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Stratalinguistics and Shifts in Power: Changing Perceptions of Ethnicity in Post-Roman Britain

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Introduction

The events of World War I created measurable fallout in the study of Roman Britain, and while not all areas of scholarship were halted, they certainly were slowed.[1] This slow-down had the felicitous result of causing the next generation of scholars to reflect upon the work of those who had been working on the history of Roman Britain for the last few hundred years. However, as is sensible, those early scholars of Roman Britain around the middle of the twentieth century based much of their work on that their predecessors. Subject to this same scenario is Kenneth Jackson, whose work, *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953) was hailed as the most monumental piece of scholarship on the linguistics of British Latin and Brittonic to ever be produced.

In the 1980s, scholars began to question the methods of Jackson and those who inspired Jackson's work. A.S. Gratwick, Colin Smith, and D. Ellis Evans, in diminishing the importance of Jackson to the study of Roman Britain, would establish the need for a re-thinking of Romano-British[2] studies as they have progressed so far.[3] In areas other than the linguistic sphere, this has happened as well. Peter Schrijver took up the torch and put forth new claims about society at the end of Roman Britain, and this inspired other scholars to question or hail Schrijver's work.[4]

In this thesis I attempt to expand the areas that Peter Schrijver refined within the study of Romano-British linguistics. His theory that Latin-Brittonic bilingualism was widespread and that Latin took the dominant linguistic role in the towns and cities may only be clarified and made credible through the dismantling of the previous scholarship. It is by discrediting the work of Jackson and some of the other conclusions made by Gratwick, Smith, and others in their

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[1] Todd, Malcolm, 2004. 457.
[2] "Romano-British" in this paper refers to those participants in the new southeastern hybrid culture of Britain.
[3] Gratwick, A.S., 1982; Smith, Colin., 1983; Evans, D. Ellis, 1983.
[4] Schrijver, Peter, 2002; Schrijver, 2007.

criticisms of Jackson that may this occur. Upon the foundation of Schrijver's Romano-British linguistic conclusions lies the rebuilding of the post-Roman Britain power structures. In thoroughly showcasing the dismantling of most existing Roman establishments in the end of Roman Britain, we are able to assume that power in this period was in contention among many parties. The abandonment of the towns and the lack of trade and coin production in south-eastern Britain as well as the resumption of trade with the Mediterranean in the west indicate the possible rise of a new western power that controlled wealth and power in post-Roman Britain.

Schrijver's indications of stratalinguistics in the province mark the full emphasis of this conclusion. Through the formation of a pluperfect tense, the loss of the neuter gender, the loss of the case system via final syllables, and the presence of compound prepositions in the middle Brittonic languages (Welsh, Cornish and Breton), we are able to see the shift in stratification of languages, as Latin is relegated to the substrata in the post-Roman period. Such a swift and powerful change in linguistic stratification must have been caused by a similarly swift and powerful change in the perception of ethnicity specific to who wielded power in the absence of a strong Roman administration, perceiving the Britons as newly strengthened, and the Romans as only weakening. Though Brittonic would be the top language in Britain for a time, the incoming Saxons were perceived as having even more prestige than the British tribes of the west, and through the manipulation of the established Roman road system in the east and greater unity, force, and technology, would come to displace the Britons. Brittonic left substantial morphosyntactic markers on our English language, furthering the conclusion that Brittonic was the prestige language in the early post-Roman period.

In the first section of this paper, I intend to review the early scholarship of Jackson and others in order to properly establish the linguistic study of Roman Britain. By including in depth

the criticisms of Jackson, I mean to draw into question the legitimacy of any prior conclusions that have been made about the study of Romano-British linguistics. The section will end with Schrijver's monumental conclusion of the full Latinization of the south of Britain.

Chapter Two consists of a discussion of the history surrounding the province of Roman Britain, with particular emphasis on the army's and the administration's role on the removal around 410. Though scholarship in the past has leaned heavily toward the hypothesis that the Roman removal was instant and total, and those left behind were simply to fend for themselves until the inevitable invasion of the Saxons from the east. The picture that this paper depicts is rather one of a gradual withdrawal, where the power structures demanded replacement in the post-Roman period. By looking at the fate of the towns and cities, it is clear that this new power was not based on the already established eastern system that the Romans had built previously. Further, looking at coin distribution and clipped siliquae in Late Roman Britain, it is clear that any confidence there was in the Roman economy had been thoroughly vanquished. Finally, the chapter will cover the existence of Phocaean Red Slipware dating to the post-Roman period in the west, indicating a clear continuity of trade with Mediterranean economy in these western parts of Britain.

However, these factors do not fully indicate a rising British power base so much as a weakening Roman one. Chapter Three seeks to firmly cement the conclusion that the British became the perceived elite in Britain. Using the relatively new methods of stratalinguistics laid down by Schrijver, I reinforce the morphosyntactic influences of Latin on Brittonic and thusly establish Brittonic as the superstrata language after the Romans leave and Latin retires from its role as the language of power and administration (save from the church). The last part of chapter three is a small consideration of the lingering effect of Brittonic's prestige. In the early Anglo-

Saxon period, Brittonic contributed morphosyntactic information to Anglo-Saxon, and these effects can even be seen in Modern English.

In the wake of a dying Roman power, whose resources were dwindling and whose image was diminishing in the eyes of neighboring peoples on the continent as well as in Britain, the changing power scene enabled the establishment of a new power, if only for a time. But, in the century after the removal of the Roman administration, the Britons of the west, albeit significantly Romanized, would achieve the goal of Queen Boudicca's revolt in AD 60, they finally claimed back their island.

Chapter One
Language in Roman Britain

1 *Jackson and the "twelve points of regionalism"*

In an attempt to convince a general audience of scholars that British Latin was closer to classical Latin than any other dialect of Vulgar Latin, Kenneth Jackson unknowingly sparked controversy. His book, *Language and History of Early Britain*, would be heralded as the most authoritative text on British Latin phonology for the next thirty years. But, as more evidence arose, scholarship would take a turn against his work and spend the next few decades attempting to present the information again, garnering new theories and even more debate.[5]

Jackson's initial claims come in the form of twelve points describing the regionalisms of British Latin, regionalisms he purports to be "haw-haw", or pretentious and elite. He finds the evidence for this in the loanwords from Latin to Brittonic.[6] He most likely draws the conclusion of elite status from written sources throughout the Roman period in Britain, namely Tacitus, as the discovery of many of the Bath curse tablets and the Vindolanda tablets had yet to occur. Unfortunately, archaeological evidence in this region from this period is extremely sparce.

In this section I will survey the opinions of those who have challenged Jackson's views, which for the most part stem from the phonological analysis in his "twelve points", in order to re-establish the foundation upon which the linguistic study of Late Roman Britain may be situated.

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[5] Adams, J.N. 1992. 1-26. Adams' study of the Bath curse tablets discovered in the wake of Jackson's claims is just one example of a text presenting new evidence refuting the notion that British Latin was archaic.
[6] Jackson, Kenneth, 1953. 108.

1.1 *Four of Jackson's twelve points*

Jackson's points 1 and 4 have common features in that they both concern "the absence in British of evidence for the loss of phonemic quantity and the concomitant change of quality in Western Romance of [i] and [u]."[7]   Namely, the phenomena to which Gratwick is alluding are "the mergers of long *e* and short *i* as close *e*, and of long *o* and short *u* as a close *o*."[8]   Although this argument is seemingly quite convincing, it is based on outdated evidence. Smith notes[9] that "in British inscriptions short *i* is ten times written as *e*, and concludes from this that the vowel change is a 'well-documented feature of British Latin.'"[10]   Adams goes on to say: "It can be added that there is now a cluster of such misspellings in a Vindolanda letter", but urges his readers to bear in mind that "the texts in the Vindolanda archive were not written by Britons", concluding that they are "a dubious source of information about 'British Latin.'"[11]

Jackson only cites one example of a loanword retaining *i*, with which Smith takes issue: " The one example which Jackson quotes (p. 87) is a bad one: if *fides* 'faith' > *ffydd* (retaining *i*) the obvious explanation which occurs to the student of Romance is that it was either derived from, or was maintained in semi-learned form by, Church usage."[12]   Other examples (*papillo* "butterfly, tent" > *pebyll*, and *pisum* "pea" > *pys*) raise the issue of chronology, for in order to

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[7] Gratwick, 1982. 7.
[8] Adams, 2007. 588.
[9] Smith, 1983. 939.
[10] Adams, 2007. 588.
[11] Adams, 2007. 588.
[12] Smith, 1983. 939. He also dismisses *beneficium* > Welsh *benffyg* 'loan' as being a learned word rather than a strict popular loanword.

exhibit the Romance vowel mergers effects, it would need to have been borrowed after that took place (this will be discussed below).[13]

In between points 1 and 4, Jackson proceeds to discuss (in points 2 and 3) the phenomena of a hiatus-filling *u* after back vowels and in the instance of words ending in *–eus*. Gratwick interestingly chooses not to go into detail with this phenomena as Adams does, claiming that it is "very doubtfully to be regarded as Latin at all".[14] In point 2, Jackson claims that these *–eus* endings in Vulgar Latin generally adopt a consonantal *-i-* (*-ius*, *-ia*, *-ium*), and while this did happen in Britain, the language also added a consonantal *-u-* (*puteus, oleum > puteuus, oleuum >* Welsh *pydew, olew*, Breton *oleo*). His primary claim is that this phenomenon "must have arisen from a desire to preserve carefully the two syllables of the older Latin *–e/us*, etc., it would have come from the speech of an educated or conservative level of society" i.e. the "haw-haw" mentioned previously.[15]

Point 3 is much the same as point 2[16], except that it does not have the same kind of offshoot present in the other branches of Vulgar Latin, or at least so far as Jackson can tell. Adams is quick to smother this argument, finding it all over the empire in his survey of the range of Latin.

"The insertion of [w] glides after a back vowel is commonplace all over the

Empire (including Britain). It is found, for example in Africa in the Ostraca of Bu

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[13] Jackson places his chronology as being between the end of the first to the fifth century, forcing scholars like Gratwick, Adams, and Smith to be further distrusting of his evidence than they already are. Granted, however, that Jackson did not have the same amount of evidence of British Latin than the others.

[14] Gratwick, 1982. 14.

[15] Jackson, 1953. 87.

[16] The difference here is that Jackson dubs them "different contexts" but rather this just means that the hiatus-filling *u* is curiously happening after back vowels, unlike point 2 where it occurs after a very front vowel.

Njem[17] . . . Instances occur at Pompeii, such as *CIL* IV.3730 *poueri = pueri.*
Clouaca for *cloaca* was admitted by Varro in the Menippea[18], and turns up in a
variety of inscriptions" (i.e. suua = sua, Tab. Sulis 31.5[19]).[20]

Furthermore, the relatively recent discovery of the cache of Vindolanda tablets has shown
various attestations of the hiatus-filling *u* after a back vowel.[21]

A more complex situation arises as Jackson's claim that front vowels often take a
consonantal *i* is for the most part accurate (as is seen in *braciiario > braciaro* (*Tab. Vindol.*
III.646)). Jackson adduces many more examples, most of which exhibit the same phenomenon
discussed above: the *u*-glide after a back vowel. So then, Adams rightly poses the question of
whether the insertion of a *u* after a front vowel is a feature of British Latin.

