

derive Cantware from the R-B ethnicon Cantiaci: "Cantiaci est la forme adjectivale correspondant à Parisiaci, etc. En anglo-saxon Cantiaci sera traduit Cantware 'les hommes du Kent'. Voilà qui est, dans ce domaine, un autre indice de continuité, à remarquer d'autant plus que les noms celtiques qui ont subsisté dans ce comté sont par ailleurs peu nombreux." Such is also the view of Myres (1937: p. 428) and perhaps of others. This seems doubtful, however, since in south and east Britain we know of no other survival of a R-B civitas-name, the only survivals being in the extreme west, and there in the form of area-names not tribal names (Dumnonia > Devon, Demetia > Dyfed, etc.).

15. Norman Scarfe, 'The place-name Icklingham: A preliminary re-examination', with an Appendix on the Iclingas, by Edward A. Martin, East Anglian Archaeology, Report No. 3: Suffolk (Suffolk County Council, 1976), 127-34. A parallelis provided by a pedigree of the rulers of Dyfed, in which the son of the founder Magnus Maximus is one Dimet, an eponymous regression to Demetia or Demetae.
16. On the background, Myres (1937), 414-15.
17. Smith (1979), 9.
18. The view of Jackson is that a form *Lundonion was heard from speakers of British, giving A-S Lundēne (LHEB 258-61, 308 note, etc.); Jackson argues this in terms of British and A-S phonology, and his view has been widely accepted. However, R.E. Zachrisson in Romans, Kelts and Saxons in Ancient Britain (Uppsala & Leipzig, 1927), 80, argued - as he had for certain other names - that the name was transferred from Latin speech to A-S. He could, in my view, well be right. Against standard Londinio (-ium) in most R-B sources, we have late R-B forms Lundinio in Iter VII of the Antonine Itinerary (3 times), Lundinium 3 times in Ammianus Marcellinus, and Lundonia in Bede (probably from a tradition maintained in Rome). This seems ample evidence of a late R-B (Latin) u as the first vowel. As for the stressed vowel, in Vulgar Latin ī > ē (ī > ē) in most parts of the Empire by the 3rd century, British examples including felicessemus (RIB 988), baselicam (RIB 978), demediam (RIB 306), etc.; so there is no problem in postulating a late Latin spoken form *Lundeniu and its transfer to the Germanic settlers.
19. E. Ekwall, English River-Names (Oxford, 1928). Professor Jackson's map is mentioned in Note 8 above.
20. Smith (1979), 4-6.
21. Michael Hunter, 'Germanic and Roman antiquity and the sense of the past in Anglo-Saxon England', Anglo-Saxon England, 3 (1974), 29-50, especially 35-44.

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PLACE-NAMES IN EARLY IRISH DOCUMENTATION:
STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION*

The primary consideration of this paper was to establish from observation of place-name documentation in a number of selected texts the commonest structural patterns in earlier place-name formation. A secondary consideration was the observation of the commonest generic elements in the place-names of the sources examined. Place-names that are known to be transferred population-/sept-names have been omitted from the assessment.

1. A preliminary to the main exercise was the consideration of what is probably the commonest structure in the place-name coverage of today, viz. 'Noun governing gen. of article and noun', e.g. Lag an Aoil ('hollow of the lime'), Loch an Iúir ('lake of the yew'). The texts examined towards this end were AI (Annals of Inisfallen, ed. S. Mac Airt), AU (Annals of Ulster, ed. W.M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy), Loch Cé (The Annals of Loch Cé, ed. W.M. Hennessy), the Patrician biographical material in the Book of Armagh (ed. W. Stokes, The Tripartite Life of Patrick, II, pp. 269-351), Bethu Phátraic, I (ed. K. Mulchrone).

For each set of annals the proportional occurrence per century of the place-name structure 'Noun governing gen. of article and noun' was presented in a series of histograms. (Proportions were based on the total count of place-names within the century, with the omission of repeats and known transferred population-/sept-names.) Excepting one 6th century entry, Ráith in Druad, instances of the place-name structure in AI begin in the 11th and 12th centuries, both with ca 2%, with a marked increase in the 13th century to ca 11%. In AU the structure is not documented with any degree of certainty until the 9th century (ca 1%) but the incidence is not markedly significant until the 12th and 13th centuries. Loch Cé covers the century-span that appears most significant in this study, the 11th - 16th centuries. Here we have a fairly steady increase in the incidence of the structure from ca 2% in the 11th century to 22% in the 16th century. The statistical tendency, on the combined evidence of the three sets of annals, would indicate that while names of the structure 'Noun governing gen. of article and noun' are instanced as early as the 9th century, it is from the 11th century onwards that there is a noticeable increase in the frequency of usage.

These findings were upheld by the narrative texts examined: the non-occurrence of this place-name structure in the Book of Armagh material (7th - early 9th century)¹ and the markedly low incidence of the structure in Bethu Phátraic² (original compilation ca 900 A.D.).

