Laith a Lên

Language and Literature

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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3. The data are based on the following sources:
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   - Meithyr Tyddli: from Attudiaeth Seinwyddol o Dafodiadith Meithyr a'r Cylich, by Lyn Davies (1968).

The last seven items are all unpublished M.A. dissertations of the University of Wales.

For the data relating to Tir Iarl, Cwm Afan, Glynn Neid, and Ystradgynlais we are indebted to Peter Wynn Thomas, Beth Thomas, Catherine Rees, and Ann Jones respectively.


Notes on Celtic Latin

Comparatively little linguistic work has been done on identifying peculiarly characteristic Insular Celtic features of the medieval Latin written by native speakers of Welsh, Cornish, Breton, and Irish. I propose, therefore, to devote a series of notes to the discussion of specific points in the hope that these may provoke others to identify further examples and to discover and publish additional 'celticisms' from Celtic Latin texts. From time to time it will be necessary to discuss separately and in a more provocative fashion some of the general issues to which these points draw attention. It is hoped also that these notes may prove to be of some use in the wider study of medieval Latin, for we still suffer from a general lack of knowledge of early medieval Latin usages. Many apparent 'celticisms' have had to be struck off the list when they turned up in other contexts: no doubt this will continue to be the case; errors will continue to be made until we have a much greater body of comparative data.

1. The latinization of Welsh el 'heir, heir-apparent'

In his paper 'The heir-apparent in Welsh and Irish law', Thomas Charles-Edwards has considered a number of examples where the equivalent of el appears in Cambro-Latin sources. The earliest is the secundarius used three times in Asser's Life of King Alfred to...

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1 I am indebted to Professors Ludwig Bieber, Ellis Evans, Kenneth Jackson, and Tomás Ó Conchobhar, and to Dr. Michael Lapidge, for their kindness in reading this paper and offering helpful suggestions.


explain Alfred's position during the reign of his elder brother and immediate predecessor, Ethelred. This was most plausibly explained by Professor D. A. Binchy in 1956 as Asier's interpretation of the English political situation in terms of an institution with which he was familiar in his native Wales.\(^1\) Secondly, Dr. Charles-Edwards pointed to the borrowing of Latin \textit{secundus abbas} as \textit{Welsh segynab}. And finally he discovered, in Latin Redaction A of the Welsh Laws, a version apparently datable to the twelfth century, the word alitas in the sense of 'son', 'heir', where eil must have been the vernacular usage.

Another example can now be added to this meagre but important collection. In Latin Redaction C of the Welsh Laws, belonging perhaps to the third quarter of the thirteenth century and surviving only in a now mutilated manuscript of the second half of that century, we find in the section on the heri-apparent the following statement.\(^2\) Successor cenam, id est, ancain, debeth habe sine mensura, sed quod sufficiat. \textit{Successor} is, however, Emanuel's emendation, the manuscript corruptly reading \textit{secundam} (sic am).\(^3\) The sense of Emanuel's emendation is correct, as the parallel versions demonstrate, but in fact we have here a scribal misunderstanding of the exemplar's \textit{secundas} or \textit{secundarum}. Palaeographically, either is possible; we must therefore restore \textit{secundarum} to the text. In the time of the later-thirteenth-century scribe of our manuscript, \textit{secundas} or \textit{heiri-apparent eil} was probably quite unknown, and he simply arranged for the word to agree with cenam, thus giving an acceptable Latin construction but legal nonsense.

2. fili 'descendants'; fratres 'kinsmen'

The Hiberno-Latin employment of \textit{nepas} in constructions such as 'nepotes \textit{Neil} = \textit{U} Neil' is well known. A comparable use of \textit{fili} may perhaps also be identifiable; so far I have only a Welsh example, alleged found in an Irish context. But Irish \textit{mac} 'son, descendant', suggests that Hiberno-Latin examples awaited identification. In the \textit{Historia Brittonum}, written in Wales in 890, the Irish Liath Liathain appears as \textit{fili Liathain}. \textit{Welsh mesion} often has the sense of 'descendants (of ...)'; and it may be this which has been latinized. One may compare the \textit{Dindshel map Leithan} (in Cornwall) of the Glossary of Cormac mac Cuilennain (d. 908),\(^4\) where the same sense is probably required.