"So far as I can see, most words of this type when borrowed into Celtic followed
what JACKSON himself recognized was 'the normal history', lost their final
syllable (because the stress fell earlier in the word) and therefore show no trace of
the insertion of *u* in the hiatus (e.g. *cunĕus* > W[elsh]. *cyn*, *extranĕus* > W[elsh].
estron). Words with the hiatus-filling *u* may therefore be exceptions, not parts of
an alternative norm".[22]

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[17] Adams makes note here of a citation "(see Adams 1994: 105, citing *duua and tuuos*)".
[18] Varro, *Men*. 290.
[19] Adams, 1992. 10.
[20] Adams, 2007. 589.
[21] Adams, 1995. 93. Adams also mentions the existence of *u*-glides in curse tablets from Hamble
Estuary as well as from Uley.
[22] Smith, 1983. 939.

What Smith's assertion aims to do is open up the question of a greater study of substandard Latin outside of Britain, as it cannot be concretely demonstrated that this phenomena is a regionally British feature.[23]

It is not pertinent in this paper to cover the other 8 of Jackson's points on the conservative nature of British Latin, as discrediting just four of the twelve enable us to question Jackson's assumptions as a whole, especially his claims about the elite status of those who he believes to have made British Latin so conservative. The chronology of the loanwords' formation, however, remains well worth discussing at length.

1.2 *Chronology of the Loanwords*

Gratwick primarily takes up the issue of the chronology. It is in this argument that he makes his strongest point that "[Jackson's] best arguments would only begin to carry conviction if it could safely be proposed that there were a significant bias in the material towards late and very late dates of borrowing".[24] Without any concrete dating, the question is left open as to whether or not the words were simple borrowings with awkward orthography or were true loans with prior influenced phonology through a superstratum influence. Jackson's entire argument, while maintaining fairly sound phonological reasoning, hinges on the lateness of the borrowing; and as Gratwick notably points out, the lack of chronological focus makes it so that all of his logic bears an air of uncertainty.

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[23] Hamp, E.P. 1975. Hamp dives into a question of "social gradience", which would seem to be of some great importance here. However, Hamp's topics are well enough covered by Adams (2007), Gratwick, Smith, and Evans as to not put too much emphasis on his work.
[24] Gratwick, 1982. 14.

Jackson does, however, point out a stress on later loans, but not entirely for reasons one might expect. In addition to highlighting the large amount of church-related terms from British Latin, he states that the political nature of Roman Britain, with particular regard to the high frequency of uprisings "might probably prevent much in the way of linguistic interchange for a generation after the conquest."[25] Gratwick is quick to point out Jackson's flawed logic: "This is wrong. Unsettled conditions such as implied by Tac. Agr. 21.2. for the Boudiccan period are no hindrance in themselves to the borrowing of words from people whom you dislike" then citing words like stormtrooper and blitzkrieg.[26]

Rather than simply denounce Jackson's chronology and leave the argument there, Gratwick, helpfully improves our outlook on the situation. He provides sound reasoning for why such loans probably came earlier, and therefore dismantles Jackson's argument further. He reasonably takes economy and culture into question, claiming that the chronological period in which these loanwords would have been transferred over began not in the middle of the first century AD with the invasion of the emperor Claudius, for that ignores the now widely accepted fact that Rome had contact with the British much earlier, and even more so, that the northern tribes of Gaul and Belgic Gaul had contact as well.[27] This process of cultural diffusion can be

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[25] Jackson, 1953. 77.

[26] Gratwick, 1982. 15. Here Gratwick is being too harsh, as the time in which Jackson was writing this text would have been in the later stages of, or just after, World War II, before these terms were able to integrate themselves into the colloquial language. If he had cited an older example his tone would have been much improved.

[27] Gratwick, 1982. 15. Gratwick dates the beginning of this period to the time of Tincommius and Commius, or the decade of Caesar's Campaign to take Gaul for Rome. I would be hard pressed to think that the process began before this, probably not in so great a capacity, but contact had been established long before this period.

attributed to the material culture and military presence of Rome, and this can be seen in the coinage of the British tribal leaders.[28]

Jackson's claim that British Latin was more archaic on account of phonological phenomena observed in Old and Middle Welsh loanwords might be due to the timing in which they were borrowed from the spoken language. Gratwick, in concluding his discussion of Jackson's chronology, acknowledges that the reason why such loanwords may have Classical Latin characteristics rather than the expected Vulgar Latin is that "maybe the word *was* borrowed from the spoken form current in the classical period, much earlier than it seems to have occurred to Celtic Scholars to look."[29] In contrast, those Celtic scholars who, given Gratwick's point of view, did look at the earlier Celtic phonology still come to the same conclusion.[30] Adams sums up Evans' point, complementary to Gratwick that many Latin loans were learned relatively late, and therefore they tell us nothing about the conservative nature of British Latin.[31] It also is worth noting that Gratwick calls any classical phonological quantities "misleading" and "prejudicial", as "60 per cent of the material is represented by Latin word- and syllable-types which would appear the same whether they were borrowed in the time of Caesar or Romulus Augustulus".[32]

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[28] Gratwick, 1982. 15. "While Tasciovanus of the Catuverllauni (*regnabat* c. 20 B.C. – A.D. 5) used the alphabet to set his Celtic title *rigon*(*os*?) on his coinage, other chieftains were recognized by Augustus as *reges* in some sort of client-relationship with Rome."

[29] Gratwick, 1982. 17.

[30] Evans, 1983. 965. Evans makes the case that "the dating of the loanwords is particularly complex" and that it is not necessarily the fault of Jackson for being presumptive given the amount of material he was able to work with, however, he agrees with Gratwick in that these borrowings likely do not show the phonological changes that Jackson claims they do.

[31] Adams, 2007. 587-588.

[32] Gratwick, 1982. 17. Gratwick discusses these forms further in detail later in his work (pp. 51-3, 66).

1.3 *Conclusions on Jackson*

It can reasonably be said at this point that Jackson's argument can be questioned. Even though, as Smith comments, "Latin in Britain was much influenced by the conservative standards of schoolmasters and rhetoricians, who taught the sons of the British upper classes", Jackson hyperbolized the class situation in Roman Britain, believing the Latin language to be almost exclusively used by members of the upper class.[33] Gratwick agrees with this conclusion, as does Adams: "Jackson was not well informed about subliterary Latin attested outside Britain and he tended to present contrasts between 'British' and 'continental' Latin in black and white when the difference was either non-existent or blurred."[34] The conclusion that British Latin does not exhibit the conservative features is not new. As Evans remarks, it was a trending thought in the 1970's and 1980's to either deny or at least minimize the conservatism or prescriptivism of British Vulgar Latin.[35]

During the decades following this conclusive attitude, there has been a push to re-establish the accurate linguistic situation in Roman Britain. Increasing numbers of tablets (both in baths and estuaries, as well as the area surrounding Hadrians wall) have helped greatly. But a re-thinking of the linguistics has caused some, like Celticist Peter Schrijver, to step into the center of this ongoing discussion. The dismantling of the idea that British Latin was somehow conservative and therefore only held by the upper classes allows for a realization to be made that perhaps the social situation in Roman Britain was not so anti-Roman (at least in the southeast).

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[33] Smith, 1983. 944.
[34] Adams, 2007. 592.
[35] Evans, 1983. 980.

The result of these moves in scholarship is the claim of Schrijver that Latin in the southeast became equally spoken among almost all classes of people, if not the dominant tongue.

2 *Latin and British in Roman Britain*

One of Jackson's primary focal points in his argument for the elite status of Latin in Britain comes from Tacitus who says in his *Agricola*: "Furthermore, he trained the sons of the Chiefs in the liberal arts and expressed a preference for British natural ability over the trained skill of the Gauls. The result was that in place of distaste for the Latin language came a passion to command it."[36] While it seems reasonable for Jackson to make the assumption of elite linguistic status based on Tacitus' clear indication of chieftains learning the tongue, the work was written in AD 97-98, and so the information need not apply to the late fourth/early fifth centuries.

It is possible, however, to glean information about language status from changes tracked through child-languages. In a paradigm of language survival, a much maligned thought to the traditional scholars of English language development, "where the Germanic language of the Anglo-Saxon invaders did not triumph, British Celtic survived intact, albeit much influenced by Latin, most obviously in a good number of loanwords."[37] As was discussed in the previous section, a conservative Latin of the elite and only the elite had been considered the primary cause for this influence. Based on a wealth of new evidence, as well as a re-thinking of the economic, social, and linguistic climate of Britain and the era immediately following the Roman

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[36] Trans. Mattingly, H. 1954. 72; Polomé, Edgar C. 1983. 532-534. Polomé also goes into this, though it can be thought that his primary influence was also Tacitus.

[37] Parsons, David N. 2011. 114.

abandonment[38], it can be discerned that Latin's status among the population of Roman Britain has long been understated.

David Parsons, considering those who went to the shrines at Bath and Uley to leave inscribed tablets (which, we should remember, were not discovered when Jackson wrote his work), poses a long overdue question: "how plausible is it to suppose that these folk who have lost their gloves, or a cloth, or are owed tiny amounts of money, are in some way significantly divorced from 'the bulk of the population'?"[39] Of course the implication here is whether or not it is fair to assume that those "Romanized" parts of Britain were any different from the rest of the empire in their level of linguistic "Romanization". In response to this question, a number of scholars have purported that Latin exercised a far greater influence than Jackson would have been comfortable suggesting given his evidence. Some have gone as far as to suggest a system of massive bilingualism[40], while others have argued further that "Latin survived as a living, spoken Language amongst the western elite well into the post-Roman period."[41] A case can also be made for the ability of the lower class Britons of the West to learn Vulgar Latin after the Roman period. As Patrick makes clear in his *Confessio*, he is a "simple country person", and based on the uniqueness of his Latin, he had not been taught any kind of Classical or "conservative" Latin.[42] He even expresses this fact himself: "My speech and words have been translated into a foreign language, as it can be easily seen from my writings the standard of the

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[38] These topics will be discussed in chapters two and three.
[39] Parsons, 2011. 117.
[40] Greene, David. 1968. 76.
[41] Parsons, 2011. 117; Charles-Edwards, T.M. 1995. 703-736; Woolf, Alex. 2003. 345-380.
[42] St. Patrick. *Confessio*. 1.

instruction and learning I have had."[43] It is clear that the issue of language contact and linguistic

stratification during the Roman period must be reassessed to accommodate these questions.

2.1 *The Range of Latin in Roman Britain*

Bearing that torch, Peter Schrijver entered the arena, suggesting that "in Lowland Britain in the

later days of the empire the man in the street spoke Latin and possibly nothing but Latin."[44] His

claim is based on an answer to the question posed by Parsons discussed earlier (although that

question did occur later, it remains a relevant way of framing the argument). Schrijver discusses

the three exceptions to the full Romanization of languages within the sphere of the empire:

Basque, Albanian, and Brittonic. Each of these languages was bombarded with loanwords from

Latin, and their phonology was deeply influenced by Latin (as we will discuss soon). Given the

chronology of these linguistic changes, there is little reason to doubt that Roman Britain was not

exempt from the rule that Latin tended to expand to the detriment of the native languages.[45]

At the surface, this reasoning can be followed with success. Both Basque and Brittonic

developed in mountainous regions where the empire had little control (Albanian cannot be

pinned down to such a case, as its original range is not known). While it is true that the empire

never exerted the same amount of control on these remote regions in western Britain, it would be

naïve to assume that this indicates a complete lack of control on the eastern Lowland areas.