Also considered briefly at this stage was the incidence of the place-name structure 'Noun with article' which, according to the findings of the main exercise (discussed below in 4), is not significantly represented in early documentation. The proportional occurrence per century of this structure in the annals was presented alongside the corresponding 'Noun governing gen. of article and noun' histogram. The correspondence was sufficiently marked in all three sets of annals to indicate that the increase in frequency of the name-structure 'Noun governing gen. of article and noun' was related to the increase in frequency of the 'Noun with article' name-structure.³ It was also noted that in Bethu Phátraic the

incidence of 'Noun with article' was as low as ca 1.5% - 3.5%.⁴

2. For the main exercise of this study, viz. the assessment of the commonest structural patterns in earlier place-name formation, the following texts were examined: AI and AU (5th - 7th centuries), Arm. (the 7th-century biographies of Muirchú and Tírechán), TBC (Táin Bó Cúailnge, Recension I, ed. C. O'Rahilly) and LG (Lebor Gabála Érenn, ed. R.A.S. MacAlister, ITS vols. 34, 35, 39, 41, 44).

In considering the annalistic material - AI (compiled in the 11th century from earlier records) and AU (compiled in the 15th century) two reservations are borne in mind: (a) the possibility that non-contemporary names might be entered in additions to the basic source material and (b) the unlikelihood of 5th- and 6th-century entries having been contemporary records. Against the latter caveat, it may be argued that the place-names mentioned are, in general, names which were believed by the medievalists to have a 5th- or a 6th-century association. (Proportions arrived at were, again, based on the total count for each century, with the omission of repeats and transferred population-/sept-names.)

The first reservation above applies also to the two narrative texts - the saga Táin Bó Cúailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') and the pseudo-historical Lebor Gabála Érenn (popularly known as 'The Book of Invasions'). TBC, Recension I is an 11th-century recension based on earlier versions, the nucleus of which is believed to have been in writing by the 8th, if not the mid-7th century. The story is set in the proto-historic period. Most scholars hold that it stemmed ultimately from oral tradition. Despite the probability that not all of the place-names are 'real' names (e.g. many of the 'corroboration of the incident' names are suspect) all place-names were included in the count, excepting repeats, transferred population-/sept-names and, in this text, a few foreign names. LG is preserved in redactions of the late 11th and 12th centuries but it is thought that the fabrication of the work was in progress from about the 8th century. It purports to give the history of the successive invasions of Ireland from before the Flood up to the coming of the Gaelic people, with an appendix on the reigns of successive monarchs which is continued on to the 12th century A.D.⁵ The consideration of the names in LG is beset by hazards similar to those encountered in TBC. However, since the medieval scholar was by tradition and training very name-conscious, it can be argued that where we are given the names of plains that were cleared by successive monarchs, dúns that were constructed by them, lakes that erupted and rivers that burst forth during their reigns, etc., we can assume that these were names that had acknowledged antiquity in the medieval period. In excerpting the place-names of LG a degree of subjective selectivity was exercised in that names that were thought to be essentially later locational glosses were omitted from the reckoning.

A major factor in determining the selection of sources was that the texts should have a sufficiently high place-name content to afford a viable count for statistical consideration. For each of the texts the incidence of the following place-name compositional structures was charted: 'Noun without article', 'Noun with article', 'Noun governing gen. of noun', 'Noun governing gen. of pers. name/sept-name', 'Noun + da + noun', 'Noun governing gen. of article and noun', 'Noun followed by adj.', 'Compounds'.⁶ The main concentration was on forming an overall assessment of the total range of names rather than on refinements of

individual classifications, such as, for instance, analysis of the components of compounds, even the recognition of some names as early compounds. The exercise was primarily of an exploratory nature (leaving the possibility of refinements within the overall pattern to a later stage of the study) and main findings only are given in this summary.

3. In the total range of texts - annalistic material, hagiography, saga and pseudo-history - three dominant classifications emerged: 'Noun without article', 'Noun governing gen. of noun' together with 'Noun governing gen. of pers. name or sept-name'. In each of the texts the sum total of these three classifications amounted to over 80% of the total count; furthermore, the proportional incidence of these classifications within each of the texts showed a fair degree of correspondence.

4. 'Noun without article':

AI:	40% (5th c.), 39% (6th c.), 38% (7th c.)
AU:	42% (5th c.), 33% (6th c.), 34% (7th c.)
Arm.:	33%
TBC:	41%
LG:	35%

The incidence of the structure 'Noun with article' was so low as to be negligible (TBC .03%, LG .05%), particularly so in view of the relative lateness of the redactions.

5. 'Noun governing gen. of noun' and 'Noun governing gen. of pers. name or sept-name'

In view of the difficulty in distinguishing in certain instances between the two classifications both separate and joint percentages are given; the percentages given for the first classification must, consequently, be seen as approximate.⁷ For LG where, in the nature of pseudo-historical narrative, the problem was greatest, a joint percentage only is given.