An exact parallel has been noted in another context by Dr. Thomas Charles-Edwards.\(^5\) He points out, with reference to the note about Cunedda and his sons appended to the Harleian genealogical collection (§§ 32–3), that \textit{fratres} would seem to be employed there in the sense of 'kinsmen.' \textit{Aerious filius eius [ex. Typiana f. Cuned] dixit possessiones inter fratres suos.}

The scheme offered by late genealogical manuscripts,\(^6\) which scholars have generally accepted as the classic statement of the Cuneddan kindred, makes these \textit{fres} the uncles of Merion.\(^7\) Charles-Edwards compares Welsh \textit{brodion} 'kinsmen' and Old Irish \textit{brathair} 'kinsman.' The extension of meaning is exactly parallel to that of \textit{fili = meibion}.

It is no doubt a coincidence that both of these examples come from passages associated with the legend of Cunedda.

3. Guenddoet = 'Gwynedd', and related Cambro-Latin usages

Cambro-Latin district- or kingdom-names display some curious developments which require discussion. There is in fact a remarkable variety of usage. The starting-point of this investigation is the observation that in the primary, or 'Harleian,' recension of the \textit{Historia Brittonum}, and in the \textit{Annales Cambrie}, there occurs a form \textit{Guenddoet}-\textit{of Gwynedd}. The examples in \textit{HB} (Harl.), §§ 57, 62, and 63 are quite consistent with its interpretation as an adjective: 'rex \textit{Guenddoet} regionis', where the feminine singular genitive inflexion agrees happily with regionis. However, in §60, 'in regione Gywenddoet' must display a nominal rather than an adjectival form, and this immediately raises doubts about the explanation of the other examples. Suspicions are confirmed by an examination of the A-text of \textit{Annales Cambrie},\(^8\) where three occurrences may be noted: s. a. 103, \textit{Maucun rex Genddor}; s. a. 354, \textit{Caratac rex Genddor}; s. a. 365, \textit{Elbog archiepiscopus Guenddor regione.} We must therefore reckon with a Cambro-Latin noun \textit{Guenddoet} 'Gwynedd,' developed from the Welsh adjective.\(^9\) No Latin noun seems to have been formed from \textit{Guedor} or \textit{Guennet}, the Old Welsh forms of Gwynedd. And an adjectival formation which presupposes \textit{Guenddoet = Gwynedd} is found in the Life of St. Gwyndulwy, where we read (f. 14) of an \textit{Edynfuan} \textit{guendidocu}, \textit{Edynfian the Venediant}.

Comparable to this use of \textit{Guenddoet} is another formation found in the primary text of the \textit{Historia Brittonum}. In \textit{HB} (Harl.), §52, we read 'ripae fuit primus rex in Beornica (id est in Berneuch); Beornica is the genitive (plural) of Old English \textit{Beornice} 'Bernicians,' but has here been transformed into a Latin first-declension noun. A slightly different, but none the less comparable, development is seen in f. 47 of the same text, where we read 'in una regione rims, / rams.' Here a Latin adjective\(^10\) has been created on the basis of \textit{Comunnach}, the Old Irish genitive (plural) of \textit{Comunnach}.

Much the same process is at work when we see \textit{Guenddoet} used to mean 'men of Gwynedd,' the Latin inflexion being added to the Welsh adjectival form. But when we look to the usage in the case of other Welsh kingdoms we find widely varying uses. \textit{Demetica} of Dyfed is a natural formation, the Latin adjectival suffix -\textit{icus} being added to the name of the

\(^{1}\) Celtica, iii (1956), 224.


\(^{3}\) LTLW, p. 278, lines 10–11.

\(^{4}\) LTLW, p. 278 fl. 10 (BL MS, Harleian 1796, p. 8).

\(^{5}\) Id., §8: 'Filiu autem Liath Liathain meretrici in regionem Denermorn et in alius regionibus (id est Corn, Cetquez), donec exulavit sui Cunedda, et a filius eis, ab omnibus britannicis regionibus.' All references to the \textit{Historia Brittonum} in this paper are to my forthcoming edition.

