sk'u*

As one would expect, these normally became Gallo-Britt. *sp*, but Ir. *sc*. IE. *-sp-* was metathesised very early in Celtic,

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as we have seen, but this did not apply to *sqʷ*, *skʷ*, in which the *qʷ*, *kʷ* developed to Gallo-Britt. *p* just as they did when not combined with *s*, and obviously contemporaneously. Latin *sp* was identified with the resulting British *sp*, giving WCB. *sp*, *sb*. Whether either *sqʷ* or *skʷ* ever became WCB. *chw* is not proved beyond dispute (cf. Foy, ZCP. iii, 274; Baudiš, Gr. pp. 113-14; Morris Jones, WG. pp. 141, 143), but if they did, they probably did so by falling together with *su* and sharing its history.

§ 125. IE. *kʷs*, *qs*, *qʷs* (with *gs*) and *ps*

They all fell together in CC. in *χs* (on *ps* see § 121); whence intervocally in Brittonic *-ch-*, *-h-*, or nil.¹ E.g. W. *dehau*, *deau*, C. *dyghow*, *dyow*, B. *dehou*, : Gaul. *Dexsiva* (*xs* = [χs]) : δεξιός. In IE. final position *-x* > *-χs* seems to have given *-s* in Brit. by the fifth century, later lost; see pp. 625, n. 2, 627, 637. In W. *chwech*, C. *whegh*, B. *c'houec'h*, < **suex*, "six", the preservation of *-ch* is probably due to the analogy of sandhi position; see p. 637.

Latin *x* developed quite differently. Just as (IE. and) Latin *ct* became *χt* in Brit., with subsequent vocalisation of the *χ* to *i̇*, so intervocal Latin *x* ² = *cs* gave *χs* and resulted in WCB. *i̇s* (CB. sometimes *us*). Examples: *Saxones* > W. *Saeson*, Mod.C. *Zowzon*, B. *Saozon* (with CB. *us*). *Coxa* > W. *coes*. *Crux* > W. *crwys* (cf. LP. p. 59, Lewis, EL. p. 35), OC. *crois*,³ MB. *croes*, *croas*, all with *i̇s*. *Pexa* > MW. *peis*; OC. *peus*, MC. *pows*, with *us*. *Lixivium* > OW. *lissiu*⁴ (Ox. 2), OB. *lisiu* (Eutych.), Mod.B. *lisiou*; here *-i̇s-* > *-īs-*. W. *asgell*, "wing", C. *ascall*, B. *askell*, < *axilla*, is probably not a case of metathesis

¹ Before and after a consonant *ks* etc. seem at least in some cases to have become *ss* early; cf., e.g., LP. p. 6 on *cam*, 21 on *nos*, 24 on *cesail*, 25 on *rhwym*, *drem*; and Baudiš, Gr. p. 116; and cf. Gaul. *Escingoreix* (Holder, ACSpZ. i, col. 1468). But before mediae *ex-* apparently became *eg-*, with subsequent assimilation, as in Pr.I.; cf. Baudiš, *loc. cit.*

² Before a consonant Latin *x* became in VL. simple *s* in the second or third century, Grandgent, IVL. p. 108, or in the first to second, Richter, CPF. p. 79; cf. Loth, ML. p. 124. So always in Brittonic; e.g. *extendo* > W. *estyn*, C. *ystyne*, B. *asten*; *sextarius* > W. *hestawr*; *excommunico* > W. *esgymun*.

³ According to Lewis, LCC. p. 7, MC. *crous* is from **crós* from *crois*.

⁴ On Mod.W. *lleisw* see EL. p. 41.

in British, but comes from the VL. *ascella*, which actually exists (cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 108).

There is one possible case where apparently a Latin *-x* may have followed the development of the native sound, namely in Mod.B. *peoc'h*, *peuc'h*, "peace", <*pāx*, if Loth (ML. p. 121) and Baudiš (Gr. p. 165) are right. Pedersen, however, rejects this derivation, VKG. i, 218. See further in the next section.

§ 126. History and Dating of IE. *k's*, *qs*, *q's*, *gs*, *ps*; and Latin *x*

As we have seen, IE. *ps* very early became CC. *χs*, which is written in British *x*¹ and in Gaulish *x*, *xs*; e.g. Gaul. *Crixus*, *Crixsus*; Lat. *Crispus*. The descendant of IE. *k's*, *qs*, *q's*, *gs* is also spelt *x* in British; ² *x*, *xs*³ in Gaulish, e.g. Gaul. *svexos*, *Dexsiva*; and it is clear that this likewise stands for *χs*. In fact such groups as *kt*, *pt*, *ks*, *ps* with the first element a stop, were evidently repugnant to the Celtic tongue from early times, and the stop became in every case CC. *χ*. From this *χs*, British

¹ *Uxel(l)a*, town and river in Dev. (Ptol.); *Uxellodunum* (ND. and Rav., *sic leg.*); *Uxelon*, town of the Selgovae (Ptol.); *Uzela* (Rav.); *Uxacona*, Oakengates (AI.).

² Certain examples are few, particularly as some names with *x* on pottery are probably those of Gaulish manufacturers. Note *Cingetorix*, *Segovax*, and *Taximagulus*, Caesar, BG. v, 22; *Argentocoxos*, a third-century Caledonian chief, Dio Cassius 76. 16 (Holder, ACSpZ i, col. 211); TANCORIX, CIL. vii, no. 355, from Old Carlisle. Less certain are: *Loxa* (Ptol., Rav.), river in north-east Scotland, perhaps the Lossie; and *Taizaloi* (Ptol.), tribe in Aberdeenshire. The etymology of these two is uncertain, and it is very possible that we should read *Loza* and *Taizaloi*, with Gk. ζ miscopied as ξ, since satisfactory derivations can then be found for both of them; cf. O'Rahilly, EIHM. pp. 381-2, and also note 1, p. 537 below. Ekwall compared *Loxa* to the two rivers Lox (So.), and suggested: λoξός, but rejected this in favour of **Losca* < **loksko-*, treating *Loxa* as having Brit. metathesis (which, for *sc* < *ksk*, is doubtful), and Lox as having AS. (RN. pp. 267-8). Williams accepts the relation to λoξός, BSRC. p. 38; but this runs us into chronological difficulties, see below, pp. 538, 539 and n. 3. *Peza* (Rav.), one of the forts on the Antonine Wall, also has *x* of unknown origin; possibly it is an error for **Dexa*, see BSRC. p. 43.

³ The spelling *xs* is simply a VL. one, and is common for *x* in Latin inscriptions of the VL. period in Gaul and elsewhere; e.g. *uxsor*, *saxsa*; cf. Richter, CPF. p. 42. But Gaulish knew and used Greek X for [χ], and it is likely that the spirant character of the guttural in *χs* influenced the writing with *xs*. Besides, since Latin *x* was *χs* in Gaul, Latin spellings like *uxsor* may be intended to express *χs*.

developed a neo-Brittonic *ch*. How and when did this take place? Through *cc*, which certainly gave WCB. *ch*? But it is difficult to see how that could be, and there is no written evidence for such an intermediary.

Before attempting to answer this, it would be as well to consider the history of Latin *x* in British. Latin *x* became χs in Gaul, and it is clear that it did so because the Gauls sound-substituted their own χs for the (to them) impossible group *ks*; and this χs became, by palatalisation of the χ , first $\chi's$ (see p. 538, n. 2), giving later $\dot{\imath}s$, in the same way as $\chi't$ gave $\dot{\imath}th$ (see p. 404). So, for instance, *exire* > Provençal *eissir*, *laxare* > **laχ'sare* > **laïssare* > Fr. *laisser*. Cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 113, and Richter, CPF. pp. 122 ff., 130, 134-5. This is exactly parallel to the history of Latin *ct* in Gaul, cf. p. 404. But in Britain, Latin *ks* cannot have been adopted as χs in such a way as to fall together with the native χs from IE. *k's*, etc., which gave WCB. *ch* (unless *peoc'h* is a case, see below). Yet, its development being what it was, > $\dot{\imath}s$, the Latin *x* must have passed through a stage of χs > $\chi's$, in Britain as in Gaul. How is this to be explained? Surely by assuming that the native χs was not now merely χs but something else, with which the Latin sound could not normally be identified. Was it then already *ch* at the time of the Latin loans? Hardly, because it is written with ξ in Greek and *x* in Latin sources,¹ and hence

¹ See the examples quoted above. Fraser says that *ks* > *ch* was complete at this time (Sc.G.St. ii, 188), precisely because of its different development from Latin *x*; but in order to support this he has to ignore *Cingetorix*, *Segovax* (presumably as being before the loan period), *Tancorix*, *Argentocoxos*, and to reject *Loxa* as being not British. If the identification of *Loxa* with the Lossie is correct the phonetics of the development are certainly not British, but apparently Goedelic. But this proves nothing, nevertheless, about the language of the inhabitants of the district in *Ptolemy's time*. In any case the identification is not certain (cf. Watson, CPNS. pp. 48-9), nor is the form (see p. 536, n. 2). Fraser does not mention *Taixaloi* and *Pexa*, but as these are both in Scotland he may have regarded them too as not Brittonic, though *Pexa* could not be Goedelic. He does not quote the names in *uxel*, probably because these have IE. *ps* not *ks*; but since IE. *ps* had unquestionably fallen together with IE. *ks* in χs in CC. there is no reason to ignore their evidence on the problem, which is decisive for the continued existence of some form of British χs (whether from IE. *ps* or *ks* is irrelevant) in Roman Britain.

must have had an audible *s*-element. It must therefore have been some sound which was perceived by the Romans as their *x* (and recorded by Greek writers as such), but was phonemically distinct from it for the speakers of British. Just what the sound was phonetically we shall not attempt to say; but let us suppose the WCB. *ch* which derived from it arose from a strengthening of the *χ*-element and a weakening (and ultimate extinction) of the *s*-element. If so, the nature of the sound during the Roman period may have been something which we may write in phonemic terms as *X^s*; noting that the WCB. *ch* is a velar one, and that the *X* (=voiceless guttural spirant) was therefore, no doubt, distinctly non-palatal. On the other hand, since Latin *x* became *χs* and presumably palatalised *χ's* on its way to *ȝs* both in Gaul and Britain, the Latin phoneme may have been heard and adopted by the Britons as *χ's*, a sound for them so distinct from *X^s* that they did not identify the two.¹ This would mean, of course, that *χs* for Latin *x* was not a *British* sound-substitution but existed already in the Latin pronunciation which was brought to Britain.² However, there is no particular difficulty about that; the *χs* pronunciation of VL. *x* was not limited merely to Gaul, but was found over a great deal of the western Empire;³ and hence it might very easily have been a regular feature of the Latin pronunciation which came to Britain.⁴ It can hardly have been *ȝs* already in VL. in Britain in the Roman period, because for

¹ Unless in the possible case of *pax* > *peoc'h*, *peuc'h*. This might be a very early loan, before *χs* > *X^s* in Brit. (Loth thinks it was early, since the *x* was treated like Brit. *cs* (*sic*), not Latin; ML. p. 121.) But another explanation is possible, see n. 4.

² Richter notes that *χt* > *χ't* in Gaul is a natural phonetic development, but that *χs* > *χ's* is not, and that its rise in Gaul must be due to the influence of *χ't* (CPF. pp. 122-3). It must therefore have reached Britain, where native *χs* did not give *χ's* in spite of native *χ't*, already as *χ's*. Incidentally, Richter's note explains why native *χt* became *χ't* but native *χs* did not become *χ's*.

³ In Italy, however, intervocal *x* became *ss*, without any effect on the preceding vowel, e.g. *saxum* > *sasso*, cf. Grandgent, IVL. p. 108.

⁴ The clue to *pax* > *peoc'h*, *peuc'h*, if that is the etymology, may be not one of date, but that the word was borrowed from some Latin source (the very early church in Roman Britain?) which pronounced *x* as the classical Latin *cs* instead of British Latin *χ's*, so that it was identified with the native *X^s*.

one thing the British Latin loanwords in Irish show *ss*, exactly as with native Pr.I. $\chi s > ss$, and if British Latin already had $\dot{\imath}s$ there would have been some diphthong in Irish; the question of the date of the $\dot{\imath}s$ stage is examined below. We may reasonably conclude that CC. χs had become our X^s in British by the late first century at latest. As to when this became *ch*, there is no certain direct evidence,¹ but it must have been before the separation of WCB.² and after the time when the Roman usage of *x* for *Uxel*-names was well established, say after the Antonine Itinerary or Ravennas;³ and therefore at some period between the fourth and the sixth to seventh centuries. On the development of Brit. final $-\chi s > -s > \text{nil}$, presumably through a weak xs , see pp. 535, 625, n. 2, 627, 637.

As to the evolution of Latin χs into $\dot{\imath}s$ in Britt., one would suppose *a priori* that it would be more or less contemporary with $\chi t > \dot{\imath}th$, dated above in general terms as late sixth century, but not necessarily completed everywhere until the seventh (§ 60). The $\dot{\imath}s$ must have been pretty well established by the later sixth century, as it is common to W., C., and B., though the somewhat different treatment in certain cases in CB. may mean that it was not fully so. The only contemporary evidence from England bearing on this that I know is the name Pensax in the part of western Worcestershire probably settled at the beginning of the seventh century, derived by Ekwall as = W. *Pen Saeson*, "the Hill of the Saxons" (Dict. p. 345). This would show the guttural still audible in this district at this time; but it is hardly likely to have lasted much later here. The names Pennersax and Glensaxon in Dumfriesshire seem to show, however, that it lingered for a couple of generations

¹ *Loxa* in Rav. may be an instance of *x* as late as the fourth century, but the derivation is uncertain, see above. No examples of the derivative of internal IE. *k's*, etc., occur in Dark Age inscriptions or other sources, nor in English names (see next note).

² And so *Lox* in So. is not very likely to have had Brit. X^s ; *sc* with AS. metathesis is more likely.

³ The *Decha* of Ravennas, in Scotland north of the Forth, might be from older **Dexa* and would therefore be an early instance; but if *ch* here is for *x* it might be purely scribal; cf. BSRC. p. 31. The name is too obscure to build anything on it.

longer in Cumbria ; cf. Watson, CPNS. pp. 180, 356. Glensax in Peeblesshire (*ibid.*) might be a rather earlier loan.

§ 127. IE. *sl*, *ls*

Initially *sl*- gives W. *ll*- = λ ; CB. *l*-. E.g. W. *llu*, OC. *luu*, MC. *lu*, : OI. *sluag* : Gaul. *Catu-slugi*. Pedersen, who regards this as through an intermediary *hl*-, treats *hl*- as having arisen by lenition (VKG. i, 84, LP. p. 23) ; on the objections to this see § 114. The *hl*- stage is likely enough, but only as part of (and contemporary with) the normal development of *s*-> Σ ->*h*-. A Pr.W. *hl*- (probably = *hL*-) became then λ - later ; on this, and the question of date, see § 93.

There is also another treatment which has been proposed, namely that *sl*- remained, giving *ysl*- in Welsh, and that this is from the non-lenited form ; cf. Pedersen, *loc. cit.* The objections to this are that there was no non-lenition or lenition here ; that *sl*- was not likely to escape becoming Σl ->*hl*- unless it developed a parasitic *-t*- (cf. on *sr* and *spl* below) ; and also that it is insufficiently supported with evidence. The only apparent example is W. *yslath*, "rod", beside Ir. *slat*, "rod" ; but there is also W. *llath*, "rod, yard", B. *laz*, "pole". The isolated *yslath* can hardly be taken as adequate proof, especially in view of *llath*, *laz* ; it may very likely be an early borrowing from Pr.I. **slatt*.

Intervocal IE. *-sl-* gave CC. *-ll-* ("in sehr alter Zeit", Pedersen, VKG. i, 429), on the history of which see § 93. There is no question of *-hl-* here.

With IE. *spl* there seems to have been no identification of *spl* and *sl* (contrast the case of *spr* and *sr*, below). On the contrary, *spl* seems to have developed the same sort of parasitic *-t-* as *sr*- did in certain cases, if the examples given by Pedersen are correct (VKG. i, 83, LP. p. 23) ; cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 139. However, the examples are uncertain, cf. Thurneysen, *op. cit.* p. 133 ; Morris Jones, WG. p. 140 ; Foy, IF. vi, 321.

IE. *ls* gave *ll* very early ("in sehr alter Zeit", Pedersen, VKG. i, 429). Good examples are lacking for British, but cf. *op. cit.* ii, 121. Latin *ls* remains, e.g. *falsus* > W. *ffals*, CB. *fals*.

128. IE. *sr*, *rs*

Initially *sr* is represented in Brittonic either by *fr*- (with which *spr*- fell together) or by *str*-.¹ For examples see LP. p. 22. Pedersen thinks *fr*- is due to lenition of *sr*- as *hr*- (VKG. i, 82, LP. p. 22). On the objection to regarding *s*->*h*- as due to lenition see § 114; rather, *sr*- presumably gave Σr ->*hr*- as part of the regular development of *s*-, and then *hr*- became *fr*-. But since *hr*-<*sr*- might have been expected to remain (cf. *hw*-<*su*-, § 118), or perhaps rather to give *rh*- (cf. *sl*->*λ*-), we may suggest that the way in which it fell together with *spr*- was not through *spr*- merely losing *p*, but by *spr* giving first *sfr*- (cf. *sp*->*sf*-, § 120), and *sr*- attaching itself to this, very likely at the stage Σfr - : Σr -,² when the lisped sound which Σ may have had would favour it. Those cases where there is *str*-doubtless developed a parasitic *t* early, before the time when *sr*- became Σr -. The stage of *fr*- was evidently reached by the time of the WCB. division; and cf. the rivers Frome, Frocester, etc. (see p. 416), which are derived from **sprām*- or **sprōm*- by Ekwall, RN. p. 168.

Internally *-sr*- apparently gave *-rr*-, simplified to *-r*- after a long vowel; evidently in CC. or before (Pedersen, VKG. i, 429, "in sehr alter Zeit"; LP. p. 22, "possibly . . . pre-Celt").

IE. *rs*, internal only, likewise gives *rr*, also probably very early (cf. Pedersen, *loc. cit.*); see examples VKG. i, 82-3, LP. p. 23.

Latin *-rs*- remains; *versus*>W. *gwers*, B. *gwerz*.

§ 129. IE. *sm*

This gives *m*- initially and *-mm*- internally, simplified to *-m*-. For examples see LP. pp. 24-5. Its history is thus exactly

¹ Morris Jones' supposed examples of W. *rh*- (WG. p. 135) are quite unconvincing; cf. Loth, RC. xxxvi, 162-3.

² The theory that Gaul. $\Phi\rho\upsilon\delta\iota\varsigma$ (Ptol., river Bresle) is <**srut*- : W. *ffrwd* (see VKG. i, 537; Meyer-Lübke, ZfRPh. xx, 530-31; LP. p. 3; Loth, RC. xxxvi, 137; Heiermeier, JCS. i, 55 ff.) would imply presumably that *sr*->*fr*- is Gallo-Britt. (unless it is a coincidence), which will not suit the above. But Morris Jones (WG. p. 156) and Pokorny (*apud* Förster, FT. p. 846) derive *ffrwd* from **sprut*-. On objections to this see Heiermeier, *loc. cit.* *Spr*->CC. *sfr*- might very likely give *fr*- independently in Gaul., whereas *sr*- is less likely to have done so. But it should be noted that the Gaul. cognate of *ffrwd* should have *-t*-, not *-d*-.

parallel to that of *sn*, and no doubt contemporary ; see next section. *Sm*- still appears in British in Ptolemy's *Smertae*, Ravennas' *Smetri* and *Smetriadum* in southern Scotland, : OI. *smir*, Gaul. *Smertomara*, etc. Pedersen puts the development of internal *-sm->-mm-* "in sehr alter Zeit", VKG. i, 429 ; it is certainly Common Celtic.

§ 130. IE. *sn*, *ns*

Sn gives initially *n*-.¹ E.g. W. *nodwydd*, OC. *notuid*, MC. *nasweth*, MB. *nadoez*, : OI. *snāithe*. As with *sl*-, *sr*- Pedersen regards this as having happened by the generalisation of an *hn*- arising by lenition (VKG. i, 85, LP. p. 23). No doubt it passed through a stage *hn*- (<Σ*n*-), but, as before, not owing to lenition ; rather, as a consequence of and at the same time as initial Σ->*h*-.

Internal *-sn*- gave CC. *-nn*-, simplified to *-n*- after a long vowel ; cf. *sl*, *sr* ; Pedersen "in sehr alter Zeit", VKG. i, 429. E.g. W. *onnen*, OC. *onnen*, B. *ounnen*, : Gaul. *onno* (see Thurneysen, IF. xlii, 146) : Ir. *uinnius* : Lat. *ornus*, <**osno*-.

IE. *ns*, and *nts*, *nks*, *nst*, *nsk*, *nsq*^u. The evidence on these for British is not as complete as could be wished. *Ns*, *nts*, *nks* resulted in Brittonic in *-ss*-, falling together with *-ss*- from *-st*-, etc., which did not share the fate of original single *-s*- in Brit. because it was a geminate. *Nst*, *nsk*, *nsq*^u apparently gave respectively Britt. *st*, *sc*, *sp*. Short vowels seem to have remained short before all these groups in British. The *-ss*-stage must have been reached in CC. in the case of **en-s*- and **con-s*-, since the vowel remains short here in Irish too (cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 128), unlike short vowels before *ns* groups in Irish in other cases, where the stage *-ss*- was therefore probably independent. How late *ns* lasted in the Brittonic branch in these instances there seems to be no certain means of telling, for lack of evidence (except, of course, that it is older than the division of WCB.) ; but Gaulish ARTVAŠ² (Todi

¹ Morris Jones says *sn*- sometimes remains (WG. p. 135), but his only example, W. *ysnoden*, is no doubt a loanword from English ; see Parry-Williams, EEW. p. 45.

² The *š* seems to imply some special quality of *s* owing to the loss of *n* before it ; a sibilant affricate ?

LENITION

inscription, second century B.C.), apparently an acc. pl. of an *ā*-stem, *-āns* > *-āš*, and MIDX (Calendar of Coligny, first or second century A.D.), probably an attempt to spell something like **mīš*¹ < Celtic **mīns*, "month", both show loss of the *n* in the Gaulish branch at an early date; and it may well be as old as Gallo-Brittonic. Final *-ns* > *-ss* appears to have been simplified to *-s*, falling together with *Σ*, in the Brit. period; see p. 637.

Latin *ns* likewise gives *ss* in Brittonic, but there is no connection between the two developments, because in the latter case there is compensatory lengthening. E.g. *mēnsa* > **mēsa* > W. *mwys*, OC. *muis*, MC. *moys*, OI. *mias*. In fact the Britons already heard the Latin sound with the *n* lost and with compensatory lengthening, that is to say, the spoken Latin form in Roman Britain was already **mēsa*, because this change is a regular and early one in Vulgar Latin; see Grandgent, IVL. p. 74, Richter, CPF. pp. 40-41. Hence the W. suffix for tribal and district names, *-wys*, < Lat. *-ensēs*. This is to be seen in an AS. loan in **Lindenses* > **Lindēs* > Pr.AS. **Lindēs* (see § 28. 2) > *Lindesse*, etc., Lindsey (Li.) and Lindisfarne (Nb.); cf. FT. p. 167. The OW. is *Linnuis*, HB. c. 56.²

LENITION

§ 131.

This is the mutation whereby intervocally, whether in the interior of a word or initially when preceded in a close speech-group by a proclitic ending in British in a vowel, and in general terms internally between vowels and sonants, the British single voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *c* became voiced to *b*, *d*, *g*, and the single voiced stops *b*, *d*, *g*, as well as *m*, became the spirants *ḃ*, *ḋ*, *ḡ*, and *μ*. The *μ* subsequently gave *v*, while *ḡ* went on later to *nil* in W. (in certain cases *ḡ*) and *ch* in CB. With Late Brit.

Where D = the Gaul. affricate mentioned on p. 530, and X is a spelling for S, cf. p. 522, n. 1.

² Cf. *Modern Philology*, xliii, 46 ff.

l, *r*, *n* = *L*, *R*, *N* the only result of lenition was a weakening of articulation (§ 93); the non-lenited *L* at a later date developed into *λ* in W., and the non-lenited *R* into *ρ* in W. with traces of something similar in C. and B. On the individual sounds and their history see the appropriate sections above.

There is no need to enter here into the causes of lenition, except to say that it evidently arose from a loosening and slackening in the articulation of the CC. consonants in certain positions.¹ There are analogies in the history of the Romance languages in their development from Vulgar Latin, and one may compare also the regular change of intervocal *t* to *d* in colloquial American English. That this loosening should have taken a different form for the voiceless stops in Irish, namely *ph*, *th*, *ch*,² is not surprising when we consider that the Goedelic and Brittonic groups had been separate for many centuries before true lenition occurred (see below). A quite different explanation of the causes of lenition was put forward by Pedersen in his *Aspirationen i Irsk* (Leipzig, 1897), a very complicated one designed to cover everything in one all-inclusive theory, to relate the Irish *th*, *ch* to the W. *d*, *g* and to bring even the Brittonic *f*, *th*, *ch* into some relation with them. This was rejected by Strachan, ZCP. ii, 206-8; compare Thurneysen, IF.Anz. xxvii, 14, and Pokorny, Urg. pp. 52-3. Later Pedersen was very tentative about it in VKG. i, 431 ff., and did not mention it in LP. pp. 127 ff.

That Brittonic original *p*, *t*, *c* should become *b*, *d*, *g* while original *b*, *d*, *g* became *b̃*, *d̃*, *g̃* in which the new *b*, *d*, *g* < *p*, *t*, *c* did not share, might possibly seem strange. In fact Loth (ML. p. 87) and Förster (FT. p. 162) actually proposed that lenition of *b*, *d*, *g* must be older than that of *p*, *t*, *c*, on the ground that in the reverse case *p*, *t*, *c* would have ended up as *b̃*, *d̃*, *g̃* too. Förster even regards the two sets as representing two different processes, quite distinct in cause and development (what these are is not stated), as well as in date. The idea of two different dates is based on the analogy of the Germanic

¹ Cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 74. [See now p. 710 below.]

² Originally only *th*, *ch*; the sound *p*, when it was adopted in Irish, was lenited to *ph* by the analogy of the others later.

sound-shifts, but it is unnecessary in Celtic, and there is no reason to doubt that the phenomenon of lenition is a single one, having taken place at a single period.¹ There is no cause why *p, t, c* should have fallen together with *b, d, g*; as *p, t, c* advanced towards *b, d, g*, so original *b, d, g* were advancing towards *b̃, d̃, ȝ*, and the two sets were phonemically distinct the whole time. Compare Thurneysen (Gr.OI. p. 566), whose intermediary stage of "unaspirated lenes" for *p, t, c* is another way of saying the same thing.

§ 132.

The close similarity of the phenomenon of lenition in Goedelic and Brittonic suggests that it is based upon a similarity in the consonant systems of the two groups going back to the Common Celtic period. According to Pedersen (e.g. VKG. i, 242) Common Celtic possessed an aspirate [t'] etc. where there is now not lenition, and mere [t] etc. where there is now lenition. The recent work of the Abbé Falc'hun on Breton phonology (see p. 474, n. 2) suggests, however, to the present writer a somewhat different but analogous situation in Common Celtic. Falc'hun has shown that Breton has a system by which a series of consonants with long articulation is opposed to another series with short articulation, of approximately only half the length of the others; and it appears that the consonants which are, historically speaking, lenited are of the weak variety and those which are non-lenited are of the strong variety. Thus, for example, the lenited *b* in *e baz*, "his cough", from *paz* (W. *ei bas*, from *pas*), and the lenited *l* in *e leur*, "his floor", from *leur* (W. *ei lawr*, from *llawr*), have approximately only half the articulatory duration of the non-lenited *p* in *paz* or the non-lenited *b* in *bac'h*, "hook" (W. *bach*) and the non-lenited *l* in *leur*. Similarly, internal *-b-*, which is the lenition of *-p-*, and internal single intervocal *-l-*,

¹ Cf. Richter on the very similar developments in VL.: "Da sie (die Lockerung des Verschlusses) alle Verschlusslaute in intervokalische Stellung erfasst, möchte man annehmen, dass die Entwicklung von Verschlusslaut zu Lösungslaut, vom stimmlosen zu stimmhaften, eine auf allen Gebieten der Organstellung parallele Veränderung ist" (CPF. p. 136).

have in Breton approximately half the duration of internal originally geminate *p* arising from Pr.B. $b+h$ as in *glepa*, "wettest" (MW. *gwlyppaf*), and of internal or final geminate *ll* as in *toullou*, "holes" (W. *tyllau*). These distinctions are mostly ignored in the written Breton language, though they appear clearly on the kymograph and are obvious to native speakers when their attention is drawn to them.

One may propose, therefore, that the Common Celtic language may have had some such system whereby consonants in absolute initial (a position liable to have special articulatory force), internal geminates of whatever origin (e.g. *-mm- < -sm-*), and internal consonants in certain homorganic and other groups such as the *l* in *-lt-* or the *t* in *-χt-* (see § 60), were comparatively long sounds, and consonants initially after proclitics ending in vowels, or internally when single between vowels or in combination with certain other consonants, as e.g. *-rb-*, were comparatively short sounds; the duration of the former group being approximately double that of the latter group. In absolute initial, however, they were probably not as long as full geminates, since true geminate *pp*, *tt*, *cc*, whether internal or arising through the spirant mutation (§§ 183-4) later gave *f*, *th*, and *ch*, whereas initial non-lenited *p*, *t*, and *c* remained. We may speak of them for present purposes as half-long, writing e.g. *m(m)-*, *p(p)-*, though in Breton they seem to have fallen together later with the fully long geminates in *mm-*, *pp-*, etc.; in any case they were long enough to resist the subsequent weakening which attacked the short consonants and which we call lenition. The Common Celtic use of e.g. *m-*, *b-* after a proclitic ending in a vowel was not of itself lenition, as is shown by the fact that internally *-mm-*, *-bb-*, etc., were incapable of lenition; it was simply that the secondary CC. strengthening of IE. consonants in absolute initial to e.g. *m(m)-*, *b(b)-* did not occur in this quasi-internal position, any more than it did with single intervocal IE. *-m-*, *-b-*, etc., within the word.

It is the subsequent weakening just referred to which is the phenomenon known as lenition. What seems to have happened is that at a certain stage yet to be determined the

CC. short consonants, being mostly intervocal, underwent a loosening or weakening of articulation which resulted in the voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *c* becoming voiced to *b*, *d*, *g*; the voiced stops *b*, *d*, *g* becoming the spirants *ḃ*, *ḋ*, *ḡ*; *m* giving *μ*; and tense *L*, *N*, *R* developing into ordinary *l*, *n*, *r*. The long consonants, however, whether intervocal or in absolute initial, were energetic enough to resist this loosening and remained unaffected at first; though later and as a quite separate evolution *-pp-*, *-tt-*, and *-cc-* became *f*, *th*, *ch*, and *-bb-*, *-dd-*, *-gg-* were simplified. The half-long consonants in initial position have lasted to the present day in Breton, being now fully long, but in Welsh they were subsequently shortened. So, for example, Brit. **m(m)ammā*, "mother", and **esio mammā*, "his mother", became MW. *mamm* and *y vamm*, B. *mmamm* (spelt *mamm*) and *e vamm*; or Brit. **adbero->*abbero-* gave WB. *aber*, "river-mouth", in which the geminate resisted lenition, but was later shortened and so fell together with *b* the lenition of *p*. The interchange between *gw* and *w*, which functions in WCB. in the same way as true lenition, is not really a case of it; simply, absolute initial *w(w)-* underwent a special development (see § 49. 2, where it is printed for convenience as *W*), whereas internal *-w-* and initial *w-* after a proclitic ending in a vowel were not changed when lenition took place. There was no CC. internal double *-ww-*, and *w* in contact with consonants is always of the weak variety.

What is meant, then, by the date of lenition is the time when e.g. *t* became a full *d* in British and a full *th* in Irish, and these were felt as phonemes distinct from non-lenited *tt*, *t(t)-*. Pedersen first puts lenition as not later than c. 400 (VKG. i, 436), on the ground that some time must have elapsed between lenition and initial spirantisation; which latter, he says (p. 417), must be older than the loss of the vowel of final syllables and dates it somewhat earlier than Rhys' c. 600.¹ No reason is given why any time should have to elapse between lenition and initial spirantisation, nor why it should be nearly two hundred years if it did; and none of this is mentioned in LP.

¹ So Pedersen, giving the reference LWP. 2, p. 61; where, however, Rhys actually says nothing of the sort.

Pedersen went on, however, to argue in VKG. that lenition must be older than *c.* A.D. 300 because his supposed lenition-alternation of *s-* and *h-* can only have existed in the first part of the Roman period. This theory has already been dealt with above, where it has been shown that *s->h-* is not connected with lenition. Finally, on the basis of some supposed traces of lenition in Gaulish, and the theory that Celtic *p>f* (*>nil*) is part of lenition, he pushes it back to about 800. B.C. If lenition did exist in Gaulish (which has never been satisfactorily proved¹) it would in any case only do so as an independent expression of the possible Common Celtic nuance already described, and the development of IE. *p* cannot be connected in any way with lenition, since it does not follow the special morphophonological rules for its occurrence.

§ 133.

The chief certain fact about the *relative* dating of lenition in Brittonic (and Goedelic) is that it must be older than the loss of final syllables, since otherwise consonants which came to stand at the ends of words by that loss would no longer be intervocal. Also, of course, that it is older than the separation of W., C., and B. Further, there is no evidence that it had occurred during the Roman period; on the contrary, there is strong reason to think that it had not, since Latin words undergo it in the same way as British. Pedersen admits this (VKG. i, 242), but thinks that Latin loanwords were sound-substituted by his already-existing British alternation of *t' : t*, etc., as already described. Perhaps; or let us say rather by *tt : t*; but this is not lenition as we have defined it, and once again the stage of full *d*, etc., and therefore of lenition, was obviously not reached before or during the Roman period, since Latin words could not have shared in it if it had been. As it is, no Latin words borrowed into British preserve Latin *t* etc., as one would expect at least some of the later ones to do if the stage *d* etc. were reached during the Roman occupation. Further, contemporary Greek and Roman sources

[¹ Cf. Pokorny, *Vox Romanica*, X, 254 ff.]

invariably represent British *t* etc. by Greek and Latin *t* etc., never by *d* etc.¹ Again, the Latin and British words borrowed into Irish during the first period of loans in the middle of the fifth century show that British and British Latin *t*, *c* were still *t*, *c* and not *d*, *g*, because they were subsequently lenited along with native *t*, *c* to *th*, *ch*; not along with native *d*, *g* to *ḁ*, *ǵ*. Pedersen says that this happened by the Irish *substituting* their lenition *th* and *ch* for the sound-nuance of pure tenuis [t], [k] (*loc. cit.*); but apart from the probability that *th* and *ch* did not yet exist in Irish (see pp. 138-9, 142), once more Pedersen can only claim a sound-nuance for British at the time, and not the full *d*, *g* which represent lenition as defined. If British *had* already got lenition [d], [g] there would have been no temptation whatever to substitute these in Irish by *th*, *ch*, since Irish also had intervocal *d* and *g* (from older *nt* and *nc*) at this time, which would have made much closer substitutes. On the other hand, in the second group of British and British Latin loanwords in Irish, beginning in the earlier part of the sixth century, British *t* and *c* in lenition position *are* now borrowed as *d* and *g*² (and not subsequently lenited in Irish, since lenition there was now complete, see pp. 127-8). The preliminary conclusion, then, on this evidence alone is that British lenition took place between the middle of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century.

§ 134.

The *direct* evidence from the usual sources may be set out as follows :

(1) *Inscriptions*.—As already discussed (pp. 176 ff.) the existence of lenition is not betrayed in the Dark Age inscriptions, because the spoken Latin of Britain went through the same process as the native language,³ and consequently the

¹ *Anderidos* (Pevensey) in ND. for *Anderitos* is no doubt due to Vulgar Latin phonetics and scribal habits (cf. pp. 36, 92); the variant reading *Anderitos* actually exists and ought to be adopted for the text of ND. Cf. JRS. xxxviii, 54.

² Which shows, incidentally, that when British lenition had taken place the Irish felt no need to substitute the [d], [g] by *th*, *ch*.

³ Cf. pp. 70 ff. above.

letter *t* etc. was naturally still used to write the new *d* etc. < intervocal *t* etc., because it had now come to be so pronounced; whereas the letter *d* intervocally now meant *ḍ*, and was therefore still written where the older language had [d] and the contemporary had [ḍ]. So *mutatis mutandis* for the other lenitable letters. E.g. VOTEPORIGIS, CIIC. no. 358, c. A.D. 550, is the natural spelling of what was pronounced something like [wodebʰrīʒ(əΣ)]. Hence lenition does not appear in the inscriptions, though it was, of course, present in the speech of those who set up those monuments which are later than the time when it arose.

(2) *Early written sources*.—The letter of the bishops concerning the heretical Breton priests, written between 509 and 521 (see p. 14), gives the forms *Lovocatus* and *Catihernus* for what were probably the older **Lugucatus* and **Catutigernos*. This seems to bear witness to lenited *ʒ* having become already *ʒ* before *u*, and *j* between front vowels. In *Mailoc*, A.D. 572 (see p. 464), *g* before *l* is not only lenited but has already become *ʒ*.¹

While mentioning early Brittany, one may discuss the point raised by Loth in ML. p. 84, that several place-names borrowed from Gallo-Romance speakers by the settlers of Brittany towards the end of the sixth century show that the Bretons lenited the consonants in them as they did those of their own language; and that therefore lenition was not yet complete, even if it had been begun. We need not necessarily appeal to sound-substitution in answering this; if these names are really as late as Loth thought, the change can easily have been due to the Vulgar Latin developments noted on p. 92 above, and hence e.g. **Ratinacus* (ML. p. 25) is *Radenac* in B.² not because it was borrowed as *Ratinacus* before lenition in Breton and then lenited, but because it was already **Radenagus* in Vulgar Latin.

(3) The orthography of OW., (early) OC., and OB. does not,

¹ The *t* in *Lovocatus*, and the *c*'s in that and *Mailoc*, are, of course, written for the spoken [d] and [g] on the same principle as in section (1) above, except that here it is due to Continental VL. scribal habits; cf. p. 92.

² With subsequent unvoicing of final B. -*g* as usual in pausa.

of course, normally betray the existence of lenition any more than the inscriptions do ; and for the same reason, that British Latin pronounced *b, d, g, ð, ȝ (j), μ* for what were written as intervocal *p, t, c, b, d, g, m* in the Latin alphabet, at the time when the manuscript tradition of writing OWCB. was formed. This matter has been discussed in Chapter II, where we have seen (p. 68) that there are exceptions which show beyond a doubt that lenition really existed at this period. This point needs to be stressed, because at one time it was taken as a matter of course that the regular ignoring of lenition in OWCB. orthography meant that it had not yet occurred, or not normally or completely so. For instance, in ML. (p. 86) Loth thought that the process was one of several stages, and he followed Rhys in believing that in the modern Gwentian dialect it was never completed, not only finally but also internally.¹ Loth made constant use, in his works, of the absence of lenition in writing as proof of its absence in fact, arriving therefore at varying dates for the various sounds² by the process of taking the spellings far too literally ; though in ML. p. 87 he admitted that lenition happened between the fifth and the beginning of the eighth century (therefore *before* the OWCB. period), and that tradition had a good deal to do with the spelling.³ Later he came round more fully to this view,⁴ but his dates for lenition were still too late, and he never fully abandoned the idea ; so in RC. li, 5 he was still speaking of intervocal stops and *m* seeming "intact" at the end of the seventh and largely in the eighth century. A theory of the gradualness of lenition, that it was a process which began indeed before the loss of final syllables but having received this momentum continued

¹ This need not be ancient, but late and secondary. Compare the similar partial or complete unvoicing of *b, d, g* in modern Sc.G., which is not likely to be older than the fourteenth century. The fact that the Brit. voiced stops and *m* became spirants in Gwentian is proof lenition had taken place.

² E.g. VVB. pp. 10 ff.

³ Incidentally, the VENEDOTIS of CHIC. no. 394, end of fifth century, is not a case of the suffix *-tāt-* with lenited *t* written D, as Rhys and Loth (*loc. cit.*) thought. The stem is **uēned-*, as in W. *Gwynedd*, and MW. forms in *Gwynd-* have syncope and provection of *d* after *n*. To identify the *Voran* of Rav. with Carvoran (*sic leg.*), as Loth does, is pure fancy ; cf. BSRC. p. 50.

⁴ Cf. Chr.B. pp. 65 ff., and note 66 n. 1.

to evolve over some longish period of time before reaching completion, was put forward by Sir Ifor Williams¹ to explain some apparent features of lenition in the *Gododdin* poem, c. A.D. 600, and even in the *Armes Prydein Fawr* (tenth century). For a criticism of this see the writer's review in *Antiquity*, March 1939, pp. 30-31. The conclusion is that lenition did actually take place, and completely, long before the OWCB. period, but that for the reasons explained its existence is rarely betrayed in the written sources of the time, nor regularly at all until the drastic reorganisation of Welsh, Cornish, and Breton spelling which happened at the beginning of their Middle periods under Anglo-Norman, English, and French influence.²

¹ CA., Introduction, § xxii.

² It is well known that in MW., words ending in *-[d]* and *-[g]* are regularly spelt *-t*, *-c*, and those in *-[b]* less often with *-p*, whereas internally *b*, *d*, *g* are always written. So in Voc.C., while *[b]*, *[d]*, *[g]* are almost invariably written *b*, *d*, *g* internally, finally they are mostly *-t*, *-c*, though *-b* is usual. MB. is like MW., and Mod.B. often writes *-p*, *-t*, *-k*. This does not mean that lenition did not take place with the final voiceless stops—it must have done so, when these were still intervocal before the loss of final syllables. Nor does it support the view that lenition was a long process, or suggest that it was not complete in the Middle periods. Morris Jones very well explains the MW. *-p*, *-t*, *-c* by the fact that before a consonant in the following word (i.e. in the majority of cases) final *[b]*, *[d]*, *[g]* were protracted to *[p]*, *[t]*, *[k]*, and the voiceless writing was generalised (WG. pp. 20, 184); i.e. this was a secondary phenomenon. (The same is true in Breton, where, however, the spelling still fluctuates between *-b*, *-d*, *-g* and *-p*, *-t*, *-k*.) But this need not be the whole story. In Mod.W. whereas *b*, *d*, *g* internally are fully voiced, finally they may have voiceless off-glides (cf. Baudiš, Gr. p. 79); but in for instance the W. of Gwynedd this is apparently limited to monosyllables after short vowels, cf. O. H. Fynes-Clinton, *The Welsh Vocabulary of the Bangor District* (Oxford, 1913), pp. xvii, xxiv. In the Cyfeiliog area final *-b*, *-d*, *-g* after vowels are fully voiced; see A. Sommerfelt, *Studies in Cyfeiliog Welsh* (Oslo, 1925) pp. 21-2. However, Stephen Jones describes final W. *-b*, *-d*, *-g* as only slightly voiced (*A Welsh Phonetic Reader*; London, 1926; p. 13). We may very likely conclude that while these sounds were still internal, after lenition, they were fully voiced, but that at some time after they came to be final owing to the loss of final syllables they became partly somewhat unvoiced, not so much only by protraction as also by the fact of being final—the voicing was not carried through to the end. Such unvoicing of final voiced consonants is regular in the Slavonic languages, and is found in Sc.G. also with consonants other than *b*, *d*, *g* (which are unvoiced in any case). However, since the rules for its occurrence differ somewhat in W. and B. (C. is unclear, as there is no modern language), not to mention within the various W. dialects, this

(4) *AS. place-names*.—One would expect that the form taken by the lenited consonants, or those which became lenited, in English place-names borrowed from British, would give a decisive and clear picture; and that where for instance a sound which was *d* before lenition appears as *d* in the English, it cannot yet have become [ð] in British.¹ Unfortunately, neither of these things is true. In no case can it be absolutely proved that a name was borrowed before lenition, though one or two of the earliest known instances may have been. Of the considerable number of names in which, as just noted, the lenition does not show in the English form, some are such late loans that there is no question but that lenition had occurred. It was Ekwall who first showed that the cause for the apparent anomaly is English sound-substitution (see RN. pp. lxxi ff.); and a proper understanding of this fact can alone explain the situation in respect of British lenition in English names, which will be examined sound by sound in the following sections.²

§ 135. British *p*, lenited to *b*

There are no good examples of this in place-names known to me. Peebles in south-east Scotland is derived by Watson from W. *pebyll* (CPNS. p. 383), but there are no early forms, and the derivation seems hardly certain. Early AS. had no intervocal *b*, but only *þ* or *bb*; and one or other of these might be expected to be substituted for WC. *b*. A clear though late instance of *bb* is present in the personal name *Pobbidi* in DLV., c. 840 (see KW. p. 177), which must be derived from OW. **popid* = [pobīð], Mod.W. *pobydd*, “baker”, < Brit.

partial variable unvoicing is likely not to have been established fully so far back as the common WCB. period. In Mod.W. the writing with *-p*, *-t*, *-c* was given up because the pausa form was felt as really a voiced rather than a voiceless sound. In B. the orthography fluctuates to the present day.

¹ So Williams says the *d* in Edinburgh means that the *d* in *Eidyn* was still [d] and not yet [ð]; CA. p. xl.

² Only the stops and *m* are dealt with here, since these involve a further development of the weakened sound other than the mere shortening of articulation. Those sounds in which the *non*-lenited forms underwent subsequent changes (British *u*, *l*, *r*) are not relevant here, and have been fully discussed in their appropriate sections.

**popijū*. In Latin loanwords borrowed into English, VL. *b* from Classical *p* is regularly substituted by *þ*; and there may be a case of this, the other possible substitution for [b], in AS. *Racwulfe*, *Reculf* < Rom.-Brit. *Regulbium*. See § 140, where it is suggested that this name was borrowed *before* lenition. If so, this would have AS. sound-substitution of *þ* for [b], though for original unlenited Brit. *b*, not for Pr.W. [b] the lenition of *p*. The principle is the same, however. It is possible that AS. *Repta* has non-lenited *p*; if not, it has *p* substituted for voiceless [b], which is very natural; see § 144. 2 and pp. 661-2.

§ 136. British *t*, lenited to *d*

Here the normal representative in English place-names is *d*. So Eden (Wes.-Cum.) < Pr.W. **idon* < *Ituna* (Ptol.), cf. RN. pp. 142-3; Leadon (Heref.-Gl.-Wo.), Lidden (Dor.), Lodden (Dor.), < Pr.W. **Ludan* < **Litano-*, RN. pp. 241-2; Roden (Shr.) < Pr.W. **Rædon* < Brit. **Rutuna*, RN. pp. 344-5; Chideock (Dor.) < Pr.W. **Cēdiōg* < Brit. **Caitiāco-*, cf. Dict. p. 98; ASC. 918 *Deomedum*, *Deomodum*, "the men of Dyfed", OW. *Dimet* (Gen. ii) = [dæved] < Rom.Brit. *Demetae* (Ptol.). In AS. *Andred* (ASC. 477, 491, etc.), Pevensey, < Late Brit. **Andereda* < Brit. **Anderitā*, there is an early example of *d*, as the name would probably have been borrowed at latest at the time of the sack of Pevensey in 491. For personal names, note: **Caraticos* > Pr.W. **Car'dig* > AS. *Cerdic* (cf. p. 613 below); **Matācos* > Pr.W. **Madōg* > AS. *Madoc* (see KW. p. 187; but W. *Madog* is, of course, not from OI. *Maedōc*, as Förster thought); **Catumandos* > Pr.W. **Cadmann* > AS. *Cædmon* (cf. KW. p. 179); **Catu-* names > AS. *Ceadda*, *Cædd*, etc., with AS. hypocoristic doubling of *d*, see KW. p. 180. In DLV. (c. 840) are *Cundizeorn* < Pr.W. **Cændizern* < Brit. **Cunotigernos*, and *Clyduini*, which is some name in Pr.W. **Clōd-* < Brit. **Cluto-*. *Tuda* in ASC. 664 is from a Brit. **Tōto-* name, *Ceadde* from a **Catu-* one as above.

Occasionally medial AS. *-t-* is found, but this can always be simply accounted for without having to suppose necessarily

that these names were borrowed before lenition.¹ So in Catterick, Lichfield, on which see § 144. 2, 3. The AS. personal names *Cata*, *Ceatta*, and their occurrences in place-names like Chatburn, Chatwall, etc., are from Pr.W. hypocoristics or forms with provection in **Cat(t)* from Pr.W. **Cad-* from **Catu-*; cf. W. *Cattwg*, *Cattheyrn*, and see Förster, KW. pp. 181 ff., FT. pp. 800 ff., and Ekwall, RN. p. lxxii. For Catterlen (Cum.), Chatterton (Lan.), Catterton (WRY.), which may contain Pr.W. **cadeir* from *cathedra*, the geographical distribution makes it very unlikely that these were borrowed before lenition, and Ekwall explains the *-tt-* here as an English development (*loc. cit.*). But Förster does not believe that these have **cadeir* at all, and thinks it is an AS. **Cat(t)or*, hypocoristic of AS. **Cadur*, from Pr.W. **Cadur* < Brit. **Catuyiros* (FT. pp. 800 ff.). Chadderton (Lan.) would then contain *Cadur* without hypocoristic doubling.

