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Bachelorthesis

Raw materials in Middle Welsh

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Introduction

The interaction between material culture and language is intriguing. It gives us an insight into the contact people had with each other. It can give us a glimpse into how they interacted with each other, what they learned and what they took over. Therefore, this thesis will look within the areas of Middle Welsh and the raw materials used for arts, crafts or industries. In it the connection between the origin of the words and the history of the materials the words denote will be examined.

Middle Welsh, originating in an Indo-European language of the Celtic branch, was influenced by other languages, for example Latin and Old English. It will be interesting to see in what way these influencing languages left their mark on Middle Welsh and how this is perhaps visible in the history of the materials. To give an example, lead was known to the Iron Age population of Wales and objects were made of it. However the Romans actually gave lead objects a function. Three different sources for the origin of the word are possible. Would the word for lead still be from the language spoken during the Iron Age, was the influence of the Romans strong enough for the people of Wales to take over the word they used for it, or are the words for the materials taken from the supplier of the material, which may or may not be the same as the Romans?

For this I will need to answer the following questions first:

1. What are these words for the materials used in Medieval Wales?
2. What are the origins of these words?
3. What is the history of these materials? Meaning:
 - a. Are they local and if not, where do they come from?
 - b. When was their use introduced to Wales?

Theoretical background

When investigating the etymological history of words two theories will have to be discussed: the comparative method and contact linguistics. The Comparative Method makes it possible to reconstruct elements of an ancestral language. This is done by using vocabulary and grammar of the languages descended from this ancestral language. These descendent languages are called daughter-languages. Within these various related languages forms can be found which seem to be derived from a common original form.¹ These are identified by looking at similarities in both their form and meaning. These forms can then be considered cognates of each other, that is, reflexes of a single form in the ancestral language, the proto-language. The Comparative Method compares these cognates to work out an original form by setting up sound correspondences. From these sound correspondences one can deduce what original sound in the proto-language might have produced that particular range of sounds in the various daughter languages.² Any reconstruction using this method should involve as few changes as possible between the proto-language and the daughter languages. For example, if there are four cognates, three of which have an [a] in their stem and only one has an [e], it is more likely the [e] has evolved from an original [a], than the other way around.³ For conditioned sound changes, sounds that only change if they are in a certain position, the complementary distribution between phonetically similar correspondence sets must be looked at before a final reconstruction can be made.⁴ A sound is in complementary distribution with another sound, when it only occurs in an environment, where the other sound, frequently, though not always, phonetically similar to it, never occurs.⁵

So in short by comparing the similarities and differences of the daughter languages, one is able to establish the changes the languages went through and also in what order these changes occurred. Such changes always occur and are natural to every language⁶. Since Middle Welsh is a Celtic language (and thus an Indo-European language), this method can be used on the Middle Welsh words of Proto-Celtic and Indo-European origin. In correct chronological order all the changes that are thought to have occurred could be placed onto a Proto-Celtic word. If the language continued to use the word, it should give a word in Middle Welsh.

The Comparative Method is a theory that forms a fundament for this thesis. It was used to establish the sound changes that Peter Schrijver collected for his hand-out. Therefore it is not used in its raw form, but was used by others to establish the sound changes proto-Celtic went through to form Middle Welsh. These sound changes set into an order of their appearance, making a relative chronology of the changes that were made to the language. It is this relative chronology that I will use to reconstruct the words of Proto-Celtic origin.

That a word derived from a Proto-language into the daughter-language does not have to be the case, because a language can drop one word in favour of another word of similar or identical meaning, possibly from another language. If two languages meet they are bound to borrow from each other.

¹ Crowley and Bown 2010: 78-79

² Crowley and Bown 2010: 81-85

³ Crowley and Bown 2010: 85-86

⁴ Crowley and Bown 2010: 94-96

⁵ Crowley and Bown 2010: 66-67

⁶ McColl Millar 2013: 253-278

The more intense the contact the more borrowing occurs.⁷ The language borrowed from can for example be the language of neighbours, the language of an oppressive government or the language spoken in the area before the current spoken language became more popular and eventually took over. In the case of Middle Welsh this would be possibly Old English, Latin or the language spoken in Wales, before the Celtic language settled in. This is the second theory: borrowing, which in itself is a form of contact-induced language change.

In the simplest definition language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time.⁸ But in this case language contact will be seen as an occasion where the speakers of these languages actually interact with each other and the speakers of at least one of the languages have borrowed something from the speakers of the other(s).