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[43] St. Patrick. *Confessio*. 9.
[44] Schrijver, 2002. 87.
[45] Schrijver, 2002. 87.

From this point, Schrijver takes a model from language contact scholars Thomason and Kaufman[46] to argue for a superstratum interference system in the Lowlands, leading to "an unstable bilingualism, which became more and more biased in favour of Latin."[47] The model follows thusly: "Two types of interference system arose:

(1) Types of Latin which showed influence by Brittonic phonetics, phonology, syntax and, to a lesser degree, lexicon (i.e. substratum, betraying language shift from Brittonic to Latin);

(2) types of Brittonic with varying degrees of influence by Latin phonetics, phonology, syntax and lexicon (i.e. heavy borrowing in a context of widespread bilingualism, ultimately associated with language death. . .)."[48]

While monumental, Schrijver's conclusion that Latin was the dominant language in the Lowlands follows suit with the trends in the study of Latin-British language contact, as Charles-Edwards and Woolf both only slightly delineate from Jackson, putting forth a new model, but one where the working classes maintained their native Brittonic while the elite spoke Latin.[49] Schrijver, as we will see below, daringly presents the next step in breaking the mold in this area of study.

2.2 *Phonology in Brittonic*

In the instance of superstratum influence as described above, Latin left many traces of itself on Brittonic phonology. As British Latin left practically no trace on the written record, but "guided

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[46] Thomason and Kaufman. 1988. 35-64.
[47] Schrijver, 2002. 88.
[48] Schrijver, 2002. 88.
[49] Parsons, 2011. 118. (Further citing: Charles-Edwards, 1995. 731. and Woolf, 2003. 379.)

by a methodology from which follows that what has disappeared is not necessarily irretrievably lost" may we be able to uncover the hidden influences it may have left on its Brittonic neighbor.[50] Schrijver moves to present a series of developments in Brittonic which can be traced to Latin influence.

Similar to Gaulish, British experiences a few phonological changes:

"(1) *oRa > *aRa: *torano- > W[elsh] *taran* 'thunder', cf. Gaul[ish]. *Taranis, Taranu-* (equivalent of Lat. *Juppiter*) but O[ld]Ir[ish]. *Torann*; SBCHP 94-97; W[elsh] *manach* 'monk' < Lat. *monachus* indicates that the rule was still productive in Brittonic around the time when Christianity was introduced.

(2) *nm > *nw: *anman > O[ld]W[elsh] *anu* 'name'; cf. Gaul[ish]. *anuana* (Larzac in Southern Gaul, 2nd Century AD), *anmambe, anmanbe* (Chateaubleau, east of Paris, third or fourth century) but O[ld]Ir[ish]. *ainm*; *SBCHP* 463; W[elsh] *mynwent* 'tomb, graveyard' < Lat. *monumenta* indicates that the rule was still productive in Brittonic after the syncope of the pretonic medial vowels, dated by *LHEB* to the sixth century."[51]

As it can be seen from the evidence, these markers indicate that Brittonic and Gaulish underwent such phonological changes, but Irish did not, indicating a Latin influence.

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[50] Schrijver, 2002. 89.
[51] Schrijver, 2002. 90. Schrijver continues to cite the examples of *je > *ja: *gijemi- > *gijami- > M[iddle]W[elsh] *gaeaf*, Bret[on]. *goanv* 'winter', cf. Gaul[ish]. *Giamon* (Coligny), not in Irish (O[ld]Ir[ish]. *gaim* presupposes *gemi- < *gjemi-, *SBCHP* 108-110); Lenis *wo > *wa:*petwores > M[iddle]W[elsh] *pedwar*, Bret. *pevar* 'four'; Intervocalic *gj > *j; *dj > jj > jδ: *kagjo- > W[elsh] *cae*, Bret[on]. *kae* 'hedge, enclosure', cf. Gaul[ish]. *Caio* (Endlicher's Glossary), Gallo-Lat. *Magiorix, Maiorix*; . . . not in Irish: O[ld]Ir[ish]. *laigiu* 'less', M[iddle]W[elsh] *llei* < *lagjus*; *buide* 'yellow' < *bodjos, maidid* 'breaks' < *mad-je-.

Brittonic experienced a series of changes on its own and "these seem to be developments proper to British Celtic, but it is instructive to remember that our knowledge of late Gaulish in particular is so limited that counterparts may just happen to not have been preserved. The same holds for British Latin."[52] These changes include, but are not limited to: monopthongization[53], final *i-* and *a*-affections, reductions, spirantization, internal *i*-affection.[54]

Brittonic also experienced changes similar to the early Romance languages, most significantly the vowel system: "replacement of phonemic vowel quantity by phonemic vowel quality distinctions and rise of new quantities based on syllable structure and stress position (*LHEB* 338 – 344, dated by Jackson about 600). These developments affect the complete phonological structure of the language."[55] The significance of these changes are two fold, first because they are so structurally important to a language, but also because they were repeated in early Romance, suggesting a strong Latin influence. Schrijver also suggests that Latin influenced Brittonic in a few other critical areas:

"2. stress shift to penultimate syllable, which became final;[56]

3. loss of final nasals except in monosyllables (e.g. Breton *(h)en* 'him' < *em*,

French *rien* < *rem*)

4. voicing of postvocalic *p, *t, *k to *b, *d, *g[57]

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[52] Schrijver, 2002. 91.

[53] *oi > *ū (merger with *ou > *ō > ū, which later became *ȳ [according to *LHEB* 696 in the sixth century])

[54] Schrijver, 2002. 91.

[55] Schrijver, 2002. 92.

[56] Brittonic appeared to maintain its Proto-Celtic stress on the whole until the second century, when Latin began to be a larger influence on the language and shifted the stress on certain words to the penultimate syllable, as is the case with much of Classical Latin, "thus giving rise to a stress system that is highly similar to that of northwestern Romance" (Schrijver, 2002. 93.).

[57] "It may still be correct that the Western Romance lenition of voiceless intervocalic stops was triggered by a Celtic substratum. . .but the merger of lenited allophones with the voiced stops,

5. consonant groups: $*\chi t > *jt; *gR > *\gamma R > *jR; *dR > *\delta R > *jR; *kn > *gn > *jn;$ loss of opposition between $*isC\text{-}$ and $*sC\text{-}; *ns > *s$ (early in Latin; phonotactic adaptation to Latin in British Celtic)

6. apocope and syncope (details differ)."[58]

Many of these features did not appear until the later stages of Brittonic. Here is not the place to go into these in the same level of detail as Schrijver, but they "are interpretable as attempts to adapt Brittonic to Western Romance phonotaxis."[59] It is worth noting that such phenomena are capable of being produced the opposite direction, but this is not likely, as early Romance attributes the same type of developments in other areas, like Romanian and Sardic, most likely meaning that they are a "Latinization of British Celtic rather than a Celticization of Romance". Based on the models used from Thomason and Kaufman, this only seems natural in a situation where Latin performs the functions of a superstratum.

2.3 *Toponyms in Roman Britain*

Around 450 toponyms are known from Roman Britain. Thirty of these either entirely stem from Latin or contain a Latin element, constituting a mere seven percent of the whole.[60] Considering Schrijver's presentation of the influence of Latin, one would initially expect the percentage of Latin-based toponyms to be higher. Juxtaposing these two areas in the greatest detail is Parsons,

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causing *mater > mader* to have the same phoneme /d/ as Lat. *donum*, took place only by the fifth century AD. In Brittonic, the merger of lenited *$*t > d$* with unlenited *d* took place about the same time. . . On the reasonable hypothesis that the latter developments in Romance and Brittonic are connected, it is more likely that Brittonic borrowed from Romance than vice versa" (Schrijver, 2002. 94.).

[58] Schrijver, 2007. 166.

[59] Schrijver, 2002. 95.

[60] cf. Rivet & Smith. 1979. 18-20; Gelling, Margaret. 1978. 30-62.

who initially claimed that "without further discussion, that [the percentage] probably looks more like a veneer of authority than an embedded vernacular."[61] Considering the status of Brittonic when the Romans arrived as the dominant language and the Romans' tolerance of language when the issue comes to toponyms (e.g. French *Lyon* > Lat. *Lugdunum* > Gaul. *dunon* 'fort' and the Celtic god *Lug*), it makes sense for a good portion of the toponyms to remain Brittonic, after all, "it is in the nature of toponyms to preserve earlier stages of language and earlier languages."[62] Most of those names that took on Latin influence were of great importance to the Romans (e.g. Colchester > *Camulodunum*, coming from the Latin Etymon "*colonia*"), but it still remains curious that 90 percent of the settlements maintained their Celtic names.[63] Parsons first attributes these curiosities to the chronology of the naming. The lack of Latin names may "presumably indicate that British remained the local vernacular at the time of the naming"[64] and this is supported by the speed at which Britain was conquered and the lag before the Romans controlled the majority of the populace.[65]

Certain towns did maintain or develop Latin names. Examples include *Calcaria*, "of limestone" (modern day Tadcaster), and *Pontibus* "(at the) bridges" (modern day Staines on the Thames).[66] Parsons greatest point with regard to the Romanization of names comes from the *Antonine Itinerary*, which was compiled likely two centuries before the end of Roman Britain

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[61] Parsons, 2011. 122.

[62] Parsons, 2011. 122.

[63] Gelling, 1988. 35. "Considering that the sources available to us from Roman Britain are specially concerned with Roman settlements and forts, rather than with native farms and villages, the small number of Latin, as opposed to British, toponyms on record from the period may fairly be taken as indicating that even the Latin-speaking administrative classes were for the most part using British toponyms rather than new Latin coinages of their own creation."

[64] Parsons, 2011. 122. Parsons continues to include the argument of Rivet (1980: 15) that Celtic names may have been given by Celtic soldiers in the Roman army, but this draws into question the homogeneity of Celtic names throughout the empire.

[65] Moorhead & Stuttard.   2012. 12-88.

[66] Others include Gloucester (*Glevum Colonia*) and Chelmsford (*Caesaromagus*).

and which documents lists of stations and posts along the major roads in the empire.[67] It is from this source that we have obtained a good number of our toponyms for Roman Britain. Again, the question of chronology arises, as Latin had likely only begun to take a foothold in the southeast at this juncture. This explains the various percentages of Latin influenced names from across the empire (ten percent (at the time of the *Itinerary*) in Britain versus twenty-seven percent in Hispania, twenty-two percent in Gallia, and seventeen percent in Germania and Belgica).[68] Any minor settlements on the roads in Britain would have developed later and would more likely have adopted Latin names later as well.[69]

2.4 *Preliminary Conclusions*

Two of the primary issues with Jackson's logic (regarding his phonological developments) are his range and chronology. The new findings of epigraphic evidence[70] have seemingly narrowed the scope of much of the chronology, as well as the practice of Language reconstruction performed by Schrijver. The primary question that much of the above evidence concerns is that of range. Considering the weight of evidence supporting the superstratum influence of Latin as well as the depth to which Brittonic was influenced by it, it can only be natural to assume that Latin had spread much farther and reached more deeply into the lower echelons of the class system during the Roman period, and due to the bilingualism of the rural areas, caused drastic phonological change.