In final position, however, a Pr.W. *-d* is usually expressed by English *-t*, as in Kennet, Kennett (see § 28. 2) and names in *-chet* etc. (see § 27. 2). According to Ekwall a change of *-d* to *-t* is common in many English dialects, and *-d* may have been more frequent at one time than now (RN. p. lxxiii). Compare Parrett (Dor.-So.), which is AS. *Pedrede* (see RN. pp. 320-22), and Nymet (Dev.), AS. *Nimed*, *Nymed* (RN. p. 304). However, it has already been suggested (p. 552, n. 2) that the partial voicelessness of W. final mediae may go back to Pr.W. times, and if so this would naturally help the use of *-t* instead of *-d* in AS. renderings; this is hinted at by Ekwall, RN. p. lxxiii. Yet AS. *-d* for Pr.W. *-d* is not uncommon; e.g. Cound (Shr.) < Rom.-Brit. *Cunetio* (see § 28. 2); Wynford (Dor.), Winford (So.) < Pr.W. **-frud*, RN. pp. 462-3; AS. *Lyccid* < Pr.W. **Lētgēd*, cf. § 27. 2. Sometimes both *-t* and *-d* are found in AS., e.g. Watchet (So.), Dict. p. 477.

A few cases occur in which *-th* appears in Modern English; so Werneth (Ch.): Gaul. *Vernetum*, Dict. p. 483; Penrith (Cum.): W. *rhyd*, Dict. p. 345; Winfrith (Dor.) < Pr.W. **-frud*, W. *ffrwd*, RN. pp. 462-3; and Culcheth (Lan.), Dict. p. 129, Culgaith (Cum.), *ibid.*, Penketh (Lan.), Dict. p. 345, and

¹ AS. *Repta* may, however, be a case, see p. 662.

Tulketh (Lan.; Ekwall, *The Place Names of Lancashire*, Manchester (1922), p. 146), all : W. *coed*. Förster tries to explain the *-th* by suggesting that the *-t* (read *-d* or *-ð*) was dental and strongly aspirate (KW. p. 213), but aspirate is exactly what the modern sound in W. is not, being a voiceless lenis (when not fully voiced). Ekwall puts it that "it looks as if the pronunciation of the lenated *t* was such that it could sometimes be taken for an English *þ*" (RN. p. lxxiii). Now Winfrith (which does not occur in AS.) invariably has *-d* or *-t* in the ME. sources quoted by Ekwall, such as *Winefrod*, *Winfrod*, etc.; and it is to be taken together with Wynford (Dor.), ME. *Winfrod*, *Wynford*, etc., and with Winford (So.), AS. *Wunfrod*, ME. *Wynfrod*, etc., but once *Wynfryth* in 1491 (see RN. pp. 462-3). Considering these facts together with the etymology, it seems clear that the *-th* in Mod.E. Winfrith and the ME. *Wynfryth* is not original at all, but secondary and late, perhaps very late, and is probably due to some analogy or popular etymology, such as the possible influence of the personal name *Winfrith*. It is remarkable in the other examples of modern place-names in *-th* quoted above that in not a single case is there any evidence for *-th* in AS. sources, which have always *-t* or *-d*, and usually so in ME. too. Apart from *Penrith* in 1100 (but *Penred*, 1167, 1242), the oldest instances of *-th* in any of these names seem to be thirteenth century or later. This is not enough to prove that any had *-th* in AS.; it might be comparatively late. However, it may be significant that they all belong to the North-West area; if *-th* here does go back to AS., perhaps some form of the theory expressed by Ekwall might hold true for the country west of the Pennines. If so, there is still no reason to suppose that it applies to the rest of Britain.

§ 137. British *c*, lenited to *g*

Medially, this regularly appears as *c* in AS. So Itchen (Ha.; Wa.; Gl.), AS. *Icene*, if from Pr.W. **igen* < Brit. **Icenā*, see RN. pp. 218-19; Dacre (Cum.; WRY.), AS. *Dacor* (HE. iv, 32), if from Pr.W. **Dagr*, see RN. p. 111; Luke

Brook (Heref.) < Brit. **Leuc(ou)ā*, cf. RN. pp. 268-9 ; Watchet, Culcheth, Melchet, Penketh, etc., with Pr.W. *-*gēd*, cf. § 27. 2 ; Archenfield (Heref.), AS. *Ircingafeld*, < Rom.-Brit. *Ariconium* (AI.), = W. *Ergyn(g)*, Dict. p. 11 ; Wrekin (Shr.), AS. *Wreocen-*, *Wrocen*- < Brit. **Uricono-* (see § 168) = Rom.-Brit. *Viriconium* (AI.), cf. Dict. p. 513 ; AS. *Bancor* (Bede, HE. ii, 2) = W. *Bangor* ; Penkridge (Staf.), AS. *Pencric*, < Rom.-Brit. *Penno-crucium* (AI.) ; AS. *Liecid*, *Lyccid* < Pr.W. **Lētḡēd* < Rom.-Brit. *Letocetum* (AI.), see § 144. 2 ; Eccles (Lan. and elsewhere by itself and in compounds, see Dict. p. 152) < Pr.W. **eglēs* < VL. *eclesia*, cf. p. 227. According to Ekwall, the only exception among river names is Lugg (Shr.-Heref.), < Brit. **Leuc(ou)ā* ; RN. p. lxxii, and cf. pp. 268-9. Culgaith (Cum.) is *Chulchet* in 1135, *Culchet* in 1203, so that it is not an example of -*g*- ; cf. Dict. p. 129. If Raswraget (Cum.) contains the Pr.Cumb. equivalent of W. *gwragedd*, Brit. **uraciā*s, it has -*g*-.

The reason for the regular appearance of AS. *c* in these names is not that the Brit. *c* was not yet lenited, but that Pr.AS. had no single internal *g* of its own except after a nasal, though it had *gg*. Hence the Pr.W. -*g*- could only be sound-substituted, and the normal substitution was *c*, though *gg* is seen in Lugg and perhaps Raswraget. Cf. Ekwall, RN. pp. lxxi-lxxii. This is quite different from the situation with Pr.W. -*d*-, since AS. *had* an internal *d* and did not need to substitute. On the use of *ȝ* in AS. as a sound-substitute for VL. *g*, see p. 251, n. 2.

At the end of words, Pr.W. -*g* < Brit. -*c*- is apparently always represented by -*c* in AS. This is only what would be expected, the same substitution as internally ; though, since the Pr.W. -*g* may perhaps have been partly voiceless, there might be extra cause for -*c* here ; cf. on -*d*, p. 555. E.g. Crake (Lan.), Crayke (NRY.), Creake (Norf.) : MW. *creig*, Dict. pp. 122, 123 ; AS. *Cerdic*, *Madoc*, see p. 554 ; Torridge (Dev.), AS. *Toric*, Pr.C. **Torig*, RN. p. 413 ; Penkridge (Staf.), AS. *Pencric*, as above. Also numerous names in Mod.E. -*ock*, from Pr.W. -*ċg* < Brit. -*ācō*-, -*ācā*, as Chideock (p. 554) ; though here, as Förster notes, the AS. -*oc* suffix would probably have played a part (KW p. 122).

§ 138. British *b*, lenited to *þ*

This offered no difficulty to the early English, who had a bilabial *b* of their own, written *f* in AS. and giving Mod.E. *v*. Examples are numerous. An early case is Dover (K.), AS. pl. *Dofras*, <Late Brit. **Dobras*, cf. RN. pp. 135-7, and p. 577 below. Another is Rochester (K.), AS. *Hrofi*, <Rom.-Brit. *Durobrivae* (see § 1). In later loans, Avon (Wi.-Ha. ; Dev. ; Wi.-So.-Gl. ; Gl. ; Nthants.-Leic.-Wa.-Gl.-Wo. ; Ha.) <Pr.W. **Abon* <Brit. *Abonā*, see RN. pp. 20-23 ; Laver (WRY.) <Brit. **Labarā*, RN. p. 238 ; Severn, AS. *Sæfern*, <Pr.W. **Σabren* <Brit. *Sabrinā*, cf. RN. pp. 358 ff., and § 115 ; Malvern (Wo.), DB. *Malferna*, <Pr.W. **Mēlbrynn*, Dict. p. 297, and § 27. 2. On a possible case of pre-lenition *b* sound-substituted by AS. *þ*, see §§ 135, 140.

 § 139. British *d*, lenited to *ð*

Pr. AS. had no *ð*, and did not acquire one (by voicing of *þ*) until the settlement period was over ; cf. Ekwall, RN. p. lxxiii ; Förster, Sc.G.St. iii, 5 and FT. pp. 422-3. Hence sound-substitution was the only way of dealing with Pr.WC. *ð* ; and *d* was the natural rendering. According to Ekwall (*loc. cit.*), either *d* or *þ* were used, but his only example of *þ* is Witham (Li.), which he derives from Brit. **Udumanios*, a very doubtful form. Nidd (WRY.), AS. *Nid*, *Nidd*, is probably from a Pr.W. **Nīð* <Brit. **Nido*-, cf. RN. pp. 302-3. On the question whether the *dd* in Bede is a special substitution for *ð*, see FT. p. 329. (For *ð* < *ȝ*, there is *d* in names from **moniȝo*- in § 38 A. 3. The *-t* in Raswraet (§ 137) would be explained in the same way as that in *Nymet* (§ 136), from AS. *-d*.)

 § 140. British *g*, lenited to *ȝ*

There was no difficulty about rendering Pr.WC. *ȝ* with the AS. *ȝ*. This point in respect of English names has been fully discussed above, §§ 74. 1 ; 76 ff., especially as regards the date of *ȝ* > *nil* ; and examples with AS. *ȝ* will be found there. What may perhaps be a very early case of *ȝ* for Pr.W. lenition *ȝ* is

AS. *Wyr̥tzeorn* < Brit. **Uortigernos*. This would very likely have been borrowed about A.D. 450, and appears to postulate a Late Brit. **Uortizernos*, or at least a form with the Late Brit. loosening of -*g*- towards -*ʒ*- having begun enough to make its substitution by *ʒ* natural rather than by *c* or *gg*.

The question here is whether there are any loans showing non-lenited -*g*-. Now, as we have seen in § 137, the only means at the disposal of the AS. language for dealing with the sound [g] internally was sound-substitution, using either *c* or *gg*. We may have an example of the same sort of substitution of *c* for [g], this time, however, not for Pr.W. *g* = the lenition of Brit. *c*, but for original Brit. *g* which was not yet lenited, in the name *Reculver* (K.). This is Rom.-Brit. *Regulbium* (ND.), *Racuulfe* in Bede (HE. v, 8), *Reculf* in ASC. 669. The word is clearly a compound of Brit. **gulbio*-, “beak”, : MW. *gylf*, “bill, beak”; and the first element is probably Brit. *ro*- (or rather, *ræ*-), “great”, on which question see § 200; so that the Brit. would have been **Rægulbio*-, “Great Headland”. If so, of course, one would expect Pr.W. -*ʒ*- by lenition, and -*ʒ*- in AS., and this has puzzled writers on place-names. Ekwall speaks of “the curious fact that *g* appears as OE. *c*” (Dict. p. 365), and struggles to account for it in terms of what would mean something like Brit. **Racculbio*- or **Resculbio*-, though it is not clear just what he is thinking of; in neither case is it likely that they would be rendered in Latin as *Regulbium*, and no such Celtic prefix as **res*- is known. Förster rejects Ekwall’s statement that the *c* for *g* is unexplained, on the ground that it has simply *c* substitution for *g* (FT. p. 325, cf. also p. 191); but he does not see that the common *c*-substitution to which he refers is for Pr.W. *g* arising by lenition from Brit. *c*, not for original Brit. *g* which, according to Förster himself, had already become *ʒ* by lenition in the fourth century (*op. cit.* p. 172); on which dating the word would either have had to be borrowed before the fourth century, which is not probable, or else must have *c* substitution for *ʒ*, which is unexampled and is not what Förster asserts. He seems to have forgotten for the moment that the name has *British g*. The solution may be that this is indeed a case of sound-substitution of Brit. *g* by *c*,

and that therefore the name was borrowed before lenition ; but we need not, for all that, assume that the loan was as old as the third century—in other words, it points to the date of lenition being later than Förster thinks. On this see further below, § 142. Such a solution would involve explaining how it is that the Brit. *-b-*, equally non-lenited of course if the *-g-* is, appears then in AS. as *b̃* ; for an attempt to deal with this see § 135. It should be noted that the name seems to show another sign of early date, the absence of British final *i̇*-affection, cf. p. 600. On the *c* in Pembroke see § 81.

(*N.B.*—Förster derives AS. *Dezesa* from a Brit. **Dagiss-* (this is in itself doubtful), and then gives this as a case of Brit. *g* sound-substituted by AS. *ȝ* (FT. p. 809). But the name, in Roxburghshire, could hardly have been borrowed before c. 600, certainly not before the earliest English settlements in Northumberland in the middle of the sixth century ; and by that time the Brit. descendant of **Dagiss-* would, by Förster's own account (FT. p. 172), already have had *ȝ* since the fourth century. In fact, while not accepting Förster's date for lenition, if the etymology of *Dezesa* which he proposes is correct, one must point out that the AS. *ȝ* would simply be an exact rendering of the Pr.W. *ȝ* < Brit. *g*.)

§ 141. British *m*, lenited to *μ*

This whole question has been discussed in detail, §§ 98 ff. Since AS. regularly substitutes *μ* by *m* in early loans it is impossible to say whether any of the examples had *m* rather than *μ* at the time when they were borrowed. There is, however, no reason to doubt that *m* was lenited at the same time as the other consonants.

§ 142. The Date of Lenition

We have already seen that the evidence of British Latin loanwords in Irish suggests that lenition occurred between the middle of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. Also that it must have been before the loss of final syllables

PROVECTION

(mid sixth century) and before the final separation of WCB. (end of sixth to early seventh century). Further, the forms *Lovocatus* and *Catihernus* seem to show lenition of *g* fully complete between 509 and 521. For names borrowed into AS. we now see that almost without exception they indicate that lenition had already occurred when the settlements were under way, or at any rate do not imply the reverse. *Wyrteorn*, very likely borrowed about 450, seems to point to the existence of lenition already, or at least a somewhat loosened articulation; and *Andred*, *Dofras*, and *Hrofi*- are other early loans (probably second half of the fifth century) which exhibit it. On the other hand, *Racuulfe* and possibly *Repta* seem to have been borrowed before lenition; since these are both the names of Saxon Shore forts, no doubt well known to the English pirates before their settlements began, they may easily be somewhat older than *Wyrteorn*.

The conclusion then seems to be proven—the Late British lenition of *p, t, c, b, d, g, m* to *b, d, g, b̃, d̃, ʒ, μ* took place in the second half of the fifth century.¹ Since it must clearly have taken some considerable time to complete, there is no absolute necessity to place *Racuulfe* and *Repta* as older than *Wyrteorn*, *Andred*, *Dofras*, and *Hrofi*-; names borrowed in Kent in the second half of the fifth century might well have lenition in some cases and not in others, according to the locality or to other causes. But one would not expect to find any examples of non-lenition in English names borrowed after the end of the fifth century.

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§ 143.

When two consonants came together secondarily in WCB., either by syncope of the intervening vowel or by the creation

¹ We have already examined and rejected Förster's reasons for separating the date of lenition of *ptc* from that of *bdg*. He says that both types of lenition must be older than the new vowel quantities (FT. p. 164); but he puts the latter too early, fifth century (cf. § 35), hence his date for lenition.

of a new compound, or even at the end of one word and the beginning of the next, there may take place the accommodation of articulation such as the unvoicing of voiced sounds or the change of spirants to stops, which is called provection. The result may be to nullify the effects of lenition ; as, for instance, where the Latin *benedictio*, Late Brit. **benedixti*, becoming **ben'dixt* by loss of final syllables and syncope, appears in W. *bendith* with its lenited *ð* once more a stop *d*.

This provection is a feature of the Pr.WCB. period and later. It is to be distinguished from the consonant accommodations like Brit. **ad-b-* > **abb-* (see § 70) which arose during the preceding period (indeed in Common Celtic in some cases, no doubt), the rules of which are not always the same. It should be noticed that provection does not always occur where it would be expected ; various factors of analogy, etymological consciousness, etc., may prevent it.

We shall not examine here the different types of provection and their rules ; see Pedersen, VKG. i, pp. 417 ff. and Morris Jones, WG. pp. 181 ff. As to date, it would presumably be apt to occur as soon as a linguistic change brought two incompatible consonants into contact, and syncope (mid sixth century) would be the commonest cause of this.¹ Since provection tends to work somewhat differently in CB. from its development in Welsh, and CB. have a much more thorough-going system, built up into what amounts to a regular morpho-phonological external sandhi, it is likely to be comparatively late ; later, of course, than the loss of final syllables, and later also than the external sandhis of nasalisation and spirantisation, which depend on the partial preservation of final syllables,

¹ But in some types of provection it seems to have been a slow process, very likely passing through intermediary stages (cf. just below). So, for instance, Late Brit. *ð* became *d* when coming to stand before *r*, *l*, or *n* ; thus the names *Idris*, *Idnerth* have [d], the first element being Pr.W. **iud*, " lord ", but such names are almost invariably spelt *Iud-* in OW., where *d* normally means [d], and only rarely the *Iut-* that would be expected. So again *Ithael* is from OW. **iud* and *hail*, and we have *Iudhail* in AC. 775, 848, Gen. xxviii, xxix, and several in Lland., beside IUTHAHELO in CIIC. no. 1012, *Ithael* in TCD. MS. A iv, 20 (1064-82), and *Ithail* in Lland. pp. 258, 259, 263. In such cases it is hard to say how much is due to etymological consciousness and how much to the *d* being as yet only partially affected by provection.

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whereas the external provection implies their total loss. It is to be noted that when, for example, a *tt* came into existence by provection this did not fall together with original *tt* in WCB. *th*. For instance, Brit. **Catutigernos*, Late Brit. **Cadudezirn*os, gives OW. *Cattegirn* (Gen. xxii, etc.), not OW. **Cathegirn*. This means either that provection *t't* grew up later than the time of *tt > th*; or else more probably that at that time the *d'd* caused by syncope had not become a mere *tt* identical with original *tt*, but was still something else, perhaps *ḡḡ* or *td*, which was phonemically distinct from original *tt*.

The second half of the sixth century and perhaps the early seventh is the probable date for the rise of provection in Brittonic, though its full working out may have been a slow process, in some types at any rate.

§ 144.

Here we shall be concerned only with possible examples of provection in Pr.WC. loans in AS.

(1) If Ekwall's derivation of Calder (WRY.; Lan.; Lan.; Cum.) and Cawder Gill (WRY.) is correct (RN. p. 61), this is a case of Pr.W. *-d'd-* > W. *-tt-* (Brit. **Caletodubro-* > **Caledodūbro-* > Pr.W. **Caled'dūbr* > W. rivers *Calettur*) borrowed at some intermediary point—Ekwall proposes *-dd-*. Some such state between *d'd* and *tt* is probable enough; compare the note just above.

(2) When two non-homorganic mediae come together, the result is a group in which the first consonant is unvoiced and the second partly voiceless; so *d'b*, *d'g* > what is written *tb*, *tg* in Mod.W. We have a clear example of the second in Brit. **Lētocaiton*, Rom.-Brit. *Letocetum*, > AS. *Lyccid*, Lichfield (Staf.), and Lytchett (Dor.), W. *Caer Lwytgoed* = Lichfield. **Lētocaiton* must have become Late Brit. **Lēdogēdo-* by lenition, and with syncope and provection this would give Pr.W. **Lētgēd*, in which the *g* was partly voiceless. Lichfield would probably have been borrowed about 600 or early in the seventh century, Lytchett in the second half of that century, therefore at a time when lenition and syncope were long complete, and

provection presumably well under way. Hence the English heard a *-tg-* here, and perceived it, with their very natural substitution of *c* for *g*, as *tc*; which group, palatalised in the vocalic context, was absorbed to the *čč* seen in *Lyccid*. Ekwall rightly notes that there must have been provection in this to explain the English form (RN. p. lxxii); Förster in KW. p. 234 envisaged original Brit. *t-c*, which is impossible. However, whereas in the text in FT. pp. 592, 593 he treats the name as pronounced *Lwītccēd* by the Britons at the time of the loan, in the footnote on pp. 593-4 he uses **Lēd-cēd*, **Luid-cēt*,¹ which seems to imply provection, though of the wrong kind (*d'g > dc* instead of *tg*).

For *d'b > tb*, it may be present in the name Richborough (K.), Rom.-Brit. *Rutupiae*, if Förster's theory on it is right; cf. p. 661. If so, there would be Brit. *-tup-* > Late Brit. *-dub-* > Pr.W. *-d'b-* provecting to *-tb-*, the *b* being partly voiceless and the group naturally substituted by *-tp-* in English; cf. § 135.² But there are great difficulties about this whole problem, see pp. 661-2.

(3) If the name Catterick (NRY.), AS. *Cetreht*, is the same as the W. *Catraeth* of the Gododdin poem, and both are derived from a Brit. **Catar(r)axta* (Ptol. *Catur(r)actonion*; AI. *Cataractone*; Bede, HE. iii, 14 *Cataractone*; HE. ii, 14 *Cataracta*), as is probably the case, this would be Late Brit. **Cad(r)axta*, syncopating to **Cad'r(r)axt*, and giving Pr.W. **Catraxt* by provection. The result would regularly be W. *Catraeth*, and AS. *Cetreht*, on which see FT. p. 119. Compare Williams, CA. pp. xxxii ff.; Morris Jones, Cymm. xxviii, pp. 67, 69; and p. 409 above.

There seem, then, to be some English names which show that provection had occurred when they were borrowed, and probably none of them are older than the seventh century except Catterick, which may have been adopted in the second half of the sixth. There is therefore no inconsistency with the date suggested for provection on p. 563. The only exception

¹ *Sic*; slip or misprint for *Luid-cēd*?

² This time Förster specifically assumes the existence of provection (FT. p. 286), but of *d'b > tp*, not *tb*, and so misses the necessity for substitution in English.

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would be Richborough, but there are several other difficulties connected with this name, and its evidence cannot outweigh the rest given above.¹

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British *pp*, *tt*, *cc*, *lp*, *rp*, *rt*, *lc*, *rc* of whatever origin give in WCB. respectively *f*, *th*, *ch*, *lf*, *rf*, *rth*, *lch*, *rch*.² There is no need to discuss here how this happened, a matter on which there has been some dispute; though in the case of *lp*, *rp*, *rt*, *lc*, and *rc* it may be noted that the stops were very likely geminates in these consonant groups (cf. §§ 60, 132), so that they would develop in the same way as *pp*, *tt*, *cc*. The question here is, when this change happened.

§ 145. *pp*, *tt*, *cc* > *f*, *th*, *ch*

Since it is common to W., C., and B. it is presumably not later than the sixth century. Again, *f*, *th*, and *ch* count as single consonants for the purpose of the new quantity system which, as already shown (§ 35), came into being around 600. On the other hand, it should be later than the doubling of *p*-, *t*-, *c*- in sandhi, which is put in the first half of the sixth century, § 185 below.

There is certainly no evidence for spirantisation in Romano-British sources; on the contrary, note *Coccium* in AI. Latin loanwords in British share in it just like native words, which probably means that it took place after the Roman period. In British-Latin loanwords in Irish, even those of Group Two (early and mid sixth century), there is no trace of it; so *cippus*, *cattus*, *peccatum* > OI. *cepp*, *catt*, *peccad*, not **cef*, **cath*, **pechad* (cf. W. *cyff*, *cath*, *pechod*), as would no doubt be the case if spirantisation had already happened.

¹ Förster dates provection in the first half of the fifth century, on the basis of Richborough (FT. p. 848). He does not mention the point that provection is a consequence of syncope, and must therefore be much later.

² See §§ 50, 53, 57, 50, 54, 61.

In the Dark Age inscriptions¹ there appear to be no examples either of *pp* or of *f*. For *tt* note CIIC. nos. 318, beginning of the sixth century, ETTORIGI, whence MW. *Ethri*; 401, mid sixth century, IATTI (but the history of the name is obscure). *Th* occurs in no. 460, mid sixth century, VAILATHI FILI VROCHANI in Cornwall, but these names are unknown, unless they are Irish, the later *Faelad* and *Froechān*, as is very probable; in which case the *th* (and *ch*) are not relevant here. Similarly no. 375, mid or later sixth century, DOTHORANTI, is not recorded elsewhere. For *cc* no. 352 A, late fifth or early sixth century, BRAVECCI (=W. **Brewych*), and no. 478, mid sixth century, BROCAGNI (for BROCCAGNI, =W. *Brychan*; but the inscription may be Irish, later *Broccān*), both show *cc* still. There is also *cc* in no. 365, end of the sixth century (?), COCCI. The first clear instances of *ch* are mid sixth century, no. 349, BROHO(), evidently a Brit. **Brocco*- name, with *ch* spelt H; and no. 401,² BROHOMAGLI (but with IATTI as above). On VROCHANI in no. 460 cf. above. In nos. 326, early or mid sixth century, MACCVDECCETI, and 440, sixth century (?), MACVDECETI, the Pr.I. *Mac'c'u'-Deched* has its *ch* (the lenition of single *c*) rendered C(C) in British spelling;³ which means either that British had as yet no *ch*, and *cc* was the nearest sound, or else that the spelling with *ch* was not yet in use in British. It is significant that in a *later* version of the Irish name, no. 492, late sixth or early seventh century, MACCODECHETI, *ch* is written; which is proof that the sound existed then in British and was so written.

Hence we can say (at any rate for *ch*, evidence for the other two being lacking) that the spirantisation is witnessed in

¹ The fact of P(P), T(T), C(C) being written in an inscription is not necessarily proof that the sounds were not yet *f*, *th*, *ch*, since such spellings continued (rarely) to be used by conservatism as late as the OW. period, see § 150.

[² This inscription is dated fifth to early sixth century by Nash Williams (ECMW. p. 125), but he did not note the half-uncial S, which can hardly be so early. He now writes (30th November 1950): "I agree. The S in line 3 is almost certainly half-uncial, which would bring the stone well into the sixth century".]

³ On the evidence of these names see pp. 140, 181.

inscriptions of the middle of the sixth century, though not before, and that there is no case of *pp*, *tt*, *cc* later than that time except COCCI, which very likely has CC spelt for *ch*. As already noted, provection of Pr.W. *d'd*, *d'd* to *tt* (dated second half of sixth to early seventh century) must either be formally later than *tt > th*, or else, as is very probable, the two were phonemically distinct because the former was still some sort of *ḡḡ*. So far, then, there is reason to regard the middle and second half of the sixth century as the date for *pp*, *tt*, *cc > f*, *th*, *ch*.

§ 146.

In most cases the evidence of place-names and other words borrowed into English fits well enough into the date proposed. So AS. *brocc*, "badger", (W. *broch*) would be an early loan from Pr.W. **brocc*. Similarly, Förster derives AS. *hogg* from what would be in our terminology Pr.W. **hocc* (: W. *hwch*), adopted at a time when Pr.W. *cc* was already on its way to *ch*, so that neither AS. *cc* nor *h* were suitable substitutes and *gg* was used instead (KW. p. 134). This causes no chronological difficulty. The AS. *Brettas*, *Brittas* is a loan from Pr.W. **Britton* (W. *Brython*), cf. Bede's *Brettones*; this again would obviously be early. The river Beane (Hert.) is *Beneficcan* in ASC. 913, etc., and the second element has been taken as the equivalent of Mod.W. *fychan*, mutation of *bychan*, "small". This is rejected by Ekwall, who prefers to regard it as from a Pr.W. lenited **bicc* (RN. p. 28);¹ however, Förster accepts the relation to *bychan*, FT. p. 163. The etymology of the whole name is far from certain, but the British may have contained *cc*, and as it would have been borrowed early in the sixth century it suits our dating. AS. *Beornice*, Bernicia, is commonly related to MW. *Bryneich*, etc., and held to have Brit. *cc*; since it must have been taken over in the second half of the sixth century the continued existence of *cc* here, especially in a remote dialect area, is possible, but the whole

¹ Ekwall's "OW. **bicc*" and "OW. **becc*" should be "Pr.W.", not "OW.".

history of the name is highly doubtful (see Appendix). Bede's *Brocmail* (HE. ii, 2) is the W. *Brochfael*, Brit. **Broccomaglos*, which was already **Broch^oμazl(əΣ)* in CIIC. no. 401, mid sixth century, BROHOMAGLI. The *Brocmail* in question belongs to A.D. 613 or 616, which seems late for *cc*, but the form could have been derived ultimately from a Latin written document of British origin, in which *ch* would easily still be spelt *cc* or *c*, cf. § 150. On the other hand, we have *ch*, borrowed as AS. *h*, clearly in the Northumbrian AS. dialect word *luh*, "lake" (modern *lough*), borrowed from a Pr.Cumb. **luch* : W. *llwch* ; compare Förster, KW. pp. 130 ff. This would not have been adopted before the second half of the sixth century at earliest, on historical grounds, and very possibly up to a century later. The same word in its Pr. or OC. form occurs in Looe (Cornwall), from **loch* (cf. RN. pp. 258-9). It is true that W. *llwch* is probably itself a loan from Irish *loch* (cf. Förster, *loc. cit.*), but it is not irrelevant here, since it must either have been adopted in Brittonic after the language had developed its own *ch*, or if before it must have had substitution of Ir. *ch* by Britt. *cc*. In either event its testimony is pertinent—the Britt. *ch* was already in existence when the word was taken into English.

There are, however, one or two words which seem to agree rather poorly with the proposed date.¹ Bede's *Ythan-cæstir* (HE. iii, 22), the Rom.-Brit. *Othona* (ND.) in Essex, is derived by Förster from a Brit. **Ottōna* (FT. p. 597). One would suppose that this name must have been borrowed in the late fifth or early sixth century (possibly before the settlement of Essex, since it was a Saxon Shore fort). However, it is in a remote and forested part of the county, at the end of a peninsula, probably not then readily approachable to those coming by *land*, and the English may easily not have occupied the neighbourhood until the middle of the sixth century, especially as the fort had long gone out of use. In any case the etymology

¹ Förster notes AS. *Lidwiccas* and *Lidwicas* in ASC. 885, and comparing Gaul. *Litaviccus*, MW. *Letewic* (*sic*), he thinks this has *cc* borrowed as *cc* (AStNSp. cxlvi, 133-4). It is not likely to be an early loan. But the W. has, of course, *c* - [g], not *cc*, from **Litavicos*, Mod.W. *Llydewig* ; *Litaviccus* is either a scribal error or a hypocoristic. In the AS., *Lidwicas* must be the correct reading, with the usual substitution of AS. *c* for Pr.W. *g*.

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is obscure, and the *th* in the Rom.-Brit. form has still to be explained. Ekwall notes ME. *Sechenent*, *Sekenet* (Cum.), and identifies it with W. *Sychnant* (RN. p. 355); he takes it as showing *cc* borrowed as *c* (p. lxxiv).¹ As the name would not have been adopted before the middle or later part of the seventh century this is unusually late; but then it does not exist in Mod.E., and its etymology is not certain, so that not much can be built on this. In any case it might be a matter of Cumbric dialect; cf. on *Lanrekaythin* below. The most striking apparent difficulty is the place-name Moccas (Heref.), which is *Mochros* in W. and is clearly derived from that; cf. Dict. p. 313. The English would hardly have learned the name before the second half of the seventh century at the very earliest. The *cc* here is hard to account for. Possibly it is a very late loan, at a time when the English [χ] had become a comparatively weak sound, not suitable for rendering the W. *ch*, which is a very rasping one to English ears; and hence there was the same substitution of [k] as is seen, for instance, in the Mod.E. pronunciation of Scottish *loch* as "lock". The loss of *r* is also peculiar.

§ 147.

It would seem that in general terms a date in the middle or second half of the sixth century will suit the development of Pr.WCB. *pp*, *tt*, *cc* to *f*, *th*, *ch*. As already noted, it must in any case be earlier than the new quantity system which we date c. 600, and than the final separation of W., C., and B. Förster, who omits to note either of these facts (he thinks the new quantity system fifth century), puts the spirantisation in the seventh to eighth century in Sc.G.St. iii, 6,² but in the seventh century in FT. p. 164, on the ground that it is not found in AS. borrowings³—which is inconsistent with his

¹ Ekwall refers (*ibid.*) to Goyt (Derb.-Ch.) as having English *t* from *tt*, and in RN. p. 182 relates it to W. *gwyth*, "vein"; but this is a very doubtful etymology.

² Purporting to follow Loth, ML. p. 84, where, however, Loth proposes no such definite date, and RC. xxxix, 235, where Loth gives it as between the fifth to sixth century and the seventh (without stating his reasons).

³ This omits the example of *luh*.

derivation of *Ythan-cæstir*, a name which incidentally he could hardly suppose not to have been borrowed until the seventh or eighth century. Williams regards ETTORIGI in CIIC. no. 318, beginning of the sixth century, as having TT for the sound *th* (AMCA. p. cxvi), but there seems to be no reason for this.

§ 148. *lp, lc, rp, rt, rc > lf, lch, rf, rth, rch*

Again, this change is common to W., C., and B., and hence hardly later than the sixth century. There is no proof of its existence in Roman Britain; on the contrary, there are *Smertae*, a tribe in Scotland (Ptol.), and *Condercum* (ND.), Benwell on the Wall. It does not appear in British Latin loans in Irish, of either group; so Ir. *Ailpin*, *caile*, *corp*, *tort*, *part*, *arc*, contrasted with W. *Elffin*, *calch*, *corff*, *torth*, *parth*, *arch*.

With one exception, Dark Age inscriptions fail to show *f*, *th*, *ch*; e.g. CIIC. nos. 381, late fifth century, ALIORTVS; 386, beginning of the sixth century, MARTINI; 327, early to mid sixth century, TVRPILLI; 461, mid sixth century, ERCILIVI and ERCILINGI; 404, seventh century, MARTI; 1033, seventh to eighth century,¹ MARCIAU. But it must be remembered that *rt*, etc., are still sometimes written even as late as OW. (see § 150). Hence of much more value as a dating criterion is the exception referred to, no. 365, end of the sixth century, LVNAR/HI COCCI, if any reliance can be placed on it. This is taken by Rhys (LWP. 2 p. 61) and Pedersen (VKG. i, 415) as having *rc > rch*; Rhys thought it showed that *rc* became *rch* before *cc* became *ch*, and Pedersen agreed, saying that various other (unmentioned) considerations support this. We have already seen that *cc* in COCCI in this inscription is no proof that the sound was not now *ch*. As for *Lunarhi*, the stone is broken off immediately after the R, and the H begins the next line, at a very considerable distance from the left-hand end of the stone; there is nothing to show, therefore, that the H was meant to follow immediately on the R, and indeed in Lhuyd's time the slab seems to have been longer at the right-hand end, and to have read then LVNARI

¹ On the date see p. 668, n. 1.]

in this line, with horizontal I (see Arch.Camb., 1910, suppl., p. 85).¹ Hence we cannot lay any weight whatever on the supposed *rh* in this inscription; though if *Lunarhi* were correct it would suggest that *rc* had become *rch* by the later part of the sixth century. There is no reason here to suppose it any earlier than *cc > ch*.

§ 149.

Ekwall gives five examples from English place-names of the retention of *t* and *c* (RN. p. lxxv), but almost all are of very doubtful etymology. The only really probable one is Turkdean (Gl.), containing AS. **Turce*, which is very likely the equivalent of the W. river name *Twrch*; cf. RN. pp. 420-21. This is in the part of Gloucestershire reached in the second half of the sixth century. Dickens notes ME. *Lanrekaythin*, *Lanrechathin*, and other spellings of a name in Cumberland now lost, and regards this as = W. *llannerch eithin* (EPNS. xx, 72). There is no modern form of this name, and the ME. spellings are very variable, so that there is no certainty here. He gives also Solport and Parton (Cum.) as containing the equivalent of W. *perth* and *perthan*, "bush" (*op. cit.* pp. 107, 156), following Ifor Williams; but this is conjectural, and a place-name meaning simply "bush" seems hardly probable. On the other hand, Ekwall sees *rc > rch* in Powmaughan and Maughanby (Cum.): W. *Meirchion*, RN. p. 331; and *rt > rth* in Burth and Birdoswald (Cum.), which he relates to W. *buarth*, RN. p. 58.² Olchon (Heref.) is *Elchon* in Lland. p. 196; this is in Eryngy and is therefore a late loan. For personal names in AS., *Wyrteorn* < **Uortigernos* is no doubt a very early borrowing; cf. p. 559. *Riuualch* in DLV., c. 840 (KW. p. 177), is OW. **Riuualch*, "Royal Hawk", with MW. *gwalch*, and has *lc > lch*.

This English evidence is rather indecisive and ill-attested,

[¹ Nash Williams now reads doubtfully LVNAR[C (?)]/HI, and draws a trace of a letter which he evidently thinks might be a C, though it looks much more like an upright I (ECMW. p. 113 and fig. 116), if there is really anything of a letter there at all, which is questionable (cf. his plate X). At any rate Lhuyd did not see it as such, when the slab was apparently longer.]

² Dickens gives a more probable explanation of the latter, *Burdd Oswallt* (*op. cit.* p. 115), following Ifor Williams.

but such as it is, it is not inconsistent with a date in the middle or later part of the sixth century as proposed on p. 571, and therefore more or less contemporary with *pp* etc. > *f* etc. allowing as before that the development *may* have been somewhat later in Cumbric.

§ 150. *pp*, *tt*, *cc* in OW., OC., OB.

It has already been remarked that these spellings are found for *f*, *th*, *ch* in the OWCB. sources; also *p*, *t*, *c*, which may be mere variants or may be intended for *ph*, *th*, *ch*. In fact, though these do occur, they are very rare.

(1) *Pp*. In OW., *Grippi(ud)*, Gen. xxx; *Guoloppum*, HB. c. 66; *chepi*, Comp.; *Clop*, Gen. ix; *Gripiud*, Chad 1, Gen. xv. *Ha puil ha per*, in Juv.9, and *ha Peretur*, Gen. xii, do not count, because though the *p*'s here stand for [f] they are doubtless written under the influence of the non-mutated radical *p*-. In OC. and OB. *pp*, *p* are not found.

(2) *Tt* is never written at all, in any of the three languages. *T* does appear in OW., e.g. *gueit*, AC. 848, 880 (beside twelve cases of *gueith*, one written *gueiht*); *Atroys*, Gen. xxviii twice. But it is found almost exclusively after *r*, where it is not uncommon, e.g. *part* (MP.), *gurt* (Ovid), and especially in Harlean MS. 3859, as *Gartmailauc* (AC. 722), *Girt* (Gen. i, iii, xxxii); and in late inscriptions like IORUERT, CIIC. no. 986, probably eighth century; ARTBEU, CIIC. no. 1025, eighth to ninth century; and ARTMALI, no. 1012, tenth to eleventh century; etc. In OC., there are a number of cases of *t* in Voc.C., as *bat*, *caites*, but never *tt*; in OB., some examples of *t*, mostly after *r*, e.g. *nit*, *imguparton* (Orl.CC.).

(3) *Cc*. In OW., *cc* never occurs, unless *uuc* in Juv. 9 is an error for *ucc* (hence Loth is mistaken in saying baldly that *cc* for *ch* appears in the Juvencus poems, RC. li, 6); but *c* is quite common, both after *r* and otherwise. In OC., *cc* is not found, and *c* only once, in Voc.C. (*troc*). In OB. there seems to be an instance of *cc* in *accemadas* (Ven.Oros.); and in the Life of St. Samson (early seventh century) the monastery of *Docco* is mentioned in i, § 45, now Lannowe in Cornwall, with

VOWEL AFFECTION: (1) FINAL \bar{A} -AFFECTION

$cc > ch$ (cf. Loth, RC. xxxv, 292). Single c is sometimes found, e.g. *acupet* (Lux.), *colcet* (Orl.CC.), *corcid* (Berne).

It appears, then, that the spellings *pp*, *tt*, *cc* are very rare in OWCB., and *p*, *t*, *c* are rather more common, particularly after *r*. These may go back in the written tradition to the usage of the sixth century, before the sounds *f*, *th*, *ch* had come into existence; and may then have lasted in the orthography in a vestigial form, side by side with *f*, *th*, *ch* (and other spellings) right down into the OWCB. period. In fact, in the case of the Black Book of Chirk, written about 1200, the use of *cc*, *c*, and (with the new *k*) *ck*, for *ch*, survived down to the MW. stage.¹

VOWEL AFFECTION: (1) FINAL \bar{A} -AFFECTION § 151.

A short stressed, and therefore penultimate, British ĩ or ũ became respectively ě and ǫ in the Brittonic languages if the final syllable contained British \bar{a} or Latin ǣ , \bar{a} . This is an example of metaphony, the phenomenon whereby the degree of mouth-aperture and height of a following vowel is already partly anticipated while the vowel of the preceding syllable is being produced, resulting in an accommodation of the preceding to the following. Cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 382-3; Lewis, EL. p. 27. This change affected only the British penultimate

¹ This is clearly due to a single school of spelling represented in the (otherwise very anomalous) orthography of the MS. Loth discusses these spellings (RC. xlvi, 304 ff.) and decides that they all belong entirely to the twelfth century *except* in this matter of the common use of *cc*, *c*, *ck* for *ch*. Saying that such were archaic already in OW. (actually only *c* occurs, of these three), he goes on to draw the preposterous conclusion that this one feature among the many other odd spellings of BBCh. is proof that the Welsh Laws in this text go back to an ancient *written* original at least two centuries older than the time of Hywel (d. c. 950) who had them drawn up. If this were true, there would be many other traces of archaic spelling (not to mention grammar) apart from this one peculiarity—why should it alone survive, and so regularly, when nothing else does? Loth's first thoughts (RC. xxxix, 234-5) were much better, where he says that *pp*, *tt*, *cc* in OW. (*leg. pp*, *t*, *c*) as in *Grippiud*, are written because the orthographic tradition goes back to a time when these *were* double stops, though by now they had long become *f*, *th*, *ch*.

syllable, and is not found any further back in the word, except in certain cases arising by analogy, on which see WG. pp. 120-21. So Brit. **birrā* > MW. *berr*, but Lat. *piscātus* > MW. *pyscawt* not **pescawt*. Such forms as *gwennaf* (< **uindisamā*), feminine superlative of *gwynn* (< **uindo-*), instead of *gwynnaf*, are due to the influence of the feminine positive grade *gwenn* < **uindā*.

There is no real evidence that original British short *-ă(-)* in a final syllable could cause this affection. Morris Jones puts forward a number of supposed cases of affection by Brit. *-ăn* from the IE. accusative ending **-ŋ* (WG. p. 86 and elsewhere), but all are doubtful or obviously impossible. In fact, the probability is that British *ă* in final syllables could not cause affection, just as we shall see that Brit. *ī* in the same position could not cause it, whereas *ī* could. There is a very good reason—one which ties in with the fact that a Latin *ă* on the other hand could affect; namely, that original *short* vowels (or at any rate *ă* and *ĭ*) in British final syllables had probably lost much or all of their quality at the time when the affection took place, and were reduced to varieties of *ə*, whereas it is likely that by this time the British *long* vowels in final syllables were more or less reduced to short vowels of clear timbre. In other words, then, where original British had *-ă(-)*, *-ĭ(-)* and *-ā(-)*, *-ī(-)* in final syllables, the language at the time of final affection had only (perhaps two varieties of) *-ə(-)*, and *-ă(-)*, *-ĭ(-)*. Of these, the *ă* and *ĭ* retained enough of their true timbre to cause vowel affection, but the *ə* did not. On the other hand, Latin short *-ă(-)* was not an [ə] but a clear [a], which therefore fell together with the native *ă* < *ā* in being able to cause affection; and Latin *ā* would do so *a fortiori*.¹ This

¹ This being so, one might well ask how it is that Lat. *-ĭ-* in final syllables does not cause affection, since it should fall together with Brit. *ī*? It is always assumed that it does not. Now, there are only about ten Latin words in Britt. which had such Lat. *-ĭ-* (*classis*, *fascis*, *pedestris*, *postis*, *putris*, *testis*, and the oblique *ponder-*, *sceler-*, *tempor-*, *vener-*). Nine of these lack affection. The tenth, *testis*, takes the form W. *tyst*, OC. *tist*, the vowel of which is unexplained. May it not be, then, that this *has* vowel affection, by Lat. *ī*? The lack of affection in the others might easily be explained by their having been borrowed from the accusative in *-em* or ablative in *-e*, rather than from the nominative or genitive in *-is*.

VOWEL AFFECTION: (1) FINAL \bar{a} -AFFECTION

view was first foreshadowed by Loth in ML. pp. 97-8 and by Rhys in Cymm. xxi, 21, and was better expressed by Loth in RC. xxxvi, 113-14 and 148; cf. Förster, FT. p. 159. It must be stressed that if this is so, it means (as noted by Loth, RC. xxxvi, 114) that the reductions described had already attacked British final syllables before the period of the Latin loanwords, since otherwise Latin \bar{a} would have been treated in the same way as British original \bar{a} , not original \bar{a} ; which implies that it must at least have begun very early, not later than the first century A.D. There seems no reason why this should not be so. Hence Förster is right in saying that it would be more correct to speak of \bar{a} -affection rather than \bar{a} -affection¹ (FT. pp. 159, 428); but we shall keep to the established usage in this book.

§ 152.

Before considering the question of date, we must attempt to settle one point in connection with \bar{a} -affection; namely, can it be caused by $-\dot{\bar{a}}$? Would not the $\dot{\bar{a}}$ prevent or counteract the opening and lowering tendency due to the \bar{a} ? Pedersen thought it would counteract it (VKG. i, 383); e.g. $*-in\dot{\bar{a}} > *-en\dot{\bar{a}}$ by \bar{a} -affection, $> *-in\dot{\bar{a}}$ by $\dot{\bar{a}}$ -affection. Perhaps rather the \bar{a} -affection would never occur in these circumstances; so Förster, FT. p. 83. The fact seems to be, whatever the reason, that $-\dot{\bar{a}}$ behaves just like $-\dot{\bar{o}}$ and causes no visible \bar{a} -affection. So *tristitia* > W. *tristyd*, *vicia* > W. *gwyg*, not **tristed*, **gweg*. Hence Lewis is presumably mistaken in taking *corrigia* > *carrei* as brought about by \bar{a} -affection (EL. p. 5; cf. p. 449 above); and in thinking that *vicia* should give regularly **gweg* (*op. cit.* p. 40). In any case, this is in contradiction to the statement that *antetertiam* should regularly give **entyrth*, not *anterth* (*op. cit.* p. 25).

¹ In FT. p. 428 he says that *short* Brit. $-\bar{a}$ was certainly long *lost* at the time of \bar{a} -affection, whereas $-i$ (and $-u$?) seem to have remained much longer. No evidence is given for either statement; the former is doubtless incorrect, the latter without any foundation at least in respect of $-i$ (unless he means $-\bar{i}$); for *u* see p. 618, n. 2.

§ 153. *ā*-affection in Cornish and Breton

Since any *i* became *e* in MC., MB. and any *ū* became *o* in MC. and partly in MB., the results of *ā*-affection are largely obscured in those languages; cf. Pedersen, VKG. i, 384, LP. pp. 111-12. The fact that when *e* < British *i* had been followed in the next (and final) syllable by British *ā* the syllable before it was not *i*-affected means that it had itself already been *ā*-affected to *e* at the time of *i*-affection. In OC., OB., *ī* and *ē*, *ō* and *ū* are, however, still partly distinct in writing; and Loth has shown that there are traces of *ā*-affection distinctly visible in OB. (RC. viii, 168-9).

§ 154. The Date of *ā*-affection

Since it is therefore common to W., C., and B., it is probably older than the late sixth century. It must have happened before internal *i*-affection, as is proved by instances like Brit. *Sabrina* > W. *Hafren* not **Hefren*. As Förster notes, it must be older than the new vowel-quantity system (which is dated here c. 600) because otherwise a word like Lat. *pira* would become **pîr* not *pêr* (FT. p. 427). Again, it must have occurred before the loss of final syllables, which seems to have been completed in the middle of the sixth century (§ 182); but clearly after the Latin loanwords were taken into British in the Roman period, because they are equally affected by it, and therefore after the fourth century.

No Romano-British names appear to show it; e.g. *Sabrina* in Tacitus and Ptolemy. The oldest possible example in a Classical source known to me is the form *Pecti* in Ammianus (second half of the fourth century; see Holder, ACSpZ. ii, col. 994), which Förster thinks borrowed from a pl. **Pextās*, the vowel-affected form of older **Pixtās*, normally Latinised as *Picti*, the Picts (FT. p. 119). **Pextās* would certainly explain the vocalism of AS. *Peohtas*, ON. *Pettr*, MW. *Peith-wyr*, as Förster says (following Pokorny, Urg. p. 134), but whether it is in the least probable that *Pecti* in Ammianus is a genuine form is another matter. These people were universally known

VOWEL AFFECTION: (1) FINAL \bar{a} -AFFECTION

to the Romans as *Picti*, and there seems no reason why Ammianus should have taken any trouble to notice what must have seemed to him (if he ever did hear it) as a mere barbarism ; it is surely much more probable that the -e- is due to a careless scribe influenced by the regular late Latin confusion of written *i* and *e*. Moreover, Ammianus *also* has *Picti* and *Pictorum*, and *Pecti* occurs only once (see Holder, *loc. cit.*). Watson thought that *Pecti* was genuine, but that the name had always been *Pect-*, whence the forms given above, and that *Picti* was a mere Latin etymologising alteration (CPNS. pp. 67-8). If so, there would be no question of \bar{a} -affection here. A similar example is seen in Venantius Fortunatus (vii, 8 ; second half of the sixth century), whose *chrotta Britannna* is from a stem **crutt-* ; this, too, might be scribal (and the W. derivative, *crwth*, is from **crutto-*).

