

Breton Patronyms and the British Heroic Age

Gary D. German

Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique

Introduction

Of the three Brythonic-speaking nations, Brittany, Cornwall and Wales, it is the Bretons who have preserved the largest number of Celtic family names, many of which have their origins during the colonization of Armorica, a period which lasted roughly from the fourth to the eighth centuries. The purpose of this paper is to present an overview of the Breton naming system and to identify the ways in which it is tied to the earliest Welsh poetic traditions.

The first point I would like to make is that there are two naming traditions in Brittany today, not just one. The first was codified in writing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and it is this system that has given us the official hereditary family names as they are recorded in the town halls and telephone directories of Brittany. Although these names have been subjected to marked French orthographic practices, they reflect, in a fossilized form, the Breton oral tradition as it existed when the names were first set in writing over 400 years ago. For this reason, these names often contain lexical items that are no longer understood in the modern spoken language. We shall return to this point below.

The second naming system stems directly from the oral tradition as it has come down to us today. Unlike the permanent hereditary names, it is characterized by its ephemeral, personal and extremely flexible nature. Such names disappear with the death of those who bear them. Nevertheless, both systems are inexorably intertwined and can be classified in four very broad categories:

Type-1 names indicate patronymic lineage and bonds to mothers and spouses;

Type-2 names are linked to one's place of origin;

Type-3 names are tied one's occupation;

Type-4 names signal physical or moral traits, usually defects or flaws.

The first part of this article contains a general overview of the first four name types as they appear both in an official context and in Breton popular culture. The second part is devoted to a fifth name type which has survived only in the official naming system: *Cadoret*, *Cadoalen*, *Canevet*, *Donval*, *Hellegouarc'h*, *Helloury*, etc. Such type-5 names stand apart in the sense that they are, for the most part, ancient Brythonic warrior names extolling martial virtues. Understandably, most modern Breton speakers are not familiar with the meaning of these names. The logical consequence is that the old word stock that composes them is no longer productive in the modern oral tradition. Significantly, it is these type-5 names that reveal the strongest and most evident historical links to Wales and the British heroic age.

1 Overview of Type-1 to Type-4 Names

1.1 Type 1: bonds to fathers, mothers and spouses

There are four distinct ways in which bonds to one's father, mother and spouse can be expressed. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that, at the heart of the system, the patrilineal relationship is clearly dominant.

1.1.1 The most common ways of signalling the relationship to one's father are as follows:

- a) X *mab* Z (X son of Z); b) Y *merch* Z (Y daughter of Z)

Indeed, the existence of early Latinized adaptations of this system, such as the early sixth-century stone inscription *Rialobrani Cunovali fili* (*Rialobran* son of *Cunoval*) in western Cornwall,¹ demonstrates that the system is very old indeed and is still in common use in modern spoken Breton: i.e. *Hiziou 'meus gwelet mab Youenn*, 'I saw Youenn's son today'.

Just as in Wales, *ap* or *ab* names were also still in use when the entire naming system was codified during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is interesting to note that Ifor Williams (1968: 112) signals that *ap* is first attested in Middle Welsh during the twelfth century. Yet, the fact that both Welsh and Breton possess this form implies that *ap/ab* names may have already been in use before the Brythons left Britain for Armorica. They are most abundant today in Léon: *Abalain*, *Abegile*, *Abeozen*, *Abgrall*, *Abguéguen*, *Abguillerm*, *Abiven*, *Apperry*, *Apprioual*, *Appriou*, *Abrivallon*, etc.

In modern spoken Breton, *merc'h* functions the same way as *mab*: *Merc'h Soaz koz 'oa an hini a oa dall!* 'It was Old Soaz's daughter who was blind!' Of course, this is the same system that one encounters in Middle Welsh: *Branwen ferch Llyr*, etc. I have found no forms in Brittany that correspond to the Welsh *ach* (*Anne ach Richard*, 'Anne, daughter of Richard') (cf. Morgan and Morgan 1985).

1.1.2 The second subsystem has only been preserved in the popular oral tradition. Here two Christian names succeed each other without the use of *ab*, *mab* or *merch*. For instance, *Steon Yann* (lit. Steven John) means 'Steven son of John', *Yann Von* (lit. John Yvonne), 'John son/husband of Yvonne' and *Rin Von* (lit. Catherine Yvonne) 'Catherine daughter of Yvonne', etc.

Interestingly, it is possible to string several names together to indicate patrilineal or matrilineal bonds going back several generations. Mikael Madeg, Per Pondaven and Yann Riou (2006) have collected dozens of recent examples in north-western Léon: *Lomm Yann Olier*, 'William son of John, grandson of Oliver'. They also cite examples where sons and daughters are known by reference to their mothers: *Mari Gid Bi Louiz*: *Marie* the daughter of *Marguerite*, the grand-daughter of *Jean-Marie*, the great-grand-daughter of *Louis* (ibid.).

Liam Mac Mathúna (2006: 82) presents an identical system at work in Ireland: 'The name in everyday use within the local community, the one used in ordinary conversation to locate an individual regularly had two or three elements. *Séamus-Uilliam* (James, son of William); *Máire-Shéamuis Bháin* (Mary, daughter of fair James), *Johnny-Dhonnchadha-Eoin*

¹ *Rialobran* and *Cunoval* are themselves Type-5 names that occur in modern Breton place names.

(Johnny, Dennis, Iain) ... Four string names are known: *Peigi-Phaidi-Shéamuis-Dhomhnaill* (Peggy, Paddy, James, Donal).’

The Breton and Irish examples reflect the manner in which all the Celtic languages express genitival relationships, as in the following Breton example: *Ty Mamm Doue* (House of the Mother of God). This linguistic fact may suggest that this informal system has always been part of the Brythonic native naming system and it cannot be ruled out that it may once have existed in the Welsh and Cornish traditions.

1.1.3 The third subsystem can itself be broken down into two components:

1.1.3.1 Christian name + Bihan = son

When both a father and son share the same Christian name, another subsystem is used in the spoken language whereby the term *Bihan* (small) is used to designate ‘son of’; for example, *Youen Bihan* (Little Yves, i.e. Yves son of Yves). This system has been carried over into French as *Petit Yves*, *Petit Louis*, etc. Given that it is perceived as old-fashioned and rural, this custom is now less and less common.

Note that the diminutive suffix, <-ig> [ik], is used exactly as the English <-y> to identify both young boys and girls: *Yannig* (Johnny), *Laouig/Lomig* (Willy), *Soazig* (‘Francie’), *Annaig* [naik] (Annie). Some scholars have gone so far as to see a Brythonic influence on English here.

1.1.3.2 Christian name (+ farm/official family name) + *koz*:

In cases where fathers and sons share the same Christian name, *koz* is often added to the father’s Christian name, farm name or official family name in order to avoid confusion. The father of *Youen Bihan*, mentioned above, would thus be called *Youen koz* or, if his official name is *Yves Le Gall*, *Youen Gall koz*.

A fascinating Welsh parallel to this system is recorded by Morgan and Morgan (1985: 59) where *Mareddydd Fychan ab yr Hen Faredydd* (1350–1415) literally means ‘*Maredudd* the “small” son of the “old” *Maredudd*’. Just as in the Breton tradition, in this context *Bychan* does not necessarily have anything to do with the person’s size but rather the person’s relationship to his father. The fact that the system exists both in Brittany and in Wales may mean that it was once part of a wider Brythonic naming tradition.

Significantly, mothers are also identified in the same way: *Soaz goz* [swas `ku:z] ‘old Françoise’, *Mai goz* [mai `gu:z] ‘old Mary’, and so on.

1.1.4 The final subsystem belonging to this category concerns the manner by which a daughter or wife indicates her relationship to her father or husband. It is constructed by indicating the woman’s Christian name + *Ti* + the father’s or husband’s first name and his official family or farm name: *Marlouch Ti Yann Kereonnec*, ‘Marie-Louise of the house of Yann, of the farm of Kereonnec’, *Von Ti Per an² Gall*, ‘Yvonne of the house of Peter (Le) Gall’ and so on. Such names are common throughout western Brittany.

² This example comes from southern Cornouaille. Note that *An* was the original form of the definite article in Breton, as in Cornish. <Ar>, <Al> are more recent, phonetically conditioned forms. Between Quimper and Quimperlé, the definite article *an* only rarely evolves to *ar* or *al* (cf. German 1987).

Of these four sub-systems of type-1 names, only *ab*-type names, *Abalain*, *Abrivoallon*, *Abegile*, etc. were codified as official names. The rest have survived only in the oral tradition. (See German 2006 for a fuller discussion.)

1.2 Type-2 names

Type-2 names associate men and women with their place of residence or origin. This is undoubtedly a very old trait that is shared by all Brythonic-speaking cultures.³ It was common to both the aristocracy and peasantry and there are abundant examples in the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd*.⁴ On this point, Morgan and Morgan (1985: 27) write that in Wales, ‘the usage of attaching a place-name to a personal name is very common *at the colloquial level* and always has been’.⁵

In the oral Breton tradition, appending the farm name to the personal name is still one of the most common ways of identifying a man or woman in rural Brittany. The list below provides examples of common family names originating from place names. Many of these, of course, also contain very old type-5 names which will be discussed in the second part of this paper:

KER: *Kergoz* (Old farm), *Kerguelen* (Holly farm), *Kerveil* (Mill farm), *Kervabon* (Mabon’s farm), *Kergoat* (Forest farm), etc. **PEN:** *Penhoat* (‘end of the wood’), *Penaneac’h* (mountain summit < *an neac’h* < *knech* < *cnuc*); *Penguilly* (end of the grove), *Penguilly* (end of the grove); **TRE:** *Tremadec* (Madoc’s township); **LAN:** *Lannurien* (Hallowed ground dedicated to ‘Saint’ *Urien*); **PLOU:** *Plougouven* (Parish of *Conven*); **ROS:** *Rosconval*, (*Conval*’s Hill: < *Cunoval*; cf. reference to Cornish inscription *Rialobrani Cunovali fili*); **GUILLY:** *Guillygomarc’h* (‘Descendant of *Comarc’h*’; = *Gwely Cynfarch*); **CREAC’H:** *Creac’hadic* (Cadic’s Hill); **QUENEAC’H:** (< *cnuc*), *Quéneac’hdu* (Black hill); **GLAN:** *Glanndour* (pure-water or banks of the water); **TY:** *Letty* (*Letty* < OB *Laedti*, lit. milk-house/dairy (Welsh *Llety*), *Litybran* (*Letty* + *bran*); **BREN:** *Brenterc’h* (Boars’ Hill; cf. *Bryntyrch*, *Caernarvon*), *Kervren* (Hill farm) ... (Deshayes 1995: 324; Gourvil 1993).