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[67] Isaac, Graham. 2002.
[68] Parsons, 2011. 123.
[69] Parsons, 2011. 123.
[70] Mullen, Alex, 2007. 35-61; Evans, 1983. 949-987; Adams, 1992. 1-26.

When the question of toponyms is taken into consideration, it seems at first as though Latin did not have as strong of a foothold as Schrijver is suggesting. But when the chronology and range of the toponyms (just like that of the Latin language) is considered, we find that much of the information given about these places likely was gathered before the period in which Latin was dominant, i.e. before the 4th c. AD. In the whole corpus of 450 Roman Britain toponyms that we are aware of, any that are not attributed directly to that period where Latin would have been strongest immediately have to be questioned as biased towards the Anglo-Saxon linguistic influence beginning in the middle of the fifth-century AD. In such an instance, it is impossible to recreate the town names as they would have appeared at the time, and we are simply left to consider the language as Schrijver has done.

Chapter Two

Romans and Britons in Late Roman and Early Post-Roman Britain

1 *The state of Roman and Post-Roman Britain*
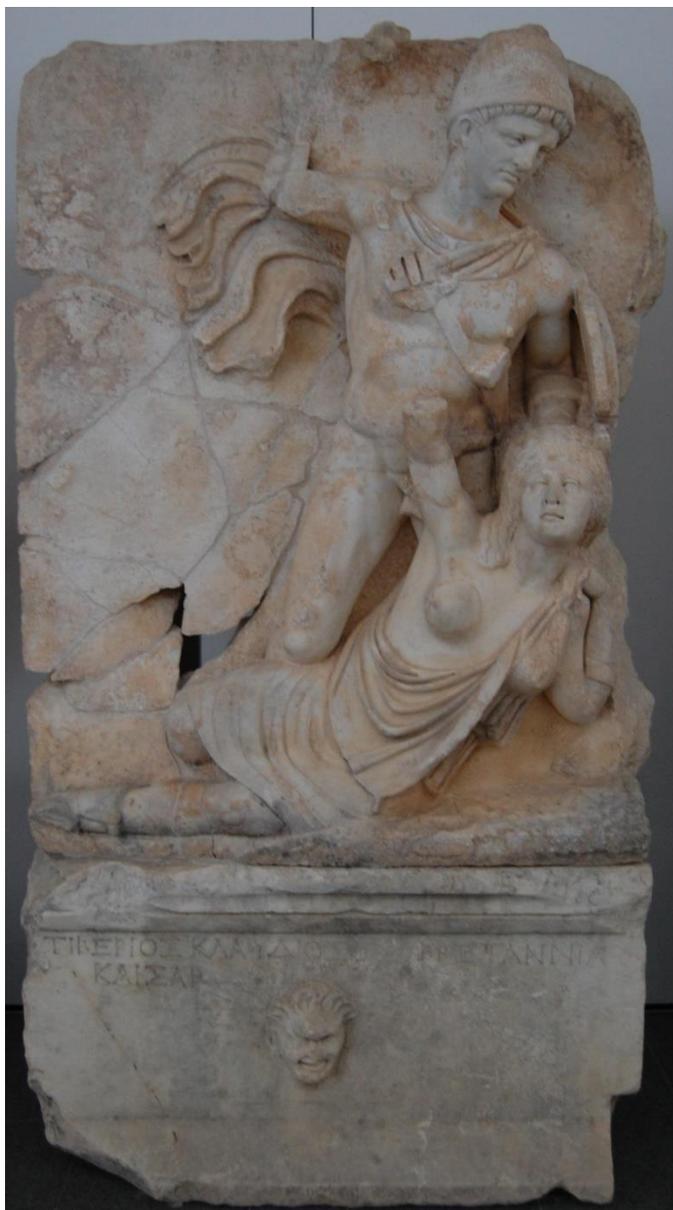
Britain for many years was a region that built champions and statesmen, and was the staging area for stories of emperors and usurpers, wars and revolutions, cultural repression and social change. Beginning with the initial landings of Caesar described in his *De Bello Gallico*, and ultimately being the crowning achievement of Claudius' reign (AD 41-54). A sculpture was even raised to commemorate this event, though this likely was one of many.[71] At the height of the Empire, Britain proved difficult to maintain. Constantly the Roman legion was squaring off with the various tribes of the Britons, though none of these warring factions would prove as troublesome or

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[71] Moorhead & Stuttard, 2012. Plate 1. Claudius assaults Britannia on a relief from Aphrodisias in Turkey.

ruthless as the rebellion of Boudicca (AD 60).

In the first centuries of Britain under Rome, these rebellions proved more useful than it may seem at the surface. Fleming argues that the army's role in stimulating economic prosperity in the region and initializing the building of towns and road systems. Fleming relates that the army of Britain contained a good portion of the soldiers of the imperial army (about one-eighth), more than was dedicated to any other one province in the whole of the Empire; she highlights the massive disproportionality of the military distribution, implying a strong need for numbers like that based in the perception that the province was far from controlled.[72] As these soldiers were distributed around towns and forts in the province, Britain was left with a constant source of production and revenue, demanding high amounts of resources from the continental parts of the empire to support them and maintain their happiness.

However, as foreign peoples pressured the borders of the eastern and northern empire and Britain became increasingly wealthy and stable, as much of the army as could be spared was removed from Britain and placed throughout the empire. This would prove disastrous for Britain's economy in the third century as trade began to be disrupted and Britain could not perform the same economic functions it had during its height.

The result of such a downturn would actually prove to be a good thing, as the continental products that had stimulated the economy in the days of the army were replaced by local goods. In the fourth century Britain began to self-identify due to this demand for all things local. Improved agriculture driven by mild climate was at the center of the upturn and Britain would maintain this period of prosperity until the last quarter of the fourth century.

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[72] Fleming, Robin. 2010. 2.

In 383, tension that had been building for quite some time would finally spill over, and Magnus Maximus would be declared emperor by the Roman army in Britain (much like Constantine before him). This move, born of a desire by the Romano-British and the Britons for Britain to be its own state, would be the final step in the resolution in Britain against the empire (though he was defeated) before that time when the Roman administration finally left. With a self-sustaining, albeit weaker, economy and greater desire for independence, events in Britain in the 4th c. AD set the stage for what would be its final hours under Rome.

1.1 *Incursions from the North: Roman Britain 400-410*

"The 'spirit of the Latin race' was perhaps never acquired to the full by the Roman Britons, but by the last years of Roman Britain, many aspects of life in the province had become as Roman as in Italy or the Western provinces."[73] However, during the early stages of the fifth century, this Romanization would be affected by numerous outside pressures. Though much of the army was removed in the third century, these forces were never replenished to the same levels nor in the same areas post-crisis Britain. The emergence of the cosmopolitan town as a revenue source and the improvement of agriculture around these towns caused the Roman administration to re-think their placement of such forces. Thus, the majority of Roman troops were made to protect these new economies. Hadrian's Wall would still be protected but at a cost for the wall would act as the unifier for smaller groups north of it, as the imminent threat of Roman expansion was cause for the thought of a joined community against it, here we see the formation of the Picts.[74] Although Southern is considering the northern campaign, it should be mentioned that the Picts

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[73] Birley, Anthony. 1964. 153.
[74] Southern, Pat. 2004. 400.

only gained in strength from that the late 4th c. AD forward. As in 395, when Stilicho stationed nine units in Britain to compensate for the losses of Magnus Maximus' campaign, he strengthened the wall in the process, but the compensation was far from adequate for the wall still suffered heavy attacks from the north.[75] Ammianus wrote early in the reign of the emperor Valentinian: "There were two tribes of Picts, the Dicalydones and Verturiones, and they, along with the warlike peoples of the Attacotti and the Scots[76], were roaming far and wide and causing great destruction" and it can be assumed that this only increased as the empire was weakened.[77] Furthermore, these attacks from the Picts likely began to move further into the interior of Britain given the swift removal of troops from Britain by Stilicho in 402 to help defend the central portions of the empire from the impending threat of the Visigoths. Further, the usurper Constantine III set course for the continent, taking the whole of the Roman field army stationed in Britain.[78] These massive troop movements meant that arguably "by the time of the final withdrawal, the Roman army in Britain had probably ceased to exist."[79]

In terms of effect, the heavy incursions by native British tribes from the north would have long term effects on the whole of post-Roman British society, namely in terms of drawing attention away from the towns, and an increased pressure to speak a Celtic language. Considering the marked effect the army, throughout its history, had on Britain, "the general picture of Britain after 410 is one of rapid decay in the Romanised way of life."[80]

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[75] Southern, 2004. 405.

[76] Both the Scots and the Attacotti were based in Ireland, likely crossing in the north, where the passage is shortest.

[77] Ammianus 27.8.5, trans. Moorhead & Stuttard. 2012. 213.

[78] Close to around 6,000 men; Moorhead & Stuttard. 2012. 237.

[79] Southern, 2004. 405.

[80] Osborn, Geraint. 2006. 95.

1.2 *The Roman Removal*

In the long history of the scholarship on Roman Britain, a contentious point has been the alleged letter from Honorius in 410 to the cities of Britain informing them that from then on, they were on their own. This point, long held as the moment of "exodus" of all Romans from Britain, comes from a passage of the historian Zosimus in the early sixth century:

> "Alaric for a time wished to abide by the oaths he had given Attulus. Valens, the Magister Equitum [master of cavalry], was suspected of treason and killed. Alaric then attacked all those cities in Aemilia which had refused to accept Attalus as emperor. After easily bringing over the others, he laid siege to Bononia, but it held out for many days and he could not take it. So he went to Liguria to force it to recognise Attalus as emperor. Honorius sent letters to the cities in Britain urging them to fend for themselves[81], and rewarded his troops with gifts from the moneys sent by Heraclianus. He was now completely at ease, having won the loyalty of armies everywhere."[82]

However, the reading Βρεττανία is likely a corruption of the manuscript. At first it does not seem likely that Zosimus would mention "this event in passing during a lengthy account of the activities of the Gothic leader Alaric as he tried to win Italian support for his puppet emperor Attalus in Rome against the legitimate emperor Honorius based in Ravenna."[83] An emendation of the text has been suggested on multiple occasions: "it seems that these letters were addressed

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[81] Ὀνωρίου δὲ γράμμασι πρὸς τὰς ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ χρησαμένου πόλεις φυλάττεσθαι παραγγέλουσι
[82] Zosimus, *New History* 6.10.2. trans. Ridley, Ronald. 1982. 130.
[83] Woods, David. 2012. 818.

to Bruttium[84] in Italy or even to Bologna. Why, anyway, would Honorius be writing to the British cities, when (as he himself agreed) the island came under the jurisdiction of Constantine III?"[85] David Woods further emends this to the region of Raetia (Ῥαιτία) given its physical proximity to the events described both before and after the Britain clause of Zosimus' history and the book's reputation as being unreliable and potentially corrupt.[86]