There are several ways in which language contact can take place. In the first, two groups of people speaking different languages move into a certain area and meet there, without one of them having a major advantage over the other. This possibility is however unlikely to have occurred in the history of Middle Welsh, since the British Isles had been occupied previous to the coming of people speaking the Celtic language, although these people who lived there previous left no written record and it is therefore unknown what language they spoke. Related to this, people can also come together for specific purposes, mostly trade, on neutral territory. More common, not just for Wales, is the movement of one group of people into another group's land, peacefully or violently. Whether the people speaking the Celtic language came peacefully or violently is still subject of discussion, since there is no written record of it, but every other invading or migrating group, the Romans, the Germanic people, the Irish, the Vikings and the Normans came with violence. On a smaller scale, small groups or scattered individual speakers can join the already existing society without conquering them or taking over their land. Most notoriously responsible for this kind of language contact is probably the slave-trade. Another possibility is when close cultural connection can develop between long-time neighbours, which can also be a source of language contact, for example by intermarriage. Finally, there are the so-called 'learned contacts'. This is the language contact that can come solely through education. The exposure of Catholics to Latin in Mass is similar to this.⁹

Intensity of contact depends on the nature of the social interaction of the speakers and the intensity of borrowing depends on the intensity of contact. There are four different parts of a language that can be borrowed: vocabulary, phonology, syntax and morphology. The last three are part of the language's structure and are usually borrowed at a later stage than vocabulary. The following scale of Thomason (2001: 70-1) is one that is applicable to most cases:

- Casual contact:
There is no need for borrowers to be fluent in the source language; possibly there are a few bilinguals among the borrowing-language speakers.
Only non-basic vocabulary is borrowed.
- Slightly more intense contact
There is a reasonable fluency of the source language among the borrowers; there are definitely

⁷ Thomason 2001: 69-71

⁸ Thomason 2001: 1

⁹ Thomason 2001: 17-21

bilinguals, but probably a minority among borrowing-language speakers.

Function words are borrowed. There is possibly some structural borrowing, mostly phonological.

- More intense contact

There are more bilinguals; the attitudes of people and other social factors favour borrowing.

Both basic and non-basic vocabulary is borrowed; there is moderate structural borrowing.

- Intense contact

There is very extensive bilingualism and social factors strongly favour borrowing.

There is heavy borrowing in all sections of the vocabulary and heavy structural borrowing:

basically, anything goes.¹⁰

Language contact is an essential theory for this thesis, since every word of non-Celtic origin has to come from a different language. All of these words will have found their way into the Welsh language through language contact. Therefore, all loanwords are based on this theory. It is the background of the words that originate in a different language and will again only be used as a fundament or basis in this thesis as the theory behind the loanwords that I find.

¹⁰ Thomason 2001: 69-71

Methodology

I chose Wales and not Ireland, because I thought it would be interesting to see how Welsh coped with the closer relationships to its surroundings, since they did not have to cross a sea to reach their neighbours, being either conquered by the Romans or having to deal with constant (threat of) invasions from the Germanic tribes in England. To find the words I intended to work with, I used Steane's *The archaeology of medieval England and Wales*. This work deals with the material history of the Middle Ages in England and Wales. It speaks about the archaeological findings originating in this period sectioning it into different chapters about different parts of society, like government, religion or housing. One of these chapters deals with medieval industries and crafts. From this, I filtered the materials used in the industries and crafts during the Middle Ages. Since this resulted in English words, I searched for their Welsh equivalents in *Y geiriadur mawr* and *Geiriadur Pryfysgol Cymry*. For two different reasons I limited myself to the words I was able to take from Steane. First it gave this thesis certain boundaries and therefore a workable amount of words. Second it led me to the most basic terms, excluding those industries that depend on their materials from other industries.

This method has its limitations, in that I was dependent on what Steane thought was worth mentioning and his definition of arts, crafts and industries, but again his explanations led me to a vocabulary that denotes only the raw materials and excludes the products made from them, which I did not want to examine. My reasons for keeping it this limited were to prevent words entering the vocabulary that might make the outcome unclear, because the raw materials were often handled by different people than the finished products. For example, the animal rolling around in the mud is known as a pig or a swine, while by the time it is served on the table to be eaten it is known as pork. The word pork came from French which was the language the aristocracy was using during the late Middle Ages, while swine is still the Germanic word, which would be the language that stayed with the peasantry.