So many Breton names of this kind were codified by the seventeenth century, and are now carried as official names, that confusion sometimes arises. A person whose official name is *François Kergoat* and who lives in a hamlet called *Linguennec* will be known locally by the name *Fañch Linguennec* ... not by his official name. It is not uncommon for people to interact with each other for years and to know only their unofficial farm or hamlet names.

1.3 Type-3 names: occupational activities (generally linked to peasantry)

Type-3 names offer another common way of naming a person, this time according to one’s occupation, but particularly one involving some specialized activity. As we have seen, farm owners and dwellers normally take the names of their farms.⁶ In Brittany dozens of such

³ Of course, this system is found not only in the Celtic countries but also in many cultures of the world.

⁴ *Brochfael Brolet*, *Urien Rheged*, *Cian Maen Gwyngwn*, *Cynddilig Aeron*, *Madog Elfed*, *Clydno Eidyn*, etc.

⁵ ‘It is probably the practice in all areas for farm-names to be used in this way: I recall that the name of every farm around my home was attached to the names of its occupants, *Wil Cwmcyrnach*, *Llew’r Garth*, etc.’ *Ibid.*

⁶ Morgan and Morgan (*ibid.*, p. 51) have gleaned a few examples of occupational names from Welsh records such as *Gwehydd Bergam* (‘Weaver bandy-legged/crooked-shank’). Nevertheless, few existing Welsh

occupational names have survived officially and in the modern oral tradition. Indeed, new nicknames are given to describe jobs that did not exist a hundred years ago. For instance, the artificial inseminator of La Roche Derrien (Côtes-d'Armor, north-eastern Brittany) is known locally as *Kwele Roc'h* (lit. the Bull of La Roche Derrien), and the man who used to deliver bottled gas in nearby Trébeurden was known locally as *pôtr ar gaz* (lit. 'the gas boy'). In St Yvi, southern Finistère, the village tobacconist was known to all as *Jakez Ty Butun* (Jack, Tobacco-house).

Here are some common examples of official Breton family names derived from occupational epithets: *Le Dorner* ('the thresher' < B. *dorn* 'hand'; *dorna* 'to strike, thresh'; W. *dwrn*; Cornish *dorna* 'to thrash'), *Le Falc'her* (the reaper/mower; *falc'hi* to reap/mow < *falc'h* 'sythe'), *Baraer* ('the baker' < *bara* 'bread'), *Quiguer* (the butcher < *kig* 'meat'; W. *cig*), *Bosser* (the butcher < Fr. *boucher*), *Quéguiner* (Cook < *kegin* 'kitchen', W. *cegin*), *Le Gonidec* (the farmer), *Le Mao* (the servant), *Le Mevel* (servant), *Le Calvez* (the carpenter), *Quéméner* (the tailor), *Le Guyader* (the weaver), *Le Goff* (the smith), *Le Tiek* (the farmer), *L'Ozac'h* (the head of the household/farm-owner), *Lozac'hmeur* (the great farm-owner), etc.

In all cases, the official names adopt the French definite article, *Le*, a direct translation of Breton *An*: *An Dorner*, *An Falc'her*, *An Baraer*, *An C'higer*, etc. (cf. footnote 2).

1.4 Type-4 names: physical characteristics

Type-4 names are given according to one's physical or moral characteristics, normally defects or flaws. As a glance through any telephone directory of Finistère, Côtes-d'Armor and Morbihan will prove, such names still abound in Brittany. However, while the qualifier functions as an adjective in Welsh names and is often lenited, in Breton, the nominal form is used: *Tudfwlch Hir* as opposed to *Yann an Hir* and translated in French as *Jean Le Hir* (John the tall).

The following examples are typical: *Le Bihan* ('small', W. *bychan*; the Anglicised form is *Vaughan*; Cornish *Bain*, *Bean*), *Le Bour* ('the fat one') *Le Corre* (the dwarf; B. *korrgan*, W. *Coranieid* Welsh *Corgi*), *Couric* (little dwarf), *Le Bras* (the big/thick), *Le Meur* (big; W. *Mawr*), *Le Treut* (the skinny), *Le Teo* (the fat), *Le Cam* (the cripple),⁷ *Gargam* (cripple leg, the one who limps), *Berrhouc* (short neck), *Troadec* (big foot), *Lagadec* (big eye), *Friec* (big nose), *Scouarnec* (big ear), *Tallec* (big brow), *Daoudal* (two-fronts/foreheads?), *Garrec* (big leg), *Morzadec* (big thigh), *Pennec* (big head), *Le Moal* (bald), *Le Teodec* (big tongue, talkative), *Le Dantec* (big tooth), *Corfec* (big body), *Corfdir* (steel body, perhaps also a warrior's name), *Le Guen* (the fair), *Le Du* or *Le Duff* (the black), *Le Quellec* (< *kell* 'big testicles'), *Calloc'h* (testicles), etc.

Morgan and Morgan (1985: 16, 60–61) shows that a system closely resembling this one clearly survived in Wales until the Anglicisation of the gentry in the sixteenth century.⁸

urnames originate from this source nor are there many examples in Cornwall (examples: *Angove* 'the smith'; *Tyack* 'farmer' cf. below).

⁷ Morgan and Morgan (1985: 67) give several names for the seventeenth-century ex. *Dafydd Gam* of Breconshire, *Thomas Cam* 1633.

⁸ *Einion Bolledan* (*Bol* + *ledan* 'wide-belly'), *Iuan Vechan Penbul* (Evan small block head; early 15th c.), *Maredudd Benhir* (long-head), *Wion Pengam* (head-bent), *Iorwerth Penwyn* (white-head), *gwehydd*

They add (ibid. p. 25) that these kinds of epithets are still common in colloquial Welsh today: *Twm Mawr* (Big Tom); *Twm Gwyllt* (Wild Tom), etc., but are restricted to the paritary level of language.

Here again, there is room for confusion, and even embarrassment, as when a woman from Bégard, Côtes-d'Armor, addressed a man as *Monsieur Denthir*, the problem being that, unbeknown to her, his real name was *Le Braz* ... and his teeth were long indeed. This is another example of a head-on collision between the official naming system and the modern oral tradition, proving that both have preserved the essentials of something more ancient.

2.0 Type-5 names: names of the British Heroic Age

Type-5 names can generally be traced back to the earliest Brythonic sources and are to be found in the saints' lives and the monastic cartularies such as the cartularies of Redon, Quimperlé, Quimper and Landevennec. Tanguy (1998: 52)⁹ points out that over 1,440 personal names appear in the Cartulary of Redon alone. 90 per cent of these date to the ninth and tenth centuries, the earliest beginning in the year 832. Most of the names cited in this paper were drawn from this source although a scattering of names were also taken from the other cartularies.

The vast majority of the lexical items composing these names are intimately bound to what was clearly a highly violent military aristocracy. They can be classified thematically into several categories.

2.1 War, fighting, warriors and weapons

Perhaps the largest collection of lexical components revolves around themes relating to battle, war, warriors, war bands, and fighting: *Bresel* 'war', *Bud-* 'victory', *Cad-* 'battle', *Guethen* 'battle/warrior', *Uuicon* 'warrior', *Keneu* 'young warrior', *Cor-* 'warband'/'warrior', *dron* 'warband'.

Tanguy (ibid.) points out that the most frequently-occurring term in the Cartulary of Redon is 'iron'. It appears 95 times under the form of *iarn* and *hoiarn*. It is not improbable that this reference to iron reaches back into the *La Tène* period. Owing to the scarcity of this precious metal and its association with weapons, it may have had a secondary meaning of something like 'noble' or 'of high lineage' since only members of the military aristocracy could have owned them.

One of the most remarkable survivals of a Brythonic name containing OB *hoiarn* is the modern Breton family name *Talhouarn* ('iron brow' or 'iron front'), a name cognate with none other than *Talhaearn tat aguen* (Talhaearn the father of poetic inspiration) and cited in

Bergam (Weaver crooked-shank), *Ellis Byddar* (deaf Ellis, 1611) ... *Dafydd tew/dew* (fat Dafydd). *Dafydd Gam* (crippled/lame David), and *Rhosier Fychan* (Roger Vaughan, the small/son). *Hywel Felyn* (blond Howell), *Gwladys ddu*, *Gwladys wen* (Black Gladys/white Gladys), *Rhys ddu/Rhys wyn* (black Reese/white Reece), *Adda fras* (thick/broad Adam). *Einion Lygliw* (mouse-coloured Einion), *Ieuan ap y Brych Cadarn* (Ieuan the son of freckled-strong).

⁹ I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to Professor Bernard Tanguy, who is a longstanding member of our research group at the Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique, and whose work in this domain has contributed so much to the knowledge of Old Breton names, particularly of this category.

Nennius' *Historia Brittonum* and mentioned alongside Aneirin and Taliesin as one of the leading sixth-century bards of Britain (Williams 1968: xi).

Tanguy writes that the second and third most common terms in the Cartulary of Redon are *cat* and *uethen* (> *guethen*) both meaning 'battle' and, in the second case, 'warrior'. Both words appear commonly in the *Canu Hengerdd*. There are 34 and 48 occurrences of these names respectively in this cartulary alone. In addition, there are 33 occurrences of *iarn* or *hoiarn* in conjunction with either *cat* or *guethen* (ibid.).

As can be seen in the following table, all of these are still common constituents of the modern equivalents.