Just where the letter actually was sent is unimportant to my argument here. The fact that the corruption led to the text read "Britain" shows a general acceptance of 410 as the formal date for Roman removal. But, given the usurpation of Constantine III from Britain and his removing of the army, it can safely be surmised that Britain had been experiencing a slow retreat of administrators still loyal to Rome over the course of many years. Gildas' more ambiguous depiction of these events is probably more trustworthy, but as a hard date is almost impossible to place:

> "The Romans therefore informed our country that they could not go on being bothered with such troublesome expeditions; the Roman standards, that great and splendid army, could not be worn out by land and sea for the sake of wandering thieves who had no taste for war. Rather the British should stand alone."[87]

The situation would have been further exacerbated by the revolt of 409. But, the evidence from coinage seems to support a slow removal following a disregard of the Roman Empire as having any real power in the region. The last instances of bronze coinage dates to AD 402, and all mints after this from the empire fail to reach British shores.[88] Even though the latest stockpiles of gold

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[84] Woods, 2012. 819. "noting that Bruttium was spelled Βρεττία in Greek".
[85] Moorhead & Stuttard. 2012.
[86] Woods, 2012. 825.
[87] Trans. Winterbottom, Michael. 1978. 22.
[88] Osborn, 2006. 94.

and silver coins from the mints of Constantine III end around 420[89] no large-scale coin use continues through this period, halting quite quickly.[90] Among whatever coins were brought over from the continent, the peoples of Britain hoarded them and devalued them by clipping them with intent to re-establish their value through other means, such as melting them into more valuable objects or perhaps intending to use the silver for its weight, showing a lack of faith in the Roman economy and a lack of substantial trade with the continent even before the proposed date.[91] Moorhead and Stuttard find themselves in agreement with this concept claiming, instead of the historically accepted conclusion that the removal of imperial administration Britain had been culturally and politically detached from what remained of the empire long before that period.[92]

A slow and gradual abandonment of Britain by the Empire would make the situation much more fluid. In the later stages, beyond 410, it would certainly provide time for the island to come up with some semblance of societal structure before the bulk of the Pictish raids and the Saxon invasion would decimate almost all evidence for the period in terms of material culture. Such events led to the conclusion that the Saxon settlement resulted in either an extermination-like situation or an apartheid-like situation. Often this period is described as one of complete Roman dissolution from the province, yet the scenario described above would likely not be conducive to all Romans leaving Britain, for some of them had advantages to be claimed from the independence of the province (see below). Furthermore, "there was still a population who lived and worked as they had done for centuries, whose lifestyle had been influenced irrevocably

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[89] Archer, S. 1979. 29-64.
[90] Millett, M. 1990. 226.
[91] Burnett, A. 1984. 163-168.
[92] Moorhead & Stuttard. 2012. 238.

by the Roman presence, and for many of them Rome was in their blood."[93]   The political situation through which they maintained their lifestyle would be changed forever, beginning with the dynamic between the towns and the countryside for "by 420 Britain's Villas had been abandoned. Its towns were mostly empty, its organized industries dead, and its connections with the larger Roman world severed."[94]   Rather, the power would shift from the established structures to a more British dominant world.

1.3 *The Towns of Post-Roman Britain*

A central concept to the expansion of the Roman Empire was the establishment of an Empire-wide road system and the introduction of proper towns to the landscapes of the conquered. In Gaul, the most significant of these was *Lugdunum* (Lyon), in Germania, Trier. Britannia, being a province far from wholly conquered, relied far more on the fort system than some other provinces, especially in the period before the third century. This does not mean, though, that no significant Roman towns existed: ones of note were London (*Londinium*), York (*Eboracum*), and Colchester (*Camulodunum*). The picture of towns during the late Roman period would be more clear if we were able to see evidence of just who was living in these places, but so far, forensic archaeology and studies of stable isotopes and dietary habit during this time have yet to yield substantial results.[95]

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[93] Moorhead & Stuttard. 2012. 238.
[94] Fleming, 2010. 29.
[95] Müldner, Gundula 2013. 137-149. Müldner's study into the stable isotope $\delta^{13}C$ in bones suggests the possibility that the introduction of fish into the diets of peoples in southern Britain indicates an elite status, but the corpus of later evidence is too small to analyze this properly.

Fig. 1. The Towns of Roman Britain

The towns of Roman Britain were hit hard by the struggles of the third century, but urban life was in no way disappearing, and their subsequent rise at the end of the third century can be seen as an economic revival.[96] But, unlike the old cities, these new ones were not sustained by army activities nor the continental goods the administration had imported for the soldiers. Britain's new type of city was centered on the Roman administration and the wealth it generated

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[96] Fleming, 2010. 6.

rather than the army, as is shown in elegant villas and mansions, for these were the bases from which Roman government officials would oversee the new agricultural growth of the island.[97] Within this new paradigm lay the ruin of Britain's cities.

Beginning with the removal of the army, the state of Roman Britain must have entered a new state of economic panic. The army, whatever size it was, made up a large portion of the population, and therefore, supported a large portion of the local agricultural economy, "which had relied so heavily not only upon farming, but also on haulage to the depots on the estuaries and coasts, before the freight was shipped out in transport vessels to the continent."[98] Following the collapse of this portion of the economy, the rest of the infrastructure was waiting to fall like dominos. The administrators overseeing this infrastructure would have witnessed the writing on the walls. But, as said before, those administrators, in their large mansions, greatly contributed to the livelihood of the city in Late Roman Britain, and with their departure, the city, like the country side would have been scrambling for solutions to fill the void.

The status of towns in post-Roman Britain has long been the subject of debate, with some arguing for their continuity on the basis that "a very small number of these [small towns] would become important in the Anglo-Saxon period."[99] However, the archaeological evidence concerning certain cities (Ipswich, London, Southampton) shows that these places "were dramatically different in the eighth century than they were at the time of their foundations" implying a decay to the point of requiring a total rebuild.[100] The question regarding the towns of

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[97] Fleming, 2010. 1-7.
[98] Moorhead & Stuttard. 2012. 240.
[99] Loseby, S.T. 2000. 322.
[100] Fleming, 2009. 394.

Roman Britain is "not how the towns were able to survive as centres of political and ecclesiastical authority in the new kingdoms of the west, but whether they did so at all."[101]

During the Roman period, the provinces were divided into smaller territories, centered around a *civitas* (or capital). It first should be noted that Britain has no "equivalent of the *Notitia Galliarum* to provide a hand-list of late antique *civitas*-capitals" and this makes it rather difficult to determine where the major centers of administration were, leaving the evidence to archaeology and literary sources. However, Loseby is quick to address this:

> "The near-silence of the written sources for the use of towns as power bases is
> amplified by the widespread and archaeological indications of urban decay. This
> is not altogether surprising if we accept that the social transformations of the
> period around 400 were on such a scale that cities had lost their focal role in the
> extraction of resources from their dependent territories, and with it much of their
> *raison d'etre* as centers of power."[102]

The discontinuity of the use of Roman towns is further supported if a system of "tribalization" begins to be established as the central Roman authority begins to show weakness.[103] The presence of the Dumnonii are exemplary of this system, and "only after 400 do we have evidence of a civitas in the north-west of Wales—a civitas in the eyes of its own elite, not, of course, in the eyes of a Roman government now without any control over the government of Britain", implied to be controlled by this tribe of Britons.[104] Indeed there is little evidence at present to suggest that these tribes moved into south-eastern Britain and occupied the towns.

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[101] Loseby, 2000. 320.
[102] Loseby, 2000. 336.
[103] Sarris, Peter. 2006. 400-413.
[104] Charles-Edwards, 2012. 221-222.

Findings of Red Phocaean slipware in the west and southwest of Britain with dates from throughout the fifth century imply the continuity of trade between these people and the Mediterranean.[105] Nothing, as of yet, has been found in the east. Furthermore, "Anglo-Saxon presence only begins to accumulate after the breakdown of urban society so amply revealed by archaeology."[106] The question remains as to exactly who these cities in the east of Britain were occupied by, or did they simply remain desolate.

A common area to compare when discussing the role of towns in the post-Roman era is that of post-Roman Gaul. Interestingly, even though the *civitates* of Gaul had diminished into a state of not needing cities in the late Roman period, to the point where, Simon Esmonde Cleary argues, the cities were avoided by elites.[107] Reece strongly disagrees with Esmonde Cleary on this point, arguing for a slow dismantling of the urban landscape in Britain.[108] Nevertheless, "in Merovingian Gaul. . . the Roman urban network survived the transition to Frankish rule substantially in tact" whereas the towns of Roman Britain exhibited no evidence of use until later in the Anglo-Saxon period.[109] Unfortunately, where the archaeological evidence lacks, the literary evidence does not fill the holes. The reports given by Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinaris[110] in the fourth and fifth centuries are certainly not conclusive, but they convey the possibility that Gauls in this period had not completely given up on the idea of urban life. The

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[105] Charles-Edwards, 2012. 222.

[106] Loseby, 2000. 337.

[107] Esmonde Cleary, Simon. 1989. 82, 129. Cleary establishes the state of the late Romano-Gaulish city as a means of presenting stark contrast from that of the late Romano-British town, which thrived until the late fourth century, followed by total collapse.

[108] Reece, Richard. 1980. 77-92. Reece's argument that the decline of the Roman town in Britain was attributed greatly to an aversion to inappropriate Mediterranean culture has clearly been refuted by archaeological evidence at this point given the above point regarding the importing of Phocaean red slipware to parts of west Britain.

[109] Loseby, 2000. 337.

[110] Harries, Jill. 1994.

same can be suggested for Roman Britain, especially given the recent excavations of St. Albans and Wroxeter, but the overwhelming lack of evidence (both literary and archaeological) for the majority of the towns in late Roman Britain, any like assumption would be inappropriate.

Loseby attributes this difference to the structural lay-out of the towns. British towns lacked a central fortification to serve in the case of large sieges. The walls of British towns were remarkably different from those on the continent in that they surrounded the entire town rather than a central fortified area.[111] Without a strong central fortification, small towns were at the whim of attackers, and thus were condemned to discontinuity, and as a result, there were not capitals even into the early Anglo-Saxon period.[112] Meanwhile across the Channel in Gaul, continuity was maintained through the appeal of an already built fortification by which townsfolk might protect themselves. It is speculative at best that some of these larger fortifications would have been subject to proper defenses through the period.[113] Furthermore, any Christian influence to the towns of Roman Britain would have been slow to start due to the proposed social dissolution, and this is supported by the archaeological data.

1.4 *The Economy of Post-Roman Britain*

Social dissolution propelled the collapse of the towns, but that social dissolution stems in its nature from the withdrawal of the Roman administration, which drove so much of the import/export economy of Roman Britain into the third century and was the recipient of so many Romano-British goods and agricultural products until the late fourth century. As the state

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[111] Loseby, 2000. 326.
[112] Loseby, 2000. 362.
[113] Millett, Martin. 1990. 152-153. Such defended urban areas have been proposed, like Cripplegate fort in London (Biddle. M. 1989. 23.).

withdrew, discontinuity grew. Sarris weighs in on this: "Where evidence of discontinuity in almost every sense (aristocracies, exchange networks, estate structures) would appear to have been most pronounced was post-Roman Britain, where the fifth century effectively witnessed a process of 'tribalization.'"[114]

Wickham in *Framing the Early Middle Ages* proposes that such discontinuity is visible in other parts of the empire, such as North Africa (where the Vandals notably conquered Carthage in 439) and this led to a lack of usual supplies from the region, such as Red-Slip wares.[115] The response to this process was the localization of the elites in certain regions of the Western Roman Empire which were no longer under imperial rule. When Rome was at its peak, "they benefitted from the positions and salaries it offered, and from the Imperial structures that allowed landholding on a huge scale and economic activities over vast areas", creating a dependency on the state.[116] The east, where the populace had been fully Romanized, this was the case, as the elite underwent a "slow involution of demand, concurrent localization of economic structures, and economic simplification even at the regional and microregional level."[117] Multiple scholars have sought to apply Wickham's thesis to post-Roman Britain, as the "speedy" withdrawal of imperial power would put it in prime position for such a situation.[118] But, I would argue, that in the wake of evidence from the West, the economic downfall of Britain has been hyperbolized due to inherent biases to pay attention to the Roman power-centers.