\(^{6}\) Ed. W. S[iones], Three Irish Glossaries (London, 1863), s.v. \textit{Mag-aim}, p. 29; cf. p. 181v fl. 1. I owe the following note to Professor Jackson: map here must be 'of the sons,' though it looks at first sight like a singular in form. If so, it must be an archaic genitive plural, from \textit{mapam} = \textit{mapam}, whereas Middle Welsh \textit{maep} is from nominative plural \textit{maep}. The survival of the old genitive plural points to an ancient fixed stereotyped phrase.

\(^{7}\) BRCs xxiv (1970–2), 117 n. 2.

\(^{8}\) Ed. P. C. Barratt, Early Welsh Genealogical Treatises (henceforth EWSGT) (Cardiff, 1966), 17.

\(^{9}\) Id., f. 41; f. 48; f. 53; f. 54 (EWSGT, pp. 49, 55, 91v, 108; the sigla are Barratt's).

\(^{10}\) Though to do so requires the emendation or forced reading of H. G., §§ 18, 32, and JC. f. 47 (EWGTT, pp. 11, 13, 45), but this is not the place to develop the point.

\(^{11}\) I see no profit in arguing that we might have here (or in AC, s. a. 354) a Latin adjective \textit{Guenddoet} whose derivative singular feminine \textit{Guenddi} turns up here as \textit{Guenddoet} by the Insular Latin variation of \textit{i} to \textit{e}.

\(^{12}\) Ed. E. Phillimore, Y Cymruwydr, xx (1888), 541ff.


\(^{14}\) I discount the possibility that \textit{ina una regione rim} displays two nouns in apposition, for this is not the author's practice.
kingdom. But in *cerciter* 'of Credigion' we have a bizarre formation used regularly in the Life of St. David4 and occurring also in Ieuain ap Sulien's poem De uita et familia Sulgieni (line 57: *cerciter tellus*);5 in form it is at best an adjective appearing (falsey) to mean 'of Credigion'.6 The same fashion of attaching a Latin infusion to the ancestral personal name rather than to the territorial name may be seen in *guineisen* 'of Gwynllwg' (literally 'of Gwynylwy'),7 *guni tinus* and *guni dyli tuae* ('people of Gwynylwg'), and in *Bruchmili* 'the men of Brycheiniog'.8

However, more standard Latin formations may be found in the nouns *Dermestia* ('Dyfed'),9 *Galatmortgina*10 ('Morganwg'), and *Menescia*11 ('Mynyw'12/St. David's),13 and the adjectives *dementicia*14 (also *galatmortg*15 and *menescen*16),11,12,16,17 not to mention *Bregheiniacena* ('the people of Brycheiniog').

None the less, *Guineddota* (and the *Uvendocia* of the Norman period18) brings us back almost to our starting-point; where the texts of the years around 800 offer *Guentedo*, the later Lives of saints give *Guineddota*. The point remains the same: that the Latin noun has for no obvious reason been created from the Welsh adjective.

4. Frangere bellum and equivalent Celtic vernacular idioms

A well-known idiom in Old Irish is the impersonal construction 'maddit (in cath) re x for y', 'X defeats Y' (literally 'X/battle breaks/bursts against X upon Y'), where re takes the dative and for the accusative.9 This construction does not appear to be closely paralleled in the surviving remains of the Brittonic languages. I have recently identified and discussed a latination of this idiom occurring in a tenth-century Irish redaction of a Cambro-Latin text, where 'Et prefeg bellum anto Cassabellanum ducibus uicibus superu Gallum Casarem' ('And Cassi_ueulianus twice defeated G. Caesar').19 The only difference between this and the Irish construction is that ante retains its Latin construction with the accusative, rather than conforming to the Irish construction.

A search for comparative material has revealed two further Latin witnesses. The early Welsh copy of Book I of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria,*20 dating probably from the Late Celtic period, should be accepted or rather emended to *Beulistic,* if it is not emended, the seemingly swarshabtul- fits remains to be explained.

One may contrast the more regular *Curtius* region, found in the Breton Life of St. Briceus,21 *Abadactus Bollidiana,* ii (883), 165), noted also by Jackson, *HDBI.,* p. 611.

T. V. SBE., p. 79.

V. SBE., pp. 78, 80.

L., p. 283.

QWT., p. 17 (Cognito Brychian, § 1).

*E. T.,* pp. 174, 186, 190 (Uta Sana Sutgin, ¶15, 1b), pp. 239, 242 (Uta Sutgin, §42, 26).


An Irish idiom latiniatis, *Eguia, xvi (1752-6),* 183-6.