Old Breton Word	Translation	Old Breton Name	Translation	Mod.Breton Name
<i>Bresel</i>	war	Breseloc 870 Breselmarcoc 863 Breselconan 878 Breselcoucant 848 Breselueu 878 Preselgar 913	Warlike War-horseman War-battlehound War-true/loyal War-armies?/light? War-kinsman	Kervrezelec
<i>Bud</i>	victory, profit	<i>Budoc</i> 9 th c. <i>Budhoiarn</i> 859 <i>Buduere</i> 834 <i>Buduoret</i> 857 <i>Butgual</i> 1038	Victorious Victory-iron Victory-eminent Victory-protection Victory-valorous	Beuzec Bizouarn Buzaré, Buzarré, Buzaret, Buaré, Buzoret Buzval
<i>Cat</i>	battle, combat	<i>Catbud</i> 833 <i>Cathoiarn</i> 833 ¹⁰ <i>Catlouen</i> 857 <i>Catmimed</i> 866 <i>Catuoret</i> 832 <i>Catuur</i> 834 <i>Catuallon</i> 852 <i>Catuualart</i> 842 <i>Cadiou</i> 10 th c.? <i>Cadoc</i> 10 th c.?	Battle-victory Battle-iron Battle-joy Battle-sacred Battle-protection Battle-man Battle-valorous Battle-prince Battle-nature Battle-like	Catouarn Cadlaouen? Canevet ¹¹ Cadoret Cadour, Cader Cadoalen, Cadalen ¹² Kergoetalazre Cadiou ¹³ Cadec ¹⁴
<i>Cor</i>	warrior, warband	<i>Corueten</i> 867 <i>Uuetencor</i> 814 <i>Coriou</i> 1084	Warband-warrior Warband-warrior Of warlike nature	Corvezen, Corven, Corvenne Coriou ¹⁵ Corlay, Corcuff...
<i>Drun</i>	warrior, warband	<i>Druniou</i> 1088 <i>Dronuualoe</i> 895	Nature of a warrior High-valorous warrior	Droniou ¹⁶ Dronval
<i>Hoiarn</i>	iron	<i>Hoiarnscoit</i> 851 <i>Hoiarnviu</i> 9 th c. <i>Tanoarn</i> 1052 <i>Iarntanet</i> 846 <i>Iarnanic</i> 9 th c.? <i>Iarnhouen</i> 834 <i>Iarnuoccon</i> 864	Iron-shield Iron- alive Fire-iron Iron-fired Little-iron Iron-friendly Iron-deed	Harscouet, Hascoet St. Houarno, Hervé Tannouarn Talouarn, Thalouarn Hernanic Jarnouen Jarnigon, Hernigou
<i>Iarn</i>				

¹⁰ Morgan and Morgan (1985: 61) note that Welsh *Catharn* (ex. Henry Catharn 1533) may come from Welsh *Cadhaearn* (< Catihernus) and not *Cadarn*. Cadaouen. Cadarn is attested as a patronym both in OB and in Modern Breton.

¹¹ *Nemed* here is related to the Continental Celtic word *nemeton* meaning sanctuary or sacred place.

¹² Cadwallawn Gwynedd. The name is related to the *Catuvellauni*, the name of a Gaulish/British tribe.

¹³ According to Fleuriot (1964a: 80) the *-iou* suffix is related to **yugo* 'yoke' (cf. *Ver-iugo-dumnus*, W. *cyfiaw* 'equality, friendship') and possibly means 'having the nature of Cadiou' (trisyllabic Ka-di-u) having the meaning of 'warlike', *Cariou* 'having the nature of a kinsmen/friend', *Riou* 'having the nature of a king', etc.

¹⁴ *Caddick*, *Caddock* are Welsh equivalents.

¹⁵ Buck (1949, 1988: 1377) gives I.E **kor* with the meaning of 'war', 'army', 'crowd'.

¹⁶ Fleuriot (1964b: 152) ties the OB *drogn* to OI *drong*, 'gathering, troop, warband'. It would have the same root as OE *dryht* meaning 'people, army'.

<i>Keneu</i>	young warrior	<i>Iunkeneu</i> 1029 <i>Maenceneu</i> 10 th c.?	Vigorous young warrior Powerful-young warrior	Jinguené, Junguené, Ginguené Mainguené, ¹⁷ Quiniou?
<i>Liuet</i> <i>Lu</i>	army	<i>Blenliuet</i> 866 <i>Morliuet</i> 866 <i>Breselueu</i> 878	Army-vanguard Great-army War-armies	Brélivet Lividec Kerlividec
<i>Scoet/Scuet</i>	shield	<i>Maelscuet</i> 1088 <i>Hoiarnscoet</i> 851	Prince-shield Iron-shield	Melscoet Hascoet
<i>Uethen/Guethen</i>	warrior, war	<i>Uuetenoc</i> 833 <i>Uuetencar</i> 834 <i>Kenguethen</i> 90 <i>Tanetuueten</i> 864	War(rior)-like Warrior-kin Handsome-warrior Impetuous-warrior	Guezeneç, Guézenoc, Guézengar Quenven
<i>Uuicon/Guigon</i>	warrior	<i>Uuicon</i> 868	Warrior	Guéguen, Guéguennou

2.1.1 Warlike animals

A subcategory of such warrior names concerns fierce animals: *arth* ‘bear’, *bleid* ‘wolf’, *bran* ‘raven’, *broch* ‘badger’, *con* ‘war hound’, *ki* ‘war hound’ or animals associated with the aristocracy such as *march* ‘stallion’. All of these may once have been totems with which the warrior identified.¹⁸

The most illustrious of these is *Arthur*. It is attested in the cartulary of Redon for the year 868 and has survived in modern Breton under the form of *Arzur*. *Arth* ‘bear’ is followed by what could be the suffix <-ur> (from +*gur*): *Arthur*, meaning ‘man’ or ‘warrior’, ‘bear-warrior’. *Arth* is also linked to other epithets such as *biu* ‘lively, energetic’, *mael* ‘prince’, *uiiu* ‘worthy, noble’.

Old Breton Word	Translation	Old Breton Name	Translation	Mod.Breton Name
<i>Arth</i>	bear	<i>Arth</i> 869 <i>Arthbiu</i> 834 <i>Arthur</i> 868 <i>Arthmael</i> 833 <i>Arthuiiu</i> 866	Bear Bear-alive/vigorous Bear-man? Bear-prince Worthy-bear	Arz Arzur Armel, Armelle
<i>Bleid</i>	wolf	<i>Bleidbara</i> 876	Frenzy/mad-wolf	St. Bara Plouvara
<i>Bran</i>	raven, crow	<i>Branoc</i> 846 <i>Branmar</i> 837 <i>Branhucar</i> 860	Raven-like Mighty-raven? Friendly-raven	Litibran Runbran Lesvran
<i>Broch</i>	badger	<i>Broch</i> 9 th c. <i>Brochuael</i>	Badger Badger-prince	Broch, Brochan, Pronval
<i>Ki</i>	(war)hound	<i>Tanki</i> 835 <i>Maenki</i> 869	Fire-warhound Powerful-warhound	Tanguy Menguy Gourguy
<i>March</i>	stallion, steed	<i>Marcoc</i> 876 <i>Uuiuhomarch</i> 854 <i>Marcoueten</i> 867 <i>Marchuallon</i> 824 <i>Marhoiarn</i> 876 <i>Iscummarc</i> 1009 <i>Escumarc</i> 1060	Horseman Worthy-good-steed Steed-warrior Valorous-steed Iron-steed Rapid-steed Rapid-steed	Marrec, Kermarrec Guyomarc’h Escouarc’h Escouarc’h

2.2 Courage and ferocity in battle

The second thematic category includes a man’s courage, strength and impetuosity in battle. Examples of these are *bara* or *baran* ‘frenzy’ or ‘fury’, *fram*, meaning one who is ‘ardent’ or who ‘surges forward’ and *tan* ‘fire’, ‘frenzy’. Other examples are *deur* ‘brave, heroic’, *gleu* ‘brave, courageous’, *hitr/hedr/haer* ‘bold, vigorous’, *maen* ‘great, strong’, (< lat. *magnus*)

¹⁷ Great, powerful < Latin *magnus* may have been confused with Breton *maen* meaning ‘stone’.

¹⁸ If so, this tradition would appear to be pre-Christian.

‘powerful’, *nerth* ‘strength’, *uual* and *uallon* ‘valour’ and ‘valorous’, *uuocou* ‘heroic deed’, ‘glory’, *uoed* ‘battle cry’.

Associated with this heroism on the battlefield is the importance of being in the first line of battle: *Argat*, *Arvan*, *Blen* (see below). Once again, such references are commonplace in the *Canu Hengerdd*. It is interesting to observe that in each of these examples, the emphasis placed on purely emotional or physical attributes rather than any reference to strategy or tactics.

Old Breton Word	Translation	Old Breton Name	Translation	Mod.Breton Name
<i>Argat</i>	front line of battle	<i>Argat</i> (< * <i>are-cato</i>)	Front line of battle	Plouargat (22)
<i>Arvan</i>	to lead, to be in the front,	* <i>Cataruan</i>	van of battle	Kergadarvan 1625
<i>Bid</i>	daring, audacity	<i>Tanetbidoe</i> 844 <i>Bitmonoc</i> 866 <i>Gleubidoe</i> 834 <i>Iarnbidoe</i> 875 <i>Loiesuidoe</i> 848	Impetuous-daring daring-prince brave-audacity iron-audacity hunt-audacity	No examples found yet
<i>Biu, viu,</i>	alive, lively vigorous	<i>Hoearnviu</i> 9 th c.? <i>Arthbiu</i> 834 <i>Tanetbiu</i> 833	Lively-iron Vigorous-bear Vigorous-fire	St. Houarné St. Hervé
<i>Blen, Blein</i>	forward, front rank	<i>Blenliuuet</i> 866	Frontline-army Shock troops	Brelivet
<i>Deur</i>	brave, courageous	<i>Deuroc</i> 836 <i>Deurhoiarn</i> 833 <i>Botdeurec</i> 866	Valliant, brave Brave-iron Deurec’s dwelling	Kerdeurec (1694)
<i>Fram</i>	impetuous, assault, ardent	<i>Framuual</i> 833	Ardent-valorous	Fraval, Fravallo Fromveur
<i>Hitr, Hedr, Haer</i>	vigorous, powerful, hard	<i>Anauhitr</i> 835 <i>Haermael</i> 9 th c. <i>Haeruethen</i> 9 th c. <i>Gleuhedr</i> 9 th c. <i>Haerueu</i> 868 <i>Haeruiiu</i> 878	Wealth-bold/violent Bold/violent-prince Bold/violent-warrior Brave-bold/violent Bold/violent-lively Bold/violent-dignity	Hervel Hervezen ¹⁹ Le Gléver
<i>Loies</i>	hunt, expel, chase down	<i>Loieshoiarn</i> 834 <i>Loiesbidoe</i> 846 <i>Loieslouuen</i> 844 <i>Loes</i> 1008 <i>Uuorloies</i> 843	Hunt/expel (with) iron Hunt-audacity Hunt-happy Hunt(er)? Super-hunter	Loussouarn Creac’hloas Kerloas
<i>Nerth</i>	strength, power	<i>Duenerth</i> 1066	God’s strength	Donerz, Donnart, Donnard Nerzic
<i>Tan</i>	fire, frenzy, impetuous	<i>Tanki</i> 834 <i>Tanalt</i> 892 <i>Tanetbiu</i> 833 <i>Tanetcar</i> 876 <i>Tanhoiar(n)</i> 840	Fire-hound High-fire Lively-fire Fire-kinsman/ Fire-iron	Tanguy Tanniou Kerdanet? Tannouarn
<i>Uuallon</i>	valorous	<i>Uuallon</i> 834 <i>Dreuuallon</i> 846 <i>Loiesuuallon</i> 857 <i>Riuuallon</i> 866 <i>Tanetuallon</i> 813	Valorous Valorous-appearance Hunt-valorous Valorous-king Fire-valorous	Goallen Rivoallan
<i>Uuan</i>	assault	<i>Uuanus</i> 1060 <i>Uuangarius</i> 849	Assault/attack Assault-kinsman	Ty Goan Goanec Kergouanec
<i>Uuoed, Guoid</i>	battle cry	<i>Uuoedanau</i> 834 <i>Uuoetatoe</i> 867 <i>Uuoednou</i> 9 th c. <i>Uuoethoiarn</i> 848	Successful-war cry War cry-elevated father Renowned war cry War cry-iron	Guennou Gouennou, Gouesnou

¹⁹ ‘Her’, still exists in modern Breton and means ‘hardily, energetically’ (i.e. the use of excessive force in throwing an object).