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[114] Sarris, 2006. 406. Tribalization refers to the process of centralizing on a strong aristocracy when a region is in the midst of a political or economic crisis. During tribalization, strong "tribal" leaders tend to emerge and gain power.

[115] Wickham, Chris. 2005. 711; Wickham, 1988. 191.

[116] Moreland, John. 2011. 176-177; Wickham, 2005. 161.

[117] Wickham, 2005. 820.

[118] Moreland, 2011. 175-193; Sarris, 2006. 400-413.

Wickham does give some credit to the shifting balance of power from the towns to the country, citing the wealth of the aristocracy as considerably lessened well into the Anglo-Saxon period, creating a scenario in which the peasantry would be able to attain more autonomy.[119] There is some evidence to suggest, however, that the balance of power had shifted prior to the withdrawal of the Western Roman Empire. The practice of coin clipping was rampant in the late Roman period, and it was banned under the Romans in the late fourth and early fifth centuries due to the fact that "on a large scale, it quickly reduced the intrinsic value of the coins to such an extent that they became unacceptable both to the government and to the public."[120] Mass siliquae clipping occurred in Roman Britain to multiple mints, presumably for the purpose of either turning the fiat currency (likely valued less due to low confidence in the stability of the Roman markets) back into its commodity value, or, more likely, the melting of such coins into items of greater value.[121]

As was mentioned earlier in this section, the west of Britain maintained the practice of importation of Phocaean Red Slipware from the eastern Mediterranean. Further studies of the excavation at Bantham highlight the link between western Britain and the Mediterranean in the post-Roman period.[122] The British, it seems, in their hill forts in the West, had continued to trade with these parts of the world even after the withdrawal of the Roman economic ties.[123] It is clear that the British elite in the west held wealth and power in the post-Roman period, since the

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[119] Wickham, 2005. 534.
[120] Burnett, Andrew. 1984. 167.
[121] Burnett, 1984. 168.
[122] Reed et. al. 2011. 82-138.
[123] Charles-Edwards, 2012. 222; Fleming, 2012. 3-45.

practice of importing pottery was almost exclusively an elite custom (yet Cornwall produced pottery for a time, indicating the presence of social stratification).[124]

1.5 *Conclusions: A Western Elite*

In the wake of the final removal of the army by Constantine III and the culmination of the administrative withdrawal, the economic and social infrastructure of Roman Britain was in a state of discord. In these situations, it is natural for others to step in and present themselves as the source of power and stability. This power was not to be the Picts, who had only been the arbiters of terror and destruction for years prior, nor was it to be the Saxons, who promised to bring in nothing but "anti-Roman" fervor and barbarism from the east. Rather, the solution was lying on the outskirts of Roman Britain, where the populace had begun to undergo Romanization in the past century. Tribes like the Dumnonii would take charge as the social powers in the absence of a strong Roman elite class.

As it has been presented here, we can see this transformation occurring through the slow removal of the army and the suggestion that those in the west should begin to make their own defenses; it has occurred through the slow, but near-total removal of all administrative bodies in the south-east, who had been the driving force for many luxury goods as well as a large portion of the demand for new construction in the urban centers. The result of this transformation is clear, the towns were deserted unlike their counterparts to the south in Gaul and the confidence in the Roman economy was totally shaken and the western highland peoples tribalized, causing a westward shift in trade and a return to commodity currency.

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[124] Laing, Lloyd. 2006. 236.

This material alone however is not enough to suggest a shift in perception towards the western Briton and Romano-British elites, but it serves as the foundation for what will be discussed next. The results of this shift would reverberate throughout the entirety of the medieval period, and not only would the Briton and Romano-British elite be viewed as the economic upper class and the stable part of a new Britain, but their language (for a short while in the wake of the coming Saxons) would be dominant, taking a superstratum position over the Latin which had dominated for the four centuries prior.

Chapter Three

Language in Post-Roman Britain

1 *Morphosyntactic influence from Latin to British*

In the wake of a disintegrating Romano-British power structure, the Western Highland Britons found themselves in a positon of elite status, unique to the rest of the Roman Empire, and certainly ignored for much of the scholarly history of the English Language.[125] As part of his response to the "haw-haw" Latin of the southeastern nobility, Schrijver attributes specific changes in the modern Brittonic languages to a sudden shift of British Latin from superstratum (as discussed above) to substratum.[126] In traditional stratalinguistic study, developed by Italian dialectologist Graciadio Ascoli (1829-1907), "substrate refers to the languages of the speakers colonized by the Romans, who had no prestige and power."[127] Language contact stratification change is explored in depth by Thomason and Kaufman after being expanded to incorporate all instances of language contact which are at the grasp of modern scholarship, but Hildegard Tristram explains, quite succinctly, that "substrates exert influence on the morphosyntax and the phonology (prosody in particular) of their superstrates."[128] The usefulness of any super-/substrate linguistic model can be called into question simply based on differentiated context of each model and each unique situation, and even Thomason & Kaufman, adduce evidence of specific features such as distance, the status of bilingualism, and time. When regarding this,

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[125] McWhorter, John. 2008. McWhorter treats this subject in detail, highlighting the neglect of Celtic influence on the English Language.

[126] Schrijver, 2002. 87-110; Schrijver, 2007. 165-171.

[127] Ascoli, Graciado. 1982. 29-54

[128] Tristram, Hildegard. 2007. 197.

however, Russell implores his readers "when one is dealing with language contact in the past it is much harder to pin down all these subtleties, but that does not mean that they were not there."[129]

Under the circumstances described in Chapter One, we see that with a heavy Latinized south-eastern region in which the majority populace speaks Latin as their first language, lexical information is transferred. But, as the tides change and peoples are forced into new interactions, language can change its mode of contact. Schrijver is the first to purport the view that "the passing over of the sounds and stress patterns of late Latin to surviving Highland British indicates a strong substratum influence from Latin speakers giving up their language in favor of British."[130]

Paul Russell outlines the morphosyntactic changes of the early Brittonic languages, combining the research of both Schrijver and Alf Sommerfelt.[131] The result is four changes that can be attributed to the substrate presence of Vulgar Latin in the Western Highlands of Britain. Though not all changes can be fully realized, the four that had survived into the early medieval periods of Welsh, Cornish, or Breton can be recognized as follows:

i. The loss of a case system.[132]

ii. The loss of a neuter gender.

iii. The adoption of compound prepositions.[133]

iv. The formation of a pluperfect tense, first suggested by Mac Cana.[134]

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[129] Russell, Paul. 2011. 138-157; Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 118): "All this means, in our opinion, is that the traditional superstratum/adstratum/substratum distinction is of limited usefulness for the interpretation of most past shift situations."
[130] Parsons, David N. 2011. 118.
[131] Russell, 2011. 143-153.
[132] Koch, John. 1983. 201-233.
[133] Sommerfelt, Alf. 1957. 161.
[134] Mac Cana, Proinsias. 1976. 194-203.

It is possible to infer too quickly that any phenomena created within a bilingual situation is the result of the language contact, rather than independent or external forces, especially when considering the timeframe and relative material evidence for the region (which is little).

1.1 *Loss of a case system via the initial loss of final syllables*

The loss of a case system may be divided into three stages: the loss of final syllables, the reduction of case distinctions, and finally, the complete loss of the case system. The loss of a case system in Brittonic is a complex matter made even more complex when considering the situation across the Irish Sea. Though it performed the first of the three stages in losing its final syllables, Old Irish "by retaining a complex set of morphological markers, initial mutation (lenition or nasalisation), and the distinction of palatal and non-palatal stem-final consonants, retained a declensional and case system."[135]

Koch was the first to explore the complex system undergone in Brittonic. Partially what makes this situation complex is the lack of period-relevant material (i.e. Irish has the Ogam inscriptions as source material). In what material exists, the chronology is not clear, but Charles-Edwards has supposed "that they [medieval Latin inscriptions in Wales][136] provide evidence for the spoken Latin of early medieval Britain.[137] Russell responds to this with the following bold statement about the learning processes of the Britons: "if so, they exhibit, for example, confusion of genitive and nominative case endings in subject position and also the phonological decay of

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[135] Russell, 2011. 145.
[136] Sims-Williams, Patrick. 2003.
[137] Charles-Edwards, 1995. 715-720.

final syllables (e.g. *VASSO* for an expected *VASSUS*).[138] Adams recently has argued in favor of

a simple misunderstanding of Latin paradigms, purporting that it suggests little about the spoken

language.[139] In this instance, the evidence for inscribed language as well as later evidence in

Middle Welsh, Cornish, and Breton seem to outweigh the notion that the spoken language did

not reflect these confusions.[140]

Schriver attempts to reconcile the lack of early evidence:

> "although there is no convincing evidence that Brittonic around the middle of the
>
> first millennium had a two case system like Romance, it must have had more than
>
> one case at least until Welsh started to diverge from Cornish and Breton (sixth
>
> century according to LHEB): only in this way can instances like Welsh *breuan* <
>
> oblique **brawon-* , but Breton *breo* < nominative **brawu* 'quern' be
>
> explained."[141]

In such an example, the Welsh form is derivative of a typical n-stem noun, taking the oblique

form, while Breton is simply coming directly from the nominative. Russell adds to the

discussion examples like "Middle Welsh *llam*, *llamein* 'leap(ing)'. . ., *ciwed*, *ciwdod* < Latin

civitas, *civitatis* respectively."[142] From the initial evidence, a Latin influence seems a reasonable

conclusion, and such a conclusion is supported by what occurred in the Romance languages.