AI:	47%, jointly 60% (5th c.); 40%, jointly ca 46% (6th c.); 29%, jointly ca 43% (7th c.)
AU:	42%, jointly ca 46% (5th c.); 39%, jointly ca 48% (6th c.); 42%, jointly ca 51% (7th c.)
Arm.:	47%, jointly ca 59%
TBC:	34%, jointly ca 41%
LG:	jointly ca 52%

It was observed that in TBC and LG incidence of the structure 'Noun governing gen. of article and noun' was insignificant, ca 1% in each text (and again, the relative lateness of the redactions cannot be discounted). This accords with the findings in 1 above which indicate a date ca 9th century for the earliest significant

documentation of this structure.

6. Other findings were briefly noted, pending more detailed investigation. In all instances of the structure 'Noun governing da + noun' the medial element was seen to be the dual number. Incidence of the structure 'Noun + qualifying adjective' was remarkably low, ca 2% in TBC and ca 1% in LG. Nor was this low incidence seen to be complemented by any significant incidence of 'Adjective compounded with noun' place-name structure. Indeed, even the total incidence of the several structures of compounds (where recognised) as place-names was relatively low, the highest frequency being ca 9% in LG.

7. It is in the category 'Noun without article' that we get our oldest stratum, or strata, of names. While an occasional name is immediately intelligible - Slemain 'slippery or smooth place', Lúachair 'rushy place', Dobhar 'water' - the majority of the names are not words which feature lexicographically in the composition of Old or Middle Irish texts. There is no manuscript indication that they had a natural usage in the vocabulary of the post 800 period: names like Fremaind, Uisnech, Temair, Carman, Tailtiu, Cuib, Slanga, Ocha, Clíu, Aí, Crinna, etc., the interpretation of which is dependent on philology rather than lexicography. On the other hand, in the category 'Noun governing gen. of noun', for the most part the primary element is immediately intelligible and the commonest instances of these elements are listed in 8 *infra*. It would appear that the category 'Noun without article' is firmly rooted in the pre-documentary period with a degree of continuity into the Old Irish period. The category 'Noun governing gen. of noun' appears to be well established by the beginning of the documentary period and, if the place-name documentation of the 5th- and 6th-century annals is even partially reliable, well established by the beginning of our historical period.

8. A charting of the incidence of commoner topographical elements in each of the texts examined showed the following to have a significant frequency of occurrence: mag, 'plain', loch, 'lake, sea-lough', sliab, 'mountain', druim, 'hill-ridge', cenn, 'head', ard/aird, 'height/promontory', glenn, 'glen', inis, 'island'. Of these mag had by far the highest incidence in all the texts. However, since the subject matter of the text can determine the frequency or infrequency of the elements instanced, the relative incidence of the other seven elements listed was not seen to be of significance. A similar charting of elements relating to settlement, communication and artefact showed that of the primary settlement terms dún, 'fort' and ráth, 'fort' were the commonest. (Cell was the common ecclesiastical settlement term in the annals and Arm.) Of the secondary settlement terms cluain, 'meadow' was seen to have the highest incidence; achad, 'field, pasture' and cúil, 'corner, recess' were also well attested. Of the elements indicating man's activity áth, 'ford' and carn, 'cairn' had a significant frequency of usage.

The above elements appear to have been in common use in the place-name composition of the early documentary period. If the place-name documentation of the sources used for this study is - even to some degree - a reflection of the nomenclature of the period to which the subject matter relates, it may be argued that the elements listed were in common use in place-name composition in and around the beginning of the historical period.

NOTES

*A summary of a paper given at the Twelfth Conference of the Council for Name Studies at Keele, March 23rd, 1980. The full text will be published in Bull. Ulster Place-Name Soc., ser. 2, vol. 4 (1981/2).

1. Discounting the problematic name 'Sescenn da cor', which Pokorny argued contained as its medial element a reduced form of the genitive plural of the article, inda > da (Zeit. für Celtische Philol. XIV (1923), 270-71). Pokorny's supporting evidence for his theory that da in place-names may sometimes represent the genitive plural of the article and not the dual number is seen to be unconvincing. For an appraisal of the evidence cf. Bull. Ulster Place-Name Soc., ser. 2, vol. 3 (1980/1).
2. I am indebted to Dr. J. Maguire for permission to use his index of the place-names in Bethu Phátraic and his notes on the place-name analysis.
3. It was noted that 'single noun' names, documented without the article in the earlier centuries, begin commonly to feature the article by the 12th century.
4. More than half the names are used both with and without the article.
5. The post-7th century sequence was omitted from this consideration.
6. Several minor categories considered - 'Noun + gen. of noun + gen. of adjective', 'Noun + gen. of noun + gen. of noun' - have been omitted from this summary presentation.
7. The percentage would show a marginal increase if the related categories 'Noun + gen. of noun + gen. of adjective' and 'Noun + gen. of noun + gen. of noun' were added. Attested elements of lower frequency count have been omitted from this summary.

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