Also, I did not want to include words that made their first appearance into the language after 1620. This will keep the words within the realm of the Middle Ages and Middle Welsh. In 1536 the Act of Union came into existence and the population of Wales was encouraged to drop their Welsh language in favour of English. In the same year the dissolution of the monasteries took place and many manuscripts were destroyed.¹¹ However in 1588, when the Bible of William Morgan was printed in Welsh, it was done completely legally, as the church did not want to lose control over Wales. A new edition was released in 1620, Parry's Bible, as the old ones had been used so much they had "either been lost or worn out", according to Richard Parry¹². This meant that while Welsh was suppressed by the government in the secular world, it was tolerated and used, apparently successfully, by the clergy. While 1536 marks an official ending to an era in Welsh history, the Bibles of 1588 and 1620 show that, despite government efforts, Welsh continued to be the language of the people of Wales. The year 1620 also gives enough time to people, who remembered what was written in the destroyed manuscripts to write down again what they thought should have been preserved.

¹¹ Davies 1990: 221-226

¹² Davies 1990: 236-237

Next I made a reconstruction of the words and look at their history. For this I used Matasović's *Etymological dictionary of Proto-Celtic* and *Geiriadur Pryfysgol Cymry*. In addition to these sources I used unpublished hand-outs by Peter Schrijver that were given to the students of the course *Seminar historische taalkunde Welsh* in 2013: *Historical Phonology of Celtic* and *Proto-Celtic to Middle Welsh* (a relative chronology of sound developments). I occasionally compared the hand-outs to what Jackson writes about these developments in *Language and History in early Britain* to get a clearer look at the origin of a word if it was not immediately obvious.

Finally I looked at where the materials themselves came from (whether they originate in Wales or whether they had to be imported) and compare this to the origin of the words. For this part I used John Steane's *The archaeology of medieval England and Wales* again. Furthermore I made use of *Iron Age communities in Britain* by Barry Cunliffe and *Encyclopedia of Indo-European culture* edited by J. P. Mallory and D. Q. Adams, so I could give a more detailed history of the materials.

Etymologies

Metals

Metel

Meaning: metal
First attested: 1346
Gender: masculine/feminine
Origin: Middle English: metel¹³

Haearn

Meaning: iron
First attested: 13th century
Gender: masculine
Origin: possibly Proto-Indo-European: *h₁ēsh₂r-no-¹⁴
haearn < *həjarn < *hijarn < *hijarno < *iharno¹⁵ < *īsarno (Proto-Celtic)
Cognates: *hōrn* “iron” Middle Cornish
íarn “iron” Old Irish
ira “iron” Latin
iron English¹⁶

It is either derived from the same root as the Greek ἱερός “belonging to the gods, sacred, holy”¹⁷ or from the Proto-Indo-European word for “bloody”, which is also found in the Hittite *eshar* “bloody”.¹⁸ This change in meaning could be explained by the red colour iron gets when it is rusting.

The first evidence of iron working is found already in the seventh century BC at Llyn Fawr.¹⁹ For the iron industry large quantities of wood were required for the charcoal needed to mould the metal. Wales was in possession of woods and therefore iron was probably produced locally. However the real industry in the Middle Ages was in Kent and Sussex, due to the heavily wooded nature of the areas.²⁰ Iron was used in building, for tools and weapons.²¹

¹³ GPC: Metel

¹⁴ Matasovic 2009: 172

¹⁵ *hijarno < *iharno = metathesis: Jackson 1953: 522

¹⁶ GPC: Haearn

¹⁷ Mallory and Adams 1997: 313-314

¹⁸ Matasovic 2009: 172

¹⁹ Cunliffe 1974: 268

²⁰ Steane 1985: 217

²¹ Steane 1985: 221

Plwm

Meaning: lead
First attested: 12th century
Gender: masculine
Origin: Latin: plumbum²² plumbum > plumb > plumm (plwm)
Cognates: *plemyk* “mass of lead” Middle Cornish
plom “lead” Breton²³

The ending *-um* was dropped at some point, whether this was because the word was adapted into late Proto-British or because it was borrowed before apocope is debated.²⁴

Although lead was probably already used in Britain c. 700 BC albeit in a non-functional, decorative form,²⁵ it was not considered of great significance.²⁶ It was the Romans who started mining it on a massive scale in the north of Wales. The large amounts of lead, tin and copper were one of the reasons the Romans attempted to conquer the British Isles.²⁷ There was no difference between lead and tin in ancient Rome, both were named *plumbum*.²⁸

Tun, Tyn

Meaning: tin
First attested: 1545
Gender: masculine
Origin: English: tin²⁹ tyn/tun < tin

Ystaen, Staen

Meaning: tin, pewter
First attested: 12th century
Gender: masculine
Origin: Latin: stagnum³⁰ ystaen < staen < *stain < *stain < *stainum < *staynum < stagnum
Cognates: *stean* “tin” Cornish, Middle Breton
stán “tin” Old Irish³¹

Stāgnum means “water basin, slow flowing water”, while *stagnum* has the meaning of “tin” coming from “the dripped” or “easily meltable”. Both come from the Proto-Indo-European *stag-* “seep, trickle, pour softly”³².