There is no evidence either for or against \bar{a} -affection in the Dark Age inscriptions. *Habrinum flumen, mare*, var. *Sabrinum*, *Abrinum* in the Life of St. Samson (see p. 518 above) is a little unexpected. Of course *Sabrina* continued to be used indefinitely as a Latin form, as already remarked,¹ but one might perhaps have looked for *(H)*abrenum*. Very likely, however, these are influenced by *Sabrina*, *Sabrinum* ; indeed there may even have been an adjectival form **Sabrin̄o-*, which would give Pr.WCB. **Habrin*.

In names borrowed into English, \bar{a} -affection is apparently found everywhere, even in the oldest loans. So Dover (K.) is *Dubris* (*loc. pl.*) in AL., Peut., ND., and Rav., for which a Latin nom. pl. **Dubrae* is generally postulated ; this would be **Dubrās* in British, pl. of an \bar{a} -stem from **dubro-*, " water " ; cf. the Gaulish *Dubra*, the river Tauber. Ekwall (RN. pp. lxxxiii, 136, and Dict. p. 143) and Förster (FT. pp. 88-9) regard it as neuter pl., however, **Dubrā*. As both point out, this would give a Late Brit. form with \bar{a} -affection, **Dobr-*, whence the AS. pl. *Dofras* > Dover, which needs an *o* in the immediate British source, not *u*.² A number of other names

¹ *Loc. cit.* ; for a Breton example note *Sabrina* in the Life of St. Winwaloe, second half of ninth century, *Analecta Bollandiana* vii, 175.

² Zachrisson unnecessarily explains the *o* as of VL. origin ; see p. 259 above.

contain the same stem, all giving *do-* in English ; cf. RN. pp. 128, 135-6, Diet. pp. 143, 482. Severn has already been dealt with (§ 3) ; this demands a Pr.W. **Σabren*. Croome (Wo.) is derived from **Crombā* < **Crumbā*, " crooked ", by Ekwall (RN. pp. 106-7) and Förster (FT. p. 158). Eden (Wes.-Cum.), Ptolemy's *Ituna*, is ME. *Edene* ; and Castle Eden (Du.) is AS. *Geodene*, *Iodene*, ME. *Edene*. Ekwall derives *Edene* from **Eodene* < *Ioden-* < **Iodun-* < Pr.AS. **Idun(e)* < **Iduna* < *Itunā* (RN. pp. 142-3) ; Förster follows, FT. p. 225. Both forget the probability¹ that *Itunā* would have *ā*-affection ; this would mean Pr.W. **idon*, which would give AS. *Ioden(-)* > **Eoden(-)* > Eden.

These are a few of the more certain cases ; others, more doubtful in their etymology or for other reasons, are Cocker, etc., see RN. p. 84, FT. p. 158 ; Loddon (Ha.-Berk. ; Norf.) and Lodon (Heref.), RN. p. 258 ; Roden, RN. p. 345 ; Esk, Exe, Axe, RN. p. 154, but see FT. pp. 822 ff. At any rate, there are no known instances of a name borrowed into English without *ā*-affection where that would occur in Brittonic.

The fact that *ā*-affection must be later than the Latin loans and earlier than the loss of final syllables narrows it down to the period between the late fourth or early fifth century and the middle of the sixth. None of the other evidence quoted is inconsistent with this ; and the form of such an early English name as Dover seems to show that it had occurred by the second half of the fifth century. If the conclusions drawn by Pokorny and Förster from *Pecti* are sound, it would have to be as old as the second half of the fourth century ; but the fact that no Latin loans are exempt from it is against such an early date, and in any case *Pecti* is of very doubtful weight. It would be better, probably, to date *ā*-affection in the first half or middle of the fifth century.²

¹ For Förster it would be a certainty (as indeed it is for us), since he dates *ā*-affection much earlier.

² Förster's dates in FT. vary rather from one part of the book to another. Pp. 172, 245, 443, it is put at c. 300 ; p. 159, fourth to fifth century " but not much earlier ", or fourth century. The early period is necessary because of the (mistaken) date for the new quantity system, see § 35 above. The result is that the Latin loans have to be put *ja wesentlich im 2. - 3. Jahrhundert* (FT p. 159), which is without any foundation.

VOWEL AFFECTION : (2) *I*-AFFECTION

155.

There are two types, final affection, which is caused by \bar{i} or \dot{i} in a Late British final syllable, and internal affection, which is caused by Pr.WCB. \bar{i} , \check{i} or \dot{i} (and \check{e} , see § 164) in what had been a Brit. internal syllable. "Final \bar{i} " includes Late British \bar{i} from Brit. \bar{u} from IE. and Latin \bar{o} (see § 14), and from any final IE. diphthongs which gave Brit. \bar{i} .¹ As noted above, the probability is that British short vowels in final syllables were reduced early to ə , which is why original Brit. \check{i} did not cause final affection, and that long \bar{i} was shortened to \check{i} ; so that it would really be more correct to speak of final \check{i} -affection. On the possibility that Latin \check{i} did cause it, see n. 1, p. 574. In the following discussion we shall refer simply to "*i*-affection" or "final *i*-affection" and "internal *i*-affection", unless it is necessary to particularise that \bar{i} , \check{i} or \dot{i} is the cause.

§ 156.

In compounds of two nominal elements the first was treated as a more or less separate word, probably with some degree of independent stress (cf. § 1); hence also the behaviour of consonants at the beginning of the second element almost as if they were in absolute lenited initial. Now in such compounds, and at least in some cases of those of nominal element plus grammatical suffix, there seems to have been affection by the composition vowel when this was \bar{i} , \check{i} , or $\dot{i}o$. Since it is an internal syllable one would at first sight take it as a case of internal affection. But this cannot be so, (a) because, as we shall see, internal affection took place later than the syncope

¹ According to Morris Jones, *stressed* original \check{e} and \check{i} in final syllables also caused affection (WG. pp. 90-91); but such a stress is without any basis in evidence (cf. § 1 above). His **nektis* should be **néxti* (cf. Loth, RC. xxxvi, 148; LP. p. 109; on *teir* and *ugeint* see LP. pp. 188, 189).

of composition vowels, and (b) because it is of the same type as final, and not as internal, affection. That the vowel affection discussed here must have occurred before syncope is self-evident. So e.g. Brit. **anat̃iomāros* > MW. *eneidfawr*; otherwise there would be **anadfawr* without affection. That *eneidfawr* is not a late compound of *eneid* and *mawr* is shown by CIIC. no. 385, end of the fifth century, ANATEMORI, in which we seem to have the word at the stage **Anæd'ʔəμōr*; see § 167. Similarly, the common MW. element *Eu-* in names appears to be from **Axi-* (cf. § 46. 1); e.g. **Axicatus* > MW. *Eugad*. After syncope, without affection, such a form would give **Aw-*, therefore **Awgad*. That the affection is of the *final* type is shown by this example; if it were of internal type, it would result in **Ewi-*, syncopated to **Ew-*, so **Ewgad*; but *Eu-* is affection of *ay* of final type. Another case is **ox̃tūmetos* > **ox̃tīmetos* > W. *wythfed*, since the internal type of affection would give **eithfed* (cf. p. 583; and see Thurneysen, ZCP. xvi, 300). Hence one must conclude that when the main syllable of the first element of a compound was affected by the composition vowel, this was *final* affection, because the first element was half-felt as an independent word;¹ and that it was contemporary with the ordinary affection caused by final syllables. Moreover, the case of **Axi-* > *Eu-* shows that affection of the final type *can* be caused by short *ī*; the reason why it was not caused by *ī* in truly final syllables was that there British *ī* had already been reduced to *a*, but it is apparent that such a reduction had not extended to composition vowels (cf. § 195). This gives further colour to the view expressed above that *ī* in *Latin* final syllables was capable of causing affection. Something very like the above suggestion was made by Morris Jones in WG. p. 93, q.v. for examples. He says "the affection of *a* and *o* by a lost stem-ending *-ī-*, *-īo-*, *-ū-*, of the first element of a compound is similar to ultimate affection", though he does not include *ī* (for *-ū-* read *-ī-*).

It should be added that all this seems to apply only when

¹ One may compare the way in which unstressed *o* remains in Ogam Irish except in final syllables and in composition syllables (where it became *a*), as if the latter were felt as final.

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the first element is a word in its own right. When it is a mere preposition or other prefix, like **ambi-*, etc., the composition vowel was lost without affection, so *am-*, etc., always. Where *em-*, etc., occur, *internal* affection is involved, caused by the vowel of the syllable following the *-i-*. This presumably means that such prefixes bore no sort of independent stress. There is no affection with the suffixes **-isamos* and **-isitā*; perhaps *short -i-* in grammatical suffixes, as distinct from true compound words, did not affect.

§ 157.

The *i*-affections in Welsh are set out in the following tables (using B as a symbol for the consonant or consonants intervening between the affected and the affecter). The Cornish and Breton situation is given separately below. The result of all types of *i*-affection in CB. is in every case *e* (except where vocalisation of χ , \mathfrak{z} , or affection of a diphthong, are involved), which is on the one hand the normal equivalent of W. *y*, and on the other the representative of W. *ei* without the epenthesis of *i* (see § 158). On the significance of *e*, *ei* see § 164.

FINAL AFFECTION

<i>British</i>		<i>MW.</i>	
<i>-aBi(-)</i>	>	<i>-eiB</i> or <i>-yB</i>	e.g. <i>*branī > brein</i> , <i>*alarcī > elyrch</i> .
<i>-aBī-</i>	>	<i>-eiB</i>	„ <i>*alīos > eil</i> .
<i>-oBi(-)</i>	>	<i>-yB</i>	„ <i>*cornī > cynn</i> .
<i>-oBī-</i>	>	<i>-eiB</i> or <i>-yB</i>	„ <i>Ambrosius > Emreis</i> and <i>Emrys</i> .
<i>-uBi(-)</i>	>	<i>-yB</i>	„ <i>*uxō > *uX^si > ych</i> .
<i>-uBī-</i>	>	<i>-yB</i>	„ <i>*brunnīā > brynn</i> .
<i>-eBi(-)</i>	>	<i>-yB</i>	„ <i>cultelli > cyllyll</i> .
<i>-eBī-</i>	>	<i>-yB</i>	„ <i>evangelium > efengyl</i> .

(*N.B.*—Final affection when B was *u* involves a number of special questions, on which see §§ 46, 47.)

INTERNAL AFFECTION ¹

<i>Pr.W.</i>		<i>MW.</i>				
-aBĩ-	>	-eB-	e.g.	*archĩμ	>	erchi.
-aBĩ-	>	-eB-	,,	*Calĩdon	>	Celydon.
-aBĩ-	>	-eiB-	,,	*mabĩon	>	meibion.
-oBĩ-	>	-eB-	,,	*molĩn	>	melin.
-oBĩ-	>	-eB-	,,	*omĩđ	>	efyđ.
-oBĩ-	>	-eiB-	,,	*odĩon	>	eidion.
-eBĩ-	>	-eB-	,,	*medĩμ	>	medi.
-eBĩ-	>	-eB-	,,	*medĩg	>	medyg
-eBĩ-	>	-eiB-	,,	*pencerdĩeid	>	penceirdieid.

The internal affection of Late Brit. and Pr.W. diphthongs, other than those arising from the vocalisation of χ , \mathfrak{z} , etc., is as follows :

Late Brit. *au*, =MW. *aw*, from a British contraction or from Latin *au* (cf. § 25), is affected internally to *eu*; e.g. *cauāros > *cau'ros (cf. § 1), MW. pl. *ceuri* (cf. WG. p. 106). Brit. *concausĩāxtā (<Lat. *causa*) > W. *cyngheusaeth*, beside *concausā > W. *cynghaws*.

Late Brit. *ou*, from Latin *au* (cf. § 25), is affected internally to Mod.W. *eu*, distinct from the unaffected Mod.W. *au* (both spelt *eu* in MW.). So Mod.W. *eurydd* beside *aur*, <*aurum*.

Late Brit. *aiā*, Pr.W. *aiā*, from Brit. *iā*, *isā* (see § 39) is affected finally to *y|ei*, *e|y*, with hiatus early and contraction later; and internally to *ey|e*. Brit. *riāatĩ > MW. *ryeidr*, *reydr*, beside *riāatros > *raeadr*; *isarnino- > MW. *heyernin*.

Pr.W. *ai* is affected internally to *ei*; e.g. Mod.W. *saer* (: OI. *saer*), pl. *seiri*; Mod.W. *maer* (<Lat. *maior*), pl. *meiri* (OW. *merion* = **meirion*, Juvenc., pl. of OW. *mair*, Ox.2); OW. *Cair*, MW. pl. *keyryđ*.

The final affection of vowels before χ , \mathfrak{z} , etc., plus consonant began in the same way as that of vowels before other consonants; but when χ , \mathfrak{z} , etc., were vocalised diphthongs resulted, just as much in the case of affected as of unaffected vowels. So **Saχsones* > W. *Saeson* but **Saχsō* (> **Saχsĩ*) >

¹ On the absence of affection of *u* from this table see § 163.

VOWEL AFFECTION: (2) *I*-AFFECTION

**Sexsī* by affection, > MW. *Seis* by vocalisation; Brit. **ognos* > W. *oen*, "lamb," but **ognī* > **ūznī* (see § 159) > W. *wyn*, "lambs"; **octō* (> **oxtī*) > **ūxtī* > W. *wyth*, "eight".

The *internal* affection of vowels before *χ*, *ʒ*, etc., plus consonant is partly different. Note with *-aBī-*, Brit. **maxtrīn-* > W. *meithrin*; Lat. *captivitas* > Brit. **caxtīwītās* > W. *ceithiwed*. With *-aBī-*, **Maglocū* (> **Mazlogī*) > MW. *Meilyg*. With *-aBī-*, *fragrare* > VL. **flagrare* > Brit. **flagrī-* > W. *ffleirio*. With *-oBī-*, **sognīmo-* > W. *heini*, **uognīmā* > W. *gweini*. With *-oBī-*, **noxtīēr-* > MW. *neithiwyr*; Brit. **noxtīāria* (from Lat. *nuptialia* or a Brit. cognate, see Loth, ML. p. 190; Pedersen, VKG. i, 236; Thurneysen, IF.Anz. iv, 45) > W. *neithior*. On the history of this internal affection see § 173.

§ 158.

In Pr.I. there was a similar *i*-affection, which, like *ā*-affection, was the result of metaphony; the preceding *o* or *e* were raised and narrowed to *u* or *i* by anticipation of the following *ī* or *ĩ*. There was also palatalisation of the intervening consonant, which in the case of *u* < *o* resulted in an *i*-glide to accommodate towards the palatalised consonant, i.e. *oBī* > *uB'ī* > *uⁱB'ī*. Pedersen appears to regard the Brittonic *i*-affection as entirely due to palatalisation, and not as the result of metaphony (his "*Hebung*") at all (VKG. i, 372, LP. pp. 107-8); and distinguishes its effects as (1) umlaut, i.e. the advancing and complete change of a back vowel under the influence of a following palatalised consonant, and (2) epenthesis, by which a *ĩ* is inserted between the vowel and the palatalised consonant as a glide, making a diphthong with the preceding vowel, and the *ĩ* which followed the consonant is absorbed into it and lost, with eventual depalatalisation. Compare, for instance, **korīanos* > *κορίανος*. Similarly, in the growth of Gallo-Romance from Vulgar Latin, palatalised consonants (which arose only from a following Latin *ĩ*, never *i*) first developed a palatal on-glide, which became attached to the previous vowel as the second element of a diphthong, and eventually the palatal off-glide was lost; thus *rationem* > **ratsjonem* > **rajdzjone* > **raidzjone* >

**raidzone* > Fr. *raison* (cf. Richter, CPF. pp. 162-9). In EL. p. 27, Lewis gives a slightly different, and preferable, account of (1), which may be paraphrased by saying that there is not only umlaut but also metaphony, i.e. that the effect of a following *i* in Brittonic is not only to advance a back vowel but also to raise a low vowel.

Now we may remark that epenthesis in W.¹ depends almost solely upon a following *î* as in Gallo-Romance, and not also on *ī* or *ĩ* as in Irish. The result of an *i*-affection involving epenthesis is always *ei* (that is, not *ai* etc.), and such *ei* is found (1) from *a* and *o*, both in final and in internal affection, when the affecter is *î*; (2) from *e* in internal affection when the affecter is *î*; (3) from *a* in final affection when the affecter is *ī*, but here there is also the alternative of W. *y*. That is to say that epenthesis, whether caused by a final or internal syllable, is with one exception the result of the action of *î* only. Now epenthesis needs a strong degree of palatalisation, and one may conclude that the intervening consonants in *i*-affection in Pr.WCB. were not strongly palatalised except by a following *î*.² The reason for the exception with *a* plus final *ī* is presumably that *a* is the lowest of the affectable vowels and might need a glide to help it out—in other words that the *i* of *ei* in this case began as a helping glide-vowel rather than as a true epenthetic *î*. Using *B* as the symbol of an intervening consonant, and marking only the strong palatalisation caused by *î*, what happened in final *î*-affection would seem then to be as follows: *aBî* > *æB'* or *ēB'*, > *ēiB*; *oBî* > *æB'* or *ōB'*, > *ēiB*; but *uBî* >

¹ Epenthesis is not normally visible in spelling in CB. (see § 165); and since W. clearly distinguishes the originals of its *ei* and *y*, whereas CB. do not, W. alone is used as illustration here.

² In ML. p. 75 Loth implies that the OI. (second group) loanwords *orōit*, *trindōit*, *altōir*, etc., borrowed from British after the loss of final syllables, have their palatalised final consonant as the result of their having been palatalised in Brit. (i.e. Pr.W. **orēd'*, etc.); cf. VKG. i, 372. This is possible for *orōit*, which is from *oratio*, but not probable for *trindōit* and *altōir*, which are from *trinitatem* and *altare*, where the *e* would surely not palatalise the Brit. consonant. I have no doubt that these OI. words were borrowed through ecclesiastical British *Latin*, pronounced there as *orēdīō*, *trīnīdīdem*, and *altōre*, and that the palatal quality in OI. is due simply to the inevitable Irish tendency to pronounce (in *their* Latin) all consonants before *e* (as well as before *î*) as palatalised.

$\ddot{i}B' > \ddot{i}B$ (=W. yB), and $eB_{\ddot{i}} > \ddot{i}B' > \ddot{i}B$ (=W. yB). As an alternative to $oB_{\ddot{i}} > \epsilon iB$ there is also $oB_{\ddot{i}} > \ddot{i}B$, which suggests that the $B'_{\ddot{i}}$ here raised the o to an abnormal degree instead of causing epenthesis, i.e. $oB'_{\ddot{i}} > \ddot{o}B'_{\ddot{i}}$ raised to $\ddot{i}B$, instead of remaining at the o level and inserting epenthetic i , giving ϵiB . Similarly, there is not epenthesis in $uB_{\ddot{i}}$ and $eB_{\ddot{i}}$ at all, but both give $\ddot{i}B$, in which epenthesis would naturally not develop.

In final \ddot{i} -affection one finds, as would be expected, $aB_{\ddot{i}}$, $oB_{\ddot{i}}$, $uB_{\ddot{i}}$, $eB_{\ddot{i}}$ all $> \ddot{i}B$ without epenthesis, by accommodations not involving palatalisation. The alternative $aB_{\ddot{i}} > \epsilon iB$ makes its accommodation by a lesser degree of metaphony and then a glide-vowel, $\epsilon B_{\ddot{i}}$, $\epsilon B_{\ddot{i}}$ or $\ddot{e}B_{\ddot{i}} > \epsilon iB$; but o , u , and e were higher sounds to start with and could go the whole way to \ddot{i} without recourse to such compromises. As regards $aB_{\ddot{i}} > \ddot{i}B$, Morris Jones looks on this as happening in (W.) disyllables before consonant groups in r and before ch , and takes it as a secondary feature caused by the following consonants (WG. pp. 90-91). Lewis and Pedersen say it happened "in unaccented syllables . . . in certain cases" (LP. p. 108; *leg.* "MW. unaccented syllables", because in Pr. and OW. they were accented). Förster traces the difference to the distinction between *Steigton* and *Fallton*, and considers W. y a reduction of ei in unstressed (*sic*) *Fallton* syllables, apparently thinking it comparatively late; but in AS. *Beornice*: W. *Brennych* he admits that it may go back to the time of the AS. borrowing—when, however, the syllable was certainly *stressed*. See FT. p. 850. In any case the relevance of the theory of *Steigton* and *Fallton* to Celtic phonetics has never been demonstrated, nor has it been taken seriously by Celticists. Pokorny also regards y as a reduction of ei in unstressed syllables (see FT. *loc. cit.*). Even if the syllable were unstressed it would still not explain why the result is sometimes y and sometimes ei . I regard the distinction as going back to the time of affection itself, and $\ddot{i}B$ here as being exactly parallel to $\ddot{i}B < oB_{\ddot{i}}$, which no one has proposed is secondary; no satisfactory evidence can be adduced against this.

In the case of *internal* affection of a , o , e ¹ there is more

¹ On the fact that u is not involved in internal affection see § 163.

regularity, and epenthesis is invariably the consequence with i , along with raising and advancing, resulting in ei , but \bar{i} and \check{i} cause only raising and advancing, not epenthesis. The development was probably as follows: $aB\bar{i}$ and $oB\bar{i} > eB\bar{i}$; ¹ original $eB\bar{i} > eB\bar{i}$. If internal \bar{i} -affection were the result of palatalisation, and not merely of raising and fronting, why did these not give ei instead of e ? The answer is that palatalisation can only have entered into internal affection (and final affection too) to a significant degree when i was involved, and that affection by \bar{i} was a matter of vowel harmony.

§ 159.

It has already been pointed out that final $-oB\bar{i}(-)$ gives W. $-yB$. In the process of raising and advancing the o must have passed through either a stage \ddot{o} or else a low rather advanced u sound which we may write \ddot{u} . At the same time final $-uB\bar{i}(-)$ must have become first $-\ddot{u}B\bar{i}(-)$ before falling together with $-oB\bar{i}(-)$ in $-yB$.² That \ddot{u} rather than \ddot{o} was the intermediary in the former case in Pr.W.³ seems suggested by the history of Brit. final $-o\chi t\bar{i}(-)$ and $-ogn\bar{i}(-)$, which became respectively W. *wyth* and *wyn*, thus falling together with Brit. $-u\chi t\bar{i}(-)$ and $-ugn\bar{i}(-)$, which gave the same results. That the product in both cases was not Pr.W. $-\check{i}\chi t$, $-\check{i}zn > W.$ $-ith$, $-in$ is to be explained by supposing that the vocalisation of χ , z took place at the stage $\ddot{u}\chi t$, $\ddot{u}zn$, and $\ddot{u}\chi t$, $\ddot{u}zn$, not at a later stage $i\chi t$, $i zn$. Now we have seen that vocalisation of χ and z before consonants occurred in the second half of the sixth century. This means

¹ On the e see § 164.

² This is why final i -affection of u did not give ei , because u , a higher vowel than e , would have no cause to pass through any sort of e position under the influence of \bar{i} or \check{i} . Hence Förster's suggestion that **dubri* might give *deifr* (FT. p. 83) is unwarranted; cf. p. 420 above.

³ But not, apparently, in Pr.CB., where $-o\chi t\bar{i}-$, $-ogn\bar{i}-$ give OC., OB. *eith*, *ein*; so, corresponding to W. *wyth* and *wyn* there are Mod.C. *eath*, *ean*, Mod.B. *eiz*, *ein*. This would suggest that in Late SW.Brit. the intermediate was not \ddot{u} but \ddot{o} ; and that hence where **corni* gives W. *cyrn*, B. *kern*, the latter corresponds not to *cyrn* but to what would have been **ceirn* in W. if $oB\bar{i}$ had become $\ddot{o}B\bar{i}$ there instead of $\ddot{u}B\bar{i}$.

that at that time original *o* when affected was still *ü* and original *u* still *ü*. These unstable sounds continued to develop towards *i* when *i* did not intervene; but when it did, the *i* prevented this and they fell together with *uith*, *uin* which existed with pure [u] from *uxto*, *uzno*, etc., rather than giving a W. **üith*, **üin*—hence in *-üxti(-)* and *-üzni(-)*, *-üxti(-)* and *-üzni(-)*, the *ü*, *ü* were still probably relatively back sounds.

Final *-oB_i-* gives *-yB* as well as *-eiB*. In the latter there was no raising, but in the former there was, and here again the *o* presumably passed through some such stage as *ü*. Once more, some evidence for this can be produced. The *pagus Tricurius* in Cornwall referred to in the Life of St. Samson (i, § 48) is, no doubt, from Brit. **Tricorios*; compare Gaul. *Petrucorii*, and Breton *vallis Trecorensis* = Tréguier, B. *Treger* (see Loth, RC. xxxv, 295). The AS. *Tricor-scire* (*sic leg.*; c. 880; see Loth, *loc. cit.*, and Ekwall, Dict. p. 458), Trigg in Cornwall, is the same. **Tricorios* gives B. *Treger* (OB. **Trigir*), and would be **Trygyr* in W. The form *Tricurius* is probably a Latinisation of a contemporary **Trigür'*. In the Dark Age Latin *Cornubia* it has already been proposed (p. 377 f.) we have Brit. **Cornouia* in the median stage of **Cornüw*.

§ 160.

The OW. spelling of *ei* has caused some unnecessary difficulty. It is sometimes written *e*, sometimes *ei*. As already discussed, there was probably a stage when *eiB* was *eB'*, and it is likely enough that the practice of writing *e* in OW. goes back to a time when the true epenthesis had not yet occurred. This is rather a different matter, however, from saying (as some writers do) that OW. instances of the spelling *e* mean that epenthesis had not yet happened at the time of actual writing. So Pedersen evidently takes OW. *ennian* (Ox.2) and *centhliat* (Juvenc., tenth to eleventh century) *au pied de la lettre* when he says that these show that epenthesis by internal *i* was probably carried out later than by final (VKG. i, 372); and Loth regards *Priten* (Gen. xix) and *arcibrenou* (Ovid) as actual

examples of *en'* not yet *ein* (RC. xxxi, 139). Baudiš, who quotes a small list of OW. examples with *e*, is more cautious (Gr. p. 70); he contents himself with saying indeed that there was a period when *a* became *e* before palatalised consonants, but goes on to remark that spellings like *merion* seem to indicate that *e* continued to be written even after it had become *ei* in speech. Similarly, Morris Jones says that *e* "seems to be the oldest spelling of the diphthong *ei*" (Cymm. xxviii, 272). In fact, orthographic traditionalism must be invoked to explain the OW. forms in *e*. Those who regard every *e* as =*eB'* and every *ei* as =*eiB* would get into a hopeless chronological tangle when it comes to dating the actual examples. Baudiš explains *merion* (Juvenc., tenth to eleventh century), which, since it is the pl. of *mair* must have had a diphthong all the time, as having *e* written by the analogy of other cases where affection *ei* (<*a*, however) was spelt *e*. Further support may be added to this argument. So *be* (Chad 2), *dagatte*, *dirgatisse*, *idolte*, *immisline* (all M.Cap.), *Mene* (HB. c. 75) have final -*e* for MW. -*ei*, and here there was no OW. palatalised consonant to cause epenthesis. *Arcibrenou* apparently has *ezi* > *ei* (cf. § 78), so that *e* here *must* mean [ei]; similarly with *Pesrut* (Gen. i), *Flesaur* (HB. cc. 57, 63), *telu* (Juv. 3), and *Osmeliaun* (AC. 902), which have *es*, *el* = *eis*, *eil*, from *eys*, *eȳl*, *aȳl*. One is therefore forced to conclude that though the custom of writing *e* may well go back to the time before epenthesis, yet epenthesis had certainly occurred by at least the beginning of the ninth century. Compare *trimuceint* (MP., A.D. 820); *Embreis* (HB. c. 42), *Ceint* (HB. c. 66a) and numerous others in Nennius; *Bleidiud* (Chad 5, mid ninth century), *triuceint* (Chad 4, same date); *enuein*, *reid* (M.Cap.). Some degree of epenthesis *e'*, capable of being perceived by the English as a diphthong, may be witnessed by the name *Cams* (Ha.), borrowed in the middle of the sixth century; see p. 602. On the other hand, as epenthesis did not happen in CB. unless exceptionally (see § 165), its full development in the case of final affection was doubtless later than the sixth century (in internal affection it must have been eighth century, since internal affection is dated below seventh to eighth century).

§ 161.

Following up the concept of two chronological periods, one of *eB'* and one of *eiB*, Ekwall thinks these two can be traced in AS. place-names (RN. pp. lxix-lxx); and sees his first stage in for instance the river Glen (Nb.), AS. *Glene*, from Pr.W. **Glen'* < Brit. **Glanjo-*, and his second in for instance Hail (Hunt.; Gl.) from Pr.W. **Heil* < Brit. **Saljā* (the etymology is doubtful). He also proposes a third treatment in English, in which he suggests Pr.W. *eB'* may have been sound-substituted by AS. *iB*; see RN. pp. 399 on Teme and 132 on Dawlish, etc. (to explain the AS. *-isc*). Förster rejects this for Teme, FT. p. 445. In fact, if all the examples proposed in various parts of RN. and Diet. were put together, they would make such a welter of conflicting geographical-chronological data that it would be impossible to prove any clear-cut case for two distinct periods, much less for three. The probability is that *eB'* > *eiB* went through a stage of *eⁱB'*, with an *i*-glide (cf. Förster, FT. p. 749, and § 158 above), the *eⁱ* being a sound which might be perceived by the English now as a short vowel, now as a diphthong. A very late example is the AS. borrowing *Cameleac*, *Camelzeac*, in ASC. 918, from the OW. name spelt *Cimeilliauc* and *Cimelliauc* in Lland. pp. 232 etc. Since full epenthesis was obviously complete by this time, it would seem to show that W. *ei* could be adopted in AS. on occasion as *e*. For a full discussion of *i*-affection in English borrowings see §§ 168 and 174.

§ 162.

In a considerable number of cases, internal affection of *o* by *ī* and *ĩ* does not take place at all in Welsh. This is found chiefly in derivation and composition; so when a stem in *o* has terminations added to it like *-i* of the verb-noun, the abstract noun *-i* suffix, the passive *-ir* and *-id*, the 3rd sg. feminine suffix in *-i* in compound prepositions, the plural termination *-yđ*, the 2nd sg. present subjunctive ending *-ych*, the 3rd pl. imperfect *-ynt*. In all such cases the analogy of

the other parts of the declension or conjugation may prevent the affection or restore the non-affected forms. In other instances the affection may be lacking for no apparent reason. Further, in any given form it may be found in one or two of the three Brittonic languages and not in the other two or one. For example, the verb *torr-* has verb-noun *terry* in C. and *terri* in B., but W. *torri* and passive *torrir*, *torrid*, 2nd sg. subjunctive *torrych*, 3rd pl. imperf. *torrynt* (but with final affection, 3rd sg. *tyrr* in MW.). For abstracts, note W. *barddoni*; plurals, *afonydd* beside sg. *afon*; with the *-yn* noun suffix, W. *colyn*, "sting" (OW. *colginn*) beside *col*, *cola*, < OW. **colg*. An example where there is no obvious analogical influence is the river *Cothi*; but such are rare. Here it may be remarked also that W. *go-* < older *gwo-* < Brit. **yo-* is exempt from affection, whereas *gwo-* itself was not. In other words, the final affection of *gwo-* is *gwy-*, *gwei-*, and the internal is *gwe-*, regularly; but **gy-*, **gei-*, **ge-* never occur. What happened was evidently that *gwo-* in certain cases, not only in W. but also in CB., resisted affection (mainly due to analogy no doubt), and when the *w* was later dropped before *o* the result was unaffected *go-*. Affected and unaffected forms exist side by side, and there is the same variation among the three languages as before. For instance, MW. *gwerescyn* but Mod.W. *goresgyn*; W. *gwedy* but C. *wose*, B. *goude* (which would be W. **gody*); W. *gweinidog* but OC. *gonidoc*, MC. *goneseg*, B. *gounidek*; W. *golchi* (3rd sg. pres. *gwyllch*), C. *golhy*, B. *gwelc'hi*.

§ 163.

As to internal affection of *u*, since it is necessarily in a Pr.W. pretonic syllable, the MW. *y* from *u* which appears in all those types where *a*, *o*, and *e* show affection is, of course, the reduced vowel [ə]; not the [i] which it is in final affection, in which case it was stressed. So W. *cylionen*: Lat. *culex*, = [kəljonen]; but MW. *brynn* < Brit. **brunnīā*, with final affection, = [brīnn]. We shall see that the date of the reduction of pretonic *u* is older than that of internal affection (see pp. 678-9); therefore the MW. [ə] is not the result of *u* having

first become vowel-affected to [i] and this [i] then being reduced to [ə] along with other pretonic [i]. The vowel which existed in Pr.W. at the time of internal affection (a kind of reduced [ö], see p. 660) was therefore incapable of affection, because of its nature, otherwise it would have given W. *e*, *ei*. In CB., however, where there was no pretonic reduction, internal affection of *u* did occur, and gives *e* (e.g. C. *kelionen*, B. *kelienenn*, : W. *cylionen*); this is because in Pr.CB. original *u* was lowered early to a close *o* or open *u*, and this was evidently then treated in internal affection in the same way as original *o*.

§ 164. "Double affection"

Quite often, not only the vowel of the syllable immediately preceding the *ĩ* or *ĩ̇*, but also that of the syllable or syllables before it, was affected. This is sometimes called "double affection", as if the original affection of *itself* affected both or all the preceding syllables. Actually this cannot be true, since when the vowel of the middle syllable is non-affectable the preceding syllable is not affected either—the power of the *ĩ*, *ĩ̇*, in other words, could not extend further back than one syllable, could not leap across a syllable which it was unable to affect. Hence the type Brit. **aBāBĩo-* or **aBābĩ* gives MW. **aBawB* not **eBawB*. When we have "double affection", as in *castellĩ* > MW. *cestyll*, the change in the second syllable back from the *ĩ* must be a case of ordinary internal affection, i.e. *castellĩ* > **castill* by final affection, > **cestill* by internal affection. This would raise no doubts in a case like *cestyll*, because W. *y* regularly causes the internal affection. But what about an example like Brit. **carantiĵo* > MW. *cerennyĵ*? Here we should have Pr.W. **carentĩd* by internal affection; what makes the first *a* become *e*? Ordinary original *e*, and *e* arising from *ā*-affection of *i*, do not produce this change; so Lat. *cavella* > *cawell*, Brit. *Sabrinā* > **Sabrena* > *Hafren*. It is only an *e* which is itself the product of *i*-affection, or an original *e* which is in a position to undergo *i*-affection, which can act on a preceding vowel in this manner. The solution must be, as Pedersen saw (VKG. i, 374), that such an *e* was not an ordinary

one ; but being such as to be capable of affecting, it was higher and closer than the norm, an *e*. Hence one ought to speak not only of internal ¹ affection by *ī*, *ĩ*, and *ȳ*, but also by *ē* ; and in addition by *ei* and *eu* (or more strictly, at this time, by *öü*, cf. § 46. 2), themselves arising by affection. Hence beside MW. *gwarandaw* there is MW. *gwerendew*, that is, older *gwerendöü*. A case like **laŷenijo*->W. *llewenydd* shows that even original *e* can affect if it is itself in a position to be *i*-affected ; that is, that original *e* is capable of being affected by *ī* and *ĩ*, though this has hitherto not been recognised because it does not appear in spelling or in modern pronunciation ; and that the result was *ē*. At the time of internal affection there must have been a distinction between *e* and *ē*, which has since disappeared. It cannot have been a very great one, and that is probably one reason why "double affection" is often lacking where it would be expected, though analogy would also have played its part. In any event, whatever the explanation may be, it is clear that a MW. *e*, *ei*, or *eu* arising by affection itself affects a preceding vowel in precisely the same way as *ĩ* does ; and it makes a convenient working formula to treat these as *ē*, *ei*, *eu*, and as a fourth type of cause of internal affection in addition to *ī*, *ĩ*, and *ȳ*. Affection by *ē* takes place in CB. as well as in W. ; for instance, C. *kerense*, B. *kerentiez*, : W. *cerennyd* ; B. *ebestel*, *levenez* : MW. *ebestyl* (<*apostolĩ*), *llewenydd*.

§ 165. *ĩ*-affection in Cornish and Breton

All types of *i*-affection are found not only in Welsh but also in Cornish and Breton. In Cornish, the very few cases of non-affection are easily explained as due to analogies ; cf. LP. p. 110. The result of *i*-affection of *a*, *o*, *u*, *e* in MC. is *e* ; but in OC. the internal affection of *e* seems to have been *i*,² becoming *e* in MC. along with original *ĩ*. However, in OC. there are a very few cases where affection *e* is spelt *ei*, always

¹ It does not take place with final affection, because any *e* in a Brit. final syllable would be *e* by nature, not *ē* ; and in any case would have been reduced to [e] by the time of final affection.

² Voc.C. *ydnic*, *listri*, *pirgin*, *midil*, *milin*, *scriuinia*, *impinion*.

VOWEL AFFECTION: (2) *I*-AFFECTION

before dentals, especially dental continuants,¹ which looks like epenthesis and might suggest that these consonants could be more palatalised in Pr.C. than the others. But another explanation is possible, see the next paragraph. This *ei* is evidently of the same nature as the OC. *ei* arising by vocalisation of the χ , ζ in $e\chi$, $e\zeta$, or *i*-affected $a\chi$, $a\zeta$, or from the *i*-affection of *ai*, that is to say, a real diphthong; both types fall together in MC. in \hat{e} (often spelt *ey*). The conclusion would seem to be that palatalisation in Pr.C. was not so strong as it was in Pr.W., and hence epenthesis was exceptional, if it occurred at all.

In Breton, the result of *i*-affection of *a*, *o*, *u* is *e* (on that of *e* see below). However, affection *e* is *ei* before MB. *-z* from OB. *-d*, *-th*, *-s*. This again looks at first sight like epenthesis, and therefore a greater degree of palatalisation with these dental continuants (cf. on OC. above), particularly since original non-affected *e*, and *e* from \bar{a} -affection of *i*, does not become *ei* before them. But B. *e* from Pr.B. \ddot{i} does give *ei* in these circumstances, and this would make it seem rather that the *i* in *ei* in both cases is due to the fact that affection *e* and $e < \ddot{i}$ were originally higher than normal *e*, i.e. were e_1 ; and is therefore a result of the inherent nature of the vowel and consonant, and not a consequence of palatalisation. If so, the same may be the case with OC. *ei*.

Internal affection of all types is fully represented in Breton (in spite of statements to the contrary). However, there are also a number of cases of lack of affection, somewhat more than in Cornish; these again are mostly due to analogical influences (see VKG. i, 382). According to Morris Jones, $-\bar{o}$ ($> -\ddot{i}$) does not cause final affection in Breton (WG. p. 108). In ML. p. 229 Loth had said the same, both of Cornish and of Breton; but in RC. xxxvi, 156, reviewing Morris Jones, he changed his mind and now had to admit that this is only true in a few Latin loans, as in *latro* $>$ MC. *lader*, MB. *lazr*, beside W. *lleidr*; and he explained it as due to the influence of the plural, MC. *ladron*, MB. *lazron*, $<$ Brit.-Lat. **latrōnes*, where

¹ Bodm. *Arganteilin*, § 13, A.D. 941-6; Voc.C. *bleit* (\ddot{d}), *keirch*, *grueiten* (\ddot{d}), *legeit* (\ddot{d}).

there could not be affection, cf. W. pl. *lladron*. This must be correct, and cf. Pedersen, VKG. *loc. cit.*; for since Latin *-ō* gave Late Brit. *-ī* equally with IE. *-ō*, there could be no possible reason why either of them should fail, as a regular phonetic rule, to cause affection—still less that the Latin *-ō* should not affect when the IE. *-ō* did. Loth quotes a number of perfectly clear instances where IE. *-ō* results in *i*-affection in CB. (*loc. cit.*).

There is a second type of internal affection in Breton, apparently not represented in Cornish, and certainly not in Welsh. In this, an original *e*, an *e* < original *ī*, and an *e* which has arisen by *i*-affection, are all affected to *i* when the following MB. syllable contains *i* (< Brit. *ī*), *ī* (or *š*, *ž* from palatalisation by *ī*); though this is often prevented by analogy. On the date of this, which is obviously late and secondary, see below, § 176. It is not the same thing as the apparent internal affection of OC. *e* to *ī* (p. 592), since that seems to touch only original *e*; but whether OB. itself had affection of *e* to *ī* as part of the general, *first*, internal affection, not of this secondary internal affection, is not clear, for insufficiency of good examples. However, not only the Cornish parallel, but also the possibility that *e* is internally affected in OB. by short *ī*¹ (which does *not* cause the secondary type of affection), suggest that this affection of original *e* is comparatively old, common to Cornish and Breton (though not in Welsh), and not part of the Breton secondary affection. Of course in MB. any such cases of *e* > *ī* would be obscured by the complete development of OB. *ī* to MB. *e*, except where the secondary affection carried it further to MB. *i*—that is to say, the older internal affection of *e* by a following *ī* would be counteracted by both becoming *e* in MB. ;

¹ Note OB. *milinion* (Sedul.) = W. *melynion*, with original *e*, and OB. *guirgiriām* (Eutyck.) : W. *gveryru*. The first *i* in these, at any rate, is apparently due to affection by *ī*. Moreover, the secondary affection by *ī*, *ī* seems quite late (tenth to eleventh century, see § 176). *Pritiri* (Berne, ninth to tenth century) : W. *pryderi*, has affection of original *e* by *ī*; and *impinieticion* (Ven. Oros., mid ninth century), *impineticion* (Vat. Reg. 691 Oros., twelfth century copy of older glosses) by *ī*. The first two at least, being so early, may very likely be support for this view that the internal affection of original *e* was *i* in OB. as well as in OC. ; and may not belong to the secondary type at all.

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whereas when *e* became *ĩ* under the influence of *ĩ* or *ĩ* in original internal affection, this *ĩ* would later give MB. *i* by the secondary internal affection.

§ 166. Examples of *i*-affection in Cornish and Breton

(1) *Final affection.* *a*: With *-aBĩ(-)*, **marcĩ* > C. *mergh* (MW. *meirch*). With *-ĩ* from *-ō*, **ȳracō* > C. *gurek*, B. *grek* (MW. *gwreic*). With "double affection", **damatĩ* > C. *deves*, B. *deñved* (MW. *defeit*). With *-aBĩ-*, **garĩo-* > C. *ger*, B. *ger* (MW. *geir*).

o: With *-oBĩ(-)*, **torrĩt* > C. *ter* (MW. *tyrr*); **cornĩ* > B. *kern* (MW. *cyrn*). With *-oBĩ-*, **boucolĩo-* > CB. *bugel* (MW. *bugeil*); **donĩo-* > CB. *den* (W. *dyn*).

u: With *-uBĩ(-)*, **tullĩ* > MC. *tell*. With *-uBĩ-*, **lussĩo-* > OC. *les*, MC. *leys* "herb" (MW. *llys*); *Mercurii* > Mod.C. *Marhar* (< MC. **Mergher*), B. *Merc'her* (MW. *Merchyr*).

e: Here the affection, in W. *y*, is obscured in CB. because *ĩ* became *e* in both in their Middle period, though *y* is occasionally spelt in MC. However, there is enough evidence to show that there was *ĩ* here in Pr.CB. With *-eBĩ(-)*, **arepennō* > MC. *erbyn* (W. *erbyn*); *castelli* > B. *kestel* (pl. of *kastel*; the affection of the first syllable in the plural shows that the second must have been affected); **nextĩ* > Pr.B. **niȳt* > OB. *nith* (Orl.CC.) > MB. *niz*.

(2) *Internal affection.* *a*: With *-aBĩ-*, *Constantinus* > OC. *Custentin* (Bodm. §§ 38, end of tenth century, and 1, beginning of twelfth century), OB. *Custentin* (Cart.Red. p. 83, A.D. 869); = MW. *Custennhin*. With *-aBĩ-*, Brit. **clamito-* > OC. *clevet*, MC. *cleves*, *clevas*, B. *kleñved* (W. *clefyd*). Brit. **ratino-* > OC. *reden* (W. *rhedyn*): Ir. *raith*. OC., MC. *enef*, MB. *eneff*: OI. *anim. Martirium* > MB. *merzer* (W. *merthyr*). With *-aBĩ-*, Brit. **caliāco-* > OC. *chelioc*, B. *kilhek* (with secondary affection by *ĩ*), = W. *ceiliog*. Brit. **mapjones* > OC. *mebion* (W. *meibion*).

o: With *-oBĩ-*, Brit. **olĩn-* > MC. *elyn*, B. *ilin* (with secondary affection by *ĩ*), = W. *elin*. *Coquina* > OC. *keghin*, B. *kegin* (W. *cegin*). With *-oBĩ-*, Brit. **nouĩjo-* > MC. *newyth* (also

nowyth, without affection), MB. *nevez* (W. *newydd*). Brit. **monĵo*->MC. *meneth*, B. *menez*. Pr.WCB. **colinn*->OC. *kelin*, B. *kelenn* (W. *celyn*). With -*oBĭ*-, Brit. **corniatīs*->OC. *cherniat*; **otĭon*->B. *ijenn* (with secondary affection by *ĭ*), = W. *eidion* (OC. *odion*, Mod.C. *udzheon*, *odgan*, lack affection).

u: Since there was no pretonic reduction to *ə* in CB., affection does take place here, unlike Welsh. With -*uBĭ*-, **gulbĭno*->OC. *geluin* (W. *gylfin*); OB. *glethni* (W. *glythni*): Lat. *glutto*. With -*uBĭ*-, **curcito*->OC. *cherhit*, Mod.B. *kerc'heiz*, but OB. *corcid* (see p. 608); the W. *crychydd* has metathesis for **cyrchydd*. With -*uBĭ*-, OC. *kelionen*, B. *kelienenn*: Lat. *culex* (W. *cylionen*).

e: With -*eBĭ*-, OC., Mod.C. *listri* (pl. of *lester*), B. *listri* (pl. of *lestr*); OB. *pritiri* (W. *pryderi*); OC. *ydnic* (: OC. *hethen*); *peregrinus*->**perzerinus*->OC. *pirgin*, B. *pirc'hirin* (W. *perierin*). With -*eBĭ*-, OC. *milin*, OB. pl. *milinion* (: W. *melyn*); OB. *guirgiram* (: W. *gveryru*). With -*eBĭ*-, Brit. **impennĭones*->OC. *impinion*, MC. *empynnyon*, *ympynnyon*; *ministerialis*->**misterialis*->OC. *mistiriol* (Smaragd.); **scribendiāt*->OC. *scriuiniat* beside OC. *scriuen*.

(3) Affection by *e*, i.e. "double affection".—Brit. **alarcĭ*->OC. *elerhc* (W. *eleirch*, *elyrch*, pl. of *alarch*). Brit. **uortamĭno*->**uortamĭno*->OC. *guertheuin* (sic leg.; MS. *guesbeuin*; see BBBS. xi, 10). Brit. **scamantĭ*->OC. *sceuens*. OC. *pirgin*, as above. Brit. **tamau*- (W. *tafaw*) in OB. *antemeuetic* (Ven.Oros.). Brit. **brigantĭnĭones*->OB. *brientinion* (Orl.CC.), Mod.B. *brientinien*. Brit. **dambiŭascĭmā*->OB. *demguescim* (Orl.CC.). Brit. **darelabarĭ*->OB. *darleber*- (Orl.CC.), : W. *llefeiri*-.

(4) Secondary affection by *ī*, *ĭ* in Breton.—OB. (Cart.Red. p. 280, c. A.D. 1000, *Lis-killi*), Mod.B., *killi* beside OB. *celli* (Cart.Red. p. 139, A.D. 840-46, *Lis-celli*, etc.), W. *celli*: Brit. *Calleva*. Mod.B. *diri*, "oaks", : W. *dar*. Mod.B. *brini*, *tirvi*, pls. of *bran*, *taro*. Mod.B. *kilhek* <**calĭaco*- as above. *Molĭna*->Mod.B. *milin*: W. *melin*. OB. *guiltiatou* (Lux.): OB. *guolt*: Ir. *folť*.

(5) Affection with vocalisation of *χ*, *ζ*, etc.—Here the result was *ei*, written *ei* in OC., *e* or *ei* in OB. In final affection, note Brit. **ĭagnĭo*->OC. *iein*, MC. *yeyn*, *yĕn*, Mod.B. *ien*; **ognĭ*,

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“ lambs ”, >Mod.C. *ean*, B. *ein*; Brit. **oxtū*, “ eight ”, >Mod.C. *eath*, Mod.B. *eiz*. In internal affection, **maxtrīn*->OC. *meidrin*. *Fragrare*>VL. **flagrare*>Brit. **flagrī*->OB. *fleriot*. Brit. **noxtiēr*->Mod.C. *nehuer*, MB. *neyzor*.