Languages such as Italian appear to have kept the vocalic elements of their final syllables in

many words (*loro* < *illorum*), while French has rather maintained the consonants of these final

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[138] Russell, 2011. 145.
[139] Adams, 2007. 616-620.
[140] Keep in mind the discussion of Charles-Edwards, 2012. 75-115.
[141] Schriver, 2002. 96-97.
[142] Russell, 2011. 145.

syllables (*-atis > -ez*).[143] While these are not a full loss of final syllables, the phonological loss

is still significant especially when considered on the backdrop that almost all of the Romance

languages have lost a case system, only giving more weight to the prospect of Latin influence on

Brittonic.[144]

There is a caveat, however. Germanic and many other distant relatives in the Indo-

European family tree also lost case systems, suggesting that this phenomenon may not have been

of Latin influence at all. In order to differentiate between whether or not Brittonic did so

independently, one must turn to the levels of distinction between cases before the loss of the

system.[145] Russell notes that "in contrast to French which retained a nominative/accusative

distinction into Old French, Brittonic languages show, if anything, that a distinction between

nominative and genitive was retained the longest", making the case for Brittonic languages

having devolved from case independently (as Irish did).[146]

It seems only good sense at this point to conclude that whatever Latin influence there was

on the Brittonic case system, it was minor. Brittonic likely would have lost final syllables and

thusly lost its case system regardless. Yet, however minor the Latin influence on the case system

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[143] Herman, József. 2000. 49-60. Herman points out many examples of the phenomenon of declension and final syllable change. While some like those above show the reduction of final syllables and phonological losses, others simply show change (Oscan *–as* for Latin first declension *–ae*). And though some may argue that such changes do not give evidence to the loss of final syllables across the board in Romance, any and all phonological change likely resulted in further declension confusion and later a dropping of the inflectional endings altogether.

[144] Russell, 2011.145. Russell includes in his discussion the note that dative and genitive forms are preserved in pronouns in the Romance languages (Italian *loro < illorum*).

[145] Greene, 1974. 190-199. Hickey, Raymond. 1985. 143-162.

[146] Russell, 2011. 146.

was, in contrast to Russell, a Latinate assistance in the process is likely, especially given the evidence for perception shift founded in Chapter Two.[147]

1.2 *Loss of a neuter gender*

On par with the loss of final syllables and the loss of a case system, there is little physical or literary evidence to support Schrijver's claim that Latin had morphological influence on the neuter gender. Russell moves to defend his claim on the loss of the case system stating: "if Latin influence on the loss of declension in British is arguable but unlikely, its influence on the loss of the neuter is probably even less likely."[148] But we know that the neuter gender exists in Old Irish and that Brittonic went under some kind of morphological change as it also would have been passed down from Proto-Celtic.

In the period before the end of Roman Britain, some neuter nouns were contributed to the vocabulary of Brittonic, and we see these forms take a masculine rather than a neuter form (*benthyg* < Latin *beneficium*; *corff* < Latin *corpus*). Schrijver suggests here a level of influence (in accordance with the other two morphosyntactic influence points he presents [i.e. pluperfect, and case system]) that simply cannot be ignored: "these similar developments are so numerous and change the phonology of both languages in such a radical but similar way that they are most unlikely to represent independent developments. They must therefore be connected."[149] Again, just as with the case system, there are arguments for both sides and it seems only likely that Latin

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[147] Russell, 2011. Russell concludes that "we cannot with confidence claim that the loss of final syllables and declension in Brittonic can be explained through the influence of Latin.
[148] Russell, 2011. 147.
[149] Schrijver, 2007. 167.

had some level of influence or assistance to the process of eliminating the neuter gender from Brittonic.

1.3 *Compound prepositions*

The existence of the compound preposition in Brittonic is another marker of a potential Latin influence. In general, prepositions may be compounded in order to establish new semantic meaning in language while still maintaining efficiency (German *hinten durch*; Dutch *bovenuit*). They appear in the three Brittonic Languages (save Cumbric, which is too far away to be considered a candidate for any significant Latin morphosyntactic change) and not in Irish, which is an immediate indicator of potential Latin influence. Alf Sommerfelt first theorized the contribution of Latin to these languages in 1921[150], but in 1957, he dove further:

> A British trait which may be due to Latin models is the juxtaposition of prepositions into compounds, e.g. O[ld]. W[elsh]. *diam*, W[elsh]. *y am* 'from off', O.W. *diar*, W. *y ar*, *odyar* 'from', *y wrth* 'from', etc. cf. late Latin *deex*, *deab*, *dead*, *deante*, *deabante*, *adprope*, etc. Irish has only compound prepositions consisting of a preposition + a noun.[151]

We see this even replicated in the Romance languages, e.g. French *devant < deabante*, Spanish *depués*, French *depuis < depost*, Spanish *después < de ex post*.

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[150] Sommerfelt, 1921. *Dē en italo-celtique; son role dans l'évolution du système morphologique des langues italiques et celtiques*, Videnskapsselskapets Skrift, II.Hist. Filos. Klasses 4, Christiania: Dybawd.
[151] Sommerfelt, 1957. 161.

Russell moves further in his survey to outline all the various kinds of compound prepositions found in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. The first type is that which is prefixed with /di/ (or ði/) "from", e.g Old Welsh *di*, Middle Welsh *y*, Middle Cornish *thy*, Middle Breton *di*:

"'on, from on'   Middle Welsh *ar* : *y ar* (: *oddi ar*); Middle Welsh *war* :
                                        thywar; Middle Breton *guar* : *diguar*

'towards, from towards'   Middle Welsh *wrth* : *y wrth* (: *oddi wrth*); Middle Cornish
                                        (*w*)*orth* : *thyworth*; Middle Breton *ouz* : *diouz*

'in front, from in front'   Middle Welsh *rag* : (*a*) *thyrak*

'around, from around'   Middle Welsh *am* : *y am* (: *oddi am*)

'with, from with'   Middle Breton *gant* : *digant*

'under, from under'   Middle Breton *enton*/*indan* : *dindan*

'above, from above'   Middle Welsh *uwch* : - (: *oddi uwch*); Middle Welsh *vch* :
                                        (*a*) *vch*

'below, from below'   Middle Welsh *is* : *dis* (: *oddis*); Middle Breton *is* : (*a*)
                                        dis."[152]

A pattern of prepositional evolution around a /di/ element is clearly shown. It is possible, however not ideal, to consider that this phenomenon is the result not of Latin influence, but of the borrowing of the Latin preposition *de*. Russell contends the phonology of such a situation, and given a lack of evidence to the contrary, it seems only right to maintain the position that it was indeed a "semantically similar native preposition calqued on a Latin model."[153]

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[152] Russell, 2011. 148.
[153] Russell, 2011. 149-150.

1.4 *The formation of a pluperfect tense*

Here we encounter the most discussed of all the features, first put forth by Pederson[154], but later elaborated on by Proinsias Mac Cana.[155] In terms of criteria, it can be attributed to two of the three Brittonic languages (Cornish and Welsh, and not Old Irish), and, according to Mac Cana "can hardly be explained except through Latin influence."[156]

The Brittonic pluperfect[157] appears first in the form of the s-pluperfect, a pan-Brittonic tense taking form "by adding the terminations of the imperfect indicative to the preterite stem; thus M(iddle)W(elsh) *caru* 'to love', preterite stem *carass-*, pluperfect lsg. *carasswn* (MCorn(ish). *carsen*, MBret(on). *carsenn).*"[158] As these languages progressed, these features deteriorated into easier forms, being replaced by periphrastic patterns, for example "in Modern Welsh a perfect tense is formed using the present tense of *bod* 'be' followed by *wedi* 'after' and a verbal noun."[159] The earlier forms of the *s*-pluperfect can be seen in thirteenth century Welsh literary evidence and even into the fifteenth century for Middle Cornish and Middle Breton.[160]

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[154] Pedersen, Holger. 1909-13. II.370-4.

[155] Mac Cana, 1976. 194-206.

[156] Mac Cana, 1976. 195.

[157] For more on the uses, Latinate forms, and meanings of the pluperfect, see Allen & Greenough: 2000, 291.

[158] Mac Cana, 1976. 196.

[159] Russell, 2011. 150; Mac Cana, 1976: "*yd oed* (imperf.) *yr vnbennes gwedy kyfodi* (vn) 'the lady had arisen" WM [The White Book Mabinogion] 171.30-31." The formation of *wedi*, here *gwedi*, in one of the Mabinogi is a pretext to the Modern Welsh phenomenon.

[160] Russell, 1995. 119-136; Mac Cana, 1976: "*o'r a welsei* (plup.) *ef o helgwn y byt, ny welsei* (plup.) *cwn un lliw ac wynt* 'of all the hounds he had seen in the world, he had seen no dogs the same colour as these' PKM [Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi] 1.20-21". This is just one instance cited by Mac Cana as to the historical presence of s-pluperfects in Medieval Welsh Literature.

"Even today the conservative register characteristic of written Welsh continues to use the synthetic pluperfect forms to mark the pluperfect tense."[161]

The development of this case, while Latin influenced, actually propagated from the syntactical appearance of the imperfect in a future conditional, which can be translated as "should have."[162] Mac Cana dives into this quite a lot, citing such examples from old Welsh poetry as "*barnasswn* 'I should have judged', *nys adawsswn* 'I should not have left', *carasswn* 'I should have liked' (late 6th to 9th cent.)."[163] These conditional imperfects appearing as similar to those of the imperfect subjunctive in Latin, then transforming in meaning from "should have" to "had" as a kind of hindsight marker showcases the Latin influence of the formation of the s-pluperfect in British.

It is worth noting that

"the pluperfect formations of the Romance languages strongly suggest that in late Latin and early Romance there was at the very least a period of coexistence of periphrastic and synthetic pluperfect forms, and that while in the indicative the periphrastic forms eventually dominated (though synthetic forms seemed to have survived longer in some areas than others), in subjunctives synthetic forms continued."[164]

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[161] Mac Cana, 1976. 197.

[162] Mac Cana, 1976. purports that Middle Breton developed the s-pluperfect independently of the imperfect, and, while not entirely relegated to suggesting that Breton developed the *s*-pluperfect without Latin influence, is caught without sufficient reason for its development otherwise.

[163] Mac Cana. 1976. 197.

[164] Russell, 2011. 151; Togeby, Knud. 1966. can be referenced for further information on the development of the pluperfect in Romance languages.

Indeed the slow removal of the synthetic form and introduction of the periphrastic only seems to mimic that of Romance languages, thus giving even more weight to the thought that Latin had a significant influence on Brittonic.

Russell's primary question with Mac Cana's claim does not come from the source material or the logic of its formation at all in that it would be a stretch to claim its independence from contact influence. Rather it derives from the order by which Brittonic would have developed the *s*-pluperfect, suggesting that it makes far more sense for the pluperfect subjunctive to have been taken on, giving Welsh, Cornish, and Breton that *–isset* base. Take, for example, "stems like *amasset* (< *amavisset*) which would have resembled Brittonic preterite stems like *carass-*."[165]

When regarding the pluperfect in Latin, one most commonly thinks of the usual imperfect ending *–erat* given to a perfect stem. While this form does not have a direct descendent in Welsh, Welsh did develop a second kind of pluperfect, marginalized to three verbs, *mynet* 'go', *dyuot* 'come, *gwneuthur* 'do', where it forms the perfect and pluperfect from these stems and a form of the word 'to be' (Middle Welsh *yw* (*oed* in the pluperfect)), the present and imperfect (just as in Latin). Russell gives us the following: "preterite *aeth* 'went' : perfect *ethyw* 'has gone' : pluperfect *athoed* 'had gone', *doeth/death/deuth* 'came' : *dothyw* 'has come' : *dothoed* 'had come', *gwnaeth* 'did' : *gwnedyw* 'has done' : *gwnathoed* 'had done.'[166]

While this phenomenon only occurs in Welsh, it should be of note that it has not occurred in Irish and the close relationship between a people and their irregular verbs shows that some semblance of significance must have pushed its way through to create such a change in morphology. When the *s*-pluperfects are considered, the evidence seems unlikely to have

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[165] Russell, 2011. 152.
[166] Russell, 2011. 152.

developed independently in the West of Britain, and is therefore a strong candidate for Latin modelling.