2.3 Personal splendour and brilliance

The third category includes concepts such as wealth and high status, brilliance and power: a few examples of such names are: *alt* ‘high’; *argant* ‘silver’, *anau* ‘wealth’, but also *bri* ‘brilliance, power’, ‘dignity’, *can* ‘brilliant’, ‘pure’, *cant* ‘perfect(ion)’, *uuere* ‘eminent’, *con* ‘elevated/illustrious’, *nemed* ‘sanctified’ or ‘venerated’, *uuin* ‘pure or blessed’, *uuu* ‘worthy’ and so on.

Old Breton Word	Translation	Old Breton Name	Translation	Mod.Breton Name
<i>Alt</i>	high, elevated	<i>Altroen</i> 801 <i>Tanalt</i> 892	High-lineage High-fire	Audren
<i>Anau</i>	wealth, success	<i>Anaubud</i> 860 <i>Anauhouuel</i> 9 th c. <i>Anauuueten</i> 862 <i>Anauhitr</i> 835	Wealthy-victory Wealthy-friendly Wealth-warrior Wealth-hard/bold	
<i>Argant</i>	silver	<i>Argant</i> 869 <i>Argantmonoc</i> 826 <i>Argantlouuen</i> 842	Silver Silver-prince Silver-joy	Argant, L’Argant L’Arhantec
<i>Cant</i>	perfect(ion)	<i>Morcant</i> 844 <i>Cantuueten</i> 845	Great-perfection Perfect-warrior	Morgant Le Cant, Langantec
<i>Cet</i>	gift, talent	<i>Cetuuen</i> 9 th c.	Sacred-gift	Quetven??
<i>Clot</i>	famous	<i>Clodouan</i> 1074 <i>Clotuuoion</i> 866	Little famous one? Famous	Clodouan
<i>Gloeu</i>	brilliant	<i>Uuetengloeu</i> 843	Brilliant-warrior	Le Glouhec? Le Glouher (< gloeu-hitr/haer?)
<i>Glur</i>	brilliant	<i>Glur</i> 865 <i>Drihglur</i> 860	Brilliant Brilliant-aspect	No examples found to date
<i>Gnou, nou</i>	renowned, famous	<i>Cathno</i> 1052 <i>Carantgnou</i> 844 <i>Gurgnou</i> 913 <i>uuoedgnou</i>	battle-renowned Renowned-kinsman Renowned-warrior Renowned-warcry	Cathno, Kergaznou, Carantou Lanngourmou Gornou Gouesnou
<i>Leu</i> <i>Lou</i> <i>Luhet</i>	light, brilliant lightning	<i>Leuhemel</i> 859 <i>Leuuer</i> 866 <i>Elouan</i> (< <i>Eulouan</i>) <i>Roenuuolou</i> 893 <i>Luhedoc</i> 876 <i>Luhethoiarn</i> 888	Light-similar Light Good-light Lineage-light Lightning-like Lighting-iron	Elouan Mod. Bret. Goulou ‘light’ luc’hed ‘lightning’
<i>Mor</i>	great	<i>Moruethen</i> 833 <i>Morruan</i> 868 <i>Morman</i> 834 <i>Morcant</i> 844 <i>*Mortiern</i> <i>Morliuuet</i> 866	Great-warrior Great-assault Great-perfection Great-lord, chieftain Great-army	Morvézen, Morvéen Morvan, Morvant, Morvannou Morgan, Morgand, Morgant Plomo(r)diern
<i>Nimed</i>	sacred, venerated	<i>Iudnimet</i> 878 <i>Catnimed</i> 866 <i>Nominoe</i> 834	Battle-venerated Venerated, sacred	Canevet Nevenou, Nevenic Le Neven St. Neven Forest of Nevet (29)
<i>Roen, roin</i> (<i>rian(t); ri-gen</i>)	lineage of a king	<i>Roinoc</i> 866 <i>Roenhael</i> 9 th c. <i>Roenuualoc</i> 9 th c. <i>Roennuallon</i> 834 <i>Roenhoiarn</i> 844 <i>Roenuolou</i> 893	Royal-like Noble/generous lineage Valorous-lineage Valorous lineage Iron-lineage Bright-lineage	Ronec Ronhel Rualec Ronvallon, Rouello, Rouallo
<i>Sul</i>	sun	<i>Sulbrit</i> 860 <i>Sulcar</i> 842 <i>Sulgubri</i> 888 <i>Sulhael</i> 839 <i>Sulhoiarn</i> 834 <i>Sulmonoc</i> 858 <i>Sultiern</i> 866	Sun-spirit/mind Sun-kinsman Sun-important Sun-noble/generous Sun-iron Sun-prince Sun-lord	Sullec Kersulec Kersulgen St. Suliau St. Sulien Lansulien Coetsulgat...
<i>Uuere</i>	elevated	<i>Uueroc</i> 895 <i>Buduere</i> 852 <i>Riuere</i> 854	Chieftain-like Victory-chieftain High-King?	Bodéré Quillivéré

<i>Uuin</i> <i>Uuen</i>	sacred, pure, blessed	<i>Uuin</i> 9 th c. <i>Uuincant</i> 839 <i>Uuincar</i> 856 <i>Uuinhael</i> 833 <i>Uuinoc</i> 861 <i>Uuinualoe</i> 9 th c.	Pure/blessed Pure-perfection Blessed-kinsman Blessed-prince Pure-like Blessed-valorous	St. Guen, Le Guengant Guengar, Guenguéno Guinhael Le Guennec Guéneuc, Guénégou Gwenolé ²⁰
<i>Uuiu</i> <i>Guiu</i>	worthy, splendid	<i>Uuiuhomarch</i> 854 * <i>Uuiumarch</i>	Worthy-good-steed Worthy-steed	Giomarc'h, Guyomarc'h Guivarc'h, Guimarc'h
<i>Uuobri</i>	serious, important	<i>Catuobri</i> 833 <i>Drehuobri</i> 833 <i>haeluobri</i> 833	Battle-serious Serious-appearance Serious-prince	Hellouvy, Héloury

Related to this are personal characteristics relating to good looks and splendid appearance: *berth* and *cen* meaning ‘handsome’, *delu*, *drech*, *prit* meaning having ‘a fine or splendid appearance’.

Old Breton Word	Translation	Old Breton Name	Translation	Mod.Breton Name
<i>Berth</i>	handsome, beautiful	<i>Bertualt</i> 833	Handsome-prince/power	No examples found
<i>Delu</i>	appearance	<i>Condeleu</i> 834 <i>Morcondelu</i> 866	Lofty-appearance Great-lofty-appearance	No examples found
<i>Drech</i>	appearance	<i>Dreuwallon</i> 833 <i>Dreanau</i> 853 <i>Drelouuen</i> 854 <i>Dreuuoret</i> 863 <i>Drichglur</i> 860	Valorous-appearance Rich-appearance Joyful-appearance Shelter-appearance Brilliant-appearance	Dréanno, Le Drian Draouen
<i>Ken, Cain</i>	handsome, splendid, warrior	<i>Kenguethen</i> 909 <i>Aourken</i> 872 <i>Kenmunoc</i> 868 <i>Kenmarcoc</i> 866 <i>Aourken</i> 872	Handsome-warrior Gold-handsome Handsome-prince Handsome-horseman Gold-handsome	Quenven
<i>Prit</i>	aspect	* <i>Primael</i> <i>Prigent</i> (869?) <i>Primarchoc</i> (819)	Aspect-prince Aspect-nation Aspect-horseman	Prémel, Prével, Primel

2.4 Character traits

The fourth category contains many of the most-highly valued character traits of the Dark Age warrior class, foremost among these being *hael* ‘generous’. Indeed, it was considered to be one of the greatest virtues of a chieftain, to the extent that it took on the meaning of ‘prince’. *Iun* and *idunet*, meaning ‘desire’, ‘eagerness’, ‘will-power’ is another term that also appears in *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn* under the form of *eidunet* as an epithet describing *Kynan mab Brochfael*. *Louuen* ‘joyful’ is another common element of these names. *Ho*, *eu*, *mat* are loosely translated here as ‘good’ but can take on secondary meanings such as ‘pleasing’, ‘competent’, ‘excellent’.

Old Breton Word	Translation	Old Breton Name	Translation	Mod.Breton Name
<i>Hael</i>	generous, prince	<i>Haeloc</i> 833 <i>Haelcomarch</i> 910 <i>Haelguethen</i> 867 <i>Haeluobri</i> 833 <i>Haeluocan</i> 854 <i>Haeluoret</i> 866	Prince-like Generous-succour Generous-warrior Generous-dignity Generous-deed Generous-protection	Hellec, Hellégou, Helgouarc'h Hélézen, Helguen Hellouvy, Héloury Hélégan Héloret

²⁰ The Cornish Bodmin Manumissions manuscript contains a considerable number of Type-5 names proving that Cornish slaves still bore similar heroic epithets as late as the tenth century: *Beli*, *Bleidiud*, *Bleidcum*, *Brithael*, *Budic*, *Cantgueithen*, *Connonoc*, *Guentanet*, *Guentigirn*, *Gurguaret*, *Gurbodu*, *Gurcant*, *Gurlouen*, *Iarnguallon*, *Iudicael*, *Iudnerth*, *Maeloc*, *Morcant*, etc.