§ 167. The Date of Final *i*-affection

Since the cause is the final vowel, it must have happened, or at least begun, before the loss of final syllables in the middle of the sixth century, at any rate in so far as it is the result of vowel harmony, which certainly played a considerable part. This is in agreement with the fact that final affection in all essentials is closely similar in W., C., and B. In so far as it is the result of palatalisation alone, e.g. when *-ios*, *-iā* is the cause, the actual affection might theoretically be later than the loss of final syllables; but there again the close similarity in WCB. suggests that it was not so. We have already seen that vowel affection by the composition vowel of the first element of a compound seems to be a function of *final* affection (§ 156), and this means that it took place before the syncope of composition vowels in the middle of the sixth century. Again, Brit. **nex̃ti*>W., OB. *nith* must mean that affection of *e*>*i* occurred here before the vocalisation of *χ*, i.e. that there was intermediate **nix̃ti*, since otherwise the result would be MW. **neith*, B. **neiz*. Similarly, Latin *lēctiō*>W. *llith*, which became first *lēctiō* (cf. LP. p. 109, Lewis, EL. p. 22, Förster, FT. p. 234) >Brit. **lex̃tiū*>Late Brit. **lex̃tiī*, passed through **lĩxti* on its way to W. *llith*, since unaffected **lex̃ti* would have given **lleith*. This means that final affection is prior to the later sixth century, when vocalisation of *χ* took place before *t*. It has already been remarked that final *ī* was probably, in fact, *i* in Late Brit., and had long been so by this time (§ 151). All this relative evidence suggests then that final affection had occurred by the middle of the sixth century or before.

In Dark Age inscriptions and other sources there is no sign of affection by *-i(-)* in the fifth or sixth century. So CIIC. nos. 322, early fifth century, CAMVLORIS; 320, fifth century, CVLIDORI; 446, mid to later fifth century, CLVTORI;

394, end of fifth century, CANTIORI ; 409, early or mid sixth century, CARANTORIVS (if for *Carantorix*, see pp. 625-6) ; 380, mid or later sixth century, ICORI (if for *Icorix*, see *ibid.*). Compare Gildas' *Vortipori*, mid sixth century (see *ibid.*).¹ The oldest example of final affection seems to be no. 995, seventh or eighth century, ENEVIRI, which stands for **Enewir* < **Anaŷorīx*.

For affection by *ī*, however, we seem to have a clear trace in an inscription of the end of the fifth century, no. 385, ANATEMORI. This is from Brit. **Anatīomāros*, and would give MW. *Eneidfawr*, "Great-Soul". The fact that the -*īo*- here is reduced to *e* suggests that the *ī* must have done its work, though this is not visible in spelling, and that the inscription stands for something like *Anæd'īamŷr*, with *a* already on its way to *e* and the strongly palatalised *d* not yet having brought about epenthesis ; cf. § 156. But apart from this inscription, the few fifth and sixth-century sources give no visible hint of affection. Note CIIC. no. 420, beginning of the sixth century, PORIVS (>W. *Pyr*) ; no. 417, early or mid sixth century, CAVOSENARGII (the derivation is uncertain) if this contains **argīo*- : W. *eiry* ; and CARANTORIVS and ICORI if these are names in -*orīos*, which is not so likely as -*rīx*. The earliest apparently clear instance of affection by -*īo*- is in the Life of St. Samson, early seventh century, namely *Piro*, *Pyro* (i, §§ 20, 23, 24) and the ablative *Pirone* (i, § 21), which is very likely a poor Latinisation of **Pīr* = W. *Pyr*, < **Porīos*.² The next is in the Towyn inscription, CIIC. no. 1033, seventh to eighth century, where CELEN appears to be the ancestor of MW. *celein* < **colanīo*- ; see Cymm. xxviii, 263.³

¹ *Chanao*, *Chonoo* in Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* iv, 4, 20 ; late sixth century) is hardly to be regarded as unaffected **Canayo* ; for one thing this would have been **Canayī* in Late Brit., so that it is obviously a Latinising form. It is probably a Latin nominative invented from the oblique stem **Canayon*- ; cf. p. 620.

² Loth did not think that *Piro* is **Porīos* (RC. xxxv, 290) ; he admitted that **Porīos* might give *Pir* in the seventh century, but believed it was not affected in the sixth, and also that the traditional form **Porīos* would still be known at the time when the Life of St. Samson was written. Like most of Loth's dates, this is not based on any exhaustive examination of the evidence.

[³ But see now pp. 611, n. 1 and 668, n. 1.]

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Now at first sight the direct evidence on final affection by *i* and *ï* from these Dark Age sources seems mostly to disagree with the deductions on its date drawn from the relative evidence of the sound-changes as set out above. The latter would give the middle of the sixth century as the latest possible date, and the former the beginning of the seventh as the earliest. But the note on *Anatemori* suggests that the two are not irreconcilable. If our explanation is correct, *Anatemori* shows the stage $\text{æ}B^i$ for the $aB\bar{i}$ type of affection, and as early as the end of the fifth century; and if so, there is no reason why *Cavoseniargii* should not equally have $\text{æ}r'z^i$. The alphabet, after all, had no symbol for æ , which may well have been felt as an *a* sound. In the same way, all the other names quoted are cases containing the $oB\bar{i}$ and $oB\bar{i}$ types of situation. Now we have seen that in these, *o* was probably affected to its eventual *i* through a stage which has been written above *ü*, and which seems to have been reached by the second half of the sixth century; before that, it would probably pass through some kind of advanced close *ø* or *ö*. Such a sound would certainly be written *o*, and might have existed as late as the middle of the century. If so, there are only two names, *Carantorius* and *Icori*, which appear to have *o* later than that time. Whether the low *u*-sound of *ü* could be written *o* may be doubtful, though hardly impossible; but in all these cases, both those of *o* and also of *a* (*Anatemori* and *Cavoseniargii*), we ought to remember the weight of the influence of the engraver's tradition. I do not, therefore, regard the Dark Age evidence as proving that final *i* and *ï* affection had not taken place before the middle of the sixth century; and, with *Anatemori* in mind, see no reason to deny, from these sources alone, that it could have begun its course as early as the later part of the fifth century.

§ 168.

It remains now to examine the testimony of place-names borrowed into English. This is not an easy problem, because it is complicated by the fact that AS. has a development, the *i*-umlaut, whose results were rather similar. For a full account

of its workings, see Luick, HGES. §§ 182 ff. The date of AS. *i*-umlaut used to be taken as sixth or early seventh century, on rather inadequate evidence (some of it derived, without due consideration, from British loan-words); cf. Pogatscher, Beitr.G.D.Sp.Litt. xviii, 465 ff.; Luick, § 201; Ekwall, RN. p. lxxviii. More recently, however, Förster¹ and Keller² have shown that AS. *i*-umlaut began by an epenthesis of *i*, e.g. *uBi* > *uiBi*, starting about A.D. 600, and that the full umlaut, *yBi*, was not reached till the earlier part of the eighth century. In FT. pp. 486 ff. Förster has modified this by bringing in *Steigton* and *Fallton*, and now thinks that during the seventh century forms with and without full umlaut stood side by side, according to the sentence melody; and that for instance in the seventh century the name Thames may have been *Tamis* without any umlaut, *Taimis* with epenthesis, and *Tæmis* with full umlaut. It must be remarked, however, that this is a hypothesis, and that the evidence collected by Keller would suggest strongly that the last stage was not completed until the eighth century.

There appears to be one fairly certain and one possible instance of a British name borrowed into AS. without having British final affection; both involve Kent, and are therefore among the earliest loans. The first is the AS. *Cantware*, "the men of Kent", older **Cantiware*, in which Brit. **Cantiŋon* (Rom.-Brit. *Cantium*) was borrowed in the form **Canti-* and the *i* was syncopated before AS. umlaut occurred.³ Beside this may be set also the county name, AS. *Cent*, *Cænt*, where umlaut has taken place in AS., not the British vowel affection (cf. Ekwall, RN. p. lxxvi), and the name was adopted, therefore, here too without British *i*-affection. The second example is Rom.-Brit. *Regulbium*, Bede's *Racuulfe*, AS. *Reculf*. With British *i*-affection the *u* should become *ï*, so that one might expect AS. **Recilf* > **Recelf*, but the *u* appears to remain. This need not mean very much, since *uBi* was very likely *üB* as late even as the second half of the sixth century (cf. § 159), and if *ü* already existed it would certainly be sound-substituted,

¹ Eng.St. lvi (1922), pp. 222 ff.; FT. pp. 486 ff.

² *Anglia*, lxii (1938), pp. 25 ff.

³ Cf. HGES. § 199.

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by *u* or *i*, in AS. at the time when the name was borrowed. But it has been proposed already (§ 140) that *Regulbium* was adopted before the time of lenition; in any case, being on the shores of Kent it would probably be an early loan, certainly not later than the second half of the fifth century. In fact, *Cantium* may very probably, and *Regulbium* possibly, have been taken over before ever Kent was settled.

Apart from these, I know no probable examples of lack of British final affection in English names.¹ The history of *Wroxeter* might be quoted as an instance by some, but it is easily explained otherwise. The Romano-British name was apparently *Viriconium* (AI.; *sic* ed. Cuntz) or *Viroconium* (AI., var.; Ptolemy *Viroconion*). This is evidently the source of *Wroxeter* and *Wrekin*, in Shropshire, and the AS. basic form occurs in the name of the inhabitants of the district, *Wreocen-sætan*, *Wrocen-sætan*. It must have been borrowed in the middle of the seventh century. This, as well as the OW. *Guricon* (HB. c. 66a) and (*G*)*ureconn* (see CLH. p. 230; with *e* written for *i*), = MW. *Gwrygon*, must come from a Brit. form in **Uric-*, and such used to be read by the older editors of AI. in the form *Uriconium*. The history of the AS. form from **Uricon-* > Pr.AS. **Wricun* has been set out by Stevenson in Cymm. xxi, 58 ff.; see also Ekwall, Dict. pp. 513, 514, and Förster, FT. p. 300. The difficulty is that **Uriconion* should have long been **Wrigen'* or **Wrigein* or **Wrigin*, by final *i*-affection, at the time when the English reached Shropshire, according to the chronology proposed above. The solution is simple, however; there must have been a British bye-form

¹ *Geruntius* (Brit. **Gerontios*, = Mod.C. *Gerens*, W. *Geraint*) occurs in the Latin letter of Aldhelm to Gerontius king of Cornwall, A.D. 705, side by side with *Gerent* in ASC. 710. Förster regards *Geruntius* as not yet having Brit. final *i*-affection, and explains the *u* as English substitution of *u* for *o* before a nasal (FT. p. 176). But it is most unlikely that this means absence of affection, particularly since final syllables were already long lost. The contemporary form *Gerent* in ASC., clearly a loan made at this time when the English were first coming into contact with Cornwall, shows that affection must have been complete in Pr.C. by now. *Geruntius* must be a Latinising form; very likely *Gerent* was called *Gerontius* (= the stage *Gerôn't'*) in official Latin correspondence, in which traditional forms would, of course, tend to be preserved, though his name was really now *Gerent*; and Aldhelm was following the written form of his correspondent's name.

**Uricono*-. Williams already notes that this is necessary to explain the OW. *Guricon*, which would otherwise be **Guricein*, and even suggests that the form in *-ium* is due to the Romans and is not British at all (CLH. p. 230). We may add that Pr.AS. **Wricun* would come more easily from Brit. **Uricono*- than from **Uriconio*-, assuming that such forms were possible in the middle of the seventh century (actually, of course, they would now be respectively **Wrigon*, and **Wrigen'* or **Wrigin*, in Pr.W.). Hence the history of this name is no counter to the opinion that British forms lacking final *i*-affection appear not to occur outside Kent.

On the other hand, early instances of its presence are to be found. Such are the following: the river Brent (Mx.), AS. *Brezent*, <Late Brit. **Brizen't'i*-¹ <Brit. **Brigantiā* (see p. 447 and cf. RN. p. 51), borrowed in the early sixth century. Candover (Ha.), AS. *Cendefer*, is presumed to have the stem **dubro*-, the British plural **dubri* > **dibr(i)* being adopted with AS. *e* substituted for the *i* arising by affection; cf. Ekwall, RN. p. 69, Förster, FT. pp. 79 ff. Förster takes this as proof that *i*-affection was complete when the English reached Hampshire (FT. p. 82), which was in the middle of the sixth century. Another example, from nearby, is Salisbury (Wi.), AS. *Searoburh* (see Dict. p. 383), Rom.-Brit. *Sorviodunum* (AI.), from Pr.W. **Ser'w'* (see JRS. xxxviii, 58); this would also belong to about the middle of the sixth century. Again from Hampshire is Cams, ME. *Kamays*, etc. (: MW. *cemmeis*), which may imply a Pr.W. **Cambe's'* with some degree of epenthesis; cf. p. 589 and Dict. p. 81. The river Glen (Nb.), Brit. **Glanjo*- or **Glanjā*, would be from Pr.W. **Glen'*, probably a mid sixth-century loan; see p. 589. Carant (Gl., in the part occupied towards the end of the sixth century), AS. *Cærent*, is derived by Ekwall from Brit. **Carantō* (RN. p. 70), therefore Pr.W. **Carent*. Other examples, of names adopted later, need not be given here; compare, for instance, the Dawlish-Dowlish-Divelish series, § 204 B. 1, 2, 4, 5; and the Ken(n) rivers in Dev., So., and Heref., <Pr.WC. **Cen't'* < **Cantiā*. On the whole question of *Deira* and its date, see § 67. 6.

¹ Ekwall's "OW. **Brygent*-" (*sic*) is chronologically irrelevant.

§ 169. Conclusion on the Date of Final *i*-affection

The relative evidence first summarised on page 597 seems to show that it must have been before the middle of the sixth century. The Dark Age written sources give, indeed, one hint of its having begun by the later fifth century, but otherwise do not betray it till the seventh century; however, this may well be due to orthographic causes. The English place-names make it clear (a) that it had not occurred at the time of the very oldest borrowings in the middle and later part of the fifth century, and (b) that it *had* taken place by the early and mid sixth century. It seems fair to conclude that the first stages of advancing, raising, and palatalisation were beginning towards the end of the fifth century, and that the development was fully launched by the middle of the sixth, though the final stages were not necessarily reached by then. Affection of *o* and *u* to *ī* was probably still at the stage of Pr.W. *ū* and *ü* in the second half of the sixth century, but *ī* was doubtless attained by the early seventh if not before (*Piro*). The history of epenthesis cannot be traced in detail. If the note on Cams above is correct, it would mean that an intermediary *eⁱB'* was in existence, or could be so dialectically, by the middle of the sixth century; since CB. seem to show some traces of just such a stage, the *i* having developed perhaps in only a few cases where the circumstances were favourable, the date seems probable. The evidence of OW. set out in § 160 indicates that the full *eiB* was reached by the early ninth century, very likely before. Place-name loans in English showing a diphthong (side by side with others which do not) could come from the *eⁱB'* stage, not necessarily from the full *eiB*—indeed even this last was capable of being rendered *eB* in English as late as 918 (§ 161).

This means that British final affection was complete before AS. *i*-umlaut had well begun. Also it was later than final *ā*-affection, a fact illustrated by the Kentish names *Cant-ware* and *Kent* lacking British *i*-affection beside *Dover* with *ā*-affection.

§ 170. The Date of Internal *i*-affection

Previous writers have already put forward the theory that internal affection was later than final; e.g. Ekwall, RN. p. lxxviii, and Förster, FT. p. 82. They derive from Loth, ML. pp. 97 and 102. Loth believed that internal *i* acted only upon *a* at first, and not on *o* and *u* until the MW., MC., and MB. periods (therefore, entirely independently in all three). He illustrated this by quoting *antiquus* > OB. *entic*, *lam-* > OB. *lemenic*, OB. *buenion* plural of *buan*; ¹ but *molina* > OB. *molin*, and OB. *cocitou* with *o*. He proposed that internal affection by *i* occurred only in Welsh, which he explained by saying that only W. kept a short *i* (the implication being that the others have *i* > *e*). But later on in the same book (p. 229) he changed his mind, and now said only in Welsh and Cornish, the latter having kept *i* longer than Breton,² long enough to affect; so C. *hellik*, but B. *halek*. Later still, in RC. xxxvi, 149, he admitted that he was wrong to say in ML. p. 47 ³ that affection by *i* is peculiar to W., and allowed that it is found also in Cornish; but he still asserted that it took place in OW. only with *a*. In RC. xxxvii, 49, he rejected Morris Jones' derivation of *sefyll* from **stamilis* on the ground that Breton, in which the word is *sevel*, has no affection by *i*. As a distant consequence of this, Förster, who seems to have read ML. pp. 97 and 102 but not 229, nor RC. xxxvi, 149, says that internal *i*-affection did not occur in Cornish or Breton at all (FT. p. 597).

These arguments of Loth's, and those derived from him, are erroneous—indeed it is incredible that they should ever have been put forward. It has been shown above that all types of internal *i*-affection, *including* that caused by *i*, are represented not only in W. but also in C. and B.; see § 166. 2, 3. The CB. examples given there were purposely limited chiefly to M. and Mod.C. and B. We now have to show that all, *including* *i*-affection, existed both in OC. and in OB. too.

Evidence has been adduced to show that not only OC. but

¹ *Buenion* is actually, of course, not a case of affection by *i* but by *i*.

² This is a mere inference from the supposed fact that it affects in C. and not in B., and is not based on any independent evidence.

³ Misprint for 97.

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also OB. kept the short *ĭ* sound in some form, probably *ĭ* (see § 7. 2), as appears perfectly clearly in both languages from the more numerous spellings with *i* side by side with less frequent *e*. Whatever the exact nature of the sound, it could certainly cause affection, (a) because forms with affection actually occur in OC. and OB.; and (b) because in MC. and MB. affection is found in words where the older *ĭ* has now become *e* (which most would agree could not cause affection), for instance MB. *nevez* < **nouĭjo*-, which implies the existence of an older **neuĭd*. Other cases of (b) will be found above, *loc. cit.* For (a), see the examples which follow in § 171. 2.

§ 171.

(1) *Internal affection by ĭ is found in OW., OC., OB.*—Of *a*, OW. *selsic* (Ox. 2), *erchim* (Chad 2), *cephitor* (Comp.), *dirterni* (Comp.), *Elfin* (AC. 722, Gen. v), *celli* (Chad 4); OC. *kelli* (Voc.C.), *kenin* (*ibid.*, : OI. *cainnenn*), *Custentin* (Bodm., see § 166. 2 above); OB. *celli* (see § 166. 4), *huelim* (Gotha, ninth century), *cæninn* (spelling for **ceninn*; Leid.Leech., ninth century), *Custentin* (see § 166. 2), *desi* (pl. of **das*, Orl.CC.), *demguescim* (Orl.CC., with “double affection”), *brientinion* (Orl.CC.), *entic* (Lux.), *guoteguis* (Orl.CC.), *lemenic* (Eutyeh.).

Of *o*, OW. *elin* (MP.), *Cair Merdin* (HB. c. 66a); OC. *elin*, *keghin*, *melin* (Voc.C.); OB. *lescsit* (Ven.Oros.), *guerin* (Vat.Reg. 296 Oros., tenth century).

Of *u*. This is not relevant to OW.; see § 163. OC., *berri*, *geluin* (Voc.C.); OB. *glethni* (Cod.Leid.Voss.).

(2) *Internal affection by ĭ is found in OW., OC., and OB.*—Of *a*, OW. *retinoc* (Chad 6, end of eighth or early ninth century), *eterin(n)* (MP.), *Coit Celidon* (HB. c. 56), *chepi* (Comp.), *cepister* (Ox.2), *cerric* (M.Cap.), *egid* (Comp.), *elbid* (Juv.9), *elinn* (Ox.2); OC. *heligen*, *eutor*, *leic*, *kelegel*, *clevet*, *reden*, *enef* (Voc.C., the last four with *ĭ* > *e*); OB. *cerpit* (Orl.CC.), *detuuid* (Cart.Red. p. 39, A.D. 866, etc., cf. Chr.B. p. 123), *etbinam* (Eutyeh.); with “double affection” *ercentbidite* (Berne); and with *ĭ* having become *e*, *centet* (Orl.CC.), *celmed* (Eutyeh.), *ceple* (Orl.CC., : W. *cabl*).

Of *o*, OW. *cemecid* (Ox.2), *emid* (M.Cap.), *guetig* (Chad 2), *neguid* (AC. 921, =MW. *newyð*); OC. *cherhit*, *clechti*, *gueli*, *menit*, *kelin*, *flechet* (Voc.C., the last with *ĩ > e*); OB. *enneuidt-eruo* (Orl.CC., containing *neuid*), and *neuued* (Cart.Land. p. 569), *neugued* (*ibid.* p. 574), *neuueith* (Cart.Red. p. 206, A.D. 826), which is the MB. *nevez*; *guet(ig)* (Orl.CC., =W. *gwedy*).

Of *u*. This does not concern OW., see § 163. OC. *kellillic* (Voc.C., <*cultell*-). In OB. no relevant examples appear to occur, but the sequence is not a common one anyway.

(3) *Internal affection by ĩ in OW., OC., OB.*—Of *a*, OW. *degiŋ*, *greŋiat* (Chad 2, late eighth century), *centh(i)liat* (Juvenc.), *En(n)iaun* (Gen. i, iii, xxxii); OC. *brechol*, *brenniat*, *chelioc*, *cheniat*, *keniat*, *conerioc*, *gouleueriat*, *guirleueriat*, *mebion*, *renniat*, *vurcheniat* (all Voc.C.); OB. *buenion* (Lux.), *cepriou* (Berne, Lux.), *darleber*() (Orl.CC.), *gurpelthemion* (Ven.Oros.).

Of *o*, OC. *cherniat*, *hebrenciat*, *hebrenchiat* (Voc.C.); OB. *guiltiatou* (Lux., with secondary affection of *e* to *i*).

Of *u*. Not relevant to OW., see § 163. OC. *bredion*, *kelionen* (Voc.C.); OB., I know no instances, but this is probably chance.

The OW. examples in this list are a selection only, for the sake of paralleling the OC. and OB.; they make no pretence to completeness.

It is clear, then, that Loth's case falls to the ground; all types of internal affection go right through all three languages, already in the OWCB. period; and specifically, affection by *ĩ* unquestionably does take place not only in OC. but also in OB., with examples as old as anything in the language, even including "double affection". Loth, and those who followed him, would have done well to note the cases of internal affection in OB. given by Stokes in KZ. xxvi, 432 and TPhS., 1885-7, p. 547; compare also Pedersen, VKG. i, 379 ff.

§ 172.

The reason why Loth was ever able to make such statements as he did is because there are some instances in OWCB. where internal affection does appear to be absent. In OW., there is

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nouidligi in Chad 2; *agit* beside *hegit* in MP., and *quotig* also there, beside *guetig* three times in the older Chad 2; *anbiic* in Ox.2; *atbid*, *petguarid*, Comp.; *Silva Calidonis* var. *Silva Celidonis* beside *Coit Celidon*¹ in some MSS. of HB. c. 56; *Cair Ligualid*, HB. c. 66a; *guorit*, Juv.9; *colginn*, Juvenec., tenth to eleventh century; *Tacit*, Gen. i, ii; *Clotri*, Gen. ii; *Cothi*, Lland. p. 124. In *Guorthemir* (HB. cc. 43, 44, 45, 48, = MW. *Gwerthefyr*) and *Guortepir* (Gen. ii), "double affection", is missing.

Now in these OW. examples (which, except *Clotri* and *Cothi* with *ī*, and *Guortemir* with *ē*, all have *ī*), all but *Clotri*, *Cothi*, and *colginn* had affection in MW. *Ligualid* beside MW. *Lliwelyd* looks like a genuine unaffected form, perhaps from an early written source, and so may *Calidonis* be. *Petguarid* may well have *a* written under the influence of *petguar*, *agit* under that of **agam* etc., *anbiic* under that of **(h)anbot* etc., *atbid* under that of **atbot* etc., and *Tacit* (MW. *Tegy*) under that of the Latin. *Guorthemir* and *Guortepir* are, no doubt, instances of that lack of "double affection" which is not infrequent in later Welsh too, beside the affected *Gwerthefyr*, cf. § 164. *Guorit* could be an example of the tendency not to affect *g(w)o-*, and *Clotri*, *Cothi*, and *colginn* cases of the absence of affection at any period, as discussed in § 162. It is to be noted that some of the above forms exist side by side with other instances of the word in OW. which do show affection. So *agit* beside *hegit* in the same document, *quotig* beside *guetig* in a source which is actually older, and perhaps *Calidonis* beside the variant *Celidonis*. Except possibly for *Calidonis*, if this is really from an old document, none of the others can be said really to be prior to the time of affection, in view of the evidence for its existence in the earliest OW. collected above.

For Old Cornish, note *gonidoc*, *guhien*, and *odion* in Voc.C. The first two are cases of unaffected *g(w)o-*, § 162; the first of them is still unaffected in MC. *goneseg*, and so is the last in

¹ According to Förster, who apparently has forgotten the reading *Calidonis*, *Celidon* must be from **Calidon* because he believes there was no *ī*-affection in Nennius (FT. p. 240). Some examples (only a selection) of *ī*-affection in Nennius will be found above. The MW. *Celydon* (which, *pace* Förster, is certainly not a "learned reconstruction") proves that the vowel was *ī*.

Mod.C. *odgan*, *udzheon*. There is no descendant of *guhien* in M. or Mod.C. Hence nothing can be argued about affection *not yet* having occurred in OC., especially, of course, in the face of its presence in the examples set out above.

In Old Breton, there are two words which lack affection both in OB. and in Mod.B.; namely *altin* (Cott.CC.), MB. *autenn*, Mod.B. *aoten*, with *aBĩ*, and *colcet* (Orl.CC.), Mod.B. *goc'hed*, with *uBĩ*. These are instances of the sort of failure to affect discussed in § 162. Some other OB. words lack affection in OB. but have it in MB. or Mod.B. These are, with *oBĩ*, *cocitou* (Berne, Mod.B. *kegid*), *molín* (Orl.CC., Mod.B. *milin*), *tri-olinoc* (Vat.Reg. 296 Oros.; Mod.B. *ilin*). With *oBĩ*, *colænn* (= *colenn*, Leid.Leech.; MB. *quelenn*), *monid* (Cart.Red. appendix, p. 367, A.D. 852; MB. *menez*), *nouuid* (Cart.Red. p. 133, A.D. 851, etc.; beside OB. *neuued*, *neugued*, *neuueh*; see § 171. 2). With *uBĩ*, *corcid* (Berne; MB. *quercheiz*). With *oBĩ*, *guoliat* (Orl.CC.; beside *guiliat*, Orl.CC., *guiltiatou*, Lux.; MB. *guilchat*; see JCS. i, 72-3). Then, there are a few OB. words without affection which seem to have no M. or Mod.B. descendants; namely, with *aBĩ*, *arrith* (Cod.Leid.Voss.); with *oBĩ*, *cornigl* (Berne), *guohi* (Berne), *nouitiou* (Eutyech.); with *uBĩ*, *bodin* (Berne, Lux.) and the plural *bodiniou* (Lux.), *golbinoc* (Lux.); with *aBĩ*, *darguid* (Orl.CC.), *machtiern* (numerous in Cart.Red.); with *oBĩ*, *roge-dou* (Lux.); with *oBĩ*, *orgiat* (Eutyech.).

Here in OB. as in OW. we appear to have a number of words which lack affection in the Old period but have it in the later language, or cannot be proved not to have had it; of these, at least two (*nouuid* and *guoliat*) stand side by side with affected forms already in the OB. period. It must be added that in the case of *colænn* the fact that the *ĩ* has already become *e* is proof that the word must really have had affection, though it does not appear in the spelling.

This gives the clue to what is, no doubt, really the solution of the whole question of words lacking affection in OW. and OB. when they have it in MW., MB.,¹ and when we know, from

¹ OC. does not enter here, as there are no examples of OC. words without affection which have it in MC. and Mod.C.

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good and sufficient evidence, that internal *i*-affection had already occurred in the ninth century in OW. and OB. That is, the writing of *a* and *o* in these cases is probably purely graphic, nothing more, and they all actually had affection, though it is not visible as they are spelt. Just what sounds *a* and *o* represent, and why they were used, will be discussed below; see § 175.

§ 173.

Having now cleared the ground of these initial problems, and having established that all types of internal *i*-affection go back to the earliest sources in OWCB., we may approach the question of its date from the beginning.

For relative evidence, it is later than the change of *on*, *en* > *un*, *in* in Late West British. So **monijo* > **munid* > W. *mynydd*. If it were not, the result would be W. **menydd*. This means that it is later than the first half of the sixth century; cf. §§ 4. 1; 6. 2. It is clearly younger than syncope of the composition vowel (mid sixth century, § 195); so **Barroḡindos* > *Berwyn*, not **Barwyn*. It has already been shown that final *i*-affection is older than the vocalisation of ante-consonantal *χ* and *ʒ*, and that *o* in these cases probably became first something like *ü* in Late West British, giving with the *i* Welsh *wy*; see §§ 157, 159. In *internal* affection, on the other hand, *o* in such cases, with the *i*, becomes W. *ei*; see § 157. If internal affection had been contemporary with final, and older than vocalisation, we should indeed have had **maxtrīn* > **mextrin* > *meithrin*, **flazri* > **fleʒri* > *ffleirio*, etc.; but **noχtiāria* would have been expected to give **nüχtiōr* > **nwythior*, not *neithior*; and **sognīmo*-, **uognīmā* to give **hüʒnīμ*, **wüʒnīμ* > **hwyni*, **gwyni*, not *heini*, *gweini*.¹ What evidently happened was rather that in internal affection

¹ As Lewis and Pedersen note (LP. p. 32), C. *gonēs* and Ir. *foghnámh* lack vocalisation of the *ʒ* of **uozn*-, since there would otherwise be a diphthong in C. and a long vowel in Ir. Instead the words were treated as quasi-separate compounds, **uo-ʒn*-. If this had been the case in Welsh we should have had **hyni* and **goni* or **gweni* (not **gwyni*, as **uo*- seems never to have had pretonic reduction in Brit.); cf. p. 659, n. 1.

aznī-, *aḫtī-*, etc., and *oznī-*, *oḫtī-*, etc., gave first *aini-*, *aithi-*, etc., and *oini-*, *oithi-*, etc. (in the second half of the sixth century); and these diphthongs were subsequently vowel-affected to *ei* (through *æi* and *öi* respectively), just as *ai* in Pr.W. **mair* (OW. *mair*, Mod.W. *maer*) was affected to *ei* in Pr.W. **meiri*, **meirion* (Mod.W. *meiri*, OW. *merion* for **meirion*). If so, internal *i*-affection is definitely later than the vocalisation of pre-consonantal *χ* and *ζ* in the second half of the sixth century. On the other hand, it was certainly complete in Welsh in the twelfth century, as is proved by the fact that W. *l_i* and *r_i* < *l₃* and *r₃* do not cause affection; so *arian*, *orian*, not **eirian*.

(N.B.—According to Loth, the Irish *Pádraig*, < *Patricius*, shows that internal affection had not taken place by St. Patrick's time, fifth century (rather, by the time of the Second Group Irish loans, of which this is one); and he explains W. *Padrig* as a *forme refaite*; ML. p. 76. But *Pádraig* comes direct from British Latin (**Padrigius*), where affection would not occur; and there is, in any case, no reason to suppose that W. *Padrig* is not ancient, lacking affection under the influence of the Latin.)

For the Dark Age written sources, the inscriptions of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries show no examples of internal affection. So CIIC. nos. 320, fifth century, ORVVITE (perhaps = W. *Erwyd*, see AMCA. p. cxvii); 435, later fifth century, MARINI; 381, same date, ALIORTVS; 385, end of the fifth century, ANATEMORI (the first A is apparently un-affected); 352 A, late fifth or early sixth century, BRAVECCI (W. **Brewych*); 473, same date, TORRICI; 386, beginning of the sixth century, MARTINI; 384, early sixth century, SANCTINVS;¹ 492, late sixth or early seventh century, SABINI; 490, early seventh century, DATUIDOCI (which *has syncope*; Brit. **Datewidacos* > W. **Dedwyddog*). The earliest example of internal affection is no. 1033, late seventh or early eighth century, CELEN, which shows internal

¹ See § 59.

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affection by *ei* (**colaniō* > MW. *celein*); but the same inscription has MARCIAU (meaning uncertain, but apparently with *i*-affection not indicated).¹ About contemporary with this, no. 995 again shows internal affection both by *ī* and by *e*; ENEVIRI for **Enewīr*, < **Anaworīx*.

For manuscript sources, *Morinus* in the Life of St. Samson (ii, § 7) lacks affection in the early seventh century. The form *Coriticiāna regio* (for *Coreticiāna*, = W. *Ceredigion*), from **Coroticiāna*, in the Life of St. Briec (c. 2; *Analecta Bollandiana* ii, 163), appears to have affection by internal *ī* but not by *e*. The Life, however, belongs to the eleventh century, and it is impossible to tell the age of its sources, except that they must have been no earlier than Briec's own time, 440–530.

This class of evidence, then, suggests a date in the seventh or eighth century.

§ 174. Internal Affection in English Names

The question of AS. *i*-umlaut complicates matters here even more drastically than in final affection; see § 168. Ekwall divides the borrowed names into three types, RN. pp. lxxviii ff., and these may be accepted in principle.

(1) Names adopted before Pr.WC. internal affection and before AS. umlaut, therefore showing the latter (and we may add, borrowed therefore not later than perhaps the early seventh century at latest). Examples, Glynch Brook (Heref.-Gl.-Wo.) < AS. **Glenic*, umlaut of **Glanic*, from Pr.W. **Glanig*, cf. RN. p. 181; the name would be learned about 600. The Teme (Shr.-Wo.-Heref.), AS. *Temede*, is derived by Ekwall from Brit. **Tametio*-, RN. pp. 399–400; by Förster from the dative of Brit. **Tamijā*, FT. p. 449. They differ considerably on certain points, but both envisage for the first two syllables a Pr.AS. **Tami*-, with the subsequent umlaut seen in *Temede*. The name would have been borrowed by 600 or before. Förster

[¹ Williams however now takes CELEN as = Mod.W. *celyn*, “holly”, < **colino*-, with internal affection by *ī*; AC., 1949, p. 169. This is quite uncertain. On MARCIAU he comments that it may be a mistake for MEIRCIAU under the influence of some name in *Marc*- without affection. On the date of the inscription see p. 668, n. 1].

derives AS. *Degesa*, in Bede's *Degsastan*, from a Brit. **Dagiss*- with AS. umlaut, FT. p. 809 ; this would be taken over probably about the time of the battle (A.D. 603), but the etymology is very uncertain. An example of a personal name is probably AS. *Wyrteorn*, no doubt an early loan (see p. 559) ; Late Brit. **Uortizernā*Σ would have AS. umlaut to **Wyrteorn*, and this would become regularly *Wyrteorn*, cf. Luick, HGES. § 201. Here we may include names taken in before British affection by *e*, where, however, there would be no AS. umlaut. E.g. Cams (Ha.), ME. *Kamays*, etc., : MW. *cemmeis*, see p. 602 ; mid sixth century. Carant (Gl.), AS. *Cærent*, < Pr.W. **Carent* < **Carantū* (cf. RN. p. 70) ; borrowed in the late sixth century.

(2) Names adopted before Pr.WC. internal affection but after AS. *i*-umlaut, therefore showing neither (after AS. umlaut should mean subsequent to say the middle of the seventh century, when epenthesis had probably well begun in AS.). Tavy (Dev.), AS. **Tæfi*, < Brit. **Tamīo*- (see RN. p. 393) or **Tamīsā* (Förster, FT. p. 398) ; this would be learned in the earlier eighth century. Torridge and Tory Brook (Dev.), AS. *Toric*, < Brit. **Torrīc*- : W. *terrig*, Ekwall, RN. pp. 413-14 ; same date. Carey (So. ; Dev. ; the former second half of the seventh century, the latter earlier eighth), ME. *Kari*, < Brit. **Carīco*- or **Carīo*- : W. *Ceri* ; Ekwall, RN. p. 71. Onny (Heref. ; Shr.), < Brit. **Onnīo*-, Ekwall, RN. p. 310 ; mid seventh century. Nanny (Nb.), if from **Nantīo*-, cf. RN. p. 298. This area would have been occupied in the middle or second half of the sixth century ; but not only the absence of AS. umlaut but also the *nn* shows that it must be a considerably later loan if Ekwall's derivation is correct ; cf. p. 503. If so, we must probably suppose the existence of a late enclave of British speakers ; a hazardous but not impossible assumption.

(3) Names taken over after British internal affection and therefore showing it. Ekwall gives Haydock (Lan.) as from W. *Heiddiog* (*sic*, Dict. p. 217 ; *leg.* Pr.W. **He'id'īōg*), but this is not a very satisfactory etymology. It would have been borrowed in the middle or later part of the seventh century. Teviot (Roxburghshire), AS. *Tefzet*, < Pr.W. **Teŵ'īad* < Brit. **Tamīatis*, cf. Förster, FT. p. 459 ; learned in the first half of

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the seventh century. Peebles, if from Pr.Cumb. **pebīl* < *papilio* (cf. Watson, CPNS. p. 383), taken over at the same time. Ekwall notes also Vyrnwy (Montgomerysh.-Shr.), W. *Efyrnwy*, probably from Brit. **Sabrinouiā* (RN. pp. lxx and 430); but this is not really an English name at all, and is evidently a late corruption of the Welsh. The river is almost entirely in Wales. If Bede's *Bernicii*, AS. *Beornice* is really from **Brigantacciā*, there would seem to be affection here as early as the second half of the sixth century; but this early date is only one of the several suspicious features about the name; see Appendix.

These English names seem to show without exception that internal *i*-affection had not occurred in the sixth century (rejecting *Bernicii*), not even by the end of it (cf. Glynch, Teme, and Carant). The oldest instances appear to be Teviot, Peebles, and Haydock (if the two last are reliable), all seventh century and all from the North. On the other hand, further south Onny, in the middle of the seventh century, lacks it; and in Devon Torridge, Tory Brook, and Carey make it clear that it had not occurred in the south-west in the earlier eighth century. This is rather conflicting, and suggests that internal affection took place sooner in the north than in the far south-west. It is impossible, therefore, to derive any exact dating from this type of information; in wide terms, "seventh to eighth century" would cover the examples, and would be consistent with everything we have so far gathered from other sources.

(*N.B.*—Ekwall has a long note in RN. pp. lxviii-lxix on the West-Saxon personal name *Cerdic*, var. *Certic* (ASC. 495-534), and the place-names Charford (Ha.) = *Cerdices ford*, var. *Certices ford*, ASC. 508, 519, 527, and *Cerdices ora* var. *Certices bra*, ASC. 495, 514, and *Cerdices leag*, ASC. 527. Also the personal name AS. *Ceardic*, *Cærdic* in early West-Saxon documents; and Bede's *Cerdice*, HE. iv, 23, = OW. *Ceretic* king of Elmet (AC. 616; HB. c. 63, *Certic*). The Welsh name is generally regarded as coming from Brit. **Corotīcos*, but Ekwall points out that the AS. needs rather **Caratīcos* (a perfectly possible

form, : W. *caledig*, which lacks double affection for **ceredig*); and apparently he envisages what would be in our terminology Pr.W. **Car'dig* (with syncope) borrowed before *i*-affection as AS. *Cærdic* > *Ceardic* > West-Saxon *Cerdic*; and Bede's *Cerdice*, either borrowed at the time (616) as *Cærdic*, with AS. *i*-umlaut later, or else in Bede's day from a Pr.W. **Cerdig* having syncope and *i*-affection. Förster also supposes an "abrit. **Cardic* " (leg. Pr.W. **Car'dig*) for *Ce(a)rdic*; FT. p. 285.

The West-Saxon forms would certainly be borrowed before Pr.W. *i*-affection, and so could Bede's *Cerdice* if a contemporary loan in 616 (otherwise, if dating from Bede's own time, it could be from Pr.W. **Cerdig* or **Ceredig*, with *i*-affection). The difficulty lies in supposing that the name of Cerdic of Wessex could be taken from Late Brit. **Car'diga*Σ with syncope in the late fifth century, since syncope did not occur until the mid sixth. However, the name is highly suspect for another reason, as historians have noted, i.e. that a Saxon invader should bear a British name; and he is commonly regarded as spurious, an invention based on *Cerdicesford*, etc. The linguistic evidence now advanced supports this. The name Charford is, of course, genuine, but this would have been borrowed in the middle of the sixth century, and a Pr.W. syncope-form **Car'dig* would be quite possible by then. Hence the apparent history of the name is not inconsistent with the belief that Pr.W. internal *i*-affection occurred in the seventh to eighth century.)

§ 175.

The evidence of OW., OC., and OB. has been discussed, and it has been shown that all the types of internal *i*-affection existed at the time in all three languages, already in the oldest traceable OWCB. records. So in OW. *guetig*, *erchim*, *degion*, *greftat* in Chad 2, later eighth century; *retinoc* in Chad 6, end of the eighth or early ninth century; *elin*, *eterin(n)* three times,

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and *hegit*, in MP., A.D. 820. In OC., note *mistiriol* in Smaragdus, late ninth or early tenth century. OB., *Uuordetuuid* in 833, etc., in Cart.Red. (N.B., *i*-affection); *antemeuetic*, *pelliniciou*, *lescsit*, in the Venice Orosius, mid ninth century (the first with "double affection"); *cæninn* in the Leiden Leechbook, ninth century; *huelim* in Gotha, ninth century; *Custentin* in 869 in Cart.Red. On the other hand, forms apparently lacking affection are found in all three languages in the Old period, more in Breton than in the others. But this clearly cannot mean that affection had not occurred (except in the few cases of those words in which for analogical reasons it never took place at any period of the language), and indeed for some examples, like OW. *guetig* older than *guotig*, there is positive evidence that it had. It must, therefore, be orthographic.

This is something which probably applies in the main only to OB., since all the OC. examples are words in which affection never took place; and almost all the OW. are either of the same type, or are cases where the analogy of declensional forms in which affection would not occur has influenced the writing of those where it should appear and did really take place. The remainder (in a couple of instances in Nennius) may perhaps be derived from older documents belonging to the time when affection happened. The only ones in OW. which it seems cannot be so explained are *nouidligi* and *guotig*, both with *o*. In OB. there are more, but it is to be noted that practically all are examples of *o* or of the OB. *o* from *u* which fell together with *o* (e.g. *corcid*, older **curcid*).¹ For those with *a*, *altin* and apparently *machtiern* remained unaffected throughout;² the reading of *darguid* is uncertain and may be *dorguid*; and the meaning of *arrith* is doubtful. Now it is clear that in internal affection, *o* on its way to *e* passed through some sort of *ö*, presumably a high *ö*, since the resulting *e* was *e̊*. The roundness of this intermediary sound may very easily have lingered on relatively late, perhaps as a nuance which was often not noticed, i.e. in the form of a very front *ö* in which the rounding was now slight, such as might very easily be written *e* beside

¹ Hence Loth's idea that *i*-affection in OB. happened only with *a*, not *o* or *u*.

² Contrast MW. *mechtheyrn*, *mechdeyrn*.

the traditional *o*. The doubtful stage may have lasted in OW. until the late eighth and early ninth century (*nouidligi, quotig*), and in OB. till very much later, into the eleventh century. This would supply a satisfactory solution of this peculiar problem. Whether any of the cases of *a* are to be explained analogically, as representing a transitional *æ*, must be more uncertain, since there is enough evidence for affection by *ē* to show that the result of affection of *a* had already clearly reached the high level of *ē*. Perhaps orthographic convention should be taken into account also. At any rate, the only rational view of all these apparent exceptions, which have led some previous writers to assert that such and such types of *i*-affection had not occurred at all at this time (not to mention those who say that it never took place at all in C. and B.), is that they are in some form a matter of spelling. This all points to a comparatively recent date for internal *i*-affection, which would suit well enough the tentative "seventh to eighth century" already arrived at. *Ligualid* and *Calidonis* in Nennius might therefore quite possibly derive from written sources older than the time of *i*-affection.

§ 176. Conclusion on the Date of Internal *i*-affection

It is now clear that internal affection is all of a piece, all types (except the secondary affection by *ī* and *ȳ* in Breton) having happened equally in all three languages and at about the same time. Also that it is later than the middle and second half of the sixth century (pp. 609-10); that it is not noticed in written sources till the seventh or eighth century (where, however, "double affection" by *ē* has already taken place); and that English place-names seem to show its existence in the North in the seventh century, but in the far South-West not yet in the earlier eighth. On the other hand, the OW. sources testify to it in the later eighth century, the OB. in the ninth, and the OC. in the ninth to tenth, older documents being absent for OB. and OC. Hence it is not possible to narrow the date down any more closely than the seventh to eighth century; perhaps one should say in wide

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terms seventh century for Welsh and eighth century for Cornish and Breton.¹

In any event it is clear that anything like full affection came into existence separately in the three languages, since it must belong to a time well after the end of the sixth century. This would account, no doubt, for the difference in dating which we seem to observe between northern and south-western Britain, and the signs that affection was later in Pr.C. and B. than in Pr.W.; for the possibility that epenthesis as a result of affection was entirely absent in CB.; for the apparent presence of a slightly rounded *ö* in OB. much later than in OW.; and for the fact that C. and B. may differ from W. over the affection of original *e*. On the other hand, the whole phenomenon is in general so closely similar in all three languages that it must have had a common origin; evidently the tendency, the nuance of the beginnings of raising, advancing, and palatalisation in these positions, goes back into the sixth century, into the common Pr.WCB. period, though it did not amount at that time to anything perceptible and did not develop into such for some considerable time, independently in north-central Britain, south-west Britain, and Brittany.

Lastly, there is the type of internal *i*-affection belonging to a still later date, the secondary affection in Breton by *î* and *ï*. The examples in OB. are late; in the Orleans *Collatio Canonum* of the tenth to eleventh century, in documents of c. 1000 in the Cartulary of Redon, and in the eleventh-century Cartulary of Landevennec. It is likely then that this affection is not significantly earlier than the tenth to eleventh century. Only one possibly older instance is known to me, *guiltiatou* (from *guolt*-) in the Luxemburg glosses of the ninth or ninth to tenth

¹ Ekwall regards *i*-affection of *a* as possible in the early eighth century, but *i*-affection of *o* as not having occurred in the tenth century, in Welsh; RN. p. lxix. This is partly because he misdates *guotig*. Förster holds in FT. p. 399 that *i*-affection did not occur in W. till the eleventh century and not at all in CB. (these statements arise from a misunderstanding of Loth, as already noted), and treats this eleventh-century affection as a third type and period. But in FT. p. 851 he withdraws this, having in the interim considered the existence of the Welsh Glosses, and now dates it eighth century. Loth had already admitted that *i*-affection is found in OW. from the eighth century, and sporadically before; RC. li, 3-4.

century ; this may be an anticipation. On *priti*ri, *impin(i)eti*-*cion*, see p. 594, n. 1.

THE LOSS OF FINAL SYLLABLES

§ 177.

All British final syllables, long or short, were lost in Pr.WCB.,¹ except (1) in original monosyllables ; (2) in the case of words which were reduced to monosyllables by contraction during the British period, and of those which, though not giving monosyllables, came to have a new diphthong in their final syllable as the result of the same type of contraction (see § 38 B) ; (3) in words with British final consonants or consonant groups which remained in Pr.WCB. (but before Brit. -*r* the vowel of the final syllable was dropped) ; and (4) in a few Biblical Latin names like *Daniel*, *Samuel*, *David* giving W. *Deinioel*, *Sawyl*, *Dewi*, which were perhaps regarded as standing for *Danielus*, etc. In the process, all the British case-terminations vanished, thus radically changing the morphological and syntactical character of the language.

As we have already seen (§ 151), the British long vowels in final syllables (or at any rate *ā* and *ī*) had probably been more or less reduced to short ones, and the original short vowels (at least *ă* and *ĭ*)² reduced to varieties of the indistinct vowel, during the British period, well before the loss of these syllables.

§ 178. The Date of the Loss of Final Syllables

It is later than lenition (second half of the fifth century) ; than final vowel affection, dated first half of the fifth century

¹ As Baudiš says, " this process may be regarded as the starting-point of Welsh " (Gr. p. 164)—and, we may add, of Cornish and Breton.

² However, there is some slight reason to think that *ū* kept some degree of its quality comparatively late during the British period, since (1) in cases like **ūsus* > *gwiw* there is -*u* (an instance like **uogaiso* > *gwaew* has *o* > *u*, where again some rounding must have remained at the time of the contraction) ; see § 38 B ; and (2) the development of *g* before -*u*- in a final syllable to *u* (§ 75) seems to imply labiovelarisation perhaps as late as the beginning of the sixth century.

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for \bar{a} -affection and late fifth to early sixth for i -affection ; and than $nd > nn$ (later fifth to sixth century, § 112. 2). It is no doubt earlier than the total separation of WCB. ; and than the new quantity system, which presupposes the entire loss of final syllables and is dated about 600 (§ 35). It is of course older than the OWCB. period, where there are absolutely no traces of these syllables.