Tin was mined from the Bronze Age onwards in Devon and Cornwall, with the latter being the more important source. Due to its rarity, it was a prized export during the Middle Ages.³³

²² GPC: Plwm

²³ GPC: Plwm

²⁴ McManus 1983: 21- 71

²⁵ Mallory and Adams 1997: 347-348

²⁶ Cunliffe 1974: 274

²⁷ Steane 1985: 223

²⁸ Mallory and Adams 1997: 347

²⁹ GPC: Tun

³⁰ GPC: Ystaen²

³¹ GPC: Ystaen²

³² Pokorny 1959: 1010

Efydd

Meaning: bronze / brass / copper
First attested: 9th century
Gender: masculine
Origin: possibly Proto-Indo-European: *HoHmo “raw”, a semantic link (perhaps raw metal) is however not proven.³⁴
efydd (evəð) < *eṽəð < *öṽəð < *öṽið < *övið < *ömið < *omið < *omiðo < *omiyo- (Proto-Celtic)
Cognate: *umae* “copper, bronze, brass” Old Irish³⁵

Elydn, Elydr

Meaning: bronze / brass/ copper
First attested: 14th century (*Elydn*)
14th - 15th century (*Elydr*)
Gender: both masculine
Origin of both: The origin is unclear, possible connections may be found in Irish (elada/elatha)³⁶, Old French (eleutre) and Old English (electre).³⁷

Pres

Meaning: brass (in a wider sense also bronze and copper)
First attested: 14th century
Gender: masculine
Origin: Old English: bræs³⁸ bræs > pres

Copr

Meaning: copper
First attested: 14th century
Gender: masculine
Origin: English: copper³⁹ copper > coper > copr

Bronze was an alloy made principally of copper and little parts of tin, zinc and lead. Whereas tin came from Cornwall or Devon and lead was found in northern Wales, the origin of copper is slightly obscure. Steane only mentions that England had to import copper and zinc from the continent in the form of brass sheets (an alloy of copper and zinc) and does not mention Wales, although he also covers Cornwall and Wales in his work, mentioning the tin supplies of Cornwall.⁴⁰ Cunliffe says copper was found in Cornwall, north Wales and the Welsh borderland, Scotland and Ireland.⁴¹ This would indicate the possibility of a local supply.

³³ Steane 1985: 224

³⁴ Matasovic 2009: 298

³⁵ GPC: Efydd

³⁶ GPC: Elydn

³⁷ GPC: Elydr

³⁸ GPC: Pres

³⁹ GPC: Copr

⁴⁰ Steane 1985: 224

⁴¹ Cunliffe 1974: 273

With the words denoting copper, bronze and brass it is worthy of note that the earliest word does not differentiate between the three and the words that distinguish them from each other are loanwords. The earlier word therefore probably meant something like reddish metal. Although brass is not very red in its appearance, it is an alloy of copper and through that probably linked.

Stone

Maen

Meaning: stone
(especially one having a speciality or a particular use)

First attested: 12th century

Gender: masculine/possibly feminine

Origin: possibly Proto-Indo-European: *megh₂ “big”⁴²
maen < *main < *mayin < *mayin < *magin < *magino-

Cognates: *men* “stone” Cornish
mean “stone” Breton
magen “place” Irish
mag “level field” Old Irish⁴⁴

Carreg

Meaning: stone
(This seems to be rather naturally occurring stone, not one used for building, however it can be found in compounds such as *carreg waelod* (foundation stone 1585) and *carreg galch* (limestone 1588))

First attested: 9th century

Gender: masculine/feminine

Origin: Two possibilities:
Proto-British-Celtic: *karrikā derived from non-Indo-European: *karra⁴⁵

Cognates: *harri* “stone” Basque⁴⁶
Proto-Indo-European: *kar- “hard”

Cognates: *karkara-* “hard, rough” Sanskrit
hardus “hard, strong” Gothic⁴⁷
carrek “stone” Cornish
carrack “stone” Irish
karreg “stone” Breton⁴⁸