<i>Ho</i>	pleasing, good	<i>Houuel</i> 9 th c. <i>Uuihomarch</i> 854 <i>Houuen</i> 854 <i>Iudhouuen</i> 862 <i>Houuri</i> 833 <i>Hoconan</i> 859 <i>Hocar</i> 845 <i>Anauhocar</i> 860	Good-looking Worthy-good-horse Good-friendly Friendly-lord Good-sobriety Good-warhound? Good-kinsman Wealthy-good kinsman	Hoel Guyonvarc'h
<i>Eu</i>	good	<i>Euhiarn</i> 834 <i>Eudon</i> 868 <i>Eueen</i> 833 <i>Euhocar</i> 820 <i>Eutanet</i> 866 <i>Euhiarn</i> 834 <i>Eugat</i> 1050	Good-iron Good natural gift Good-smile/friend? Good-friendly Good-fire Good-iron Good-battle	Ehouarn, Nihouarn Eozon, Youenn Ewen, Yvain, Yvin Ihouarn, Keriouan? Bodégat, Roségat
<i>Iun</i> <i>Idunet</i>	wilful, desire	<i>Iunkeneu</i> 1028 <i>Iummonoc</i> 858 <i>Iunuuoccon</i> <i>Uuoriunet</i> 867 <i>Nodiunet</i> 833	Wilful-young warrior Wilful-prince Wilful-deed/glory Very-wilful Wilful-assistance	Jinguéné, Ginguéné Junguené Pluzunet (place name)
<i>Louuen</i>	joyful, happy	* <i>Gurlouuen</i> <i>Iudlouuen</i> <i>Gleulouuen</i> 816 <i>Louuenhoiarn</i> 830 <i>Drelouuen</i> 859 <i>Catlouuen</i> 857 <i>Tanetlouuen</i> 876	Joyful-warrior Joyful-lord Brave-joy Joyful-iron Joyful-appearance Joyful-(in)-battle Fire-joyful	Gourlaouen Calouen, Pont Calouen (place name)
<i>Mat</i>	good	<i>Matuueten</i> 833 <i>Matganet</i> 858 <i>Matmunoc</i> 870 <i>Matbidoe</i> 868 <i>Matoc</i> 846	Good-warrior Well-born Good-prince Good-audacity Goodly	Le Mad Matécat, Madégat Madigou Maded

2.4.1 Fidelity, protection, bonds of affection

Associated with the last category are values such as fidelity or the protection of one's people, as in the first line of *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn*: '*Kynan kat diffret*', 'Conan battle defending or shelter in battle'; in Taliesin's poems praise-poems for Urien: *tut achles* (T. II:9) 'refuge of the people', *kat gwortho ... glyw reget* (T.II:26–7), 'Urien, battle defence, brave leader/warrior of Rheged'. OB examples: *conmarch* 'protection', *nin* 'roof, shelter', *nod* 'assistance', *uuoret* 'protection', 'shelter'.

Names signifying bonds of kinship or affection also suggest fidelity and solidarity: *car* 'friend' or 'kinsman', often appended to names such as *Guethen* in *Guethengar* 'warrior-kinsman'. *Cum* 'kind' or 'beloved' is also in this category of name and is still found under the form of 'cuff'.

Old Breton Word	Translation	Old Breton Name	Translation	Mod.Breton Name
<i>Cum</i>	gentle, beloved	<i>Iudcum</i> 859 <i>Gurcum</i> 1084	Beloved Lord Beloved-warrior	Keriscuff Gourcuff, Kergourcuff Le Cuff, Corcuff...
<i>Car</i>	friend, kinsman	<i>Caratocus</i> 1009 <i>Karmonoc</i> 857 <i>Uuethengar</i> 834 <i>Iarncar</i> 842 <i>Keuuirgar</i> 833	Likeable Kinsman-prince Warrior-kinsman Iron-kinsman True-kinsman	Caradec Guézengar
<i>Conmarch</i>	succour, assistance	* <i>Co(n)march</i> <i>Haelcomarch</i> (910) * <i>Gleucomarch</i>	Succour Prince-succour	Hergouarc'h Hellegouarc'h Glegouarc'h
<i>Nin</i>	roof, protector, prince	<i>Ninmon</i> 868 <i>Niniau</i> 833 <i>Ninan</i> 834 <i>Ninmon</i> 866 <i>Ninoe</i> 854 <i>Ninocan</i> 848	Protector-prince Small-prince Prince-eminence Elevated-prince Prince-deed	Le Ninan Coat Ninon Kerninon Le Ninoret

<i>Nod, nodet</i>	help, assistance	<i>Nodethael</i> 844 <i>Nodhoiarn</i> 864 <i>Noduoret</i> 833 <i>Nodiunet</i> 833	Generous-assistance Iron-assistance Assistance-protection Assistance-wilful	None found to date
<i>Uuoret</i>	shelter, protection	<i>Catuoret</i> 832 <i>Butuoret</i> 857 <i>Dumuoret</i> 852 <i>Haeluoret</i> 866	Battle-shelter Victory-shelter World-protection Generous-protection	Cadoret Budoré, Buzoré? Donoret Héloret

2.5 Titles of kingship and lordship

Titles of kingship or lordship include *ri* ‘king’, *tiern* ‘chieftain’, *iud* ‘lord’, *iudec* ‘lord’ (from Latin *iudex* meaning ‘justice’), *ud* ‘Lord’, *hael* ‘generous prince’, *mael*, *monoc*, *naf*, *pir*, all meaning ‘lord or prince’. Linked to this is *-gen* ‘of the race, descendent of’, *roen/roeant* ‘of royal lineage’ and *gwely* ‘of the lineage’ or, literally, ‘of the bed’. The place name *Gilligomarc’h* would thus come from *Gwely Conmarc’h* ‘the descendant of Cynfarch’.

Old Breton Word	Translation	Old Breton Name	Translation	Mod. Breton Name
<i>Iedec</i>	judge, lord (L. <i>iudex</i>)	<i>Iedechael</i> 869	Generous-lord	Jézequel, Jéquel, Giquel Kericuff
<i>Iud/iut</i> (cf. <i>ud</i>)	prince, ruler	<i>Iudcum</i> 857 <i>Iudhael</i> , <i>Iuthail</i> 859	Gentle lord Generous-lord	Juhel, ²¹ St. Uhel/St. Huel, Uhel, Uzel, Yhuel, Huelic
<i>Mael</i>	prince, noble, lord	<i>Mael</i> 838 <i>Maeloc</i> 833 <i>Maelocon</i> 859 <i>Maelcat</i> 867 <i>*Maeluwin</i> <i>Maelscuet</i> 1088 <i>*Uormael</i> <i>*Uurmaeloc</i>	Prince Prince-like Prince-deed Battle-prince Blessed-prince Prince-shield Super-prince Super-prince	Le Mael, Le Mel, Maelan, Le Mellec Mélégan, Plumugat Melgven Melscoet Gourmel Gorvel Gorvellec
<i>Maen</i>	powerful, great <L. <i>magnus</i>	<i>*Maeceneu</i> <i>Maenuoret</i> 832 <i>Maenki</i> 869 <i>Maencar</i> 857 <i>Maenhoiarn</i> 846	Powerful young Powerful-protection Powerful hound Powerful-kinsman	Mainguéné ²² Menoret Menguy, Mainguy Maingant, Mengant
<i>Mon, Monoc</i>	<i>prince, imminence</i>	<i>Matmunoc</i> 870 <i>Uurmonoc</i> 859 <i>Drimonoc</i> 858 <i>Anaumonoc</i> 878 <i>Catmonoc</i> 869	Good-Prince Lord, prince Appearance-prince Wealth-prince Battle-prince	Gourvennec
<i>Nin</i>	roof, prince, protector	<i>Ninmon</i> 868 <i>Niniau</i> 833 <i>Ninan</i> 834 <i>Ninmon</i> 866 <i>Ninoe</i> 854 <i>Ninocan</i> 848	Protector-prince Small-prince Prince-eminence Elevated-prince Prince-deed	Le Ninan Coat Ninon Kerninon Le Ninoret
<i>Ri</i>	king	<i>Rimael</i> 837 <i>Riuuallon</i> 866 <i>Rihouen</i> 833 <i>Riuuoccon</i> 833 <i>Rimonoc</i> 850 <i>Riuualatr</i> 826 <i>Ricun</i> 831	King-prince Valorous-king Kind-king King-deed King-prince King-powerful Elevated-king?	Rimel, Kerivel, Ploerimael ²³ Riwal, Rivoal, Rivoallan, Riou ²⁴ Langonéry, Saint Conéry < Cunorix?

²¹ According to Lambert (1994: 228), *iud* derives from Latin *iudex* with the meaning of ‘judge’.

²² Great, powerful < Latin *magnus* may have been confused with Breton *maen* meaning ‘stone’; *Ceneu* is found in modern *Quinou*, *Kerguinou* and perhaps, *Quiniou* possibly meaning ‘having the nature of a young warrior’. Deshayes (1995: 48) gives the name *Iunkeneu* (*Iun* ‘desire’ + *keneu* ‘young warrior’ C/R) as the source of modern *Jinguéné*, *Junguené*, *Ginguené*.

²³ < **Rigo-maglos*.

²⁴ *Riwal* was an early sixth-century king possessing lands in Cornwall and in the North of Brittany (Domnonée).

<i>Tihern, Tigern</i>	chieftain, lord	<i>Tiernan</i> 862 <i>Tiarnmael</i> 868 <i>Tiarnoc</i> 813 <i>Gurthiernus</i> 990? <i>Sultiern</i> 866	Chieftain Noble-lord Lord-like Over-lord Sun-lord	Landiern Mo(r)diern St. Gurthiern
<i>Ud</i> <i>(cf. iud)</i>	prince, chieftain	*1. Williams attests that 'iud' was an older form of 'ud' *(i)uduoret		Keruzoret
<i>Uualatr</i>	powerful, prince	<i>Riuualatr</i> 826 <i>Catuuallart</i> 842	Powerful-king Battle-prince	St. Brévalaire? Le Goaler?

2.6 Historical and mythological characters

Urien, the sixth-century king of Rheged, and his son *Yvain*, *Ewen*, the Breton forms for *Owain*, have direct connections with Dark Age Britain. Both of these characters appear in the Arthurian cycle. *Caradec* is a common family name today and a variant of Welsh *Caradoc*. *Gouzien*, the modern form of *Gurthiern* or *Vortigern*, as well as *Caduellon* and *Catuualltr* (cf. *Cad* above) are intimately bound to Welsh historical tradition: *Gwrtheyrn*, *Cadwallawn* and *Cadwaladr*.