For direct evidence from early written sources, the following facts must be considered. CIIC. no. 322, fifth century (probably rather early), CAMVLORIS, is evidently the name **Camulorix*, and therefore preserves the original long final syllable, the vowel being very likely now short (note the $-x > -s^1$). No. 354, fifth century (perhaps comparatively early), ORDOVS, is from Brit. **Ordoix*, and is to be taken for *Ordoix* $\Sigma < *Ordoixas$ on its way to OW. **Ordou* ; which would seem to show the short vowel of a final syllable considerably reduced but not quite lost, and once more $-x$ in a polysyllable $> -s$. If so, this is the stage of Brit. $\bar{a} < \bar{i}$ and $\bar{i} < \bar{e}$ in final syllables postulated as existing at this very period, § 155. CIIC. no. 359, mid or later sixth century, NV()INTI, may be for *Nudinti*, and, if so, is probably connected with the British name Latinised as *Nodons*, *Nodens*, *Nudens* (see § 18. 2) ; in fact, a Latinising genitive in $-i$ from the oblique stem *Nudent-*. But this does not prove that the language at the time had also a nominative, alternating as a living morphological feature with its oblique stem ; **Nudinti* would be simply the genitive used for a nominative, as we shall see often happened, giving a Pr.W. **Nüdint*. It must be emphasised in any event that the fact that a name in a comparatively late inscription or Latin author has a (Latin) case-termination is no proof that case-endings still existed in *British* ; in a Latin context, such as an inscription, an ending

¹ So Williams takes it as from **Camulorix* with "the first step in the deterioration", "final x weakening to s " (AMCA. p. cxvi); cf. TAAS., 1939, p. 32. This is no doubt correct ; and note that it means that final $-x$ in polysyllables had become $-s$ by the fifth century—perhaps long before. Cf. on ORDOVS below. But the possibility should be pointed out that this might be a VL. spelling, since Latin $-x$ in polysyllables had become $-s$ by the second to third century, resulting in constant confusions like *felis* for *felix* and *felix* for *felis*.

had to be supplied. So in the Latin documents of the Book of Llandaff and the Cartulary of Redon, OW. and OB. names are still often given terminations in *-us*, genitive *-i*, etc. Gregory of Tours (late sixth century) in his *Historia Francorum*, iv, 4 gives the name of a Breton *Chanao*, ablative *Chonoone* (*sic*), but in iv, 20 the same person is nominative and ablative *Chonoo*. Loth, who prints *Canaone*, takes the name as exactly: W. *ceneu*, pl. *canawon*¹ (Chr.B. p. 49), and it does look at first sight as if **Canao*, **Canaone* would be Latinisations of a Brit. name **Canauŕi*, or rather **Canauŕi*, with a living oblique stem **Canauon-*. But the reading of iv, 20 is against this, and *Chonoone* may be nothing more than a Latin ablative invented for *Chonoo* on the analogy of *natio*—*natione*, etc. Besides, Gregory is hardly likely to have been familiar with the Brittonic case-system, if any still existed.

The earliest apparent example² of the loss of a termination in a British (or, what is equivalent from this point of view, a Latin) name seems to be CIIC. no. 430, beginning of the sixth or end of the fifth century, ETTERNI FILI VICTOR. However, this is perhaps not a case, but simply an instance of the use of nominative for genitive (on which see below); possibly the engraver did not know what the genitive of *Victor* would be. The next and probably the first certain³ example in a British inscription is no. 350, [IV]DNERT, first half of the seventh century.⁴ This is closely followed by no. 971, VIRNIN

¹ His *cenaw*, *cenawon* are both spurious forms.

² No. 446, mid to later fifth century, is read by Nash Williams MAGLOCVN and dated fifth to sixth century, ECMW. p. 197; he regards it as having no termination. But the true reading is doubtless MAGLOCVNI, see p. 182 above. In nos. 466, Ogam MEMOR: Latin MEMORIA, and 442, Latin MACCVDICCL, the absence of final syllables is due to their loss in Primitive Irish, not British; cf. pp. 141, 175, 183.]

³ No. 379, beginning of the sixth century, now appears to read CATVRVG, but Rhys saw faint traces of a horizontal I after the G (LWP. 2, p. 389). No. 372, early sixth century, DE[CAB]ARBALOM, is too uncertain, both in its interpretation and in its relation to the Ogam [Rhys' explanation, given by Nash Williams in ECMW. p. 116, is excessively improbable], to make any deductions safe.

⁴ See p. 346. [It is dated sixth century in ECMW. p. 98, but the high proportion of half-uncial letters suggests strongly the seventh, and pushing it back into the sixth is an example of the undue pressure exercised ultimately by the CATAMANUS stone; see p. 160 above.]

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FILIUS CUURIS CINI,¹ mid seventh century,² where all three names lack endings. Somewhat later, the Towyn inscription, no. 1033, late seventh or early eighth century,³ has no final syllables—CINGEN CELEN, etc.; and no. 995, seventh to eighth century, ENEVIRI, has been shown by Williams to have a factitious Latin genitive ending, and to stand really for Pr.W. **Enewir* < Brit. **Anaworix*, minus its British termination (Arch.Camb., 1936, pp. 18-19). For other early written sources, the form *Dinoot* in Bede (HE. ii, 2), evidently an attempt to spell Pr.W. **Dūnōd* and probably going back to a source of the beginning of the seventh century (cf. § 11), has no termination; it is in any event not later than 731. Further, there is an English charter of 682 referring to Creechbarrow Hill (So.) as *collem qui dicitur Britannica lingua Cructan, apud nos Crycbeorh*; ⁴ which clearly shows the loss of terminations in Pr.W. (or Pr.C.) **crūg*, "hill", and *Tān*, the river Tone.

§ 179.

There are many instances in the Dark Age inscriptions of what seems to be the syntactical use of the Latinised genitive for the nominative in British and Latin names; and some of the nominative for genitive. The former is seen in, for example, CIIC. no. 500, end of the fifth century, AMMECATI FILIVS ROCATI HIC IACIT; no. 352 A, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century, DOMNICI IACIT FILIVS BRAVECCI; no. 319, beginning of the sixth century, CVNOGVSI HIC IACIT; no. 431, early or mid sixth century, DOB(I)TVCI FILIVS EVOLENGI; etc. etc. The latter occurs in no. 334, seventh century, CATACVS HIC IACIT FILIVS TEGERNACVS, and others.⁵ On this, Sir Ifor Williams, speaking of no. 352 A,

¹ Probably *sic leg.*; see pp. 385-6.

² Put in his seventh to ninth century class by Nash Williams, ECMW. p. 65; the lettering is so similar to that of the CATAMANUS stone that it must belong to the same group and be more or less contemporary, either somewhat earlier (Radford, AMCA. p. cvi), or, as is more probable, somewhat later (Hughes, AC., 1924, pp. 55-6). ³ On the date see p. 668, n. 1.]

⁴ Cf. RC. xx, 340; Baudiš, Gr. p. 58; Ekwall, Dict. p. 123.

⁵ Sir Ifor Williams says he has counted 13 inscriptions with the correct nom. sg. plus HIC IACIT; 21 with genitive as subject plus HIC IACIT; and 16 with genitive only, without (HIC) IACIT (TAAS., 1939, p. 36).

says that such disagreements show that the meaning of Latin cases was now forgotten, and that this was undoubtedly possible in the second half of the fifth or in the sixth century (Arch.Camb., 1943, pp. 209-10); and elsewhere remarks that such confusions would be impossible to men whose everyday (i.e. British) speech was fully inflected (AMCA. p. cxvi). It would mean, in short, on Williams' view, that the people who set up these monuments had no concept of a system of cases as a living thing, and hence cannot have had such a system in their own language.

There are some reservations to be made here. First, the quite regular (though not universal) use of the genitive for the dead man's name, either by itself or with IACIT or HIC IACIT, is paralleled by the practically invariable appearance of the genitive of names in the Ogam inscriptions of Ireland and Britain. This Irish custom is generally taken, and doubtless rightly, to imply "This is the grave of" or "epitaph of", or "Here lies the body of"¹—in fact we have the very thing in INGENVI MEMORIA, Ogam IGENAVI MEMOR in no. 466, where *memoria* means "tombstone". No doubt the British inscriptions have the same implication; so CVNEGNI (no. 374, fifth century) could well stand for *Cunegni memoria*, or CVNOGVSI HIC IACIT for *corpus Cunogusi hic iacet*.² This would be due to the influence of the Irish settlements in these parts of Britain. It is noteworthy that the more Roman-looking type of memorial, like no. 323, usually keeps the nominative. Williams himself says that in inscriptions consisting of the genitive name alone a word like "stone" or "memorial" is to be understood (TAAS., 1939, p. 37), but he does not allow this for those with the genitive name plus HIC IACIT. On the contrary, he considers these a confusion of those that have the nominative plus HIC IACIT with those that have the simple genitive, and as evidence that the meaning of cases was not understood any more. This is not necessary,

¹ See more fully pp. 166-8.

[² Nash Williams takes the type CVNOGVSI HIC IACIT as meaning "(The stone) of Cunogusus. He lies here" (ECMW. p. 9); but this is less natural.]

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however, since "body of" will explain them. As for the type DOMNICI IACIT FILIVS BRAVECCI or AMMECATI FILIVS ROCATI, or no. 342, early sixth century, CVNOCENNI FILIVS CVNOGENI HIC IACIT, which is not specifically discussed by Ifor Williams, the disagreement of cases does look like a confusion; but it may be due to a simple anacolouthon—(*corpus*) *Domnici iacit; filius Bravecci (fuit)*, or (*corpus*) *Cunocenni—filius Cunogeni (fuit)—hic iacit*.¹ In the type CATACVS HIC IACIT FILIVS TEGERNACVS, or HIC IACIT CANTVSVS PATER PAVLINVS (no. 407, mid or later sixth century), such an explanation will not fit, and there does seem to be a gross confusion of cases. But this type does not occur before the late sixth century. Also it must be remembered that similar confusions and loss of cases were appearing already in spoken *Latin*, and are seen in the most blatant forms in Gallic inscriptions of the time, such as MENBRA ADVVS FRATRES GALLO ET FIDENCIO, QVI FOERVNT FILI MAGNO, sixth century;² and IN HOC TVMOLVM REQUIESCIT IN PACEM, etc.³ Compare in Britain CIIC. no. 391, early or mid sixth century, CVM MVLTVTDINEM FRATRVM.⁴ Hence such confusions as those quoted above, though real, need prove nothing about the *British* cases, since the inscriptions are *Latin* in context.

It can certainly be said, at any rate, that once the meaning and existence of *British* cases *was* in fact forgotten the established custom of using the (Latinising⁵) genitive termination would be apt to become wrongly applied, and to wrong *British* forms. In some instances *British* names with oblique

[¹ Nash Williams thinks it represents a confusion of the type SAGRANI FILI CVNOTAMI with the type *-us filius -i* (ECMW. pp. 7-8), but the only one of his proposed examples of this last type in which the first name is *certainly* nominative is feminine, CIIC. no. 362, AVITORIA FILIA CVNIGNI.]

² Le Blant, IChG. no. 59.

³ *Op. cit.* no. 471.

⁴ On this see also pp. 192-3 above.

⁵ The use in inscriptions of terminations which, if they were *British* or *Irish*, would belong to the wrong declensions, does not necessarily mean that *British* or *Irish* cases were obsolete. E.g. no. 500, and of fifth century, Ogam (AM)B(I)CATOS M(A)QI ROC(A)T(O)S, but *Latin* AMMECATI FILIVS ROCATI. See pp. 137-8 above.

cases very different from the nominative split into two names ; so **Tōtorīx* gave W. *Tudyr* and its genitive **Tōtorīgos* became W. *Tudri* ; **Maglocū* gave W. *Meilyg*, but the genitive **Maglocunos* ends in W. *Maelgwn*. This confusion appears already in Gildas, whose Latinising vocative *Maglocune* implies a Latin nominative **Maglocunus*, and shows that by this time it was no longer realised that **Mazlogun*($\alpha\Sigma$) was the genitive of **Mazliug*(\bar{i}) ; in other words, that the use of cases was obsolete and therefore that final syllables were lost or much decayed. So Williams says that the fact that the sixth century king (MW.) *Maelgwn* is never called *Meilyg* (in MW.) means that the British declension system had gone to pieces long before A.D. 540 (the approximate date of DEB.), and that British grammar was in a bad way when a king's name was known only in the genitive (TAAS., 1939, p. 34). "Long before" seems rather too much, and inferences about sixth-century usage can hardly be drawn from Middle Welsh ; but Gildas' *Maglocune* is significant.

§ 180.

At this point there arises a problem of the form of certain names in the inscriptions. There are a number of examples of names in *-ori*, which evidently belong to the Celtic type **-o-rīx*, genitive **-o-rīgos*. These are the following : No. 446, mid or later fifth century, MAGLOCVNI FILI CLVTORI, which is certainly constructed as genitive, and the Ogam equivalent CLUTAR() shows that this is an *-orīx* name, not *-orīos*, because the *-A-* must be a composition vowel ¹—read, therefore, CLUTAR(IGAS). No. 394, end of the fifth century, CANTIORI HIC IACIT, etc. (cf. Gaul. *Cantorix*, Holder, ACSpZ. i, col. 754) ; this, too, looks like a nominative, but could be genitive in construction. No. 380, mid or later sixth century, ICORI FILIVS POTENTINI, which again appears to be a nominative but could be genitive ; the Ogam ICORIGAS is genitive. In Gildas we have in the vocative *Vortipori*, which is certainly from the name **Uoteporīx*,

¹ Otherwise it would be *o* in the Ogam language.

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genitive **Uoteporīgos*.¹ On the other hand, with nominative *-orius* there is no. 409, early or mid sixth century, CARANTORIVS, the OW. *Cerenhir*, *Cerentirus*, etc., in Lland., no doubt = **Carantorīx* ("king of kinsmen"). Another such may be the Breton saint *Maglorius*, whose name, with W. *Meilyr*, is probably from **Maglorīx*. It is doubtful whether no. 396, A.D. 540, FILI AVITORI, is an *-orīx* name, since AVITORIA in no. 362 may suggest that it is for **Aūitorīos*; but this is uncertain, see pp. 185-6.

What is the relation of all these names to each other and to *-orīx*? Sir Ifor Williams takes those in *-ORI* as representing a stage in the development of *-orīx* (TAAS., 1939, p. 32); first to *-oris*, which he sees in *Camuloris* (unquestionably rightly), and then to *-ori* in all the others. He thinks these have *-x > -ss* or *-s > -h > nil*.² *Carantorius* he regards as *Carantorī(x)* plus Latinising *-us*. Now, *-ori* from *-orīx* would no doubt be correct in any cases where the name was clearly nominative, as *Camuloris* obviously is; such may be *Cantiori* and *Icori*. But *Clutori* is constructed as genitive, and *Culidori* probably is so too; *Cantiori* and *Icori* may also be. Again, Williams takes Gildas' *Vortipori* as being the nominative-vocative **-orīx* (*op. cit.* p. 33), as it may well be; but the editors of Gildas, who knew no British however, have always regarded this as the Latin vocative of a Latin nominative **Vortiporius*, and we must consider that Gildas too may have meant it as such. These genitives and vocatives in *-orī*,³ if that is what they are,

¹ *Vortipori* is commonly taken as the same person as the *Voteporix* of CIIC. no. 358 (see below). So Williams, TAAS., 1939, p. 33; Lloyd, HW. i, 132-3; etc. etc. Thurneysen denies this, Gr.OI. p. 571, and so does Loth, RC. li, 4, neither giving reasons, but presumably because of the superficial difference *Vor- : Vo-*. But Gildas may easily be corrupt here, influenced by the very common Brit. **uor-*; there is no good reason to reject the identity of the names, if not of the people.

² Note that this must mean that in final position in independent words *-x* did not become *-X* > -ch*, but must have been a weaker *ʰs* (audible to the Romans, however, as *x*), which had become single *-s* by the fifth century, probably falling together with *Σ*, and was then lost. See pp. 535, 637.

³ Note that they can hardly be regarded as derived from the oblique stem, i.e. as standing for *-orī(3)us*, since the *3* would probably not have been dropped so early; the names in *-origi* discussed below, which are from the oblique stem, prove this.

could well be explained as examples of the spurious Latin *-orius* which we actually see in *Carantorius* and perhaps in *Maglorius*. As Williams says, this may simply be nominative *-ori* plus *-us*; but we should not ignore the possibility that *-ori* < *-orīx*, taken as being a *genitive*, caused the invention of a false Latinising nominative *-orius*. Williams denies that *Carantorius* (W. *Cerennhyr*) is an endingless **Carant* plus a Latinising *-orius*, on the ground that this should result in *-ur* in Welsh (*op. cit.* p. 32; he was evidently thinking in terms of Latin *-ōrius*); but it is not being suggested here that we are dealing with such a form as **Carant* — simply, that the answer to the question “How to Latinise *-ōri*?” was to turn it into *-ōrius*. This would arise in very much the same way as the editors’ *Vortiporius*, by taking *-ori* as *genitive* and deducing a nominative; and hence our examples of names in *-ori* above may very likely have been intended as *genitives*, not as *nominatives* at all.

In addition to this group, there is another class of names, clearly related, in *-origi*, which looks very much like a form of the *oblique* stem of Brit. **-o-rīx*, namely **-o-rīg-* (*genitive* **-o-rīgos*). The occurrences are: CIIC. nos. 413, fifth century, CAELEXTI MONEDORIGI; 435, fifth century, CLVTORIGI FILI PAVLINI (cf. CLVTORI: CLUTAR[IGAS] above); 379, end of fifth or beginning of sixth century, CATVRVGI FILI LOVERNACI, which Williams takes for a mistake for CATVRIGI, *op. cit.* p. 33, no doubt rightly; 318, beginning of the sixth century, ETTORIGI; 455, early or mid sixth century, CAMVLORIGI FILI FANNVCI. These are all either obviously or probably *genitive*. Williams explains them as follows (*op. cit.* pp. 32, 33): the British *genitive* **-rīgos* became first *-rīgīs* (which he takes to exist in no. 358, see below), perhaps by vowel harmony, doubtless helped by the analogy of Latin *rēx*: *rēgis*; and then the final *-s* was lost,¹ whence *-rīgi*; leading by loss of final syllable to *-rīg*, > W. *-ri*. This is very possible. But instead, we might perhaps more probably regard them as Latinising *genitives*, with the common Latin *-i*

¹ He notes that since CAELEXTI in 413 is clearly for *Caelestis*, MONE-DORIGI may also have lost *-s*; but see p. 636 below.

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substituted for the British $-\alpha\Sigma < -os$. It might be argued that if this were so one would expect the Latin third declension genitive in *-is*, hence *-rigis*; but compare pp. 192-3, and CIIC. nos. 326, 440, and 492 where the Irish genitive *Maqqi-Decedas* is given a Latin ending in $-\bar{i}$ not *-is*. A support for Williams' interpretation, and so used by him, is the occurrence of what appears to be his intermediate form *-rigis* in no. 358, mid sixth century, VOTEPORIGIS PROTICTORIS, in Ogam VOTECORIGAS. This may well be so; or, to put it slightly differently, let us say rather that *-rīgos* became $-\bar{r}i\alpha\Sigma$, spelt here *-rigis*; but it could also be simply a better Latinisation of the British genitive, using the third declension *-is* rather than second declension $-\bar{i}$. In either case, the Latin *regis* has clearly influenced the form. Williams' theory would imply the existence of a more corrupt Brit. form *-rigi* earlier than the less corrupt *-rigis*; but he anticipated this objection by saying that some engravers were more archaic in their spelling than others (*op. cit.* p. 33). In any case, the fact is that *Voteporigis* is no proof that final syllables still existed in British at the time. Similarly, whatever the exact explanation of the *-origi* names is, they must stand in some way for the genitive of $-\bar{o}r\bar{i}x$; the probability is that they are stereotyped Latinisations, *not* accurate representations of rather broken down British forms, and hence the existence of *-i* in them does not prove that final syllables still existed.

The upshot of this discussion seems to be as follows: (1) the British nominative $-\bar{o}r\bar{i}x$ became first *-oris*, as in *Camuloris*, which is rather early fifth century; (2) then it may have lost *-s*, becoming *-ori*, as in some inscriptions and in Gildas' *Vortipori*; but in some of these certainly and in all the others probably or possibly, we may have rather the genitive and vocative of a new Latinising $-\bar{o}r\bar{i}us$ or $-\bar{o}r\bar{i}us$, actually seen in *Carantorius* and perhaps in *Maglorius*. If, then, these are artificial Latinisations, the fact that they may occur late does not prove the survival of final syllables at that time, since the pattern was evidently an older one laid down when they still existed. (3) Names in *-rigi* may represent a stage in the loss of final syllables, namely $-\bar{r}i\alpha\Sigma > -\bar{r}i\alpha\Sigma$ (better, $-\bar{r}i\alpha\Sigma$) influenced by Latin *regis*, >

-rīgi (or rather *-rīzə*, and later, *-rīz*). But again, these may be very likely artificial Latin genitives of the second declension from the oblique stem, and could therefore be either substitutions for an existing *-rīgos* (*-rīzə*Σ), if early enough; or if late enough, traditions inherited from that time, the British now being *-rīz*. Hence, apart from *Camuloris*, none of the forms discussed really prove anything decisive about the survival or loss of final syllables; except that final *-x* in polysyllables became or had become *-s* in the fifth century and was then dropped, also in the (probably later) fifth century, while the vowel still remained; the final *s* or Σ is still there in *Ordous*, whereas the vowel, in this case an original *short* and now probably only *ə*, is not represented but must have existed. The coining of a new *-orius* beside *-origi* already in the fifth century might suggest that the distinction between a British nominative and genitive was no longer understood, and that they had already split into two name formatives; but as no *-origus* occurs, and as there is no certainty that *-origi* is not merely a form of the British genitive and felt as such, this cannot be pressed.

§ 181. British Final Syllables in English Names

If final syllables survived in British during part of the settlement period and became lost before it was complete, one would expect to find clear evidence of the existence of those syllables in early loans and for their absence in later ones. Actually no such picture appears. Pr.AS. had its own termination and gender system, which differed considerably from the British. Vulgar Latin colloquial loanwords in AS., which here as elsewhere form an important parallel to the borrowing of British names, since Vulgar Latin and British had a very similar phonetic and morphological make-up, were borrowed into AS. at this time with assimilations of various kinds to the AS. system of gender and termination; and if we did not know what the Latin forms were, very little about their final syllables could be deduced from the English. On this matter

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see Luick, HGES. §§ 332 ff. ; Pogatscher, Lautl. pp. 155 ff. ; Förster, FT. pp. 333-5. A long and valuable discussion on gender and flexion in AS. river names will be found in FT. pp. 303 ff. Förster shows that out of about two hundred British river names borrowed into AS., over 40 per cent are treated as indeclinable and without termination (*op. cit.* pp. 314 ff.) ; about 33 per cent as weak masculine and feminine *n*-stems (p. 318) ; and 27 per cent as strong stems (p. 324). He notes that AS. had no special feeling for the genders of Brit. river names, and that the AS. genders prove nothing for the British (p. 307). It should be remembered that by the beginning of the English settlement in the middle of the fifth century we ought not to think of British final syllables in the form of their Indo-European or Celtic originals, as place-name scholars almost always do,¹ but as something like the following : Celtic *-os*, *-is* were now *-aΣ* ; *-on* was *-ən* ; *-ā* was *-ə* ; *-ā(-)* was *-ā(-)* ; *-ī(-)* was *-ī(-)* ; *-ū(-)* from IE. *-ō(-)* was *-ī(-)*, having passed through *ū > ī* ; *-ios* was *-iəΣ*, *-ion* was *-iən* ; *-iā* was *-iǣ* ; *-iū(-)* from IE. *-iō(-)* was *-iǣ(-)* or *-ī(-)*, through *iū > iǣ*.

Actually, for the reasons named, it is almost impossible to show from the AS. evidence that final syllables were or were not existent in British at any given period. A probable exception is the river Dee (Wales, Ch.), Brit. **Dēuā*, which must have been borrowed as Pr.AS. **Dēw*, presumably from Pr.W. **Dēiw* (cf. FT. pp. 233-4). But even here, **Dēiŵā* might well have been taken in as **Dēw* in AS. It is notable that certain names which were plural in British are plural in AS., and this might be thought of as evidence for the presence of plural terminations in British, especially since they are early loans. So Dover (K.), AS. *Dofras* (pl.), Rom.-Brit. *Dubris* (AI., etc. ; locative pl.), from Late Brit. **Doβras* (plural, see p. 577, and cf. RN. pp. lxxxiii and 135). Also Wendover

¹ E.g. Ekwall and Förster regularly think in terms of Brit. *-ō* and *-iō* in the settlement period, though these were *-ū* and *-iū* already in CC. This has led to a number of wrong interpretations of evidence. So in FT. p. 429, Förster envisages AS. *Temede*, the Teme, as being possibly from Brit. **Tamidōn* or **Tamidjōn* (*sic*), and giving Pr.AS. **Tamidōn* (though, for different reasons, he prefers another explanation). The name must have been borrowed about 600.

(Buck.), AS. *æt Wændofron* (pl. ; see RN. p. 448) ; Lympne (river and town, K.), Rom.-Brit. *Lemanis* (AI., etc. ; loc.pl.), Late Brit. pl. **Līmanas*, AS. *on Liminum*, *æt Liminum*, etc. (pl.) ; and Andover (Ha.), AS. *Andeferas*, *æt Andeferan* (pl.),¹ perhaps from a Late Brit. plural *-*dībrī* < Brit. *-*dubrī*. However, though in all these instances the endings may have been present, it is not certain that they were, since an endingless form like **dobr* could no doubt still function quite distinctly as a plural, being clearly different from the singular, and we know that **dībr* actually did so, because it became the MW. pl. *dyfr*. Whether this would be true of **Līman*, which would not differ from its singular, is naturally uncertain. On this question see further pp. 243-4. The only way in which some sign of the final syllable may be visible in AS. is in the fact that terminations in -*i*- seem very rarely to have left a trace of the -*i*- ; so AS. *Cantware* was probably borrowed as **Canti-ware* from **Cantiān*, see p. 600. In any case, this is not necessarily due so much to the final syllable as to the character of the consonant group. Compare Ekwall on AS. *Glēne* from what in our terminology would be Pr.W. **Glen'*, < Brit. **Glanjo*- ; RN. p. 177.² However, the fact that a name was borrowed into the AS. declensions with -*e* is no absolute proof of the presence of any termination or palatal quality in the British, for the reasons given above.

The conclusion is that nothing definite can be decided about the evidence of British names in AS., and that they do not help us to settle the question of the date of the loss of final syllables in British.³

¹ See RN. p. 15. Förster rejects the theory that this represents a British plural, by means of supplying it with a hypothetical singular and saying that the plural is a later AS. development (FT. pp. 81-2).

² But see Förster, who thinks the name is from **Glanī* from Brit. **Glanis*, **Glanjo*-, or **Glanjā* (FT. pp. 308, 332).

³ The opinions of Ekwall and Förster on this subject seem to be fluctuating. So Ekwall says that "nothing suggests that there was any trace" of the British endings "at the time of the English invasion", in RN. p. lxiii. Yet he makes frequent use of the assumption that those endings *did* exist, in explaining AS. forms. For example, he accounts for the form *Treenta* by supposing a Brit. **Trisantī* with the -*i* still present (RN. p. 417) ; and he actually thinks that the reason why Tamar is *Tamur* in AS. is because it was borrowed from **Tamarā* with Pr.AS. -*u* substituted for the -*ā* — and this

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§ 182. Conclusion on the Date of the Loss of Final Syllables

They may have been weakened very early, short vowels to varieties of *ə* and long vowels to short ones ; see § 151. They were fully *lost* later than the late fifth to early sixth century, and probably already *by* the second half of the sixth century, as the relative evidence shows, see pp. 618-19. For direct evidence, Bede's *Dinoot* may be a case of loss at the beginning of the seventh century ; CIIC. no. 971 has it by the middle of the seventh century,¹ *Cructan* in A.D. 682, and CIIC. nos. 995 and 1033 by the seventh to eighth century. The form of British place-names borrowed into AS. affords no definite information, though some names taken over as plurals between c. 450 and 550 may still have had their terminations, and the history of *Dee*, adopted c. 600, may show loss of the final syllable. Neither *Dinoot* nor *Cructan* are on the same footing as the place-names, since they are given as being British, the latter specifically contrasted with the English. As for Gildas, writing about 540, his *Vortipori* may or may not stand for an actual contemporary **Wodebori*, nom. sg. ; it proves nothing, except only that it means that the loss of *-x* had already taken place. His *Maglocune* does look as though the distinction between a nominative and an oblique case was forgotten and the name had split into two ; otherwise one would have expected him to use **Magloci*. However, this need not imply that the case system had become really obsolete *long* before ; it bears witness rather to a period of weakening and confusion

when the name was adopted in the eighth century (RN. p. 389). Förster satisfactorily explains *Tamur* as a misreading for **Tamar*, FT. p. 406. Similarly with Förster ; his view about the date of the loss of final syllables seems a little vague (see p. 632), but he does definitely state that all unstressed final vowels must have been lost by the fifth century (FT. p. 428). In spite of that, he envisages the possibility that **Crumbā* > **Cromba*, the Croome (Wo.) was inflected as a masc. *n*-stem in AS. because of the Brit. *-a*, which he says would be short at the time of the borrowing (FT. p. 322)—which borrowing must have taken place at the end of the sixth century.

¹ On no. 971, Williams believes that if the loss of final syllables were looked on as illiterate at that time they would not have been omitted, and it must therefore have occurred more than two generations before (AMCA. p. cxv).

of final syllables (e.g. *-os* > *-ə*, *-ī* > *-ĩ*¹), without necessarily meaning as yet their total loss. The evidence of the inscriptions of the fifth to sixth century has been shown to be indecisive.

It is a fair conclusion that final syllables, which contained now only reduced and short vowels, were becoming obscured and confused, and therefore misunderstood, probably already in the second half of the fifth century, though *ĩ* < *ī* retained enough of its true quality to cause final affection as late as the later fifth and early sixth century; hence names with different nominative and oblique stems were probably falling apart early in the sixth century and were quite separate by the time of Gildas, when the true use of cases was evidently obsolete or much obscured. Everything points, therefore, to the end of the fifth century as the period of grave weakening, the first half of the sixth as that of gradual loss, and the middle of that century as the time of the complete disappearance of final syllables.

(*N.B.*—Loth dates the loss sixth to seventh century, without giving any real evidence, *ML.* pp. 76-7. In *KW.* p. 122 Förster followed. However, in *FT.* he has changed his mind, on the basis of his (much too early) date for the new quantity system as fifth century; and now concludes that loss of *-ā* must be older than that, pp. 157-8, and is therefore fourth century (p. 172). P. 428, he says that all unstressed final vowels must have been silent in the fifth century, original *-ǣ* having gone long before the time of the Latin loans, but *-i* (and *-u* ?) apparently retained much longer (no evidence is given for this). He objects to naming any precise century, saying on p. 158 that it must have taken several, on the ground that the analogous disappearance of *auslaut* vowels in English did so. If analogies are to be pressed, one might point rather to the rapid and very similar

¹ Williams thinks the name was *Maglocuno* or even *Maglocun* in the twenty years before Gildas was writing, the latter because *Vortipori* had original long *-ī*, the descendant of which would last later; and if *Maglocun*, Gildas could easily Latinise this as *Maglocunus* (*TAAS.*, 1939, p. 36). We might say, rather, *Mazlogunə*(Σ) early in the century and *Mazlogun* by Gildas' time.

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dropping of final syllables in Pr.I. Förster has taken no account whatever of the inscriptions, Gildas, etc., and his early date is the consequence of putting the new quantity system back to the fifth century. If all final vowels were gone by the fifth century we may well wonder how they could have caused final *i*-affection in the fifth to sixth century (Förster's own date, FT. p. 173).

In TAAS., 1939, pp. 37-8, Ifor Williams has a note on St. Patrick's alleged oath *modebroth*, as reported in mediaeval Irish sources. He takes *broth* as genitive, "of judgment" (therefore from Brit. **brātōs*, we may note), and says this proves that Patrick pronounced it with the last syllable gone, or with so little of it that no one heard it; "if St. Patrick has been correctly reported he swore in Welsh, not in British, in the fifth century". He then explains away the inconsistency with the *Camuloris* coffin (but not with *Vortipori*, *Voteporigis*, etc. etc., be it noticed, which are much later) by suggesting that *Camuloris* is formal, or the coffin perhaps as much as a century older than Patrick's time, but *broth* colloquial. But what evidence have we that *modebroth* comes from contemporary *written* sources and not from Irish oral tradition, in which the final syllable would be lost about 500? Or from sixth-century British oral tradition? The *o* shows that in fact it must be a Second Group loan from Brittonic in Irish, sixth century, with *th* substituted for *d*, no doubt under the influence of the Irish cognate and synonymous *brāth*, and this means that Patrick can never have spoken it in that form. *Mō* and *de* are evidently Irish substitutions, too, for Pr.W. **μn* and **dēw*. If Patrick ever used the oath at all, he must himself have said, speaking in Late British, something like "*μn dēwəΣ brōdoΣ*"; which, becoming traditional in British, was adopted by the Irish during the period of strong British influence in the sixth century in the Pr.W. form "*μ n^aēw bbrōd*", and almost entirely Hibernicised by them.)

THE SPIRANT MUTATION AND PREFIXING
OF H- TO VOWELS

§ 183.

When a word ending in a consonant in Primitive Irish stood in a close speech group (as a proclitic or quasi-proclitic) before another word, the result was an external sandhi which is called "gemination" in Old Irish grammar. The effect was that the final consonant of the preceding word was assimilated to the initial consonant of the following one, resulting in a geminate. When the second word began with a vowel, *h-* was prefixed to it, which arose from those cases (the most numerous) where *-s* was the last consonant of the previous word in Primitive Irish, and spread by analogy to all other instances of geminating words before vowels, even though they had not had final Pr.I. *-s*. So Pr.I. **urit neq^uon* > OI. *fri nnech*; Pr.I. **sindās rērās* > OI. *inna rriara*; Pr.I. **ayios Artī* > OI. **aue* (*h-*)*Airt*, MI. *ua h-Airt*.

In Brittonic the sandhi corresponding to this is what is called the spirant mutation. It was caused in the same way by proclitics and quasi-proclitics ending in consonants in British, and the visible result in the OWCB. period was that initial *p-*, *t-*, *c-* of the second word became *f-*, *th-*, *ch-*; which clearly arose by gemination, through *pp-*, *tt-*, *cc-*. There is also in certain circumstances an *h-* prefixed to vowels; but in Brittonic there was not the same extension of this to pretonics not originally ending in *-s* in British that there was in Pr.I., and various causes have smoothed away most cases where *h-* should have been present, with the result that from the point of view of descriptive grammar the prefixing of *h-* seems to have little connection with the spirant mutation. The reason why there is not a gemination of voiced stops, corresponding to that of the voiceless stops, may be that all such geminate groups tended to become simplified quite early in Pr.WCB., and in initial position no doubt much earlier than elsewhere. So, for example, in internal sandhi, **ad-bero* > Brit. **abbero-* in which the *b* was geminate at the period of lenition, later >

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Pr.WCB. **aber*, see §§ 70, 132. In B. all the initial mediae are long in spirant mutation position, but this is probably not due to gemination, since they are also long in absolute initial. That the gemination produced by proclitics and quasi-proclitics ending in consonants was something different from, and stronger than, the half-long quantity of CC. consonants in absolute initial which has been proposed in § 132 is seen in the very fact that half-long *p(p)-*, *t(t)-*, *c(c)-* give WCB. *p-*, *t-*, *c-*, whereas geminate *pp-*, *tt-*, *cc-* give WCB. *f-*, *th-*, *ch-*. We are not to suppose, then, that a Brit. form like **sindos cattos* had mere *c(c)-* in Late Brit. as **cattos* by itself had, and that the reason why it escaped the lenition caused by proclitics ending in vowels was simply because the half-long *c(c)-* was used in initial position in CC. in all circumstances except after a proclitic ending in a vowel, where *c-* was used, giving WCB. *g-*. Rather, we must regard this position as a special case, and postulate a Late Brit. **Σində ccattə(Σ)*, where the lost *-Σ* of **ΣindəΣ* had made the half-long *c(c)-* into a full geminate *cc-*.

Examples: Brit. **nac' tī > *na tti > W. na thi*; Brit. **nac' dodīt > *na ddīd > W. na dyd*; before a vowel, Brit. **nac' esāt > W. nag oedd* (with lenition of intervocal *c*). Brit. **ΣueX^s pontās > *hwe ppont > W. chwe phont*; but before a vowel, Brit. **ΣueX^s agrās > *hwech azr > W. chwech aer*. Brit. **Magos Tabarn- > *Maz-ttabarn > W. Ma-thafarn* (cf. *Ma-chynllaith*, *Me-chein*). Brit. **esiās cattos > *i ccatt > W. ei chath*, C. *y gath*, B. *he c'haz*; **esiās braccion > *i bbrech' > W. ei braich*, C. *y breg*, B. *he breac'h*; before a vowel, Brit. **esiās ognos > *i h-ozn > W. ei hoen*. Brit. **sindos cattos > *in(n) ccatt > B. ar c'haz*.

The rules for this mutation are set out in LP. pp. 123, 121. There is considerable disagreement between the three languages, and it is obvious that there was much levelling out by analogy and other causes working in different ways; for instance, B. keeps the spirant mutation after *pevar* m., *peder* f., "four", both ending in Brit. *-es*, whereas W. and C. have lost it.¹ The original situation is best preserved in W.

[¹ There is a good deal of variation among the Breton dialects, obviously comparatively recent. See now F. Falc'hun, *Le Système consonantique du breton*, pp. 94-6.]

§ 184.

As regards the history of the final consonants involved (Brit. *-s*, *-ns*, *-x*, *-c*), they were of course lost, together with the whole final syllable in polysyllables, at the end of stressed words in pausa and where the following word was not in a close speech group with the preceding. Only where the first word is a proclitic or virtual proclitic, where it was more or less closely linked to the second, is there the trace of the final consonant in the form of the geminating factor or the sound prefixed to the vowel. This sound in the case of *h*-<*s* is actually written as a prefix in W. ; but with *-x* and *-c* the resultant W. *-ch* and *-g* (the latter usually spelt *-c*) is always written as part of the preceding word, hence W. *chwech*, *ag*, *nag* (*ac*, *nac*) before vowels. On the pausa form *chwech* see p. 637.

It is likely that except in sandhi, final Brit. *-s* became Σ and was then lost, whether or not it ever reached the stage *-h*. The inscription CIIC. no. 413, fifth century, CAELEXTI MONEDORIGI, in which the first name is obviously the Latin *Caelestis*, is taken by Williams as having *-s* lost already in both names (TAAS., 1939, p. 33). This is quite uncertain, however, for CAELEXTI, because Latin *-s* is often dropped in the inscriptions of Gaul as well as those of Britain (for Britain, cf. p. 192) ; and *Caelexti* must surely be a case of this, since it had Latin *-s*, not Brit. Σ . On *Monedorigi* see pp. 626-7. In any event, in external sandhi as distinct from in pausa the Σ remained and eventually became *h*, presumably at about the same time as initial Σ or Σ at the beginning of the second element of compounds. Before a vowel it was certainly not treated in the same way as in absolute internal position, where *-s* fell together with \dot{x} -, nor would one expect it to be ; rather, as is natural in the loose association of external sandhi, it behaved like *s*- at the beginning of the second element of a compound. Presumably, therefore, before consonants also *-s* gave Σ >*-h* by the time when gemination took place ; or at any rate a sound in which the Σ had lost so much of its sibilant character that it did not simply join with *p*-, *t*-, *c*- in *sp*-, *st*-, *sc*-, but resulted in geminate stops instead.

THE SPIRANT MUTATION

That the sandhi did not develop like *s*-groups in British absolute internal position appears from the history of those groups; see §§ 120 ff.; and is warranted also by the fact that before vowels the *-s* did not behave as in absolute initial.¹ Final *-ns* is involved in W. *tra* from Brit. **trāns*, and in the B. infix *-ho-* from **sons*. In these cases *ns* > *ss* seems to have been simplified very early to single *s* in final position, giving Brit. $\Sigma > h$, unlike internal *ns*, as otherwise *-s* would have remained. Compare what appears to be the similar simplification of *-ts* > *-ss* > *-s* > $\Sigma > \text{nil}$ in a stressed monosyllable in the case of IE. **nepōts* > CC. **ne|ūss*, contracted in British, and giving MW. *nei*, not **neis*. So too with MW. *traw*, *draw*, B. *treu*, the stressed adverb from **trāns* without the proclitic shortening seen in *tra* (W. *traws*, C. *tres*, *trus*, B. *treuz* may have analogical *-s*, cf. Loth, RC. xxxvii, 30; and so with the preposition W. *tros*).

With final *-x* the development of Brit. *-x p-*, *-x t-*, *-x c-* is certainly not that of IE. *ksp*, *kst*, *ksk* in absolute internal position; and we must evidently start from Late Brit. $-X^s p-$, etc. The *-x* apparently did not become here $-xs$ > $-s$ > nil, as it seems to have done in absolute final position (pp. 535, 625); instead, it behaved as one might expect in the loose quasi-compound grouping of external sandhi, giving Brit. $-X^s$, which eventually caused gemination or prefixed *-ch* to a vowel. In pausa one would perhaps have supposed that **sux* would become **Σuxs* > *chwe*, like *-rīx* > *-ris*, **Ordoxix* > *Ordous*, but actually there is *chwech* here, which is perhaps a generalisation of the antevocalic sandhi form, where $-X^s$ remained; though the history of British *-x* in stressed monosyllables is not altogether clear, and it may have been preserved there in pausa as well as in sandhi (see VKG. i, 244, LP. p. 64, Baudiš, Gr.

¹ Morris Jones regarded spirant mutation by *-s* as a function of the $\theta\theta$, $\chi\chi$ which he thought could arise from absolute internal *st*, *sc* (see WG. pp. 175, 138). But first, internal *sp* did not give *ff*; second, if the $\theta\theta$ stage really existed in Brit., it had certainly long become *-ss-* before the time of the spirant mutation; and third, *-ch-* from *-sk-* is probably due to an ancient metathesis, *sk* > χs , such as must have occurred many centuries before, see § 123; nor would such a metathesis be probable in the loose association of external sandhi.

p. 165). Another example of $-x > -ch$ before a vowel in external sandhi is the IE. preposition which gave CC. $*ex >$ early W. ech when followed by a vowel (see CA. p. 114, CLH. p. 60). Before a consonant, one would expect $*e$ with spirant mutation.

As for $-c$, it caused the simple gemination of the following consonant, and before a vowel underwent the normal lenition to $-g$.

§ 185. The Date of the Gemination

The fact that the original polysyllabic words W. *Ma-*, B. *teir*, *pevar*, *peder* cause spirant mutation (as well as traces of the same brought about by masc. nouns in $-os$ in B., cf. LP. p. 123) shows that the gemination must have occurred before the total loss of final syllables, that is, before the middle of the sixth century.¹ It must also have happened before *pp*, *tt*, *cc* gave *f*, *th*, *ch*, because it took part in that change; therefore before the middle or second half of the sixth century (§ 147). That it is common to W., C., and B. also suggests a date no later; but the considerable variations in detail between the three languages would very likely indicate that no well-established pattern had developed long before the separation, and therefore that it was recent; indeed since MW. *teir*, *pedwar*, *pedeir*, and nouns in Brit. $-os$ other than stereotyped names in *Ma-*, do not cause spirant mutation in W., it may be that the true development of it in Late West Brit. was not significantly earlier than the loss of final syllables. In general it is not likely to be an old feature. One may suggest, therefore, that the consonant gemination occurred in the first half of the sixth century, and took on the character of the present spirant mutation in the middle or second half of the same century.

¹ $\Sigma > h$ here is probably to be regarded as having developed in the same way as Σ at the beginning of the second elements of compounds, because this is a quasi-internal situation. That means that h here was not reached before the first half or middle of the sixth century, and suggests therefore that some form of Σ rather than true h is what brought about the gemination. The date of the loss of final $-\Sigma$ in stressed syllables in pausa (which may have been earlier, cf. p. 636) is not relevant.

THE NASAL MUTATION

THE NASAL MUTATION

§ 186.

After a British proclitic or quasi-proclitic ending originally in a nasal, i.e. in *-n*,¹ the voiceless and voiced stops² are nasalised in Welsh in exactly the same way as they were in absolute internal position after a nasal; hence *-n p-*, *-n t-*, *-n c-*, *-n b-*, *-n d-*, *-n g-* gave respectively *mh-*, *nh-*, *ɲh-*, *m-*, *n-*, *ɲ-* (cf. §§ 103 ff.). Vowels are ostensibly not affected, but we should probably regard the nasal as being passed on to the second word when it begins with a vowel, compare the discussion below. In CB., on the other hand, there is spirant mutation instead of nasalisation of *p-*, *t-*, *c-*; and *b-*, *d-*, *g-* are not visibly affected, just as they are not in the ordinary spirant mutation. Pedersen's theory of the history of *mp*, *nt*, and *nc* was designed in part to account for this curious divergence, but his views on the general history of these sounds have been disputed above, § 106. A different account of the history of *-n* in external sandhi is offered here. For the rules and occurrences of the mutation in WCB. see LP. p. 119. As with the spirant mutation, the occasions and causing words by no means agree exactly as between the three languages.

§ 187.

We have seen that whereas internal *mb*, *nd*, *ɲg* > *m(m)*, *n(n)*, *ɲ(ɲ)* was a process beginning in the late fifth century and more or less complete by the end of the sixth (§ 112), internal *mp*, *nt*, *nc* > *mh*, *nh*, *ɲh* was limited to Welsh and developed in the eighth to early ninth century (§ 108). What seems to offer the best explanation of the facts of nasal mutation may be summarised as follows: In the Late British dialect of the West the final nasal remained as such; in that of the South-

¹ There was no Brit. final *-ɲ*, and IE. *-m* had become *-n* in CC.

² Including the *g-* of *gw* < *ɣ-*, presumably by the analogy of *g-*.

West it was reduced to some sort of denasalised catch,¹ which had exactly the same effect on a following stop as those final consonants which caused gemination, and hence the result in CB. is the same as (and may be looked on as part of) the spirant mutation. A parallel gemination of a stop arising out of a nasal plus stop is seen in the Scandinavian languages in the case of *nk*; for instance, Swedish and Danish *ta(c)k* beside English *thank*.² As for the West, the final nasal remained in proclitics, just as the $-\Sigma$ of proclitic **esiās* remained; whereas in stressed pausa final *-n* was lost just as $-\Sigma$ was.³ The *-n* then caused nasalisation of Late West Brit. *b-*, *d-*, *g-*, presumably in the late fifth to sixth century, but did not affect *p-*, *t-*, *c-* until the eighth century. So, for example, with the Brit. monosyllabic proclitics **in*, "in", and **men'*, "my", < **mene*, we should have in the early fifth century *in-tigəΣ*, "in a house", *min-tigəΣ*, "my house", *in-donjū*, "in a man", *min-donjəΣ*, "my man". Then in the early sixth century these would be *in-tizə(Σ)*, *min-tizə(Σ)*, but *in-n^dun'i*, *mi-nn^dun'izə(Σ)*. Finally, by the early ninth century there was *in-nhī(3)*, *vin-nhī(3)*, as well as *in-nin*, *vin-nin*. In Pr.CB. there was, of course, regularly gemination, and (with the voiceless stops) subsequent spirants; so Late SW.Brit. *mi-ttizə(Σ)*, *mi-ddun'izə(Σ)* > C. *ow thy*, *ow den*,⁴ B. *va thi*, *va den*. The British disyllabic quasi-proclitics **sextan*, "seven", **naŋan*, "nine", **decan*, "ten" and **canton*, "a hundred", kept their nasal as long as final syllables lasted, so that in the early sixth century, when *nd*

¹ Presumably as a result of cutting off the air passage through the nose before the *n* was complete, producing a kind of weak *d*. This might be a stage in the loss of final *-n* in SW.Brit.

² The nasal may have survived as such to a small extent dialectically in SW.Brit., however, as there seem to be a few traces of it in B. Thus B. *ma* (causing spirant mutation) is, however, *men* before mediae in the Vannes dialect; and whereas the infixed fem. pronoun < **sim* is *he* (causing spirant mutation) the masc., < **im*, is *en*, with spirant mutation only of *c-*. [See now, however, F. Falc'hun, *L'Histoire de la langue bretonne* (Rennes, 1950-51), p. 87, where he suggests that *men* is influenced by French *mon*.]

³ Note, for instance, Brit. **yogaison* > W. *gwaew* (see § 38 B), where the *-w* represents the *-o-*, but the *-n* has gone. Cf. in the same way Brit. **uīsus* > W. *gwiw*, where *-w* is from the *-u-* but the *-s* is lost.

⁴ C. *ow* is evidently < Brit. **moue*: W. *meu*, but it has the mutation proper to Brit. **men'*; cf. Pedersen, VKG. ii, 167-8.

THE NASAL MUTATION

etc. > *nn* etc. were developing, there would be in Late West Brit. for instance *nauən-tizə*, "nine houses", but *nauə-nn^aun'izə* "nine men". Shortly after came the total loss of final syllables and the nasal disappeared with them, so that by the eighth century the former had long been *nau tiz*, and there was therefore no question of nasalising the *t*-; but with original *d*-, since nasalisation of voiced stops had been established before the loss of final syllables, there was now *nau nīn*, = MW. *naw nyn*. The nasalisation of *b*-, *d*-, *g*- should have remained as a regular feature in Welsh, but actually in MW. it is limited to only a few stereotyped phrases, namely with MW. *blwyd*, *blyned*, "years", *bu*, "cows", *dieu*, "days", *diwarnawt*, "days", and *dyn*, "people". The analogy of all the other consonants on which the nasal of **nauan* had no effect has been responsible for reducing it from a regular "mutation" to a few fixed cases.¹ In Cornish and Breton we should, of course, expect gemination, whence spirant mutation of *p*-, *t*-, and *c*- and no visible change with *b*-, *d*-, and *g*-. Actually the only traces of it lie in the fact that B. *nao*, "nine", causes spirant mutation of *c*-; and perhaps in the peculiar *n* prefixed to C. *ugans*, B. *ugent*, after *war*, see VKG. i, 403. Otherwise analogy has completely swept away all evidence of -*n* in these British disyllabic numerals.