1.5 *Morphosyntactic Conclusions*

The evidence presented above is cast against the looming background of Latin as a conservative, elite language, and its inherent radicalism to the prior views can lead to some astounding conclusions about the state of Latin in Britain at the end of the Roman occupation. In order for changes like the formation of compound prepositions and a pluperfect tense to occur, the substratum language must be spoken by a significant portion of the population. Only a decade after Schrijver upended the conclusions of his predecessors, his new theory is beginning to be accepted by modern scholarship.[167]

However, any and all discussion of morphosyntactic influence does not effectively rule out the possibility of an adstratum linguistic situation, in which the primary effect on the language is in the lexicon with slight influence in phonology and morphosyntax. Realizing his mistake from his 2002 work, Schrijver is quick to quell this possibility:

> "Contact linguistics is capable of presenting a finer-grained picture of what went
>
> on in the British Highland Zone during and shortly after the Roman period.
>
> Highland British Celtic almost completely stopped adopting Latin loanwords
>
> during the period of its phonetic and morphosyntactic Latinisation, whereas
>
> before it had adopted hundreds of them. We know this because almost all Latin
>
> loanwords passed through the British Celtic (and not the Romance) versions of

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[167] Charles-Edwards, 2012. 77.

the sound changes presented above[168], which implies that they must have been borrowed into British Celtic before those sound changes occurred."[169]

From this evidence, there is a clear indication of dramatic linguistic stratification shift in the early years after the Roman period "as a result of Anglo-Saxon pressure and the collapse of Romanized life throughout Britain."[170] Such a linguistic shift following this collapse would have resulted in a complete change in the perceptions of status in Britain.

The circumstances behind the shift from a Latin-centralized to a Brittonic-centralized island have been discussed in past sections, but this situation was likely to not last long, for the Germanic invasions from the East brought in new cultures, improved economic systems, and infrastructure, as well as accumulated wealth and a strength perceived as much greater than any in Britain at the end of the fifth century. Many questions have arisen about exactly who the Anglo-Saxons met when they landed on Britain's eastern shore. Though the immediate reflection of Brittonic onto Anglo-Saxon shows that Brittonic fought changes to its vowel quantity and stress system, it seems that the Brittonic had a far greater effect on the Anglo-Saxon morphosyntax than many would like to give it credit for.

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[168] Schrijver, 2007. 167. "loss of aspiration in voiceless stops *p, t, k*; development of (rounded) front vowels (as in Gallo-Romance) where Welsh has central vowels instead; *er > *ar* in native words (*tigerno-* 'lord' > O[ld]Breton *Tiern, Tiarn*); *ng > *ŋŋ > * ñ (>*j)* (*mong-* 'mane' > Breton *moueñ*, *moueng*, *moueñk*)" – discussing the effects of Latinisation on South-West British (i.e. Cornish and Breton) with counterparts in Romance languages.
[169] Schrijver, 2007. 167.
[170] Schrijver, 2002. 109.

2 *Brittonic, British Latin, and Anglo-Saxon*

Following Gildas' account of a letter to Aëtius (Consul of Rome 432, 437, and 446) in 446[171], it is fairly safe to assume that, though the Saxons were only beginning to have a strong foothold on the eastern coast Britain, Saxon culture and language had started to become engrained in the society of the Britons and Romano-Britons earlier. The letter, addressed to the then-Consul, is a request for help against a barbarian force (unnamed).

> "'To Aëtius, thrice consul, the groans of the British.' Further on came this complaint: 'The barbarians push us back to the sea, the sea pushes us back to the barbarians; between these two kinds of death we are either drowned or slaughtered.'"[172]

This letter, like most of Gildas' works, has been debated by modern scholars. More specifically, the question has been raised as to exactly who the British are and exactly who the "Barbarians" are. Some have argued that "it was an appeal for assistance against the Picts and Scots, and not against overseas Saxons", while others have argued the opposite, that the impending Saxon invaders are indeed driving them westward.[173] The question that draws the most concern is that of the British, for archaeological evidence from the Shore forts along the northeastern and eastern coasts show that Saxon invasions were happening throughout the end of the Roman period[174], and therefore, if they are not the attackers, they are certainly those being attacked,

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[171] The fragments of such a letter exist, but they are best preserved by Gildas.
[172] Gildas, *De Excidio*. 20.1. trans. Winterbottom, 1978. 23.
[173] Wade-Evans, Arthur W. 1959. 18.
[174] Wood, Ian. 2004. 428-9.

especially given the remarks of Gildas regarding Vortigern and his use of Saxons as mercenaries in the effort against the northern tribes (c. 426).[175]

Indeed, whether they wanted to or not, Aëtius and the rest of the Roman leadership sent no such help. By this point if by no other point before, the Roman Empire made the statement clear: Britain was no longer a province of Rome. As has been discussed in the previous sections, after the crisis of the third century, Britain began to develop a sense of self apart from the Roman Empire. This process was mimicked linguistically, with Brittonic becoming the superstrata language upon the final moments of Roman Britain. But, whatever thought there may have been for a British state, speaking Latin-influenced Brittonic, was wiped out as Britain became subject to the very force that was causing Rome so much strife. The Saxons had arrived and integrated.[176] Unsurprisingly, Anglo-Saxon would force Brittonic back into the substrata, and exhibit the same phenomena we saw with the morphosyntactic influence of Latin.

2.1 *Progressives and the 'meaningless do'*

Long has the situation between the Anglo-Saxons and the Britons been described as complete annihilation. Whether this is due to a bias towards the Anglo-Saxon incomers or a desire to not be associated with the "barbarian" Celts is not clear. But the linguistic discussion has generally agreed: "it has been traditionally concluded that Celtic languages could not have had any impact on English for the simple reason that no Celtic speakers survived the genocide to influence the language."[177]

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[175] Gildas. *De Excidio*. 23.1-2.
[176] Pattison, John E. 2011. 715-733; Härke, Heinrich. 2011. 1-28.
[177] McWhorter, 2008. 11.

This is not the place to discuss the material evidence of such a genocide, for pertinence should be placed more on language and stratalinguistics as evidence against this fallacy. McWhorter's "new history" of English focuses on two primary morphosyntactic changes to English caused by Brittonic:

1. "meaningless do"

2. The verb-noun progressive as being the most common way to express the present tense > *–ing*

These features, while minor, are constant in all of English and have been surprisingly overlooked for the majority of the history of the language, under the basis that these features developed independently and just happen to closely mirror features of the Celtic languages.[178] McWhorter presents his case with an air of astonishment. He is not out of line in doing so, as some of these conclusions would be hard to miss, as "meaningless do in the affirmative, negative, and internegative is found nowhere on earth except in Celtic and English" and "English is the only Germanic language that uses its verb-noun progressive as the only way to express present tense; Welsh and Cornish do the same."[179]

As has been discussed before, by the observed guidelines of stratalinguistics, such morphosyntactic influence, however slight, must be the result of either a substrata or an adstrata situation of language contact. However, since adstrates "exert influence on their adstrates on all levels, but mostly on their lexicon"[180], the situation is left to that of a substrata. Further, studies have been done into the Anglo-Saxon borrowings from Celtic, and though some exist, their

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[178] McWhorter, 2008. 17.
[179] McWhorter, 2008. 31.
[180] Tristram, 2007. 198.

numbers are minuscule, and therefore not enough to suggest an adstrata or superstrata linguistic situation.[181]

2.2 *Conclusions*

The existence of a Brittonic substratum in the early- to mid-Anglo-Saxon period, given the conclusions put forth before in this discussion, only seems to strengthen the concept that Brittonic, and therefore the British people, were the elite in the post-Roman period. Any evidence of Latin influence on Anglo-Saxon must be attributed to Church influence, which, due to its nature as a greater spiritual authority, likely would have contributed lexical information to the language rather than morphosyntactic. Further, we see that British Latin was effectively no longer a spoken language as the Anglo-Saxon invaders took a greater foothold and was relegated to the clergy into the beginnings of the fifth century.

The resulting impression is one of continual high strata positioning for the British and their language. The wealth and stratification shift was not immediately displaced by the incoming Saxons, but rather, the process must have been one of mutual benefit for years, followed by a gradual acceptance of the Anglo-Saxon language on the part of the native Britons, whether due to economic or social mechanisms.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the establishment of British Latin as widespread and colloquial from the elite "haw-haw" status of Jackson enables us to re-think how embedded Latin was in the state of

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[181] Coates, Richard. 2007. 172-191.

Roman Britain. For years, scholarship supported the opinion that Latin was held only among the elite, for both English and Brittonic are not Romance languages and the implication this gives is that Latin did not establish itself as the dominant language among the entire population. But after Gratwick, Evans, and Smith, Schrijver seeks to establish the Latin of Britain as the language of the townspeople using the model of stratalinguistics on the modern Brittonic languages. Even though I find that Gratwick is too hard on Jackson for his assumptions, this new technique of linguistic understanding has had marked effects on the rest of the scholarship on Romano-British linguistics.

As we change our viewpoint from the linguistics of Roman Britain and search for evidence in the historical and archaeological record, the situation becomes blurred, as most traces from this period have been lost. But, the gradual withdrawal of the army and the administration over the course of the last few years of the fourth century and into the early fifth century AD, set up a situation for increasing doubt into the abilities of the Roman government to provide for the people. The results of this can be seen in the clipping of silver siliquae as well as the abandonment of traditional Roman power structures (i.e. the towns). But, arguably more importantly, the British west still maintained trade relations with the Mediterranean (seen in the archaeological record with the uncovering of Phocaean Red Slipware), implying a new western power structure, controlled by Brittonic-speakers.

Schrijver's conclusions, when applied to the post-Roman period, suggest the presence of a new stratification, un-blurring the scenario created by searching through the archaeology. The Brittonic language of the west had taken over as the dominant language in the south of the island, as is shown by the deeply ingrained morphosyntactic changes which are then mimicked in the Romance languages of the continent. While Schrijver attributes the formation of a pluperfect

tense, the loss of the case system through the loss of final syllables, and the loss of the neuter gender, Russell rightly adds the formation of compound prepositions. Still, though in the study of post-Roman Britain linguistics, scholars remain hesitant to assert Brittonic dominance, as Russell dismisses the loss of final syllables and the loss of the neuter gender as being of Latin influence. But, given the full Romanization of the lowland zone in Britain, I stress a minor (but still notable) Latinate assistance was given to Brittonic for both of these features.

The morphosyntactic information transferred from Brittonic to the incoming dominant Anglo-Saxon language indicates a continuous presence of Britons in the south and South-west, which would eventually become the kingdom of Wessex, through the persistence of "*-ing*" progressives and the "meaningless do".

All of this cumulates to form a new picture of the post-Roman era of Britain, one where the traditional power of the Roman government had diminished and in the wake emerged power structures of the established Britons in the west. While the archaeological record does not absolutely form this picture, it gives strong indications that the previously recognized conclusions about post-Roman Britain may be false. When I consider the linguistics, however, the picture becomes increasingly clear, as stratalinguistics show a shift in the perception of language and ethnicity in the wake of the Roman removal, one toward a more Brittonic and more British dominated Britain.

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