Other common family names or place names refer back to mythological figures: *Mabon*, commonly found in place names such as *Kervabon*, *Runmabon*, *Lesvabon*, *Creac'h-mabon*, etc. and *Nudd*, still found in the Breton family name *Le Nuz*. The latter is attested in the twelfth century as *Nud*. Plougonvelin near Brest takes its name from *Convelin*, that is **Cunobelinos*. This corresponds to Welsh *Cynfelin*, also a well-known name in the Welsh tradition.

3.0 Welsh parallels

The lexical items composing the Old Breton names listed above appear not only in Old Cornish and Old Welsh patronyms, as one would expect, but also in the Middle Welsh poetry of the *Cynfeirdd*. Rather than simply compare the Old Breton data to the Old Welsh and Old Cornish names and vocabulary, the objective of this section is to highlight the close links between Old Breton type-5 names and the heroic epithets, formulae and themes common to the *Canu Hengerdd*. The reason for adopting this approach is twofold:

- a) The same images and themes observed in the Old Breton naming tradition appear repeatedly in the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* suggesting that these names and the poems share a common origin. In fact, my hypothesis is that this can be explained by the fact that Breton names studied here are not 'names' as such but rather bardic formulae of a kind which must have been circulating in the British southwest at a time when the *Cynfeirdd* of the Cymry were composing their own poetry.
- b) For this reason, given the relative lateness of the manuscripts in which this poetry has been preserved, the Old Breton data, taken collectively, may serve as a control to test the conservatism of the language ascribed to Taliesin, Aneirin and Llywarch Hen. Given the profound respect for early poetic traditions manifested by Welsh bards throughout the Middle Ages, there can be little doubt that the language of the *Canu Hengerdd* retains many aspects of the highly formulaic language employed by the first poets. The Breton data may help to identify some of these formulae with greater precision. In certain cases,

more systematic reference to the Breton evidence could assist in clarifying certain ambiguities that have hitherto caused difficulties of interpretation.

For example, in the following passage of Ifor Williams's edition of *Canu Aneirin* (1961: 36, 284):

oed mor diachar
yt wanei esgar
iud alt guarar gurthyn (Y Gododdin, CA LXXI:886–8)

he wrote that the meaning of *alt* is 'ansicr iawn' [very uncertain]: 'A yw *iud* am *udd* 'arglwydd', Hen Gymraeg *iud*? ... Beth am ... [d]deall *alt* fel bai am *ail*?' Yet, as we have seen, *alt* is a relatively common constituent of a number of Old Breton names, meaning 'high', 'exalted', 'lofty': *Altroen* 'high lineage' (attested in 801), *Tanalt* (attested in 892), etc. If there is a connection between the two words, *iud alt* would appear to mean 'high/lofty lord'. Since the form *iud* is itself archaic (*ibid.*) and *alt* is attested in the ninth-century Old Breton, this hypothesis does not seem unreasonable. Indeed, there are many other qualifiers associated with *iud* in Old Breton: *Iudcum*, *Iudhael*, *Iuthail*, *Iudcar*, *Iudanau*, *Iudhocar*, *Iudhouuen*, *Iudlouuen*, etc. (ninth century, *Cartulary of Redon*). The latter are still found in modern Breton names as *Keri(s)cuff* and *Yhel* respectively. Furthermore, *Tanalt* 'exalted lofty fire', taken in the literal sense, or with the meaning of 'fiery, lofty or exalted inspiration' would thus seem to correspond well to images one encounters in the other passages of early poetry such as in *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn: Aeleu fflam lydan. kyfwyrein mawrtan* (T. I:19).

While the Old Breton corpus studied here is relatively limited (one hundred words so far), a simple glance at the list below shows the degree to which the two sources are bound lexically and thematically. The fact that nearly every one of the Old Breton lexical items has an equivalent in the earliest Welsh bardic poetry is striking.

1) OB <i>anau</i> 'wealth, success'; MW <i>anaw</i> , idem
Canu Hengerdd: <i>teyrn tut <u>anaw</u></i> (Gwarchan Kynfelyn, CA p. 54:1375)

2) OB <i>argat</i> 'van of battle' MW <i>argad</i> , idem
Canu Hengerdd: <i><u>Argad</u> mab Llywarch Hen; Kynhafal uab <u>Argad</u></i> (GBGG p. 39)

3) OB <i>amus</i> 'warhorse' MW <i>amws</i> (pl. <i>emis</i>), idem
Canu Hengerdd: <i><u>emis</u> emwythwas amwyn</i> (Gwarchan Adebbon, CA p. 52:1330)

4) OB <i>arth</i> 'bear' MW G. <i>arth</i> , idem
Canu Hengerdd: <i><u>arth</u> arwynaul ar guigiat</i> (Y Gododdin, CA CIII:1254)

5) OB <i>arvan</i> 'to lead, to be in the front', MW <i>arwein</i> , <i>arwen</i> 'to lead' (GBGG p. 43)
Canu Hengerdd: <i><u>arweyn</u> gweð keythywet</i> (GBGG p. 43). *Note that, in this case, the OB example is not attested. 'Arvan' appears in a farm name dating to 1625, Kergadarvan < Cadarvan.

6) OB <i>bara, baran</i> ‘fury, rage’ MW G. <i>bara(n)</i> , idem Baraban ‘fury-war/tumult’ (GBGG p. 51)
Canu Hengerdd: Kaeawc kynhorawc bleid e <u>maran</u> (Y Gododdin, CA IV:39); <u>baranres</u> dost; benn gwaed gwin yr med a chwryf (Gwarchan Tudfwlch, CA p. 51:1305–6)
7) OB <i>berth</i> ‘handsome, beautiful’; MW <i>berth</i> , idem
Canu Hengerdd: Gweleis y dull o benn tir adwyn. <u>aberth</u> am goelkerth a disgynnyn (Y Gododdin, CA LXXIX:966–7)
8) OB <i>bid</i> ‘daring, audacity’ MW <i>beiddiad</i> ‘warrior’ <i>beiddio</i> ‘to dare’
Canu Hengerdd: glyw reget reuedaf i pan <u>ueiddat</u> (T. II:27)
9) OB <i>bleid</i> ‘wolf’ MW <i>bleid</i> , idem: Bleidgi, bleidyat, Bleidic
Canu Hengerdd: Kaeawc kynhorawc <u>bleid</u> e maran (Y Gododdin, CA IV:39); <u>Bleid</u> e vywyt oed <u>bleidyat</u> ryt eny dewred. (Gwarchan Tudfwlch, CA, p. 50:1278–9); Vn yw <u>bleid</u> banadlawc anchwant (T. VIII:41)
10) OB <i>blen, blein</i> ‘forward, front rank’; MW <i>blaen</i> ‘vanguard’
Canu Hengerdd: Ystofflit llib llain blin <u>blaen</u> blen blenwyd (Gwarchan Maeldderw, CA p. 57: 1463–4)
11) OB <i>bod</i> ‘constant, steady, pleasure?’; MW two possible meanings: <i>bod</i> ‘pleasure’ T. III:15; VIII:20 or GBGG p. 69 <i>bodawc</i> ‘constant, steady’: <i>Botgat</i> ‘battle-pleasure?’ (cf. OB Catlouuen ‘battle-joy’) or ‘steady in battle?’ (cf. OB Botcatur 866, Botcatmann 864, Botdeurec 866)
Canu Hengerdd: mab botgat gwnaeth gwynnyeith gwreith e law (Y Gododdin, CA VI:60); rac carneu riwrhon. ryveluodogyon (Gwarchan Kynfelyn, CA p. 53, 1345–6)
12) OB <i>bran</i> ‘raven, crow’; MW <i>bran</i> , idem; Bran mab Iwerydd; (cf. OB Branoc 846, Branmar 837, Branhucar 860)
Canu Hengerdd: ymwan bran yg kynwyd (Gwarchan Tudfwlch, CA p. 51:1291)
13) OB <i>brient</i> ‘free man, privilege’; MW <i>breint</i> , idem
Canu Hengerdd: <u>Breint</u> mab Bleidgi rac ysberi y beri greu (Y Gododdin, CA XXIIIb:275–6)
14) OB <i>broch</i> ‘badger’; MW <i>broch</i> , idem: Brochuael ap Ysgithrawc
Canu Hengerdd: Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn Mab <u>Brochfael</u> (T. I:title)
15) OB <i>bud</i> ‘victory, profit’; MW <i>bud</i> , idem. gweithuudic T. II:2 ‘battle-victorious’
Canu Hengerdd: blaen erwyre gawr <u>buduawr</u> drei. arth en llwrw byth hwyr e techei (Y Gododdin, CA XVI:148–9); y mae dy wr ene gell en cnoi anghell bwch <u>bud</u> oe law idaw poet ymbell (ibid. LIII:623–6); Arwyre gwyr katraeth gan dyd. / am wledic gweithuudic gwartheyd (T. II:1–2); O edrych awdyl trwm teyrned / yn y <u>uyw</u> nys deubyd bud bed (T. XII:13–14).

16) OB *cat* ‘battle, combat’. MW *cat*, *kat*, idem: Katlan ‘battlefield’ T. I:8, katlew; Cadfael, Catwallawn, Catuan/Cadfan, Cadwr iarll Kernyw, Catwaladyr Vendigeit ... (TYP pp. 298–9) kat T. I:1,8, 9, 11, 18, 20; II:7, 12, 25, 26, 32; III:16, 17; IV:15, 16, etc.

Canu Hengerdd: Kynan kad diffret (T. I:1)...

17) OB *cann* ‘brilliant, pure’; MW *can* ‘white’, Ceinion ‘white horses’

Canu Hengerdd: rac canhwynawl cann (Gwarchan Kynfelyn, CA p. 53:1353);

Aruul cann ‘white horse’, y ar aruul cann kynn oe dregi (Y Gododdin, CA XCII:1146)

18) OB *cant* ‘perfect(ion)’; MW *cant* ‘throng, host’ Ifor Williams’s note (CA p. 314) suggests the meaning is ‘circle’ Cf. ‘gwogant’ ‘circuit, circle’ (Jarman p. 182)

Canu Hengerdd: kyvedwogant ef an dyduc ar dan adloyw (Y Gododdin, CA LXXXV:1040)

19) OB *car* ‘friend, kinsman’; MW *car*, idem: Caradoc...