§ 188.

One question remains to be dealt with, that is, why the Brit. monosyllabic proclitics in W. are not *y* and *fy* prefixing *n*- to vowels and consonants other than stops. The answer is that *yn* is really *y n*- in these cases, but that as with antevocalic *chwech* instead of *chwe ch*- the prefixed consonant is written as part of the preceding word. There is, of course, no real stressed pausa form (if there were it would be **y*), except in grammars, where it is deduced as *yn* from the prevailing proclitic form. The OW. preposition *hi*, *i*, MW. *y*, "in", causing lenition, is a

¹ Baudiš sees nasalisation of *b*- in the OW. *douceint mannuclenn* in Chad 3 (Gr. p. 144). But the meaning of *mannuclenn* is quite uncertain, and hence it may have original *m*-; see Lloyd, HW. i, 214, n. 105. Nasalisation by *douceint* would be analogical, incidentally, as with Mod.W. *ugain*.

different word (cf. PKM. pp. 102, 122). As to *fy*, the fact that it is not *fy n-* or *fyn* before a vowel and consonants other than stops seems an irregularity, as if it were treated as it would be in stressed pausa;¹ it is to be noted that a form *fyn*, *yn*, "my", does occur in South Welsh,² e.g. *fyn enw*, "my name", *yn llygad*, "my eye", which may suggest that *fy* is comparatively late and secondary.³ Perhaps it is due to the influence of a Pr.W. **mou* < Brit. **moye* (see pp. 640, n. 4, and 657) used, like Cornish *ow*, as possessive adjective (as well as pronoun in MW. *meu*); or of a Pr.W. **mæ* or **μæ* > W. *fy* arising by the same process as **toye* > **dæ* > W. *dy*. Traces of this **mou* or **mæ* in early Welsh, causing lenition, as would be expected, are possibly to be seen in the prefix *M'* in ecclesiastical names; see Lewis, ZCP. xx, 138 ff., who, however, guesses that the lenition may be due to the analogy of *T'* in such names (*op. cit.* p. 143). Compare MODOCUS in CIIC. no. 969, which looks like a hypocoristic of the name OW. *Oudocui* (cf. p. 380 above) with **mæ* prefixed.

The answer to some of the seeming irregularities and variations in the WCB. treatment of the spirant and nasal mutations is, no doubt, that final consonants were in general lost, except where proclisis made the proclitic word into a semi-compound with the following one; and that the influence of non-proclitic position (at least in words capable of taking it,

¹ Morris Jones tries to account for the difference by saying that *yn* has a secondary accent before a noun, but *fy* is wholly unaccented (WG. p. 171). But this does not explain anything, and is evidently entirely *ad hoc*.

² Cf. Rhys, LWP. 2, p. 52; Annwyl, *Y Beirniad*, iii, 206.

³ Though it is as old as Martianus Capella (*mi hun*); *mi telu* and *mi coueidid* in Juv. 3 are doubtless orthographic, attempts to deal with the spelling of nasal mutation of *t-* and *c-*; cf. Loth, RC. xxxvi, 185. Morris Jones (*loc. cit.*) thinks that Brit. **men'* had entirely lost its nasal before the OW. period, and therefore did not nasalise tenues in OW. and early MW., and that the later nasalisation is due to the analogy of the case with the mediae. This is highly improbable, and is denied by Loth, *loc. cit.* Morris Jones admitted that the MW. scribes had difficulty with the spelling of nasalisation, and that (apparently) non-nasalised spellings are found in MW. beside nasalised (non-nasalised even occurring in later MSS. when the earlier MS. copied has nasalised), showing that the former are only orthographic conventions (WG. p. 173). But surely, then, the two cases of *mi* without visible nasalisation, and the few of *vy* in early MW., can easily be explained likewise.

SYNCOPE

such as the numerals) affected the quasi-proclitic. Also the probability that these mutations were coming into existence just at the time when final syllables and consonants were being lost.

§ 189. The Date of Nasalisation

Clearly it began while final syllables and their consonants still existed, therefore not later than the late fifth to early sixth century. In CB. it led to gemination and the subsequent spirant mutation, and is consequently at least as old as gemination (in the first half of the sixth century, § 185). The considerable variations in treatment among the three languages suggest that it was not an old well-established feature at this time, and as just proposed, may mean that it had not occurred before the period when the final syllables were beginning to be lost. Hence we may date it as late fifth or early sixth century.

SYNCOPE

§ 190.

Here two kinds of loss of unstressed internal vowels must be distinguished : (1) that of the composition vowel, including the final syllable of prefixes like Brit. **ambi-*, and (2) that of other unstressed vowels, which come immediately before the main stress. Syncope of the composition vowel took place without regard to its position in relation to the stressed syllable (except, of course, that it was itself unstressed). Commonly it was immediately before the accent, and so coincided with type (2) ; e.g. **Maglo-cúnos* > **Mazl'gun* > *Maelgwn*. But sometimes it was not, e.g. **Cuno-tigérnos* > **Cæn'dezirn* > *Cyndeyrn*. In such cases as the second, it is the composition vowel, not the pre-tonic syllable, which took precedence and was syncopeated ; apparently, therefore, the tendency to syncope on the part of the composition vowel was either stronger than that of the

pretonic vowel, or older, or both. So for example, **Cunobelinos* > W. *Cynfelyn*, not **Cyneflyn*. When the composition vowel was itself penultimate in British, and therefore stressed, it remains ; e.g. **Magló-cū* > W. *Meilyg*.

§ 191. Syncope of the Composition Vowel

It has already been suggested (§§ 1, 156) that compounds of two nominal stems¹ are to some extent to be regarded as quasi-separate words, and that in general the second element of all compounds is less closely tied to the first than in absolute internal position (see pp. 345, 367, 436, 514). Hence the composition vowel in these cases would make a kind of final syllable, and might be expected to have been syncopated at the time of the loss of final syllables.

The correct form of the composition vowel is preserved in sources of the Romano-British period, and normally also in the fifth and sixth century inscriptions. So, for instance, CIIC. nos. 435, fifth century, CLVTORIGI ; 446, later fifth century, MAGLOCVNI (*sic leg.*) FILI CLVTORI ; 449, end of the fifth or early sixth century, CVNOTAMI ; 318, beginning of the sixth century, ETTORIGI ; 319, same date, CVNOGVSI ; 379, same date, CATVRVGI ; 342, early sixth century, CVNOCENNI FILIVS CVNOGENI ; 327, early or mid sixth century, DVNOCATI ; 455, same date, CAMVLORIGI ; 358, c. 550, VOTEPORIGIS ; 436, end of the sixth century, EUOLENGGI. Compare also the *Maglocune* of Gildas. Among these, nos. 446, 449, and 342 have Ogam equivalents with the characteristic Ogam Irish -a- for the composition vowel ; but the spellings with -o- in the Latin inscriptions show at least that this was regarded as proper in Latin (and doubtless also in British).

On the other hand, the composition vowel, though preserved,

¹ This may not be so true of prepositional prefixes, etc., which probably bore no secondary stress, and did not have the final type of affection. Nevertheless they must have been taken as partly separate, since pronouns could be infixed after them, and their vocalism is different when they were felt to be compounding elements from what it was when they were felt as part of one word ; see § 199.

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is not infrequently wrongly spelt in various ways. Morris Jones takes this to mean reduction to *a* (WG. p. 190). This is obviously right, in some form, though in certain instances it may represent rather *a*, *o*, *u*, etc. Similarly, commenting on the CATAMANUS inscription (Brit. **Catumandus*), Williams says "*Cata-* must be regarded as a late and poor tradition, which arose when the unaccented vowels in a word were becoming or had become slurred and obscure" (AMCA. p. cxv); and that *a* is the indistinct vowel coloured by the flanking vowels (TAAS., 1939, p. 35). Compare Baudiš, Gr. p. 57. Such slurrings may perhaps be seen in one or two instances as early as the Roman period. *Segelocum* (AI.) and *Segedunum* (ND.) may have *-e-* for *-o-*; BALITICAVRO is apparently for *Belatucairo* (see p. 430, n. 3). But these are doubtful. In the post-Roman inscriptions: CIIC. nos. 354, fifth century, CORBALENGI (*a* for *o*); 376, fifth century, VENNISETLI (*i* for *o*); 390, same date,¹ VENDESETLI (*e* for *o*); 385, end of the fifth century, ANATEMORI (*e* for *io*, cf. § 156); 500, same date, AMMECATI (*e* for *i*); 353, end of fifth or early sixth century, TRENACATVS (*a* for *o*); 368, same date, BARRIVENDI FILIVS VENDVBARI (*i* and *u* for *o*); 400, beginning of the sixth century, VINNEMAGLI FILI SENE-MAGLI (*e* twice for *o*); 488, early or mid sixth century, ENABARRI (*a* for *o*); 397, mid to later sixth century, CVNALIPI (*a* for *o*); 375, same date, TOTAVALI (*a* for *o*); 408, same date, CATOTIGIRNI (*o* for *u*); 1028, end of sixth or early seventh century, VENDVMAGLI (*u* for *o*); 428, early seventh century, TRENUGUSSI (*e* for *o*); 970, mid seventh century, CATAMANUS (*a* for *u*); 477, seventh century, CONETOCI (*e* for *o*). In Gildas, note *Cuneglase* with *e* for *o*. Morris Jones takes British forms with wrong *a* as Goedelic (WG. p. 190), which is certainly true in some cases, like ENABARRI,² but not in others, which are British. In giving the Roman-letter equivalents of Irish names the engravers did

¹ On the date of this inscription see p. 325.

² Since this would be **Etnobarri* (or **Etnabarri*) if it were British—"Bird-Head". His example CATAMANUS is unfortunate, however, for this is a British name, not an Irish one at all, and belonged to one of a line of Brittonic kings.

try to conform to British Latin usage, as we have seen in Chapter V, and in some cases used the real British cognate names, so that the examples of *a* in these cannot be merely explained away as Hibernicisms, and they have their significance for British too. Ogam has exclusively *-a-*, but British is liable to use any one of the five vowels in the attempt to spell the un-spell-able sound *a*.

Thirdly, there are some instances in the Dark Age inscriptions¹ where the composition vowel is actually lost. These are nos. 493, mid to later sixth century, CONBEVI; 350, seventh century, [IV]DNERT;² 490, seventh century, DATUIDOCI CONHINOCI; 471, seventh century, CLOTUALI; 1033, late seventh to early eighth century,³ CINGEN; 427, eighth century,⁴ CATUOCONI. Note also *Eltutus* (i, § 7, etc.) and *Iudualus* (i, § 53, etc.), in the Life of St. Samson, early seventh century; and, if my explanation of the name is correct, *Catihernus* (509-21; see p. 454).

§ 192. The Date of Syncope of Composition Vowels

It must have happened after lenition. So **Maglocunos* > **Mazlogunə*Σ by lenition, > Pr.W. **Mail'gun*; otherwise there would have been **Maglocunos* > **Magl'cunə*Σ > **Mailchun*. Also after *nd* had become *nn*, since **Uindosaitlos* gives W. *Gwynnhoedl* not **Gwyntoedl*; but in some cases *nd* was not fully *nn*, see on *encilio*, § 112. 2. Presumably, too, after Σ at the beginning of the second element of a compound had at least well advanced to *h*, as otherwise there would be **Gwynsoedl* or **Gwysoedl* here. On the other hand, it happened before internal vowel affection (p. 609); before *nt* > *nh* (§ 104); and before provection (§ 143). Also before the separation of W., C., and B. There is no trace of the composition vowel in OWCB., except in the group of special instances discussed in

¹ There are no certain examples from the Roman period known to me (taking into consideration the textual corruption of Ravennas). *Corstopitum* (AI.) would be one if for **Coriosopitum* (Loth, EB. p. 60, and others), but this is doubtful. CATVALLAVNA for *Catuvallauna*, Eph.Ep. iv, p. 212, is very likely purely orthographical, with V for VV.

² On the date see p. 620.

³ On the date see now p. 668, n. 1.]

⁴ On the date see p. 291.

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§ 194. All this indicates a date in the sixth century, as a preliminary.

§ 193.

The information to be gathered from oral loans in AS. names is not so full as might be expected, because in many cases AS. syncope of unstressed vowels would confuse the issue (cf. HGES. §§ 303 ff.), particularly as a reduced vowel would in any case be specially liable to be dropped in the process of borrowing. Nevertheless, one or two examples are significant. *Letocetum* borrowed as *Lyccid* or *Liccid* (likely to be in the late sixth century, but perhaps not so soon, see § 28. 3) shows that provection and therefore syncope had already taken place; compare *Catar(r)acta* > *Cetreht*, § 144. 3. The Pr.W. names in ASC. 577, *Conmail* (*sic leg.*), *Condidan*, and *Farinmail* also suggest Brittonic loss of composition vowels; and compare the seventh-century name *Cædmon*, and ASC. 686-8, *Ceadwalla*, *Cædwalla*. Kinver (Staf.), perhaps from Brit. **Cunobriga*, adopted in the second half of the sixth century, appears in AS. as *Cynibre*, *Cynefare*; but Ekwall explains the -i-, -e- as due to the influence of the AS. *cyne*-, "royal", Dict. p. 266. The only apparently clear case of survival of a British composition vowel known to me is in Rom.-Brit. *Durobrivæ* > AS. **Hrobbri* > *Hrofes-ceaster*, see § 1. This is likely to be a very early loan, middle or second half of the fifth century. The evidence from AS. borrowings, so far as it goes, implies then that syncope had not occurred by the second half of the fifth century, but had by the later sixth or before.

§ 194.

The examples given above from inscriptions show definite proof that the composition vowel became first *ə* or other varieties of reduced vowel; and was then lost by the later sixth century (CONBEVI) and the seventh. *Catihernus*, which may be as late as 520, is probably an early instance. On the other hand, there is an apparent example of the composition

vowel fully preserved in its correct form at the end of the sixth century; and several with it in reduced form in the seventh century. Some of these might be due to orthographic archaism or conservatism, depending on a firm epigraphic tradition. So Williams regards ETTORIGI as having -o- inserted by archaising (AMCA. p. cxvi), though as this particular inscription dates from the beginning of the sixth century it is not necessary to invoke such a cause here. But another explanation can be offered for the presence of the composition vowel in late inscriptions, as an exceptional thing. It is clear that in fact these vowels were occasionally not syncopated at all, but remained; and this not simply in writing but in speech too. The form it takes in such cases is chiefly -a-, sometimes -o-, rarely -e-, which suggests that the vowel had reached the reduced stage before it was saved from syncope (and also that the various spellings found in inscriptions may not always be mere attempts to write *a*, but do represent a real quality).

Examples: OW. *Dinacat* (Gen. iv, xvii), MW. *Dinogat* (CA. p. 44), beside OW. *Dincat* (Lland. pp. 203, etc.), MW. *Dingat*, < Brit. **Dūno-catus*. OW. *Tutagual* (Gen. iv, vi) beside MW. *Tudwal*, < Brit. **Tōto-ȳalos* (cf. CIIC. no. 375, TOTAVALI). OW. *Dumnagual* (Gen. v), MW. *Dyfnawal*, beside OW. *Dumnqual* (in various spellings, Gen. v, vi, vii, x), MW. *Dyfnwal*, < Brit. **Dumno-ȳalos*. OW. *Cunedag* (HB. c. 62), *Cuneda* (HB. c. 14, Gen. i, iii, xvii, xviii, xxvi, xxxii), MW. *Cuneda*, < Brit. **Cōno-dagos*. OW. *Briacat* (HB. c. 49) < Brit. **Brīgo-catus*. MW. *Briafael* < Brit. *Brīgo-maglos* (CIIC. no. 498). OW. *Riacat* < Brit. **Rīgo-catus*; OW. *Riatam* and *Riataf* < Brit. **Rīgo-tamos*; OW. *Rioual* and *Riaual* < Brit. **Rīgo-ȳalos*; all in Lland. MW. *Riogan* (BBC. p. 65, l. 1) < Brit. **Rīgo-cantos*. OW. *Urbagen* (HB., ed. Mommsen p. 119, *Urbacen*; leg. *Urbagen*, Williams, BBCS. vii, 388¹), *Urbeghen* (Mommsen p. 207), MW. *Uruo|en*, beside OW. *Urbgen* (HB. c. 63, AC. 626, Gen. viii), < Brit. **Ōrbo-genos*.

¹ He regards *ag* for *og* here as comparable to Brit. -og- > -ag- in *traed*; but the situation is different, and the numerous parallels just quoted make this unnecessary.

In most cases these longer forms seem not to have lasted into the MW. period; Mod.W. *Briafael* survived, no doubt, because it was the name of the saint and of his church at St. Briavael's (Gl.), and therefore protected by tradition. MW. *Riogan*, *Dinogat*, *Uruo|en*, and *Cuneda* were not current names, but copied from older sources. It must be that those which did not survive beyond the OW. period had *a*, *o*, *e* (or *ə*) all through, and when the accent-shift occurred this reduced vowel was not enough to take the stress, and was eliminated in the process; so that what was *Din^ogád* in OW. became *Dingad* when the accent moved back in the eleventh century. The few cases of survival must be due to the vowel having for some reason been more fully pronounced in the particular name in OW.; so *Briāñáil* > *Briáfail*. The same feature is also found in OB. There is *Conatam* and *Cunatam* several times in Cart.Red., < Brit. **Cuno-tamos*; *Cunauualt*, *op. cit.* p. 153, beside a number of examples of *Conuual*, *Cunual*, < Brit. **Cuno-ualos*; *Riauual*, p. 9, *Riaual*, p. 221, *Riagual*, p. 226, from Brit. **Rigo-ualos*; and *Dumnouuallon*, p. 74, beside *Dumuualon*, pp. 86, 129, < Brit. **Dumno-uallānos*.

Why should the composition vowel have been preserved so in these OW. and OB. instances? Rhys suggested (Cymm. xxi, 24-5) that in *Dunocatus* the nominative was stressed *Dunócatu*s and the genitive *Dunocátō*s, but there is no evidence for such an accent variation in Late British—if it had existed its effects would have been visible all through WCB., which is not the case. Sir Ifor Williams proposes that when final syllables were lost the stress shifted more or less gradually to the new penult, and that in some cases the composition vowel was still there to receive it (AMCA. p. cxvii). In BBCS. vii, 388 he speaks of it as "probably a dialectal shifting of the accent", i.e. as if the change was earlier in some dialects than in others. But in TAAS., 1939, pp. 35-6, he puts it a little differently, and regards these pairs as due to various forms existing at the time of the accent-shift in various districts. If this explanation involves the shifting of the accent immediately upon or soon after the loss of final syllables, it will not suit the facts (see §§ 206 ff.); and besides, as just noted, when the shift did

occur it seems to have wiped out almost all the long forms. It has still to explain *why* the vowel should have remained in some cases, which "dialectal" does not do. Williams appears to regard this as a *general* phenomenon, but if so there should have been other traces of composition vowels all through WCB. ; in fact, we must emphasise as highly significant in the whole problem that this preservation of the composition vowel is found *only in personal names*, not in any other forms, not even in OW.¹ and OB.—it is a *special* feature requiring a special explanation. I suggest that the composition vowel is kept in these instances because personal names tend to be more conservative, more resistant to decay, than other words, and for this reason it succeeded, in a few cases, in surviving the period when they were syncopated, and then in lasting in a reduced form (ª, °, º) until finally the accent-shift ended most or all of them. This will help to explain how it is that in the early inscriptions some composition vowels appear to last, in a reduced form, into the seventh century, while names without this vowel are found already in the later sixth century.

§ 195.

Considering now all the evidence set out above, it seems very probable that composition vowels were becoming lost more or less contemporaneously with final syllables, say in the first half of the sixth century, and that their complete disappearance in ordinary words was not later than about the middle of that century ; a very early instance may be *Catihernus*. In some names, however, they remained in a reduced form until the eleventh century ; and in late sixth and seventh century inscriptions the survival of some composition vowels may be due partly to this and partly to epigraphic conservatism. This phenomenon, not so early as the *general*

¹ Rhys took OW. *litimaur* gl. *frequens* (Juven., tenth to eleventh century) as a case of preservation, with -i- (LWP. 2, p. 173), and this in an adjective, not a name. If so, it is unique ; but the explanation of *litimaur* is unsatisfactory. Thurneysen proposed the emendation *linmaur* (RC. xi, 93), which is very probable ; or it might be a scribal error for **litmaur*.

SYNCOPE

loss of composition vowels, was old enough nevertheless to be shared by W. and B., and dates, therefore, back at least to the late sixth century. Again, if the *Gododdin* poem in any form similar to our present text was really composed at the end of the sixth century, as Sir Ifor Williams has practically proved that it was,¹ then not only the loss of final syllables but also the syncope of composition vowels must be prior to that time, since otherwise the whole metrical system would be reduced to nonsense. The same applies to the small nucleus of bardic poems attributed to Taliesin which also probably belong to that date or a little earlier.² If so, the syncope can hardly have been later than a generation or two before. Nevertheless, the fact is that this final completion of syncope appears to be not older than the time when Σ was still noticeably sibilant, and when *nd* had fairly fully become *nn*; that is, about the middle of the sixth century. That it should be roughly contemporary with the loss of final syllables is natural, considering that in nominal compounds the composition vowel seems to have functioned as a quasi-final syllable.³ The reduction of the vowel towards *a* must, of course, have begun sooner—indeed the analogy of final syllables might suggest that it was a good deal sooner; but the high proportion of correct vowels in the inscriptions would show that at least they kept their quality (i.e. chiefly *o*) into the sixth century; and compare the fact that composition *-i-* still had enough quality to cause affection at the time when *-i-* in final syllables had lost it (see § 156).

§ 196. Syncope of Other Unstressed Vowels

A short vowel in internal syllables, usually open ones, other than the British composition vowel, when these immediately

¹ CA. introduction; see pp. xc ff.

² See Morris Jones, *Taliesin*; Cymm. xxviii.

³ Williams says "we cannot cling any longer to the old theory that both medial and final unaccented vowels were lost at one and the same time" (TAAS., 1939, p. 35); but the context shows that he is thinking of the special case of proper names, from which, as we have seen, no general conclusions can be drawn applicable to the language as a whole.

precede the British stress, was syncopated ; and a long vowel is said to have been shortened and kept. See LP. pp. 76-7 ; Lewis, EL. p. 11 ; Baudiš, Gr. pp. 56-7. In the case of some Latin loans, which are affected in the same way, the syllable syncopated was the one before the *British*, not the *Latin* accent, which of itself would prove that it occurred therefore in British and not in Latin. In others, however, the Latin words were probably borrowed with the common analogous VL. syncope having already taken place ; see § 2. 1, 2. As Lloyd-Jones notes, it is often impossible to say in a given example in which language syncope happened, but sometimes it is possible to show that it was in British (ZCP. vii, 463) ; e.g. *auctoritatem* > W. *awdurdod* and *caritatem* > W. *cardod*, where if the syncope had already occurred in VL. the *r't* would have given W. *rth*. Again, *pullicantio* > MW. *pylgeint*, and *virginitatem* and *benedictio* > W. *gveryndod* and *bendith*¹ have British syncope, because if it were VL. there would be W. *lch* and *nn*. We may add that *trinitatem* > W. *trindod* developed as *virginitatem* ; and that *maledictio* > W. *melltith* must have British syncope because a VL. *mal'dictio* would have become W. **melltith*. Latin *episcopus* would, of course, not have syncope of the *i*, so that W. *esgob*, C. *escop*, B. *eskop*, is due to the British accentuation *episcópus*.

There are, however, many exceptions to the rule of this syncope ; Lewis and Pedersen say " among the Latin borrowings " (LP. p. 77), but they are also found in British.² Since there are no exceptions to the syncope of composition vowels except for the special class discussed in § 194, this shows that the two types are really two different phenomena. Some of the exceptions are only apparent, as the vowel is in a closed syllable and therefore liable to be preserved to avoid too heavy a consonant cluster (cf. Lewis, EL. p. 11). Such are the Brit. oblique stem **iwerjón*-> W. *Iwerddon* ; Brit. **Combrogíssā*,

¹ This would have had an intermediate stage Late Brit. **benedixtīi*, but *n'd* would prove to *nd*.

² Förster regards this as a matter of *Steigton* and *Fallton*, as in ME. (FT. p. 240) ; but the applicability of the German theory of sentence melody to Celtic has not been demonstrated.

SYNCOPE

**Combrogicā* > Pr.W. **Cæmrazes*, **Cæmrazeg* > W. *Cymraes*, *Cymraeg*; Brit. **Uortigernos* > OW. *Guorthigirn*; in Latin, *Constantinus* > W. *Custennin*, etc. In cases like *Guorthigirn* the knowledge of the meaning of the separate word would also probably play a part. But other instances are in open syllables.¹ So **miārinā* > W. *miaren*; nominative **iuerijū* > W. *Iwerydd* (influenced by Pr.W. **Iwerdon* ?); *Coroticos* or **Caraticos* > W. *Ceredig* (though Pr.W. **Cardig* also seems to have occurred, and cf. OW. *Certic* beside *Ceretic*; see pp. 613-14); **Caratācos* > W. *Caradog*; **caratōuio-* > W. *caradwy* (cf. Pedersen, VKG. ii, 40, "kaum lautgesetzlich"); **Litaūicos* > W. *Llydewig*. With names in *-orīx*, **Anauōrīx* > **Enewyr*, **Uortamōrīx* > W. *Gwerthefyr* (see Williams, Arch.Camb., 1936, pp. 18-19 on these); *Culidōrīx* > *Kyledyr* (see the same, AMCA. p. cxvi); **Uo(r)tepōrīx* > OW. *Guortepir* (Gen. ii). Latin examples are given by Lewis and Pedersen, LP. p. 77, and by Lewis, EL. p. 11; the latter suggests that they may be late learned loans, which is far from certain.

For long vowels shortened and kept,² good examples are apparently lacking; ³ Brit. **Uotādīnī* > MW. *Gododīn* would have had *ā* > *ǣ* > *ō* in any pretonic syllable (cf. § 10), and the same is true of **Rōmānīāco-* > W. *Rhufoniog*. Loth attempts to treat MW. *Celydon* as being from Brit. **Calīdon-* with this shortening, on the ground that **Calīdon-* would have syncope of *ī* (RC. xlvii, 3); but quite apart from the fact that such syncope is far from universal, the *ī* may well have remained here under the influence of the singular, Brit. **Calīdū* > Pr.W.

¹ W. *galanas* lacks syncope, but Cumbric *galnes* or *galnys*, evidently the same word, seems to show it; see p. 10.

² Total syncope of a long vowel would be exceptional. Thurneysen derives W. *wythfed* from **ochtūmetos*, with irregular analogical syncope of the long vowel (ZCP. xvi, 300). Förster suggests that *Concan* in an AS. document, for the saint Conocan, is a genuine form with syncope (Reliq. p. 100); but he seems to forget that as he regards *Conocan* as having *ā* > *ǣ* this would also mean syncope of a long vowel, unless the pretonic *ǣ* was already shortened (contrast *Gododīn* and *Rhufoniog* below). This is a good deal to build on one spelling in an AS. source, and Förster himself admits it may be a scribal error.

³ Loth's examples in Chr.B. p. 60 are all of Latin *ā* and *ē* (on which see below) except W. *sarhaed*, in which the *ā* is in any case not immediately pretonic in Pr.W. and the etymology he proposes is highly doubtful.

**Calīd*, just as in a word like pl. *anghenion* the *e* unquestionably remains under the influence of the sg. *anghen* (cf. p. 607, n. 1). As for Latin loanwords, an immediately pretonic long vowel may appear as short in British, e.g. *peccātorem* > W. *pechādur*, *firmāmentum* > W. *ffurfāfen*, but as we have seen (pp. 289-90) this is the result of a shortening in Vulgar Latin, not in British; the fact that the short vowel was not syncopated is simply due to the preservation of such vowels which has already been noted as an alternative to their syncope.¹ Loth's *mācoer*, *mēsūr* and Lewis' instances in EL. p. 11 are in any case not examples of syncope position in British, since these concern an initial syllable.

On the contrary, a long vowel in syncope position may actually remain long;² so **Coroticiāno*- > W. *Ceredigion* not **Ceredygion*. Brit. **ambenedicātio*-, from Latin *benedic*- with British suffix and negative prefix, gave MW. *emendigeit*, with Late Brit. *ī* not *ĩ*; but the preceding *e* is syncopated, and must therefore have been treated as a British composition vowel, in which case the following syllable would remain unaffected. In the absence of any better proof than what has hitherto been offered for the statement that long vowels in British syncope position are shortened and kept, we must suspend judgment.

§ 197. The Date of the Second Type of Syncope

It is likely to have been approximately contemporary with that of the composition vowel, but the precedence of the latter over the former in words like *Cunobelīnos* > *Cynfelyn* may mean that it is later; see § 190. Forms like *bendith*, *trindod* show that it is subsequent to lenition and to at least the fairly full development of *nd* to *nn*, since otherwise the former would

¹ Pedersen suggests that it may have been half-long (VKG. i, 204), which is possible; perhaps rather, a vowel with a fuller degree of proper quality than a British short vowel in this position; the latter would probably have been more or less reduced before it could be syncopated.

² That is to say, until the new quantity system arose. The W. *ī* in the examples quoted is the reflection of Late Brit. *ī* not *ĩ*.

have been MW. **bennith* and the latter MW. **trinhod*. The point about *nd* should mean that it is later than say the first half of the sixth century. The syncope is common to W., C., and B., and hence not likely to be much younger than the late sixth century.

The only example in the Dark Age inscriptions of a name where the second type of syncope would occur seems to be CIIC. no. 394, end of the fifth century, VENEDOTIS (W. *Gwynnod*), an adjective from **Ūenedā* (W. *Gwynedd*); and this shows the unstressed vowel still preserved.

For borrowings in AS., *Wyrτζeorn* < **Ūortigérnos*, perhaps a very early loan, has AS. syncope (cf. Luick, HGES. §§ 75, 201), not British, since the *i* was not dropped in Welsh. Romano-British *Eburācum*, W. (*Caer*) *Efrog*, adopted in Pr.AS. in the late fifth century as *Ebor-*, > *Eofor-*, might well be held to show the existence of the unstressed vowel; but in any case the name was doubtless assimilated to AS. *eofor*, "boar".¹ Brit. **Catarraxtā* (see § 144. 3) was borrowed into English with British² syncope at the stage **Catraxt*, whence AS. *Cetreht*, presumably in the second half of the sixth century (on the date of the loan see p. 409). Rom.-Brit. *Rutupiae* > AS. *Repta* (see pp. 661-2) might theoretically have developed so through Brit. **Ræt'bi* (see § 144. 2), with syncope and provection. Yet one would have supposed that it could hardly have been borrowed later than the end of the fifth century at latest. It is suggested below (*loc. cit.*) that the name, which on general grounds is likely to be an early loan,³ may have been taken over before lenition, with original *t-p* and no syncope or provection. If so, the syncope would have to be English.

Taking into consideration all these data, syncope of the

¹ Cf. *Modern Language Review*, xxi, 366, where Zachrisson (starting from a VL. **Evrac-*) says Bradley is right to say that **Evr-* must have become *Eofer-* in AS. even without any association with "boar".

² Förster suggests (without any reason given) that the syncope may be VL. (Reliq. p. 100); the provection in *Catraeth* shows this is impossible; see above, *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. FT. p. 285, where Förster says it must have been borrowed before the end of the fifth century because it is in Kent; p. 848, second half of the fifth century.

second type may be put in the mid or later sixth century, probably a little later than that of composition vowels.¹

REDUCTIONS CAUSED BY THE ACCENT:

(A) EARLY REDUCTIONS COMMON TO WELSH, CORNISH, AND BRETON

§ 198.

(1) On some apparent cases of loss of unstressed internal syllables in British see § 1.

(2) In separate proclitic words there is evidence for certain reductions which must go back to the British period or before, since they are found in all three Brittonic languages. Apocope of IE. *-e* occurred in some proclitics already in Common Celtic. So W. *ac*, *nac*, *rhag* had Brit. *-c'* from IE. *-qʷe*, where the *-e* was apocopated before the *qʷ* became *p*; see LP. p. 44. IE. **teye* > CC. **toye* has stressed forms where the *-e* survived, but unstressed where it was apocopated (see below); as this is found in Goedelic as well as Brittonic the loss was presumably Common Celtic.

Original *ō*, *ǔ*, *ě*, *ĩ* in separate proclitic words were reduced in Brittonic, the result in WCB. being *ə*, except that when not proclitic but accented such words have *ĩ* in W., *e* in CB.; cf. VKG. i, 283, 284, LP. p. 78. On the nature of the reduced sounds in later British see § 200. So Brit. **men'* gives W. *fy*, B. *ma*, *va*, "my"; Brit. **sindos*, unstressed definite article,

¹ Förster's theory on *Rutupiae* (see p. 661) involves assuming that Brit. syncope and provection must have occurred before the end of the fifth century, which is his own date for the loan (that provection cannot have done so, see § 143). In FT. p. 285 he says the syncope can hardly be AS. so early—but no one would want to suppose in any case that AS. syncope had happened at *this* time; on the contrary, the argument is that the name was borrowed unlenited and un-syncopated, and was later syncopated in AS. Förster says he knows no objection to putting British syncope back to the beginning of the fifth century (hence he dates it fifth century, p. 173), quoting **Cardic* and **Catraχta* (neither of which is relevant to so early a date; on **Cardic* see pp. 613-14).

REDUCTIONS CAUSED BY THE ACCENT

gives W. *yr*, CB. *an*, *en* (with *ə*), beside stressed demonstrative **sindon* > W. *hynn* (with *ĩ*), C. *hen*, B. *henn* (with *e*) ; Brit. **do*, "to", becomes OW. *đi*, MW. *y*, Mod.W. *i*, C. *the*, OB. *do*, MB. *da*, *de*, Mod.B. *da* (the MW. has *ĩ* in this case, treated as an accented monosyllable, see VKG. *loc. cit.*).

There is evidence for reduction of British *ā* > *ǣ* in proclitics before the time when *ā* > *ǫ*. So proclitic W. *rhag*, B. *rak*, beside stressed W. *yrhawg*, B. *araok*, < Brit. **rāc*' ; see LP. pp. 6, 44. Similarly with proclitic Brit. **trāns* > W. *trǣ*, in contrast to stressed W. *traw*, *draw* (see § 184). On the other hand, at the later stage of *ǫ* there was again reduction, to *ǫ*. Thus Brit. unstressed adjectival **pāpos*, "every", > Late Brit. **pǫbos* > W. *pob*, B. *pep*, but stressed, "everyone", > W. *pawb*, C. *pup*, *pop*, *pep* ; cf. VKG. ii, 212.

Brit. *ē* < IE. *ei* is also capable of reduction in proclisis ; e.g. the unstressed interrogative adjective MW. *pa*, *py*, C. *py*, *pe*, B. *pe*, beside the stressed interrogative pronoun W. *pwy*, C. *pyw*, B. *piou*, both being from Brit. **pē* < IE. **q^uei*. Or, the unstressed preposition CB. *dre*, but stressed W. *trwy*, < Brit. **trē* (on W. *try*- see § 199).

Similarly with Brit. *ō* < Celt. *ou'*. IE. **teue* > CC. **toue*, "thy", unstressed > **tou'* > Brit. **tō*, was shortened, giving **tō*, whence W. *dy*, C. *the*, B. *da* ; but when stressed, **toue* regularly became MW. *teu*, "thine". Compare Pr.I. **toue* > OI. *toī*, "thine", but **tou'* > OI. *do*, "thy". On the other hand IE. **neue* > CC. **noue* remained in Brit. (W. *neu*), whereas the apocopated **nou'* gave OI. *no* (Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 551 ; but see now Pedersen in JCS. i, 4).

§ 199.

In certain pretonic compounding *prefixes* the prefix seems regularly to have been treated in Brit. in the same way as a separate proclitic, that is to say, *ǫ*, *ǣ*, *ě*, *ĩ* were reduced in all three Brittonic languages ; so that the prefix must have been quasi-proclitic and can only have constituted a loose compound in these instances. See Pedersen, VKG. i, 284. When a pretonic syllable was an integral part of a word the treatment

was separate and different, and here reduction appears only in Welsh ; see below. Pedersen regards the special behaviour of separate prefixes as being found properly only in verbal compounds, because of the loose composition of the Celtic verb (e.g. Brit. **to-butā* > W. *dyfod*, C. *devos*, with *ə*) ; but it is seen in nominal compounds too, side by side with non-reduction, and Pedersen explains this as a transference, happening more easily in those nominal compounds where the true separate meaning of the prefix was perceived than in those where it was obscured and the prefix felt, therefore, as a meaningless integral part of the word. E.g. **com-* in OC. *chefals*, "joint" (with *ə*), beside MC. *compys*, "straight, even", B. *kompoez*, "smooth" (with unreduced *o*).¹ Actually, unreduced forms are almost never found in Welsh, not even in nominal compounds,² and they are rare in CB. This great predominance of reduced over unreduced forms even in nominal compounds may suggest that the prefix in British was regularly treated as quasi-proclitic not only with verbs but also with nouns and adjectives, wherever it carried its clear meaning ; and that the pre-verbal situation has not played any special part in influencing the pre-nominal. This would suit better the fact that **so-* "good", and **do-*, "bad", are not used as verbal prefixes.

The prefixes in question are the following :—

(a) British **ro-*, "great, exceeding, complete". OW. pre-verbal and pre-nominal *ri-* (*ro-* in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Rodarchus*, Vita Merlini ll. 122, etc.), MW. pre-verbal and pre-nominal *ry-*, MC. pre-verbal and pre-nominal *re-*, OB. pre-verbal *ro-*, Mod.B. pre-verbal *ra-*, pre-nominal *re-*.

(b) British **to-*, and **to-* > **do-*,³ "to". OW. pre-verbal and pre-nominal *di-* (e.g. *dibid*, Comp. ; *digatma*, Ovid) ; MW. *ty-*, *t-*, *dy-*, OC. *do-* (in *do-womisura*, Ox. 2), MC. *de-*, OB. *do-* pre-verbal and pre-nominal, MB. *di-*.⁴

¹ Cf. OC. *chespar*, "mate" (with **cit-*, not **com-*), where the *-s-* shows that the prefix was felt as a semi-separate word. See JCS. i, 77.

² With **com-* they would not occur anyway, since they would always have reduction, by the development described on p. 664. For a case of unreduced **so-* see p. 659, n. 1.

³ See LP. p. 266.

⁴ The separate preposition is also *do* in OB. ; *da*, *de* in MB.

REDUCTIONS CAUSED BY THE ACCENT

(c) British **so*-,¹ “good”, **do*-, “bad”. OW. *hi*-, *he*-, *ho*-, *hu*- (*Higuel*, *Heuel*, *Houel*, *Huwel* ²), MW. *hy*-, *dy*-; OC. *he*- (*hegar*, Voc.C.), MC. *he*-, *hy*-, *dy*-; OB. *ho*- (*Houuel*, Cart.Land. p. 564, etc.; *Hocar*, Cart.Red. p. 66, etc.), *hu*- (*Hael-hucar*, Paris 12021 CC.), *he*- (*helabar*, Eutyeh.), *do*- (*doodl*, Cod.Leid.Voss; *dohint*, Lux.).

(d) British **com*-, **con*-, **co*-,³ “with”. OW. *com*- (*comoid*, Juv.9; *comtantou*, M.Cap.), *co*- (*coueidad*, Juv.3; *couer*, *coid*, Juv.9), *cim*- (*cimadas*, M.Cap.; *ciman*, Juv.9, Comp.; *cimmaeticion*, M.Cap.; etc.), *cem*- (*cemecid*, Ox.2), *ci*- (*cinimer*, Juv.9; *cithremmet*, M.Cap.); MW., Mod.W. *cyf*-, *cym*-, *cyn*-, *cy*-; OC. *com*-, *co*-, *cun*-, *cu*-, *chef*- (*kef*-); MC. *ke*-, (*co*- in *colenwel*); OB. *com*-, *con*-, *co*-, *cum*-, *cun*-, *cam*-, *cem*-, *ke*-; Mod.B. *kev*-, *kem*-, *ken*- (*kom*- in *kompoez*, etc.; *koñ*-).

(e) British **trē*-, “through, over”, etc. This is not reduced in the separate preposition W. *trwy* (but is in the CB. *dre*). With reduction, OW. *tri*- (*Tribruit*, HB. c. 56 ⁴), M., Mod.W. *try*-; MC. *tre*-; OB. *tre*- (*treorgam*, Lux.), Mod.B. *tre*-. Cf. Thurneysen, Gr.OI. p. 534, Lewis and Pedersen, LP. p. 131.

Note that other prefixes are not affected in this way, e.g. **uo*-.

§ 200. The History and Date of the Reduction

Pedersen notes that if it goes back to the British period, as is not improbable, the *o* written in OB. (and, we may add, in OW. and OC., as above) may not mean a pure [o], but an [o]-like *ə*; VKG. i, 285. This is an important statement, and clearly right. The reduction, being found so regularly all through WCB., is unquestionably of common origin. Moreover,

¹ Not **su*- in Brit., since **sugnīmo*- would not have given W. *heini*; etc. See p. 609. In **sognīmo*- the *so*- was not treated as quasi-proclitic and reduced; cf. *ibid*.

² *Higuel*, AC. 813, 814, 816, 825, 928, 950, 954, Gen. iii; *Hiuel*, Lland. p. 226, etc.; *Heuel*, *ibid*. p. 185; *Hiuguel*, VSB. p. 38, Lland. p. 228; *Hiugel*, Lland. p. 236, etc.; *Huwel*, *ibid*. p. 248; *Houel*, *ibid*. p. 212, etc.; HOUELT CIIC. no. 1011, later ninth century; *Houil*, Asser c. 80.

³ And Latin *com*-, *con*-, except in those cases where VL. *cons*->*cōs*-.

⁴ See *Modern Philology*, xliii, 51-2, BBOS. xi, 95.

cases of non-reduction are almost completely absent in M. and Mod.W., and so rare in M. and Mod. C. and B. that though some of the spellings with *o* in OWCB. might theoretically represent an unreduced *o* of the type seen in C. *colenwel*, B. *kompoez*, the chances are that none in OW. and few in OC. and OB. actually do. This means, therefore, that the spelling with *o* in OW. always, and in OCB. mostly, must in fact stand for a reduced vowel, some sort of *ə* which was yet still able to be perceived on occasion as somewhat rounded in the OWCB. period, more regularly and completely in OB. than in the other two.¹ It has been shown above that Brit. *o* on its way to *e* in internal affection was still often spelt *o* in OB., and rarely so in OW., OC. too; and this has been explained as representing an intermediate stage [ö], with enough rounding to account for the spelling (§ 175). There is nothing strange, therefore, in supposing that a reduced vowel which was or could be somewhat rounded could equally well be spelt *o*; and the very fact that both with this and with the sound arising in vowel affection the spelling *o* is commoner in OB. than in OW. and OC. suggests a similar quality for both. However, it should be noted that the reduced vowel cannot have been identical with the affection *ö*, because its history was different. Affection *ö*, which gives MWCB. *e*, must have been a full vowel, whereas the other, which gives [ə] spelt in a variety of ways in MWCB., must already have been considerably reduced or it would have fallen together with affection *ö*. One must imagine some sort of slightly rounded *ə*; without attempting to describe its exact phonetic nature, the symbol *æ* is used for it in this book. In the same way, one would think, the reduced vowel arising from Brit. *ē*, *ě*, *ĩ* was probably already distinct from ordinary *ĩ* in *British*, and was presumably much the same as the *ι* which resulted from Pr.W. reduction of *ĩ* (see § 202.1), though it may already have been the mere *ə* which it became sooner or later in any case. The *æ* subsequently developed into *ə* by being completely unrounded in all three languages, perhaps later in B. than in W. and C. On the date of the unrounding in W.

¹ The spelling *u* is evidently also an attempt at the same sound; *a*, *e*, and *i* mean cases where no roundedness was perceived.

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see p. 678 ; in B., spellings with *e* etc. become regular in the MB. period, but occur also in OB., as already shown.

Is there any direct evidence for a reduced vowel as early as the British period ? I think there is. To take Brit. **ro* first, the Rom.-Brit. name *Regulbium* (ND.), Reculver in Kent, is obviously a compound of Brit. **gulbio-*, "beak", i.e. "headland" here, and a prefix which can only be **ro-*, therefore "Great Headland"; cf. § 140. Watson takes *Regulbium*, and Ptolemy's *Rerigonios*, to have an intensive prefix **re-*, "very", cognate with Latin *prae* (CPNS. p. 34); but no such prefix is known, and it must be **ro*. The *rigonios* he interpreted as "royal", doubtless correctly, hence "very royal". Note also the difficult Rom.-Brit. name *Rutupiae* (Ptol.), *Rutupias* (acc. pl., Ammianus), locative pl. *Rutupis* (Rav., ND., the latter with variant *Rittupis*) or *Ratupis* (Peut.) or *Ritupis* (AI.); and as adjective Lat. *Rūtūpīnus*, -a (Lucan, Juvenal, Ausonius); AS. *Repta-cæstir* (Bede, HE. i, 1); = Richborough, Kent. Ekwall proposes Brit. **rūt-* > **rīt-* (Dict. p. 368); but the forms show no such clear chronological sequence, the Latin scansion needs a short vowel, and Ekwall's etymology is quite unconvincing.¹ Zachrisson prefers the reading *Ritu-* and relates it to Brit. **ritu-*, "ford" (proposing a loc. pl. **Ritubis*, "On the Fords", RKS. p. 81). This makes good sense, of course, but the weight of the sources is heavily against it,² and the confusion of letters invoked by Zachrisson is more naturally in favour of original *rutu-*. Sir Ifor Williams, who takes the word to have *rūt-*, relates this to W. *rhwd*, "filth", and compares Gaul. *Rutuba*, a river name which he concludes means "muddy dirty river" (BSRC. p. 44); Richmond and Crawford hence translate *Rutupis* as "The mud flats" or "Muddy creek" (*ibid.*). This is attractive semantically, but Williams' **rut-* does not explain the *-upiae* nor the Gaulish *-uba*. The British *-p-* is well attested. Förster's explanation involves supposing a tribal name **Rūtupones*, Late Brit. **Rūdubones* (with his *ī*, on which see p. 667, n. 1 below), syncopating and protracting to **Rītpon* (*sic*; better **Rītbon*), adopted by the

¹ Förster notes that the AS. and ME. forms do not allow a derivation from **Rūt-*; FT. p. 284.

² Cf. Förster, FT. p. 848.

English with *e* substitution for *i* and *pt* for the unfamiliar group *tp*, as **Repte*; and this before the end of the fifth century. But the difficulties arising from such a supposition are insuperable. First, as we shall see (§ 205), reduction of the vowel of an initial pretonic syllable *forming an integral part of the word* did not take place so early, probably not before the middle of the sixth century. Secondly, syncope could not have occurred at that time; see § 197. If we could suppose that the name was not adopted until the middle of the sixth century, an explanation closely parallel to Förster's would suit very well (tribe name **Rūtupones* > **Rudubones* > **Rætbon* with Pr.W. pretonic reduction; or **Rūtupīās* > Pr.W. **Rætbi*; in either case borrowed as AS. **Repte*). But so late a loan is hardly probable in the geographical circumstances. One might compare the case of *Othona*, another Saxon Shore fort (see § 146), but this is not very relevant because, unlike Bradwell, Richborough is surrounded by very early English settlements. Assuming that the name was borrowed early, at the time of the first occupation of Kent about 450, when the Late British lenition had scarcely begun, then the *t-p* can be explained as pre-lenition (§§ 135, 136) and the syncope as AS. (p. 655). As for *Ru-* > AS. *Re-*, I suggest we can solve this if we assume that the name has the prefix *ro-*, "great"; that it was early British **Ro-tupīās*; and that the resulting British **Rætupīās* was written in Greek and Latin sources as *Rutup-*, *Ritup-*, even *Ratup-* (if textually sound) in the effort to spell the strange sound which must have seemed elusive to the Greeks and Romans, and which in *Regulbium* and *Rerigonios* they rendered by an *e*. If so, the *æ* would be in existence long before the middle of the fifth century, and regularly substituted by *e* in AS. as described below, § 204 B. 1. The form *ROCATI* in CIIC. no. 500, end of the fifth century, is, of course, no objection to the view that the sound was already *æ*, since this would simply be a case of the spelling with *o* as in OW. *comtantou* etc. Indeed, even the later completely unrounded *æ* could still be spelt *o* in Geoffrey's *Rodarchus*; and substituted by *o* in English, as in *ap Rhyderch* > *Protheroe*, clearly not an early loan (see Förster, KW. pp. 189, 200).