Language and Literature

10th century,1 is well known for its sporadic Old Welsh glosses. It bears too, however, a series of Latin glosses which have not been studied. On f. 39* (lines 19-20) we find the following arrangement (Ars Amatoria, i. 199-200):

Tu pia tela feroe -- sceleratas ille sagitas

Stabito pro insignis uisce piuque tuis

We can render this as follows: 'You will bear legitimate weapons, he will bear nefarious arrows; the legitimate law will stand as your battle-standards'. In the gloss to i. 200 we have a latination of a slight variant of the Irish idiom, where the defeated party is not explicitly named, and for is not therefore used. A Hiberno-Latin parallel is available in *Uta Sancti Coemergii,* § 440, in an account of the battle of Magh Ochtair.22

Heer uerca sancti Dei audiens rex [sc. Lageninsium], letus et promptus redit ad bellum. Et ante se insens bellum fractum est, in quo nepotes Neill a Lageninsibus uale superasti sunt, et aquilones ad intercessionem redacti sunt.

The Ovid gloss 'frangere bellum ante se' is plainly intended to be helpful. We can understand it in the light of the Old Irish idiom; how would a Welsh student of the tenth century have reacted to this gloss?

As I mentioned above, there seems to be no evidence for a Brittonic cognate of this idiom, though that is not to say that none existed in Old Welsh. Irish did, however, have a personal form of the idiom, where *brisdix Y X Y* meant 'X defeats Y',23 and this is paralleled in Welsh, as for Williams pointed out on a number of occasions.24 The earlier examples of the Welsh idiom *torri ar* 'defeates', whose semantic identity is balanced by its lexical independence, occur in verse texts. In the Book of Taliesin, in an accepahale Alexander poem, we find 'Et torres ar Dar teir gweig yw kat' ('He defeated Darius three times in battle').25 And in Cynddelw's poem 'Emys frath ci frwynnawr am dav' to Hywel ap Owain occurs the line 'terwynn y tu torri arnaw'.26 And finally, we may note an example from a prose text: in *Llyfr Blegywyr* (c. 1300) we find the legal maxim: 'Tiri pheth a tyrr ar fyfeirh: amot, a defawd gyfans, ac agheu' ('Three things which abrogate law: contract, and equitable custom, and death').27

1 The date is that of T. A. M. Bishop, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society,* iv (1964-8), 397; Hunt, op. cit., p. 156, suggests that the decoration supports a late-ninth-century date. Bishop's earlier opinion (loc. cit., p. 299) had been ' saci uncia'.

2 According to James F. Kemsley, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929, rev. imp. by L. Bieler, 1966), p. 404, the date of this *Uta* 'seems to be the tenth or eleventh century'.


4 C. Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hibneria* (2 vols, Oxford, 1910), i. 453. This was noted by Plummer in his Latin glossary (ed. cit., ii. 382), but with a false reference to f. 29 of the *Uta.*


The comparatively well attested personal construction finds no direct latinization in Ireland or Wales, as far as I have yet been able to discover. The fact that the impersonal construction is attested in Latin in both Ireland and Wales* gives pause for thought. We have no reason to argue that the Welsh example derives from an Irish exemplar or is the work of an Irishman in Wales. In default of a parallel Brittonic vernacular construction, we must consider the possibility that this Latin usage was common Celtic Latin dependent ultimately on Irish vernacular idiom.

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(n)am(w)yn 'except'

It has been recognized that (n)am(o)yyn is derived from a restricted use of *yn ammyn. Sir Ifor Williams, Arms Prydein (Dublin, 1972), 43–4, remarks that it translates exceptus and that it carries parallel semantics to exceptiō. Following this reasoning, we may wonder whether more precisely *yn ammyn was modelled on the Latin use of exceptiō or whether simply this is a specialized application of the native semantics of ammyn.

The Latin verb exceptiō has two main senses: (1) take out, rescue; mention specially; (2) catch, capture; follow after, succeed; intercept, overtake. Of these, this Welsh sense of ammyn 'take, seize' only approximately matches the sense 'catch, capture' of exceptiō; and there are other Welsh verbs that might reasonably render 'catch'. There is nothing in Latham's Revised Medieval Latin Word-List (1965) to give a closer fit.