⁴² Matasovic 2009: 252

⁴³ Pokorny 1959: 708

⁴⁴ Pokorny 1959: 708-709

⁴⁵ Bauer 2015: 18

⁴⁶ Bauer 2015: 18 & Vendryes 1987: 42

⁴⁷ Bauer 2015: 18

⁴⁸ GPC: Carreg

Calch

Meaning:	lime
First attested:	13 th century
Gender:	masculine
Origin:	Latin: calc-em (calx) ⁴⁹ calc ⁵⁰ > calch
Cognates:	<i>calch</i> "lime, chalk" Cornish <i>cailc</i> "lime, chalk" Old Irish

The Welsh borderlands seem to have gotten their limestone from the English ridge running from Yorkshire to Somerset, but the trade does not seem to have gone further into Wales than this, which would suggest a local supply.⁵¹

Marbl(en), Marmor, Mynor

Meaning:	marble
First attested:	1545 (<i>Marbl</i>) 13 th century (<i>Marmor</i>) 14 th century (<i>Mynor</i>)
Gender:	all three: masculine
Origin of marbl:	English: marble ⁵² marble (marbəl) > marbl
Origin of marmor:	Latin: marmor ⁵³
Cognate:	<i>marmor</i> "marmor" Old Irish ⁵⁴
Origin of mynor:	Latin: minārium ⁵⁵ mynor < *mynawr ⁵⁶ < *minðr < *minār ⁵⁷ < *minārium

Alabastr

Meaning:	alabaster
First attested:	14 th -15 th century
Gender:	masculine
Origin:	Middle English: alabaster ⁵⁸ alabastər < alabaster

Marble and alabaster were used as decorative stones, for example in rich houses or churches, for tombstones and sculptures.⁵⁹ Marble was quarried in Purbeck, Dorset, and first used according to Steane in the twelfth century,⁶⁰ but though no mention is made of it by him, one has to question the influence the Romans had on the use of marble, considering their love for the material.⁶¹ Alabaster was much more common than marble and therefore valued by medieval sculptors.

⁴⁹ GPC: Calch

⁵⁰ McManus 1983: 21-71

⁵¹ Steane 1985: 226

⁵² GPC: Marbl

⁵³ GPC: Marmor

⁵⁴ GPC: Marmor

⁵⁵ GPC: Mynor

⁵⁶ Jackson 1953: 298-299

⁵⁷ McManus 1983: 21-71

⁵⁸ GPC: Alabastr

⁵⁹ Steane 1985: 232-233

⁶⁰ Cunliffe 1974: 233

⁶¹ Laurence and Berry 1998: 96-97

Wood

Coed , Pren

Meaning: wood

First attested: 9th century (*Coed*)

13th century (*Pren*)

Gender: coed: plural and collective pren: masculine

Origin of coed: Proto-Celtic and Proto-Germanic: *kaito- “wood, uncultivated area”⁶²

coed (koet) < *koit < *kēt < *kēto < *kayto- (Proto-Celtic)

Cognates: *cuit* “wood” Old Cornish
coet “wood” Breton
Cēto-briga, Eto-cētum placenames Gaulish
heath English
Heide “heath, moor” German⁶³

Origin of prenn: Proto-Indo-European: *kyers- “wood, tree”⁶⁴

prenn < *k^wrenn < *k^wrennom < *k^wresnom (Proto-Celtic)

Cognates: *prenn* “wood” Cornish, Breton
crann “wood” Old Irish
hyrst “wood, shrubbery” Gothic
chvórost “brushwood, bush” Russian⁶⁵

Glo

Meaning: charcoal

First attested: 14th century

Gender: masculine and collective

Origin: Proto- Indo-European: g^hleh₃-yo or g^hloh₍₃₎-yo⁶⁶

glo < * glowas < *gloy-os (Proto-Celtic)

Cognates: *glou* “charcoal” Breton
glow “charcoal” Cornish⁶⁷
glowan “to glow” Old English⁶⁸

Charcoal was the most important fuel for iron working during the Middle Ages and therefore always found in close proximity to it.⁶⁹