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British *so- is seen in the sixth century loan in Irish, *Sucat*, = W. *hygad*, borrowed presumably at the stage *Σωgad*, with *ω* substituted by Irish *u*; see p. 518. For British *com-, in quasi-separate prefixes it would become Brit. *cōm- direct; but where it was not felt as separate the resultant early Pr.W. *cuμ- (see § 4. 1) would itself be reduced to *cωμ- later in the sixth century (§ 205), so that here examples of substitution of Brit. *ω* by AS. *e* etc. would have had to be borrowed before the middle of the sixth century if they are to be regarded as instances of the *British* quasi-proclitic *o* > *ω*. I know of none so early, and those which are later loans may well be merely cases of Pr.W. *cuμ- > *cωμ-. Such are AS. *Cumberland*, *Cumbraland* (seventh century), the land of the Pr.Cumb. *Cōmbri(3); Kemble (Wi.), AS. *Cemele*, which may be: W. *cyfyl* < IE. *com-pel- (if so, involving Pr.W. *Cōμil), borrowed in the mid sixth century; similarly with Pen-kevil in Cornwall, showing OC. *cōvil or *cāvil, cf. Förster, FT. p. 642. The English personal names Kevell, Covell(e), Covill are given by Förster as: W. *cyfaill* < Brit. *com-altios, and he compares AS. *Cameleac*, *Camelzeac*, ASC. 918, < Brit. *comaltīācos (KW. p. 185). Here we have the reduced vowel rendered in English *u*, *e*, and *o* (and AS. *a* = *ā* = *ǫ*); on these substitutions see § 204 B. Romano-British spellings like *Combretonium*, *Condote*, *Coventina*, etc., are no objection to the assumption of Brit. *cōm- already in British, since in the first place they may very likely have *com- felt as an integral part of the word and hence not reduced in British, or secondly they may be using *o* to write *ω*.

British *trē- seems to be present in its reduced form (= W. *try-*) already in British in the form *Trisantona* (Tacitus), which appears to stand for *Tr₁-Σantónā; cf. p. 525.

It would seem probable, therefore, from these examples that reduction of Celt. *o* and *ē* to *ω* and *ι* in quasi-proclitic prefixes can be shown to go back at least to the time of Tacitus and Ptolemy, therefore to the first and second century. The same would presumably be true also of quasi-proclitic Celt. *ũ*, *ě*, and *ĩ*, though I know no evidence from British sources. Since this reduction is no doubt closely linked with that of the quite

separate proclitics described in § 198. 2, it is likely that the two are contemporary. It should be emphasised that this is distinct from and very much older than the Pr.W. reductions about to be discussed, though the two fell together in Pr.W.

(B) REDUCTIONS FOUND IN WELSH ONLY

§ 201.

Before the Pr.W. accent had shifted back from what was now, after the loss of the Brit. final syllables, the new ultimate, there took place a further reduction, this time in the then pretonic syllables which formed an integral part of the word and were not merely prefixes. This affected original Brit. and Lat. *ĩ* and *ũ*, as well as Brit. and Lat. *ě* and *ǫ* which had been raised to *ĩ* and *ũ* before certain consonants in Late West British or Pr.W. in the first half of the sixth century (see §§ 4. 1 ; 6. 2) ; and IE. *ě* which had become *ĩ* before nasal plus stop in CC. (see § 6. 2). The result of this reduction in M. and Mod.W. was *ə*, written *y* (MW. sometimes *i* or *e*, which is merely graphic) ; on the spellings in OW. see pp. 667-8.

According to Pedersen there is no evidence that this change ever took place in Cornish and Breton (VKG. i, 282). This appears to be true ; and moreover, since *ě*, *ǫ* > *ĩ*, *ũ* in the circumstances mentioned is peculiar to Welsh, the subsequent reduction could scarcely appear in CB., at least in these instances. It should be noted, however, that there is some testimony in place-names for reduction in the border area of Dorset, and even in Devon, including the very name of the county ; see pp. 674, n. 1, 675, 681. The regular CB. equivalent of the W. *ə* < *ĩ* is *e* (< *ĩ*, see § 7. 2) ; and of W. *ə* < *ũ* is *o* (< *ũ*, see § 5. 1).

One question is, did reduction *also* affect British *ě*, *ǫ* when these were *not* raised to *ĩ* and *ũ* ? Pedersen expressed his doctrine in terms which implicitly exclude such *ě* and *ǫ*¹

¹ The *ə* < *ě* and *ǫ* in proclitic and quasi-proclitic words is, of course, a different matter, as just shown.

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(VKG. i, 281, LP. p. 77); but Baudiš states that *ō* was so reduced (Gr. p. 54). However, three of his four examples (*mynet*, *llynghes*, *cymhwys*) have *ō* raised first to Pr.W. *ũ* before nasals. The fourth (OW. *morthol*, MW. *myrthwl*, Mod.W. *myrthwyl*, OC. *morthol*, B. *morzol*) is obscure, and its exact history uncertain; cf. Lewis, EL. p. 42; it cannot be held to prove anything.¹ Baudiš admits also that there are many examples of *o* remaining, as e.g. *agores*, *moroedd*, etc. Loth, who apparently regarded *o* > *ə* as regular, said that Baudiš's examples of *o* preserved are due to the analogy of forms where the *o* was stressed, as *agor*, *mor*, etc. (RC. xlii, 438); which is likely enough in theory. Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is impossible to show any convincing evidence for pretonic *ō* reduced to *ə* in Welsh unless it was first raised to *ũ* in the manner described.

There are a few apparent cases where *e*, either original or having come about by internal affection of *o*, seems to give *ə*² without any raising; but these have a late and secondary appearance, specially since in some cases the *ə* is only an alternative to the correct *e*. Morris Jones notes *Myrddin* beside *Merddin*, *ystyn* beside *estyn* < *extendo*, etc. (WG. p. 16). Compare also Mod.W. *Cydweli*, Kidwelly, but OW. *Cetgweli* (HB. c. 14 etc.), a derivative of *Cadwal* (see Thomas, En.Af. i, 127; *Cydweli* influenced by the prefix *cyd*-?); similarly *Dygannwy* beside *Degannwy*, < **Decantogio*-. The reverse is also found, *e* for *ə*; e.g. MW. *temestl* for *tymestl*. In some instances, apparently before nasals, there is *a* instead of or beside *y*. According to Morris Jones (*loc. cit.*) there was a tendency to lower *ə* to *a* before nasals, e.g. *canhorthwy* beside *cynhorthwy*. Ekwall sees in this the explanation of *Trisantona* > Nennius' *Trahanon*, etc. (RN. p. 417), but here the *ə* is not in

¹ An example that Baudiš might have used is W. *Brychan*, *Brycheiniog*: Ir. *Broccān*, and Pr.C. (or perhaps Pr.I.) *BROCAGNI* in CIIC. no. 478, mid sixth century. But this is absolutely exceptional. Förster sees *Corinium* > AS. *Ciren* as having pretonic reduction (FT. p. 299); but it may be explained better as Pr.W. **Corin* > Pr.AS. **Curin* > **Cyren* > *Ciren*.

² So Förster says pretonic *e* occasionally gives W. *y* (FT. p. 235), but his examples are mostly either of *e* > *ĩ* > *ə*, or are corrupt spellings (as *dyserth*, *dygwyddo*, which are ghost words and have original *ĩ*).

contact with a nasal and the *a* is probably merely the result of vowel harmony ; see p. 525, and cf. WG. p. 17, where Morris Jones remarks that *a*, being neutral, is apt to be coloured by the neighbouring vowels.

Examples :—

(a) *Of original ĭ.* Brit. **inissī* > W. *ynys*, OB. *inis*, *enes*, Mod.B. *enez*. Lat. *initium* > W. *ynydd*, C. *enes*, B. *ened*.

(b) *Of ĭ < ě.* Brit.-Lat. *tĕnĕrum* > W. *tyner*, CB. *tener*.

(c) *Of original ŭ.* Brit. **Cunágnos* > OW. *Cinan*, MW. *Cynan*, OB. *Conan*. Brit. **uxénes* > W. *ychen*, C. *ohan*, MB. *ouhen*, *oc'hen*.

(d) *Of ŭ < ǫ.* Brit. **mōniĵo-* > W. *mynydd*, C. *meneth*, OB. *monid*, B. *menez*. Latin *monumenta* > Pr.W. **mŭnμént* > W. *mynwent*.

202. The Date of the Primitive Welsh Reduction

For the relative evidence, it must have taken place after *ǫ*, *ě* before certain consonants had become *ŭ*, *ĭ* in Late West British ; *ǫ* > *ŭ* has been dated by inscriptions as first half of the sixth century (§ 4. 1), and *ě* > *ĭ* is probably of the same date. Since it occurred in W. only and not in CB., reduction is likely not to be significantly older than the early sixth century, and naturally may well be younger. It cannot, on the other hand, be later than the accent-shift (dated eleventh century, § 207), which often caused the reduced syllables to become accented.

Direct evidence is more varied :—

(1) *Reduction of ĭ (and of ĭ < ě).*—The evolution of *ĭ* to *a* must have passed from [i] through some sort of low retracted and indistinct semi-reduced *i*-sound. The exact phonetic description of the intermediate may be left undefined ; phonemically the symbol *ɪ* will be used here. There is no evidence available on this point in early Welsh sources, because both stressed *ĭ* (= [i]) and the unstressed reduced vowel are written in the same way ; in OW. normally *i*, sometimes *e* (see p. 283, n. 2), in late OW. MSS. sometimes *y* ; in MW. normally *y*, sometimes *e*, *i*. The writing with *i* in OW. is an effort to spell

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respectively the stressed non-reduced *i* and the unstressed reduced *ι* or *ə*, whichever of the last two may have been the sound during the OW. period ; and for these the Latin alphabet had nothing available but *i* or possibly *e*.

(*N.B.*—According to Förster (KW. p. 231) W. *y* is now a central vowel, [ə], but had a clearer nuance in OW. *as the spelling with i shows* (my italics). But how else could OW. have spelt *ə* ? Throughout FT. Förster treats the reduced sound as [i̯], identical with stressed [i], and relegates the [ə] stage to some unspecified later date ; cf. his p. 167. The purpose of the present enquiry is to try to set up a more detailed phonology and chronology.)

(2) *Reduction of ŭ (and of ŭ < ǫ).*—Here the intermediate stage must have been some sort of low advanced and indistinct semi-reduced *u*-sound probably still rounded in the earlier part of its career, before becoming fully unrounded and falling together with reduced *i* in *ə*.¹ Actually the intermediate stage would no doubt be identical with the *æ* which proclitic and quasi-proclitic *ŭ* and *ǫ* had already reached in British a long while before, as the fact of their fusing together entirely in Welsh shows ; so that *æ* is used in this book for both types, though they will be distinguished etymologically.

It will be best to take first the testimony of early Welsh written sources, including here cases of the British quasi-proclitic reduction already dealt with, since its history at this time was the same. Here we are at once struck by the very significant fact that whereas the reduction of *ŭ* (and *ǫ*) is normally written in OW. in the same way as that of *i* (and *ē*), especially in the Glosses, i.e. *i*, rarely *e*, it is nevertheless sometimes spelt *o* or *u* ; the reduction of *i* and *ē* is never so written.

Examples :—

(a) *With i.* Beginning with the oldest instance known to

¹ Förster makes no distinction, in FT. (all through, e.g. pp. 167, 299) between reduction of *i* and that of *ŭ* from the beginning ; writing the latter always *i* just as he does the former. That is, he supposes they fell together at once as soon as reduced, and that in *i*. But it would be unnatural for a reduction of *ŭ > ə* to pass through *i̯*, and it will not fit the evidence advanced below, which needs a sound of the range indicated by our *æ*.

me, this is seen already in the seventh to eighth century Towyn inscription, CIIC. no. 1033, in the words CINGEN and CIMALTED (see BBCS. xi, 92).¹ Next, in the earliest OW. document, the eighth-century Chad 2, in *Cinda*. Ninth century, note *cimer*, Chad 6; *Cingal*, Chad 1; *finnaun*, HB. c. 70; *Riderch*, HB. c. 63; *cimadas*, *cimmaeticion*, *cimmai-thuress*, *cithremmet* (M.Cap.). Ninth to tenth century, *cilchetou*, Ovid. Tenth century, *ciman*, Comp.; *cilcet*, *lichou*, Ox.2; *Cinan*, AC. 613, 814, Gen. xviii, xxii, xxvii; *Cinglas*, Gen. iii; *Cinmarch*, Gen. viii; *Higuel* (references, see p. 659, n. 2); *Riderch*, Gen. v, vi. Tenth to eleventh century, *cisemic*, Juvenc. Eleventh century, *Ricemarch*, TCD. MS. A. iv, 20. Twelfth century, many names in *Cin-* in Lland.; *Hiuel*, etc., see p. 659, n. 2; *Pen Ichen*, Lland. pp. 32 etc.

(b) *With e*. Ninth century, *Brecheniauc*, Asser c. 80. Tenth century, *cellell*, *cemecid*, *creman*, *peteu*, Ox.2. Eleventh century, *Ricemarch*, TCD. MS. A. iv, 20. Twelfth century, *Penn Echen*, Lland. p. 42 (A.D. 1129); *Heuel*, p. 185.

(c) *With o*. Ninth century, *comoid*, *coueidid*, *couer*, *coid*, Juv. 9; *fontaun*, HB. c. 70 (var. of *finnaun*); CONCENN five times, CONMARCH, CIIC. no. 1000; *comtantou*, M.Cap.; HOUELT, CIIC. no. 1011; *Houil*, Asser c. 80. Ninth to tenth century, *Ourdolat*, Chad 8. Tenth century, *Broceniauc*, AC. 848; *Conthigirni*, AC. 612; *Moniu* (sic leg.), AC. 601. Tenth to eleventh century, CONBELIN, CIIC. no. 1016; CONBELANI, no. 1023, c. A.D. 1000. Twelfth century, numerous names in *Con-* in Lland.; *Houel*, Lland. pp. 212, etc.; *Rodarchus*, see p. 658 above.

(d) *With u*. Ninth century, *Durnluc*, HB. c. 35; *iurgchell*, M.Cap.; *Durngueir*, Asser c. 49. Tenth century, *Dunnagual*,² AC. 760; *Dumnagual*, Gen. v; *Dumnagual*, Gen. v; *Dumgual*, Gen. v, vi, vii, x; *Dumnguallaun*, Gen. xxvi; *Dubrduiu*, Gen. xxxiii. Twelfth century, *Cun-* in names in Lland.; *Dun-*

[¹ Williams however now reads CVNBEN and regards it as having *u* < *au*; Arch.Camb., 1949, p. 168. This is doubtful. His date for the inscription, c. 750, is given without any supporting reasons; and the evidence he quotes, for what it amounts to, would place it, rather, c. 700. Probably "early eighth century" would be the nearest it would be safe to go.]

² On names in *Dumn-* see § 67. 7.

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guallaun, Lland. p. 200 (beside *Dinguallaun*, p. 251); *Huwel*, Lland. p. 248.

All this shows quite clearly that the stage when the reduced vowel could be written *i* (and no doubt also *e*) was reached already by the time of the Towyn stone, seventh to eighth century, and the *Surexit* memorandum, late eighth century; and that both *i* and *e* are subsequently used all through. On the other hand, there are a number of instances where it is spelt *o* or *u*, coming down to the Book of Llandaff in the middle of the twelfth century. Loth regarded these examples of *o* as evidence of copying from archaic sources. So in RC. xl, 25 he says that names in *Con-* are found to the end of the eighth century or first years of the ninth, as in *Concenn* on the Eliseg Pillar (CIIC. no. 1000); and in RC. xlviii, 306 and li, 21 he took *Conthigirni* (AC. 612) as a contemporary seventh-century form. In RC. xl, 25 he regards the names in *Con-* in Lland., beside those in *Cin-*, as being all copied from originals earlier than the beginning of the ninth century; and in RC. xlviii, 308 takes those in *Con-* and *Cun-* as more archaic than the period of the Glosses.¹

Now it may well be that in some of these cases, *Conthigirni* for instance, an old form is preserved by copying; and similarly in the Book of Llandaff if any of the documents concerned are really transcripts of genuine early ones.² In spite of this, however, there are quite enough examples to show that *o* and *u* could be and were written in the ordinary contemporary language in the OW. period, as in the glosses and inscriptions mentioned. Asser's *Durngueir* and *Houil* belong naturally to his own time, and the instances in Lland. where Hywel Dda is called *Houel* and *Huwel* are necessarily not archaic. So with names in AC. belonging to ninth and tenth-century events, like *Broceniauc*. It must be that these are not copied from archaic sources but represent something real and contemporary. The use of *i* as early as the Towyn stone

¹ The implication that the Glosses, and the marginalia in Chad, never have *o* or *u* is, of course, mistaken.

² In sources like Juv.9 or the Eliseg Pillar which show a special fondness for *o*, we should remember that this may be due to the practice of some local school of orthography rather than being necessarily a question of date.

means, admittedly, that the reduced vowel was already *some* kind of *ə* ; but the continuing use of *o* and *u* can surely only be adequately explained on the assumption that it was still a feebly rounded reduced vowel, still more or less our *æ*, lasting perhaps as late as the tenth century, if not later. Such a sound would, of course, pose a problem, because the Latin alphabet had no symbol for it ; it could either be spelt *i*, *e* (like the reduced vowel from *ĩ* with which it fell together), which would be an attempt to indicate the general position of the vowel ; or, a scribe who felt the roundedness as phonemic might prefer to use *o* or *u*. This sort of intermediate stage might linger a long time, though some of the later cases of *o* and *u* may indeed be copied from older documents. At least the appearance of *o*, *u* for the reduced vowel from *ũ* cannot be entirely meaningless, because it is never used for that from *ĩ* ; in other words, the roundedness which it appears to indicate is etymological. This means then that the situation in respect of the spelling of *ə* from pretonic *ũ* is the same as that of *ə* < proclitic and quasi-proclitic *ũ* and *õ* as described in §§ 198-200 ; and examples of the latter have been included here as being obviously the same phoneme and having the same history once the former had reached *æ*.

§ 203.

We can now approach more easily the early inscriptions and other archaic sources from Wales. Here,¹ *u* is invariably written right down until the Towyn inscription. So CIIC. nos. 320, fifth century, CVLIDORI ; 374, fifth century, CVNEGNI ; 435, fifth century, CLVTORIGI ; 446, later fifth century, CLVTORI ; 362, end of the fifth century, CVNIGNI ; 449, end of the fifth or early sixth century, CVNOTAMI ; 319, beginning of the sixth century, CVNOGVSI ; 342, early sixth century, CVNOCENNI FILIVS CVNOGENI ; 455, early to mid sixth century, CAMVLORIGI ; 323, c. 525, SATVRNINVS ; 397, mid to later sixth century, CVNALIPI CVNACI. Even the

¹ In Devon and Cornwall there is sometimes *o*, which, however, represents the Pr.C. *o* ; see p. 274, n. 2.

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Llangaffo inscription, no. 971, mid seventh century, has CUURIS, which Sir Ifor Williams interprets as a spelling for **Curis* = MW. *Cyrys* (AMCA. pp. cxiv-cxv). In Gildas note *Cuneglase*. The Life of St. Samson has *Dubricius* (i, § 13, etc.; early seventh century), = OW. *Dibric* (AC. 612), MW. *Dyfrig*. It has been noted in § 4. 1 that before *n* original *ō* (which became first *ǫ*, then *æ* > *ə*) is spelt *o* in no. 413, fifth century, MONEDORIGI, but *u* in 451, early to mid sixth century, TVNCCETACE.

It is impossible to say, of course, whether in some of these cases, presumably among the later ones, the *u* does not in fact mean *æ*; it may well do so. But since *ō* before nasals etc., which became *ǫ* apparently in the first half of the sixth century, shares the fate of original *ǫ*, the reduction is likely to be later than that time. That the weakening may have been beginning as early as Gildas' book, c. 540, may be hinted by his *Aureli Canine* (DEB. c. 30), which, as already suggested (§ 86), is probably a pun on what may have been his real name, **Cunignos*, pronounced by this time *Cunijn*(əΣ) or *Cænijñ*(əΣ).

§ 204.

The problem cannot be dealt with adequately without fully examining the testimony of English place and personal names.¹ The sounds *ĩ* and *ə* (and our *ι* and *æ*) did not exist in Pr.AS. stressed syllables; and since British names were borrowed with the AS. initial stress, such reduced vowels in initial syllables had to be sound-substituted. In RN. pp. lxiv-lxv, Ekwall notes AS. *e*, *i*, and *y* as being substituted for the reduced vowel from *ĩ*, which he always takes to have been *ə* at this time (e.g. RN. p. 242); and *e*, *i*, *y*, *u*, *o* for the reduced vowel from *ǫ*, which he also generally regards as having been *ə*. As long as unreduced *ĩ* and *ǫ* existed they would naturally be rendered by the equivalent Pr.AS. *i* and *u*; though as all Pr.W. *ĩ* became *ĩ* in the sixth century (see § 7. 1), any names with this borrowed

¹ In what follows it must be remembered that Förster assumes that original pretonic *i*, *e*, *u*, and *o* (including the *o* which was *not* raised to *u*) were his *ĩ*, apparently all through the period of the AS. settlement.

before the reduction could have any of the possible substitutions. Förster, who throughout FT. assumes a W. pronunciation [i] for both the reduced vowels, says that this was perceived and substituted as *e*, *i*, or *y* in AS. (FT. pp. 299 and elsewhere), and notes names which he says have substitution equally by *e* or *i*. We have already seen examples of this for *stressed* *ī* = [i], § 7. 3. Förster always treats his *ī* as the full vowel, and does not appear to reckon with the possibility that it was a reduced one; his date for *ə* is not clear, but he seems to think it later than the AS. borrowing period; cf. p. 667.

(A) *Original* *ī*, and *ī* < *ē*. The examples show substitution by AS. *e*, *i*, and *y*.¹ This is inconclusive as regards the question whether the sound was a half-reduced *ι* or a fully reduced *ə*. Förster regards the AS. *y* as simply another substitution for his *ī* (*loc. cit.*), but Ekwall finds it difficult to explain (RN. p. lxiv).

(1) *With substitution by e*. Leadon (Heref.-Gl.-Wo.), AS. *Ledene*, < Brit. **litano*-; RN. p. 242, FT. p. 352. Leven (Lan.; ERY.; NRY.) and Lyne (Cum.), all ME. *Leven(e)*; Ekwall assumes AS. **Lefni*, Brit. **Libnīos*, RN. p. 252, but Förster derives it from Brit. **Lemona*, FT. p. 653. Either would give Pr.W. *Lī*- > *Lū*-, later *Llā*-, since Brit. **em* gave Pr.W. **im* (Förster regards *im* as an AS. sound-substitution here, FT. p. 633, which is unnecessary, see §§ 6. 2, 4. The English *v*, if from Brit. *m*, shows that it is not an early loan; see § 98. 2). *Brettones* in Bede (HE. ii, 2 and elsewhere), AS. *Brettas*, is from Brit. **Brittones*; that it is an early loan is indicated by the *tt* not yet *th*, and this is probable enough in itself, so that the source was likely to be Pr.W. **Brutt*- rather than later **Brath*-. As already seen, Trent (Staf.), Bede's *Treanta*, *Treenta*, and also the Gloucestershire Trent, are from Pr.W. **Trihanton*. On Brent and Brentford see p. 679, n. 1.

(2) *With equivalent or substituted i*. Lympe (K.), Lymn (Li.), Leam (Nthants.-Wa.), Lem Brook (Wo.), from **Lemona*

¹ Ekwall thinks AS. *Munuwi* has [u] substituted for [ə] < *ī*, deriving the name from **Minu*- (RN. pp. lxiv and 296); but Förster rejects this as phonetically impossible, and prefers to derive it from **Monouīā* (FT. p. 50), doubtless rightly; cf. §§ 47. 2 C; 204 B. 4.

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or **Lemena*, Förster, FT. pp. 633-4 ; or from **Lemana*, Ekwall, RN. p. 245, which is preferable in view of Rom.-Brit. *Lemanis* (Al., Rav.) and *Lemannonios* bay (Ptol.). These were borrowed in AS. with *Lim-*, which Ekwall and Förster both take as AS. sound-substitution of *em* by *im*. As already pointed out, **Lem-* would in any case give Pr.W. **Līm-* ; though for early loans like *Lympne* and *Lymn* it may be necessary to follow Ekwall and Förster, on the assumption that Brit. *em* had not yet been raised to *im*. In *Leam* and *Lem Brook*, however, we have **Līman* or **Līmon* > Pr.W. **Lūman* or **Lūmon*, or else theoretically still later with -*a-*, borrowed with AS. *i*. AS. *Brittas* occurs as well as *Brettas* (see above), with *i*-substitution. *Creedy* (Dev.), AS. *Cridie*, is derived by Ekwall from Brit. **Critio-* or **Cridio-*, RN. p. 104 ; but as this is in Devon the probability is that there would be no reduction here ; cf., however, pp. 674, n. 1, 675, 676, 681 below. *Eden* (We.-Cum.), Brit. *Ituna* (Ptol.), as well as *Eden Burn* (Du.), *Eden Water* (Roxburghsh.) and *Eden* (Fife), are through AS. **Idun(e)* according to Ekwall, RN. pp. 142-3, Förster, FT. p. 225 (*leg. *Idon(e)*, see p. 578 above) ; here there is AS. *i* for *ι* or (theoretically) *ə*, cf. W. *Ydon*, the same name. The two rivers *Nymet* (Dev.) have AS. *Nimed* as well as *Nymed* ; see just below. On *Wrekin* and *Wroxeter* (Shr.), Pr.AS. **Wricun*, from Pr.W. **Wrigon* < Brit. **Ūrico-*, see pp. 601-2.

(3) *With substitution by y.* *Lydden* or *Lidden* (Dor.) and *Lodden* (Dor.) go back to AS. **Lydene*, Brit. **Litano-*, with *y* substitution, beside the *e* above in *Leadon* ; Ekwall, RN. p. 242. The rivers *Nymet* (Dev.) have *i* and *y* substitution in AS. *Nimed* and *Nymed* ; RN. pp. 304-5 ; and there is also AS. *Crydie* beside *Cridie* as above. But *Nymet* and *Creedy* belong to Devon, where reduction to *ι* > *ə* would not be expected, and the substitution by *y* is perhaps for the low front *i* of Pr.C. ? (but cf. pp. 674, n. 1, 675, 681).

(B) *Original ŭ, and ŭ < ǫ.* Here the vowel appears in AS. not only as *e*, *i*, *y* but also as *u*, *o* (and *ā*), the latter group never appearing for the *ə* which comes from *ĩ*, *ě*. Förster treats the development as being exactly the same as with Brit.

ĭ, ě, i.e. sound-substitution of AS. *e*, *i*, or *y* for his *ī*; he does not seem to discuss specifically AS. cases of *u* and *o* from this point of view, but his words on *Munuwi* (FT. p. 50) imply that he regards an AS. *u* as the equivalent of the as yet unreduced British *u* — which is impossible in most instances, see below. Ekwall thinks of AS. *u* as partly an early adoption of *u* before it “was weakened early to [ə]” (RN. p. lxxv), and seems to imply that otherwise AS. *u* and *o* are substitutes for [ə]; on p. 132 he says “apparently OE. *o* was substituted for a variety of the weakened vowel developed in British languages from *u*, which is in Welsh *y* [ə]”. Again, on Cound Brook, he believes “we must assume . . . that Brit. pretonic *u* had not become [ə] when the name was adopted, or that OE. *u* was substituted for an [ə]” (RN. p. 99); and on p. 345, “we have to assume that English *o* was substituted for a British vowel developed from *u*, a stage on the road to the Welsh [ə]”. Förster ignores this problem, which does not fit his scheme, but it cannot be merely waved aside. Before discussing the question it would be best to give examples.

(1) *With substitution by e.* Divelish and Devil’s Brook (Dor.), both from AS. **Deflisc*, come from Brit. **Duboglassio*-,¹ which gave Pr.W. **Dubzles*’, OW. *Dibleis* (Lland. p. 191) = [dəbleis], late OW. *Dyfleis* (Lland. p. 262); cf. Ekwall, RN. pp. 130-33. Förster gives **Dubgleis* (*sic*) with, of course, *u* > his *ī*; FT. pp. 168-9. Deverill (Wi.), AS. *Defereal*, contains Brit. **dubro*-, “water”; cf. Ekwall, RN. p. 124, Förster, FT. pp. 168, 640; both give an etymology which would mean W. **Dyfrīal*. Kent (We.-Lan.) <*Cunetio*, with [ə] substituted by *e* according to Ekwall, RN. p. 227 (cf. Förster, FT. pp. 579, 581); : W. *Cynwyd*. Crimple Beck (WRY.), AS. *Crempell*, with Brit. **crumbo*-, [ə] being substituted by *e* according to Ekwall, RN. p. 105; Förster derives the AS. from his stage **Krimpull*, FT. p. 169. Sem (Wi.), AS. *Semene*, and Semington Brook

¹ The rivers being in Dorset, original pretonic *ū* preserved might have been expected here, as in Cornish. But the AS. *e* must be due to Brit. reduction (hardly vowel affection, Pr.C. **Dūbles*’ > **Debles*, since internal affection did not occur in the SW. until after the time when Dorset and Devon were occupied; cf. § 174. 3). Probably, therefore, reduction did take place in Dorset though not in Cornwall; cf. *Devon* below, and p. 681.

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(Wi.), AS. *Semnet*, are taken to be from **Suminā* and **Suminetā* respectively, by Ekwall (RN. pp. 355-6) and Förster (FT. p. 640 ; but **Sumenetā*), who gives **Sīminā* (*sic*) as an intermediary. Both authorities (RN. p. 120 and FT. p. 174) take Denis Burn, Bede's *Denises-burna* and *rivus Denisi* (HE. iii, 1) as from **Dubnissos*, Ekwall apparently with **Devnis* > *Dēnis* ; Förster with **Dīvnis* > **Dīnis*, which is unacceptable, see § 67. 7. Devon, the county, AS. *Defena-scir* (ASC. 851 etc.) and *Defnas* the Devon men (ASC. 823 etc.), are from Brit. *Dumnonia*, *Dumnonii* = MW. *Dyfnein(t)* ; cf. Ekwall, Dict. p. 137. Here one might suppose the *e* is from the vowel affection of Pr.C. *u* or *o* (cf. §§ 5. 1 ; 163) ; so Pr.C. **Dōmnen'* by affection > **Deŋnen*. But internal affection did not occur before the seventh to eighth century, in Pr.C. probably not until the eighth. It is unlikely that this can be so late a loan ; the name would have been borrowed in the second half of the seventh century, when the English first met the men of Devon. If so, one would not expect reduction of the pretonic *u* to be involved here, since that did not take place in Pr.C. ; but the word may well have been borrowed from the speech of the men of Dorset ; cf. pp. 674, n. 1, 676, and 681. On *Rutupiae* see pp. 661-2.

I know no examples of reduction of *ǔ* < original *ō*, except in the prefix **com-* ; for these see p. 663.

(2) *With substitution by i* (but Ekwall suggests that *i* in the following names may be from older AS. *e*, RN. p. lxxv).—Devil's Water (Nb.), AS. **Difeles*, is derived by Ekwall from **Duboglassio-* with *i* or *e* substituted for *a*, RN. p. 133 ; cf. Förster, FT. pp. 168-9, who gives **Dubgleis* (*sic*) with *u* > his *i* substituted by *i*. Similarly with Deerness (Du.), AS. **Difernes*, derived from **Dubronessā* in the same way by Ekwall, RN. p. 119, Förster, FT. p. 168. The river Devon (Leic.-Nott.) apparently from AS. **Difene*, is taken by Ekwall as either from **Dubnio-* or from **Dubonā*, preferably the second (RN. pp. 124-5) ; Förster from **Dubonā*, with *u* > his *i* (FT. p. 168). Seven (NRY.), AS. **Sifen*, < Brit. **Suminā* through **Sīminā* (*sic*), according to Förster, FT. p. 640 ; cf. Ekwall, RN. p. 358.

(3) *With substitution by y.* *Mynet* in a Devonshire charter of 938 is interpreted by Ekwall as : W. *mynydd* (Brit. **moniyo*- > Pr.W. **munid*), Dict. p. 344. As this is in Devon, one would expect original **mon-* to remain, with subsequent internal affection, and the MC. is *meneth*, from Pr.C. **monið*. So far west as this, a late loan in AS. after *internal* affection had occurred in Pr.C. might theoretically be possible ; but if so, one would then expect AS. **menet*. Can it be not only that *on* occasionally gave *un* in Devon (see p. 272) but also that the reduction already suspected for pretonic *u* in Dorset penetrated to parts of Devon ? Cf. p. 673, 675, 681.

(4) *With equivalent or substituted u.* Douglas (Lan.), ME. *Duglas* ; Dowles Brook (Wo.-Shr.), ME. *Doules* ; and Dowlish (So.), ME. *Duuelis*, *Douelis*, all from Brit. **Duboglassio*- as above, seem to have had AS. *u* ; Ekwall regards this as the original *u* preserved, RN. p. 132. In the case of Dowlish, being in the SW., there would perhaps never have been reduction, cf. pp. 673, 674, n. 1, 675, 681. Kennet (Wi.), AS. *Cynete*, is from Pr.AS. **Cunīt*- < Brit. **Cunētiū* (Rom.-Brit. *Cunetio* ; W. *Cynwyd*) ; so with Kennett (Suf.-Camb.) < Pr.AS. **Cunēt* or **Cunīt*- ; note also Cound Brook (Shr.), DB. *Cuneet*, < Pr.AS. **Cunēt* ; cf. § 28. 2 above, and RN. pp. 227, 99. Ekwall regards Cound as having either original *u* preserved, or AS. *u* substituted for *ə*, RN. p. 99 ; cf. on Kent, § 204 B. 1 above. He appears to treat *Cynete* as borrowed with original *u*. Crummock Beck (Cum.), ME. *Crumboc*, is from Brit. **Crumbāco*-, see RN. p. 108, FT. p. 425. A good example of an obviously very late borrowing in which AS. has *u* is *Cundizeorn* in DLV., c. A.D. 840 (KW. p. 176), clearly a contemporary oral loan ; Brit. **Cunotigernos*, Pr.W. **Cændizern* (= OW. *Conthigirni*, AC. 612), MW. *Kyndeyrn*.

With *ū* from original *ō*, note AS. *funta*, "spring", from Pr.W. **funtōn* or **fāntōn* ; OW. *fontaun* (HB. c. 70), MW. *ffynnnawn*, < Lat. *fontāna* ; cf. Ekwall in Eng.St. liv, 106-7, Lewis, EL. p. 4. Monnow (Monmouthsh.), AS. *Munurwi*, is derived by Förster as from **Munouīā* < **Monouīā* ; original **Monouīā* is probably right ; cf. footnote, p. 672. On the prefix *com-* > AS. *Cum-* see p. 663.

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(5) *With substitution by o.* AS. *Doferic* (Wo.) is derived by Ekwall from Brit. **Dubrīco-*,¹ RN. p. 136. Roden (Shr.), ME. *Roden*, from Brit. **Rutunā* ; on this Ekwall says (RN. p. 345) " we have to assume that Engl. *o* was substituted for a British vowel developed from *u*, a stage on the road to W. [ə] "—in other words, precisely our *ø*. Cludock² (Heref.), the *ecclesia Sancti Clitauri* of Lland. p. 43 etc., is called after the saint, OW. *Clitaur*, < Brit. **Clutācos*. Olchon (Heref.) is taken by Ekwall as from Brit. **Ulconā* ; OW. *Elchon* (Lland. p. 196), which is a spelling of [əlxon], and he regards the *o* as an English substitution (RN. p. 309). Similarly with Olway (Monmouthsh.), OW. *Elgui*, *Ilgui*, *Ylgui*, *Ylui* (Lland.), Mod.W. *Ylwy* ; Ekwall, *loc. cit.* Dalch and Dawlish, both in Devon, are AS. *Doflisc*, Brit. **Duboglassiō-*, cf. RN. p. 132. Ekwall again treats *o* here as a substitution for the reduced vowel ; but as they are both in the SW. area, where reduction would hardly be expected, these may more likely have English *o* for Pr.C. *o* < *ǔ*. For personal names in Brit. **Cuno-*, note *Condidan* and *Conmæzl* (var. *Coinmail*, *Coinmazil*) in ASC. 577. These have the look of contemporary records. The English name Condell is given by Förster as a loan from W. *Cynddelw*, KW. p. 186 ; which was Brit. **Cunodeluos*. With prefix, note Kevell, Covill, Covell(e), and Protheroe, p. 663.

(N.B.—AS. *a* before a nasal became a sound approaching *o* (ā or ǣ), but usually written *a*. Foreign words which were perceived by the English as beginning with *Con-* or *Com-* might very well be written *Can-*, *Cam-* in AS. This explains the *Candidan* of ASC. 577, variant of *Condidan*. So with the prefix, note ASC. 918 *Cameleac*, the Welsh bishop whose name in Lland p. 232, etc., is *Cimeilliauc* (and 'other spellings), < Brit. **Comaltīācos* ; cf. KW. p. 185. In RN. p. 238, Ekwall thinks AS. *Lawern*, the Laugherne Brook (Wo.), has AS. substitution of *a* for the " vowel intermediate between *o* and

¹ Förster takes it from vowel-affected **dobrā* < **dubrā* plus a later -īc-suffix (FT. p. 118), which is impossible. He is apparently following a hint in Ekwall (*loc. cit.*), who, however, really says something quite different.

² Cludock in Bowen's map of 1778.

[ə]”, relating it to W. *llywarn*, “fox”. But this derivation is doubtful; Ekwall himself admits it may rather be from the root seen in Gaul. *lautro*, which implies a Brit. **Lauern*-.)

§ 205. Conclusions on the Date of the Reduction

If it were later than internal vowel affection it might be held, in theory, that cases of AS. *e*, *i*, *y*, etc., for original *u* in forms like **Suminā* are due to Pr.W. vowel affection in the first syllable; and that the W. *y* (= *ə*) in such syllables is the reduction of an *ĩ* which is itself the result of vowel affection of *ũ*. But the opinion has been reached above, § 176, that the general phenomenon of internal affection of *a*, *o*, *e* is to be dated seventh to eighth century, and that it is never, or practically never, found in English place-names, even the latest loans; whereas a considerable number of instances where Pr.W. reduction appears in English have just been listed, including some quite early ones. That internal affection should apply early to *u* only, and much later to *a*, *o*, *e* is incredible. Therefore reduction is the older.

It is later than the time when *e* and *o* before certain consonants gave Pr.W. *ĩ* and *ũ*, in the first half of the sixth century; and being limited to Welsh, is younger also than the division between West and South-West British. On the other hand, it is earlier than internal affection, seventh to eighth century, as just noted; and than the accent-shift, eleventh century (see § 207). Further, *ĩ* and *ĩ* < *ě* passed through an intermediate stage *ι*, and *ũ* and *ũ* < *ǫ* through an intermediate *ω*, before both fell together in *ə*. Finally, *ω* was or became only very feebly rounded, so that it was usually written *i* (rarely *e*) in OW., and this was reached as early as the seventh to eighth century Towyn inscription; though the roundedness continued to exist, and sometimes to be indicated in the spellings *o* and *u*, at least as far on as the tenth century, and probably vestigially into the twelfth, in the form of some late examples in the Book of Llandaff. Since *o* is never written in MW. (except before *w*, which is a special case), the two sounds had doubt

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less fallen together completely in *a* by the end of the twelfth century.

How does this suit the evidence of English names? Very well, when it is interpreted. That concerning *ī* is inconclusive (§ 204 A), since some of the earlier loans could be from unreduced *ī* = *ī*,¹ beside the later from reduced *ι*. But on *ū* it is decisive. The AS. *e*, *i*, *y*, *o* in these cases must be substitutions for *ø*. The AS. *u* could theoretically be the exact rendering of original unreduced *ū*, and up to a point of course, in some eastern names, it may be; but it is found in some which were obviously borrowed later than others in which *e*, *i*, *y*, and *o* were already being substituted, and hence in these the AS. *u* must itself be a substitution. Thus we have AS. *u* in Douglas, early seventh century; Cound Brook and Crummock Beck, mid seventh century; Monnow, probably late seventh century; and *Cundizeorn* as late as about 840. On the other hand, the earliest cases of *i*, *e*, *o* go back to the later sixth century. Hence Ekwall is right; AS. *u*, therefore, *can* be a substitution for the sound midway between unreduced *u* and fully reduced *a* — i.e. for our *ø*. Again, *o* in AS. cannot stand for Förster's *ī* (nor his later *a*), yet it is found in comparatively recent loans like Roden, Clodock, Olway, Olchon,² and (with reduction in a prefix) in the very late *Cameleac* in ASC. 918; not to mention borrowings like Condell, Protheroe, which are obviously not old. It is clear that *o* can be a substitution for *ø*, and capable of being used as far on as the end of the seventh century at least. Förster's theory of *u* > *ī* in the fifth century does not account for this *o*, any more than for the *u* in *Munuwi* etc.³

¹ Any borrowed before Late Brit. *ī* > Pr.W. *ī* would be expected to show AS. *ī*, not *e* or *y*; I know no instances which contradict this. The names Brent and Brentford, adopted fairly early in the sixth century, appear to show AS. *e* either substituted for *ī* or representing Britt. *e* < *ī* by vowel harmony (see p. 447). This must be an early case of Late Brit. *ī* > *ī*; it is hardly old enough to have to be an example of *ī* not yet *ī*.

² Clodock and Olchon are in Ewyas on the Welsh border, not occupied until after the Norman Conquest, and Olway is in Gwent between Wye and Usk.

³ Förster appears to take *u* in *Munuwi* (the Monnow) as borrowed from unreduced *u* (see p. 676 above)—in spite of the fact that his own date for reduction is the fifth century (see p. 674).

The earliest definite instances of substitution for original \ddot{u} and $\ddot{u} < \ddot{o}$, i.e. the oldest AS. proof of the existence of reduction (since reduction of \ddot{i} , = ι , cannot be demonstrated from the existing AS. loans, both \ddot{i} and ι being rendered alike) are as follows: *Condidan* and *Conmæzl*, A.D. 577; Semington Brook in south-west Wiltshire, probably absorbed in the campaign of that date, and Deverill and Sem in that part of south-west Wiltshire where a thicker area of British river names overlaps from Somerset and Dorset, and was doubtless not settled until about 600 or even later. In the North, the Devil's Water and its tributary the Devil's Burn were probably not reached until about 600, or at least the later sixth century. The Deerness is in the central moors of Durham, which were not occupied before about 600 at any rate. Seven, in the Yorkshire Moors, is likely not to have been adopted before the end of the sixth century (see pp. 197, 212, 238, 491). Devon, in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, was probably taken over at the beginning of the sixth century, but the etymology is quite dubious; Ekwall's **Dubnio*- may well be right, in which case the English *e* would be due to AS. umlaut. *Rutupiae*, which poses various problems, has already been shown perhaps to have been reduced independently and much earlier than the cases discussed here; cf. pp. 661-2.

It appears, then, that the testimony of British names in Anglo-Saxon shows that reduction is not older than the second half of the sixth century,¹ and may be late in that century; which suits very well the indications of Brittonic sources as described above. Only Gildas' pun *Canine* may hint at weakening slightly earlier—but we cannot tell how bad the pun was! The AS. *e*, *i* (*y*), and *o* are substitutions for \varnothing contemporary with or later than that date, and so is AS. *u* except in borrowings earlier than that time (such perhaps are the Wiltshire Kennet, the Suffolk Kennett, and very likely the AS. common-

¹ Förster believes the names Crimble, Deverill, Devil's Water, Devil's Brook, and Divelish show a fifth or fifth to sixth century date for reduction to his \ddot{i} ; but this is due to not examining the history of the English settlement in detail (see FT. pp. 82, 168-9). In FT. p. 299 he adduces *Corinium* (which in any case was conquered in the campaign of 577), but this is not a case of pretonic reduction; see p. 665, n. 1 above.

REDUCTIONS CAUSED BY THE ACCENT

noun *funta*). This indicates that the rounding of *æ* was very weak from the beginning, making possible AS. substitution with *e* and *i*, and compare spellings with *i* in Welsh even as early as the Towyn stone. As to Brit. *ĩ* (>*ĩ*)>Pr.W. *ι*, the nature of the evidence is indecisive, but it would be reasonable to suppose that its chronology was the same. Hence early adoptions like *Lympne*, *Lymn*, *Leam*, and AS. *Brittas*¹ may well show original Late Brit. *ĩ* or already *ĩ* (and others with *e*, such as *Brettas*, *Brezent* could stand for the second of these), not yet substitution for Pr.W. reduced *ι*. Eventually *ι* and the weakly rounded *æ* fell together completely in *æ*, but it is difficult to date this ; it may have been as early as the tenth to eleventh century, and in any case not later than the second half of the twelfth, depending on how much weight is to be laid on the *o* and *u* spellings in the Book of Llandaff, and on the *o* in names like *Clodock*, *Olchon*, and *Olway*.²

(*N.B.*—The evidence from south-western place-names seems contradictory. Since reduction did not take place in Pr.C., one would not expect to find it in Devon, and perhaps not in Somerset and Dorset. Little is known of Somerset and Dorset British ; the Brit. *u*>*ø*, apparently seen in the name *Dorchester*, suggests that at least in certain respects Dorset agreed with Cornwall (see pp. 11, 275, and FT. pp. 699-700). However, reduction seems clearly present in *Divelish*, *Devil's Brook*, *Lydden*, and *Lodden* in Dorset ; in the name *Devon* ; and perhaps in *mynet* in Devon. *Creedy*, *Nymet*, *Dalch*, and *Dawlish* (all Dev.) are inconclusive. Very likely reduction did take place in parts of the Somerset-Dorset area, possibly penetrating into Devon ; the name *Devon* itself may have been borrowed from Somerset or Dorset speech.)

¹ The *ι* in **Trhanton*>*Trent* probably goes back to the first century or before ; see p. 663.

² Loth guesses that the reduction of pretonic vowels was accomplished in the eighth century, RC. li, 10, but he draws on only a very small part of the available evidence. Förster's date, fifth century (FT. p. 173 ; p. 286, "before 450") or fifth to sixth (FT. pp. 168-9), has already been rebutted.

THE ACCENT-SHIFT

§ 206.

The Late British accent fell on the penultimate syllable (see § 1) ; the final syllable was then lost, and in Mod.W. and Mod.B. (except the dialect of Vannes) the accent is on the new penultimate. The position in late MW. was certainly the same as it is now, as is proved by *cynghanedd* (see WG. p. 48). When did the shift of stress take place ?

It may be thought that the language was in some way committed by its *Sprachgefühl* to a penultimate accent, and therefore that as soon as the final syllable was lost the change began.¹ But the supposed cause of that loss is the heavy accent just before (cf. EL. p. 11) ; if so, the language at this time must have *needed* to weaken and then lose the final syllable, so that an ultimate accent could not have been offensive to it, if we may put it so. Again, a development like Pr.W. **trīdīd* (<Brit. **tritījo*-) > **trūdīd* would need some lapse of time to become first fixed and then obsolete, since otherwise one might have expected **trīdīd* to have the *final* syllable reduced, ending in MW. *trēdād*. Williams' view that the accent shifted soon enough to fall (in some cases) on the composition vowel before the general loss of those vowels (see § 194), would imply, according to our dating, that it took place not much later than the first half of the sixth century. It has already been shown, however, that the move of the stress must have happened after the general syncope of composition vowels. Loth speaks of reduced vowels like *i* in OW. *Cinan* as being *previously* (i.e. in British) pretonic but now tonic *by the loss of final syllables* (RC. li, 3), by which he seems to mean that the shift followed immediately on the loss. He must therefore have supposed that the reduction, which is the consequence of being unstressed, occurred before the final syllables were dropped—actually he spoke of the process of weakening as beginning before the eighth century, and as being completed

¹ Cf. Holmer, *Ét.Celt.* iii, 82.

THE ACCENT-SHIFT

by that century (RC. li, 10). But to explain how the consequently *unstressed* *ø* in Pr.W. final syllables became OW. *au* he had to fall back on holding that the accent was one of *hauteur* and did not become one of stress until the thirteenth to fourteenth century, when he said the *au* became *o* (*op. cit.* p. 4). This makes no sense; if it was only a tone accent, so that post-tonic OW. *au* remained, why should what were previously (on his own view) pretonic short vowels be reduced at all? Cf. p. 265, n. 4 above.

On the other hand, others assume that the accent-shift took place comparatively quite late; Morris Jones thought not until the early MW. period (WG. p. 48), and in Chr.B. p. 59 Loth had spoken of ultimate stress as existing in the eighth to tenth century. Baudiš calls the ultimate stress "this OW. accent", and says the shift began quite early (in OW.) but was not entirely accomplished before the end of the twelfth century (Gr. p. 6).

We may point out first that the change of the stress must be later than the general loss of composition vowels and than the type 2 syncope, middle and second part of the sixth century; and later, too, than the W. weakening of pretonic *ĩ*, *ũ* to *ι*, *ω* about the same time. If so, the fact that the shift took place in W., C., and B. means that it is likely to be an independent development along the same lines in each; and indeed in the B. dialect of the Vannes area, which has ultimate accent to the present day, it seems never to have occurred at all (see LP. p. 75). Compare Loth's conclusion in Chr.B. p. 58 that except in Vannetais the Breton accent was gradually transferred between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries.¹

[¹ Falc'hun, *L'Histoire de la langue bretonne*, chapter xi, has tried to show that the Vannetais ultimate stress is secondary, but goes back to the earliest days of the Breton immigrations, being due to the influence of the Gallo-Roman substratum in southern Brittany. He assumes without discussion that the immigrants themselves used penultimate stress, without apparently reckoning with the evidence set out above for the fact that it was ultimate. That the final syllable was stressed everywhere in OB., and that the accent was thrown back to the penultimate probably in the eleventh century except in Vannetais (in which it remains ultimate), has already been shown in § 13 above, where some of Falc'hun's theories are dealt with. As to the supposed earliness of his Vannetais accent-shift, the conclusion he draws from the

§ 207.