Therefore, I see no basis here for a Welsh calque on Latin. On the other hand, the notion of 'restriction' or 'exclusion' inherent in 'except' can be readily derived from 'defend, protect'. One may additionally recall the different histories that can be inferred for English defend and French defendre.

The genitive of -ouios

I have discussed the phonetics of the gender and number inflexions of the suffix -ouios in my contribution to the Proceedings of the 5th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences (Louvain, 1969), 266–72; I have returned to this topic in BCCS xlvii (1972), 214–15. We read the name Ceñ Llech Faesley in Eitim Dinbych, 66, in BT 42 3. BBC 48 gives us the variant kevin (= Gwyn) . . . veuley. We have here the 'back of the stone of *Maglohiu', with this phrase the exact syntactic equivalence of the Anglesey name Pen Rhos Felin=Feilyn, *Maglohiu, which we must see not as a nominative plural but as the fossilized genitive singular. We have therefore recovered the partial paradigm:

nom. sg. *Maglohiu > Faesley

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gen. sg. *Maglohiu > Feilyn

1 And all three Latin examples date from roughly the same period.


3 Spelt Penhosfelin, Ordnance Survey Anglesey SH 250, and located near Plat Mael. I am indebted to Mrs. Luned Graffydd for calling my attention to this name.

R. J. Thomas, BCCS viii (1935), 42–3, has discussed Olwyn in relation to Ylwy, Ylgu, Elgwy (LL). The latter forms are taken as basic, with > o in English (comparing Myrmy > Munno) and adding Ifidh = Helmsdale in Sutherland. Surely we have here, instead, a basic Olwyn, with *Elyne produced by affixation under the same phonetic conditions as Feilyn above.

Notes to Arms Prydein

1. escorant AP 86

Sir Ifor Williams properly makes the distinction between escorant 'they will gather (into an enclosure) (trans.)' and esgr 'give birth'; see R. Bromwich's English version (Dublin, 1972), p. 45. It is worth making the difference explicit.

The base *escor- 'gather' occurs with the normal graph variant ygor, which is to be preferred. It is a denominal verb derived from ygor 'animal pen', which is in turn equated with Ir. scr 'paddock, enclosure'. These reflect an old Celtic o-grade nominalization *skor-.

The verbs esgr 'give birth' is a compound *esk + hor- 'put out'; since *hor-, to cite the o-grade nominalization (the verbal noun), in Celtic is the successor to Indo-European *dher- = *dheur-: this compound is an ultimate cognate to Latin efficet.

The cluster sg here is a good example of the fate of *skh.

2. dichlyn AP 92

Sir Ifor Williams (op. laud. 46) establishes that this instance of dichlyn means not 'choose, select' but 'seek out, pursue'. Thus, it corresponds not to *Dr. teclain < to ess-glenn- but to the same compound without to-, which glosses Latin vestigiant, indagine, etc., so far as meaning is concerned. On these compounds see my analysis BCCS xlvii (1972), 138f.

From the point of view of form, in relation to dichlyn 'choose, select', our present instance must represent *esk-glen-, which was here supplied with 'empty' *to; the resultant compound *esk + glen- > *dichlyn therefore only superficially resembles and is not directly related to the Irish teclin. Then *dichlyn must have been conflated with dichlyn of separate origin. Such a role for *to in this text is appropriate, as I make clear in detail on another occasion.

Note that this analysis differs from that presented by Fleuriot, DGVB 138, s.v. (dicin).

3. Prudyen AP 10

In the note to this word (op. laud. 21–2) Rachel Bromwich commendably cites Kenneth Jackson's note, Scottish Historical Review, xxxiii (1954), 16–18; but she does not give Jackson's findings sufficient prominence, particularly since no one may have access to that journal, and since Sir Ifor Williams's analysis is formally faulty and not so informative and clear as Jackson's.

In that note Jackson lucidly discriminates Picts, Britons (Brython), including those of southern Scotland, Britain (Britannia), the northern Britons who were immigrants into northern Ireland, the inhabitants of Britain as known to the Irish, the Picts as known to the Irish, and the various putative layers of Hallstatt, Iron Age, and Bronze Age populations in Britain. I will not attempt to reproduce here the detail of those distinctions, which the interested reader will wish to match up with Sir Ifor's interpretations of the instances of Pryden, Prudyen, Prydein.