Canu Hengerdd: Uyg car yng wirwar nyn gogyffrawt (Y Gododdin, CA XXIIa:243)

20) OB *cet* ‘gift, talent’; MW *cet* ‘gift’: Cedwyr ‘warriors who bring gifts?’ T. I:1

Canu Hengerdd: Kynan kat diffret am arllufeis ket (T. I:1)

21) OB *clot* ‘famous’; MW *clot* ‘renowned’

Canu Hengerdd: Reget diffreidyat clot ior agor gwlat (T. III:14);

Ys mwy llewenyd gan clotuan clotryd (T. III:5)

22) OB *conmarch* ‘succour, assistance’ MW *kynfarch* : Urien mab Kynfarch (TYP pp. 508–12);

Canu Hengerdd: Gwae vy llaw llad mab Kynuarch (CLIH III:23c);

Pen Urien: mab Kynuarch balch bieiuu (CLIH III:7c)

23) OB *con* ‘(war)hound, elevated one’; MW *kyn*, idem

Middle Welsh personal names: Kynan T., Kyncat (GBGG p. 244), Kyndelw (ibid. 245), Kynuael (ibid. 247), Kynuelyn (ibid.), Kynhual (ibid. 249), (cf. Conet ‘glory, honour, lord-like’, ibid. p. 163)

24) OB *cor* ‘warrior, warband’; MW *cor* ‘host, army’

Corawc ‘noble, generous lord’ (GBGG p. 164)

Canu Hengerdd: cadeu dor car cor kyrchyat (GBGG p. 163)

25) OB *cum* ‘gentle, beloved’; MW *cu*, *cun* ‘beloved’, ‘dear’

Canu Hengerdd: ys cu kyn eithyd y eis kygryn kygryt (T. V:11);

llwyth llithyawc cun ar ormant gwaet (T. VII:26)

26) OB *delu* ‘appearance’; MW *delw* ‘form’, ‘image’

Canu Hengerdd: Kyndelw T. VII:40; GBGG p. 245

27) OB *den* ‘man, warrior’; MW *dyn*, idem

Canu Hengerdd: Uryen yr echwyd. haelaf dyn bedyd (T. III:1);

Yr echwyd teccaf ae dynion haelaf (T. III:19)

28) OB *deur* ‘brave, courageous;’ MW *deur, dewr* ‘brave, valiant’
Canu Hengerdd: hyueid a gododin a lleu towys / dewr yn enmyned atheith gwyduwys
(T. VII:16–17)

29) OB *drech* ‘appearance’; MW *drych* ‘mirror, appearance’?
Canu Hengerdd: gwyr nyt oedyn drych draet fo (Y Gododdin, CA L:573)

30) OB *dumn* ‘world’; MW *dyvyn*, idem: Dyvynwal Vrych
Canu Hengerdd: gweleis gwyr dullyawr gan awr adevyn / aphenn dyvynwal a breych brein
ae cnoyn (Y Gododdin, CA LXXIXa:970–1)

32) OB *eu* ‘good’; MW *eu*, idem
Middle Welsh names: Eudaf Hir, Eubon, Eulat, Euguen, Ewein/Iguein/Yvein/Owein

33) OB *fram* ‘impetuous, assault, ardent’; MW *ffraw* ‘brisk, fine’ GBGG
Aberffraw (cf. note by Ifor Williams, CLIH p. 83)
Canu Hengerdd: Pan las vy mab Pyll oed teuyll briw / a gwaet ar wallt hyll / ac am dwylann
Ffraw ffrowyll (CLIH 29a–c)

34) OB *gleu* ‘brave, courageous’; MW *glew* ‘bold, undaunted, brave, bold, fierce, handsome,
fine’ (T. VI:12; VIII:15), confused in Breton w/ glyw ‘war’ (T. II:27; VIII:9, 14)?
Canu Hengerdd: yscwydawr yrac glyw gloyw glas gwen / glew ryhawt glewhaf vn yw vryen
(T. VIII:14–15)

35) OB *gloeu* ‘brilliant’; MW *gloyw* ‘clear, bright’
Canu Hengerdd: yscwydawr yrac glyw gloyw glas gwen / glew ryhawt glewhaf vn yw vryen
(T. VIII:14–15)

36) OB *gnou, nou* ‘renowned, famous’; MW *gno, gnou* ‘evident, manifest, fame’
Canu Hengerdd: a guarchan mab dwywei da wrhyt / poet gno en vn tyno treissy
(Y Gododdin, CA LVb 651–2)

37) OB *hael* ‘generous, prince’; MW *hael* ‘noble, bountiful’: Nud Hael Nud the ‘generous,
noble’ T. III:19, VIII:45 (cf. infra Nud)
Canu Hengerdd: Uryen yr echwyd haelaf dyn bedyd (T. III:1);
A cheneu a nud hael a hirwlat ydanaw (T. VIII: 45)

38) OB *hitr, hedr, haer* ‘vigorous, powerful, hard’; MW *hitr* ‘hard, powerful’
Canu Hengerdd: hyder gymhell ar vreithel vanawyt (Y Gododdin, CA III:35)

39) OB *hoiarn, iarn* ‘iron’; MW *haearn* ‘iron, armour’, heyernin ‘iron’: Catharn (Cathoiarn
< Catihernus) OW Talhaearn Tat Aguen
Canu Hengerdd: echadaf heidyn haearnde;
heyrn (spears) am deyrn am dir (quoted by Ifor Williams, CLIH p.134)

40) OB *ho* ‘pleasing, good’; MW *hy*, idem, Hywel ab Owain, Hygar ‘friendly’, Hyueid: < hy + beidaw (Ifor Williams (T. pp. 84–5 cf. **bid** above)

Canu Hengerdd: hyveidd a Gododdin a lleu towys (T. VII:16)

41) OB *iud/iut* ‘prince, ruler’; MW *iud*, idem
(cf. OB *iedec* (< L. *iudex*) ‘judge, lord’)

Canu Hengerdd: oed mor diachar / yt wanei esgar / iud alt guaran gurthyn
(Y Gododdin, CA LXXIb:886–8)

42) OB *iun, idunet* ‘wilful, desire’; MW *eidunet* ‘desired’

Canu Hengerdd: Mab Brochuael brolet Eidywet eidunet (T. I:15)

43) OB *iscun* ‘rapid, valiant, strong’; MW *ysewn* ‘swift, strong’

Canu Hengerdd: yg gafran yn aduan brecheinawc / yn erbyn yn ysewn gaenawc / ny wyl gwr
ny welas Gwallawc (T. XI:42–4)

44) OB *ken, cain* ‘handsome, splendid, warrior’; MW *cein* ‘fine, splendid warrior’,
Keinnyon ‘fine, handsome warriors’

Canu Hengerdd: Meuedwys med y oruoled / a chein tired imi yn ryfed (T. IV:3–4);
Kyrchessit en avon / kynn noe geinnyon (Gwarchan Kynfelyn, CA p. 53:1342–3)

45) OB *keneu* ‘young warrior’; MW *ceneu* T. VI:11, VIII:45 Keneu vab Llywarch

Canu Hengerdd: o gyvle anghew o anghar dut / keneu vab llywarch dihaiarch drut
(Y Gododdin, CA XLIX:559–60):

A cheneu a nud hael a hirwlat ydanaw (T. VIII:45)

46) OB *ki* ‘(war)hound’; OW *ki* idem

Middle Welsh names: Aergi ‘war hound’, Bleidki ‘wolfhound’, Catki ‘battlehound’ Gwylltgi
‘wildhound’ (GBGG p.139)

47) OB *leu, lou* ‘light, brilliant’; MW *lleu* idem: Lleu, Lleu Llaw Gyffes (cf. OB *luhet*
‘lightning’)

Canu Hengerdd: kyscit lloegyr llydan nifer / a leuuer yn eu llygeit (T. X: 13–14)

48) OB *liuuet* ‘army’; MW G. *liwet* ‘army’, ‘host’: Llywet T. XII:24(cf. OB *Blenliuued* 866,
Morliuuet 866)

Canu Hengerdd: Guelet e lauanaur en liwet (Y Gododdin, CA CI:1221);
ar llwrw peues / ar lles pedyt petwar liwet (Gwarchan Tudfwlch, CA p. 51:1295–6);
gwerth med eg kynted gan liwedawr (G. V:55)

49) OB *lu* ‘army’; MW *llu* ‘army, host’ (OB *Breselueu* 878)

Canu Hengerdd: Gwyr a aeth Gatraeth oed ffraeth eu llu (Y Gododdin, CA VIII:68)

50) OB *louuen* ‘joyful, happy’; MW *llawen*, idem

Canu Hengerdd: Llawen beird bedyd tra vo dy uuchyd / Ys mwy llewenyd gan clotuan
clotryd (T. III:4–5);

Ni bydwn lawen bei lleas vryen (T. V:10)