For Breton and Cornish, arguments have already been advanced (§ 13) to show that it happened in or not later than the eleventh century. For Welsh, there is further independent evidence, as follows :—

(1) Initial Pr.W. *sp-*, *st-*, *sc-* developed a glide vowel, on which see § 119. In old monosyllables this is now stressed, hence the shift must have been later. A slight on-glide here may be as old as the ninth century, but it is probable that it did not become a real vowel capable of taking a stress before the eleventh century.

(2) British *mp*, *nt*, *nc* giving W. *mh*, *nh*, *ngh*; secondary *m+h*, *n(n)+h*, *ng+h*, *r+h*, *l+h*, and *vowel+h*, arising by syncope or loss of composition vowel after Σ had become *h*; intervocal Brit. *x>h*; and the rare internal *s* remaining as *h* in MW.; in all these cases the *h* is lost in Mod.W. unless it stands immediately before the (Mod.)W. accent.¹ So MW. *brenhin*, pl. *brenhined* but Mod.W. *brénin* pl. *brenhinoedd* (original *nt*); MW. *trymhet* but Mod.W. *trýmed* (*m+h*); MW. *dihanc*, *dihangawd* but Mod.W. *dianc*, *dihángodd*; MW. *ehawc*, Mod.W. *éog*. It is evident that the loss of *h* here is due to the present accent—it was dropped when the breath was expended on stressing the previous syllable, and therefore *after* the accent-shift.² Now, the spelling of this *h* where it was later lost is still common in MW. (cf. Baudiš, Gr. pp. 134-5), e.g. *minheu*

accentuation of Cornouaille *aneot* (*op. cit.* p. 115) depends on his hypothesis about the date of the colonisation of Belle-Ile, which is shown to be unfounded in the Note on p. 30. His inference from *Orkelenn* and *hwehegel*, *ibid.*, would only begin to be taken seriously if there were good reason to think the two words connected, which there is not.]

¹ Except *h<x*, which may remain; e.g. Mod.W. *dehau* beside *deau*.

² An intrusive *h* appears in the same circumstances in a few cases after original *n*, etc., in some words where it has no etymological justification, as in Mod.W. *cenhédloedd* pl. of *cenedl* or *bonhédlig* derivative of *bónedd*. Morris Jones takes this as being due to the analogy of the history of *nh<nt* (WG. p. 64). But forms like MW. *bónhed* (BT. p. 13 l. 12) suggest rather that the analogy of *nh<nt* influenced single *n* in some words even when following the accent; and that *nh* in these instances was then differentiated into *n*: *nh* at the same time, and in the same accord with the stress, as was *nh<nt*.

THE ACCENT-SHIFT

beside *minneu*. This matter is discussed above, § 109, and it is suggested there that the writing of *h* in a form like *minheu* in late MW. (e.g. in the Red Book of Hergest) does not necessarily represent contemporary pronunciation, but is a piece of orthographic traditionalism; though at the same time some degree of breathing, enough to warrant the alternative writing of *h*, may have lingered on for a good while after the time when the accent was transferred. In any case this evidence shows that the shift can hardly have been very many centuries older than the MW. spellings in question, particularly since the writing of *h* at all in such cases does not occur in OW. until the twelfth century (see p. 505). Baudiš thought that this means the change was not complete before the end of the thirteenth century (Gr. p. 135; p. 6, he says before the end of the twelfth), which seems to be inconsistent with his words about the MW. writing of *h* being an orthographic traditionalism (cf. pp. 506-7 above).

(3) Pr.W. *ǫ*, from Brit. *ā*, was diphthongised to *au* in early Welsh in monosyllables and in the ultimate of polysyllables. This is clearly linked to the accent, and since the monosyllables were, of course, accented the condition is without doubt that the syllable was a stressed one. The *au* probably grew up in the later eighth century, which means then that ultimate syllables were still stressed at that time. Later, *au* in the final of polysyllables was reduced to *o*, obviously as a consequence of the accent-shift; and we have seen that this *o* appears to have arisen in the later part of the eleventh century. See § 12.

(4) The history of OW. **iud* by itself and in names has been sketched in § 36. 2. As a monosyllable, and in final syllables, it became *ud*, but in non-final syllables *id*-. Since the monosyllable was, of course, always accented, its development in the same way in a final syllable implies that the latter too was stressed at the time, so that the form *id*- must have arisen when unstressed (compare the history of *ǫ*). It has been shown that these developments probably took place in the late tenth century; the accent-shift therefore occurred later.

(5) In stressed monosyllables, and in the final syllables of other stressed words (i.e. in the same conditions as those

applying to (3) and (4)), the older diphthongs spelt *ei* and *eu* in MW. have regularly become *ai* and *au* in Mod.W. ; whereas in other syllables of stressed words, and in unstressed monosyllables, *ei* and *eu* remain to the present.¹ Once again, the fact that *final* syllables of accented words develop in the same way as accented monosyllables means that the change took place while the accent was still on the W. ultimate. It is evident that a differentiation of quality began to arise in *ei* and *eu* *before* the accent-shift, whereby they tended to become more open when stressed and closer when not,² i.e. late OW. *ēi*, *ēü* (or *öü*, see pp. 370-71) and *ēi*, *ēü* (*öü*). This differentiation must have been obscured by the traditional spelling, and once the tendency had started its evolution may have been gradual. In any case, the idea of spelling the sounds as *ai*, *au* would probably not occur to scribes until well after it had taken place, the force of tradition in orthography being what it is. Morris Jones shows that the sound *ai* is at least as old as the fourteenth century, and suggests that the Norman spelling *Trefwalkemay* for MW. *Tref Walchmei*, 1294, means that it existed even earlier (WG. p. 115). No very precise date can be deduced from the evidence, but the differentiation may well have commenced (with *ē*, not yet *a*) a considerable time before

¹ *ei* is also preserved in final syllables and monosyllables before certain consonant groups in *r* or *l*, as *neidr*, *beirdd*, *geihw*, *deil* (<**deilz*), *lleill*; and both *ei* and *eu* when they are late contractions, e.g. *ceir*, "will be got".

² Morris Jones thought Pr. and MW. *ei* due to affection was originally open, and hence did not fall together with original Brit. *ēi* > *wy*; and that therefore the modern *ei* arises by a secondary closing (WG. p. 92). But original *ēi* was *ē* already in Brit., and developed to *wy* through Pr.W. *ēi* (see p. 334), a quite different sound from the close Pr.W. *ēi* > *ēi* which came from vowel affection (cf. § 164) and the mid *ei* from vocalisation of *eχ*, *e3*, etc. According to Morris Jones his open *ēi* became *ēi* to save lowering the tongue to *ē* and raising it to *i* in the short time available in an unstressed syllable, and it happened also in e.g. *beirdd* because the available time was partly spent on the consonant group (WG. p. 115). This is ingenious, but does not explain why *ei* > *ai* in other monosyllables before other consonant groups. In fact, the evidence is plain that MW. *ei*, *eu* arising by vowel affection were *ēi*, *öü* early, and that other MW. *ei*, *eu* were mid sounds, *ēi* and *öü*, early, in view of their origin from *e* and *o*. The two groups fell together in mid sounds, probably in the ninth century, and these then began to differentiate as described, apparently in the later tenth or early eleventh century; cf. pp. 371 f. Morris Jones' examples are all cases of vowel affection.

THE ACCENT-SHIFT

it was recognised in spelling; so that there is no difficulty about putting its beginnings back to, say, the late tenth or early eleventh century (cf. p. 371 f.); and we may regard the full *ai*, *au* as reached in the thirteenth to fourteenth century.

The conclusion on the date of the accent-shift from the above testimony, which is particularly plain in the case of (1), (3), and (4), is that it probably took place in the eleventh century. Hence it was, by coincidence, more or less contemporary with the same phenomenon in Cornish and in Breton.¹

§ 208.

The bearing of Anglo-Saxon place-names on this question is unclear. A date in the eleventh century would mean that throughout the settlement period Pr.W. and Pr.C. words were stressed on the last syllable. When borrowed into English such names, of course, normally had the stress transferred to the initial syllable, to assimilate them to the AS. pattern, in which anything but an initial main stress was impossible; exactly the same was done with early colloquial Latin loan-words in AS. So, for example, Brit. **Coláun* > Pr.W. **Colŭn* was borrowed in AS. as *Cólun*, whence Colne (Ex.; Hunt.; Hert.-Mx.-Buck.); see RN. pp. 87 ff. It is only in Pr.W. improper compound names, borrowed late, that the non-initial accent appears in English, and then only rarely; so Pr.Cumb.

[¹ Mr. A. O. H. Jarman has now drawn attention to a dozen instances of rhymes of the type *llydan* : *gwinllann* in ninth and tenth century poetry which he takes to indicate that the accent-shift and consequent shortening of long vowels in the final syllables of polysyllables had already occurred (*Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*; Cardiff (1951), pp. 51 ff.), so that older *llydán* and *gwinllánn* were now *llydán* and *gwinllánn*; cf. § 34 *ad fin.* above. But none of the poems are in contemporary MSS., and in any given case it is always possible that a rhyme-word has been substituted at some later stage of oral recitation. More important, these poems are the work of the inferior craftsmen known as the *cyfarwyddiaid*, and it may well be that rhymes such as *llydán* : *gwinllánn* were occasionally admissible in their poetry (compare their use of the so-called "Irish" rhyme). The high-class poets never allowed such rhymes, even when centuries after the accent-shift this rule had long ceased to have any meaning. This cannot be held to weigh significantly against the accumulation of evidence for a later date given above; at the most it may indicate a weakening in the contrasted force of accented and non-accented syllables by the ninth century.]

**Cum Riu* > English Cumr  w (Cum.) ; see Ekwall, Dict. p. 130. Even in these, initial accent is commoner, as in Pr.Cumb. **Cair L  wel* > Carlisle, which is stressed locally on the first syllable.¹

According to Ekwall, however, some names seem to show that the Welsh accent-shift was earlier than Morris Jones thought (RN. p. lxiii). He notes *Caradog* borrowed as a place-name as *Craducc* (Craddock, Dev.) in a charter of 938, and we may compare *Cradoc* as a personal name in ASC. 1065. Ekwall mentions also Clun (Shr., W. *Colunwy*), spelt *Clune* in DB. ; and Clowne (Derb.), spelt *Clune* in 1002 and in DB. ; which he thinks suggests a Welsh stress *Col  nwy* (>*C'  nwy*). F  rster also remarks on Clun, Clowne, and Craddock, and compares the similar syncope of an initial unstressed syllable in W. *Tar  nnon* > *T'rannon*, *Dar  nwy* > *D'ronwy*, *Tar  gi* > *T'r  gi*, etc. (FT. p. 169). As to the date, since it must be later than the reduction of pretonic syllables, he puts this syncope at c. 600 and concludes that the accent-shift itself must therefore have happened at latest in the sixth century. But this is not logical. The fact that the accent-shift and this initial syncope are younger than the reduction of pretonic syllables merely gives us a *terminus post quem* ; later (according to F  rster's dating) than the fifth century, or according to ours than the middle or second half of the sixth. It does not tell us how much later, and the date c. 600 is quite arbitrary. Actually, these cases of initial syncope in trisyllables cannot be shown to be early in Welsh ; for instance, *Tarogi* is always *Taroci* in the Book of Llandaff. As for the supposed AS. examples, it must be pointed out that Clun and Clowne are forms without *-wy*. Ekwall attributes this to a mere dropping by the English of the *-ui* seen in W. *Colunwy* (cf. RN. p. lxxviii), but they might well both come from a Brit. bye-form **Col  un  * instead of **Col  aun  i  *,² the former giving Pr.W. **Col  n* ; cf. p. 382. This

¹ Carlisle, as usually pronounced, is a false analogy from Welsh and Cornish names like Carn  r  von, Card  nham.

² Such co-existent bye-forms are by no means unknown. E.g. Rom.-Brit. *Leucarum* (AI.) on the Loughor, and *Leuca* (Rav.), perhaps = the Loughor, both from Brit. **leuc-*, but the name Loughor itself (W. *Llychwr*, *Lluchwr*) perhaps from a Brit. bye-form **Luccar  *. Cf. Williams, in BSRC. p. 37.

THE ACCENT-SHIFT

could have been pronounced in Pr.W. as *C'lūn*, with initial syncope, and borrowed as *Clūn*; if so, no accent-shift would be involved. That such a syncope is quite in order in Pr.W. in a *disyllable* is seen, for instance, from Pr.W. **cerid* > W. *crydd*, "shoemaker" (in which the first syllable likewise began with *c* and the second with a liquid); compare also W. *ysbryd* < **sp'rid* < **spiritus* beside C. *spyrys*, B. *spered*, § 17. 1. This must have happened, of course, *before the accent-shift*. Hence Clun and Clowne prove nothing about the date of that shift, and only show that initial syncope was possible in disyllables in Pr.W. in the late sixth and seventh centuries, when these names were borrowed. In trisyllables like *Tarogi* the first was not immediately next to the stress in Pr.W. and did not become so until the accent was transferred; hence it would probably not be syncopated until after that time.

This leaves Craddock in east Devon, adopted presumably early in the eighth century.¹ It certainly looks like evidence for the change having happened before the eleventh century, i.e. Pr.C. **Caradōg* > **Carádōg* > **C'radōg*. If so, note that it would only upset our dating for the accent-shift in *Cornish*, not in *Welsh*. But do we know that the name, if stressed *Caradōg*, could not have been pronounced *C^aradōg* in Devon in the eighth century? Or, since the AS. *Cerdic* seems to have been borrowed (as Förster himself believes) from a syncopated Pr.W. **Car'dig* < **Caratīcos* side by side with unsyncopated *Ceredig*, why should not **Caratācos* > *Caradog* have had a syncopated bye-form **Car'dōg*, which could give then **Cradōg* in Pr.C. by the same kind of metathesis as in Pr.W. **cærchid* (: OB. *corcid*) > **cræchid* > W. *crychyd*, "heron"? In any case, the one single word Craddock can hardly overthrow the evidence for an eleventh-century date for the Cornish accent-shift, and has, of course, no relevance at all to that in Welsh.

¹ As to *Cradoc* in ASC. 1065, this is in any case later than, or at most contemporary with, the date of the accent-shift postulated above, and hence does not disprove it.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

§ 209.

As will appear from the table given below, the great majority of the phonetic changes which transformed British into Welsh, Cornish, and Breton belong to the period between the middle of the fifth century and the end of the sixth. As Loth says, "avec le septième siècle nous arrivons à une période nette du néo-celtique, malgré certaines apparences" (RC. li, 4). A century and a half may seem a rather short span for so many drastic developments, altering so fundamentally the whole character of the Brittonic speech. We can be fairly sure that Vortigern around 450 could not have understood Aneirin around 600, though Gildas, living through the first half of the sixth century, could probably have understood both. Such eras of rapid linguistic evolution are not altogether without parallel, for instance the breakdown of Primitive Irish as set out in Chapter IV was quite as striking and took place in just about the same length of time, indeed almost contemporaneously. Periods of unusually marked linguistic corruption are sometimes associated with great social upheavals, or with invasion and conquest by and mingling with a foreign population. So the rather swift decay of Anglo-Saxon into Middle English is generally ascribed, no doubt rightly, to the effects of the Norman Conquest. Even more mild changes in society, causing the upper classes, the conservative guardians of "grammatical" speech, to lose influence in the body politic, may bring about a considerable evolution as the corrupter dialects of the lower levels become predominant. In France in the fourth to eighth century A.D. the educated classes withdrew within themselves as a consequence of the uncertainties and upsets of the period, and their cultured Latin had little restraining effect on the everyday Vulgar tongue, which evolved rapidly through Gallo-romance into the oldest French.¹ Förster believes that such factors as these were

¹ Cf. Richter, CPF. p. 16; and p. 17, "je höher die Kultur und je ruhiger die politische Lage, desto stabiler die sprachliche Überlieferung".

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responsible for the swift changes in Brittonic. He speaks of a British upper class deprived of its cultural and political leadership by the English conquest, and a lower class coming forward to take its place, using a more corrupted and already much more evolved type of British.¹ It is very likely that the troubles of the conquest and settlement between about 450 and 700 may be responsible in a large measure for the rapid linguistic changes of the time, but whether this was a matter of class is less certain. Apart from the fact that large sections of the upper levels of Romano-British society spoke Latin, not British, we must remember that the restraining influence which such groups are supposed to exercise on the growth of language is chiefly a matter depending upon a written literature and a traditional grammatical norm fixed by instruction in school. The inhabitants of Roman and immediately post-Roman Britain had these things for Latin, but must have lacked them for British. Moreover, the theory would imply that our sources for the British language before the Anglo-Saxon conquest derive exclusively from the speech of the upper classes among the Britons, which is a big assumption and one we have no right to make.

If there is any one dateable phonological change which marks the end of British and the beginning of Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, it is the loss of final syllables (with the resulting break-up of the case system) which was completed about the middle of the sixth century, together with the syncope of composition vowels and certain other unstressed internal syllables which took place at roughly the same time.² The consequence of these developments, more than any others of the many which attacked British, was to alter its whole appearance, to modify fundamentally its syntax, and to turn it from an ancient into a mediaeval language. Further, assuming that the traditional metres of poetry were still kept up, it would mean that poems composed before that time

¹ FT. pp. 107, 178.

² Compare Ifor Williams, TAAS., 1939, p. 30, "British became Welsh when the unaccented medial syllables and the unaccented terminations were dropped".

would either come to seem intolerably archaic, barely intelligible, if they were recited with the missing syllables retained, or would make metrical nonsense if they were dropped. We do not know that the oldest Welsh metres go back into the British period. They may ; but if so, poetry composed in the new language would have a quite new rhythmical pattern as regards the arrangement of stresses. Technically, stress played almost no part in mediaeval Celtic metrics, which, apart from the ordering of rhyme words and alliteration, depended only on the number of syllables in the line ; but there were certain natural inherent rhythms nevertheless, which would be completely disrupted when all the words in the language became one or more syllables shorter.

The question whether Welsh could have been in existence early enough for the poems ascribed to Taliesin and Aneirin to be composed in the second half and towards the end of the sixth century was once a burning one. It was commonly believed that this was impossible, until Morris Jones proved the contrary in his *Taliesin* (*Y Cymmrodor* xxviii ; 1918). Since then, Sir Ifor Williams has carried on a campaign to support and amplify the thesis of Morris Jones. The latter pointed out that the chief arguments which had been used against the possibility were that Gildas in the middle of the sixth century gives British names with their final syllables and composition vowels intact, such as *Maglocune* and *Cuneglase*, and that the same features are found in the sixth- and seventh-century inscriptions like BROHOMAGLI and CATAMANUS (*op. cit.* pp. 27 ff.). The opinion had been that the syllables in question were not dropped until some time between the sixth or seventh century and the ninth when the OW. glosses begin ; that in the sixth the language was still an inflected one, and could not yet be called Welsh ; and that otherwise Gildas would have written for instance, not *Maglocune* but *Mailcune*. Morris Jones' answer was clear—these were archaising Latin forms, just as *Henricus* in modern inscriptions is a Latinisation of *Henry* ;¹ and the practical identity of Old Welsh and Old Breton proves that the new language already existed in the

¹ The situation was probably not quite so simple as that, see p. 189.

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first half of the sixth century. Without entering further into these questions here—and the results reached in this book in respect of these two points differ slightly from Morris Jones'—there is no question that he was fundamentally right. One can say that the Welsh language, in the form of Primitive Welsh, had come into existence not by the first but at any rate by the second half of the sixth century, and that the poems of Taliesin and Aneirin could have been composed in Welsh, not British, towards the end of that century. If so, they would be among the very first poets of the new language, the first to establish a tradition of *Welsh* as distinct from *British* poetry; and therefore the name of *Cynfeirdd*, “first” or “original bards”, traditionally given to the composers of this period, was very apt and fully justified.

In the table which follows, the various sound-changes are arranged so far as may be in chronological order. Though it is usually possible to assign a given change to a particular century, often half-century, it is not always easy to say in what relation it stands to other sound-changes of about that time. The practice followed here is to give within each period first those features, if any, whose position relative to each other is demonstrable, duly numbered, and then, separately, those which cannot be so placed. Those which belong to the Common Celtic or Gallo-Brittonic stages are omitted here, as this list concerns Brittonic only. Those which can only be dated within wide limits of several centuries are not included. Details on all these are found in the body of Part II. When a given change is said to have happened “already” at a given time, this means that our evidence shows its existence by then, but that it is not known how much older it may be. Of course, it must be made clear that the datings, if at all apparently exact, such as “c. 600”, stand in reality only for the approximate period when the development in question may be said to have become established. Förster remarks that all linguistic changes need three generations to complete themselves,¹ and cautions that the dates he assigns in his table represent simply the

¹ Something of an over-estimate in many instances; half a century or less is often sufficient.

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turning point (*Wendepunkt* ; FT. p. 171). The dates below of course often disagree with Förster's table as set out in FT. pp. 172 ff., and with Loth's in his article in RC. li, 1 ff., for reasons given at the appropriate points in the foregoing pages.

§ 210.

FIRST CENTURY B.C.

st perhaps already $>ss$; § 122.

SECOND HALF OF THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

(1) $s > \Sigma$; § 115.

(2) Internal $-\Sigma-$ $> \text{nil}$; § 117.

LATE FIRST CENTURY

ai already $> \bar{e}$; § 27. 3.

Vowels of proclitics already reduced ; pp. 663-4.

Vowels of final syllables already reduced ; § 151.

χs already $> X^s$; p. 538.

au, eu, ou $> \bar{o}$; § 22. 1.

Internal and final CC. $\bar{u} > \bar{u}$; § 23. 1.

oi $> \bar{u}$; § 22. 2.

$\dot{i} > j$; § 38 A. 3.

END OF THE THIRD CENTURY

\bar{o} (and Latin internal \bar{o}) $> \bar{u}$; § 22. 2.

FOURTH TO EARLY FIFTH CENTURY

$j > \bar{d}$; § 38 A. 3.

FIRST HALF OR MIDDLE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

$-x$ already $> -s$; p. 625.

\bar{a} -affection ; § 154.

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MIDDLE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

($\bar{u} < \text{IE. } \bar{u}, -\bar{o}$, and Latin $-\bar{o}$) $> \bar{i}$; § 23. 2.

SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

Lenition ; § 142.

LATER FIFTH TO EARLY SIXTH CENTURY

$\bar{a} > \bar{o}$; § 9.

Final *i*-affection ; § 169.

Nasal mutation in West British ; § 189.

END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

Beginning of the loss of final syllables ; § 182.

Beginning of $mb > mm$, $nd > nn$ ($ng > \eta\eta$?) ; § 112.

SIXTH CENTURY

\bar{e} ($< ai$) already $> \bar{e}^i$; § 27. 3.

\bar{e} ($< ei$) already $> \bar{e}^i$; § 28. 3.

BEGINNING OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

$ʒ > \mathfrak{z}$ in certain circumstances ; § 75. 8.

FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

$\check{o} > \check{u}$ before certain consonants in W.Brit. ; § 4. 1.

$\check{e} > \check{i}$ before a nasal in W.Brit. ; § 6. 2.

$u > \phi$ in SW.Brit. ; § 5. 1.

$i > \dot{i}$ in SW.Brit. ; § 7. 2.

Perhaps pretonic W.Brit. \bar{o} ($< \bar{a}$) $> \check{o}$; § 10.

Perhaps $i\dot{i}\acute{a} > \mathfrak{v}i\dot{i}\acute{a}$; § 39.

$l\mathfrak{z}$, $r\mathfrak{z}$ develop towards lch , rch , in SW.Brit. ; § 88.

Gemination in external sandhi ; § 185.

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FIRST HALF OR MIDDLE OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

$i > \bar{i}$ in W.Brit. ; § 7. 1.

\bar{u} ($< \bar{o}$, oi , Latin \bar{u} and internal \bar{o}) $> \bar{u}$; § 22. 3.

$\Sigma > h$ at the beginning of the second element of compounds ;
§ 116.

MIDDLE OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

Completion of the loss of final syllables ; § 182.

Syncope of composition vowels ; § 195.

Perhaps loss of γ finally after e ; § 79. 1.

MID OR LATER SIXTH CENTURY

(1) Syncope of other unstressed internal syllables ; § 197.

(2) Provection ; § 143.

pp , tt , $cc > f$, th , ch ; § 147.

lp , lc , rp , rt , $rc > lf$, lch , rf , rth , rch ; § 149.

Initial $\Sigma - > h -$; § 115.

$\Sigma \bar{u} > hw$; § 118.

SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

Pretonic u , \bar{i} ($< i$) $> \omega$, ι in Pr.W. ; § 205.

$\bar{a}i\bar{a}$ perhaps $> W. aia$, CB. oia ; § 39.

$\bar{z}l$, $\bar{z}r$, $\bar{z}n$ ($> j\bar{l}$, $j\bar{r}$, $j\bar{n}$) $> i\bar{l}$, $i\bar{r}$, $i\bar{n}$; § 86.

$nd > nn$ probably complete ; § 112. 2.

LATE SIXTH TO EARLY SEVENTH CENTURY

$\bar{o}u$ ($< \bar{a}\bar{u}$, $\bar{a}\bar{z}$) $> ou$; § 46. 2.

$\chi t > i\bar{t}h$; § 60.

Latin $\chi s > i\bar{s}$; § 126.

$l\bar{z}$, $r\bar{z}$, $> l\bar{j}$, $r\bar{j}$ in Pr.W. now or later ; § 88.

ABOUT 600

The new quantity system ; § 35.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

SEVENTH CENTURY

$\mu > \tilde{v}$; § 100.

Completion of $mb > mm$ ($ng > \eta\eta$?) ; §§ 112. 1, 3.

Internal *i*-affection in Pr.W. ; § 176.

SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

$\bar{e}^i > \text{Pr.W. } ui$; § 28. 3.

EARLY TO MID EIGHTH CENTURY

$\bar{e}^i > \text{Pr.W. } \varphi i$; § 27. 3.

EIGHTH CENTURY IN GENERAL

(1) Stressed $\bar{o} > au$ in Pr.W. ; § 11.

(2) Stressed $au\tilde{v} > auu$ (and sometimes $> au$) ; § 66. 2.

ou ($< ou, \bar{o}u$) $> \ddot{o}\ddot{u}$ in Pr.W. ; § 46. 2.

$lt > ll$ in W. ; § 54. 1.

Internal *i*-affection in Pr.C. and Pr.B. ; § 176.

\bar{z} after \bar{i} finally, and before *a*, *o*, and after back vowels finally and between them internally, perhaps now lost ; § 89.

LATE EIGHTH CENTURY

w already $> gw$ in W. ; § 49.

Beginning of occasional loss of final *-v* in polysyllables ; § 66. 3.

mp, nt, nc already $> \acute{m}^ph, n^th, \eta^kh$; § 108.

EARLY NINTH CENTURY

Beginning of svarabhakti in Welsh and Cornish ; § 33.

\tilde{v} already $> v$ before *r*, *fr* ; § 100.

m^ph, n^th, η^kh already $> mh, nh, \eta h$; § 108.

LANGUAGE AND HISTORY IN EARLY BRITAIN

THE NINTH CENTURY IN GENERAL

öü falls together with *öü* and *ei* with *ei*, in Welsh ; §§ 46. 2 ; 207. 5.

w already > *gw* in Breton ; § 49.

Loss of internal *ɜ* between front vowels or vowels of different quality, and finally after *ĩ* ; § 89.

Beginning of an on-glide before initial *s*-groups ; § 119.

TENTH CENTURY

w already > *gw* in Cornish ; § 49.

Occasional loss of final *-ā* in polysyllables already ; § 69.

λ, *ρ* probably fully established in Welsh ; § 93.

LATER TENTH CENTURY

ø already > *ō* in Cornish ; § 13.

öü > *ēü* in Welsh ; § 46. 2.

īü > *i-*, *-ü-* in Welsh ; § 36. 2.

LATE TENTH TO EARLY ELEVENTH CENTURY

Differentiation of *ēü* and *ei* towards *ēü* and *ēü*, *ei* and *ei* ; §§ 46. 2 ; 207. 5.

ø > *ō* in Breton ; § 13.

TENTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURY

œ, *ι* perhaps becoming *ə* by now ; § 205.

Secondary affection by *i*, *ĩ* in Breton ; § 176.

EARLY ELEVENTH CENTURY

īü > *i-*, *-ü-* in CB. ; § 36. 2.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

ELEVENTH CENTURY

(1) On-glide before initial *s*-groups in W. fully established as *ə* ; § 119.

(2) The accent-shift in W., C., and B. ; §§ 13, 207.

th > *s* in Breton ; § 53.

SECOND HALF OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

-lt, *-nt* > *-ls*, *-ns* in Cornish ; §§ 54. 1 ; 110.

LATE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Reduction of *au* towards *ō* in the now unstressed W. final syllable ; § 12.

Reduction of *ō* to *ě* in the now unstressed C. and B. final syllable ; § 13.

ABOUT 1100

Beginning of final *-t* = [d] > *-s* = [z] in Cornish ; § 52. 1.

EARLY TWELFTH CENTURY

Denasalisation of *ĩ* already complete in W. and C. ; § 100.
đ > *z* in Breton ; § 68.

TWELFTH CENTURY

Internal *-lj-*, *-rj-*, > *-lĵ-*, *-rĵ-* in W. ; § 88.

Final *-lʒ*, *-rʒ* > *-lʲ*, *-rʲ* in W. ; § 88.

s (< *th*) > *z* in B. ; § 53.

APPENDIX

THE NAME BERNICIA

BEDE regularly makes use of the name *Bernicii* for the Anglian inhabitants of the northernmost English kingdom. Two late MSS. of Nennius give the name of the kingdom itself as *Bernicia* (HB. c. 61); they very likely got it from Bede, especially as they describe this name as being *Anglice*. These are Latinisations. In the basic text, however, Nennius gives the following OW. forms, on which the *Bernicia* is a late gloss: *Berneich*, cc. 61, 63; *Birneich*, *Bernech*, c. 61; and the variant *Birnech*, c. 61. The *e* of the second syllable of the last two is no doubt a mere spelling for *ei*, cf. § 160. The name is usually found in MW. poetry as *Bryneich*,¹ but there is also *Byrneich*; in the Book of Aneirin *Brenneych*, *Brennych*, and *Breennych* (this last occurs once, and rhymes in *-eich*, so that no doubt *Breenneych* should be read). Hence we seem to have Welsh forms which in standard MW. spelling would be *Berneich*, *Byrneich*, *Brenneich*, *Brennych*, and apparently one with uncontracted hiatus, *Breennych* or *Breenneich*. The Anglo-Saxon for the inhabitants of Bernicia was *Beornice*, from older **Bernice* (*Bærnice* in ASC. 634, MS. E). The evidence from the English side, therefore, gives forms only in *Bern-*, not *Bren(n)-* or *Breenn-*.

This name is commonly regarded² as a derivative of **brīgant-*, a participial stem based on Celtic **brīg-*, "height", as in Brit. **brīgā* > W. *bre*, "hill". The *Brigantes*, the British tribe living in Yorkshire in Roman Britain (Tacitus, Ptol., etc.), are "The High Ones", "The Overlords", or the like;³ com-

¹ See J. Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg*, p. 80.

² See J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain* (fourth edition, London, 1908), pp. 113-14; J. E. Lloyd, HW. i, 163; Loth, RC. li, 30; Förster, AStNSp. cxlvi (1923), p. 133, and *loc. cit.* in the next note.

³ Förster translates **Brigantia*, the supposed district name, as "Bergland" (*Anglia* lxiv (1940), p. 110), which will not do—if such a name existed, for which we have no evidence, it would mean "The land of the Brigantes".

pare Brit. **brigantīnos* > W. *brenin*, "king", and *Brigantia* the goddess of the Brigantes (CIL. vii, no. 1062, BRIGANTIAE S(ACRVM), at Birrens in Dumfriesshire), "The High One", "The Queen", whose name is the same as that of the OI. saint (and perhaps ultimately goddess) *Brigit*. For this derivation of *Bernicii*, etc., a *cc*-suffix must be assumed in British. **Briganticcī* or **Briganticciā* would do for the rare W. form in *-ych* and for the English *-ice* and Latin *-icia* so far as the suffix is concerned, but not for the Welsh forms in *-eich*; for this **Brigantaccī* is necessary, and as it could also give W. *-ych* (see § 157), it must certainly be preferable. This would be a hypocoristic of an adjectival stem **Brigantāco-*. The development would then be Brit. **Brigantaccī*, giving by vowel affection both Pr.W. **Brizenteich* and **Brizentich*, which could become **Brezenteich* and **Brezentich* by vowel harmony (cf. p. 447), and in MW. these would result in *Breeneich* and *Breennych*, and by contraction *Brenneich* and *Brennych*—compare the instances in the Book of Aneirin. *Bryneich*, the common MW. form, could be from one without vowel harmony, **Brizenteich* > OW. **Brienneich* > **Brænneich*, compare **brigantiā* > late OW. *bryeint* > *breint*, p. 447.

There are, however, a number of difficulties about this derivation and development. In the first place, in Bede, Nennius, and the AS. form there is not only loss of *z* and contraction, but also apparently metathesis of the contracted *Brenn-* > *Bern(n)-*, and in Nennius and MW. of **Brinn-* > *Birn(n)-* > *Bærn(n)-* too (the AS. could be from *Birn-* or *Bærn-* just as well as from *Bern-*, cf. § 204 A. 1). Förster notes this metathesis and says it can hardly be Celtic (*Anglia* lxiv, 110), though he does not explain what he thinks it is; in FT. p. 850, again without accounting for it, he remarks that the metathesis shows that *Bernicia* is not a real British form, and that it is a Latinising of *Beornice*. Actually, the metathesis could quite easily occur in AS. Loth, who takes *Breenych* (*sic*) as the true Welsh form, says that the *Bern-* and *Birn-* of Nennius are not British but are Britticisations of Latin *Bernicia* (RC. li, 30); and that the metathesis in them is merely graphic, influenced by the AS. (*ibid.* p. 10). Similarly, Lloyd treats *Byrneich* and

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Bryneich as borrowed from *Bærnice*, itself “possibly” from *Brigantes* (*loc. cit.*). Such influence¹ from the AS. or Latin may very well account for the metathesis in W., but it only puts the problem back one step, since it does not explain the forms *Bernicii*, *Bernicia*, *Beornice*, and *Bærnice*. These would appear to come from a Pr.W. stage **Bernicc*; or, if the metathesis is AS., from **Brenicc*, **Brennicc*,² from older **Bre|en(n)icc*. Now there is no particular reason, *pace* Förster and Loth, why such a metathesis as **Brenn->*Bern(n)-* should not occur in an unstressed syllable in Pr.W.,³ and so far as this goes **Bernicc* might be a genuine Pr.W. form.

The difficulty does not lie so much here as in the fact that loss of *ɜ* and contraction must have taken place to produce it, as well as medial *nt>nnh*. We have already seen that internal *ɜ* between front vowels was coming to be no longer heard by the ninth century, and that a probable case of contraction is found as early as the Ovid glosses, ninth to tenth century; see § 78. It is therefore just credible that the forms in Nennius (A.D. 826 or 829) having loss of *ɜ* and contraction may be genuine in this respect; but what about those in the Book of Aneirin, the nucleus of which is believed to have been composed about 600? Such loss and contraction would be impossible so early. Of course, Aneirin’s *Breennych* raises no difficulty here, as it would be a modernised spelling of Pr.W. **Brizantich*, but *Brenneych* and *Brennych* in the poem would not scan if restored to their forms of about 600. Quite as serious, indeed more so, is the objection that if *Beornice*, *Bærnice* (and Bede’s *Bernicii*, the Latinisation of this) really represents a British tribe-name borrowed for the designation of the northernmost Anglian settlers, it can hardly have been taken over any later than the

¹ Complete borrowing, with Lloyd, will hardly do, since the Latin and AS. forms could scarcely have been adopted with *-eich*, *-ich* in W., and they do not explain *Breennych* at all. It would be preferable to suppose rather that the native *Brenneich*, *Brennych*, *Brønneich*, were metathesised under Latin or AS. influence.

² The latter is actually given by Förster, *ASTNSp.* cxlvi, 133, from older *Breennicc* (quoted as *Brennic* and *Breenic*, but the context seems to show that he meant *-cc* in both).

³ In fact we have the very thing in Pr.W. **Trihanton>*Tirhanton*, if the history of *Trisantona* given in § 117 is correct.

early part of the seventh century, when their colony was firmly established—indeed since the Book of Aneirin uses it of the Anglians and not the Britons, it is plain that it had become so adopted, and recognised by the Britons as now an English and not a British name, before c. 600. In any event, it could not be later than Bede's time. Once more, loss of *z* and contraction, not to mention metathesis, would be inconceivable at that date. In just the same way, we have seen that medial *nt* > *nnh* in Welsh happened in the eighth and beginning of the ninth century (§ 108); and while forms with *n* would therefore be natural in Nennius they would be impossible in the Anglian tribe-name, and no doubt also in Bede.¹ As a parallel we may compare the way in which Late Brit. **Brizantīā* > **Brīzen't'*—was borrowed in AS. as *Brezent*, the river Brent and Brentford in Middlesex (see p. 447, and RN. pp. 51-2), early in the sixth century, with *z* and *nt* intact. It is true that this is somewhat before the settlement of Bernicia, but actually in this case the difference in time is not of any significance; and if the Anglians who occupied Bernicia got their name from the Pr.W. descendant of **Brigantaccī*, it ought to have appeared in AS. as something like **Brezentice* (with AS. umlaut of *a*, not Pr.W. vowel affection), not as **Bernice* > *Beornice*, *Bærnice*; or, if we assume an early metathesis of the *r* in Brit. or AS., as **Berzentice*. In Bede it should be **Bregenticii* or **Bergenticii*, and in Nennius perhaps **Bregenteich* or **Bergenteich*, or at least **Breenneich* or **Bergenneich*. In other words, then, while the forms which are found in the Book of Aneirin and later mediaeval Welsh poetry may descend from a Brit. **Brigantaccī*, it is doubtful that those in Nennius can, and certain that those in AS. and in Bede cannot.

The only way out of the impasse would seem to be to abandon the etymology from **Brigant-* and to look for another.

¹ Not impossible, of course, in the text of the Book of Aneirin, where *nn* would merely be a modernised spelling of the *nt*. For Nennius, cf. e.g. *finnaun*, HB. c. 70, though the variant in late MSS. is the older-seeming *fontaun*. Note that the evidence of *Beornice* might be held to constitute disproof of the dates offered in this book for any one of the sound-changes concerned *individually*, but the fact that it disagrees with so many of them at once is pretty clear testimony that there is something wrong with it, not with them.

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The fact that it has long been accepted, and has had the support of Rhys, Lloyd, Loth, and Förster is no absolute guarantee of its correctness. The following may be tentatively suggested. Old Irish *bern* means "a gap, a mountain pass", and may come from a Celtic **bernā* or **birnā*. Assuming that this stem existed in British, **bernāco-* or **birnāco-* (= Ir. *bernach*) would mean "full of gaps", and **Bernāccīā* or **Birnāccīā* would be possible place-names derived from this with a hypocoristic suffix, meaning "The land of mountain passes", which is a very good description of the Pennines. **Bernāccī* or **Birnāccī*, "The people of the land of mountain passes", would give Pr.W. **Bernec'c'*, **Birne'c'* in the second half of the sixth century, which would be borrowed as **Bernice* in Pr.AS. without any difficulty, whence, by "breaking", AS. *Beornice* (and Bede's *Bernicii*, as well as Nennius' *Bernicia*). Nennius' *Berne(i)ch* would come from **Bernec'c'*, or could be a spelling for his alternative *Birne(i)ch*; which last, with MW. *Byrneich*, could either be directly from **Birne'c'* or could have the same kind of late change of *ern* to *irn* as in OW. *-tegirn*, *-tigirn*, MW. *teyrn*, < **tegerno-*. The forms *Brenneych*, *Brennych*, *Bryneich* could be examples of the metathesis seen in W. *crychydd* (see p. 689). This leaves only the double *nn* in these forms, and the *ee* in *Breennych* in the Book of Aneirin, unexplained. The former is not very important, and may be merely scribal. The latter is the only instance anywhere of a trisyllabic form of the name, and may easily be an error, particularly as the metre of this stanza is very irregular and does not demand a trisyllable—on the contrary, the line as it stands is the longest in the verse.

ADDENDA

- P. 10. A further trace of Cumbric dialectism may perhaps be seen in the Galloway word *gossock*, probably the same as W. *gwasog*, and in northern names like Gospatrick = *Gwas Padrig*, etc. ; see CPNS. p. 178. Here W. *gwas* seems to have been represented by **gwas > gos* in Cumbric, possibly a survival of the original CC. form of this word in *-o-*, cf. LP. p. 2.
- P. 49, n. **Flesor*, etc. That is to say, in spelling ; the pronunciation would be *Fleisōr* or *Flex'sōr*.
- P. 116 (and 123). The date of Cunedda's migration is possibly to be put somewhat later ; cf. H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 147 ff.
- P. 180, n. 1. The SALIGIDVNI stone in the British Museum has only recently been made available to the public again after the war. On examining it, it seems to me that the letter may be a sickle-shaped G ; but it is so much obscured by the C which has been painted over it (!), and the letters are so exceedingly shallow to the touch, that it is difficult to be sure.
- P. 193. On *magistrati* for *magistratus*, cf. the regular use of *-i* for the masculine genitive singular, regardless of declension, pp. 187 f. This suggests that spoken British Latin in the fifth and sixth centuries may have reduced the Latin declensions considerably.
- P. 213. The interpretation of HB. c. 63 given here is the one generally accepted. Nennius appears to say that Urien with his sons fought Theodric (reigned 572-9) and was killed at that time (*in illo . . . tempore*). But he also says that Urien fought Hussa (reigned 585-92). If this is correct, at least two interpretations are possible : (1) Urien fought both brothers, Hussa *before* he became king. There is nothing inherently improbable about this, since the younger brother might often have led a Bernician army before his accession, and it is supported by the fact that Nennius names Hussa first. If so, the date *c.* 575 for Urien's death would stand. (2) Urien fought first Theodric, and then Hussa while the latter was king, and hence was not killed till 585 at earliest. In that case, Nennius would have got his chronological order wrong (which is likely

enough); the words *in illo . . . tempore* would refer to the whole period of the sons of Ida in general, not merely to Theodric's reign; and the people whom Urien besieged in Lindisfarne would be not Theodric and his men but the Bernicians in general, and specifically Husa and his men. The later date, say c. 590, for the siege of Lindisfarne, would help to account for the lateness of the great Bernician expansion, apparently not really beginning until c. 600-3.

- P. 300, l. 6. Loth sees an early case of C. *e* in *Modredis sunu* in Bodm. § 30, A.D. 960-1000 (RC. xxxiii, 298); but it is not certain that this is the same name as OW. *Medraut*, and as the context is AS. the form may in any case be corrupt (read perhaps *Medrodís*). Loth's examples of names from DB. and Cart.Red. confirm our dates for CB. *e*.
- § 38 B. See now J. Vendryes, "Sur le traitement brittonique de *i* en hiatus", BSLP. xlvii, 1 ff.
- P. 378. But the MW. descendant of OW. *Cornou*, namely *Corneu*, does occur in the sense of "Cornwall", as a title, interestingly contrasted with *Kernyw* = the kingdom itself. See the Peniarth 45 Pedigrees in W. F. Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* (Edinburgh, 1868), ii, 454: *Tutuwlch Corneu tywyssawc o Kernyw*, "Tudfwlch Corneu prince of Cornwall", where *Corneu* means "of Cornwall".
- P. 410, l. 30. I.e. that an Irish Latin chronicler substituted *Nechtan* for the *Naiton* or *Neiton* of his source, because he knew that the name was *Nechtan* in Irish. This is what the Irish and Scottish Gaels regularly did with Pictish names, and specifically with this name; cf. EIH.M. pp. 359 ff. In fact they did so with this very place, the hill beside which is still known as Dunnichen, formerly Dún Nechtain, the *ch* having been preserved in Gaelic and not in Pictish. However, it may be more likely that Symeon of Durham got the name from a Northumbrian Latin source, where the *ch* would also be kept; the Northumbrians would have learned this common Pictish name while it was still *Nechton*, as it formerly was (Pictish apparently had *cht* > *it*).
- P. 498 (and cf. p. 500). The same development seems to occur with secondary groups arising by syncope of the composition vowel; so **cintulong* > **cint'long* > W. *cythlwng*; cf. BBCS. xi, 136.
- P 508, n. 1. Förster explains E. Cornish names with *nt* as borrowed before *nt* gave *ns*, or as a matter of dialect (FT. p. 177).
- P. 534. There is some slight evidence for the very late survival in

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Britain of the dental affricate mentioned on p. 530, side by side with *ss* in the same word. See in general Loth, RC. xxxii, 414 ff., many of whose theories however will not suit. In the Harleian 3859 OW. Genealogies the mother of Rhodri Mawr (ninth century) is called *Etthil* (Gen. i). The same woman is *Ethellt* in the Jesus 20 pedigrees (Cymm. viii, 87), and *Etill* in the Life of Gruffydd ap Cynan (ed. A. Jones, *The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*, Manchester, 1910, see p. 102); otherwise she is known as *Essyllt* in MW. sources. There can be no doubt that this is the well-known MW. name *Essyllt*, *Esyllt*, cf. OC. *Eselt* (in a charter of 967, Loth, *op. cit.* p. 420). One may suggest a derivation from Brit. **Adsiltia*, "she who is gazed at", "Miranda", : W. *syllu*. This would regularly give MW. *Essyllt*. The other spellings seem to point to a Brit. secondary bye-form **Adthiltia* or **Atthiltia*, and to the rare survival of this dental affricate (in dialect ?) in Wales, alongside *ss*, as late as the ninth or tenth century at least. Another instance may be the name which was *Elisse*(ð) in MW. In Harleian 3859 this is spelt *Elized* (AC. 814, 943, 946; Gen. xv, xxx, xxxi twice), but once *Elitet* (Gen. xxvii). Otherwise, there is only -*s*- in the early W. sources. So on the "Eliseg Pillar", CIIC. no. 1000, ninth century, *Eliseg* several times; Chad 8, *Elisedi*; Asser, c. 80, *Helised*; Lland. *Elised* (several). What did the scribe of Harleian 3859 (c. 1100) mean by *z* and *t*? He cannot have had *z* before him in his exemplar, as the use of this letter (pronounced *ts*) was introduced by the Normans. If the original had *s* or *ts* there would be no reason why he should not have copied them, since both were common in Welsh (secondary *ts* arising by syncope, e.g. MW. *atseinio* < **ateson*-; Loth confuses this with primary *ds* etc.); unless we can suppose that the affricate sound still existed in this name in his own day, possibly as something like *tths*, at any rate in his dialect, and he tried to render it with *z* and *t* (and in *Etthil* with *tth*). The other sources quoted may have had *ss* in their dialect, or else made no attempt to spell it other than as *s*. In any case it must have been rare in early Welsh, since otherwise there would almost certainly have been more instances in spelling. There is no need to conclude then that -*st*-, -*dt*-, etc., did not after all become -*ss*- until very late; but only that in dialect a dental affricate may have remained, as a bye-form, in parts of Wales only, and probably in certain words only. It is remarkable that both the examples are names.

- § 132. On lenition see now A. Martinet, "Celtic Lenition and Western Romance Consonants", in *Language*, xxviii (1952), 192 ff. Some of what he says needs modification in the light of a wider knowledge of Celtic philology and a fuller acquaintance with the relevant evidence; for instance, Martinet has not considered the question of Brittonic place-names in English. If he had seen §§ 131 ff. and 93 of the present book he might possibly have altered his views in certain respects. He rejects Pedersen's concept of [t'], etc. (*op. cit.* p. 201), for sound reasons. His definition of lenition for chronological purposes is the beginning of the process distinguishing e.g. proto-Celtic *-a ta-* from *-s ta-* (my *-s t(t)a-*), which we both agree is very early; whereas mine is the end of it, the full stage *-a da-* or, in Irish, *-a tha-*, which I have tried to show was reached both in Britain and in Ireland in the fifth century A.D. It is interesting to see that Martinet envisages tentatively a system of strong and weak consonants, including the stops, similar in many respects to the one outlined above; most of the differences are comparatively unimportant, though Martinet does not allow for all the contingencies. We both regard initial non-lenited consonants as having fallen together with the original geminates, while differing considerably over details. In the matter of the *l*, *r*, and *n* sounds I assume that in CC. they were all one degree stronger in articulation than Martinet does (giving, e.g., *LL : L* where he has *ll = L : l*), for reasons which he did not take into account.
- P. 559. There is of course no promontory at Reculver now, but in the Roman period, when Thanet was still an island, it must have been at the tip of a considerable one.
- P. 620, n. 4. In a letter of 30th November, 1950, Nash Williams says of the (IV)DNERT inscription, "The lettering of this stone brings it definitely into my 'mixed group', but . . . this group probably extends into the opening years of the seventh century".
- P. 662. *Rodercus* in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, i, 8 (the same person as *Rodarchus*), living in the late sixth century, has *o* in the same way as *ROCATI*; apart from the fact that, as with *ROCATI*, the context is Gaelic, where the *o* remained. In Jocelin's *Life of St. Kentigern* (late twelfth century), cc. 29, 30, 33, 45, he is *Rederech*.

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