⁶² Pokorny 1959: 521

⁶³ Pokorny 1959: 521

⁶⁴ Pokorny 1959: 633

⁶⁵ Pokorny 1959: 633

⁶⁶ Zair 2010-11: 5

⁶⁷ GPC: Glo

⁶⁸ Zair 2010-11: 5

⁶⁹ Steane 1985: 222

Textiles

Gwlân

Meaning:	wool
First attested:	9 th century
Gender:	masculine
Origin:	Proto-Indo-European: *wlh ₂ no- ⁷⁰ gwlân < *wlan < *w(u)lano- (Proto-Celtic)
Cognates:	<i>olann</i> “wool” Old Irish <i>gluan</i> “wool” Old Cornish <i>hulana</i> “wool” Hittite ⁷¹ <i>lāna</i> “first facial hair of an adolescent” Latin <i>wulla</i> “wool” Gothic ⁷²

The use of wool was spread over Europe entirely by 3000 BC and was an important factor in European Bronze Age society. Before sheep were woolly enough for humans to use their hair, plants were used to make cloth.⁷³ The making of woollen cloth was already established during the Iron Age, with most households managing to supply themselves.⁷⁴

Lledr

Meaning:	leather
First attested:	14 th century
Gender:	masculine
Origin:	Proto-Indo-European: *pel- ⁷⁵ “to cover up” ⁷⁶ lledr (lēdr) < *lledr < *letr < *letro < *pletro (Proto-Celtic)
Cognates:	<i>lezr</i> “leather” Breton <i>lethar</i> “leather” Old Irish ⁷⁷ <i>platino</i> “canvas, fabric” Old Church Slavic ⁷⁸

Skins of cows, ox, and calves were used to produce leather. Deer, sheep and horses were also used, but their skins required a different, lengthier technique to prepare.⁷⁹ Leather was, apart from clothing, also used for containers, in addition to or instead of ceramics.⁸⁰

⁷⁰ Matasovic 2009: 432

⁷¹ Schrijver 1995: 177

⁷² Pokorny 1959: 1139

⁷³ Mallory and Adams 1997: 648

⁷⁴ Cunliffe 1974: 267

⁷⁵ Matasovic 2009: 134

⁷⁶ Pokorny 1959: 803

⁷⁷ GPC: Lledr

⁷⁸ Pokorny 1959: 803

⁷⁹ Steane 1985: 247-248

⁸⁰ Cunliffe 1974: 267

Brethyn, Lliain

- Meaning: cloth
First attested: 9th century (*Brethyn*)
13th century (*Lliain*)
Gender: both masculine
Origin of Lliain: Both a borrowing from the Irish *léine* and the Latin *līnum* are suggested, but with neither can the change to *-iai-* be explained. The origin remains obscure.
Cognates: *lyen* Middle Cornish
lien Old Breton⁸¹
Origin of brethyn: Insular Celtic: *braθ < *bratt < *brattos
braθ + yn (diminutive) because of *-yn* there is i-affection on **brath*.
Cognates: *bratt* “cloak” Old Irish⁸²

Salt, glass and clay

Halen

- Meaning: salt
First attested: c.1300
Gender: masculine
Origin: Proto-Indo-European: *sal- “salt, sea salt”⁸³
halen < halaen⁸⁴ < *haluīn < *halēn < *salēn < *salēno < *saleino (Proto-Celtic)
Cognates: *salann* “salt” Irish
haloin “salt” Old Cornish
holenn, c’hoalen “salt” Breton⁸⁵

Salt was obtained either by making use of salt residues of ancient lakes or by evaporation of seawater,⁸⁶ the latter probably being the method used in Wales.⁸⁷ It was used in the daily meals and meat storage during the winter.⁸⁸

⁸¹ GPC: Lliain

⁸² Bauer 2015: 84

⁸³ Pokorny 1959: 878

⁸⁴ Schrijver 1995: 216

⁸⁵ GPC: Halen

⁸⁶ Steane 1985: 246

⁸⁷ Mallory and Adams 1997: 498

⁸⁸ Cunliffe 1974: 278

Gwydr

Meaning:	glass
First attested:	1346
Gender:	masculine
Origin:	Latin: <i>uitrum</i> gwydr < *gwidr < *widr < *witr ⁸⁹ < *witrum
Cognates:	<i>gweder</i> “glass” Cornish <i>gwer</i> “glass” Breton ⁹⁰

The Latin *uitrum/vitrum* will have had a v-sound, but the [v] will have sounded like a [w] to Early British speakers, which is possible because the soundsystem had up to this point no v-sound. [w] would have been the closest sound to [v]. [v] developed only a little later in the British soundsystem.⁹¹

Glass has been found in the form of beads made locally dating back to the early iron age.⁹²