51) OB <i>mael</i> ‘prince, noble, lord’; MW <i>mael</i> idem Middle Welsh names: Maelgwn Gwynedd G., Maelgynig T. XI:36, Maelawr T. VII:34
52) OB <i>march</i> ‘stallion, steed’; MW <i>march</i> , idem: marchog ‘horseman’; meirch ‘horses’ march T. XII:45 ‘steed’ Canu Hengerdd: esgyrn vyrr vyrrvach <u>varchogyon</u> (Gwarchan Kynfelyn, CA p. 53:1347)
53) OB <i>mat</i> ‘good’; MW <i>mat</i> , idem Canu Hengerdd: Ny <u>mat</u> wanpwyt ysgwyt ... ny <u>mat</u> dodes y vordwyt (Y Gododdin, CA LIII:3 and 5)
54) OB <i>mil</i> ‘soldier’; MW <i>miled</i> ‘army’, <i>milwyr</i> ‘soldiers’ T. VIII:12 (cf. Bret. Gourvil) Canu Hengerdd: Petwar milet <u>miledawr</u> byt (CA, Gwarchan Tudfwlch p. 51:1297); Pen maon <u>milwyr</u> am de. preid lydan / pren onhyt yw vy awen gwen (T. VIII:12–13)
55) OB <i>mon</i> , <i>monoc</i> ‘prince, imminence’; MW <i>mynog</i> , <i>mynawc</i> ‘lord, prince’, (cf. OB (Uurmonoc 859) Canu Hengerdd: ny diengis en trwm e lwrw <u>mynawc</u> (Y Gododdin, CA XXXV:390)
56) OB <i>mor</i> ‘great’; MW <i>mawr</i> ‘great, noble’; mawrtan ‘great fire’ nickname for Kynan (in Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn)? Canu Hengerdd: <u>mawr</u> gwrnerth ystlyned y vrython (T. VIII:25)
57) OB <i>naf</i> ‘prince, lord’; MW <i>naf</i> ‘lord’ Bromwich (TYP p. 463) writes that it also appears under the form of ‘Naw’ Middle Welsh names: Gwynwynwyn mab Naf (triad 14, TYP ibid.)
58) OB <i>nemed</i> ‘sacred, venerated’; MW. <i>nef</i> ‘heaven’, (cf. OB Iudnimet 878, Catnimed 866) Middle Welsh names: Nevyn verch Brychan Brechinyav, Nefyn (Arfon) (TYP p. 463)
59) OB <i>nerth</i> ‘strength’; MW <i>nerth</i> ‘strength, power’, nerthiat ‘powerful warrior’? (T. I:23) Canu Hengerdd: mawr gwr <u>nerth</u> ystlyned y vrython (T. VIII:25); <u>nerth</u> meirch a gwrymseirch ac ysgwydawr (Y Gododdin, CA XXXIII: 373) (OB Du <u>nerth</u>)
60) OB <i>nin</i> ‘roof, prince, protector’; MW <i>nin</i> , idem Middle Welsh name: St Ninian (TYP p. 508)
61) OB <i>nod</i> , <i>nodet</i> ‘help, assistance’; MW <i>nodi</i> ‘to protect, shelter’ Canu Hengerdd: Ny <u>nodi</u> nac ysgeth nac ysgwyt (Y Gododdin, CA III:36)
62) OB <i>ri</i> ‘king’ ; MW <i>ri</i> ‘King’ Riwallawn Wallt Banhadlen (TYP pp. 487–8); < *Rigovelaunos Canu Hengerdd: ny mat vrwytrwyt. <u>Ri</u> ny mat geu (T. VII:6)
63) OB <i>roen</i> , <i>roin</i> (rian(t); ri-gen) lineage of a king; MW <i>ren</i> ; y ren ‘his lord’ (also: reen) Canu Hengerdd: Eneit owein ap vryen / gobwyllit <u>y ren</u> (?) oe reit (T. X:2)

64) OB <i>scoet, scuet</i> ‘shield’; MW <i>yscwyt</i> ‘shield’ Canu Hengerdd: Keimyat yg cat gouaran. / <u>Ysgwyt</u> eur crwydyr cadlan (Y Gododdin, CA XXIX :334–5)
65) OB <i>tan</i> , Tan ‘fire’; MW <i>tan</i> , idem (T. III:18; XI:18) Corn. Tangye Canu Hengerdd: <u>Tan</u> yn tei kyn dyd rac vd yr echwyd (T. III:18); Aeļu fflam lydan. kyfwyrein <u>mawrtan</u> (T. I:19)
66) OB <i>tihern, tigern</i> ‘chieftain, lord’; MW <i>teyrn</i> ‘prince, king’ T. III:20, 24 eurteyrn; T. IX:14, 21 Canu Hengerdd: <u>Tegyrded</u> truan crinyt rac kynan (T. I:21); <u>Teyrned</u> pop ieith it oll yd ynt geith (T. IX:15)
67) OB <i>tut</i> ‘people, kinsmen’; MW <i>tut</i> idem Canu Hengerdd: <u>tut</u> achles dy ormes pan dyuyd (T. II:9) (<u>tut</u> achles ‘refuge of the people’); <u>tut</u> ynyeil gwerth yspeil taliessin (T. VIII:37)
68) OB <i>ud</i> (cf. iud) ‘prince, chieftain’; MW <i>ud</i> , ‘Lord’ T.III:18, VI:13, VII:31, 32 Ifor Williams notes that <i>ud</i> originates from OW iud, ex. Iudhail = iudd hael **) Canu Hengerdd: Tan yn tei kyn dyd rac <u>vd</u> yr echwyd (T. III:18); Neur welais <u>vd</u> haelhaf y dedueu (T. VIII:8)
69) OB <i>uualatr</i> ‘powerful, prince’; MW <i>gwaladyr</i> (T. VIII:49), Cadwalladr (OB) Catuualart 842, Riuualatr 826) Canu Hengerdd: <u>gwaladyr</u> gwaed gwenwlat Vryen (T. VIII:49)
70) OB <i>uualon</i> ‘valorous’; MW <i>uualaun, uualon</i> (cf. OB Cadwallaun, Catuvellaun, Uualon 834, Dreuuallon 846, Loiesuualon 857, Riuuallon 866, Tanetuualon 813) Middle Welsh name: Riwallawn Wallt Banhadlen < *Rigovelaunos (TYP pp. 487–8)
71) OB <i>uuan</i> ‘assault’; MW <i>ymwan</i> ‘attack’ (T. I:22); gwanu ‘assault’ Canu Hengerdd: o wyr gwydyr gwned / em blaen gwyned <u>gwaneu</u> (Y Gododdin, CA XIX:219–20)
72) OB <i>uuas, guas</i> ‘servant’; MW <i>gwas</i> ‘servant vassal’ (cf. OB Uuasbidoe 859) Canu Hengerdd: tauaw <u>gwas</u> yr drws gwrndaw py trwst (T. V:17)
73) OB <i>uethen, guethen</i> ‘warrior, war’; MW <i>gweithen</i> , idem Canu Hengerdd: Arwyre gwyr katraeth gan dyd / am wledic <u>gweithuudic</u> gwarthegydyd (T II:1–2); neu vi neu yscenhedeis kyscawt <u>gweithen</u> (T. VII:51)
74) OB <i>uuin, uuen</i> ‘sacred, pure, blessed’; MW, <i>guin, gwynn, guen</i> , idem Canu Hengerdd: cem bu gipno mab guen gat (Y Gododdin, CA CIII:1257); ryt gwynn rac eingyl yawn llad (Gwarchan Kynfelyn, CA p. 53:1350–1) (Place name: Guengat, southern Finistère)

75) OB <i>uuuu</i> , <i>guiu</i> ‘worthy, splendid’; MW <i>guiu</i> , <i>gwiw</i> ‘excellent, splendid’
Canu Hengerdd: Gwr <u>gwiw</u> uch y amlw seirch (T. X:19); Ef ladhei auet ac eithaf / oid <u>guiu</u> e mlaen llu llarahaf (Y Gododdin, CA CII:1238–9)

76) OB <i>uuoret</i> ‘shelter, protection’; MW <i>gwaret</i> ‘escape, deliverance, shelter’ T. III:13 ‘Urien cat gwortho’ (cf. OB Catuuoret)
Canu Hengerdd: Ac eimwnc collet a mawr aghyffret / heb gaffel <u>gwaret</u> rac vryen reget (T. III:12–13); Urien kat gwortho (T. II:26) ‘battle protection’

77) OB <i>uur</i> , <i>gur</i> ‘warrior, man’; MW <i>gwr</i> , idem
Canu Hengerdd: <u>Gwyr</u> a aeth Gatraeth oed ffraeth eu llu (Y Gododdin, CA VIII:1); <u>Gwr</u> gwiw uch y amlw seirch (T. X:19)

78) OB <i>viu</i> , <i>biu</i> ‘alive, vigorous’; MW <i>byw</i> , idem (cf. OB Hoearnviu 9th, Arthbiu 834 Tanetbiu 833)
Canu Hengerdd: O edrych awdyl trwm teyrned / yn y <u>uyw</u> nys deubyd bud bed (T. XII:13–14)

Summary

As we have seen, the vast majority of the ninth- and tenth-century Old Breton lexical items studied above are attested in the *Canu Hengerdd*. Various combinations of this Old Breton vocabulary form the core of a sizeable proportion of the most common type-5 names. This strongly suggests that these names and the *Canu Hengerdd* are part and parcel of the same cultural tradition. Considering the archaic nature of the Breton evidence, this fact would seem to reinforce Ifor Williams’s contention that, despite the relative lateness of the Welsh manuscripts containing the work of the *Cynfeirdd*, the language of their poetry reflects a highly archaic Brythonic oral tradition which may indeed preserve fundamental aspects of the original north-western British heroic tradition from which it descends.

Very importantly, this suggests several things. Firstly, the Breton type-5 names indicated here are not names as such, but rather epithets and formulae of a kind that abound in the earliest Welsh poetry. Hundreds of these names have survived as modern Breton family names, names that come straight out of the British heroic tradition. Considering that their meanings were no longer remembered by the time they were formalized in writing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the question is why so many of them survived. The only explanation that I can offer at this stage is that the prestige of such names must have lingered on and the Breton peasantry continued to hold such names in high esteem centuries after the Breton aristocracy had turned to French language and culture.

Secondly, given that many of these Old Breton names are also found in insular sources, as saints’ names and are attested in the place names of Brittany since the earliest times, there can be little doubt that most of them were already old at the time they were recorded in the ninth- and tenth-century cartularies. The overwhelming evidence leads one to conclude that they were borne by the British settlers who came to Armorica during the migration period. Considering the warlike nature of these names, Nora Chadwick (1969,

1976) and Léon Fleuriot (1980) may have been correct when they argued that the first British immigrants were in all likelihood *foederati* in the service of Rome. At least during the first stage of the immigration to Armorica, they were certainly not fleeing the Anglo-Saxons as is so often repeated in the history books.

To conclude, the fact that so many traits are shared by the *Canu Hengerdd* and the type-5 names can be explained by their common British origins. If one accepts this interpretation, type-5 Breton names thus provide indirect evidence that those Brythons who left for Armorica during the migration period brought their south-western British bardic traditions with them. A bardic tradition and, consequently, a corpus of bardic poetry may have survived orally in Brittany until the Breton aristocracy turned to the French language and culture after the eleventh century. Just as in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Wales, the language shift may have provoked the disappearance of this class of professional poets. If so, the Old Breton names (and Old Cornish names) studied here may reflect the only traces of what once was a flourishing south-western British poetic tradition.

Abbreviations

CA	Ifor Williams, ed., <i>Canu Aneirin</i> (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1961).
CLIH	Ifor Williams, ed., <i>Canu Llywarch Hen</i> (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1935).
GBGG	J. Lloyd-Jones, <i>Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg</i> (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1931–63).
T	Ifor Williams, ed., <i>The Poems of Taliesin</i> (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1968).
TYP	Rachel Bromwich, ed. and trans., <i>Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain</i> (3rd edn., Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006).

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