Pridd, Clai

Meaning:	clay
First attested:	12 th -13 th century (<i>Pridd</i>) 13 th century (<i>Clai</i>)
Gender:	both masculine
Origin of pridd:	The Proto-Indo-European reconstruction * <i>tk^wreh₁yot-</i> or root * <i>k^wreh₁-</i> with suffix -* <i>yet-</i> has been linked to this, also connecting Tocharian <i>tukri</i> . <i>Pridd</i> is probably related to Latin <i>crēta</i> . ⁹³
Cognates:	<i>pri</i> “clay” Old Breton <i>pry</i> “clay” Cornish ⁹⁴
Origin of clai:	Middle English: <i>clai</i> ⁹⁵

The two primary usages of clay would have been ceramics and insulation in a wattle and daub house.⁹⁶ In the first century BC a regional style in pottery can be seen for the Welsh Borderland.⁹⁷ The Romans imported ceramics for the first time on a massive scale. It concerned the import of Terra Sigillata or Samian wares, mainly from Gaul.⁹⁸ Bricks and tiles were already used by the Romans, but only became popular again during the twelfth century.⁹⁹

⁸⁹ McManus 1983: 21-71

⁹⁰ GPC: Gwydr

⁹¹ Russel 1985: 21

⁹² Guido 1978: 73-74

⁹³ Matasovic 2009: 183

⁹⁴ GPC: Pridd

⁹⁵ GPC: Clai

⁹⁶ Mallory and Adams 1997: 108

⁹⁷ Cunliffe 1974: 267

⁹⁸ Collingwood and Richmond 1969: 235

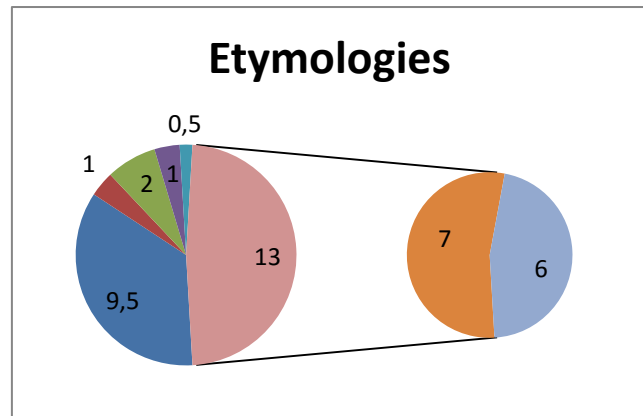
⁹⁹ Steane 1985: 240

Analysis

In small scale research as this making a graphic can give a distorted image, but it can still be useful to give an overview of the origin of the words just treated, so we are not confused by a long list. In this graphic the total numbers of material by origin are given.

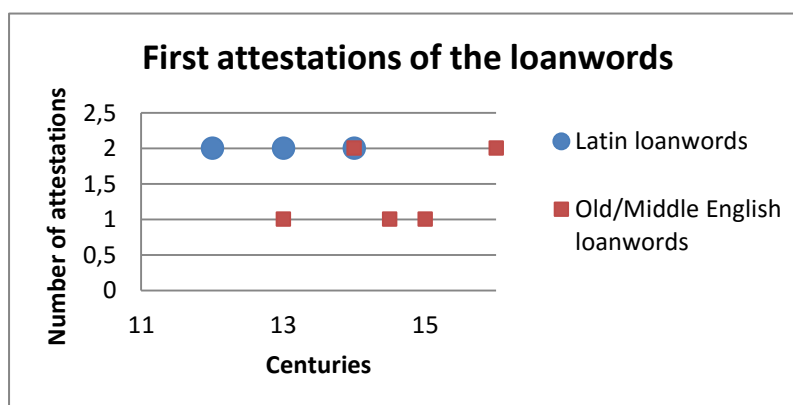
9,5	Proto-Indo-European
1	Insular Celtic
2	Unknown
1	Proto-Celtic/Germanic
0,5	Possibly British Celtic
13	Loanwords regardless of origin
7	Loanwords from (Old/Middle) English
6	Loanwords from Latin

Total: 27



Since the origin of *carreg* is uncertain it is split into two, as the two theories go off in very different directions.

Let us first look at the loanwords. They make up almost half of the entire selection with 13 out of 27 examples and they are more numerous than any other category of the material. Is there a connection between their borrowing and the use of the material? The loanwords from Latin are *plwm* ("lead"), *(y)staen* ("tin, pewter"), *marmor* ("marble"), *mynor* ("marble"), *calch* ("lime") and *gwydr* ("glass"). Lead and marble were popular among the Romans, so it is not unthinkable that their words for the materials penetrated into the languages of the local people. It is especially true for lead, since it was not seen as a material, which could be used on its own for functional items before the Roman invasion.¹⁰⁰ Possibly, the fact that in ancient Rome the language did not distinguish between lead and tin may have given room for a second borrowing for tin from English giving *tun* or *tyn*.



The purple sign is a combination of both attestation.

Although the date of the first attestation only means it was borrowed some time before the date, the Latin loanword for "tin" was first attested in the 12th century and the English loanword in 1545. Again it is very little material, but overall in these few cases the English loanwords show a tendency of having a later date of their first

¹⁰⁰ Mallory and Adams 1997: 347-348

The English loanwords are slightly more numerous, but at the same time the history of the individual materials does not show in any way why these words were borrowed. They are *metel* ("metal"), *tun* ("tin"), *pres* ("brass"), *copr* ("copper"), *marbl* ("marble"), *alabastr* ("alabaster") and *clai* ("clay"). Perhaps the only possible link would be the Purbeck marble to give the word *marbl*. Half of the loanwords from English however denote (a) metal. They give a differentiation between copper, bronze and brass, which was not present in the older word *efydd* coming from Proto-Indo-European.

Apart from the loanwords, most words are of Proto-Indo-European descent. Unsurprisingly they are the words with the most basic meanings: *haearn* ("iron"), *efydd* ("bronze, brass, copper"), *maen* ("stone"), *pren* ("wood"), *glo* ("charcoal"), *gwlân* ("wool"), *lledr* ("leather"), *halen* ("salt") and *pridd* ("clay"). *Carreg* possibly also belongs with these words, although it might rather be a word of non-Indo-European origin. It is the word for stone and therefore a quite basic word in every language. The only other word with a possible origin outside of the Proto-Indo-European is *coed*, which only has known cognates in the Germanic languages. Pokorny, however does include it in his *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* as Proto-Indo-European with the connotation it only survived in Proto-Celtic and Proto-Germanic and without any mention of a borrowing from a substratum language.¹⁰¹

Brethyn ("cloth") is a rare specimen. It does not seem to have any cognates outside of Insular Celtic, which according to Matasovic¹⁰² happens but is extremely uncommon. He builds a theory on this that says there is no single substratum language for the British Isles. He argues that if there had been, there would be loanwords common to both British and Goidelic, which have not been found very often so far. In fact it is so uncommon Matasovic concludes there can be no single substratum language for the British Isles. Unfortunately cloth does not preserve very easily, so archaeology cannot give us any or many clues, and the other word for cloth, *lliain*, cannot provide us with much information either. *Lliain* is one of the two words in this thesis for which there is no certainty about its origin, the other being *elydn* or *elydr*. Because of this it is very difficult to say anything about it.

The words of this thesis were selected by their meaning for raw materials and with this analysis the words have been categorised by their origin. The conclusion will try to give a meaning to this analysis.

¹⁰¹ Pokorny 1959: 521

¹⁰² Matasovic 2009: 443

Conclusion

At the very beginning of this thesis three possibilities were given for the origin of a word:

- the word was inherited from Indo-European,
- the word was borrowed from the people who introduced the material or had a strong influence on the development of its production or
- the word was borrowed from the supplier of the material during the Middle Ages.

The difference between possibility two and three is best illustrated with an example: the word for lead came from the Romans who gave it a functional use, but it was still mined locally.

It is only in one case (*marbl*, taken from English marble) that there are clues the supplier may have been directly involved in supplying the word denoting the material. However English may have had a strong enough influence over the Welsh language to have supplied the word without its original speakers having to be the suppliers of the material.

The most basic words were from the original Proto-Indo-European language. The words that were borrowed are mostly more specific. For instance the word for stone is an original Indo-European word, while the words for marble, alabaster and lime were borrowed.

The English language had too strong an influence to say anything about the history, given that the loanwords are seemingly taken at random. It would have been very neat if it were possible to give a reason for every single borrowing, but sometimes the influence of a language (most prominently English in this case) is strong enough to make the reasons very vague. The history of the materials that are denoted by a Latin loanword can give us more reasons. The Latin loanwords still show a strong connection to the history of the material. Here the history of the material can give us ideas about why the words were borrowed. For instance lead and marble were very popular with the people of ancient Rome. Their contact with the people of Wales led to the borrowing of the words they used for these materials.

This thesis shows again that much of our history is reflected in our language.

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